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The Critical Angle – Reflections on Anglian York in the 21st century

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The Anglian period which lies between the demise of Roman urban institutions and occupation in the early fifth century and an urban revival in *c.* 850 may be subdivided into two parts, the first from c. 400-650 (sometimes referred to as 'sub-Roman') and the second from c. 650-850. The period is one of the most elusive and controversial in York's long history, and in the twenty years since the completion of the *York Development and Archaeology Study* in 1991 (the 'Ove Arup Report'), there has been mixed progress in addressing some of the key questions relating to the nature and extent of occupation in and around the city. This paper aims to summarise the state of knowledge in 1991 and then present it as it stands in 2011, highlighting key aspects of progress made in the last twenty years, and suggesting some new directions for the future.

Anglian York in 1991

In 1991, the general paucity of information on the Anglian period was reflected in the brevity of the period summary in the Ove Arup Report (p. 24). Nevertheless, the technical appendix on the subject by Martin Carver highlighted the importance of York in having the rare potential to reveal information on the period of transition between the Roman fortress and the medieval city. The baseline for the period had been set out previously in an assessment by Gill Andrews (1984), and by 1991 had been supplemented by the completion of post-excavation research for investigations at York Minster, and the discovery of part of the Anglian *wic* at 46-54 Fishergate by York Archaeological Trust (YAT).

c. 400-650 (the sub-Roman period)

The sub-Roman period then, as now, had been more than elusive and was deemed 'unmappable, even at a coarse scale' (Carver 1991, 1). The cessation of the Roman city as an institution by the fifth century was widely accepted, but the level of exploitation by the remaining population, or by incoming Anglo-Saxon communities, remained largely unknown.

Excavations at York Minster had reportedly identified continuity of use in late Roman buildings within the basilica and gave rise to the hypothesis that the central buildings of the fortress remained upstanding and in use throughout the Anglo-Saxon period (Phillips 1985, 1; Phillips and Heywood 1995, 64-69). This interpretation appeared anomalous in the context of the remainder of York, where the presence of 'dark earths' accumulating to notable depths above Roman streets and buildings indicated that at least parts of the city had fallen out of use as centres of population (Andrews 1984, 178; Carver 1991, Technical Appendix; Kenward and O'Connor 1991). The accumulation of thick loams at Purey Cust, 8 Wellington Row and 16-22 Coppergate respectively were held as evidence for abandonment of the fortress, *colonia* and *canabae*.

The accumulation of a thick grey loam at 16-22 Coppergate was described as representing 'the gradual accumulation of natural deposits transported by wind and water without human interference' (Hall 1984, 30; Tweddle et al. 1999, 198-200). Zooarchaeological remains supported this view, with the presence of species of shrew and vole that do not generally cohabit with humans. A similar sequence was encountered at 8 Wellington Row, where there

was dark earth; later heavy reworking of soils was associated with Ipswich and shell-tempered ware, suggesting cultivation of naturally accumulated soils in the middle Anglo-Saxon period. A timber structure was relatively dated to between the post-Roman and Anglo-Scandinavian periods, but offered no closer dating (Tweddle et al. 1999, 266). Similar layers had been encountered repeatedly in excavations across York, including the Purey Cust site, where a thick deposit of 'dark loam' was interpreted as post-Roman in date (Pearson 1986, 17).

