

Urban Neighbourhoods: Spatial and Social Development in York c.600-1600

2 Volumes

Volume 1 of 2

Text

Gareth Dean

Thesis submitted for: PhD

Department of Archaeology

University of York

September 2012

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the archaeology of neighbourhoods in the city of York, between c.600-1600. Drawing on the rich archive of archaeological data held by York Archaeological Trust, it seeks to map the topographical and morphological development of the urban landscapes of Swinegate and Petergate, adjacent to York Minster. The thesis pioneers the use of GIS technology to draw together excavation and artefact data with that of historic maps, documentary sources, place-name evidence and standing buildings. In so doing, it not only demonstrates the potential of new technologies to reinterpret backlog archives, but also develops new hypotheses about the character of York's early townscape.

The thesis makes an important contribution to our understanding of the immediate post-Roman development of provincial towns such as York, identifying the emergence of distinctive 'estate landscapes' around the Roman fortress area and exploring how these were gradually replaced by the pattern of streets and burgage plots which characterise the topography of the later medieval city. New light is shed on the survival of monumental Roman structures and route ways into the medieval period, and their gradual transformation through the development of new parish boundaries, streetscapes and institutional property portfolios. The character of York's medieval neighbourhoods is examined through an analysis of the distribution of building structures, external spaces and material culture, shedding new light on the clustering of particular craft groups in particular neighbourhoods over time. The sensory as well as the material qualities of these occupational neighbourhoods is explored, and related to existing research on property within the city. Finally, the thesis outlines the potential for this distinctively archaeological approach to mapping the archaeology of neighbourhoods to be applied not only to other areas of York, but also other provincial medieval towns and to major archaeological and historical archive data.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	2
Table of Contents.....	3
List of Illustrations.....	8
Acknowledgements.....	14
Author's Declaration	15
Introduction.....	17
Chapter 1: Neighbourhoods and Towns.....	19
Neighbourhood	19
Defining Neighbourhood.....	20
Space and Society	21
Approaches to the Study of Neighbourhood.....	23
Medieval Towns	30
The Idea of the City	31
Lordship and Town Development.....	34
Urban Lordship: Seventh to Late Eleventh Centuries	35
Urban Lordship: Late Eleventh to Sixteenth Centuries.....	37
The Built Environment	40
The Street	41
Houses	42
Households	49
Occupational Topographies	50
Towards an Archaeology of Neighbourhood.....	51
Chapter 2: British Urban Archaeology, Urban Landscapes and Methodology.....	55
Research, Rescue and Commercial Archaeology	55
Excavation.....	57
Reporting and Publication	59
Excavation in York	61
On-Site Recording.....	62
Post-Excavation Analysis	62
Publication.....	65

Material Culture	65
Time and Archaeology	71
The Urban Landscape	72
Geography and Urban Form	74
Archaeology and Urban Form	76
York's Urban Form.....	78
Spatial Technologies	82
Towns and GIS	83
GIS and Archaeology.....	84
Methodology	86
The Site Archives	86
The Swinegate Excavations: 1989-90.....	87
The Petergate Excavations	91
Mapping the City.....	94
Archaeological Data: Analysis of the Swinegate and Petergate Excavations.....	96
Conclusion.....	98
Chapter 3: Grape Lane, Swinegate and Little Stonegate	100
Topography, Urban Estates and Proprietary Churches: Seventh to Mid-Eleventh Centuries.....	101
Fortress Defences: Survival and Function Mid-Seventh to Mid-Eleventh Centuries.....	101
Topography and Street Pattern: Mid-Seventh to Mid-Eleventh Centuries.....	102
The Development of the Street Pattern.....	102
Proprietary Churches and Urban Estates.....	105
Urban Estates in the South-East Quadrant of the Roman Fortress: Seventh to Tenth Centuries.....	113
Early Estate Neighbourhoods	115
Changing Land Use: The Late Tenth and Eleventh Centuries	116
Redevelopment of the North-Eastern Area of St Benedict's Cemetery	116
Post-Norman Conquest Planning: Reorganisation of the Fortress c.1069-1235.....	121
Topography and Street Pattern c.1069-1200	122
St Benedict's: From Estate Church to Parish Church.....	125
Tenements on the South-East Side of Grape Lane.....	128
Continuity and Change: The Post-Conquest Neighbourhood c.1069-1200	129

Grape Lane, Thursday Market and the Closure of St Benedict's Church c.1200-1300	135
South-East Side of Grape Lane: External Area.....	135
The Truncation of Grape Lane	136
The New Market Place: Thursday Market c.1235	136
St Benedict's Church: Decline and Closure	140
The Developing Urban Landscape: The Thirteenth-Century Neighbourhood	141
Tenements in Grape Lane, Patrick Pool, Benet's Rents and the Creation of Back Swinegate c.1300-1400	143
External Area South-East Side of Grape Lane.....	144
Tenements on the South-East side of Grape Lane	144
Patrick Pool: Plot 27a	149
Benetplace.....	150
Back Swinegate.....	152
Little Stonegate (Medieval Swinegate)	154
The Fourteenth-Century Neighbourhood: Institutional Redevelopment and Craft Activity	155
The Late Medieval Townscape c.1400-1600	159
Plot 1: Structure A(ii)	159
Plot 2: Structure B(ii).....	160
Plot 5-6: Structure E-F.....	161
The Neighbourhood c.1400-1600.....	163
Conclusion: The Swinegate Neighbourhood Seventh to Sixteenth Centuries	164
Chapter 4: Petergate	168
Topography, Street Pattern and Land Use in the Fifth to Mid-Eleventh Centuries.....	168
Development of the Fortress	169
The Development of the Street Pattern: The Origins of Petergate.....	170
Topography and Street Pattern: Mid-Seventh to Mid-Eleventh Centuries.....	170
Petergate from Bootham Bar to Grape Lane	171
Petergate from Grape Lane/Enclosed Lane to the South-East Fortress Gate	174
Streets in the North-Eastern Half of the Fortress.....	179
Estates and Land Use	181
Land Use in the Estates	183
The Post-Roman Neighbourhood from the Sixth to Mid-Eleventh Centuries	184

The Norman Conquest and the Reorganisation of the Fortress c.1069-1250.....	186
Topography and Street Pattern c.1069-1250.....	187
The Reorganisation of the Minster and the Close.....	187
The Creation of Monk Bar and Goodramgate.....	188
Petergate: Grape Lane to the South-East Fortress Gate.....	190
The Establishment of Tenements and Land Use: c.1069-1250.....	192
The Setting Out of Properties on the North-East Side of Petergate.....	193
Tenements 41 to 43.....	193
Tenements 41 and 42.....	194
Tenement 43.....	195
Tenement 44 and 45.....	197
Tenements on the South-West Side of Petergate.....	197
Dumping and Ground Make-Up and New Tenement Boundaries.....	198
Tenement 27-8: Sub-Plots A-C.....	198
Tenement 29.....	200
The Post-Conquest Neighbourhood: Urban Landscape and the Development of Neighbourhood.....	200
Petergate in the Late Eleventh to Mid-Thirteenth Centuries: A Developing Neighbourhood.....	201
Craft Activities.....	202
The Development of the Petergate Tenements: Changing Land Use and Craft Activity c.1250- 1400.....	204
South-West Side of Petergate: Tenement 27.....	205
Topography and Street Pattern: Hornpot Lane.....	206
North-West Side of Petergate.....	206
Tenement 41 and Tenement 42.....	206
Tenement 43.....	207
Tenement 44.....	210
Tenement 45.....	218
The Neighbourhood: Residents and Craft Activities c.1250-1400.....	220
Craft Activities.....	221
Artisanal Neighbours: Occupational Topographies.....	223
Late Medieval Petergate c.1400-1600.....	224
Tenement 41.....	225

Tenement 42	226
Tenement 43	227
Tenement 44	229
Tenement 45	230
The Petergate Neighbourhood c.1400-1600.....	230
Conclusion: The Development of the Petergate Neighbourhood c.600-1600.....	233
Chapter 5: Urban Space and Medieval Neighbourhoods.....	237
Post-Roman York c.600-1069AD.....	238
The Church and Urban Planning	238
The Church and Urban Estates: The Seventh to Mid-Eleventh Centuries.....	241
Post-Norman Conquest c.1069-1300.....	245
Urban (Re)planning.....	245
Land Use	246
Thursday Market and the Intensification of Land Use	247
St Benedict's and the Development of Parishes.....	247
The Neighbours.....	249
Late Medieval Neighbourhoods c.1300-1600.....	250
Ecclesiastical Redevelopment.....	250
Plot Divisions.....	251
Timber-Framed Buildings.....	253
Internal Spaces	256
External Areas	260
Neighbours.....	263
Towards an Archaeology of Medieval Neighbourhood.....	266
Appendix- Methodology	268
Bibliography	273
Volume 2	
List of Illustrations.....	316

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1 John Speed's map of York c.1610	322
Figure 2 Baine's 1823 map from 'Directory and Gazetteer of the County of York' (York Archaeological Trust).....	323
Figure 3 Detail of the 1852 Ordnance Survey showing the area around the Minster (Courtesy of John Oxley).....	324
Figure 4 Baine's 1823 (top) and Ordnance Survey 1852 (bottom-©Edina) showing the changes to the street pattern associated with the creation of Parliament Street and Church Street.....	325
Figure 5 Traditional evolution of the topography of York (after Dean 2008, Fig. 1)	326
Figure 6 Street pattern and churches showing relationship to Roman gates and defences. Position of Monk Bar also marked	327
Figure 7 Location of the study area	328
Figure 8 Location of the trenches within the study area	329
Figure 9 Trenches 1989.28-1990.1 excavations.....	330
Figure 10 Location of Trench 4 and 6 (2004), 1957 excavations and sewer trenches (1995; S1-S5)	331
Figure 11 the 1852 Ordnance Survey digitised for the base map with fortress wall.....	332
Figure 12 Example of Context and Set data in the IADB for the 1989.28-1990.1 excavations	333
Figure 13 Example of Group and Object records in the IADB for the 1989.28-1990.1 excavation	334
Figure 14 Example of a context Harris Matrix generated for 1989.T2 in the IADB.....	335
Figure 15 Example of a set Harris Matrix in the IADB generated for 1989.T6.....	336

Figure 16 Detail of the GIS showing trenches 1989.T1 and T2 with all contexts digitised.....	337
Figure 17 Screenshot showing 1989.T1 attribute table. This is data exported from the IADB and linked to the shapefile and used to analyse the data set.....	338
Figure 18 Retained fortress defences and extensions to the river, perhaps erected in the ninth century. Simplified street pattern showing principle streets within the retained fortress defences, and street pattern set out on the south-east side of the fortress from the 10 th century. Churches shown in grey.....	339
Figure 19 Proposed street pattern in the southern-half of the fortress. Position of the Minster and associated churches after Norton 1998.....	340
Figure 20 Detail of the 1852 showing the boundaries that suggest the extension to Grape Lane through to Davygate.....	341
Figure 21 Digitised 1852 with the boundary line indicating the extension to Grape Lane highlighted (thick black line). Position of Area JJ Tr.1989.T4 also shown. Note the change in orientation of the property boundaries on the south-east side of the projected line of Grape Lane for the properties fronting onto Back Swinegate.	342
Figure 22 Distribution of parish churches in York. Dashed line indicates fortress wall (after Dean 2008, Figure.7)	343
Figure 23 1852 Ordnance Survey showing the position of St Wilfrid's (open space below the Assembly Rooms), and St Helen Stonegate (bottom right). Breary Court is shown leading from St Helen's Square. Note the awkward relationship of St Helen with street and boundary alignments	344
Figure 24 1852 Ordnance Survey showing the position of Bent's Rents and the location of St Benedict's church at the junction of Grape Lane, Swinegate and Back Swinegate. The reversed 'L' of the streets is traditionally seen as reflecting the boundaries of the cemetery	345
Figure 25 Trenches 1989.T14 and 1989.T15 showing earliest inhumations and Roman walling	346

Figure 26 Extent of the cemetery recorded in the 1989-90 excavations. Note the variation in alignment of some burials (highlighted grey) suggesting different phases of use, and the concentration of burial in 1990.T14 and 1990.T15.....	347
Figure 27 Possible area of a churchyard associated with St Benedict's. Trenches with burials shaded.....	348
Figure 28 Proposed estate boundaries (thick black line) in the southern half of the fortress. A= St Wilfrid's and B= St Benedict's.....	349
Figure 29 Activity following the closure of the north-eastern half of the cemetery.....	350
Figure 30 detail of trench 1989.T3 showing post fence marking path and structure ST3.1 ...	351
Figure 31 Proposed street pattern and defences in the late eleventh and twelfth century. ...	352
Figure 32 Detail of the area around St Sampson's church showing proposed street. Plot boundaries derived from 1852 Ordnance Survey,.....	353
Figure 33 parish boundaries showing lack of correlation with the fortress defences on the south-east side.....	354
Figure 34. Conjectural reconstruction of parish boundaries for St Benedict's parish in relation to proposed extended line of Grape Lane and the retained south-east and south-west defences. Area of Lardiners liberty also shown.....	355
Figure 35 Pits and robber cuts late eleventh and early twelfth century	356
Figure 36 Location of the holding of Newburgh Priory	357
Figure 37 Thursday Market as shown on Baine's map of York 1823	358
Figure 38 Proposed street pattern following the creation of Thursday Market in 1235.....	359
Figure 39 Plot and parish boundaries in the area of Thursday Market and St Sampson	360
Figure 40 Tenement 27a and 27b. Street front building Structure N(i). Stone footings for boundary walls and pits.....	361

Figure 41 19 Grape Lane. Drawing based on the field notes by the RCHME showing original timber frame of two storey building with 18th or 19th century heightening and extension to the rear (drawn by Dav Smith)	362
Figure 42 Two storey timber framed buildings, although much altered, at the corner of Back Swinegate and Swinegate. Top image c.1889, bottom image c.1900 (©Imagine York)	363
Figure 43 14th century buildings. Note the discrepancy between the plot boundaries from the 1852 Ordnance Survey with the excavated wall lines. The south-eastern boundary of Plot 6 was noted in the south-east section of the excavation.....	364
Figure 44 Structure A and B in the fourteenth century	365
Figure 45 Structure N(iii) fourteenth century	366
Figure 46 1852 Ordnance Survey (top) showing position of Benet's Rents. 1890s photograph (bottom) looking from Grape Lane along Swinegate showing Benet's Rents (©Imagine York)	367
Figure 47 Property boundaries in the area of Back Swinegate derived from the 1852 Ordnance Survey.....	368
Figure 48 Structures G-M Back Swinegate and Little Stonegate.....	369
Figure 49 Structures G-H late fourteenth century.....	370
Figure 50 Structure L and M late fourteenth century	371
Figure 51 Structure A and B in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.....	372
Figure 52 Structure B1(iii) in the 15th century.....	373
Figure 53 Structure E and F in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.....	374
Figure 54 Petergate study area between Bootham Bar and Grape Lane showing position of seventh-eleventh century Minster precinct and later medieval Minster (after Norton 1998)	375
Figure 55 Minster Precinct and road to the north-east fortress gate.....	376

Figure 56 1852 Ordnance Survey showing Holy Trinity Goodramgate and associated cemetery	377
Figure 57 Property around Holy Trinity Goodramgate (1852 Ordnance Survey map) and proposed enlarged cemetery boundary	378
Figure 58 Alternative alignment of Petergate in the seventh to late eleventh centuries shown as dashed line in relation to the proposed enlarged cemetery of Holy Trinity Goodramgate	379
Figure 59 Proposed line of Goodramgate extending to the north-east gate of the fortress.	380
Figure 60 Proposed street pattern in the northern half of the fortress. Location of the Minster and associated churches after Norton 1998.....	381
Figure 61 Proposed estates in the northern half of the fortress.....	382
Figure 62 Norman Minster and Deanery in relation to the pre-Conquest enclosure and the road to the north-east gate	383
Figure 63 Expanded Minster Close, new tenements on Petergate and the alignment of Goodramgate leading to Monk Bar. New Biggin and Grove Lane shown outside fortress...	384
Figure 64 1852 Ordnance Survey map showing the section of Goodramgate from the Close gate to Monk Bar. The property boundaries in this area respect the streets with no indication of a preserved road alignment to the north-east fortress gate.....	385
Figure 65 Medieval tenement boundaries and numbering identified from the historic documents (bold black line). Tenement sub-divisions (thin black lines) identified from the 1852 Ordnance Survey map.....	386
Figure 66 Structures ST41A, ST41B and ST43A	387
Figure 67 Structures ST41A, ST41B and ST43A shown in relation to 1852 Ordnance Survey map.....	388
Figure 68 Wicker fences showing the sub-division of Tenement 27-8 into three plots (A-C). Dashed line property boundaries from 1852 Ordnance Survey map.....	389

Figure 69 Principal structural activity c.1250-1400 showing areas of activity within Tenements	390
Figure 70 Proposed sub-division of Tenement 43 mid-thirteenth century.....	391
Figure 71 Structures ST43C and ST43B.....	392
Figure 72 Structures ST44A and ST44(i)	393
Figure 73 Structure ST44B	394
Figure 74 Structure ST44B(a) following the deposition of a deposit interpreted as a floor that sealed the post pad and hearth associated with ST44B.	395
Figure 75 Structure ST45C and Furnace 1	396
Figure 76 Structure ST44C and Furnace 2	397
Figure 77 Structure ST44C and Furnace 3	398
Figure 78 Structure ST45A	399
Figure 79 Structure ST45B	400
Figure 80 Structure ST41C created from section drawing and feature description.....	401
Figure 81 Late fourteenth to early fifteenth century activity in Tenement 43.....	402
Figure 82 Structure ST45C	403

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis forms part of a Collaborative Doctoral Award funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council and York Archaeological Trust (YAT). Thanks must go to Professor John Walker, director of YAT, and Dr Ailsa Mainman, my YAT Supervisor, for their enthusiasm for the project and for making the archives and the time of the staff available; without these resources, this thesis would not have been possible. The finds department at YAT are the unsung heroines of this thesis: Anne Jenner, Nicky Rogers, Jane McComish and Rachel Cubitt. Also at YAT, Dr Mark Whyman (supervisor of the 1989-90 excavation), Ben Reeves (director of the 2004 excavations) and Mike Rains (IADB) all provided invaluable help and insights.

My Department of Archaeology supervisor Dr Kate Giles encouraged me to undertake this research and supported the distinctive direction in which I developed her original ideas fully. A greater mentor, guide and friend I could not have hoped to have through the endurance exercise of a PhD. My thesis advisory panel, Dr Steve Ashby and Dr Jeremy Goldberg helped shape, structure and develop the arguments presented in this thesis. To Dr Jeremy Goldberg I owe a particular debt of gratitude, for without his astute observation this thesis would not have benefitted from the input of my dyslexia support officer, Stephanie Miller. She had the unenviable task of introducing me to the finer points of the English language and highlighting the problems of a writing style entrenched over many years. Her patience, support and encouragement have greatly enhanced the final product submitted here.

At the University of York I greatly benefited from advice and encouragement from Dr Sarah Rees Jones. Dr Mark Edmunds, Steve Roskams, Dr Holly Wright, Mike Charno and Stewart Jeffries also provided helpful guidance and insights. Ben Gourley and Peter Halls introduced me to GIS. Many thanks to Dr Stefania Perring for allowing me access to her research on the Minster close. For discussions and light relief, thanks go to past and present members of the PhD community in the archaeology department: Dr Alex Holton, Dr Ed Blinkhorn, Dr Tim Tatiloglu, Ollie Jones, Matt Jenkins, Dav Smith, Dave Roberts and James Taylor.

In the wider archaeological and academic community, I am grateful to John Oxley, City Archaeologist, for maps and for his knowledge of the city, which helped refine and clarify many of the ideas set out in this thesis. Dr Peter Rauxloh of Museum of London Archaeology provided information on the use of GIS and urban excavations, and Dr Keith Lilley (Queens University Belfast) invited me to conferences, allowing me to see how this research fitted into

wider research frameworks. Last, but by no means least, I owe a great debt to my wife and family, who have supported and encouraged me over the course of the PhD.

AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I certify that all the material in this thesis that is not my own has been identified and that no part of this thesis has previously been submitted and approved for the award of degree by this or any other university. Some of the material discussed in this thesis has been published in Dean, G. (2012). 'GIS, Archaeology and Neighbourhood Assemblages in Medieval York' in *Post-Classical Archaeologies* Vol. 2. pp. 7-30.

Sicinius: What is the city but the people?

Citizens: True, the people are the city.

Coriolanus, Act III, Scene I. (Shakespeare 1999, 71)

INTRODUCTION

'York, the second city of England...over-masters all the other places of this county for fairness...A pleasant place, large and full of magnificence, rich, populous, and not only strengthened with fortifications, but adorned with beautiful buildings as well private and publick'.

John Speed's description of York c.1610 (Speed 2000, 120)

Maps such as John Speed's (Figure 1) represent an idealised view of York: neat, orderly houses line its streets, each very like its neighbour. Such a map, however, is an idealisation of urban space. The actual warren of passages and alleyways which criss-cross the city is ignored to display only the principal lanes and streets, and the number and variety of houses are neglected to create a uniform and pleasing appearance; the city is to some extent cleansed (Ackroyd 2000, 112). The mapping of space has arguably led to an understanding of city space as physically and empirically perceived and therefore measurable, with a focus on the configurations and practices of urban life (Soja 2000, 7-8). When cities are recognised as spatial entities, they become objects that can be studied, but the question is how to make sense of their complexity (Amin and Thrift 2002, 22-3). Through maps, scholars seek to define and categorise space, so maps have been instrumental in how neighbourhoods have been defined. However, if maps are idealised representations of cities, to what extent do our mappings therefore reflect our own idealised view of neighbourhoods? Can the mappable elements of city space be used in conjunction with archaeological and historical information to gain an insight into the multiple conceptions of buildings, neighbourhoods, streets and cities, not just in the present, but also in the past? Indeed, urban space undoubtedly meant something quite different to people in the Middle Ages from what it means to people today (Classen 2009, 2).

An important city, York has long been the focus of scholarly attention, and prior scholarship informs the analysis of the city presented in this thesis. However, the aim of this study is not to provide a detailed account of York's history which covered eloquently elsewhere (e.g. VCH 1961; Rees Jones 1997; Nuttgens 2000, 2007). Rather it seeks to construct a detailed picture

of the development and appearance of the built environment within the area of the Roman fortress at York between c.600 and 1600 to explore how topography and morphology shaped and influenced the use of urban space, and the character of past 'neighbourhoods'. Existing approaches to the idea of neighbourhood are considered critically in Chapter 1, as the basis for the development of a series of research questions. Chapter 2 provides a short review of urban archaeology and recording methods to provide the context for a detailed discussion of the excavation, recording, analysis and publication methodologies of York Archaeological Trust, whose archives provide the data for the two case studies (Chapters 3 and 4). Chapter 2 also addresses the ways in which scholars have sought to study urban space and considers the current understanding of York's urban form, cartographically and through the use of archaeological recording systems. It highlights the potential of GIS as a tool for dealing with stratigraphic data. Two case studies—Swinegate and Petergate—form the focus of analysis in Chapters 3 and 4. These chapters present the results of a detailed re-examination of archaeological archives, cartographic data, historical sources and material assemblages to construct chronological accounts of the development of the topography and the emergence and development of 'neighbourhoods' in the city from c. 600-1600. The significance of the findings in terms of our understanding of urban neighbourhoods is then discussed in Chapter 5, which also highlights the potential for further research.

CHAPTER 1: NEIGHBOURHOODS AND TOWNS

To date, the term 'neighbourhood', often associated with 'community', has been used freely by historians and archaeologists when discussing past societies; however, definitions and concepts of community remain underdeveloped (see Yaeger and Canuto 2000). Definitions of neighbourhood and approaches to its study have been explored by scholars working in a wide range of disciplines, but such approaches have received less detailed attention from archaeologists, who have been largely content to appropriate existing approaches and use such terms uncritically. The study of urban space and society is a rich and complex specialism which has developed since the nineteenth century (see Arnade et al. 2002; Blake 2004; Tonkiss 2005). This chapter seeks to draw on these approaches to problematize the idea of neighbourhood and to explore how existing approaches have been used in the study of cities. This forms the basis for a consideration of the approaches to medieval towns, urban lordship, built environment and the residents and occupational topographies that influenced and shaped urban neighbourhoods. The chapter concludes by outlining the approach to neighbourhood used in this thesis and its usefulness as a concept for making sense of the archaeology of two areas of the city of York between c.600 and 1600.

NEIGHBOURHOOD

City space has tended to be seen as an architecturally built environment, a physical container for human activity, shaped and reshaped over time (Soja 2000, 8-9). The social processes that are presumed to shape cities, such as stratification by status, class or the formation of urban communities, are rarely considered to be shaped by the city itself. Neighbourhood itself is a term often used in scholarly research as a means of exploring the social use and make up of space, but is rarely defined. Indeed, the word 'neighbourhood' and the related terms 'neighbour' and 'community' are often used holistically when discussing towns or cities—there is an assumed, implicit understanding of what is being discussed. However, we cannot assume that the meanings that we apply to neighbourhood, neighbour and community are the same as those applied in the past. Equally, there is the danger of imposing or assuming a sense of identity in an area which is defined as a distinctive zone of study by the scholar him/herself. Whether and how such zones actually formed distinctive neighbourhoods or crossed the boundaries of multiple and overlapping past neighbourhoods, needs more

careful consideration. To begin to explore neighbourhoods, it is therefore worth exploring the origins and definitions of the terms neighbourhood, neighbour and community in detail.

DEFINING NEIGHBOURHOOD

The need to define neighbourhood relates to on-going debates about community and identity in medieval society. Approaches to society are arguably shaped by the traditional models proposed by Ferdinand Tonnies of community as *Gemeinschaft* or *Gessellschaft*; the former is characterised by intimacy, kinship networks and stability, the latter by ego-focussed, discontinuous relationships and social tension (Tonkiss 2005, 12). Scholars working on cities from a range of periods have attempted to address this problem of defining the use of 'neighbour' and 'neighbourhood' (e.g. Garrioch 1986, 4; Garrioch and Peel 2005; Laurence 2010, 39-40; Lester 2010, 135-9; Rothschild 2008, 18-20, 67-8; Wrightson 2007, 23). Naomi Tadmoor (2010, 23) argues that neighbourhood was a key concept in early modern England, when most people lived in small communities, and human interaction was first and foremost among neighbours; however, whether neighbours related to close-knit or isolated groups of people is never fully discussed. Community and neighbourhood are associated with an idea of identity, with the inhabitants of a town each having a different experience of the urban environment that reflected and reinforced social structure (Borsay 1990, 17). It is clear that community and neighbourhood are complex and ambiguous concepts defined through the management and regulation of membership, the social and spatial boundaries and interaction with other groups (Nevola 2010, 351). However, defining the boundaries of a neighbourhood or a city is problematic. Garrioch (1986, 2-3) highlights this issue, questioning how the limits are drawn, topographically or socially, as a city's population is mixed and mobile, encompassing a range of occupations, wealth and lifestyles within a web of daily contacts across the whole city.

Part of the problem with understanding and defining communities, neighbourhoods and neighbours is the changing meaning of the words 'neighbour' and 'neighbourhood'. Naomi Tadmoor's (2010) research has traced the origins of the words neighbour and neighbourhood in association with Christian teaching. This has shown that neighbour and neighbourhood begin to adopt their modern meanings through the translation of the bible into English in the fourteenth century. The noun and adjective 'neighbour' covers a range of meaning, from a person living next door to one's fellow man. The original sense of the Anglo-Saxon word was one who dwells nearby; the first usage of neighbour as denoting fellow man dates from the 1300s (OED 2012; Tadmoor 2010, 26). The Oxford English

Dictionary (OED 2012) shows that from the late fourteenth to seventeenth centuries, the noun 'neighbourhood' was associated with individuals living in or near a particular place or in proximity as neighbours. It was also associated with a sense of conduct, a relationship associated with Christian ideals. Wrightson's (2007, 26, 29, 31) study of neighbourliness in the Elizabethan and Jacobean period showed that it involved a combination of 'place, personal knowledge, active reciprocity, the avoidance of conflict and aspirations towards Christian charity'. In the medieval and early modern period, the words neighbour, neighbourliness and neighbourhood and their definitions were therefore closely associated with Christian ideologies (Tadmoor 2010, 25, 36-7). If neighbourhood becomes a common means of framing social relations in the fourteenth century, what terms were used in the period prior to this? Neighbour was clearly in use to denote someone in proximity, and the Oxford English Dictionary (OED 2012) associates 'neighbourhood' with 'community', 'fellowship' and 'kin'; these may have been used to identify areas and groups of people. Through the eighteenth centuries the use of the word neighbourhood became related to ideas of districts or areas within towns and the types of people resident there, which is the usage developed through social reform and town planning in the nineteenth and 20th centuries. Neighbour and neighbourhood are therefore problematic terms to define, but alongside their physical spatial boundaries, the early definition reflected an ideal with a multi-dimensional meaning combining religious, utilitarian and sentimental elements. In contrast, modern understanding focuses on divisions and organization of space within a town or city reflecting changing attitudes of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. How we use these terms must therefore reflect the period that is being studied.

SPACE AND SOCIETY

A detailed exploration of social theory relating to society and city space lies beyond the scope of this thesis. However, certain key theoretical approaches that have shaped, influenced and underpinned approaches to the study of community/neighbourhood in a range of disciplines in the social science can be identified. The adoption and adaptation of methods and approaches by different disciplines have been highly influential in shaping approaches to cities and society.

Approaches developed in human geography from the late nineteenth century built on the work of sociologists such as Weber and Marx and explored the particular spatial configuration of a city and the social repercussions of its spaces on the inhabitants of large, dense, nucleated populations (Blake 2004, 237). Interest in urban communities developed in

nineteenth-century sociology, such as the influential work of the Chicago School, which comprised geographers as well as sociologists (Soja 2000, 82-94). The archaeological concern with urbanism has been closely linked to the path of social complexity, and the result has been an emphasis on the functions of the cities, the treatment of cities as coherent systems akin to the Chicago School's early approaches. It can be argued that newer approaches to urbanism have been slow to make an impact within archaeology (Blake 2004, 238; Antrobus 2009), but there is an increasing interest in theory which characterises studies early urban studies, focused on defining town as well as towns of the seventeenth century and later (see below).

More recently, geographers' and sociologists' approaches to space have been at the forefront of social theory's current interest in the spatial dimension as reflected in the work of Henri Lefebvre and Michel Foucault (Blake 2004, 234). Particularly influential has been the ideas of *habitus*, which refers to the expectations and assumptions we acquire unconsciously as part of the process of learning to be members of a group, culture or society, and which determine our perceptions of how things should be, our understanding of where we fit into a given society, and how we should behave in a given situation (Bourdieu 1990, 52-64). This approach highlights the mundane aspects of daily life and showed how daily practices all have social meaning (Hodder 2004, 34). *Habitus* has been widely adopted among medieval archaeologists as a tool for exploring social space in the past in the context of parish churches, public and institutional buildings, domestic buildings and the street more broadly (e.g., Gilchrist 1994; Giles 2000a and b; Graves 2000; Grenville 1997; Hartshorne 2004; Johnson 1993, 2010). The importance of space and temporality has been explored through The Annales School which has had a significant impact through its conceptualisation of three temporal scales: short-term events; medium-term cycles, such as economic boom and bust; and the very long-term or *longue durée* (Johnson 1999, 150-1). The *longue durée* approach has been used to examine historical developments, their causes and dynamics by understanding their geographic and temporal scale (Ames 1991, 935; Hodder and Hutson 2003, 136-9; Lucas 2001, 14-15; Preucel and Meskell 2004, 9).

The late twentieth century saw changes to the conceptualisation of the city as a locus for social movement and contestations (Blake 2004, 237). The sociologist Anthony Giddens developed the influential theory of structuration. This emphasises that all human action is carried out by knowledgeable human agents who structure the world through their actions but whose actions are also constrained by that world (Giddens 1984, xxi). Through

structuration, Soja (2000, 9) suggests it is possible to link the dynamic production and reproduction of city space more directly to studies of the configurations of social life such as family, cultural community or government. He further argues that by linking these areas, it is possible to recognize that the production of city space generates additional local, urban and regional forms of social organization and identity. Urban archaeologists have advocated several different scales or frames of reference for the interpretation of cities, with the most popular (and basic) being the household; buildings archaeologists have used Giddens in the examination of the interactive nature of social action and the social structuring of space (Giles 2000; Grenville 2000, 314). These approaches to the study of space and society, developed across the social sciences, have had a profound impact on how neighbourhoods have been studied.

APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF NEIGHBOURHOOD

The discussion so far has shown that neighbourhood and community are primarily spatial and social entities defined by the people who live within them, shaped by the social ideologies current at the time. They are also closely associated with the built environment within which they are located. This section seeks to outline some studies from different disciplines that highlight these different aspects of neighbourhood and the problems with (and benefits of) defining and studying them.

The problems of defining and studying neighbourhoods have been highlighted through the work of sociologists. For example, a recent study of East London (Mumford and Power 2003) sought to explore two large areas that the researchers classed as neighbourhoods because they were felt to convey a sense of 'home'. This study asked families within the study area to identify the area they considered to be their neighbourhood, which was shown to consist of an area within a 10-minute walk or half-mile of the front door, and within which there was a series of overlapping spaces (Mumford and Power 2003, 10). Equally important to the character of the neighbourhood were the people entering neighbouring areas through community networks or for specific services, which connected the neighbourhoods with the wider area of East London. The residents' sense of being in a community and part of the city was derived from small signs and signals of familiarity and friendliness, but a sense of community also existed where there was contact between people, where they talked, greeted each other, passed the time of day, respected each other's differences and displayed a desire to get along rather than a desire for deep involvement in each other's lives (Mumford and Power 2003, 38).

Durrschmidt's (2000) oral history of London explored the loss of the concept of neighbourhood and community in the modern city. The interviewees defined neighbourhoods as spaces where people knew and trusted one another, and where family noise and rows filtered through the streets. It was known when and how people slept, what work was done and taken in, which rooms were vacant, who was dirty or clean, who was healthy or sick, and who was in or out of work. These communities were galvanised by almost exclusively local relations, perpetuated by shared conduct of daily practices and shared use of facilities such as a wash house or toilet. These neighbourhoods had ground rules covering everyday life, providing the means to maintain the closed society of a local neighbourhood community. This community had a shared local culture, exercising mutual care and intimacy. These recent studies show that the binding characteristic of a neighbourhood is its residents' sense of identify manifested through a friendly atmosphere, a sense of trust and reciprocity that relates directly to where they live.

Many of these themes are echoed in the work of the urban/social geographers who have explored the spatial elements of neighbourhood (e.g. Haney and Knowles 1978, 292; Pacione 2005, 32-4), as well as the work of historical geographers looking at cities in the past, such as Keith Lilley (2002) who draws attention to the relationship between the built environment and social structure. Anthropological and ethnographic approaches to communities and neighbourhoods have also stressed the importance of shared interests, a shared social system or network, and a shared locale (Agbe-Davies 2010). Spatiality is explored through the creation of identities, with the houses, storage units and land divisions contributing to a sense of social being (Preucel and Meskell 2004, 13). Through studies of traditional, small-scale, nucleated settlements, it has been possible to show that spatial and social boundaries are often porous, and that public spaces such as plazas or monuments may be seen in very different ways by different factions within the community (Agbe-Davies 2010, 379; Blake 2004, 243; Gosden 2004, 163-4).

The work of sociologists like Marx and Weber had an influence on early historians; Henri Pirenne saw medieval cities as market enclaves, with a new class of people motivated by interests, values and expectations fundamentally different to the countryside (Howell 2000, 7). Early historians of English towns placed emphasis on the emergence of the economic franchise, class conflict and contested power. However, there have been significant changes in the study of cities and past societies, which have begun to show that medieval cities and the varieties of urban experience they fostered were more complex (see Goodson et al. 2010;

Halvorson and Spierling (2008, 3-10). There is therefore a growing interest in exploring the city as constituted not only through the physical forms and administrative apparatus of government, but also by the experiences and perceptions of people living in it (Goodson et.al 2010, 5). This has led to research exploring communities in medieval cities based on artisanal grouping through guilds, which developed to protect the interests of groups of artisans and had a social aspect through support of their members (Swanson 1999, 98-9). The extent to which guilds and crafts also formed neighbourhoods is unclear, but the groupings of trades have been explored in medieval cities (see below).

Particularly important is the re-evaluation of the importance of religion in later medieval towns (e.g. Rosser and Dennison 2000). This has led to an interest in the parish as a focus for communities (e.g. Hindle 2004, 58-81; French 2001; Kumin 1996; Rosser 1988). The parish is seen as the fundamental unit of Christian social life, with its boundaries, public spaces, charity and moral sanction (Goodson et al. 2010, 10-11). However, much of the focus on parishes has been on the countryside; there are questions as to how parishes operated in towns, where they varied in size and might have served a mixed population (Swanson 1999, 125). Parishes are useful for studying social composition, social structure and tensions. For example, Jeremy Boulton's (1987, 21-73) study of sixteenth- to eighteenth-century Southwark through three parish's explored themes of topography, population density, population change, mortality and work. Boulton sees the residents of Southwark as living out their lives in geographically restricted social horizons within a local social system. This in itself contained many networks of relationships: landlord and tenant, employer and employee, kin and neighbours. Local ties were the principal form of support for residents, and the informal institutions of neighbourhood life were bolstered and underpinned by the parochial administration; neighbourhoods enforced neighbourly values such as keeping the peace, and neighbours could and did inform on each other to enforce the peace. While the parish may have been important, late medieval society was not contained, immobile, within fixed parochial blocks (Rosser 1988, 29-30), and however neighbourhoods were defined, they may or may not have had clearly defined geographical parameters (Wrightson 2007, 22-3). The archaeologist Chris King (2006, 71-3) argues that in Norwich, whilst many parishes were small and their residents could be expected to know one another, the form of the urban landscape provided other points of contact and interaction that were important in the social lives of the townspeople. He argues that people may have distinguished themselves through the 'micro-geographies' of individual streets and lanes, which may have cut across formal ward and parish boundaries.

The different ways in which people framed urban space have been explored through the historical records. Daniel Lord Smail's (2000, 67) research in Marseille has shown that the documents produced by the notaries and their clients conveyed abstract representations of space that in turn identified people and property in the city. Anne Lester (2010, 130-39), in her study of Champagne towns, argues that through the written records a more subtle understanding how people framed their experience of urban space can be explored. She argues that individuals described and differentiated their experiences of urban space by orientating themselves on fixed points in the townscape, like religious institutions and stalls used by merchants, which reflect their perception of the urban landscape. For Lester (2010, 137), neighbourhoods are defined in charters by landmarks associated with the areas where people lived, died, had families, held rental property, went to market, and bought and sold goods; neighbours and acquaintances who made up a neighbourhood were familiar with the houses and domestic spaces of a close-knit world and knew the inhabitants of their landscape and their familial genealogies.

There have also been a number of studies of urban communities in Italian cities such as Florence and Genoa in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (e.g. Burke 2006; Nevola 2010; Rosenthal 2006). These have highlighted the complex social networks to which individuals could belong within a city, but they have also highlighted the local aspect of neighbourhoods defined by a street, parish or family/industrial grouping. Bernard Capp (2003) has explored the roles of women in communities in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. Capp's research explores the complex social relations between women and men and the impact of gossip and slander on a community. He argues that community is a problematic term because individuals generally saw as their primary frame of reference a network of friends and neighbours centred on the street, parish, or town, or rooted in social or religious identities. However, people also had a wider sense of community, conscious of shared interests, concerns and values that distinguished them from outsiders (Capp 2003, 268).

The archaeological study of cities has drawn heavily on other disciplines, and the result has been an emphasis on form and functions, the treatment of cities as coherent systems in the manner advocated by the Chicago School; newer approaches to urbanism have had little impact (Blake 2004, 238; Antrobus 2009). Archaeologists have long had an interest in the development of past societies. Community has meant a spatially bound group, a mappable base unit of social organization. From such a perspective, the space of community is taken

for granted as a unifying backdrop, either by design or accident, to which are ascribed feelings of belonging or common interests over territory (Blake 2004, 243). However, Yeager and Canuto (2000, 3) argue that relatively few archaeologists have asked the simple question, 'What is a community?' The development of archaeological theory is discussed elsewhere (e.g. Johnson 2003), but it is worth highlighting the role of post-processual archaeologists in adopting the ideas of Giddens and Bourdieu. This has led to an interest into the micro-processes that form the building blocks of society: daily practices in the home, technology, economy and the uses and perceptions of landscape (Hodder 2004, 26). Indeed, since the 1980s there has been a growing interest in household archaeology (Yeager and Canuto 2000, 4). Despite the growing interest in the everyday, the focus has remained on functional and descriptive approaches. For example, Kolb and Snead (1997) defined a community on three archaeologically visible functions: social reproduction, subsistence production and self-identification/social recognition.

More flexible and nuanced studies of neighbourhoods and the social use of space have been pioneered by archaeologists working on cities of the more recent historical past in America and Australia. This is due to the close links in these countries between archaeology and anthropology, which leads to a focus not on objects, buildings or landscapes but on people as social groups rather than individuals (Agbe-Davies 2000, 374). The approaches developed in these countries have shown the benefit of bringing together excavated material, historical records and cartographic records to throw light on the lives of those otherwise poorly documented in the written record (Gosden 2004, 167; Jeffries et al. 2009, 330). For example, there has been a large body of work exploring the social and topographic development of the city of New York (Cantwell and Wall 2001; Rothschild 2006; Yamin 2001). Nan Rothschild's (2006) examination of New York ranges from small-scale (a household or sub-group within the city) to larger-scale studies of the whole city or its components. Rothschild (2006, 131-3) identifies two different questions at the level of neighbourhood: first, to what degree were residents aware of a neighbourhood as a meaningful place? Second, how coherently defined were neighbourhoods and how consistent in their composition? She argues that the first question is hard to answer as many of the earliest written characterisations were negative, assigned by outsiders. Rothschild suggests that regardless of whether people were aware that the area they lived in was distinctive, most city dwellers spent most of their time in a relatively small area, working and living together and frequenting local merchants or markets. As regards her second question, Rothschild argues that prior to the nineteenth century there were no relatively uniform neighbourhoods in New

York; most land was mixed in terms of wealth and functional specialization or occupation. Residences and workplaces were often in the same buildings; rich, middling and poor lived on the same street. The pattern of settlement was reflected in New York at Five Points, an area popularly perceived as a slum. Through the excavations and the integrated study of the documentary evidence, it was possible to show the vibrant and diverse community of the area. This challenged the perception of the area as a slum; a brothel was found to have the most expensive and elite ceramics of all, whilst other residents of Five Points also had ceramics associated with the more respectable areas of the city (Yamin 2001).

In Australia, pioneering work in Melbourne, at an area known as Little Lon, was designed to integrate archaeological and historical data to provide an analytical framework for exploring urban society and its embedded material culture (Mayne and Lawrence 1998; Mayne and Murray 2003; Mackay et. al 2006). The aim was to develop an approach that allowed the 'reading' of the cityscape as a cultural landscape. This was based on the view that texts and artefacts are all documents, equally open to being read for historical meaning to recreate the character of past communities (Murray and Mayne. 2003, 115-116). The work at Little Lon provided the framework for work on the Rocks area in Sydney, which drew on the archaeological, historical and cartographic evidence to challenge and reform the understanding of one of the city's earliest neighbourhoods (Karskens 1999, 2001). More intimate considerations of community in the United Kingdom have tended to focus on the post-medieval period, following the American influence of 'historical archaeology' as encompassing the period from 1600 (e.g. Horning and Palmer 2009).

Recently, the focus by historical archaeology on the period after 1600 has been challenged. Scholars have argued that the discipline should encompass all the periods over the last five thousand years where written records and archaeological evidence can be combined (e.g. Funari et al. 1999). Documents and archaeology have been used within frameworks that consider the social use of space in what might be termed 'early' contexts, for example, early historical settlement in Bronze Age Cyprus, village life at Deir el Medina (c.1500-1100 BC) and urban populations in Roman Egypt (Alston and Alston 1997; Meskell 1998). Historical archaeologists have therefore begun to produce integrative, long-term urban histories (Jeffries et al. 2009, 330) to address the questions of neighbourhood and community. These studies provide a framework for the medieval period, which is not seen as part of the traditional 'historical' period. Indeed, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century communities in

places such as New York have parallels with the medieval city in terms of the composition of the streets and households (see below).

While the documentary records of the medieval period may not always facilitate the production of detailed biographies of people and their buildings (for research in this area see Liddy forthcoming), they nonetheless provide an invaluable resource that must be considered in conjunction with the archaeological record. There have been limited attempts to produce accounts of the medieval city that integrate the historical, archaeological and architectural evidence to produce narratives focussing on the social use of space. David Gaimster (2005) explored the evidence for Hanseatic urban households to compare the evidence from excavations with the historical records to try to paint a fuller picture of life in the Baltic ports. In Norwich, King's (2006, 71-3) research into merchant housing has shown that while areas contained a mix of richer and poorer inhabitants, as well as various craft groups there were also spatial divisions between rich and poor households, which impacted on the formation of social identities. He argues that beyond the formal administrative structures of parish and ward, the more immediate topography of streets and open spaces was most important for the negotiation of urban social relations that constituted the residential neighbourhood.

In London, Bowsher et al.'s (2008) examination of the development of the guildhall and the surrounding streets draws on the historical and archaeological data. Whilst this provides a detailed discussion of the developing topography and the use of land and buildings, there is limited discussion of the social interplay between the different social groups identified: Jews, artisans and merchants. This arguably reflects the dominance of functional and descriptive approaches to medieval cities. Schofield (2011, 113) argues that the ability to delineate neighbourhoods or groups in society by archaeological methods remains an object not fully realised or realised only in the broadest terms. He asks whether houses, possessions and food, which are the basics of life and the material aspects of day-to-day living, can differentiate one group of people from another. Schofield's (2011, 108-13) discussion of neighbourhoods in London focuses on distinctions of ethnicity and wealth. Ethnic examples include the evidence for the Jewry near the London guildhall and groupings of foreign merchants; the evidence suggests groupings in defined zones. In terms of wealth, the quality of buildings may stand out as a characteristic of neighbourhoods, but rich and poor residents, comprising large and small households, lived in a mixture in every street.

Research increasingly reveals the complex nature of urban life in medieval and later towns. This challenges more traditional approaches to towns of the late medieval and early modern period (after the sixteenth century) that have seen towns as homogenous spaces; the daily interaction of rich and poor residents was clearly a key aspect in the creation of the urban 'community' (Cowan 1998, 128-31; Morris 1994). Scholarship has also begun to address the more subjective 'mental map' of urban space carried in the minds of individuals, considering its significance in everyday life (Garrioch 1986, 27; Lester 2010; Smail 2000; Soja 2000, 8).

The case studies used here also highlight that caution is needed in ascribing boundaries to neighbourhoods. Individuals and groups had a different experience of social interaction and a different perception of urban space (Garrioch 1986, 2-4); daily activities would often cut across or disregard perceived boundaries of neighbourhood, distinctions between public and private space, as well as official boundaries. The discussion thus far has shown that the majority of urban studies exploring urban space start from the late medieval period. This review of definitions and approaches highlights the importance of understanding neighbourhoods not only as spatial entities but also through their close links with the built environment. The next section outlines the approaches directly relating to the study of urban space, the built environment and community/neighbourhood in the medieval period (c.600-1600) that provide the background for the two case studies in this thesis (Chapters 3 and 4).

MEDIEVAL TOWNS

A town or city is a complex mix of spaces, all of which influence its form and character (Howell 2000). A large body of literature written by scholars across several disciplines has explored the development and role of towns (Rothschild 2006, 121). Nicholas (1997, xvii) argues that it is necessary to understand the city in its social and spatial context: what caused it to appear in given places at particular times? What did it look like? How did residents make their living? Who ruled the cities, and how did the ruling elites change? These are themes that have underpinned many urban studies (e.g. Platt 1975; Biddle 1984; Ottaway 1992; Palliser 2000).

THE IDEA OF THE CITY

'[T]he city...does not tell its past, but contains it like the lines of a hand'.

(Calvino 1972, 11)

If a city carries the reminders of its past in the alignment of its streets and buildings, it is the role of scholars to unpick these remains to examine the story of a town's development. The notion of the city as a bounded space, distinct from its surroundings, has been pervasive (Grenville 1997, 158; Keene 2000, 83). Indeed, the walled city was an important part of medieval iconography on maps and town seals; it was also part of the creation of the idealised city, with links to the heart of the Christian world, Jerusalem (Creighton and Higham 2005, 166-8; Lilley 2009). Martha Howell (2000, 3, 12) argues that contemporary depictions of towns are not fully accurate reflections of urban life although they play a crucial part in establishing urban identity. However, the city was not truly isolated and divided from its surrounding landscape or economy; urban experiences were more complex. More recent historical scholarship has sought to emphasise the role of cultural forces, representations, perceptions and public discourses in shaping urban communities (Gosden et al. 2010, 4). The use of the term 'town' implies an urban character, but questions clearly remain over what constitutes 'urban'. This thesis uses the term town in its broadest sense to include proto-urban/non rural settlement on character as well as places that have a more typically 'urban' character. The issues of how a place is characterised as 'urban' are discussed below. The development of approaches to towns and the influence of scholars in a range of disciplines has been discussed in detail elsewhere (e.g. Classen 2009; Holt and Rosser 1990; Howell 2000, 7; Nicholas 1997). This shows there is a broad research agenda for towns, medieval and early modern, by scholars in history, archaeology and historical geography, an agenda that addresses the process of urban development in individual towns and through specific themes relating to politics, religion, aspects of the economy, questions of decline and urban form (e.g. Dobson 1977; Christie and Loseby 1996; Dyer 1991; Graves 2003b; Green and Leech 2002; Hodges and Hobley 1988; Lilley 2002; Palliser 2000; Slater 2000b; Schofield and Vince 2005; Sholkmann 2011, 379). Early medieval towns are studied primarily through archaeology; late medieval towns, in contrast, have a wealth of documentary material, especially from the thirteenth century. As a result, research into medieval towns has traditionally drawn on history rather than archaeology, and it is only since the Second World War that scholars have begun to approach the study of medieval towns archaeologically. Before the Second World War, archaeology focused primarily on the origins of urbanism in

the immediate post-Roman period rather than in the twelfth to sixteenth centuries, which were believed to be well understood from documents. In fact, because history and archaeology complement rather than duplicate one another, the medieval period offers great potential for research (Palliser 2005, 25).

The factors involved in the origins of towns influenced aspects of the form and course that urbanization would take, so a town's early phases shaped and influenced its physical form (Holt 2009, 57). Studies of urban settlement have had to address the question of what constitutes a town or city, but such a classification is somewhat arbitrary in that it depends on the level of regional urbanisation; medieval towns and cities in England would have been considered small compared to their European counterparts (Holt and Rosser, 1990, 1; Nicholas 1997, xv; Palliser 2000, 3). Historical definitions of English towns relied on the survival of text, the town's designation as a *burgus* in the Assize rolls or its political representation in Parliament (Goodson et al. 2010, 5). Scholars have used a range of criteria to classify towns, stressing the difference between towns and rural communities. Scholars have defined towns and cities as places of permanent and concentrated human settlement; central places that are administrative, ecclesiastical or both; and places where people engaged in non-agricultural activities and/or specialist activities. Scholars also assert a social distinction between the inhabitants of a town and those of the countryside (e.g. Arnade et al. 2000; Britnell 2006a, 134; Dyer 2002, 187-8; Lilley 2002, 3-4; Palliser 2000). Population size has also been used as a definitive criterion (Lynch 2003, 25-39). In medieval archaeology criteria have encompassed form and function, including the presence of monuments, the complexity of economy and the density of settlement (e.g. Andersson 2011, 370-1; Biddle 1976, 100; Classen 2009, 5; Carver 1993, 1; Palliser 2000, 5; Schledermann 1970; Schofield and Steur 2007, 111; Wickham 2005, 591-6; Scholkmann 2011). The use of criteria developed through the study of larger towns, but there has also been a growing body of work on small towns to which criteria have also been applied, such as the concentration of residents engaged in non-agricultural activities (Laughton et al. 2001, 334). Specific studies of the development of small towns such as Westminster or Wells (Rosser 1989; Shaw 1993) highlight a complex interweaving of the different social, political and economic strands that play a part in shaping urban life in the later Middle Ages.

Roskams (1996, 263) argues that the criteria used to define towns form a conventional wisdom that is problematic. He argues that most of the criteria used to define a town are culturally dependent and thus limit cross-cultural comparison. There is often a failure to

stipulate which, if any, characteristics are necessary or sufficient for determining urban status; equally, lists of urban attributes often fail to specify the forces underpinning the urban process and thus remain purely descriptive. Scholars have also warned against drawing a contrast between rural and urban settings, arguing there is little difference between the mind-sets of those resident in towns and those resident in the countryside (Hilton 1982; Rubin 1992). Criteria are also problematic because roles change over time, making definitions irrelevant from one period to the next (Hohenburg 1995, 23; Palliser 2000, 5). Rather than focusing on definitions, scholars have thus begun to question why towns were necessary, exploring the reasons for their creation and development as well as examining how people used urban spaces for their own very varied purposes; such approaches have enabled an expansion of the traditional categories that define the city (Goodson et al. 2010, 7-9, 11; Schofield and Steuer 2007, 111).

Much of the historical and geographical interest in towns has focussed on the later middle ages (twelfth to sixteenth centuries), while archaeology has tended to focus on the immediate post-Roman period and the emergence of urbanism. This has shown the reused Roman centres represent a different form of town from planned towns associated with a military or economic role, notably the burhs in Wessex in the tenth century or the new towns created in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Beresford 1967; Blair 2000, 246-58; Hinton 2000, 218-35; Holt 2009; Lilley 2002, 111-122; Palliser 2000, 2005, 9). The post-Roman reuse of towns is poorly understood. In a number of towns, there is evidence for 'dark earth' sealing Roman levels and preceding later activity, but whether this material is associated with abandonment or material accumulated from subsequent, ephemeral occupation is a matter of debate (Rogers 2011, 4, 10; Zant 2010 367-9).

The study of later towns has shown that they clearly meet many of the criteria associated with urbanism and have thus invited consideration in relation to the ideas of neighbourhood. However, the character of neighbourhoods in early towns has not received the same attention. The *longue durée* approach of this thesis, which focuses on urban space and neighbourhood, requires a consideration of the early form of neighbourhoods. A common theme that emerges from a consideration of the reuse of Roman centres is an association with the establishment of early churches, as may be observed at Wroxeter, Chester, Canterbury, Carlisle and Lincoln (e.g Stocker and Vince 2003; Zant 2010, 476). Zant (2010, 470) has suggested that there is a particular association of former Roman forts in the north of England with early ecclesiastical centres, as seen at Ribchester, Bewcastle, Vindolanda,

Chester, Newcastle and York, with limited evidence for secular occupation. The association of the Church with former Roman centres reflects Church council instructions that bishops should have their seats in *urbes* or *civitates*, and the re-use of Roman centres was a means of securing and consolidating the Church's position (Courtney 1998, 112-13; Eaton 2000, 125). The power of bishops represented stability, which often secured the franchise of urban space from the imposition of new political actors. The focus of secular activity shifts to trading emporia, which were located in the vicinity of Roman centres or on new sites, from the sixth century (Hall 2000).

The reuse of Roman centres is not simply a matter of continuity; there is firm evidence for decay and abandonment, in Lincoln, Winchester, Carlisle and London, for example (Vince 2003, 143; Zant 2010). Christie's (2006, 185) examination of Roman cities in Italy has shown how the Roman townscape remained part of the later town, with elements deliberately robbed or reused. He argues that the end of Roman urbanism might not mark the end of a town but the beginning of a period of redefinition and a modification of what constitutes a 'town'. Where the Roman towns were reused in Britain in the seventh to tenth centuries, it was often for a military or religious purpose, but the towns were of different form and function to classical cities (Holt and Rosser 1990, 3). Settlement within former Roman centres may not have been what can be strictly classed as urban based on the criteria set out above. For example, Martin Biddle (1984, 115-16) argues that immediate post-Roman Winchester was not urban, and settlement there was in marked contrast to the intense occupation at Hamwic. If former Roman centres lack typical urban characteristics, then there are clearly questions about the character and social use of space which this thesis needs to consider. It is also clear that caution is needed in how we define towns, which has an impact on how we consider the character of neighbourhoods within them—especially given that this chapter argues that our views of neighbourhood are too often shaped by models from the more recent past.

LORDSHIP AND TOWN DEVELOPMENT

Goddard (2004, 290) argues that all towns were planned by a seigniorial or royal presence, and the actions of these people established the shapes and forms of the towns and their uses. Medieval urbanization was a process not just about the emergence of towns but also linked to the development of the countryside (Holt 2009, 57). Although this study focuses on York, towns should not be treated in isolation; an awareness of the link with the surrounding

countryside is needed (e.g. Perring 2002; Andersson 2011, 371). Goddard (2004, 3) stresses the positive aspects of urban lordship, and although towns were laid out as seigniorial enterprises, management of urban space was not confined to the elite. Other interested parties included merchants, burgesses, artisans and traders. The ways in which these groups organized property resulted in a complex pattern of interlocking lordships that influenced the physical character of the urban landscape and the way people inhabited towns (Lilley 2002, 178-80).

URBAN LORDSHIP: SEVENTH TO LATE ELEVENTH CENTURIES

Towns in the immediate post-Roman period consisted of ex-Roman towns and the new trading centres often called *wics*. The *wics* were in use from the mid-seventh to mid-eighth centuries and acted as manufacturing and trading sites; they were usually on new sites near to existing Roman centres (Hall 2000, 122-5). From the mid-ninth century, *wics* tend to fall out of use, and settlement relocates either to areas around former Roman centres, as in York and London, or to new sites, as in the case of Hamwic (Bowsher et al. 2007, 11; Hall 2000, 130-33; Kemp 1996, 83). The reason for these locational changes is unclear (Hall 2000, 131). Within the towns of the immediate post-Roman period, whether they were new foundations or established on former Roman sites, the space was divided into land blocks. The earliest known method of dividing the land of a town into discrete blocks, or urban estates, was the establishment of streets used to demarcate units of a single owner. In time these were divided into smaller and smaller units (Harding 2002, 552; Lilley 2002, 202). The complexity of the tenorial geography of towns is reflected in Domesday, which shows the estates are part of the manorial system (Lilley 2002, 186).

The early development of towns was driven by royal or ecclesiastical interests, but the Church was often the chief landlord, property developer or court holder (Brooks 1998, xiii; Slater 1998, 155). In York, David Rollason (2003, 228, 2004, 313) argues that development was through ecclesiastical rather than royal presence before the Norman Conquest. There was a close link between urban and rural settlement in the pre-Conquest period. These meant that inhabitants of urban estates, like in villages, were subject to a lord (Lilley 2002, 187-8). John Blair (2004, 337) argues that early urban estates constituted large, open areas resembling farmyards and supporting relatively low populations. In ecclesiastical cities such as Worcester it has been suggested that urban estates supported the families, craftsmen and servants who worked to support the needs of the cathedral community (Baker et.al 1992;

Baker and Holt 2004, 128-9). It is likely the presence of the Minster in York within the former fortress that led to the development of urban estates to support its ecclesiastical community; this is a theme explored further in Chapters 3 and 4. Urban estates were often associated with a church referred to as a 'proprietary church', reflecting the view that they were founded and owned by a group or individual and perceived as property (Morris 1989, 169; Wood 2006, 2-4). The presence of urban churches serving discrete areas before the Norman Conquest has been identified at several towns, such as Cambridge, Colchester, Lincoln, Oxford, York, Norwich, Winchester, Canterbury and London (Pound 2000, 114; Wilson and Mee, 1998, 3).

The commercial development of town and country was interlinked through extensive networks of property ownership. Many landowners in cities also owned significant rural estates, and many rural landowners lived in towns and engaged in trade (Fleming 1993; Holt 2000, 79-82; Rees Jones 2008). Urban landlords of estates could have similar powers to those exercised by the manorial lords of rural estates. The monastic lords of the urban manor of *Godbegot* in Winchester maintained seigniorial jurisdiction over tenants into the sixteenth century; into the twelfth century in York and into the thirteenth century in Coventry, several landowners held courts for tenants (Fleming 1993, 3-37; Goddard 2007, 200-10; Rees Jones 2008, 77-9). Urban estates with churches therefore belonged to a range of landlords, including rulers, magnates, lesser landowners and ecclesiastics, either individually or in communities. Proprietary churches were also built by groups that may be considered more typically urban, including citizen families or the companies of merchants, some of which may not have been resident in the town (Wood 2006, 646). Baker and Holt (2004, 222) have shown that the prevalent landowner in the town influenced who founded churches; in Gloucester, a royal town, it was the king or his attendants who were responsible, but in Worcester, controlled by the church, the majority were episcopal foundations. Blair (2004, 422, 497) argues the proprietary churches were influential in creating urban character as they were part of the interweaving of religious affiliation, social obligations, group identity and the creation of common terminology for parochial allegiance. Many of the proprietary churches founded before 1066 have an enduring legacy as later medieval parish churches (Baker and Holt 2004, 237).

There was a complex relationship between the lesser churches within a town that also had a Minster or cathedral, especially in relation to burials. Often it was the minster or cathedral that had the monopoly on burials, as was the case in Worcester, Exeter and Winchester

(Keene 1985, 108-9; Pound 2000, 114). Historical records from at least the ninth or tenth century show that proprietary churches were often associated with a plot of land defined by a boundary, such as a ditch, which emphasised the exclusivity of the area around the church (Baker and Holt 2004, 237; Blair 2004, 465, 500). Whether this space was always intended for burial is unclear, but churches sought burial rights as a mark of status as well as a source of income, and a church with a graveyard was likely to be on a lord's semi-autonomous estate (Hadley 2001, 36; Blair 2004, 368, 463). The plot of land around a church could also act as a space for public gatherings or markets, not just as a religious site (Dymond 1999). Therefore, this period sees urban space that is first defined and created by lords, secular and ecclesiastical, through the establishment of streets and the associated division of plots. Associated with these plots were lesser, or proprietary, churches, which were at the heart of communities that were in many respects similar to their rural counterparts. The character of the neighbourhoods within this early phase of town development needs careful consideration.

URBAN LORDSHIP: LATE ELEVENTH TO SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

The period from the Norman Conquest to the sixteenth century saw significant changes in landownership within towns; it also provides more documentary evidence. It is the late eleventh century into which we are able to gain our earliest insight into the organization of space within York, which likely reflects the state of the city immediately before the Norman Conquest. Domesday Book shows that York was divided into a series of shires and that there were lawmen or judges who were likely a privileged group in the city as in other Danelaw towns (VCH 1961, 19-23). David Palliser (1990, 89) has suggested a link between the lawmen and the York Guild Merchants, known from charters of the twelfth century; there is a reference to a Gildgarth in 1080. The merchants were an integral part of the slow move towards self-government, which was achieved through successive rights grants by kings from the later twelfth century and culminated in the charter of 1396 by Richard II (see papers in Rees Jones 1997). Although the church remained an important player in the management of urban space (Goddard 2007), the late eleventh-century documents also show the increasing complexity of the sub-division of space, with land granted to Norman knights; much of these holdings were largely alienated to the church in the early twelfth century (Rees Jones 1987[i], 275).

The period after the Norman Conquest also sees changes in the management of urban space through the development of parishes. The development of urban parishes is not well

understood, and towns that developed a complex parochial structure were mainly founded before the Norman Conquest (Pound 2000, 117). There have been a number of studies into the development of the urban parish (e.g. Baker and Holt 1998; Baker and Holt 2004, 239-259; Brook and Keir 1975, 130-3; Keene 1985, 107, 115, 124-6; 2011b Pounds 2000, 113-154; Rogers 1972). This research has suggested that urban parishes developed in a similar manner to their rural counterparts, having an origin in the tenth century, but they may have developed at a later date in towns (Pounds 2000, 113). Studies of urban parishes in Chichester, Canterbury and London have shown that there was a relationship between early units of land tenure and urban parochial geography (Baker and Holt 1998, 211). Urban parishes appear to reflect the fragmentation of large tenurial units, but they may also reflect groupings of pious craftsmen or acts of ecclesiastical planning (Baker and Holt 2004, 211). However the parishes were established, by around 1200 the urban parochial system begins to fossilise, with the erratic nature of their boundaries reflecting different patterns of landownership (Baker and Holt 1998, 212; Pound 2000, 118, 121-2). A consideration of parish formation is important in the later medieval period, as parishes have often been the focus of numerous studies of community/neighbourhood as discussed above.

Alongside the development of ecclesiastical boundaries, civic authorities established boundaries through wards. The wards rarely coincided with the parish boundaries, and in York they seem to have had a primarily administrative identity, created largely through the processes of enforcing civic regulations and assessing taxes (Hartshorne 2004, 56). The development of complex and interwoven jurisdictional boundaries caused friction as civic authorities maintained an identity distinct from that of rural, ecclesiastical or noble communities (Attreed 2002). The increased availability of documentation relating to the management of urban space from the thirteenth century onward has allowed the detailed mapping of property ownership in cities such as Norwich, London, Winchester, York and Oxford (Keene 1985, Keene and Harding 1987; Rees Jones 1987; Rutledge 1995). Goddard (2007, 148) argues that religious institutions continued to be the most important urban landlords of the later middle ages. Papers in *The Church in the Medieval Town* (Slater and Rosser 1998) show different ways the Church affected the development of towns. The Church was often prepared to undertake large-scale re-planning, as with St Mary's Abbey Coventry (Lilley 1998) or at Bury St Edmonds (Antrobus 2009). Alongside the church, new groups of institutional property holders, such as guilds, emerged as key players in the development of towns (Rees Jones 1987[i], 271; Goddard 2007, 154).

Ecclesiastical and institutional landlords built up estates of land that they developed with property. The changes in landownership and the management of urban property has led Derek Keene (1996b, 108) to argue that by the thirteenth century most large urban estates of institutional ownership were composed of fixed rents. This prompted a building boom in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century and may have lent the townscape a more uniform and standardized appearance than in the twelfth century (Baker and Holt 2004, 268-9, 279-80; Goddard 2007, 150; Keene 1996b, 109; Shaw 1993, 29-30; Rees Jones 1987[i], 283; Rosser 1989, 44-5, 51-4). Harding (2002, 550) argues that the changes to property tenures and the property market embodied the tense and changing relationship between public and private space in the medieval and early modern city; as the urban community developed, practices evolved to authorize the division of continuous geographical space into units to which only a limited number of claims were recognized. Therefore, through the development and management of estates, institutional landlords played an important role in the topographical development of the late medieval city.

Throughout the twelfth to sixteenth centuries, the Church arguably remained the largest land and property holder in York. The Minster had a large a number of properties, particularly in the Petergate and Goodramgate area, managed by the Vicars Choral (Rees Jones 2005). Properties and land within York were managed by religious institutions based in the city and in the surrounding countryside as well as by the Minster; estates were also built up by wealthy individuals, such as mayors or wealthy artisans. These estates provided not only a residence but a source of income (Rees Jones (1987[i], 277-284). After 1300, other institutions, such as chantries, colleges, lay fraternities and secular corporations such as the York Ouse and Foss Bridgemasters, built up portfolios of properties to generate an income (Rimmer 2007, 21-3). To maximise the income from these holdings, the early fourteenth century sees more intensive use of urban land, with the construction of rows of speculative housing (Rutledge 1995, 13). In York, Jayne Rimmer's (2007) research shows the care urban landlords, secular and ecclesiastical, took in the maintenance and improvement of the buildings constructed on their estates from the fourteenth century. Through the repair accounts we gain an insight into the appearance of the houses that lined the streets; they varied in height and appearance, but they would all have had tiled roofs, with the exterior plastered and coated with lime wash. It is possible that the landlords initiated the lime-washing of blocks of property as means of identifying their holdings in a particular area of the city (Rimmer 2007, 43, 128).

Rimmer's (2007, 23) study of rented property has shown that competition between landlords impacted the design and appearance of buildings. To maximise the rent from land, rows of houses were built where none had been before and on land that was previously wasteland. Whole tenements were redeveloped as closes and lanes, and they were built on churchyards, even at the expense of demolishing substantial stone halls (Rees Jones (1987[i], 302-3). As well as building rents, institutional landlords were responsible for maintenance and upkeep (Keene 1989; Rimmer 2007, 111-179). In the later medieval city, therefore, a substantial proportion of urban houses was owned and rented by institutional landlords. This comprised a broad range of properties, tenements, messuages, small houses and shops, and it meant that a significant proportion of the urban population, from diverse backgrounds, lived in rented accommodation (Rimmer 2007, 21-3). Understanding how urban space is defined and used is important for understanding how these spaces became the focus for people as neighbourhoods.

THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

'Cities are amalgams of buildings and people, inhabited settings for daily rituals'.

(Kostof 1991, 16)

The discussion of neighbourhoods of the more recent past (see above) has stressed the importance of understanding the built environment. Martha Howell (2000, 19) argues that cities of the medieval period were spatial productions. The spaces within cities were not just awaiting occupants; they were socially produced and socially productive, Howell argues. The discussion of the development of medieval towns raises a number of research questions relating to the density of settlement, the character of the built environment and the impact of urban lordship. In towns, changing urban form broadly reflects the role towns played in society, how people saw the world and behaved within it, and how they dealt with changing patterns of wealth, resources and production; the townscape shaped the everyday life of townspeople, but people equally shaped the townscape through living and working in it (Carver 1993, v-vii. 1; Lilley 2002, 212). Dell Upton (1992) argues that the multivalent spaces of the city demand more theorising but also offer greater opportunities for interpretation.

This section builds on research agendas that have emphasised the role of the landscape as a lived and invested space (Perring 2002; Graves 2003a). Such approaches have been applied to rural landscapes, which see changes influenced by the choices made by individuals or

communities (see Chapter 2). Hillier and Hanson (1984, 27) argue that people relate themselves through their relationship to one another but also through the patterning of space determined by the built environment. People understand the built environment through different actions and meanings: the variety and architectural design of buildings, the layout of the streets, sounds, smells, the way people dress and talk and gesture can signal the meaning of space (Arnade et al. 2002, 542; Hartshorne 2004, 35; Parker Pearson and Richards 1999, 3; Rapoport, 1990, 178). An understanding of the built environment, encompassing the physical fabric and the more subjective division of boundaries, is crucial to an examination of neighbourhoods.

THE STREET

Patrick Ottaway (1995, 12) argues that the understanding of the development of a city's street network is fundamental to understanding the history of the city as a whole; cities have long lives, even if the buildings lining them have come and gone. The street had an important place in pre-modern cities; footways marked the daily comings and goings of the resident, with the street forming a line of communication for pedestrians, although travel on foot could be supplemented with the use of carts or pulled wagons (Mumford 1989, 308; Rothschild 2006, 126). However, the space of the street has received little attention despite the fact it is and was as meaningful as the monuments and buildings that are more often the focus of urban study (Celik et al. 1994, 1; Hartshorne 2004, 15-18; Haslam 1972, 4; Kostof 1992, 8, 189).

The pre-modern street was used for many purposes ranging from an economic and trading zone to a space of consumption and display, of entertainment and leisure; above all, it allowed social exchange and social engagement at a variety of levels (Keene 2000, 91; Kostof 1992, 189). The street also had a ritual and ceremonial role that displaced the everyday functions of the street at certain times of the year (Phythian-Adams 1979, 121-2). The different uses of the street, objects in the street, the buildings that lined the street, street signs and window displays all contributed to its character (Rapoport 1990, 89-96). Small variations in height, building material, rooftop profile, window openings and doorways gave each street its own character; this varied street frontage was the result of dozens of individual histories of ownership and development (Harding 2002, 550; Mumford 1989, 308). Camille (2000, 4, 11, 23) argues that the signs that adorned buildings to advertise goods and services (a picture of a loaf of bread for a baker or a shoe for a cobbler) and other forms of visual decoration were for the inhabitants of the medieval city part of the texture and

negotiation of everyday life; they were an integral part of a mental map of the city. Sounds and smells of the street would also have contributed to its character and to the mental map of the city's inhabitants: the babble of voices, sounds spilling out from workshops and other sounds typical of the general noise of everyday life (Hartshorne 2004, 199; Lilley 2002, 239; Shaw 1996, 448; Woolgar 2006, 117-147). Streets were therefore a vital part of the urban environment and in turn would have influenced the character of the neighbourhoods made up of the people who lived along them.

HOUSES

The methods of house construction changed considerably over the period examined in this thesis. Towns contained the residences of the rich and powerful, which could be substantial properties built of stone and set back behind a range of timber buildings, often forming shops or workshops, at the street front, accessed by a passage to the street (Grenville 2004; Rees Jones 1987[ii], xii-xiii;). These large houses were social centres and often generated an income from the smaller properties and shops that surrounded them (Schofield 2011, 65-6). In the immediate post-Roman period, timber buildings were generally single-storey earth-fast or sunken-floor buildings (e.g. Addyman 1979; Hall 2001; Horseman et al. 1988). From the late thirteenth century, timber framing became widely used. The development of timber framing allowed the construction of buildings of two or more storeys. By the fourteenth century, the majority of people lived in small, multi-functional and occasionally multiple occupancy buildings, and their compact arrangement allowed for trade rooms or workspace on the ground floor and domestic accommodation on the first floor (Hall and Hunter-Mann 2002, 817-854; Keene 2011a; Palliser et al. 2000, 183-4; Schofield and Stell 2000; Pearson 2003, 47-50; Schofield 2011, 60, 68). The archaeological evidence for houses is biased toward the ground floors of buildings, and the distributions of artefacts are far more likely to represent patterns of discard than use patterns (Grenville 2000, 326). This evidence is rarely considered in relation to the evidence for the above-ground elements of a building or in conjunction with the documentary evidence.

The use and form of urban housing of the medieval period has been discussed by a number of scholars (e.g. Grenville 1997, 2004; Giles 2011; Harris 2000; Pearson 2004, 2007; Schofield 1987, 1994, 1997, 2003, 2011, 60-94; Rimmer 2007; Quiney 2004). This scholarship has shown the wide variety of forms, functions and uses of houses, and synthesis of archaeological, historical and archaeological data has identified a timetable of investment in urban fabric

that began in the late twelfth century; there was a marked increase in the diversity of building forms for the purposes of craft, commerce, industry and retail (Harris 2000).

Early work on housing saw the development of typologies, notably the work of Pantin (1962-3), which established the idea of the standard medieval plan consisting of an open hall and service range as the key elements. Schofield (1987, 1997, 2003, 89) refined Pantin's work to include smaller housing that did not have an open hall. The presence of an open hall has been a source of debate for what it reveals about urban hierarchies and the relationship between urban and rural building forms, houses and households (Faulkner 1966; Grenville 2008; Giles 2011, 168; Pantin 1961-63; Pearson 2005, 2009; Rees Jones 2008, 69; Schofield 2003, 61-93). While the extent to which styles were copied between towns and countryside is unclear, urban houses can be seen to be distinctive, reflecting their topographic and socio-economic context. Unlike their rural counterparts, urban houses accommodated commercial and industrial activities and thus required spaces for production, storage and retail alongside domestic and service rooms. This led to architectural solutions, the production of buildings that could cope with these requirements, which resulted in a remarkable variety in the urban housing stock, ranging from single-cell cottages to large courtyard properties (Pearson 2005; King 2010, 472).

These typologies were highly influential and have been used by archaeologists to make sense of the below-ground archaeology (in York, for example, see Hall and Hunter-Mann 2002). The study of houses has led to the development of a general vocabulary to describe the plan form of medieval houses. These terms include hall, chamber, shop, kitchen and parlour; however, relating these spaces to documented rooms in wills and probates is difficult, and the spaces in large and small houses are not always easily identified. There is also the possibility that room classifications are not accurate indicators of room function (Leech 2000; Quiney 1999; Rimmer 2007, 215-6). Schofield (2011, 72) and Sarah Pearson (2007, 2009) have challenged the use of typologies. Pearson (2007, 2009) argues that urban housing was a unique form, with the open hall a less significant feature of the urban building than storage and commercial space. Similarly, Rees Jones (2008, 69) has argued that house design provided working spaces, living spaces, productive spaces, ceremonial spaces, and spaces that could be intimate or very public depending on the ways in which access was controlled and how they were furnished or used.

In order to understand how people ran their lives and businesses and how town houses were intended to be used in the Middle Ages, it is essential that all the activities that may have taken place in the buildings are considered together (Clarke et al. 2010, 266). The internal appearance of buildings can be deduced from the archaeological and documentary evidence, which shows that floors were constructed of clay and mortar, with interior walls whitewashed to reflect light from candle; wills and probates provide an insight into furnishings and fittings (Gilchrist 2012, 120-1). The use of space within buildings was complex and is seen increasingly as multi-functional, taking on different roles and uses through the course of the day (Giles 2011, 170; Grenville 2000, 326; Richardson 2003; Rimmer 2007, 226-232; Tilley et al. 2008). Rimmer (2007, 56 145-8) has shown that large and small houses could be divided through screens or more substantial partitions of lath and daub. Spaces could also be changed and created through moveable fixtures, including furnishings, fittings and household goods. This flexibility of space needs to be borne in mind when considering the excavated evidence for buildings.

The ground floors of many buildings were used as shops, which were open to the street and characterised by pairs of windows under which were stalls or sills, with a door to one side (Clark 2000; Stenning 1985; Quiney 2004). Derek Keene's (1990, 36) study of shops in the Cheapside area of London found that rows of small units consisting of shops on the ground floor and rooms above would have been common in the area during the late medieval period. He suggests that the first-floor space could have been used either for domestic or storage purposes; he also points to the fact that some ground-floor shops were occupied separately from the first floor. There is also evidence for shops detached from the structures in which they are located and which feature separately in rentals. These were perhaps purely retail, unlike shops cum workshops, which were integral to the house of the artisan (Goldberg 2004, 104).

Alongside domestic/commercial uses, medieval buildings were used for craft activities, but many types of activity could have been carried out in any room without significant modification (Schofield 2003, 87). The industrial use of the buildings in the medieval and early modern period is not well understood (Grenville 1997, 172, 2004). Often the division between shops and workshops was not clear cut (see Alston 2004). The evidence for craft activities such as metalworking is not usually taken beyond this descriptive discussion (for example, Bowsher et al. 2007; Burch and Trevail 2010; Blair and Ramsey 2001, 81-106; Dalwood and Edwards 2004, 71, 75, 368-435; Finlayson 2004; Hall and Hunter-Mann 2000,

817-854; Tylecote 1987). While this provides useful comparative information, such discussion does not consider how craft activities would have influenced the form of the buildings or the social interactions of the residents, nor does it consider the impact of craft activity on the character and appearance of an area.

The commercial/industrial use of the ground floors of buildings raises questions regarding the division between the public space of the street and the private space of the house. Was this division made at the street door, at the building line or somewhere else? The question is especially relevant if there are contiguous public and private spaces that shared a marginal zone (Harding 2002, 560-1). Howell (2000, 10) argues that space became increasingly managed from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, with rooms acquiring specific functions different cultural meanings. The open fronts of shops and workshops created a space that depended on passers-by being able to look or step easily into it from the street; the shop fronts thus formed an intermediate space between the public and the living quarters (Britnell 2006b, 5; Grenville 1997, 171-4; Keene 1990, 35). Therefore, the line between the private space of the house and the public space of the street was often blurred, with the street frontage an area with the potential for tension (Harding 2002, 150; Sennett, 1994, 191). The permeability of the space between streets and buildings is highlighted in defamation cases. Witnesses often report seeing what was going on in an adjacent house or comment on what has been heard through the walls. Public slanders devalued the reputation of the individual in the neighbourhood, which acted as audience and witness, while the street functioned as the stage on which these confrontations were carried out (Capp 2003, 185; Hartshorne 2004, 163).

The provision of cess pits was another area of privacy for the medieval householder. The sanitary facilities associated with houses improved over the period from c.600-1600, with the earliest cess pits comprising earth-cut pits, but by the thirteenth century some properties were provided with stone- and timber-lined privies that were emptied regularly and might continue in use for many years. To ensure privacy, they were generally set back from the properties, and the shared use of a privy was common (Schofield 1994, 203-4). In York the Vicars Choral accounts indicate these facilities were small, timber-framed structures with tile roofs; rows of small houses may also have made use of communal facilities, such as the one erected by the Vicars Choral near to the east end of the Minster in 1396 (Rimmer 2007, 140-141).

The domestic and industrial use of medieval urban buildings raises questions regarding the provision of fires, which would have influenced the living and working conditions of the residents. It has been argued that the lack of fires meant that urban dwellers did not cook in their houses but rather brought their food from cook shops or street vendors (Carlin 1998). The hearth is often seen as the focus of the home, enhanced by chimney hoods and screens (Gilchrist 2012, 121). Considerations of the provision of fireplaces and flues or chimneys have focussed on rural housing (Grenville 1997, 148; Johnson 2010, 70, 90-92), but the need for the provision of sophisticated smoke extraction was arguably more pressing in towns, especially from the late thirteenth century with the development of multi-storey timber-framed buildings. Recent work on urban housing has argued that it is unlikely landlords would have constructed two or three room dwellings with no means of heating, with chambers on the first floor heated by braziers. An alternative view is that upper floors were unheated and most likely used for storage (Alston 2004; Clarke et al. 2010, 191; Keene 1990, 36; Pearson 2003, 429). However, the fact that buildings were domestic as well as industrial relates to the multifunctional use of space, and storage could be within rooms also used for other purposes (Rimmer 2007, 226-7).

The provision of heating in buildings is shown through wills and probates, which record items associated with heating and cooking (Rimmer 2007, 231; Schofield 2003, 115). There are also references to iron chimneys, which Rimmer (2007, 231) interprets as a portable heating facility, perhaps similar to brazier. However, Jane Laughton (2008, 83) has recorded iron chimneys in Chester from the 1380s, and she interpreted them as iron grates or grids on which wood and coal were placed, on top of the tile hearths below smoke hoods in the room. The evidence for the provision of fireplaces and their use for cooking challenge Carlin's (1998) arguments.

Hearths and the provision of chimneys are known from the twelfth century in towns and countryside, often associated with wealthier housing (Johnson 2010, 70). The question remains as to how the less wealthy heated houses with no open hall (Pearson 2003, 428). In open halls, fires could be provided with reredos (wall behind a fire) and elaborate timber flues, while other buildings had smoke bays (Schofield 2003, 113; Wood 1983, 281-291). The development of the wall fireplace is often seen as the culmination of this sequence of development; the wall fireplace offered the benefit of carrying smoke directly from the building while heating it across two floors (Rimmer 2007, 143). Schofield (2003, 115) argues that the development of wall fireplaces and chimneys in London was promoted by pressure

on land, which encouraged the development of the first-floor hall and kitchen during the fourteenth century. Chimneys were built in increasing numbers in towns from the fifteenth century (Laughton 2008, 83), but Sarah Pearson (2005, 59) has argued that outside of London such fireplaces may not have been common until the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. Rimmer (2007, 142-6) argues that mention of the addition of a chimney or a louvre marks an improvement to the property. However, it is also worth considering the possibility that the records of inserted features may not necessarily refer to new features; such records could relate to the replacement or alteration of an unrecorded pre-existing feature.

Early chimneys were often made of timber and rarely served more than one fireplace, unlike brick stacks (Clarke et al. 2010, 186). The lack of survival of early chimneys is partly due to the fact that they could be comparatively ephemeral, with flues built of lath, rough plaster or brick, as recorded in documents from London, York and Sandwich (Rimmer 2007, 143; Schofield 2003, 115; Pearson 2003, 428, 2009, 9; Clarke et al. 2010, 186; Quiney 2004, 109). It is also likely that the insertion of brick stacks has removed evidence for earlier heating arrangements; excavations have shown the fireplaces were often in the same location (Keene 1985, 177). In London, regulations of the early fourteenth century forbade chimneys to be made of wood; however, wooden chimneys are still recorded in the city in the fifteenth century although most of the built-up area had brick chimneys from the fourteenth century (Schofield 2003, 113, 2011, 76). Rimmer's (2007, 58, 142-6) study of small houses implies that only some houses were fitted with heating facilities as there are few references to hearths and chimneys.

The problems of determining the provision of chimneys, hearths and louvres from the documentary sources can be shown through the earliest reference to a chimney in York in a building contract dated to 1335. This contract relates to the erection of a row of six cottages adjacent to St Martin's church in Coney Street (Raine 1955, 151-2). The building account records the provision of heating, chimneys and louvres, which Rimmer (2007, 142, 144) argues was for a solar within one building; she draws the same conclusion from the reference to the one chimney in the construction accounts of Benetplace. However, Raine (1955, 151) and Colin Platt (1973, 184) interpret the St Martin's Row building account as indicating that *each* ground-floor room had a hearth and a mantel over it with the smoke carried to the roof by a chimney with a louvre; one louvre was shared by two houses. The absence of chimneys from the records therefore does not mean they were not a feature of medieval houses, and

hearths are a common feature of excavations, but the relationship between the excavated evidence and the superstructure of the building is rarely considered.

Matthew Johnson's (2010, 92) discussion of the enclosure of open halls in rural buildings has shown that that timber and wattle fire hoods could be constructed over an open hearth placed at one end of the hall against a partition wall. The evidence for this might survive as mortises for the hood (Barnwell and Adams 1994, 134). This parallels evidence from Winchester, where the excavations showed fireplaces set against end walls or internal partitions, even in small houses, with a solid fire back of masonry or tile. It was speculated they may have had smoke hoods above them (Keene 1985, 177). The absence of chimneys has been seen as the cause of smoke blackening within the roof spaces of medieval buildings, but Margaret Wood (1983, 258-9) argues such blackening might also be derived from torches, noting that certain roofs have no evidence for smoke blackening. Indeed, many timber-framed buildings in York have no sign of smoke blackening in the roofs (RCHME 1981), which raises the possibility that they were fitted with some means of smoke extraction.

It is proposed here that the louvre would have been necessary as early chimneys would have been a straight flue, susceptible to the wind and the elements, which could have adversely affected the fire in the house. Therefore, based on the evidence from St Martin's Row, these chimneys were likely capped with louvres that could be shared between properties. The louvres could be controlled with runners and strings, as described in the building accounts, which raises the possibility that the records of louvres do not just relate to open hearths. It is suggested then that when chimneys are referred to, the reference is usually to one of expensive material, such as brick or plaster; the construction of chimneys made of timber and clay may not have warranted mention because they likely fell within the routine work of carpenters and daubers known to be employed on sites such as Benetplace (Rimmer 2007, 43, 50). There is clearly a need for greater consideration of the provision of heating and smoke extraction facilities within urban housing; such facilities may, like the rooms themselves, have been multifunctional. The evidence for hearths raises questions regarding the living conditions within medieval buildings, and the hearths discussed in the case studies will contribute to the discussion of heating in medieval houses and their use for domestic and industrial functions.

HOUSEHOLDS

The term 'household' emerged in the late fourteenth century and was used to define a group of people who lived and worked under the same roof (Gilchrist 2012, 114). As with many aspects of life in medieval society, the Church sought to teach a vision of the household, family and society, to construct a system of spiritual kinship to rival or complement ties of blood (Lynch 2003, 70). However, as Heather Swanson (1999, 123) points out, it is questionable whether townspeople acquiesced to the values of the Church sufficiently to form a coherent community; there was always the scope for tensions and conflict. Households form a useful category for considering social identity, economic production and the spatial setting in which people live and carry out daily practices (Hendon 2004, 272). For the early medieval period, there is little information available for the composition and organization of urban households. At Canterbury a population was well established by the mid-ninth century within the former Roman town; however, this was not yet unequivocally an urban society, 'but a population inhabiting what had once been, and soon would be again, an urban setting' (Holt 2000, 80). In Worcester the primary units of the new *burh* in the 890s were given to privileged tenants including lay servants of the cathedral community (Baker and Holt 2004, 263-7). In the late tenth and eleventh centuries, the elites were still dominant in towns, with private houses on estates, but there is also evidence for communities of craftsmen and others living primarily by trade whose activities have been detected by archaeology (Holt 2000, 81).

There is a growing body of literature examining households from the late eleventh century onward, especially from the thirteenth century onward (e.g. Beattie et al., 2003; Carlier and Soens 2000; Fleming 2000; Gilchrist 2012, 114-124; Kowaleski and Goldberg 2008). The role of gender has been explored in terms of the female and male routines that led to regular contact within the town but also within the household (e.g. Goldberg 1991, 1996, 2000, 2011; Grenville 2000, 311). Rees Jones (2008, 84-90) argues that from the late eleventh to the mid-fourteenth century burgage plots supported small communities under the authority of the head of the household, forming collective dependencies sharing certain quotidian facilities, such as yards, ovens and even halls. The different houses on the burgage plots, though, did not form separate nuclear households but sustained a variety of interlocking relationships with the principal householder through kinship or trade (Goldberg 2004, 104; Rees Jones 2008, 90).

The medieval and early modern household therefore included not only relatives by blood but also workers and domestics, apprentices and journeymen who lived as members of the master craftsman's family. The members of the household ate at the same table, worked in the same rooms, slept in the same room or common hall and joined in family prayers and amusements (Goldberg 2004, 101; Holt and Rosser 1990, 7; Mumford 1989, 281). However, in artisanal households the husband and the wife often formed the core of the household, with wife an equal partner in the business (Goldberg 2004, 100). The residents that made up the households of the smaller rented properties in the city have received less attention from scholars. The extent to which non-family members formed the core of the late medieval household, either as housemates or non-married couples, is less well understood, but rent accounts suggest that a proportion of tenants in small houses and shops could have lived in these circumstances (Rimmer 2007, 212).

It must also be borne in mind that many residents in the city were not born there. Towns were never closed communities, and immigration was the main means by which towns sustained and increased their numbers, so there had to be means by which outsiders could be absorbed and socialised in different groups (Goldberg 2004, 113). The increasing complexity of late medieval households made up of nuclear families, but also mixed groups of individuals, has parallels with the early modern and later city communities studied by historical archaeologists. When considering how a household contributes to the make-up of a neighbourhood, the distinction has to be made between those normally resident in the house, i.e. co-resident kin and servants, and those that worked in the household on a daily basis but returned to their own homes at the end of a working day (Goldberg 2000, 59). An area of research that relates to the study of neighbourhood and the character of urban space that has been explored is the configuration of artisanal households into occupational groupings.

OCCUPATIONAL TOPOGRAPHIES

Academic discussion of zoning in towns has tended toward functionalist interpretations (Miller and Hatcher 1995; Schofield and Vince 2005). This has highlighted a social topography, with wealthy and poor on the same street, alongside an occupational topography, with trades congregating in particular localities or streets. It is generally argued that smelly and unsocial crafts were relegated to marginal areas (Goldberg 2004, 49-50; Schofield and Vince 2005; Schofield 2011, 136). For example, in the Cheapside area, there were occupational groupings defined by retail and distributive trades. One of these trades

was metalworking, which is argued to have been seen as an unsuitable trade for the middle of the city, and the documentary and archaeological evidence shows that by around 1300 manufacturers are replaced with those who sold the finished products (Burch and Treveil 2010, 235-243; Schofield 2011, 144).

Occupational and residential zoning has been explored in York by Heather Swanson (1980, 453-62) and Jeremy Goldberg (1996, 64-71) using the 1381 Poll Tax returns and fifteenth-century probate sources. This suggests workshops and their associated households assembled in particular areas of the city; for example, merchants, drapers and mercers were heavily concentrated in the Fossgate area near the merchant guildhall, butchers in the Shambles, and the metal trades in Petergate and Coney Street. Jeremy Goldberg (1996, 70) argues that through the fifteenth century there is an increasing distinction between the commercial areas in the city centre and those associated with trade and industry, which tended to be located on the periphery of the city or in the suburbs.

The practitioners of crafts focussed in particular areas would have belonged to guilds. These appear as self-regulating assemblies from the thirteenth century onwards as either socio-economic, religious or crafts-based groups that might have been the best way to express a sense of solidarity among townspeople (Holt and Rosser 1990, 9; Lilley 2002, 233; Palliser 1994, 143; Swanson 1999, 128). Kate Giles (2000a, 56-78; 114-5, 2000b, 69-79) argues that the grouping of workshops and households linked the basic units of production and consumption—the household—with the wider communal identity of the craft at the level of the neighbourhood or the parish. The presence of particular crafts in streets or areas of the city would have given them a particular special character through the composition of the household but also through the impact their trades would have had on the noise and smells.

TOWARDS AN ARCHAEOLOGY OF NEIGHBOURHOOD

‘Through time and people’s uses, experiences and interactions with their environment, the meaning of spaces is shaped and influenced; space has a history, a memory, which is inscribed on it by the people inhabiting it through time’.

(Robin and Rothschild 2002, 161)

This chapter has shown that there are many factors that have to be borne in mind in relation to the study of neighbourhood. As archaeologists, it is important to remember that the

community is not a spatial cluster of material remains to be observed, but a social process to be inferred (Yaeger and Canuto 2000, 9). This chapter argues that neighbourhood, whilst implying a grouping of individuals, also carries meanings based on the ideologies prevalent at the time. In the medieval period, notions of neighbour and neighbourhood were closely linked with the ideas of the Christian church. Community, on the other hand, has a much broader definition, implying a social group of people; it is arguably a more 'neutral' term as it has fewer social and ideological associations. Approaches to urban neighbourhoods have been heavily influenced by studies of cities from the sixteenth to 20th centuries, but there are questions as to how applicable these approaches are to the studies of towns in the immediate post-Roman and later medieval period. This chapter has shown that there are debates around the definition of a town and the point at which it can be considered an urban environment; the chapter has raised questions regarding how we define and recognise communities/neighbourhoods in centres that have yet to develop a truly 'urban' character.

Neighbourhoods consisted of groups of people who were linked to the built environment of the town or city. This gave a meaning and a character to areas through repeated social activity, either by association with particular trades or particular forms of behaviour that built on the social cues that dictated what was appropriate. This was not a static process; rather, it was subject to constant reshaping by individuals, and above all by the repeated practices of everyday life (Hartshorne 2004, 200). These neighbourhoods/communities identify themselves not purely as groups with shared priorities; they are also identifiable by whom they exclude (Swanson 1999, 89-90, 128). The sense of belonging to a social group needed to be continuously negotiated because communities consist of overlapping groups defined by kinship, political institutions, economic or social status, gender, age, or religion (Spierling and Halvorson 2008, 7). This highlights the problems with drawing boundaries to define a neighbourhood.

Using a citizen of Siena as an example, Nevola (2010, 351-2) has highlighted the complex social networks to which a person could belong at the level of the individual resident of a city; one might be part of an administrative district and a parish; part of a large family clan or under the patronage and protection of one; part of a lay religious community or confraternity; a member of a guild or professional organization; and/or hold a government office. This complex interconnected web of belonging had practical effects in everyday life, including the need to negotiate the duties of participation that each membership required. This description of social ties could equally apply to a medieval city in England and highlights

the complexity of studying neighbourhoods and social identity. City dwellers or groups depended on the ability to move back and forth between these different communities and understood the different spaces through innumerable visual signs (Nevola 2010, 353).

The importance of the built environment to the understanding of the social use of space has had limited application in studies of cities in the post-1600 period (see Hicks and Horning 2006; Giles and Rees Jones 2011; Rimmer 2011; Yamin 2008), but archaeological studies of early medieval urbanism and the late medieval city have tended to focus on economic and functional development. The growing interest in the role of space and the importance of *habitus* and human agency has tended to focus on buildings rather than the built environment. Antrobus (2009, 7) argues that the townscape was shaped on the macro-scale through monumental investment by urban lords or elites and on a micro-scale by the sometimes traceable smaller decisions and subscriptions to urban life made by individuals, groups and institutions as they built and shaped their lives, shops, houses, workshops; ultimately, these factors shaped the social, economic, commercial and political topographies of their town. If the household, which does not necessarily mean a nuclear family, is at the core of understanding the social use of space within an area, then it is necessary to understand the form, appearance and function of buildings. This requires the integration of the above- and below-ground archaeology with historical information. Discussions of the archaeological evidence for houses tend to focus on the description of the deposits, the stratigraphic sequence and evidence for activity. There is a problem with relating the remains of a site to notions of community; it is necessary to distinguish the evidence for a house from the household. Careful consideration is therefore needed in the interpretation of the archaeological sequences relating to houses and their associated yards. Whilst detailed analysis and discussion of the archaeological sequence is necessary, it is possible to consider the social use of space by moving beyond the description of activities recorded in an excavation to begin to consider how this can illuminate the social networks within which people operated.

This thesis therefore approaches neighbourhood as a multi-layered entity, comprising the core where people live, but also extending out through wider social networks across the city. Cultural influences, such as Christian teaching, helped shape and enforce people's ideas of neighbourhood. Perceptions of what constitutes neighbourhood depend on who defines it: child, adult, rich, poor, resident or visitor. Inevitably social links will stretch from a small locality across the city but also beyond the city into the surrounding hinterland; the influence

of the concept of neighbourhood beyond the boundaries of the city was beyond the scope of this thesis and thus remains an important area for possible future research. To study neighbourhood, this thesis adopted an interdisciplinary approach integrating archaeological, cartographic and historical sources for the two study areas, Swinegate and Petergate, and developed a methodology using Geographic Information Systems to facilitate analysis of these disparate sources.

CHAPTER 2: BRITISH URBAN ARCHAEOLOGY, URBAN LANDSCAPES AND METHODOLOGY

To study neighbourhoods, one requires an interdisciplinary approach and a methodology that allows the management and analysis of different data sources. This chapter sets out the methodology for the analysis presented in Chapters 3 and 4. This chapter reviews the development in British urban archaeology since the Second World War, exploring themes of field methodology and post excavation. This provides a context for the consideration of archaeology in York in this period. The role of material culture is discussed to show how approaches towards it have changed and influence our exploration of the past. The role of material culture is also discussed in relation to time and the chronology used in this thesis is set out. The chapter then considers changing approaches to landscapes and townscape, York's urban form and the role of spatial technologies for analysis. This provides the critical framework for the development of a distinctive new approach to backlog archaeological data pioneered in the remainder of this thesis. The final section sets out the interdisciplinary methodology used to draw together a wide range of the sources available for the study of York. In turn, it invites a reconsideration of the development of the city that challenges current perceptions and understanding of past neighbourhoods and how those neighbourhoods are interpreted as discussed in Chapters 3 and 4.

RESEARCH, RESCUE AND COMMERCIAL ARCHAEOLOGY

The two case studies (Chapters 3 and 4) deal with a range of excavations that span a period of significant changes in the approaches and methods used in British archaeology since the Second World War. In particular, the period from the end of the war to the 1970s saw the foundation of the Society for Medieval Archaeology and the recognition of medieval archaeology as an academic discipline (Gerrard 2003, 95-132). The impetus for urban archaeology was provided in part by the need to redevelop bomb-damaged urban sites and the boom in the economy from the 1950s to the 1960s (McGill 1995, 5; Roskams 2000, 25). At this time there were no formal archaeological units, so much of the work was carried out by amateurs and volunteers. It was work in Winchester (1962-72) that arguably saw the start of urban archaeology in the modern sense (Schofield and Vince 2003, 4, 6; Collis 2011, 80). By the end of the 1960s there was growing concern over both the extent and the rate of

development in towns. *The Erosion of History* (Heighway 1972) summarised the threat to urban centres, which shaped the agenda for urban archaeology for the next 20 years (Schofield and Vince 2003, 5). The campaign group 'Rescue' was also formed in 1972 (Carver 1987, 106; Gerrard 2003, 134). Both the tensions and the sense of potential surrounding increased development are captured evocatively in Rahtz (1974) *Rescue Archaeology*. Indeed, it is the pace of redevelopment in towns during this period that led to the development of urban archaeology as a distinct sub-discipline within archaeology (Roskams 2003, 369).

These developments led to an improvement in the organisation, funding and establishment of archaeological units, often in collaboration with local authorities, as independent trusts or—very rarely—in affiliation with universities (Carver 1987, 106). However, early archaeological units often lacked clear research objectives, and decisions as to which sites and periods to investigate were made by individual units (McGill 1995, 6-7). The ability to excavate was restricted because access was dependent on developers and the attitude of the local planning authority. In the 1970s and early 1980s, it could be difficult to get access to sites, and conditional planning consents requiring excavation were rare or non-existent; funding was mainly provided by the state or through commercial or private sponsorship. By the late 1970s, however, it was clear that state funding and sponsorship were not sufficient (Carver 1987, 108; McGill 1995, 7; Roskams 2000, 25; Schofield and Vince 2005, 14). Improvements for the provision of archaeology in association with development were made in the late 1970s with the passing of the Ancient Monument and Archaeological Areas Act (1979). Part of this act was the introduction of the Areas of Archaeological Importance, which were implemented in five cities: Canterbury, Chester, Exeter, Hereford and York (Gerrard 2003, 168). The Areas of Archaeological Importance provided time and access for rescue archaeology, but not money (McGill 1995, 8).

A recession in the early 1980s resulted in a withdrawal of state funding; a boom in the economy at the end of the decade further increased the threat to urban centres. This threat to heritage was highlighted in a number of high-profile incidents in 1989, notably involving the Queen's Hotel in York and the Rose Theatre in London (Biddle 1989; Gaimster et al. 1989, 162). In York, the crisis of the Queen's Hotel was the catalyst for English Heritage in conjunction with the City Council and the University of York to commission a survey in 1989 to establish a management and research framework for the city centre based on a detailed archaeological deposit model (Ove Arup 1991). Many of the ideas developed in the Ove Arup study of York were included in Planning Policy Guidance Note 16 (PPG16) published in 1990

(DOE 1990). This was a formal response to the threats to archaeology and which, resulted in the structure of modern commercial archaeology. Under PPG16 archaeology was formally recognised as part of the planning process. Archaeology was made part of the planning conditions, with the developer required to bear the cost (Gerrard 2003, 207). The introduction of PPG16 saw a change in attitudes toward excavation. Firstly, PPG16 promoted the idea of preservation in situ rather than excavation (McGill 2005, 8-9; Schofield and Vince 2003, 15). However, questions have been raised regarding the viability of preservation in situ (Corfield et al.1998; Nixon 2004; Kars and van Hereringen 2008). Monitoring work in York, Davis et al. (2002) discovered that sub-surface deposits were highly dynamic and subject to decay. Secondly, where preservation in situ was not possible, PPG 16 advised preservation by record through the process of excavation (but see Hodder 1989; Andrews et al. 2000). The implementation of PPG16 led to competitive tendering for archaeological work by different excavation units (e.g. Darvill and Atkins 1991; Chadwick 2000). A review of PPG16 (Darvill and Russell 2002, 4) identified a number of concerns that have been raised about the state of British archaeology since the introduction of PPG16, from the quality of the work carried out to the stifling of research.

In 2010, PPG16 was replaced by Planning Policy Statement 5 (DCLG 2010), accompanied by other changes in the planning system whose effect on commercial archaeology is not yet clear. Since the reduction in government funding in the late 1980s and the implementation of developer funding following the publication of PPG16 in 1990, there has been a growing emphasis on predicting the likely nature of archaeological deposits in order to enable the prioritisation of excavation or preservation; as a result, there are many more small projects (e.g. watching briefs or evaluations) than large open-area excavations (Carver 1987, 108; Gerrard 2003, 138, 185). Despite its drawbacks, however, British urban archaeology has made significant advances in archaeological practice and has begun to remedy some of the problems surrounding the publication of archaeological work.

EXCAVATION

[T]he process of excavating and recording an archaeological site is a curious mixture of intuition, interpretation and pseudo-scientific rigour’.

(Lock 2003, 78)

The processes of excavation have been covered in numerous publications that give an insight into the evolution of site methodology (e.g. Barker 1977; Drewett 1999; Roskams

2000; Carver 2009). During the 1950s and 1960s, recording methodologies were based on the layer and the section, recognising the importance of stratigraphy, but features and events such as cuts were not distinguished. Mortimer Wheeler and Kathleen Kenyon's method of excavating and recording using trenches and temporary baulks was highly influential on the development of British archaeology (Harris 1989, 12-13; Chadwick 1997; Lucas 2001, 36-41). The excavations at Winchester from 1961-1972, which moved away from period-based excavations toward the examination of a city as an overall entity, necessitated a change in excavation methodology in open-area excavations and metric coordinate planning (Biddle 1984, 1990, 9; Collis 2011, 76-77). The excavations at Winchester were still based on the notion of the layer, but the excavators recognised the need to combine the horizontal and vertical records. To facilitate this, the site was excavated by phase; excavation areas were divided into zones using a grid, and each square of the grid was excavated by temporary baulks or sections, which were removed when a major layer was reached (Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 1969, 212). However, this system was problematic. Identifying the phases on a site relied on the discretion of the director, and the decision to record and start a new phase often came too early or too late (Lucas 2001, 56).

The recording systems that have now become commonplace in Britain and other areas of the world were developed during post-excavation work at Winchester. Edward Harris devised a system for the diagrammatic representation of related stratigraphic units that revolutionised excavation and recording (Harris 1989; Chadwick 1998; Lock 2003, 85). The combination of coordinate planning and the Harris matrix led to the development of single-context recording (Carver 2011, 21-2, 28; Harris 1989, 95) and marked a fundamental shift in the concept of fieldwork (Lucas 2001, 55-6). The single-context system was adopted by the then Department of Urban Archaeology (now Museum of London Archaeology) in 1975 (Spence 1993; Roskams 2001, Chapter 9). The London recording model became the basis for single-context recording by units across the country, including YAT (see Pearson and Williams 1991). The adoption of the single-context recording system eliminated the need to identify and record phases during excavation, which became a task increasingly relegated to the post-excavation stages of a project (Pearson and Williams 1993: 94-95; Chadwick 1997).

The dominance of single-context recording in British archaeology has recently been criticised by Martin Carver (2011, 22-3, 42-4) who argues that single context recording and Harris matrices have become a standardised response, when it would be better to have a flexible approach based on site conditions, social context and research questions. An area of debate

is how to assign higher order interpretations, such as a pit and its fill or the identification of a structure, from the recorded archaeology either on site or in post excavation and how these can be utilised to understand the use of a site (e.g. Carver 1979a and b, 2011, 46; Dalland 1984; Roskams 2001 244; Steane 1993), In association with the creation of a more formulaic recording system on site, archaeologists increasingly use computers for the storage and manipulation of data and for post-excavation analysis. Gary Lock (2003, 78) argues that the growth of database systems has been fundamental to the development of excavation recording systems over the last two decades. The process of recording on-site has evolved, and has an impact on the form of the reports and publications produced in post excavation.

REPORTING AND PUBLICATION

An excavation should in theory produce a descriptive, written, drawn and photographic record with a Harris Matrix. Ideally, the record should be constructed on site, but in reality it is often produced after the excavation. As a result, the excavation archive often contains errors and inconsistencies that need to be corrected during post-excavation (Pearson and Williams 1993; Roskams 2000, 239, 241-4; Lock 2003, 85). The analysis of an excavation forms the basis for a publication of that excavation. The traditional report/publication comprises an interpretation and discussion of the findings, a consideration of any relevant historical sources and catalogues and appendices of the objects (Roskams 2000, 239-40). The report/publication is usually illustrated with a sequence of maps and plans to aid the interpretation; therefore, the reconstruction of the site is conveyed in the written, and particularly the graphic, record (Lucas 2001, 159). Often illustrations of the excavation trenches are shown in isolation, not in relation to their surroundings. If a trench is shown in the wider context, it is often on a modern map or as an overlay on an earlier map with additional interpretations and annotations. Biddle (1990, 14) stresses how time-consuming the process of post-excavation is using the excavation of the Old and New Minster as an example; he contrasts the on-site time to the post-excavation phasing, revealing that it took over eight years to put the data from one site into the format required for publication. Biddle (1984, 98-9) illustrates the problem of how to publish the large body of data generated during the excavation of Winchester, highlighting two approaches: fascicules or thematic monographs. The excavators at Winchester decided to produce thematic volumes, but many of the excavations remain unpublished to this day. Indeed, the time-consuming nature of post-excavation, its associated costs and the quantity of data for which it must account have

often delayed the rate at which excavations have been published over the past 40 years (Lilley 2002, 36).

The 1960s and 1970s saw a publication crisis characterised by an increasing intensity of archaeological activity, a growing backlog and soaring costs; government funding still focussed on excavation rather than post-excavation (Jones et al. 2003). A number of reports were produced to try to address these problems during the 1970s and 1980s (Frere 1975; Cunliffe 1983; English Heritage 1989, 1991), but issues remained. A further publication crisis developed during the 1990s following the implementation of PPG16 and developer funding for archaeology (e.g. Cunliffe 1990; Thomas 1991; Wainwright 1993). PPG16 insisted on the publication of results, but due to inadequate funding, there has nonetheless been a growth in unpublished client reports (grey literature). The cataloguing of archaeological grey literature by the Archaeological Investigations Project at Bournemouth University (AIP 2012) and the Archaeological Data Service (ADS 2012) seeks to make commercial information available via the internet. The unpublished projects of the last 40 years have received some government funding for publication, and York and other Yorkshire towns have benefited from this (Roskams 2003, 369). However, publications are often site specific rather than synthetic and analytical (Jones et al. 2001).

The structure of reports and publications on archaeological excavations has changed very little since the early twentieth century, using terminology based upon traditional narratives of periods and phases (Mytum 2010, 243). Craig Cessford (2009, 309) argues that the approach to publication remains essentially additive, reflecting the dominant academic model of period-based specialism and reports set out in chronological order. Roskams (2003, 369) argues that reports embody an inductive approach and that new work needs to move beyond descriptive synthesis to draw together data from arbitrarily distributed modern developments. Traditional publication has been through print, either in journals or monographs (Jones et al., 1991), but Roskams (2001, 369) raises important questions about the potential of other multi-media formats for dissemination. Lock (2003, 85) argues that computer-based systems allow the integration of data from archives and thus a shift in emphasis from the mere storage of data to its reuse and access. The use of the Internet is an important element of the changes in archives as reflected in the development of digital archiving services such as the Archaeological Data Service (ADS 2012), which produces guidelines for the management of excavation archives and the use of computer programmes. However, much of the output from post-PPG16 archaeology has failed to reach

an academic or public audience, and there has been a growing awareness of the void between universities and commercial units and obstacles to the sharing and use of knowledge (e.g. Roskams 2001, 369; Bradley 2006b; Cessford 2009, 304-5). Whether published in a traditional format or electronically, reports and publications have often been structured on a site-by-site basis. Different types of artefactual and environmental evidence are infrequently integrated with stratigraphic and structural sequences, and authors rarely set out future research directions (Roskams 2001, 369; Cessford 2009, 309; Mytum 2010, 238).

Harold Mytum (2010, 237, 240) argues that archaeologists have only recently begun to critically consider how they write archaeological texts. He argues that publications of post-1550 historical archaeology draw upon a rich complexity of primary sources, incorporate fine-grained chronologies and offer detailed examinations of locales that situate actions, causes, effects and meanings in context. This produces a 'thick description', often including named individuals and specific historical events within the framework of interpretation. This method contrasts with the division between history and archaeology reflected in the structure of traditional publications, although there are some notable exceptions (Bowsher et al., 2008). An important part of understanding a stratigraphic sequence and the story of an excavation is the material culture. This is an area that has seen many changes in scholarly approaches, reflecting changing attitudes toward the interpretation and discussion of past human behaviour.

EXCAVATION IN YORK

The 1950s and 1960s saw an increase in development in York, and much of the excavation was carried out by volunteers, such as L.P. Wenham, and the staff of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments for England, which included Ian Stead, John Radley and Derek Philips (Hall 2004, 298; Ottaway 2004, 12-13). Many excavations carried out in the city from the 1950s to the 1970s were published in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*. The threat of redevelopment in York increased following the publication of *York: A Study in Conservation* (Esher 1968), which proposed the redevelopment of the historic core of the city as well as the creation of an inner ring-road (Addyman and Rumsby 1972). The increased threat led to the formalisation of archaeological investigation in the city with the foundation of YAT in April 1972.

Through the 1970s and 1980s, archaeological work in York followed the same trends of access and funding as other cities in Britain (see above). Alongside the implementation of PPG16 at a national level, changes were made in York to the management of archaeology within the city with the appointment of a City Archaeologist. These measures led to a fundamental change in York regarding the funding and organisation of excavation (Oxley 1992, 24). Since the implementation of PPG16, YAT is no longer the only unit excavating in York, but it remains the holder of the largest collection of artefacts and excavation reports relating to the development of the city. The case studies discussed in this thesis draw primarily on material held in the YAT archives. To provide the background for the methodology used to analyse the data, the changing approaches to excavation and publication by YAT must be outlined.

ON-SITE RECORDING

Early site recording at YAT is not well documented, but a brief account (Whitwell 1974, 16-19) shows excavations followed the model established at Winchester by Biddle (see above). By the late 1970s the Trust was beginning to adopt single-context recording, and the site procedure used at the Trust in the 1980s and early 1990s is described in a site manual produced in 1989-90 (Pearson 1990). Site recording and post-excavation methodology are also set out in a chapter by Nicky Pearson and Tim Williams (1993 89-95) in *Practices of Archaeological Stratigraphy*. On-site recording at YAT has changed very little since the late 1980s/early 1990s. It is based on single-context recording on pro-forma sheets, with permatrace planning and section drawing at set scales. The site manuals provide approved terms for cuts, deposits, structures and interpretation although subsequent site manuals produced by YAT have made some minor revisions and alterations.

POST-EXCAVATION ANALYSIS

The analysis phase of the site forms the basis for the production of a report on the excavation. Although there have been some changes in the terminology set out in the site manual (Pearson 1990a) and in Pearson and Williams (1993, 95), the fundamental processes used to analyse a site remain largely unchanged. The first level of interpretation above the individual context was called the context-series, which comprised contexts with close stratigraphic links associated with a single activity; this is now referred to as a 'set'. The next level of interpretations is called a 'group', which comprises context series/sets that have a stratigraphic relationship. Pearson and Williams (1993, 95) argue that the relating of groups

for site-wide interpretation is usually left to a later stage of analysis or even until the publication of the site. The level above the group is a 'phase', in which all site-wide cotemporary features are considered, for example, all features belonging to the tenth century.

The aim of this analysis is to produce a report of the excavation that forms the basis for further work and publication. In the 1980s and early 1990s this was termed an 'Archive Report'. The Archive Report was a detailed analysis of contexts and inter-relationships based on the stratigraphic sequence; it formed the basis for the analysis of the dating evidence and subsequent phasing and analysis of the site. Analysis of the artefactual evidence took place only after the production of the Archive Report. The site stratigraphic sequence and the artefactual evidence were used to produce dated periods or phases and provided the basis for publication (Pearson and Williams 1993, 89, 95, 101). The Archive Report is site specific, with consideration of the site in relation to the wider topography seen as part of the publication process. Since the implementation of PPG16, there is a requirement to produce a slightly different type of report; these are often referred to as grey literature. Unlike the Archive Report, the grey literature report provides a brief statement of the historical significance of the area in which the excavation took place, a detailed site discussion based on the stratigraphic sequence. Artefact data is used to form the basis of the interpretation of the chronological sequence of the site, perhaps with some consideration of the surrounding area. The artefact and environmental reports are discussed in detail in a separate section that highlights their potential for future research. The grey literature report is therefore designed to provide a concise summary of the excavation and to highlight its potential/significance in relation to the area in which the excavation occurred; it also provides the basis for the publication of the site.

