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Urban Spaces, Places, and Identity in Early Medieval Britain

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URBAN SPACES, PLACES, AND IDENTITY IN EARLY MEDIEVAL BRITAIN

by

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ABSTRACT

The British early medieval period (c. AD 400 – 1066) was an era of migration and cultural contact that has been underexamined. This paper is a comparative study of the archaeological record of three English cities: York, Lincoln, and Southampton. Utilizing a theoretical framework combining anthropological and archaeological thoughts on space, place, and the structure and role of cities with theories of group identity formation and transformation, this project examines the role of the built environment within and near these urban sites. The project pays special attention to *wic* sites associated with York and Southampton.

INDEX WORDS: Britain, Archaeology, Early Medieval, Migration, Identity, Urbanism

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DEDICATION

This paper is dedicated to my parents, Robert and Peggy Grogan, for all of the support

they have given me. All that I have been able to accomplish begins with their love and guidance.

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1 INTRODUCTION

The story of Britain, and more specifically England, in the early medieval period (c. AD 400 – 1066) seems fixed in the imagination. It was, after all, the time of Arthur, the Anglo-Saxons and Alfred, and the Vikings and the Great Heathen Army. It is, in short, foundational to our understanding of England. This foundational role is, however, a constructed history of truths mixed with half-truths in the service of a legitimizing mythology, and it has been shaped and reshaped over time to suit changing needs.

The anthropologist Didier Fassin, speaking about ethnography, makes the argument that it has the ability to "illuminate the unknown" and "interrogate the obvious" (Fassin 2013). I believe this sentiment is a guiding principle of anthropology generally, and anthropological archaeology specifically. Archaeologists have been slowly complicating the picture of early medieval Britain. Much work, however, remains to be completed. A great deal more attention has been paid to the two periods that bookend this era—Roman Britain and the Norman Conquest. Often referred to popularly as the 'Dark Ages,' thanks to a paucity of written history, the early medieval period remains ripe for exploration, and archaeology is well positioned to provide us with a better understanding of the time and the people who lived in it.

1.1 Purpose of the Study

My goal in this project is to explore the potential of anthropological archaeology to continue the process of challenging what we think we know about the early medieval period. One of the defining features of the era is the migration of large numbers of people to Britain from the European continent and the subsequent interactions between these groups. As with the period as a whole, some of these groups, such as the Anglo-Saxons or the Vikings, have seemingly well-defined contours. They are often presented as set ethnic groups with clear

identities, but who really were these people? How did they view themselves? How did they view the Celtic Britons or the Romano-British peoples with whom they interacted? How did the interactions of these groups shape their identities? Is it accurate to even describe the migrations of this period as a movement of large groups instead of family units or individuals? This set of questions about identity formation and transformation constitutes one of the prominent themes I address in my research.

The second theme involves the role of urban settlements, the utilization of space, and the creation of place in the early medieval period. Urban settlements throughout history, as with the cities of today, are often venues for cultural contact. In discussing the motivations we have for studying cities, Monica Smith (2003, 1–2) writes:

> …a city represents a new social order, in which numerous different groups must coexist. The resultant social networks, economic activities, and political opportunities are concentrated in a locus of relatively dense population, where the process of daily life takes place as part of the physical landscape that forms and is formed by the negotiated consensus between groups.

Cities simultaneously provide an opportunity to study a unique arrangement of human organization and an opportunity to study broader themes applicable outside of urban spaces by serving as a focal point that concentrates activity in a way that makes it more visible in the archaeological record.

In order to evaluate these two themes, this paper examines the archaeological record of three modern-day English cities through the lens of anthropological and archaeological theories on urbanism, space and place, and identity.

1.2   Outline

Chapter 2 introduces the theoretical framework I employ in this project. The chapter is divided into two main sections corresponding to the two, broad theoretical genres utilized. First, I briefly introduce the trajectory of urban anthropological thought before turning to a discussion of anthropological and archaeological conceptions of "space" and "place." Within this section, I present two published case studies by other scholars demonstrating the applications of this theory. Second, I explore the ways in which archaeologists have grappled with issues of identity, including ethnogenesis. Three case studies are presented in this section to help illustrate the nuanced ways archaeologists are trying to understand the tricky topic of identity.

Chapter 3 provides the necessary geographic and historical background for the project. Here, the study areas of York, Lincoln, and Southampton are identified and the reasons for their selection are discussed. This chapter also includes an introduction of wic sites, which play a unique role in my analysis.

In Chapter 4, I discuss my research design and the methodological approached I utilized for this project. Here, I discuss the data sources consulted, the application of Geographical Information Systems, and the levels of analysis I use to investigate the period. Chapter 5, then, provides a review of the archaeological record for each of the study areas of York, Lincoln, and Southampton in turn. For York and Southampton, I treat the excavations of the wic separately. While a wic may have been located near Lincoln, it has not yet been identified, and for Lincoln, I instead look in depth at an occupation site within the footprint of the defended city in order to provide a contrast to the extramural location of the York and Southampton wics.

I explore the application of the project's theoretical framework to the evidence of the archaeological record in Chapter 6. Here, I explore a several themes: patterns of continuity and

discontinuity in each of the study areas in the transition from the Roman to the early medieval period, the special role of the wic sites, and the role that institutions play in the construction of urban spaces.

Finally, in Chapter 7 I provide concluding thoughts. This chapter includes a discussion of potential directions for future research. I also provide a look at the relevance of this project to the current world. We live in a world that is seeing the increasing movement of people around the world and people are continuing to concentrate more-and-more in cities. Current-day decision makers would do well to pay attention to the lessons that archaeology can provide.

2   THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The overarching theoretical approach of this thesis is an attempt to understand what can be learned about early medieval life through two broad anthropological lenses: studies of urban space and place, and identity. In this chapter, I explore the theoretical frameworks from which I draw for this project. The first general framework is related to cities and urban spaces, the definitions of which are explored below. This first topic is further divided into a look at urban anthropological theory and a narrower exploration of space and place. The second general framework is related to identity, including explorations of ethnogenesis.

2.1   Urban Theory, Space and Place

All human activity involves some spatial component. Human activity does not only alter the landscape and create sites and settlements, but human activity is in turn shaped by those locations--both enabled and constrained. This is, in many ways, an echo of the tension between structure and agency. The nature of this relationship takes on both a material characteristic in its involvement with resources and economics and an ideal characteristic in its involvement with beliefs, ideology, and meanings. As Joyce and Lopiparo (2005: 370) write, "previously structured spaces re-structure subsequent action, at the very least by influencing the orientation of actors to the landscape, but also through understandings of place and history that could have been brought to discursive consciousness when use of space changed." This paper explores just that dynamic by examining how individuals in the early medieval period engaged with the built environment left by Roman-era occupants and how they both altered the environment and how their behaviors were influenced by that environment.

Below, I explore two theoretical tracks with applications to this project. First, I review urban anthropological theory, and then I turn to a narrower focus on conceptions of "space" and "place" employed by both anthropologists and archaeologists.

2.1.1   Cities and Urban Spaces

Defining "Cities." Throughout this paper, I refer to the areas under examination as "cities" or "urban" centers and settlements. Although a study of "cities" broadly is not the purpose of this paper, it is worth visiting the definition of these terms as I am applying theoretical positions developed regarding "cities" to the sites under examination in this paper. The definition of "cities" and "urban" used in anthropology and archaeology vary greatly. Most of the definitions of "cities," however, utilize a constellation of characteristics to arrive at a working definition for the specific project at hand. An early example of this effort is V. Gordon Childe's list of ten criteria that can be used to define a city (Childe 1950). Childe's original list and modern definitions share a structure in that they rely on interconnected phenomenon, such as population size, social differentiation, economic complexity, and relationships between the urban core and its hinterland, for instance (Smith 2003). "Urban," on the other hand might be used more broadly. Meaghan M. Peuramaki-Brown (2013, 7), referencing Fletcher (1995), writes that, "urban settlements constitute environments where flows of people, places, and things collide."

Monica Smith argues that any static definition of a "city" will fail to capture rapid changes in circumstances occurring in urban formation or the transformation of existing cities (Smith 2003). In the study areas examined for this paper, we see examples of this quick transformation. Each of the study areas during the Roman period would, I contend, be considered "cities" by most definitions. This is certainly the case for the settlements that would become York and Lincoln. The nature of the Roman settlement near modern-day Southampton is less

certain. With the decline of Roman authority in Britain, however, these sites become largely (though not completely, as we will see) depopulated. During the very beginning of the early medieval period, none of the former "cities" would meet anyone's definition of that term. Throughout the period, however, I argue that they would once again become cities thanks to the coming together of diverse groups in particular alignments.

Archaeological approaches. Archaeologists have, of course, always been drawn to urban spaces. Monica Smith traces the history of archaeological approaches to cities as beginning with a focus on the broader territory in which a city is situated--its relationship with smaller settlements in its hinterland, local resource distributions and procurement, and trade and exchange (Smith 2003). In the 1990s, according to Smith, research shifted to studies of the city itself and how the urban core was integrated with the hinterland.

The application of research about current cities and urban spaces to ancient spaces must be justified. Monica Smith (2003), referencing Potter (1985), observes that ancient and modern cities share characteristics that include not only their physical arrangements but also similar social dynamics. In fact, Smith strikes a deterministic tone in suggesting that the shared physical characteristics of cities develop out of a set of universal forces arising out of the similar needs of the individuals occupying any given city (Smith 2003, 6–7). Although I am cautious whenever a claim even close to "universality" is made, I do agree that cities throughout time broadly share many characteristics, and, as a result, it is appropriate to utilize research findings and theoretical applications developed by examining current cities.

2.1.2   Space and Place

In tracing the history of anthropological approaches to space and place, Setha Low identifies the beginning of many of the trajectories of thought as originating with Pierre

Bourdieu's assertion that space can have no meaning apart from practice (Low 2017, 27).

Whether or not Bourdieu was the first to identify the importance of space as more than a passive

backdrop against which the life of humanity plays out, he seems to have intensified interest in

the issue. Space is now viewed as an essential medium through which those relations are

constructed and transformed. There is, however, no consensus approach to space and place, and,

in fact, there are no agreed upon definitions of the terms.

In *Spatializing Culture*, Low reviews the different ways that "space" and "place" have

been conceptualized (Low 2017). These approaches range from the philosophical to the domain

of physics. Low's approach ultimately constructs space and place as separate, but related,

phenomena. For Low, space is a social construct shaped by individuals and groups along with

historical and political forces, and place encompasses the "meanings, feelings, sensory

perceptions and understandings" that arise from the inhabitation of space (Low 2017, 32). "It is

the spatial location of subjectivities, intersubjectivities and identities that transform space into

places – that is, the lived spaces of human and nonhuman importance" (Low 2017, 32). Low

provides a good recent summary of anthropological approaches to space and place, but many

anthropologists and archaeologists have been considering the role that "space" and "place" play

in past and present societies.

After establishing these general approaches to space and place, the remainder of

Spatializing Culture is dedicated to further exploring issues of space and place through processes

of social production, social construction, language and discourse, emotion and affect, embodied

space, and translocality (Low 2017). Low primarily explores the use of these concepts through

ethnographic case studies, and while all of these framework approaches can be useful to

archaeology, several are specifically helpful for this project. The approaches of social production

and construction allow for an archaeologically in-depth exploration of space. Social production approaches to understanding space focus on issues of political, economic, and historical forces in the physical creation of space, and through these hooks elucidate the ideological principles underlying them and their foundations (Low 2017, 34). Social construction, on the other hand, approaches both space and place as abstractions created by group conceptions of social categories such as race, class, and gender (Low 2017, 68). Although an oversimplification, the division between social production and social construction can be viewed as a split between materialism and idealism. Low brings the two together through the positioning of the social production approach as the "scaffolding" that frames space and the positioning of the social construction approach as the "bricks and mortar" that fill-in and elaborate that space and makes it a place (Low 2017, 205).

Low's proposed system of analysis is a useful approach for my research for several reasons. First, it recognizes space as value-laden and socially constructed. Second, the approach to space targets issues related to identity and subjective experiences. Third, it allows for enough of a separation between space and place to explore how a singular space is utilized as different places by various people over time. Therefore, shifts in space can be considered separately from shifts in place.

2.1.3   Published Case Studies

As mentioned, many archaeologists have incorporated spatial components into their analysis. I have chosen two case studies to briefly explore how other archaeologists have explored these themes in their work. First, I examine Arthur Joyce's study of the transformations of the Main Plaza of a Zapotec city in the Oaxaca Valley over the course of 2,500 years (A. Joyce 2009). Next, I present Wendy Ashmore's study of Quiriguá, Guatemala and her

demonstration of how multiple "biographies of place" can be constructed for the same space (Ashmore 2008). These case studies provide excellent examples of the ways in which archaeologists have utilized similar theoretical frameworks to the ones used in this project. They also focus on archaeological projects outside of Britain, and I wanted to incorporate a cross-cultural perspective.

Arthur Joyce's case study examines the connection between the structural changes made to the Main Plaza at Monte Albán, a Zapotec city in the Oaxaca Valley in Mexico, and associated sociopolitical dynamics. The Main Plaza was a large (approximately 350m x 150m) central plaza surrounded by structures used for religious and political purposes, and a line of structures also occupied the center of the plaza (A. Joyce 2009). Founded in 500 BC, the site was home to public religious and civic ceremonies (A. Joyce 2009). Beginning in the Terminal Formative Period (100 BC to AD 200) and continuing through the Classic Period (AD 200 to AD 800), the rulers of Monte Albán expanded their authority throughout the Oaxaca Valley and beyond (A. Joyce 2009). Corresponding to this increase in territorial influence, the elite in Monte Albán began increasingly closing off access to the Main Plaza, and the space shifted from a public to a private space, utilized primarily for elite residences and restricted-access religious ceremonies (A. Joyce 2009). During the Early Postclassic Period (AD 800 to AD 1200), the Main Plaza was largely abandoned, but despite many of the structures being in ruins, the site continued to be used for ritual practices to communicate with deities (A. Joyce 2009). The Main Plaza area would continue to be used for this reason throughout the Colonial Period (beginning AD 1521) despite Spanish attempts to suppress local religions (A. Joyce 2009). In the present, the site has been appropriated as a symbol by both the indigenous community and the Mexican national government (A. Joyce 2009).

Joyce demonstrates how the structural arrangement of the Main Plaza, and its transitions through time, were both reflections of social forces and helped shape and channel social identity. The plaza was constructed in accordance with the Zapotec understanding of sacred geography, but it was not only this alignment that gave meaning to the space. Instead, as Joyce writes, "the power of ceremonial precincts, however, was not derived just from the ideas that they embodied but was produced, experienced, maintained, and transformed through the practices of people" (A. Joyce 2009, 33). The closing off of the space to the public shifted not only people's experience of the space as communal, it also positioned the ruling class as having special access to the divine, enhancing their power and status (A. Joyce 2009). The structuring of space employed by the elite also allowed them to largely control where and how different groups of people interacted (A. Joyce 2009), further shaping the process of identity transformation that occurs through group contact. Joyce's study also demonstrates the enduring associations people have for locations, even after those places are physically transformed to the point of ruination.

Wendy Ashmore's work highlights the mechanics of dynamic meaning construction in which she explores the ways in which single archaeological sites can have shifting, contested meanings or "biographies" (Ashmore 2008). Ashmore's case study explores the possibility of finding multiple biographies of place at the Classic Maya site of Quiriguá. The site core lies in a protected park and features an Acropolis and Great Plaza (Ashmore 2008). Traditional interpretations of the site, focusing on these central spaces, have constructed a political narrative similar to other Classic Maya sites based on the establishment of portrait stela in publicly and cosmologically significant locations consistent with Maya architectural practices (Ashmore 2008). Ashmore draws on two areas outside of the site core to offer alternative narratives.

The first area she explores is a grouping of three mounds and a single stela approximately 1,500 m west of the site core (Ashmore 2008). The stela commemorates K'ak' Tiliw', a ruler of Quiriguá, and his rebellion against the city of Copán (Ashmore 2008). The dating of the stela, as the first erected by K'ak' Tiliw' after the rebellion, suggests that it should have a prominent place in the Great Plaza (Ashmore 2008). Ashmore argues that the evidence suggests that the stela was moved to its current location in the decades after its erection, and that it may have originally been located in the Great Plaza (Ashmore 2008). Following the death of K'ak' Tiliw' death, relations with Copán were reestablished, and Ashmore believes that Jade Sky, the subsequent ruler may have moved the stela to this location as a compromise that allowed for continued veneration of K'ak Tiliw' while also not offending Copán (Ashmore 2008).

The second area Ashmore presents as offering a competing biography is a location 400 m to 500 m north of the site core (Ashmore 2008). Here, large quantities of obsidian blades were found, along with broken censers and evidence of burning (Ashmore 2008). This portion of the site belongs to an earlier period of Quiriguá, when the Maya occupation was just beginning. Ashmore argues that this bolsters interpretations that the Quiriguá represents a Maya intrusion into an already culturally diverse area (Ashmore 2008). The evidence of ritual activity, she argues, is likely associated with efforts to promote stability and community cohesion (Ashmore 2008). This biography of place, together with the others mentioned, create a dynamic portrait of Quiriguá with more depth than any single narrative.

2.1.4   Section Summary

The researchers discussed in this section are by no means the only scholars to be grappling with issues of space, place, and meaning. I draw heavily from the work of Setha Low, Wendy Ashmore, and Arthur Joyce for both their comprehensive summaries of the trajectory of

thought in these areas and because of their illustrative case studies. I was also drawn to the work presented here because it relies on locations outside of Britain, and I would argue that all analysis is strengthened by cross-cultural comparisons.

As Ashmore says, "places have meaning" (Ashmore 2008, 15), and the case studies presented by Joyce (2008) and Ashmore (2008) demonstrate that places have multiple, shifting meanings across a community and throughout time. In this paper, I follow their lead and examine the transition from the Roman era into the early medieval period by exploring how the use of space shifted in this transition and how different groups in the early medieval period had different understandings of the spaces they occupied. This allows us to see how space was transformed into "places" by different groups and how these dynamics played a role in the identities of those groups.

The detail in the archaeological record with which Joyce was engaging is, unfortunately, not available in my study areas. Nevertheless, the greater takeaway from his study about the ways in which groups can change the experience and meaning of a space through physical changes is relevant to my project. Another feature that is relevant is the way in which a site retained a religious significance even after ceasing to be occupied. Ashmore's work engages with a comparatively sparse amount of data, but demonstrates how, even with a just a few data points, a bigger picture of the overall meaning of a site can be constructed. A relatively small dataset can also be turned into an asset when it is used to provide a more focused and nuanced analysis that can get lost in broader levels of analysis.

2.2   Identity

In the effort to recreate the lifeways of past peoples, one of the central foci has become issues of identity. This is a broad term which can encompass every way that individuals see

themselves, the groups of which they are a part, how groups view themselves and their constituent members, and the constructed categories of belonging through which all of these views are built, transformed, and contested. From a broad anthropological perspective, the work of Bourdieu has given us a general framework through which to consider tensions between the structures of societies and the agency of individuals.

Tim Insoll (2007) notes that while issues of identity in all its permutations are at the forefront of many discussions, both within academia and in public, archaeologists rarely attempt to consciously add to those conversations. He argues, first, that this is an error as archaeologists have much to contribute through access to the wide breadth of past identities and the interactions they had with each other, and that an understanding of these dynamics could be relevant to current debates about identity (Insoll 2007). Second, he writes, "for the issue is really whether one can actually have an archaeology that is *not* concerned with identity" (Insoll 2007, 1). Whether or not they are consciously aware, all archaeologists are engaging with issues of identity in every project. Even a seemingly straightforward pottery classification system engages with identity through its creation of culture groups and implied labor and economic systems. Reconstructing the lifeways of past peoples will always touch on identity. It is best, therefore, that archaeologists do so with open eyes, conscious of the implications of their work.

