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Abstract:

'Tribal territories' from the Humber to the Tyne: An Analysis of Artefactual and Settlement Patterning in the Late Iron Age and Early Roman Periods

This study investigates the nature of indigenous settlement in northern England. The main focus is on artefactual and settlement patterning evidence.

Chapter 1 covers the geological background, modern literature on the Brigantes and the history of archaeological work in the area. Chapter 2 considers the relevant literature and epigraphy: these are Roman in origin, and mostly post-date the period in question. It also considers Roman place-name evidence, discussing possible evidence for lack of linguistic change and the significance of the name Carlisle in relation to native society on the Solway Plain. This chapter reveals the weaknesses of the literature as evidence for the presence of tribes and regional identities in northern Britain.

Chapter 3 discusses the artefactual and material evidence covering pottery, metalwork, taphonomy, querns, glass and coinage. Regional patterns based on use, decorative styles and the use of imported Roman goods and styles, are identified which may indicate the presence of indigenous societies. Chapter 4 also identifies evidence for regionalisms by observing patterning in settlement sites themselves. In both cases factors affecting the archaeological record are highlighted. These two diverse approaches produce broadly similar results.

In chapter 5 conclusions are drawn regarding indigenous society and possible regional identities. There are no grounds for asserting the existence of one large regional group in northern England. The combined evidence reveals a number of different regions of which six are thought to display sufficient variation to indicate the presence of regional identities. Where possible names drawn from Chapter 2 are notionally attributed to these areas. The thesis concludes that the Tees Valley is the region most likely to have been inhabited by a regional group who may have recognised the name 'Brigantes'; there is no evidence that their control extended further.

'Tribal Territories' from the Humber to the Tyne:

An Analysis of Artefactual and Settlement Patterning in the Late Iron Age and Early Roman Periods

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Catherine Rosemary Ross

PhD Thesis

Department of Classics and Ancient History

Durham University

2009

– 1 MAY 2009

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DECLARATION

This thesis is entirely the work of the author. No part of it has previously been submitted for a degree in this or any other institution.

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'On the shore where Time casts up its stray wreckage, we gather corks and broken planks, whence much indeed may be argued and more guessed; but what the great ship was that has gone down into the deep, that we shall never see'

G. M. Trevelyan (Inaugural Lecture Cambridge 1927)

When I first started research on this thesis I had little idea what 'stray wreckage' of my period I might find and still less of how close I might come to divining the name of my chosen 'ship'. Three years and a journey of discovery later I have argued and, indeed, guessed my way towards my own conclusions but I could not have done this without the help of many people just some of whom are mentioned here.

Firstly I would like to thank the many experts both within and outside of academia who have kindly given advice, answered questions and even allowed me to use unpublished work. Their help has been invaluable. In addition many thanks to my college and in particular to Dr Gillian Boughton who has worked many minor miracles on my behalf during my time at Durham.

This thesis could not have been completed without the support of my supervisors Dr Clemence Schultze and Mr Richard Brickstock. My thanks must go most especially to Richard who has given a vast amount of his time and support throughout my research.

Last but most definitely not least I would like to thank my incredible parents Michael and Rosemary who have supported me throughout my whole life and to whom I owe an enormous debt of gratitude. They have encouraged me to reach for the stars and have helped me to follow my dreams. Thank you for believing in me.

This thesis is dedicated to my parents and to the memory of my grandmother

INTRODUCTION, METHODOLOGY AND KEY TOPICS

INTRODUCTION

Reasons for research

This thesis developed out of an increasing awareness of the lack of information on the native peoples of northern Britain at the time of the Roman conquest. The massive military presence and subsequent archaeological survival of literally thousands of tonnes of archaeological deposits on the sites of forts, milecastles and Hadrian's Wall have, perhaps unsurprisingly, taken precedence in scholarly literature.

Previous studies of indigenous northern England as a whole are few and have usually focused on limited areas or analysis of texts without use of archaeological evidence. There has been limited recent consideration of social organisation outside of the Yorkshire Wolds and many authors appear to assume that one tribe, the Brigantes, controlled the entire area of study, either directly or through some form of confederation, but without providing any concrete evidence to prove this.

An analysis of the small body of available literature, both ancient and modern, reveals a number of assumptions regarding the social and historical nature of native northern Britain, assumptions that need to be questioned by recourse to a

more broadly based body of evidence, both literary and archaeological, than that on which current accounts are based.

My initial question was whether the Brigantes, the only well documented tribe in the entire study area, really did control an area thousands of kilometres square and reaching from the North to the Irish Seas across a major geological barrier, the Pennine ridge.[1] To control such a large area divided by a land mass that remains a major barrier even into modern times would have been a massive achievement. This claim, made by Tacitus and seemingly accepted by the majority of later authors, appears upon first examination decidedly unlikely. Even in its weaker form – that control was exerted by ruling other tribes under some form of confederation – it is hardly convincing: the area is too large and the existence of a confederation practically impossible to prove. Were the claim to prove true however, the Brigantes would surely deserve elevation from a tribe relegated to the footnotes of history into one of the greatest British tribes of all time.

Questions to be addressed

In view of the factors raised here this thesis will, accordingly, set out to address the following questions which, it is hoped, may give some clarification of the situation in northern England in the late Iron Age and early Roman periods:

[1] The terms 'tribe' and 'identity' are addressed below

1: Is there any evidence in the literature for the presence of one or more than one social group in northern England?

2: Is there evidence for variation in the individual material culture elements of northern England and can any repeating patterns in the material evidence be identified which might suggest differing regions?

3: Is there any evidence for variations in settlement type and spatial patterning. If so can regions be identified?

4: If regions have been identified from questions 2 and 3 do these combine?

5: If strong enough patterning can be identified to suggest the presence of a regional identity in addition to any other identities, can any name be notionally associated to that regional identity from the results of question 1?

Temporal Scope

This thesis will study the late Iron Age and early Roman periods. The temporal scope is therefore roughly the period between 100BC and AD120 although dating in the contexts discussed here is imprecise and therefore these parameters, particularly the latter, cannot be taken as absolute.

Geographical Scope

This study will concentrate on the area of northern England which has, by assumption, been associated with a tribal entity named as the 'Brigantes'. The boundaries of the area of study are thus; in the north, a line connecting the Tyne

to the Solway Firth and, in the south, a line connecting the Humber and Ribble Estuaries (i.e. the area enclosed by OS grid lines SD and SE 20 to the south and NY and NZ 70 to the north)[2] but largely excluding the Yorkshire Wolds and East Yorkshire; the modern East Riding of Yorkshire which is normally associated with a specific group, traditionally named the Parisi.[3] Comparative reference will be made, where relevant, to areas bordering the region under discussion, in particular East Yorkshire and Northumberland.

METHODOLOGY

This thesis will study artefactual material and settlement patterning relating to the native population of northern England in the late Iron Age and early Roman periods.

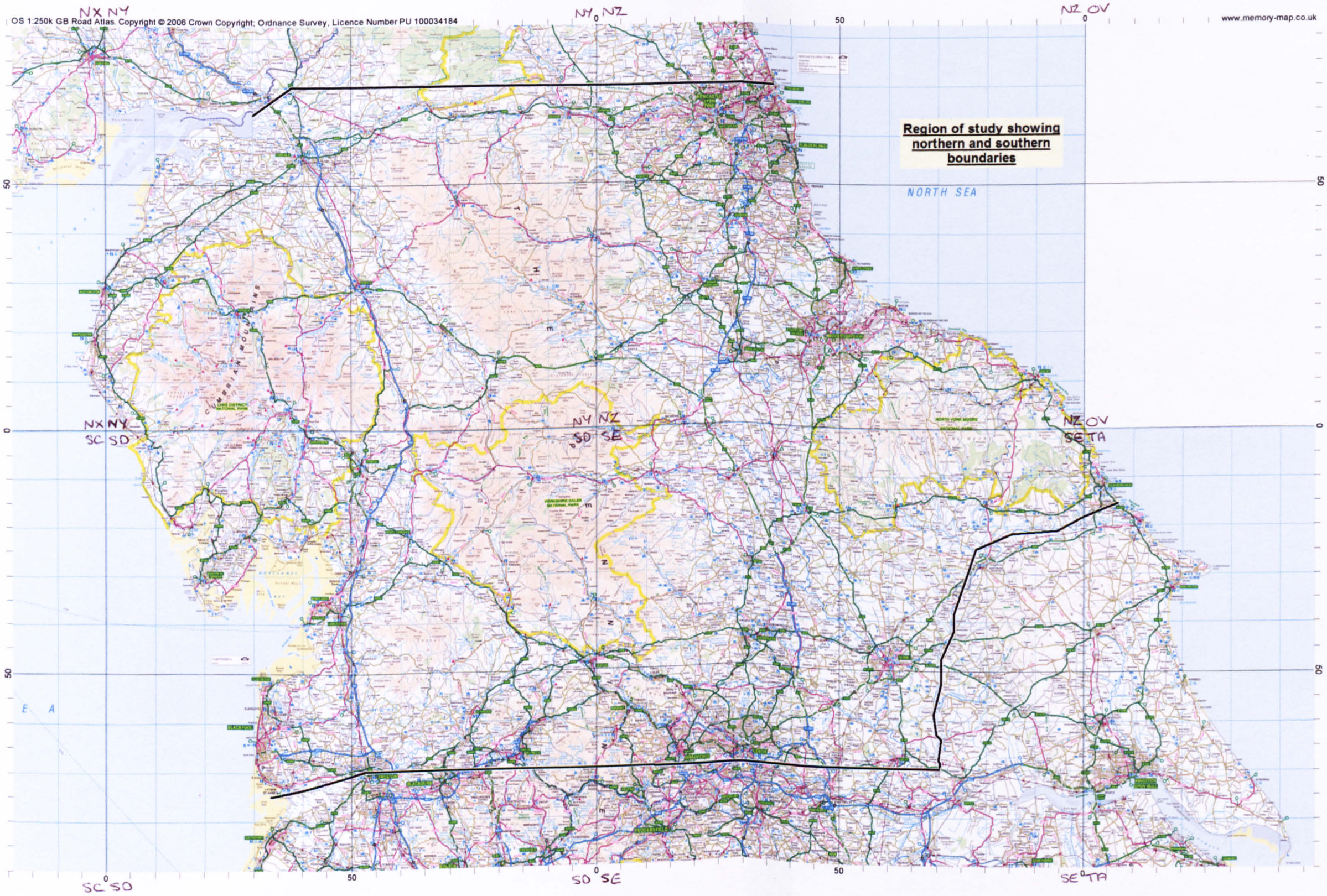
It will attempt to address questions relating to the social organisation of the region of study i.e. Whether there is any evidence to indicate the presence of one or more than one tribal group in northern England and whether there is any evidence for the nature of the group or groups discovered. Initially it will consider the ancient literary sources relating to the area of study in order to

[2] For region of study see Map 1 p.xiv

[3] The areas north and south of these parameters are excluded from this study because they are traditionally associated with other independent social groups these are: In the north the Votadini, (NE) and Selgovae (NW) and to the south the Coritanii/ Corieltauvi (SE) and the Cornovii (SW). For a map see: Jones, B. and Mattingly, D. *An Atlas of Roman Britain.* Oxbow, Oxford. 1990. p.45. For references on the nature of settlement in East Yorkshire and the debate over the identity of the Parisi see p.322 Chapter 4 below.

assess the strengths and weaknesses of the works and of any evidence for the presence of named tribal groupings. It will then go on to investigate the archaeological and settlement evidence from the region in an attempt to identify any regional variations in the material cultural assemblages and in the distribution of settlements. Recognising that regional identities need not be fixed nor need they exclude membership of other group identities on a range of scales, the combined evidence, if strong enough, can then be used to indicate variations in northern England which may indicate the presence of groups with differing regional identities. Although there is not necessarily a direct relationship between cultural assemblages and individual social groups strong enough results may either vindicate Tacitus and prove the ascendancy of the Brigantes; or, by revealing the presence of further independent groups; call into question a long held and little questioned belief.

Map 1: Area of study



KEY TOPICS

This section will address the key topics in this thesis and the history and development of work in these areas.

Tribe:

The original model for the occupation of prehistoric Britain assumed multiple large-scale invasions must have taken place. The invasionist theory remained popular until the 1960's when there was a growing realisation that mass migration theory did not fit with the available evidence.[4] Certainly Britain was in close contact with the continent but its communities developed independently. Indeed even had there been greater contact with northern Europe it would have been with a wide range of social structures. Creighton has illustrated the wide variety of social structures in northern Europe as described in the writings of Caesar. 'In general the evidence paints a patchwork picture of the situation; no two neighbouring communities were necessarily organised in the same way. Kings (*regnes*) are mentioned in some communities but not others, and where they did exist they appear to have had varying levels of authority'.[5]

At the time of the Roman conquest Britain consisted of a number of social units but it does not follow that there was any similarity in the scale of communities or social makeup of the different regions. Indeed Haselgrove highlights the specific development of communities in south eastern England. Here torcs and

[4] For further detail see Cunliffe, B. *English Heritage Book of Iron Age Britain.* Batsford, London. 1995. p.20-22
[5] Creighton, J. *Coins and Power in Late Iron Age Britain.* CUP, Cambridge. 2000. p.12-13

coins developed as 'media used to articulate social relations' whilst in certain areas horse trappings appear to have been another part of this system.[6] Haselgrove comments, 'there were notable changes in the forms, imagery and distribution of coinage, as well as significant alterations in the nature of domestic architecture. These transformations are associated with the development of 'kingdoms' – large scale polities with clear signs of social hierarchy and elites – and are essentially confined to south-east England'.[7] Outside of the south-east there is little evidence for similar processes or chronologies even in major kingdoms around the Thames basin and whilst there are often indicators of the development of hierarchies even this is not always the case.[8] This immense variation illustrates the lack of similarity between regions and hence the difficulty in creating a definition of what makes up a tribal entity.

James discusses the lack of similarity between pre-conquest tribal units in Britain; commenting that there does not appear to have been much, 'overarching "Britishness", as shown by the piecemeal pattern of polity-by-polity partial Roman annexation'.[9] James describes Britain as, 'home to a multiplicity of social formations, highly diverse in lifestyle, economy, material culture and social organization'.[10]

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[6] Haselgrove, C. Et al.. *Understanding the British Iron Age: An Agenda for Action.* Trust for Wessex Archaeology, Salisbury. 2001. p.30

[7] Haselgrove, C. (2001) p.30 Creighton also discusses the particular nature of community and individual development in the south-east Creighton, J. (2000) p.15-21

[8] Haselgrove, C. (2001) p.30

[9] James, S. ' "Romanization" and the peoples of Britain' in Keay, S. And Terrenato, N.(eds.) *Italy and the West: comparative issues in Romanization.* CBA, York. 2001a. p.189

[10] James, S. (2001a). p.190

Hodder demonstrated theoretically that differing styles of material culture can be used to define the social identities of individual groups.[11] His theoretical work was followed in practice by Millett in his study of the romanisation of Britain.[12] This assumes that material cultures, if well enough defined by archaeological and settlement evidence, can be used to suggest the presence of different native groups; 'the principal material-culture zones point to a series of major social groupings which we refer to as tribes'.[13] Millett notes that, 'the material culture is...remarkably heterogeneous; some areas exhibit a rich and varied cultural assemblage whilst others have only a limited quantity of goods within a narrow range.'[14] He further comments that unless Britain is accepted as one complete cultural unit, a scenario which does not fit well with the variations in material culture, then it is necessary to place the evidence within its geographical setting.[15] Cunliffe also believes that differing styles within artefacts of material culture, in particular styles of pottery, are a sensible way to assess variation between regions.[16]

Cunliffe has attempted to identify the main tribes of Iron Age Britain. These are the Trinovantes/ Catuvellanui, Cantii, Icenii, Atrebates of the south-eastern core. The Durotriges, Dobunni and Dumnonii of the periphery and south west. The Silures, Demetae, Ordovices, Gangani, Decangli and Cornovii of Wales.

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[11] Hodder, I. *Symbols in Action: ethnoarchaeological studies of material culture.* CUP, Cambridge. 1982
[12] Millett, M. *The Romanization of Britain.* CUP, Cambridge. 1990
[13] Millett, M. (1990) p.20
[14] Millett, M. (1990) p.11
[15] Millett, M. (1990) p.12
[16] Cunliffe, B. Iron Age Communities in Britain. Routledge, London. 1991[3]. p.60

The Brigantes 'and their neighbours' and the Parisii of northern England, and the Votadini, Novantae, Selgovae and Damnonii of southern Scotland.[17]

Of these tribal regions it is northern England which appears least clearly understood. Native identity in northern England could have taken a range of possible forms. However identifying the nature of these societies is not without difficulties, the most important of which are the absence of epigraphic evidence giving the names of tribes or rulers and the lack of complete artefactual data sets for some of the main cultural identifiers such as coinage and pottery. In particular the lack of any coinage and the paucity of ceramic evidence available from northern England mean that the artefactual assemblages from the region cannot easily be used to identify material cultures according to theoretical practice.

Identity:

In this thesis the term 'tribe' is used sparingly and with caution because there is no clear definition of the notion. Braund argues that we know very little about the nature of rulers and their positions within particular tribes and notes that those rulers who stuck their own coinage never included a tribal affiliation.[18] Further, 'it is probably enough that social and political traditions and structures varied significantly from one "tribe" (the term may not be helpful) to another'.[19]

---

[17] Cunliffe has attempted to identify the main Iron Age tribes of Britain. For further, detailed information see Cunliffe, B. (1991) chapters 7-9

[18] Braund, D. *Ruling Roman Britain: Kings, queens, governors and Emperors from Julius Caesar to Augustus*. Routledge, London. 1996. p.68

[19] Braund, D. (1996) p.68

Given the difficulty surrounding the term 'tribe' the notion of differences between communities and networks is instead expressed, for the most part, in terms of differing identities although in chapter 2 discussion retains the term tribe due to its use in the ancient sources. The term 'identity' is sufficiently flexible to cover the range of possible communities in northern England and the different ways in which they may have interacted. Diaz-Andreu states that identity is understood as 'individuals' identifications with broader groups on the basis of differences socially sanctioned as significant'.... 'Through identity we perceive ourselves, and others see us, as belonging to certain groups and not others'.[20] As such individuals could hold a number of identities at the same time and these identities could change according to personal choice. This thesis attempts to identify possible limits of geographical identities but recognises that the communities living within these areas shared a range of other identities tying them into both smaller and larger units and that the identification of geographical units is not the full picture.[21] In particular the social relationships of individuals both within and between these regions can relate to an entirely different set of identities which need not recognise any form of hard geographic boundary.

A 'tribe' in the late Iron Age or Early Roman Period may not always have been a group attached to a specific area and the situation may have altered over time. Mattingly suggests that identities before the conquest, were fluid and, 'late Iron-Age identity may have been fashioned...around the personality of individual

[20] Diaz-Andreu, M. et al.. *The Archaeology of Identity: Approaches to gender, age, status, ethnicity and religion.* Routledge, London. 2005. p.1
[21] For discussions of different forms of collective identity see Diaz-Andreu, M. et al.. 2005

rulers, with successive client kings controlling territories of varying size'.[22] He also argues that the conquest may have altered the nature of 'tribal' societies to more defined geographical units. 'The conquest may indeed have served to solidify tribal ethics and tribal entities in their emergency response to the invasion and in the new administrative arrangements'.[23] Cunliffe also describes a variety of social structures suggesting that tribes in the south may have been socially cohesive whilst those in the north depended on 'powerful lineages to whom the widely-spread population owed some degree of allegiance'.[24] He suggests that the degree of social cohesion within tribes may have depended on the population size. Thus in central southern Britain dense populations formed into distinct tribes or confederations whilst in the north and west where settlement was more dispersed social networks created more localised social identities. 'These groupings, in say the south-west peninsula.....may have recognized their difference from communities further east and may have even considered themselves to be men of Dumnonia, but this does not necessarily mean that they recognized a unifying authority – the constraints of geography in these remote regions may have been sufficient to give the appearance of unity'.[25]

Following Mattingly and Cunliffe this thesis takes the line that there may still be some validity in the idea of communities which recognised, among others, a form of geographic identity although not necessarily recognising an overarching authority or 'tribal' name. Braund suggests that in northern England 'Brigantes'

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[22] Mattingly, D. 'Being Roman: expressing identity in a provincial setting' in *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 17. 2004. p.13
[23] Mattingly, D. (2004) p.13
[24] Cunliffe, B. (1995) p.57 see also James, S. (2001a) p.192 and 196
[25] Cunliffe, B. (1995). p.58

may have been a Roman term applied loosely to the Britons of the north and east and even the Midlands with 'Britanni' being the term for those dwelling to the south of this area.[26] Within this area there are likely to have been a range of divisions based on many different forms of identity and it is possible that divisions based on geographic parameters can be identified. Such local and more regional differences may also be revealed in the evidence for interaction with occupying forces, officials and other incomers after the Roman invasion. Hingley notes that during the conquest, 'anti-Roman views will have been common; these probably drew on concepts of local and tribal, even native, identity'.[27] As such if particular areas stand out from those around in terms of differences in material and artefact assemblages and in settlement types and patterning then note will be made of these differences. However it is also very important to recognise that even if communities with different regional identities did exist these were far from being the only form of collective identity to which any individual might consider themselves to belong. Ties of family, marriage, gender and religion may all have had a part to play in creating further identities with which an individual might identify at any given time. In addition identities are subject to constant change. None of these need necessarily have been confined within a particular geographic area or temporal sphere and may have been locally restricted or have extended well beyond the limits of any possible geographic identity.

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[26] Braund, D. (1996) p.125

[27] Hingley, R. 'Resistance and domination: social change in Roman Britain' in Mattingly, D.(ed.) *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power discourse and discrepant experiences in the Roman Empire.* JRA Supplementary Series 23. 1997. p.96

Romanization:

There is extensive discussion among archaeologists of the relationship between artefacts and culture, notions of romanisation and the relationship between artefacts and culture and the extent to which artefactual evidence – the 'cultural assemblage' – can be used as a marker of cultural change or identity; in particular the extent to which a cultural assemblage can or should be used as an identifier of a particular people or tribal grouping. A grouping of artefacts does not, of necessity, equal a culture and neither, of necessity, indicate an ethnic grouping or even a tribe. This thesis recognises that there remains substantial debate about the use of material cultures and cultural assemblages to identify individual groups. In addition it recognises that 'Romanization' as a process is a modern construct and that no such idea existed in the ancient world. It is therefore impossible to consider native societies in relation to their level of development on a designed, quantifiable measure. A complete discussion of the issue, and particularly the theoretical basis behind the use and interpretation of archaeological evidence is beyond the scope of this thesis. However it is necessary to cover the recent history the 'Romanization' debate and the ideas that lie behind this concept in some detail in order to clarify the use of the term within this thesis.[28]

Millett responded to the growing body of opinion questioning the extent to which native Britons simply did what they were told to do by the occupying forces. Instead he developed a non-interventionist model whereby elite members of native society independently adopted new materials and customs to

[28] The early development of Romanization theory under Mommsen and Haverfield is well summarized in Hingley, R. *Globalizing Roman Culture: Unity, Diversity and Empire.* Routledge, London. 2005

express and develop their wish to become more Roman. Millett's model was highly focused on the actions of the elite and gave little consideration to the majority of the native population. He believed that the masses of the population would then have wished to emulate their superiors and would have adopted those elements of new material culture which were most accessible to them. The great development emerging from Millett's theory was the recognition that native populations could have chosen to adopt elements of the new 'Roman' culture of their own free will. Its weakness was in assuming that they would have automatically wished to do so and that any development must have been a top-down process in which the masses always emulated the elite rather than acting for themselves.[29]

Whilst there is much to be said for the use of material culture in the identification of peoples and the process of romanisation the practice is not universally accepted. Freeman countered the theory by pointing out that there is no such thing as a coherent 'Roman material culture'.[30] Roman culture consisted of elements adopted from across a vast empire encompassing many individual cultures and a relatively limited range of material culture actually derived directly from Rome and Italy.[31] Freeman also pointed out that the use of any so called Roman 'material culture' need not represent the adoption of the original use and significance behind the object and therefore the presence of an object need not represent the desire to adopt the identity originally associated with it.

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[29] Hingley, R. (2005) p.46
[30] Freeman, P. 'Romanisation' and Roman Material Culture' in *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 6. 1993. pp.448-445
[31] Freeman, P. (1993) p.43

There was a general recognition that too simplistic an explanation had been proposed for the reasons behind changing material cultures. The next significant development in Romanization studies came with the work of Greg Woolf who recognised that there was no single model 'native experience' of the Roman conquest. As a result he developed a qualitative approach arguing that romanisation cannot be measured against a recognised scale because there is no such thing as a pure Roman culture.[32] As a result, 'the idea of Roman identity is useful as a concept of cultural unity that allows the exploration of power relations but we need to accept that it is only a partial picture of the connections through which the empire was brought into being and maintained....as a result we need to think further than the useful but simplistic image of 'Roman' identity.'[33] Woolf thus argued that the term cannot be used as anything more than a general descriptor of a number of cultural changes.[34] Instead of a single model every province and indeed individual areas of each province had a different experience both pre- and post-conquest which impacted on the way in which the native population reacted to Roman imperial control. 'The combination of a number of competing approaches enables us to keep our focus on the power-relations that were used to create the empire, while considering its character as a variety of overlapping networks of power and identity'.[35] Woolf therefore allowed for endless variation in the reaction to and adoption of Roman culture among native societies. By allowing for such variation, Woolf avoided the problems created in looking for a quantifiable process of Romanization since no single model could exist. However whilst he recognised that relations

[32] Woolf, G. *Becoming Roman*. CUP, Cambridge. 1998. p.7
[33] Woolf, G. (1998) p.93
[34] Woolf, G. (1998) p.7
[35] Woolf, G. p.93

between members of individual societies were far more complex than the emulation models previously developed, his work, like that of Millett, had an strong bias towards the actions of the elite and did not consider in detail the significance of the vast majority of the population.

Moving away from the idea of processes or models of Romanization and focusing on the uses of material culture as a measure of impact, resistance and change, Hingley attempted to analyse the impact of the Roman conquest on material culture and what this could reveal about non-elite members of native society.[36] Hingley argued persuasively that material culture could be used as an active expression of identity. Thus material culture was not 'merely an adjunct to the achievement of a 'Roman' identity; natives would have utilized those aspects which fitted their aspirations, and aspirations will have varied from individual to individual across the province and throughout its history'.[37] In this way aspects of material culture could be used to reveal signs of an attempt by an individual to change their identity; to 'Romanize' or indeed to consolidate and display their non-Roman identity through a resistance to change in their material culture. Hingley argued that value judgements on artefacts and buildings have led to an assumption that 'Roman' was automatically taken to be 'better' than native but the clear evidence for the retention of old ideas and materials into the fourth century AD and beyond could represent, 'statements of alternative values and identity'. As a result 'the retention of native material symbols was to some

[36] Hingley, R. (1997b) pp.81-100
[37] Hingley, R. (1997b) p.87

extent a matter of choice'.[38] Thus material culture can be used to assess the ways in which individuals and societies reacted to the Roman presence.

Further attempts to clarify and re-interpret the Romanization debate led Webster to the development of a new process, creolization, whereby elements of cultures are blended creating a very ambiguous mixture that can be interpreted in a variety of ways.[39] The weakness of creolization is that it focuses on lower orders in society and cannot give explanations relating to all levels of society. Far greater recognition has also been given the wide range of local variation within the province in terms of native society and the impact of the Roman presence. James has stressed the highly individual nature of native British societies before the conquest where, 'for most [populations] life was small-scale and very local'[40] and has suggested five different types of post-conquest 'zones' each of which will have created different relations between the native population and those tasked with their control.[41] James also highlights the importance of the non-elite in creating different cultures within Roman Britain stating, 'people of the 'lower orders' are rarely, if ever, docile automata but are significant, at least partially autonomous agents, with their own views of the world'.[42] In an attempt to account for all those present in Roman Britain he identifies four possible 'cultures' which could have resulted from the individual experiences of the occupation: 'state culture', 'public culture', 'elite culture'

[38] Hingley, R. (1997b) p.95
[39] Webster, J. 'Creolizing the Roman Provinces' in *American Journal of Archaeology* 105. 2001. pp.209-225
[40] James, S. (2001a) p.190
[41] James, S. (2001a) p.195
[42] James, S. (2001a) p.201

and 'mass culture'.[43] Of these it is 'mass culture' which allows for the increasingly recognised localised variation in the native experience and in the ways in which different artefacts and elements of material culture were viewed and used, although such a concept is difficult to apply on anything more than a very general level.

Mattingly has built on previous work and, in particular, the value of variation in material culture as an indicator of identity.[44] He believes that there is a need to 'interrogate closely the archaeological record for examples of differences in the use of cultural material and then assess whether such occurrences can be attributed to distinct expressions of identity within society'.[45] Mattingly agrees with both Hingley and James that there were a number of different communities with differing reactions to the Roman occupation of Britain and believes that it may be possible to identify such communities though variations in the use of material culture. He also highlights the small number of individuals present in Britain who might have welcomed all aspects of Roman power,[46] and the likelihood of resistance stating that, 'many groups seem to have used culture...as a measure of expressing their own distinctiveness and segregation from other groups in society'.[47] However, he assigns a far more localised significance to the role of the army than James who considers the extent to which soldiers are likely to have affected communities over a far broader area through such

[43] James, S. (2001a) p.206
[44] See Mattingly, D. 'Being Roman: expressing identity in a provincial setting' in *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 17. 2004. pp.5-25; Mattingly, D. *An Imperial Possession: Britain in the Roman Empire, 54BC-AD409*. Allen Lane, London. 2006 esp. Chapters 15 and 16.
[45] Mattingly, D. (2004) p.9
[46] Mattingly, D. (2004) p.12
[47] Mattingly, D. (2006) p.520

activities as tax collection, policing and surveillance alongside or instead of civilian government.[48]

Many elements have a bearing on individual and group identity including, status, gender, age, religion and whether living under civil or martial law (the latter being particularly relevant in northern England), and stresses the number of different social groups present in Britain during the conquest period.[49] Like James, Mattingly identifies different relations with Roman power which could have led to varied experiences of Empire, but his categories are more specific and highlight the differences between those living in the military zone under large and small garrisons and between ex-clients and ex-rebels.[50] He goes on to state that as a result of these specific and different experiences, 'we might expect that different archaeologies will be left by different geographical and social groupings, reflecting their divergent Roman histories and regional identities'.[51]

Most recently Hunter has also supported the idea that material cultures can be used to 'create and express identity'[52] and that, 'geography alone does not define the personality of north Britain...Alternative, complementary or contrasting social identities and practices lie behind these different finds and their different distributions'.[53] Hunter also highlights the potential for analysing

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[48] James, S. 'Soldiers and civilians: identity and interaction in Roman Britain' in James, S. and Millett, M.(eds.) *Britons and Romans: advancing an archaeological agenda.* CBA, York. 2001b. pp.82
[49] Mattingly, D. (2004) p.10-11
[50] Mattingly, D. (2004) p.13
[51] Mattingly, D. (2004) p.14
[52] Hunter, F. 'Artefacts, regions and identities in the Northern British Iron Age' in Haselgrove, C. And Moore, T. (eds.) *The later Iron Age in Britain and beyond.* Oxbow, Oxford. 2007. p.286
[53] Hunter, F. (2007) p.288

variation on all scales from site-specific to national; 'broad regional trends defining some form of shared regional...identity, with localised, even site specific variations at a more everyday level of interaction'.[54]

Mattingly, Hunter and James argue persuasively for the value of studying material culture in order to identify different social groups, not least because material culture was used by all levels in society and is therefore a universal indicator of the ways in which individuals and groups chose to identify themselves. This thesis will follow their approach and will look at material culture and additionally settlement distributions with the aim of observing evidence for identities and in particular regional identities.

In this thesis the term 'Roman culture' is not used due to the difficulty surrounding the definition of such a phrase. Instead, objects which may represent 'romanization' are considered to be non-native artefacts that did not originate in the region of study and must therefore have been imported either as artefacts or as ideas in the immediate pre-conquest and post-conquest periods. This compares well with Mc Carthy's definition of the term, 'as the process by which local peoples accepted Roman imperialism and adopted otherwise alien cultural traits'.[55] The term 'romanization' is used as here a qualitative measure of change in the material cultural assemblages of northern England and can thus be used to describe variation between material cultures. The degree to which material culture highlights a positive, neutral or indeed negative response to the conquest and the post-conquest period is expressed in terms of the extent to

[54] Hunter, F. (2007) p.287
[55] Mc Carthy, M. 'Luguvalium (Carlisle); a civitas capital on the northern frontier' in Wilson, P. (ed.) *The Archaeology of Roman Towns*. Oxbow, Oxford. 2003. p.151

which the native population may or may not have been romanized. It is recognised that non-native artefacts need not have been adopted complete with their original significance, use and status and thus changes in material culture should not be assumed to represent changes in identity. However, sufficient examples of change or resistance within and between material cultures may be considered strong evidence for the presence of individual communities with differing responses to the Roman conquest.

This thesis follows the line taken by James and in particular Mattingly; that the study of material cultures and their variation as indicators of identity across all levels of society is a valid and sensible approach to the study of the different societies in northern England and their response to the Roman occupation. It sets out to use the archaeological record to reveal local variation within the region of study during the late Iron Age and early Roman periods and to consider the significance of the varied native reactions to Roman control.

This thesis recognises that the full facts can never be ascertained from cultural assemblages alone. However, it takes the line that it is reasonable to suppose a distinction between two populations whose cultural assemblage exhibits marked differences in areas such as form, style, decorative features, technological expertise and extent of use. Based on an analysis of the settlement patterning and cultural assemblages from northern England, this thesis will follow the theory that material culture can be used as an indicator of possible cultural difference and, indeed, of the process of cultural change. Cultural assemblages and differences in settlement patterning along with evidence for differing

reactions to the Roman presence will thus be used to identify possible regional variation. Whilst recognising the significance to an individual of a range of different identities this thesis sets out to identify any evidence for geographical identities which may have existed alongside these other identities.

In the last analysis it is not possible fully to resolve the theoretical debate but the present study will proceed on the assumption that where there is sufficient evidence from material culture this may be used to indicate that an area was inhabited by a population independent from those surrounding it.

CHAPTER 1: REVIEW

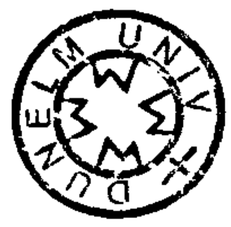
GEOLOGY, MODERN LITERATURE AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

GEOLOGY

The Iron Age in Britain finds its origins in the late second millennium BC but in order to understand the factors that created this culture some consideration must be given to the importance of the millions of years preceding this date in shaping the land and the people with whom this thesis will be primarily concerned. In order to create a more complete picture of Iron Age and early Roman northern Britain it is therefore necessary to start 500 million years ago at the time when the oldest rock types in Britain were first laid down. After a general consideration the major regional variations will be discussed. The climate and underlying geology of these areas has directly affected their use for human habitation and farming and this in turn may impact upon the nature of the societies which developed in these areas.

Geological background

The rock types of northern Britain determine the physical character of the region. These rocks were laid down between 500 and 280 million years ago and have since been subjected to a complex process of movement, uplift and



erosion.[1] The result of this is that the northern counties have a larger proportion of high and mountainous terrain than anywhere else in England.

The oldest rocks run in a discontinuous band from the Isle of Man and the Irish Sea north-east into the Lake District and the Cheviots. It is volcanic activity that has created and caused the uplift and formation of much of the high ground in northern England and southern Scotland. A Devonian period batholith underlies almost the whole of the northern counties and is now exposed at high points such as Weardale, Shap, Skiddaw and Eskdale. The Whin Sill is another large batholith which now outcrops along the Tyne Gap, Eden Fault and on the coast at Bamburgh and the Farne Islands, often creating steep cliffs or promontories.[2]

The younger rock types of the northern counties were laid down in the Carboniferous period between 345 and 280 million years ago after a series of geological events that led to severe folding and erosion of the older rocks. It is this folding that created the mountains of the Lake District. North of the Tyne the Carboniferous rock types are mostly sandstone and shale but uplift and erosion formed these into a series of scarps around the Cheviots and Bewcastle Fells.[3]

Away from the high ground lie the lowlands of south east Durham, the Solway coastal plain and the south Cumbrian coast. All of these areas are made up of

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[1] Woodcock, N. and Strachan, R. *Geological History of Britain and Ireland.* Blackwell, Oxford. 2002

[2] For full details of the geological development of northern England and Britain as a whole see Woodcock, N. and Strachan, R. (2002). See also Taylor, B. J. et al.. *British Regional Geology: Northern England.* HMSO, London. 1971[4]

[3] See Taylor, B. J. et al.. (1971) pp.37-67

sandstones which remained free of the processes of uplift, folding and erosion affecting the areas previously described. The eastern coastal plain is by far the largest stretching up into Scotland and, discontinuously, into Yorkshire. West of the Pennines are two smaller coastal plains: the Solway area, the larger of the two, and the Furness and Lonsdale lowlands which are separated from the Solway plain by the Lake District and the Howgill Fells.[4]

The relationship of these upland and lowland zones played a major part in deciding their climate and their use as a habitat for both fauna and man. In the Lake District the mountain block creates soils which are liable to degradation by leaching.[5] There are therefore severe limitations on the vegetation especially compared with the eastern slopes of the Pennines. The geological structure of the landscape has also produced major climatic variations. The high uplands have created rain shadow areas in the Eden Valley and, on a larger scale, the North Sea area the most noticeable effect of which is the difference in flora between the drier east and the markedly wetter climate to the west of the Pennines.[6]

The last ice age, developing vegetation and the arrival of man

Radio carbon dating tells us that the last ice age ended in about 10000BP.[7] Prior to this ice sheets covered all of northern Britain and even if the very highest

[4] See Taylor, B. J. et al.. (1971) pp.70-80
[5] Leaching is a process whereby the mineral and nutrient qualities are literally washed out by the flow of water through the soil.
[6] Higham, N. (1986) p.7-8
[7] Carbon dating measures the decay of the element carbon 14 from palaeobotanical cores and archaeological contexts. The dates are therefore given as BP meaning Before Present (1950)

ground was not covered in ice it would still have been under a deep layer of permanent snow.[8] It is very unlikely that any human activity took place in the glacial areas of the north and none has yet been detected.

The last ice sheets had withdrawn into Scotland from the Lake District by around 8000BC, the end of the Devensian.[9] Pioneer vegetation began to establish itself in the late glacial period and northern England would have looked like a typical tundra or alpine zone with lichens, grasses and dwarf shrubs gaining a hold in periglacial conditions of permafrost and long-lying snow.[10] Indeed Upper Teesdale is thought to be a rare surviving example of this type of vegetation. The tundra flora would have attracted associated fauna, especially reindeer, and the opportunity for hunting probably drew the first men to the most southerly area of northern Britain around this time. The landscape in the lowlands at this time was mainly open, 'with grasses and shrubs such as crowberry...and in certain locations such as on the coastal plains, around the margins of late-glacial lakes and in sheltered valleys, birch woodlands were becoming extensive'.[11] After this the region was colonised by a succession of forest trees starting with birch, willow and hazel and later pine, oak, elm and alder. By about 7000 years ago most of North Yorkshire was covered in forest

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when carbon dating was first invented. Dates in this chapter will be given either BC or BP depending on the available information. For further explanation see Parker Pearson, M. *English Heritage Book of Bronze Age Britain*. Batsford, London. 1993. p.18

[8] For a detailed explanation of the Ice Ages and their effect on the landscape of northern England see Taylor, B. J. et al.. (1971) pp.83-90, also Evans, J. G. *The Environment of Early Man in the British Isles*. Elk, London. 1975. pp.55-70

[9] Hodgson, J. and Brennand, M. (eds.) *North West Region Archaeological Research Framework Prehistoric Resource Assessment Draft*. 2004. p.1

[10] Taylor, B. J. et al.. (1971) p.90 mentions the development of peat followed by vegetation and the presence of early fauna between 7500 and 3000BC. See also Laing, J. and Laing. L. *The Origins of Britain*. Grafton Books, London. 1980. p.61

[11] Aalen, F. H. A. (2006) p.31

and the only gaps in the canopy would have been natural clearings on areas of high ground where the tree cover thinned out.[12]

Sea level rose from 8000 BC flooding coastal parts of Ireland, the lowland between the southern Lakes and Wales and forming the English Channel. Britain was increasingly surrounded by water and was an island by 6000 BC.[13] The temperature also rose from an average of 0 degrees centigrade to somewhere rather warmer than the current average.

The northern counties of Britain were now within the range of settlement of post-glacial man and the first permanent occupation of northern Britain is likely to have taken place around this time. Peat-bogs formed on both uplands and lowlands, although to a greater extent in the west of the country, and these have revealed evidence for climatic and vegetation change.[14] The Holocene peat bogs of North Yorkshire have revealed evidence for wetter periods in 3000-2500BC and 1000-400BC and warmer or drier periods around 1500-1000BC and AD 0-400.[15] Palaeolithic evidence is, naturally, slight but Northern England is now reasonably well served for evidence of Mesolithic human occupation, most of which is in the form of pollen and bone evidence.[16]

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[12] Butlin, R. A. *Historical Atlas of North Yorkshire.* Westbury, West Yorkshire. 2004. p.26
[13] Bradley, R. *The Prehistory of Britain and Ireland.* CUP, Cambridge. 2007. p.8 and for maps of the process p.11
[14] Butlin, R. A. (2004) p.22
[15] Butlin explains the use of testate amoebae and vegetation to identify changes in the wetness of peat-bogs and thus of the climate. Butlin, R. A. (2004) p.23
[16] See Young, R. 'The Palaeolithic and Mesolithic Periods in Northern England: An Overview', Quartermaine, J. 'Upland Survey: Neolithic and Bronze Age Sites' and maps in Huntley, J. P. 'Environmental Archaeology: Mesolithic to Roman Period' in Brooks, C., Daniels, R. and Harding, A. (eds.). *Past, Present and Future: The Archaeology of Northern England.* Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland Research Report 5. Durham. 2002. p.80. The arrival and development of human settlement in northern England is well discussed in this volume and also in Bradley, R. (2007)

Palynological evidence shows that the earliest inhabitants of northern England began to have an impact on the environment. Trees were cleared for building projects, such as the early Mesolithic site at Star Carr in the Vale of Pickering, and fire was used for hunting which cleared the undergrowth and prevented recolonisation by trees.[17] In terms of farming practice environmental evidence has indicated that fire was also used to encourage grass growth for grazing animals whilst evidence for cereal-type pollen grains suggests it is possible that some cereals were also used, although Huntley points out that aside from hazelnut shells there is no other evidence for the use of plants of any sort.[18]

Whilst there is a reasonable amount of Bronze Age settlement in northern England there is very little definable evidence of Neolithic activity, particularly on the uplands, although there is more in lowland regions. One important exception is found in the Neolithic axe factories in the Langdales of the Lake District. Quartermaine describes large scale, long-lasting production and long distance trade requiring massive organisation and infrastructure, 'it has confirmed the complexity and sophistication of a Neolithic society that could manufacture on a massive scale and could market throughout Britain'.[19] The Neolithic evidence from the Lake District reveals the degree and development of society in northern England. This may have been a unique case but it strongly indicates that even as early as the Neolithic period northern England was far from uninhabited and undeveloped. Despite the increasing evidence for human settlement and society in northern England humans continued to have only small

[17] Butlin, R. A. (2004) p.26 also Mellars, P. And Dark, P. *Star Carr in Context.* McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, Cambridge. 1998
[18] Huntley, J. P. (2002) p.81
[19] Quartermaine, J. (2002) p.34

scale impacts on their environment. It was not until the Iron Age and Roman periods that human settlement in northern England began to have a far more widespread and permanent impact.[20]

Summary of geographical variation in the region of study

North Yorkshire including the Pennines, Yorkshire Dales, Vales of Mowbray and York and North Yorks Moors

Geology and topography:

The majority of North Yorkshire is composed of sedimentary rocks the most ancient of which are the Ordovician and Silurian rocks in the west and the youngest are Cretaceous Chalk in the east.[21]

The bulk of the Pennine uplands were laid down in the Carboniferous period when limestones were covered by Millstone Grit and coal measures, although the igneous Whin Sill breaks through in the far northern Pennines.[22] In the Yorkshire Dales, consisting of Swaledale, Wensleydale, Nidderdale, Wharfedale and Airedale, carboniferous limestone has produced impressive karst scenery. Swaledale and Wensleydale cut through Yoredale rocks (layers of limestones, shales and sandstones) creating terraces separated by the softer shales. Nidderdale is underlain by Millstone Grit, which also makes up the moorland

[20] Butlin, R. A. (2004) p. 27 The arrival and development of human settlement in northern England is well discussed in papers in Brooks, C., Daniels, R. and Harding, A. (eds.) (2002)
[21] Butlin, R. A. (2004) p.8
[22] Butlin, R. A. (ed.) (2004) p.9

between each dale, creating dark outcrops above light limestones of the Yoredale Rocks. Meanwhile Upper Wharfedale, Airedale and Ribblesdale include Great Scar Limestone at their bases, Yoredale Rocks and Millstone Grit at the top.[23]

Moving eastwards Millstone Grit is hidden beneath a low ridge of Permian Magnesian Limestone and in the east this in turn is hidden below soft Triassic sandstone, mudstone and siltstone in the Vales of Mowbray and York although much of it is hidden beneath glacial tills.[24] Further east again the land rises into the Jurassic rocks of the North York Moors. At the base of these are mudstones with layers of sandstone, ironstone and jet shales above. The overlying rock type is mainly sandstone which has eroded in places to reveal the rock types underneath. On the northern edge of the North Yorks Moors the Cleveland Dyke creates a clear ridge of basaltic, igneous rock whilst in the south the Tabular Hills form another escarpment of Corallian Limestone and grit.[25]

Much of the solid geology of North Yorkshire is hidden beneath glacial deposits from the most recent ice age during the late Devensian period *c*26000-10000 years ago. This destroyed most of the evidence from previous ice ages but some inter-glacial evidence has survived, in particular cave deposits in Skipton at the southern end of the Yorkshire Dales.

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[23] Butlin, R. A. (ed.) (2004) p.9
[24] Butlin, R. A. (ed.) (2004) p.9
[25] Butlin, R. A. (ed.) (2004) p.10. For good maps of the solid and drift geology of the area see Butlin, R. A. (ed.) (2004) p.10-11

Ice from the Lake District entered North Yorkshire crossing the Stainmore Pass and Teesdale where it joined with ice from the Cheviots which was moving southwards through north-east England.[26] The ice built up in the Tees lowlands to a depth of 800 metres and split into two streams one of which moved along the North Sea coast whilst the other travelled through the Vale of Mowbray and into the Vale of York. Ice also built up on the Pennines and glaciers flowed from there through the Dales valleys where most joined up with the ice accumulation in the Vale of York although the Ribblesdale glacier flowed into the Vale of Eden.[27] The ice did not cover the whole of northern England and it is known that the Cleveland Hills, North Yorks Moors, Howardian Hills and Yorkshire Wolds formed nunataks. In the Pennines the maximum depth of ice is uncertain but it seems likely that some peaks were also exposed.

When the ice retreated it left barriers of glacial moraine in the valleys of the Dales and in the Vale of York at York and Esckrick, also large numbers of drumlins in the Craven Lowlands and in the Vales of Mowbray, York and upper Wensleydale. Glacial till, boulder clay, covered most of the lowland in North Yorkshire and can reach depths of 60m and in late-glacial times westerly winds picked up silts from all these glacial remains and deposited them as loess on the hills to the west.[28] Indeed glacial deposits have greatly affected the nature and fertility of soils in North Yorkshire and northern England as a whole. Beyond the limits of the ice lakes were formed where rivers were dammed by ice and glacial moraines these include Glacial Lake Humber which lasted until 11000BP

[26] Butlin, R. A. (ed.) (2004) p.11
[27] Butlin, R. A. (ed.) (2004) p.11
[28] Butlin, R. A. (ed.) (2004) p.12. For a map of glacial deposits and geography see Butlin, R. A. (ed.) (2004) p.14

and Lake Pickering which formed of water trapped between the ice of the Vale of York and the North Sea. Numerous other temporary rivers and drainage channels formed at this time and now bear little resemblance to the modern drainage pattern.[29]

Rivers have had a greater impact upon north Yorkshire than on many other parts of northern England. Eight major rivers flow through the area and of these perhaps the most important are the Swale, Ure, Nidd and Wharfe and Aire which all rise on the Carboniferous uplands of the Dales and flow through the valleys into the lowlands of the Vale of York to meet and form the Ouse which is then met by the Derwent before entering the Humber Estuary. Only the rivers Ribble and Esk do not form part of this drainage system with the Ribble draining westwards and the Esk running out of the northern North Yorks Moors.[30] The fluvial geography, in particular the tendency to flooding, of North Yorkshire and especially the Vale of York is still a significant factor in the area and will have had a major impact on settlement and landuse in the area during the period of study.

Soils:

In such a large area with varied climates and geology it is no surprise that North Yorkshire is made up of a variety of soil types. On the Pennine slopes the glacial deposits have left slow draining, peaty soils which are waterlogged for much of the time. As a result they are high in acidity and have low levels of nutrients and a short growing season. These soils are primarily useful for rough grazing and

[29] Butlin, R. A. (ed.) (2004) p.13
[30] Butlin, R. A. (ed.) (2004) p.14

are not suitable for agriculture. To the west Magnesian Limestone in the western Vale of York produces far better soils; calcareous brown earths up to a depth of 50cm. These soils are well drained and easy to work but lack some nutrients. The rest of the Vale of York and the Vale of Mowbray both have large glacial till deposits and depending on their location these vary from highly fertile loams to poorly drained reddish clays; however such heavy soils would have proved difficult to farm until the late Iron Age when ploughs were improved allowing access to what was then more marginal land.[31] The clay based soils can be difficult to manage in order to retain their fertility and it is likely that these soils would fairly quickly have become exhausted in the later Iron Age and Roman periods. Finally the North Yorks Moors, which lack glacial deposits, depend largely on the geological deposits underneath. Mudstones, shales and clays produce peat, sandstones create poor gleys on high ground and good loamy brown earths on lower ground, soils with chalky deposits produce brown earths and alluvial soils are found in valley bottoms.[32] These different soil types are greatly varied both in terms of their content and their ease of cultivation; those on the valley sides would have been easiest to cultivate whilst the valley bottoms became accessible with improvements in farming technology. In addition any deforestation would have greatly affected the fertility of both the high ground and the steeper slopes as the soil became subject to leaching. As a result the soils and the underlying geology and topography have had a direct impact upon cultivation and settlement positioning and continuity in North Yorkshire during the period of study.

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[31] Butlin, R. A. (ed.) (2004) p.29. The development of new tools is discussed in Fowler, P. *The Farming of Prehistoric Britain.* CUP, Cambridge. 1983 and below p.54

[32] Butlin, R. A. (ed.) (2004) p.29

The North East: County Durham, Tyne-and-Wear and the Tees Valley

Geology and Topography:

North East England is dominated by the Pennines to the west and the Cheviots to the East but also contains smaller upland areas and productive lowlands.

Most of the North East uplands are based on Carboniferous sedimentary rocks including sandstones, limestone and coal. On the Pennines the oldest rocks strata, mainly limestones, are almost horizontal creating high plateaus which are usually capped by sandstones. Away from the Pennines the carboniferous and younger Triassic rocks tilt eastwards where, 'erosion, cutting across the dipping strata, has exposed and eastward succession of progressively younger rocks, including Permian magnesian limestone, Triassic mudstone, Jurassic limestone and sandstone and, ultimately, Cretaceous chalk'.[33] This structure created series of bands where the more resistant rocks formed west facing escarpments including east Durham, the North York Moors and the Yorkshire Wolds, while weaker rocks formed lowlands including the Vales of York and Pickering and the lower Tees Valley.[34] In addition the Whin Sill, an igneous intrusion, creates a sharp escarpment in Northumberland and North Durham. This landform also produced the large waterfalls of upper Teesdale and the Farne islands off the Northumberland coast.

Northumberland, Durham and the Tees Valley all lay within and thus beneath the limits of the Devensian ice-sheets. The ice sheet covered the Durham and

[33] Aalen, F. H. A. *England's Landscape: the North East.* Harper Collins, London. 2006. p.19
[34] Aalen, F. H. A. (2006) p.19

Tees lowlands and deposited till across the Northumberland coastal plain, eastern Durham, and the Tees and Wear lowlands, lying up to 60m thick in places and completely burying the underlying geology.[35] The till also covered the lower slopes and floors of more upland valleys in the Pennines, Durham Dales and Cheviots but not to the depth of the lower areas. Temporary pro-glacial Lakes like those discussed in North Yorkshire above also formed in the region in the valleys of the Tees, Wear and at Lake Milfield in Northumberland.[36]

Soils:

The high western uplands of the Pennines with their flat, poorly drained plateaus, are covered with blanket peat-bog and thin, acidic moorland soils. This area, around 100 000ha may have been used for rough grazing but cannot have been useful for very much more.[37] The high level of glacial till deposited in the north-east lowlands of Durham and the Tees Valley created good, light soils that have long been preferred for agriculture. Glaciofluvial sands and gravels, deposited by meltwater, are widespread and often form wide terraces above modern rivers. They create light, freely draining soils which would have been accessible for both arable and pastoral farming in the period of study. The drained glacial lakes were filled with clay and silt and became very difficult heavy ground which could not have been easily worked but would have been good for pasture.

[35] Aalen, F. H. A. (2006) p.19
[36] Aalen, F. H. A. (2006) p.20
[37] Aalen, F. H. A. (2006) p.21

Cumbria: The Lake District and the Cumbrian Lowlands

The Lakes and surrounding hills

Geology and topography:

The main part of the Lake District is made up of ancient rocks of the Ordovician and Silurian periods.[38] These were laid down between 400 and 500million years ago.[39] Initially the rocks were created in layers but at the end of the Silurian came the Caledonian mountain building period. This led to severe folding and fracturing of the region and to the creation of the Caledonian mountains which were eventually eroded to a level similar to that seen today.[40]

The oldest rocks are the Ordovician Skiddaw Slates, sedimentary rocks built up from the material eroded from even older rocks, which make up the high, rounded geology of the northern fells.[41] Further to the south are the Borrowdale Volcanics which have created the crags of the central Lakes including Scafell, Coniston, Helvellyn and Highstreet. These rocks mark the remains of an ancient Ordovician volcano which once stood more than 5000metres high about 450 million years ago when the Lake District lay 20 degrees south of the equator. Lava and ash from this volcano built up and subsequent geological tilting and folding has exposed many layers across the central lakes, known as the Borrowdale Volcanics.[42] The most southerly section of the Lakes, the Windermere Group, is formed of layers of Silurian mudstones and sandstones

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[38] Mosley, F. *Geology and Scenery in the Lake District*. Geologists Association, London. 1990. p.3
[39] Fryer, G. *A Natural History of the Lakes, Tarns and Streams of the Lake District*. Freshwater Biological Association, Cumbria. 1991. p.1
[40] Mosley, F. (1990) p.7
[41] Fryer, F. (1991) p.1
[42] Mosley, F. (1990) p.7

and covers Windermere and the Furness Fells. By contrast with the central lakes this area is made up of sedimentary rocks laid down in seas of varying depth which form a gentler landscape.

In addition to the main rock types making up the Lake District numerous intrusions of magma have created granite outcrops spread throughout the region. The heat to which these rocks were exposed has made them extremely hard and impermeable.[43]

Around 70 million years after the end of the Caledonian period tropical Carboniferous seas advanced into the Lake District and laid down the Carboniferous limestones which surround the Lakeland mountains.[44] These younger rocks create escarpments around the main Lake District massif and are the rocks which now link the Lakes to Eden Valley, the Pennines and the Dales. The final period of uplift occurred sometime after the Triassic period and created the radial pattern of drainage which gives the Lake District its unique appearance. The rocks of the centre were forced upwards creating a dome from which water flowed out along previous streams and fault lines. These lines of radial drainage were later followed by ice streams and this led to the creation of the major Lakes in a pattern rather like the spokes of a wheel radiating out from the centre.[45]

It took more than one period of glaciation to form the landscape of the Lake District and indeed all of the glacial and peri-glacial periods have had a massive

[43] Fryer, G. (1991) p.5
[44] Mosley, F. (1990) p.7
[45] Fryer, G. (1991) p.6

impact on the region. However it is the last ice age in the Devensian period that has left the most evidence. Huge valley glaciers filled the Lakeland valleys and at the periods of maximum glaciations they overflowed and joined to cover virtually the whole area with the exception of the highest peaks. Ice from the Lakes flowed outwards not only across the District itself but also across the Pennines and southwards carrying rocks from the Lake District into Lancashire, Cheshire, Yorkshire and even Nottinghamshire.[46] The mobile ice, flowing out from the centre and following the radial valley drainage patterns, carved out great U-shaped valleys, cutting off hanging valleys and creating Lakes and tarns. The Lakes of Lakeland were certainly created by ice because they have u-shaped sections and their lowest points often lie below sea level, indeed Lake Windermere is 38m above sea level on the surface yet is at least 64m deep.[47] The Glaciers also deposited banks of moraine which formed dams and further helped to create the tarns and the lakes of the area. Meanwhile drumlins formed at the southern edge of the Lakes.[48]

Soils:

After the last ice age deep upland peat-bogs developed in the high level, waterlogged, areas of the Lake District although the steep slopes of the mountains restricted their formation to the rare flatter areas.[49] Glaciation stripped the high fells of all soil-forming material, leaving exposed rocky slopes which were then subject to freeze-thaw and other actions creating crags and

[46] Fryer, G. (1991) p.8
[47] The glacial processes are well described in Fryer, G. (1991) p.12-19
[48] Fryer, G. (1991) p.13
[49] Mosley, F. *Geology of the Lake District.* Yorkshire Geological Society, Leeds. 1974. p.30

scree slopes.[50] The lower slopes are made up from materials eroded from higher up the slopes and from material deposited by the glaciers on the valley sides.[51] These soils are usually highly acidic gleys and would have been both difficult to cultivate and swiftly exhausted. In particular deforestation would have caused any nutrients to be washed from these poor soils rendering them virtually useless. It was the valley bottoms, where these were not filled with water, that were the most fertile. Here silts, sands and alluvium were deposited by meltwater and rivers, some of which completely silted up lakes to form reasonably fertile valleys but with heavy, difficult soils which could only have been useful for pasturage and may have been difficult to cultivate even after the introduction of new tools.[52]

The Cumbrian Lowlands:

In Southern Cumbria the land is divided between northerly Silurian rocks which create high, craggy ground, and more southerly carboniferous limestone covered with glacial till. Finally the Furness peninsula is made up of mudstone and sandstone although this again is covered with glacial till.[53]

Although more accessible for agriculture than the steep, narrow Lakeland valleys the soils in this area remain relatively poor. The higher, northern slopes produce peat and acidic gleys which would have been impossible to use for

[50] Bendelow, V. C. 'Soils, geology and climate in the Lake District National Park' in *Soils and Land use in the Lake District National Park: Proceedings of the North of England Soils Discussion Group 20.* 1984. p.3
[51] Mosley, F. (1974) p.31
[52] Mosley, F. (1974) p.31
[53] Hodgkinson, D. et al.. *The Lowland Wetlands of Cumbria: North West wetlands survey 6.* Lancaster Imprints, Lancaster. 2000. p.23-24

anything but rough pasture.[54] The Carboniferous soils are more varied producing gleys but also more useful brown earth although it is questionable how accessible these soils would have been for anything but pasturage in the period of study. The lowest land contains some lighter soils associated with the limestone geology and may have been the most useful for agriculture but they are limited in extent.[55]

The Solway Plain has a more complex history having been affected both by the Devensian glaciation and the later 'Scottish re-advance' which deposited new material across much of the area delaying the formation of soils although this would not have been the case as late as the period of study.[56] The underlying geology is mainly sandstone in the east whilst Jurassic shales make up the land to the east.[57]

The area is drained by several large rivers and much of the northern area nearest the coast is frequently waterlogged.[58] Here peat and clay dominate the area and the soils could only have been of use for seasonal pasturage. The most useful, well drained alluvial loams are also found around the coast and along the rivers systems, particularly of the River Ellen to the west of Carlisle and it is these areas which would have been the most use for agriculture, particularly pasturage, during the period of study.[59] In particular the south-western part of

[54] Hodgkinson, D. et al.. (2000) p.23
[55] Hodgkinson, D. et al.. (2000) p.24
[56] Bewley, R. H. *Prehistoric and Romano-British Settlement in the Solway Plain, Cumbria.* Oxbow Monograph 36, Oxford. 1994. p.9
[57] Bewley, R. H. (1994) p.10
[58] Hodgkinson, D. et al. (2000) p.85
[59] Hodgkinson, D. et al.. (2000) p.85

this area contains well drained loam soils which could have been used for more intensive agriculture.[60]

Lancashire:

The highest land in Lancashire is in the Forest of Bowland, an extension of the Pennines and thus made up of fairly resistant carboniferous limestone rocks rising to a maximum of 561m.[61] Apart from this area the solid geology of the rest of the area, a series of Permo-Triassic rocks with sandstone in the east and mudstones in the west, is largely deeply buried under glacial drift deposits and has had little impact on the landscape since the end of the Devensian period.[62]

The Lancashire coastal plain is a boulder clay landscape and most of it lies below 30m above sea level. As a result the area is heavily waterlogged with mires around the coasts the largest of which is the Fylde. Added to this three rivers, the Lune, Ribble and Wyre, flow through the low-lying flood plain.[63] Of the three soil types in the lowlands two, colluvium and alluvium, are found in the waterlogged riverine and estuarine areas. The third, peat, made up most of the landscape of North Lancashire. Middleton, describing the early landscape of the area states that prior to the industrial era, 'mires occupying the waterlogged marine clay flats and glacial till hollows stretched uninterruptedly from the salt marshes of the northern shore of Over Wyre almost to the River Wyre in the south and from the Preesall district in the west to Winmarleigh and Nateby in the east. In south and central Fylde, valley and raised mires snaked along the

[60] Hodgkinson, D. et al.. (2000) p.85 and see Bewley, R. H. (1994) p.13
[61] Middleton, R. et al.. *The Wetlands of North Lancashire: North West Wetlands Survey.* Lancashire Imprints, Lancaster. 1995. p.6
[62] Middleton, R. et al.. (1995) p.8
[63] Middleton, R. et al.. (1995) p.6

low-lying topography between till uplands forming a mosaic of open wetland'.[64] Further valley and raised mires dominated even the more upland areas although these were also afforested and blanket peats covered the highest land in the area now known as the Bowland Forest.[65] From this evidence it is clear that North Lancashire was not an easy environment at any time and this would certainly have been the case in the period of study. However the area is used for upland and lowland pasture with rough grazing in the Forest of Bowland, and this could have been the case in the late Iron Age and Roman periods.[66]

[64]Middleton, R. et al.. (1995) p.8
[65]Middleton, R. et al.. (1995) p.8
[66]Middleton, R. et al.. (1995) p.8

MODERN LITERATURE ON THE BRIGANTES

Cunliffe sums up the reasons behind the creation of modern 'Brigantia' well:

'The Greek geographer Ptolemy, writing in the second century AD tells us of a northern tribe, the Brigantes, whose territory stretched from 'sea to sea'. This vision of a northern people 'the most populous in the whole province' was also conjured up by Tacitus writing of the conquest of Britain. From these descriptions has sprung the modern construct of *Brigantia*, conceived of as a vast territory extending from the Peak District to Hadrian's Wall and from the Irish Sea to the North Sea, a political and cultural monolith. The vision is given enhanced respectability by the story of the Brigantian queen, Cartimandua and her husband Venutius recorded in part by Tacitus'.[67]

Wheeler:

Sir Mortimer Wheeler reported on his excavation at the oppidum site of Stanwick in 1954 and was the most significant recent author to unquestioningly attribute the entirety of northern England, his Brigantia, to the Brigantes tribe. However even as late as 1980 Ramm mapped the Iron Age settlement of the Brigantes and clearly attributed to them the entirety of northern England with the exception of the south-eastern corner; attributed to the Parisi, and the north-western corner; attributed to the Carvetii.[68] Wheeler excavated the fortifications at Stanwick and found, to his belief, clear archaeological evidence for the events

[67] Cunliffe, B. Iron Age Communities in Britain. Routledge, London. 1991[3]. p.189
[68] Ramm, H. 'Native settlements East of the Pennines' in Branigan, K. (ed.) *Rome and the Brigantes: the impact of Rome on Northern England.* University of Sheffield. 1980. p.29.

described by Tacitus and considered in detail in chapter 2 of this thesis.[69] Wheeler took the information from Tacitus at face value and believed that the Brigantes were the only tribe present in northern England with a territory that may even had stretched into Dumfriesshire and certainly included County Durham and Southern Yorkshire.[70] 'Brigantia stretched from the Yorkshire-Derbyshire borderland in the south to Durham or beyond in the north: roughly perhaps from the Don and the Mersey to the Tyne and the lower Eden'.[71]

Since Wheeler, considerable change has been wrought in the interpretation of the social structure and tribal boundaries of the Brigantes. However, literature on the area and the possible identity of social groupings within northern England remains very limited.

Braund:

In view of the lack of literature on the Brigantes the paper by Braund is worthy of mention here, although he only covers the debate over the extent of 'Brigantian' power briefly in his analysis of the conflict between passages in Tacitus' Histories and Annals.[72] He believes that the Brigantes were probably some form of federation but, recognising the debate over their status, he gives credence to Salway's question over whether it would have been possible to

[69] Wheeler, M. The Stanwick Fortifications North Riding of Yorkshire. Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London No.17. OUP, Oxford. 1954. pp.17-22
[70] Wheeler, M. (1954) p.22
[71] Wheeler, M. (1954) p.23
[72] Braund, D. 'Observations on Cartimandua' in *Britannia* 15. 1984. p.1. Tacitus is further discussed in chapter 2.

control a federation of this size and agrees that this assumption has never been proven.[73]

Hanson and Campbell:

Hanson and Campbell do not discuss the size or status of the Brigantes in detail, their paper focuses on the conflict between the relevant passages in Tacitus' Histories and Annals; they do, however, discuss the debate over the pre-Roman centre and the Brigantes possible status and history as a client kingdom after 43AD.[74] Although this paper was published after serious doubt had been cast on the assumption that the Brigantes held direct control over northern England, Hanson and Campbell appear to retain the belief that the Brigantes may have held direct control over northern England; 'given the large size of the Brigantian kingdom, factional disagreement is likely to have common and centralised control'.[75] This notion is further supported by the fact that, in discussing the possible presence of other tribes in the area with reference to Agricola, they come to the conclusion that the groups mentioned must be from Scotland rather than giving credence to the idea that they could have been septs of the Brigantes or even separate tribes.[76] The validity of this paper may be affected by the fact that it was written before the major reconsideration of the Stanwick fortifications by Haselgrove.[77] As a result it relies on out of date information

[73] Salway, P. *Roman Britain.* Clarendon Press, Oxford. 1982. p.108
[74] Hanson, W.S. and Campbell, D.B. 'The Brigantes: from Clientage to Conquest' in *Britannia* 17. 1986. pp.73-89
[75] Hanson, W.S. and Campbell, D.B. (1986) p.73
[76] Hanson, W.S. and Campbell, D.B. (1986) p.87
[77] Haselgrove has re-excavated and re-interpreted the Stanwick Oppidum. Haselgrove, C. C. et al.. 'Stanwick-Oppidum (Stanwick revealed as Cartimandua's capital)', *Current Archaeology* 119. 1990c. pp.380-385. The re-excavation is discussed below p.33

and any conclusions regarding the territory of the tribe must be treated with caution.

Higham:

Higham discussed the position of the Brigantes in 1987.[78] He believes that some form of Brigantian state did exist and uses it to loosely describe Britain from the Humber/ Mersey to the lowlands of Dumfriesshire and southern Northumberland.[79] Higham discusses the history of the region including environmental and climatic factors and the effect of change over time. This method highlights the varying development of different regions and in particular the clear differentiation between the Wolds communities and the rest of northern England in the last half of the first millennium BC, although Higham believes that this area may have been subordinate to the Brigantes by the AD50's and 60's.[80] Higham also considers the period post AD43 and the position of Stanwick as a key political site although he points out its poor economic position. Although this paper was published before the results of the re-evaluation of Stanwick, Higham doubts Wheeler's conclusion that the site fell to Venutius and argues strongly for its continuity as Cartimandua's capital until her position as a client ruler came to an end in AD69. In particular he highlights the fact that the Stanwick fortifications were not slighted after the conquest of AD69 which would not be the case of a centre with any link to resistance.[81]

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[78] Higham, N. 'Brigantia Revisited' in *Northern History* 23. 1987. pp.1-20
[79] Higham, N. (1987) p.1
[80] Higham, N. (1987) p.18
[81] Higham, N. (1987) p.17

Higham notes that the Brigantes are described in both general and more specific terms. He argues that, 'this apparent duality in the use of the tribal name invites the interpretation that northern England exhibited broad similarities with other areas of Celtica in which dominant communities acted as the patrons or hegemonal rulers of peripheral client tribes'.[82] Higham does not fully support the idea of a confederacy and prefers to see the Brigantes and other tribes as separate units connected as a community by a system of clientage.[83]

Hartley and Fitts:

The last large scale work on the Brigantes was carried out by Hartley and Fitts and published in 1988.[84] It does take into account the re-evaluation of Stanwick as a major *oppidum* site and questions long held assumptions that the Brigantes depended on pastoralism although they include so much land within their territory that this will affect their assumptions on the agricultural traditions of the community.[85] In addition much work on smaller Iron Age sites has been carried out since its publication. This work argues that there must have been many individual societies in northern England. Hartley and Fitts suggest that there were up to six named tribes in northern England and potentially a multiplicity of others all of which were amalgamated into a confederacy under the Brigantes.[86] They project that the varied physical geography of the region would have encouraged the development of many independent communities with, potentially, one group in each Pennine valley, one in the Lancashire plain, another in the Lakes and a further in the Eden Valley whilst east of the Pennines

[82] Higham, N. (1987). p.9
[83] Higham, N. (1987). p.9
[84] Hartley, B. and Fitts, L. *The Brigantes*. Sutton, Gloucester. 1988
[85] Hartley, B. and Fitts, L. (1988) p.9
[86] Hartley, B. and Fitts, L. (1988) p.1

they believe there must have been more than one unit on the lowlands, a further on the North Yorks Moors and an unknown number on the lowlands of Durham and Northumberland since the area cannot be easily subdivided.[87]

Hartley and Fitts follow the trend in believing that the Northern England was not inhabited by one single tribe but they continue to assume that there must have been a confederation despite the difficulty of holding power over such an area. 'It is usual to assume that the Brigantes were a confederation of smaller tribes which had been welded into a larger unit during the later stages of the pre-Roman Iron Age'[88] 'a remarkable and powerful figure must have been responsible for the amalgamation of the diverse units'.[89]

Hartley and Fitts discuss the debate over the extent of 'Brigantia'; however, following the theory of a large and powerful confederation, their aim is to use every piece of available evidence to define the largest possible extent of the region. Using literature and dedications to the goddess Brigantia, the weaknesses of which are discussed in chapter 2 below, Hartley and Fitts define a northern limit including Northumberland and Dumfriesshire.[90] Their southern limit is less defined but, using dedications again, they include the Leeds area and suggest the River Don as the eastern limit whilst including the Derbyshire Dales on the west and giving the Mersey as southern boundary on the west.[91]

This seems a vast territory to hold even as a confederation and brings Hartley

[87] Hartley, B. and Fitts, L. (1988) p.3
[88] Hartley, B. and Fitts, L. (1988) p.1
[89] Hartley, B. and Fitts, L. (1988) p.2
[90] Hartley, B. and Fitts, L. (1988) p.5
[91] Hartley, B. and Fitts, L. (1988) p.5

and Fitts' conclusions about the status and extent of the Brigantes into considerable doubt.

Fairless:

Keith Fairless was the last author to write in detail on the Brigantes in his 1989 thesis 'Aspects of the archaeology of the Brigantes'. Fairless mapped rectilinear enclosures, villas and other types of enclosure 'other sites' to look for patterning, particularly in types of enclosures.[92] He also considered the religious evidence from northern Britain looking at the spatial distribution of dedications to Belatucadrus, Cocidius and Veteris. This may be a valid approach, but Fairless does not appear to consider the weakness of this material as evidence for the Iron Age. Namely that much of this material is likely to be of Roman date and is likely to represent military syncretisation rather than native religious belief. This bias is revealed on Fairless's maps where much of the evidence for religious dedications is found on and around Hadrian's Wall.[93]

From the patterns in enclosures and religious dedications he observed Fairless concluded that Brigantia consisted of a series of smaller tribes ruled over by one supreme tribe, the Brigantes.[94] He believed that the Brigantes were hill people who moved down from an unspecified area into the Stanwick area which was well placed to control a large area of central England. However he does not explain how this might have taken place or what might have happened to the area they left behind. From the patterning evidence he observed, Fairless argues

[92] Fairless, K. *Aspects of the Archaeology of the Brigantes*. University of Durham PhD Thesis. 1989 (unpublished)
[93] Fairless, K. (1989) (unpublished)
[94] Fairless, K. (1989) (unpublished)

that it is plausible to argue the presence of one tribe per Pennine valley with the addition of the Eden Valley and the Craven area. He considers the Tyne Gap to be the northern boundary of 'Brigantia' but is less clear on a southern boundary.[95]

Fairless believes that other tribal septs within northern England may have included the Carvetii, the Setantii and others. However he is convinced that the Brigantes held some form of overarching control over them. His interesting solution is that the Brigantes controlled other tribal areas through an ancient 'hostage' system allowing them to keep these lesser societies in check.[96]

Cunliffe:

Cunliffe brings out the lack of evidence for differentiation in northern England. He argues that slight but widespread evidence of a mixed economy and a lack of notable variation in elements of material culture such as ceramics reveals, 'there is little evidence on which to distinguish regional or tribal variation'.[97] He goes on to highlight Stanwick as a highly anomalous site and believes it to be at the heart of 'Brigantian' territory.[98]

Cunliffe follows the opinion that the Brigantes cannot have been the only society present in northern England but he remains ambivalent on the position of others listing in his section of tribes of northern England, the 'Brigantes and

[95] Fairless, K. (1989) (unpublished)
[96] Fairless, K. (1989) (unpublished)
[97] Cunliffe, B. (1991[3]) p.191
[98] Cunliffe, B. (1991[3]) p.191

their neighbours'.[99] He follows modern consensus that the Brigantes were the dominant force in northern England but does not believe that there is necessarily any evidence for the presence of a confederacy stating that, 'the other tribal groups should not be overlooked nor should the whole north be written off as a 'Brigantian confederacy'.[100] Instead Cunliffe suggests that the Brigantes still held some degree of influence over other societies in northern England who held some form of 'client' status. He supports this theory by suggesting that the Brigantes probably occupied the lands of the Pennines and their flanks, giving them control of the major route ways and well-drained soils on both sides of this barrier which formed the basis of their power. Although indicating that the Brigantes may not have been as powerful as previously believed, Cunliffe clearly considers them pre-eminent in northern England throughout the late Iron Age with a monopoly over trade and communication which further strengthened, 'their hegemony over their lesser neighbours'.[101]

Much new archaeological work has been carried out since the last detailed work on the so called Brigantes. This renders a new assessment of tribal society in northern England, including further aspects of material culture and settlement density, a timely and valid exercise. Using an interdisciplinary approach this study covers literary evidence, some place-name evidence, material culture and settlement evidence. This methodology provides a detailed and comprehensive study of the late Iron Age and early Roman period in northern England.

