#### **Gunnar Heinsohn** (14-12-2014)

# THE WINCHESTER OF ALFRED THE GREAT AND THE HAITHABU OF HIS VOYAGER, WULFSTAN: ARE THEY SEPARATED BY 700 YEARS? [Corrected version. Summary: p. 16]<sup>1</sup>

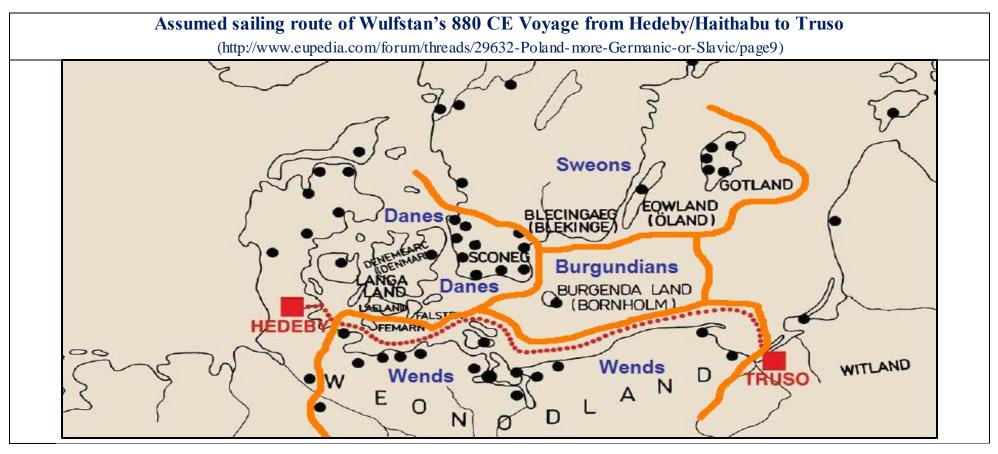
Southern England in the time of ALFRED THE GREAT OF WESSEX (871-899 CE) with his capital WINCHESTER (VENTA BELGARUM). The Romans called the southern coast SAXON SHORE (Litus Saxonicum). It was under the command of a Comes Litoris Saxonici per Britanniam. Modern scholars derive the name from Saxon attacks directed against that shore. The author, however, explains the name as SHORE OF SAXON LANDS in Southern England where Germanic tribes had already been present when Rome started the conquest of Britain between Caeasar and Claudius (http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:England\_878.svg; see also p. 7 below).



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Thanks for editorial assistance go to Clark Whelton / New York.

According to a report published together with Alfred the Great's (871-899 CE) translation of Paulus Orosius's (385-410 CE) *Histories*, Wulfstan, the Early Middle Ages' most famous ocean voyager, around 880 CE, went

"from Haethum [Haithabu/Hedeby] to Truso in seven days and nights, and that the ship was running under sail all the way. Weonodland was on his right, and Langland, Laeland, Falster, and Sconey on his left, all which land is subject to Denmark.



'Then on our left we had the land of the Burgundians [Bornholm; GH], who have a king to themselves. Then, after the land of the Burgundians, we had on our left the lands that have been called from the earliest times Blekingey, and Meore, and Eowland, and Gotland all which territory is subject to the Sweons; and **WEONOD**land was all the way on our right, as far as Weissel [Vistula; GH] mouth. The Weissel is a very large river, and near it lie Witland and **WEONOD**land" (King Alfred, *The Geography of Europe*, in Hakluyt 1893).

### RECONSTRUCTION OF WULFSTAN'S DESTINATION, TRUSO, BLOSSOMING FROM THE 7th/8th C. CE

Model with the recently reconstructed breakwater (Muzeum Archeologiczno-Historyczne w Elblagu; Foto by T. Heinsohn).

### Aerial view of Truso-model (still without breakwater).

 $(http:\!/\!forums.ne\,wtek.com/showthread.php?117160-Project-Truso-Viking-Slavic-village/page2)$ 





"The voyage of Wulfstan may be considered Alfred's own work" (Hakluyt 1893). The most serious problem, however, with Alfred's writings on Wulfstan is neither attached to Haithabu/Hedeby (Wulfstan's port of departure) nor to Truso (Wulfstan's destination) but to his own capital, *Venta Belgarum*/Winchester. No court, not even a small hut with a desk to translate Paulus Orosius and to write about Wulfstan, has ever been found in the capital of Anglo-Saxon Wessex. In actual fact, there are no building strata whatsoever at Winchester in the 8<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> c. CE period when Haithabu and Truso had their one – and only – period of 1<sup>st</sup> millennium

blossoming. Nobody knows where the Anglo-Saxon king was able to hold court. Although some scholars try to resort to the idea of a mobile court with no fixed capital anywhere on the British Isles in the 8<sup>th</sup> to early 10<sup>th</sup> c. period, the sources give no hint of such homeless rulers. They describe *Venta Belgarum*/Winchester as the unchallenged capital of Wessex. Since there are no building strata in 9<sup>th</sup> c. *Venta Belgarum*/Winchester, the mobile court theory would have to be expanded to a mobile nation theory because Afred's bureaucrats as well as his subjects are without fixed homesteads, too. Yet, is it possible that entire nations have always been on the move without leaving traces?