Regarding the archaeological application of identity, Thomas Patterson provides a characterization of the shifting evolution of thought (Patterson 2005). Patterson tracks the transition from an archaeological framework based in processualism through the post-processual critiques that emerged in the 1980s and 1990s to focus on concepts of "individuality, subjectivity, and identity" (Patterson 2005, 380). He also highlights the ways in which these new critiques were limited and fragmented. For those more towards the processual end of the

spectrum, "the issue of identity is most frequently reduced to community or ethnic affiliation, less frequently to social status (elite versus commoner) or class position" (Patterson 2005, 381). Towards the post-processual end of the spectrum, Patterson highlights John Barrett's assertion that agency cannot be considered on the level of an individual but instead must be "situated in the resources of time/place, a being-in-the-world, whose actions carry the past into the future and which reference to absent places in the locations of its own operations" (Patterson 2005; see Barrett 2000, 61). Here we see conceptions of agency shift from isolated individual actors to an understanding of agency as part of a social framework situated within a historical and spatial context.

This conception of individual actors as part of a larger framework can be extended further in the discussion of identity, particularly when a relational approach is adopted. Joanna Brück and Andrew M. Jones use a relational approach to understanding the inclusion of fossils as part of grave good assemblages in order to challenge common interpretations that write modern identity categories onto Bronze Age Britons (Brück and Jones 2018). Fossils as a part of some Bronze Age burials have largely been interpreted simply as "prestige goods" (Brück and Jones 2018). They argue instead that these fossils should better be understood as components in a system of relations that together create meaning. "The choice of certain objects--," they write, "those that evoked memories of places, people, and events—and their juxtaposition with other objects created narratives through which particular forms of identity could be constituted" (Brück and Jones 2018). This approach recognizes the active role that material objects play in creating meaning—in this case identity. Artifacts are not conceptualized as static reflections of the people who made them or used them. They are instead seen as being active co-creators of meaning alongside people.

2.2.1   Ethnicity

A category of identity, relevant to both individuals and groups, and particularly relevant to a research project of the early medieval period in Britain, is that of ethnicity. The concept of ethnicity has a history of misuse in anthropology and archaeology. In part, this is because it has been tied up in political uses of the concept, such as in strategies of marginalization and oppression. In efforts of nation building, the use of ethnicity has warped history as the past is re-written to justify specific social and political arrangements of the present (see: Arnold 2006; Dietler 1994). Nevertheless, ethnicity remains a useful category of identity in examining both the present and the past. It is, however, a concept that must be analyzed carefully and with no aspect of it taken for granted.

Barbara Voss, in her review of ethnogenesis—the process of ethnic identity emergence—identifies the work of Fredrik Barth in 1969 as a turning point in the archaeological rethinking of ethnicity (Voss 2015). Traditional approaches to ethnicity had focused on static conceptions of ethnic identity, often tied in with the political considerations mentioned above. Barth, instead, argues that societies are not monolithic entities, but that they instead feature a complex arrangement of identities, like contemporary societies, and that these identities are only formed out of intergroup contact and pressures (Voss 2015; see Barth 1969).

2.2.2   Published Case Studies

As with theories on space, place, and urbanism, many scholars have worked and continue to work on these issues. Below I present three case studies that serve to illustrate how archaeologists have attempted to access identity in the archaeological record. This is, of course, a difficult task. There are no people in the archaeological record—there are bodies, the artifacts they created, and the enduring changes they left on the landscape. From this assortment of

evidence, which is by nature incomplete, we must make inferences about the people who occupied the past. Further complicating this is that, while they are no longer alive, the people of the past are not static. Their choices continue to influence, visibly or not, our lives today and the future world. Finally, the act of looking, and the position from which we look, impacts the identity of these past people.

The first case study I present is Barbara Voss's 2005 article reviewing her work at the Spanish-colonial settlement of *El Presidio de San Francisco.* The second case study is Kent Lightfoot's work at Fort Ross California. Finally, I present Heinrich Härke's attempt to use burial patterns, and associated evidence, to understand the migrations of early medieval Britain.

Voss -- El Presidio de San Francisco. In her work on the community of *El Presidio de San Francisco*, Voss (2005) combines an analysis of the archaeological record with historical sources to investigate the construction of social identity. *El Presidio de San Francisco* was a Spanish-colonial military settlement in California in the 18th and 19th centuries. These military sites, situated in majority indigenous areas, were designed to project Spanish power and reinforce their control over the local population (Voss 2005). They also served as "administrative centers, judicial seats, marketplaces, and residential nuclei of isolated frontier districts" (Voss 2005, 462). This diverse collection of roles is similar to those of the Roman settlements at York and Lincoln, as we will see below. The population, which ranged from the mid-100s to the low-200s, consisted of a diverse ethnic mix that included soldiers from present-day Mexico as well as indigenous groups from California. Although a military settlement, it was occupied by complete family groups, with sub-adult children making up more than half of the population at any given time (Voss 2005).

Voss critiques previous approaches to culture contact archaeology for focusing exclusively on the dynamics between colonizers and the colonized (Voss 2005). She argues that this focus ignores the fact that often the colonizers consist of individuals and groups who themselves were victims of colonial forces (Voss 2005). This is the case at *El Presidio de San Francisco* where there appears to have been no individuals from Europe or with direct European heritage (Voss 2005). The soldiers, the colonial power in the area, were themselves being impacted by Spanish colonial decisions in their home territories (Voss 2005). Furthermore, a myopic attention to the colonizer-colonized dynamic erases intragroup distinctions such as sex, gender, or race, that may actually be more relevant to the identities and practices of the individuals in the groups being studied (Voss 2005).

In this study, Voss attempts to correct those shortcomings by looking for a more nuanced construction of identity that takes into account both the larger structural forces of colonialism and the intergroup and intragroup negotiations of identity on the smaller scale of this specific settlement (Voss 2005). Voss's study combines two levels of analysis. The first level examines the archaeological assemblages of one of the middens on the site, and the second level looks at changes in the architecture and structural arrangement of the settlement throughout its occupation (Voss 2005).

Within the midden, a number of cooking and serving vessels were recovered, and the nature of these vessels provided insight into how families conceived of their identity within a diverse community (Voss 2005). The midden revealed only a very small number of *comales*, which are used to cook tortillas, and Voss observes that this is surprising given the documented importance of the role of tortillas in Spanish-colonial diets (Voss 2005). Instead, the midden revealed that the focus of food consumption centered around soups, stews, and porridges (Voss

2005). This dietary makeup holds meaningful positive associations for both native groups in pre-Conquest Mexico and African groups (Voss 2005). At the same time, the animal remains in the midden showed a reliance on beef as the primary meat source and excavations also recovered traces of grains and legumes (Voss 2005). Notably, these food sources differ from those utilized by the local native population (Voss 2005). Connections between identity and food is as well-established and apparent today as it has been throughout much, if not all, of human history. Taken together, Voss concludes that the population at *El Presidio de San Francisco* were embracing foodways that simultaneously minimized internal differences and embrace commonalities, while also establishing a clear separation from the native groups that surrounded them (Voss 2005).

In tracing the history of the architecture of the settlement, Voss demonstrates a similar dynamic at play. Families were responsible for constructing their own dwelling spaces in connected structural blocks (Voss 2005). Early in the life of the settlement, the construction of the units varied widely in both the materials used and in design (Voss 2005). Over time, however, the design of the dwellings began to coalesce into a standard construction format and that used materials differing from those used by the local native groups (Voss 2005). Here, again, we see the same patterns at work: the promotion of internal homogeneity and the assertion of an identity distinct from the local native population (Voss 2005).

Lightfoot--Fort Ross. Voss's critique of culture contact archaeology builds on some of the criticisms made earlier by Kent Lightfoot (Voss 2005). In a 1998 article, Lightfoot, Martinez and Schiff introduce two additional points of focus: the implementation of contextual approaches to complement artifact-based studies, and a multiscalar framework that considers both macroscale word systems dynamics and microscale practices and interactions (Lightfoot,

Martinez, and Schiff 1998). Lightfoot et al. touch on a number of different ways in which archeologists have utilized and expanded contextual approaches, including by considering artifact patterns alongside foodways, architecture, and settlement organization (Lightfoot, Martinez, and Schiff 1998). In discussing their work at Fort Ross in California, Lightfoot et al. focus on other ways to achieve a contextual analysis. Specifically, they focus on understanding the placement and role of artifacts within the built environment and, in particular relevance to colonial encounters, understanding the continuity and discontinuity between colonial practices and those used in people's homelands (Lightfoot, Martinez, and Schiff 1998).

Fort Ross, like *El Presidio de San Francisco*, is a colonial settlement located in what is present-day California (Lightfoot, Martinez, and Schiff 1998). Instead of a Spanish site, however, Fort Ross is a Russian colonial settlement in northern California where relocated Alaskan laborers created households with local Native women in the early- to mid-19th century (Lightfoot, Martinez, and Schiff 1998). Lightfoot et al. highlight the number of shapes the identities of these women could have taken: "Were they regarded simply as 'Indian' women? Or were they perceived as the wives of 'Aleut' men? Or were they, their husbands, and children appreciated as something new and different…" (Lightfoot, Martinez, and Schiff 1998, 204).

In order to answer those questions, Lightfoot et al. construct an approach that exists at a number of levels, beginning at a pan-regional scale, transitioning through regional and local scales, and ending at a narrow look at the social construction of residential space (Lightfoot, Martinez, and Schiff 1998). At the most macro scale, Lightfoot et al. compare the settlement pattern at Fort Ross with a number of indigenous communities around California in order to place the practices of the women of Fort Ross into context with the practices of individuals in communities similar to where they may have originated (Lightfoot, Martinez, and Schiff 1998).

Ultimately, Lightfoot et al. determined that, in many ways, the worldview structures imposed by Russian colonial administrators were reproduced from the settlement scale down to the household level (Lightfoot, Martinez, and Schiff 1998). The researchers did, however, determine that, as might be expected, the household level allowed more room for individual variation (Lightfoot, Martinez, and Schiff 1998). They also found that, in contrast to *El Presidio de San Francisco*, the men and women at Fort Ross worked to maintain separate identities between husbands and wives within their households (Lightfoot, Martinez, and Schiff 1998)

Härke--Anglo-Saxon Ethnogenesis. In the case of Britain, in the public imagination, the ethnic categories in the history of the island have remained frozen in time. Familiar names--the Celts, the Anglo-Saxons, and the Vikings--easily conjure up images of people and their behavior and lifestyles. Many archaeologists, however, are endeavoring to reexamine those group identities. Heinrich Härke (2011), for instance, states that although general agreement exists that the groups that arrived in Britain during the Anglo-Saxon migration period did not arrive with set ethnic identities, there is no consensus on the mechanics of the ethnogenesis which occurred as a response to contact between the different migrating groups and the Celtic Britons and Romano-Britons (Härke 2011). Härke also observes that the process is likely to have varied over both time and space, with interactions between groups (the necessary component that Barth stresses) taking different paths as a result of the nature of the individual groups and their "origins, composition, sizes and settlement areas" (Härke 2011, 10). In order to attempt to identify how these interactions affected the ethnic identities of the groups involved, Härke examines burials during the early medieval period (Härke 2011).

Using a combination of data derived from DNA studies of today's British population, stable isotope analysis of skeletal remains, and burial customs, Härke attempts an estimate of the

migrant population in the first century of the early medieval period (Härke 2011). He concludes

that somewhere between 100,000 and 200,000 people migrated to Britain from the continent

over the course of about a century (Härke 2011). He then uses the same data sources to attempt

to create a settlement model that could explain the process of migration and acculturation. Härke

notes that there is a distinct difference in stature between male burials containing weapons and

those without weapons (Härke 2011). He connects this with pre-migration differences in stature

between the Romano-British and Germanic groups (Härke 2011). Given the skeletal differences,

combined with the history of weapon burial as a Germanic rite, Härke concludes that males with

weapon burials likely represent part of the immigrant population and those burials without

weapons represent part of the non-migrant British population (Härke 2011). He then uses the

differing proportions of burials to develop three Anglo-Saxon settlement types during the

beginning of the early medieval period (Härke 2011).

The first type, which he refers to as the "Kin Group" model, is represented by the

cemetery at Berinsfield (Dorchester, Oxfordshire) (Härke 2011, 13). The cemetery, in use

between the fifth and seventh centuries, contains 105 inhumation burials, with 64% of the male

burials containing weapons (Härke 2011). The spatial patterning of the cemetery, he argues,

suggests the presence of three distinct burial plots, each with male burials containing weapons

and with male burials lacking weapons (Härke 2011). In one of the burial plots, the male burials

with weapons share epigenetic traits that differ from those burials without weapons (Härke

2011). Härke argues that this suggests settlements of large households, perhaps farmsteads,

consisting of both immigrant and "native" British makeup but without intermarriage (Härke

2011).

The second settlement type he proposes is the "Warband" model (Härke 2011, 14). This settlement type is represented by cemeteries at Stretton-on-Fosse (Warwickshire) (Härke 2011). At this location, the Anglo-Saxon era cemetery is in close proximity to two cemeteries in use during the Roman period (Härke 2011). In the Anglo-Saxon cemetery, 82% of male burials contained weapons, but the female burials demonstrated a continuity in epigenetic traits from the Roman period population (Härke 2011). Härke interprets the evidence to suggest the presence of a small number of migrants, mostly men, who intermarried with women from the local, British population (Härke 2011).

The final settlement type proposed by Härke is the "Elite Transfer" model (Härke 2011, 14). This model, Härke argues, is more prevalent in the northern portions of the Anglo-Saxon settlement area (Härke 2011). In these settlements, it appears that a small number of migrant elites replaced the "native" British leadership but left the character of the wider settlements largely unchanged (Härke 2011).

2.2.3   Section Summary

Identity, regardless of how it is conceived, is an inescapable component of the human experience. I embrace Insoll's assertion that archaeologists are always engaging with identity whether or not they are doing so consciously. Voss, Lightfoot et al., and Härke each provide examples of the ways in which identity can be accessed in the archaeological record. Each also stresses a more nuanced approach to how we consider social identity. The Voss and Lightfoot et al. case studies also reveal the importance of the potential of the built environment to reflect the identities of the people who construct them and transform them. Finally, Härke's work is particularly relevant, as he is examining the early medieval period. I would argue that he lays out a rational approach, even if I question the solidity of some of the assumptions he makes, such as

confidently identifying immigrant versus non-immigrant populations based largely on the strength of small differences in stature. Ultimately, I follow the lead of each of these scholars in thinking through the ways in which settlement patterns and changes in the built environment may be interrelated with issues of group identity.

3 BACKGROUND

Archaeology is all about context. This applies as much to the broader historical trajectory surrounding a study period as it does to artifact assemblages. In this chapter I outline the background information necessary to place the study areas in their proper geographic and historical context. I begin with defining the period in question—early medieval Britain. Next, I present the historical evidence for the period. The next section introduces the *wic* sites and provides an overview of the archaeological debate that surrounds them. In the remainder of this chapter, I then consider each of the study areas in turn, presenting background on their geographic context and an overview of their cultural history through the Roman period.

3.1 Defining the Early Medieval Period

This project examines the early medieval period in Britain. Although the names and lengths of historical periods may vary, there is a general agreement that the stretch of time between the end of Roman authority on the island and Norman invasion represents a distinct time period. For the purposes of this paper, I refer to that period (between c. AD 410 and AD 1066) as the "early medieval period." This broad period has often been further subdivided by scholars, such as Susan Oosthuizen, into three subperiods, with some stretching of the beginning and end dates I have described (Oosthuizen 2019). The first of these subperiods ranges from c. AD 400 to AD 650 and is identified as running between the end of the Roman authority and the emergence of the heptarchy, the seven major Anglo-Saxon kingdoms (Oosthuizen 2019). The second of the subperiods ranges from AD 650 to AD 850 and is defined by the dominance of the heptarchy (Oosthuizen 2019). The third period ranges from AD 850 to AD 1100 and is defined by the emergence of a unified, single kingdom (with the exception of Scandinavian occupation in

the ninth and tenth centuries) (Oosthuizen 2019). Table 1, below, presents a summary of

archaeological and cultural periods in Britain.

Period	Note		Beginning Date	Ending Date
Lithic Periods	Includes further subdivisions		?	2600 BC
Bronze Age	Includes further subdivisions		2600 BC	700 BC
Iron Age	Includes further subdivisions		800 BC	AD 43
Roman	Begins with the Roman invasion; Ends with Emperor Honorius directing Britain to see to its own defense		AD 43	AD 410
Early Medieval	Begins with the end of Roman authority; Ends with the Norman invasion		AD 410	AD 1066
	Pre-Heptarchy	Before rise of the seven major Anglo-Saxon kingdoms	AD 410	AD 650
	Heptarchy	The period of the dominance of the seven major kingdoms	AD 650	AD 850
	Unified Kingdom	The emergence of a unified, single kingdom	AD 850	AD 1066
Medieval	Begins with the Norman invasion; Ends with the dissolution of the monasteries		AD 1066	AD 1540

Table 1 Archaeological Periods, Adapted from Historic England and Susan Oosthuizen's
The Emergence of the English

3.2 Historical Setting

For much of the early medieval period, we have very few documentary sources. This is

especially true for the earliest centuries between the end of Roman authority and the emergence

of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. In *The Emergence of the English*, Susan Oosthuizen points to

only three contemporary sources upon which much of our understanding of the earliest part of

this period has been built (Oosthuizen 2019). Perhaps the most famous of these is Bede's

Historica Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum, or "Ecclesiastical History of the English People"

(Oosthuizen 2019). Oosthuizen also points to the writings of Gildas and St. Patrick (Oosthuizen

2019). Although important to the later portion of the period, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* provides little evidence for the earliest years following the decline of Roman authority (Oosthuizen 2019).

St. Patrick is the earliest of these sources. He was born around AD 390 towards the very end of the Roman period in Britain (Oosthuizen 2019). It is clear, Oosthuizen argues, that St. Patrick identified as a Roman, writing about his time in captivity in Ireland as being in "exile here among barbarians and pagans" (Oosthuizen 2019, 20). His father, Calpurnius, was a Roman citizen, the owner of a villa estate, and a member of the city council (Oosthuizen 2019). His writings were not intended to be a history of the period, so he does not speak as directly as we may like about the conditions in Britain in the earliest years after the end of imperial control (Oosthuizen 2019). Some information, however, can be gleaned. He does not speak of instability in Britain, and he instead reminiscences about rural life in Britain during that time (Oosthuizen 2019). It would seem that, at least in the rural areas in which St. Patrick traveled, there was much continuity and stability between the end of the Roman period and the beginning of the early medieval (Oosthuizen 2019).

Gildas comes next, most likely writing in the 6th century, approximately a century after the life of St. Patrick, although some scholars (see: Highman 1994) have argued for earlier dates (Oosthuizen 2019). Gildas's *De Excidio Britanniae*, "The Ruin of Britain," describes a more volatile world (Oosthuizen 2019). Like St. Patrick, however, Gildas was not attempting to construct a history. He was, instead, writing a religious piece framing the conflicts of the period as divine punishment for the people of Britain turning away from Roman Christianity (Oosthuizen 2019). As such, there are only two concrete events that Gildas describes in his narrative: the battle of Mons Badonicus and a letter written by "the Britons" to a Roman

commander named Aëtius asking for military assistance against the Picts and the Scots (Oosthuizen 2019). Of these two events, only the battle of Mons Badonicus is believed to have actually taken place (Oosthuizen 2019). The letter may have been based on oral traditions with which Gildas was familiar (Oosthuizen 2019).

As with St. Patrick, although Gildas's work leaves much to be desired as a history, it does provide important insights into the period. Although the letter described by Gildas seems not to have existed, it does speak to a tradition that in the late 5th century many people in Britain still considered themselves associated with the Roman Empire and capable of asking for help from imperial authority (Oosthuizen 2019). Gildas writes about the cities of Britain being in ruins, but he also describes a working legal system with courts and jails, military organization based on the Roman model, and a functioning governing hierarchy within the church as well (Oosthuizen 2019).