The most notable change in post-excavation has been the rise in the use of computers. YAT embraced the use of computer technology from an early date, initially using computers at the University of York (Hall and Tweddle 1982). An early example of the use of computers was for the analysis of stratigraphic sequences from a site in Bishophill (Bishop 1976, 27-30). Computers were also used from an early stage for the cataloguing of artefacts recovered from excavations (MacGregor 1976, 38-39), and by the mid-late 1980s there were further developments to computer databases for context and finds information. From the mid-1980s computers were commonly used for report writing and illustration using AutoCAD (Maytom and Rutler 1987, 31-5; Torevell and Maytom 1990, 25-31). In 1993 the Trust began using

digital mapping in AutoCAD, provided by the Ordnance Survey, in conjunction with Total Stations for site surveying and for producing distribution maps (Lilley and Pearson 1993, 12-15). An early development at YAT was the use of computers to aid post-excavation through the programming of software to be used with AutoCAD. The original program, called *Hindsight*, checked stratigraphic relationships by overlaying context plans and accessing the matrix information in the database (Alvey 1993); it therefore had much in common with GIS software.

The current YAT post-excavation database is the Integrated Archaeological Database (henceforth IADB). The IADB is an integrated database system designed to manage data from excavation recording and analysis through to eventual preparation for publication and archiving (Rains 2012). The IADB was adopted by YAT following the appointment of Mike Rains as computer officer in 1997, and it has continued to be developed ever since, particularly following the partnership with the Silchester Town Life project at the University of Reading (Clarke et al., 2003). IADB is currently based entirely on open-source, Web server-based solutions. It can export data as vector drawing formats, including SVG and DXF, and context and artefact data as tables in CSV and SQL; it thus has significant potential to be used in conjunction with GIS (see Rains 2012; Wright 2011). Within the IADB, context data can be entered manually from the primary context cards, and as of recently, context cards can be scanned so that an image of the primary record may be held in the IADB. The context record in the IADB also stores the stratigraphic relationship and the set, group and phase to which it has been assigned. The IADB also allows contexts to be added to sets, groups and phases as part of the post-excavation process. Artefact information is similarly entered into the IADB and is linked to the context, set, group and phase record. An invaluable part of the IADB for post-excavation is its ability to generate Harris matrices derived from the stratigraphic information entered on context cards, as well as matrices of sets, groups and phases. The IADB also aids post-excavations in that the matrix builder highlights problematic strings of contexts with a red line; errors in the sequence can then be reviewed and altered. The IADB also has a field called 'objects', which allows the selection of elements from the site archive for analysis without affecting the set, group or phase record. The IADB is therefore a powerful post-excavation tool with great potential for use in conjunction with GIS for the analysis of urban excavations.

PUBLICATION

To ensure the work of YAT was made available to the wider public, a publication called *Interim* was produced from 1972-2000. *Interim* was replaced by *Yorkshire Archaeology Today* in 2000 and by *Northern Archaeology Today* in 2011. These publications provide concise accounts of excavations; *Interim* is particularly valuable as it contains narrative accounts of many sites in York that have not been published. For formal publication, YAT adopted the production of fascicules in a series called *The Archaeology of York*; these were intended to cover the historical, archaeological and environmental evidence from the city (*Interim* 1975, 5; *Interim* 1979, 3-5; Hall 1982). The drawback of the fascicules is that sites are rarely fully published, and the majority of information focuses on the environment or particular artefact groups. There has also been a tendency to focus on assemblages from particular excavations while the excavations themselves have rarely been analysed or published; summary narratives of the sites are included in the fascicules. A few sites have had the archaeological sequences published, even if their finds have been treated in separate fascicules (e.g. Finlayson 2004; Hall et al. 1988; Hall and Hunter-Mann 2000; Richards 2001). Further sites have been published since the introduction of web publication (YAT 2012).

MATERIAL CULTURE

‘Our art treasures of today are only the dug-up commonplaces of three or four hundred years ago...The china dog that ornaments the bedroom of my furnished lodging... I do not admire it myself. Considered as a work of art, I may say it irritates me...but in 200 years’ time it is more than probable that that dog will be dug up from somewhere or other... and people will pass it around and admire it...[W]e, in this age, do not see the beauty of the dog. We are too familiar with it. It is like the sunset and the stars: we are not awed with the loveliness because they are common to our eyes’.

(Jerome 1889, 53-4)

Our perceptions of the material elements of the world around us are shaped by the period in which we live and thus change over time. Our own historical situation affects our understanding of the importance or significance of objects from the past, and we must bear it in mind when we examine the evidence for past material worlds. Our views are arguably reflected in the segregation of artefacts into bulk finds or small finds. Small finds are those considered to be of significance, either because of the material of which they are made or their connections to individuals. People in the past, like those of today, constructed their

identity and their understanding of the world in which they lived through a complex web of routines and relationships, which varied according to historically specific circumstances. The environment within which people live—and lived—is interpreted on a daily basis as part of being thoroughly engaged in a social context. Social context is reflected in material evidence such as textures, sounds, smells, texts, images, rituals and power dynamics (Gosden 2008, 436; Hodder 2004, 31; Howes 2008; Moreland 2010, 2; Spyer 2008). To understand the world in which someone lived, to make sense of his or her complex use of space, it is necessary to engage with material culture in an integrated manner: the archaeological evidence cannot be considered without reference to other sources of evidence. To ignore the historical records is to misunderstand the multiple ways in which medieval and early modern people represented themselves through texts and artefacts (Giles 1999, 87; Moreland 2010, 43, 291).

The question is how to address the recurring difficulty of the interpretation of artefacts with archaeological features (e.g. Roskams 1992; Berry 2008, 2009). The studies of site formation processes have shown the dynamic nature of archaeological sites (e.g. Schiffer 1996) and Lucas (2001, 68) argues that concepts such as the site or the stratigraphic unit are problematic for the interpretation of human behaviour. Although the concept of the archaeological record as a fossilised moment in time (the Pompeii premise) came under criticism (Lucas 2001, 146), Craig Cessford (2009, 308) argues that there is still a tendency to see finds and assemblages as the material originally owned and used by whoever dumped the material. He argues that this view often informs the discussion of themes such as social status and gender relations.

This thesis had to address the issues of residuality and the ability to assign artefacts to specific activities to consider the social and spatial development of the areas considered in the two case studies (see Chapters 3 and 4). To do this, this thesis drew on the work of Roskams (1992) who proposed a system of deposit status that was developed by and Berry (2008, 2009). These studies sought to explore and develop a method for exploring the relationship between an artefact and its stratigraphic sequence. Berry (2009) examined pottery and animal bone and used the level of preservation, sherd size and deposit descriptions to determine the likely hood that a deposit was for example representative of use or dumping activities. This thesis used the stratigraphic sequences, in conjunction with the evidence for the sherd size, abrasion and the level of mixing of deposits to determine the extent to which deposits were indicative of use or redeposition. The issue of redeposition was particularly prevalent in the immediate post-Roman assemblages (seventh-ninth centuries)

when many features contained only Roman material. In these instances comparison of the stratigraphic sequence and the height above Ordnance Datum were crucial for understanding the archaeological sequence. For the deposits after the ninth century artefacts become more plentiful, and through the consideration of the deposits, the artefacts they contained, sherd size and abrasion it was possible to examine episodes of dumping and activity, such as the closure of St Benedict's cemetery (see below). In the later medieval sequence (thirteenth-sixteenth centuries) the careful consideration of deposits, sherd size, artefact type and frequency within deposits, The interpretation of the deposits was also determined by consideration of possible function, and the processes of laying floors through the dumping and importing of material it is possible to identify changes in the floor sequences and the use of space within buildings.

Such detailed consideration is often absent from excavation reports as it is common to separate the discussion of the artefacts from the stratigraphic sequence that produced them (Bradley 2006a; Mrozowski 2000; Rosedahl and Verhaeghe 2011, 214). This is seen not only in excavation reports but also in publications. and is not a new problem. For example, with the publication of the excavations from Winchester Biddle (1990, 3) questions whether to publish objects in association with the site from which they came, 'the one illuminating the other phase by phase, or to bring the objects together, category by category, to illustrate each other and broader themes of industrial history, technology, and social and material culture'. Ultimately, he adopted the latter model.

Gavin Lucas (2001, 200) identifies three themes that recur within scholarly approaches to material culture: a focus on finds or artefacts, a focus on assemblages of finds/artefacts and a concern for the social or behavioural context of finds/assemblages. There are thorough general overviews of approaches and techniques for studying objects (e.g. Caple 2006; Hurcombe 2007). Studies of medieval artefacts have progressed significantly since the 1950s, particularly over the last few decades (e.g. Caple 2006; Hurcombe 2007, 4; Rosedahl and Verhaeghe 2011, 225). Studies of artefacts from the medieval period have been concerned primarily with dating and provenance (Gerrard 2006, 223), leading to the production of catalogues often divided into themes such as household, daily life or craft and industry (e.g. Egan 1999; Ottaway and Rogers 2002). Historical archaeologists argue that by acknowledging the active role of objects in everyday life, they avoid the limitations of rigid classificatory schema that segregate objects from people (Cochran and Beaudry 2006, 203). Although material culture is often associated with objects, it is now considered to have a

much broader definition. Rosedhal and Verhaeghe (2011, 189) argue that the material world of medieval communities and individuals included their physical environment, manmade landscapes, settlements, major buildings and housing, as well as a wide range of portable objects and commodities that shaped daily lives and behaviour (see also Preucel and Meskell 2004, 13). This thesis argues that such a broad definition of material culture is needed because it allows for the consideration of all available information in analysing the character of past urban neighbourhoods

Scholars in a range of disciplines now seek to understand how people in the Middle Ages used the material world in their practices of everyday life (Harvey 2009, 7; Moreland 2010, 2). Current scholarship thus studies material culture through a varied range of approaches that consider a myriad of shifting contexts and recognise the active relationship between people and the material world (e.g. Basso and Feld 1996; Bovin 2008, 6; Cumberpatch and Blinkhorn 1998; DeMarrais 2004, 12; Dobres and Robb 2000; Dornan 2002; Gilchrist 1994, 2004; Harvey 2009, 3; Ingold 1993, 2000; Lucas 2001, 177-8; Rosedhal and Verhaeghe 2011 Speyer 2008). An important idea that has developed within archaeology is the consideration of object biography, which was adopted from anthropology (Appadurai 1986; Kopytoff 1986) and traces the use life of artefacts to landscapes (e.g. Gilchrist 2000; Hoskins 2008; Gosden and Marshall 1999; Joy 2009; Mytum 2010, 245). Contemporary archaeologists must consider material culture in relation to the consumer. Duncan Brown (2002, 167-8) highlights this in his study of pottery from medieval Southampton, which he argues has different meanings from the perspectives of trader, consumer and archaeologist. He argues that we can identify pottery as having been made in the Rhineland, but the consumer may not have known or cared where it came from; his or her main consideration may well have been durability. The provenance of an object is not necessarily the best expresser of consumer wealth, social standing or cultural affinity, which may have been expressed more clearly through language, clothing, diet and customs (Moreland 2010, 48).

The use of the built environment as part of material culture has received growing attention, with spatial and social structures seen as having a recursive relationship (Preucel and Meskell 2004, 12). Urban geographers argue that a spatial context for place can be provided through a combination of map regression with historical and archaeological sources (Lillley 2000, 10). However, as discussed in Chapter 1, consideration of the built environment within archaeology is arguably still focussed on describing form and function. Nonetheless, scholars of the medieval and later periods are beginning to consider the materiality and lifecycle of

houses and households. There are several studies that consider decoration, furnishings, fittings and fixtures, including the ways in which they were used (Gilchrist 2000, 2012; Giles 2011, 171; Hicks and Horning 2006; King 2006). At the household level, understanding of how artefacts were deployed remains crude. It is rare to find an assemblage in a room in situ, and activities carried out on upper floors are often lost to the excavator (Gerrard 2003, 224; LaMotta and Schiffer 1999). There have been a few studies of rubbish in medieval town (e.g. Keene 1982). Artefacts associated with buildings or associated rubbish pits are often residual, but there may be debris from life and work in the immediate vicinity (Schofield 2011, 94). By understanding how deposits and artefacts are deposited and by becoming familiar with the forms and patterns of built structures, one can begin to comprehend the relationship of the occupiers with the wider world (Allison 1999, 1).

There is an increase from around 1200 of information from iconographic and written sources. New documents, such as inventories and information on sources of materials, guilds and commodities, help place artefacts in their settings (Rosedahl and Verhaeghe 2011, 213). Understanding the place and use of artefacts within buildings aids the understanding of the use of space within buildings. Objects recorded in documents also complement the objects recovered from excavations, which usually comprise the more durable material, such as tile or pottery; documents provide information about artefacts made of material that rarely survives, such as textiles, wood basketry, leather, metal and horn (Brown 2002, 136). Whereas studies of households and considerations of the materiality of the medieval household through the documentary records have traditionally focused on architecture, decoration and objects (e.g. Ayers 2006), studies of households increasingly use wills and inventories to understand the social use of space. For example, Jeremy Goldberg (2008) explores systems of value in rural and urban households, showing that in the urban context, there was an increasingly complex and sophisticated use of textiles and objects to define space within buildings from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries.

Studies of the more recent past (the eighteenth century onward) have shown the benefits of an integrated approach to material culture through a high degree of interdisciplinary research (Buchli and Lucas 2001; Jeffries et al. 2009; Harvey 2009, 3). Indeed, an integrated approach to the examination of cities of the nineteenth century has resulted in sophisticated and textured studies of urban material culture, with artefacts seen as part of the social landscapes of particular places in the urban past (e.g. Karskens 1999; Mayne and Murray 2001; Yamin 2001a). Scholars of the post-medieval period have therefore developed a

different approach to material culture. Rebecca Yamin (2008, 3) argues that archaeologists need to go beyond regarding artefacts as objects to consider their relation to the people who owned and used them. To achieve this, she argues, it is necessary to use all the historical information available; it is not enough to count and catalogue artefacts in detail.

The material culture of the medieval city therefore has the potential to reconstruct the changes that took place in urban life, to explore how people lived and worked and to map changes in the urban landscape over time (Lilley 2002, 37). The approach to material culture developed in this thesis considers a broad range of evidence from the urban landscape, which encompasses buildings and boundaries as well as individual objects. Equally, consideration is given to the meaning of material culture in the past. Meaning is not inherent; rather, it derives from the relationship between objects and their built environment—and, in turn, with people. To understand the buildings, the above- and below-ground evidence must be considered together to inform our understanding of the use of a building for domestic and craft activity, which in turn affects our understanding of land use and perceptions of the street. For example, if a building is interpreted as a workshop based on the excavated evidence, rather than ending the interpretation there, this thesis uses that information for the consideration of broader themes, drawing on standing buildings and historical data. By considering the evidence surrounding the manufacturing processes that were carried out in a particular building, for instance, one can begin to understand the equipment used, the space needed, the location of workshops within buildings, their relationship to the street, the form of the building, its associated smells/sounds and their impact on the residents; in short, one can begin to understand the character of the neighbourhood. Furthermore, this thesis considers how these themes in turn inform an understanding of social relationships. Understanding the use of a building enables a consideration of household composition and the social connections through institutions such as craft affiliations that linked the residents to the wider networks of the city. This section has shown that material culture changes over time, and this change over time affects our understanding. Alongside social information, material culture has been used from the origins of archaeology to establish timescales for the interpretation and presentation of the past.

TIME AND ARCHAEOLOGY

Chapters 3 and 4 of this thesis use an approach to time that seeks to address issues relating to the development of York over the long term, including the evolution of the form of the built environment as well as medium- and short-term events associated with the use of houses and tenements. Knowles (2002, xv) argues that it is the intricately connected elements of time and space in the archaeological record that give location, orientation and depths and that thus provide evidence about when buildings and artefacts were made and used, as well as their cultural significance. However, there are questions surrounding the dimension of time as it relates to material culture. Buchli (2007, 183) and Lucas (2001, 1-2) argue that archaeological studies often fail to see how time, and our understanding thereof, affects the way archaeology is examined. Scholars have argued that it is necessary to understand the difference between time as perceived by people and time as constructed and perceived through the archaeological record (e.g. Gilchrist 2004, 150; Bailey 2005; Lucas 2005). Gavin Lucas (2005, Chapter 1) outlines a distinction between 'chronological time' and 'real time': the former is the objective time of scientific measurement, which emphasises time as a succession, and the latter emphasises time as duration and flow, which corresponds more closely to how people experience time. Indeed, the rhythms of life are moulded through individual perceptions of time, clock time, historical time, cultural time, social time and institutional calendars (Mills 2000).

The imposition of a chronology onto a stratigraphic sequence needs careful consideration because single-context recording assumes that each unit represents an event (e.g. Carver 1979; Roskams 2000, 263-5; Lucas 2001, 160-2). The dating of the events recorded in an excavation relies on the relative structured temporality of the matrix, which can be calibrated through scientific dating or artefacts (Lucas 2001, 162). The use of artefacts or scientific dating led excavations to be organized and artefacts to be analysed according to set periods, such as Roman, Medieval and Post-Medieval; however, such periodization overlooks the opportunity offered by archaeology to cross these boundaries to look at development over a long time period (Giles 1999, 87; Lucas 2001, 3-4). Hodder and Hutson (2003, 130) argue that archaeologists tend to ignore patterns of practice and cultural meaning over the long term by focussing on the particular within each phase described. However, some studies have focussed on smaller-scale temporal processes, considering the role of social memory, household cycle, differences in generational time and socially constructed temporality within groups (e.g. Lucas 2001, 136). The dominant trend of periodization has led John Moreland

(2010, 8) to argue that the compartmentalisation of the past has encouraged archaeologists and historians to dwell on issues of continuity or change—to actively seek out elements of past society that transferred from one era to the next, or not. Therefore, there is a need to emphasise the multi-temporality of the record at multiple levels and scales (Lucas 2001, 16-17, 46). Craig Cessford (2009, 312) has questioned the usefulness of a period-based approach in urban archaeology, arguing that period-based studies tend to obscure the individual stories of properties or tenements.

Issues of continuity have an important impact on how we study areas within York. The temporal periods used in the case studies are determined by the archaeological record rather than by pre-existing chronological eras, such as Anglian/Anglo-Scandinavian or High Middle Ages. The temporal framework for the case studies consists of four periods: c.600-1069, 1069-1250, 1250-1400 and 1400-1600. The division has been determined by the presence of changes within the archaeological sequences rather than structured around particular historic events; where there is a correlation, this is discussed in the texts. A flexible approach to timescale is necessary to the study of neighbourhoods as analysis is needed at multiple levels and scales, from the individual features of houses and tenements to the level of the street and the wider city.

THE URBAN LANDSCAPE

'[T]he study of the landscape is not...only about the study of the countryside'.

(Gardiner and Rippon 2007, 3)

The examination of landscapes and places is of interest to scholars of many disciplines. In archaeology, these areas have been a focus particularly of prehistorians and post-medievalists exploring the rural environment. The development of landscape studies has resulted in a wide range of different approaches (e.g. Muir 1999). Rural landscapes are seen as subjective; there is no part of the landscape unmediated by people's understanding of the world, which is inhabited, seen, smelt, touched, used and avoided in terms of people's histories, identities and understanding (Ashmore 2007; Bender 2008, 303, 305; Bradley 2000; Edmonds 1999, 2004; Gerrard 2006, 228; Johnson 1995, 2007; Whittle et al 2007; Tilley 2010). However, there is a divide between rural and urban landscapes, and many of the advances made in the study of the rural landscape have yet to be applied to towns. This divide has a long history.

Terry Slater (2000a, 97) notes the absence of articles on towns in the *Journal of Landscape History*. Slater argues that this absence is due to the intellectual origins of English landscape history in an idealising of the rural in the eighteenth century, which led to the equation of landscape with notions of rurality and countryside rather than with the urban environment. Slater (2007) identifies five themes in studies of urban landscapes: defences, composite plans, town planning, plot metrology and building types. The importance of the built landscape to medieval urban populations has been discussed in *Medieval Landscapes* (Gardiner and Rippon 2007, 3-4), which includes urban landscape studies but emphasises the dominance of approaches focussing on the mapping of towns through streets and plots. Abby Antrobus (2009, 26) argues that the linking of urban process (changes in thought, action and the urban environment), urban space and urban archaeology has yet to seriously penetrate the study of British High-Medieval urban landscapes. She argues that the development of the size and infrastructures of towns could be related more explicitly to urban political, commercial, social, economic and architectural history.

Urban archaeology's focus on the mapping of towns reflects the influences of historical geographers' approaches to towns (see below). Mapping is in itself a cultural project, a means of creating and building the world as much as a means of measuring or describing it; mapping is instrumental in the construction of ideas regarding lived space (Corner 1999, 212). Understanding space through mapping reflects the origins of Western cartography as an aid to establishing and monitoring different sorts of property and national and regional boundaries, as well as a means for creating and changing social configurations (Bender 2008, 307). The survival of city maps from the medieval period is rare; the majority of cartographic sources date from the sixteenth century (Harvey 1987, 464; Lilley 2002, 39-40). The landscape of the medieval world was complex and contested, and the representation of the world through medieval geographical thinking was mediated through the church (Johnson 2007, 7-8; Lilley 2004, 2009). Early maps, such as the *mappa mundi* or the Gough map, are expressions of both symbolic and cosmological ideas (Lilley and Lloyd 2009). On early maps, as well as on civic seals or other artistic depictions, the walled city is often shown as an ideogram of towers enclosed by a crenelated wall; York is shown in this manner on a panel of St William's Window in the Minster and also on the city seal (Hartshorne 2002, 135). Chapter 1 argued that neighbourhoods are spatial, but investigations of townscapes by most archaeologists tend not to be theorised in specifically spatial terms. Maps used and created by archaeologists tend to provide a backdrop for the archaeological evidence rather than an active part of the analysis. The archaeology of towns has been influenced by the

methodological approaches of scholars from other disciplines, specifically historical geographers.

GEOGRAPHY AND URBAN FORM

A review by Peter Larkham (2006) highlights changes and developments in approaches to the urban form by urban geographers in Britain. Larkham argues that studies of urban form have developed in several different directions, but notably there has been an interest in the historical development of urban landscapes. The origins of urban morphology lie in the 1950s and 1960s; scholars such as Hoskins, Beresford and Conzen saw the urban and rural landscape as a palimpsest that could be read through maps (Lilley et al., 2007, 28). Since the 1970s, scholars in historical geography have examined towns by building on the pioneering work of Conzen. The output of scholars associated with Birmingham University's Urban Morphology Research Group (e.g. Baker et al., 1992; Baker and Holt 2004; Lilley 1996; Slater 1996; Whithand and Larkham 2000) has been particularly influential.

The examination of urban forms has led to questions regarding the extent to which towns were planned or unplanned ('organic'). Towns with rigid grids are invariably seen as planned, but even towns with no discernible plan may have been planned in some form (Hohenburg 1995, 29-34; Kostof 1991, 43-69; Morris 1994, 18-19; Smith 2007, 5). Factors that influenced the plan of a town and might affect its form include topographic features, pre-existing urban features incorporated into town plans and the development of burgage plots, all of which could distort the ideal of a plan (Slater 1981, 1990). Most cities were planned in one way or another (Kostof 1991, 52; Smith 2007, 40-1). Detailed analysis has shown that medieval towns have complex composite plans (Larkham 2006, 120). Therefore, urban planning was about more than just laying out new towns with regular plans; it was about designing, planning, and building new townscapes with symbolic meaning (Lilley 2002, 157, 2009).

Early scholars, such as Hoskins, Beresford and Conzen, were aware that many of Britain's towns and their landscapes could be traced to between the ninth and fourteenth centuries (Lilley et al., 2007, 27), but it was M.R.G Conzen's approach to town-plan analysis that was to be most influential—not only on geographers but on archaeologists. Conzen never set out his methodology of town-plan analysis explicitly, but this has recently been done by Keith Lilley (2000). Lilley stresses the importance of establishing a base plan derived from the earliest, most accurately surveyed Ordnance Survey. The base map may then be used, in conjunction with other maps and plans, to establish the morphological skeleton of the town,

showing streets and plot pattern with surviving medieval structures. This forms the basis for the analysis of plan units, which comprise streets and plots with morphological coherence, including whether the plan units represent a phase or stage in the town's development. The plan units are used to build up morphological histories in order to create maps documenting the changing form of the urban landscape. The plan units are interpreted as expressions of the formation of the urban landscape; transformative changes are noted, and instances of expansion, contraction and rebuilding are recognized. Dating the evidence derived from the maps uses historical material such as deeds and rental accounts alongside archaeological evidence to relate verifiable medieval features to the morphological pattern of the streets. Indeed, archaeological evidence can show that medieval plot and street patterns can, and indeed do, survive for very long periods of time in the urban landscape. Medieval boundaries have been shown to persist until the time when accurate cartographic surveys in the nineteenth century under the Ordnance Survey were carried out; medieval boundaries can be used in association with map regression (Ottaway 1992, 173; Lilley 2000, 9-10). The 'Conzeian' tradition has remained dominant in the study of urban landscapes by historical geographers (Baker and Slater 2000; Slater 2007, 14; Whitehand and Larkham 2000, 6-7).

When mapping the medieval city from modern maps, a question of subjectivity arises in determining features that might have a medieval origin (see Lilley et al., 2007). Medieval boundaries were fixed by perambulations along the perimeters between different jurisdictions, and parish boundaries were reaffirmed every year in Rogationtide ceremonies. These ritual practices of setting and reaffirming boundaries reflect the social role of space, with the boundaries themselves inscribed in the memory of the community (Fletcher 1999, 132; Klein 2001, 44). Stefania Perring (2010, 148-9) discusses the process of transcribing the remembered boundaries to the Ordnance Survey maps through the Boundary Survey, which made permanent a collective memory of administrative boundaries. She argues that this is what leads to the discrepancies between the information for boundaries recorded in leases and the boundaries marked on the 1852 Ordnance Survey.

The plan of the streets and plot boundaries is only one element of the urban landscape. The move away from examining the form of towns has been highlighted by Larkham (2006, 133), who argues that a fruitful area of research is the study of consumers as agents; what were the views of those who lived in an area whose forms and means of production have been studied? Recent town studies have used urban morphology as part of interdisciplinary studies to integrate documents, plans, and archaeology with considerations of the

individuals, organisations and processes that shaped urban form (e.g. Baker and Holt 2004; Frost 2009; Larkham 2006; Lilley 2007, 2009; Slater 2007).

ARCHAEOLOGY AND URBAN FORM

As Chapter 1 showed, scholars have long been interested in towns, but interest in the medieval archaeology of towns increased significantly in the Rescue period of the 1970s and 1980s. This interest is reflected in the publications produced throughout the 1970s that emphasised the development of streets and property boundaries using approaches derived from historical geography (Gerrard 2003, 136). The influence of urban geography can be seen in *The Plans and Topography of Medieval Towns in England and Wales* (Barley 1975) and the contemporary *The Landscape of Towns* (Aston and Bond reprinted 2000). Throughout the 1980s there was a continued interest in towns, often with a more archaeological focus but still drawing on urban morphology, as in *Underneath English Towns* (Carver 1987) or *Archaeology in British Towns* (Ottaway 1992). Aston and Bond (2000, 23-4) outline the elements of a town that merit study. While they acknowledge that people form a part of the urban landscape, the focus remains on the form of the town; this focus on the form of towns has arguably remained a prevalent theme in the study of medieval towns.

In current archaeological urban practice, consideration of the town plan is a well-established tool, and it is used in site publications, synthetic overviews and historical environment characterization studies (e.g. Andersson 2011; Baker 2010; Bowsher et al., 2008; Birch and Trevail 2011; Clarke et al., 2010; Dalwood and Evans 2004; Schofield and Steur 2007; Schofield and Vince 2005). These publications seek to integrate data, exploring the topography and landscape of towns from the macro-level (e.g. natural features and street) to the micro-level (e.g. tenement plots) (Ayers 1997, 117). However, such approaches are largely descriptive, with little consideration of the social use of space; the discussion of daily life and artefacts are often treated separately from the discussion of the townscape. Craig Cessford (2009, 309) justifiably criticises archaeological publications that simply acknowledge the absence or presence of sources and list the names, dates and occupations of individuals who lived at a site with some comparison of features identified archaeologically and on historical maps. He argues that this approach falls short of the level of integration that should be possible and frequently fails to achieve what is possible or desired.

As Christopher Gerrard (2006, 230) argues, since the mid-1990s medieval archaeologists have begun to stray with greater regularity beyond description to focus on the social and

symbolic meaning of space. However, within towns this focus has been on specific elements of the townscape, such as houses or institutional buildings like churches or guild halls (e.g. Gilchrist 1994, 2004, 2012; Giles 1999, 2001; King 2006, 2010). The approach to medieval cities is arguably in marked contrast to the study of cities of the eighteenth to 20th centuries, as discussed in Chapter 1. Studies of the more recent past have developed the idea of a biographical approach to cities and the people who inhabited them (O’Keefe and Yamin 2006, 96). These studies have looked at the urban landscape and urban society for patterns of significant social, economic, political, religious, ritual and commercial areas, from individual houses to city blocks (Leech 1999; Graves 1989, 2003a; King 2006; Murray and Crook 2005). Indeed, studies of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century city have shown the potential of integrating documents and archaeology to build narratives of the urban environment, using excavated evidence to examine how people coped with living in the urban environment and maintained identity, as well as how neighbourhoods changed over time (e.g. O’Keefe and Yamin 2006, 98-9). In medieval city studies, historians have shown that it is possible to map the topography of medieval towns from documentary sources, but medieval historians have also used documents to explore the social significance of the urban landscape (see Chapter 1).

Archaeological approaches at the level of the landscape in towns therefore tend to remain focused on functional, institutional boundaries and topographical questions. To achieve a fuller understanding of the urban landscape, it is crucial to move beyond the excavated boundaries, which are usually arbitrary (relating to modern developments), to offer analysis relating to entities that existed in the past, such as individual properties, blocks of land or the whole town (Cessford 2009, 312). Studies of the medieval urban landscape should seek to integrate the data available for the medieval city, from documents to material culture in its broadest sense. Carver (1993, v-vii) has proposed that the urban environment should be seen as one that was continually remodelled and invested in through communal and individual endeavour; it is a political landscape created by sequences of choices and an arena in which power is negotiated and displayed by different groups or individuals. In light of developments in urban morphology, the increasing use of historical documents to move beyond the mapping of space, and advances in urban biographies by scholars of the recent past, it should be possible to use and build on these approaches to reappraise the social use of the landscape of the medieval city. To achieve this aim, it is necessary to engage with and challenge traditional understandings of the development and character of the urban landscape.

YORK'S URBAN FORM

York's origins lie in the Roman period, and archaeology has contributed significantly to our understanding (see RCHME 1962; Hall 1997; Sumpter and Coll 1977; Ottaway 1996a, 1999, 2004; Phillips and Heyward 1995; Whitwell 1976). Through its two case studies, this thesis reappraises the evolution of York's urban plan. A.E.J. Morris (1994, 114-17) classed York's post-Roman plan as typical of 'organic' growth, with no clear evidence of planning. However, there is evidence that planning in York may have been influenced by a range of factors, including the underlying influence of the Roman alignment, the immediate post-Roman and late medieval street pattern, and the alterations that occurred during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is York's growth by additions and redevelopment that gives the city its irregular feel (Sheeran 1998, 32). The morphology of York has received surprisingly little attention from scholars of urban geography, history or archaeology. York's urban morphology has been considered only on a small scale, usually in association with specific research questions or the publication of particular excavations, documentary investigations or synthetic narratives (e.g. Hall 1984, 1988, 1994, 31-41, 1996, 2004, 493-4; Norton 1998; Ottaway 1995; Rollason 2003, 220-223; Sheeran 1999, 34-5; Tweddle et al., 1999, 151-166).

The starting point for an examination of York's urban form is its cartographic sources. The earliest maps of York are a schematic plan of the city from the 1540s, followed by the more famous plan by John Speed (1610). Both of these sources show a pattern of city streets largely recognisable in the modern city. The increasing resolution and accuracy of detail relating to properties and streets can be traced through the maps of the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries, including those by James Archer (c.1682), Benedict Horsley (1697), Peter Chassereau (1750) and Thomas Jeffery (1772). One of the earliest maps of the nineteenth century, from 1823 from Baine's 'Directory and Gazetteer of York' shows the city before the major alterations and construction of streets in the nineteenth century (Figure 2). These changes are first shown on the 1852 Ordnance Survey map (Figure 3), considered by modern standards to be the first accurate map of the city. With regards to the area examined by this thesis, the most important changes relate to the creation of Parliament Street (Figure 4), which affected the south-east side of St Sampson Square, cutting across the line of Jubbergate and the north-west side of Pavement. Church Street, formerly Girdlergate, was extended across the churchyard of St Sampson's to Thursday Market. Silver Street, which ran from the north-east corner of Thursday Market to Jubbergate, was realigned (RCHME 1981, 117, 173).

The cartographic, place and archaeological sources have provided a basis for the consideration of York's urban form by historians and archaeologists (Figure 5). The majority of research has focussed on the topography of York between the seventh and the late eleventh centuries. Tweddle (1999, 151) has highlighted a number of factors relating to the development of York's topography in this period, notably the influence of the Roman occupation on the later city and the date at which elements disregarding the Roman alignment were first established. Scholars argue that York was poly-focal during the seventh and eighth centuries, with ecclesiastical centres in the fortress and *colonia*; it was also poly-focal in the eighth and ninth centuries, with a commercial focus, or *wic*, in the Fishergate and Piccadilly areas and a continuing ecclesiastical centre in the fortress (e. g. Rees Jones (1987(i), 48-9; Kemp 1996, 73-84 and 82-3; Tweddle et al. 1999, 189-200, 212; Spall and Toop, 2005, 2008; McComish 2009). The surviving fortress defences likely remained a significant topographic factor into the seventh century, and archaeology suggests that they were to remain so until at least the eleventh century (Ottaway 1996a and b; Hall 2004, 490-1). There are some established models for the development of the street pattern within the fortress and in York in general. There is a large body of scholarship that examines the street names of York, many of which are not recorded until the twelfth century. Such scholarship argues for an early date for some streets within the city (see Palliser 1978; Fellows-Jensen 2004). However the identification of street origins on the basis of their name should be done with caution (Fellows-Jensen 2004, 358).

Norton (1998, 1) argues that much can be learned from the above-ground topography of the medieval and post-medieval city in conjunction with maps and documents; he demonstrates this admirably through his proposed reconstruction of the topography of the Minster close in the period from the seventh to the late eleventh century. There is limited evidence for the land use within the fortress from the fifth to late eleventh centuries, and the discrepancy between Roman routes and their successors indicates a hiatus in occupation and activity within the fortress (Tweddle et al., 1999, 153). Despite this, the Roman fort influenced the street pattern, as is shown in the correlation between Stonegate, Petergate and the south-western portion of Chapter House Street with the roads to the Roman gates (Figure 6). The fortress defence perhaps influenced the alignment of Davygate, Church Street, Aldwark and Ogleforth as indirect successors of the *intervallum* road along the inside of the defences (e.g. Ottaway 2004, 150-1; Tweddle et al., 1999, 152, 160-2). Other than the streets influenced by the gates, little is known of the street pattern. It has been proposed that the alignment of Coffee Yard/Swinegate may preserve the line of a Roman internal road (Ottaway 1993, 117).

Tweddle et al., (1999, 163-4) argues that the correlation of the breach of the fortress wall by Aldwark, Feasegate and Silver Street with Roman towers may suggest an early date for their creation, perhaps reflecting the conversion of towers into gates. Equally unclear is the extent to which upstanding Roman masonry would have been an obstacle to development within the fortress. Tweddle et al., (1999, 159) argue that upstanding masonry of the Roman bath house may have prohibited the setting out of diagonal streets in this area.

In contrast, Norton (1998, 25) argues that while the fortress must have been dotted with ruinous buildings, there is no evidence to suggest they obstructed redevelopment. The evidence for tenth- to twelfth-century stone-robbing from Roman buildings (Tweddle 1999, 158) suggests the city was actively used as a quarry. Stocker (2000, 196) notes that many tenth-century sculptures found in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire are derived from Roman masonry from York. The active quarrying of the Roman ruins of the fortress, perhaps also for the building of the Minster (see Norton 1998), may have reduced the restriction on the use of space and thus the setting out of new streets and properties. It is generally accepted that two diagonal streets, Blake Street and Goodramgate, were established by at least the mid-ninth century. Blake Street linked the south-west and north-west gates, and Goodramgate the south-east and north-east gates. This idea is based on the theory that they could not have been set out after the interior of the fortress was developed (e.g. Hall 1988, 126; 1994, 34, Fig.12; Norton 1998, 23, Fig 3; Tweddle et al., 1999, 158, Fig.35). The evolution of Goodramgate is complicated as in its present form it leads to a new gate, Monk Bar, located 100m to the south-east of the Roman gate; scholars argue Monk Bar may have been created as early as the eighth or ninth century or as late as the twelfth century (e.g. Ramm 1968; Norton 1999, 23). The difficulties in dating the evolution of the street pattern and land use within the fortress from documentary and cartographic sources cannot be easily overcome as there have been limited opportunities for excavations in this area (Hall 2004, 493).

A theme common amongst models of the evolution of the fortress is the removal of or encroachment upon the south-east and parts of the south-west fortress defences by the expanding settlement. The alleged removal of the defences is argued by some scholars to have allowed the interior of the fortress to be amalgamated with the settlement beyond the defences that developed from the tenth century (Addyman and Hall 1991; Hall 1984, 1996, 2004; Hall and Hunter-Mann 2002, 686; Kemp 1996, 83-4; Mainman and Rogers 2004, 459-87; MacGregor et al. 1999; McNab 2003; McNab and McComish 2004; McComish 2008; Moulden and Tweddle 1986; Tweddle et al., 1999, 211; Wenham et al., 1987). The traditional

model for this process sees it as having taken place prior to the Norman Conquest (e.g. Hall 1994, 33, Fig. 12). Tweddle (1999, 165, Fig. 35) argues that the south-east defences between the south corner tower and the south-east gate fell out of use in the ninth or tenth century based on the limited correlation of parish boundaries with the fortress wall, particularly on the south-east side. Norton (1998, 27-8) argues that the abandonment of the defences on the south-east and south-west sides is closely linked with the expansion of the city towards the rivers Ouse and Foss; he suggests the removal of the defences might represent a major re-planning, including the creation of Monk Bar and Goodramgate, in the eighth or ninth century. The expansion of the town to the rivers led to the extension of the remaining Roman circuit to the rivers in order to protect the town (see Hall 1994, 32-4). Caution is needed in considering Tweddle's reliance on parish boundaries because the date of the establishment of York's parishes is unknown, and an early date in the tenth century cannot be proved. Parishes are likely to have been established by the eleventh or twelfth century, when changes in canon law that regulated the rights and incomes of parishes were enforced (Morris 1989, 169-71).

The development of the fortress during the tenth and late eleventh centuries arguably remains the 'archaeological lacuna' described by Richard Hall (1988, 129). This stands in contrast to the area immediately outside the fortress, particularly on the south-east side, where excavation has identified regularly spaced property boundaries for tenements, with buildings dating to the tenth or eleventh century and a high concentration of pre-Conquest churches (see Conelly 2011, 4-5; Hall 1994; Norton 1998, 27; Rollason 2003, 221; Sheerhan 1999, 35-6). Outside the fortress, the defences arguably influenced the alignment of two axial routes, one running from Micklegate Bar over Ouse Bridge to Pavement and the second running along Lendal, Coney Street, Nessgate and Castlegate (with the intersection near Ouse Bridge). Either side of the Ousegate/Pavement alignment is an area of streets laid out regularly in relation to the fortress defences, notably Jubbergate and St Andrewgate. Further evidence for the planning of York in the ninth century comes from the area of the *colonia* on the south-west bank of the Ouse. David Palliser (1984) has suggested the street plan in this area was set out in the ninth century. The interpretation of Skeldergate as possibly meaning 'shelf' rather than 'shield' (Palliser 1978, 15) raises the possibility that this planned settlement may have originated as a beach market or strand, similar to Wigford, Yam and Torksey (Stocker 2000, 204-5; Hadley 2006, 262).

The topography of the later city has received less attention, perhaps because the prevailing view is that the streets and associated property boundaries are predominantly of at least tenth-century origin (Hall 2004, 494). Domesday Book shows that the city was divided into seven shires with law men; one of the largest shires, controlled by the Archbishops, encompassed the northern half of the fortress area and a large part of the surrounding suburbs (VCH 1961, 484; Rees Jones 1987, 81-109; Palliser 1990; Roffe 2000, 121; Rollason 2004, 307). Angelo Raines's survey (1955) of medieval York included a consideration of the topography that drew upon historical and archaeological evidence. Documentary records for tenements have been used by Rees Jones (1987) to map the property and land holding along Petergate, and more recently, Stefania Perring (2010) has used archaeology, documents and cartographic sources to examine the evolution of the Minster close. Archaeologists have considered the urban topography of the later city in a site-specific context (e.g. Hall and Hunter-Mann 2002).

This thesis considers a series of research themes surrounding the development of York's topography from the seventh to the sixteenth centuries. These themes include the evolution and influence of the fortress defences, the establishment of the street pattern, the creation of tenements, land use, the distribution of churches and the formation of parish boundaries. The case studies focus on the area of the former fortress. The Swinegate area (Chapter 3) offers a rare opportunity to consider the development of the south-east quadrant of the fortress; in contrast to the more frequently studied north-east quadrant, dominated by the Minster enclosure and associated land holdings, the south-east quadrant is surrounded by uncertainty (Norton 1998, 25). Chapter 4 focuses on the development of the axial route across the fortress represented by Petergate and the evidence for the development of the north-east quadrant of the fortress. Both of the case studies draw on a range of historical and archaeological data to enable a reappraisal of the established models concerning the development of York's topography and land use, using the spatial technology of GIS to consider the implications of topography and land use for the consideration of neighbourhood.

SPATIAL TECHNOLOGIES

Chapter 1 argues that to understand past urban landscapes, one must take an integrated approach that combines cartographic, archaeological and documentary sources. However, work by historical geographers has shown that integrating these different sources can be

problematic. GIS provides a helpful solution, for not only does it comprise a spatial database capable of analysing large spatial data sets, but it also makes it possible to map settlements and landscapes in two and three dimensions (e.g. Heywood et al. 1998; Lilley et al. 2007, 33). Two of the most commonly used computer programmes in archaeology are AutoCAD and GIS. The strength of CAD drawings lies in the precision of vector drawing. GIS, on the other hand, is based upon analytical functionality that takes several forms based on the integration of spatial data with an attribute database. This means that that spatial data can have large amounts of text and image data associated with them in a sophisticated two-way link that can be analysed through standard database queries (Lock 2003).

TOWNS AND GIS

There has as yet been a limited application of spatial technologies to medieval towns, but the potential of the technology has recently been demonstrated by Lilley et al. (2007, 41). The use of GIS to explore medieval cities and their landscapes and geographies is unusual; the majority of explorations of urban landscapes have focussed on periods later than the Middle Ages, especially the nineteenth and 20th centuries (Lilley 2012, 207). GIS has been used by historians to explore spatial patterns and geographical distributions, and as an aid to statistical and spatial modelling (e.g. Gregory and Ell 2007). A recent publication (Knowles and Hillier 2008) included a series of essays that highlight the work of historians engaging in the use of maps, spatial data and GIS to examine historical data. Nan Rothschild (2006, 125) proposed a GIS system for her research on New York that would consist of a series of temporal layers providing information on land use and ownership; the spatial distribution of inhabitants by ethnicity, social class, and occupation; and the locations of major institutions of the time.

There are now several examples of the use of GIS for examining the urban landscape of the medieval city and its potential for the integration of plan analysis with historical and literature studies (e.g. Baker and Holt 2004; Lilley et al. 2005; Clarke 2011). Several projects have shown GIS's ability for the dissemination of work through the internet, for example, the work on Edwardian new towns (Lilley et al. 2005) or 'Mapping Medieval Chester' (Medieval Chester 2008). A recent project, 'Locating London's Past' (Locating London's Past 2011), used GIS to produce the base map for an online project drawing together historical and archaeological data for eighteenth-century London.

GIS AND ARCHAEOLOGY

Archaeologists have long been aware of the importance of the spatial component of the archaeological record, from the position of a feature or artefact to the relationships between features and artefacts, from environmental factors such as rivers to subjective relationships associated with perceptions of space (Wheatley and Gillings 2002, 3). The use of GIS for the study of the urban environment within archaeology is increasing, as reflected in a recent volume of *Post-Classical Archaeologies* (2012). Computer-based spatial technologies have been used to study towns, mainly through the work of historical geographers. Initially, GIS saw extensive use only in certain fields, such as cultural resource management (Lock 2003, 168), but in recent years the use of GIS has broadened significantly. Conolly and Lake (2006, 33) identify four typical applications of GIS in archaeology: the management of archaeological resources, excavation, landscape archaeology and the spatial modelling of past human behaviour. Lock (2003, 165-6) argues that the increased interest in landscape archaeology and its development of interdisciplinary approaches and the growing use of computers have influenced the adoption of GIS in archaeology.

Landscape archaeology uses GIS to explore functional and environmental concerns, such as mapping access through a terrain in terms of natural constraints (cost-surface analysis) and social perceptions of landscape through inter-visibility and viewsheds (Lucas 2002, 128). The adoption of GIS in archaeology is reflected in the increase in publications in the 1990s that highlight the continued dominance of its use in conjunction with rural landscapes: storing, retrieving and visualising spatial data; displaying environment data; 3D modelling of deposit sequences, and analysing the relationship between rural landscapes and occupation or settlement patterns (e.g. Allen et al. 1990; Barceló et al. 1999, 213-94; Conolly and Lake 2006; Chapman 2006; Lock and Stančić 1995; Kvamme 1999; Madry 2006; Merlo 2004; Merlo and Colin 2005; McCoy and Ladgefors 2009; Stančić and Veljanovski 2001, 185-239; Wheatley and Gillings 2002; Wheatley 2004).

Archaeologists have explored the ability of GIS to allow the analysis of a wide range of spatial scales simultaneously. However, scale is a problematic area within archaeology and can range from the location of a single artefact to a whole landscape (Lock and Molyneux 2006, xi). The growing awareness of multi-scale analysis in GIS has seen an interest in research exploring notions of space and place (Lock 2003, 170), but there are still few examples of intra-site studies. The lack of effective intra-site studies is not due solely to limitations of the GIS software; it is also affected by the quality of data collected in the

context of modern excavation practice (Wheatley and Gillings 2002 235). An early example of the use of GIS for intra-site analysis was on a commercial project at Shepton Mallet, Somerset, England (Biswell et al. 1995). The West Heslerton Project also pioneered the use of GIS to manage, visualise and analyse archaeological data (Conolly and Lake 2006, 39). More recently, the use of statistical analysis and 3D modelling for the examination of artefacts and deposits on a range of prehistoric sites has been carried out using GIS (Gallotti et al. 2011; Katsianis et al., 2008; Moyes 2002). Constantinidis (2001) outlined the potential of GIS for analysing structural and decorative remains of houses at an Aegean Bronze Age on Santorini, and artefact disposal patterns have been mapped at modern Bedouin sites (Palmer and Daly 2005). These projects have used 'current' site data rather than material from archives. With the exception of the papers in *Internet Archaeology* 24 (see Allison 2008), the analysis of archive data is an area that has not been explored widely in the published literature. Another area that has yet to be fully developed is the representation of temporal factors within GIS (Lucas 2001, 128; Wheatley and Gillings 2002, 235). An example of the integration of spatial and temporal factors is the examination of the development of Tours, focussing on the development of the site of the Roman amphitheatre to a canonical district (fifth to eighteenth centuries) (Lefebvre 2009).

In Great Britain GIS is now being used increasingly by commercial archaeological units for a wide range of projects (for example, Wessex Archaeology 2012; Peter Rauxloh pers. comm. 2011). In urban archaeology in Britain, GIS developed as a visual extension of urban databases and, to some extent, as a means of analysing complex sequences on individual sites (Schofield and Vince 2005, 248-9). The digitisation of archaeological features within GIS has been used by urban geographers (e.g. Lilley et al. 2007) to help date and understand features recorded from map data. Identifying the use of GIS for intra-site analysis in urban excavations is problematic due to the fact that the methodology for production of images is rarely discussed in publication, but this is not to say that GIS is not used in urban archaeology. GIS is used by the Museum of London (Rauxloh 2011 pers. comm.) alongside AutoCAD (e.g. Bowsher et al. 2008, 416-7). Within the urban environment, GIS is still used predominantly for deposit modelling and management. For example, in Milan a current project is combining archaeology, topography, and historical data to provide a deposit model for use in heritage management (Mappa 2012).

The discussion of the development of British archaeology, material culture, time, approaches to the urban landscape and the use of GIS provides a framework for the methodology used

in this thesis. Craig Cessford (2009, 318) argues that scholars of post-1550 archaeology must develop strategies and methodologies that deal adequately with whole sites and feature groups. He argues it is important to fully integrate archaeology, documentary, cartographic and other evidence, to challenge the arbitrary spatial and temporal boundaries imposed by developer-funded archaeology and to replace them with more archaeologically valid ones. This thesis argues that Cessford's arguments are clearly applicable to pre-1550 archaeology. The methodology used in this thesis seeks to build on the approaches developed by urban/historical geographers, historical archaeologists, prehistorians and landscape archaeologists that have shown the benefits of using of GIS to analyse large, interdisciplinary datasets.

METHODOLOGY

The methodology used in this thesis is based on its broader argument that the use of GIS has significant potential for the study of urban landscapes space, from its physical characteristics to its social uses. The methodology will explore the use of GIS for intra- and inter-site analysis at a range of different spatial scales. The study of the entire city of York is beyond the scope of this thesis, so Chapters 3 and 4 focuses on a small study area: a block of land that comprises the streets of Swinegate, Grape Lane, Back Swinegate and the section of Petergate from Grape Lane to Church Street (Figure 7 and 8). These areas were chosen because they offer a wealth of published and unpublished excavation and historical data of direct relevance to the questions of neighbourhood set out in Chapter 1. The discussion of the methodology in this chapter will summarise excavation work in York, which will provide a context for the changing approaches to excavations and publication reflected in the site archives. The final section of the chapter outlines the methodology using GIS.

THE SITE ARCHIVES

The development of recording systems and approaches to publication at YAT has a bearing on the methodology used to interrogate the excavations in the two case studies (Chapters 3 and 4). This section summarises the excavations, archives and publications relating to the principal sites in Swinegate and Petergate.

THE SWINEGATE EXCAVATIONS: 1989-90

The Swinegate excavations represent one of the last projects undertaken in the city prior to the implementation of PPG16 and the appointment of the City Archaeologist. The redevelopment of the Swinegate area made available for excavation c.4000 square metres of land between Grape Lane, Swinegate, Back Swinegate and Little Stonegate (Figure 9). This was an unprecedented opportunity for excavation within the area of the fortress and the core of the later medieval city. It was not possible to carry out a large-scale open-area excavation; instead, a total of 15 trenches were excavated, which produced a well-stratified sequence from the Roman period to the sixteenth century. The Roman sequence was not analysed for this thesis and thus requires further investigation. The information relating to the excavations is contained within the site archives held by YAT under the site codes 1989.28 and 1990.1.

THE EXCAVATIONS

The Swinegate area was highlighted in *York: A Study in Conservation* (Esher 1968) as in need of redevelopment; Esher proposed the development of the area for residential use following the demolition of the buildings as none of the standing buildings were listed as being of architectural or historic importance (Esher 1968, 111-123). The *Development Brief* written by the developer in 1988 and held in the YAT archives states that the regeneration of the area was to move away from Esher's proposal in favour of 'quality shops, with offices or some residential above'. The organisation and problems encountered through the 1989.28 and 1990.1 excavation reflect the broader issues associated with changes in the organisation and funding of archaeology outlined above. In Swinegate funding for the excavations was determined by the perceived threat to the archaeology and whether the excavations merited a funding grant from English Heritage. The excavations were deemed not to justify government funding and General Accident, the landowner, initially agreed to fund the project from excavation to publication. However, due to the increasing cost of the excavation, YAT funded Trench 4 directly.

The initial research proposal written by YAT focussed on the Roman period because it was hoped the excavations would provide material for a basement-level Roman museum modelled on the Jorvik Viking Centre. The proposed research agenda is outlined in two documents in the archives, entitled *Proposed Excavations in Back Swinegate-Grape Lane: An Archaeological Assessment for the Roman Period* and *The Back Swinegate Site: Archaeological*

Potential. The first document stresses the research potential of the excavations with regard to evidence related to the Roman baths and ancillary buildings associated with the fortress. The second document provides a more comprehensive review of the archaeological sequence from the Roman, Anglian, Viking and Medieval periods. The cartographic and historical information shows that there was a church dedicated to St Benedict's at the junction of Grape Lane and Swinegate. The archive includes a short description by David Palliser of the available evidence for the church; Palliser suggests that the church and churchyard were likely located in the south-western area of the development, in the block of land defined by the reverse 'L' of Back Swinegate and Little Stonegate. The supposed location of the church influenced the original excavation design: the church was thought to be situated beyond the immediate area of development. However, once excavation commenced, burials were discovered across a much larger area than anticipated, so a late change was made to the research design so that the extents of the cemetery could be identified.

The excavations at Swinegate were recorded using single-context recording following the YAT recording manual. The planning on the sites was done from grids set out for each trench, with Trench 1 and 3 broken down into 5m planning zones. Three evaluation trenches were opened in 1989 to assess the character and potential of the archaeological sequence; Trench 1, parallel to Grape Lane, was originally a small trial trench measuring 3.0m x 3.0m, but due to the presence of late medieval deposits close to the surface, it was expanded to 27m x 7.0m. Trench 2 was located near the junction of Grape Lane and Swinegate and set back from the street frontage. The trench measured c.3.0m x 3.0m and was excavated to a depth of 3m. Trench 3 measured 19m x 3m and was deliberately set back from the Swinegate frontage to try to minimise the impact upon complex deposits associated with structures closer to the street front. The excavators intended to use the trial trenches to explore the Roman levels in Trench 1, but the preservation of medieval deposits saw this sequence take precedence (Pearson 1990b, 2). The exceptionally well-preserved medieval deposits and the presence of burials led to a renegotiation with General Accident to develop a foundation design that would minimise below-ground disturbance; this culminated in an agreement to excavate pile positions and monitor all ground-beam work and led to a second phase of excavation (project code 1990.1).

Trenches 5-15, all approximately 3m x 3m, were located on pile positions, but the motive behind their excavation was to determine the presence or absence of burials (Pearson 1990c, 7-8), which had a negative impact on the archaeological record. A policy was adopted

whereby excavators machined down to the level of the burials, on average 1.20 metres below what was then ground level, with minimal record of the overlying deposits. Only Trench 6 was excavated in a controlled manner from 0.5m below the then existing ground level to a maximum depth of 13.0m AOD; it produced a well-stratified sequence associated with a street-front structure. No record was made of Trench 13, and a very limited record was made of Trench 10. The largest trench excavated in the second phase of work was Trench 4, on the corner of Back Swinegate and Little Stonegate. This trench was funded by YAT under extreme time pressures, so within the main excavation area an emphasis was placed on recovering the plan of the latest phases of buildings, with small areas of detailed recording. While some planning of features occurred on site, in an attempt to reduce on-site time pressures, planning was also carried out through rectified photographs from which plans were traced in post-excitation (Pearson 1990c, 6). A nineteenth-century cellar within Trench 4 was designated Area JJ. The cellar floor was lifted and hand excavation carried out to the top of the Roman levels. Context numbering for each trench was based on trench number, so trench one contexts commenced at 1000, trench 15 at 15000 and so on. Artefacts were assigned small find numbers from a single register of numbers. A series of video site diaries was kept, as well as recordings of site tours, both recorded on Super8 video tape.

POST-EXCAVATION: ARCHIVE AND PUBLICATION

The Swinegate excavation produced a problematic archive. All of the trenches had been excavated following YAT procedure (see above), with the exception of a large part of Trench 4. Post-excitation work commenced between 1990 and 1991, with site plans digitised into AutoCAD/Hindsight. The Archive Report shows each trench was assigned to an individual member of staff, who was responsible for analysing the stratigraphic sequences and producing context series (sets) and groups for that particular trench. Each trench was therefore treated as an individual excavation with its own numbering sequence for sets, groups and phases. The ability of the staff assigned to this task varied from students to experienced excavators. By the end of 1991, a draft descriptive context report (meeting the criteria of a Level III archive (Frere 1975)) had been produced for all of the trenches. As part of the Archive Report, an unknown author compiled a site-wide phasing that focussed on a detailed account of the Roman levels but only a brief descriptive narrative of the post-Roman and later medieval phases (Bonner et al., 1991, 439-460). During the post-excitation some preliminary analysis and cataloguing of artefacts had occurred, with data added to CIFR. Leather, wood and metal artefacts had also been processed through the conservation

department, making them achievably stable. No analysis of the environmental samples or the animal bone was carried out as part of the initial post-excavation.

The archive comprises paperwork relating to the organisation and management of the excavation, the primary site drawings and context cards. None of these were stored in folders but had been placed in archive boxes, ordered by trench. There were Harris Matrixes for each trench, either hand drawn or computer printed, which had formed the basis for the analysis offered in the archive report. Upon appraising the archive, this thesis found that there was no single definitive version of the Level III report, and there were several draft editions. The Level III report had been printed on a continuous paper print out from a dot matrix printer. The possibility of identifying a complete text for the Level III report was discussed with Mark Whyman (one of the original supervisors) and a selection was made from the print outs of what were thought to form the latest and most complete versions of the text. There were very few printouts of the AutoCAD drawings, and these consisted primarily of phase plans of the Roman levels and a trench location plan. The AutoCAD drawings and the electronic copies of the reports and any other data compiled in post-excavation is held on 5³/₄ disks or computer tape. Following a discussion with the Archaeological Data Service, it was considered impractical to try to recover the electronic data. There is an extensive photographic record for the excavations on slide and print film. However, there are no prints of the photographic film, only contact print sheets, and there is no catalogue for the images; this also applies to the slides. The ordering and analysis of the photographic and slide archive was not included as part of the thesis. More useful for the interpretation of the site were the video site diaries and site tours, which were viewed on YAT's video player as part of the reanalysis of the site archive.

The Swinegate excavations have only been partially published within *Interim* (Pearson 1990, 1991). The burials were included in a review of Anglo-Saxon burials (Hadley 2001) and formed the basis for a case study within Joanne Buckberry's PhD research into Anglo-Saxon cemeteries (Buckberry 2004). Some of Buckberry's research has been published as part of an article relating to Anglo-Saxon burial (Hadley and Buckberry 2005; Buckberry 2007). A selection of the contexts relating to the Roman levels was examined by Mike Berry (2008) as part of his PhD. Some of the artefactual evidence has been published in the *Archaeology of York* fascicule series: the Roman pottery, leather and rosary beads (Monaghan 1998; Mould et al., 2003; Ottaway and Rogers 2002). The notable find of wax writing tablets dating to the fourteenth century has also only received partial publication (O'Connor 1989a, 36-9: 1990,

30-7; Tweddle 1990, 25-34; Brown 1994). Subsequent work has been carried out in elements of the site archive. A selection of the coffins was sent for dendrochronological analysis (Bagby and Tyers 2008), and a selection of the environmental samples has also been examined (Carrott et al., 2008). The selection process of the contexts for this analysis is not clear, but it appears to have been based on the on the phasing in the 1991 Archive Report. The reanalysis of the excavations for this thesis has used this data where possible, but questions regarding the phasing and dating of some of the activity means further research is needed in relating this evidence to the archaeological sequence.

THE PETERGATE EXCAVATIONS

There have been very limited opportunities to excavate along Petergate; therefore, the numerous campaigns of work at 62-68 Low Petergate offer an unparalleled opportunity to examine the evolution of one of York's principal streets (Figure 10). The principal excavations used in this thesis consist of the initial examination of the site by Peter Wenham (1957-8) and the more recent work by YAT (2004). These excavations span a period during which there have been significant changes in British archaeology (see above), so each site presented unique challenges during the reanalysis.

EXCAVATION: 1957-8

Enquiries were made at the Yorkshire Museum to determine whether the archive for the excavations existed, but it proved impossible to ascertain with certainty whether it did or not. Therefore, all data relating to the excavations is drawn from the published account of the site (Wenham 1972). The demolition of buildings, including a large fourteenth- or fifteenth-century building known as the 'Fox Inn', as part of the provision of new buildings for the adjacent school in 1957, provided the opportunity for excavation. The site was considered important for its potential to shed light on the Roman period as it was situated adjacent to the *via principalis*. Trench 1 was excavated in the summer of 1957; the well-preserved medieval and Roman strata led to a second trench being opened. Trench 2 was excavated over five weeks later in the summer of 1957, sponsored by the Ministry of Works. In 1958 a third trench was opened, again sponsored by the Ministry of Works. These excavations were staffed initially by students from St John's College (York), then by workers employed by the York excavation committee and finally by students/labourers paid by the Ministry of Works (Wenham 1972, 65).

The on-site recording of the trenches followed the Wheeler/Kenyon tradition emphasizing the importance of the section to the recording of a sequence. The excavations showed there was an excellent level of preservation on the site, and the waterlogged deposits produced a wealth of organic material. No distinction was made in the numbering of the excavated layers between trenches. Cut features were recorded but not numbered. The only plans were of notable events, which included the presence of timber buildings or other structural elements, or detailed plans of particular features (Wenham 1972, Figs. 9, 11, 12, 13, 14). The plans of notable events constitute phase plans with no segregation of events or features. The primacy of the section as a means of recording is reflected in the fact that features considered worthy of recording that did not appear in the section are 'projected' onto the section to show their relationship to the sequence.

POST-EXCAVATION: 1957-8 ARCHIVE AND PUBLICATION

The site was published in *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* (Wenham 1972). Prior to this, Wenham (1964) had used some of the evidence in an article for the Yorkshire Philosophical Society examining the origins of Hornpot Lane. The published account of the excavation in 1972 comprises a trench-by-trench narrative, integrating where possible the archaeological, artefactual and standing building evidence. The artefacts from the site encompass a range of artefacts the discussion of which is included as appendices, each written by a specialist. The analysis of the animal bone was published later in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* (Ryder 1971).

EXCAVATION: 2004

62-68 Low Petergate became available for archaeological investigation in 2003 when the buildings were marked for development through the improvement of the ground-floor shops, the conversion of the existing buildings and the construction of new buildings to the rear of the street-front ranges. All the excavations were funded by the developer. The 1957-8 excavations had highlighted the potential of the site, and in accordance with the planning and archaeological guidance established for York in 1990, the site was deemed to be of archaeological significance. Following the excavation policy adopted in York from 1990 (see above) a specification for the work was issued by the City Archaeologist. The initial phase of the work consisted of an assessment of the site through a series of three evaluation trenches to the rear of 68 Low Petergate (Johnson 2003). The evaluation confirmed Wenham's findings, showing well-preserved late medieval sequences, many of which were waterlogged.

Following the evaluation, provision was made for an open area excavation as part of the mitigation process following the demolition of buildings to the rear of the street front. In contrast to the Swinegate excavations, the research design and specification for excavation was written by the City Archaeologist not YAT. The specification by the City Archaeologist restricted the depth of the excavations which ceased at the level required for the building foundations, lift shafts, electricity sub-station and services. The archaeological specification also required the recording of the standing buildings as they were converted (Geddes and Mason 2005). The depth restriction imposed by the City Archaeologist specification meant that the 2004 excavation produced a stratigraphic sequence dated primarily to the late thirteenth to nineteenth centuries and did not extend to the earlier levels exposed by Wenham.

The excavations focussed on the rear of 64-66 Low Petergate (Trench 4 and 5), with a service trench (Trench 6) excavated to the street frontage. The trenches were excavated using single-context recording. A five-meter site grid was set out for Trench 4 and 5, initially with hand-tapes; it was later re-surveyed with a Total Station. Trench 6 was excavated after the main excavation. As Trench 6 consisted of a narrow linear trench, c.20mx1.20m wide, it was provided with a TST surveyed base line of pegs set every 10m. The main excavation area comprised the footprint of the new building located to the rear of 64-66 Low Petergate and covered an area of c.23x15m. The main excavation area was divided into smaller excavation areas for specific elements of the new building: a lift pit and an electricity sub-station (Trench 5). Context numbering within the main excavation area commenced at 4000, with other numbering sequences commencing at 5000 in association with the sub-station. Trench 6 contexts were numbered from 6000.

POST-EXCAVATION: 2004 ARCHIVE AND PUBLICATION

The Petergate excavation archive is held by YAT under the project code 1006, which is also the project code for the archive held on the IADB. The paper archive for the site consists of boxes that hold the context cards and site plans stored in ring binders as well as the paper archive relating to the organisation and management of the site. As part of the post-excavation in 2005, the context card and artefact data was entered into the IADB by a number of different members of staff and volunteers. The artefact assessments, with the exception of the animal bone and metalworking artefacts, are also stored on the IADB. The IADB was used extensively in post-excavation, and the individual contexts have been added to set, group and phases; Harris Matrices have also been generated. The service trench

(Trench 6) was entered into the IADB and phased separately from the main area of excavation. At the time of writing this thesis, the Petergate site was still considered to be on-going; therefore, no changes were made to the IADB, with temporary matrices created to check specific elements of the stratigraphic sequence.

Once the site had been phased, selective site plans were taken from the archive to illustrate the phases identified for the report. These drawings were produced in Adobe Illustrator 8 by scanning in the plans and digitising 'heads-up' on screen. The AutoCAD TST trench plan and digital Ordnance Survey map tile were also taken into Illustrator for the production of the trench and site location plans. The grey literature report (Reeves 2006 a and b) focussed on the main excavation area to the rear of the street-front building and did not integrate the sequence from the service trench, which was included as a separate report (Evans 2006). The report follows the traditional format for client reports, with specialist appendices examining different artefact classes and recommending further work. The survey of the standing buildings was produced as a client report in 2004 (Geddes and Mason); it is a descriptive account of the structural remains that attempts to relate the information to earlier building surveys. The grey literature report for Petergate is essentially descriptive, detailing the archaeological sequence recorded with minimal integration of the artefactual, historical or cartographic data for the site or the area, although the potential for this is noted (Reeves 2005, 4). There was a requirement for publication of the site, and it was decided use the IADB to produce a web publication (Reeves 2006b). However, this publication is essentially the client report with an expanded historical introduction, with more emphasis placed on the artefacts and the evidence they provide for craft and daily life. The service trench is not included in the web publication.

MAPPING THE CITY

The discussion of towns and urban morphology in this chapter (see also Chapter 1) has stressed the importance of the built environment to the examination of urban space. This thesis offered the opportunity to use GIS for the analysis of York's urban form in a small area of the city. An accurate historical base map was needed to aid the interpretation of the archaeological and historical data. Lilley et al., (2007, 35) argue that the analysis of urban form in GIS follows the same methodology as paper-based map analysis but provides a means of storing and retrieving the different data layers, geo-rectifying various sources and adding new interpretative layers; this integration of data sources helps in the plan analysis to create new maps of medieval townscapes suitable for further comparison and analysis.

A modern, geo-rectified, raster map of York was obtained from EDINA digimap to form the control map for the geo-rectification of the historical map data. To establish the base map, digital raster versions of the 1852 Ordnance Survey map of York were needed. EDINA digimap has historical map data for York comprising the 1852 (scale 1:1056) and the 1891 (scale 1:500) as downloadable geo-rectified map tiles or as un-rectified sheets. A high-resolution colour scan of the 1852 map sheet for the northern-quarter of the fortress area of York was obtained from the City Archaeologist and which had not been geo-rectified in GIS. The geo-rectified EDINA map sheets were found to have significant inconsistencies in corresponding boundaries and structures between the historical and modern maps. The displacement of boundaries could be between 1-1.5m. For this thesis, this was an unacceptable margin of error. The problem was caused by the joining of map sheets when they had been scanned irrespective of displacements caused at the folds or junctions of the original map sheets.

The 1852 map sheets had to be geo-rectified to try to minimise the displacement between the modern and historical maps. The un-rectified EDINA map sheets opened in Adobe Photoshop and cut into small sections, focussing on separating the sheets where they had been joined in such a way as to cause a discrepancy in building or property lines. These files were then saved and imported into the GIS. The colour TIFF from the City Archaeologist was imported directly into the GIS. Both sets of map data were then geo-rectified using control points derived from corresponding buildings and boundaries shown on the modern Ordnance Survey base map. This was found to reduce the RMS (residual mean square) error, which determines the accuracy of the geo-rectification, to an average 0.2-0.3m and showed the high level of accuracy of the 1852 survey. The geo-rectifying of the map sheets therefore reduced the discrepancy of the boundaries to a tolerable level that would allow analysis in conjunction with the historical and archaeological data.

The next stage was the digitisation of features directly into the GIS to produce a digitised 1852 Ordnance Survey base map (Figure 11). This formed the principal base map for the analysis of the excavations and the morphology of the study areas. Polygon shapefiles were created for buildings, churches, the Minster and the defences, and line shapefiles were created for the streets and property boundaries. Additional map data was scanned to provide the base maps for the plan of the Roman was from *Roman York* (Ottaway 2004), the pre-Norman Conquest Minster precinct (Norton 1998) and a plan of the Norman Minster from the excavation report (from Phillips and Heyward 1996). These maps were scanned and

saved as high-resolution JPEGs, which were imported into the GIS and geo-rectified using control points on the modern Ordnance Survey map.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA: ANALYSIS OF THE SWINEGATE AND PETERGATE EXCAVATIONS

Wheatley and Gillings (2002, 18) argue that for archaeologists to make the best possible use of their carefully recovered and recorded information, they need a dynamic and flexible environment within which to integrate, express, analyse and explore the full range of data, both spatial and attribute (Wheatley and Gillings 2002, 18). The aim for the analysis the Swinegate and Petergate excavations was to establish a methodology that allowed the integration of archaeological, cartographic and documentary data at multiple scales, temporal and spatial. This flexibility was needed in order to address the research questions set out in Chapter 1 for exploring the concept of urban neighbourhoods over the *longue durée*.

The traditional approach to archaeological spatial data is to digitise site plans using AutoCAD or other computer drawing packages. Lock (2003, 105) argues that CAD software is an effective means of storing and manipulating data, but these CAD drawings usually require a large number of layers and do not store attribute data like GIS. As a result, CAD drawings of excavations are less useful for interrogation and analysis in relation to other data sources. In contrast, GIS allows the spatial data from an excavation to be digitised and stored in one shapefile. The process for importing and digitising data into the GIS follows methodologies used successfully in other projects (e.g. Lilley et al. 2007; Lilley 2011; Locating London's Past 2012).

The main task for the post-excavation assessment of the data from the Swinegate and Petergate excavations for this thesis was the management and analysis of the data (see Appendix for detailed discussion). To differentiate the trenches from the different excavations, they are discussed in the text in an abbreviated form with a year prefix; trench 1 from 1989 becomes 1989.T1 and so on. As discussed above, the 2004 Petergate excavations were already stored in the IADB, so to ensure uniformity and aide post-excavation analysis, the context data for Swinegate had to be added to the IADB, which provided the information for the assessment of the artefacts from the excavations. At the time the data entry commenced, the ability to scan the context cards into the IADB as discussed above was not available. The data entry therefore involved the creation of context records in the IADB and

the manual entry of the data. The basic finds catalogue for the site, stored in CIFR, had been migrated into the IADB. This was automatically linked to the newly created context data providing the information for the reassessment of the artefacts by YAT finds staff. The higher order interpretation of the excavations through the use of sets, groups and phases was managed through the IADB; it was decided to structure this data based on the original post-excavation to allow comparison with the reinterpretation of the site for the thesis. It was not possible to eliminate all the stratigraphic errors within the original matrices, so the aim was to produce coherent sequences for structures and features that were stratigraphically accurate within the Object fields to allow the analysis of the excavations (Figures 12-13). Once this data was added to the IADB, matrices were generated using the inbuilt matrix builder (Figures 14 and 15), which allowed the stratigraphic sequences generated by the IADB to be checked against the original hand-drawn matrices. This showed that at context level the hand-drawn matrices were generally very accurate.

The spatial data from the excavations took two forms: published plan data and primary site drawings. It would have been possible to generate the plan data of the excavations within the IADB, but that data would then have had to be exported and processed to remove incompatible data prior to use in the GIS (see Wright 2011, 169-70). Furthermore, the IADB is project specific and would not have allowed comparison across multiple projects. It also lacks a facility for Ordnance Survey map data. Therefore for this thesis all the excavation spatial data was digitised directly in GIS (Figure 16). For the 1957-8 excavations at 62-8 Low Petergate, the only data available for the excavations appeared within the published report (Wenham 1972); all the plan data in the journal article was scanned and geo-rectified. Once the archaeological spatial data was stored within the GIS, the next stage was to produce the attribute tables for the analysis of the excavations (Figure 17). For the Swinegate and 2004 Petergate excavations, data for artefacts, contexts, sets and groups was exported as CSV tables from the IADB. For the 1957-8 excavations, Excel tables were created with layer number and spot date as there was limited benefit to using the artefact data to analyse the site in the GIS. The metalworking data for Swinegate was stored as an Excel file that was converted to CSV format.

GIS was chosen to manage the diverse range of evidence used in this thesis due to its proven ability to integrate, interrogate and display selected features or classes of information (see above). ArcGIS 9.3 and ArcGIS 10 were chosen as they are now seen as an industry standard, and the data can be readily accessed by other users. For this thesis, GIS was not merely a

means of producing a map; it was a database allowing the interrogation, manipulation and analysis of data, with the production of a map an end-product of this process. By adding attribute data such as context or artefact information from a database to the spatial data, the spatial data stored in the GIS can be queried to isolate and examine specific contexts or artefacts in relation to the map and historical evidence, thus allowing consideration of the excavated area in relation to the wider landscape. This process can in turn raise questions not necessarily considered during the analysis of the paper archive. This method also addresses the perennial problem of relating archaeological sequences across multiple trenches.

HISTORICAL DATA

The principal historical data used in this thesis pertained to the topographical layout of tenements along Petergate, which was derived from the documentary sources that formed a significant part of Rees Jones (1987[iii]). The maps of the tenements, which were hand drawn based on the boundaries identifiable in the documents and the 1852 Ordnance Survey, were a vital resource that aided in the interpretation of the archaeological and cartographic information. To transfer the boundary data to the GIS, a polygon shapefile for either side of Petergate was created, with an attribute field for tenement number. The tenement boundaries were then digitised using the hand-drawn maps as a guide to identifying the boundaries on the geo-rectified 1852 Ordnance Survey base map. The rich historical data relating to the tenements is in text format (Rees Jones 1987[iii]); it was deemed beyond the scope of this thesis to consolidate the data into tabular format. Historical data used in this thesis but not integrated into the GIS included more general information relating to boundaries and landownership in the study areas (Rees Jones 1996) and documentary evidence relating to the construction and maintenance of buildings in York, particularly the evidence relating to the development of houses in the fourteenth century in the Swinegate area (Rimmer 2007).

CONCLUSION

This chapter outlined the changes in approaches to British archaeology, material culture, time, rural and urban landscapes and spatial technologies that have influenced the development of the methodology used in this thesis. The aim of the methodology set out in this chapter is to develop a flexible and integrated approach to a range of data sets. The excavation evidence is not interpreted according to fixed temporal periods; instead, it is

structured around a chronological sequence driven by the changes and activities present in the archaeological record. The use of GIS addresses Craig Cessford's (2009) call to move beyond the confines of the site to allow analysis of the urban landscape as a whole, moving freely between the intra-site analysis of a tenement to the inter-site analysis of data relating to the city across a range of temporal periods. By using GIS to analyse the data, issues associated with the creation, use and management of urban space can be explored. This thesis argues that this approach allows one to begin to address questions relating to the study of neighbourhood through the examination of multi-layered meanings, including perceptions of the streetscape, the use of buildings and the interplay between different forms of boundary. The understanding of the form and function of the built environment then allows consideration of the more difficult-to-define perceptions and attitudes of residents. These themes will be explored through the case studies in the following Chapters to illustrate the changing character of urban neighbourhoods in medieval York.

CHAPTER 3: GRAPE LANE, SWINEGATE AND LITTLE STONEGATE

This chapter discusses the development of an area in the south-east quadrant of the former fortress focussed on the streets of Grape Lane, Swinegate and Little Stonegate. As discussed in Chapter 2, this area has received little attention from scholars, but there are many assumptions about the development of the street pattern and occupation in this area. Through the cartographic, documentary and archaeological evidence, this chapter seeks to challenge the accepted understanding of this area, and to show that it has a far more complex sequence of development. This chapter uses the archaeological, historical and cartographic sources to examine the changing character of the neighbourhood over the *longue durée*.

Throughout this chapter, the topographic development of the study area is used to understand the associated land use and the character of the built environment to shed light on the development and character of neighbourhood. The first section discusses the period from the mid-seventh to late eleventh century, examining the survival of the fortress defences, the development of the street pattern and the evidence for proprietary churches and urban estates. This is a period where the development of the fortress area is poorly understood, but it provides the context for the development of the later medieval city. The second section focuses on the period between c.1069 and 1200, considering the impact of the Norman Conquest on the topography of the fortress, the street pattern, the development of parish boundaries and the changes in land use. The next period, c.1200-1300, sees significant change associated with the creation of Thursday Market, the associated alterations to the street pattern, changes in land use and the closure of St Benedict's church. The next section focuses on the development of the street pattern, the evidence for tenements and craft activity and the development of the site of St Benedict's church in the fourteenth century. The final section considers the evidence for the development and changes to the tenements from 1400-1600, which is arguably the hey-day of the medieval city and the point at which the topography becomes fixed. The study of this period allows the reconsideration of the evidence for the character and use of urban artisanal activity and medieval buildings.

TOPOGRAPHY, URBAN ESTATES AND PROPRIETARY CHURCHES:

SEVENTH TO MID-ELEVENTH CENTURIES

The discussion of the immediate post-Roman period is divided into two sections. The first examines the period from the late seventh century to the late tenth century, and the second section focuses on the early eleventh century to the Norman Conquest. In the immediate post-Roman period, little is known of the reuse of the fortress defences or the development of the street pattern. This thesis agrees with the argument by Patrick Ottaway (1995) that the development of the street pattern is associated with the division of land units within the former fortress (see also Chapter 4). Chapter 2 has discussed the evidence for the development of the fortress in this period, highlighting the influence of the fortress defences. The assumption that the south-east and parts of the south-west fortress defences fell out of use and ceased to become a significant topographic feature in the ninth and tenth centuries, leading to the interior of the fortress becoming amalgamated with the settlement along the banks of the river Foss (e.g. Norton 1998; Tweddle et al., 1999; Hall 2004, 496), has also been discussed. This chapter seeks to challenge this interpretation of the immediate post-Roman period in York and suggest an alternative development of the fortress defences, the evolution of the street pattern and associated land use.

FORTRESS DEFENCES: SURVIVAL AND FUNCTION MID-SEVENTH TO MID-ELEVENTH CENTURIES

This thesis argues that the former Roman fortress (Figure 18) remained a defined space, acting as a primarily ecclesiastical enclosure associated with the Minster, but perhaps also having a royal presence within it (see Chapter 4). It is argued that within the fortress the Church is the dominant force following the foundation of the Minster, which accords with David Rollason's (2003, 45, 2004, 314) argument that York developed as an ecclesiastical rather than royal centre from the seventh century to the Norman Conquest. The fortress walls therefore acted as a topographic factor into the eleventh century or perhaps twelfth century (see also Ottaway 1997, 22). Indeed, the limited excavation evidence from the south-east and south-west fortress defences (RCHME 1962; Hall 1991, 264-77; Ottaway 1996a, 142, 171, 241-2, 273, 287; Tweddle et al., 1999, 151) can be used to argue that they were not removed in the period before the Norman Conquest. This section proposes that the south-east and south-west fortress defences were retained after the defences were extended to the banks of the rivers Ouse and Foss in the tenth century (Hall 1984). From this point, the south-

east and south-west defences had a symbolic rather than defensive role: to demarcate the predominantly ecclesiastical area of the fortress, which developed independently, from the better known and understood commercial settlements alongside the River Foss (e.g. Hall 1984; McNab and McComish 2004). The retention of a Roman walled area as a distinct space associated with ecclesiastical and royal use, separate from a developing economic area, has been proposed for Lincoln and Carlisle (Stocker 2003, 37; Zant 2010, 410).

TOPOGRAPHY AND STREET PATTERN: MID-SEVENTH TO MID-ELEVENTH CENTURIES

The limited archaeological evidence for land use within the fortress was used by Richard Hall (1997, 388) to argue that the fortress remained underutilised in the seventh to tenth centuries, with settlement centred in the area of the riverfronts. Chapter 2 discussed the likelihood that Roman ruins would have inhibited the development of the fortress at York. However, a recent survey of Carlisle has shown that despite uneven survival of Roman buildings, with some parts buried below dark earth deposits whilst others remained standing into the later medieval period when they were robbed for stone were found to not impede redevelopment of the former Roman centres (Zant 2010, 373-4, 469). Excavations in York, including the excavations in Swinegate, have identified dark earth deposits (e.g. Ottaway 1992, 115-6) by which Roman buildings were buried or through which they protruded, suggesting a similar situation to Carlisle. Indeed, Norton (1998) has argued that there is no indication that Roman remains would have impeded the redevelopment of the fortress at York.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE STREET PATTERN

The establishment of the street pattern and associated land division within the fortress was likely to be a deliberate act of planning. Baker and Holt (2004, 376-7) argue that in towns with strong ecclesiastical centres, it is the Church which determined the organisation of space and the development of 'urban' character. This thesis therefore argues that in York the Church, following the foundation of the Minster in the mid-seventh century (Rollason 2004), was responsible for the development of the former fortress. This section will address the questions regarding the topography of the fortress (see Chapter 2), particularly focussing on the origins and development of Grape Lane and associated streets in the south-eastern quadrant of the fortress using cartographic, historical and archaeological evidence to provide the context for consideration of the associated land use.

STREETS IN THE SOUTHERN HALF OF THE ROMAN FORTRESS

It is widely accepted (see above Chapter 2) that the survival of the defences and Roman topographic features influenced the creation of an intra-mural road represented in the modern topography of the city in the alignment of Stonegate, Davygate and Church Street. The principal road in the southern half of the fortress is Stonegate, first recorded as *Steinegate* 1148 x 1175 (Palliser 1978, 15). Stonegate leads from the site of the Roman south-west gate towards the site of the *principia* at its junction with Petergate. The south-west quadrant of the fortress has a diagonal road, Blake Street, which is considered to have been set out between the eighth to tenth centuries; this route is often associated with Goodramgate in the north-east quadrant of the fortress (see Chapter 4). The only other street to cross the south-western quadrant of the fortress is Duncombe Place. This street was originally known as Lop Lane, a name first recorded in 1346 as *Loppelane* (Palliser 1978, 12). In the south-eastern quadrant the streets consist of Grape Lane (discussed below), Little Stonegate/Back Swinegate and Patrick Pool. Grape Lane is recorded in 1276 under the name *Venella Sancti Benedicti*, which relates to the church dedicated to St. Benedict (discussed below). This name is again recorded in 1329 and 1384, alongside a new name, *Grapcunt Lane* (Palliser 1978, 10; RCHME 1981, 146). The new name alludes to the street's association with prostitution (see the fourteenth-century section below). Little Stonegate and Back Swinegate are the medieval Swinegate, first recorded as *venella que dictur Swyngail* in 1276, and renamed in the sixteenth/seventeenth century (Fellows-Jensen 2004, 367-8; Palliser 1978, 15). These two streets are argued to reflect the boundaries of St Benedict's churchyard. Patrick Pool, first recorded in the twelfth century (Palliser 1978, 13), currently forms a short section of street between Church Street and Newgate, but it originally included modern Swinegate. Patrick Pool and Little Stonegate have been suggested to mirror the line of Roman roads. To avoid confusion, this chapter will use the modern street names; where it is felt to aid the discussion, the medieval names will be included in brackets.

As discussed in Chapter 2, it is generally accepted that this street pattern is established by the tenth century. However, the evidence from the 1989-90 excavations challenges this interpretation (Figure 19). This thesis proposes that in the south-western quadrant of the fortress Blake Street is a later insertion, similar to Goodramgate (see Chapter 4). In the south-eastern quadrant it is proposed that the Back Swinegate and Patrick Pool are also later additions to the street pattern (see below). The street pattern proposed in this section is argued to have been associated with the foundation of the Minster in the mid-seventh

century and the division of space within the fortress. The street pattern is set out from the axial route through the fortress represented by Petergate (see Chapter 4). In the southern half of the fortress, three streets are set out at right angles to Petergate: Lop Lane, Stonegate and Grape Lane. These roads are in turn connected by an intra-mural road that would have followed the inside of the fortress defences; it is partly preserved in the alignment of Church Street and Davygate. It is suggested that a section of intra-mural road would have run along the inside of the south-west defences from the site of the south-west gate to Bootham Bar, but this has subsequently been lost. The dating of this street pattern remains speculative though the limited documentary and archaeological evidence, but the 1989-90 excavation offered the opportunity to examine the evidence for the development of Grape Lane.

GRAPE LANE

In its present form Grape Lane forms a short section of street from Petergate to a junction with Swinegate (known in the medieval period as Patrick Pool), with a short continuation of the street beyond the junction to the rear of properties fronting onto Back Swinegate. Using the 1852 Ordnance Survey map (Figure 20), it can be suggested, using the alignment of the civic/ecclesiastical boundary-line and the property boundaries between Little Stonegate and Davygate, that Grape Lane originally formed a street that connected Petergate to Davygate. A similar preservation of a street line within later property boundaries can be seen in the enclosed section of Blake Street between modern Duncombe Place (medieval Lop Lane) and Petergate, visible on the 1852 and modern Ordnance Survey maps (Rees Jones 1987[i], 46).

The proposed extension of the line of Grape Lane is supported by the archaeological evidence from Trench 4 Area JJ, on the corner of Back Swinegate and Little Stonegate (Figure 21). Area JJ was located close to the line of the property and ward boundary that extended the line of Grape Lane to Little Stonegate (medieval Swinegate). Overlying the immediate post-Roman layers was a sequence of metallised surfaces consisting of alternating layers of clay, stone, tile, gravel, limestone and mortar. Dating for these layers is problematic due to residual Roman artefacts. However, the height and stratigraphic character, consisting of high degree of residuality of Roman material, of these surfaces accords with the early burials recorded in Trenches 14 and 15 (see 'St Benedict's Cemetery' section below). The accordance of the proposed road with the burials suggests they are of a contemporary date, perhaps between the eighth and ninth centuries. It is suggested in this thesis that Grape Lane was associated with a road on the north-east side of Petergate, which Norton (1998, 20, 24-5) argues ran to the site of the Roman north-east gate. This road bypasses the site of the ruins

of the *principia* and the Minster enclosure. Norton proposes that it formed one of the principal routes through the fortress in the eighth to late eleventh centuries (see Chapter 4 for a discussion of this route). Linking this road with the proposed extended line of Grape Lane suggests this formed one of the earliest elements of the street plan and was a significant route through the fortress. This thesis therefore proposes that the fortress formed an enclosure distinct from the developing commercial centres that developed around it, initially at Fishergate in the eighth and ninth centuries, and in the area to the immediate south-east of the fortress from the tenth century in the Coppergate/Ousegate area. Within the fortress, the setting of the streets is associated with the creation of two land blocks forming urban estates served by proprietary churches.

PROPRIETARY CHURCHES AND URBAN ESTATES

Chapter 1 discussed the importance of proprietary churches and land holding in the period before the Norman Conquest. The close relationship between land division and streets has been noted in other cities, such as Winchester (Biddle 1984, 119), and this thesis proposes that Stonegate, as the primary street from the south-west gate to Petergate, formed the principal boundary in the southern half of the fortress. The land on either side of Stonegate formed two large urban estates with their boundaries defined by the fortress defences and Petergate. The possible presence of urban estates in York has been proposed by Richard Hall (2004, 495), and pre-Norman estates have been identified in cities such as London, Gloucester and Worcester (Baker and Holt 2004, 232). As discussed in Chapter 2, a much-debated land grant recorded in the writings of Symeon of Durham (Rollason 1998, 140-41; Tweddle et al., 1999, 159-60, 190) identifies a possible urban estate that may have been located in the south-eastern quadrant of the fortress.

When considering the character of the settlement and the likely neighbourhood associated with it, it is important to recognise that early estates were large, open areas that resembled farmyards supporting relatively low populations (Blair 2004, 337). It has been proposed at Worcester that these estates may have supported the families, craftsmen and servants who worked to support the needs of the cathedral community (Baker et. al 1992; Baker and Holt 2004, 128-9). It is conceivable that urban estates within the fortress at York also developed to support the ecclesiastical community. The proposed retention of the fortress defences has an impact on the examination of pre-Conquest churches. This provides the context for the consideration of the evidence for St Benedict's church, which also contributes to the

discussion of the development of the street pattern in the south-eastern quadrant of the fortress, and in turn sheds light on the character of the neighbourhood.

PROPRIETARY CHURCHES IN YORK

The proposed retention of the fortress defences and the revision of the street pattern in this thesis necessitate a reconsideration of York's early church foundations. The problem is pinning down the likely foundation date of churches, but the dedication can be used as a guide as it provides a *terminus post quem* dependent on the spread of the saint's cult. Whether the dedication has significance in relation to the church's location must also be considered, but caution is needed as churches could be rededicated (Holt and Baker 2004, 228). Early churches in York are usually identified through the presence of stone crosses but also through their position and alignment, which is influenced by a number of factors, including the street pattern, tenement boundaries and the Roman orientation of the fortress and *colonia* (Morris 1989, 209; Tweddle et al. 1999, 185-7). There is limited evidence for the form of the early churches, but excavations at St Mary Bishophill Senior and St Helen-on-the-Walls shows that they originated as small, single-cell structures (e.g. Magilton 1980; Hall 1984, 49-53; RCHME 1981, 10). Scholars traditionally analyse the foundation of churches in York in based on the assumption that from the tenth century, the fortress interior had been subsumed into settlement development along the rivers Ouse and Foss (Tweddle et al. 1999, 177-89; Norton 1998, 27-8).

However, the evidence discussed above challenges this view and indicates that the early churches need to be considered as two groups: those outside the fortress and those within it (Figure 22). Considering the churches as two groups, this study shows that the majority of churches fall outside the fortress, in the Coppergate/Ousegate area following the line of the principal road leading from Micklegate Bar via Ouse Bridge to the market place at Pavement. This area has produced evidence for characteristically urban settlement from the tenth century (e.g. Hall 1984 McComish and McNab 2004; Norton 1998, 27). At Winchester a correlation between density of settlement and the number of churches was recorded (Barlow et al. 1976, 334). Within the fortress, there was the Minster and its associated churches (Norton 1998); however, there has been little consideration of the churches located outside the Minster estate but within the area of the former fortress. Within this area, Tweddle *et al.*(1999, 177-87) argue, on the basis of the parish boundaries and church orientation, that Bedern Chapel, Holy Trinity, Goodramgate and St John-del-Pyke were likely founded in seventh to tenth centuries. However, little is actually known of St John-del-Pyke, which

closed in the sixteenth century (VCH 1961, 384), and excavation at the Bedern Chapel found nothing to suggest it was earlier than the development of the area for the Vicars Choral from the thirteenth century (Richards 2001, 415, 436). Of these, only Holy Trinity, Goodramgate is likely to be of a pre-mid-eleventh century date (see Chapter 4). The study by Tweddle et al. (1999) did not include two churches known from the documentary sources to have stood in the southern half of the fortress dedicated to St Wilfrid and St Benedict (VCH 1961, 403).

There is clearly a need to reappraise the evidence for churches within the former fortress. This thesis argues that only three churches were located within southern-half of the fortress: St Wilfrid, St Helen Stonegate and St Benedict. The church of St Sampson sits across the line of the fortress defences; it is therefore considered to be a later addition (see below). The precise location of St Wilfrid's is unknown, but it is thought to have stood on the north-east side of Stonegate between Lendal and Blake Street; it is marked in this area on the 1852 Ordnance Survey map (Figure 23). The church is first mentioned in a charter dated between 1145x1148, when it is used as a landmark, and in a document of 1150-60 it is referred to as a 'monasterium' in a grant of land in Blake Street (Raine 1955, 117; VCH 1961, 403). This word was used along with 'minster' in the pre-Norman Conquest period for a wide range of early types of church (Blair 2005, 3-4). Raine (1955, 117) suggests that the passage now known as Brearey's Court lead to the south door of the church, matching a passage to the north door recorded in the account rolls of St Leonard's Hospital. The church had a cemetery, and antiquarian and modern excavation have identified burials associated with its churchyard (Hunter-Mann 1995, 14-17; Raine 1955, 117; Stockwell 1988, 20; Wilson and Mee 1998, 155). The likely dedication for this church is Wilfrid, a Northumbrian saint and Bishop of York (Farmer 2004, 536). It appears the church was a proprietary church because a grant (dated between 1155 and 1165) records the transfer of the patronage of the church to St. Mary's Abbey by Richard, son of Fyn, which records the rights held by his father and ancestors.

Unlike St Wilfrid, the church of St Helen Stonegate (Figure 23) is mentioned relatively late in the documentary records. The church is so named because until 1745, when St Helen's Square was first set out, Stonegate extended as far as the junction with Lendal and Coney Street (Raine 1955, 122-3; RCHME 5, 203). The church is omitted from a 1228 survey of lands given or alienated to the Church in the city of York (Rees Jones 1987[ij], 139), and the first definite reference to the church is in 1235, when it belonged to Moxby Priory (VCH 1961, 383). The present church architecture dates to the fourteenth century, but there are elements of twelfth-century stonework and a font of the same date (RCHME 1981, 20). If these remains

are in situ and not reused, it could suggest the church existed by the twelfth century. However, St Helen's Stonegate is very close to a true east-west alignment, which sits awkwardly in the prevailing orientation of street and property boundaries; it does not align to Stonegate or Davygate, and as discussed above most early churches in York are aligned to the street or property boundaries. Also, the cemetery for St Helen's Stonegate cuts the line of Davygate, and in the later medieval period the road made a circuit of the cemetery, but there was also a footpath across it (Raine 1955, 123, 127). This thesis proposes that based on the alignment of the church, the truncation of the street pattern and the late reference in the documentary sources that St Helen's is a later foundation, perhaps associated with the allocation of land following the Norman Conquest; such a conclusion can only be tested through excavation, and it is through excavation that more can be said about the development of St Benedict's church.

ST BENEDICT'S CHURCH: HISTORY, TOPOGRAPHY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

The earliest documentary record of St Benedict's dates to 1154 when, together with St. Sampson's, it was given by King Stephen to Pontefract Priory. Within this document, although its reliability is unclear, is a reference to the church having been owned by William, son of Rainer, a king's clerk (VCH 1961, 377), which would indicate it originated as a proprietary church. The majority of the references to St Benedict's relate to its closure and redevelopment in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, with the name of the church preserved in the subsequent house built on the site and known as 'Benet Place' or 'Benet's Rents' (see below). These documents show it was located close to Grape Lane (Figure 24), which took its early name from the church; *venella Sancti Benedicti*, and the location of the church in this area has been widely accepted (e.g. Buckberry 2004; Drake 1736, 321; Raine 1955, 173; Rimmer 2007, 32-3; Tringham 1993a174; VCH 1961, 377). Chapter 2 showed this presumed location also influenced YAT's excavation strategy.

Dating the likely foundation of the church is problematic, but the dedication to St Benedict can be used as a guide. The most obvious dedication would be Benedict of Nursia, founder of the monastic rule (Farmer 2004, 49). However, York does not have any association with Benedictine houses in the pre-Norman Conquest period (Rollason 2004, 317), and the available evidence suggests that the Benedictine reforms of the church in the tenth century were focussed in the Kingdom of Wessex (Blair 2004, 351). An alternative draws on the arguments of association with place; this thesis argues that a more plausible dedication would be Benedict Biscop, a Northumbrian saint and known associate of St Wilfrid (Farmer

2004, 50-1). Indeed, St Benet, reflected in the later place names, is a known contraction used for Benedict Biscop (Drake and Drake 1971, 18). The evidence, while far from conclusive, suggests that St Benedict's church was founded early, perhaps in the eighth or ninth century. The extension of the line of Grape Lane would place St Benedict's on a through road, which accords with studies of early urban church foundations in towns associated with former Roman centres, such as Winchester, Exeter and Gloucester, where churches concentrate along main streets (Keene 1985, 114-15; Morris 1989, 192-3, 204; Baker and Holt 2004, 231).

Only two trenches, 1990.T14 and 1990.T15, were located in the proposed location of the church of St Benedict. However, as noted in Chapter 2, hand excavation did not commence in these trenches until 1.5-2m of material had been removed by machine once the presence of burials was confirmed. Therefore, any evidence relating to buildings on the street front or relating to the church could have been destroyed without record, especially considering the ephemeral nature of the floors and occupation deposits recorded in the hand-excavated trenches. The monitoring of the ground clearance following demolition of buildings and the initial removal of the upper deposits of the two trenches noted the presence of a large quantity of limestone blocks in the area of trenches 1990.T14 and 1990.T15. These blocks may have derived from the sill walls of later medieval buildings, but they may equally have derived from the fabric of the church. Indeed, excavation of the late fourteenth-century tenements along Back Swinegate in trench 1990.T4 noted the presence of architectural fragments reused either as pad stones or incorporated into sill walls which may have been derived from the church.

During the excavation of the burials from trench 1990.T14, a substantial section of wall was recorded constructed of limestone blocks bonded with a lime mortar (Figure 25). In the original discussion, this wall was assigned to the Roman period (Bonner et al., 1991, 564-5), despite the fact that the Group discussion (Bonner et al., 1991, 521-2; 528-40) and the primary Context record from the excavations raised the possibility that it could form part of the early church structure. The reanalysis of the stratigraphy associated with the wall for this case study highlighted the complexity of the archaeological sequence and the problematic dating due to the high level of residual Roman artefacts. The fact that the construction point of the wall was not reached means it is uncertain whether it is Roman or dated to the immediate post-roman period and was part of the church of St Benedict's. The alignment of the wall and the sequence of demolition/abandonment rubble that accumulated against it prior to the cutting of the first burials could suggest it was of a Roman origin. The reanalysis

shows the wall appears to have had a subsequently complex sequence of use, and areas of limestone and sandstone could indicate rebuilding in the immediate post-Roman period. The fact the wall remained standing above the eighth- to tenth-century ground level is reflected in the earliest un-coffined burials, which cut into the loose mortar and silt that accumulated against the wall and sealed the Roman levels. These burials were aligned to the wall, but no dating evidence was recovered other than residual Roman artefacts. The burials were also only recorded on the south-east side of the walls. In contrast, the Roman wall in the adjacent trench 1990.T15 was overlain by a sequence of deposits through which the burials were cut; this indicates that it did not have a post-Roman use (Bonner et al., 1991, 569). Future research should seek to refine the dating of these burials through the use of the C14 dating to aid the interpretation of this evidence. However, the alignment of the burials, their stratigraphic position in relation to the coffin burials dated to the tenth and eleventh centuries, suggest they have an early date, perhaps in the eighth or ninth century.

Although it remains speculative, this section proposes two interpretations of the post-Roman reuse of the wall recorded in 1990.T14. Firstly, there are examples of early cemeteries without churches in the seventh to eleventh centuries (Buckberry 2004, 79-82; Hadley 2001; Richards 2002), and it is possible that the church of St Benedict's was added at a later date to an existing burial ground. The Roman wall may therefore have been reused as part of the boundary of the graveyard, a feature noted in the north-eastern area of the churchyard (see below), but if this is the case the question is this: why was the walling in 1990.T15 not retained? The second interpretation assumes the church existed, and if the burials reflected the orientation of the church, it would suggest St Benedict's was set out in relation to the Roman alignment, which is also reflected in Grape Lane. This would mean that the liturgical south side of the church would have faced towards Back Swinegate. Warwick Rodwell (2004, 166) argues that within any church yard the densest burials are usually on the south and east sides of the church, and Buckberry (2004, 219) concluded that the burials in 1990.T14 and 1990.T15 could indicate they were focussed around the church. It can be tentatively suggested, therefore, that the wall in 1990.T14 was incorporated into the earliest church, and the reuse of Roman buildings has been identified in other cities, such as Canterbury and Colchester (Rodwell 2004, 149). In York, the reuse of a Roman building, or at least the site of a Roman building, in association with a post-Roman church is indicated at St Mary Bishophill Senior (Ramm 1975; Wenham et al., 1987, 89). Norton (1998, 26) has noted that Holy Trinity Goodramgate also respects the Roman alignment and suggests it may reuse parts of a Roman building (see Chapter 4).

The wall in 1990.T14 probably fell out of use in the early tenth century after a period in which material accumulated against the wall, sealing the early burials. The archaeology suggests the upper part of the wall was robbed of stone, and the trench cut for this purpose was then backfilled with material that again contained only residual Roman artefacts. Burials, many in coffins, commenced again on a new alignment overlying the earlier wall, and this could suggest an expansion of the cemetery or perhaps reflect a rebuilding of the church. The archaeological evidence appears to support the historical location of the church close to the present junction of Grape Lane and Swinegate, and this section proposes, on the basis of the dedication and the evidence for an early cemetery, that it was founded at least as early as the ninth century. The archaeological and historical evidence show that it was associated with a cemetery, and it is the evidence for the cemetery that has a bearing on the street pattern and wider topography of the south-east corner of the fortress.

ST BENEDICT'S CEMETERY: HISTORY, TOPOGRAPHY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

There are limited documentary references for the cemetery associated with St Benedict's. Following the closure of the church, an inquiry in 1316 concluded that although coffins (*sarcophoga mortuorum*) were visible on the site, no one had witnessed a burial at the church or its graveyard (Tringham 1993a, 173-4). In a charter of 1337 the site of St Benedict's is described as follows: 'a vacant place called Patrikpole, lying in length 114 feet towards Thoresdaymarket and 80 feet towards Stayngate and in breadth 88 feet towards Potergate and 40 feet towards Swyngail' (Tringham 1993b, 211-2; Rimmer 2007, 37). The discovery of burials during the 1989-90 excavations outside of the reversed 'L' of Back Swinegate and Little Stonegate not only raises questions regarding the location of the cemetery derived from the historical and cartographic sources, but it also calls into question the development of the streets in this part of the fortress. The cemetery was not studied in detail for this case study except to gain an understanding of its spatial and temporal extents. A total of 48 inhumations were recovered, 27 of which were in coffins (Pearson 1990, 7-8); a detailed analysis of the inhumation was carried out by Jo Buckberry (2004) for her PhD. Her analysis focussed on the skeletal material, with the interpretation of the cemetery derived from the series of articles published in *Interim* (Pearson 1989, 1990) and the drawings held in the site archive. As discussed above, Buckberry (2004, 219) noted that trenches 1990.T14 and 1990.T15 had the greatest concentration of coffined and un-coffined burials, with a high number of infants, which could be grouped around the church of St Benedict's.

Although the documentary references for the area of the cemetery cannot be mapped, the excavations provided evidence to suggest the extents of the cemetery (Figure 26). Early churchyards were not just used for burials; they were also used as meeting places and for markets (Dymond 1999). Cemeteries were usually marked, and boundary ditches are mentioned in association with churchyards in charters, which may have enforced the distinction of the space of the plot around the church (Daniell 1998, 110-11). The north-western side of the cemetery parallel to Grape Lane was marked by double ditches recorded in 1989.T9 and 1989.T11. The ditches had posts driven into the base, perhaps for a fence, and ran parallel to fragments of Roman walling that remained standing above the contemporary ground level; these were perhaps maintained as part of the boundary of the cemetery mirroring the use of Roman walling in the cemetery of St Mary Bishophill Senior (Ramm 1976). Boundary ditches have also been recorded at two tenth-century cemeteries in York, St Andrew's, Fishergate (Stroud and Kemp 1993, 134), and St Stephen's, George Street (McComish 2008). Although no other boundary ditches were recorded, the distribution of the burials allows a tentative estimate of the extents of the cemetery to be made. Burials were not recorded in trenches 1989.T1, 1989.T10 1989.T13, located on or near the Grape Lane frontage, nor were burials recorded in excavations (Hunter Mann 1992) to the immediate south-east of Lund's Court (Mad Alice Lane). Burials were also absent from trench 1990.T4 on the corner of Little Stonegate and Back Swinegate. It is proposed that the cemetery was probably confined to an area to the south-east of Grape Lane, extending as far as Mad Alice Lane and south-west approximately to an area opposite Finkle Street (Figure 27). The distribution of the burials also adds to the argument that Patrick Pool (modern Swinegate) had yet to be established.

The review of the archaeological sequence for this case study identified a number of problems associated with the burial evidence. Firstly, the cemetery was not excavated stratigraphically but in spits to expose the burial levels, with limited attempts made to identify individual grave cuts; therefore, the relationships between burials cannot always be determined (Bonner et al., 1991, 574). Secondly, there are significant problems with dating due to the high level of residual Roman pottery, with only cemetery deposits in trenches 1990.T8, 1990.T14 and 1990.T15 producing tenth- and eleventh-century pottery. Based on the available evidence at the time, the archived site report (Bonner et al., 1991, 572) phased the cemetery to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but dendrochronological work subsequently carried out on a selection of the wooden coffins show they dated from the tenth to eleventh centuries (Bagwell and Tyers 2001). These coffins had similarities with those

recorded at Barton-upon-Humber (Rodwell and Rodwell 1982). However, at Swinegate, the dendrochronology only examined a small number of coffins, several of which contained reused timber, and it could not date burials interred under a single plank. There were also a number of burials without planks or coffins, probably buried in shrouds, which remain undated. During her analysis, Buckberry (2004, 170) also argued that there was no variation in alignment within the cemetery that could indicate different phases, but the discussion of the phasing in the archive reports noted a change in alignment in the burials in 1989.T3 and 1990.T14 (Bonner et al. 1991, 572, 575), which is evident in the plans of the burials. Despite these limitations, the review of the stratigraphic and spatial data for the cemetery for this case study suggests that there are at least three phases of use within the cemetery.

The earliest phase of the cemetery indicates burials commenced at c.0.30-0.40m above the latest possible Roman levels, respected the Roman alignment of north-east/south-west and were un-coffined. The second phase of the cemetery is indicated by coffin burials and a subtle shift in the alignment of the inhumations. The final phase of the cemetery suggests that there is a contraction of the cemetery indicated by the cessation of burials and the levelling of the north-eastern portion of the cemetery as recorded in 1989.T3 and dated to around the late tenth or early eleventh century (see below). In 1990.T14 this final phase coincides with the removal of the wall in 1990.T14 and the setting out of the burials across it. In trenches 1990.T14 and 1990.T15 burials continue, allowing for the absence of precise dating and based on the stratigraphic level of the latest graves, into at least the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, perhaps further supporting the argument that they are focussed around the church. The Swinegate excavations therefore support the accepted location of the church, but the spatial distribution of burials clearly challenges the view that the reversed 'L' of Back Swinegate/Little Stonegate reflected the boundaries of the cemetery. It is proposed that St Benedict's was founded, perhaps in the eighth or ninth century, as an estate church with a cemetery set out in relation to Grape Lane, serving a landholding in the south-east corner of the fortress. This provides the context for the consideration of the neighbourhood between the late seventh and late tenth or early eleventh centuries.

URBAN ESTATES IN THE SOUTH-EAST QUADRANT OF THE ROMAN FORTRESS: SEVENTH TO TENTH CENTURIES

The discussion therefore presents a model that sees the fortress retained as a defined space throughout the post-Roman period, distinct from the trading settlements that developed around it. This has parallels with the proposed development at Lincoln (Stocker 2003; see

Chapter 2). Through the use of the archaeological, cartographic and historical sources, this thesis proposes an alternative pattern of streets to the accepted models in the in the southern-quadrant of the fortress, with the space divided into two urban estates (Figure 28).

URBAN ESTATE IN THE SOUTH-WEST QUADRANT OF THE FORTRESS

In the south-western quadrant of the fortress, the estate was defined on its south-east side by Stonegate, its north-west side by Petergate and the north-west and south-west sides by the fortress defences. Norton (1998, 17-18) argues that in the south-west corner of this area was a land block defined by modern Duncombe Place/Museum Street, the fortress defences and Petergate; this may relate to the land grant described by Symeon of Durham (see Chapter 2). This area became the site of St Leonard's hospital, but whether it had a pre-Conquest origin is unclear, and it is suggested in this section that it was created in conjunction with Blake Street, perhaps in the immediate post-Conquest period. It is suggested that the estate in the south-west quadrant of the fortress was served by a proprietary church dedicated to St Wilfrid, which was located close to the medieval frontage of Stonegate (now St Helen's Square). There have been very few excavations in this area, but at the former Blake Street garage, there was a notable absence of activity between the seventh century and the late tenth or eleventh century (Hall 1997, 388). This could be seen to support the view that the early estates were not densely settled.

URBAN ESTATE IN THE SOUTH-EAST QUADRANT OF THE FORTRESS

In the south-east quadrant of the fortress, the estate was defined by Stonegate on its north-east side, by Petergate on its south-east side and by the fortress defences on its south-west side. Across this estate ran Grape Lane, which this thesis suggests originally extended from Petergate to Davygate and formed part of an important through route leading to the north-east fortress gate. Swinegate (medieval Patrick Pool) and Back Swinegate are argued to be later alterations to the street pattern, although Little Stonegate may have formed an early road linking the extended line of Grape Lane to Stonegate. This estate was served by a proprietary church dedicated to St Benedict, which may have incorporated Roman masonry in its fabric. St Benedict's was associated with a cemetery set out in relation to Grape Lane and defined on its north-east side by a double boundary ditch; it was also defined by fragments of upstanding Roman masonry. Little can be said with certainty of the land use in this area, but the 1989-90 excavations suggest that, like the excavations in Blake Street, there is a general absence of evidence for intense occupation, with the Roman levels sealed by

dark, humic deposits. The low levels of occupation recorded in the southern half of the fortress suggest that there was a distinctive form of neighbourhood within the fortress from the seventh to tenth centuries.

EARLY ESTATE NEIGHBOURHOODS

Chapter 1 has shown that ideas of urban neighbourhood are often associated with ideas of dense settlement, but the evidence from York suggests that in the seventh to tenth centuries the area of the fortress was not typically urban. A similar non-urban appearance has also been proposed for other former centres in the immediate post-Roman period, such as Winchester, Carlisle and Lincoln (Biddle 1984, 115; Vince 2003, 143; Zant 2010, 469). It is suggested at York that there are urban estates established within the fortress, perhaps housing families and retainers associated with the Minster community, and that these churches are served by proprietary churches. It is proposed that these churches are dedicated to Northumbrian saints, Wilfrid and Benedict, which accords with Baker and Holt's (2004, 228) argument that church dedications have a significance associated with place. The archaeological evidence has confirmed the traditional location of St Benedict's church, and the reconsideration of the street pattern has shown it was founded on one of the principal roads through the fortress in the post-Roman period.

The communities that lived within these estates may have had more in common with rural estates, with occupation linked to service of the lord and religious life focussed on the local church. The cemetery associated with St Benedict's shows that the residents were, on average, over 25 years of age, and many lived beyond 45 years; there was no clear segregation of male and female adults (Buckberry 2004, 198, 208, 218-19). Further consideration is needed of the character of these communities that developed within former Roman centres, for while they may have had rural characteristics in terms of social composition, the fact that they were within an area that was distinctly non-urban in origin may have had an impact on their perception of their social position and the character of their neighbourhood. Equally unclear is how the populations of the estates in the southern half of the fortress interacted or perceived their relationship with the ecclesiastical holdings in the northern half of the fortress (see Chapter 4). The excavations in 1989-90 show that the urban estates undergo a period of change in the late tenth century, which sees a transitional period of land use a change in the character of the estate neighbourhoods on the eve of the Norman Conquest.

CHANGING LAND USE: THE LATE TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES

At the end of the tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh century, the fortress appears to remain largely open with limited settlement evidence. This is in contrast to the area in the immediate environs of the fortress, which excavation has shown developed a distinctly urban characteristic, with dense property boundaries and intensive land use from the tenth century (e.g. Hall 1984; McNab 2003; McNab and McComish 2004; McComish 2008). However, within the fortress there is evidence for a change in land use in estate in the south-eastern quadrant of the fortress, which had an impact on the land use and character of the area. To examine this evidence, this section discusses the evidence for the changing use associated with the cemetery of St Benedict's and the area immediately outside it.

REDEVELOPMENT OF THE NORTH-EASTERN AREA OF ST BENEDICT'S CEMETERY

The discussion of the cemetery above proposed that the closure of the north-east part of the cemetery occurs in the late tenth or early eleventh century (Figure 29). This is in contrast to the archive report, which dated this to the eleventh or twelfth century and did not allow for a continuation of burials in the area of the church (Bonner et al., 1991, 577). The reinterpretation for this thesis argues that the closure of the north-eastern part of the cemetery was part of a short-lived period of redevelopment, suggesting a change in land use within the estate. The change of use is indicated by the backfilling of the double boundary ditch that marked the north-east side of the cemetery; whether this material related to activity in the immediate area or had been brought to the site for the purpose is unclear. Artefacts from the backfill included shoes dated stylistically to the late ninth to early eleventh centuries, wooden beakers and antler working waste. The Roman wall parallel to the ditches was not removed and remains standing approximately 0.75m above the contemporary ground level, but whether it continued to serve as a boundary is unclear

Associated with the infilling of the ditches is the spreading of a layer of limestone/sandstone fragments and tile across the north-eastern area of the cemetery, recorded in trenches 1989.T3 and 1989.T5-T11. In trenches 1989.T5, T7 and T8, the stone surface was the point at which machine excavation stopped and hand excavation began, which led to problems with the original and subsequent post-excavation analysis of these trenches. The analysis of the

stratigraphic sequence for this case study identified inconsistencies in the original post-excavation assessment regarding the relationship between the cessation of burials and the laying of the stone spread. The original report discusses this stone spread as the final phase of the cemetery, after which tenements are set out at right angles to Petergate, but there is then considered to have been a second episode of burials that cut through the stone spread (Bonner et al., 1991, 578-582).

This section offers an alternative interpretation of the archaeological sequence and proposes that the sealing of the cemetery is not associated with the setting out of boundaries at right angles to Petergate. The reinterpretation presented here proposes that the burials argued in the original phasing to cut the stone surface are associated with the final phase of burials in the cemetery. The appearance of these burials cutting the stone surface, it is suggested, is due to the settling of the stone spread into the backfills of the final phase graves, rather than graves being cut through the spread. It would also have been odd to have reused part of the cemetery for burial following the creation of tenements fronting onto Petergate. This thesis argues that the boundaries set out at right angles to Petergate, rather than being directly associated with the closure of the cemetery, date to the late eleventh or early twelfth century (see Chapter 4). It is proposed that there was an intermediate period of activity following the closure of the cemetery and the setting out of tenements along Petergate. This proposal is based on the reinterpretation of a sequence of driven posts recorded in trench 1989.T3, which disrespect the Roman and later alignments and were originally interpreted as pre-dating the cemetery and the stone surface (Bonner et al., 1991, 570-1). However, the reappraisal of the immediate post-Roman and cemetery sequences highlighted problems with the phasing of these driven posts, which, stratigraphically, can be argued to have been driven through the stone surface.