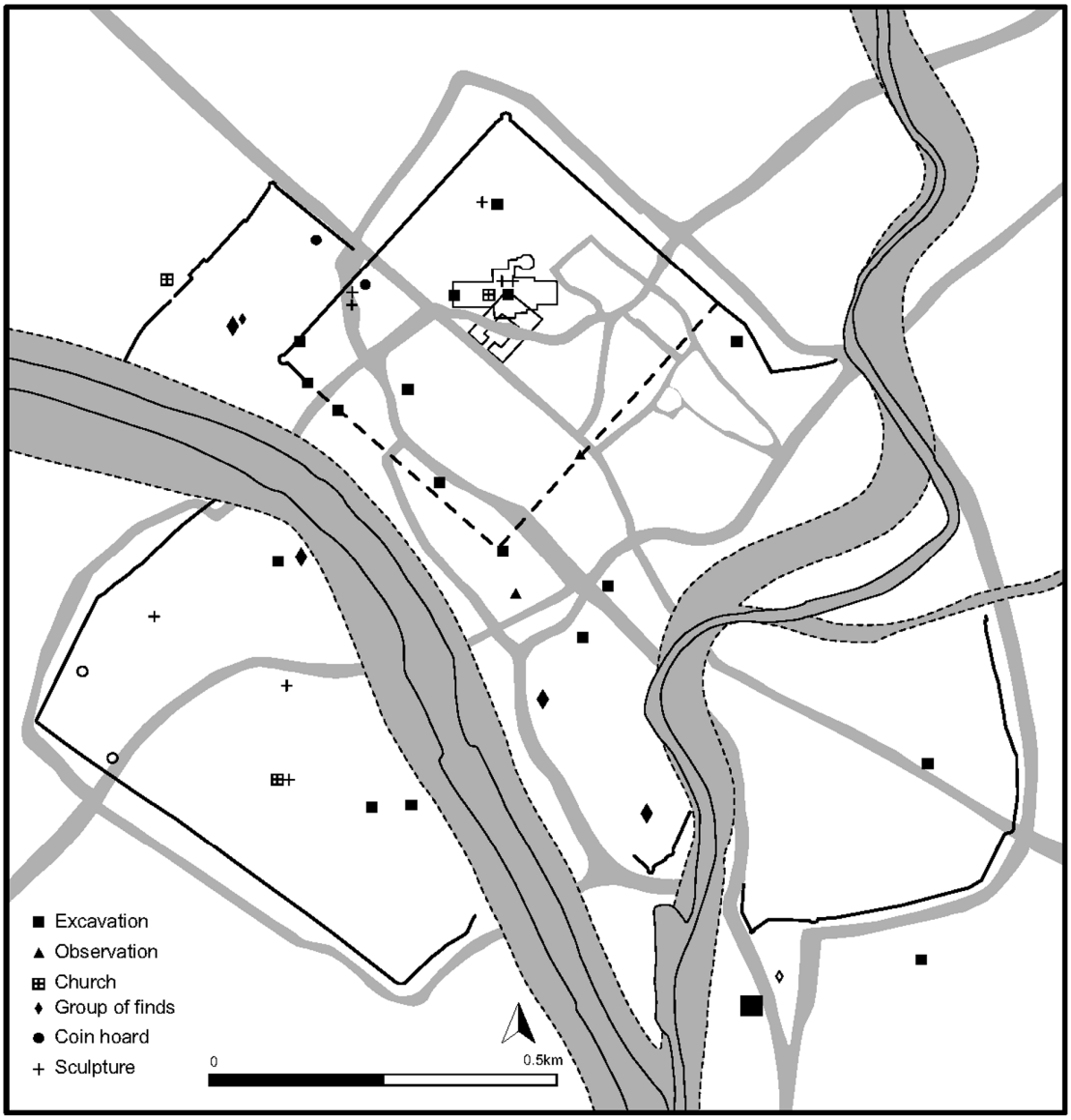
The sub-Roman period was best represented by the presence of fifth- to sixth-century Anglian cemeteries some distance from the city walls, at the Mount and Heworth, and by the slightly later inhumations from Lamel Hill (Thurnham 1849), supplemented by further discoveries at the nearby Belle Vue Terrace in the early 1980s (Briden 1983; 1984). Rare finds from the city could be assigned a post-Roman date, including two bowls from the Castle area, a fifth-century comb from Blake Street (Cramp 1967; Andrews 1984, 178) and rare sherds of ceramic from Wellington Row, Coppergate and the defences (but not published until 1997; Monaghan 1997, 911-3). Despite these hints, contemporary settlement evidence remained unknown or unidentified.

c.650 – 850 (the Anglian period)

Anglian York had been subject to growing scholarly focus initiated by syntheses by Waterman (1959) and Cramp (1967), furthered by the assessment by Andrews (1984). The discoveries at York Minster and Fishergate, and the increasingly recognisable pottery types, coinage and sculpture of the period, allowed the seventh - ninth centuries to be modelled and mapped with greater certainty than hitherto (Illus.1).

The finds suggested distinct concentrations of Anglian-period activity, allowing York to be discussed in terms of a polyfocal model like that proposed for early medieval London (Morris 1986, 84) and Southampton (Rumble 1980). The presence of seventeen seventh- and eighth-century stelae encountered beneath the Minster appeared to corroborate historical evidence for the establishment of a royally-patronised church by King Edwin in AD 627, and identified the northern quarter of the Roman fortress as a royal, and later ecclesiastical centre. The *wic* settlement, contacted on the east bank of the Ouse at Fishergate in the 1980s, was identified as a trading settlement, with regulated food supply. Historical sources allowed a third, ecclesiastical focus, to be proposed in the Bishophill area of the city, identified by Morris (1986) as the location of Alcuin's *Alma Sophia*. The presence of numerous churches in Domesday allowed pre-Conquest origins of several other churches to be speculated upon, but little concrete dating evidence had, by 1991, been forthcoming.

Activity across the remainder of the city remained hard to characterise. Anglian pottery had been recovered from across the urban centre, but rarely in stratified contexts and often difficult to date (Hurst 1959; Mainman 1992; 1993, 557-562, 650). What was known of Anglian York existed in a vacuum, virtually nothing was known of the relationship between the early medieval settlement, and its broader hinterland. This issue recurred throughout the Ove Arup report which called for greater integration.



Illus. 1. Anglian York in 1991 after Andrews (1984) and Ove Arup (1991)

The Research Agenda in 1991

Against this backdrop the research agenda laid out by the Ove Arup report for the sub-Roman and Anglian periods was broad sweeping and, in essence, can be summarised as 'find and understand more'. This ultimate goal for the sub-Roman and Anglian periods was encompassed in four of the nine Projects outlined in the Ove Arup report:

Project 1. Urban evaluation (deposit modelling).

Project 2. Formal excavation projects, to include: any settlement nucleus of the Anglian period; any early medieval or medieval church and cemetery.