The sources describing *Venta Belgarum*/Winchester as a genuine capital would not sound so bizarre if they would be applied to the time in the 1st millennium when the city can boast first quality building strata. During the 1st c. CE *Venta Belgarum*/Winchester was still trailing cities like *Durovernum Cantiacorum*/Canterbury (130 acres), *Calleva Atrebatum*/Silchester (99 acres) or Offa's (757-796 CE) capital, Verulamium/St. Albans (125 acres).

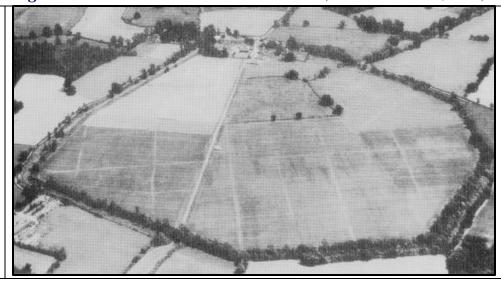
LEFT: 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> c. Calleva Atrebatum/Silchester with amphi-theatre outside the walls (99 acres; english-heritage.org.uk).

RIGHT: Fields under which Silchester has been excavated since the 1890s

(1967 aerial view: http://www.imperiumromanum.com/geografie/provinzen/britannia\_03.htm).

Silchester was eclipsed by Alfred the Great's Venta Belgarum/Winchester in the 2nd c. CE (Fulford et al. 2006; 2011).



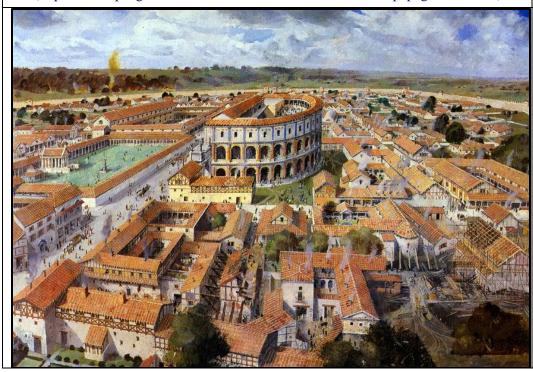


Reconstruction of the British Roman period cities, *Durovernum Cantiacorum*/Canterbury (130 acres), and *Verulamium*/St. Albans (125 acres), that were eclipsed by Alfred the Great's *Venta Belgarum*/Winchester (144 acres in the 2nd c. CE).

2nd c. CE *Durovernum Cantiacorum*/Canterbury (130 acres)

(http://www.spanglefish.com/rulersofthesouthsaxons/index.asp?pageid=276751)

Verulamium/St. Albans (125 acres): Section of the forum of around 150 CE (http://www.stalbansmuseums.org.uk/).

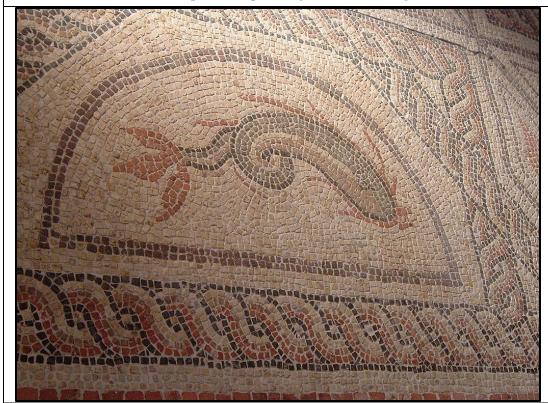




By the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. CE, however, *Venta Belgarum*/Winchester had passed all those cities to reach a surface area of 144 acres (58 ha) plus a *vicus* (suburban settlement) outside the walls. Generations of researchers failed to find strata splendid tows house as well as a forum with public buildings for Alfred's court in Winchester's 9th c. CE because nobody would even consider Roman Winchester with its splendid mosaics and public buildings as the period for Alfred's court, because it comes some 700 years too early for Alfred's chronology. Yet, the Roman period 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> c. building stratum with Roman town houses (d*omus*), temples, and public buildings on a forum with Jupiter column have been verified. And that 3<sup>rd</sup> c. stratum is contingent with Winchester's 10<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> c. building stratum.