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[99] Cunliffe, B. Iron Age Communities in Britain. Routledge, London. 1991[3]. p.189
[100] Cunliffe, B. (1991[3]) p.189
[101] Cunliffe, B. (1991[3]) p.193

ARCHAEOLOGY IN NORTHERN ENGLAND SINCE THE 1960'S

History:

For much of the 19th and 20th centuries archaeological investigations focused on Roman military and Anglo-Saxon religious archaeology and until very recently work on the Roman period continued to focus primarily on military sites.[102] Although much of his work focused on Northumberland, north of the study area, the key figure in investigating the importance of later prehistory in northern England was George Jobey.[103] Jobey, working in the 1950's and 60's, investigated several of the key sites in the region such as West Brandon. The critical aspect of his work was his 'systematic classification of the numerous, and previously largely ignored, native sites in the area, testing out hypotheses against excavation work and developing a chronology for the prehistoric period'.[104]Jobey changed attitudes towards native archaeology in the north-east but his work focused mainly on Northumberland. South of the Tyne there was no equivalent until the 1970's when aerial photography began to enhance the previously poorly understood archaeology of the lowlands of Durham. This was further developed by the Durham Archaeological Survey in 1983-87 which field walked five large study areas although little pottery was actually found.[105] Indeed it was largely aerial photography which increased the knowledge of sites in the north-east in the 20th century with the work of Denis Harding in County

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[102] Petts, D. and Gerrard, C. *Shared Visions: the North-East Regional Research Framework for the Historic Environment.* Durham County Council, Durham. 2006. p.33 and 45
[103] Petts, D. and Gerrard, C. (2006) p.33
[104] Petts, D. and Gerrard, C. (2006) p.33. For West Brandon see Jobey, G. 'An Iron Age homestead at West Brandon, Durham' in *Archaeologia Aeliana* (4th series) 40. 1962. pp.1-34
[105] Petts, D. and Gerrard, C. (2006) p.33

Durham and Blaise Vyner and Leslie Still on Teeside.[106] This work has helped to identify several important new sites which were later excavated including Thorpe Thewles and Coxhoe.[107]

In Yorkshire there has been a long tradition of archaeology with major large scale work in East Yorkshire and in York. [108] One of the greatest advances in the understanding of late prehistoric and Roman archaeology in the area was the aerial investigation by St Joseph which identified a wealth of new Iron Age and Romano-British landscape archaeology, particularly around Grassington and Malham in the upper Yorkshire Dales.[109] The programme of aerial photography was continued by Still and Vyner and Riley who have between them identified many more previously unknown sites in Central Yorkshire whilst Wilson has discussed a body of aerial photography identifying sites on the North Yorks Moors.[110] Other key figures have been Challis and Harding who produced a synthesis of sites and assemblages from the area. Their work, updated by Spratt who has improved upon knowledge of sites from north-east Yorkshire, remains

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[106] Harding, D. W. 'Air survey in the Tyne-Tees Region 1969-79' in Higham, N. J. (ed.) *The Changing Past*. University of Manchester, Manchester. 1979. pp.21-30, Still, L. and Vyner, B.E. 'Air photographic evidence for later prehistoric settlement in the Tees Valley' in *Durham Archaeological Journal* 2. 1986. pp.11-24

[107] Haselgrove, C. C. 'Excavation at West House Coxhoe' in *Archaeologia Aeliana*10, 1982. pp.5-51, Heslop, D. H. *The Excavation of an Iron Age Settlement at Thorpe Thewles, Cleveland 1980-1982*, Council For British Archaeology, London.1987

[108] Manby, T.G., Moorhouse, S. and Ottaway, P. *The Archaeology of Yorkshire: An Assessment at the beginning of the 21st Century*. Yorkshire Archaeological Society Occasional Paper 3, Leeds. 2003. p.13

[109] St Joseph, J. K. 'Aerial Reconnaissance in Roman Britain' in *Journal of Roman Studies* 67. 1977. pp.125-61

[110] Still, L., Vyner, B. E. And Bewley, R. 'A decade of air survey in Cleveland and the Tees Valley hinterland' in *Durham Archaeological Journal* 5. 1989. pp.1-10, Riley, D. N. 'Air reconnaissance of west and south Yorkshire in 1975' *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 48. 1976. pp. 13-17; Riley, D. N. 'Air reconnaissance in 1977' *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 50. 1978. pp.21-4, Wilson, P.R. 'The North Yorkshire Moors in the Roman Period: developments and directions' in Vyner, B. E. (ed.) *Moorland Monuments: Studies in the Archaeology of North-East Yorkshire in Honour of Raymond Hayes and Don Spratt*. CBA Research Report 101, London. 1995. pp.69-78

a key source of information on sites from across the area.[111] These landscape surveys have been very useful but excavation has been very limited, particularly in the Pennines.[112] Despite the limited excavation in Yorkshire, outside of East Yorkshire and York the area has seen the excavation of perhaps the most important native site in northern England at the unique oppidum site of Stanwick with work undertaken by Wheeler in 1951and more recently by Haselgrove in the 1980's.[113] As with the rest of northern England Roman archaeology has tended to focus on military sites with major excavations at forts, colonia and, more latterly, *vici*. More rural sites were rarely excavated unless they were directly connected to a villa.[114] In recent years there has been a greater trend towards investigating native sites, particularly those at and near Stanwick, but there has also been an increase in interest at rural sites across the area although excavation is still limited with much identification being restricted to aerial photographic work.[115]

In the North-West as with the North-East archaeological investigation has tended to focus on the substantial Roman military remains in the region.[116] This influence continues with recent projects at major Roman sites such as

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[111] Challis, A. J. and Harding, D. W. *Later Prehistory from Trent to Tyne.* BAR British Series 20. 1975. Spratt, D. A. *Prehistoric and Roman Archaeology of North-east Yorkshire.* CBA Research Report 104, London. 1993

[112] Manby, T.G. et al.. (2003) p.123

[113] Wheeler, M. *The Stanwick Fortifications, North Riding of Yorkshire.* Society of Antiquaries London 17. 1954, Haselgrove, C. C. et al.. 'Stanwick, North Yorkshire part 1' in *Archaeological Journal* 147. 1990a. pp.1-15 ; Haselgrove, C. C. et al.. 'Stanwick, North Yorkshire part 1' in *Archaeological Journal* 147. 1990b. pp.37-90

[114] Manby, T.G. et al.. (2003) p.132

[115] Manby, T.G. et al.. (2003) p.138-9

[116] http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/mol/archaeology/arf/documents/ASSESSMENTINTRODUCTION.pdf p.7

Birdoswald,[117] but the situation began to change with the work of Barri Jones in the 1970's and later that of Robert Bewley.[118] Both undertook extensive aerial photographic work over the north-west and their work greatly increased the number of known archaeological sites, particularly sites of native settlement. The discoveries made through aerial photography have been followed up with programmes of field walking and small scale excavation on the Solway Plain, especially by Bewley, who has demonstrated that the dating of sites in north-west England by form alone is not necessarily a valid procedure.[119] Despite work over the last decades to identify at least in part the presence of native settlement of the Iron Age and Roman periods in the north-west, the difficulty of identifying sites in the region continues to limit the success of these efforts and large scale excavation is lacking.

Stanwick:

Perhaps the most well known native site in the region of study is the oppidum settlement at Stanwick, North Yorkshire. This key site has been excavated twice, by Wheeler in the 1950's and, importantly, by Haselgrove in the 1980's. The second excavation of Stanwick re-interpreted the site from a swiftly constructed set of defensive earthworks used for Venutius' last stand against the Romans, as Wheeler had proposed, into a major high status oppidum site which

[117] Birdoswald: Wilmott, T. *Birdoswald; Excavations of a Roman fort on Hadrian's Wall and its successor settlement: 1987-92.* English Heritage Archaeological Reports 14, London. 1997.
[118] Higham,N. J. and Jones, G. D. B. 'Frontiers, forts and farmers, Cumbrian aerial survey, 1974-75' in *Archaeological Journal* 132. 1975. pp.16-53. Bewley, R.H. *Prehistoric and Romano-British Settlement in the Solway Plain, Cumbria.* Oxbow Monograph 36. Oxford. 1994
[119] Bewley, R.H. 'Survey and excavation at a crop-mark enclosure, Plasketlands, Cumbria' in *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* (new series) 93. 1993. pp.1-18

acted as Cartimandua's capital with earthworks designed more to impress than to serve an active purpose in defence. The later studies clearly indicate that, 'Wheeler's deceptively straightforward scheme for the context and development of the Stanwick earthworks can no longer be accepted. The reality is considerably more complicated, and even now not fully understood'.[120]

Haselgrove's excavations of the 1980's have not been fully published and due to the significance of this key site to the whole of this thesis it is of value to discuss the most recent investigations of Stanwick in more detail here. The earthwork complex is 'easily the most extensive and impressive surviving iron age monument in northern England'.[121] The extensive earthworks, which still survive to heights of 5m in many places, enclose nearly 300 hectares and are well drained by two becks, the Mary Wild Beck and Aldborough Beck.[122] The scale of human effort involved in constructing the earthworks indicates that Stanwick was a centre of far more than purely local significance.[123] The site lies close to two major route ways which later became Roman roads, Dere Street and the Stainmore Pass, but would certainly have had greater antiquity.[124] The surrounding land is one of the few areas in north-east England classed as Grade 2 in the Agricultural Land Classification and would thus have been an excellent resource for both arable and pastoral farming.[125]

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[120] Haselgrove, C. C. et al. 'Stanwick, North Yorkshire, Part 1: Recent research and previous archaeological investigations' in *The Archaeological Journal* 147. 1990 a. p.1
[121] Haselgrove, C. C. et al.. (1990a) p.1
[122] Haselgrove, C. C. et al.. (1990a) p.2
[123] Haselgrove, C. C. et al.. (1990a) p.1
[124] Haselgrove, C. C. et al.. (1990a) p.1
[125] Haselgrove, C. C. et al.. (1990a) p.2

A number of low clay banks and small ditches clearly predate the main Stanwick earthworks and in at least three cases these are distinct from the later earthworks therefore they cannot be any form of marking-out features. These banks indicate settlement earlier than the extant Stanwick fortifications and, 'could represent either the fields or landholdings associated with the settlement or settlements from which the later fortified complex emerged, or vestiges of even earlier territorial divisions'.[126] In addition the 1984 excavations demonstrated the presence of a well established roadway predating the late iron-age entrance which further demonstrates the longevity of the site in the Iron Age period.[127]

The Stanwick earthworks create a rampart 8km long which could never have been defensible and it is therefore unlikely that the site was ever a defended 'hillfort' type site.[128] This does not mean that the defences served no purpose beyond display; no enemy could have attacked over so wide an area and therefore defence could have been concentrated in the area of attack.[129] In addition the defences are designed to give a good outlook over the surrounding area and thus allow for some warning of any impending attack. The site consists of a large and relatively open area enclosed by massive earthworks. Within this the north-western part of the defended area is divided off from the rest by internal earthworks and is known as the Tofts. This area appears to have been the focus for a high status settlement and is discussed below.

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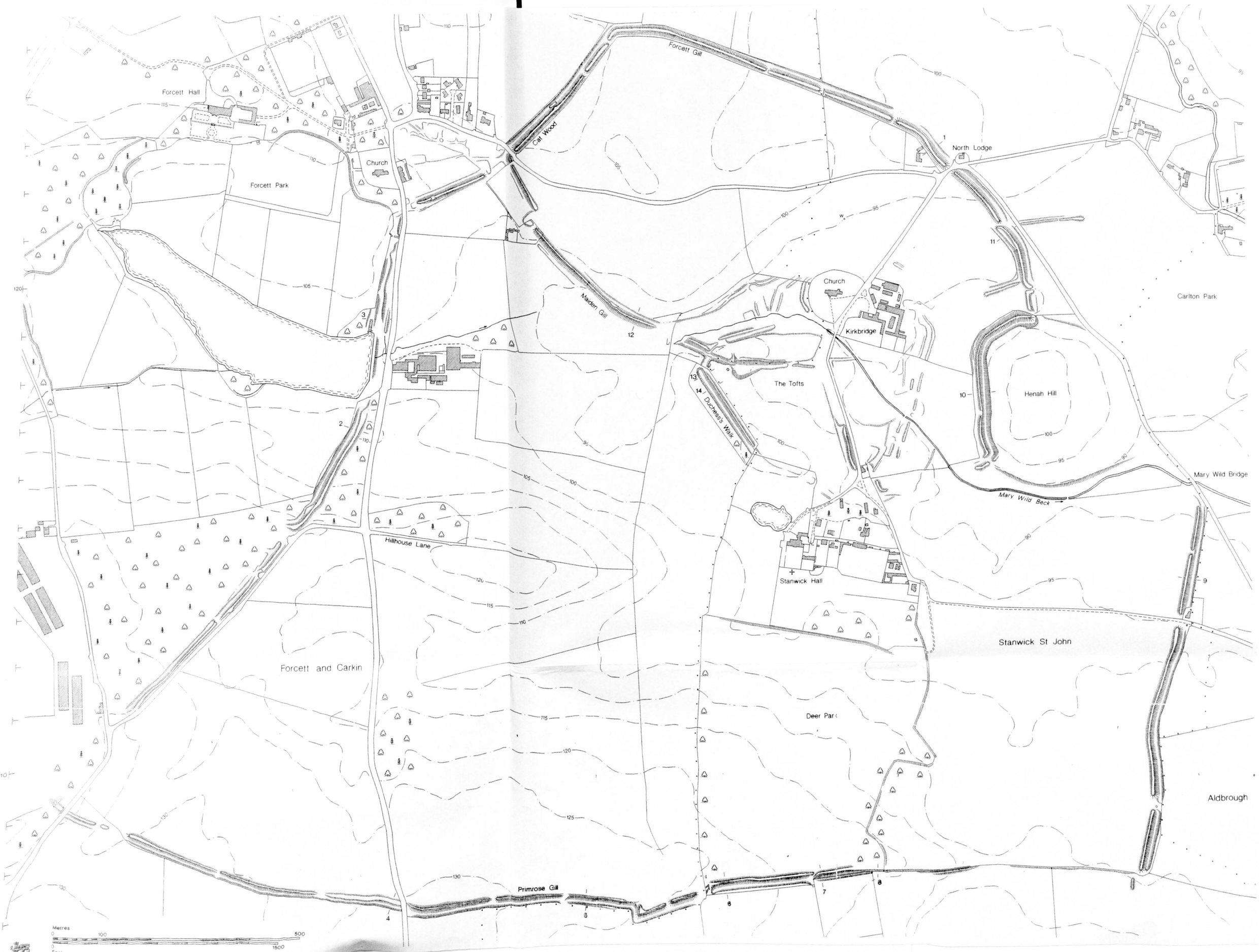
[126] Haselgrove, C. C. et al. (1990b) p.85
[127] Haselgrove, C. C. et al. (1990b). p.50
[128] Welfare, H. et al. 'Stanwick, North Yorkshire, Part 2: A summary description of the earthworks' in *The Archaeological Journal* 147, 1990. p.35 and Haselgrove, C. C. (1990b) p.86
[129] Welfare, H. et al. (1990) p.35

Plan of the Stanwick Earthworks[130]



To the north-east of the site is Henah Hill which appears to have been excluded from the earthwork perimeter with the main earthworks passing behind it.[131] This is surprising and, as yet, unexplained but further negates any suggestion that the site could have contained, or developed from, a hill-fort since the only hill in the area is outside of the main defences. Both the external and internal Tofts earthworks appear to have been revetted in stone and there is some indication that they were not vertical but, at some point, inclined backwards at an angle.[132] However there is no evidence for any form of slighting which would be indicative of an attack on the site.[133]

Settlement evidence from Stanwick has, so far, pointed to the Tofts as the main focus of occupation. It is clear that a number of enclosures and buildings, in the form of traditional roundhouses, stood here and that the archaeology represents multi-phase occupation over a long period.[134] Major changes took place in the Roman period when new enclosures, enclosing several multiphase roundhouses, were constructed, apparently superimposed on top of the previous building layout.[135] Five adult burials and that of a 6 month old child were also discovered in the settlement area suggesting complex ritual processes.[136] Plentiful carbonised remains of spelt wheat and 6 row barley, numerous rotary querns, and an abundant faunal assemblage also indicate that the inhabitants of Stanwick practiced a thriving mixed farming economy.[137]

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[131] Welfare, H. et al. (1990) p.35
[132] Haselgrove, C. C. (1990b) p.86
[133] Haselgrove, C. C. (1990b) p.86
[134] Haselgrove, C. C. (1990b) p.58 see also plan p.68, Haselgrove, C. C. et al. 'Stanwick-Oppidum (Stanwick revealed as Cartimandua's capital)', *Current Archaeology* 119. 1990c. p.381
[135] Haselgrove, C. C. (1990 c.) p.384
[136] Haselgrove, C. C. (1990 c.) p.384
[137] Haselgrove, C. C. (1990 c.) p.385

It is clear that the later Iron Age earthworks were not constructed as one unit. The dating evidence is scarce but indicates that the main defences were erected no earlier than the mid-first century AD and probably within a relatively short period, by which time the Tofts settlement was well established and already receiving Roman imports.[138] The purpose of the internal earthworks, for which a clear chronology is also lacking, which divide off the northern part of the site and the Tofts enclosure from the rest of the Stanwick complex is not as yet clear; however Haselgrove suggests that these, 'might reasonably be interpreted as designed to defend and divide off specific areas of the interior from the rest of the complex'.[139] The main earthworks, which appear to have been constructed after the site was already in contact with the Roman Empire, do not seem to have lasted for very long and the indication is that some sections fell into disrepair relatively quickly.[140] Whatever their purpose it appears to have been more for short term display than for long term defence and this interpretation is further supported by evidence from the north-west entrance to the site which was an imposing structure again built after Roman imports had begun to arrive at the Tofts settlement site.

Knowledge of settlement within the Stanwick site is constrained by the sheer size of the area involved.[141] It is clear that the Tofts field in the north-east of the site and separated by internal earthworks from the rest of the site is the major site of high status occupation yet discovered. However little or nothing is known about occupation elsewhere in the interior of the site. Haselgrove suggests that,

[138] Haselgrove, C. C. (1990b) p.86
[139] Haselgrove, C. C. (1990b) p.86
[140] Haselgrove, C. C. (1990b) p.86
[141] Haselgrove, C. C. (1990b) p.86

'given the enormous resources expended in building the outer circuit of defences, it does seem inherently unlikely that the whole of the southern part of the site was given over purely to agriculture'.[142] In addition it is also possible that a further settlement site lay outside of the defences in Cat Wood to the immediate north-west of the site. A further question lies in the fate of the Stanwick site. Despite the presence of a central authority capable of drawing on great manpower and with a definite desire for display on a large scale and for contact with the Roman Empire in the period before the conquest of northern England the site appears to have fallen out of use by the late first century AD.[143] There is, as yet, no explanation for this and it remains one of the many as yet unanswered questions about the Stanwick site.

Current factors affecting archaeological investigations:

Current archaeological practice has been directly affected by the new planning laws PPG16 and PPG15 which demand investigation of sites with planned development and physical protection of any remains of national importance.[144] The result of these policies had an immediate effect on the organisation of conservation and field archaeology in England and in particular in the amount of fieldwork and recording taking place. Across the country around three times more investigation took place in 1999 than in 1990 of which 89% were the result of planning and development controls.[145] However with a focus on these planning related excavations much funding has been withdrawn from other

[142] Haselgrove, C. C. (1990b) p.86
[143] Haselgrove, C. C. (1990b) p.86
[144] Petts, D. and Gerrard, C. (2006) p.1
[145] Petts, D. and Gerrard, C. (2006) p.1

archaeological units and this has led to an effort to create regional research frameworks with an aim of continuing important excavation in non-threatened areas.

The national trend has been reflected in the area of study. In particular it has increased the routine use of geophysical survey as a prospection tool in advance of green field development which has helped to identify unknown sites which had not previously been seen on aerial photography.[146] A range of sites have been identified through the new planning controls but the majority have been smaller, previously unknown sites such as the 2004 survey at Faverdale near Darlington which revealed a late Iron Age farmstead and field system.[147]Investigation in the north-east has tended to focus primarily on Roman military archaeology in the area due to planning investigations in major centres such as Newcastle and York.[148] However recent excavations by Archaeological Services, Durham University with an aim of developing a greater knowledge of civilian archaeology in the region have discovered an important new site at Sedgefield.[149] Thus for the purposes of this study recent developments in archaeology have added in particular to the understanding of Iron Age -native settlement in north-east England. In the north-west the new planning laws have also allowed investigation of development sites however funding was withdrawn from many of the academic archaeological units and

[146] Petts, D. and Gerrard, C. (2006) p.35
[147] Petts, D. and Gerrard, C. (2006) p.35.
[148] Petts, D. and Gerrard, C. (2006) p.45, Manby, T.G. et al.. (2003) p.136
[149] Sedgefield is a large and complex site revealing a number of roads and enclosures and also industrial production including pottery manufacture. The site is one of the largest Roman sites in the region and there is, as yet, no evidence for any military presence in the area. Petts, D. and Gerrard, C. (2006) p.54 (includes image of geophysical survey) see also www.dur.ac.uk/archaeological.services/research_and_training/sedgefield

this may have affected the degree to which sites which are not under threat from development have been investigated in the region.[150] Investigation under the auspices of bodies such as the National Trust or by universities may now be the source of increasing data on the native, rural settlements of north-west England and the recent programme of excavation and investigation at Glencoyne Park is a good example of this.[151]

Review of Recent Work on the Iron Age in Northern England

This section will review recent scholarship on the middle and late Iron Age periods in the region of study. The information will be addressed under the topics of settlement, environment and agriculture and social organisation all of which are relevant themes within the scope of this thesis.

The period from c. 800/700 BC[152] is termed the Iron Age but when and why the transition to iron occurred across Britain is far from clear. Iron was used in some objects before the end of the Bronze Age and became only gradually more common between 800 – 300BC.[153] Hazelgrove comments that, ' if the cessation of bronze hoarding and the adoption of iron for utilitarian objects are indeed related – as seems likely – this implies that iron was already common by the

[150] http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/mol/archaeology/arf/documents/ASSESSMENTINTRODUCTION.pdf p.7

[151] Glencoyne Park: Loney, H. and Hoean, A 'Upland settlement in Glencoyne Park Ullswater, Cumbria' in *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society Series* 3 vol.3, 2003. pp.51-65

[152] Cunliffe, B. *Book of Iron Age Britain.* Batsford, London. 1995. p.27

[153] Haselgrove, C. Et al.. *Understanding the British Iron Age: An Agenda for Action.* Trust for Wessex Archaeology, Salisbury. 2001. p.26

eighth century BC'.[154] Why iron work began to appear at this time is unclear but it may be due to an increased difficulty in obtaining bronze whilst iron ore was easier to obtain.[155] Although the seventh century BC is termed as the start date for the Iron Age great social and economic changes had been taking place since the late second millennium and these continued beyond this rather arbitrary date. In reality there is a great deal of continuity between the late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age and any dating boundaries are modern constructs which mask a far more gradual change.[156] This section will discuss recent work on themes within the Iron Age in Northern England.

Settlement:

There are a number of Iron Age settlement types across northern England ranging from single unenclosed homesteads to large hill-forts. In an attempt to identify the progression of settlement morphology the Hownam sequence was developed by Piggot in 1948.[157] Initially this sequence was only designed to be applied to the borders of Scotland but it was rapidly applied to much of northern England, particularly the North East. Piggott excavated Hownam, a hillfort in the Borders, to look for a sequence of developments and apply each to waves of influence from Southern England.[158] The result was a progressive development

[154] Haselgrove, C. Et al.. (2001) p.27
[155] Darville, T. *Prehistoric Britain*. Batsford, London. 1987. p.122
[156] The Late Bronze Age is dated to *c* 1300-1250 cal. BC – the approximate start date of the late Bronze Age in metalworking terms. Haselgrove, C. in Brooks, C., Daniels, R., and Harding, A. (eds.) (2002) p.49
[157] Piggott, C. M. 'Excavation of Hownam Rings, Roxburghshire' in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 82, 1948. pp.193-225
[158] Armit, I. 'Life after Hownam: the Iron Age in south-east Scotland' in Bevan, B. (ed.) *Northern Exposure: interpretative devolution and the British Iron Age*. Leicester Archaeology Monographs 4, Leicester. 1999. p.65

from palisaded enclosure to a single walled and then a multivallate fort.[159] This elegant sequence stood until the mid 1960s when radiocarbon dating greatly extended the chronology of the site from a couple of centuries to more than seven hundred years. Armit states, 'such an extended timescale for structural and architectural change on enclosed sites of the south-east (of Scotland) seemed increasingly to preclude simple explanations in which widespread, sequential changes in hillfort design were precipitated by successive waves of southern English influence'.[160] The basic Hownam sequence still stood, however, until the early 1980's when excavations in East Lothian proved that the reality was far more complex. In particular there was no evidence for a progressively grander enclosure sequence.[161]

Although the Hownam model has now been discredited, no replacement model for the sequence has been found. Armit suggests that one of the main problems is the 'absence of a firm chronological framework for the various forms of enclosed settlement (particularly hillforts) and houses'.[162] Armit argues that there were clearly complex relationships between enclosed and unenclosed settlements with both types often sharing the same elements. As a result no one all encompassing interpretation can be placed on the function and meaning of enclosed settlement in northern England.[163]

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[159] Armit, I. (1999) p.69
[160] Armit, I. (1999) p.70
[161] Broxmouth revealed an initial enclosed settlement followed by successive defences, some univallate and some bivallate with periods between when the defences were left to decay. Meanwhile Dryburn Bridge showed a palisaded enclosure succeeded by an open settlement of timber roundhouses and other structures. Armit, I. (1999) p.70
[162] Armit, I. (1999) p.73
[163] Armit, I. (1999) p.73

The population of Iron Age Britain is unknown but that for Roman Britain is estimated at between 2.5 and 3.6 million and population growth would have taken place throughout the Iron Age although the rate is difficult to define.[164] Tipping argues that population growth cannot be aligned with woodland clearances for agriculture since the earliest hillforts appear to pre-date the earliest clearances.[165] In addition he suggests that the radiocarbon chronology of later Iron Age settlement forms is not sufficient to test ideas of population growth and the increasing productivity of farmland could just as easily have been for trade rather than to feed a growing population.

Habitation would have been spread across the countryside of northern England but concentrated into more fertile areas such as river valleys, lowlands and coastal plains. Enclosed settlement appears to have been the main habitation type across most of Iron Age Britain.[166] Enclosures varied in size and form but generally took the format of a space enclosing anything from a single roundhouse to a complete hill-fort surrounded by a bank of earth or a stone wall and often surrounded again by a ditch. Many enclosures continued in use into the Roman period.[167]

Hillforts:

Hillforts in northern England are generally few in number and relatively small. Their defences vary in form and make up, usually depending on the availability

[164] Hingley, R. 'Rural Settlement in Northern Britain' in Todd, M. *Companion to Roman Britain*. Oxford, Blackwell. 2004. p.327
[165] Tipping, R. 'Pollen analysis and the impact of Rome on native agriculture around Hadrian's Wall' in Gwilt, A. and Haselgrove, C. (eds.) *Reconstructing Iron Age Societies*. Oxbow, Oxford. 1997. p.244
[166] Hingley, R. (2004) p.339
[167] Hingley, R. (2004) p.336

of local materials. It would appear that most hillforts both east and west of the Pennines can be dated to the earlier Iron Age and were later abandoned although Haselgrove suggests that some sites could have remained active as ritual or ceremonial centres as with Traprain Law in southern Scotland.[168] It is possible that there were originally more defended sites in low-lying areas and that these have now been build over either by urban development or re-use as a Norman motte-and-bailey castle; Haslegrove illustrates Barwick-in-Elmet as an example of the latter.[169]

Although slightly outside of this study area, the native settlements of Northumberland, excavated by Joby, are worthy of brief discussion. They give the region a very different settlement character to the rest of northern England.[170] In Northumberland many hillforts developed on the steep sided valleys of the Cheviots and this may be linked to the nature of the landscape. By far the largest example is Yeavering Bell but more common are smaller hillforts, typically 0.4ha in size and surrounded by one or more ditches.[171]

Hillforts may appear to represent large defensive communities but they need not represent focal points of large communities and this is particularly the case

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[168] Haselgrove, C. *The archaeology of Lancashire.* Lancaster University, Lancaster. 1996. p.67
[169] Haselgrove, C. (1996) p.69
[170] Eg. Jobey, G. 'Excavations at Brough Law and Ingram Hill' in *Archaeologia Aeliana* (4th series) 6. 1971. pp.1-28, Jobey, G. 'Iron Age and later farmsteads on Belling Law, Northumberland' in *Arcaheologia Aeliana* (5th series) 5, 1977. pp.1-38. See also bibliography in Petts, D. and Gerrard, C. (2006) p.254. For a good brief summary of earlier 20th century work on the Iron Age in Northern England see Welfare, H. 'The Uplands of the Northern Counties in the First Millennium BC' in Brooks, C., Daniels, R. and Harding, A. *Past Present and Future: The Archaeology of Northern England.* Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland Research Report 5, Durham. 2002. pp.71-77
[171] Oswald, A. *Hillforts: Prehistoric Strongholds of Northumberland National Park.* English Heritage, Swindon. 2006. For Yeavering in particular see: Hope-Taylor, B. *Yeavering: An Anglo-British centre of early Northumbria.* HMSO, London. 1977

where there are so many fortified sites in close proximity to each other. Whilst James and Rigby believe that hillforts represent the gathering together of previously scattered communities into a 'mosaic of petty chiefdoms' they do not necessarily represent the rise of a warrior aristocracy and may be simply a sign of a recognised need for a common defence. [172] Cunliffe argues that although the geography of an area may suggest that its inhabitants could have considered themselves part of one unified tribal group this need not have been the case in reality: there is no evidence that the entire population of an area fell under the control and influence of the same leading family.[173]

Smaller Scale Enclosures:

It appears that hillforts had gone out of use across most of the region of study by the end of the Iron Age.[174] Enclosed sites make up the most common type of native settlements across the region of study and they vary both in shape and in the type of boundary they employ. Haselgrove states that, 'smallish rectilinear or sub-rectangular homesteads...constitute the dominant settlement type in northern England as a whole from the later Bronze Age until at least the Roman period'.[175] Hingley has attempted to identify some variation across northern England; in the Tyne Valley and possibly the north-east of England as a whole, sub-rectangular and rectangular enclosures are the most common. In the north-

[172] James, S. and Rigby, V. *Britain and the Celtic Iron Age*. British Museum Press, London. 1997. p.58
[173] Cunliffe, B. (1995) p.57
[174] Hingley, R. (2004) p.340
[175] Haselgrove, C. (1996) p.61

west there is far less commonality and curvilinear sites are also present although these are usually smaller and at higher altitudes to the rectilinear forms.[176]

Mattingly also identifies these clear differences between the north-east and the north-west. North of the Tees area he notes small dispersed rural settlements, many just simple roundhouses in rectilinear enclosures encompassing just 0.2ha or less.[177] Within this area, however, he notes that upland enclosures were often formed from a simple wall or mound of piled rubble whilst in lower areas more fixed ditch and embankment structures were used. In the north-west he notes that there are more curvilinear enclosures and that, whilst much evidence is lacking for Lancashire, there is a general tendency to more dense settlement on the lowlands and less density in the Lakeland massif.[178]

Unenclosed settlements:

Although enclosed settlements appear to be the most common settlement type across northern England this may be connected to their greater visibility in comparison to unenclosed sites. Hingley highlights the complexity of the landscape and the variable nature of many unenclosed settlement landscapes and suggests that unenclosed settlements may be far more common across northern England than current evidence suggests.[179] In addition enclosed and unenclosed settlements may not have existed in isolation from each other. At Melsonby an open settlement of mid to later Iron Age date has been found in

[176] Hingley, R. (2004) p.341
[177] Mattingly, D. (2006) p.421
[178] Mattingly, D. (2006) p.421-2
[179] Hingley, R. (2004) p.341. This view is also supported by Haselgrove, C. (1996) p.66 and in Haselgrove, C. (2002) p.62

close association with the enclosed settlement at Stanwick. Meanwhile at Thorpe Thewles an enclosed settlement formed an early phase in what later developed into a large unenclosed settlement and on other sites unenclosed settlements developed immediately on top of enclosed sites in the late Iron Age and Roman periods.[180] Indeed Haselgrove suggests that Thorpe Thewles is evidence of a shift from enclosed to unenclosed settlement in north-east England which was not seen in the north-west.[181]

The evidence suggests that the landscape may have been far more complex than has been thought and there is also nothing to suggest that enclosed settlements were of a different or higher status to unenclosed settlements despite their greater prominence in the landscape. Hingley argues that the deposition of valuable objects at unenclosed sites indicates these could be of equally high status to enclosed sites with access to valuable items.[182] Thus the morphology of settlements need not indicate their status.

Settlements did not have to exist in isolation and Mattingly has briefly discussed the development of nucleated rural settlements. It has been recognised that these could develop alongside roads and near to villages but some villages clearly had pre-Roman origins. Mattingly suggests that these villages represent, 'another pre-Roman social tendency in parts of Britain for people to live in larger social groupings'.[183] In northern England such villages have not been positively

[180] Hingley, R. (2004) p.341. Also Heslop, D. H. *The Excavation of an Iron Age Settlement at Thorpe Thewles Cleveland 1980-1982*. CBA Research Report no.65, London. 1987. p.110
[181] Haselgrove, C. (1996) p.66
[182] Hingley, R. (2004) p.341
[183] Mattingly, D. *An Imperial Possession: Britain in the Roman Empire*. Penguin. London. 2006. p.378

identified but Gill Ferrell has cited the area around the Tees, and particularly around Stanwick, as the only one in north-east England where communities are most likely to develop and it is here that nucleated settlements are most likely to be found.[184]

North-East England:

The middle Bronze Age and late Iron Age were, as with much of England, major periods of transition in north-east England. The latter period of development was most marked in the south of the area where agriculture intensified and settlement expanded onto heavier, less well drained clay soils.[185] These changes may have been linked to population growth but other developments included increased exchange between regions and the development of a social and political hierarchy as illustrated by the development of Stanwick and other larger sites in the Tees Valley area.[186]

Between the middle Bronze Age and the late Iron Age a range of settlement types existed together. Haselgrove lists palisaded enclosures, ditched enclosures and unenclosed settlements and states that many settlements appear to have passed through both open and enclosed stages but these developments do not follow a common pattern.[187] Discussing enclosed settlements, the most common type as yet discovered in the north-east, Haselgrove argues that a distinction should not be made between earthwork enclosures according to their position, and that a more sensible division should be between enclosures housing single

[184] Ferrell, G. 'Space and Society in the Iron Age of north-east England' in Gwilt, A. and Haselgrove, C. (eds.) *Reconstructing Iron Age Societies*. Oxbow, Oxford. 1997. p.233
[185] Haselgrove, C. (2002) p.57
[186] Haselgrove, C. (2002) p.57
[187] Haselgrove, C. (2002) p.57-9

households and those for larger communities.[188] Both small and medium-sized enclosures appear to have been inhabited by single households, with variations in size perhaps indicating differences in status or farming practices, whilst larger sites housed larger groups.[189] This distinction is seen in both rectilinear sites, which are more common on the lowlands, and curvilinear sites, which occur more on higher ground, but is clearer in the former. In addition there were also open settlements and Haselgrove suggests that crannogs may also have existed in wet areas such as the carrlands of south-east Durham. If fortified sites did exist in the lowlands they may not have been major centres and may instead have been used for refuge and ceremonial purposes.[190]

Enclosures on the lowlands appear to have been abandoned later than those on the contour between upland and lowland areas. Even though sites in the latter area had access to both lowland and upland pasturage it seems that the lowland sites fared best, presumably because they had access to better soils, and Haselgrove stresses the longevity of these lowland sites with settlements often replacing each other.[191] He argues that whilst this redevelopment may not represent continuous occupation it is in marked contrast to the uplands where sites appear to have been relatively short-lived. A number of rectilinear enclosures also appear to be close to trackways. Haselgrove suggests that this implies these settlements did not stand in isolation as 'pioneer settlements

[188] Haselgrove, C. (2002) p.59
[189] Haselgrove, C. (2002) p.59
[190] Haselgrove, C. (2002) p.59
[191] Haselgrove, C. (2002) p.60

established in a thinly populated and heavily-wooded territory' and probably formed part of a well-ordered and largely open landscape.[192]

Haselgrove suggests that south of the Tyne palisaded enclosures and rectilinear ditched enclosures developed early, even before the adoption of bee-hive querns. However north of the Tyne smaller rectilinear enclosures did not develop until the very end of the Iron Age.[193] He goes on to suggest that the evidence, 'is consistent in suggesting that the extensive complexes found in the Tees lowlands...are essentially of late Iron Age date, many of them continuing to be occupied in the Roman period'.[194] In addition many smaller enclosures in both the uplands and the lowlands continued to be occupied from the third and fourth centuries BC until beyond the development of rectilinear enclosures. From this it appears that the size of sites may not indicate their status, 'this raises interesting questions about the social and economic relationships between different categories of open and enclosed sites'.[195]

North-West England:

The majority of evidence from north-west England has been derived from aerial photography and excavation, indeed all archaeological evidence is very limited. Mattingly has suggested that enclosed settlement may have developed slightly later on the lowlands of the Solway plain than in other parts of northern England.[196] Haselgrove suggests that if lowland enclosures were less common

[192] Haselgrove, C. (2002) p.60
[193] Haselgrove, C. (2002) p.62
[194] Haselgrove, C. (2002) p.62
[195] Haselgrove, C. (2002) p.62
[196] Mattingly, D. (2006) p.422. This idea is based on the excavation of a sample of twelve sites of which nine did not appear to have Iron Age evidence. The sample is small but it is possible

in the late Iron Age settlements may have taken the form of small palisaded enclosures which would be as hard to identify on aerial photography, the main source of information on the area, as unenclosed sites.[197] In addition many sites may have been re-occupied in the Roman period which could mask their Iron Age history.

The area was certainly not sparsely settled in the late prehistoric period. Haselgrove comments that 'the pollen evidence and other factors such as the distribution of late Bronze Age metalwork....indicate that the Eden valley, Furness and the Solway plain were intensively settled in later prehistory'.[198] Analysis of the Lune valley has also identified rectangular, sub-rectangular and curvilinear round houses as well as unenclosed round houses, with curvilinear being the more common and open settlement predominating on the lower land. This may support the suggestion that unenclosed settlement predominated across the lowlands.

Nevell discusses the palynological evidence from the area of modern Lancashire and suggests that the land available both for arable production and for grazing was reducing during the later first millennium BC. He notes that the few upland univallate hillforts and palisaded enclosures in the southern Pennines had been abandoned by the middle of the millennium and that by the late Iron Age none of the largest hillforts in the North West were occupied. These abandonments may illustrate the impact of the receding grazing lands with the climatic

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that enclosures in the Solway Plain area are later than has previously been thought. This evidence is discussed in Haselgrove, C. (2002) p.56

[197] Haselgrove, C. (2002) p.56

[198] Haselgrove, C. (2002) p.55

deterioration of the early to mid first millennium BC.[199] Nonetheless occupation continued and indeed with the improving climate settlement and woodland clearance appears to have intensified on both the uplands and the lowlands during the late Iron Age although in a localised manner with arable indicators being found in deposits in both areas.[200] In addition Nevell suggests that there may have been many more open settlements on the lowlands than are currently known.[201]

As further evidence for intensification Nevell notes that whilst the majority of sites are found on the well drained soils of the region, a few have been found on heavier boulder clays suggesting, 'that competition for the lighter, more easily worked, soils was already sufficient to encourage some communities to colonise these marginal areas'.[202] That the majority of multivallate sites, which can be associated with defence of lands and property, have been found on the lighter soils of the lowlands further supports this hypothesis.[203] Despite the undoubted evidence for the presence of a range of settlement types in the lowlands and uplands of Lancashire Nevell admits that the limited evidence from the area cannot be entirely attributed to lack of archaeological investigation and that, 'we must conclude that it also reflects, however imperfect and statistically unsatisfactory, a genuine lower level of population and settlement activity'.[204]

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[199] Nevell, M. 'Iron Age and Romano-British Rural Settlement in North West England: theory, marginality and settlement' in Nevell, M. (ed.) *Living on the Edge of Empire: models, Methodology and Marginality*. Council for British Archaeology North West, University of Manchester and Chester Archaeology. 1999a. p.23
[200] Nevell, M. (1999a) p.26
[201] Nevell, M. (1999a) p.25-26
[202] Nevell, M. (1999a) p.25
[203] Nevell, M. (1999a) p.25
[204] Nevell, M. (1999a) p.26

Environment and Agriculture:

The climate of England declined at the end of the second millennium BC and continued to get colder and wetter until 150 BC when temperatures slowly began to climb. The impact of such fluctuations would have been severe and this was particularly the case west of the Pennines. Nevell states that, 'the effect of these climatic changes on the altitudinal limit of cultivation, and by implication permanent settlement, would have been particularly severe'.[205] The impact of the wetter climate on vegetation in the north-west is shown by the rapid and permanent growth of peat in the region which replaced the heath and scrubland that existed in the region before *c.* 1200 BC and could have been used for rough grazing albeit little else.[206]

Despite evidence for environmental deterioration in the later Bronze Age it appears from the pollen record that limited and fairly localised clearances took place in the late Bronze Age and early Iron Age. Far greater changes appear to have taken place in the later Iron Age when large scale permanent clearances took place and Tipping suggests that the earliest extensive Iron Age clearances in the region occurred around 350 cal BC.[207] These massive changes took place on both sides of the Pennines, and in north-east England there is clear evidence of arable intensification and settlement expansion on the lowland clays well before the conquest.[208] Similar changes have been noted on the Solway Firth where Tipping suggests that wholesale woodland removal must have taken less

[205] Nevell, M. (1999a) p.17
[206] Nevell, M. (1999a) p.17 and Haselgrove, C. (2002) p.50
[207] Tipping, R. (1997) p.242; Haselgrove, C. (1996) p.63 and Mattingly, D. (2006) p.364
[208] Haselgrove, C. (1996) p.63 also Tipping, R. (1997) p.244

than decades.[209] Although there are potential problems with radiocarbon dating because earlier dates around 500 cal. BC lie on the early-mid Iron Age radiocarbon 'plateau', Tipping argues that later Iron Age dates are not affected by this issue and therefore the number of radio-carbon dates lying between *c.* 200-100 cal. BC probably mark an actual acceleration and intensification of clearance across the region.[210] Mattingly summarises the landscape as, 'one of mixed woodland and open land by the late Iron Age. Areas of denser forest were comparatively rare and in a few areas woodland had been reduced to a very low threshold'.[211]

The woodland clearances of the last millennium BC, particularly from around 350 cal. BC, need not necessarily have been for agricultural purposes but Tipping argues that pollen analysis proves this was the case.[212] Although it is not possible to tell the balance between arable and pastoral land use, Tipping argues that had land been cleared for non arable purposes scrub or heathland would have developed whereas the pollen record shows evidence for cereal pollens and pastoral herbs. 'A pronounced expansion in pastoral herbs accompanies the prodigious rise of grasses....and grains of *Secale cereal* (rye) are recorded only following deforestation'.[213]

The great clearances and intensification of farming on heavier, but more fertile lowland clays both east and west of the Pennines was made possible by a combination of improved technology and agricultural methods. The most

[209] Tipping, R. (1997) p.244
[210] Tipping, R. (1997) p.242
[211] Mattingly, D. (2006) p.365
[212] Tipping, R. (1997) p.243
[213] Tipping, R. (1997) p.243

particular technological development was the iron-tipped ard which allowed ploughing of heavier lowland soils, but a further development was the innovation of the bee-hive quern allowing processing of larger amounts of grain.[214] Alongside the iron-tipped ard drainage methods further enabled the cultivation of heavier soils and this was also helped by the introduction of crops such as spelt wheat which were suited to cultivation on damper and heavier soils.[215]In terms of pastoral agriculture there have been few useful assemblages discovered north of the Humber but where they have been discovered cattle take precedence followed by sheep/ goat and finally pig. Although this could be an effect of the limited survival of animal bone assemblages Haselgrove suggests that the assemblages are actually different in character to those from southern England where sheep is the most frequent find.[216]

West of the Pennines the land is generally quite high and where the Lake District experiences the highest annual rainfall anywhere in England (over 100cm of rain per annum). Such high rainfall is well above that preferred for wheat and barely and it is likely that pastoral farming predominated, as is the case today.[217] However Haselgrove argues that this does not mean crops were not grown; 'Almost certainly the population was largely sedentary, although there will have been some seasonal movement of herds and flocks to upland summer pastures, while crops will have been grown wherever the local conditions allowed'.[218]

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[214] Haselgrove, C. (1996) p.63
[215] Haselgrove, C. (1996) p.63
[216] Haselgrove, C. (1996) p.63
[217] Haselgrove, C. (1996) p.63
[218] Haselgrove, C. (1996) p.63

Although Tipping suggests that it is difficult to identify differences in the balance of arable and pastoral farming east and west of the Pennines, Haselgrove highlights the strong evidence for arable farming in the north east. In particular he points out the presence of spelt wheat and barley in North Yorkshire and the discovery of cord rig evidence in Northumberland. Iron Age Cord Rig evidence has also been discovered sealed under remains at Hadrian's Wall.[219] In addition Haselgrove points out the presence of bread wheat prior to the Roman period at a group of farmsteads in the Tees Valley including Rock Castle and Scotch Corner which lie on more exposed land with poorer soils fringing the river valley.[220] He suggests that this is a sign of innovation and particularly that it may mean Iron Age farms in more marginal areas were among the first to try out new crops.[221]

Social Organisation:

Agricultural evidence has been used to develop ideas of social organisation in northern England, particularly in the north-east where more detailed work has been carried out. Tipping argues that ideas of social organisation and development can be read into the massive changes in the scale, intensity and rapidity of woodland clearance seen in parts of in northern England and in particular the lowlands.[222] He notes that after *c.* 300 ca. BC 'a broadly synchronous phase of extensive and complete woodland clearance occurred throughout the region is indicative of a dramatically different approach to

[219] Haselgrove, C. (1996) p.64
[220] Haselgrove, C. (2002) p.64
[221] Haselgrove, C. (1996) p.64
[222] Tipping, R. (1997) p.245

deforestation and agriculture'.[223] Given that the areas of clearance are larger than the land likely to have been contained within a single farm the inference is that, 'Late Iron Age agricultural decision making seems to have been exercised at a more centralised level, with the initiative to expand the land available for farming taken within a corporate of hierarchical social context....the rapidity and extent of clearance perhaps implies a labour force exceeding that available from individual farms'.[224] The agricultural evidence suggests that where large scale late Iron Age clearance took place this can be seen as evidence for the growth of hierarchical societies and more centralised organisation beyond the individual farmsteads.

Ferrell discusses the evidence from cultivation in north-east England more specifically and stresses the presence of hulled barley and spelt at lowland sites in Cleveland and North Yorkshire in comparison with hulled barley, emmer and spelt in Northumberland.[225] At the former group she suggests there is evidence for intensive cropping without replacement of nutrients whilst in the latter group she suggest small-scale production with soil fertility being maintained by regular soil disturbance and manuring.[226] Ferrell argues that this difference in agricultural techniques could illustrate the differing roles of labour in each region, with intensive cropping representing low labour input and the smaller-scale sites indicating small-scale, labour intensive conservative practices. A

[223] Tipping, R. (1997) p.245
[224] Tipping, R. (1997) p.245
[225] Ferrell, G. (1997) p.235. Van der Veen initially concluded that cultural differences rather than environmental variation explained the differences in cultivation practices between those living north and south of the Tyne: Van der Veen, M. *Crop Husbandry Regimes: an Archaeological Study of Farming in Northern England 1000 BC-AD 500.* Sheffield Archaeological Monograph, Sheffield. 1992. Her suggestions are repeated by Huntley, J. P. (1997) p.85
[226] Ferrell, G. (1997) p.235

conservatism further emphasised by the dominance of more traditional emmer wheat which is in marked contrast to the innovative hulled barley and bread wheat of the Cleveland and North Yorkshire sites.[227]

In the lowland area around Thorpe Thewles and Stanwick, Ferrell has suggested the presence of a highly integrated, hierarchical, society and argues that innovation spreads rapidly in such areas where there are small, stable population groups exhibiting a high degree of continuity and both owning and inheriting the same land.[228] Here individual households are productive units owning the means of production and existing separately from the community, which only exists because they choose to participate in shared activities within it and may thus share a common identity.[229] By contrast the more conservative upland areas are seen as non-hierarchical with low levels of settlement integration. In these areas settlement groups were larger and agriculture took place on a communal level with less evidence for rebuilding, inheritance of land and land ownership. Ferrell suggests that society in this area could have formed a single general group identity without any further subdivision. In this situation communal societies possessed the land but there was no individual ownership and lands may have been held in common by extended families or village groups. 'The system is thus based on division of labour with craft workers producing directly for their own community and being maintained by it'.[230] Haselgrove further suggests that rock cut motifs found on Northumbrian sites could mark

[227] Ferrell, G. (1997) p.235
[228] Ferrell, G. (1997) p.235
[229] Ferrell, G. (1997) p.236
[230] Ferrell, G. (1997) p.236

ownership of particular sites and territories.[231] In this way a form of hierarchy could exist, based on gift exchange, but would need no land ownership and, 'isolated settlements could satisfy their own needs and even maintain a centre...without being integrated into any more developed hierarchy with their immediate neighbours'.[232] Following this distinction between the uplands north of the Tyne and the lowlands to the south, Haselgrove argues that the Tyne itself formed an important cultural boundary.[233]

This chapter has discussed the geological background ultimately underpinning and directing human settlement in northern England. It has also reviewed modern scholarship on the 'Brigantes' and the history of archaeological work in the region of study. The chapter particularly highlights the extent of regional variation in the geological and geographical background, and the environments to be found across the area. In addition, it illustrates the range of settlement forms across the area and the lack of chronology for the morphological development of these various settlement forms. As a result it is clear that there are still many gaps in our understanding of the nature and chronologies of native settlement in northern England in the late Iron Age and early Roman periods. Whilst the degrees of variation between areas of northern England are a matter for debate it is clear that there are already grounds to suggest differences between populations of the lands east and west of the Pennines.

[231] Haselgrove, C. (2002) p.63
[232] Ferrell, G. (1997) p.236
[233] Haselgrove, C. (2002) p.64

CHAPTER 2: ANCIENT LITERATURE, EPIGRAPHIC AND PLACE-NAME EVIDENCE RELATING TO NORTHERN ENGLAND

PART 1: THE LITERARY, EPIGRAPHIC AND PLACE-NAME EVIDENCE

Introduction

Traditional opinion, drawn from classical literature, holds that one tribe alone, the Brigantes, ruled northern Britain from the Humber to beyond Hadrian's Wall and 'extending to each sea'.[234] Textual evidence from Ptolemy and inscriptional evidence from Roman Britain reveals several other possible tribal names which may also be connected to the area. A variety of different tribal names have been indicated by modern historians along with possible territorial areas but all are agreed that the main tribal group was still the Brigantes and any others, with the exception of the Parisi, were, to a greater or lesser extent, semi-autonomous groups, federated to the Brigantes in some unknown way.

This chapter will set out to evaluate the literary, epigraphic and place-name evidence for the existence of any of the suggested tribes or their confederation. With regard to literary and epigraphic material on Britain as a whole there is a reasonable amount of information on the military and political history from the late pre-conquest period to AD 85. After this literature has very little to offer but the epigraphic record increases significantly in the second century and, 'with the

[234] Ptolemy *Geographia* 2.3

archaeological record, vastly supplements the written sources, though usually leaving much open to debate.'[235]

Hartley and Fitts were the first to challenge the accepted view[236] and Shotter has recently taken this further by suggesting the possible existence of a number of tribes in northern England.[237] This chapter will consider the tribes defined by Shotter: the most recent published work on the subject currently available. These tribal names are: the Brigantes, Carvetii, Setantii, Lopocares, Gabrantovices, Tectoverdi, Corionototae and Parisi; all of whom receive some form of reference in the *Geography* of Ptolemy.

Beyond this chapter the term tribe is treated with caution, however here it is retained in order to relate the discussion most directly to the terms used in the texts. However it is important to acknowledge that the term 'tribe' used in this chapter may be out of date and that identities of various types may be more valid forms of differentiation between individuals and larger groups. The definition of a tribe as understood by the ancient authors need not have been a true reflection of the relationships between populations in northern England. As a result it is possible that the groups described as 'tribes' in both the ancient and modern literature may not have considered themselves to be anything of the sort.

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[235] Hartley, B. and Fitts, L. *Peoples of Roman Britain: The Brigantes*. Sutton, Gloucester. 1988. p.15
[236] Hartley, B. and Fitts, L. (1988) p.2
[237] Shotter, D. *Romans and Britons in North-West England*. Centre for North-west Regional Studies, University of Lancaster. 2004. p.4

Chapter 2 part 1: Ancient literature, epigraphic and place-name evidence relating to northern England

ANCIENT LITERATURE

Before looking at the evidence for each tribe in detail a general assessment of ancient sources that mention northern England is advisable. The order of the individual authors considered reflects the relevance of their references from the most important sources to the more passing and less certain. These are Tacitus and Ptolemy and, to a lesser extent, Juvenal, Seneca, Pausanias, Dio. This will be followed by a brief assessment of the Ravenna Cosmography and Antonine Itinerary and an overview of the epigraphic evidence.

Tacitus (P. Cornelius Tacitus)

Tacitus was born around AD 56 or 57 in northern Italy.[238] He lived and worked until at least the end of the reign of Trajan (AD 98-117) but the date of his death is not known. Although perhaps best known for his literary works, Tacitus followed a successful political career which began during the reign of Vespasian. He gained the quaestorship in AD 81 or 82, praetorship in AD 88 and consulship in AD 97 after which he became governor of Asia.[239]

Tacitus' two main historical works were his *Histories* and *Annals* and, in the opinion of Woodman, 'Tacitus is acknowledged to be the greatest historian of

[238] Woodman, A. J. *Tacitus: The Annals*. Hackett, Cambridge. 2004. p.xi
[239] Levene, D. S. *Tacitus The Histories*. Oxford Worlds Classics, OUP, Oxford. 1997. p.vii

ancient Rome, the *Annals* his greatest work.'[240] The *Histories* covered the lives of Roman emperors from the death of Nero in AD 68 up to AD 96. About a third of the work survives: Books 1 to 4 and the first part of Book 5, which deal with the civil wars following the death of Nero (AD 69-96).[241] The *Annals*, Tacitus' last and greatest work, is the earliest surviving account of the Julio-Claudian period, covering the years from AD 14, just before the death of Augustus, through Tiberius, Gaius Caligula, Claudius and Nero. Of these two years of the reign of Tiberius are missing along with all of the reign of Gaius, half that of Claudius and the last two years of the reign of Nero but forty years out of fifty-four are still extant, comprising a period of very great significance.

Tacitus is an excellent historian and, overall, the most dependable source of information on the early principate, but as with the majority of ancient authors, his account was not at first hand. The extent to which he may have used oral traditions is uncertain. Woodman highlights the problems arising from the fact that Tacitus was writing about events between forty-five years and a century before his own time.[242] It is evident that Tacitus must have relied heavily upon earlier writings but he very rarely identifies these. This means that we cannot know the accuracy or potential bias of the sources upon which Tacitus based his history.

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[240] Woodman, A. J. (2004) p.ix
[241] Woodman, A. J. (2004) p.xi
[242] Woodman, A. J. (2004) p.xiv

It has been a general assumption that the excellence of Tacitus' *Annals* is due to his access to and use of the Roman senatorial archives;[243] however Woodman points out that Tacitus makes only one reference to use of these documents and this is at the very end of the extant works (15. 74.3).[244] This may be an indication of scant consultation of official documents and perhaps even a lack of regard for facts that would be unacceptable in the modern historical genre. Tacitus certainly claims to report either directly or indirectly speeches that he cannot possibly have heard or understood and which may not even have taken place.[245] He also appears to have borrowed statements from other authors the accuracy of which he cannot possible have known. Woodman comments that, 'the key point is that, if such imaginative reconstruction is Tacitus' practice on a number of identifiable occasions, there is a strong likelihood that his methods will be no different on numerous other occasions which we cannot now identify.'[246] Overall it seems that Tacitus generally reported key dates and statements correctly but that total accuracy was not of paramount importance. Instead of relying on senatorial records to any great extent it is likely that he followed the general consensus of opinion without worrying too much about accuracy and treated it 'according to the mind-set of the ancient world'.[247]

The form of the *Annals* is that of a year by year account but in the ancient period Woodman believes that history was written in a poetical style; Quintillian, a

[243] Woodman, A. J. (2004) p.xv
[244] Woodman, A. J. (2004) p.xv
[245] eg. Boudicca's speech before the battle of Mons Graupius. Woodman, A. J. (2004) p.xvi
[246] Woodman, A. J. (2004) p.xvii
[247] Woodman, A. J. (2004) p.xviii

contemporary of Tacitus, wrote that historiography was like a poem in prose.[248] This directly affects the way Tacitus wrote and the way in which his version of 'history' should be compared with a modern definition of the historical genre. Assuming that Woodman is correct and that history was written like poetry, borrowing from other authors and invention of detail would not have been out of place and could be expected as normal practice.[249] It is likely that Tacitus, writing in this genre, did not consider independent research and absolute accuracy to be the most important elements in his *Annals*. The conclusion must be that whilst his work is an essential part of the extant corpus of ancient writings its level of accuracy remains in some doubt and his statements should be treated with a suitable degree of caution.

Woodman's is not, of course, the only opinion on Tacitus. The *Annals* and *Histories* of Tacitus are, in the view of Benario, 'perhaps the greatest achievement of Latin historiography. They display an insight into the minds of men, into the workings of government, into the power politics of an empire, that are unrivalled by either Sallust or Livy.[250] Benario argues that the works of Tacitus may be more accurate than Woodman believes and that he is likely to have used a range of sources aside from those mentioned in his text.[251] According to Benario and others his other sources are likely to have been his father-in-law Agricola, various friends such as Pliny the Younger, and perhaps Pliny's own friends, who may have been able to provide oral accounts of the

[248] Woodman, A. J. (2004) p.xviii
[249] For further details of ancient literary convention see Woodman, A. J. (2004) p.xviii
[250] Benario, H. M. *An Introduction to Tacitus*. University of Georgia Press, Athens. 1975. p.79
[251] The sources stated by Tacitus are: Quintillian, Servilius Nonianus, Aufidius Bassus, Cluvius Rufus, Pliny the Elder and Younger, Fabius Rusticus and Vipstanus Messalla. Benario (1975) p. 82-3

later events covered in the *Histories*, various memoirs, speeches and, probably, the senatorial records.[252]

Tacitus may indeed have used more sources than are referenced in his works but it seems to the current author to be significant that Woodman has identified definite problems with Tacitus' works. These strongly indicate that the information in the *Annals* and *Histories* should not be taken as accurate truth.

Although the accuracy of Tacitus can be questioned he was nevertheless in a position to know a reasonable amount about the recent history of Britain. As a successful political figure, Tacitus would certainly have had some knowledge of events in the province, and in addition his father-in-law Agricola, of whom he wrote a biography, was both a military tribune and later (AD 78-85) a governor of Britain.[253] Tacitus' relationship with Agricola means that he would have had good access to information about the province during Agricola's service there. Birley even suggests that since it was not unusual for tribunes to serve under their father-in-law, Tacitus himself may have served in Britain as a military tribune perhaps between 77 and 79.[254] This is based on the fact that Tacitus' account of the first three years covered in the *Agricola* is considerably fuller than that of the following period, but there is no hard evidence to support the theory. Indeed Birley also comments that 'compared with the *Germany* there is

[252] For further information see Benario (1975) p.82-3, Woodman (2004) p.xiv-xv, Wellesley, K. *Cornelius Tacitus: the Histories Book III.* Sydney University Press, Sydney. 1972. p.6-10
[253] There is some debate over the dating of Agricola's governorship (AD 77-84 or 78-85); however the latter dating seems more likely. Birley, A. R. *Tacitus: Agricola and Germany.* Oxford Worlds Classics, OUP, Oxford. 1999 p.ix
[254] Birley, A. R. (1999) p.xxii

less detail about Britain and the Britons in *Agricola*.'[255] If Tacitus had served in Britain he would surely have more to say about its inhabitants than he does. Indeed whether or not Tacitus was ever present in Britain it is remarkable that he has so little to say of the province given his close relationship with such a valuable source of information as Agricola. This further supports the notion that Tacitus attributed little importance to acquiring accurate information from first hand research when the general consensus provided sufficient detail to support the point he wished to make.

In addition to the potential problems with Tacitus' own work there are also difficulties with the extant transcripts of his manuscripts.[256] The Latin in the surviving manuscripts is not an exact version of the original text produced by Tacitus.[257] The earliest manuscript of the *Annals*, which consists of books 1-4 a little of 5 and most of 6, is known as the 'first Medicean' and was copied in Germany in the mid-ninth century.[258] Books 11-16 and the entire extant *Histories* survive from an even later manuscript the 'second Medicean' which was produced in the mid-eleventh century.[259] Although these are the earliest known copies of the Tacitus manuscripts several further centuries of scribal errors took place before the first printed books appeared in the late fifteenth century.[260] Such problems are not restricted to the *Annals* or indeed the works of Tacitus and the problems created by errors in the Latin text must be borne in mind when reading works by both Tacitus and the majority of ancient authors.

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[255] Birley, A. R. (1999) p.xxvii
[256] For specific problems with the Annals see Woodman, A. J. (2004) xxvii
[257] Woodman, A. J. (2004) p.xxvi
[258] Woodman, A. J. (2004) p.xxvii
[259] Levene, D. S. (1997) p.viii
[260] Woodman, A. J. (2004) p.xxvii

Chapter 2 part 1: Ancient literature, epigraphic and place-name evidence relating to northern England

Ptolemy (Claudius Ptolemaeus)

Claudius Ptolemaeus (Ptolemy) was born in about AD 100 and began his career as a scientist in or near Alexandria in Egypt in the mid-120s.[261] It is likely that he lived into the later part of the century. Ptolemy is best known as an astronomer and it is through this work that he probably became interested in the mathematical challenge of recording the accurate location of geographical places.

Ptolemy's earliest work, the *Almagest*, is a theoretical approach to the motion of the sun, moon, stars and planets. Out of this work arose the need to accurately plot the location of the two recordings needed for analysis of any astronomical event. These recordings were taken at two places of different longitude at different times and Ptolemy needed to know the longitude of each site in order to calculate exact information about the event in question.[262] After dealing with longitude Ptolemy moved onto the more complicated issue of latitude. He developed a series of parallels on the earth, each listed with the geographical name of a site through which they passed. This was the only geographical data in the *Almagest*, the rest being almost entirely theoretical in design.[263]

The *Geography* probably grew out of the list begun in the *Almagest*. However Berggren and Jones state that 'on the way Ptolemy's scope broadened from the

[261] Berggren, J. L. and Jones, A. *Ptolemy's Geography: an Annotated Translation of the Theoretical Chapters*. Princeton University Press, Oxford. 2000. p.17
[262] For further information see Berggren, J. L. and Jones, A. (2000) p.17
[263] Berggren, J. L. and Jones, A. (2000) p.18

establishment of co-ordinates for a few hundred cities to a far more comprehensive codification of thousands of elements (towns, borders, natural features) of the entire known world.'[264] The main purpose of the work also shifted from astronomical tables to an attempt to lay the foundations for the accurate mapping of the world. Ptolemy claims that the greatest part of his work was in the development of map making and he wrote down the latitude and longitude of every site used so that others could reproduce his map from the text alone. He also claimed to be the first to devise a method by which the curvature of the earth and the position of sites upon its surface could be represented.[265] Unfortunately co-ordinates are given only in twelfths of a degree and therefore the map cannot show distances smaller than this. As a result the sizes and placements of offshore islands are not to scale and, even assuming that Ptolemy's own calculations were accurate, sites on land cannot be placed with absolute precision.

In acknowledging the concept that astronomical observations were better than itineraries for fixing specific locations Ptolemy was not unique.[266] The difference between the work of Ptolemy and that of his predecessors is that he attempted to carry out in actual practice the principle of fixing locations using latitude and longitude. Ptolemy's work was highly original but Berggren and Jones note that, 'he was too far ahead of his time in maintaining this principle to be able to follow it in practice, because he possessed reliable astronomical data

[264] Berggren, J. L. and Jones, A. (2000) p.19
[265] Berggren, J. L. and Jones, A. (2000) p.3
[266] Hipparchus, writing three centuries earlier than Ptolemy, also believed this. Berggren, J. L. and Jones, A. (2000) p.3

for only a handful of places.'[267] The reality of this statement is that instead of using accurate astronomical data for all sites (as Ptolemy implies he does) the majority of his locations 'would have been located on his maps by direct measurement on a bearing from a place whose location had been fixed.'[268] As a result 'any error in the bearing or the distance of a place from his "fixed points" would have had serious consequences for Ptolemy's map.'[269] Ptolemy's maps do not survive but they can be recreated and it is when this is carried out that the problems with his lack of accurate astronomical data become clear. There are a number of cases where sites, the name and position of which are known to archaeologists and historians, appear some considerable distance away from their location according to Ptolemy's map. Examples of this in Britain are St Albans, which was placed on the same latitude as Leicester, and Silchester, which was placed north of Cirencester and London.[270]

In addition to the problems with Ptolemy's own calculations it is very difficult to discover the original sources of information: they are likely to have included older maps and itineraries the accuracy of which is unknown but certainly questionable. Itineraries were also never intended to be used for cartographical work and therefore much of the information essential to obtaining an accurate location was left out.[271] According to Ptolemy the places and their arrangements as listed in his *Geography* were based on the work of an earlier cartographer

[267] Berggren, J. L. and Jones, A. (2000) p.3
[268] Jones, B. and Mattingly, D. (1990) p.17
[269] Jones, B. and Mattingly, D. (1990) p.17
[270] Jones, B. and Mattingly, D. (1990) p.17
[271] Berggren, J. L. and Jones, A. (2000) p.26

Marinos of Tyre.[272] There are some surprising omissions from the Gazetteer of British places bearing in mind that Ptolemy was compiling his *Geography* no earlier and potentially considerably later than the mid 120s AD. The most obvious gaps are Hadrian's Wall, the Antonine Wall, and the legionary fortresses at Caerleon, Gloucester, Dorchester and Caerwent. The absence of these sites is an example of the effect on Ptolemy's work of using out of date information: Marinos was working in around AD 100 and very little that came into existence after AD 110 is included in the *Geography*.[273] Assuming that Marinos was reading from older maps these are likely to have been drawn in a very different way from that intended by Ptolemy. As a result locations given by Marinos could not have been turned directly into latitudinal and longitudinal locations without severe inaccuracy and this may have been one reason for the distortions discovered when an attempt is made to recreate Ptolemy's map.[274] Ptolemy appears to rotate Scotland about 90 degrees clockwise so that its main axis is west to east and not north to south. This error may be an example of the inaccuracies produced when Ptolemy drew on information gleaned by Marinos from maps which represented information 'schematically or qualitatively'.[275]

One further problem with the *Geography* in relation to the geography of native Britain is in the identification and typology of the places mentioned; it is, at least, likely that many were sited on or nearby major route ways.[276] Ptolemy designated all places in his work as 'poleis', (Greek for 'towns'), but he clearly

[272] The only known information on Marinos is that found in the *Geography*. Berggren, J. L. and Jones, A. (2000) p.24
[273] Berggren, J. L. and Jones, A. (2000) p.23
[274] Berggren, J. L. and Jones, A. (2000) p.25
[275] Berggren, J. L. and Jones, A. (2000) p.25
[276] Jones, B. and Mattingly, D. (1990) p.17

used this term in the wider sense of 'places with a name'. Jones and Mattingly suggest that 'Ptolemy himself may not have known, or cared overmuch, whether he was including towns, Roman forts, or native sites. He simply used a selection of names from whatever sources were available to him to fill up his own maps. Therefore there is no guarantee that he always selected the most important sites for inclusion or that those chosen were all of one type.'[277] Certainly there are far more known Flavian forts than places named by Ptolemy and this suggests that his selection criteria regarding the locations and types of site to include may have been fairly random.[278] For the sites listed in northern Britain it is thought that Ptolemy's main source must have been a military map dating to the Flavian conquest and brief occupation of the area north of the Tyne-Solway line.[279] A number of place-names are listed in association with tribal names but at present problems with Ptolemy's latitude and longitude calculations mean the majority are impossible to locate. Bearing in mind the original source material it is likely that the majority of sites were actually Roman forts rather than temporary marching camps or native settlements but this has not helped to identify many sites with any degree of security. In particular the problem with the misalignment of Scotland has made it very difficult to correlate archaeological sites with names in the *Geography*.[280]

[277] Jones, B. and Mattingly, D. (1990) p.18
[278] Jones, B. and Mattingly, D. (1990) p.19
[279] Jones, B. and Mattingly, D. (1990) p.19
[280] For a map of Britain according to the information provided by Ptolemy see Jones, B. and Mattingly, D. (1990) p.19

Juvenal (Decimus Junius Juvenalis)

Juvenal worked during the late first and early second century and died in around AD 127 but he did not seek publicity for his work. Virtually nothing is known for certain about his life and even his name is in doubt.[281] Reference made to him by the poet Martial,[282] who seems to have been a friend, suggests that he was far from the elite circles of Roman society. Rudd and Barr suggest that, 'his own descriptions in the earlier satires of the condition of the respectable poor at Rome seem to imply that he was no stranger to hardships and humiliations imposed on those at the lower end of the social scale.'[283] However Braund argues that Juvenal may have been a member of the elite because his satires are not dedicated to any patron.[284]

Juvenal makes one reference to the name Brigantes in his satires.[285] No matter what social class he came from his writing style renders his works difficult to use as accurate factual documents. Instead they give the 'common man's' point of view in which all peoples on the edge of the empire are too far away to warrant close attention.[286] In the main his poetry represents common knowledge and rumour and this fact must be born in mind when considering the historical validity of any of his comments. Rudd and Barr state as his main achievement

[281] Braund, S. M. *Juvenal and Perseus*. Loeb Classical Library, Harvard University Press, London. 2004. p.18
[282] These are in the Epigrams (7.24, 7.91, 12.18 1-9) Rudd, N. and Barr, W. *Juvenal: The Satires*. Clarendon Press, Oxford. 1991. p.x
[283] Rudd, N. and Barr, W. (1991) p.xiii
[284] Braund, S. M. (2004) p.19
[285] This is discussed below p.42
[286] For a detailed discussion of the Roman approach to the 'edges of the world' see Romm, J. S. *The edges of the earth in ancient thought: geography, exploration, and fiction*. Princeton University Press, Princeton. 1992; also Clarke, C. 'An Island Nation: Re-reading Tacitus' Agricola' in *Journal of Roman Studies* 91. 2001. pp.94-112

that; 'there is no surviving Roman satirist whose approach more nearly matches most modern readers' expectations of the genre.'[287] That Juvenal takes the satirist's licence to exaggerate to new heights demands further caution when considering the historical accuracy of his writing.

Cassius Dio (Cassius Dio Cocceianus)

Dio, the son of a Roman senator, lived between around AD 150-235 and appears to have been close to the imperial household of the early third century. Although he passed in and out of favour with successive emperors he held the consulship twice and maintained his position close to the heart of the Roman political world until the end of his career. His history seems to have been written during the middle stages of his life when he was stationed mainly in Rome and could observe all the chaotic events of the early third century.[288] His residence in Rome and position in society allowed him access to libraries from which he attempted to make his work as accurate as reliance on earlier historical works (rather than research from original documents) allowed.

Cassius Dio's Roman History, which covered the origins to AD 229 survives only in a fairly fragmentary format consisting of Books 36-54 (68-10 BC), large parts of Books 55-60 (9 BC – AD 46) and part of Books 79-80 (the death of

[287] Rudd, N. and Barr, W. (1991) p.ix
[288] Millar, F. *A Study of Cassius Dio*. Clarendon Press, Oxford. 1964. p.27

Caracalla to the middle of the reign of Elagabalus).[289] The rest of the text has to be restored from three main sources.[290]

Seneca (L. Annaeus Seneca)

Seneca lived from 4 BC to AD 65. He was appointed as Nero's tutor in AD 49 Seneca was close to the imperial household which would suggest that his facts are likely to be correct although their inclusion in the satirical form encourages extreme caution due to the nature of such works.[291]

Even the title of Seneca's satirical work the *Apocolocyntosis* has been the subject of much debate. Dio's *History* referred to it more than a century later (60.35.2 ff)[292] but this is the sole ancient allusion and there is still discussion as to whether the title has been applied to the correct surviving work. [293] General acceptance that the identification has been made correctly has led to further questions about the meaning and purpose of the title which Dio mentions as 'Gourdification'.

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[289] Millar, F. (1964) p.1
[290] The earliest copy, made for Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, preserves much of Dio's own wording. The second, an Epitome of books 36-80 made by the monk Ioannes Xiphilinus in the later 11th century, is an erratic selection but appears fairly true to the original text in the sections used. The third copy, a history by the 12th century monk Iohannes Zonaras, uses books 7-9 and 10-11. It is clear he read the original and his text is more coherent than the 11th century work. Millar (1964) p.1-3
[291] Note: Satire gave the writer a licence to over exaggerate any point in order to aid his purposes. See Juvenal above. p.73
[292] Eden, P. T. *Seneca: Apocolocyntosis*. CUP, Cambridge. 1984. p.1
[293] Dio suggests the title refers to the murder of Claudius by Nero and Agrippina and was meant to sound like a form of deification. Eden, P. T. (1984) p.1

The date and even authorship of the work is also open to discussion: the death of Claudius naturally constitutes a *terminus post quem* for the document, and it is in fact likely to have been written only very shortly after this event in October AD 54. It was probably produced for the Saturnalia beginning 17th December AD 54.[294] Although, like Juvenal, Seneca refers to the Brigantes only in a single statement, this reference is of particular importance because it can be dated with some accuracy to AD 54 only eleven years after the Claudian invasion of Britain.