Finally, Gildas describes the arrival of the Anglo-Saxon warriors—invited, he writes, as mercenaries to defend against incursions by the Picts and the Scots (Oosthuizen 2019). Once present in Britain, these warriors began to establish control over parts of the island (Oosthuizen 2019). It is this narrative that has become fixed as our understanding of the beginning of the Anglo-Saxon period in England (Oosthuizen 2019).

Finally, Bede, writing in the 8th century, was writing with the purpose of promoting Roman Christian orthodoxy and opposing Celtic Christian practices across Britain (Oosthuizen 2019). For his history, Gildas was his primary source (Oosthuizen 2019). As a result, he acts mainly to set into stone the shaky history of Gildas. He does provide some additional insights, however, into connections that Britain had during the early medieval period with the wider world (Oosthuizen 2019). He writes, of course, of ties between British churches and the wider Christian

community, of diplomatic missions, and trade across the North Sea and the English Channel (Oosthuizen 2019).

Together, these sources paint a mixed picture of continuity and discontinuity, which we will return to after reviewing the archeological evidence of the period below. From St. Patrick, we can infer that, at least in parts of Britain, and perhaps throughout rural Britain generally, life continued much the same as it had during the Roman period. Gildas provides evidence of the continuity of many of the institutions of Roman Britain into the post-Roman world. Of particular importance to this project, however, Gildas notes the abandonment of the empire's British cities. The continuity of rural life and the administrative functions of society with the decline of the Roman cities tells us a great deal about the role that cities may have played in the broader community. Once we look at the archaeological evidence, we will revisit what this may mean for our interpretation of the period and the life of these urban centers.

3.3 *Wics*

Two of the study areas for this project, York and Southampton, have been associated with a specific mode of settlement—that of the *wic* or *emporium*. These sites, which exist alongside other English cities, mostly notably London and Ipswich, have been identified, broadly, as specialized trading and production settlements (Pestell 2011; Sawyer 2013). A great number of open questions remain regarding these sites, such as how they are defined, whether or not they are as unique as they may first appear, and what role they may have played in the early medieval period. Throughout the rest of this paper, I use the term *wic* to refer to these sites, with the exception of discussing the work of other scholars in which they use the term *emporia.* I use *wics* as I feel it is a narrower term than *emporia* that references the associations of these sites with the cities near which they are situated: *Eforwic* for York and *Hamwic* for Southampton.

Tim Pestell, identifies Richard Hodges's book, *Dark Age Economics* (1982) as setting the terms of the current debate regarding these sites (Hodges 1982; Pestell 2011). Hodges, referring to the sites as *emporia*, connected them with the need of elites in a gift-exchange economy to control the importation or production of prestige goods (Hodges 1982; Pestell 2011). He proposed a classification which divided *emporia* into three types (Hodges 1982; Pestell 2011). Type A *emporia*, which he referred to as "gateway communities," were small sites of either seasonal, or at least short-term, trading activity (Hodges 1982; Pestell 2011). Type B *emporia,* were trading sites with significant internal planning such as street layouts and dwellings (such as the site at Southampton) and may have been built over Type A sites (Hodges 1982; Pestell 2011). Finally, Type C *emporia* are those trading settlements which survived the decline of Type B sites (Hodges 1982; Pestell 2011).

Pestell lays out a number of critiques which have since emerged from Hodges's structure thanks to new archaeological evidence. Moreland questioned the gift-exchange economic model proposed by Hodges, and suggested a more complex model of production, trade, distribution, and consumption (Moreland 2000). Relatedly, he has also emphasized the importance to contextualizing the role of the sites with relation to their hinterlands (Moreland 2000). Saunders proposed a shift in the view of the role of *wics* from Hodges's view of the sites as driving forces in economic change to a more closed settlement playing an increasingly less important role as elite landholders began to maximize the productive output of their estates (Saunders 2001).

Debate has also centered around whether or not the identified *wics* at York, London, Ipswich, and Southampton deserve to be singled out (Pestell 2011). The growth in the number of identified "productive sites," so named because metal detecting or other survey methods have "produced" large numbers of coins and/or metal work at these locations, has energized advocacy

for a trade and exchange model that deemphasizes the importance of the *wics* in favor of a

decentralized trading network with many trading locations (Pestell 2011). Pestell observes,

however, that the definition of a "productive site" is very fuzzy with very different types of sites

(or poorly understood sites) being lumped together under that umbrella term (Pestell 2011). He

also notes that the identified *wics* have several features which seem to single them out. This

includes their large size, the deliberate nature of their planning, and their lack of defenses in the

pre-Viking period (Pestell 2011). For these reasons, and for their role in the revitalization of the

former Roman cities they are associated with, as I will advocate for below, I suggest that while a

number of other trade and production sites undoubtedly existed across Britain during this time,

that *wics* represent something unique.

3.4   Study Areas

Given the time and space available for this project, I have chosen to focus on an analysis

of the archaeology of three urban settlements in the early medieval period in Britain. The three

study areas are the modern-day cities of York, Lincoln, and Southampton. These cities were

chosen for several reasons. First, each was founded during the Roman occupation (c. AD 70 to c.

400). As discussed below, while there was pre-Roman occupation throughout the study areas, no

settlement of substantial size has so far been located at these sites. Southampton, however, it

should be noted, does have a different role in the Roman period than the fortresses-turned-urban-

centers of York and Lincoln. Southampton served as a defended port settlement and was settled

much later than York and Lincoln (Cunliffe 2012). Second, the settlements existed from the

Roman period through to the modern day, albeit with ebbs and flows in their size and

composition. Third, each city has been subject to a fair amount of archaeological exploration and

substantial volumes of published reports and grey literature have been produced, but the early

medieval period has not been studied as extensively as the high and late medieval periods. Finally, at least two of the locations, York and Southampton, were associated with Anglo-Saxon *wics*.

In order to understand the occupation of the study areas, it is necessary to understand the history of these sites from their earliest occupation through the Roman period that immediately preceded the use of the sites during the early medieval period under study. Each of the study areas, York, Lincoln, and Southampton, seem to have been first established as settlements during the Roman occupation period. Each area, however, has a history of utilization by people during the pre-Roman period to varying degrees. In the remainder of this chapter, I provide a brief overview of the geography and occupational history of the three study areas in the prehistoric and Roman periods in order to provide the context for the exploration of the early medieval period in my thesis.

Figure 3-1 Location of Study Areas

3.5   York

3.5.1   Geography

The Vale of York is a comparatively low lying area running north to south between elevated terrain to both the west (the Pennines) and east (the Yorkshire Wolds and Howardian Hills) (Buckland and Gaunt 2003; Hall et al. 2010). York lies within the Vale at the location of the York Moraine and approximately six kilometers north of the Escrik Moraine. These terminal moraines are geologic features created by the extent of glacial ice flows and are characterized by the formation of ridges and the accumulation of glacial deposits (National Snow & Ice Data Center 2019).

At York, the Rive Ouse flows through the moraine and is joined by the River Foss (Buckland and Gaunt 2003). The glacial history of the area is significant, not only in creating the low ridge topography of the moraines but also in the sediments that the glacial activity left behind. Much of the superficial material overlaying the bedrock is made up of "tills (boulder clays), gravels, sands and clays" (Buckland and Gaunt 2003). The bedrock itself consists of Triassic sandstone (Buckland and Gaunt 2003).

Most of the Vale, until recently (18th and 19th centuries) would have been a low-lying and ill-drained area of woodland and forest (Vyner 2018). The waterlogged nature of the Vale for much of its pre-Roman occupation has led to the preservation of some organic material from those occupation periods (Vyner 2018). In contrast to today, the rivers of the pre-historic period would have been wider, shallower, and with multiple, interconnecting channels and meandering paths (Vyner 2018). The transition from large floodplains of slow-moving water into the rivers of today likely occurred between 1850 BC and 900 BC (Vyner 2018). It seems unlikely that these rivers were used for navigation – no evidence of boats has been found, and they may have

been impassable until the late Bronze Age (Vyner 2018). Closer to the Humber estuary there is evidence of larger boats on the Humber and the Trent, but these would have been unable to reach York (Vyner 2018) The Ouse, for example, may have been less a single river course and more of a large expanse of slow-moving water, with some sandy islands (Vyner 2018). Some poorly drained "mires" survived until the 18th and 19th centuries (Vyner 2018).

Increased tree cutting and agriculture helped to change the landscape in a way that focused the river course into narrower and faster-moving channels (Vyner 2018). While the process of tree clearing likely began in the early Bronze Age (2600 BC to 700BC) significant landscape changes may not have occurred until the late Bronze Age (Vyner 2018).
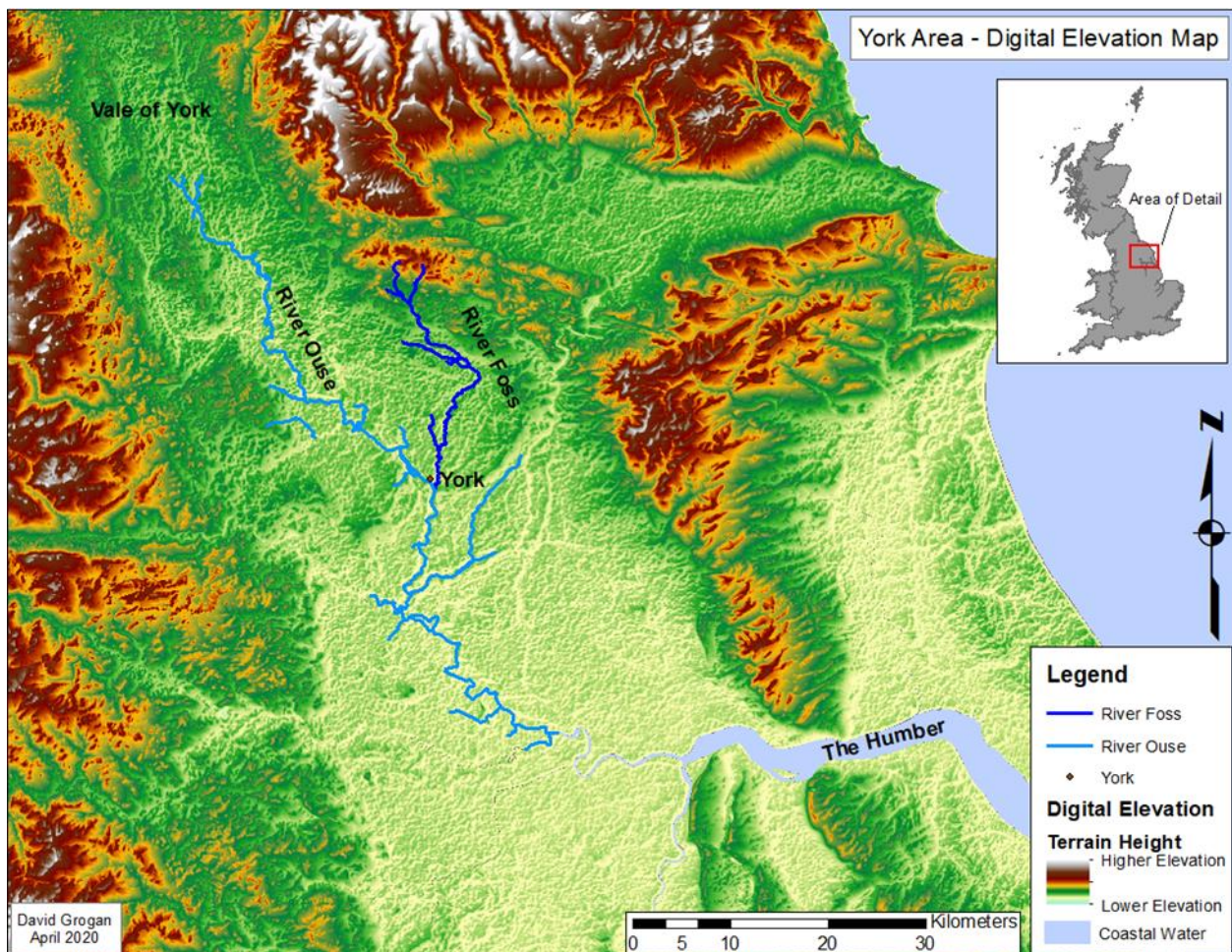

Figure 3-1 Digital Elevation Model of York and Surrounding Areas

3.5.2 *Culture history*

Prehistory. The Vale of York is largely devoid of prehistoric standing monuments--one reason that Blaise Vyner (2018) argues the archaeology of the period has been neglected in Yorkshire. The nearest prehistoric feature visible within the landscape is Devil's Arrows near the River Ure approximately 25 kilometers northwest of York (Vyner 2018). Other than this, only a few Bronze Age burial mounds are noted in the region (Vyner 2018).

The moraines near York have been one of the foci of research about the prehistoric occupation around York and within the Vale, with the argument that the slightly elevated moraines might have been an attractive path across the wet lowlands of the area (Vyner 2018; Crawford 1912; Elgee and Elgge 1933; Manby 1979). The moraine-as-shortcut hypothesis was proposed in an attempt to identify the trade route that led to the deposition of Neolithic axes (prior to 2600 BC) in East Yorkshire that had been manufactured in the west of Britain (Vyner 2018). The discovery of a hoard of flint axes at York seemed to confirm the hypothesis (Vyner 2018).

Vyner argues, however, that increased tree clearing and other landscape changes made by human activity within the Vale during the Bronze and Iron Age would have increased flooding downstream and negated any advantage the moraines may have had for crossing the Vale (Vyner 2018). Instead, he suggests a longer trek to the north of the Vale, near the headwaters of the rivers, may have provided the easiest route (Vyner 2018). The area around York, he suggests, would have been used only sporadically like the other parts of the Vale (Vyner 2018).

Roman. Roman York, *Eboracum*, and Roman Lincoln have an interrelated history. After founding and occupying a fortress in Lincoln, discussed below, the Ninth Legion Hispania marched north and fortified the area of modern-day York (Ottaway 2011). The original

fortification was located on an elevated plateau between the Rivers Ouse and Foss (Ottaway 2011). The archaeological remains of this early occupation tend to be very deeply buried with an average of three to five meters of occupational debris overlaying this period (Ottaway 2011). Its depth, however, has provided two benefits: keeping the archaeological material relatively safe from some modern intrusions, and its exposure to a rising water table has led to the preservation of some organic remains (Ottaway 2011).

In the 2nd century AD, York grew to encompass not only the military installations but a growing urban center as well (Ottaway 2011). The civilian settlement was located primarily to the south and across the River Ouse. In the 3rd century, York would again mirror Lincoln in becoming a *colonia*, one of the highest statuses of Imperial cities (Ottaway 2011). York served as the base of power for both the Roman military and the Christian faith in northern Britain (Ottaway 2011).

3.6   Lincoln

3.6.1   *Geography*

Lincoln is located on a north-south oriented oolitic limestone ridge, and, more specifically, at an approximately two-kilometer-wide gap in that ridge through which runs the River Witham (Jones 2011). The river bends from a south-north course to a west-east course at this point. Here, the River Witham is at its narrowest (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003, 13). At Lincoln, the River Till (now the Fossdyke canal) originally joined the Witham and formed a lake known as the Brayford Pool (Jones 2011). The elevated ridge, with steep terrain increasing quickly up from the Witham to about 60m above sea level overlooks the waterway (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). This vantage point, along with the natural harbor provides, by itself, an obvious strategic advantage that was likely attractive to the Roman legion which originally

built a fortress on the site. In addition to this, however, the area contains resources such as deposits of clay, limestone, and gravel that would have been useful to the Roman legions as well (Jones 2011).
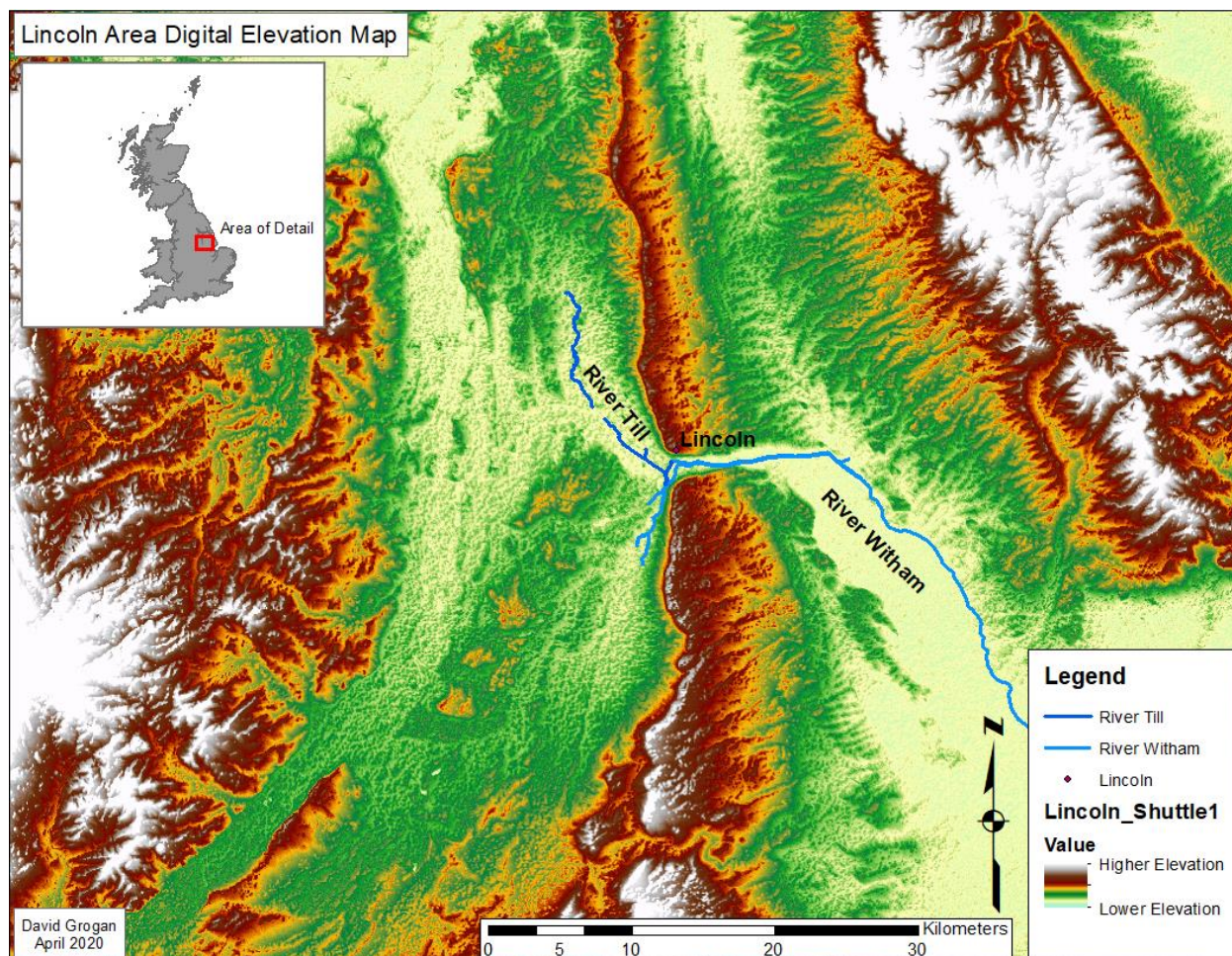
Figure 3-2 Digital Elevation Model of Lincoln and Surrounding Areas

In the gap between the ridges, the composition of the geology changes to look much more like that at York, thanks in part to glacial activity, and a significant amount of sand and gravel deposited by glaciers is found (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). The valley gap also features alluvial deposits from the area's rivers, and there is some evidence to suggest that tidal forces may have played a role in the Brayford pool during the 1st and 2nd millennium BC (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). Sea levels fell during the Bronze and Iron Ages, causing the valley

floor to become a network of river channels and marshes that would flood in the winter (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). Several pools, created in the summer months by the retreating floodwater, remained features of the landscape through the medieval period (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). One, the Swanpool, continues to exist today south of the modern city (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). With its constant cycles of flood and retreat, it is unknown how much of the land remained consistently dry to the extent that it may have offered the opportunity for some level of occupation (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003).