## Venta Belgarum/Winchester: 2<sup>n</sup>d/3<sup>rd</sup> c. mosaic

(http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Venta\_Belgarum#mediaviewer/File:Roman\_Mosaic\_-\_Winchester\_Museum.jpg).



"Little is known of the infrastructure that Venta Belgarum surely had, namely an amphitheater, public bath and aqueduct. A row of narrow buildings were excavated along the present High Street and were perhaps shops, indicating that trade flourished. Political stability and good roads brought commodities imported from other parts of Britain and the Roman world. Produce and fine tableware came from all parts of the Empire, while pottery, decorations and metalware were traded locally. [...] By the early years of the third century AD, excavations reveal that Venta's richer citizens were living in considerable comfort. Two such dwellings lay under today's Brooks Shopping Centre and faced onto the Roman road, now under Middle Brook Street. They had been built by AD 100 of timber with mortar floors. By AD 150 they had been replaced by a house on flint foundations. By AD 200 many houses were reconstructed in flint and stone, often with underfloor hypocaust heating in one or two rooms" (http://studentreader.com/winchester/).

Thus, the 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> c. stratum with the public buildings immediately precedes the 10<sup>th</sup> c. stratum, thereby landing in Alfred's 9<sup>th</sup> century for which there is nothing to show in the textbook interpretation of Winchester's stratigraphy. Therefore, this author has identified Winchester's Roman building period as the period of Alfred's whose Roman coin style as well as Roman outfit with diadem and chlamys have always been known although not understood (see in detail Heinsohn 2014a, 2 ff.; 2014d, 37-44).

Saxons and Romans, the author claims (Heinsohn 2013a; b), have been competing for England since the Roman invasions (55; 54 BCE) under Julius Casear (100-44 BCE). That's why one cannot find 5<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c. Saxon cities stratigraphically super-imposed on 1<sup>st</sup>-4<sup>th</sup>

c. Roman cities. Once Saxons and Roman had settled side by side – very much like Romans had shared France (*Gallia*) with Celtic or the Rhineland (*Germania superioris* and *inferioris*) with Germanic tribes – they also defended their common turf against common enemies with lines of fortifications like the *Litus Saxonici* etc. (see in detail Heinsohn 2014b, 43-61). Whilst metropoles like Lyon (*Lugdunum*) or Cologne (*Colonia Agrippina*) were quickly romanized the minor cities and towns kept indigenous majorities.

Rome's British Litus Saxonicum (Shore of Saxon Lands) of ca. 380 CE (being, in this autor's view, chronologically equal to the late 1st = c. CE [=late 8th c. CE]) that has been defended not only by Romans but also by Saxons who had bestowed their name on this shore because the had been living there since Roman times. Both groups had competed for and settled in the British Isles simultaneously since 55/54 BCE [see in detail Heinsohn 2014b, 43-61; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saxon\_Shore#mediaviewer/File:Litus\_Saxonicum.png].

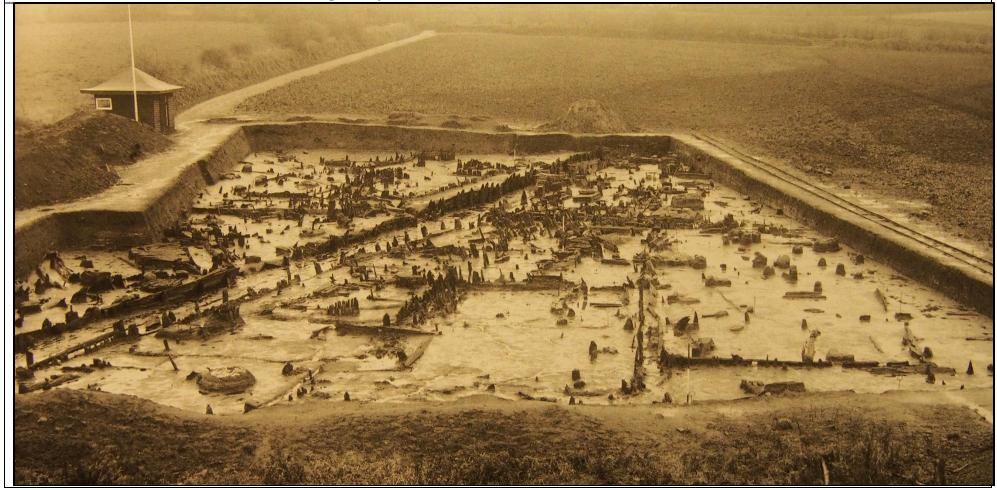


The author's stratigraphical approach to Saxon England results in the following chronological re-interpretation of Winchester's archaeology.