Pausanias

The very little that is known about Pausanias is gleaned from scattered hints in his own work, *Periegesis tes Hellados* or *Tour of Greece*.[295] Pausanias appears to have been a native of Magnesia-on-Sipylos in Lydia[296] and to have been writing around the third quarter of the second century AD.[297] Pausanias travelled around the cities and shrines of mainland Greece during the middle of the second century and recorded details of the buildings, traditions and cults in each of the places he visited. To this he added information from previous writers about myths and historical events associated with these sites. This resulted in a

[294] Eden, P. T. (1984) p.5
[295] Hutton, W. *Describing Greece: Landscape and Literature in the Periegesis of Pausanias.* CUP, Cambridge. 2005. pp.9-11
[296] Hutton, W. (2005) p.9
[297] The writing of his fifth book can be dated to AD 174. Jones, W. S. *Pausanias: Description of Greece.* Volume I. Loeb Classical Library, Heinemann, London. 1943. p.ix.

work ten scrolls in length.[298] The work is mentioned here for another single reference to the name 'Brigantes'.[299]

The Ravenna Cosmography and Antonine Itinerary

The Ravenna Cosmography and Antonine Itinerary are groups of routes which include Roman Britain. They list site names, often with a high degree of clerical inaccuracy, and cannot be used as direct evidence for tribal territories in northern England. However they may be of some use in identifying tribal groupings when combined with some forms of epigraphic evidence such as grave markers.[300]

The Ravenna Cosmography is a form of itinerary. It was created by a cleric, whose name is unknown, in Ravenna around AD 700 and consists of a vast list of place-names.[301] Although the Cosmography contains a vast number of mistakes and inaccuracies it indicates that the creator had access to at least two maps of Britain and lists nearly 300 names in the island. However the value of the source is severely affected by the number of errors, which make it extremely difficult accurately to identify sites with any degree of confidence; the fact that there are no attempts to differentiate between the type of site named; and the way that names are given in an apparently random order within a given area

[298] Hutton, W. (2005) p.1
[299] Pausanias *Periegesis tes Hellados* VIII Arcadia 43 3-4
[300] See discussion of Lopocares below p.128
[301] Jones, B. and Mattingly, D. (1990) p.29

rather than along a road.[302] The last problem creates particular difficulties when dealing with northern England since it means that sites cannot be given a rough geographical setting, which might then help with identification, through the use of the previous and following names. The Ravenna Cosmography therefore cannot be used alone as a secure indicator of any name or place in Britain.[303]

The Antonine Itinerary is a rather more trustworthy source of names in Roman Britain. It survived as a manuscript describing fifteen routes and listing over 100 different place-names with mileages between sites.[304] The distances are not always correct but, although there are still a large number of copying errors to deal with, the places are listed in a logical order: this makes it much easier to identify sites using the Antonine Itinerary than is the case with the Ravenna Cosmography.[305] Although both military and civilian sites are listed the majority of those in northern England would appear to be military. However the Itinerary is still of some use as an indicator of place-names and in the majority of cases is likely to be more trustworthy than the Ravenna Cosmography.[306]

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[302] Jones, B. and Mattingly, D. (1990) p.29. Rivet and Smith discuss in detail the difficulties with the Ravenna Cosmography and in particular highlight the exceptional number of 'impenetrably corrupted forms' and the compilers, 'haphazardly selective methods'. Rivet, A. L. F. And Smith, C. *The Place-Names of Roman Britain.* Batsford, London. 1979. p.199

[303] For a map of the probable identifications of places and sites listed in the Cosmography see Jones, B. and Mattingly, D. (1990) p. 30

[304] Jones, B. and Mattingly, D. (1990) p.23

[305] Jones, B. and Mattingly, D. (1990) p.23

[306] For maps of the routes listing names and mileages see Jones, B. and Mattingly, D. (1990) pp.24-28

EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

Advantages and Disadvantages of the Source Material

The epigraphic evidence from Roman Britain is abundant and increasing. The information provided by inscriptions is often invaluable in defining more detail about a site or person. However in northern England, indeed across Britain as a whole, writing and epigraphy were rarely practised by the native population except on pre-conquest coinage, which was produced in southern Britain but does not appear to have been produced or used in the area of study.[307] That the native population were able to adopt Latin if they so wished is evidence by the Togidubnus stone from Chichester and curse tablets from Bath (130), and Uley (140) and at least twenty other sites, however as yet no examples of this sort are known north of Nottingham.[308]

There are thus no pre-conquest inscriptions from northern Britain and very few if any native inscriptions from the period of occupation. The surviving inscriptions from Roman Britain have become a key part of understanding the history of the province during the period of occupation but they are almost entirely military in purpose and / or origin. There are only a handful of inscriptions which may refer to members of the indigenous population of northern England and their date and origin remain very unclear. Although they are rare and difficult to use with any confidence the few inscriptions of this kind

[307] See further discussion in Chapter 3
[308] Togidubnus stone: Mattingly, D. (2006) p.267. For distribution of curse tablets see: Mattingly, D. (2006) p.310-314 see also Mattingly, D. (2004) p.20

that do exist often provide the only written indication of the possible existence of native individuals or tribal groups. These inscriptions frequently lack any other supporting literary evidence and must be treated with great caution. They nevertheless remain of significant value in attempting to identify the native population of northern England.[309]

One of the greatest problems with inscriptions across the Roman world is that many of them are damaged or fragmentary. This damage often occurred when the stone was re-used in a different building and it can mean that the information is gone forever but at other times the surviving fragments can allow restoration with varying degrees of confidence. In northern England military inscriptions such as those from the forts along Hadrian's Wall can be reconstructed with some accuracy when they include conventional abbreviations for Imperial titles or Roman names; by contrast, the very small number which may refer to civilian contexts are far harder to reconstruct due to a lack of comparable examples of nomenclature.[310]

A further problem with the use and interpretation of inscriptions is the issue of dating. A small minority of inscriptions can be very accurately dated from the information contained within them but very few carry any form of exact year date. Instead the names of the consuls were sometimes given and from this the year of the inscription can be suggested with considerable certainty. Alternatively a detailed description of the name, titles and offices of the emperor

[309] See discussion of Carvetii and Tectoverdi p.69 and 74
[310] Keppie gives several examples of the dangers of reconstruction and the chances of making mistakes. Keppie, L. J. F. (2001) p.22 and 41

narrows down the possible years whilst details such as the number of times an emperor had held *tribunicia potestas* allows a date to be given at least within a year. Unfortunately if only the name of the emperor is given the inscription can be dated only to the years of his reign and in reality 'many, indeed most, Latin inscriptions do not offer any direct clues to dating, and recourse has to be made to other methods.'[311] Changes in the use of abbreviations over time, for example from civilian to military purposes, can be used to give some clues but where there are no other indicators this is not helpful since the stone could belong to either context and thus either date.[312]

One of the greatest uses of inscriptions in Roman Britain has been in the identification of religious cults.[313] The Iron Age people of Britain did not use inscriptions and the names of their deities can only be identified when they have been adopted into the Roman pantheon, usually by soldiers keen to appease any local deity who might not appreciate their presence. Although these inscriptions can be useful for identifying the main native deities of northern England they have all been found in military contexts and have been dedicated by members of the Roman army.[314] Inscriptional evidence therefore cannot be used to locate the sites at which these gods and goddesses were worshipped by the indigenous population or to identify ways in which such worship was carried out. Further examples of the importance of inscriptional evidence from Britain are the Vindolanda letters which give a unique insight into the daily workings of

[311] Keppie, L. J. F. (2001) p.28
[312] See discussion of RIB 933 (Carvetii) p.69
[313] Ireland, S. *Roman Britain: A Sourcebook.* Routledge, London. 1996. p.8
[314] See references to the goddess Brigantia p.118 and map p.119

frontier forts and, indeed, into military life in Britain as a whole. Again these inscriptions are wholly military in nature but they are of exceptional importance in understanding the lives of ordinary Roman military personnel.

Although the late dating and military bias of the vast majority of inscriptions from northern England weakens their use as a source they can be very valuable. Epigraphic evidence such as this should be used with caution but may give some important clues about social organisation and cultural practices in northern England in the late pre-conquest and particularly the early post-conquest periods.

PLACE-NAMES OF ROMAN SITES

Places with names known from the Roman period tend to be large and important military and civilian centres rather than the small villages and hamlets that much of the native population appeared to be living in.[315] This would suggest that 'official' names; names that were recorded for official use, were only given to places that were important to the Romans. These sites are not small native settlements but towns, tribal *civitas* capitals and forts. The names of these sites give some indication of the nature of linguistic change, and indeed the lack of it, after the Roman invasion.

[315] Number of sites with known Roman names: County Durham and Yorkshire north of the Tees- 6, Northumberland 15, Cumbria 20, Yorkshire South of the Tees, 9. The apparently large numbers of sites in Northumberland and Cumbria are due to the strong military presence in this area, especially on Hadrian's Wall. The majority of sites with Roman names in these areas are forts.

Chapter 2 part 1: Ancient literature, epigraphic and place-name evidence relating to northern England

Latin Names

There are only four definite place-names with Latin derivations in the entire north-east and north-west. In Northumberland *Pons Aelius* (Newcastle upon Tyne) means Hadrian's Bridge,[316] in Cumbria *Concavata* (Drumburgh) is the only fort on Hadrian's Wall with a Latin name referring to the hollowed out shape of the coastline in this area. The Latin name is exceptional among forts in this area and Rivet and Smith believe that this may show that the fort was built in exceptional circumstances.[317] The possible secondary nature of this fort is a matter of considerable and ongoing academic debate and the fact that it has the only Latin name on the Wall may well support the argument that this fort was built under different circumstances to the rest. South of the Tees it used to be accepted that there were two place-names with Latin derivations but whilst *Calcaria* (Tadcaster) meaning limeworks is not in doubt, indeed the name survived for a time within the Anglo-Saxon or possibly British kingdom of Elmet,[318] there is now some debate on *Cataractonium* (Catterick).[319] That this tendency to adopt British or at least 'Celtic' place-names was not limited to the

[316] Note Tyne is a pre-Celtic river name meaning 'flowing one'
[317] Rivet, A. L. F. and Smith, C. (1979) p.315
[318] For some further discussion on the post-Roman kingdom of Barwick in Elmet see Stenton, F. *Anglo Saxon England.* OUP, Oxford. 1971[3]
[319] Traditionally the name Cataractonium is thought to refer to an association with rapids on the river Swale and to be taken from the Latin *Cataracta* meaning 'waterfalls or rapids'. Both Rivet and Smith; Rivet, A. L. F. and Smith, C. (1979), and Mills; Mills, A. D. *A Dictionary of County Durham Place-Names.* The English Place-Name Society, Nottingham. 2003, now believe this may be wrong and that the original name for Cataractonium may have a British root. They believe that the original British name was *caturactonium* 'place of the battle ramparts' and may well be the name given by the native people to the Roman fort. Later the name was mistakenly associated with the Latin word *cataracta* due to the similarity between this and both the ancient and modern names and thus a link to the Swale was created by early modern antiquarians in order to explain it. In his major work on Catterick Wilson discusses both opinions but gives no final judgement either way: Wilson, P.R. *Cataractonium: Roman Catterick and its hinterland, excavations and research 1958-97 Part 1.* CBA research report 128, York. 2002
It is of note that *cataracta* can also mean 'portcullis' in Latin. This clearly suggests a fortified place and gives another possible derivation for Catterick referring to the fort but drawn from a Latin and not a Celtic root.

northern militarised zone is seen in a study of Roman place-names in South East Britain for comparative purposes. This reveals only one Latin name in the entire area from Dover to Portchester: *Pontibus* (Staines) refers to the bridges at this site.[320]

It is already well known that the Romans operated a policy of tolerance in their provinces. Perhaps the clearest example is in religion where beliefs were not tampered with and alongside allowing the survival of native deities Roman religion sometimes adopted a new deity from a province or, recognising similarities between a native deity and a member of their pantheon, they syncretised the two.[321] Although official business was carried out in Latin this did not filter down to the level at which the majority of the population came into contact with the authorities. Whilst they had to deal with Roman money to pay their taxes the people did not speak Latin nor were they expected to.[322] The lack of Latin place-names known from northern England and indeed Roman Britain may reflect this tolerance.

[320] See appendix B. (Roman place-names and their derivations) (On CD)
[321] Mattingly, D. (2004) p.21, Jones, B. and Mattingly, D. (1990) p.274-281
[322] See discussion of taxation in Conclusion p.355

Romanised Celtic Names

Given the Roman tolerance and policy of leaving native systems and languages in place as far as possible it is perhaps no great surprise to see clear evidence for the adoption of Celtic names for major Roman settlements.[323] This was yet another way in which the population could be kept less unhappy with the Roman presence and is likely to reflect official policy rather than mere chance. There are a high number of Roman names with Celtic origins. From the evidence it is clear that in almost every case in both northern and southern Britain the Roman place-name was taken directly from Celtic roots, although slightly Latinised in some cases; for example Celtic *Onna* becomes Roman *Onnum* and Celtic *Cilurno* becomes Roman *Cilurnum*.[324] Good examples of Roman names taken directly from British roots include many of the forts and *vici* on Hadrian's Wall such as Vindolanda 'bright moor' from the British *vindo* (bright/ shining) and *lande* (heath/moor).[325]

In the north-east and north-west the majority of sites were forts whose *vici* had no separate name, especially around Hadrian's Wall, and there are few known towns.[326] In the north-west the only major non-military centre with a known name is Carlisle (Luguvalium) whilst in the north-east there are York

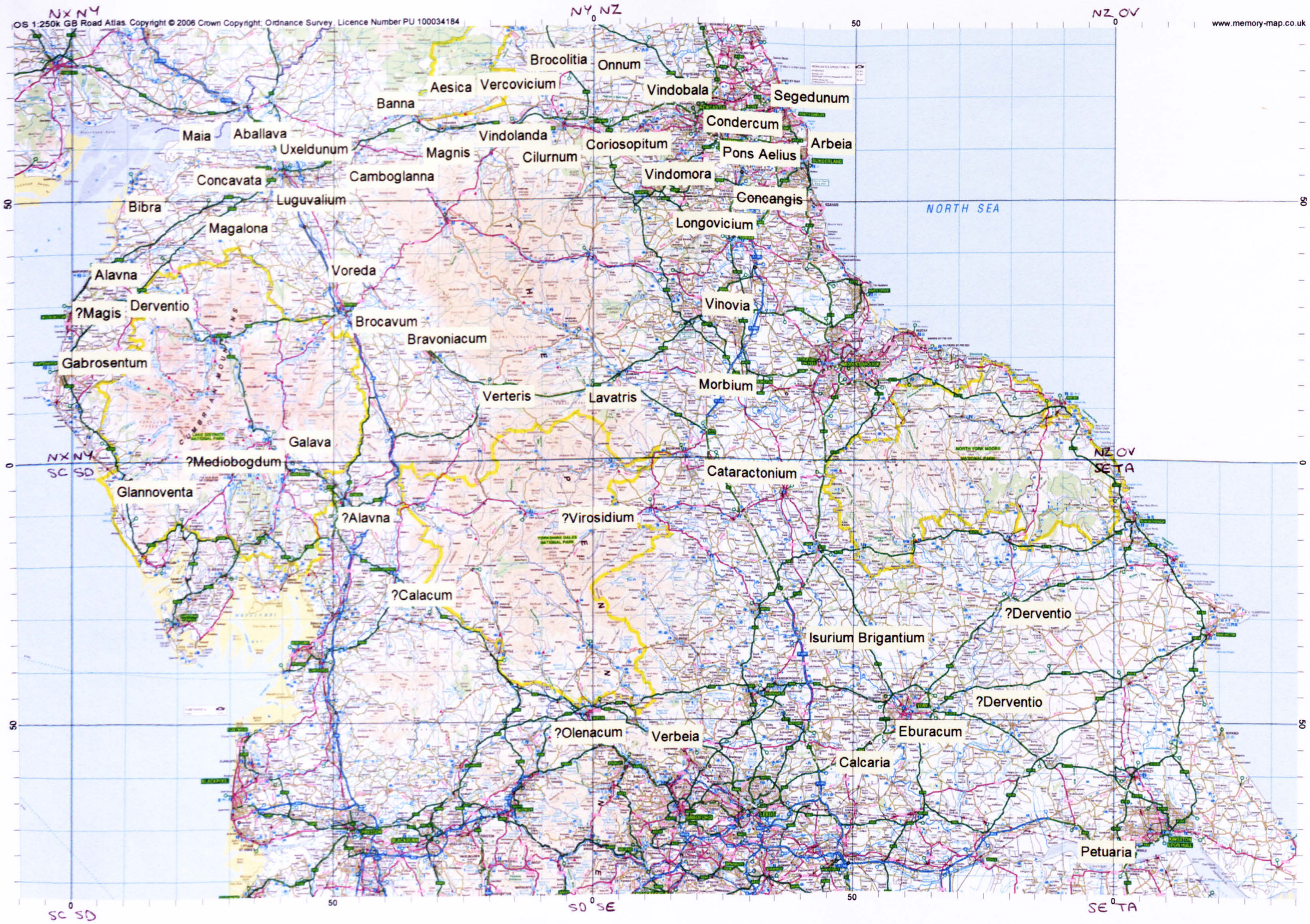
[323]The majority of the native British population spoke P-Celtic at the time of the Roman Conquest and there is no evidence to suggest a language change. For further information on P-Celtic and Q-Celtic see Mattingly, D. (2006) p.52 and Mills, A. D. (2003) p.xv

[324] Percentage of Roman place-names with Celtic Roots- County Durham and Yorkshire north of the Tees- 67% (of six towns there is no known derivation for two), Northumberland- 93% (one Latin place-name), Cumbria 95% (one Latin place-name), Yorkshire south of the Tees- 78% (one Latin place-name and one with no clear derivation)

[325] For further examples see Appendix B. (Roman place-names and their derivations) (On CD)

[326] For positions of sites and names See map 2 below p.87. Note Aldborough (*Isurium Brigantium*) is now thought to be a Roman town which did not have a military origin. See Bishop, M. C. et al. 'A New Flavian Military Site at Roecliffe, North Yorkshire' in *Britannia* 36, 2005. pp.135-223

Map 2. Roman place-names in the region of study



(Eboracum), Brough on Humber (Petuaria), Aldborough (Isurium Brigantium) and Malton (possibly Derventio).

South of the Tees there are two place-names which have survived from Roman and indeed pre-Roman roots. Catterick, which has survived relatively intact, has been discussed above. The other site, another of the four towns to be given names in the Roman period, is York. The Roman name for this site *Eburacum* derives from Celtic 'place of the yews' or, alternatively, 'estate of Eburos' and although it is now too far corrupted to see the link in the modern name York is derived directly from this original root.[327] The Celtic name for the site was *Eburacon*, Ptolemy wrote the name as *Eborakon* in AD150 and by the late Roman period in Britain it was known as *Eboracum*. During the Anglo-Saxon period *Ebor* was replaced by *eofor* meaning 'a boar', the closest equivalent Old English word although not connected to the old Celtic meaning, and *acum* by the Old English *–wic* 'village'. From *Eoforwic* came the Scandinavian corruption *Iorvik* in the ninth century, this is clearly a change effected by differences in pronunciation between Old English and Scandinavian rather than a new Viking name for the site. *Iorvik* later developed into *Iork* although still during the period of Scandinavian settlement. All that was now left to happen was a thirteenth century substitution of *Y* for *I* and the name York was finally developed.[328]

[327] Room, A. *Dictionary of Place-Names in the British Isles*. Bloomsbury, London.1988. p. 407
[328] Room, A. (1988) p.407

The predominance of Celtic names for known Roman sites in northern England may be explained through adoption by the invasionary forces of the local name for the fort as part of the Roman policy of tolerance for local tradition. Mattingly follows this theory; noting that the roots of the majority of place-names were British or 'Celtic' and that, 'the Roman conquest of Britain thus did not involve the imposition of a new set of toponyms at the expense of local usage'.[329] The recording of so many Celtic names for sites may thus simply reflect Roman foreign policy of not changing that which did not require it but this may not be the only explanation. James and Mattingly have highlighted the great range of ethnic backgrounds among the soldiers serving in northern England.[330] Mattingly states that, 'the widespread origins, varied languages and differing social mores of the soldiery and the civilians in the garrison settlements created great cultural variability within the military community'.[331] Only a limited number of military personnel in Britain would have originated from Italy and spoke Latin as their native tongue. The vast majority of soldiers in northern England were from other 'Celtic' provinces and many would have been very comfortable with the native language.[332] Mattingly notes that overall, 'there appears to have been a strong preference for sending to Britain units originally raised through mass conscription in what we may term the 'Celtic' sphere – Germany (over 30), Gaul (25) or Spain (10)'.[333] In this situation the presence of Celtic names on Roman sites in northern England need not demonstrate a tolerant adoption of local names by invading soldiers but the use of names, pre-

[329] Mattingly, D. (2006) p.43
[330] James, S. (2001b) p.80
[331] Mattingly, D. (2006) p.199
[332] James, S. (2006) p.79, Mattingly, D. (2006) p.168
[333] Mattingly, D. (2006) p.168

existing or otherwise, that could be understood by both the military and the native populations. The inclusion of the latter may, however, have been more of a by product than a plan and Mattingly emphasises the deliberate attempt by the Roman army to stress its distance from the native population of Britain.[334] If the latter scenario is the case then it is possible that change did take place following the invasion and that new names in the Celtic language may have been created by the incoming military forces. Such changes would be invisible to modern study because there was no change of language and no literary tradition prior to the Roman occupation. Instead, as a result of the retention of the Celtic language familiar to the military personnel, they may be mistaken for continuity and possible evidence for a policy of tolerance.

In addition James notes that 'non-combatants were intimately integrated into the life of soldiers and regiments, in a variety of capacities'.[335] Alongside unofficial families (a ban on marriage among soldiers is thought to date to the reign of Augustus), and contact with local traders and entrepreneurs in *vici* soldiers and regiments could employ male and female local inhabitants as servants in a variety of forms.[336] Such contact between often Celtic speaking soldiers and local Celtic speaking people would have helped to create a link between communities and could well have encouraged the adoption of Celtic names that would have been understood by both soldiers and local inhabitants. Again this would represent a degree of change with the creation of new place-names in the

[334] Mattingly, D. (2006) p.199
[335] James, S. (2001b) p.80
[336] James, S. (2001b) p.80

Celtic language but it is invisible to modern study and may appear more as continuity.

Whatever the origin of the Celtic place-names of Britain in the Roman period, the lack of Latin place-names is an indication that a linguistic change was not forced upon the population. Indeed given the fact that the majority of place-names surviving into the modern period have roots in Old-English it would appear that linguistic change did not take place until the Anglo-Saxon invasions of the fifth century and beyond.[337]

[337] Mills, A. D. (2003) p.xvi see also Thurlow, W. *Yorkshire Place-Names*. Dalesman Books, North Yorkshire. 1979. p.12

PART 2: THE EVIDENCE FOR POSSIBLE TRIBES OF NORTHERN ENGLAND

The authors and texts referred to here are Tacitus (*Annals* and *Histories*), Juvenal (*Satires* 14), Seneca (*Apocolocyntosis*), Ptolemy (*Geography*), Pausanias (*Tour of Greece*) and the Ravenna Cosmography and Antonine Itinerary.

BRIGANTES

'The Brigantes, and who they were, present one of the perennial problems of Roman Britain. However specific the term may have been in scope, it is clear several Roman writers used the name generically to cover the natives of North Britain'.[338]

This assertion provides a starting point for an investigation of the literary and epigraphic evidence for the Brigantes. The Brigantes are almost the only tribe to be mentioned by Roman authors. Some of the references are clearly specific whilst others are of a far more general nature and may be considered to represent all the barbarian peoples of northern Britain.[339] The two examples of the latter are found in Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis* and Juvenal's *Satires*:

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[338] Higham, N. and Jones, B. *Peoples of Roman Britain: the Carvetii*. Sutton, Gloucester. 1985. p.9

[339] Rivet and Smith argue convincingly for a translation of the name as 'upland people'. Rivet A. L. F. and Smith, C. (1979) p.278

He [Claudius] commanded the Britons, beyond the shores of the sea we know, and the Brigantes with indigo shields, to submit their necks to Romulus' chains, and Ocean himself to tremble at the new enforcements of the Roman axe.[340]

Ille Britannos ultra noti
litora ponti
et caeruleos scuta Brigantas
dare Romuleis colla catenis
iussit et ipsum nova Romanae
iura secures tremere Oceanum.

Seneca, *Apocolocyntosis* 12.3 lines 13-16

Tear down the huts of the Moors and the forts of the Brigantes

dirue Maurorum attegias, castella Brigantum,

Juvenal, *Satires* 14 line 196[341]

The Claudian invasion of Britain succeeded in gaining Roman control over the southern tribes but those of the north were not subdued until at least the campaigns of Petilius Cerialis in AD 71-74. Dio tells us that Claudius left

[340] Eden, P. T. (1984) p.54-55
[341] Braund, S. (2004) p.473

Plautius with instructions to subjugate the rest of Britain and Seneca's reference in the *Apocolocyntosis* would appear to ascribe the name Brigantes to all the tribes left unconquered when Claudius returned to Rome.[342] It seems very unlikely that Seneca could be putting across an accurate point. This part of the *Apocolocyntosis* is supposedly a funeral dirge, in the traditional verse format: it is exaggerated to the point of parody. Seneca was writing as if Claudius had conquered the whole of Britain and indeed the Ocean as well.[343] Seneca appears to have picked a name to mention almost at random, possibly because of the similarity between the name Brigantes and that of Britain, whether or not that tribe had actually been subdued. The Brigantes are thus used as general reference to the whole of Britain.

Juvenal was alive at the same time, or slightly after, the invasion and subsequent campaigns in Britain and he may therefore have had some degree of current knowledge even though he was never close to current political affairs. Although this is the case, the writing of Juvenal is so generalised and exaggerated that it cannot be taken as an accurate source. When Juvenal alludes to tearing down 'the forts of the Brigantes' he is clearly referring to the Britons as a whole. Whilst many southern hillforts were destroyed by the invading Roman army there is little evidence for their existence in the territory of the Brigantes, let alone their destruction. This supports the notion that Juvenal does not refer to

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[342] Cassius Dio *Histories* 60.21 Cary, E. *Dio's Roman History* Volume 7. Heinemann, London. 1924

[343] Braund discusses the significance of conquering boundaries such as rivers and oceans, where man-eating beasts were thought to dwell, in Roman literature. He comments that, 'from a Roman perspective, Britain lay both in Ocean and beyond Ocean, so that the conquest of Britain was also the conquest of Ocean itself' and that ; 'In so far as Britain lay *beyond* Ocean, its conquest fulfilled the abandoned ambition famously accorded to Alexander of crossing Ocean into another world, breaking the boundaries of nature as known to mankind'. Braund, D. 'The Conquest of Ocean' in *Ruling Roman Britain: Kings, queens, governors and emperors from Julius Caesar to Augustus.* Routledge, London. 1996. pp.12 and 21

one tribe but is using the term Brigantes as a generic reference to Britain. Juvenal's writing style is also relevant to this point. He was not only a satirist, and therefore not deliberately setting out to speak the accurate truth, but was also writing to encourage sons to follow their fathers' expectations by joining the army and going out to conquer the edges of the world and extend the Roman Empire. Juvenal is thus using the name Brigantes as an entirely general reference to Britain which was not only on the edge of the empire but, lying across the Channel, actually beyond it.

The most precise literary evidence for the Brigantes tribe comes from the works of Tacitus. He clearly refers to events occurring in a specific tribe and his evidence can certainly be used to prove the existence of the Brigantes although it is not helpful regarding the size of their tribal territory. The evidence for this is discussed below. Allusions to the Brigantes by Tacitus are to be found in a number of passages in Tacitus' *Annals* and *Histories*:

> and they [the Roman army] had arrived not far from the sea which looks toward the island of Hibernia when disaffection springing up among the Brigantes brought the leader back, fixed as he was in his design not to engineer new achievements without consolidating the earlier.

> The Brigantes for their part – after the killing of a few of them who had begun to take up arms, and with pardon given to the rest – quietened down again; but neither fright nor clemency could

change the race of the Silures, who engaged in war and required to be suppressed by a legions' camp. So that this might come about more readily, the colony of Camulodunum with a substantial unit of veterans was settled in captured territory as a garrison against rebellion and to imbue the allies with a sense of duty toward the law.[344]

iamque ventum haud procul mari, quod Hiberniam insulam adspectat, cum ortae apud Brigantas discordiae retraxere ducem, destinationis certum, ne nova moliretur nisi prioribus firmatis. et Brigantes quidem, paucis qui arma coeptabant interfectis, in reliquos data venia, resedere: Silurum gens non atrocitate, non clementia mutabatur, quin bellum exerceret castrisque legionum premenda foret. id quo promptius veniret, colonia Camulodunum valida veteranorum manu deducitur in agros captivos, subsidium adversus rebelles et imbuendis sociis ad officia legum.[345]

Tacitus, *Annals* 12.32

The man himself [Caratacus] had sought sanctuary with Cartimandua, queen of the Brigantes, but (adversity is generally

[344] Woodman, A. J. (2004) p.211
[345] Unless otherwise stated all Latin text is drawn from the Latin Library: Carey, W. L. (ed.) *The Latin Library*. [online] http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/index.html [Accessed June 2007]

unsafe) he was chained and handed over to the conquerors – in the ninth year after war in Britain began [AD 51][346]

Ipse, ut ferme intuta sunt adversa, cum fidem Cartimanduae reginae Brigantum petivisset, vinctus ac victoribus traditus est, nono post anno quam bellum in Britannia coeptum.

Tacitus, *Annals* 12.36

But Caesar, hearing of the legate's death, substituted A. Didius so that the province should not be without a governor. Though travelling there quickly, the latter nevertheless did not find affairs in a healthy state, an adverse fight having been suffered in the meantime by the legion of which Manlius Valens was in charge.....It was the Silures who had inflicted these losses too, and they were scouring far and wide until beaten back by an onrush from Didius; but after the capture of Caratacus the principal in knowledge of military affairs was Venutius (from the community of the Brigantes, as I recalled above), loyal for a long time and defended by Roman arms all the while his marriage to queen Cartimandua held; but, on the occurrence of their divorce and of immediate warfare, he had assumed hostilities even against us too. Yet at first the struggle was only among themselves, as

[346] Woodman, A. J. (2004) p.228

Cartimandua with her astute calculations cut off Venutius' brother and kinsmen. Inflamed by this, and goaded by the ignominious thought of submitting to her female command, the enemy – effective young men chosen for their armed fighting – invaded her kingdom. This had been foreseen by us, and the cohorts dispatched to help her made it a fierce battle, whose conclusion was more welcome than its equivocal beginning.[347]

at Caesar cognita morte legati, ne provincia sine rectore foret, A. Didium suffecit. is propere vectus non tamen integras res invenit, adversa interim legionis pugna, cui Manlius Valens praeerat; auctaque et apud hostis eius rei fama, quo venientem ducem exterrerent, atque illo augente audita, ut maior laus compositi vel, si duravissent, iustior venia tribueretur. Silures id quoque damnum intulerant lateque persultabant, donec adcursu Didii pellerentur. sed post captum Caratacum praecipuus scientia rei militaris Venutius, e Brigantum civitate, ut supra memoravi, fidusque diu et Romanis armis defensus, cum Cartimanduam reginam matrimonio teneret; mox orto discidio et statim bello, etiam adversus nos hostilia induerat. sed primo tantum inter ipsos certabatur, callidisque Cartimandua artibus fratrem ac propinquos Venutii intercepit. inde accensi hostes, stimulante ignominia, ne feminae imperio subderentur, valida et lecta armis iuventus regnum eius

[347] Woodman, A. J. (2004) p.230

invadunt. quod nobis praevisum, et missae auxilio cohortes acre proelium fecere, cuius initio ambiguo finis laetior fuit.

Tacitus, *Annals* 12.40

This quarrel between the legions, and the constant rumours of civil war, encouraged the Britons to take heart. Their chief instigator was one Venutius. He was of ferocious disposition and hated the name of Rome, but his strongest motive was a private quarrel with Queen Cartimandua, a member of a powerful family, who ruled the Brigantes. Her authority had lately increased, since she had betrayed King Caratacus into the hands of the Romans, and was thus considered to have provided the Emperor Claudius with his triumph. Thus she had grown rich, and with prosperity came dissipation. She threw over Venutius, who was her husband, and gave her hand and kingdom to his squire Vellocatus. This scandal soon proved the ruin of her house. The husband was backed by popular zeal: the lover by the queen's brutal lusts. Venutius therefore summoned assistance and, aided by the simultaneous revolt of the Brigantes, brought Cartimandua into dire straits. She petitioned for troops from Rome. Our auxiliaries, both horse and foot, then fought several engagements with varying success, but eventually rescued the queen. The kingdom was left in Venutius' hands – and the war in ours.[348]

[348] Levene, D. S. (1997) p.143

Ea discordia et crebris belli civilis rumoribus Britanni sustulere animos auctore Venutio, qui super insitam ferociam et Romani nominis odium propriis in Cartimanduam reginam stimulis accendebatur. Cartimandua Brigantibus imperitabat, pollens nobilitate; et auxerat potentiam, postquam capto per dolum rege Carataco instruxisse triumphum Claudii Caesaris videbatur. inde opes et rerum secundarum luxus: spreto Venutio (is fuit maritus) armigerum eius Vellocatum in matrimonium regnumque accepit. concussa statim flagitio domus: pro marito studia civitatis, pro adultero libido reginae et saevitia. igitur Venutius accitis auxiliis, simul ipsorum Brigantum defectione in extremum discrimen Cartimanduam adduxit. tum petita a Romanis praesidia. et cohortes alaeque nostrae variis proeliis, exemere tamen periculo reginam; regnum Venutio, bellum nobis relictum.

Tacitus, *Histories* 3.45

As can be seen from the quotations above, Tacitus describes the events surrounding the uprising against Cartimandua in two of his works. There are a number of comments to be made about each individual passage but first of all it is necessary to attempt to resolve the apparent dating inconsistency between the two. Since the date of the passages gives a context to the only well described event in the history of native northern Britain it is of great importance to try and ascertain which of the two is more likely to be correct. There is no other textual or epigraphic evidence for the events described by Tacitus or indeed for the

existence of Cartimandua and Venutius so the two passages must be compared, along with any dating evidence they contain, in order to ascertain which is more likely to be in the correct historical context.

In 12.41 Tacitus states that after Aulus Didus became governor Claudius became consul for the fifth time alongside Servius Cornelius Orfitus (Ti. Claudio quintum Servio Cornelio Orfito consulibus).[349] Claudius held his fifth consulship in AD 51 therefore the Tacitean passage suggests that Didius would have been appointed governor prior to this in AD 50. However if Tacitus is taken literally a serious dating problem arises. In *Annals* 12.40 Tactitus reports that Didius was appointed governor after the death of Ostorius Scapula. Scapula controlled the province between AD 47 and his death in AD 52 therefore Didius cannot have arrived in the province until AD 52, two years after Tacitus indicates that he took over. [350] No obvious solution to this discrepancy can be offered but it highlights the problem with the dating of the troubles between Cartimandua and Venutius as described in the *Annals*.

In the *Histories*, Tacitus describes the same events in largely similar terms. However he gives a completely different dating context for them. The first line of 3.45 quoted above mentions 'this quarrel between the legions, and the constant rumours of civil war'. Immediately prior to and following the extract quoted above Tacitus is describing the events of the so called 'Year of the four Emperors' which occurred in mid AD 69. The passage from the *Histories* does

[349] Woodman, A. J. (2004) p.228
[350] For further information on Aulus Didius Gallus including tables showing the governors of Britain and their years of office see Birley, A. R. *The Fasti of Roman Britain*. Clarendon Press, Oxford. 1981. p.389, 391

not contain the same type of dating contradictions as that in the *Annals* and the whole scene is placed in much firmer context. The events taking place in the rest of the Empire; the rebellion in Germany and the capture of Valens, one of Vitellius' leading officers,[351] are securely dated to AD 69. Indeed it is possible to give an even closer estimation of the dating. Tacitus places the revolt of the Brigantes after the capture of Valens and in conjunction with rumours of further civil war but before the second battle of Cremona. This places it between May and the 24th October AD 69.

Given the lack of clear evidence to support the date of AD 52 suggested by the *Annals* passage and the far stronger, and less problematic, evidence to support the *Histories* date of AD 69, I would suggest that the troubles between queen Cartimandua and Venutius described in both passages should be dated to AD 69. Tacitus' apparent mistake in the *Annals* can be explained by consideration of *Annals* 12.32 (quoted above). Tacitus describes the situation in Britain as inherited by Ostorius Scapula, the predecessor to Didius: a revolt by the Brigantes that took place during his governorship and was quelled relatively easily.[352] This uprising took place in AD 50, the year before Claudius held the consulship for the fifth time and the same actual date given for events of *Annals* 12.40 although there remains the discrepancy in the dating of the governorship of Aulus Didius. It seems not impossible that Tacitus, when writing about the

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[351] For more information on the year of the four emperors see Wellesley, K. *The Year of the Four Emperors*. Routledge, London. 2000. Vitellius succeeded Otho as Emperor in AD 69 and one of his leading generals was the naval commander Valens. By mid 69 the supremacy of Vitellius was waning and Vespasian was emerging as the probable new Roman emperor. Valens set out to raise a rebellion amongst the tribes of Gaul and Germany but Tacitus reports that due to bad weather he was thrown off course and was captured. All of this took place after the first Battle of Cremona on April 14th AD 69 thus placing his capture in May of the same year. Tacitus describes these events fully in Histories 3.41-44.

[352] For the full text of the relevant section see Tacitus *Annals* 12.32 above.

Brigantian rebellion of AD 50, which was suppressed by Ostorius Scapula, may have inadvertently included the events of the Brigantian rebellion of AD 69, conflating two separate uprisings. Indeed Tacitus admits in *Annals* 12.40.5 that he has combined into one account the activities of the two governors:

> Though these were the achievements of two propraetors, Ostorius and Didius, over several years, I linked them together lest their division might not render them as effective as their recollection deserves.[353]
>
> haec, quamquam a duobus pro praetoribus pluris per annos gesta, coniunxi ne divisa haud perinde ad memoriam sui valerent
>
> Tacitus, *Annals* 12.40.5

Tacitus' deliberate manipulation of chronology in the interests of effectiveness thus means that the apparent sequence of events in *Annals* need not be taken too literally.

Having dealt with the dating problem affecting both the *Annals* and *Histories* passages there are several individual points of interest to be taken from each. In *Annals* 12.40 Tacitus refers to Venutius as under Roman protection 'all the while his marriage to queen Cartimandua held' whilst with a change of subject he goes on to describe 'young men' who 'invaded' her kingdom. Venutius is not

[353] Woodman, A. J. (2004) p.231

directly referred to as an enemy but the inference is certainly that he incited the actions of these 'young men' and was therefore directly involved in their invasion. The term *hostes* should be taken in relation to Rome and thus indicates that these young men and, by association, Venutius, were enemies not only of Cartimandua but also of Rome. Given the apparent good diplomatic relations between the Brigantes and Rome this suggests that either the tribe was divided into two differing factions, with Venutius belonging to the anti-Roman side despite his close ties to Cartimandua, or that at least one other tribe or sub-tribe was present in northern England who were not on the friendly terms with Rome. On the basis that the Brigantes were thought to have ruled all of northern Britain it has been assumed that Venutius was Brigantian but these comments bring the matter into some doubt. It is unfortunate that this earlier discussion of Venutius' background is no longer extant to elucidate the precise sense in which he was 'from the community of the Brigantes'. I suggest that his membership of that community might have come about through marriage, as indicated by the reference to a divorce, rather than being membership by birth. It seems at least possible, on the basis of this passage, that Venutius could have been the leader of a second northern tribe, perhaps one which recognised some form of Brigantian overlordship, and that he made a marriage alliance with Queen Cartimandua to gain the benefits of Roman protection but was perhaps looking for equal rule in order to have control over both tribes.[354] A divorce seems to have occurred for an unknown reason, perhaps because Venutius had planned on sharing power rather than being subject to Cartimandua. After turning against her and thus against Roman protection, it is plausible to suggest that he could

[354] Shotter believes that Venutius was the leader of the Carvetii, a tribe that appear to have been based in the North-west: Shotter, D. (2004) p.16-17. The literary and epigraphic evidence for this tribe is discussed later in this chapter.

have been directly involved with the actions of the young men referred to as 'the enemy' by Tacitus.

It is possible that Venutius could have led a rebellion within the friendly kingdom of the Brigantes in which case he and his compatriots would certainly have been regarded as enemies of Rome, but there is little evidence either way and the inference from Tacitus is that Venutius was actively involved in an invasion of Brigantian territory. If the Brigantes held all of the north as one tribal area then this comment makes little sense. It does, however, fit if Venutius was not Brigantian but, as suggested above, the leader of another allied but at least semi-autonomous group. If this was the case then it would make sense for Venutius to be involved in an attack on the kingdom of the Brigantian Queen in response to her treatment of his brother and other members of his family: quite what she did is unclear given the ambiguity of *intercepit*. The fact that Venutius does not appear to have been taken with the idea of being subject to Queen Cartimandua could perhaps support the earlier suggestion that a divorce occurred because he did not receive the equal status he had hoped for in their marriage.

There is further potential evidence for the particular status of the Brigantes in Tacitus' use of the term '*civitas*' in two of his references to the tribe (*Annals* 12.40 and *Agricola* 17). '*Civitas*' implies political or at least diplomatic recognition of the status of the Brigantian population as a community and state by the Roman authorities. Tacitus does not use the term to describe the other tribes mentioned in context with the sections discussed here and this indicates

that he considered the Brigantes to have a special status. If Venutius was married into the tribe, as the text implies, then the specific use of '*civitas*' to describe the Brigantes would suggest that his own people did not hold the same status and did not view Rome in the same light. This would certainly indicate the presence of a different tribal grouping and one perhaps entirely separate from the Brigantes although some sort of political link, unrecognised by Rome, remains possible.

Tacitus suggests that after Cartimandua had been extracted from her predicament by the Roman authorities Venutius 'got the kingdom' and no moves were made against him until the arrival of Petilius Cerialis in AD 71.[355] In the interim, during the governorship of Vettius Bolanus, he indicates that, due to the inability of the Roman governor, no action was taken against Venutius. Shotter questions the credibility of this scenario and points out that although Tacitus has little praise for Bolanus, his actions, including those against Venutius, must have been sufficient to please Rome since he remained in office until AD 71.[356]

Assuming that the disagreement between Cartimandua and Venutius can be dated to AD 69 as suggested above, a relevant historical note can be made.[357] Felling dates obtained from dendrochronology tests indicate that building was taking place in Carlisle from about AD 72.[358] This is reasonably close to the

[355] Tacitus *Agricola* 17
[356] Shotter, D. (2004) p.22-24 and 28
[357] A fuller discussion on the archaeological evidence from Carlisle and North-west Britain as whole with reference to any evidence it may give on the presence of tribal peoples will be given in a later chapter. For initial information see Shotter, D. (2004) Chapter 3.
[358] Shotter, D. (2004) p.35

time suggested for Venutius' action against Cartimandua. It is therefore possible that the Roman movement into the north, which appears to have concentrated on the western side of the Pennines in its earliest stages, may have chosen this route in order to take some sort of action against the tribe or tribal leader responsible for the removal of one of their client monarchs. Bearing in mind the evidence for a Roman presence in Carlisle by AD 72 and the possibility that this indicates a deliberate choice to subdue the north-west of the country before the east, it seems possible that this relates to Bolanus' action against Venutius. Although the earliest current evidence for actual building indicates that this took place shortly after Bolanus had departed, much of the prior action required to subdue this area is likely to have occurred during his period of office. If it was thought that the majority of the people on the eastern side of the country could be trusted then it would make sense for the Roman authorities to advance up the western side of the Pennines first. The Roman presence in Carlisle in the early 70s supports the view that they initially moved in this direction. An intention to gain control over the homeland of the perpetrator of the AD 69 rebellion would be a logical explanation for such action. *Agricola* 17 suggests that Cerialis continued to annexe the community of the Brigantes and it could be that it was at this time that the remaining tribal territory was brought under Roman control.[359]

> But when together with the rest of the world, Vespasian recovered Britain as well, there came great generals and outstanding armies and the enemies' hopes dwindled. Petilius Cerialis at once struck

[359] Vettius Bolanus left Britain in AD 70 therefore Cerialis would have taken up his governorship in AD 71. Birley, A. R. (1981) p.378 for further information on the career of Cerialis see also Birley, A. R. 'Petillius Cerialis and the conquest of Brigantia', *Britannia* 4 (1973) pp. 179-190

> them with terror by attacking the state of the Brigantes, which is said to be the most populous in the whole province. There were many battles, some not without bloodshed; and he embraced a great part of the Brigantes within the range either of victory or of war.[360]
>
> Sed ubi cum cetero orbe Vespasianus et Britanniam recuperavit, magni duces, egregii exercitus, minuta hostium spes. Et terrorem statim intulit Petilius Cerialis, Brigantum civitatem, quae numerosissima provinciae totius perhibetur, adgressus. Multa proelia, et al.iquando non incruenta; magnamque Brigantum partem aut victoria amplexus est aut bello.

Tacitus, *Agricola* 17

It is clear that the land to the east of the Pennines was more densely populated than that to the west so this could explain the reference to a number of battles. Once the dust had settled following the chaos of AD 68-69, Rome would have had more troops to spare and more time to think about Britain, so this would have been a sensible time for campaigning in the eastern and north east.

Tacitus attests that Petilius Cerialis became governor of Britain in AD 71. The date is only indicated by Tacitus but Cerialis' position as governor of Britain is also mentioned by Josephus.[361] The implications of Cerialis' actions against the Brigantes along with the possibility of earlier actions on the part of his

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[360] Birley, A. R. (1999) p.14

[361] Josephus 7.82. Radice, B. *Josephus: The Jewish War*. Penguin Books. 1970 (rev. ed.) p.368

predecessor have been discussed above. It is of note that events in this passage follow on from those described in the *Annals* and *Histories*, and are dated to AD 71 with the governorship of Petilius Cerialis. This further supports the suggestion that the *Histories* has the correct dating for the war between Cartimandua and Venutius, and that Tacitus is mistaken when he attributes it to AD 52 in the *Annals*.

In *Histories* 3.45 Tacitus comments that Venutius summoned help from outside and that at the same time there was a revolt amongst 'the Brigantes themselves'. It would appear that the Brigantian people were encouraged to revolt by the appearance of support from elsewhere, but the emphasis on external aid bringing about a rebellion among the Brigantes 'themselves' also gives the implication that the Brigantes were not the only people Venutius could call upon for aid; therefore they were not the only tribe in northern England. This does not mean they were not in some way dominant over other peoples of the north and did not hold some form of overlordship over them, but it does suggest that there were other people, in a different tribe, on whom Venutius could call for support for his cause.

The passages are not clear on any of the matters discussed above and there is no proof of Venutius' status. He could have been a member of the Brigantes tribe, the leader of another tribe that acknowledged their overlordship but retained independence, or the leader of an entirely independent and potentially rival tribe. The second option may be the most likely of the three as it allows for Tacitus' references to enemies and kingdoms but also for a marriage alliance which

would seem less likely to have occurred between two totally independent groups. The archaeological evidence for a Roman presence in Carlisle in AD 72 also gives no reason to doubt this suggestion as it can be explained by reference to Venutius and his actions in AD 69. However more evidence for some form of link between the two areas must be obtained before assuming that Venutius' group were subject to Brigantian rule in any way. It must also be borne in mind that Tacitus may not have understood the true nature of groups and identities and their relationships in northern England. He may therefore have described events in terms which fitted his understanding but not reality. As a result it may not be possible to draw any accurate information on social organisation, the presence of tribes, or boundaries in northern England from the works of Tacitus alone and his writing must be regarded with caution.

Tribal territory

The only detailed ancient textual evidence of Brigantian tribal territory comes from the second century Greek writer Ptolemy in his *Geography* (2.3.16-18):

> §16. Again, below the Segones and the Otedini[362] is the territory of the Brigantes extending to each sea; and their towns are:

Epiacum	18° 30' 58° 30'
Vinovium	17° 30' 58° 0'

[362] Conventionally referred to as the Selgovae and Votadini

Cataractonium	20° 0' 58° 0'
Calatum	19° 0' 57° 45'
Isurium	20° 0' 57° 40'
Rigudunum	18° 0' 57° 30'
Olicana	19° 0' 57° 30'
Eboracum	20° 0' 57° 15'

§17. Legion Six Victrix

Camulodunum	18° 45' 57° 0'

The territory near to Good Harbour is related to the Parisi whose town is;

Petuaria	20° 40' 56° 40'

§18. Below these dwell the Brigantes while further to the west is the territory of Ordovices[363]

§16. Πάλιν δ' ὑπὸ μὲν τοὺς Σελγοούας καὶ τοὺς Ὠταδήνοὺς διήκοντες ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τὰ πελάγη Βρίγαντες, ἐν οἷς πόλεις,

[363] Ptolemy *Geography* Book 2.3.16-18. Louis Francis. *Ptolemy's Geographia: Books 1 and 2.* 1994 [online] http://www.reshistoriaeantiqua.co.uk/Ptolemy%20B.html [Accessed 15th May 2006]. Also new edition of Ptolemy: Ptolemy von Stückelberger, A. und Graßhoff, G. unter Mitarbeit von Mittenhuber, F. [et al..]. *Handbuch der Geographie: griechisch-deutsch / herausgegeben* Schwabe, Basel. 2006 (*non vidi*)

Ἐπείακον	ιη νη
Οὐιννοούιον	ιζ γ νη
Κατουρακτόνιον	κ νη
Κάλατον	ιθ νζ δ
Ἰσούριον	κ νζ γο'
Ῥιγόδουνον	ιη νζ
Ὀλίκανα	ιθ νζ
Ἐβόρακον	κ νζ γ'

§17. Λεγίων ς νικηφόρος

Καμουλόδουνον	ιη δ νζ

Πρὸς οἷς πὲρἳ τὸν Εὐλίμενον κόλπον Πάρισοι καὶ πόλις

Πετουαρία	κ γο' νς γο'

§18. Ὑπὸ δὲ τούτους καὶ τοὺς Βρίγαντας οἰκοῦσι

δυσμικώτατοι μὲν Ὀρδοούικες

Ptolemy, *Geography* 2.16-18[364]

Ptolemy's reference to the land of the Brigantes stretching from sea to sea creates an image of one huge tribal kingdom, stretching from the Humber to somewhere beyond the area now defined by Hadrian's Wall and from the east to the west coasts. More recently historians have attempted to qualify this assumption with the suggestion that the Brigantes held some form of overlordship over a number of other smaller tribes which may have existed in

[364] Ptolemy *Geographia I-III.* Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, Hildesheim. 1844 rep. 1966. p.71-2

the region.[365] The dangers with Ptolemy's work have been discussed in the earlier section of this chapter but we should remember that he was working from second and third hand knowledge and the accuracy of his statements has already been proved wrong in some cases. Certainly he describes the Brigantes as dwelling below (*hupo*) the Parisi which is highly unlikely to be correct and indicates that Ptolemy was using inaccurate information, probably taken from the work of Marinos, which he did not or could not verify. The presence of this error suggests that there are likely to be other inaccuracies in the *Geography* which cannot now be identified due to a lack of secure evidence linking sites to names given by Ptolemy. It is also clear that he did not distinguish between the type of settlement named: we do not know whether the places named were Roman or native and whether they were built and instituted by a Roman presence or had any further antiquity. All of these problems make it very difficult to use with any confidence the information that Ptolemy provides on the Brigantes and in particular the extent of their tribal territory.

Ptolemy mentions known Roman military sites such as York (Eboracum), Catterick (Cataractonium), Binchester (Vinovia) and Ilkley (Olicana) and the presumed military centre at Aldborough (Isurium).[366] Rigodunum is often equated with the Iron Age hillfort on Ingleborough but could also have been the Roman fort on Castleshaw, whilst Camulodunum is generally thought to be the native name for Almondbury hillfort which was then transferred to the auxiliary

[365] Eg. Hartley, B. and Fitts, L. (1988) p.1, also Jones, B. and Mattingly, D. (1990) p.44
[366] The Antonine Itinerary mentions Aldborough as ISURIUM in Route I and ISUBRIGANTIUM in Route V, implying that Aldborough was the capital of Brigantia during the Roman period. For information on these place-names see Rivet, A. L. F. and Smith, C. *The Place-Names of Roman Britain.* Batsford, London. (1979). See also note 326 above.

fort at Slack in the Roman period.[367] The other two places mentioned by Ptolemy are unknown; Epiacum is conjectured to be Whitley Castle in Northumberland and Calacum could possibly be Burrow in Lonsdale but there is no evidence for either of these claims.[368] Ptolemy's evidence for sites in the territory of the Brigantes highlights two of the problems when dealing with his evidence for the tribe. The uncertain identity of a number of the sites illustrates the difficulty in discovering any clear evidence for the extent of their territory; whilst the number of Roman military sites mentioned highlight how few native sites Ptolemy was aware of or cared about and his lack of a specific method for noting sites of any particular type or size.

The modern historical explanation for the apparently vast territory of the Brigantes is that they 'were a confederation of smaller tribes which had been welded into a larger unit during the later stages of the pre-Roman Iron Age'.[369] The name Brigantes, comes from the ancient Celtic adjective 'brig' meaning 'high'. Rivet and Smith discuss the possibility of this representing some form of lordly status but given the number of places with names based on this root it seems unlikely all of them could have been in a position of dominance. Thus they prefer to see the name representing 'upland people'.[370] The Celtic noun 'Briga' means 'hill' and therefore there is good reason to accept this theory.[371] Hartley and Fitts presume it applied to one tribe who later became dominant over a number of others.[372] They also postulate a possible relationship to the people who settled in the area of Bregenz in Western Austria and, perhaps more

[367] Rivet, A. L. F. and Smith, C. (1979) p.448 (Rigodunum), p.295 (Camulodunum)
[368] Rivet, A. L. F. and Smith, C. (1979) p.360 (Epiacum), p.288 (Calacum)
[369] Hartley, B. and Fitts, L. (1988) p.1
[370] Rivet, A. L. F. and Smith, C. (1979) p.279
[371] Rivet, A. L. F. and Smith, C. (1979) p.278
[372] Hartley, B. and Fitts, L. (1988) p.1

realistically, plausible links with a tribe of the same name in Ireland.[373] Other tribal names which may apply to northern Britain are the Carvetii, Setantii, Gabrantovices, Tectoverdi, Lopocares, Corionototae and Latenses. The Brigantes may have been formed from a collection of any or all of these possible tribal peoples.[374]

Tacitus may give some evidence to support this view in his *Agricola*:

> As a result, many states (*civitates*) which up to that moment had operated on equal terms abandoned violence and gave hostages. They were also surrounded by garrisons and forts with such skill and thoroughness that no new part of Britain ever came over with so little damage.[375]
>
> Quibus rebus multae civitates, quae in illum diem ex aequo egerant, datis obsidibus iram posuere et praesidiis castellisque circumdatae, et tanta ratione curaque, ut nulla ante Britanniae nova pars [pariter] inlacessita transierit.

Tacitus, *Agricola* 20

This fragment is drawn from Tacitus' descriptions of Agricola's activities in the north. Shotter and others cast doubt on just how much Agricola achieved and

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[373] Hartley, B. and Fitts, L. (1988) p.1 and for the reference to the Irish Brigantes see Ptolemy *Geography* Book 2.2.7. Ptolemy is the only ancient source to mention Irish Brigantes but Rivet and Smith note the derivation of the Irish name place-name Brighid from the 'Brig' root.
[374] Hartley, B. and Fitts, L. (1988) p.1 and Shotter, D. (2004) p.4 (map). Note: it is commonly thought that the Parisii were a separate and independent tribal people.
[375] Birley, A. R. (1999) p.16

discuss the possibility that much of the progress in the north should be attributed to his predecessors and successors[376] but no matter who the passage should refer to it does suggest that there were a number of separate sections of northern Britain which were independent until the arrival of Roman authorities in the north. From the varied geography of the north Hartley and Fitts believe it is more than possible a number of tribes existed here at least until the late pre-Roman Iron Age.[377]

There is one further, much debated reference to the Brigantes and their territory to be found in Pausanias' *Tour of Greece*:

> Antoninus...never willingly involved the Romans in war...he also removed much of the territory of the Brigantes in Britain because they had embarked upon an armed invasion of Genounia, which was subject to the Romans.[378]

> ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος....πόλεμον μὲν Ῥωμαίοις ἑθελοντὴς ἐπηγάγετο οὐδένα.... ἀπετέμετο δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν Βριττανίᾳ Βριγάντων τὴν πολλήν, ὅτι ἐπεσβαίνειν καὶ οὗτοι σὺν ὅπλοις ἦρξαν ἐς τὴν Γε-νουνίαν μοῖραν, ὑπηκόους Ῥωμαίων.

Pausanias, *Tour of Greece* 8. Arcadia 43 3-4

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[376] Shotter, D. (2004) pp.26-51
[377] Hartley, B. and Fitts, L. (1988) p.2-3
[378] Ireland, S. (1996) p.94

This passing reference to the Brigantes by a mid second century Greek author writing what was essentially a tourist guide to Greece has been the subject of much discussion. Pausanias liked to break off into historical asides[379] but there is confusion over the chronology of this reference and the identification of Genounia. There is no clear cut answer to the debate but one suggestion given by Salway and repeated by Ireland notes fresh issues of a type of bronze sestertius mentioning Britain and dated to AD 154/5. The issue of this celebratory coinage suggests renewed trouble and further Roman victories in northern Britain and Ireland.[380] Thus Pausanias could be referring to this event in his *Tour of Greece*. Certainly the unrest was enough to require reinforcements from Germany. It is also quite possible that he confused information on an uprising by the Brigantii of Raetia against their neighbours the Genauni with news of some action in Britain.[381] Whether Pausanias was referring to an otherwise unrecorded area or his information was simply wrong we do not know.[382] Among so few literary references to the tribal name and territory this possibility must be mentioned but it is also worth bearing in mind that as with Juvenal and Seneca there is no evidence to suggest that, even if Pausanias is referring to Britain, he is not writing of northern Britain in general rather than to one tribe in particular. Although their *civitas* capitals would have survived it seems scarcely likely that the Brigantes could still have existed as a recognised

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[379] Jones, W. S. (1918) p.xiv
[380] Salway, P. *Roman Britain*. Clarendon Press, Oxford. 1982. p.199, Ireland, S. (1996) p.93
[381] Hind makes a good case for this in; Hind, J. G. F. 'The Genounian part of Britain', *Britannia* 8. (1977). pp.229-234 but Rivet, A. L. F. and Smith, C. (1979) p.47 note two problems- that Pausanias specifically places the events in Britain and that Pausanias was listing the wars that occurred in the reign of Antoninus Pius and could scarcely fail to mention the campaign of Lollius Urbicus. On the other hand they also point out that the text has almost certainly been tampered with and could well have been altered to mention Britain when the original described Raetia.
[382] Salway, P. (1982) p.199 n.1

tribal unit in the mid second century and thus if Genounia existed at all it can only be a generic term for territory outside of the land they once held.

One further possible indication of the tribal area of the Brigantes comes in the form of epigraphic evidence: dedications to the goddess Brigantia, who, by virtue of her name, is assumed to be one of the prime deities of the tribe. Dedications to the goddess come in two areas.[383] Those in the north are found at Castlesteads, Corbridge and South Shields.[384] A dedication from Birrens in Dumfriesshire is the only possible evidence for the presence of the Brigantes in the north-west of the country north of Hadrian's Wall; however it seems more likely that the Birrens dedication was made by a soldier introduced to the cult whilst in York.[385] The second group of dedications are clustered around Leeds and the Upper Calder valley and are the only evidence for the presence of the Brigantes in this area.[386] The problem with all these dedications is that they come from military contexts and must have been made after the Roman occupation of the north. Thus they cannot be used as evidence for the presence

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[383]See map 3 p.119

[384] From Castlesteads (RIB 2066 p.634): The vow to the goddess-nymph Brigantia which he made for the welfare and safety of Our Lord the unconquered Emperor Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus (Caracalla) and his whole Divine House, Marcus Cocceius Nigrinus, Procurator of our Emperor and most devoted to his divine power and majesty, has gladly, willingly and deservedly fulfilled (Ireland, S. 1996 p.192). From Corbridge (RIB 1131 p.373): IOVI ΛETERNO DOLICHENO • ET CΛELESTI BRIGΛNTIΛE ET SΛLVTI • G IVLIVS ΛPOLINΛRIS > LEG VI IVSS DEI. From South Shields (RIB 1053): Sacred to the goddess Brigantia. Congenniccus willingly and deservedly fulfilled his vow (Ireland (1996) p.192).

[385] From Birrens (RIB 2091 p.640): BRIGANTIÆ S AMANDVS ARCITECTVS EX IMPERIO IMP. Collingwood, R. G. and Wright, R. P. *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain: Volume 1 Inscriptions on Stone*. Clarendon Press, Oxford. 1965-83. The soldier was probably introduced there to the cult of Brigantia set up by Severus after the division of Britain. It therefore cannot be used as evidence for the presence of the cult in this area prior to this time.

[386] From Adel, Yorkshire (RIB 630 p.211): DEΛE BRIGΛN D CINGETISSA P. From Greetland, West Yorkshire (RIB 627 p.210): front: D VICT BRIG ET NVM AVG T AVR AVRELIANVS D D PRO SE ET SVIS S MAG S right side: ANTONINO III ET GETA II COS. From Longwood near Slack (RIB 623 p.209): DEO BREGANTI ET N AVG T AVR QVINTVS D D P ET S S. From Castleford near Leeds (RIB 628 p.211): DEΛE VICTORIΛE BRIGΛNT A D ΛVR SENOPIΛNVS. Collingwood, R. G. and Wright, R. P. (1965-83)

Map 3: Inscriptions to the Goddess Brigantia

of any native late Iron Age tribes but rather as an indicator of the uptake of dedications to native deities amongst the Roman military.

The proposed tribal area of the Brigantes based on the most favourable reading of the evidence, much of which is entirely circumstantial or even hypothetical thus gives an eastern boundary bordering that of the Parisii, a southern boundary east of the Pennines formed, possibly, by the river Don west of the Pennines by a line from the river Mersey swinging south to skirt the Cheshire plain and aiming roughly for Little Chester. Here it would join the southern boundary on the Pennines themselves and, according to Hartley and Fitts, possibly even including the Derbyshire Peak District.[387] There are considerable doubts on the southern, western and north-western edges of the Brigantian tribal territory, and as has been shown above, the quality and extent of the available evidence places many limitations on its interpretative value. Hartley and Fitts give the largest possible extent of the tribal territory, including that of all the sub-tribes it could possibly have comprised.[388] In reality the evidence must be treated with extreme caution and all suggestions as to the size of the territory of the Brigantes must be qualified with a warning on the paucity of available and trustworthy evidence.

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[387] Hartley, B. and Fitts, L. (1988) p.6

[388] Note Higham, N. and Jones, B. (1985) and Shotter, D. (2004) argue strongly for the existence of at least the tribe of the Carvetii and this evidence must be taken into consideration when discussing the possible tribal extent of the Brigantes.

CARVETII

The evidence for the possible existence of the Carvetii, as with every other northern tribe apart from the Brigantes, is hard to find. Their existence is attested from the late Roman period by two pieces of epigraphic evidence. The first is a tombstone from Old Penrith:

> To the spirits of the departed (and) Flavius Martius, Senator in the *civitas* of the Carvetii, of Questorian rank, who lived for 45 years. Martiola, his daughter and heiress, had this set up.[389]
>
> D M FL MARTIO SEN IN C CARVETIOR QUESTIORIO VIXIT AN XXXXV MARTIOLA FILIA ET HERES PONEN.....CURAVIT.
>
> RIB 933[390]

This tombstone commemorates one Flavius Martius but the abbreviations inscribed on it are open to debate.[391] 'Sen' has been interpreted as 'Senator' if his office was civilian but in the fourth century the same word was used to describe a non-commissioned officer in a military context; yet again, it might simply stand for 'Senior' as a third element of the name. Similarly Ireland has interpreted the 'C' to stand for civitas whilst Higham and Jones translate it as

[389] Ireland, S. (1986) p.217. Collingwood and Wright translate *SEN IN C* as 'senator in the cohort (or senator in the community)' Collingwood, R. G. and Wright, R. P. (1965-83) p.310
[390] Collingwood, R. G. and Wright, R. P. (1965-83) p.310
[391] Collingwood, R. G. and Wright, R. P. (1965-83) p.310-11

cohort or canton.[392] Sadly there is no dating evidence for this inscription and therefore the question of whether its context is military or civilian and which translation is most likely to be correct remains open to debate. The fact that the monument was set up by his daughter and heiress might indicate a civilian context, although this need not be the case if Flavius Martius was a senior military officer in which case he could also have had family present. A milestone from Frenchfield, north of Brougham, is thought to settle the matter in favour of the latter. Higham and Jones state that the abbreviation RPC Car at the end of the inscription must be translated as *respublica civitatis Car(vetiorum)* confirming the existence of the Carvetii and their status as a *civitas* in the mid-third century.[393]

The two inscriptions quoted above give some evidence for the existence of the tribal name of the Carvetii. They are, however, only evidence of its existence in the third and fourth centuries AD and the name could be of entirely Roman origin or, at least, refer to an area created out of the newly composed northern territory. Shotter suggests that, 'what the Romans developed as the *civitas Carvetiorum* may, in the pre-Roman period, have constituted a semi-independent 'sub-group' of the Brigantes'.[394] Rivet and Smith believe that the Carvetii were probably part of the Brigantian confederation and were later identified as a separate *civitas*. Under Roman rule 'the Carvetii seem to have constituted a *civitas* in the third century, with its centre at Carlisle, and for some administrative purposes *Civitas Carvetiorum* may have been an alternative name

[392] Higham, N. and Jones, B. (1985) p.9
[393] Higham, N. and Jones, B. (1985) p.9 and Shotter, D. (2004) p.10 note 13.
[394] Shotter, D. (2004) p.5

to *Luguvalium*'.[395] They also suggest that the name itself may be derived from the British 'carvos' meaning 'deer or stag'.[396] There is a possibility that this could have some relationship to the cult of the horned god Belatucadrus discussed below.

Tribal territory

The territory that could have been held by the Carvetii is an area of great debate and less proof. They are generally assumed to have been based in north-west England in the Solway Plain, north of the Wall and in the Eden and possibly Lune Valleys. The area also contains a presumed pre-Roman tribal centre at Clifton Dykes,[397] the crossroads of four major natural routeways at Penrith,[398] and a concentration of dedications to the horned god Belatucadrus[399] who is thought to have been linked specifically to the north-west of Britain.[400]

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[395] Rivet, A. L. F. and Smith, C. (1979) p.301-2
[396] Rivet, A. L. F. and Smith, C. (1979) p.301
[397] Shotter, D. (2004) p.5 and 16-17. The possible evidence for a tribal heartland in the Eden Valley will be discussed in chapter 4.
[398] Higham, N. and Jones, B. (1985) p.9
[399] There may have been a Carvetiian deity with a similar name to this but it is important to note that Belatucadrus is a Romanised form of the word and thus find spots of dedications to a god of this name are only evidence of its existence after the Roman invasion. The significance of the dedications should not be dismissed but they are not evidence in themselves of a pre-Roman deity.
[400] Note: Shotter describes Belatucadrus as Brigantian horned deity which could suggest that the presence of such dedications is evidence of Brigantian power but Higham and Jones state that the cult of Belatucadrus was limited to Cumbria and the western edge of Northumberland. (Shotter, D. (2004) p.4-5 and Higham, N. and Jones, B. (1985) p.10-11). If Belatucadrus was truly a Brigantian deity then dedications could be expected east of the Pennines. The restriction of the cult to the north-west suggests if there were indeed such things as tribal deities, which is far from proven, that it may have been tied to a tribe more closely identified with this area, i.e. the Carvetii. This is possible but there is no real proof that tribal deities did exist. Groups may certainly have identified with certain deities but there is no reason to assume that such an association was further attached to a tribal identity. Indeed among those individuals who worshipped Belatucadrus there may have been individuals with differing regional identities and indeed those who did not consider themselves to have any identity beyond a family group or local area. For further discussion of religious identities see Edwards, D. N. 'The archaeology of

A milestone from Kirkby Lonsdale has been thought to give some possible evidence of one tribal boundary of the Carvetii.[401] It gives a distance of fifty three miles from an unnamed location which is thought to be Carlisle. Found in the Lune Valley, it is used as the basis for the suggestion that part of the Lune Valley fell in to the tribal territory of the Carvetii. The milestone was taken to be evidence for the southern boundary of the tribe: however there is no reason why it should mark a boundary. Higham and Jones note that a distance of 53 miles fits the distance to Carlisle from the milestone along the Roman road through Tebay to Penrith via Low Borrow Bridge, Brougham and Old Penrith. Given this route it is also plausible to suggest that Upper Lonsdale and most of the Lake District may have been within the administrative control of Carlisle at this time. The tendency for Roman administrative areas to follow those of pre-Roman tribal territories could support the notion that the area also fell under the control of the Carvetii, but Higham and Jones suggest that the boundaries of the tribe, particularly in the south, were not the same in each period.[402]

The northern boundary of the Carvetii is equally unknown. One piece of evidence, a statuette dedication to the goddess Brigantia, has been found to suggest the presence of the Brigantes at Birrens but the probability that this is misleading and the dedicator was actually an adherent of the Severan cult sent to the outpost from York has been discussed above.[403] Meanwhile Higham and Jones suggest that the good land at the southern end of Annandale, which comes

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religion' in Diaz-Andeu, M. et al.. *The Archaeology of Identity: Approaches to Gender, Age, Status, Ethnicity and Religion.* Routledge, London. 2005. pp.110-128

[401] RIB 2283: M P LIII (found beside a Roman road four miles north of Kirkby Lonsdale) Collingwood, R. G. and Wright, R. P. (1965-83) p.715

[402] Higham, N. and Jones, B. (1985) p.12

[403] See note 158 p.68 above.

close to fordable areas of the Solway as far west as Bowness, could also have been held by the Carvetii although there is no textual or epigraphic evidence to support this suggestion.[404]

The Roman name for Carlisle, *Luguvalium*, may give some indication of the status of this site in the period surrounding the conquest of northern England. *Luguvalium* means 'town of a man called Luguvalos' and the second element in the modern name is a corruption of this. The first element *cair* meaning 'fortified town' also has a British base. Mills states this element was added after the Roman period,[405] which would demonstrate continuity of both site and population from pre-Roman to post-Roman times. It is also possible that the Romans called the town Luguvalium whilst at the same time the native British population called it Cair Luguvalio. Luguvalium may have been a pre-existing name dating back several generations but equally it could well have been the name of the chieftain at the time of the conquest. If the Roman place-name for Carlisle does indeed preserve a current Celtic personal name then it is of considerable interest. If an individual had an Iron Age town named after him this would indicate that he held high status, presumably that of a chieftain or tribal leader. Although the Roman occupation was designed to have relatively little impact on the native population a high ranking leader would normally be someone to remove especially since Carlisle is in the heart of the territory normally assigned to the Carvetii; a tribe usually thought to have been anti-Roman and possibly led by the rebel leader Venutius. For his name to have been preserved in the Roman place-name *Luguvalium* can only suggest that the

[404] Higham, N. and Jones, B. (1985) p.13
[405] Mills, A. D. (2003) p.99

chieftain 'Luguvalos' was a Roman client ruler or at least sympathetic to Roman and thus favourable to the occupation of the north. If this is the case then it would indicate either that the Carvetii were actually a pro-Roman group or that they did not occupy land on the Solway Firth.[406] It seems likely that the Roman conquest of the north moved faster up the west of the country than the east and then moved into the north-east from two directions. One reason for a faster northward advance in the north-west would be a smaller population to overcome but if the tribe in the Solway Plain area were actually pro-Roman then it would be sensible to advance through and occupy their territory. If this were the case then it is very unlikely that the Solway plain area could be the stronghold of Venutius, a famously anti-Roman British leader. Control of the north-west would have given the Romans the opportunity to establish their base at Carlisle before moving into the Upper Eden Valley and then eastwards into that of the Brigantes. The Roman forces could thus approach the latter area from two directions; using the route north up the western side of the country as a way to gain access to the north-east from both the north and the south in a form of pincer movement. It is likely that Carlisle and the Solway plain were the territory of a native group in some way sympathetic to Rome, of which Luguvalos could have been the leader at the time of the Roman occupation. A pro-Roman stance would have given Luguvalos a better chance of retaining some influence after the conquest and the retention of a Celtic personal name in the title of the Roman settlement at Carlisle (Luguvalium) may indicate the success of such an approach.

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[406] See discussion p.381and map p. 379 in Chapter 5

If evidence for the existence and whereabouts of the Carvetii is slight then it is almost non-existent for all the other postulated northern tribes:

GABRANTOVICES

Only one piece of evidence exists for the Gabrantovices tribe and this is a reference in Ptolemy:

> §6 Gabrantuicorum Bay being known as Good Harbour. 21° 0' 57° 0'
>
> Γαβοαντουΐκων ὁ καί ὑ λεγόμενος Εὐλῖμενος κόλπος κα νζ
>
> Ptolemy, *Geography* 2.3.6[407]

This is an otherwise unknown and unattested group of people. Rivet and Smith suggest that the name is made up of two British elements, 'gabranto' meaning 'horse' and 'vic' meaning 'fight' and translates as horse-riding fighter, or cavalryman. They also suggest that the description may have stemmed from its use by the Roman fleet.[408] Shotter suggests that if they existed at all they may have been a coastal tribe situated in the north-east, possibly holding lands between the Parisi and the mouth of the Tyne.[409] This suggestion is based on a

[407] Louis Francis (1994) [online]
[408] Rivet, A. L. F. and Smith, C. (1979) p.364
[409] Shotter, D. (2004) p.5

further note in Ptolemy stating that the territory near to Good Harbour belongs to the Parisi.[410]

TECTOVERDI

Evidence for the existence of this tribe is drawn from a single inscription found near Vindolanda:

> To the goddess Sattada, the assembly of the Tectoverdi willingly and deservedly fulfilled its vow.

DEA SAIIADAE CURIA TEXTOVERDORUM V S L M

RIB 1695[411]

The inscription reads *Curia Textoverdorum* and this could be translated as Corio, another place-name, but it is generally assumed that the term refers to a tribal grouping, translated above as 'assembly'.[412] If this is the case it is possible that the Tectoverdi were a sub-group of a larger tribe and this is likely to have been the Brigantes.[413] There is no dating evidence for the inscription. Given the likelihood that after the conquest the Roman authorities divided up the lands of

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[410] 2.3.17 The territory near to Good Harbour is related to the Parisi whose town is: Petuaria 20° 40' 56° 40': Louis Francis (1994) [online]
[411] Collingwood, R. G. and Wright, R. P. (1965-83) p.533
[412] Rivet and Smith can find no clear derivation of the name. The first part 'tect' appears to mean 'possessor' but the second element is unknown. Rivet, A. L. F. and Smith, C. (1979) p.470
[413] Shotter, D. (2004) p.5 and p.10 note 22

northern Britain, then the huge area postulated to have been controlled by the Brigantes would no longer have existed. If this was the case then the people referred to in the inscription would not have been a sub-group of any other tribe at the time it was created but rather a Roman administrative area, which could well have had its own council. However this does not prevent the possibility that the Tectoverdi could have been a sub-group of another tribe, the Brigantes, prior to Roman supremacy.

LOPOCARES

The suggestion that this tribe might have existed is drawn from a single reference in the *Ravenna Cosmography*:

Corie Lopocarium[414]

The Ravenna Cosmography clearly places *Corie Lopocarium* in the vicinity of Corbridge and thus the idea has been formed that Corbridge could have been the centre for a tribe called the Lopocares. A problem with this lies in the fact that the *Antonine Itinerary* labels Corbridge as *Corstopitum* and the marked difference in these words has led to a hunt for the original Romano-British or British name. In looking to the *Ravenna Cosmography* for an answer to this problem the suggestion has been made that the name here is, unusually, more

[414] Ravenna Cosmography 107 (18)

correct than that given in the *Antonine Itinerary*. Richmond and Crawford[415] believe that the original name might have been 'hosting place of the Lopocares', thus revealing a new tribe in the area, and Shotter follows this view.[416] He takes the idea further to suggest that the combination of a tribal name with a place-name, as could have occurred here, may mean that at some stage Corbridge attained the status of a *civitas*-capital.[417]

There are some problems with this theory. Most importantly the *Ravenna Cosmography* is known to be littered with scribal errors and it would be very dangerous to assume that any reference made in it is more correct than the *Antonine Itinerary*.[418] Hind states, 'The *Ravenna Cosmography* itself notoriously offers corrupt name-forms and it is hazardous to accept that *Corie Lopocarium* should, without any other supporting evidence, be used to emend the *Antonine Itinerary's Corstopitum*'.[419] Both Hind and Rivet and Smith believe that the name *Corie Lopocarium* is not to be trusted and the name given in the *Antonine Itinerary* is closer to the original although they differ on the reconstruction of what this might have been.[420]

Hind offers an interesting explanation for the source of the *Ravenna Cosmography* reference. This conflates the common element 'coria' with a corrupted form of the town 'Epiacum' which Ptolemy lists as the most northerly

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[415] Hind, J. G. F 'The Romano British name for Corbridge', *Britannia* 11. (1980). p.168
[416] Shotter, D. (2004) p.5
[417] Shotter, D. (2004) p.5
[418] For a list of problems see Jones, B. and Mattingly, D. (1990) p.29
[419] Hind, J. G. F. (1980) p.168 see also discussion of Ravenna Cosmography in Rivet, A. L. F. and Smith, C. (1979)
[420] Rivet, A. L. F. and Smith, C. (1979) p.322-3 reconstruct Coriosopitum whilst Hind (1980) p.170 suggests Corioritum.

of the Brigantian settlements but which does not appear in the *Ravenna Cosmography*, unlike virtually all of the other Brigantian centres mentioned by Ptolemy. The only other exception to this is Aldborough which Hind assumes to have been sidelined with the rise of Roman military centres at Ribchester and Tadcaster.[421] If the explanation offered by Hind is correct and *Lopocarium* is a corrupt form of *Epiacum* then the suggestion that the *Ravenna Cosmography* is more accurate than the *Antonine Itinerary* is unnecessary and 'the idea that the *Lopocares* existed at all as a sept of the Brigantes will have to be given up.'[422] It seems very unlikely that the Lopocares ever existed but Rivet and Smith suggest that Corbridge may well have been a significant centre in the pre-Roman period which was then converted after the Roman occupation, citing as a precedent the *Curia Tectoverdorum* at Vindolanda.[423] If this is the case then it is not unreasonable to suggest that the Corionototae, who are not located at any specific site but might have come from Corbridge, may well have been the tribe native to this area at the time of the conquest.[424]

CORIONOTOTAE

There is inscriptional evidence for the existence of a group of people with the tribal name of Corionototae:

[421] Hind, J. G. F. (1980) p.168
[422] Hind, J. G. F. (1980) p.168
[423] Rivet, A. L. F. and Smith, C. (1979) p.323. See also discussion above p.129
[424] Shotter, D. (2004) p.5

Quintus Calpurnius Concessinis, Prefect of cavalry, following the slaughter of a band of Corionototae, fulfilled his vow to the god of most potent power.

LEG A ... Q CALPVRNIVS CONCESSINIVS PRAEF EQ CAESA
CORIONOTOTARVM MANV PRAESENTISSIMI NVMINIS
DEI V S

RIB 1142[425]

The inscription was found in the crypt of Hexham Abbey, having been re-used for building work there in the Anglo-Saxon period. It is likely to have come from a relatively local source and the implication is that the Corionototae were a group local to the area. Rivet and Smith give the derivation as 'men belonging to a people or kingdom called *korionotota*'.[426] Shotter suggests that the tribe could be located in the Corbridge area and it is thought that the stone came originally from Corbridge;[427] however Rivet and Smith merely state that they presumably lived north of Hadrian's Wall and may have been incorporated into one of the larger tribes in this area.[428] An obvious candidate would be the Votadini but the Brigantes are another.