The top of the ridge, the site of the Roman fortress and upper city, sits on Jurassic limestone (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). The limestone outcroppings at Lincoln, unlike the bedrock at York, proved to be amenable for use in building and sculpture (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). A relatively thin layer, approximately one meter thick, of limestone "brash" -- small rubble mixed with a light-colored clay overlays the limestone (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). As a result, archaeological finds in the upper-city tend to be relatively close to the surface--usually being encountered within a meter of the modern soil surface (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). Below the near-surface limestone layer is a bed of Liassic clay, and between these two layers are a line of springs that surround the city in a horseshoe and continue along the ridgelines further north (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003, 14). The lower city sits on the scarp between the valley floor and the River Witham. Well-draining, sandy soils are located lower down the scarp and closer to the river (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003).

3.6.2   Culture history

The City by the Pool by Michael Jones, David Stocker, and Alan Vince brings together a thorough overview of the archaeological work completed in and around Lincoln up to the book's publication in 2003. The book, completed as a part of the Lincoln Archaeological Research

Assessment (LARA), has been instrumental in providing contextual background information, raw data, site locations, and archaeological interpretation for my research. Michael Jones has also published *Roman Lincoln*, which provides a deeper dive into that specific period.

  Prehistory. Settlement on the site of Lincoln was long believed to have begun with the Roman army occupation (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). More recent archaeology, however, has demonstrated some evidence for human activity in the area in and around Lincoln that predates the arrival of the Roman armies in the first century AD, and there is some evidence of pre-Roman settlement on the site that would become the city (Jones 2011). The archaeological record of such settlement, however, has been difficult to come by thanks to the intensity of the building on the site from the Roman occupation through to the modern day (Jones 2011).

  Jones et al. (2003) do note that while there is no significant evidence of pre-Roman occupation, the area was prominent enough to be given a name, presumably "*Lindon"* which they identify as coming from the stem "lind"- meaning "pool" or "lake" (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). They infer that, regardless of what may or may not have been happening in the immediate area around Lincoln during the pre-Roman period, it was the pool (most probably the Brayford, but potentially the name is a reference to the "pools") that was/were the focus of the area (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003).

  Evidence for occupation of the river valley near Lincoln increases beginning in the late Bronze Age (c. 1000 - c. 700 BC) and Iron Age (800 BC to AD 43). During the Iron Age, Lincoln would have resided within the territory of the Corieltauvi people (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). Archaeology in the 1980s and 90s began to paint a more complex picture of the Corieltauvi, with a picture emerging of a socially complex rural and pastoral society where the economy, centered around stock-raising was bolstered by the availability of iron-ore and salt

(Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003; May 1988). The area seems to have had trading connections with southern Britain and with locations across the English Channel as well (May 1988). The primary settlement of the Corieltauvi seems to have been the area between the Humber and the Witham, but some evidence suggests a center of political and economic gravity centered around Old Sleaford, south of Lincoln and the Witham (May 1988; Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). The Romans, for reasons unknown, chose to relocate the "central" place of the Corieltauvi to Leicester (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003).

Jones et al. highlight the importance of the landscape around Lincoln in the pre-Roman period. As described above, it was a watery world of marshes and pools. Such environments have long been connected with ritual activity, such as the votive offerings found at Stamp End (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). Results of environmental sampling of the prehistoric peat revealed rich plant and invertebrate remains, but virtually no sign of human occupation was revealed in these samples (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). Jones et al. interpret this to be consistent with the area's use as a "sacred" or "reserved" site and not one that would have been expected to see "traditional" development patterns during this period (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). The attraction of people to this area during the prehistoric periods for these reasons contrasted with the Roman choice to settle here for strategic military reasons and highlights the different ways in which landscape can be interpreted by different peoples and reflect different viewpoints.

Roman. Although Julius Caesar had brought an army to Britain in the 50s BC, he spent little time on the island before retreating across the English Channel. The Roman occupation of Britain began with the arrival of the legions in AD 43. For Lincoln, the Roman period began a couple of decades later when the Ninth Legion Hispania built a fortress on the site of the present-

day upper city (Jones 2011). Members of the Ninth Legion originated from Mediterranean regions—Macedonia, Spain, and Italy (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). The Ninth Legion was replaced c. AD 71 by the Second Legion Adiutrix when the Ninth moved from Lincoln to found the fortress at York (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003).

The exact date of the founding of the fortress is unknown, but it likely occurred prior to AD 69 (Jones 2011, 34–35). The use (or lack of use) of *cognomina* – the third name in the Roman naming scheme – on examined tombstones near Lincoln has been used to suggest an earlier date for the foundation of the fortress (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). The tombstones recovered related to Lincoln lack *cognomina* which had begun to be common practice by the reign of Augustus (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). The presence of later tombstones also lacking *cognomina*, however, make this argument suggestive but ultimately inconclusive (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). Pottery and coin evidence for dating have been similarly unhelpful (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). The tombstones were found approximately two kilometers south of the fortress where Ermine Street meets the Fosse Way, and some suggest that perhaps this is the location of a smaller, earlier fortress predating the one constructed on the hilltop (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003).

Impacts of the Roman occupation would have extended beyond the hilltop fort and the causeway across the Witham that was constructed in today's suburb of Wigford (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). It was common for areas near a fortress to be involved in industrial production and resource trading in support of the fortress (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). Trader's stalls were common features along the roads leading from the fort (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). Domestic spaces for locals and the partners and families of soldiers were also common (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). Riverside warehouses or amphitheaters may have been possible

outside the fortress (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). At Lincoln, however, little evidence for these extramural structures has emerged (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). One potential reason for this is that the construction of the defended lower city in the *colonia* period may have taken place in the area with the most extensive occupation and destroyed or obscured much of this evidence (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003).

The legionary-occupation of the fortress at Lincoln was relatively short lived. By the late AD 70s, the Roman armies had departed (Jones 2011). Ultimately, the site of the fortress would be used as the basis for the establishment of a *colonia*, the highest status of provincial cities (Jones 2011). The former fortress and would-be city lay dormant for a period of time between the departure of the legion the establishment of the city, but the exact length of this period is currently an open question (Jones 2011). The establishment of the military colony for veterans of the legions would have required the Emperor's permission, and it was granted in the reign of Domitian (AD 81-96) (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). The city, known as *Lindum Colonia*, utilized the fortress's defensive structures for the upper city, and eventually expanded the defenses south to the Witham (Jones 2011). The city lay at a strategic point--in addition to the travel and trade made possible by the Witham and the Trent (from which the Romans would construct a canal to the Brayford Pool), the Roman road running north from *Londinium* (London) to the Humber and then to *Eboracum* (York) ran through the city (Jones 2011).

In discussing some of the changes brought by the Romans, Jones et al. argue that artificial barriers may have been put in place in the pre-Roman period to help regulate the flooding of the area (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). They suggest that these barriers may have been located approximately one kilometer east of the Roman city where the valley is narrowest (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). Jones et al. highlight the landscape changes brought by the

Romans--the establishment of a new causeway, the canalization of the Fossdyke and other water control strategies—to what seems to have been a sacred location for the local population and the potential trauma these changes had (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003).

3.7   Southampton

3.7.1   Geography

The natural world of Southampton is dominated by its relationship with water: the River Itchen, the River Test, and the Solent, a strait running between the mainland and the Isle of Wight. During the last Ice Age, the Solent seems to have been part of a river system draining the Hampshire basin, and as the ice retreated and water levels rose, the Solent filled out into its present shape, although its coastlines have continued to shift over time (Momber 2000). The impact of this on archaeology is that many lithic sites were submerged by the rising and changing waterways, and marine archaeology has been successful in locating sites within the Solent (Momber 2000). In addition, these waterlogged conditions have proven useful in preserving organic remains (Hampshire County Council n.d.).

Beyond the Solent, Hampshire features heaths and woodlands to the east of Southampton and woodland, heaths and coastal plain to the south and west (Hampshire County Council n.d.). Areas of higher elevation to the north of Southampton run in a horseshoe bend from west to east through Salisbury and Winchester.

The most prevalent geology of the area of Southampton are Chalk Downlands from the upper cretaceous period (Ottaway 2017). The White Chalk subgroup is the most common (Ottaway 2017). Steep valleys are carved into the Chalk Downlands north of Southampton (Ottaway 2017).
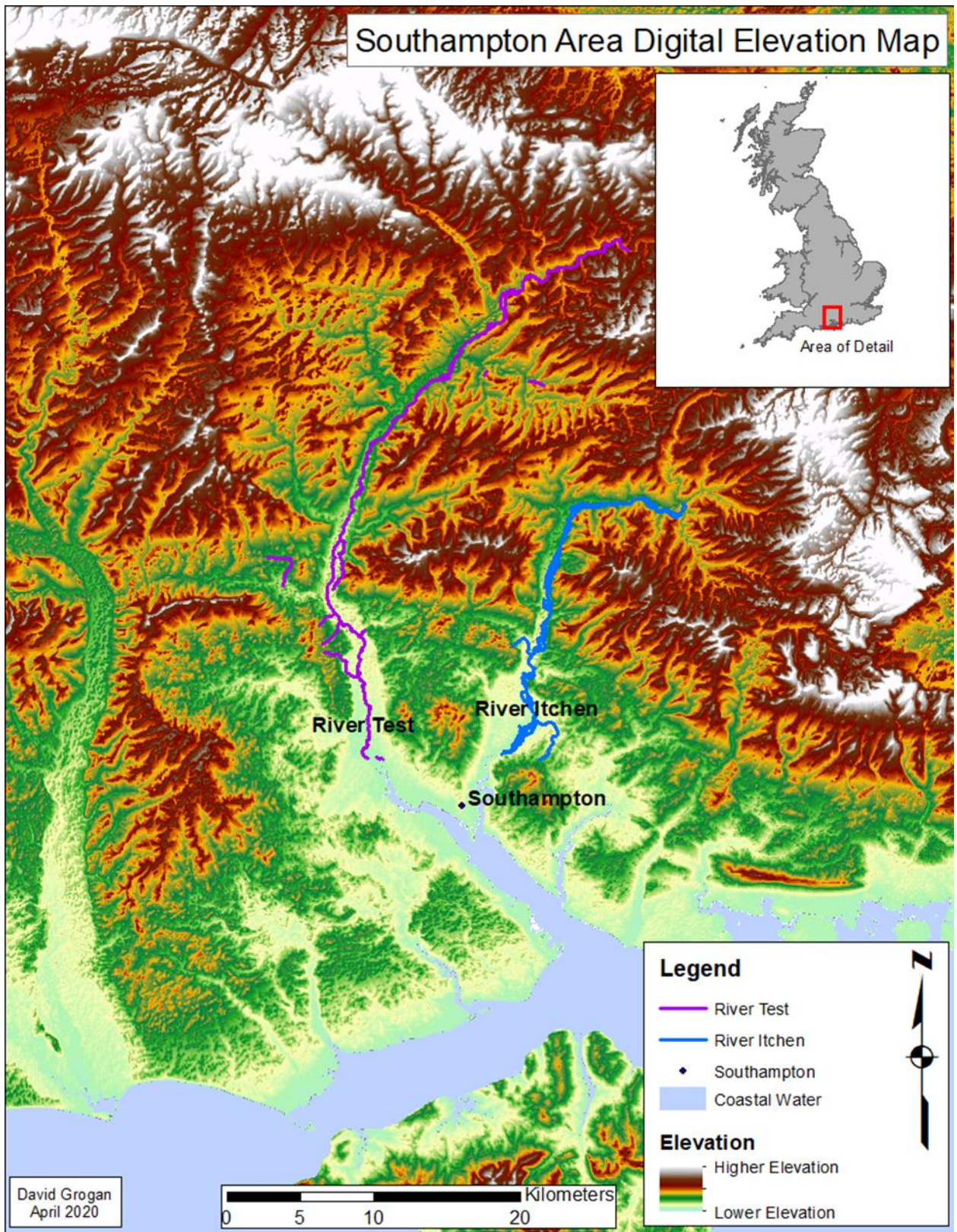
Figure 3-3 Digital Elevation Model of Southampton and Surrounding Areas

3.7.2   *Culture History*

As with the geographic context of Southampton and Hampshire, there seems to have been fewer attempts at a comprehensive overview of the archaeological history of the area in a published format. The Historic Environment Record (HER) for Hampshire, however, contains a wealth of information about the extensive archaeological work done in the area. HERs are databases maintained by localities throughout the United Kingdom that compile information related to the archaeology and historically documented built environment of the area. Although, as mentioned, published treatments synthesizing the archaeology in Hampshire are lacking, the Hampshire County Council has utilized the Hampshire HER to summarize the periods of occupation.

Prehistory. Evidence for early-prehistoric settlement and occupation of Hampshire is mostly reserved to the border areas of the county—occupation in the uplands to the east and along the coast, with the interior of the region relatively devoid of significant occupation (Hampshire County Council n.d.). This begins to change with increasing use of the interior during the Neolithic period. The interior of the county saw the construction of long barrows, with evidence of settlement activity beginning in the river valleys and continuing along the margins of the county as mentioned above (Hampshire County Council n.d.).

Bronze Age occupation of Southampton tends to show a clear distinction between the use of the Chalk Downlands interior for resource gathering/extraction and the continued use of the established settlement areas in the upland zones, although the total number of settlement areas is small (Hampshire County Council n.d.).

During the Iron Age land use shifted. The interior of the county saw a decreased focus on the barrows and the burials they contained and an increase in the construction of hill forts

(Hampshire County Council n.d.). This has been interpreted as a shift in social relations. Land claims made through the presence of burial barrows were replaced by claims asserted through the presences of hill forts instead (Hampshire County Council n.d.). Another notable feature of the Iron Age was the appearance of "banjo enclosures" in the landscape – these landscape features were used for the controlling of herds, and they are concentrated along the interface between agricultural and undeveloped land (Hampshire County Council n.d.). During the Iron Age trading connections between Britain and continental Europe become more apparent (Hampshire County Council n.d.).

Roman. Roman occupation has been characterized as less of an invasion/occupation and more of a patron-client relationship between Roman authorities and local groups (Hampshire County Council n.d.). Härke's research, as discussed above, echoes this sentiment. Silchester and Winchester became centers of domestic settlement, developed from previous oppida—centers of political and economic gravity (Hampshire County Council n.d.). Smaller Roman settlements have been found at crossroads of Roman routes, such as at East Anton and Neatham, with others likely yet undiscovered at similar crossroads (Hampshire County Council n.d.). The area near Southampton, Bitterne on the River Itchen, likely served as a key port in the region for the Romans, though Roman artifacts have been found at the tidal extent of many of the rivers in the region (Hampshire County Council n.d.). The settlement at Bitterne has been referred to as *Clausentum*, and it was a part of the Roman sub-provincial administrative district (*civitates*) centered at Winchester (*Venta Belgarum*) (Eagles 2018). Roman settlement is extensive throughout the county, with clusters of occupation at important sites—such as the former oppida and the port areas (Hampshire County Council n.d.). These centers of occupation were then

connected by Roman roads with additional settlements and villas occupying areas along those paths (Hampshire County Council n.d.).

3.8   Summary

As with all urban settlement, ancient and modern, geography plays a substantial role in the choice of location for settlements and in their development. That is, of course, true for the settlements studied in this project. Each, of course, has strong ties to navigable waterways. For the Roman period, the location of each settlement had strategic military importance. York and Lincoln were founded by the Ninth Legion during the period of military conquest (Ottaway 2011; Jones 2011). *Clausentum,* the Roman site at Southampton, seems to have been established much later and as part of a larger effort to defend important coastal locations, although its occupational history is far less certain (Cunliffe 2012).

York and Lincoln had clear phases as both a military and civilian settlement. Southampton also seems to have had some degree of civilian settlement along with a military, or defensive, relevance (Cunliffe 2012). Again, *Clausentum* is much less well understood than the Roman occupation at York and Lincoln, but it does seem clear that York and Lincoln represented more substantial settlements than *Clausentum*.

4   METHODOLOGY

With the theoretical framework and geographic and cultural contexts of the study areas set, let us revisit the goal of this research project before discussing the methodical approach. Each of the chosen settlement sites demonstrates shifting occupational patterns from the Roman into the early medieval period. These shifts have the potential to reveal information about the beliefs, values, and priorities of the people responsible for them. As discussed in the background section, Lincoln provides one example of how identity and cultural priorities can be related to spatial considerations with use of the natural environment shifting from a sacred space in the prehistoric period to one of military control and economic production in the Roman era. The establishment of the *wics* at York and Southampton demonstrate interesting activity was occurring in and around these settlement cores in the early medieval period. The goal of my project then is to look closer at these transitions between the Roman and early medieval period.

4.1   Levels of Analysis

In this project, I undertake three levels of analysis. The first is a landscape level analysis that examines each settlement's role within its broader geographic context. The second level of analysis focuses on the settlements themselves to examine in more detail shifting patterns of occupation—where medieval settlement replaced Roman settlement, where new settlement during the early medieval period occurred, and shifts within the early medieval period. The final level of analysis involves site-level profiles within either the urban core or the suburban periphery that demonstrate the most promise to shed light on the issues of urban/suburban relationships or group identity. Included in this phase of analysis are the *wic* sites at York and Southampton, a discussion of potential *wic* sites at Lincoln, and a more in-depth look at a site

within the Roman footprint of Lincoln demonstrating continuity between the Roman and early medieval periods.

4.2 Geographic Information Systems (GIS)

Throughout this project I relied on a Geographic Information System (GIS). Specifically, I made use of ESRI's ArcGIS, version 10.7. At different points in this project, two opposite problems presented themselves. In some cases, there was so much data that it was difficult to determine what was and was not relevant. In other cases, there was very little data to work with. In both situations, making use of the tools available in ArcGIS provided a way to organize and manage the data in an effective manner.

ArcGIS also provided benefits in both analyzing and presenting the data. This project is centered around spatial relationships and being able to visualize settlement patterns was incredibly useful in understanding how the settlements in the study areas developed and transformed over time. Likewise, the ability to present my conclusions visually through the production of maps was essential for this project that compares and contrasts three different geographic areas.

4.3 Data Collection

For each study area, a large amount of data has already been incorporated into GIS databases, published works, and/or unpublished archaeological "grey literature" reports. Each city maintains a HER that includes extensive records on the history and archaeology of the cities and their surrounding areas. York and Southampton make it possible to make requests from the HER online, but Lincoln does not. The *City by the Pool,* synthesizing the archaeology of Lincoln, however, includes its information organized in a GIS format. For each city, further archaeological information exists in published and unpublished formats that proved useful in

identifying archaeological work performed in each city. The Archaeology Data Service (ADS) in the UK also was a useful resource, especially in locating information about the excavations at the Southampton *wic*.

4.4   Land Use Categories

The goal of this project was to evaluate the ways in which land use transformed between the Roman and early medieval periods and within the early medieval period. For this project, I relied on the determinations of land use made by other archaeologists as described in excavation reports and published analyses. Common land use categories were cemeteries, settlement/domestic, industrial production, religious, and trade. In York and Lincoln there was a significant amount of Roman evidence. As with the rest of Britain, early medieval evidence was scarce, especially for the period immediately following the end of Roman authority. Southampton, in some ways presented the opposite. The Roman site of *Clausentum* is fairly poorly understood, while the *wic* site has been extensively studied.

4.5   Summary

For this project, I gathered publicly available data on each city. The amount of data proved to be extensive for each city, even as the useful data comprised only a small proportion of the overall data, especially for the early medieval period. I identified useful sites by reviewing syntheses completed by other archaeologists and by reviewing excavation reports. Once sites were identified for the Roman and early medieval period, I visualized this data through the utilization of ArcGIS. With the relevant data identified, I utilized the theoretical frameworks discussed above to attempt an understanding of the patterns of transformation in occupation for each study area and the implications of these transformations for group identity.