| Stratigraphy and Chronology of Venta Belgarum (WINCHESTER) |  |  |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| Textbook dates   | Findings   | Stratigraphy dates (tentative; rounded)                      |  |  |  |
| 12 <sup>th</sup> c.  | ST. RUEL-CHURCH directly built on Roman remains from the 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. CE.  | 12 <sup>th</sup> c. CE                                       |  |  |  |
| 11 <sup>th</sup> c.  | First stage of WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL (1079-1093) cutting into "Old Minster" with Long Roman Foot).  ROMAN TRACKWAY OF 3 <sup>RD</sup> C. used to transport the limestone blocks from Isle of Wight for the cathedral.  CONTINGENT WITH 3rd c. STRATUM BELOW         | 11 <sup>th</sup> c. CE                                       |  |  |  |
| 10 <sup>th</sup> c.  | "Nunnaminster" (no traces). Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester (963-984) organizes monastic reform in late 10th c.   | Late 10 <sup>th</sup> c. CE                                  |  |  |  |
| 9 <sup>th</sup> c  | NO BUILDING EVIDENCE. MISSING COURT FOR ALFRED THE GREAT (871-899).  EMPTY PERIOD HERE IS CONTEMPORARY WITH TRUSO'S RICH BUILDING PERIOD   |  |  |  |  |
|  | DURING WULFSTAN'S TRUSO-VOYAGE THERE IS NO PLACE IN WINCHESTER FOR ALFRED TO WRITE ABOUT IT  |  |  |  |  |
| 8 <sup>th</sup> c.   | NO BUILDING EVIDENCE   |  |  |  |  |
| 7 <sup>th</sup> c.   | NO URBAN EVIDENCE  [St. Peter and Paul="Old Minster" is dated non-stratigraphically to 648 CE. Builders use Long Roman foot (0.333 m) of 2 <sup>nd</sup> c CE. According to tradition, too, the "Old Minster" was built in the 2nd c. CE for "Lucius of Britain".] |  |  |  |  |
| 6 <sup>th</sup> c.   | NO BUILDING EVIDENCE   |  |  |  |  |
| 5 <sup>th</sup> c.   | NO BUILDING EVIDENCE. Only catalogue-dated coins are seen as basis for city's continuity.  | 5th c. coins are 2nd c.<br>(=9th c.) CE                      |  |  |  |
| 4 <sup>th</sup> c.   | HOUSES DESTROYED, DRAINAGE SYSTEM COLLAPSED  |  |  |  |  |
| 3 <sup>rd</sup> c.   | LAST TRACES OF CITY WALLS / ANNIHILATION OF ROMAN WINCHESTER.  CONTINGENT WITH 11th c. STRATUM ABOVE   | Early 10 <sup>th</sup> c. CE.<br>930s (=230s=520s)CE         |  |  |  |
| and  | Walls of early 3rd c.; continuation of rich urban environment, temples etc. from 2nd. c.   | ALEBER (C. COLIDE  |  |  |  |
| 2 <sup>nd</sup> c.   | Defensive bank +ditch. Many Roman town houses. PUBLIC BUILDINGS. PERIOD OF LITUS SAXONICUM IN THE SENSE OF "SHORE OF SAXON LANDS".   | ALFRED'S COURT 9 <sup>th</sup> =2 <sup>nd</sup> c. CE        |  |  |  |
|  | CONTEMPORARY WITH BALTIC WIELBARK PERIOD IN TRUSO'S NEIGHBOURHOOD  |  |  |  |  |
| 1st c. CE  | Roman settlement of England (from the South) contemporary with Saxon settlement of England (from the East)   | 8th (=1st=4th c.CE)  |  |  |  |
| 1st c. BCE   | <b>LATE LATÈNE</b> . Hillforts in the vicinity of <i>Venta Belgarum</i> . [Period of $A\theta\theta e$ -Domarus of Camulodunum=ARTHUR?]  | 7 <sup>th</sup> (=1 <sup>st</sup> c. BCE=6 <sup>th</sup> CE) |  |  |  |

Whilst Alfred's Winchester has rich 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. Roman building strata but nothing to show for the 8<sup>th</sup> to early 10<sup>th</sup> c. CE, Wulfstan's port of departure, Haithabu/Hedeby in Schleswig-Holstein, has nothing to show for the 1<sup>st</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c. CE but has many Roman items in its rich 8<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> c. CE strata.

Excavation of Haithabu/Hedeby (1937-1939) when the town's stream buried together with the entire settlement (running diagonally) was discovered (Schietzel 2013, 43).