[425] Collingwood, R. G. and Wright, R. P. (1965-83) p.376
[426] Rivet, A. L. F. and Smith, C. (1997) p.322
[427] Shotter, D. (2004) p.5 and p.10 note 21
[428] Rivet, A. L. F. and Smith, C. (1979) p.322

SETANTII

Only one fragment of evidence can be found for the possible existence of the Setantii.[429] This is a passing reference to a Portus Setantiorum in Ptolemy:

Setantiorum Town and Harbour	17° 20' 57° 45'
Σεταντίων λιμήν	ιζ γ' νζ δ'

Ptolemy, *Geography* 2.3.2[430]

Ptolemy mentions this site in his description of 'the west side (of Britain) that lies close to the Hibernian Sea'[431] therefore it must have been located somewhere on the coast of north-west England.

There have been numerous suggestions about precisely where the territory of the Setantii could actually have been.[432] There is a long held local tradition that the town and harbour of the Setantii was a site near the mouth of the river Wyre in Lancashire, which has now been lost to coastal erosion. This is a very tenuous connection especially as archaeological evidence suggests that the land in this

[429] There is no clear British root in this name but it could possibly derive from a divine name linked to the goddess *Sentona*. Thus it could perhaps mean 'wayfarers' Rivet, A. L. F. and Smith, C. (1979) p.456
[430] Louis Francis (1994) [online]
[431] Ptolemy II.3.2 Louis Francis (1994) [online]
[432] Rivet, A. L. F. and Smith, C. (1979) p.456 see also Shotter, D. (2004) p.6-7

area may not have been particularly viable during the pre-Roman and Roman periods.[433]

Another suggestion is founded upon the name Setia, also mentioned by Ptolemy.[434] This site appears to have been attached to the river Mersey which is believed to have formed part of the boundary between the Cornovii in the south and another tribe, possibly the Setantii, to the north.[435]

> This area, between the Mersey and Ribble, has traditionally been dismissed as of little importance in either the pre-Roman or Roman periods. It is true that it may have been economically, and thus politically marginal to activities elsewhere in north-west England, but recent work has suggested that it should not be ignored: although, because of prevailing soil-conditions, sites are difficult to recognise through aerial reconnaissance, field-work and excavation have demonstrated that they are to be found, and display continuity from the pre-Roman to the Roman period.[436]

One final proposed tribal area for the Setantii lies much further north: southern Cumbria on the north side of Morecambe Bay.[437] 'The potential significance of the area in pre-Roman times is perhaps indicated by the presence of hillfort (*oppidum*) sites – Skelmore Heads, Wharton Crag, Castlehead (Allthwaite), the

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[433] Shotter, D. (2004) p.6
[434] Ptolemy describes Setia Town and Estuary in the same section as the town and estuary of the Setantii (*Geography* 2.3.2). Louis Francis (1994) [online]
[435] Shotter, D. (2004) p.7
[436] Shotter, D. (2004) p.7
[437] Shotter, D. (2004) p.7

Helme (Natland) and Millon. In contrast to many of the hillfort sites in the region, those mentioned here, for which an established chronology exists, appear compatible with usage in the late pre-Roman Iron Age.'[438] Again this is possible but more work is necessary to confirm this evidence. This site for the town and harbour would not preclude the tribal territory from having extended south in to the area of the Ribble and Mersey. Alternatively, given that the land in this area is thought to have been of a considerably better quality than that to the south, the port could also have stood at the southern end of Lake Windermere or on the southern Cumbrian coast on a site now lost to erosion.

ANAVIONENSES

There is one piece of evidence for the existence of the Anavionenses, this time epigraphic.[439] It comes from the career inscription of an equestrian officer, one Titus Haterius Nepos, whose presence in Britain is also known from other sources,[440] and who seems to have held the post of *Censitor Brittonum Anavionensium*. Haterius' name is missing from the inscription but the dates of office given allow firm attribution:[441]

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[438] Shotter, D. (2004) p.7

[439] Birley dates this inscription to the early second century AD; before AD 112. Birley, A. (1981) p.302

[440] Haterius Nepos is the author of an unpublished Vindolanda letter (Inv. 93/ 1379) to Flavius Genialis and officer at Vindolanda in c. AD 100. Birley, A. R. 'A New Tombstone from Vindolanda', *Britannia* 29. (1998). p.303 see also Birley, A. R. 'The Anavionenses', *BAR International Series 940.* (2001) p.15-16

[440] Rivet, A. L. F. (1982) p.321

[441] The inscription itself is from Foligno in Umbria: Rivet, A. L. F. 'The Brittones Anavionenses', *Britannia* 13. (1982). p.321 For further information on the attribution of the inscription see Birley, A. R. (2001) p.15

[To Haterius], prefect of the cohort, military tribune, prefect of cavalry, census-officer of the Anavionensian Britons, procurator of Augustus for Armenia Major, of the Great Training-School, and of legacies; and in charge of the census, in charge of petitions of Augustus, prefect of the Watch, prefect of Egypt, M Taminius Ce ..

.....prae[f(ecto)
coh]ortis trib(uno) milit[um
p]raef(ecto) equit(um) censito[ri
Brittonum Anavion[ens(ium)
proc(uratori) Aug(usti) Armeniae Mai[or(is)
Ludi magni hereditatium
et a censibus a libellis Aug(usti)
praef(ecto) vigilum praef(ecto) Aegy[pti
M. Taminius Ce.....

ILS (inscriptiones latinae selectae) 1338[442]

The appointment of someone to this position would mean that at least in the time the inscription refers to the territory of the Anavionenses lay within the Roman province of *Britannia*. Name association suggests that their tribal territory lay in the vicinity of the river Annan[443] and included a possible centre

[442] Rivet, A. L. F. (1982) p.321
[443] Rivet, A. L. F. and Smith, C. suggest that this name derives from the British meaning 'rich river' Rivet, A. L. F. and Smith, C. (1979) p.249-50

at Lochmaben.[444] This association has been made in the same way as the Bannienses and Vindolandenses have been connected with specific Roman sites in Britain.[445] The improbability that the Romans could have held territory in southern Scotland so long after the Flavian withdrawal in the late 80s has cast doubt upon the assumption that this inscription refers to Annandale but Rivet has argued that it does:[446] He assumes that the Anavionenses were a part of the Brigantes on the evidence of a dedication to Brigantia at Birrens.[447] It seems improbable that the Brigantes themselves could have held land this far into the north-west but it does not mean that the Anavionenses were not in some way connected with a tribe further south and came under Roman control when it did. The most likely contender for this tribe would be the Carvetii, since their area of control seems to have bordered that of the Anavionenses and, as discussed above, they appear to have come under Roman control in the early 70s. Rivet then argues that the Romans, even in their temporary retreat from the far north, would have retained control of complete areas and thus could still have been in control of the area around Annandale in AD 100 when the subject of this inscription is likely to have held the office of *censitor*.[448] Birley also suggests (although without any hard supporting evidence) that young men from Annandale could have been conscripted into the Roman army whilst the area was under the control of Haterius Nepos, further support for continued Roman control in this area around the turn of the century.[449] If this is the case then the

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[444] Note: the land at the southern end of Annandale in southern Scotland has also been tentatively associated with the Carvetii.
[445] See RIB 1905 and 1700. Collingwood, R. G. and Wright, R. P. (1965-83) p.588 and 535
[446] Rivet, A. L. F. (1982) p.321-2
[447] The suggestion that the Birrens statue is not sufficient evidence to suggest Brigantian control has been made above in the 'Brigantes' section p.67
[448] Birley, A. R. (1998) p.303 also Shotter, D. (2004) p.7
[449] Birley, A. R. (1998) p.303

inscription stands as evidence for the existence of the Anavionenses in the late Iron Age and Roman periods, a view strongly supported by Birley who comments that 'the Anavionenses and Carvetii – may have been small peoples in the northern Pennines, not necessarily subject to anyone, except to Rome', 'at all events, the Anavionenses – and their immediate neighbours – had had separate dealings with Rome for nearly three decades before Haterius Nepos arrived.'[450] However such a degree of speculation may be too much to base on the evidence of one inscription.

MAETAE

One final tribal name which could possibly be associated with northern Britain is the Maetae:

> There are two principal races of the Britons, the Caledonians and the Maetae, and the names of the others have been merged into these two. The Maetae live next to the cross wall which cuts the island in half, and the Caledonians are beyond them.[451]
>
> δύο δὲ γένη τῶν Βρεττανῶν μέγιστά εἰσι, Καληδόνιοι καὶ Μαιάται· καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων προσρήματα ὡς εἰπεῖν συγκε-

[450] Birley, A. R. (2001) p.17 and 20
[451] Cary, E. (tr.) *Dio Cassius Roman History Books 71-80.* Loeb Classical Library, Harvard University Press, London. 1927

χώρηκεν. οἰκοῦσι δὲ οἱ μὲν Μαιάται πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ διατειχίσματι ὃ τὴν νῆσον δίχῃ τέμνει, Καληδόνιοι δὲ μετ' ἐκείνους

Epitome of Dio Cassius 77.12

Dio is the only source, either textual or epigraphic, to mention this tribe and it is generally thought that he is describing two tribes of Scotland rather than northern England.[452] Bearing in mind the fact that Dio was probably writing in the early third century the 'wall which divides the island in two' could be either Hadrian's Wall or the Antonine Wall but it has been taken as a reference to the latter. It is unlikely that the Antonine Wall was held after AD 163 and it is reasonable to assume that a late second century author would be writing about an extant wall. Hence the passage probably refers to Hadrian's Wall and indicates that the Maetae lived near to it. If this is the case then like the other tribes mentioned above, the Maetae may have been an independent tribe or, if a confederation did exist, possibly a sub-tribe of the Brigantes.

[452] Rivet and Smith suggest the name means 'of the larger part' and thus that the land north of the Antonine Wall was divided between the Maetae in the larger part and the Caledonii in the smaller part. Rivet, A. L. F. and Smith, C. (1979) p.404

CONCLUSION

Analysis of the literary and epigraphic evidence for the presence of the Brigantes and other tribes in northern England has revealed that literary evidence gives no clear indication of the numbers, names and extent of the tribes of northern England. Moreover, although the epigraphic evidence forms a useful addition to the sparse historical record of northern Britain it provides little further help. The presence of a few native groups is demonstrated by inscriptions found around the Corbridge area, but there is little evidence to indicate that these groups represent pre-conquest tribes. Furthermore, the inscriptions probably reveal the situation in the late Roman period rather than that within the scope of this study. The majority of inscriptions are likely to date from the later period and, as with literature, there is a total lack of any epigraphic tradition among the native peoples of northern Britain in the pre-conquest period and no hard evidence for any change after the Roman occupation. Thus no texts or inscriptions can be used with any confidence to gain an understanding of the area before the Roman conquest.

The literature is sparse and often contradictory with only one author, Tacitus, providing sufficient detail (such as the names of the queen and other individuals) to indicate that he is referring to a specific tribe when he alludes to the Brigantes, rather than using the term as a general reference to the native population of northern Britain. The other Roman authors all use the term Brigantes in what would appear to be a far less precise way: this suggests that

they were intending to refer broadly to the population of northern Britain rather than to any particular tribe. Given the purpose of their writing and their audience this is not a great surprise. While Tacitus certainly confirms the presence of what he understands as a tribe by the name of the Brigantes in northern England, his account cannot be used to indicate the extent of their territory. In all likelihood, Tacitus describes one event, involving only a few elite members of the tribe, and occurring shortly before the Roman conquest of northern England, towards the end of the period under investigation in this thesis. It gives no help in understanding the lives of the majority of the Brigantian population and cannot be used to give any idea of the history of this tribe either before or after the fall of Queen Cartimandua.

The only other literary source of any real use is Ptolemy but although he gives names which could refer to native centres or tribes, no firm conclusions can be derived from his work. His information is, however, of great importance since it is the only literary source to indicate the presence of other tribes in northern England and to specify some tribal names. Used in isolation his evidence is impossible to validate, but following an analysis of artefactual and settlement patterning in northern England, his work may be used to indicate the names of any possible tribal territories identified.

Perhaps the greatest problem affecting all the literary sources is that none are of native origin, and it is only after the conquest that Greek and Roman authors begin to mention northern England. Naturally, even the little that can be gleaned

from these authors provides a very one sided viewpoint and indeed this remains the case throughout the Roman period.

Place-names give some interesting clues about the impact of the Roman presence on northern England in terms of linguistic change and may give some important evidence regarding the status of Carlisle in relation to the Carvetii in the late pre- and early post-conquest periods. Indeed the latter point may be the most significant finding from this element of the study. The evidence for a lack of linguistic change on place-names in the area of study is also interesting. It may indeed indicate that very little change in place-names or language was enforced upon northern England during the conquest period. However the evidence can also be interpreted differently and may be a result of the presence of soldiers with 'Celtic' origins in the area. Thus they may have adopted original or new names for sites in Celtic because it was also their own first language. Thus what may appear to be a policy of non-intervention may actually be an invisible change or continuity for the convenience of the soldiery rather than for the appeasement of the native population.

In view of these considerations, it is manifest that the ancient literary, epigraphic and place-name sources cannot be relied upon for an accurate picture of what was happening in Northern England in the late Iron Age and early Roman period. Conclusions based upon these sources alone cannot provide any degree of certainty. In order to gain a better impression of native northern England in the period before and after the Roman conquest other approaches and types of evidence must be used. Neither literature nor language can give sufficient hard

evidence and as a result it is necessary to turn to archaeology for further information which may give a clearer picture. Through analysis of artefacts, materials and settlement patterning across northern England in the late Iron Age and early Roman period a much more detailed and accurate picture of native settlement, society and possible group identities in northern England can be achieved.

CHAPTER 3: MATERIALS AND ARTEFACTS FROM NORTHERN ENGLAND

VARIATION IN THE QUALITY AND QUANTITY OF THE ARCHAOLOGICAL RECORD

The archaeological record is subject to a number of factors affecting the preservation and quality of sites. These in turn affect the degree to which they are recognised and excavated and the extent to which both the site and any artefactual assemblage may be preserved. The major factors affecting the preservation and visibility of archaeological settlement sites are discussed below. These weaknesses and variations in the data are relevant for both chapters 3 and 4 of this thesis.

Field Archaeology

Discussing the difficulties of identifying archaeological sites in northern England and the imbalance between excavation east and west of the Pennines, Haselgrove states that, 'more lowland is under pasture west of the Pennines, making site

discovery harder, while drought can help cropmark formation in the east'.[454] The differing land-uses across northern England have had a direct impact upon the discovery and survival of archaeological sites and upon the usefulness of archaeological techniques across the area. Aerial Photography is less useful across much of north-west England whilst Haselgrove believes that the chances of finding sites by simple field walking in the lowlands of the north-west are virtually non-existent.[455]

Conventional fieldwalking has proved a difficult tool in the process of identifying new archaeological sites. Haselgrove explains that the reasons for this are twofold. Field walking is limited by its very nature to ploughed fields and thus large areas cannot be surveyed using this technique.[456] In addition the pottery which would usually identify late Iron Age sites is very friable and fieldwalking must take place immediately after ploughing in order to reveal useful results.[457] Given the problems of surface survey in the identification of Iron Age sites a preferable method is geophysical survey. This method can be extremely successful in identifying Iron Age and early Roman sites across all areas and, in particular, it has proved successful in areas where aerial reconnaissance cannot obtain results. The key element of geophysical survey is that it can be used across both arable and pastoral lands and therefore yields more consistent results of more equal intensity than aerial survey.[458] The difficulty with geophysical survey is that it is a developing science. The process is now fast

[454] Haselgrove, C. (2002) p.50.
[455] Haselgrove, C. (1996) p.64. Aerial Photography is discussed below p.148
[456] Haselgrove, C. (2002) p.54
[457] Haselgrove, C. (2002) p.54
[458] Haselgrove, C. (2002) p.53-4

enough to be used routinely for the purpose of identifying new sites, but its use has often been limited to points where an archaeological site was already known or suspected in order to seek more information on its shape and complexity as a preliminary or alternative to excavation.[459] Results gained from geophysical survey alone, whilst more detailed than those available from aerial reconnaissance are thus subject to the same limitations; that chronology cannot be confirmed and that other sites within the area may remain unidentified.

Archaeological excavation can take two forms, test pits and full archaeological digs, and can be used to confirm the presence of a site and develop an understanding of its chronology. Sites for excavation can be determined from aerial photography, geophysical survey, test pits, and the survival of remains within the landscape such as earthworks. The latter have largely been discovered and explained either by direct excavation or analogy with similar excavated sites in the region, as with the many enclosure sites of Northumberland.[460] Many, although not all, of such sites are found on higher ground which has not been used for intensive agriculture. In the lowlands, the land has continued to be used intensively from the prehistoric period to modern times and thus the areas in which the most sites are likely to have been found are also those where they are most likely to have been lost to industrial, agricultural or urban expansion. Haselgrove notes that, 'today, upland areas with their excellent preservation of earthwork sites are widely looked on as *zones of survival*, whereas lowland areas with their high incidence of urban expansion, extractive industry and intensive

[459] Haselgrove, C. (2002) p.54
[460] Eg, Jobey,G. 'An Iron Age settlement at Hartburn and the Devil's Causeway, Northumberland, 1971' *Archaeologia Aeliana* (5th series) 1, 1973. pp.11-53; Jobey, G. (1977), Jobey, G. (1971)

agriculture are seen as *zones of destruction* where sites survived only as battered cropmarks'.[461]

Decades of archaeological excavation have investigated many upland and lowland sites and archaeologists have explored increasingly less visible sites with the advent of aerial photography and geophysical surveying. Haselgrove comments that 'the last two decades have seen the end of an era of large-scale excavation of Iron Age settlements, hillforts and ritual sites with a dramatic floruit of published reports describing the result'.[462] These excavations have dramatically increased knowledge of settlement types, plant and animal remains and daily life but this degree of understanding has not been evenly spread across Britain and the same is true of northern England. Haselgrove highlights a few problems such as the site specific nature of excavation without many attempts to identify overall patterns and the fact that whilst settlements themselves have been targeted there has been little wider focus on the areas around them.[463] Excavation tends to focus on looking for new sites near to those already identified rather than taking a broader view of the landscape. An example of this is the Tees Valley where there has been great concentration on the region around the well known site of Stanwick.

Just as excavation sites focus on areas where finds are already known, excavations themselves can be very limited. Haselgrove notes that the lack of prehistoric material culture from sites in northern England could be linked to the

[461] Haselgrove, C. (2002) p.50
[462] Haselgrove, C. et al. (2001) p.7
[463] Haselgrove discusses the need to consider settlements in context of their surrounding landscape and the need for basic regional syntheses. Haselgrove, C. et al. (2001) p.8, 9-11

targeting of excavation on settlements rather than enclosure ditches or other areas; 'middens may well have existed outside what we take to be the settlement boundary. In the lowlands, such deposits may well have been destroyed by subsequent ploughing, but we cannot be sure since we virtually never excavate outside the enclosures'.[464] Such a specific focus not only on certain regions but even on certain areas of those sites means that even archaeological excavation cannot give a complete record of any archaeological site.

Further problems are created by the nature of the soil conditions across northern England. Soil acidity has led to the loss of virtually all organic materials such as bone, wood and leather.[465] Some small pockets of better preservation exist, such as the soil conditions allowing survival of bone assemblages in the Tees Valley,[466] and the waterlogged conditions of the Fylde in Lancashire.[467] But in general conditions for archaeological preservation not only of sites themselves but also of the artefacts and materials therein are relatively poor across the majority of the study area. The effect of poor preservation conditions in relation to specific materials is discussed further in Chapter 3 below. The subject is mentioned here to highlight the difficulty of creating continuity in the archaeological record for northern England and thus of drawing any conclusions from the surviving finds assemblages of objects prone to damage in poor soils.

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[464] Haselgrove, C. (2002) p.51
[465] Petts, D. and Gerrard, C. (2006) p.41
[466] Eg. Thorpe Thewles: Heslop, D. H. (1987)
[467] Hodgkinson, D. *Lancaster Imprints 8, North West Wetlands Survey 6: The Lowland Wetlands of Cumbria*. Lancaster University Archaeological Unit, Lancaster. 2000

Whilst excavation, like all other forms of fieldwork, has its weaknesses, it is nevertheless the best method of obtaining detailed information on late prehistoric and Romano-British sites and the information it provides is invaluable. However, the concentration of excavation on lowland areas leads to a potential imbalance in the artefactual and confirmed settlement record between uplands and lowlands which may mask the real underlying patterns.

Excavation, as with all other forms of archaeological investigation, has its limitations. In particular the tendency for site specificity in the choice of what type of sites to look for, where to look for them and where to dig within them has created an imbalance in current knowledge. Whilst all of the information available from archaeological investigation is immensely valuable in identifying sites of settlement, their nature, type and density the information should not be considered a complete, balanced record. Variation in the degree and type of investigation means that apparent densities and gaps in both settlement and settlement types may not be as certain as they appear from the current state of knowledge. There may well be much more information still to find which may considerably alter the appearance of the archaeological settlement record from northern England.

Aerial Photography and Archaeology

Since the 1970's aerial photography has been of immense importance in identifying cropmarks of settlement sites across Britain. In particular it has added

greatly to the record of late prehistoric and Romano-British enclosures across the region of study. Haselgrove believes that, 'aerial archaeology has been the single most important contribution to our knowledge of lowland settlement since 1976'.[468] Aerial survey has been carried out in Northumberland, County Durham, the Tees Valley, Yorkshire and Cumbria. It has had a particular impact on our knowledge of sites on the Solway Plain and has increased the number of known prehistoric sites across the area; however it is important to remember that aerial survey cannot confirm chronology of sites and not all of those identified will have been occupied at the same time.[469]

Although aerial photography is an invaluable tool for the identification of new sites the process is not without considerable difficulties. Initially only a very limited amount of land is actually available for survey. In the urbanised Wear valley only 30% of the land is available for air survey whilst in the Solway plain just 14% is under arable use thus allowing the best chance of cropmark identification. Results are highly variable and it is not always possible to know whether this is a true picture or a result of factors affecting the reconnaissance itself.[470]

[468] Haselgrove, C. (2002) p.52
[469] Haselgrove, C. (2002) p.52
[470] The difficulties of aerial photography are discussed in detail in Bewley, R. *Prehistoric and Romano-British Settlement in the Solway Plain Cumbria.* Oxbow Monograph 36, Oxbow, Oxford. 1994

Variation in survey intensity

The intensity of aerial reconnaissance affects the reliability of results. Bewley has demonstrated that the evidence from the Solway Plain was not biased according to areas or soil types and argues that where certain soils were favoured for cropmarks this was a genuine reflection of ancient settlement and agricultural practice.[471] Meanwhile Haselgrove stresses that there has been more surveying in Cumbria than in the heavily urbanized lowlands of Durham and southern Northumberland.[472] He also illustrates the way in which a major site attracts surveying thus giving a false impression of density in comparison to areas which have been less intensively studied.[473] The effect of variations in the intensity of reconnaissance could therefore reflect a real difference in population density as with the Solway Plain, or it may also be due to one or more of the many factors affecting the quality and consistency of aerial photography techniques.

Before the land itself is taken into consideration there are difficulties in the actual practice of aerial flying. Flying can only take place when and where permitted. Thus it is difficult to survey areas in controlled airspace, particularly in the summer when conditions such as drought may give the best conditions. Such problems affect the airspace around major airports in the north-west and north-east and may also be an issue in some areas of military activity. In addition funding limitations restrict flying hours and Collens notes that on average only

[471] Haselgrove, C. (2002) p.52
[472] Haselgrove, C. (2002) p.52
[473] Haselgrove, C. (2002) p.52

12hrs flying per year is possible.[474] Variability in the number of available flying hours can have an impact on the intensity and frequency of flyovers of an area and thus on the reliability of results.[475] Additional flying time in some areas is likely to increase the number of sites identified. Thus apparent variations in the density of sites between regions may be a false image created by the increased intensity of work in a certain region. More flying also allows photography in a range of atmospheric conditions and times therefore giving more chance of capturing an area in optimal conditions for the visibility of cropmarks. Without a stable, constant climate this problem is impossible to overcome but it is important to bear in mind that not all areas will have been photographed in optimal, or even the same, conditions.

Soils, Landuse and Visibility

Variation in soils affects the visibility of cropmarks for aerial archaeology. In particular wetter soils such as those which form on glacial bolder clay in the lowlands of much of northern England are not as good as drier soils for revealing cropmarks.[476] Collens illustrates how ten years of survey work in Cheshire and Merseyside yielded fifty new enclosures and a similar number of possible sites, yet over seventy were found in the course of just one summer in Northumberland

[474] Collens, J. 'Flying on the Edge: Aerial Photography and Early Settlement Patterns in Cheshire and Merseyside' in Nevell, M. (ed.) *Living on the Edge of Empire: models, Methodology and Marginality*. Council for British Archaeology North West, University of Manchester and Chester Archaeology. 1999. p.36

[475] For instance over 20hrs flying were achieved over Northumberland in 1995 and over 70 sites were found in just one summer compared with 50 in ten years in the Lancashire lowlands. Collens, J. (1999) p.36

[476] Collens, J. (1999) p.36

in 1995.[477] Haselgrove also notes that the soils south of Cumbria are very difficult for aerial survey and thus that there will be great variability in the results of such surveying.[478]

The effect of soil type on visibility is exacerbated by landuse. Much of the most accessible and somewhat limited lowland in northern Britain has disappeared beneath urban development thus aerial survey can only cover less suitable uplands and areas which have been used for cultivation. Such a limitation on the area available for aerial survey, whilst unavoidable, must be taken into consideration when making any comments on the density of settlement on lowlands which have since been developed for urban and industrial expansion. Heavy, more waterlogged soils are often used for pasture, as is the case across much of the north-west where the wetter climate is difficult for arable farming. In these circumstances crop marks will only appear in drought conditions. The best landuse for cropmark evidence is cereal cultivation.[479] As a result the north-east of England and the Solway Plain are more likely to provide good aerial photographic results. Such differences in soils and landuse between northern England east and west of the Pennines have a direct impact on the interpretation of the results of aerial photography from both regions and on conclusions regarding the density and types of settlement in each area.

Finally the type of site itself affects its visibility. Cropmarks of rectilinear ditched enclosures are far easier to recognise from the air than those of palisaded

[477] Collens, J. (1999) p.36
[478] Haselgrove, C. (1996) p.64
[479] Collens, J. (1999) p.36

or open settlements. Haselgrove suggests that in areas where settlement appears limited on aerial survey this may indicate that unenclosed settlement formed a significant part of the settlement pattern.[480] Unfortunately such sites are almost invisible from the air. In addition isolated features are often impossible to identify without further investigation.[481] The result of this is that many more settlements may exist than have been identified on aerial photography. In particular, areas of apparently sparse population may have been more densely settled with unenclosed and palisaded sites taking greater precedence than has been thought from the aerial photographic evidence.

Given the lack of archaeological investigation on native sites in northern England as whole and in particular the upland areas and the north-west of the region much emphasis must, of necessity, be placed upon the evidence provided by cropmarks identified from aerial survey. However this data must be used with some caution. It is important to remember that the results are not consistent and are affected by many factors perhaps the most important of which are the varied intensity with which different parts of the region of study have been photographed, the soils and current landuses across the region which greatly affect the visibility of cropmarks from place to place, and the potential for variation in the conditions when photography took place. In addition to these geographical issues the fact that enclosures are more visible as cropmarks than unenclosed settlements and that certain types of settlement such as the enclosures of the Solway Plain may not have emerged at the same date across the region must also be taken into

[480] Haselgrove, C. (1996) p.64
[481] Haselgrove, C. (2002) p.52

consideration.[482] As a result no certainty should be placed on the dating of a site until it can be ascertained through archaeological investigation.

Although aerial reconnaissance has great value and should be considered important evidence in the study of settlement in northern England its inherent problems mean that all results must be treated with some caution. Discussion of information including material obtained from aerial photography should be prefaced with an acknowledgement that the data available may not be a complete and accurate record of settlement sites, types and densities and that whilst some assumptions can be made the chronology of sites cannot be confirmed without archaeological investigation.

[482] See discussion in Chapter 1 and also Haselgrove, C. (2001) p.2-3

Chapter 3: Materials and Artefacts from northern England - Variation in the archaeological record

METHODOLOGY

This chapter looks at a number of materials and artefacts which have been recovered from northern England. Patterns are identified based on regional differentiation and where factors are particularly notable these are highlighted. Suggested conclusions are then drawn regarding the possible regions that these patterns may indicate. Although possible geographic regions are identified here and differences in status, based on materials, are also considered this thesis recognises that the differences noted, whilst related to possible regional identities, are not the full story and that patterns in materials may also be linked to more localised and indeed broader identities. The aim of this thesis is to identify possible regional variations but it is important to recognise that these variations do not exist in isolation. Individuals across northern England may have associated themselves with a range of collective identities on both large and small scales and their identities may also have changed over time as identity is never constant.

THE IRON AGE AND ROMAN POTTERY ASSEMBLAGES

The pottery assemblages of Iron Age and Roman north Britain are not as large or as numerous as those of the south. Pottery is generally a ubiquitous find on archaeological excavations but in northern England it is surprisingly scarce north of the Tees watershed, on the Pennines, and to their west. County Durham appears to have been entirely aceramic during the Iron Age, in direct contrast to the distinct pottery tradition that seems to have developed in the Tees Valley area. Meanwhile sites both on and west of the Pennines are also lacking in pottery with Cumbria also appearing aceramic in the Iron Age. It seems to have taken a surprisingly long time for this situation to change: Cumbria in particular remained almost entirely aceramic for several centuries after the Roman conquest of northern Britain. In order to find a pottery tradition it is necessary to look at the area from the Tees Valley south to the Humber. There was also a pottery tradition north of County Durham in what is now Northumbria: this renders even more remarkable the absence of pottery in the intervening district, sandwiched as it was between two pottery producing areas.

For the Roman period, the majority of pottery in northern England comes, perhaps not surprisingly, from military sites. There are few large urban, non-military sites in the north which are securely dated to the period of study although Aldborough and Sedgefield may well have developed shortly afterwards in the mid and later second century.[483] In this thesis York and

[483] Sedgefield is an ongoing excavation and has not yet been published. A brief resume of the site can be found at:www.dur.ac.uk/archaeological.services/research_and_training/sedgefield

Carlisle, despite their development as major urban centres, are regarded as military settlements, on the grounds of their military origins and their continued military importance throughout the Roman occupation. This study will look, in the main, at pottery assemblages from native settlement sites rather than those with military connections.[484] Large amounts of pottery are found in military contexts but these are closely connected with the way of life inside the forts and their *vici* and almost certainly do not accurately represent the situation in native communities. As Evans has said, 'given that the population of Roman Britain was in excess of a million it can be fairly safely asserted that around 90% of the population lived on basic rural sites'.[485] *Vici* and urban centres will, however, be considered in relation to the processes by which pottery reached the native settlements of north Britain.

Removing the military-related pottery assemblages from the study sidelines most of the larger collections. The small amounts of data available from known native sites, especially in the north-west, make statistical and comparative analysis difficult, but work undertaken in recent years has allowed a picture of pottery usage in the north during the Iron Age and Roman periods to emerge. From this it has become clear that northern Britain can be divided up into a

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and for image of geophysical survey see Petts, D. and Gerrard, C. (2006) p.54. The finds from the site have not received expert analysis but raw data is given here to indicate the potential importance of the site for future research projects. I am very grateful to Jenny Jones for her kindness in giving me the information provided here. Sedgefield: Roman Pottery: 3241 sherds, Samian: 181 sherds, Post Roman Pot: 76 sherds, Animal Bone: 4137 fragments, Coins: 26, Iron Objects: 431, Copper Alloy samples: 53, Lead samples: 17, Glass fragments: 48, Worked Bone fragments: 2, Worked Ceramic fragments: 3. Also a range of building materials including daub, plaster and pipe. For Aldborough see: Bishop, M. C. *Finds from Roman Aldborough: A Catalogue of Small Finds from the Romano-British town of Isurium Brigantium*. Oxbow Monograph 65, Oxford. 1996

[484] For information and references to sites within the area of study and references to sites mentioned but outside of the area of study see Appendix A

[485] Evans, J. *'Romanised', pottery and the rural economy in the north-west* (unpublished)

number of smaller regions on the basis of its pottery usage and traditions. These regional variations may indicate the presence of groups with different attitudes to pottery form, decoration and indeed usage; something which would suggest the presence of different communities rather than one homogenous unit.

North-east Iron Age ceramic forms[486]

Jars: Barrel Jars

There are some patterns in terms of Iron Age ceramic forms that can be observed across north-east Britain from the Humber to the Tyne area.[487] Barrel Jars are a good form to consider since they are found in many assemblages from across the north-east. Evans has found that Barrel Jars with simple vertical or incurving rims (fig.2 p.161) are to be found at a large number of sites in the north-east including sites in Cleveland, the North Yorks Moors and the western side of the Vale of York but are notably far less frequent across the rest of east Yorkshire.[488]

Within this type certain variant forms appear to be restricted to the Tees valley region. This area includes the large and prosperous Iron Age and early Roman sites of Stanwick, Catcote, Holme House Piercebridge, Levisham Moor and

[486] I would like to extend my grateful thanks to Dr Evans for all his help and kind permission to use his unpublished work in this thesis.
[487] Further information on all sites mentioned in these pages can be found in Appendix C
[488] This form has been found at Thorpe Thewles, Catcote, Roxby, Great Ayton Moor, Rillington, Stanwick, Normanby, Ingleby Barwick, Levisham Moor and Holme House Piercebridge.

Thorpe Thewles. These variants are Barrel Jars with an internally thickened rim and jars with a decorated rim created by the use of a finger-tipping technique, (fig.5 p.161) although it must be noted that these can also be found on sites in Northumbria where Barrel Jars tend to dominate the assemblages. Another regional feature of the Tees Valley area is found in the lack of jars with handles (fig.3 p.161); which are notably absent from the large assemblages, with the closest being found at Levisham Moor in the far south of the area. Evans has also noted that Barrel Jars with pushed down and slightly beaded rims are found only in the Tees Valley and Northumbria (fig.4 p.161).[489]

Although Barrel Jars are not as commonly found in the pottery assemblages of east Yorkshire, some are present and indeed a different set of variant forms is specific to this area, only a few examples of which are found elsewhere. A slightly shouldered jar form with a fairly flat, everted (curving out) rim, and finger tipping decoration has been found at sites in east Yorkshire including Garton Slack, South Cave and Ousethorpe. This form has also been found at Catcote but is otherwise sufficiently restricted to the east Yorkshire region to be of note.

[489] Thorpe Thewles, Catcote and Levisham. Evans, J. (1995b) p. 50

Jar forms from Northern England[490]

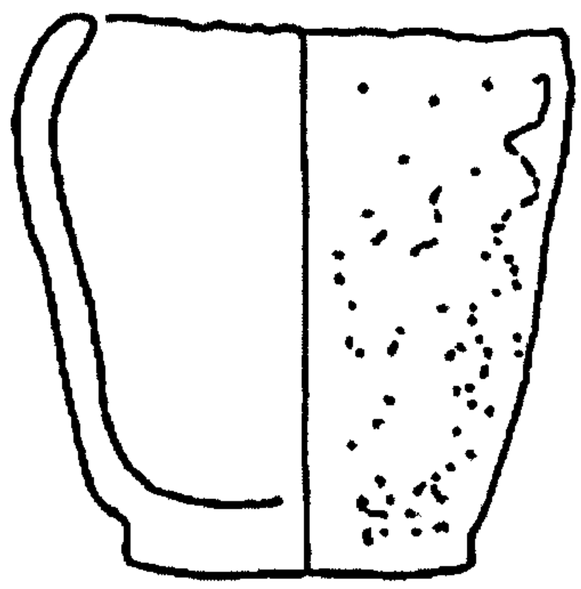

fig. 2 Barrel Jar – common form across northern England

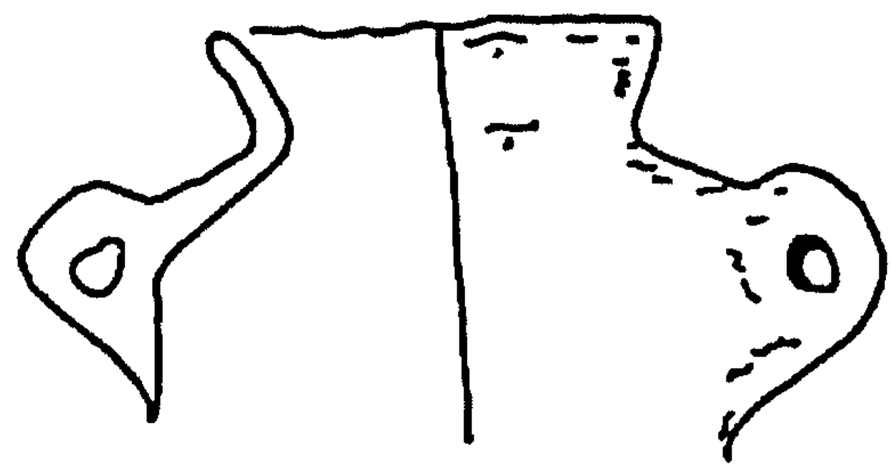

fig. 3 Handled jar - not found in Tees Valley

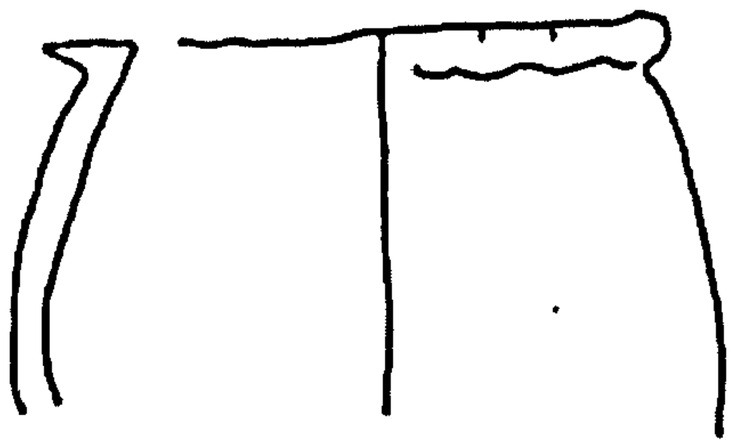

fig. 4 Barrel jar with slightly beaded rim- Tees Valley form

fig. 5 Finger Tipped Rim- Tees Valley form

[490] All examples after Evans, J. (1995b) p.52-53

Jar forms from northern England[491]

fig. 6 Everted rims with tapering, triangular sectioned rims

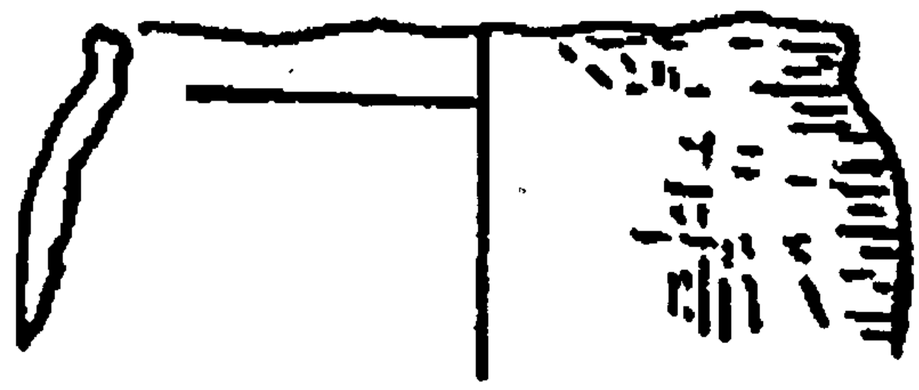

fig. 7 Jars with everted, square rims

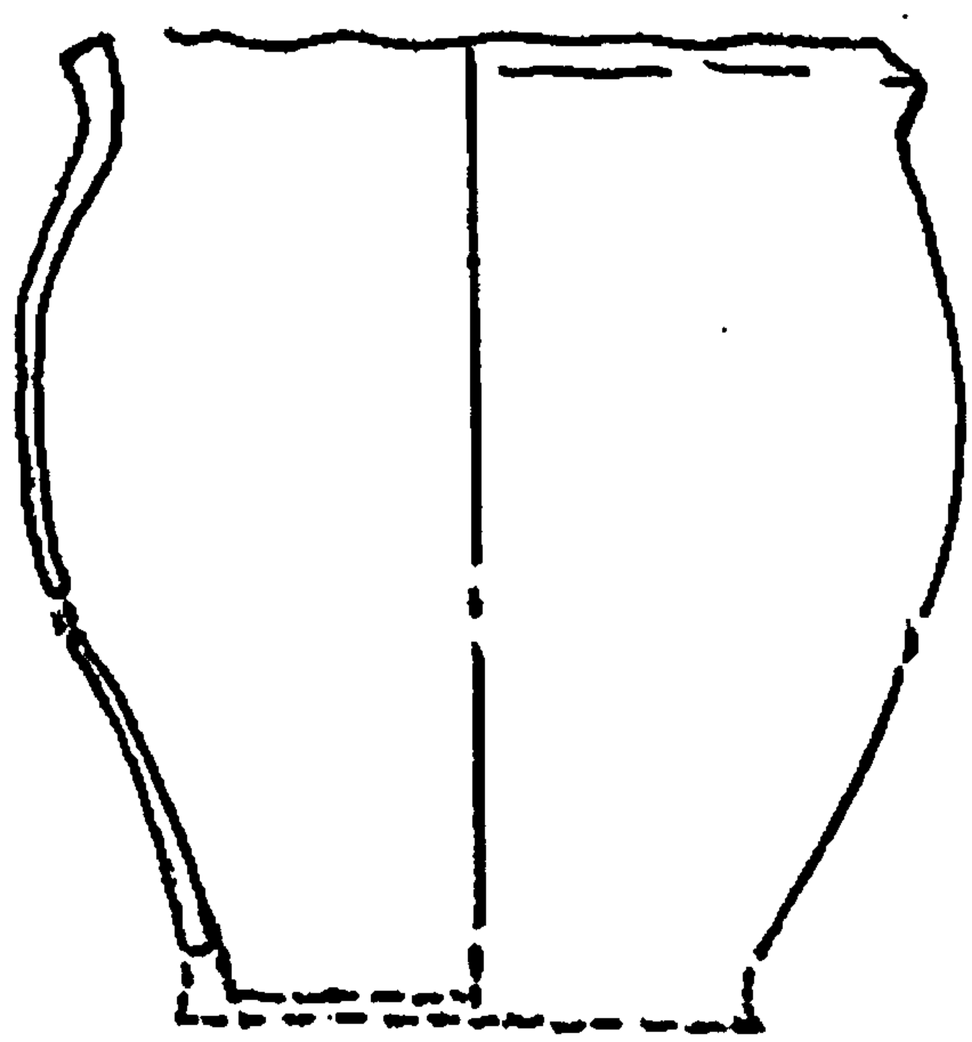

fig. 8 Jars with everted, thickened square rims.

[491] All examples after Evans, J. (1995b) p.55

Example of a Butt Beaker from Stanwick[492]

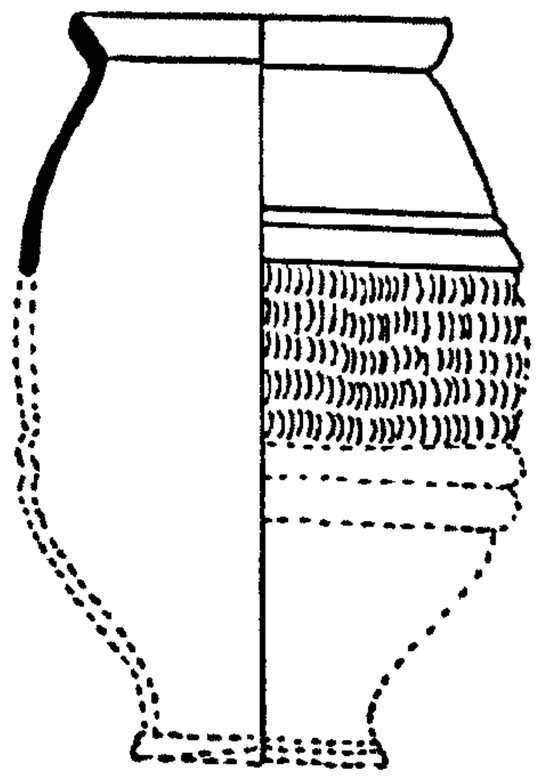

fig. 9

Examples of Crambeck Ware[493]

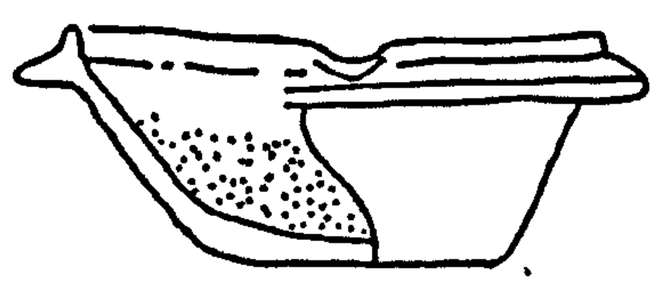

fig. 10

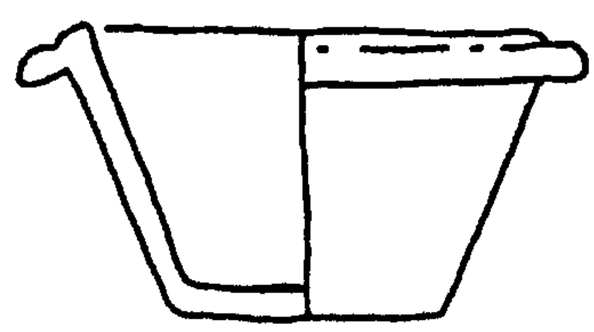

fig. 11

Examples of Black Burnished Ware (BB1)[494]

fig. 12

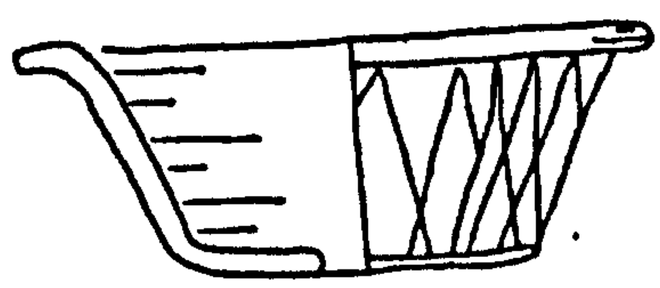

fig. 13

[492] After Wheeler, M. The Stanwick Fortifications: North Riding of Yorkshire in *Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London.* Oxford. 1954 p.33
[493] After Tyers, P. A. *Potsherd: Atlas of Roman Pottery.* 2007 [online] http://www.potsherd.uklinux.net [Accessed April 2007]
[494] After Tyers, P. A. *Potsherd: Atlas of Roman Pottery.* 2007 [online]

Also restricted almost entirely to this south eastern part of the study area are Barrel Jars with everted, thickened and slightly grooved rims; these have been found at sites in Thornton-le-Dale at the southern edge of the North Yorks Moors, Rudston, South Cave and Garton Slack.[495]

Other Jar forms

Barrel Jars have proven to be of interest in helping to define differing ceramic traditions within the north-east, but other forms are not so helpful. Jars with everted, squared rims are also common across the north-east. This form was clearly widely used and copied and must have been useful to all ceramic using parts of the north-east.[496] The same type but with a thickened rim is also common across the area of study but appears to be absent from the Tees Valley. There are, however, examples from the North Yorks Moors at Levisham Moor and Rudston and across east Yorkshire at Garton Slack and Rudston. A slight variant with tapered, triangular sectioned rims would appear to be limited to the eastern side of the area; being found in the Vale of Pickering, North Yorks Moors and Tees Valley.

Whilst there are a number of ubiquitous types, found across the whole of the north-east, there also exist certain types that are far more regional in nature. Within these more regionalised forms decorative traditions suggest further regional traits. Most notably 'regional' within the jar forms is the Barrel Jar,

[495] Evans, J. (1995b) p.50 also see figs. 6-8 p.162
[496] Evans, J. (1995b) p.50 and illustrations p.55

being less common in east Yorkshire.[497] However more significantly differing jar production and decoration techniques point to the Tees Valley area and east Yorkshire, as having ceramic traditions which stand out as notably different to those around them although the latter, whilst useful for comparative purposes, is not within the study area. It may also be of note that within the square rimmed type those with thickened rims are not found within the Tees Valley.[498] The variant with triangular sectioned rims is, unfortunately, rather too widespread to suggest any regional preference although it is interesting that it would appear to be limited to the eastern side of the north-east, perhaps not being of interest to those people living on the western side of the Vale of York and on the eastern edge of the Pennines.[499]

Bowls and Dishes

Bowls and dishes of various slightly differing types are found in all assemblages although not in large numbers. This would suggest a preference for communal dishes rather than each person eating from an individual bowl or dish. Alternatively, it could indicate economic 'poverty', but since ceramic wares were not overly expensive and the north-east seems to have been otherwise fairly prosperous this is less likely to be the case.[500] Again with odd exceptions certain bowls and dishes fall into two geographic areas:-

[497] Evans, J. (1995b) p.50
[498] Evans, J. (1995b) p.50
[499] Evans, J. (1995b) p.50
[500] Hawthorne has discussed patterns of pottery usage in terms of differences in eating habits as opposed to changing economic traditions. This is based on the fact that ceramic wares were fairly cheap and economic conditions should not have controlled access to a particularly great extent. Instead Hawthorne argues that few ceramic wares, especially when these are large,

Bowls with everted, slightly rising rims are found mainly on the southern side of the North Yorks Moors at Costa Beck, Thornton-le-Dale, Great Ayton Moor and Levisham Moor.[501] Meanwhile bowls and dishes with beaded rims are found in the more northerly area of the Tees Valley, in assemblages from Stanwick, Catcote and Thorpe Thewles. A stray example has also been found much further south at Dalton Parlours but since no other examples have been found this cannot be taken as evidence that the type was widely used or produced in the southern area.[502] It is of note that, in contrast with the northern distribution of beaded rims discussed above, lightly beaded bowls with finger tipping decoration on the rim have been found only on the northern side of the Wolds at Faxfleet, Flixton and Staxton.[503]

The occurrence of decorated forms of the bowls and dishes discussed above also falls into two clear regional groups with a northern and southern bias.[504] The more northerly of these is found on the North Yorks Moors and Teesdale and the more southerly found on the Southern Wolds with relatively few examples to be found in the Vale of Pickering itself. These regions appear to have very distinct decorative traditions given that out of thirteen identified types of decorated pottery forms only two have been found on sites in both regions.

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suggest communal eating habits, whereas many vessels, especially smaller ones, indicate an emphasis on individual eating. Hawthorne, J. 'Pottery and Paradigms in the Early Western Empire' in *TRAC 97*. Oxbow Books, Oxford. 1998. p.166

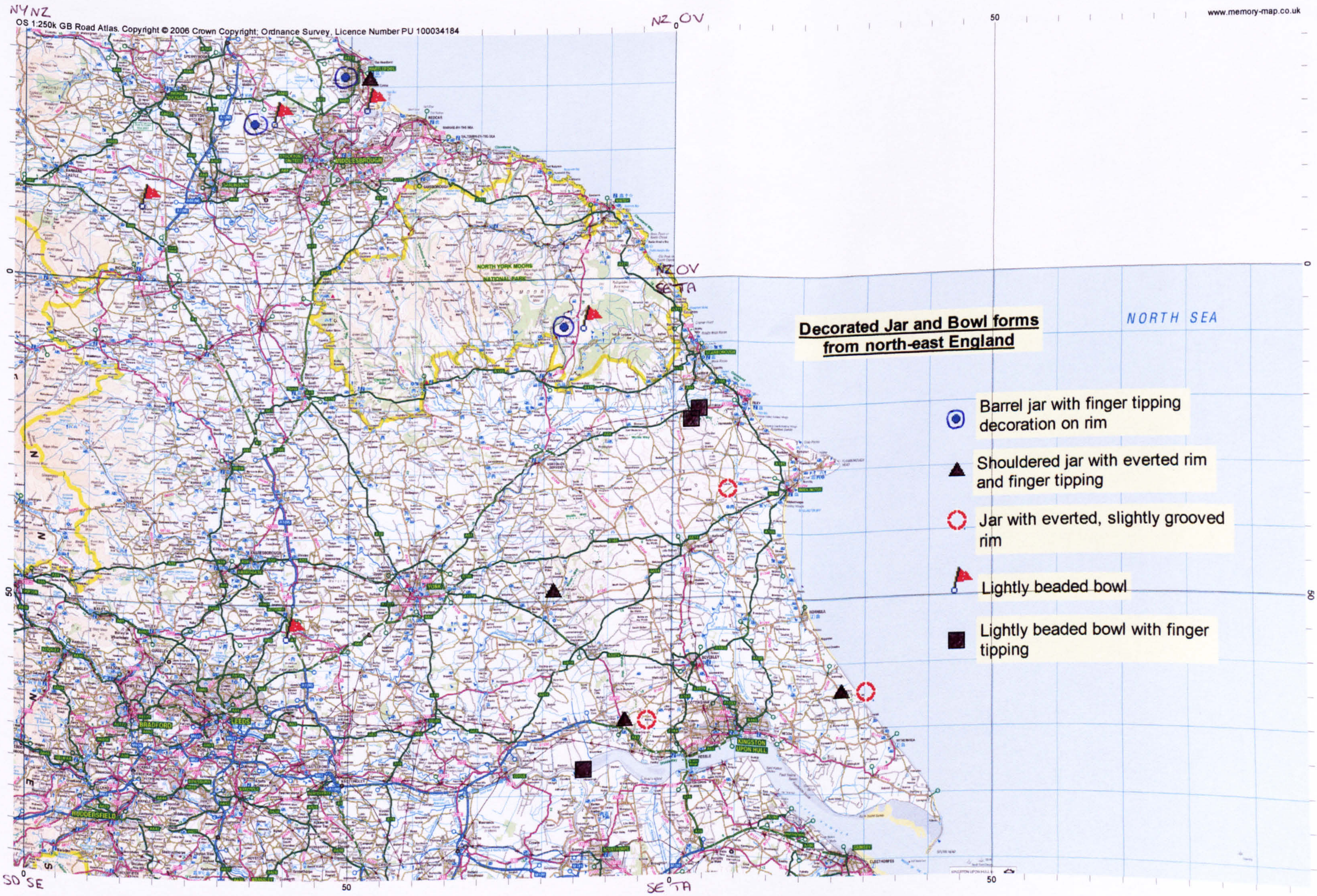
[501] Evans, J. (1995b) p.52

[502] Wrathmell, S. *Dalton Parlours: Iron Age Settlement and Roman Villa*. Yorkshire Archaeology 3. Yorkshire Archaeology Service, York. 1990

[503] Evans, J. (1995b) p.52

[504] See map 4 p.167 below

Map 4: Decorated Jar and Bowl forms from north-east England



Pre-Roman pottery imports into the north-east

Prior to the Roman invasion of the north there are only two sites in the region of study with large amounts of imported pottery. These are Stanwick in the Tees Valley and North Ferriby on the north bank of the Humber.[505] The pottery assemblages from the two sites are very different in character and do not indicate any sort of link between the two.

North Ferriby has a large collection of Gallo-Belgic wares and butt-beakers but the assemblage includes relatively little early South Gaulish Samian ware, the type found extensively at Stanwick.[506] North Ferriby is only just across the river from the major Roman site of Dragonby but the two sites have surprisingly little in common beyond their Gallo-Belgic assemblages.[507] North Ferriby has generally been termed a 'port of trade'[508] but this may be in doubt since, beyond its clear contact with modern-day Lincolnshire from where its Gallo-Belgic assemblage is most likely to have come, there is little other evidence for its trading influence.[509] Goods certainly arrived in North Ferriby via international trade networks, but there is a distinct lack of evidence for sites in northern England receiving goods from North Ferriby itself. The presence of Gallo-Belgic wares marks North Ferriby out from assemblages at other settlement sites in east Yorkshire. This indicates that whilst North Ferriby was clearly

[505] Evans, J. (1995b) p.53. North Ferriby is outside of the study area for this thesis but is briefly discussed here in relation to the pottery assemblages at Stanwick
[506] Evans, J. (1995b) p.54
[507] May, J. *Dragonby*. Oxbow, Oxford. 1996. For information on Gallo-Belgic assemblages see Evans, J. (1995b) p.54
[508] Evans, J. (1995b) p.54
[509] For discussion of North Ferriby, also known as Redcliffe, see Willis, S. (1996) p.193, the fullest publication is in : Crowther, C. and Didsbury, P. 'Redcliffe and the Humber' in Price, J. and Wilson, P. R. (eds.) *Roman Yorkshire*. BAR 193, Oxford. 1988. pp.3-20

receiving goods it was not partaking in a wider trade and distribution network within east Yorkshire let alone beyond. Evans suggests that the goods arriving at North Ferriby very much suggest civil 'Belgic' contact with south east England rather than more formally 'Roman' ones. This is in marked contrast with the material from Stanwick.[510]

The pottery assemblage from the Tofts at Stanwick is of a very different character from that of North Ferriby and quite unique in the north-east.[511] Willis suggests that the material is most unlikely to have reached Stanwick from North Ferriby, since the two assemblages are so different.[512] The material is dominated by the high incidence of South Gaulish Samian ware present in an unusually large range of forms including some types not found frequently even in areas where South Gaulish Samian is more usual. There are several examples of very rare types including Hermet 15 (fig.15 p.171) which mark the Stanwick assemblage out as exceptional.[513] There is also a very high proportion of decorated material at 45%, far higher than is usual even for large sites (eg.fig.14 p171).[514] Admittedly, the Roman element of the pottery makes up only 2%, by weight, of the whole assemblage: it is, therefore, necessary to realise that although the Samian ware from Stanwick is important it is does not make up very much of the total assemblage, the majority of which consists of other

[510] Evans, J. (1995b) p.54
[511] The major excavations of the 1980's at Stanwick by Haselgrove et al. have not been fully published and have been discussed in Chapter 1. The most complete publications yet available are: Haselgrove, C. C. (1990 a, b and c)
[512] Willis, S. 'The Romanization of pottery assemblages in the east and North-east of England', *Britannia* 27. 1996. p.194
[513] Evans, J. (1995b) p.55; Willis, S. (1996) p.202
[514] Willis, S. (1996) p.193

coarsewares.[515] Other imported wares such as Butt-Beakers (fig.9 p.163), Gallo-Belgic wares and a Hofheim flagon are also present but it is the Samian collection at Stanwick that marks it out from the rest.[516]

By contrast with North Ferriby, the material from Stanwick shows a very strong Roman connection; and the nature of the assemblage, with a wide functional range of high-status material, might suggest a diplomatic gift rather than the type of assemblage that would result from normal trading contacts. [517] This suggestion is endorsed by Willis, [518] who states that the high point of the imported pottery of Stanwick appears to post-date AD 43 and that little or no material was received prior to this date. [519] This tends to confirm the suggestion that the assemblage was diplomatic in nature: the peak of imported pottery dates to the period when, following the conquest of the south, Rome was looking to northern Britain in an attempt to assess which leaders might be pro-Roman and which would put up resistance to the forthcoming invasion of the north.

Willis states that, 'samian pottery was, indeed, often distributed or treated in ways which were distinct, indicating that it was regarded differently from other pottery, and more "valued".[520] However he also stresses that this situation is likely to have changed over time and that depending on 'cultural circumstances'

[515] Willis, S. (1996) p.193
[516] Evans, J. (1995b) p.55
[517] Evans, J. (1995b) p.55
[518] Willis, S. (1996) p.202
[519] Willis, S. (1996) p.217
[520] Willis, S. 'Samian Pottery in Britain: exploring its Distribution and Archaeological Potential' in Archaeological Journal 155, London, 1998a. p.86

Samian Ware from the Stanwick Oppidum[521]

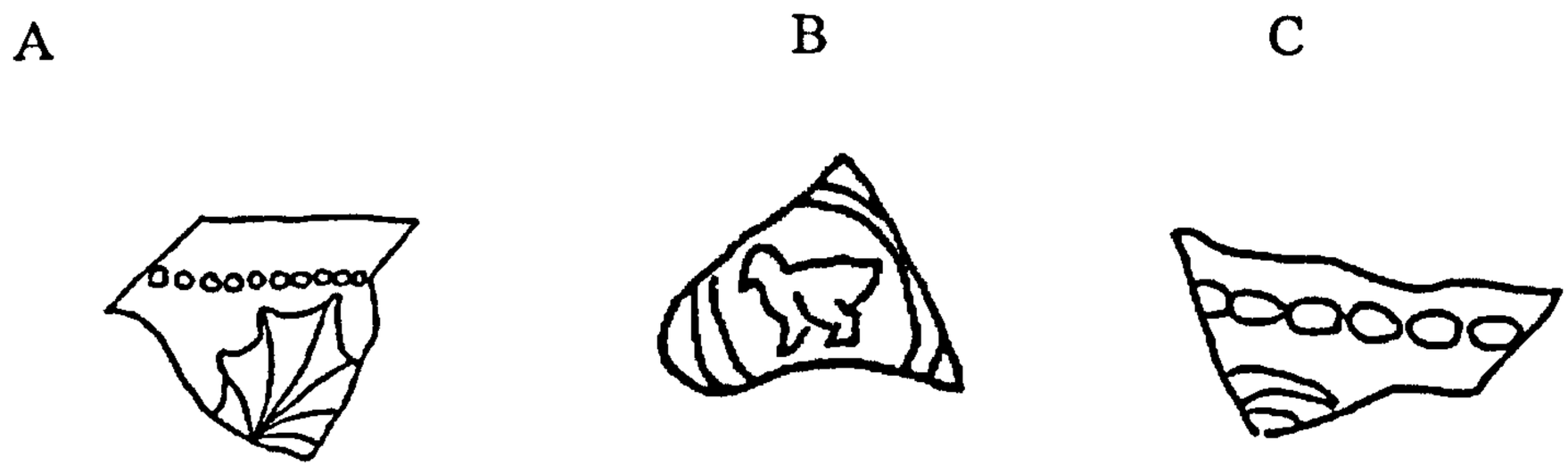


fig.14 Sherds of Samian Ware form 29

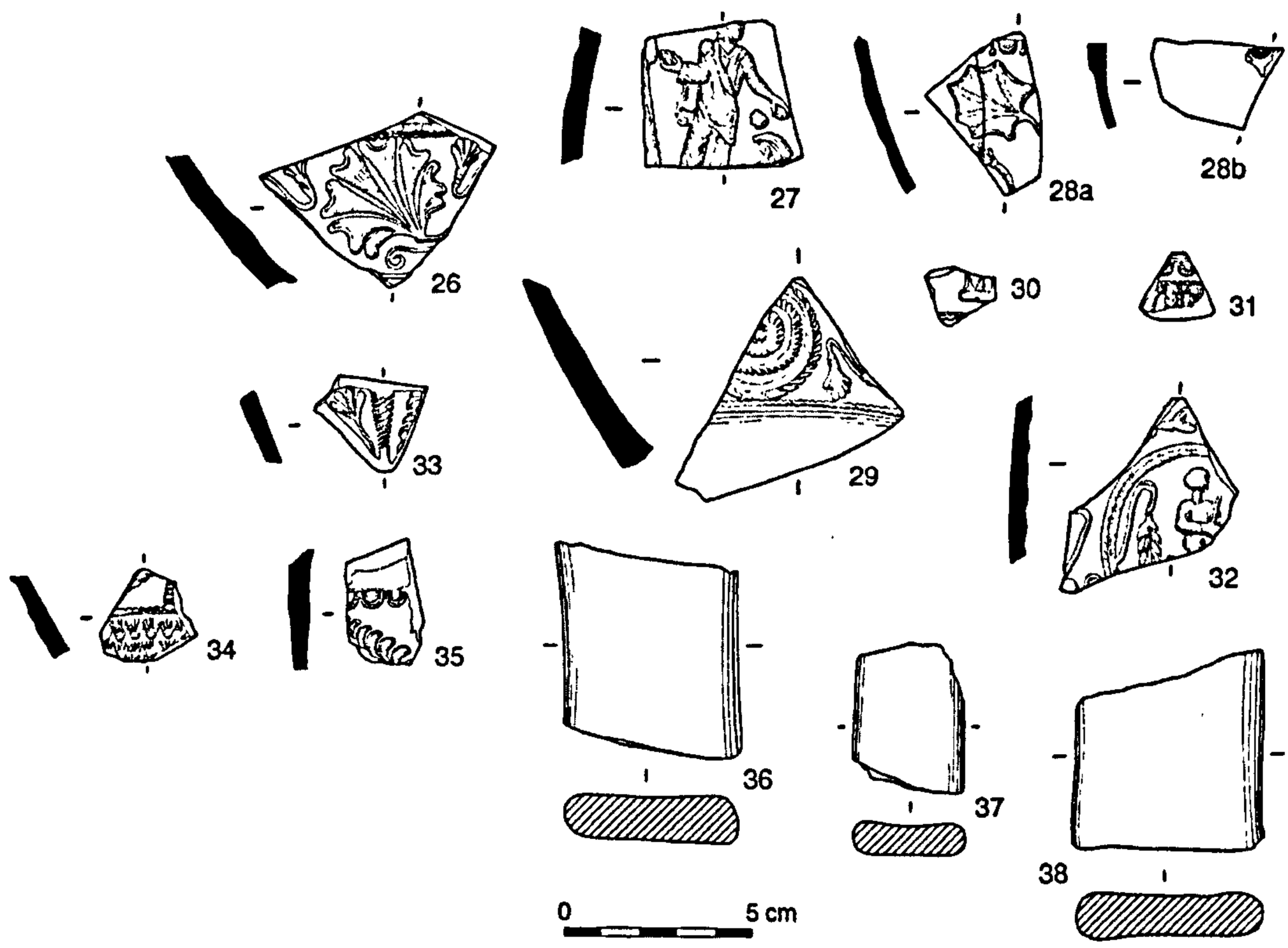


fig.15 Sherds of Samian form Hermet 15

[521]fig 14 examples After Wheeler, M. (1954) p.32, fig 15 after Haselgrove, C.C.et al. *Excavations and Fieldwork in the Tofts Field, Stanwick, North Yorkshire, 1984-2004* Britannia, forthcoming. For form see Hermet, F. *La Graufesenque (Condatomago) I. Vases Sigilles.* Librairie Ernest Leroux, Paris. 1934. Vol1. Planches plate 93

samian need not always have been regarded as a desirable commodity and therefore, 'it may equally be imagined that samian, and the Roman world which it represented, was not invariably evaluated positively by communities with indigenous roots'.[522] Thus the absence of samian from many sites in northern England need not necessarily represent lack of access and may be linked to preference or lack of desire for such wares. If the imported pottery at Stanwick was indeed a diplomatic gift as suggested by Evans and Haselgrove,[523] a question arises regarding the degree to which the site was really adopting more Roman ideas.

A town which deliberately imports Roman goods was clearly becoming romanised: North Ferriby can be considered an instance of this. At Stanwick, on the other hand, the fact that most of the pottery is fine ware rather than coarse ware suggests that it was not intended to be used but to represent, by virtue of the rarity of such ceramics in the late pre-Roman Iron Age, the particular status of the site and the significance of its connections with the Roman Empire.[524] Moreover, the small quantity of Roman wares in comparison with other ceramics on the site tends to suggest that Stanwick was 'romanised' only to a comparatively slight extent: rather, it was still an Iron Age site with an Iron Age culture, and was in receipt of Roman goods not through trade but via political channels.[525]

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[522] Willis, S. (1998a) p.86
[523] Evans, J. (1995b) p.54-55, Haselgrove, C. et al. (1984) p.21
[524] Willis notes that in four groups taken from the settlement site at Stanwick fine ware was more common than coarse ware. Since coarse ware was intended for use and fine ware was largely for display it would suggest that the assemblage at Stanwick was designed to impress those to whom it was given rather than for normal use. Willis, S. (1996) p.202
[525] Willis, S. (1996) p.202

The late Iron Age and early Roman site at Melsonby one mile south east of Stanwick has extensive evidence of occupation concurrent with Stanwick. It also has a large assemblage of South Gaulish Samian ware and Willis suggests that Stanwick may have been a multi-focus site with Melsonby forming one of these foci with another one centred perhaps 650 metres from the most high status part of the Tofts within the Stanwick defences.[526] 'It may be inferred from this evidence that the Stanwick complex, in common with other nucleated centres of the late pre-Roman Iron Age in western Europe, was poly-focal, comprising a series of occupation 'zones' or 'compounds'.[527] From this perspective the Tofts appears as one of a number of foci within, and evidently outside, the earthworks. Albeit perhaps pre-eminent among these'.[528] A mile represents some distance and therefore it is fair to suggest that Melsonby could have been an individual settlement with close links to the central oppidum site, as will be suggested for Thorpe Thewles below. However, poly-focal sites appear to have been relatively common in Late Iron Age Britain and therefore Willis' argument stands as a likely explanation of the relationship between Melsonby and Stanwick.[529]

Although this explanation appears plausible, a mile is a considerable distance for a settlement to be separated from its related foci and therefore it also seems reasonable to suggest that Melsonby could have been an individual settlement

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[526] See Haselgrove, C. C. et al. (1990a and b), Fitts, R. L. Haselgrove, C.C. et al. 'Melsonby revisited: survey and excavation 1992-5 at the site of the discovery of the 'Stanwick', North Yorkshire, hoard of 1843', *Durham Archaeological Journal* 14-15. 1999. pp.1-20

[527] Willis, S. (1996) p.202

[528] Willis, S. (1996) p.202

[529] Other examples of polyfocal sites from southern Britain are Camulodunum (Colchester) and Verulamium (St Albans): Mattingly, D. (2006) p.59, 76; Jones, B. and Mattingly, D. (1990) p.47-9

albeit almost certainly one with close connections to Stanwick. A similar relation will be suggested below for Thorpe Thewles – but given its greater distance from Stanwick this is likely to have been less close than that of Melsonby.

The few other sites known in the study area with any pre-conquest imports are Thorpe Thewles, Catcote and Scotch Corner.[530] Thorpe Thewles has a little pre-conquest South Gaulish Samian ware as well as a Butt-Beaker and a number of wheel-made greyware vessels, some of which some could be early.[531] Catcote has less clearly pre-conquest material with the most likely being a piece of terra nigra and no Samian ware whilst the Scotch Corner assemblage includes just three fragments of Samian.[532] New sites are emerging which may add to this list, including Sedgefield (although this does appear to be a second century and later site) and Street House Loftus, but the data from these sites has not yet been fully published.[533]

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[530] For details of sites see Appendix A and C (on CD)
[531] Evans, J. (1995b) p.56
[532] There is one further currently known assemblage of pre-conquest imported pottery from northern England which comes from Rudston, outside of the study area. This assemblage includes a butt beaker, a terra rubra girth beaker, and fragments of two white ware flagons but again no Samian ware. Evans, J. (1995b) p.56
[533] Sedgefield is discussed above. Street House is not fully published. See Appendix A for references.

Post-conquest: the Roman impact on pottery assemblages in the north-east

The first and second centuries in north Britain show both change and continuity in terms of the pottery assemblages. As discussed above assemblages from rural sites are used because such sites are likely to have had an entirely (or almost entirely) indigenous population: the assemblages are accordingly more indicative of the impact of the occupation on the native people of the north-east. The sites within the region of study with large enough assemblages to be of use are Levisham Moor, Holme House Piercebridge and Catcote. Again County Durham appears to have been almost entirely aceramic: the most northerly assemblages are found on the upper and lower stretches of the Tees at Piercebridge and Catcote.[534] If a connection can be made between the sites at Stanwick and Thorpe Thewles, both of which have pre-conquest assemblages containing imported Samian ware, then it is of note that both of these sites went out of use early in the post-conquest period and do not have assemblages from the latter first and second centuries. There is also little take up of ceramics in west Yorkshire with many sites remaining virtually aceramic from the Iron Age until the third and fourth centuries.[535]

In general the whole of the north-east continued to use Iron Age styles and fabrics.[536] Willis comments that, 'assemblages in the region did not change

[534] Evans, J. (unpublished)
[535] Evans, J. (unpublished)
[536] This pattern has also been noted in the Yorkshire Wolds indicating a general lack of change in across England north of the Humber as a whole. Rigby notes that it was the scale of production which changed but not the styles. Rigby, Val. 'Pots in Pits: The British Museum Yorkshire Settlements Project 1988-92' in *East Riding Archaeologist* 11. East Riding Archaeological Society, Hull. 2004. p.44

significantly immediately following AD 43. Indeed there is continuity with the pre-Claudian pattern such that it can be fairly stated that amongst these groups the conquest is ceramically invisible'.[537] This tendency to use Iron Age styles can be seen in the assemblages from Catcote in the second century whilst at Levisham Moor 'native' wares continued to be the main ceramic wares of choice well into the second century.[538] Indeed, 'it would seem that pre-existing arrangements were not smashed by the military advent of Rome and that there was no sudden flood of importation.'[539]

Iron Age traditions also continued in the North Yorkshire Moors. Here locally made ceramics continued to be used until the late Roman period when Crambeck wares (figs. 10 and 11 p.163) finally entered the area. The North Yorks Moors are thought to have been a highly conservative area with a population that preferred to have as little to do with the Roman presence as possible: Wilson considers that development of the area and its population was restricted by the geography of the area and its relatively poor economy, which was due to topographic and climatological conditions on the moors.[540] The people and their economy appear to have been resistant to change and any late Iron Age contact with the outside world was broken at the start of the Roman period when the population 'retreated into fragmented and largely self sufficient units constrained by the topography'.[541] The re-establishment of some

[537] Willis, S. (1996) p.193
[538] Although out of this study area Willis notes that the patterns seen at Catcote and Levisham Moor can also be identified in assemblages from Beadlam Villa, Rudston Villa, Garton Slack, Wetwang Slack, Langton fortlet and Hawling Road in north Humberside. For references see Appendix A.
[539] Willis, S. (1996) p.193
[540] Wilson, P. (1995) p.74
[541] Wilson, P. (1995) p.74

interaction with surrounding communities did occur, but not until the fourth century as indicated by the presence of Crambeck ware. However as Wilson highlights, the use of a very common pottery form does not indicate any degree of romanisation: 'What cannot be assumed is that the possession of romanised ceramics can be equated with a romanised cultural outlook, particularly as in the 4th century the products of the Crambeck industry appear to have been all-pervasive, reaching almost every site in eastern Yorkshire'.[542] Furthermore 'Given the ubiquity of Crambeck ware, the presence of romanised ceramics, although demonstrating contact with the romanised economy, need not indicate any substantial change in other cultural norms'.[543]

Iron Age and Roman ceramic usage in the north-west

Iron Age

In line with sites on the Pennines and in County Durham but in complete contrast to the Tees Valley and east Yorkshire there is as yet no evidence for an Iron Age ceramic tradition in the north-west England north of the Mersey.[544] If the indigenous populations on both sides of the Pennines were in any way linked in the Iron Age then evidence for this is certainly not to be found in the pottery assemblages from each area. Given the complete absence of pottery

[542] Wilson, P. (1995) p.74
[543] Wilson, P. (1995) p.74
[544] Evans, J. (unpublished)

evidence from the Iron Age a discussion of ceramics in the north-west can only begin with the start of the Roman period.

Roman

Although for most, if not all of the period of study, some areas of the north-east remained virtually aceramic there is nevertheless a strong pottery tradition in the Tees Valley and east Yorkshire. The same cannot be said of north-west England. Despite access to pottery supplies and, almost certainly, the economic means to possess such a relatively cheap material, virtually the entire north-west of England, covering the modern counties of Cumbria, Lancashire and Cheshire, seems to have remained aceramic throughout the Iron Age and a good part of the Roman occupation.[545] The Mersey appears to form a divide between the unusually low levels of ceramic usage and more 'normal' assemblages mixed in with aceramic sites in Merseyside and the Wirral. It is only in the third and fourth centuries that ceramics seem to have been adopted to any extent in the north-west, but even then they did not form an integral part of native material culture, falling out of use as soon as pottery supply ceased at the end of the Roman period. In looking for evidence of romanisation Evans has noted that any such study is 'largely a study of negative evidence'.[546]

One reason for the lack of ceramic evidence in the north-west is likely to be the strong bias of archaeological investigations towards the forts and military establishments of the area. Little work has even been done in *vici* let alone on

[545] Evans, J. (unpublished)
[546] Evans, J. (unpublished)

native settlements although more sites are currently being identified with a view to excavation in the near future. There are very few sites in the north-west with any sort of pottery assemblage although ongoing excavation at Glencoyne Park may add more information in the near future.[547] Despite their scarcity the presence of ceramics at these sites and their absence from others is worthy of discussion and may give some indication of the cultural perspective of the indigenous population during the late Iron Age and post-conquest periods. This evidence can give a useful comparison with that found in areas to the east of the Pennines.