It is therefore proposed that the stone surface does represent the closure of the north-eastern part of the cemetery in the early eleventh century, and associated with it was a series of driven posts and a possible building (Figure 30). This alternative phasing is potentially supported by the artefacts from deposits that accumulated over the stone surface and around the posts, which included, alongside residual Roman material, sherds of possibly late tenth century Torksey ware, Stamford ware and a white wear fabric of an early eleventh-century date. The stone surface and associated posts recorded in trench 1989.T3 indicate a distinct change in activity. One group of posts appear to demarcate a path, 0.8-1.1m wide, leading east-west. Between the posts was a surface of pebbles, cobbles, and Roman tile as

well as incorporating fragments of human bone. Although caution is needed in projecting the alignment beyond trench 1989.T3, the path would lead west towards the supposed position of St Benedict's church and east towards the site of the Roman south-east gate, perhaps indicating that both were still important features in the landscape. The second group of posts appear to comprise three sides of a rectangular structure of earth-fast post construction (ST3.1). The structure is aligned east-west and was small, measuring approximately 1.2-1.5m (c.5ft) wide, but only c.2m was within the trench, and its full length is uncertain. Earth-fast post buildings were identified in Skeldergate (Hall 1994, 71), and a late eleventh-century building was recorded at Coppergate (Structure C6b), which was considerably larger (10.4m x 3.5m (34x11ft)) (Hall and Hunter Mann 2002, 730). There is no evidence of wattle work associated with the posts for the alley or the building in trench 1989.T3, and the level of preservation of other organic material suggests this absence is not due to decay. This absence stands in contrast to tenth- and eleventh-century sites outside the fortress, such as at Coppergate and High Ousegate, where fence lines and buildings made use of wattle work (e.g. Hall 1994, 55-66; McNab and McComish 2004). The possible use and function of the building is unknown, as the organic layers that sealed the stone surface and posts were removed as spits, which partly contributed to the problems with the stratigraphic sequence.

The pottery from Swinegate was included in the distribution maps produced by Mainman and Rogers (2004, 459-83; Figs. 118-128) and was used as evidence for an intensification of settlement in the south-east quadrant of the fortress. Indeed, other artefacts from these post-cemetery levels included items associated with leather, comb making, antler and amber bead working as well as a whittle tang knife, which could have been a personal item. Grindstones were also recorded, often reused in the metallised surfaces and may have been brought to the site specifically for making up ground. There were also fibre processing spikes, which could suggest the working of flax to make linen, and there was also a bone spindle whorls suggesting textile work. Personal items included shoes and bone skates. These artefacts could support Mainman and Rogers's interpretation of an intensification of activity, but caution is needed as these deposits were excavated as spits. This means the distinction between the late tenth- and later eleventh- and early twelfth-century activity is difficult to make, especially as both periods see episodes of ground levelling prior to changes in land use. This section argues that the artefacts indicate the date at which the surface had to have been laid down (the late tenth century), but caution is needed in using

these artefacts as indicators of occupation and activity; many artefacts could be residual or imported to the site through dumping and levelling activities.

ACTIVITY OUTSIDE THE CEMETERY

Definite evidence for an increase in activity was recorded in the area on the edges of the former cemetery (see Figure 29). To the north-east of the cemetery boundary ditches (Trenches 1989.T2 and 1989.T9), there was a complex sequence of organic accumulations and pits, but caution is again needed as many of these deposits were removed as spits. However, the stratigraphic sequence suggests that in the early eleventh century there are accumulations of organic material against the upstanding Roman walling. Dating for these accumulations comes from the pottery, which included a high quantity of residual Roman pottery as well as fabrics of a tenth and eleventh-century date. Through these organic deposits was cut a sequence of pits and pottery from the backfills, which contained a similar range of pottery types. The environmental samples from the pits identified faecal material as well as grains, fish bones, shellfish, fruit seeds and fragments of egg shell. Other artefacts collected from the pits and dumps included animal bone and personal or craft-related items, including glass beads, a bone hair pin, an antler comb, tooth plates offcuts and offcuts of antler working. It is suggested that these pits represent activity in the backyards of plots set out on to Grape Lane, but unfortunately trench 1989.T1 at the street front did not excavate to the corresponding levels to confirm this. The focus of activity towards the Grape Lane frontage could support the argument that the street formed an important route way across the fortress in the seventh to late eleventh century.

TRANSITIONAL NEIGHBOURHOOD: LATE TENTH TO LATE ELEVENTH CENTURIES

In the earlier period, there is little evidence to suggest the presence of a characteristically 'urban' settlement. Instead, the interior of the fortress appears relatively undeveloped and perhaps dominated by upstanding Roman walling, the new Minster and associated churches as well as the proposed proprietary churches in the southern quadrant of the fortress. The redevelopment of the estate in the south-east quadrant of the fortress marks a distinct change in the activity within the fortress and may suggest an increase in occupation activity. Tentative evidence for the name of an owner of the estate the south-east quadrant of the fortress in the late tenth and early eleventh century may be preserved in the thirteenth-century documents relating to the creation of Thursday Market. The documents describe the area of the market as *Arkiltoftes* (Rees-Jones 1987, 73); the personal name *Arkil* is of Norse

origin and its association with *toft* suggests it marked ownership of a block of land (Fellows-Jensen 1968, 8, 14-16, 342, 349). Throughout the late tenth and eleventh centuries, the estate was still served by the church of St Benedict's, although its cemetery was reduced in size. The reason for the closure of part of the cemetery of St Benedict's and its redevelopment is unclear, as is how this change was viewed by the local community. Perhaps it was the community itself that was in part behind the redevelopment, responding to a stimulus, economic or social. Alternatively, a more direct approach may have been taken, perhaps by the lord of the estate or the landowner, irrespective of the views of the community, with the intention of exploiting the available land. Significantly, the evidence for posts and fences that disrespect the Roman and later alignments in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries suggest the upstanding Roman remains were not a significant obstacle to the development of the fortress. Other factors, such as the estate churches, were more important as landmarks in establishing route ways. The archaeological evidence therefore indicates an intermediary stage in the development of York's urban morphology that is undetectable from cartographic or historical sources, and is in turn masked by the dominance of the Roman alignment in the influence of the later medieval city plan.

The presence of rubbish pits towards the Grape Lane street frontage in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries may indicate tenements were set out along the street. The artefacts from the pits suggest a range of domestic and craft activities were carried out, comparable to the activity recorded in the Coppergate/Ousegate area. However, the reappraisal of the Swinegate excavations has shown that caution is needed in using the artefacts as indicators of activity within the fortress as many could have been introduced to the deposits as part of the closure of the cemetery, or through the dumping and levelling activities in the late eleventh century. Excavations in Little Stonegate, which await full analysis, also indicate intensification in activity in the late tenth and eleventh centuries with the presence of pits dated to the tenth and eleventh centuries, perhaps associated with the development of either the Stonegate or Little Stonegate street frontage (McNab and Evans 1999; McNab 1999).

The intensification of settlement and a shift towards more urban characteristics of intense occupation suggests the dynamic of the estate neighbourhood was also changing. It is possible with an increase in population that the neighbourhood comprised a core of dynastic families as well as a few families less well rooted in the area (Phythian Adams 1987, 44). Such a situation has much in common with the definition of a community or neighbourhood

based on parish allegiance (Kumin 1996; French 2000). Equally important, but more difficult to address, are questions relating to the interaction between the estates within the fortress. Phythian Adams (1987, 22) has argued that between parishes there are interconnections through supra-parochial landholding, patterns of physical mobility and marriage that defined a community's social area. This model could equally apply to the estates within the fortress, especially if they were founded by or working for the Minster. This developing neighbourhood within the fortress, however, was to be radically altered by the events of the late eleventh century.

POST-NORMAN CONQUEST PLANNING: REORGANISATION OF THE FORTRESS C.1069-1235

The Norman Conquest and the following transitional period have largely been examined by historians, with few archaeological studies having focused on this period (e.g. Rowley 1997; Saunders 2000). Recent publications with sequences that span the Norman Conquest rarely consider their social impact, focusing instead on the topographical changes associated with the building of churches and castles and the intensification of settlement (e.g. Dodd 2003; Dalwood et al., 2004; Bowsher et al., 2008; Bucher 2010; Baker 2010). Scholarly discussion of the Conquest usually defines it as a significant dividing line, however artificial (Higham 1997, xvii-xviii). However, Aleks McClain (2005, 11) argues the period from the tenth to the beginning of the thirteenth centuries should be seen as a single period, punctuated and influenced—but not divided—by events like the Scandinavian settlement or the Norman Conquest.

At one level, the impact of the Norman Conquest was immediate, authoritarian and arguably very visible archaeologically through programmes of construction and rebuilding (Baker 2010, 111). In York this is shown through the construction of two castles and the rebuilding of the Minster (Andrews 1984, 182; Norton 2000; Hall 2004, 497). At another level, however, the short-term impact of the Conquest on the daily life of the majority of the population is harder to define (Baker 2010, 105). There was also continuity; in York, scholars have argued that the city the Normans took over had its basic street pattern and areas of settlement established as early as the eighth and certainly by the tenth century, even if some areas were not heavily occupied (Norton 1998, 27; Tweddle et al. 1999; Hall 2004, 493-4). Excavations have shown the Conquest may not have been significant in terms of plot layout in the

Coppergate area, but the damming of the river Foss for the creation of the Fishpool necessitated the dumping of large amounts of material to raise the ground level and prevent flooding (Hall and Hunter-Mann 2002, 859). The hypothesis in this thesis that the fortress remained a defined enclosure with low levels of occupation necessitates a reappraisal of the impact of the Norman Conquest on the topography and land use beyond the area of the Minster.

TOPOGRAPHY AND STREET PATTERN c.1069-1200

The 1989-90 excavations offered the opportunity to examine the transitional period after the Norman Conquest, the changes to the topography of the pre-Conquest estate and the wider alterations to the former Roman fortress. This will show that whilst there is continuity, changes were made to the street pattern established in the seventh century, and the street plan of York begin to develop towards the plan that is still recognisable in the modern city (Figure 31).

FORTRESS DEFENCES

The late eleventh and early twelfth centuries has been shown through excavation to be the period when the south-east and south-west defences are robbed of stone or incorporated into later structures (Stockwell and Ottaway 1988, 115; Hall 1991, 264-77; 2004, 491; Evans 1997; McNab 1998 a, b and c Richards 2001, 408; Ottaway 1996a, 142, 241-2, 273, 287). The survival of the wall and its influence on boundaries, notably parishes, has a bearing on the discussion of the evidence for St Benedict's church in the post-Conquest period. The loss of the fortress wall as a significant topographic barrier between the estate in the south-east corner of the fortress and the settlement that had developed around the fortress from the tenth century would fundamentally have altered not only the character of the study area but also the city as a whole.

ST SAMPSON'S CHURCH: FOUNDATION AND ALTERATION TO THE FORTRESS DEFENCES

As part of the reorganisation of the fortress defences, it is proposed that a new church was established, dedicated to St Sampson (Figure 32). The only excavation in the church, in 1974, indicated the presence of an earlier wall thought to be of eleventh-century date (RCHME 1981, 44), but this excavation did not determine the relationship between the church and the fortress defences. The significance of St Sampson's, which is not widely discussed, is that it is the only church located across the fortress defences. Whilst this could be used to support the

early removal of the defences, this thesis argues it is in fact associated with the removal of the defences following the Norman Conquest and the re-division of land. St Sampson's is first mentioned in the document relating to the merging of its living with St Benedict's in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (RCHME 1981, 44; Tringham 1993b, 211-12). In 1394 it was given by Richard II to the Vicars Choral of York (RCHME 1981, 44). There is nothing in the present church fabric that pre-dates the fifteenth-century rebuilding and nineteenth-century restoration. The Royal Commission (RCHME 1981, 44) suggests a fragment of early eleventh-century cross shaft, found built into the wall of a house in Newgate, may be associated with St Sampson and indicate a pre-Conquest date. However, the cross shaft is in a building on the opposite side of Newgate to St Sampson's, at the junction with Patrick Pool (RCHME 1981, 170); therefore, this thesis argues that it is equally possible that the cross shaft is derived from the cemetery or church of Holy Trinity King's Square.

St Sampson's is orientated almost parallel to the fortress defences and stood fairly centrally within a cemetery that broadly corresponded to the width of the fortress rampart and ditches. On the north-west side of the church the cemetery encroached across the line of the proposed *intervallum* road represented by Church Street. This has parallels with St Helen Stonegate, where the cemetery crossed the line of Davygate. On the south-east side the cemetery extended up to Newgate, and excavation has identified burials underlying the fourteenth-century houses that front the street (Dean 2007).

The discussion of the proprietary churches above highlighted the use of dedications when considering the origins of churches. Allowing for the possibility that the church was rededicated (see RCHME 1981, 174), its present dedication is notable because St Sampson is not a common northern English saint; rather, he is associated with Cornwall and Brittany (Taylor 1991). Considering St Sampson's church in relation to the surrounding streets, its cemetery is bounded on its south-east side by Newgate, first recorded in 1337 (RCHME 1981, 170), which is an extension of the line of Jubbergate. The earliest recorded name of Jubbergate is as *Bretgate*, which it has been suggested took its name from Bretons who took up residence in York after the Norman Conquest (Hall 1996, 58). It is suggested that Jubbergate was part of the tenth-century town plan established along the south-east side of the fortress, but its name reflects an appropriation of the area by incomers who also built the church of St Sampson. A similar development occurred in Norwich where the French borough with a new church was developed over an area of earlier settlement (Ayers 2004, 16). If this was the case in York, it would mean a new community was established on the

periphery of the older and established community of the estate in the south-east corner of the fortress. The development removal or encroachment over the fortress defences would also result in the need to create new streets, linking the fortress to the surrounding area, and it is suggested this is the reason Patrick Pool was created in the late eleventh century.

PATRICK POOL

This thesis argues that Patrick Pool, modern Swinegate, and Silver Street are established in the post-Conquest period rather than in the period from the seventh to tenth century (see Chapter 2). The possibility that Patrick Pool was created in the post-Conquest period has previously been suggested by Tringham (1993a, 174). He proposes that Swinegate was created following the closure of St Benedict's church in the late thirteenth century. The earliest record of Patrick Pool is in the twelfth and early thirteenth century as *Patrigpole* and *Patricpol* (1190 x 1210); in 1368 it is recorded as *Patrickrowe* (Palliser 1978, 13), but whether the name *Patrick* is a personal name or is related to the dedication of a church is unknown (RCHME 1981. 234). The name Patrick Pool itself has been the source of discussion and is often thought to be associated with the presence of a pond or pool of water, or perhaps associated with subsidence caused by the legionary Roman baths located in this area (Raine 1955, 173; Palliser 1978, 13, 173).

This section argues that Patrick Pool has to be considered in two sections, Church Street to Jubbergate and Grape Lane to Church Street, both sections of which were part of a deliberate creation of a land division spanning the Roman defences. The early names of Patrick Pool (*Patrigpole*, *Patricpol* and *Patrickrowe*) support the interpretation that it was established as part of division of land following the Norman Conquest. A pole (also called a rod or perch) measured 16ft 6ins, and the measurement of the rear boundary of the properties on the north-east side of Patrick Pool between Church Street and Newgate on the 1852 Ordnance Survey shows this section of the street is 131-132ft (40-41m). This is the equivalent of eight poles, which could represent the division of the new street into individual tenements. This division into tenements could be reflected in the 1368 name *Patrickrowe*, because the *rowe* could indicate houses. Other examples of this can be found in York, such as *le Cokerowe* (1340) (Palliser 1978, 8, *passim*). The section of Patrick Pool between Jubbergate and Church Street also formed the north-western boundary of the land block straddling the fortress defences that formed the cemetery of St Sampson's Church.

Using the archaeological evidence for the setting out of tenements on the south-west side of Petergate, it is argued that the section of Patrick Pool from Church Street to Grape Lane is established as a service lane. The excavation in trenches 1989.T2, T3, T5-8, T9, and T11 found no evidence for settlement set out along the Patrick Pool street frontage, but instead showed the external area of the Petergate tenements extended up to the street supporting the historical information (see Chapter 4). Patrick Pool would also have formed the boundary of the land belonging to Newburgh Priory separating it from the supposed position of St Benedict's church and associated cemetery. Whether this section of the street was always considered part of Patrick Pool is unknown, but it may have adopted the name once it began to be developed with housing in the thirteenth century. Alongside the changes to the street pattern in the area of the defences, there was also continuity with the continued use of Grape Lane.

GRAPE LANE: THE ROBBING OF ROMAN WALLS AND THE RESURFACING OF THE STREET

There is evidence for the deliberate robbing of Roman masonry in the late eleventh or early twelfth century in the Swinegate area. In trench 1989.T4 Area JJ the metalled surfaces of the pre-Conquest road are cut by a robber trench for the removal of a section of Roman walling. The removal of the Roman wall suggests it was identifiable in the areas on both side of the road and raises the possibility that there was a deliberate chasing of walling to remove it. The robber cut was backfilled with a range of refuse and cess and contained tenth- and eleventh-century pottery. Once the robber cut was backfilled, the surface of Grape Lane was reinstated with a compact deposit of sand, pea grit, and small pebbles. This was in turn overlain by a layer of limestone and fragments of millstone grit and sandstone. Once the road was re-established, it was maintained and kept in use until at least the thirteenth century, suggesting the continued importance of a link between Petergate and Davygate and perhaps reflecting the continued use of the north-east fortress gate (see Chapter 4).

ST BENEDICT'S: FROM ESTATE CHURCH TO PARISH CHURCH

There is no archaeological evidence for the church of St Benedict's in the post-Norman Conquest period, although its presence is indicated by the earliest recorded name of Grape Lane as *venella Sancti Benedicti* and documentary reference to the parish of St Benedict's (Palliser 1978, 10). The only direct link to the church is the record of Geof the priest as a witness to a land transaction in Grape Lane between 1160 and 1184 (Rees Jones 1996). The church and its churchyard were still topographic features used in the description of

Tenement 21 fronting onto Petergate in 1201 (see Chapter 4) (Rees Jones 1987[ii], 78). The small cemetery around the church continued in use with the excavations in trench 1989.T14 and T15 indicating burials continuing into at least the early thirteenth century, and its north-eastern boundary was probably marked by the alley that formed the precursor for Patrick Pool.

It is suggested that the pre-Conquest estate was therefore broken up, but the late eleventh and twelfth centuries may also see York divided by the more ephemeral, but no less significant, boundaries of the parishes and wards. The origins of the parishes in York are unclear, and the same is true of the wards although they may have been derived in part from the earlier shires (VCH 1961; 314-15). Pam Hartshorne's (2004) work on the wards has shown their importance for the management of the urban environment and that they were only one element that helped to shape and define the late medieval community. However, there is rarely any correlation between the area of wards and parishes (Pounds 2000, 145), and it is the parish that directly affects the daily life of the residents of a neighbourhood and form the focus of this discussion (Figure 33). As discussed in Chapter 1, there has been a growing interest among scholars in the development of parishes and their role in defining and shaping communities (e.g. Pounds 2000; French 2001). Indeed, the parish church was to become the focus of religious worship and administration of the sacraments, such as baptism, marriage and the Eucharist, and to play a central role in people's lives (Keene 1985, 113).

It is the documentary references for land transactions in the Grape Lane and Patrick Pool area that indicate how St Benedict's developed into a parish church. Pounds (2000, 113) argues that the development of urban parishes occurred later than in the countryside. The study of urban parishes has not established a clear pattern of formation, but there does appear to be a correlation between earlier land holdings, the influence of topographical features and groupings of individuals such as craftsmen (Baker and Slater 2000, 54; Baker and Holt 2004, 239-41; Pounds 2000, 117-8). It is possibly due to patterns of landownership that some parishes have erratic boundaries (Pounds 2000, 121). The motive for forming parishes may be as Derek Keene (1985, 107, 116, 124) has suggested due to the need to define the extent of the community served and ensure the collection of tithes. A need to establish boundaries in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries could be due to the need to establish the pattern of landownership following the following the Norman Conquest and to prevent rival claims over rights and fees (Palliser 1980, 7). The changes to

canon law regarding parishes made the creation of new parishes harder through the twelfth century (Morris 1989, 169-70), and it is therefore generally accepted that the urban parochial system had fossilized or approached completion by the early to mid-thirteenth century (Goldberg 2004, 52; Holt and Baker 2004, 24).

As discussed in Chapter 2, there has been little work on the origins of the parishes in York, but Tweddle et al., (1999, 163-4) argued that they originated in the tenth century; the lack of correlation between parish boundaries and fortress defences on the south-east side is argued to support an early date for the creation of the parishes, but also the removal of the fortress wall. However, this does not take into account churches closed at an earlier date and absorbed into adjoining parishes or small-scale changes that were an on-going process as properties were included, subdivided or extended (Baker and Slater 2000, 54). This thesis has argued that the fortress defences formed a significant topographic feature until the late eleventh century, and that it is only after the Norman Conquest that the fortress began to lose its importance as a topographic feature. Therefore, the documentary references for a parish associated with St Benedict's raise questions about the extents of its boundaries, its relation to the line of the fortress defences, St Sampson's parish and the date at which parishes were established at York.

The apparent lack of correlation between the parish boundaries and fortress defences in the south-east corner of the former fortress was caused by the later alterations to the parish boundaries following St Benedict's falling out of use and its eventual closure at the end of the thirteenth century (Tringham 1993b, 211-12). The problem with St Benedict's is establishing the probable extent of the parish from surviving topographic elements (Figure 34). There is no consensus regarding how to recreate parish boundaries, although Derek Keene (1985, 124) has proposed the use of a 'nearest door' method. This is based on the assumption that the determinant of parochial allocation was simply the nearest church to a property. The documentary references to St Benedict's parish show it included parts of Patrick Pool (Swinegate) and Grape Lane, and it is likely it in part correlated with the extents of the pre-Conquest estate. It is suggested that its northern boundary may have been formed by Petergate, and this section was partially incorporated into the parishes of St Michael-le-Belfrey, Holy Trinity Goodramgate and Holy Trinity King's Square following the closure of St Benedict's.

The north-western boundary may have followed the line of Grape Lane, which still forms part of the parish boundary between St Sampson, St Michael-le-Belfrey and Holy Trinity Goodramgate. This might represent a contraction of the area of the pre-Conquest estate away from the Stonegate frontage and reflect the development of Stonegate with monastic houses associated with the prebends of the Minster, which owned large plots of land that extended the full width between Stonegate and Grape Lane (MAP1995, 4). Boundaries running the full width between Stonegate and Grape Lane can be traced on the 1852 Ordnance Survey Map and suggest the plots were set out as one event. This has parallels with the tenements set out along Petergate (see Chapter 4) which run between Petergate and Patrick Pool (modern Swinegate) and indicate a widespread re-planning or reorganisation of space within the fortress. The south-western boundary of St Benedict's parish is less clear, but may have followed Little Stonegate although this street is referred to as being in the parish of St Helen's, Stonegate in the sixteenth century (Rees Jones 1996). However, if St Helen's is a post-Conquest foundation, then parts of its parish may have been formed out of the parish of St Benedict's. It is suggested that the south-eastern boundary with St Sampson followed the line of the fortress defences. The boundaries would have been important expression of the identity of the parish and were memorialized by the beating of the bounds at Rogationtide (Goldberg 2004, 53). When considering the residents of the parish of St Benedict's, the archaeological and documentary sources indicate that it was still not densely settled in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries.

TENEMENTS ON THE SOUTH-EAST SIDE OF GRAPE LANE

The eleventh century represents the stratigraphic level at which hand excavation commenced (Trenches 5, 8, 11 and 12) and has implications for the interpretation of these deposits. The most complete sequence of deposits for this period was recorded in Trenches 3, 6, 7, 8 and 9. The archaeological evidence indicates that there was a deliberate levelling of the area to the north-east of modern Swinegate as part of the reorganisation and subdivision associated with the setting out of tenements along Petergate (see Chapter 4). Alongside the reorganisation of the Petergate frontage, the 1989 excavations also indicate there is continuity of settlement along the Grape Lane frontage.

EXTERNAL AREA: GRAPE LANE TENEMENTS

Associated with the changes in land use, in trench 1989.T2 there was clear evidence for the deliberate robbing of the Roman wall that had been standing above ground level since the

establishment of the cemetery boundary ditches (Figure 35). The backfill of the robber cut of the Roman wall included a large quantity of residual material from the Roman material, but the upper most fill contained Stamford, York and early glazed wares consisting of storage jars, jugs and pitchers dating to the late eleventh or early twelfth century. The robbing of the wall was stratigraphically followed by an episode of dumping through which were cut a series of pits. The artefacts from these features similarly dated to the late eleventh and twelfth-century. At the same height a similar sequence of dumps and pits producing the same range of artefacts were recorded in Trenches 1989.T2, T9-T11. In trench 1989.T9 the sequence is difficult to interpret, but there appears to be a series of pits, one of which had been used as a cess pit. In trench 1989.T11 one pit had a wicker lining, but the backfill was removed as part of the machine clearance and was not recorded. Artefacts collected from the dumps and pit backfills included primary to tertiary leatherworking waste, iron slag and furnace lining, some with traces of the tuyere hole for bellows. There were also several fragments of rotary grindstone used for sharpening metal tools, but these may have been used to provide a yard surface. The pits also produced some dietary information as the environmental samples produced a large quantity of fish bone. The close dating of the robbing of the Roman wall and the increase in pit digging indicate a change in land use in this area , perhaps reflecting a reorganisation of properties fronting onto Grape Lane through the late eleventh and twelfth century.

This activity falls within a block of land that the documentary evidence suggests came to belong to Newburgh Priory (Rees Jones 1987[ii], 75). This land block was bounded on the north-east and south-west side by Tenement 21-7, which fronted onto Petergate and can be identified from the analysis of the property boundaries (Figure 36). This suggests that the Grape Lane plots were larger than their later medieval successors. The shortening of the Grape Lane plots likely relates to the development of the Swinegate (medieval Patrick Pool) street frontage, which this thesis argues occurs starting in the thirteenth century (see below).

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE: THE POST-CONQUEST NEIGHBOURHOOD c.1069-1200

Scholars have argued that the principal effect of the Norman Conquest on the urban scene was the institutional building campaigns, the creating of new castles or cathedrals that fundamentally altered urban topography (Ottaway 1992, 164; Ayers 2004, 13-19). The most obvious changes to the topography of the city were the rebuilding of the Minster, the construction of the Castles flanking the River Ouse and the creation of the King's Fishpool

(Daniell 2003, 181). The late eleventh century was a period when towns saw intensification in settlement alongside the large-scale destruction caused by the creation of the new castles (Nicholas 1997, 109-110). Brian Ayers's (2004, 17) examination of the changes to Norwich in the late eleventh century showed how the urban environment could be remodelled through the Norman acquisition of properties, which led to a change in the pattern of land-holding. There is some evidence for the changes to land-division in York at the Conquest (VCH 1961, 17-24), and Rees Jones's (1987[i], 136-7) research has shown that the period from the Conquest to the early to mid-thirteenth century saw the establishment of thirteen religious institutions, all of which were active in building up estates of lands and rents in the city. Her research shows that the new religious foundations in the Yorkshire countryside also sought to develop urban estates, establishing hospices or acquiring properties within York. An increasing interest by the Church in urban property was not unique to York; it can also be found in Winchester, Oxford and Canterbury.

Archaeologically, there is little evidence for the impact of the Norman Conquest in the areas outside the Minster or the castles. The absence of significant changes in settlement in excavations such as those at 16-22 Coppergate or 41-9 Walmgate (McNab 2003; Hall and Hunter-Mann 2001) suggest that in these areas there was little change in the organisation of the settlement. The major change at Coppergate was the raising of the ground level to cope with the creation of the King's Fishpool (Hall and Hunter-Mann 2001, 793). However, the evidence discussed in this chapter and in Chapter 3 appears to show the interior of the fortress was extensively re-organised in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, and this included far more than the obvious changes to the topography of York in this period. The evidence discussed in this Chapter, and in Chapter 4, offers the opportunity to reappraise the evidence for changes to the topography and land use of York in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.

YORK AND THE NORMAN CONQUEST

The word 'Norman' often serves as a catch-all term for a disparate range of people, most of whom were from Normandy but many of whom were from other areas of France and the Low Countries. In Domesday Book the term 'Frenchman' is invariably used (Daniell 2000, 74-5). In York, Domesday records 145 Frenchmen in York (Daniell 2003, 32), which is more than in the other towns recorded in Domesday. The significant number of French residents could

be seen as a response to the rebellions that had focussed on York, their presence a means of stamping authority; however, York has no known documentation of a French borough. The evidence for the redevelopment of the interior fortress and its immediate environs in the Swinegate and Petergate excavations potentially provide the evidence for the establishment of new areas of settlement associated with accommodating the French presence in York.

In towns with a known French borough, such as Southampton, Norwich and Nottingham, these areas were distinct and separate settlements (Platt 1975, 13-20; Lilley 2001, 98-9; Ayers 2004, 16-17). For example, in Norwich the development of the French borough involved the creation of new tenements as well as a reorganisation of existing property and street priorities. Excavations at the Millennium site in Norwich showed that pre-Conquest tenements were focussed along St Peter's Street, but in the twelfth century the area was altered with new tenements focussed onto Bethel Street (Ayers 2004, 19). However, the majority of the town's dwellers remained mainly 'English' (Dyer 2009, 90). In towns without a French borough, such as Worcester, some areas saw a continuation of settlement from the pre-Conquest period while other, previously undeveloped areas within the town were set out with properties in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries (Dalwood and Edwards 2004, 6).

Colin Platt (1976, 21) cautions against overrating the Conquest as a cause of change. With this in mind, this section reviews the evidence for the impact of the Norman Conquest on York. This chapter has argued that the fortress was largely undeveloped in the post-Roman period (sixth to mid-eleventh century) but was divided into a series of urban estates served by the small churches of St Wilfrid, St Benedict and Holy Trinity Goodramgate, with its skyline dominated by the Minster. This is in contrast to the densely settled area along the banks of the rivers Ouse and Foss, which formed the heart of the Pre-Conquest trading town. The fortress was thus a space that would have been available for redevelopment after the Conquest.

Recent work by Rees Jones (2010) has begun to show the wider impact of the establishment of a royal presence on the city in the post-Conquest period and that the arrival of the Normans had a significant impact on the development of York. The archaeological evidence indicates that the south-east fortress wall and a number of Roman buildings within the fortress were deliberately robbed or buried in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries (see Chapter 2). The excavations in Swinegate and Petergate show that associated with this is a period of re-planning that saw the interior of the fortress integrated with the established

town that had developed around it from the tenth century. New streets were created to cross the fortress line and connect the two street patterns, and as in the earlier period this was associated with the division of land for properties fronting onto Petergate (see Chapter 4) as well as the foundation of a new church dedicated to St Sampson. The street pattern that disregards the Roman fortress is not, therefore, a product of the eighth to tenth centuries, as previously argued (e.g. Norton 1998; Tweddle et al., 1999), but of a late eleventh- and early twelfth-century re-planning. This thesis proposes that the re-planning at a street and tenement level was due to a desire to break the pre-Conquest ecclesiastical and royal enclosure of the fortress and amalgamate it with the established settlement that had developed along the banks of the Foss. This is a change that could only have occurred at an institutional level, and as Christopher Dyer (2009, 90) has pointed out, the Normans realized the importance of towns and made sure that they acquired urban property. The changes seen in the Swinegate area, and those that will be shown in Petergate, are suggested to have been instigated by the new Norman rulers of York.

THE POST-CONQUEST NEIGHBOURHOOD: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

It cannot be said with certainty what authority sanctioned the removal of the fortress defences and the development of the estate in the south-east corner of the fortress. This thesis considers it likely that the redevelopment was instigated by the incoming 'Norman' landowners seeking to exploit their new acquisitions; it may also have been part of the breaking up of the pre-Conquest ecclesiastical centre within the fortress. The late eleventh and twelfth centuries were therefore a period of significant change. Topographically, the estate in the south-east corner of the fortress was changed through the removal or encroachment of settlement over the fortress defences and the establishment of Patrick Pool as a new road connecting Grape Lane to the area beyond the fortress. There was widespread robbing of Roman walling and the levelling of the interior of the fortress in the late eleventh century prior to the establishment of new tenements. The reinstatement of Grape Lane following the robbing of the Roman walling appears to indicate the continued importance of the route between Davygate and Petergate, but perhaps also the continuation of the route to the north-east fortress gate (see Chapter 4).

The focus of settlement also changed as, alongside the Grape Lane activity, the Petergate street front was developed with tenements that saw the reassertion of the Roman alignment, preserved in the property boundaries recorded on the 1852 and modern Ordnance Survey maps (see Chapter 4). The documentary evidence indicates that St Benedict's church

developed into a parish, and whilst the reconstruction of the parish remains conjectural, it challenges the arguments put forward that there is no correlation between the fortress defences and parish boundaries from the south-east gate to the south-east corner tower. It is proposed that the apparent lack of correlation is due to the amalgamation of the parishes of St Sampson and St Benedict at some point in the thirteenth century.

References to the parish of St Benedict's give an insight into the residents of the neighbourhood, which the archaeology suggests became more characteristically urban, with dense settlement of craft and domestic nature. The evidence from the external areas of the Grape Lane tenements shows that from the late eleventh and twelfth centuries there was widespread leatherworking, predominantly associated with cobbling. The documentary and archaeological evidence for leatherworking in Anglo-Scandinavian and medieval York has been studied in detail (Swanson 1980 23-5, 119-21, 1989, 53-66; Mould et al., 2003). Although the documentary records reveal leatherworkers in several of the York central parishes, Heather Swanson (1980, 456) highlights the fact that given the small size of the parishes in York many of the craftsmen recorded in different parishes were often living next door to each other or a short street away. There is some evidence for the grouping of leather trades in the York street names; the north-eastern section of modern Church Street was called Glovergail c.1250 and later Girdlergate (1381 x 1384). However, compared to other medieval towns such as Norwich, there is a scarcity of references to leatherworkers in the street-names of York (Fellows-Jensen 2003, 3227). Alongside the evidence from the Grape Lane tenements, the new tenements set out along Petergate were also engaged in the leather trades. This stands in contrast to the ephemeral craft and domestic activity of the pre-Conquest estate. Heather Swanson (1980, 302-3, 309, 312) has shown that leatherworkers formed one of the earliest recorded guilds (twelfth century) and were predominantly freemen. This made them amongst the most prominent craftsmen in early medieval towns. Early craft guilds and bonds between the members were usually related to their geographical proximity and they used churches as meeting places (Swanson 1980, 313), a role that could have been fulfilled by either St Benedict's, which was a link to the past of the area, or the new church dedicated to St Sampson.

In terms of material culture, the excavation of the external area of the tenements along Grape Lane shows continuity in local and regional pottery, with no real evidence of imported wares. This is not an unusual phenomenon; in Bristol, despite changes after the Conquest, the pottery remained the same, with French imports becoming common only from the

thirteenth century (Sivier 2002, 80). As argued in Chapter 2, differences in class and identity were probably expressed through more subtle means that have not survived in the archaeological record. Caution is needed though in assuming that the entire Grape Lane frontage was developed with housing in the late eleventh to early thirteenth centuries. The excavations in 1989-90 do indicate that there is settlement on the south-east side of the street, but unpublished excavations show that the north-west side of Grape Lane formed part of the substantial ecclesiastical landholdings associated with the prebendal houses of the Minster. The archaeological excavations on the north-east side of Grape Lane (MAP 1995) were set back from the street frontage and indicated that the excavations had identified the external areas for tenements, but whether the tenements fronted onto Stonegate or Grape Lane is unclear. Further work is therefore needed to determine when the street frontage of Grape Lane was developed with housing. The absence of development at the street front was also recorded in the unpublished excavations at 3 Little Stonegate (medieval Swinegate). The excavations here found no evidence for buildings at the street front with accumulations of organic deposits suggested of external areas (McNab 1998).

The undeveloped nature of the south-east corner of the fortress is possibly reflected in the documentary references to transactions in the parish of St Benedict's, which are predominantly for land, with no reference to buildings. The majority of these transactions relate to the acquisitions of Thomas de Langwith in Patrick Pool sometime from 1150-1200 and were clearly targeted to expand a land holding in the area (Rees Jones 1996); however, it is unclear where along Patrick Pool these acquisitions were. The documentary and archaeological evidence indicates a grouping of tenements on the south-west side of Grape Lane near the church of St Benedict's, but the interior of the fortress remained relatively open and undeveloped until the early thirteenth century. As in the pre-conquest period, this would have stood in contrast to the densely settled areas that originated in the tenth century outside the south-east side of the fortress.

The witnesses of many of the documents, such as Geof the priest of St Benedict's, supports David Palliser (1994, 142) argument about the localism of witnesses. They show a mix of Anglo-Scandinavian and Anglo-Norman names, such as Ughtred Macecrer or Gilbert de Berrigund. Some of the names show the adoption by Anglo-Scandinavian families of Anglo-Norman names, including Roger, son of Gerrard, son of Lefwin. Other names indicate crafts, such as Ranulf Aurifeber (goldsmith) and Henry le Cauldroner, while one individual took his name from the street on which he lived, Roger of Patrick Pool. The continuity in Scandinavian

personal names reflects the concentration of Danish settlement in York before the Norman Conquest; such names are replaced after c.1200 by names of Continental-Germanic or biblical origins introduced by the Normans (Fellow-Jensen 2004, 359).

It is suggested that that after the Norman Conquest the interior of the fortress became more characteristically 'urban', with regularly spaced tenements and an intensification of domestic and craft activity, but this was set alongside large areas that remained undeveloped. This hypothesis needs to be tested through examination of the evidence from elsewhere within the former fortress. Through the late eleventh to early thirteenth centuries the neighbourhood may have begun to become defined through parish affiliations, with wider links through the guild/craft associations of leatherworking. If there was a mix of pre-Conquest families and new settlers in the late eleventh century, there were likely to have been tensions, but these may have eased through the twelfth century. The relatively undeveloped nature of the south-east corner of the fortress into the early thirteenth century has a bearing on the developments that occur following the alterations to Grape Lane and the creation of Thursday Market.

GRAPE LANE, THURSDAY MARKET AND THE CLOSURE OF ST BENEDICT'S CHURCH c.1200-1300

The thirteenth century witnessed continuity in the tenements in Grape Lane, but this period also saw the character of the area fundamentally altered through redevelopment instigated by groups or institutions. Although it is speculation, the acquisition of land in Patrick Pool by Thomas of Langwith may reflect the initial steps in the creation of Thursday Market. More certain is the institutional acquisition of properties along Petergate (see Chapter 4) and the site of Benedict's church by the Vicars Choral, who were to become one of the largest landowners in York, as well as other ecclesiastical institutions (Rees Jones 1987(i) 163-4, 1996, 2005, 192-4). The holding of blocks of land would make redevelopment easier and perhaps beneficial for several different groups.

SOUTH-EAST SIDE OF GRAPE LANE: EXTERNAL AREA

The excavations in 1989 showed the continued use through the thirteenth century of the external areas in the land block owned by Newburgh Priory. There were accumulations of organic material that contained a range of pottery types but predominantly dating to the

late eleventh through to the mid-thirteenth century. Cut through these deposits was the only well recorded in the Swinegate excavations. The reanalysis of the stratigraphic sequence indicates that the well could have been cut from a higher level than suggested in the archive report (Bonner et al., 1991). The well was originally recorded at the point the barrel was observed, but directly above the barrel was a broad cut, originally interpreted as a later pit cut into the well backfill. The reanalysis of the stratigraphic sequence indicated that this broad cut probably represents the uppermost part of the construction cut for the well.

THE TRUNCATION OF GRAPE LANE

In Area JJ in trench 1989.T4, the levels immediately above the road had been disturbed and truncated by a nineteenth-century cellar. However, the archaeological sequence suggests that a series of pits were cut into the road surfaces at some point in the mid-late thirteenth century. Whether these pits relate to properties on the Little Stonegate (Swinegate) street frontage or represent the exploitation of the area around the church of St Benedict's for the disposal of rubbish following its closure (see below) is unclear. This section suggests that the shortening of Grape Lane was associated with the gradual decline of St Benedict's church and the developing importance of Patrick Pool as an access road from the Shambles to the newly created Thursday Market.

THE NEW MARKET PLACE: THURSDAY MARKET C.1235

The medieval form of Thursday Market has been obscured following the creation of Parliament Street in 1835 on the south-east side and the extension of Church Street across the cemetery of St Sampson's church in 1835 (RCHME 1981, 117). However, cartographic sources prior to the alterations of the nineteenth century show the square form of the market place and its associated lanes and streets (Figure 37). As discussed above, it is the documents relating to the creation of Thursday Market in 1235 that preserve the name *Arkiltoftes* (Rees Jones 1987(i), 73). However, the development of Thursday Market has received little attention from scholars (an exception is Rees Jones 2010), but this section argues that the creation of the market has a direct influence on the development of the surrounding area. There has been little consideration of how Thursday Market relates to the street pattern in the south-east corner of the fortress, perhaps because it is widely accepted by scholars that the fortress wall was removed and the street pattern established by the tenth century (see Chapter 2). This has resulted in the street pattern not being considered in relation to the creation of Thursday Market.

This chapter has argued that the fortress wall was retained until the late eleventh or twelfth century, and therefore that the streets that cross the line of the wall are a later alteration to the topography of the city. The documentary evidence from the twelfth century indicates that the area that becomes Thursday Market is largely undeveloped. Indeed, an excavation in Thursday Market in 1936 indicated that the Roman levels were sealed by organic deposits, with no evidence for intensive settlement, and the medieval levels were 'many feet thick of decayed vegetable matter' (Raine 1955, 168). Thursday Market was primarily used for the sale of meat of various kinds as well as other products (VCH 1961, 484-5). The new market was positioned adjacent to the hall and liberty of the royal larderer in Davygate, and it was a political statement; there had been conflict between the larder and the citizens of York over the sale of meat and other victuals in the city (Rees Jones 2010, 496-7). It is proposed that the street pattern in the area of Thursday Market was modified to connect it to the existing street pattern, and to exploit its position in proximity to the Shambles, the street of the butchers.

THURSDAY MARKET AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE STREET PATTERN

This section argues that—unlike Davygate and Patrick Pool—Feasegate, Three Cranes Lane, Finkle Street and Nether Hornpot Lane were created at the same time as Thursday Market (Figure 38). In the south-east corner of Thursday Market, Feasegate was set out to connect with Jubbergate (modern Market Street). The excavations in Feasegate (McNab and Evans 1998; Wenham 1961, 337-8) have shown the fortress corner tower was a significant landscape feature until the thirteenth century and was even incorporated into the cellar of a fourteenth-century building. The excavations (McNab and Evans 1998) showed that there were substantial accumulations of material against the fortress wall followed by evidence of external activity areas represented by pits and industrial features dated to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century; these appear to indicate the development of the street frontage.

The presence of St Benedict's church is suggested to have influenced the alignment of Finkle Street, but Back Swinegate had not yet been established (see below). Finkle Street appears to preserve the line of a path that led from the market to the church and perhaps also gave access to Grape Lane. Whether there was a lane linking Little Stonegate with the market is unclear, but the 1853 Ordnance Survey does show an alley in between properties fronting onto Thursday Market that may have connected to Little Stonegate. It is suggested that any earlier street or property pattern in this area was lost when Back Swinegate was developed in the late fourteenth century (see below). The development of Thursday Market could be the

stimulus for the development of Little Stonegate (medieval Swinegate) as excavations at 3 Little Stonegate have shown that it was in the early to mid-thirteenth century that there is the first evidence for properties constructed at the street frontage (McNab 1998).

The south-east side of Thursday Market has been significantly altered by the creation of Parliament Street, but documentary sources indicate there was a lane, Starkthwaite Lane, which led to Jubbergate (RCHME 1981, 206). On the north-east side of the Thursday Market, the cemetery of St Sampson's extended across the line of Church Street, and access was via Silver Street. The present form of Silver Street is the result of it being altered in 1835 as part of the extension of Church Street. The name Silver Street is not recorded until 1524 (Palliser 1978, 15), but it is probably the unnamed lane referred to as 'the lane at Thursday Market' in 1336 (Raine 1955, 172). The cartographic sources Silver Street originally formed a narrow lane with a dog leg close to where it entered the market place. It is suggested this lane was set out along the south-east side of St Sampson cemetery to provide access to the market from Jubbergate. The only other access into the north-east side of the market place was from Three Cranes Lane, recorded as Sadler Lane in 1541, which ran from Patrick Pool (Palliser 1978, 14). This section argues that it was the role of Thursday Market as a point of sale for victuals, particularly meat, that necessitated access from the Shambles, and this was the catalyst for the development of the section of Patrick Pool from Church Street to Grape Lane as a proper road rather than a service alley for the Petergate tenements.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PATRICK POOL: THE SUBDIVISION OF TENEMENT 27

The development of Patrick Pool between Church Street and Grape Lane with properties is indicated in the documentary and archaeological records. The plot boundaries on the south-west side of Patrick Pool, which extend through to Thursday Market, show uniformity in plot widths, suggesting a period of uniform planning (Figure 39). This is in contrast to the development of the properties that were established along Finkle Street and may represent a development following the closure of St Benedict's. On the north-east side of Patrick Pool, the long plots of Tenements 27-32 are sub-divided through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The sub-division of the Petergate tenements was possible because the tenements passed into the control of the Vicars Choral (Rees Jones 1987[ii], 117-24). However, due to the machine clearance of the upper deposits in trenches 1989.T5, T8 and 11-12 (see Chapter 2); it is unclear to what extent the Patrick Pool frontage was developed in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. The evidence recorded in trench 1989.T3 and an unpublished excavation at 22-24 Swinegate (Hunter-Mann 1992) showed that in some areas there was

still dumping and pit digging, indicating that some of the Petergate tenements had not been subdivided. This suggests that the development of the Patrick Pool frontage was carried out in stages, probably up until the mid-late fourteenth century.

The changes in land use associated with the sub-division of parts of the Petergate tenements for the development of the Patrick Pool street frontage was indicated by a sequence of dumps of material that sealed the early to mid-thirteenth-century fences, boundaries and pits associated with Tenements 27-8 (see Chapter 4). The artefacts from these deposits contained a range of pottery types and craft material relating to leather and metalworking. A personal item recovered from these dumps was the silk lining of a leather alms purse of a style current between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. Following the dumping activity, trenches 1989.T3 and 1989.T6 produced a well-stratified sequence for the creation in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century of two properties (Plots 27a-b) fronting onto Patrick Pool (Figure 40).

Plot 27a

The excavations in trench 1989.T6 and 1989.T3 produced an archaeological sequence for the use of street-front range and its associated backyard (Figure 40).

Street front: Structure N(i)

In Plot 27a, the absence of structural elements indicate trench 1989.T6 was solely within Structure N(i), but the analysis of the plot boundaries from the 1852 Ordnance Survey would indicate the building was 12ft wide, retaining the width of the original Petergate tenement (fig). There was a fragmentary floor deposit, pottery from which included a quantity of residual material but also fabrics of a mid- to late thirteenth-century date. Associated with the floor was a possible hearth. The presence of copper alloy sheet fragments suggests the cold working of metal, and a tentative interpretation for a shallow cut feature near the hearth is as the base for an anvil.

External Area

Cut into the site-wide dumping were the foundations for a stone wall constructed parallel to Patrick Pool and Petergate indicating the sub-division of Tenement 27a from Tenement 27 fronting onto Petergate. This wall consisted of hewn chalk blocks laid in rough courses that included clay and cobbles. Substantial boundaries were also erected dividing the tenement

from adjacent properties fronting onto Patrick Pool. The north-east boundary consisted of a trench into which were driven timber piles to consolidate the foundations, which consisted of clay, limestone, cobbles and tile. The footings were perhaps designed to take stone walls or substantial timber fences. This was in marked contrast to the preceding wicker fences and ditches (see Chapter 4). The creation of the new boundaries resulted in the closure of an alley that had been in use since the eleventh century. The excavations showed that these boundaries, in various forms, remained in place until the early twentieth century. The external area was used for the disposal of rubbish indicated by a series of dump deposits and pits. These dumps and pit backfills contained copper alloy metalworking waste and lead alloy sheet off cuts.

Plot 27b

Nothing was recorded of the street frontage, but as in Plot 27a, cut into the levelling deposits were the foundations for substantial boundaries, which separated the plot from Tenement 27 fronting onto Petergate and the adjoining properties fronting Patrick Pool. The foundations were of a similar construction to Plot 27a, consisting of trenches filled with clay, cobble, tile and limestone dated by the inclusion of late thirteenth- to early fourteenth-century pottery. Adjacent to the boundary wall parallel to Patrick Pool was a cess pit, which was abutted on its south-east side by a further short section of wall. It is suggested that this represents a covered cess pit. The backfill of the cess pit produced evidence for craft activity that included fragments of crucibles, but in contrast to Plot 27a, it also produced a large quantity of iron fragments and strips, suggesting the working of iron as well as copper alloy.

ST BENEDICT'S CHURCH: DECLINE AND CLOSURE

St Benedict's and its associated cemetery stood as the last reminder of the earlier topography of the estate in the south-east corner of the fortress. The discussion above suggests that it survived long enough to influence the creation of new streets associated with Thursday Market, but by the mid- to late thirteenth century, its fortunes were declining. The first indication of problems for St Benedict's was when its living was amalgamated with St Sampson's in 1263 (Tringham 1993a, 173). Following this merger, St Benedict's probably fell out of use, with St Sampson becoming the main church, and perhaps this was the point at which the parishes were merged. An inquiry in 1316 saw witnesses declare that the walls of the church were pulled down at the time of Dean William de Hambleton (1299 to 1307). This inquiry concluded that the church had not been dedicated and, although coffins were

visible on the site, no one had witnessed a burial; its religious status was thereby declared null and void (Tringham 1993a, 173; Rimmer 2007, 36). The closure of the church and its acquisition by the Vicars Choral facilitated the changes that were to be made to the topography in the fourteenth century.

THE DEVELOPING URBAN LANDSCAPE: THE THIRTEENTH-CENTURY NEIGHBOURHOOD

The thirteenth century saw significant changes to the topography of the study area. The closure of the southern section of Grape Lane can be seen to be part of a series of city-wide changes to the street pattern within the former fortress at the end of the thirteenth century; the section of Blake Street from Lop Lane to Petergate was enclosed around 1300, as was the road from the Petergate that it is suggested led to the Roman north-east gate (Rees Jones 1987[i], 103-4; Norton 1998, 20-1). The motives for the closure of the southern section of Grape Lane are unclear, but it may be associated with creation of Thursday Market, or perhaps with the development of the hall of the royal larders on Davygate. On the south-east side of Grape Lane, there is evidence for the continued use of the tenements fronting on to the street through the use of the external areas and the creation of a well. Whether this served a single tenement or was communal is unclear, but as discussed in Chapter 1, wells could be a focal point for a community.

The development of Thursday Market had a significant impact on the topography of the area, with the creation of new streets to connect it to the existing street pattern. The development of the market place was a catalyst for the development of the surrounding streets to exploit the increased flow of traffic through the area and provide access to the new victualing market and the Shambles. The creation of Thursday Market appears to have provided the motive for the Vicar Choral subdividing the Petergate tenements, and it was perhaps also the reason for the development of the Swinegate (Little Stonegate) street frontage. The ephemeral evidence for Structure N on Patrick Pool and the properties in Little Stonegate show the appearance of new crafts in the neighbourhood, with evidence of metalworkers. As discussed above, the change in crafts was identified through a consideration of the deposition processes and the features from which the artefacts were recovered. This showed a distinct change in the character of the deposits, and the form of the hearths recorded would indicate a metal working role. The dumping of material to the rear of the buildings from the street front buildings was a depositional process also seen in Petergate where there is a similar development of the metalworking trades in this period

(see Chapter 4). In all these areas, the predominant metalworking is copper alloy, although Plot 27b in Patrick Pool also suggested ironworking. This evidence, which sees a marked increase in the following centuries, raises questions about changes to the economy that see an apparent increase in demand for metal artefacts. Plots 27a and 27b, though, show the development of substantial property boundaries, with yards with their own cess pits. These substantial boundaries show a move away from the more open wicker fence and ditch boundaries that had characterised the Petergate tenements from the late eleventh century (see Chapter 4) and may indicate a growing interest in privacy, or perhaps reflect the need to have self-contained units that could be easily rented.

A significant change to the topography and social landscape of the area was the closure of St Benedict's church in the late thirteenth century. At this time Back Swinegate had yet to be created, and the area of St Benedict's and its immediately adjacent cemetery formed an abandoned area perhaps partially hidden by new tenements set out along Swinegate, Patrick Pool and fronting on to Thursday Market. When considering the residents of the Grape Lane, Swinegate and Little Stonegate area in the thirteenth century, some information can be drawn from the documentary records. Unlike those of the twelfth century, the transactions in the Patrick Pool area record the presence of buildings alongside the granting of parcels of land and reflect the archaeological evidence for the piecemeal development of the street. For example, in the 1250s one transaction (Rees Jones 1996) was for a *messuage* between the land of Henry Svyn and Benet the physician in Patrick Pool. Witnesses to this document still show a mix of Anglo-Norman and Scandinavian names, although the former is more dominant than before.

The evidence for the thirteenth century therefore indicates a growing complexity in the division and use of space within the south-eastern quadrant of the former fortress. This raises questions regarding how people defined their neighbourhood in relation to the new residents in Patrick Pool or Swinegate and the changes to the traffic and movement of people through the area following the creation of Thursday Market. The defining of neighbourhood in relation to parish is problematic due to the amalgamation of St Benedict's and St Sampson's after 1263; this shows that the parish boundaries were still fluid in the thirteenth century, and it is perhaps at this time that the parish boundaries are also renegotiated with the surrounding parishes. The amalgamation of the parishes would have had a significant impact on the social use of space as people in the two parishes would have had to make new contacts and resolve new hierarchies of interaction. Therefore, it is

suggested that it is as the division and use of space increases in complexity that the street, or sections of the street where people know one another or work together, forms the basis for neighbourhoods. Within the street, everybody knew each other, and social segregation could have been broken down due to the fact that rich and poor lived in close proximity (Phythian Adams 1979, 166-7). Streets could therefore develop a complex web of closely related groups, transcending official boundaries of ward and parish. The official boundaries of ward, parish and craft affiliation were used by the community to meet, gain status and air grievances; they were also the means for the authorities to ensure that urban space was maintained and the law upheld (Phythian Adams 1979, 115-6; Rosser 1989, 2-3, 248; Hartshorne 2004, 35).

TENEMENTS IN GRAPE LANE, PATRICK POOL, BENET'S RENTS AND THE CREATION OF BACK SWINEGATE C.1300-1400

It is in the fourteenth century that the archaeology contributes to the understanding of the character of the street frontages along Grape Lane, Patrick Pool, Back Swinegate and Little Stonegate. This period sees the last major changes to the topography of the study area with the redevelopment of the site of St Benedict's church for properties known as Benetplace, which this section argues results in the creation of Back Swinegate. The historical records indicate that in this period the area around Grape Lane begins to become associated with prostitution. The first use of *Grapcunt Lane* is recorded in 1329, and *Grape Lane* 1381 x 84; the street name has been associated with the 'bawdy reputation' (Palliser 1978, 10) of the area. Alternatively, Angelo Raine (1955, 125) has suggested the street name is derived from the fact the lane was very narrow and therefore dark and poorly maintained. However, the records of the Vicars Choral show the areas around the Minster comprised several streets with rows of houses with cheap rents let to women. Indeed, the records show these areas, the streets of Aldwark, Grape Lane, St Andrewgate and Swinegate and the immediately adjacent areas, are often cited in court books in association with fornication and adultery between 1358 and 1495 (Goldberg 1999). The excavations in this area offer the opportunity for a more detailed consideration of the streets, land use and character of the neighbourhood.

EXTERNAL AREA SOUTH-EAST SIDE OF GRAPE LANE

The barrel-lined well in trench 1989.T2 was deliberately backfilled in this period and produced a significant quantity of pottery. The fabrics were predominantly Brandsby, Humber and a fragment of a Scarborough ware knight jug, and they were mainly domestic. This material may have derived from the tenements at the street front, or it may represent the disposal of rubbish from several properties. Duncan Brown (2002, 158) has shown in Southampton that backfilling of features such as garderobes and cellars shows a cohesion of material suggesting backfilling as a single event, and the quantity of material may indicate exploitation of existing rubbish dumps. Once the well was backfilled, there were accumulations of organic deposits, but the well caused problems in this area with settlement of material into the fifteenth century. Once the well was filled, the deposits in trench 1989.T2 consist primarily of organic accumulations and pit cuts. However, it is unclear whether the external area recorded in trench 1989.T2 is related to the Grape Lane properties or in fact the rear of properties set out along Patrick Pool. This thesis suggests that tenements were created fronting onto Patrick Pool to exploit its growing importance as an access road for Thursday Market. To accommodate these new properties, the external area of the properties fronting on to Grape Lane was reduced. Indeed, the excavation in trench 1989.T1 did identify a wall dating to the c.fourteenth century that could represent a boundary between properties fronting Grape Lane and properties fronting Patrick Pool. This boundary corresponds to the property divisions shown on the 1852 Ordnance Survey. The creation of tenements onto Patrick Pool may therefore explain the closure of the well and the levelling of the area recorded in trench 1989.T2.

TENEMENTS ON THE SOUTH-EAST SIDE OF GRAPE LANE

The fourteenth century provides the first evidence for the tenements and associated properties fronting onto the south-east side of Grape Lane in trench 1989.T1. This structural sequence is within the area identified as belonging to Newburgh Priory (see Figure 36). A survey of the jurisdiction of the dean and chapter in c.1390 describes properties in Grape Lane and Petergate and states that there were ten tenements on the south-east side of Grape Lane from the rent of the prior of Newburgh towards Petergate (Rees Jones 1987(ii), 75, 77). There is limited evidence for the appearance of medieval buildings within the study area. The only standing building is 19 Grape Lane (Figure 41), which dates to the early fifteenth century. It originally consisted of a two-storeyed building, jettied at the first floor. It has a first-floor hall and is roofed parallel to the street (RCHME Field Notes 19 Grape Lane).

There is also part of a sixteenth-century, two-storey building jettied to the first floor within No. 7 Grape Lane (RCHME 1981, 146). The photographic evidence for this area from the late nineteenth century (Figure 42) shows two-storey timber-framed buildings jettied to the first floor on the corner of Back Swinegate and Swinegate, some of which may be form part of Benetplace (see below). These buildings are in contrast to the three- or four-storey buildings that characterised Petergate in this period and may suggest a different social composition or level of investment in the street by the landowners. It is therefore assumed that the excavated buildings dating to the fourteenth century were also of two storeys, which must be borne in mind when interpreting the archaeological evidence.

The original archive report interpreted the structural sequence in trench 1989.T1 as a solar range, right angle hall parallel to the street and a service range; it was also suggested that there was limited evidence for the use of the buildings (Bonner et al., 1991, 8-103). The reappraisal of the stratigraphic sequence for this thesis suggests an alternative interpretation and argues there is evidence associated with the use of these buildings. The properties recorded in trench 1989.T1 (Figure 43), show that there is little correlation between the property boundaries at the street frontage shown on the 1852 Ordnance Survey. However, previous research has shown the broader divisions of land units can be shown to have an older antecedence (Rees Jones 1987[iii]). Within trench 1989.T1, at the north-east end of the trench was a wall of a building that lay beyond the limit of excavation. Based on the tenement divisions identified by Rees Jones (1987[iii], 75, 78-82), it is suggested that this forms part of a building within Tenement 21. Adjacent to this wall was an alley of cobbles edged with flat laid slabs of limestone. This alley marked the north-eastern boundary of the plots identified within trench 1989.T1, and the 1852 Ordnance Survey shows this alley formed the parish boundary between St Sampson's and St Michael-le-Belfrey. This section argues that to the south-west of the alley there were six plots within trench 1989.T1. Plots 1-3 measured 12ft wide with Plots 4-6 measuring 10ft wide. It is proposed that there was an alley on the south-west side of Plot 2 separating it from Plot 3. No services survived as it had been truncated by nineteenth century or later service pipes. There appeared to be a further alley on the south-west side of Plot 3 separating it from Plots 4-6 which only 10ft (c.3m) wide. This section discusses the structural evidence for each of these plots and the evidence this provides for the character of the street.

PLOT 1: STRUCTURE A(i)

Structure A (Figure 44) comprised three dwarf walls consisting of a single course of limestone blocks with a central post pad. Although the portion of the building closest to the street frontage was beyond the limits of excavation, the dimensions of extant fourteenth century buildings in York would suggest it would have had measured either 12ft x 12ft (3.65x3.65m) or 12ft x 10ft (2.65mx3m). The construction level of the buildings was not excavated, but the deposits associated with the use of the building indicate a date of the early fourteenth century. The presence of a continuous sill wall would imply that the building was fully timber framed (Grenville 1997, 35, 45).

Internal divisions were indicated by two bands of compact red-brown silt and sandstone, dividing the street front into two narrow rooms (Room 1 and 2) with a larger room spanning the full width of the building (Room 3) at the rear. Documentary records for the maintenance and repair of buildings from the fourteenth century show partitions could be constructed from timber, with daub and plaster, or lath and plaster infill that could be quickly inserted and easily removed (Rimmer 2007, 145-6). On either side of these partitions, there were sequences of deposits interpreted as make-up or construction deposits in the original report (Bonner et al., 1991, 9-20). These deposits consisted of layers of clay or compact deposits of sandy material containing quantities of tile and traces of mortar, and it is suggested that these represent floors. This is based on the similarities with the documentary descriptions for floors, which record the importation of barrows of earth that could be skimmed with mortar (Stell 2003, 98; Rimmer 2007, 49). It is argued that the variations in the characteristics of the floor deposits within Structure A indicate different uses of the rooms.

Room 1 and Room 2 were c.5.5-6ft (1.7-1.8m) x c.9-10ft (2.7-3m). Within Room 1, there appear to have been multiple floors with lensed layers of clay with inclusions of ash, mortar and charcoal. Associated with floor deposits were a series of driven posts, around which had accumulated a series of ashy deposits as well as an area of burnt clay. Artefacts recovered from the floor deposits included fourteenth-century pottery and casting waste, and copper alloy buckles and pins. It is suggested that this room had an industrial/craft role, but there was no clear evidence of a hearth. It is suggested that the posts might represent the frame of a bellows associated with a raised forge or hearth within the room. A similar interpretation was proposed for posts and burnt areas in a copper alloy workshop dated to the fourteenth or fifteenth century in St Andrewgate (Finlayson 2004, 901-2). Buckles would have been made in moulds while pins would have been made by drawing copper rods to make wire

(Blair and Blair 2001, 86; Swanson 1980, 201-2). The production of pins was an early form of mass production through improvements in the quality of the copper alloy; York had a pinners' guild by 1349 (Tylecote 1987, 351).

Room 2 was heavily truncated by a later feature, but the surviving floor deposits consisted of compact light brown clay and sand with inclusions of tile and charcoal flecks; notably, there was no evidence burning, which could imply a different function or use for the space. Room 3, at the rear of the building, was 12ftx6ft (3.60x 1.80) and had a floor of yellow mortar, crushed limestone and compact brown clay. There was evidence for a hearth of edge set tiles adjacent to the internal division with Room 1, which appear to have been replaced or repaired on at least one occasion. There were no spreads of ash or heat discolouration of the floors similar to Room 1, but artefacts collected from this area included copper alloy objects and copper alloy sheet fragments. It is possible that this room also operated as a work room, but using lower temperature activities, the cold working of metal or the finishing of objects through filing and sanding (Tylcote 1987, 209-18; Hodges 1989, 64-79; Blair and Blair 2001, 85-9; Finlayson 2004, 885). There was a higher quantity of pottery in the deposits associated with this room in the form of jugs and a bead from a rosary was also recovered. It is possible therefore that this room was multifunctional serving an industrial and domestic use.

External Area

To the rear of Structure A, there were a series of dumps and accumulations containing animal bone and pottery dating to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. There was a limestone wall abutting the rear of the street-front range, flanking the alley that separated Structure A from Tenement 21. This wall may have formed the boundary for the property as there were no other clearly related structural features.

PLOT 2: STRUCTURE B(I)

The construction level of the building was not excavated, but the surviving walls indicate it was same dimensions as Structure A (Figure 44). The pottery from the floor and occupation deposits dated from the early fourteenth to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. The pottery was drawn from the surrounding region with Brandsby, Hambleton, and Humber wares recovered. The earliest deposits associated with it contained a range of pottery types from the late thirteenth to the fourteenth century. Although of similar dimensions to Structure A, the building was of a different construction, with the rear wall having

foundations that consisted of an interrupted sill wall with pad stones, with the south-west wall forming a continuous limestone sill wall. The dwarf wall between the pad stones in the rear wall was constructed primarily of tile that dated to the fourteenth to sixteenth century. On the south-west side of Structure B was an alley that gave access to the rear of the Plot, but it had been largely removed by later services. There was a possible threshold for a door giving access to the alley in the south-west wall of Structure B. Unlike in Structure A, there was no clear evidence for internal divisions, but this is not to say that the space was not divided. Rimmer's (2007, 145-8) examination of York building and repair accounts has shown that some partitions could be ephemeral and may therefore not leave any evidence in the archaeological record.

Structure B seems to have been used as a metalsmith's workshop. The evidence was predominantly for ironworking, with almost 2kg of iron slag recovered, but there was also some evidence for copper alloy working. A possible working area was located towards the front of a building where there was a tile setting with a post. The function of this feature is uncertain, but a tentative interpretation is that it was the base either for an anvil or bellows because the deposits around this feature contained a quantity of ash and slag. Within the rest of the building there was patchy evidence for sequences of floors made of clay or limestone chippings and fragments of tile suggesting a number of relaying or repair events. Some of these surfaces at the rear of the building showed evidence for burning and at least one contained copper alloy waste. A possible hearth or working area was located in the south-east corner of the rear of the building. In the north-west corner of the building there was an area of clay overlain by lenses of ash and charcoal that might represent the disturbed remains of hearths against the exterior wall. The post near this hearth may have formed part of the frame to support a cowl or smoke hood made of lath and plaster.

External area

To the rear of Structure B at the limit of excavation there was evidence for organic deposits and pit digging for the disposal of rubbish.

PLOT 3: STRUCTURE C

This structure had been heavily truncated by later activity, but the surviving walls show it was of similar dimensions to Structure A and B. It was of the same construction as Structure B with a continuous sill wall on the south-west side and an interrupted sill for the rear wall.

There appears to have been an alley on the south-west side of Structure C measuring 2.5ft (0.66m) wide, although it had been truncated by later services, which separated it from Structure D-F.

PLOTS 4-6: A ROW OF HOUSES STRUCTURE D-F

The building in Plots 4-6 appeared to form a row of properties constructed as a single structure (see Figure 43). This interpretation is based on the evidence of the rear wall of the structure that extended across Plots 4-6 and consisted of a continuous sill wall constructed of limestone blocks. The relationship of the rear wall with the wall abutting the alley between Structure C and D was lost due to later truncation. The foundation of the wall abutting the alley contained pottery dating from the eleventh to fourteenth century and was overlain by a dwarf wall consisting of limestone blocks and cobbles. Pottery found within the wall dated to the mid-thirteenth to early fourteenth century. The wall abutting the alley was rebuilt or modified in the late fourteenth century and appears to be extended beyond the line of the rear wall, perhaps to form part of a boundary wall between the external area of Structure C to the north-east. Dating for this change is problematic as the only pottery associated with it dated to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century; there was also a silver long cross penny that was in circulation between 1279-1489. The side wall between Structure D and C was the only wall to correspond to a property boundary shown on the 1852 Ordnance Survey map. The individual units within the building, Structures D-F, were created by internal walls constructed of brick and limestone that presumably formed the sill walls for lath and timber partitions. The internal sill walls indicate Structures D-F were 10ft (3m) wide. Although the frontages of the building were beyond the edge of trench 1989.T1, comparison with surviving fourteenth century rows in York, such as Lady Row, would suggest that Structure D-F had a floor area of 10ftx12ft (3mx3.65m). No deposits associated with the use of the buildings in the fourteenth century were excavated.

PATRICK POOL: PLOT 27A

The excavations in trench 1989.T6 produced evidence for a sequence of remodelling of Structure N in between the early and mid-fourteenth century (Figure 45).

STRUCTURE N(II-IV)

A new floor was laid sealing the late thirteenth-century activity within Structure N (see above). Associated with the floor was a new tile hearth with a projection that may indicate

the position of bellows. Use deposits associated with this hearth consisted of a quantity of ash and multi-coloured sand probably derived from the casting of copper alloy objects; this is supported by the fragments of crucibles that were also collected. This activity was sealed by the laying of another floor with the suggestion of an internal division. The tile hearth was replaced, and associated with it was a spread of material that could be the remains of a superstructure, possibly a retaining wall or the remains of a clay dome to heat the charcoal used in the smelting of copper prior to pouring into moulds (Tylecote 1981, 43-4; English Heritage 2001, 14; McDonnell and Starley 2002, 2; Bowsher et al., 2008, 165; Pearce 2008, 348). A further alteration to the interior of the building was made which is difficult to date. The tile hearth was replaced, but it was inserted slightly to the north-east of the earlier hearths. There was a projection on the side of the hearth that could have been for bellows. Associated with the hearth was a layer of black clay, which contained slag and slag concretions as well as fragment of clay moulds. This was potentially associated with the superstructure of the hearth, perhaps forming part of a furnace. An iron tool, possibly a hammer, was found in association with this deposit. The possible internal division was retained, indicated by the end of a beam slot and a variation in the floor materials in the south-east half of the trench. The final alteration recorded in the excavations was heavily truncated by later activity. There was a sequence of hearths and floors, but there is no dating evidence associated with them. The final floor and hearth contained a crucible suggesting the continuation of metalworking.

BENETPLACE

The site of Benetplace was not excavated during the 1989-1990 excavations, but the development of the site of St Benedict's church in the mid-fourteenth century has a bearing on the development of the street pattern and the interpretation of the archaeological sequence in trench 1989.T4. The documentary evidence for the development of the site of St Benedict's church has been discussed in detail by scholars (Tringham 1993a, 212, 1993b; Rimmer 2007, 32-60). The first reference to the church and its churchyard following its closure and demolition is in 1316, when the rector of St Sampson's granted the site to Roger de Bugthorpe, a carpenter, to use as a yard. A charter of 1337 confirms that the site of the church was granted to the Vicars Choral so that they could build rentable houses, or 'rents', on the site. By 1338, the site was described as being covered with rubbish, and the archbishop of York, William de Melton, was licensed by the king to develop the land with housing (Tringham 1993b, 174; Rimmer 2007, 33). No development was carried out, and a

similar grant was made to Archbishop Thoresby in 1359, when the site may have been associated with a brothel, contributing to the origins of the name Grape Lane (Tringham 1993b, 174). Thorsby's grant stipulated that the site was transferred to the Vicars Choral, who took ownership in December in 1361. This delay may have been to allow for the completion of the construction of houses on the site (Tringham (1993b, 173).

The houses built on the site of St Benedict's church are shown on the 1852 Ordnance Survey as Benet's Rents. They form a corner plot fronting onto the truncated section of Grape Lane, Patrick Pool, and Back Swinegate and are also shown in a photograph from the 1890s (Figure 46). The photographs show Benetplace or Benet's Rents, albeit much altered, was of two storeys. Benetplace was developed simultaneously as another site owned by the Vicars at Cambhall in Goodramgate. The building accounts show that the construction of buildings was carried out in blocks across both sites over a number of months (Rimmer 2007, 43). The period of construction of Benetplace would have had a profound impact on the character of the area with the movement of materials and associated noise. Rimmer's (2007, 37-60) research provides a detailed picture of the process of organizing the construction of rows of houses, and through the building accounts she provides a detailed picture of the materials used and the appearance of the buildings. The documents show twelve houses were built at Benetplace between 1361-2; they were timber framed, with tile roofs, and the interior and exterior were provided with a coat of whitewash essential for its protective and weather proofing qualities. Doors were fitted with locks to ensure the security of the buildings.

The building accounts refer to the provision of louvre-boards and louvre-strings, with only one house equipped with a chimney; David the Plasterer was paid 3s 4d to construct a chimney in Benetplace; this would suggest it was made of plaster rather than wood, which would have been made by a carpenter (Rimmer 2007, 58). However, Chapter 1 has argued that louvres might be associated with timber chimneys, and the construction of one out of brick and plaster may suggest it was intended to be in a building perhaps intended for a higher rent. Indeed, the rental accounts for Benetplace between Pentecost to Martinmas 1364 show different rents for the 12 tenants; eight paid 5s, three 4s 6d and one 3s 8d (Rimmer 2007, 59). The question is how this development related to the existing street pattern. The traditional view, that Back Swinegate and Little Stonegate reflect the boundaries of St Benedict's church and churchyard would see the development of Benetplace as taking place over part of the church/cemetery and fronting onto an established street. However, this thesis argues that St Benedict's was set out in relation to the extended line of Grape

Lane to Davygate, and Back Swinegate is therefore associated with the redevelopment of the cemetery.

BACK SWINEGATE

Back Swinegate's alignment does not correspond to either the Roman or medieval plot boundaries. It has been suggested above that the land between Grape Lane and Stonegate was set out as single unit. Where the ward and parish boundary continues the line of Grape Lane through to Little Stonegate, the plot boundaries extending from the Stonegate street frontage to Grape Lane are also set out at roughly right angles to the proposed line of the street (Figure 47). The property boundaries fronting onto Back Swinegate, in contrast, are set at an angle to the proposed line of Grape Lane. There is also a distortion in the line of the boundaries on the south-east side of Back Swinegate and the properties fronting onto Thursday Market). It is suggested that the block of land on the south-east side of Back Swinegate between Swinegate and Little Stonegate was set out with properties after the establishment of Back Swinegate, and includes the creation of Nether Hornpot Lane.

The proposal presented here is that the creation of Back Swinegate was necessary to maximise the development of the site of St Benedict's and its churchyard; the archaeological evidence for the church (see above) makes it possible that Benetplace was built on the site St Benedict's, and the angle of Back Swinegate was due to the desire to avoid the church. The archaeological evidence associated with the truncation of Grape Lane also raises the possibility that the street frontage of Little Stonegate was beginning to be developed with houses. This may have influenced the need to create Back Swinegate to connect Little Stonegate to Patrick Pool (modern Swinegate). The creation of Back Swinegate in the fourteenth century can be supported by the archaeological evidence for tenements excavated in trench 1989.T4. The excavations identified a complex sequence of structural activity fronting onto Back Swinegate, and there was a correlation between the excavated buildings and the property boundaries shown on the 1852 Ordnance Survey map.

STRUCTURES G-K

These buildings were interpreted as forming a tripartite hall and solar block (Bonner et al., 1991, 251-302), but the reinterpretation presented here suggests they in fact form four individual tenements (Structures G, H, J and K) (Figure 48). Allowing for the problems with the recording of these structures (see Chapter 2), the archaeological sequence suggests they

date to the mid- to late fourteenth century. Based on the evidence from the deeper interventions on the site these appear to form the first structural evidence fronting on to the street. Structure H was possibly altered in the late fourteenth century as there is evidence for a new rear wall offset slightly from the earlier wall. The earliest surviving foundations were constructed of limestone and cobble bonded with clay. There was some evidence of post pads at the corner of the building; one post pad was a reused architectural capital and may have been derived from the church of St Benedict. The tenements were larger than those in Patrick Pool or Grape Lane and measured c.16ft x 12ft (4.9m x 3.6m); it is likely they were timber framed and of two storeys.

Two of the better preserved tenements were Structure G and H (Figure 49), with evidence for sequences of clay floors with successive tile hearths. These deposits showed that the buildings were used as metalworking workshops, with Structure G used for copper alloy working, whereas Structure H appeared to be used for a mix of ironworking and for copper alloy working. Objects from Structure G included moulds and casting and from Structure H nails and knife blades. It is unclear whether Structure K formed a large corner plot, or whether that was an alley separating Structure H and K. The possible floor deposits in Structure J and K were removed with little attempt to differentiate deposits'. Therefore, interpretation is problematic. The possible floors in these buildings consisted of spreads of clay, limestone and tile and several tile hearths were also recorded. The pottery dated to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. The buildings were used as metalworking workshops, with evidence for the working of copper alloy sheet and casting items such as dress fittings. There was also evidence for ironworking, seemingly focussing on the production of iron nails. Other items from these floors included a bone parchment pricker and a stone slate pencil, as well as evidence for recreational activity in the form of a buzz bone.

External Area

There could have been an alley on the north-east side of Structure G, and a stone footing for a boundary wall. Behind Structure H there was fragmentary evidence for walls perhaps associated with boundaries, or ephemeral structures constructed to the rear of the street-front building. Associated with these walls was an area of burnt clay which produced late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century pottery and a large quantity of iron nails. This might have formed a workshop, as recorded in trench 2004.T6 in Tenement 44 (see Chapter 4). To the rear of Structure K was a pit that contained late fourteenth-century pottery and a high

quantity of nails, corresponding with the evidence for nail production from within the building.

LITTLE STONEGATE (MEDIEVAL SWINEGATE)

There is limited archaeological evidence for the properties fronting onto medieval Swinegate. Trench 1989.T4 recorded two structures fronting onto the street (Structures L and M). The construction trench for the walls of Structure L and M (Figure 50) produced late fourteenth-century pottery, indicating they were constructed at the same time as Structure G-K. There is considerable uniformity in the plot boundaries that run between Little Stonegate and Davygate in the area around the proposed extension of the line of Grape Lane. This might indicate the development of properties in this area following the closure of the road, which the archaeology in Area JJ suggests occurred in the mid-thirteenth century. At the north-east end of Little Stonegate there was less conformity in the boundaries between Davygate and Little Stonegate, suggesting a different pattern of development. Excavations at 3 Little Stonegate showed that the street frontage in this area was developed with housing from the early thirteenth century. Through the fourteenth century there was a complex sequence of structural activity with the buildings used for metalworking workshops associated with copper alloy casting (McNab 1999).

STRUCTURE L

Very little of Structure L (Figure 48) was excavated, but it had limestone sill walls that show it measured 16ft x 12ft (4.9m x 3.6m). The only features recorded within the structure were the evidence for a room division represented by clay bands with two posts for the door. The room measured c.11ft x 6ft (3.36m x 1.9m). It is suggested that the space adjacent to this room may have accommodated the stairs to the first floor.

STRUCTURE M

This building (Figure 50) had limestone foundations and had a street-front range that measured c.14ft x 12ft (4.54m x 3.6m). It had an integral outshot at the rear that measured c.14ft x 6ft (4.54m x 1.9m). As in Structure L, there were limited excavations of the street-front building, but an area of burning, a possible floor and a hearth were recorded. More detailed excavation and recording was made of the outshot to the rear of the street-front building; there was no clear evidence for access between these buildings. Within the outshot there was a tile hearth positioned against the external wall, adjacent to which was a hard

standing of tile and stone. There was a block of limestone near the hearth, which it is suggested formed the anvil block. Near the possible anvil was a line of posts/stakes, and there were numerous other stake holes recorded within the building, the function of which is unclear. The floors within the building were of burnt clay and spreads of sand. Artefacts associated with these floors included fourteenth-century pottery and evidence for copper alloy working indicating the production of dress fittings.

THE FOURTEENTH-CENTURY NEIGHBOURHOOD: INSTITUTIONAL REDEVELOPMENT AND CRAFT ACTIVITY

The acquisition of the site of St Benedict's by the Vicars Choral allowed large-scale changes to be made to the topography, as was also seen with the development of Patrick Pool. This section argues that as part of the development of Benetplace, Back Swinegate was set out, creating the street pattern that survives into the modern city. The excavated tenements show a complex pattern of land division, but with a basic arrangement of two adjoining tenements flanked on either side by alley ways giving access to the rear of the properties. The excavated properties in Grape Lane have shown that even by 1852 there had been significant alterations to the property boundaries, but there was still a good correlation between the excavated buildings and the property divisions in Little Stonegate and Back Swinegate. With the exception of the wall to the rear of Structure A, there were no clear boundaries between tenements in Grape Lane, Back Swinegate and Little Stonegate, but this could be due to later truncation. A feature of both of these streets was that later services had followed alleys or property boundaries and thereby destroyed all earlier evidence.

The charter describing Grape Lane in 1390 refers to the rents of Newburgh Priory, and the term rents (*domos rentales*), cottages (*cottagium*), and shops (*shoppa*) were used for small houses across the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to differentiate them from larger dwellings, which were identified as tenements (*tenementum*) or messuages (*messuagium*) (Rimmer 2007, 3). It is suggested that Structures G-K formed part of the rents of Newburgh Priory, and along with the development of Benetplace, they indicate small houses were a characteristic feature of the south-western end of Grape Lane. It is worth noting that both these areas were owned by ecclesiastical institutions, and the construction of rows is often associated with speculative building by the Church to provide an income (Grenville 1997, 190-1; Sheerhan 1998, 133). However, alongside the small houses there were larger properties, suggesting variations in the form and appearance of the buildings in the street, with the largest properties set out along the newly created Back Swinegate. The

documentary accounts for the construction of Benetplace give a good indication of the form and appearance of the buildings, and the archaeology suggests that all the houses in Grape Lane, Swinegate and Little Stonegate were also provided with tiled roofs; it is reasonable to assume that they might also have been treated with lime wash.

It is notable that in all of the streets, the buildings have industrial functions associated with the metalworking trades, first recorded in the new tenements along Patrick Pool in the late thirteenth century. The majority of the workshops were engaged in copper alloy working, with the exception of Structure B which was used primarily by an ironsmith. There was evidence for the mixed working of metal in some workshops, and this is a pattern seen in the workshops excavated in St Andrewgate and Walmgate (Finlayson 2004; McNab 2003). The excavations showed internal divisions within Structure A, with the front of the building divided into a room for the hot working of the metal, and an adjacent room which it may be speculated was a shop. The room at the rear was perhaps used for the finishing of items. In Structure N there was ephemeral evidence for an internal division, and in Structure L there was a clearly defined room, but the excavations did not record evidence to help identify its use. In Structures M and H there was also evidence to suggest that industrial buildings were set behind the street-front buildings. This was also noted in the excavations at 3 Little Stonegate (McNab 1998). Medieval shops usually had large openings at the front (see Chapter 1), and the location of the workshops at the street front may have been associated with displaying not only goods but also the skill of the smith.

The archaeological evidence for the metalworking workshops, and an understanding of the working practices of metalsmiths, allows a consideration of the impact this would have had on the appearance and character of the area. The metalworking trades in York comprised two main groups: those who worked non-ferrous and those who worked ferrous metal (Swanson 1981, 179). The excavations show that the residents in Grape Lane, Swinegate and Little Stonegate came from each of these groups. The smith's workshop would have been an atmospheric place of noise and fumes that often made it unpopular (Geddes 2001, 174-5). The noises from the workshops would have been determined by the activities carried out, with non-ferrous metals being cast, iron and steel worked with hammer and anvil, or ferrous and non-ferrous metals drawn into wire (Swanson 1981, 180). The wills and inventories of the metalworkers show the relative sophistication of the tools required and their importance, reflected in their lengthy enumeration of equipment in shops and workhouses (Swanson 1999, 50-1).

The workshops recorded in the excavations were clearly involved in processes that involved hammering based on the presence of hammerscale, and the presence of copper sheet suggests the cold working of copper alloy. This involves a process called *annealing* where an object is reheated then allowed to cool between hammerings (Hodges 1989, 73-4). There was also evidence for casting activities; the presence of lead is perhaps due to the fact that it was added to copper alloy to increase the fluidity of the molten metal, which would have been important for producing castings (Hodges 1989, 69). Casting and hammering were only one part of the process; subsequent stages involved the use of saws, files, drills, lathes and soldering irons (Tylecote 1987, 209-18; Hodges 1989, 74-6; Blair and Blair 2001, 88). The use of the street front buildings as workshops would have affected the noise coming from them and had a significant impact on the soundscape of the streets. (Woolgar 2006, 66) suggests that the medieval city would have been comparatively quiet, with the loudest noises being dogs barking, people shouting and a few manmade sounds. The fact that workshops were on the street front meant that they would have filled the street with sounds and smells. Indeed, the London Founders' Ordinances regulated the hours of work to minimise disturbance, and literary references are also made to the noise associated with the metalworkers (Swanson 1989, 67; Blair and Blair 2001, 89)

If the excavated buildings were of two storeys, with the ground floors used for workshops and the upper floors as domestic, this would accord with the surviving late fourteenth- to fifteenth-century building at 19 Grape Lane, which has a first-floor hall. What smoke extraction facilities were provided, and what means of coping with the high temperatures involved? The use of the open front for the workshop may have been associated with the need to manage and regulate heat, and Chapter 1 has discussed the limited evidence available for fireplaces. However, the excavations recorded a range of different hearths used for metalworking. In Grape Lane it is suggested that Structure A and B had raised forges, but Structure N in Patrick Pool and Structures G-M in Back Swinegate and Little Stonegate all had ground-floor hearths. This is in contrast to the limited documentary reference for hearths in relation to Benetplace, but the provision of louvres may be associated with timber chimneys. The position of the ground-floor hearths was usually close to walls, usually with a gap that may have been for a reredos of clay or tile to protect the wall.

The evidence for metalworking allows consideration of the households in the street that would have made up the neighbours. The metalworking trades were often family businesses, with the wife as actively involved as the husband and usually at least one apprentice

(Swanson 1989). However, as Jeremy Goldberg (2000, 59) has highlighted, a distinction needs to be made between those resident in the house, such as family and servants, and those who worked there on a daily basis and lived elsewhere. The archaeology provided some evidence for the leisure activities of these families with the presence of buzz bones, and bone parchment prickers could indicate a level of literacy. The different families in the streets would have interacted with one another, but the archaeology shows that there was different metalworking process carried out, and those involved in different process and in different fraternities in the same street would have maintained traditional differences, loyalties and hostilities (Swanson 1989, 68). The rent accounts for Benetplace show in 1363-4 that three out of the twelve tenants were women, but by 1366, this had increased slightly to four out of twelve tenants, and it remained at this level throughout the fourteenth century. The surnames of the Benetplace tenants also suggest several worked in the building trades, in tailoring and leather trades or as smiths. None of the men could be identified in the Freeman's register; they might have worked as journeymen and day labourers (Rimmer 2007, 185, 188). Those working in the building trades would have been unlikely to work in the area where they lived, but the smiths may have worked in the workshops in Grape Lane, Patrick Pool and Back Swinegate. It was suggested previously that at the end of the thirteenth century, the street was the dominant feature in shaping the neighbourhood; this was likely the case in this period, too. The craft and parish ties may have helped in making social contacts and helped to connect people to the wider social networks of the city, but it would have been the proximity of living together that would have shaped the character of the neighbourhood.

The archaeology therefore paints a picture of a thriving artisanal neighbourhood, which is in contrast to the documentary sources that have highlighted the association of the area with prostitution. Jeremy Goldberg (1999, 174, 179) has suggested that any man turning off the main thoroughfares of Petergate or Goodramgate would have found himself in streets whose tenants included a significant number of women engaged periodically in commercial sex, but the archaeological evidence shows that prostitution was only one element of the character of this area. However, perhaps there was a dual role to some of the artisan's activities, as can be seen in Chaucer's 'Cook's Tale' in the *Canterbury Tales*, which describes a shop kept as a front of respectability for the other business of prostitution (Nicolson 2004, 111). Indeed, in York in the fifteenth century, John Gorres, a goldsmith, was presented to the ward courts accused of various misconducts including the fact that his wife Joanna and Agnes their servant were said to be prostitutes (Hartshorne 2004, 165). The neighbourhood

of Grape Lane, Patrick Pool and Little Stonegate may therefore have been highly complex through the fourteenth century, with the ties of neighbourhood in each street built on physical contact, shared trade interests and the tensions between different groups of residents.

THE LATE MEDIEVAL TOWNSCAPE C.1400-1600

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries represent the latest levels recorded in the excavations, and due to later truncation, limited archaeological evidence survives. The evidence in this period is focussed on Plots 1-6 in Grape Lane, where there was a well-stratified sequence relating to the subtle changes in the use and organisation of the Tenements discussed in the fourteenth century.

PLOT 1: STRUCTURE A(II)

Within Structure A (Figure 51), a sequence of deposits was laid down that sealed the earlier room divisions and the post pad in the centre of the building. These deposits contained a mix of copper alloy waste and animal bone. The subsequent floors within the building show no clear sign of internal divisions, and there is an absence of craft-related activity. Indeed, very few finds were recovered from the floor deposits. The position of the hearth associated with this new phase of the structure was located in the north-east corner of the structure. The limestone sill walls behind the hearth are covered with a course of bricks to act as a fireback. Only one of the floors associated with this last phase of Structure A produced pottery, which dated to the fifteenth century (Humber and late Brandsby ware), and some animal bone. The use of Structure A in the fifteenth and sixteenth century is therefore unclear; it may have become more domestic in use or had a craft use involving a process that has left no archaeological evidence.

EXTERNAL AREA

At the rear of Structure A, a cess pit lined and floored with limestone blocks is constructed, but which may have originated in the late fourteenth century. There were few deposits associated with the cess pit, and the environmental samples identified faecal material but little else relating to the health or diet. The upper-most fill of the pit suggests it was closed in the sixteenth century as the deposit included fragments of Cistercian ware pottery.

PLOT 2: STRUCTURE B(II)

There was little direct evidence for the use of the building in this period, but the ironworking appears to carry on into the early fifteenth century. The main change in the fifteenth century relates to the alterations to the north-eastern bay of the rear wall of Structure B (Figure 51). The structures to the rear of Structure B dating to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century (see below) have fallen out of use and been sealed by an extensive yard deposit. Possibly cut through this is a trench along the external face of the foundations of Structure B, and backfilled with a very uniform deposit containing late fifteenth-century pottery. This was interpreted as the footings for a stairwell leading to a first-floor solar range, but there were interpretative problems because the backfill of the feature was overlain by a tile hearth (Bonner et al., 1991, 24, 36, 42-4). This section argues that the cut feature does not represent the footing for staircase but the remains of the foundations for an external fireplace and brick chimney stack added in the late fifteenth century. Similar external brick chimney stacks, possibly of a fifteenth-century date, survive at Lady Row in Goodramgate (Rimmer 2007, 96).

EXTERNAL AREA: STRUCTURE B1 (I-IV)

There are a series of dumps and levelling deposits that contained late fourteenth- to fifteenth-century pottery spread over the area to the rear of the street-front building. Overlying these deposits were four phases of activity associated with a series of ephemeral structures, very similar to the structures recorded to the rear of Tenement 44 in Low Petergate in the late fourteenth century. These buildings are likely to have stood adjacent to the proposed alley running back from the street front (see above). The structure in Grape Lane consisted of a series of walls associated with hearths, which it is suggested formed the fire backs and the support for a cowl chimney or flue (Figure 52). The hearths were constructed of edge set tiles, and several were edged with limestone blocks. It is possible these structures were open sided. The floors consisted of crushed limestone, clay and tile. There were quantities of iron slag associated with these buildings, and one feature adjacent to a hearth may have been a quenching pit. Flake hammerscale was collected from deposits associated with some of the hearths suggesting working with a hammer. In the later phases of use the artefacts associated with the structures included animal bone, oyster shell and pottery, the majority of it fine table ware. Whether this represents a change in use of the buildings, perhaps for a kitchen or the disposal of rubbish to backfill features prior to changes in use of the structures, is unclear.

PLOT 5-6: STRUCTURE E-F

The possible row of houses constructed in Plots 4-6 continued in use in this period. There was no clear evidence for the use of Structure D in Plot 4, but Structure E and F produced evidence for metalworking (Figure 53).

STRUCTURE E AND STRUCTURE E1

At the street front, Structure E appears to have formed a workshop in the early fifteenth century. There was no hearth recorded within the building, but the floors consisted of laminated ashy deposits and contained metalworking waste. As in Structure A and B in the preceding period it is suggested there was a raised forge, and a stone standing with associated posts could be interpreted as the position of the bellows. Stone settings found at Waltham and Kirkstall have been interpreted as stands for bellows or quenching tanks (Astill 1993, 274-5, 279). At St Andrewgate, Finlayson (2004, 901-2) argues that the raised hearths considered likely to have been used at the site could have been constructed of stone or brick and, when dismantled, left little trace of where the structure had stood. If the hearth was located near the stone standing, then the cut feature to the north-east could represent the position of an anvil. Another working area was indicated by a cut feature lined with tile and packed with mortar in the north-east corner of the building. The building produced a large quantity of iron slag (7kg) and fragments of a spur, iron sheet and a smithing hearth bottom. Some of the items appear to have been plated. The plating of iron objects was common for decorative purposes and was usually done with tin or copper (Tylecote 1987, 238-9; Hodges 1989, 87; Ottaway 1992, 486-92).

To the rear of Structure E there was ephemeral evidence for another structure (E1) that appears to have also been used as a workshop with a ground-level hearth. Associated with this structure was evidence for the casting of copper alloy. Other evidence for the working of copper alloy in Structures E and E1 included fragments of copper alloy sheet as well as wire pins and dress fittings. Whether this represents two workshops sharing premises is unclear. Perhaps there are two artisans working together for the production of items for sale, as suggested for Petergate (see chapter 4); the nature of the artefacts found could suggest the workshop belonged to cutlers, who by the fifteenth century in York were mainly trading in small goods (Swanson 1981, 197).

STRUCTURE F

The activity in Structure F (Figure 53) dates to the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century and produced a complex sequence relating to the use of the building. The south-western most boundary of Plot 6 was not identified with certainty within the excavation due to truncation, but it is assumed to have a similar dimension to Structure E based on the position of the hearth and the suggestion of walling in the north-east facing section of the trench. Associated with the street-front building is a contiguous structure (F1) attached to the rear; this is indicated by one floor deposit that ran through both buildings made of compacted crushed limestone. There was evidence to suggest that part of the rear wall of the street-front ranges foundations were modified or repaired. As in Structure E and E1, there is evidence for the working of copper alloy and iron with a large quantity of furnace and hearth lining recovered from Structure F and F1. An iron hammer was found in these buildings, which might have been a smith's tool. Within Structure F, the earliest floor was made of mortar. Set into this floor was a feature originally interpreted as the base of a kiln or an oven. This consisted of a square cut pit within which, set on clay, were flat sandstone blocks. Associated with this feature were a series of posts. The reinterpretation of this feature for this thesis suggests that this may have formed a stone base for a bellows associated with a raised forge. Close to this stand was a square cut, originally interpreted as the cut for a pad-stone, but it is suggested that it may form an anvil base. The cut was backfilled with clay, limestone and silt and contained iron slag and fragments of iron and copper alloy. Associated with the stone stand and close to the proposed anvil were a number of post holes, the function of which is uncertain. The deposits that built up around the stand and in the area of the anvil consisted of ashy deposits with patches of bunt clay, some of which produced late fourteenth- to early fifteenth-century pottery. Very little of Structure F1 survived, except for a substantial hearth made from compacted deposit of small to large cobbles, with some small boulders surfaced with flat laid fragments of roof tile and partly edged with tile. Very few objects were found that give an indication of the product made in the workshop, although a copper alloy buckle was recovered from one feature. Some iron nails were recovered and a key for a padlock, although these may have been associated with the buildings and items within them.

THE NEIGHBOURHOOD c.1400-1600

There are no significant changes to the topography of the study area, and the properties along Grape Lane show the continued presence of metalworkers in the fifteenth and probably sixteenth centuries, with street-front workshops but also additional working spaces to the rear. In the case of Structure E and E1, the evidence suggests the collaborative working of two smiths, perhaps associated with the cutlery trade. It has been suggested that Structure D-F formed a row of houses, perhaps comparable to Lady Row in Goodramgate. The presence of industrial activity in small, single-cell buildings raises a number of questions about the use of space within these structures. However, it is equally possible that Structures D-F form a row of single-storey lock ups, but the evidence for domestic activities suggests the interpretation that they are a row of small houses. When considering the neighbours who lived in rows of small houses, the evidence from rent accounts suggests the relationships between tenants were complex and could be based around family units or non-related groups, such as friends or colleagues. Indeed, small houses appealed to a wide range of tenants in terms of age and social status (Rimmer 2007, 215)

In Structure A there appears to be a significant change in the activities carried out within the building, with the removal of the formal divisions and an absence of craft activity associated with the metal trades. Whether Structure A takes on a more domestic role is unclear. Structure B similarly appears to continue as a metalsmith's, and in the late fourteenth and fifteenth century sees an intense use of the external area for sequences of ephemeral structures associated with hearths, which might be associated with ironworking, with perhaps a shift to more domestic functions. It is unfortunate that the archaeology does not provide any information to show whether the insertion of the brick chimney was associated with a change in function in Structure B. The character of the Grape Lane, Swinegate and Little Stonegate, it is suggested, continued to be a mix of metalworking artisans, with perhaps a shift to more domestic or non-metalworking trades through the late fifteenth century. Alongside the craft activities, the area still retained an association with prostitution through the fifteenth century; in a defamation case in 1422, Joan of Pokellyngton refers to her neighbours in Grape Lane as 'false thieves and priests whores' (Goldberg 1999, 177).

CONCLUSION: THE SWINEGATE NEIGHBOURHOOD SEVENTH TO SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

This chapter has sought to reconstruct the 'everyday', quotidian character of the study area by considering the character of the built environment, social interaction, production and consumption practices and senses of community and identity. Topographically, this chapter proposes that the fortress area at York was retained as a defined enclosure from the seventh to late eleventh century, as has been argued for Lincoln and Carlisle (Stocker 2003; Zant 2010). This chapter argues that the fortress is not integrated into the trading settlement that developed around it from the tenth century until after the Norman Conquest. Within the fortress, the street pattern and land use are established following the foundation of the ecclesiastical community centred on the Minster from the mid-seventh century, and this is a theme discussed further in Chapter 4. In the southern half of the fortress, the street pattern consists of three north-south-west streets, Lop Lane, Stonegate and Grape Lane, with an intra-mural road along the interior of the defences partly preserved in the alignment of Church Street and Davygate. Grape Lane formed an important route linking Petergate and Davygate, and was potentially also part of a route that led to the site of the north-east gate of the fortress. The southern half of the fortress was divided into two estates served by propriety churches dedicated to Northumbrian saints, Wilfrid and Benedict. These dedications are specific and contribute to a 'sense of place' within the estates (Lilley 2002, 166; Baker and Holt 2004, 228). The archaeological evidence for St Benedict's has raised the possibility that it reused elements of a Roman building. The burials support the revised street pattern and suggest the church was established along the extended line of Grape Lane, and that Little Stonegate and Back Swinegate do not respect the boundaries of the church yard. The archaeological evidence suggests that the southern fortress remains sparsely occupied between the seventh and late eleventh centuries and is therefore not typically 'urban' in character.

This chapter has shown through the archaeological evidence that it is possible to identify a change in the density of settlement and land use in the early eleventh century. This showed that settlement focussed along Grape Lane, perhaps reflecting its importance as a through route. The redevelopment of part of St Benedict's cemetery with fence lines and a possible building disregarded the Roman and later medieval tenement alignments, and it suggests the position of the south-east gate and the church of St Benedict's were important

landmarks. The Norman impact on the topography of York was more significant and far reaching than scholars have previously argued, with the removal or encroachment onto the fortress defences, the creation of Patrick Pool and the tenements along Petergate (see Chapter 4). It is suggested that the foundation of St Sampson's is associated with the establishment of a Norman enclave, reflected in the name *Bretgate*. The creation of the parishes in York is suggested to occur around the time of the Conquest, and that St Benedict's survived and developed into a parish church.

The boundaries of St Benedict's parish may have reflected in part the earlier estate and contribute to the debate regarding the fortress defences. This chapter argues that the apparent lack of correlation between parish boundaries and the line of the fortress defences from the south-east gate to the south-east corner tower is due to later alterations to the parish boundaries (the amalgamation of St Sampson and St Benedict) and does not indicate an early date for the removal of the defences. Following the Norman Conquest the fortress becomes more urban, with regularly spaced tenements and an intensification of domestic and craft activity, but there are large areas that remained undeveloped. The thirteenth century saw fundamental changes through the creation of Thursday Market in 1235 and streets to connect it to the existing street pattern, but it also acted as a stimulus for the development of activity in surrounding streets. The alignment of Finkle Street is suggested to be one of the last influences on the topography of the area by the church of St Benedict's, which is closed at the end of the thirteenth century and is amalgamated with the parish of St Sampson's.

The development of Thursday Market coincides with the acquisition by the Vicars Choral of tenements along Petergate that run back to Swinegate (medieval Patrick Pool). It is suggested that it is the development of the market and the role of Swinegate (medieval Patrick Pool) as an access route from the Shambles that results in the sub-division of the plots for the development of the Swinegate street frontage from the mid-thirteenth century. The south-western section of Grape Lane fell out of use, which coincides with the changes to other streets within the fortress, suggesting there were wide-scale alterations being carried out to the street pattern in the late thirteenth century. The fourteenth to sixteenth centuries see the last major topographic changes, through the development Benetplace and Back Swinegate, which were created to maximise the space available for the development of the site St Benedict's and to connect Little Stonegate and Swinegate.

There is a wealth of evidence for the form and use of the tenements that lined the streets from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, and this addresses a number of the research questions set out in Chapter 1 regarding the uses of medieval housing. The presence of workshops on the ground floors raises issues associated with the dispersal of smoke and fumes from hearths. Little consideration is usually given to the development of chimneys, but the position of hearths close to walls could imply that they had smoke hoods that were made of lath and plaster and would thus leave little trace in the archaeological record. The evidence for smoke hoods with hearths has been made in association with smithing workshops (Astill 1993, 274), and it could be that the development of chimneys in an urban environment was through the use of ground floors as workshops with the residential space on the first floor. The differences in the provision of hearths associated with metalworking in the tenements along Grape Lane, Swinegate, Back Swinegate and Little Stonegate may also reflect differences between the residents, either in the level of investment into equipment or the activities carried out. This clearly has implications for the perception of space, heating and lighting within small houses. Equally, it has a bearing on whether craft associations helped define a community; a street of metalworkers could have been engaged in different types of metalwork. Therefore, in a city like York, where there were a number of guild divisions for the metal trades, each workshop could have been associated with a different fraternity. Perhaps guild rivalries and parish affiliations were set aside on a day-to-day basis to ensure the harmony of the neighbourhood of the street.

The chapter has shown that traditional, historically derived definitions of 'neighbourhood communities' can be greatly enhanced by a consideration of archaeological evidence. An important research question surrounds the character of early estate neighbourhoods. It has been suggested that these earlier estates would have been more like farmyards (Blair 2004, 337) and may therefore have had rural characteristics in terms of their social composition; they were developing within in an area that was distinctly non-urban in origin. If the residents of the estates were also working for the Minster community, however, then their perception of their social position may not have reflected a rural model; therefore, further research is needed to consider the character and form of early communities within former Roman centres. The evidence for the thriving artisanal community in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries has to be set against the documentary evidence for prostitution, and this chapter argues that there could have been a dual role to some of the artisan's activities and that the neighbourhood was highly complex. As towns became more urbanised and parochial boundaries were redefined, the topographical limits of a neighbourhood may be

less apparent. It is at this moment that particular streets appear to have become much more important in the construction of neighbourhood character, as microcosms within which people knew and trusted each other, and the official units of ward, parish and craft affiliation became the means for the regulation of urban space and self-advancement (Phythian Adams 1979, 115-6; Rosser 1989, 2-3, 248; Hartshorne 2004, 35). The differences between people within this more intricate social organisation would have been expressed through language, clothing, diet and customs (Moreland 2010, 48), and as argued in Chapter 2, the way in which people furnished their houses highlights the importance of a multi-disciplinary approach. This chapter has traced the changes in the types of craft and industry from the tenth to sixteenth centuries. It has shown that by the fourteenth century the metal trades dominated the area. By using the evidence for the craft activities, this chapter has sought to understand the processes carried out to consider their impact on the streetscape but also the people who might have lived and worked in the area. This chapter has therefore sought to consider the built environment and the use of space to shed light on the developing character of the area and consider the people, the neighbours, who called the area home.

CHAPTER 4: PETERGATE

This Chapter examines the development of the northern-half of the Roman fortress to provide a context for Petergate which is the longest road within the area of the former fortress. A detailed analysis of the entire length of Petergate is beyond the scope of this study, so rather than offering a broad overview of the street as a whole, therefore, this chapter focuses on the section of Petergate between Grape Lane and Church Street, where there is a concentration of archaeological evidence and a direct association with the Grape Lane/Swinegate area (Chapter 3). In this chapter, a discussion of the topographical development of the study area during each chronological period forms the basis for a detailed analysis of the corresponding historical and archaeological data in relation to the key themes pertaining to neighbourhood.

This chapter follows the chronological framework used in Chapter 3 to examine the development of Petergate, argued to be one of the principal roads of medieval York (Fellows-Jensen 2004, 363). The first section of this chapter considers the topographic development of Petergate in the post-Roman period (sixth to mid-eleventh century) to determine the origins of the street and reassess the evidence for land use in the northern half of the fortress. The second section considers the topographical development of the northern half of the fortress and Petergate between c.1069 and 1250, and it examines the changing land use and character of the study area. The final section explores in detail the development and use of the tenements within the study area along Petergate between c.1250 and c.1600. This framework allows an examination of the archaeological evidence in relation to the historical sources, providing a rich picture of changing land use, craft activities and the social use of space. The chapter concludes with an examination of the changing character of a small area of Petergate over the *longue durée*.

TOPOGRAPHY, STREET PATTERN AND LAND USE IN THE FIFTH TO MID-ELEVENTH CENTURIES

The discussion of the development of Petergate and the northern half of the fortress does not include the detailed temporal sequences of change discussed in Chapter 3. The lack of temporal detail is due to the few excavations within the northern half of the fortress,

especially ones that have examined the immediate post-Roman levels. Therefore, the evidence is discussed from a broad chronological point of view, focussing on the spatial elements that determined the development of the topography within the fortress and, where possible, reviewing the evidence for land use.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE FORTRESS

In the north-eastern half of the fortress, the majority of evidence for post-Roman activity comes from the excavations at the Minster (Phillips and Heyward 1995, Carver 1995), but as Roskams (1996, 269) indicates, this evidence is contradictory. Petergate itself broadly follows the Roman *via principalis* that ran between the north-west and south-east gates of the fortress. However, observations in 1996-7 of the Roman *via principalis* (Petergate) and *via decumana* (Chapter House Street) showed both streets were sealed by up to 1.8m of dark silt deposits, demonstrating that there is not continuity of use of the Roman streets into later periods (Ottaway 1999, 148). The available archaeological evidence suggests there is limited use of the Roman fortress, and the coincidence of the medieval and modern street pattern with the alignment of the Roman fortress does not prove continuity of settlement or activity after the fifth century (Tweddle et al., 1999, 153, 158). As Chapter 3 argues, it is the survival of the fortress defences and associated gates between the seventh and late eleventh century, defining an ecclesiastical enclosure centred on the Minster, which influenced the development of the former fortress in York

Chapter 3 supports Norton's (1998) argument that in the seventh century much of the fortress would have been open, dotted with the ruins of Roman buildings. These ruins appear to remain above ground level until the eleventh or twelfth century (Ottaway 1996b, 18-19). Indeed, Norton (1998) has argued that the ruins of the *principia* would have been an obstacle to the building of the Minster and explains the presence of the road that skirts the ruins leading to the north-east fortress gate discussed in Chapter 3. The influence of surviving topographical features as opposed to continuing settlement has been proposed in relation to other former Roman towns, such as Chichester, Colchester and Winchester (Carver 1987, 53). It is perhaps the status of York as the seat of a bishop rather than as a political and military centre that explains why the city regained a distinctive and elevated status in the early seventh century (Ottaway 1999, 150).

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE STREET PATTERN: THE ORIGINS OF PETERGATE

This thesis supports Patrick Ottaway's (1995) argument that the creation of streets within the fortress was associated with the formation of new land divisions. Chapter 3 argues that the setting out of the street pattern was closely associated with the creation of the two urban estates, and rather than the interior of the fortress being absorbed into the wider development of the Viking town by the mid-ninth to eleventh century (Norton 1998; Tweddle et al., 1999; Hall 2004), it remained a separate area until the late eleventh century. This section will discuss the evidence for Petergate, which runs between the sites of the Roman north-west and south-east gates and divides the fortress unevenly in to two halves; the north-eastern half of the fortress is slightly larger than the south-eastern half. Chapter 3 argues that Petergate formed a boundary space between the estates centred on St Wilfrid and St Benedict and the lands held by the Church and the King.

The earliest written references to Petergate are in 1189 x 1195 and 1203 x c.1212 which records the name *vicus Sancti Petri* (Palliser 1978, 13). The modern division into High and Low Petergate is not recorded before 1736 and was not in common usage until around 1800 (RCHME 1981, 180). The historical records show there was a distinction between Petergate from Bootham Bar to Lop Lane and the rest of the street from the late twelfth to the fourteenth centuries. Although this section was referred to as Petergate by 1276, the adoption of this name was a slow process; for many years properties along it were referred to by their proximity to Bootham Bar or St. Leonard's Hospital. For example, in 1312, Petergate from Bootham Bar to Lop Lane was described as '*regla strata que ducit se ad Bouthomlith*' and in 1346 as '*Irico qui se extendit de Loppelane et de porta clausi monasterii Sancti Petri usque Bouthumbarr*' (Rees Jones 1987[iii], 2). The following discussion examines the origins and early development of Petergate using cartographic, historical and archaeological evidence to determine the motive for the street's creation, the influences on its alignment and associated land use.

TOPOGRAPHY AND STREET PATTERN: MID-SEVENTH TO MID-ELEVENTH CENTURIES

The evidence discussed in Chapter 3 suggests there is little indication of continuity in settlement between the Roman and immediate post-Roman period; therefore, the factors that influenced the alignment and development of Petergate between the sixth and mid-

eleventh century need to be examined. Understanding the development of the northern half of the fortress provides the context for the examination of the archaeological evidence discussed in this chapter. To understand the development of Petergate, the street is divided into two parts. The first part focuses on the Petergate from Bootham Bar to Grape Lane. The second part examines Petergate from Grape Lane to the south-east fortress gate. Not all the streets in the northern half of the fortress are considered in detail, but the origins of Goodramgate are examined in order to shed light on the role of the road linking Petergate to the site of the Roman north-east gate discussed in Chapter 3. A possible development of streets is proposed to aid the understanding of the land use within the fortress and a consideration of whether Petergate formed the focus for a neighbourhood in the immediate post-Roman period.

PETERGATE FROM BOOTHAM BAR TO GRAPE LANE

In examining Petergate from Bootham Bar to Grape Lane, the topographic elements considered are the north-west gate, the Minster, the site of the *principia*, the church of St Michael-le-Belfrey and Grape Lane (Figure 54).

NORTH-WEST FORTRESS GATE: BOOTHAM BAR

The present Bootham Bar provides clear evidence for the survival of an opening on the site of a Roman gate in the post-Roman period, and the survival of this gateway provided a fixed topographical point for the setting out of Petergate in the post-Roman period. The earliest elements of the standing gate date to the late eleventh century and directly overlie part of the Roman gate house structure (RCHME 1981). An earlier name of the gate, recorded in the twelfth century, is *Galmanlith*, derived from an old Scandinavian personal name *Galnann* and *hlið*, meaning a gate.

The name *Galmanho* also referred to an area outside the gate that was given by 1088 for the new foundation of St Mary's Abbey, but this name had passed out of common usage by the end of the thirteenth century. The adoption of the name Bootham for the gateway probably occurred because of its use in association with the suburb outside the gate. The name is used in relation to the gate by the time the city defences are rebuilt in stone by 1266 (Rees Jones 1987[ii], 2). The name *Galnannn*, like the name *Arkil* discussed in Chapter 3, probably relates to a pre-Norman Conquest lord, but whether he held land within the fortress or the area outside is unclear.

THE MINSTER AND ITS PRECINCTS

This thesis argues the fortress area of York formed a large ecclesiastical enclosure from the late seventh to the late eleventh century (see Chapter 3). At the heart of this enclosure were the precincts of the Minster, founded c.630AD, which has been convincingly argued by Norton (1998) to have been located within a two-acre enclosure set within a larger, ecclesiastically owned land block in the north-eastern quadrant of the fortress. The establishment of the Minster within the fortress mirrors a wider pattern of late sixth- to seventh-century ecclesiastical foundation within former Roman centres, often in the gift of kings and princes, and their appropriation by the Church accords with the Church council instructions that bishops should have their seats in *urbes* or *civitates* (Courtney 1998, 112-13). Eaton (2000, 125) argues that the re-use of Roman centres was further driven by the Church's desire to appropriate the past as a means of securing and consolidating its position in a newly converted area. This section of Chapter 4 argues that the alignment and development of Petergate is closely associated with the development of the Minster and its estate (Figure 55). Norton (1998 25-6) argues that the early Minster was to the north of the present Minster, avoiding the site of the *principia* as the quantity of fallen masonry there made it unsuitable for building but would have provided a convenient quarry for stone in the construction of the cathedral complex.

The establishment of early medieval ecclesiastical complexes in seemingly marginal areas of former Roman and new towns has been observed elsewhere in Britain and Europe. Miller (2000, 17-19) argues that this is not due to a lack of space but was part of the process of linking them to the diocese (wider countryside), essential in establishing Christianity. Stefania Perring (2010, 26-7) uses this argument to propose that the Minster enclosure at York, which is in the north-west corner of the fortress and rotated to face the north-east fortress gate, follows this wider pattern of marginal locations and that there was a symbolic association with roads and gates. Within the precinct of the early Minster, Norton (1998) has argued, would have been a number of principal religious buildings including the church dedicated to St Michael-le-Belfrey.

Beyond the enclosure around the Minster, Rees Jones (1987[i], 105-8) has shown that within the fortress, the Church owned not only the area of the later medieval close and extra-parochial area but also a large part of the northern half of the former fortress, bounded by the fortress walls and by Petergate; this area was known as the archbishop's shire. Accordingly, Rees Jones suggests this symbolically important area was amongst the earliest

endowments of the church of St Peter in York. The problem is identifying this area on modern maps; recent work on the Minster Close (Perring 2010, 55-6) has shown boundaries recorded by the Ordnance Survey in 1852 are problematic because of errors and inconsistencies. With this in mind, this thesis builds upon the work of Rees Jones (1987[i]), Norton (1998) and Perring (2010) to consider the development of the Minster precinct and its relationship with Petergate in the seventh to mid-eleventh centuries.

The setting out of the precinct around the Minster would have involved the marking out of a new land block within the area of the former fortress. Although there may have been upstanding remains or areas of rubble from Roman buildings, the fact that the Roman alignment was disregarded suggests there was sufficient open land available, or that a sufficient area was cleared. Previous reconstructions of this area in the immediate post-Roman period have used the boundaries marked on the 1852 Ordnance Survey map, notably the work of Norton (1998). His reconstruction of the topography of York in the seventh to eleventh centuries, focussing on the Minster close and fortress, argues the core of the early Minster land holdings were to the north-west of a major road running from Petergate to the north-east fortress gate, which Chapter 3 argues formed part of a major through-route across the fortress in association with Grape Lane. The marking out of the Minster precinct provides a context for the setting out of not only Petergate but also the lane from Petergate to the north-east gate of the fortress (see Chapter 3), which formed the boundaries of the precinct (see Norton 1998).

ST MICHAEL-LE-BELFREY

The present church of St Michael-le-Belfrey, a sixteenth-century alteration and rebuilding of an earlier church, stands on the north-east side of Petergate, forming part of the boundary of the Minster close. The fabric and the history of the standing church have been examined in detail (Masinton 2007, 61-89). The church is constructed on part of the Roman *principia* building (Tweddle et al. 1999, 183); however, the present church is aligned to medieval Petergate, which diverges slightly from the course of the Roman *via principalis* (Norton 1998, 8). Norton (1998, 5-9) considers the church in relation to the wider topography of the post-Roman fortress and argues that St Michael-le-Belfrey is one of the city's earliest foundations, closely associated with the establishment of the Minster complex. He argues it may have formed a gatehouse and bell tower for the cathedral close. If this church incorporated or reused elements of the *principia*, it would have formed a fixed point in the topography of the fortress for the setting out of the boundary of the Minster precinct from Bootham Bar and, in

turn, for the alignment of Petergate. The legacy of the Roman fortress in the survival of the gateway and the reuse of the *principia* accounts for the correlation between the Roman and post-Roman street alignments.