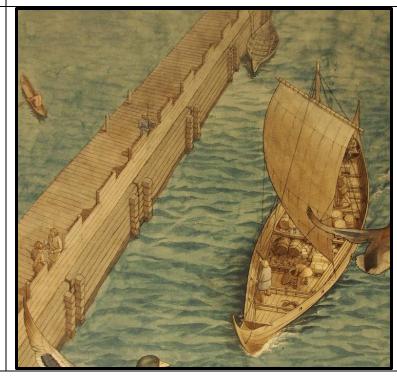


Reconstruction of Wulfstan's port of departure, Haithabu/Hedeby, blossoming in the 8<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> c. with port facilities and breakwaters already known in nearby Roman territories at least 700 years earlier

(http://raidsvikings.wordpress.com/tag/haithabu/)



Haithabu breakwater and square sail (Schietzel 2013, 33) believed by experts (e.g., Englert/Trakadas 2009) to have been non-existent in Scandinavia from 1st-7th c. CE.



Like the sailors and merchants of the entire Scandinavian and Baltic territory, Haithabu's seafarers, too, bewilder modern scholars because they seem utterly determined not to use towns, ports, wharfs, breakwaters, square sails, Jewish-Christian items, coins, millefiori pearls, padlocks, keys, combs, churches, kingship etc. etc. before the 8<sup>th</sup> c. CE, although their trading partners from the Roman realm of Europe could have taught them to manufacture or employ such technologies at least 700 years earlier (see in detail Heinsohn 2014c).

Yet, for some bewildering reason, when Scandinavian and Baltic people eventually adopt these technologies they insist on having them in forms, materials and colors that are 700 years old. Even their stone work has to look Roman (Szydlowski 2012, 267). Nobody understands this backward leapfrogging. The Baltic traders of the 8<sup>t</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> c. CE even demand coins that have been out of date for 700 years, like the Antoninus Pius (138-160 CE) and Commodus (180-192 CE) pieces from Truso (Bogucki 2012, 62) or Trajan (98-117 CE) and Hadrian (117-138 CE) coins from Sopot (Grodzisko 2013). Even a *tegula*-brick of Rome's Leg[io] I dated to 83 CE is used in Haithabu (Schietzel 2014, 550). And only now, our scholars want us to believe, are these world class seafarers getting ready to use sails. However, from Roman sources (Caesar's *De Bello Gallico*, book III, chapter 13) we learn that *Veneti* from Northern France (with *Wends/WEONUD*-brethren in the Baltic Sea realm) were already skilled sailors in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE. Caesar's descriptions of their ships are borne out, right down to the iron spikes, by Scandinavian and Baltic specimens, which supposedly were made 700 years later:

"The keels were somewhat flatter than those of our ships, whereby they could more easily encounter the shallows and the ebbing of the tide: the prows were raised very high, and, in like manner the sterns were adapted to the force of the waves and storms [which they were formed to sustain]. The ships were built wholly of oak, and designed to endure any force and violence whatever; the benches which were made of planks a foot in breadth, were fastened by iron spikes of the thickness of a man's thumb; the anchors were secured fast by iron chains instead of cables, and for sails they used skins and thin dressed leather. These [were used] either through their want of canvas and their ignorance of its application, or for this reason, which is more probable, that they thought that such storms of the ocean, and such violent gales of wind could not be resisted by sails, nor ships of such great burden be conveniently enough managed by them. The encounter of our fleet with these ships' was of such a nature that our fleet excelled in speed alone, and the plying of the oars; other things, considering the nature of the place [and] the violence of the storms, were more suitable and better adapted on their side; for neither could our ships injure theirs with their beaks (so great was their strength), nor on account of their height was a weapon easily cast up to them" (courtesy H. Helmecke, Bielefeld).

Yet, beyond all their mysterious efforts to lie low before 700 CE, suddenly something really awkward happened. As first discovered in 2010 (Windmann 2013), in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. CE, when Haithabu was still 400 years off and Rome was already in utter decline, the Danewerk fortification, beginning in Haithabu, was built in the fashion of Late Antiquity. Nobody knows who built it or who was to

be kept at bay by it. Thus, Haithabu has  $1^{st}$  - $3^{rd}$  c. Roman small finds with no building levels for the same period. Nearby, a massive earthen work is erected in the  $4^{th}$ - $6^{th}$  c. period with still no bulding levels in the town that produces unquestionable urban strata not before the  $8^{th}$  century.

4<sup>th</sup> c. CE onwards Late Antiquity *Danewerk* (black line) beginning at Haithabu that, however, does not begin before the 8<sup>th</sup> c. but has Roman small finds from the 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> c. CE (Haithabu Museum; Foto. J. Sidorczak-Heinsohn)



# ROMAN ITEMS OF THE 1st/2nd c. CE IN 700 YEAR LATER BALTIC CONTEXTS OF THE 8th/9th c. CE Golden fibula with crucified Sherd of Roman millefiori bottle (1st c. CE) Six pointed star from Roman millefiori glass pearl (1st/2nd from 8th c. CE HAITHABU Haithabu (10th c. CE.) from Haithabu (8th c. CE) c. CE) from (Schietzel 2013, 276). [Schietzel 2013, 204]. [Schietzel 2013, 199]. Truso's early 9th c. CE (Jagodzinski 2010, 102).