5   ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE ROMAN AND EARLY MEDIEVAL PERIODS

Having established the theoretical and methodological approaches used in this project and reviewed the background for each of the study areas, I will now turn to a review of the archaeological record for the Roman and early medieval periods. For each study area, I review the general patterns of occupation in both periods and the transitions between them. For York and Southampton, I provide a detailed look at the *wic* sites associated with each city. Lincoln does not have a currently identified *wic* site associated with the city. So, in the case of Lincoln, I instead look at the clearest example of continuity between the Roman and early medieval periods within the city walls.

5.1   York

For the purposes of this study, I examined the archaeology of four general areas delineated by natural and artificial boundaries. I took my lead from the research zones delineated by Arup in the 1991 York Development and Archaeology Study (Ove Arup & Partners and York University 1991). In some cases, I have collapsed multiple zones in the Arup report into one zone for my purposes—others I have chosen not to include for purposes of brevity.

The first of the condensed zones used in this study is the land occupied by the original Roman fortress. This corresponds directly to Zone 1 in the Arup report. The second is the extra-mural space beyond the Roman walls to the southeast but on the near side of the River Foss. This is a combination of Zones 2, 3, 5, 6, and 9 in the Arup report. The third is the area to the southeast beyond the River Foss. This is a combination of Zones 4, 7, 8, 13, and 14 in the Arup report. The fourth is the area to the southwest of the Roman fortress, on the opposite side of the River Ouse, which was originally occupied by the Roman civilian settlement that was developed in relation to the Roman fortress. This corresponds to the Zones 10, 11, 15, 16, and 17 in the

Arup report. These areas were chosen based on their relative intensity of the archaeological activity and perceived settlement, based on assessments by the Arup report and additional archaeological evaluations. With Roman and early medieval settlement primarily to the south and east of the Roman fortress, I focused on these areas and did not examine the areas to the north and west of the city.
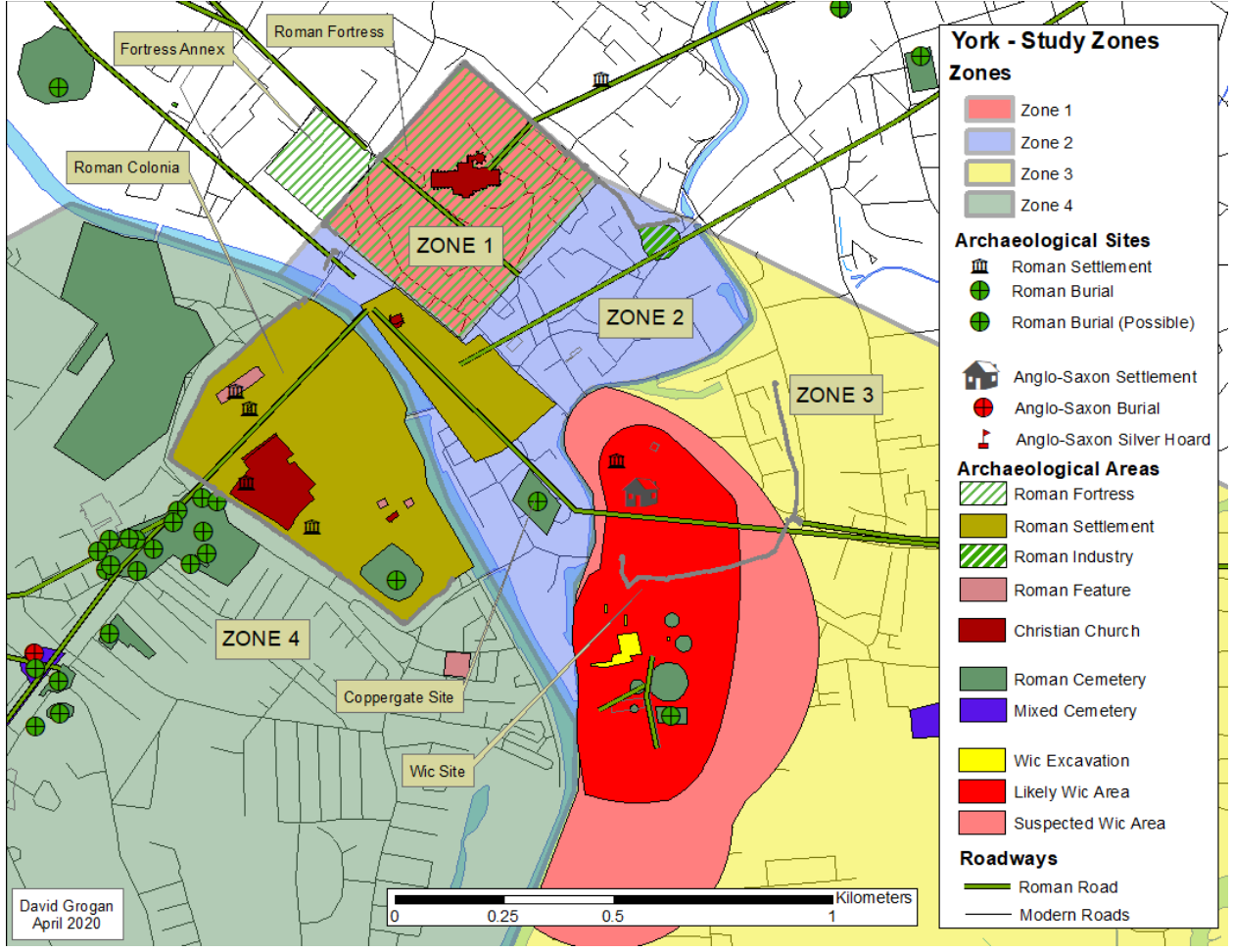

Figure 5-1 Condensed Study Zones Utilized in this Paper

Condensed Zones	Arup Zones
Zone 1	1
Zone 2	2, 3, 5, 6, 9
Zone 3	4, 7, 8, 13, 14
Zone 4	10, 11, 15, 16, 17
Unused Zones	12

Table 2 Condensed Study Zones vs. Arup Zones

Overview. Evidence of an Anglo-Saxon presence in the area of York as early as the fifth century AD is attested to by cemeteries within one kilometer of the Roman walls at Heworth and Mount Anglian (Kemp 1996). An Anglo-Saxon presence in the area of York so relatively soon after the end of Roman authority begs interesting questions about the state of the Roman settlement that these migrants would have encountered. Kemp also suggests that one of the potential factors in the seemingly mostly abandoned state of York may have been due to its position on a frontier zone between the newly emerging Anglo-Saxon powers to the east and the Kingdom of Elmet to the west (Kemp 1996). Kemp notes that York became both a royal and ecclesiastical center in the early 7th century with both its incorporation into the Kingdom of Northumbria and the founding of an Anglian church in AD 627. In AD 866, the city was attacked by Danish forces and it became the capital of the Kingdom of Jorvik in AD 876 (Kemp 1996).

Citing Palliser (1984) and Morris (1986), Kemp attempts to characterize the nature of Anglo-Saxon era York as a polyfocal site with foci centered around churches and located on both the east and west banks of the Ouse (Kemp 1996; Palliser 1984; Morris 1986). In general, archaeological evidence does support Anglian occupation both inside and outside the footprint of the Roman fortress (Kemp 1996). Kemp presents the evidence for another focal point of the Anglo-Saxon era occupation in and around York—that of the *wic* site located to the southeast of the Roman walls near where the Ouse and the Foss meet (Kemp 1996).

Area 1 -- The Roman Fortress. This is the area enclosed by the Roman defensive walls containing first a Legionary fortress and then later part of the Roman *colonia.*

Area 2 -- Southeast / Near Bank of Foss. Labelled "The *Canabae*" (Arup Zone 2) by the Arup Report, this area represents the extramural zone closest to the Roman defenses. This area in the Roman period would have been characterized by industrial and commercial activity along with associated residences in support of the legion (Ove Arup & Partners and York University 1991). This area to the southeast of the fortress also contains what the Arup report refers to as "The Confluence" (Arup Zone 3)—the location near where the Foss and Ouse meet (Ove Arup & Partners and York University 1991). The report identifies this as the center of Scandinavian York in the 10th century and notes that the primary Ouse bridge crossing was relocated to this area from further north near the Roman fortress during this time (Ove Arup & Partners and York University 1991). This is the location of the Coppergate excavations, which has now become the Jorvik Viking Centre (Ove Arup & Partners and York University 1991).

This area also includes the Arup Zone 5 "The Foss West Bank, Northern Sector," which the Arup report simply notes would have been part of the Roman and early Medieval waterfront (Ove Arup & Partners and York University 1991).

Next, is the Arup Zone 6, "The Foss West Bank, Southern Sector" (Ove Arup & Partners and York University 1991). This zone borders the Arup Zone 3 (the center of Scandinavian York) and continues the west bank focus from Arup Zone 5 (Ove Arup & Partners and York University 1991). In this area, Arup Report notes the potential presence of a Roman crane which may have been associated with their shipping efforts (Ove Arup & Partners and York University 1991).

Finally, I include Arup Zone 9 in this section which is the east bank of the Ouse outside of the Roman Fortress. The Arup report simply notes that this would have been a continuation of the waterfront and the location for the River crossing in the Roman period (Ove Arup & Partners and York University 1991).

Area 3 -- Southeast / Far Bank of Foss. The opposite side of the River Foss from the fortress is the third area I examine. This area contains Arup Zones 4, 7, 8, 13, and 14. Arup Zone 4 is "The South East Town" which is the medieval extension of the city across the River Foss (Ove Arup & Partners and York University 1991). The Arup reports that too little information is present to characterize this area in the Roman and early medieval periods (Ove Arup & Partners and York University 1991). The east bank of the River Foss is occupied by Arup Zones 7 and 8, "The East Bank of the Foss, Northern Sector," and "The East Bank of the Foss, Southern Sector," respectively (Ove Arup & Partners and York University 1991). In Zone 8, the Arup report notes the presence of a Roman wharf (Ove Arup & Partners and York University 1991). Arup Zone 13 is the East Suburb that stretches off to the east and northeast, and the Arup report notes that there is little evidence that this area held significant evidence for the Roman and early medieval periods (Arup). Arup Zone 14, "The South East Suburb" contains the *wic* site at York, which will be discussed in detail below (Ove Arup & Partners and York University 1991).

Area 4 -- Southwest / Far Bank of Ouse. This area covers the Roman civilian settlement that grew up opposite the Roman fortress on the west bank of the Ouse and all other occupation on the far side of the river from the Fortress. The Arup Report breaks this area up into five zones. The first, Arup Zone 10 is the west bank of the Ouse, and the Arup report notes that this in this area the Roman and Medieval (but not early medieval) bridges that crossed the river (Ove Arup & Partners and York University 1991). Arup Zone 11 "The Colonia" is that area contained

within the existing city walls in which the Roman civil settlement was centered (Ove Arup &
Partners and York University 1991). This zone also contains the only surviving Anglo-Saxon
church (St. Mary Bishophill Junior) (Ove Arup & Partners and York University 1991). The Arup
report otherwise indicates that little is known about this location in the early medieval period
(Anglo and Anglo-Scandinavian). Areas 15, 16, and 17 are extramural extensions of the Roman
colonia, and the Arup reports note that extensive Roman cemeteries have been located in each of
the areas along the paths of the Roman roads (Ove Arup & Partners and York University 1991).
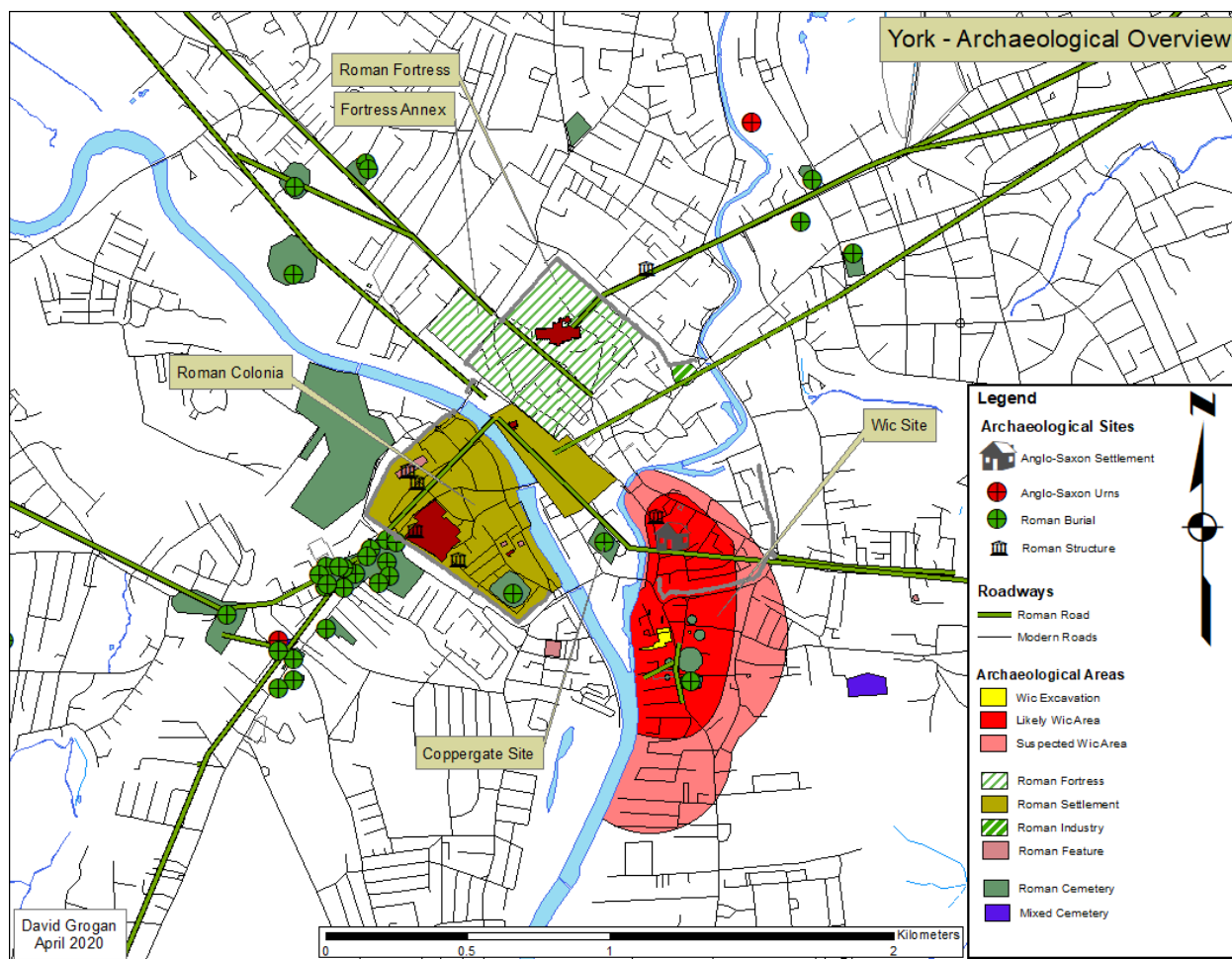

Figure 5-2 Overview of the Archaeology of York

5.1.1   Excavations at the Wic

The York *wic* site was excavated between 1985 and 1986 by the York Archaeological Trust. The findings of that excavation were compiled into a report by Richard Kemp.

General. Excavations determined the Roman occupation layer to be characterized as agricultural with ditches interpreted as either field boundaries or drains (Kemp 1996). Anglo-Saxon occupation was divided into two periods, with the earlier occupation separated from the later occupation by a distinct, homogenous layer of charcoal, animal bone, and pottery (Kemp 1996).

Dimensions. Initially following the 1985/6 excavations at Fishergate, a hypothetical size of the *wic* was given at 25ha with occupation extending further to the east and away from the Foss (Kemp 1996, 7:75). Further test excavations seeking to confirm this extent showed no occupation during the time period (Kemp 1996). As a result, the current thinking is that the *wic* site remained close to the banks of the Foss and Ouse rivers and was perhaps associated with the line of a Roman road represented by the current-day Fawcett Street (Kemp 1996). The *wic* may also have extended further up the River Foss and down along the banks of the Ouse as well (Kemp 1996). Not enough evidence exists, however, to provide an accurate estimate of the size of the *wic* although it is known to extend beyond the limits of the 85/86 excavation (Kemp 1996). Estimates for the sizes of other contemporary *wics* vary 6 ha and 60 ha (Kemp 1996). Other sites on the continent have also shown similarities to the size, shape, and positioning of the *wic* at York (Kemp 1996). Similar shaped sites can be found on the Jutland peninsula along the River Ribe and at Dorestad in the Netherlands, both of which are extended sites along rivers (Kemp 1996).

Development. Kemp interprets the layout of the site to be intentional and planned as opposed to growing up organically, although he acknowledges that there is little evidence to confirm or challenge this assumption (Kemp 1996). In part, he bases this on the absence of synanthropic species found in the lower levels of the ditches on the site—this is interpreted as evidence that the ditches were dug, the site was planned out, and then was not occupied for some time, perhaps more than a year (Kemp 1996). This shows that the boundary markers were not dug to conform to an existing settlement, but instead were the first act of delineation. The *wic* seems to have been occupied beginning in either the late seventh or early eighth century (Kemp 1996).

Pit Group 14 in the northern part of the site contained significantly more human fecal matter than the other pits on the site (Kemp 1996). Kemp interprets these pits as having either been designed as cesspits or having been transitioned to cesspits at a later point (Kemp 1996). It is noteworthy that it seems this indicates a cesspit area intentionally removed from the main zones of occupation, and that this contrasts with the Coppergate Anglo-Scandinavian settlement where latrines were located in close proximity to domestic structures (Kemp 1996).

Other pit groups are associated with each of the structures on the site. Kemp notes that the evidence for the use of the pits is limited, but he theorizes that they may have gone through several stages of use, such as starting as a clay or gravel quarry, then becoming storage, and finally ending up as rubbish pits (Kemp 1996). Kemp observes that this pattern is similar to that found at the *wic* at Southampton (Kemp 1996). Another exception, in addition to the latrines, is that a large amount of butchery waste is found in the northern portion of the site, indicating that this area may have been specially used for that purpose (Kemp 1996).

The *wic* site seems to have been largely undefended. The boundary ditch shows no evidence of being associated with a wall or other defensive structure (Kemp 1996). This is also similar to other *wic* sites were the boundary is interpreted to be symbolic and an indication of status as opposed to functional defense (Kemp 1996). There also seems to have been open land on the other side of the River Foss between the river and the remains of the defenses of the Roman fortress, although Kemp suggests that this may either be an intentional buffer zone or simply that the land in that area might have been prone to flooding (Kemp 1996). The remove from the defenses of the fortress highlights, as Kemp points out, the obvious prioritization of factors other than defense in the location of the *wic*, possibly the need for an open, unoccupied area of land and possibly with an intentional buffer zone between the fortress and the *wic* (Kemp 1996). This patterning is seen with the London *wic* site as well, where the location of the *wic* is removed from the existing fortifications (Kemp 1996).

Whereas streets were evident at *Hamwic*, as will be discussed below, with the structures largely fronting onto them or at least being positioned parallel to them, there is only a small degree of such evidence at York (Kemp 1996). Kemp observes that given the more limited nature of the excavations of the *wic* at York this is not, in itself, unsurprising. There is one portion of the York *wic* that appears to be graveled and may have represented a road (Kemp 1996).

The structures identified at the York *wic* fit the general character of other contemporary buildings (Kemp 1996). A noticeable difference, however, is seen in the side walls. The supporting posts for the side walls were placed in very shallow pits in contrast to the much more substantial and sturdy depth seen at *Hamwic* (Kemp 1996). The internal supports, however, are more deeply buried than at the Southampton *wic* (Kemp 1996). There is not clear enough

evidence to identify outside door openings, which at other sites, such as at the Southampton *wic* occurred on the long wall of the structure (Kemp 1996). Like those buildings at the Southampton *wic* and other contemporary sites, the buildings do show evidence of internal divisions with annexes at the ends and an internal entrance into the annex (Kemp 1996).