GRAPE LANE

This section argues that the alignment of Petergate from St Michael-le-Belfrey to the proposed continuation of the alignment of Grape Lane to the north-east fortress gate was determined by the setting out of the Minster precinct. The enclosed lane leaves Petergate just past the south-eastern wing of the Roman *principia* buildings, and Norton (1998, 20) argues it bent past the eastern corner of this building to run towards the defences and the north-east fortress gate. Chapter 3 argues this road was associated with Grape Lane, which extended to Davygate, and formed a major roadway across the post-Roman fortress. This section argues that the setting out of Petergate and the enclosed lane was part of the demarcation of the earliest Minster land holdings in the mid-seventh or eighth century. Once established, the Minster land holdings fixed the topography and land use of the north-western quadrant of the fortress in the post-Roman period. In contrast, for the development of the north-eastern quadrant, a detailed examination of the available evidence is needed to determine the influences on the alignment of Petergate in this area.

PETERGATE FROM GRAPE LANE/ENCLOSED LANE TO THE SOUTH-EAST FORTRESS GATE

The topographic determinants in the section of Petergate from Grape Lane to the site of the south-east gate of the fortress are not certain, but importantly there is archaeological evidence that provides key information for establishing the possible alignment of Petergate in the seventh to late eleventh century. The only topographically fixed points are the church of Holy Trinity Goodramgate, if it is accepted to have an early foundation, and the position of the south-east fortress gate.

HOLY TRINITY, GOODRAMGATE

Chapter 3 explored in detail the proprietary churches in post-Roman York, particularly in the southern half of the fortress, and showed that Holy Trinity Goodramgate is the only church within the northern half of the fortress outside the Minster precinct likely to have an early foundation. The origins of the church are unknown; scholars have suggested a foundation between the seventh and tenth centuries (Tweddle et al. 1999, 177-87). The earliest

documentary reference to the church is in the foundation charters for Durham cathedral from 1082 and 1093; however, these are said to be forgeries. The church is mentioned in documents from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the fabric of the church contains twelfth-century stonework (RCHME 1981, 5; Wilson and Mee 1998, 39). Therefore, an early foundation is likely; Norton (1998, 26) has tentatively argued that the orientation of the church with respect to the Roman alignment could support this hypothesis. He suggests the church may have re-used Roman foundations, a scenario also suggested from the archaeological evidence for St Benedict's (see Chapter 3).

The discussion of proprietary churches shows early churches were usually associated with a precinct that could be used for a cemetery (see Chapter 1). The evidence for St Benedict's church shows the cemetery was set out in relation to the street pattern and had a bearing on the re-interpretation of the Grape Lane/Swinegate area. Previous scholarship has not considered the cemetery area associated with Holy Trinity Goodramgate or its relationship to Petergate. The present churchyard (Figure 56) forms a small, quadrilateral space set back from the Goodramgate and Petergate street frontages. However, the earlier extents of the cemetery are unknown, and the discussion of the cemetery associated with St Benedict's in Chapter 3 indicates that the original extent is not necessarily preserved by later boundaries or streets recorded on cartographic sources. When considering Holy Trinity Goodramgate in relation to the streets, the only street with a documented association with the church is Hornpot Lane, first recorded in the thirteenth century as Holy Trinity Lane (Rees Jones 1987[ii], 153). The lane is again referenced in the archives of the Dean and Chapter of Durham as an unnamed lane leading to the cemetery of the church of Holy Trinity Goodramgate in documents dating to the mid-thirteenth century (Wenham 1965, 28).

Evidence that the cemetery around Holy Trinity Goodramgate was larger than its later medieval and present boundaries comes from the documentary sources, which show that the present churchyard is the product of successive encroachments for housing (Figure 57). On Goodramgate, Lady Row was built on the edge of the churchyard in 1316 (RCHME 1981, 143). Encroachment onto the cemetery along Petergate can be inferred from the documentary sources. Tenements 37-9 in Petergate formed one property on the south-east side of Holy Trinity Lane and were described in the mid-thirteenth century as backing onto the cemetery of Holy Trinity Goodramgate. Tenement 40, therefore, had either not been enclosed as a tenement, or it was enclosed during the mid- to late thirteenth century from land that had originally been part of the cemetery (Rees Jones 1987[iii], 153, 165).

Using the documentary and cartographic sources, it is possible to suggest the cemetery around the church was original larger and was perhaps associated with an urban estate fronting onto Petergate. The documentary evidence indicates that the south-west side of Hornpot Lane the cemetery extended further to the south-east than presently shown on the 1852 and modern Ordnance Survey maps. The documentary records for Tenements 41-3 (Rees Jones 1987[i], 167-174) do not indicate whether they were formed out of the cemetery of the church. However, the only excavation in this area to the requisite depth is trench 1957.T3 (Wenham 1972, 84). In this trench two human skulls were recovered from a dump that contained pottery of Roman and eleventh or twelfth century. The skulls were not found in association with other skeletal remains and were interpreted as having come from the cemetery of Holy Trinity Goodramgate, perhaps disturbed from earlier levels during the demolition or construction activities on the site. In light of the evidence for Tenement 40 and the creation of Lady Row, it is possible Tenement 43 was also enclosed from the cemetery at an earlier date, perhaps immediately after the Norman Conquest. The proposed recreation of the cemetery in the immediate post-Roman period raises the possibility that Holy Trinity church and its cemetery were set out in relation to Petergate rather than Goodramgate and this has a bearing on the evidence for the survival of the south-east fortress gate and the interpretation of the archaeological sequence for the post-Roman alignment of Petergate.

SOUTH-EAST FORTRESS GATE

The site of the south-east gate forms the junction for several roads within the fortress: Church Street, Petergate and Goodramgate. Little is known about the form of the south-east gate or its level of survival into the post-Roman period. Scholars (Palliser 1978, 8; Hall 1994, 54; Rollason 2004, 311) have debated the likelihood that a royal palace existed in the mid-ninth to mid-eleventh century, centred on the surviving remains of the south-east fortress gate. The only evidence for this is a reference in a later saga and in the place names King's Court/King's Square, which is located immediately outside the south-east gate; it is first recorded in c.1270 as *Kuniungsgard* or *Konungsgarðr* (King's Garth), which are names of Old Norse derivation (Palliser 1978, 8; Morris 1989, 220; Hall 1994, 53-4; Norton 1998, 26; Rollason 2004, 311). The present use of the name King's Square began c.1780; prior to this, buildings in this area were considered to be on Petergate. The present form of the area is due to the demolition of the church of Holy Trinity King's Square in 1937 (RCHME 1981, 150). The earliest reference to this church was in 1268, when it was described as being in the king's

court (*curia regis*); around the church was a large cemetery (RCHME 1981, 150; Morris 1989, 220).

An alternative site for a royal palace might have been the site of the *principia*, but Norton (1998, 25) has argued that this is unlikely because it would have fallen within the Minster precinct, and any royal centre would have been separate from the Church although likely close by. If there was a royal palace centred on the south-east gate, it would have had a profound impact on the character of Petergate and the surrounding area in the post-Roman period. However, as argued in Chapter 3, there is uncertainty as to the extent of royal control in York in the post-Roman period. Indeed, Chapter 3 argues that the south-east fortress defences remained a topographical factor until the mid-eleventh century, so an opening on the site of the former south-east gate, whatever its form or use, remained a determinant in the alignment of Petergate.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FOR POST-ROMAN PETERGATE

The section of Petergate from Grape Lane to the south-east gate has been the location of archaeological excavations adjacent to the street at 62-68 Low Petergate (Wenham 1972) and within the street through watch briefs of sewer main repairs (Ottaway 1997). This archaeological evidence provides invaluable evidence for considering the development of Petergate in the seventh to late eleventh century. The archaeological sequence recorded in the sewer trenches suggest a period of minimal occupation because the *via principalis* and an adjacent Roman building were sealed by dark, organic soils containing animal bone and leather fragments; there was no dating evidence from these deposits, but the fact they are sealed by deposits dating to the eleventh or twelfth century was used to suggest they accumulated between the seventh and late eleventh century. The absence of a road surface indicates that there is no continuity between the Roman and post-Roman alignment of Petergate (Ottaway 1997, 20). The deposits sealing the Roman levels in the sewer trenches have similarities with the post-Roman sequence outside the cemetery, recorded in the excavations of 1989 (Bonner et al., 1991; see Chapter 3). The Grape Lane/Swinegate sequence similarly indicated low levels of occupation in the immediate post-Roman period, and there was an absence of clear occupation in the 1957-8 excavations at 62-68 Low Petergate (Wenham 1972).

The argument presented here is that the absence of road surface immediately above the late Roman roads may indicate that the course of Petergate from Grape Lane to the south-east

fortress gate was not established on its present alignment in the seventh to eleventh century. The road, if it existed, was therefore likely to have been on an alternative alignment, and the excavations in trenches 1957.T1 and 1957.T2 could provide the evidence for a post-Roman successor to the *via principalis* (Figure 58). In these trenches the Roman buildings were sealed by a spread of rubble and dark earth, which in turn were overlain by a surface of re-used Roman stone, cobbles, and fragments of Roman bricks, tiles and pottery, capped with rammed gravel which Wenham (1972, 69) proposed could form part of a road surface. The stratigraphic position of this deposit clearly indicates it is post-Roman and roughly equates to the early gravel surfaces of Grape Lane, identified in Area JJ of trench 1989.T4 (see Chapter 3). The variation in height could reflect the differences in the underlying natural topography of the fortress area. In the modern city, Petergate and the Minster are the highest areas of the fortress (c.16.50-16.75 AOD), with a marked drop in ground level to the south-east and south-west (modern ground level in Thursday Market is 14.90 AOD); the slightly lower levels at Grape Lane reflect the fact that they are down slope from Petergate. Therefore, the metalled surfaces in trenches 1957.T1 and 1957.T3 raise the possibility that the post-Roman alignment of Petergate was to the north-east of the later medieval and modern road.

The argument that Petergate was established in association with the creation of land divisions within the fortress in the post-Roman period has implications for the boundary of the urban estate centred on St Benedict discussed in Chapter 3. The north-eastern boundary of this estate is suggested to have been formed by Petergate, but if Petergate was further north-east than its later medieval and modern alignment, then the organic deposits sealing the *via principalis* could have been within the estate focussed in the south-eastern corner of the fortress. Realigning Petergate to the north-east could support the argument set out above that Holy Trinity Goodramgate was set out in relation to Petergate as it would place the church closer to the Petergate street frontage.

Re-aligning Petergate to the north-east of its later medieval and modern alignment in the seventh to eleventh centuries affects the relationship of the road to the south-east gate of the fortress. At Chester it is assumed the Roman gates were double portals. Eastgate Street and Watergate Street lie over the northern and southern portals of the Roman gates, reflecting a blocking of one portal, perhaps in the late Roman period (Strickland 1988, 110), and this interpretation has a bearing on the consideration of Petergate. Topographically modern and medieval Petergate bends south-east from Grape Lane to the site of the south-

east fortress gate. If the Roman gate had two portals, this deviation could reflect the fact that it exited through the site of the southern portal because the northern one was blocked (Ottaway 1997, 19). However, if Petergate was to the north-east of its modern alignment in the post-Roman period, the road may have exited through the northern opening of the Roman gate and could affect the alignment of Colliergate, the street leading up to the south gate and one of the roads of the tenth-century town adjacent to the river Foss. In its present form, Colliergate bends to align with the proposed position of the southern portal of the Roman gate, but if it is the northern portal that is used in the post-Roman period, Colliergate would be set out as a straight road without the deviation at its north-western end. The discussion of the development of the south-eastern section of Petergate and its relation to the south-east fortress gate needs to be considered in relation to Goodramgate, the only other street across the north-eastern quadrant of the fortress, and the associated intramural roads.

STREETS IN THE NORTH-EASTERN HALF OF THE FORTRESS

Although Petergate forms the axial street across the fortress, there has been debate about the evolution of the other streets within the north-eastern half of the fortress in the immediate post-Roman period (for example Norton 1998; Tweddle et al., 1999, 151-9). The development and relation of Petergate to the other streets in the north-eastern quadrant of the fortress influences the consideration of the movement across this area and the identification of areas of settlement.

GOODRAMGATE

Goodramgate forms the only major road across the north-eastern quadrant of the fortress and disregards the Roman alignment (Figure 59). The origins of Goodramgate are unclear, but in conjunction with Blake Street in the south-western quadrant of the fortress (see Chapter 3), it is usually considered to be established in the eighth to tenth century, connecting gates on the site of the north-east and south-east Roman fortress gateways (e.g. Tweddle et al., 1999, 158). The early date for the creation of Blake Street and Goodramgate is based on the argument that these diagonal streets had to have been established when there were no obstructions from Roman buildings or post-Roman occupation. This builds on the assumption that the interior of the fortress was becoming more intensely settled through the eighth and particularly from the late ninth or early tenth century (Norton 1998, 22; Tweddle et al., 1999, 158).

In its present form, Goodramgate links Petergate to Monk Bar, the successor of the Roman north-east-gate. Tweddle et al., (1999, 158-9; Fig. 35) suggest that the southern end of Goodramgate (from Petergate to College Street) formed the earliest section of the street, with its projected alignment leading to the site of the north-east fortress gate; this section of the street is proposed to have been closed when the road was realigned and Monk Bar created. Norton (1998, 22-3, 27) associates the creation of Goodramgate with the creation of Monk Bar as part of a reorganisation of the Minster estates in the eighth to ninth centuries. In contrast, Ramm (1968, 194, 200) argues the closure of the north-east fortress gate and the realignment of Goodramgate occurred sometime after the late twelfth century. Rees Jones (1987[i], 45-6) argues that documentary sources do not indicate the enclosure of a street to the north-east gate, and the description of the tenement boundaries in Goodramgate and Ogleforth is similar to that recorded on the 1852 Ordnance Survey map. This is in contrast to the enclosed section of Blake Street (see Chapter 3).

There has been very limited archaeological work along Goodramgate at the street frontage. The sewer repair close to the junction with Deangate recorded layers of rubble from Roman buildings sealed by material showing evidence of the gradual deposition of organic material, but no evidence for a road on the present alignment (Ottaway 1996b, 20). This thesis therefore favours the argument proposed by Ramm (1968) that the north-east fortress gate remained in use until the twelfth century rather than the argument of other scholars (Norton 1998; Tweddle et al., 1999) that the gateway fell out of use between the eighth and tenth centuries. An alternative date for the creation of Goodramgate is discussed below. If the present alignment of Goodramgate is not established in the post-Roman period, then this affects when Monk Bar was created as well as the form of the road junction at the site of the south-east fortress gate.

INTRA-MURAL ROADS

Chapter 3 argues that the south-east and south-west fortress defences remained standing into at least the mid-eleventh century and there was an intra-mural road along the inside of the defences, partly preserved in Davygate and Church Street (Tweddle et al., 1999, 152). The evidence from Winchester (Biddle 1984) shows that the intra-mural road was an integral part of the street network (Figure 60). This section proposes that Goodramgate at the junction with Petergate preserves the continuation of the intra-mural road represented by Church Street and would have connected with the street of Aldwark.

Aldwark, and its continuation Ogleforth, are argued to preserve an intra-mural road along the north-east defences (Tweddle et al., 1999, 162). Both of these streets, though not recorded until 1109 and c.1180, respectively, have names of Old English rather than Norse origin (Palliser 1978, 3 and 13). The intra-mural road between Petergate and Aldwark may be partially preserved in the boundaries, such as the Bishop's shire, that reflect the line of the south-east fortress defences (Rees Jones 1987[i], 107). This section supports the argument proposed by Ramm (1968) that Monk Bar is a post-Conquest addition to the city defences. Removing Goodramgate and Monk Bar from the topography of the immediate post-Roman fortress has implications for understanding land use in the northern quadrant of the fortress in this period.

ESTATES AND LAND USE

Chapter 3 argues that the southern half of the fortress was divided into urban estates focussed on two proprietary churches, St Wilfrid and St Benedict. In the northern half of the fortress, land use was dominated by the Minster precincts in the north-western quadrant, and the historical records indicate the north-eastern quadrant formed an urban estate known as the Bishop's shire (Rees Jones 1987[i], 106-7). The following section discusses the evidence for land use within the framework of streets and the evidence for the character of the Petergate area in this period (Figure 61).

THE MINSTER CHURCH AND ESTATE

The north-east quadrant of the fortress was dominated by the ecclesiastical community focussed on the Minster. The land use of this area is not well understood, but Norton (1998) has argued that the area around the enclosure of the early Minster was home to several important churches. Excavations beneath the present Minster's south transept in 1967-73 located an important, high-status cemetery established in the eighth century (Phillips and Heywood 1996, 75-92, 191-94). The excavations in the Grape Lane/Swinegate area and at 62-68 Low Petergate do not suggest that there were buildings at the street front of Petergate, and this area may have remained open, dominated by the church of St Michael-le-Belfrey, with the markers of the high-status cemetery visible to anyone approaching the enclosure of the Minster.

THE ARCHBISHOP'S SHIRE AND HOLY TRINITY GOODRAMGATE

The land use of the north-eastern quadrant of the fortress in the post-Roman period is not clear as there is limited archaeological or historical evidence available. The historical records raise the possibility that this area was not solely controlled by the archbishop's. The boundaries of the archbishop's shire and the area around Holy Trinity Goodramgate discussed in this section were defined in relation to the topography of the fortress discussed above and in Chapter 3.

The Archbishop's Shire

The area identified with the archbishop's shire has been examined in detail by Rees Jones (1987[i], 84-109; 1988, 53) using the later medieval tenement records. This research has shown that the archbishop's shire comprised the area of the later medieval Minster Close and an extensive area in the north-eastern quadrant of the fortress, defined on its north-western side by the enclosed lane leading to the north-east gate of the fortress; its south-east boundary follows the line of the fortress wall. Its south-western boundary was the cemetery of Holy Trinity Goodramgate (Rees Jones 1987[i], 106-7). The fact the archbishop's shire respects the line of the fortress wall further strengthens the argument that it remained a significant topographical factor in the post-Roman period (see Chapter 3).

Holy Trinity Goodramgate: An Estate Church

The likely early foundation of Holy Trinity discussed above using the topographic and documentary evidence enables informed conjecture that it was associated with a small urban estate, as proposed for St Benedict's and St Wilfrid's (Chapter 3). If there was an estate associated with Holy Trinity, then the question is who owned it. Hornpot Lane was originally known as Holy Trinity Lane (Rees Jones 1987[ii], 153) and may have been set out at the time the church was founded to connect it to Petergate—a likelihood that is increased if it is accepted that Goodramgate is not established before the late eleventh century. The documentary sources show that in the thirteenth century, the Minster did not own many properties on the north-west side of Petergate from the site of the later Deanery to Goodramgate (Rees Jones 1987[iii], 147).

The possibility that an area around Holy Trinity remained separate from the archbishop's shire has been explored by Rees Jones (1987[i], 107, 135 n.1), who suggests that the land grant recorded by Symeon of Durham (see Chapter 3) may in fact relate to the area around

Holy Trinity Goodramgate. Norton (1998, n104) also supports the idea that the area around Holy Trinity Goodramgate remained separate from the Bishop's Shire. Although it cannot be proven that Holy Trinity originated as a royal chapel, the evidence suggests that the king retained partial control over an area of the fortress. The boundaries of this area may have been on the north-western side the enclosed lane and on the north-eastern side the boundary of Holy Trinity's cemetery. The south-eastern boundary could have been defined by the fortress defences and its south-western side by Petergate; this land block would equate to approximately two acres.

LAND USE IN THE ESTATES

Although there have been very limited opportunities for excavations in the area of the former fortress area, there has yet to be evidence for an intensification of activity from the mid-ninth to mid-eleventh centuries as seen in the areas around it. Within the fortress, published archaeological evidence (Wenham 1972; Hall 1997, 388; Kenward et al., 1986, 276-7; Hall 1997, 387-8) shows limited evidence of occupation between the mid-seventh and late eleventh centuries. The Goodramgate sewer repair watching brief identified organic deposits sealing the Roman levels, within which were a stake and some possible wattle (Ottaway 1995). In the Bedern excavation, a sequence of pits was recorded; one was radiocarbon dated to the seventh/eighth century, and one had tenth-century pottery in its fill. There was a line of un-mortared limestone blocks, and although are interpreted as the possible footings of a building, but this interpretation is far from certain (Ottaway 1996a, 150; Tweddle et al., 1999; Finlayson 2004, 893).

On Petergate itself, the sewer trench repairs showed a sequence of organic deposits sealing the Roman levels with evidence of limited occupation in the form of rubbish disposal (Ottaway 1997). Wenham's (1972) excavations in trench 1957.T3, adjacent to the proposed realigned Petergate, found no evidence for either structures or pit digging, which could indicate occupation between the fifth and late eleventh centuries. Partial robbing of Roman buildings was carried out in the Blake Street area in the late tenth or early eleventh century (Hall 1999), and the archaeology examined in Chapter 3 suggests there was a reorganisation of land use in the Grape Lane/Swinegate area in the early eleventh century. A number of residual mid-ninth- to eleventh-century artefacts were collected in later levels across the Bedern, but whether these were related to activity in the area was not clear (Richards 2001, 408). The available evidence suggests low levels of activity in the fortress; there was perhaps an increase in activity in the late tenth or early eleventh century but still not on the scale seen

in the areas surrounding the fortress. This evidence for low levels of occupation in the Petergate area raises a number of questions regarding the extent to which it formed the focus for a neighbourhood in the immediate post-Roman period.

THE POST-ROMAN NEIGHBOURHOOD FROM THE SIXTH TO MID-ELEVENTH CENTURIES

Because of the limited archaeological evidence from the fortress in the immediate post-Roman period, uncertainty remains regarding the conclusions drawn in this thesis. In Winchester, for the immediate post-Roman period, Biddle (1984, 115-6) argues that if the essential elements of urbanism included the presence of a relatively large and concentrated population engaged in industrial and commercial activities, then the city was not an urban place. However, the city remained an important place as a royal and ecclesiastical centre, and the area of the Roman town was largely open with limited areas of settlement that stood in contrast to the urban characteristics of *Hamwic* (Barlow et al., 1976, 450).

The evidence discussed in this chapter and Chapter 3 indicates that the fortress area remained largely 'non-urban' between the sixth and mid-eleventh centuries, and this differs from the evidence for the increasingly 'urban' characteristics of the area outside the fortress from the mid-ninth century. Within the fortress there appears to be no direct continuity from the Roman period into the fifth and sixth centuries; the alignment of the post-Roman streets is due to the reuse of surviving Roman remains as a result of the setting out of new streets and land boundaries associated with the creation of the Minster precincts and urban estates in the seventh century.

Biddle (see 1976, 278-9, 453; 1984, 119) has shown that it was the legacy of the Roman gates, rather than a continuity of settlement, that in part determined the street pattern at Winchester, which was set out afresh as a single act in the tenth century in association with the division of land boundaries. In Gloucester and Chester, the Roman fort influenced the street pattern, which was set out pre-Norman Conquest and has similarities with the street pattern at Winchester. As in York, questions remain regarding the date at which the circuit of the Roman defences on two sides was removed (Baker and Holt 2004, 36-7, 67; Strickland 1988). The position of the fortress gates and their apparent reuse in the immediate post-Roman period at York certainly influenced the alignment of streets, the establishment of which was likely associated with the division of land following the foundation of the Minster;

Goodramgate is perhaps not part of this original division of space. It is suggested here that the north-eastern half of the fortress was divided into two estates: the northern part (comprising the archbishops shire) and the southern part adjacent to Petergate (including the church of Holy Trinity Goodramgate); however, whether it formed a royal estate is unclear. Future excavations along Petergate must address research questions regarding the evidence for the evolution of the street and occupation along it.

The evidence discussed above shows that in York, conclusive proof of land use in the fortress between the fifth and eleventh centuries comparable to other towns is yet to be identified. For example, in Oxford early, large land units appear to have a substantial house well back from the street within a precinct containing service buildings and yards. In tenth-century London, houses often do not respect the streets, although there is a shift to the street front from the eleventh century onwards (Dodd 2003, 30, 35-41; Keene 2011a, 192). More significantly, there is no clear evidence for an intensification of land use within the fortress in York from the late ninth or early tenth century as seen in the area beyond the fortress, and where there is evidence for occupation, as in the early eleventh century in Grape Lane/Swinegate, it is on a limited scale. If, as the evidence in Chapter 3 suggests, occupation was focussed along Grape Lane from the late tenth and early eleventh century, it is possible that the enclosed section of this route from Petergate to the north-east fortress gate was also the focus of settlement.

A notable feature of the 2004 excavations in the Petergate area is the absence of residual earlier pottery wares from the Roman to Norman period, as noted in other excavations within the fortress (Mainman and Jenner 2006, 134); this can be explained in part through the later dumping and raising of the ground level on the site in the twelfth or thirteenth century (Wenham 1972), which sealed earlier levels that were not examined in the 2004 excavations. However, the review of the evidence in this section challenges the interpretation of the pottery in the 2004 excavations, which argues that the

absence of residual pottery is surprising given the central location of the site at the heart of the Roman legionary fortress and at the core of the Anglo-Scandinavian and Norman city. It is hard to imagine that this area, close to the major crossroads of Petergate and Stonegate, was abandoned and derelict following the Roman period suggesting, perhaps the longevity of an earlier

building on the site which had sealed lower deposits. (Mainman and Jenner 2006, 134)

The review of the evidence from Wenham's (1972) excavations, the sewer trench repairs (Ottaway 1997) and the evidence from the Grape Lane/ Swinegate area (see Chapter 3) did not identify structures or clear evidence for occupation along the section of Petergate between Grape Lane and the south-east gate to support the interpretation of earlier occupation. This therefore suggests that rather than being a 'neighbourhood', Petergate served as a boundary space between the two halves of the fortress. David Palliser (1990, 11) argues that there must have been definite boundaries between the shires into which York was divided at the time of the Norman Conquest. Perhaps this is partly the role Petergate fulfilled, separating the royal and ecclesiastical holdings from the estates in the south-western half of the fortress. Equally, Petergate may have been a processional access route passing the significant royal/ecclesiastical holding around Holy Trinity Goodramgate and the important, perhaps preeminent, centre focussed on the Minster precinct. It was not until the late eleventh century that a clear neighbourhood was established in this area.

THE NORMAN CONQUEST AND THE REORGANISATION OF THE FORTRESS c.1069-1250

The discussion of the Norman Conquest in Chapter 3 has shown that there were significant changes made to the topography of the fortress at the level of the streets and plots that lined them. As in the earlier period, there is limited archaeological evidence available for the late eleventh to mid-thirteenth century. The 1989-90 and Petergate excavations provide new information which shed light on the changes at a street and plot level within the fortress in the late eleventh and twelfth century and which had an impact on the development and use of space into the mid-thirteenth century. This section will examine the changes in the northern half of the fortress associated with the Minster, the defences, street pattern, and the establishment of tenements along Petergate. The evidence discussed will form the basis for the concluding examination of the changes to the Petergate study area, which draws on the evidence discussed in Chapter 3 to reassess the changes to the fortress in the late eleventh century following the Norman Conquest.

TOPOGRAPHY AND STREET PATTERN c.1069-1250

The transitional period after the Norman Conquest saw a series of large-scale alterations to the topography of York. These changes had a profound impact on the development of the Petergate area.

THE REORGANISATION OF THE MINSTER AND THE CLOSE

The newly appointed Archbishop Thomas of Bayeux reorganised the Minster as a secular cathedral with a Dean and Chapter and canons (prebends), which had an impact on landownership within the area of the former fortress around the Minster from the 1080s-1090s (Rees Jones 1987[i], 110-11; Norton 2000, 5-6, 8; Perring 2010). Archbishop Thomas oversaw the rebuilding of the Minster church to the south of the enclosure of the old Minster (Figure 62), which probably remained in use until the new church was finished, reflecting a pattern of rebuilding in other towns in this period, such as Winchester (Palliser 1990, 11; Norton 2000, 11). The new Minster fundamentally altered the topography of the fortress and stood out not just in terms of scale but also because it was aligned true east-west, disrespecting the underlying Roman fortress plan, with the whole project designed to impress the local populace with the power of the new ecclesiastical establishment (Norton 1998, 24; 2000, 10-11, 28).

The discussion of the pre-Norman Conquest Minster precinct in this chapter shows it was confined to the north-east of the lane from Petergate to the north-east fortress gate. Norton (1998, 20-1, 24; 2000, 10-12) has suggested Thomas's new cathedral was deliberately set out to avoid the old Minster enclosure, carefully avoiding the road to the north-east gate and St Michael-le-Belfrey; it did, however, overlie the post-Roman cemetery. Norton argues this positioning is due to the fact that the new Minster could not have been moved further south since the Petergate frontage is believed to have been built up by the late eleventh century. However, on the north-west of Petergate and adjacent to the road to the north-east fortress gate were the buildings associated with the newly created Deanery. The Deanery buildings were partly over the site of the *principia* within a defined precinct; its south-west sides were defined by Minster Gates and Petergate (Rees Jones 1987[iii], 179; Norton 2000, 13; Perring 2010, 103). Where the Deanery extended up to Petergate, this area formed gardens, and the documentary evidence show the Petergate street front was divided off for shops in the early fourteenth century (Rees Jones (1987[iii], 179). This may support the idea that part of the

Petergate street frontage was undeveloped in the late eleventh century, challenging Norton's argument.

The relationship of the Norman Minster to the road to the north-east fortress gate from Petergate could indicate that this route, and the gate itself, retained an active role in the post-Norman Conquest topography of the fortress; Chapter 3 has shown the extended line of Grape Lane was maintained in this period. If the Minster precincts had been extended across to encompass the area of the later Close, as proposed by Norton (1998, 22-3), in the eighth to tenth centuries, and if the road to the north-east gate had lost its importance, then why was the line of the road respected by the new Norman Minster and its associated new buildings? It is possible that the evidence for the Minster and the new Deanery and prebendal buildings being accommodated within the core area of the immediate post-Roman precinct supports the idea of the survival and use of the north-east gate and the road leading to it from Petergate. The suggestion challenges current views (e.g. Norton 1998; Tweddle et al., 1999) on the wider development of the north-east area of the former fortress and the establishment of Monk Bar and Goodramgate.

THE CREATION OF MONK BAR AND GOODRAMGATE

The constricted area of the pre-Conquest ecclesiastical precinct would have been a motivation for the Archbishop's to seek a way to expand the area available for prebendal houses through the twelfth century and the enlargement of the Minster buildings from the thirteenth century. The only available area for the expansion of the Close would have been into the area of the Bishop's Shire, across the line of the road from Petergate to the north-east fortress gate. This expansion was arguably the motivation for the closure of the successor to the Roman north-east gate and the creation of Monk Bar and Goodramgate, changes that would have had an impact on the land use and movement patterns across the northern half of the fortress (Figure 63).

THE CREATION OF MONK BAR

The exact date for the creation of Monk Bar, 100m to the south-east of the Roman gate approximately on the site of a Roman interval tower, is a source of debate. The standing fabric of the gate incorporates late eleventh- or early twelfth-century stonework, but it appears to be reused, and the majority of the present gate dates to the fourteenth century (RCHME 1982, 95, 116, 125-33). The earliest historical reference to a gate in this area is to the

Gurumlid in the late twelfth century (Rees Jones 1987[i], 43 n.1), but whether this relates to Monk Bar or the successor to the Roman gate is unclear. Beyond the fortress, the line of the Roman road to the north-east fortress gate is preserved in Grove Lane; the point at which Monkgate takes over as the principal road is unclear, and it is possible that both gates may have been in use simultaneously for a brief period. It has to also be borne in mind that it is possible that both gates may have remained open at the same time, with one perhaps forming the principal access into the fortress area.

Ramm (1968) associates Monk Bar with the development of a suburb outside the north-east side of the fortress, the Newbiggin, in the twelfth century (see also Rees Jones 1987[i], 63-4, 91-3; 1994, 302-3). If the Newbiggin initially used the north-east gate to enter the fortress and the pre-Conquest road to Petergate, this could have significantly increased the traffic along this route adjacent to the new Deanery, prebendal houses and the Minster. The desire to improve the security, tranquillity and the expansion of the Close could be seen as the motive for the creation of Monk Bar. The insertion of Monk Bar would have meant it had to be connected to the existing street pattern within the fortress, and this provides the context for the creation of Goodramgate. Only excavation on the site of the Roman north-east gate can potentially help address the date of its closure and the relocation of the gate to Monk Bar.

THE CREATION OF GOODRAMGATE

The problems with establishing a date for the creation of Goodramgate are due to the limited opportunities for excavation. However, the argument proposed in this chapter is that it was created at a later date, based on historical sources of the twelfth and thirteenth century (Rees Jones 1987[i], 45-6; n1), which give no indication of an abandoned extension towards the north-east fortress gate, and also based on the fact that there is no evidence for a preserved road line in the boundaries shown on the cartographic sources (Figure 64); this is in contrast to Blake Street or Grape Lane (see Chapter 3). Equally, the limited archaeological evidence from a sewer trench repair (Ottaway 1996b, 13-15) indicated the post-Roman organic deposits were sealed by successive layers of limestone fragments, rammed cobbles and gravel forming the surfaces of Goodramgate. The dating of the earliest surfaces based on the pottery indicates a late eleventh- or twelfth-century date for the creation of the street. Although caution has to be exercised in drawing conclusions from this intervention, it raises the possibility that Goodramgate was established after the Norman Conquest, perhaps supporting the twelfth-century date for the creation of Monk Bar.

If Goodramgate is a later insertion into the streetscape associated with Monk Bar, then it must have been aligned for a purpose other than to connect the Roman south-east and north-east gates. This thesis suggests the alignment of Goodramgate is designed to either avoid or connect pre-existing elements of the topography of the fortress. Goodramgate originates at the junction with Petergate where this chapter suggests there was an intra-mural road along the interior of the fortress defences. From this junction to College Street, the only place the Minster Close extends to Goodramgate (Norton 1998, 23) is set out to minimise the disturbance to the cemetery of Holy Trinity Goodramgate. From College Street the road is set out to meet the junction of Aldwark and Ogleforth, with the final section from this junction aligned to connect to Monk Bar.

The available evidence can therefore be used to support Ramm's (1968) suggestion that Monk Bar and Goodramgate are twelfth-century creations. The development of Goodramgate, as Norton (1998, 23) argues, brought immediate benefit to the Minster community by turning the old road from Petergate to the north-east gate into a quiet, ecclesiastical street. By bringing the proposed pre-Conquest road inside the precinct, it also made possible the enlargement of the cathedral church, the Deanery and the creation of new prebendal houses. The alterations to the Minster and the creation of Goodramgate and Monk Bar in association with the removal of the south-eastern fortress defences would have had a significant impact on land use and movement patterns within the fortress area in the post-Conquest period.

PETERGATE: GRAPE LANE TO THE SOUTH-EAST FORTRESS GATE

The alignment of Petergate from Bootham Bar to the junction of Grape Lane appears to have remained largely unaltered after the Norman Conquest. In contrast, the alignment of the street from Grape Lane to the site of the south-east gate appears to have been altered in the post-Conquest period. To determine when the section of Petergate from Grape Lane to the junction with Church Street took its present alignment, the evidence from the excavations at 62-68 Low Petergate (Wenham 1972) and the sewer trenches (Ottaway 1997) is crucial, especially when considered in relation to the evidence from the 1989 excavations. Hornpot Lane itself, as discussed above, may have already existed as a route from Petergate to the church of Holy Trinity Goodramgate.

Evidence for alterations to the alignment of Petergate in the late eleventh century was recorded in the 1957-8 and 1996 sewer trench watching briefs. In trenches 1957.T1 and

1957.T2, the post-Roman road surface was sealed by a layer of black soil containing a quantity of organic material, animal bone and oyster shell (Wenham 1972, 69). The 1996 watching brief of the sewer trench repairs showed that at approximately the same stratigraphic level as the deposits recorded in trenches 1957.T1 and 1957.T2, the upper levels of the organic material overlying the *via principals* contained gritty ware pottery dating to the eleventh to twelfth centuries (Ottaway 1997, 19). These deposits were overlain by the first road surface on the present alignment of Petergate comprising a layer of patchy cobbles, pebbles and fragments of bone and leather. The initial road surface was subsequently overlain by a substantial deposit of cobbles, pebbles and limestone fragments, and in Sewer Trench 2 there were successive street surfaces to within c.0.8m of the modern road surface (Ottaway 1997, 20-1). Although the evidence is limited, it indicates that the south-eastern end of Petergate was realigned to its present position in the late eleventh or early twelfth century, and this change could be due to a number of factors. For example, it may have been realigned due to a change in ownership associated with the breaking up of the estate around Holy Trinity Goodramgate. Alternatively, the road could have been realigned in order to provide the space for the construction of tenements along the street frontage or due to alterations to the streets as part of the removal of the south-east fortress gate.

THE SOUTH-EAST GATE AND SOUTH-EAST FORTRESS DEFENCES

The archaeological evidence for the removal of the gate and the south-east fortress defences, or perhaps the encroachment of occupation (e.g. buildings) upon them, is far from conclusive due to the lack of opportunities for excavation. Although nothing is known of the south-east gate, it can be inferred that it was removed in the late eleventh or early twelfth century. Excavations along the south-east and south-west defences indicate the robbing of stone from the fortress wall or its incorporation into later structures occurred in the late eleventh or twelfth century, and as Chapter 3 argues, this evidence suggests fundamental changes were made to the area of the former fortress in the post-Conquest period.

An example of the problems with interpreting the post-Norman conquest alterations is an excavation by Ian Stead (1968) close to the site of the south-east gate. The excavation exposed the face of the fortress wall and the rampart on the interior of the fortress, which stood 8ft (2.4m) high, with evidence for the robbing of the ashlar stones from the exterior facade, against which there was build-up of material that contained pottery of c.eleventh to twelfth century date. Cut into the rampart behind the wall was evidence for the corner of a timber plank building with a mortar floor. Based on pottery found below the floor, Stead

(1968, 154) dated the structure to the tenth to eleventh century. Without precise dating, it is impossible to tell whether this structure was pre- or post-Norman Conquest. All of these early features were sealed by layers containing thirteenth- to fourteenth-century material.

Later work on an adjacent site located outside the fortress was recorded by Peter Wenham (1968, 165-8). Wenham recorded the location of the fortress wall, which stood at least 9ft (2.74m) high and collected numerous artefacts recovered by workmen from the 4-5ft (1.20-1.50m) of deposits removed from in front of the wall. However, because these deposits were not excavated archaeologically, the stratigraphic sequence and provenance of the artefacts is unknown. The pottery from these mixed deposits ranged from the late ninth to twelfth century. The other finds included bone combs (tenth- to twelfth-century style) lathe-turned wooden bowls, whetstones, antler tines and points; a bone skate and a spindle whorl (Wenham 1968, 165-8). Importantly, this material was collected from outside, not inside, the fortress, so it is likely associated with the intensive settlement that developed along the south-east side of the fortress in the Anglo-Scandinavian period, not with occupation inside the fortress. Based on the evidence discussed in Chapter 3 and above, this chapter argues that the evidence recorded by Stead (1968) dates to shortly after the Norman Conquest and accords with the evidence from subsequent excavations for alterations to south-east and south-west fortress defences in the late eleventh or early twelfth century. The removal of the remains of the fortress wall in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries has a bearing on the understanding of the roads and subsequent development of the area of the fortress.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF TENEMENTS AND LAND USE: c.1069-1250

The alterations to the street pattern discussed above had a profound impact on the organisation of space within the northern half of the fortress. The following section discusses the evidence for occupation along the streets and lends support to the proposed changes to the topography of the fortress, providing valuable evidence for the developing character of the Petergate neighbourhood.

THE SETTING OUT OF PROPERTIES ON THE NORTH-EAST SIDE OF PETERGATE

On the north-east side of Petergate, Wenham's (1972) excavations at 62-68 Low Petergate identified the first evidence for plots with buildings set out respecting the modern alignment of Petergate. As discussed in Chapter 2, there are problems with the dating of the 1957-8 excavations, but the stratigraphic levels were noted to correspond to the first street levels for Petergate on its present alignment (see above and Ottaway 1997, 23). The excavations in 2004 (Reeves 2006a) did not examine the eleventh- and twelfth-century deposits due to depth constraints (see Chapter 2). The plots identified in the 2004 post-excavation were interpreted as extending from the Petergate street frontage to the boundary of Holy Trinity Goodramgate and did not take into account the historical evidence for Tenement 43 fronting onto Hornpot Lane (Reeves 2006a, Figure 2). Therefore, the excavated plots are discussed using the tenement numbering scheme (Figure 65) of Rees Jones (1987[ii]). The structural evidence is described according to the building numbers discussed in Chapter 2; for example ST41A is the first structure recorded in Tenement 41.

TENEMENTS 41 TO 43

The historical Tenement boundaries identified by Rees Jones (1987[ii], 167-71) show that ST41A and ST41B in trenches 1957.T1 and 1957.T2 were located within Tenement 41. The walling (ST43A) recorded in trench 1957.T3 was located in Tenement 43 (Figure 66). Tenement 41 abutted Tenement 42 to the north-west and fronted onto Petergate to the south-west, and its north-east boundary abutted Tenement 43, which was bounded by the cemetery of Holy Trinity Goodramgate to the north-east. The south-east side of Tenements 42 and 43 was demarked by Hornpot Lane. Wenham (1972) and Reeves (2006a and b) discussed the archaeological evidence on the assumption that the Tenements extended from the Petergate street frontage to the boundary with the cemetery of Holy Trinity Goodramgate and were bounded on the south-east side by Hornpot Lane. This chapter refines this interpretation because the historical records examined by Rees Jones (1987[ii]) show the street-front tenements, at least in the period after 1250, backed onto a Tenement 43, which fronted onto Hornpot Lane. Therefore, some of the evidence attributed by Reeves (2006a) to Tenements 41 and 42 are likely associated with activity in Tenement 43.

TENEMENTS 41 AND 42

The width of Tenement 41 and 42 accords with the documented size of burgage plots, which were normally two to three perches wide, and which from inception might be divided longitudinally by their tenants into house plots of one perch width (Rees Jones 2008, 74). In trenches 1957.T1 and 1957.T2 an earth-fast timber building (ST41A and ST41B) was constructed over the dark, humic soils that sealed the possible post-Roman road discussed above. In trench 1957.T1, ST41A consisted of a timber ground beam, aligned north-east-south-west at right angles to Petergate. It was made of oak with a central groove or slot, and on its north-west side was a series of layers comprising timber lacing, Roman dressed limestone blocks and black soil. Below the timber interlacing was a series of birch stakes driven through the dark soil, which Wenham suggested formed a series of piles. Sealing the timber lacing was a layer of clay interpreted as a floor surface. Further timber lacing, not capped with clay, was found on the south-east side of the ground beam, aligned parallel to Petergate, which could also have been an internal surface of a room (Wenham 1972, 77).

There was a slight variation in the construction of the walls of ST41B recorded in trench 1957.T2. The building still comprised an oak ground beam aligned north-east-south west, with a further short length of a ground beam set at right angles to it on its north-west side. A trench lined with limestone blocks with a timber retaining board (Wenham 1957, 77) may represent a drain. The ground beams recorded in 1957.T1 and 1957.T2 would have supported staves or wattle work that would have formed the walls. A possible external area was identified that was difficult to differentiate from the later, overlying deposits into which was a cut feature interpreted as a robber cut for the wall of a Roman building. Wenham (1972, 78) suggests the Roman building provided the stone used in the timber rafts. The robber cut was partially backfilled and lined with wickerwork and upright stakes to form a rubbish or cess pit. It is possible that this was contemporary with the use of the building. Whether the structure in trench 1957.T2 formed part of the same structure as that in trench 1957.T1 is not clear, but it may have formed a separate building.

Dating for this activity is problematic; the pottery from the associated levels and a pit is described as Saxo-Norman (Wenham 1972, 69, 77), but it is not described in the pottery report (Le Patourel 1972). Therefore, it is impossible to refine the dating in relation to more recent research into the pottery fabrics of York (e.g. Holdsworth 1978; Brooks 1987; Mainman 1990, 1993). However, as already noted, the height AOD of the buildings accords with the possible late eleventh/twelfth century surfaces of Petergate (Ottaway 1997), and they also

accord with the stratigraphic height of the better-dated archaeological sequence from the 1989 excavations. It is therefore possible that these structures date to the post-Norman Conquest period.

Rees Jones (1987[iii], 167-9) argues that Wenham's (1972) excavations were within Tenement 41 and extending into Tenement 42. However, this section argues that trenches 1957.T1 and 1957.T2 (excavated at 68 Low Petergate) were located solely within Tenement 41 and did not extend into Tenement 42. To aid the interpretation of the structures recorded by Wenham, they were examined in relation to the 1852 Ordnance Survey map (Figure 67). The map shows 68 Low Petergate comprised two street-front properties separated by a central alley. Overlaying Wenham's plan of the timbers recorded in trench 1957.T1 with the 1852 Ordnance Survey map shows that the timbers align with the south-east wall of the north-west property within Tenement 41. The properties on the 1852 Ordnance Survey map are 10ft (3.04m) wide with a 3ft 6ins (1.09m) alleyway between them. The rear walls of the buildings on the 1852 Ordnance Survey are c.16ft 6ins (5.05m) back from the Petergate street frontage. The layer of flattish limestone blocks on the south-east side of the ground beam in trench 1957.T1 might be interpreted as the earliest surface of the central alley between the properties to provide access to Tenement 43 and the excavations in 1957-8 provide an insight into its early development.

TENEMENT 43

This section proposes that Tenement 43 was created in conjunction with Tenement 41 and 42 as a single plot in the period after the Norman Conquest (see Figure 66). ST43A was at the same stratigraphic level as the timber buildings in trenches 1957.T1 and 1957.T2. ST43A was of substantial construction and comprised of a stone footing incorporating Roman masonry; the masonry was probably derived from an underlying Roman building based on the evidence for a robber cut. The stone foundation was not recorded in plan in the publication of the excavations, but it is shown on the south-west-facing section drawing of the trench (Wenham 1972, Fig. 3a). An area of flat laid stones adjacent to this wall was interpreted by Wenham (1972, 85) as an external yard. ST43A is problematic to interpret, but it is possible that the stone wall formed the sill for a timber structure, or it may have formed the foundation for a stone building, such as those found in Stonegate in York as well as in other towns in this period (Antrobus 2009, 38, Faulkner 1966; Grenville 1996, 175; Keene 2000; Schofield 2003, 61).

The 2004 excavations did not excavate to the same stratigraphic levels recorded by Wenham, but a series of deposits at the limit of excavation were dated by pottery to the mid- to late twelfth century, as were leather shoes, a buzz bone, a nail and a pickaxe head. These deposits could provide evidence for the latest phases of activity associated with the building prior to the changes in land use discussed below. These deposits could be interpreted as the pits, backfills and accumulation of material associated with the use of the building, or material dumped as part of the levelling and reorganisation of the tenement prior to a change in land use around the middle of the thirteenth century. The sequence for the final phases of the buildings recorded in 1957.T2 and 1957.T3 is not clear in published report, but at some point they fall out of use and the area becomes used for refuse disposal resulting in the accumulation of a layer of organic material that raised the ground level by c.1m. This deposit appeared to form multiple episodes of dumping (Wenham 1972), but it was treated as a single layer; therefore, the artefacts must be examined with caution due to problems of intrusion or residuality. Dating of this activity is derived from the pottery (Le Patourel 1972), which has been reviewed based on more recent research on pottery types from York (Brooks 1988; Mainman 1990, 1993). This shows that the pottery was mixed and included fabrics (Stamford and Thetford wares) from the tenth to eleventh century through to splashed wares of late eleventh- or twelfth-century date. Although the dating is unclear, the stratigraphic position of the deposit and the subsequent activity suggest this activity occurs at some point between the twelfth and mid-thirteenth centuries.

TENEMENTS 41-3 c.1069-1250

There are two possible interpretations of the evidence from Tenement 41-3 in the post-Norman Conquest period. One is that Tenement 43 formed a separate land holding with a substantial structure (ST43A) accessed from Hornpot Lane. The second, favoured interpretation is that Tenements 41-3 formed a single property, with ST43A being the remains of the principal residence behind the properties recorded in trenches 1957.T1 and 1957.T2. This plot arrangement (a street-front range of timber buildings often forming shops or workshops, with a principal dwelling house sometimes built of stone and accessed by a passage to the street) are known from the documentary sources, which also show these plots were occupied either as a single unit or split between different tenants (Rees Jones 1987[ii], xii-xiii;).

The street-front buildings (ST41A and ST41B) recorded in trench 1957.T1 and 1957.T2 were surface-laid timber buildings consisting of a sill beam set on the ground, which would have

had timber posts mortised into it to form the superstructure (Grenville 1996, 34). The detailed study of tenth- and eleventh-century comparable buildings in London (Horsman et al., 1988; Burch and Trevail 2010, 184-88; Schofield 2011, 60-1) show these structures would have been single storey, usually aligned gable end on to the street, and they were on average 10ft (3m) wide. In York, comparable structures dating from the mid-ninth to twelfth century have been recorded at 16-22 Coppergate and in Skeldergate (Addyman 1979, 70; Hall and Hunter-Mann 2002, 818). An example of a late twelfth century stone house behind the street frontage stands in Stonegate (RCHME 1981, 225), and the historical records for the thirteenth century record a number of stone buildings along Petergate and on other streets in York; these were often demolished for the construction of timber-framed houses (Rees Jones 1987[i], 236, 270, [ii], *passim*; Rimmer 2007, 35).

TENEMENT 44 AND 45

There was no archaeological evidence for these tenements between the late eleventh to mid-thirteenth centuries. There are limited documentary references for Tenement 44, and most of the evidence is derived from the abutment clauses of adjacent tenements. The earliest reference that might relate to the tenement dates to 1225 x 1239, recording the granting by John son of David Parmenter to Master Robert de Wynton, precentor of York, an annual rent of half a mark from lands in Petergate in the parish of Holy Trinity Goodramgate. In 1240 x 1241 the executors of Master Robert de Winthon, late precentor, transferred an annual rent of 20s 2d, including half a mark from land which was of John de Bokenay in Petergate to the Vicars Choral (Rees Jones 1987[ii], 176-7).

TENEMENTS ON THE SOUTH-WEST SIDE OF PETERGATE

Evidence for the Petergate tenements on this side of the street were recorded in the 1989 excavations and the archaeological sequence comes solely from the backyards of properties (Figure 68). An examination of the archaeology in conjunction with the historical evidence for the tenements was important in associating the Swinegate evidence with properties that fronted onto Petergate, rather than assuming the sequences were from properties fronting onto Swinegate. The examination of the historical records for the tenements on the south-west side of Petergate by Rees Jones (1987[ii], 75-146) shows that until the late thirteenth to early fourteenth century these tenements were in private ownership and were slowly acquired by the Dean and Chapter or the Vicars Choral through donations. The exception is

Tenement 29-30, which appears to have been a holding of the Minster as it was the land of the pre-band for Branham. Tenements 21-26 extended back from Petergate to the lands of Newburgh Priory in Grape Lane, and Tenements 27-32 extended the full width between Petergate and Swinegate. The excavated Plots 7-10 recorded in the 1989-90 excavations are within Tenement 27-29. Tenement 31 appears to have remained outside the holdings of the church, and the documents suggest that the lane along its north-western side marked the boundary of the church estates.

DUMPING AND GROUND MAKE-UP AND NEW TENEMENT BOUNDARIES

Prior to the setting out of the new fence lines, there was an episode of dumping raising the ground level and burying the early eleventh-century fence lines (see Chapter 3). The new fence line demarking Tenements (27-30) saw the reassertion of the Roman alignment of north-east-south-west, which disrespects the alignment of the fence lines of the early eleventh century. The late eleventh-century boundaries have largely persisted to the present day.

TENEMENT 27-8: SUB-PLOTS A-C

Plot A was separated from Plot B by an alley. The alley was 1m (c.3ft) wide with a surface constructed of crushed limestone rubble, fragments of grindstones and slag and flanked by wicker fences. Overlying the stone surface of the alley was an organic deposit that accumulated between the wattle fences. This alley was not retained when the plots were reorganised from the mid-thirteenth century. The south-east side of Plot B was marked by a further short section of wicker fence that did not extend the full width of trench 1989.T3. The fences indicate Plots were between c.10ft-12ft wide (3-3.65m) wide. In the late twelfth to mid-thirteenth century the short wicker fence separating Plots A and B was replaced with a ditch that ran the full width of trench 1987.T3. This ditch was on the same alignment but moved 0.6m to the south-east; within the ditch was a series of wooden stakes perhaps associated with a fence. This marked a more formal division between the tenements. It is possible this alteration to the boundary is due to the change in ownership of Tenement 27. The documents for this Tenement show that in c.1228, Mathilda Postard, widow of Wydonis Aurifaber, granted the land to the Vicars Choral. The south-east side of Plot C was also marked by a wicker fence recorded in trench 1989.T3, the continuation of which was recorded in trench 1989.T7, where it turned 90 degrees to run parallel with modern Swinegate; this presumably marked the end of the plot.

Activity within the plots consisted of a series of dump deposits, pits and wicker-lined cess pit. The dumps contained pottery dated to the eleventh- to twelfth century; other artefacts recovered included leather shoes, an iron sheet fragment, a glass vessel fragment and an iron nail. The pit backfill contained pottery of similar wares to the dump as well as further leather shoes, leather sheet fragments and animal bone. In 1989.T6 there was a cut feature of uncertain function. The archaeological sequence for land use in the late twelfth to mid-thirteenth century is less clear as the deposits were largely removed in spits, and there is no clear divide between the use deposits of the tenement and the large-scale levelling activities that preceded the sub-division of the Petergate tenements for the development of the Patrick Pool street frontage (see Chapter 3).

Within trench 1989.T7, the earliest recorded deposits were organic build-ups containing late eleventh- and twelfth-century pottery as well as leather shoes, leather waste and animal bone. In trench 1989.T3 a linear band of limestone rubble with a series of posts aligned north-east-south-west was recorded and dated by pottery to the twelfth century. It seems unlikely this formed a division between tenements, but it may have formed the base for a screen to an adjacent cess pit. A second cess pit was located close to the boundary with Tenement 27. One cess pit was wicker lined, and the backfill of both produced leather shoes, leather off cuts and eleventh- to twelfth-century pottery. There was a sequence of dump deposits within and across Tenements 27-8 that were excavated as arbitrary spits. One spit of material removed contained a high quantity of pottery, animal bone, leather shoes and leather off-cuts dating from the late eleventh to mid-thirteenth century.

The archaeological evidence for Tenement 27-8 indicates that they may have originally formed one land unit that was subsequently divided, or that they were set out as two properties with open access between them. The possibility that these properties had access between them was perhaps supported by several of the dump or use deposits that extended across Plots B and C. In both tenements there was evidence to suggest the external areas had been surfaced with pebbles and gravel. The evidence from the dumps and pits indicate the tenants of Tenements 27-8 were engaged in the leatherworking trades, primarily cobbling reworking worn out shoes, but it is noticeable that there was less leatherworking waste recovered from the pits and dumps dating to the late twelfth to mid-thirteenth century.

TENEMENT 29

There was very little evidence recovered from this tenement. The north-western edge was marked by the wicker fence separating it from Tenement 28, and based on the cartographic evidence its south-east edge is marked by the alley, now known as Mad Alice Lane, that still runs between Petergate and Swinegate. In the late twelfth to early thirteenth century there was a sequence of pits and it is notable that these pits produced only pottery and animal bone with no evidence for leatherworking or metalworking waste which characterise Tenements 27-9 in the late eleventh to early thirteenth century.

THE POST-CONQUEST NEIGHBOURHOOD: URBAN LANDSCAPE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEIGHBOURHOOD

Chapter 3 argues the removal of, or encroachment of settlement up to, the south-east fortress defences between Petergate and the south-east corner tower was part of the establishment of a 'Norman' estate with a new church dedicated to a Breton saint (St Sampson) on the boundary between the tenth century town outside the fortress and the former precinct of the royal and ecclesiastical enclosure defined by the fortress defences. This change fundamentally altered the character of the existing urban estate centred on St Benedict's church. The evidence discussed in this chapter suggests that the north-eastern half of the fortress was also comprehensively reorganised with changes to the street pattern. Petergate between Grape Lane and the fortress gate was realigned and the creation of Goodramgate and Monk Bar replaced the pre-Conquest route from Davygate to the site of the north-east fortress gate. Associated with the reorganisation of the streets was intensification in settlement shown through the establishment of new Tenements, which saw Petergate change from a liminal space defining the boundary between the royal and ecclesiastical precincts in the northern half of the fortress and the urban estates in the southern half, to the principal north-east-south-west route across the former fortress.

Deliberate planning of the Petergate area is shown in the uniform width of the new Tenements; on both sides of Petergate there is a uniform width of 10ft (3.30m) for plots, and on the south-west side of the street these are demarked by wicker fences. These plots are still broadly preserved in the widths of the extant medieval buildings that line Petergate and can be identified on the 1852 and modern Ordnance Survey; the question to be asked is who carried out these changes. Whilst it could have been carried out by the pre-Conquest

landowners, the Normans realised the importance of towns and ensured they acquired the land within them through a direct gift from the king (Dyer 2009, 81, 90). Indeed, the historical sources indicate land in York was largely taken out of the control of the indigenous population (VCH 1961, 22). Therefore, it is likely that the re-planning of the fortress interior and the creation of the new tenements along Petergate was the work of the new Norman landowners. It cannot be said with certainty that the interior of the fortress developed as a French quarter, and the artefactual evidence from Petergate, as in many towns, show little difference in the material culture either side of the Conquest (Sivier 2002, 80; Dodd 2003, 46-53). This raises the possibility that distinctions between residents were made in other ways, such as dress and language.

PETERGATE IN THE LATE ELEVENTH TO MID-THIRTEENTH CENTURIES: A DEVELOPING NEIGHBOURHOOD

The archaeological evidence from Tenement 41-2 suggests that single storey timber buildings were established on the Petergate street frontage in the late eleventh century. The documentary sources show the increasingly complex built environment on the tenements along Petergate by the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. For example, Tenement 21 on the corner of Grape Lane, which abutted the alley adjacent to Structure A discussed in Chapter 3, was described in 1201 as having four booths in Petergate, a wooden chamber lying towards St Benedict's church and land held by Gregory the chaplain; it is possible that there were also stone houses on the tenement.

The establishment of the plot boundaries and associated alley ways in the late eleventh and early twelfth century establishes the pattern of land division until the mid-thirteenth century. The wicker fences demarking the tenements on the south-west side of Petergate were the main structural evidence from this period, and these were a marked contrast to the wooden post fences of the early eleventh century (see Chapter 3). Similar division of plots has been recorded in Coppergate in the late eleventh and twelfth century which showed they were relatively insubstantial and therefore permeable suggesting frequent and easy communication between houses on neighbouring plots and possible some common yards (Hall and Hunter-Mann 2002, 807-10; Rees Jones 2008, 75). The alleys which divided plots also served as the boundaries of jurisdiction with the lane on the north-west side of Tenement 31, called Langton Lane, forming a boundary to the jurisdiction of the dean and chapter in 1390 (Rees Jones 1987[ii], 134).

The late twelfth to mid-thirteenth century saw further changes to the character of the Petergate area. The documentary evidence gives an indication of the built character of the street and the complex pattern of land holding by families of artisans, merchants and increasingly properties held by the Vicars Choral (Rees Jones 1987[iii]). The institutional ownership of the south-west side of Petergate between Grape Lane and Church Street facilitated the sub-division of the Petergate tenements for the development of the Patrick Pool (modern Swinegate) street frontage and the reorganisation of the Swinegate area (see Chapter 3). The evidence from Tenement 27 and 28 suggests that the boundary between the plots becomes more formalised, which would have prohibited movement between the tenements. However, the other Tenements on the south-west side of Petergate show that the wicker fences established in the late eleventh -twelfth centuries begin to fall out of use and there was evidence for pits being cut along the boundaries and the alley separating Plot 7 from Tenement 27 is encroached upon by pit digging. Whether this suggests continued shared use of space and common yard areas is unclear.

The documents give some indication of the residents of the street. For example in 1231, Tenement 30 was held, and probably lived on, by John of Paris, merchant. On the south-east side of the lane were two major tenements, one belonging to the Langton family by 1276 and the other being of the fee of the priory of St. Andrew, York until at least the end of the fourteenth century (Rees Jones 1987[iii], 75-6, 130). However, when considering the residents of the area, recent research by Rees Jones (2008, 74-9) shows that the visible and durable perch-wide building obscure an underlying hierarchy of landownership and land use in which clusters of adjacent plots were often owned and managed together as larger social units. She argues that an important element of this is the identification of burgage plots, the size of which in York is documented in the payment of husgable first recorded in c.1284. This shows that in York plots owned in burgage were normally two to three perches wide, but from inception might be divided by their tenants into house plots of one perch width and were usually held as familial units, often with tenants treated as dependants of the landlord.

CRAFT ACTIVITIES

Artisanal names are recorded in the documentary records for the Petergate tenements, but it is not always clear whether the named person also lived in the tenement; examples of early thirteenth-century artisanal names include Harvey the Currier (leather) or Henry le Furbur (metalworker) (Rees Jones 1987[ii], 121-2). A significant change in the period following the Norman Conquest was an intensification of craft activity following the establishment of the

new Tenements, with evidence for small-scale metalworking represented by slag, furnace lining and grindstones re-used in the alley ways. Other craft activities possibly carried out were bone and textile working, but the leather trades were most prevalent. Leather was an important material in the Middle Ages and provided for many needs in daily life; leatherworkers (along with bakers, cooks, innkeepers, tailors and smiths) were often in greatest demand (Cherry 2001, 295-318); by the late thirteenth century in York the leather trades represented 30% of the freemen (Swanson 1980, 452).

The leather finds from Swinegate and Petergate suggest the tenements were used primarily by leatherworkers between the late eleventh and mid-thirteenth centuries, predominantly cobblers responsible for the repair and salvaging of old shoe leather to make reconditioned footwear (MacConnoran and Nailer 2008, 342). The evidence from the Petergate study area shows all stages of the leatherworking process; alongside shoes, there was evidence for the manufacture of straps and sheathes for knives (Mould et al., 2003, 3421, 3388). The 1957 excavations produced a large quantity of leatherworking waste, but there are problems with the dating of Wenham's evidence because two date ranges are offered for the shoes and five decorative medieval sheathes: twelfth to thirteenth century or c.1200-1400 (Mould et al., 2003, 3421). At the London Guildhall site, the waste material from leatherworking showed it had been discarded from nearby workshops based on the homogeneity of the layers of off-cuts (MacConnoran and Nailer 2008, 340-1). This homogeneity of leather waste accords with the deposits recorded by Wenham (1972) in Tenement 41, which could suggest the street-front building, was used by a shoe maker.

The assemblage from the Petergate and Swinegate excavation was similar to other sites in York, but one form of shoe was recovered that was not present at the Coppergate area or the Bedern: the scorpion-tail shoe, of which two were recovered. The scorpion-tail style was introduced into England in the 1090s. Its appearance here could indicate that the Petergate tenements were of higher status than Coppergate or the Bedern in the later eleventh to twelfth century, for this was high fashion in the period (Mould et al., 3424). However, the facts these shoes are a style associated with the Norman court could indicate a 'Norman' presence in the street or the adoption of Norman fashions. Alongside the leatherworking crafts recorded in the excavations, there was also metalworking. The surnames of land holders in the documentary records for Petergate show there were a number of smiths, but whether they lived on the properties is unclear (Rees Jones 1987[ii], 89, 121).

The evidence in Chapters 3 and 4 for the Norman Conquest shows that alongside the institutional building, there were fundamental changes to the topography of the former fortress in the late eleventh to mid-twelfth century. As with the Swinegate area, the later eleventh to mid-thirteenth century was a period which saw the intensification of settlement within the fortress, which would have led to the development of social groups within the new tenements. Whether the fortress was home to incoming residents is unclear, but possible centres of 'Norman' occupation existed around St Sampson's church. It is unlikely that Petergate formed a single neighbourhood, but it may have been comprised of small, interconnected neighbourhoods with the focus on groups of tenements along the street. Small groupings of tenements as the focus for social interaction would transcend the developing official boundaries of parish and ward. The establishment of the parishes along Petergate has not been examined in detail, but Petergate was within three parishes: Holy Trinity Goodramgate, Holy Trinity King's Square and Michael-le-Belfrey. Examination of how these parishes developed is beyond the scope of this thesis, but they may have developed either from pre-Conquest urban estates (particularly in the case of Holy Trinity Goodramgate) or represent the creation of new holdings following the division of land in York following the Conquest. While the parish was important, the argument presented in Chapter 3 is that the street was pre-eminent in social relations. Social groupings may have developed around the shared trade of leather and small-scale metalworking, which would have been focussed at the level of individual tenements along the street. Once the property boundaries were established along Petergate from Grape Lane to Church Street, the topography of this area became fixed, enduring largely unchanged to the present day. With the topography established, the discussion of the development of Petergate in the later medieval period focuses on the changes in land use and craft activities within the Tenements that lined the street.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PETERGATE TENEMENTS: CHANGING LAND USE AND CRAFT ACTIVITY c.1250-1400

Following the establishment of the tenements along Petergate in the late eleventh to twelfth century, there are no further large-scale changes to the topography of the study area. The changes that do occur relate to plot boundaries and land use within the existing tenements. The evidence discussed in this section focuses on Tenements 41-45 on the north-east side of Petergate. These Tenements have been explored extensively archaeologically and through the historical records, and in conjunction, they shed important light on the development of

this area. The standing building evidence also shows that Petergate was lined with timber framed buildings of at least three storeys (RCHME 1981) and would have been a marked difference from the buildings in the Grape Lane/Swinegate area. The changes in this period also relate to the development of the parish boundaries (discussed in Chapter 3) and their relationship to the properties within the Petergate study area.

SOUTH-WEST SIDE OF PETERGATE: TENEMENT 27

The only evidence for activity come from the north-western plot within Tenement 27 as it appears the remainder of Tenement 27 and 28 are subdivided for the development of the Patrick Pool street frontage (see Chapter 3). Tenement 27 was probably owned by the Vicars Choral in conjunction with the adjoining Tenement 26 and 28. The documents identify a number of tenants of Tenement 27; 1312 Thomas de Flaxton; 1321 John de Hathelsay; 1328-1329 John de Lang(tan) and 1342 Robert de Hill (alias yle). In 1366 the tenant was Robert del Gare, and after this date the names of the tenants of free rents tended to become fossilized. Robert del Gare was still named as the tenant in 1399, although by 1474-1479 the tenant was John Helmesley (Rees Jones 1987[ii], 117).

The archaeological sequence, consisting of dumps and pits, in the north-western plot of Tenement 27 appears to continue as the external area for the Petergate properties through the thirteenth and perhaps into the fifteenth century. Many of these deposits were removed as spits; therefore, detailed phasing is problematic but appears to indicate that in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the tenement was still engaged in leatherworking, with sheathes and offcuts recovered. Much of the pottery from these deposits included York glazed ware as well as regional fabrics including Brandsby and Humber ware., much of which showed signs of sooting and burning. A notable find amongst the late thirteenth-century dumps in this plot was the discovery of a leather pouch with wood framed wax writing tablets and a metal stylus (O'Connor1990a, 36-9; 1990b, 30-7; Tweddle 1990, 25-34; Brown 1994). Unfortunately this cannot be associated with the documented tenants of Tenement 27. Later dumps dating to the fourteenth and perhaps fifteenth century contemporary with the named tenants also produced evidence for literacy through the presence of bone parchment pricklers. The division of the Petergate tenements means that there is limited information available for the south-east side of Petergate, and therefore for the rest of this Chapter the focus is on the development of the Tenements on the north-west side of Petergate adjacent to Hornpot Lane (Figure 69).

TOPOGRAPHY AND STREET PATTERN: HORNPOT LANE

The evidence suggests that it is in this period that Holy Trinity Lane (Rees Jones 1987[ii], 153), which probably originated as path running from Petergate to the church of Holy Trinity Goodramgate, is renamed. The name *Hornepottelane* is first recorded in 1295 (Palliser 1978, 11) and Wenham (1965, 28) has argued that the name reflects the presence of horn-working. In the late thirteenth century the lane is referred to in a document recording the granting of land by William de Gazer, citizen and merchant, to William de Beverley of York, property in Petergate, bounded on one side by a *venella* (narrow lane) leading to the cemetery of Holy Trinity Goodramgate; amongst the witnesses to the document is Richardus de Hornpot, tenant of Tenement 41 in the mid-late thirteenth century (Rees Jones 1987[ii], 153, 169).

NORTH-WEST SIDE OF PETERGATE

This period sees the development and changes to the use and activity within the tenements set out after the Norman Conquest.

TENEMENT 41 AND TENEMENT 42

The archaeological evidence for Tenement 41 comes from trench 1957.T1, but no excavated evidence was recorded for Tenement 42. It is from the mid- to late thirteenth century that there are documentary records for these tenements, which show they belonged to the fee of the prior and convent of Marton, and in 1358 they had a rent of 18s. In the late thirteenth to early fourteenth century Tenement 42 was held by Nicholas de Langton, and by the 1340s both seem to have been held by Richard de Huntington, then by his son (or brother) William who gave one messuage and one toft to the Gild of Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary in 1358; William de Huntington also owned a rent in Tenement 44 (Rees Jones 1987[ii], 157, 169).

This section argues that the sequence recorded in trench 1957.T1 by Wenham (1972; Fig.3) indicates the continuation of a structure at the street frontage (ST41B), with evidence for occupation build ups and burnt clay possible representing a hearth. The archaeological evidence from Trench 1957.T2, located to the rear of the street-front building in Tenement 41, shows a change in craft from leatherworking to horn-working on a large scale. A large retting pit is created (Wenham 1972, 75-6), possibly with an associated structure that utilized a series of timber piles. The dating of the creation of this retting pit to the mid-late thirteenth century would accord with the historical records that show the tenant of Tenement 41 was

Richard Hornpot (Rees Jones 1987[iii], 169), whose craft arguably gave rise to the name of Hornpot Lane. By 1315 when Nicholas de Langton endowed the chantry at the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Holy Trinity Colliergate, it included rent of 6s from a Tenement adjacent to the land formerly of Richard Hornpot (Rees Jones 1987[ii], 170) suggesting a change of tenant, although based on the archaeology, one still working as a horner.

The retting pit was a substantial structure only partially exposed within trench 1957.T2 (Wenham 1972, 74-5). The pit was 2-3ft deep (0.60-0.91m) deep and 14-16ft wide (4.26-4.87m) wide with a 6-12ins (15-30cm) thick floor of brown clay. The pit was lined with horizontal timber planks placed on edge, wedged into the clay floor and a line of stone along the lowest edge. Tiles were recorded forming an inlet into the tank and a series of eight oak piles were driven through the clay floor. The top of the piles was level with the lowest planks forming the sides of the pit. These piles were derived from reused timbers and contained a number of mortises and peg holes, although some were from roughly trimmed branches or tree trunks. Close to the piles were two narrow boards standing upright in situ which may indicate the pit was divided into two tanks. The bottom 2ft (60cm) of the pit was covered with 250 horn cores of cow and goat with two red deer antlers. Wenham (1972, 75) suggested this feature formed a series of horners retting pits containing horns at different stages of soaking.

The retting pit is deliberately backfilled to allow a change in use to the rear of the Petergate street frontage most likely in the mid-late fourteenth century. The backfill of the retting pit produced over 500 sherds of pottery but these are not discussed in detail in the original report (Le Patourel 1972). The published report states that there was a range of pottery types present from the Saxo-Norman fourteenth century, and it was likely the backfill material had been brought to the site with the intention of filling the pit. The final act of closing the pit is the creation of a deliberately thick layer of cobbles laid to cap the upper most fill of the pit. This signifies a change in the craft activities in the area and the character of the neighbourhood, perhaps in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century.

TENEMENT 43

This section argues that it is after ST43A falls out of use and the dumping or accumulation of organic rubbish that Tenement 43 is separated from Tenements 41 and 42. The historical records (Rees Jones 1987[iii], 126, 167-71, 172-4) suggest Tenement 43 formed part of the estate of Richard de Craven, which included property in Petergate (Tenement 29),

Girdlergate, Ousegate, Patrick Pool, Skeldergate and Coney Street; on his death the estate had been shared between his two daughters but by 1334 both parts had been reunited in the holding of John le Fourbour, chaplain. In the late thirteenth century until the early fourteenth century Tenement 43 was held by Ralph le Nayler. By 1334 John, son of Robert de Eryum had the right to half a rent of 10s from Tenement 43, which he granted to John le Fourbour. The other half of the title to the 10s rent was granted to John le Fourbour by John de Gaycenby and Agnes his wife, daughter of Richard de Craven.

This section proposes that Tenement 43, which fronted onto Hornpot Lane, may have been subdivided into smaller properties (Figure 70). Based on the identification of the boundaries of Tenement 43 from the work of Rees Jones (1987[iii]) it can be proposed that the Tenement had a frontage along Hornpot Lane of c.52ft (16m) and extended back 36ft (11m) where it abutted Tenement 44. It is proposed that Tenement 43 could have been divided into three plots (Plots A-C), each of one perch or rod (16.5ft/5m) with space for an access alley of c4ft (1.5m).

TENEMENT 43: PLOT A

The structural remains (ST43B) recorded in the 2004 excavations (Reeves 2006a, 17-19) were set further back from the Hornpot Lane frontage, perhaps suggesting it was a building behind a structure fronting on to the lane (Figure 71). ST43B had a complex foundation which bore some similarities with the building recorded in 1957.T3. The foundations of ST43B comprised a group of driven piles and a block of wood forming a foundation for a pad stone). Abutting this were two lengths of square cut timber laid parallel to Hornpot Lane and a further timber beam laid perpendicular to them. Set on to this levelling material was a thin foundation of cobbles onto which were set two timber sill beams aligned parallel to Hornpot Lane. Another sill beam was recorded at right angles to Hornpot Lane defining the north-eastern limit of the structure. The presence of pegs in the upper faces of the sill beams raised the possibility that the timbers were reused, although the even spacing of the peg holes from the end of each of the timbers was suggested to make this unlikely. At the same stratigraphic level a further were nine piles or posts, aligned parallel to the sill beam and a series of timber planks thought to indicate a remodelling of the earlier structure or demolition material; however this section proposes that these different structural elements formed part of a single structure using a sill wall and sill beam with plank walls. ST43B was dated to the mid-late thirteenth century based on two dendrochronology dates; one of the foundation piles had a felling date of c.1239 and the block placed on the pile cap had a

falling date of c.1220-1256. The building was therefore contemporary with the horn-working in Tenement 41. This structure was at the same stratigraphic level as the ST43C recorded in trench 1957.T3 (Tenement 43 Plot B) suggesting they are contemporary and part of the general reorganisation of Tenement 43 in the late thirteenth century.

An associated deposit, removed as a spit, was interpreted as levelling material prior to the construction of the building (Reeves 2006a, 18-19). However, it is possible that this deposit was associated with the use of ST43B and contained a range of artefacts including animal bone, a leather shoe and leather off-cuts, copper alloy sheet fragments and off-cuts, slag and vitrified hearth or furnace lining. The pottery from this deposit included Humber, Brandsby or York glazed, Scarborough and red wares dating to the later thirteenth or early fourteenth century. The position of the structure, set back from the Hornpot Lane street frontage, and the presence of craft related artefacts could indicate this was a workshop building. Posts recorded adjacent to the sill wall could indicate the position of internal features within the structure, possibly associated with benches or raised working areas, as suggested in the Grape Lane and Back Swinegate tenements (see Chapter 3). To the rear of this structure, at right angles to Hornpot Lane and continuing the line of the north-east wall of the structure was a sequence of driven posts interpreted as the foundation of a building although there was no evidence for a sill beam (Reeves 2006a, 25-6). However, the artefacts associated with the posts are very similar to those from the structure including leather shoes and off-cuts. This may suggest a complex of industrial buildings at the rear of the Hornpot Lane property.

TENEMENT 43: PLOT B

The activity within this proposed sub-plot was recorded in trench 1957.T.3 (see Figure 71). The portion of the trench parallel to Hornpot Lane potentially exposed almost the full width of Plot B. Part of a well-constructed, earth-fast timber building (ST43C) was recorded and dated to the mid-thirteenth century (Wenham 1972, 82-4) and was at a comparable stratigraphic level to the building in Tenement 43(a). Only two walls of ST43C were recorded consisting of a north-east/south-west wall which ran the full length of the trench. Associated with this was a socket for a timber upright 1.66m from the south-west section of the trench. A further substantial post, constructed on an elaborate pile, was recorded close to the north-east section and thought to represent the corner post of the building. This structure was closer to the frontage of Hornpot Lane and may therefore form the rear wall of the building fronting onto the lane.

Extending north-west from this post was another timber groundsel aligned north-west/south-east over a series of substantial timber piles. The piles were arranged in groups of at least eight and nearly all were reused oak building timbers with evidence for mortises, tenons and peg-holes; one of the timbers also had a carpenters-mark. This groundsel had a groove in its top for a lathe and plaster wall with one having a socket for a timber upright. Wenham (1972, 84) argued this formed an external wall for the structure in the trench, while the north-east/south-west beam formed an internal division based on the presence of a decayed wood layer interpreted as planks from a floor found either side of it. This section broadly accepts this interpretation, but suggests that the substantial footings for the north-east wall might in part be due to differences in ground conditions, but also because it might have formed a shared wall with a property in Plot C beyond the area excavated to the north-east. If this is the case, it would leave no space for an alley; it is therefore suggested that an access alley ran to the south-west of 1957.T3 and ST43B recorded in 2004.

The 2004 excavation recorded a complex sequence of contemporary pits and dumps in the area behind ST43C, which suggest that a mixed range of activities were carried out in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The pottery was predominantly Brandsby wares, and there was evidence for working copper alloy sheet and castings in the manufacture of dress fittings such as buckles. The presence of iron slags suggest small-scale ironworking was carried out. There was also evidence for bone working, which may have been associated with the production of handles. There was material from leatherworking as well. Three leather knife scabbards were recovered from a cess pit, and Esther Cameron (2006) dates them stylistically to the late twelfth to mid-fourteenth century; the features from which they were recovered, however, were predominantly dated to the late thirteenth to fourteenth centuries. The shape of the sheaths suggests the knives were for domestic use, but all showed signs of wear with the extraction of rivets for recycling. Some of the sheaths bore a resemblance to styles more commonly found in Ireland. One of the sheaths was complete with tooled decoration depicting a winged beast with clawed feet beneath a canopy of trees, biting its own tail, with the front, lower section showing a bird with two faces, avian and human, and tail extended into a branching tendril. Two further fragments of sheaths were recovered from the same pit and showed less elaborate tooled decoration.

TENEMENT 44

The documentary references for this Tenement in the late thirteenth and fourteenth century are again drawn from abutment clauses, and there are some deeds that may also relate to

Tenement 44 (Rees Jones 1987[ii], 175-7). In 1315 it was described as the land formerly of Simon Surlaf, in 1334 the tenement of Robert Cave, fourbour (polisher of armour) and the land of Robert Cave in 1346. In 1348 it is described as the land of William de Huntington. The deeds that might relate to Tenement 44 date to the mid- to late thirteenth century. Helen, daughter of John de Louth, widow of Alan de Cottam, granted to the Vicars Choral land of John de Bokenay in Petergate and owed husgable to the king. In the late thirteenth century Richard Warden and the Vicars Choral made a grant by cirograph to Beatrice, daughter of Stephen son of William, of land in Petergate lying in length and width between the land of Alan Romund and Simon Fox for 8s a year and husgable to the king with a warranty for as long as Helen Cottam, her heirs and the heirs of John Bokeny warrant the Vicars.

The 1852 Ordnance Survey map shows a street-front building 22ft wide (6.8m) wide with an alley way on its north-east side. The alley extended back 128ft (39m) from the Petergate street frontage to the boundary of the cemetery of Holy Trinity Goodramgate. The presence of an alley way running back from Petergate and the possibility of alternative land boundaries were not discussed in the original excavation report. This influenced the interpretation of the archaeological sequence, which made Plots 3 and 4 abut at the rear and placed structural and occupation deposits in Tenement 45 rather than Tenement 44 (Reeves 2006a).

STREET-FRONT BUILDINGS c.1250-1300

Trench 2004.T6 offered one of the few opportunities to examine the development of a building on the Petergate street frontage (Figure 72). A timber-framed building on the north-east side of Tenement 44, located behind the street frontage, incorporates elements of a fifteenth-century timber frame and measures c.7.5m (24ft) front to back and is 3.2m (10ft) wide and 11.5m high (Geddes and Mason 2004, 22-9). If the buildings on the 1852 Ordnance Survey preserve the medieval boundaries at the street frontage, the building could have measured 10ft x 10ft (c.3m x 3m) which would accord with the standing buildings. This could indicate that Tenement 44 could have had two tenements of 10ft width and that 2004.T6 excavated the north-eastern building within the Tenement.

The earliest levels excavated in 2004.T6 dated to the mid-thirteenth century and recorded the rear wall of ST44A. The wall had a foundation of clay and a series of timber stakes used as foundation piles. Set onto this material was a stone sill wall constructed from closely packed limestone pieces and cobbles, suggesting the building had a full timber frame. There

was also possible evidence for a door giving access to the structure (ST44i) abutting the rear wall of the front-range thought to form a workshop. If the building was a fully timber-framed structure, it implies ST44A would have been at least two storeys, and the use of timber framing in the mid-thirteenth century accords with the evidence from the excavations at 16-22 Coppergate (Hall and Hunter-Mann 2002, 91). The earliest clear use of ST44A dated to the late thirteenth to early fourteenth century with a sequence of clay floors, and a use deposit associated with a hearth. There were post holes within the building although their function was uncertain. ST44A which abutted the rear wall was of earth-fast construction consisting of a sill beam and a pad stone for a timber upright. Associated with this sill beam was a sequence of floor deposits which produced iron nails and slag. Both ST44A and ST44A were therefore used as workshops.

Further evidence for the use of ST44A and ST44A and their appearance comes from the demolition layers, which mark a change to the street-front buildings. The dating of the demolition of ST44A and ST44A is uncertain as the pottery was predominantly late thirteenth to early fourteenth century. The rebuilding is indicated by a sequence of levelling deposits and a cut features that truncate or overly the stone sill wall and the timber ground beam. These deposits produced a range of artefacts derived from metalworking and other crafts probably associated with the final use of the buildings; bone off cuts, fragments of moulds, slag, copper alloy wire, iron nails, slag and ironworking waste. Structural elements perhaps derived from the demolished building included window glass fragments and a quantity of the roofing tile. Domestic items included animal bone and pottery, predominantly Brandsby wares, jugs as well as urinals. The most notable artefact to come from these levels was a seal matrix which was for a horologist (clock maker). Whether the tenant had been a clock-maker or whether he was also making seal matrixes in the workshop is unclear.

EXTERNAL AREA c.1250-1300

To the rear of ST44A and ST44A(i) were a series of deposits associated with a yard, although there were areas of burning and a possible base for a hearth which might suggest industrial activity. The yard and hearth deposits produced pottery dating to the thirteenth century, animal bone and shell and craft activity represented by copper alloy sheet fragments, copper alloy waste and slag. This material further supports the interpretation of ST44A and ST44A as workshops. A large pit was excavated near the rear building in the late thirteenth century. The backfill of the pit also contained pottery dating to the late thirteenth century as well as animal bone, shell and slag.

STREET FRONTAGE C.1300-1400

Following the demolition the street-front building is rebuilt on a larger scale indicated by a new sill wall for ST44B 1.6m to the north-east of the original rear wall (Figure 74). This sill wall was constructed in a broad foundation trench, 0.6m wide, back filled with large limestone blocks, one of which was dressed. The even termination of the north-west side of this wall indicates the position of a door providing access to the yard at the rear. Incorporated in this foundation was a quantity of ceramic building material, animal bone, plaster, slag and Brandsby ware pottery dated to the fourteenth century.

If the building frontages marked on the 1852 Ordnance Survey mark the infilling of the jetty of the later medieval building in the eighteenth century, the frontages of the lower storey would align with the frontage of 62 Petergate, on the north-west side and the known medieval buildings of the Fox Inn in Tenement 42, and would make the ground floor of the building 10ft x 14ft (3m x 4.34m). Measurement of the width of other buildings along Petergate and the Shambles suggesting this is a standard measurement for ground floors on fourteenth and fifteenth century timber buildings in York. The only other structural element ST44B was a substantial post pad on the line of the rear wall of the earlier structure. This post pad was 1.8m from the re-built rear wall and 2.54m from the proposed street frontage. This post could mark the position of an internal division of space within the structure, as seen in Structure A in Grape Lane and would mean the Petergate property would have a front room 8ft deep (2.44m) and a rear room 6ft deep (1.82m).

The possibility of internal divisions was supported by the floor deposits. At the street front there were clay and mortar floors that extended up to the post pad and in the rear of the building the floor consisted of limestone pieces and crushed limestone. Artefacts from these floors included early to mid-fourteenth-century pottery and copper alloy waste. Within the room closest to the street front was a hearth constructed of tiles and cobbles. If there was a division between the front and rear of the building, this would place the hearth against an internal partition. Two postholes associated with the hearth could be part of a support for a cowl flue/smoke hood or perhaps associated with the position of bellows. Overlying the hearth was a deposit of heavily burnt sandy clay that may have been derived from the superstructure of the hearth or perhaps represented material from a clay and timber smoke hood deposited when it was removed and the floor re-laid. A use deposit associated with the hearth was represented by an area of sand that contained early fourteenth century pottery, slag and iron fragments. Scattered across the floor surface was further evidence of

metalworking including iron slag, an iron ferrule, various iron fragments and nails. A number of deposits within the room closet to the street front had been exposed to heat represented by burnt clay and ash.

There is a change in the use of the interior of ST44B, possibly in the mid-fourteenth century, indicated by the laying of a deposit of compact clay with inclusions of mortar, ceramic building material and charcoal which covered the interior of building and extended into the doorway in the rear wall and overlay the hearth and the pad stone. Near the door to the external area were two deposits that might represent patching or repairs to the floor. A similar removal of internal divisions was noted in Structure A in Grape Lane at this period (see Chapter 3). Driven into the new floor deposit were seventeen stake holes which may represent the position of working areas such as bellows or frames for the lathes for the turning of moulds as proposed for similar features recorded at St Andrewgate (Finlayson 2004, 901-2). Within the backfill of two of the post holes was recovered copper alloy wire. One artefact, a bone die, hinted at the leisure activities of the users of the workshop, or one of those involved in relaying the floor. Although stratigraphically uncertain, there was a cut feature close to the street frontage interpreted as a pit. However, the shape of the cut suggests it is probably a robbed hearth with an inlet for the bellows as it was very similar to the ground-level hearth in Structure N in Patrickpool (see Chapter 3).

There was copper alloy waste, off-cuts, wire, sheet fragments and pin head fragments. There was ironworking evidence including iron nails, knife blade fragments, slag, a collar and a binding strip. Subsequent floor surfaces within ST44B produced shell, animal bone, slag, bone off cuts and an iron nail. Some of the items showed they had been plated with another metal for decoration, which included a binding strip and one of the knife blades which was inlaid with crosses and was very similar to a blade found at the Bedern; whether this is the workshop that supplied the knife at the Bedern is pure speculation. The artefacts from the floor deposits within the street-front building raise the possibility that it formed a workshop used by a cutler or bladesmith.

EXTERNAL AREA c.1300-1400

If Tenement 44 was divided into two plots at the street front, there is no clear evidence for a division of the Tenement in the external area and raises the possibility that it was shared by the street-front buildings. As discussed in Chapter 2, the external area recorded in 2004.T4 did not take into account the alley running back from the street frontage. Therefore the

reinterpretation discussed in this section separated the deposits and features in the external areas and reassigned them to either Tenement 44 or 45. The alley running back from Petergate demarking the boundary between Tenement 44 and 45 is indicated on the 1852 Ordnance Survey map. Excavations in the area of the alley identified a deposit of densely packed cobbles and small limestone fragments which was originally interpreted as a foundation make-up. The pottery from the cobble layer consisted of Brandsby ware and Yorkshire red ware dated to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century; fragments of slag and copper alloy waste were also recovered from it. To the immediate south-east and parallel to it was a wicker fence defining the north-western boundary of Tenement 44 which aligns with the boundary on the 1852 Ordnance Survey. It is the boundary of Tenement 44 to the north-east of this fence line that deviates from the boundary on the 1852 Ordnance Survey map. Pottery collected from the post holes was similar to that recovered from the cobble surface suggesting a contemporary date.

Unlike the Grape Lane excavations where the activities appeared to be confined to street front workshops, the excavations at Petergate show that the activities in the street-front building were part of an extensive, large-scale craft activity which used the external areas behind the street-front buildings. Immediately to the rear of ST44B, to the right of the possible door was, a series of deposits that might represent an external working area or the dumping of material derived from activities within the workshop. These comprised deposits of crushed limestone and tiles as well as deposits of clay and mortar with inclusions of charcoal and ashy clinker. Artefacts from these deposits included animal bone, copper alloy slag, sheet and off-cuts, iron sheet fragments and slag, bone off-cuts and an antler burr. This evidence further indicates that the early fourteenth-century street-front building was used as a workshop using primarily copper alloy but also some ironworking. There was a single post hole and a poorly defined cut feature, the backfill of which contained fourteenth-century pottery, mould fragments, slag and copper alloy sheet fragments and perhaps represented a rubbish pit. Other deposits were possible associated with yard surfaces comprised of layers of clay, tile and mortar. Pottery from these deposits dated to the fourteenth century and included Brandsby and Scarborough wares.

Heavier industrial activities were located approximately 20m from the street frontage (5m from the rear of the street-front buildings). The earliest deposits exposed consisted of dumps of sand, clay and ashy deposits which showed exposure to high temperature. Artefacts associated with these deposits included an iron file, a copper alloy buckle and Brandsby ware

pottery of late thirteenth or early fourteenth-century date. Overlying these deposits was a sequence of structural deposits.

ST44C (Figure 75) comprised a wall, at an angle to the property boundary marked on the 1852 Ordnance Survey map, constructed of limestone blocks and cobbles. Artefacts collected from the wall included animal bone, ceramic building material, clay moulds fragments and un-diagnostic ironworking slag. The limestone and cobble wall is likely to form part of the medieval boundary as well as part of ST44C which was probably an open sided structure used for industrial purposes. At right angles to the limestone and cobble wall was an ephemeral sill wall, two hearths and a brick lined featured. One hearth abutting the stone boundary wall was flanked by two postholes perhaps for supporting a cowl or smoke hood. To the south-west was another heavily truncated tile hearth which was probably contemporary. Adjacent to this hearth was an occupation deposit of sandy silt with a quantity of charcoal. In the original report the limestone and cobble wall was associated with a wall on a different alignment and artefacts collected from it included pot and tile dated to the sixteenth to eighteenth century and is therefore likely associated with late medieval or early post-medieval alterations to the tenement and not part of the fourteenth-century building ST44C.

On the north-west side of ST44C was a cut feature lined with brick interpreted as a cess pit which the original report placed within a building (Reeves 2006a). The reinterpretation suggested here would place the feature outside the buildings and accessible from the alley way running from the street frontage. There was a second brick lined cut near the metalworking hearth in ST43C which was also interpreted as a cess pit, however the review of the evidence for this thesis questions the original interpretation of these features. The environmental samples (Akeret et al., 2005) from these features found very few intestinal parasites and were considered unlikely to function as cess pits. The presence of rubbish and food waste is associated with the backfilling of the features and included chicken, goose and fish bone as well as seeds from cabbage, mustard, birch nuts, fig and strawberry. Seeds derived from arable land were also found suggesting grain was brought to the site. The upper most fill of the feature contained late thirteenth to early fourteenth-century pottery which included Brandsby ware, red sandy ware, gritty ware and imported German stoneware. The features also contained artefacts associated with metalworking including fired clay moulds and slag as well as a fragment of stone mortar. This section argues these two brick features may originally have formed tanks for holding water and the presence of water flea

eggs indicate the presence of standing water for short periods of time. The storage and access to a supply of water would have been essential to the metalworking activities on the tenement and a drain leading towards the alley from the tank adjacent to the wall of the workshop may have been to allow water to drain from the tank.

To the immediate south-west of ST43C was a linear tile feature aligned north-west/south-east, 3.3m in length and 0.4m in width. The function of this feature was uncertain, but may have been used for standing crucibles or moulds used in an adjacent furnace. The furnace was made from brick, tile, cobbles and irregular limestone fragments and was 3m long and 1.6m wide, semi-circular in plan and aligned north-east/south-west. Pottery incorporated into the structure indicates a late thirteenth to early fourteenth-century date. Associated with the furnace was a quantity of slag from ironworking, copper alloy sheet fragments, copper alloy waste, copper alloy wire, iron nails and fired clay moulds.

The furnace was replaced and the new furnace (Furnace 2, Figure 76). A possible sill wall associated with the furnace had within its make up artefacts that may have been derived from activities associated with the earlier furnace. This included fired clay, copper alloy wire, iron blade fragments, iron nail and furnace lining. Fragments of stone lamps were also recovered. Furnace 2 had a large tile working area adjacent to it, and this furnace and working area was in turn replaced in the late fourteenth century by Furnace 3 (Figure 77). On the south-west side of the furnace were a series of cut features, the backfills of which contained early to mid-late fourteenth-century pottery, iron nails, animal bone, copper alloy waste, mould fragment, copper alloy spillage, fired clay and furnace lining. was covered with a series of dumps and levelling deposits that contained ironworking and copper alloy waste, animal bone, mould fragments and slag and marked a change in use of the external areas of Tenement 44. The north-eastern most area of the tenement that was excavated was used for the dumping of rubbish and pit digging and the pottery from these deposits dated to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. The fabrics included Hambleton ware as well as Brandsby ware and red sandy ware. Some of the Hambleton ware appeared to have been used in the metalworking trade. Metalworking included copper alloy casting waste, a copper alloy buckle, and fired clay mould fragments. There was also a leather sheath and leather off-cuts, which could suggest the continued activities of a cutler or blade smith in the tenement.

TENEMENT 45

The documentary sources for this Tenement commence in the mid-fourteenth century. In 1348 Tenement 45 was described as lying in length between Petergate and the land of the dean of York Minster and abutting the land of William de Huntington (Tenement 44) on the south-east side, and the land of William de Ripon and Rover de Craik on the north-west side (Tenement 46). On the 3rd July 1348 John de Arnale of York granted to Robert del Wald senior his tenement in Petergate. After Robert died his son Robert, his wife Agnes inherited the tenement. On the 25 July 1393, an abutment clause of a deed relating to Tenement 46 described Tenement 45 as the land of John Couper, wright, and the land of St Leonard's (Rees Jones 1987[ii], 178).

The 2004 excavations examined the external areas of this Tenement with the earliest features dating to the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century represented by a series of pits and a possible hearth located close to the boundary with Tenement 46 and the Deanery garden. The artefacts associated with these features included smithing slag, fired clay moulds and two knife blades indicate the property was home to a metalsmith. The external area of the Tenement appears to have been used for the disposal of rubbish initially, indicated by a pit which contained domestic waste that included Brandsby ware pottery dated to the early to mid-fourteenth century. The environmental sample from the pit identified a quantity of fish bone fragments as well as a piece of mammal rib with knife marks. This pit was backfilled in the mid-fourteenth century and replaced with a building (ST45A), which the original excavation report associated with activity in the adjoining Tenement 44 (Reeves 2006a). This discussion of the evidence however treats these features as separate sequence of structural and occupational activity.

The structural evidence (ST45A) recorded in Tenement 45 (Figure 78) had been disturbed by later activity, but consisted of a 2m long earth-fast timber sill-beam and a post hole which could have formed an open sided building. Possible floor or occupation deposits associated with the sill beam produced early to mid-fourteenth-century types comprising Brandsby and Humber ware as well as a fragment of a bone tuning peg which was presumably residual. The presence of a fragment of un-diagnostic slag within the floor is also likely to be an inclusion in the floor make-up. There was a sequence of successive floors or tramples of use deposits within ST45A; however, none of these floors showed the discolouration suggestive of exposure to high heat associated with proximity to a hearth as seen in Tenement 44 or in the Grape Lane and Swinegate workshops (see Chapter 3). The

artefacts from these floors comprised pottery (Brandsby and sandy red wares), animal bone, an iron nail and two un-diagnostic pieces of ironwork. The use of ST45A is therefore unclear, but if it was used in metal-working activities the process involved low levels of heat, or perhaps indicates that there were raised forges in the building.

There was a change in the use of space within Tenement 45 in the late fourteenth century indicated by a series of dumps; the dating is unclear as the only pottery recovered was a single sherd of early to mid-fourteenth century Brandsby ware pottery. Cut into these deposits were the foundations for structure ST45B (Figure 79). The interpretation of this activity varies from the interpretation in the original report (Reeves 2006a, Figure 13) Two sections of the foundations were recorded- one aligned north-west-south-east on the same alignment as the earlier sill beam, and the other north-west south-east. The foundations were constructed using un-worked blocks of limestone bonded with clay and included lumps of iron slag, strips of iron and a fragment of rotary quern stone. The slag used in the foundations consisted of a large smithing base and was presumably brought to the site as make-up. A limestone block originally associated with ST45A is argued in this section to be associated with ST45B because it was located 1.76m to the south-east of the stone sill wall and aligns with a pad stone located to the south-east made from grit stone. The grit stone block was residual Roman masonry that appeared to have been reworked in the late eleventh or twelfth century as a corbel before being incorporated into the structure. The sill walls and pad-stones could again suggest the structure was open-sided.

Within structure ST45B was evidence for metal-working activity. The earliest floors all contained a mix of pottery ranging from Roman to mid-fourteenth century and were made from limestone chippings and tile overlain by sandy clay. Subsequent floors were made of limestone and tile chippings and one floor incorporated crushed casting mould fragments. Artefacts from the floors showed the workshop was used for the working primarily of copper alloy. The presence of crucibles and moulds indicate copper ingots were smelted and cast into objects. Primary working waste was indicated by a spillage of metal and a failed casting. The presence of a hearth in the structure was indicated by fragments of burnt clay that may have been derived from the lining of a hearth or small furnace. There was some slag and waste material suggesting there was also some ironworking being carried out. To the south-east of ST45B were a series of deposits that may indicate a yard or open area with dumps of waste material, but whether these formed deliberate external surfaces or were used as levelling is unclear. These deposits were a mix of sand and clay with frequent inclusions of

charcoal, limestone fragments, crushed casting moulds, copper alloy waste and burnt clay. Overlying these deposits were areas of limestone chippings and cobbles overlain with areas of sand. The sand presumably came from the casting activities within the workshop. Pottery from these contexts consisted of Brandsby and Humber wares of early to mid-fourteenth-century date.

The analysis of ST45A and ST45B shows that much of the ironworking waste recovered in the excavations came from the foundations of the buildings. Whilst it is possible the material may have been derived from activities on the Tenement, it is equally possible it bears no relation to the activities in the Tenement and was brought in with the limestone deliberately to be used as foundation material. The use of slag for foundations has been recorded in Winchester and in York (Biddle 1990, 138; Finlayson 2004, 901-2). If the iron slag does not derive from activities on the tenement, it challenges the interpretation (Mortimer 2006) that ironworking was the dominant metalworking on the site.

THE NEIGHBOURHOOD: RESIDENTS AND CRAFT ACTIVITIES

c.1250-1400

There are no large-scale changes to the topography of the Petergate area from the mid-thirteenth century to the end of the fourteenth century, but the archaeological evidence suggests a significant change in craft activity in Tenements 41-5 with the marked increase in the metalworking trades that Keene (1996, 95) argues were an essential attribute of any urban economy. The documentary sources show the complex patterns of land holding along Petergate with the division of large plots into sub-tenancies, with structures of two-storeys lining the streets, often with shops and chambers above (for example see Rees Jones 1987[ii]), 138-46). The development of two-storey street-front ranges could indicate the development of timber-framing, which is recorded in excavations in York from the mid-thirteenth century (Hall and Hunter-Mann 2002, 818-22). The evidence from the cess pits and the documentary evidence discussed in this section and Chapter 3 indicate the buildings along the street frontage were used for domestic as well as industrial purposes, which challenges some of the scholarly views set out in Chapter 1. The presence of street-front workshops has been noted at St Andrewgate and 41-9 Walmgate in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries (Finlayson 2004; McNab 2003). If the ground floor was used for industrial/commercial space of the buildings that line the street front, then this would

indicate the main living accommodation was located at first-floor level. A close relationship between domestic and craft activities were suggested for the metalworking tenements in St Andrewgate (Finlayson 2004, 953, 955).

The footings of ST44A suggest the presence of a small, timber-framed building in the mid-thirteenth century, which is enlarged in the later thirteenth or early fourteenth century (ST44B). Timber-framed buildings were also identified in Grape Lane and Swinegate dating to the mid-thirteenth century (Chapter 3). The appearance of excavated buildings can be inferred from the surviving timber-framed structures dating from the fourteenth century along Petergate. This shows they are commonly of three storeys (RCHME 1981, 183, 186, 189, 191-2, 195-6), which is in contrast to the Grape Lane/Swinegate area, where the majority of buildings appear to have two storeys; this may be a reflection of different wealth or status. The Petergate and Grape Lane/Swinegate structural evidence suggest that in the mid- to late thirteenth century, the ground floor of the street-front buildings often had subdivisions with a front and rear room, but in the early fourteenth century the street-front building was changed to a single space. The presence of hearths within ST44A and ST44B again raises question about the provision of chimneys as discussed in Chapter 3. A difference between Petergate and Grape Lane/Swinegate was the presence from the mid-thirteenth century of small workshops using earth-fast construction, at the rear of the Petergate and Hornpot Lane properties. The presence of street-front workshops would have impacted the character of the street because, as argued for the Bedern, the workshops would have been hot, dirty and smelly (Richards 1993, 203) and the sounds of metalworking would have been a prominent feature of the street as discussed in Chapter 3.

CRAFT ACTIVITIES

Metal-working has been found on several sites in York and provides useful comparative evidence for the Petergate tenements; however, there is a need for more research into the archaeological evidence for metalworking in medieval York. The production of copper alloy dress fittings has been recorded at St Andrewgate (Finlayson 2004) and at Bedern (Ottaway and Rogers 2002). The largest industrial complex recorded in York associated with metalworking is the Bedern foundry, which mainly produced cauldrons and other domestic vessels, from the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries (Richards 1993; Bayley and Richards 1993). Alongside the evidence discussed in Chapter 3, metalworking in association with buildings along the street front has been recorded in excavations in St Andrewgate (Finlayson 2004)

and at 41-9 Walmgate (McNab 2001). However, it is only the Bedern excavations that produced evidence for furnaces similar to those recorded at Petergate.

Furnace structures rarely survive in an urban context above their foundations. Urban furnaces were likely to be used for the production of artefacts rather than smelting ores, which was an activity usually carried out at the mines (Hodges 1989, 68, 83). The Bedern foundry furnaces and hearths were interpreted as being used for melting copper. The furnaces may also have been used for the firing the clay moulds (Richards et al. 1993). Some idea of the structure of the furnaces at the Bedern dating to the thirteenth century had a clay or tile roof and one dated to the fifteenth century had a chimney or flue. The presence of vitrified furnace and fired clay from the Petergate site indicates the structures of the furnaces were made of clay. Associated with the furnaces was a limestone working surface and hearths built of edge set tiles (Richards 1993, 198). This evidence has parallels with the metalworking areas recorded in Tenement 44. The buildings at the Bedern (Richards 1993, 291) associated with metalworking were thought to have been open sided; similar structures have been identified in the Deansway excavations in Worcester (Cooper et al. 1988). Excavations at other metalworking sites have shown that activities could also be carried out in the open or in ephemeral structures (McLees 1996, 123; Jouttijärvi 2009).

In the Petergate and Grape Lane/Swinegate areas, the artisans were engaged in casting items, the working of copper alloy sheet as well as some ironworking. The evidence from Tenements 41-45 appears to show that the metalworking was carried out simultaneously with other craft activities, including leather, horn and bone working. The copper alloy working waste from Petergate (Mortimer 2005) included moulds and crucible evidence comparable to other examples from York, such as Walmgate, St Andrewgate and the Bedern. Some of the moulds and crucibles indicate vessels of a cauldron type cast on the site, while bowl type crucibles and one stone mould were used for small personal items, such as buckles, with the greatest concentration of copper alloy working evidence from Tenement 45. In Petergate, as with the Grape Lane/Swinegate, there were few tools recovered associated with the metalworking or other trades. However, an iron file with non-ferrous metal in the serrations (associated with metalworking) and iron awls (associated with leatherworking) were found.

Ironworking is indicated by the presence of fragments of iron slag, although caution is needed with this evidence. The ironworking appears to be the most significant activity based

on the weight of slag recovered, but the largest fragments, comprising smithing bottoms, have come from the foundations of buildings and may not be indicative of activity on the site. If these items are excluded, then ironworking is not a significant feature of the site and challenges the original interpretation of the evidence (Mortimer 2005, 145). Clearer evidence for ironworking has come from St Andrewgate (Finlayson 2004) and 41-9 Walmgate (McNab 2001), but there is not the comparable evidence from Petergate. At the Bedern (Richards 1988), copper-alloy was the dominant activity, with some evidence for ironworking. As Catherine Mortimer (2005) states, more work is still needed in examining the evidence from the Petergate tenements, and this has to be considered in relation to the material from other sites in York.

ARTISANAL NEIGHBOURS: OCCUPATIONAL TOPOGRAPHIES

This section argues that the evidence for Tenements 41-5 from c.1250-1400 suggests the residents may have been part of the cutlery trade. The evidence from Tenement 41-5 could reflect the collaborative working of different trades to make a finished item or items associated with the cutlery trade. Cutlers are referred to in York in 1396 in documents relating to Tenement 33 and 34 on the corner of Petergate and Goodramgate. These documents describe them as the tenements and land of John Craven, cutler, and the tenement of Margaret de Brune (Rees Jones 1987[iii], 148). Heather Swanson (1989, 69) has shown that by the early fourteenth century the cutlers were numerous and prosperous, and from 1301-51, 62 cutlers took out the freedom of the city. Cutlers were a group that put together, finished and marketed a complex product for which other specialists supplied components (MacGregor 2001, 367-8). In London the grouping of craftsmen associated with personal adornment has been identified in Cheapside (Keene 1996a, 99).

Therefore, the metalworking of copper alloy and iron could suggest the manufacture of knife blades, belt fittings and rivets, and perhaps personal seal matrixes. The leatherworking waste and the evidence for recycling of rivets from scabbards could suggest the manufacture of sheathes. The presence of the large horn-working pit could be associated with the work of an artisan making the handles for knives, as could the evidence for bone plate. The association of the horners with the cutlery trade in York is shown in the documents for a substantial family owned plot on the corner of Lop Lane and Petergate owned by Thomas le Horner, also referred to as a cutler, who was perhaps related to Richard the Horner in Tenement 41. Thomas's property included four shops facing Petergate and five facing Lop Lane, all of which were sub-leased. Towards Petergate there was a large upper solar, known

as Thomas le Horner's hall, which was approached from a staircase, beneath which was a smelting furnace which could have been used in his trade as a cutler. Thomas also had a brew-house and a stone building that probably contained his furnace and hall (Rees Jones 1987[ii], 38-45).

The sharing of activities to produce a finished item has implications for how we think about social interactions in Tenements 41-5 and on the character of the neighbourhood and perceptions of neighbourliness. The evidence for the shared manufacture of an item implies frequent contact between the occupants, primarily on a business basis, but this may also have led to the development of close personal ties between households. Heather Swanson (1981, 198) argues that the cutlers' authority in the fourteenth century was enhanced by the control that they had over subsidiary industries, particularly the sheathers. Therefore, the close relations implied by the shared production of items for the cutlery trade may not always have been harmonious. Derek Keene (1996, 98) has shown that in the Cheapside area of London, lorimers and saddlers worked together, but the saddlers exploited their position by delaying the payments to the lorimers, which caused tension and dispute.

When considering the households, historical records show artisan households were made up of the immediate members of the master's family and male and female servants, including apprentices, who lived with their employer as part of the household; there were also men and women employed within the workshop on a daily basis (Goldberg 2004, 100). Indeed, several York founders had three apprentices and one or more servants (Richards et al. 1993, 194). Each member of these artisan households would have interacted with and perceived their neighbours and neighbourhood in a different way. Alongside the proposed activity of cutlers, the archaeology suggests other crafts carried out across Tenements 41-45 in the mid-thirteenth to fourteenth centuries. This included textile working, which is represented by fibre processing spikes and a glass slick stone. The metalworkers also seem to have been engaged in making cast cauldrons based on the clay moulds found on the site. This could suggest that the artisans were prepared to diversify.

LATE MEDIEVAL PETERGATE C.1400-1600

In the late medieval period the focus remains on the subtle changes relating to the use of the tenements for craft and domestic activity. This section considers the evidence for the

changing character of Tenements 41-5 between c.1400 and 1600 and suggests there was a move away from the shared activities of the preceding period.

TENEMENT 41

The evidence for this tenement is drawn from the 1957-8 excavations. As discussed in Chapter 2, the dating of the evidence from the 1957-8 (Wenham 1972) excavations relied on the correlation of the stratigraphic level and artefactual sequences with the archaeological sequence recorded in the 2004 excavations.

STREET FRONT

The street front of Tenement 41 was truncated by a cellar of probably nineteenth-century date. The later thirteenth- and fourteenth-century floors of ST41B were sealed by a layer of organic material that contained pottery that was predominantly Brandsby ware, suggesting a late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century date. This deposit was overlain by a cobbled surface, and associated with it were five birch stakes, but whether this activity was internal or external was not clear, nor was their function.

EXTERNAL AREA

Trench 1957.T2 showed a significant change in land use with the deliberate backfilling and levelling of the horners' retting pit. The backfill pottery was a mixed assemblage from the 'Saxo-Norman to the end of the fourteenth century' and it was thought the backfill had been brought from elsewhere (Le Patourel 1972, 110). The absence of Humber ware was thought to suggest the feature had gone out of use around 1400 (Wenham 1972, 75) and is supported by subsequent reappraisals of pottery dating in York (see Brooks 1987).

Once the pit was backfilled, it was capped with a thick layer of cobbles. Adjacent to this was a spread of clay that formed the make-up for a cobble surface. These two deposits of cobbles covered the entire area of trench 1957.T2, with the exception of a small area of ash and clinker (Wenham 1972, 74). It is likely they formed an external yard surface behind the street-front building. The cobble surface was in turn sealed by a layer of dark soil (Wenham 1971, Fig. 5). This deposit potentially indicates a clearance and levelling prior to a further reorganisation of the external area.

Following this levelling activity, a building ST41C is constructed (Figure 80); substantial foundations were constructed built of roughly shaped limestone blocks set at right angles to Petergate, with an associated short section of walling aligned parallel to Petergate which did not extend across the full width of the trench. The limestone wall was at least 3ft wide (0.90cm) and constructed on piled foundations; this is shown on the north-west facing section (Wenham 1972, 73, Figure 6). The pile foundation consisted of a pit into which were driven substantial timber piles, the top of which were packed with clay and cobbles. It is likely these formed the foundations for a timber superstructure, perhaps forming an open sided workshop structure similar to those recorded at the Bedern (Richards 1993).

Associated with ST41C was a gravel floor into which were set two hearths (Wenham 1972, 70). At the south-west end of trench 1957.T2, the hearth was made of edge set tiles set in a rough herring bone pattern and was thought to be located within the structure represented by the limestone walls. The other hearth, located on the north-east side of the short return of limestone walling, was constructed of tiles set in regular lines, and adjacent to it was a circle of cobbles likely to be the base of a small furnace. It was unclear whether the second hearth was within another bay of the structure or in an external area. There was a sequence of use deposits associated with the hearths and artefacts from these deposits included a piece of a crucible used in copper alloy casting.

ST41C may have been short lived as it was sealed by a deposit of brown soil and rubble, thought to date to the late fifteenth century (Wenham 1972, 70). Rees Jones (1987[ii], 168, 170) suggests the evidence from trench 1957.T1 and 1957.T2 for clearance and levelling in the mid- to late fifteenth century could accord with the documentary evidence that in 1536 'the priory of Marton had 4d. from a free rent of George Gale for a certain waste recently built in Petirgate on the corner of Hornypott lane and now for the house of George built there'. Unfortunately the post-1500 layers in trenches 1957.T1 and 1957.T2 had been truncated by later activity, and the changes to the tenement in the sixteenth century are unknown.

TENEMENT 42

There is no archaeological evidence for Tenement 42, but until 1957 there was a large timber-frame building known as the Fox Inn, dated stylistically to the fifteenth century. The structural form of the building is known from surveys by W.A. Pantin (1963, 204-5, 232-3; Fig. 74) and the Royal Commission (1963, 1981). Pantin (1963, 232) used the Fox Inn as an

example in his typology of medieval houses as a 'right-angle' plan and argues the building occupied a narrow plot that ran at right angles to the street with the front block containing a shop and a narrow passage on the ground floor with a solar and chamber above. Behind this was a first-floor hall and service block. The hall was divided into two floors in c.1600, and a fireplace was inserted in the early seventeenth century. During the redevelopment of the site in 2004 the standing buildings were surveyed (Geddes and Mason 2004) and extant medieval framing dated to the fifteenth century was recorded on the site of the Fox Inn at 66 Low Petergate. The exposed framing was thought to form the principal posts, which were apparently single timbers from the ground floor up to the wall plate, thought to form the remnant of a two bay building described by the RCHME (1963; RCHME 1981) as a rearward extension to the street-front building. The remains of this earliest building also included large posts seen internally on the ground and first floors and the ceiling beams on both floors.

TENEMENT 43

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries see further changes to Tenement 43. In this period there are no documents recording the tenement, so the discussion focuses on the archaeological evidence from the 1957-8 and the 2004 excavations (Figure 81).

PLOT A

The only feature recorded in this plot likely to be of a fifteenth- to sixteenth-century date was a large, stone-lined cess pit and associated fragmentary remains of a cobble surface that had probably formed a contemporary external yard. The pit may have originated in the late fourteenth century, and its backfills suggest it was in use through the fifteenth century. The cess pit was constructed in a 1.80m square cut that was 1m deep and which truncated an earlier sequence of dumps and rubbish pits. The base of the cut was lined with cobbles, and the sides of the cut were lined with stone and cobbles with a culvert built into the south-west side made from tile.

The backfills within the cess pit were associated with its final period of use and closure. The deposits were highly organic and waterlogged, and the environmental samples give an insight into the diet and health of the tenants in the fifteenth century. However, as discussed in Chapter 1, it has to be borne in mind that the cess pit may have been communal and served more than one Tenement. The dietary evidence included a wide range of fruit seeds,

such as apple, cherry/plum, strawberry and blackberry and imported fruits such as fig and grape. The animal bone from the deposits showed the residents were eating chicken and fish. The presence of weeds associated with wheat fields suggests the presence of grain or flour on the site. The samples also show the residents had whip worm.