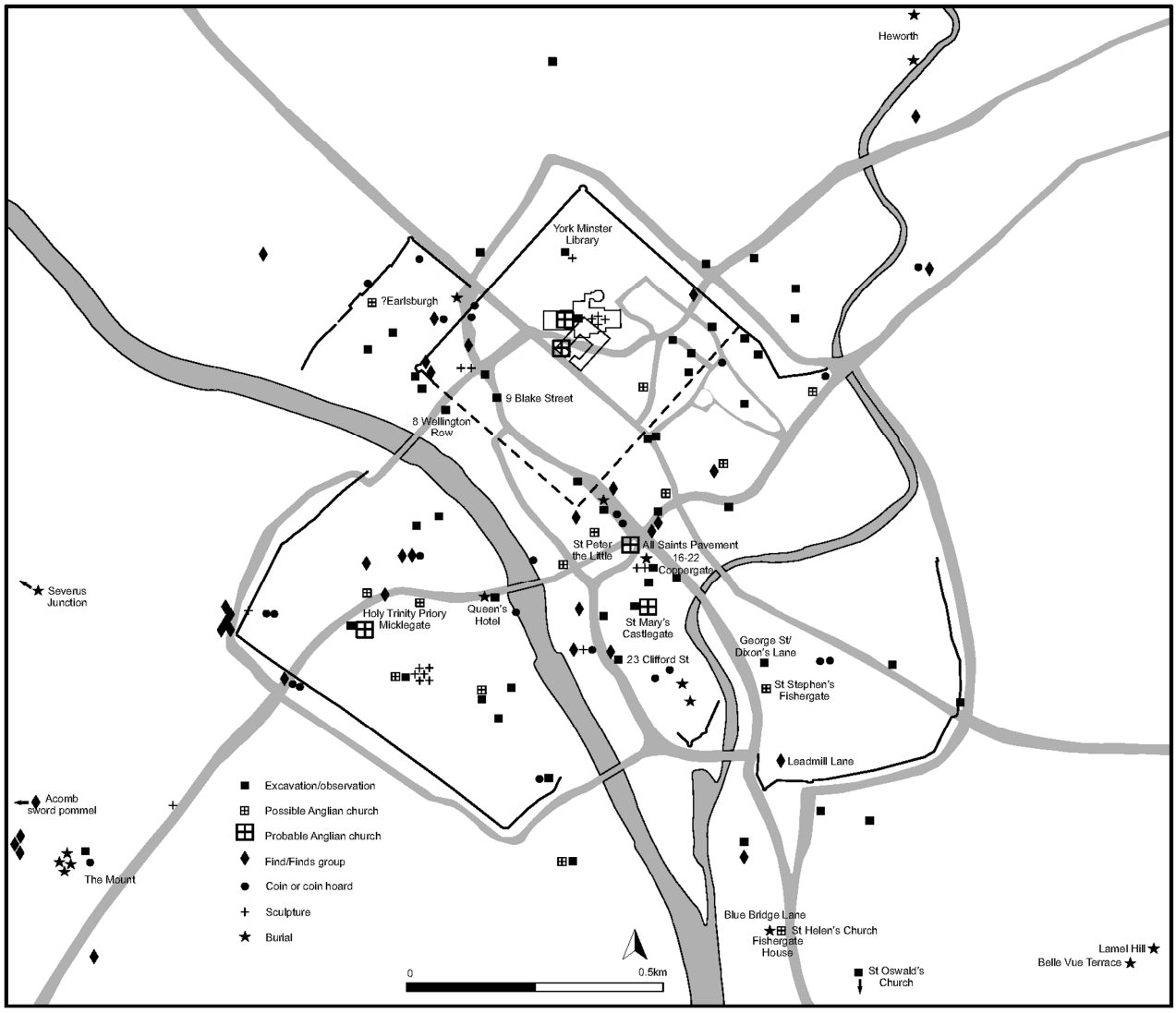
Project 5. Artefact assemblages, studies to include all Anglian material.

Project 7. Hinterland survey, to include: study of the pre-Roman to medieval vegetation sequence in the immediate vicinity; location and excavation of early Saxon or Anglian settlement in the vicinity of York; location and excavation of early Saxon or Anglian cemeteries in the vicinity of York.

For the sub-Roman period, specific targets were identified as: i) late Roman cemeteries or disused late Roman buildings with standing walls; and ii) investigation of the river regime and vegetation and sequence, both local and general (Carver 1991). The potential of dark earths to produce evidence for the period was not meeting with overwhelming success, but persistence in these areas was called for (Kenward and O'Connor 1991).

The Anglian period required:
i) exploratory mapping in all zones; ii) close integration with the hinterland survey; iii) detailed remote mapping and exploratory excavation in the fortress annexe; iv) large-scale excavation with full scientific assistance on any opportunity within the fortress, and v) investigation of the river regime and vegetation and sequence, local and general (Carver 1991).

