

Early Medieval Britain

The growth and development of towns and urbanism in the premodern world has been of interest to archaeologists since the 19th century. Much of the early archaeological research on urban origins focused on regions such as Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Mesoamerica. Intensive archaeological research that has been conducted since the 1960s, much of it as a result of urban redevelopment, has shed new light on the development of towns in Anglo-Saxon England. In this book, Pam J. Crabtree uses up-to-date archaeological data to explore urban origins in early medieval Britain. She argues that many Roman towns remained important places on the landscape, despite losing most of their urban character by the 5th century. Beginning with the decline of towns in the 4th and 5th centuries, Crabtree then details the origins and development of towns in Britain from the 7th century through the Norman Conquest in the mid-11th century. She also sets the development of early medieval urbanism in Britain within a broader, comparative framework.

Pam J. Crabtree is a Professor of Anthropology at New York University. She received her BA from Barnard College and her PhD from the University of Pennsylvania. Crabtree has been actively involved in medieval archaeology since 1971, and her research has been funded by Fulbright grants, the National Science Foundation, and the National Endowment of the Humanities. She is co-editor (with Peter Bogucki) of *European Archaeology as Anthropology* (2017). In addition to her work on Anglo-Saxon England, Crabtree has taken part in archaeological projects in Ireland, Belgium, France, Germany, Israel, Turkey, Ukraine, Armenia, Egypt, India, and historic sites in the US.

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Pam J. Crabtree

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For Howard Dalton Winters

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Preface

My interest in Anglo-Saxon England goes back to my undergraduate days. I was an art history major at Barnard with a special interest in early medieval art, but when I was a junior I had the opportunity to work at Winchester, and it changed my life. I worked at the Brook Street site back in the summer of 1971. This was the final season at Brook Street, and the final season of the ten-year program of excavation at Winchester under the leadership of Martin Biddle. I was fortunate to be part of the excavations when we were excavating the earliest of the Anglo-Saxon features and coming down into the Roman features, including a Roman road. I spent part of my summer excavating an Anglo-Saxon wicker-lined well and a fence line. Friends of mine excavated the old Roman road surface, which produced boot nails and low-denomination base-metal Roman coins. I was hooked on archaeology for life. Winchester was the training ground for an entire generation of archaeologists in the UK and North America, and I will be eternally grateful for the opportunity to be part of it. Thank you, Professor Emeritus Martin Biddle, CBE.

I returned to Barnard in the fall of 1971 and began taking courses in anthropology and anthropological archaeology, since most US archaeology programs are housed in departments of anthropology. I also looked around for PhD programs in anthropological archaeology that included medieval archaeology. At that time, the only person teaching medieval archaeology within an anthropology department was Professor Bernard Wailes at the University of Pennsylvania. I will be eternally grateful to Bernard Wailes for taking a chance on a medieval art historian with some basic statistics and Latin skills. Bernard also offered me the opportunity to excavate at the Iron Age royal site of Dún Ailinne, Co. Kildare, Ireland. I have been involved with Dún Ailinne throughout my entire career, and we just completed an excavation season at Dún Ailinne in the summer of 2016. I wish that Bernard were still with us, and I want to thank him for being my PhD adviser and my friend.

When I entered the University of Pennsylvania, I was interested in Anglo-Saxon settlement patterns (or, as we might talk about them today,

landscape studies). I was specifically interested in the question of possible Roman-to-Saxon continuities on the rural level. Unfortunately, I was about 35 years too early for the kinds of GIS tools that are available to archaeologists today. I became a zooarchaeologist by accident. As part of the first year core program in anthropological archaeology, I took the human osteology lab with Professor Alan Mann. As someone who trained in art history, the whole process terrified me, but as a result of my art history training, I have a pretty good visual memory. I did surprisingly well in the osteology lab, and I went on to take another course in human osteology and to take faunal analysis with Dr. Dexter Perkins, Jr. Dexter is best known for his work on possible early sheep domestication at Zawi Chemi Shandiar in Iraqi Kurdistan (Perkins 1964), and he and his partner, Pat Daly, regularly taught zooarchaeology at both Penn and Columbia University. As a result of the zooarchaeology course, I realized that zooarchaeology provided a way to look at early medieval landscape use in England. Dr. Perkins was a member of my PhD committee, and he passed away shortly after I received my PhD. I will always be grateful to him for giving me my start in zooarchaeology.

