THE REBIRTH
OF TOWNS
IN THE WEST
AD 700-1050

edited by
Richard Hodges
and Brian Hobley

1988

The birth of cities marked the beginning of a new era in the internal history of Western Europe. Until then, society had recognized only two active orders: the clergy and the nobility. In taking its place beside them, the middle class rounded the social order out or, rather, gave the finishing touch thereto. Thenceforth its composition was not to change; it had all its constituent elements, and the modifications which it was to undergo in the course of centuries were, strictly speaking, nothing more than different combinations in the alloy.

Henri Pirenne, 1925, *Medieval Cities*, 213

The rebirth of towns
in the west
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A review of current research into how, when, and why there was a rebirth of towns between 700 and 1050. Based upon papers presented to the Fourth joint CBA/DUA International conference on The Rebirth of Towns in the West AD 700-1050 held at the Museum of London on 21-23 March, 1986

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Acknowledgements

Introduction

Rebirth, or at least renewal, rather than continuity distinguished the conference held in the Museum of London, on March 21-23, 1986. In the minds of some, as the conference gathered, there was perhaps a suspicion that it might be a rerun of previous meetings on early medieval urbanism held at Göttingen (1971), Oxford (1975) and Dublin (1978). The result undeniably owed much to the previous meetings but, being a gathering in the mid 'eighties, differed substantially in several important respects.

Happily, like the previous conferences, this one was blessed with good debate. The theme, wide-ranging and fully investigated though it is, still generates a good deal of academic division. The large audience attending the lectures was a clear testament to the enduring fascination of this question. In other words although this subject has galvanized historical attention for nearly a century, it has lost none of its importance.

However the audience and the speakers differed from those attending the previous meetings. On this occasion the speakers and discussants could no longer focus upon the written sources or illustrate these with the results of small trenches. This time it was evident that archaeologists were at least sharing the historical driving-seat, if not monopolizing it from time to time. Urban archaeology, it seemed, had lost its innocence.

It would be a mistake to overemphasize this sense of paradigmatic change. Nonetheless, who attending the Oxford conference in 1975 would have anticipated the recent results from London, Ipswich, Southampton or York? To judge, for example, from Martin Biddle's seminal essay on Anglo-Saxon towns (1976) - perhaps the major statement made in the 'seventies on early medieval urbanism in England - places like London and York in the 7th-9th centuries would have been smaller versions of their Roman or Late Saxon circumstances. Biddle, like many archaeologists in those years, tended to favour a theory of gradual decline in Roman urbanism giving way to an equally gradual growth from the 7th century onwards. The concept of rebirth with its implication of later Roman urban demise was eschewed in favour of continuity. In fact the recent archaeological evidence presented at the conference in London shows that this gradualism masks a far more intriguing picture of discontinuity: of decline and rebirth. The question of scale, which only archaeologists can resolve, has become an important issue. For example a decade ago Middle Saxon London was thought to be a medium-sized antecedent to Late Saxon London, perhaps similar in size to the later Roman settlement. In fact several contributors to this volume believe in common with Martin Biddle (1984) that it may have covered as much as 80 ha (see chapters 11-12). Likewise the concept of a materially impoverished, archaeologically elusive York in Middle Anglian times, while tempered by such discoveries as the Coppergate helmet, has been convincingly replaced by the discovery of an urban nucleus to the east of the Roman and Anglo-Scandinavian town in excavations beneath the Redfearns glass foundry (see

chapter 17). Moreover just to confuse those attuned to the thesis best encapsulated in Biddle's essay (1976), imported materials appear to be virtually absent in the comparatively large assemblage from these excavations. Hence the nucleated Anglian settlement at York appears to be generically different as well as potentially far larger than Birka and others of the once familiar models for urban development in western Europe. Indeed such discoveries compel us to reassess the Viking Age urban communities (cf Ambrosiani, chapter 10). At the same time the traditional portrait of Alcuin's home 'town', where Frisians on one occasion at least had a high profile, looks set to be questioned if not discarded.

In sum, this conference was not concerned with illustrating the margins of a historical debate. Instead there was a sense that archaeology was beginning to constitute a substantive source for re-examining the history of this enigmatic period.

It would be wrong, however, to attribute this merely to some slight shift in the pendulum of academic interest or even to the chance discovery of evidence for hitherto elusive phases of major places like London and York. Quite clearly those who offered tentative essays on their initial discoveries in the 'seventies at Göttingen and Oxford, for example, were harbingers of a great harvest of urban archaeology. The harvest not only embraced London, Southampton (chapter 14) and York, but myriad towns of England as well as the Continent. The fruits of this harvest are not yet fully described, and are far from assessed. Yet already, as we have indicated in the cases of London and York, there is the sense of a wealth of data, quite different in character, in some respects, to that anticipated when the harvest was just beginning. The excavations at Chester and Ipswich provide an illustration of this. Ten years ago the excavations of Roman Chester assured that it was a place of major historic importance, while Ipswich was barely known. Hence it was assumed that because Chester featured from time to time in the early medieval sources, it remained as the prominent focus in north-west England. This gradualist assumption took no account of the rhythms of time. As Strickland and Thacker show in chapters 15 and 16, Chester cannot be compared with Ipswich in Middle Saxon times (see chapter 13), but its Late Saxon development, nonetheless, is paralleled by results from many places throughout England (cf Haslam 1984). Indeed the remarkable discoveries beneath the modem city centre of Ipswich show that the 8th century nucleus overshadowed in terms of its size the later history of the town. The pattern of the past, it might be fair to conclude, is no more summed up in the quixotic nature of the written sources than in the equally quixotic character of the archaeological record.

The results from Chester demonstrate that the processes of urban development after the fall of the Roman Empire cannot be reduced to a single explanation. Some centres that prospered in Roman times also prospered in the 8th century, but most did not, and remained largely abandoned until the 10th century. This point was made

in one of the most interesting papers presented at the conference (chapter 9) concerned with Tours. Henri Galinié's investigations at Tours took clear account of the written sources for the town. But any assumption that the Carolingian centre possessed a similar form to the Roman or later medieval town was shown to be misplaced. The modular character of the early medieval community, focused around the local aristocracy and the Church, might have been anticipated from the sources, but nonetheless still comes as a fascinating surprise. Tours like Chester was an important regional centre, but it was quite unlike Dorestad (see chapter 8) or Southampton (chapter 14), even when Charles the Bald favoured it as a capital of Neustria in the 9th century.

Indeed Tours may be a model for Carolingian centres (cf Brühl, chapter 6). The pattern, it seems, resembles that proposed by Borger following many excavations in Cologne (1985) (cf Janssen, chapter 7). It may also explain what was happening in Italy.

Bryan Ward-Perkins in his review of urban development in northern Italy is properly cautious about favouring the concept of rebirth (chapter 3). Like most historians of this period, Ward-Perkins finds it difficult to envisage how the great cities of Roman Italy could have disappeared, leaving a world somewhat similar to early Anglo-Saxon England. He points instead to a decline in urban conditions during the later Roman centuries, and advocates a renewal under Lombard and Carolingian leadership. In other words it is a question of scale. However were the great Roman towns of Italy still towns as such? The written sources show that in places like Lucca, Pavia and Verona (cf La Rocca Hudson 1986), just as Delogu illustrates for Rome (chapter 5), building continued throughout the millennium. But the emphasis, as we have noted already, must be to question the meaning and significance of the concept of continuity. Delogu, and Whitehouse (chapter 4), address our attention to this in Rome, the greatest of all 1st millennium cities in the West. From their different standpoints both show that the decline of the classical city was little short of stupendous, while renewal was intermittent before the Carolingian age. The volatile processes inherent in such a pattern have long since been accepted by Byzantinists studying not only the great sea towns of Asia Minor (Foss 1977), but more importantly Constantinople (Mango 1980). The great capital of the eastern Empire, in Mango's opinion, grew from a port of about 30 000 persons to a city with a population in excess of a million during the course of the 4th century. By the 6th century it was in sharp decline. By the 8th century the community numbered fewer than those present in AD 300. It appears that the histories of the two great capitals were not so different during this period. In sum, no one believes Rome was deserted in the Dark Ages, but did it broadly resemble Tours in some respects, being composed of a constellation of modules which were not cemented together until the 11th century?

Indeed, both Hodges (chapter 1) and Hill (chapter 2), from different standpoints, emphasize that archaeology is making the behavioural processes of this period increasingly clearer; it is bringing these processes into sharper relief, thereby making us historically aware of the volatile rhythms of time that characterized this formative period in European history. Clearly the Roman world did not disappear without trace. The Roman tradition, instead, was preserved in various forms by many of the tribes of post-Roman Europe. Roman views on pottery-making, for example, were certainly preserved in some parts of western Europe; so, too, it might be imagined, were their views on technology, marketing and the economy. Some might say this is merely a question of scale; that the continuity of Roman traditions, however small they were, proved the vital link that prevented western Europe from returning to an Iron Age condition, Strictly speaking, historians of this persuasion would be correct in their assessment. But this does not enable us to advance historically; we shall not understand why the processes took the form they did. By providing a yardstick for the decline of the empire, as for the making of the Middle Ages, archaeology enables us to break out of a sterile historical conundrum, and to examine new issues.

In each of the debates held during the conference it became clear that important archaeological issues need to be resolved before a new meeting is arranged. The sampling of towns so that the identity of communities as a whole can be measured clearly needs more attention. Sample size is of great importance once we seek to compare one place with another. Likewise the regional contexts of towns during this age require greater investigation than they have hitherto attracted. Only then will it be possible to test some of the anthropological models described by Hodges (chapter 1). Above all, there was a strong feeling in some quarters that archaeologists must not become galvinized by local issues alone. The rebirth of towns is the key for understanding the social and economic processes that led to the making of the European nation-states. The issues, as historians have recognized for nearly a century, constitute foundations for understanding our past. Archaeologists may have been losing their innocence since the Göttingen conference on the early medieval town in 1971, but they need to hone their scientific apparatus still sharper in order to confront historical problems of great magnitude. These papers provide some sense of the belief in this goal, but it remains to be seen whether such terms as 'rebirth', 'renewal', 'continuity' will be discarded in the 'nineties in favour of more sophisticated models of historical behaviour. In such an event we shall have emerged from the shadow of Dopsch and Pirenne, almost a century after they began to formulate their enduring ideas. To judge from the papers and debates at this conference, such a challenge is well within the grasp of archaeology.

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PART I EUROPE

1 The rebirth of towns in the early Middle Ages
Richard Hodges

Abstract

Moses Finley has attempted to define the Ancient City as a 'type' of social and economic entity. Can the early medieval town be defined in the same way? In this essay archaeology, anthropology and history are used to propose a typology of urbanism from the end of antiquity until the turn of the millennium. Particular attention is paid to the town as a material expression of the evolving modes of production which characterize the later first millennium. The essay not only aims to provide a counterpoint to Finley's treatise on this subject, but to show that archaeology makes it possible to develop an important historical theme.

Half a century ago Henri Pirenne died, and a classical scholar published his first essay on ancient trade. Surprising as it might seem, these events of 1935 still merit consideration. Moreover these events warrant consideration by archaeologists and historians engaged in research on the early medieval town. Firstly, why should we remember Pirenne at all? The answer lies not so much in what he wrote as the manner in which he approached the past. Pirenne was probably the first medieval historian to shed the shackles of 19th century 'vulgar history' and to assimilate, to a certain extent, the then embryonic streams of Marxist analysis and Durkheimian sociology. Pirenne, in common with anthropologists such as Bronislav Malinowski and Marcel Mauss, was encountering a world that might be interpreted from a holistic point of view as opposed to the limited constitutional and military aspects favoured by Victorian historians. Pirenne, as French scholars have acknowledged, was the father of the *Annales* tradition of historical social sciences, and triggered a paradigm change.

But why lament his death in 1935? The answer - possibly a specious one, and certainly an untestable hypothesis - is that had he lived longer, the role of archaeology in the historical social sciences might have evolved in a different, more fruitful way.

Let me embellish this unlikely thesis. Pirenne was fascinated by socio-economic process. He contributed much to the concept of history cogently enshrined in the works of the late Fernand Braudel - perhaps the most influential historian of our times. Braudel, with acknowledgement to Pirenne, defines history as embodying three rhythms of time: the history of events and personalities -the foam on the crest of the wave; the history of social processes evolving over longer and different periods of time; and timeless history, the long *durée* of man and his place in the environment (Braudel 1980, 25-54). This is an epic alternative to the tabloid-like history of events and personalities typical of the Victorian age, just as it sums up the media today.

Pirenne, in his book *Medieval cities* (1925), set medievalists on this course as early as 1925. His last great work, *Mohammed and Charlemagne* (1939), roughs out the context - the interwoven rhythms of the late classical and early medieval periods - for these cities. Unfortunately it was rough, because he had only reached a draft stage of this book when he died. Nonetheless he had drawn attention to Holwerda's excavations at Dorestad, and he was evidently familiar with Jankuhn's investigations at Haithabu. He was exploring other sources to flesh out the written sample. Given time, would he have amplified these then new dimensions of the past? Might he have given some direction to generations of archaeologists and historians who without it have largely indulged in fact collecting and the maintenance of Victorian values against which he stood full-square?

Let us make no mistake, historical research (and in this I include archaeology) has advanced very little since 1935. It is worth reminding the conference that Philip Grierson's famous paper on this subject, 'Commerce in the Dark Ages: a critique of the evidence', in which he wrote 'It has been said that the spade cannot lie, but it owes this merit in part to the fact that it cannot speak' (1959, 129) also charges historians with discovering an appropriate methodology to study the economic history of these times.

Let me next consider the young man who published his first paper on ancient economics in 1935. I am referring, of course, to the late Sir Moses Finley. The connection is not an arbitrary one; Finley has acknowledged the influence of Pirenne in his approach to economic history (1966; 1967). But Finley, like Braudel, has been able to expand and develop those formative ideas with which Pirenne was grappling. He has assimilated Marxist, Weberian and other approaches, which distinguish him from what he has called 'vulgar positivism' - simple fact-collecting. Like Braudel he has appreciated the rhythms of the past, and his holistic approach has brought him into contact with every dimension of the ancient world. Like Braudel, too, he has appreciated that the historical social sciences must amount to more than literal translation of the documentary sample if history is to remain in step with an ever-

changing Western cultural tradition. Victorian values are no longer appropriate.

Our appreciation of the past today draws upon many disciplines, not least anthropology, and compels us to recognize that the literature of antiquity was mostly a monopoly of the elite devised for explicit ideological purposes (Finley, quoted by Shaw & Saller 1981, xv). Hence in his approach to the classical economy, for example, Finley has been influenced by the substantivist anthropologists of the Polanyi school. His work enshrines objectives which I imagine would have appealed to Pirenne. The only caveat is when archaeology as such is concerned. Finley is not sympathetic to archaeologists (1985); it is not hard to appreciate why. Traditional classical archaeology embodies the values of the Society of Dilettanti and at the same time the present capitalist need for antiquities as an alternative to gold bullion. By contrast the New Archaeology has almost invariably been out of step with the historical social sciences (cf Finley 1971; Renfrew 1980; Rowlands 1982). Only now with the second generation of anthropological archaeologists are there grounds for fruitful discourse with the Finleyites, as they are known (cf Carandini 1985).

I wish to continue briefly with Finley's studies of the ancient city, because since Pirenne's time, possibly in deference to the shadow he cast and in no small way because of methodological hurdles, Pirenne's students and disciples - Braudel, Duby, and Le Roy Ladurie - have opted for other research spheres where they could implement the philosophy of the *Annales* tradition. Finley alone has analysed the city in the first millennium in the *Annales* tradition. My intention, therefore, is to examine Finley's view of classical cities; to consider the anthropological issues at stake; and finally, to focus on the issues that are pertinent to field archaeologists and historians alike.

Finley is in no doubt that the ancient city is a product of its political context. In reaching this conclusion he acknowledges a debt to many 19th century scholars. But there is little doubt that his views on the classical town were forged in the crucible of conflict that divides Karl Marx from Max Weber. Marx challenged Adam Smith's famous doctrine that town and country were complementary parts of a reciprocally advantageous whole. Instead, in *Das Kapital,* Marx emphasizes the separation of town from country in the ancient world. 'One might say that the whole economic history of society is summed up in the movement of this antithesis' (Marx/Finley 1981, 19), he wrote. In Marx's view the ancient city with its territory is the economic totality (Finley 1981, 19).

Weber, by contrast, was fascinated by the sociology of the ancient city. He, and more especially his studies, defined the model of the consumer city: a place that does not pay for its maintenance with its own products, because it does not need to. Instead it derives its maintenance on the basis of a legal claim, such as taxes or rents, without having to deliver return values (Finley 1984, 192, quoting Sombart). The Weberians contended that the ancient city was quite unlike the late medieval and modern European city. The latter in their opinion, contra Marx, were integrated into regional agrarian economies.

Finley meshes the two theses in a characteristically stimulating model. His starting point is two facts: 'First, the Graeco-Roman world was more urbanized than any other society before the modern era. Second, the city-state, the closely interlocked town-country unit, remained the basic module even after the state component in the city-state had lost its original meaning.' (Finley 1981, 20). He pursues these points to concur with Weber that the ancient city was primarily a consumer-city in which the economy and power relations within the place rested on wealth generated by rents and taxes flowing to and circulating among town-dwellers (Finley 1981, 21). He qualifies his thesis, contending that there was probably some variation from this norm, but nonetheless he states baldly that 'I hold it to be methodologically correct to retain the ancient city as a type' (Finley 1981, 23).

In my opinion this type seems to be one corollary of the political system: a mechanism for integration of a vast polity that was barely sufficient to meet the needs of handling and processing the information flows within the Roman Empire. As an archaeologist only superficially familiar with the Roman world, I find Finley's thesis convincing on two counts. Firstly, the ancient city appears to have been dominated by monumental buildings, unlike the medieval town in which production and distribution aspects appear to have been much more prominent. Secondly, the poverty of Roman peasant sites contrasts markedly with the archaeology of their medieval counterparts. Regional distribution systems took entirely different forms in the two periods. My thesis, of course, diverges sharply from Marx's generalization about town-country relations in the Middle Ages, and necessarily warrants further discussion. Before I explore these themes in the later 1st millennium, let me stress one point. In Finley's opinion the ancient city is the product of its immense imperial context. It follows, therefore, that the decline and fall of the context is bound to involve the decline and demise of the institution. What replaced it may have been described in ancient terminology, but if one accepts Finley's view, then the plain details of European history argue strongly against the revival of the 'type' as such. The origins and development of early medieval urbanism, therefore, must be related to its peculiar and variegated political context.

To discover this context we must venture well beyond what Finley describes as the cul-de-sac of individual town histories (1981, 20). The rebirth of the town in the early Middle Ages necessitates an appreciation of urbanism and market-places as institutions rather than simply as places within the landscape. This is the central tenet of Pirenne's thesis. It has also been a paramount theme in the work of Georges Duby (1974), for example, as well as Philip Grierson (1959). In their opinion the rebirth of the town is a critical feature in the political evolution of the European states, as well as the creation of agrarian market systems. None of these scholars strictly support the view advanced by Marx and to some extent embellished by disciples like Kosminsky and Professor Hilton that later medieval agrarian market systems were highly restrictive and never fully evolved (1978). Instead most mainstream historians have

broadly favoured Pirenne's 10th century urban revival as the beginnings of regionally integrated market systems with well articulated production-distribution systems. Yet, as I shall illustrate, many archaeologists, uninterested in anything bar the place, have omitted to consider the institutional implications of their individual town histories. Suffice it to stress that the real issues raised by Pirenne were those of accounting for the transition between the demise of antiquity and the 10th century commercial revolution, as Lopez described it (1971).

Between these two points the historian's sources are completely unsatisfactory for the purposes of writing Braudelian history. Archaeology alone bears witness to the rhythms of time. This is not to dismiss the written sources; a minimal view would be that these are adequate to illustrate the margins of history. However, given a Finleyite critique, I should emphasize that such sources must not be overlooked. In other words, like layers in the ground, these ideologically contrived past statements must be interpreted. It seems to me that their interpretation becomes easier as we gain greater command of the interlocking rhythms of time. Then, as Marc Bloch acknowledged, our witness can be cross-examined. However, we need yardsticks to come to terms with the momentous transition described by Pirenne and his disciples and manifestly confirmed by the baldest interpretation of the archaeological record. Anthropology provides many appropriate yardsticks, as Duby and Grierson have appreciated. Therefore it is a gross misjudgement for us as archaeologists to overlook the means of cross-examining our witness. However, as I shall end by stating, it is a misjudgement that reveals much about our own historical paradigm as well as the current plight of archaeology. Let me briefly consider two relevant approaches to this issue.

Anthropologists, as I have pointed out in various publications (1982a; 1982b; 1988b) do not treat pre-capitalist societies as a more primitive expression of modern industrialized systems. Many anthropologists agree that we must have appropriate conceptual models for past systems. The substantivist economic anthropologists led by Karl Polanyi, George Dalton and Marshall Sahlins proposed an attractive approach to economic anthropology, which Finley and Duby, for example, have found useful (cf Hodges 1988b). The substantivists, however, failed to account for aspects of maximization as well as the existence of general cost-benefit decision-making in many past societies. Their problem has been, perhaps, that their data are rooted mostly in short, modern time-periods. Moreover they have tended to treat cultures or regions largely in isolation, failing sometimes to perceive the dynamic impact of long-distance connections.

To some extent the work of Carol A Smith (1976) attempts to come to terms with these problems. Smith has developed a typology of regional exchange networks appropriate to different types of social stratification in agrarian societies. Her model is a sophisticated development of Marx's thesis on pre-capitalism, formulated in a geographer's (ie spatial) terms. As I have shown elsewhere (1982a; 1988b), this is an especially useful framework for archaeologists as it focuses on the use of space, on the scale of ranking in society, as well as on production and distribution. It is possible to measure each of these variables using material culture, and thus to illuminate the institutional structure. Given fine dating as well as good regional archaeological data, we can develop a sequence of patterns depicting resource management. Let me emphasize, however, that Smith's models cannot be employed entirely as they stand. Her research has been concerned with post-war Guatemala and, as she readily admits, falls within the sphere of modern capitalist world systems. Inevitably, as Finley among others has illustrated, past systems - especially those practised by successful communities (as opposed to backward ones like Guatemala) -may have taken different forms. In short, historical archaeologists and geographers have a part to play in developing Smith's models.

I have employed Smith's models as a framework for interpreting the origins of medieval urbanism. 'Catatonically obscure' was one historian's judgement of the merits of this exercise! Undaunted, I still believe these models provide a rudimentary point of departure for research on political and urban evolution. Hence let me illustrate the merits of this approach for studying the rebirth of the town in the West by using Anglo-Saxon archaeological data (for a fuller outline see Hodges 1987a.)

Firstly, in the 5th and 6th centuries we can observe in the regions of England a highly limited settlement hierarchy with an emphasis on the domestic mode of production, and with the restricted circulation of items employed in the mortuary rite. This was a world without either consumer cities or peasant markets. The haphazard occupation of some largely deserted Romano-British towns cannot be interpreted as an indication of town life, of Finley's type.

Secondly, in the late 6th and early 7th centuries the settlement hierarchy altered significantly. Type A *emporia,* periodic trading-places such as Ipswich, as well as palaces, churches and stratified burial-places, mark the emergence of a new political system. These new places coincide with alterations in production as well as the regional circulation of prestige goods, mostly ritually destroyed in funerary contexts. Remember, though, that this phase occurs at different times in different territories. Continental connections were a factor in the transformation - territory by territory - of a patchwork quilt of territories.

Thirdly, in the late 7th century the settlement system altered again. The periodic type A *emporium* at Hamwih (Saxon Southampton) was radically transformed into an urban community. I have previously described this as a type B *emporium.* A 45 ha settlement with a gridded street plan including a wide central street was constructed within a ditched enclosure. Buildings long-side on to the street, most containing the debris of craft-working, lined the streets, though property/tenemental divisions seem to have been absent. Southampton must have had a population of several thousand; in other words it was 40 or 50 times larger than most other settlements in the hierarchy. Unfortunately we cannot define its wider context except in terms of coinage and developments in artistic expression.

Fourthly, in the late 8th or early 9th centuries we can detect a further alteration in the settlement structure. Type B *emporia* may have existed at this time at London and Ipswich as well as Southampton. There are good grounds for attributing changes in the form of royal, monastic and village settlements at this time. Planned villages and the existence of storage facilities in addition to the beginnings of open-field systems betray the beginnings of what modem historians would describe as a 'take-off'. These developments are mirrored in production, Archaeological evidence for the bid to increase productivity in pottery production, milling and iron-making are likely to be part of the wider ideological and technological package exported from the Carolingians to receptive English royal families seeking the means to alter their circumstances.

Fifthly, the controversial dating of Hamwih suggests that the type B *emporium* was in decline before the Viking assault. This is not inconsistent with the history of Wessex or indeed other kingdoms at this time, and hints, no more, that political power was being successfully concentrated in individual families.

Sixthly, in the late 9th and early 10th centuries there occurred what I have termed the 'First English Industrial Revolution'. In fact we can detect three phases before *c* AD 1000 in the evolution of competitive markets with the conspicuous fostering of commodity production and regional distribution. Phase 1 marks the foundation of the primary and secondary tiers of markets. Phase 2 is typified by the emergence of tertiary tier markets and by the 'big bang' (as Richard Morris (1983) has described it) when parish churches and probably manors were being constructed to control the rural resource base. Phase 3 at the end of the millennium or possibly in the early 11th century marks the beginnings of international competitive trading.

This series of time-slices focusing on historical geography offers an altogether different perspective of Anglo-Saxon England. But Smith's models must be interpreted with caution. The temptation is to treat these episodes rather like the sequences of glimpses proffered by contemporary written sources and to assume that one spatial arrangement evolves into the next. Smith herself is trapped within Marx's brilliant yet archaic appraisal of the rhythms of pre-capitalist formations. A group of anthropologists, however, have approached socio-economic transformations using rather sounder ethnographic and historical data. Let me focus on the works of two scholars to find yardsticks with which we can begin to articulate these episodes.

Wolf (1982) reworks Marx's social typology into three broad categories: the capitalist mode of production, the tributary mode of production, and the kin-based mode of production. In this discussion, needless to say, we are concerned with the latter two only. It is not easy to briefly define both categories, but I believe we need to appreciate the rudiments of this typology in order to grasp the meaning of the sequence of urban patterns I have just described.

In Wolfs opinion the kin-based mode of production is where kinship, rather than class, structures political power. Kinship ties restrict the amount of social labour which can be mobilized for collective purposes, and necessarily delimit the concentration of resources in the hands of one individual or family. Characteristic of kin-based societies is the forming followed by the disintegration of aggregated groupings. These are often described as chiefdoms, forming around a charismatic leader but seldom outlasting his lifetime. As Wolf says, a chief may be the pivot of power, but he is also its prisoner. To break the limitations of kinship a chief must lay hold of mechanisms that guarantee independent power over resources. To effect such power requires new political instruments of domination.

By contrast, the tributary mode of production divides the population into surplus producers and takers. Class, crudely speaking, replaces kinship. In these circumstances mechanisms are required to ensure that surpluses are transferred from one class to the other. Coercion becomes a critical feature in such societies, installed and administered by state apparatus (Wolf 1982, 99). Social labour in this mode is manipulated for the express purpose of power and domination. However, domination may be exercised by the ruling élite at the apex of the hierarchy or, at a lower stage in the social pyramid, by local lords controlling the means of production and causing the apex to be politically weak (Wolf 1982, 80).

It will be apparent that each of these social categories embodies a spectrum of social arrangements. Nevertheless it will be equally clear that capitalism is as different from tributary arrangements as the latter is to those functioning in kin-based societies. Hence we may contrast the institutional arrangements in kin-based societies, delimited by the collective will, with the tributary forms that are critical variables in tribute-based societies. Tribute in the form of fiscal measures regulated the ancient world as it patently did Anglo-Saxon England in the 10th century and after. But in the intervening phase the institutional mechanisms for raising tribute were counterbalanced by socially levelling mechanisms. I would postulate that the series of Anglo-Saxon episodes identified above roughly approximate to changes in these social mechanisms to the advantage of kings as they amassed coercive powers. But let me attempt to be more precise.

What we are witnessing between the 5th and 10th centuries is a transition between gift exchange, which typifies kin-based groups, and restricted commodity exchange, which is a critical variable of fully tributary societies. The key to this shift from one form of social interaction to another has been defined by Sahlins as 'kinship distance' (1974, 185-276). Gift exchange occurs between relatives as an integrative medium, but as kinship distance lengthens and the transactors become strangers, commodity exchange occurs. However, as Gregory has pointed out, 'The concepts, gifts and commodities, while different, are nevertheless complementary: the concept of commodity, which presupposes reciprocal independence and alienability, is a mirror image of the concept gift, which presupposes reciprocal dependence and inalienability' (1982; 24). This distinction has not been lost on historians of the early Middle Ages who have noted the persistence of kin-based decision-making and the concomitant prominence of gift-giving up until the 9th century. Historians

have also noted the inception of tributary relations with the advent of the Church and the significant sequence of stages by which the royal elites increased their authority by exacting 1) more direct food-rents(tribute), and 2) social labour in the form of military obligations. In an important essay Brooks (197 1) charted the history of these exactions up until the regular codified arrangements of the 10th century. These, I believe, shed valuable light on the institutional arrangements leading to the urban revival. Let me illustrate this point by embellishing the series of spatial episodes described earlier.

Firstly, the type A *emporia* (periodic market-places) provide the first evidence of neutral trading-places envisaged by Marx, Sahlins and Gregory – points where native gifts were traded as commodities; where the inalienable became alienable. These places are surely images of Continental connections, reinforced by the arrival of the Church, which already embodied a modified classical tradition of commodity production and distribution. The inflation in gift-destruction, documented in English cemeteries, like the inception of territorialism is a feature of the general tension generated by significant changes in institutional attitudes to resources. Property now became a feature of Anglo-Saxon England, as Bede shows, as the Tribal Hidage depicts and, most significantly, as settlement adjustments and the inception of household compounds vividly illustrate. We cannot disentangle the inception of tribute, the coming of the Church and the beginnings of fixed trading-places.

Secondly, the type B *emporium* at Hamwih constitutes a radical new political policy. We are, in my opinion, witnessing the beginnings of English urbanism. The place was devised as a monopolistic production centre as well as a monopolistic mart. When describing the planning of late 9th century Winchester, Martin Biddle (1976) and James Campbell (1975, 39-54), from different standpoints, have stressed that centralized and organized authority was involved. We must surely deduce the same for Hamwih. Those authors pointed to the mobilization of social labour to build the *burhs;* we must deduce the same for Hamwih. Digging the enclosure ditch, building the roads, and even perhaps constructing the buildings and facilities may have been executed by labour levied as a collective responsibility of the kingdom. Brooks shows that building royal palaces came within this remit; so, too, we might postulate the construction of an *emporium.* But we must take note of Hamwih's features. It resembles late Saxon Winchester in possessing a street grid pivoted on a wide high street, but unlike the *burhs* it appears that property divisions within the *emporium* were absent. Hence, in the age when land-divisions were being assimilated by all levels of rural society, Hamwih like royal palaces appears to have constituted one single unit.

Hamwih, it seems to me, reflects the royal authority to manage and, critically, control not only trading but also craft production on a great scale. It shows that military obligations exacted by kings like Ina are a small measure of their real power. Hamwih embodies the royal will to generate increased commodity production. But why, and for what purpose? I will postulate, to create some

discussion, that the wide street tells us why. Like the timber theatre at Yeavering, the wide street and grid is an Anglo-Saxon version of the street systems surviving in many southern European towns at this time. In other words the model was imported and interpreted by a king who was seeking to develop kingship by generating increased resources. But how was he doing this? Was the monopolized commodity production intended for regional or Neustrian destinations? The absence of a regional programme designed to resolve this question will puzzle future historians. The highly centralized pattern of Southampton coins as well as the early Hamwih pottery imply restricted access to commodities, whereas the absence of a distinctive early 9th century penny, like the incidence of Hamwih coarse-tempered wares in Hampshire (Hodges 1981), favours a later shift towards a regionally integrated centre. But I must stress that I lay little emphasis upon these observations. I would urge, however, that Brooks (1971) treats Hamwih as a physical expression of the early coercive ability of West Saxon kings to raise social labour for public duties. Brooks, of course, identified the precocious status of Ina, king of Wessex, and contrasts the position of West Saxon kingship with the more restricted role of Mercian kingship before the last decade of the 8th century. With this point in mind, let me enter the fray as far as Middle Saxon London is concerned!

In the flurry of recent papers on Middle Saxon London the political and economic implications of a place that grows in size with each new author appear to have been overlooked! If late 7th century London resembled late 7th century Hamwih, this would tell us much about the kings of the East Saxons. It tells us even more about the early to mid 8th century kings of Mercia, to some extent flying in the face of Brooks's observations on their limited coercive powers. At the same time the distribution of 8th century Mercian *sceattas,* largely concentrated in Middle Anglian findspots and taking many stylistic forms, markedly contrasts with the restricted distribution of West Saxon coinage – restricted, that is, to Hamwih. Indeed the Mercian *sceatta* distribution strongly suggests that the territory was cocooned within a ring of smaller territories in which the alienation of inalienable goods occurred. It suggests a territory in which central control over coin production and limited trading of commodities was weakly exercised. Add to this the bizarre absence of a distinctive Middle Saxon pottery type in London, and we are left with the obervations of Bede and a few other incidental accounts by travellers.

So what was Bede referring to? I must reiterate that we cannot use histories like Bede's without critical reference to wider rhythms of time. Wormald (1983) has skilfully shown how Bede was propagating an ideal image of his world, and one which we must interpret with great care. Bede may have known of London, probably as one of several type A *emporia* in eastern England – places to which freelance Frisian traders came and engaged in commerce not only with the royal families but also with other members of the elite. In short, unlike the concentrated type B features of Hamwih, I predict that we are concerned with scattered compounds rather like those at Barham, Ipswich and

Burrow Hill in the Sandlings district of Suffolk at this time. In other words I would seriously question both whether the institutional mechanisms for developing a type B *emporium* were not embedded in these kingdoms at this date, much as Brooks implies, and that Frisian middlemen among others hindered the formation of any monopolistic control by interacting with competing lower-ranking members of the elite. The history and the coinage can be as readily interpreted this way as they can to support what seems to be the alternative London thesis.

It is always tempting to seek Macaulay-like progress in our history (Finley 1985, 1-6). It is a temptation with which Finley among others justifiably takes issue. In the transition from kin-based to tribute-based societies, as Wolf anticipated, there can be many deviations. More-over we must not overlook inflation in the gift and commodity spheres as well as the vicissitudes of long-distance connections. For these reasons, therefore, I challenge Metcalf's recent proposition (Andrews & Metcalf 1984, 175-9) to identify a direct link between the *sceatta* coinage and the pennies in Southampton. A period of diminished activity seems to be quite consistent with the historical record. This preceded a period of significant change. Wolf pointed out that political change may occur through the discovery of new instruments of power. Brooks clearly shows that Offa discovered these instruments, borrowed from the Carolingians, late in the 8th century. A new political ideology reinforced by the means to generate increased productivity and hence tribute using revived Roman technology promised new powers to the Mercians. This may be the context for the type B *emporia* at London and Ipswich. It may be the point, too, when the West Saxons consciously opted to make Southampton more of a regional as opposed to an interregional centre. This is a fascinating period, as the English kingdoms, in my opinion, variously made use of the Carolingian *renovatio* to create the basis for social and economic change.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of Carolingian influence upon the southern English is that the West Saxons, unlike their Continental neighbours, were able to expand as their Continental connections diminished with the mid century decline of Hamwih. Barbara Yorke (1984) has painted an important picture of West Saxon political stability on the eve of the Viking incursions. This stability is to some extent reflected in the cniht's guild at Canterbury dating from this age, reflecting the growing vulnerability felt by the lower-ranking elites as the configurations of social order altered. The conditions for an economic take-off, therefore, pre-existed Alfred's reign, but the Vikings provided the mechanism of change.

We now reach a point which perplexes anthropologists, geographers and historians. How do tribute-based societies form? Why do kin-based groups cede their rights? There always appears to be a 'Catch-22' in this transition, as increased production causes increased drudgery yet is critical to the creation of tribute by which, ultimately, the central authority is reinforced. Wormald (1983) has shown how myth and memory were cleverly employed by the West Saxons as a device to create the natural English nation. He shows how the

English were influenced in this strategy by Charlemagne's great achievements. Put simply, the Vikings were used as the 'baddies' in a normal race against time. I have charted the full implications of this elsewhere (Hodges 1988a); suffice it to state that urban archaeology points to the brilliant use of commodity production as a mechanism for seducing the English. Under threat from the Vikings, the pre-conditions for change were activated, presumably by controlled leasing to colonize the early towns.

Coinage at first was freely used to lubricate this transition, and the ongoing Scandinavian threat was maintained as a means to sustain the powers of the West Saxon dynasty as they deployed their social resources to capture hitherto Anglian, Mercian and Northumbrian territory. Hence West Saxon *burhs,* modelled to some extent on Hamwih, now serviced the region, and in the Danelaw–a territory that had lingered behind Wessex until then-Viking kings posed a genuine threat by seizing the initiative and imitating the West Saxon tranformation with the aid of alien artisans and moneyers. The rise of the Danelaw towns, brilliantly revealed by recent excavations (eg Hall 1984), speaks volumes about the persistent West Saxon crusade to unify a previously disparate community. Similarly the regional distributions of commodities like pottery reveal the remarkable integration of this pre-feudal, tributary society, much as Sawyer noted (1965). These were the conditions which generated the wealth of England, and one may sympathize with Wormald when he notes: 'England, like all European nations, was founded in a "Dark Age"; we shall never quite understand how. The main objection to belief in the inevitability of English unification is that it is all too easy. It is virtually incredible that what did not happen until long afterwards in countries that were initially subjected to a single political authority should have happened automatically in a country that was not' (Wormald 1983,128).

The rebirth of towns in Britain, therefore, can be traced to the political complexion of the 7th century, when the Church triggered the beginnings of a tributary mode of production. In other words the commerce in information was a catalyst to a particular West Saxon institutional form. I would postulate that this form was different from Mercian, Anglian or Northumbrian forms. In these other areas connections to the Carolingian court proved one critical instrument in the extension of political institutions and the capacity to create large, nucleated *emporia*. The urban revolution of the 10th century owed a great deal to two centuries of development, to the importation of Carolingian ideas and, not least, to the political opportunism in the age of the Vikings. This sequence is very different in other parts of Europe, where the demise of the ancient world took a different form and where, as a result, the early medieval political institutions fashioned different arrangements. In those areas one cannot deny the highly restricted continuity of commodity production and thus, I suggest, the limited persistence of urbanism.

I am not convinced that the thesis presented here would have convinced Sir Moses Finley; he lost patience with archaeologists. But I would say this to his students: as archaeologists we have been rehearsing our argu-

ments in the shadow of historians. We have now ascertained the wealth of our data, and now is the time to approach it in a modern, interdisciplinary manner to reconstruct those rhythms of time. This necessitates a bold awareness of written history. After all, these were agrarian societies, so early medieval towns must be investigated within regional frameworks. Flexible research designs are called for to structure stratified sampling programmes embracing what in capitalist jargon we confusingly term 'town and country relations'. Within Ipswich and Southampton such programmes have already been profitably put into effect. I am happy, too, to see the immensely important East Anglian surveys arising from the Sutton Hoo project. Historians will heap praise on these investigations, for we must document not only those who made history but those for whom history was denied. We need to measure regional community development, production, consumption and trade, as well as those many forms of material expression in addition to written sources that survive. I can boldly assure the Finleyites that this is not a pipe-dream; it is a pragmatic alternative to the antiquarianism which has generated a surfeit of vulgar history.

Moreover archaeology in this form engenders a new perspective on the material past. As archaeologists we have failed to communicate with a wider public. We have sold them technology and a version of the past written in the bourgeois terms of the present. We have been the lackeys of history, and a vulgar history at that! Accordingly the layers themselves are the driest dust that blows, and one consequence of this is that our great archaeological tradition faces a muddled, ignoble future. We have at our disposal the mechanisms for rewriting history. We have vivid, compelling sources that depict a very different behavioural story, which in its great institutional and material differences illuminates our own age (cf Leone 1982).

Henri Pirenne, the giant of 20th century medieval history, learnt in wartime captivity that the rhythms of time are more dynamic and intriguing than his blinkered university training had hitherto induced him to believe. I would postulate that if Pirenne lived today he would be charging us archaeologists to put some spirit into the lethargic, traditionalist, medieval history maintained by the establishment in Britain. The mechanisms of urban decline (as he recognized), and those of rebirth and growth constitute vivid images with which to alter the present state of history and to bring it rightfully to a much larger audience. In conclusion, I choose to believe, I have not in fact spanned the last half-century, but rather I have reiterated those views expressed by Pirenne in 1935.

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2 Unity and diversity-a framework for the study of European towns
David Hill

Abstract

The article attempts to place the problems of the early medieval town in a more realistic and historic perspective, divorcing the period from the misconceptions arising from single issues, such as the Vikings or the Empire of Charlemagne, as the cause or the setting for the reawakening of urbanism. Instead the article attempts to demonstrate that the growth in town life and structures in England from AD 600 to 1066 is exactly paralleled by developments in the rest of Continental Europe.

In the years since the death of Henri Pirenne and in particular since the close of the Second World War there has been a flood of urban archaeology. All countries have been to some extent caught up in this outburst of information, but the northern countries have seen dozens of important sites investigated, often in the face of extensive redevelopment. However there has not been the secondary, assimilation phase where this raw information has been processed and has affected the intellectual framework into which it must fit. There has been little offered to us, and much of the offerings have come from versions of theories popular in other fields rather than from a fresh view of the new information in its setting within the already mainly processed and assimilated documentary and historical material.

This short paper offers three thoughts about towns in the period 600 to 1066, although these thoughts are obviously heavily influenced by the author's experience and background in English archaeology.

Firstly, the model or the marshalling of the material relating to towns must grow out of the evidence; we must not start with a model and then bludgeon the information into the approved shape. Secondly, we must be able to realize the dynamism of the problem-our model must move. We must realize that town life grows and moves and changes; the background to urban life in the 6th century is very different from that half a millennium later. The town in the Eastern Roman Empire or in Caliphal Spain was a very different phenomenon to that in Sweden or England. We must not construct pedestrian and static models; the model must have wheels and be capable of movement, and have four dimensions.

Perhaps this can be illustrated with a simple diagram (Fig 1). There are other ways of illustrating this point. Firstly the area increased, so that England, Ireland, Holland, and Scandinavia, for example, all became part of the area of Europe served by towns in the period 600-1066. Secondly, more towns were inserted into the pattern continuously throughout the period so that, for example, Somerset started in the late 9th century with perhaps five urban sites, and those were continually complemented or replaced so that the urban network was denser with ten Domesday Boroughs after a century and a half. Finally, the growth of towns can be charted internally as they gain more functions, more population and more prosperity. There are several good examples where this can be charted, Winchester being the best known.

Thirdly, diversity: we have to be ready for a definition of a town and town life, together with its humble origins and the individuality of each and every site, one that can accommodate Rome, Constantinople and Cordoba in the same century as Frome, Christchurch and Watchet. The net must be wide and we must beware of a universal theory built on particular cases that works well only for 11th century Saxony or Poland, or worse still only for a single site such as Northampton or Winchester.

Perhaps we should accept the very simplest definition, usually best seen in opposition with the concept of a village or, as Maitland put it so long ago (1897), 'what divides this settlement from all the others'. (The early theories are succinctly reviewed in Benton 1968.) We do not need criteria based on useless evidence, for example Adolphus Ballard's 'quasi-heterogenous borough' (1904). We must try and find criteria that exists or can hope to be recovered, not an ideal for which the evidence cannot be found. An example of this is the borough charter, an ideal criterion, which unfortunately does not exist in England at our period.

In an attempt to return to basics it is always refreshing to try to see the world through the eyes of the people whom we are studying, to return to the sources and away from the theorists, if only briefly. In the closing years of this period we find a few maps purporting to show Europe or parts thereof. The famous Cotton Tiberius map (Hill 1981, 1-3) attempts little in the way of detail but shows Britain and Italy as *countrysides with towns.* That same theme is tackled rather differently in a 10th-century map of Spain, from a manuscript from Ripoll.

East and Gascony are at the top, the Pyrenees are marked, the Mediterranean named, and the Atlantic represented by fish. The land is one of cities, mainly coastal; Narbonne, Cadiz, and Cartagena are clearly marked if erratically placed. But the general point is clear: it is a countryside with towns. Urban questions are fundamental to the early medieval period both in our perception and in the perception of the people at the time.
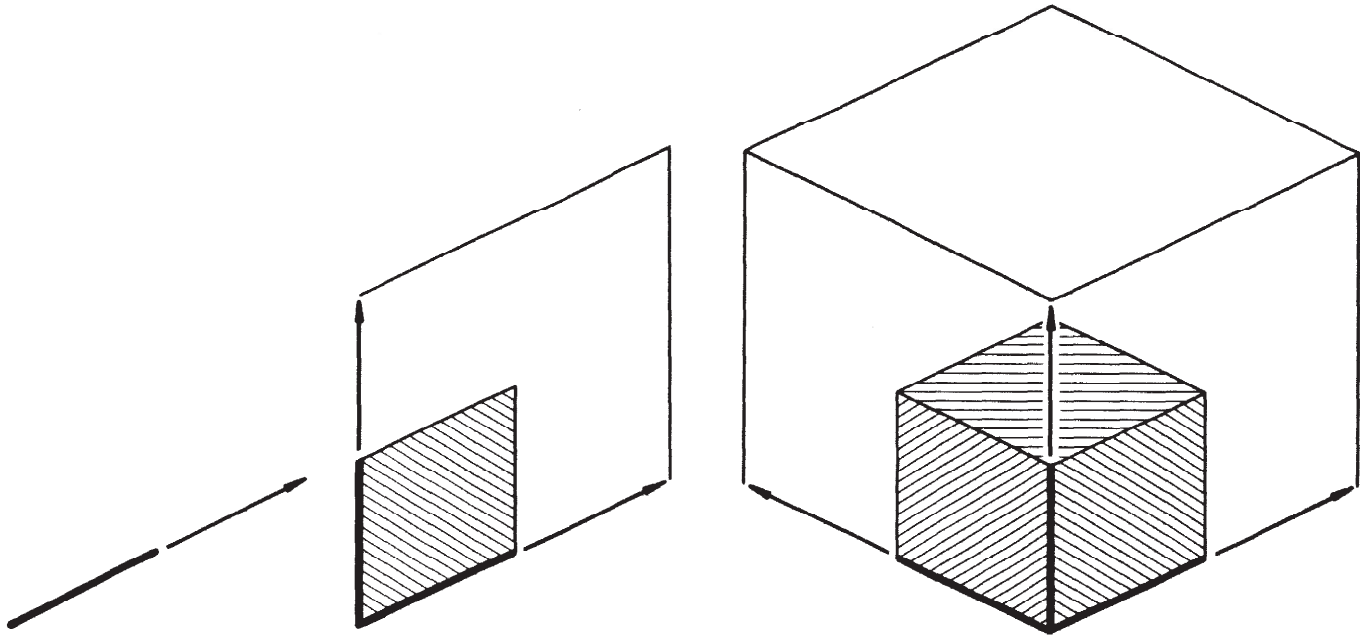
Fig 1   The growth of towns: a model
1) Increase in number of towns
2) Increase in area in which towns were found
3) Increase in population, size and functions of individual towns

The framework

Is there a unity to the development or rebirth of towns on a European scale? For if it can be shown that this is a European phenomenon and that therefore our understanding of English towns should have a European dimension, should we not seek it out? Unfortunately we have tended to give primacy to England, rather than setting it in its European context. This failing is not new, although Maitland followed Kemble in attempting to place Anglo-Saxon England in its European, particularly Germanic setting. However the following generations have tended to be extremely insular. This is not purely an English failing, for French history is French history, particularly the history of the Paris Basin, and the Germans have exercised a form of historiographical imperialism. Pirenne's views on towns are very much controlled by his deep knowledge and love of the Low Countries, but his models ignore the evidence of southern France and northern Italy; even the Rhineland is not given its proper weight,

In many countries we are ill-educated with regard to the range and experience of other countries and in this country we know almost nothing apart from the triumvirate of Charlemagne, the Vikings and the *emporia*. The shape of the early Middle Ages is quite clear, and the period forms the foundation upon which medieval and modern Europe is formed. In 717 the long period of decline in the fortunes of the Christian states had reached its nadir. The Arabs were in control of Spain and southern France; they were also at the gates of Constantinople, with most of Anatolia overrun. The Slavs had occupied the whole of Greece with the exception of a few beachheads such as Thessalonika and

Monemvasia. The pagan Frisians had sacked Cologne the year before, and the Christian lands ran in a thin band from Italy through central France to the British Isles. By 1066 Christian Europe had reached to most of the bounds of the modem Continent, and in some cases overreached it, Damascus was in the hands of the eastern Roman Empire, and the Greenland settlers were making regular trips to collect timber from the American shores. The land was being peopled, and the economy and culture was linked; in line with this was the spread of bishoprics, monasteries, stone buildings, a diplomatic network, a written series of records and land documents, and the town.

As we have seen, Pirenne was influenced by the fact that he was a Belgian historian, and therefore was not only prejudiced as to area but also towards his methodological approach. While his views have much to tell us about the rise of the 10th and 11th century Flemish town, they miss the general growth of the Carolingian town. The Carolingian town builds on the framework of surviving late Roman sites that had become episcopal centres, and this underlying framework is the central factor of medieval France. The secondary sites may follow Pirenne's views on the development of towns, but they are a later, 10th century phenomenon.

British archaeologists have tended to look for town origins in the *emporia,* originally influenced by the rich excavations at Saxon Southampton from the early 1950s onwards. These sites have become central to any model of the development of towns, and have led to the belief that they form the most important, if not the only group. Yet the largest group of urban sites at this time are those that continued throughout the 'Dark Ages', and survived to become episcopal centres. There are also a large

number of sites that rose to importance by 850. They were originally refuge sites, but owing to the security offered by their natural strength continued to take on more urban roles; sites such as Venice, Monemvasia, or Laon are widespread throughout the Christian lands. It would seem likely that if all sites from 600 to 850 are counted in, the emporia represent less than 4% of the total number of postulated urban sites.

When British archaeologists or historians do attempt to deal with the period 717-1066 in a Continental context, the Carolingian Empire tends to dominate the horizons of all the researchers. The 'empire', however, must be placed in context. Firstly it lasted as an entity for less than 50 years. Secondly the Empire in the sense of an entity holding France, middle Germany, northern Italy and present-day Catalonia lasted for less than 12% of the period. Finally the demise and break-up of the Empire, often referred to in tragic terms or as a result of such factors as rising feudalism or national particularisms, was only achieved in the decades following 843 (the Treaty of Verdun) after the partitions of 740, 768 and 806 had failed to divide the Frankish kingdom permanently. It was a series of 'great men' and dynastic accidents that had held the patrimony together; its collapse was a result of a tradition within the reigning family rather than any other factor. Within and without the fluctuating and myriad frontiers of the Carolingians and their kingdoms and empires the trends and developments of a burgeoning economy and its concomitant urban life continued little affected. For example, the developments of towns on either side of the English Channel in the latter half of the 9th century are remarkably in step with the necessities of trade in a hostile environment more influential than the ruling house of late Carolingians in Laon or Paris. The history of Europe-even western Europe-is not the history of one family; neither is it the history of one racial group.

The viewpoint of history in this period summed up by the *Monumenta Germaniae historica* approach (that everything vital and active in the period was carried out by Germanic peoples) has been dented in the last half-century, but the popularity of the Vikings has remained high. Their archaeology and history, their sagas, and their settlement patterns all fascinate new generations of scholars and students. This is quite right and proper, for they are entertaining and complex and had a significant effect on the nations with which they came in contact. What the Vikings are not, however, is the key to the early Middle Ages. Although their effect on the nations of north-west Europe is important, it is the nations themselves that are central. From their slightly different standpoint the French speak of the second barbarian assault on Europe-the Magyars or Hungarians, the Saracens or Arabs, and the Vikings. All three attacked Western Europe, and the Arabs had the potential to change the face of Europe, but in the British Isles we naturally concentrate on the people closest to ourselves and consider the Vikings.

The academic consensus, both in England and on the Continent, is that the Vikings were beneficial. It cannot be denied that they were unpleasant in their personal habits, cruel and destructive; their cultural offerings to the West were minimal, and their presence was rightly

feared. All this is irrelevant to our central theme. We are interested in their effects on towns, and it is here that misconceptions are strongest. The idea of 'traders not raiders' is now firmly established, but if it were the complete truth the Vikings would figure in our history on a par with the Frisians. As always the truth is complex, and the reassessment of the Viking impact of the past decades is now generally realized to have gone too far, the overstatements of Sawyer (1962) being corrected by a steady stream of criticism starting, rather obscurely, with an article in *North Munster Studies* (Lucas 1967). In terms of the development of towns there is a belief-sometimes expressed but often unstated-that the raids of the Vikings were a 'good thing'-in other words that to have your town raided, the townsfolk terrorized and, perhaps, slaughtered or enslaved, the thatch burnt over your heads was in some way beneficial to the development of the town. Edith Ennen's remarks on the early history of Cologne, Loyn's
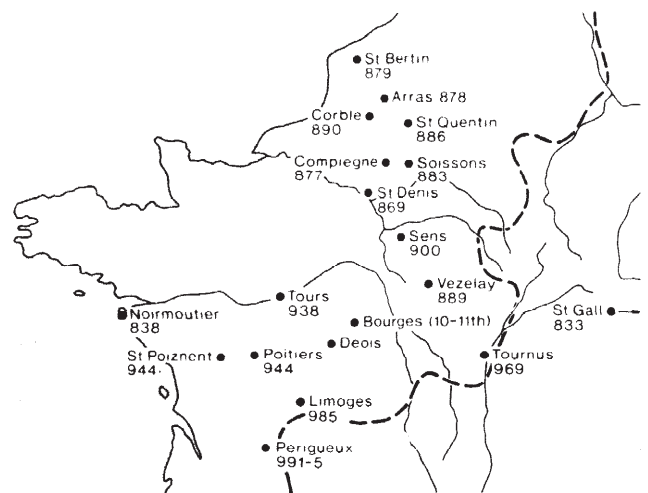

Fig 2a   Map of 9th and 10th century town wall repair and reconstruction
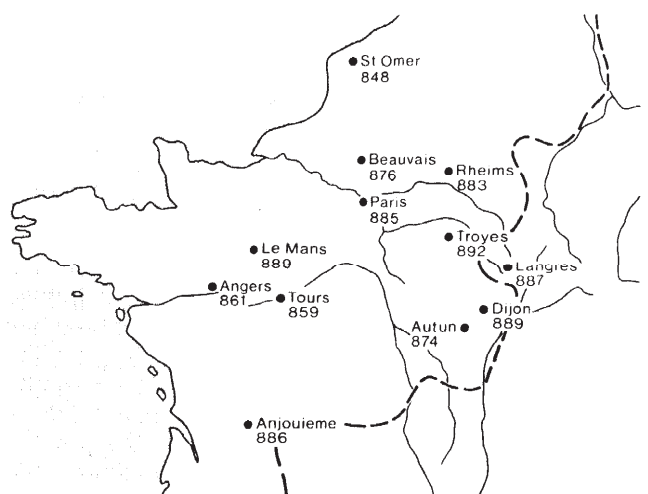

Fig 2b   Map of 9th century fortifications of monasteries

on the Viking effects on the British Isles or the series of maps by Hubert (1959) (Figs 2a and b) show that there is thought to be some sort of beneficial effect.

It is difficult to argue any theme in detail in one paper, but perhaps the work of Hubert on France can be an example of the problems caused by the too ready acceptance of the 'beneficial Vikings' theme. Figures 2a and b show clearly that the 9th and 10th century town-wall repairs lie within the areas of Viking raids, as do the fortified monasteries. It is obvious from these maps that these two strands in the reurbanization of France are connected in some way with the Viking raids. Yet in the south there are a series of raids by non-Christian maritime forces that lasted for almost the same period as the Viking raids. It is surprising therefore that these raids are seen as the cause of the decline of trade and town life on the Mediterranean coast, and difficult to see what makes the Viking raids constructive while the Arab/Saracen raids are destructive. (Figure 3 shows the major Saracen activity in southern France and in Italy.) Finally if we look at a different type of indicator for urbanism in France, those places called *burgus* in the period 750 to 1049 (Fig 4), we can see that the pattern suggested by Hubert is not discernible. In fact more development appears to be taking place in the area between the Rhône and the Seine. If mints are taken as the indicator, the pattern is rather more complex (Hill 1981, maps 204, 208-11), but still the point made by Hubert does not appear to be valid. Neither does that special Viking factor appear to be particularly apparent in Norway or Iceland, which are devoid of towns at this period. The areas of Viking activity are not especially active in town creation; it is simply that the bounds of the maps have been too tightly drawn.

It is therefore necessary to restate the second point in the introduction to this essay that there is growth in Europe. In fact there are two themes of European history and archaeology in the early Middle Ages. One need not concern us here, which is ethnogenesis (the foundation of many states, nations, and peoples as units). The other, which is relevant, is the spread of European culture and economy from a narrow and beleaguered band of states ruled by Christian rulers to a 'Christendom' in 1050 running from Damascus to Greenland and from Kiev to Santiago de Compostella. There was an increase not only in area but also markedly in population and in activities of all kinds. In the three and a half centuries from 717 to 1066 the foundations of medieval and modern Europe were laid down. It was a process that depended on and involved the eastern Roman Empire, and was to be seen not simply in the spread of Christendom and therefore of monks, bishops, and churches, but also a process that relied heavily on a money economy, towns, trades, Latin (and Greek) as languages of record and diplomacy, the unity of Europe through its diplomatic marriage ties, and so on. The horizons of 1066 were far wider than the late antique and fossilized frontiers of AD 400.

The unity of growth

We must take stock at this point to realize that there was a general European pattern of geographical spread, internal colonization, growth in population and all
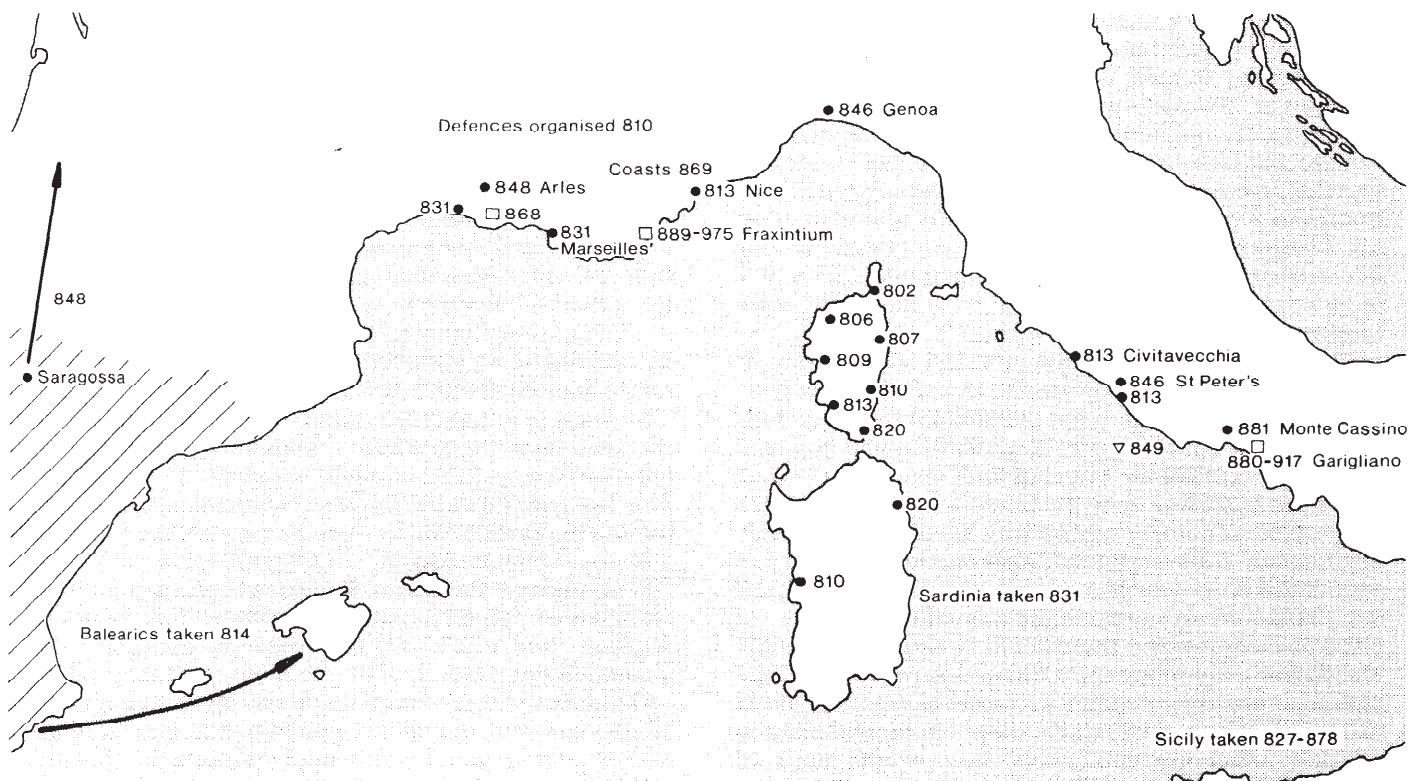

Fig 3   Ninth century Saracen raids in the eastern Mediterranean

Fig 4 Burgus *in France 750-1049*

economic indicators, laying the foundations of medieval Europe. The next step is therefore to ask what impact this had on towns. If towns were indeed a major agent of the spread of the 'European' economy (and I am fully aware of the Arab urbanization), was the pattern of urbanization a Europe-wide phenomenon? Clearly it would be foolish to fall into the error that the present author has laboured under for the past two decades, in other words to seek peculiarly English causes and solutions to the problems of English towns when the pattern (and therefore, one assumes, the underlying mechanism) is on a Continental scale. But before we can say that, perhaps we should examine if there is a European phenomenon. Whatever it is will obviously have to be examined in a way which will iron out minor fluctuations and local difficulties and the method I propose to demonstrate the pattern is first shown for England.

What I would like to demonstrate is the decline of towns from the Roman period to the 'Dark Ages' and then the resurgence up to the 10th or 11th century. This is illustrated by a simple diagram (Fig 5), but the problems behind it are not simple.

1 What is a town? As will be mentioned below we face the problem of comparing like with like. It is certain that the Roman, Dark Age, and 10th century towns were very different -indeed it can be argued that the early and late Roman urban centres were very different.

2 For our purposes there is a very wide range called 'the degree of indifference'. This means that, although one must attempt to be as accurate as possible, wide variations (within 30%) in the numbers chosen will not radically affect the end result, because the ratio of Roman to Dark Age sites is so large.

What I have done, therefore, is to accept the figures of

workers in the urban field at a particular period rather than attempt to ensure that we compare like with like. For the three dates we can take *c* 370 for the Roman baseline; the number of urban sites for Roman Britain should be around 80 (Wacher 1974, 24) with estimates ranging from as low as 30. The decline in Roman town life is very sharp *(ibid,* 411-22) and the figure for 600 is a matter of keen argument. Returning to Wacher's choice 'Town life or life in towns', it is possible to suggest a number of sites that have a status greater than a village in 600. Canterbury, Rochester, London and York may be candidates, but the number could be between 0 and 6. For the year 1000 we can take the number of mints (Hill 1981, 130-2), which is 87, or we could accept the slightly lower figure for Domesday boroughs. This appears clearest in a graph (Fig 5a), which shows the remarkable recovery of towns in England from 400 to 1066. It is intended to be simplistic, and no ink is therefore spilt on the status and functions of Roman *civitates,* the Anglo-Saxon *burh* or port, or the Domesday borough,

This approach can be tried elsewhere. Taking the area of modern Greece, which in this period fell mainly out of the control of the eastern Roman Empire and then was rehellenized, we have some figures for sites that may be called towns. For the earlier period in Greece *(c* AD 400) we may use the *Synecdemus of Hierocles,* a 6th century document reflecting an earlier (?early 5th century) situation. Many of these towns are very small indeed, but were legally separate from the other settlements and known by repute to be 'towns'. The number that we should therefore assign to the area of modern Greece should be 75 + (Fig 5b). There was a general decline in the cities and towns of the eastern Roman Empire even within those areas which remained within the Imperial borders throughout the period; in those areas lost to the Empire during the 6th and 7th centuries the collapse was catastrophic. In the year 700 there were probably only three places that could be called towns, two of them, Monemvasia and Thessalonika, of great importance and flourishing. The resurgence is then charted through the *notitia episcopatum* (Hendy 1985), not perhaps as happy a measure of urban status as the mint is in the 10th and 11th century northern lands, but we may follow Hendy in equating the seat of a bishopric with a 'city'. Certainly the canons of the church would make this equation, and so we may add such places as the new towns of Nikli and Valigosti in the central Peloponnese. The tally of towns reached about 54 by 879 and over 70 by the year 1000. This is surprisingly close to the pattern for England in the same years. Acute observers will note that the figures are crude and the chart only has three dates. A more detailed graph would show local aberrations; for example the nadir of town fortunes in England is probably 550-650 while in Greece it is 650-750.

The same pattern of collapse and recovery over six centuries can be demonstrated elsewhere, for example in Hungary (Gerevich 1977), or even for the Balkans in general (Fig 5c and d).

There is another pattern that can be discerned in other European areas, which is apparently different from the first, English pattern. For example the number of places in Russia away from the Black Sea coast can be easily calculated. There are none for AD 400 and there may well
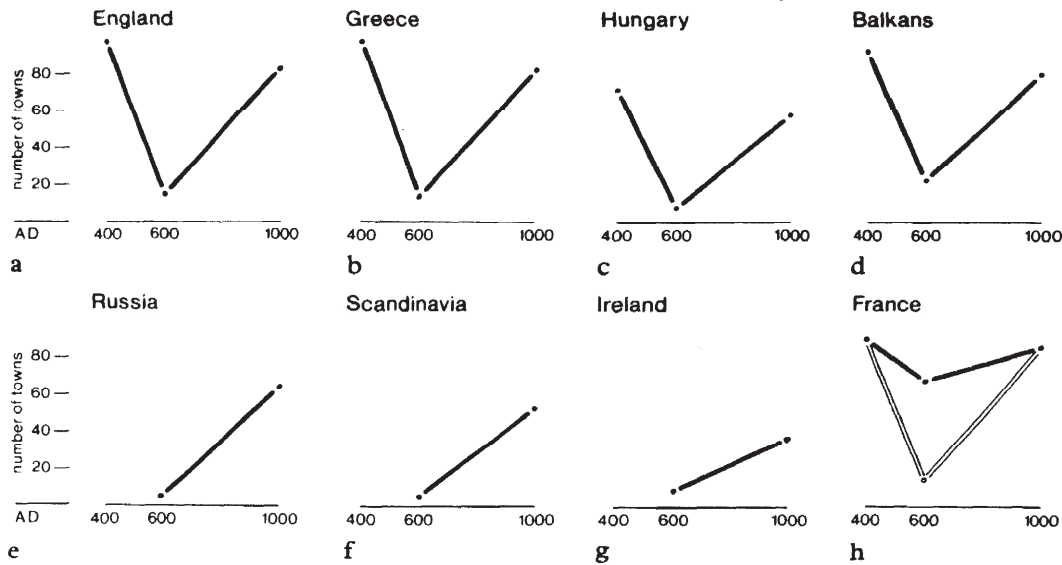
Fig 5 Graphs showing numbers of European towns 400-1000

still be none in 600. However by 1000 or just after we know of some 25 sites, including major ones such as Kiev and Novgorod (Fig 5e). In Scandinavia we can argue over one or two sites close to 600 but by 1000 there are some 16 (Fig 5f). Now these too can be charted, especially if we eschew exact numbers and simply draw diagrams. It should be noted that the same pattern could be sketched for Ireland with the arrival of such sites as Limerick and Dublin by AD 1000 (Fig 5g).

This pattern is similar to the latter half of the English model. The earlier section is missing because we lack the figures (and the towns) that were introduced by the Roman Empire, as these areas lie outside the imperial frontiers. The main point is that the resurgence appears in a second set of areas, and can be charted following the fall, in those areas that were within the Empire and then became 'barbarian' or 'pagan' and finally were recovered to the comity of European Christian nations. Secondly there are those areas that lay outside the Empire and therefore have the truncated curve. Finally there are those lands lying in the Christian heartland.

The third version of the curve is to be found in France (Fig 5h) and Italy, and is mirrored in Anatolia, at least in the western parts. The decline in comparative numbers is however, by no means as steep, particularly in northern Italy. This comparatively high rate of survival of town sites is due to the survival of the cities as episcopal seats. They continue with at least some role and some vestigial population because of the need of a central place for the administration of the diocese. If, however, we look in more detail at the sites concerned, we find that the surviving cities do not continue unchanged. Krautheimer's sketch plans for the occupied areas of Rome show a remarkable shrinkage. The most famous examples are in France, particularly at Arles where the classical town shrinks so that by the early medieval period the occupied area is contained within the walls of the amphitheatre. This should warn

us that although the diagram for total town numbers is not as pronounced as that for England or Greece, if it were possible to chart, as one day it will be, the total occupied areas within French or Anatolian towns, it would be possible to see the same pattern or curve. This of course is also true for the English or Greek curves in that they would be more pronounced, and recover less if they could possibly be charted for the occupied area at the stated time. It would appear to me at least that the case for a general pattern across Europe can be demonstrated: a pattern of decline from 400 to 600 and of recovery or fresh foundation from 600 to 1000. The pattern varies, having three main areas.

1 *The core:* those areas which remained 'civilized': Anatolia, Thrace, Italy, the Rhineland, France, and-anachronistically because it passed for the entire period into non-Christian (Arab) hands-southern Spain. Here the decline in numbers of sites was marked and the decline in occupied area very marked, but urban sites continued.