Once it is understood that the three periods of our textbook chronology (1-230s; 290-520s; 700-930s) in actual fact run parallel, Haithabu no longer looks bizarre. Neither does Wulfstan's claim to have seen many sites on the Pomeranian coast of the **WEONUD** (Slavic Wends in Alfred's text) on his way to Truso: "There are in it many towns, and in every town is a king" (King Alfred, *The Geography of Europe*, in Hakluyt 1893). Scholars see no way to accommodate that information because there are only very few sites on the Pomeranian coast they date to the 8<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> c. period of Wulfstan's 9<sup>th</sup> c. voyage. Yet, they have sites of the period of the **VENEDI** (Slavic Wends mentioned by Pliny the Elder (23-79 CE) in Pomerania. The only sites available in Pomerania at the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium are so-called Wielbark sites. However, these sites are never considered as places seen by Wulfstan because, scholars are convinced, they had been buried under soil for good already some 700 years prior to his sightings of **WEONUD** towns.

Yet, this 700 year time-span just stands for a difference in chronology, not of stratigraphy. Nowhere, Wielbark 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. sites are found underneath 8<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> c. sites like Haithabu or Truso. They are found at the same stratigraphic depth in the vicinity of 8<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> c. sites but never in the same location below them. Though both types of sites do not represent identical cultures, and may have differed in matters of religion, too, they also share quite a few items, like Roman padlocks, Roman coins, Roman millefiori glass or hair combs. Moreover, there is not a single site exhibiting building strata for the three 1<sup>st</sup> millennium Slavic periods found in our textbooks. Such a stratigraphy would have to look as follows:

| EXPECTED SLAVIC STRATIGRAPHIES TO MEET TEXTBOOK HISTORY FOR THE 1st MILLENNIUM CE |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|---|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| THAT HAVE NEVER BEEN FOUND ANYWHERE (see already Heinsohn 2014a)                  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| DATES   | PERIODS  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 10 <sup>th</sup> /11 <sup>th</sup> c. CE  | SLAVIC KINGSHIPS   |  |  |  |  |  |
| 7 <sup>th</sup> /8 <sup>th</sup> to early 10 <sup>th</sup> c. CE                  | <b>WEONOD</b> of Alfred the Great's Wulfstan of 880 CE (SLAVIC TRIBAL CENTERS):              |  |  |  |  |  |
|   | THESE SLAVS ARE SUPPOSED TO HAVE RETURNED FROM SOME UNKNOWN                                  |  |  |  |  |  |
|   | LOCATION.  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4 <sup>th</sup> -6 <sup>th</sup> c. CE  | <b>VENETHI</b> plus <i>Sclavoni</i> of Jordanes (+652 CE):                                   |  |  |  |  |  |
|   | THESE SLAVS SUPPOSEDLY HAVE ROAMED AT SOME UNKNOWN LOCATION.                                 |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 <sup>st</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> c. CE  | <b>VENEDI</b> of Pliny the Elder (23-79 CE; <i>Historia naturalis</i> IV) [WIELBARK PERIOD]: |  |  |  |  |  |
|   | THESE SLAVS HAVE SUPPOSEDLY HAVE MOVED TO SOME UNKNOWN LOCATION.                             |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1st c. BCE  | LATE LATÈNE PERIOD   |  |  |  |  |  |

In each individual archaeological site there is building substance for merely some 300 years out of the 1000 years expected for the 1st Millennium CE. The situation is repeated in the Wielbark culture known as Sântana de Mureș-Chernyakhov stretching from Southern Poland to the Black Sea. There, too, only some 300 years can be stratigraphically or demographically attested for in the 1st millennium CE (Kazanski 2007, 243 f.; see in detail Heinsohn 2014e). If there is an archaeological context at all, these 300 years immediately follow the Late Latène Period of the 1st c. BCE, and are immediately succeeded by the 11th c. CE. The ethnic group lumped together as "Slavs" has never moved away after some 300 years to settle for some 300 years in some enigmatic realm, eventually returning home for the millennium's last 300 years. **VENEDI**, **VENETHI**, and **WOENOD** are one and the same but

reported in different sources. Therefore, 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. Wielbark sites and 8<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> c. CE Haithabu/Truso-sites are stratigraphic bedfellows. Since 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. Wielbark sites are, undisputedly, also stratigraphic bedfellows of Winchester's 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. Roman period strata, the latter are the ones in which Alfred the Great wrote his 9<sup>th</sup> c. report on Wulfstan's 9<sup>th</sup> c. voyage to Truso. Thus, Alfred – with Roman chlamys and diadem – belongs to the Roman period that, however, is dated some 700 years too early. The Anglo-Saxon king, Haithabu and Truso etc., however, are dated – with a grain of salt – more or less correctly. This leads to the following chronological interpretation of Haithabu's stratigraphy.