Developments up to 2011 (Illus. 2)



Illus. 2. Anglian York in 2011 after Tweddle (1999) with further Anglian sites discovered since 1999

Development of the understanding of Sub-Roman and Anglian York over the last twenty years has not been dramatic, but it has been growing steadily. The publication of sites, assemblages and objects has stimulated growing understanding of Anglian York (Lang 1991; O'Connor 1991; Tweddle 1992; Kemp 1993; Mainman 1993; Rogers 1993; Carver 1995) for which James Graham-Campbell provided a useful overview of 'Progress to publication' in 1996. The invaluable *Anglian York: A Survey of the Evidence* represents the new baseline for our understanding of the period in terms of topography, sites and material (Tweddle et al. 1999), brought up-to-date in a recent paper on research on early medieval York by Richard Hall (2011).

A handful of newly-identified sites and two further samples of the *wic*, along with new studies of extant assemblages, and reconsideration of published sites have also made important contributions. New sightings of the period have been made at York Minster Library (Garner-Lahire 2007), Fishergate, Dixon's Lane/George Street and Heslington Hill. Since the creation of the Unitary Authority in 1996 discoveries at Poppleton now fall within the purview of the city's research agenda as does the potential of other satellite villages such as Strensall.

Insight into Anglian York has also been provided within regional studies of Anglian material which incorporate material from the city and environs, in particular Alan Vince's *Northumbrian Kingdom Anglo-Saxon Pottery Survey* (2010) and Mark Whyman's doctoral thesis (2001).

The Sub-Roman period

Progress on fifth-century York has been lamentably slow, and few opportunities have arisen to allow more detailed study of this period. New discoveries, and reinterpretation of remains, have focussed on the fortress area, with new sightings of post-Roman stratigraphy facilitated by the excavation of the Minster Library in 1997, and new models for interpretation presented in the publication of the Minster excavations.

The 1995 publication of the York Minster excavations presented a reconsideration of the sequence; Martin Carver laid out three possible hypotheses for fifth- ninth-century use of the basilica. Model A saw complete abandonment, B indicated a shift in function through the period, while C was assigned to the long period of continuity proposed by the excavators (Carver 1995, 194-5). Based on a reassessment of the stratigraphic significance of pottery (deemed intrusive), and radiocarbon dating of the animal bone in the upper silts to the late fourth - fifth century, Carver preferred Model B and has been endorsed by Graham-Campbell (1996).

Mark Whyman's analysis of the ceramic assemblage from the Minster, with detailed study of that from Wellington Row, extended the possible sequence of occupation into the fifth century, but interpreted activity on a much reduced, less urban scale (Whyman 2001; although see Gerrard 2007). Sustained levels of settlement, and institutional continuity, were not supported by the evidence. Reconsideration of the sequence at Wellington Row as part of a wider reaching study of the 4th and 5th centuries by Mark Whyman (2001), proposes a more protracted sequence, and suggested continued use into the mid-5th century and beyond, but with the control and exploitation of resources undertaken using a different system to those of the Roman urban centre and a shift from state taxation to personal and communal obligations (Whyman 2001, 364).

Gerrard (2007) followed Roskams (1996, 283-4) in his emphasis on a change in the nature of activity within the fortress in the fifth century discussing the 'small pig horizon' at York Minster. Roskams proposed that the remains represent not a diminished elite scratching out a subsistence economy, but episodic feasting representative of a new, but vital, elite.

Nevertheless, the evidence from underneath the basilica suggests this activity was short-lived. Recent analysis of animal bone assemblages from Roman Wroxeter's forum suggests this post-Roman phenomenon may not be unique (Hammon 2011). Hammon's thesis signals the unique potential of animal bone assemblages to reflect shifting socio-cultural processes with which other sources of evidence elide.

A new sample of the legionary fortress was gained in 1997 during excavations undertaken prior to the extension to the Minster Library, and gave further support to Carver's Model B. Structural evidence for stone-built Roman barracks and a minor street within the fortress were encountered, maintenance of which ceased in the mid-fourth century, structures disintegrated in the fifth, and were not robbed at least comprehensively until the later eleventh, probably for the construction of Thomas of Bayeux' cathedral. Conscious of the research potential, the half metre of 'dark earth' surviving in small islands across the site was excavated in spits and all finds 3D located in an attempt to detect features; some were traced. Associated finds included a single sub-Roman or Anglian sherd, identified as a possible product of the western edge of the Wolds and a second more confidently identified as Anglian, comparable with examples from near York in fifth - seventh-century contexts and from eighth - ninth century contexts at Fishergate (Vince 2010).

The most recent discovery of the period is a fourth - fifth-century finger ring recovered residually from a burial at Dixon's Lane/George Street, which provides tantalising evidence for activity of the period (McComish 2007; Hall 2011, 72-3).

The sixth-seventh centuries

In 2002, extensions to the University Campus necessitated archaeological investigation at Heslington Hill (Spall and Toop 2008). Despite extensive landscaping in the 1970s, undulations in the topography had preserved deposits containing sixth - seventh- century material including ten ceramic vessels, butchered domesticates and burnt cereals, an iron blade, clay loom-weight fragments, smithing slag and glass beads indicating deposition of domestic midden material. The ceramic and glass beads supported a date in the second half of the sixth century and later, and a butchered horse metapodial returned a radiocarbon date of AD 430-640 (95%; GU14198). The assemblage was fragmentary, but nevertheless provided evidence for a 'missing link' in the settlement history of the city. Chemical and thin-section analysis of the ceramic indicated provenance in the Vale of York, with examples from Lincolnshire and the Thames basin, pre-echoing better-known trading contacts of the seventh - ninth centuries. The establishment of the *wic* at Fishergate may have formed part of broader settlement patterns within the environs of York, rather than a *de novo* settlement of incomers. Research excavation at Heslingon East has also recovered a small assemblage of early Anglian material, potentially disturbed grave goods.