2 *The recovered lands:* areas that had belonged to the Empire but were lost to barbarian and pagan tribes: England, the Low Countries, northern Spain (again Spain is anachronistic here for the 'uncivilized' kingdoms were Christian throughout the period), Austria, Hungary, the Balkans, and Greece. In these areas the curve is most pronounced, with a catastrophic loss of towns and as sharp a recovery.

3 *The 'barbarian lands':* areas that lay outside the Empire and so had no towns, with uncertain beginnings in the 6th century, gaining momentum in the 9th and 10th century with the conversion. Scandinavia and the Slav lands, with eastern Germany, form the largest part of this area. Poland is rather difficult to categorize but in general follows the pattern under discussion. Ireland is an exception because it is Christian throughout the period (demonstrating that it is not the conversion *per se* that is important but the economic life that flowed with

it in the 8th century onward). Scotland, Wales and Iceland remained without towns throughout the period.

It is clear therefore that there was a general European resurgence of urban life in the period *c* 600–1000, and that when dealing with any regional survey it must always be seen against this Continent-wide trend.

Range and diversity of sites

No listing and counting of sites relevant to the urban history of Europe in the period 600–1000 exists. It seems that the number will exceed 1600, although the very compilation of the list and the criteria used for its compilation will lead to violent disagreements. In contrast to the preceding section, this discussion centres on the wide range and diversity of the sites. The early sites reflect a range of purposes: refuge and defence, administration and status, market and trade. Even in the 10th and 11th century when there is more uniformity in the towns and their function, we must always emphasize the individuality of the places. Every town has a history, range of functions, and development which is unique. Structurally they are also more diverse than the Roman sites, which remain recognizably Roman right down to the detailing, be they on the fringe of the Arabian desert or bleakly staring across the Solway at barbarian Scotland.

A point that is not emphasized enough, but is relevant to all our discussions particularly where Roman and early medieval sites are contrasted, is their basic difference. The Roman town is recognizably standard because it is an imposition on the countryside as part of Imperial policy; it is a centre of consumption and luxury, a symbol, and a honeypot sustained on the taxes of the surrounding countryside. This role is reflected in the nature of the buildings and the spaces within it. The early medieval town, whether a conscious foundation or not, lives in symbiosis with the countryside. It is a service centre, a market, a legal centre with a wide range of functions, but in the main it lives from its trade and has a life independent of royal patronage once it is set up. Its relationship with its landscape and hinterland is synallagmatic. In most towns, therefore, this different function is reflected in the plan and the structures. Again there are exceptions; Cordoba, Rome and Constantinople are centres of consumption supported by the contributions or taxes of large areas-an empire, a caliphate or the whole of Christendom. On another level there are small, unique groups of sites with a particular purpose. For example Pliska in Bulgaria and, perhaps, the great 'Ring of the Avars' had the attributes of a giant tribal cattle corral rather than a national capital; some sites were simply defensive (or offensive), and others were constructed as palace sites or status symbols. However there are some general groupings which account for much of the towns, either pre-existing or new foundations. This simple statement is immediately complicated by the fact that there is a great range in size. Constantinople and Cordoba, the great cities of Europe in the 10th century dwarf Cologne or-dare one say it-Winchester. It is even harder to recognize Totnes in this definition of 'town', yet they all had their role and function in the great network of towns and markets.

The diversity of function is sometimes, in the absence of documentary evidence, difficult to discern, but there is something to be gained by the study of the plans of these sites. The fundamental split in the lands that had farmed the Roman Empire is between *civitas* and *urbs*-a division clearly recognized by the Franks, Lombards, and Saxons, and reflected also in their coinage. This was not simply because of the need for the bishoprics to be within cities rather than villages. The great centres of the 8th and early 9th centuries were Roman and classical cities. Thessalonika with its great walls, its many churches, active administrative role, many craftsmen and trade was the only real town in Greece in these years; similarly one can find in Cologne or Paris, Pavia or Rome these sites forming a surviving framework.

The other main group of sites of the early period (ie before 900), are the refuge sites-places chosen more for their ability to be defended than for any other attribute. While Venice and other island refuges belong to this category, the most noticeable feature of these sites is the large preponderance of promontory fortifications-places covered on three sides by sea, marsh, river or ravine. In England they are well represented by Lydford, Stafford and Christchurch, while on the Continent striking examples at Laon, Mesembria or Monemvasia can be cited. These places only slowly attracted the wide range of ecclesiastical and administrative functions that the older established sites had, but in the end become part of the urban network.

The new towns across Europe, foundations of king and emperor, are in many ways the most interesting. The spread of the town-based economy over central and eastern Europe brought these new towns into a dominant role. They are interesting in that they reflect the aspirations of their founder, and so their size, layout and position have much to tell us. They range from the rectilinear, planned towns of the West Saxon kings, through the foundations of Henry the Fowler and the Leonine City in Rome, to a series of new towns in the eastern empire, often on ancient sites, such as Lakedaimonia in ancient Sparta.

Finally a group of new foundations are of particular interest in the later centuries as they represent the internal colonization of an economy and the development of a hierarchy of markets. These are the secondary market centres that appear after 900 throughout western Europe. These sites often lack the wide range of roles, and presumably also the range of goods and services, of the larger and longer established sites, but they do make for a very well developed urban landscape, particularly in north-western Europe. That there are many different sites with a wide range of functions should not surprise us. We should not attempt to force on our material a spurious uniformity that it did not possess. All writers at the time appreciate the ranking and variety of urban sites. We can find, for example, a sophisticated range of sites recognized in the naming of mint sites under the Carolingians; *civitates, castrum, castellum, vicus, portus, fiscus* are all named along with the (presumably non-urban) monasteries and palaces.

What is needed above all is a sophisticated approach, one that recognizes the wide nature of the urban revival and its many responses.

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PART II ITALY

3 The towns of northern Italy: rebirth or renewal?
Bryan Ward-Perkins

Abstract

At the end of the Roman period (in particular in the 6th and 7th centuries) the towns of northern Italy suffered considerable decline. Many towns disappeared altogether, and those that survived shrank in population and density of settlement. Urban decay and impoverishment are also reflected in the scale and quality of both public and private buildings. However, despite considerable decline, towns in this period perhaps fared better in Italy than they did in most other parts of the former Empire. A large number did survive, and the evidence of standing buildings, of excavation and of current street patterns shows some continuity of occupation and of urban sophistication. Towns survived because they continued to serve as centres for the administration, as a home for the aristocracy and, to some extent, as centres of production and exchange. In the 8th and 9th centuries, and elsewhere, urban life revived. In Italy the revival was particularly widespread and dramatic, probably because the towns had not suffered quite the same decline as they had elsewhere.

Introduction[1]

By the end of the period covered by this conference (1050) Italian towns were the largest, richest and most precocious of Europe. They were beginning to assert their independence from any form of centralized power, as shown, for instance, by the destruction of the imperial and royal palace of Pavia by the citizens in 1024. At the same time as shaking off central control, the towns were extending their own political and economic power over their agricultural hinterlands. The great maritime republics (Venice, Genoa, Pisa and others) were building up commercial empires that were to dominate the Mediterranean for the rest of the Middle Ages. In the number, size, wealth and political importance of its towns, Italy in 1050 was unrivalled in Europe.

How, when and why did this situation arise? One answer lies at the very beginning and indeed even before the starting date of this conference (AD 700). In the North Sea areas of Europe the 6th, 7th and early 8th centuries were a period in which towns played very little economic or political role. The Roman towns had disappeared as urban settlements, and the new impetus towards town life of the 8th and 9th centuries, whether economic or administrative, had scarcely begun (for Britain and the North Sea, see Hodges and Whitehouse 1983, 77-101; Biddle 1981, 103-12; for Gaul and the Rhineland, with more administrative and ecclesiastical continuity at least, see Brühl 1975; Böhner 1977; Galinié ch 8). In the north, because they had effectively died in the preceding centuries, it is reasonable to talk, as in the title of this conference, of the 'rebirth' of towns from the 8th century onwards.

In Italy, however, even in the darkest times of the 6th and 7th centuries, settlements recognizable as towns continued to exist and to dominate the political, religious and economic life of the peninsula, just as they had done in Roman times. The head-start that Italy had

over the towns of Europe in AD 1050 it already had in 750 or 650, through a continuous tradition of town life inherited from Roman, and often pre-Roman times. In Italy a better image than 'rebirth' from the 8th century onwards would be 'renewal'.

This is not to say that there was no urban crisis in Italy in the centuries between about AD 300 and 800. Before going on to deal with the evidence for exceptional urban continuity (in section 2), I shall dwell for a while on the evidence that Italian towns, like their northern European counterparts, saw some very lean years in the 4th to 8th centuries.

1 Evidence of decline

Firstly, it is clear that a large number of Roman towns in Italy, as elsewhere, disappeared altogether as urban settlements in the period roughly between AD 300 and 800. An estimate for the whole of Italy is that slightly under a third of Roman towns (116 of 372) disappeared during the early Middle Ages (Schmiedt 1973, 505-6). In the north the rate of survival was perhaps exceptionally good: of the Roman towns shown on Fig 6, only 20 out of a total of 72 seem to have disappeared by about 800. The figure of 20 may even be too high, since in a few cases what looks like disappearance seems to have been in fact continuous existence with a change of site and name (for example, in the Po delta the role of Roman Altinum moved to Torcello in the 7th century). However in other cases (for instance Luni in Liguria and Claterna in Emilia) there is no evidence of alternative towns emerging during this period to replace the dying Roman cities. Particularly in upland regions a number of towns certainly did disappear without finding immediate successors.

Secondly, it is now fairly clear that surviving towns, even the most important ones, declined considerably in
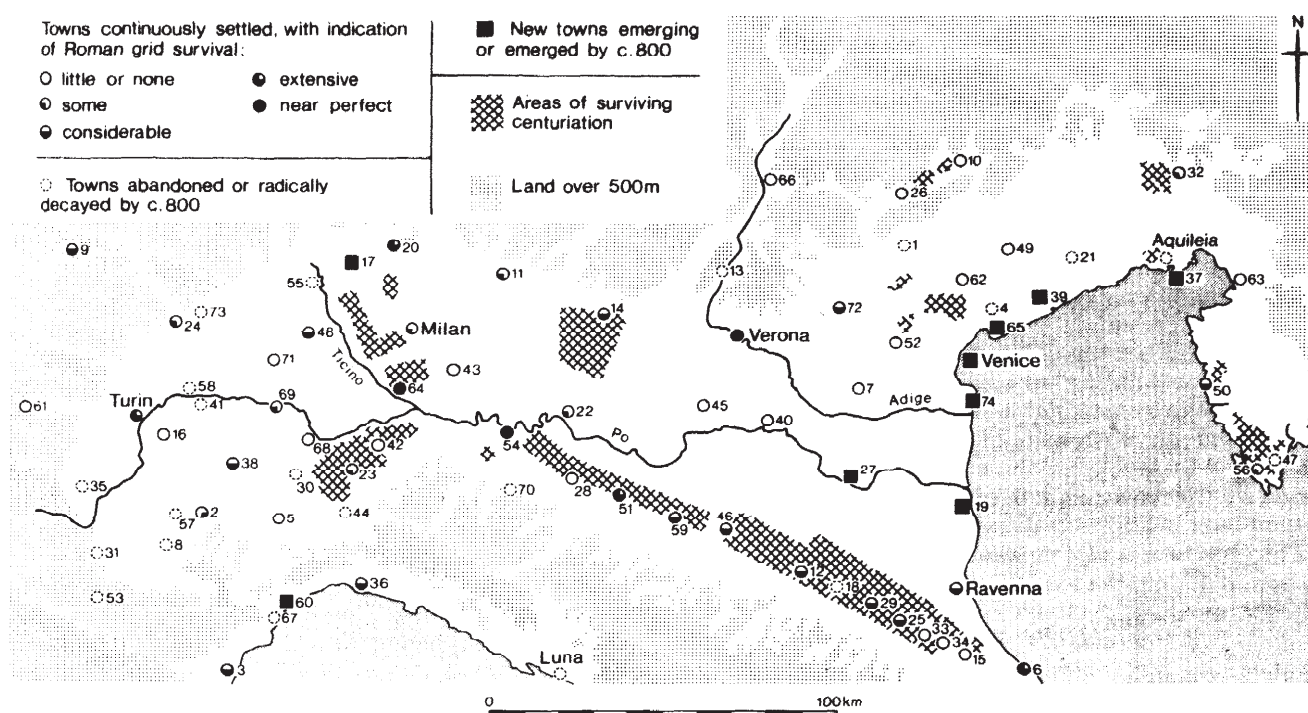
Fig 6 **Roman towns and new towns in northern Italy, c 300–800,** *The Roman settlements shown as 'towns' are those so designated on the maps of the* Tabula Imperii Romani *(with the single addition of Novaria/Novara). The decision as to whether a town should be categorized as surviving, abandoned, or emerging in c 800 is obviously open to dispute in a few individual cases; however, the general pattern is probably reasonably accurate. Equally, in the case of the surviving Roman towns, it is a matter of interpretation how to categorize the degree of survival of the Roman grid; in order not to exaggerate the phenomenon, I have tried here to err on the side of caution. Of course, not all Roman towns ever had a regular street grid, but in the PO plain the great majority do seem to have started off with one. Areas of centuriation are also taken from the* Tabula Imperii Romani *maps. Since publication of the two relevant sheets (in 1961 and 1966), many more areas of centuriation have been identified, but the clearest and best preserved are probably those shown here*

1 Acelum
2 Alba Pompeia/Alba
3 Albingaunum/Albenga
4 Altinum
5 Aquae Statiellae/Acqui
6 Ariminum/Rimini
7 Ateste/Este
8 Augusta Bagiennorum/Benevagienna
9 Augusta Praetoria/Aosta
10 Bellunum/Belluno
11 Bergomum/Bergamo
12 Bononia/Bologna
13 Bretina
14 Brixia/Brescia
15 Caesena/Cesena
16 Carreum Potentia/Chieri
17 Castelseprio
18 Claterna
19 Comacchio
20 Comum/Como
21 Concordia
22 Cremona
23 Dertona/Tortona
24 Eporedia/Ivrea
25 Faventia/Faenza

26 Feltria/Feltre
27 Ferrara
28 Fidentia/Fidenza
29 Forum Cornelii/Imola
30 Forum Fulvii
31 Forum Germanorum
32 Forum Iulii/Cividale
33 Forum Livi/Forli
34 Forum Popili/Forlimpopoli
35 Forum Vibii Caburrum
36 Genua/Genoa
37 Grado
38 Hasta/Asti
39 Heraclia (or Cittanova)
40 Hostilia/Ostiglia
41 Industria
42 Iria/Voghera
43 Laus Pompeia/Lodi
44 Libarna
45 Mantua
46 Mutina/Modena
47 Nesactium
48 Novaria/Novara
49 Opitergium/Oderzo
50 Parentium/Porec (or Parenzo)

51 Parma
52 Patavium/Padua
53 Pedo
54 Placentia/Piacenza
55 Plumbia
56 Pola/Pula (or Pola)
57 Pollentia
58 Quadrata
59 Regium Lepidi/Reggio Emilia
60 Savona
61 Segusium/Susa
62 Tarvisium/Treviso
63 Tergeste/Trieste
64 Ticinum/Pavia
65 Torcello
66 Tridentium/Trento
67 Vada Sabatia
68 Valentia/Valenza
69 Vardagate/Casale Monferrato
70 Veleia
71 Vercellae/Vercelli
72 Vicetia/Vicenza
73 Victimula
74 Chioggia

size of population. A number of recent excavations in several different towns (for example Brescia, Verona, Pavia and Bologna) have encountered archaeologically barren 'dark earth' layers sandwiched between levels of intense Roman and later medieval settlement (Brescia: Brogiolo 1985, 51 fig 39; Verona: Hudson 1985, 282-9; Hudson and La Rocca Hudson 1985; 235-7; Pavia: Blake 1980, 5-6; Bologna: unpublished). The accumulation of 'dark earth' in the early Middle Ages does not necessarily mean that the whole of the area of town in which it is found was completely abandoned, since the excavations at Verona have shown that dark earth could build up even very close to habitation (Hudson 1985, 289). On the other hand it is also quite clear that dark earth was not building up inside inhabited structures. Therefore the substantial number of sites that have revealed extensive deposits of dark earth, dating from the early Middle Ages, show that the towns of this period were less densely settled than either their Roman or their later medieval counterparts.

Thirdly, there is also evidence that whatever the size of the population, the wealth and quality of life in towns (and out of them) declined very sharply in the period between about 300 and 650. The vast Roman industries that produced high-quality domestic articles, and the Roman commerce that traded these and the cash-crops of the land in bulk around the Mediterranean, both disappeared. The production that replaced them was on a far smaller scale, and of goods that were almost always very inferior in quality. This picture derives in particular from domestic pottery and amphorae, but there is no reason why these should not be representative of other less durable products as well. Certainly if we look in detail at the evidence from the towns, the general picture of decay in the quality of life suggested by the pottery is also borne out by the evidence of the type of building people lived in, and by the type of building they constructed for show.

As far as we can tell at present domestic building in the Roman tradition became very rare (ie houses with walls of mortared brick or stone, with solid floors, and with tiled roofs). Instead houses seem to have been commonly built with walls of wood or other perishable materials, or out of drystone, and with floors of beaten earth and roofs of thatch or shingles (Brogiolo 1985, 49-51; Ward-Perkins 1981; 96-8). As we shall see later, there is some evidence of a more 'Roman' tradition also surviving, but as yet this evidence is scanty. In general the evidence derived from domestic housing points unequivocally towards impoverishment and a drop in standards of living, with people living in less durable, less weatherproof and less hygienic houses.

The public buildings that have survived from this period are almost all churches. These were built in very large numbers and on a considerable scale in the towns of 4th century Italy, and even in the 5th century several substantial churches were added in a number of towns (for what follows, see Figs 7 and 8, and Ward-Perkins 1984, 58-61). In one exceptional city (the capital Ravenna) as late as the early 6th century huge buildings were being constructed, like S Vitale and S Apollinare in Classe.

After 500, and in Ravenna after 550, churches conti-nued to be built in all periods and in all towns for which any information survives, but the scale of the individual buildings was now generally tiny. This pattern is particularly clear in Rome (Fig 7), where the scale of building shrank steadily from the 5th century, through the small churches of the later 6th century, towards the minute chapels of the 7th and early 8th centuries, and picked up again only towards the end of the 8th and in the 9th centuries. The single exception to this otherwise tidy picture was the sizable church of S Pancrazio, built at the beginning of the 7th century.

Elsewhere in Italy, though less well documented, the picture is similar. For instance in Ravenna, after the church of S Severo (completed in 595) only chapels and tiny monasteries were constructed; and in Lombard Italy (Fig 8), in the rare cases that they have survived or been excavated (generally they were so small that they have disappeared without leaving any physical trace), the churches of this period are also tiny. Again only in the late 8th or in the 9th century is there evidence of a gradual increase in size.

Not just the size of the churches but also the quality of construction point to serious economic decline. From the early 4th century the use in Italy of newly quarried marble fittings was extremely rare, restricted almost entirely to the imperial capital at Ravenna (where new marble was still used until the mid 6th century). Most builders made do with *spolia* (disparate collections of bases, columns, and capitals) taken from abandoned classical buildings (Deichmann 1975; Ward-Perkins 1984, 213-18). For the most part these *spolia* were used in exactly the form they were found, without any attempt to recarve them to make them more up-to-date and homogeneous in appearance. The only marble fittings that were regularly newly carved were those small elements most immediately involved in the liturgy: altars, ciboria, chancel-screens, and ambones (Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 1959-).

In the case of a humbler building-material, brick, the situation is similar; it is clear that some new brick and tile was being made in all centuries in Italy (Brogiolo 1985, 49), but in most churches new bricks are very rare after the mid 6th century. Consequently early medieval brick walls, made up for the most part of 'robbed' bricks of varied size, texture and colour, do not begin to match the structural and aesthetic perfection of Roman and later medieval construction (Bertelli *et al* 1976-7, for Rome).

The general picture of urban decline is clear; both the scale and the quality of towns and town life in Italy fell dramatically between about 300 and 700, with the 7th century probably as the lowest point of all. However the precise chronology of decline certainly varied from region to region, and needs detailed local study. For instance several towns, like Claterna in Emilia, were apparently badly decayed at an early date, since there is no evidence that they ever became bishoprics (which Roman towns did in the 4th century). On the other hand one exceptional town, Ravenna, was enormously enriched and enlarged in the otherwise fairly bleak period between 402 and 569, when it served as the capital of all Italy. However by 650 even a great city like Ravenna was a mere shadow of its former self.

S. Sabina, early 5th   S. Pancrazio, early 7th

S. Maria Maggiore, mid 5th

Apse chapel of
Theodore I,
mid 7th

S. Stefano Rotondo, late 5th

S. Prassede, early 9th

Old St. Peter's, early 4th

S. Agnese fuori-le-mura, late 6th

0 _____ 50m
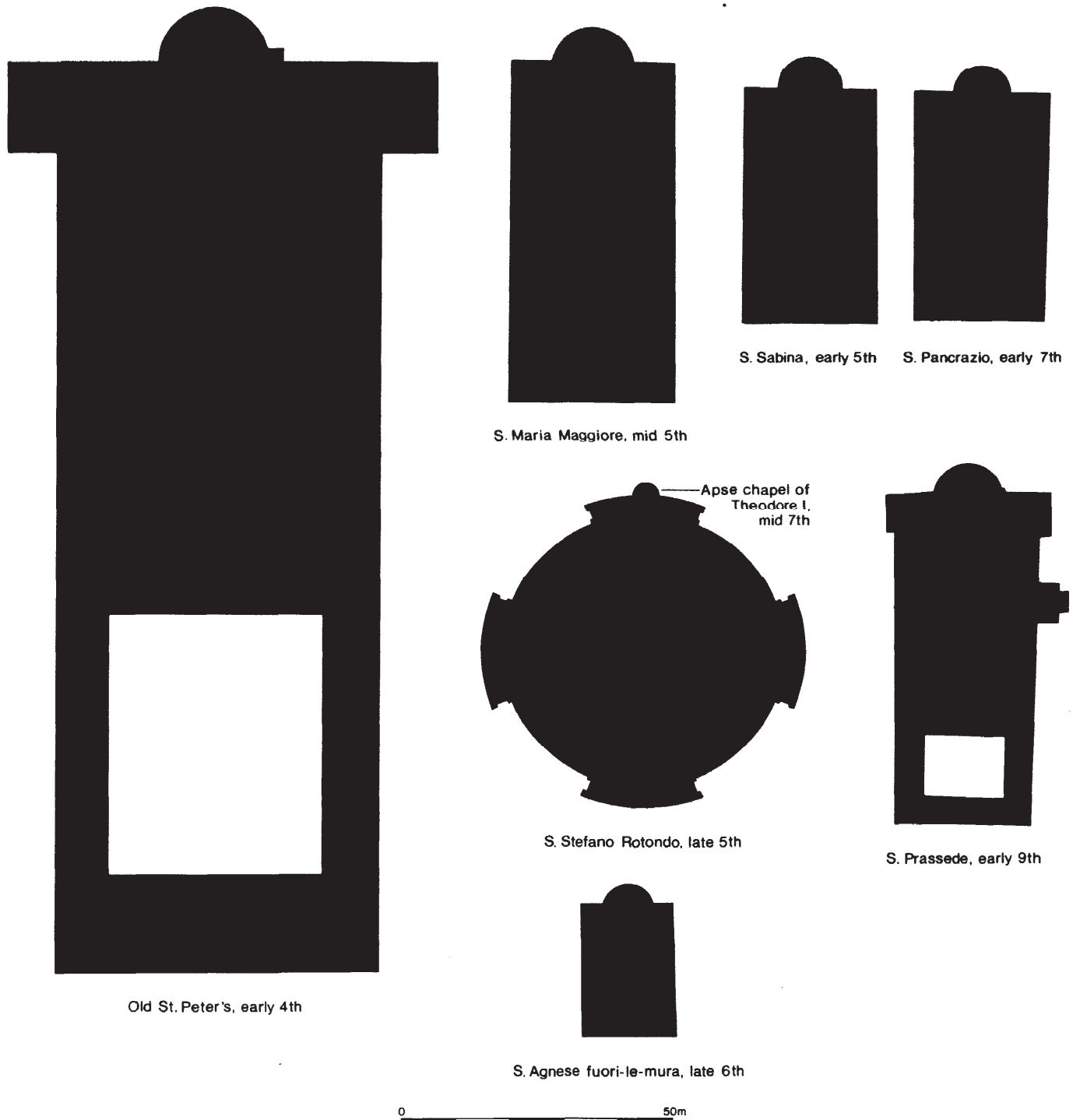
Fig 7   Late antique and early medieval churches in Rome

2 Evidence of resilience

As well as evidence of considerably decay, there are signs from Italy that urban life never declined as seriously as it did in many other parts of the Empire.

Firstly, a very large number of towns survived, and still survive from the Roman period (Fig 6). The classical cities in the early Middle Ages, as well as in subsequent centuries, have always constituted the essential urban framework of the Po valley. Casualties among the Roman towns were restricted mainly to two specific and environmentally difficult areas: the mountainous regions of the Apennines and Alps, where town life was perhaps impossible to sustain in straitened circumstances; and the low-lying Po delta, where military pressure perhaps combined with rapid environmental change to force human settlement further out into the lagoon.[2]

Milan, S.Tecla, 4th

Florence, S. Reparata, 4th/5th

Pisa, Cathedral, late 11th

Cividale, 'Tempietto,' early 8th?

Castelseprio, S. Maria foris Portas, ? early 8th

Brescia, S. Salvatore I,? mid 8th

Brescia, S. Salvatore II, ? early 9th

0   50m
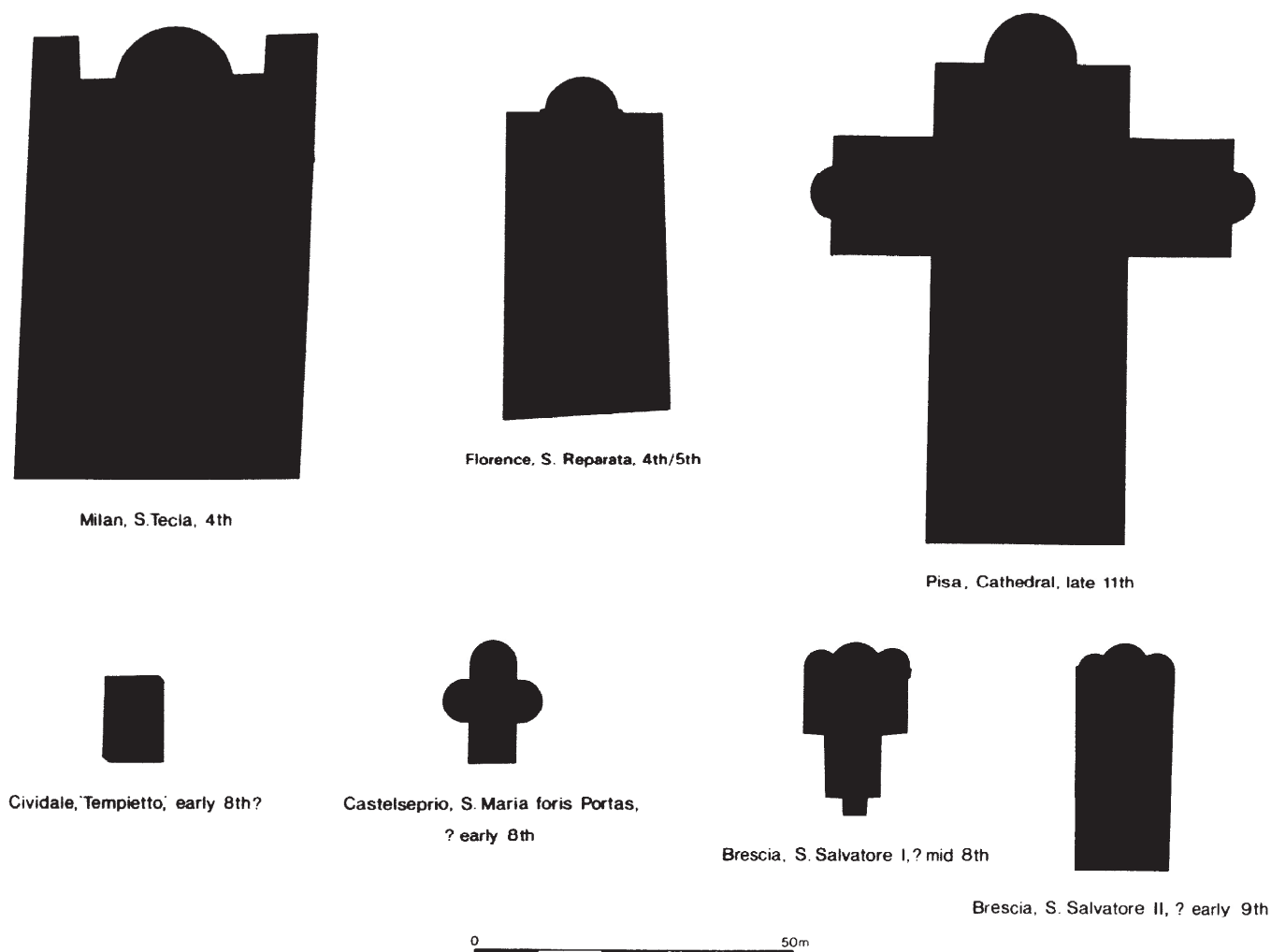
Fig 8   Late antique and medieval churches in northern Italy

Furthermore it was not just a question of old towns hanging on through difficult times; some new centres were emerging even in the darkest post-Roman period. A recent air photograph (Fig 9) of the abandoned city of Heraclia (or Cittanova), founded in the Po delta in the early 7th century, reveals a substantial settlement, built along the sides of a wide and curving 'grand canal' (Tozzi 1984; Tozzi and Harari 1984). This ground-plan is unlikely to be later than the 9th century, since by this time the city had already declined considerably in importance. Survey of this remarkable site began in the summer of 1987 (see below, Additional note).

Secondly, there is evidence that within individual towns were concentrated considerable densities of population (at least by early medieval standards). A striking feature of modern Italian towns, particularly in the Po plain, is the survival in many cases of large parts of the Roman street-grid (Fig 6, and Figs 10-12). By contrast in a province like Britain the pattern of Roman streets was entirely eliminated by the centuries of post-Roman abandonment, except for the line of the main streets that linked gates. Good survival of a grid-pattern, such as is often found in Italy, is only possible, I believe, if the towns were continuously fairly densely settled.

Exactly how densely is, of course, a matter for excavation to resolve. Recent work at Verona, which has one of the best preserved Roman grid-patterns of all (Ward-Perkins 1984, fig 3), has shown that a street-pattern could survive through the early Middle Ages with far less compact settlement than in Roman and later medieval times. On one site it was found that settlement continued into the early Middle Ages on the outer fringes of a Roman *insula,* while the middle of the block was abandoned to 'dark earth', possibly forming in back gardens (Hudson 1985, 282-91; Hudson and La Rocca Hudson 1985, 235-8). The wartime air photograph of Aosta perhaps gives some impression of a town of this type (Fig 12).

Thirdly, although very poor by both Roman and later medieval standards, Italian towns probably maintained a higher level of material culture and of sophistication than towns in most other areas of Europe. For example the rulers of Italy undoubtedly continued to live in towns and in some splendour, maintaining and adding to the palaces inherited from the late antique past (Ward-Perkins 1984, 157-78). In particular the Lateran palace in Rome and the royal and imperial palaces at Ravenna and Pavia were all large, solid and elaborately decorated

Fig 9   Air photograph of the site of Heraclia in the Po delta. The major and minor waterways show up as dark marks; the light marks are the presumed fields and blocks of houses (from Tozzi & Harari 1984)

buildings (a huge step away from the rural wooden halls of Northumbrian Yeavering). Even very ordinary towns probably contained substantial episcopal and ducal palaces, inherited from late Roman times.

Although, as shown above, the evidence for urban domestic housing is so far hardly outstanding for its quality, one site at Verona has revealed a house that by north European standards is extremely impressive (Hudson 1985, 289-91; Hudson and La Rocca Hudson 1985, 235-8). This structure had a rough, mortared stone facade, built along the line of the street in late Roman times (Fig 13). The building was in constant use between the 5th and 12th centuries, and at least the base of the late Roman facade (the excavated portion) was maintained and visible throughout this period, although every now and then the level of the door had to be raised to allow for the rise in street-level. The resulting structure, with a poor-quality, late Roman wall, patched up and adjusted through time, is scarcely the summit of aesthetic and structural sophistication. However by early medieval standards it is impressive, and it does show that at least one early medieval house in Italy was substantially of stone and mortar. There must be many other such buildings awaiting discovery.

The churches too do not present an entirely depressing picture, though that is the side I have concentrated on so far. Although the scale of building was very small, there was some new building going on in all centuries. There was even continuity of some highly specialized building-crafts such as mosaic-working, at least in Rome, and marble-carving, at least for altars and other similar fittings (for Rome's early medieval mosaics see Oakeshott 1967).

Furthermore new building is not the entire story. A characteristic of early medieval Italy was the survival of a large number of classical buildings converted into churches (like the Pantheon in Rome) and of an even larger number of very large churches built in the 4th and 5th centuries. Many of these buildings (for instance S Lorenzo and S Simpliciano in Milan) still survive today; many others survived until the later Middle Ages, when they were torn down to make way for even more grandiose structures (for instance S Reparata in Florence, replaced by the present cathedral). Obviously it must have taken a certain number of people, a quantity of resources, and a degree of sophistication to maintain and use buildings in this number and on this scale through the 6th, 7th and 8th centuries. In the case of one

Fig 10   Air photograph of modern Pavia. The long rectangular central square (the medieval and modern market) is also the probable site of the Roman forum. The bridge over the Ticino was, until the last war, substantially a Roman structure (photo Musei Civici; Pavia)

church, St Peter's in Rome, the extraordinary repairs (though not the day-to-day maintenance) are recorded. In particular some of the massive beams of the roof needed replacement at intervals in the 6th to 9th centuries (Ward-Perkins 1984, 62).

Italian towns even contained some unexpected sophistications. The great public baths of classical times disappeared, partly for economic reasons and partly because of a change in fashions of patronage, but small baths for the clergy and for the poor were widespread. In some cases, as at Milan, Brescia and Rome, these even involved bringing in piped water from a distance (Ward-Perkins 1984, 135-46). Rome indeed had four functioning aqueducts, a large number of baths for the clergy, pilgrims, and the sick and poor, and-a unique wonder-

a functioning fountain outside St Peter's, which so impressed Charlemagne or one of his imperial successors that he had it copied at Aachen *(Karl der Grosse* 1965, 27, pl 1)

A town in Italy in around AD 750 would have contained features completely absent in even the most precocious settlements of North Sea Europe: a number of large, elaborate, and solidly built public buildings (churches and palaces), probably some stone-built aristocratic houses (alongside the humbler dwellings of the poor), and clerical and charitable bath houses. In one case (Rome) there was even a functioning fountain, and in another (Pavia) a complete and functioning Roman drainage-system (Tomaselli 1978). Furthermore there were a substantial number of towns of this type in Italy,

Fig 11   Wartime air photograph of Piacenza (British Crown Copyright/RAF photograph)

whereas in northern Europe only a handful of settlements were by 750 struggling to satisfy modern archaeologists and historians of their urban status.

3   Reasons for this resilience

If towns in Italy had a slightly less grim history in this period *(c* 300-800) than elsewhere in Europe, why was this the case? Obviously this is not the place to set out a European-wide comparative argument, even if I were qualified to do so, but I can outline some factors that probably operated in Italy to keep towns functioning.

Firstly, there is no doubt at all that throughout all periods the towns continued to serve as the centres of both the secular and the ecclesiastical administrations. This is very well documented in written sources (even for the early Lombard period), and is supported archaeologically by the survival of the great late Roman cathedrals. In the future, perhaps, it will also be supported by excavation of some of the late Roman and early medieval secular and episcopal palaces that are, as yet, known only from documentary sources (except for an early and partial excavation of a palace at Ravenna: Ghirardini 1918).

Secondly, towns almost certainly remained popular places for the secular aristocracy to live, as in Roman times. Again, so far, this is clearer from historical rather than archaeological evidence. In particular the private charters of the Tuscan town of Lucca, which survive

from the beginning of the 8th century onwards, reveal an urban-based landed aristocracy buying, leasing and selling lands in the surrounding countryside, and founding churches and monasteries within the town (Wickham 1981, 84-5).

These two factors-administrative and aristocratic-must have been of vital importance in the survival of town-life. In economic terms they meant that towns in Italy continued to serve an essentially negative role, as major centres of consumption: living off the surplus of the surrounding countryside, rendered by peasants in the form of dues and taxes to urban-based landlords and to the rulers of church and state. This partly takes the search for explanations of urban survival out into the countryside. Did towns in northern Italy survive unusually well because the area's rural economy, on which the towns inevitably depended, survived unusually well? The question is an important one, though not one that can be answered satisfactorily at present. It is, however, a striking fact that some areas (such as along the Via Emilia, between Rimini and Piacenza), where Roman towns and town-plans have survived particularly well, are also areas where the centuriated Roman field-systems have survived, sometimes almost perfectly preserved in the modern field-boundaries (Figs 6 and 14). This coincidence perhaps points to exceptional rural continuity as one reason for exceptional urban continuity.

The written sources on which we still largely depend

Fig 12   Wartime air photograph of Aosta (British Crown Copyright/RAF photograph)

consist of charters dealing with ecclesiastical and aristocratic land-holding, and chronicles dealing with affairs of church and state, and are therefore illuminating on the aristocratic and administrative functions of the town. Neither group of written sources, however, casts much light on a third important question: did early medieval Italian towns also serve a commercial role? Were they centres of exchange and distribution of exotic goods over long distances, and places for the manufacture and sale of humbler artisan products made in the towns and traded locally with the surrounding countryside?

This is an area where archaeology will eventually shed a lot of light by producing evidence of urban production and of exchange with the rural hinterland. In early medieval Rome, for instance, a type of glazed pottery called Forum Ware was produced. This pottery was certainly distributed in the countryside around, since potsherds of it have been discovered on a number of nearby rural sites (Manacorda *et al* 1986; and for a distribution map of finds of Forum Ware, Whitehouse and Potter 1981, 207 fig 1, wrongly captioned). Forum Ware shows that early medieval Rome's economy depended not just on the presence of popes and pilgrims,

but also on a pottery industry. More work on early medieval urban and rural sites should eventually identify many other such industries and networks of distribution.

4   Renewal from the 8th century onwards

The continuous history of Italian towns as administrative and aristocratic centres, and possibly also as commercial centres, helps explain their rapid regeneration in the improved conditions of the later 8th century onwards. The institution of the town already existed, and was indeed firmly rooted in society; it only needed a healthier general economic climate to flourish.

Italy certainly saw impressive urban growth from around 700 onwards, though so far our knowledge of it depends, again, almost entirely on documentary evidence. There has not yet been enough excavation in Italy to reveal a detailed archaeological picture such as we have in the north from towns like Hamwic, York, Hedeby, and Dorestad.

The documentary evidence is, however, convincing. There are a mass of private charters, starting in Lucca in
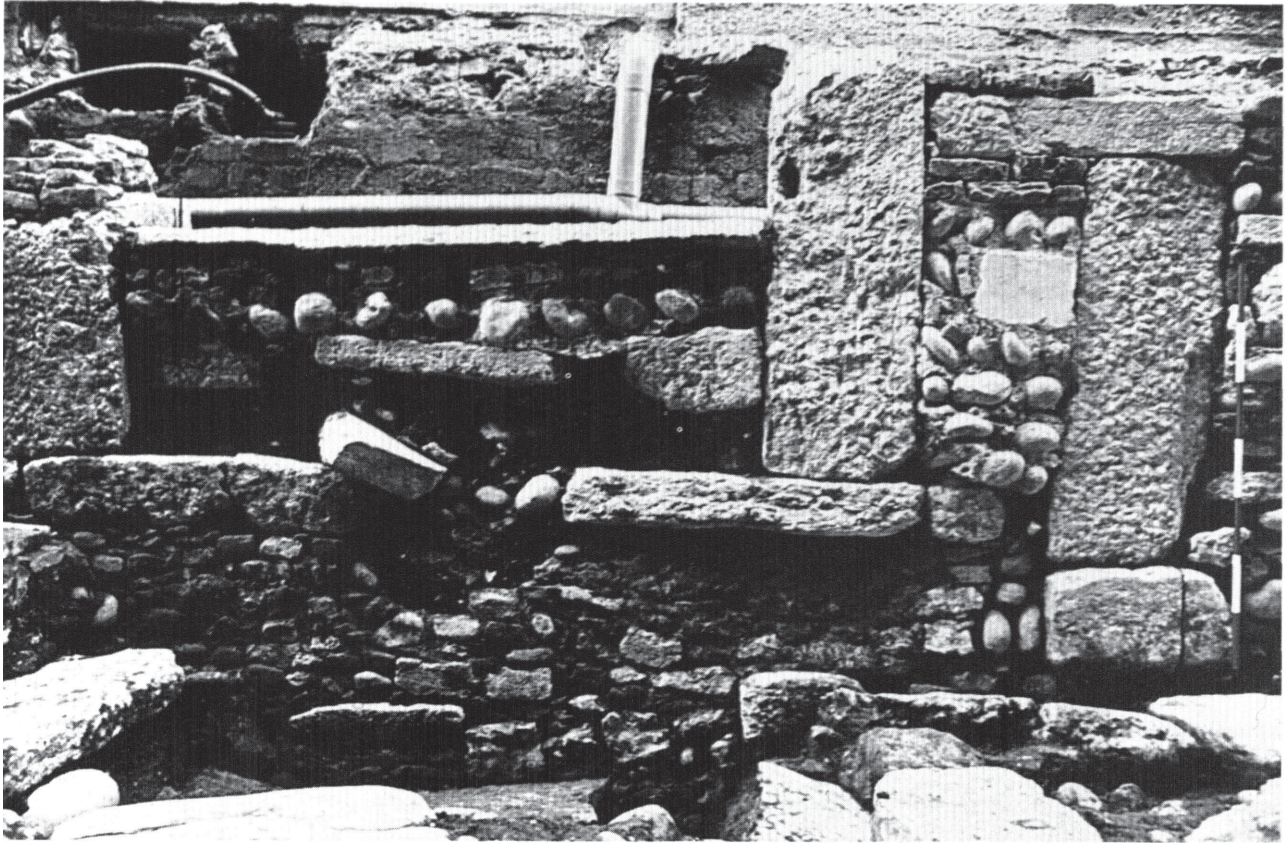
Fig 13   Verona, Via Dante: facade of a late Roman house. Note the doorway and threshold, raised several times as the street and city level rose

the 8th century and becoming numerous in several towns by AD 900. These reveal a flourishing urban aristocracy and, increasingly, a flourishing merchant class. There is also some very early evidence of civic pride. Already in around 739 a poem was written in praise of Milan, and in around 800 a rival poem in praise of Verona, which opens 'This great and famous city is pre-eminent in Italy' (Pighi 1960; Godman 1985, 180-7 for a translation into English of the Verona poem). In the 10th century the splendours of Verona were also recorded in a famous drawing, the Iconographia Rateriana, with a surrounding poem again praising the greatness of the city (reproduced in Ward-Perkins 1984, fig 4).

Milan, Verona and Lucca are all inland cities, and their urban regeneration must have been based mainly on a continued role as administrative and aristocratic centres, and on an expanding local economy. There is also evidence of the dramatic rise of centres more dependent on long-distance trade. Already in the early 8th century trade along the Po in salt and other commodities is well documented, above all through a commercial treaty of 715 between the Lombard kings and the merchants of the town of Comacchio at the Po's mouth (Hartmann 1904, 123-4). In the mid 8th century in the Lombard kingdom, rich merchants were being assessed for military service at the same rate as landed aristocrats, which was not the case in Anglo-Saxon England until the 11th century (the Lombard law is translated into English in Lopez and Raymond, 36-8). Finally in 829 a doge *(dux)* of Venice left property in his will to the value of 1200 pounds of gold, which included money invested in overseas ventures (Lopez and Raymond, 38-41; Cessi 1942, 96).[3] Clearly by *c* 800 Venice was a major trading centre, probably of far greater importance than anything in the North Sea area.

As yet archaeological evidence of this period of growth is meagre, though it is beginning to appear. A recent and unpublished excavation in Ferrara, for instance, revealed a long sequence of timber buildings. These went back through a probable 12th century house and four or five underlying buildings to the first settlement of the site, which perhaps emerged in the 8th and 9th centuries as a commercial centre on the Po. So far sites like Ferrara are more hints than very substantial contributions to the history of urban growth; but they are hints that promise extremely well for the future.

5 General conclusions

The pattern of urban decay and urban renewal in early medieval northern Italy is broadly similar to that of northern Europe: sinking to a low point in the 6th and 7th centuries, and then gradually rising through the 8th and 9th centuries, into the later Middle Ages. There are, however, also three main differences. Firstly, although in northern Italy urban decay started early in some towns, probably even before AD 300, the most serious
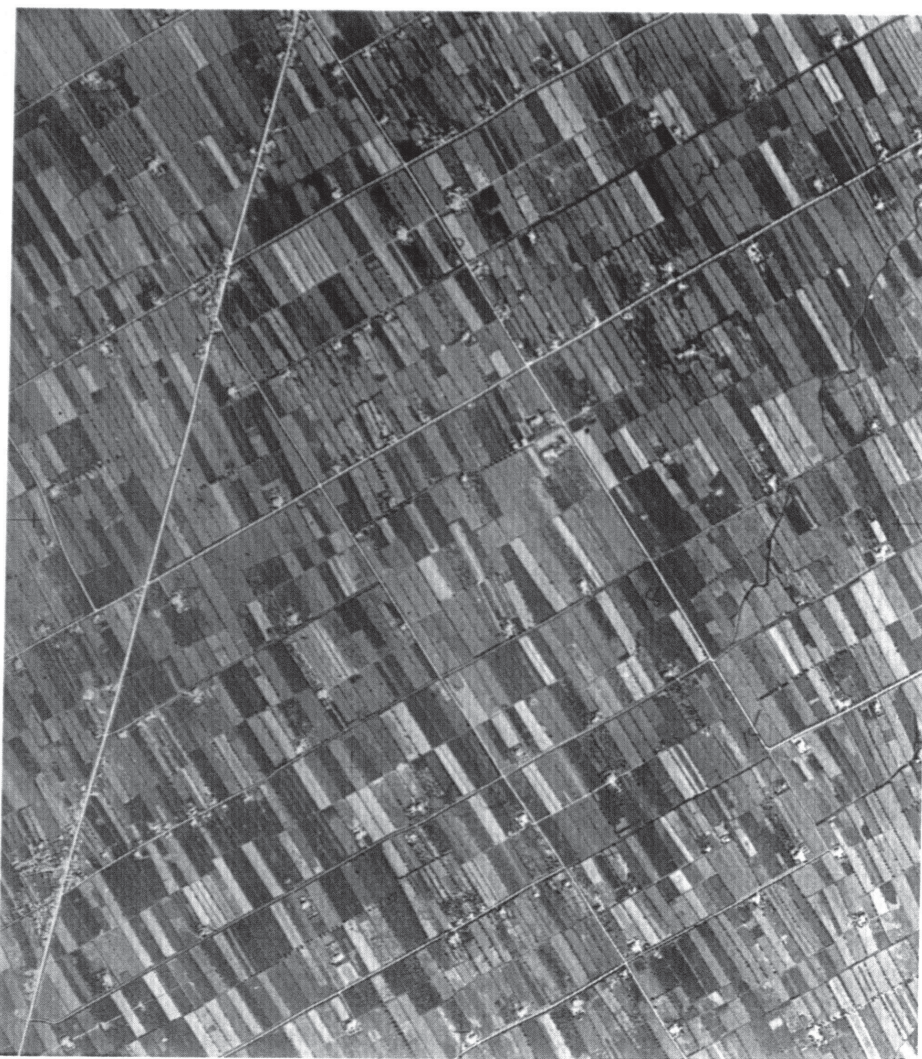
Fig 14   Roman centuriation preserved in modern field boundaries near Cesena. Note the survival of both the larger square divisions (marked by country roads) and the individual rectangular fields (British Crown Copyright/RAF photograph)

problems came only after *c* 550, considerably later than they did in northern Europe. Secondly, the low point of urban decline was never as catastrophic in Italy as that reached in areas like Britain. Thirdly, at least partly because of this, renewal and growth in the 8th century onwards was faster and more extensive than it was in northern Europe.

Recent work in other Mediterranean regions seems to confirm this impression of the existence of both a general urban crisis followed by general urban renewal, and of marked local variation in the chronology and scale of the phenomenon (see Hill ch 2). In Byzantine Asia Minor, for instance, the late antique centuries (the 4th to 6th) seem to have been a period of considerable urban prosperity, and the crisis came only very late, in the early 7th century. However when it came, its effects seem to have been more devastating than in northern Italy, leading to the substantial abandonment of many major towns (Foss 1975; 1979). As elsewhere renewal came eventually, here starting perhaps in the mid 9th century

(Foss 1979, 116-37). However the towns of Byzantine Asia Minor between 800 and 1100 never approached the size and prosperity of contemporary Italian cities (whereas in late Antiquity they had far outstripped them). In Arab Syria, on the other hand, the 7th century appears to have been less traumatic than in Asia Minor, and the history of towns in the area seems to have been one of change within a basic framework of urban continuity, more so perhaps even than in northern Italy (Kennedy 1985a).

Further regional syntheses from other areas of the Roman world would undoubtedly reveal further interesting regional variations, but probably all within the same broad pattern of decline followed by revival. Why this same broad pattern should have occurred, yet with so many local variations, is still a great mystery. All explanations must be wide-ranging enough to take account of the fact that a similar phenomenon occurred at roughly the same time in all areas of the Mediterranean and northern Europe. Yet they must also be subtle

and complex enough to explain why, within this same pattern, there was so much local difference in chronology and scale.

Notes

1 Many of the points made in this article have already been stated, in Italian (Ward-Perkins 1983). However I have altered and added to my ideas in the light of recent excavations, particularly those at Verona and Brescia. I have also added some conclusions that can be drawn from the evidence of public buildings. The geographical area covered is mainly restricted to the Po plain (see Fig 6), but where it is useful I have also included evidence from Lucca in Tuscany and from Rome. Figures 6–8 were drawn by Simon Pressey. Figures 11–14, are wartime RAF photographs from the collection deposited at the University of Keele. Fig. 13 was kindly supplied by Cristina La Rocca Hudson.

2 Modern Piemonte, at the eastern end of the Po valley, seems to have lost an exceptionally large number of Roman towns. Only some of these are in mountainous areas. Not being familiar with Piemonte, I am unable to speculate on its unusually bleak urban history.

3 The Latin of Doge Giustiniano Partecipazio's will is on occasion ambiguous. The 1200 pounds of gold mentioned seem to be the value of all his property, including money and goods safely stored and invested at home; but it is just possible that it refers solely to the investment he had overseas. This is, however, unlikely, since 1200 pounds of gold is a vast sum–enough, three centuries earlier, to build three-and-a-third churches of S Vitale at Ravenna (which cost 26 000 *solidi*, at 72 *solidi* to the pound. In Ward-Perkins 1984, 74 I wrongly state that S Vitale cost 36 000 *solidi*). The most relevant section of Giustiniano's will, in its most recent edition, reads as follows: 'Est enim omnis mea possessio consumata et adbreviata cum illas iamdictas duecentas libras, que in monasterio [donavi] cum speciebus et ornamentis et laboratoriis solidis, si salva de navigatione reversa fuerint, libras mille ducentas, de qua sexcentas reservavi dispensandum pro mea anima . . . Reliquas vero sexcentas libras cum eas duas centas, quas in monasterio datas habemus, relinquimus uxori et nurui mee, sicut supra diffinivimus.' (Cessi 1942, 96).

Additional note

Survey work has now been carried out by the Superintendency at Heraclia, in September 1987 and at Easter 1988 (Fig 9). The work has involved intensive field-survey, combined with the cleaning of the sides of ditches. It seems that most of the supposed blocks of houses are in fact fields, flanked by drainage-ditches. Settlement seems to be concentrated in an area of the north of the site, near the large modern house and the confluence of canals at the top of the photograph (Fig 9). The medieval settlement is at present thought to cover about 15–20 ha, rather than the 125 that initially seemed likely (I am grateful to Hugo Blake for this information).

Since writing this article, I have also become aware of two recent and important articles, that are very relevant to matters discussed above. La Rocca Hudson, (1986) contains new material and a good summary of the Verona evidence, and is a powerful statement in favour of considerable urban survival. Kennedy (1985b) should be read alongside his other 1985 article; this one suggests that many of the towns of Syria were in severe decline even before the Arab invasion of the early 7th century.

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4 Rome and Naples: Survival and revival in central and southern Italy
David Whitehouse

Abstract

It is widely believed that urban life in Italy continued after the collapse of the Western Empire. This paper discusses the evidence from two cities: Rome in central Italy and Naples in the south. It suggests that the pattern of events in Rome consisted of an irregular decline in the 5th and 6th centuries (during which the city may have lost 90% of its population), followed by a period of stagnation in the 7th and early 8th centuries. This was followed by a revival, which gained momentum in the last quarter of the 8th century. Rome, the greatest city in the western Mediterranean, never ceased to be urban, but the difference between the imperial metropolis and its Dark Age successor could hardly have been greater. In the case of Naples, the question of continuity is open - and will remain so until more archaeological evidence becomes available. In the year 700 Naples may have supported an urban community comparable with Rome, but smaller. It may, on the other hand, have been a predominantly agricultural community for which 'city' is not an appropriate description.

Between 400 and 650 the Roman world disintegrated. The Western Empire collapsed. The Eastern Empire contracted until the emperor's authority was confined to Anatolia, south-east Europe and parts of Italy. The disintegration was not simply political. Even in the heart of the Byzantine Empire urban life declined to such an extent that Cyril Mango (1980, 81) maintains: 'If one were to draw a graph of the fortunes of Constantinople, one would find that it showed a very sharp dip at the same time when provincial cities came almost to the zero line'. That some cities did indeed approach the zero line has been argued persuasively by Clive Foss (1977,486) and others. If this was the state of affairs in the East, what happened in the West? Did cities disappear completely? No, according to Chris Wickham (1981, 80):

> In the kingdom of Italy, that is to say northern Italy and Tuscany, there had been during the [Roman] Empire some hundred *municipia.* In 1000, over three-quarters survived as functioning cities. . . . From 400 to 1000 we can trace an almost complete urban continuity . . . out of fifty modern provincial capitals in the same area, thirty-five were cities under the Empire.

Broadly speaking, I agree. In parts of Italy, especially in the north, despite casualties like Luni (Ward-Perkins 1978) and Torcello (Leciejewicz *et al* 1977), city life survived. This paper looks at the evidence from two cities in central and southern Italy: Rome and Naples.

Thirty years ago Edith Ennen (1956) estimated the degree of urban continuity in western Europe after the Empire collapsed. She divided Europe into three: north Germany; northern France, the Rhine and the Danube; Spain, southern France and Italy. Ennen was particularly interested in the second region (the northern provinces of the Empire, Britain excepted). Here, she concluded, urban life disappeared. This does not mean that all cities were abandoned. At Bonn, Cologne and Trier, for example, life continued, but not on an urban scale and not in the former city centre. In each case the Dark Age settlement was small and clustered round the residence of the bishop. The community supported the clergy and a number of professional or semi-professional craftsmen, but most people worked on the land. Thus, although occupation continued and the settlement was still a focus of authority, it lacked the essential feature of all urban communities: 'a majority of men and women who did not produce, totally, their own subsistence, but were engaged primarily in manufacture, food processing and (mainly) retail trade' (Hilton 1984). We cannot assume, therefore, that a settlement that was urban in the 4th and 9th centuries was urban throughout the intervening period, or that the continuous presence of authority is proof of continuous urban status. In the 7th century Canterbury had a king and a bishop, but it was no longer urban.

The question of continuity is complicated further by the fact that society changed profoundly in late Antiquity and that the changes modified the character and topography of cities (Ward-Perkins 1984). Two factors dominate the picture: the decline of secular munificence and the adoption of Christianity. In the first two centuries AD public buildings (such as theatres) and amenities (such as aqueducts and baths) were provided by the rich. In the later Empire they were not. The crises of the 3rd century had eroded private wealth. Social mobility had declined, with the result that there were fewer new men seeking to enhance their status through munificence. In late Antiquity the main sources of patronage were the emperor and his governors. As the military budget increased, the authorities had less to spend on amenities and, in any case, their attention was focused less on the civic centre than the city wall.

Despite the faltering economy, the 4th and 5th centuries witnessed a spate of church-building, which provided cities with a new focus of activity. At the same **time** changing attitudes towards public entertainment caused the neglect and eventual abandonment of many

of the former focuses: temples, theatres, amphitheatres, circuses and baths. Thus in 382 Gratian confiscated all property destined for the maintenance of pagan temples; in 391 Theodosius I banned the cults themselves. 'In most of Italy after the 380s, if not before, the temples were allowed to rot slowly, or were reused for other purposes or quarried for their material' (Ward-Perkins 1984, 89). Similarly 'by the end of the fourth century [public entertainments] were restricted to a very few towns: gladiatorial shows disappeared entirely in around 400, *venationes* (wild beast hunts) around 500, and the surviving circus and theatre with the end of Ostrogothic power' *(ibid,* 93). The latest recorded construction of a public bath was by Constantine I (in Rome) and the latest known repairs were by Theoderic, whose brick-stamps occur in the Baths of Caracalla (also in Rome) and who provided the citizens of Spoleto with free bathing, presumably by restoring the baths.

Thus the abandonment of public buildings is not in itself an index of urban decay; society had new priorities and resources were spent in other ways. A more reliable index would be the character and extent of new construction, despite the limitations imposed by the uneven survival of written records, buildings and archaeological information.

Ward-Perkins (1984, 179) suggests another index of continuity: the survival of the Roman street plan. Twenty-three cities in peninsular Italy retain substantial parts of the Roman street system.

Almost perfect survival: Pavia, Verona, Piacenza, Lucca

Extensive survival: Aosta, Turin, Novara, Como, Brescia, Parma, Cremona, Bologna, Imola, Ravenna, Rimini, Pesaro, Osimo, Albenga, Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Spoleto, Naples

If large parts of these cities had been abandoned, the argument runs, the street plan would have disappeared (cf Banks 1984, on Barcelona). Again, I agree; the extensive survival of street systems provides us with a shortlist of cities (but not necessarily all cities) that probably survived. Two points are immediately apparent. Firstly, all but one of the cities are north of Rome. Apart from Naples, the southern ports (such as Brindisi, Otranto and Taranto) are missing, together with all the cities of the interior. Secondly, although the list of survivors seems long when viewed from Britain, it is really quite short. To paraphrase Wickham, in the kingdom of Italy there had been some hundred *municipia;* less than one-quarter retain substantial parts of their Roman street plan.

Rome

The city about which we know most is Rome, and here the outlines of what happened between 300 and 850 are relatively clear. In 357, Constantius II (Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* XVI .x. 13-15):

> was dazzled by the array of marvellous sights . . . the sanctuaries of Tarpeian Jove . . . baths built in the manner of provinces; the huge bulk of the amphitheatre . . . the Pantheon like a round city district . . . the Forum of Peace, the Theatre of Pompey, the Odeum, the Stadium. . . the Forum of Trajan, a construction unique under the heavens

The Forum of Trajan was not the only structure of breathtaking proportions. The Baths of Caracalla occupied 34.5 ha, the Serapeum 32 and the Baths of Diocletian 27. The city itself was 5 km across, the walls of Aurelian 18 km long. Thus, in the mid 4th century Rome was still *the* monumental city of the West, without precedent or successor until the Renaissance (Krautheimer 1980, 5-31). It was also the most populous city in the West. Although very few data have come down to us concerning the populations of ancient cities, in the case of Rome the basis for a series of estimates exists in the form of information on the importation and distribution of food. The information must be treated with caution, but it does suggest orders of magnitude for the urban population on five occasions between 5 BC and AD 452.

Augustus (in *Res Gestae* XV.2) claimed that in 5 BC he distributed food to 320 000 members of the urban *plebs* (by definition, free adult males). I suggest that we would not be grossly misled if we followed Geoffrey Rickman (1980, 8-10), who guessed that the figure implies a total population of 'near to 1 000 000'. The second estimate depends on a passage in the *Historia Augusta (SS XXIII.2)*, which states that Septimius Severus (d 211) left reserves of grain sufficient to feed the city for seven years at the rate of 75 000 *modii* per day - which totals 27 375 000 *modii* (185 000 tonnes) per year. Rickman suggests that the average consumption of grain was perhaps of the order of 40 *modii* (275 kg) per person per year. If he is correct, the report implies a free population of 680 000. If we allow a smaller average consumption - Romans consumed only 167 kg in the late 18th century - our estimate of the population rises, and again we find ourselves in the region of a million.

A third estimate may be made by juggling with the provisions of a decree of 367, which fixed the compensation for losses en *route* payable to suppliers of pork, who drove their stock from southern Italy to Rome *(C Th* XIV.iv.4). Losses, calculated at 15%, were compensated by the payment of one amphora of wine for 70 *librae* of meat, The arrangement required 17 000 amphorae per year. If 15% of the pork supply was (70 x 17 000) *librae,* the total supply was 7 933 333 *librae* per year. In 419 pork was distributed at the rate of 25 *librae* per person per year *(C Th* XIV.iv.10). If the same rate existed in 367, the theoretical number of recipients of free food was 317 333 - roughly the same as under Augustus. Once again we may be dealing with a population of approximately a million.

If the population of Rome in 367 was about a million, the late 4th and early 5th centuries witnessed a sharp decline. The decree of 419 confirmed that *possessors* (property owners and tenants) were entitled to a monthly ration five times per year, and that 4000 rations must be issued daily. The official number of recipients, therefore, was (4000 x 30), or 120 000. In 452 another decree *(N Val* XXXIV) established that the total supply of pork should be 3 628 000 *librae* per year. A small proportion of this was sold on the open market, leaving 3 582 000 *librae* to be issued free of charge. If the ration was five *librae* per month five months of the year, the

theoretical number of recipients was 3 582 000 (5 x 5), or 141 120. If the decrees were even remotely realistic, the population of Rome was of the order of 400 000 in 419 and closer to 500 000 in 452.

The difference may be without significance; officials, by accident or design, may have furnished the emperor with inaccurate figures. If, on the other hand, the population did increase, it is noteworthy that this coincided with a period of large-scale construction. S Maria Maggiore and S Sabina both were begun in the 420s. S Paolo fuori le Mura, damaged by an earthquake in 441, was restored (Krautheimer 1980, 46-50). The Colosseum was repaired on three occasions (Chastagnol 1966, 5-91).

In 455 Rome was sacked by the Vandals. After this we know of only one substantial new building: Santo Stefano Rotondo. Although Theoderic (493-526) repaired the walls of Aurelian and legislated to preserve public monuments and statues, the city was declining. Here is Cassiodorus, writing as praetorian prefect in 533-536 *(Var* II.39):

> The great size of the population of the city of Rome in former times is clear from the fact that it required the provision of foodstuffs from different regions to supply its needs. . . . the great extent of the walls, the seating capacity of the places of entertainment, the remarkable size of the public baths and the number of mills, bear witness to the hordes of citizens.

Rome, then, was decaying even before the Gothic war, in the course of which the city was occupied by Belisarius in 536, besieged by the Goths in 537-8, taken in 546, abandoned, taken again in 549-50 and finally reoccupied by Narses in 552. The immediate effects of the war were calamitous. During the siege Vitigis cut the aqueducts, closing the baths (which were never restored) and putting the grain mills out of action. Parks and waste ground inside the walls were used for growing vegetables (Procopius, *BG* V.xix.13 and VI.iii.10).

This impression of a dwindling population is reinforced by the appearance within the walls of cemeteries. Inscriptions show that although extramural graveyards existed in the 5th century, the catacombs were still the preferred places of burial. After the 5th century inscriptions in catacombs are rare and the latest dated epitaph, from S Sebastiano, is of 535. The earliest dated tombstone from a graveyard within the walls, at S Eusebio, is of 567 (Osborne 1984). Even in the last century Rodolfo Lanciani was able to list no fewer than thirteen Dark Age cemeteries inside the walls, including one in the Roman Forum and another near the Pantheon (Lanciani 1899, 89-90).

The Gothic war marks the beginning of the Dark Age in Rome. It is symptomatic of the period that material remains are scarce and the official record of the activities of the popes (the *Liber Pontificalis)* has little to report. In fact between 590 and 772 we have records of only three new churches - Sant'Agnese fuori le Mura and S Pancrazio (both built by Honorius I (625-38) and Sant'Angelo in Pescheria (consecrated in 755) - and one repair to the Lateran palace (by Zacharias (741-52), who found it *in magnam . . . penuriam* (Ward-Perkins 1984, 236-41 and 256).

Because of this dearth of information our only means of assessing the size and character of Rome in the 7th century is by considering the late 8th and early 9th centuries (about which we are relatively well informed) and guessing the extent to which conditions had improved.

The *Liber Ponrificalis* and the *Einsiedeln Itinerary* (a pilgrims' guide of *c* 800) contain information about two types of monument, which indicate the main inhabited areas: *diaconiae* and aqueducts (Vielliard 1959). *Diaconiae* were charitable institutions for dispensing food to the poor; they appeared in the East in the 4th century. By 806 Rome had at least twenty. Since their function was practical, it is reasonable to suppose that they were situated in areas that were inhabited. Nine *diaconiae* are recorded in the area between the Imperial Fora, the Palatine and the Tiber. Three stood in the Campus Martius, three on the Esquiline and three across the river, near St Peter's. The others were on the Quirinal, near the Baths of Caracalla and on the Caelian.

The locations of the *diaconiae,* therefore, point to several focuses of activity in 806: the ancient monumental complex east and west of the Palatine, the Campus Martius, the Esquiline and the area between St Peter's and the river. What little we know about the condition of the aqueducts confirms this impression. Only four are known to have been working at the beginning of the 9th century: 1) the Aqua Claudia, which served the Lateran palace and the Palatine; 2) the Aqua Iovia, apparently a branch of the Marcia, which supplied the area between the Palatine and the river; 3) the Aqua Virgo, which supplied the Campus Martius, 'delivering such an abundance of water that it satisfied almost the entire city'; and 4) the Aqua Traiana, which turned the mills on the Janiculum and supplied the area round St Peter's. The Aqua Traiana, essential for the maintenance of supplies of flour, had been repaired by Belisarius and was repaired again by Pope Honorius (625-38); we have no idea who restored the others. At least three of the four - the Claudia, Traiana and Virgo - were repaired again by Hadrian I (772-95) (Ward-Perkins 1984, 250-5).

The evidence of the *diaconiae* and the aqueducts points to the conclusion that the main inhabited areas were confined to the Fora and the Palatine, the Campus Martius and the pilgrims' quarter near St Peter's, with another focus of activity round the papal palace at the Lateran. The rest of the ancient city was occupied, but sparsely and with large open spaces.

However by the beginning of the 9th century Rome was on the way to recovery. The constant presence of pilgrims and the alliance between the Pope and Charlemagne brought wealth and patronage. Hadrian I (772-95) and Leo III (795-816) were tireless builders. Conditions in 806, therefore, were considerably better than they had been in the 7th century. We may never learn the degree to which Rome shrank in the Dark Ages, but it is difficult to dispute the propositions that there was little wealth, and that the population is unlikely to have exceeded a few tens of thousands. Rome never ceased to be a city, but the difference between the imperial metropolis and its Dark Age successor could hardly have been greater.

Thus the pattern of events in Rome consisted of an irregular but inexorable decline in the 5th and 6th centuries (during which the city may have lost 90% of its inhabitants), a long period of stagnation in the 7th century and the first half of the 8th (during which - in the centre of western Christendom - we know of only three new churches), and a revival, which gained momentum in the last quarter of the 8th century.

Naples

Did the cities of the south experience a similar pattern of decline, stagnation and revival? At present the only city of which we have sufficient knowledge to address the question is Naples (De Seta 1981, 23-34).

The written evidence fails into two categories, which concern 1) government and 2) the Church. Firstly, let us consider government. In late Antiquity, Naples was the most important city in Campania. Under the Goths it was the seat of a count. In 536 the city was captured by Belisarius, who enlarged the community by evacuating citizens from Cuma, Pozzuoli and other neighbouring settlements. In the *Letters* of Gregory the Great (590-604), we read that the aqueduct, which had been cut by Belisarius, was again in working order, and the port continued to serve as a centre of commerce. In 661 on the occasion of the last visit to Italy by a Byzantine Emperor, Constans II bestowed on Basil (presumably the governor) the title Duke of Naples. In the 7th century, therefore, Naples became a duchy of the Byzantine Empire.

Following the Lombard invasion, the city found itself progressively more isolated from the rest of Italy and, although *de iure* a Byzantine duchy, *de facto* it was becoming independent. The definitive breach came in the 9th century, when Constantinople no longer had the ability to defend (or coerce) such a distant province, and the local aristocracy elected its own leader. The situation was not unique; the same circumstances led Venice and the Crimea to assert their independence.

Secondly, the written sources describe the Church. The 9th century *Chronicon Episcoporum Neapolita-narum* indicates the state of the Church in late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages. In the 4th century the Church expanded rapidly, acquiring property both in the city and outside the walls. In the Gothic period the most important city church was the Basilica Stefania, built by Bishop Stephen I (494-504). After the Byzantine conquest, following a fire, it was restored by John II (535-55). Near the Basilica Stefania stood S Restituta; both were entered from an extensive atrium with porticoes on all four sides. The most conspicuous extramural church was S Gennaro, which in the 5th century became an important place of pilgrimage. In 492 Bishop Victor enlarged the church by adding a portico and an oratory; in 762 Bishop Paul II built a baptistery and a *triclinium*. In addition to churches there were *diaconiae,* monasteries and convents. Ducal Naples, wrote Nicola Cilento, 'was a city of monasteries and churches'.