The pottery from the cess pit comprised Brandsby, Humber and Hambleton wares, but there were also wares from south Yorkshire potteries. There was also a quantity of imported German Langerwehe/Raeren stone ware pottery which included one complete vessel. The backfills showed the continued presence of metalworking on the Tenement with fragments of moulds, off-cuts from copper alloy sheet and a failed copper alloy buckle casting; further metalworking waste was recovered from the late fifteenth- to early sixteenth-century deposits that sealed the cess pit comprising a quantity of copper alloy metalworking waste.

PLOT B AND PLOT C

The change from the mid-thirteenth to fourteenth century activity recorded in trench 1957.T3 occurred in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century (Wenham 1972, 80) and sees a reorganisation of Plots B and C. The metalworking buildings are sealed by a dump or spread of clay and could indicate that there was no longer a formal division with Plot C because there is no clear boundary along the north-east side of the trench, and the deposits and features extended into the south-west facing section of the trench.

Wenham's (1972) excavations indicate there were some ephemeral buildings in Plots B and C in the fifteenth and sixteenth century. One workshop or working area (ST43D) was indicated by a possible plank floor recorded on the north-east side of the trench. A second workshop, ST43E, was indicated by an L-shaped area of clean brown clay that could mark the position of walls surrounding a furnace. The furnace associated with the walls was well preserved, and the photograph of this feature (Wenham 1972, Pl.VI) suggests it had retained some of its superstructure. In the rest of trench 1957.T3 was a series of furnaces and working areas that were likely not within any structures. One furnace was constructed with a cobble and tile base and was similar to the one recorded in 1957.T2 dating to the late thirteenth or fourteenth century. This feature would have formed the base for a domed or funnel shaped furnace and an adjacent stone block may have been an anvil base. A further furnace, which had been truncated by later activity, consisted of an area of tiles and cobbles very similar to those recorded in Tenement 44. Associated with this furnace was a clay surface overlain by a thin layer of burnt material containing fragments of coal, charcoal and metal slag. A bowl

furnace was cut into this layer in the north-east corner of the trench. The evidence shows there was a move away from the mixed metal and leatherworking trades that characterized Tenement 43 and shows the dominance of the metalworking trades through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

TENEMENT 44

This period saw a continuation of the copper alloy working activities that had characterised the Tenement from the mid-thirteenth century. However, there were changes in the organisation of space within the tenement.

STREET FRONT

The building survey carried out in 2004 (Geddes and Mason 2004, 26, 28, 29) identified elements of a fifteenth-century, timber-frame building that would have stood behind the street-front building. Within the surviving elevation at first-floor level was an unglazed window that was characteristically fifteenth century and was securely tenoned into the beam below. The frame associated with the window was associated with a redundant corner post and the central post. Above the level of the window were two principal posts and a tie beam, which were all probably fifteenth century due to their size and condition. The tie beam suggests the building was originally aligned with its gable facing the street. It is possible that the large first-floor windows of the fifteenth century indicate a large high status room in this period, perhaps a first-floor hall as seen in the adjacent Fox Inn, which is contemporary.

EXTERNAL AREA

The evidence from the external area was focused in the area at the extreme north-east end of the Tenement. In the area beyond the buildings dating to the mid-thirteenth to fourteenth century was an area of dumping and pit digging that may have been in use in the earlier period. These features were largely at the limit of the excavations and were dated by pottery to the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century. Craft related waste was associated with copper alloy metalworking and included mould fragments, copper alloy buckle and buckle pins, and sheet fragments and casting debris and fragments of cauldrons or other vessels. The pitting and dumping continued until c.mid-fifteenth century when the area was levelled and used for a workshop building (Reeves 2006a, 55-7). The workshop (ST44D) comprised a small building heavily truncated by later activity. The structure consisted of the remnants of three walls and a brick floor, and there were associated deposits and stake holes likely

associated with working areas. The better preserved sections of the foundations show it was constructed from roughly cut blocks of limestone. Deposits associated with the use of the building consisted of sand and a burnt area.

TENEMENT 45

The fifteenth- and sixteenth-century activity in this Tenement also showed the continued presence of copper alloy working. As with Tenement 44 the north-eastern end of Tenement 45 was characterised by pit cutting and dumping of industrial and domestic waste (Reeves 2006a, 91). As this area is to the north-east of the industrial buildings in use between c.1250-1400, the use of this area for the disposal of rubbish may have been a feature of the earlier period. The industrial waste from this area included crucibles, moulds, copper alloy casting debris, slag as well as evidence for iron smithing and bone working. There were fragments of copper alloy vessels and pins suggesting some of the items made on the Tenement. To the north-east of ST45B was evidence for a replacement workshop structure ST45C constructed onto a series of dumps of metalworking waste (Figure 82). It consisted of a cut feature aligned north-west/south-east and was 3m long filled with cobbles and probably formed the foundation for a wall. Associated with the wall was a hearth which had been truncated by later activity (Reeves 2006a, 91). There was little evidence to suggest the use or function of the building, but it was thought to have formed part of a workshop; it may have also been open sided as proposed for the earlier structures.

THE PETERGATE NEIGHBOURHOOD c.1400-1600

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are a period when there are significant changes to the political and religious organisation of York and the wider urban economy (Dyer 1991; Kermode 2000, 447-9, 451, 454; VCH 1961, 84-91, 117-22). Within the Petergate Tenement 41-5 there are further changes to the street-front buildings and the use of the external areas, but with the exception of Tenement 41 there is no clear evidence for a significant break in activity. The fifteenth century is the period when many of the buildings that line Petergate were built, fixing the topography of the area to the present day. The durability of the street-front buildings means there is limited archaeology of the street front, but the standing buildings provide a wealth of evidence for the character and form of the built environment. The surviving buildings show that through the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Petergate is lined with timber-frame buildings of at least three-storeys, which would have stood in

contrast to the two-storey housing that Chapter 3 suggests characterised the Grape Lane/Swinegate area in this period. Alongside the three-storey buildings there were also more imposing buildings of four-storeys at the street front with large open halls at the first floor, such as The Fox Inn which stood in Tenement 42, which would have been a notable building in the street.

The external areas behind the street-front buildings in Tenements 43, 44 and 45 were still being used for craft activities, although the evidence is more fragmentary due to truncation from later features. There was a change from the diverse craft activities associated with the cutlery trade of the preceding century and replaced by tenements engaged primarily in copper alloy working. This change may reflect the alterations in the organisation of the metalworking crafts. Heather Swanson's (1981, 197-99) research into the metalworking guilds shows that the late fifteenth century saw protracted and acrimonious quarrels between the cutlers and bladesmiths over the-making of edged tools. She argues that competition between cutlers and smiths was likely to have been long standing, but became acute in the 1480's when the smiths contended that they had a right to search all edged tools; this was eventually denied them, but they were allowed to-make such items without contributing to the cutlers and bladesmiths craft. Furthermore, Heather Swanson's research shows that by the fifteenth century the cutlers were selling and trading in small goods, and the craft had markedly reduced in numbers. She argues the decline of the cutlers was due to the competition from other crafts such as the girdlers; the inventory of the girdler Robert Tankard dating from, 1439 includes an extensive collection of knives and daggers. The cutler's ordinances from 1480 also suggest competition came from imports being hawked about the city, and the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries see the development of the cutlery industry of Hallamshire which further depress the prospects of the York cutlers.

The metalworking trade that developed in York in the fifteenth century was the founders which have been studied in detail (Swanson 1981, 1989). The master craftsmen working in bronze or brass in the late medieval period were called a 'potter' or 'brazier', a name recorded in York until the late sixteenth century (Blair and Blair 2001, 93). Although from 1360 the trade of founders appears in the York Freeman's Register and their organisation into a regulated craft is a product of the late fourteenth century, but the extent to which the founders took over from the potters is unclear (Swanson 1981, 188, 190). Alongside the changes to the organisation of copper alloy and working, the mid-fourteenth and fifteenth

centuries saw the introduction of the use of pewter on a large scale which must have added pressure to the established trades (Swanson 1981, 191-2; Homer 2001).

The growth of a founders' mystery in York may represent an increasing demand for brazen domestic goods and by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries most households would have at least one metal cooking pot, but the more affluent might have had several metal cooking utensils for use in the kitchen (Swanson 1981 191; 1989, 74). The home-industry faced stiff competition from imports, but the York founders managed to be successful and this is shown through the passage of one foundry, recorded in the fifteenth century probate records, through four generations of apprentices which can be traced in the probate records (Swanson 1981, 190-1, 205). In York, evidence for the metalworking trades in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries has been excavated at 41-9 Walmgate, Andrewgate and the Bedern Foundry within of timber-frame workshops (McNab 2001, Finlayson 2004, 904, Richards 1988). The Walmgate and St Andrewgate excavations showed that copper-alloy working was carried out alongside ironworking, but the Bedern Foundry was primarily involved in copper alloy casting. The copper alloy items ranged from cast vessels, bells, and small dress fittings and have parallels with the evidence from the Petergate Tenements 41-5.

The change away from the shared activities of the cutlers to each tenement being engaged in the same industry must have impacted on the social relations within the tenements and in turn had an impact on the character of the neighbourhood. It is clear that the tenements still continued to have a dual use as living and working quarters. This association was also observed in the excavations at 41-9 Walmgate and St Andrewgate (McNab 2001; Finlayson 2004). Despite the changes in craft activities it still appears that there may have been some sharing of the back lands behind Tenement 44. The structure of the households through this period also probably changed very little and York founder's households included the master, his wife and children servants or apprentices. Founders such as Robert Tothe had three apprentices as did John Broune; John Syther had one apprentice and at least three servants and John Worsell two apprentices and a servant (Swanson 1981, 186). Whether the changes in craft organisation would result in focus of production becoming the individual households is unclear.

CONCLUSION: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PETERGATE

NEIGHBOURHOOD C.600-1600

The study of the development of Petergate from the seventh to the sixteenth century has identified a similar pattern of themes of landownership, the character of neighbourhood 'assemblages', changes in crafts and industry and their impact on the form and types of urban neighbourhoods discussed in Chapter 3. The case studies propose that the area of the fortress forms an ecclesiastical enclosure that develops independently of the settlement around it and argue for a close link between the establishment of the Church in York and the creation of the streets and associated land units from the seventh century. This chapter has challenged the early date for the creation of Monk Bar and Goodramgate and the extent to which Petergate was the focus for a neighbourhood. The low levels of occupation shown through the limited number of archaeological excavations in the north-eastern half of the fortress mirror the evidence from the south-western half of the fortress discussed in Chapter 3.

The archaeological evidence discussed in both case study chapters indicates a fragmentary but recurring pattern of low levels of occupation within the fortress from the seventh to late eleventh century. This is in contrast to the evidence from the Fishergate area in the eighth century and the areas immediately around the former fortress from the tenth century. The low level of occupation raises questions regarding how we define and characterise early urban neighbourhoods; clearly the more traditional categories set out in Chapter 1 do not apply. As discussed in Chapter 3, early large urban estates were likely to have a more 'rural' character, with a possible social focus being the proprietary church. However, there must also have been a level of social interaction between the occupants of estates within the fortress, and the social relationships between these residents and their relationship to the owner of the estate merits further investigation. Equally, although these estates may have had a rural character, they were not rural and existed within the urban environment. An area of future research is the likely form and character of these early estate neighbourhoods.

Evidence for an urban landscape that fit the models of towns set out in Chapter 1 can clearly be traced from the late eleventh century following the Norman Conquest. This is the period when there is large-scale reorganisation of York, not just at an institutional level of Church and State through the changes to the Minster, the Castles and the defences, but at the level

of the streets and tenements within the city. Chapters 3 and 4 argue that it is in the late eleventh century that the Roman fortress finally lost its significance as a topographical feature, and changes were made to the street pattern as a consequence of this. This chapter suggests that during this period Petergate was realigned to its late medieval and modern course, and Monk Bar and Goodramgate were created. The realignment of Petergate coincided with the sub-division of the large urban estates into burgage plots, which were further broken down into individual house plots.

The sub-division of the estates into burgage plots saw the establishment of dense urban settlement with regularly defined plot boundaries that fit the more traditional models of an urban environment discussed in Chapter 1. Who created these plots is unclear, but this re-planning may have been instigated by the new Norman landowners in the city. The properties established in the late eleventh century broadly fixed the topography of plot boundaries along the Petergate frontage, many of which can still be traced on the modern Ordnance Survey maps. Chapters 3 and 4 show that through a detailed study of the archaeological, historical and cartographic evidence it is possible to examine the development of the medieval tenements from the late twelfth to sixteenth centuries. This allows the examination not only of the plots and boundaries but also the evolution and use of the buildings within them and the changing character of the craft and domestic activities. The aim of this analysis has been to try and reconstruct the 'everyday', quotidian character of a small section of Petergate and thus to provide an insight into the character of the neighbourhood.

The assemblages that relate to individual plots show domestic and craft activities, which influenced the character of the neighbourhood. This chapter has shown through the archaeological evidence, documentary sources and standing buildings that there were significant changes to the built environment of Petergate. In the late eleventh century, the street was likely to have been lined with earth-fast timber buildings of single storey, some with large stone houses of the principal tenant behind. Work by Rees Jones (2008) has shown these could form complex social units of tenants or families. From the mid-thirteenth century the development of timber framing saw further changes to the street frontage with the appearance of two-storey builds, and from the fourteenth or fifteenth century three- and sometimes four-storey buildings. The Petergate evidence supports that discussed in Chapter 3 for the use of the street-front buildings as workshops, and the presence of craft activities

along street front would have had a significant impact on its character through the noise and smells generated by the workshops.

The craft activities also changed through time. The pre-Norman activities of the residents within the fortress are far from clear, but from the late eleventh century to the mid-thirteenth century, there was a strong presence of leatherworkers along the street. From the mid-thirteenth century, Tenement 41-5 became the focus for a mixed group of artisans possibly associated with the cutlery trade. This chapter has shown that the archaeological and documentary sources provide an insight into the structure of the artisanal household and the relationship between them on a social and business level. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries saw a move towards the metal trades dominating the tenements, which raises questions about the level of interaction between the tenants, either socially or economically; it also invites the question as to whether it is the individual household rather than a group of households that became the focus for economic activity. The domestic evidence from the cess pits suggests very little difference in the material culture between the Grape Lane/Swinegate and Petergate areas. The pottery assemblage shows both areas initially drew their pottery from the established potteries in Yorkshire and from places further afield, such as Torksey and Stamford. By the fifteenth century, pottery was still drawn from the Yorkshire area but there was also an increase in imported pottery. Perhaps differences in social aspirations were shown through the furnishings of the houses, which do not survive in the archaeological record but are recorded in the wills and inventories (see Goldberg 2008; Liddy forthcoming).

Differences in the built environment and differing approaches to the exploitation of the external areas mark a contrast in the character of the Grape Lane/Swinegate and Petergate neighbourhoods. Petergate is often seen as home to some of the wealthiest residents of the city, such as mayors and merchants, but alongside them were also artisanal families. These artisanal families themselves may have been wealthy, reflected in the investment in equipment associated with their trades. The difference in the built environment and the level of industrial activity may indicate difference in status between the metalworkers resident in the two areas. However, the craftsmen who worked in cast metal had the most complicated and often the most expensive equipment for the working of metal and casting of mould, which are referenced in probates and inventories (see also Chapter 3). The master craftsmen in metalworking had a shop but was also in charge of a workhouse where the metal was cast (Swanson 1981, 184). The metalworking suggests similar activities were carried out between

the two areas—casting of vessels and dress fittings—but it is the level of industrial investment in the furnaces and working areas that has the greatest difference between the two areas. Whether this represents different groups of artisans or reflects the restricted external space of the Grape Lane Tenements in contrast to the Petergate Tenements 41-5 is unclear. The potential of the analysis in Chapters 3 and 4 has been to reveal differences in use and character not only between and within properties, but across different streets. Through the consideration of the changing built environment and the activities carried out by the residents, light can be shed on the changing character of the medieval neighbourhoods.

CHAPTER 5: URBAN SPACE AND MEDIEVAL NEIGHBOURHOODS

This thesis aimed to broaden research on the study of medieval urban neighbourhoods through an examination of the evidence for the Swinegate and Petergate areas of York. Chapter 1 outlined the difficulties associated with the definition of a city neighbourhood and examined scholarly approaches to its study. The review of approaches showed that the issue of what constitutes a neighbourhood has yet to be addressed by medieval archaeologists. Despite advances in the study of neighbourhoods and communities of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by historical archaeologists, the question therefore remains: what is 'neighbourhood', and how do we study it? The discussion in Chapter 1 highlighted the link between neighbourhood and the built environment. The built environment consisted of more than the physical boundaries of the city, including the more ephemeral boundaries of public v private, secular and ecclesiastical which determined the social use of space. Through the examination of York's built environment over the *longue durée*, this thesis argues a flexible and broad definition is needed of what constitutes urban space, and how this affects the neighbourhood that develop. Equally important is to consider the meaning of 'neighbourhood' at a given time. Chapter 1 argues that neighbour and neighbourhood are closely linked to Christian teaching, especially from the 14th century.

Chapter 2 showed the benefits of an integrated approach to the study of urban space, and this thesis developed a methodology using GIS to facilitate such analysis. This thesis worked on the principle that to begin to understand an urban neighbourhood, it is necessary to examine not only the excavations but also the morphology of the town and the influences that likely shaped the social relations of its residents. The case studies in Chapters 3 and 4 applied the methodology outlined in Chapter 2 for integrating cartographic, historical and archaeological data through GIS. Craig Cessford (2009, 312) argues that there is a need to move beyond the excavated boundaries to consider how the excavated evidence related to entities that existed in the past, from individual properties and blocks of land to the whole town, in order to gain a fuller and more nuanced understanding of the use and character of urban space—an approach this thesis has embraced.

This thesis has shown that using GIS for the analysis of excavations, an approach that has not previously been used in York, has significant benefits, facilitating the flexible analysis of a wide range of data. GIS allowed the integrated analysis of sites—published and unpublished,

dating from the 1950s to the 2000s—in conjunction with the historical and cartographic sources, shedding important new light on the development of York. One of the most powerful assets of GIS is its ability to integrate multiple excavation trenches, irrespective of the date when they were excavated, which enables the recognition, characterisation and dating of sequences over large areas and on a range of temporal and spatial scales. The integrated approach enabled a more nuanced examination of the development of urban space. This chapter draws together the evidence from the two case studies through three broad chronological discussions: c.600-1069, 1069-1300 and 1300-1600. These sections outline topographical development and changes to the built environment, shedding important new light on the development of York and the changing character of medieval urban neighbourhoods.

POST-ROMAN YORK C.600-1069AD

In order to understand the formation of neighbourhoods, it is necessary to understand the topography and morphology of the urban environment. Therefore, this section will outline the principal topographic evidence in relation to its impact on the formation and character of the neighbourhood in this period. The evidence discussed in Chapters 3 and 4 challenges the view that York had developed its street pattern and defences, which largely survive to the present day, by the late eleventh century. Instead, it proposes that York's street plan developed by means of a slow process and did not become fixed until the late fourteenth century; furthermore, the area of the fortress was largely undeveloped until after the Norman Conquest. The reuse of the Roman fortress from the sixth to mid-eleventh century is vital to understanding the built environment, which gives insight into the use of space within the city. The difficulty in examining the development of the fortress at York derives from the limited number of excavations that have taken place. However, the review of the evidence in Chapters 3 and 4 provides valuable information regarding the evolution of the fortress.

THE CHURCH AND URBAN PLANNING

The argument that York developed in the seventh century as a poly-focal centre, with religion in the fortress and economic activity in the *wic* at Fishergate, is supported in this thesis (e.g. Roskams 1996, 278; Spall and Toop 2005, 2008). However, Chapters 3 and 4 argue that York did not become a centralised whole from the tenth century. Rather, the division between ecclesiastical and secular was maintained; religion focussed within the former

fortress and economic activity along the newly created street and tenements in the Coppergate area, as well as other areas around the fortress (Figure 18). This thesis argues that the distinction was maintained through the retention of the complete circuit of the fortress defences into the late eleventh or twelfth century. This is in contrast to the more traditional argument that part of the south-east and south-west defences were removed between the seventh and tenth centuries when the area of the town is argued to have expanded to encompass an area up to the rivers Ouse and Foss—defended and defined by extensions to the Roman defensive circuit (e.g. Norton 1998; Tweddle et al., 1999).

The retention of the fortress as a reserved enclosure, as argued for parts of the Roman settlements at for Lincoln and Carlisle (Stocker 2003; Zant 2010), raises question about the character and development of urban space within this area. Strickland (1988, 120) has suggested that the Roman walls at Chester formed an inner core, with the total *enceinte* enlarged by extending the walls to the river to form an L-shaped fortification around the refurbished defences. This thesis propose a similar scenario for York; the fortress defences may have been extended to the banks of the rivers from the mid-ninth century, with the retained fortress wall within the new circuit of defences adopting a symbolic role as much as a defensive one. The use of the fortress as an ecclesiastical enclave would support Rollason's (2003, 45, 2004, 314) argument that York was essentially an ecclesiastical rather than a secular centre. Therefore, it was the Church that was primarily responsible for the development of the streets and the division of land within the fortress between the seventh and mid-eleventh century. The analysis presented in Chapters 3 and 4 argues that the process of land division in the fortress from the seventh century onward was closely associated with the setting out of the street pattern following the foundation of the Minster church in c.627. The proposed street pattern in this thesis differs from other interpretations of the development of the streets within the fortress in the immediate post-Roman period (see Norton 1998; Tweddle et al., 1999).

This thesis proposes the street pattern (Figures 19, 31 and 55) set out in the early to mid-seventh century consisted of an axial street, Petergate, set out between the site of the north-west and south-east fortress gates. A north-east/south-west street is also argued to have connected Petergate to the north-west gate of the fortress, passing the site of the *principia*. The association of these roads with creation of the Minster precinct is based on the fact that the earliest ecclesiastical structures are confined to an area north-east of the road to the north-east fortress gate (see Norton 1998). The excavations by Wenham (1972) raise the

possibility that the section of Petergate between Grape Lane and the south-east fortress gate was north-east of its present alignment, a conclusion supported by the sewer trench watching briefs, which found no successor to the Roman *via principalis*. Chapter 4 also argues that Goodramgate and Monk Bar do not form part of the pre-Norman Conquest topography of the fortress but were in fact added in the twelfth century. In the south-east eastern half of the fortress, at least three north-east/south-west streets were established: Grape Lane, Stonegate and Lop Lane. Chapter 3 proposed that Grape Lane originally linked Petergate to Davygate based on the cartographic evidence and a corresponding sequence of metallised surfaces recorded in trench 1989.T4. It is also argued that Blake Street, like Goodramgate, is a later insertion into the street pattern. It is suggested that there was an intra-mural road along the interior of the fortress. This thesis speculates that if the fortress defences were retained, as proposed, until the late eleventh or twelfth century, then the preservation of this intra-mural road in the alignment of Davygate and Church Street is only a small section of the route. The reason for the intra-mural road being set at some distance from the Roman wall is unclear, but may reflect the enlargement of the rampart in this area (Addyman and Hall 1991). An intra-mural road around the interior for the defences was recorded at a Winchester (see Biddle 1976, 278-9; Biddle 1984, 119) and Chester (Strickland 1988, 120). If Goodramgate, Monk Bar and Blake Street were not part of the pre-Norman topography, then the division of space, the movement of people and the use of access routes within the fortress may differ from what scholars have previously believed. Such a revision of our understanding of the historical street plan would also support the argument that the road from Petergate to the site of the north-east fortress gate was the principal route across the northern half of the fortress. Determining which roads were in use would also determine where likely focuses of settlement would have been within the former fortress.

Although the proposed date of the mid-seventh century for the creation of the street pattern in York is earlier, there are parallels with the establishment of the street pattern in Winchester, which Biddle (1984, 119) argues was set out in the late ninth century as a single act, with an association between the creation of the streets and the formalising of property boundaries. The proposed retention of the fortress as a reserved enclosure for the Minster community and the proposed alternative street pattern have implications for how we consider the division of land within the fortress and the development and character of neighbourhoods.

THE CHURCH AND URBAN ESTATES: THE SEVENTH TO MID-ELEVENTH CENTURIES

Chapters 3 and 4 argue that the reconsideration of the re-use of the fortress defences and the revision of the street pattern proposed in this thesis are essential to understanding the development and use of space within the fortress between the seventh and mid-eleventh century, allowing a reappraisal of the evidence for the division of land, churches and neighbourhood. Chapter 1 showed that the presence of the Church, and to some extent the King, in towns with Roman origin, stimulated the reorganisation and development of those towns in the immediate post-Roman period, as was the case with Worcester, Gloucester, Winchester, Oxford, Carlisle and London. Within some of these towns, estates referred to as 'urban manors' were established. Alternatively, these urban estates may have served an ecclesiastical function mirroring the development of the so called 'monastic towns' in Ireland (Lilley 2009,

Chapters 3 and 4 argue that the interior of the fortress at York was similarly divided into large primary land holdings, the boundaries of which were determined by the streets and the fortress defences (Figures 28 and 61). In the south-eastern half of the fortress were at least two large urban estates with proprietary churches: a possible name for the estate in the south-eastern quadrant of the fortress, *Arkiltoftes*, is preserved in the thirteenth-century records for the creation of Thursday Market. The north-western quadrant of the fortress was dominated by the cathedral complex, with the north-eastern quadrant divided between the area of the Minster precinct, controlled by the bishops (and later archbishops), and a small area possibly under joint ownership by the Church and the crown. Each of these estates was served by a proprietary church.

PROPRIETARY CHURCHES

The reconsideration of the location of likely pre-Norman churches in York showed that only four churches outside the Minster precinct, St Benedict, St Wilfrid, St Helen and Holy Trinity Goodramgate, are located within the area of the former fortress (Figure 22). Of these churches, St Benedict and St Wilfrid were not included in a previous survey of seventh- to tenth-century churches (see Tweddle et al., 1999). Chapter 3 also argued that previous scholarship has not tended to differentiate between churches within the fortress and those associated with the area immediately around it in the Coppergate/Ousegate area. The proposed retention of the fortress wall highlights the fact that the majority of York's

churches with a supposed early foundation are *outside* the fortress in the area with the clearest evidence for dense occupation; this matches Biddle's (1976, 334) observation at Winchester of a correlation between the number of churches and the density of settlement.

Chapter 3 discussed the evidence for St Benedict's church, which was associated with the proposed estate in the south-eastern corner of the fortress. The historical and cartographic records indicate that it was located on Grape Lane. This is confirmed by the archaeology, which—although complex—raises the possibility that the earliest form of the church reused parts of a Roman building. Associated with St Benedict's was a cemetery (Figures 26 and 27), but there are problems with dating the earliest phases of burials. An area for further research would be to use radiocarbon dating on the skeletons to see if it is possible to clarify and refine the phases of use in the cemetery. The evidence for the cemetery contributed to the reinterpretation of the street pattern because previous scholarship argued that Back Swinegate and Little Stonegate (later medieval Swinegate) preserved the boundaries of the cemetery. The archaeology, however, showed that the cemetery extended to the north-east of medieval Patrickpool and was defined on its north-west side by ditches and possibly sections of upstanding Roman walls. The proposal that Grape Lane ran between Petergate and Davygate changes how the location of St Benedict's church is considered in the topography of the town; rather than being on a back street, the church would have been on a through route, which accords with the evidence for early church locations in other towns (see Blair 2005; Baker and Holt 2004).

Chapter 4 suggests Petergate was aligned to the north-east of its later alignment (Figure 58). The realignment of Petergate would place Holy Trinity Goodramgate closer to the street frontage than its present position would suggest. The later documentary evidence indicates that the cemetery area around Holy Trinity was larger in the past; its present size is the result of encroachments onto the cemetery by the creation of tenements from the late eleventh century. Blair (2005) argues that a cemetery with burial rites was a sign of status, and Dymond (1999) has shown early cemeteries had a wide variety of functions alongside their use for burials. Little is known of St Wilfrid's church in the south-west quadrant of the fortress, but its dedication, as with St Benedict's, could have a significance relating to place; both churches are likely dedicated to Northumbrian saints.

LAND USE

The identification of these large landholdings within the fortress served by proprietary churches forms the framework for the consideration of the character of the neighbourhoods in this period. The archaeological evidence is limited for land use within the two areas discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, but with caution conclusions can be drawn. The evidence suggests that from the fifth to late tenth century the interior of the fortress at York was far from characteristically 'urban' as described in Chapter 1. The only clear evidence for activity in the fifth to ninth century has come from the area of the Minster (see Carver 1995, 177-221); from the rest of the fortress area, the limited number of excavations has yet to identify clear evidence for occupation. This is in contrast to other early towns, such as ninth- to tenth-century Oxford or tenth- to eleventh-century London (Dodd et al. 2003, 30, 35-41; Keene 2011a, 192). Indeed, the absence of intense 'urban' occupation within the former fortress at York is in marked contrast to the more characteristically urban settlement in the Coppergate/Ousegate area, and more recently in the Hungate area, from the tenth century (Connelly 2011).

While the absence of evidence from the fortress may be due to the limited opportunities for excavation, the analysis of the immediate post-Roman sequences in Chapters 3 and 4 raise questions for the wider understanding of the archaeological sequences within the fortress in this period. It was suggested in the Aldwark area that the absence of immediate post-Roman stratigraphy was due to truncation, perhaps in the eleventh or twelfth century (Hall et al., 1988) through the remodelling of the defences. However, the archaeological evidence from the Bedern, Blake Street, Swinegate and Petergate excavations produced similarly limited evidence for occupation between the seventh and mid-eleventh centuries. The only clear evidence for occupation was along Grape Lane from the late tenth or early eleventh century, which produced a mix of domestic objects as well as evidence (albeit largely residual) for amber, antler and horn-working, which accords with the craft activity recorded from the areas outside the fortress. This corresponded with the development of the north-eastern part of St Benedict's cemetery, with post built fences and a possible structure set out on an alignment disregarding the Roman and later medieval orientation of boundaries and streets. This evidence perhaps supports the argument that the route from Davygate to the north-east fortress gate was of importance and therefore the focus of settlement.

The evidence for low levels of occupation accords with John Blair (2005, 337-40, 402-7), who argues these estates were more rural in character. This may be further supported by property

transactions in the thirteenth century within the fortress, which make a distinction between properties developed with buildings or just land; in the Aldwark and Swinegate areas, there are transactions with no reference to buildings (Rees Jones 1996). The evidence discussed in the two case studies therefore raises the possibility that the absence of significant immediate post-Roman stratigraphy within the fortress is not the result solely of truncation by later activity, but could in fact reflect low levels of settlement between the seventh and mid-eleventh century. The open, perhaps rural, character of space within the fortress would have been in marked contrast to the densely occupied 'urban' areas that developed around the fortress from the tenth century onwards. The apparently sparse level of settlement within the fortress has implications for how we consider the character and structure of neighbourhoods in this period.

ESTATE NEIGHBOURHOODS

Chapters 3 and 4 argue that the interior of the fortress between the seventh and mid-eleventh centuries may not have constituted what is typically thought of as 'urban' and may in fact have more in common with a village, albeit one dotted with the ruins of Roman buildings and dominated by the Minster church. The neighbours within the fortress were perhaps defined by family bonds, loyalty to the estates on which they lived and the lord they served. If the estates were separate from the developing commercial centres that developed around the fortress, the question is as follows: what roles did the neighbours of these estates fulfil, and in what activities did they participate? In Worcester, early estates, created in the 890s, were given to privileged tenants, including lay servants of the cathedral community (Baker and Holt 2004, 263-7); it is likely a similar scenario applies in York.

The paucity of evidence for the early development of the fortress at York means that the conclusions drawn about the development of the fortress area in the seventh to mid-eleventh centuries are hypotheses. Discussion of the early development of neighbourhoods is driven largely by examining the developing topography of the city and using the limited archaeological evidence to consider the social use of space. The established models of defining urban and the character of neighbourhood set out in Chapter 1 clearly do not apply to the evidence for the activity within the fortress at York in the immediate post-Roman period. The presence of the urban estates raises questions about the character of the settlement, the relationships between the residents on the estates and the social and cultural mechanisms that would have bound them together. However, living within the fortress may

also have marked the residents as separate from those living in the settlement that developed around the fortress from the tenth century.

POST-NORMAN CONQUEST c.1069-1300

Chapters 3 and 4 examined the evidence for the Norman Conquest and its impact on York. Previous studies of York in this period have tended to focus on large-scale changes associated with the foundation of the two castles, such as the damming of the Foss to create the Fishpool and the rebuilding of the Minster. The limited evidence from excavations in the rest of York shows that in the areas of dense pre-Norman Conquest settlement, such as in Coppergate, there is little evidence for significant change to the established tenement boundaries, although in Walmgate there was some evidence for abandonment of properties in this period. This thesis has shed new light on this period of transition in the late eleventh and early twelfth century, arguing that within the fortress, the Norman Conquest had an impact at street level and saw fundamental changes to the fortress defences.

URBAN (RE)PLANNING

This thesis argued that the late eleventh century saw fundamental changes to the street pattern within the fortress; however, it seems likely that Grape Lane continued to form an important route between Petergate and Davygate (Figures 31 and 63). It is proposed that in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries the fortress defences on the south-east and south-west sides were removed or encroached upon. These changes necessitated the creation of new roads to link the interior and exterior of the fortress to connect to the existing street pattern beyond the walls. The archaeology recorded in the sewer repair trenches indicates the first evidence for road surfaces for Petergate on its present alignment in the late eleventh or twelfth century. The street may have been realigned in association with the removal of the south-east gate or to provide space to develop the street frontage in the area of Holy Trinity Goodramgate. The post-Norman period may also have been when Goodramgate and Blake Street were created; the limited archaeological evidence from Goodramgate suggests the earliest road surfaces dated to the late eleventh or twelfth century and may be associated with the closure of the Roman north-east fortress gate. The closure of the north-east gate would have had a significant impact on the movement of people through the north-east side of the fortress. The changes to the streets had a bearing on the development of the space within the fortress, which saw the continuation of the pre-

Conquest focus of settlement on Grape Lane as well as the establishment of properties for a new neighbourhood.

LAND USE

The archaeology suggests properties still fronted Grape Lane in the late eleventh or early twelfth century, but Chapters 3 and 4 show that the large urban estates of the pre-Conquest period were divided into smaller units owned by families and institutions (Rees Jones 1987, 1996). The division of the plots reflected the underlying Roman alignment, which was in contrast to the post and fence lines of the early eleventh century. Importantly, the new plot boundaries reasserted the Roman alignment and probably the significance of Petergate as a principal road (Figures 30, 36 and 63). The new properties fronting onto the south-west side of Petergate were defined by wicker fences, which established the street frontage boundaries that largely remain until the present day. On the north-east side of Petergate, the excavations at 62-68 Low Petergate produced the first evidence for street-front buildings with a more imposing residence behind that deliberately reused Roman masonry (Figures 66 and 67). This plot division correlates with the historical evidence for the division of plots in Petergate (Rees Jones 1987[ii]).

The study of the plots discussed in Chapters 3 and 4 suggests they were set out as single holdings between Swinegate and Petergate (Figure 65). This stressed the importance of considering the archaeology in conjunction with other sources of information as the excavated plot boundaries in the 1989 excavations could be shown to relate to Petergate tenements, not properties fronting onto Swinegate as attested in the documentary sources (Rees Jones 1987[ii]). Patrick Pool (modern Swinegate) between Church Street and Grape Lane was likely set out in conjunction with these tenements to serve as an access lane to the rear of the tenements. The archaeology and the analysis of the plot boundaries show the plots comprised two tenements flanked by alleys; such an arrangement can be identified in other areas of the city, such as the Shambles. The boundaries identified in the Swinegate excavations show there were gaps in the fences, suggesting access across the plots; similar boundary arrangements were also seen at Coppergate (Hall and Hunter Mann 2002, 807-10). The dimensions of the properties are the same as those in the Coppergate and Walmgate areas, suggesting that the perch (16.5ft or 5m) was a standard measurement for land division in York from at least the mid-ninth century. The use of perches or multiples thereof for the setting of plot widths has been recorded in other towns, such as Winchester, Shrewsbury, Durham and Colchester (Biddle 1976, 345; Carver 1987, 69; Baker 2010, 103). Rees Jones

(2008, 74-9, 81-90) has shown the importance of fixed measurements and the division of the property into formal units, often of two perches, to be closely tied to the development of burgages and the establishment of the ruling urban elite.

THURSDAY MARKET AND THE INTENSIFICATION OF LAND USE

Despite the increase in settlement along Petergate, the documentary records suggest that the interior of the fortress still had areas of open land into the thirteenth century (Rees Jones 1996). The availability of open land in the south-east corner of the fortress may explain the ability to create a new market place, Thursday Market, in 1235 (Rees Jones 2010). The creation of the market may have been the catalyst for further changes to the topography of the south-east of the former fortress; this may have included the creation of Feasegate to connect the new market to the surrounding streets (Figures 37-39). The new market place may also have raised the importance of Grape Lane and seen Patrick Pool develop as an important thoroughfare; Patrick Pool provided the only access into the northern side of the market. St Benedict's church may also have influenced the alignment of Finkle Street, which may have led to the church from Thursday Market; Nether Hornpot Lane was perhaps set out to connect Swinegate (modern Little Stonegate) to the new market place, avoiding St Benedict's church. The changes to the land use within the fortress have implications for the focus of settlement and the character of the neighbourhoods in this period. Alongside the physical division of space within the fortress by streets and properties, changes were made to the division of space associated with the creation of parishes.

ST BENEDICT'S AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF PARISHES

Chapter 1 highlighted scholarly approaches that have used the parish as a means of identifying past neighbourhoods. For example, Keene (2011b, 197) argues that in London the larger number of parishes that did not correspond to the boundaries of City jurisdictions made them effective neighbourhood social units and districts in Londoners' cognitive maps of the City. However, the development of urban parishes is not well understood, and questions need to be asked regarding their usefulness for defining urban neighbourhoods. Parishes cut across streets and run between properties, which meant that adjoining properties were sometimes in different parishes; Grape Lane was divided between three different parishes.

The later medieval parishes of York were undoubtedly an important part of the social, religious and financial life of the city, but the date of their establishment is poorly understood. The evidence discussed in Chapter 3 disagrees with the early date for parish formation in the tenth century, and it argues that a reliance on the parishes in the dating of changes to the topography of the city is problematic (see for example Tweddle et al., 1999). Chapter 3 proposed that York's parishes originate in the late eleventh century, possibly as part of the need to create boundaries establishing the pattern of landownership following the Norman Conquest; such boundaries may have served firstly to prevent rival claims over rights and fees and, secondly, to define the extent of the community served in order to ensure the collection of tithes. The difficulties of understanding York's parishes were highlighted through the evidence for St Benedict's church (Figure 33 and 34). The church survived the Conquest and evolved from an estate to a parish church, a role it fulfilled until the late thirteenth century, but questions remain about the extents of its parish.

The uncertain extents of the parish highlight the difficulty in understanding York's parish boundaries, which are first recorded on the 1852 Ordnance Survey map. The boundaries of St Benedict's parish were not recorded because the parish was amalgamated with St Sampson's in c.1300. It is possible that St Benedict's parish boundaries retained the boundaries of the earlier estate as studies in other towns have shown a correlation between parish boundaries and earlier land holdings (e.g. Baker and Holt 2004, 239-41). Whether the assignment of houses to parishes in York was dictated by the pattern of streets people used to get to the church on a 'nearest door principal', as Keene (1985, 124-6) proposed for Winchester, is unclear. Chapter 3 proposed that the creation of York's parishes was associated with the division of land following the Norman Conquest. The association of parishes with the creation of new landholding might be reflected in the allocation of Low Petergate to three parishes; St Michael-le-Belfrey, Holy Trinity Goodramgate and Holy Trinity King's Square. Each church may have served a new land holding, with the street developed with housing and a larger building to the rear as excavated in Tenement 41-2. The parishes and the church would have played an important part in shaping community identity during this period although many other factors also contributed relating to craft and social activities (Phythian Adam 1978, 168, 177-9). The intensification of settlement and the allocation of parish boundaries added new layers of complexity to the social use of space within the fortress, which raises questions as to how people came to define their neighbourhood.

THE NEIGHBOURS

In the period from 1069-1300, there is a growing complexity to the division and use of urban space within the former fortress area, reflecting the multi-layered nature of urban neighbourhoods discussed in Chapter 1. The streetscape in the late eleventh- to mid-thirteenth-century period was still largely open, with low single-storey buildings lining the streets, some with larger houses behind. Rees Jones (2008) has shown that burgages were held in cooperation, with easy communication between houses on neighbouring plots. These burgages housed collectives of small communities or extended family networks, not always separate nuclear households, sustained by a variety of inter-connected relationships with the principal householder. The familial plots were used for craft activities, and craft affiliations may have begun to have an impact on the formation of community identity in this period, as well as influencing the character of the street.

Chapters 3 and 4 showed there was a change in the craft activities, with the dominance of the leatherworking trade, primarily cobbling, alongside small-scale metalworking. The industries and activities along the street would have shaped the sounds and smells that help give an area its character. The leather trades formed a distinct group in Petergate and Grape Lane from the late eleventh to the thirteenth century. Chapter 4 discussed the evidence for who the possible residence of the new tenements along Petergate might have been, suggesting that while they may have been indigenous to the city, another hypothesis, perhaps more difficult to prove, is that the tenements were occupied by the new 'Norman' occupiers of York. Whether this formed a Norman neighbourhood is unclear, but York had a higher concentration of 'Frenchman' than any other city in this period, as discussed in Chapter 3. A tantalizing piece of evidence for the Norman presence is the church dedicated to St Sampson. This thesis argues that St Sampson's is a new foundation that disregarded the pre-Conquest topography as it is located across, or perhaps incorporated, parts of the Roman defences; it is the only church in York to do so, and it is dedicated to a Breton saint. A Breton link is also reflected in the earliest form of the street name Jubbergate, first recorded as *Bretgate* (street of the Bretons). If the church was a new foundation in the late eleventh century, it would support the evidence that the south-east fortress wall was removed, and its parish was carved out of the pre-Conquest land holdings. This in turn may support the argument that parishes were created at this time to define landholdings.

Changes to the fortress defences also saw a fundamental change in the character of urban space, not only within the fortress but across the whole of York. The division of the fortress

estates into smaller units saw the creation of a new neighbourhood along Petergate. Regardless of who occupied the new Petergate properties, this was clearly a period of significant change for the character of the neighbourhood along Grape Lane. The witnesses to the land transactions give some clues as to the social makeup of the area. A mix of Anglo-Norman and Danish names suggests a merging of the indigenous and incoming populations by the thirteenth century. The late eleventh to mid-thirteenth-century neighbourhood is therefore one of increasing complexity. The boundaries of parishes and plots shaped the areas within which people could form groups based on either family or craft affiliation, but there may have been tensions as well as opportunities for interaction between the indigenous population and the incoming 'Norman' settlers.

LATE MEDIEVAL NEIGHBOURHOODS c.1300-1600

The evidence presented in this thesis suggests that although neighbourhoods never stop developing in terms of their social character, elements of the built environment, such as the streets and property boundaries, did become fixed in the late fourteenth century. Once the streets become fixed, changes in the character of an area became more subtle, through fluctuations in boundaries or changes within tenements. Chapters 3 and 4 showed that the nature of landownership changed through the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, and alongside familial land blocks, there is an increase in institutional land holdings. The Vicars Choral, monastic houses and religious institutions within and outside the city also built up estates of property and came to control parish churches in York. The Ouse bridgemaisters developed an estate of houses, the rents from which financed the repair and maintenance of the bridge. As Chapters 3 and 4 showed, the acquisition by the Vicars Choral of large areas of Petergate, Grape Lane and Swinegate in the late thirteenth to mid-fourteenth centuries saw the last fundamental changes in the street pattern of York until the eighteenth century. This in turn had an important impact on the shaping of the character of the neighbourhoods in these areas.

ECCLESIASTICAL REDEVELOPMENT

Chapter 3 discussed the closure of St Benedict's church, which saw the removal of the last traces of the built environment of the pre-Conquest estate in the south-east corner of the fortress. The closure of St Benedict's, recorded in the documentary evidence, shows that its parish was merged in 1263 with St Sampson's; the church was either allowed to fall into

disrepair or was demolished between 1299 and 1307 (Tringham 1993a, 173; Rimmer 2007, 36). The closure of the church may have been due in part to changing attitudes toward proprietary churches. Chapter 3 argued that the closure of St Benedict's occurred at the same time that the section of Grape Lane from the junction with modern Swinegate to Davygate fell out of use. The closure of St Benedict's also likely coincided with the enclosure of the last section of the lane from Petergate to the site of the north-east fortress gate (Rees Jones 1987[i], 103-4; Norton 1998, 20). In the north-western quadrant of the fortress, the section of Blake Street between Lop Lane and Petergate Street was enclosed, perhaps at the instigation of St Leonard's hospital (Rees Jones 1987[i], 2-3). These changes to the street pattern suggest that the alterations in the Petergate and Swinegate area were part of a wider reorganisation of space in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

The Vicars Choral acquired Petergate Tenements 27-30 as well as the site of St Benedict's church, which facilitated the reorganisation of the topography of the area around Grape Lane and Swinegate (medieval Patrick Pool) through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries—a process probably delayed by the Black Death. As discussed above, the development of Thursday Market in 1235 may have been the catalyst for development of the Patrick Pool (modern Swinegate). The rising importance of Patrick Pool saw its street front developed with buildings through the sub-division of the large Petergate Tenements 27-30, a process evident in both the documentary and archaeological evidence (Figure 40). The archaeological excavations in Swinegate showed that the division of the Petergate tenements started in the mid-thirteenth century and was not carried out as a single process; it was a piecemeal development covering a period from the mid-thirteenth to mid-fourteenth centuries. The division of large burgage plots has been recorded in other towns, such as Oxford, and has also been identified in York at Skeldergate and Coppergate (Rees Jones 2008, 87).

PLOT DIVISIONS

In York, very few complete plots have been excavated, either because modern disturbance, particularly at the street front, has removed later medieval layers or because the area available for excavation has been limited. An integrated approach to the study of the plots allows the consideration of the households that might have lived in the buildings (and the forms of social interactions that might have been carried out) in relation to an understanding of the contemporary understanding of neighbourhood. The mid-thirteenth century produced the first evidence for the plot boundaries along the south-east side of Grape Lane. Structures A-C, closest to Petergate, were 16.5ft wide (5.05m) whereas Structures E-F, at the south-

eastern end of the street, comprised smaller properties of 10ft (3.04m) (Figure 43). The archaeology shows that the boundaries recorded on the 1852 Ordnance Survey for Grape Lane reflect the amalgamation of plots, particularly at the south-western end of the street. The analysis of the plot boundaries helped identify the properties recorded in the historical records, which show the landownership of this area was split. The north-eastern end of Grape Lane formed part of a large corner plot, Tenement 21, at the junction of Petergate and Grape Lane; this came into the possession of the Minster. The south-west end of the street was owned by Newburgh Priory (Rees Jones 1987[iii], 75-6, 78-82). This suggests the excavated Structures A-F were on the land of Newburgh Priory.

Chapter 4 discussed the cartographic evidence that shows that the pattern of narrow-fronted properties along Petergate established at the time of the Norman Conquest remained largely unaltered through the late thirteenth to sixteenth centuries (Figure 65). When Tenements 27-9 were subdivided, the Petergate plot boundaries at right angles to the street were maintained with only marginal alteration to create the boundaries of the new properties along Patrick Pool. In contrast, the cartographic evidence shows that the boundary parallel to Petergate and Swinegate, though initially marked with substantial stone walls, was liable to change. The fluctuations in this boundary are shown in the parish boundary between St Sampson and Holy Trinity Goodramgate recorded on the 1852 Ordnance Survey map (Figure 33). The changes to the boundary parallel to the streets suggests that the enlargement of or encroachment onto a property fronting onto either Petergate or Patrick Pool was open to negotiation. Therefore, this process of small-scale changes of subdivision or extension shows that caution is needed to avoid reading too much into the parish boundaries recorded on the maps when trying to understand not only the medieval parish boundaries (see Baker and Slater 2000, 54), but the neighbourhood character.

The properties along Grape Lane and those newly set out on Patrick Pool (medieval Swinegate) do not show the open nature of boundaries seen in the earlier period, negating the shared use of the rear space of the tenements in this area (Figure 40). In contrast, Petergate shows a complex arrangement of boundaries. Tenements 44 and 45 had fixed boundaries at the street front, but the archaeology indicates that the medieval alignment of the back plots was altered, perhaps in the late sixteenth century when the site passed into the ownership of the Talbot family (RCHME 1981, 191); it is these later boundaries that are preserved on the 1852 Ordnance Survey map. The excavations showed that the medieval plots were separated by an alley flanked by short sections of fencing or buildings, indicating

they were still permeable and may have allowed the continued sharing of the external areas (Figures 69). The character of the boundaries along Petergate in the later medieval period is comparable to that of those along Coppergate. The archaeology and the analysis of the plot boundaries suggest Tenement 41-3 was subdivided around the mid-thirteenth century after the Anglo-Norman buildings fell out of use. In Tenement 43, three plots were created fronting onto Hornpot Lane with limited sharing of space to the rear (Figure 69 and 71). There is limited archaeology for the street-frontage plots, Tenements 41 and 42, but based on the cartographic evidence, it is likely they were divided into tenements retaining the central alley to a small yard at the rear. The detailed information relating to the form and use of the buildings in this period allows detailed consideration of the use and activities of the residents. This can be used to consider social networks within and between buildings, which aids the understanding of the character of the neighbourhood.

TIMBER-FRAMED BUILDINGS

The late thirteenth century sees the first appearance of timber-framed buildings in the study areas. Chapter 1 summarised the study of medieval urban buildings, which can tell us much about the life conducted in and around them; it is surprising, therefore, that the history of York's urban houses is still not well understood. By the fourteenth century the majority of people lived in small, multi-functional buildings of two or more storeys. Research into urban housing has shown that the ground floors were used as workshops/shops and that living spaces were located on the first floor; space within these buildings would also have comprised ceremonial, private and public spaces (Pearson 2003, 47-50; Schofield 2011, 68). Rimmer's (2007, 29-64) work on the documentary accounts for York houses provides invaluable insights into the construction and maintenance of buildings, which aided the interpretation of the excavated buildings discussed in Chapters 3 and 4.

Chapter 1 discussed the typologies (e.g. Pantin 1961-2) that have been highly influential on the interpretation of standing medieval buildings and on understandings of the below-ground archaeology of buildings. However, these typologies have come under criticism (e.g. Rimmer 2007; Pearson 2009; Schofield 2011). Chapter 2 discussed how the influence of typologies, notably the identification of tripartite halls, has resulted in a complicated and confusing interpretation of the evidence from the Swinegate excavations. The revaluation of the excavations in Chapter 3 showed that the excavated structures did not constitute large tripartite buildings but were in fact a complex sequence of buildings of different sizes and functions. Chapter 1 argued that a challenge that has yet to be fully addressed is how to

integrate and share the data available for understanding the appearance and use of buildings. The approach adopted in this thesis for the interpretation of the buildings used the typologies of medieval buildings with caution as they have the potential to limit the understanding of the archaeological sequence. The surviving medieval buildings in York, allowing for later alterations, need to be considered alongside the evidence from the excavations. Caution is needed in drawing parallels with the standing buildings as they are often later than the excavated structures. With this in mind, this thesis attempted to combine the above- and below-ground archaeology of the later medieval buildings.

Petergate is rich in medieval timber-framed structures dating from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries. These buildings are commonly of three storeys and give a good impression of the character of the medieval street, although the Fox Inn (Tenement 42) would have been a notable feature in the streetscape as it had a four-storey street-front range with hall and service block behind (Pantin 1962-3, 204, 232-3, Fig. 74; Geddes and Mason 2004). In contrast, there is little surviving medieval fabric in the Swinegate area. An exception is 19 Grape Lane, dated stylistically to the fifteenth century, a two-storey structure with a first-floor hall jettied to the street front (RCHME archive; RCHME 1981, 1981, 146). Photographs of Benet's Rents and the buildings at the corner of Back Swinegate and Patrick Pool show rows of two-storey buildings jettied to the street frontage. The excavated buildings discussed in Chapters 3 and 4 provide an invaluable insight into the structures that lined the streets in the late medieval period and the activities carried out therein, complementing and enhancing what is known from the standing medieval structures and documentary sources.

The excavated late thirteenth- to mid-fourteenth-century structures in Grape Lane had two types of foundations (Figure 43). The earliest, dating to the late thirteenth century or early fourteenth century (Structures A), had a continuous sill wall. The early to mid-fourteenth-century Structures B and C had interrupted sill foundations, which have been recorded in a number of excavated mid-thirteenth-century buildings in York (Addyman 1979, 72; Grenville 1996, 34). The buildings had a ground floor c.12ft square (3.65m x 3.65m), and although no walls were recorded for Structure N on Patrick Pool, the 1852 Ordnance Survey indicates the building on this plot was of similar dimensions. Structure B abuts an alley, and there was evidence for a separate building behind the street-front range: Structure B1(i-iv), dating from the mid-fourteenth century and finally demolished in the late fifteenth century. This building appears to have functioned initially as an ironsmith's workshop. Structures D-F, dating to the

fourteenth century, appear to have formed a row of small houses, 10ft x 13ft deep (3.05m x 4.2m), sharing a continuous limestone sill back wall. Limestone sill walls mark the internal divisions; the fact that they were held as individual units was reflected in the archaeological sequence for the use of the buildings.

The late fourteenth-century buildings along Back Swinegate and Little Stonegate (Structures G-H and L-M) were slightly larger, c.14ft x 13ft (4.5m x 4.2m), built with continuous sill walls (Figures 49 and 50). The corner plot, Structure L, was badly truncated, but it could have been much larger, with facades of 16.5ft (5m) to both street fronts. Structures L and M had a possible position for stairs to a first floor. Using the archaeological and historical data alongside the known development of timber-framed buildings in York (RCHME 1981, lviii-lx), it is likely that the excavated buildings (A-C and L-M) were two storeys, possibly with roofs parallel to the street, comparable to 19 Grape Lane (Figure 41). The row of smaller buildings (Structures D-F) could have represented single-storey lock-up workshops with the artisan's resident elsewhere (for examples of this see Rimmer 2007). However, the ground plan of these buildings is comparable to Lady Row, Goodramgate, so they could equally have formed a row of two-storey cottages with roofs parallel to the street.

The excavated buildings on the Petergate street frontage show a move away from the earth-fast ground-beam structures of the late eleventh and twelfth century. Tenement 44 had the best preserved street-front building, dated to the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, with tentative evidence for a more ephemeral earth-fast building at the rear (Figures 72-74). The building abutted an alley separating it from Tenement 45. The late thirteenth-century rear wall would suggest the street-front building was originally 10ft deep (3.05m), and it could have been the same width based on the properties shown on the 1852 Ordnance Survey map and the post-Norman Conquest evidence for Tenement 42. In the early fourteenth century, the building in Tenement 44 was rebuilt and enlarged with a rear wall 16.5ft (5m) from the street frontage; whether the width of the building was increased at this time is unknown. At the street frontage, 1957.T1 recorded a sequence of deposits that might represent floors and a possible hearth in Tenement 41, but little could be said with certainty. Two structures in Tenement 43, Plots A and B, which dated to the later thirteenth and early fourteenth century excavated in the 1957 and 2004 (Figure 71). The buildings had had piled foundations, and in Tenement 43 Plot A there was a dwarf wall of cobbles set on the piles, but in Tenement 43 Plot B the piles were capped by an earth-fast beam. Excavations across York have uncovered similar foundations (Addyman 1979). The large

number of tenements and the preservation of the street frontages allow a detailed consideration of the use of the ground floor of these buildings, which contributes to the themes relating to the study of urban housing discussed in Chapter 1.

INTERNAL SPACES

By examining the buildings that lined the streets, it is possible to begin to understand the use of townhouses and how people ran their lives and business (Clarke et al., 2010, 266). The detailed evidence for the use of the ground-floor spaces within the buildings sheds light on a number of the questions relating to the use of medieval buildings discussed in Chapter 1. The buildings were clearly workshops, but they were also domestic spaces, so there are questions about the multi-functionality of space, how the buildings were furnished and issues of privacy and social interaction. Chapter 1 discussed recent research on the archaeology and documentary evidence of medieval rural and urban houses that focuses on the plan form and structural framework, shedding light on the appearance, location and access of spaces within houses. However, the decorations, furnishings, fittings and fixtures and the ways in which houses were used by the households who inhabited them are poorly understood. The evidence for medieval urban buildings discussed in Chapter 1 shows that ground-floor space was for trading or manufacture, with the domestic focus of the house on the first floor above a shop or warehouse. The buildings excavated in Swinegate and Petergate challenge and contribute to the understanding of how space was used in surviving urban medieval buildings.

The archaeology and the standing building are only part of the story for understanding medieval urban houses. In York, the study of small houses by Rimmer (2007) showed the diverse and multi-functional role of small houses with the division of space created through the addition of walls or the use of furnishings. The furnishings and uses of room space are indicated in probates and wills, which provide information about the appearance of the interior of the buildings, but they also show the multi-functional use of space. A discrepancy between what was found in excavations and what was recorded in the historical inventories arose in relation to the metalworkers' workshops in Swinegate (Little Stonegate), discussed in Chapter 3. Through the furnishings, it is possible to identify social difference in houses, a feature that it is difficult to understand from the archaeology because the artefacts, such as pottery, are similar across Swinegate and Petergate; it is therefore necessary to consider how items in the wills and probates might suggest social differences and aspirations (see

Goldberg 2008; Liddy forthcoming). One must consider the excavated and documentary sources to understand the use of space and appearance of medieval buildings.

The excavated structures in Swinegate and Petergate, discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, have added to the understanding of urban workshops, a research aim discussed by Jane Grenville (2004), and provided evidence for the internal divisions of the street-front buildings. However, the role of urban buildings is not well understood and is not raised as a research theme in the English heritage framework for metallurgy, although it is noted more work is needed on copper alloy working (Bayley et al. 2008). In identifying the division and use of space within buildings, the documentary records (see Rimmer 2007) for the laying of floors and the construction of screens helped with the reinterpretation of the excavated evidence. The records for the laying of floors with earth, clay and mortar helped this thesis to reinterpret many of the dumps or make-ups discussed in the original excavation reports as floor surfaces. Based on careful examination of the artefacts from these deposits, this thesis was able to suggest objects contemporaneous to the use of the buildings and the material that was incorporated in the relaying of floors.

In Grape Lane, the late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century Structure A was divided into three rooms, each with distinct functions (Figure 44). One of the front rooms was an industrial workshop; the adjacent space may have formed an access corridor or perhaps a retail space. The function of the rear room is less clear, but the presence of a hearth, domestic waste and unfinished metalworking items suggest it may have been multifunctional. The use of the street frontage building for a metalworkers' workshop was also found in Tenement 44 on Petergate, dating from the mid-thirteenth to mid-fourteenth century. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the excavated buildings show a complex arrangement of internal divisions. Structure A(i) appears to be a rebuild or significant alteration, with no sign of formal internal divisions; there is also less evidence for industrial activity. Structures B-C show a similar lack of formal internal division, with the ground floors used for industrial purposes. Although there are no formal divisions, it is possible there were informal divisions of space through the use of ephemeral screens. The excavations showed that the use of the street-front buildings as workshops was often directly linked to the use of the external areas behind them.

The row of small units (Structures D-F) showed a similar lack of clear internal division on the ground floor, with space given over to industrial activity (Figure 53). The late fourteenth- and

fifteenth-century Structures L and M on Back Swinegate/Little Stonegate had clear evidence for the segregation of space (Figure 50). Both Structures had formal internal divisions defining a small room at the back of the property; it is possible the area adjacent to these rooms was the position of the stairs to the first floor. Structure M had an outshot building at the rear that formed a purpose-built workshop. The problems with the recording in this trench, discussed in Chapter 2, make further interpretation of these spaces difficult.

A common feature of all the excavated buildings was the presence of hearths or evidence of high-temperature activities within the street-front buildings. Chapter 1 set out the debates regarding the provision of fires for heating and cooking and whether houses were provided with fires. The excavated evidence shows that industrial uses should also be included when considering the provision of fires in medieval houses as Chapters 3 and 4 showed that the high-temperature activities within the street-front buildings were associated with metalworking activities. The provision of heating is recorded in the documentary sources, which indicate that chimneys, or smoke hoods, could be ephemeral features, not part of the structure and constructed of lath, timber, daub or plaster. These primitive smoke hoods could be equipped with louvres to help regulate and manage smoke. If the excavated structures are seen as being of two storeys, then they were presumably equipped with some form of smoke extraction. This evidence challenges the argument that buildings were unheated and unable to provide cooking facilities and supports the evidence for York properties discussed by Rimmer (2007, 58, 142-5).

The documentary records for a tenement on the corner of Lop Lane and Petergate refers to a smelting furnace beneath the stairs, thus attesting to the industrial use of buildings in York (Rees Jones 1987[i], 38-9). In Structures A-C there was no clear evidence for ground-level hearths in the street-front rooms in the late thirteenth to mid-fourteenth centuries, although the evidence shows they were used for metalworking. Although hearths may have existed nearer the street front, beyond the area excavated, the distribution of the artefacts and the position of features that might indicate bellows stands and anvils raise the possibility that the buildings were provided with raised forges. Whether these needed flues or whether the open-fronted nature of medieval shops would have provided sufficient ventilation is unclear.

Structures A, N, G-M and Tenement 44 all had ground-level hearths positioned against internal or external walls (Figures 44, 45, 49, 50). The hearth in Structure N had clear evidence for the position of bellows; the spread of clay over the hearth may have been derived from

the smoke hood or from the structure of the forge. The position of hearths against walls accords with the evidence from other towns, such as London, Winchester and Chester, and corresponds with the evidence from rural houses for the provision of smoke hoods. The evidence discussed in Chapters 3 and 4 suggests that there is a gradual movement of hearth positions to external walls in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which coincides with the opening out of the ground-floor spaces. In Structure B part of the rear wall was altered to accommodate a substantial brick stack in the fifteenth/sixteenth century. The presence of hearths in the small row properties (Structures E-F) and their role as sites of industrial activity challenges previous interpretations of this class of structure. The evidence for hearth or high-temperature activity means that the documentary records that indicate the insertion of chimneys and louvres during the fourteenth century do not necessarily record the addition of new facilities to a building; the records could indicate improvements on existing facilities.

The evidence for ground-floor hearths and the possibility that they had smoke hoods has implications for how the rest of the building is understood. Where hearths are placed against internal divisions, any chimney running through the building would also split the first floor into two spaces; whether such a division would be formalised with a partition on the first floor is unknown. The Royal Commission noted that many of the surviving first-floor halls in York do not show signs of smoke blackening. This could indicate that they were unheated or that they were provided with better forms of smoke extraction than has previously been suggested by scholars. The references in documents, notably from London, to kitchens on the first floor must mean that the technology existed to contain and use fires on first floors in medieval buildings and that those buildings must have been equipped with some form of chimney. The question is: how many chimneys could a house have, as early smoke hoods are thought to only service one fire at a time? Equally, the evidence from the excavations suggests hearths could move within buildings; were alterations of the floor and roofs needed to accommodate these changes, or were the hearths positioned to fit in the gaps between beams? Equally, the practicalities of carrying out metalworking within a two-storeyed, timber-framed building also need further consideration.

Understanding the processes carried out allows for a consideration of the composition of the households that formed the neighbourhood, but it also allows for a consideration of the impact of the workshops at the street front on the sounds, smells and overall character of the street. Such investigations reveal the complex use of the ground floors, the permeability of the space and the relationship between the house and the street front. The position of the

smiths at the street front would have placed them on display, but it also placed them in a position to observe and be active participants in the activities of the street. The open nature of the medieval shop/workshop enabled a negotiation of private/public space; once the ground floors were opened out, the upper floors may have become more important as private spaces.

EXTERNAL AREAS

The evidence discussed in Chapters 3 and 4 shows that the activities carried out within the street-front buildings have a bearing on the use of the land behind them. However, there are rarely opportunities to excavate at the street front, and it is the external areas behind street-front buildings that are most commonly investigated by urban archaeologists. The ability to examine the street-front buildings and their associated external areas in Swinegate and Petergate is therefore a rare opportunity. The excavations showed a variety of activities carried out in the area behind the street-front buildings; some were related directly to craft activities whereas others were more mundane.

DOMESTIC EVIDENCE

The historical records show that the street-front buildings usually comprised shops and living accommodation. In both of the case studies, evidence for domestic activity was indicated by the presence of cess and rubbish pits from the mid-thirteenth to sixteenth century. In the long Petergate plots, the cess and rubbish pits were located at the furthest points away from the street-front buildings and the industrial uses carried out in the external areas. In the more restricted plots along Grape Lane and Swinegate, the cess pits were located as far back as possible from the buildings at the street frontage. This reflects a management of sanitation, but perhaps also a degree of privacy. In Plots 27a and 27b in Swinegate, where the yard areas were smaller, there was evidence to suggest the screening of the cess pits (Figure 40). A change from the earlier period was the provision of stone-lined cess pits, recorded at the rear of Structure A in Grape Lane and Tenement 43 in Petergate (Figure 51 and 81). The long life of these features was shown in the pottery assemblage; the earliest pottery dated to the fourteenth or fifteenth century, with the uppermost pottery in the backfills dating to the sixteenth century. These more substantial cess pits were possibly used solely by the residents of one building, but the documentary evidence discussed in Chapter 1 suggests that they could have been communal. If this was the case, the evidence for diet and

health of the residents indicated by intestinal parasites could be derived from more than one household.

Chapter 2 discussed a significant obstacle to the understanding of domestic rubbish; the environmental evidence has seen partial analysis, but many of the soil samples have been discarded. Similarly, the animal bones from the excavations have not been analysed, so there is little information on the diet of the residents. Although the animal bones from the Petergate excavations have been assessed, they have not been fully researched in relation to the excavation data. The assessment showed a wide range of animals were represented, and many showed signs of butchery marks on cattle, sheep/goats, pig and the bird bones of goose and chicken. Fish bones were also present across both sites. The environmental samples produced evidence for a wide range of fruit seed and grains as well as evidence for intestinal parasites. The available evidence would suggest that the evidence for diet and health accords with the evidence from other sites in York; future research should focus on the analysis of the animal bone from the 1989-90 excavation. The environmental data from both excavations needs fuller analysis to allow it to be compared with the evidence from elsewhere in the city

There was limited evidence for the provision of water in either of the two case studies, with a c.thirteenth-century well in Grape Lane and a stone-lined sixteenth-century well at Petergate. The documentary records shows that wells could be communal and have served as a focus for meetings, both social and commercial, a role suggested of the medieval Great Conduit located in Cheapside in London (Burch and Trevail 2010, 182). The pottery from the refuse pits across Petergate and Swinegate showed a similar range of fabrics drawn from the local and regional pottery centres. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries saw an increase in imported pottery, and there was perhaps a greater quantity of imported wares in the Petergate tenements at this date.

CRAFT ACTIVITIES

The leatherworking trades that dominated the Swinegate and Petergate areas from the late eleventh century to the mid-thirteenth century began to diminish, replaced by metalworking trades from the fourteenth century. It is the evidence for the craft activities that shows the greatest variety between the two case studies. This variation may be due to the differing amounts of space available in the external areas behind the street frontages, or it may indicate different levels of investment or cooperation between neighbours. Urban

excavations tend to focus on the external areas behind street frontages and identify these areas as industrial; however, examining the street frontage in conjunction with the external areas shows a complex pattern of land use. Chapter 3 showed that the Swinegate area workshops were primarily engaged in copper alloy-working within the street-front buildings (Figures 44, 45 and 50) there was also some evidence for activity in outshot buildings behind the street front ranges in Structures B1(iii), M and H (Figures 49, 50 and 52). In contrast, the external areas of the Petergate Tenements showed a range of industrial activities.

Chapter 4 discussed the evidence for a horn-working pit in Tenement 42, dating to the mid-to late thirteenth century and in use for perhaps 50 years (Figure 69). The pit contained a large quantity of horn cores, and further horn cores were recovered during the 2004 excavations. It is unclear whether the pit was within a structure, perhaps an open-sided, roofed building. Contemporaneous with the pit in Tenement 43, there is evidence for the reworking of leather waste and of small-scale metalworking. Metalworking was also carried out in Tenement 44 in a street-front building (Figures 72-74). Alongside the evidence for metalworking, there was evidence for bone-working.

During the fourteenth century, metalworking becomes the dominant craft in Petergate and Swinegate. Small furnaces for the working of copper alloy were found behind the structures in Hornpot Lane in Tenement 43 (Figure 81). In Tenement 44 and 45 there was a range of industrial activity that included ground-level forges located in ephemeral structures, perhaps open sided (Figures 75-79). Associated with the structures in Tenement 44 was a sequence of brick-/tile-lined pits originally interpreted as cess pits; however, as Chapter 4 showed, the environmental evidence did not support this interpretation; rather, it is suggested, they formed water tanks associated with the metalworking activities. Tenement 44 also produced evidence for contemporary large furnaces. Adjacent to the furnaces were tile-working areas and possible quenching pits. The residues from the large furnace in Tenement 44 suggest they were used for the working of copper alloy and iron. However, the largest fragments of iron slag were found in the foundations of a workshop in the rear of Tenement 44. Whether this was derived from activities on the site or imported is not clear; the use of iron slag in foundations has also been observed in Winchester. The absence of furnaces from the Swinegate site might suggest the artisans were working metal on a less extensive scale, focussing on what was produced in the street-front workshop. The larger plots on Petergate may have allowed the artisans to operate on a larger scale, manufacturing large cast objects in the external areas and producing smaller items at the street front. Alternatively, the street-

front workshop in Petergate may have acted as a finishing space where objects were prepared for sale.

Comparable evidence for furnaces has been found at the Bedern Foundry, and copper alloy and ironworking has been found in St Andrewgate and Walmgate. This shows that metalworking was carried out on a number of sites in the core of the city and the less densely settled areas, which challenges the argument discussed in Chapter 1 that through the later medieval period trades were increasingly marginalised to the edges of towns. Previous studies of the archaeology of metalworking in York have focussed on describing the evidence rather than considering its implications for the streetscape and the social information it can provide. The discussion of the craft activities in Chapters 3 and 4 sought to move beyond descriptive analysis to consider not only how the evidence for metalworking can provide insights into the use of space on the tenements but also the impact of metalworking on the streetscape and wider social networks. The use of the street front buildings as workshops therefore raises significant questions over the interpretation and understanding of urban buildings.

NEIGHBOURS

The mid-thirteenth to sixteenth centuries saw the final changes to the topography of the Swinegate area. The excavations showed that the street-front buildings were used for workshops/shops, and the documents show the buildings would have had signs indicating what was on offer. As in the earlier period, the workshops at the street front added to the noise, smell and character of the street. The sounds, smells and signs would have all given different meanings and signals to visitors, locals and residents of the street. Another change that would have affected the daily rhythm of the street was the development of clock-time, especially after the establishment of the common clock on Ouse Bridge, although daylight and local churches would still have had their place. The period from 1300-1600 has increasing documentation regarding the residents of the study area; the documentation highlights the complex and multi-layered nature of neighbourhood. This thesis argues that the parishes were only part of the day-to-day life of the residents, and that the social links developed by living in proximity in the street were the dominant factor in the shaping of neighbourhoods. Within the street itself, the residents could have sought to distinguish themselves through variations in dress indicated in the short-lived sumptuary laws and in York's House Books (see Hartshorne 2004).

The names of the tenants recorded in wills and probates reflect the craft activities recorded in the excavations. The documentary evidence for Petergate shows that the residents of the street included a range of metalworkers, including wealthy goldsmiths and others who were mayors of the city (see Chapter 4). The documentary records for the Grape Lane/Swinegate area have not received detailed study for tenants and lordship, but the available evidence show that some people were engaged in crafts based in the street while other worked away from home, including builders and labourers (see Chapter 3). How were those not working on the street, or new to the area, integrated into the neighbourhood of the street? The approaches to the study of neighbourhood discussed in Chapter 1 suggest that this could have been through social interaction with the neighbours as well as more formal associations through craft guilds or parishes.

Chapter 4 argued that the presence of a mixed range of artisans shown in the archaeological record from 1250-1400 may indicate the grouping together of different crafts associated with the cutlery trade; this was a period when the cutlers came to be one of the leading trades in the city. Whether one craft sought to dominate or control the others is unclear. The horn-working in Tenement 41 is one of few examples that can be related directly to the historical records, which show it was rented by Thomas le Horner in the late thirteenth century. The court cases and other historical records give an insight into the composition of the later medieval household discussed in Chapter 1. The household has been seen as a useful category for the consideration of the spaces where people live and carry out daily practices. The workshops that lined the streets employed the immediate members of the master's family (his wife and children), male and female servants (including apprentices, who lived with their employers as part of the household), as well as men and women who were employed within the workshop on a daily basis. Each of these residents/workers would have had a different perception and understanding of the neighbourhood. Chapter 3 discussed the evidence for women that worked from home, often at their doorsteps, establishing a territory of communication and observation over the public space of the neighbourhood—a role perhaps mirrored by that of the male artisans, whose workshops were at, and open to, the street front.

The houses discussed in Chapters 3 and 4 provided evidence for domestic and industrial activity. Identification of status is difficult from the artefacts alone, and it can be hard to see how difference in social standing was reflected in the built environment in areas of crime or poverty. Indeed, the archaeological evidence discussed in Chapters 3 and 4 showed

similarities in craft activities as well as in the pottery wares between the tenements, although Petergate is usually seen as a higher status street than Grape Lane, Patrick Pool or Swinegate. The way houses were furnished and the investment in equipment and technology could have signified social differences. Chapter 1 showed how work on wills and probates provides a fuller insight into the material culture used in medieval houses, the multiple functions of urban houses and the increasingly sophisticated use of textiles and objects to delineate private and intimate spaces (see Goldberg 2008; Liddy forthcoming). An area for further research might be to look in greater detail at the evidence for craft groups to gain a better understanding of the social composition of the streets; some craft groups required higher investment and others, such as the goldsmiths, had higher political standing than other groups.

Chapter 3 discussed the mid-thirteenth to mid-fourteenth-century evidence that showed the area was still not heavily built up, with occupation focussed along Grape Lane. These residents would have had to come to terms with changes to the area following the creation of Thursday Market in 1235, which stimulated the development of surrounding streets. This period also saw the closure of St Benedict's church, and the changes culminated with the construction in the 1360s of Benetplace. The documents associated with Benetplace give an insight into the residents of the area, which included masons, tillers, painters, tailors, leatherworkers and smiths. The archaeology of Grape Lane, Patrick Pool and Swinegate indicates the continued working of copper alloy throughout the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries. The archaeology shows that the artisans engaged in working copper alloy produced slightly different items; the evidence does not indicate the sharing of resources as seen in the Petergate tenements. The concentration of metalworking in and around the Swinegate and Petergate areas could be due to their proximity to the market place; alternatively, they may be seen as having exploited their proximity to the Minster. Understanding the activities of the artisans also allows consideration of the soundscape and smells of the street. Chapter 3 highlighted the problems associated with the noise and smells of metalworking; the street-front workshops would have smelt of hot sand, metal and coal. An examination of the craft activities reveals the possibility of interaction between artisans for the manufacture of certain products, such as knives, but it also shows that artisans of similar but different crafts could live and work as neighbours without the need for direct interaction.

For the Grape Lane area, the question is how to reconcile the archaeology, which shows a thriving artisanal community, with the documentary records, which indicate that the area was associated with prostitution. As Chapter 3 discussed, the ecclesiastical court records and the ward mote courts all indicate cases of prostitution in Grape Lane and Swinegate; even the street name, Grape Lane, could be seen to support an association with prostitution. The recorded tenants for Benetplace show a mix of residents in the Swinegate area. In 1363-4 three out of the twelve tenants occupying units in the row were women, and by 1366 this had increased slightly: four out of twelve tenants were women. Concentrations of single women and an association with prostitution have been identified in other areas of York, such as in the St Andrewgate and Aldwark areas. The role of women in the street and household has received scholarly attention. It is possible that the respectable artisans were in some cases only part of the story. The use of a shop as a front can be seen in the contemporaneous literature, notably in Chaucer's 'Cooks Tale'. The residents of the street were connected to the wider community of the city through parishes and craft affiliations and by the daily routines of purchasing raw materials or goods from the markets. These wider affiliations would have played a part in shaping and determining social relations, but they were also a means for advancement in the city. The parish and ward were important forums for tensions to be aired and settled.

TOWARDS AN ARCHAEOLOGY OF MEDIEVAL NEIGHBOURHOOD

This thesis used a wide range of evidence and a *longue durée* approach to consider the *habitus*, the perceived and real environment at given times, of two areas of York in order to gain an insight into their role as neighbourhoods. It offered a revaluation of the built environment and the changing use of social space, and it highlighted the importance of understanding long-term development; short-term studies can miss ephemeral, but vital, underlying patterns of development. How the residents of the pre-Conquest estates perceived their neighbourhood, and whether they were truly urban raise questions for the social use of space in other former Roman cities. In the later medieval city, medieval Christian concepts of neighbours and neighbourhoods shaped and bound the residents of areas within the street, and it is the street that forms the core of any neighbourhood, transcending the ties of the parish or official groups such as the craft guild. This is not to underestimate the importance of these institutions; they were part of the system for managing, controlling and diffusing tensions but also a means for social advancement.

The fabric of the city, streets and houses was shaped by the actions of the institutional landlords and was closely associated with the development of civic government in the later medieval city. The people who lived and worked in the buildings along the streets in turn shaped and were shaped by the space in which they lived, and their actions and activities gave it its character and sense of neighbourhood. To conclude, this study has shown that a more critical, contextual and interdisciplinary approach can shed important light on the social use of space in the medieval city. This study has sought to consider the relationship between people and the urban environment, and thereby to gain insight into the influences that shaped the development of neighbourhoods of the street as well as the wider social networks across the city.

APPENDIX- METHODOLOGY

This Appendix provides detailed information on the methodology used for the digitisation, management and analysis of the data used in the thesis. The raster data obtained from EDINA and the City Archaeologist is stored as high-resolution TIFF files, but map data and spatial data scanned for use in this thesis are stored as high-resolution JPEGs. Elements were traced from the raster images in the GIS using 'heads-up' digitisation following the creation of a series of shapefiles using either line or polylines depending on the data represented. The original set, group and phase data held in the Archive Report had to be added to the IADB. To make the dot matrix printouts more manageable and accessible, as well as to aid in the addition of the data to the IADB, they were scanned into a computer and converted into a .doc format document using optical character recognition software in Microsoft Word. The text for the original sets, groups and phases was then cut and pasted from the Word document into the IADB, and the relationships between contexts, sets, groups and phases were added to the context data entered into the IADB from the context cards. To differentiate the reinterpretation of the excavations for this thesis from the original data, the Objects field in the IADB was used to isolate features, sets and groups and to produce new matrices. This highlighted problems in the stratigraphic sequences once the matrices were promoted into sets, groups and phases. The problems with the set, group and phase matrices were partly due to the absence of dating evidence during the initial post-excavation. For the later medieval structures many of the errors were due to the analysis being driven by the expectation to find structures that conformed to specific typologies of buildings (see Chapter 1). At the end of this process, the IADB archive for the Swinegate excavations is comparable to the IADB archive for the 2004 Petergate excavations, but the whole process took c.14 months to complete.

The first stage was to produce a location plan of the trenches through the creation of a polygon shapefile for the digitisation of the trench outlines. The plan data for the excavations in the published report are only shown in relation to the trench; therefore, the trench plans were geo-rectified based on the outlines of the geo-rectified trench plan. Polygon shapefiles were created for the archaeological features with an attribute field into which were entered layer numbers and feature types. To allow comparison of the excavation sequences with the later excavations, the datum heights for the layers and features had to be converted from imperial to metric.

The Swinegate and Petergate excavations had produced a large number of permatrace site plans, which were either single context or had plans of multiple features. For the Swinegate excavations the spot height data for the recorded features was written on the site plans and entered into notebooks. For Petergate, the spot height data was recorded on proforma sheets and noted on the context plans. The creation of a table of the spot height data was beyond the scope of this thesis, but spot heights were used during the analysis to allow examine likely correlations between events recorded in different trenches. This was particularly useful for correlating the 1957-8 and 2004 excavations at 62-68 Low Petergate. The Swinegate AutoCAD drawings were deemed irretrievable (see above) and therefore the site drawings needed digitisation. An attempt was made to use the Adobe Illustrator drawing of the 2004 Petergate excavations. The illustrator drawing had been created from the AutoCAD trench plan, with scanned site plans digitised onto layers for either single features or groups of features traced as polylines, but did not hold attribute data, such as a context number. To integrate this drawing into GIS, it was exported from Illustrator as a DXF AutoCAD file. The exported drawing was opened in AutoCAD, but it was found that some lines had not imported, or became very angular where the digitisation of a feature had used spline (curved) lines. The sorting of the data into a useable condition in the GIS and the addition of attribute data would have been prohibitively time consuming. As the electronic drawings showing contexts from both sites were deemed unusable, the site plans were scanned as 150dpi jpegs and stored in folders organised by site. The file name of the scanned site plans was used to identify the trench and context; for example, the Trench 1 plan 1082 was saved as Tr1_c1082.jpg.

To produce a location plan of the Swinegate excavations, the printout of the trench location plan held in the archives was scanned and geo-rectified, with the trench outlines digitised in a polygon shapefile with an attribute field for trench numbers. To scale the drawings through geo-rectification in GIS a 20x20m square, divided into 1m squares, was drawn in AutoCAD and imported into the GIS. The scanned permatrace plans were then geo-rectified to the grid using the metre grid squares shown on the permatrace drawings. The trench location plan for the Swinegate excavations did not show the site grid. The problem was therefore relating the site drawings to the trenches shown on the Ordnance Survey map. Site grids were shown on template plans of the trench outlines which were used on site by the excavators for the creation of the individual context plans. To overcome this, the trench outlines and the single context or multiphase plans were digitised without grid or Ordnance Survey coordinates. The shapefile polygons were then imported into Terrain software, which allowed the rotation and

addition of coordinate data for the shapefiles calculated from the geo-rectified trench plans on the Ordnance Survey base map.

The Petergate location plan of the trenches from the 2004 excavations was produced by importing the AutoCAD 2004 drawing of the TST survey which had been added to a modern Ordnance Survey digital map tile into the GIS. The trench outlines were then copied and converted into polygon shapefiles again with an attribute field for trench numbers. The AutoCAD drawing also had the point data for the site grids used in planning. This data was copied into a point data shapefile with an attribute table for the co-ordinates of the site grid. The digitisation of the site plans for Petergate was much simpler than Swinegate, with the 20x20m grid imported into the GIS and geo-rectified to the TST point data for the site grid. This meant that all the digitisation could be carried out in relation to the Ordnance Survey map data. For both excavations the geo-rectified site plan JPEGs were saved as BMP format files with their coordinates; this allowed them to be added to the GIS without the need for rectification.

For the digitisation of the site drawings, two shapefiles with an attribute field for context number were created. One shapefile, called 'context digitising', was used for initial digitising, and the second shapefile, 'context main', was where completed polygons were transferred and formed the master shapefile that held all the plan data for a trench (Figure 16). The context field was used to identify the digitised feature, but was also used to link the spatial data with the data tables exported from the IADB. For deposits, cuts and structural elements, the shapefiles were polygons; for skeletons, line shapefiles were used. The digitising of archaeological site plans is an unavoidably time-consuming and can thus be a significant obstacle in the commercial environment. The digitising of the Swinegate and Petergate sites took 10 months, it was found that an average of 50-70 plans per day could be digitised in GIS; however, if there were unclear or complicated plans, as few as 20 plans might be digitised.

A significant factor that slowed the digitisation process was the structure and organisation of the archives. The Swinegate plan data was stored as loose sheets in the archive boxes, often with no clear distinction between the trenches; in contrast, the Petergate plans were held in ring binders and were therefore easier to sort through. A problem in both archives was the storage of the plans by the planning zones: features that spanned several plan zones were spread over multiple folders or boxes. Locating and correlating plans was time consuming,

and features on multiple plan sheets had inconsistencies in their edges, which meant that arbitrary decisions had to be made as to how to join them; in some cases elements of features on multiple sheets were missing, so the full form of the feature was unknown. If a feature was digitised in parts, those parts had to be joined in GIS, which added to the time taken to complete the digitisation. A possible solution would be to archive plans by context number, thus uniting the parts in several plan zones. Another factor that affects the time required for digitisation is the level of detail required in the polygons of the features; in this thesis, outlines of features were deemed sufficient, so detailed drawings of individual stones or bricks are not included.

The artefactual, context, set and group data stored in the IADB was exported as CSV tables. The CSV tables were linked to the spatial data based on the context number using the 'joins and relates' feature in the GIS. Initial attempts to analyse the excavations highlighted the inconsistencies in the data entry in the IADB and the need for uniformity in the databases used to analyse the spatial data. The most notable discrepancies were in the artefact tables generated by different specialists, and it was necessary to go through the data tables to create common formats for expression of dates, material types and descriptions. Once the data was in a uniform format, queries were built using the attribute tables using a range of different criteria: for example context, set, group or phase numbers, artefact types/materials, and date or deposit type. This allowed a flexible and integrated approach to the analysis of the excavations that was not constricted by the boundaries of the trenches. It also allowed the comparison and analysis of the data across multiple trenches in relation to the cartographic and historical data.

However, the structure of the artefact catalogues in the IADB was found to limit the analysis possible in GIS. For example, to enable the analysis of a range of information about an artefact type, such as pottery, the records in the database would ideally have separate fields for the fabric, sherd count and spot date. The pottery in the IADB, however, has a limited range of fields: context, bulk find number, sherd count and description. The spot date is derived from the dominant pottery type, and the sherd count is the total for the whole context. Of course, a context could produce pottery fabrics of multiple periods, but the fabric and individual sherd counts are stored in the descriptions field, which means that it is not always possible, even upon examining the specialist reports, for a non-expert to identify residual or intrusive pottery clearly. Furthermore, the grouping of the pottery fabrics in a single table field meant that GIS could not be used for the spatial analysis of pottery.

Separating out the pottery types was deemed beyond the scope of this thesis, but ideally, fabrics, sherd count and spot dates would be given their own fields, as is the case within the MoLA recording system (Rauxloh 2011 pers. comm.). The limitations of the method for pottery cataloguing meant that the potential information regarding patterns of distribution of particular fabric types, residuality or concentrations of particular wares could not be explored. The benefits of breaking the data down into separate fields were shown through the metalworking evidence. The division of the metalworking data into slags, material type (copper alloy or iron), furnace or manufacturing waste allowed the isolation of particular types of waste on specific tenements, which could be related to the structural activity to aid in understanding the processes carried out and in identifying which material was residual rather than being representative of the activities carried out on a tenement.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ackroyd, P. (2000) *London. The Biography*, London: Vintage.

Addyman, P.V. (1979) 'Vernacular Buildings Below the Ground', *Archaeological Journal*, vol. 136, pp. 69-75.

Addyman, P. and Rumsby, J.H. (1972) *A Report to the Council for British Archaeology and the Yorkshire Philisophical Society*, Private.

ADS. Archaeology Data Service *Unpublished Fieldwork Reports (Grey Literature Library)*, [Online],

Available: <http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/greylit/> [May 2012].

Agbe-Davies, A.S. (2010) 'Concepts of community in the pursuit of an inclusive archaeology', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, vol. 16, no. 6, pp. 373-389.

AIP. Archaeological Investigations Project, [Online], Available: <http://csweb.bournemouth.ac.uk/aip/aipintro.htm> [July 2012].

Akeret, Ö.J., Mant, J., Jaques, D. and Gardner, S. (2005) *Assessment of biological remains from sediment samples from excavations at 62-68 Low Petergate*, Paleoecology Research Services. Report 2005/89.

Allen, K.M., Green, S.W. and Zubrow, E. (ed.) (1990) *Interpreting Space: GIS and Archaeology*, London: Taylor Francis.

Allison, P.M. (ed.). 1999. *The Archaeology of Household Activities*. London: Routledge

Allison, P. (2008) 'Dealing with Legacy Data - an introduction', *Internet Archaeology*, vol. 24, Available:

<http://intarch.ac.uk.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/journal/issue24/introduction.html> [May 2012].

Alston, L. (2004) 'Late medieval workshops in East Anglia', in Barnwell, P.S., Palmer, M. and Airs, M. (ed.) *The Vernacular Workshop*, York: Council for British Archaeology. pp.38-59.

Alston, R. and Alston, R.D. (1997) 'Urbanism and Urban Community in Roman Egypt', *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. 83, pp. 199-216.

- Alvey, B.A. (1993) 'Interpreting archaeology with hindsight: the use of three dimensions in graphic recording and site analysis', in Harris, E.C., Brown III, M.R. and Brown, G.J. (ed.) *Practices of Archaeological Stratigraphy*, London: Academic Press. pp.219-228.
- Ames, K.M. (1991) 'The archaeology of the longue duree: temporal and spatial scale in the evolution of social complexity on the southern Northwest Coast', *Antiquity*, vol. 65, no. 249, pp. 935-945.
- Amin, A. and Thrift, N. (2002) *Cities: reimagining the urban*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Andersson, H. (2011) 'Towns', in Carver, M.O.H. and Klapste, J. (ed.) *The Archaeology of Medieval Europe*, Aarhus: Aarhus University. Vol.2. pp.370-408.
- Andrews, G. (1984) 'Archaeology in York: An Assessment. A survey prepared for the Ancient Monuments Inspectorate of the Department of the Environment', in Addyman, P.V. and Black, V.E. (ed.) *Archaeological Papers from York Presented to M.W. Barley*, York: York Archaeological Trust. pp. 173-207.
- Andrews, G., Barrett, J.C. and Lewis, J.S.C. (2000) 'Interpretation not record: the practice of archaeology', *Antiquity*, vol. 74, pp. 525-30.
- Antrobus, A.L. (2009) *Urbanisation and the Urban Landscape: Building Medieval Bury St Edmunds*, Unpublished PhD thesis.
- Appadurai, A. (ed.) (1986) *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Arnade, P., Howell, M. and Simons, W. (2002) 'Fertile Spaces: The Productivity of urban Space in Northern Europe', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, vol. 32, no. 4, pp. 515-548.
- Ashmore, W. (2007) 'Social Archaeologies of Landscape', in R.W, P. and Meskell, L. (ed.) *A Companion to Social Archaeology*, Oxford: Blackwell. pp.255-71.
- Astill, G.G. (1993) *A Medieval Industrial Complex and its Landscape: The metalworking watermills and workshops of Bordesley Abbey*, York: Council for British Archaeology.
- Aston, M. and Bond, J. (1976) *The Landscape of Towns*, Stroud: Sutton. Reprinted 2000.
- Attreed, L. (2002) 'Urban Identity in Medieval English Towns', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, vol. 32, no. 4, pp. 571-592.

- Ayers, B. (2004) 'The Urban Landscape', in Rawcliffe, C. and Wilson, R. (ed.) *Medieval Norwich*, London: Hambledon. pp. 1-29.
- Bagwell, T. and Tyers, I. (2001) *Dendrochronological analysis of a coffin assemblage from Swinegate, York*, ARCUS University of Sheffield Project Report 575; Unpublished Report.
- Bailey, G.N. (2005) 'Concepts of time', in Renfrew, C. and Bhan, P. (ed.) *Archaeology: the Key Concepts*, London: Routledge. pp.268-73.
- Baker, N. (2010) *Shrewsbury. An archaeological assessment of an English border town*, Oxford: Oxbow.
- Baker, N., Dalwood, H., Holt, R., Mundy, C. and Taylor, G. (1992) 'From Roman to medieval Worcester: development and planning in the Anglo-Saxon city', *Antiquity*, vol. 66, pp. 65-74.
- Baker, N. and Holt, R. (1998) 'The Origins of Urban Parishes', in Slater, T.R. and Rosser, G. (ed.) *The Church in the Medieval City*, Aldershot: Ashgate. pp.209-235.
- Baker, N. and Holt, R. (2004) *Urban Growth and the Medieval Church. Gloucester and Worcester*, Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Baker, N. and Slater, T. (2000) 'Morphological Regions in English Medieval Towns', in Larkham, P.J. and Whitehand, J.W.R. (ed.) *Urban Landscapes. International Perspectives*, London: Roudlege. pp. 43-68.
- Barceló, J.A., Briz, I. and Vila, A. (ed.) (1999) *New Techniques for Old Times, CAA 98: Computer Applications and Quantitative Methods in Archaeology: Proceedings of the 26th Conference, Barcelona, March 1998*, Oxford: Brit. Archaeol. Rep. Int. Series 757.
- Barker, P. (1977) *Techniques of Archaeological Excavation*, London: Batsford.
- Barley, M.W. (ed.) (1975) *The plans and topography of medieval towns in England and Wales*, London: Council for British Archaeology.
- Barlow, F., Biddle, M., von Feilitzen, O. and Keene, D. (1976) *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages. An Edition and Discussion of the Winton Domesday*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Barnwell, P.S. and Adams, A.T. (1994) *The house within: interpreting medieval houses in Kent*, London: HMSO.

- Basso, K. and Feld, S. (ed.) (1996) *Senses of Place*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Bayley, J., Crossley, D. and Ponting, M. (2008) *Metals and Metalworking. A research framework for archaeometallurgy*, London: The Historical Metallurgy Society: English Heritage.
- Bayley, J. and Richards, J.D. (1993) 'Medieval Founding', in Richards, J.D. *The Bedern Foundry*, York: Council for British Archaeology.
- Beattie, C., Maslakovic, A. and Rees Jones, S. (ed.) (2003) *The Medieval Household in Christian Europe, c.850-1550: Managing Power, Wealth and the Body*, Turnhout: Brepols.
- Bender, B. (2008) 'Place and Landscape', in Tilley, C., Keane, W.K.S., Rowlands, M. and Spyer, P. (ed.) *Handbook of Material Culture*, London: Sage. pp.303-314.
- Beresford, M.W. (1967) *New towns of the Middle Ages : town plantation in England, Wales and Gascony*, London: Lutterworth Press.
- Berry, M. (2008) *Stratigraphic and Material Interpretations of Site Evidence: Investigations Towards the Nature of Archaeological Deposits*, York: Unpublished PhD Thesis.
- Berry, M. (2009) 'Finds, Deposits, and Assigned Status: New Approaches to Defined Relationships', in Horning, A. and Palmer, M. (ed.) *Crossing Paths or Sharing Tracks? future directions in the archaeological study of post-1550 Britain and Ireland*, Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer. pp. 149-165.
- Biddle, M. (1976) 'Towns', in Wilson, D.M. (ed.) *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*, London: Methuen and Co. pp. 99-150.
- Biddle, M. (1984) 'The Study of Winchester: Archaeology and History in a British Town, 1961-1983', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. LXIX, pp. 93-136.
- Biddle, M. (1989) 'The Rose reviewed: A comedy(?) of errors', *Antiquity*, vol. 63, pp. 753-60.
- Biddle, M. (ed.) (1990) *Object and Economy in Medieval Winchester*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Biddle, M. and Kjølbye-Biddle, B. (1969) 'Metres, areas and robbing', *World Archaeology*, vol. 1, pp. 208-219.
- Bishop, S. (1976) 'Stratification by Computer', *Interim*, vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 27-30.

- Biswell, S., Cropper, L., Evans, J., Gaffney, V. and Leach, P. (1995) 'GIS and excavation: a cautionary tale from Shepton Mallet, Somerset, England', in Lock, G. and Stancic, Z. (ed.) *Archaeology and Geographical Information Systems*, London: Taylor Francis. pp. 269-85.
- Biswell, S., Cropper, L., Evans, J., Gaffney, V. and Leach, P. (1995) 'GIS and excavation: cautionary tale form Shepton Mallet, Somerset, England', in Lock, G. and Stančič, Z. (ed.) *Archaeology and Geographic Information Systems: a European perspective*, London: Taylor Francis. pp.269-286.
- Blair, J. (2000) 'Small towns 600–1270', in Palliser, D. (ed.) *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, Cambridge: Vol.1. Cambridge University Press. pp.245-270.
- Blair, J. (2004) *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Blair, C. and Blair, J. (2001) 'Copper Alloys', in Blair, J. and Ramsey, N. (ed.) *English Medieval Industries*, London: Hambledon Press. pp. 81-106.
- Blair, J. and Ramsey, N. (ed.) (2001) *English Medieval Industries*, London: Hambledon Press.
- Blake, E. (2004) 'Space, Spatiality, and Archaeology', in Preucel, R.W. and Meskell, L. (ed.) *A Companion to Social Archaeology*, Oxford: Blackwell. pp.230-54.
- Bonner, J., Brereton, S., Pearson, N., Sattleberger, P., Whyman, M. and Wijayrpala, W. (1991) *Excavation at 12-18 Swinegate, 8 Grape Lane and 14/18/20/22 Back Swinegate/Little Stonegate, York*, York Archaeological Trust: Unpublished Level III Archive Report.
- Borsay, P. (ed.) (1990) *The Eighteenth-century town : a reader in English urban history, 1688-1820*, London: Longman.
- Boulton, J. (1987) *Neighbourhood and society: a London suburb in the seventeenth century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1990) *The Logic of Practice*, trans. R.Nice. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Bovin, N. (2008) *Material Cultures, Material Minds: The Impact of Things on Human Thought*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bowsher, D., Dyson, T., Holder, N. and Howell, I. (2007) *The London Guildhall. An archaeological history of a neighbourhood from early medieval to modern times*, London: Museum of London Archaeology.

Bradley, R. (2000) 'Mental and material landscapes in prehistoric Britain', in Hooke, D. (ed.) *Landscape the Richest Historical Record*, The Society for Landscape Studies Supplementary Series 1. pp.1-12.

Bradley, R. (2006a) 'The Excavation Report as a Literary Genre: Traditional Practice in Britain', *World Archaeology*, vol. 38, pp. 664-671.

Bradley, R. (2006b) 'Bridging the two cultures: Commercial archaeology and the study of prehistoric Britain', *antiquaries Journal*, vol. 86, pp. 1-13.

Britnell, R. (2006a) 'Town Life', in Horrox, R. and Ormrod, W.M. (ed.) *A Social History of England 1200-1500*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp.134-178.

Britnell, R. (2006b) 'Markets, shops, inns, taverns and private houses in medieval English trade', in Blonde, B., Stabel, P., Stobart, J. and van Damme, I. (ed.) *Buyers and Sellers: Retail Circuits and Practices in Medieval*, Brepols: Turnhout. pp.109-124.

Brook, C.N.L. and Keir, G. (1975) *London. 800-1216: the Shaping of a City*, London: Secker and Warburg.

Brooks, C.M. (1987) *Medieval and Later Pottery from Aldwark and Other Sites*, London: Council for British Archaeology.

Brooks, N. (1998) 'Preface', in Slater, T.R. and Rosser, G. (ed.) *The Church in the Medieval Town*, Aldershot: Ashgate. xii-xiv.

Brown, D.H. (2002) *Pottery in Medieval Southampton c.1066-1510*, York: Council for British Archaeology.

Buchli, V. (2007) 'Material Culture: Current Problems', in Preucel, R.W. and Meskell, L. (ed.) *A Companion to Social Archaeology*, Oxford: Blackwell. pp.179-194.

Buchli, V. and Lucas, G. (2001) *Archaeologies of the Contemporary Past*, London: Routledge.

Buckberry, J. (2004) *A Social and Anthropological Analysis of Conversion Period and Later Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire*, Unpublished PhD Thesis:University of Sheffield.

Buckberry, J. (2007) 'On Sacred Ground: Social Identity and Churchyard Burial in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, c. 700-1100 AD', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, vol. 14, pp. 117-129.

- Burch, M. and Treveil, P. (2010) *The development of early medieval and later Poultry and Cheapside*, London: Museum of London Archaeology.
- Burke, J. (2006) 'Visualising Neighbourhood in Renaissance Florence: Santo Spirito and Santa Marie del Carmine', *Journal of Urban History*, vol. 32, no. 5, pp. 693-710.
- Calvino, I. (1997) *Invisible Cities*, London: Vintage Classics.
- Cameron, E. (2006) *Sheaths of knives*, York Archaeological Trust Report: Held in the Petergate Archives.
- Camille, M. (2000) 'Signs of the City: Place, Power, and Public Fantasy in Medieval Paris', in Hanawalt, B.A. and Kobiak, M. (ed.) *Medieval Practices of Space*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. pp. 1-36.
- Cantwell, A. and Wall, D. (2003) *Unearthing Gotham: the archaeology of New York*, London: Yale University Press.
- Caple, C. (2006) *Objects: Reluctant Witnesses to the Past*, London: Routledge.
- Capp, B. (2003) *When Gossips Meet: Women, Family, and Neighbourhood in Early Modern England*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Carlier, M. and Soens, T. (ed.) (2000) *The Household in Late Medieval Cities, Italy and North-Western Europe Compared*, Leuven: Garant.
- Carlin, M. (1998) 'Fast Food and Urban Living Standards in Medieval England', in Carlin, M. and Rosenthal, J. (ed.) *Food and Eating in Medieval Europe*, London: Hambledon Press. pp.27-51.
- Carrott, J., Dobney, K., Hall, A., Jacques, D., Kenward, H., Lancaster, S. and Milles, A. (2008) *Assessment of the biological remains from excavations at 12-18 Swinegate, 8 Grape Lane, and 14, 18, 20 and 22 Back Swinegate/Little Stonegate, York (YAT/Yorkshire Museum sitecodes 1989-90.38 and 1990.1)*, Durham: Environmental Archaeology Unit: Report 94/13.
- Carver, M.O.H. (1979a) 'Three Saxo-Norman Tenements in Durham City', *Medieval Archaeology*, vol. 23, pp. pp1-80.
- Carver, M.O.H. (1979b) 'Notes on some general principles for the analysis of archaeological data', *Science and Archaeology*, vol. 21, pp. 3-14.

- Carver, M.O.H. (1987) *Underneath English Towns*, London: Batsford.
- Carver, M.O.H. (1993) *Arguments in Stone*, Oxford: Oxbow.
- Carver, M.O.H. (1995) 'Roman to Norman at York Minster', in Phillips, D. and Heywood, B. *Excavations at York Minster. Volume I: from Roman fortress to Norman Cathedral*. Carver, M.O.H (ed). London: HMSO. pp. 177-221.
- Carver, M.O.H. (2009) *Archaeological Investigations*, London: Routledge.
- Carver, M.O.H. (2011) *Making Archaeology Happen : Design versus Dogma*, Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
- Celik, Z., Favro, D. and R, I. (ed.) (1994) *Streets: Critical Perspectives on Public Space*, Berkeley: University of California.
- Cessford, C. (2009) 'Post-1550 Urban Archaeology in a Developer funded Context: An Example from Grand Arcade, Cambridge', in Horning, A. and Palmer, M. (ed.) *Crossing Paths or Sharing Tracks? Future directions in the archaeological study of post-1550 Britain and Ireland*, Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer. pp.301-21.
- Chadwick, A. (1997) 'Archaeology at the Edge of Chaos: Further Towards Reflexive Excavation Methodologies', *Assemblage*, vol. 3, Available: <http://www.assemblage.group.shef.ac.uk/3/3chad.htm> [January 2012].
- Chadwick, A. (2000) 'Taking English Archaeology into the next Millenium - A personal review of the state of the art', *Assemblage*, vol. 5, Available: <http://www.assemblage.group.shef.ac.uk/5/chad.html> [January 2012].
- Cherry, J. (2001) 'Leather', in Blair, J. and Ramsey, N. (ed.) *English Medieval Industries*, London: Hambleton Press. pp.295-318.
- Christie, N. (2006) *From Constantine to Charlemagne: An Archaeology of Italy, AD 300-850*, Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Christie, N. and Loseby, S.T. (ed.) (1996) *Towns in Transition: Urban Evolution in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, Aldershot: Scolar Press.
- Clark, D. (2000) 'The shop within?: An Analysis of the Architectural Evidence for Medieval Shops', *Architectural History*, vol. 43, pp. 58-87.

Clarke, C.A.M. (2011) *Mapping the Medieval City: Space, Place and Identity in Chester c.1200-1600*, Swansea: University of Wales Press.

Clarke, A., Fulford, M. and Rains, M. (2003) 'Nothing to hide- online database publication and the Silchester Town Life Project', in Doer, M. and Sarris, A. (ed.) *The Digital Heritage of Archaeology. Computer Application and Quantative Methods in Archaeology. Proceedings of the 30th Conference, Herklion, Crete, April 2002*, Hellenic Ministry of Culture. pp.401-404.

Clarke, H., Pearson, S., Mate, M. and Parfitt, K. (2010) *Sandwich. The 'completest medieval town in England'*, Oxford: Oxbow.

Classen, A. (2009) 'Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age: Historical, Mental, Cultural, and Socio-Economic Investigations', in Classen, A. (ed.) *Urban space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age*, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. pp. 1-146.

Collis, J. (2011) 'The Urban Revolution: Martin Biddle's Excavations in Winchester. 1961-1971', in Schofield, J. (ed.) *Great Excavations*, Oxford: Oxbow.

Connelly, P. (2011) 'Hungate 2011: The Final Year!', *Yorkshire Archaeology Today*, vol. 20, pp. 1-6.

Conolly, J. and Lake, M. (2006) *Geographical Information Systems in Archaeology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Constantinidis, D. (2001) 'Introspective sitescaping in GIS', in Stančič, Z. and Veljanovski, T. (ed.) *Computing Archaeology for Understanding the Past, CAA 2000. Computer Applications and Quantitative Methods in Archaeology, Proceedings of the 28th Conference, Ljubljana, April 2000*, Oxford: BAR. Int. Series 931. pp.165-172.

Corfield, M., Hinton, P., Nixon, T. and Pollard, M. (1998) *Preserving archaeological remains in situ: proceedings of the conference of 1-3 April 1996*, London: Museum of London Archaeology Service.

Corner, J. (1999) 'The Agency of Mapping: Specualtion, Critique, Invention', in Cosgrove, D. (ed.) *Mappings*, London: Reaktion Books. pp.213-252.

Courtney, P. (1998) 'Saxon and Medieval Leicester: The Making of an Urban Landscape', *Trans. Leicestshire Archaeol. and Hist. Soc.*, vol. 72, pp. 110-145.

Cowan, A (1998) *Urban Europe 1500-1700* London:Arnold

Creighton, O. and Higham, N. (2005) *Medieval Town Walls: An Archaeology and Social History of Defence*, Stroud: Tempus.

Cumberpatch, C. and Blinkhorn, P. (1998) 'The Interpretation of Artefacts and the Tyranny of the Field Archaeologist', *Assemblage*, vol. 4, Available: http://www.assemblage.group.shef.ac.uk/4/4bln_cmb.html [January 2012].

Cunliffe, B. (1983) *The Publication of Archaeological Excavations. Report of the Joint Working Party of the Council for British Archaeology and the Department of the Environment*, London: Department of Environment.

Cunliffe, B. (1990) 'Publishing in the City', *Antiquity*, pp. 667-671.

Dalwood, H. and Evans, R. (2004) *Excavations at Deansway, Worcester*, York: Council for British Archaeology.

Dalland, M. 1984. 'A procedure for use in stratigraphical analysis'. *Scottish Archaeological Review* 3. pp.116-127

Daniell, C. (1998) *Death and Burial in Medieval England 1066-1550*, London: Routledge.

Daniell, C. (2000) 'Early Medieval York', in *The History of York*, Pickering: Blackthorn Press. pp. 68-99.

Daniell, C. (2003) *From Norman Conquest to Magna Carta: England 1066-1075*, London: Routledge.

Darvill, T. and Atkins, M. (1991) *Regulating Archaeological Work by Contract*, IFA Technical Paper 8. Birmingham: Institute for Archaeologists.

Darvill, T. and Russell, B. (2002) *Archaeology after PPG16: Archaeological Investigations in England 1990-1999*, Poole: Bournemouth University and English Heritage.

Davis, M., Hall, A., Kenward, H. and Oxley, J. (2002) *Preservation of Urban Archaeological Deposits: monitoring and characterisation of archaeological deposits at Marks and Spencer, 44-5 Parliament Street, York*, [Online], Available: http://intarch.ac.uk/journal/issue11/oxley_index.html [December 2011].

DCLG (Dept. for Communities and Local Government) (2010) *Planning Policy Statement 5: Planning for the Historic Environment (PPS5)*, London: Dept. for Communities and Local Government.

- Dean, G. (2007) *New electricity sub-station, Silver Street, York, Watching Brief and Excavation. Trench 1 and 2*, York: York Archaeological Trust. Unpublished Client Report 2007/59.
- Dean, G. (2008) *Medieval York*, Stroud: History Press.
- DeMarrais, E. (2004) 'The materialisation of culture', in DeMarrais, E., Gosden, C. and Renfrew, A.C. (ed.) *Rethinking materiality: The engagement of mind with the material world*, Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research. pp. 11-22.
- Dobres, M.A. and Robb, J.E. (2000) *Agency in Archaeology*, London: Routledge.
- Dobson, R.B. (1977) 'Urban Decline in Late Medieval England', *Transaction of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. 27, Fifth Series, pp. 1-22.
- Dodd, A. (ed.) (2003) *Oxford Before the University; The Late Saxon and Norman Archaeology of the Thames Crossing, the Defences and the Town*, Oxford: Oxford Archaeology.
- DOE (Dept. of Environment) (1990) *Planning Policy Guidance Note 16: Archaeology and Planning (PPG16)*, London: Dept. of Environment.
- Dornan, J.L. (2002) 'Agency and Archaeology: Past, Present, and Future Directions', *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, vol. 9, no. 4, pp. 303-329.
- Drake, M. and Drake, W. (1971) *Saints and their Emblems*, New York: Burt Franklin.
- Drewett, P. (1999) *Field Archaeology: An Introduction*, London: Routledge.
- Durrschmidt, J. (2000) *Everyday lives in the global city: the delinking of locale and milieu*, London: Routledge.
- Dyer, A. (1991) *Decline and growth in English towns 1400-1640*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dyer, C. (2009) *Making a Living in the Middle Ages: The People of Britain, 850-1520*, London: Yale.
- Dymond, D. (1999) 'God's Disputed Acre', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 50, no. 3, pp. 464-97.
- Eaton, T. (2000) *Plundering the past: Roman stonework in medieval Britain*, Stroud: Tempus.
- Edmonds, M. (1999) *Ancestral Geographies of the Neolithic*, London: Routledge.

- Edmonds, M. (2004) *The Langdales*, Stroud: Tempus.
- English Heritage (1989) *The Management of Archaeology Projects*, London: Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission.
- English Heritage (1991) *The Management of Archaeological Projects*, 2nd edition, London: The Management of Archaeological Projects.
- English Heritage (2001) *Centre for Archaeology Guidelines: Archaeometallurgy*, English Heritage.
- Esher, L. (1968) *York: A Study in Conservation*, London: HMSO.
- Evans, D.T. (1997) *Former Davygate Centre, Davygate, York. Report on an Archaeological Evaluation and Watching Brief*, York: York Archaeological Trust: Unpublished Client Report 1997/28.
- Evans, D.T. (2006) 'Trench 6 (service trench)', in Reeves, B. (ed.) *62-68 Low Petergate Assessment Report*, York: York Archaeological Trust. pp. 102-119.
- Farmer, D. (2004) *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Faulkner, P.A. (1966) 'Medieval undercrofts and town houses', *Archaeological Journal*, vol. 123, pp. 120-135.
- Fellows-Jensen, G. (1968) *Scandinavian Personal Names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire*, Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag.
- Fellows-Jensen, G. (2003) 'The street-name evidence', in Mould, Q., Carlisle, I. and Cameron, E. (ed.) *Leather and Leatherworking in Anglo-Scandinavian and Medieval York*, York: York Archaeological Trust. pp. 3226-7.
- Fellows-Jensen, G. (2004) 'The Anglo-Scandinavian Street Names of York', in Hall, R.A., Rollason, D.W., Blackburn, M., Parsons, D.N., Fellows-Jensen, G., Hall, A.R., Kenward, H.K., O'Connor, T.P., Tweddle, D., Mainman, A.J. and Rogers, N.S.H.. *Aspects of Anglo-Scandinavian York*, York: Council for British Archaeology. pp.357-71..
- Finlayson, R. (2004) *Medieval Metalworking and Urban Life at St Andrewgate, York*, York: York Archaeological Trust.

- Fleming, R. (1993) 'Rural elites and urban communities in late-saxon England', *Past and Present*, vol. 141, pp. 3-37.
- Fleming, P. (2000) *Family and Household in Medieval England*, New York: St Martin's Press.
- Fletcher, D. (1999) 'The Ordnance Survey's Nineteenth Century Boundary Survey: Context, Characteristics and Impact', *Imago Mundi*, vol. 51, pp. 131-146.
- French, K.L. (2000) *The people of the parish: community life in a late medieval English diocese*, Philadelphia: Univeristy of Pennsylvania Press.
- Frere, S. (1975) *Principles of Publication in Rescue Archaeology*, RESCUE. The Trust for British Archaeology.
- Frost, C. (2009) *Time Space and Order: The Making of Medieval Salisbury*, Oxford: Peter Lang.
- Funari, P.P.A., Hall, M. and Jones, S. (ed.) (1999) *Historical Archaeology: Back from the Edge*, London: Routledge.
- Gaimster, D. (2005) 'A Parallel History: The Archaeology of Hanseatic Urban Culture in the Baltic c.1200-1600', *World Archaeology*, vol. 37, no. 3, pp. 408-423.
- Gaimster, D., Margesson, S. and Barry, T. (1989) 'Medieval Britain and Ireland', *Medieval Archaeology*, pp. 161-241.
- Galloti, R., Mohib, A., El Graoul, M., Sbihi-Alaoui, F.S. and Raynal, J.P. (2011) 'GIS and Intra-Site Spatial Analyses: An Integrated Approach for Recording and Analyzing the Fossil Deposits at Casablanca Prehistoric Sites (Morocco)', *Journal of Geographic Information System*, vol. 3, pp. 373-381.
- Gardiner, M. and Rippon, S. (2007) 'introduction: the Medieval Landscapes of Britain', in Gardiner, M. and Rippon, S. (ed.) *Medieval Landscapes*, Macclesfield: Windgather. pp. 1-10.
- Garrioch, D. (1986) *Neighbourhood and community in Paris, 1740-1790*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Garrioch, D. and Peel, D. (2005) 'Introduction: The Social History of Urban Neighbourhoods', *Journal of Urban History*, vol. 32, pp. 663-676.
- Geddes, G. and Mason, I. (2004) 62-68 *Low Petergate: A Report on a Programme of Historic Building Recording*, York: York Archaeological Trust Report 2004/35.