| STRATIGRAPHICAL CHRONOLOGY OF HAITHABU/SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN IN THE 1 <sup>ST</sup> MILLENNIUM CE |  |   |  |  |  |  |
|--|--|---|--|--|--|--|
| Textbook dates   | Details  | Stratigraphy dates  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | (tentative)   |  |  |  |  |
| After 930 CE   | After conflagration triumph of Christianity  | After 930 CE  |  |  |  |  |
|  | (bishops at Haithabu, Ribe, Aarhus in 948 CE)  |   |  |  |  |  |
| Around 930 CE  | DESTRUCTION of Slavic forts around Haithabu (Graßmann 2008, 16) very much                                    | Around 930 CE   |  |  |  |  |
|  | like the massive destruction of Slavic tribal centers in Poland, Bohemia, Slovakia                           |   |  |  |  |  |
|  | etc. (Buko 2011, 464 and 2012, 157 f:, Sommer 2012, 266; Chorvátová 2012, 249).                              |   |  |  |  |  |
| 9 <sup>th</sup> c. CE  | Blossoming of Slavic and Germanic settlements side by side with occasional                                   | 9 <sup>th</sup> c. CE                                     |  |  |  |  |
|  | occurences of Christian and Jewish symbols.  |   |  |  |  |  |
|  | HAITHABU: 1 <sup>st</sup> /2 <sup>nd</sup> c. Roman items like coins, millefiori glass pearls, combs, locks, |   |  |  |  |  |
|  | keys, playing stones and bracelets made of glass, terra sigillata, tegula-bricks of                          |   |  |  |  |  |
|  | Leg[io] I dating to 83 CE etc.   |   |  |  |  |  |
| 8 <sup>th</sup> c. CE  | Beginning of Haithabu. Slavic settlements in the area around Haithabu.                                       | 8 <sup>th</sup> c. CE                                     |  |  |  |  |
|  | IMEDIATELY SUCCEEDING LATE LATÈNE  |   |  |  |  |  |
| 1 <sup>st</sup> -7 <sup>th</sup> c CE  | ENIGMATIC HIATUS OF SOME 700 YEARS FOR SETTLEMENT  | NO HIATUS. Dane-  |  |  |  |  |
|  | STRATA although Danewerk-wall under construction in 4th c. Late Antiquity.                                   | werk's 4 <sup>th</sup> /5 <sup>th</sup> c. equals         |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | 1 <sup>st</sup> /2 <sup>nd</sup> =8th/9 <sup>th</sup> CE. |  |  |  |  |
| 1 <sup>st</sup> /2 <sup>nd</sup> c. CE   | Roman items of this period are used in 8th/9th Haithabu, and Schleswig-Holstein                              |   |  |  |  |  |
|  | tribes like Cimbri are mentioned in Roman 1st c. texts.  |   |  |  |  |  |
| 2 <sup>nd</sup> /1 <sup>st</sup> c. BCE  | LATE Latène/Late Iron Age: Silver cauldron of Gundestrup/Denmark. Possibly,                                  | 7 <sup>th</sup> c. CE                                     |  |  |  |  |
|  | Cimbri from Jutland attack Roman territory 113 to 101 BCE.   |   |  |  |  |  |
|  | IMMEDIATELY SUCCEEDED BY 8th C. CE STRATUM   |   |  |  |  |  |

#### **SUMMARY**

When Alfred the Great (871-899), with his Roman diadem and chlamys (coin images), has Wulfstan travelling to Truso in the late 9th c. CE, there are no public buildings for a court, not even a stratum in Afred's city of *Venta Belgarum*/Winchester. When there is rich building evidence in Winchester's 1st-3rd c. Roman period strata with *domus*, temples, and forum with its public buildings of an unknown ruler, there is no settlement in Haithabu or Truso, which have no strata at all from the 1st to 7th c. CE. Thus, when Alfred would have an excellent urban basis in Winchesters 2nd c. CE, there is nothing in Haithabu, where Wulfstan sets sail, nor in Truso, where Wulfstan is heading to. When Haithabu and Truso have an urban basis in the 8th-10th c. CE period there is an urban void in Winchester where Alfred could have written his report about Wulfstan's 9th c. voyage.