Evidence across the site indicates a wide-ranging group of production activities including metalworking, bone and antler carving, fur and skin preparation (including leatherworking), and textile working (Kemp 1996). This range of activities is consistent with that seen at other known *wic* sites, but the level of recovered information does not allow for a determination of whether or not the amount of productive activity is best categorized as "craft" or "industrial" (Kemp 1996). There is also no current determination as to whether any specific zones of manufactory were present within the *wic*. Evidence at Ipswich shows a specially zoned area for industrial-scale pottery production (Kemp 1996). Likewise, a zone designated for bone and antler working has been identified at *Hamwic* (Kemp 1996). Kemp observes that there may be other zones of production at the Southampton *wic* with the bone and antler production zone having been identified only because it received special scrutiny—other zones may be found should similar attention be paid to the spatial patterning of other production material (Kemp 1996).

Artifact assemblages at the York *wic* demonstrate trading contacts both overseas and with other parts of Britain (Kemp 1996). Pottery and lava querns from the Eifel region of the Rhineland and pottery from northern France and the Low Countries is particularly prevalent (Kemp 1996). Kemp cites Hodges (1981) in discussing the possibility that the *Hamwic* assemblage of imported pottery was the possession of foreign traders and not containers for imports or items imported in themselves (Kemp 1996; Hodges 1981, 1982). Two Frisian coins

and a bone comb with a design linked to the Frisians both strengthen the evidence for foreign contact and supports the suggestion of a Frisian trading colony at York (Kemp 1996, 7:73–74).

The food supply of the *wic* also demonstrates unique characteristics. Kemp notes that the observed assemblage of food remains shows a marked difference from both food producing settlements and other consumer sites (Kemp 1996). The vast majority (82% by weight) of the meat consumed onsite was from cattle (Kemp 1996). The rest of the assemblage also shows a consistent pattern that Kemp takes to mean that the food source was controlled and limited by an intermediary and that the occupants of the *wic* were unable or disallowed from procuring other food items, for instance, there is an absence of hunted or wild animals on the site (Kemp 1996). Kemp compares this consumption pattern to other sites such as the *wic* at Southampton and the York Coppergate site (Kemp 1996). Kemp ultimately concludes that the *wic* site represents one center of a polyfocal settlement at York during the period, with the royal and ecclesiastical center within the fortress and the trading settlement at the *wic* complementing each other (Kemp 1996).

The excavated *wic* site shows evidence of deliberate abandonment, but at an unknown date (Kemp 1996). There is a single coin that is associated with the first period of occupation (and even then not conclusively) which dates to around AD 858-866, and the abandonment seems to have been complete by the AD 870s (Kemp 1996). This first occupation layer is covered by a distinct dark layer with significant amounts of charcoal, animal bone, and pottery from the first occupation (Kemp 1996). There is no evidence of violent destruction, however— none of the post holes show evidence of the posts themselves being burned (Kemp 1996). On the contrary, evidence suggests that the settlement was systematically deconstructed and then leveled with the charcoal and debris mix (Kemp 1996). The Coppergate site (across the River Foss) seems to have been occupied at roughly the same period as the abandonment of the Fishergate

site (Kemp 1996). This raises the possibility that the early inhabitation of the Coppergate site represents a shifting of the *wic* activities across the river (Kemp 1996). The later character of the Coppergate site with close, tightly packed residences differs significantly, however, from the evidence for the Fishergate *wic* (Kemp 1996). The food assemblage, however, suggests much the same diet, indicating a continuation of the practices that determined the diet of the Fishergate *wic* site (Kemp 1996). If the early Coppergate site does indicate a repositioning of the *wic* activity, Kemp proposes a couple of reasons why this may have taken place—including increasing or predicted Scandinavian aggression necessitating a more defensive position closer to the walls of the former fortress, or for similar reasons related to a Northumbrian civil war (Kemp 1996). The *wic* sites at Southampton and London reveal a similar pattern of relocation to more defensible positions (Kemp 1996).

5.1.2   *Summary of Shifts in Land Use*

The occupation of the area around York shows a marked decrease in occupation intensity from the Roman into the early medieval period. There are very few areas of clear occupation in the early medieval period. Inside the footprint of the former fortress and the defended civilian settlement across the river, there is evidence of continuing occupation from the end of the Roman period through the early medieval period in the form of Christian churches. Outside of the defended footprint of the Roman city, we see the development of the *wic* site nearly two hundred years after the end of Roman authority in Britain. The Anglo-Saxon *wic*, as observed, is located at a distinct remove from the defended confines of the former Roman city.
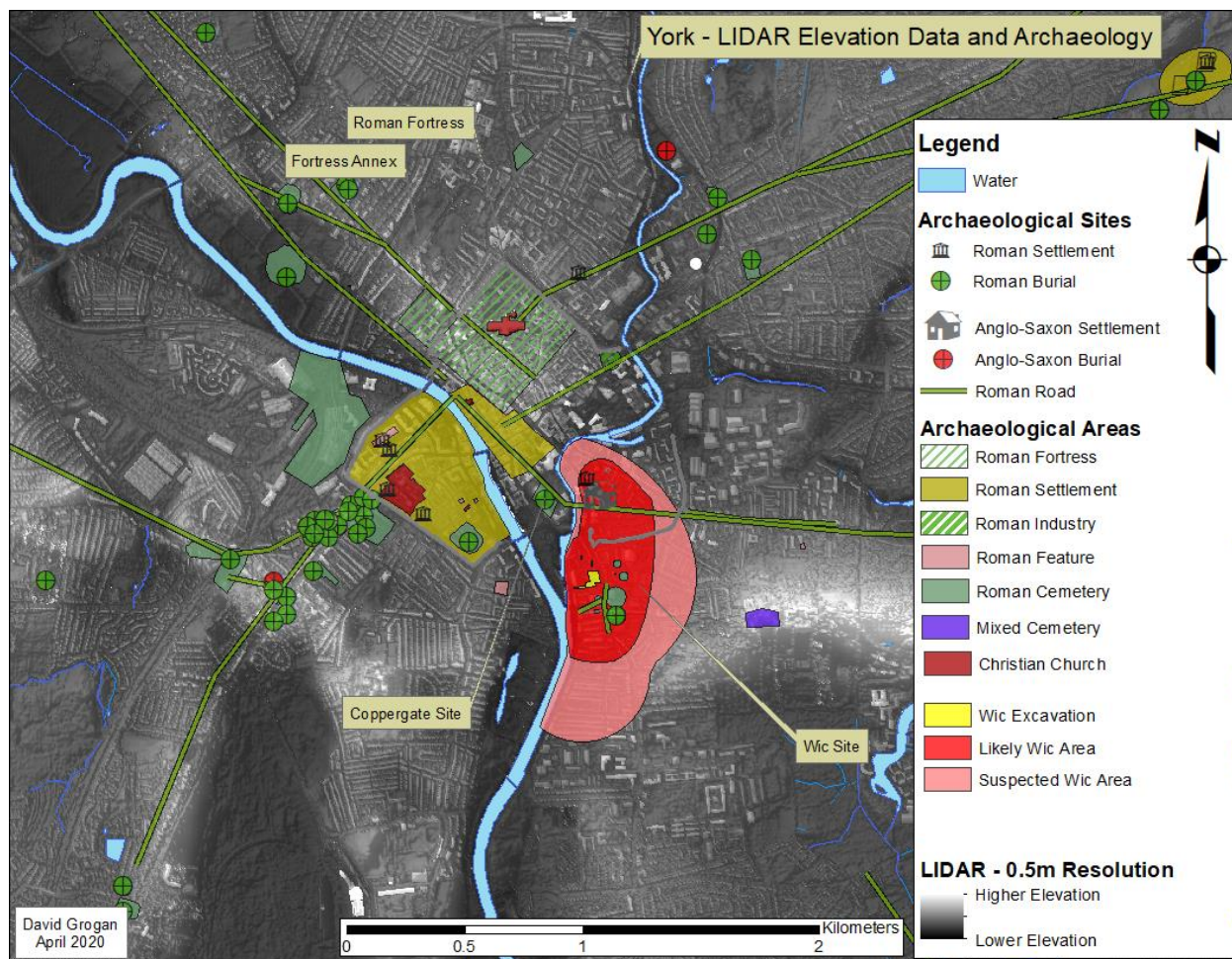
Figure 5-3 LIDAR Elevation Data and Areas of Archaeological Interest

5.2 Lincoln

In order to examine the archaeology of Lincoln, I divided the area into several separate

regions based on their relationship to the original Roman fortress. I follow the lead of the authors

of *City by the Pool* in their overview of the archaeology of the early medieval period. I divide the

area into five zones. Zone 1 is that located inside the outline of the Roman fortress and lower

walled city. Zone 2 is the area located to the south of the Roman fortress and across the banks of

the Witham and Fossdyke. This includes the Wigford suburbs, an area in which some have

speculated a *wic* site may have been located. Zone 3 is the area located to the west of the Roman

city and north of the Fossdyke. Zone 4 is the area to the east of the city and north of the Witham.

Zone 5 is the area to the north of the city along the Ermine Road--the original Roman road leading to the Humber and York.
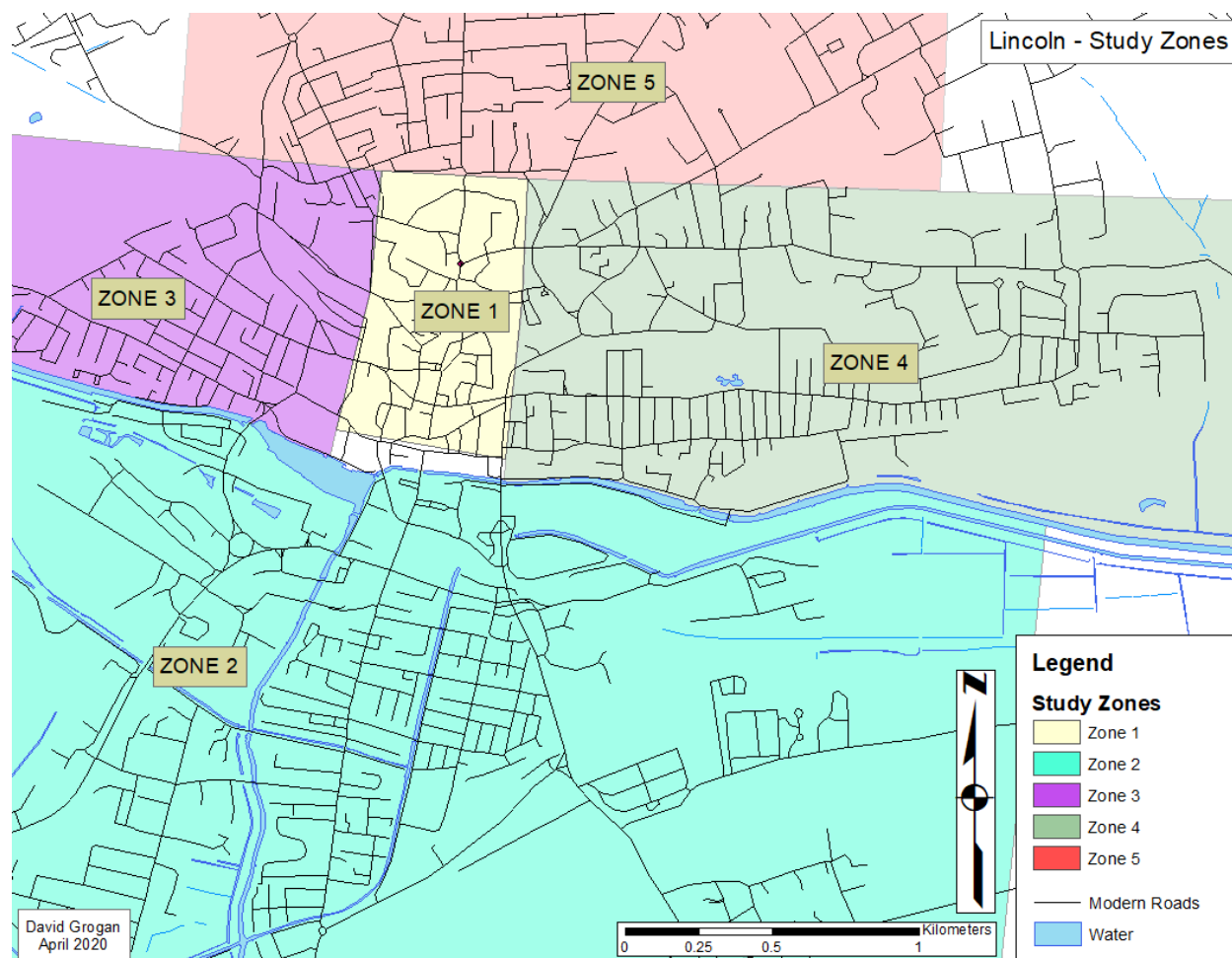

Figure 5-4 Lincoln Study Zones

Zone 1. Evidence suggests that there was continued occupation within the footprint of the Roman fortress through the end of the 5th century (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). In the 6th century, there is significant disagreement about what was happening in and around Lincoln. The authors of *City by the Pool* correctly, I think, point out that any continued occupation within the city must have been supported by connections with and through the support by communities in the hinterland (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). Within the footprint of the fortress, the evidence for continued occupation is centered around religious activities. Two cemeteries within the

confines of the walls have been identified--one within the center of the upper city and one in the southeastern section of the lower city (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). Excavations within the site of the Roman forum have revealed a series of two churches, with the later replacing the first. Both of the churches were oriented approximately east-west and slightly off alignment with the Roman road grid (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). A number of burials are associated with the churches in this area with wide-ranging carbon-14 dates, but generally providing evidence of the church's occupation during the late 7th century (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003).

In the 4th century, Lincoln was one of the four bishoprics in Britain (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). According to the authors of *The City by the Pool,* in other places in the empire, towns grew up around the cathedrals and bishop's houses, but this does not seem to have been the case in the British provinces (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). The Lincoln bishopric may have been located within the defended walls at one of the churches in the *forum* and then moved out of Lincoln after the Scandinavian conquest (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). It is unknown if the earliest cathedral was on the site of the current cathedral (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003).

Some sherds recovered from the upper city were imported, demonstrating that these were not isolated communities, but that they had connections with the outside world (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). There is not enough pottery from the earliest years after the end of Roman authority to identify any occupation sites with any certainty (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003).
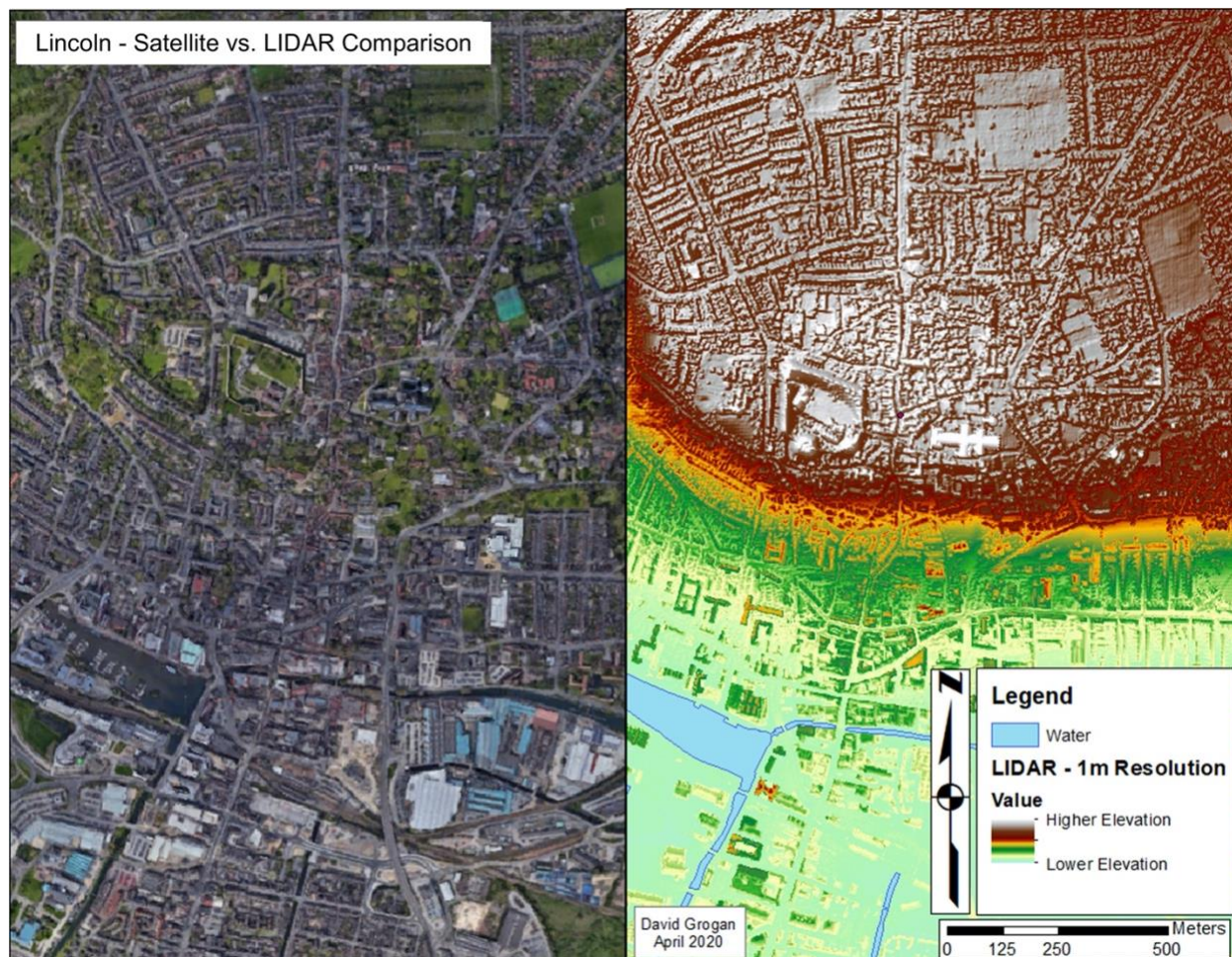
Figure 5-5 The footprint of the Roman fortress made visible by LIDAR

Zone 2. The area immediately south of the Roman fortress and across the River Witham was part of the extramural zone maintained in support of the legions during the military era of Lincoln (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). Roman burials are found along the road to the south of the Witham, and it is possible that the first, temporary defensive structure of the legion was located in this area (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003).

As mentioned above, this area is the location of the modern-day suburb of Wigford, a location which has proposed as the location of a *wic* site. Excavations in the central and northern part of this suburb, however, have produced no evidence of Anglo-Saxon occupation (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003).

Zone 3. During the middle-Saxon period, however, there is more volume of pottery sherds, and those sherds that do exist are in more concentrated areas, notably outside and inside the western gate of the Roman fortress (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). The pattern of distribution suggests that the earliest occupation was on the outside of the fortress and then moved within the walls in the 8th and 9th centuries (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). Much of the area outside of the western gate, however, was occupied by a later medieval cemetery, which has destroyed much of the evidence for earlier occupation (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003).

Zone 4. There is strong evidence for Anglo-Saxon occupation in the wider area around Lincoln, although most of the evidence for this occupation has come from the occasional sherd find (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). Excavations at Cherry Willingham, however, located approximately 6 km from Lincoln, is a notable exception. Surface finds in the 1970s of Anglo-Saxon pottery led to excavations in the 1980s by the North Lincolnshire Archaeology Unit ("Phase VII, Church Lane, Cherry Willingham, Lincs" 2000). Those excavations revealed additional pottery sherds identified as being associated with settlement activity and evidence of settlement organization, such as drainage gullies and fences ("Phase VII, Church Lane, Cherry Willingham, Lincs" 2000). A sunken structure was also located, along with an iron-smelting furnace ("Phase VII, Church Lane, Cherry Willingham, Lincs" 2000). The datable evidence from the settlement dated to the 6th century. A follow-up excavation in 1999 by the City of Lincoln Archaeology Unit identified additional ditches and daub, indicating that additional structures probably remain to be found nearby ("Phase VII, Church Lane, Cherry Willingham, Lincs" 2000).