- Gerrard, C. (2003) *Medieval Archaeology*, London: Routledge.
- Giddens, A. (1984) *Constitution of Society: Outline of a Theory of Structuration*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Gilchrist, R. (1994) *Gender and Material Culture*, London: Routledge.
- Gilchrist, R. (2000) 'Archaeological Biographies: realizing human lifecycles, -courses and -histories', *World Archaeology*, vol. 31, no. 3, pp. 325-328.
- Gilchrist, R. (2004) 'Archaeology and the life course: a time and age for gender', in Meskell, L. and Preucel, R.W. (ed.) *A Companion to Social Archaeology*, Oxford: Blackwell. pp.142-160.
- Gilchrist, R. (2012) *Medieval Life*, Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer.
- Giles, K. (1999) 'The 'familiar' fraternity: the appropriation and consumption of medieval guildhalls in early modern York', in Tarlow, S. and West, S. (ed.) *The Familiar Past*, London: Routledge. pp.87-102.
- Giles, K. (2000a) *An Archaeology of Social Identity; Guildhalls in York, c.1350 - 1630*, Oxford: British Archaeological Reports 315.
- Giles, K. (2000b) 'Framing Labour: The Archaeology of York's Medieval Guildhalls', in *The Problem of Labour in Fourteenth Century England*, Woodbridge: Boydell.
- Giles, K. (2011) 'Vernacular Housing in the the North: The Case of England', in Carber, M. and Klapste, J. (ed.) *The Archaeology of Medieval Europe*. Vol.2. Twelfth to Sixteenth Centuries. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press. pp. 159-175.
- Giles, K. and Rees Jones, S. (2011) 'Poverty in Depth: New International Perspectives', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, vol. 15, pp. 544-552.
- Goddard, R. (2004) *Lordship and Medieval Urbanisation*, Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer.
- Goddard, R. (2007) 'Church Lords and English Urban Investment in the Later Middle Ages', *Past and Present*, vol. Supplement (Volume 2), pp. 148-165.
- Goldberg, P.J.P. (1991) 'The Public and the Private: women in the pre-plague economy', in Coss, P.R. and Lloyd, S.D. (ed.) *Thirteenth Century England*, Vol. 3. Woodbridge: Boydell. pp.75-90.

Goldberg, P.J.P. (1996) *Women, Work, and Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Goldberg, P.J.P. (2000) 'Household and the Organisation of Labour in Late Medieval Towns: some English Evidence', in Carlier, M. and Soens, T. (ed.) *The Household in Late Medieval Cities; Italy and Northwestern Europe Compared*, Leuven: Garrant. pp.59-70.

Goldberg, P.J.P. (2004) *Medieval England*, London: Arnold.

Goldberg, P.J.P. (2008) 'The fashioning of bourgeois domesticity in later medieval England: a material culture perspective', in Goldberg, P.J.P. and Kowaleski, M. (ed.) *Domesticity: Home, Housing and Household in Medieval England*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 124-44.

Goldberg, P.J.P. (2011) 'Space and Gender in the Later Medieval English House', *Viator*, vol. 42, no. 2, pp. 205-232.

Goodson, C., Lester, A.E. and Symes, C. (2010) 'Introduction', in Goodson, C., Lester, A.E. and Symes, C. (ed.) *Cities, Texts and Social Networks, 400-1500*, Farnham: Ashgate. pp.1-20.

Gosden, C. (2004) 'The Past and Foreign Countries: Colonial and Post-Colonial Archaeology and Anthropology', in Meskell, L. and Preucel, R.W. (ed.) *A Companion to Social Archaeology*, Oxford: Blackwell. pp.161-178.

Gosden, C. (2008) *Material Culture and Long-term Change*, London: Sage. pp.424-42.

Gosden, C. and Marshall, Y. (1999) 'The cultural biography of objects', *World Archaeology*, vol. 31, no. 2, pp. 169-78.

Graves, P. (1989) 'Social Space in the English Medieval Parish Church', *Economy and Society*, vol. 18, pp. 297-322.

Graves, P. (2003a) 'Civic ritual, townscape and social identity in seventeenth and eighteenth century Newcastle-upon-Tyne', in Lawrence, S. (ed.) *Archaeologie of the British: explorations of identity in Great Britain and its colonies*, London: Routledge. pp.31-54.

Graves, P. (2003b) 'The development of towns in the north', in *Past, Present and Future: the archaeology of Northern England*, Durham: Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland Research Report 5. pp.177-194.

Green, A. and Leech, R. (ed.) (2002) *Cities in the World, 1500-2000: Proceedings of the Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology Conference, 2002*, Leeds: Maney.

Grenville, J. (1997) *Medieval Housing*, London: Leicester University Press.

Grenville, J. (2000) 'Houses and Households in Late Medieval England: An Archaeological Perspective', in Wogan-Browne, J., Voaden, R., Diamond, A., Hutchinson, A., Meale, C. and Johnson, L. (ed.) *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain*, Turnhout: Brepols. pp. 309-28.

Grenville, J. (2004) 'The archaeology of the late and post-medieval workshop - a review and proposal for a research agenda', in Barnwell, P., Palmer, M. and Airs, M. (ed.) *The Vernacular Workshop: From Craft to Industry, 1400-1900*, York: Council for British Archaeology.

Grenville, J. (2008) 'Urban and rural houses and households in the late Middle Ages: a case study from Yorkshire', in Kowaleski, M. and Goldberg, P.J.P. (ed.) *Medieval Domesticity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp.92-123.

Hadley, D. (2001) *Death in Medieval England*, Stroud: Tempus.

Hadley, D. (2006) *The Vikings in England. Settlement, Society and Culture*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Hall, R.A. (1984) *The Viking Dig: Excavations at York*, London: Bodley-Head.

Hall, R.A. (1988) 'York 700-1050', in Hodges, R. and Hobley, B. (ed.) *The rebirth of towns in the west. AD 700-1050*, London: Council for British Archaeology. pp.125-132.

Hall, R.A. (1994) *Viking Age York*, London: Batsford.

Hall, R.A. (1996) *York*, London: Batsford.

Hall, R.A. (1997) *Excavation in the Praetentura: 9 Blake Street*, York: York Archaeological Trust.

Hall, R.A. (2000) 'The decline of the Wic?', in Slater and T.R. (ed.) *Towns in Decline AD100-1600*, Ashgate: Aldershot. pp.120-136.

Hall, R.A. (2001) 'Secular Buildings in Medieval York', in Gläser, M. (ed.) *Lübecker Kolloquium zur Stadtarchäologie im Hanseraum III: Der Hausbau*, Lübeck: Schmidt-Römhild. pp.77-99.

Hall, R.A. (2004) 'The Topography of Anglo-Scandinavian York', in Hall, R.A., Rollason, D.W., Blackburn, M., Parsons, D.N., Fellows-Jensen, G., Hall, A.R., Kenward, H.K., O'Connor, T.P.,

- Tweddle, D., Mainman, A.J. and Rogers, N.S.H. *Aspects of Anglo-Scandinavian York*, York: Council for British Archaeology. pp. 488-497.
- Hall, R.A. and Hunter-Mann, K. (2002) *Medieval Urbanism in Coppergate: Refining a Townscape*, York: Council for British Archaeology.
- Hall, R.A., MacGregor, H. and Stockwell, M. (1988) *Medieval Tenements in Aldwark, and Other Sites*, York: Council for British Archaeology.
- Hall, R.A. and Tweddle, D. (1982) 'Hostages to Fortune', *Interim*, vol. 8, no. 3, pp. 3-5.
- Halvorson, M.J. and Spierling, K.E. (2008) *Defining Community in Early Modern Europe*, Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Haney, W.G. and Knowles, E.S. (1978) 'Perception of neighbourhoods by city and suburban residents', *Human Ecology*, vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 201-214.
- Harding, V. (2002) 'Space, Property, and Propriety in Urban England', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, vol. 32, no. 4, pp. 549-69.
- Harris, E. (1989) *Principles of Archaeological Stratigraphy*, London: Academic Press.
- Harris, R.B. (2000) 'The English medieval townhouse as evidence for the property market', in Pitte, D. and Ayers, B. (ed.) *La maison medievale en Normandie et en Angleterre. The medieval house in Normandy and England : actes des tables rondes de Rouen (19 et 17 octobre 1998) et Norwich (16 et 17 avril 1999)*, Rouen: Société libre d'Emulation de la Seine-Maritime. pp.47-56.
- Hartshorne, P.B. (2004) *The Street and the Percepton of Public Space in York, 1476-1586*, York: University of York: Unpublished PhD Theses.
- Harvey, K. (2009) *History and Material Culture: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources*, London: Routledge.
- Haslam, J. (1972) 'Medieval Streets in London', *London Archaeologist*, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 3-8.
- Heighway, C. (1972) *The Erosion of History*, London: Council for British Archaeology.
- Hendon, J.A. (2004) 'Living and Working at Home: The Social Archaeology of Household Production and Social Relations', in Meskell, L. and Preucel, R.W. (ed.) *A Companion to Social Archaeology*, Oxford: Blackwell. pp. 272-286.

- Heywood, I., Cornelius, S. and Carver, S. (1998) *An Introduction to Geographical Information Systems*, Longman.
- Hicks, D. and Horning, A. (2006) 'Historical archaeology and buildings', in Hicks, D. and Beaudry, M.C. (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Historical Archaeology*, Cambridge: Cambridge university Press. pp. 273-92.
- Higham, N.J. (1997) *The Death of Anglo-Saxon England*, Stroud: Sutton.
- Hillier, B. and Hanson, J. (1984) *The Social Logic of Space*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hilton, R. (1982) 'Towns in societies-Medieval England', *Urban History Yearbook*, vol. 9, pp. 7-13.
- Hindle, S. (2004) *On the Parish?*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Hinton, D. (2000) 'The large towns 600-1300', in Palliser, D. (ed.) *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain. 600-1540*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp.217-243.
- Hodder, I. (1989) 'Writing archaeology: site reports in context', *Antiquity*, vol. 63, pp. 268-74.
- Hodder, I. (2004) 'The "Social" in Archaeological Theory: An Historical and Contemporary Perspective', in Preucel, R.W. and Meskell, L. (ed.) *A Companion to Social Archaeology*, Oxford: Blackwell. pp.23-42.
- Hodder, I. and Hutson, S. (2003) *Reading the Past*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hodges, H. (1989) *Artifacts*, London: Duckworth.
- Hodges, R. and Hopley, B. (ed.) (1988) *The Rebirth of Towns in the West, AD 700-1050*, London: Council for British Archaeology.
- Hohenberg, P. (1995) *The Making of Urban Europe*, London: Harvard University Press.
- Holdsworth, J. (1978) *Selected Pottery Groups AD650-1780*, London: Council for British Archaeology.
- Holt, R. (2000) 'Society and population 600-1300', in Palliser, D. (ed.) *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, Vol.1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp.79-104.

- Holt, R. (2009) 'The Urban Transformation in England, 900-1100', in Lewis, C.P. (ed.) *Anglo-Norman Studies XXXII*, Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer. pp.57-78.
- Holt, R. and Rosser, G. (1990) *The Medieval Town. A Reader in English Urban History 1200-1540*, Harlow: Longman.
- Homer, R.F. (2001) 'Tin, Lead and Pewter', in Blair, J. and Ramsey, N. (ed.) *English Medieval Industries*, London: Hambledon Press. pp. 57-80.
- Horning, A. and Palmer, M. (ed.) *Crossing Paths or Sharing Tracks? Future directions in the archaeological study of post-1550 Britain and Ireland*, Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer
- Horsman, V., Milne, C. and Milne, G. (1988) *Aspects of Saxo-Norman London: Vol. 1, Building and street development*, London: London Middlesex Archaeological Society Special Papers 11.
- Hoskins, J. (2008) 'Agency, Biography and Objects', in Tilley, C., Keane, W., Kuchler, S., Rowlands, M. and Spyer, P. (ed.) *Handbook of Material Culture*, London: Sage. pp.74-85.
- Howell, M. (2000) 'The Spaces of Late Medieval Urbanity', in Boone, M. and Stabel, P. (ed.) *Shaping Urban Identity in Late Medieval Europe*, Leuven: Garrant. pp. 3-19.
- Howes, D. (2008) 'Scent, Sound and Synaesthesia. Intersensoriality and Material Culture Theory', in Tilley, C., Keane, W., Kuchler, S., Rowlands, M. and Spyer, P. (ed.) *Handbook of Material Culture*, London: Sage. pp.161-72.
- Hunter-Mann, K. (1992) *22-24 Swinegate, York*, York Archaeological Trust. Unpublished Report.
- Hunter-Mann, K. (1995) 'Judging the Evidence', *Interim*, vol. 20, no. 2, pp. 14-17.
- Hurcombe, L.M. (2007) *Archaeological Artefacts as Material Culture*, London: Routledge.
- Imagine York, [Online], Available: <http://www.imagineyork.co.uk/> [June 2012].
- Ingold, T. (1993) 'The temporality of the landscape', *World Archaeology*, vol. 25, no. 2, pp. 152-174.
- Ingold, T. (2000) *Perception of the Environment: Essays in Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill*, London: Routledge.
- Interim (1975) 'Is it Rubbish', *Interim*, vol. 2, no. 4, pp. 3-5.

Interim (1979) 'On the Record', *Interim*, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 3-5.

Jeffries, N., Owens, A., Hicks, D., Featherby, R. and Wehner, K. (2009) 'Rematerialising Metropolitan Histories? People, Places and Things in Modern London', in Horning, A. and Palmer, M. (ed.) *Crossing Paths or Sharing Tracks? Future directions in the archaeological study of post-1550 Britain and Ireland*, Woodbridge: Boydell Press. pp.323-50.

Jerome, J.K. (1889) *Three Men in a Boat*, Penguin Classics (1994). London: Penguin.

Johnson, M. (1993) *Housing Culture: Traditional Architecture in an English Landscape*, London: University College London Press.

Johnson, M. (1995) *An Archaeology of Capitalism*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Johnson, M. (1999) *Archaeological theory: an introduction*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Johnson, M. (2007) *Ideas of Landscape*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Johnson, M. (2010) *English Houses 1300-1800: Vernacular Architecture, Social Life*, Harlow: Longman.

Jones, S., MacSween, A., Jeffrey, S., Morris, R. and Heyworth, M. (2003) *From The Ground Up. The publication of archaeological projects, a survey of user needs*, York: Council for British Archaeology, Available: <http://www.archaeologyuk.org/publications/puns/> [January 2012].

Jouttijärvi, A. (2009) 'The Shadow in the Smithy', *Materials and Manufacturing Processes*, vol. 24:9, pp. 975-980.

Joy, J. (2009) 'Reinvigorating object biography: reproducing the drama of object lives', *World Archaeology*, vol. 41, no. 4, pp. 540-556.

Karskens, G. (1999) *Inside the Rocks. The Archaeology of a Neighbourhood*, Erskineville: Hale and Iremonger.

Karskens, G. (2001) 'Small things, big pictures: new perspectives from the archaeology of Sydney's Rocks neighbourhood', in Mayne, A. and Murray, T. (ed.) *The Archaeology of Urban Landscapes: Explorations in Slumland*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 69-85

Kars, H. and van Heeringen, R. (ed.) (2008) *Preserving archaeological remains in situ - Proceedings of the 3rd conference 7-9 December 2006, Amsterdam, 6*, Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit.

- Katsianis, M., Tshipidis, S., Kotsakis, K. and Koussoulakou, A. (2008) 'A 3D Digital Workflow for Archaeological Intra-Site Research Using GIS', *Journal of Archaeological Science*, vol. 35, no. 3, pp. 655-667.
- Keene, D. (1982) 'Rubbish in Medieval Towns', in Hall, A.R. and Kenward, H.K. (ed.) *Environmental Archaeology in the Urban Context*, York: Council for British Archaeology. pp. 26-30.
- Keene, D. (1985) *Survey of Medieval Winchester*, Two Volumes. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Keene, D. (1989) 'The Property Market in English Towns AD.1100-1600', in Vigneur, M. and C., J. (ed.) *Dune ville a Pautre:structures, materielles et organization de Vespace dans les villes europeennes*, Rome: Collection de l'école française de Rome, cxxii. pp.201-26.
- Keene, D. (1990) 'Shops and Shopping in Medieval London', in Grant, L. (ed.) *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology in London*, BAA Conference Transactions for 1984. Oxford: British Archaeological Association. pp.29-46.
- Keene, D. (1996a) 'Metalworking in Medieval London: an Historical Survey', *Historical Metallurgy*, vol. 30, no. 2, pp. 95-102.
- Keene, D. (1996b) 'Landlords, the Property Market and Urban Development in Medieval England', in Eliassen, F.-E. and Erslund, G.A. (ed.) *Power, Profit and Urban Land: Landownership in Medieval and Early modern Northern European towns*, Aldershot: Scholar Press. pp. 93-119.
- Keene, D. (2000) 'The medieval urban landscape, AD 900-1540', in Waller, P. (ed.) *The English Urban Landscape*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Keene, D. (2011a) 'Documentary evidence for internal building layouts and heights', in Burch, M. and Treveil, P. *The development of early medieval and later Poultry and Cheapside*, London: Museum of London Archaeology. pp. 192-197.
- Keene, D. (2011b) 'Administrative areas and boundaries: wards and parishes', in Burch, M. and Treveil, P. *The development of early medieval and later Poultry and Cheapside*, London: Museum of London Archaeology. pp. 197-200.
- Keene, D., and Harding, V. 1987. *Historical gazetteer of London before the Great Fire / 1 Cheapside; Social and Economic Study of Medieval London*. Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey

- Kemp, R.L. (1996) *Anglian Settlement at 46-54 Fishergate*, York: Council for British Archaeology.
- Kenward, H.K., Hall, A.R. and Jones, A.K.G. (1986) *Environmental Evidence from a Roman Well and Anglian Pits in the Legionary*, London: Council for British Archaeology.
- Kermode, J. (2000) 'The Greater Towns 1300-1450', in Palliser, D.M. (ed.) *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain. 600-1540*, Vol.1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 441-66.
- King, C. (2006) *House and Society in an English Provincial City: The Archaeology of Urban Household in Norwich, 1370-1700*, University of Reading: Unpublished PhD Thesis.
- King, C. (2010) 'The interpretation of urban buildings: power, memory and appropriation in Norwich merchants' houses, c.1400-1660', *World Archaeology*, vol. 41, no. 3, pp. 471-488.
- Klein, B. (2001) *Maps and the Writing of Space in Early Modern England and Ireland*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Knowles, A.K. (2002) 'Introduction', in Knowles, A.K. (ed.) *Past Time, Past Place, GIS for History*, Redlands: ESRI Press. pp.xi-xx.
- Knowles, A.K. and Hillier, A. (ed.) (2008) *Placing history: how maps, spatial data and GIS are changing historical scholarship*, Redlands CA: ESRI Press.
- Kolb, M.J. and Snead, J.E. (1997) 'It's a Small World after All: Comparative Analyses of Community Organization in Archaeology', *American Antiquity*, vol. 62, no. 4, pp. 609-628.
- Kopytoff, I. (1986) 'The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process', in Appadurai, A. (ed.) *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective.*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp.64-91.
- Kostoff, S. (1991) *The City Shaped*, London: Thames and Hudson.
- Kostof, S. (1992) *The City Assembled*, London: Thames and Hudson.
- Kowaleski, M. and Goldberg, P.J.P. (ed.) (2008) *Medieval Domesticity. Home, Housing and Household in Medieval England*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kumin, B. (1996) *The Shaping of a Community: The Rise & Reformation of the English Parish c. 1400-1560*, Aldershot: Ashgate.

- Kvamme, K. (1999) 'Recent directions and developments in Geographical Information Systems', *Journal of Archaeological Research*, vol. 7, no. 2, pp. 153-201.
- Larkham, P.J. (2006) 'The study of urban form in Great Britain', *Urban Morphology*, vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 117-141.
- Laughton, J. (2008) *Life in Late Medieval Chester*, Oxford: Oxbow.
- Laughton, J., Jones, E. and Dyer, C. (2001) 'The urban hierarchy in the later Middle Ages: a study of the East Midlands', *Urban History*, vol. 28, no. 3, pp. 331-357.
- Laurence, R. (2010) *Roman Pompeii: Space and Society*, 2nd edition, London: Routledge.
- Le Patourel, H.E.J. (1972) 'Medieval Pottery', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. 44, pp. 108-113.
- Leech, R. (1999) 'The processional city: some issues for historical archaeology', in Tarlow, S. and West, S. (ed.) *The Familiar Past? Archaeologies of later historical Britain*, London: Routledge. pp.19-34.
- Leech, R. (2000) 'The Symbolic Hall: Historical Context and Merchant Culture in the Early Modern City', *Vernacular Architecture*, vol. 31, pp. 1-10.
- Lefebvre, B. (2009) *How to Describe and Show Dynamics of Urban Fabric : Cartography and Chronometry?*, [Online], Available: http://www.caa2009.org/articles/Lefebvre_Contribution224_a.pdf [May 2011].
- Lester, A.E. (2010) 'Crafting a Charitable Landscape: Urban Topographies in Charters and Testaments from Medieval Champagne', in Goodson, C., Lester, A.E. and Symes, C. (ed.) *Cities, Texts and Social Networks 400-1500*, Farnham: Ashgate.
- Liddy, L. (forthcoming) *Possession, Consumption and Choice: The Material Culture of the York Household, 1400-1600*, University of York: Unpublished PhD thesis.
- Lilley, K. (1998) 'Trading Places: Monastic Initiative and the Development of High Medieval Coventry', in Slater, T.R. and Ross, G. (ed.) *The Church in the Medieval Town*, Aldershot: Ashgate. pp.177-208.
- Lilley, K. (2000) 'Mapping the medieval city: plan analysis and urban history', *Urban History*, vol. 27, no. 1, pp. 5-30.

- Lilley, K. (2002) *Urban Life in the Middle Ages: 1000-1450*, London: Palgrave.
- Lilley, K. (2007) 'Agents and Agency in the English medieval city', *Journal of Urban History*, vol. 33, pp. 1048-1056.
- Lilley, K. (2009) *City and Cosmos: The Medieval World in Urban Form*, London: Reaktion Books.
- Lilley, K. (2011) 'Urban Mappings: Visualizing Late Medieval Chester in Cartographic and Textual Form', in Clarke, C.A.M. (ed.) *Mapping the Medieval City*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Lilley, K. (2012) 'Mapping truth? Spatial technologies and the medieval city: a critical cartography', *Post-Classical Archaeologies*, vol. 2, pp. 201-24.
- Lilley, K. and Lloyd, C. (2009) 'Mapping the realm: a new look at the Gough Map of Great Britain (c.1360)', *Imago Mundi*, vol. 61, no. 1, pp. 1-28.
- Lilley, K., Lloyd, C. and Trick, S. (2007) 'Mapping Medieval Townscapes: GIS Applications in Landscapae History and Settlement Study', in Gardiner, M. and Rippon, S. (ed.) *Medieval Landscapes*, Macclesfield: Windgather Press.
- Lilley, K., Lloyd, C. and Trick, S. (2005) *Mapping the Medieval Townscape: a digital atlas of the new towns of Edward I*, [Online], Available: http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/atlas_ahrb_2005/ [May 2012].
- Lilley, J. and Pearson, T. (1993) 'York on a Microchip', *Interim*, vol. 18, no. 1, pp. 12-15.
- Locating London's Past (2012) http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/atlas_ahrb_2005/, [Online], Available: <http://www.locatinglondon.org/> [April 2012].
- Lock, G. (2003) *Using Computers in Archaeology*, London: Routledge.
- Lock, G. and Molyneaux, B. (ed.) (2006) *Confronting Scale in Archaeology: issues of theory and practice*, New York: Springer.
- Lock, G. and Stančič, Z. (ed.) (1995) *Archaeology and Geographical Information Systems: A European Perspective*, London: Taylor Francis.
- Lucas, G. (2001) *Critical Approaches to Fieldwork*, London: Routledge.

- Lynch, K.A. (2003) *Individuals, Families, and Communities in Europe, 1200-1800: : The Urban Foundations of Western Society*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- MacConnoran, P. and Nailer, A. (2008) 'Leather working', in Bowsher, D., Dyson, T., Holder, N. and Howell, I. *The London Guildhall*, London: Museum of London. pp. 479-86.
- MacGregor, A. (1976) 'Archaeology by computer: hunt the thimble, bronze, 13th century.', *Interim*, vol. 3, no. 4, pp. 38-39.
- MacGregor, A., Mainman, A.J. and Rogers, N.S.H. (1999) *Craft, industry and Everyday Life: Bone, Antler, Ivory and Horn from Anglo-Scandinavian and Medieval York*, York: council for British Archaeology.
- Macgregor, A. 2001. 'Bone, Horn and Antler' in: Blair, J., and Ramsey, N. (eds.) *English Medieval Industries*. London: Hambledon Press, 355-78
- Mackay, R., McCarthy, J., Sneddon, A. and Wilson, G. (2006) 'Down Little Lon: An Introduction to the Casselden Place Archaeological Excavations, Melbourne', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, vol. 10, no. 4, pp. 305-316.
- Madry, S. (2006) 'The integration of historical cartographic data within the GIS environment', in *Between dirt and discussion : methods, methodology, and interpretation in historical archaeology*, New York: Springer. pp.33-59.
- Magilton, J.R. (1980) *The Church of St Helen-on-the-Walls*, York: Council for British Archaeology.
- Mainman, A.J. (1990) *Anglo-Scandinavian Pottery from Coppergate*, London: Council for British Archaeology.
- Mainman, A.J. (1993) *The Pottery from 46-54 Fishergate*, York: Council for British Archaeology.
- Mainman, A. and Jenner, A. (2006) 'Pottery', in Reeves, B. 62-68 *Low Petergate. Assessment Report on an Archaeological Excavation*, York Archaeological Trust. Unpublished Report. pp.129-136.
- Mainman, A.J. and Rogers, N.S.H. (2004) 'Craft and Economy in Anglo-Scandinavian York', in Hall, R.A., Rollason, D.W., Blackburn, M., Parsons, D.N., Fellows-Jensen, G., Hall, A.R., Kenward, H.K., O'Connor, T.P., Tweddle, D., Mainman, A.J. and Rogers, N.S.H.. *Aspects of Anglo-Scandinavian York*, York: Council for British Archaeology. pp. 459-87.

- MAP Archaeological Consultancy (1995) *Archaeological Evaluation. Norman Court, Grape Lane, York*, MAP Archaeological Consultancy: Unpublished Excavation Report.
- Masinton, A. (2007) *Sacred space : priorities, perception and the presence of God in late medieval Yorkshire parish churches*, University of York: Unpublished PhD Thesis.
- Mayne, A. and Lawrence, S. (1998) 'An ethnography of place: imagining 'Little Lon', Melbourne Australia', *Journal of Australian Studies*, vol. 57, pp. 93-107.
- Mayne, A. and Murray, T. (2001) 'The archaeology of urban landscapes: explorations in slumland', in Mayne, A. and Murray, T. (ed.) *The Archaeology of Urban Landscape. Explorations in Slumland*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 1-10.
- Mayne, A. and Murray, T. (2003) '(Re)constructing a lost community: 'Little Lon' Melbourne Australia', *Historical Archaeology*, vol. 37, pp. 93-107.
- Maytom, J. and Rutler, J. (1987) 'Chips with Everything', *Interim*, vol. 12, no. 4, pp. 25-31.
- McClain, A. (2005) *Patronage, Power, and Identity: the Social Use of Local Churches and Commemorative Monuments in Tenth-Twelfth Century North Yorkshire*, York: Unpublished PhD Thesis.
- McComish, J. (2008) *Roman, Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian activity and a medieval cemetery on land at the junction of Dixon Lane and George Street, York*, Available: <http://www.iadb.co.uk/i3/item.php?ID=IADB:1307:U71> [May 2010].
- McCoy, M. and Ladgefurd, T.N. (2009) 'New Developments in the Use of Spatial Technology in Archaeology', *Journal of Archaeological Research*, vol. 17, no. 3, pp. 263-295.
- McDonnell, G. and Starley, D. (2002) *Excavation and Sampling Strategies for Metalworking Sites*, The Historical Metallurgy Society Archaeology Datasheet 9, Available: <http://www.hist-met.org/datasheets.html>.
- McGill, G. (1995) *Building on the Past*, London: Taylor Francis.
- McLees, C. (1996) 'Itinerant craftsmen, permanent smithies and the archbishop's mint: the character and context of metalworking in medieval Trondheim', *Historical Metallurgy*, vol. 30, no. 2, pp. 121-135.
- McNab, N. (1998a) *9 Little Stonegate*, York: York Archaeological Trust Unpublished Client Report 1998/24.

- McNab, N. (1998b) *3-5 Davygate*, York: York Archaeological Trust: Unpublished Client Report 1998/42.
- McNab, N. (1998c) *44 Coney Street/Feasegate, York*, York Archaeological Trust; Unpublished Client Report 1998.30.
- McNab, N. (1999) 'The Wise Man Built His House Upon.? Excavations at 9 Little Stonegate', *Interim*, vol. 23, no. 1, pp. 6-12.
- McNab, N. (2003) *Anglo-Scandinavian, Medieval and Post Medieval Urban Occupation at 41-49 Walmgate, York, UK*, Available: <http://www.iadb.co.uk/wgate/main/index.htm> [June 2010].
- McNab, N and McComish, J. (2004) *Anglo-Scandinavian and Roman remains at 28-29 High Ousegate, York, UK*, Available: <http://www.iadb.co.uk/waterstones/intro.htm> [June 2010].
- McNab, N. and Evans, D.T. (1999) *Former Primitive Methodist Chapel, 3 Little Stonegate, York*, York Archaeological Trust: Unpublished Client Report 1999/29.
- Medieval Chester (2008) *Mapping Medieval Chester: place and identity in an English borderland city c.1200-1500*, [Online], Available: <http://www.medievalchester.ac.uk/index.html> [May 2012].
- Merlo, S. (2004) 'The contemporary mind: 3D GIS as a challenge in excavation practice', in Ausserer, K., Borner, W., Gorianny, M. and Karlhuber-Vockl, L. (ed.) *Enter the past: proceedings of the 30th CAA conference*, Oxford: BAR International Series 1227. pp.276-280.
- Merlo, S. and Collin, A. (2005) 'Developing a multidimensional GIS framework for archaeological excavations', *CIPA 2005, XX International Symposium Torino Italy*, <http://cipa.icomos.org/fileadmin/template/doc/TURIN/918.pdf>.
- Meskell, L. (1998) 'An Archaeology of Social Relations in an Egyptian Village', *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, vol. 5, no. 3, pp. 209-243.
- Miller, M.C. (2000) *The Bishops Palace. Architecture and Authority in Medieval Italy*, London: Cornell University Press.
- Miller, E. and Hatcher, J. (1995) *Towns, Commerce and Crafts 1086-1348*, London: Longman.
- Mills, M. (2000) 'Providing Space for Time. The Impact of Temporality on Life Course Research', *Time and Society*, vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 91-127.

- Monaghan, J. (1997) *Roman Pottery From York*, York: Council for British Archaeology.
- Moreland, J. (2010) *Archaeology, Theory and the Middle Ages*, London: Duckworth.
- Morris, A.E.J. (1994) *History of Urban Form Before the Industrial Revolutions*, Harlow: Longman.
- Morris, R. (1989) *Churches in the Landscape*, London: J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd.
- Mortimer, C. (2006) 'Metalworking waste', in Reeves, B. 62-68 *Low Petergate. Assessment report on an Archaeological Excavation*, York Archaeological Trust. Unpublished Report. pp.144-146.
- Mould, Q., Carlisle, I. and Cameron, E.A. (2003) *Leather and Leatherworking in Anglo-Scandinavian and Medieval York*, York: Council for British Archaeology.
- Moulden, J. and Tweddle, D. (1986) *Anglo-Scandinavian Settlement South-West of the Ouse*, York: Council for British Archaeology.
- Moyes, H. (2002) 'The Use of GIS in the Spatial Analysis of an Archaeological Cave Site', *Journal of Cave and Karst Studies*, vol. 64, no. 1, pp. 9-16.
- Mumford, L. (1989) *The city in history : its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and World.
- Mumford, K. and Power, A. (2003) *EastEnder: family and community in East London*, Bristol: Policy Press.
- Murray, T and Mayne, 'Imaginary Landscapes: reading Melbourne's 'Little Lon' in Mayne, A. and Murray, T. (ed.) *The Archaeology of Urban Landscape. Explorations in Slumland*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp.89-105
- Murray, T. and Crook, P. (2005) 'Exploring the Archaeology of the Modern City: Issues of Scale, Integration and Complexity', *international Journal of Historical Archaeology*, vol. 9, no. 2, pp. 89-109.
- Mytum, H. (2010) 'Ways of writing in post-medieval and historical archaeology: introducing biography', *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, vol. 44, no. 2, pp. 237-54.
- Nevola, F. (2010) 'Introduction: locating communities in the early modern Italian city', *Urban History*, vol. 37, no. 3, pp. 349-359.

- Nicholas, D. (1997) *The Later Medieval City*, Harlow: Longman.
- Nixon, T. (ed.) (2004) *Preserving Archaeological Remains in situ? Proceedings of the 2nd conference 12-14 September 2001*, London: Museum of London Archaeology Service.
- Norton, .C. (1998) 'The Anglo-Saxon Cathedral at York and the Topography of the Anglian City', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. 151, pp. 1-42.
- Norton, C. (2000) *Archbishop Thomas of Bayeux and the Norman Cathedral at York*, York: Borthwick Institute of Historical Research.
- Nuttgens, P. (ed.) (2007) *The History of York: From Earliest Times to the Year 2000*, Pickering: Blackthorn Press.
- O'Keefe, T. and Yamin, R. (2006) 'Urban Historical Archaeology', in Hicks, D. and Beaudry, M.C. (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Historical Archaeology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp.87-103.
- O'Connor, S. (1989) 'Waxing Lyrical', *Interim*, vol. 14, no. 4, pp. 36-39.
- O'Connor, S. (1990) 'The General Accident Waxed Tablets Part II', *Interim*, vol. 15, no. 3, pp. 30-37.
- Ottaway, P. (1992) *Archaeology in British Towns*, London: Routledge.
- Ottaway, P. (1995) 'Measuring up the City', *Interim*, vol. 20, no. 4, pp. 3-13.
- Ottaway, P. (1996a) *Excavations and Observations on the defences and adjacent sites, 1971-90*, York: Council for British Archaeology.
- Ottaway, P. (1996b) 'New Streets for Old? Recent work in the sewer of York', *Interim*, vol. 21, no. 4, pp. 12-21.
- Ottaway, P. (1997) 'The Sewer Trenches of Petergate', *Interim*, vol. 22, no. 3, pp. 15-24.
- Ottaway, P. (2004) *Roman York*, 2nd edition, Stroud: Tempus.
- Ottaway, P. and Rogers, N.S.H. (2002) *Craft, Industry and Everyday Life: Finds from Medieval York*, York: Council for British Archaeology.
- Ove Arup and Partners and York University (1991) *The York Development and Archaeology Study*, Manchester: Ove Arup.

- Oxford English Dictionary, [Online], Available: <http://www.oed.com/> [August 2012].
- Pacione, M. (2005) *Urban Geography: A Global Perspective*, London: Routledge.
- Palliser, D. (1978) 'The medieval street names of York', *York Historian*, vol. 2, no. 1.
- Palliser, D. (1984) 'York's west bank: medieval suburb or urban nucleus? ', in Addyman, P.V. and Black, V.E. (ed.) *Archaeological papers from York presented to M W Barley*, York: York Archaeological Trust. pp.101-108.
- Palliser, D. (1990) *Domesday York*, York: Borthwick Institute for Historical Research.
- Palliser, D. (1994) 'Urban Society', in Horrox, R. (ed.) *Fifteenth Century Attitudes: Perceptions of Society in Late Medieval England*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 132-49.
- Palliser, D. (2000) 'The origins of British towns', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, Vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 17-24.
- Palliser, D.M., Slater, T.R. and Dennison, E.P. (2000) 'The topography of towns 600-1300', in Palliser, D.M. (ed.) *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain. 600-1540*, Vol.1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 153-86.
- Palmer, C. and Daly, P. (2005) 'Jouma's tent: Bedouin and digital archaeology', in Evans, T.L. and Daly, P. (ed.) *Digital Archaeology: Bridging Method and Theory*, London: Routledge. Pp. 97-127.
- Pantin, W.A. (1964) 'Medieval English Town-House Plans', *Medieval Archaeology*, vol. 6-7, pp. 202-239.
- Parker Pearson, M. and Richards, C. (1999) 'Architecture and Order: Spatial Representation and Archaeology', in Parker Pearson, M. and Richards, C. (ed.) *Architecture and Order. Approaches to Social Space*, London: Routledge. pp.38-72.
- Pearson, N. (1990a) *Site Recording Manual*, York: York Archaeological Trust.
- Pearson, N. (1990b) 'Swinegate Excavation', *Interim*, vol. 15, no. 1, pp. 2-10.
- Pearson, N. (1990c) 'Swinegate Excavation', *Interim*, vol. 14, no. 4, pp. 2-9.
- Pearson, S. (2004) 'Houses, Shops and Storage: Building Evidence from Two Kentish Ports', in *The Medieval Household in Christian Europe c.850-c.1550*, Turnhout: Brepols. pp.410-431.

- Pearson, S. (2005) 'Rural and Urban Houses 1100-1500: 'Urban Adaptation' Reconsidered', in *Town and Country in the Middle Ages*, Maney: Leeds. pp. 43-64.
- Pearson, S. (2009) 'Medieval Houses in English Towns: form and location', *Vernacular Architecture*, vol. 40, pp. 1-22.
- Pearson, N. and Williams, T. (1993) 'Single-context planning: its role in on-site recording procedures and in post excavation analysis in York', in Harris, E.C., Brown, M.R. and Brown, G.J. (ed.) *Practices of Archaeological Stratigraphy*, London: Academic Press. pp. 89-103.
- Perring, D. (2002) *Town and country: frameworks for archaeological research*, York: Council for British Archaeology.
- Perring, S. (2010) *The Cathedral Landscape of York. The Minster Close c.1500-1640*, University of York: Unpublished PhD Thesis.
- Phillips, D. and Heywood, B. (1995) *Excavations at York Minster. Volume I: From Roman Fortress to Norman Minster*. Carver, M.O.H (ed). London: HMSO.
- Phythian-Adams, C. (1979) *Desolation of a City: Coventry and the urban crisis of the Late Middle Ages*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Phythian-Adams, C. (1987) *Re-thinking English Local History*, Leicester: Leicester University Press.
- Platt, C. (1973) *Medieval Southampton. The port and trading community, A.D. 1000-1600*, London: Routledge.
- Platt, C. (1975) *Excavations in Medieval Southampton 1953-1969*, Leicester: Leicester University Press.
- Pound, N.J.G. (2000) *A History of the English Parish*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Preucel, R.W. and Meskell, L. (2007) 'Knowledges', in Preucel, R.W. and Meskell, L. (ed.) *A Companion to Social Archaeology*, Oxford: Blackwell. pp. 3-22.
- Quiney, A. (1999) 'Hall or Chamber? That is the Question. The Use of Rooms in Post conquest Houses', *Architectural History*, pp. 24-46.
- Quiney, A. (2004) *Town Houses of Medieval Britain*, London: Yale University Press.
- Rahtz, P. (1974) *Rescue Archaeology*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

- Raine, A. (1955) *Mediaeval York*, London.
- Rains, M. (2012) *Integrated Archaeological Database*, [Online], Available: <http://www.iadb.org.uk/> [May 2012].
- Ramm, H.G. (1968) 'A Case of Twelfth-Century Town Planning in York?', *Yorkshire Archaeology Journal*, vol. 42, pp. 132-135.
- Ramm, H.G. (1975) 'Excavations in the Church of St Mary Bishophill Senior, York', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. 48, pp. 35-67.
- Rapoport, A. (1990) *The Meaning of the Built Environment: A nonverbal communication approach*, Tuscon: University of Arizona Press.
- RCHME.Royal Commission for Historic Monuments of England. Vol. 1 (1962) *Eburacum, Roman York*, London: HMSO.
- RCHME.Royal Commission for Historic Monuments of England. Vol. 5 (1981) *The Central Area*, London: HMSO.
- Rees Jones, S. (1987) *Property, Tenure and Rent: Some Aspects of the Topography and Economy of York*, University of York: Unpublished PhD Thesis (2 volumes).
- Rees Jones, S. (1988) 'Historical Background of the Aldwark/Bedern Area', in *Medieval Tenements in Aldwark, and Other Sites*, London: Council for British Archaeology. pp. 51-63.
- Rees Jones, S. (1996) *Medieval Title Deeds for the City of York, 1080-1530, (computer work plus documentation)*, Colchester: ESRC Data Archive, 1996, SN:3527.
- Rees Jones, S. (ed.) (1997) *The Government of Medieval York*, York: Borthwick Institute of Historical Research.
- Rees Jones, S. (2005) 'God and Mammon: The Role of the City Estate of the Vicars Choral in the Religious Life of York Minster', in Hall, R.A. and Stocker, D. (ed.) *Vicars Choral at English Cathedrals, Cantate Domino: History, Architecture and Archaeology*, Oxford: Oxbow. pp.192-9.
- Rees Jones, S. (2008) 'Building Domesticity in the city: English urban housing before the Black Death', in Goldberg, P.J.P. and Kowaleski, M. (ed.) *Domesticity: Home, Housing and Household in Medieval England*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 66-91.

- Rees Jones, S. (2010) 'Civic Government and the development of public buildings and spaces in Later Medieval England', in Telechea, J.A.S. and Bolumburu, B.A. (ed.) *Construcciones, infraestructuras e instalaciones urbanas*, Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos.
- Reeves, B. (2006a) *62-68 Low Petergate. Assessment report on an Archaeological Excavation*, York Archaeological Trust. Unpublished Report 2006/10.
- Reeves, B. (2006b) *62-68 Low Petergate*, Available: <http://www.iadb.co.uk/ayw7/index.htm> [July 2010].
- Richards, J.D. (1993) *The Bedern Foundry*, York: Council for British Archaeology.
- Richards, J.D. (2001) *The Vicars Choral of York Minster: The College at Bedern*, York: Council for British Archaeology.
- Richards, J.D. (2002) 'The case of the missing Vikings: Scandinavian burial in the Danelaw', in Lucy, S. and Reynolds, A. (ed.) *Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales*, Leeds: Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph 17, 156-70.
- Richardson, C. (2003) 'Household objects and domestic ties', in Beattie, C., Maslakovic, A. and Rees Jones, S. (ed.) *The Medieval Household in Christian Europe*, Turnhout: Brepols. pp. 433-447.
- Rimmer, J. (2007) *Small Houses in Late Medieval York and Norwich*, The University of York: Unpublished PhD Thesis.
- Rimmer, J. (2011) 'People and Their Buildings in the Working-Class Neighbourhood of Hungate, York', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, vol. 15, pp. 617-28.
- Robin, C. and Rothschild, N. (2002) 'Archaeological Ethnographies: Social Dynamics of Dynamic of Outdoor Space', *Journal of Social Archaeology*, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 159-171.
- Rodwell, W. (2004) *The Archaeology of Churches*, Stroud: The History Press.
- Rodwell, K. and Rodwell, W. (1982) 'St Peter's Church, Barton-upon-Humber; excavation and structural study 1978-1981', *Antiquaries Journal*, vol. 62, pp. 283-513.
- Roffe, D. (2000) *Domesday: the Inquest and the Book*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rogers, A. (1972) 'Parish boundaries and urban history; two case studies', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. 35, Third Series, pp. 46-64.

- Rogers, A. (2011). *Late Roman towns in Britain* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rollason, D. (1998) *Sources for York History to AD1100*, York: York Archaeological Trust.
- Rollason, D. (2003) *Northumbria 500-1100: Creation and Destruction of a Kingdom*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rollason, D. (2004) 'Anglo-Scandinavian York: The Evidence of the Historical Sources', in Hall, R.A., Rollason, D.W., Blackburn, M., Parsons, D.N., Fellows-Jensen, G., Hall, A.R., Kenward, H.K., O'Connor, T.P., Tweddle, D., Mainman, A.J. and Rogers, N.S.H. *Aspects of Anglo-Scandinavian York*, York: Council for British Archaeology. pp. 305-24.
- Rosedahl, E. and Verhaeghe, F. (2011) 'Material Culture- Artifacts and Daily Life', in Carver, M.O.H. and Klapste, J. (ed.) *The Archaeology of Medieval Europe. Vol.2. Twelfth to Sixteenth Centuries*, Aarhus: Aarhus University Press. pp.189-227.
- Rosenthal, D. (2006) 'The Empire of the Meadow, and the Parish of Santa Lucia: claiming Neighbourhood in the Early Modern City', *Journal of Urban History*, vol. 32, no. 5, pp. 677-692.
- Roskams, S. (1992) 'Finds context and deposit status', in Steane, K. (ed.) *Interpretation of Stratigraphy: A Review of the Art. Proceedings of the 1st Stratigraphy Conference*, Lincoln: City of Lincoln Archaeology Unit.. pp. 27-9.
- Roskams, S. (1996) 'Urban Transition in Early Medieval Britain: The Case of York', in Christie, N. and Loseby, S.T. (ed.) *Towns in Transition. Urban Evolution in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, Aldershot: Ashgate. pp.262-288.
- Roskams, S. (2000) *Excavation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Roskams, S. (2003) 'Urban Archaeology in Yorkshire', in Manby, T., Moorhouse, S. and Ottaway, P. (ed.) *The Archaeology of Yorkshire: An assessment at the beginning of the 21st century*, Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society. pp. 369-376.
- Rosser, G. (1988) 'Communities of parish and guild in the late Middle Ages', in Wright, S.J. (ed.) *Parish, Church and People: Local studies in lay religion 1350-1750*, London. pp 29-55.
- Rosser, G. (1989) *Medieval Westminster 1200- 1540*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Rosser, G. and Dennison, E.P. (2000) 'Urban Culture and the Church 1300-1540', in Palliser, D. (ed.) *Cambridge Urban History of Britain. 600-1540*, Vol.1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp.335-369.
- Rothschild, N. (2006) 'Colonial and Postcolonial New York: Issues of Size, Scale, and Structure', in Storey, G. (ed.) *Urbanism in the Preindustrial World: Cross-Cultural Approaches*, Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. pp.121-138.
- Rothschild, N. (2008) *New York City Neighbourhoods*, New York: Percheron Press.
- Rowley, T. (1997) *Norman England*, London: Batsford.
- Rubin, M. (1992) 'Religious culture in town and country: reflections on a great divide', in Abulafia, D., Frankin, M. and Rubin, M. (ed.) *Church and City 1000-1500*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp.3-23.
- Rutledge, E. (1995) 'Landlords and tenants: housing and the rented property market in early fourteenth century Norwich', *Urban History*, vol. 22, no. 1, pp. 7-24.
- Ryder, M.L. (1971) 'The animal remains from Petergate, York, 1957-8', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. 43, pp. 418-28.
- Saunders, T. (2000) 'Class, space and "feudal" identities in early medieval England', in Frazer, W.O. and Tyrell, A. (ed.) *Social Identity in Early Medieval England*, London: Leicester University Press. pp.209-232.
- Schiffer, M.B. (1996) *Formation Processes of the Archaeological Record*, Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.
- Schledermann, H. (1970) 'The Idea of the Town: typology, Definitions and Approaches to the Study of the Medieval Town in Northern Europe', *World Archaeology*, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 115-127.
- Schofield, J. (1987) *The London surveys of Ralph Treswell*, London: London Topographical Society.
- Schofield, J. (1994) 'Social Perceptions of space in Medieval and Tudor London Houses', in Locock, M. (ed.) *Meaningful Architecture: Social Interpretations of Buildings*, Aldershot: Ashgate. pp.188-206.

- Schofield, J. (1997) 'Urban Housing in England, 1400-1600', in Gaimster, D. and Stamper, P. (ed.) *The Age of Transition. The Archaeology of English Culture 1400-1600*, Oxford: Oxbow. pp. 127-44.
- Schofield, J. (2003) *Medieval London Houses*, London: Yale University Press.
- Schofield, J. (2011) *London 1100-1600*, Sheffield: Equinox.
- Schofield, J. and Stell, G. (2000) 'The built environment 1300-1540', in Palliser, D.M. (ed.) *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain. 600-1540*, Vol.1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 371-93.
- Schofield, J. and Steur, H. (2007) 'Urban Settlement', in Graham-Campbell, J. (ed.) *The Archaeology of Medieval Europe*, Aarhus: Aarhus University Press. Vol.1. pp.111-153.
- Schofield, J. and Vince, A. (2005) *Medieval Towns*, London: Equinox.
- Scholkmann, B. (2011) 'The Anatomy of Medieval Towns', in Carver, M. and Klapste, J. (ed.) *The Archaeology of Medieval Europe*, Aarhus: Vol.2. Aarhus University Press. pp. 379-407.
- Sennett, R. (1994) *Flesh and Stone: The Body and the City in Western Civilization*, London: Faber and Faber.
- Shakespeare, W. (1999) *Coriolanus*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. Edited by R.Gill.
- Shaw, D.G. (1993) *The creation of community: the city of Wells in the Middle Ages*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Shaw, D. (1996) 'The Construction of the Private in Medieval London', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, vol. 26, no. 3, pp. 447-466.
- Sheeran, G. (1998) *Medieval Yorkshire Towns: People, Buildings and Spaces*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Sivier, D. (2002) *Anglo-Saxon and Norman Bristol*, Stroud: Tempus.
- Slater, T.R. (1981) 'The Analysis of Burgage Patterns in Medieval Towns', *Area*, vol. 13, no. 3, pp. 211-216.
- Slater, T.R. (ed.) (1990) *The Built Form of Western Cities*, Leicester: Leicester University Press.

- Slater, T.R. (1996) 'Medieval town-founding on the estates of the Benedictine Order in England', in Eliassen, F.E. and Ersland, G.A. (ed.) *Power, Profit and Urban Land: landownership in Medieval and Early Modern Northern European towns*, Aldershot: Scholar Press. pp.70-92.
- Slater, T.R. (1998) 'Benedictine Town Planning in Medieval England: Evidence from St Albans', in Slater, T.R. and Rosser, G. (ed.) *The Church in the Medieval Town*, Aldershot: Ashgate. pp. 155-175.
- Slater, T.R. (2000a) 'Understanding the landscape of towns', in Hooke, D. (ed.) *Landscape the Richest Historical Record*, The Society for Landscape Studies Supplementary Series 1. pp. 97-108.
- Slater, T.R. (ed.) (2000b) *Towns in Decline*, Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Slater, T.R. (2007) 'The Landscape of Medieval towns: Anglo-European Comparisons', in Gardiner, M. and Rippon, S. (ed.) *Medieval Landscapes*, Macclesfield: Windgather Press. pp.11-26.
- Slater, T.R. and Rosser, G. (ed.) (1998) *The Church in the Medieval Town*, Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Smail, D.L. (2000) 'The Linguistic Cartography of Property and Power in Late Medieval Marseille', in Hanawalt, B. and Kobialka, M. (ed.) *Medieval Practices of Space*, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.
- Smith, M.E. (2007) 'Form and Meaning in the Earliest cities: A New Approach to Ancient Urban Planning', *Journal of Planning History*, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 3-47.
- Soja, E. (2000) *Postmetropolis: Critical Studies of Cities and Regions*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Spall, C.A. and Toop, N.J. (2005) *Blue Bridge Lane and Fishergate House, York. Report on Excavations: July 2000 to July 2002*, [Online], Available: <http://www.archaeologicalplanningconsultancy.co.uk/mono/001/index.html> [June 2010].
- Spall, C. and Toop, N. (2008) 'Before Eoforwic: New Light on York in the 6th-7th Centuries', *Medieval Archaeology*, vol. 52, pp. 1-26.
- Speed, J.J. (2000) *Tudor Townscapes. The Town Plans from John Speed's Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain 1610*, Waddesdon: Map Collector Publications Ltd.

- Spence, P. (1993) 'Recording the archaeology of London: the development and implementation of the DUA recording system', in Harris, E., Brown III, M.R. and Brown, G.J. (ed.) *Practices of Archaeological Stratigraphy*, London: Academic Press. pp. 23-46.
- Spierling, K.E. and Halvorson, M.J. (2008) 'Introduction: Definitions of Community in Early Modern Europe', in Halvorson, M.J. and Spierling, K.E. (ed.) *Defining Community in Early Modern Europe*, Aldershot: Ashgate. pp.1-24.
- Spyer, P. (2008) 'The Body, Materiality and the Senses', in Tilley, C., Keane, W., Kuchler, S., Rowlands, M. and Spyer, P. (ed.) *Handbook of Material Culture*, London: Sage. pp.125-29.
- Stančič, Z. and Veljanovski, T. (ed.) (2001) *Computing Archaeology for Understanding the Past, CAA 2000. Computer Applications and Quantitative Methods in Archaeology, Proceedings of the 28th Conference, Ljubljana, April 2000*, Oxford: BAR.Int. Series 931.
- Stead, I.M. (1968) 'An Excavation in King's Square, York, 1957', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. XLII. Part II, pp. 151-164.
- Steane, K. (1993) 'Land Use Diagrams: a hierarchy of site interpretation', in Barber, J. (ed.) *Interpreting Stratigraphy- 1992 Edinburgh*, Edinburgh: AOC (Scotland) Ltd. Available at <http://www.york.ac.uk/archaeology/strat/pastpub/93edi.htm#ch2> (Accessed May 2012).
- Stenning, D.F. (1985) 'Timber-Framed Shops, 1300-1600: Comparative Plans', *Vernacular Architecture*, vol. 16, pp. 35-9.
- Stocker, D. (2000) 'Monuments and merchants: irregularities of stone sculpture in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire in the tenth century', in Hadley, D.M. and Richards, J.D. (ed.) *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, Turnhout: Brepols. pp.179-212.
- Stocker, D. (ed.) (2003) *The City by the Pool: Assessing the Archaeology of the city of Lincoln*, Oxford: Oxbow.
- Stockwell, M. (1988) 'Keeping Watch. Threats to the City's Archaeology', *Interim*, vol. 13, no. 3, pp. 20-4.
- Stockwell, M. and Ottaway, P. (1988) 'Medieval Levels at 7-9 Aldwark', in Hall, R.A., MacGregor, H. and Stockwell, M. (ed.) *Medieval Tenements in Aldwark, and Other Sites*, York: Council for British Archaeology. pp.112-117.

- Strickland, T.J. (1988) 'The Roman heritage of Chester: the survival of the buildings of Deva after the Roman period', in Hodges, R. and Hobley, B. (ed.) *The rebirth of towns in the west. AD700-1050*, London: Council for British Archaeology. pp. 109-118.
- Stroud, G. and Kemp, R.L. (1993) *The Cemeteries of St Andrew, Fishergate*, York: Council for British Archaeology.
- Sumpter, A.B. and Coll, S. (1977) *Interval Tower SW5 and the South-west Defences: Excavations 1972-75*, York: Council for British Archaeology.
- Swanson, H. (1981) *Craftsmen and Industry in Late and Medieval York*, University of York: Unpublished Phd Thesis.
- Swanson, H. (1989) *Medieval Artisans*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Swanson, H. (1999) *Medieval British Towns*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Tadmoor, N. (2010) *The Social Universe of the English Bible*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Taylor, T. (1991) *The Life of St Samson of Dol*, London: SPCK (facsimile of the original publication. London:SPCK., 1925 in the series Transition of Christian Literature, series 5: Lives of the Celtic Saints).
- Thomas, R. (1991) 'Drowning in Data: Publication and Rescue Archaeology in the 1990s', *Antiquity*, vol. 65, pp. 822-888.
- Tilley, C. (2010) *Interpreting Landscapes*, Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press.
- Tilley, C., Keane, W., Kuchler, S., Rowlands, M. and Spyer, P. (ed.) (2008) 'Home Furnishing and Domestic Interiors', in *Handbook of Material Culture*, London: Sage. pp.221-29.
- Tonkiss, F. (2005) *Space, the City and Social Theory*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Torevell, K. and Maytom, J. (1990) 'CIFR', *Interim*, vol. 15, no. 2, pp. 25-31.
- Tringham, N. (1993a) 'A Redundant Church in Medieval York: A Note on St Benet's', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. 65, pp. 173-4.
- Tringham, N. (ed.) (1993b) *Charters of the Vicars Choral of York Minster: City of York and its Suburbs to 1546*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series 148.

- Tweddle, D. (1990) 'The Gernal Accident Waxed Tablets Part III', *Interim*, vol. 15, no. 4, pp. 25-34.
- Tweddle, D., Moulden, J. and Logan, E. (1999) *Anglian York: A Survey of the Evidence*, York: Council for British Archaeology.
- Tylecote, R.F. (1987) *The early history of metallurgy in Europe*, Harlow: Longman.
- Upton, D. 1992. 'The City as Material Culture' in *The Art and Mystery of Historical Archaeology: Essays in Honor of James Deetz*. Yentsch, A.E and Beaudry, M.C. (eds). Boca Raton: CRC Press. pp. 51-78.
- VCH) Victoria County History (ed. P.M. Tillottt) (1961) *A History of Yorkshire; The City of York*. , Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Vince, A. (2003) 'Lincoln in the Early Medieval Era, between the 5th and 9th centuries', in Stocker, D. (ed.) *The City by the Pool: Assessing the Archaeology of the city of Lincoln*, Oxbow: Oxbow Books. pp.141-56.
- Wainwright, G. (1993) 'The Management of Change: Archaeology and Planning', *Antiquity*, vol. 74, pp. 909-943.
- Wenham, L.P. (1965) 'Hornpot Lane and the Horners of York', *Annual Report of the Council of the Yorkshire Philisophical Society*, pp. 25-56.
- Wenham, L.P. (1968) 'Discoveries in King's Square, York, 1963', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. XLII: Part II, pp. 165-168.
- Wenham, L.P. (1972) 'Excavations in Low Petergate', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. 44, pp. 65-113.
- Wenham, L.P., Hall, R.A., Briden, C.M. and Stocker, D.A. (1987) *St Mary Bishophill Junior and St Mary Castlegate*, York: Council for British Archaeology.
- Wessex Archaeology *Geographic Information Systems (GIS)*, [Online], Available: <http://www.wessexarch.co.uk/services/geomatics/techniques/gis> [March 2012].
- Wheatley, D.W. (2004) 'Making space for an archaeology of place', *Internet Archaeology*, vol. 15, Available: http://intarch.ac.uk/journal/issue15/wheatley_toc.html [April 2012].

- Wheatley, D. and Gillings, M. (2002) *Spatial Technology and Archaeology: The Archaeological Applications of GIS*, London: Taylor Francis.
- Whitehand, J.W.R. and Larkham, P.J. (ed.) (2000) *Urban Landscape. International Perspectives*, London: Routledge.
- Whittle, M.A., Barclay, A., McFayden, L., Benson, D. and Galer, D. (2007) 'Place and Time: Building and Rememberance', in Benson, D. and Whittle, A. (ed.) *Place and Time: Building and Rememberance*, Oxford. pp.327-364: Oxbow.
- Whitwell, J.B. (1974) 'There's More to a Dig than Digging', *Interim*, vol. 1, no. 4, pp. 16-19.
- Whitwell, J.B. (1976) *The Church Street Sewer and an Adjacent Building*, York: Council for British Archaeology.
- Wickham, C. (2005) *Framing the Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean 400-800*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wilson, B.M. and Mee, F.P. (1998) *The Medieval Parish Churches of York: The Pictorial Evidence*, York: York Archaeological Trust.
- Wood, M. (1983) *The English Medieval House*, London: Bracken Books.
- Wood, S. (2006) *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Woolgar, C.M. (2006) *The Senses in Late Medieval England*, London: Yale University Press.
- Wright, H.E. (2011) *Seeing Triple: Archaeology, Field Drawing and the Semantic Web*, Unpublished PhD thesis, Available: <http://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/2194/> [May 2012].
- Wrightson, K. (2007) 'The 'Decline of Neighbourliness' Revisited', in *Local Identities in Late Medieval and Early Modern England*, Basingstoke: Plagrave Macmillan. pp. 19-49.
- Yaeger, J. and Canuto, M.A. (2000) 'Introducing an Archaeology of Communities', in Canuto, A. and Yaeger, J. (ed.) *The Archaeology of Communities. A New World Perspective*, London: Routledge. pp.1-15.
- Yamin, R. (2001) 'Alternative Narratives: respectability at New York's Five Points', in Mayne, A. and Murray, T. (ed.) *The Archaeology of Urban Landscapes*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp.154-170.
- Yamin, R. (2008) *Digging in the City of Brotherly Love*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

YAT. York Archaeological Trust *The Archaeology of York Web Series*, [Online], Available: <http://www.yorkarchaeology.co.uk/resources/ayw.htm> [April 2012].

Zant, J. (2010) *Carlisle Millennium Project - Excavations in Carlisle 1998-2001*, Volume 1: Stratigraphy. Oxford: Oxford Archaeology Unit.

Urban Neighbourhoods: Spatial and Social Development in York c.600-1600

2 Volumes

Volume 2 of 2

Gareth Dean

Thesis submitted for: PhD

Department of Archaeology

University of York

September 2012

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1 John Speed's map of York c.1610	322
Figure 2 Baine's 1823 map from 'Directory and Gazetteer of the County of York' (York Archaeological Trust).....	323
Figure 3 Detail of the 1852 Ordnance Survey showing the area around the Minster (Courtesy of John Oxley).....	324
Figure 4 Baine's 1823 (top) and Ordnance Survey 1852 (bottom-©Edina) showing the changes to the street pattern associated with the creation of Parliament Street and Church Street.....	325
Figure 5 Traditional evolution of the topography of York (after Dean 2008, Fig. 1)	326
Figure 6 Street pattern and churches showing relationship to Roman gates and defences. Position of Monk Bar also marked	327
Figure 7 Location of the study area	328
Figure 8 Location of the trenches within the study area	329
Figure 9 Trenches 1989.28-1990.1 excavations.....	330
Figure 10 Location of Trench 4 and 6 (2004), 1957 excavations and sewer trenches (1995; S1-S5)	331
Figure 11 the 1852 Ordnance Survey digitised for the base map with fortress wall.....	332
Figure 12 Example of Context and Set data in the IADB for the 1989.28-1990.1 excavations	333
Figure 13 Example of Group and Object records in the IADB for the 1989.28-1990.1 excavation	334
Figure 14 Example of a context Harris Matrix generated for 1989.T2 in the IADB.....	335

Figure 15 Example of a set Harris Matrix in the IADB generated for 1989.T6.....	336
Figure 16 Detail of the GIS showing trenches 1989.T1 and T2 with all contexts digitised.....	337
Figure 17 Screenshot showing 1989.T1 attribute table. This is data exported from the IADB and linked to the shapefile and used to analyse the data set.....	338
Figure 18 Retained fortress defences and extensions to the river, perhaps erected in the ninth century. Simplified street pattern showing principle streets within the retained fortress defences, and street pattern set out on the south-east side of the fortress from the 10 th century. Churches shown in grey.....	339
Figure 19 Proposed street pattern in the southern-half of the fortress. Position of the Minster and associated churches after Norton 1998.....	340
Figure 20 Detail of the 1852 showing the boundaries that suggest the extension to Grape Lane through to Davygate.....	341
Figure 21 Digitised 1852 with the boundary line indicating the extension to Grape Lane highlighted (thick black line). Position of Area JJ Tr.1989.T4 also shown. Note the change in orientation of the property boundaries on the south-east side of the projected line of Grape Lane for the properties fronting onto Back Swinegate.....	342
Figure 22 Distribution of parish churches in York. Dashed line indicates fortress wall (after Dean 2008, Figure.7)	343
Figure 23 1852 Ordnance Survey showing the position of St Wilfrid's (open space below the Assembly Rooms), and St Helen Stonegate (bottom right). Breary Court is shown leading from St Helen's Square. Note the awkward relationship of St Helen with street and boundary alignments	344
Figure 24 1852 Ordnance Survey showing the position of Bent's Rents and the location of St Benedict's church at the junction of Grape Lane, Swinegate and Back Swinegate. The reversed 'L' of the streets is traditionally seen as reflecting the boundaries of the cemetery	345
Figure 25 Trenches 1989.T14 and 1989.T15 showing earliest inhumations and Roman walling	346

Figure 26 Extent of the cemetery recorded in the 1989-90 excavations. Note the variation in alignment of some burials (highlighted grey) suggesting different phases of use, and the concentration of burial in 1990.T14 and 1990.T15.....	347
Figure 27 Possible area of a churchyard associated with St Benedict's. Trenches with burials shaded.....	348
Figure 28 Proposed estate boundaries (thick black line) in the southern half of the fortress. A= St Wilfrid's and B= St Benedict's.....	349
Figure 29 Activity following the closure of the north-eastern half of the cemetery.....	350
Figure 30 detail of trench 1989.T3 showing post fence marking path and structure ST3.1 ...	351
Figure 31 Proposed street pattern and defences in the late eleventh and twelfth century. ...	352
Figure 32 Detail of the area around St Sampson's church showing proposed street. Plot boundaries derived from 1852 Ordnance Survey,.....	353
Figure 33 parish boundaries showing lack of correlation with the fortress defences on the south-east side.....	354
Figure 34. Conjectural reconstruction of parish boundaries for St Benedict's parish in relation to proposed extended line of Grape Lane and the retained south-east and south-west defences. Area of Lardiners liberty also shown.....	355
Figure 35 Pits and robber cuts late eleventh and early twelfth century	356
Figure 36 Location of the holding of Newburgh Priory	357
Figure 37 Thursday Market as shown on Baine's map of York 1823	358
Figure 38 Proposed street pattern following the creation of Thursday Market in 1235.....	359
Figure 39 Plot and parish boundaries in the area of Thursday Market and St Sampson	360
Figure 40 Tenement 27a and 27b. Street front building Structure N(i). Stone footings for boundary walls and pits.....	361

Figure 41 19 Grape Lane. Drawing based on the field notes by the RCHME showing original timber frame of two storey building with 18th or 19th century heightening and extension to the rear (drawn by Dav Smith)	362
Figure 42 Two storey timber framed buildings, although much altered, at the corner of Back Swinegate and Swinegate. Top image c.1889, bottom image c.1900 (©Imagine York)	363
Figure 43 14th century buildings. Note the discrepancy between the plot boundaries from the 1852 Ordnance Survey with the excavated wall lines. The south-eastern boundary of Plot 6 was noted in the south-east section of the excavation.....	364
Figure 44 Structure A and B in the fourteenth century	365
Figure 45 Structure N(iii) fourteenth century	366
Figure 46 1852 Ordnance Survey (top) showing position of Benet's Rents. 1890s photograph (bottom) looking from Grape Lane along Swinegate showing Benet's Rents (©Imagine York)	367
Figure 47 Property boundaries in the area of Back Swinegate derived from the 1852 Ordnance Survey.....	368
Figure 48 Structures G-M Back Swinegate and Little Stonegate.....	369
Figure 49 Structures G-H late fourteenth century.....	370
Figure 50 Structure L and M late fourteenth century	371
Figure 51 Structure A and B in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.....	372
Figure 52 Structure B1(iii) in the 15th century.....	373
Figure 53 Structure E and F in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.....	374
Figure 54 Petergate study area between Bootham Bar and Grape Lane showing position of seventh-eleventh century Minster precinct and later medieval Minster (after Norton 1998)	375
Figure 55 Minster Precinct and road to the north-east fortress gate.....	376

Figure 56 1852 Ordnance Survey showing Holy Trinity Goodramgate and associated cemetery	377
Figure 57 Property around Holy Trinity Goodramgate (1852 Ordnance Survey map) and proposed enlarged cemetery boundary	378
Figure 58 Alternative alignment of Petergate in the seventh to late eleventh centuries shown as dashed line in relation to the proposed enlarged cemetery of Holy Trinity Goodramgate	379
Figure 59 Proposed line of Goodramgate extending to the north-east gate of the fortress.	380
Figure 60 Proposed street pattern in the northern half of the fortress. Location of the Minster and associated churches after Norton 1998.....	381
Figure 61 Proposed estates in the northern half of the fortress.....	382
Figure 62 Norman Minster and Deanery in relation to the pre-Conquest enclosure and the road to the north-east gate	383
Figure 63 Expanded Minster Close, new tenements on Petergate and the alignment of Goodramgate leading to Monk Bar. New Biggin and Grove Lane shown outside fortress...	384
Figure 64 1852 Ordnance Survey map showing the section of Goodramgate from the Close gate to Monk Bar. The property boundaries in this area respect the streets with no indication of a preserved road alignment to the north-east fortress gate.....	385
Figure 65 Medieval tenement boundaries and numbering identified from the historic documents (bold black line). Tenement sub-divisions (thin black lines) identified from the 1852 Ordnance Survey map.....	386
Figure 66 Structures ST41A, ST41B and ST43A	387
Figure 67 Structures ST41A, ST41B and ST43A shown in relation to 1852 Ordnance Survey map.....	388
Figure 68 Wicker fences showing the sub-division of Tenement 27-8 into three plots (A-C). Dashed line property boundaries from 1852 Ordnance Survey map.....	389

Figure 69 Principal structural activity c.1250-1400 showing areas of activity within Tenements	390
Figure 70 Proposed sub-division of Tenement 43 mid-thirteenth century	391
Figure 71 Structures ST43C and ST43B	392
Figure 72 Structures ST44A and ST44(i)	393
Figure 73 Structure ST44B	394
Figure 74 Structure ST44B(a) following the deposition of a deposit interpreted as a floor that sealed the post pad and hearth associated with ST44B	395
Figure 75 Structure ST45C and Furnace 1	396
Figure 76 Structure ST44C and Furnace 2	397
Figure 77 Structure ST44C and Furnace 3	398
Figure 78 Structure ST45A	399
Figure 79 Structure ST45B	400
Figure 80 Structure ST41C created from section drawing and feature description	401
Figure 81 Late fourteenth to early fifteenth century activity in Tenement 43	402
Figure 82 Structure ST45C	403

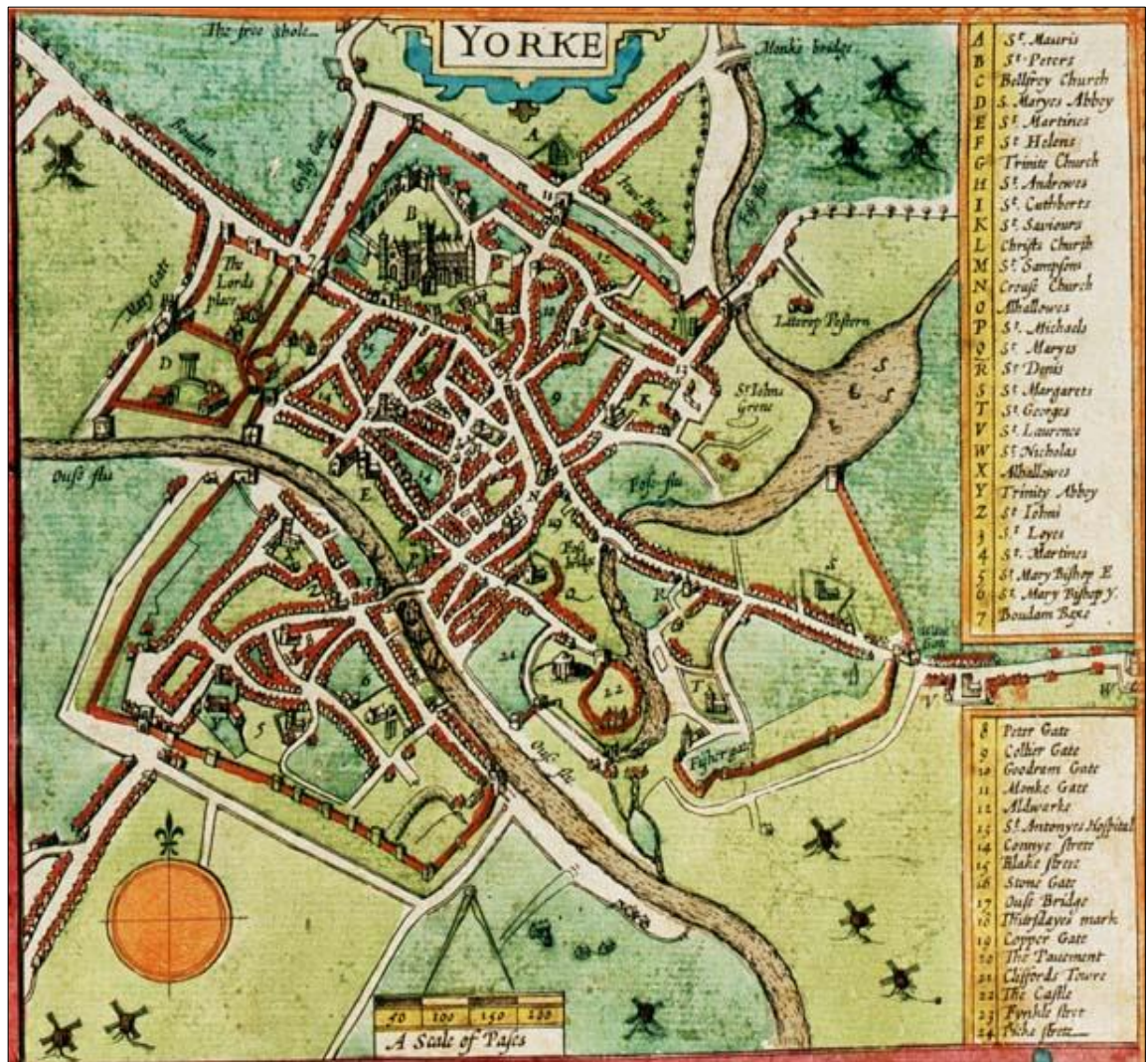


Figure 1 John Speed's map of York c.1610

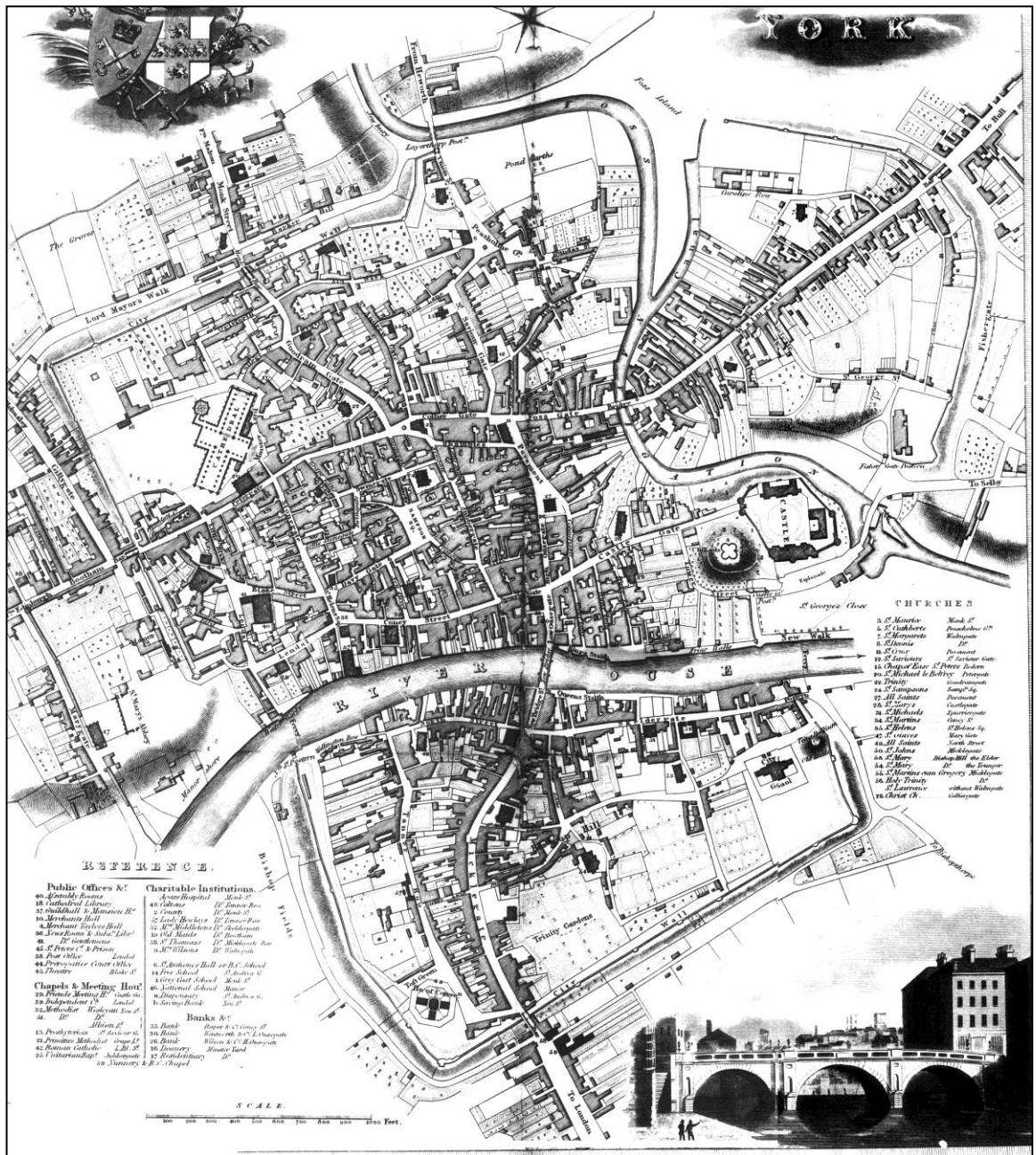


Figure 2 Baine's 1823 map from 'Directory and Gazetteer of the County of York' (York Archaeological Trust)

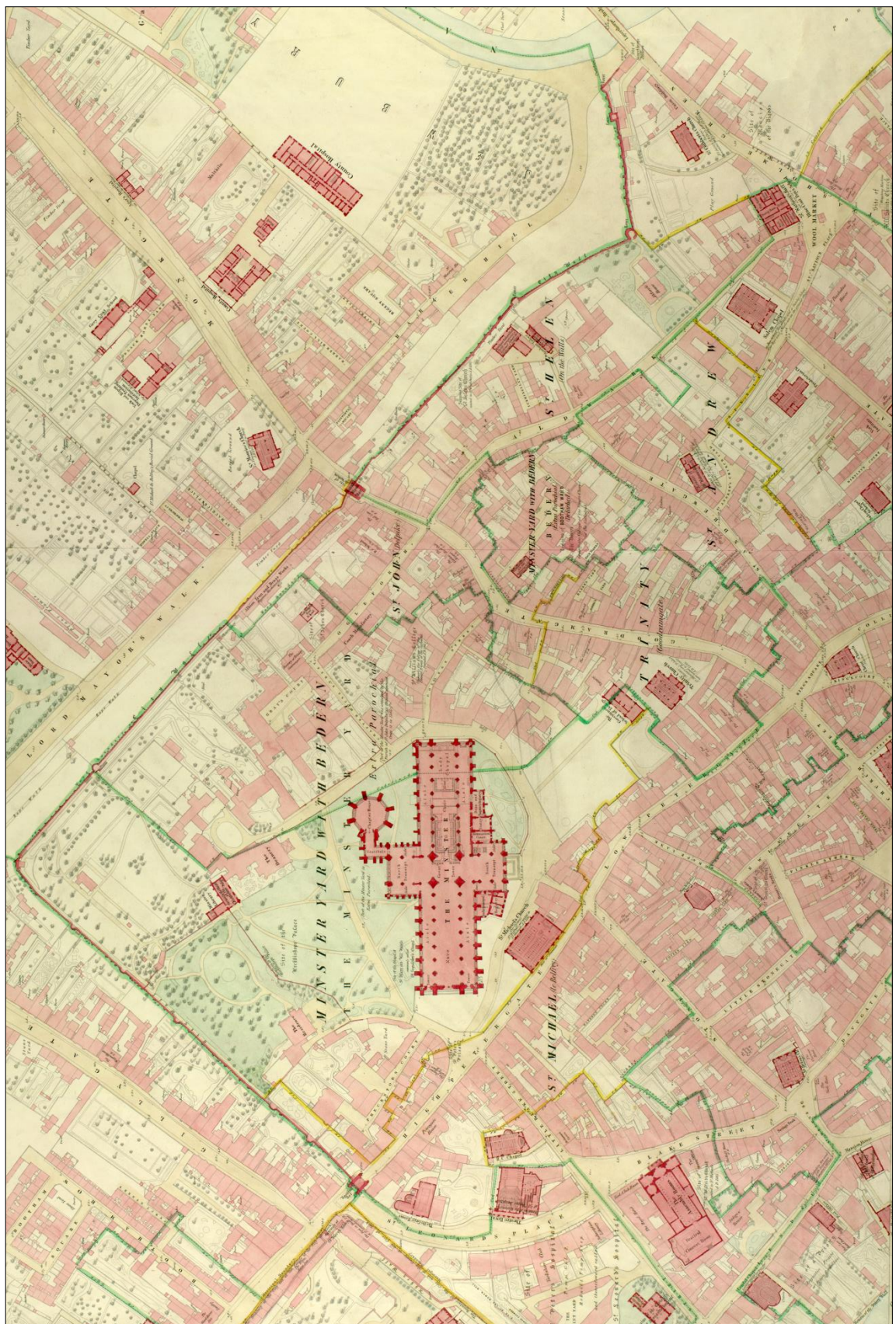


Figure 3 Detail of the 1852 Ordnance Survey showing the area around the Minster (Courtesy of John Oxley)

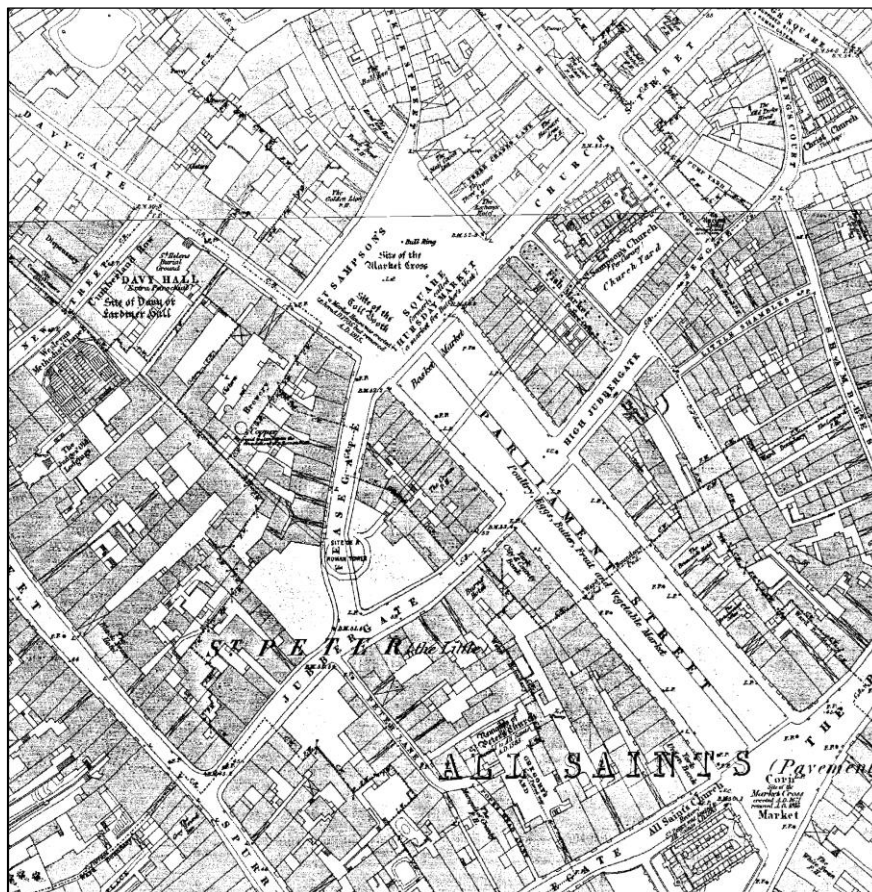
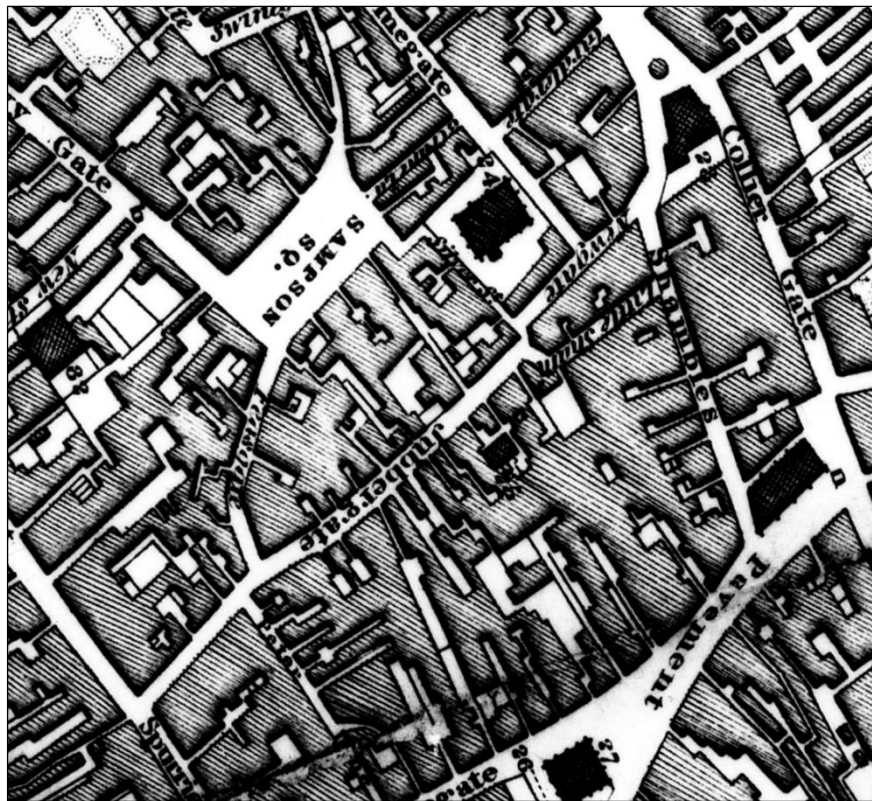


Figure 4 Baine's 1823 (top) and Ordnance Survey 1852 (bottom-©Edina) showing the changes to the street pattern associated with the creation of Parliament Street and Church Street



Figure 5 Traditional evolution of the topography of York (after Dean 2008, Fig. 1)

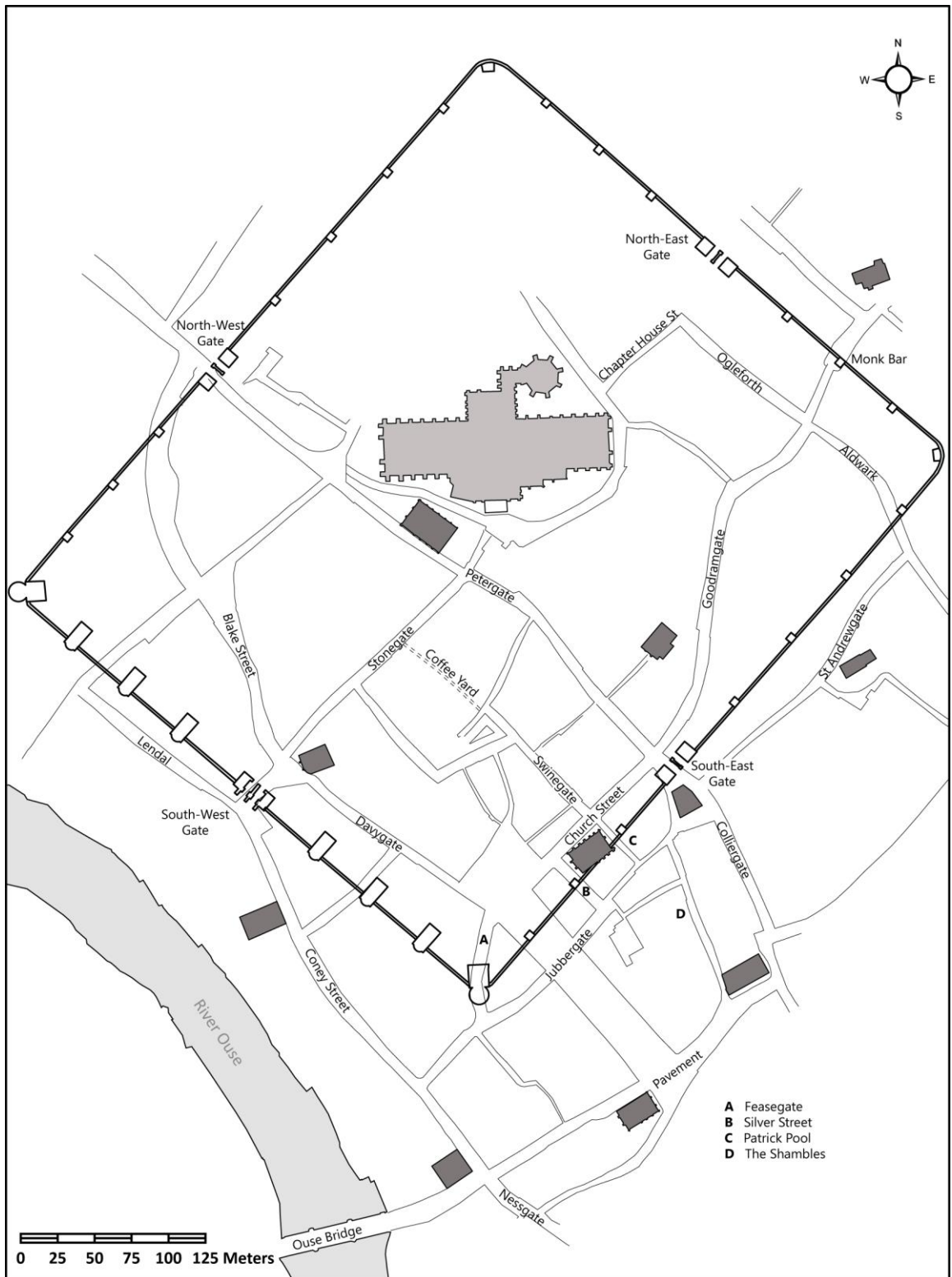
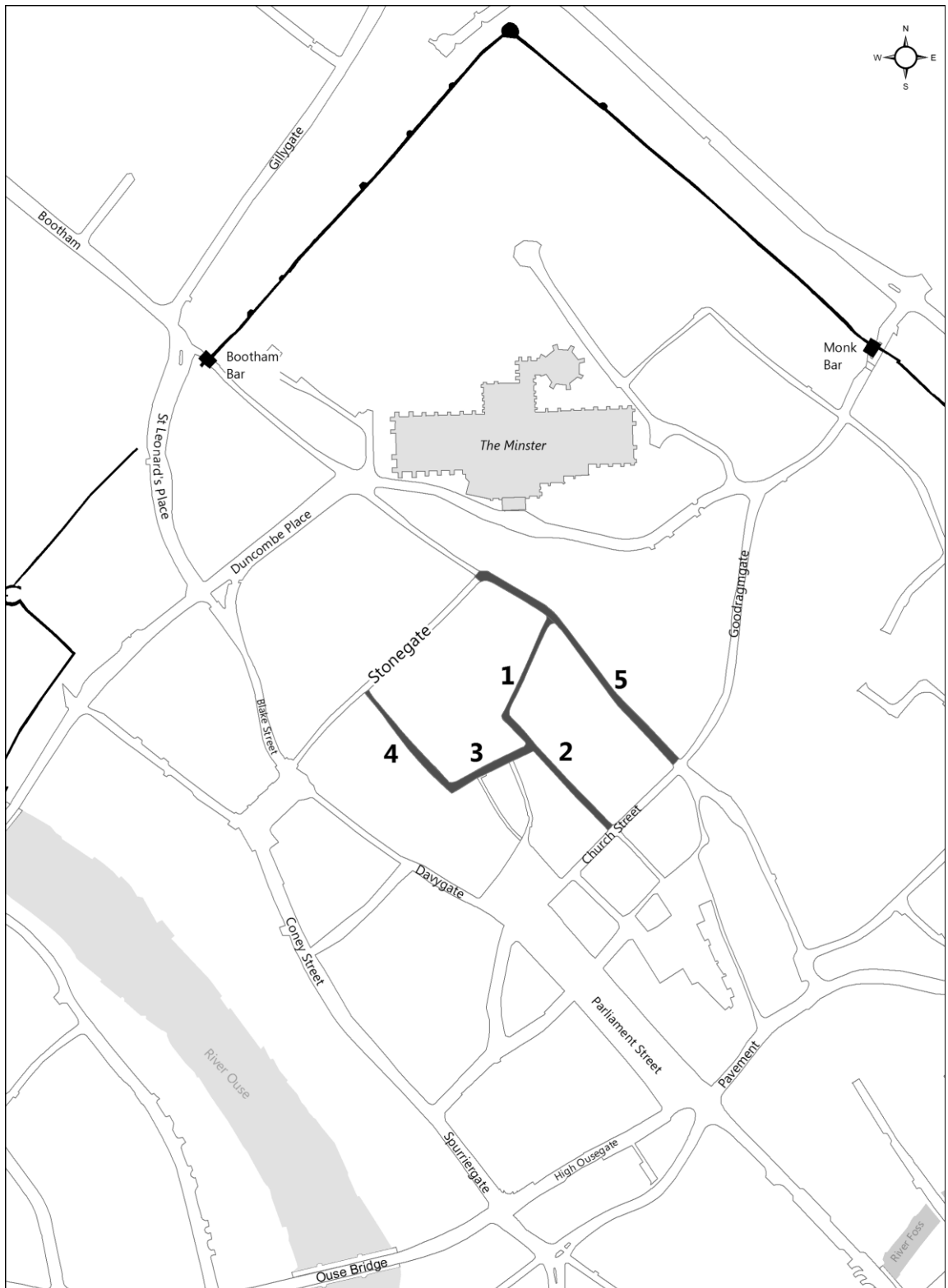


Figure 6 Street pattern and churches showing relationship to Roman gates and defences. Position of Monk Bar also marked



1. Grape Lane (venella Sancti Benedicti 1276)
2. Swinegate (Patrick Pool until 16th century)
3. Back Swinegate
4. Little Stonegate (venella que dicitur Swyngail 1276)
5. Petergate (vicus Sancti Petri (1189))

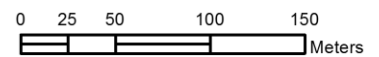


Figure 7 Location of the study area

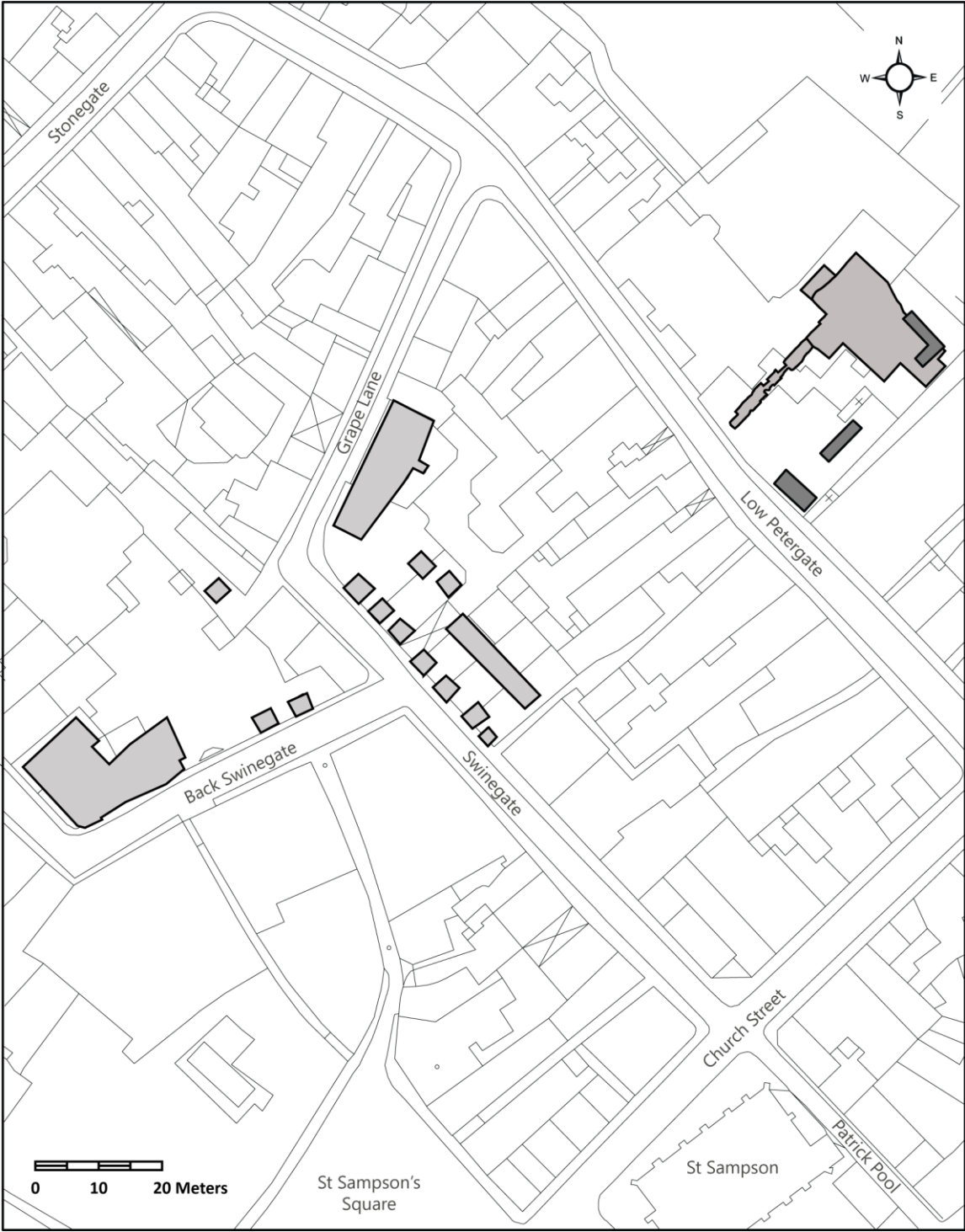


Figure 8 Location of the trenches within the study area

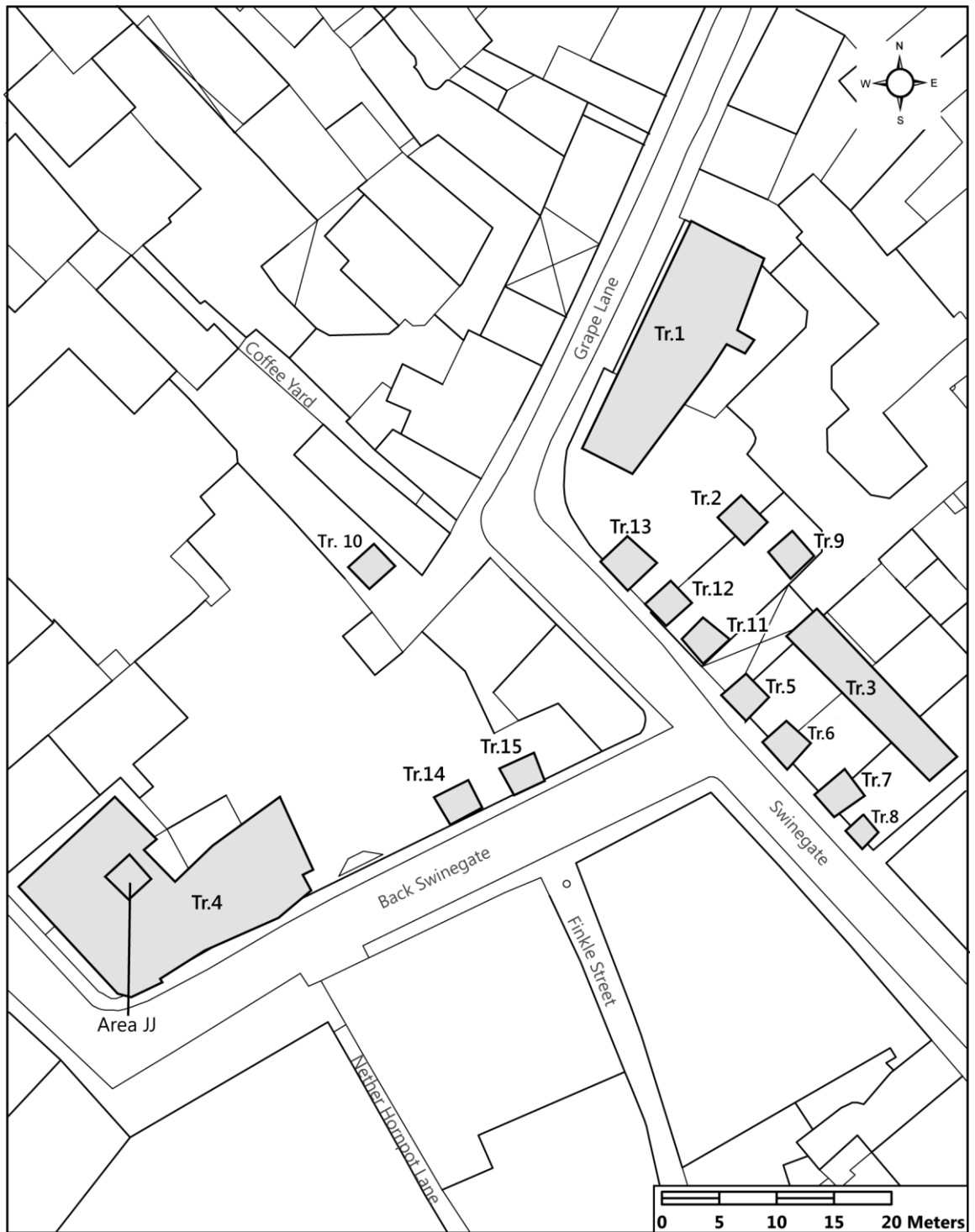


Figure 9 Trenches 1989.28-1990.1 excavations

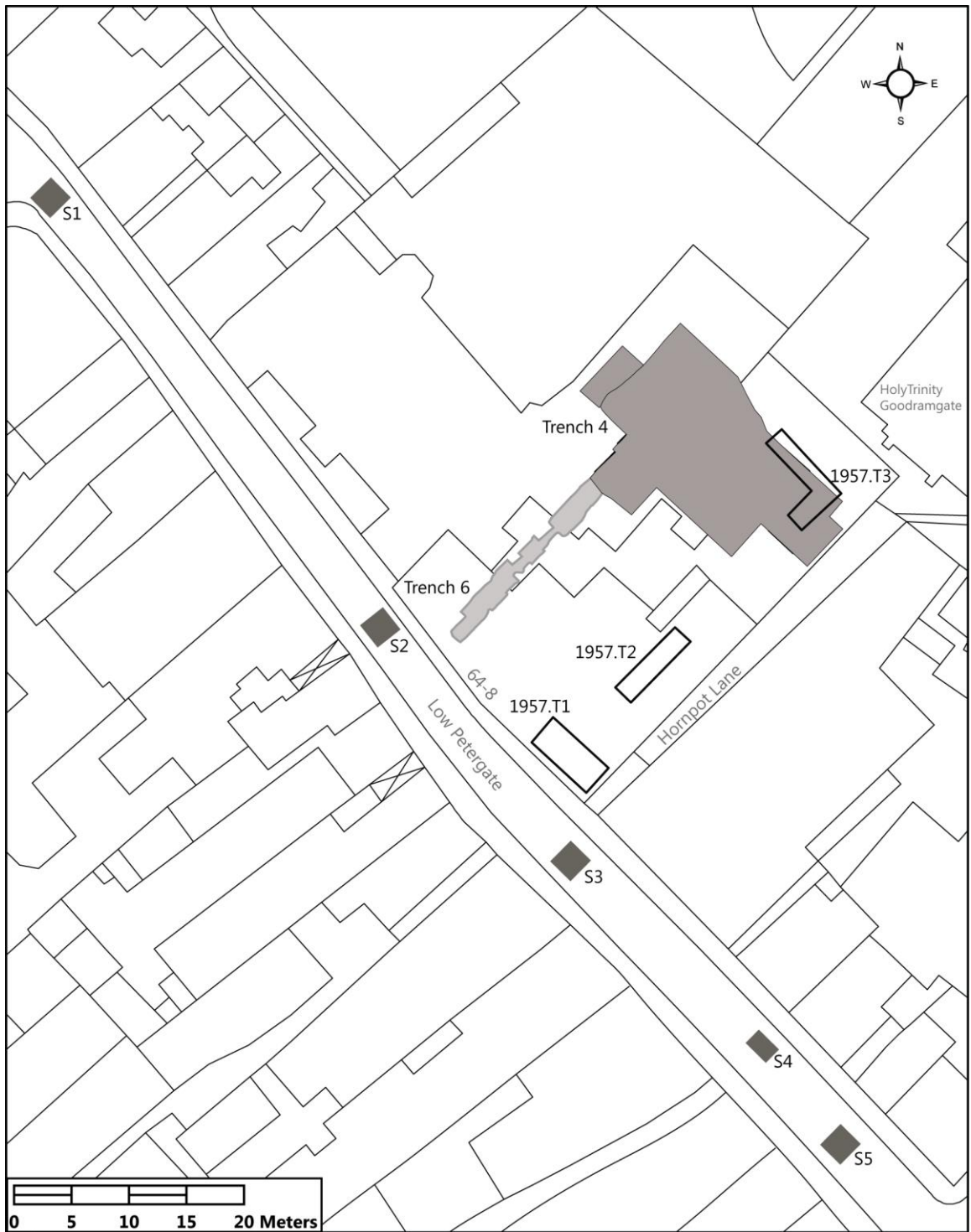


Figure 10 Location of Trench 4 and 6 (2004), 1957 excavations and sewer trenches (1995; S1-S5)

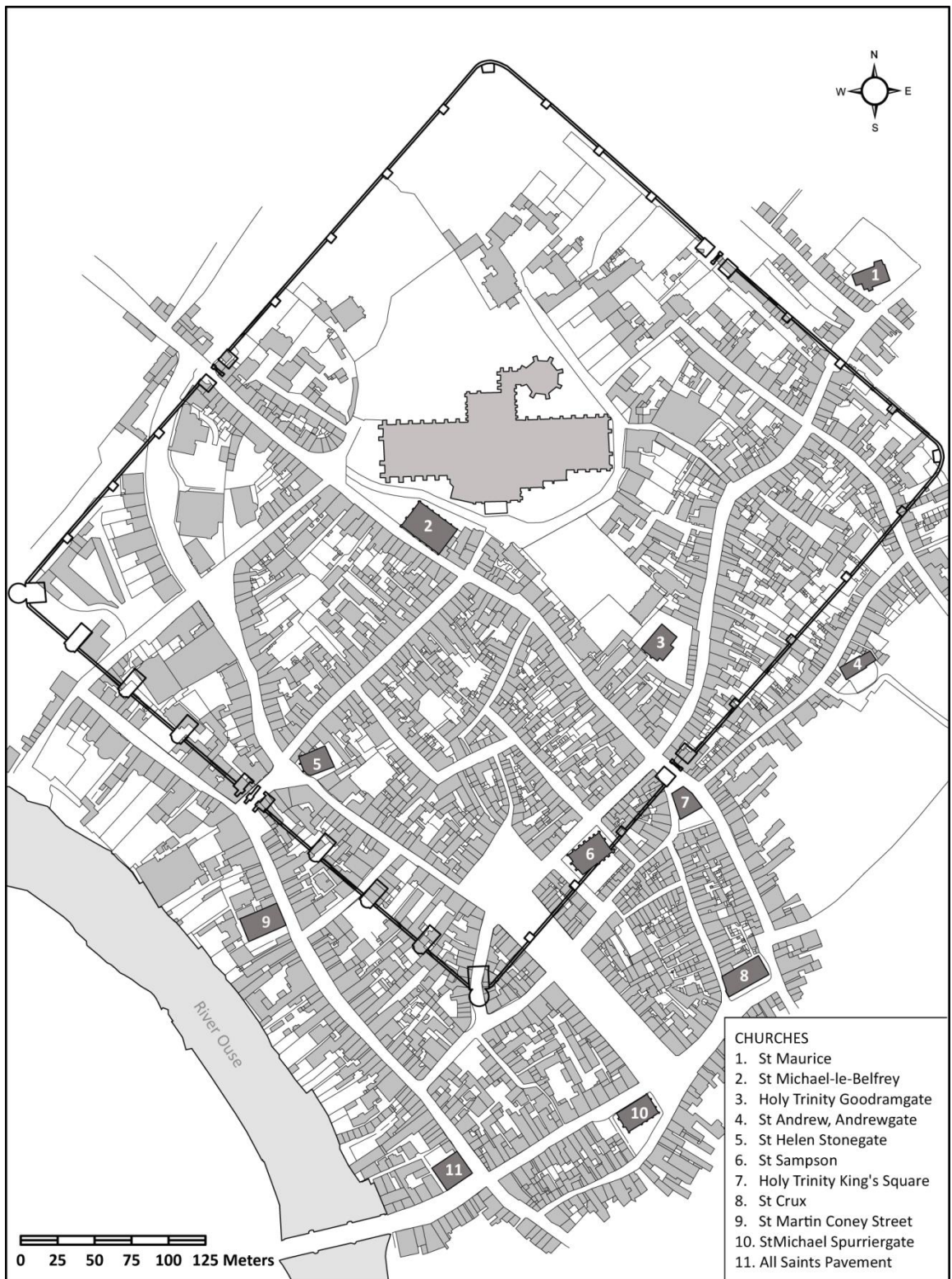


Figure 11 the 1852 Ordnance Survey digitised for the base map with fortress wall

IADB: Search/Goto Projects Browse New Edit Upload Messages Window Utilities Help Sign Out GDEAN

Project 1989.28
12.18 Swinegate

Context 1034 (1989.28) Tags: Tr1

Context Type:

Category: Fill Of: Set: Group: Phase:

Area: Associations: Exc Method: Sieved: Completed:

Description/Composition: [View](#) [Edit](#)
Friable vivid red circular deposit at highest level becoming of greater diameter towards base. Made of at least 3 component layers. Red burnt clay, overlying pure stiff brown clay, over more mixed dark brown silty clay incorporating patches of dark red friable burnt silt clay. Context 70% red silty burnt clay, 20% mixed grey/brown clay 10%. Moderate tile at top, occasional pebbles

Stratigraphy: [Edit](#)

```

graph TD
    1028 --- 1034
    1034 --- 1052
  
```

On Matrices: [1327](#) Trench 1
[1350](#) Copy of Trench 1
[1560](#) Structure_B1
[1561](#) Plot 2 Backland
[1562](#) Plot 2 Back Land and Buildings forming B1

Interpretation: [View](#) [Edit](#)
On the reverse of the Context card is written- Hearth removed as one context. Red burnt material on top was found to contain burnt tile and to fill a circular depression, approx 35cm diameter, in the underlying clay layer. Upon removal of unburnt brown clay, which contained frequent tile- hard baked burnt clay was revealed forming one side of a distinctive bowl shaped feature with flat bottom and these overlay a thin layer of stiff grey clay which existed only at the western edge of the context. The whole context lay in a slight depression that was not obvious enough to record as a cut

In Objects:

Linked Items: [Add Link](#)

Date Range: Minimum: Maximum: Spot X: Spot Y:

[Save](#) [Delete](#) [Previous](#) [Next](#) [Print](#) [Close](#)

Integrated Archaeological Database Unless otherwise stated, all material on this site is © 2012 York Archaeological Trust

IADB: Search/Goto Projects Browse New Edit Upload Messages Window Utilities Help Sign Out GDEAN

Project 1990.1
14 Little Stonep (19 Back Swinegate)

Set 483 (1990.1: Set 483) Tags: None

Title/Keywords: [Edit](#)
Construction Activity

Contains: [Edit](#) [Add](#)
C4057 Levelling
C4106 Wall
C4107 Construction Cut

In Group/Phase: [Edit](#)
 G86 Final Use Structure D

On Matrix/Structure Diagrams: [1488](#) - Copy of Area_4_Context
[1489](#) - Copy of Copy of Area_4_Context

In Objects: [Add](#)

Other Links: [Add](#)

Description: [Edit](#)
4.7.5 Contexts 4107, 4106, 4057
4107 Rectilinear, vertical sided cut, sides breaking sharply from top edge and similarly sharply to a flat base. Truncated by later Features on north-eastern and north-western sides.
Construction cut for wall 4106.
4106: Rectilinear deposit of Flat laid roof tiles embedded in 60% light, orange beige Fine sand 40% crushed mortar, overlain by a single layer of blocks of limestone and some tiles set in an identical matrix. The matrix also includes occasional small Fragments of charcoal and occasional Fragments of shells. Truncated by later Features on north-eastern and north-western sides.
The remnants of a sleeper wall. Although, as referred to in the description, the structure was truncated on two of its sides the other two appear to be 'real' edges. This suggests that it represents the surviving corner of a building which would appear to have occupied roughly the position of the later cellar (see below 4.11.17 (4008)) as its stratigraphic position insists that it post dates at least some of the 'back land' activity associated with Structure D, it has been attributed to Group 7 on the basis that it represents secondary construction associated with that building, and that this is most credibly seen as part of the major reconstruction represented by this Group.
4057: Deposit of blocks of limestone and gritstone of various sizes up to c.0.35m x 0.28m including squared blocks and, some with flatish surfaces, as well as Fragments of roof tile and cobbles, all embedded in mid brown Friable 80% silt 10% clay 10% small Fragments of limestone with occasional Fragments of charcoal, animal bone and shell. Surface of the deposit betrayed traces of burning.
A (?deliberately laid) surface abutting 4106, and presumably forming, part of the same structure. The soil matrix up described corresponds closely with the underlying 4.7.3 (4079), probably indicating that the coarse components of 4057 had been pressed into the layers below. The irregularity and extent of the surface argues against it having been a hearth, in spite of the evidence of burning. The question of whether it was internal or external must be considered open although as the comments concerning 4.7.5 (4106), (see above) perhaps slightly favour the latter.