Cumbria

Although finds are rare, ceramics are present on some rural sites in the Roman period. In Cumbria few assemblages from Roman-period native sites consist of more than a few sherds, of which some is locally produced rather than commercial material.[548] This native material is closer in appearance to the Iron Age tradition than to anything Roman and thus suggests that even though the indigenous population may have begun to produce pottery in the Roman period they did not take on Roman styles. Instead they adopted the Iron Age forms used on the east of the Pennines in previous centuries.[549] The largest north-western assemblage, where nearly all of the 280 sherds recovered were from imported vessels, comes from a site on the Stainmore Pass but due to its

[547] Excavations at Glencyone Park have been published only in preliminary form with little detail on finds: Loaney, H. and Hoean, A. (2003) pp.51-65. Loaney, H. and Hoean, A. 'Bronze and Iron Age connections: memory and persistence in Matterdale, Cumbria', Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society (3rd series) 4. 2004. pp.39-55.
[548] Evans, J. (unpublished)
[549] Evans, J. *This small harvest: pottery from 'Highland zone' sites in north Wales and the North-West.* 2001 (unpublished)

proximity to the main Roman route over the Pennines and the availability of passing trade this site cannot be taken as typical.[550]

Otherwise the next largest assemblage is from Penrith Farm with 156 sherds after which sherd counts drop rapidly with 65 from Silloth and Milking Gap, 28 from Ewanrigg, 18 from Fingland, 5 from Dobcross Hall, a few from Waitby, Oughterby and Grey Hill and just one from Bousted Hill.[551] This is all the pottery so far recovered from rural sites in Cumbria by Evans and illustrates the scarcity of ceramic evidence even from the Roman period. Although the pottery assemblage from Cumbria and indeed from the entire north-west is very small there is nevertheless a mixed selection of forms and types but the majority are locally produced and reveal little evidence of a desire for imported wares. At Milking Gap greywares appear to have been commonest and this is also the case at Penrith Farm. Greywares are likely to have been relatively locally made and only one sherd of South Gaulish Samian Ware (form Dr 37) from Penrith reveals the presence of any imported, romanised pottery whilst at Waitby and Ewanrigg there is some Black Burnished Ware (BB1 fig.12 and 13 p.163)[552] and also Huntcliffe ware from east Yorkshire.[553] The latter was brought over the Pennines but since it was basically a mass produced Iron Age form it cannot be

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[550] Evans, J. (2001). There is no further information available on this site.
[551] Evans, J. (unpublished) for references see Appendix A.
[552] Black Burnished Wares are coarse textured hand-formed sandy wares with burnished surfaces, typically everted-rim jars with burnished lattice decoration, flat-rimmed bowls and plain dishes. A large range of forms were produced in the Pool Habour region and were distributed throughout Britain from the mid-2nd to 4th centuries AD. Forms include copies of Gallo-Belgic plates and bowls, cups, folded beakers, flagons and jugs, paterae/ candlesticks and ceramic table legs. But the main types produced and exported across the rest of Britain were jars, bowls and dishes. The transportation of BB1 into northern England appears to have been connected to military expansion although this is not to say that the spread of BB1 was directly connected to military transport networks. For further information see www.potsherd.uklinux.net/atlas/Ware/BB1
[553] Evans, J. (2001)

said to reveal much evidence for romanisation.[554] Other sites produced more locally-made wares, particularly greywares, with Samian present in very small amounts only at Fingland and some possible BB1 from Eller Beck.[555] Evans notes that given the prevalence of BB1 at forts and *vici* it is of interest in that it does not appear to reach most rural sites. The only exception to this is the site at Stainmore which has already been marked out as somewhat anomalous for its position close to a main military route way.[556] The lack of imported pottery on sites in the north-west could indicate difficulty of access to these goods. However, given the certainty of their availability at numerous military sites in the region, it seems more likely to represent at least a lack of interest if not perhaps an avoidance of Roman ceramic styles. This attitude towards available imported pottery contrasts strongly with evidence from Fairy Knowe in Southern Scotland where Samian and amphora sherds dominate the Roman assemblage and date to the later first century indicating their arrival on this native site at the same time as the first Roman invasions of the area.[557] Although Fairy Knowe has the greatest range of forms, indicating its primacy, it is not the only site in southern Scotland to have Samian and other imported ceramics at this time.[558] Willis has shown that the forms found at Fairy Knowe and these other sites are those which are known to have been available at Roman military sites in the region and this clearly demonstrates contact,[559] whether through

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[554] Evans, J. (2001)
[555] Evans, J. (2001)
[556] Evans, J. (2001)
[557] 31 sherds Samian – representing at least 19 vessels of 5 or more forms both plain and decorated; 125 sherds Amphora. Main, L. 'Excavations of a timber round-house and broch at the Fairy Knowe, Buchlyvie, Stirlingshire.1975-8'. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 128. 1998. p.321
[558] Main, L. (1998) p.329
[559] Willis, S. 'The Iron Age and Roman Pottery' and 'Objects of Fired Clay' in Main, L. (1998b) pp.321-31 and 332-5

trade or diplomacy, between native and military sites in the earliest period of the Roman conquest of the north. 'Roman material culture was clearly not abhorrent' and the population 'may even have embraced it'.[560] Such a marked contrast with sites in north-western England supports the idea that imported ceramics were available to the native populations within the region of study but that in north-west England, and perhaps also across much of the study area, the Tees Valley being a notable exception, the native population at least had no interest in obtaining them and may even have chosen to avoid them.

From the available ceramic evidence, Evans has suggested that there is little sign any of the pottery on these Cumbrian sites was present until at least the second century, whilst a number of sites have only third and fourth century assemblages.[561] He also notes that this pattern, with a notable increase in pottery usage in the third and fourth centuries, is similar to that seen in west Yorkshire.[562] Comparison of the assemblages from Cumbrian sites is difficult owing to the low quantities of data available but some statistical analysis has been carried out by Evans, the results of which mark the Cumbrian assemblages out from those aceramic or virtually aceramic sites on the east of the Pennines with which they might otherwise be considered comparable.[563]

The tendency for rural Romano-British sites in the north-east to have comparatively high numbers of jars, often over 50% of the pottery assemblage, and lower amounts of dishes and bowls has been discussed above. They usually

[560] Main, L. (1998) p.330
[561] Evans, J. (2001)
[562] Evans, J. (unpublished)
[563] Evans, J. (2001)

also have occasional mortaria. This tendency to prefer jars is a rather archaic practice and is also seen on sites in the north-west (41% of vessel functions in the North West assemblages excluding that at Stainmore where the Samian collection is missing), the only exception being Penrith Farm which appears to follow a more Romanised pottery tradition.[564] However the striking difference comes when comparing numbers of mortaria on Cumbrian sites with those in both the north-east and the south of the country. [565] Mortaria levels on Cumbrian sites are unusually high with typically at least four on each site and making up 27% of the ceramic vessel functions on sites in the North West (excluding Stainmore),[566] which presumably means that they were not used in any romanised way, where only one or perhaps two would be necessary. Evans concludes that, 'these are clearly no index of romanisation and offer a complete contrast with the south-east where.....mortaria are slow to penetrate onto rural sites.'[567] Rush has carried out studies of mortaria use in the south-east and notes that although here too 'it should not be assumed that mortaria were necessarily used in the same way in Roman Britain as they were in continental Europe',[568] they often do not appear on native rural sites until the third century or later and sometimes not at all. Given that mortaria are slow to appear in the more romanised south-east it is notable that they are rather more common in the north-east but most striking are the large numbers in use relatively early on in the conservative north-west.[569] These 'contrast strongly with rural sites in east Yorkshire or west Yorkshire, the levels of mortaria on the Cumbrian sites being

[564] Evans, J. (2001)
[565] Mortaria were probably used to crush small quantities of food such as herbs.
[566] Evans, J. (2001)
[567] Evans, J. (unpublished)
[568] Rush, P. (1997) p.59
[569] For further information see ceramics table in Appendix C.

greatly in excess of anything found on urban or military sites'.[570] The reason for the large numbers of mortaria on sites in the north-west remains something of a mystery, but Evans sensibly points out that 'mortaria must have served a function which was little to do with Roman cuisine' and that 'Reece's possibly ironic suggestion of yoghurt fermentation bowls certainly deserves some consideration.'[571] Whatever their use, the numbers of mortaria on sites in north-western England, particularly when combined with the general lack of much if any other ceramic evidence, highlights the distinct difference between this region and any other in northern England.

Lancashire and Cheshire

Lancashire and Cheshire, although also virtually aceramic during the Roman period, have pottery assemblages which indicate their population may have reacted in a slightly different way to the Roman presence. Matthews suggests that, whilst the traditional assumption is that this part of the north-west was a poor, undeveloped and thinly populated landscape, this was not the case: 'recent palaeo-environmental work has shown that the army passed through an open landscape with areas of light woodland and arable fields. Arable fields presuppose farmers; farmers presuppose farms'.[572] There are very few known rural sites from this area and the only known sites are undatable cropmarks which have provided no ceramic evidence.[573] Those sites which do have any

[570] Evans, J. (unpublished)
[571] Evans, J. (unpublished)
[572] Matthews, K. J. 'Immaterial culture: invisible peasants and consumer subcultures in north-west Britannia' in *TRAC 96*, Oxbow Books, Oxbow. 1997. p.120
[573] Evans, J. (2001)

pottery assemblages have very low sherd counts with three from Moss Brow Farm, Timperley Old Hall and one from Werneth Low.[574] Thus those sites with any pottery in Lancashire and Cheshire reveal even smaller amounts than sites in Cumbria suggesting that the native population had a different approach to ceramic use. Such a small number of ceramics could indicate an even lesser interest in ceramic use than that seen in Cumbria and perhaps a firmer resistance to change but Matthews has suggested a different explanation for the nature of these assemblages.

It is clear from the lack of pottery on most sites that much of the rural population in Lancashire and Cheshire did not take part in conspicuous consumption but the small amount of mass-produced romanised material that has been found reveals that people did have access to the markets where such goods could be obtained if desired. Given the extreme lack of ceramic finds from the Lancashire and Cheshire regions the presence of any romanising material culture at all should be seen as anomalous. Mass produced romanised goods made up a tiny proportion of the material culture available to these sites so the fact that some chose to possess such items, even in very small quantities is worthy of note.[575] Matthews has also cited evidence for these items being retained even after they had ceased to be of use. The goods in question are not finewares but utilitarian vessels. A number of these appear to have been repaired using rivets which would not have allowed them to continue to be used for the purposes for which they were made and shows that their purpose on native sites is very unlikely to have been linked to their original function.

[574] Evans, J. (2001) and for references see Appendix C.
[575] Matthews, K. J. (1997) p.129

Instead Matthews suggests that these romanised ceramic vessels, despite their utilitarian nature, may have been used for the purposes of display; presumably in interactions with peers.[576] That romanised material may have been used for display purposes in Lancashire and Cheshire and, from the way in which it was kept and mended long after damage had rendered it unusable, was presumably highly prized, marks the area out from Cumbria.[577] Here there were slightly larger assemblages, particularly in the later period, and there is more evidence of the presence of a few imported wares, but there is no indication that vessels were curated and used for display purposes.

From the paucity and minimal size of assemblages it appears that the desire to own and display romanised vessels was very far from common in Lancashire and Cheshire but nonetheless it may hint at a different cultural approach to romanised material; perhaps a more hierarchical society where there was some value to be gained from display. To suggest that the indigenous populations of Lancashire and Cheshire were of a different regional identity to those of Cumbria would be to base too much on too little evidence but there is perhaps no harm in pointing out the possibility.

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[576] Matthews, K. J. (1997) p.130

[577] A parallel for this practice has been seen at Fairy Knowe in lowland Scotland where Willis has noted that several items of Samian from the site have been re-used. Vessels have been deliberately trimmed down and a number of sherds have worn edges suggesting their use as polishers in the production of metalwork. In these cases the original purpose had changed, just as the items from Lancashire became unusable, but the desire to retain the original object in some form is an interesting parallel strengthening the suggestion that Roman pottery could be considered valuable to some members of the native population Main, L. (1998) p.327

Discussion

North-east England:

Iron Age pottery forms

Overall there seems to be a common tradition in the forms of ceramics found in the area from the Humber to the Tees Valley. The differences come in the form of slight variations in form and decoration such as finger tipping and the use of beaded rims rather than the use of entirely different vessels. Evans comments that 'within this region there are hints in the distributions of various types of a possible division into two or three sub-areas, centred on the Wolds and the Hull Valley, the Vale of Pickering and the North Yorkshire Moors and the Tees Valley....and this is in contrast to the break to the north and west with aceramic sites in County Durham, the Pennines and Cumbria, and to the south of the Humber.....The general lack of Lincolnshire stamped and rouletted material in southern east Yorkshire is remarkable, and testifies to a very 'hard' boundary in material culture along the Humber'.[578]

The distinctive tradition of pottery decoration found in the Tees Valley was clearly influenced by pottery styles from further south, particularly that of east Yorkshire, but developed in a way which would suggest a population with a preference for different stylistic traditions to those of the people of the Moors and east Yorkshire.[579] The Tees Valley contains a number of the richest Iron Age sites in the north-east, including Stanwick, Thorpe Thewles and Catcote. A

[578] Evans, J. (1995a) p.53
[579] Evans, J. (1995a) p.59

pottery tradition centred in the Tees Valley but not found outside it would suggest that the influence of this tradition was limited to the Tees Valley. This in turn indicates that the people living in this area, although keen to mark themselves out as a cultural unit, may not have held sway outside the Tees Valley, at least not in terms of the extent of their pottery production.

Although Iron Age pottery studies alone do not give sufficient evidence for the presence of boundaries between differing traditions, there are some patterns of use that are worthy of note here. Firstly, notable for its absence rather than its presence, the lack of a ceramic tradition at all in County Durham, the Pennines and Cumbria, is of interest. Perhaps most interesting of all is the aceramic nature of County Durham in the Iron Age given that there were strong pottery producing industries to the south, in the Tees Valley, and that ceramics were seen at least to some extent in Northumbria.[580] That County Durham remained aceramic must indicate the continuance of an aceramic tradition and a lack of interest in change which marks this population out from its neighbours.

Pre-conquest imports

The presence of pre-conquest imported material is an indicator of high status. All the sites in Northern England with pre-conquest pottery except for Rudston which is outside of the study area, are within relatively easy transportation reach of the coast or navigable waterways, which would allow them access to

[580] Main, L. (1998) p.328

international trade and thus to imported wares.[581] It is important to note that with the exception of Rudston, which is in the southern part of east Yorkshire and relatively close to areas with considerable pre-conquest continental trade, all the other sites with pre-conquest pottery, including Stanwick, are in the Tees Valley. Catcote is on the coast, Thorpe Thewles is roughly half way between Catcote and Stanwick, and Melsonby, if a settlement in its own right, is a mile south-east of the Stanwick fortifications. The Tees Valley has already been noted for its regional native ceramic tradition. It now appears that this region also had continental contacts: three of the only five sites in the north-east which have so far revealed evidence for the presence of pre-conquest imported pottery are sited in the Tees Valley; the other two being outside of the study area at North Ferriby and Rudston in east Yorkshire.[582] The particular ceramic tradition of the Tees Valley marks the area out from the rest of the north-east as an area of significant social, political and economic importance.

The exceptional site of Stanwick is now accepted by some as the stronghold of the pro-Roman Iron Age queen Cartimandua, ruler of the Brigantes.[583] Evans tends to agree with Higham[584] that the core of Brigantian territory may have run along the west of the Vale of York but suggests that on pottery evidence, 'it would seem that, whatever their political relationships, the 'core' area of the Brigantes (to which, perhaps, ought to be added the lower Tees Valley) has a ceramic tradition very close to and probably derived from that of the Parisi, but

[581] Stead, I. M. *Rudston Roman Villa.* Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Hull. 1980
[582] Evans, J. (1995b) pp.53-6
[583] Haselgrove. C. C. (1990c)
[584] Evans, J. (1995a) p.59, Higham, N. 'Brigantia revisited' in *Northern History* 23, 1987. pp.1-19

with some subtle differences'. [585] He also points out that during the Iron Age pottery use in west Yorkshire was very slight which would not fit particularly well with the strong tradition already identified in the Tees Valley and the northern part of the Vale.[586]

The terms 'Brigantes' and 'territory' are used here with caution given the number of identities any inhabitant of the Tees Valley could have held. The individuals may have held a geographic identity however this may not have been directly bound up with a specific name. On the basis of the pottery evidence, it may be plausible to add the western side of the Vale of York to the territory attributed to the Brigantes. However from the pre-conquest pottery evidence it seems far more reasonable to place at least the heartland, if not the whole territory of the Brigantes, if the term can be applied, in the Tees Valley. This is because, on current archaeological evidence, both imported wares and the local ceramic traditions noted above are restricted almost entirely to the large, impressive and exceptional sites in this area.

A heartland focused on the large river valley of the Tees giving access to the sea (via what is still a heavily used harbour at modern Hartlepool very near Catcote and thence to both local and more wide ranging trade) would certainly be desirable for a community with a strong political and economic basis. Indeed in a hierarchical Iron Age society it would not be unreasonable to see Catcote, Thorpe Thewles and possibly Melsonby as secondary settlements to the main centre at Stanwick. This would also explain the presence of imported materials

[585] Evans, J. (1995a) p.59
[586] Evans, J. (unpublished)

at these sites when they are not seen on any other site north of the southern Wolds while the Samian at Thorpe Thewles is likely to have been received from Stanwick rather than obtained independently by the settlement itself.

Although relatively inexpensive as a gift it seems likely that the Samian ware found at Stanwick reached the site though some form of diplomatic contact, presumably via a Roman official, a theory that carries with it implications for the level of romanisation, or rather lack of it, at the site. Given that there is no Samian ware at any sites north of North Ferriby, and the assemblage at the latter is of an entirely different character to that at Stanwick, there is no reason to assume that the assemblage from Stanwick entered the north via North Ferriby. Indeed it would seem rather easier, assuming the route was known to the Romans, to have carried it by sea up to the mouth of the Tees (at Hartlepool) and then along the navigable stretch of the Tees as far as possible. This would bring the assemblage directly into the Tees Valley without a long journey by road through territory occupied by at least one other native group or groups, by no means all of whom may have been friendly towards Rome.[587]

The presence of a possible diplomatic gift at the oppidum site of Stanwick and the literary evidence discussed in chapter 2 suggests that the Tees Valley could have been inhabited by the Brigantes and that these people, or at least their queen, were in a friendly relationship with Rome. Creighton believes that it is highly likely Caesar remained in diplomatic contact with the dynasts of Britain and at some stage after this it seems possible that the king or queen of the

[587] For a discussion of the means by which kingdoms became connected with Rome and the degree of variation within the term 'friendly kingdom' see Brand, D (1996). Creighton, J. (2000) p.58

Brigantes may have entered into such a relationship.[588] He goes on to explain the varied nature of relations with Rome and in particular the potential for profit for British rulers but the ultimate power of Rome. 'Kings could be "given" to peoples, taken away from them, replaced, or kept on ice. Individuals could be raised to prominence, or simply removed from political life'.[589] Braund also stresses the possibility for both upward and downward movement of a ruler stating that, 'kings' relations with Roman emperors could and did fluctuate through their reigns'.[590] A friendly relationship would have involved active political contact with Rome and Creighton argues that, 'Britain, through the institution of friendly kings, became an intrinsic part of the Roman world'.[591] The character of a friendly kingdom appears to have involved a high degree of interaction between kingdoms and Rome and the active creation of 'Romanised' Iron Age kingdoms tied to the heart of the Roman state and actively involved in developing their own kingdoms within the wider Roman world.[592] It seems unlikely that the Tees Valley area was so closely connected to Rome and the Empire in the late pre-conquest period. Braund states that Cartimandua may have inherited her power and Roman citizenship, which would indicate an established relationship with Rome, or that she may have received it during her reign indicating developing relations during her reign.[593] The diplomatic gift, if that is indeed what it was, and the general lack of very much evidence for strong ties to Rome at Stanwick and in the Tees Valley area may indicate that the ruler of the Brigantes, presumably Cartimandua at this time, was in the process of

[588] Creighton, J. (2000) p.58
[589] Creighton, J. (2000) p.58
[590] Bruand, D. (1996) p.86
[591] Creighton, J. (2000) p.217
[592] Creighton, J. (2000) p.217
[593] Bruand, D. (1996) p.125

building a friendship with Rome in the late pre-conquest period which was curtailed by the actions of Venutius and finally the invasion of the area in the 70's AD. This is speculative and it is possible that the area was more closely tied to Rome but appears a plausible explanation for the apparently developing, rather than fully developed, relationship between the friendly kingdom of the Tees Valley area and Rome in the period preceding the invasion of northern England.

Post-conquest pottery

It is possible that although localised production continued throughout the region in the early Roman period there was a change in supply mechanisms. At Holme House calcite gritted wares went up to 25% of the assemblage after the conquest where they had been virtually absent before.[594] This would indicate the opening up of a new source of tempering material to potters in this area. After the conquest some native pottery industries may no longer have able to access the same sources of material they had been using in the past, or alternatively may have had access to new and more preferable materials, and this in turn had an impact on the type of ceramics they were producing although not necessarily on form and decoration.[595]

If the Roman presence had some impact on the materials available to native potters, it does not seem to have had an impact on methods of production until the third century with the arrival of Knapton and Hutcliffe wares. It would also

[594] Evans, J. (1995a) p.61
[595] Evans, J. (1995a) p.61

appear that where romanised techniques such as the use of the wheel were being used early on, goods produced in this way did not enter the countryside and thus did not reach the majority of the indigenous population.[596] An example of this is the comparison of the assemblage from Hawling Road with the small romanised town of Shiptonthorpe only 3km away.[597] The sites are outside of this study area but are worthy of mention here as a good example of the disassociation of the native and Roman trading networks. The pottery assemblage from Shiptonthorpe is dominated by wheel thrown greywares, a type associated with Roman settlements. These wares are barely found at Hawling Road in the second century although they seem to have reached it in the third and fourth centuries. This indicates that romanised towns were not well linked into the native trading network, at least in east Yorkshire, and the native population preferred to avoid this new ceramic style. If it was not trading with the local population Shiptonthorpe must have been relying on passing trade from the York-Brough and Brough-Malton roads which it lies next to.[598] There is a lack of evidence to prove whether this double layer economy, with Roman trade being carried out along the roads and native trade remaining in the countryside, was also to be found elsewhere in the north-east but it is likely that this was the case in a good part of the area.

The rural pottery assemblages from the post-conquest period in the north-east suggest a strong degree of conservatism with very little change between the late Iron Age and the early second century. Fabrics may have changed but forms and

[596] Evans, J. (1995a) p.61
[597] Millett, M. (ed.) *Shiptonthorpe, East Yorkshire; Archaeological Studies of a Romano-British Roadside Settlement.* Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Leeds. 2006.
[598] Evans, J. (1995a) p.62

styles did not. Evans comments, 'in terms of fabric supply the conquest seems to change the sources, but not the tradition'.[599] In fact as the general trend indicates a decrease in jars and an increase in bowls and dishes as well as an increased variety of functions the north-east seems, if anything, to have gone the other way with a decrease in bowls and an increase in jars. The clear difference between ceramic preferences on native sites and those on more romanised ones can be seen by comparison to military sites such as Catterick where there is a far more normal trend of a decrease in jars and an increase in bowls.[600] Indeed sites with a strong military presence such as York and Carlisle start off life with an even more romanised appearance. Evans comments, 'the point of this comparison is not merely to show the unusual urban/rural dichotomy in the functional use of vessels, but to emphasise the gulf between those patterns in parts of the region. The continued use of 'native' vessels on rural sites suggest a continuity of the traditional pattern of cultural norms, despite the availability of new, often technically superior, 'romanised', or in many ways 'Belgicised' ones in urban areas'.[601] This is certainly evidence of inertia and a lack of interest in adoption of new pottery, presumably because pottery itself was of no use to these aceramic settlements. The lack of development may also be interpreted as a form of avoidance of new ideas associated with the Roman presence, but it is certainly evidence for cultural inertia and conservatism.

[599] Evans, J. (1995a) p.62
[600] Evans, J. (1995a) p.63 and see pottery reports in chapters 7-10 of Wilson, P.R. (2002)
[601] Evans, J. (1995a) p.64

North-west England

Lack of pottery has been regarded as evidence of poverty but as has been suggested elsewhere in this discussion pottery was a relatively cheap and readily available material, and it is likely that the native population of sites in the north-west could have obtained it easily enough had they wished to. Although evidence of material wealth is lacking in the north-west there are indications that whilst some arable farming was practiced as evidence by the presence of quern stones, the economy of the area in both the Iron Age and Roman periods may have centred on cattle herding, an industry which would leave scant evidence in the archaeological record. At any rate it is likely that the native population of the north-west would have been quite prosperous enough to invest in ownership of ceramics had this been desirable. Evans agrees that lack of pottery is not necessarily to be taken as evidence of poverty: 'The lack of ceramics on rural sites north of the Mersey coupled with the lack of coinage, has often been seen as reflecting poverty, and sometimes the exactions of the Roman military. However, the lack of material goods is simply a continuity from the later Iron Age. It is not an artefact of the Roman invasion. What is absent is any cultural change consequent upon the Roman conquest. It was never a requirement of Roman imperialism that subject peoples become 'Roman'- they might be encouraged to do so, but all the Empire required was an absence of hostile military action and the payment of taxes'.[602] Thus the lack of pottery evidence from the north-west does not indicate that the people there

[602] Evans, J. (unpublished)

were too poor to become romanised had they wanted to, rather that the facility was available and they were able to make use of it if they wished but they did not choose to do so.

Matthews comments that much of the north-west, with the possible exception of a few sites in Lancashire and Cheshire, was probably not interested in the international style of material culture 'since they were not excluded from the social transactions which would have brought them into contact with these desirable goods but, nevertheless, chose not to acquire them'.[603] Evans suggests that it might have been the irritatingly close proximity of the Roman army which encouraged the indigenous population of the north-west to maintain as much of their previous identity as possible.[604] The same situation could perhaps be postulated for County Durham which also seems to have adhered resolutely to its Iron Age traditions whilst communities in the Tees Valley gave at least the appearance of adopting some more romanised materials. With regard to the north-west at least, Evans comments that 'it is difficult to see how the region was seriously economically impoverished, especially in the Iron Age. The lack of Roman material culture from most upland sites, must imply a considerable disinterest by the inhabitants of the region in acquiring it'.[605] Matthews suggests that this lack of interest may have been caused by a lack of space for the indigenous population to display aspects of their wealth. Thus rather than being prevented from acquiring Roman material they chose not to take part in the culture of display associated with more romanised areas because it was of no

[603] Matthews, K. J. (1997) p.128
[604] Evans, J. (unpublished)
[605] Evans, J. (unpublished)

use to them. Instead he suggests that they may have concentrated on aspects of display that are more difficult to pick out in the archaeological record such as livestock control, the economic possibilities of which have been mentioned above.[606]

Given the presence of the large military and urban centre at Carlisle it would be natural to expect to find evidence of at least a degree of interaction between this large site and the native population.[607] Its survival into the post-Roman period at least indicates that Carlisle did not depend entirely on its military background for survival, thus it must have had a relatively large civilian community many of whom would have been of native extraction. In reality there is little evidence of interaction between the military and urban centre of Carlisle and its hinterland. Almost all the ceramics in the pottery assemblages excavated to date were imported into the region or produced on site within the *vicus*: 'there is precious little evidence of trade or interaction with local rural sites, just as there is little evidence from the rural sites that they had any serious level of interaction with the *vici*'.[608] This dislocation of Carlisle from the rural economy into which it was placed is paralleled by the lack of evidence for interaction between the small romanised town of Shiptonthorpe and its local area but on a far greater scale.[609] The lack of evidence for any interaction between the rural settlements of the north-west and the major centre at Carlisle is further evidence of the way

[606] Matthews, K. J. (1997) p.128
[607] Castle Street and Blackfriars street have been excavated and published: McCarthy, M. *A Roman, Anglian and Medieval Settlement at Blackfriars Street.* Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society Research Series 4, 1990; Taylor, J. *The Roman Pottery from Castle Street, Carlisle: Excavations 1981-2.* Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Archaeological and Antiquarian Society, 5(iv). 1991
[608] Evans, J. (unpublished)
[609] Evans, J. (1995a) p.61 and see discussion above p.194

in which the native population continued to live as they always had and avoided all contact with the highly romanised town right in their midst. Evans describes the *vici* and towns of the north-west as 'alien islands planted in the region'.[610] McCarthy also argues that there is little evidence for interaction between native settlements and Carlisle, although this may be to do with the far smaller body of evidence available from native sites in comparison with Carlisle.[611] Meanwhile Hingley highlights the absence of evidence for any hierarchy in the settlement patterning of the area and of the failure of the area to develop a civil society, noting instead the apparently 'native landscape' which reveals no clear evidence for integration into a Romanised system of government and control.[612] He further suggests that, 'the character and extent of the military area was actually itself a consequence of the absence of a pre-Roman elite – the presence of the army may have been required to control the native population'.[613]

With such easy access to Roman materials it becomes even clearer that the people of the north-west made a deliberate choice not to take part in a romanised culture.[614] The towns and *vici* of the north-west do not give any indication that the native population was becoming in any way romanised. These sites were planted onto the landscape by the occupying powers and remained as Roman islands in the native landscape: 'in the area north of the Mersey in the north-west there is precious little evidence of economic

[610] Evans, J. (unpublished)
[611] McCarthy, M. in Wilson, P. (ed.) (2003) p.151
[612] Hingley, R. in Todd, M. (ed.) (2004). p.338. The apparently egalitarian nature of society as evidenced by settlement patterning in the north-west is discussed in Chapter 4.
[613] Hingley, R. in Todd, M. (2004) p.328
[614] There is some debate about the extent to which roman artefacts could really have been absent from north-west England but to date evidence of greater interaction is lacking. For references see Hingley, R. in Todd, M. (2004) p.328

interaction in the Romano-British period, local societies apparently continued to function much as they had in the Iron Age'.[615]

One possible sign of interaction between native and Roman sites is the adoption of mortaria on native sites. Several are not locally made, however they unlikely to have been obtained via more 'romanised' trading networks.[616] Nonetheless the adoption of the vessel, although not its original purpose, must be evidence for some degree of interaction however slight. Thus it appears that where a new vessel was considered useful, albeit for another function, the population were happy to adopt it without taking on any of the 'romanised' ideas or purposes that may have come with it. What they do not appear to have done was adopt Roman vessel styles for which they could not see a useful, new purpose.

The failure of native settlements to develop into romanised centres in the north-west is paralleled east of the Pennines in west Yorkshire, the Durham plateau and the North Yorkshire Moors, again indicating a deliberate choice to avoid romanisation and retain native traditions. It is only the Tees Valley and east Yorkshire that reveal evidence for change and some degree of romanisation, thus marking the populations of these latter areas out from the rest as being perhaps more amenable to change or less affected by the presence of their Roman overlords. An explanation for this may be that their societies had been hierarchical prior to the conquest where those of the north-west, the North Yorks Moors and the Durham plateau may have been more egalitarian.

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[615] Evans, J. (unpublished)
[616] For a discussion of the lack of evidence for the involvement of native sites in the monetary economy see Chapter 5 below.

Summary

Discussion of the pottery groups from north-east and north-west England has indicated a number of regional characteristics in terms of ceramic traditions covering both the Iron Age and Roman periods. On the basis of the northern pottery assemblages a number of different regional traditions can be highlighted. These in turn may indicate the presence of different cultural groups.

North-east

- Two areas with strong pottery traditions: east Yorkshire and the Tees Valley (N. edge of North Yorks Moors, N. Vale of York.)
- Tees Valley material draws on East Yorks tradition but shows some regional variation.Form and decorative style suggest variations formed by cultural choice rather geographical effects of distance.
- Central and southern Durham – aceramic in Iron Age and Roman periods.
    - It is notable that the aceramic Durham area borders the Tees Valley; highlighting a different cultural tradition.
- North Yorks Moors – seem to have upheld largely Iron Age existence using locally produced handmade ceramics without any external influence until as late as the fourth century.
- West Yorkshire almost aceramic during Iron Age and Roman periods.

- Vale of York – lack of large assemblages indicates difference from east Yorkshire but impossible to determine any cultural affinity with west Yorkshire.

North-west

- Aceramic during the Iron Age
- Clearly different attitudes to several north-eastern areas. Perhaps more in common with the Durham plateau but the Pennine massif makes strong social, political or economic links unlikely
- Mortaria usage during the Roman period suggests adoption of style but not original purpose.
- Cumbria appears to have retained Iron Age character and may have deliberately avoided any contact with Romanised ceramic traditions.
    - Lack of evidence from pottery for interaction between indigenous rural settlements and Roman sites.
    - Lack of imported ceramics. Pottery adopted only slowly.
- Lancashire and Cheshire – limited number of settlements appear to have used a few romanised vessels for display purposes.
    - Indicates a slightly more hierarchical society to that found in Cumbria.

General findings

- Different attitudes to ceramic use across the north in the Iron Age and Roman periods ranging from different preferences in form and decoration to total rejection of ceramic tradition.
    - Varied patterns of ceramic use indicate different groups of people with different attitudes to pottery usage rather than one homogenous unit.
    - No evidence from ceramics for exchanges of pottery or ideas between smaller regions may indicate independent local identities.
    - Clear variations in ceramic usage between certain areas could indicate the expression of local identities on a small scale – not intended to be widely visible but within settlements and smaller social units.
    - Regional variations indicate presence of a number of different cultural groups.
- Possible regions identified from attitudes to pottery: East Yorkshire, west Yorkshire (virtually aceramic), Tees Valley (strong pottery tradition), North Yorks Moors (extreme conservatism), County Durham (aceramic), Cumbria (aceramic iron age, lack of romanisation, peculiar level of mortaria usage), Lancashire and Cheshire (may have used some pottery for display uses).
- No evidence in pottery assemblages for the presence of one large community incorporating the majority of northern Britain (the Brigantes). Instead ceramics indicate the presence of a number of communities with differing preferences.

METALWORK FROM NORTHERN ENGLAND

Many different types of metalwork have been recovered from sites in northern England. The three categories of metalwork discussed here are general ironwork, decorative metalwork, and finds from hoards. These categories are not mutually exclusive; brooches described as decorative metalwork may have been recovered from hoards, but they provide a sensible way in which to discuss and draw information from the material.

Iron was not the only metal to be produced during the Iron Age. Many items were still cast in bronze and precious metals continued to be worked into high status items for use by the elite. [617] The majority of the Iron Age metal artefacts from northern England have been discovered in what have been interpreted as votive contexts, particularly in wet places such as rivers, lochs and marshes.[618] However Hingley has suggested that much more of the general ironwork from settlements and elsewhere may have been deliberately deposited for what might loosely be termed 'ritual' or 'religious' motives and that the number of objects simply lost was quite small.[619] Evidence for metalwork from burial contexts is virtually absent; clearly marking the area of study out from the Arras tradition burials of east Yorkshire.[620]

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[617] For further information on Iron Age metalwork see Cunliffe, B. *Iron Age Communities in Britain*. Routledge, London. (4th ed.) 2005. pp.493-503.
[618] Manning also discusses the dominance of wet place hoards. Manning, W. 'Ironwork hoards in Iron Age and Roman Britain' in *Britannia* 3, 1972. pp.224-250
[619] Hingley, R. 'The Deposition of Iron Objects in Britain: Contextual Analysis and the Significance of Iron' in *Britannia* 2006. p.213
[620] The area is outside of the region of study and is therefore beyond the scope of this thesis. For further information see: Cunliffe, B. (2005) p.214, Stead; I. M. *The Arras Culture*. Yorkshire Philosophical Society, York. 1979; Stead, I. M. *Iron Age cemeteries in East Yorkshire:*

Although gold, silver and bronze were worked throughout the Iron Age it was the innovative techniques involved in iron production that mark this period out from what had gone before. Precious metalworking is thought to have been a professional occupation due to the skills required and the value of the tools and products involved. Some of the processes involved in iron working are also likely to have been undertaken by professional individuals.[621]

Small quantities of iron were produced in the north from around 600 BC using iron ore deposits outcropping in County Durham, north-east Yorkshire and north Lincolnshire.[622] By the late Iron Age small scale smelting industries are likely to have existed in areas where iron ore was relatively easily obtainable. It is also likely that most large communities produced their own ironwork and some bronze.[623] Unfortunately it is very difficult to date Iron Age tools as they continued in a largely unaltered form into the Romano-British period. Iron objects can thus give a *terminus post quem* for archaeological contexts but cannot give a *terminus ante quem* more accurate than the end of the Roman period.[624]

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excavations at Burton Fleming, Rudston, Garton-on-the Wolds, and Kirkburn. English Heritage, London. 1991

[621] Cunliffe, B. (2005) p.493-4

[622] Challis and Harding (1975) p.16 For a detailed account of the process of iron smithing and smelting see De Roche, C. D. 'Studying Iron Age production' in Gwilt, A. and Haselgrove, C. *Reconstructing Iron Age Societies.* Oxbow Monograph 71, Oxford. 1997. p.10-13. Dungworth has also investigated Iron Age copper metallurgy noting that the conquest does not appear to have had any impact and that, 'the end of the Iron Age and the early years of the Roman occupation may have more to unite them as a single period than to separate them by a historical date' Dungworth, D. 'The production of copper alloys in Iron Age Britain' in *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 62, 1996. p.410

[623] Challis and Harding (1975) p.16

[624] Challis and Harding (1975) p.17

GENERAL IRONWORK

Very few iron artefacts of any sort have been recovered from northern England.[625] The acidic soil conditions in the area are likely to have contributed to the lack of survival of objects, however the extent of the absence of evidence is notable.[626] It is also likely that metal will have been recycled, limiting the number of objects deposited and thus available to the archaeological record.[627] Allason-Jones notes that 'iron tools and implements found in general in native contexts are conspicuous by their absence'.[628] Her article is now several years old but the situation has not changed to any great extent.[629]

With the exception of a few well known published sites such as Milking Gap and Silloth,[630] where what little data there is has been provided below. The comments given here are therefore largely a matter of review and discussion of what others have written. References to sites and numbers of finds have been given where available but it is recognised that this section must rely largely on secondary information which weakens the argument. Nonetheless it was considered important to include a discussion of some trends in general ironwork previously noted from northern England.

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[625] Allason-Jones, L. Pers. Comm.
[626] Allason-Jones, L. Pers. Comm.
[627] Hingley, R. (1997a) p.14 notes the lack of hoards from before the 3rd Century BC and that this need not reflect a lack of access to iron but simply a tradition of re-use rather than hoarding.
[628] Allason-Jones, L. 'Roman and native interaction in Northumberland' in Maxfield, V. A. and Dobson, M. J. (eds.) *Roman Frontier Studies 1989- proceedings of the XVth international conference of Roman frontier studies.* University of Exeter Press, Exeter. 1991. p.1
[629] Allason-Jones, L. Pers. Comm.
[630] See note 635 p.208 below.

Iron was used by both the native and Roman populations; particularly in military contexts. Possible evidence for the isolation of native traditions from Roman techniques is the lack of Roman ironwork on native sites. In northern England, independent Roman and native traditions appear to have existed side by side: Hutcheson has identified certain smithing practices on Roman objects, such as pattern welding, which are not found in native objects.[631] It would also appear that the iron obtained by the Roman army was more efficiently smelted than iron used by native smiths, thus indicating that not only was their iron smithed in different ways it was also received from different sources. 'There are therefore at least two smithing traditions operating in this region during the Roman period, one used by the army and at least one other used by local smiths'.[632]

One particularly common use of iron in the Roman period was for making nails. Nails are an almost ubiquitous find on native Romano-British settlements in southern Britain as well as in more urban or romanised contexts. They are often used as an example of how even native, non-Roman sites, which show few if any other leanings towards the occupying regime, were prepared to adopt new ideas when they were useful to them. Nails have also been found north of the study area with a large number of iron objects, including nails, being discovered at the native site of Fairy Knowe.[633] Evans has noted that when looking at the Iron Age and Roman metalwork from northern England 'most striking is the absence of ironwork- most lowland basic rural sites would produce large

[631] Hutcheson, A. R. J. 'Native or Roman? Ironwork Hoards in Northern Britain' in *TRAC 96*. Oxbow, Oxford. 1997. p.67
[632] Hutcheson, A. R. J. (1997) p.70
[633] Main, L. (1998) p.365

numbers of nails, but they are rare on north-western sites'.[634] Nails are usually found in large numbers on almost any Roman site yet in the north-west only 6 were found at Milking Gap, 25 at Penrith, 7 at Silloth and none from any other site (except one at Bewcastle which appears to have produced nails in the late Roman period but was not occupied in the late Iron Age or early Roman periods).[635] Although the lack of preservation of iron in northern England may be a result of the acidity of the soil conditions, Allason-Jones has also noted the lack of nails. She believes that despite the poor conditions for preservation nails were not use for construction in the region of study; this is certainly a possible sign of conservatism in construction methods right across the region of study.[636]

Discussion

The lack of even the most basic and utilitarian forms of ironwork serves as a further indication of the unique character of north-west England. Iron was scarce in the north-west and little or no attempt seems to have been made to

[634] Evans, J. E. (unpublished.)
[635] Milking Gap: Kilbride-Jones H.E. 'The Excavation of a native settlement at Milking Gap, Northumberland' in Archaeologia Aeliana 15, 1938. pp.303-50, Penrith: Higham, N. et al. 'The Excavation of two Romano-British Farm Sites in North Cumbria' *Britannia* 14, 1983. pp.45-72, Silloth: 'The Excavation of two Romano-British Farm Sites in North Cumbria' *Britannia* 14, 1983. pp.45-72. Grey Hill, Bewcastle was a native site near the fort which appears to have been the site of a moderate scale ironworking industry producing nails. It is given a *terminus ante quem* by a broken Stibbington reeded mortarium dated to the first half of the fourth century. Although the site was in use before this time it is unlikely to predate the late Roman period by very much and there is certainly no evidence for occupation or ironworking in the late Iron Age or early Roman periods. For more information on the site see Wooliscroft, D. J., Nevell, M. D., and Swain, S. A. M. 'The Roman site on Grey Hill, Bewcastle, Cumbria', Jones, B. C. and Wiseman, W. G. *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* 89. 1989. pp.69-75
[636] Lindsay Allason-Jones Pers. Comm.

obtain either ore or finished products from outside the area. Equally there is little evidence for production within the area until the late Roman period. It is possible that the native population deliberately avoided iron but they may also have re-cycled that which they did have and thus the lack of iron cannot be seen as certain evidence that it was not in use. Recycling may explain the apparent lack of basic ironwork from northern England but the apparent absence of nails in construction is of interest.

The evidence for two independent smithing techniques in northern England indicates that native iron workers, who used a number of highly sophisticated methods of their own, were not influenced by Roman techniques throughout the duration of the military occupation. Hutcheson comments that, 'at the edge of the Roman empire "romanization" apparently did not extend to the transfer of technological information.'[637] Artefacts themselves were traded but the methods used to produce them were not. A possible reason for the lack of evidence of Roman methods on native sites is that the Roman methods, which were probably cheaper and more efficient, were kept from native peoples for strategic reasons. In addition the native people, who may have seen iron production as something of a magical process, may not have wished to adopt any new ideas. Hutcheson suggests that 'both sides had reason to resist a greater integration of ideas and a transmission of technological information. The Roman army did not want to strengthen a potential aggressor and the indigenous population did not want their belief system challenged by a more 'practical and rational'

[637] Hutcheson, A. R. J. (1997) p.71

metaphysical system.'[638] Hutcheson's theory is possible but requires further evidence. Whatever the explanation there is no clear evidence for romanisation of native iron working techniques in northern England. The indigenous population continued to follow traditional practices and avoided any attempt at innovation in the Roman style.

DECORATIVE METALWORK

Iron and the other metals available in the Iron Age were used for decorative metalwork and many of the finest known pre-historic metalwork artefacts are from this period. These include decorative horse harness, brooches, shield bosses and occasionally decorative items of weaponry and armour.[639] The artistic skills deployed on these pieces can be particularly helpful in defining different regional tastes and identifying metalworking 'schools'.

Whilst general ironwork seems to have been lacking in the north-west, decorative metalwork most certainly was not. Looking at artefactual evidence from across the north of Britain as a whole, MacGregor comments that during the Bronze and early Iron Age periods there is little evidence for the presence of decorative metalwork and highly decorative pieces are likely to have been brought in but, 'the sheer quantity of decorative metalwork produced in the

[638] Hutcheson, A. R. J. (1997) p.72
[639] Cunliffe gives a good discussion of the most significant pieces from across Britain. Cunliffe, B. (2005) p.513-531

North towards the end of this period and, more particularly, in the following one becomes all the more of a startling contrast.'[640] Although there is a clear increase in the amount of decorative metalwork produced in the Roman period, it is important to note that it was popular during the late Iron Age and therefore cannot be tied to the Roman presence. MacGregor also argues that whilst native metalwork was certainly influenced by contact with incoming ideas and styles it was not produced 'on commission' for the Romans but was created by the native population for the native population. Hunter supports this idea stating that, 'in this uncertain situation conditions were ripe for the development of art styles drawing on past traditions but also being new, distinctive and local'.[641] MacGregor suggests that three regional links were created which may have influenced the styles of metalwork produced in different parts of northern England: 'While an artistic link was being forged over-land between East-Anglia and the Midlands on the one hand and the Pennine and Lowland-Scots provinces on the other, an equally strong one was being created, perhaps by sea, between the former area and the north-eastern province'.[642]

Iron Age and Roman decorative metalwork

Iron Age and Roman decorative metalwork is discussed here as one unit because little firm distinction can be made between the decorative traditions of the two periods. Hunter has identified two regional metalworking traditions in

[640] MacGregor, M. *Early Celtic Art in North Britain: a study of decorative metalwork from the third century to B.C. to the third century A.D.* Volume 1. Leicester University Press, Leicester. 1976. p.177-8
[641] Hunter, F. (2007) p.289
[642] MacGregor, M. Volume 1 (1976) p.181

the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age and the Roman Iron Age of northern Britain. These are a 'massive' metalwork tradition in North East Scotland between the Firths of Moray and Firth, and a Central British School from the Forth to the Humber.[643] The first tradition is beyond the scope of this thesis. The second covers the entire area of study and beyond to the north. It contains diverse material, which Hunter sees as understandable given the size of the area involved, but he argues that the material is stylistically closely related and can be treated as one unit.[644]

There is also evidence for contact with Ireland in the metalwork from northern England. Pieces travelled from Ireland to the north and some northern pieces found their way to Ireland but the use of similar decorative motifs show contact between the two areas far more clearly. MacGregor highlights particularly the similarity between coils on Irish dished plates and details of the moustache coils of masks and of a scabbard from the Stanwick hoard (figs.18 and 19 p.215).[645] Despite its proximity to the Irish Sea province it would appear that decorative motifs from Ireland were adopted on metalwork not in the north-west, as might be expected, but in the north-east. Meanwhile the north-west is not entirely lacking in evidence of contact with Ireland: engraving on bone from north-west England, lowland Scotland and Ireland has revealed a clear unity of ideas between the three areas revealing that the north-west was definitely in touch with Ireland (figs.16 and 17 p.215) but preferred to use Irish motifs on bone rather than metal.

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[643] Previously MacGregor had identified three schools in Hunter's 'Central' tradition but his recent work has revised this information. For further information on MacGregor's three schools see MacGregor, M. Volume 1 (1976) p.184
[644] Hunter, F. (2007) p.291
[645] MacGregor Volume 1 (1976) p.185

The Roman influence on decorative metalworking in northern Britain cannot be clearly defined. No Roman styles, either in the form of artefact types or artistic details, were adopted into the artistic canon. The best evidence for any form of direct influence is the possible role of Roman jewellery in the development of the spiral snake armlet, collar and strap bracelet.[646] Where the conquest played a very significant role was in the channels of communication it opened up. MacGregor argues, 'indirectly, its importance can scarcely be over-emphasised, for the Roman Invasion fostered the interchange of ideas, both by intent and by accident – that is by the intentional opening up of the country and by the accidental rallying of those inhabitants of Britain to whom the Celtic traditions were most dear'.[647]

MacGregor indicates that one effect of the conquest could have been to unite the most pro-Celtic and perhaps anti-Roman elements of the British population.[648] There can be little doubt that these were to be found in northern England and Wales where a constant military presence led to inevitable friction between the native population and the occupying forces. A natural reaction to the invasion and the sudden influx of new ideas would have been to adopt an approach of extreme conservatism avoiding all new ideas in a determined effort to preserve their traditional cultural values and way of life; 'traditions die hard and often, in adversity, linger the longest'.[649] The possibility of finding an anti-Roman statement in decorative metalwork has been explored and some evidence for its existence may be seen in the evidence from brooches.

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[646] MacGregor, M. Volume 1 (1976) p.186
[647] MacGregor, M. Volume 1 (1976) p.186
[648] MacGregor, M. Volume 1 (1976) p.185-6
[649] MacGregor, M. Volume 1 (1976) p.189

Brooches formed part of an individual's overall appearance during the late Iron Age and Roman periods. They were intended to be seen and thus could be used to make specific statements about gender, age and group membership depending on where, how and what particular type of brooch is worn.[650] Jundi and Hill comment that, 'sociology would suggest that people may have become particularly concerned about their own appearances in a time of anxiety and risk such as the marked social changes of the first centuries BC and AD.'[651] If brooches were worn as statements then the archaeological record of brooches from the north of England may give some indication of the attitudes of the native population during the late Iron Age and in the years following the conquest.

There are relatively few brooches known from early and middle Iron Age contexts, only 360, and these are from the south where an explosion in numbers seems to have occurred in the late Iron Age and continued into the early Roman period.[652] In central and northern Britain, brooches continued to be used until the time of the conquest when there is a sudden marked increase in the numbers found on sites. It would appear that this was not simply a result of the increased amount of material culture available to the native people of the north at this time but was a specific phenomenon connected with personal appearance and the desire to make a statement. Jundi and Hill point out that there was not just an increase in brooch numbers but also changes in their design and the contexts

[650] Jundi, S. and Hill, J. D. 'Brooches and Identities in First Century AD Britain: more than meets the eye?' in *TRAC 97*. Oxbow Books, Oxford. 1998. p.125
[651] Jundi, S. and Hill, J. D. (1998) p.126
[652] Haselgrove, C. 'Iron Age brooch deposition and chronology' in Gwilt, A. and Haselgrove, C. (eds.) *Reconstructing Iron Age Societies*. Oxbow Monograph 71, Oxford. 1997. pp.51-72

Bone artefacts

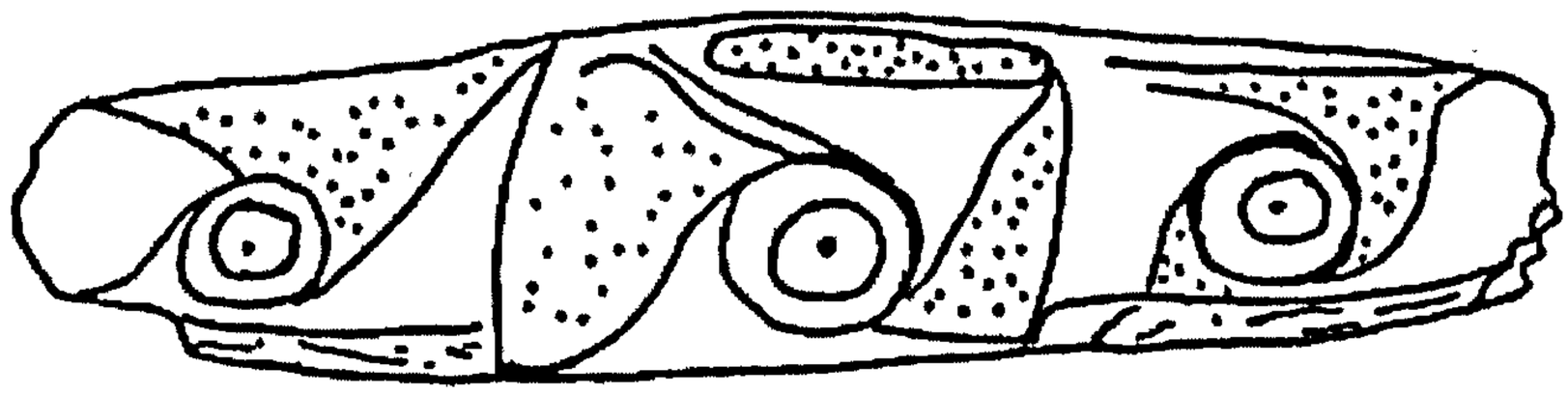


fig.16 Bobbin like object from Victoria Cave, Settle[653]

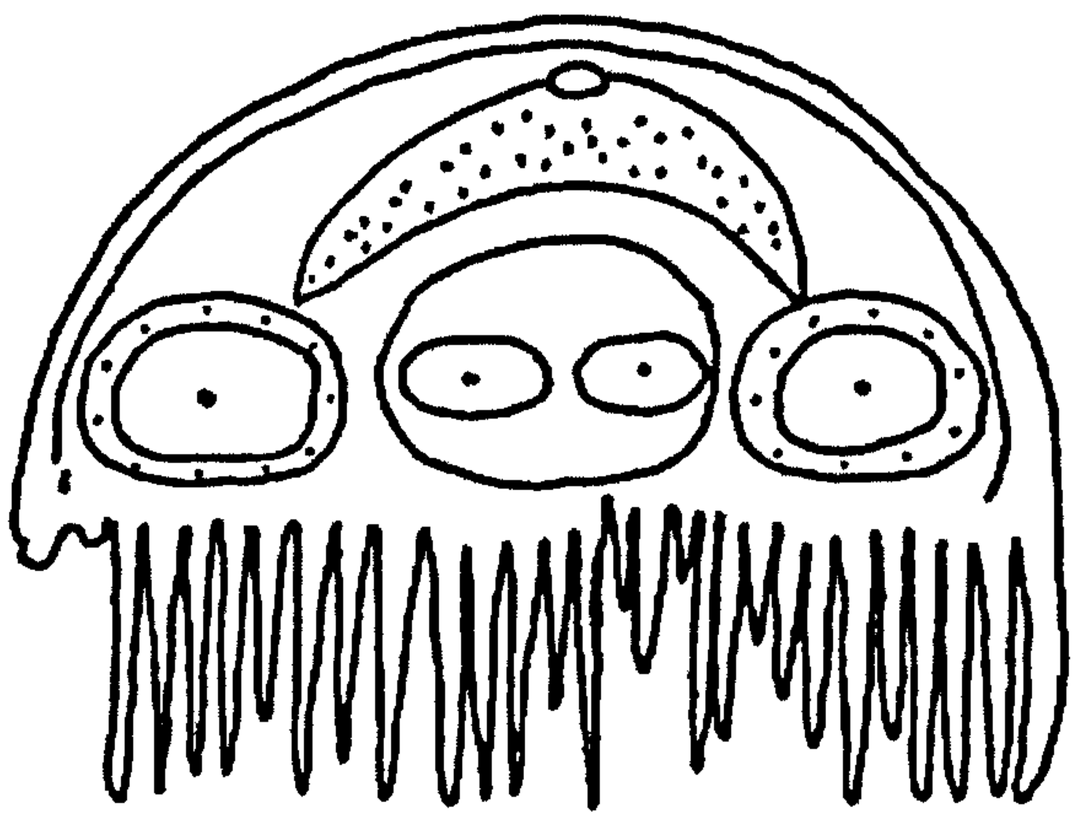


fig.17 Comb from East Lothian[654]

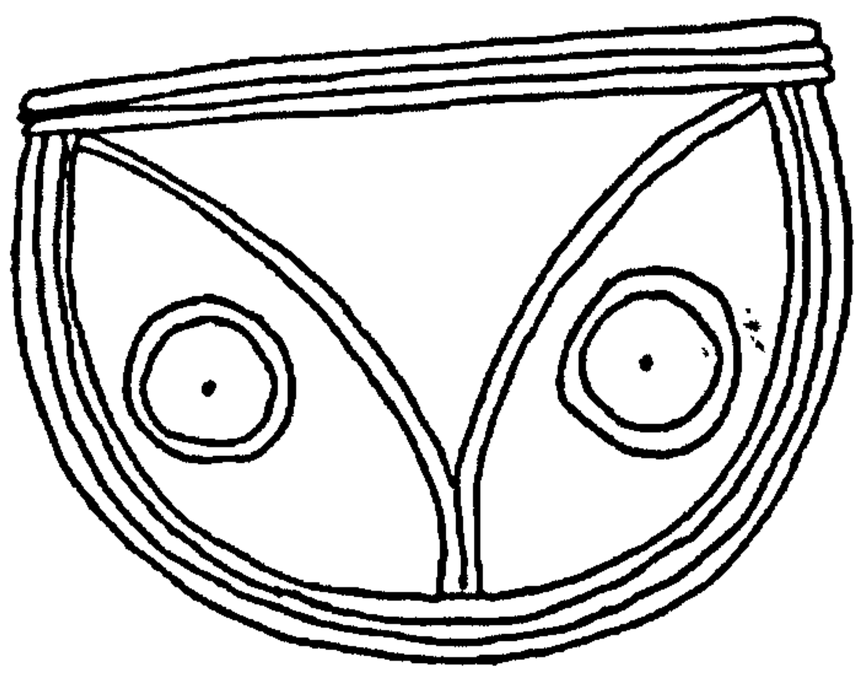


fig.18 Bronze Horse mask from the Stanwick excavations[655]

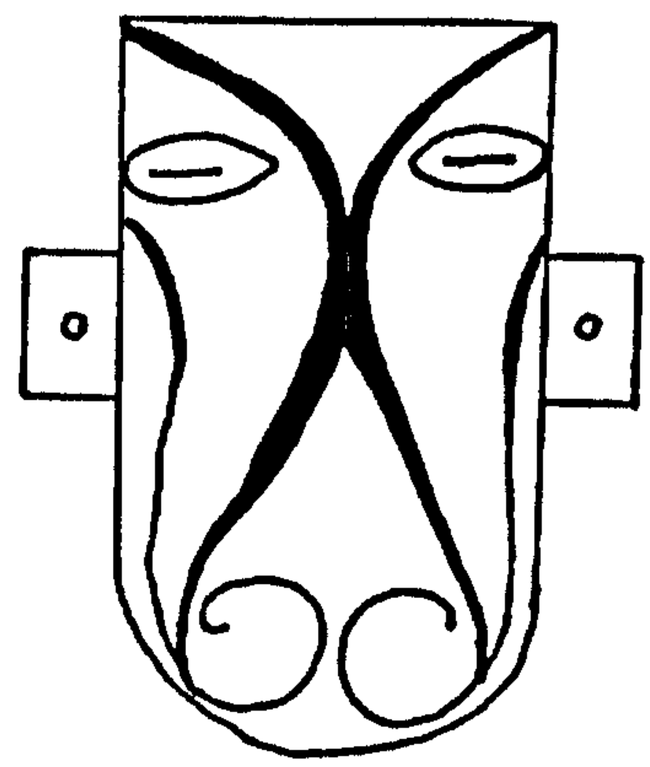


fig.19 Bronze detail of Scabbard from Stanwick Hoard[656]

[653] After MacGregor, M. (1976) fig.44
[654] After MacGregor, M. (1976) fig.27
[655] After Wheeler, M. (1954) plate XXVI
[656] After MacGregor, M. (1962) p.51

from which they were recovered.[657] More brooches seem to be casual losses and the fact that an increasing number of brooches were lost accidentally indicates that people possessed sufficient numbers that they could support the loss.

The brooches entering the archaeological record by means of casual loss also give some indication of the types of brooches being worn. These are very different to their predecessors; in particular, they are much more distinctive. Wearing a brooch could now be used as an easy way for an individual to reveal details about himself or herself. Overall brooches became more elaborate and more visible; they were clearly acting as more than just fasteners for clothing, a task that could have been done with a far simpler clasp.[658]

There is some evidence for regionalisms in certain brooch styles from pre-conquest southern Britain and local styles are marked by minor technical details.[659] Here concentrations of brooch types in certain regions may give some indication of the presence of populations with particular political or social identities these areas. Unlike the southern trend, the large increase in the use of brooches in the north did not happen until after the conquest.[660] Brooches from northern England cannot therefore give information on the situation of the north in the late Iron Age but they are a valuable source of information on the stance of the native peoples in the Roman period. In particular Dragonesque brooches are a Romano-British type found particularly in northern England.[661] Analysis of the occurrence of this type of brooch in the archaeological record from

[657] Jundi, S. and Hill, J. D. (1998) p.127
[658] Jundi, S. and Hill, J. D. (1998) p.129
[659] Jundi, S. and Hill, J. D. (1998) p.129
[660] Jundi, S. and Hill, J. D. (1998) p.131
[661] Jundi, S. and Hill, J. D. (1998) p.125 and for find spots see Appendix C.

northern England may indicate that these brooches were used by individuals to make particular statements about their identity after the conquest and during the period of Roman occupation.

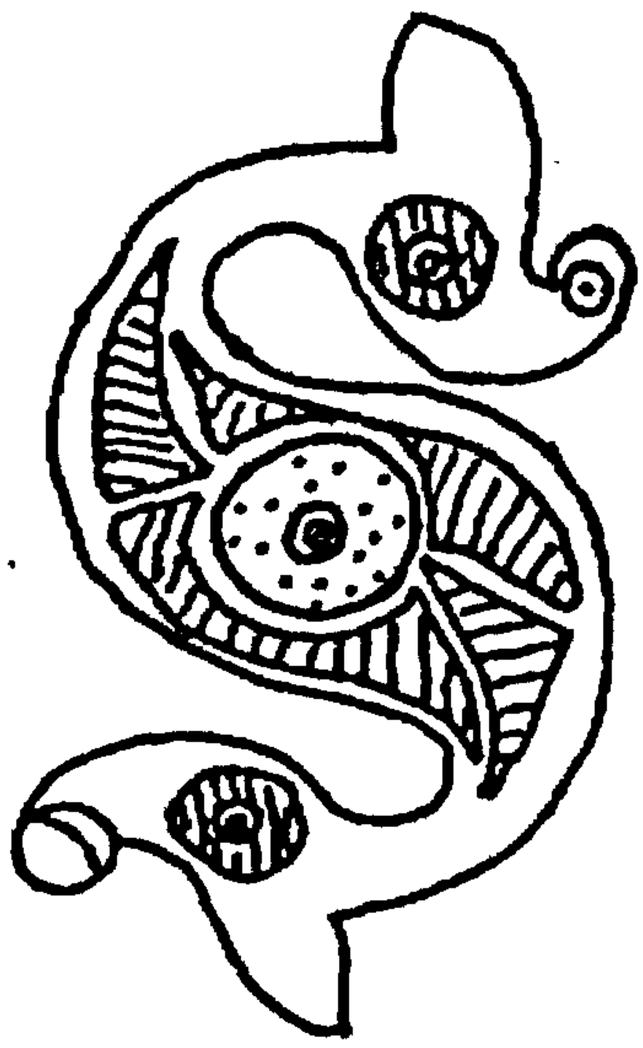


fig.20 Example of a Dragonesque Brooch[662]

The Dragonesque brooch (fig.20) was created in the Roman period but drew on pre-existing motifs and ornamental designs. It also harked back to the Iron Age in form.[663] Thus the brooch used traditional decorative motifs and designs from northern England but in the new form of highly visible brooches. Whilst earlier developments in brooch design were restricted to southern Britain, the Dragonesque brooch seems to have been a particularly northern type: it is uncommon in the south, and this in itself is interesting, suggesting that it had some specific significance for the native population of northern England.[664] Although some examples exist from before this time the particular flourishing

[662] After MacGregor, M. (1976) p.128
[663] Jundi, S. and Hill, J. D. (1998) p.129
[664] See map in Jundi, S. and Hill, J. D. (1998) p.133

of the Dragonesque brooch was from AD 40-60 onwards and this fits with the development of other highly visible brooches further south.[665] They are found in reasonable numbers from the Humber to Southern Scotland and have been recovered from all types of site in civilian, military and rural native contexts and Jundi and Hill note a surprising number from cave contexts.[666] To date, 65 brooches have been recovered from Britain of which 55 are from northern Britain and of these 32 are from the region of study. These numbers, although not large represent sufficient numbers of finds from which to draw some theoretical conclusions.[667]

The Dragonesque brooch is 'visually very distinctive, [and] apparently predominantly made and worn in a particular part of Britain'.[668] Flat, elaborately decorated, and highly coloured with enamelling, it was very definitely intended to be seen. The design was based on a late La Tène idea, the broken-back scroll, and there are close links between these brooches and the ornamental devices used on other late La Tène pieces, particularly horse trappings and weapons from roughly the same region.[669] It is thus clear that Dragonesque brooches were not directly Iron Age in form or function yet they used old traditional decorative motifs and designs in a brooch that was created only after the Roman conquest of southern Britain. The use of such distinctively old ideas in a new and highly visible design was clearly intended to make a statement about its wearer. Such a style of brooch worn by the native people of northern Britain who may not have been in favour of the Roman presence and,

[665] Jundi, S. and Hill, J. D. (1998) p.132
[666] Jundi, S. and Hill, J. D. (1998) p.132
[667] For further information Dragonesque brooch finds in northern England see Appendix C.
[668] Jundi, S. and Hill, J. D. (1998) p.131
[669] Jundi, S. and Hill, J. D. (1998) p.131

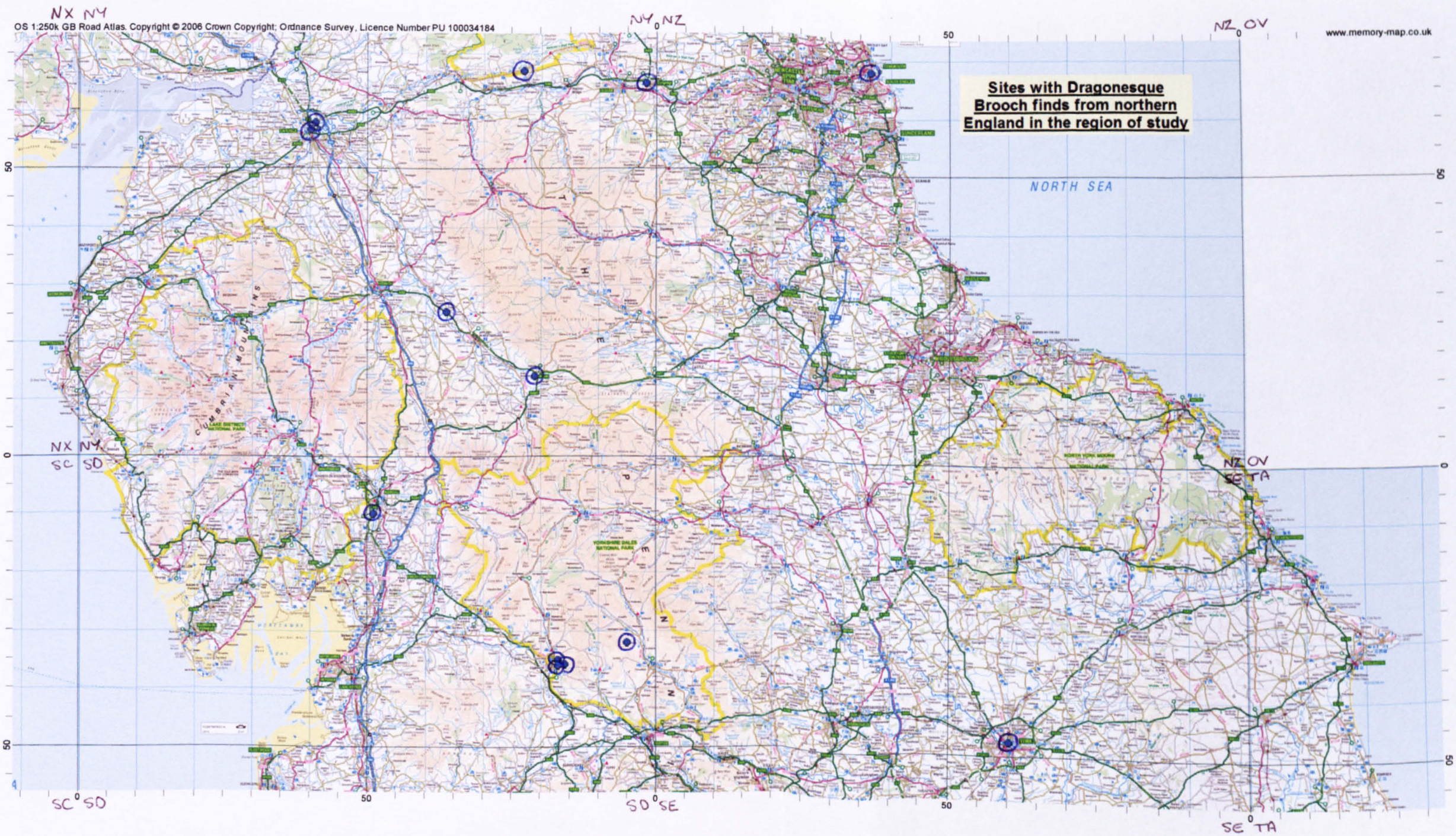
in many cases, appear to have avoided almost all contact with it until the late fourth century, may have served as clear visual indication that the bearer's allegiance was to the past and, possibly, of their anti-Roman stance.[670]

Jundi and Hill comment: 'what is interesting about Dragonesque brooches is that they were worn both by those living beyond, and, more commonly by those well within, the northern frontier of the province. Equally, the nature and range of contexts from which these brooches come suggests they were worn by a wide cross section of people'.[671] Unlike brooch forms in the south the Dragonesque brooch does not appear to have signified allegiance to a particular community, instead they seem to have been a common statement by all levels of the population from all regions and communities in northern England making it clear that their allegiance lay with their Iron Age heritage. Although not definitely mutually exclusive positions it seems unlikely that people so strongly pro-Celtic would have also been in favour of the Roman presence. 'Here is an object that may have been explicitly connected with expressing a district identity as non-Roman and possibly crossing pre-existing 'tribal' boundaries'.[672]

Although Dragonesque brooches have been found on both sides of the Pennines considerably more have been recovered from the north-west than the north-east.[673] It has become apparent that there was a degree of conservatism towards the Roman presence bordering on open resistance to contact with any Roman material culture in the north-west of England. The north-east, although still

[670] For a discussion of Dragonesque brooches on non-native sites see p.225 below
[671] Jundi, S. and Hill, J. D. (1998) p.133
[672] Jundi, S. and Hill, J. D. (1998) p.134 see also Appendix C.
[673] See map 5 p.220

Map 5: Find spots of Dragonesque brooches in the area of study



conservative in many cases, does appear to have been more receptive to the Roman presence and there may have been less anti-Roman sentiment on the east of the Pennines. If the Dragonesque brooch, with its archaising style and Iron Age roots, was indeed a general, cross-community symbol of anti-Roman sentiment in the north then the fact that more have been recovered from the north-west than from the north-east may indicate, once more, the presence of a greater anti-Roman sentiment amongst the people living on the west of the Pennines.

Discussion

Iron Age and Roman decorative metalwork

The adoption of decorative ideas from Ireland into the artistic traditions of northern England reveals interesting differences between the areas east and west of the Pennines.[674] Each had its own metalworking tradition and each was in contact with Ireland yet Irish metalworking devices were adopted in the north-east but not in the north-west. Instead the north-west appears to have preferred its own decorative metalworking schemes but contact is proven by the use of Irish decorative ideas in the north-western bone engraving techniques, something not seen east of the Pennines.[675] The inclusion of different elements of Irish decorative artwork on different materials either side of the Pennines, metalwork on the east and bone engraving on the west, demonstrates that the

[674] MacGregor (1976) p.185
[675] MacGregor (1976) p.185

native populations of these areas had differing artistic tastes in the decoration of their metalwork in the late Iron Age. Each had its own native metalworking school and each adopted distinct elements of the other decorative traditions with which they came into contact. This preference for different artistic designs, which would clearly mark out individuals from each area, indicates the presence of two communities, one each side of the Pennines, with their own particular preferences. These areas may have been further subdivided into more specific communities, one suggestion for how this could be done has already been discussed in the pottery section, but this information is not available from the metalwork evidence which can only support the existence of two clearly different cultural traditions divided by the Pennine massif.[676]

It was the communication routes that opened up after the conquest which were the main way in which the Roman presence influenced native metalwork styles.[677] Pieces of metalwork could now travel easily to northern Britain through long distance regular trading contacts from the continent and vice-versa and it was in this way that an exchange of ideas took place. New decorative motifs were adopted but these came from the decorative traditions of Gaul and there can be some debate as to how original these new artistic elements actually were. Although the specific designs were new they were all drawn from the La Tène tradition, and this same traditional style underpinned the central metalworking school. In this way, whilst it can be argued that new ideas were adopted after the conquest, it becomes clear that these ideas were not Roman

[676] The pottery record from the north supports the idea of differences between the material cultures of the north-east and north-west of the study area.
[677] MacGregor (1976) p.186

and indeed they were really only further variants of the decorative tradition already in use in the north. Hunter notes that all those using northern decorative metalwork were accessing the same 'Celtic' art objects and there does not appear to have been a difference between those used in Roman and native contexts.[678] It is thus difficult if not impossible to argue that there is any degree of romanisation behind developments in decorative metalwork in northern England during the post-conquest period. Native metalworkers took advantage of the lines of communication provided by the conquest and adopted new motifs from the Gallo-Roman world that were based on styles they already approved of but they did not adopt wholly new traditions.[679] A particularly good example of the adoption of new ideas combined with traditional concepts to form what may be an anti-Roman statement is the development of the Dragonesque brooch discussed above.

As mentioned above MacGregor has suggested that traditions linger longest in adversity.[680] The desire to express an Iron Age identity, which, on brooches, appears to have been a post-conquest reaction to the Roman presence, may well represent this theory in practice. The people of the north, and particularly of the north-west, may not have been in favour of a continuous Roman military presence and certainly appear to have shunned Roman technology in many other ways. Jundi and Hill suggest that the daily dress of locals, soldiers, administrators and craftspeople in northern England may have been fairly

[678] Hunter, F. (1997) p. 292
[679] MacGregor (1976) p.186
[680] (p.212) MacGregor (1976) p.189

similar, varied only through the use of accessories, fasteners and brooches.[681] To the native population the Dragonesque brooch may have provided a visible, non-verbal, means of displaying their rejection of 'romanised' culture in the same way that a ribbon or badge can convey allegiance to one political party or campaign in the twenty first century.

Resistance is not a single concept and Hingley has discussed the variety of forms which opposition could take.[682] Overt forms of opposition, such as revolt, are not difficult to identify. However more subtle forms 'can vary from mild disobedience among slaves, servants or tenants, to sabotage of industrial production by workers, to drawing upon ancestral ways of life in a society that is swiftly changing'.[683] The use of the Dragonesque brooch may be considered as evidence for the latter form of opposition to change. Whether or not the evidence for the retention of traditional art and ways of life is proof of resistance is uncertain but what does appear clear is that its survival was, 'to some extent a matter of choice'.[684] Hingley suggests that the widespread failure to abandon the traditional roundhouse by all levels of society may be further evidence for a rejection of Roman ideas and a deliberate attempt to draw on more traditional values. He argues that the decision of what sort of house to live in does not appear to have been based entirely on social status or wealth and that, 'it is possible such "cultural retardation" is actually a statement of resistance in itself'.[685] As such this retardation and 'refusals to accept new materials may reflect positive acts of resistance to changes imposed from outside. Seen from

[681] Jundi, S. and Hill, J. D. (1998) p.134
[682] Hingley, R. (1997b) pp.81-100
[683] Hingley, R. (1997b) p.88
[684] Hingley, R. (1997b) p.95
[685] Hingley, R. (1997b) p.93

this perspective, the round-houses of Roman Britain could be statements of alternative values and identity'.[686] If this is the case then on a smaller scale the Dragonesque brooch certainly represents a choice to retain, in this case, earlier artistic forms, and may therefore be similar evidence for resistance in the form of cultural retardation.

If Dragonesque brooches did indeed represent a non-verbal anti-Roman message, as seems possible, then their presence could be expected on rural native sites, in *vici* and even in some more urbanised contexts but their presence in forts must be explained. One possibility is that the soldiers bought these brooches as a decorative form of native art without understanding their particular significance. In the period immediately following the conquest of the north the military sites would have been garrisoned by foreign troops rather than more local auxiliary troops who would have been more likely to understand the significance of such brooches. Allason-Jones has suggested that the colourful Dragonesque brooches may have been created by local craftspeople to sell to visiting soldiers as a form of ancient 'tourist trade'.[687] However this suggestion in itself does not explain the numbers found outside of these contexts.