While I was an early PhD student in archaeology, I spent two summers working at the excavations at York under the direction of P. V. Addyman and the York Archaeological Trust. I spent the first season excavating, sorting medieval pottery, and drawing a few human skeletons. (Thank you, Alan Mann, for teaching me human osteology.) In 1974, I spent part of the summer in the bone lab. I am so impressed with what has happened in York in the past 40 years, and I am delighted to see that the Historic Towns Atlas for York has recently been published (Addyman 2015).

When I began looking for a PhD research topic, I was told that the animal bones from the Early Anglo-Saxon settlement at West Stow were being studied by another researcher. I did a lot of reading on Late Iron Age and Roman sites in Britain, and returned to the UK in 1976 to see whether there might be a collection or series of collections available for study. I met Roger Jones of the old Ancient Monuments Laboratory in London and Jennie Coy, who had recently been hired as a research fellow in zooarchaeology at the University of Southampton. They told me that there were a number of Late Iron Age collections available, and they also had an enormous collection from West Stow. As it turned out, the person who had initially agreed to work on the faunal material from West Stow could not carry out the project, and the excavator, Stanley West, was anxious to have the material analyzed. I met with Stanley West in the Suffolk Archaeology Unit, and he was agreeable, so I returned to the United States to write grant proposals.

I returned to the UK a year later. I was fortunate to receive a Fulbright-Hayes grant, which allowed me to be an overseas visiting student at Southampton University's Archaeology Department and to make use of the comparative faunal collection that Jennie Coy had developed. My Fulbright was extended until 1979, and I also received grants from the United States National Science Foundation (BNS 77-08141) and the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research (Grant No. 3267). I am so grateful to the late Jennie Coy, who helped me at all stages of the project, and to the Archaeology Department at Southampton, then chaired by Lord Colin Renfrew, which provided me with a home away from home. I am also grateful to Dr. Mark Maltby, now a reader in archaeology at Bournemouth University, who was then a junior research fellow in Southampton's Faunal Remains Unit. Mark has been one of the pioneers in medieval urban zooarchaeology, and his work on Roman and medieval Exeter (Maltby 1979) remains a model for all of us to emulate.

Although I returned to the UK in the 1980s for several conferences and short projects, I did not undertake another big Anglo-Saxon project until 1990. Shortly after the completion of the excavations at the Middle Anglo-Saxon estate center of Brandon in northwest Suffolk, I had the opportunity to work on the huge collection of faunal remains from that site. The work was supported by a summer grant from the US National Endowment for the Humanities and by English Heritage. I am grateful to Andrew Tester and Bob Carr for giving me the opportunity to work on the material and to Sebastian Payne for his constant support throughout the project. The Brandon project allowed me to explore changes in animal husbandry practices, hunting patterns, and diet between the Early Anglo-Saxon period at West Stow and the Middle Anglo-Saxon period. Although it took quite a while for the final Brandon site report to appear, the final product (Tester et al. 2014) was certainly worth the wait. I am also grateful to my husband, Doug Campana, who worked alongside me on the Brandon project, and who spent more hours than he would like to admit measuring chicken bones. Our measurement archive has been sent to the Chicken Coop, as a study of the Scientific and Cultural Perceptions of Human–Chicken Interactions (<http://scicultchickens.org/>), and I hope that our data will lead to a greater understanding of the role of chickens in Anglo-Saxon society.