Thus throughout the Dark Ages Naples was the seat of both duke and bishop and, like Rome, it contained monasteries. These features alone, however, do not prove that the place was urban. Two observations, however, support the view that Naples did remain an urban community throughout the Dark Ages. Firstly, it is the only 'living' city in southern Italy which retains a substantial part of its Graeco-Roman street plan. Secondly, the recent excavation of the Roman bath in Vico Carminiello ai Mannesi shows that coins and imported foodstuffs continued to arrive in Naples in the mid 7th century (Arthur 1985, 250-5). The food - olive oil and wine - arrived in amphorae from north Africa (19-23% of the sample), Gaza (14-15%) and other parts of the Mediterranean. Even here, however, the evidence is less than conclusive. Sites like Tintagel in south-west England (which was certainly not urban!) show that persons of importance were capable of importing oil or wine regardless of the size and character of the settlement in which they lived, and the occurrence of coins may reflect the presence of imperial troops, rather than a market economy. In any case the material from Vico Carminiello ai Mannesi suggests that the quantity of imports declined steadily between *c* 400 and *c* 650.

The question, therefore, is open. In the year 700 Naples may have supported an urban community comparable with Rome, but smaller; perhaps this is more likely than not. It may, on the other hand, have consisted of a garrison (commanded by the duke), a cathedral (administered by the bishop), other churches, monasteries, a small number of artisans - and have been a predominantly agricultural community. If this was the case, we should ask ourselves whether 'city' is the most appropriate description.

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5 The rebirth of Rome in the 8th and 9th centuries
Paolo Delorgu

Abstract

This paper deals with the problem of the urban rebirth of Rome during the early Middle Ages by testing the number and nature of the public and religious buildings that the popes built from the 7th to the 9th century. It appears that from the end of the 7th century the popes tried to stop the material decay of the city by a policy of restorations and public works. In the Carolingian period their buildings became so numerous and important that the city was transformed.

The popes' enterprises were supported by the public tributes from the lands recently fallen under their sovereignty, and by the pious gifts, particularly substantial at the time of Charlemagne.

Therefore it seems likely that there was no direct connection between the development of building work in the city and the economic activity of the urban society; to a great extent the rebirth of Rome was the effect of the role the city played as the religious capital of the West.

Rome is an ancient town which continued to be inhabited, even in the darkest periods of the barbarian invasions. Indeed, even after the crisis of the imperial organization, the city retained its special prominence, due not only to its illustrious past but also, and above all, to the continuous presence of the papacy, the history of which was intimately linked with that of the city. It is therefore appropriate to explore whether and, if so, how it is possible to speak of urban rebirth in Rome during the early centuries of the Middle Ages, and to identify its particular forms. In this paper an attempt will be made to do so from a single standpoint: papal activity in the maintenance and embellishment of the city. In a sense this choice is determined by the documentary evidence, which is comparatively abundant in the early centuries of the Middle Ages only in relation to the papacy. The evidence relating to other people or social groups, who certainly played a role in the building of the city, is patchy.

By contrast, the *Liber Pontificalis* (hereafter *LP),* the collection of papal biographies written by their contemporaries, provides a continuous and homogeneous series of facts about certain aspects of papal activity in the city. It permits the identification of general trends extending over several centuries. Since the popes soon became the principal Roman authority, moreover, their activities assumed an unquestionably dominant role in urban development. No account has been taken in this paper of archaeological evidence unconnected with the *LP* data which, although plentiful, are intermittent and not always well dated.

The *LP* has one fault: it breaks off at the end of the 9th century. The present research does likewise, not only for the sake of brevity but also because the available evidence for the subsequent period changes in nature and consistency, and as a result it is very difficult to link it with the evolutionary lines deduced from the *LP*. It is evident, of course, that a continuation of this line of research will provide a substantial check on the results presented in this paper. On the political and artistic history of Rome in the early Middle Ages, see Bertolini (1941).

The *LP* contains a good deal of information about the construction and restoration of churches and other buildings undertaken in Rome by popes from the 7th to the 9th century. Despite some possible *lacunae* and some difficulties in textual interpretation, however, it permits a quantitative evaluation of the popes' achievements in the maintenance and embellishment of their city. Table 1 summarizes this information, classifying it according to the different types of building and intervention. The chronological layout of this table needs some explanation.' In the 7th century, for instance, stress has been laid on the pontificate of Honorius I (625-38) because of the anomalous intensity of the building activity promoted by this pope. The figures given for the years 590-687 do not therefore include his enterprises, which are shown separately and which must be added to them in order to derive the total for the period. For the same reasons the pontificates of Hadrian I (772-95) and Leo III (795-816) are also shown separately in the 8th and 9th centuries.

A turning point has been indicated in 687, when the pontificate of Sergius I began, rather than in 700; this choice will be explained later. Termination of the table in 868, the end of the pontificate of Nicholas I, is due to the fact that the subsequent biography in the *LP* of Hadrian II, which is anomalous in form, contains no records relating to building. The series of biographies ends at this point, with the sole exception of the later pontificate of Stephen V (885-91).

Within its limitations the table shows coherent lines of evolution. The 'structural restoration' column shows that these were few until 687; they increased considerably in the following period and became very numerous during the pontificate of Hadrian I. Their number was still high in Leo III's time, but diminished significantly in the next half-century. Restorations of ancient suburban cemeteries containing martyrs' relics exhibit the same pattern. The trend shown by the 'new building'

Table 1 Papal building enterprises in the 7th-9th centuries

	Cult buildings							Monasteries		Welfare centres		Papal dwellings	
	Structural restoration of churches	Fittings restoration of churches	Restoration of cemeteries	Building of oratories	Building of churches	Rebuilding of churches	Reordering of church interiors	Restoration	New establishment	Restoration or rebuilding	New establishment	Restoration	New building
590-687 except Honorius I	6	2	1	4	—	—	2	1	2	—	—	—	—
Honorius I	1	—	1	—	4	2	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
687-772	20	—	4	5	3	1	—	3	3	6	4	x	1
Hadrian I	51	4	12	—	—	—	—	5	1	5	2	x	1
Leo III	23	5	2	2	—	3	—	2	—	—	3	—	3
816-68	13	2	3	5	1	8	3	3	4	1	—	x	9

column is different; oratories were being built regularly throughout the whole period. These were small buildings, often sited near or within existing churches; most of the recorded oratories were inside St Peter's basilica. Completely new churches, on the other hand, were rare in the 7th and 8th centuries, and in the 9th century only one was built, by Nicholas I (858-67). In this later period the popes seem to have preferred to demolish churches in order to rebuild them in a completely new style. Enterprises of this kind were relatively frequent in the first half of the century.

The construction and reconstruction of monasteries, on the other hand, produce less significant curves, but nevertheless confirm the high number of restorations in Hadrian I's time. The increase of interest in welfare centres throughout the 8th century is significant. Finally, a progressive increase in the number of new buildings for the personal or ceremonial use of the popes can be discerned, starting from Leo III's pontificate and continuing throughout the first half of the 9th century.

Table 1 does not record another field of papal building activity: the restoration and construction of city walls. The walls of Rome were restored at the beginning of the 8th century by Gregory II *(LP* 177) and twice by Hadrian I *(LP* 326, **1,** 501; 355, **1,** 513); restorations were also undertaken in the time of Leo IV *(LP* 515f, **2,** 115). In the 9th century a number of fortified centres were created, such as *Gregoriopolis,* near ancient Ostia *(LP* 476, **1,** 81f), *Leopolis* on the Tolfa mountains *(LP* 549, **2,** 132), and *civitas Leonina* and *Johannipolis,* round the basilicas of St Peter and St Paul *extra muros* respectively *(LP* 532f, **2,** 132; Strecker, 1016, n VI).

These general trends make it possible to put forward some hypotheses on the main theme of this volume: can we speak of the 'rebirth' of urban life and organization in Rome at the beginning of the Middle Ages? The quantitative and qualitative increase of papal building enterprises in the 8th century might indicate a recovery of material organization in Rome - and by inference a growth in social needs - if it can be verified that the low number of enterprises recorded for the 7th century is indicative of degeneration during that century. During the 8th century the papacy progressively assumed political and juridical sovereignty over the city and its outer districts, whereas in the 7th century control had been exercised by the Byzantine emperor through his officials. The different level of papal activity between these two periods might be a reflection of their differing official status.

It is now possible to observe a change in attitude accompanying the increase in building activity. Starting with the biography of Sergius I (687-701), the compilers of the *LP,* who were members of the papal entourage, present the popes' enterprises as improvements and restorations of timeworn crumbling buildings.[2] The theme of the collapse of Roman buildings as a result of age and carelessness recurs in the subsequent biographies of John VII (705-7)[3] and Gregory II (715-31),[4] and it becomes common during the 8th and 9th centuries. By contrast, this theme does not appear in biographies preceding that of Sergius I, not even to justify the restoration work that they record. In that period the compilers of the *LP* preferred to qualify every papal

undertaking, even restoration or improvement, with the word *facere,* as though these were new buildings in the tradition of the ancient Roman civic authorities.

The change of attitude that took place in the final decade of the 7th century was a cultural one, probably the result of the serious urban deterioration that must have accompanied the reduced level of papal building activity in the 7th century. There is explicit evidence of this. At the end of the 7th century not only the churches but also the imperial palaces on the Palatine were in urgent need of restoration,[5] and the city walls were in ruins.[6] In this situation the act of *renovare* or *restaurare* became more laudable than *facere* in the eyes of the papal biographers, and so these words were used to characterize papal activity in the *LP.* Since this new attitude first becomes apparent in the biography of Sergius I, this pontificate has been designated as the beginning of a new phase.

It is more difficult to explain why the popes acquired this new awareness at precisely this time. Religious and political autonomy from the Imperial government was not claimed until the time of Gregory II (715-31), and was not achieved until even later. Llewellyn (1986) has shown convincingly that at the end of the 7th century Constantine IV accorded basic administrative powers in Rome to the popes, thereby causing a growth in papal authority that also made possible activities for the restoration of the city. These became increasingly frequent and effective during the 8th century, alongside the progressive affirmation of political autonomy. It is also noteworthy that the *diaconiae* (the new Roman welfare centres) made their appearance at the end of the 7th century (Bertolini 1968, 311-460, esp 330 ff).

The question of whether this activity also arose from an improvement in economic conditions in Rome will be addressed in the second part of this paper.

The renewal of the city proceeded slowly during the 8th century. The number of churches restored up to 772 was small - no more than seventeen, including the main basilicas.[7] Monasteries and hospitals were rebuilt in the vicinity of these basilicas, concentrating in certain districts.[8] Elsewhere deterioration appears to have continued.[9] This goes to explain the need for a large amount of restoration work under Hadrian I, who carried it out with a breadth of vision in every part of the city including the city walls, the aqueducts, and even some of the colonnaded streets that linked the city with the extramural basilicas of St Peter, St Paul, and St Laurence *(LP* 341, **1,** 507; 342, **1,** 508). The suburbs were brought back into use as a result of the restoration of many of the ancient cemeteries. It is only in the time of Hadrian I that it becomes legitimate to speak of large-scale reorganization of the city.

This situation is linked with a new political situation. Under Hadrian I the power of the papacy in Italy was extended and consolidated, thanks to his close alliance with Charlemagne. The major consequences of this were the elimination of the Lombard kingdom, traditional enemy of the secular power of the papacy, and the confirmation of that power within the new Carolingian political structure, in which Rome fulfilled a prominent role as the religious and ideological basis for the increased dignity of the Frankish monarchy.[10] The

restoration of material order and efficiency was carried out to support this idealized role of the city. Once again, it is worthwhile considering to what extent this programme was buttressed by an improvement in the economic situation.

Restoration works were also carried out by the succeeding pope, Leo III, another contemporary of Charlemagne - fewer in number than under Hadrian I but still very high by comparison with those of the 7th and early 8th century pontiffs. Leo III was also involved in new types of enterprise which were to become characteristic of the first half of the 9th century, notably the rebuilding of churches to new designs and the construction of halls for the personal use of the popes in the Lateran and elsewhere. He was also the first pope to conceive the project of enclosing St Peter's and its surrounding quarter with a wall, although he was unable to carry it out *(LP* 532, **2,** 123).

The original purpose of the new buildings of the 9th century seems to have been the glorification of the popes, both as pontiffs and as individuals. The ceremonial halls *(triclinia)* in the Lateran and near St Peter's, which were decorated with columns, precious marbles, and mosaics, fulfilled the first objective while the rebuilding of churches appears to have met the latter. The churches were selected for reconstruction not for their importance within the religious topography of Rome but rather in accordance with the predilections of individual popes; they had frequently been their titular churches before they were elected to the papacy.[11] These new churches resembled monuments erected to the popes who commissioned them and who were portrayed in the apsidal mosaics and commemorated in inscriptions; members of the popes' families sometimes shared in this monumental glorification.[12]

The construction of *hospitia* near the main basilicas was also more associated with the popes as individuals, since they were intended for them to relax in after they had celebrated religious rituals. Significant evidence for this new trend in building activities is provided by the two country villas, provided with *portica* and *solaria,* built for Gregory IV (827-44) to spend holidays in *(LP* 478, **2,** 82). It seems that the popes, now freed from the constraints of emergency restoration work, were able to devote themselves to new building projects inspired by new interests and new ideals of comfort and magnificence. As a result of this work the city was enriched with splendid new monuments, scattered over its entire area.[13]

The Saracen raids which, by the 830s were threatening the coasts of Italy (and even Rome itself, which was easily reached from the sea), did not immediately interrupt this urban flowering. Their effect was to cause the popes to extend their activities to urban fortifications. Not only were the ancient city walls once again restored, but settlements in the vicinity of Rome and at the mouth of the Tiber were also fortified. Besides the fortified centres referred to above, Nicholas I reconstructed Ostia after its destruction by the Saracens *(LP* 607, **2,** 164). A century later such defensive works would be considered to be castles, but in the 9th century, under the influence of the urban ideology that prevailed in the papal court, they were considered to be urban founda-

tions. These fortified 'cities' took their names from their founders; they, too, were seen as monuments, intended to keep the memory of the popes alive.[14]

The irregular nature of the *LP* after 867 makes it impossible to follow the further development of building work in Rome. It is possible, however, to deduce from the reduction of building activity under Nicholas I (858-67) and the absence of any records relating to Hadrian II (867-72) that there was a change in the second half of the century, resulting from the greater difficulties being experienced by the papacy at this period. This is supported by the evidence for a probable collapse of the papal finances, which will be discussed in the next section.

The urban development of Rome, as demonstrated by the records of papal building activities, has a number of features in common with other Italian cities in this period. In northern Italy the first traces of the rebirth of urban life can be detected at the end of the 7th century. By the beginning of the 8th century towns played a basic role in the political and economic structure of the Lombard kingdom (Delogu 1980). At the end of the 8th century in southern Italy, Naples, Benevento, and Salerno were being regenerated by means of the construction of important buildings with religious and political functions, while Amalfi and Gaeta attained an economic level that they had never reached in classical times (Naples: Schipa 1923, 73 ff; Benevento: Rotili 1986, 143 ff, 184 ff; Salerno: Delogu 1977, 13 ff; Amalfi and Gaeta: von Falkenhausen 1983, 339-54). This general revival of urban life has been explained in terms of the renewal of commercial activities in the Mediterranean during the 8th century. Trade with northern Europe may also have contributed to this process in northern Italy.

The rebirth of Rome might be considered to form part of this more general revival and to have shared its economic basis. Its special features are perhaps better illustrated by an analysis of the nature and sources of the financial wealth of the papacy, which are relatively well documented and which offer valuable clues to the state of the Roman economy. These are poorly witnessed by the sources and must be indicated by indirect evidence. The *LP* contains numerous lists of papal gifts to Roman churches, consisting of gold and silver articles of furnishings and items of liturgical use. The circulation of precious metals is a good indicator of early medieval economic systems. Western monetary history in the 7th-9th centuries shows a progressive decrease in the amount of gold in circulation and an increasing diffusion of silver, spreading from those countries in which it was produced and from the northern mercantile centres. Although papal gifts of gold and silver took the form of artefacts rather than coin, the availability of these two metals in Rome, sometimes in very large quantities, may be a significant pointer to the city's economic resources. These metals had to be imported into Rome, since it is likely that the wealth of the classical city had been exhausted by the beginning of the 7th century (Delogu 1988).[15] Although the record in the *LP* is incomplete in places, sufficient data are available for the quantities of gold and silver dispensed by the popes to be plotted graphically (Fig. 15).
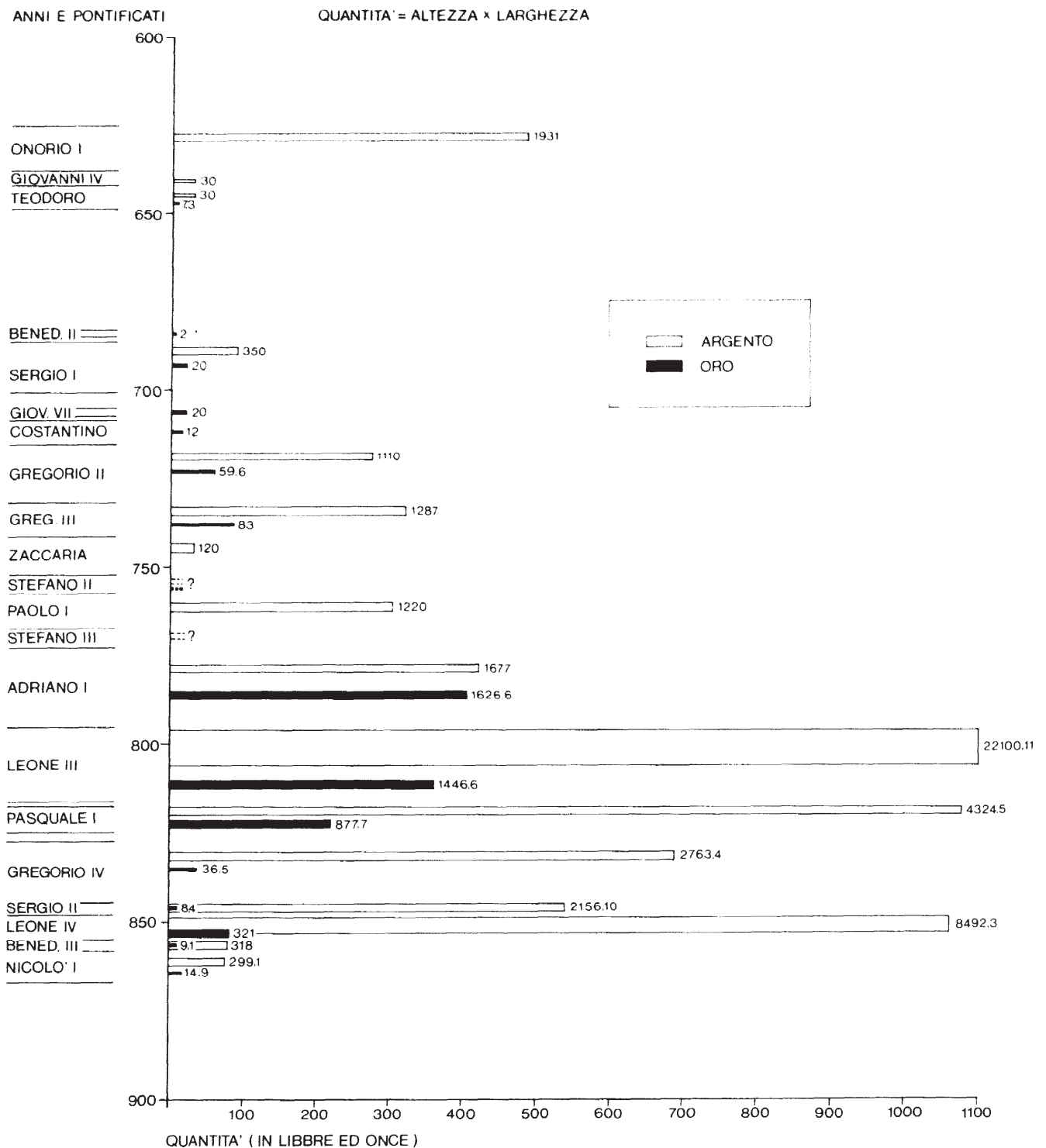
ANNI E PONTIFICATI　　　　　QUANTITA' = ALTEZZA × LARGHEZZA

Fig 15　Gold and silver in papalgifts to the Roman churches. Horizontal line: pontificates; vertical line: total weights of gifts, recorded in Roman librae *and* onciae *(1* libra *= c 0.327 kg; 1* oncia *= 1/12* libra*); white columns: silver; dashed colums: gold*

This immediately demonstrates the close resemblance between the curve for gold and silver gifts and papal building activity in Rome. The value of these donations is low in the 7th century, with the exception of the pontificate of Honorius I (625-38) (Delogu 1988). It starts to rise at the beginning of the 8th century and then remains almost constant until Hadrian I, when not only does it rise but the proportion of gold is almost equal to that of silver. The curve reaches a peak under Leo III and then drops substantially during the succeeding pontificates of Paschal I, Gregory IV, and Sergius II, although the average values of gifts remains between two

and four times higher than it was in the 8th century. After climbing steeply during the pontificate of Leo IV, the quantity of gifts drops to a very low level under the popes of the second half of the 9th century.

The close correspondence between these two curves suggests that the extent and quality of papal building projects were connected with the level of wealth at their disposal. This seems to suggest that these enterprises were made possible not only by the power that they wielded over their subjects but also to a considerable extent by the availability of liquid financial assets.[16] The *LP* does not reveal how the precious metals that they distributed came into the possession of the popes and it is only the characteristics of the curve, taken with what is known of the papal history of the time, that permit some hypotheses to be developed in this respect.

If the popes were not drawing upon reserves amassed in earlier times, it also seems unlikely that the metals would have reached Rome through commercial activities. There is no evidence for the Romans having engaged in trade at this time. Luxury goods that may have been produced during the first half of the 9th century seem to have been for a strictly local market, principally the popes themselves (Delogu 1988, n 63, 64). The only export commodities that might have resulted in precious metals reaching Rome were slaves, but the papacy opposed this traffic, and it was in any case monopolized by the Venetians and the Greeks *(LP* 222, 433; *Codex Carolinus* 59, 585). In happier times Rome must have constituted an import market, supplied from the coastal towns of Campania and sustained by the considerable amount of money that would have reached the city in other ways.

On the other hand it is possible to produce a convincing explanation of this availability of large amounts of precious metals without recourse to a commercial hypothesis. In the 7th century the great papal land-holdings in Lazio, southern Italy, Sicily, and Illyricum must have been the main source of income for the papacy. As these all lay within the area of Byzantine sovereignty, where gold coinage still circulated, at least part of the revenues from these estates must have been in the form of coins, and so would have resulted in a significant flow of gold into Rome (Schwarzlose 1889, 62-100; Delogu 1988, n 8-12). It has been observed, however, that in the 7th century papal munificence was less than it was in other periods. In any case the southern estates were confiscated by the Byzantine emperors in the 730s, to punish the popes for their rebelliousness. The papacy retained only its estates in Lazio, the monetary revenues from which must have been small, since they consisted of emphyteutic (fixed) rents rather than proportions of profits (Bertolini 1941, 508 f). During the course of the 8th century the papacy endeavoured to remedy this situation by organizing part of its estates in Lazio as *domuscultae* (directly managed farms), but these were probably intended for the production of crops and goods rather than revenues. The products of these farms were stored for consumption by the papal court and other ecclesiastical and charitable institutions rather than being sold in the open market (Bertolini 1941, 509 ff).[17]

In the 760s the papal properties grew in number and extent because of acquisitions in Lombard territories, but these were insecure until the establishment of Carolingian rule in Italy.

The explanation of the improvement in the economic resources available to the popes from the end of the 8th century may lie in increased land revenues, but this does not account for the increase in available silver at the beginning of the century nor its remarkable increase under Hadrian I and Leo III. The papacy must have been drawing other forms of revenue through the exercise of sovereign rights when it replaced the Byzantine Empire and the Lombard kingdom in many of the provinces of central Italy. The nature and amount of revenues of this kind are never explicitly recorded in the historical sources, but it may be assumed that they consisted of fiscal and judicial rights (Delogu 1988, n 28, 29). The exploitation of these rights was constantly impeded by the Lombards, and only became effective after the Lombard power in Italy had been destroyed by Charlemagne. From that time onwards it is likely that they helped the level of papal wealth to rise and to be soundly based on substantial, assured revenues throughout the Carolingian period. Yet not even this source of revenue can explain the striking and abrupt changes in the curve shown in Fig 15.

The most probable explanation is to be sought in another type of revenue. The increase in the amount of silver available at the beginning of the 8th century, when the profits from land seem to have been put in jeopardy, can probably be explained by the flow of gifts offered at the tombs of the Apostles by pilgrims and devout Christians from the western barbarian kingdoms - Anglo-Saxons, Franks, and even Lombards - with whom the popes were strengthening pastoral and political ties at this period, putting them forward against Byzantium as faithful followers of religious orthodoxy. It should be recalled that in the 8th century western Europe was experiencing an increase in silver, which by contrast was becoming rarer in the Byzantine Empire (Grierson 1979; Watson 1967, 1-34; Abulafia 1983, 223-70). The revival of devotion to St Peter would have ensured that large amounts of western silver reached Rome and became available to the popes. There is sparse evidence of this influx of silver. Occasional donations from Anglo-Saxon kings became regular during the 8th century in the form of the annual tribute known as 'Peter's pence' (Bede, *Hist Eccl,* 328; Lunt 1939, 1-16), *gabatae saxiscae* (silver vessels of (Anglo-) Saxon origin) are recorded among the gifts made to Roman churches by Gregory III *(LP* 195, 417), and Anglo-Saxon *sceattas* were found in St Peter's confession (Serafini 1951, 242, nos 380-2). The establishment of the *scholae Saxonum, Frisonum,* and *Francorum,* near St Peter's basilica reveals the importance of pilgrimages, which must have provided a large supply of silver for Rome.

Religious devoutness also probably explains the more substantial growth of papal resources in the decade around the year 800. Charlemagne was very concerned about the splendour of Rome and sought to increase it, not only by making precious offerings to the Apostles when he visited Rome but also by sending large quantities of gold, silver, and precious stones to the popes for the upkeep and decoration of Rome's churches

(Einhard 1966, 198).[18] Rome also shared in Charlemagne's war booties *(Annales,* 64),[19] and probably also in the silver mined in the countries under Frankish dominion. Remarkable treasures were also sent to Rome by Louis the Pious, who continued to regard himself as the protector of the basilica of St Peter (Thegan, 222).

Thus it will be seen that the Carolingian political structure contributed to the prosperity of the papacy not only by ensuring the peaceful enjoyment of its rents and rights in an enlarged territory but also by supplying the popes with precious metals in quantities that were regarded as enormous by contemporary observers (Einhard 1966, 198). This may explain the increase in the gifts made to the Roman churches by the popes who were contemporary with Charlemagne and Louis the Pious; the same source might have supported their imposing building projects.

This hypothesis is confirmed in the trend followed by such gifts in the second quarter of the 9th century. The supply of silver available to Gregory IV and Sergius II was still substantial, though less than that of their immediate predecessors, but they had far less gold at their disposal. The wealth of these popes was differently constituted, probably because a larger proportion was contributed from rents and tribute from St Peter's lands, where silver currency completely replaced gold starting with Hadrian I (Toubert 1973, 562).[20] At the same time the contribution from the Frankish lands must have become insignificant, owing to the political crisis within the Frankish empire and the quarrels between the Franks and the papacy at the time of Sergius II. There is evidence of financial difficulties during this pontificate, combined with heavy fiscal pressure on the inhabitants of the papal lands *(LP* 493, 98). This may also explain the slackening in building work in Rome that is a marked feature of Sergius's pontificate. The only exception to this continuing trend is the marked increase in precious gifts made by Leo IV, with its counterpart in his resolution in fortifying Rome and its surrounding districts.

The pontificate of Leo IV was preceded by the sack of the extramural basilicas of the Apostles by a horde of Saracen pirates. The enormous treasures amassed by the popes in the preceding centuries were all stolen. Leo boldly undertook the restoration of the basilicas and took steps to ensure against a repetition of this sorry episode *(LP* 500, **2,** 108; 501, **2,** 109; 515 f, **2,** 115; 532, **2,** 123). Exceptional efforts were made to obtain finance for these works; the contribution of the Carolingian kings was to order money to be collected throughout their kingdoms *(LP* 532, 123; MGH, *Capitularia* 66). It may safely be assumed that the ordinary sources of papal revenues were squeezed to the utmost and that pilgrims, too, made their contributions.

After Leo IV the papal revenue problems must have persisted with the worsening of the political crisis in the Carolingian empire and the collapse of public order in Italy. It became very difficult to ensure regular receipt of rents and tributes.

If these hypotheses are correct, the urban reorganization of Rome in the 8th and 9th centuries depended not on the development of economic production within the city but on that special status as religious capital of the west that Rome had inherited from its illustrious past. Of the two elements which characterize this process of urban renewal, the essentially urban culture that preserved the concept of special functions and dignity appropriate to a city was local and traditional in origin, but the wealth that made renewal possible came from abroad, whether from the Italian dominions or the kingdoms of western Europe. It is likely that the imported wealth contributed to the recovery of economic activities within the city. The papacy invested not only in public works but also in agricultural production, and very probably stimulated the rebirth of arts and crafts in Rome (Delogu 1988, n 63, 64). However, the availability of wealth was a prerequisite for the revival of economic life in Rome.

In the overall picture of the rebirth of urban life in 8th and 9th century Italy, Rome is a special case, in which the political situation played a more determinant role than the economic. It was because of its idealized role and the spiritual authority of its bishops that Rome was able to tap a much larger reservoir of wealth than that represented by its resident urban society, and so could make profound changes in its form and organization. Also in the early medieval centuries the development of Rome demonstrates features that are characteristic of the capital of an empire.

Appendix

List of the papal building enterprises recorded by the *Liber Pontificalis* (the figures in parentheses refer to the progressive numbering of chapters in Duchesne's edition).

590-487 (excepted Honorius I)

Structural restoration of churches
Theodorus (642-9), St Valentinus near Ponte Milvio (128)
Adeodatus (672-6), St Peter on the Via Portuensis (138)
Donus (676-8), Holy Apostles on the Via Hostiensis (139)
Donus (676-8), St Euphemia on the Via Appia (139)
Benedict II (684-5), St Peter (152)
Benedict II (684-5), St Laurence in Lucina (152)

Restoration of fittings
Severinus (640), mosaics in St Peter (123)
Donus (676-8), atrium pavement in St Peter (139)

Restoration of cemeteries
Boniface V (619-25), St Nicomedis (118)

Building of oratories
John IV (640-2), St Venantius (124)
Theodorus (642-9), St Sebastian *intro episcopio Lateranense* (128)
Theodorus (642-9), St Euplus *foris porta beati Pauli* (128)
Leo II (682-3), St Paul near St Bibiana (149)

Reordering of church interiors
Gregory I (590-604), crypts in St Peter (113)

Boniface IV (608-15), transforms the Pantheon into a Christian church

Restoration of monasteries
Adeodatus (672-6), St Erasmus (138)

Establishment of new monasteries
Gregory I (590-604), (113)
Boniface IV (608-15), (116)

Honorius I (625-38)

Structural restoration of churches
St Pancratius on the Via Aurelia (120)

Restoration of cemeteries
Sts Marcellinus and Petrus (120)

Building of churches
St Agnes (119)
St Apollinaris (119)
St Lucia *in selce* (120)
St Hadrian *in tribus fatis* (120)

Rebuilding of churches
St Cyriacus on the Via Hostiensis (120)
SS Quattuor Coronati (120)

Establishment of new monasteries
Monasterium Honorii (p324)

687-772

Structural restoration *of churches*
Sergius I (687-701), St Peter, *tegnum et cubicula* (163)
Sergius I (687-701), St Paul, *tegnum et cubicula* (163)
Sergius I (687-701), St Euphemia, roof (163)
John VII (705-7), St Eugenia, roof (167)
Gregory II (715-31), St Paul, roof (177)
Gregory II (715-31), St Laurence, roof (178)
Gregory II (715-31), St Hierusalem, roof (182)
Gregory III (732-41), St Chrisogonus, roof (196)
Gregory III (732-41), St Calixtus, new buildings and roof (198)
Gregory III (732-41), St Andrew near St Peter, roof (198)
Gregory III (732-41), Sts Processus et Martinianus, roof (199)
Gregory III (732-41), St Genesius, roof (199)
Gregory III (732-41), St Maria *ad martyres,* roof (200)
Gregory III (732-41), St Peter, *accubita (202)*
Gregory III (732-41), St Mark on the Via Appia, roof (202)
Gregory III (732-41), St Paul, roof (202)
Gregory III (732-41), St Maria *ad praesepe,* roof (202)
Zacharias (741-52), St Eusebius, roof (226)
Stephan II (752-7), St Laurence near St Clemens, ruined (235)
Paul I (757-67), Sts Apostles in via Lata, *tegmen* (261)

Restoration of cemeteries
John VII (705-7), Sts Marcellianus et Marcus (167)
John VII (705-7), St Damasus *pontifex* (167)

Gregory III (732-41), Sts Ianuarius, Urbanus and others (202)
Stephan II (752-7), St Soteris (235)

Building of oratories
Sergius I (687-701), St Andrew *qui ponitur Lavicana* (163)
John VII (705-7), oratory in St Peter (167)
Gregory II (715-31), oratory in *patriarchio* (182)
Gregory III (732-41), oratory in St Peter (194)
Paul I (757-67), oratory in St Peter (261)

Building of churches
Stephan II (752-7), St Petronilla (256)
Paul I (757-67), St Silvester (260)
Paul I (757-67), Sts Peter and Paul on the Via Sacra (261)

Rebuilding of churches
Gregory III (732-41), Sts Marcellinus et Petrus (202)

Restoration of monasteries
Gregory II (715-31), *monasteria* near St Paul (178)
Gregory II (715-31), St Andrew Barbarae (178)
Gregory III (732-41), Sts John the Evangelist, John the Baptist and Pancratius (197)

Establishment of new monasteries
Gregory II (715-31), St Agatha (183)
Gregory III (732-41), Sts Stephanus, Laurentius, Chrisogonus (260)
Paul I (757-67), Sts Stephanus et Silvester (260)

Restoration of welfare centres
Gregory III (732-41), St Maria in Aquiro (201)
Gregory III (732-41), Sts Sergius and Bacchus (201)
Stephan III (752-7), four *xenodochia* unnamed (228)

Construction of welfare centres
Gregory II (715-31), *gerocomium* near St Maria *ad praesepe* (178)
Stephan II (752-7), *xenodochium* in Platana (228)
Stephan II (752-7), two *xenodochia* near St Peter (229)

Papal dwellings
Zacharias (741-52), *triclinium* in the Lateran (218)
Zacharias (741-52), other buildings and restorations in the Lateran (218)

Hadrian I (772-95)

Structural restoration of churches
St Laurence, *basilica maior (323)*
St Mark (323)
St Laurence ad Taurellum (324)
St Felix in Pincis (324)
St Laurence in Damaso (324)
Holy Apostles (324)
St Prisca (325)
St Peter, *portica* roofs (330)
St Clemens (335)
St Silvester in Orfea (335)
St Peter (335)

St Januarius (336)
St Paul (338)
St Susanna *duas domus* (339)
St Saviour in the Lateran (340)
St Maria *ad praesepe* (341)
St Hierusalem (342)
Sts Cosmas et Damianus (343)
St Stephan on the Celian hill (347)
Titulum Pammachii (347)
Sts Quattuor Coronati (353)
St Laurence in Lucina (341)
St Martin (341)
St Agapitus (341)
St Xistus (341)
St Hadrian in *tribus fatis* (341)
St Pancratius (341)
St Eusebius (342)
St Laurence outside the walls (342)
St Stephan near St Laurence (342)
Titulum Eudoxiae (342)
St Andrew on the Via Appia (343)
St John at Porta Latina (343)
Holy Apostles *ad catacumbas* (343)
Titulum Pudentis (343)
St Praxedes (344)
St Eugenia (344)
Sts Gordianus et Epimachius (345)
St Zeno *foris porta Appia* (345)
Sts Tiburtius et Valerianus (345)
St Maria Calixti (345)
St Marcellus in Via Lata (345)
Basilicas cimiterii Sts Hermetis, Proti and others (345)
Basilica cimiterii St Satumini (345)
St Felix (345)
Basilica cimiterii Sts Abdon et Sennes (345)
St Agnes (350)
St Emerentiana (350)
St Nicomedes (350)
St Stephanus near St Laurence (350)
St Anastasius (354)

Restoration of fittings
St Paul, pavement (322)
St Peter, stairs (330)
St Peter, pavement (330)
St Peter, 'camera' (342)

Restoration of cemeteries
Sts Peter et Marcellinus (325)
St Ciriaca (342)
Simplicii et Serviliani (345)
St Tertullinus (345)
St Urbanus and others (345)
St Felicitas (345)
Sts Crisantes et Daria (345)
St Hilaria (345)
Cimiterium Iordannorum (345)
St Silvester (345)
Sts Abdon, Sennes and others (345)
St Hyppolitus (350)

Restoration of monasteries
St Stephanus *cata Barbara* (326)

Monasterium Honorii (338)
St Laurence *Palatinis* (340)
St Victor (341)
Sts Hadrian and Laurence (351)

Establishment of new monasteries
Monasterium puellarum in the basilica of St Eugenia (347)

Restoration of welfare centres
Three *diaconiae* near St Peter (337)
S Maria in Cosmedin (341)
Sts Sergius and Bacchus (354)

Construction of welfare centres
Two *diaconiae* in the churches of St Hadrian and Sts Cosmas and Damianus (345)

Papal dwellings
Tower in the Lateran (329)
Restorations in the *portica* (329)

Leo III (795-816)

Structural restoration of churches
St Peter (360)
St Anastasia (360)
Sts Felix et Audactes (361)
St Menas (361)
St Vitalis (361)
St Maria in Fonteiana (361)
St Saviour in the Lateran (408)
St Maria *ad praesepe* (412)
St Andrew *cata* Barbara (414)
St Lucia in Orfea (414)
St Balbina (414)
Sts Cosmas et Damianus (414)
St Martina *in tribus fatis* (414)
St Laurence in Damaso (414)
St Valentinus (414)
St Agata (414)
Holy Apostles (4 14)
St Stephanus on the Via Latina (415)
St Agapitus (425)
St Paul (381)
St Marcellus (391)
St Peter, *cubicula* (412)
Portica in the Lateran (414)

Restoration of fittings
St Maria *ad praesepe,* 'camera' (361)
St Saviour in the Lateran, 'camera' (363)
St Peter, presbytery (380)
St Peter, windows (382)
St Peter, stairs (413)

Restoration of cemeteries
Sts Xistus et Cornelius (361)
St Iuticus (361)

Building of oratories
Holy Cross in St Peter (398)
St Archangelus in the Lateran (414)

Rebuilding of churches
St Susanna (365)
baptistery near St Peter (397)
SS Nereus et Achilleus (424)

Restoration of monasteries
St Stephanus cata Galla Placidia (413)
St Martin (413)

Construction of welfare centres
Two baths and *domus cum accubita* near St Peter (412)
Hospitale ad Naumachiam (412)

Papal dwellings
Triclinium maior in the Lateran (367)
Triclinium maior in Acoli (378)
Triclinium with ten apses in the Lateran (384)

816-68

Structural restoration of churches
Gregory IV (827-44), St Saturninus (459)
Gregory IV (827-44), St Hadrian in Via Sacra (464)
Gregory IV (827-44), St George in Velabrum (464)
Gregory IV (827-44), St Maria Calixti (470)
Gregory IV (827-44), St Peter, *portica* (475)
Leo IV (847-55), St Maria in Trastevere (528)
Leo IV (847-55), St Peter, left *porticus* (540)
Leo IV (847-55), St Peter, *porticus* near St Andrew (541)
Leo IV (847-55), St Maria near St Laurence (541)
Benedict III (855-8), St Maria *ad praesepe,* baptistery (567)
Benedict III (855-8), St Maria Calixti (572)
Benedict III (855-8), St Peter (572)
Benedict III (855-8), Sts Petrus et Marcellinus (572)

Restoration of fittings
Eugenius II (824-7), St Sabina (452)
Sergius II (844-7), St Saviour in the Lateran (489)

Restoration of cemeteries
Nicholas I (858-67), St Felix (601)
Nicholas I (858-67), *ad ursum pileatum* (601)
Nicholas I (858-67), St Sebastianus (601)

Building of oratories
Paschal I (817-24), Sts Processus et Martinianus in St Peter (431)
Gregory IV (827-44), St Gregorius in St Peter (459)
Leo IV (847-55), St Leo in St Peter (511)
Nicholas I (858-67), St Nicholas in St Maria in Cosmedin (600)
Nicholas I (858-67), The God's Mother in the Lateran (612)

Building of churches
Nicholas I (858-67), The God's Mother in the Lateran (612; 618)

Rebuilding of churches
Paschal I (817-24), St Praxedes (434)
Paschal I (817-24), St Maria *in domnica (435)*

Paschal I (817-24), St Cecilia (436)
Gregory IV (827-44), St Mark (460)
Sergius II (844-7), St Martin (491)
Sergius II (844-7), St Romanus (490)
Leo IV (847-55), St Maria in Via Sacra (?) (592)
Leo IV (847-55), Sts Quattuor Coronati (517)

Reordering of church interiors
Paschal I (817-24), St Maria *ad praesepe,* the altar (447)
Gregory IV (827-44), St Maria Calixti, the altar (473)
Sergius II (844-7), St Saviour in the Lateran, the altar (489)

Restoration of monasteries
Leo IV (847-55), *monasterium* Corsarum (507)
Leo IV (847-55), Sts Stephanus et Cassianus (511)
Leo IV (847-55), St Martin (553)

Establishment of new *monasteries*
Gregory IV (827-44), *monasterium* near St Maria Calixti (470)
Sergius II (844-7), *monasterium* Sts Petri, Pauli and others (493)
Nicholas I (858-67), *monasterium* near the cemetery of St Sebastianus (601)
Leo IV (847-55), Sts Simetrius et Cesarius (527)

Restoration of welfare centres
Sergius II (844-7), Schola cantorum/Orphanotrophaeum (490)

Papal dwellings
Gregory IV (827-44), *triclinium* in the Lateran (465)
Gregory IV (827-44), palaces in the Lateran (475)
Gregory IV (827-44), *hospicium* near St Peter (475)
Gregory IV (827-44), *habitaculum* in the Patriarchium (475)
Gregory IV (827-44), two suburban villas (478)
Leo IV (847-55), *solarium* in the Lateran (499)
Leo IV (847-55), *ambitum* in the Lateran (502)
Nicholas I (858-67), *hospitium* at St Maria in Cosmedin (584)
Nicholas I (858-67), *triclinium* at St Maria in Cosmedin (600)

Notes

1 In drawing up the table I have followed these principles: rebuilding, even partial, of collapsed or tottering roofs, and in general every work characterized by *LP* with terms like *renovare* or *restaurare*, have been considered as structural restorations. Fittings restorations have been considered the remaking of pavements, mosaics, stairs, windows, *camerae*, with the exception of pictorial decorations, which have not been taken into account. As regards cemeteries, I have distinguished as accurately as possible between restorations of the cemeterial areas and restorations of the churches existing in them; these latter have been reckoned in the church restoration column. By rebuilding of churches I have meant the total reconstruction into a new style of pre-existing churches that were intentionally demolished. However, I am not certain that this was the case in the two rebuilding enterprises attributed to Honorius I. Many new constitutions of monasteries resulted from the arrangement of the popes' family mansions. Welfare centres have been considered *diaconiae, xenodochia*, hospitals and public baths. Restorations of papal dwellings always took place in the Lateran complex while new buildings were also constructed in other places. The list of the building enterprises recorded by the *LP* is given in the Appendix.

2 'Tegnum et cubicula quae circumquaque eiusdem basilicae [sancti Petri] sunt, quae per longa tempora stillicidiis et ruderibus fuerant disrupta . . .'; 'Tegnum et cubicula universa in circuitu basilicae beati Pauli apostoli, quae longa per tempora vetustate confecta erant . . .'; 'Basilicam sanctae Eufemiae, quae per multa tempora fuerat distecta . . .' (*LP*, 163, 1, 375).

3 'Basilicam sanctae Eugeniae qui longo per tempore distecta atque diruta fuerat . . .' (*LP* 167, 1, 385).

4 The deterioration of St Paul, St Laurence outside the Walls, St Hierusalem, and of the monasteries of St Paul and St Andrew *Barbarae* are witnessed in *LP* 178, 1, 397f; 182, 1, 401; see also *LP* 178, 1, 397: 'diversasque basilicas in ruinis positas innovavit'.

5 They were improved by the *curapalatis* Plato, father of Pope John VII (705–7); see his epitaph in *LP*, 1, 386, 1.

6 Pope Sisinnius, who pontificated for only a few months in 708, 'calcarias pro restauratione murorum iussit dequoquere' (*LP* 169, 1, 388); after him, Pope Gregory II (715–31) 'exordio pontificatus sui calcarias dequoquere iussit; a portico sancti Laurentii inquoans, huius civitatis muros restaurare decreverat' (*LP* 177, 1, 396).

7 St Peter, St Paul, St Hierusalem, St Maria *ad praesepe*, St Maria *ad martyres* (Pantheon), Holy Apostles, all appear in the list.

8 Monasteries were established near St Paul, St Maria *ad praesepe*, St Crisogonus, the Lateran; *xenodochia* and the hospitals are recorded near St Peter, St Maria *ad praesepe*, St Maria *ad martyres*.

9 Even the Lateran complex, where the popes lived, was *in magnam penuriam* in the mid 8th century, when Pope Zacharias restored it: *LP* 218, 1, 432; under Paul I the suburban cemeteries were so badly deteriorated that the martyrs' relics had to be transferred into the Roman churches: *LP* 259, 1, 464.

10 For different interpretations of the idea of Rome at the beginning of the 9th century, see Krautheimer (1980, 112 ff, and the important note, 345).

11 This was the case of St Susanna (Leo III); St Mark (Gregory IV); Sts Quattuor Coronati (Leo IV). But also Eugenius II 'ad meliorem cultum perduxit et picturis, undique ornavit' St Sabina where he had served as priest (*LP* 452, 2, 69); Nicholas I had special cares for St Maria in Cosmedin and could have been deacon in that see before becoming pope.

12 Portraits of Paschal I in the apse mosaics of the three churches rebuilt by him in Krautheimer, 1980, pls 98–100; also Gregory IV was portrayed in the apse mosaics of St Mark. Monograms and inscriptions celebrating the popes' enterprises recur in the same basilicas. The oratory of St Zeno, annexed to St Praxede's basilica shows the image of the pope's mother decorated with the title of 'episcopa'.

13 Ninth-century popes also continued the restoration of aqueducts undertaken by Hadrian I: *LP* 467, 2, 77 (Gregory IV); 490, 2, 91 (Sergius II); 584, 2, 154 (Nicholas I). Free initiative, unbound by the need for restoration, is suggested also by the displacement of papal altars in St Maria *ad praesepe* and St Cecilia, caused by the wish to remove them far from the crowd of the faithful, and by the enlargement of the presbyteral area in the Saviour church in the Lateran: *LP* 447, 2, 60; 473, 2, 80; 489, 2, 91.

14 *Gregoriopolis*: 'cui etiam a noviter civitati constructae hoc nomen in sempiternum statuit permanendum, scilicet ut . . . a proprio quod ei erat nomine, id est Gregorio, Gregoriopoli vociteretur' (*LP* 477, 2, 82); *Leopolis*: 'Deo quidem auspice, ita nunc omnia aedificata nitescunt . . . cui ex nomine proprio Leopolim nomen imposuit' (*LP* 549, 2, 132); *civitas Leonina*: 'praedicta civitas quae a proprio conditori sui nomine Leoniana vocatur' (*LP* 533, 2, 124); *Johannipolis*: 'Praesulis octavi de nomine facta Iohannis/ecce Iohannipolis urbs veneranda cluit' (Strecker, vv 7–8).

15 I maintain the idea that the stock of precious metals amassed in Rome during antiquity must have been lost owing to the barbarian pillages and tributes and to the flight and the extinction of the senatorial families.

16 Payments to workers engaged in papal building enterprises: *LP* 202, 1, 420 (Gregory III); 326, 1, 501 (Hadrian I); according to *LP* 355, 1, 513, on another occasion workers were recruited by Pope Hadrian I in all the cities and patrimonies of the Roman church, maybe with an act of authority, but they were employed 'cum sumptis dapibusque apostolicis'; public authority and financial resources concurred also in making possible the construction of the *civitas Leonina*: *LP* 532f, 2, 123.

17 The annual production expected from the *domusculta Capracorum* is recorded in *LP* 327, 1, 502; for the destination of the fruits of

other *domuscultae*, see also *LP* 224, 1, 434ff (Zacharias); 328, 1, 502 (Hadrian I).

18 'Colebat prae ceteris sacris et venerabilibus locis apud Romam ecclesiam beati Petri apostoli, in cuius donaria magna vis pecuniae tam in auro quam in argento necnon in gemmis ab illo congesta est. Multa et innumera pontificibus munera missa. Neque ille toto regni suit tempore quicquam duxit antiquius, quam ut urbs Roma sua opera suoque labore vetere polleret auctoritate, ut ecclesia sancti Petri per illum non solum tuta et defensa, sed etiam suis opibus prae omnibus ecclesiis esset ornata et ditata.'

19 *Annales Regni Francorum ad annum* 796 (64) say that Charlemagne sent to Rome *magnam partem* of the Avars' treasure. War booties should put again in circulation gold stored for a long time; this could explain the renewed availability of gold during Charlemagne's reign.

20 The substitution cannot be explained only as reception of the Carolingian monetary system. It is likely that the popes expected an easy supply of silver; maybe the metal was then extracted anew from Italian deposits.

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Abbreviations

LP Liber Pontificalis
MGH Monumenta Germaniae historica

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PART III GAUL

6 Problems of the continuity of Roman *civitates* in Gaul, as illustrated by the interrelation of cathedral and *palatium*
Carlrichard Brühl

Abstract

Three aspects of urban topography, relevant to the continuity of towns in Gaul between the 3rd and 13th centuries are examined in this paper. These are: the walls, the *praetoria* or *palutia,* and the churches. Walls built between the 1st and 4th centuries often survived in use until the 12th century. Some walls, though, like those at Vienne and Worms, were demolished in the Middle Ages, while others, such as at Autun and Trier, were used only in part. The *praetoria* (the residences of the *praeses provinciae)* were often inhabited by Frankish kings, counts and dukes. In the 9th century a new group of royal residences occurs: the monastery-palaces outside the old cities. Churches are the third aspect considered in this essay. The earliest churches did not as a rule replace pagan cult sites. The most important cathedrals, such as those in Rome and Trier, were built on palace sites. This pattern seems to be borne out at minor cathedrals, too. The oldest bishoprics were created inside the ancient towns of Gaul, but early churches, often cemetery basilicas, were also founded outside the walls.

In clarifying the question of 'the rebirth of towns in the West', we must also consider the question of continuity, for the term 'rebirth' tacitly takes a previous decline for granted. We will therefore have to ask how and to what extent former structures have been or could have been adopted. As is well known, the thorny problem of continuity has been discussed for several decades, resulting from the controversy between Dopsch and Pirenne in the 'twenties and 'thirties (Dopsch 1923-4; Pirenne 1937; Hübinger 1952; 1968). Both theories seemed to cancel each other out, but since then we have arrived at a somewhat more differentiated point of view. Today we know that neither Dopsch's nor Pirenne's theory can claim universality, as the term 'continuity' has turned out to be more complex than both assumed.

So before going into detail, I would like to repeat a definition I gave some twenty years ago. In my opinion the term 'continuity' means the adoption of elements out of an older, better developed, but politically weak civilization into a younger, less developed, but politically powerful one (Brühl 1968, esp vol 1, 773). The classic example is the Romano-Germanic continuity which was the sore point between Dopsch and Pirenne (cf Hübinger 1952, l-48; Havinghurst 1976). We no longer consider continuity as an absolute, but within certain spheres of communal life, eg administration, social structure, and the economy.

I should like to discuss the problem of urban topography, with special regard to the antique diocese of *Gallia. Britannia* and *Hispania* must be excluded because of their separate development, which needs to be regarded in a different light; their *civitates* cannot be compared with those in the area of today's France and Germany. Even Italy will be drawn in only occasionally by way of comparison. My interest is therefore concentrated on the heart of the *regnum Francorum* north of the Alps, or -

to use the terms of Roman administration - on the provinces of *Gallia,* including both the *Belgicae* and the two *Germaniae.* Of course I cannot deal here with all the aspects of the topographical development of the Roman *civitates,* but will limit my consideration to the secular and sacred sphere, concentrating on the walls and the sites of the *praetorium* or *palatium.* As far as sacred topography is concerned, I shall be examining the sites of the cathedrals and the cemeterial basilicas. The period I shall be dealing with extends from the 3rd to the 13th centuries.

I should like to start with secular topography, in particular with the walls. The walls of the Roman *civitates* have almost completely disappeared, the city gates which still remain of Autun, Trier or Verona being the exception to the rule. Nevertheless in almost all these towns it is still possible to trace their general course, though there are still great gaps in some towns, eg in Mainz, Metz and Spires (Brühl forthcoming). Most of these town walls date from the period after AD 275, when Emperor Aurelian walled in even Rome, and many towns of Gaul followed his example in the face of the threat of Germanic raids. However in some towns, such as Autun, Toulouse, Trier, and Vienne, walls had already been erected in the 1st and 2nd centuries, which were much larger and stronger than those later thrown together in great haste during the 3rd century. While the older ones really were walls, the later ones bore more resemblance to a kind of refuge-keep, with the result that Michel Roblin tended to differentiate between *'cités ou citadelles'* (Roblin 1951, 301-11; 1965, 368-91). A classic example of such a *citadelle* can be found in Paris, and another in Autun, which in the late 4th century formed a *castrum* of less than 10 ha, whereas the walls in the times of Augustus enclosed 180 ha. The walls of Vienne were also drastically reduced during the 4th

century, though not to the same extent as in Autun. Only Rome, Trier and Toulouse maintained their walls completely, with the consequence that Rome was practically indefensible throughout the Middle Ages, whereas the Archbishop of Trier did at least fortify the Close as a *citadelle* about the year AD 1000.

In general the late antique walls of the *civitates* of Gaul and Italy served as a shelter for many centuries. In most cases their course can still today be easily traced on the map. No considerable enlargements of the Roman walls and no new walls can be found before the 12th and 13th centuries, if we ignore the walling in of smaller sacred areas, for example extramural abbeys. Settlements like these, which grew up around famous pilgrim churches, such as St Martin in Tours (see ch 9) or St Martial in Limoges, were easily able to develop into new urban centres alongside the sheltering walls of the episcopal seats. Frequently it took a long time before the two nuclei were fused into one as a political unit - not till the 14th century in Reims and Tours, and presumably not until the 15th in Arras, whereas Limoges remained officially split into two distinct settlements *(Château* and *Cité)* until 1792, and were never surrounded by a common wall. Even if the enlargement of the Roman walls during the 12th and 13th centuries is the rule, it must not be forgotten that a city such as Sens never developed beyond its ancient Roman walls.

The walls of Rome were still much too large even for the Rome of the 19th century. Towns like Trier, Vienne, and Lyons were considerably smaller during the Middle Ages than in Roman times, and for this reason their walls had to be reduced or replaced by new, smaller ones. From the point of view of continuity stress must be laid on the importance of the Roman walls of the 1st-4th centuries. Up to the 12th century and partly beyond that date the Roman wall forms the outer limit of the town, beyond which only smaller fortifications surrounding abbeys or other religious establishments are to be found. Even nowadays it is usually possible to trace the course of the Roman walls, and they still leave their stamp on our modern cities.

Let us now consider the site of the *palatium* or *praetorium* within the *civitates*. As I dealt with this question in a conference ten years ago (Brühl 1977, 419-30), I can be brief. The distinction between *palatia* and *praetoria* is known to be of Roman origin and seems to have been of some importance in Italy even in the 9th century (Brühl 1974, 621-40, esp 623-5; 1975, 400-19, esp 400-3). When in 1154 during the diet of Roncaglia, Emperor Frederick I announced a statute, *Palacia et Pretoria habere debet princeps in his locis, in quibus ei placuerit,* this formulation turned out to be a learned reminiscence without any concrete substance (Colorni 1969, 26, 33-5; Brühl 1975, 413-16). I don't intend to deal once again with the use of the word *palatium* in medieval charters, nor need I pay tribute to the individual palaces in regard to what is called in German the royal *Gastungspolitik* (Brühl 1968). My main interest is concerned with topography and in particular with the question of the site of the royal palace and its relation to the Roman *praetorium* or *palatium.* As I have discussed this problem elsewhere (Brühl 1975), I shall give a short summary of my results.

The *praetorium* can be found in every late antique *civitas.* It served as the residence of the *praeses provinciae* or of the local military commander, and was always situated close to the Roman wall, generally within one of its corners, if the town had a rectangular ground-plan. It was where the Frankish king, duke or count resided during the following centuries, and even nowadays is the site of the *Palais de justice,* the *Préfecture,* or some other public building. This observation almost ranks as a historical rule within *Gallia,* though for practical reasons the archaeological verification of the former *praetorium* on the site of the later palace has proved to be very difficult, if not impossible. We can therefore consider the discovery of the *praetorium* at Geneva as an archaeological sensation (Blondel 1940, 69-87). *Palatia* which were exclusively reserved for the emperor are of course much more seldom to be found, and only in towns which at least temporarily served as residences or capitals, eg Rome, Milan, Ravenna, Cologne, Trier, Arles. Unlike the *praetoria* their site is not exclusively joined to the inner wall, but we should consider what an immense amount of space such a palace requires so that it cannot be compared with a modest *praetorium.* These 'palaces' in the proper sense of the word were later used by the Frankish or Lombard kings, too, during their stay in these towns.

During the 9th century in addition to these old residences new palaces sprang up in the most important royal monasteries in the direct neighbourhood of the *civitates,* eg in St Remi at Reims, St Médard at Soissons, St Martin at Tours, St Arnulf at Metz, St Alban at Mainz, St Emmeram at Regensburg, S Ambrogio at Milan, S Zeno at Verona, and many other places. Probably the oldest palace of this new extramural type was the imperial palace at St Peter's in Rome (Brühl 1954, 1-30; 1958, 266-8). These *Klosterpfalzen* (monastery-palaces) partly replaced the old royal palaces within the walls without completely displacing them. For the monasteries the royal palace was a symbol of rank irrespective of any real necessity. The abbeys, which whether justifiedly or not claimed the status of royal monasteries, hastened to build palaces for the king, as was the case with St Mesmin de Micy at Orleans or St Maximin at Trier (Brühl 1974, 637-8).

Once again we note a remarkable continuity in the utilization of the Roman *praetoria* and *palatia* in subsequent times. Walls and *praetoria* both constitute the topographical fixed points of the Gallic and Italian *civitates,* which maintained their importance for centuries, in some cases up to the present day. My judgement as regards the continuity of the Roman profane topography can therefore only be, without restriction, positive.

With regard to sacred topography the general view since the humanists has been that strict continuity must be emphasized; where once a heathen temple stood, the Christians later built their church. But though this is laid down in modern handbooks and tourist guides, it cannot be verified. The humanists were not archaeologists but literary men. Of course they had read Gregory of Tours and his advice to St Augustine, sent out to do missionary work on the Anglo-Saxons (Schubert 1921, 218-9). But they forgot that this advice dated from *c* AD 600 and that it could not reveal the mentality

of the Christians of some 300 years earlier. They forgot, too, that the relatively primitive Germanic religion could not be compared with the eastern mystery cults and philosophical gnosis. Indeed the early Christians were so terrified of the heathen demons that it seems impossible that a place where demons had been worshipped yesterday could have become a Christian church today. Emperor Theodosius did not order the heathen temples to be given over to the bishops, he ordered them to be destroyed.

What seem to be counter-examples only verify my statement; doubtless the Roman 'Pantheon' was originally a pagan temple, but it had stood empty for centuries. It was not until AD 609 that Pope Boniface IV transformed it into a church (S Maria *ad martyres),* and did his best to hallow it by waggon-loads of relics. The cathedral of Syracuse was also once a Greek temple, the Doric columns of which are still visible today. But in Syracuse, too, the transformation of the former temple into a cathedral did not take place until the 7th century, the Greek temple having been out of use for centuries. As for the most important cathedrals in the western part of the empire, those in Rome and Trier, it is certain that they were built on the site of a palace or in it, and that they did not by any account replace a pagan temple.

Historical research has been mainly concentrated on the sites of the early cathedrals in relation to the Roman walls. It seems to be an ineradicable prejudice of archaeological research that the oldest cathedral of a *civitas* must be found outside the walls. In later times, they assume, it was transferred into the town. The most striking evidence for the oldest cathedral is considered to be the episcopal sepulchres which can be found in suburban churches. However this observation proves just the contrary, since episcopal sepulchres within cathedrals cannot be found before the 11th-12th centuries. This misunderstanding has unfortunately caused great confusion in archaeological research, and it seems to me that some general historical deliberations will help to pave the way for a better understanding of where the earliest cathedrals are to be found.

The number of bishoprics in Gaul and northern Italy before the Edict of Milan is very slight; representative church buildings cannot have been in existence before that date, Emperor Constantine and his successors being the first to set this example. It was Constantine, too, who gave the bishops a relatively high rank within the hierarchy of the state officials and of the imperial court. Why should these now high-ranking officials have been content with a residence outside the security of the walls, whereas the *praeses, dux,* etc were accustomed to reside within? Out of self-respect the bishops must have insisted on the same treatment as their equals, not to mention the enormous risk to their safety in living outside the walls. It was the custom of the bishop to live close to his church, the cathedral, and for this very reasons we must look for it *intra muros* and indeed the cathedral can be traced there in all important towns.

This observation does not exclude the possibility that the cathedral might have been transferred inside the walls, nor does it rule out the existence of Christian places of worship *extra muros,* which indeed have not seldom been testified as cemeterial basilicas. Many of them were transformed into monasteries in the Middle Ages, as was the case with St Martin at Tours, St Remi at Reims, St Saturnin at Toulouse, and others. On the other hand the transfer of a cathedral *intra muros* is seldom testified in Gaul; certainly in Arles, and very probably in Reims, but these two cases must be considered as exceptions to the rule. In general the cathedral in Gaul occupies the same site as where it was originally erected in the 4th century. It definitely did not replace a pagan temple, nor was it situated at the forum. Firstly there would have been no room to build a church there, even if it wasn't such a monumental building as in Trier. Secondly the proximity of the demons which were still thought to inhabit the temples would have been highly offensive to the early Christians. I regard it therefore as completely erroneous that the reconstruction of the Roman cathedral in Cologne postulates a pagan temple in the midst of the precincts of a Christian place of worship. Nevertheless this temple is testified, whereas the so-called bishop's house is merely based on assumption. The findings that so far have presupposed a Roman cathedral on the site of the present one are not convincing.

In general the late Roman cathedral can be found close to the wall of the *civitas,* occupying in many cases, though not all, one of its corners. We can therefore assume that wherever we find a cathedral now situated in the centre of an old Roman *civitas,* it has at some former time been transferred (Brühl 1975, 62, 241).

As may be seen, the question of the continuity of sacred buildings that has up to now been so widely taken for granted must be considered in a far more various light: sacred continuity in the sense of a Roman temple being immediately replaced by a Christian church has never existed. In the infrequent cases where Roman temples really were turned into Christian churches, a period of several centuries must usually have intervened. Nevertheless sacred continuity can be observed from the Christian point of view. Wherever during the 4th century the earliest cathedral of a *civitas* was built, there we shall most likely find it today, and wherever during the 4th and 5th centuries a cemeterial basilica was erected, we shall find during the Middle Ages and often still today a monastery or a religious establishment. This kind of continuity, which has lasted at least from the 4th/5th century up to modern times, is highly impressive; but it is a different continuity from that which can be found in secondary literature.

Acknowledgements

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7 The rebirth of towns in the Rhineland
Walter Janssen

Abstract

In considering the origins of medieval towns in the Rhineland, two major groups can be identified: towns with a Roman origin, and towns without any classical foundations. Towns like Cologne, Coblenz, Mainz, Trier and Xanten belong to the first group. At Cologne and Trier archaeological layers of Merovingian date attest some kind of settlement continuity between antiquity and the Middle Ages. At Xanten, by contrast, the Roman site appears to have remained unoccupied until the high Middle Ages. Where continuity has been demonstrated, however, the Roman urban plan was not maintained in the Middle Ages.

Three groups of towns without a classical starting-point are described. Firstly, town-pairs like Haithabu-Schleswig and Old Lübeck-Lübeck are associated with the evolution of long-distance trade. Secondly, the influence of royal and ecclesiastical authorities was responsible for new towns like Duisburg and Paderborn in the 8th and 9th centuries. Thirdly, in the late Middle Ages, there are several examples of new towns founded by sovereign princes.

It is not possible in this context to present in detail the diverse problems and results of historical urban archaeology; only a few points of general importance will be discussed. More clearly noticeable than ever before is the rise of early medieval towns of non-Roman origin out of imperial or ecclesiastical centres of power. An example of such a development is Paderborn, whose early history is revealed in the excavations by Wilhelm Winkelmann, now published by Uwe Lobbedey (1986).

The medieval town of Paderborn did not develop, like other places, out of a succession of steadily expanding earlier settlements. It is not the result of a more or less interrupted succession of identically or similarly structured settlements, but rather a secondary result of an unprecedented accumulation of imperial and ecclesiastical institutions built here during the 8th century. To have recognized the immense importance of the imperial palace at Paderborn and to have matched it in all its detail to the historical sources is an invaluable contribution to medieval archaeology.

Following decades of research by Winkelmann, we have now re-established the *palatium* of Charlemagne in all its complexity, and been able at the same time to follow its development into the time of Bishop Meinwerk. There is possibly no other European location of early political and ecclesiastical importance where archaeology has been able to uncover the history and proto-history in so much detail.

Obviously the imperial and ecclesiastical centre of Paderborn, as Winkelmann's excavations have revealed, did not develop in *terra deserta* or *terra incognita* but, as required by ecclesiastical law, in an area of established settlement. In this respect Winkelmann's excavations showed that before the 8th century Paderborn already seems to have been a settlement complex, which a modern human geographer might perhaps term a 'central place'. Such central places served the early church as bases for its oldest foundations. We can observe this again and again where beneath ecclesiastical institutions and buildings earlier settlement traces are found.

In this context Eichstätt must be mentioned, where Sage (1976/7) discovered the remains of an earlier medieval settlement at the site of the later church. In the case of Büraberg an existing and sizable settlement at the beginning of the 8th century may have been so important that St Boniface, who was a missionary here, chose the location for the foundation of a bishopric. This bishopric also did not develop in virgin territory but in an area of established settlement. When these conditions ceased to exist, it had to transfer to Fritzlar.

Paderborn, Eichstätt and Büraberg present themselves through extensive archaeological research as part of the general problem: to prove existing settlement as a precondition for the foundation of ecclesiastical and political centres. This proof of earlier, perhaps the earliest existing settlement can only be produced by the techniques and methods of archaeology. The early spiritual and secular centres, which are in this way part of the historical settlement pattern, constituted in many cases the origin of an early medieval town.

Urban archaeology in Lübeck is concerned at the moment with similar problems. For some time traces of Slavonic settlement have been appearing in the earliest excavation levels, which have been exposed outside the ringwork Buko. Here it is apparent that the foundation of the German town was preceded by late Slavonic settlement, which undoubtedly led to the formation of a cultural landscape in the settlement enclave at Lübeck (Fehring 1980, 37-41; Fehring & Gläser 1980, 23-5). Despite the difficulties of excavating among modern buildings, the search for the earliest levels of settlement underneath the medieval town has become the subject with the most interpretative potential in urban archaeology. In Göttingen, for example, research is being carried out into the earliest ancestral settlements of the medieval town. In many places they have appeared in the same way as, for example, in Brunswick.

A further pressing question arises from the later archaeological research in urban areas: the problem of continuity and change in town plans, alignments of

buildings and streets and in property boundaries. Urban topography and its changes in the course of time are to an increasing degree the task of urban archaeology. One is left with the impression that medieval property boundaries and street alignments have tended to remain constant for centuries. However, there are cases where street alignments and properties as well as property boundaries have been subjected to change once or several times. This can be clearly demonstrated, for example, in Lübeck, Göttingen and Brunswick. Therefore each individual case has to be tested to establish whether and where continuity of urban topography existed. The results of this research determine the possibility of dating the town plans and property boundaries given by the earliest entries in the towns' property registers back to medieval times. The more numerous town excavations become in Germany, the larger the excavated areas are, the more certain will be the answers to these pressing questions.

One remarkable aspect of the rise and expansion of urban archaeology in Germany during the last decade is the possibility of it happening today in areas that previously resisted any archaeological research, because commercial interests were opposed to excavation. Now many towns no longer wish to relinquish their past completely, and actively promote archaeological investigations before the rebuilding of inner-city areas. One example is Duisburg, which will be discussed later.

German historical research has long been aware of the great importance of the urban artisan during the Middle Ages. This is especially clear in medieval and late medieval Nuremberg, where whole streets and districts of the town are named after trades, which reach far back into the past. In other towns it is not possible to pinpoint artisans and tradesmen with such historical accuracy. In Nuremberg urban archaeology was in many cases able to provide the pointers to the kinds and locations of artisan and trade activity. Already in the 12th century there are in many medieval towns fully developed artisan workshops present, which are still mostly distributed over several parts of the town. Later in the Middle Ages areas of concentration of particular workshops develop, which can easily be authenticated by archaeology (Janssen 1986). It is possible to show how even at that time workshop activity could produce environmental problems, which were finally solved by the removal of the environmentally damaging production processes to locations outside the town walls.