It is important to note that a number of Dragonesque brooches have been found in military contexts. If Dragonesque brooches held some form of significance as a symbol of resistance this does not mean that the soldiers were in some way anti-Roman. The presence of these brooches on fort sites indicates that the traditional 'Celtic' design appealed to different communities and had different

[686] Hingley, R. (1997b) p.96
[687] Allason-Jones, L. (1991) p.3

meanings depending on their origin. Hunter notes that 'the same material could be perceived differently by different observers'.[688] To the native population, brooches may have embodied some form of native identity and may have been used as an implicit sign of resistance to change. On fort sites brooches need have carried no such meaning. Their traditional Celtic design would have been familiar to soldiers who came, originally, from other 'Celtic' parts of the Empire. Hunter notes that Britannia's garrison was from the north-west provinces and they were arguably sympathetic in taste to the native population of northern England.[689] Dragonesque brooches on forts can therefore be explained not in terms of resistance, but simply because their artistic style appealed to the soldiers of the frontier. Hunter argues that at 'we lump objects together as "Celtic art", but how you viewed them at the time would depend on who you were'.[690]

Thus it can be seen that Dragonesque brooches in and of themselves were not symbols of resistance. Instead different meanings and significance were attached to them by the different groups to whom their design appealed. Dragonesque brooches could therefore have acted as a mutually recognised symbol of anti-Roman feeling among native people on both sides of the Pennines but especially to the west, and also proved attractive to frontier troops from the north-western provinces by virtue of their 'Celtic' design and decoration. Brooches are thus part of a decorative metalwork tradition in northern England that started, 'as an expression of local identity which was

[688] Hunter, F. (2007) p.293
[689] Hunter, F. (2007) p.292
[690] Hunter, F. (2007) p.292

adopted within a Romano-British frontier milieu and interpreted in different ways by people of different backgrounds'.[691] That, for the native population, Dragonesque brooches took on the form of an implicit yet visible symbol of resistance as suggested by Jundi and Hill seems at least plausible among a native population already noted for its conservatism.

METALWORK HOARDS

Hoards are a very valuable source of information for metalwork studies, giving information about the particular types and forms of artefact that were deposited in each area. Hoards can also give some clues to the way in which items of metalwork, particularly fine quality artefacts, were viewed and treated by different communities. Before discussing information derived from the metalwork hoards of northern England it is important to note that the known hoards form only a fraction of what is likely to have been deposited in the Iron Age and Roman periods.[692]

Hoards were deposited for a number of reasons and not just in a votive context. Precious items could be buried for safe keeping in which case there was a definite intent to recover them again in the future. They could also be deposited

[691] Hunter, F. (2007) p.294
[692] For further information on the creation of treasure trove laws and the potential bias created by the increased searching of specific areas after the discovery of a hoard see Johns, C. 'Romano-British precious-metal hoards: comments on Martin Millet's paper.' in *TRAC 94*. Oxbow, Oxford. 1994. p.110

in votive contexts but again these were not always intended to be permanent.[693] Precious metal was expensive and serious consideration must have gone into its burial if it was not intended to be recovered at a later date. Thus the intention behind the deposition of any precious metalwork hoard must be considered and a permanent votive offering should not be the automatic assumption. More utilitarian and cheaper metal artefacts need not necessarily be considered in the same way since they would have been much easier to replace. However what is worthless to one person may be precious to another. The possible status of the depositor should therefore also be borne in mind before making any judgements about their attitude towards the material they were burying.

There are some contexts in which it is likely that metalwork deposits no matter what their value were not intended to be recovered. Wet places are a good example of this. It is true that wells remained good hiding places even into the modern era and other wet places can be trawled but, for the most part, artefacts found in wet contexts were probably not intended to be recovered.[694] Wet sites are the source of many of the metalwork hoards found in northern England and analysis of hoards from northern Britain has revealed some interesting information about different regional attitudes towards metal artefacts and their deposition.[695]

Metalwork hoards in the north are generally made up of fine quality, although not necessarily precious, items. It will never be possible to know the extent to which ownership of these objects was restricted to high status individuals but

[693] Johns, C. (1994) p.111
[694] Johns, C. (1994) p.114
[695] See Appendix C.

Hunter believes that they were more common than the few survivals suggest and that there is good reason to doubt the conventional view that only high status individuals would have owned such items.[696]

The nature of the metalwork hoards from northern England leads to one further problem, that of accurate dating. In most cases there is a lack of other closely datable material and metalwork objects themselves did not tend to change radically in shape of design between the Iron Age and Roman periods. This means that hoards cannot be looked upon for information regarding any change over time in the nature of their contents. The metalwork from northern England and southern Scotland must then be treated as one single group dated to between the second century BC and the second century AD or even later.[697] Valuable information can, however, be gained from a spatial assessment of the nature of objects deposited in different regions of the north.

Known Iron Age hoards

Within northern Britain, Hunter has identified three regional patterns in the evidence from metalwork hoards. The blocks identified are southern Scotland, north-east Scotland and northern England. Within these regions there are also more local variations. The area of relevance to this study is northern England

[696] Hunter, F. 'Iron Age hoarding in Scotland and northern England' in Gwilt, A. and Haselgrove, C. (eds.) *Reconstructing Iron Age Societies*. Oxbow Monograph 71, Oxford. 1997. p.108
[697] Hunter, F. (1997) p.110

although contact with, and possible influence over or from traditions in southern Scotland is not unlikely given the proximity of the two regions.[698]

The metalwork hoards from northern England are concentrated on the west of the Pennines.[699] The eastern side of the country and much of Northumberland are largely empty of hoards with the exception of a concentration of extremely rich assemblages such as the Stanwick hoard in the Tees Valley area. The lack of hoards in east Yorkshire may be due to the presence of the Arras culture where hoarding does not seem to have been practiced, but it is harder to explain the evidence from further north.[700] There is a strong tradition of metalwork hoarding in southern Scotland and many aspects of southern Scottish settlements are mirrored in Northumberland. It is thus difficult to explain the apparently hard boundary in terms of attitudes towards metalwork hoarding between the two areas.[701] The absence of metalwork from County Durham is also difficult to explain given its proximity to the rich Tees valley hoards but this area has already been noted for its lack of pottery evidence. It seems that the Durham plateau north of the Tees watershed was inhabited by a people who largely rejected durable goods in both the Iron Age and Roman periods. This is not to say that they did not have a material culture but it may have been made up of primarily non-durable artefacts such as objects made from wood, which are rarely preserved in the archaeological record.

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[698] Hunter, F. (1997) p.110
[699] Hunter, F. (1997) p.111 see also map Hunter, F. (1997) p.110
[700] Stead, I. M. (1979); Stead, I. M. (1991)
[701] Hunter, F. (1997) p.111

Analysis of the contents of known metalwork hoards has revealed a range of sizes and types of goods, particularly personal ornaments and elements of horse harness. This is similar to the range of items found in southern Scottish hoards but, perhaps surprisingly, the late Iron Age and Roman hoards from southern Scotland contain a range of imported and exotic goods both from southern England and from abroad while those from northern England, which experienced a military presence after the conquest, contain far fewer exotic items. The hoards from northern England and, by virtue of the spatial concentration of hoards, north-western England in particular, also contain a much higher number of weapons than any others in northern Britain.[702]

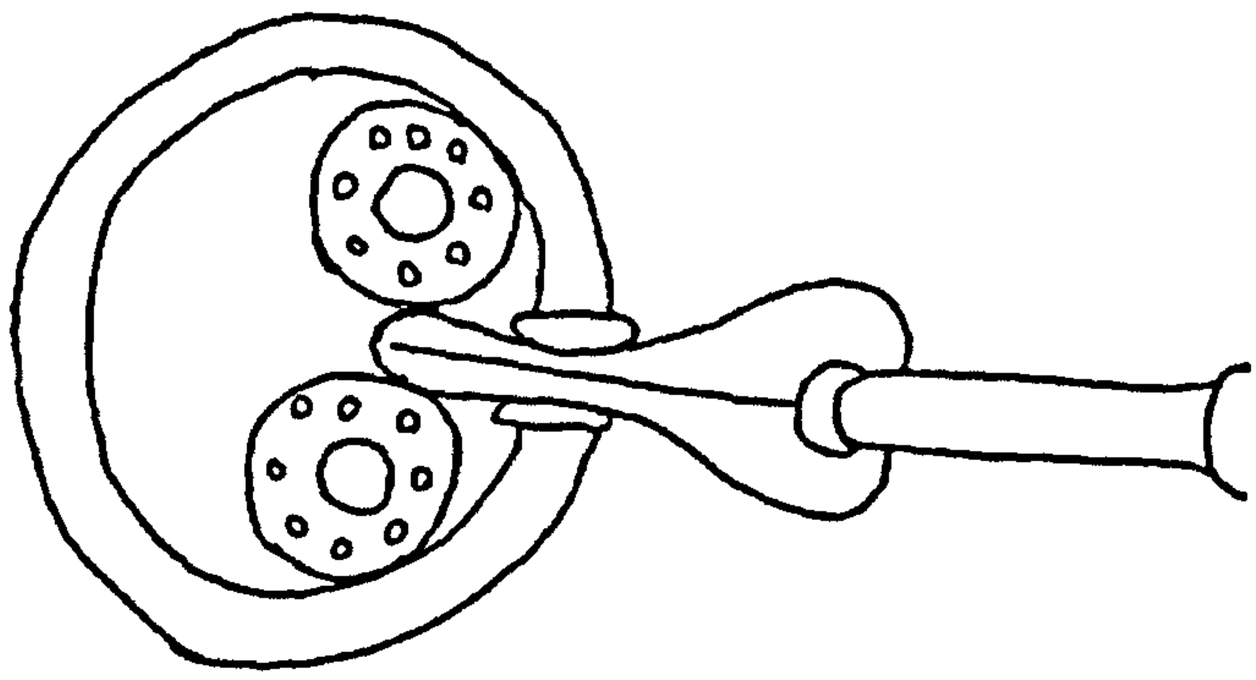
The few hoards from the north-east are found in relatively close association to each other. The two largest of these contained material of mainly or even wholly Roman origin although it is generally accepted that they were deposited prior to the conquest. The Stanwick[703] and Fremington Hagg hoards contained several almost complete sets of horse harness and some fragments of armour which were Roman in origin yet were deposited before the occupation of the north (figs.21 and 22 p.233).[704] The presence of two such large finds of imported metalwork in an area which has already been identified on the basis of its pottery assemblages as having a notably cosmopolitan attitude should perhaps come as no surprise. Rather it should serve as further evidence to support the suggestion that the area within the Tees watershed and centred on Stanwick was

[702] Hunter, F. (1997) p.113
[703] Haselgrove, C. C. (1990 a and b)
[704] Hunter, F. (1997) p.113

inhabited by a particular group of individuals with a pro-Roman outlook at variance with much of the rest of northern England.

The contexts in which metalwork hoards have been discovered in northern Britain are varied. Although the most common wet locations are not the only source of these votive depositions with beaches, hills and even settlement sites also being used. A small number of hoards have also been found on older burial sites, such as bronze age cairns. Finds from rivers are surprisingly few but this is probably due to a lack of dredging work on the major northern rivers rather than representing an actual pattern of deposition.[705] Generally all the hoards have been found in what would have been thought of as significant natural sites, most of these are also liminal locations such as wet sites, hills and beaches and thus the deposition of hoards could have signified the presence of a political or cultural boundary. The large number of weapons found in hoards from the north-west, many of which are in liminal locations, may represent a symbolic statement by the native inhabitants about their determination to fight for their lands; a determination which may be reflected in their clear preference for traditional items both before and after the conquest.

[705] Hunter, F. (1997) p.114



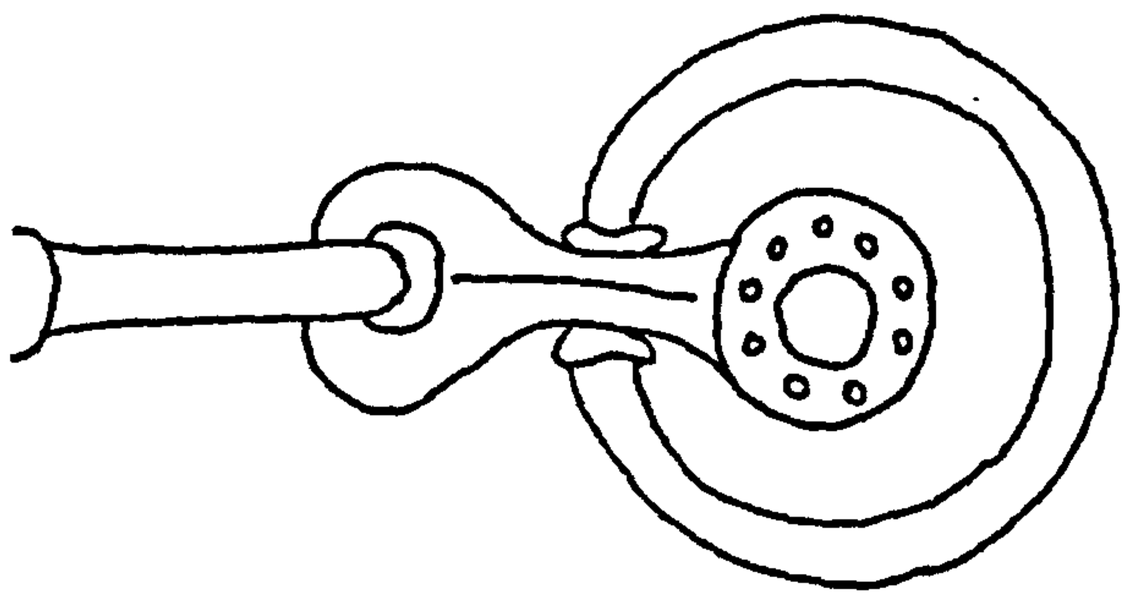


fig.21 Bridle bit from the Stanwick Hoard showing Roman stylistic influence[706]

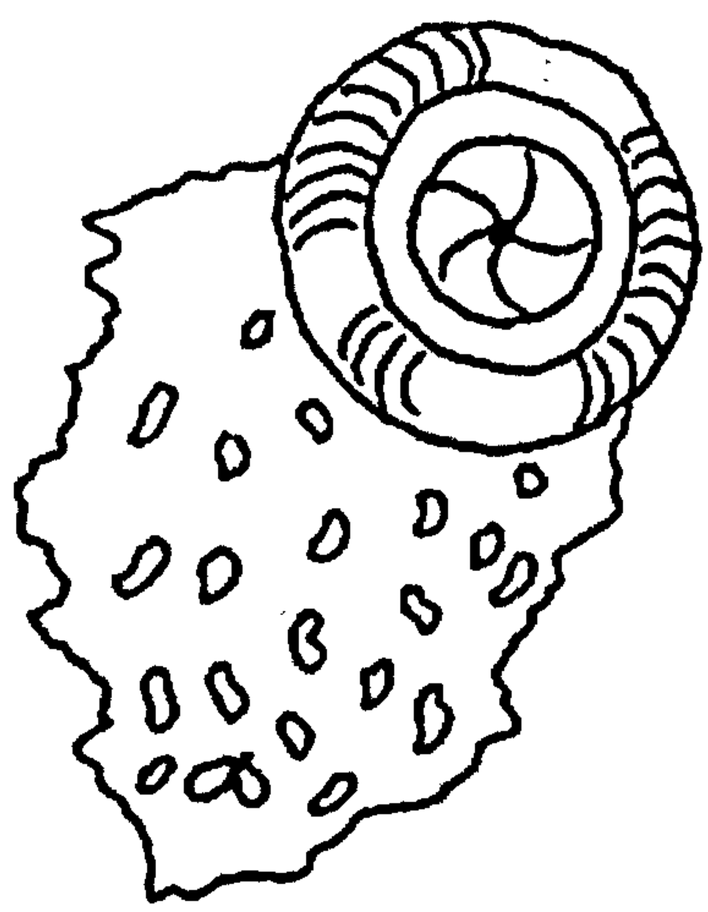


fig.22 Mail of non-native; probably Roman manufacture from the Stanwick Hoard[707]

[706] After MacGregor, M. (1962) p.32
[707] After MacGregor, M. (1962) p.53

Roman hoards

Although native metalwork cannot be dated as pre or post conquest, Roman vessels are much easier to identify and place in a chronological context. There are 23 known hoards of Roman vessels in northern England of which around 50% have been found in similar liminal contexts to native pieces.[708] However it is difficult to know whether these vessels were deposited by native or Roman hands since vessels had a role in the religious activities of both peoples. Examples of definite Roman vessel hoards are those in the infilled wells at Newstead and the vessel hoard found with a parade helmet under the parade ground at Ribchester.[709] The iconography and inscriptions on a number of Roman vessels deposited in northern England makes their ritual context almost certain; however it is not clear who was responsible for their deposition. An example of the dual contexts associated with many vessels can be found in the most commonly deposited vessels i.e. paterae and wine strainers. Both of these were associated with wine, which was highly prized by Iron Age societies and was also used for libations in Roman religion. Thus these objects could have been deposited either by Roman people who associated them with libations to the gods, or by native people presenting something they prized highly to a deity.[710] Hunter comments that, 'interpretation, therefore, is difficult. The habit was at home in both Iron Age and Roman votive practices: in most cases the

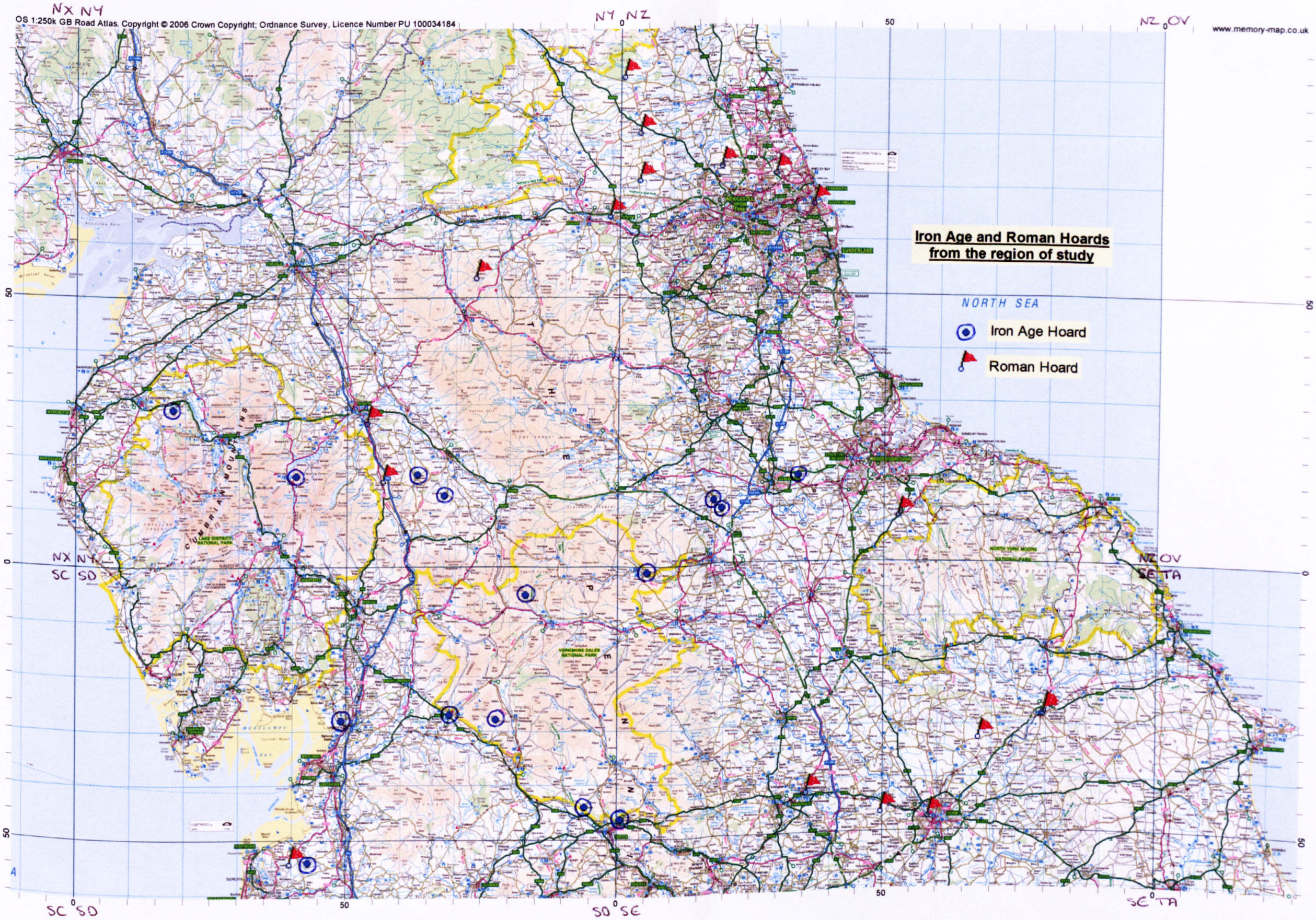
[708] Hunter, F. (1997) p.118. For a table summarising sites and finds see Hunter, F. (1997) p.127
[709] For further information see Hunter, F. (1997) p.117
[710] Hunter, F. (1997) p.118

donor, whether 'Roman' or 'native', or some shade in between, remains elusive'.[711]

The geographical distribution of these hoards is markedly different to that of the known and probable Iron Age hoards.[712] Concentrations of Roman vessel hoards have been found around Hadrian's Wall in Northumberland and also near York, both areas devoid of Iron Age hoards and strongly associated with the Roman military presence after the conquest.[713] That the Roman vessels have been found in strongly militarised areas does not mean that they were definitely deposited by non-native hands but may indicate deposition by those whom Hunter has called the 'shade in between'. In this case perhaps native people who had come to live in the *vici* of the forts or in the outskirts of the town at York and had thus mixed some aspects of their own native traditions with others taken from the occupying forces, including the use of Roman vessels for their votive offerings.

[711] Hunter, F. (1997) p.118
[712] See map 6 p.236 below
[713] Hunter, F. (1997) p.118

Map 6: Hoard findspots in the area of study



Discussion

Taken together the number of weapons found in metalwork hoards from northern, and especially north-western England, and the lack of exotic and imported goods when compared to southern Scotland would suggest a community largely opposed to new influences and sufficiently provoked to have taken up arms against the outside world. That the majority of hoards have been found to the west of the Pennines, as can be seen on map 4 above, also indicates that it was perhaps these people who were most opposed to invasion. Meanwhile the large and somewhat anomalous assemblages including much Roman or continentally influenced material from the Tees valley may be further evidence for the presence of a community with a pro-Roman stance such as is assumed for the inhabitants of Stanwick and its surrounding territory.

Giving meaning to votive offerings is a theoretical practice but the association of metalwork hoards with boundaries in northern England seems too common to be accidental. Hunter suggests that boundaries could have been seen as places where the otherworld could be contacted more easily.[714] The presence of exotic objects is particularly notable in hoards from southern Scotland and it is possible that these represent valued contacts with the outside world. Assuming the objects deposited were of value to the owner, then a piece which represented external connections in a society which valued such national and international links would be of great significance to its owner. That there are far fewer imported pieces in hoards from northern England indicates a population where

[714] Hunter, F. (1997) p.121

local identity rather than international contact was of the greatest value to the native inhabitants. The presence of weapons may indicate a ritual action to counter the advance of Roman influence.[715] That this determination to resist change was strongest on the west of the Pennines is suggested by the prevalence of hoards in this area.

A very limited knowledge of how native religious rituals worked makes accurate interpretation of the evidence from hoards very difficult. The evidence from metalwork hoards cannot reveal why objects were deposited, how many people were present and how often deposition took place, or by whom, nor can they explain the significance of the objects to the owners. Differences in the types and ranges of material buried and in the numbers of known hoards from areas east and west of the Pennines do, however, suggest that, 'peoples in different areas were clearly expressing their beliefs in different ways, presumably due to differing beliefs and differing social structure.'[716]

The small scale hoards from the north-west, with their relative lack of variety, come from an area with relatively small settlements and little evidence for any degree of hierarchy. The number of small finds, such as brooches, indicates that all levels of society were involved in deposition and levels of wear on many items show that they were used prior to burial and not made specifically for that purpose. This indicates that hoards may have been deposited by small groups for whom shared beliefs and a shared religious identity may have linked relatively independent individual communities. On the east of the Pennines, the

[715] Hunter, F. (1997) p.121
[716] Hunter, F. (1997) p.120

few known hoards are concentrated around the Stanwick area. In contrast to the small western assemblages the Stanwick and Fremington Hagg hoards are very large and valuable. Although it is still possible that the hoards were deposited as communal offerings, their extreme value indicates deposition by a small minority of high status individuals since such goods are unlikely to have been available to the community as a whole. Hunter has suggested that the horse harnesses in the Stanwick hoard could have been deposited at the same time by powerful individuals or groups and could have served as a way to link these individuals.[717] The Tees Valley area stands out from the rest of the north-east as the only area with a possible hierarchy of sites stretching down from the primary site of Stanwick. The quality of the hoard at Stanwick in particular highlights the significance of this area and the difference in social and political standing between the population of this region and that of any others in northern England, particularly those in the north-west.

Summary

One point that arises from each of the elements discussed is the existence of apparent regional differences in the metalwork finds, which are similar in terms of east-west variations to those suggested on the basis of the ceramic analysis. These in turn indicate the presence of different communities in the north of England with clear variations between the communities of the north-west and

[717] Hunter, F. (1997) p.123

north-east. Although there will have been a range of identities within these communities, the patterning of artefacts may indicate that at least some individuals may have recognised a collective regional identity with specific patterns and preferences in the acquisition and deposition of materials. The Tees watershed acts as a further divide on the north-east of the country between metal using people to the south and apparently non-metal users to the north. The evidence from metalwork can be summarised as follows:

- Lack of general iron-work however this may be a result of poor preservation conditions in acidic soil.
    - Nails do not appear to have been adopted for use in construction across the region of study.
- Different metalworking schools and artistic traditions east and west of the Pennines.
- Irish artistic elements used in native design.
    - Variations in materials used for Irish elements reveal cultural differences – on metalwork east of the country and in bone on the west.
- Durham plateau to the north appears to have been as devoid of metalwork as it was of pottery.
    - Indicates rejection of durable materials or lack of communication with metalwork using societies and thus lack of access to such goods – wood and other perishable items may have been used instead of metal and ceramics – suggests insularity.

- East of the Pennines far fewer hoards – known hoards, all from the Tees Valley area in the general vicinity of Stanwick.
    - Consist of imported Roman and romanised i.e. Roman influenced objects which indicate a pro-Roman community in favour of continental links.
    - Large and high quality and indicate a hierarchical society where certain individuals held great power and only the highest status individuals took part in votive deposition.
- Tees Valley watershed forms division between pro-Roman society in the south and more shadowy community in the north.
- West of Pennines – particularly high numbers of Dragonesque brooches indicate anti-Roman sentiment and the presence of a community with a strong allegiance to Iron Age traditions.
- North-west hoards – emphasis on small scale deposition of mainly native objects with an emphasis on weaponry.
    - Indicates the inhabitants of this area wished to express and identity whereby they were willing to resist outside influences, by force of arms if necessary, although it is unlikely they had the opportunity.
    - Lack of imported objects in hoards indicates a focus on local identity and much smaller hoards suggest egalitarian social structure.
    - North-west may have been inhabited by small groups linked together by their beliefs and determination to preserve their traditional identity.

ANIMAL BONE ASSEMBLAGES FROM NORTHERN ENGLAND

Bone assemblages of any kind are rare in the north and in the region of study only a few animal bone assemblages survive whilst, in common with much of the rest of Iron Age Britain, human burial practice remains obscure.[718]

Across the rest of the north, the bone assemblages are scarce, small, poorly preserved and consist entirely, or almost entirely, of animal bones; primarily those of cattle.[719] This is likely to be due to soil acidity and poor preservation as discussed above.[720] Iron Age bone assemblages are found on only a handful of sites in the north-east and, whilst bone assemblages from Roman urban and military sites are more helpful, rural sites in the Roman period are scarcely any better off than their Iron Age predecessors. Another problem with the assemblages is that the vast majority of native settlements which have produced enough bone for quantitative analyses lie in the lowland corridor linking the lower Tees Valley to the Vale of Mowbray. This corridor includes sites such as Thorpe Thewles and Stanwick which have already been noted, on the basis of pottery and metalwork assemblages, as somewhat unusual examples of

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[718] The clear, regionally limited cultural traditions of the people of east Yorkshire mark them out as a very distinct group. The human bone assemblages from the area will not be considered further in this study suffice it to say that the human bone assemblages from east Yorkshire and the particular burial rituals practiced in this area clearly differentiate it from the rest of northern England. The subject is well summarised in Halkon, P. (ed.) *Further light on the Parisi: recent discoveries in Iron Age and Roman east Yorkshire.* East Riding Archaeological Society, Hull. 1999 and Bradley, R. *The Prehistory of Britain and Ireland.* CUP, Cambridge. 2007. pp.263-268. For more recent discussion on the region see: Bevan, B. 'Bounding the landscape: place and identity during the Yorkshire Wolds Iron Age' in Gwilt, A. and Haselgrove, C. (eds.) *Reconstructing Iron Age societies.* Oxbow, Oxford. 1997. pp.181-191 and see Chapter 4 p.322 below.

[719] For information on bone assemblages see Appendix C

[720] See discussion p.148

settlement in the late Iron Age. The very uneven spatial distribution of known animal bone assemblages in northern England leads to the danger of these lowland sites being considered representative of the entire region, when the nature of more upland sites may have been very different.[721] The lowland corridor had comparatively rich agricultural soils and lay close to major route ways running from the Vale of York up to the Firth of Forth. Huntley and Stallibrass point out that the landscape and agriculture may well have been very different in the uplands of the Pennines, Cheviots and Lake District or indeed other low lying areas such as the Vale of Eden or Solway Plain.[722] The potential problems with the nature and distribution of the Iron Age bone assemblages from northern England must be borne in mind when undertaking any analysis of this material.

In addition to their other problems bone assemblages are also very hard to date due to the largely aceramic nature of much of the north in the pre and post-Roman periods. This means that occupation on some sites could be dated to anywhere between the mid first-millennium BC and the end of the first millennium AD thus making it impossible to know if many sites were occupied before, during or after the Roman occupation.[723]

On the basis of this less than encouraging situation for the purposes of this project there would seem to be little to be gained from an investigation of the known animal bone assemblages of the north. There is, however, some

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[721] Huntley, J. P. and Stallibrass, S. *Plant and vertebrate remains from archaeological sites in northern England: data review and future directions.* Research Report No.4. Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland, Durham. 1995. p.122-3
[722] Huntley, J. P. and Stallibrass, S. (1995) p.131
[723] Huntley, J. P. and Stallibrass, S. (1995) p.122

interesting and potentially useful information to be gleaned from a relatively brief consideration of the animal bones from the north all of which, like sites further to the south, are dominated by cattle bone. The cattle bone assemblages are the most helpful element of the vertebrate evidence and therefore Iron Age and Roman assemblages will be considered together before looking briefly at other vertebrate remains from these periods in northern England.

CATTLE BONES

Iron Age

North-east

Prior to the advent of the Roman Empire, cattle throughout Europe were all of the same breed, Celtic shorthorn, and were very similar in size and appearance. The few Iron Age bone assemblages from the north are all from major sites in the Tees Valley. The two largest collections come from Stanwick and Thorpe Thewles whilst there is also a small assemblage from Catcote.[724] The bone assemblage from Thorpe Thewles reveals that prior to the Roman period the animals kept here were similar to those found across the rest of Europe. Over 8000 fragments of bone have been recovered from the Iron Age site at Thorpe Thewles. The majority of these are cattle bones followed by sheep and pig.

[724] Stallibrass, S. 'On the outside looking in: a view of animal bones in Roman Britain from the north-west Frontier' in Mills, C. M. and Coles, G. (ed.) *Life on the Edge: Human Settlement and Marginality*. Oxbow Monograph 100, Oxford. 1998. p.54

There are also a few bones representing other species: these include horse, which was not eaten, dog, red deer and various fowl. The latter two indicate that the inhabitants of the site did not just rely on stock animals but varied their diet on occasion by hunting for wild animals.[725] The cattle bones from Thorpe Thewles include several very large examples, some of which are comparable with the largest bones found on Romano-British sites.[726] The presence of a new type of cattle is a feature of the Roman period assemblages from the north-east but it is possible that some animals were present in the Iron Age, perhaps arriving in the form of gifts. Thorpe Thewles lies in the same lowland corridor as the exceptional site at Stanwick and could have been in contact with the continent in the late Iron Age. Another, and perhaps more likely, suggestion for the presence of these particularly large specimens is that they are the result of prolonged interbreeding with native wild aurochsen which may have survived in the area at this time. Auroch were the wild ancestor of domestic cattle (*Bos primigenius*) and were found across Europe and Asia in the early post-glacial periods. They had dark coats and stood up to 1.8m high at the shoulder weighing up to 1 tonne. They generally inhabited open woodland and finally became extinct in the late medieval period as a result of hunting and interbreeding.[727] The question of whether aurochsen continued to inhabit north-east England depends on whether they were able to tolerate the levels of clearance taking place in the late Iron Age. If they were present, however, interbreeding between such a large animal and Celtic shorthorn cattle could easily have produced the very large remains found at Thorpe Thewles. Without

[725] Rackham, D. J. 'The animal bone' in Heslop, D. H. *The Excavations of an Iron Age Settlement at Thorpe Thewles, Cleveland, 1980-82.* Cleveland County Archaeology and the CBA, London. 1987. p.99
[726] Huntley, J. P. and Stallibrass, S. (1995) p.126
[727] Darvill, T. *The concise Oxford dictionary of Archaeology.* OUP, Oxford. 2002. p.30

more Iron Age assemblages it is impossible to tell if this large type of cattle was restricted to Thorpe Thewles, in which case it could have been a gift from abroad, or whether it is more widespread, which would suggest the occurrence of interbreeding between shorthorns and surviving aurochsen.[728]

North-west

No Iron Age bone assemblages have been found in the north-west or in central England around the Pennines but Roman assemblages are very similar to those identified with Iron Age sites in the north-east indicating that change in the north-west occurred later if indeed it took place at all.[729] The scarcity of available information inhibits the comparison of animal husbandry or livestock breeds between the Iron Age and Roman periods in this area. However it is interesting that the only Iron Age animal bone assemblages in the entirety of the north are found in the Tees Valley and it is this region, and indeed these sites, which have already been noted as being of particular interest with regard to the regionalism found in their pottery and metalwork assemblages.

Roman period

In addition to the traditional Celtic shorthorn another type of cattle was developed within the Empire. This type was slightly larger and can be identified in bone assemblages from its horncore shape. The origin of this new type of cattle is a matter for debate: they may have been imported from outside the

[728] Huntley, P. and Stallibrass, S. (1995) p.132-3
[729] Stallibrass, S. (1998) p. 57

Empire or bred from local stock.[730] The new type of cattle is found earliest near the centre of the empire and appears to have radiated out over time. It is unlikely that Roman period bones attributed to the new type could be the result of local interbreeding with wild aurochsen as suggested for the very large Iron Age examples at Thorpe Thewles. This is due to the particular horncore shape of the new type and also the exceptionally large nature of the Thorpe Thewles bones, which are larger than the vast majority of the new Roman type and thus suggest that the Iron Age bones are the result of interbreeding with a wild species. By contrast the new Roman cattle are larger than the Celtic shorthorn but generally smaller than the examples from Thorpe Thewles. Bone assemblages from York suggest that the new type was present there by the second century and at Chester-le-Street by the late third or early fourth century.[731]

There are known animal bone assemblages from the Roman occupation of both north-east and north-west England. Although these tend to be found in military and urban contexts rather than on purely indigenous sites, results indicate that there were still marked differences between attitudes to animal husbandry and butchery on either side of the Pennines.

[730] For more information please see Stallibrass, S. 'Cattle, culture, status and soldiers in northern England' in Fincham, G. Harrison, G. Holland, R. and Revell, L. (eds.) *TRAC 99*, Oxbow Books, Oxford. 2000. p.69
[731] Stallibrass, S. (2000) p.69

North-east

The north-east Roman period bone assemblages generally contain larger bones than have been found in the north-west.[732] It is feasible that the military sites here could have been receiving larger new type cattle from the south, but if this was the case then it cannot explain the evidence for larger bones at non-military sites in the north. In fact the bones from the assemblage at Catcote, a native civilian site, are generally larger than those from the military assemblages in the north-east.[733] This indicates that the new type cattle were relatively widespread across both military and non-military sites in the north-east, and that they were not brought in from the south specifically for military use but were kept by native farmers in the area.[734] A greater willingness to try out innovations and perhaps a more innovative approach in parts of the north-east, particularly in the Tees Valley, contrasts markedly with the conservatism bordering on resistance to new ideas which could be suggested on the basis of animal bone assemblages and other elements of this study from the north-west.

In York a small group of distinctive horncores indicating the presence of new-type cattle can be dated to the late second or early third century. The evidence suggests that the new type arrived later at Chester-le-Street with one example dating from the fourth century.[735] Stallibrass points out that, although one example may not sound like a great deal on which to base an argument, of the forty horncores at Annetwell Street in Carlisle, a much larger and more significant military site than Chester-le-Street where new type animals could be

[732] Stallibrass, S. (1998) p.56
[733] Stallibrass, S. (1998) p.56
[734] Stallibrass, S. (1998) p.57
[735] Stallibrass, S. (2000) p.69

expected, there are no examples.[736] The discovery of a new type horncore from a relatively minor military site in the north-east suggests that the new type of cattle may well have been available relatively easily in the area. The presence of these new types brings the north-east animal bone assemblages into line in terms of content, although not in size and prevalence, with highly romanised areas of southern England including Chichester and Colchester.[737] All of this evidence points towards a more innovative approach to animal husbandry in the north-east indicating in turn a more conciliatory attitude towards the Roman presence and an interest, at least in some areas, in the innovations they brought with them. Richardson suggests that, 'it is also possible that large and 'foreign' livestock became desirable objects that provided extra meat but also made a powerful socio-cultural statement'.[738] Notably it is sites in the Tees Valley that provide evidence for the new type of cattle on indigenous settlements. As previously discussed these sites are also notable for their pottery and metalwork assemblages. The presence of imported goods would indicate that the inhabitants of these settlements were keen to adopt newly available resources. Huntley and Stallibrass highlight the different characteristics of this area and the likely variation between it and other regions, 'Given the topographic and demographic differences within the north of England, and the concentration of material culture indicative of 'romanisation' in the south eastern, lowland, area, it is quite possible that major differences existed in local patterns of agriculture,

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[736] Stallibrass, S. (2000) p.70

[737] Stallibrass, S. (1998) p.57. For individual reports see: Chichester – Levitan, B in Down, A. *Chichester Excavations IV*. Phillimore, Chichester 1998. pp.242-276, Colchester – Luff, R. *Animal Bones from excavations in Colchester 1971-85*. Colchester Archaeological Reports 12, Colchester. 1993

[738] Richardson, J. E. 'Economy and Ritual: the Use of Animal Bone in the interpretation of the Iron Age to Roman Cultural Transition' in *TRAC 96*. Oxbow Books, Oxford. 1997. p.84

wild resource exploitation and military supply systems within the region'.[739] The animal bone assemblages suggest that this was a very different approach to that taken in the north-west.

North-west

The new breed of cattle is virtually absent from any bone assemblages in north-west England until the late Roman period.[740] This may be due to the lack of bone assemblages from the third and fourth centuries in this area; however it would be sensible to expect bones of the new type of cattle to be found at a major military and civilian site such as Carlisle, and the lack of any new type bones from the fort at Annetwell Street in Carlisle is striking. Indeed Stallibrass points out that they are statistically indistinguishable from those at the nearby civilian site of the Lanes.[741] It is likely that military sites accessed food resources from local communities and the lack of any bones from the new type of cattle within the bone assemblages from Carlisle therefore indicates that these new cattle were not present in the north-west.[742] The remarkably slow uptake of the new cattle breed in the north-west is comparable with the slow adoption of pottery in this area. Stallibrass comments that, 'in both instances, the road and river communication networks were established from the early Roman period onwards, and the 'goods' (pottery and larger cattle) were available in the north-east up to two centuries before they were being received in the north-west. It would appear that there were some factors inhibiting their distribution

[739] Huntley, J. P. and Stallibrass, S. (1995) p.134
[740] Stallibrass, S. (2000) p.69
[741] Stallibrass, S. (2000) p.69, Stallibrass, S. (1998) p.55
[742] Stallibrass, S. (2000) p.69

westwards: perhaps the lack of desire for such items (inertia) or positive resistance against their acquisition.'[743]

It is possible that the new type of cattle were not found in the north-west because they were not suited to the wet conditions; however this cannot explain the lack of pottery uptake. Climatic conditions may have been a factor but they do not appear to have been entirely responsible for the cool reception of new ideas in the north-west. Stallibrass suggests that although skeletally there was little difference between the new type and traditional Celtic shorthorns they could very well have been very different in appearance and nature; with different coloured or textured coats, behavioural patterns, calving rates and milk quality. 'Traditional conservative farmers may have regarded new types with suspicion, resentment, or disdain, whilst more entrepreneurial farmers might have welcomed new developments, particularly if they carried the kudos of Roman fashion'.[744] This suggestion would fit the apparent uptake of new breeds on some sites on the eastern side of the Pennines which, whilst not romanised, appear to have shown a greater interest in the Empire. Richardson supports the idea suggesting that, 'cattle can be economically valuable while *simultaneously* symbolising social and political power. It is possible that larger animals were seen to represent something foreign while the smaller Iron Age creatures embodied concepts of an indigenous nature.'[745]

[743] Stallibrass, S. (2000) p.69
[744] Stallibrass, S. (2000) p.70
[745] Richardson, J. E. (1997) p.83

There is another addition to the increasing body of evidence to suggest that the new types of cattle available within the Roman Empire were introduced to north-west England only on a very small scale and very late. Congenital traits also indicate this late uptake with evidence of new type cattle gene pools restricted to the east of the Pennines, and gene pools featuring some specific Celtic shorthorn genetic features not found outside of the west.[746] The lack of mixing between the gene pools east and west of the Pennines again supports the suggestion that there was a lack of interaction and exchange between communities on either side of these hills. In this instance it would appear that individuals from cattle herds did not travel between these two regions although they may well have been moved within them.

Moving from the animals to the people handling them, a study of the animal bone assemblages has yielded evidence of military and 'native' methods of butchery.[747] Again the 'native' method, whilst not restricted to the north-west, is far more prevalent in this region, suggesting continuation of Iron Age practices and conservatism in butchery habits in the area.

Military butchery techniques concentrate on scapulae, which are closely trimmed and processed. Holes in the blade for hanging are common and knife marks suggest that the meat was filleted before cooking. Other bones also reveal evidence of intensive butchery with long bones being split length and width ways.[748] Meanwhile, native assemblages, such as they are, have a far greater quantity of metapodials, large bones found immediately above the toes. These

[746] Stallibrass, S. (2000) p.70
[747] Stallibrass, S. (2000) p.68
[748] Stallibrass, S. (2000) p.68

bones have evidence of charring and breakage in the midshaft of the bones. This method of treatment has also been found on other bones such as mandibles.[749] The concentration of bones treated in this way in the north-west, both in native and military contexts, may not indicate a specific regional pattern but would suggest that the indigenous people in this area were as conservative in the way they treated the carcasses of their animals as they were in their decision to continue rearing Celtic shorthorns.

Stallibrass makes an interesting comparison between animal bone assemblages from the north-west and those of some communities in north Wales and in south-west England, specifically the territories of the Durotriges and the Dobunni. 'It is interesting to note that those [bone assemblages] from Exeter, in the south-west of the country, follow the pattern from the north-west rather than the rest of the south. It is tempting to suggest that the north and west of England were 'marginal' during the Roman occupation, compared to the lower lands of the east and south'.[750] The south-west of Britain and north Wales are both noted for resistance to the Roman occupation and for their lack of clear romanisation. It would appear that marginal areas on the borders of Roman influence were generally rather more conservative than those experiencing greater influence and interaction. The north-west and north-east of England therefore suggest markedly different attitudes to the Roman presence which may reflect the degree to which they were considered peripheral by the occupying forces themselves; the north-west being by far the more marginal of the two.

[749] Stallibrass, S. (2000) p.70
[750] Stallibrass, S. (1998) p.70

OTHER VERTEBRATE REMAINS

Although cattle are the most common bone type on sites in northern Britain other vertebrate remains have been found on most of the sites with a surviving bone assemblage. Unfortunately these assemblages do not provide clear evidence for regional traits as the cattle bones have done but as part of the very small bone assemblage from northern England they must be given consideration here.

Fish

Evidence from Iron Age assemblages indicates that neither riverine nor saltwater aquatic resources were routinely exploited despite the proximity of some sites, such as Catcote, Hartlepool, to the shore. 'Thus a limited, somewhat opportunistic and rather low-key, exploitation of the well-stocked and ostensibly clean rivers of the region appears to be the case'.[751] Although fish do not seem to have played an important role in the Iron Age diet they were a very popular feature of Roman menus, and it is interesting to note that there is no particular increase in the numbers of fish bones found in the Roman layers of sites, even in relatively romanised settlements such as York. Dobney suggests that the absence of a native fishing tradition could be the reason for the lack of evidence for fish consumption on northern sites in the Roman period. Whether

[751] Dobney, K. 'A place at the table: the role of vertebrate zooarchaeology within a Roman research agenda for Britain' in James, S. and Millet, M. (eds.) *Britons and Romans: advancing an archaeological agenda.* CBA research report 125, Council for British Archaeology, York. 2001. p.41

or not this was the case it is clear that this major aspect of the Roman diet was not adopted by the native people of north Britain. Indeed their avoidance of fish may have been such that that they deprived the more romanised areas of this resource.[752]

Pig

Pigs were not heavily exploited in the Iron Age: instead, there was a clear reliance on cattle throughout the whole of Britain. In contrast to this the Roman diet was heavily reliant on pork and, as with fish, it would be reasonable to expect an increase in the number of pig bones found in Roman period assemblages. However in common with much of northern Europe, the old 'Celtic' world, pig remains a relatively small part of the animal bone assemblages from northern Britain. There is one exception to this: the colonia at York. As a highly militarily influenced site without a large indigenous population, York is not considered in this thesis, but it is notable that whilst a society with more Roman tastes was present at York this element of the Roman diet, in common with fish, was not adopted by the native population.

Horse

Horse bones appear to be quite a common find on Iron Age sites in the north with an animal bone assemblage. This is interesting as horses were expensive to feed and were not useful except for their dung and meat until they were several

[752] Dobney, K. (2001) p.42

years old. One possible explanation is that horses were captured from wild or feral stock when old enough to be of practical use, thus saving time and valuable fodder.[753]

New species: Chicken and goat

Although the evidence from the Roman period indicates that there was reluctance, at least on the north-west of the country, to adopt new species, this does not appear to have been the case for all innovations. It has already been seen that in the Roman period mortaria were fairly widely adopted although they do not appear to have been used for their original purpose. There is also evidence that in the Iron Age other new breeds were adopted in northern England. Chicken bones have been found on a number of sites of differing status revealing that the population were not averse to all foreign imports. The discovery of a whole goat skeleton at Thorpe Thewles which had been buried intact rather than processed for meat may also indicate that goat was new to northern England in the late Iron Age, although it is not possible to prove this on the basis of the current evidence.[754] There appears to have been something very specific about attitudes to cattle in the north which meant that the inhabitants did not wish to adopt the new type. This could further support the suggestion that cattle were seen as objects of status in which a change of type was not desirable. Whatever affected the attitude of the population towards the new type of cattle this would not appear to have been a factor for other useful species, which seem to have been adopted without reluctance.

[753] Huntley, J. P. and Stallibrass, S. (1995) p.132
[754] Huntley, J. P. and Stallibrass, S. (1995) p.132

Wild animals

Iron Age animal bone assemblages from the north have revealed evidence for the use and exploitation of some wild species, particularly fur bearers such as beaver and wolf, on some sites.[755] These animals were clearly still able to live in the area despite the level of clearance and development of field systems in the late Iron Age, and it is likely that their pelts continued to be valuable and may even have increased in value with the reduction in their habitat resulting in their increasing scarcity.

Worked bone and antler both in the form of waste and finished products are common finds on all types of site in northern England in both the Iron Age and Roman periods. Analysis of Red deer antler has indicated that animals of varying sizes were present in the Iron Age and Roman periods including some very large types similar to those found in the post-glacial periods. It is not certain how far these very large animals were restricted in habitat area but, assuming they were not wide spread, it is quite possible that their particularly large antlers, preferable for some artefacts, were traded whole, trimmed or as blanks, over potentially very long distances.[756]

[755] Huntley, J. P. and Stallibrass, S. (1995) p.132
[756] Huntley, J. P. and Stallibrass, S. (1995) p.155

Discussion

Any conclusion drawn from the bone assemblages of northern England must be prefaced with an advisory statement as to the nature and difficulties of the evidence under consideration. Northern England lacks any large animal bone collections that can be the subject of comparative data analysis. This is due to the acidity of soils in the area which has created poor conditions for bone preservation. In addition the lack of pottery on many sites makes the few assemblages from both the late Iron Age and Roman periods very difficult to date with any degree of accuracy. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the only Iron Age assemblages are to be found in the Tees Valley area of the north-east, an area which cannot be considered comparable, at least in topographic terms, and indeed, in terms of the finds discussed so far, with much of the rest of northern England. This means that bone collections from the area cannot be considered as representative of the region as a whole and thus any trends noted cannot be applied outside of this area. Indeed the comparison of bone assemblages from the Tees Valley and those from Carlisle would indicate that the former area is quite unlike at least the north-west of the study area in terms of access to and adoption of new breeds of cattle. The suggestion is that traditions, attitudes and practices of animal husbandry may have been quite different between the north-east and north-west and perhaps in particular, between the Tees Valley and the rest of the area of study.

Summary

The evidence from the known animal bone assemblages can be summarized as follows:

Cattle bone evidence

- North-east: new type cattle indicates an interest in the innovations brought by the Romans.
    - Possible new types of cattle arrived in late Iron Age, perhaps as gifts, although suggestion that large type could be due to interbreeding between Celtic shorthorns and wild aurochs should be given serious consideration.
- North-east farmers may have been interested in their cattle more for yield and quality of saleable product than for status. This could explain early interest in new type.
    - Indicates enterprising and innovative attitude to animal husbandry in the north-east.
- North-west: conservatism and uniformity across the entire area with little geographical or temporal variation from the Iron Age until the late Roman period.
- Gene pool evidence suggests a lack of economic interaction between north-west and north-east.
- Land to west of Pennines likely to have been difficult for arable farming – stock rearing almost certainly among principle activities.

- Livestock holdings may have been major indicator of wealth and standing.
    - New cattle may have looked very different to Celtic shorthorn and if cattle holdings were key part of native social structure and identity this difference in appearance may have led to resistance to changes.
- Native butchery techniques found on indigenous and military sites in north-west – suggests indigenous people as conservative in treatment of carcasses as in preference for traditional Celtic shorthorn.

Other bone evidence

- Despite vast natural resource, available fish and shellfish not widely used in Iron Age or Roman periods even when sites in close proximity to water.
- Continuing exploitation of wild species – particular pelts and large red deer antlers may have increased in worth with the destruction of their habitat.
    - Items may have become the subject of relatively long distance trade.
    - Wild or feral horses may have been captured once strong enough to work thus saving fodder although it would have taken time to break such animals in.
- Indigenous diet did not change substantially even when access to Roman tastes was relatively easy – lack of any clear inclusion of fish and pig after the arrival of the Romans.
    - Unlikely to be explained by a lack of access – more likely deliberate avoidance or conservatism on the part of the native people.
- Reluctance to accept new breeds in north-west not universal – chicken and possibly goat found on numerous sites of varying status.

- Innovation on the east and conservatism on the west suggests two very different peoples with very different outlooks on life.
    - Entirely different mindsets suggested from the cattle bone assemblages in both areas - no indication of any kind of link, be it cultural, political or otherwise between those people living on the east of the Pennine massif and those dwelling on the west.

QUERNS, GLASS AND COINAGE

There is a range of archaeological evidence from sites in northern England which has not yet been covered in this thesis. This is either because evidence is available from only part of the study area and is thus not helpful in indicating regional patterning beyond that part, or because it was only introduced in the Roman period and provides no information on the late Iron Age. The categories of evidence falling under these limitations are considered here.

QUERNS

The most common Iron Age stone artefacts are querns which were used to grind flour on the majority of settlement sites. Querns are an indicator of consumption rather than production of grain and since grain was used on almost all sites, even those far from areas of production, they cannot be used to indicate the agricultural methods in use by the local population. However the type of stone used in the quern stones and, to a certain extent the types of querns themselves can be used as an indicator of the economic status of a community.

Quern stones were pairs of shaped stones between which grain was crushed into flour. They were in use from the prehistoric period into modern times on a

gradually increasing scale from hand operated units to modern flour mills. The earliest querns were non-rotating varieties where the top stone was pushed laterally backwards and forwards over the bottom stone to 'rub' the grain into flour. These types were used from the Neolithic period onwards.[757] The origin of rotating hand mills is unclear. It was a great technological advance and probably came into being in the Mediterranean countries but evidence is lacking. The earliest form of rotating quern in Britain is the so-called 'bee-hive' due to the conical shape of its lower stone and hemispherical upper stone. A wooden spindle supported the upper stone which often also contained a hopper mechanism for feeding grain into the grinding surface.[758] The upper stone was turned by means of a horizontal handle in the side of the upper stone. The bee-hive quern was in use throughout Britain during the Iron Age and many examples have been found in northern Britain. A new, more refined type of rotary quern was introduced in the Roman period. This was derived from the bee-hive design but had a larger diameter; thus a larger grinding surface, and was also flat topped.

The advantage of bee-hive querns was not their greater output but their ease of use where the top stone rather than the operator provided the pressure to grind grain. This allowed grinding to be carried out for a much longer period of time and a far greater quantity of grain could be processed. The advent of the bee-hive quern is seen as an indicator of the intensification of agriculture taking

[757] For more information see Curwen, C. E. 'Querns', *Antiquity* 9. 1935. pp.133-151
[758] Curwen, C. E. (1935) p.134

place in Britain during the middle and late Iron Age.[759] Although this type seems to have been in use in the early Roman period, bee-hive querns appear to have continued in use at the same time. Many bee-hive querns and some earlier non-rotating saddle querns have been recovered from northern Britain along with a few new flat types which may be evidence for the romanising effect of the military presence. The latter are, however, so few in number that even if they do represent a romanising influence it cannot be considered as anything more than a localised event.[760] It is possible that the tendency for older designs shows a conservative approach to technology but this cannot be assumed. Quern stones were often long lasting and there may have been no need to invest in a new style quern whilst the older type was still in working order. The great duration of the designs also makes it impossible to know whether a bee-hive quern was produced in the Iron Age or early Roman period. It is perhaps safest to ignore the possible significance of quern types in northern Britain and instead to focus on their geographical spread and lithology.

The information on querns available to this study is affected by the age of much of the survey work, some of which dates back to 1980. It is certain that more querns will have been recovered since this time. Furthermore, surveys have only been carried out on querns from north-east Yorkshire and the Tees Valley.[761] These surveys cover the majority of the north-east south of the Tyne but a

[759] Hayes, R. H., Hemingway, J. E. and Spratt, D. A. 'The distribution and lithology of beehive querns in northeast Yorkshire', *Journal of Archaeological Science* 7 (4). 1980. p.311
[760] Gwilt, A., and Heslop, D. 'Iron Age and Roman querns from the Tees Valley' in Vyner, B. (ed.) *Moorland Monuments: Studies in the Archaeology of north-east Yorkshire in honour of Raymond Hayes and Don Spratt.* CBA research report 101, York. 1995. p.44
[761] Hayes, R. H., Hemingway, J. E. and Spratt, D. A. (1980) pp.297-324, Gwilt, A. and Heslop, D. (1995) pp.38-45

similar analysis for the north-west, or indeed the Pennine massif, is so far lacking. Although the information is limited and not current the way in which it was collected, particularly that of the 1980 survey, whereby thorough and detailed on site surveys were carried out by the archaeologists and a geologist at each property, indicates that the data is still likely to be representative of the current state of knowledge, even though more querns will almost certainly now be known. In addition, assuming that this information is fairly reliable, it may also reflect a pattern similar to that which would be seen in the north-west if a survey were to take place.

Querns are a fairly ubiquitous find on any Iron Age or Romano-British site but a clear concentration is found in southern Yorkshire around the Vale of York and the Wolds and Dales.[762] Quern stones, due to their longevity, cannot all be assumed to have been in use at the same time and need not indicate the number of contemporary settlements in the area. Although querns are evidence of consumption rather than production the very large number of querns found in this area does indicate a different attitude towards grain use. This could be indicative of a preference in diet but it is more likely that grain was easier to produce in these lower lying areas than in some of the higher parts of the north. If the people living in the southern Wolds and Dales could easily produce large amounts of grain then it would naturally have formed a greater proportion of their diet than in areas where grain was harder to grow or had to be bought in. The topographic influence on agriculture and thus grain production is the probable reason for the concentration of querns in the south-eastern part of the

[762] See map 7 p.269 and for information on quern find spots in NE England see Appendix C.

study area. If this is the case then the numbers of querns found in this area need not indicate the presence of a native regional group but reliance on grain rather than on cattle, as suggested for north-western Britain, could have created a regional identity among the population of this area. Without cattle as evidence of status but with more useable arable land than anywhere else in the north, the population in this area must have relied on something else to indicate their position in society. Perhaps for these people land ownership and production capacity acted as evidence of wealth and social status.

The type of stone used for querns can be used to locate their point of manufacture. It is not possible to create an overall impression of the origin and distribution of different querns across northern England but, although limited to the north-east, the work that has been done is of use to this study. The number and quality of querns found and the distance stones of differing qualities were carried from their source can give an indication of the economic status of the area. Querns were made at 'factories' and carried from these to their point of use. The further a stone had to be transported the more difficult it became to obtain; requiring both economic and social contacts and thus the source of querns may be used to indicate the economic and social status of the settlements at which they have been found. As large and heavy objects, querns were not easy to carry only the best quality stones, made from hard Pennine Yoredale Sandstone and, in particular, Millstone Grit were transported over long distances. The networking involved to gain these stones means that they are likely to have been accessible only to those most well connected members of society who may have identified themselves with different social and economic

collective identities to those without access to such higher status objects. Those of the population without such economic and social connections would have used querns of lesser quality from factories nearer to home, even though these were more likely to wear out or break, because obtaining them would have been considerably easier and would have required far fewer long distance connections to obtain. Thus quernstone rock types may be one form of evidence for the presence of difference economic and social identities in north-east England.

In north-east Yorkshire 120 bee-hive querns and bases have been identified, 82 of which are made from local rocks outcropping on the North Yorks Moors.[763] A further nine were made from Corallian, a rock type found in the Tabular Hills to the south of the area. 24 querns originated in the Pennines, the majority made from Millstone Grit.[764] Almost all of these quern stones have been found in areas that are used for agriculture in modern times. Very few have been recovered from moorland hills suggesting that grain was both produced and milled in the lower lying areas: 'The widespread adoption of these querns is seen as reflecting an intensification of agriculture on the low ground and Tabular Hills [in the late Iron Age and early Roman period], and this is supported by evidence from excavations, field and aerial archaeology, place-name and palaeobotany studies'.[765] This also correlates with the distribution of

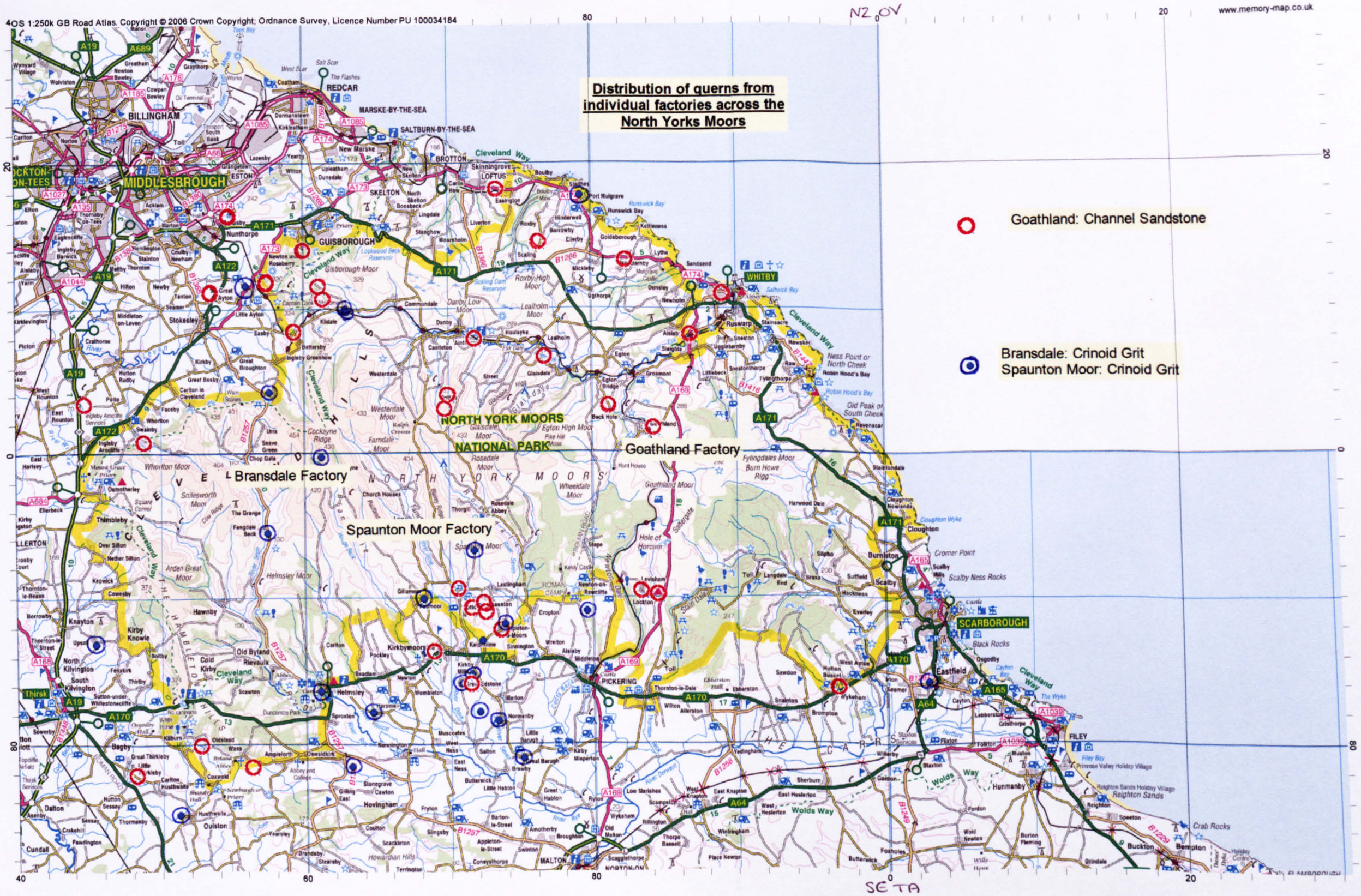
[763] 46 local unfossiliferous sandstones, 30 Crinoid Grit, 6 Moor Grit- all Middle Jurassic rocks from the North Yorks Moors massif. Hayes, R. H., Hemingway, J. E. and Spratt, D. A. (1980) p.297
[764] 20 Millstone Grit, 4 Yoredale Sandstone
[765] Hayes, R. H., Hemingway, J. E. and Spratt, D. A. (1980) p.297

settlements in this area, very few of which have been found on the high, exposed and virtually uninhabitable high moorland.[766]

The rock types used for querns found in the North Yorks Moors are lithologically distinct and can be traced to their sources with a good degree of accuracy. This along with slight differences in quern styles has enabled the identification of three quern 'factories' in the area in addition to querns imported from the Pennine factories. The three factories identified are Spaunton Moor, Bransdale and Goathland.[767] All three sites are on outcrops of rock suitable for milling purposes and in each case querns from these factories have been found in the vicinity but not a great distance beyond.[768] Sandstone querns were fairly evenly distributed on the lower ground with querns in the Esk Valley and eastern Cleveland being mainly of this type. It is likely that these were produced at the Goathland factory. Crinoid grit querns were manufactured at Bransdale and Spaunton Moor and are found in the Tabular Hills and Vale of Pickering. These appear to have travelled up to 15km from their source although it is possible that, as the hardest rock type locally available, a few may also have been transported to Cleveland.[769] Rocks made from Corallian in the Tabular Hills, a poor quality rock for milling purposes, were found on or immediately to the south of the outcrop but no further afield. Hayes et al. suggest that whereas factories existed which produced querns of the other rock types discussed here the production of Corallian querns may have been a 'do-it-yourself-at-home

[766] Settlement distribution in northern England is discussed in chapter 4
[767] Hayes, R. H., Hemingway, J. E. and Spratt, D. A. (1980) p.304
[768] See map 7 p.269
[769] Hayes, R. H., Hemingway, J. E. and Spratt, D. A. (1980) p.304

Map 7: Quern rocktypes and find spots from the North Yorks Moors



business'.[770] Querns from the Pennines made from Millstone Grit and Yoredale Sandstone were found on the western edge of the North Yorks Moors, the closest place to their source. It is reasonable to suggest that Millstone Grit querns were part of an organised trade from the Pennine factories across the Vale of York with the numbers found decreasing as distance from source and transport costs increased. Despite the cost some Pennine querns have been found around Boulby on the coast near the mouth of the Tees and in Hutton Rudby, Cleveland. These stones had been transported up to 90km and must have required well developed social and economic contacts.[771]

Hayes et al. state, 'thus the excellent Millstone Grit querns were carried up to 90km from their origin, the satisfactory local Jurassic querns up to 20km, but the poor quality Corallian querns were not carried from the source area'.[772] In the North Yorks Moors querns were not usually transported into or beyond the area served by another factory due to the high costs involved and the lack of any particular usefulness of one rock type over another. The slightly better quality of Crinoid Grit led to its transportation over longer distances. Querns of this type would not have been as expensive as those from the Pennines but would have cost more than querns produced in the local area and could thus have been used by moderately wealthy individuals in society. Meanwhile Millstone Grit, the most suitable rock type, was carried furthest of all but would have required fairly long distance trading contacts and the means to exchange for high quality goods. The Tees Valley has already been identified by this thesis as an area

[770] Hayes, R. H., Hemingway, J. E. and Spratt, D. A. (1980) p.311
[771] Hayes, R. H., Hemingway, J. E. and Spratt, D. A. (1980) p.310-11
[772] Hayes, R. H., Hemingway, J. E. and Spratt, D. A. (1980) p.310

with a population possessing a particular social and economic identity. The presence of querns imported over medium and long distances with their attendant transport costs is a further indicator of the apparent economic and social connections and status of the population this area. Meanwhile the evidence that the population of the North Yorks Moors used medium quality locally produced quernstones may indicate lesser social and economic connections. The moderate economic and social status of this area, which is divided from the rest of the north-east by means of its geography, along with its apparent conservative approach to the Roman presence has already been highlighted.[773]

The Tees Valley querns reveal an interesting contrast to the North Yorks Moors. In the latter area suitable if not excellent rock types were available but in the Tees Valley the availability of suitable rock types varies considerably across the area. In Upper Teesdale the geology was relatively suitable although far from ideal with many localised outcrops of fine to medium sandstones; however very few querns have actually been recovered from this area suggesting that cereals were not as important here as in Lower Teesdale and other parts of northern England.[774] Moving eastwards into middle Teesdale and lower land, millstone grits with very good grinding qualities were also available. Querns could thus be produced and obtained locally even though the rock types were not always most suitable, making them more accessible to the consumer. In contrast the lower Tees Valley is entirely lacking in suitable lithologies and the resident

[773] See pottery and metalwork discussions above
[774] Gwilt, A., and Heslop, D. (1995) p.43

communities would have had no choice but to obtain their quernstones from external sources with the attendant transport costs thus involved.[775] That the population chose to import Crinoid Grit querns from north Yorkshire and even some Pennine rocks rather than using nearer but less suitable sources is clear evidence of their extensive economic connections.

An interesting contrast between the North Yorks Moors and Upper and Middle Teesdale is in the identification of quern factories. Three factories were identified in North Yorks Moors and, although costs would have been kept to a minimum through short distance transport, there would still have been exchange and contact requirements involved in obtaining querns from a production site. In Upper and Middle Teesdale, as on the Corallian in the Tabular Hills, there is no evidence for the presence of a factory. Instead querns appear to have been made and used on an individual basis by the local population.[776] These querns would effectively have been free both in monetary terms and in terms of the social connections required to obtain them. Therefore they may be indicative of a population with a different economic and social identity to that of the population of the Tees Valley.

Had it been possible for a quern factory to develop suitable rocks were available. However this did not happen, which suggests that the population of Upper and Middle Teesdale were less interconnected and did not possess, or desire, the exchange networks available to the populations of the North Yorks

[775] Gwilt, A., and Heslop, D. (1995) p.38
[776] Gwilt, A., and Heslop, D. (1995) p.42

Moors and the Tees Valley. This is further indicated by the lack of almost all archaeological finds from this area of the north-east: the aceramic nature of the area has been discussed above, in comparison with the conservative but nonetheless somewhat more economically advanced communities of the North Yorks Moors. The population may therefore have been involved in localised groups and identities but there is little evidence for the exchange of ideas or materials.

In complete contrast with Upper and, to some extent, Middle Teesdale, Lower Teesdale appears to have been well connected into the exchange mechanisms of the late Iron Age. This fact has been highlighted in discussions of pottery, bone and metalwork evidence but is further supported by the lithological evidence from the area. Having no suitable rock types, all querns had to be bought in. This would have instantly added greatly to their cost and yet they are regularly found in some numbers on sites in the lower Tees Valley. A range of quern types have been found in this area including long distance, expensive imports such as Millstone Grit querns at Thorpe Thewles.[777] Gwilt and Heslop suggest that the presence of imported, expensive querns on some of the larger and more complex settlements in the Tees Valley indicates a greater range of economic and social relations over far longer distances for these high status settlements.[778]

It is of note that the best agricultural land in the Tees Valley is, perhaps unsurprisingly, in the lower Tees Valley and was thus mainly controlled by the large high status settlements in this area. These included Catcote, Thorpe

[777] Gwilt, A., and Heslop, D. (1995) p.43
[778] Gwilt, A., and Heslop, D. (1995) p.44

Thewles and the exceptional site at Stanwick. Indeed Stanwick stands out even among the high status sites in the Tees Valley for having the greatest variety of types and forms of quern in the north-east.[779] As an exceptionally high status site of great regional and perhaps national or even international importance this is not surprising, but further proof of the primacy of this settlement among other high status sites in the Tees Valley, which in their turn stand out from any others in the north-east.

Summary

The quern evidence from north-eastern England can be summarised as follows:

- The querns from the north-east of England may indicate a hierarchy of lithology aligned to the economic and social connections and identities of the areas they derive from. From least to most connected these are:
    - Upper and Middle Tees Valley and on the Tabular Hills in north Yorkshire have homemade querns made from the local rock type no matter how unsuitable – indicative of a lack of interconnection between sites on a local level and lack of external connections with other North Eastern populations.
    - North Yorks Moors – quern factories using reasonably suitable rocks but again locally produced with some requirements for transportation and local networking but little evidence for wider political and social relations.
    - Lower Tees Valley – imported querns and had both the economic ability and the political and social connections to do so. Best stones

[779] Gwilt, A., and Heslop, D. (1995) p.44

from the North Yorks Moors and some from the Pennines (travelling up to 90km).

- Largest sites in lower Tees Valley esp. Stanwick – could import numbers of querns from the best sources in the Pennines. Would have involved long distance social and political relations.
    - Stanwick revealed the greatest variety of lithological and morphological types in the north-east with a number of querns imported over great distances.

- Predominance of bee-hive types across the entire north-east. Apparently little wrong with the Iron Age bee-hive quern and nothing markedly new in the Roman variety therefore native inhabitants of north-east saw no need for change.

- Querns reveal some regional patterning in north-east England:

    - Upper and Middle Teesdale – little or no evidence for local connections or external connections with the rest of the North East. Lack of factories indicates lack of internal social or economic networks. This may indicate a lack of internal or external economic connections.
    - North Yorks Moors – more interconnected sites – factories but little evidence for external links with other communities.
    - Lower Tees Valley – long distance social and trading contacts – ability to exchange over long distances indicating both social and economic connections with populations at some distance.

GLASS OBJECTS

Glass was barely used in northern Britain during the pre-Roman period. A few annular beads have been found in northern England and southern Scotland but bangles and vessels were not used until after the conquest, indeed vessel glass was almost unknown even on romanised sites in the south-east.[780] The lack of glass from the majority of sites and in particular from the majority of native sites in both the Iron Age and Roman periods makes it difficult to use in relation to this study. However glass has been found in Roman period indigenous contexts in northern England and the possible significance of this is worthy of discussion.

Immediately following the conquest, vessel glass entered Britain but adoption was not uniform and displays a clear preference to type. The wide range of shapes recovered reveals the use of glass vessels for varied functions including drinking, presentation of food and drink and preservation of food, drink, perfume and medicine.[781]

Vessel glass is rare on northern sites of all types and has only been found on one native site, Dalton Parlours, in the far south of the study area.[782] It seems likely that the reason for this absence is the active collection of all fragments for

[780] Cool, H. E. M. and Baxter, M. J. 'Peeling the onion; an approach to comparing vessel glass assemblages', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 12. 1999. p.74
[781] Cool, H. E. M. and Baxter, M. J. (1999) p.74
[782] Wrathmell, S. *Dalton Parlours: Iron Age Settlement and Roman Villa.* Yorkshire Archaeology 3. Hull, 1990

recycling, one element of which, bangle production is discussed below.[783] Even on military sites, glass vessels are not numerous and their number and range of uses appears to have decreased during the period of occupation; glass vessels were increasingly used as individual drinking vessels and the other functions they had served declined.[784] This is the case on all sites and even in the military and civilian centre at York considerably less vessel glass has been found in contexts related to the fourth century than to the first with an increasing emphasis on individual drinking vessels.[785]

In response to the apparent decline in the use of glass vessels towards the end of the Roman era on all sites, Cool has suggest that 'it could be that large parts of the Romano-British population were returning to a cooking, eating and dining regime that had more in common with the late pre-Roman iron age norms than the early Roman ones'.[786] Given the lack of vessel glass from native sites in northern England throughout the Roman period and the apparent decline in the use of glass even in military contexts, it is reasonable to suggest that vessel glass cannot be used as an indicator of the romanisation of the population. Rural native sites do not appear to have adopted the glass vessels at any time and even those elements of the population which were more heavily influenced by living

[783] For information on recycling of glass see Price, J. and Cottam, S. *Romano-British Glass Vessels a handbook: Practical Handbook in Archaeology 14.* Council for British Archaeology, York. 1998. p.5 and 7
[784] Cool, H. E. M. and Baxter, M. J. (1999) p.81-2
[785] York cups: 1st/2nd Century 6.40EVE's, 4th Century 10.00 EVE's Cool, H. E. M. and Baxter, M. J. (1999) p.80. EVE's – Estimated Vessel Equivalents. Usually used for pottery as a measure of rims but in the case of glass a measure of EVE's has been created based on the proportion of the profile of the form that the fragment represents. Cool, H. E. M. and Baxter, M. J. (1999) p.76
[786] Cool, H. and Baxter, M. J. (1999) p.92

in close contact with the military appear to have first taken up and later abandoned the use of glass vessels.

Although glass vessels were not used in northern Britain until after the conquest and do not appear to have been adopted by the native population this is not to say that other objects of glass were not used by the native population in the north. Evidence for Iron Age glass production comes in the form of annular beads (fig.24 p.282), which have been found in first century BC and first century AD contexts and appear to have been worn around the neck, perhaps as a form of charm.[787] Most of these have been found to the south of the study area but a few have been recovered from sites in northern England and southern Scotland. Bangles were not produced until the post-conquest period but unlike production of vessel glass, which was never a native industry, the dating and early findspots of glass bangles suggests that they were a Roman-inspired development of an existing late Iron Age skill; that which had already produced annular beads.[788] The capacity to produce glass, albeit of a far lesser quality than that required for vessel-glass, almost certainly existed in northern England in the late pre-Roman Iron Age. With access to vessel glass fragments it is likely that native glass workers then developed their skills to produce the glass bangles found on a reasonable number of sites during the Roman period.