The seventh – ninth centuries

The 1999 *Anglian York* fascicule has gone a significant way in satisfying Project 5 as outlined in the Ove Arup report, and represents a great leap forward in understanding the topography of the place. The publication brings together the majority of the disparate body of artefacts dated to the period in the form of a detailed gazetteer, and presents an up-to-date discussion of the historical sources in context with a useful partner in the *Sources for York History to AD 1100* (Tweddle et al. 1999; Rollason 1998). Tweddle presents a model for transition from Roman fortress to Anglo-Scandinavian urban centre, based on the development of routeways (Tweddle et al. 1999, fig. 35). There is not space here to even summarise the information therein, but a polyfocal model for activity in Anglian York remains intact. Foci serving different functions existed; the fortress was reinvigorated as a royal and ecclesiastical centre, and Fishergate served as a trading and production centre. Rare glimpses of Anglian stratigraphy

and finds draw attention to a focus of finds at Earlsburgh, postulated as an extra-mural royal site of the Northumbrian kings, following the increasingly ecclesiastical focus of the urban core after the seventh century. The area between the south-east gate and south corner tower is also noted for finds. The presence of sculpture from churches, including eighth-century fragments from Holy Trinity Priory, Micklegate, indicates an increasing number of ecclesiastical foundations, few of which enter the documentary record; publication of the *Corpus* in 1991 has provided a valuable tool for understanding and quantifying this resource (Lang 1991).

There are nevertheless bodies of artefacts not covered by the Anglian fascicule which still require publication. Discussion of the numismatic evidence highlights the importance of this assemblage, and the long-awaited synthesis of coins in the *Archaeology of York* series (Vol. 18) will doubtless provide further information. The coinage has the potential to provide a chronological outline for activity. A gentle rise from the late seventh to the eighth century can be discerned, peaking between 737 and 790, followed by a steep decline in 790-810, yielded only one coin, although minting ceased then. A marked rise is then noted from *c*. 830 (Tweddle et al. 1999, 205).

New archaeological contact with Anglian York has been focussed at Fishergate where the redevelopment of the Mecca Bingo and the adjacent site of Fishergate House presented an opportunity for a further sample of the *wic* to be excavated (Spall and Toop 2005; 2008). This area, to the south of 46-54 Fishergate, produced further evidence for pit groups suggestive of property divisions within the settlement and suggested the Roman topography may have had greater influence on the settlement than previously indicated. Associated assemblages included eight different ceramic types and coinage from regional and continental sources providing the chronological parameters used to place the large assemblage of animal bone, and evidence for bone-, horn- and antlerworking, glassworking, metalworking and textileworking, into context. The distribution of features petered out towards Blue Bridge Lane just beyond which an Anglian burial was encountered within an intensively used cemetery identified with the lost Church of St Helen within the grounds of Fishergate House. Initially assumed to be late medieval in date, radiocarbon dating of one of the earliest burials, that of a woman aged 25-35 years, provided a start date in the late seventh - ninth centuries (AD 680-890; GU12719), suggesting burial associated with the *wic*. We have speculated that this foundation had its origins in a cemetery established to serve the *wic*.

Excavation at Dixon's Lane / George Street in 2006 made further contact with the *wic*, the results published in an online fascicule (McComish 2007). This site, 250m closer to the city walls than the investigations at 46-54 Fishergate, provides further evidence for ditches, post-built structures and sunken-featured buildings, all of which were encountered in the areas investigated to the site. In terms of Anglian topography, the site provides evidence for the spread of the *wic* to the north, suggesting an extent of at least 700 m along the east bank of the river based on the assumption that contemporary activity was geographically continuous. Perhaps more significantly, the Dixon's Lane / George Street site spans the Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian periods connecting the end-dates of the 46-54 Fishergate and Blue Bridge Lane sites and the later onset of activity at Coppergate (Hall 2011, 77).

Recent mitigation excavation at 23 Clifford Street suggested a similar chronological sequence may have been present. Excavation down to *c*. 8m OD encountered ninth - eleventh-century activity and also recovered residual Anglian material including sherds representing thirteen later middle Anglo-Saxon vessels (FAS 2011). Though small, the assemblage matched the quantity recovered from excavations at York Minster (also thirteen vessels; Mainman 1993, 561; Holdsworth 1995, 468-69) and included Ipswich ware, Northern Maxey-type ware, Early Fine-shelled ware, Handmade Ware Type 1 and a single possible French import represented by a vessel with red paint trail possibly from a jar or pitcher. Six of these sherds including

conjoining examples were redeposited in a single post-Conquest layer suggesting that deposits of late eighth- ninth-century date had been disturbed, probably directly. Two bone artefacts were also recovered: a fragment of composite, double-sided comb and a fragmentary bone thread-picker, both with parallels from stratified Anglian contexts in York to as far afield as Anglian Dunbar (Waterman 1959, 89; Rogers 1993, 1270, fig. 626; Walton Rogers 1997, 1756; 2009, 288; fig. 9.7; Perry 2000, 158).