A compilation of archaeologically attestable workshops and trades in towns around 1200 can be based according to the archaeological evidence on a number of different types of finds (Janssen 1986): the workshops themselves, eg ovens, smithies, tools, finished products, waste and wasters, and raw materials. These include the associated finds, which provide the dating evidence for the respective find. A summary of the artisan and trade workshops from towns *c* 1200 comprises at present the following trades for which archaeological evidence is available: pottery kilns, leather, skins, furs, bone, antlers, glass, amber, salt, pharmacy, food products, textiles, ropemaking, wood, shipbuilding, rafting, bookbinding, metalworking. The latter includes all precious and non-ferrous metals, but especially ironworking, bell

foundries, lime and building materials. The list of these workshops will certainly increase with advancing archaeological knowledge. On the other hand there may have been trades carried out in the town that have left no traces discernible by archaeology. The above list does not therefore contain all the trades that were practised in a medieval town. Current archaeological knowledge confirms that in towns around 1200 trades had an exceptionally important part to play. Although they did not yet have political power, artisans and tradesmen had already put their stamp decisively onto the topography of the town. In the future extensive possibilities for research will be available for the archaeological study of trades and craftsmen in urban as well as rural settlements.

The interpretation of the archaeological evidence for craftsmen is in no way limited to an evaluation of settlement studies. Of no less importance are the answers to problems concerning the history of technology, which arise in connection with the manufacturing processes. If it is true that the 12th century was a period of increased innovation in the technical field (Gimpel 1981; Klemm 1983, 41-70), the remnants of production in workshops must be able to provide evidence of the standard of the technical processes. So far this evidence has hardly been consulted, mainly because many town excavations with plentiful results and finds have not yet been adequately published. Meanwhile the material evidence is increasing through new excavations, but interpretation is lagging further and further behind. However, among the large-scale excavations in German medieval towns, Lübeck takes a shining lead. In the *Lübecker Schriften zur Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte* (ed G P Fehring) current reports on finds and important fundamental papers on European urban archaeology are published parallel with the excavation report.

One further problem of urban research is the existence alongside each other and final replacement of the functions of an earlier town with a later one. This is a phenomenon common throughout Europe, as the examples of Old Lödöse (Sweden) and Old Ladoga (USSR), Büraberg and Fritzlar, Bruges and Zeebrügge, Old Lübeck and Lübeck, and Haithabu and Schleswig prove. In Germany urban archaeology has mainly been concerned with the town pairs of Haithabu and Schleswig, and Old Lübeck and Lübeck. Some years ago the historian Walter Schlesinger (1972, 70-9 1) drew attention to the chronological and functional connection between the Viking trading station Haithabu and the medieval royal town of Schleswig. His observations led to the idea of the possible gradual replacement of Haithabu by the rising centre of Schleswig on the northern bank of the Schlei. What was then termed 'Unconventional ideas about the history of Schleswig/ Haithabu' has now been proved by archaeological research. Haithabu and Schleswig coexisted for a certain period in competition with each other (Vogel 1983, 9-54). The careful re-evaluation of the ceramic imports from Haithabu (Lüdtke 1985, 131 ff, Janssen 1987b) has revealed the presence of a Rhenish blue-grey globular ware of the 11th/12th century in the semi-circular bank and on both sides of the main north-south thoroughfare.

There can be no doubt of a phase of chronological overlap between Haithabu and the earliest levels at Schleswig.

Related questions, which can be answered by similar archaeological methods, dominate the relationship between Old Lübeck and Lübeck, which can only be mentioned here in passing.

A final complex of problems should be mentioned: the importance of archaeological finds from urban areas to the history of culture and daily life of medieval towns. The numerous excavations in medieval towns in Germany have produced a comprehensive body of material, which has not yet been exhausted in its potential value as evidence. At the moment archaeology is still concerned with the general definition of these possibilities for interpretation (Bremen 1982). Until now medieval material culture has been expressed mainly through ritual implements and paintings. Exhibitions in various federal states have underlined this one-sided source material. Meanwhile it has been proved that present sources of medieval material culture can be greatly expanded through archaeological finds, giving a richer and more varied picture of medieval and late medieval material culture.

All over the country museums of cultural history are opening their doors wide to receive into their granaries the unexpected harvest that urban archaeology is bestowing upon them. The conservation and restoration of this enormous quantity of finds is still as much in its infancy as is their publication. Surely these are problems that urban archaeology in Germany shares with other European countries. Nevertheless some informative papers and museum catalogues are now being published in Germany (Bremen 1982; Kühnel 1984; Meyer 1985); these give a more complete presentation of the archaeological material from urban excavations.

In this context belongs the discovery of a special kind of find from late medieval towns in Germany, represented by deposits and hoards, often running into several hundreds of items, which were found in connection with ecclesiastical or secular foundations in sewers, wells, rubbish pits and similar hiding-places. The most remarkable feature of these finds is the unusually large size of the pits in which the objects had been deposited; they often measure 5-8 m long by 3-6 m wide. Most unusual are the large numbers of pieces in individual groups of objects. In one pit there were found several hundred pieces of pottery, dozens of well preserved glasses, many wooden objects for daily use, leather, textiles, grain stores and many other things. The large numbers within each group preclude attribution to an individual family or the household of a single canon. Such large groups of finds can only be explained as the material valuables of a larger group of people, for example a religious order or the members of a hospice.

Examples of such massed finds are known from the hospice area in the independent town of Bad Windsheim in Central Franconia; they appear in connection with monastic orders in Speyer and Augsburg (Janssen 1987a). In Windsheim, Speyer and Augsburg a connection was noticed with a specific social group within the town. In Windsheim it was the civilian inhabitants of the local hospice, in Speyer the finds were associated with the local Augustinian monastery, and in Augsburg there was a connection with the old established monastic complex of St Ulrich and Afra. Naturally the motivation for the disposal of such large amounts of finds needs to be investigated. This follows from the relative dates of the finds, which should not be seen as contemporary. In general they belong to the transitional period from the late Middle Ages to the early post-medieval period - a time marked by religious schism and political struggle leading to the Thirty Years' War. In many cases of exceptional finds, war seems to be the cause of their deposition. They can therefore be classified as hoards, hidden out of fear of an enemy threat, as had already happened in large areas of the Roman province north of the Alps in the 3rd century AD when faced with attack from the Alemanni.

The significance of the hoards from Windsheim, Speyer and Augsburg to the history of culture is obvious. It will only be revealed in its full implications when these extensive complexes of finds have finally been presented in a scholarly fashion.

The Rhine and the Danube

On the Rhine and the Danube the rebirth of the medieval town depends on two entirely different conditions. On the one hand there are towns that can be traced back in some form to Roman towns, which therefore display some kind of Romano-Frankish continuity (Ennen 1987; Petrikovits 1959, 74-84; Böhner 1959, 85-109). These towns contrast with another group without a direct Roman precursor. They developed in a location where no previous Roman settlement had existed, out of conditions only indirectly connected to Roman civilization.

The first group of towns, with Roman traditions, is represented in the Rhineland by towns such as Xanten, Cologne, Trier, Koblenz and Mainz. Research has concentrated on the towns in this group where the area of the Roman town remained unoccupied during the early Middle Ages, while the medieval town grew up at a different location. This is the case in Xanten (Hinz 1967; Borger 1977), where the medieval town developed south of the Colonia Ulpia Traiana. Under such ideal conditions it is possible to separate the Roman and the early medieval evidence clearly from each other. In contrast to this satisfactory archaeological situation the medieval layers in Cologne, Trier and Mainz are superimposed on top of the Roman layers. Only if a relatively favourable stratification can be established in these cases is it possible to separate Roman from post-Roman elements. The best example is offered by Cologne, where the Roman levels as well as the medieval evidence are represented by a wealth of archaeological finds.

The first impression was that the Merovingian period was represented only by the royal tombs beneath the cathedral (Doppelfeld 1960, 88-113; 1964, 156-88). Because of the lack of evidence for Merovingian settlement in the area of Roman Cologne, it was assumed that the area inside the town defences, which had remained upstanding for a long time, had been unoccupied during this period. The revision of the late Roman to early medieval pottery has made it obvious in the meantime

that among the ceramics from the cathedral in Cologne is a settlement layer dating to the Merovingian period, which could close the apparent gap in the evidence between the late Roman and the Carolingian-Ottonian periods.

In 1983, and 1988, a colloquium was held in Cologne on the relationship between the late Roman and early medieval wares, attended by many specialists, but the reports have not yet been published. From them one would expect a significant revision of the pottery evidence from Cologne concerning the late Roman and Merovingian periods. The impression of Cologne remains of a rather sparse settlement inside the walls of the Roman town. The Frankish cemeteries around the old suburban churches such as St Severin (Steuer 1980, 63 ff) are, as has been known for a long time, not attributable to the Frankish settlements inside the town of Cologne but to the many settlements of Franks in the vicinity of the Roman centre.

A similar impression can be gained from the section on Cologne in *Atlas of German towns* (Stoob 1979). The general presentation, that the medieval street pattern is more or less identical to the Roman pattern, has on closer inspection been proved incorrect. The Roman street plan inside the town disappeared almost completely at the end of the Roman period. Only the alignments of the Breite Strasse, Schildergasse and the Hohe Strasse with their axes towards the gates remained largely intact. Footpaths appeared, linking the small settlement nuclei that had been newly formed within the huge area of rubble. Roman Cologne seems to have been an enormous expanse of ruins during the Merovingian period. Roman public buildings such as the *praetorium* remained in use only where they fulfilled a public function at this time; for example, the *praetorium* served as a *palatium* for the Merovingian kings. The cathedral church of St Peter continued as a sacral centre from about AD 550. The Roman town walls form a wide curtain during the Frankish period, enclosing scattered settlement nuclei in the area of the former town. The suburban churches that grew out of the Roman *coemeteria* (St Ursula, St Gereon, St Pantaleon and St Severin) acquired importance as the centres of new settlement (Steuer 1986).

It may not be prudent to use the relatively poor Merovingian settlement finds from the evidence at Cologne to draw general conclusions, especially as the entire material, which was identified as Roman, including that from outside the cathedral, has to be carefully re-examined in case it contains Merovingian elements. The example of Trier may be cited as a warning against rash conclusions: here Schindler proved by careful recording of Merovingian single finds a settlement for the Merovingian period in the area of the former Roman town.

Cologne seems to have reached the nadir of its civil development during the 8th century. Only with the Ottonian period is the town re-established, noticeable also in archaeological finds (Borger 1985). To answer these important questions by archaeological methods, new excavations and the publication of all former relevant excavations would be necessary.

Let us now compare the type of town with Roman origins in the Rhineland with the town evolved from non-Roman roots. The best example is Paderborn (Lobbedey 1986) where we are, however, faced with the conditions of a few hundred miles east of the Rhine. In recent years the excavations on the right bank of the lower Rhine at Duisburg have gained predominance (Krause 1983, 190-7; 1985, 188-96). Duisburg has had the largest area excavations in a medieval town in the entire region of the lower and middle Rhine. At the moment the investigations are still continuing. Relatively little was known about the early history of Duisburg before the start of the excavations. No firm date is known for the foundation of the town, for example. Written sources confirm a royal palace at this location in the middle of the 9th century; for later dates royal visits are repeatedly documented. Buildings must have existed, offering adequate lodgings for a king and his court.

In 880 Duisburg was among those places on the lower Rhine that were repeatedly plundered by the Norsemen. However, in spite of extremely careful searches in the area excavated so far, no indisputably Viking material could be recovered. The importance of Duisburg manifests itself in the fact that from the 10th to the 12th century it has been recorded as the location for several imperial convocations. The place referred to as *villa regia* must have already possessed the character of a town by about the middle of the 12th century. As a trading place with the recorded presence of Frisian merchants in 893 the history of Duisburg dates back to the early Middle Ages. The urban excavations in Duisburg, which were made possible during recent years by the construction of an underground system, have led to a completely new understanding of the earliest history of the town.

The excavations in the centre of Duisburg were concentrated mainly in the area of the so-called Old Market (AlterMarkt). A number of large building sites made it possible to follow the settlement and building remains back to the 9th/10th century. At this time Duisburg must have already been an important settlement and trading place with its buildings on the high bank of the Rhine, whose course was to be changed later. Large quantities of Carolingian pottery of so-called Badorf Ware underline the importance of the town within the framework of regional and long-distance trade.

Of special value to the research into commercial and everyday life in medieval Duisburg are specially prepared section profiles at different sites, which in places reach a depth of 5 m below the present surface. These offer among other things a continuous stratigraphy containing medieval pottery from the Carolingian to the early post-medieval period. Furthermore the layers from the old town in Duisburg contain evidence of the presence of early artisans, eg a bell foundry and ironworking from the 13th century. This evidence underlines the important role the artisan has played during the establishment of the medieval town. Furthermore in the context of archaeological research scientific techniques were employed. Over 200 samples of wood were collected for dendrochronology. Pollen analysis, carried out on samples taken from the area of the banks

of the old Rhine at Duisburg, show that Duisburg had been developing in an area that already in the 7th century displayed the characteristics of a well developed cultural landscape.

Archaeology in Duisburg therefore makes accessible an early urban settlement of 9th/10th century date, which evolved on the Rhine without a Roman precursor from a settlement concentration of earlier origins. In this settlement political power was represented at an early date by the royal palace. The presence of the king here formed the basis for the promising future development. To illuminate these circumstances further more area excavation is needed to try and recover larger parts of the architectural remains of the palace.

In the late Middle Ages the town foundations were laid by sovereign princes, some of which have regulated chequerboard plans (eg Zons, Lechenich, Hülchrath, Xanten). These have so far not been the subject of systematic archaeological research.

Conclusion

To summarize archaeological investigations into the rebirth of towns in the Rhineland is not easy. Nonetheless, the list of all the Rhenish towns in which excavations have taken place is quite impressive. However, this should not disguise the fact that the majority were rescue excavations rather than for the purpose of historical research. For archaeology in the Rhineland, Steuer's (1986) judgement is valid: 'As in the whole of the Federal Republic, in the Rhineland too, a scholarly concept for urban archaeology is missing.' It is still lacking today. Equipped with enormous resources and excellent manpower, as well as technical possibilities, archaeology in the Rhineland has not managed to develop in the region of the greatest conurbation in Europe a concept of archaeological-historical urban research. (This applies to Cologne as well). Until today the archaeological-historical urban research in the Rhineland has not been able to rise above an incoherent rush from building site to building site.

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8 Dorestad: a Carolingian town?
W J H Verwers

Abstract

Between 1967 and 1977 the Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek (ROB) excavated about 20 ha of Carolingian Dorestad. It is estimated, however, that the excavations reveal less than half of the original settlement. Sixty boat-shaped farms have been found, laid out in rows. A strip of about 100 m alongside the river Rhine on the east side of the northern settlement consisted of buildings set in small rectangular enclosures, The harbour area itself associated with these buildings consisted of planked walkways extending out into the river.

The excavations show that Dorestad was occupied from the late 7th century and flourished from *c* 750 until *c* 830. Occupation continued until at least the mid 9th century when the settlement was deserted. Evidence of agrarian and industrial production as well as important commercial activities has come to light. A population of at least one to two thousand persons is estimated to have lived in the settlement at its zenith.

The Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek (ROB) started excavations in Dorestad just north of the present Wijk bij Duurstede in the middle of 1967. They came to an end in 1977. During that time the Dorestad research became incorporated into a larger framework, which was called the Kromme Rijn project and belongs to one of the ROB's main research projects. The Kromme Rijn region is over 20 km long, and about 14 km wide; it is bordered by the glacial ridges of the Utrecht hills in the north and by the river Lek in the south. The western and eastern boundaries are formed by the towns of Utrecht and Wijk bij Duurstede. The Kromme Rijn region is a representative part of the embankment and back-swamp landscape which forms the eastern half of the central Dutch river area. The aim of the Kromme Rijn project is to reconstruct the settlement history of the Kromme Rijn region from the earliest human occupation, that is from the transition from the Neolithic period to the Bronze Age at the latest up to the end of the late Middle Ages. The project includes a systematic field survey in the Kromme Rijn region and a series of excavations. During the last ten years several sites known from the survey and threatened by new building activities were excavated. In our project special attention will be paid to the early Middle Ages because of Dorestad's unique character.

By 1977 possibilities for further extensive research in the field had come to an end; only a few small trenches remained to be excavated. But in my case the results obtained from such excavations are unlikely to change the picture of Dorestad formed after ten years of intensive digging (Es & Verwers 1983, 36-46; 1985, 65-76). It should, however, be noted that although we have excavated more than 30 ha, this area is less than half of the settlement. Thus our knowledge about Dorestad will always be full of gaps.

Dorestad consisted of two parts, a northern and a southern settlement. The Dorestad excavation was centred on the northern part of the settlement, an area just north of the present Wijk bij Duurstede. East of the Hoogstraat extensive excavations took place in the harbour and the early medieval riverbed of the Rhine. Unfortunately the presence of buildings in the area between Cothense Zandweg and Hoogstraat made it impossible to carry out extensive excavations. Consequently, little information is available about the zone between the settlement itself and the harbour. Virtually nothing is known about the southern settlement, south of the Lek opposite Wijk bij Duurstede; excavations could not be undertaken there. Sand-dredgers brought Roman and Carolingian finds to light, among them three Roman helmets. Thus it is assumed that the Roman *castellum* Levefanum, marked on the Peutinger map, stood there. This fort may have been a ruin when the inhabitants of Dorestad started to use this area, possibly at the beginning of the 7th century. It is known that Roman forts along the Rhine *limes* played an important role in the expansion of Frankish power. There are examples of this situation in Utrecht, where Dagobert founded a church in 630 on the area that had been the site of the Roman fort.

Unfortunately Merovingian material was not represented among the finds that came to light by sand-winning in the outer marshes. After the Carolingian settlement in this part of Dorestad the rivers Rhine and Lek became very active because of erosion. As a result Carolingian and older habitation layers were destroyed. Excavations on that spot are not only impossible at this moment, but seem to be useless. In contrast to what we first thought, namely that the bifurcation lay under the present town of Wijk bij Duurstede, we now believe that the bifurcation of Rhine and Lek was situated east of this southern Carolingian settlement. The Rhine flowed to the west of the present town; its course continued to the north, just east of the Hoogstraat.

We now come to the question of whether Dorestad may or may not be called a town. An enormous literature exists on this subject, especially writings based on historical research. As an archaeologist I hardly dare to propose a new definition of the word 'town', but I shall try to demonstrate several elements which, in my opinion, may be considered characteristic of towns in
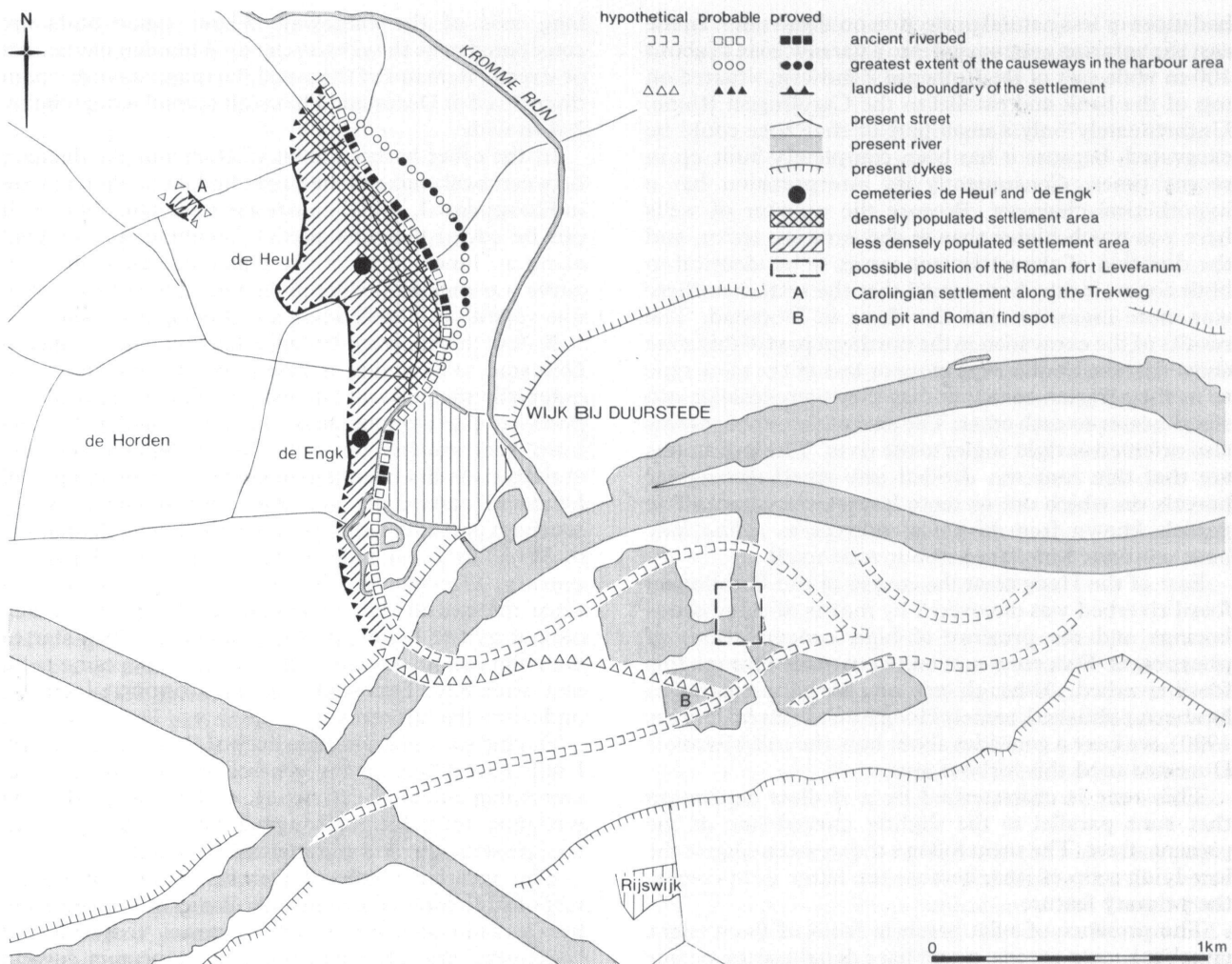
Fig 16   Reconstruction of early medieval Dorestad

general and which we encountered in the excavation of Dorestad.

The first consideration is the size of Dorestad. The distance between the southern and northern settlements, which is known from the excavation, was 2-3 km. Very little is known about the southern settlement and the middle zone, in contrast to the northern part of Dorestad. The excavation appeared to be centred on the back of this part of the settlement, which was about 1 km long; its width varied from 100 to 500 m. Here several rows of houses are recognizable. These rows were situated in a north-south direction, as the axis of the houses was at right angles to the Carolingian river Rhine. The supposition that these houses may have been farms is confirmed by their position on farmyards and by the presence of *spicaria,* One or more wells constructed from imported wooden barrels were present in the farmyards; these wells have a dendrochronological significance. There are many indications that wooden streets were constructed between the farmyards with the houses. There were similar streets in the harbour area, which will be considered later.

The houses or farms - about 60 have been recognized so far - were of the boat-shaped type usual in Carol-

ingian times, which are familiar not only from the excavations in the German Warendorf but also from research in the Netherlands. Excavations brought to light similar house-types, for instance in Kootwijk (Heidinga 1987). The length of the houses in Dorestad varied from 20 to 30 m; they were about 6 m wide. Two entrances opposite each other in the long, curved walls divided the house into two unequal parts; each short wall also had an entrance. In the local museum in Wijk bij Duurstede this reconstruction can be seen. It is obvious that the discussion concerning the height of the roof has not come to an end.

In this part of the settlement three cemeteries came to light. One cemetery may have been in use in the period of Dorestad, but most of it is later; the remaining cemeteries formed part of Dorestad. One of them, the cemetery on the Heul, is estimated to have about 2350 burials. The analysis of the other cemetery, in the Engk, is still in progress (Perizonius 1983).

The northern settlement of Dorestad, whose structure I have outlined, was situated on the left bank of the Carolingian Rhine. The settlement was not protected by a system of walls and ditches on the northern and western sides, but ran into low river basin soils. In fact it

had more or less natural protection on those sides. In the east the agrarian zone passed into a narrow zone of about 100 m wide east of the Cothense Zandweg, situated on top of the bank and parallel to the Carolingian Rhine. Unfortunately only a small part of that zone could be excavated, because it has been completely built up in recent times. Consequently its interpretation has a hypothetical character. Because the number of wells here was much higher than in the agrarian sector, and the duration of the settlement seems to be identical in both zones, it may be assumed that the settlement here was more intensive than elsewhere in Dorestad. The results of the excavation in the northern part of this zone show that the houses were more or less of the same type as in the agrarian zone, but that they were smaller and stood nearer to each other. The axis of these houses was also oriented at right angles to the river. The indications are that this zone was divided into small rectangular parcels on which one or more houses were built. The parcels known from historical sources as *sedilia* may have continued into the harbour zone itself.

East of the Hoogstraat the course of the Carolingian fossil riverbed was discovered by means of many deep-borings and the presence of high concentrations of phosphates. Five cross-sections were made through this fossil riverbed. Although only one harbour excavation has been published, namely Hoogstraat I (Es & Verwers 1980), we have a good idea about how the inhabitants of Dorestad used this harbour area.

This zone is characterized by a shallow depression that runs parallel to the slightly curved line of the present street. The street follows the western edge of the low-lying strip of land, because the latter is, of course, the primary feature.

The presence of a flat beach in front of the western riverbank must to some extent have delighted the people of Dorestad. In their time the ships were landed by pulling them ashore. However, the river had started to form a meander opposite the site of Dorestad. This natural development led to the creation of an ever-widening shoal in front of the west bank of the Carolingian Rhine; the surface of this shoal was often covered by water and must have been wet and slippery. In order to maintain the contact between the settlement and the ships, the inhabitants of Dorestad started to construct causeways. The whole complex of causeways was not built in one operation; its ultimate shape was the result of a long process. Whenever the beach continued to advance towards the east the causeways followed behind. Its total length was 200 m.

In the harbour area of Hoogstraat I two periods subdivided into two or three phases were recognized. At the beginning freestanding structures, 6-7 m wide and 10-12 m long, were built. In the second period the complex acquired its definite form and became a relatively regular system of well defined and apparently substantially built causeways. The causeways were surrounded by coupled posts which must have held some kind of wall or perhaps a wooden revetment. They were used to strengthen the edges of narrow strips of land which were between 6 and 8 m wide. In most cases the inner space of the compartments is marked by the presence of rows of vertical posts running parallel to the

long axis of the causeway. These inner posts are considered to be the substructures of wooden pavements or streets. Remains of the actual pavement have not been discovered at Dorestad. The original road was probably 2-4 m wide.

In the other harbour areas of Dorestad the distance between bank and riverbed appeared to be shorter than in Hoogstraat I, so the causeways were also shorter. It can be added that this part of Dorestad was situated along an inner curve of the Rhine. Because an outer curve was present further to the south, the construction was superfluous there and consequently is absent.

A few words may be added about the dating of Dorestad. The dating is based not only on the finds, especially the pottery, but also on ^{14}C datings from the posts in the harbour area; dendrochronological data from the wooden wells in the settlement are also available. As has been shown before, the inhabitants of Dorestad started to use this area, possible in the southern part of the settlement south of the Lek opposite to Wijk bij Duurstede, at the beginning of the 7th century. Occupation was proved by the excavations since the end of the 7th century in the northern and central part of Dorestad. The flowering, which started after the second decade of the 8th century, came to an end after 830. Dorestad continued until at least the middle of the 9th century.

Having sketched the main lines of Dorestad, to which I will return later in my conclusions, I shall now say something about the function of Dorestad. We can recognize three elements: agrarian production, industrial production, and commercial activities.

The agrarian sector of Dorestad in the west was responsible for food production. Based on the results of her archaeozoological study Prummel comes to the conclusion that Dorestad produced a protein surplus (Prummel 1983). The occupants of the farms in the agrarian sector may have disposed of their surplus of animal foodstuff not only to the population in the harbour area but also to nearby settlements in the Kromme Rijn area. Consequently Dorestad may also have had the function of a local market.

Indications of a specialized industrial zone are absent. Finds proving the presence of industrial activities came from all over the settlement. We are undoubtedly dealing with household industries in Dorestad, geared primarily to local demand. There is evidence of activities such as ship and house-building, the construction and upkeep of streets and the harbour, basket-making, rope-making, tanning and smithing. Bone, amber and textiles were also worked in Dorestad, to judge from the finds of combs, needles, skates, spindle-whorls and loom-weights. The problem is that the volume of the production is unknown, but the fact that industrial activities can be proved on a large scale all over Dorestad implies that there may have been a production surplus. This surplus would have been destined for three areas: firstly the neighbouring settlements, secondly areas further removed where iron could probably be won, and thirdly, regions much further away.

In the last case we can speak of *Fernhandel.* Dorestad formed a link in the international trade routes which mainly followed the routes along the rivers and the sea

coast. With regard to the *Fernhandel,* it can be remarked that most imported products found in Dorestad came from the German Rhineland and the neighbouring Meuse (Maas) area, in particular pottery from Badorf, near Cologne, querns of tefriet (basalt-lava), mortars of limestone (Kars 1984), glass and wine, the latter transported in wooden barrels. Dendrochronological research has shown that these barrels, reused in Dorestad as wells, were originally manufactured in the neighbourhood of Mainz.

It can be assumed that other imports, of which nothing remains, reached Dorestad, such as salt, seafish, furs/pelts, slaves, and the Christian religion. These imports came from other regions, for instance Scandinavia. In fact Dorestad functioned in the earliest phase at the end of the 7th century as a port of trade, situated on the edge of a political region where representatives of the local authority and commercial agents of foreign colleagues met each other without direct influence on the hinterland and where they could exchange their goods.

Dorestad, situated at the bifurcation of the Rhine and the Lek, was a trade centre for luxury goods. Apart from other finds such as glass and precious weapons, especially significant is the imported pottery. In Dorestad it comprised about 80% of the total pottery complex, the remaining 20% being represented by hand-made pottery. If these percentages are compared with other settlements such as Kootwijk on the Veluwe (to the north-east of Dorestad), it can be seen that the proportion of imported wheel-turned to local hand-made ware differs. In Kootwijk there is 30% imported and 70% hand-made ware. Another factor is the remarkable composition of the Dorestad pottery-complex in comparison to other findplaces that produced Carolingian wheel-turned pottery. This is one of the provisional conclusions that can be drawn from the current inventory of all Carolingian imported pottery found in the Netherlands.

Without going into the details of this inventarization, it is remarkable that there is not only a difference between Dorestad and other Dutch findplaces in the composition of the luxury pottery complex but also in the absolute numbers of sherds. In the harbour excavation of Hoogstraat I about 18 000 sherds were found in an area of 2 ha. By contrast, a settlement along the Rhine in the western part of the Netherlands called Koudekerk excavated by the ROB in 1978 provided 2700 Carolingian imported sherds, scattered over an area of about 1 ha. In the surroundings of Dorestad in the Kromme Rijn area no more than 1000 Carolingian sherds came from the many findplaces. One of these findplaces, called Houten, has been excavated. The result consisted of a settlement measuring 1 ha where a mere 1000 sherds of Carolingian imported pottery came to light. These figures of imported Carolingian pottery point to several aspects of Dorestad, in the first place to the relatively great wealth of the inhabitants and to the importance of trade in comparison to other settlements. Here especially Dorestad has a unique position.

This picture is also illustrated by the enormous extent of Dorestad. The northern part of the settlement measures at least 30 hectares, in sharp contrast to the Carolingian settlements in the Kromme Rijn area.

There concentrations of phosphates give a minimum indication of the size of the settlements. Indeed the extent of Dorestad when compared to the other settlements is striking. The extent of the harbour area also gives Dorestad a remarkable position. The building of such a harbour system must have meant that thousands of trees had to be felled. Also a large number of inhabitants were necessary to do the work; in this respect Dorestad differs from other Carolingian settlements known by excavation. Estimates as published in the *Scientific American,* in which Dorestad was called the greatest town west of Constantinople, come to 10 000 inhabitants, but this number is too high. Based on the size of the cemeteries of which that on De Heul provided about 2350 graves, and starting from the 60 excavated house-plans, we believe that between 1000 and 2000 inhabitants were settled in Dorestad. According to historical sources one or more churches and official buildings for the mint, and the representatives of public and ecclesiastic authority stood in Dorestad. Unfortunately only in the middle of the cemetery remains of a building were found that may be interpreted as a church.

However a town is defined, it is clear that the presence of such buildings, the important position of Dorestad as a port of trade, the impressive harbour area and the enormous extent of the settlement in combination with the complex economic, industrial and commercial activities of its inhabitants provide Dorestad in relation to other sites with a special status that we, as archaeologists, call a town.

Having answered the question in the title of my paper in a positive way, I have to add finally that Dorestad played no part in the urbanization of the Dutch river area. An unbroken connection between a Roman and a late medieval phase did not exist in the settlement history of Dorestad. Instead, when Dorestad came to an end in the middle of the 9th century, the rich and large early medieval town was reduced to a small, insignificant settlement that had nothing to do with Dorestad. But by the end of the 13th century that small village, called Wijk, had acquired municipal rights and had become, according to the current view of the historians and undoubtedly to their satisfaction, an undisputed town.

Acknowledgements

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9 Reflections on early medieval Tours

Henri Galinié

Abstract

In the study of the urban rebirth of the Middle Ages, Tours gives some conflicting impressions. On the one hand the town resumes its spatial growth after a long period of dormancy; on the other hand it ceases to function as a regional capital, becoming no more than a local administrative centre, though it retains its dominant religious role. Finally, analysis of the modern urban landscape reveals that it was during this period that the pre-industrial framework of Tours was created, with scarcely any reference to that of the Roman town.

Any attempt to synthesize these phenomena would be misleading. The facts support the hypothesis of a primary expression of town creation in the late Roman imperial and early medieval period *(c* 200-1000) rather than a gap between two distinct periods of successful urbanism in antiquity and the Middle Ages.

The persistence of the placename Tours and the many references to it throughout the early medieval period are evidence of the survival of human settlement on the site of ancient *Caesarodunum* from the late Roman Empire until the Carolingian period. It remains to determine, however, whether these documentary references relate to a town as such, since the problem at issue here is that of urban revival in the 8th-11th centuries.

In general terms this phenomenon is to be observed in Tours, as elsewhere, within this chronological bracket. Nevertheless, my personal feeling is that, within the infinite complexity that constitutes the reality that is a town, actions which cancel out others in a decisive manner are rare indeed. The observer can thus receive contradictory impressions from Tours, according to his standpoint. On the one hand he can find confirmation of rebirth, since it is the surface area rather than the settlement agglomeration that is in question. Between the 4th and 9th centuries Tours dwindled from some 40 ha during the early Empire to no more than a dozen, only to double in size again in the 10th-11th centuries. This can therefore be interpreted as a phenomenon of recovery. On the other hand, using another indicator, that relating to the placename and the 'central place' status of the settlement, Tours emerges from the written sources in the Late Empire as a regional capital, to become essentially the chief town of a *pagus* in the Carolingian period. This negative aspect becomes more decisively apparent when the origins of the urban area of modern Tours, which preserves no traces of the earlier urban agglomeration, are analysed. Stated briefly, this means that Tours owes nothing to *Caesarodunum.*

The facts

Ancient Tours *(Caesarodunum)* now appears to have been an unenclosed settlement covering some 40 densely populated hectares. The urban fringes merged imperceptibly into the rural landscape, without any clearly defined boundary. In the beginning, during the reigns of Augustus or Tiberius, there was a prescribed plan providing for settlement over a very large area, which can be delineated on two sides at least from the location of the cemeteries; the western boundary is still only rather vaguely known. This urban area was, however, never fully utilized. It is virtually certain that there was a chequerboard street layout, imposed over the two or three pre-existing Gaulish roads, which conformed to a natural topography that remans to be established (Fig 18).

This settlement, which had the status of *civitas libera,* was the capital of the *civitas* of the Turones and was possibly an artificial creation set up to accelerate the process of romanization and compete with the traditional Gaulish settlements nearby. Recent archaeological research has shown that the occupied area began to shrink in the second half of the 2nd century AD, long before the barbarian invasions of the late Empire. The rate of abandonment progressed irregularly in a concentric manner from the south towards the river. Only the north-eastern sector of the town remained occupied. This process was completed in the 4th century, from which time onwards Tours signified *castrum* (FT 1969-74 to 1984).

The late Empire was distinguished by an initial phenomenon, the construction of a defensive wall, accompanied at the same time by the first use of the name Tours and the elevation of the settlement to the status of capital of the province of Lugdunensis III, along with the beginnings of Christianity. The *castrum* enclosed a total of 9 ha and was among the smallest enclosed settlements in Gaul. Construction of the wall coincided with the building of the first *ecclesia* before 371, if not earlier. The *castrum* must have been in operation by the end of the 3rd century, but the *ecclesia* cannot be earlier than 330, when the first bishop was appointed. The *castrum* seems not to have been completed before 370-80. The second half of the 4th century is therefore a crucial period for the town of Tours, when the administrative and religious authorities were protected by walls, making it into a provincial capital.

Out of the seventeen archaeological investigations carried out where it was possible to observe the stratigraphic sequence (Fig 17), one showed uninterrupted
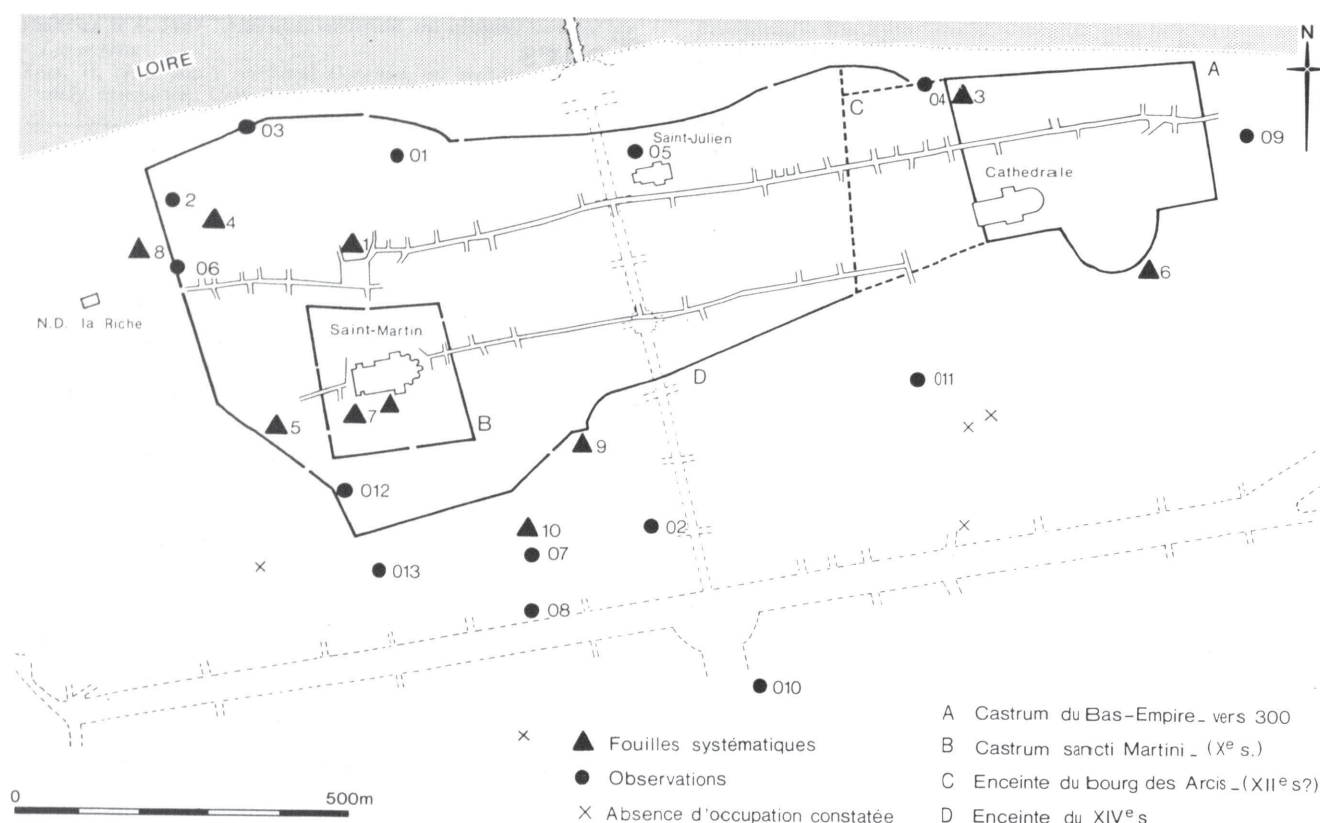
Fig 17   Tours: sites and observations 1973-83

1) Saint-Pierre-le-Puellier; 2) Atelier de potier (XVᵉ); 3) Site du Chateau; 4) Rue du Petit-Saint-Martin; 5) Saint-Clement; 6) Rue des Ursulines; 7) Rue Julien Leroy et Cloitre Saint-Martin; 8) Rue de la Victoire; 9) Saint-Michel-de-la-Guerche; 10) 20-24 rue de Clocheville.

01) Couvent des Carmes; 02) Rue E. Pallu; 03) Enceinte du XIVᵉ siecle; 04) Enceinte du XIIᵉ siecle; 05) Abords de Saint-Julien; 06) Place de la Victoire; 07) Rue Marceau; 08) Boulevard B&-anger; 09) Rue Mirabeau; 010) Hotel Metropole; 01 I) Extension de la Prefecture d'Indre-et-Loire; 012) 74 rue Nericault-Destouches; 013) Banque de France

occupation (site *3* in the *castrum),* two revealed tenuous evidenceof 4th century occupation (sites 1 and 10), and all the others showed that house sites were given over to agriculture or abandoned (sites 5, 6, 9, 02, 05, 07, 08, 09, 010, 011, 013) or reused as cemeteries (sites 06, 8, 7, 6).

Admittedly there is a large area immediately to the west of the *castrum* which has not been investigated in recent years (Fig 17), and substantial occupation in these areas would weaken the present impression of almost total desertion of the site. However, the concentration of monastic properties in this central area would seem to support the archaeological observation of settlement discontinuity, but it raises some doubts as to the date when this break took place (Galinie 1985).

The first bishop, Litorius, also built a funerary basilica some distance from the town in the 4th century. This was surrounded by a cemetery (site 8) and supplemented a necropolis known to have been in existence from the beginning of the century, lying nearer the centre of the town (site 7: Figs 17 and 18). The burial of St Martin in the necropolis at site 7 in 397 resulted, thanks to the promotion of the cult of the saint by his successors from the 5th century onwards (Pietri 1983), in the first basilica becoming downgraded. During the early medieval period a progressive transference from the funerary basilica to the suburban monastery and finally to the monastic stronghold is clearly perceptible.

Thus in the early medieval period two opposed poles developed over the area inherited from the classical period: an administrative town which brought the ecclesiastical and politico-military courts together, and a sacred area, around the tomb of the saint, with a jumble of secondary structures around. Between the two were the monasteries of Saint- Julien and Saint-Vincent with their lands.

The monastery of Saint-Martin erected a *castrum* against the Scandinavian incursions of the 9th century; this was completed in 918. This immediately led to the growth of a *suburbium,* an area that was not subject to the authority of the count or the bishop. In the 10th century the parish churches were distributed as follows: two for the town, two for the centre, and nine for Saint-Martin and its *suburbium.*

Having established this schematic sequence, it will now be possible to proceed to certain interpretations and to advance certain propositions.

Tours as a central place

Caesarodunum was a tribal *civitas* capital in the early

1. Caesarodunum, c.150

4. Civitas Turonis, castrum Sancti Martini, c.950
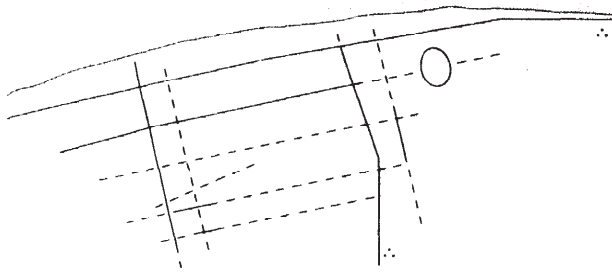
2. Civitas Turonorum, c.400
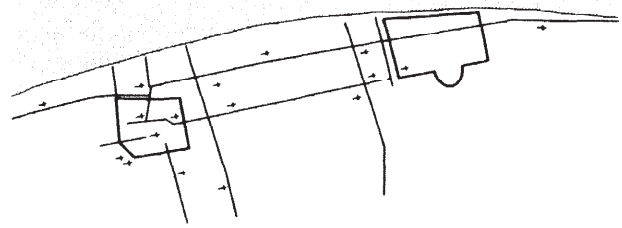
5. La cité de Tours, Chateauneuf, c.1250

3. Urbs Turonica, c.600
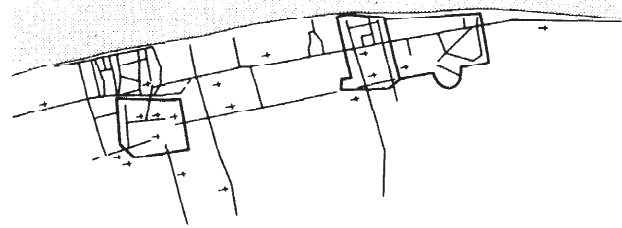
6. La cité et ville de Tours, c.1400

0   500m

.·. nécropoles
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N
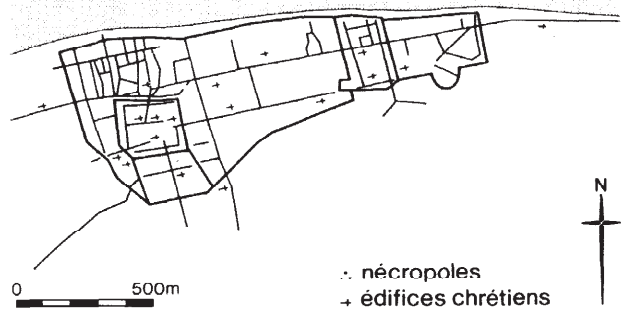
Fig 18   Tours: Roman to medieval

Empire, *civitas Turonorum* was capital of the province of Lugdunensis III in the late Empire, the town was an episcopal see from the 4th century and, with the growth of the cult of St Martin, it became a place of pilgrimage in the 5th century. Each of these elements must, in its own way, ensure that a place exerts an attraction (Brühl 1975; Piétri 1983).

In this respect a certain continuity can be observed. There is a momentary surge in the role of Tours beginning in the late Empire. Its importance as the capital of the *civitas* of the Turones had been strictly local during the early Empire, but then it assumed a greater importance at both politico-military and religious levels, since Lugdunensis III, like the ecclesiastical province of Tours, covered a vast area. The attraction of the saint extended well beyond that area. However this situation lasted only until the beginning of the Carolingian period, when Tours once again reverted to what it had been under the early Empire (apart from its metropolitan role).

We thus have a town that has enjoyed a role that was respectable, if not a major one, with a certain rank in the hierarchy of Gallic urban settlements and a name that is frequently quoted. This was not a complete rebirth, but rather a birth at the end of classical times and an emergence at a level that was difficult to sustain. In

terms of civil and military administration this level was not in fact maintained, though it was in terms of religious administration.

Internal organization

Tours possessed its own territory, under its control; this was the *suburbium civitatis* which is often distinguished from the *pagus* of Tours in the documents that began to proliferate in the 9th century.

At that time the monastery of Saint-Martin was subject to the general laws governing this territory, and the lay abbots regularly appealed to the king in order to obtain privileges and exemptions for their properties at Tours and elsewhere (Boussard 1958; Gasnault 1961). The *suburbium* was thus an entity subject to public control. Up to 918 the monastery of Saint-Martin was described as being *in suburbio civitatis,* and there are frequent references to a *burgus sancti Martini* near the town of Tours. The construction of the defences around Saint-Martin resulted in a radical change in the relationship between town and monastery. In 918 and 919 the monastery obtained an extension of the immunity of, first, the monastery in its fortified enclosure and then of a strip of land joining the *castrum* to the Loire (Galinié 1981). Thus an area of just under 10 ha was withdrawn

from any form of civil or religious control by count or bishop, acknowledging only the authority of the king.

The beginning of the 10th century marked a clear break in the administrative organization; Tours changed from a single autonomous town to twin towns. There was no longer a single Tours, but on the one hand the town and on the other a conurbation which had taken the name of Châteauneuf by the end of the 10th century. This movement had begun much earlier, from the time when the monastery begun to develop on its own outside the late Empire walled town, if the situation is viewed in topographical terms.

Rebirth

It is considerably more difficult to identify the moment when recovery began to manifest itself. The actions that were taken in the 9th century show that the impact of the Scandinavian raids was borne not only by the religious communities but also by the houses and the everyday life of the lay inhabitants of the Saint-Martin *burgus.* There is, at the present time, no means of evaluating the importance of this concentration of inhabitants. Who were they - the *familia* of the monastery, the servants of the dozens of collegiate canons, or groups of workmen and small traders of independent means?

Archaeological answers to this question can only be gained from sites 1, 7, and 10, by virtue of their locations. Site 1, between Saint-Martin and the Loire in the 10th century *suburbium sancti Martini,* was reoccupied during the 9th century. The same applied to site 7, where part of the cemetery area was turned over to dwelling houses in the 9th or 10th century. Traces of craft activities are discernible on both sites, but they were neither intensive nor very diversified; they were exclusively devoted to the production of articles for pilgrims. It is therefore no easy matter to distinguish between activities connected with the monastery and the birth of a settlement. Displacement of part of the cemetery round the monastery of Saint-Martin to the south around the 8th century (site 10) seems to be an indicator of the reorganization of the area lying north of the monastery, towards the Loire. There is no doubt that the craftsmen resettled themselves round the monastery. However, it is questionable whether they were involved in anything other than local trade - craftsmen certainly, traders perhaps.

In the town, however, neither written sources nor archaeology can offer any help. The defended area divided itself into two zones - to the north the civil power and to the south that of the bishop, the metropolitan chapter, and the religious communities. The monasteries of Saint-Julien and Saint-Vincent, lying between the town and Châteauneuf, were surrounded by arable lands, for the most part planted with vines.

Thus, if there was indeed a rebirth, its effects were tempered. Each of the two settlements followed its own destiny. When recovery began, in the 10th century, the cause was political and not economic. It stemmed from decisions which, until proved to the contrary, I believe anticipated the facts. It was not the concentration of craftsmen and traders between Saint-Martin and the Loire which led to the establishment of a special

settlement, but rather the opposite (Galinié 1981; 1985). The question that remains to be answered is the delicate one of intention, of will. Is it reasonable to suppose that in 918-9 the chapter of Saint-Martin set out deliberately to establish a town, in the modern sense of the term? That was most certainly not the case. It was a matter of seeking to secure as great a degree of autonomy as possible from the administrative centre. The succeeding series of events confirm that they originated from an irreversible act.

The birth of Tours

There is another way of approaching the question of urban rebirth. This starts with studying the modern landscape of Tours - that of the 17th century, for example (Fig 19) - and identifying that part of it which stems from the town of classical antiquity and that which is based on the medieval town. Comparing the results in terms of topographical analysis provides an indication of the degree of urbanization at each of these periods, if it is accepted that urban features are an expression of the persistence of structures, and so of the success or otherwise of urban settlement. For a feature to become fossilized in the urban landscape it must have survived for a certain period, and with it the town itself. The urban area is defined by its physical continuity.

The modern landscape of Tours faithfully reproduces the divisions of the early medieval period, with the town on one hand and Châteauneuf on the other, and the more developed street pattern in Châteauneuf indicates its greater importance by comparison with the town. In between the two poles is a less well served area, that covered with fields in the early period.

All that remains of *Caesarodunum* is the amphitheatre, which survived by virtue of having been incorporated into the ramparts, ie by a change of function, and part of the road pattern, the two roads running parallel to the river, the more northerly of which must have been a native highway that antedated the town.

Thus an attempt to create an ancient settlement at Tours, hindered by the fact that the basic urban structure has disappeared, calls in question the idea of rebirth. Only the survival of human settlement enables us to make the unjustified assumption that the urban structure survived. Tours in reality took shape in the 10th century on the foundations laid down in the early medieval period. Its partition in two during the Dark Ages was irreversible. The almost total abandonment of the site obliterated *Caesarodunum.*

Points of view

It is possible to produce a synthesis of the facts that have been enumerated. They emphasize the predictive quality of medieval urbanization which can be seen, if not at Tours, then at least at Saint-Martin, and the role of pre-urban nuclei. This can be deceptive.

In the context of general urban history, the case of Tours lends credence to the idea of a break between the ancient and the modern town in functional terms, around 1000, with some chronological overlaps. *Caesarodunum,* Tours, and Châteauneuf all existed. The idea of rebirth can also, of course, be defended in the
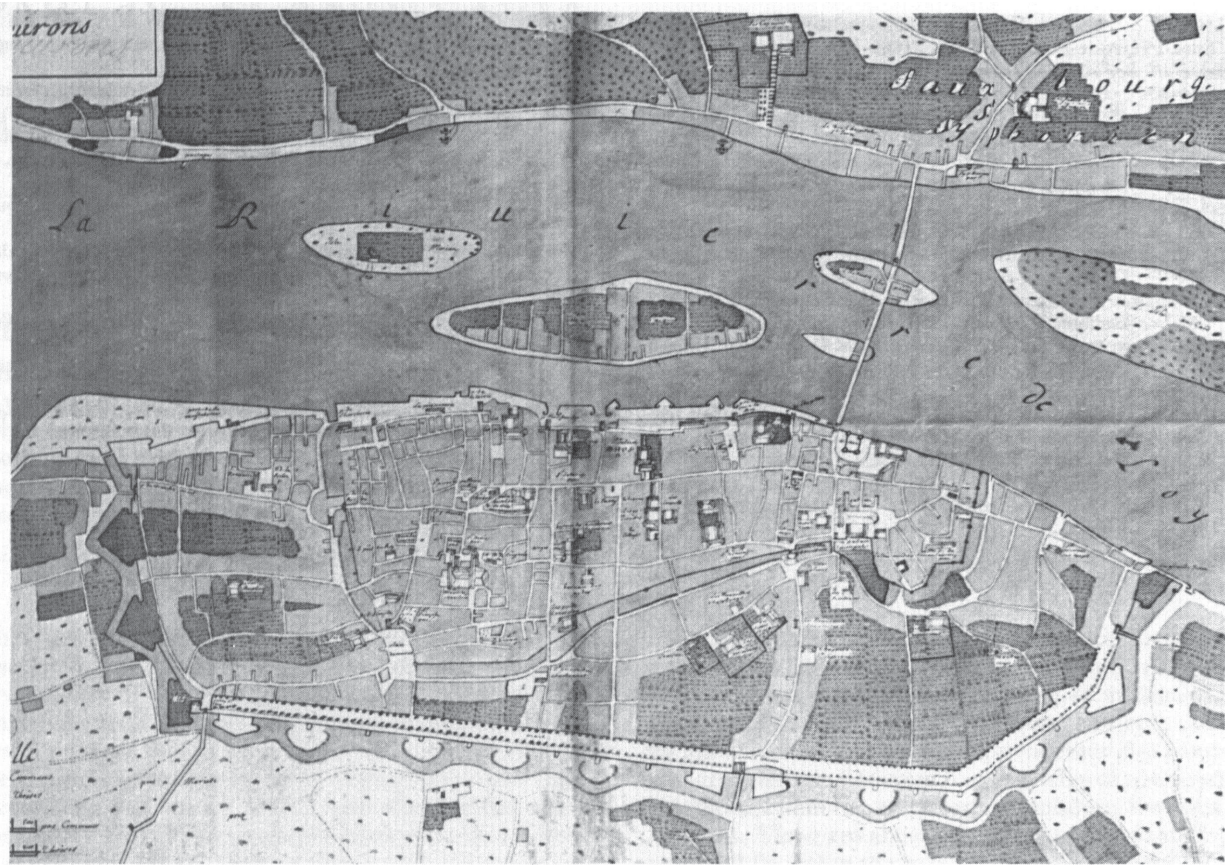
Fig 19   Tours c 1670 (ms 1200, Bibliotheque Municipale de Tours)

light of the decline between the late Empire and the Carolingian period. The decay of the administrative role does not affect this, since this is the period of the town as an economic entity.

The relationship between the town and its central role poses a double problem. There is no obligation for the central role to be devolved upon a town, nor is the concept of a town as such immutable, even though it may be a permanent settlement. In this case at least, the association between a town and a thickly populated centre seems to be foreign to the late Empire and the early Middle Ages. This implies the town having been perceived differently by the people of the day, who regularly used the term *urbs* to designate Tours.

The choice of Tours in preference to towns that were abandoned to a lesser extent in the late Empire still needs to be explained. It is already apparent that it was not a town in the full sense of the term that was retained, but a location whose name had such strong evocative associations, by reason of the symbolic references associated with it, that it was capable of sustaining the role that was entrusted to it. There a society with a minimal hierarchical structure sustained a town without urban life - an administrative town in the 4th and 5th centuries and a holy town, in the words of Pietri (1983) thereafter.

Analysis of the origins of the town area seems to me to be more decisive in this respect. I tend to believe that, when one talks of the town as a class of developed space, the physical manifestation of the activities of its inhabi-

tants upon the landscape predominate over other considerations. Words represent one order of significance, the organization of the land another. The former relates to the individual and the second to those institutions which alone are capable of perpetuating individual action. If the town of the classical period has left no traces of itself, this is due to the fact that it suffered a setback. The model, whether proposed or imposed, could not be sustained by the local society, whose requirements were different. Elsewhere the centuries of the classical period gave the urban landscape its definitive form. In Tours, however, as in certain other towns, it was during the early medieval period that the urban framework was laid down over the course of several centuries on the basis of elements that barely conform with the accepted criteria for a town.

In the history of the urban phenomenon the case of Tours illustrates the obligation upon us to continue research towards a new definition of urbanism in the early medieval period (ie AD 200-1000). In such circumstances the very notion of rebirth, which implies the existence of accepted states of the urban phenomenon - positive and negative phases, with a return to normality after periods of aberration - can find no place.

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PART IV SCANDINAVIA

10 The prehistory of towns in Sweden
Björn Ambrosiani

Abstract

This article presents current research into Swedish proto-towns, settlements from the period before the development of towns in the high Middle Ages. They range from simple market centres and manufacturing sites to fully developed urban centres such as Birka which, using definitions formulated by archaeologists and historical geographers, can be shown to have been a true town. Birka's role in its hinterland and the responsibility of the 'king' for its foundation are also discussed. The article concludes with a list of publications and a survey of remaining problems that will only be resolved through new excavations and study of artefacts.

The past 20 years have seen many symposia and associated publications devoted to the growth and development of towns beyond the Roman frontiers. The Rheinhausen (Göttingen) symposium of 1972 *(Vor-und Frühformen der Europäischen Stadt im Mittelalter* 1975), the Oxford symposium of 1975 *(European towns: their archaeology and history* 1977) and the Dublin symposium of 1978 *(The comparative history of urban origins in non-Roman Europe* 1985) make it difficult to throw much new light on the study of urban origins. I need to emphasize here that because of the lack of written records, the Swedish contribution to this subject has been confined to excavated results and the question of contacts between towns and their hinterland. Sweden, and central Sweden in particular, is unique in having a very well preserved, Viking-age cultural landscape. The numerous cemeteries still in existence today can be used as a basis for studying the multiplicity of conditions and variety of settlement structure in the urban hinterland (B Ambrosiani 1970; 1983; 1985a). Topography, communications and the distribution of finds also illuminate the relationships between towns/nucleated settlements and their surroundings.

Historical rather than archaeological critieria have been used for town definitions in Sweden until recently, but the archaeological view now is that any settlement with a densely populated and permanently occupied site and a specialized, non-agrarian economy may be called a town. It should also have the economic functions of a central place. Judicial autonomy, charters etc can play no part in an archaeological definition. In the 12th and 13th centuries towns underwent a fundamental change, and from then onwards the only true towns are those places with borough charters, organized administration and laws. In Scandinavia before 1200, therefore, we need to look at the criteria of archaeology and historical geography when trying to estimate the degree of urbanization and the development of 'towns'.

Since 1975 both fieldwork and research in Sweden have necessarily been concentrated on the towns of the high Middle Ages where urban redevelopment has been most destructive and where a number of large rescue excavations have been carried out. A great deal of work has also been put into the recording of archaeological sites and finds. The Medieval Towns Project, directed by Hans Andersson, has brought together the historical and archaeological sources for the medieval towns still in existence within the boundaries of modern Sweden and Finland. These are about 75 in number, although only about 45 lie within the borders of medieval Sweden and Finland (Fig 20).

Archaeological evidence from the 12th century and earlier has proved to be remarkably slight. Only Sigtuna, Skara, Söderköping and Lödöse seem to go back before 1200, although there are a few others, particularly centres of dioceses and certain ecclesiastical centres, which are documented before that date. None of these, however, can be said to have had nucleated settlement and non-agrarian specialization. Of the four towns only Sigtuna dates from before 1000, coins of Anglo-Saxon type having been minted there from *c* 990. There also seems to be some overlap between the earliest finds from Sigtuna (from the end of the 10th century) and the latest finds from Birka. During the 11th century Skara was founded, with ecclesiastical and judicial functions, and Lödöse had central economic functions for western Sweden.

The medieval town of Visby on Gotland poses another question. It was mainly influenced by Lübeck and the Hanse in the high Middle Ages, but extensive cemeteries and some settlement remains from the late Viking age (just before 1000) have been discovered there recently. Gotland, however, was only marginally associated with Sweden, largely through the payment of tribute. It is not mentioned in written sources, although a couple of runestones from the 11th century in Uppland do mention the island.

Those areas of modern Sweden that were once Danish and Norwegian contain places such as Lund and Kunga-hälla that were founded as early as *c* 1000, and also a number of *köping* sites (such as Löddeköpinge) and excavated sites (such as Ystad and Åhus), which prob-
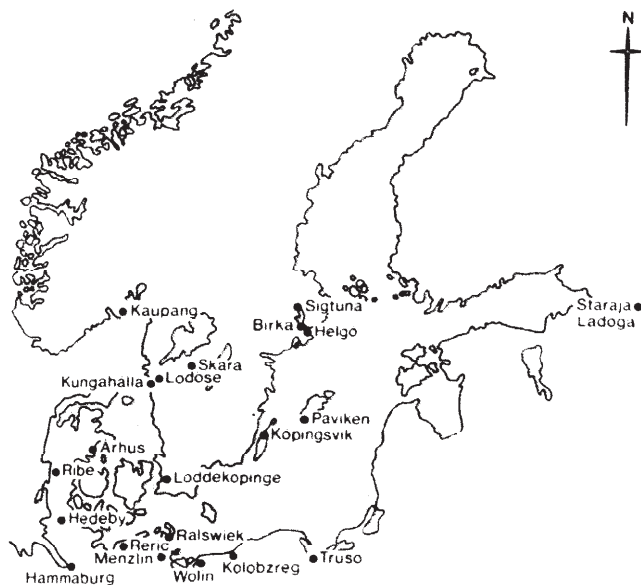
Fig 20   Map over the Baltic area with Viking Age 'town' and market settlements mentioned in the paper

ably date from the Viking age. Their development, particularly their role in medieval political and ecclesiastical power structures, has recently been discussed by Andrén (1985). So urbanization in medieval Sweden seems to be a late phenomenon in the context of towns still in existence. But they have a number of predecessors that today are purely archaeological sites: Birka, well known from being mentioned in Rimbert's life of Ansgar in *c* 870, and Paviken, Köpingsvik and Helgö, discovered through exavations in the 1950s and 1960s (Fig 21).

They all display a specialized, non-agarian economy with central place functions, but in some cases their permanent occupation is not clear. For instance, Birka's 'Black earth' area of over 7 ha and phosphate concentration of 13 ha revealed remains of a large number of buildings when excavated in the late 19th century, but Paviken and Köpingsvik have in the main produced occupation layers without distinctive structures. The terraced farms of Helgö present their own problems, for it is doubtful whether all the farms were occupied simultaneously; they may have been inhabited consecutively over a period of 500 years. So Helgö was very probably a permanently and continuously occupied settlement. This is unlikely to have been the case in the early phases of Köpingsvik and throughout the lifetime of Paviken.

The cemeteries from these sites reflect these different characteristics. Birka's 2000 burial mounds from a period of 200 years imply an average permanent population of at least 700-1000 people (Fig 22). Using the same method of calculation, the cemeteries at Helgö suggest a population of 20 at the most (B Ambrosiani 1985b). At Köpingsvik the cemetery is damaged and difficult to identify today, although there is early topographical evidence for an extensive gravefield, and some Viking-age graves (a few of them fairly rich) are known (Peterson 1958). No graves are known at Paviken.
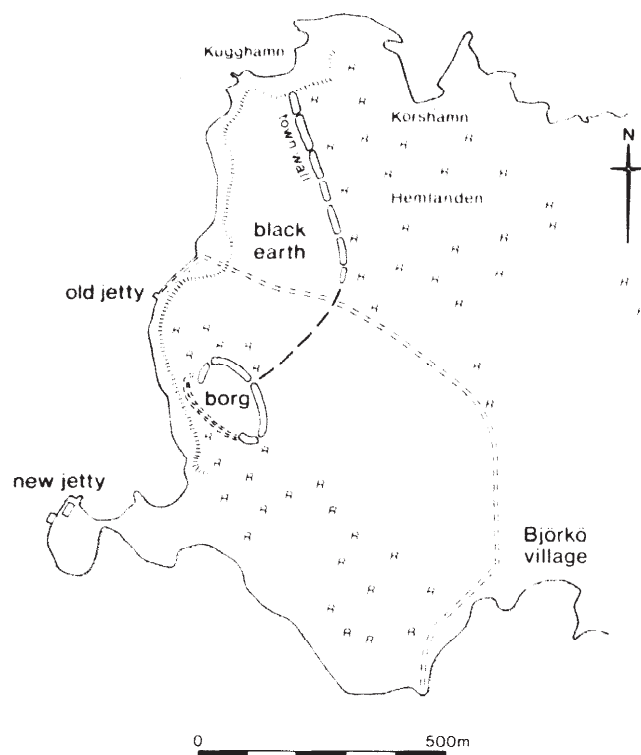
Fig 21   Map over Birka; the R-marked areas are the cemeteries of the town

Although some of these early 'urban' sites appear to have been occupied only seasonally, there is a great deal of evidence for their specialized, non-agrarian functions, social stratigraphy and ethnic diversity, including that from the cemeteries. For example the graves at Birka display distinct variations: mounds over cremations or unmarked chamber- and coffin-graves with rich grave-furniture. Those differences may be ethnic, social or religious in origin. Social differences are not likely as both rich and poor inhumations, and large and small mounds over cremations are present, indicating a social stratification in each burial custom. Religion and ethnicity seem to be the best explanation for Birka's diversity in burial type.

The mound cemeteries may represent a native pagan group, and the coffin-graves and chamber-graves are probably mainly the burials of foreign craftsmen and merchants and perhaps of some natives who had been converted to Christianity. The deposition of antler combs in graves was a Swedish ethnic trait; on Birka they are found in virtually every cremation, but in hardly any inhumations (K Ambrosiani 1981; 1982). So the inhumations suggest the presence of foreigners at Birka. The *Vita Ansgarii* supports this view through the story of Frideborg who, when she died in Birka, bequeathed her wealth to the poor of Dorestad where she herself may have come from.

The presence of foreign craftsmen and merchants in Birka is important for our interpretation of the site. It was probably chosen as a trading centre because of its protected position on an island in a large maritime inlet-the present lake Mälaren, connected by waterways to

Fig 22 The mounds of the Birka cemeteries are best visible during the winter (air photo 1986 by Jan Norrman, Riksantikvarieämbetet)

Uppsala and Vendel. This water-route can be traced today both through topography and the distribution of finds. All the finds of 8th century weapons, jewellery and high-quality craftmanship have been discovered along this route (B Ambrosiani 1957; subsequent finds follow the same pattern) whereas the 9th century finds are distributed around the Mälaren. The founding of Birka must, therefore, have modified the distribution system in central Sweden.

Birka's protected situation is illustrated, both directly and indirectly, by Adam of Bremen (I : LX):

> Because the inhabitants of Birka are often attacked by pirates, and because they cannot defend themselves through force of arms, they try to defend themselves by cunning. They have blockaded the sea for a distance of more than 100 *stadia* with concealed heaps of stones and have made access difficult both for their own people and for the pirates. As the anchorage is the safest in the whole coastal area of the Svear, all the ships of the Danes, the Norwegians, the Slavs, the Sembs, and other Baltic Sea tribes are accustomed to assemble there regularly to pursue their necessary affairs.

'Concealed blockages' is a good description of the archipelago around the entrance to the Mälaren. Its protected situation beside the route from the Baltic Sea made Birka also a suitable site for a trading centre/nucleated settlement/customs post. We could speculate on who might have founded this place. . .

At this period, as earlier, the Mälaren area was a major agricultural region in Sweden; the area's settlement structure can be analysed through the cemeteries which are still visible on the ground and have been preserved through the combined factors of burial customs and the practice of siting cemeteries on uncultivable land.

Settlement-structure has recently been a popular subject of study. In the early Middle Ages the agrarian population was concentrated in isolated farmsteads. As a rule the cemetery lay on the same piece of uncultivable land as the settlement, and the size of the cemetery, primarily dependant on *how long* the settlement had been in use, also indicates roughly *when* the settlement was first founded. The ancient monuments indicate that there were *c* 4000 settlements of this type in the Mälaren valley by the end of the period, that is *c* AD 1100. Thus there must have been a comparatively rapid expansion of settlements (about 50% per century) from AD 800 when there were between 1000 and 2000 settlement units.

As I have shown in several other articles (B Ambrosiani 1985b, c), some settlements in the region display a different monument-structure. A medieval royal or aristocratic manor with a fortification, church and village might have had its cemetery a little further away from the settlement site than usual. The graves of the land-owners, marked by big mounds, are normally situated on a headland or beach so that they are easily visible from the water; the cemetery for the rest of the population would have been a little further away on the landward side. Many of the big mounds and the earliest

graves in the cemeteries can be dated archaeologically to the 7th century. In other words manors must have been founded long before historic times, and have always belonged to a social group of above-average status.

Both Helgö and Birka stand on islands associated with royal manors of this type: Hundhamra for Helgö and Adelsö for Birka (B Ambrosiani 1985b, c). Sigtuna stands on a headland which was also part of a similar early royal manor.