[Print](#) [Refresh](#) [Delete](#) [Previous](#) [Next](#) [Close](#)

Integrated Archaeological Database Unless otherwise stated, all material on this site is © 2012 York Archaeological Trust

Figure 12 Example of Context and Set data in the IADB for the 1989.28-1990.1 excavations

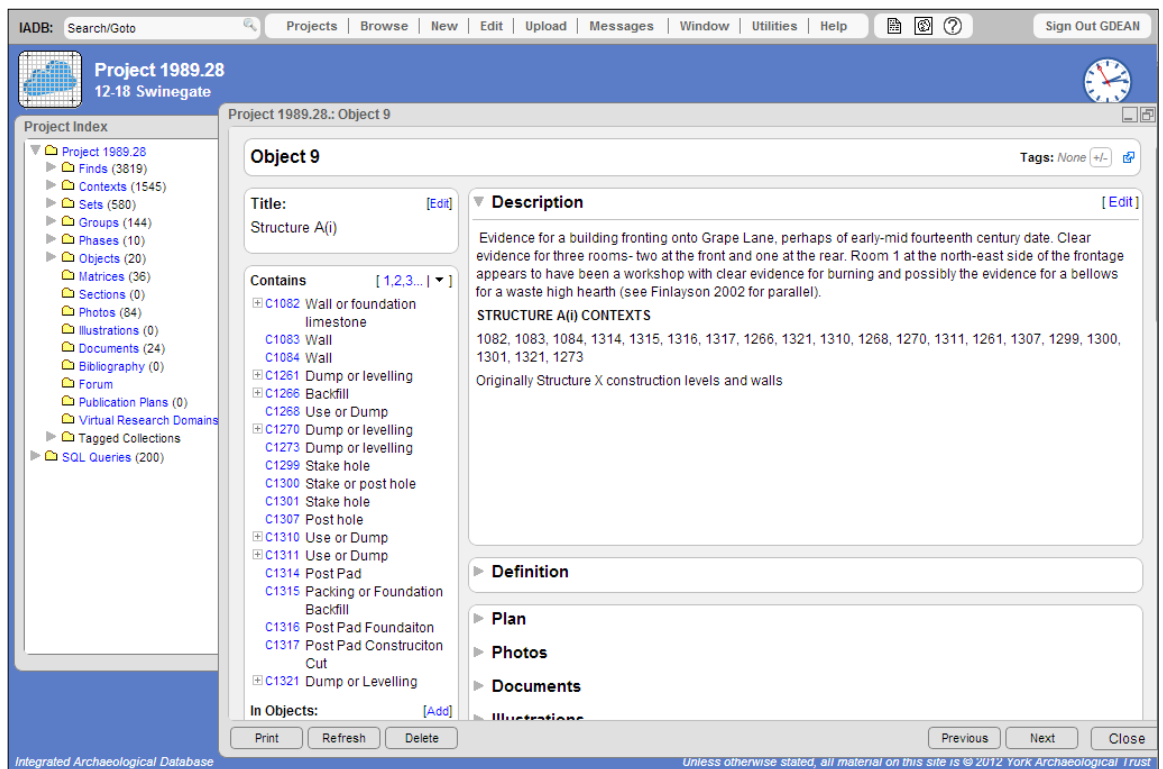
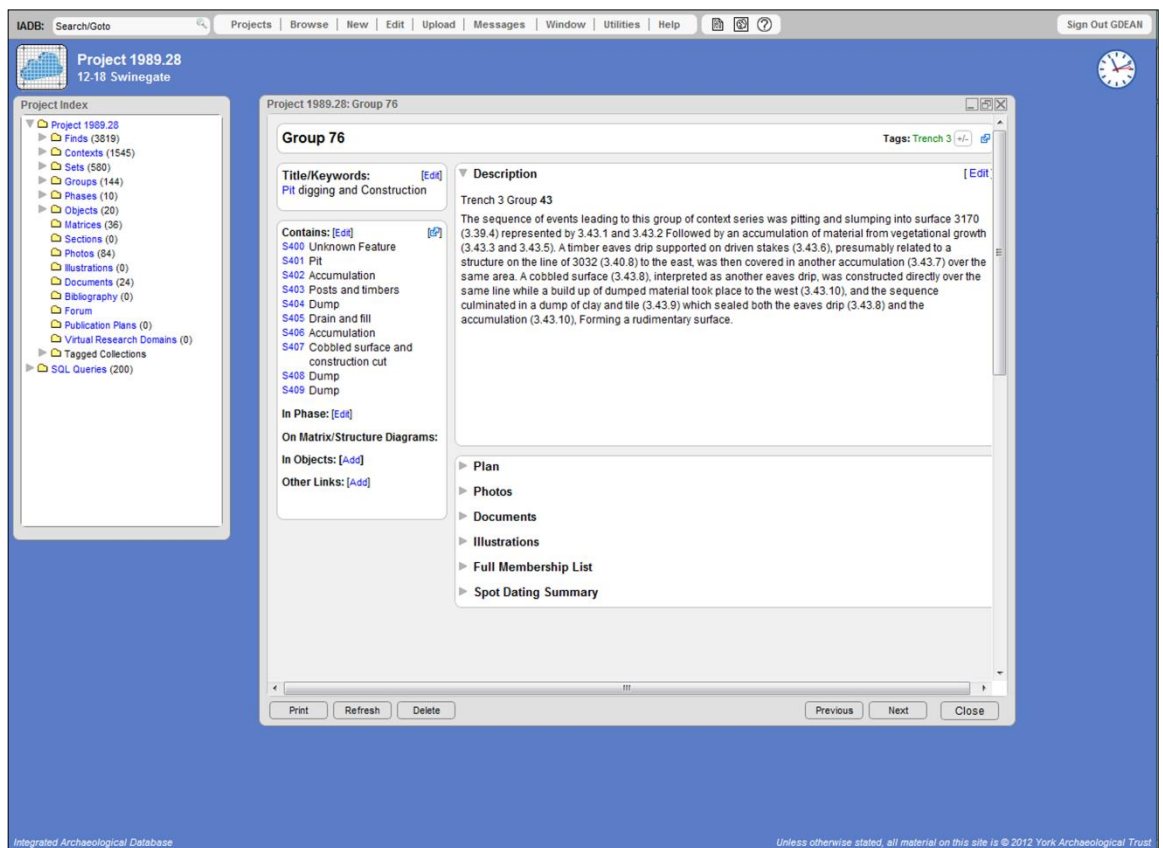


Figure 13 Example of Group and Object records in the IADB for the 1989.28-1990.1 excavation

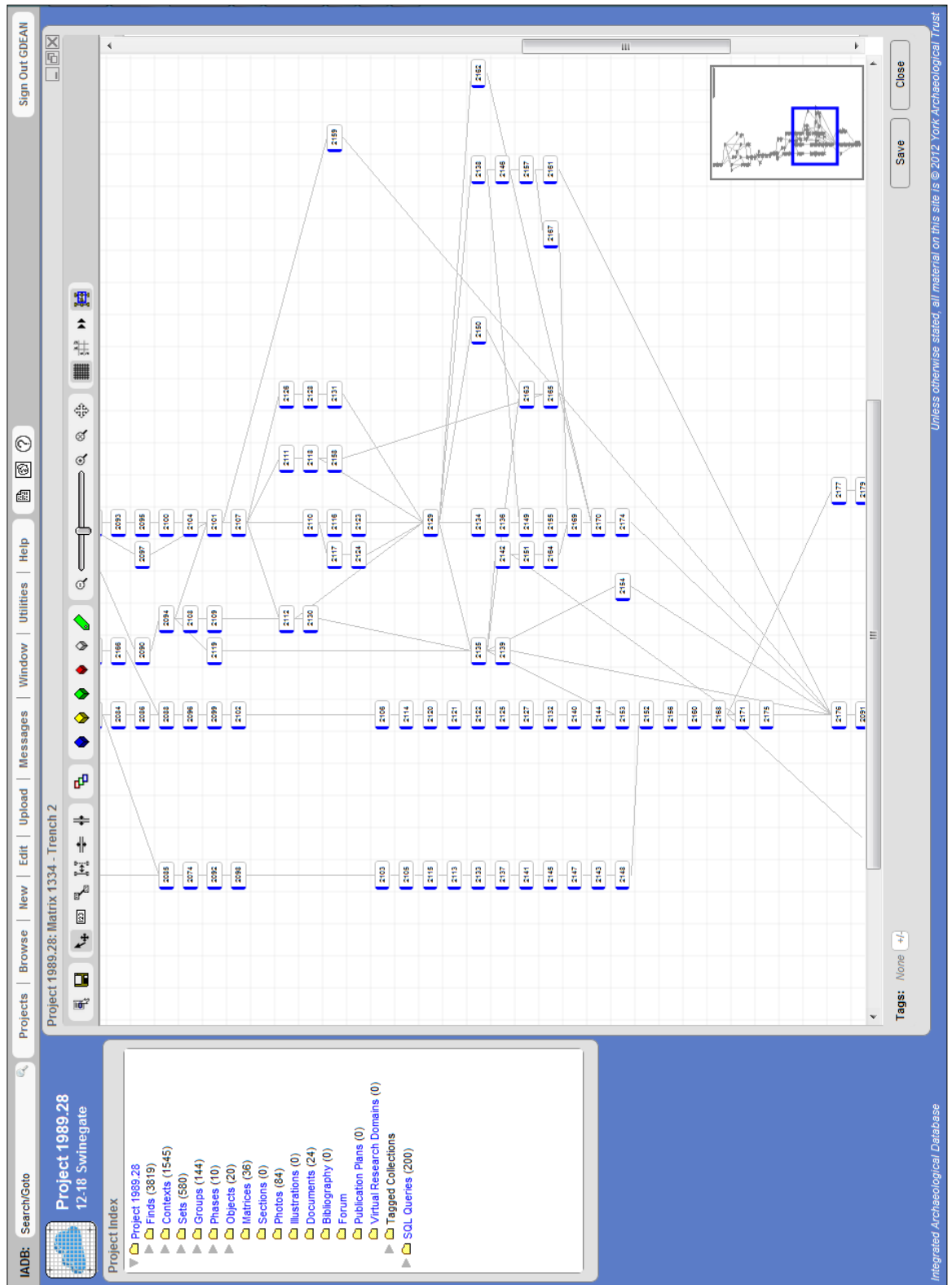


Figure 14 Example of a context Harris Matrix generated for 1989.T2 in the IADB

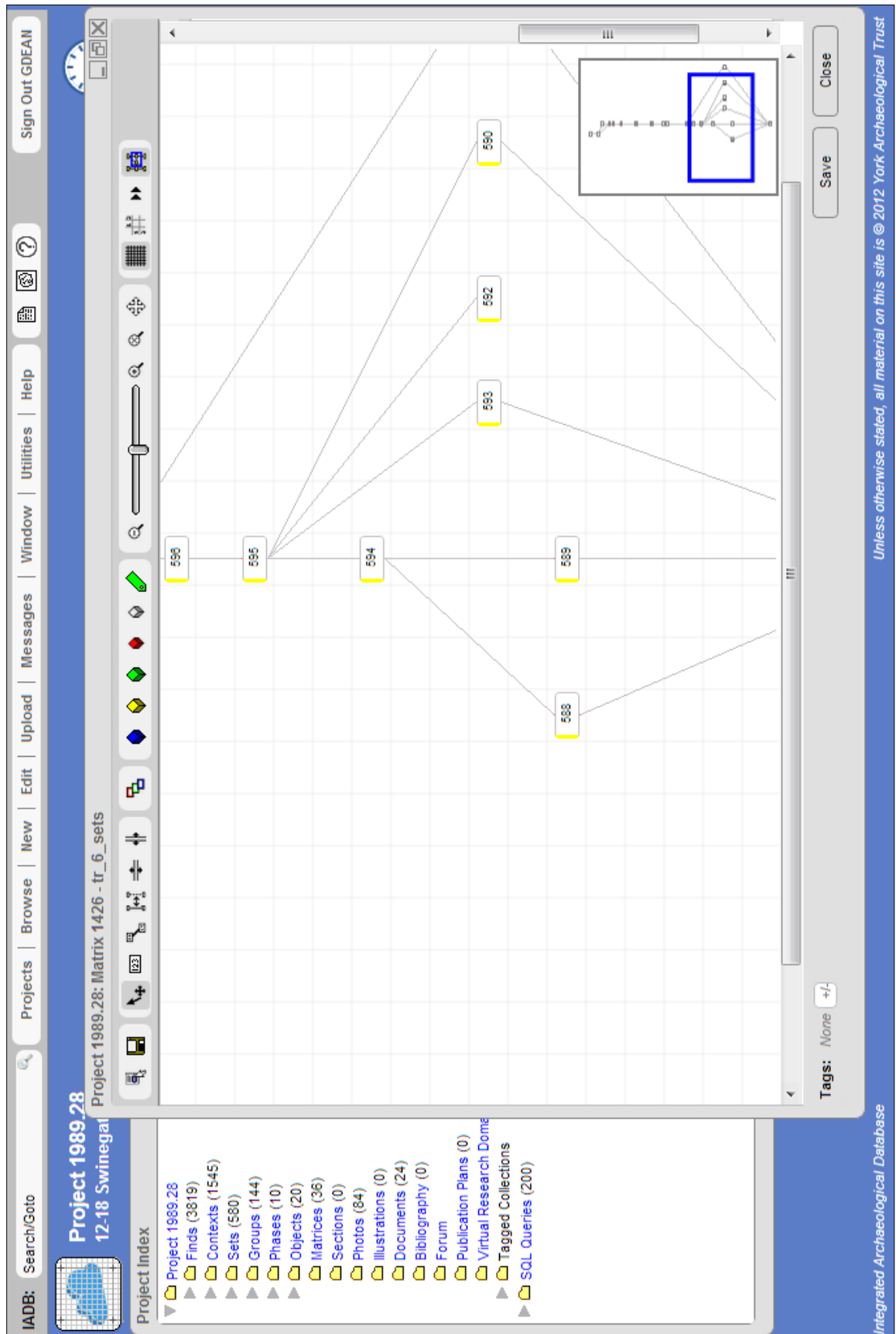


Figure 15 Example of a set Harris Matrix in the IADB generated for 1989.T6



Figure 16 Detail of the GIS showing trenches 1989.T1 and T2 with all contexts digitised

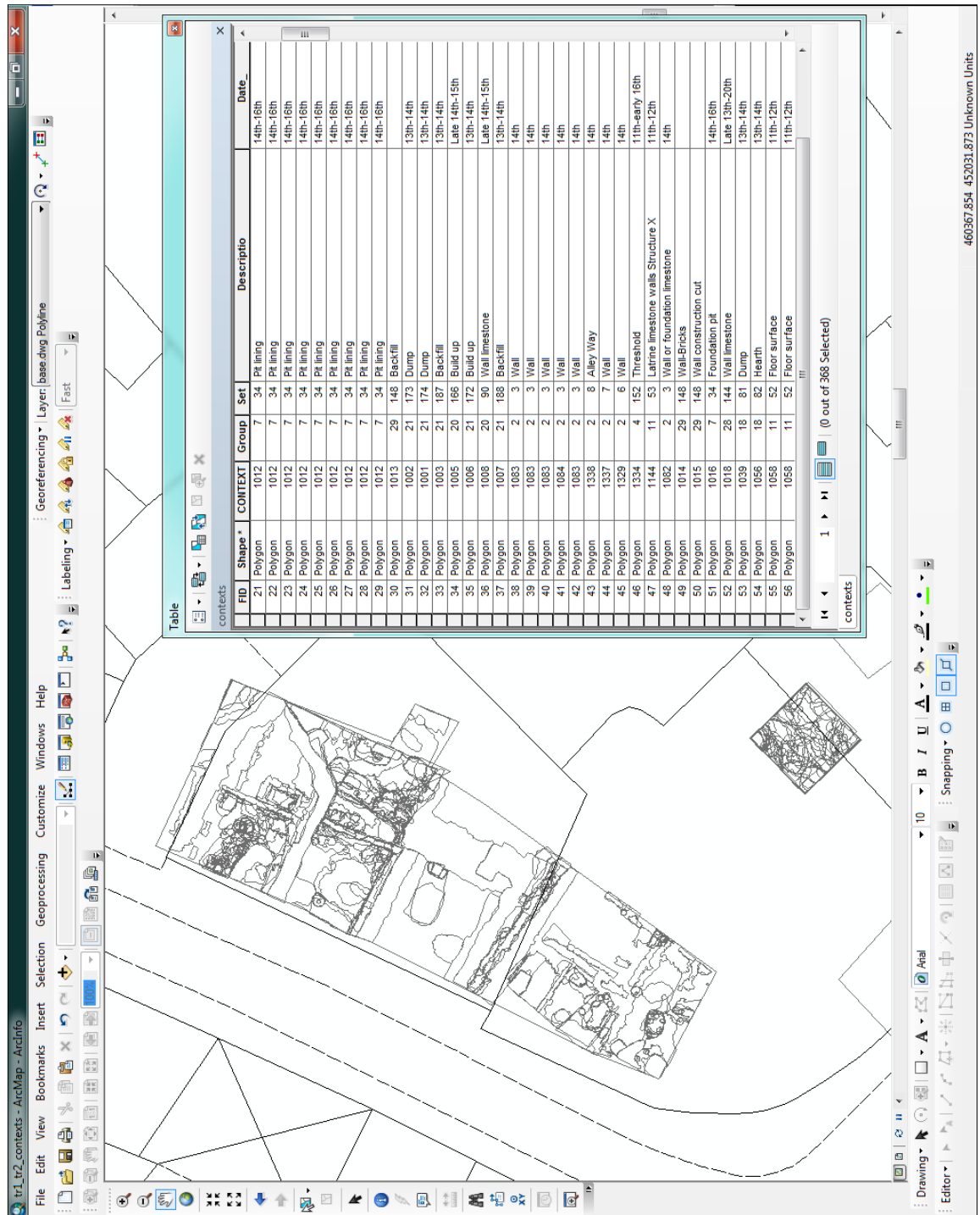


Figure 17 Screenshot showing 1989.T1 attribute table. This is data exported from the IADB and linked to the shapefile and used to analyse the data set

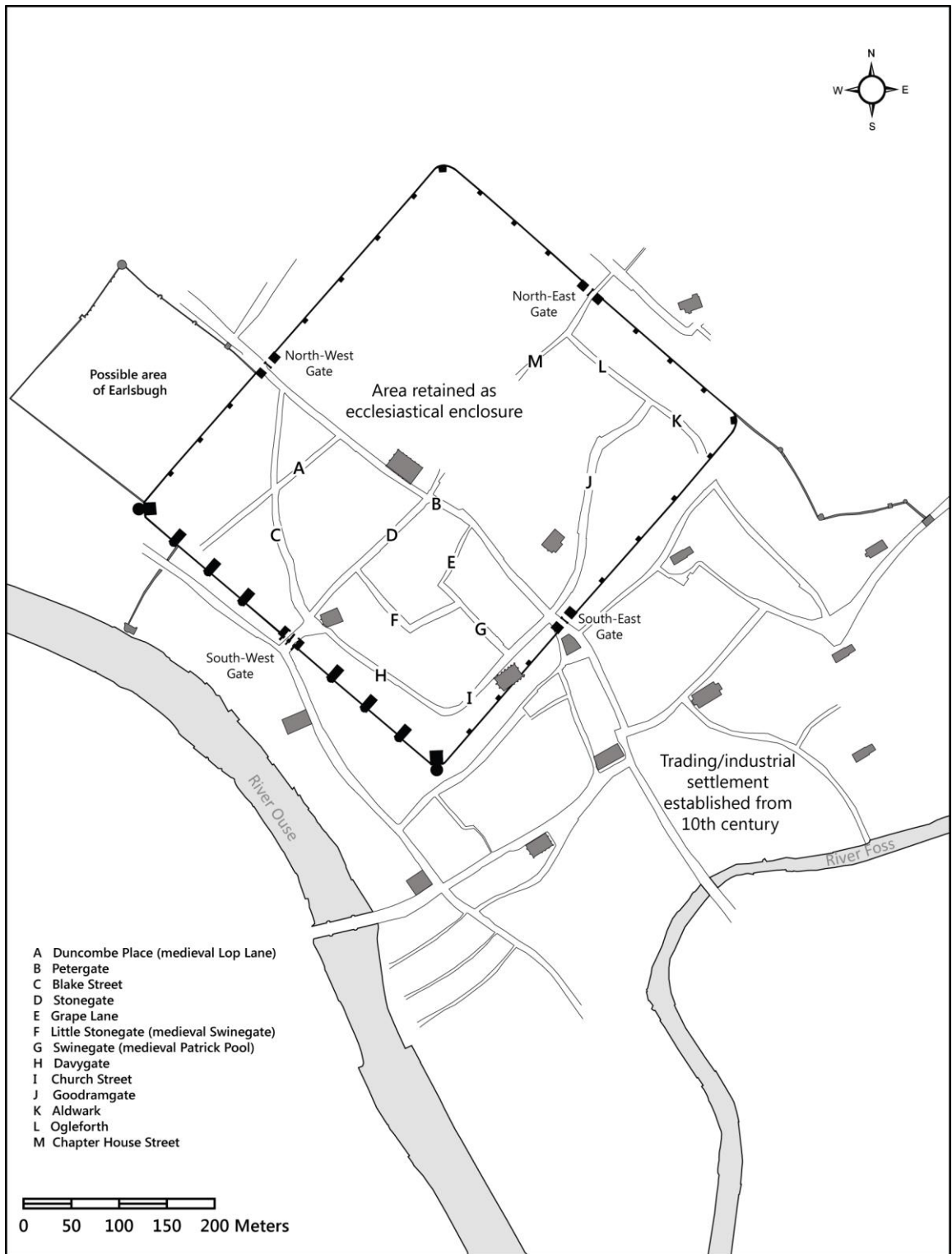


Figure 18 Retained fortress defences and extensions to the river, perhaps erected in the ninth century. Simplified street pattern showing principle streets within the retained fortress defences, and street pattern set out on the south-east side of the fortress from the 10th century. Churches shown in grey.

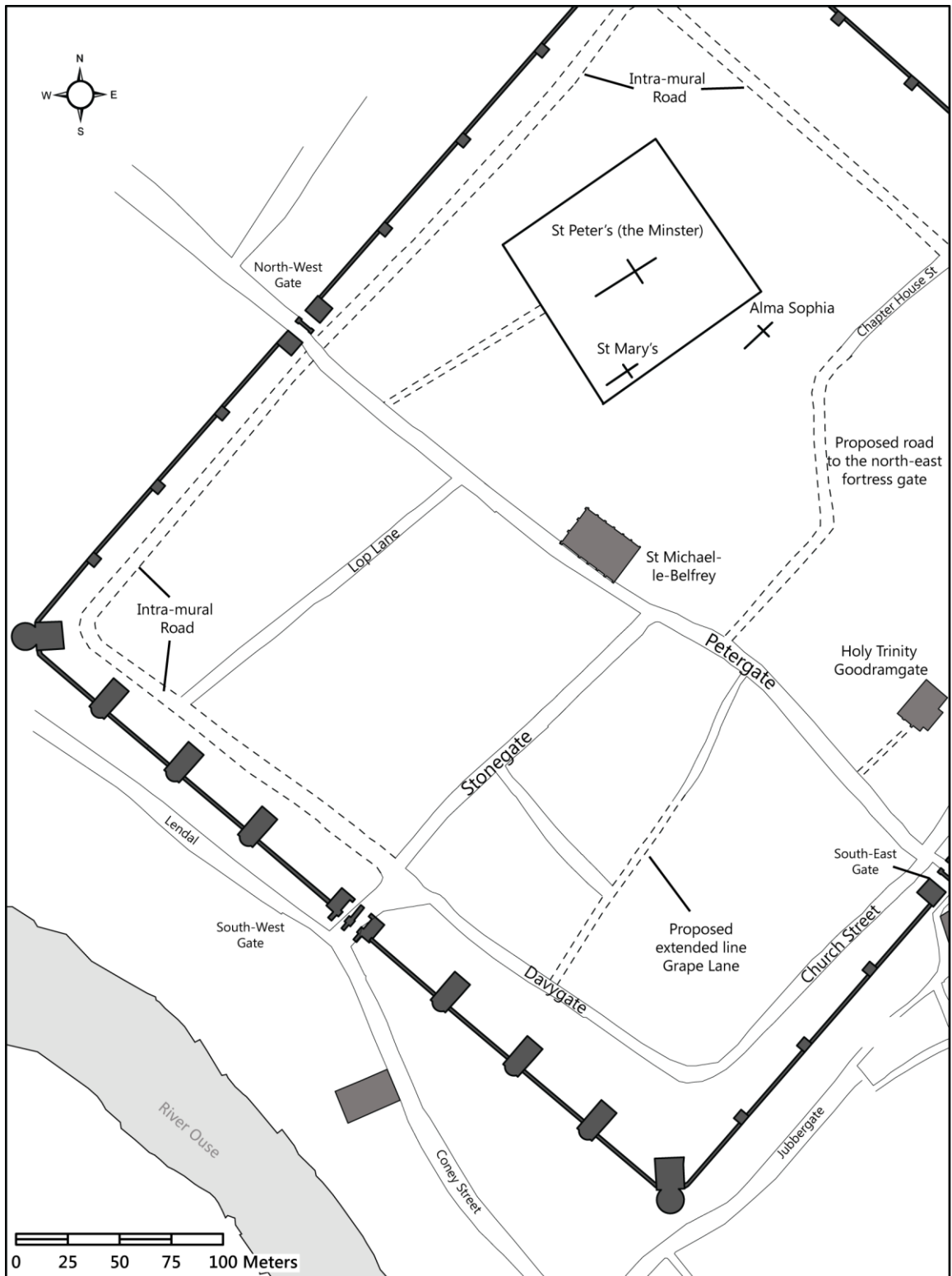


Figure 19 Proposed street pattern in the southern-half of the fortress. Position of the Minster and associated churches after Norton 1998

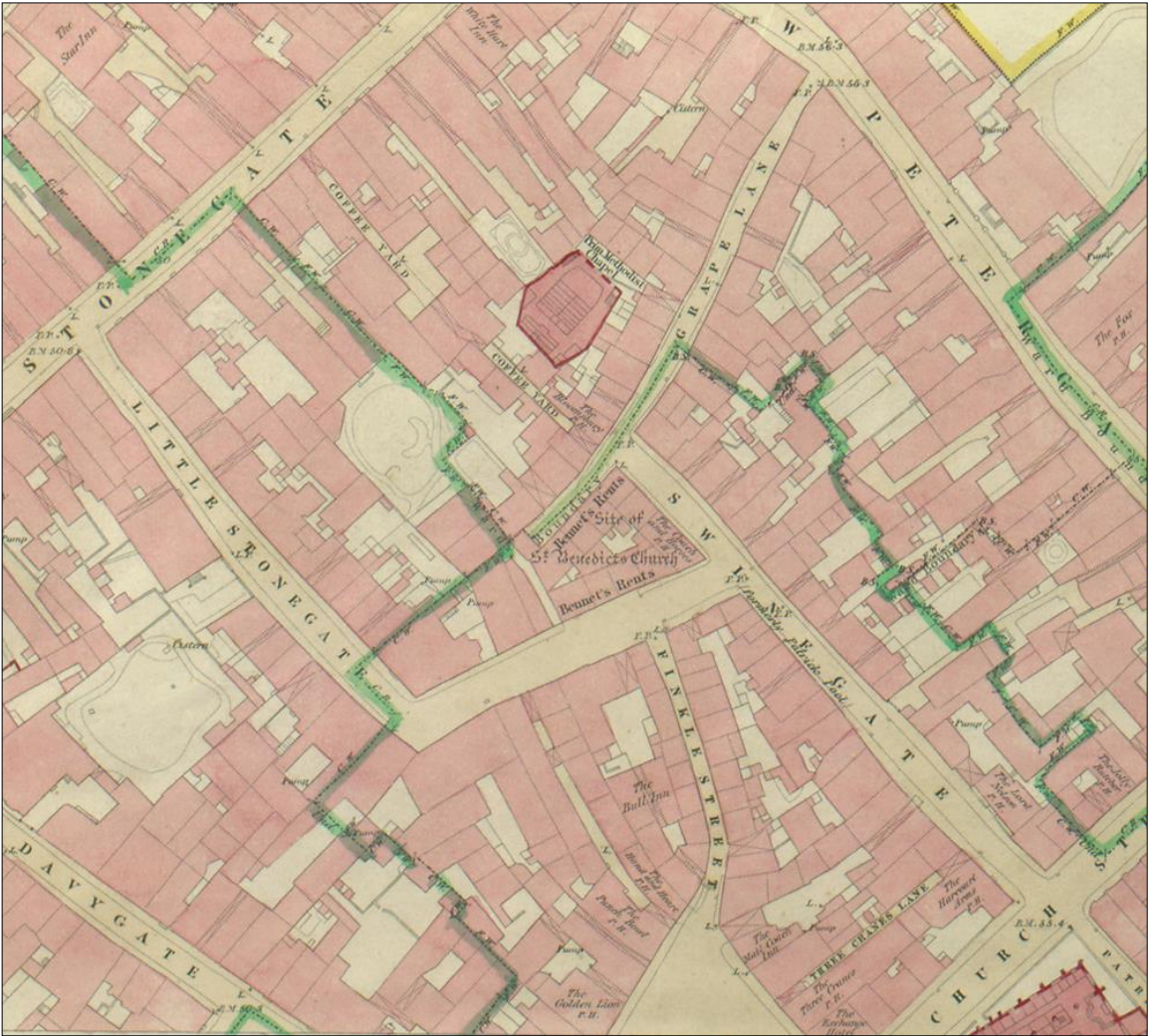
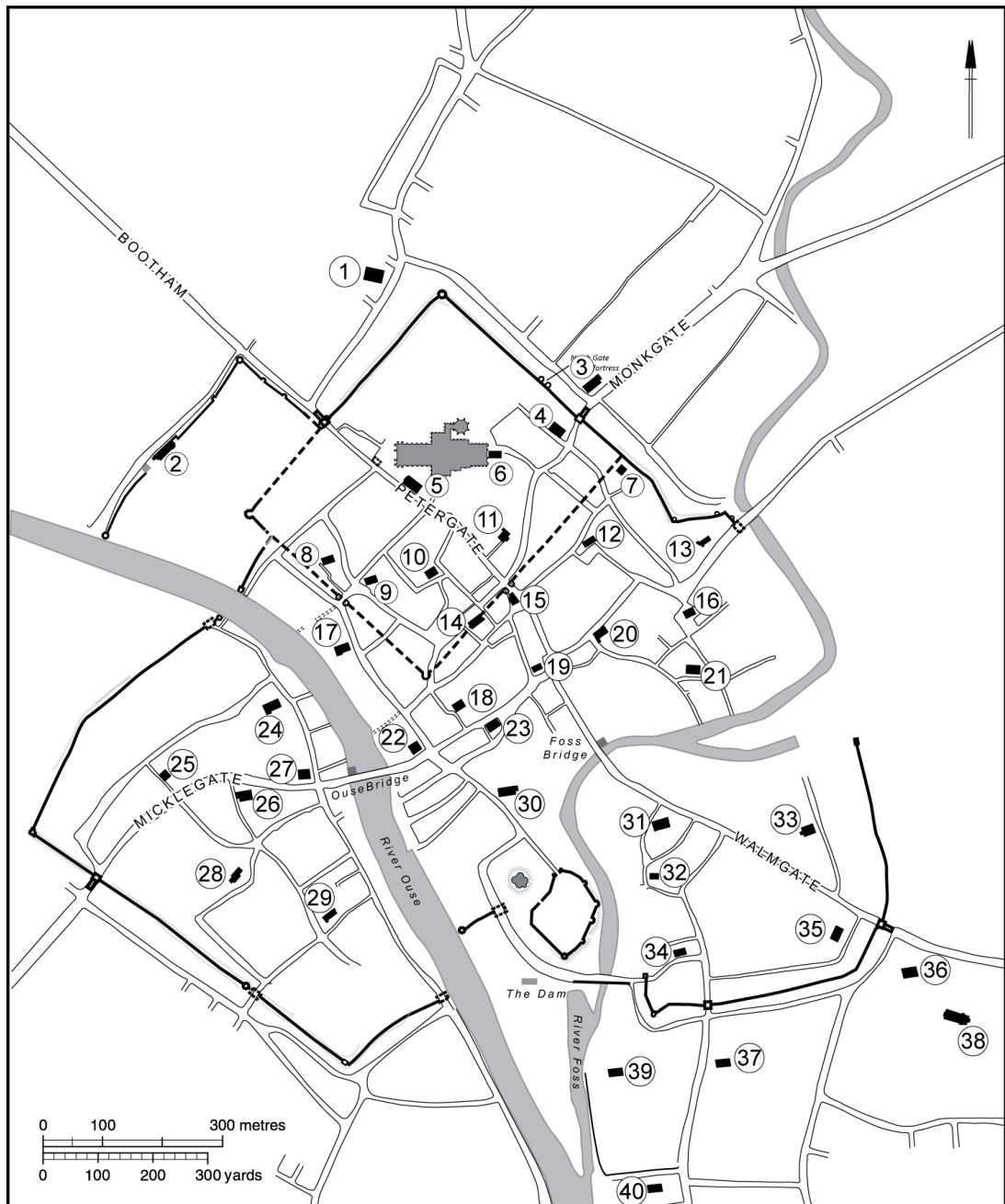


Figure 20 Detail of the 1852 showing the boundaries that suggest the extension to Grape Lane through to Davygate



Figure 21 Digitised 1852 with the boundary line indicating the extension to Grape Lane highlighted (thick black line). Position of Area JJ Tr.1989.T4 also shown. Note the change in orientation of the property boundaries on the south-east side of the projected line of Grape Lane for the properties fronting onto Back Swinegate.



- | | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. St Giles | 15. Holy Trinity (Christ Church) | 29. St Mary Bishophill Senior |
| 2. St Olave | 16. All Saints | 30. St Mary Castlegate |
| 3. St Maurice | 17. St Martin-le-Grand | 31. St Denys |
| 4. St John del Pyke | 18. St Peter the Little | 33. St Margaret |
| 5. St Michael le Belfrey | 19. St Crux | 32. St Stephen |
| 6. St Mary ad Valvas | 20. St Saviour | 34. St George |
| 7. St Helen on the Walls | 21. St John in the Marsh | 35. St Peter-in-the-Willows |
| 8. St Wilfrid | 22. St Michael Spurriergate | 36. St Michael |
| 9. St Helen | 23. All Saints Pavement | 37. All Saints |
| 10. St Benet | 24. All Saints North Street | 38. St Lawrence |
| 11. Holy Trinity Goodramgate | 25. St Gregory | 39. St Andrew |
| 12. St Andrew | 26. St Martin (Micklegate) | 40. St Helen |
| 13. St Cuthbert | 27. St John the Evangelist | |
| 14. St Sampson | 28. St Mary Bishophill Junior | |

Figure 22 Distribution of parish churches in York. Dashed line indicates fortress wall (after Dean 2008, Figure.7)

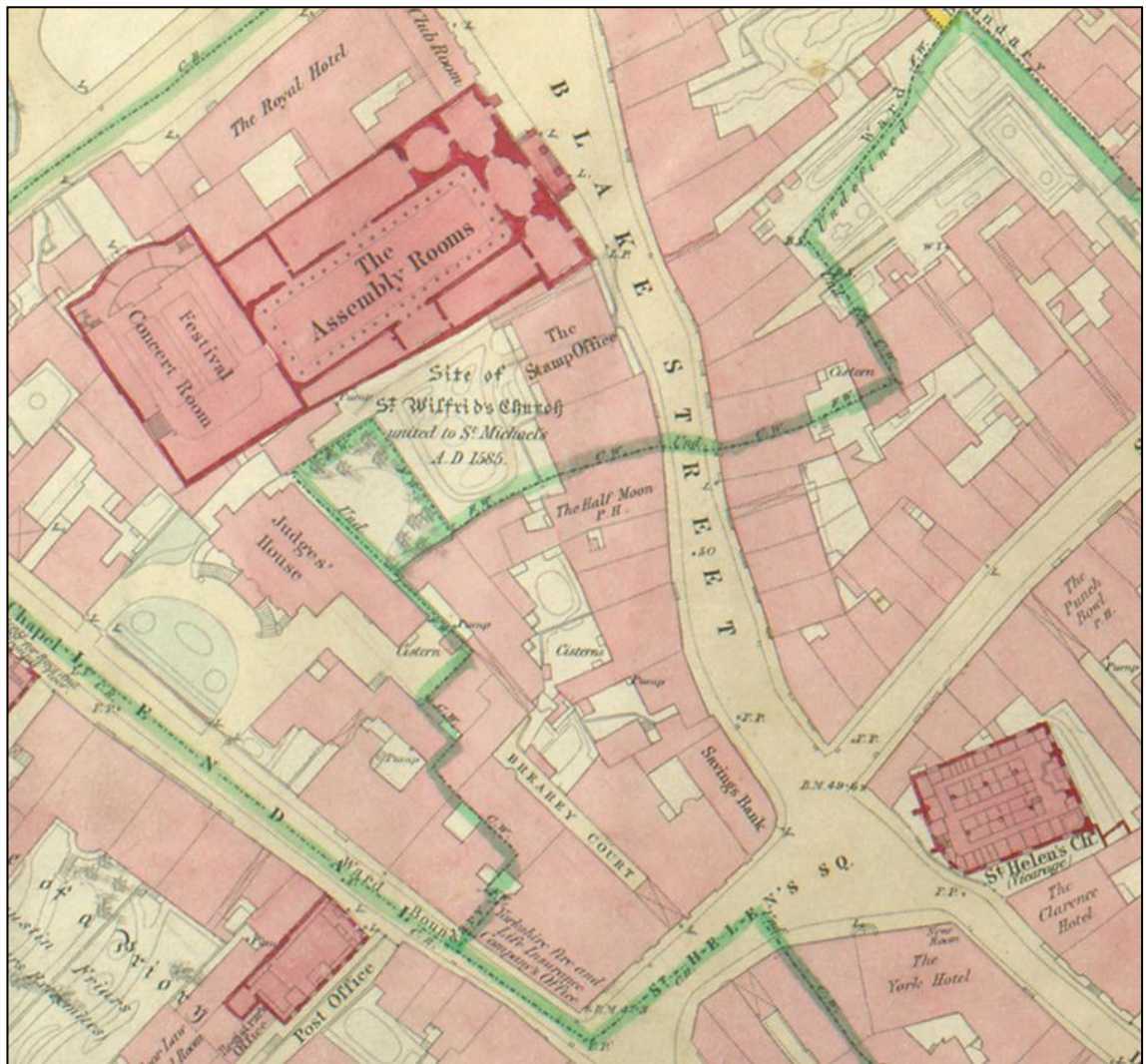


Figure 23 1852 Ordnance Survey showing the position of St Wilfrid's (open space below the Assembly Rooms), and St Helen Stonegate (bottom right). Breary Court is shown leading from St Helen's Square. Note the awkward relationship of St Helen with street and boundary alignments



Figure 24 1852 Ordnance Survey showing the position of Bent's Rents and the location of St Benedict's church at the junction of Grape Lane, Swinegate and Back Swinegate. The reversed 'L' of the streets is traditionally seen as reflecting the boundaries of the cemetery

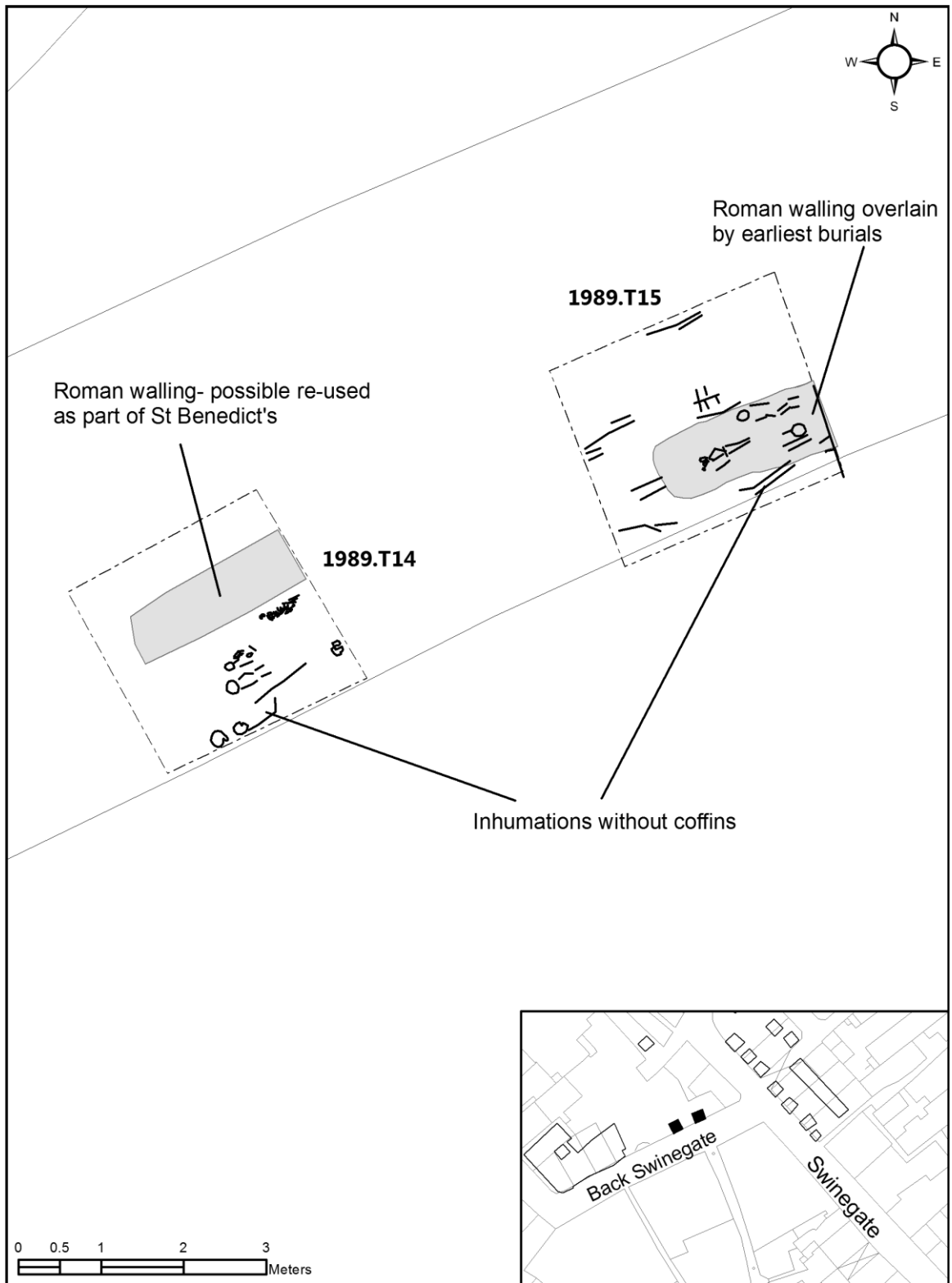


Figure 25 Trenches 1989.T14 and 1989.T15 showing earliest inhumations and Roman walling

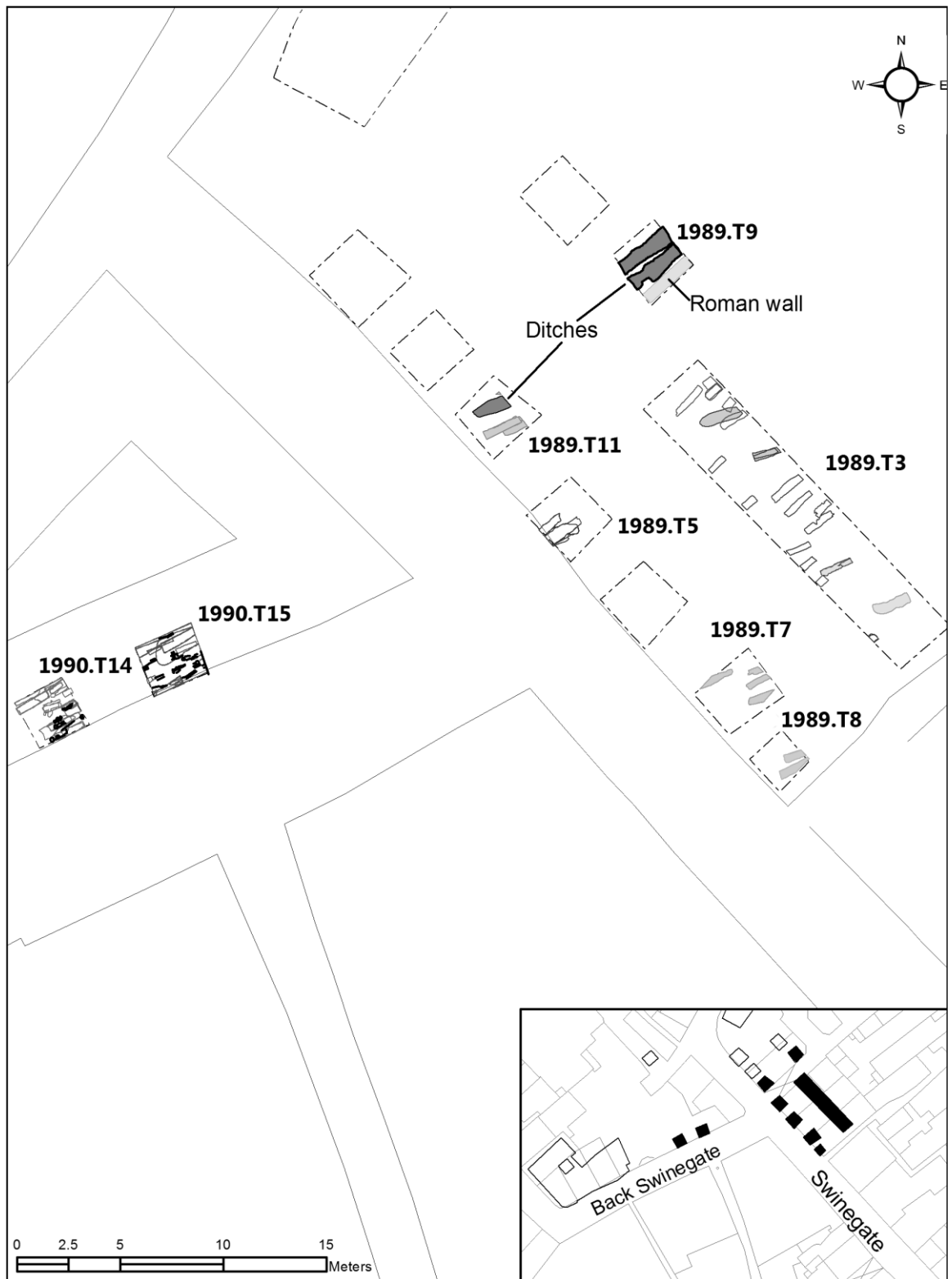


Figure 26 Extent of the cemetery recorded in the 1989-90 excavations. Note the variation in alignment of some burials (highlighted grey) suggesting different phases of use, and the concentration of burial in 1990.T14 and 1990.T15.

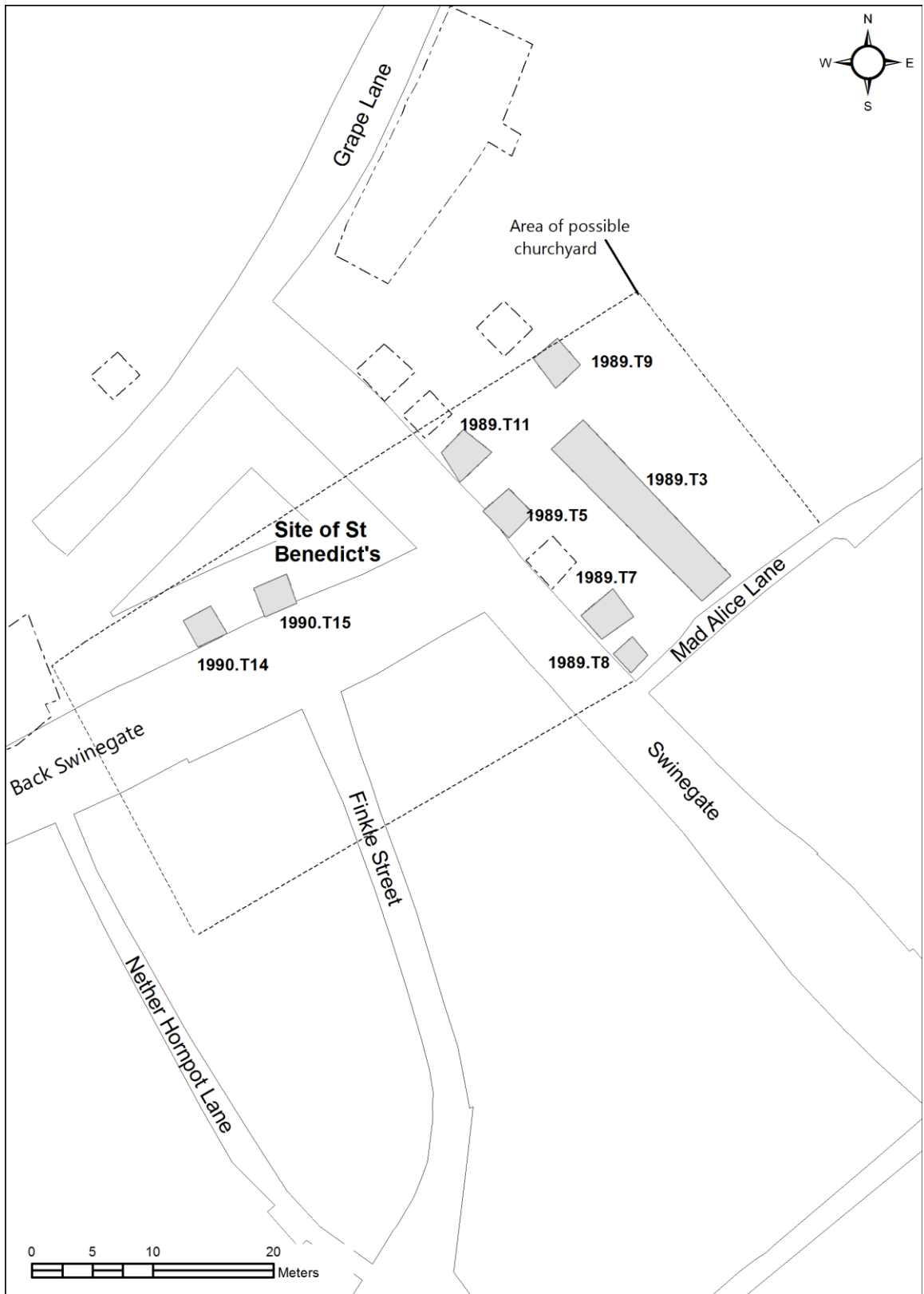


Figure 27 Possible area of a churchyard associated with St Benedict's. Trenches with burials shaded

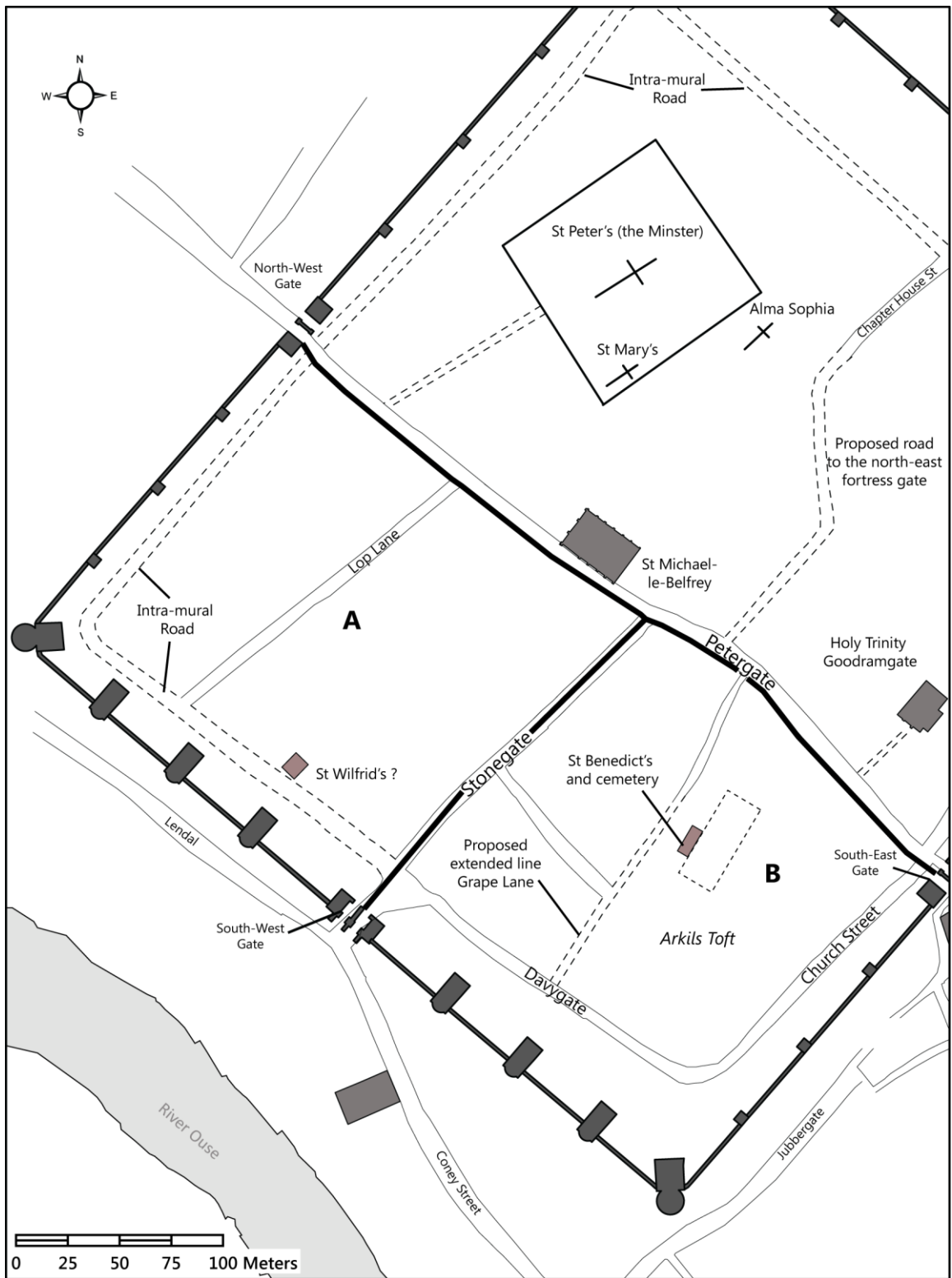


Figure 28 Proposed estate boundaries (thick black line) in the southern half of the fortress.
 A= St Wilfrid's and B= St Benedict's

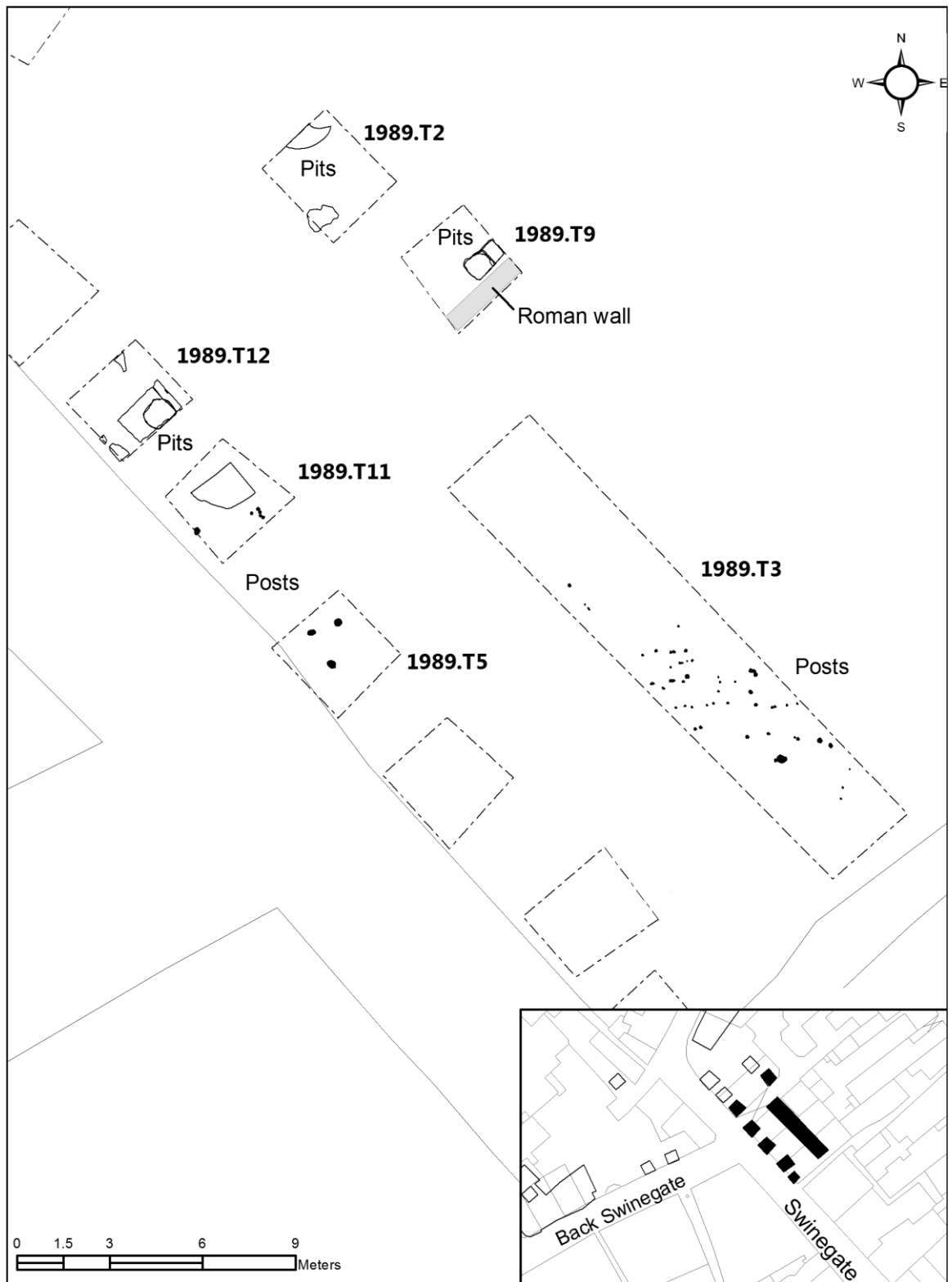


Figure 29 Activity following the closure of the north-eastern half of the cemetery

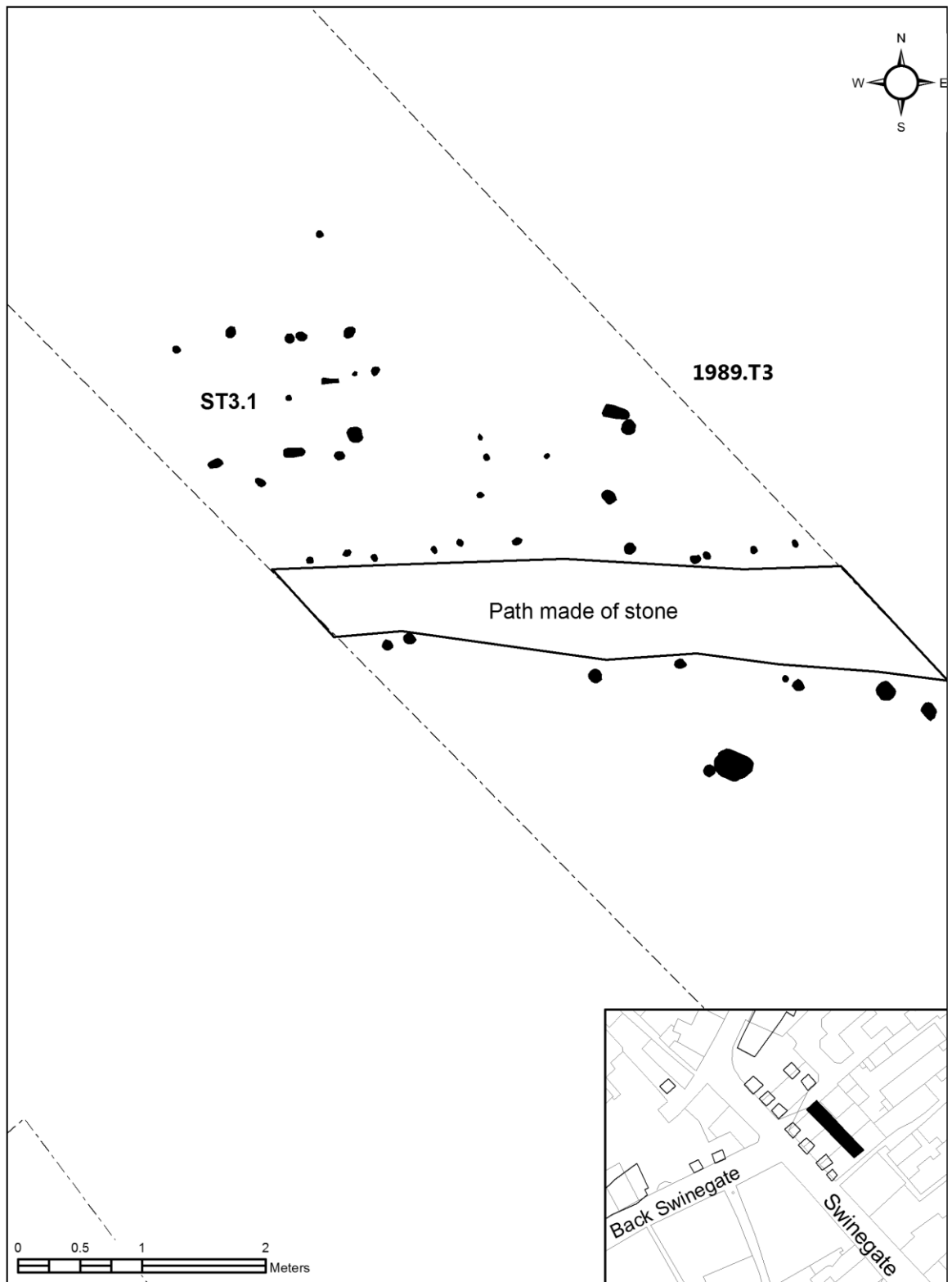


Figure 30 detail of trench 1989.T3 showing post fence marking path and structure ST3.1

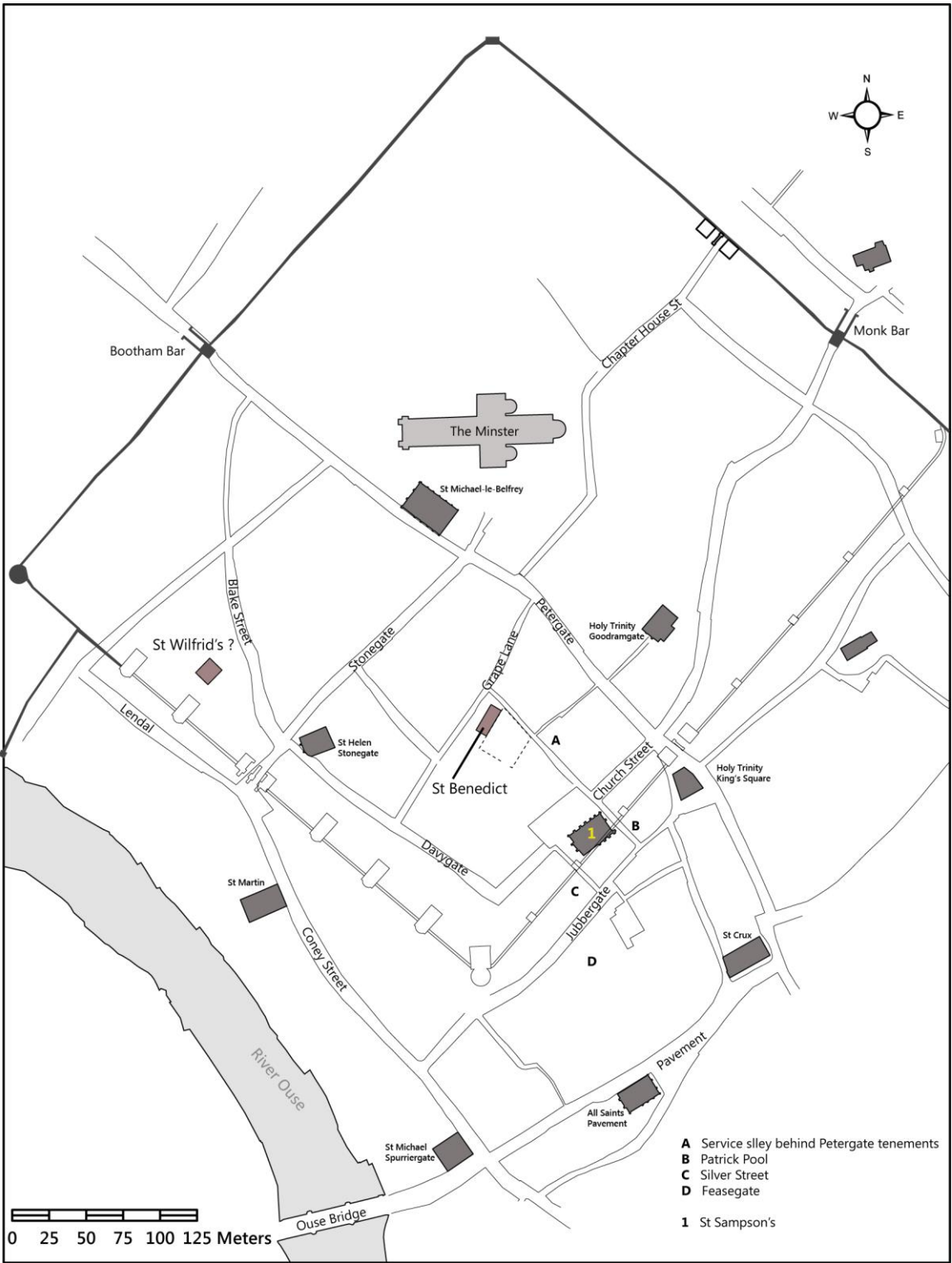


Figure 31 Proposed street pattern and defences in the late eleventh and twelfth century.

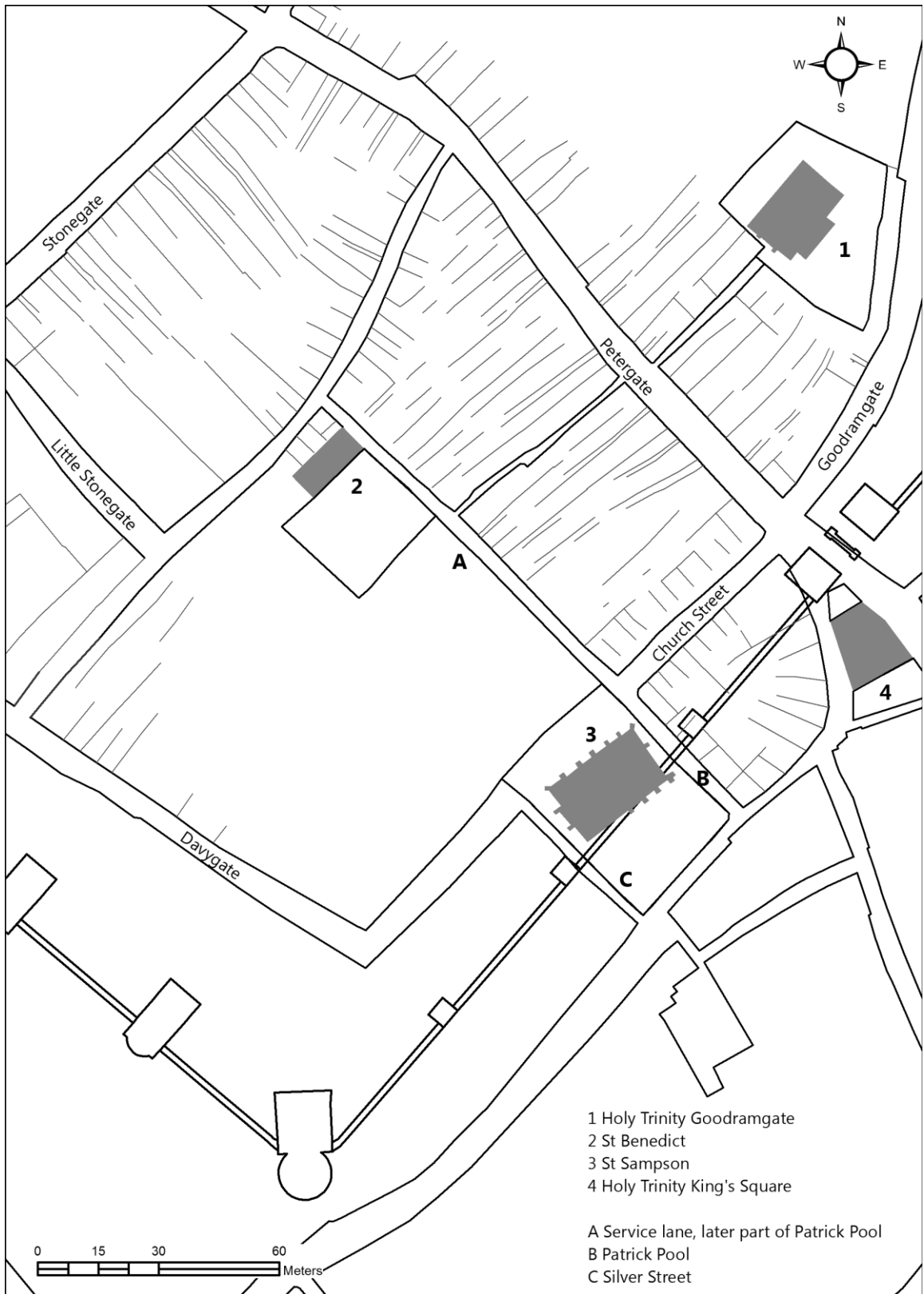


Figure 32 Detail of the area around St Sampson's church showing proposed street. Plot boundaries derived from 1852 Ordnance Survey,

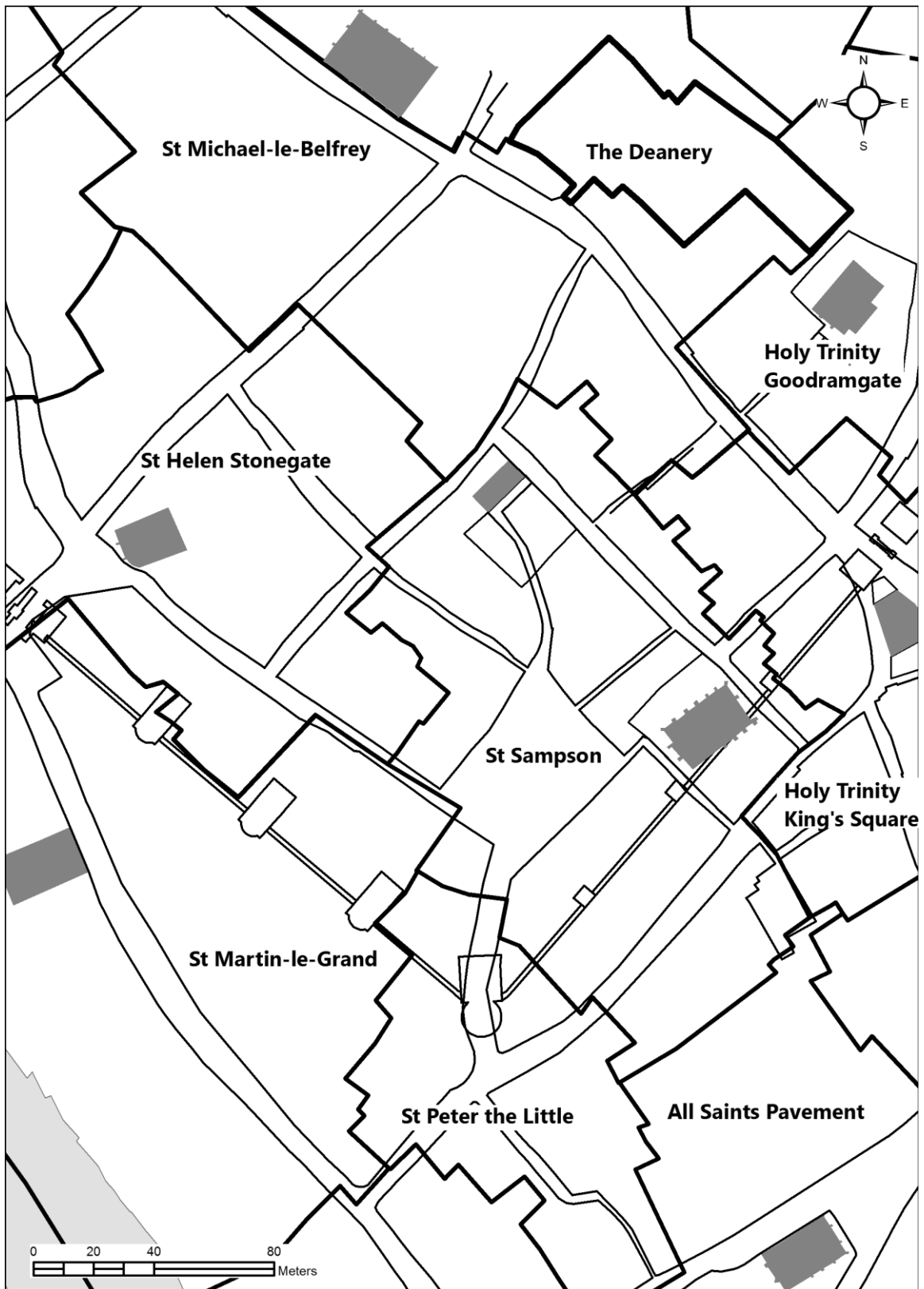


Figure 33 parish boundaries showing lack of correlation with the fortress defences on the south-east side

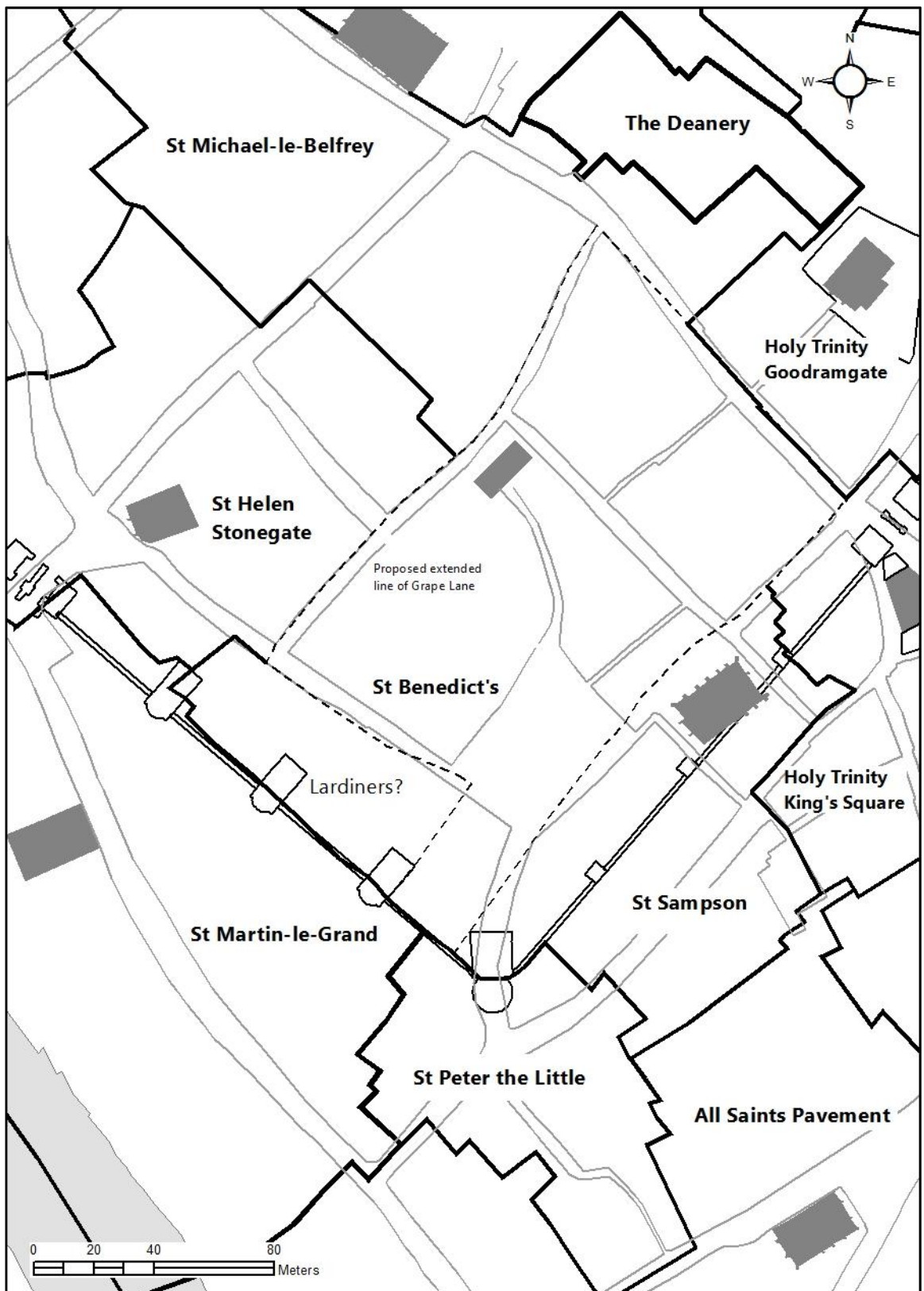


Figure 34. Conjectural reconstruction of parish boundaries for St Benedict's parish in relation to proposed extended line of Grape Lane and the retained south-east and south-west defences. Area of Lardiners liberty also shown.

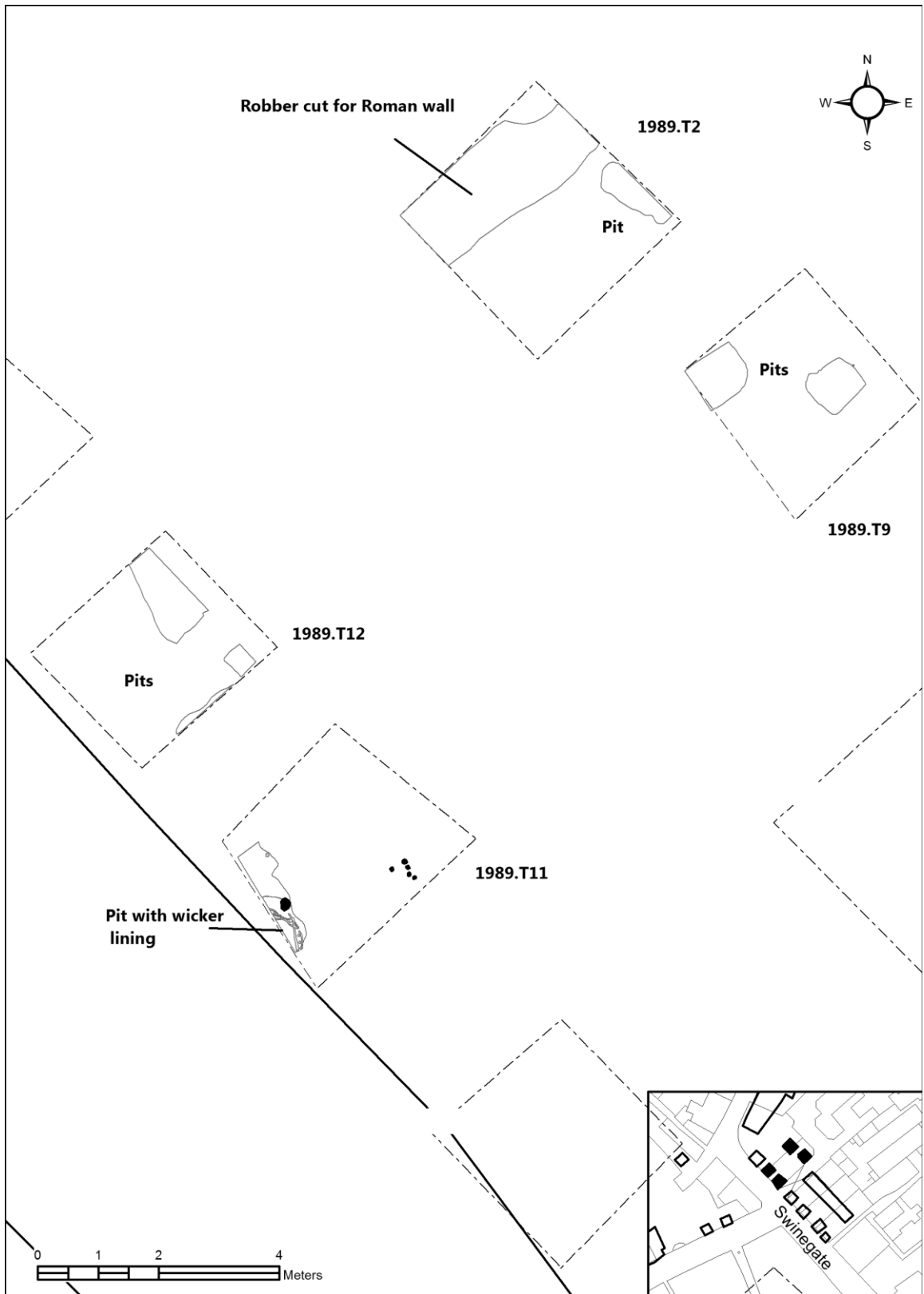


Figure 35 Pits and robber cuts late eleventh and early twelfth century

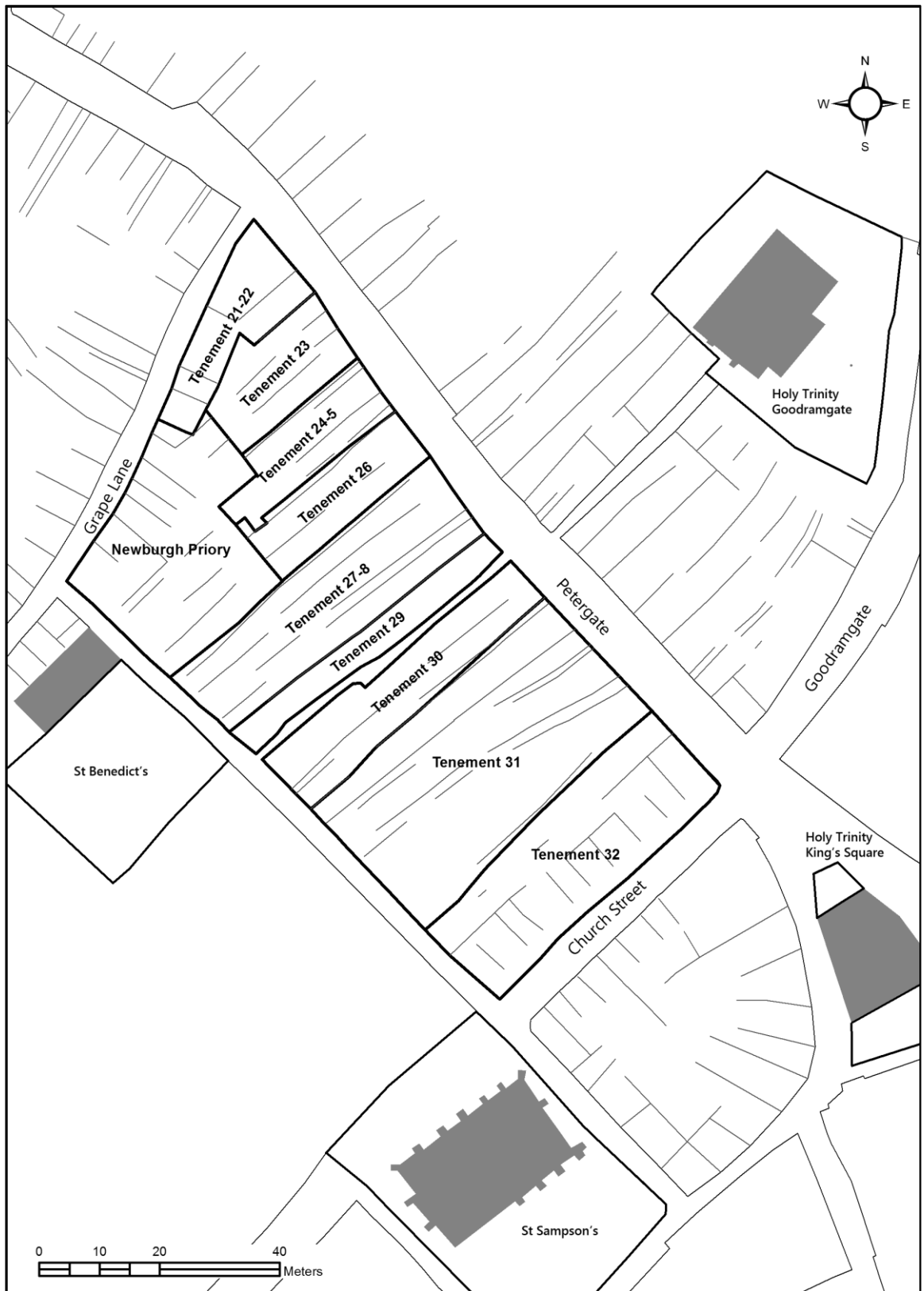


Figure 36 Location of the holding of Newburgh Priory

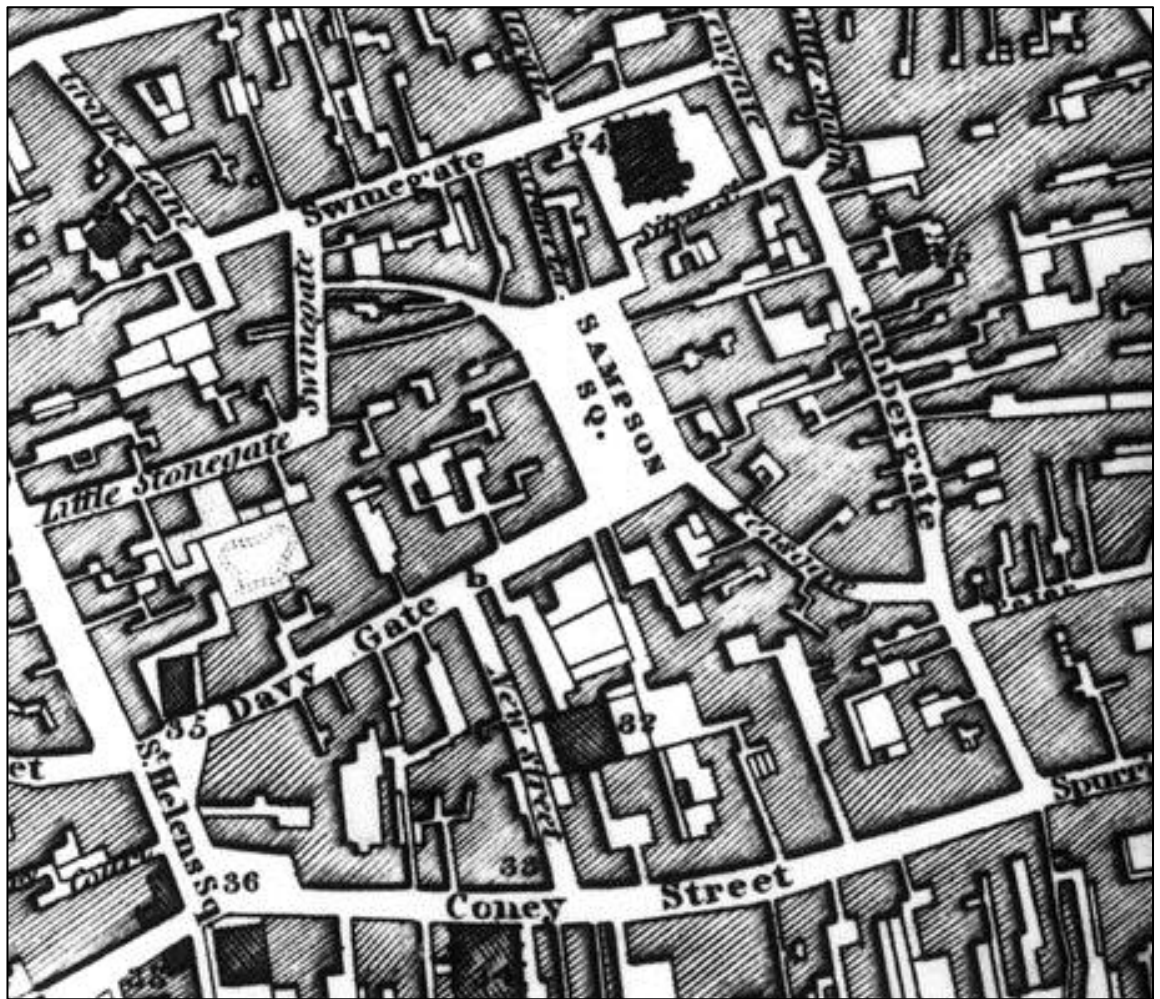


Figure 37 Thursday Market as shown on Baine's map of York 1823

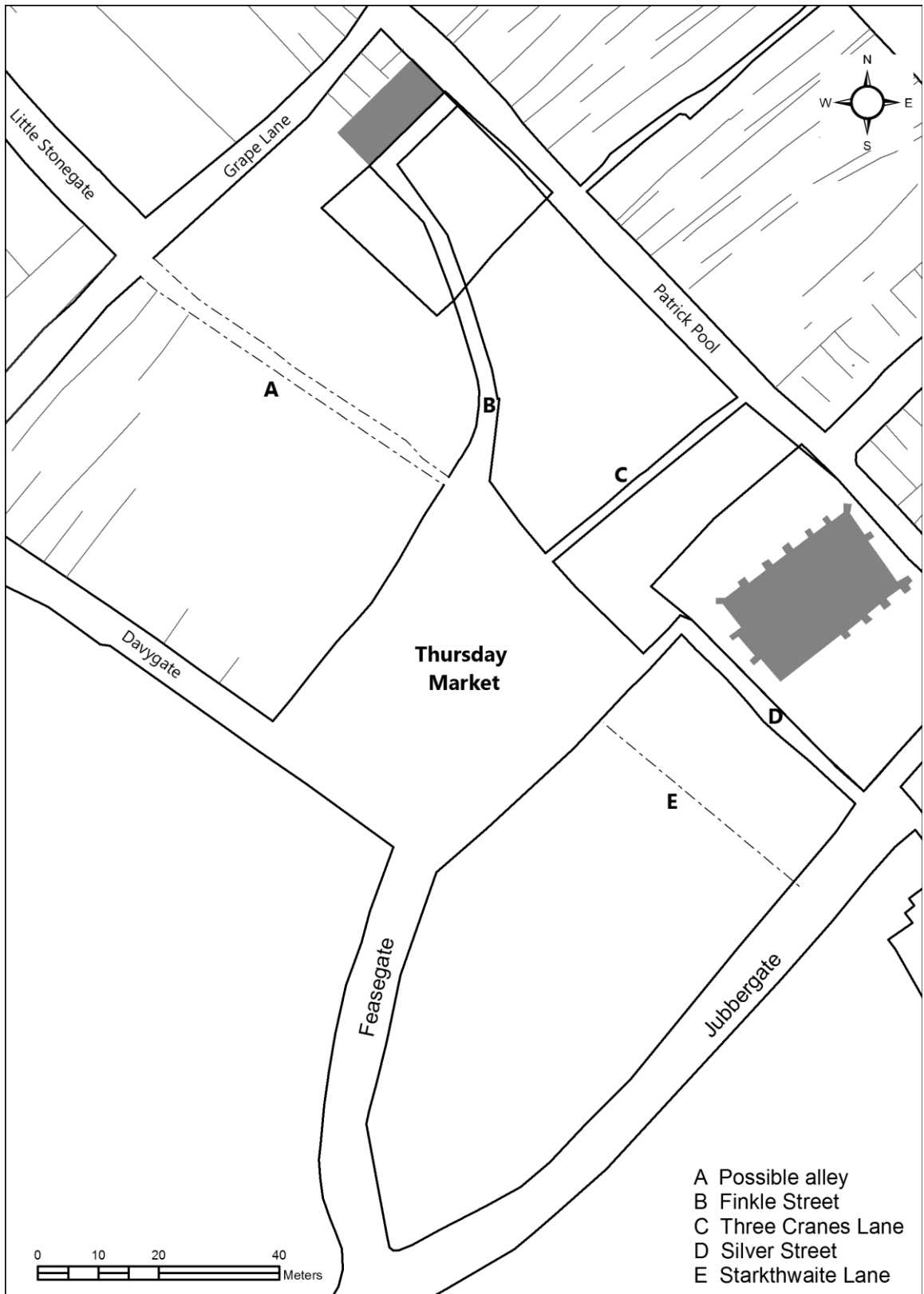


Figure 38 Proposed street pattern following the creation of Thursday Market in 1235



Figure 39 Plot and parish boundaries in the area of Thursday Market and St Sampson

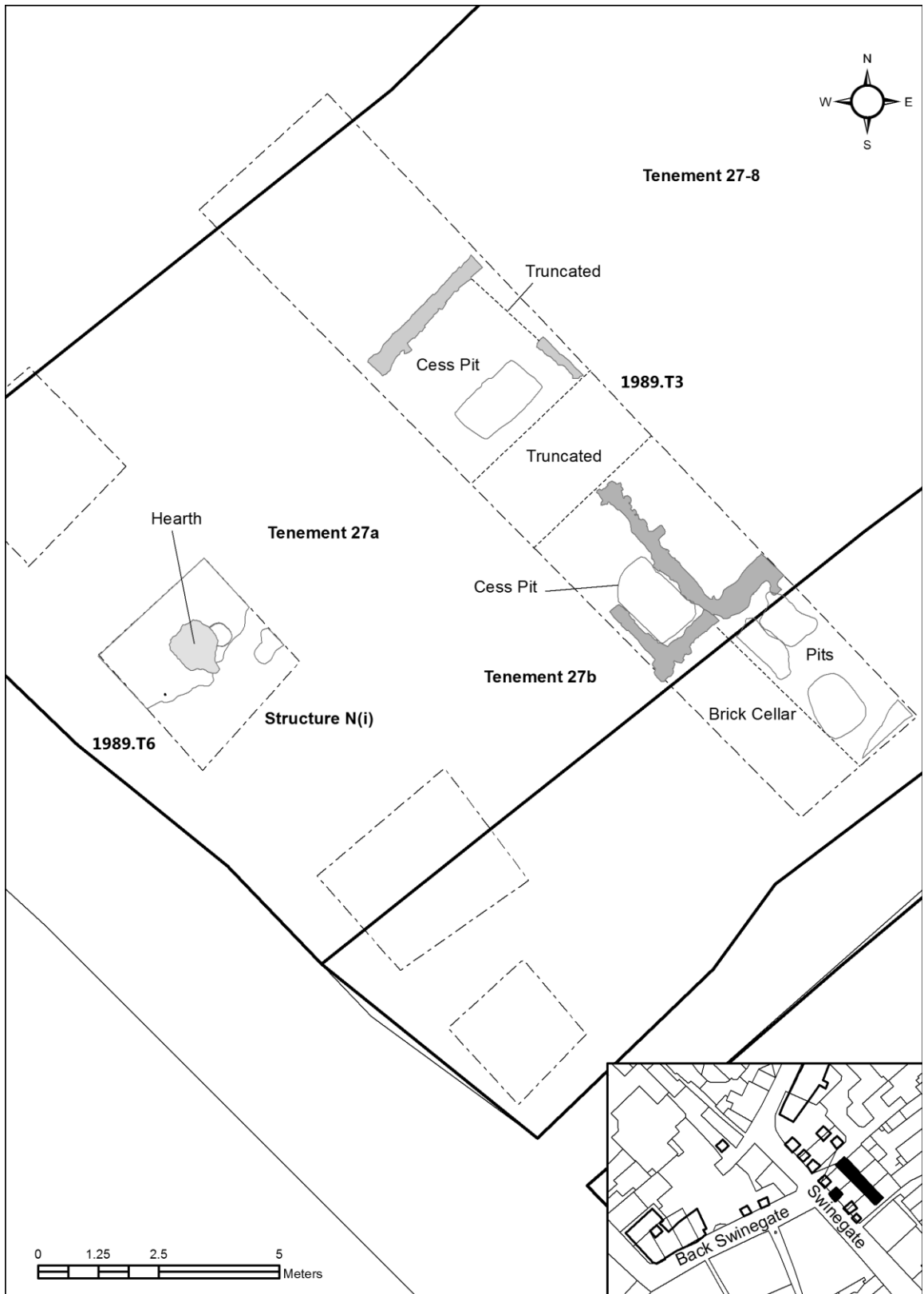


Figure 40 Tenement 27a and 27b. Street front building Structure N(i). Stone footings for boundary walls and pits

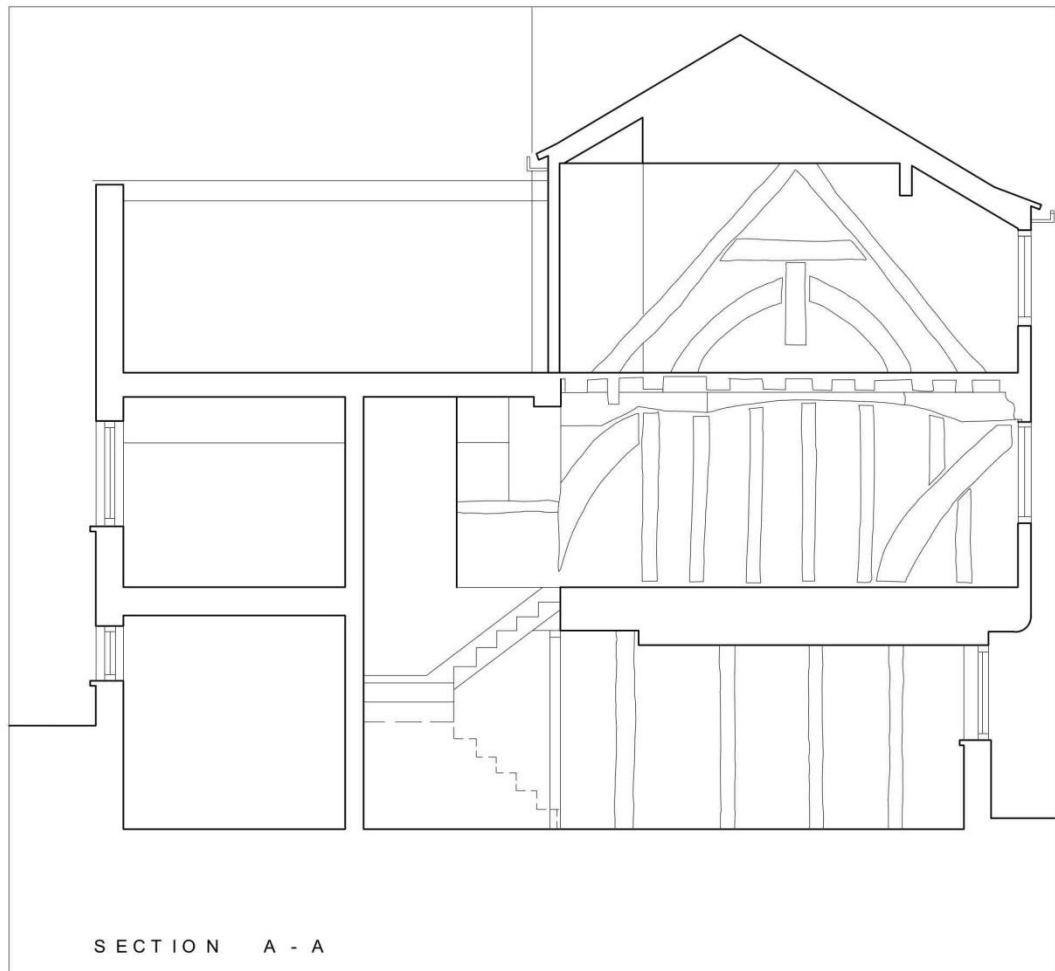


Figure 41 19 Grape Lane. Drawing based on the field notes by the RCHME showing original timber frame of two storey building with 18th or 19th century heightening and extension to the rear (drawn by Dav Smith)



Figure 42 Two storey timber framed buildings, although much altered, at the corner of Back Swinegate and Swinegate. Top image c.1889, bottom image c.1900 (©Imagine York)

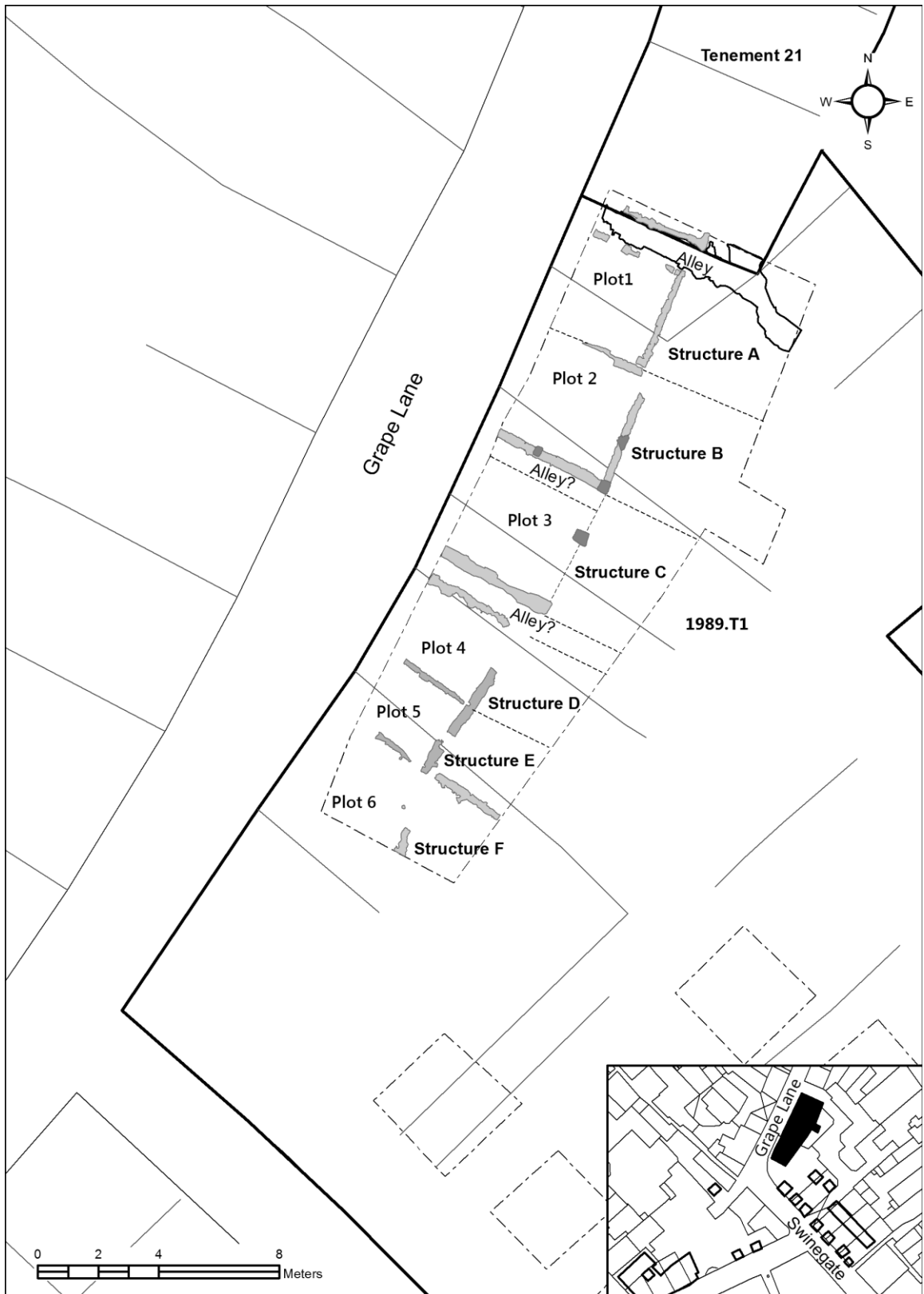


Figure 43 14th century buildings. Note the discrepancy between the plot boundaries from the 1852 Ordnance Survey with the excavated wall lines. The south-eastern boundary of Plot 6 was noted in the south-east section of the excavation.

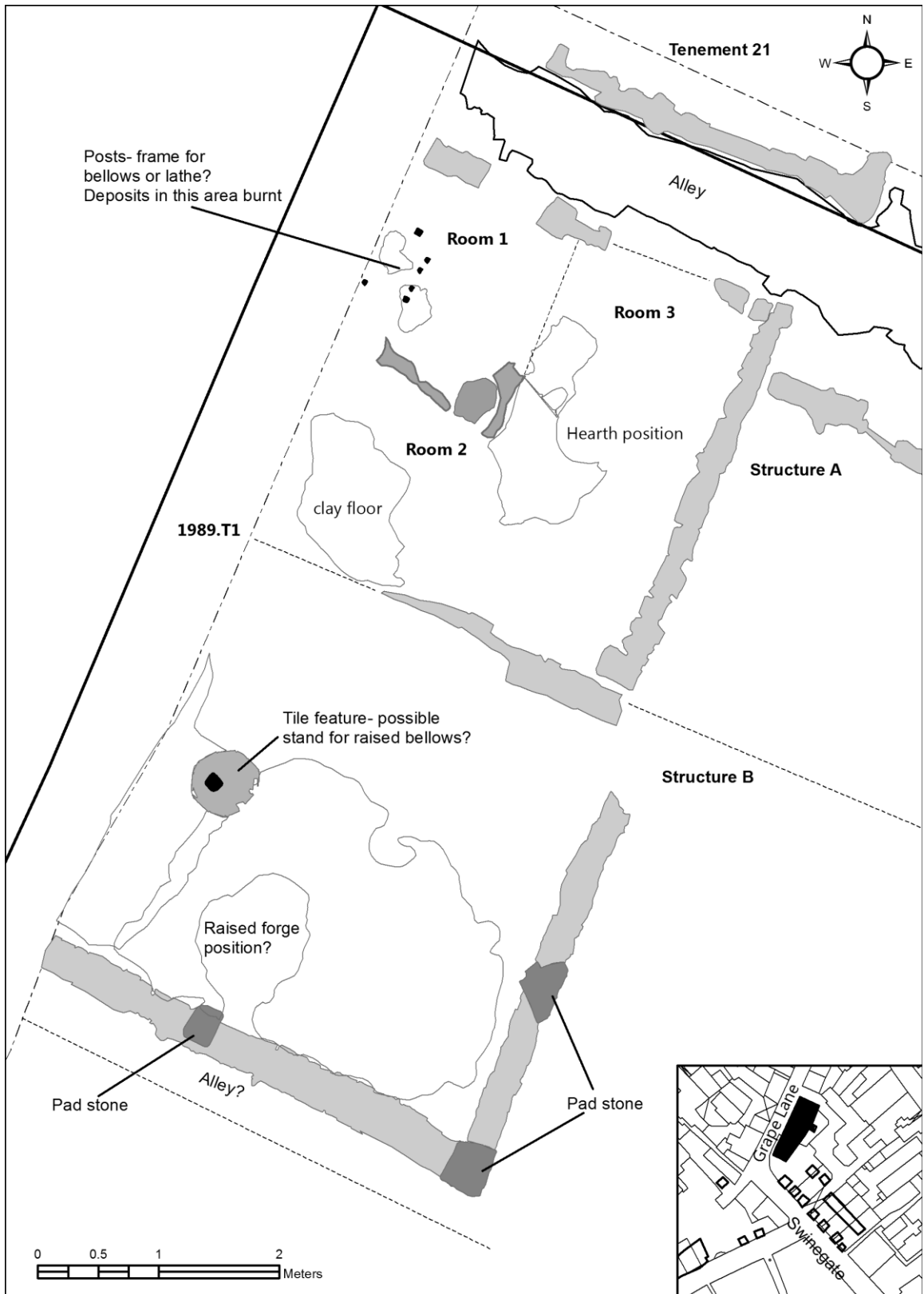


Figure 44 Structure A and B in the fourteenth century

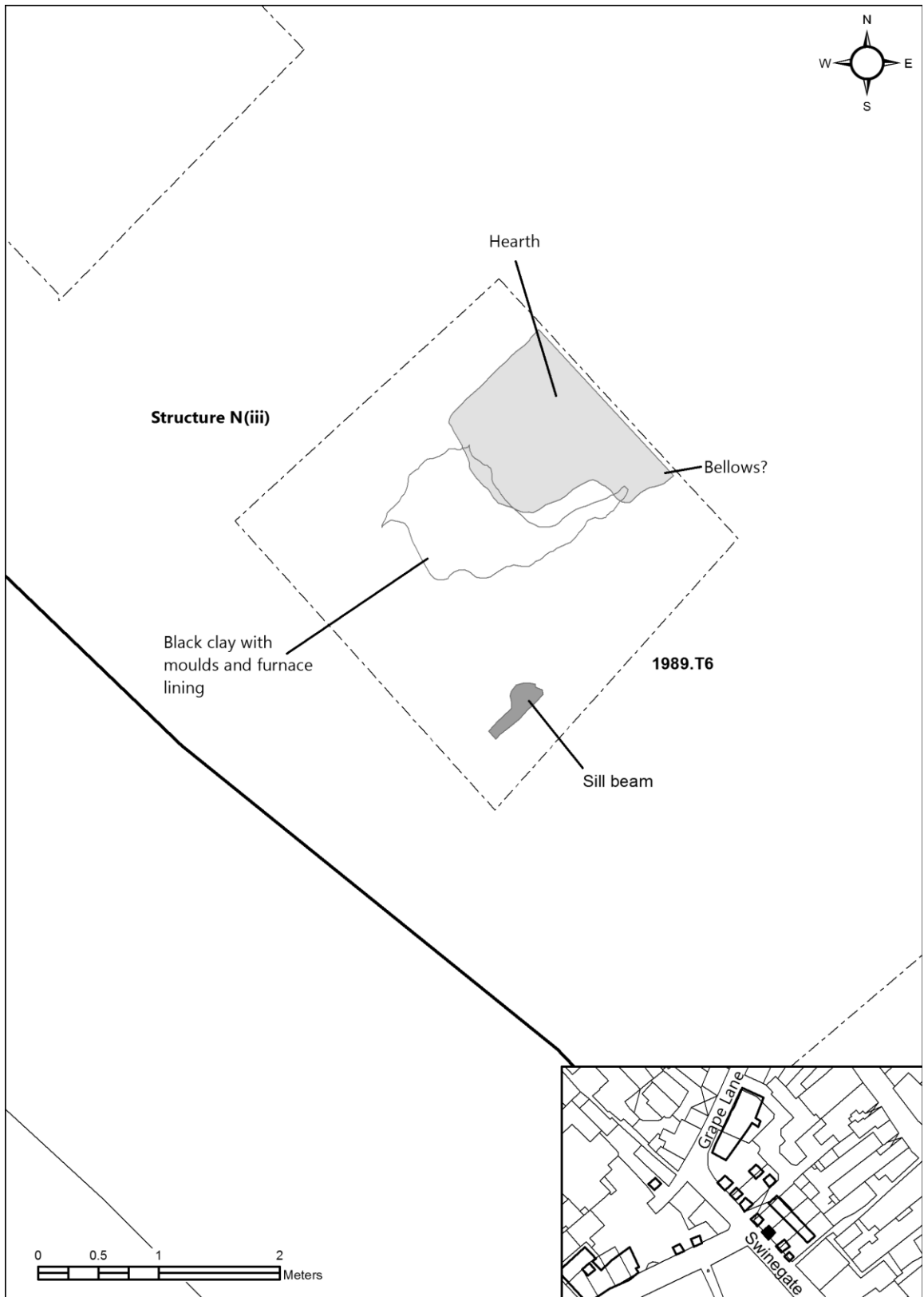


Figure 45 Structure N(ii) fourteenth century

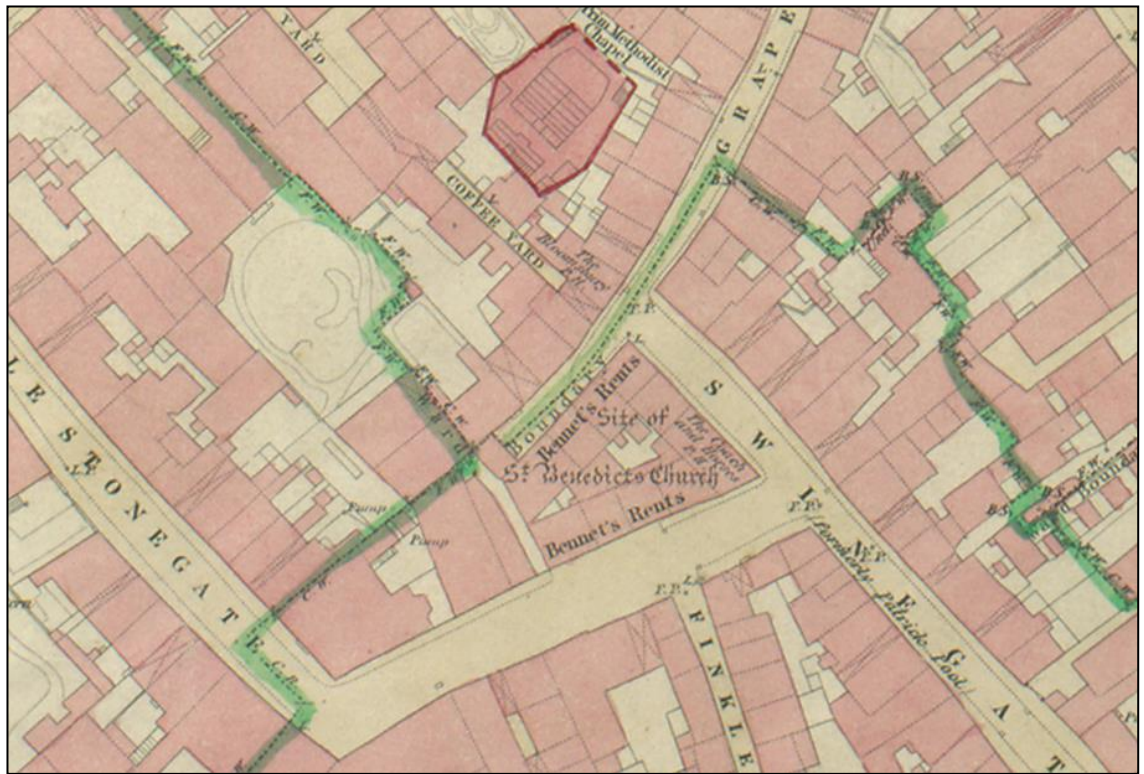


Figure 46 1852 Ordnance Survey (top) showing position of Benet's Rents. 1890s photograph (bottom) looking from Grape Lane along Swinegate showing Benet's Rents (©Imagine York)



Figure 47 Property boundaries in the area of Back Swinegate derived from the 1852 Ordnance Survey.