[787] Price, J. 'Romano-British glass bangles from east Yorkshire' in Price, J. and Wilson, P. R. (eds.) *Recent Research in Roman Yorkshire: Studies in Honour of Mary Kitson Clark. British Archaeological Reports*, British Series no.193, Oxford. 1998. p.341
[788] Price, J. (1998) p.353

Whether bangle production was purely a development of native ideas once materials became available or whether the concept was introduced by, and copied from, the military is at present unclear, although Price suggests that the chronological link to the conquest would indicate the latter.[789] It is thus possible that glass bangles represent evidence for romanisation among the native population of northern Britain. However use of the element, glass, but not in its original form, as a vessel, cannot be said to represent this since the glass was not being used for its intended Roman purpose. If the production and use of glass bangles by the British population is indeed an adopted Roman custom this distinguishes them from objects such as 'Celtic' art on metalwork, because glass bangles are previously unknown in either form, function or decoration and are therefore unique among the artefacts discussed in this study as potential evidence for romanisation.[790] This possibility cannot be ignored but it seems more likely that the custom developed out of access to materials rather than being a direct result of a Roman stylistic influence and native copying process.

The bangles display considerable variation of form and decoration. They are generally either 'D' shaped or triangular in section with rounded angles. The outside surface is always smooth and shiny although the inside varies. Bangles were made in one seamless piece by gathering a lump of molten glass on a pointed metal rod, pushing a second rod into the centre alongside the first and then spinning and manipulating the two rods to widen the aperture

[789] Price, J. (1998) p.354
[790] Dragonesque brooches, discussed above, use previously unknown 'celtic' art and stylistic forms and are therefore not comparable even though they were developed in the Roman period.

symmetrically. Decorative devices include clockwise and anti-clockwise twists, fine flattened monochrome trails with curving terminals, spirals and 'eyes'.[791]

Both translucent and opaque glass was used and Price has suggested that the source of this glass was probably re-used broken Roman vessel glass.[792] Re-use of Roman glass would explain the advent of Romano-British bangle creation in the post-conquest period. Annular beads reveal the ability to form glass objects but the native glassworkers do not appear to have been able to produce glass in sufficient quantities to create larger objects. The Roman conquest provided them with access to glass objects which could be melted down and worked into a form which was desirable to the native population. With the clear glass in molten form the native glassworkers were able to draw on their own knowledge and skill to colour it and form decorative bangles for personal display, a factor which has already been highlighted as important to the native British population in the context of decorative brooches. Indeed the frequency of glass bangles on north-western sites has been noted by Evans who comments that this pattern strengthens the argument for a particular emphasis on personal display in the north-west of England.[793]

[791] Price, J. (1998) p.342
[792] Price, J. (1998) p.342
[793] Evans, J. (unpublished)

Distribution

Three types of glass bangle have been found in northern Britain.[794] Type 2 have a 'D' shaped section and are decorated with cords, spirals, eyes and occasionally opaque white spirals at the ends (figs.24-6 p.282).[795] These have been found throughout the north-east and southern Scotland but their concentration in east Yorkshire indicates a point of manufacture somewhere around York. As a major urban and military centre, York would have provided an excellent source of waste glass for recycling into bangles and from the concentration of finds in the area it seems likely that use as well as production of type 2 bangles was centred around central and east Yorkshire.

Type 3 bangles are also found across northern Britain, in fact most recorded finds are from north of the Humber indicating a distinct northern preference for this type. Where type 2 bangles are concentrated in central and eastern Yorkshire with scattered finds elsewhere, type 3 bangles, which do not use cords or spirals in their decoration (figs.27-9 p.282), reveal a marked concentration, suggestive of a production centre, in southern Scotland and Northumberland.[796] Price also suggests that, although reported numbers are very limited, sufficient bangles have also been recovered from the north-west to suggest more than one focus of production.[797]

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[794] For information on finds see Appendix C and for distribution see map 8 p.283
[795] Stevens, R. B. K. 'Romano British Glass Bangles' in Glasgow Archaeological Journal volume 3, Glasgow Archaeological Society, Glasgow. 1974. p.45
[796] Price, J. (1998) p.349
[797] Price, J. (1998) p.349

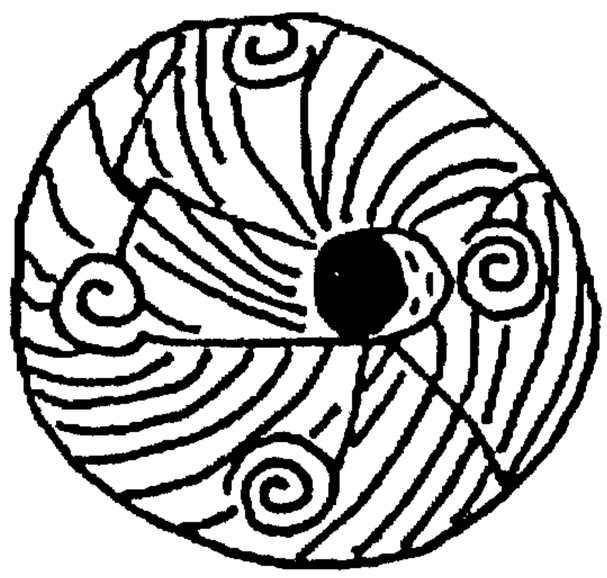
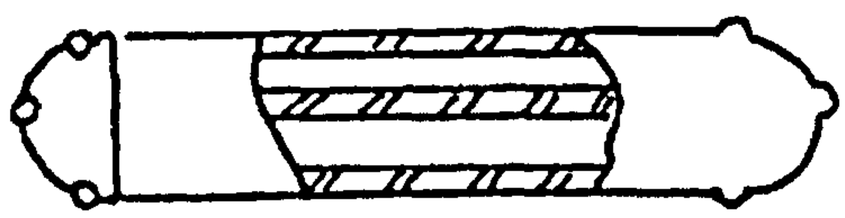


fig.23 Iron Age glass bead

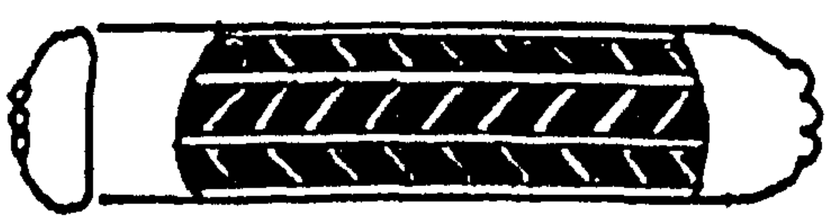
figs.24-6 Type 2 Bangles[798]

Type 2A

Type 2B

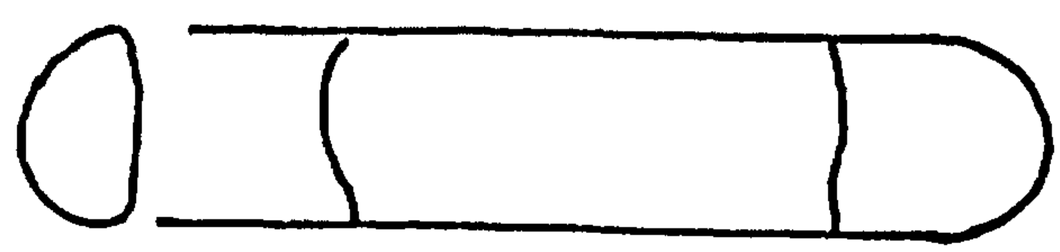


Type 2C

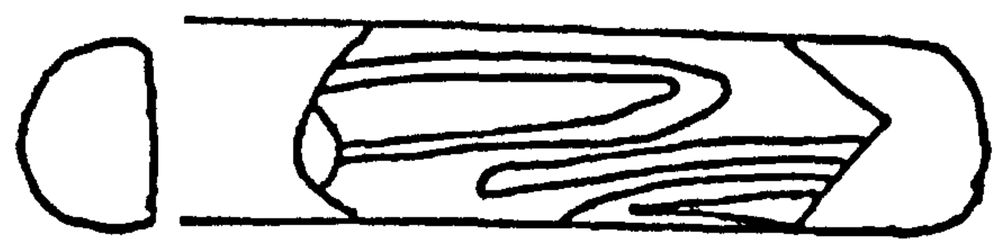


figs.27-9 Type 3 Bangles

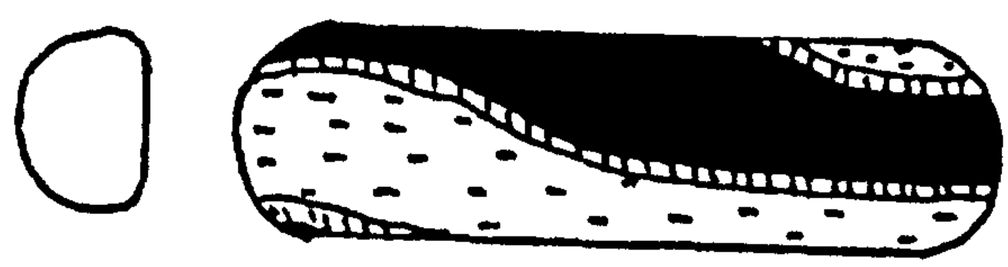
Type 3A



Type 3F-J

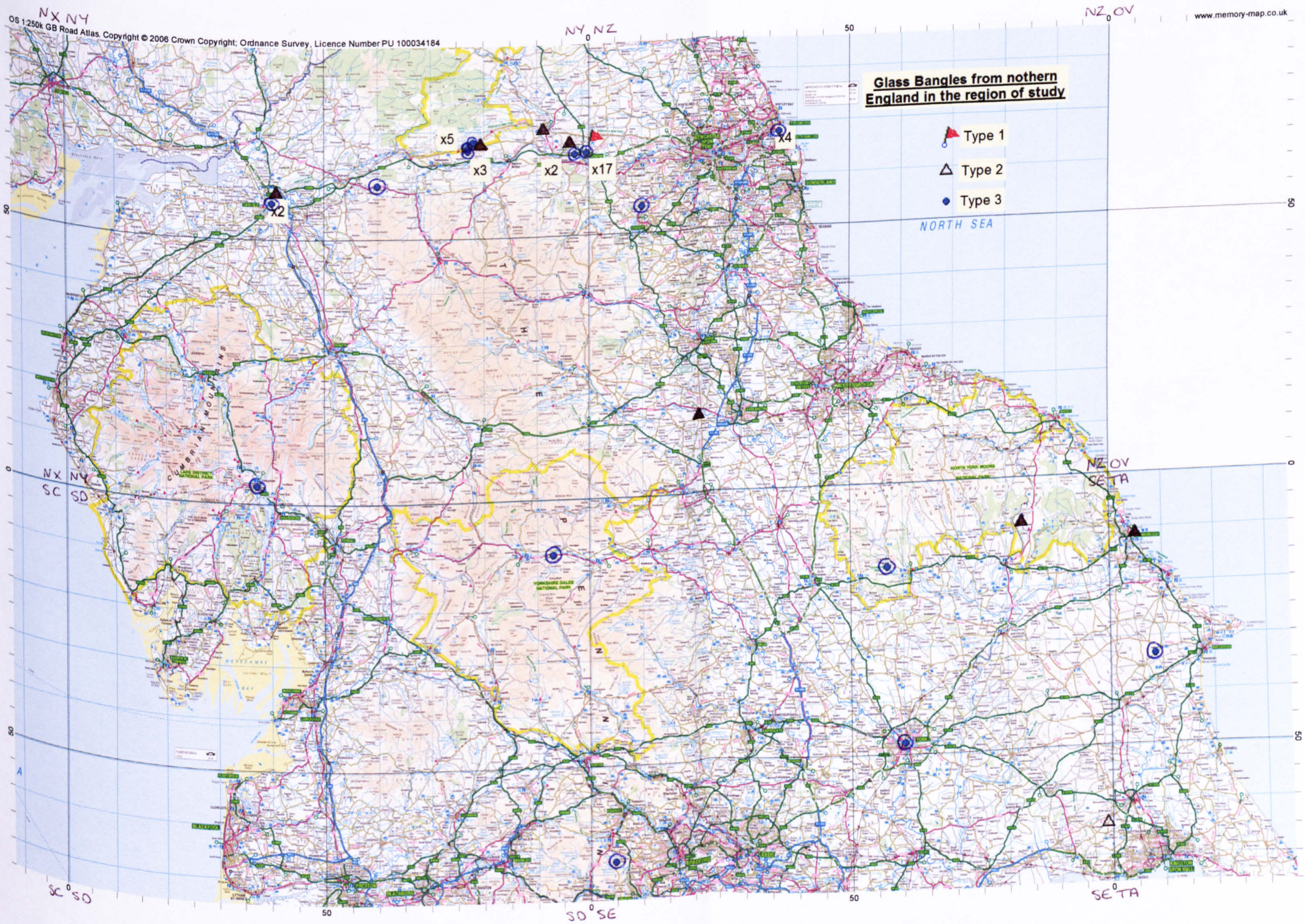


Type 3I



[798] Bead and all bangles after Stevenson R. B. K. (1976) p.47

Map 8: Find spots of type 1, 2 and 3 bangles in the region of study



A few fragments of type three bangles have been found in north-east England but type 2 bangles, which are the preferential type in the north-east, have only been recovered from the north-west at the highly militarised and anomalous site of Carlisle suggesting a preference for different decorative forms between the two areas, particularly in the use of type 2 bangles. [799]

Northumberland and Southern Scotland, technically outside the study area for this work, were on the very edge of the empire and experienced very little Roman influence. It is interesting to note that the few bangles recovered from the north-west were virtually all connected with decorative traditions from beyond the frontier. Given the apparent lack of interest in incoming ideas in the north-west an identification with and preference for designs from areas outside the empire would make a good deal of sense.

Type 1 is restricted solely to Northumberland and Southern Scotland and is very different in colour and design from types 2 and 3 which are found more widely in northern England.[800] Although technically outside the study area, type 1 bangles merit brief discussion due to their restricted distribution; only one has been recovered from within the study area, at Housesteads, with no examples from further to the south. The makers of these bangles were at least as skilled as those producing types 2 and 3 but instead of using the decorative devices outlined above they were more interested in applying red, yellow and blue 'enamels' to glass in a

[799] From English Street, Carlisle. Stevens, R. B. K. 'Romano British Glass Bangles' in *Glasgow Archaeological Journal* volume 3, Glasgow Archaeological Society, Glasgow. 1974. pp.45-54
[800] For further information on the distribution of type 1 bangles see Stevenson, R Stevenson, R. B. K. (1976) p.52

manner more common to metalworking but with a technique that did not require metal edges to the enamelled fields.[801] Indeed the link to metalworking traditions suggests that the two types of object were produced in the same place and Stevenson highlights the industrial sites of Traprain Law as a good candidate for the production site.[802] The specific nature of type 1 bangles and their use in Northumberland and southern Scotland but not further to the south or west may indicate their use by a specific group. The lack of evidence for these bangles south of the river Tyne suggests that the individuals who wore type 1 bangles were not commonly found south of this point. The distribution of type 1 glass bangles alone is not clear enough evidence for a boundary but it may indicate the presence of different identities north and south of the Tyne. The presence of the Roman border between these two areas rather than a native boundary could be the explanation for the distribution of type 1 bangles noted here; however the presence of type 2 and 3 bangles on either side of the Wall mitigates against this explanation. It seems that objects could and did travel north and south of the northern border of the Roman Empire if there was a demand for their presence. Thus either type 1 bangles were not made available to the population outside of Northumberland and southern Scotland or they were not wanted outside this area.

[801] Stevenson, R. B. K. (1976) p.52
[802] Stevenson, R. B. K. (1976) p.52

Summary

The evidence from glass in northern England can be summarised as follows:

- Evidence from glass is fragmentary due to the rarity of glass items on native sites.
- Vessel glass does not appear to have been used in its original form – therefore does not indicate romanisation. However broken vessel glass was the source of material for glass bangle production.
- Glass produced in the late Iron Age but its use in bangles seems to have been a post-conquest development.
    - Since the original glass forms, vessels, were not used on native sites for their original Roman purpose but only in a melted down and entirely different form it is hard to argue that the use of broken glass is evidence for romanisation.
- Of the three types of bangle type 1 appears not to be found outside southern Scotland and Northumberland.
- Lack of type 1 bangles south of the Tyne whilst types 2 and 3 are found both sides of the native and Roman border area.
    - Suggests that it was not the Roman border which created this divide but a choice either on the part of the northern population to restrict access to type 1 bangles or on the part of the population to the south not to use them.

- Type 2 is quite common in north-east England in particular the central and southern parts of this area.
    - Type 2 bangles appear to have been avoided by native population in north-west England.
- Type 3 is concentrated in southern Scotland, Northumberland and the north-west.
    - Presence of type 3 bangles (albeit very few) rather than type 2 indicates links between north-west England and populations beyond the border of the Empire.
- Preference for specific bangle forms reveals evidence for regional variation in northern England.
    - North-east: few examples of type 3, clear preference for type 2.
    - North-west: avoidance of bangle types found in North East (type 2).
    - North-west: preference for stylistic elements found beyond rather than within the Roman Empire – not unexpected in an area which appears to have been particularly conservative in its approach to the Roman presence.

NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE

Coin use in the Iron Age

Britain was the last part of the Celtic world to adopt coinage.[803] Prior to this iron currency bars and ring money were used in place of a regular form of coinage.[804] The first coins to enter Britain were imported from Belgica and central or southern Gaul. Imitations of these coins were then produced in many different areas of southern and eastern England. Eventually more independent minting took place using both celticised versions of the images on continental coins and more specific regional symbols.[805]

The use of coin in Iron Age Britain was 'restricted almost entirely to the territory south-east of a line from the Severn to the Humber'.[806] The core of coin use was based in territories north and south of the Thames and in Kent. Here the designs on coinage, initially adopted from Gaul and then adapted to suit native tastes, were becoming increasingly romanised by the end of the first century BC, indicating an enthusiastic reception of Roman culture and vibrant trade or at least frequent contact with the continent. In the more peripheral coin-using areas, separated from principal trade routes to the continent by the core zone, the designs

[803] De Jersey, P. *Celtic Coinage in Britain.* Shire Archaeology, Buckinghamshire. 1996. p.6
[804] For examples of ring money see Van Arsdell, R. D. *Celtic Coinage of Britain.* Spink, London. 1989. p.61
[805] For a detailed explanation of the introduction and development of coin usage in Britain see the standard work, succeeding Mack: Van Arsdell, R. D. (1989)
[806] De Jersey, P. (1996) p.7 See also Jones, B. and Mattingly, D. (1990) pp.50-55 for maps of Iron Age coin distribution in southern England

on coinage do not look romanised and may indicate more resistance to romanisation. In these areas Celtic designs were retained until British coinage ceased to be used.[807] It is these less romanised groups, the Corieltauvi in Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire, and the Iceni in Norfolk and parts of Cambridgeshire and Suffolk, who due to their geographical location, would have been most in contact with the even more conservative populations of northern England.

There is an almost total absence of coinage on Iron Age sites in northern Britain.[808] The majority have been found in the territory of the Parisi, which is not unexpected given the close proximity of the coin using Coritani across the Humber Estuary. Outside of this area the number of Iron Age coins found across the rest of Northern England can be counted on the fingers of one hand.[809]

The near complete absence of coinage from northern England indicates both a lack of any use of coinage in the area and the lack of influence from other coin using peoples. There are a limited number of ways in which coinage could have reached northern England. Although Iron Age coin was produced in gold and silver as well as bronze it was not used as part of the process of gift exchange.[810] Gold and silver were exchanged, but in other forms, such as bullion, metalwork and currency bars and thus the lack of evidence for coins in northern England cannot be used as evidence for a lack of contact between people. Bronze, as the

[807] De Jersey, P. (1996) p.8
[808] For maps showing the distribution of the few coins that have been found see Jones, B. and Mattingly, D. (1990) pp.52-54
[809] See Jones, B. and Mattingly, D. (1990) p.52-54
[810] De Jersey, P. (1996) p.9

least valuable metal, appears to have been used for everyday coinage but only within the territory belonging to the ruler depicted on the coin. Coins were not used as trade items outside of specific territories because the image of a ruler on a coin indicated his control over that region. It has been suggested by a number of authors that the presence of coinages with individual designs and images may be a way to indicate the approximate extent of their area of control.[811] However others challenge this notion and it is by no means established.[812] In northern England where there are no coins this surely indicates that although the inhabitants of the area may have been in contact with their more southerly neighbours they acknowledged no form of southern control and were independent peoples.

The lack of evidence for coin use in northern Britain means that numismatic evidence does not provide any useful information about the region in the Iron Age period. In contrast to southern England, coins cannot be used to identify the presence of one community or many and the fact that coins were not part of gift exchange means they give no evidence about the nature of contact between northern and southern Britain. In addition, the absence of coinage in northern Britain means coinage cannot be used as an indicator of the degree of romanisation. Although there was no adoption of coinage either through direct contact with Rome or through contact with other coin using societies, this does not necessarily mean that the north was not romanised, merely that there is no numismatic evidence in support of this.

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[811] Jones, B. and Mattingly, D. (1990) p.50, Allen, D.F. *Celtic Coins*. Ordnance Survey, London. 1962.

[812] Creighton notes that much gold coinage was found in votive contexts rather than in settlements and thus that that their find spots may not reflect circulation zones but the extent of communities which made propitiary metalwork deposits. Creighton, J. (2000) p.30

The lack of material evidence means that coins cannot be used as evidence either for or against romanisation in northern England or as an indicator of the cultural makeup of society in the region. However when added to the body of artefacts discussed here, the lack of coin, even from around Stanwick where such an innovation would be perhaps most likely to occur, does perhaps provide a further indication of the conservative nature of northern Britain as a whole.

Coinage in the Roman period

Although the topic of when British coins ceased to be used as currency is still a matter for considerable debate, there does appear to be a general consensus that British coins would not have been in use much after AD 60 although they are regularly deposited after this date. Van Arsdell believes that coins may have been used until the Boudiccan Revolt after which they would have been banned.[813] Haselgrove suggests that minting ceased almost immediately after the Roman conquest but coins remained in use for perhaps a generation after this time.[814] An outright ban on British coinage seems somewhat unlikely; there was little need for such a measure and the Romans were normally tolerant of local culture and customs that posed no threat. Reece has perhaps the most reasonable suggestion: coins were probably not banned but just not accepted in payment of taxes thus rendering them almost useless. Reece comments that 'when the first tribute is

[813] Van Arsdell, R. D. (1989) p.26
[814] Haselgrove C. C. 'The development of British Iron Age coinage', *Numismatic Chronicle* 153. 1993. p.44

levied, and some homely rural natives turn up with British coins in hand you just sneer at them; they soon learn.'[815]

Silver coin entered Britain to pay the salaries of the troops posted to the province and it was this medium in which the native population were required to pay their taxes.[816] The troops were paid primarily in silver *denarii*. The soldiers had money to spend but the majority of items they wished to buy were valued only in fractions of *denarii* so they needed fractional coinage i.e. small change. During the latter years of Claudius's reign and the early years of Nero's virtually no bronze was struck and therefore none was delivered to Britain in the early period of occupation.[817] As a result the soldiers appear to have produced their own versions of lower value coins now known as Claudian copies.[818] These coins appear to have formed a 'semi-official' currency and were used by the soldiers to enable them to pay for small value goods such as ale and receive change. The copies were rarely good; they were smaller than the originals whilst the blanks were far less well prepared, but they were usually approximately the correct weight and appear to have been acceptable both to the Romans and to the native population.[819] Kenyon comments, 'the occurrence of these coins as scattered single finds on military, civil and native sites confirms their use and acceptance in

[815] Reece, R. *The Coinage of Roman Britain.* Tempus, Gloucestershire. 2002. p.39
[816] The method by which coinage was supplied to north-eastern Britain is well discussed in Brickstock, R. 'Currency Circulation in the north east of *Britannia*', Ochoa, C. F. and Díaz, P. G. (eds.) *Unidad y diversidad en el Arco Atlántico en época romana: III Coloquio Internacional de Arqueología en Gijón.* BAR International Series 1371. 1995. pp.229-233
[817] Reece, R. (2002) p.15
[818] For detailed further information on the creation and circulation of Claudian copies see Kenyon, R. 'The Claudian Coinage' in Crummy, N. (ed.) *Colchester Archaeological Report 4: The coins from the excavations in Colchester 1971-9.* Colchester Archaeological Trust, Colchester. 1987. pp.24-41
[819] Kenyon, R. (1987) p.25

exchange for goods and services'.[820] Small value coinage therefore spread into the population through contact with the soldiers, but this only happened on sites which were in contact with military establishments. Claudian copies are much rarer finds in less romanised, more rural, areas which were not visited by the soldiers.

During the first generation of occupation there was no official bronze coinage; however after AD 64 Nero's mints suddenly began to produce large amounts of bronze coinage and this arrived in Britain shortly afterwards.[821] The Claudian copies were rendered unnecessary almost overnight: they were no longer needed and the new coins were of higher intrinsic value. Being worth more, the new coins were hoarded and are thus quite rare as site finds although they were probably quite plentiful at the time.[822] The new Neronian issues appear to have been in use for a limited time, after which they were replaced by the Flavian coinage which became part of the currency for the next 200 years. Both Claudian copies and Neronian bronze issues were in use for relatively brief periods and if they are found on sites they can be used as strong evidence for occupation prior to the Flavian period (C. AD 70).[823]

Coins of Claudian and Neronian date are found on many sites in southern Britain and have proved helpful in dating the layers in which they have been found.[824]

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[820] Kenyon, R. (1987) p.26
[821] Reece, R. (2002) p.16
[822] Reece explains that when coins containing more bullion yet worth the same value as a lesser quality coin are produced the better coins are quickly winkled out of circulation because their bullion content makes them worth more. Reece, R. (2002) p.16
[823] Reece, R. (2002) p.42
[824] Reece, R. (2002) p.43

Unfortunately the north of England was not conquered until the Flavian period and the majority of coins recovered from the north are Flavian or later types.[825] Flavian coinage has been found in hoards from the 70's AD until the reign of Postumus (260-8).[826] This means these coins were in circulation throughout the intervening two centuries and provide less than certain dating evidence. Unworn coins are likely to have been deposited shortly after production and thus indicate an earlier date. Such unworn coins are as valuable in attempting to date a site or layer as any other single artefact, but once a coin shows any degree of wear it is almost impossible to tell how long it was in circulation prior to deposition and it cannot be used. Reece comments that, 'once this evidence is taken on board then any attempt to divide the period up is shown to be unrealistic.'[827] The result of this is that of the very few native sites in northern England that have produced coins none can be securely dated from the coin evidence alone because all the first century coin from the region is very worn and clearly residual in later second or third century layers.[828]

In northern Britain, coinage was delivered directly to military establishments. It then moved into general circulation but native sites received practically nothing. Even the very major sites of the late Iron Age and early Roman period have virtually none. That coinage was available to the population living near military sites yet did not move away from these points raises the question of who was using this coinage and what use they were putting it to. Coin was quickly adopted but appears to have been used only for the purpose of paying taxes in silver

[825] Reece, R. (2002) p.43
[826] Reece discusses the dating problems of Flavian coinage in some detail. Reece, R. (2002) p.43-5
[827] Reece, R. (2002) p.43
[828] Brickstock, R. pers. comm.

denominations as required by the Roman authorities. The mechanism of this tax payment may be used to explain the lack of movement of coinage away from romanised sites.

In order to pay their taxes the native people took their produce to market and exchanged it for coin. Presumably this was then immediately used to pay taxes prior to returning home.[829] The result of this process is that this coinage did not circulate beyond market sites and thus never reached native settlements. There were relatively few monetary transactions on any rural sites native or otherwise as evidenced by the paucity of coin on clearly romanised early Roman sites and later Romano-British villa sites. If there were no coins even on the major sites then the inference must be that high denomination coins were used primarily for the same specific purpose; that of paying taxes, by all levels of society. The fact that the native population used coins for one single and somewhat artificial purpose means that the presence or absence of Roman coins can give very little information about attitudes towards romanisation. Whilst the presence of coins on native sites shortly after the conquest would have indicated some degree of romanisation the period under discussion is too early for the lack of coinage observed on sites to indicate the opposite: this means that evidence from coins is of no use to this thesis.

[829] This thesis will suggest that taxation in Northern England was not in the form of coin. This theory is discussed in Chapter 5 below p.354

Summary

As the native population of northern Britain do not appear to have used coins for any reason other than paying taxes in silver as was required they cannot be used as an indicator of the social, political or economic significance of a site. The artificial nature of the use of Roman coins in northern England; for one purpose and only at sites where this purpose could be carried out means that the numismatic data from northern England cannot be admitted as evidence in this thesis.

- Iron Age – coinage not used in northern England
    - Cannot be used as evidence for presence of regional groups.
    - Lack of coins means numismatic evidence cannot be used for or against the argument for social organisation or romanisation.
- Roman period – lack of coins from native sites
- Coins used at market sites where goods exchanged for coinage to pay taxes
    - Lack of generalised coin use cannot, at this early stage, be used as evidence for lack of romanisation
- Coins did not reach native sites and were used only for the 'artificial' purpose of paying taxes
    - General lack and artificial use of coins means numismatic data is of no use to the purposes of this thesis and need not be discussed further.

OVERALL CONCLUSION TO ARTEFACTS AND MATERIALS CHAPTER

Analysis of the artefact and material finds has revealed a number of recurring regional patterns in the data. In every case there is a marked difference between the finds from the north-east and those of the north-west: this indicates the presence of two distinctive and independent cultures with remarkably little in common except for their almost universal preference for the traditional roundhouse.[830] The regional differences noted above have been described in relation to each individual data set. It is now possible to confirm several of these by combining patterns noted in other data analyses and thus to suggest the presence of several different native cultures in northern England. However when considering all of these conclusions it must be borne in mind that excavation is not consistent across the area of study. It is particularly the case that there is a relative lack of excavation in the north-west which impacts upon the consistency and accuracy of information available to this thesis. Lack of excavation may also explain the results noted in the modern County Durham area. Inconsistency of excavation in northern England must be kept in mind when considering all the findings of this thesis but whilst it may be one explanation for some of the findings observed there is still value in the conclusions noted here.

There is a clear difference in the types, styles and numbers of items belonging to cultures dwelling to the north-east and north-west of the Pennines. With the

[830] The possible significance of the roundhouse as a symbol of resistance is discussed above p.223

exception of pottery, where a possible split denoted by the use of a few basic cooking vessels for display purposes in Lancashire and Cheshire differentiates this area from Cumbria, the north-western data cannot generally be divided into any smaller regions. Across all the artefacts and materials it is clear that this area was highly conservative and indeed may have actively avoided contact with and influence from the Roman presence. No imported pottery was used, and new breeds of cattle were not adopted, nor do cattle appear to have been traded across the Pennines indicating a lack of economic exchange between the two areas. Those few Roman ideas which are found, such as the particularly high numbers of mortaria, a few basic cooking vessels being used for display purposes, and evidence for keeping chickens, reveal that when an item was considered particularly useful it was adopted but often not for the purpose for which it was originally intended. Meanwhile, although the lack of general ironwork may be linked to poor preservation conditions there is a lack of evidence for the use of nails in construction across the area, decorative metalwork has revealed a preference for styles explicitly harking back to the Iron Age and glass products are linked to production centres outside the Empire in Northumberland and southern Scotland rather than within it. The lack of evidence for conspicuous consumption or great personal wealth illustrated by finds from sites in the north-west has indicated a relatively non-hierarchical society with mass participation in events such as ritual deposition and no clear evidence for a strong political system with a particular leader or leaders. The numbers of weapons found in hoards, the widespread use of Dragonesque brooches and the apparently deliberate avoidance of all things Roman suggests that whilst this society may have been quite egalitarian there was nonetheless a clear sense of regional identity with more or

less implicit statements of loyalty to Iron Age systems. An identification and contact with peoples living north of the limits of Roman Britannia during the occupation is not at all surprising and seems far more likely than any link with more romanised occupied territories to the east of the Pennines. This is demonstrated by the presence of type 3A glass bangles produced beyond the Roman frontier and found only here and in north-west England.

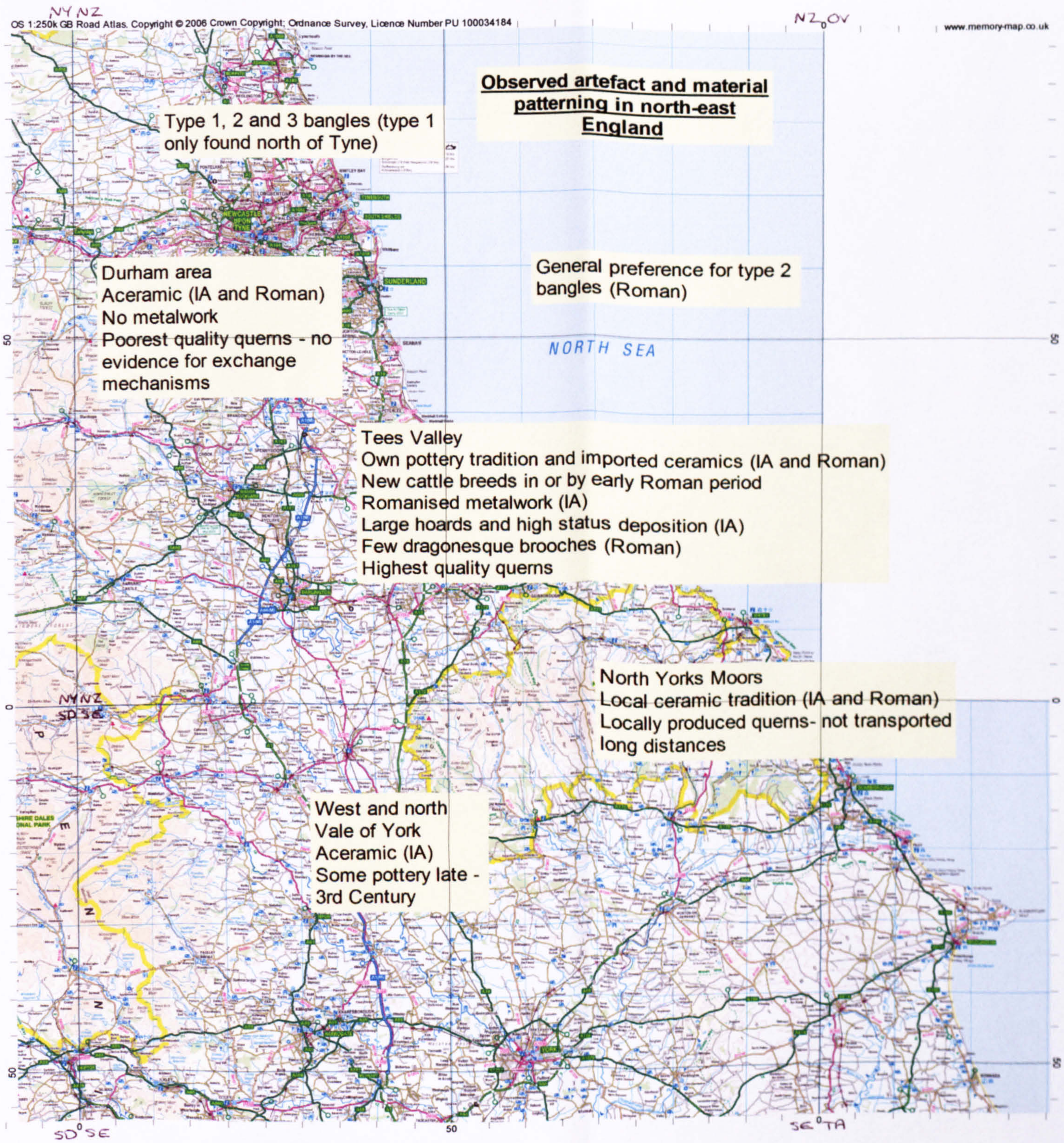
Whilst the north-west forms one unit with a non-romanised and apparently non-hierarchical society; although this may have been reflected in social or economic networks invisible in the material archaeological record, the evidence from the north-east points to the presence of several different regions. Not all are indicated by every data set but several seem strong enough to be discussed here as potentially different and independent cultural units. The two areas for which there is the strongest evidence are the Tees Valley and the County Durham area. The lack rather than the presence of any evidence for most artefact and material types marks out the Durham plateau and the upper and middle Tees valleys, most of modern County Durham, from the rest of the north-east. This area appears to have used no ceramic or metal artefacts throughout the Iron Age and Roman periods. In addition it has no clear evidence for glass artefacts and where querns were used these were of unsuitable local rocktypes and made by and for individuals. Absence of evidence cannot be used to identify the social and political characteristics of the native inhabitants of this area but they appear to have lived at subsistence level with no use of durable materials either for everyday articles or in display. Whether they were pro- or anti-Roman is impossible to determine but the difference in lifestyles between this area and the lower Tees basin immediately

to the south could not be more marked. The complete contrast between the two strongly suggests the presence of two very different communities divided by the Tees Valley watershed.

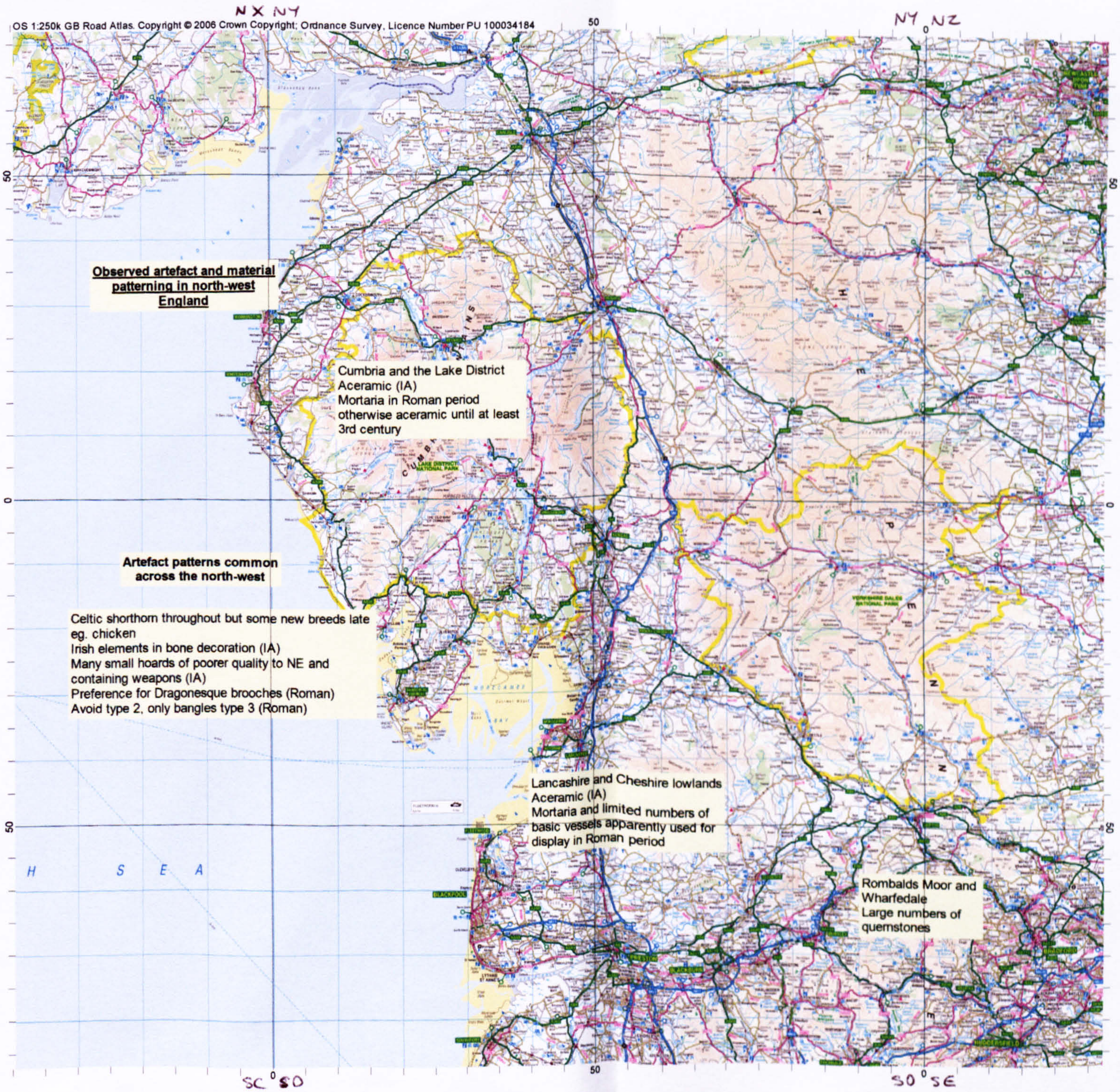
The Tees Valley is remarkable for its collections of every type of artefact and material covered in this analysis. Most if not all of the artefact categories considered in this thesis have been found at all of the Tees Valley sites discussed here. Outside of east Yorkshire this was the only area to have a pottery producing industry in the Iron Age. The pottery was based on ideas from east Yorkshire but its regional differences to suit local tastes clearly indicate the presence of an industry in the Tees Valley. The area is also remarkable for the presence of high quality Roman finewares imported into the area, most probably as gifts, in the late Iron Age.

The exceptional site at Stanwick appears to have been the focus of this gift giving but the presence of imported pottery at a number of large sites close to the river Tees indicates that this route was a major channel of communication between this corner of northern England and the Roman Empire in the late pre-conquest period. In addition to pottery the presence of new types of cattle very soon after the occupation or possibly even before it, suggests openness to change and a willingness among the inhabitants of the Tees Valley to try new things if they promised greater yields. This eagerness to try out new ideas in the area of animal husbandry is in direct contrast to the mindset of the north-west where the evidence suggests that new ideas may have been of no interest or may even have been avoided unless considered useful in some context other than their original function.

Map 9. Observed artefact and material patterning in north-east England



Map 10. Observed artefact and material patterning in north-west England



A possible pro-Roman stance in the Tees Valley is also indicated by the metalwork from this area. In contrast to the north-west hoards from the north-east, which are only known in the Tees Valley, are few in number, large, and very high status. All consist of Roman or highly romanised goods and may have been deposited by very wealthy individuals of particularly high status. The metalwork from this area indicates the presence of a hierarchical society with participation in at least some acts restricted to those at the top of the social pyramid who may have considered themselves to be part of a specific collective identity alongside any other regional, religious, economic and social identities. The status of sites in the Tees Valley is further indicated by the type of querns used. Since all querns had to be imported there are economic and social requirements associated with their presence. The longer the distance imported the more politically and economically connected the site and the higher its status. Given the evidence for imported pottery and very high status metal artefacts, it is perhaps not surprising that the largest sites in the Tees Valley, which include the highly important one at Stanwick, have quern stones imported from the furthest distances, including millstone grit from the Pennines. Indeed even smaller sites have stones imported from the North Yorkshire Moors; not a small distance.

Another possible regional identity can be suggested for the native inhabitants of the North Yorkshire Moors. Only two aspects of the artefactual and material evidence indicate this area as having a distinctive regional identity but they are strong enough points to make it worthy of consideration. The pottery tradition of the North Yorks Moors is different from that of east Yorkshire to the south, west Yorkshire to the west and the Tees Valley to the north. The first and last had

strong pottery producing industries in both the Iron Age and Roman periods whilst west Yorkshire does not appear to have used pottery until well into the Roman period. The people of the North Yorks Moors on the other hand seem to have had a pottery tradition through the Iron Age and Roman periods. Production was, however, highly localised and remained unaffected by other Iron Age or Roman forms and designs until very late in the Roman period when the area finally appears to have come into some sort of contact with the rest of the north. Quern stones from the area are locally produced but, with access to good stone, are useable. What is interesting from the lithological evidence is the exploitation of these good stones in the form of quern factories of which there appear to have been three across the area. Trade was localised with few querns moving outside the sphere of control of their local factory but nonetheless a cost in terms of economic and social connection was incurred in the production of these stones. The population must thus have had sufficient connections to be able to access and obtain them rather than choosing to make their own from the local rocktype, a solution which required neither local nor more long distance connections, as seen in Teesdale. Both of these types of evidence indicate at least a degree of local social and economic interaction amongst the inhabitants of the North Yorks Moors. In this relatively isolated, high and remote area it is unsurprising that industries were highly localised but the fact that the inhabitants seem to have been able to obtain goods produced outside their own family unit would indicate some ability to build economic and social connections; perhaps through trade in quernstones. The lack of evidence for any Roman influence, or for that matter any other native influence, on this area from the Iron Age until the late Roman period also indicates the possible regional individuality of this area. Separated from the

rest of the north by their geographical location it appears that the native population of the North Yorks Moors had very little contact with the outside world and may well have formed a particular inward looking and independent cultural identity based on that separation.

The Tees Valley area stands out from the rest of northern England for its probable pro-Roman stance, its wealth and its highly organised political, social and economic connections. The contrast between this area; the non-hierarchical and highly conservative society to the west; the shadowy people to the north, where lack of finds indicates no use for any durable forms of wealth or display; and what appears to have been a more isolated community to the south, is very marked. Certainly three of the areas discussed above; the Tees Valley, the County Durham area and the north-west, appear to have been inhabited by very different regional groups with distinctive and independent cultures. In addition to these the presence of a further native group on the North Yorks Moors, although supported by less evidence, is not an unreasonable suggestion. The individuals in these areas will have been part of a range of collective identities but the differences noted in the artefacts and materials from these areas indicate that one of these identities may have recognised a degree of geographic differentiation between themselves and communities from other areas.

Only one of these regions, the Tees Valley, was sufficiently hierarchical to have been understandable and approachable to visiting officials, ambassadors and the writers who relied up on their information. It seems that of northern England as a whole this is the area most likely to have been under the control of the Brigantes,

if they existed as a named group, and their ruler. Without the presence of other hierarchical societies in northern England, something the Roman mindset would have considered essential for maintaining control of territory, it may well have been assumed that the community dwelling in the Tees Valley controlled the entirety of northern England and/or that such control could be delegated to the area if suitably strong client relations could be developed. Analysis of the artefactual and material evidence from this area has revealed that this was not the case and indeed three or four individual identities have been defined. An investigation of the spatial distribution of Iron Age and Roman indigenous settlements may support the evidence for the areas indicated here and may also identify further possible divisions.

CHAPTER 4: SETTLEMENT DISTRIBUTION AND PATTERNING IN NORTHERN ENGLAND

PROBLEMS WITH THE SETTLEMENT RECORD

The sites recorded here are as true a report as are available to this thesis but they cannot be considered a complete record or picture of late Iron Age and Roman settlement in northern England. There are a range of factors affecting the number of sites found and the way they are reported across the area of study. These must be taken into consideration when reviewing the known settlements and settlement patterning of northern England.

Archaeology

The primary difficulty with the settlement record is the variation in archaeological investigation across the area. The difficulties of Aerial Photography have been discussed in detail elsewhere in this thesis but the relevant factors here are the differences in land-use across northern England. As a result, crop marks are far more likely to be observed in the north-east and on the Solway Plain. This results in a lack of continuity in the number of sites recorded across the area which affects the reliability of results. In addition variations in the type and intensity of fieldwork also impact upon the settlement record. Areas which are easier to excavate, such as lowlands, may be more

attractive to investigation whilst large earthworks and monuments have attracted more excavation than smaller less imposing sites. In addition investigation can concentrate on areas where some settlement is already known, such as Glencoyne Park and in the Tees Valley.[831] Such locally or regionally focused archaeology creates an excellent database for some areas but to this thesis these may appear as anomalies in the data with apparent concentrations of settlement actually representing greater fieldwork. Equally this fieldwork, whilst creating discontinuity in the available record, highlights the potential for the presence of far greater numbers of settlements across northern England than have so far been recognised. This in turn indicates that the findings of this chapter may be rendered invalid by additional fieldwork across the area.

A lack of excavation means that many sites are identified by the presence of earthworks or cropmarks alone. Inevitably there are some dangers to identifying such sites as settlements and to dating them. Without further investigation sites tend to be categorised as Iron Age or Romano-British settlements. In reality there is a lack of direct evidence for this and indeed work in Littendale has indicated that some settlement sites previously dated to the Iron Age and Romano British period on the basis of their form may actually date to the third century.[832] The possibility that sites categorised as Iron Age or Roman may not all be of this date must be borne in mind but until further evidence becomes available to indicate the dating of settlement forms across northern England this

[831]Glencoyne: Loaney, H. and Hoean, A. (2003) pp.51-65. Loaney, H. and Hoean, A. 2004 (pp.39-55). Tees Valley: Harding, D. W. (1979) pp.21-30, Still, L. and Vyner, B.E. (1986) pp.11-24

[832] Jones, B. 'The North West and Marginality Their Fault or Ours? A Warning from the Cumbrian Evidence' in Nevell, M. *Living on the Edge of Empire*. Manchester University, Manchester. 1999. pp. 90-95

thesis will follow the current accepted dating for these sites; with the understanding that future work may reveal the need for differentiation between similar cropmark and earthwork forms across northern England. In particular that settlement forms considered to date to the late Iron Age or Roman periods may emerge later in some areas such as Cumbria.

Recording and access

The information in this chapter is drawn from a number of sources. The main source of information has been the ADS which represents a searchable online database containing the NMR and information from many SMR's and HER's as well as more localised organisations such as National Park authorities. In addition other online resources relevant to individual counties such as the County Durham and Northumberland 'Keys to the Past' database were included to broaden the scope of the information available to this thesis. Although the internet is a very useful source not all SMR's and, in particular, HER's are represented and therefore the individual county units were also contacted to request information which may not yet be available online,[833] especially that for sites which have been the subject of recent investigation. Further records were obtained from Lancashire, Cumbria, Northumberland, North Yorkshire, Durham, Tees Archaeology and the Lake District National Trust.[834] Although as much as possible has been done to include sites in county SMR's and HER's there is no guarantee that these records are up to date and there is likely to be a

[833] As with County Durham where only a portion of the SMR has been included on AHDS
[834] My grateful thanks are due to the county and organisation archaeologists who have very kindly given of their time and help in making me aware of sites which may not be found on the ADS and those which may not yet have been recorded onto SMR's.

backlog of reports awaiting inclusion on county databases. This is an unavoidable difficulty but should be recognised as having a potential impact on the completeness of the settlement sites considered in this thesis. In an attempt to mitigate against the difficulties with keeping HER's up to date this thesis has also consulted the Bournemouth Archaeological Investigations Project which aims to record all archaeological investigations including Grey Literature from 1982 and is currently up to date to 2006.[835] The AIP is able to record excavations which have not yet been included in county SMR's and HER's and is therefore a useful source of information on recent excavations in the area of this thesis.

The existence and difficulty of accessing Grey literature is a problem affecting the process of recording settlement sites in northern England. This thesis includes sites in the public domain and available through the NMR, SMR's, HER's and specialist authorities however older Grey Literature, held by private archaeology companies, university archaeology departments, local archaeological societies and businesses has been largely unavailable to this thesis. Although a search of Grey Literature has been carried out using the Bournemouth AIP database this only includes Grey literature from 1982 and even within this period the data may not be complete. This inevitably means

[835] http://csweb.bournemouth.ac.uk/aip/aipintro.htm . This project aims to improve access to details of excavations carried out since 1982 and, in particular, to enable access to Grey Literature such as reports of excavations carried out by companies for private individuals and companies in advance of building projects. The purpose of the project is to chronicle archaeological investigative work in both the planning and development control sector, and work undertaken purely within a research context. This incorporates pre-planning determination desk-based assessments; field evaluations; environmental assessments for which archaeological work was undertaken; and post-planning determination and non-planning related investigations such as open area excavations, watching briefs, recorded observations, the archaeological recording of standing buildings, test-pit programmes, and systematic surface collection programmes. Archaeological investigations that form part of research programmes are also included.

that there may be an unknown number of settlement sites across northern England which have not been included in the data used for this thesis. This is a difficulty which cannot be overcome until the grey literature record is made more freely available. Projects to do this are underway with the publication of a grey literature archive on ADS; however it will be some time before a full record of grey literature is available.

Although steps have been taken to include all of the Iron Age and Romano-British settlement sites in northern England for which there is information in the public domain it is important to highlight the fact that variations in the amount and quality of the evidence will inevitably affect the reliability of the findings in this chapter. The variation in the intensity and effectiveness of archaeological techniques employed in northern England mean that the current record cannot be regarded as complete, particularly in areas where landuse affects the visibility of sites on aerial photographic survey. As a result the conclusions reached here are open to change at any time. Indeed without doubt the findings of this thesis in relation to settlement patterns and densities will be affected by ongoing work to publish Grey Literature, update local and national records, excavate new sites and gain a deeper understanding of the dating of cropmarks and earthworks across northern England.

Whilst this thesis accepts that any findings related to settlement patterns are open to question and are affected by difficulties in archaeological practice, subsequent recording and access, and new discoveries, there is still value in the discussion of known settlement density and patterning. Assessment of the

spread of settlements may indicate the presence of variation in settlement density and patterning which may not be related to the problems discussed here or to geographical features within the area, such as mountainous or waterlogged ground, and may thus represent true variations in settlement patterning.

METHODOLOGY

A database of Iron Age and Roman native settlement sites was created using ADS, local units and the Bournemouth AIP service all of which are discussed above.

New excavation is being undertaken all the time and this thesis recognises that there can never be a complete record of settlement in northern England. However the approach taken aims to record as large a data set as possible at the current time.

Using the information available a database of sites was created listing name, position, type, level of investigation and references.[836] This information was then plotted onto the OS map system using OS Memory Map.[837] Possible variations in the distribution and density of settlement were then observed from these maps. The areas which emerged from this assessment are initially defined

[836] See Appendix A
[837] Memory-Map OS Edition Version 5.1.3, Build 716. Copyright (c) 2005, Memory-Map Inc

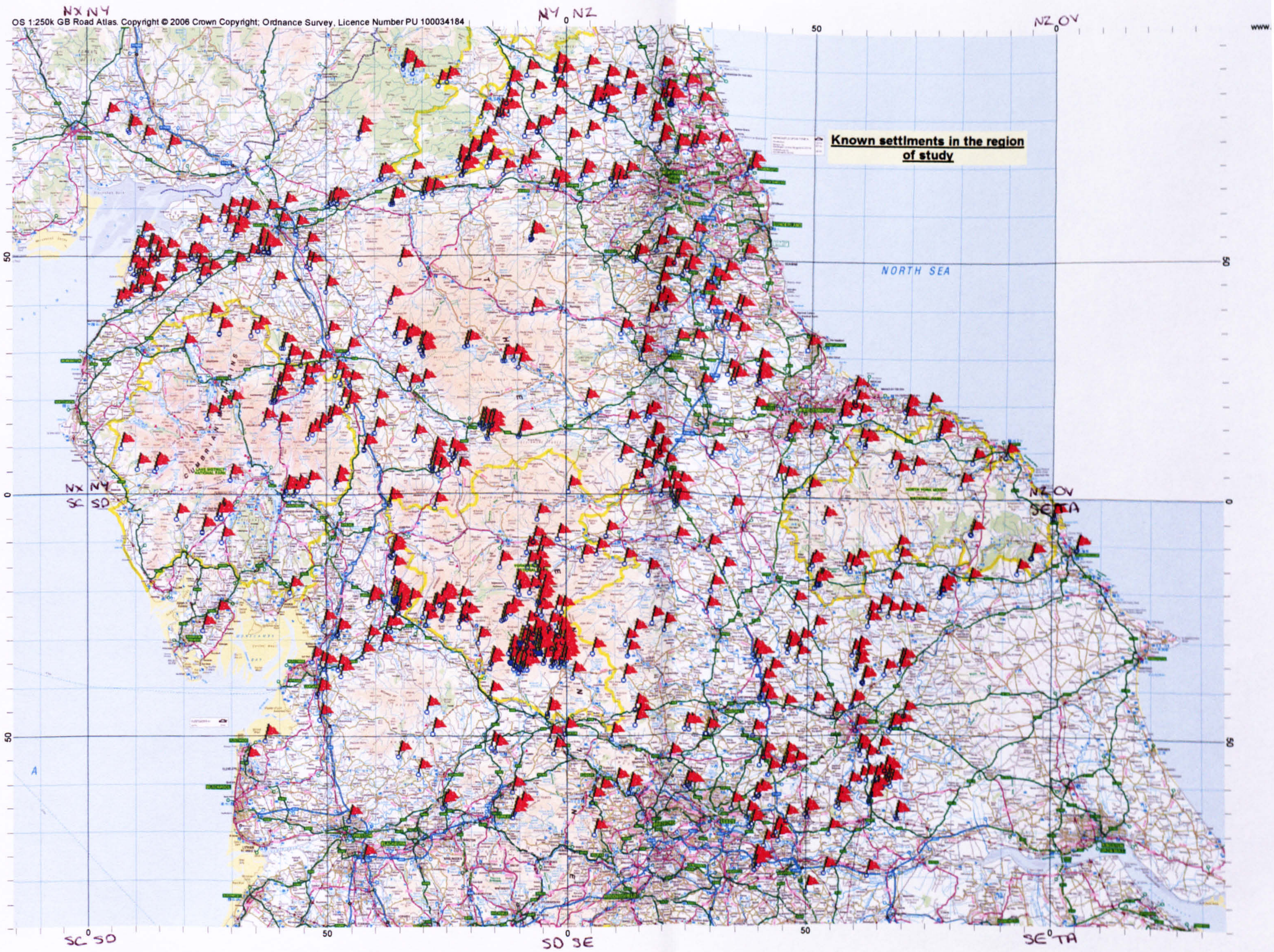
here and are discussed in numerical order working, as far as possible from east to west across northern England. The effects of variation in archaeological investigation and visibility and of geographical and topographical features are also assessed to establish the validity of any patterns noted. Possible conclusions have then been drawn in relation to those areas where the patterns noted cannot be explained by factors affecting the available data sets.

The areas noted are initially discussed in terms of their modern geographical setting. It is recognised that this is not ideal; however it appears to be the most sensible method of clearly identifying the extent and approximate observed borders of each regions. Thereafter each observed area will be referred to by regional number.[838]

[838] For a map of the settlements included in this study see map 11 p.314

Map 11. Known settlements in the region of study

(The base of each flag represents the location)



SETTLEMENT PATTERNING IN NOTHERN ENGLAND

Region 1[839]

The northern Durham plateau, stretching roughly 15km north between the area discussed above and the river Tyne,[840] is practically without settlement and it appears that the Tyne and its southern drainage basin acted as a distinct northern boundary to the area of dense settlement on the south Durham plateau. To the south the Tees-Wear watershed creates another boundary between the dense settlement on the south Durham plateau and a slightly different pattern to the south in the Tees Valley.

This area just below the northern border of this survey lacks evidence for native settlement. Although this could have been an empty region it seems more likely that the apparent absence of Iron Age and Roman settlement has more to do with the large scale later development of this area. This is likely to have masked or destroyed archaeological remains whilst others may now be buried beneath later development. Nonetheless the lack of evidence from this area would indicate that whilst there may have been some settlement it is likely to have been rather limited.

The particularly severe impact of later development on the archaeology of the area makes it difficult to assess the nature of this region. It is therefore possible

[839] For Regions 1 and 2 see map 12. p.317
[840] Beyond the Tyne the territory is attributed to the Votadini. See eg. Cunliffe, B. (2005) p.195-7 and 208-9

that it could have been a part of region 2 from which the archaeology has now been masked by later development.

Region 2

North of the watershed between the river Tees and the river Wear the south Durham area is characterised by relatively dense settlement. There are 36 settlements in this area of approximately 600km² averaging five per 10x10km square but with three particularly densely populated grid squares (NZ 10,30; 20,40; 3,3) situated on the Wear and its main tributaries containing between eight and ten settlements in each. However it must be borne in mind that this apparent settlement density may be due to the greater visibility of settlements on the arable lands of this region.

Above and below this area the settlement pattern changes. The northern Durham plateau is discussed above and may have been a part of this region or may have acted as the northern boundary of the more densely settled area in southern Durham. To the south the Tees-Wear watershed appears to create another boundary between the relatively dense settlement of this region and the very different character of settlement in region 3.

Map 12. Regions 1 and 2

Region 3

In the Tees Valley, below the area of fairly concentrated settlement outlined above, the pattern changes. Here the settlement patterning is more varied with some relatively dense squares and others wholly or virtually empty. This area running from the river Swale at Catterick to the northern Tees watershed and out to the lowland near the mouth of the Tees is characterised by slightly less dense settlement on the lowland to the east and north of the North Yorks Moors. This land was rich and despite a similar potential for aerial photography as that of region 2 it appears to have been rather more sparsely populated, although field work continues to indicate new sites and archaeological preservation may have been directly affected by the substantial later development of this area.[841]

A further reason for suggesting differentiation from region 2 is based on variations in settlement type and development. These appear markedly different to any other in the north. Whereas the settlements on the Durham plateau were numerous but small in scale, those in the Tees Valley were large and include all the largest settlements known in northern England while new sites of considerable importance are emerging regularly. Good examples of these large settlements are the sites at Catcote (NZ 490,315) and Thorpe Thewles (NZ 390,240) whilst the area also includes the exceptional *oppidum* site of Stanwick (NZ 182,116), which could have supported many people and would have directly controlled a large part of the territory around it.[842] Three other recently

[841] For regions 3 and 4 see map 13 p.321

[842] For detailed information on the settlements of Catcote and Thorpe Thewles see Long, C. *Catcote Iron Age and Roman Farm*. Cleveland County Archaeological Section, Middlesbrough. 1989 and Heslop, D. H. (1987)

discovered sites in this region are also of remarkable character and importance. Stanwick is likely to have been the primary site during the Late Iron Age but recent discoveries of two Iron Age and Roman villages at Brotton give an important indication of settlement development in the pre-Roman Iron Age and Roman periods.[843] In addition a large village site at Sedgefield which developed after AD 150 and a settlement at Street House, Loftus, which has revealed both Iron Age and Roman occupation and a high status, possibly even royal, Anglo Saxon cemetery, indicate the continuity of high status settlement in the region long after the apparent decline of the Stanwick Oppidum.[844] Indeed the village sites at Brotton and, in particular, the Roman period development of the village at Sedgefield, are evidence for levels of settlement development in the Iron Age which continued into the Roman period and are seen nowhere else in northern England.

The northern boundary of this area is suggested as the watershed between the tributaries draining into the Wear and those draining into the Tees. To the west it is marked where the land begins to rise towards the Pennines and to the east by the coast. The southern boundary of the area runs along the northern edge of the North Yorks Moors, again delineating the lowland from the rising ground. At the western edge of the North Yorks Moors the southern boundary of region 3 appears to continue westwards in a roughly straight line until it meets the western border at the edge of the Pennines. There is no geographical feature to indicate this division but below it settlement becomes virtually non-existent. A

[843] For references see Appendix A.
[844] Sedgefield is discussed in chapter 3 above p.156. Street House has not been fully published but some further information is available on:
http://www.teesarchaeology.com/new/StreetHouseInDepthInfo.html

feature of some interest on this suggested border is the concentration of settlements around Catterick (SE 234,981). Catterick, well known as a Roman fort, town and river crossing, appears to have been of some importance throughout prehistoric times and may have been a crossing point for the river Swale throughout the Iron Age. From Catterick the Swale runs west towards the Pennines and it is possible that it formed the southern boundary of this area of settlement. Assuming the southern border of the Tees Valley area was an east-west line from the north of the North Yorks Moors across to the Swale where it changes course from flowing roughly east to flowing south-east and then along the Swale to the Pennines, then the concentration of settlements at Catterick, on what may have been a prehistoric site and river crossing, may mark the southern 'gateway' to this area.

Region 4

The rising ground around the North Yorks moors is generally lacking in settlement and marks a border around this area clearly separating it from territories to the north and west. The moors themselves are not devoid of settlement although they appear to have been sparsely populated. The tops of the hills were wet, cold, exposed and covered in peat. Deforestation of the area is thought to have taken place in the earlier Iron Age leading to leaching of the soils and the creation of peat. The ground was now marginal and it is no surprise that no evidence for settlement has yet emerged on the high ground of

Map 13. Regions 3 and 4

the Moors. Instead settlement seems to have concentrated in the valleys where conditions were considerably better and the soil could support both crops and grazing stock. The majority of settlements, which have mainly been identified though aerial photographic surveys,[845] are to be found on the northern edge of the moors in Kildale (NZ 60,00) and Westerdale (NZ 60,10). A number of querns representing evidence of consumption and therefore probable settlement are also found in Fangdale (SE 56,94) to the west and in the northern and north-eastern valleys running down from the high ground at the top of the moors.[846] The southern boundary of the area is not as definite. There is a gap in settlement running along the highest part of the North Yorks Moors and this probably divides the area from that to the south. However, given that settlers would naturally have avoided this terrain it is possible that settlement to the south, on the ground running down to the Vale of Pickering, may also be included in the region. If this is the case then the southern boundary of this area is marked by the appearance of the barrow cemeteries on the low ground of the Vale of Pickering known as the Carrs.[847]

The problem with accepting the more southerly boundary of the North Yorks Moors area is that archaeological sites of the southern slopes include a few barrows and cart burials, both of which have been associated with the population living to the south of the area and for whom an identity may be associated with the Parisi although this is an area of debate.[848] It seems possible

[845] Still, L., Vyner, B. E. and Bewley, R. (1989) pp.1-10, Riley, D. N. (1976) pp. 13-17; Riley, D. N. (1978) pp.21-4; Wilson, P.R. (1995) pp.69-78
[846] Hayes, R. H., Hemingway, J. E. and Spratt, D. A. (1980) pp.297-324
[847] Mytum, H. (1995) pp.31-37
[848] Bevan has questioned a clear tribal identity for these people: Bevan,B.

that this area on the descending southern slopes of the North Yorks Moors and the low ground of the Vale of Pickering may have been a zone of transition belonging to neither area in particular, and inhabited by native people some of whom identified themselves with those dwelling to the north and others who identified with people in the south. The area is hard to explain but the former hypothesis may be more likely and thus the highest point of the North Yorkshire Moors may mark the southern boundary of this area.

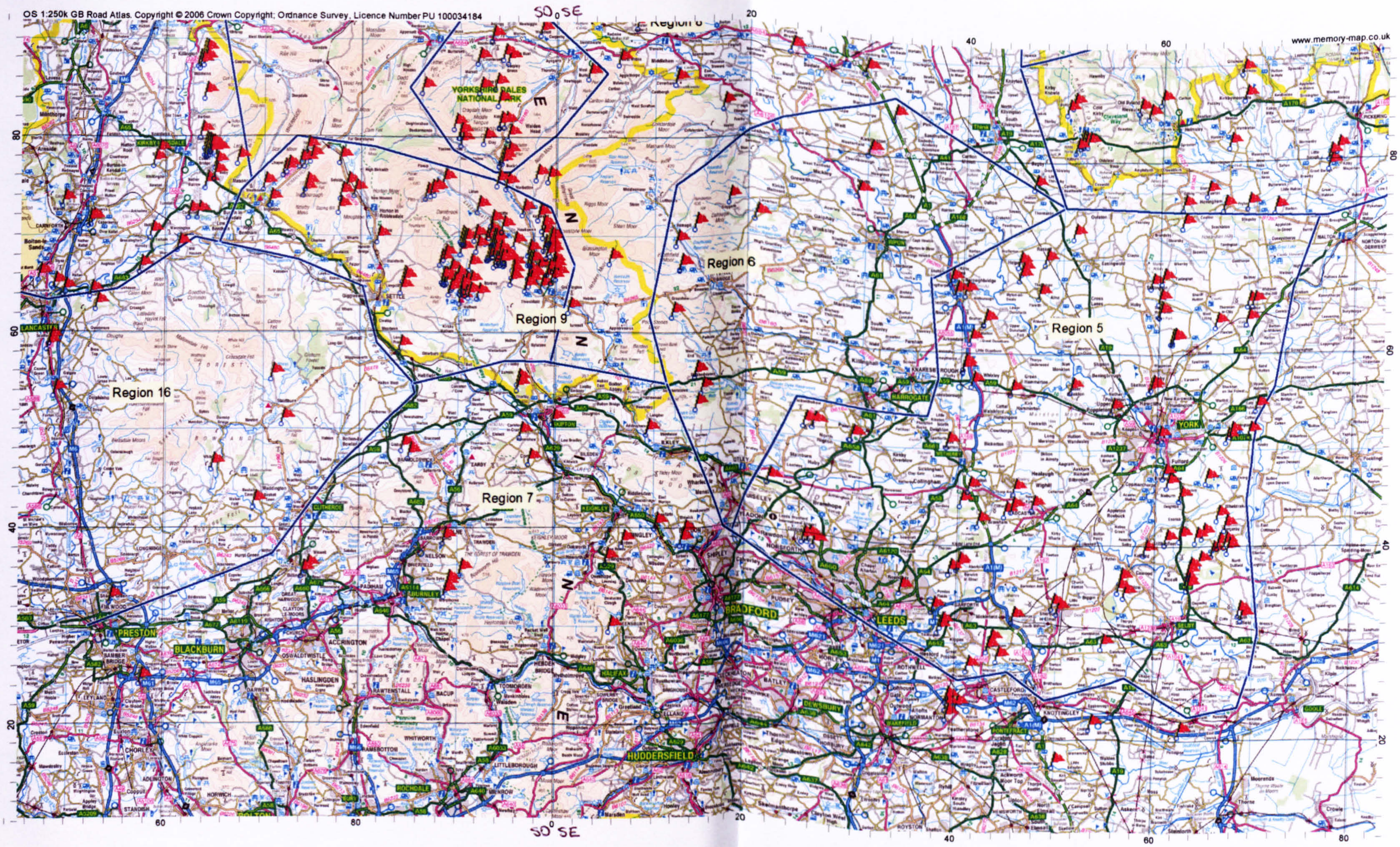
Region 5

The very low lying area around the eastern Vale of York is not densely settled but nevertheless it is notable for containing considerably more evidence for settlement than the western part of the Vale (region 6).[849] The region remains prone to flooding even in modern times and therefore permanent settlement in the Iron Age and early Roman period is likely to have been limited to slightly higher and less waterlogged ground.

(1997). pp.181-191 In particular he questions the use of barrows as evidence for the presence and extent of a particular 'tribal' identity in this area: Bevan, B. 'Land-Life-Death-Regeneration: *interpreting a middle Iron Age landscape in eastern Yorkshire'* in Bevan, B. (ed.) *Northern Exposure: interpretative devolution and the British Iron Age.* Leicester Archaeology Monographs 4, Leicester 1999. p.124 However he does accept the limitation of ladder settlements, long distance dykes and square barrows to Yorkshire East of the Rivers Ouse and Derwent and Bradley discusses the anomalous nature of the Arras culture of East Yorkshire and stresses that this area does stand out although the identity of its inhabitants and the extent of their territory may not be as certain as has previously been thought. Bradley, R. (2007) pp.263-268. See Also Stead, I. M. (1991).

[849] For regions 5, 6 and 7 see map 14 p.324

Map 14. Regions 5, 6 and 7



Furthermore modern landuse tends towards pasture which adversely affects the visibility of cropmarks in the area. The settlements in the eastern part of the region are all on very low ground and are therefore likely to have been liable to flooding. It may be that these sites were not areas of permanent habitation and that they were only used in the summer for transhumance when water levels were sufficiently low to make the land accessible. The region is bounded by lack of settlement to the west and north-west and the southern edge of the Wolds in the north-east. To the east, the border of this area appears to lie on the river Derwent whilst that to the south is roughly delineated by the course of the river Aire.

Region 6

Yorkshire west of the North Yorks Moors and the western Vale of York is almost entirely devoid of settlement evidence. The northern edge of the area is marked by the southern boundary of the Tees valley area and its southern edge is marked by the confluence of the rivers Swale and Ure. The region is clearly bounded east and west by the western edge of the North Yorks Moors and the eastern edge of the Pennines and creates a marked contrast between the apparently more densely settled areas to the north and south of the area. Almost the only settlement yet identified is on the higher ground in the far west of the area where a limited number of settlements stretch in a fairly linear pattern from Grassington Moor on fairly high ground on the eastern edge of the Pennines. The rivers Ure, Swale, Whiske and Nidd all run through this low lying area and

it is likely that these rivers made the lower lying land at the east of the area too wet or prone to flooding for permanent habitation. In addition the area may also be affected by variations in archaeological visibility. The area contains both low and high ground and the former is affected by both later development and the lesser potential for aerial photography on pasture. Thus variation in the potential for site discovery may explain the presence of sites only in the higher, western area of this region.

Region 7

To the south of the river Wharfe at the end of Wharfedale, Airedale and Rombalds Moor is a small area of higher land between 200 and 400 metres with a settlement pattern markedly different to that in the western Vale of York. No southern boundary is given for this area because it borders and may cross the southern edge of the region of study and thus the limit of settlements considered in this thesis. Settlements themselves remain few and far between but are not confined to one particular area although there are more to the east than to the west. The area is also remarkable for the particularly high numbers of querns, which indicate the presence of settlement even when no other evidence has been recorded, recovered from across the area.

A reasonable number of querns have been found in this area.[850] However their longevity, and dating difficulties mean that they are unlikely to have all been in

[850] See discussion in chapter 3

use at the same time and therefore they cannot be used to indicate population size. In addition the vast majority had been removed from their original find spots and were identified when performing secondary uses as building materials and in garden features. For this reason, the recorded positions of querns do not indicate the site of their original Iron Age and early Roman use and they cannot be used to find patterns of settlement in the area. Querns do, however, give some evidence of land use. In East Yorkshire there are enclosures, field systems and trackways in great profusion.[851] All of this evidence indicates an economy with at least a strong basis on pastoral farming although some arable production almost certainly took place. The area under discussion here has practically no trackways, enclosures or field systems and the numbers of querns indicate that it was used for large scale arable crop production. This variation may be due to differences in the potential for aerial photography; however the process is usually more effective on areas of arable landuse, which continues to be the case in this region, and should therefore be relatively successful. Since querns indicate consumption and not production it is not possible to tell whether the crops produced here were exported out of the area or used solely within it; however cereal crops must have made up a good part of the diet in this area. Evidence for land use cannot be used to indicate the presence of a specific community but a population whose lives were governed by the arable year are likely to have lived quite differently to one governed by the pastoral year.

[851] Bevan, B. (1999) p.126

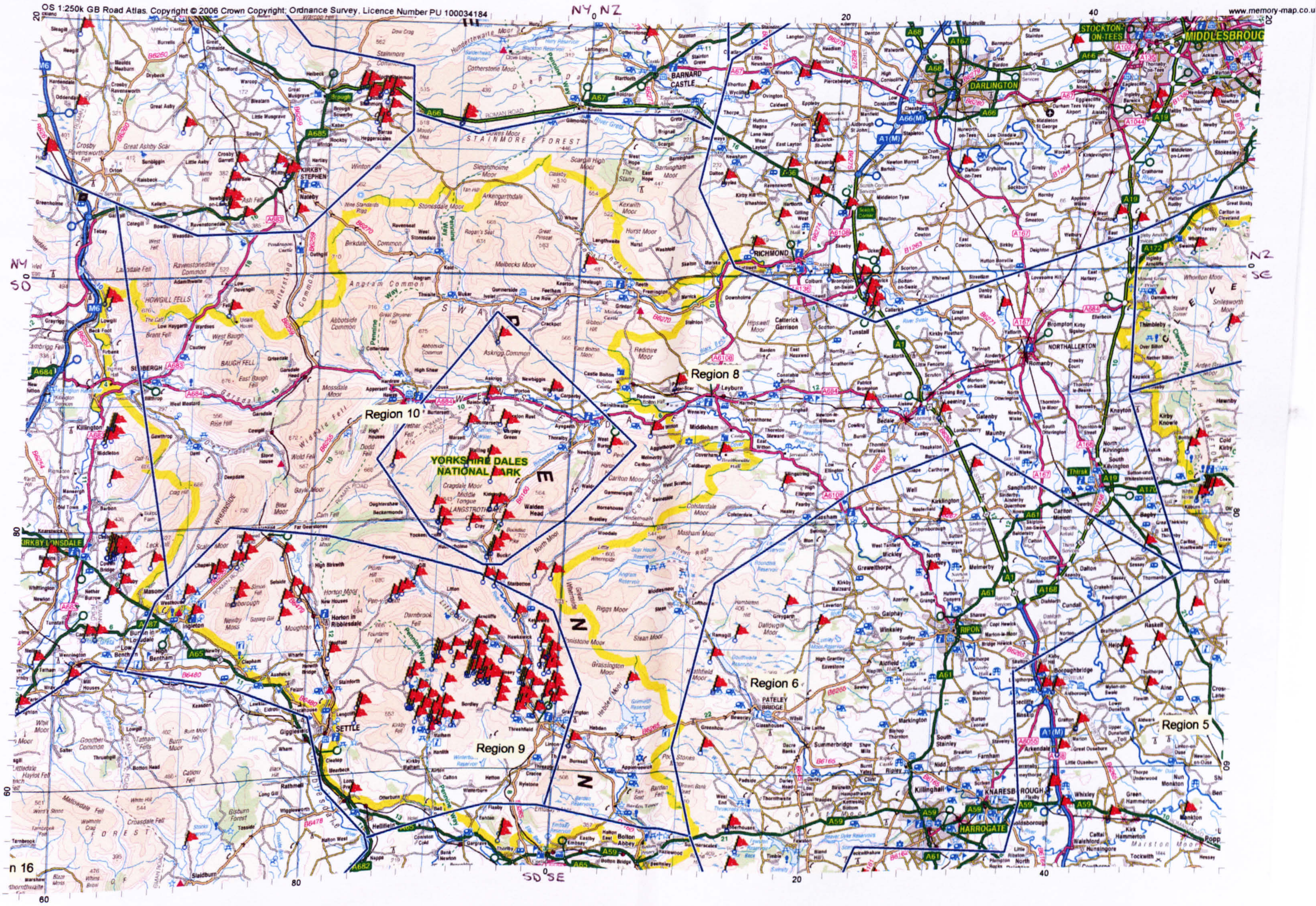
Region 8[852]

An apparently virtual void in settlement is to be found on the high land at the upper end of Wensleydale and in Swaledale where there are less than five settlements in seven 10x10km squares, many of which have no settlements at all. This area is linked to the uninhabited land of the north Pennines (region 11) with the Stainmore pass (NZ 80,10; 90,10), itself high and exposed, passing between the two. The more southerly uninhabited area described here is not as high as that to the north, with most peaks not much above 700m but the windy and exposed nature of the area would have made it difficult to settle. However it should also be noted that this area has not experienced the same level of archaeological investigation as the more lowland regions of the study area. It is therefore possible that the apparent lack of settlement in this area is a result of variation in fieldwork and that some settlement may indeed have existed here. It is certainly likely to have been used at least for summer pasturage and more detailed archaeological investigation may reveal greater evidence for settlement.