So it seems as if the 'king'-or 'chieftain', to use a more fashionable term-made a suitable site for a market and manufacturing settlement available in the vicinity or in a defined part of a manorial farm. The degree to which the king added to his role as landowner by organizing a specific administration is more in doubt. For Birka, *Vita Ansgarii* mentions both a local 'town' *thing* and a *praefectus,* probably a royal appointee. The high medi-eval law that was observed in the towns of Sweden before *c* 1340 was called 'Bjärköarätten'; its origins are unknown, but since the 17th century onomastic evi-dence has associated it with Böjrkö and Birka.

Birka differs from its surroundings in many ways, through fulfilling both archaeological/geographical cri-teria and the historians' legalistic definition. It should be considered, therefore, as a town in the high medieval sense, even though a charter and judicial Organization are lacking.

Birka seems to have begun to develop *c* AD 800. This is an estimated date, which cannot be substantiated at present either by coins or by dendrochronology. But even though finds which are usually attributed to the transition between the Vendel/Merovingian period and the Viking age have not been found in its cemeteries, some artefacts from Birka can be equated with some from the earliest phase of Staraja Ladoga, dated *c* 760 by dendrochronology, The date of the founding of Birka will only be solved by new excavations, which might produce dendrochronological evidence.

Jansson has recently suggested (1985) that Birka as a settlement began sometime before 800, although the lack of well stratified finds from the transitional period makes it difficult to prove.

The Viking-age occupation of the Mälaren valley was spread over an area of *c* 35-40 000 km^2. From about AD 800, 1000 to 2000 single farms were grouped together into a large number of small settlement areas, often separated by extensive stretches of woodland and mor-aine landscape but connected by far-reaching inner bays and lake systems. Arable and pastoral farming made up only a part of the resources of Birka's hinterland. There were also, for example, hunting along the coasts and in the forests, mineral extraction and the smelting of bog iron on the north-west fringes of the region, and fur-trapping further north.

The route to the north mentioned above the impor-tant Vendel-period sites of Vendel and Valsgärde which, as early as the 7th century, controlled iron production in the area later known as 'Bergslagen' (Hyenstrand 1972, 28; B Ambrosiani 1983) (Fig 23). Iron production in this area is also well attested in the Middle Ages, so it is surprising that none of the early written sources men-tions the word 'iron' in connection with Scandinavia. Archaeological evidence is obviously very important
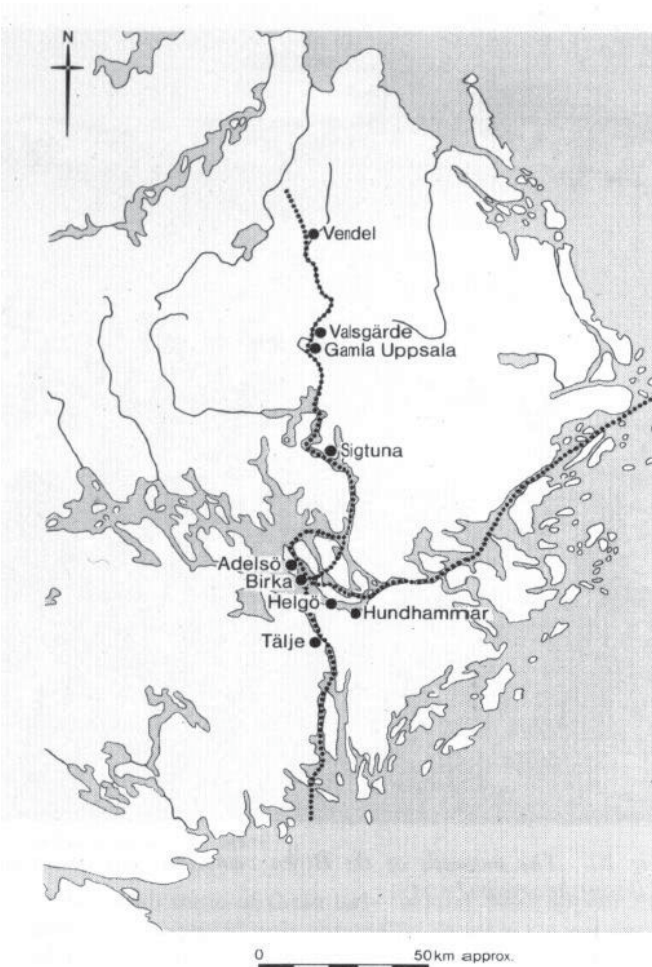
Fig 23   The water route to the iron production areas in the north with important sites from the Vendel and Viking periods (AD 550-1 100)

here for the interpretation of the role of specialized communities.

So Birka as a market centre seems to have participated in diverse trading structures. In addition to its role as a node on the international route between the West and the Arab lands, it was a local assembly- and exchange-point for iron, furs and other raw materials and semi-manufactured goods which were sent to the more highly developed areas of western Europe. Birka itself must also have stimulated a demand for food, fuel and fodder, which could have been obtained from the rural settle-ments of the Mälaren area in exchange for the simple jewellery and craft products found in large quantities in their cemeteries.

The many graves in the Mälaren area and the stratigraphy of the jetty excavated in 1970-1 (B Ambro-siani *et al* 1973) enable us to build up a more detailed chronology for the 'Birka period' (mainly 9th and 10th century). The material from the graves excavated by Hjalmar Stolpe in the 1870s still remains to be studied for this purpose. Many of the finds were published by Arbman (1940-3, *Birka I)*. Geijer (1938, *Birka III)* and Selling (1955) also interpreted textiles and pottery in

detail. In 1984 the first part of a corpus and research review of all the groups of finds appeared *(Birka II : 1)*. A new generation of scholars is also devoting itself to research on the finds from Birka, and several doctoral dissertations have recently been published: Hägg (1974) on the textiles, Kyhlberg (1980) on balances and weight-systems, Gräslund (1980, *Birka IV*) on burial customs, K Ambrosiani (198 1) on combs, Duczko (1985, *Birka V*) on filigree work, and Jansson (1985) on oval brooches. Other work is continuing, particularly on ecology and osteology, and this should increase our understanding of Birka's provisioning and its inter-action with its hinterland.

Much remains to be done. In particular the settlement and the finds from the black earth are still to be worked on and published. But new excavations are essential if our understanding of Birka is to be increased. Excava-tions could elucidate the settlement plan, building types and plot formation, the harbour area around the jetty excavated 1970-1, and the connection between the inhabited area, the extensive cemeteries to the north and the adjacent harbour known as Korshamn. Vegetation marks suggest that problems connected with the ceme-teries and the boundary of the town in the south-east might be solved by excavation. Any excavation would have to be on a large scale, and would therefore be expensive; but it is only in this way that significant results would emerge.

Hinterland studies also need to be carried on in parallel. It might be asked, for instance, whether there were other centres in the Mälaren area secondary to Birka. Indications suggest the existence of these, but none has as yet been investigated or excavated.

Research into Paviken on Gotland is also incomplete. Lundström has published several short articles and a popular work (1981) on this market centre/harbour beside a lagoon on the west side of the island. Workshop debris shows that jewellery was made and ships repaired there, on a low headland jutting into the lagoon, but no settlement-remains other than occasional postholes have been found, and no burials are known. The site is dated to *c* AD 700-1000. Lundström is continuing his research into Paviken and also into a number of similar sites around the coast of Gotland. Evidently each of the island's six administrative districts *(settingar* = sixths) had its own harbour of the Paviken type. They served primarily as harbours and market places for the local population, and were seasonally occupied. Phosphate mapping, topographical analysis and excavation make up this research programme (Fig 24).

There is a further problem in the case of Köpingsvik on Oland where the archaeological deposits have been so
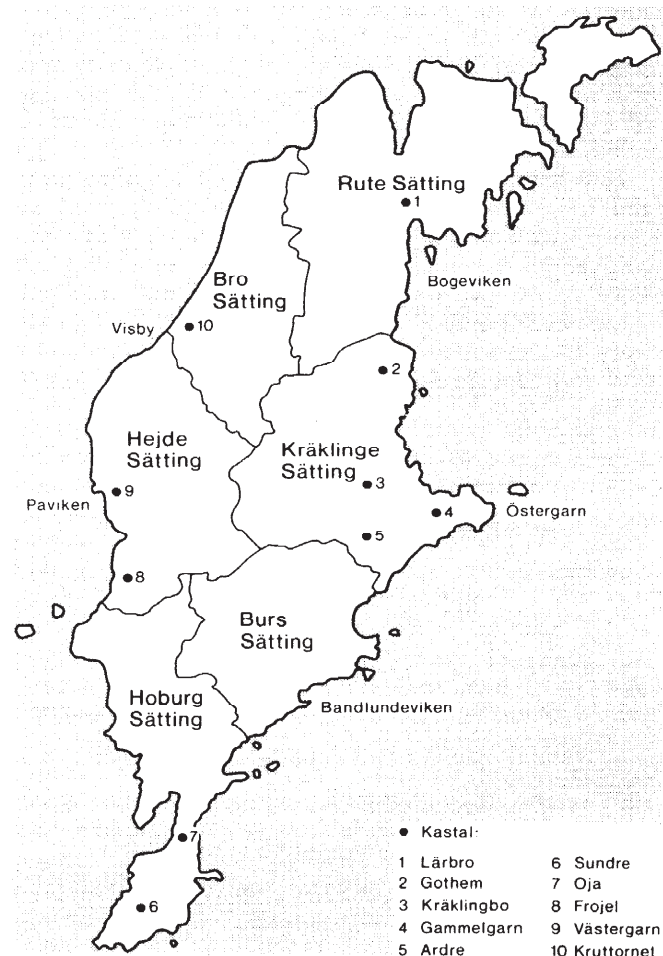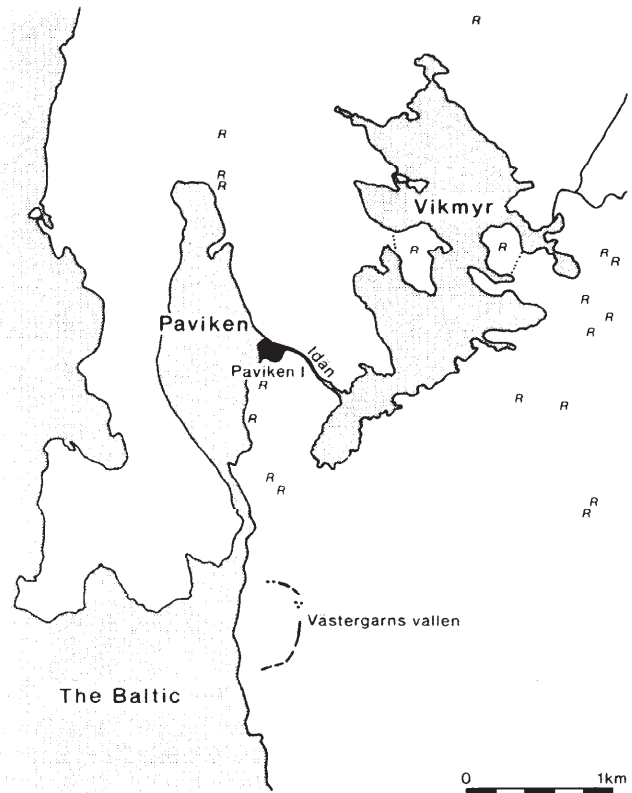
Fig 24a   The area around the Paviken settlement and the Västergarn 'town' wall on Gotland shows the importance of the old water routes and harbour lagoons

Fig 24b   There are similar sites known in some of the settings *as Bogeviken i Rute and as Bandlundeviken in* Burs *setting. Some sites are discussed also in the other settings. On the map are also the medieval castle towers* (kastal) *of Gotland marked (after P Lundström 1981)*
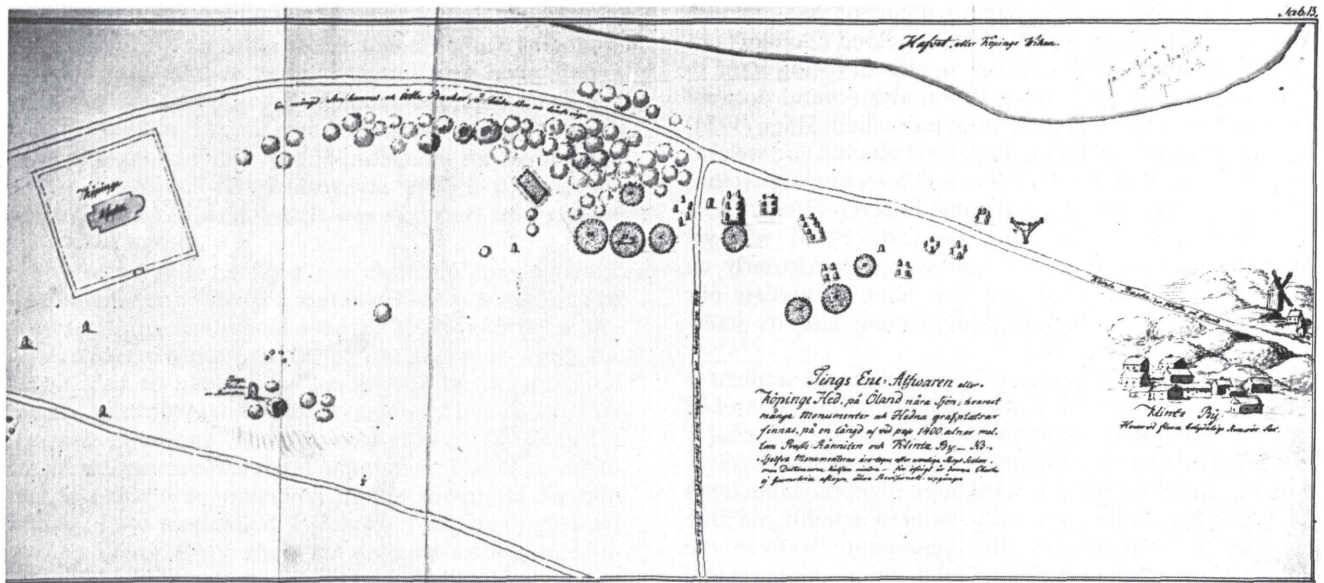
Fig 25   The 18th century map by Hilfeling shows the many graves in an area today almost totally destroyed by modern settlement (Kungl Biblioteket (The Royal Library))

badly disturbed by modern house–building and camp–sites that it is impossible even to estimate the size of the cemeteries, for instance (Fig 25). A thin occupation layer dates from AD 900–1100 (Hagberg 1985) but, in contrast to Paviken, seems to represent permanent occupation. The present church of Koping contains a large number of fragments of 11th century runestones, indicating that the site was occupied into the high Middle Ages even though it never acquired formal urban status.

In conclusion, research into Sweden's earliest towns and specialized communities is continuing, with the processing and publication of the results from early excavations. Chronology and other problems are beginning to be elucidated, but at the same time new questions are arising. Some of these will be answered by work on the evidence already to hand, but the time has now come for a new input in the form of new excavations.

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PART V BRITAIN

11 Lundenwic and Lundenburh: two cities rediscovered
Brian Hobley

Abstract

This paper, following an introduction that reviews the late Roman inheritance, examines the historical and archaeological evidence that has led to the identification of the twin mid Saxon settlement of *Lundenwic* and *Lundenburh* and the Alfredian rebirth of the city of London. In recent years the trading shore of the Thames has produced an outstanding archaeological record that not only records the rebirth of the historic port but also the great wealth of the London hinterland.

The main purpose of this paper is to outline the evidence that has led to the identification of the twin mid Saxon settlement of *Lundenwic* and *Lundenburh,* and the Alfredian rebirth of the City of London.

First, however, an introductory review is necessary of the late Roman inheritance and of other factors which stimulated the re-emergence of London. In London history and archaeology are all but silent on the 150 years after 457 when according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the Britons fled out of Kent from the battlefield of 'Crecganford' (possibly Crayford) to the protection of the walls of Londinium. Three centuries later Bede gives us an important reference point when he records the consecration of Mellitus in 604 as bishop of the East Saxons, based on the church of St Pauls, newly constructed in London by Ethelbert, King of Kent (Bede). Here Ethelbert was conforming to the known practice during the 7th century of Saxon kings giving abandoned Roman forts and towns to religious communities (Biddle 1976, 107-9).

The significance of this arrangement is that the site of London, though occupied sparsely, if at all, was at the end of the 6th century still a place of importance and status. This feeling was echoed much later in the mid 9th century when bishop Helmstan of Winchester described his recent consecration 'in the illustrious place, built by the skill of the ancient Romans' (Stenton 1971, 56).

At that time in the 9th century there could well have been many ruins of the late 4th century Roman city still standing. One such case seems to have been an area north of the later Queenhithe, referred to at the end of the 9th century as Hwaetmundes Stan, 'the stone [building] of Hwaetmund' - presumably at this date a disused Roman building (Dyson 1978; Fig 26). As Helmstan looked back on the Roman origins of Saxon London, so should this paper take into account the topography of the late Roman city, which has proved to have an important effect on the settlement that followed.

Indisputably the extensively attested 'dark earth' layer, up to a metre thick, was a topographical element of Roman London from the late 2nd or early 3rd century (Fig 27). This deposit, which contains abraded and 3rd and 4th century pottery and coins, appears on analysis to have an agricultural or horticultural origin (Macphail 1982). The distinctive black coloration was caused by carbon, and was possibly produced by autumnal stubble burning once crops were harvested. Though in a few cases the early origin of the 'dark earth' is found to have been cut by the foundations of late Roman buildings, so that it was clearly in formation during the Roman period, it does not appear to have increased in depth during mid or late Saxon times. Thus early Saxon London would have inherited widespread, unbuilt, open areas apparently being cultivated within the three mile circuit of walls which enclosed some 133.5 ha (330 acres). However these walls would also have protected Roman public buildings and a number of large private houses, as well as urban farms, smallholdings and their field systems. As these traces of Romanized town life were eroded by combined economic and administrative decline, the British inhabitants were gradually left to their own devices and finally, it would seem, ceased to exist.

At this point we should consider for a moment the attitude of the incoming Saxons to the site of Londinium. For, in fact, there is all but a total lack of archaeological evidence in London for Saxon occupation within the walls at this period, notwithstanding an unprecedented programme of excavations over the last twelve years; little or no evidence of permanent occupation in the sub-Roman period has been found (Hobley 1986; Vince 1983, 33-7; 1987).

Could there be an explanation for this, and for the plight of other Romano-British cities, in Ammianus' account of Gaul, where he shows that town walls represented a formidable psychological barrier, as well as a physical one, to the Saxon peoples at this time? Ammianus asserts that the invaders had a dread of Roman cities and thought that their walls were a trap: 'They avoided these as if they were tombs of their ancestors surrounded by walls' (Ammianus XVI 2.12). In Britain the early Saxon settlers were basically farmers who preferred open settlements such as that which they established at Mucking in Essex, east of London. On
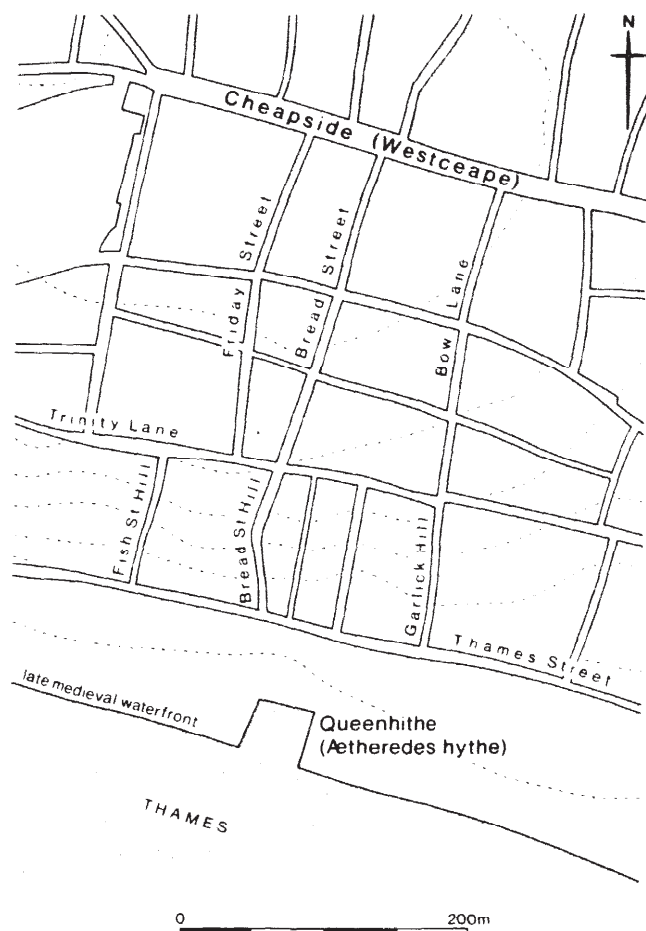
Fig 26   Plan of area Queenhithe to Cheapside

this evidence there may well have been discontinuity of settlement in London.

From both within the City and from immediately outside, finds which are exclusively attributable to the late 6th century have not been found, although the existence of a well established trading settlement of some kind at this time is strongly implied by the arrival of the Christian mission in 604, by the building of a cathedral and by the appointment of a bishop on a site with prestigious Roman origins. It is possible that both settlement and the goods traded were of a kind which did not survive easily in the archaeological record, as illustrated by Bede's reference to later slave trading, or of an organic nature, or not closely datable.

The problem of finds dating presents a particular difficulty in fixing the commencement of the Saxon settlement, pottery in particular being very undiagnostic (see Vince, ch 12). Ipswich Ware is found in quantity and the rare imported Tating Ware in small amounts. It seems that loom weights, of which many have been found, can serve as a rough dating aid: the wider the hole the earlier the date. Otherwise metalwork, as for example in spears, appears to change little from mid to late Saxon date. Much material is also unprovenanced, being found not on dry land but on the Thames foreshore, where it was probably deposited by the tide (see Vince, ch 12).

Undoubtedly the absence of early coins from both the City and upstream to Whitehall poses the biggest problem in dating and locating the exact centre for the beginnings of Saxon settlement. Many such dated early coins, however, have been found on Frisian sites in Holland and, as they are inscribed with the name 'London', show that not only was London a trade centre but also provided the earliest indication of trade between any part of England and the Continent (Stenton 1971, 219; Vince, ch 12, Fig 44). Thus London almost certainly had the first substantial mint in England, producing from the 630s onwards a gold coinage which included the name of the mint (Sutherland 1948, 22-30; Dolley 1976, 351-2). Certainly, by the mid 7th century Merovingian *solidi* and *tremissess* were being copied in England, some of them bearing the name Londinium. The existence of a London mint reveals in turn that trade must have been well established when the first coins were struck and that there were good prospects for the increase and expansion of trade and marketing. That trade did in fact flourish in London by the late 7th and early 8th centuries is demonstrated firstly by the widespread use of *sceattas* or pennies (Fig 45; Vince ch 12). Secondly there is Bede's reference to London in his own day (the 730s) as an 'emporium of many people coming by land and sea'.

Though between 604 and 674 history on the whole is silent, in 673-85 there is the evidence of the Kentish laws of *Hlothere* and *Eadric,* which refer to the trading hall of the Kentish kings and to a king's reeve (Thorpe 1840, 14-15). Several other early charters also testify to trade, and in the early 670s there is the first reference to the port of London. A charter of 673-4, ratified by a Mercian king, clearly shows that the port of trade was well established by this date (Dyson 1980). On general grounds it seems likely that this trade was controlled by the Frisians, who since the 6th century had dominated the seaborne trade of north-west Europe - England, Scandinavia and Gaul.

Part of that trade would have been in wool from Britain to the Continent. There is an interesting exchange of letters between Offa and Charlemagne, for which there now seems to be archaeological corroboration. Charlemagne wrote to Offa complaining about the length of *sagae* (woollen cloaks) being shipped from England. To this Offa replied complaining about the quality of the 'black stones' (undoubtedly German lavastone querns). Both fragments of high quality woollen tweed worsted and German lavastone querns of mid Saxon date have recently been found in London (Figs 28-9).

Of all the Anglo-Saxon kings, Offa in particular saw it as a part of his duties to encourage foreign trade including royal and public protection for traders and lists of goods traded. With Charlemagne he concluded the first recorded commercial treaty in English history (Stenton 1971, 221). In fact trade, combined with the political geography of the 7th and 8th centuries, was to define London for the rest of the Anglo-Saxon period as the home of a strong-willed population protective of their local liberties and privileges, later with the Norman invasion so vehemently defended in the 11th and 12th centuries.
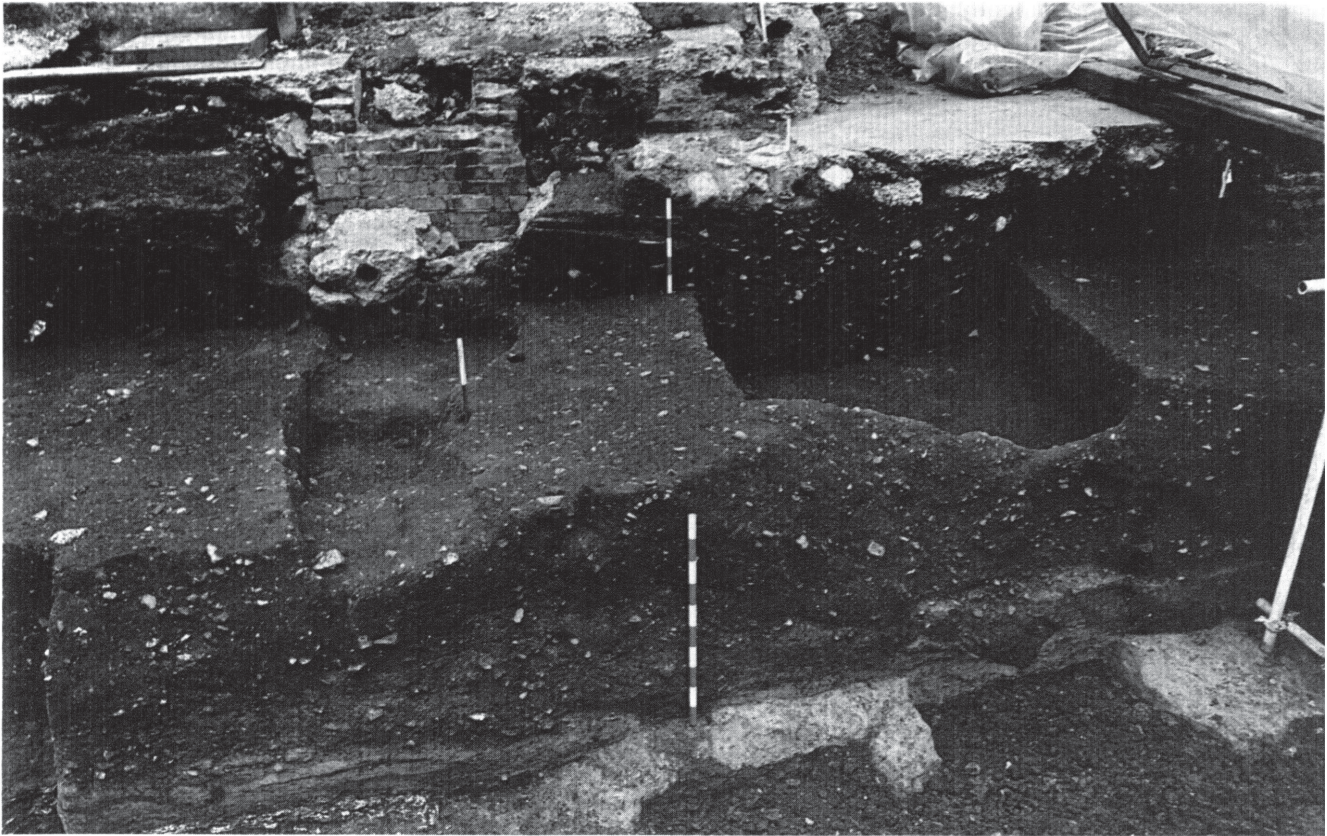
Fig 27   Dark earth deposits at Milk Street

Altogether the political history of London is shown to have been complex and subject to rapid change and upheaval. London was, there is no doubt, an important centre for the East Saxon kingdom and lay on the frontier between several kingdoms. In the event, the Thames became a frontier between Mercia and Essex to the north and Wessex and Kent to the south.

Both Aethebald (716-57) and Offa (757-96) saw London as their major port of trade and, importantly, their long and strong reigns must have consolidated Mercian overlordship and therefore London's overseas trade.

But where was this mid Saxon port of Lundenwic located? The absence of mid Saxon finds from within the Roman defences makes it clear that there was little, if any, domestic occupation there before the late 9th century (Fig 28a). For example, there are only two recorded finds of Frankish pottery from the City of London (information A Vince). Moreover, and this may be a very significant point, the several charters that refer to London do not always use the same word - both *wic* and *burh* names are used up to the 9th century. The last recorded time that *wic* was used was in 857. Could this alternative usage be the clue to alternative or twin sites, as already intimated by stray mid Saxon finds, before 1985, to the west outside the Roman walls? On the other hand it is possible that Lundenwic/Lundenburh might be two names for the same place reflecting different functions (cf Hamwic/Hamtun).

This paper now turns to its main theme: the evidence for the respective sites of *Lundenwic* and *Lundenburh.* The possibility that Lundenwic was indeed to be located immediately west of the City was convincingly argued in 1984 when independent topographical and finds studies by Biddle and Vince showed that the Lundenwic of the Anglo-Saxon chronicle was sited along the Strand towards Whitehall, and that Lundenburh was most likely to refer to the walled and defensible site of the Roman city (Biddle 1984; Vince 1984a).

Both argued that the name 'Aldwych' denotes the old *wic,* which further helped to provide a precise location for Lundenwic. Archaeological evidence for this comes from three widely distributed sources - burials, settlement sites and the river itself.

A single large cemetery is tentatively suggested as having existed to the north of the Strand between Charing Cross and Kingsway, while later Christian Saxon burials have been seen at St Bride's Church and must have existed at Westminster and Bermondsey (Vince forthcoming). Evidence of settlements was found to the west of the City at the Treasury, Whitehall, and south of the Strand at Arundel House and at the Savoy Palace, all in association with pottery and single-loom weights. At the Adelphi site in the 1930s over 100 loom weights were recorded and recently identified as of mid Saxon date.

The third group of material is of loosely provenanced metalwork, including coins, recovered over many years from the Thames and its foreshore in the area of the Strand. In May 1985 excavations at Jubilee Hall,
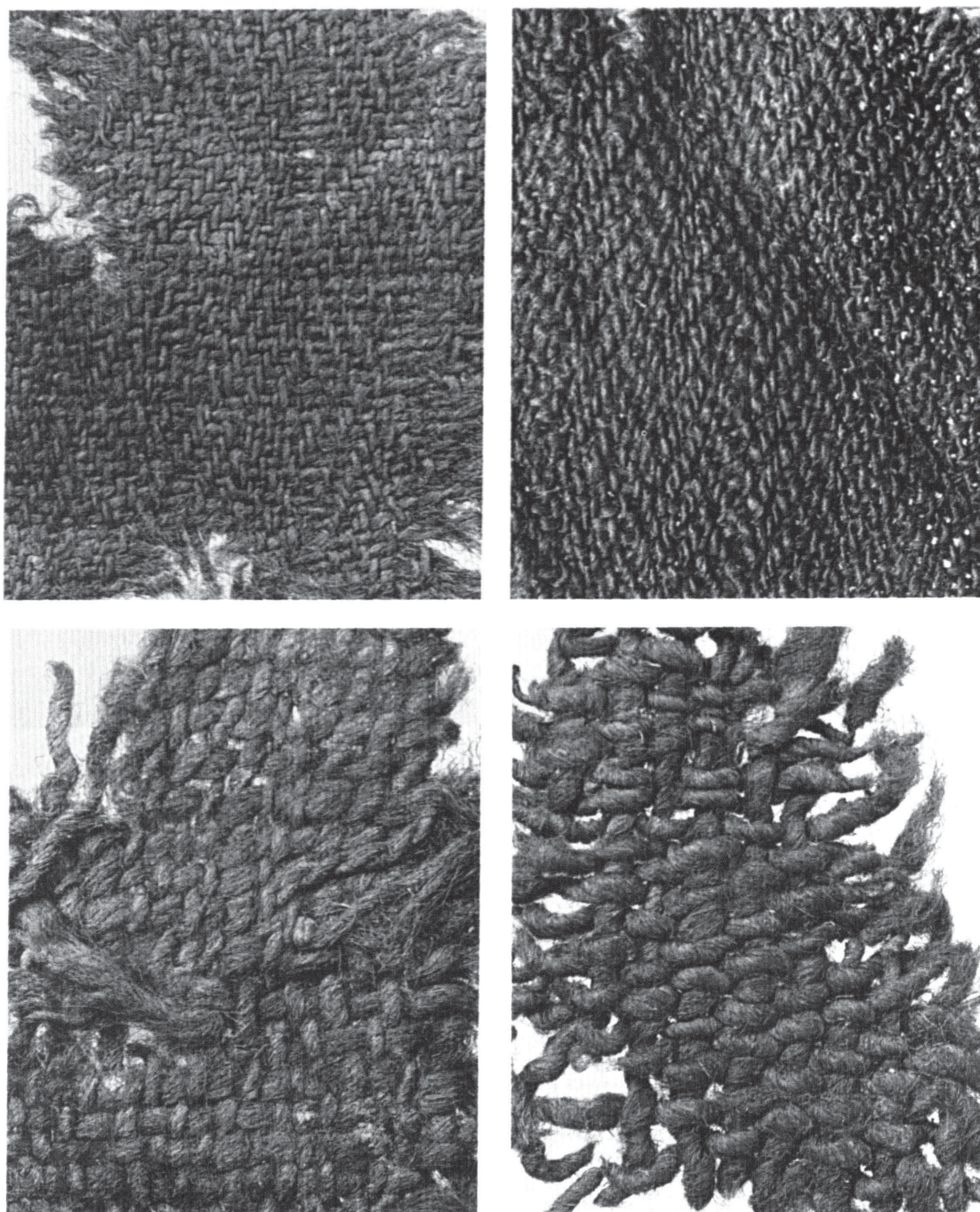
Fig 28   Four grades of wool cloth from a 10th century pit at Milk Street, London
a) Worsted cloth woven in 2/2 broken lozenge twill (x 2)
b) Worsted cloth with a herringbone pattern woven from yarn dyed with woad; the piece was made to a width of 86 mm and used as a leg garter (x 2)
c) A thicker cloth in tabby (plain) weave made from wool dyed with madder; the coarser weft yarn was only lightly spun (x 2)
d) A different type of tabby-woven fabric with both the warp and the weft yarns twisted in the same direction to prevent the fibres from felting (x 2)
(Photos Jon Bailey, Museum of London)
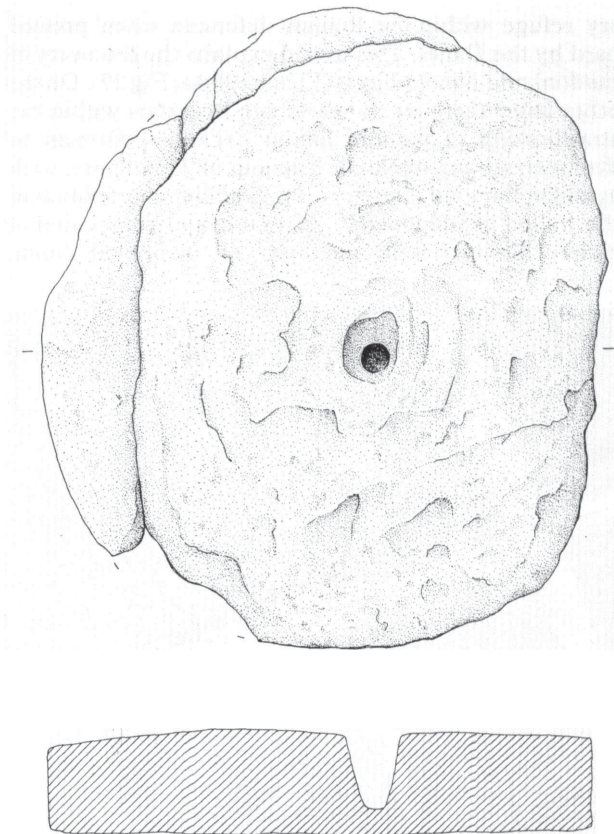
Fig 29   German lava querns (x ¼)

Covent Garden by the Department of Greater London Archaeology produced 0.75 m of Anglo-Saxon deposits - representing a sequence right through the mid Saxon period - *a* wealth of structures and finds which finally confirmed the hypothesis of a mid Saxon settlement on the Strand (Whytehead 1985; Whipp 1986).

Beam slots, postholes, pits, furnace remains, a grave and large quantities of animal bones were found. Mollusca, loom weights, and perhaps most important, more 8th century pottery than has been recovered from the entire London area, including early chaff-tempered pottery. A worn *sceatta* dated 710-30, together with imported Rhineland lava quern stones (the 'black stones' of Offa's letter) completed the archaeological data that pointed to the existence of a mid Saxon Strand settlement.

In short, the cumulative evidence to date supports the view of Lundenwic as an unwalled area of at least 24 and perhaps as much as 80 ha - an area extending from the Fleet to Whitehall with its axis on the Strand. Thus, if occupied all at the same time, it would have been the largest mid Saxon settlement in England, comparable to such Continental centres as Dorestad (Fig 41).

There can be little doubt that one of the attractions of this area to the Anglo-Saxons was that of the openness of the site, especially the foreshore. There is here another important, but relatively unappreciated consideration to take into account: that the design or the build of the boats of this period dictated the need for landing places for which the ruinous Roman waterfronts just down-

stream and a still standing riverside town wall were wholly unsuitable. Saxon boats would have little use for either the type of vertical quays and waterfronts already built by the Romans or the front-braced type of the medieval period, and on present evidence the earliest waterfront seems to have been built in the 9th century. Instead they favoured an open foreshore and shelving beach, on which just above the high tide level they could trade directly from their boats (McGrail, 1985). Thus the well attested beach markets in London at Dowgate and elsewhere in Europe were established,

Such was the picture of Saxon London by the mid 9th century before the Danish raids and occupation. There was a striking contrast between the extensive and intensely populated, international open trading centre of Lundenwic on the one hand, and on the other the sparsely occupied walled Roman city of Lundenburh, with its royal and episcopal bases centred upon the Roman fort at Cripplegate and the St Pauls precinct. Here tradition and inference from later documentary evidence support the view that Offa's palace in the second half of the 8th century may have lain within the walls of the Cripplegate Roman fort with the church of St Alban as its chapel (Biddle 1973, 20; Fig. 30).

There are other examples of these palaces found within Roman forts, such as at Kingsholm, Gloucester (Hurst 1985). Another vital clue to link this fort with the Saxon palace stronghold is that at the site of 'Aldermanbury', where the frontage still conspicuously projects into the street at the precise location of the assumed east gatehouse of the Roman fort (Dyson & Schofield 1984, 307, fig 104; Fig 32). Yet again, Roman gatehouses are known to have survived elsewhere in the Dark Ages. This probable royal palace, with *a* number of other enclosed residences of high status within the defences and near to the cathedral, may have represented the only substantial occupation within the Roman walls, as if the old city had been given over to a small, kremlin-like reservation for kings and priests - the *Lundenburh* or the seat of traditional authority?

Notwithstanding this near total abandonment of the Roman city (over a period equal in length to that from Elizabeth I to the present day), among the open ground of the extensive 'dark-earth' areas ruinous stone buildings could still be seen, with possibly among them (if not destroyed in the 2nd century) the baths at Huggin Hill, presumably referred to in King Alfred's grant of 889 (Dyson 1978). Just three years earlier than this grant the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records events central not only to English history but to the rebirth of Lundenburh and the end of Lundenwic: 'In the year 886 King Alfred occupied London' (ASC A (EHD, 1, 183)); This account records one of the major moments in Alfred's career, for it continues '. . . and all the English people that were not under the subjection of the Danes submitted to him'.

Thus Alfred brought London into his comprehensive system of town strongholds protecting the countryside and promoting its trade, as previously listed in the document known as the Burghal Hidage. In 1982 Prof R H C Davis suggested that the Hidage list should be dated to just before Alfred's recapture of London (which does not appear in the list) in 886. Tony Dyson has

further suggested that in that case Alfred's overall town scheme must have already have been drawn up by 886, lacking only London, which now underwent the same sort of treatment (pers comm). Alfred needed the defensible base of London both to command the crossing of the Thames and to resume its role in overseas trade.

Before 886 it is not impossible that from time to time the occupants of Lundenwic could have sought tempor-

ary refuge within the Roman defences when pressed hard by the Danes. This would explain the discovery of random mid Saxon objects (Vince 1984a; Fig 27). On the other hand there are no major fire horizons within the stratification of the mid Saxon Strand settlement to demonstrate any wholesale burning of Lundenwic such as might have led directly to a full-scale reoccupation of the walled city before 886. After a major reappraisal of earlier discoveries in the light of improved dating
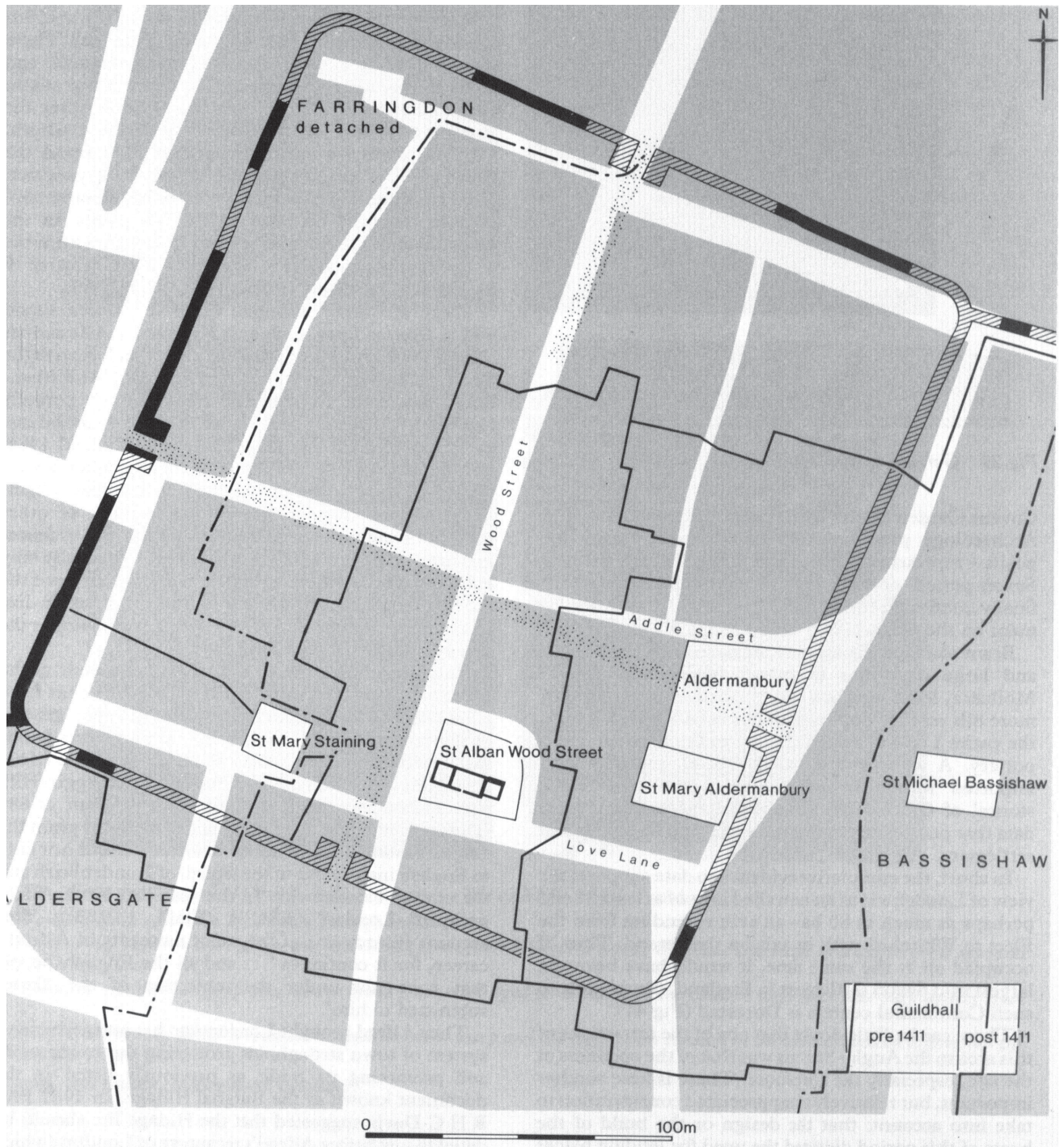
Fig 30   Plan of St Alban Wood St and the Cripplegate fort area
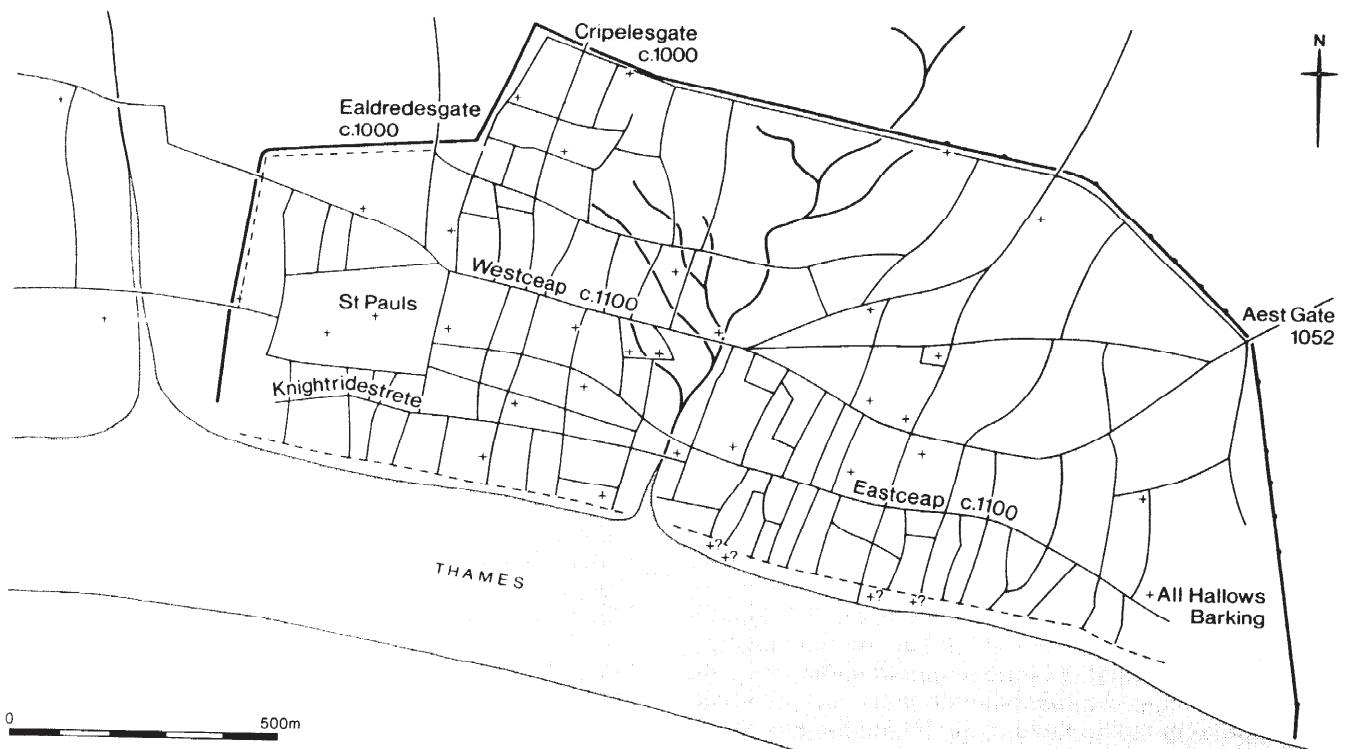
Fig 31 Late Saxon street plan
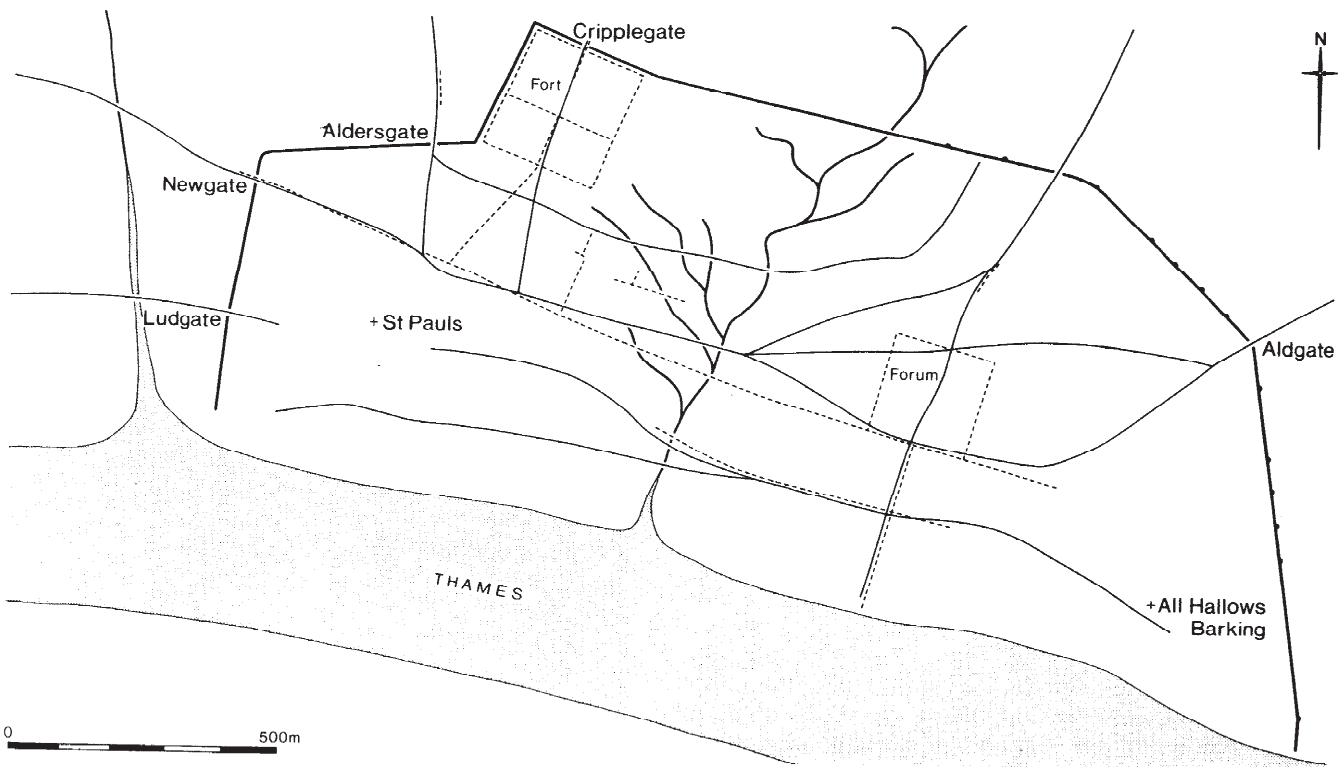
Fig 32 Relationship between Roman street plan (dashed) and Saxon/medieval street plan (solid)

available from recent excavations, it is clear that with the general absence of overlap of ceramic types between the intra and extramural settlements there is nothing to show that the Strand population simply moved into the intramural city overnight. At present, though, it cannot be demonstrated that the street system is earlier than the late 10th century; there is, therefore, some uncertainty about what 'London' really amounted to between *c* 850 and *c* 950.

That 886 was felt at the time to be a significant year for the City is implied by the famous 'commemorative' coin marking the event (see cover of this volume). However, it has to be noted that certain numismatists suggest it is dated before 886 (information J Clarke). This is also suggested by two Alfredian charters dated 889 and 898/899, recently studied in detail by Tony Dyson, which reflect both the concern for the promotion of trade by establishing port facilities on the city foreshore and also, in accordance with Alfred's practice in other towns, by the laying out of new streets in the immediate area (Dyson 1978; 1985).

In passing we should consider here the view of Gustav Milne, that a determinant for that street system was the rectilinear field boundaries which became the cardinal routes to be subdivided by lanes and alleys by Alfred's surveyors. Milne draws attention to Wareham in Dorset where, he suggests, similar parcels of land determine the main roads (pers comm; Fig 31).

The 889 and 898/899 charters referred to above also gave rights and privileges relating to trade as well as grants of land. In addition the 889 charter authorized a market and made reference to a 'trading shore' *(ripa emtoralis)* at *Aethelredes hythe* (the late Saxon name for Queenhithe). Thereafter local streets were established linking it with the interior. Bread Street appears in the later charter (but not by name), distinguished on the map by its direct, unbroken course. Most of the other streets in this part of London (including two others mentioned in the charter) are staggered or terminated before reaching Cheapside, but just to the east of Queenhithe is Garlick Hill/Bow Lane, which also runs in a straight course to Cheapside. Though this second route does not feature in the charters, excavations at the top end of Bow Lane show that it may date from the later 9th century, and so could have been laid out at the same time as Bread Street. The two certainly have the look of a matching pair, which together would have linked the Queenhithe harbour directly with the late Saxon market along Westcheap (modern Cheapside) (Allan 1985; Fig 26).

Unlike Queenhithe, waterfront activity in the Billingsgate area is later than the late 9th century, with the possible exception of the laying out of Botolph Lane. Settlement there occurs at different periods, and in a specially interesting way. What seems to have happened is that the earliest settlement on the lane began at the north end in the Eastcheap area, and gradually extended downhill, reaching the bottom in the late 10th century when activity is first recorded as existing on the local waterfront. Thus primary late Saxon reoccupation may have concentrated on Cheapside running east-west centrally through the city (Fig 32).

On Botolph Lane, which showed 9th as well as 10th

century metalling on dumped deposits, fine cobbles had been used which had probably been imported from the chalk downland some distance outside London. One *insula* to the east has been shown by excavation to be in all probability the product of an Alfredian initiative and had buildings fronting onto it with a succession of some fourteen floor levels, with hearths and ovens, suggesting many major rebuilding phases. Three 'property plots' were able to be conjectured and were 4 m apart (Horsman 1983; 1985).

While discussing the origins of the Anglo-Saxon road system and settlement, it should be noted that at Milk Street and Ironmonger Lane late Saxon buildings tended to be built on the Roman road surfaces, which were less cluttered, and where the buildings themselves were less at risk from the ruinous collapse of Roman buildings fronting onto the streets (Fig 33). At the Roman forum late Saxon pits were dug into the road just north of the basilica, showing that if the Roman road system was not lost by this time it was ignored (Fig 34). At Bow Lane excavations also confirmed that the street layout was directly overlying the 'dark earth' (which here, as elsewhere in the City, has not been found to

Fig 33 Saxon buildings cut into a Roman road at Ironmonger Lane

West

East

Bow Lane

Modern cellars

Saxon street

First Saxon building

Latest Roman building

Latest Roman Street

0   5m
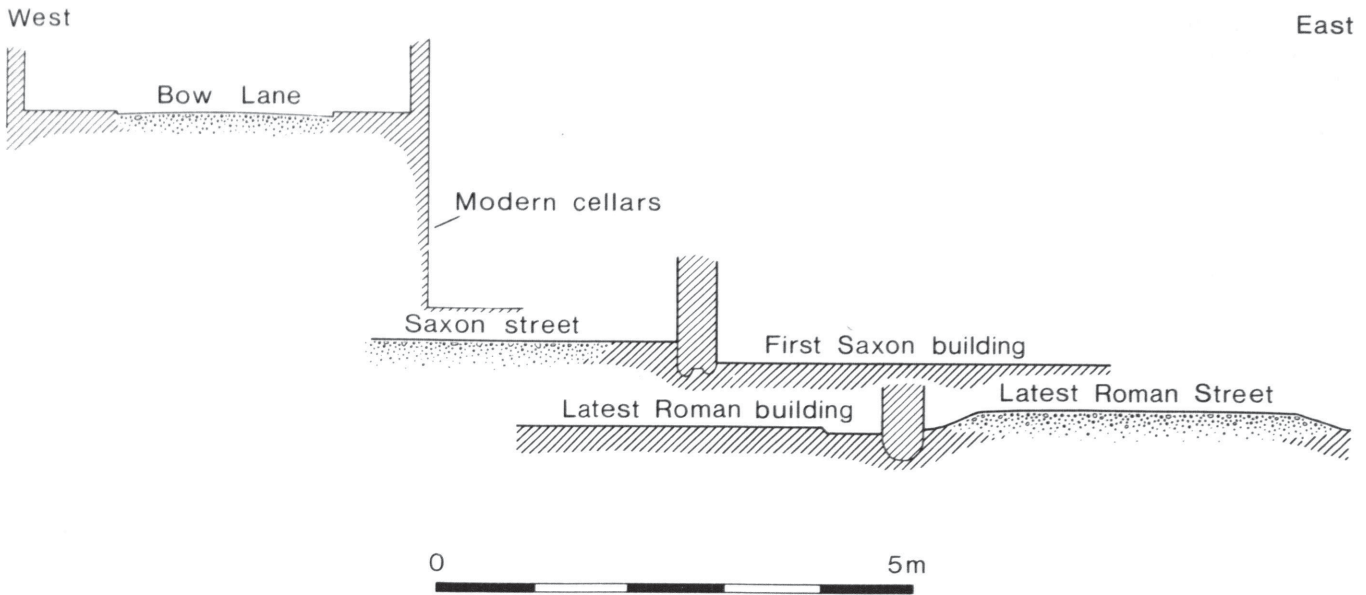
Fig 34   Bow Lane: cross section showing the relationship between Roman, Saxon and modern streets

contain mid Saxon pottery); this itself covered a late Roman building and street (Allan 1985; Fig 35). Undoubtedly the main Roman roads leading from the gates had the best chance of remaining in use and probably survived up to the Alfredian reoccupation.

In summary, the earliest elements in the Saxon street grid were Alfredian, as at Queenhithe, Bow Lane and Botolph Lane, possibly influenced by a major Roman road, as at Cheapside, and by mid Saxon field systems.

By the late 10th century the trading shore at Billingsgate and New Fresh Wharf was being developed for the first time. The detailed examination of embankments at

Fig 35   The Roman road north of the basilica cut by late Saxon pits

both these sites shows that the robbed 3rd century Roman quay had been covered by initial embankments built of clay, rubble and unworked timber sealing a worn silver halfpenny coin of Edgar (959-75), but dated by dendrochronology to 1039-40 (J Hillam pers comm; Vince 1985b, 158-9, fig 2a-b).

At Billingsgate this primary bank had a vertical stave-built front with an inlet held in place by tie-backs buried during construction (Fig 34). A second, also stave-fronted bank was constructed against the first, whose use has been dated by several lead coin pieces of William I providing a *terminus post quem* of *c* 1080 and a dendrochronological date of 1050-70. Accordingly, the probability of a Norman date cannot be ruled out.

Two important points regarding the pre-Conquest harbours should not be forgotten. It is highly probable, though not established by archaeology, that the original structure was pierced at intervals by posterns as a means of access. We do not know whether the earliest post-Roman trading centres on the City shore were positioned at any such existing access points, or whether the wall had to be pierced afresh at these places. In any event, the survival of the wall would have tended to limit the development of trade along the waterfront generally at this pre-Conquest period. Secondly, the extension of these embankments and revetments had to take into account major changes in tide levels with consequent erosion problems. For the extensions and rising of the embankments were as much to do with tide levels as with the creation of more space for berthing and marketing purposes. Of course, if this were so, it could be expected that these successive embankments would be found along the whole length of the waterfront and not just at the trading centres. There are some signs, eg at Swan Lane, that this was the case, though probably not at Custom House and Baynards Castle. However, further work is needed to clarify this position.

In turning now to the question of Saxon buildings, it should be appreciated that in 1973 only three late Saxon domestic buildings were known in London. Today fragments of over 40 have been examined and are now the subject of a comprehensive study (Horsman & Milne forthcoming). Three basic types of domestic building are indicated: firstly the sunken-floored building, secondly the surface-laid building, and finally the cellared-surface building. At Fish Street Hill the latter type was recently excavated, revealing interesting new details. Here the west and north walls of a building dating to the late 11th or early 12th century survived, which were constructed of irregular courses of dressed ragstone and occasional reused Roman tile fragments set in mortar and roughly rendered in mortar on its internal face. It would appear that these walls were simply a lining to the cellar, for they supported the weight of the superstructure, which may have been carried on a timber sill beam laid directly on the ground itself (information N Bateman).

At Pudding Lane just to the south of this building,

Fig 36   Billingsgate lorry park 1982
The small late 10th century bank in front of the first stave-built revetment, looking east. The large baseplate is visible on the left, and protective hurdling is visible on the right

further buildings have been investigated, dated to the middle of the 11th century (Horsman 1985). The earliest structure was the sunken-floored *Grübenhaus* 5.7 m x 3.5 m, and the latest building, dated by a penny of Edward the Confessor (1042-66), was constructed on a timber frame superstructure 5 m x 9 m, as at Fish Street Hill. This building was also distinguished by its own structural detail in having elaborate, free-draining foundations built of mortar, which both helped prevent decay and, because of that, was finally dismantled (Fig 37). At an earlier stage the foundations of this building had incorporated unused lava querns as post pads (Fig 38), surely reflecting the wealthy status of the owner, as did the rarely found fragments of a well made Saxon door. Altogether the evidence here suggests that this site had had a succession of wealthy owners who were doubtless associated with trade from Billingsgate harbour, which this sequence of early 11th century buildings overlooked as contemporaries of the recently excavated waterfronts.

At the harbour itself was seen both the tradition for timber building in the primary, stave-constructed waterfront itself and the secondary reuse of the stave-built house timbers in the subsequent waterfronts.

On the churches of Saxon London there have only been limited investigations, principally at St Nicholas in the Shambles where both the church and the graveyard were located. The latter showed that 94% of the burials (or 153 in number) were in unlined graves with very little use of crushed chalk and mortared floors; only nine burials had stonelined graves. Two burial rituals were noted: firstly placing stones beneath the head, or around or on the body, possibly indicative of the known Saxon graveside ritual of Soul-Scot; secondly the custom of placing a small pebble in the mouth. No pre-886 churches are known in the intramural City except St Pauls Cathedral of 7th-9th century date, and perhaps All Hallows, Barking. It may well be that most of the medieval churches in the city originated in the late Saxon period from the 10th century. These are most likely to have followed the spread of occupation rather than being an initial part of the planned development, though caution is clearly necessary in using them too rigidly as indicators of population levels at any particular period.

Ward boundaries should likewise be treated with care, for while they are probably earlier than parish boundaries they are even less reliable in reflecting population distributions. Beyond the walls to the north and east Saxon occupation there appears to have been little occupation between the mid Saxon and medieval periods, while to the west of the Strand Saxon occupation began to expand. Although the evidence so far is purely documentary in Southwark, which is in the Burghal Hidage, late Saxon pottery and structures have been found in the bridgehead area, the site of the *burh* founded by 886. From pits and a ditch in excavations at Hibernia Wharf there has come evidence of diet (seeds of plums, cherry, cabbage, berries and barley: G Dennis pers comm). The discovery of the ditch which contained, perhapsappropriately, a paddle or steering oar, recalls the events of 1016 when the Danes sent yet another invasion fleet to London.

On this occasion the absence of resistance from
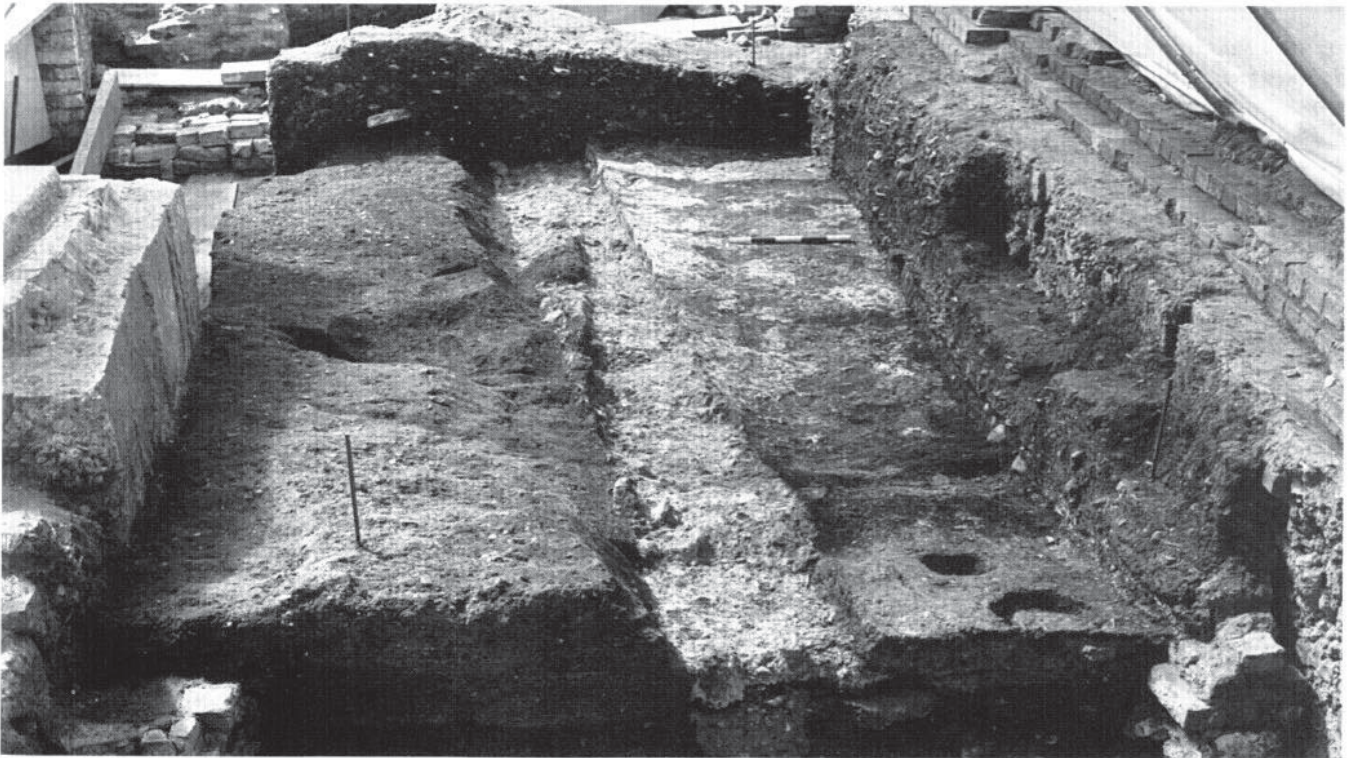
Fig 37   Pudding Lane: late Saxon house foundations

Fig 38   Pudding Lane: late Saxon building with imported German quern stones being used for timber bedding foundations

Southwark enabled the Danes to avoid a frontal attack. As the Chronicle relates, 'They dug a great ditch on the south side, and dragged their ships to the west side of the bridge'. The bridge itself may also have been located, for beneath the medieval bridgehead at Southwark was found a timber structure-sealed by 12th century deposits, which may, when the dendrochronological dating is completed, be shown to be part of the Saxo-Norman bridge.

Recent work on finds

In a recently published study of late Saxon pottery Alan Vince has shown that from the late 9th to the early 11th centuries pottery assemblages were dominated by large quantities of shell-tempered ware (late Saxon Shelley Ware) with little evidence for any development in typology or manufacture to aid dating. By the 10th century pottery supply seems to have been a virtual monopoly of the Oxfordshire region, ceasing in the mid 11th century when the Vikings perhaps sacked Oxford in 1010 (Vince 1985a).

Coin-dated assemblages, for example at Milk Street

and St Nicholas Acorn church, suggest the introduction of early Surrey Coarseware and Andenne-type Ware before the Conquest, probably to replace the late Saxon Shelley Ware. Thus there was very little imported pottery in the 10th century compared to the notable quantities in the 9th and 11th centuries, which may reflect a recession in international trade or an alternative distributive centre on the Thames. In the post-Conquest period glazed pottery was gradually introduced eg Andenne Ware from the Meuse valley and French red-painted wares.

A study of late Saxon textiles has also given an insight into imports of the late 9th to early 12th centuries; the variety of clothes in wool, silk and linen suggests a greater degree of affluence than that from the usual archaeological evidence (Pritchard 1984). Textiles woven from wool comprise 74% of the total assemblage studied, and 14% were of silk (Fig 39). While it is difficult to be certain of the imports of wool textiles, the foreign origin of raw silk cannot be questioned. Fragments of tabb-patterned red, white and blue taffeta, like silk from the city, were probably woven in Byzantium or the Levant, though it is not beyond possibility that they were of Asian origin.

Apart from pottery and cloth-working there is other evidence for late Saxon crafts and industries, which collectively supports the hypothesis that industry was operating on a non-specialist, non-zonal, domestic scale. This is especially true of iron and alloy-working, for crucible and mould fragments are very common in domestic assemblages. The one exception is jewellery-making in the form of decorative metalworking from the late 10th to the early 12th century. London, therefore, was not a major manufacturing centre like so many Saxon towns and, as Vince (1983) has demonstrated, is the only major late Saxon town not to have its own pottery industry.

Imports in the 8th and 9th centuries from Ipswich and from Continental sources (probably Belgium, northern France, and the Rhineland) were replaced by Oxford-shire wares. From this time the absence of imports to London is remarkable, perhaps reflecting an absence of wealth and manufacturing surplus (see Vince ch 12). However by the later 10th century rapid population growth and expansion of trading are attested by the construction of the late 10th and early 11th century landing stages and revetments, and Ethelred II's law code *c* 1000. In 1018 we have a further indicator of wealth of the city at this time, in the largest Danegeld ever raised in England - some £82,000, of which the Chronicle records £10 500 came from the City of London.