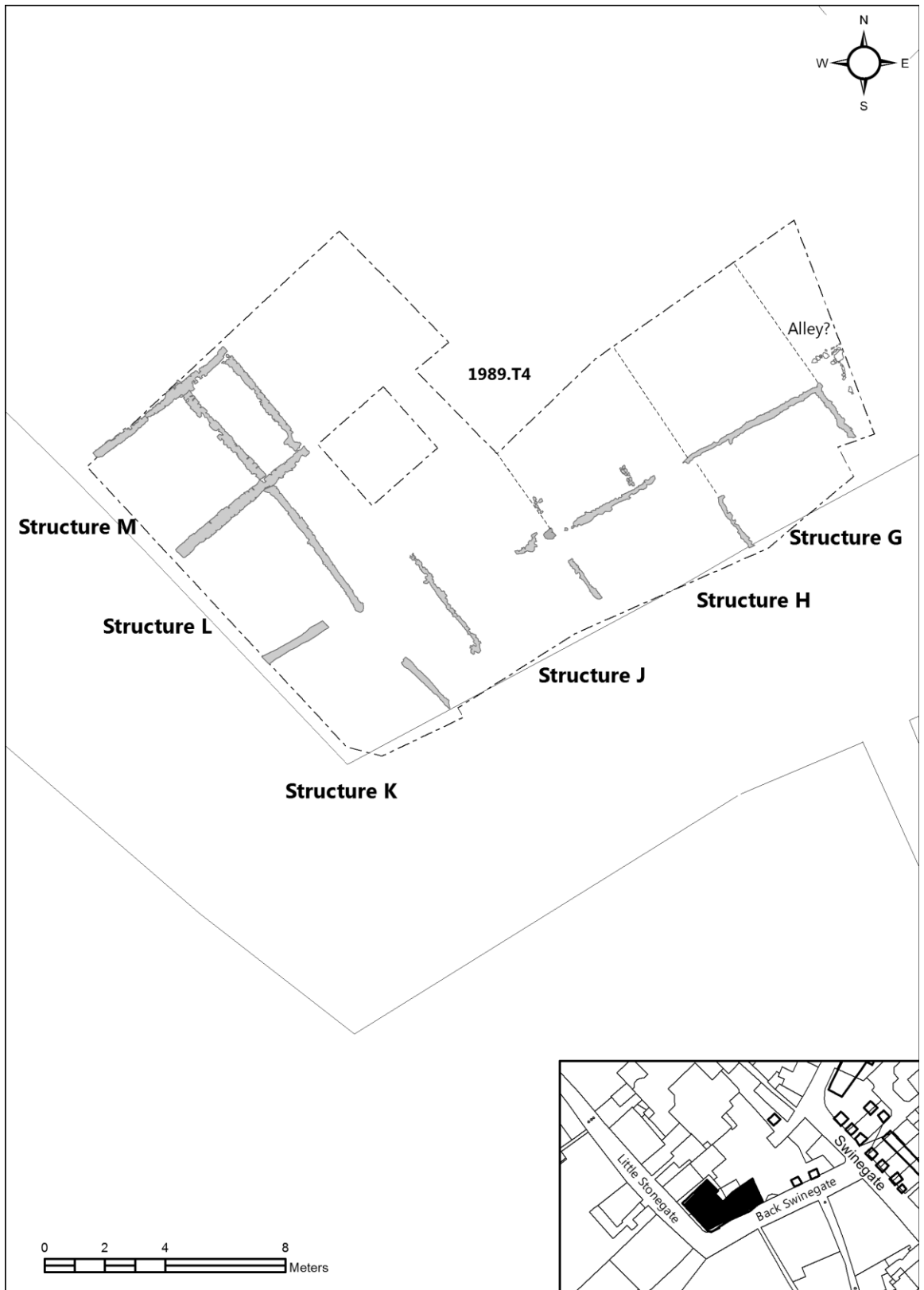


Figure 48 Structures G-M Back Swinegate and Little Stonegate

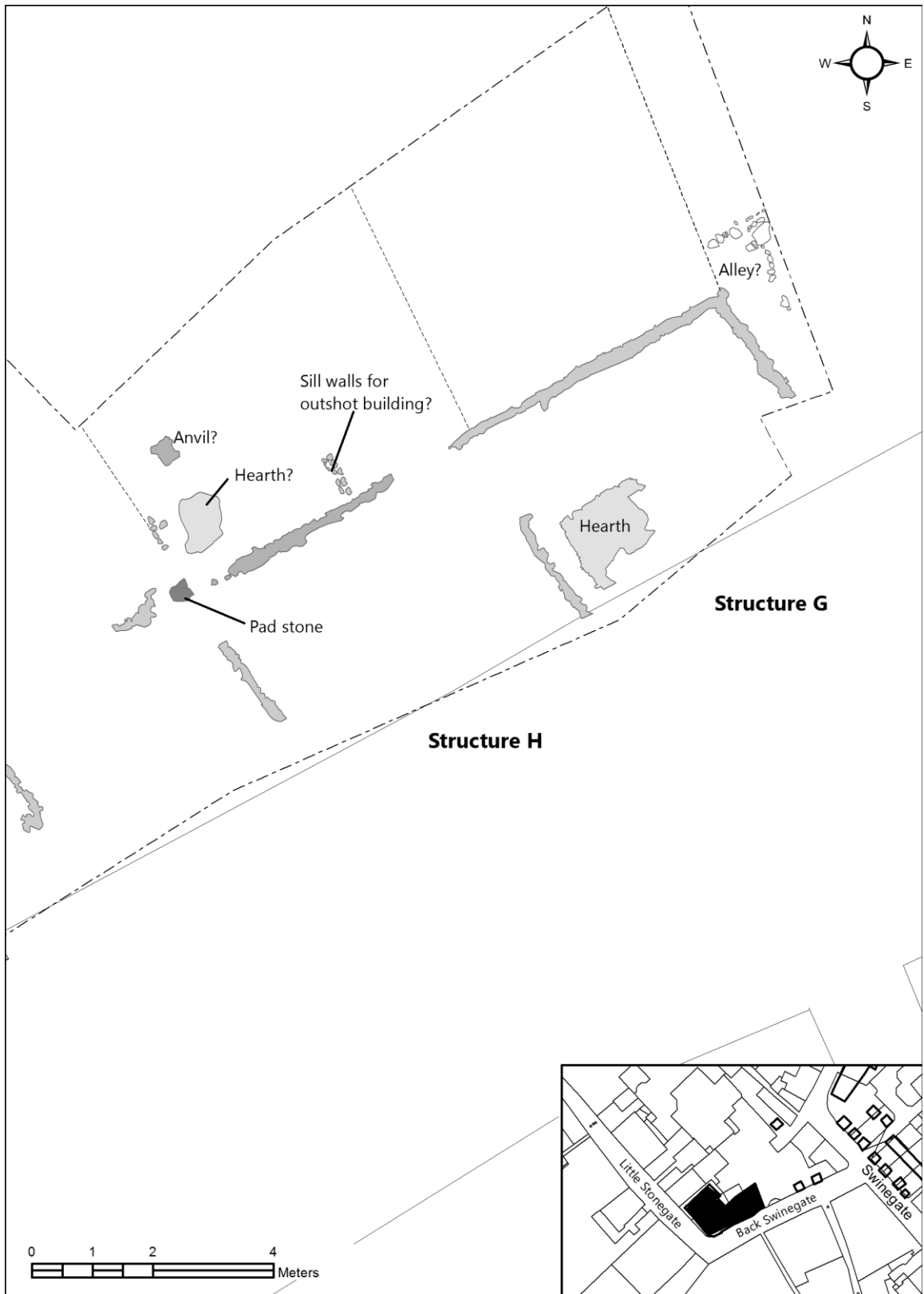


Figure 49 Structures G-H late fourteenth century

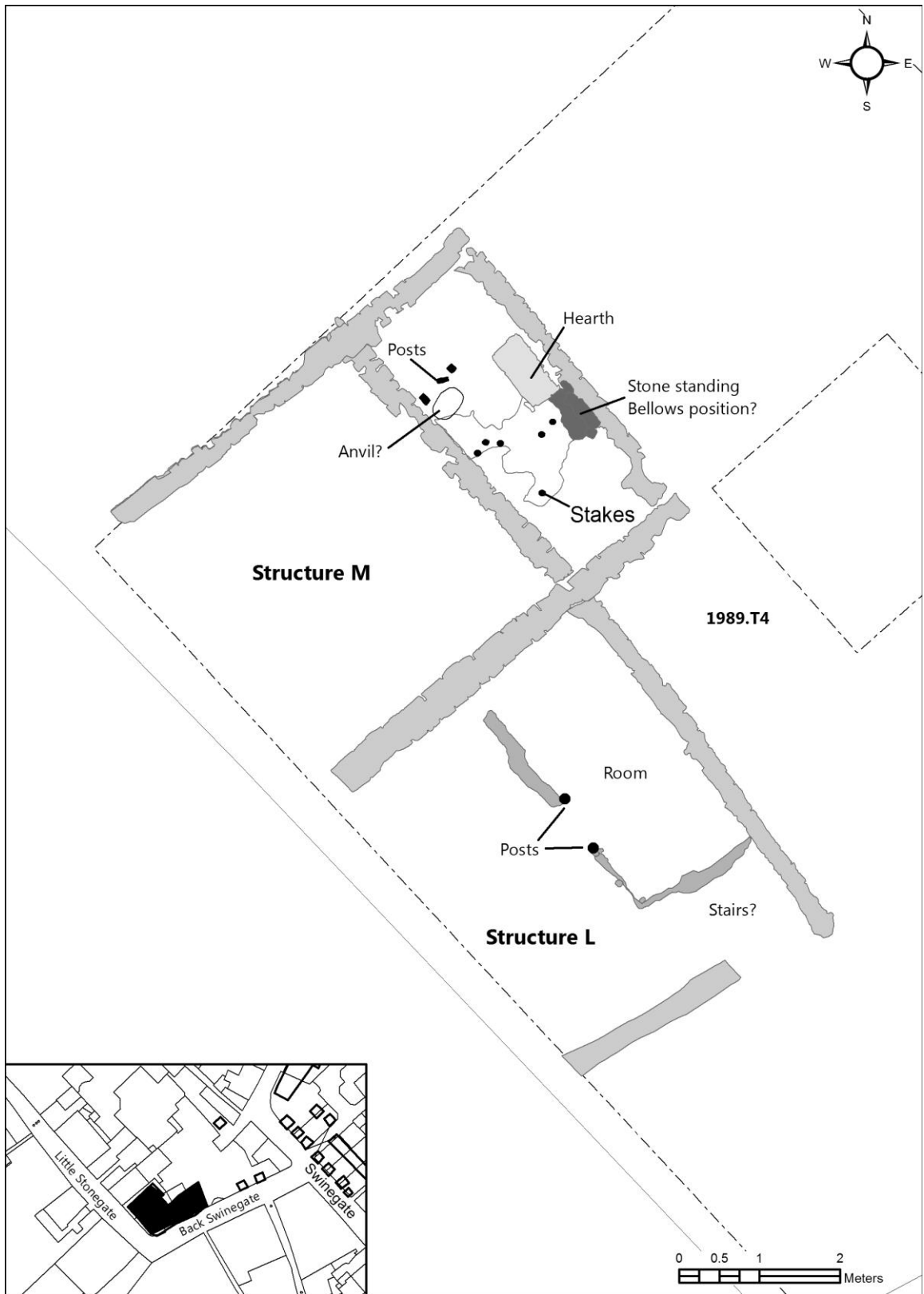


Figure 50 Structure L and M late fourteenth century

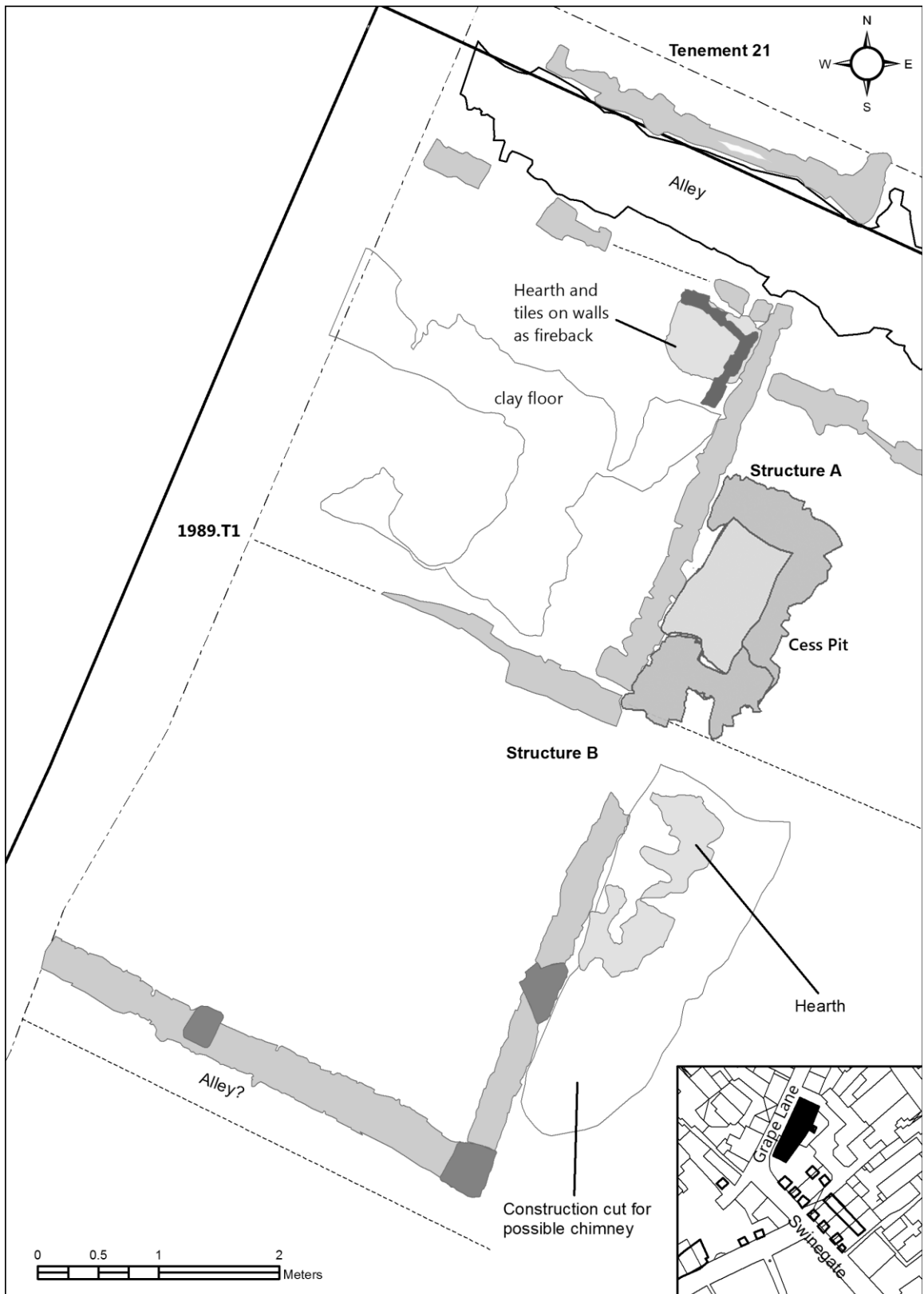


Figure 51 Structure A and B in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries

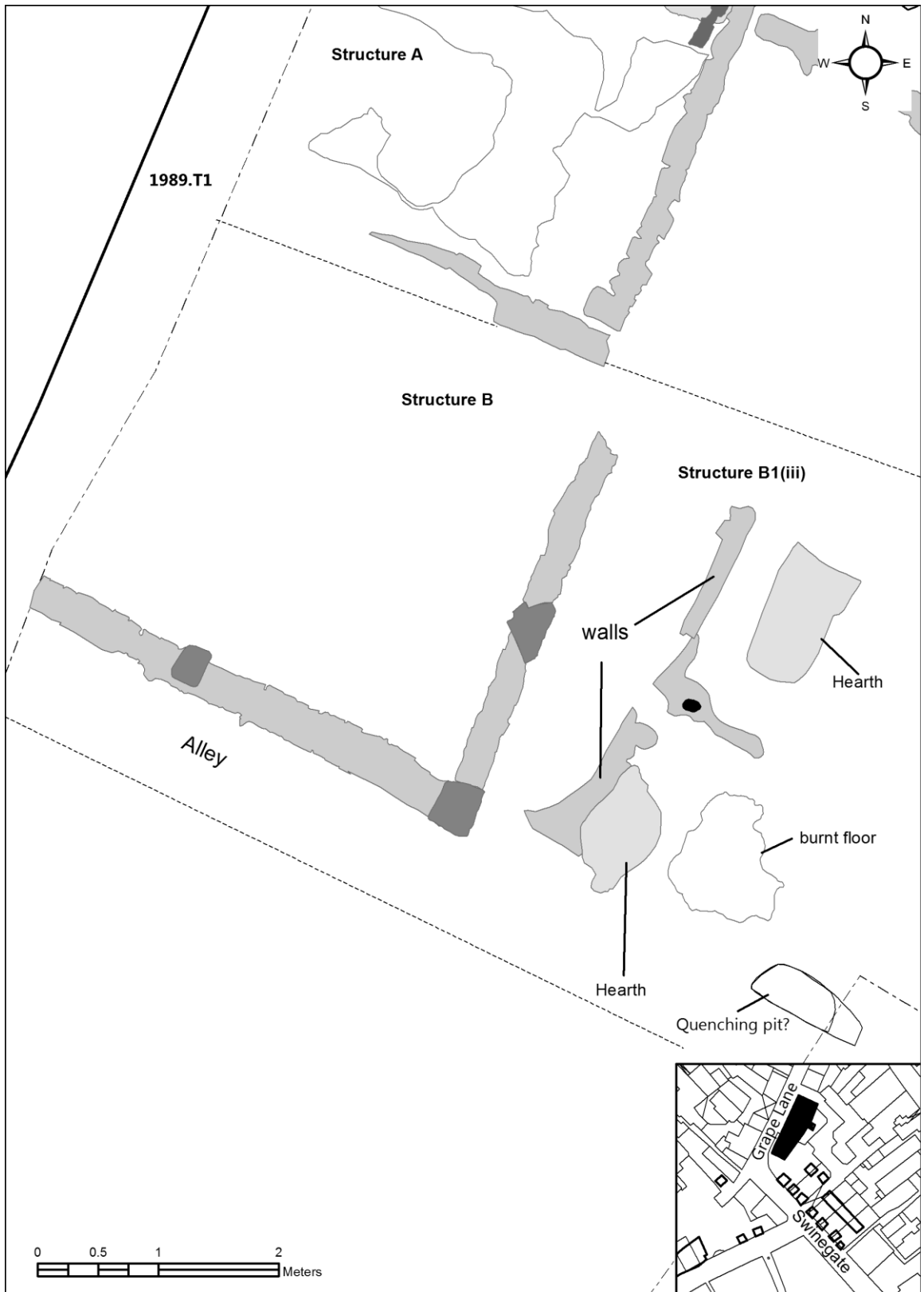


Figure 52 Structure B1(iii) in the 15th century

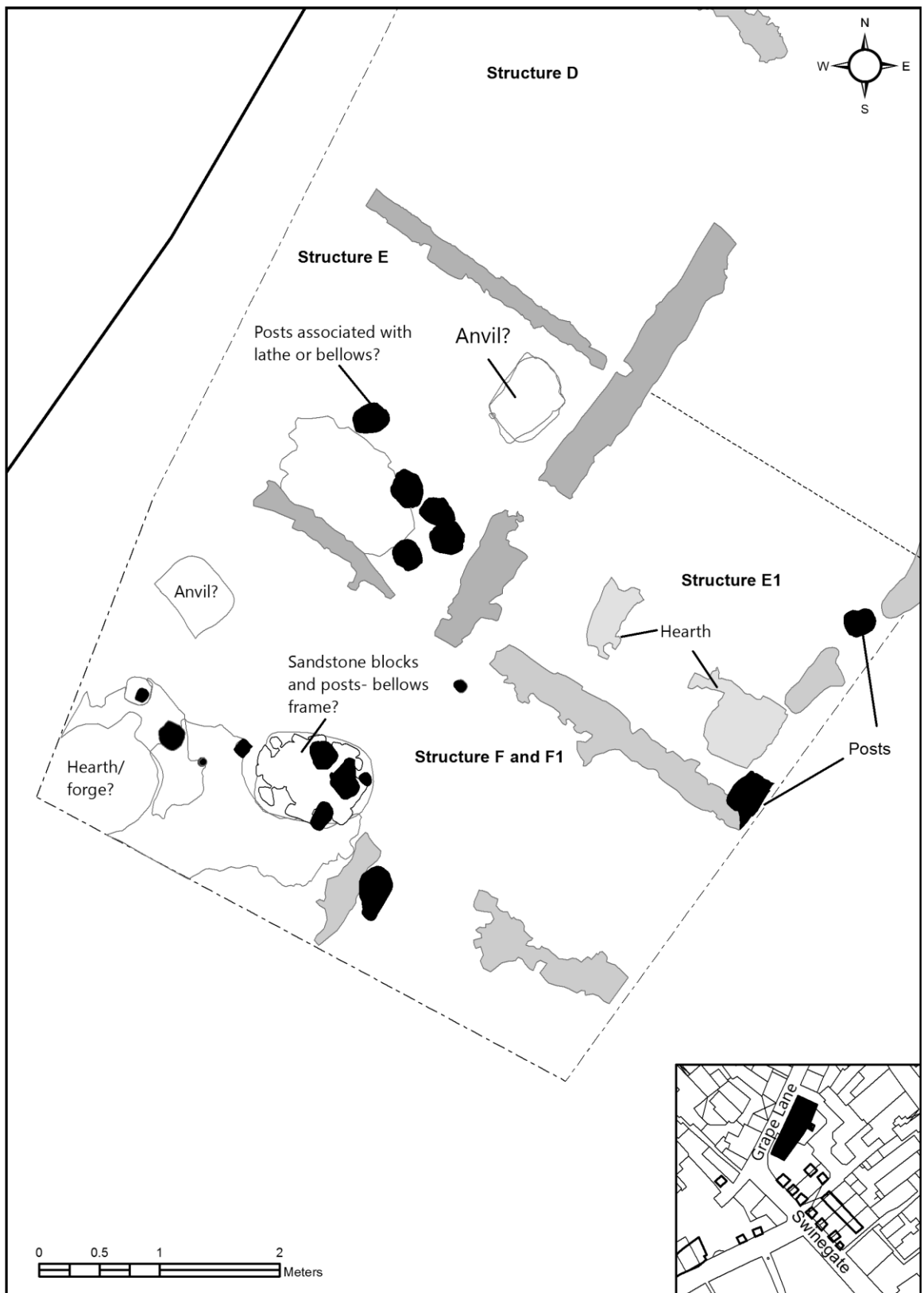


Figure 53 Structure E and F in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries

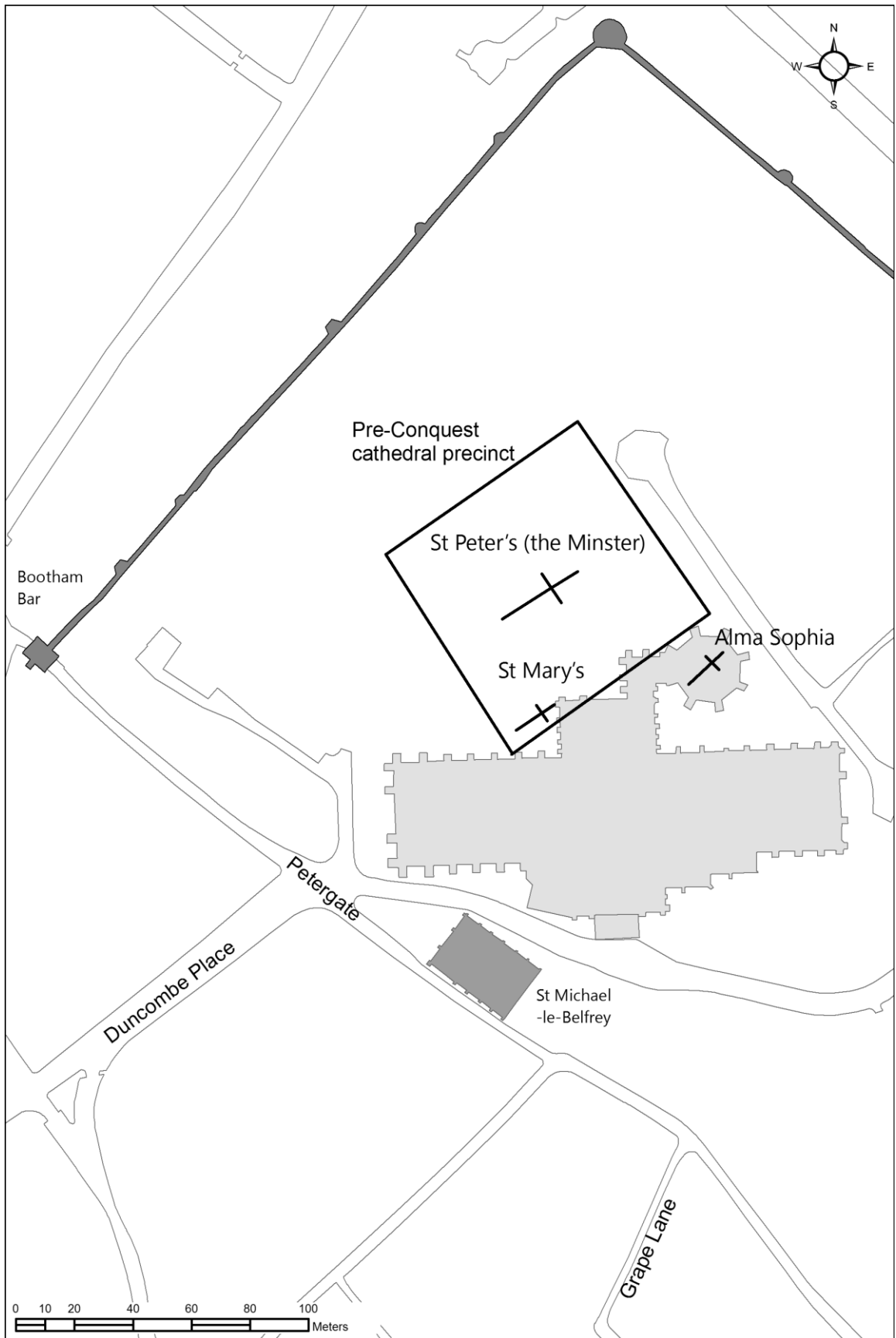


Figure 54 Petergate study area between Bootham Bar and Grape Lane showing position of seventh-eleventh century Minster precinct and later medieval Minster (after Norton 1998)

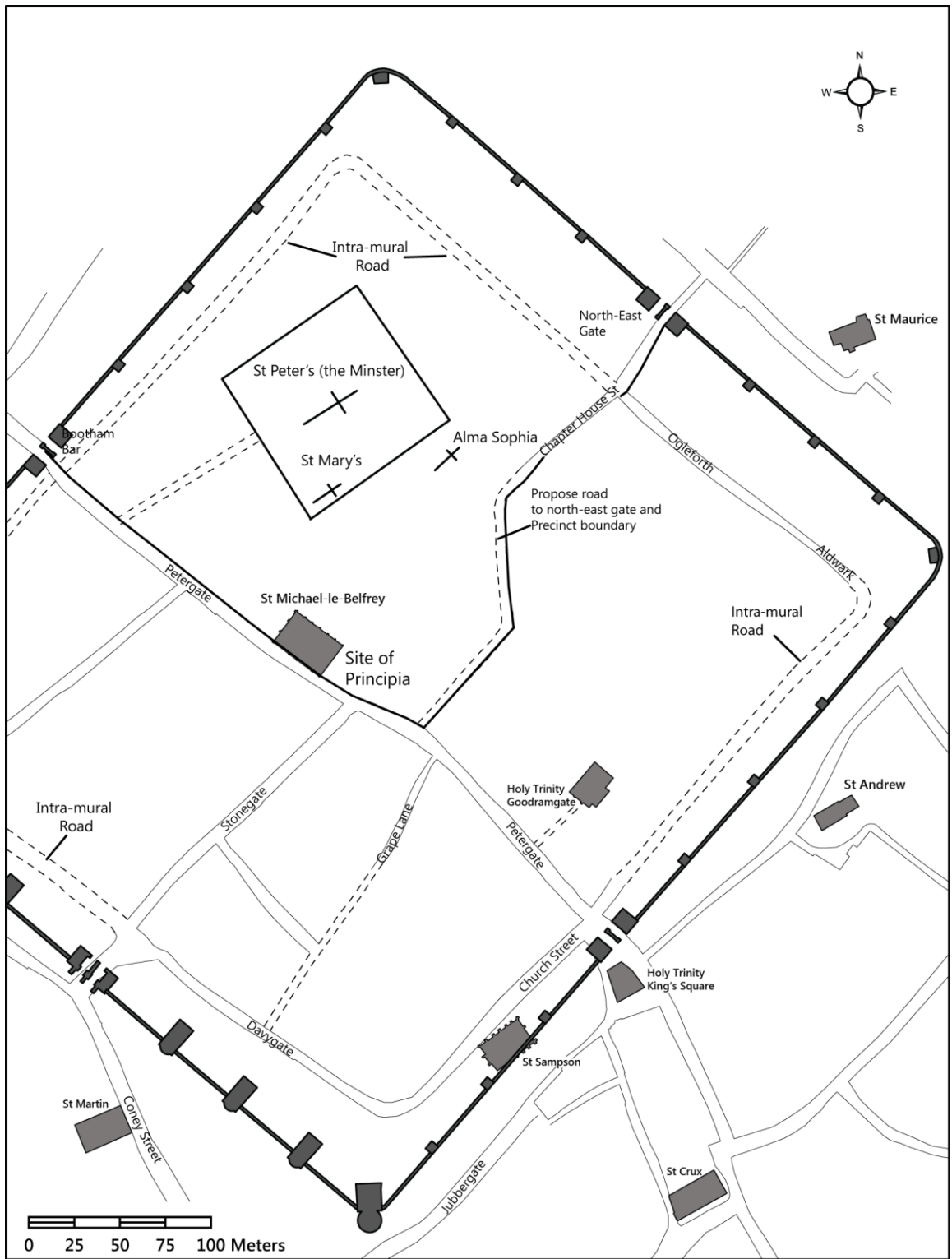


Figure 55 Minster Precinct and road to the north-east fortress gate



Figure 56 1852 Ordnance Survey showing Holy Trinity Goodramgate and associated cemetery

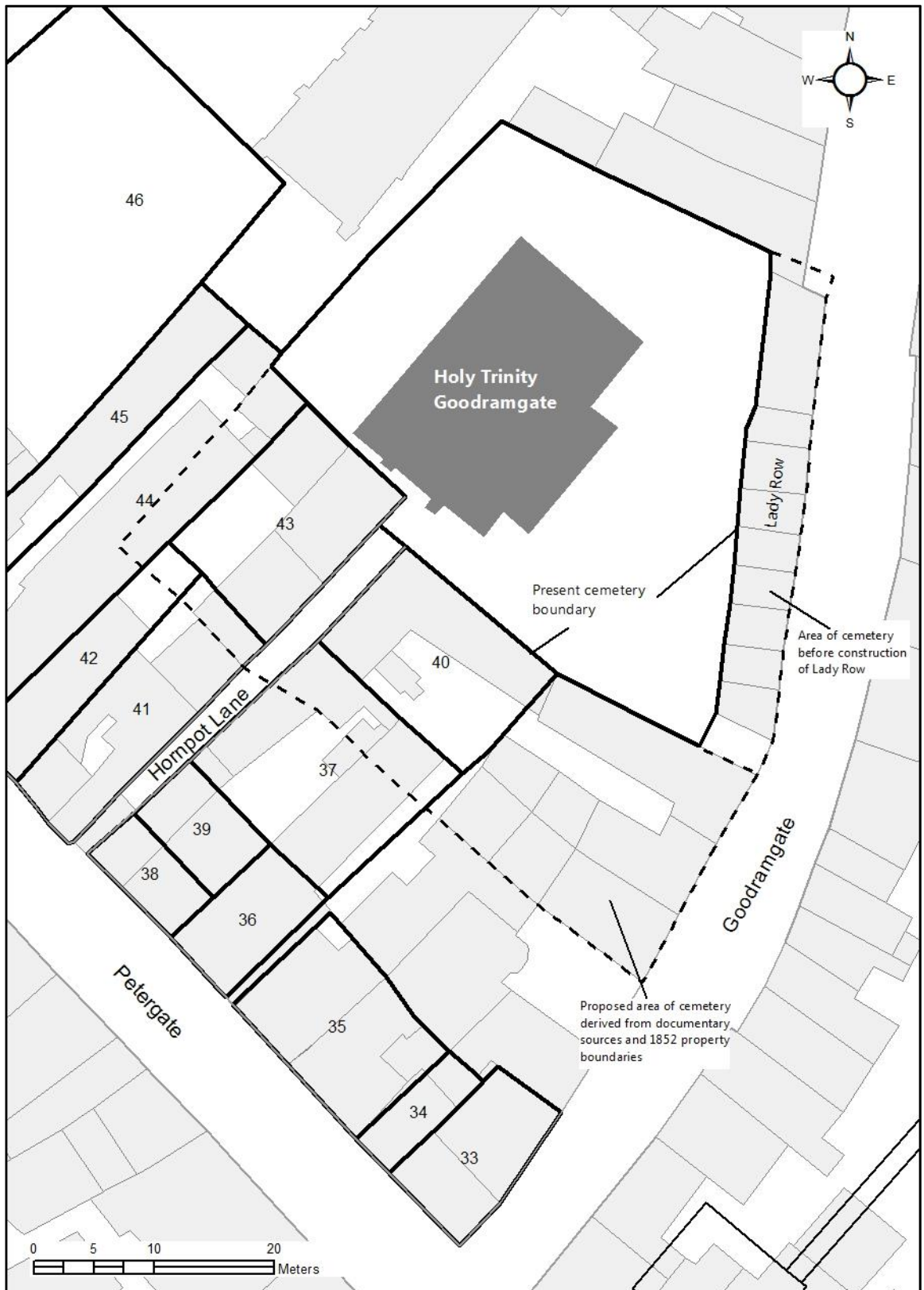


Figure 57 Property around Holy Trinity Goodramgate (1852 Ordnance Survey map) and proposed enlarged cemetery boundary

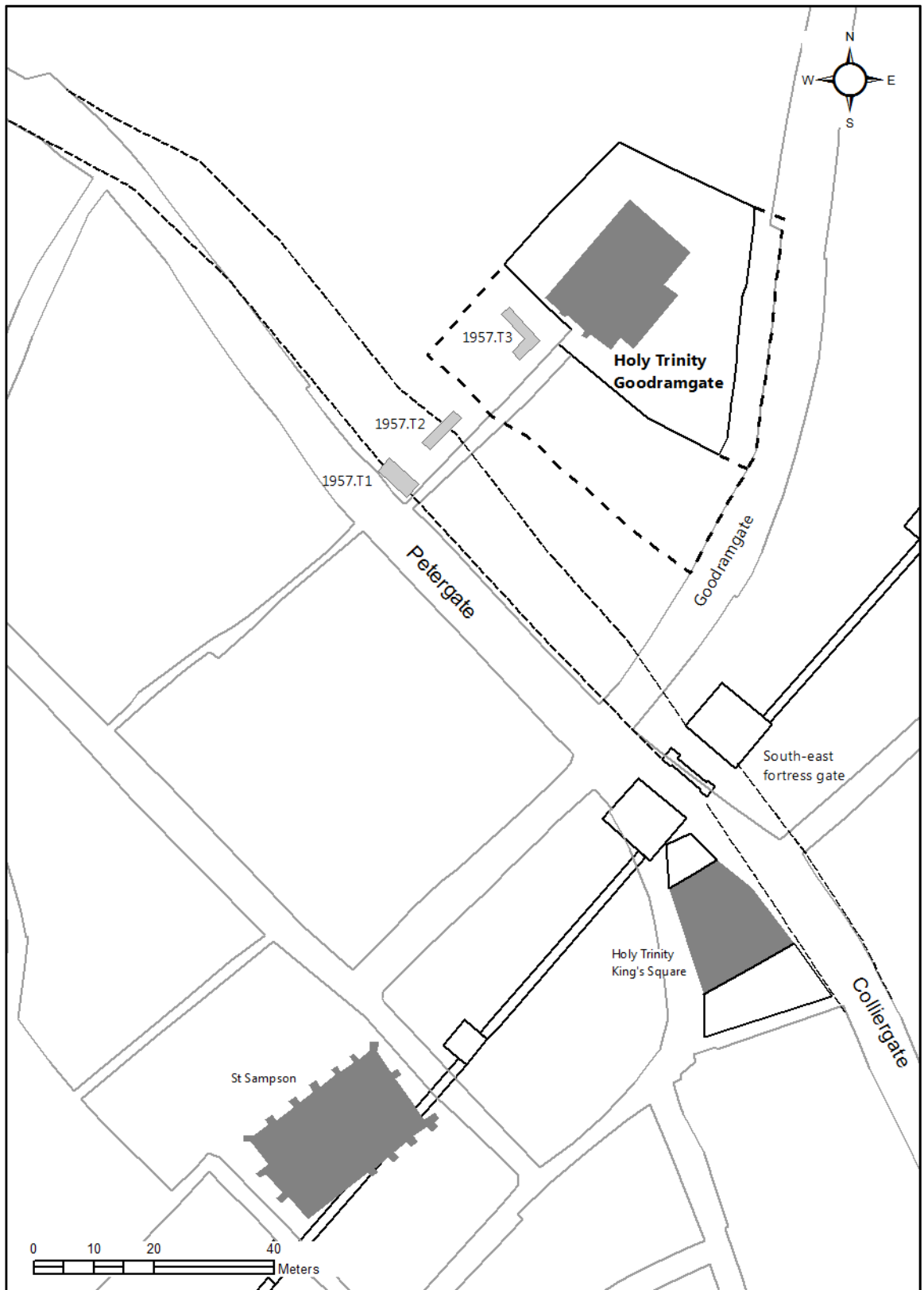


Figure 58 Alternative alignment of Petergate in the seventh to late eleventh centuries shown as dashed line in relation to the proposed enlarged cemetery of Holy Trinity Goodramgate

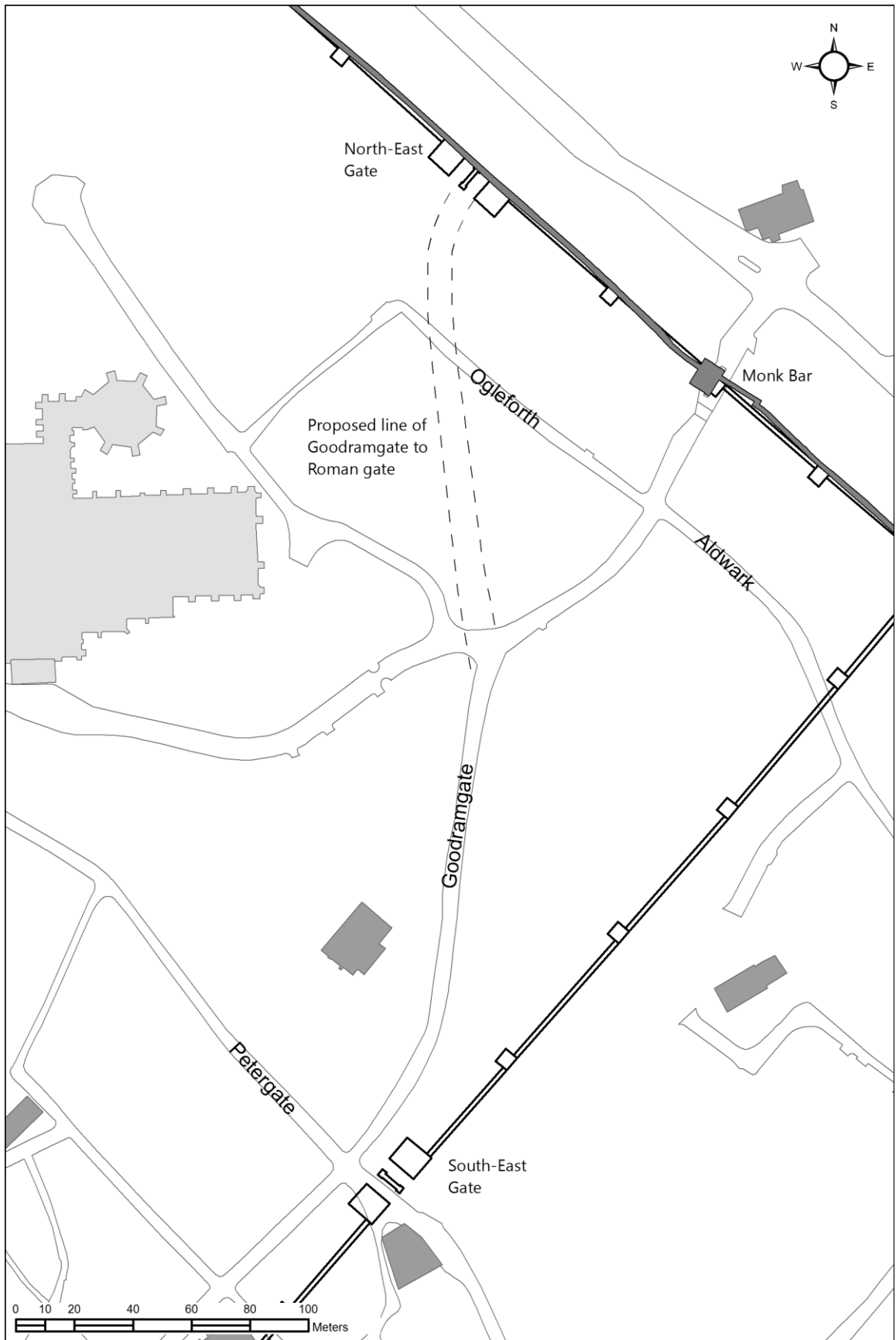


Figure 59 Proposed line of Goodramgate extending to the north-east gate of the fortress

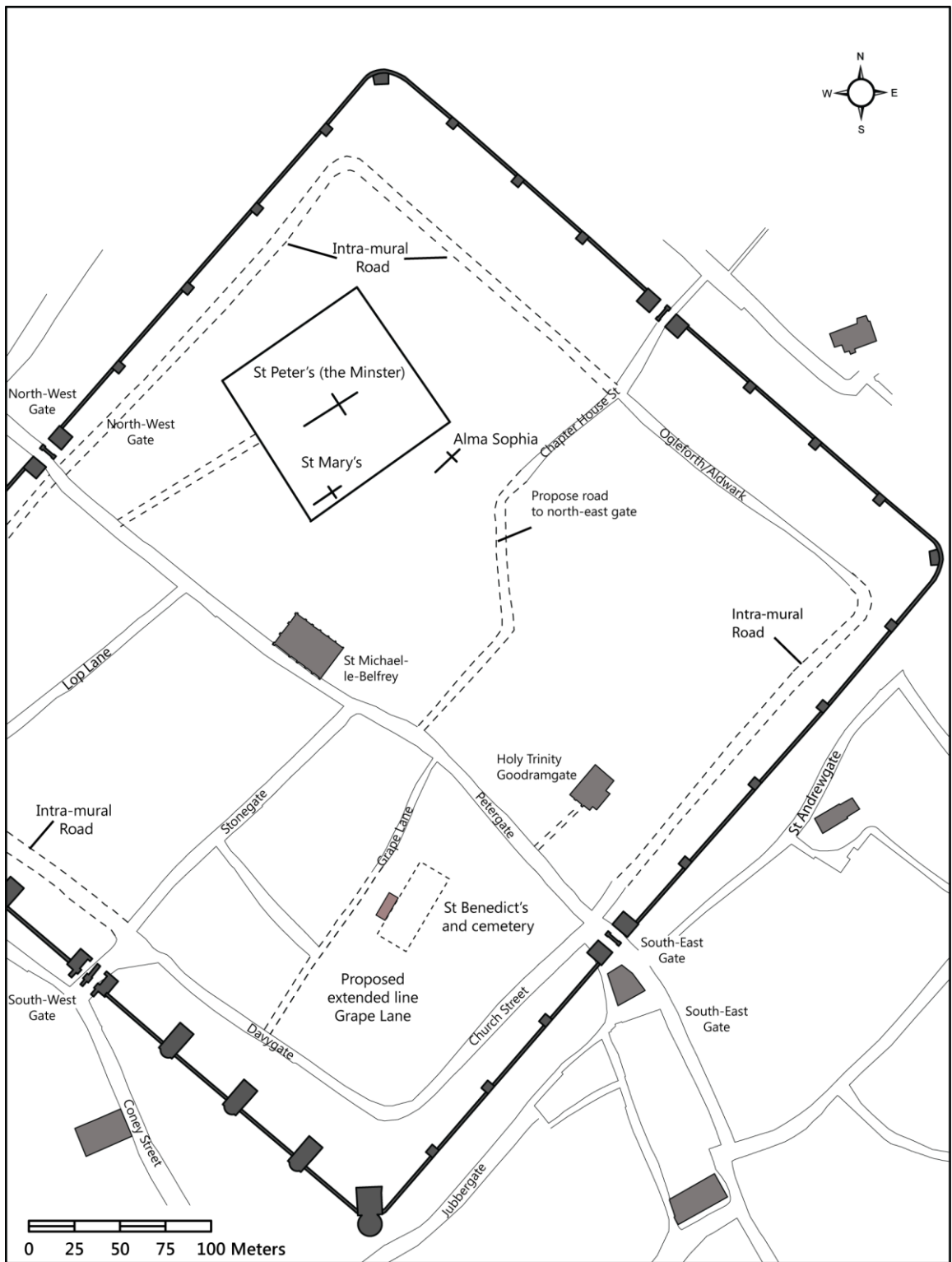


Figure 60 Proposed street pattern in the northern half of the fortress. Location of the Minster and associated churches after Norton 1998

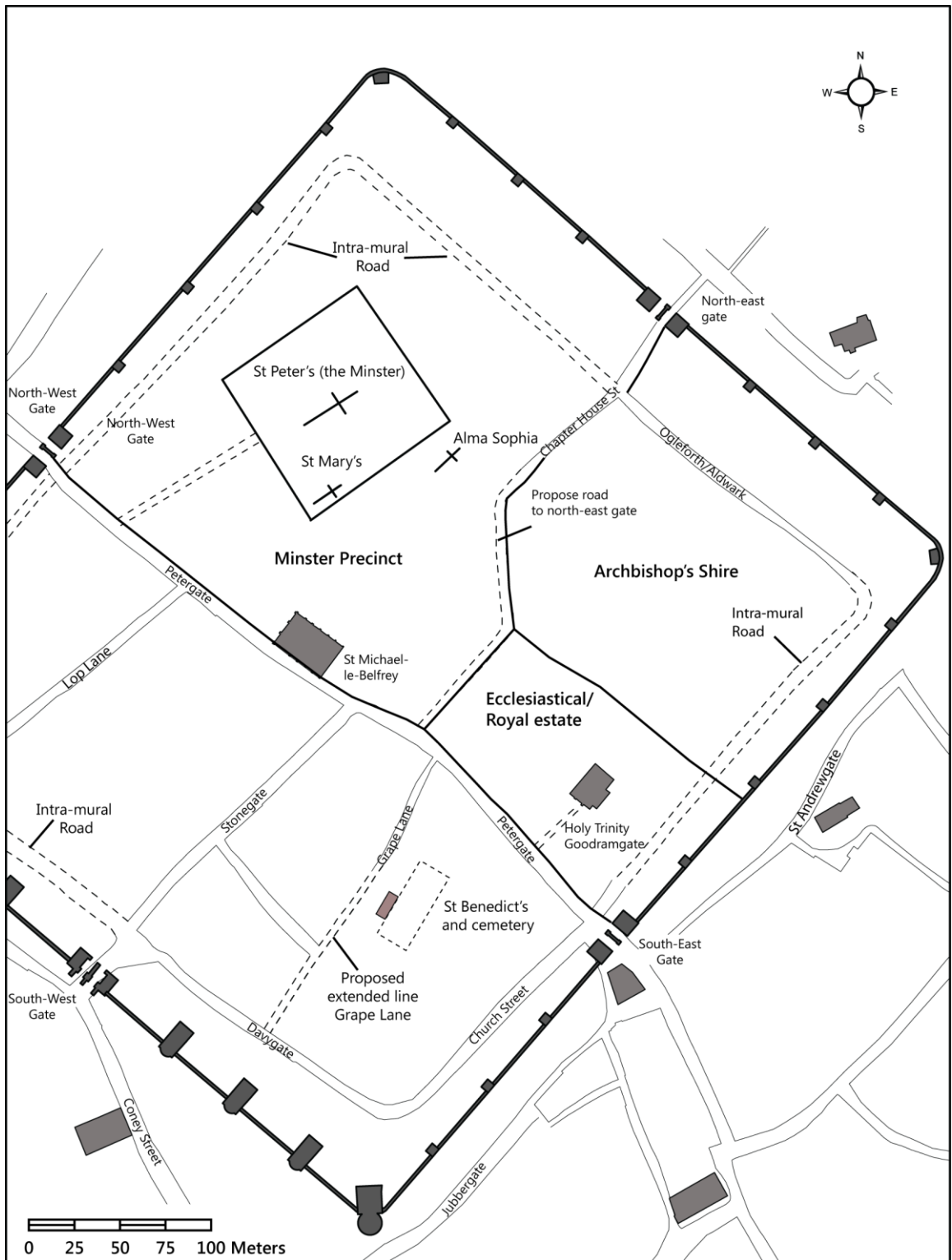


Figure 61 Proposed estates in the northern half of the fortress

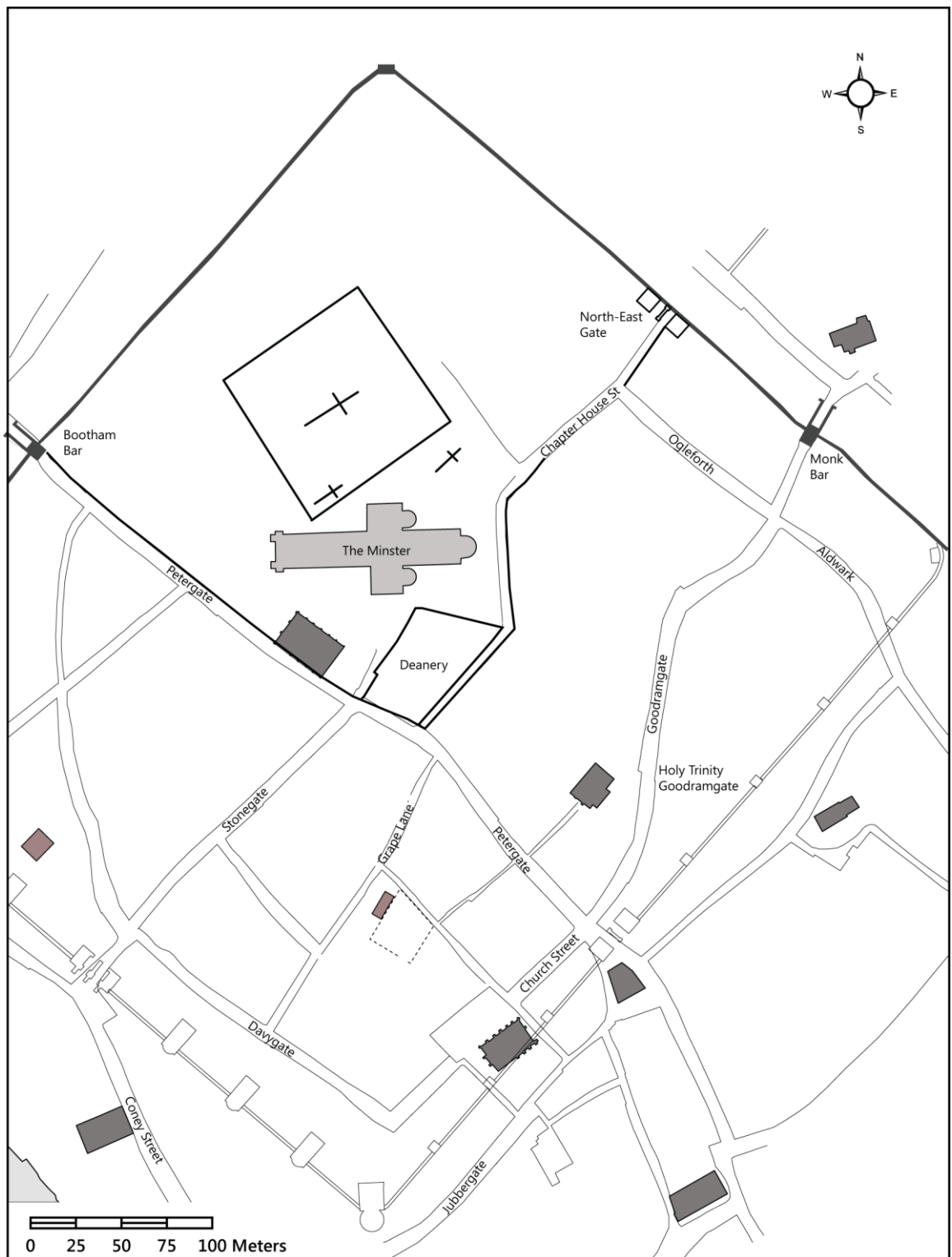


Figure 62 Norman Minster and Deanery in relation to the pre-Conquest enclosure and the road to the north-east gate

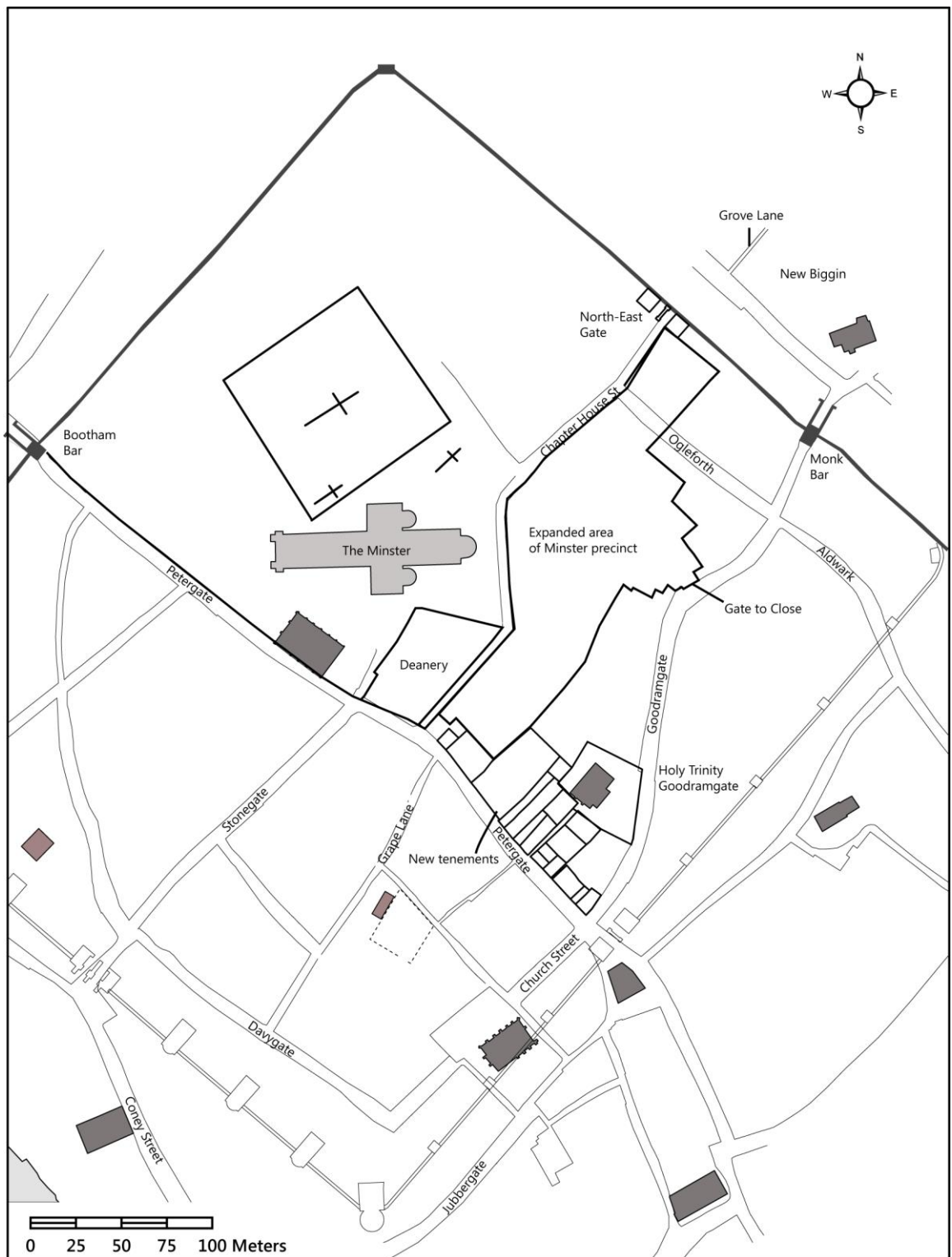


Figure 63 Expanded Minster Close, new tenements on Petergate and the alignment of Goodramgate leading to Monk Bar. New Biggin and Grove Lane shown outside fortress



Figure 64 1852 Ordnance Survey map showing the section of Goodramgate from the Close gate to Monk Bar. The property boundaries in this area respect the streets with no indication of a preserved road alignment to the north-east fortress gate

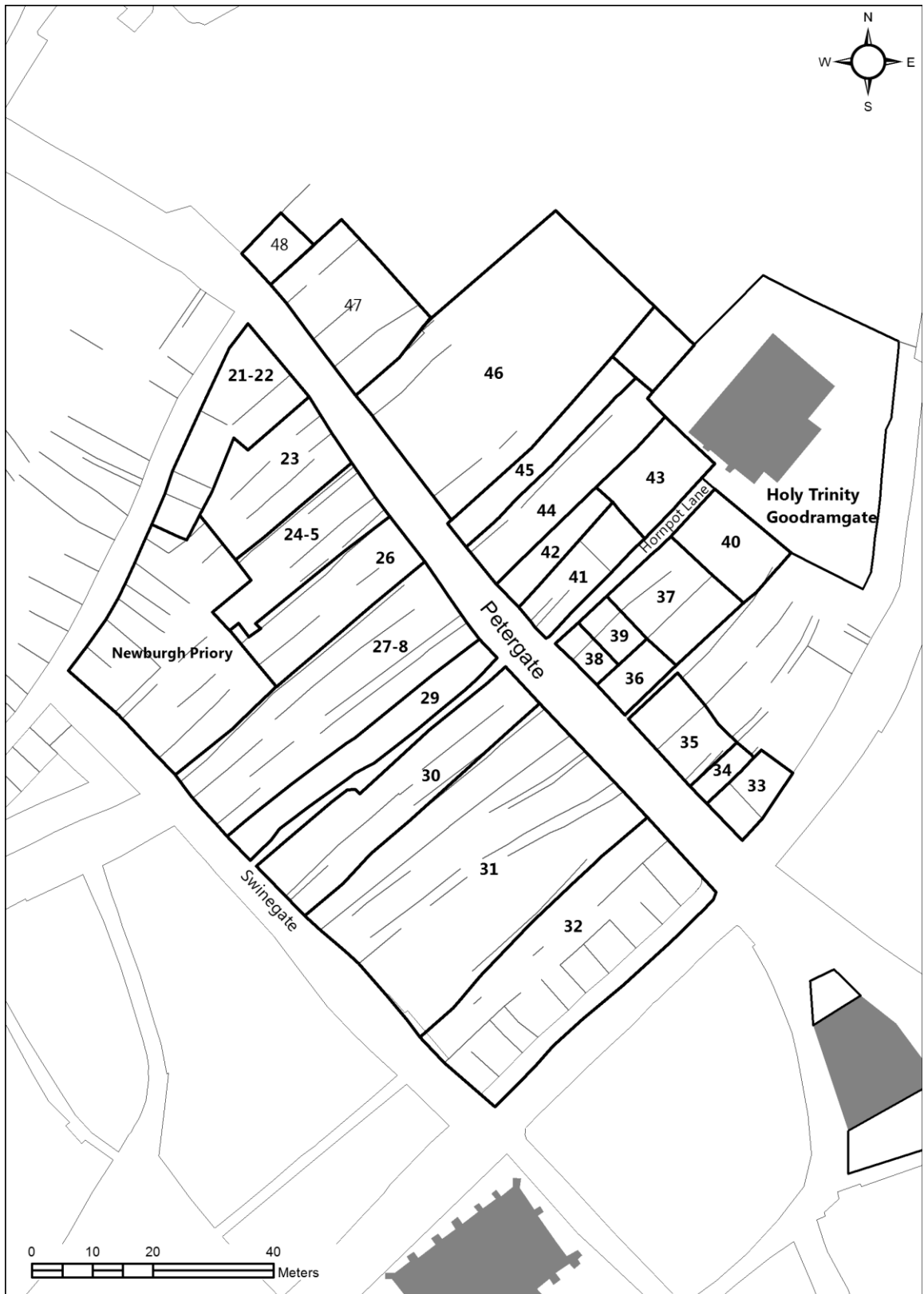


Figure 65 Medieval tenement boundaries and numbering identified from the historic documents (bold black line). Tenement sub-divisions (thin black lines) identified from the 1852 Ordnance Survey map.

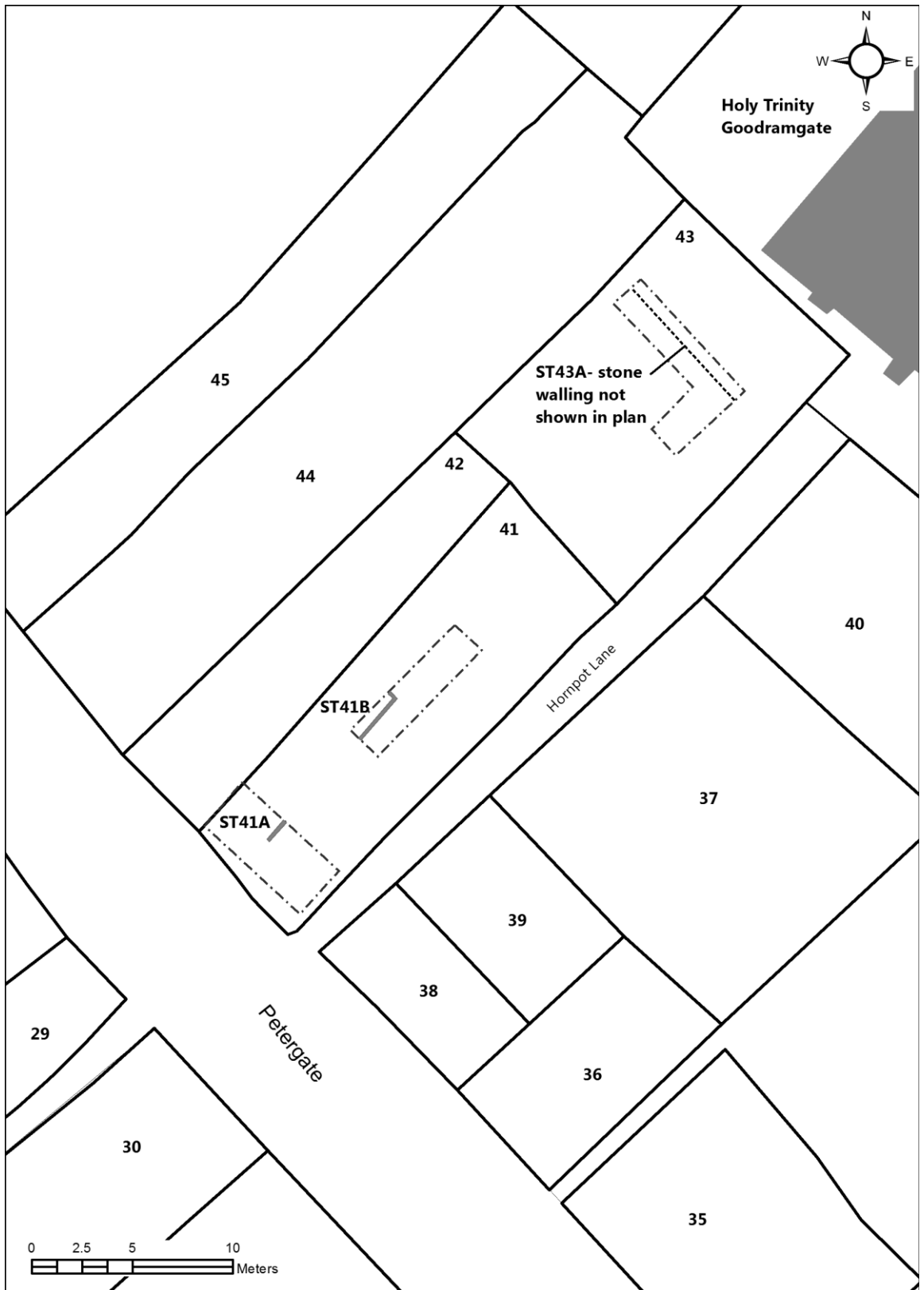


Figure 66 Structures ST41A, ST41B and ST43A



Figure 67 Structures ST41A, ST41B and ST43A shown in relation to 1852 Ordnance Survey map

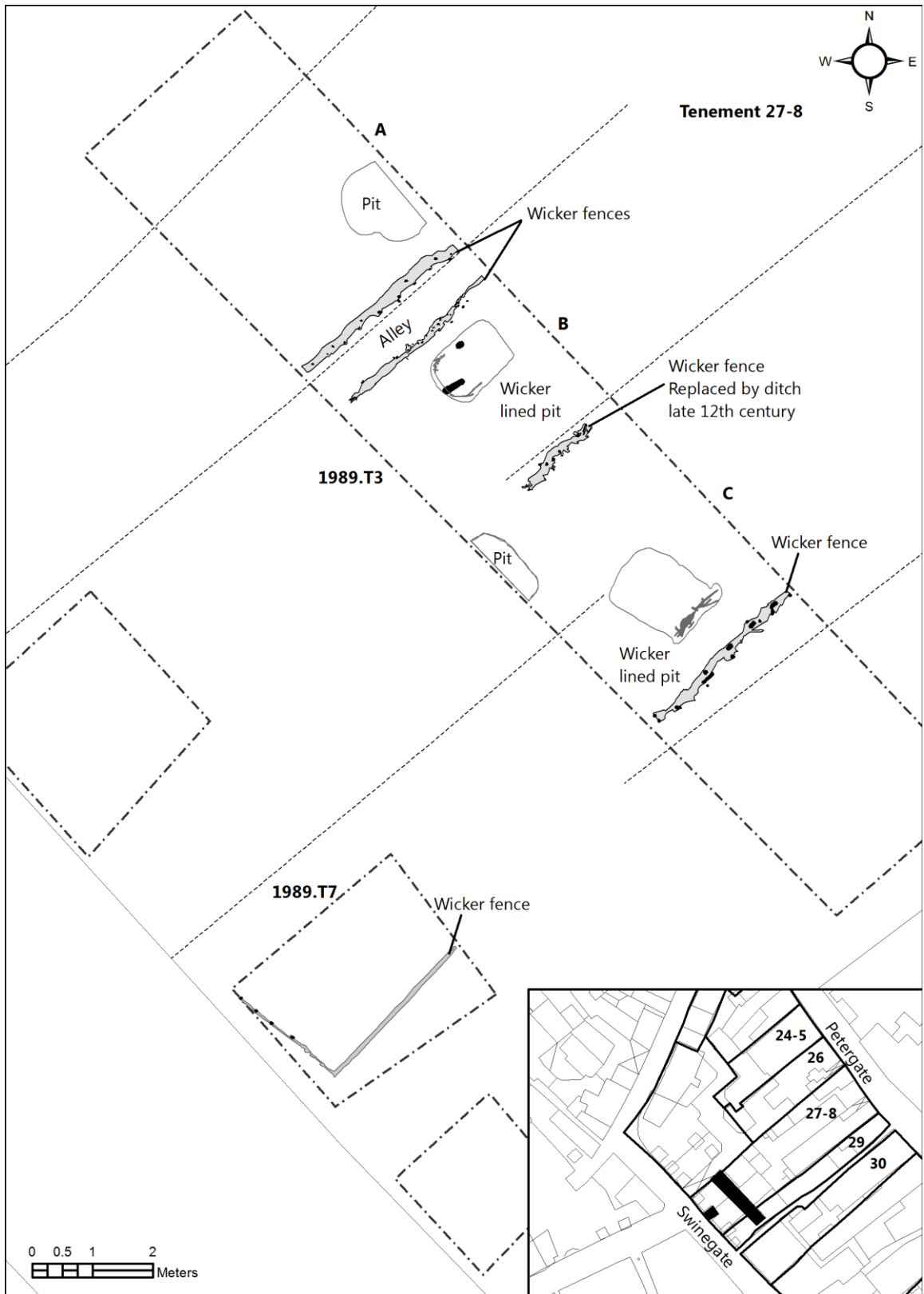


Figure 68 Wicker fences showing the sub-division of Tenement 27-8 into three plots (A-C). Dashed line property boundaries from 1852 Ordnance Survey map



Figure 69 Principal structural activity c.1250-1400 showing areas of activity within Tenements

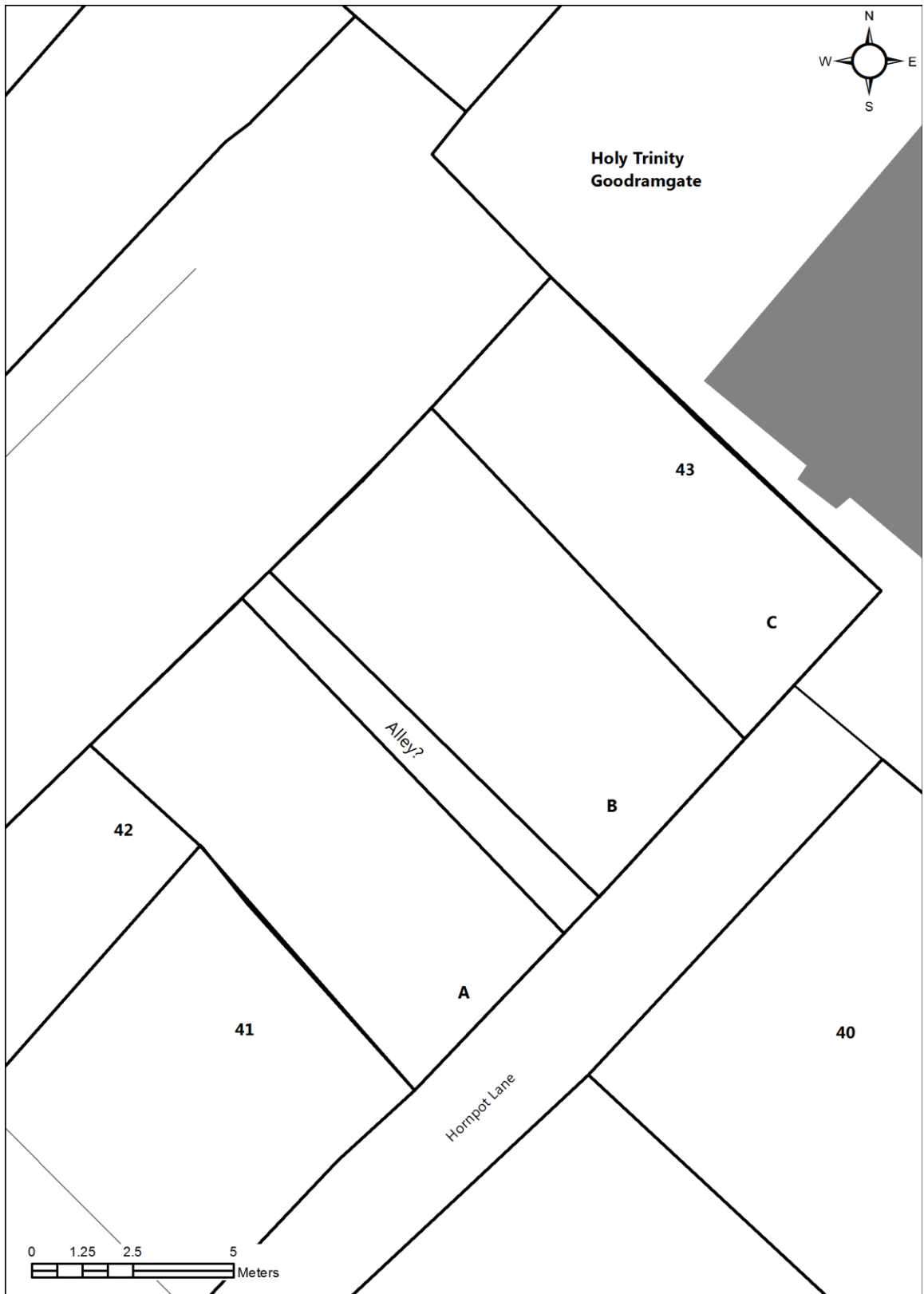


Figure 70 Proposed sub-division of Tenement 43 mid-thirteenth century

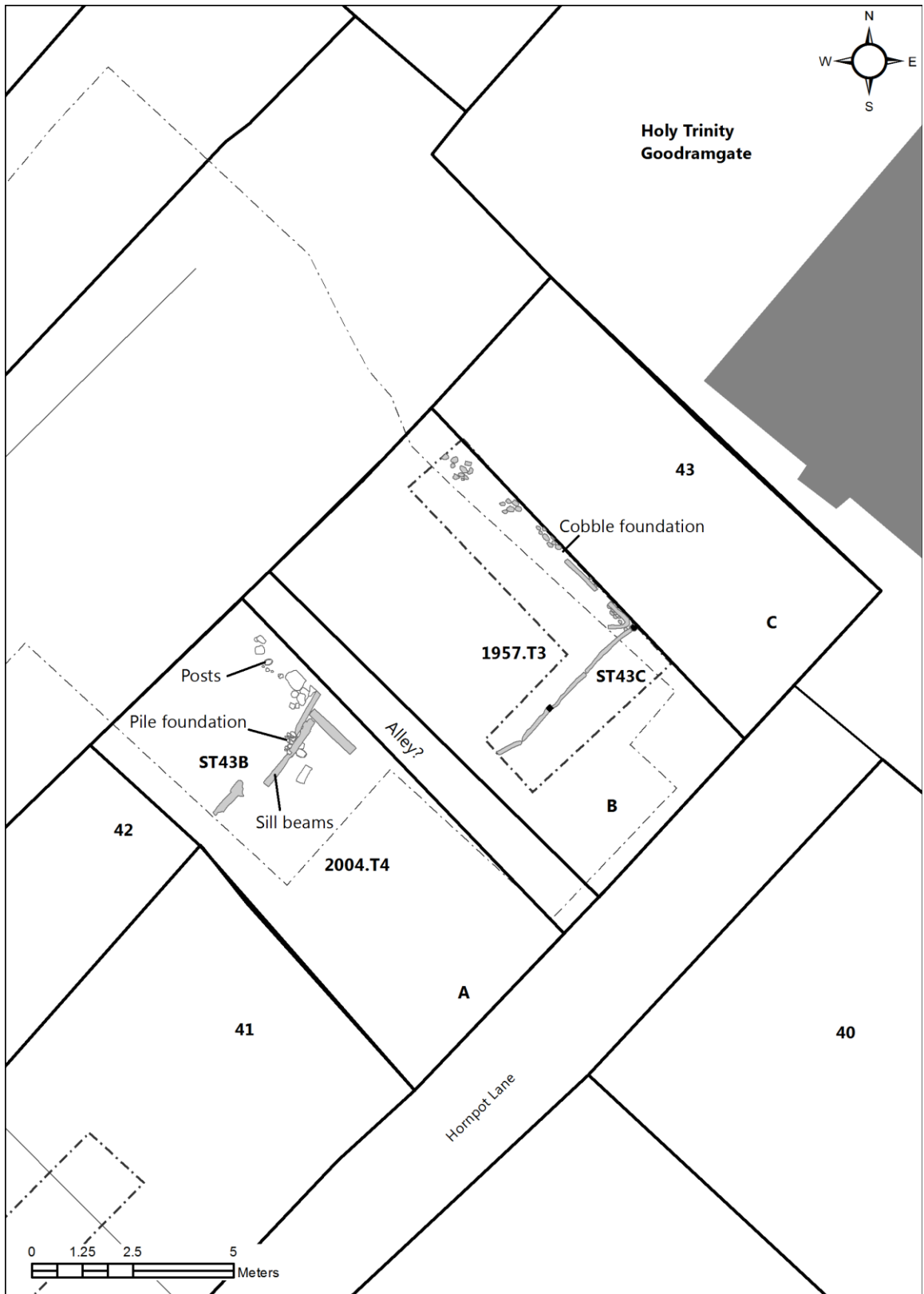


Figure 71 Structures ST43C and ST43B

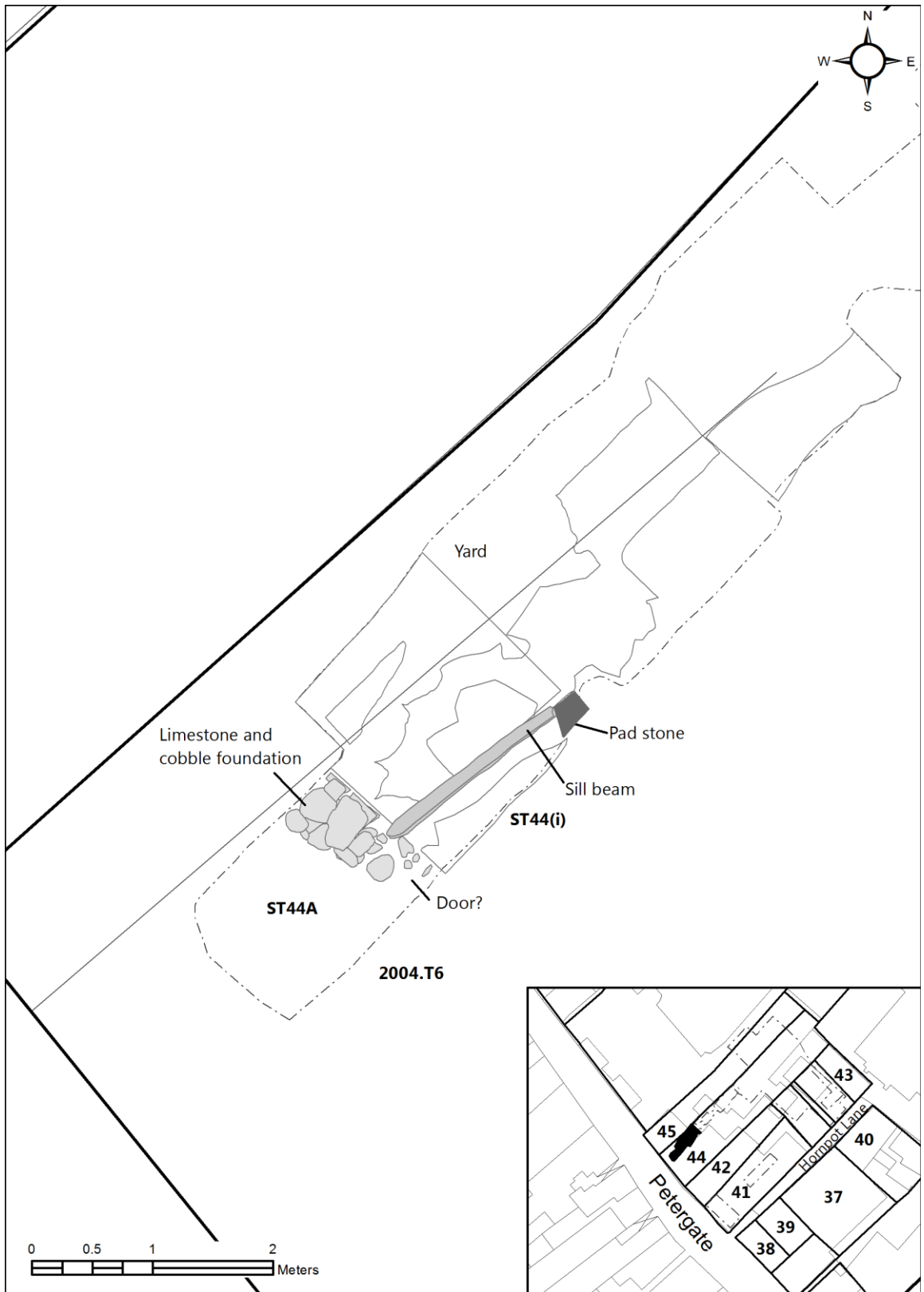


Figure 72 Structures ST44A and ST44(i)

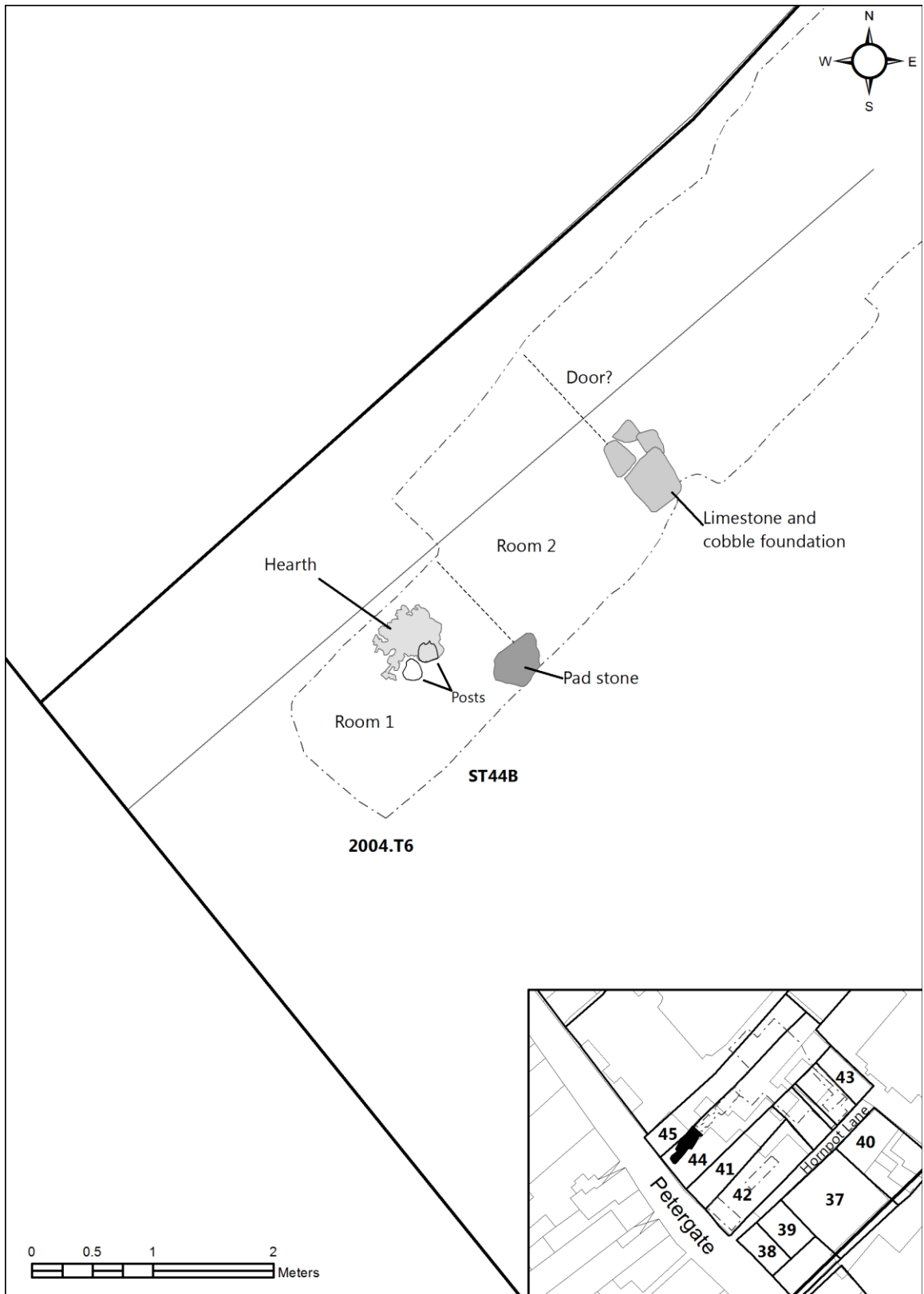


Figure 73 Structure ST44B

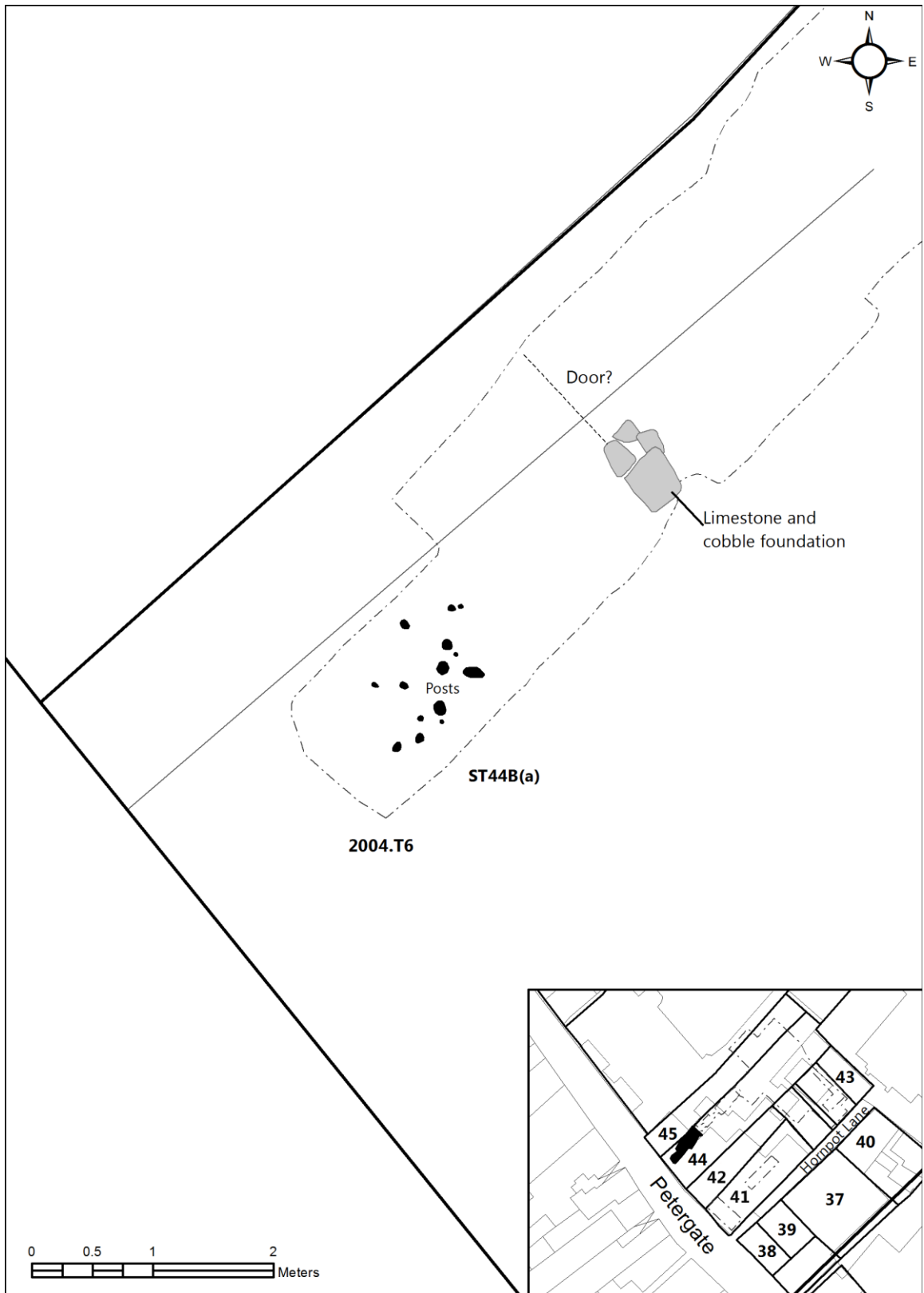


Figure 74 Structure ST44B(a) following the deposition of a deposit interpreted as a floor that sealed the post pad and hearth associated with ST44B.

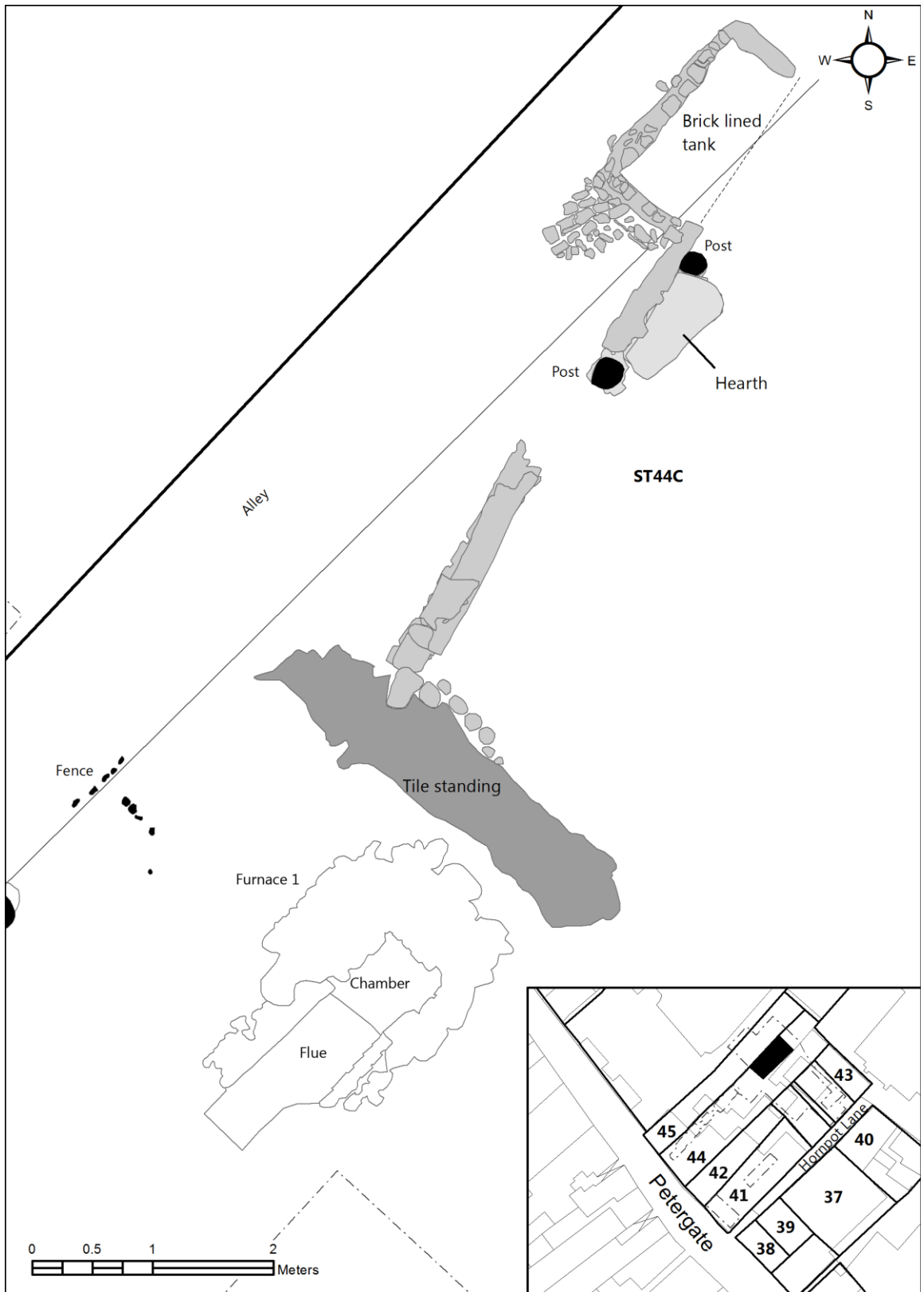


Figure 75 Structure ST45C and Furnace 1

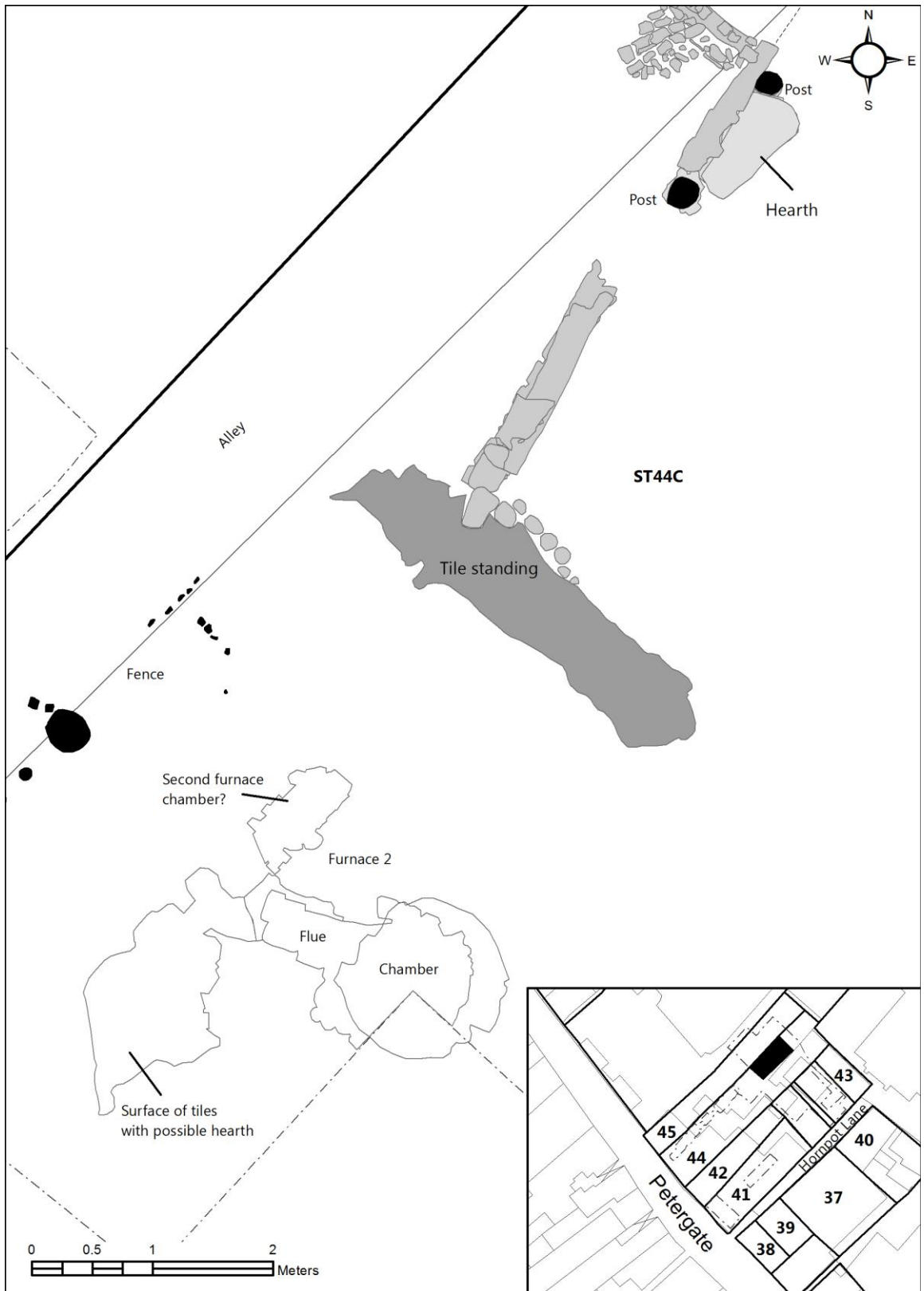


Figure 76 Structure ST44C and Furnace 2

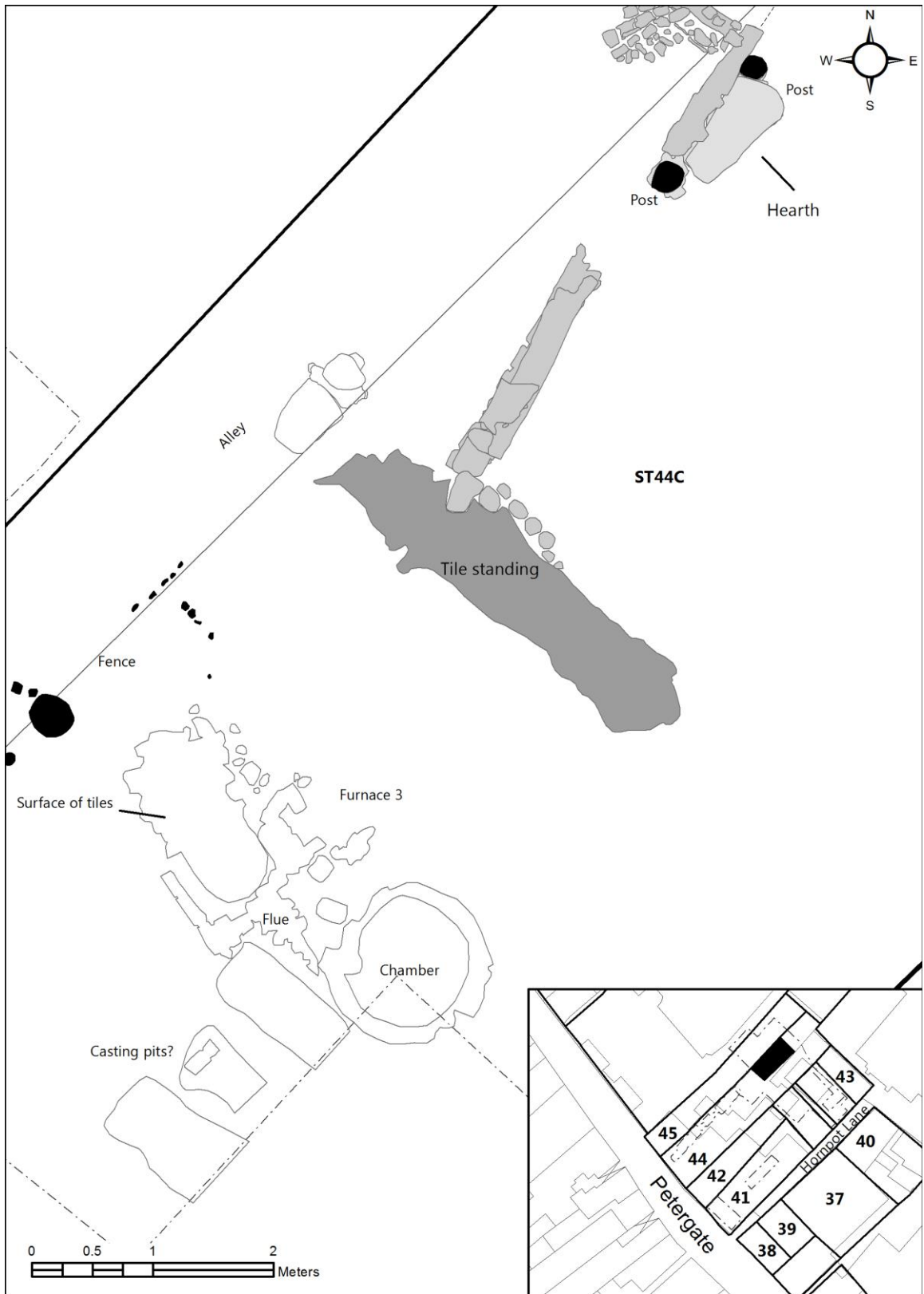


Figure 77 Structure ST44C and Furnace 3

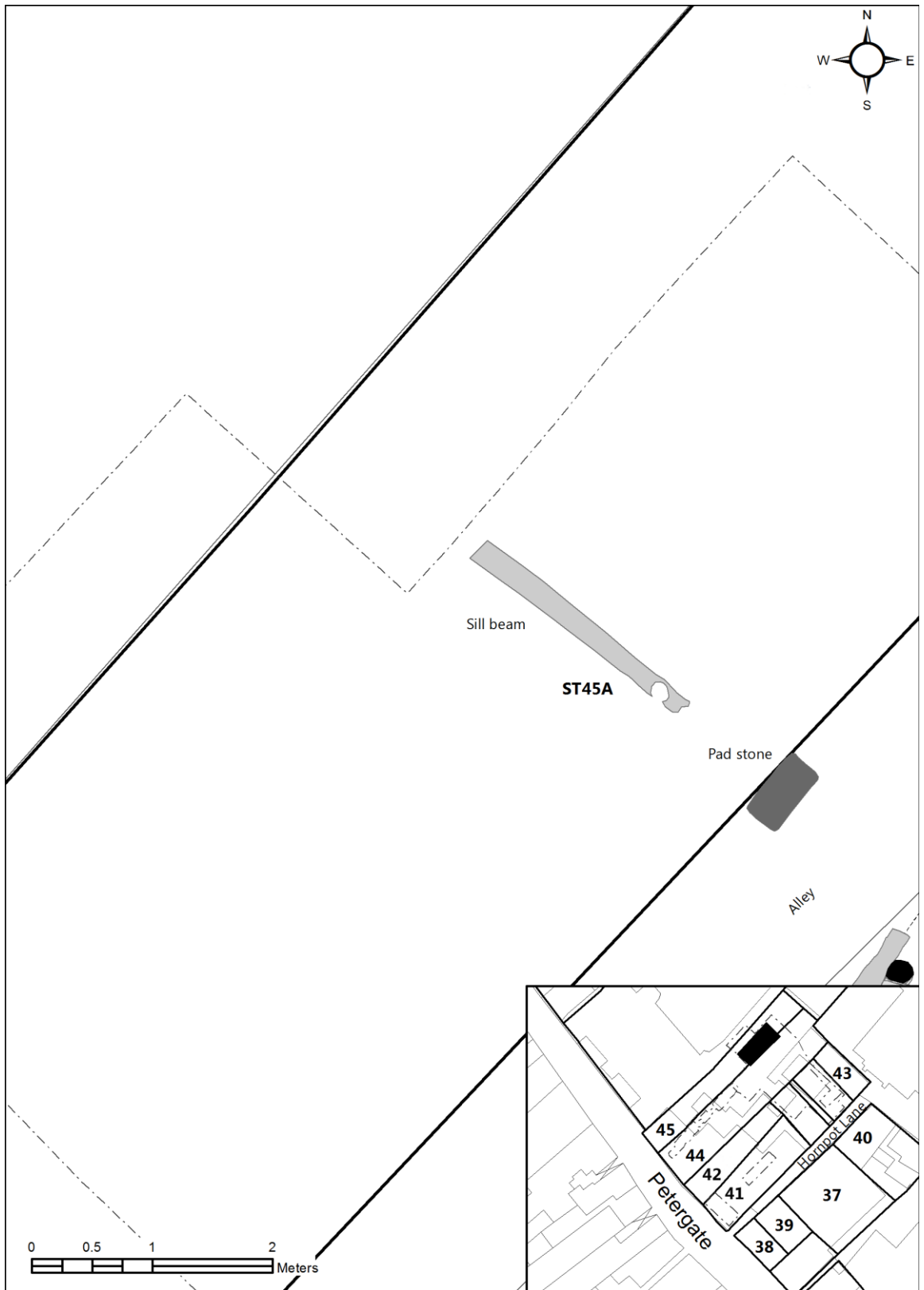


Figure 78 Structure ST45A

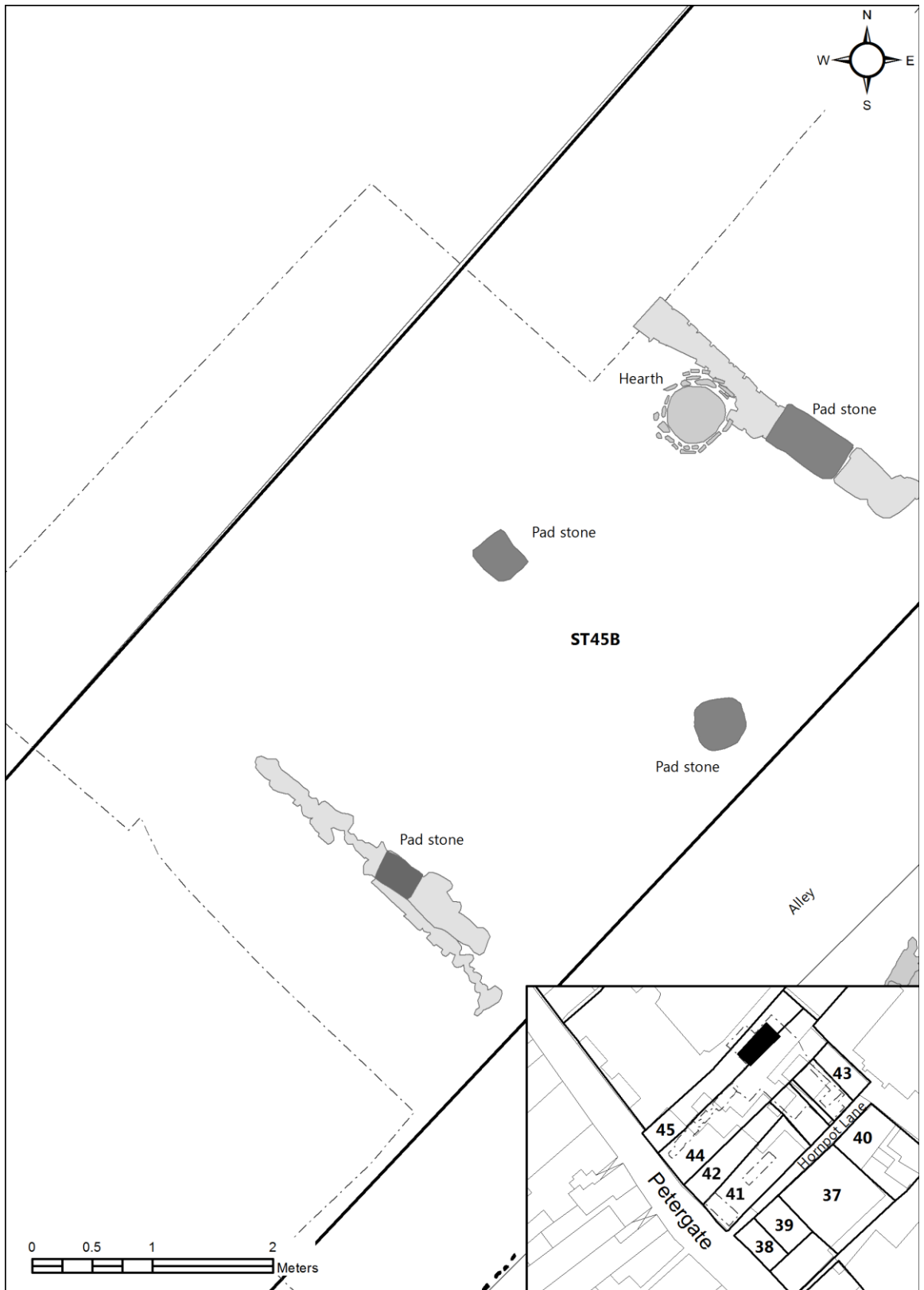


Figure 79 Structure ST45B

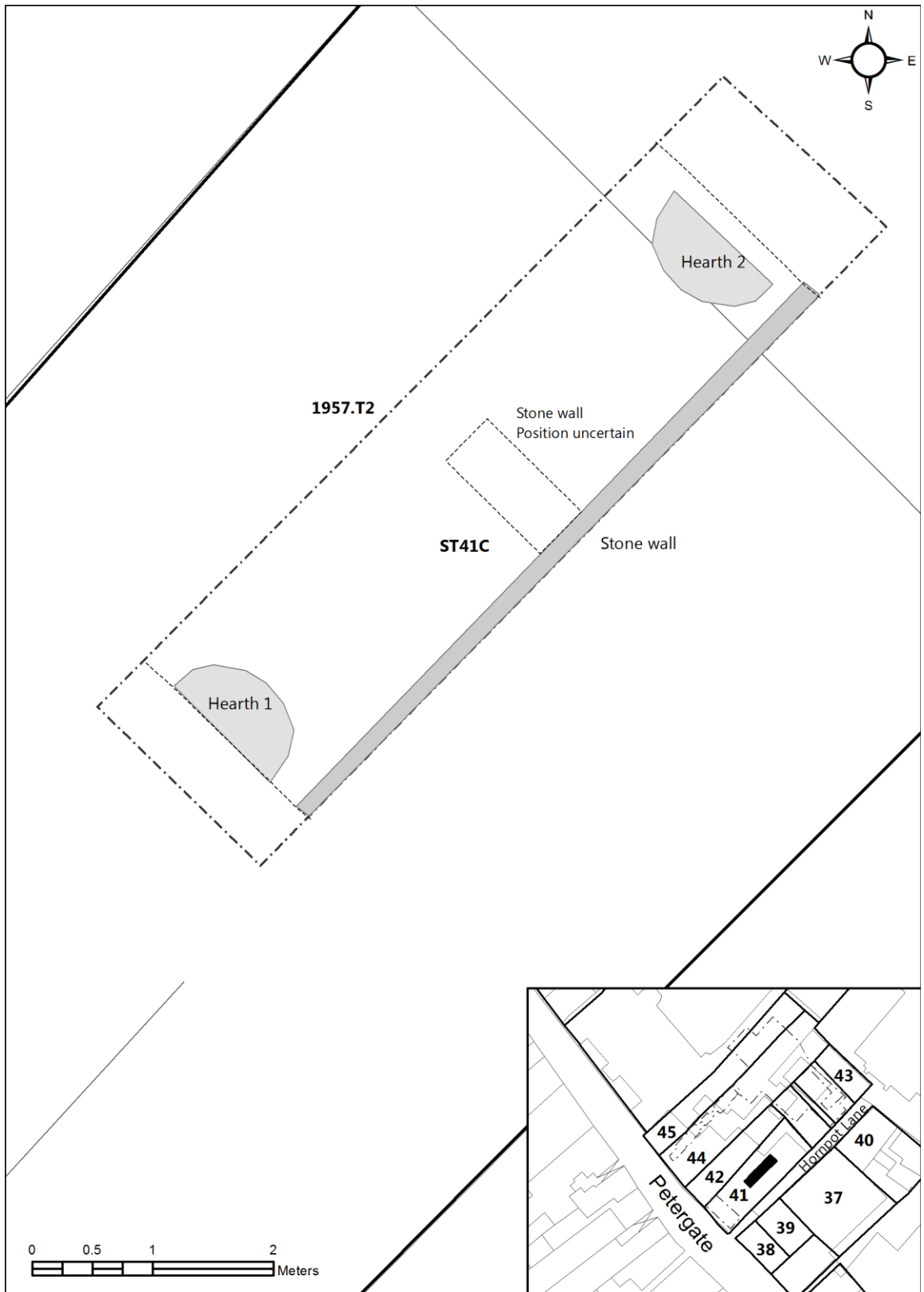


Figure 80 Structure ST41C created from section drawing and feature description

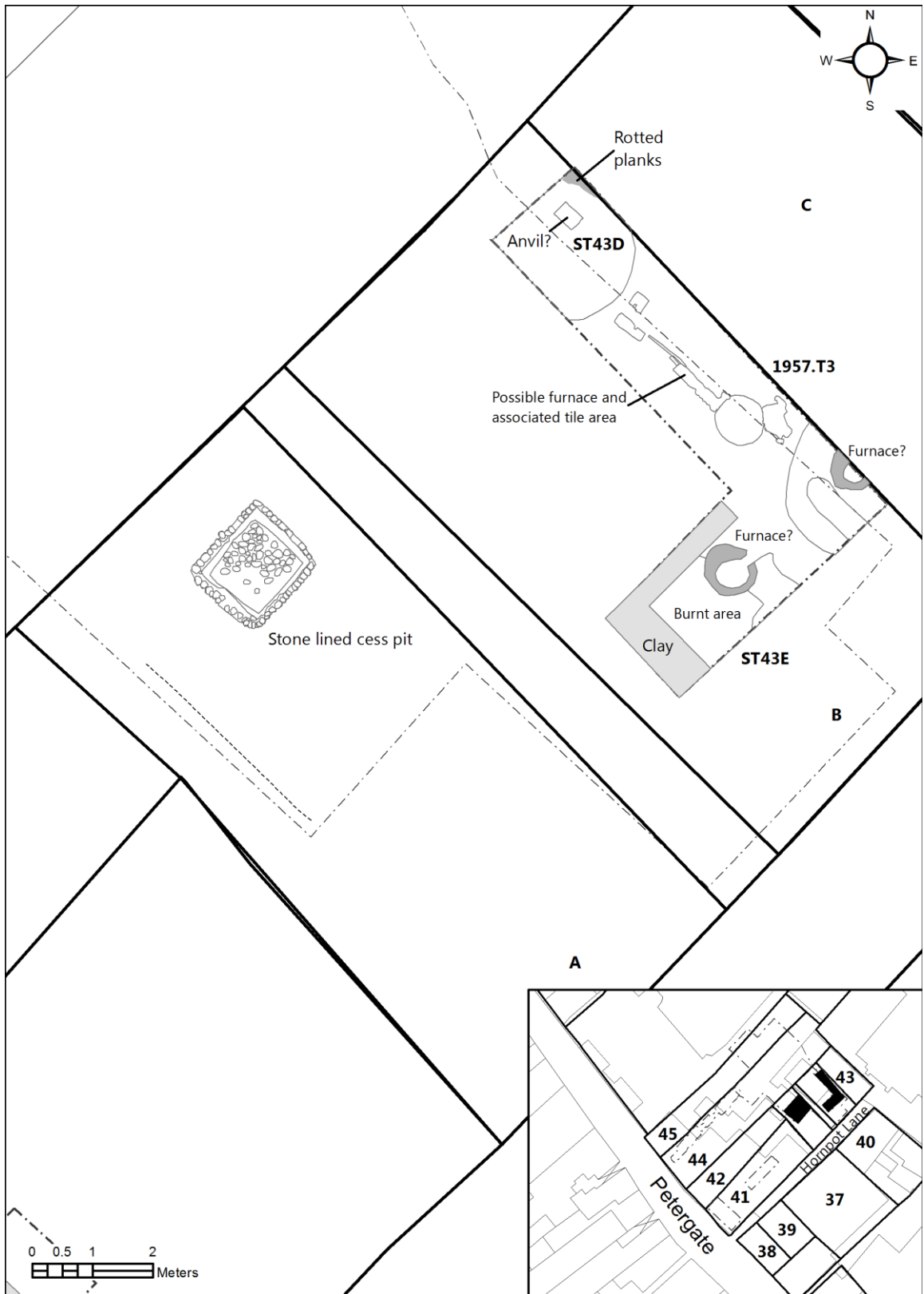


Figure 81 Late fourteenth to early fifteenth century activity in Tenement 43

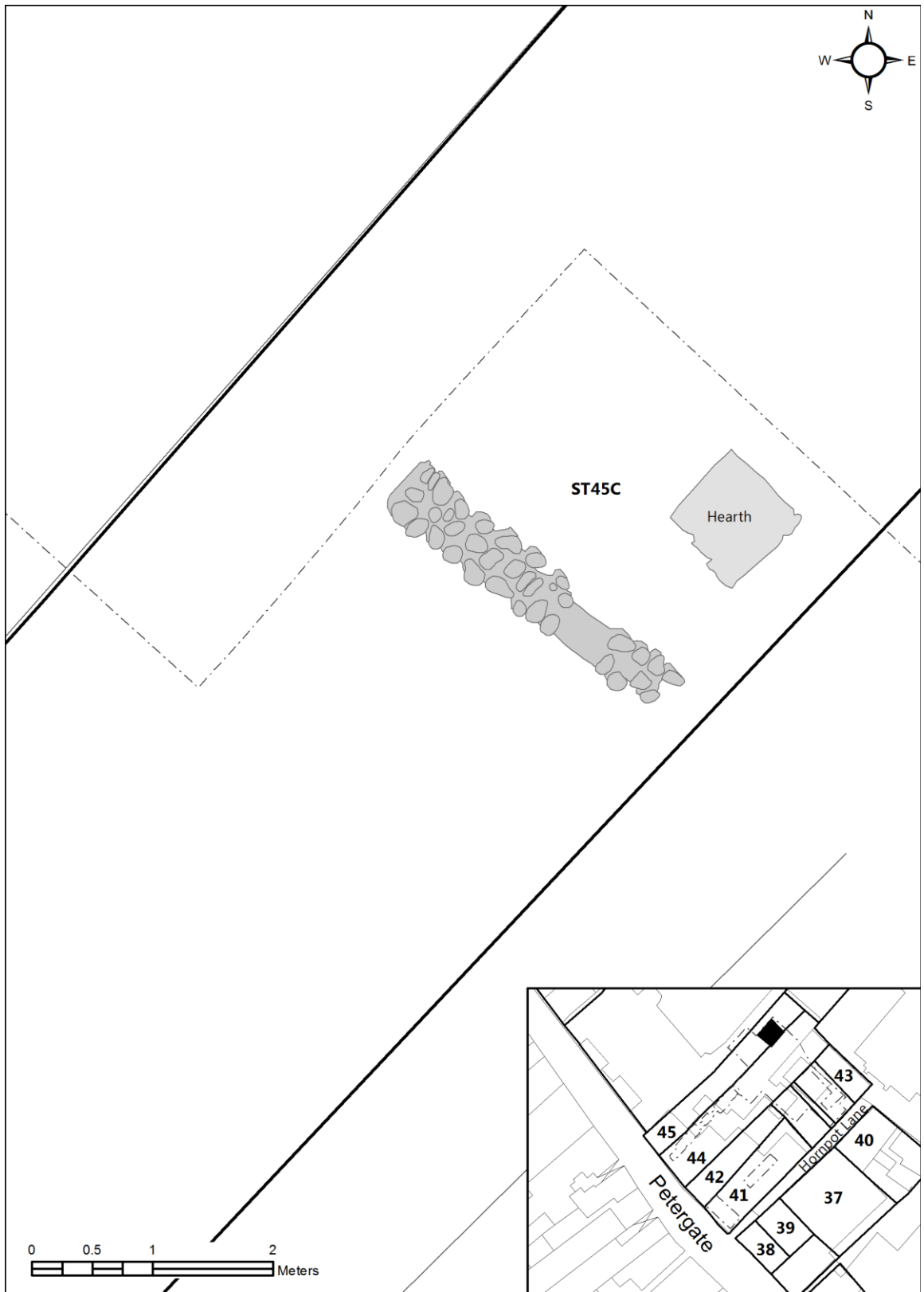


Figure 82 Structure ST45C