After we had completed the initial report on the Brandon faunal material, I was offered the opportunity to analyze the animal bone material from two other Middle Anglo-Saxon sites, Ipswich and Wicken Bonhunt. The original identifications were made by Patricia Stevens, and I will be forever grateful for her help, her careful identifications,

and her hard work. I was asked to analyze the material and to prepare short reports on the animal bones that would appear as part of the site reports and longer reports that would be filed as archive reports for English Heritage. Unfortunately, the final site reports on Ipswich and Wicken Bonhunt were never published, and I was given the opportunity to publish the Middle Saxon faunal remains from these two sites in an East Anglian Archaeology monograph entitled *Middle Saxon Animal Husbandry in East Anglia* (Crabtree 2012). Both sites have important implications for our understanding of the beginnings of urbanization in the Middle Anglo-Saxon period. Wicken Bonhunt is a Middle Saxon estate center in Essex near the Cambridgeshire border with evidence for specialized pork production, possibly as early as the late Early Saxon period (late 6th–7th century). It was excavated by Keith Wade of the Suffolk Archaeological Unit. Ipswich is one of the emporium or *wic* sites, centers of regional and international trade in the Middle Saxon period. It is the only one of the *wics* that survived as an urban center in the Late Saxon and early medieval period. The animal bone data from Ipswich will be published as a future monograph in the East Anglian Archaeology series (Crabtree under review). I am grateful to Keith Wade, former county archaeologist for Suffolk in the UK, for the opportunity to work on these important archaeological materials, and I am delighted that many of the reports on Ipswich have been made available through the Archaeological Data Service. I am also grateful to Sebastian Payne who invited me to work on these data.

I began work on the faunal remains from the Late Roman small town of Icklingham, located about 6 miles (10 km) from West Stow, in 1989. I initially examined the material that was excavated by Stanley West and Jude Plouviez back in the 1970s. I had hoped to include some of this material in my PhD thesis, but I simply did not have time to do the work in the late 1970s. In 2005, I had the opportunity to study the Icklingham material that was collected by Drs. Catherine Hills and Jess Tipper as part of the Lark Valley Archaeological Project. I was able to finish the West–Plouviez faunal collection in 2008. I am very grateful to both Jude Plouviez and Catherine Hills for allowing me to study these materials. Catherine arranged for me to stay at Cambridge while I was working on her materials, and Jude allowed me to stay in her house while I was finishing the Icklingham collection. I owe a debt of gratitude to both of them.

As a student of Bernard Wailes, I have always felt that the data from later prehistoric and early medieval Europe have an important role to play in our broader understanding of social, political, and economic change in premodern societies. I was honoured when my colleague

Professor Rita Wright invited me to submit a proposal for her series Case Studies in Early Societies, and I regret that it has taken me so long to complete this project. I faced several years when I had to combine a heavy teaching load during the academic year and field work in several countries during the summer. I was able finally to finish this book thanks to a visiting research scholarship at New York University's Institute for the Study of the Ancient World (ISAW) during the fall semester of 2015. I am profoundly grateful to Professor Roger Bagnall, the recently retired director of the institute, and to Shelby White, the institute's founder, for this opportunity. I also benefited enormously from the seminar on the ancient economy that was co-taught by my colleagues Lorenzo d'Alfonso and Elizabeth Murphy. Thank you to everyone at ISAW.

Finally, I also would like to thank my husband, Douglas Campana, who read, edited, and commented on many drafts of this book. I am profoundly grateful to my colleague Professor Rita Wright, the editor of this series, who encouraged me to write this book. I appreciate her patience and her support. Dr. Zenobie Susanne Garrett also read the book, and I am most grateful for her input. I would also like to thank the two anonymous reviewers whose comments have made this a much better volume. The errors, of course, are all mine.

This book is dedicated to the memory of my late colleague Professor Howard Dalton Winters. Howard was one of the pioneers and founders of processual archaeology in North America, and his work on the Riverton Culture (Winters 1969) remains a classic in archaeological analysis. Howard was a wonderful supporter of mine when I was a very junior faculty member at New York University. One of the greatest pleasures in my teaching career was co-teaching environmental archaeology with Howard back in the early 1990s. Howard was looking forward to a long and productive retirement when he passed away from a stroke in 1994. In the two decades since his passing, I have taken over some of his courses, including Prehistoric Hunters and Gatherers, and Archaeology and the Environment. I hope that he would approve of the job I have done teaching his courses. Howard, thank you for always being in my corner. You are missed.

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