Future Directions

In reviewing the development of knowledge since 1991, it becomes apparent that many of the research aims that were valid then remain so now, and that the Ove Arup agenda remains relevant. Since the city's archaeology is sampled on a random basis driven by redevelopment opportunities, rare opportunities must be maximised. The *desiderata* for most would still include those most frequently debated in the literature: almost anywhere in the Minster precinct but particularly to the north and south of the cathedral, although recent excavations within the Minster crypt typify the problems of interpreting the results of small-scale excavation of restricted depth. Other sites at Bishophill and within the fortress annexe would also rank high on this wish list. In reality, however, without total excavation of large-scale samples the questions which dominate the agenda are unlikely to be answered while small-scale interventions are likely to be inconclusive and if not so fragmentary as to be misleading.

Consequently, most future research directions must focus on the existing corpus of excavated material and in some cases hitherto unpublished sites with an emphasis on the growing possibilities of the application of archaeological science. The detection of possible structural activity through computer modelling of the sequence excavated rapidly during the underpinning of the Minster serves to illustrate this point (Hall 2011, 73). More widely, growing understanding of the topography of Anglian York provided randomly by development sites suggests that improving the model of shifting occupation from the mid-seventh to the mid-ninth century is a realistic goal, but ongoing synthesis of the evidence is critical.

Extant assemblages from Anglian cemeteries

This aspect of Anglian activity is as yet unpublished in full and, as Graham-Campbell notes, does not have a place in the *Archaeology of York* fascicule series (1996, 76), although it could conceivably be placed with *The Medieval Cemeteries* volume. The full analytical potential of existing assemblages has not yet been realised but is likely to provide a wealth of information. Specialist study has been undertaken on the human burials from Belle Vue Terrace, considering mode of death (casting doubt on interpretation as executions, see Buckberry and Hadley 2007, 325) and diet (Müldner and Richards 2007). The potential offered by developments in archaeological science and particularly stable isotope analyses would provide insight into cultural affiliation and subsistence strategies as reflected in the diet and geographical extraction of individuals.

The excavated burials and cemeteries from York retain the potential to provide new information. The lesson from the medieval cemetery at Fishergate House, identified as that of St Helen's, is that early Christian inhumations subsumed into later medieval parish churchyards establish an orthodoxy of burial rite and orientation, and without scientific dating can masquerade as the earliest burials in an otherwise apparently high medieval churchyard. High-precision radiocarbon dating could be applied to unusual scattered burials such as those at the Queen's Hotel and Coppergate, as well as stratigraphically early burials from any of the extensively excavated medieval cemeteries in the city: St Helen on the Walls (Dawes and Magilton 1980), St Andrew's Fishergate (Stroud and Kemp 1993) and All Saints' Fishergate (Bruce and McIntyre 2010).

Detailed publication of the surviving cremation urns from the Mount and Heworth must also be elevated to prime position on the agenda. Alan Vince lamented the non-publication of the assemblage of urns from York beyond the Myres corpus and his chemical and thin-section analyses have laid an important foundation for doing so and already provide important insight into hitherto unlocated contemporary settlement (Vince 2010).

The presence of settlement on the higher ground beyond the Roman city and the near-absence of contemporary evidence within its walls (see also Monaghan 1997, 850), adds strength to the idea that the walled city was not selected as a place for settlement down to *c.* AD 600. The labelling of the early Anglian cemeteries as 'extra-mural' is misleading; rather, they should be viewed as central foci for a more rural, dispersed society. Alan Vince's study of the ceramic traditions of Northumbria suggests that the Heworth cemetery in particular would have served a local, rural population; only two of the thirty-four vessels considered must have originated beyond eighteen miles from York, with the suggestion that many would have originated in the immediate hinterland (Vince 2010, 9). The study was wide ranging and was able to demonstrate that ceramic use within Northumbria echoes pre-Roman territorial regions, providing an insight into the political or social make-up of the surrounding landscape. The survival and continuity of pre-Roman pottery traditions in the post-Roman period is beginning to be recognised in specialist studies of assemblages from York's hinterland and could lay down new models for cultural practice, exchange and status.

To date, integration with the hinterland has been progressed through artefactual studies (cf Vince 2010) archaeological discoveries and large-scale landscape studies. The creation of the unitary authority brought several satellite villages into the city and has thereby embraced the immediate Anglian hinterland (Illus. 3). The discovery of the early settlement at Heslington Hill and further finds at Heslington East, though highly fragmentary, are joined by the dispersed hoard of strap-ends from the parish of Upper Poppleton (Thomas 2006) and excavation at Nether Poppleton of part of a possible enclosed monastic settlement associated with the early female Saint Everilda (Wessex Archaeology 2005). A possible Anglian burial at Severus Junction, Acomb along with the possibly redeposited sword pommel (Tweddle et al. 1999, 287-89) suggests this zone may have some potential for further discoveries while initiatives at Strensall to explore the site identified by Barnwell et al. (2003) may well bear fruit. Only slightly beyond the authority boundary the discovery of burials and a structure predating the church of St Helen's Church, Skipwith can be noted (Hall et al. 2008).