Notwithstanding recent large-scale site investigating and research it is still an open question as to whether the Vikings' sporadic control of London strongly affected London's trade and economy. Putting on one side the difficulty of not having the complete evidence in the archaeological record, as a result of differential preservation, it is a fact that nothing has been found recently of real significance which is specifically Viking (Wheeler 1927). However, there are earlier discoveries, eg the 1852 discovery at St Pauls Churchyard of the early 11th century tombstone. a collection of weapons and tools
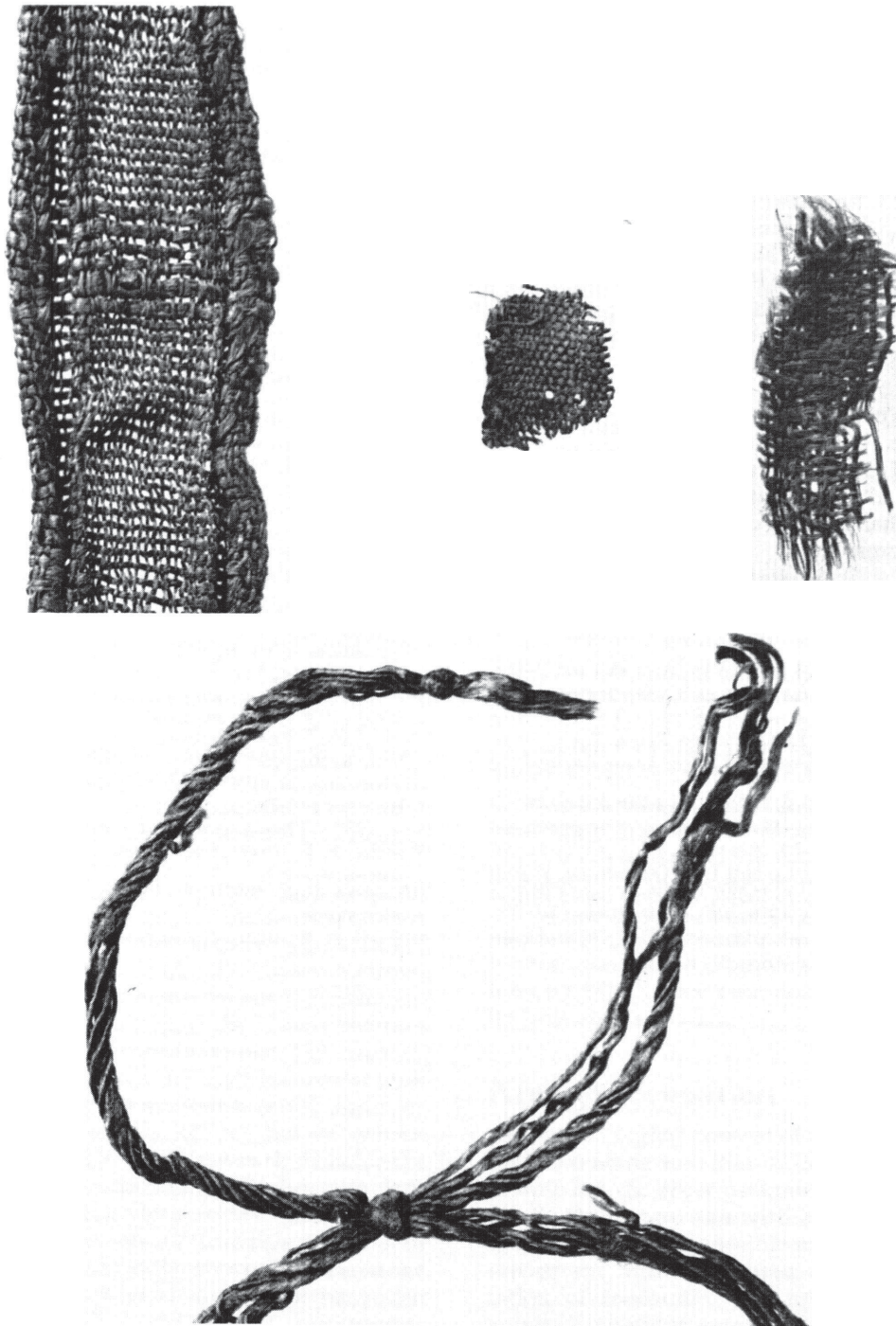
Fig 39 Items of silk recovered from two 10th-century pits at Milk Street, London

a) *Ribbon sewn from a narrow strip of cloth; the uneven quality of the weft yarn can be observed (x 4)*
b) *Fragment of a purpose-made ribbon woven from grège (gummed) silk (x 4)*
c) *Fragment of a red, white and blue patterned cloth* woven *in 1/2 weft-faced compound twill with single, untwisted warp ends, probably made in Asia (x 4)*
d) *Cord plied from twisted strands of yellow silk (x 1)*

(Photos Jon Bailey, Museum of London)

from the bridgehead and a few individual finds such as the Viking stirrup from the Thames at the Tower.

There is also very little specific historic evidence for a special Viking role in London, except firstly, the dedication of six city churches and one in Southwark, which may indicate Viking enclaves and, secondly, the name Husting given to the principal city court.

However, to gain some impression of the London of 1050 it is perhaps appropriate to close this paper quoting the writings of Guy of Amiens *c* 1067 and of William FitzStephen *c* 1173, for they may well also contain some reflection of the pre-Conquest economy. Guy wrote, 'London was a great city, greater in treasure than the rest of the Kingdom' and this emphasis on wealth was echoed by FitzStephen one hundred years later (though undoubtedly partly in retrospect) when he wrote of the luxury goods to be found in London: gold, gems, silk, olive oil and furs.

To close, in this context of London's role as a centre of the luxury trade, the question that remains to be answered is: was London already in a class of its own or were most (if not all) towns at this date also supplying exotica, rather than being central to their regional agricultural   economies?

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12 The economic basis of Anglo-Saxon London
Alan Vince

Abstract

The post-Roman history of London is complicated by the fact that the site served many functions between the 4th and the 11th centuries. In this paper just one aspect is considered - that of trade. It is concluded that there is good evidence for the existence of an urban settlement from the middle of the 7th century, but that the nature of the settlement, if any, in the preceding century is unclear. More surprisingly, there are hints that trade through London may have been depressed throughout the 10th century, although historical evidence suggests that London should have been among the largest trading settlements in England. In the light of this evidence it is concluded that a consideration of the actual functions of these settlements is more important than simply classifying them into two groups - urban and non-urban.

Introduction

Archaeological investigations within the walls of London and, more recently, outside those walls have revealed many facets of Anglo-Saxon London that have greatly increased our understanding of the settlement history. In the present paper, following the theme of this conference, I am concerned not with the total post-Roman, pre-Norman settlement history in the area but with the economic role of London during this period. A place can be a focus for religious and lay administration, as London may well have been, without necessarily being a town. However to say this begs the question of what exactly constitutes a town, or constituted a town in the Dark Ages.

I take as my definition of a town a permanent settlement in which the majority of the population are engaged in commerce and trade. Legal recognition and absolute size seem to me to be optional characteristics, while the economic basis of the settlement is fundamental. It follows from this definition that many features claimed as urban by archaeologists are not. For example the demonstration of production on an industrial scale within a settlement does not make it a town, since the location of production in relation to that of market centres is a feature that may well have varied within the Anglo-Saxon period, as it demonstrably did later. It is also theoretically possible to have industrial-scale production in a non-urban society through the use of periodic markets or a centrally controlled exchange system. Elements of both these methods of exchange can be seen in 11th century England existing side by side with the urban economy.

The question of whether Anglo-Saxon cathedrals were always located in towns has been considered by many commentators, but a cathedral cannot be taken as *a priori* evidence for urbanization (as seems to be the case in discussions of the towns of Merovingian Gaul). Similarly, a king's *tun,* his hall or his officials may have been in a town, or a place that developed into a town, but their presence does not automatically show that the place was urban. One is left therefore with two lines of evidence. Firstly, incontrovertible documentary evidence such as that of Bede, and secondly, a few aspects of the archaeological record.

Documentary evidence

Some records specifically refer to trade or traders in London while others use a placename for London that itself argues for the existence of trade, namely *port* or *wic.* Nevertheless it is clear that alongside the references to London as a *civitas* and similar terms relating to the ecclesiastical and administrative activities of the settlement there are a few records that show the existence of a trading post, to and from which ships came, from at least the late 7th to the mid 9th century. There are no specific references to the existence of traders during the 10th century, but two of the late 9th century have been shown by Dyson (1978) to indicate the division of the south-western part of the intramural city into blocks which, at least by 898/9, were bounded by roads. Each block had its own rights to trade.

Area of occupation

An archaeological control of the documentary evidence for the trading activities of London can be obtained by examining the areas occupied at different stages (Figs 40-3). By comparison with other contemporary settlements it is at least possible to say at which periods the settlement must have been supported by the importation of foodstuffs. The archaeological evidence for successive periods is not equally well preserved, nor is it equally easy to date. At present, however, it would seem from Fig 40, which plots finds of 6th to 7th century date, that the late pagan to earlier mid Saxon settlement could have been small enough to have been supported totally by local agriculture. Only further archaeological investigation will tell whether it actually was so. By the 8th to 9th centuries, however, a much larger settlement is evident, with every likelihood that the whole of the riverbank from Whitehall to Fleet Street was occupied at the same time (Fig 41). It hardly needs emphasizing that only four of the sites shown on this map are the
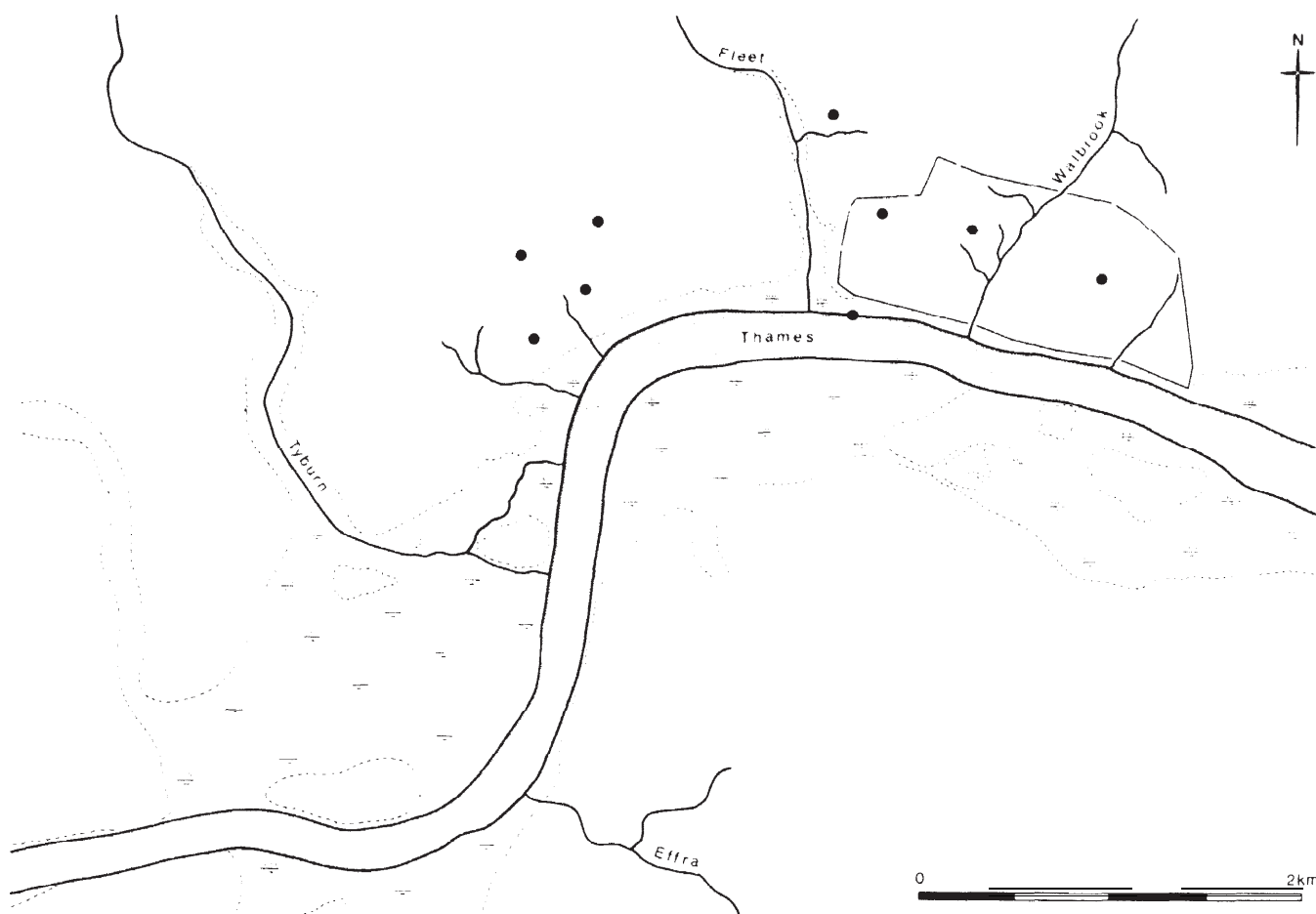
Fig 40   Central London in the late 6th to 7th centuries

result of archaeological excavation, but the evidence, to my mind, is too strong to be argued away.

In the late Anglo-Saxon period the best evidence for occupation is that of the distribution of Late Saxon Shelly ware (LSS) in the central London area, which is limited almost entirely to the walled city (Fig 43). Analysis of the stratigraphic evidence for the date of this pottery in London shows that it was still in use in the mid 11th century but is absent from immediately post-Conquest assemblages. An end date of *c* 1050 can therefore be assigned with confidence. However there is little evidence for its starting date, and attempts to provide a chronology by extrapolating back from the mid 11th century have to rely on unwarranted assumptions about the regularity of occupation in the city. On Fig 42, therefore, is the sum total of our knowledge of settlement in the London area between *c* 880 and *c* 950. Apart from a coin-hoard from Bucklersbury there is no definite archaeological evidence, since the remaining finds could have been deposited later than their date of manufacture. There is no difficulty in fitting the structural sequences excavated at Pudding Lane or Watling Court into this contracted timescale although, to be fair, there is no evidence to show that the sites were not occupied from the late 9th century (Horsman and Milne forthcoming).

The distribution of finds therefore indicates extensive occupation in the 8th to 9th centuries along the Strand and in the late 10th to 11th centuries within the walls. None of this is positive evidence that London was a town in these periods, but it is strongly suggestive. Archaeological evidence for the mooring, loading and unloading of boats is absent, through lack of excavation, along the Strand, and is definitely not present on excavated waterfront sites in front of the riverside wall until late in the 10th century. The earliest artificial waterfront at Billingsgate Lorry Park was constructed in 1039-40. This does not mean that trade cannot have taken place at these places, but it is unlikely to have been on a large scale, since from the 11th century onwards the excavated Thames foreshore gravels contain abundant evidence for human waterside activity. Other evidence for trade has been found, such as metal balances and stocks of goods broken in transit. At Pudding Lane, for example, an 11th century building had a base-plate supported by unfinished Rhenish lava quernstones. This evidence, scant as it is, supports and amplifies existing indications of trade, but is too limited to extend them.

The presence of finished imported goods on a settlement is often used as evidence for its trading contacts but, unless similar finds are absent from other contemporary non-urban sites, these finds merely show the contacts of the society as a whole, rather than the settlement in particular. Valuable imported metal
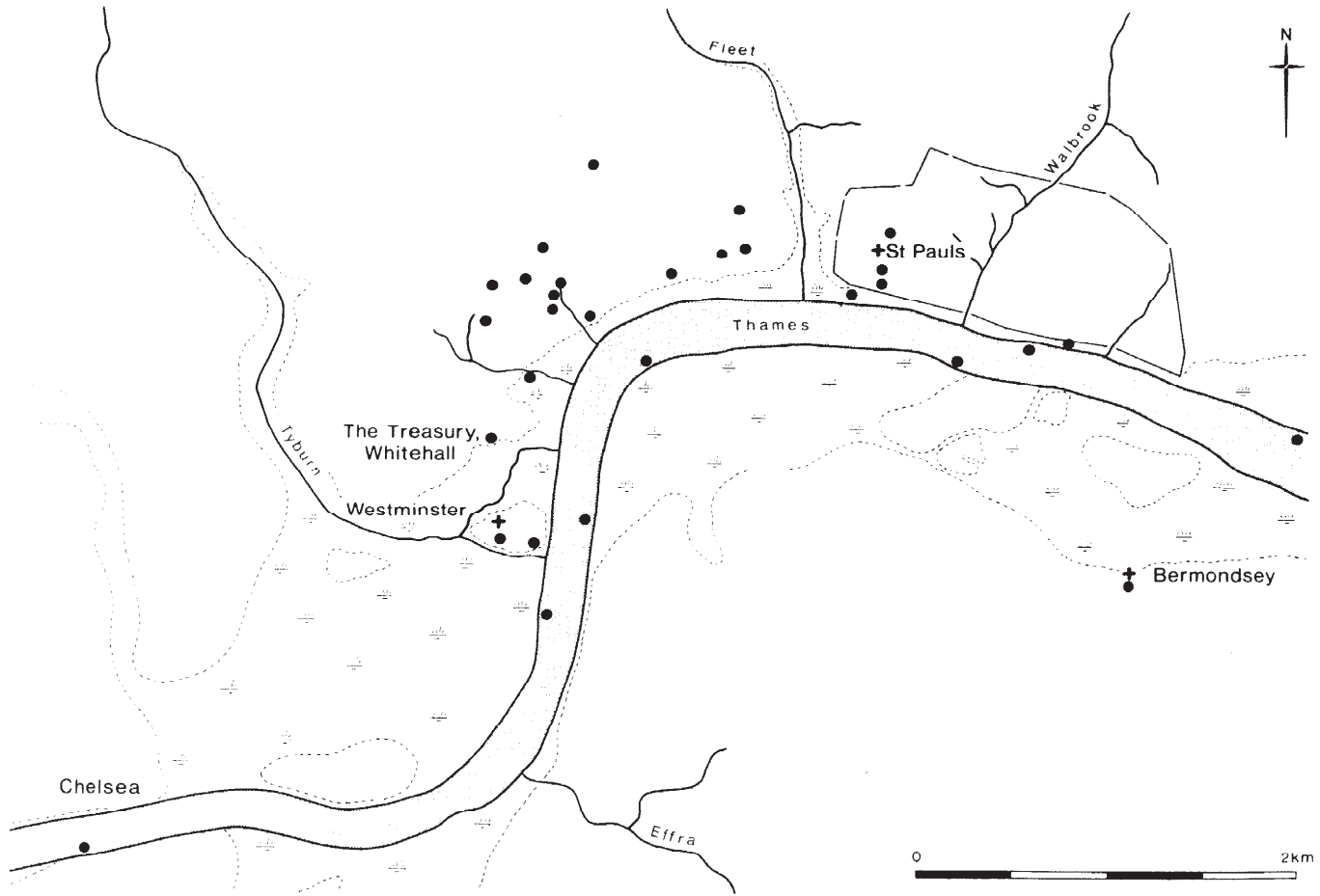
Fig 41   Central London in the 8th and 9th centuries

goods, for example, tended to accumulate where wealth, status and power lay, for example at Sutton Hoo, rather than where they entered the country. Where imported finds are limited to towns they probably indicate the non-commercial importation of goods, for example as personal belongings. This model has been used to explain the frequency of finds of imported pottery in Hamwic and their scarcity on inland sites. It may partly explain the distribution of Ipswich-type ware in the Thames valley, since it seems at present to be more common on the Treasury and Strand sites in London than on contemporary rural sites in the Thames basin.

Goods traded through London

Just as goods imported into London can be used on occasion to demonstrate the presence of foreign contacts through the port, so the distribution of finds made in London, or which can be demonstrated to have been exported through it, can be used to investigate the trading functions of the settlement. Such goods are remarkably difficult to identify. Cloth was undoubtedly a major export item in the late 8th and again in the 11th century, but there is at present no known method of distinguishing London cloth from others, nor is there yet a body of data elsewhere in which to look for exported pieces. London in the Anglo-Saxon period was

an importer rather than exporter of pottery, but it is possible that sherds of Late Saxon Shelly ware and - less likely - the distinctive, mid Saxon, ferruginous, sandstone-tempered wares found in London may eventually be found in the areas with which it was trading. The distribution of Late Saxon Shelly ware, as known at present, is limited to sites that can be reached overland from Oxfordshire - its suggested source - and there is no proof that it was re-exported from London. There is just one class of artefact that can be shown to have been produced in London and whose distribution can be used to chart the fluctuations in London's trade, and that is the coinage.

Coinage

Trade can take place without coins and coins can be minted for non-economic purposes, but the history of coinage in Anglo-Saxon England supports the view that it was used first and foremost as a medium of exchange and as such was peculiarly sensitive to fluctuations in trade. Coinage was reintroduced to England in the 7th century, probably around 630-40, and was initially a gold currency like those in use in Gaul at that time. During the third quarter of the century western Europe moved from a gold to a silver coinage, with England apparently keeping in step with the Continent. The
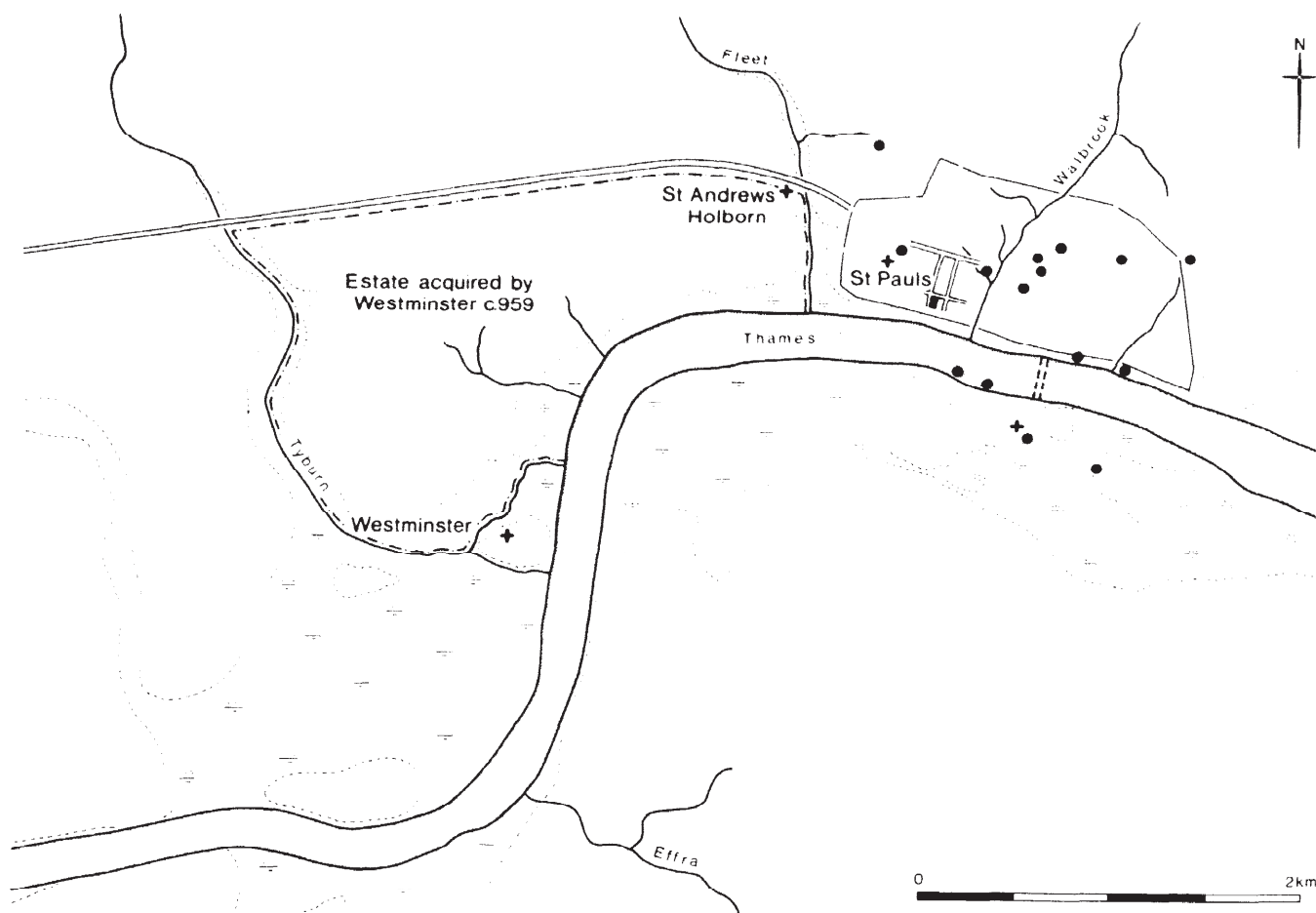
Fig 42   Central London in the late 9th to mid 10th centuries

transition from gold to silver must have taken place rapidly, and several coin types are known that were produced in a range of metals, from pale gold to a pure silver. These transitional pieces were in their turn replaced by the silver *sceatta* coinage in which the silver content was high initially but during the early 8th century quickly declined.

This decline in silver content has been used to order the coins of this period, starting with the primary *sceattas* of the late 7th century, followed by intermediate *sceattas* in the early 8th century and ending with secondary *sceattas* in the mid 8th century. After this there may have been a reversion to non-monetary exchange, or the secondary *sceattas* may have continued to circulate into the late 8th century at which time silver pennies struck on a thin, broad flan, first appeared. The silver penny coinage, like that of the *sceattas,* started with pieces of good metal but slowly degenerated during the 9th century, declining sharply in the 860s with a low point in the 870s. In the 880s the coinage was reformed, and the coins of Alfred and his immediate successors generally have a high silver content.

During this long period it is possible, with varying degrees of certainty, to identify coins minted in London, either because they have a London mint mark or because they are stylistically linked to those of known London origin. There is general agreement about the origin of

the mint-marked coins, although even here it is possible for coins to be copied, mint-mark and all. However there seems to be no agreement at all about which, if any, of the stylistically linked pieces were minted in London. Many attributions have been made using distribution evidence, invalidating the use of the same data for the study of London's trade. Sufficient evidence nevertheless survives this test to make the study worthwhile.

The gold coinage of London would hardly be known were it not for a single hoard from Crondall in north-east Hampshire, dated *c* 650. Alongside imported Merovingian pieces were English coins attributed to Kent and London. Some of the latter have a London mint mark, others are stylistically linked with them, while two die-linked coins not only have a London mint-mark but the name of King Eadbald of Kent (616-40). A study by Sutherland of the dies used for this coinage shows a high number of die links, and suggests that two reverse dies may have been used for every obverse (Table 2). The die links indicate that the coins had not circulated much before burial and also, possibly, that the initial output was relatively small. The total number of these gold coins known is 25, too few for further sensible discussion.

No transitional coins are known with a London mint-mark, but Blackburn has suggested that those known as the *vanimundus* coinage, copying a Merovingian *tremis-*
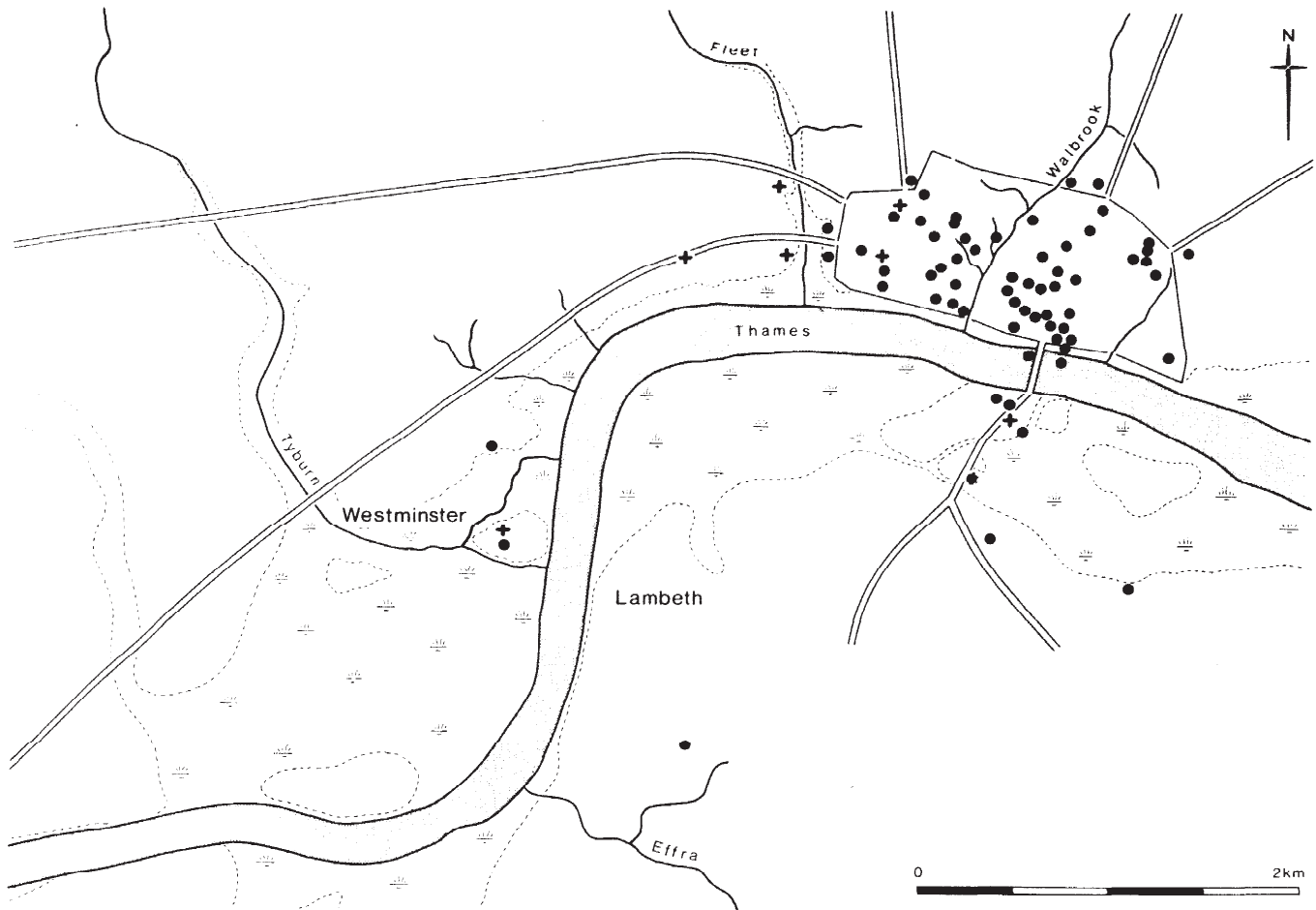
Fig 43   Central London in the late 10th to early 11th centuries

sis of the moneyer Warimundus, may have been London products. Only one, from Colchester, has a good provenance, but there is circumstantial evidence to show that they were in circulation both in England and on the Continent (Grierson and Blackburn 1986, 164). Fifteen examples exist compared with *c* 32 of the *pada* coinage thought to have originated in east Kent.

If it is accepted that *vanimundus* coins are from London, then it may follow that those of the primary *sceatta* series B, which share the same blundered legends as some of the former coins, are also from the London mint. Series B is the most common of the primary *sceatta* series, and examples have a wide distribution, including south-west France and western Jutland (Fig 44).

In the early 8th century the use of coinage spread to East Anglia and Wessex, but there is no obvious successor to Series B, while the variety of *sceattas* found

Table 2   7th-century Gold Coinage of London

Group	Obverse	Reverse	Total
London	1	3	7
Derivatives	4	9	16
Eadbald	1	2	2
Total	6	14	25

(data from Sutherland and Rigold).

in the London area at this time may suggest that local minting had ceased. Late in the Secondary phase, however, come the Series L *sceattas,* some of which have a clear London mint-mark. These coins were probably contemporary with some of the production of Series R in East Anglia, Series H in Wessex and Series Q in Kent, but no direct comparison of frequency can be made because the coinages were not wholly synchronous (Fig 45). Nevertheless Series L is only less common than Series R - 29 against 48 findspots (omitting grave finds and hoards).

It is thought that coins were not struck in London during the reign of Offa, and they only form a minority of the coins struck for his successors. This can be seen not only by looking at the total number of surviving coins (Table 3) but also in individual hoards. In the Middle Temple hoard itself only 3% of the coins found were minted in London (Table 4). The only other early 9th century hoard, from Delgany, Co Wicklow, contains a higher proportion of London coins. It is highly unlikely that the Delgany hoard is typical of coin use in early 9th century south-east Ireland. The similarity of composition with the Middle Temple hoard suggests that the coins were removed from circulation in eastern England, possibly as a result of some Viking raid.

During the reign of Burgred, London seems to have grown in importance as a mint, although the coins

Fig 44   The distribution of 7th century gold and silver coins minted in London

Fig 45 The distribution of early to mid 8th century coins minted in London

Table 3 Numbers of southern English pennies known in 1963

	796-820	821	823	825-40
Canterbury (King)	248	30	27	25
Canterbury (Abp)	37	23	3	7
Rochester	15	21	9	26
Kent (total)	300	74	39	58
East Anglia	53	29	19	4 (+ Aethelstan)
London	32	9	—	10
London (%)	9%	8%	0%	14%

Table 4 A comparison of the Delgany and Middle Temple hoards

	Delgany	Middle Temple
Canterbury (King)	55 (52%)	114 (58%)
Canterbury (Abp)	12 (11%)	13 (7%)
Rochester	9 (9%)	15 (8%)
London	12 (12%)	6 (3%)
East Anglia	17 (16%)	50 (25%)
Winchester	—	4 (2%)

(compiled using data from Blunt et al 1963).

themselves were increasingly of poor metal. Similarly London was one of the mints of Alfred, although its relative importance is not yet possible to determine. By the mid 10th century several statistics for the output of the London mint become available. Firstly there are royal decrees from the reign of Athelstan, giving London the right to have eight moneyers - one more than Canterbury and two more than Winchester. Secondly, the number of moneyers per reign can be calculated from the surviving coins, and thirdly the number of coins from London can be compared with those from other mints in various collections (Brooke and Keir 1975). All three lines of evidence show that London, together with Canterbury and Winchester had the lion's share of minting in the country, despite the proliferation of mints.

The coinage seems to tell us that London was one of the most prolific mints in England from the mid 7th century onwards. Until detailed die studies have been completed, it will not be possible to estimate absolute output. However the relative output is high in the mid to late 7th century, again in the mid 8th century and from the mid 10th century (if not earlier) onwards. In between these peaks there were troughs. That in the early 8th century coincides with an increase in the number of Continental coins, Series E *sceattas,* found on English sites and with a wide variety of English types, few of which have certain sources. Several of these types have been found in the London area, and it is quite certain that the absence of locally minted currency is not an indication of lack of trade. Similarly there is no archaeological reason to believe that there was a decline in London's trade in the late 8th to mid 9th centuries. Indeed it is from this period that the majority of mid-Saxon finds belong, and yet London was only producing a fraction of the output of the Canterbury mint, for example. Since the evidence cannot mean that London was in decline, it must indicate that the economies of Canterbury and East Anglia were booming.

Discussion

Although it was probably minute in comparison with the later town, there is little reason to doubt that by the time the first coins were minted in London it could be called a town. This takes the history of the town back to the lifetime of the first bishop, Mellitus, who had been expelled from London in 617 and subsequently became archbishop of Canterbury. We can tentatively identify settlement in London, both within and without the walls, in the preceding period, but there is no evidence that the inhabitants were engaged in trade, although apparently they did obtain Frankish pottery of late 6th and 6th to 7th century type (Fig 46).

A possible reason for the existence of the trading settlement at London is given by Bede in his tale of the Northumbrian noble who was captured by the Mercians and sold to a Frisian slave trader. The numerous battles recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle would undoubtedly have given many opportunities to obtain slaves. It may well have been from a settlement like London that the Angles bought on the orders of Pope Gregory in Gaul embarked. Other likely trade goods are equally difficult to identify but probably included cloth, raw materials, minerals, metals and agricultural produce (Levison 1946, 4-14). As the trade of London grew, so we might expect its hinterland to develop. Although the evidence is slim, this does appear to be the case.

Non-Roman roadways mentioned in charters for Middlesex can be seen to be leading to London, in one case crossing the Crane at Uxbridge and the other at Watford. In some cases estate boundaries use these roads, showing that the estates postdate the roadway, while the head settlements in two Middlesex estates, at Hendon and Northolt, can be shown through archaeology to have a mid-Saxon or earlier origin. It is as likely on present evidence that in London's immediate hinterland the development of the medieval settlement pattern took place during the mid-Saxon period rather than being a Romano-British survival.

The evidence for a sudden shift of settlement from the Strand into the city presented in Figs 41-3 is compelling. What is less certain is the precise timing of the move. Only one Strand area coin hoard, from the Thames at Waterloo Bridge, must be dated later than 850. Other finds, including coins, could belong to the early 9th century. Within the walls again only a single coin hoard need be of late 9th century date. Other finds could date to the mid 10th century and later. Conversely the documentary evidence relating to a property at Queenhithe suggests that the south-western part of the city was laid out in the last decade of the 9th century and that people living on the newly created estates were intended to engage in trade (Dyson 1978). Numismatic evidence also suggests an immediate transfer of population inside the walls. Comparison of the moneyers' names for Burgred and Alfred suggests that there may have been considerable continuity in the operation of the mint despite changes in political control, fineness of the coinage and the location of the trading settlement.

The problem is not simply an archaeological one of not being able to identify the strata of the late 9th to mid 10th century with any certainty. It is also the case that
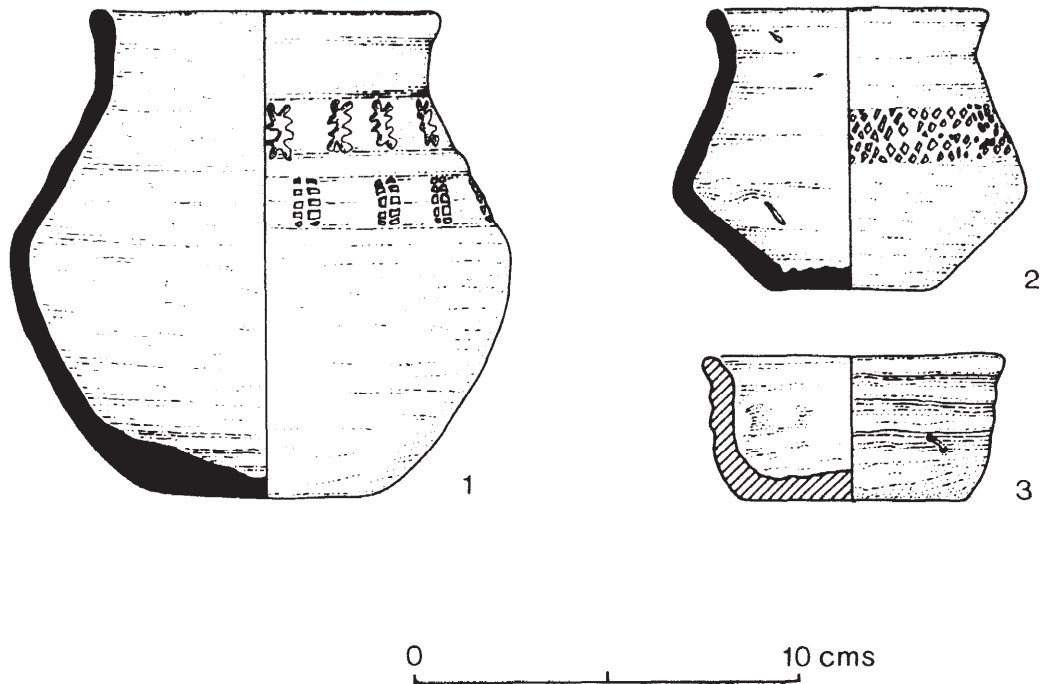
Fig 46   6th to 7th century Frankish pottery from sites in the City of London
1) 7th century greyware jar from Guildhall Museum collection; present in museum by 1908 but no recorded provenance (MoL Accn 4068)
2) Late 6th century greyware jar found at Gresham Street; acquired by London Museum in 1918 (MoL Accn A19828)
3) Shallow dish found at Christ's Hospital (Greyfriars) and acquired from Messrs Norman and Reader in 1912; a reliable provenance (MoL Accn 10368)

there is no continuity in pottery sources from the Strand settlement to the city. It is hoped that somewhere in the Thames valley a site will be found on which occupation continued during this period, but so far, even where both mid and late Saxon occupation can be demonstrated on the same site (as at Wraysbury in Berkshire or Battersea on the south bank of the Thames), there is evidence for a complete change in site use. The pottery supply indicated by the Treasury and Strand sites and confirmed by stray finds in the area is of Ipswich-type ware predominating with rare sherds of black-fired, chaff and sand-tempered wares and even rarer imports. The pottery was obtained from a variety of sources, many of which supplied pottery to London in the Roman period and would do so again in the later 11th century. Between the late 9th to mid 11th centuries, however, the only pottery in use in London was late Saxon Shelly ware. Not only imports but also local wares ceased. These changes are difficult to interpret, but imply disruption of the economy.

By the time of the Norman conquest London was probably the pre-eminent town in England, but exactly when this growth took place is unclear. Different bodies of data give varying answers. Pottery suggests that it was not until the early ta mid 11th century, when Rhenish, red-painted wares first appear. Rare finds of silk, lava quernstones and schist hones stratified with LSS pottery suggest that there was some international trade during the 10th or early 11th centuries. Documentary evidence in the form of the law code of Ethedred II shows that merchants from the Rhineland, the Meuse valley and northern France were in London by *c* 1000. Waterfront archaeology shows that the majority of the waterfront was screened off from the river by the Roman riverside wall until the mid 12th century, although there is also a view that the wall might have acted as a quay, owing to the post-Roman rise in water-level. There is certainly little activity on the foreshore itself until the mid 11th century. Finally Athelstan's decree relating to the number of moneyers allowed in his *burhs* suggests that by the mid 10th century London had the largest trade of any West Saxon town, but whether this was local or international is unknown.

Conclusion

Following the Strand discoveries, few would deny that London was the site of a large settlement from at least the end of the 7th century. The coinage suggests to me that it was the site of a trading settlement by the 630s, while it is also likely that the mint would have been founded following a demand for coinage. This would allow the origins of the town to be placed in the first third of the 7th century or before.

The combined evidence of numismatics and archaeology shows that settlement was continuous in the London area from the 7th century through to the Norman conquest and beyond. It also shows that London underwent a major trauma in the 9th century. After at least two centuries of continuous existence as a

trading port the town was uprooted and refounded inside the walls of the Roman city. The inconclusive evidence from within the walls suggests that it took up to a century for the population of the walled city to equal in size that of the mid Saxon town. It is much more certain that this late Saxon town was initially not dependent on overseas trade for its existence. Despite the lack of archaeological evidence for waterfront activity before *c* 1000, the inhabitants of London were able to pay a hefty *dangeld* in 1018 (10 500 pounds out of a total of 82 500 pounds). London undoubtedly grew quickly in the early to mid 11th century as a result of the upsurge in international trade that affected the whole of western Europe and created many English towns. However the output of the London mint from the later 10th century should warn against assuming that towns could only grow through such trade. Late 9th to 10th century London was still a town, but a different species of town. It may therefore be the case that to define a town by its dependence on trade is not enough, and that there comes a point where even this narrow definition hides more than it reveals.

Acknowledgements

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13 Ipswich
Keith Wade

Abstract

Systematic rescue excavation since 1974 has revealed that Ipswich was founded in the early 7th century. During the Middle Saxon period the town grew to cover about 50 ha, with a street system which has largely survived to the present day. A few Middle Saxon buildings have been excavated, but excavation has not been possible in the 15 ha core area of the town. The lines of the Middle and Late Saxon waterfronts have been identified, however, and excavated, revealing simple timber revetments. On the margins of occupation evidence of field systems has been revealed on two sites.

Middle Saxon Ipswich was both an industrial and international trading centre. Evidence of spinning, weaving, bone/antler working, hornworking, and ironworking is widespread throughout the town but of low intensity, implying a cottage industry. By contrast the pottery industry was massive, supplying the whole of the East Anglian kingdom and beyond with good quality Ipswich Ware. Trade, as evidenced by imported pottery, was mainly with the Rhineland, Flanders, and to a lesser extent Northern France.

The early origin of Ipswich was first realized with John Hurst's study and publication of the large collection of pottery from redevelopment sites in the town (Hurst and West 1957). He identified two wares made in Ipswich during the Anglo-Saxon period. The first produced here was called Ipswich ware, and was dated from *c* 650 to *c* 850, followed by Thetford ware, now known as Ipswich-Thetford ware.

This was followed in 1958 by the first rescue excavation to the rear of Carr Street (West 1963). Although no evidence of pottery kilns was found, stratified groups of pottery were recovered from a series of rubbish pits and a ditch. The Middle Saxon groups included imported sherds of Rhenish Badorf ware. West also mapped the findspots of Ipswich ware across the town, indicating a settlement of about 25 ha (West 1963, fig 31). However it was not until 1974, with the establishment of Suffolk County Council's Archaeological Unit, that a systematic rescue excavation project began in the town. By that time more evidence had accumulated for the extent of Middle Saxon activity, indicating an area of about 50 ha (Dunmore *et al* 1975). The strategy of rescue excavation adopted to characterize the Anglo-Saxon occupation consists of three elements (Wade 1978): 1) a systematic sample consisting of small excavations up to 200 m^2 at regular intervals throughout the known area of activity, to assess the variability of activities; 2) problem-orientated excavation to examine specific elements of the settlement structure such as churches, defences, streets and waterfronts; 3) large-scale excavation to reveal higher level information about settlement organization.

Twenty-four excavations have now been completed in the activity/problem-orientated categories and one large-scale excavation of 5000 m^2 either side of Foundation Street (Fig 47, sites 10/25 and 27). Two further large-scale excavations are planned to complete the strategy (sites 29 and 30). Although the results from the recent large-scale excavations have not yet been analysed, a provisional summary of the early development and nature of occupation is now possible.

There is no doubt that Ipswich was a *de novo* Anglo-Saxon settlement, founded on unoccupied heathland at the sheltered head of the Orwell estuary. The Romano-British precursor of the town, *Combretovium,* lies 18 km further upstream on the River Gipping at Coddenham (DoE 1974, 58-9), and a scatter of small settlements, including a villa, is known within the Borough boundaries, of which only one lies under the Anglo-Saxon town, west of site 11 (Fig 47).

Dating of the earliest Anglo-Saxon activity in the town is difficult, but there is certainly a phase of occupation before the production and use of Ipswich ware begins *c* 650. A handful of contexts, notably from the Lower Brook Street site (site 8), contained handmade pottery and/or imports only. The associated imported sherds, and indeed many other examples residual in later contexts, are assumed to be early 7th century on the basis of parallels from the Merovingian cemeteries of Holland (Hodges 1978). Two inhumation burials, one accompanied by simple grave goods, were found on the Foundation Street/Wingfield Street site (site 27) and a third with an iron knife on the Elm Street site (Fig 47, site 4, and Fig 49b). These are presumably also of the early 7th century. Early Anglo-Saxon settlements are also known outside the town centre but within the Borough boundary, and there is a major cemetery, excavated in 1906, at Hadleigh Road (Ozanne 1962). Little is known of the settlements, long covered by modern housing estates, but the latest (early 7th century) burials at Hadleigh Road may well be contemporary with the earliest activity in the town.

The Middle Saxon activity area, of 50 ha, conforms to the extent of Ipswich ware finds in the town (Fig 48). It is clear, however, that the nature and density of activities within the area varies. Excavations on the western fringe (Fig 47, site 4) revealed a ditched Middle Saxon enclosure but no other features of that date (Fig 49b). Over 50 Ipswich ware sherds were found in the old topsoil, however, which could well represent manuring of an arable field. On the south-east fringe (Fig 47, site
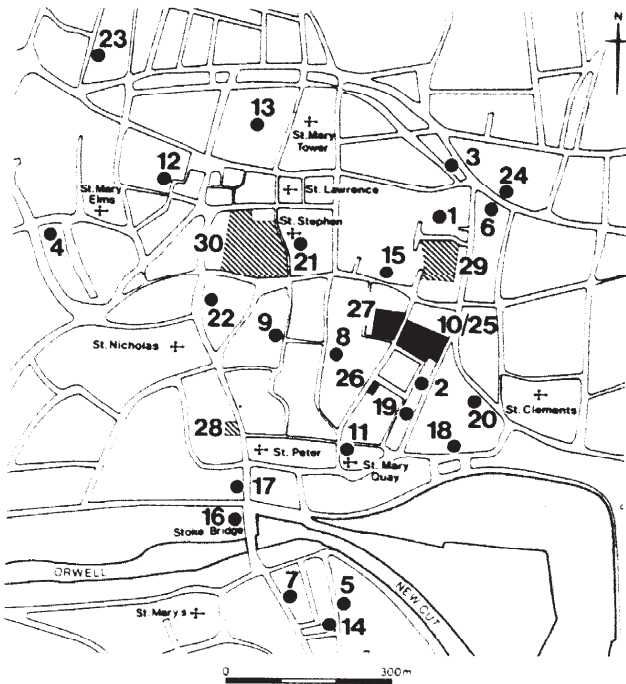
Fig 47   Map of Ipswich showing sites excavated 1974-86
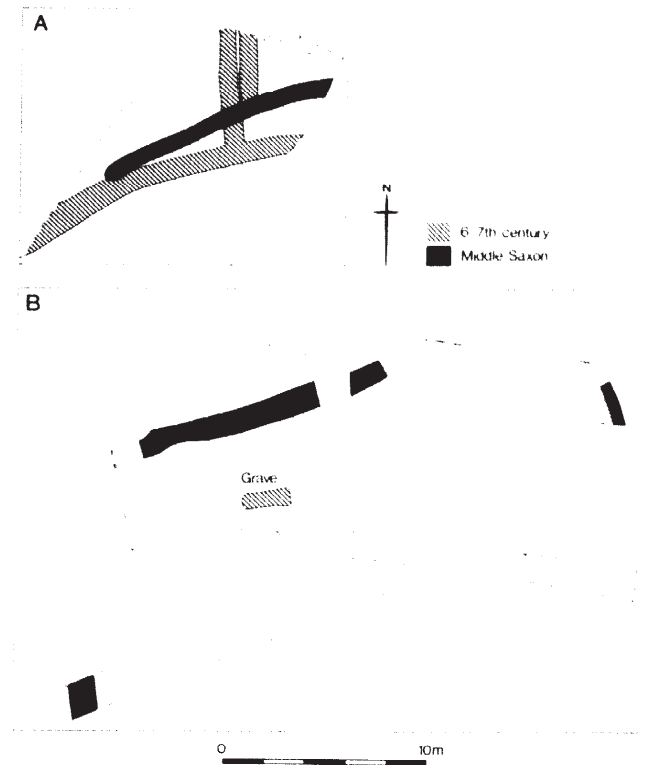
Fig 49   Probable field systems a) Fore Street (site 20) and b) Elm Street (site 4)
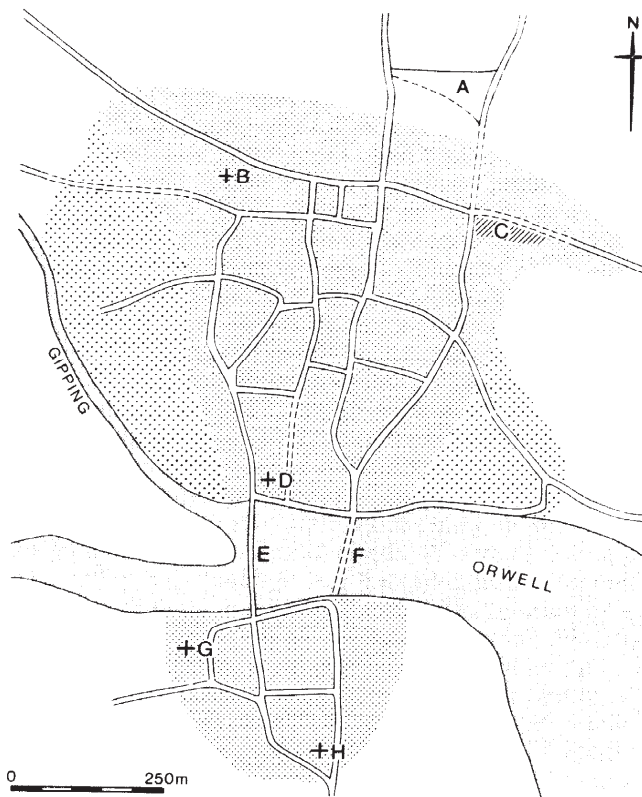
Fig 48 Middle Saxon Ipswich : a) Thingstead; b) St Mildred; c) pottery industry; d) St Peter; e) *Stoke Bridge; f) Ford; g) St Mary; h) St Augustine*

20) a two-phase ditch system, the earliest of which was associated with handmade pottery of presumed late 6th/early 7th century date, and the later, Middle Saxon, again implies an arable or pasture field system (Fig 49a).

The street system hypothesized is basically that of the modern town with all streets of known medieval or later foundation removed. Once the peripheral curving line of streets following the line of the Anglo-Saxon and medieval defences is removed, 'lost' lengths of the Anglo-Saxon street system are apparent, presumably closed when the defences were constructed. The resulting street system is not a regularly laid out grid pattern, other than possibly in the central area. While there is no direct evidence for an Anglo-Saxon origin of these streets, indirect evidence lends support to the model. The likelihood of survival rather than disappearance is strong in a situation of continuous occupation, and the excavation of frontages onto Foundation Street has demonstrated a continuity of buildings fronting it from the 9th century. Excavation also revealed an abandoned stretch of metalled road 5 m wide with two phases of buildings fronting it, underlying the 10th century town bank (Fig 47, sites 10/25 and 27, Fig 50 and Fig 51).

The line of the Middle Saxon waterfront has also been plotted with some certainty using borehole information, and it has been sampled by excavation north-west of Stoke Bridge (Fig 47, site 16). Here a series of timber revetments was found, successively encroaching onto the river. The first two, of Middle Saxon date, were of simple untrimmed post-and-wattle construction (Fig 52). They did little more than protect the river bank
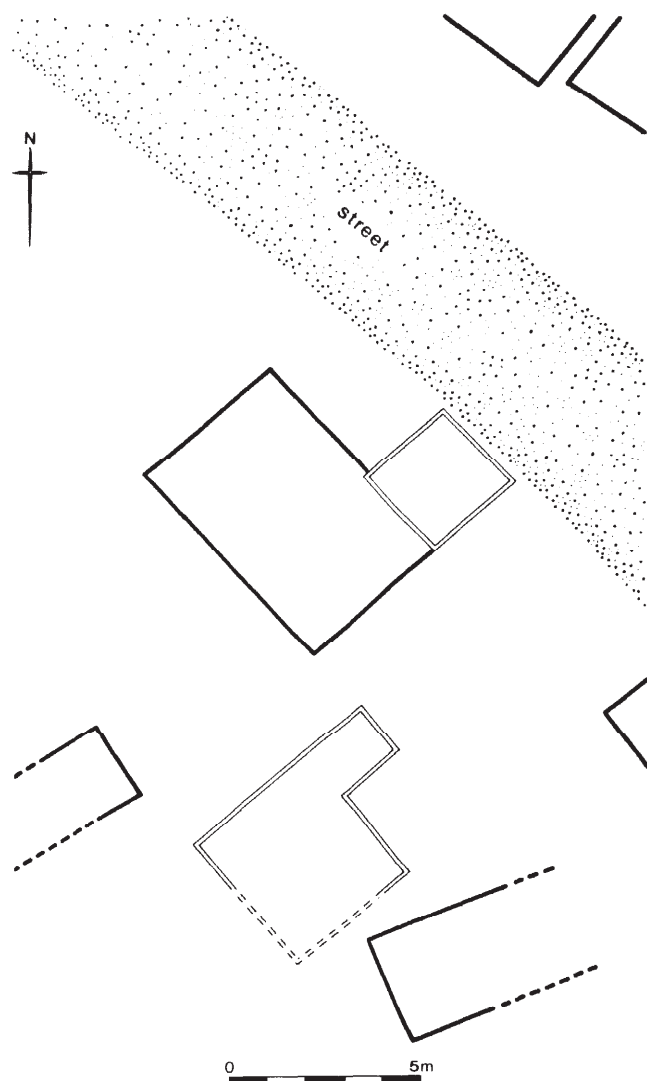
*Fig 50   9th to early 10th century street and buildings -
east side of School Street, site 10/25 (earlier 9th century:
solid lines; later 9th/early 10th century: open lines)*

from erosion and provide a hard standing for the off-
loading of boats.

Little is known of the internal organization of the
Middle Saxon settlement. No obvious buildings were
found necessarily earlier than the 9th century on the
large-scale excavations on sites 10/25 and 27 (Fig 47),
but there is plentiful evidence of other features, namely
rubbish pits and wells (Fig 53), spanning the 7th-9th
centuries. It must be stressed, however, that the only
area where large-scale excavation has taken place is in a
mid-town marginal location in relation to the Middle
Saxon activity area, and the majority of excavations have
been concentrated in the southern half of that area. To
date only two excavations have been possible in the
northern 15 ha with its possible grid pattern of streets,
but a major redevelopment planned for the area should
provide the opportunity in the near future. The two sites
examined in this area to date, at Tower Ramparts (Fig
47, site 13) and Cox Lane (Fig 47, site 1, West 1963, fig
32), both produced remains of Middle Saxon buildings.

The series of small sites excavated to date has
produced plentiful evidence of craft industries and trade
closely comparable with the other early port towns on
the North Sea littoral. Evidence of spinning and weav-
ing, in the form of spindle whorls and loom weights, is
common. Bone and antler working is present, but there
are few offcuts or unfinished pieces, implying only a
casual activity. The scale of leather-working is difficult
to assess. The only waterlogged deposits excavated at
Bridge Street (Fig 47, site 16), contained large quantities
of waste leather, the majority of which were offcuts from
shoemaking. Horn-working is evidenced mainly by the
disproportionate occurrence of goat horn cores in rela-
tion to other remains of the animal. This may also be a
further indication of leather-working, as skins are
thought to have been supplied with the horns still
attached. Ironworking residues are common in the form
of tap slag, smelting debris and fragments of furnace
lining, but evidence of bronzeworking is, so far, absent
from the Middle Saxon deposits.

In conclusion, the evidence for these crafts implies
cottage industry production, fairly evenly distributed
across the activity area. It is overshadowed by the one
major industry, that of Ipswich ware pottery produc-
tion, zoned along the south side of Carr Street, where
kiln waste extends for 160 m, implying mass production.
This is confirmed by the extensive distribution of the
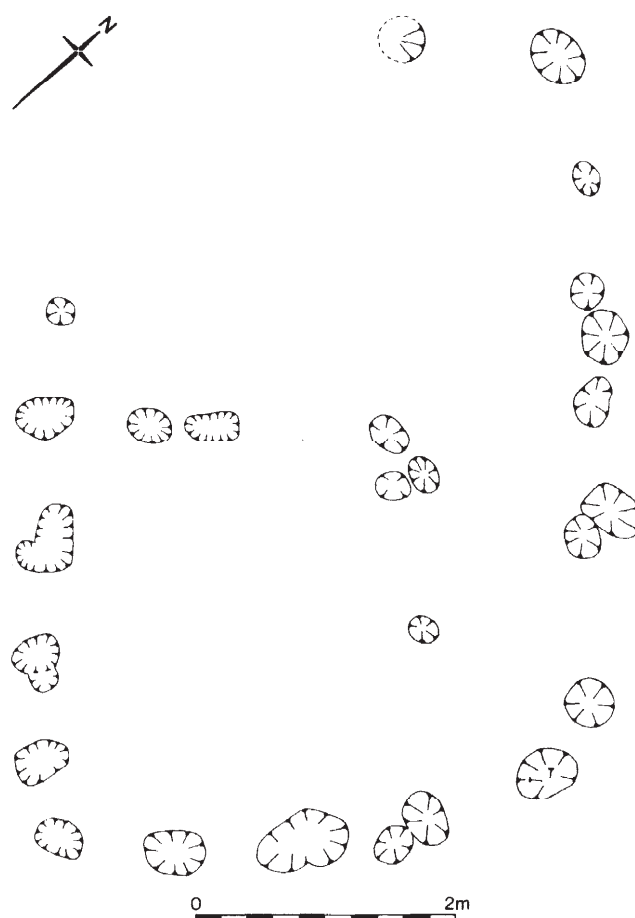
Fig 51   9th century building, School Street, site 10/25
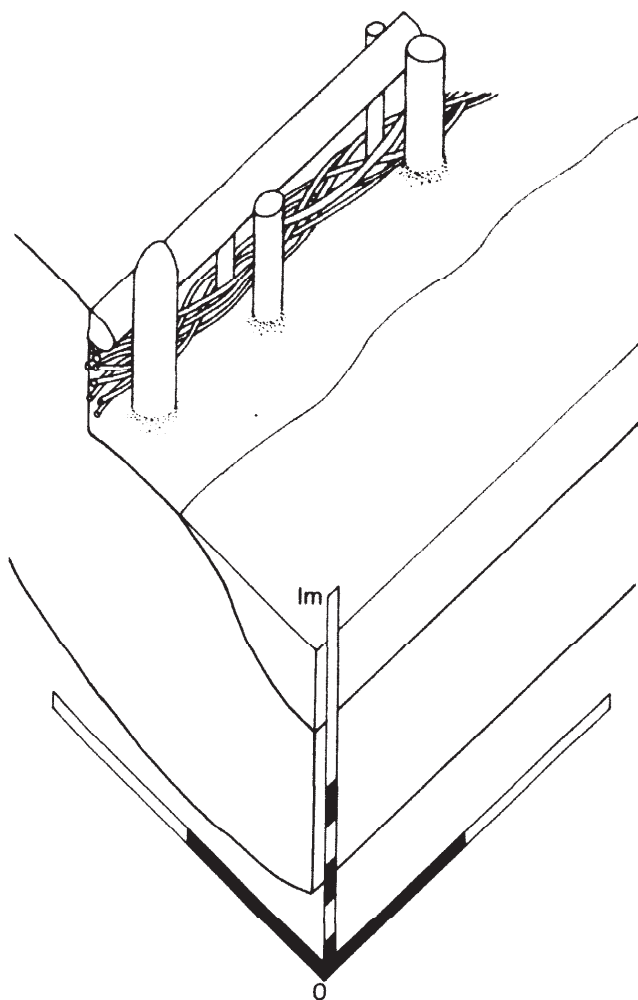
Fig 52 Middle Saxon waterfront revetment at Bridge Street, site 16

product. Ipswich ware is found on every rural Middle Saxon site in the East Anglian kingdom, often in large quantities and, outside the kingdom, mainly on ecclesiastical or aristocratic sites as far away as Kent and Yorkshire (Fig 54).

Ipswich was, then, a major industrial centre in the Middle Saxon period, but it was also an international port. All sites have produced imported pottery, forming up to 15% of the Middle Saxon ceramic assemblages. The majority of wares are from the Rhineland, Flanders and to a lesser extent northern France. The Rhenish wares are soundly attributed to sources in the Vorgebirge and near Mayen, while the Flemish wares are, by a process of elimination, most likely to come from the Meuse Valley (Hodges 1978). Ipswich is equidistant from Quentovic and Dorestad, and the assemblage of imported pottery reveals competitive trading between Frankish and Frisian traders.

The identification and provisional dating of the imported wares is by comparison with the Merovingian cemetery wares from the Rhine delta region, the imported wares in early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, the Hamwic collection and Continental collections, chiefly that from the Dorestad excavations. The 7th century

material includes class 14 Black Ware pitchers (Fig 55, no 1) and carinated vessels (Fig 55, no 2), pitchers in a Rhenish fabric predating the classic Badorf fabric (Fig 55, no 3), as well as early examples of the classic Badorf types such as the flattened rim (Fig 55, no 4), attributed to the later 7th century by the excavators of Dorestad. The later 8th/early 9th century assemblages are dominated by Badorf Ware pitchers and amphorae (Fig 55, nos 5 and 6), but other fabrics include red-painted wares, Tating Ware (Fig 55, no 7) and even a Frisian *Kugeltopf* of a form known from the excavation at Medemblik, Holland (Fig 55, no 8; Besteman 1974, fig 22,6). It is the presence of domestic wares, such as this handmade cooking pot, which endorses Hougen's (1969) view concerning the pottery from Kaupang (Norway) that many of the imports relate to traders and not necessarily trade.

At present it is not possible to quantify the imports by phased groupings within the Middle Saxon period and, therefore, no clear idea of the ebb and flow of economic activity can be advanced. Hodges (pers comm) has advanced the theory of an early 7th century trading peak, followed by a decline from the 630s and a revival during the secondary *sceatta* phase in the 8th century. This 8th century revival is seen as modest in comparison with Hamwic on the basis of the coin evidence.

The number of *sceattas* from Ipswich is admittedly small in comparison with the numbers from Hamwic, but comparable with the frequency of coins from its major trading partner, Dorestad (van Gelder 1980). It is
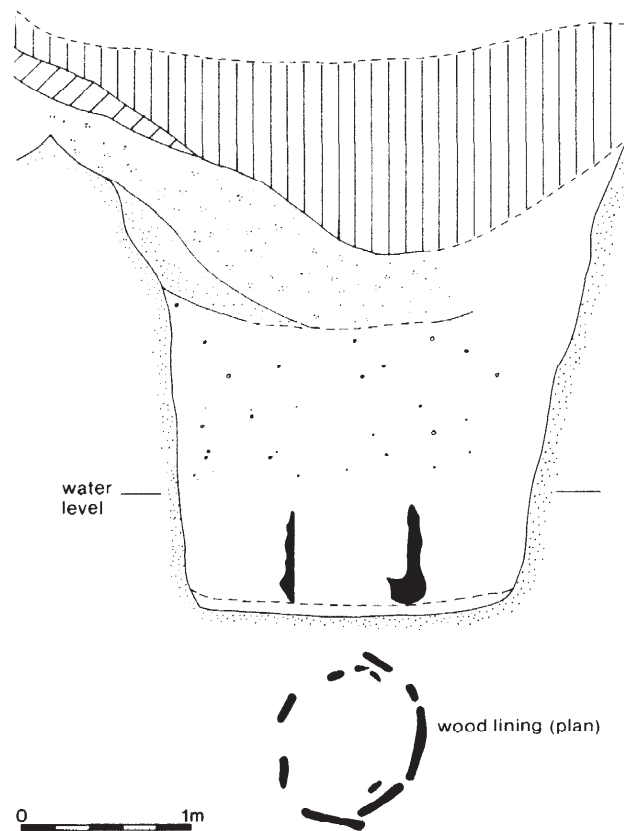
Fig 53   Middle Saxon Well, School Street, site 10/25

Fig 54 Distribution of Ipswich ware

surely the large number of sceattas from Hamwic which requires explanation.

The histogram of excavated coins of the Anglo-Saxon period from Ipswich (Fig 56) appears to indicate two peaks of economic activity, if indeed they are any indication at all. The first peak, around the middle of the 8th century, assumes that there is no tertiary phase of *sceattas* (as suggested at Hamwic) to spread the coins into the late 8th century. This is followed by decline under Mercian control and its aftermath, with a second peak in the early 10th century, associated with the Danish occupation of the area.

Studies of the zoological and palaeobotanical evidence are now well underway. Both studies independently conclude that Middle Saxon Ipswich was a consumer rather than a producer of food (Jones and Sarjeantson 1983; Murphy 1984). It is assumed that rural estates were producing an agricultural surplus during this period in return for craft and trade goods from the town. A perhaps underestimated factor in this equation is, however, the vast acreage of agricultural land within the

Anglo-Saxon Borough boundaries, The boundary, as shown on Fig 57 is highly likely to be close to that of the original Anglo-Saxon half-hundred. Certainly the modern boundary south of the river can be identified at many points on perambulations of 970 and 1352 (Scarfe 1972,129). The land enclosed (some 12 000 acres) could easily have supplied enough surplus agricultural produce to feed an urban population of up to 2000 *(see* Barker and Webley 1977, for low technology agriculture productivity figures). Little is known of this agrarian zone, now covered by the suburbs of the modern town, but four finds of Ipswich ware collected during development schemes most likely indicate small farm sites (Fig 57).

From the later 9th century Ipswich was a thriving town, with a population in 1066 of over 2000 (Darby 1952). The first town defences were constructed in the early 10th century, quite possibly by the East Anglian Danes before 917. Over 30 buildings have been excavated of 9th-11th century date, mostly of the cellared or semi-cellared type, and ditched tenement boundaries are found in the 11th and early 12th century. The built-up area rapidly spread outside the defences, at least in the south-east, where houses were built on what were open fields during the early 10th century. No imported pottery is known from the 10th century deposits, but it appears again during the 11th century. The orientation of 10th century trade appears to be interregional; St Neot's ware from the Bedford area is common in Ipswich 10th and 11th century deposits, and Ipswich-Thetford ware is found in London (Vince 1985, 34).

The two major problems remaining, if Middle Saxon Ipswich is to be characterized and understood, are not peculiar to the town.

Firstly there is the classic archaeological problem of interpreting the volume of activities represented by the surviving artefactual evidence. Interpretations of the Middle Saxon economy have largely been restricted to intersite comparisons, which are clearly necessary to understand the settlement hierarchy and economic system. Interperiod comparisons may also be necessary, especially with the better documented later periods of urban history. In Ipswich, for example, the evidence for most activities survives in greater quantity from the Middle Saxon deposits than from those of Late Saxon date, which are known to represent a thriving town in 1066.