There is also some historical evidence associating Romano-British occupation with marginal areas (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). Textual evidence from John Leland, writing in

1540, records a monastery site east of the city at Icanho (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). *The City by the Pool* notes that monks often bought sites with an earlier Christian heritage, and the authors note similarities between this site and the *wic* sites at London, York, and Southampton (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003).

Occupation to the east of the fortress has also been found at Winnowsty Cottages on the course of the Roman road leading from the east gate of the Roman fortress (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). Excavations in the 1980s revealed both Roman and early medieval occupation (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). Roman occupation consisted of a large exterior surface that may have served as a legionary parade ground (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). Several Roman structures were also located at the site.

Zone 5. Evidence for military-era occupation north of the Roman defenses is relatively scarce, primarily comprised of pottery scatter (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). In the *colonia* period, the area immediately north of the defenses was home to commercial and trading structures, similar to the areas along the other roads leading away from the defended city (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). Burials have also been found in the northern suburbs along the line of the Roman road (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). Excavations in 2019 by the Bishop Grosseteste University Archaeological Field School, which I attended, revealed additional Roman structures approximately 150 m north of the gate along the Roman road. While it is too early to definitively categorize these structures and the nature of the occupation, early evidence suggests the presence of potentially higher status occupation than basic commercial tenements.

5.2.1 Excavations at St. Paul-in the-Bail

In the center of the upper city, and what would have been the original footprint of the fortress, where the *principia* would have been in the military period and the forum in the *colonia*

phase, a series of structures and burials in the early medieval period replaced these Roman

structures (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). Two successive structures have been located within

the footprint of the Roman forum. The earliest building was rectangular, nearly square and lay

completely within the second, larger, rectangular building (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003).

While the order in which these buildings were constructed is clear, the dating of these structures

remains a point of contention among experts, with dates for the second, larger, structure ranging

from the 4th to the 7th century (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). Carbon dates from some of the

graves, including several that cut through the line of the structure include date ranges that stretch

back into the 4th century (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). These, however, may be

reinternments, and the architectural style and construction of the building is more suggestive of a

later date closer to the 7th century (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003).

The later structure could have potentially held as many as 100 people and had an apse

located at one end of the structure (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). There may have been a

foundational deposit just to the west of this structure, potentially under the building's altar

(Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). The identification of this building as a church comes from a

combination of the later history of the site, the building's orientation's deviation from the Roman

grid, and the identification of the foundational burial located under the altar (Jones, Stocker, and

Vince 2003).

The earlier structure, as mentioned, lies completely within the foundation of the later

building (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). In the center of this structure a large, stone-lined

grave was identified (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). This grave was empty of human remains,

but a hanging bowl was discovered in the packing stones of the grave (Jones, Stocker, and Vince

2003). While it is possible that this grave is associated with the center of the forum instead of the

structure it appears to be in, the authors of *City by the Pool* note that it shares the same deviation from the orientation of the forum as the foundational burial and altar from the later structure (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003).

A bishop in Lincoln is attested to as early as AD 314 when the city's bishop is recorded as having attended the Council of Arles (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). It is possible that these buildings represent the successive churches of these bishops, but that identification is largely speculative at this point (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003).
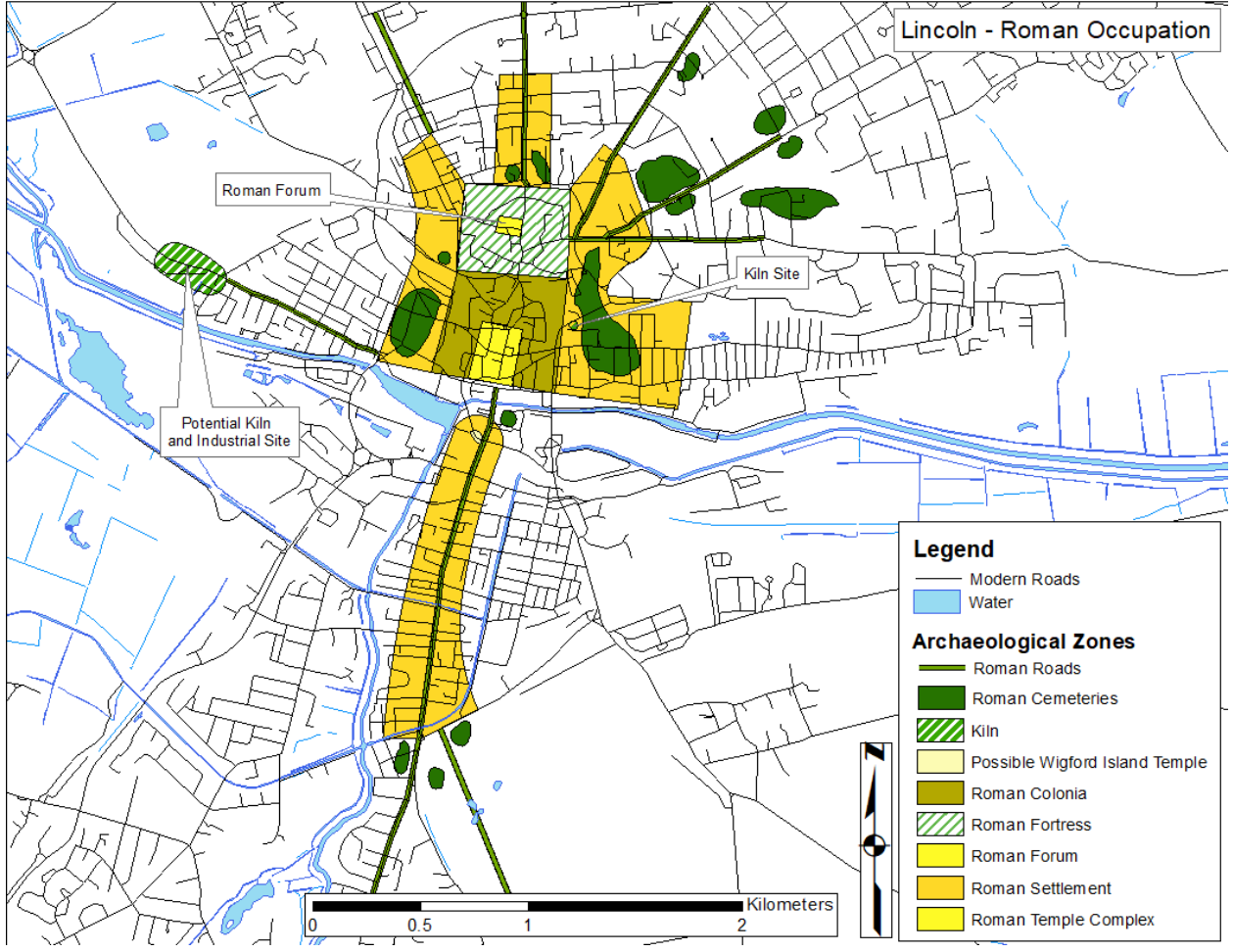

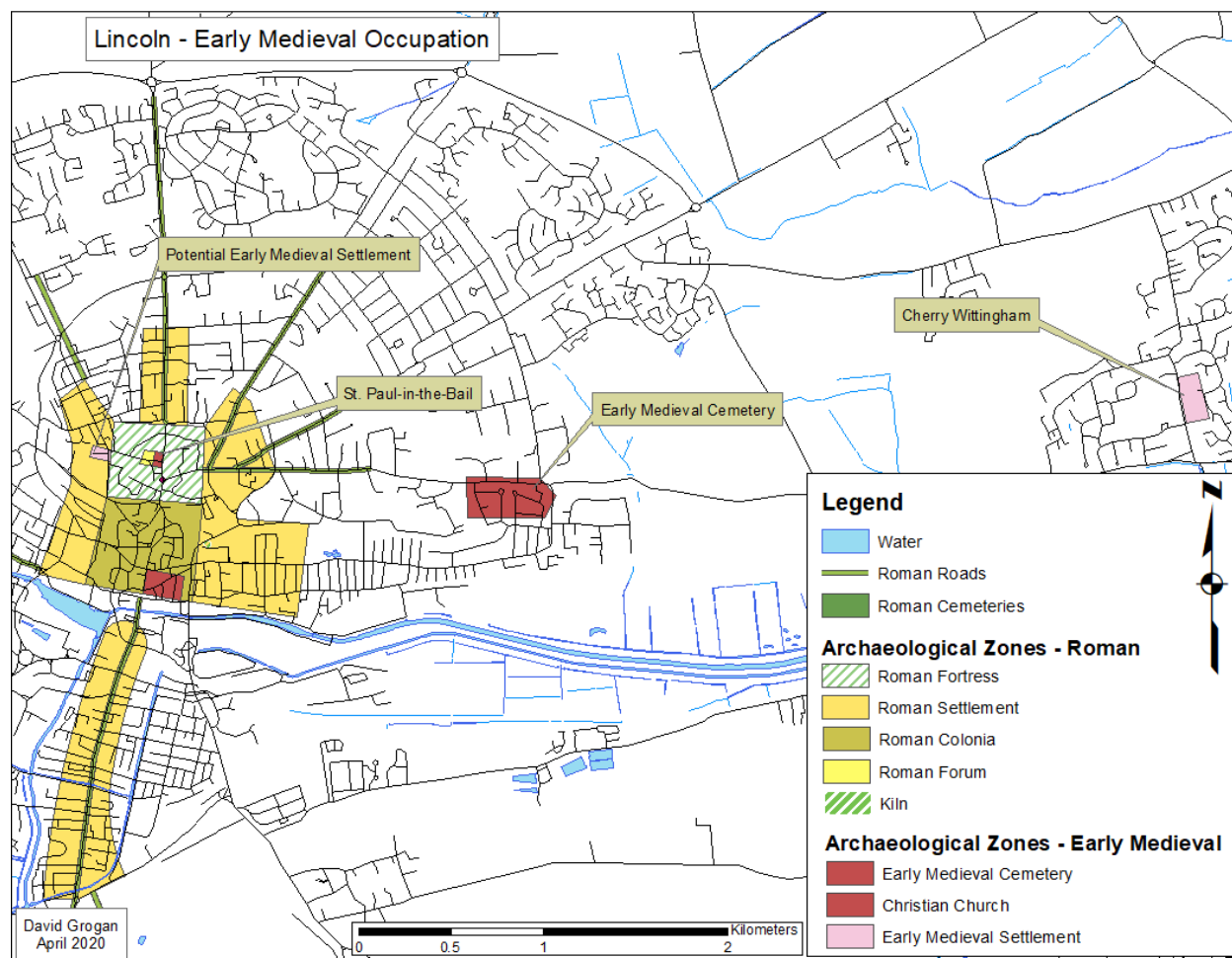*Figure 5-6 Lincoln - Roman-era Archaeological Overview*

Figure 5-7 Lincoln - Medieval-era Archaeological Overview

5.2.2 *Summary of Land Use*

As with York, we can look at the differences between intramural and extramural occupation. Inside the city walls, the most significant evidence of post-Roman occupation is the presence of a series of Christian churches in the footprint of what used to be the Roman forum and associated burials (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). The remainder of the city seems to be largely unoccupied with little evidence of robbing and destruction (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). Outside the walls there is evidence of commercial and industrial activity in the Roman civilian period. Evidence for extramural occupation in the early medieval period is scarce. The excavations at Cherry Willingham reveal settlement occupation near Lincoln, and *The City by*

the Pool notes settlements in Lincolnshire generally by both Anglo-Saxon and Romano-British groups ("Phase VII, Church Lane, Cherry Willingham, Lincs" 2000; Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003).
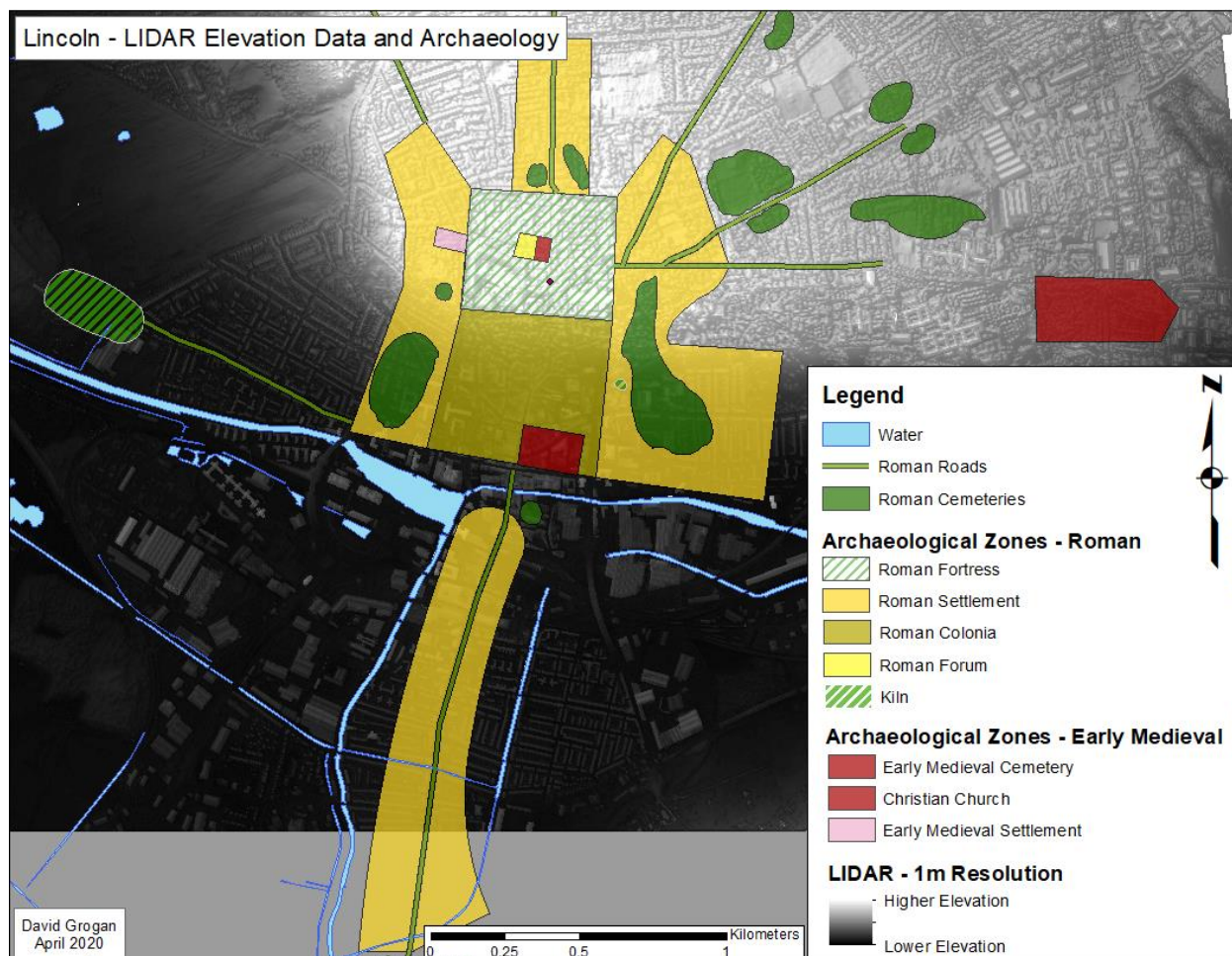
Figure 5-8 Lincoln - Elevation Data and Archaeological Overview

5.3 Southampton

Unlike, York and Lincoln, the area of Southampton was not the site of a full legionary fortress. There was, however, a Roman military and civilian presence in the area. The defended settlement of *Clausentum* was located on the River Itchen about 1.4 km north-east of the eventual site of *wic* at Southampton, *Hamwic,* (Council for British Archaeology 1992). *Clausentum* appears to have been one of the many harbor settlements that the Romans built

along the coasts of Britain (Cunliffe 2012). Although many of these settlements may have been

established by the military soon after the Roman invasion and then later transitioned into a

civilian settlement, much like we see with the legionary fortresses at York and Lincoln (Cunliffe

2012). *Clausentum*, however, was settled in the first half of the fourth century (Cunliffe 2012).

Barry Cunliffe suggests that *Clausentum,* and the other fortified coastal settlements added around

the same time, may have been in response to an increasing threat of raiding (Cunliffe 2012). As

mentioned above, the port at *Clausentum* was a part of the Roman sub-provincial administrative

district (*civitates*) centered at Winchester (*Venta Belgarum*) (Eagles 2018). Little of the internal

organization of *Clausentum* is apparent beyond hints of ditches, an aqueduct, a portion of a road

(Council for British Archaeology 1992). Defenses on the at least the inland side have been

discovered along with a cemetery on the opposite bank of the Itchen (Council for British

Archaeology 1992). In the early medieval period, beyond the *wic*, which will be discussed in the

next section, an Anglo-Saxon-era burial ground has been located within the footprint of
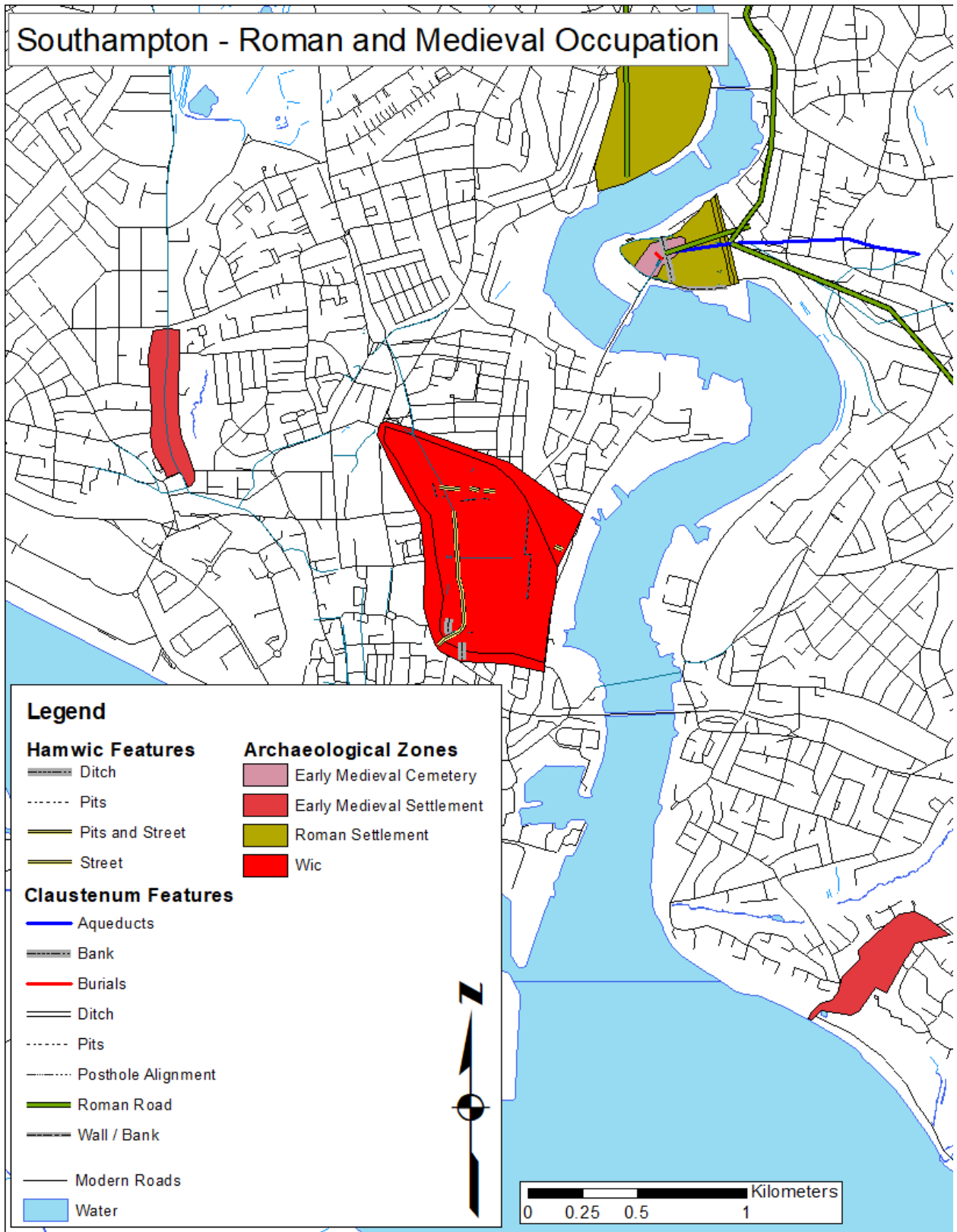
Clausentum.