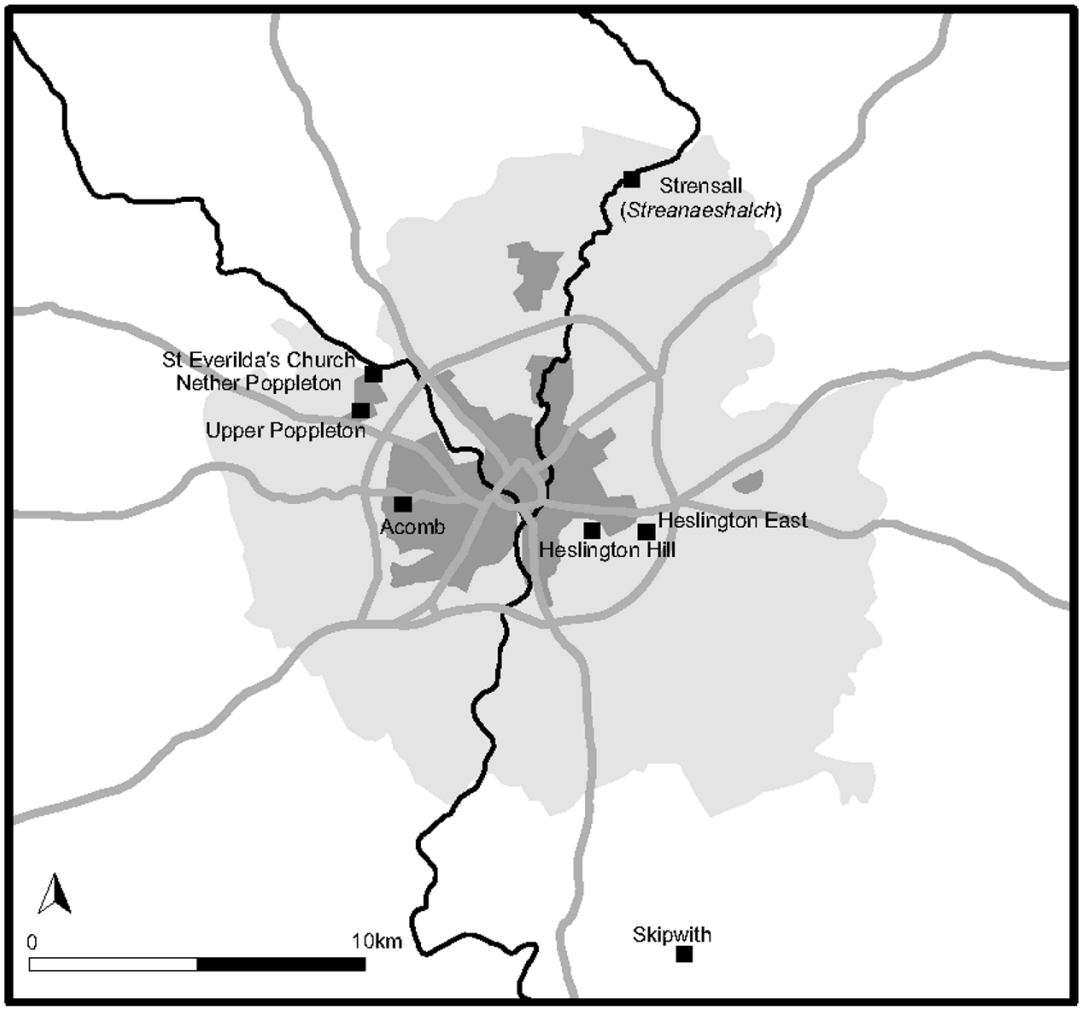
Late Anglian York - A Testing Ground

Advances in understanding the topography of Anglian York of the last twenty years converge on a shift of activity towards the fortress through time. Tweddle et al. (1999) and Norton (1998) provide, through authoritative reasoning, a basemap for these developments. Independently, material specialists also suggest a shift towards the Minster estates through time based on ceramic and coin evidence (Mainman 1993, 650; Vince 2010, 12).

Norton directs us from the 'Minster estates', which by the late Anglian period had opened up the southern and eastern defences of the fortress, to the confluence of the rivers tracing a string of early churches including All Saints' Pavement (1998, 27). Indeed, a group of early foundations descend southwards from the minster to the confluence of the rivers including St Peter the Little, All Saints' Pavement, St Mary's Castlegate, a further possible early foundation in Castle Yard and St Helen's Fishergate.

Tweddle echoes this view and invites us to see a breach in the south-eastern defences at Feasegate and proposes St Peter the Little as the focus for activity of ninth-century date (Tweddle et al. 1999, 211-12). The 2006 investigations at Dixon's Lane / George Street add support to the identification of this area as key to understanding the transition from late Anglian

to Anglo-Scandinavian settlement, from *Eoforwic* to *Jorvik*, and its location close to a possible Anglian foundation St Stephen's, Fishergate should be noted. These propositions, and the newly discovered material, invite us to look with new eyes at the Anglian material recovered from this zone.