Yet, stratigraphically Winchester's 3<sup>rd</sup> c. level is contingent, i.e. is directly followed, with no intervening sterile layers, by Winchester's 10<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century strata. Therefore, Winchester's 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. period is stratigraphically contemporary with the 8<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> c. periods of Haithabu and Truso. That is why Wulfstan could, indeed, not only see Truso on the Pomeranian coast but also Wielbark settlements that are dated 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. CE, i.e. are contemporary with Winchester's 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. CE building period. Moreover, Wielbark 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. building strata are as contingent with 10<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> c. strata (e.g., in Gdansk) as Winchester's 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. strata are contingent with Winchester's 10<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> c. strata.

Before putting into doubt Wulfstan' claim of many Pomeranian settlements visible from the Baltic Sea in the 9<sup>th</sup> c. CE, one must include Pomerian Wielbark settlements that are now dated tot he 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. CE but which stratigraphically are on the same level as 8<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> c. period settlements like Truso. Because Truso-type sites and Wielbark sites are stratigraphically parallel, 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. Wielbark sites are never found in strata below 8<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> c. strata in Truso-type sites. Both cultures are always found in different locations but never on top of each other.

Truso's stratigraphy resembles the archaeological sequence of Haithabu in Schleswig-Holstein because both sites of the 8<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> c. CE period are rich with 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> Roman items, although in both sites the period 1-700 CE has no strata whatsoever in which parental bequeathers could have handed on these items over 700 years.

The  $1^{\text{st}}$ - $3^{\text{rd}}$  c. Roman period strata of Alfred's Winchester are contemporary with Haithabu's and Truso's Roman items found in their  $8^{\text{th}}$ - $10^{\text{th}}$  c. strata. Whereas Haithabu and Truso are - *cum grano salis* - dated correctly, the Roman period at large is dated up to some 700 years too early.

The Early Middle Ages, therefore, belong to antiquity. The *Litus Saxonicum* ("Shore of Saxon Lands" in Southern England) provides one of the many proofs that Romans and Saxons shared England, competed for it but also defended it together. This was not much different from Romans sharing their Rhine territories (*Germania superior*; *Gemania inferior*) with indigenous Germanic tribes. There, common enemies were kept at bay by Romans and Germans at the *Limes Germanicus*. It was called that way because Germanic tribes were living behind it not because other Germanic tribes or Huns etc. might attack it. Nobody in his right mind would interpret these border fortifications as an indication that Germanic tribes only entered the Rhineland after the Romans had left for good. In analogy, there is no hint whatsoever that Saxons patiently waited inside Northern Germany for their claim to Britain until the Romans had left. Both lived in England side by side. Both were struck by the conflagration of the 930s (=230s=520s) that buried so many sites under mud or dark earth. The following overview presents a stratigraphy-based chronology for Winchester, Haithabu and Truso.

| COMPARATIVE STRATIGRAPHY OF ALFRED'S WINCHESTER |  |   |                                       |  |  |  |
|---|--|---|---------------------------------------|--|--|--|
| AND WULSTAN'S PORTS, HAITHABU AND TRUSO.        |  |   |                                       |  |  |  |
| VENTA BELAGERUM/WINCHESTER                      |  | HAITHABU and TRUSO  |                                       |  |  |  |
| 10 <sup>th</sup> /11 <sup>th</sup> c.           | Æthelwold of WINCHESTER (904/9 – 984)      | HAITHABU and TRUSO  | 10 <sup>th</sup> /11 <sup>th</sup> c. |  |  |  |
|   | <b>CONTINGENT WITH 3rd CENTURY</b>         | CONTINGENT (as expected) WITH 10th CENTURY                      |                                       |  |  |  |
| 1 <sup>st</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> c.             | Rich strata of Winchester with Roman       | Rich strata of Haithabu and Truso with                          | 8 <sup>th</sup> -10 <sup>th</sup> c.  |  |  |  |
|   | domus (splendid mosaics) and public        | Roman coins, millefiori-glass, padlocks, keys                   |                                       |  |  |  |
| $[=8^{th}-10^{th} c.]$                          | buildings for holding court.               | and combs.  | $[=1^{st}-3^{rd}c.]$                  |  |  |  |
|   | Contemporary with Poland's Wielbark-Period | WULSTAN CAN SEE WIELBARK SETTLEMENTS                            |                                       |  |  |  |
|   | CONTINGENT (as expected) WITH LATE LATÈNE  | ON HIS WAY FROM HAITHABU TO TRUSO.  CONTINGENT WITH LATE LATÈNE |                                       |  |  |  |
| 1st c. BCE                                      | ROMAN IRON AGE / LATE LATÈNE               | LATE LATÈNE ITEMS FOUND IN THE                                  | 1st c. BCE                            |  |  |  |
| [=7 <sup>th</sup> c. CE]                        |  | AREA AROUND TRUSO AND HAITHABU                                  | $[=7^{th} c. CE]$                     |  |  |  |
|   |  | CONTINGENT WITH 8TH C. HAITHABU/TRUSO                           |                                       |  |  |  |

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