Secondly, the size of the excavated sample is too small. At Ipswich about 10 000 m^2 look likely to be excavated. This 2% sample is clearly inadequate for sound conclusions and comparisons with the other early trading communities. It is interesting that at Dorestad, with the benefit of being about one-half excavated, three distinct activity zones were isolated: an agrarian zone with large farmhouses, a middle zone of smaller buildings in enclosures, and a waterfront zone (van Es 1969; Verwers ch 8). The apparently contrasting evidence from recent work in Ipswich and Southampton must be seen in the context of the inadequate sample size. In my opinion on present evidence the similarities between the two settlements outweigh the dissimilarities. Both settlements have evidence of early (late 6th/early 7th century) activity of uncertain character predating a
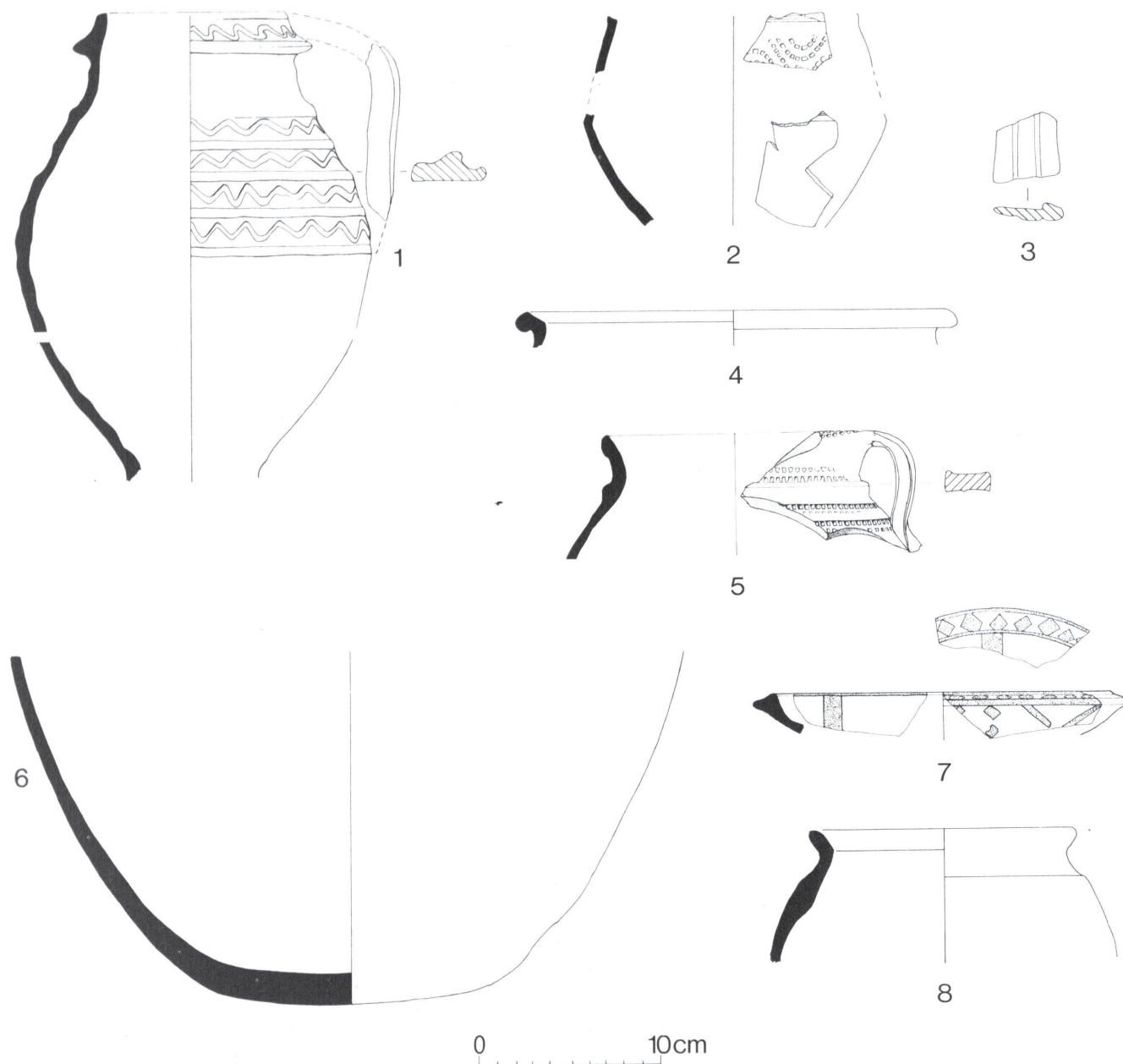
Fig 55   Imported 7th-9th century pottery from Ipswich
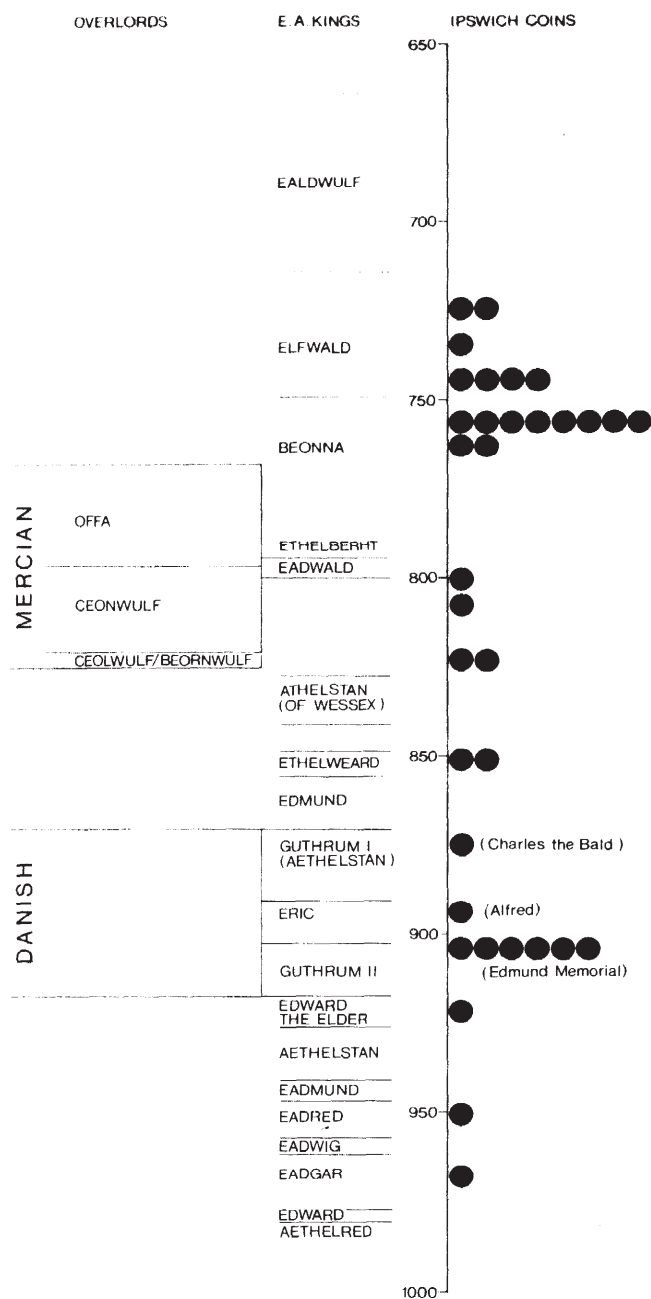
Fig 56 Histogram of Anglo-Saxon coins excavated in Ipswich

Fig 57   The Liberty of Ipswich
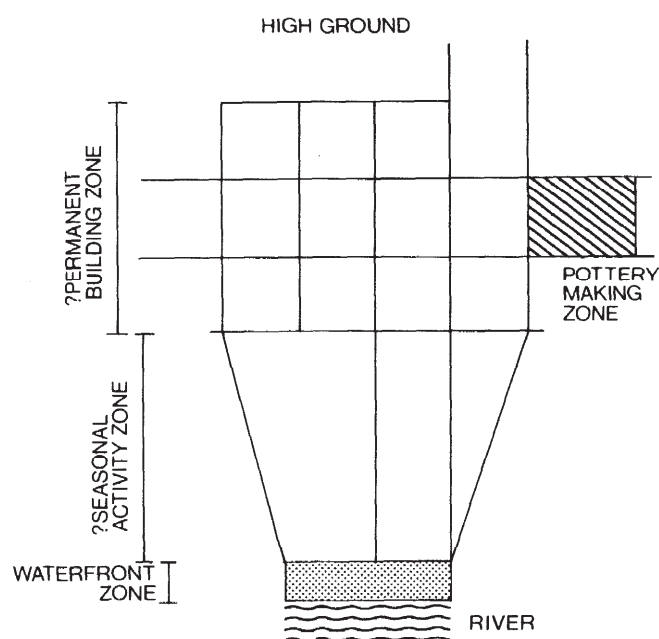
Fig 58   Current model of Ipswich settlement structure

massive craft and trading activity centre. The fact that the Six Dials site in Hamwic has revealed dense permanent building and the Foundation Street sites in Ipswich have not is open to various interpretations. The model (Fig 58) showing the current thinking about the possible settlement structure of Middle Saxon Ipswich could equally apply to Hamwic. It is only through the process of testing such models and their ongoing revision until an adequately sized excavation sample has been achieved that sound comparisons and conclusions can be drawn.

Acknowledgements

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14 Hamwic (Saxon Southampton): an 8th century port and production centre
Mark Brisbane

Abstract

Although there is slight evidence for limited occupation on the west bank of the River Itchen in the decades immediately before AD 700, the vast bulk of the archaeological evidence which has been amassed, primarily since 1946, points clearly towards the origin of the town of Hamwic around the beginning of the 8th century. At that point a regularly laid out, planned town was conceived and built to serve as a port of entry into the newly expanded kingdom of the West Saxons. This paper sets out how recent discoveries have augmented this picture of the 8th century port of Hamwic, but also examines the role which production within the town itself might have had as one of the primary forces behind both the size and homogeneity of the town and the way in which the town functioned as an import-export centre.

Introduction

The setting of Hamwic on the west bank of the River Itchen downstream from its small Roman predecessor of Clausentum (Bitterne) and approximately 0.3 km north-east of the medieval walled town is well known (Fig 59 inset). So too is the story of its earlier discoveries (Addyman and Hill 1968; 1969), its place-name (Rumble 1980, 7-20), and the topographical reasons for its location in this precise spot (Addyman and Hill 1968, 61; Holdsworth 1976, 29). Less well known is the historical context for its location at this time (the late 7th century), but this will be touched on elsewhere in a very helpful paper by Barbara Yorke (forthcoming).

Throughout this paper I am constantly in the debt of work being undertaken by others, particularly for information regarding investigations carried out from 1946 to 1983 (Morton forthcoming), and that carried out at the crucially important site of Six Dials from 1978 to 1986 (Andrews forthcoming), and also to a host of specialists conducting work for the present publication series. I am continually encouraged by the consistently high quality of the archaeological data retrievable from Hamwic, which not only justifies but requires rigorously applied research designs for a host of intriguing questions.

Sample size

Before these questions can be put, it is well worth stating what the actual size of the sample is upon which any interim conclusions may be reached. Since 1946 approximately 4% of Hamwic has been examined archaeologically. In addition a further 2-3% was observed and described by antiquarians from around 1825 to 1945. From 1946 to March 1986, 46 excavations and 65 watching briefs were undertaken; these have covered a wide area within the 8th century town from the extreme north-west to the south-east (Fig 59). Only the waterfront area itself remains completely unexamined and part of the area to the north-east underexamined.

Extent of archaeological survival

Hamwic's archaeology has benefited from the fact that from a date probably around AD 1000 most of Hamwic had reverted to fields, and the consequent agricultural activity was seldom intense (probably mostly pasture and orchards). While there is documentary evidence for sparse medieval plots, particularly along present-day St Mary Street, then called Bradwey or Broadway (Blake 1981, lxxxi), there was little occupation of a kind to destroy archaeological deposits until around 1830 when the area began to be settled intensively, immediately before the coming of the railway in 1840 and the opening of the first of the 19th century dock developments. The basements of some of the Victorian terraced houses removed a certain amount of the deposits, but more damaging was the systematic removal of large quantities of the local clay (brickearth) for brick-making which took place particularly in what we now know was the central area of Hamwic (see for instance Holdsworth 1980, 20-2). This brickearth digging removed much of the evidence for buildings, but the bottom fills of pits and wells survive.

However in some areas of Hamwic 19th century brickearth digging did not take place, and it is in these areas that the evidence for timber structures survives, augmenting the remains extracted from the ubiquitous pits. The evidence from Six Dials is particularly important in this regard, as here the remains of over 60 buildings have been examined along with streets, backyard areas, fence lines, and the town's boundary ditch.

A point worth stressing here is that the pit evidence helps to act as a control, monitoring the amount of variability from one point of Hamwic to another. Furthermore this evidence points conclusively to the general homogeneity of the character of occupation throughout all sites so far examined within Hamwic - a homogeneity which applies equally to production, technology, diet, domestic refuse, access to resources, and the distribution of imported goods. The density of pits, and thus by inference occupation, is remarkably
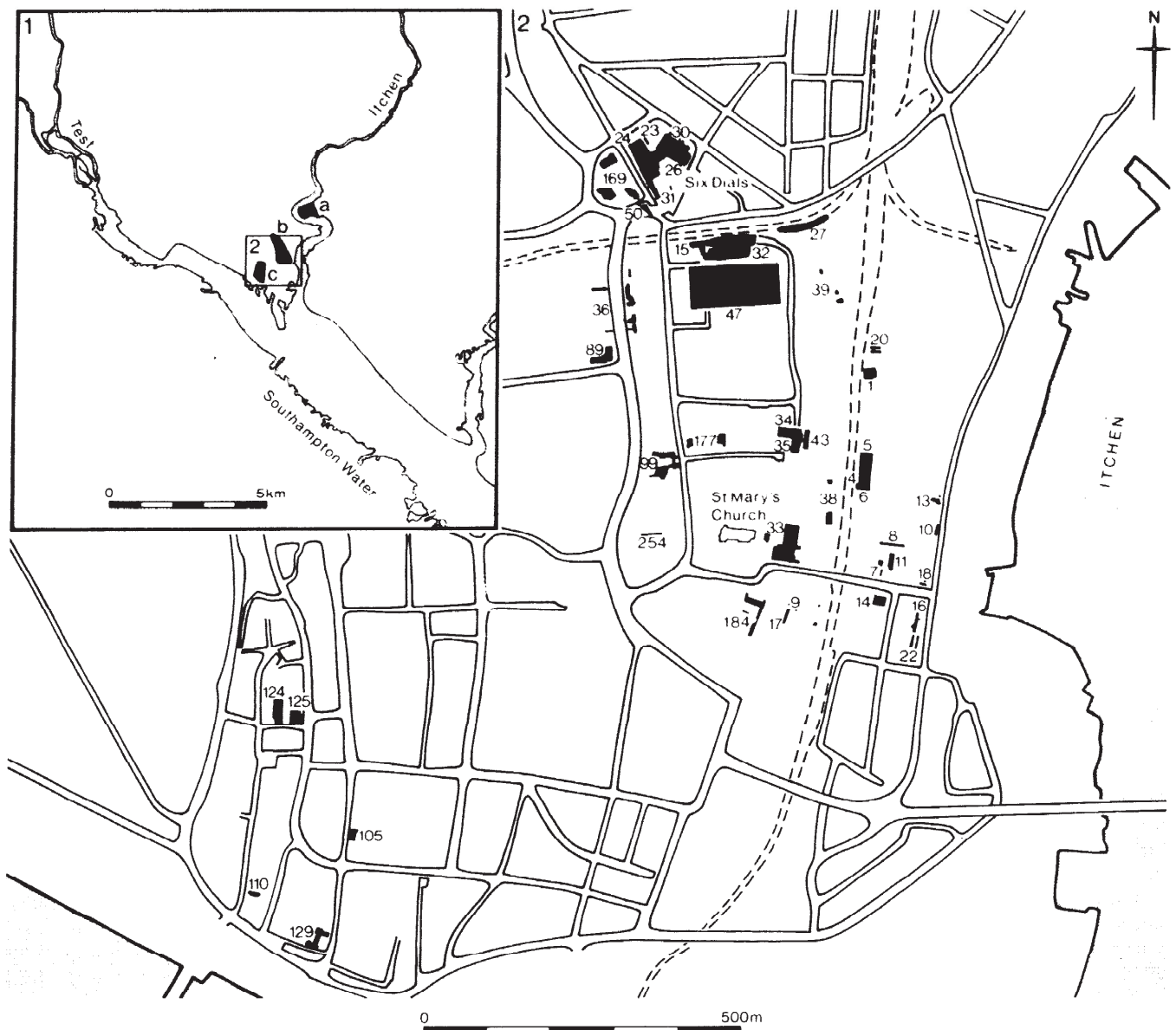
Fig 59   Saxon Southampton: Map 1 shows the location of a) Roman Clausentum, b) Saxon Hamwic, and c) the area of the medieval walled town of Southampton. Map 2 shows the major excavations and observations within Hamwic up to 1986 together with the sites (SOU 105, 110, 124, 125, and 129) which have produced evidence for the proposed late Saxon ditch (see Fig 60)

uniform too, suggesting an even density of buildings, although it can never be conclusively proved without the remains of the buildings themselves. The few real exceptions to this uniformity of pit density may indicate a relatively open space immediately back from the waterfront, and limited occupation in the southernmost part of Hamwic along its southern edge.

Size of Hamwic

One of the primary aims of research in the early 1980s was to define the limits of Middle Saxon occupation. This has been achieved by paying particular attention to observations and excavations on or near the expected boundary areas. This has enabled us to state that

Hamwic covered between 42 and 45 ha. Until 1983 it was assumed that no marker indicated the edge of the town, but this was shown to be incorrect when excavations at Six Dials (SOU 169) uncovered a boundary ditch (Andrews forthcoming). The pottery evidence from the primary fill of the ditch indicates an early date within the Hamwic chronology for the digging of the ditch (Timby 1988). A date around AD 700 is postulated, and this is confirmed by scattered coin finds in its upper fill (Metcalf 1988). A ditchlike feature has also been identified by a magnetometer survey to the south of Six Dials, where the edge of Hamwic runs through present-day Hoglands Park (Grimley in Morton forthcoming). The boundary ditch has also been identified at a recent site in the south-west corner of Hamwic in the Cook

Street area (SOU 254). It is important to recognize here that this ditch is not defensive - there was no trace at Six Dials of either an internal or external bank. Furthermore, as the town is low-lying and inherently undefendable, the ditch would appear to be primarily a boundary between the built-up town and its surrounding fields. Within 20 to 30 years the ditch was backfilled, but a fence line was erected over it on a similar alignment, presumably to maintain the boundary of the town's edge.

Examining the edge of Hamwic and, more precisely, measuring the fall-off to that edge have enabled us to be much more accurate in discussing the size of the 8th century town. For instance it has been possible at Six Dials and elsewhere to compare the density of pits immediately inside the town with the density immediately outside. While showing no indication of a fall-off to the edge, once the edge is reached the number of pits decreases drastically - approximately three times the number of pits were dug inside the ditch at Six Dials as opposed to a similar area examined outside the ditch.

Chronology of Hamwic

The boundary ditch would appear to be an early feature, presumably contemporary with the laying out of the first gravelled streets within Hamwic. These are mostly laid down on clean, previously undisturbed brickearth, occasionally with the odd stakehole beneath, but very rarely if ever with any substantial evidence for prior occupation. In the excavations at Six Dials it was determined that the major north-south street had its first gravel surface put down before the east-west streets were surfaced. However the length of time between these two events is probably not long, perhaps a few years or less, as otherwise occupation below the east-west streets would have been encountered. Interestingly the two east-west streets examined at Six Dials run almost to the edge of the boundary ditch - the northerly one ceasing 7 m from its edge, the southerly one 11 m. Furthermore Andrews has suggested that the southerly one could well continue in at least one phase as an unsurfaced track up to and across the boundary ditch. This all points to a planned layout of ditch and streets in one overall concept and not to organic growth.

The buildings which front on to these streets and those which are occasionally located in backyard areas also help with the chronological details of the origins of Hamwic. A coin found in a layer associated with a phase I building fronting on to the north-south street has been attributed to Aldfrith of Northumbria (reigned AD 685-705) by Metcalf (1988). The excellent condition of this coin argues against its date of deposition much beyond AD 710.

Likewise a dendrochronological date from timbers in a square-shafted well helps support the argument that Six Dials was occupied in the early 8th century (Hillam 1985, 24-5). Hillam (in Andrews forthcoming) has recently revised the dates for the well to between AD 695 and 733 at the 95% confidence level. Of equal importance here is the fact that as the timbers were radially split from the same tree trunk there is little possibility of their reuse. The general date of the coins and pottery

support this chronology for all of Hamwic, not just Six Dials, located as it is in the north-west corner of Hamwic and a kilometre away from the waterfront area.

As to the timespan of Hamwic, it is now evident that there is no archaeological evidence for a decline in the 3rd quarter of the 8th century followed by a resurgence in the early 9th century, as has been suggested elsewhere (Hodges & Whitehouse 1983, 98). The previously highlighted 'gap' in the coinage between *sceattas* and pennies (Hodges 1981, 45-6) may be more imaginary than real, and the character of occupation, its density, and its homogeneity show no sign of altering until the second or even third quarter of the 9th century. The new *sceatta* chronology proposed by Andrews and Metcalf (1984) is helpful here.

At a date still relatively imprecise but probably around AD 850 a gradual depopulation of the Hamwic area began. The character of occupation changed throughout the next 50 years with occasional pit digging still taking place up to AD 900 or thereabouts. No new buildings can be identified with this period.

From around AD 900, or perhaps slightly earlier if it coincided with the revised date of the burghal hidage, the focus of occupation shifted to higher, more defendable ground some 0.5 km to the south-west of Hamwic (Fig 60). By this time the role of long-distance trade had greatly diminished and, like numerous other coastal or near-coastal settlements of the 10th century, the newly occupied area displays little evidence for long-distance trade during this period. However the dearth of imports throughout 10th century England is a recognizable phenomenon and one which certainly warrants further
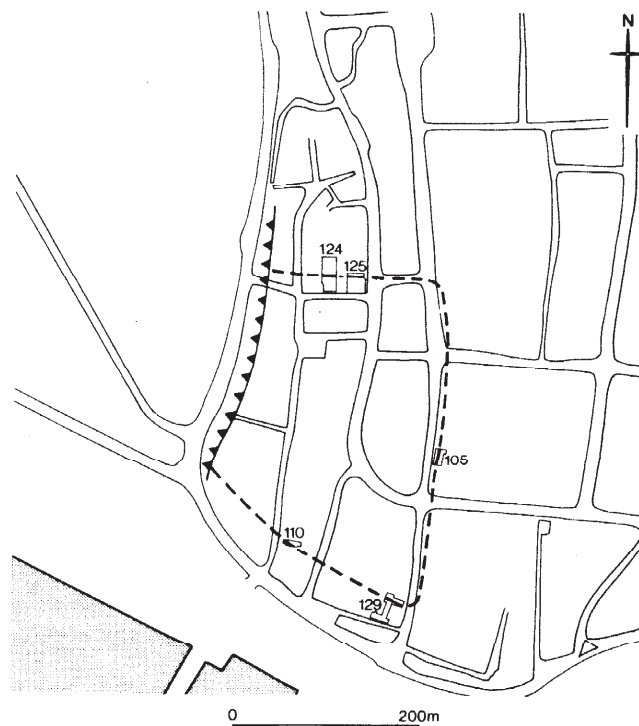
Fig 60   Saxon Southampton: The suggested late Saxon ditch. The area to the north of this ditch has also produced occupational evidence of late 10th and 11th century date

archaeological attention. In this regard it is worth noting that late Saxon Southampton is virtually unique, I believe, in having some evidence for Continental pottery of 10th century date (Brown forthcoming), in this case from Normandy. This is not the place for a full discussion of late Saxon Southampton especially as the topic has been reviewed elsewhere (Holdsworth 1981, 331-43) and will be covered extensively in a Southampton Museum monograph (Oxley 1987).

The street pattern

To date at least eight gravelled streets, believed to be of Middle Saxon origin, have been identified. The evidence for these is presented in detail elsewhere (Morton forthcoming), but taken together they form a proto-rectilinear pattern consisting of three north-south streets and at least six interconnecting east-west streets. The original system could have had up to fourteen or so interconnecting east-west streets, but it is very unlikely that further north-south streets remain to be discovered (Fig 61). In addition there are numerous gravelled paths and surfaces which may have acted as relatively short-lived routes or yards. These are usually clearly distinguishable from the streets themselves which were maintained, resurfaced and occasionally fenced off from the buildings which fronted on to them, perhaps to prohibit pit digging in street surfaces.

When surfaced or resurfaced, it appears that the streets were often laid down in uniformly sized gravel, although there is also evidence for patching pot-holes and wheel-ruts from time to time. The east-west streets at Six Dials were resurfaced at least twice each, while the north-south street had at least ten surfaces.

The buildings and their occupants

The evidence from Six Dials, where the plans of over 60 buildings have been recovered, shows a remarkable uniformity in the overall size of the buildings, if not in their building technique. Discounting a small number of workshop structures, the majority of the buildings were 4-5 m wide and up to 12 m long. No buildings were sufficiently large to warrant describing them as of a higher social status (Fig 62).

Where evidence for doorways exists, this is usually in the middle of the long sides, although some buildings with an internal partition show doorways offset along their lengths. Internal hearths contemporary with structures sometimes survive. While it is supposed that most of these non-workshop structures were occupied primarily by families, there is some evidence to suggest that they were part domestic dwelling, part workshops. When discussing the demography of Hamwic, this point is obviously of paramount importance as the composition of the average household greatly affects any population estimates.

A salutary warning here comes from the largest graveyard yet examined in Hamwic (SOU 13) where the ratio of adult males to females was 2 : 1 (Thomson in Morton forthcoming). This figure, comparable to that from Continental sites such as Hedeby and Trelleborg (Randsborg 1980, 80), may suggest that the population

of some trading centres was mostly male, that is not family-based but trader and producer-based. This might also explain the relatively small number of burials so far encountered, as a transient population, even of great size, would presumably leave fewer dead than a permanently settled population. Alternatively a large Middle Saxon graveyard could have surrounded a possible minster church in Hamwic. Such a church was referred to in a charter of AD 1045 as 'thaet mynster aet Wic' (Kemble 1846, 96). Crawford (1949, 46) identified this reference with the present church of St Mary's, which maintained the right of burial for the subsequent population of Southampton throughout the medieval and post-medieval periods.

Production

A great deal of evidence for production has been recovered from excavations in Hamwic. The total list of crafts and industries for which direct evidence for on-site manufacture now exists is as follows: ironworking (mostly smithing, but perhaps also smelting), copper-alloy working, leadworking, goldworking (including mercuric gilding), bone and antler working, wool processing, textile production, leatherworking, glassworking (if not glassmaking: see Hunter and Heyworth forthcoming), woodworking, and butchery.

In addition the numerous fragments of quernstones suggest that grinding corn went on throughout the town, presumably on a house-by-house basis. Indirect evidence for the manufacture of pottery is borne out by the fact that the majority of pots *(c* 80%) are made from the local brickearth (Timby 1988), and by the presence of pot dies of bone and antler. The Hamwic series of *sceattas* indicates minting and perhaps associated silver working.

The juxtaposition of many of these industries suggests that the scale and consequent organization of production had not reached the stage at which craftsmen and women practising the same skill congregated together, as they did from the late Saxon period onwards. In short, although there is evidence for a greater variety of crafts having been practised at Hamwic than at any other place in Middle Saxon England, there is no apparent difference in the organization of production from that of any Middle Saxon village.

Yet the picture which emerges is one of more than just a series of industries providing goods for a local population. Although no doubt some goods were produced solely for use and consumption within the town, it is difficult to understand why such a large place - both in terms of physical size and population - would have been required if it served only as a port of entry/exit for goods destined for somewhere else. As it is quite clear that imported goods (pottery, quernstone, whetstone and glass fragments) were widespread throughout the town, some of these commodities were obviously intended for local consumption. There are a number of possible explanations of which two are examined here.

One, the foreign enclave theory, favoured in the past by Hodges (1982, 90-3) and giving rise to the question of seasonality invokes transient foreign traders as the explanation for the presence of some of these foreign

Fig 61   Saxon Southampton: A reconstruction drawing of how Hamwic may have looked in the mid 8th century (drawing by John Hodgson)

commodities, and would see the production side as secondary - predominantly industries serving the traders. Two arguments partly contradict this explanation. Firstly, if this theory was correct, one would expect

concentrations within the town of imported goods favoured by particular foreign traders. While there is some very slight evidence for this with regard to one aspect of bone-comb making (Riddler forthcoming),
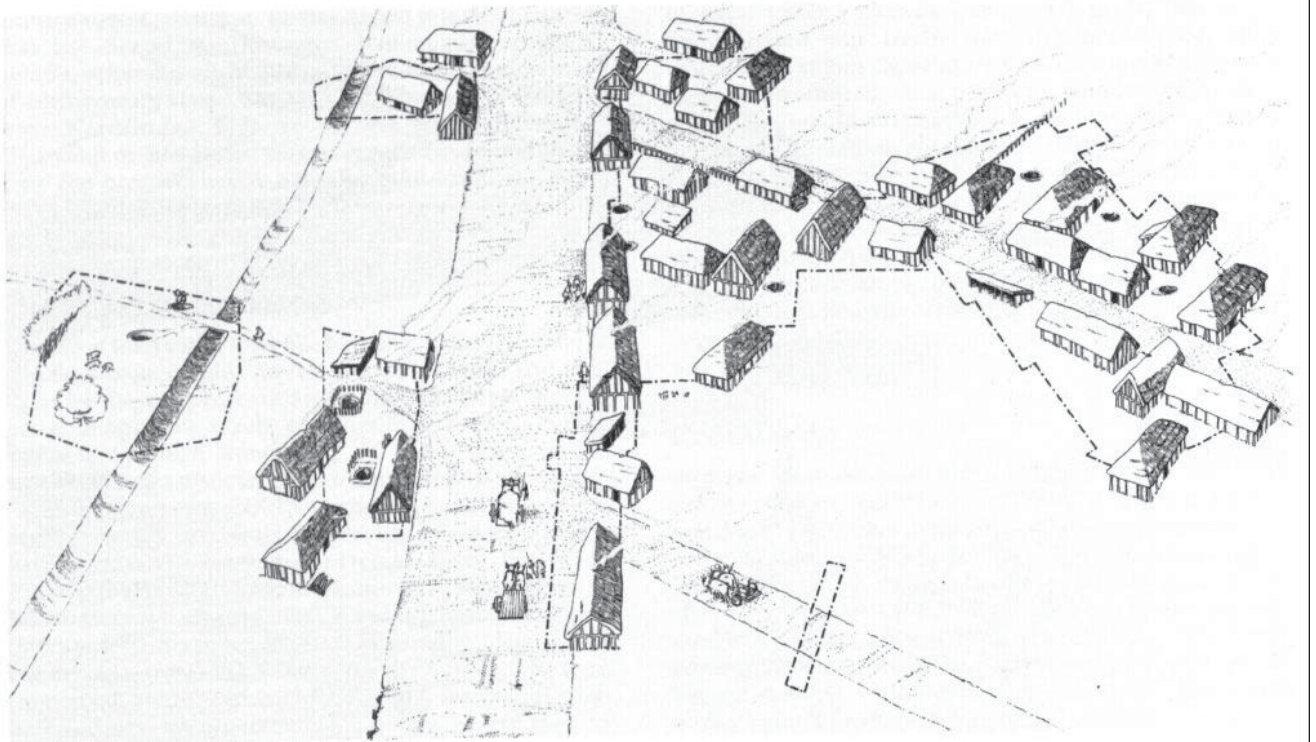
Fin 62   Saxon Southampton: A reconstruction drawing of the Six Dials area of Hamwic as it may have looked in the mid 8th century (drawing by John Hodgson)

there is little other evidence for this. As to seasonality, this is categorically not in keeping with the archaeological evidence, which shows no sign at all of periods of desertion (Andrews forthcoming; Morton forthcoming).

The other explanation would see the production side of Hamwic as of primary importance, designed to produce and prepare commodities for export. A small number of commodities, particularly wool and possibly leather, must have been the staple exports of Hamwic. Artefactually this is borne out by the large number of spindle whorls, bone needles, thread pickers, and the presence of iron woolcombs. This primary process of manufacturing yarn from wool is perhaps more evident than that of yarn to textiles, although numerous loomweights have been found throughout Hamwic. The age of sheep further supports this argument (Bourdillon and Coy 1980, 110-11; Bourdillon in press).

This explanation would draw a distinction between a place like Hamwic and other ports of entry like the Canterbury/Wantsum channel area. The former required a settled population to help produce goods for export, while the latter did not and functioned as a port only. In this explanation control is again evident at Hamwic, and it is interesting to speculate that the formalization of this control may have been reflected in the administrative function of Hamtun. While completely accepting Rumble's (1980) explanations of the wic *versus* tun phenomenon, it has always appeared to the writer to be a weakness of our archaeological and historical models that they do not accept the duality of

the port and administrative centre. Attempts at separating the two in terms of either space or time seem unsatisfactory. Perhaps the administrative control of production for export purposes offers one way in which to approach this duality from the archaeological record.

One further aspect of the control of production relates to coinage. It is extremely difficult to explain the economic system within which 8th century craftsmen and women, or indeed traders, actually worked. But the evidence for the potentially very high number of *sceattas* being struck and therefore in circulation at Hamwic (Metcalf 1988) and the absolute dearth of Series H *sceattas* outside Southampton, especially the most common BMC type 49, seems to suggest that the system was a closed one, that is only operating within the town itself. Whether large numbers of Series H coins will be found at Visemarest, the site tentatively identified as Quentovic by David Barrett and David Hill, only time will tell, but meanwhile all the current evidence suggests that these *sceattas* were in wide circulation within the town only and, judging by the number of losses, were the subject of numerous transactions. It would certainly appear that a sophisticated but controlled monied economy was the basis on which the production side of Hamwic functioned.

Hamwic and its hinterland

Hamwic must surely be unique among Saxon towns in the quantity and quality of the data it produces. However a vital missing dimension, crucial to a full

understanding of how it functioned, is its relationship to its local and regional hinterland. While the work on the faunal remains has helped enormously with our appreciation of the high degree of sophistication with which the 8th century rural economy was managed, we are still at a loss when trying to deal with the spatial relationship of this central place to its rural hinterland. Indeed even defining the extent of that hinterland is full of problems, but as more evidence for rural settlements comes to light (particularly in the four main river valleys of southern Hampshire nearest to Hamwic, ie Avon, Test, Itchen, and Meon) there is for the first time a body of data worth examining. Systematic fieldwalking and more intensive field survey, backed up by shovel testing, is beginning to reveal a more believable distribution of Saxon settlement sites for southern Hampshire, although accurate dating is still hampered by the long production period of chaff and organic tempered wares. Nevertheless it now seems quite clear that Early and Middle Saxon settlement in this area did not cluster around the emerging ecclesiastical centre of Winchester (Biddle 1974, 206-12), but was fairly evenly spread throughout the middle and upper reaches of these river valleys.

Unlike some Saxon towns, in Hamwic's case there would appear to be no identifiable earlier estates on which to base any arguments for rural interdependency. Indeed, although Hamwic and its immediate area (around 5 km radius) could have been self-sufficient in the sense that the surrounding brickearth would have been capable of supporting a population of several thousand, historically this is highly unlikely, and there is no archaeological evidence for suburban occupation nor intense agricultural activity in the immediate vicinity of Hamwic at this time. Nevertheless the short-term penning of animals in nearby fields and woods appears a reasonable assumption, partly supported by placename evidence.

Once off the brickearth of the immediate Hamwic vicinity, the belt of gravel and sand that surrounds Southampton is composed of a very poor soil supporting only scrub and heath, presumably since the Roman period if not earlier. There is little evidence for settlement of any period before late medieval times with the exception of isolated Iron Age enclosures. This scrubland may well have served as the boundary between the West Saxons and Jutes until Cadwallr's annexation of the Isle of Wight in AD 685. As Barbara Yorke (forthcoming) demonstrates, this date coincides well with the archaeological evidence for the start of Hamwic and points to a royal West Saxon initiative both to gain control of a coastline and to establish a trading centre - in the mid-point of that newly acquired coastline.

An unanswerable question remains, namely where did the population of Hamwic come from? If traders, how many were Frisians or other foreigners? If craftsmen and women, how many came from inland villages like Chalton, which seems to have been abandoned about this time, or even from the Isle of Wight or other conquered Jutish lands? If we are ever to begin to answer these and many similar questions, a much more integrated approach to urban and rural studies will need to be adopted - and put into practice.

At the same time it is obviously necessary to develop further models to help explain how these 8th century towns functioned. While we still require further information on the individual towns themselves so that we can clearly describe their urban characteristics, it is equally important that there are models which place these trading centres in their historical and archaeological context. Hodges' (ch 1) Type B *emporium* model begins to do this for Hamwic, but at the same time stresses how Hamwic is in fact a radically new political polity for Saxon England. This paper concurs with that facet of Hamwic, but has tried to show how its planned structure, its role as a monopolistic production centre and the evidence for the exertion of various controls upon its inhabitants give us a further way of examining this particular phenomenon in the context of the rebirth of towns in post-Roman Europe.

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15 The Roman heritage of Chester: the survival of the buildings of *Deva* after the Roman period

T J Strickland

Abstract

A combination of topographical and historical evidence, assisted in detail by the results of recent archaeological discoveries, has revealed a vivid picture of widespread survival of increasingly derelict Roman buildings in most parts of Chester down to the 10th century and, in some cases, considerably later still. The purpose of this paper is to illustrate, from what is likely to have been a typical example, the physical backdrop to the rebirth of towns where that rebirth took place on or adjacent to the sites of former Roman centres. By relating the evidence for survival of Roman buildings to the latest discoveries concerning the late Saxon period in Chester this paper also demonstrates the impact and constraints of substantial ruins on the pattern of re-emerging urban settlement in the 9th and 10th centuries. The author calls on his experience of Middle Eastern archaeology to provide a modern example of such occupation of ancient ruins.

When I behold the ground-work of buildings in the streets, laid with main strong huge stones, it seemeth that it [Chester] hath been founded by tha painful labour of Romans or giants. . .

(Higden in Babington 1869, 76-84)

'That cite [Chester] hathe . . . other grete stones conteynenge the names and pryntes [inscriptions] of Julius Caesar, and other nowble men [Romans].

(Higden in Palliser 1980, 8)

It is clear that when Ranulph Higden, a monk of St Werburgh's Abbey at Chester, was writing his history shortly before the middle of the 14th century, something of the buildings of the Roman fortress remained visible. Furthermore at least some of them were sufficiently impressive, even in ruin, to excite his imagination. However, fascinating as they were to Higden, in his day there can have been nothing unusual about upstanding Roman ruins, since so many impressive Roman structures survive in many parts of Britain to this day. Five hundred years before Higden the number and condition of these remains must have been more impressive. Thus for example Bede (242-5), writing in the 8th century, vividly describes how the remains of Roman Carlisle were not only visible but admired:

He [St Cuthbert] came therefore to the town of Lugubalia [Carlisle] which the English people corruptly call Luel . . . On the next day, while the citizens were conducting him to see the walls of the city and a marvellously constructed fountain of Roman workmanship. . .

Well over a hundred years later, in the winter of 894, the fabric and appearance (not to mention the emptiness, real or imagined) of Chester were such as to demand a description as a one-time Roman establishment rather than as an English or Danish settlement (Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in Garmonsway 1960, 88):

. . . [the Danes] marched without a halt by day and night, until they arrived at a deserted Roman site in Wirral, called Chester. The levies [English] were unable to overtake them

before they got inside that fort, but they besieged it some two days.

Undoubtedly at the end of the 9th century the Roman defences could be used to withstand a siege; they must have been well-nigh intact.

In the late 16th century William Camden does not seem to have been particularly impressed with the surviving Roman remains which, for him, appear to have consisted of a few inscriptions and mosaic pavements (Camden in Palliser 1980, 12). On the other hand what undoubtedly was the east gate of the Roman fortress survived with both its arches substantially intact, although buried within the fabric of the medieval Eastgate, until it was taken down in 1768. From the surviving eyewitness accounts and admittedly inconsistent drawings of the Roman masonry it can be seen to have been a most impressive sight (eg Watkin 1886, 106-13). Furthermore the development of local antiquarian interest led to a marked increase in the search for, understanding and recording of Roman remains in every part of Chester. The degree to which they had disappeared from the landscape caused Thompson Watkin (1886, 202) to conclude that:

The miscellaneous remains recorded as found at Chester are, considering the extent of the station, remarkably few in number, but there is little doubt that many have been brought to light, and destroyed in the middle ages.

Thus there is nothing new in the idea that certain buildings of the Roman fortress, together with its extramural town, survived to some degree or another for a long time after the Roman period, indeed as late as the Middle Ages. Eyewitness accounts confirm that something of *Deva* -at least of its principal elements -must not only have survived to an impressive degree but, even within the city wall, have been clearly visible as late as the 14th century. Nevertheless the many references to what must have been historical fact are, on the whole,

vague and somewhat lacking in useful detail until the heightened archaeological awareness of the 18th and 19th centuries brought rather more specific recording in its wake.

With the considerable knowledge of the layout of Roman Chester which we now possess, it is clearer than ever that the Roman layout has closely influenced the development and plan, if not the pattern of occupation, of the medieval city which succeeded it. This relationship is best and most easily appreciated by comparing the plan of the legionary fortress with the principal streets and other elements of the modern city (Fig 63). This should also be compared with a plan of the principal elements of Saxon Chester (Fig 64).

Although subsequent events and complicated property subdivision preclude any overall consistency, it is remarkable how much of the layout of modem Chester appears to reflect closely the Roman pattern. Foremost are the principal streets (Bridge Street, Watergate Street and Eastgate Street), which lie almost exactly over their Roman counterparts and meet at the Cross in a fashion very similar to the way in which their predecessors once met on the same spot outside the front entrance to the *principia* (headquarters building). However it is also clear that in some places these modern streets have deviated slightly from their original lines. Thus, although the eastern side of Bridge Street lies very close to the equivalent Roman street front, particularly in the vicinity of the massive and very solid footings of the legionary bath building, the northern part of the west side of the same street has been moved out, for an as yet unknown reason, into what would have been the centre line of the Roman street. Similar encroachments are clearly visible on the northern sides of both Watergate Street and Eastgate Street (in the case of the latter, near the junction with Northgate Street), and to a lesser degree and in seemingly random fashion elsewhere.

Particularly interesting is the discovery that the points at which Eastgate Street and Watergate Street cross the Roman gate sites lie over the sites of the northern and southern gate portals respectively. Assuming that the evidence from the Eastgate in 1768 does relate to a double-portalled Roman gate of the usual pattern, as seems most likely, it is not difficult to imagine that the lines of these modern streets are related in some way to a late Roman blocking of one portal in each gate, which would have been substantial enough to dictate that the thoroughfares moved through the open portals for as long afterwards as the gates existed, even in ruin. This is particularly strongly suggested at the Eastgate, where the central axis of the medieval gate structure is thought to have been set over, and to have used the northern arch of the Roman gate (eg Fig 63).

The site of the north gate of the Roman fortress has remained the Northgate of the medieval and later city. When constructing the present gate in 1808-11, Thomas Harrison noted what he took to be the Roman foundations (Watkin 1886,106). However the medieval and present-day line of Northgate Street deviates to a marked degree from the Roman line, a deviation which is particularly difficult to understand at its southern end, close to its junction with Eastgate Street, where the deviation has placed this street over, and not alongside

what is assumed to be the eastern side of the *principia*. It appears that the portion of Northgate Street which lies to the south of the Market Square has been placed on or shifted to its present line after the final disappearance of a particularly substantial Roman building. If, as the evidence discussed below seems to imply, the *principia* ruins, or at least some of them, survived above ground into the 10th century at least, it seems likely that southern Northgate Street, as we now know it, came into existence at a somewhat later date.

Since the discovery in the early 1980s of the enormous Roman building which is now known to have existed behind the *principia* (eg Strickland 1983a), the seemingly precise location of the Market Square, emphasized by the narrowing of Northgate Street to its north and south, over the site of its eastern half has aroused curiosity and speculation. Although, as is argued elsewhere (Ward 1985), part of this large Roman building had been reduced to little more than its wall footings some time before the Norman Conquest, the evident close relationship between a major part of its plan and the Market Square prompts the very natural thought that its plan and location were still clear enough to impose their indelible mark on the development and location of the late Saxon market on the shell of the Roman building. In reconciling this idea with the evidence for the disappearance of the western part of this building in the area immediately to the north of Princess Street by about the 10th century (Ward 1985), we must remember that with buildings of this great size what may have applied in one part need have no implications for other parts. No doubt, too, the location of the market in this general area of the city was influenced by the existence of St Werburgh's Abbey in the vicinity since the early 10th century.

While on the subject of the Abbey, it is interesting that the Little Abbey Gateway is so located; whether this was done to avoid a Roman ruin or to skirt the Market Square is impossible to elucidate, though perhaps the latter is a more likely explanation if the gateway is of 13th or 14th century date. Nevertheless Ranulph Higden, as already seen, was impressed with the visible remains of Roman Chester in the 14th century, and it may be that he was referring specifically to what he saw outside the main entrance to the Abbey, however unlikely this may seem.

The site of the south gate of the legionary fortress is known to have been located not far to the north of the junction of Bridge Street with Pepper Street, with its eastern tower under the west end of St Michael's Church. This gate, unlikely the Roman east gate, clearly did not survive the Middle Ages. No doubt this was due to the construction of extended defences on the west and south sides of the city, which could have led inevitably to the redundancy of the Roman south and west gates. Nevertheless, that the Roman defences on the west and south sides of the fortress did survive for a considerable period of time, at least into the 10th century, if not later still, is strongly suggested by the way in which they appear to have influenced the later street plan in their vicinity. Thus Pepper Street not only owes its origins to a Roman street but takes the line of a street continuing to skirt the southern defences of the Roman fortress, even
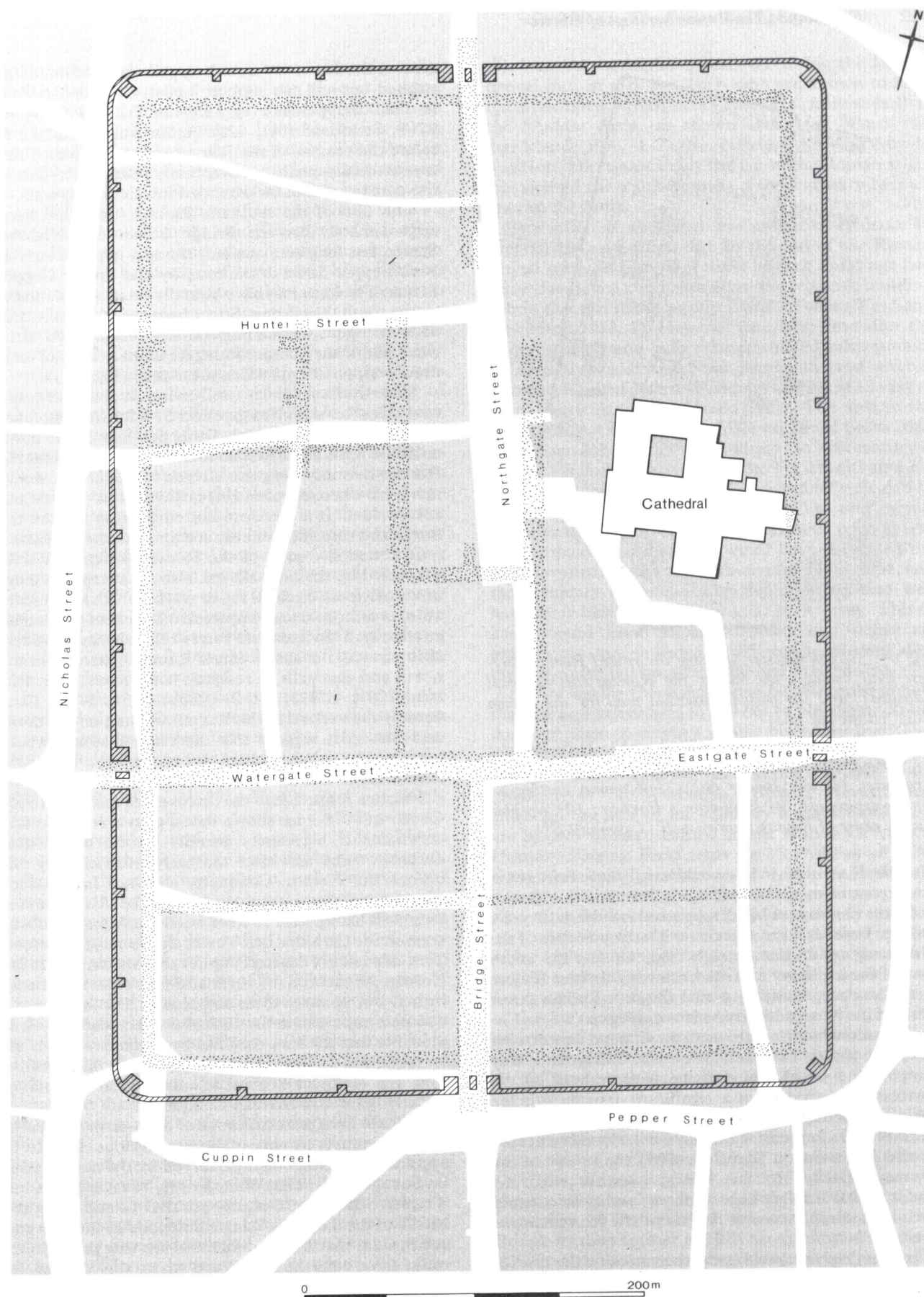
Fig 3 Principal elements of the City of Chester superimposed on the plan of the Roman fortress of Deva to show the clear relationship between the two
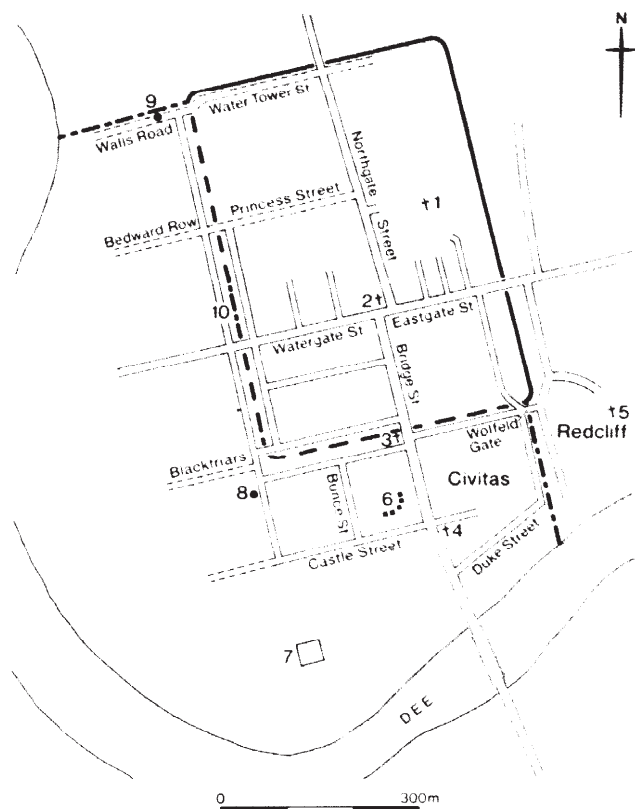
*Fig 64   Saxon Chester, showing the reused Roman fort-
ress wall (solid), the line of the Roman fortress wall
(dashed), and the possible extended wall for the Saxon
burh (dash-dot line)*

*Pre-Conquest churches: 1) St Werburgh's; 2) St Peter's;
3) St Bridget's; 4) St Olave's; 5) St John's; 6) excavated
structures (Lower Bridge St); 7) Norman castle; 8)
Castle esplanade; 9) Pemberton's Parlour; 10) possible
Saxon reuse of Roman fortress wall (Linenhall St)*

after the Roman period. It would hardly have featured in
the layout of medieval and later Chester if the Roman
defences in this area had disappeared hundreds of years
before. Indeed, taken together with the position of the
old Newgate, its line strongly suggests that the south
wall of the legionary fortress was a very obvious feature
in the landscape until long after the post-Roman street
pattern in the area had come into existence.

For somewhat similar reasons the line and existence of
Nicholas Street, Linenhall Street and St Martin's Way
support the conclusion that the western wall of the
fortress also survived as a significant feature into the
early Middle Ages and perhaps even for some time after
the Norman Conquest. The above-mentioned reference
in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (894) to the use of the
Roman defences by the Danes, together with the
unsuccessful English siege of them, seems to confirm
their near completeness at the end of the 9th century at
least.

Interestingly archaeological excavation on the lines of
the western and southern Roman defences has consis-
tently demonstrated that the masonry has been all but
entirely removed, no doubt for reuse elsewhere. Furth-

ermore the date of the rubbish tipped on to the line of the
robbed-out wall may support a post-Conquest date for
its final disappearance (eg *J Roman Stud,* 1950, **40,** 96,
97-8; Strickland 1981, 422). Again one is tempted to
relate the removal of the Roman masonry, even if this
was gradually carried out over many years, to its reuse in
the construction of the extended medieval city wall.

The line of the southern Roman defences, lying
approximately between Bridge Street and Nicholas
Street, has long been marked, though not as closely as
with Pepper Street to the east, by the line of Cuppin
Street. The latter may have been diverted a little further
to the south than Pepper Street because of the existence
of St Bridget's Church immediately to the south of the
west side of the Roman south gate from at least an early
medieval, possibly pre-Conquest date (Fig 64).

Since the line of the city wall on much of the north and
east sides (between Newgate and St Martin's Gate) has
never deviated appreciably from the line of the north
and east walls of the Roman fortress, it follows that the
Roman masonry along this stretch of the circuit would
never have become redundant as did that on the west and
south sides. It is therefore not surprising that on the
north and east sides not only are the line and character-
istic rounded corners of the Roman defences visibly
respected by the city wall, but also all except the more
obviously post-medieval repair work (which is consider-
able) is composed to an impressive degree of the Roman
curtain wall. Indeed there survive to this day consider-
able stretches of almost intact Roman masonry in the
north and east walls, as research has shown (eg Strick-
land 1981, 419-23, 431-2; 1983b; 1984, 5-11). Con-
versely the survival of the Roman walling on the north
and east sides suggests that the same masonry would
have survived to the present day on the west and south
sides, had it been needed.

Further research into the discoveries made at Abbey
Green in 1975-8 has shown that a gravel road was laid
down inside but closely parallel to the old Roman
defences some time after the early 10th century but
before the Norman Conquest, and not in the sub-
Roman period as was previously thought (McPeake *et al*
1980). What appears to have been the same road was
seen on the Cathedral Bell Tower site some years before.
The existence of this road implies that not only were the
Roman defences on the north and east sides reasonably
intact, but access to them and along their interior was
deemed important in the 10th and 11th centuries. It is
possible that the same road has been discovered on the
south side as well (eg *art cit,* 21). If so, this could confirm
that the southern Roman defences were upstanding
shortly before the Norman Conquest.

Perhaps even more indicative of long-term survival of
Roman features are some of the less obvious elements of
apparently Roman origin preserved in the post-Roman
layout of the city. Thus White Friars, Weaver Street and
Trinity Street run so exactly parallel to and along the
inside of the line of the Roman defences on the west and
south sides that it is not difficult to see that these streets
must have come into existence when this part of the
Roman defensive circuit was substantially complete, if
not intact. Indeed, as the plan shows, they lie very close
to the line of the Roman *intervallum* road. Again it is

unlikely that such streets would have continued to exist at all had not an upstanding wall been adjacent to them until at least such a time as the medieval street pattern had become firmly established. Likewise, the line taken by Little St John Street, skirting the site of the Roman amphitheatre, strongly suggests that this road remained in use long after the Roman period, as has been known since 1929 when the latter was first rediscovered before a proposal to straighten the road (Thompson 1976, 127-239). This was at a time when it was necessary to go round the northern edge of what would have been an imposing ruin, or perhaps at least a rubble-strewn obstacle.

To the south of the site of the legionary fortress Castle Street and St Olave Street also seem to conform fairly closely, though by no means exactly, to Roman streets that are assumed to have marked the southern edge of what appears to have been maintained in the Roman period as open land adjacent to the southern defences (Mason 1980, 85-6). Here as elsewhere it may be that as late as the 11th century the line followed by these two minor streets marked roughly the point at which a large open space changed to rubble-strewn land that had once been built up. However these buildings may have been almost entirely dismantled long since, as appears to have happened to the Roman building to the south of Castle Street *(ibid,* 25). Until either deeply buried in a way which does not seem to have happened in this area, or cleared of most building debris, such land would not have been favoured for new building until more favourable areas had all been used.

In a similar manner, on the western side of the fortress, Bedward Row appears to preserve in its line an approximate distinction between what was comparatively open land to the north (in this case a cemetery) for much of the Roman period (Newstead 1914, 121-67; 1921, 49-60; 1978, 35-37). All this need not imply continuous use of Roman features so much as post-Roman occupation and land use, with thoroughfares developing in the first placeaccording to convenience.

Perhaps the most intriguing of such features -one which is not at all easily explained by recourse to the medieval pattern of land use - is a long east-west boundary line which, by perusal of the series of more accurately surveyed city centre maps which have been produced since the first part of the 18th century, can be demonstrated to have existed for several hundred years at least, as a field boundary between Northgate Street and Linenhall Street, on a line parallel to and some 30 m to the north of Hunter Street (Fig 63). Excavation on both sides of Hunter Street in recent years has confirmed that the whole of this area was open fields from the medieval period to the 19th century (eg Strickland 1983a, 15). This boundary line makes no sense in relation to the properties on the south side of King Street, itself a medieval development as Barn Lane, for it causes property strips to vary greatly in length from one end of the street to the other. It must surely have existed before King Street developed, perhaps at a time when altogether different property units pertained. This particular situation seems different from the line of Bedward Row, or at Castle Street and St Olave Street, for excavation has shown that not only were both sides of

this boundary completely built up during the Roman period but, in addition, both sides are known to have remained open, perhaps even cultivated, from as early as the Middle Ages, as shown above (eg Ward and Strickland, 1978, 1-2). Nevertheless the boundary in question reflects uncannily the line of the Roman street that skirted the southern ends of the legionary barrack lines to the north.

Excavation of the latter has produced evidence to support the suggestion that by the end of the Roman period many, if not all of these barrack buildings had come down, and their sites were covered with building debris that was subsequently ploughed over (Ward and Strickland 1978, 1). However for a long time after the Roman period, and before the postulated cultivation of the area, this must have been hummocky land covered with the debris of Roman buildings and not at all easy to cross, particularly by wheeled traffic. The area to the south where it is known, as will be explained below, that many Roman buildings survived into the 10th century at least, even if in an increasingly derelict condition, must have been equally difficult until either finally cleared or deeply buried under a mixture of refuse and humus deposits. No doubt what had always been open spaces (eg compounds and streets) would have presented the most favoured tracks and pathways for a long time, and the boundary to the north of Hunter Street may well have come into existence alongside such a way. This in itself would have helped to define and demarcate properties owned or leased by different people long after the reason for the boundary line had been buried.

Before leaving this issue, it may be of interest to note that the equivalent area to the east of Northgate Street does not seem to retain a similar boundary line. This may well have been due to the early setting apart of the whole of this area, as far north as the city wall, as the property of St Werburgh's Abbey. Nevertheless, although the sites of the legionary barrack blocks that are known to have existed in the Abbey Green and Deanery Playing Field areas (eg McPeake *et al* 1980) must also have presented a very similar sight and situation to the west of Northgate Street for a very long time after the Roman period, it is particularly interesting to note that what was certainly late Saxon occupation of the 10th century and later in date at Abbey Green was largely confined to what had been the Roman *intervallum* road *(art cit,* fig 4). Saxon-period activity on the site of the barracks appears to have been confined to the robbing of reusable materials. In other words people lived and worked where they could most easily do so, the site of the former *intervallum* road being a convenient open space.

Although it has long been assumed that Lower Bridge Street conforms fairly closely to the line of its Roman counterpart (eg Watkin 1886, fig opposite 86; Mason 1980, 86), the precise position of the Roman bridge over the river Dee has long required detailed research. Close inspection of the riverbed adjacent to the Old Dee Bridge in the summer of 1984 has confirmed that it is strewn with the very substantial masonry of an earlier bridge, whose piers seem to have been not quite parallel to and slightly downstream of the present bridge. The discovery of at least one cornice moulding points to a

style of Roman design. If this evidence implies the former existence of a Roman bridge on this spot, it is likely to have been of a type well known from many parts of the empire, consisting of a series of very substantially built stone piers, fairly close together, on which was set a timber superstructure. The piers of one of the best known surviving examples of such a bridge span the River Moselle at Trier in West Germany.

Given the widespread survival of Roman bridges into the Middle Ages (eg the *Pons Aelius* at Newcastle, and the Roman bridge across the Thames at London), and bearing in mind the type of structure probably used in the Roman bridge at Chester, a study of the medieval records relating to the bridge has revealed a most interesting record of an occasion when the city and county came to an agreement over its repair, in the Exchequer of Chester on 8 April 1288 *(Cheshire Sheaf,* 1924, 3 ser, **21,** 33).

> The Mayor and Community . . . will repair and maintain a certain part of the bridge, that nearer the vill of Newbolt [ie the Handbridge side of the river], which contains in length 8 feet (each foot being 12 inches) of compressed earth and stonework, and 49 feet (of the same measure) of woodwork in the bow of the bridge, continuous and adjacent to the stonework.

This seems to be a reference to a bridge constructed of stone and timber - precisely the kind of structure one would expect the Roman engineers to have employed.

This was not the first time the bridge had required repair and maintenance, nor was it the last. Part, at least, of it had fallen down in 1227 *(Annales Cestrienses,* 55), and it was repaired subsequently in 1241 and 1242 *(Cheshire in the Pipe Rolls,* 71). In 1280 it appears to have been 'broken down and carried away' *(Andes Cestrienses,* 107), but this is possibly a reference to the above-mentioned wooden superstructure. The records show that work on the construction of a new bridge was in hand from the mid 14th century, as an order in the Black Prince's Register for 1347 shows that the Justice and Chamberlain of Chester were ordered 'to command the workmen of the bridge of Dee not to do any damage to the Prince's weir and fisheries there, but to make the bridge according to the advice and survey of Henry de Snellestone, the Prince's mason' *(Black Prince's Register, 83).*

The above extracts are by no means the only references to what may be termed 'the saga of the bridge in the Middle Ages', but they serve to demonstrate two things. Firstly, what may well have been the Roman bridge was still being repaired and used in the late 13th century; secondly, it may not have been replaced finally until well into the 14th century. This is a particularly interesting possibility, but it should not surprise us at all.

It has already been shown that many of the above-mentioned eyewitness accounts are tantalizingly vague and ambiguous by modern standards. It is likely that only archaeology can provide the detail necessary for a more accurate assessment of the degree of survival of Roman buildings into the medieval period. However the detection of this subtle evidence for building survival demands sophisticated excavation and recording tech-

niques in all but the most clear examples (such as the Roman bath building in Bridge Street) where the presence of substantial Roman ruins is obvious at a glance. Even then the detection of wall-robbing trenches, which are usually invisible to the untrained eye and which provide so much of the evidence for long-term building survival, requires expert treatment and analysis. It is not surprising, therefore, that the great majority of the available archaeological evidence has only been consistently forthcoming in Chester on excavations conducted since the Second World War, particularly on the large-scale projects which have only been carried out in Chester since the late 1960s.

The evidence, such as it is, strongly suggests that in the area to the west of Northgate Street and to the north of Hunter Street sites of the Roman barracks were covered with building debris for a considerable time after the Roman period, and that people picked their way through it, making use of the easiest paths, until the area was cultivated during the Middle Ages and later. Indeed the admittedly unsatisfactory dating evidence recovered from the ploughsoil in this area gives a 13th-16th century date range (Ward and Strickland 1978, l-2). To the east of Northgate Street, in the Abbey Green and Deanery Playing Field areas, although recently contradicted (McPeake *et al* 1980, 19), subsequent research has suggested that the barracks there may have been occupied down to the end of the Roman period only to be abandoned thereafter. As shown above, the evidence from Abbey Green also clearly suggests that these buildings were being stripped of reusable materials in the 10th and 11th centuries and that contemporary occupation was in the convenient open space alongside, on what had been a Roman street *(art cit,* 20-1), followed by a long period in which the whole area remained open ground.

In the area to the north of Princess Street and the west of the new Hunter's Walk, the Roman barracks also appear to have existed as low mounds of building rubble until robbed of reusable materials no earlier than the 10th century and probably some time later. Indeed in the narrow street between two of these Roman buildings a 10th or 11th century rubbish pit had been dug, presumably because it was easier to do this through a street than on the site of a ruined building either side (eg Strickland 1983a, 9-10). At Crook Street in 1974 the evidence suggested extensive survival of an apparently unrobbed, Roman, half-timbered building (Strickland 1981, 433), with its walls half buried in debris, finally covered by an accumulation of soil and refuse after the Norman Conquest. Here again a 10th or 11th century rubbish pit had been carefully sited to avoid Roman walls and other building debris.

On the north side of the western end of Hunter Street current excavation of what appears to have been a Roman granary has confirmed that this building survived in a substantially intact condition, even though its roof was increasingly derelict from the end of the Roman period. It was systematically stripped of its ashlar masonry no earlier than the 12th century and possibly later still, after which its site reverted to open ground until modern times.

The recent excavations to the north of Princess Street

have confirmed that the large Roman building that existed on the site now occupied by the new Bus Exchange survived in a reasonably intact condition until at least the 10th or 11th centuries, at which time one corner of its conveniently open-walled compound was occupied by a small and somewhat primitive Saxon-style dwelling *(grübenhaus)*. Only after this was there extensive robbing of reusable building materials, and then this site also reverted to open ground (Strickland 1984, 15).

The enormous Roman building that is now known to have existed behind and to the north of the Roman *principia* seems to have had a marked impact on the later layout of Northgate Street and the Market Square, as already shown. Part of it, adjacent to Princess Street, was already down by about the 10th century, when part of its western wall line was crossed by a wooden building. But with such large Roman buildings it is clear that what happened in one area need not have applied elsewhere. It is, therefore, not surprising that the evidence from the south-western portion of this building (eg Petch 1978, 18-20) now suggests that much of its walling survived for a very long time after the Roman period. Here, too, there seems to have been much robbing of reusable materials, after which brown soil seems to have accumulated over all. Evidence pointing to the former substance of this great building was revealed in the form of a hypocaust and massive, architectural stone fragments, many years ago on the west side of Northgate Street immediately to the north of its junction with Princess Street (Watkin 1886, 129-30).

The walls of the Elliptical Building (so called because of its plan), which was situated to the west of the last-mentioned building (eg Strickland 1983a, 6, fig 1) were found to have been extensively robbed long after the Roman period. Material subsequently thrown into the robbing trenches suggests that this activity took place as late as the 13th, if not the 14th century. In addition much of the bath house to the south of this building was still intact on excavation in 1969. In places its walls were still about 2·5 m in height.

The Roman headquarters building would, inevitably, have been one of the most imposing buildings in the fortress, and it has left its imprint on the post-Roman landscape in the form and location of the Cross in particular. One suspects, too, that the existence on its site of St Peter's Church, which is thought to have existed since the early 10th century at least, may be significant. It would not be at all surprising to find, on excavation of the interior of this part of the *principia,* that this building had acquired in addition to its administrative use a certain ecclesiastical function, if not a church, from as early as the 4th century. The dedication of a church to St Peter in the early 10th century, as Aethelflaedaen tradition states, may imply a preservation of this tradition rather than a completely new development. Such a religious continuity, or near continuity, has been established through archaeological excavation at Lincoln from the late Roman period through the Dark Ages, into the early medieval period. In fact it is now considered that a late Roman church - perhaps even the church of the Roman bishops of the

city - was constructed in the forum courtyard (Lincoln 1984, 28-33), although this building does not seem to have survived beyond the 5th century. A church in the *principia* at Chester could have been in a somewhat analogous position, and may have survived to a later date.

The massive character of the Roman *principia* at Chester is well represented by the remains of the substantial colonnade preserved in the basement of 23 Northgate Street. Such massive stones appear to have been too large and heavy for convenient subsequent reuse elsewhere, and they have consequently been left where they fell at some unknown post-Roman date. Excavation of the northern extremity of this building in the late 1960s (eg Petch 1978, 17-18) revealed evidence of extensive and somewhat random robbing of reusable masonry long after the Roman period. In some places this activity seems to have occurred well after the Norman Conquest, and in others rather earlier. Here and there dark soil, which appears to indicate long-term abandonment, covered the latest Roman surfaces on which it had accumulated before the stone-robbing. There is, too, a hint of 10th or 11th century activity, if not actual occupation, within the shell of part of the building.

The great internal baths complex ('leisure centre' is perhaps an apt description) of the legionary fortress, which is known to have existed on the east side of Bridge Street and which was last seen on a large scale at the time of the construction of the Grosvenor-Laing shopping precinct in the early 1960s (Petch 1978, 22-4), is perhaps the clearest example of what must have been long-term survival of a Roman building. Of course, in this as in the other cases, survival is not necessarily the same thing as use, but so much of this particular building, even though in ruins, remained on site until its final clearance in the 1960s, that one can only assume that it had been an obvious feature, if not a very real obstacle to subsequent would-be occupiers of its site, for a very long time indeed. Research has shown that in addition to walling which still stood to 4 m or more height (Petch 1978, 23), the collapsed roofing structure of the barrel-vaulted, heated rooms was still present on site. Furthermore this material appears to have sealed a deposit of dark soil that accumulated on the floors after the building had ceased to be used for its intended functions. It looks like a long-term accumulation similar to that found in other buildings already described.

What is certain is that in ruin this building and the great quantities of rubble from it had ever since (until the 1960s at least) produced an appreciable mound, rising from street level almost unchanged since Roman times in Bridge Street and over which subsequent occupation and building developments have occurred (Fig 65). Although much less is known about the western side of Bridge Street, it seems likely from the way in which, for instance, Commonhall Street rises away from the main street front that something similar has happened there as well.