Figure 5-9 Southampton archaeological overview

5.3.1 *Excavations at the Wic*

Location. The *wic* site is located on the opposite side of the River Itchen from the Roman settlement of Clausentum. In considering the site's potential importance as a trading site, it is important to note that it is roughly due north from the mouth of the River Seine, which served as a major trade route within Roman Gaul (Council for British Archaeology 1992).

Founding Dates. Fifteen Radiocarbon dates have been obtained from excavations within the presumed *wic* site (Council for British Archaeology 1992). The calibrated dates range broadly from the 5th century to the 13th century, but dendrochronological evidence suggests the early 8th century as a most likely period for the foundation of occupation at the site (Council for British Archaeology 1992). Textual evidence supports this date, with a reference to *Hamwic* appearing in AD 778 (Council for British Archaeology 1992). A number of other documents refer variously to "*Hamtunshire*," "*Hamwhich*," and "*Hamtune*" (Council for British Archaeology 1992). The authors of the initial *Hamwic* report in 1992 explain the implications of both a cautious approach to the documentary information and a more liberal interpretation. As they describe it, "if all texts are taken at face value, they show that the place was or possessed a *mercimonium* in 721, headed a 'shire' of some sort in 757, was one of a number of important towns burned in 764, was threatened by the Vikings in 840, and in the same year was or possessed a royal villa" ("Excavations at Hamwic: Volume 1" 1992, 27). A cautious approach, on the other hand, "show that the place name *Hamwich* dates from the early 800s, and the place name *Hamtun* from the early 900s" ("Excavations at Hamwic: Volume 1" 1992, 27). Coin and pottery evidence, along with a handful of other artifacts, suggests an occupation in the 7th century (Council for British Archaeology 1992).

Dimensions of the Wic. Size estimates for the *wic* range from 17ha to 48ha, with the 1992 publication asserting that the site was at least 42ha in area (Council for British Archaeology 1992). The *wic* was bounded on the east by the River Itchen, on the west by a ditch or ditches, and the northern and southern extents have not been definitively determined (Council for British Archaeology 1992). A ditch, or potentially a series of ditches, was located at Six Dials (site: SOU 169) and running at least 250m south to site SOU 89 (Council for British Archaeology 1992). The ditch feature varied widely--in parts narrow and shallow and deep and wide at other locations (Council for British Archaeology 1992). The ditch feature appears not to have had a defensive function, it and was most likely a boundary marker (Council for British Archaeology 1992). The ditch may also have been associated with one of the major streets in the *wic* (Council for British Archaeology 1992).

Internal Layout. A number of presumed streets have been located within the *wic*. In the 19th century, 6 to 8 gravel streets were identified (Council for British Archaeology 1992). These streets ranged from 6m to 8m wide, and the gravel was .1m to .15m thick with undisturbed clay underneath (Council for British Archaeology 1992). Overall, two north-south streets have been identified, a series of east-west streets bridging the north-south pair have been found, and several additional east-west streets that connected the main north-south routes to the River (H1). One street, assumed to be the precursor to the existing St. Mary's Road, was approximately 15m wide and diverged from the north-south alignment of the other streets (Council for British Archaeology 1992). This street has been interpreted as potentially being the main route out of the *wic* (Council for British Archaeology 1992). Excavations have revealed that, unlike other trading sites, *Hamwic* did not grow out from the river (Council for British Archaeology 1992). Instead, the 1992 report suggests that this street was the first nucleus of the settlement and that the rest of

the *wic* grew out from this location (Council for British Archaeology 1992). The streets were not all laid down at the same time, and many overlay earlier features, demonstrating a progressive growth over time (Council for British Archaeology 1992).

Features. Two main types of building have been identified within the *wic* (Council for British Archaeology 1992). The first is a rectangular structure between 10 m and 12 m long and 4 m and 5 m wide (Council for British Archaeology 1992). This structure was interpreted in the 1992 report as a "house" or "house-like" structure based, primarily, on the presence of hearths located within many of these buildings (Council for British Archaeology 1992). A single doorway was usually located on one of the long walls, and the walls themselves were of wattle and daub construction (Council for British Archaeology 1992). The second building is a smaller rectangular building, open on one side, and interpreted as being an outbuilding or shed (Council for British Archaeology 1992). At two of the sites within the *wic* a building was identified surrounded by fencing with a series of pits and a potential well dug against the fence line (Council for British Archaeology 1992).

A number of pit types were identified across the *wic* (Council for British Archaeology 1992). The 1992 report identifies a series of wells, but the report notes that earlier interpretations argued against these pits being wells as they were deemed too shallow (Council for British Archaeology 1992). A number of rubbish pits were found throughout the site (Council for British Archaeology 1992). For the most part, there is no discernable pattern to the rubbish pits that have been identified (Council for British Archaeology 1992). One exception to that, however, is that at the Six Dials excavation, where two industrial areas met, they were separated by a line of rubbish pits (Council for British Archaeology 1992).

A wide range of industrial activities have been identified as taking place within the *wic* (Council for British Archaeology 1992). All sites produced at least some iron slag, but nearly all of the material seems to have been smithing slag, indicating that the iron ore was being smelted elsewhere and that finishing work was being done at the *wic* (Council for British Archaeology 1992). There is also evidence of copper-alloy working, bone and antler working, and textile manufacturing at locations within the *wic.* (Council for British Archaeology 1992). There do not appear to have been any large industrial zones within the *wic* and activities varied by household (Council for British Archaeology 1992).

Relationship with the Hinterland. Faunal remains in the rubbish pits provide the majority of the evidence for the *wic's* relationship with the surrounding area (Council for British Archaeology 1992). Individuals in the *wic* seem to primarily have consumed the meat of older cattle--working animals that had been slaughtered when they were well past their prime (Council for British Archaeology 1992).

Decline of the Wic. There seems to have been no individual event that led to the end of the *wic.* Instead, a gradual decline in the 10th century seems to have occurred (Council for British Archaeology 1992).

5.3.2   *Summary of shifts in land use*

As has been noted, evidence for the Roman settlement at *Clausentum* is scarce. In summarizing land use, however, we can note that the *wic* site is located across the river at a distance from the Roman settlement. This is, of course, the pattern with *wics* throughout Britain. The early medieval burial site within the footprint of *Clausentum* is also intriguing. Depending on dating evidence, it could mirror the association of British Christians with former Roman sites that we have seen in York and Lincoln.

6   DISCUSSION

The occupational history of York, Lincoln, and Southampton, though not always presenting

voluminous amounts of data, demonstrate patterns in the lifeways of groups during the early

medieval period. In this chapter, I discuss these patterns and what they mean for our

understanding of the identity of the people of early medieval Britain. I begin by looking at the

dichotomy between continuity and discontinuity in occupation present at each of the sites, but

mostly notably at York and Lincoln. Next, I revisit the *wic* sites and provide an interpretation of

the archaeological evidence regarding their composition and distinct spatial relationship to other

settlement features. Finally, I discuss what I see as the role of institutions in establishing the

study areas as recognizable cities at the end of the early medieval period.

6.1   Continuity and Discontinuity

One of the most intriguing observations that emerges from the data is the mirrored

patterns of continuity and discontinuity at York and Lincoln. In each instance, there is evidence

to suggest that while the rest of the city was largely abandoned, British Christians maintained a

presence within the walls of the former city. The sequence of building is clear in Lincoln, where

the early medieval churches were built directly in the former Roman forum—what would have

been the heart of the imperial city. The stone lined grave at Lincoln also suggests that perhaps an

important foundational burial was present within these church structures—perhaps the bones of

an early church father or local saint (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003).

The historical evidence from St. Patrick and Gildas suggest that, in much of the rest of

Britain, life after the end of Roman authority continued in much the same manner as it did

before, even with much of the Roman administrative structure intact, and St. Patrick seemed to

think of himself as Roman (Oosthuizen 2019). So, if there was not widespread chaos, why were

the cities abandoned? We know that in the Roman provinces, day-to-day administration was

often delegated to local authorities, and we see this in Lincolnshire with the Romans locating the

Coreletavi administrative center to Leicester (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). I would argue

that this suggests that the imperial cities of York and Lincoln were just that—imperial—with

most of the activity in the city centered around the higher-level administrative function of the

province and its connections to the rest of the empire. With the end of Roman authority in

Britain, these imperial administrative tasks would have disappeared. With local authority already

resting in the hands of existing power structures outside of these centers, life could have gone on

with minimal disturbance. Monica Smith notes that cities formed by top-down forces, such as

those arising from administrative planning, tend to be unsustainable in the long term (Smith

2003). As the city passed from usefulness as an administrative center, it would have continued to

hold symbolic meaning to the Christians who embraced the religion of the late empire. As we see

in Joyce's case study, even long after a site is in ruins, people will continue to return to it for

religious practices and solidify the association between that place and one part of their personal

and religious group identity.

As noted in *City by the Pool*, there is little evidence of widespread destruction or robbing

building material in Lincoln in the early medieval period (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003).

Instead, in Lincoln and York we see the footprint of the Roman settlements home to only

churches and burial grounds. This suggests, perhaps, that the wider community respected these

areas as reserved or sacred spaces. As I discuss more below in considering the *wics*, it is

interesting to note that later Anglo-Saxon migrants seemed to have respected these spaces as

well. We do not see the *wic* sites making use of whatever infrastructure is left in place from the

Roman period but instead establishing themselves near, but not directly next to or within the Roman footprint.

6.2   The Social Construction and Production of Space

One of the core theoretical frameworks I utilized in this project was the social construction and production of space (e.g., Low 2017). Now that we have reviewed the occupational history of the three study areas, I want to return to that framework to see what viewing that evidence through this theoretical lens can show us.

As discussed above, the concept of social production of space examines the "scaffolding" of society—the political, economic, and historical forces involved in the creation of space (Low 2017). Both during the Roman and early medieval periods we can see these three structural forces in the composition of the study areas. Roman political and military authorities established settlements at each of the three cities for strategic reasons, both political in securing authority and economic in protecting trade and travel routes. In the early medieval period, we see the same structural forces resulting in a different occupational pattern. The Roman fortress-turned-city became a religious center because of the historical connection between these spaces, the empire, and the empire's religion. The political authority in post-Roman Britain was located outside of these settlements due to the local political structures already in place and established by the Romans. The trading and production *wic* sites would establish themselves near these former Roman settlements likely for the same strategic reasons they were chosen by the Romans.

Turning to the social construction of space that fills in the "scaffolding" provided by the forces of social production, we can see how the arrangements created could have led to the creation, or at least, the reinforcement of abstract ideas about social identity. The forces mentioned above helped to place different groups of people in different spatial relationships to

each other. The spatial separation (but not disconnection) between the religious centers and the *wic* sites, as well as the distinct roles of each of these groups, may have reinforced existing concepts of difference, or could have led to the rise of new conceptions of identity as a necessary way of explaining the de facto arrangements of separation and interaction. The evidence for the period is currently too scant to answer that question satisfactorily, but Härke's (2011) research demonstrates that novel approaches are continuing to attempt to tease out what they can with the data we currently have.

6.3   *Wics*

If the spaces inside the Roman occupational footprint were about maintaining religious identity, the *wic* sites that came later in the early medieval period seem to be about reinvention. As discussed above, there is no doubt that trading was occurring prior the establishment of the *wic* sites (Pestell 2011). Given the characteristics of their size, deliberate planning, mediated food consumption, and association with former Roman cities, they seem to be clearly playing a unique role in the early medieval landscape.

The individuals who established the *wic* seem to avoid, perhaps out of respect of the nature of the space, the Roman footprint. Others, such as Leahy (1993) have suggested that it was the presence of the religious community utilizing Lincoln as a sacred space that kept the Anglo-Saxon occupation at a distance. This arrangement seems to have been bidirectional, as those who occupied the *wic* seemed to have felt secure in the settlement. As mentioned above, there are no clear indications that these sites were defended. The *wics* were occupied approximately at the same time that the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of the heptarchy were establishing themselves, and perhaps that broader political control explains the confidence of the *wic* occupants.

Regarding the continuing presence of a Christian, Romano-British community in Lincoln, the authors of *The City by the Pool* suggest that this island of Romano-British Christianity existing within the broader sea of Anglo-Saxon pagans in the countryside is more likely than it may seem and has historical precedence in other areas (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). They hold up St. Albans as an instance where this relationship has been demonstrated. The authors provide the argument that the presence of this strong Romano-British Christian community may explain the gap in 5th century burials in the area around Lincoln (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003).

The Southampton *wic* does not have the same association with a major Roman city as do the *wics* and York and Lincoln. The Roman establishment of *Clausentum* to protect this southern port that was tied to the administrative center at Winchester, however, does demonstrate the prime position of the site for trade. As discussed above, Southampton is roughly due north from the mouth of the Seine and protected by the Isle of Wight immediately off the coast. I would argue that the *wics* at York and Lincoln were established for similar reasons—the locations provided strategic advantages to river travel. That is, after all, one of the likely reasons that the Romans established lasting settlements there. In the case of York and Lincoln, the fact that the remnants of the Roman occupation provided a focal point in the landscape was perhaps a bonus but less important than the practical advantages of the site. The Southampton *wic* had many of these same advantages.

6.4   The Role of Institutions

If York and Lincoln were not critical to the political and economic structures of post-Roman British society, as they seem not to have been, these functions must have been being carried out elsewhere. Archaeological research has demonstrated that royal residences during this

period were of relatively simple timber construction and that rulers likely rotated throughout several of buildings within their territory (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). This again demonstrates one of the reasons that the abandonment of these imperial cities did not mean the end of societal structure. As a result of this mobile leadership, these residences did not become the nucleuses for urban settlement (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003). Instead, minster churches may have performed much of the administrative work of the kingdom, and that these sites, instead of royal centers, became the center for future urban settlements (Jones, Stocker, and Vince 2003).

Our discussion so far has centered around the period of time when the "cities" of York, Lincoln, and Southampton were, as I suggested above, "cities" by no one's definition. From the medieval period to today, however, these three settlements were unquestionably cities. So, how did that happen? How did these religious sites with nearby trading settlements become cities once again? The core of the answer, I would argue, is represented by these two features.

The French sociologist, Henri Lefebvre, argued that institutions are critical to the understanding of cities (Lefebvre 1996). With the trading and production centers of the *wic* sites and the religious importance of the Christian spaces, the once-and-future cities we have discussed had two of the major institutions of the medieval world in place, at least in a basic form. The political power located outside of these cities may have been relocated back into these spaces as the kingdoms of the heptarchy began to solidify their control. Once again, these settlements were part of a larger political community that needed centralized administrative functions.

The reemergence of the urban character of the three sites examined in this paper is a result of the coming together or different groups and the interaction of these groups. The initial

establishment of these cities was the result of a top-down need by the Roman empire to create administrative centers in the provinces. When that need ended, the cities declined to a point that they could no longer be considered "cities" at all. Monica Smith summarizes this dynamic when she writes, "…the key to the success of cities must lie in their social aspects and the way in which they are configured by different, often competing groups" (Smith 2003, 2). Taken together, we can view the particular form taken by the cities under study and the regrowth of those sites into cites they would become as a result of combinations between three, broadly defined, institutions: a political authority, a religious community, and an economic/trade organization.

As Barth pointed out, societies are complex arrangements of identities, and that they are formed from contact and pressure (Barth 1969; Voss 2015). Over time, these groups in early medieval Britain would be drawn into ever closer and more intertwined relationships. Some of this integrative pressure would have been the result of a natural coalescing of identities of people in regular contact. An outside pressure would have been applied by the Scandinavian raiders and settlers. A look at early medieval York, Lincoln, and Southampton shows us a snapshot of some of the forces that would come to define these cities in the centuries to come. Today, for instance, the footprint of Lincoln is dominated by the Witham and the Brayford pool, the Norman castle, and Lincoln Cathedral. These are echoes of the enduring history of the political, religious, and economic forces which shaped the city, and those forces came together in the early medieval period.

7   CONCLUSION

The paucity of archaeological and historical evidence for the early medieval period makes it difficult to draw firm conclusions. As demonstrated above, I hope, there are still lessons to be learned not only by new evidence, but by approaching old evidence in new ways. Anthropological archaeology, combining the methodological tools of archaeology with the broad theoretical insights of anthropology has the potential to continue to shed light on this elusive time period. In this chapter I want to present two closing thoughts: future directions in which this research could move, and the implications of this research for the world today.

7.1   Future Directions

Rather optimistically, I originally set out to comprehensively capture a more-or-less complete overview of the archaeology of each of the study areas in the Roman and early medieval period. Knowing that much of the data already existed in HERs, and with much of that data already incorporated into GIS systems, I believed that to be an accomplishable task. It proved not to be. While the overall footprint of the early medieval occupation of these cities is fairly sparse, the number of individual records in the HERs is not. Furthermore, the GIS databases of archaeological sites and areas for York and Southampton are not categorized by occupational period. As a result, the relevant data was hidden in a sea of irrelevant records. Instead, I relied on published syntheses to identify the nature of the archaeological evidence.

My original goal, however, remains possible. The HER databases contain all the necessary information to add categorizations by period. It would be a substantial undertaking, but the results would be a helpful source for future researchers. Once accessible in this manner, the database could also be more helpful in the goal of public education. The trajectory of occupation could be easily viewed and explored by almost anyone.

This project ended up focusing on land use and settlement patterns. In part this was a function of the time and resource constraints of this project, as I lacked the opportunity to engage directly with the material collections of the period. As a result, I was required to largely rely on the assessments of previous researchers and their categorization and interpretation of the archaeological record. It would be interesting in a future project to interrogate the evidence at a more granular level and revisit the conclusions of these earlier archaeologists to see if their conclusions continue to hold weight.

Land use and settlement patterns represent a good start, but this research can be built upon in a few ways. First, settlements in the presumed homelands of the early medieval migrants could be examined for correlates to the patterns observed in this study. These comparisons have been undertaken by other researchers but incorporating those studies into the theoretical framework attempted here could shed new light. Second, the archaeology of the cities could be better integrated into the broader landscape. Understanding the network of settlements in the Roman and early medieval period would be beneficial in understanding how groups interacted. Third, evidence from other sources, such as chemical analysis or geophysical survey, could be incorporated to provide a more complete picture of what the archaeological record can tell us.

7.2   Relevance to Today

The world today is rapidly urbanizing, and people are moving around the globe in ever increasing numbers. Cultural contact is increasing, and the forces of contact and pressure that Barth (1969) discusses are likewise increasing. People are being confronted by questions of social identity—theirs and others. The increasingly nationalism and isolationism we have in the United States and Europe are likely, in part, functions of this reality.

As we have seen, migration, contact, conflict, and integration are processes that have been occurring as long as there have been humans. Archaeology provides us with the deep timescale necessary to gain insight into how these processes have functioned in the past. A better understanding of the forces at work and how the historical, political, and economic structures and decisions of the past influence people long after they are established can be helpful in navigating the current turbulent waters.

During this project, the United Kingdom left the European Union. There is talk of a new Scottish referendum on breaking away from the rest of the United Kingdom (Sim 2020), and the difficulties the border between Northern Ireland and Ireland presents in a post-Brexit world have some predicting that Northern Ireland may also leave the U.K. and be incorporated into the Republic of Ireland (*The Economist* 2020). It is a period of uncertainty about the political organization of Britain. The early medieval period gave rise to England and the English. Are we witnessing an end or fundamental shift in the nature of the union which they have led for centuries? If so, that should lead to questions about what it means to be English, or Scottish, Welsh, or Irish, for that matter. And in questioning one's place and where they are going, it is important to understand where they came from.

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