Illus. 3. The Unitary Authority boundary showing Anglian sites mentioned in text

Closer to the confluence, interventions in the zone have often contacted Anglian artefacts. The construction of Clifford Street in the late nineteenth century, and then of basemented buildings along its route, rarely failed to recover Anglian material. A significant group of antiquarian finds have come from Castle Yard, including the hanging bowl, bone combs, decorated pins, a trial piece, two lucets, a lead alloy cross stamped with the impression of a styca of King Osbert of Northumbria (857-67), a styca of Aethelred II (*c.* 840-8) and a sceatta of Eanred (*c.* 810-840). Because these finds were chance discoveries made during construction we are obliged to report them as residual or chance finds, but there remains a strong likelihood that they were disturbed from contemporary strata.

This assemblage has been joined by contributions from modern excavation within the zone including an irregular issue styca dated *c*. 840-67 and two, possibly three, sherds of Anglian pottery within Castle Yard (YAT 1998, 17). The residual Anglian assemblage identified during excavation at 16-22 Coppergate, which boasts the best known Anglian objects from the city including rare wet-preserved wooden items, continues to lack broader context. Other indicators of an Anglian presence were found at 22 Piccadilly where a waterlogged timber fence was sealed by dumps containing Anglian pottery (YAT Gazetteer 1987.21). Ian Riddler has revisited the bone working evidence from excavation at Leadmill Lane, reported initially as Anglo-Scandinavian in date (MacGregor 1982, 72), and has suggested that some evidence for Anglian bone working can be identified (Riddler 2001, 66).

Salvage recording undertaken in 1975 within St Mary Castlegate produced four architectural fragments using and reworking Roman stone (Hall 1983). The fragments included a capital from a street-side colonnade and three column drums made from reused Roman blocks in 'a style not characteristically Roman' (Blagg 1983, 153; Lang 1991). Tweddle, following the Royal Commission, identified an 'important Anglian church possibly belonging with a fragmentary cross-shaft found at 16-22 Coppergate (Tweddle et al. 1999, fig. 44, 186). Whether the shaft derived from St Mary's or All Saints' Pavement the point is clear: there was an important Anglian church at or very near Castlegate. There may have been defensive advantages by occupying the old *canabae* and there would have been many late Roman stone buildings within the zone which would have lent themselves to post-Roman salvage such as the Temple to Hercules at High Ousegate-Nessgate (RCHMY1, 59), a civic building at High Ousegate and the robbed Roman buildings encountered at 16-22 Coppergate.

In aggregate it becomes increasingly difficult to ignore the strength of the signal emanating from these finds in this zone: funerary – ecclesiastical - domestic. We should look to this area to produce further evidence of later Anglian activity directly preceding the Anglo-Scandinavian. Some intact strata may survive, as at Dixon's Lane/George Street, while further finds may well come down to us residually but they are no less important for that. The assemblage tends to reflect activity of late Anglian date and fills the gap suggested by a diminished presence at Fishergate and Blue Bridge Lane in Period 3c. The stimulus for commercial activity may well have been the 'Minster estates', but also investment in the scattered early parishes by a number of distinct ecclesiastical estates which characterise this period. The maturation of this system of land management facilitated on a parish-by-parish basis can also be understood as a vehicle for tax extraction related to commercial activity. We may well find a very rich quarter of late Anglian activity drawn closer to the fortress above the confluence of the rivers in an area which could have been broadly defended including control of the crossing points over the Ouse and Foss. This activity need not have had any urban pretensions, but given that the hub of activity of post-mid-ninth-century date occupies a similar space, late Anglian foci may have set seeds for what followed. If so the gap in our understanding and the archaeological chronology between *Eoforwic* and *Jorvik* might be drawn slightly closer.

The Hinterland

Finally it seems high time that we look to the hinterland. In 1991, lack of integration with the hinterland was recurrent as a recognised problem, and a call for greater research into the hinterland was made (Richards and Stoddart 1991). We reiterate this call in the belief that for the critical angles of sub-Roman and Anglian York new reflections and even answers lie in the wider landscape. Greater integration with the hinterland will allow us to move from an agenda dominated by the historical documents and to map and understand social change at a meaningful level exploring shifting expressions of ethnic identity and kinship, exchange, extraction of surplus and obligation, and local responses to economic change. The Yorkshire Archaeological Research Framework has given an overview of the types of sites and evidence for the hinterland of York encompassing the Vales of York and Pickering as well as the 'central lowlands' and highlighted gaps in our understanding (Whyman and Roskams 2007). The York

agenda will find a useful companion in the papers stimulated by the Resource Framework (Manby et al. 2003). It is critical that the separation of 'town and country', which persists in studies and dissemination on Anglian York, does not continue for the next twenty years. Until the deposit model for sub-Roman and Anglian York is set within a regional context drawing on past and more recent discoveries in the Vale of Pickering, Vale of York, the Wolds and beyond, a fragmentary and sometimes misleading view will persist in agendas and studies.

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