Some mention has already been made of Castle Street and the Roman building *(mansio)* that existed to its south, and the cleared zone that appears to have been maintained to the north in Roman times (Mason 1980).
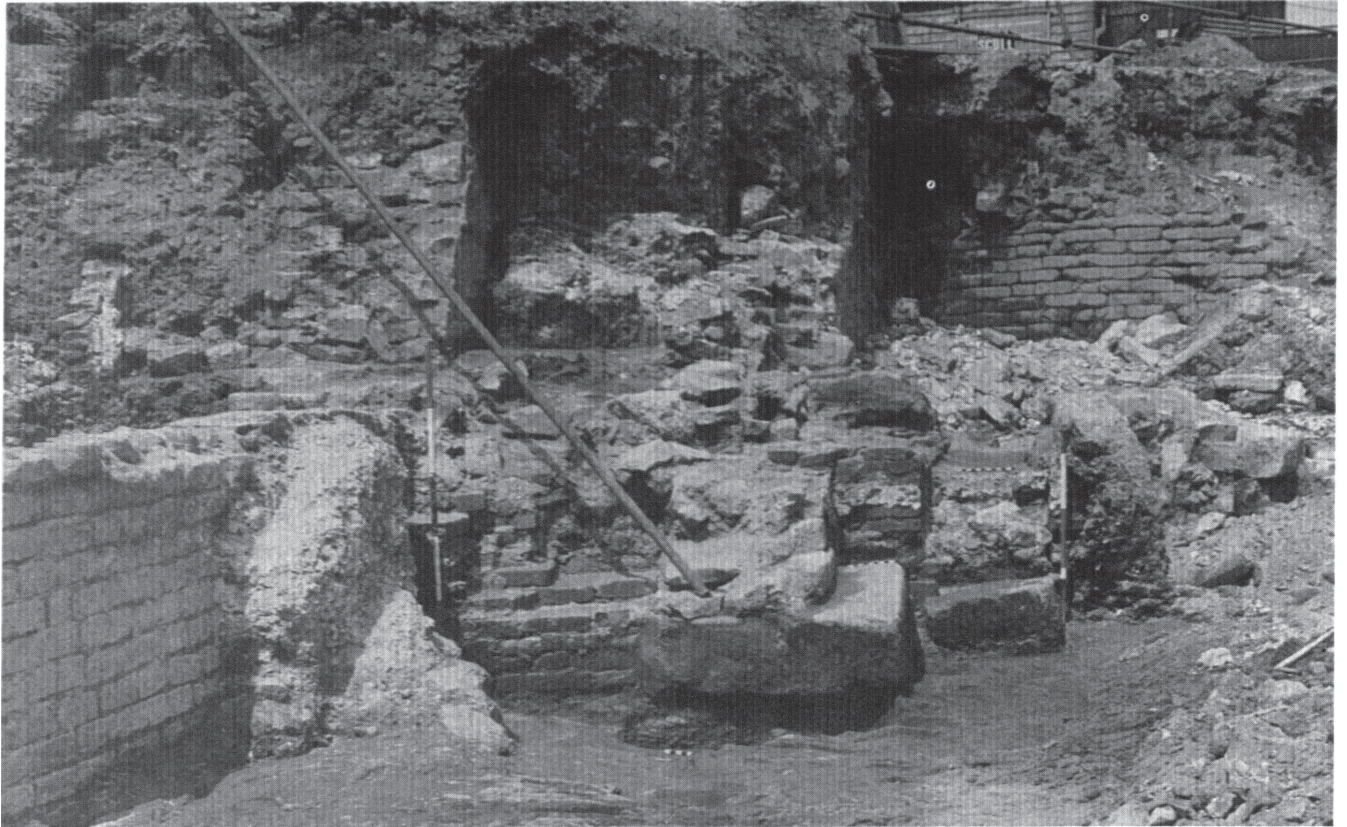
Fig 65   Remains of the legionary bath building on the east side of Bridge St immediately before its final destruction at the time of the construction of the Grosvenor-Laing shopping precinct in the early 1960s. Note again the impressive degree of survival and the way in which subsequent occupation has developed over the Roman building debris

In this case, as shown, a Roman structure appears to have been demolished in the 4th century. Nevertheless the most intensive occupation dating to the centuries immediately before the Norman Conquest found as yet in the city centre was concentrated on the site of the Roman cleared zone (Mason 1985, 2-23). It seems likely that this was a more convenient place to cultivate, build and live upon at that time.

Outside the western side of the fortress and overlooking what would have been the waterfront, an extensive and heavily built-up area existed throughout the Roman period (eg Mason 1978, 35-7). Excavation of the site of the medieval Dominican friary in this area has shown that in the late 13th century the friars were the first to build on this land since Roman times. Furthermore it has shown that the ruins of formerly substantial Roman houses were extensive both on and around the site until systematically robbed by the friars themselves (Ward 1978-9, 60-1). It is probable that the substantial bath house that is known to have existed on the north side of the western end of Watergate Street (eg Mason 1978, 36), and also adjacent to the western Roman waterfront, survived after the 13th century, even if increasingly derelict. In the building of the present houses on the north side of this street in 1778-9, the Roman remains were described as being 'buried in their own ruins' (Watkins 1886,154). Part of this building may, however, have been demolished by Franciscan friars in the 13th

century. However of the Roman extramural buildings, the amphitheatre has left the clearest imprint on the post-Roman street pattern. A glance at a plan of the city of Chester demonstrates that the line of Little St John Street skirts this major Roman building. Earlier maps (eg the Braun map of c 1580) will confirm that this has always been the case and that, therefore, the ruined amphitheatre must long have remained a very real feature of the landscape.

Conclusion

A combination of topographical and historical evidence, assisted in detail by the results of recent archaeological excavation, has produced a vivid and perhaps predictable picture of the widespread survival of increasingly derelict Roman buildings in most parts of Chester until the 10th century and in several cases much later. However robbing of buildings for reusable materials is increasingly evident from the 10th century, perhaps partly a reflection of the re-emergence of Chester as a place of some importance at that time. The evidence tends to confirm that the fabric and layout of Roman Chester had a considerable impact on the medieval city, in that it provided the parameters within which that city was to develop and grow. Occupation of the site during the 10th and 11th centuries appears to have been widespread, making use, by and large, of convenient

spaces surrounded by building dereliction. Here and there a site rendered particularly desirable by commercial or ecclesiastical factors, or a combination of both, seems to have been cleared of Roman debris for new building a considerable time before the Norman Conquest, though seemingly not before the 10th century, whereas on some of the peripheral and less useful sites this situation did not arise until the 13th or 14th centuries. In some areas Roman building debris does not seem to have been cleared away ever, subsequent occupation developing on top of it. It appears that until the 10th century at least, whatever occupation there was of Chester can best be described as the occupation of a Roman ruin rather than a new settlement on the site of what had once been a Roman establishment. It is therefore not surprising that in 894 Chester gave the impression of an empty Roman ruin, a picture largely supported by the archaeological evidence available to date. Thereafter, of course, there are plentiful signs of a marked upsurge in the population and status of Chester.

In the Middle East there are many examples today of ruined Graeco-Roman establishments that remain occupied in the manner described above. In the desert of northern Jordan, some 12 km to the east of the town of Mafrak, the ancient city of Umm el-Jemal ('Mother of Camels') is a fine example. Figure 66 was carefully produced from a photograph of a major residence in this city, known traditionally but incorrectly as the *praetorium*. It can be seen that some parts of this Roman building survive to three storeys in height, that others are still roofed over, whereas others again are reduced to their foundations. The whole site is covered with the abundant signs of light and scattered occupation. There are people living in squalid conditions in the roofed portion, there are field boundaries and many animal pens made out of building rubble (some of it robbed for the purpose), pathways between the piles of rubble and other ruins, and a new well shaft. Use is made throughout of convenient spaces and other resources, and the whole pattern of occupation is influenced by the ancient framework. Is this the meaning of the archaeological evidence for the occupation of Chester in the centuries leading down to the Norman Conquest?

Acknowledgements
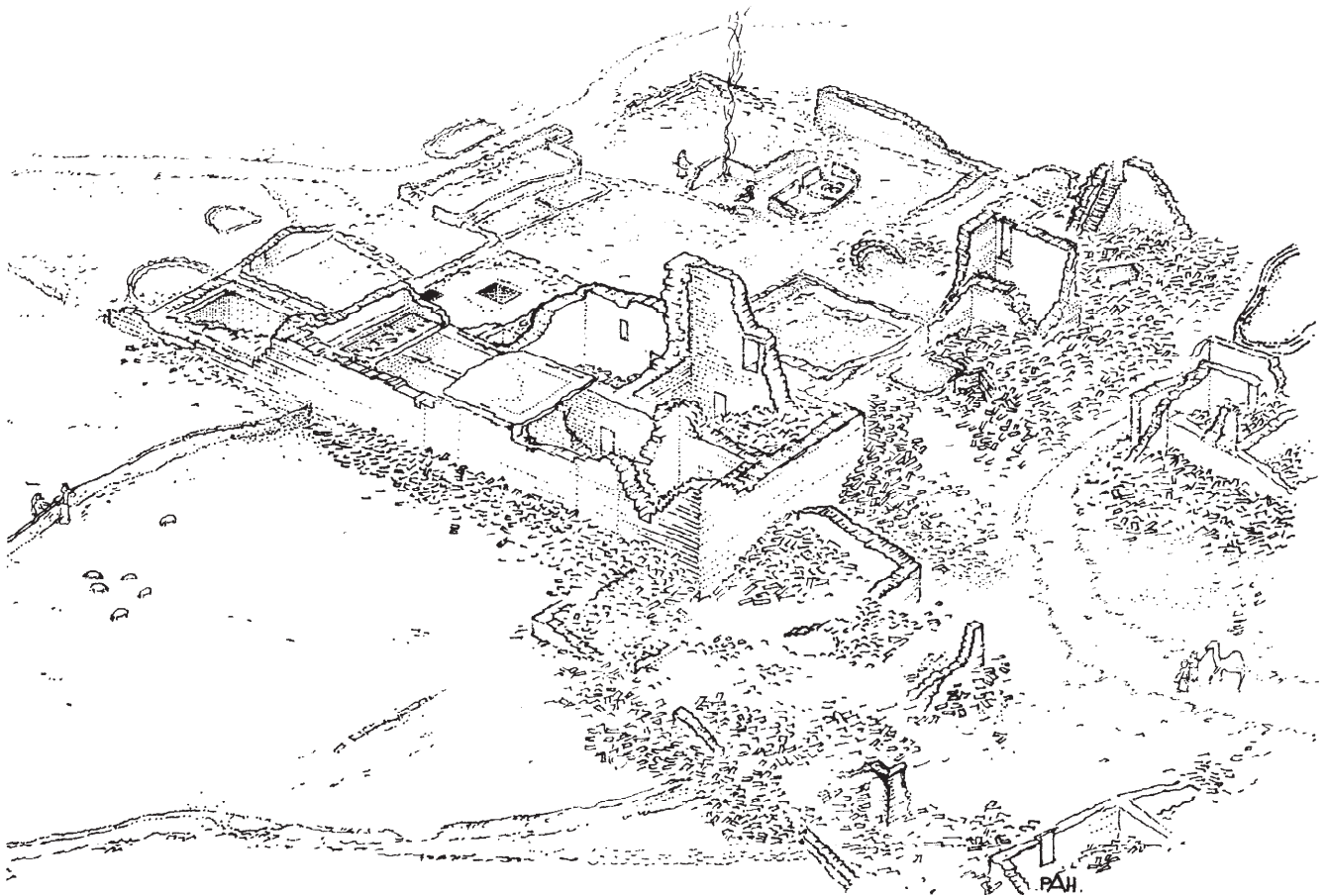
Fig 66   Present-day occupation of the ruins of the 4th century praetorium *at* Umm *el-Jemal, in the desert of northern Jordan (from photo taken by author). Was 10th century Chester similar?*

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16 Early medieval Chester: the historical background
A T Thacker

Abstract

Though the history of Chester in the sub-Roman period is very obscure, and though the Chronicle refers to it as 'deserted' in the annal for 893, there is some evidence for settlement south of the legionary fortress by the end of the 9th century. The city was refortified by Aethelflaed in 907, when the Roman walls seem to have been refurbished and extended on two sides to form an enlarged *enceinte,* protected to the north and east by L-shaped defences and to the south and west by the river.

Aethelflaed probably introduced the relics of St Werburgh, and founded a minster within the Roman walls to house them. In the 10th century the legionary fortress itself was reoccupied, and Chester became the administrative and military centre of a wide area extending well beyond the limits of medieval Cheshire. Its growing importance is reflected in the output of the mint, which reached its zenith in the reign of Athelstan. The city also became a considerable port with links with Dublin, and a Hiberno-Scandinavian community was established there around the churches of St Bridget and St Olave. It remained a major provincial centre throughout the late Saxon period, though it suffered a serious reverse *c* 980, probably caused by a Viking raid, after which the output of the mint declined and the city was gradually supplanted by Bristol as the principal port for Irish trade.

It is at least possible that life in some form continued in Chester after the departure of the Roman army. The fortress had acquired an increasingly important civilian role in the last century of its existence, and it may well be that it persisted as the focus for some kind of territorial unit (Strickland 1984a, 34-5; Dornier 1982, 253-60). By the time of the battle of Chester in 616 the fortress was within territory associated with the Welsh kingdom of Powys, and was perhaps the seat of a branch of the royal dynasty of the Cadelling, whose representatives were prominent in the battle. The fact that a little later lands to the south, in Shropshire, were in the hands of a different dynasty suggests that this particular branch of the Cadelling ruled in Cheshire and north Wales, and therefore that they may have made. use of the fortress (Bede, *Hist Eccl,* **2,** 2; Davies 1982, 94; Kirby 1977, 35-8). Probably under their rule, too, Chester *(Urbs Legionis)* was the scene of a synod shortly after 600 (Phillimore 1888, 156; Thacker 1982, 200).

Be that as it may, it must be admitted that the archaeological evidence for this period is minimal. Indeed we have little evidence of any kind about what, if anything, was going on at Chester from the 5th to the 9th centuries. All that we can safely say is that despite the Northumbrian victory at the battle of Chester, the area in which the city lay was soon to pass under Mercian domination, and that a 12th century tradition that one of Chester's two Anglo-Saxon minsters, St John's, was founded in the late 7th century by the Mercian king Aethelred may therefore have something to commend it. The church's extramural site, to the south-east of the fortress near the Roman amphitheatre (Strickland, ch 15, Figs 64, 68) is an appropriate one for an early church. The facts that by 1066 it was closely associated with the bishop, and that it shared burial rights with the richer and larger minster of St Werburgh's, also suggest antiquity (Thacker 1982, 200, 204-5; *Chart Chester Abbey,* I, 113-14, II, 299-301). If so, the church with its group of clergy and their households must have been a dominant element in the early Anglo-Saxon settlement, and its location an indicator that that settlement had already moved away from the legionary fortress.

One other possible indicator of early Anglo-Saxon settlement is the place-name 'Hunwald's Low' (now the Gorse Stacks), also extramural and to the north-east of the fortress. Hunwald's Low became the site of an ancient common, and its name (a combination of an Old English personal name in the genitive and old English *hlaw* ('mound' or 'hill')) may well indicate an early aristocratic burial *(PN Ches* V (1: i), 68-9; Gelling 1978, 134-7, 154-7). In the absence of confirmatory archaeological evidence, however, such an interpretation can only be tentative in the extreme.

Chester next occurs in written sources in the well known Chronicle annal for 893, which tells of a 'deserted city in Wirral', a description that has led to the assumption that Chester was waste from the 7th to the early 10th century (Webster 1951, 40-3). The context of the reference is a Viking raid, which culminated in the Danes occupying the city and being besieged there for two days while the English ravaged the surrounding districts *(Two Sax Chron,* I, 88; Wainwright 1942, 5, 12). That raid may well have been prompted by an awareness of the city's strategic importance, lying as it did close to a direct route between Dublin and York-Scandinavian kingdoms that had already been briefly linked under a single ruler, and were soon to be so again (Smyth 1975, 15-40, 60-3).

The significance of the site was further enhanced in the early 10th century, with the establishment of a Hiberno-Norse community in Wirral after the temporary expulsion of the Norse and their associates from Dublin (Fig 67). Though the Cheshire Norsemen were not the most important of the groups which fled in 902,
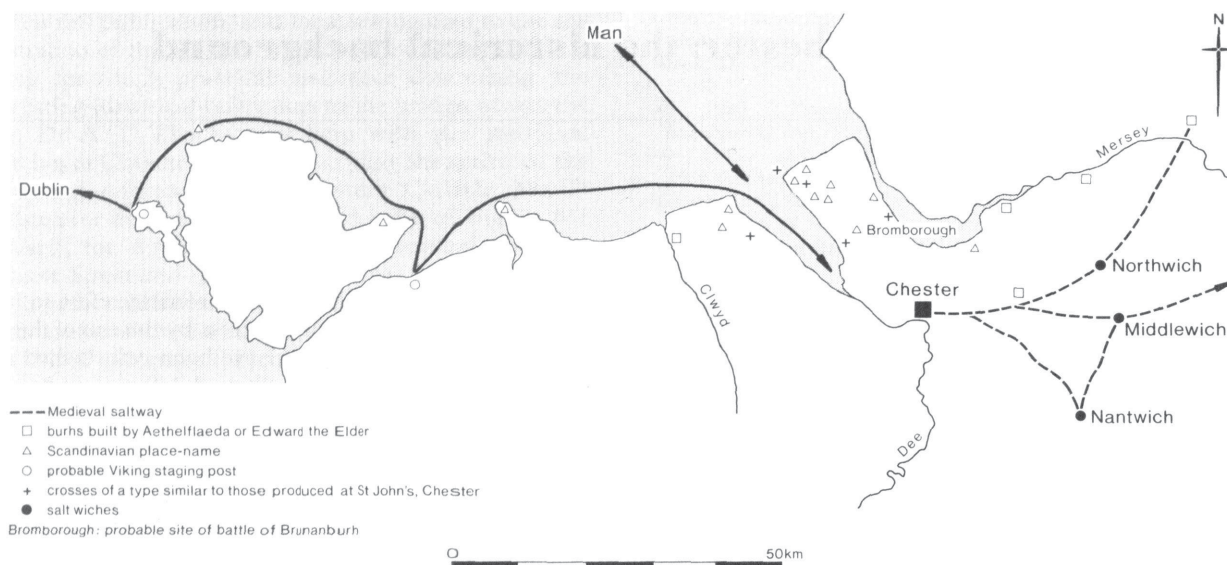
Fig 67   *Map of Chester's trade routes*

Fig 68   *Map of Chester's medieval topography*

the story of their arrival has considerable bearing on the history of Chester itself. Preserved in a late Irish source but apparently reliable in essentials is *a* narrative that tells of negotiations between Aethelflaed (then ruling in Mercia with her husband Aethelred) and the Norse and Irish, led by Hingamund. Despite being granted land in Wirral, the Norse soon cast covetous eyes on Chester itself, but *were* repulsed by Aethelflaed who assembleda great host in the city (Wainwright 1942, 14-22; 1948, 145-69; Smyth 1975, 60-74).

Two important points arise from this story. First, it contains an admiring allusion to the wealth of Chester, a statement which, if true, implies that the desertion of 893/4 was only temporary, or at least that even if the legionary fortress itself was unoccupied, there was a Saxon settlement immediately nearby.' Secondly, it provides a context for the event that is generally taken as the beginnings of the medieval city: the refortification mentioned by the Chronicle annal for 907 *(Two Sax Chron I, 94).*

We do not, alas, have any idea of the location of the Aethelflaedan defences, though it seems likely that they adapted or at least reused in part the walls of the legionary fortress, a notion supported by the fact that a gravel road was laid parallel to the inner side of the Roman north and east walls in the early 10th century (Strickland 1984b, 22; ch 15). Perhaps the most plausible suggestion is that the Roman walls were refurbished in their entirety as a defensible inner core, and that in addition the total *enceinte* was enlarged by extending the north and east walls to the river to form an L-shaped fortification, with the river as the main defence to the south and west.

This argument depends on the by no means water-tight assumption that the extent of the burh walls was consonant with the provisions of the formula recorded for the West Saxon burhs in the Burghal Hidage in the late 9th or early 10th century. Now the Burghal Hidage states that every hide assigned to the maintenance of a burh was sufficient to support one man, and that each pole (*c* 5m) of fortress wall required four men to defend it. Such provisions recall the Domesday statement that for the repair of Chester city walls and bridge the reeve used to call up one man from each hide in the county. We know from the County Hidage, a document that has been impugned but that nevertheless may well be pre-Conquest, that Cheshire was assessed at 1200 hides, a figure which ties in with the twelve hundreds of the pre-Conquest shire. Calculations based on those figures suggest defences some 1524 m in length, measurements that do not tally with the length of the Roman walls but

which, if some allowance be made for men defending the bridge, fit quite well with the postulated L-shaped arrangement *(VCH Ches,* I, 343; Mason 1985, 36-9; Hill 1969, 84-92; Alldridge 1981, 10-11; Sawyer 1978, 226-30; Strickland, ch 15, Fig 64).

This would also be consistent with the evidence of late Saxon, perhaps 10th century occupation in Lower Bridge Street, on a site outside the fortress but to the north of the Dee (Mason 1985, 2, 8, 23; below). Moreover it has been suggested that the now lost Wolfeld's Gate, which was once in the wall running south from the fortress to the Dee, bears a Scandinavian personal name, most likely to have been in use in the pre-Conquest period, when there appears to have been a flourishing Hiberno-Norse community in that area of the city (Dodgson 1968, 50-3).[2] That same stretch of wall also formed the divide between the burh proper and the ecclesiastical suburb of Redcliff (otherwise known as bishop's borough), which seems to have been a separate enclave focused on St John's with its own fortification or ditch (Mason 1985, 37-8; Alldridge 1981, 11-13; Strickland, ch 15, Figs 64, 68).[3] All this suggests that the line extending south from the legionary fortress to the river was an ancient boundary, and that the wall itself may therefore have been ancient.

Other evidence indicates that there was activity within the legionary fortress itself relatively soon after the refortification, The Abbey Green site to the north of the city has yielded evidence of late Saxon occupation in the form of sherds of the local pottery known as Chester ware, associated with signs of a bone working industry (McPeake *et al* 1980, 31; below). In the centre of the fortress, at the Princess Street site, there was also evidence of building in the late Saxon period. A small, sunken-featured hut was built within the walled compound of a surviving Roman structure, probably in the 10th century, and some distance to the east of that a long timber building was erected over Roman foundations and perhaps a street (Strickland 1984b, 28-9). It looks, therefore, as if Aethelflaed may have been responsible not only for protecting and giving fresh impetus to a pre-existing extramural settlement along the Dee, but also for the reoccupation of the legionary fortress itself.

In addition to thus refurbishing and probably extending the fortified area, Aethelflaed appears also to have remodelled the city's ecclesiastical dispositions. Though it is from a late source, and though there are other somewhat conflicting traditions, on balance it seems probable that she was responsible for introducing into Chester the relics of the Mercian royal saint Werburgh from their former resting-place in Hanbury (Staffordshire), and for establishing (perhaps refounding) a minster in the north-east corner of the legionary fortress in their honour. Similar activities are vouched for elsewhere, most securely at Gloucester, where Aethelflaed transferred the body of St Oswald, the Northumbrian king enshrined at Bardney (Lincolnshire), to be housed there in a new minster. In this context it may be significant that by the 13th century St Werburgh's was closely associated with the cult of St Oswald, at whose altar within the nave of the church the parishioners of the abbey worshipped, and whose name the abbey parish eventually bore. So it is possible that Aethelflaed

also brought a relic of St Oswald to Chester. At all events it is clear that here as elsewhere Aethelflaed was following a policy of establishing a respected Mercian cult within a new burh, perhaps to conciliate local opinion resentful of what could all too easily have been regarded as a West Saxon conquest (Thacker 1982, 203-4, 209; 1985, 18-19).

By the early 10th century, then, Chester was the focus of complex garrisoning arrangements monitoring an important area of Viking settlement. This military role was to remain. Edward the Elder continued his sister Aethelflaed's activities and built additional forts in the area (Fig 67). Their necessity was soon to be revealed, for in 920 the Danish king of York raided into Cheshire as far west as Davenport, and in 924 Chester itself was involved in revolt in alliance with the Welsh (Symeon Dur, II, 93,123; *Two Sax Chron,* I, 105; Smyth 1979, 1-2) That, of course, reveals a further aspect of Chester's strategic significance: its proximity to Wales.

The West Saxon kings' peace with the Welsh was always fragile. At the time of Brunanburh, itself probably fought in the neighbourhood of Chester (Dodgson 1956-7, 303-16; Fig 67), some of the Welsh princes were tempted to rebel, and in 942 there was collusion between the Welsh and the Scandinavian kingdom of York, when Athelstan's successor Edmund was campaigning against Olaf Cuaran (Smyth 1979, 62-88; Davies 1982, 114, 116-17; Loyn 1981, 283-301). Though that particular nightmare disappeared with the expulsion of the last Scandinavian king from York, Chester's role vis-à-vis the Welsh remained, and was suitably expressed in 973 when the city was the scene of the famous episode of the submission of the British princes to King Edgar (Flor Wig, I, 142-3).

From the early 10th century Chester is likely to have been the administrative focus for the area involved in the maintenance of its defences. Originally, perhaps, that territory comprised the twelve Domesday hundreds, but by *c* 920 Edward the Elder's conquests beyond the Mersey probably ensured that it was enlarged to include south Lancashire as well. Chester became the site of the shire court serving the whole area.[4] It also acquired a mint, whose productivity is a particularly clear index of royal interest in the town. A mint which existed in north-west Mercia in the 890s may already by then have been sited in Chester, but the first clear indication of its location comes from the reign of Edward the Elder, by the end of which some sixteen moneyers were at work there. The impetus behind the development seems to have lain primarily in the bullion obtained in Aethelflaed's conquests, especially her victories between 916 and 918 in Wales and the Midlands.

Under Athelstan, when coins emerge with an unequivocal Chester mint signature, Chester became the most important centre of coin production in England. At least 28 moneyers are known to have worked in the town between 924 and 939, and there were probably as many as twenty striking in the city at any one time, as compared with ten at London and seven at Winchester. That is perhaps attributable to Athelstan's close connections with Aethelflaed and western Mercia and to bullion and tribute brought in by his military victories. It represents the zenith of Chester's productivity;

thereafter the mint declined in importance. In the reigns of Edmund and Edred there were some seventeen moneyers, and in the troubled reign of Edwy as few as eleven. Under Edgar the mint recovered something of its earlier significance, and by 970 there were again seventeen moneyers in the town (Dolley, 1955, 1-20). Apart from one short period of eclipse it was to remain an important provincial mint until the Conquest, but it was never again to rival the great centres of London, York, Winchester, and Lincoln (Metcalf 1978, 184; Freeman 1985, 55-8, 527-8; below).

Chester was not only a royal fortress, it was also an important ecclesiastical centre. The probable circumstances of the introduction of the cult of St Werburgh into the town have already been discussed, and certainly by the mid 10th century there was within the walls a substantial minster dedicated to the saint with twelve canons and a warden, and endowments granted by Athelstan, Edmund, and Edgar (Thacker 1982, 203; *Chart Chester Abbey*, I, 8-13; Strickland, ch 15, Figs 64, 68). Very probably St John's, which in 1066 had seven canons and a *matricularius*, was also in existence by then (above). According to Domesday, the canons of both communities held houses in the city and they and their dependants must have formed a substantial, perhaps dominating element in the life of the city *(Dom Surv Ches*, 28-9, 93; *VCH Ches*, I, 268, 344).

By the mid 10th century St Werburgh's had probably become the grander institution, even if, as has already been suggested, St John's was earlier. Its precinct occupied the whole north-east quarter of the legionary fortress, and it was probably the ecclesiastical focus of the surrounding area with a large extramural parish. St John's medieval parish was much smaller, though it was also focused on an important precinct. By the 11th century the bishop's borough, the quarter which it occupied outside the city walls, appears to have contained a considerable group of ecclesiastical buildings, including the minster of St Mary and, perhaps, a hermitage *(VCH Ches*, V, forthcoming). A further indication of its importance is its workshop, which used the local soft red sandstone to manufacture a distinctive type of circle-headed grave cross. Such crosses are found not only in Chester but also in Flintshire and Wirral, an indication that the St John's masons may have made use of their skills at other local ecclesiastical centres (Bu'Lock 1959, 1-11; *VCH Ches*, I, 278-9; Fig 67).

Chester was well placed to take advantage of Irish Sea trade. The Dee was navigable to Chester (though not, if the weir was then in existence, beyond it), and there is evidence that by the late Anglo-Saxon period Chester had become a considerable port. There was a market in the centre of the city near the church of St Peter (referred to in the late 11th century as St Peter *de foro* ('of the market place': *Chart Chester Abbey*, II, 83, 288-90), and the description in Domesday includes some of the Survey's few references to trade. The only commodity expressly referred to is marten skins, an import over which the king's reeve had a right of pre-emption, but tolls were also levied on other unspecified items *(Dom Surv, Ches*, 35-6, 83; *VCH Ches*, I, 342-3). Chester was a focus for the saltways emanating westward from the wiches, and in the Middle Ages the principal market for

Cheshire salt, so it seems probable that salt figured largely among the commodities traded (Crump 1940, 84-142; *VCH Ches*, I, 328-9; Fig 67). Another likely item in view of Chester's Viking connections is slaves, certainly important in the later (11th century) trade between Bristol and Dublin *(Hist Town Atlas*, 3). Such commodities, however, leave little or no material trace, and in the dearth of references in the written sources their presence in Chester can only be conjectural.

The marten furs have been supposed to have come from Ireland *(Dom Surv Ches*, 35-6), with which Chester almost certainly did have important trading links. The Vikings, established all round the Irish Sea, seem to have attempted to set up staging posts along the north Welsh coast and on Anglesey, to ease the journey from Dublin to Chester (Loyn 1976, 18-21; Fig 67). In the city itself there was almost certainly a considerable Hiberno-Scandinavian community involved in this trade. That community seems to have been located in the area south of the legionary fortress, in the quarter where the clearest evidence for pre-Conquest settlement has been found. The huts from Lower Bridge Street have been interpreted as of the bow-sided type especially associated with Scandinavian sites in England and Ireland, and there is also place-name evidence to confirm the association, in particular the lost names of two gates in the walls surrounding the area, Clippe Gate and Wolfeld Gate, which may both derive from Old Norse personal names (Mason 1985, 18-22; *PN Ches*, V (1: i), 25-6; Dodgson 1968, 50-3).

The dedications of the two churches in the quarter, St Bridget and St Olave, are also appropriate to a Hiberno-Norse community. Though St Olave's cannot have come into being before the earlier 11th century (since the Norwegian king, Olaf Haraldsson, was only martyred in 1030), St Bridget's could well have been earlier. The dedication also appears at West Kirby, an important parish covering much of the area of Scandinavian settlement in Wirral, and is especially likely to have been favoured by Scandinavians from Ireland. Moreover the fact that the medieval parish was in two fragments separated from one another by portions of two other parishes (including St Olave's) suggests that it was once larger and eroded by later foundations. The church therefore seems to have been the earliest to serve the Hiberno-Norse community in Chester, and may well go back to the period of their settlement there (Alldridge 1981, 17-21; Brownbill 1928, 12-13, 87; Dickins 1937-8, 53-80; Fig 68).

A further confirmation of a Scandinavian association with the area to the south of the legionary fortress, though in this instance outside the medieval walls and across the river, is to be found in the Domesday assessment for Handbridge, in geldable carucates rather than the hides which were normal for Cheshire. Such geldable assessments occur elsewhere in the county, mostly in association with Scandinavian place-names, and appear to be evidence of genuine Scandinavian settlement *(Dom Surv Ches*, 9-10; *VCH Ches*, I, 297-9).

Archaeological finds have confirmed a Hiberno-Norse presence in Chester. In particular a brooch with Borre-Jelling ornament from the Princess Street site is identical with a brooch found in Dublin and must derive

from the same mould *(Med Arch,* **15,** 73, 79; **27,** 170). There is evidence too for contact with the Isle of Man. Chester has yielded several ring-headed pins of a Hiberno-Norse type particularly analogous to examples found on Man, and fragments of jewellery from a hoard deposited in the city *c* 970 or 980 have also been interpreted as similar in character to material from a hoard found on the island at Ballaquayle (Fanning 1983, 27-36; Graham-Campbell 1983, 69-70; Webster *et al* 1953, 26-9).

As might be expected, the Hiberno-Norse community was also much involved in coining. As early as the reign of Edward the Elder one of the moneyers from north-west Mercia bore the significant Scandinavian name Irfara ('the Ireland journeyer'), and there continued to be a strong Scandinavian and Gaelic element among the names of Chester moneyers throughout the 10th century (Dolley 1955, 4-6, 8, 10-11). Moreover the discovery of an ingot mould at the site in Lower Bridge Street suggests that there may have been metalworking there in the 10th century, perhaps connected with the mint (Mason 1985, 21-2). That the mint was involved in trade that passed along the Irish Sea routes is clear from the kind of coin that it produced; in accordance with Hiberno-Norse prejudices it entirely eschewed portrait heads in, and even after the recoining of 973. Examples from the last years of Edgar's reign of Chester coins lacking a portrait head are to be found exclusively in hoards from Ireland, Scotland, and Man, and perhaps represent a concession to the special requirements of the city's trade with the Norsemen, exempting it from conformity with the new portrait issue (Dolley 1961, 1-18).

It is, then, possible to reconstruct some picture of the kinds of activity going on at Chester by the later 10th century, which seems to have been a particularly prosperous time for the city. It is possible, too, to gain some insight into its topography. Within the area of the Roman fortress there were still substantial upstanding Roman remains, some seemingly still in use (Strickland, ch 15). Together with a large ecclesiastical precinct, housing the city's main cult, they perhaps formed some kind of administrative core.

To the south, outside the Roman walls but probably within the late Saxon fortifications, there was a trading community with strong Hiberno-Norse links, occupying an area where there were few surviving Roman remains. Outside the medieval defences altogether, though perhaps with some defences of its own, there was a separate episcopal enclave, adjacent to the Roman amphitheatre and focused on the manor of Redcliff with its ancient minster church of St John. Settlement seems to have been thinnest in the west and south-west of the city. Certainly in the area outside the west wall of the legionary fortress, which formed the Roman waterfront, substantial Roman buildings seem to have survived for a long time, and excavation so far has revealed no trace of Anglo-Saxon building or occupation (Strickland 1984b, 31).

Anglo-Saxon Chester's greatest days had perhaps already ended with the reign of Athelstan, and its continuance as the major provincial centre that it had become under his immediate successors seems to have

sustained a further setback *c* 980, after which there was a dramatic decline in the productivity of the Chester mint for some twenty years. That decline has been generally attributed to renewed Viking activity. We know that there was a Viking raid on Cheshire in 980, and it is possible that the city was sacked then. Certainly it was around that time that three important coin hoards were deposited in the city, at least two of which look like the demonetized reserve stocks of Chester moneyers, presumably hidden because of alarm at the growing instability of the region (Dolley and Pirie 1964, 39-44; Webster *et al* 1953, 22-32; Turner 1941, 47-9; Hill 1920, 141-65). A further indication of decline or devastation is the end of occupation at the Lower Bridge Street site around the end of the 10th century (Mason 1985, 23-30, 36).

Nevertheless Chester had recovered sufficiently by 1000 to become the base for English ships successfully harrying Vikings in and around the Irish Sea, and by the reign of Cnut (1016-35) the mint had regained at least some of its former importance. In terms of numbers of moneyers and output of coins it was then firmly in the group of significant provincial mints ranking immediately below the major centres of London, York, Lincoln, Stamford, and Winchester (Freeman 1985, 327-40, 527; Metcalf 1980, 33).[5] Even so, Chester's temporary eclipse may have left some long-term effects, since it was in the early 11th century that Chester coins disappeared from Irish coin hoards and the city began to be supplanted by Bristol as the principal port for Irish trade. Possibly destruction wrought in 980 combined with other factors such as the rise of a powerful north Welsh kingdom under Gruffudd ap Llywelyn (1039-63) to render Bristol more attractive to the Dublin traders (Lloyd 1939, II, 357-71; Dolley 1960, 191-3; Cronne 1946, 21-2; *Hist Towns Atlas,* 2-3).

By the 11th century there is evidence of activity on sites throughout the city, especially in the form of sherds of Chester ware. Though difficult to date-they may derive from any period from the early 10th to the mid or perhaps late 11th century-they are to be found at most sites excavated since the early 1950s, both within medieval walls and along the line of Foregate Street *(VCH Ches,* I, 281-3, 286-8). Such ware had a very wide circulation, and it is not clear whether the material found at Chester was made there or imported from a site such as Stafford, where kilns have been found *(Med Archaeol,* **20,** 169-71; Mason 1985, 53). Other manufactures, however, were undoubtedly by then located within the late Saxon town. To the north, just within the precinct of St Werburgh's, the remains of an antler and bone-working industry have been discovered on the Abbey Green site (McPeake *et al* 1980, 31), and to the south the Lower Bridge Street site seems to have become an area of tanneries and leatherworking (Mason 1985, 23-30).

Despite its vicissitudes, by the mid 11th century Chester was a fairly substantial provincial town, with two minsters and 508 houses held by the king, earl and bishop. It contained important local officials, the *praepositi* and *ministri* of the king and earl, who took care of their lords' interests in the city. The relative strength of the earl's position is reflected in the fact that the peace of his representative was like the king's protected from infringement by a fine of 40s. His only local rival was the

bishop, with his extensive property in the city and in Redcliff and his rights to payments for various transgressions of the laws regulating trade on the sabbath and other holy days.

The city was assessed as a half hundred, at 50 hides, and had its own hundredal court, presided over by twelve 'judges' *(iudices civitatis)*. These officials, who were drawn from the men of king, earl and bishop, and were liable to fines payable to the king and earl for failure to attend, have been regarded as evidence of Scandinavian influence on the city's institutions and equated with the 'lawmen' *(lagemen)* of such boroughs as Lincoln and Stamford or the *iudices* of York. There is, however, no indication that they enjoyed the same status as their namesakes in the Danelaw towns, with their extensive properties and judicial privileges. Indeed the laws of Chester, which are given in exceptional detail, suggest that as in other western towns, the status of its citizens was comparatively low. They were obliged to pay 10s relief on taking up land in the city, and were also liable to heavy fines for failure to pay *gablum* or rent and for other misdemeanours *(Dom Surv Ches, 325-7, 342-3; VCH Ches, I, 325-7, 342-3)*.

Notes

1 Cf London and Aldwych in the 8th and 9th centuries (Hobley 1986, 16–18). That there was indeed Saxon occupation to the south alongside the river is suggested by evidence from the excavations in Lower Bridge Street, which show that the site had been reoccupied in the later 9th century after ploughing in the post-Roman period: Mason 1985, 2, 6, 34–5.

2 But cf *PN Ches* V (1:i, 26) for more recent doubts about the Scandinavian origins of the name Wolfeld.

3 For 14th century and later references to *Bispediche*, presumably a ditch marking the eastern boundary of bishop's borough, see Morris (1894, 212, 214, 217). Cf Bishopsfield in Hoole, and Bishop's Street, *iuxta Cestr'* (*PN Ches*, IV, 130; V (1:i), 77).

4 The Domesday references to a shire court with jurisdiction over the land between Ribble and Mersey seem likely to refer to the court based at Chester (*VCH Lancs*, I, 269, 285, 287).

5 Chester improved its ranking among English mints in the later years of Edward the Confessor. Though its own output remained stable, there was a dramatic decline in that of several of the larger mints (Freeman 1985, 55–8).

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17 York 700-1050
R A Hall

Abstract

The development of Anglo-Scandinavian *Jorvik* from Anglian *Eoforwic* is explored, concentrating on the topographical data. There is a dearth of archaeological evidence for occupation or activity from *c* 400 until the 8th century, when artefact scatters are known from all the components of the former Roman settlement. Recently a regularly ordered focus of 8th-9th century Anglian occupation has been discovered at the confluence of the Ouse and Foss, associated with evidence for manufacturing and overseas contacts. This area was abandoned in the mid 9th century, when the Vikings captured the city. In the later 9th and early 10th centuries there is a range of evidence for redevelopment within the Roman *colonia* and in the environs of the Roman fortress; the fortress itself was probably revitalized too.

In both 700 and 1050 York could claim to be the premier settlement in north-east England in political, ecclesiastical and economic terms. There was, however, so far as the very limited evidence available allows us to judge, a considerable difference between Anglian *Eoforwic* and Anglo-Scandinavian *Jorvik*. This paper will attempt some definition and exploration of these differences, but two limiting factors should be made clear at the start. Firstly, York's archaeology is usually a palimpsest of intercutting features, with the attendant problems of residuality and intrusion affecting the clarity of the picture and further complicating problems of dating. It is often difficult to date a given context or phase within ±25 or even ±50 years with much conviction, and this of course may make it uncertain whether a particular development should be attributed, for example, to a late Anglian or an early Anglo-Scandinavian inspiration. Secondly, the sample of pre-Conquest York yet available is unreliably small, and may well exhibit unusual features. Taking Domesday Book's mansiones as a guide, only approximately 0.025% of the mid 11th century city has been archaeologically investigated, and an overwhelming part of this sample is represented by a single excavation at 16-22 Coppergate.

Within these restraints the main concern of the paper will be topographic, with little consideration of artefact studies or of environmental analysis. Both these aspects are being studied at present in York, and a series of detailed studies will shortly be published in the series *The Archaeology of York.*

York's regional pre-eminence is a reflection of its chorographic setting. It commands the southern end of the Vale of York, part of the main north-south route up the eastern side of Britain, at a point where a band of glacial moraine traverses the Vale, providing an east-west routeway. Here the moraine is cut by the River Ouse, which flows on for some 50 km to a junction with the Trent river system in the Humber Estuary, and thence on to the North Sea. The river was tidal to York and beyond, allowing access from the Humber mouth on two tides. The Ouse is joined at York by its tributary the Foss, and in the naturally defended tongue of land at their confluence Roman military surveyors laid out a legionary fortress *c* AD 71. This 20 ha fortification was to remain the headquarters of the Romans' northern military command until their withdrawal *c* 400. Off the north-west side of the fortress there was a subsidiary walled enclosure of unknown date, size and function.

Across the Ouse civilian settlement developed in the mid/late 2nd century, and the site was granted *colonia* status by the early 3rd century, eventually becoming the capital of *Britannia Inferior.* It is presumed that a walled circuit enclosed an area of some 27 ha, within which, as well as town houses, there may have been an imperial palace and, perhaps, a church of the Bishop Eborius who attended the Council of Arles in 314.

So far as is known, all elements of the Roman town continued in occupation or use until the end of the 4th century, although there are some signs of change in the *colonia* in the later 4th century (Ottaway 1984, 32-3) and in the extramural zone south-east of the fortress, where at 16-22 Coppergate a 4th century cemetery in an area previously occupied by buildings may suggest contraction.

There is no firm archaeological evidence for what happened in the city after the Roman military withdrawal, and the 5th and 6th centuries are at present a 'dark age'. It has been suggested that Anglo-Saxons, either the descendants of German troops in the late Roman army or recently arrived immigrants, took over in the 5th century (cf Myres 1986, 196), although another view holds that there is very little 5th century Anglo-Saxon material in Yorkshire at all (Eagles 1979, 240-1). It is more likely that the city remained a British settlement, perhaps ultimately within the 'Celtic' kingdom of Elmet, until the later 6th century (Faull 1974, 23; 1977, 2-3). It has also been suggested that a large part of the city was flooded in the 5th and 6th centuries in the wake of marine transgression in the Humber estuary (Ramm 1971, 181-3; Radley and Simms 1971, 9). Here at least archaeology has something positive to offer, even though its evidence negates what has been proposed in support of the flood theory, for at several sites where traces of the putative flooding

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should have been found, there was no sign of it. In all, it may be suggested that some elements of the Romano-British population and their descendants probably continued to use part of the city into the 5th and perhaps even 6th centuries for political, social or religious purposes, but it can have had no substantial economic role except conceivably as a place of limited exchange at a political level.

As late as 600, when it seems that much of northern and eastern Yorkshire was in Anglo-Saxon hands, evidence for pagan Anglo-Saxon activity in York remains virtually absent - even the well known Anglo-Saxon cremation cemeteries at the Mount and Heworth, 1-2 km south and north respectively, do not necessarily reflect a population based in York, but could reflect agricultural communities based in the former *territorium*.

In 627 the Northumbrian king Edwin was baptized in a church built for the occasion and dedicated to St Peter which, it is generally believed, was the direct predecessor of York Minster. There has been no trace of any pre-Norman church building in Derek Phillips's Minster excavations, but various 8th-9th century sculptured stones indicate that there was a contemporary church thereabouts, perhaps in the courtyard of the *principia* which was still, in part at least, standing roofed until that time (Phillips 1975, 24). If it was in this position it mirrors the position of St Paul-in-the-Bail at Lincoln; Phillips (1985, 50ff), however, favours a position to the north of the present Minster. Wherever precisely it stood in this area, there may be a comparison to be drawn with the position of the early 7th century foundation of St Paul's in London, inside the Roman walls with a probable palace site nearby (Biddle and Hudson 1973, 20). The imposing standing remains of the York *principia* may have been incorporated in a prestigious Northumbrian royal palace.

It is also possible to detect the power of the Northumbrian kings in the refortifications of the Roman military *enceinte* detected by Radley (1972) at the excavation of the 'Anglian Tower' ((1) on Fig 69) and by Davison in his observations during the destruction in 1970 of an adjacent stretch of rampart (Webster and Cherry 1972, 165-7; Hall and Davison, in prep). The earliest element in the refurbishment is the 'Anglian Tower' itself, plugging a breach in the fortress walls which, Davison speculated (Wilson 1972, 309), might have been caused by the collapse of an external tower or postern not otherwise attested. However there is no archaeological confirmation for this hypothetical feature. Buckland (1984) has recently summarized the evidence for the tower's date concentrating on its geological composition, exclusively of oolitic limestone. He suggests that the structure would not have been out of place in a late Roman context, but allows that it may have been built from reused Roman building stone at a later date, since it shares one of the geological characteristics of the 11th century tower of St Mary Bishophill Junior church.

Radley (1972, 46) demonstrated that the south-west corner of the tower had collapsed before the first phase of rampart refurbishment took place, with a rebuilding of the wall-head in stone and a revetted stone pathway laid behind. He believed on historical grounds that this

addition should be attributed to the Vikings in 867. Davison collected a little dating evidence for the southern extension of this work, including an Anglian sherd. Unfortunately two other sherds, of the period 850-950, may also be attributed either to this or to the second phase of strengthening the rampart, leaving the date of this first phase uncertain. It is at least possible, however, that the earliest post-Roman rampart was constructed in the Anglian period before the mid 9th century; the 'Anglian Tower' precedes this by the indefinable length of time represented by its partial collapse.

If there was a defended area here that had its fortifications refurbished in the Anglian period, it is unusual in British urban archaeology. However, there is as yet little evidence for what - apart from the metropolitan church and the putative royal palace - was being defended. The street pattern shows that within the Roman fortress the *insulae* were in some cases disregarded and direct routes between adjacent gateways were created; although there is no clear-cut evidence for when this took place, a date in the 5th-late 9th century bracket seems most likely. These new routes include Goodramgate, running from the *porta principalis sinistra* to the *porta decumana,* but diverted when the latter was replaced by Monk Bar *c* 1300; also Blake Street, which ran from just within the *porta praetoria* to High Petergate near the *porta principalis dextra,* its northern part being enclosed by St Leonard's hospital in 1299 (RCHMY, **5,** 94). These routes indicate movement through the fortress but, apart from whatever evidence there may be from Phillips's Minster excavations, no certain intramural occupation site has yet been recognized within the fortress, although possible Anglian structures have been seen in York Archaeological Trust excavations at 9 Blake Street (2) (Addyman 1975, 34) and the Bedern (3) (Andrews 1984, 199). Although individual pieces are of intrinsic interest (cf Tweddle 1984a), there are correspondingly few casual finds of Anglian material. Thus there is little to add here to Cramp's (1967, pl IV) distribution map, although this partly reflects the limited number of opportunities that have presented themselves to excavate in this area.

A single sherd of Roman pottery was found by Wenham (1962, 547, fig 18, no 120) at 6-14 Davygate (4), which has an accretion adhering to it that closely resembles glass-making residues identified on similar Roman vessels found at 16-22 Coppergate, reused for glass-working in the mid 9th century. This is all that can be even tentatively adduced to indicate Anglian manufacturing here, and there is no evidence for trading or commercial   activities.

Across the River Ouse within the former *colonia* there is a virtual absence of 5th-7th century artefacts but a greater concentration of 8th and 9th century material, all of a domestic nature. Their distribution is fairly evenly spread across the *colonia;* the apparent density to the north of Micklegate largely mirrors the pattern of deep and substantial redevelopment projects (Moulden and Tweddle 1986, 7, 16). However discoveries around the Roman bridgehead, notably in Tanner Row (Wilson 1964) and at 5 Rougier Street (5) (Addyman 1981a, 45 and pl 16), may perhaps suggest that a crossing-point there remained in use into the 9th century.
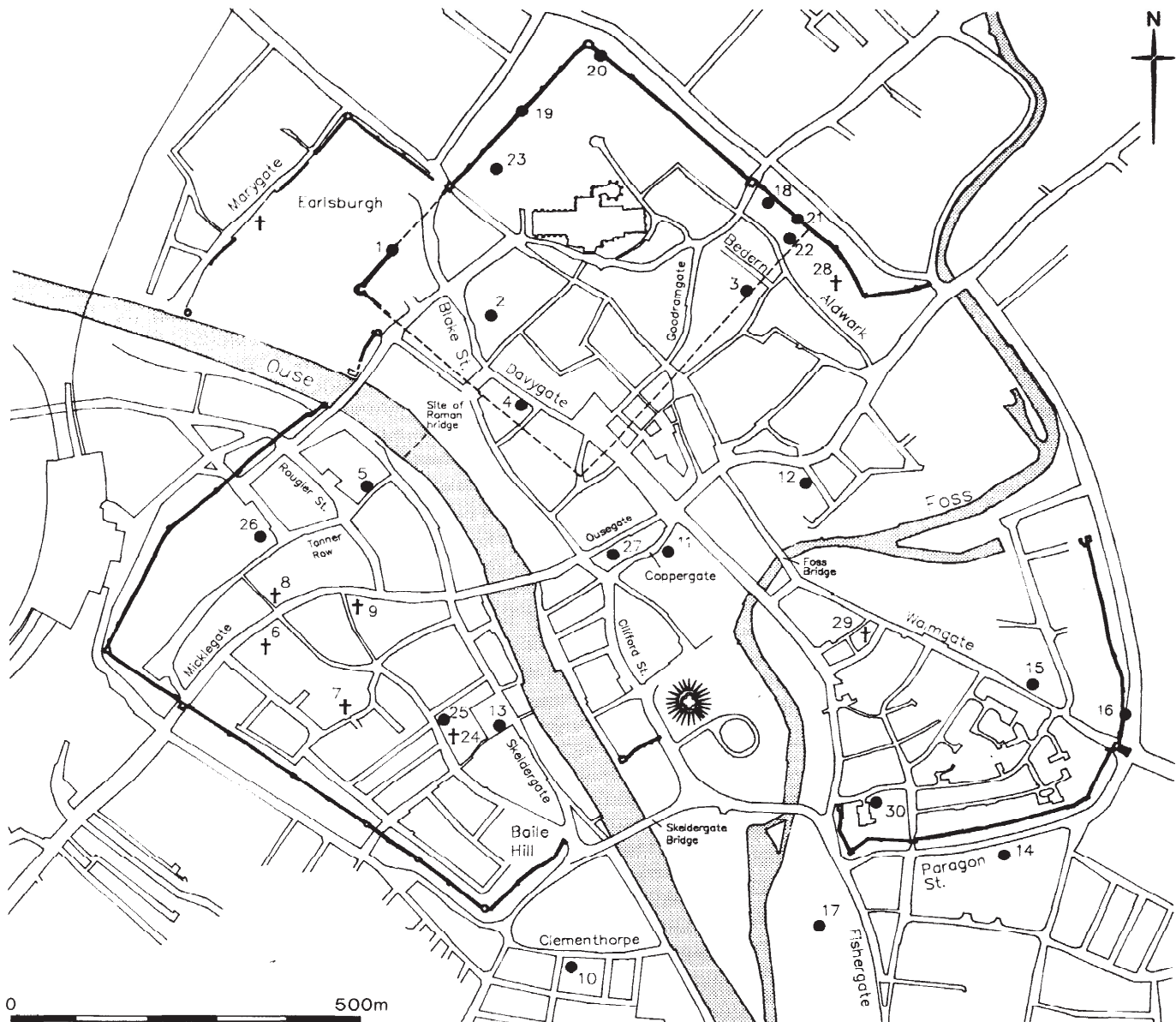
Fig 69   Map of York: sites referred to in text

As in the fortress, Anglian occupation levels and structures have not yet been recognized in the *colonia,* but recently two commentators have independently suggested, although with different emphases, that there may have been a sizable and important ecclesiastical complex in the Bishophill area. Palliser's (1984, 104-5) general points about archiepiscopal holdings here, which could have been initiated as early as the 7th century, have been refined by Morris (1986) who proposes a monastic dimension to the Anglian church in York based within a church complex represented by the sites of Holy Trinity Priory (6), St Mary Bishophill Junior (7), St Gregory (8) and St Martin (9). Only excavation will now advance this argument - the discovery of Archbishop Albert's (767-80) church of Holy Wisdom would indeed be of considerable importance.

Turning to the immediately extramural areas beside both the fortress and *colonia,* evidence for Anglian activity or occupation is again negligible. South-east of the *colonia* at Clementhorpe (10) a large cobble-raft foundation on the site of the 12th century Benedictine nunnery of St Clement is thought to represent a pre-Conquest church, and two mid 9th century coins recovered from later contexts, together with a residual 9th century lead weight, may suggest an origin for the building at that time (Dobson and Donaghey 1984, 7; Brinklow 1986). Across the river the collection of unstratified material amassed when Clifford Street was constructed in the 1870s includes at least one ostensibly mid 9th century object (Waterman 1959, 80 and fig 10.6). The significance of the find spot of the mid 8th century helmet from 16-22 Coppergate (11) is unclear (Tweddle 1984b). It was clearly well worn when buried, and there are indications that the wood-lined shaft in

which it was discovered was of Anglo-Scandinavian date, but the reason for its deposition is uncertain.

The recognition that several hundred fragments of pottery produced using the hand-made technique associated with the Anglian period were found in the earliest Viking Age layers on this site suggests that there was a tradition of ceramic production in the pre-Viking town, which continued far a short time after the Viking takeover (Mainman, in prep). This is an important discovery, controverting as it does the previous supposition that the absence of such pottery from excavations in the city pointed to a largely aceramic Anglian urban culture (Addyman 1981b, 69). It gives weight to the argument that sites where not even isolated pottery sherds of this sort have been recovered were indeed unused in the later Anglian period. Nonetheless this excavation close to the banks of the River Foss did not produce any evidence for Anglian occupation or for the commercial or industrial use of the river in the Anglian period - a repetition of the negative evidence recovered in earlier excavations at Hungate(12)(Richardson 1959, *passim)*. With the exception of a few sherds of Tating ware from within the *colonia* at 58-9 Skeldergate (13) which seem, however, to be in an early Anglo-Scandinavian context (Donaghey and Hall 1986, 48), the same is true of the Ouse frontages of the fortress and *colonia.*

Yet there should be evidence for commercial activities. Altfrid's *Life of St Luidgar* contains a passage (Whitelock 1955, 725) that infers the presence of a Frisian trading community in late 8th century York, and York was presumably the gateway through which such imports as the Tating and northern French wares found at Wharram Percy in the East Riding reached Northumbria (Hurst 1984, 82). A Frisian *sceat* has been found in excavations at 16-22 Coppergate (Pirie 1986, 51), confirming contact between the two areas. It should be noted, however, that the site of North Ferriby on the Humber shore has produced rather more Frisian coins (Metcalf 1984, 68-9), and there is a possibility that this site, on a land and ferry route linking Lindsey and Northumbria, also served as an international port of entry in the early 8th century (Pirie 1984, 208-9).

Additionally the Northumbrian coinage itself is an indication of economic activity. For long regarded as forgeries, three gold *tremisses* found in York in the mid 19th century are now regarded as genuine coins, perhaps of the 640s (Stewart 1978, 149; Grierson & Blackburn 1986, 643). They and a fourth, unprovenanced, but apparently related coin, recently rediscovered, were presumably struck by a king, and it may be that they were produced in York; they do not seem to belong to any of the southern mints operating at this time. Even if there is room for doubt as to the commercial role of these gold issues which may have been struck primarily from political motives as a manifestation of royal power, there can be few such reservations about the later, silver coins. Silver coins may have been issued from as early as Aldfrith's reign (Pirie 1984, 209-11), and according to the limited number of analyses undertaken, these *sceattas* and *stycas* continued to have a high silver content to the end of the 8th century, becoming debased only in the 9th (Booth 1984, 88). Although none of these coins bears

a mint signature, it is at least possible and indeed very likely that some of them were minted at York, the most important centre in Anglian Northumbria.

The existence of a trading centre which stimulated the need for coinage has also been proposed from a consideration of placename elements. The element *wic* in *Eoforwic,* it has been pointed out, occurs in the early name forms of a number of south and east coast sites that are otherwise known as trading centres (Reynolds 1977, 24-7; Rumble 1980, 11). Palliser (1984, 103, 107-8) has suggested that the 10th-11th century *wic* may be equated with the *colonia* area but, as noted above, there is no archaeological confirmation of such a commercial settlement here in the Anglian period. There is, however, new evidence for settlement of this date from the Fishergate area, north of the Ouse.

Limited excavations were undertaken in 1973-4 in Paragon Street, beyond the medieval city walls, on the site of the new Barbican Baths and old Cattle Market (14), which had destroyed much of the earlier levels. Nonetheless a single Anglian feature was encountered containing, among other things, a copper alloy cross-brooch with enamelled decoration, and two coins of Eadberht (737-58) (Redmond 1976). Some 250 m to the north within the city walls at 118-26 Walmgate (15), excavations in 1978-9 that were extremely limited in their earliest levels nevertheless revealed below Anglo-Scandinavian deposits a series of features that may be of Anglian date (Addyman 1979, 33), although as at Paragon Street no Anglian pottery was recognized in association. More recently features probably of the Anglian period, dated by the presence of a small quantity of contemporary pottery, have again been recognized, albeit within a very restricted area (16), in cuttings through the city rampart just to the north of Walmgate Bar which have proved that there was not a defensive line here before the Norman period, (Barber in prep). Together these three investigations within a radius of about 120 m suggest that there may have been Anglian settlement throughout this vicinity, although the scale, density and more precise chronology of that occupation is uncertain.

To their rather limited evidence may now be added the more comprehensive data being produced by an excavation at 46-54 Fishergate, a riparian site some 250 m south-west of the Paragon Street excavation, at the confluence of the Ouse and Foss (17). Here, in the early 13th century, the Gilbertine Priory of St Andrew was established, perhaps on the site of the church of St Andrew referred to in *Domesday Book*. The site is already known to students of the pre-Conquest period through a gold ring, perhaps of the 9th/10th century, found by chance earlier this century (Cramp 1967, 18 and pl viib). Although the river margins of the Anglian period have not been located, a 2500 m^2 area of occupation has been examined in detail, and trial cuttings show that similar deposits continue for at least 30 m to both north and south. Post-built structures, a number of stake alignments and numerous pits have been defined, apparently laid out in regular zones, which perhaps relate to indiviual properties. These features are dated broadly to the Anglian period by a suite of artefacts including metalwork and pottery of the type

first recognized at 16-22 Coppergate. It is hoped that greater precision will be supplied by coin finds, which include a hoard of four *sceattas,* at least some of which are of the 'London' type series L dated to around the second quarter of the 8th century. Evidence for crafts or industry includes loom weights, combmaking debris and metalworking crucibles; a fragment of lava quern may represent contemporary contact with the Rhineland, and imported pottery has also been recognized.

Anglian York was the first target of the *micel here* of Viking warriors who captured it in 866. Documentary sources, among which the silver penny coinage minted in York for the first time at the very end of the 9th century may be included, show that Viking Age York was a prize hotly contested by rival Scandinavian kings and the English until, with the final expulsion of Erik Bloodaxe in 954, York and Northumbria were incorporated into the new pan-English state. Through all these political uncertainties the city continued to flourish, and in *Domesday Book* it is the largest urban site, surpassed only, it is supposed, by London. Yet Anglo-Scandinavian *Jorvik,* as it became known, remains almost as mysterious in many of its aspects as does Anglian *Eoforwic.*

Various pre- and post-conquest sources include comments on the city's defences (Waterman 1959, 67) to which may be added the *Anonymous Life of St Oswald* (Rolls Series 71, 1 (1879), 454) and the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* (Surtees Soc. L1 (1867), 144). However in each case their reliability may be questioned, and archaeology alone will provide information on the extent of the defended area. Within the Roman fortress area Davison's defensive sequence adjacent to the Anglian Tower (1) extends into the Viking Age (Hall and Davison, in prep), and additions to the rampart have been noted adjacent to 1-5 Aldwark (18) (MacGregor and Hall, forthcoming). Furthermore, Radley (1972, 57-8) reinterpreted three sections dug across the north-west and north-east sides of the Roman fortress defences by Miller in 1925-7 as also containing pre-Norman defensive elements (19-2 1). By contrast it seems that the fortress's south-east and south-west defences became increasingly less formidable as occupation material and other debris accumulated around them. This is the picture gained from a series of observations and excavations by Radley (1970), Ramm (1956), Stead (1958; 1968) and Wenham (Dyer and Wenham 1958; Wenham 1961; 1962; 1968). The evidence of street lines and property and parish boundaries equally emphasizes the continued role of the Roman defensive lines as topographical determinants, if not defensive barriers, into the 11th/12th centuries at least. Definitive pronouncements on the degree of the wall's above-ground survival at any time are often impossible to make, either due to its obvious removal at a more recent date, as encountered at 7-9 Aldwark (22) (Stockwell and Ottaway, forthcoming), or because of the possibility of its earlier truncation above an already buried and thus surviving portion.

The development of the Roman fortress area in the Anglo-Scandinavian period remains a major historical lacuna. The archbishopric was not extinguished by the Vikings and continued throughout the political turmoil,

but no traces of a Viking Age cathedral were uncovered in Phillips's excavation, although a graveyard with Anglo-Scandinavian marker stones suggests that the church is close by. Extremely restricted excavation behind the Nuffield Purey Cust Hospital some 75 m north-west of the Minster (23), just within the defences and to the north of the Roman *porta principalis dextra,* have yielded a coin of Cnut *(c* 900), perhaps suggesting activity hereabouts at that time, although the nature of this activity could not be recognized (Pearson, in prep). This apart, there is nothing to add to the meagre data presented in the last published survey (Hall 1978, 34).

Across the River Ouse in the *colonia* area there is as yet no evidence for Viking Age defences, but no recent excavation has penetrated the later medieval rampart layers. Palliser (1984, 105) has suggested that the area was planned in an essentially gridded layout, perhaps under the inspiration of the pre-Conquest archbishops who held land here, but that this grid has been camouflaged by later ecclesiastical changes and Norman military works.

Architecture, sculpture and *Domesday Book* point to Anglo-Scandinavian churches on the sites of St Mary Bishophill Senior (24) and Junior (7), St Martin (9), and Holy Trinity (6) churches. At Clementhorpe (10) (see above) the possible Anglian church structure seems to have continued in use at this period, with the eponymous dedication to St Clement perhaps originating under Scandinavian influence in the 10th or 11th century (Dobson and Donaghey 1984, 7). Holy Trinity (alias Christchurch), perhaps the 8th century *monasterium,* was a particularly important church in the Anglo-Scandinavian period, enjoying rights and privileges extended elsewhere in Northumbria only to the minsters at York, Ripon, Beverley, and the church at Durham. All these south-bank churches indicate the presence of communities of some sort (cf Briden and Stocker 1987), most clearly identified in Wenham's discovery of Scandinavian settlers buried around St Mary Bishophill Junior in the 920s (Wenham and Hall 1987).

Moulden and Tweddle's (1986) survey of archaeological and chance finds in this area shows a distribution of Anglo-Scandinavian material right across the *colonia.* Apparent concentrations north of Micklegate, 'the great street' (where nothing has been found because virtually no rebuilding has occurred since the 18th century), and to the east at Skeldergate Bridge/Baile Hill, probably reflect no more than the incidence of principal 19th century building works, and comparison of these two 'concentrations' with the distribution of contemporary churches highlights the imbalance of the evidence. Certainly the density of Anglo-Scandinavian settlement is not known, for only five sites have produced archaeologically excavated evidence for secular occupation or activity. Buildings have been recovered only at 58-9 Skeldergate (13), where they were laid out in the late 9th/early 10th century (Donaghey and Hall 1986). A few pits were located at 37 Bishophill Senior (25) (Carver 1986), occupation deposits were uncovered at Baile Hill (Addyman and Priestley 1977, 122-4), as well as apparently unassociated finds at 5 Rougier Street (5) and 24-30 Tanner Row (26) (Moulden and Tweddle 1986, 12). In all, the finds are overwhelmingly domestic in nature -

there is little evidence for manufacturing or commerce.

This contrasts with the evidence from the area east of the fortress on the spit or *ness* between the two rivers. This area had been extramural in the Roman period, but the defensive enclosure which encompassed it in the later medieval period probably originated before the conquest. A similar Anglo-Scandinavian extension of the Roman defences has been suggested at Chester (Mason 1985, 38). Indeed a more positive method of determining when the south-west and south-east sides of the fortress became obsolete (see above) requires the examination of additions to the fortress walls running to the Ouse from near the west corner and towards the Foss from off the east corner; opportunities here have not yet arisen. An enlargement of the defended circuit has long been recognized, and was illustrated by Radley (1971, fig 5), but the precise course depicted there is certainly based on some misapprehensions. Elements in it, such as the 'stockade' at 27 High Ousegate, or the 'rampart' at Hungate (12), can be reinterpreted (Hall, forthcoming) and attention should be focused not on Radley's illustration but on his accompanying text (1971, 39).

Within this area, from partial excavation of just five tenements and from observations in a few others, there is now evidence for the practice of a range of crafts, including leatherworking, in particular cobbling/cordwaining (MacGregor 1982, 136ff), the working of jet, amber, iron, lead, copper alloy, silver and gold (Roesdahl *et al* 1981, passim), glass-working (Bayley 1982, 493-5; 1987) and the lathe-turning of wooden bowls and cups (Morris 1982, *passim).* In addition bone/antler working (Roesdahl *et al* 1981, 112-16) and textile manufacturing and dyeing (MacGregor 1982, 100-36; Hall *et al* 1984) may have been carried out on either a commercial or a domestic scale of production. This area has also produced evidence for the contacts Jorvik enjoyed - a wide-ranging orbit centred on Scandinavia, the Scandinavian colonies in Scotland and Ireland, and north-western Europe, but extending to the east end of the Mediterranean, the Near East and as far as Samarkand. The objects that emanated from these areas did not, of course, all necessarily reach York as the result of trading activities, but some, such as the quantity of Byzantine silks found at 16-22 Coppergate, almost certainly did.

The chronology of this movement back to an area largely barren of indications of Anglian occupation has been established at 16-22 Coppergate (11). After desertion throughout the 5th to mid 9th centuries, activity began again just at or slightly before the Viking takeover. By *c* 900 elements of what was to be an enduring layout were in being, and by *c* 930/5 tenements were well established. The motives and personnel behind these developments remain speculative, however. Was a royal prerogative behind the planning of the regular tenements, or the initiative of aristocrats or entrepreneurs? How much of Coppergate and the surrounding locale was treated in this way? There are indications of broadly similar developments between 25-7 High Ousegate and 5-7 Coppergate (27) (Benson 1902; Hall forthcoming), but their chronology is unknown.

Further developments at 16-22 Coppergate took place *c* 975 when two ranks of buildings at the head of most tenements replaced the earlier single structures there, perhaps reflecting a specialized use of one rank for craft purposes rather than a growing population. Subsequently the erection of what may have been a warehouse nearer the Foss river front on one tenement took place in the 1030s.

Another indication of the rebirth of this area comes from excavation at 21-33 Aldwark (28), a site immediately south-east of the fortress, where the church of St Helen-on-the-Walls was shown to have had its origin in the 10th century (Magilton 1980, 37). This indication of a community contrasts with the general absence of earlier pre-Conquest material in the vicinity, and particularly with the absence of any signs of pre-church occupation above the remains of an underlying Roman townhouse.

It should be appreciated that the picture of a densely occupied manufacturing/artisan quarter now well established in the Coppergate-Ousegate-Pavement area may also be applicable to much of the fortress area. The archaeological difficulties here include the lack of opportunity for excavation and the later medieval removal of relevant levels; to these may be coupled the general absence of waterlogged deposits.

Occupation and activity also extended eastward across the River Foss into the Walmgate area. The church of St Denys (29) was a pre-Conquest foundation, attested by sculpture. Occupation deposits have been examined at 118-26 Walmgate (15), some 400 m from the present bridging-point of the Foss (Andrews 1984, 202), and the 10th-12th century comb-making debris has been retrieved at Leadmill Lane (30) (MacGregor 1982, 94-5). The sections through the ramparts adjacent to Walmgate Bar (16) that proved that there was no pre-Conquest defensive line here did reveal traces of Anglo-Scandinavian activity (Barber in prep). This, however, leaves the question of whether there was a defended bridgehead east of the Foss crossing, and if so, where it lay. The Anglo-Scandinavian Walmgate area merged with Fishergate, where the late 11th century archbishops enjoyed rights, as they did directly across the River Ouse in Clementhorpe.

The final component of Jorvik was an area between the Roman fortress and Marygate, where there had been a defended Roman enclosure. This area was known to the 18th century historian Drake as *Earlsburgh,* and here, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Earl Siward *(c* 1030-55) had built (or perhaps rebuilt) a church which he dedicated to St Olaf. This, taken in conjunction with the place-name, leaves little room to doubt that the palace of the Anglo-Scandinavian earls was nearby.

The care with which these earls, and the archbishops of York were chosen by the English kings indicates their desire to control Jorvik, not only to negate a political welcome for Scandinavian invaders, but also to ensure that the city's wealth was available to the English economy and to the kings themselves. In 1066 King Harold Godwinsson had two reeves in the city, presumably to look after royal commercial interests, and if political necessity had not focused William I's attention on York, economic desirability would undoubtedly have done so.

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Abbreviations

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BAR: British Archaeological Reports (Oxford)

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