It is possible that the land could have been used had population pressure reached extreme levels; thus pushing people to the limits of possible settlement but this does not currently appear to have been the case. The lack of settlement evidence on this high but not impossible land indicates that the Iron Age and early Roman population of the north did not reached a level where the population was too large for the available easily habitable land.

[852] For regions 8, 9 and 10 see map 15 p.329

Map 15. Regions 8, 9 and 10



Region 9

The area of dense population around and to the east of Malham Tarn (SD 894,669) is bounded on the west by the edge of the Pennine scarp, on the north by the increasingly high and bleak lands of the central Pennines and on the east by the marshy and uninviting zone noted above. In the south the region is likely to include the area of land between the Pennine hills and the river Ribble, some of which is relatively low. This region, stretching from Grassington in the east to Ingleborough hillfort in the west, is characterised by a settlement density and similarly large numbers of enclosures; visible as earthworks on aerial photography and also identified through geophysical survey, seen nowhere else in northern England.[853] The land around Malham Tarn and Grassington has been the subject of aerial investigation and a recent geophysical survey, and the land is very favourable to obtaining good aerial photographic results. [854] The area stands out but rather than being anomalous the survey work carried out in this area means that the results obtained are likely to be indicative of settlement density across much of northern England, certainly on the higher ground. As such the data from this region is further evidence that the settlement density data available from northern England should be treated with caution and that the number of known sites may be only a fraction of the true figure. The area, particularly that around and just to the east of Malham tarn contains a great many settlements and enclosures and, given the relatively high, exposed nature of the whole region from here to Ingleborough this density is hard to explain if

[853] St Joseph, J. K. (1977) p.125-61

[854] St Joseph, J. K. (1977) p.125-61. There has been some recent geophysical survey but this is unpublished: Thompson, J. *The Grassington Project 2000*. University of Durham Undergraduate Thesis, 2000. (Unpublished)

these settlements were permanent. A possible explanation for the incredibly dense settlement patterning observed at Malham is that the area was not inhabited all year round but was instead used for summer pasturage, although without further excavation this cannot be more than a suggestion. If this was the case then the apparent numbers of settlements can be explained by the need to rebuild temporary shelters on a relatively regular basis and, given the nature of transhumance, the likelihood that the pastoralists may have changed location each year according to the quality of grazing and availability of water at the time. Thus a very much smaller population than the numbers of settlements would at first suggest could very well have inhabited this area; moving from the lowland east of the Ribble and perhaps some of the other valleys bordering the area in the winter, where there is evidence for some settlement but not a high population density, to the high pasturage around Malham, Ingleborough (SD 742,738) and above and west of Grassington (SD 997,648) in the summer.

Region 10

A pattern of dense highland settlement similar to that described above is seen in and to the south of Wensleydale. It seems likely to the author that the inhabitants of this area may also have used these highland settlements in the summer and moved into the more sheltered valleys in the winter. If this was the case then the number of settlements is again likely to give a misleading indication of the population size, which was probably relatively small. The population of this area may have been connected with that of Grassington and

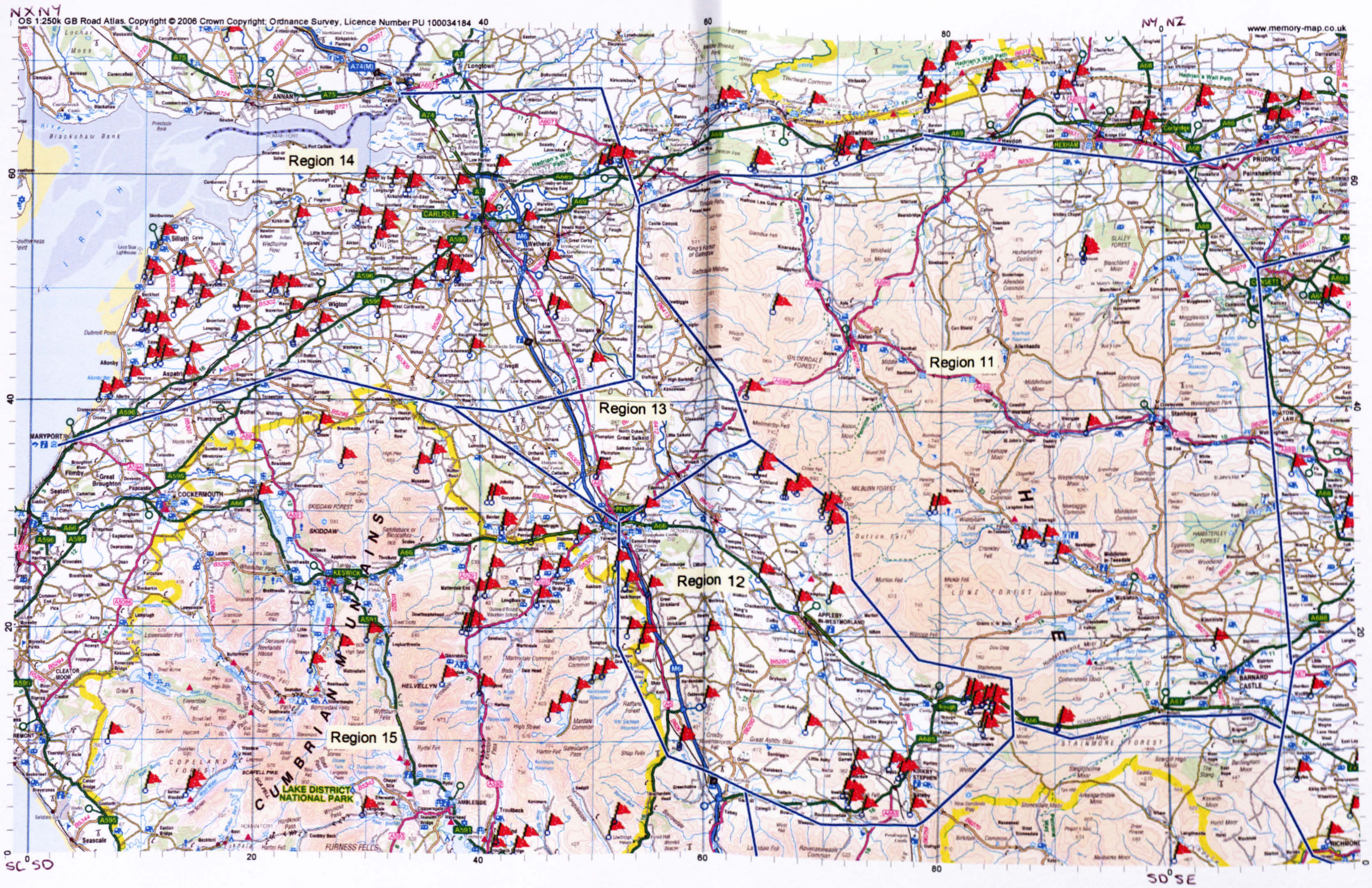
Ingleborough or possibly upper Wharfedale. However it is more likely that these settlement patterns represent the presence of only a limited number of people who may not have had extensive communication with settlements outside of their valleys.

Region 11[855]

The high north Pennines represent an almost complete void in terms of settlement in northern England and this comes as no surprise. This area stretches from the edge of the Whin Sill, later used as the line of Hadrian's Wall, in the north to the Stainmore Pass in the south, and is bordered on the east by middle Weardale, Teesdale and on the west by the Vale of Eden. It contains some of the highest land in northern England with high peaks such as Cross Fell (NY 688,335) at 893m above sea level and very little ground under 500m. The only settlements in this area are clustered in the valley of upper Teesdale on the very slightly more protected land that this provided. The rest of the area is high, exposed and prone to early and long lasting snowfall. The soils are made up of poor quality peat which can support only rough grazing and the only animals which can be kept successfully on the hills are sheep. Such an unappealing area would have been used only if there was nowhere else to go and, given that none of the north-east appears to have been particularly densely populated let alone over populated, it is not at all unexpected to find a near total lack of evidence for human activity in this area. Having said this the difficult conditions in the

[855] For Regions 11, 12, 13 and 14 see map 16. p.333

Map 16. Regions 11, 12, 13 and 14



area have also led to a lack of fieldwork and it is possible that further archaeological investigation will reveal hitherto unknown settlement sites.

Region 12

In contrast to the total lack of settlement on the high land to the east and south and the sparse settlement to the west the Upper Eden Valley, an area of relatively low land surrounded by hills on all sides but the north, is relatively densely populated. Here settlement runs in a roughly linear pattern north-west from the upper end of the Eden valley to the confluence of the rivers Eden and Lowther to the east of what is now Penrith (NY 585,309). North of this area settlement falls from an average of 5 settlements per 10x10km square, to none. Settlements tend to cling to the edges of the valley, suggesting that the valley bottom may have been wet, with particular concentrations at the higher southern end.

It would appear that the point at which the river Lowther turns east to flow across country and into the Eden marks a boundary for settlement in the Upper Eden valley. The point at which the Lowther meets the river Eamont and changes course to the east was of significance in the prehistoric and later periods. The Bronze Age monument Long Meg and her Daughters stands near here (NY 567,370) as did the Roman fort of Brougham (NY 558,280).[856] Eamont Bridge (NY 537,274), itself a site of considerable historical significance

[856] Waterhouse, J. *The Stone Circles of Cumbria*. Phillimore, Chichester. 1985. pp.99-102; Brougham: Birley, E, 'Materials for the History of Roman Brougham' in *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* 32, 1932. pp.124-39, Summerson, H. R. T. *Brougham and Brough Castles*. English Heritage, London. 1999

in the Anglo-Saxon period, is the crossing point of the Lowther at this point and given the significance of the area in prehistoric times and the decision to place a Roman fort here after the conquest it is likely that the same site was used to cross the river in the prehistoric period and was thus the gateway to the populous area of the Upper Eden Valley. The area around Penrith therefore appears to mark the boundary of this native group and the gateway to their lands. It is of note that Eamont Bridge was also the site where a treaty was signed between the rulers of Northumbria and England in 927.[857] It would appear that the land to the north of Eamont Bridge lay in Cumbria, under the control of the kings of Strathclyde, and remained independent of England until the 11th century. The confluence of the rivers Eamont and Lowther at Penrith marked a very distinct border even as late as the Anglo-Saxon period and appears to have done so in the late Iron Age. Given this it would be reasonable to see this point and the line followed by the river Lowther across the Eden Valley until it flows into the river Eden itself as a significant, hard and long lasting boundary between inhabitants to the north and to the south of this area.

Region 13

The southern border of this area, between the Upper and Middle Eden Valley areas, has been discussed above. The Middle Eden Valley, bordered on the east and west by the edges of the Eden Valley and to the north by the Solway Plain area discussed below, was apparently empty although the land itself is of similar

[857] Anglo-Saxon Chronicle D (the Worcester Manuscript) 926. Swanton, M. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*. Phoenix Press, London. 2000. p.107

topography to that of the Solway plain. It is possible that this area was forested in the late Iron Age and early Roman periods and thus was not suitable for habitation when better land, on the Solway plain, was available. Alternatively the lack of settlement in the area could have been artificially created to provide a clear space between regions 12 and 14. Given the hard boundary noted above it seems unlikely anyone living in the Middle Eden Valley considered themselves connected with people to the south. It is more likely that if such an association was considered desirable they may have identified in some ways with communities on and around the Solway Plain. Region 13 may indeed have been connected to region 14 but the lack of settlement in the area mitigates against this.

Region 14

The Solway plain appears to be a relatively densely populated area on the low fertile land between the Solway Firth and the northern scarps of the Cumbrian fells, however this may be a result of the higher potential for aerial photography in this heavily cultivated area.[858] The western border of this area runs along the coast whilst the eastern edge is formed by the almost unsettled area of the Middle Eden Valley. Numbers of settlements vary with fewer than 2 or 3 per 10x10km square on the lowest land at the edge of the Solway, the lowest being only 1 or 2 metres above current sea level (NY 238,559); and over ten in the south-west of the area where the land was less liable to flooding and thus more

[858] For further information see Bewley, R. (1994)

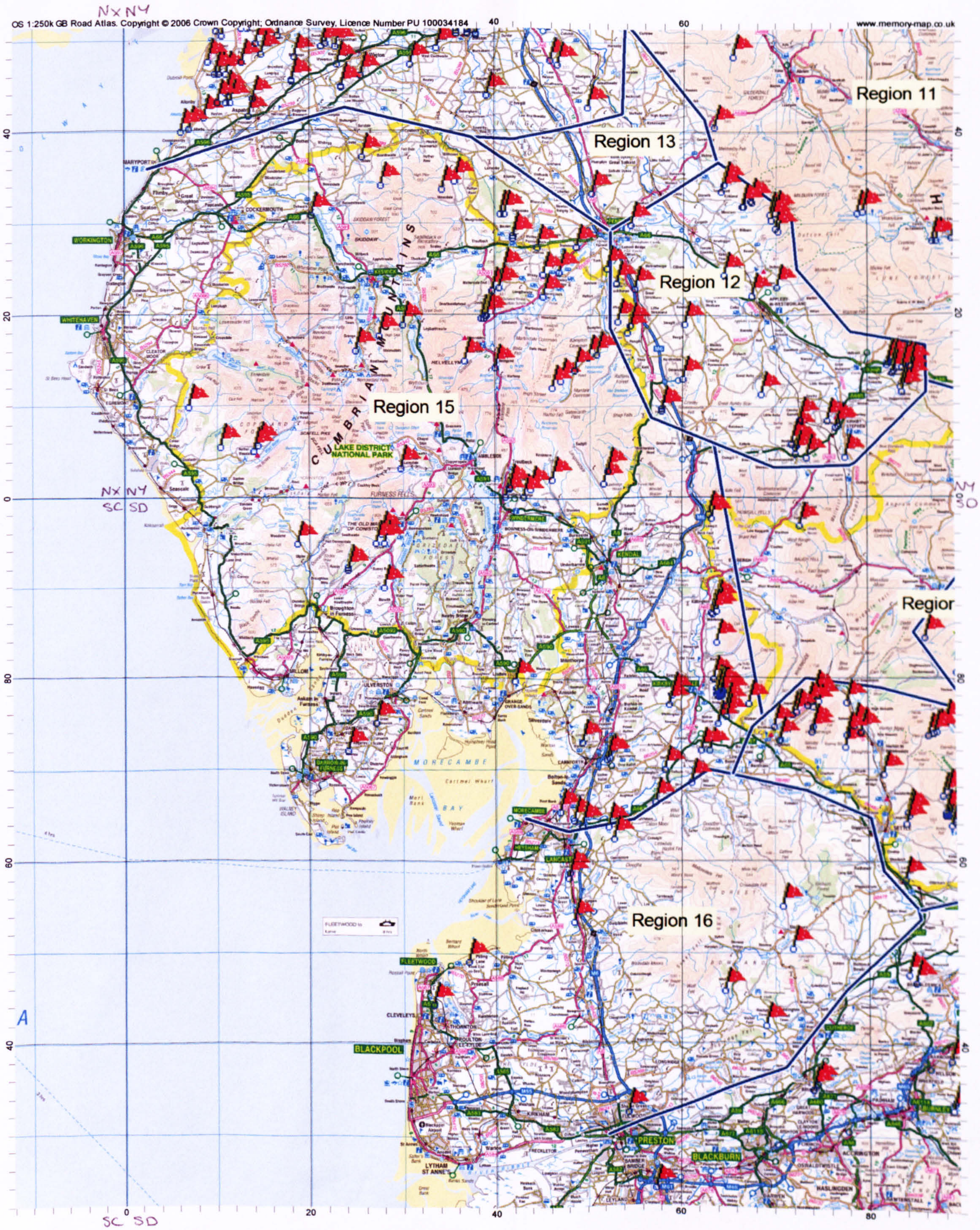
suitable for arable farming. The area stands out from any around it for its density of population and levels of land use. Particularly high numbers of enclosures indicate stock management although field systems make mixed and arable farming likely, particularly where the land was slightly higher and less liable to flooding. Given the massive barrier of the Cumbrian fells to the south it is likely that people living on the Solway plain looked to the north rather than to the south for trade and contact. It would certainly have been easier to go north over water than south over mountains. This would indicate stronger social and economic connections with the communities of southern Scotland which were outside of the Roman Empire. Both the archaeological evidence and the fact that the area appears to have belonged to Scotland at some point after the end of the Roman conquest lend some support this idea.[859] Although a link between the inhabitants of the Solway plain area and those of lowland Scotland is likely the Solway Firth does appear to mark the northern border of the intensively used area described here.[860]

Region 15[861]

Given the patterns noted for other areas of high ground it is no surprise that the Cumbrian Mountains appear to have been sparsely populated although again they have not been the subject of a great deal of archaeological investigation. Sheltered valleys with some good soil and access to water mean that settlement is not totally lacking but it appears to be strongly influenced by the geography

[859] See discussion of region 13 above.
[860] To the north settlement is restricted to hillforts see Appendix A (first sites in list)
[861] For regions 15 and 16 see map 17 p.338

Map 17. Regions 15 and 16



and topography of the area. The western Cumbrian fells are devoid of settlement which is not surprising since they contain many of the highest peaks in the Lake District and are still one of the wettest places in the country.

To the east and particularly the south of this area settlement increases with three or four settlements per 10x10km square. The nature of the settlements in this area is interesting. In the central valleys around Borrowdale (NY 262,171), Thirlmere (NY 319,165) and Ullswater (NY 433,206) a number of the settlements are hillforts but there are far fewer on the leading scarps of the hills to the south and west of the Furness Fells (NY 286,004), leading down towards Morecambe Bay and to the east and south of Lake Windermere.[862] It is possible that these more southerly areas represent a different community to that in the fells themselves but the difference can also be explained in terms of geography. Given the limited amount of usable land in the fells protection of territory would have been more necessary and would thus have demanded defensive settlements. Once outside these steep, narrow valleys there was more available space and defensive settlements would have been less necessary so long as population pressure did not exceed the capacity of the land. Where hillforts exist on the southern fells they appear to have continued in use through the late Iron Age and may represent focal places for the population.[863]

[862] See Appendix A for settlements in this area and references: Grid references: NY 2781 1757, NY 2759 3408, NY 2972 0328, NY 2999 1880, NY 3425 3364, NY 3755 5850, NY 4144 0104, NY 410 309, NY 4145 0103, NY 4373 0097. See also Hogg, A. *Hill-forts of Britain* . Mac Gibbon, London. 1975. pp.117 and 119; Hogg, A. *British Hill-Forts: An Index.* BAR British Series 62, 1979; Forde-Johnston, J. *Hillforts of the Iron Age in England and Wales: a survey of the surface evidence.* Liverpool University Press, Liverpool. 1976.

[863] Eg. Skelmore Heads SD 274 751. See also Mc Carthy (2004) p.7

The western edge of this area is marked by the high western fells and the coast, to the north it is marked by the edge of the Lake District hills and it is interesting to note that there are practically no settlements on these northern facing slopes. The aspect of these slopes, with limited sunlight and colder temperatures would not have encouraged exploitation. It is also possible that if there was a difference in identity between those people dwelling on the Solway plain and those dwelling in and to the south of the Cumbrian Fells the northern scarps of the mountains could have acted as a border land; unsettled by either group. The eastern edge of Region 15 abuts the western edge of the Upper Eden Valley area discussed above. To the south the border appears to run roughly parallel with the river Lune where it turns westwards and enters the sea at the mouth of Morecambe Bay and delineates this area from that to the south. The Lune cuts cross the narrow stretch of land here between the coast and the western edge of the Pennines. It is suggested that the border includes the river Lune and the settlements clustered on the rising ground on its eastern and southern banks where they would have been removed from any flooding risk. To the north of it is the settled area on the hills leading up to the Cumbrian mountains, to the south the land is virtually empty and is marked out by the radically different settlement pattern of region 16.

Region 16

The difference between the settled area north of the river Lune and the almost depopulated area to the south has been highlighted above. Assuming the river Lune did mark a boundary, the territory to the south is of a markedly different

nature. The region is almost devoid of habitation with just a few settlements currently known around the edge of the area. This area, stretching from the Lune in the north to the mouth of the Ribble in the south may be bordered by the river Ribble on the east as it flows south through Ribblesdale and then south-west towards the coast, and by the coast on the west, however the use of the river as a border is not certain.

The topography of the area is varied. There is very low ground in the west which would have been marshy and prone to flooding; not an area to be used for settlement if there was a choice in the matter. Meanwhile the central and northern areas contain some high ground. It is possible that the whole of this area east of the marshlands to Ribblesdale was heavily forested and may not have been considered suitable for settlement when other areas were available. However the void in settlement may also be due to the pastoral landuse of the area which inhibits the effectiveness of aerial survey combined with a lack of excavation in the area.

Although not at all dense there is more settlement known south of the Ribble, and that to the east has been discussed above. It would therefore appear that whatever the reason for the apparent lack of settlement in Region 16 it was not continued, or settlement is more easily visible, south of the river. The people living south of the Ribble may thus have considered this river to form the northern extent of their territory.

Summary

Analysis of late Iron Age and early Roman native settlement distribution and patterning in northern England has indicated the presence of a number of different regions and regional characteristics. These are summarised as follows:

- Population not higher than sustainable limit of land – little indication of population pressure – some apparently less densely occupied areas could have been used if necessary.
- Number of possible different regions
    - Large barriers – Pennines, North Yorks Moors, Cumbrian Mountains have also created distinct regions with apparently little in common.
    - Those without habitation can generally be explained through topography or likely geographical factors although region 14 may be more artificial.
    - Much is also explained by modern factors affecting archaeology i.e. in the potential for aerial photographic survey and by the lack of excavation in more marginal areas.
- Settlement patterns may indicate different systems of government:
    - Only hierarchical settlement pattern, suggesting hierarchical society is Region 3 (Tees Valley). Region also stands out for the particular development of settlement in the Roman period.
    - Otherwise no clear hierarchy of settlements in the period of study although it is possible hillforts may represent focal points on the Furness

Fells and in the upper Eden Valley if still in use – indicates the presence of different networks such as those based on familial alliances.

- Inhabitants of different regions, especially where divided by large barriers, may have had different geographical identities although they may have shared in other collective identities such as religion.
- No evidence for confederacy from settlement patterning and uninhabited areas combined with barriers render this possibility unlikely.
- Although many variations in settlement can be explained by a combination of both natural barriers to settlement such as mountains and wetlands, and modern factors affecting settlement visibility and fieldwork, there are still some regional patterns which are worthy of particular note.
    - These are: 2, 3, 4, 12, 14 and possibly 15

Conclusions

Variation in the discovery of sites across northern England means that areas of dense and light settlement in the region may be a result of more 'modern' factors rather than being true patterns. This must be borne in mind but some important factors and regional differences still arise from the data in this chapter.

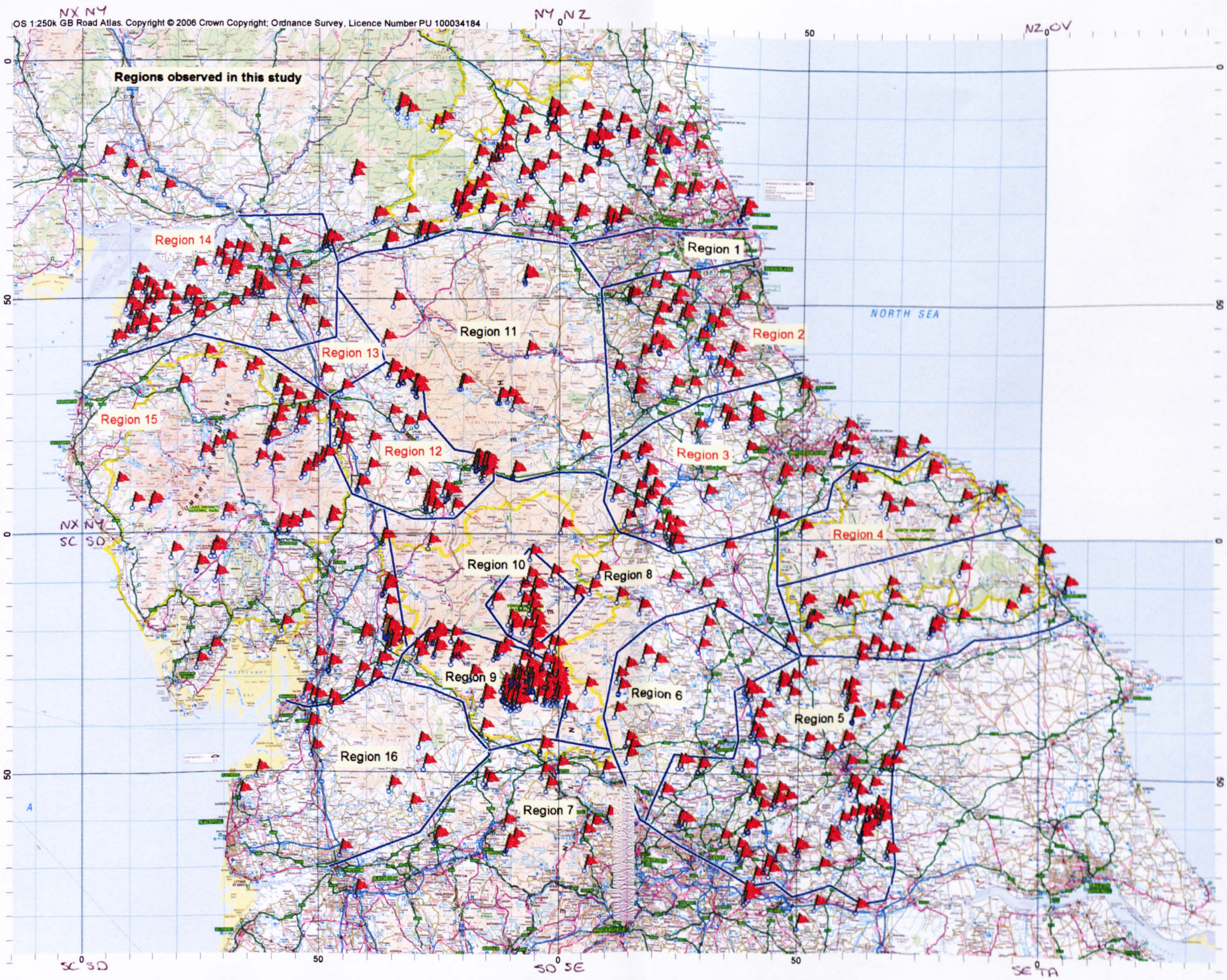
This chapter has noted the possible significance of some geographical features. In particular the large physical barriers of the Pennines, the Cumbrian mountains and the North Yorks Moors may have acted to divide communities although this is not to say that communication did not take place. Indeed it would be sensible to assume that some trade and communication did take place between communities separated by these barriers and both may have taken some 'ownership' of the hills between them, certainly they are likely to have used them for grazing lands, but it is difficult to argue that these massive and difficult features were not seen by populations as features which helped to form their specific group identity. Indeed this thesis has noted that in region 4, the moors appear to have held a population who may have chosen to use their geographical surroundings to increase their insularity, and the settlement patterning may support this suggestion. The major hills and mountains of the region also give some indication of population pressure in northern England. The lack of settlement currently known from the most marginal lands of the study area indicates that the population of the region of study had not exceeded the sustainable yield of the land. The inhabitants of northern England do not, as yet, appear to have been forced onto more difficult areas such as the high, exposed hills and this indicates that the population of

northern England were living within the limits of the accessible land without having to try and use less habitable areas.

Out of the regions noted in this chapter a number may be explained by a combination of geography and archaeological visibility and traditions. The apparent settlement patterns from these areas do not give any real indication of the presence of different communities. Examples of these areas are, in particular, the sparsely settled regions 8, 11 and 16 and possibly also regions 1 and 6. However several areas do emerge with specific features which mark them out and indicate that they may have been inhabited by communities with differing identities.

Region 2 is an area with good potential for aerial survey and no specific barriers to archaeology. It is marked out by an apparently empty region to the north and a particularly unique settlement pattern to the south, region 3 discussed below. Region 2 appears relatively densely settled but there is, as yet, no evidence for a hierarchy in settlement. Indeed those sites known to this point appear to be small and have revealed no evidence for variation in status. The nature of the settlement pattern in this area, where sites are quite numerous but well spaced, indicates possibly very localised links within and between family networks as the population do not appear to have chosen to live in larger communities. The inhabitants of this region may have recognised marriage networks and may have participated in more localised social hierarchies, although this does not mean that they could not also have retained some sort of larger regional identity and indeed other identities. However these are not reflected in the settlement pattern, which points towards a relatively isolated and possibly egalitarian society.

Map 18. Overall regions observed in this study (those thought least affected by variations in archaeology are shown in red)



Region 4 again consists of small settlements. In this region there are factors affecting the discovery of sites but an extensive programme of aerial survey has been carried out and there is little damage from later activity. In this area the settlements appear to be constricted within the rising slopes of the moors and there is a margin of unoccupied land between them and the lowlands. These would naturally attract settlement and yet do not appear to have been widely used if at all. Settlement sizes and forms in region 4 appear broadly similar to those of region 2 with no current evidence for hierarchy in settlements. Again the inhabitants of this area may have been part of social networks, perhaps linked by marriage and family, and are likely to have participated in a range of collective identities but there is no evidence for hierarchy of any sort in the settlement evidence. The same may be true of region 16. This is not certain but the settlement pattern is again influenced by the geography of the area and it is possible that the community of this area may have been similar to that suggested for region 3.

That regions 2 and 4 are highly unlikely to be linked is suggested by the particular character of region 3, The Tees Valley area, which stands out from the entirety of northern England. This region has good potential for aerial photography which has also been supported by fairly extensive excavation. Settlement is not as dense at that of region 2 but the difference is not major. What is particularly noticeable is the evidence for the presence of important settlement developments in this region during the Iron Age and Roman periods. Large sites include Thorpe Thewles and Catcote whilst the oppidum site at Stanwick is unique in northern England. In addition recent archaeology has revealed the presence of Iron Age villages with industrial activity at Brotton and the development of a fairly large

Roman village at Sedgefield which may be a type site for similar developments in northern England. Such development of communities and large high status sites indicates a very different community. The patterning indicates that a developed settlement hierarchy based around Stanwick existed in the Iron Age. This evidence is supported by the work of Gill Ferrell who has investigated the development of hierarchies in the middle Tees Valley area and has suggested that identity may have been formed through independent units in the area choosing to combine forming the hierarchy focused on Stanwick that has been noted here.[864]

Meanwhile the development of the Roman town at Sedgefield and the possible high status site at Street House, Loftus, where there is evidence for continuity of status into the Anglo-Saxon period, reveal that the region continued to experience levels of social, political and economic development into the Roman period. The range of sites found together in region 3 mark this area out as one inhabited by a particular and unique community. Such development in the Iron Age indicates established political, economic and social networks and at least the economic networks in the region are likely to have been continued into the Roman period. The villages at Brotton and the oppidum site at Stanwick also strongly suggest that the communities of the Tees Valley were participating in long distance social and exchange networks well beyond the limits of the area in which these sites have been found. The continuity of several sites in the region such as Thorpe Thewles and the development of the Roman period site at Sedgefield all point towards the continuity of at least some elements of the community living in region 3 into the Roman period and perhaps, given the discovery of an Anglo-Saxon

[864] Ferrell, G. (1997) pp.231-236

royal cemetery at Street House, even beyond. Another point to emphasise the continuity of the specific nature of region 3 is the development of villas in this region. The sites all developed too late for detailed consideration in this thesis but it is of particular note that several of the very few villas to have been identified in northern England have been found in region 3.[865] These villas further indicate the continuity of high status settlement in the area. All of these findings indicate a community living in region 3 in both the Iron Age and Roman periods with a specific identity different from any other in northern England even if they shared in others. They appear to have been outward looking and involved in economic networks large enough to support the development of villages and industrial activity; in particular salt production, which could have been used for long distance trade supporting both economic and political connections. The level of development in this region evidenced by the range of large and important Iron Age settlement types, the presence of a settlement hierarchy, and the growing evidence for the continuity and development of villages and even villas into the Roman period indicate the important and ongoing social, economic and political status of the population living in this area. Such an area stands out from the rest of the region of study and this is likely to have been reflected in their collective identity.

[865] Those known so far are Holme House Piercebridge: NZ 221 152 (www.barbicanra.co.uk), Ingleby Barwick: NZ 430 150 Still, D. *A Roman Villa and Settlement at Ingleby Barwick, Stockton on Tees.* University of Durham Archaeological Services Assessment and Evaluation Reports. 2006. (unpublished), Dalton on Tees: NZ 3008 0822 (Brown, J. Yorkshire Archaeological Society: Roman Antiquities Section Bulletin 16, 1999. pp.19-27) there is also a site which has been interpreted as a villa at Old Durham in region 2: NZ 280 410 (Wright, R. P. and Gillam, J. P. 'Second Report on Roman Buildings at Old Durham' in *Archaeologia Aeliana* 29, 1951. pp.203-212). The presence of this site is somewhat anomalous but may represent later expansion north of either ideas or individuals from region 3.

Regions 12, 13 and 14 are also of note here. Region 12 appears to have a distinct northern border on the River Eden and River Lowther at Penrith. Settlement in the area is concentrated at the southern end of the valley and on the higher ground away from land liable to flooding where the Eden runs through the centre of the valley. It is possible that the concentrations of settlement at the southern end of the valley may indicate the presence of some form of hierarchy however there is no certain evidence for this from the settlement sizing.

Region 14 is also an area of fairly dense settlement, particularly on the lowest land nearest the coast. This area has good potential for aerial photography which may explain the large numbers of settlements identified, however the area is bounded quite clearly and may represent a specific region.

A point of particular interest is the vacant area between regions 12 and 14. There is no significant difference between region 13 and those of 12 and 14 and yet no settlements have been identified in this area despite a similar degree of visibility on aerial photography. The suggestion is that there was little or no settlement in the area and this is not easily explained through either natural or more modern factors. As a result it appears that region 13 may have been a form of artificial 'empty' zone between regions 12 and 14. If this is the case the settlement patterning across these three areas indicates that regions 12 and 14 may have been settled by communities with differing identities, although the structure of these communities is unclear and there is no reason to assume that no communication took place. It is possible that the communities of these regions may have had similar identities to those postulated for region 2. Whether or not this is the case,

the settlement patterning strongly indicates a lack of hierarchy and the possibility of an egalitarian society for whom social status and identity does not appear to have been based on a hierarchical settlement pattern.

The findings in this chapter cannot directly identify specific social groups and it would be unwise to suggest any regions with too much confidence, however the differences in settlement type and patterning indicate possible variations in the presence of social and political networks. These range from potentially highly localised social networks, to wider networks which although not apparently hierarchical may have maintained a less visible social structure, possibly based around marriage networks, and finally to the highly organised and developing social and political structure indicated by settlement patterns and types in the Tees Valley.

Where the particular areas identified here link with those identified from variations in materials this may strengthen the suggestion of the presence of communities with differing identities. However it is recognised that identity could have existed on a number of levels local and regional, social, political, religious and economic and therefore members of communities could have held several different identities on varying scales. It is therefore unwise to suggest that the communities of any of the areas identified here lived lives totally isolated from those groups living around them. Despite this the particular differences discussed here are worthy of note and may indeed indicate the presence of social groups with differing identities on at least some levels. In particular, there is a marked difference between the north-west and north-east of England where the

development seen in region 3 contrasts strongly with the lack of evidence for such development in the north-west; indeed it is possible that even the round house and enclosure settlement typically associated with the Iron Age and Roman periods may not have developed until the 3rd Century AD in parts of north-western England.[866] These differences indicate the presence of communities with different identities living east and west of the Pennines even if no further distinctions can be proven. In addition there may well be differences of some form between the identities of the communities living in regions 2, 3, 4 in the north-east and regions 12, 14 and possibly 15 in the north-west. The individuals within these areas may have considered themselves to be part of a number of collective identities. However from the differences noted here it seems reasonable to suggest that in the regions highlighted in this conclusion the inhabitants may also have identified with a geographic or regional identity which helped to differentiate between themselves and communities living in other areas.

[866] See introduction to this chapter and Jones, B. (1999) pp.90-95

CHAPTER 5: RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Analysis of the ancient sources containing mention of the Brigantes or any other Roman 'tribe' was carried out in order to assess the validity of these references as evidence for the presence of named native regional identities in northern Britain. Among the Roman authors only Ptolemy, in his *Geography*, indicates the existence of more than one native group in northern Britain. He names the Brigantes, Carvetii, Setantii, Parisi and Gabrantovices but without sufficient information as to their whereabouts to assign each to a definite space on any map. Among the other authors only the Brigantes are mentioned and here only Tacitus is sufficiently clear in his description to be speaking of a specific group rather than using the title as a generic term to describe most or all of the native population of northern Britain between the Humber and just south of the Forth.

Although Tacitus does seem to be describing events affecting a specific group, the Brigantes, his description is of one event and two people, at a date that is uncertain but is likely to fall in the very late pre-conquest period. There is no information about the population before or after this period and thus their development and the nature of their society outside of what appears to have been a turbulent and thus abnormal period in their history is lacking. Furthermore it is important to bear in mind that Tacitus is unlikely to have had a clear understanding of the nature of social organisation in northern England and his concept of the term 'tribe' may not have borne a close resemblance to the

reality of native identities in the late pre- and early post-conquest periods. In particular native identities are likely to have been far more complex and less fixed than a simple concept of regionally bounded societies and hierarchies enshrined in the term 'tribe', existing on a number of levels, at varying scales, and subject to change over time. The object of this thesis has been to investigate the evidence, if any, for a form or forms of regional identity based on the material cultural assemblages and settlement characteristics in the period of study.

Tacitus describes the Brigantes as controlling lands stretching from sea to sea and thus, of necessity, holding power over such other native groups as may have lived in the north, but the literary information alone is insufficient to bear out this assertion. In an attempt to go beyond the inadequate literary evidence an analysis of the pottery, metal, bone, querns and glass artefacts and materials from native sites in northern England was carried out. Each type of artefact revealed certain regional characteristics which, when drawn together, indicated the presence of several native groups with different characteristics in terms of their use and development of materials and their response to Roman influence and Roman artefacts.

This thesis has synthesised a wide body of evidence and the findings confirm previous observations of a paucity of evidence for romanisation, i.e. the adoption of imported and entirely new materials, artefacts and customs in

northern England.[867] With the sole exception of the Tees Valley area all other regions appear to have been affected either not at all or only very slightly and generally some considerable time after the conquest although whether this is through deliberate choice, disinterest, or lack of contact is uncertain. The possible use of Dragonesque brooches in native contexts as symbols of an allegiance to the traditional Iron Age ways of life and the continued use of native pottery forms are good examples of this continuity. Whilst there is little evidence for the adoption of Roman culture there is equally little for any forced changes to native British culture by the Roman authorities. Many settlements continued in use and there is no evidence to suggest a change of language was enforced although place-names may have been altered whilst remaining in the native language.[868] Certainly the names of those sites which received recorded names were derived from Celtic roots whilst local deities such as Brigantia also appear to have been adopted into the Roman pantheon. The evidence that changes were not enforced upon the population indicates that any signs of romanisation i.e. the adoption of wholly new artefacts or customs on native sites may suggest an independent and deliberate decision on the part of the inhabitants to adopt elements of the new culture.

If the inhabitants of northern England had been paying tax in silver coin in the conventional way then at least some small evidence for contact at the point of exchange, the purchase of romanised goods from a market town, is to be expected even from a conservative society with little interest in the new culture. This evidence need not necessarily be in the form of excess coin, since little

[867] Eg. Evans, J. (1995a and b); Hingley, R. (2004) and (1997b)
[868] See discussion in chapter 2

early coinage has been discovered even from villa sites let alone native non-romanised settlements, but evidence for romanisation of any form is lacking in the case of a large number of sites in northern England and in particular those north of the Tees Valley and in the north-west. Such evidence would be the presence of Roman or romanised goods which could only have been purchased using Roman coinage. One explanation for this could be that once the inhabitants of these areas had exchanged coins obtained from the sale of their goods for the correct coinage to pay their taxes they had insufficient surplus to buy new items. This is possible but it seems unlikely that no-one would have had enough surplus to buy the occasional small item at any time. Another explanation could be that these people were forcibly removed from their settlements shortly after the conquest: given the general Roman policy of non-intervention, however, there are no good grounds for asserting that any such removal occurred. Perhaps the most logical conclusion is that the inhabitants of these areas simply had no contact whatsoever with the Roman authorities, but this explanation too is not without its problems. If the native inhabitants of north-western and much of north-eastern England had no contact with Roman officials this either means they did not pay tax, an almost unique occurrence, or that they did not pay in the conventional way.

While there is no definite explanation as to why the native population of northern England, and particularly Cumbria, remained so distant from the Roman system, in comparison with post-conquest north Wales, where more

work on the matter has been done, provides some interesting suggestions.[869] Both areas have similar topography, settlement patterning and lack of evidence for clearly romanised goods on native sites and both remained under militarised control throughout the Roman period. In Wales, as in Cumbria, it seems highly unlikely that the native population simply moved, or were moved, away after the conquest. Both areas were in militarised regions and housed a large number of troops and it is therefore plausible that taxation in the form of supplies for the army was considered the most suitable form of payment. Hingley has suggested that, 'in this area the Roman military may have taxed the population directly in kind and this could have prevented the development of surplus wealth by any local elite'.[870] The findings of this thesis further support this theory, in particular with reference to northern England. As a result of taxation in kind, contact with towns, such as they were, would have been slight or virtually non-existent, since supplies were appropriated for the nearest fort or supply base. Those parts of the population paying taxation in a monetary form, on the other hand, were required to pay this at their *civitas* capital: this was a form of centre largely or completely absent from north Wales and northern England until at least the fourth century.

The accepted view of Roman taxation in the early period is that it was the responsibility of the taxpayer to sell his produce and obtain coinage to change into silver coin for the purpose of paying his tax.[871] There is no evidence for the payment of taxation in kind during the early period. The practice appears more frequently following the adoption of the *Annona Militaris* at some stage during

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[869] For further information see Arnold, C. J. *Roman and Early Medieval Wales*. Sutton, Stroud. 2000

[870] Hingley, R. (2004) p.343. Mattingly also suggests that taxation may have been paid in kind in the early years Mattingly, D. (2006) p.496

[871] Reece, R. (2002) p.39 and 115, Brickstock, R. (1995)

the third century AD and it is fairly clear that in the third and fourth centuries AD taxes in peripheral areas were paid in kind rather than coinage.[872] Given the pattern of evidence from northern England, it is tempting to suggest that such a system was in operation in more peripheral areas in the period immediately following the conquest even though this is an inference which cannot be substantiated by clear proof. If this were the case it would mean that the native inhabitants were not part of a coin using society. Without access to coinage, the rural population could not have bought even small value items, and this would account for their absence from native sites. This therefore suggests that coinage was not generally adopted into the whole population as normally assumed but in northern England at least its use was confined to forts and urban areas.

The information collated in this thesis is weakened in its reliability by a number of factors. The acidic soils across much of the area and later landuse have affected the survival and preservation of materials. This variation has been further exacerbated by differences in the nature and intensity of fieldwork across the region, which has affected the discovery and investigation of sites. As such the trends discussed here are open to debate and alteration by any new fieldwork. The weaknesses highlighted here must be born in mind when considering the findings of this thesis however, based on the data available at the current time, there is evidence to suggest a population with a variety of cultural identities living in different ways and with different values and social systems. The evidence has revealed only one potentially hierarchical system, in the Tees Valley (region 3). Many other inhabited areas are made up of small

[872] Casey, P. J. *Roman Coinage in Britain.* Shire, Princes Risborough. 1980. p.50, Brickstock, R. J. *Coins and the frontier troops in the fourth century.* (forthcoming) 2009

settlements indicating a potentially more egalitarian social system without a hierarchy or at least without one dependent on display and land ownership to reinforce status. The north-west of England, North Yorks Moors (region 4) and the area between the watershed of the Tees and the southern watershed of the river Tyne (region 2) are all examples of this. The artefactual evidence also indicates that members of the native populations of northern England did not regard many items in the same way. Use of pottery during the Iron Age varies from apparently aceramic societies (region 2 and the north-west) to those that produced their own regionally identifiable wares and, at an elite level, even used ceramics from the continent (region 3). During the Roman period new styles of pottery or the use of ceramics themselves were adopted but at different rates. Region 4 slowly adopted new styles of pottery into its existing locally produced forms, whilst the western Vale of York (region 6), which had been aceramic in the Iron Age, eventually adopted ceramic use but not until the third century. Use of metal items has a similarly varied pattern with highly romanised hoards from region 3, nothing in region 2 and the possible use of Dragonesque brooches as an overt symbol of loyalty to pre-Roman values, most especially in the north-west. In addition hoards from this area also indicate an egalitarian society where everyone may have had the ability to take part in ritual deposition and, from the contents of these hoards, where practical weapons and defence held a more important position than in the east where hoards contain items intended for display rather than use. Meanwhile bone and glass indicate at least an east/west split with evidence for faster adoption of new ideas in the Tees Valley than anywhere else, although this may have much to do with acidic soils and poor preservation outside of the area. Many apparently sparsely populated areas are

associated with geographically difficult terrain. This evidence is affected by variation in fieldwork and settlement visibility on aerial photography; however more surprising is region 13, between the Eden Valley (region 12) and Solway Plain (region 14). Region 13 may possibly have been too wet for permanent settlement but it is also possible that it was kept artificially empty to act as a border barrier between regions 12 and 14. If this was the case it would seem to indicate the presence of two native groups which considered themselves in some way regionally distinct, even if they may have been connected in other ways, and who maintained some form of borderland between themselves in the form of region 13.

Such divergent uses of artefacts, attitudes towards romanisation and varying patterns of settlement all indicate the presence of several native identities in northern England with regionally distinct characteristics in the late Iron Age and early Roman periods. These groups may have been connected in other ways and it is important to note that identities are both fluid over time and potentially overlapping in other, less visible ways, but they appear to display varying approaches to the Roman presence, from conservatism bordering on possibly deliberate avoidance to swift acculturation and through all points in between.

The debate over the methods by which different native groups may be identified has been discussed in the introduction to this thesis.[873] Here it is relevant to restate that this thesis recognises that a grouping of artefacts does not, of necessity, represent the presence of a specific group. However, the author takes

[873] See introduction p.xv onwards

the line that it is reasonable to suppose some form of recognised distinction between two populations whose cultural assemblages exhibit marked differences even if they were connected by other, less visible, group identities.

There are numerous marked distinctions in the artefactual collections from north-east and north-west England in both the late Iron Age and early Roman periods. During the late Iron Age north-east England had a range of cultures some of which were aceramic whilst others produced pottery. In addition the Tees Valley area was in receipt of imported Roman ceramics, which may have been part of a diplomatic gift. After the Roman conquest pottery was slowly adopted into most regions of the north-east although in some cases this took until the third century if it happened at all. In contrast much of the north-west remained aceramic throughout both the Iron Age and Roman periods; the sole exception being the use of mortaria, but these occur in such numbers as to suggest that there was not an intention to use them for their original Roman purpose.

In metalwork the north-east has evidence only from the Tees valley although it should be remembered that this may be a result of better preservation conditions in this area. The artefacts in the hoards from this area are heavily influenced by continental ideas and indicate a hierarchical society in which only the elite took part in deposition of artefacts. The metalwork from north-west England indicates an egalitarian society where most members of the population could take part in deposition. The artefacts from hoards are intended for use rather than display and would have been accessible to the majority of the population.

In addition metalwork was locally made and much is Iron Age in nature throughout the pre- and post- conquest periods; one particularly good example of this is the Dragonesque brooch. Designs again varied but whereas Irish elements were included on metalwork in the north-east this was not the case in the north-west: there, these are found on objects of bone rather than of metal. This may indicate a difference in the available materials but may also reveal a different approach to the adoption of new styles from that of the north-east which can also be identified in the absence of Roman influence upon the style and decoration of north-western metalwork. Animal bone, although scarce, follows the patterns seen in pottery and metalwork. The north-east sees the early adoption of new cattle breeds into the Tees Valley area shortly after the conquest. The ready adoption of new species indicates an innovative culture that was keen to adopt new ideas where these might be beneficial in some way. By contrast the traditional Celtic shorthorn cattle are retained on native sites in the north-west throughout the period of this thesis. The conservatism and refusal to adopt new breeds seen in the north-west suggests that where metal and pottery appear to have been used as objects of status in the north-east cattle may have served this purpose in the north-west and the population may thus have resisted any change which might affect the appearance of their symbol of wealth and success.

Finally glass artefacts reveal an interesting preference for styles which fits with the patterning noted from other artefactual evidence. Type 2 bangles, a form produced in the north-east, possibly around York, are not found in the north-west. Meanwhile type 3 bangles, produced in the north-west and beyond the

frontier, are not commonly found in the north-east. The glass evidence suggests stronger communication and contact between the inhabitants of the north-west and those people living beyond the Roman border than with the more romanised populations of the north-east, and the clear differences in approaches to a range of artefacts may add further strength to this argument. Presupposing the logic of identifying regional groups from their residual cultural assemblage,[874] there is a strong indication that the populations living east and west of the Pennines in northern England had little in common and, in addition to identifying with other social, and religious identities on a range of scales, considered themselves as individuals to be part of at least two distinctive regional identities.

[874] See discussions in introduction and this chapter

Artefactual and Settlement Evidence Combined

Region (as identified from settlement patterning)	Pottery	Metalwork	Bone	Lithology	Glass	Settlement pattern
Large Areas						
North East England	Mixture of IA and Roman ceramic and aceramic – clear differences between 3 main areas (regions 2/ 3/ 4) Other than region 5 (a little like region 2) little other evidence.	Metal from region 3 only Romanised/ large hoards Fewer Dragonesque brooches Irish motifs on metal	Early introduction of new breeds – innovative BUT bones only found in region 3 (also Parisi burial tradition but tribe not considered in this thesis)	Quality of querns and distance transported fits apparent wealth of areas – poorest to richest = 2, 4, 3 No info for other regions	Roman – preference for type 2	The majority if not all results are likely to be affected by variation in the nature and intensity of archaeological investigation. Where this may be a key factor it is noted.
North West England	Aceramic in Iron Age and Roman periods. Large numbers of mortaria- not serving original Roman purpose.	IA motifs- High numbers of Dragonesque brooches – anti Roman. Small but more widespread	Cattle bones indicate conservatism (retain Celtic Shorthorn) + importance of cattle as status symbols. Some		Roman- preference appear to avoid type 2, only types found are type 3	

	Possible difference region 16 (basic Roman vessels possibly curated and used for display)	hoards inc. many weapons – indicates mass participation + anti-Roman feeling. Irish motifs on bone	late adoption of other new breeds.			
Northumberland- only mentioned here for apparent contact with NW – not considered in thesis as recognised territory of Selgovae and Votandini					Type 1,2 and 3 (only area with type 1)	
The individual regions						
Region 1 Discussion p.314	No data					Lack of evidence. Probably a result of later development masking archaeology.
Region 2 Discussion p.315	Aceramic Iron Age and Roman period	No metalwork		Only poor, inexpensive, locally made stones		Small and quite densely packed. No evidence of hierarchy in size.

Region 3 Discussion p.317	Iron Age ceramic tradition – based on East Yorkshire but with important regional differences. Also early imported Roman goods – trade and diplomatic gifts (Samian forms)	Large hoards inc. romanised and imported metalwork. Indicates only elite involved in deposition. Irish motifs used on metalwork	Early introduction of new species esp. new type of cattle. Possibly even LIA although unlikely. Indicates innovative society; owned cattle for profit not status.	Expensive, good quality, imported stones esp. on high status sites- indicates regional wealth		Not numerous and fairly widespread. Large sites with hierarchy of settlements in size and wealth (prime site: Stanwick). Development continued after conquest with villas and small towns. Knowledge of sites may be a result of good conditions for aerial photography.
Region 4 Discussion p.319	Localised Iron Age ceramic industry. Forms unchanged until the later Roman period.			Locally sourced good quality quernstones. Evidence of quern factories therefore some ability to trade.		Settlement restricted to sheltered valleys esp. northern edge. Ring of uninhabited land around North Yorks Moors cuts area off from surrounding territory. S. boundary unclear –possible zone of transition. Result may be affected by poor site visibility and lack of excavation.

Region 5 Discussion p.322	Paucity of Artefacts					Some settlement. No evidence for settlement hierarchy. Result may be affected by poor site visibility.
Region 6 Discussion p.324	Aceramic in Iron Age and most of Roman period. Some pottery in third century. Very slow adaptation to change					Sparse settlement limited to western edge – higher, less waterlogged land. Result likely to be affected by poor site visibility.
Region 7 Discussion p.325				Large numbers of quernstones recovered from this region.		Sparse settlement pattern. Small sites. No evidence of hierarchy. Result likely to be affected by poor site visibility and lack of excavation.
Region 8 Discussion p.327	Paucity of artefacts					General lack of settlement evidence. Few, unconnected, sites. Result likely to be affected by poor site visibility and lack of excavation.
Region 9 Discussion p.329		Irish metalwork elements on bone items.	Lack of finds – very few of any sort and nothing diagnostic. Indicates settlements not in permanent use.			Apparent very dense settlement on high land. Probably transhumance;

		Indicates contact with Ireland but clear difference with use of Irish motifs on metal in region 3		summer settlements – often rebuilt with winter residence in valleys. Few settlements in valleys: indicates small population in reality. Result appears anomalous but may be indicative of the true level of settlement density across much of northern England; especially in higher areas such as the Pennines.
Region 10 Discussion p.330	Lack of finds – very few of any sort and nothing diagnostic. Indicates settlements not in permanent use.			Densely packed small sites. Indicates small population practicing transhumance similar to region 9. Result likely to be affected by intensity of aerial survey work.
Region 11 Discussion p.331	Paucity of artefacts.			General lack of settlement evidence. Few, unconnected, sites. Result likely to be affected by lack of archaeological investigation.

Region 12 Discussion p.333	Aceramic in Iron Age and Roman periods. Sole exception – large numbers of mortaria found on all sites. Use unclear – certainly not for original Roman purpose.	Small hoards of poorer quality items. Numerous weapon burials. Lack of general ironwork. Particular popularity of Dragonesque brooches – Iron Age motifs on romanised item of jewellery probably used as statement of anti-Roman feeling.	Celtic shorthorn found in Iron Age and Roman periods. No evidence for adoption of new breeds cattle – indicates cattle acted as symbol of social status. Some late evidence for other new breeds (chicken and goat) – prepared to adopt new ideas where useful.		Roman period – avoidance of type 2 (just 1 at Carlisle) – few bangles but all type 3 found outside of empire in southern Scotland but apparently avoided in the north-east. Indicates preference for items produced outside of empire.	Relatively dense settlement. Similar site sizes with no apparent hierarchy. Clear northern boundary with region 13.
Region 13 Discussion p.334						No evidence for settlement.
Region 14 Discussion p.335						Dense settlement. Small similarly sized sites. No evidence for hierarchy. Numbers of known settlements may be a result of good conditions for aerial photography.
Region 15 Discussion p.336						Sparse settlement in valleys – dictated by geography. Numerous hillforts – may indicate some need for defence. Known settlement may be affected by lack of excavation and poor potential for cropmark evidence.

Region 16 Discussion p.339	Aceramic in Iron Age. High numbers of mortaria. Some use of basic Roman ceramics apparently for display purposes – curated after breakage and no longer useable. Very few settlements make it difficult to assess implications of this if any.					Almost no evidence for settlement except on very northern edge of this large region. Result may be affected by poor potential for aerial photography.

OVERALL CONCLUSION

This thesis has sought to synthesis information on materials, artefacts and settlements from native sites in northern England. Ideally it would have been preferable to consult archaeological reports from all sites excavated in northern England in order to gather information on site finds; however recourse to these would have created a task beyond the scope of this thesis and would have required major narrowing of focus which would then have weakened the strength of the overall results. It was thus felt that the most successful approach would be to consult individual specialists in order to allow the widest possible coverage with the greatest degree of accuracy and understanding. It is understood that this may create difficulties in assessing the accuracy of the original information and, wherever possible, data has been checked against the original. However this approach allows a detailed coverage of a range of topics which, taken together, create a strong body of information from which to draw results and possible conclusions.

The information presented here can never be a full record of finds and sites from northern England. In particular all conclusions are affected by variation in the nature and intensity of fieldwork across the area and by variation in soils, landuse and artefact preservation. It must thus be understood that there is, overall, a lack of fully excavated, published site information and many settlements from northern England have only been identified by aerial photography. This approach has been very effective in discovering previously unknown sites but is directly affected by landuse and development and therefore

does not give uniform results across the region of study. In particular apparently empty areas of settlement may simply be a result of lack of visibility rather than representing true gaps in settlement. Variations in soils and landuse have also had a great impact on the survival of artefacts and materials where sites are known and excavated. In particular soil acidity has directly affected the survival of bone and metal whilst ploughing has affected the survival of friable materials such as pottery. These factors directly impact upon the reliability of any results discussed in this thesis and it is important to bear in mind that apparent variation may in fact be a result of outside factors rather than reflecting a true variation. In addition further fieldwork in the region of study may well change the picture of native, rural settlement in northern England, in particular the chronology of settlement, much of which has only been noted on aerial photography and has been dated by association rather than direct investigation.[875]

Given the factors affecting the survival and discovery of sites and archaeological assemblages in northern England it has been considered essential in this thesis to include a wide range of artefacts and materials, and also to add some investigation of settlement diversity and patterning in order to give a broad picture of native society in late Iron Age and early Roman northern England. This thesis proceeds on the basis that differences in material cultural assemblages, which may in turn indicate the nature of settlement and society, can be used to indicate the presence of regional identities. Out of this synthesis several settled areas have emerged as

[875] These factors are discussed in detail in the introductions to chapters 3 and 4 above.

apparently distinct in both archaeological assemblages and settlement patterning from those around them. It is these distinctive regions which will be discussed in this conclusion in relation to the suggestion that they may have been inhabited by populations who, at some point in the period of study, recognised some form of regional identity in addition to other potentially overlapping social, political and religious identities on a range of scales with which individuals may also have identified.

There appears to be no evidence for the presence of one all encompassing native group or regional identity in northern England during the late Iron Age and early Roman periods: on the contrary there are good grounds for asserting that entirely the opposite situation may have been the case. Use of settlement patterning and artefactual data has revealed several different regions which appear worthy of comment. The results are affected by variation in the quantity and nature of investigation but there is evidence to conclude that north-western and north-eastern England were inhabited by peoples with entirely different regional identities.

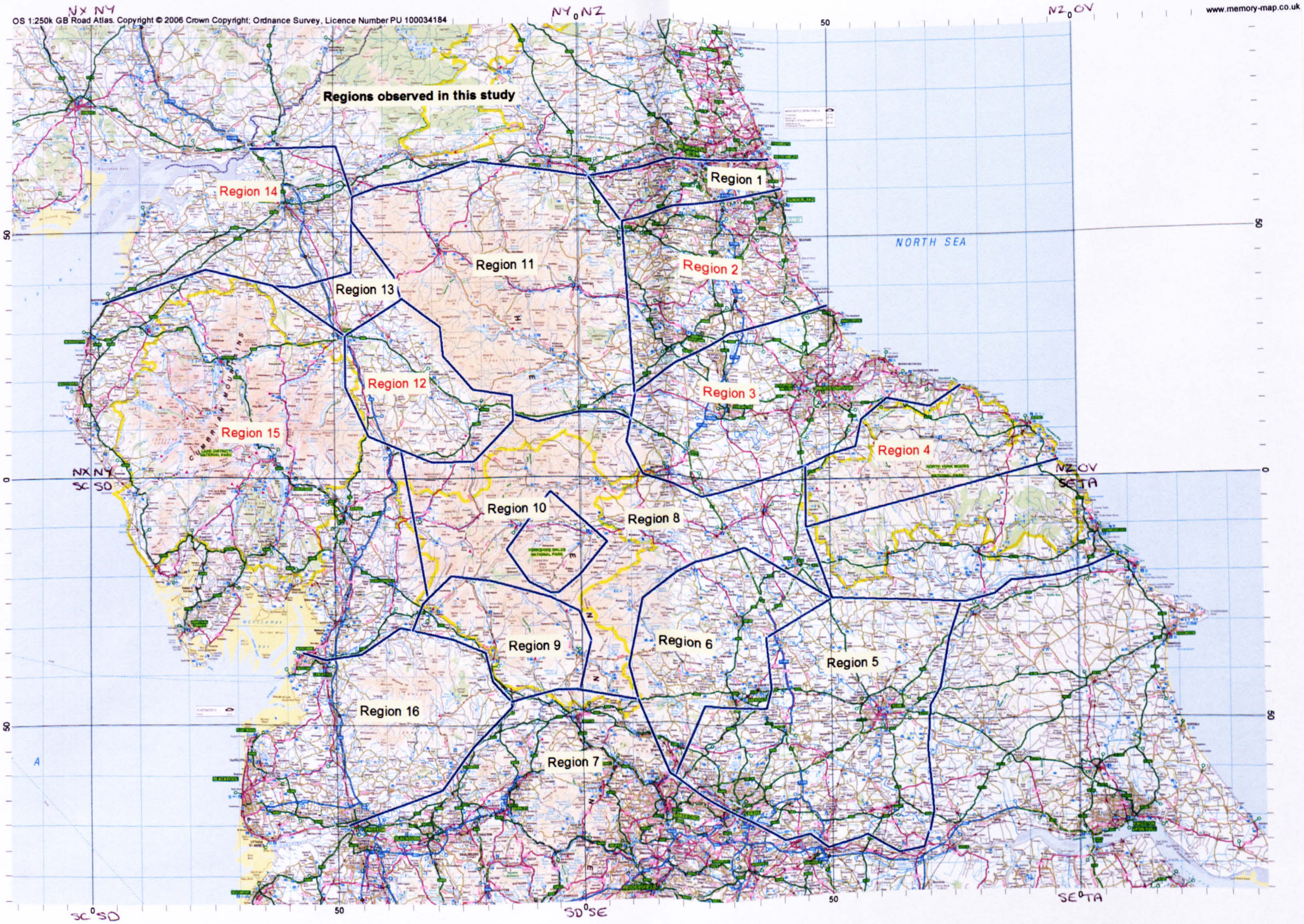
These two large areas may be further broken down into smaller regions. The north-east can be split into three areas whilst a further three in the north-west are less well defined but may still indicate the presence of differing groups. Those areas which display the greatest potential evidence for regional identities are discussed in this conclusion. It is very difficult to attach a name to a region and indeed there is little evidence to prove that late pre- and early post- conquest populations of northern England identified with named regional groups even if

they did acknowledge a regional identity. The concept of a tribal identity has been a matter for debate and it is unlikely that such units existed in northern England. As a result tribal names are likely to be an invalid concept. However names have been associated with northern England which may have had some significance to the Iron Age populations. Those names drawn from ancient literature which may have held some significance for the populations are discussed here in relation to the areas with which they may in some way have been associated.

Region 2 lies between the northern watershed of the Tees and the river Tyne. This area is notable in particular for an almost total lack of material evidence. The region appears aceramic in both the Iron Age and Roman periods and no metalwork, bone or glass artefacts have been recovered. Known settlements were small and quite densely packed with no evidence of hierarchy. This may be evidence that the land was not of a high enough quality to support large-scale settlements but the overall population is likely to have been fairly large.

The land, accordingly, must have been productive so long as no one area was placed under the pressure of providing for too many people. Quern stones, made of poor quality local stone have been found. These indicate a population without the external connections to obtain suitable stones. The lack of other material goods may be further evidence of this. Even if the region did not have the means

Map 19. Regions observed (those considered most viable for the possible presence of regional identities by this study are shown in red)



to produce pottery, basic coarse wares would have been relatively easy to obtain; requiring access to only limited, fairly localised, exchange networks and should have been accessible to the majority of the population. An alternative explanation for the lack of material culture in this region is that the population may have had no interest in owning these items or may even have chosen to avoid them. The region borders the most highly developed and apparently outward looking and innovative population in northern England and it is possible that the population of region 2 was consciously more conservative and did not desire pottery and metal even if they had sufficient surplus to obtain such items. If this was the case it is possible that the population deliberately avoided contact with other groups and maintained a traditional, conservative culture throughout the Iron Age and Roman periods.

Region 4, on the North Yorks Moors appears to have been a fairly isolated area with a population who may have used the terrain to cut themselves off from the rest of northern England, although the evidence may be affected by poor visibility of sites on aerial photography. Evidence for the deliberate avoidance of new ideas can be seen in the pottery from the region. A localised ceramic industry existed in the area during the Iron Age and appears to have continued producing the same styles and forms of ceramics until the later Roman period. The population is different from that of region 2: it has both a ceramic industry and an ability to exchange querns made of the reasonably good quality stones on the Moors. The people do not, however, appear to have used this ability to trade as a method of developing contact with other areas. Habitation was limited by geography to the sheltered valleys and reveals no evidence either of settlement

or social hierarchy. Apart from a southern boundary which is hard to define, region 4 appears cut off from neighbouring regions by a ring of uninhabited and yet reasonably good quality land. Quite why this was the case remains in doubt but the population of region 4, albeit not numerous, may have recognised an independent regional identity.

One name in ancient literature has been indicated as having some significance in the north-east; the Gabrantovices.[876] The name could belong to either region 2 or region 4. Previous suggestions have attempted to place the name anywhere between East Yorkshire and the Tyne which would include both regions. Ptolemy does, however, indicate that 'Good Harbour' was near the territory of the Parisi. There is now doubt over the association of this name with East Yorkshire, but if his information can be treated as in any way accurate and the name had any significance to the late Iron Age and early post-conquest population then it is possible that the 'Gabrantovices' can be associated with an area above but near East Yorkshire.[877] Region 4 could easily have included at least one good harbour: that at Whitby, and would be a suitable suggestion for this regional identity if names may be associated with such identities.

Region 3, in the Tees Valley, could not be a greater contrast with region 2 and must have been inhabited by a population with very different cultural attitudes. The region had a strong Iron Age ceramic tradition drawing on ideas from East Yorkshire but with significant regional differences. In addition it is also the only part of northern England to have pottery assemblages including imported

[876] See discussion of Gabrantovices in chapter 2.
[877] See map p.381

Roman goods, (Samian forms among them), in particular those from Stanwick, which may represent diplomatic gifts. Further evidence of contact with the continent prior to the Roman conquest is found in the high status metalwork hoards which also include imported goods. The population also appear to be highly innovative from the speed with which new cattle breeds are adopted and their avoidance of items which were used in the north-west as symbols of preference for the pre-Roman way of life such as type 3 glass bangles and Dragonesque brooches.

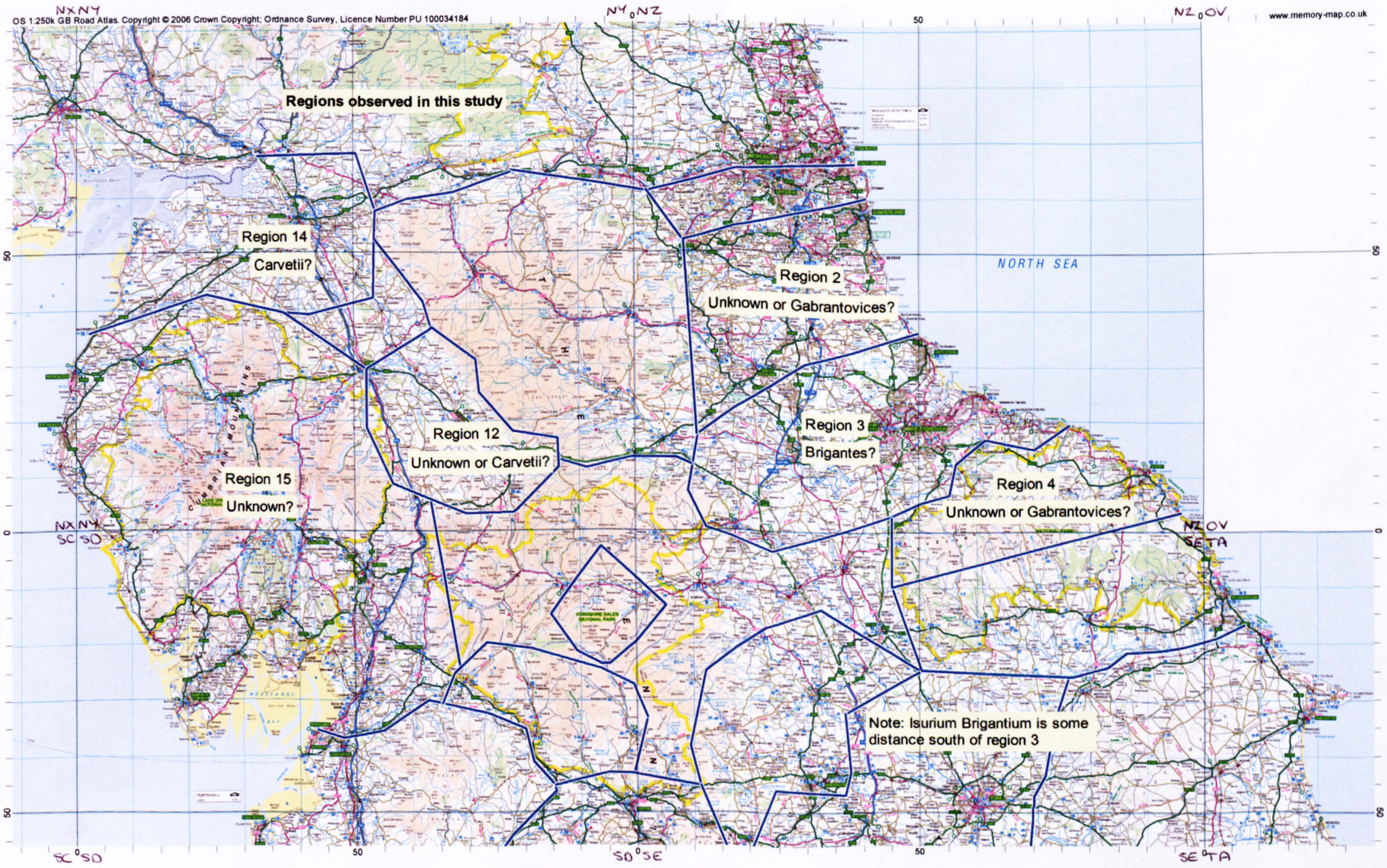
The inhabitants of Region 3, the core of the area traditionally attributed to the Brigantes, would appear to have been connected with strong exchange networks to access imported goods, not all of which are will have been diplomatic gifts. Further evidence of the wide social connections in this region can be found in the quern stones from the region. Owing to a lack of *suitable stone all are* imported from at least the North Yorks Moors and stones of the best available quality, transported from the central Pennines and requiring considerable involvement in exchange networks within northern England have been found on the very highest status sites. The range of known sites in this region appear to have created the only hierarchical system seen in northern England. The area has been reasonably well investigated however an unknown number of sites may remain undiscovered. Known sites are not numerous and are fairly widespread but many are very large and would have housed a number of families. There is also a clear hierarchy with the primary site at Stanwick and other major sites including Thorpe Thewles, Melsonby and Catcote. The hierarchical system observed from settlements and material assemblages is also

demonstrated in the high status metalwork hoards from this region which suggest that only the elite members of this society were involved in deposition. Region 3 stands out as a very unusual area with a culture very different from any other observed across the rest of northern England. As a result the population is likely to have recognised a form of distinct regional identity.

The evidence reveals that region 3 was a highly anomalous area in comparison with the rest of northern England. It had the only hierarchical social and political system, with a wealthy and innovative population open to the concept of cultural change. The population of this region was clearly in contact with the Roman Empire for some time before the conquest of the north and appears to have welcomed new ideas and influences both before and after the conquest, with the development of villas and 'small towns' seen nowhere else in northern England. This region is the only one to reveal a population which actively welcomed contact, ideas and artefacts from the continent and it is the most likely to have been the object of diplomatic advances on the part of the Roman authorities. As such the Tees Valley stands out in contrast to the rest of northern England. If names may be notionally associated in some way with regions then this area is the most likely to have been inhabited by the best known regional group of northern England with whom the name of the Brigantes has been associated. The fact that the region is relatively low-lying could raise some doubt as to the translation of Brigantes as 'Hill people':[878]

[878] See discussion of 'tribal' name in chapter 2. See also note 887 below (Isurium Brigantium)

Map 20. Suggested areas with regional identities in northern England and possible associated names



there is, however, a satisfactory explanation for this. At Stanwick, assumed to be the seat of government for the area, there is a prominent hill on the site with good views across the surrounding area.[879] As an outstanding feature very close to Stanwick it seems quite possible that the name could have been taken from the presence of this hill. Whether or not a name may be associated in any way with a regional identity, Region 3 stands out from the rest of northern England and it seems very likely that the population of this area would have recognised some form of regional identity.

In the north-west artefactual evidence is less helpful in defining smaller regional identities. The material evidence tends to apply generally to the whole of the area west of the Pennines and there is little if any variation between regions. It is here that settlement patterns become useful in identifying possible boundaries between areas. The Upper Eden Valley (region 12) had a relatively dense settlement pattern and similar site sizes indicate no apparent hierarchy of settlement or society. What marks this area out is its distinct northern boundary. Known settlement in the valley runs in a linear pattern northwards to the meeting of the rivers Lowther and Eamont near what is now Penrith. At this point settlement virtually appears to cease despite the fact that the Eamont can be easily bridged at this point and the area has reasonable potential for aerial photographic survey. Indeed the bridging point appears to have formed a hard boundary to the territory of the Upper Eden Valley. The reason for this is unclear but the area was of considerable prehistoric significance. It later housed

[879] Henah Hill lies outside but immediately adjacent to the earthworks at Stanwick. The use of the hill has been questioned but it seems more likely to have been for cultivation than defence. See Haselgrove, C. C. et. al. 'Stanwick, North Yorkshire parts 1, 2 and 3', *The Archaeological Journal* 147. 1990. pp.72-79

a Roman fort suggesting this site was the gateway to lands occupied by a populous and perhaps powerful group. The signing of an important treaty at the spot in AD 927 is further evidence that it continued to be a strategically significant area into late Anglo-Saxon times.[880]

Beyond the apparently uninhabited land of the Middle Eden Valley (region 13), perhaps a deliberately sustained border territory, lies a further densely populated area on the Solway Plain (region 14). If it were not for the empty region between them it would be reasonable to suggest that regions 14 and 12 were part of the same regional entity since both are reasonably densely populated and have small site sizes with no evidence for settlement hierarchy. In view of this void – is it too strong to say barrier? – it is likely that societies with different regional identities inhabited both regions even though they are likely to have been connected in other ways such as religious identity. Those of the Solway Plain would have seen a great deal more of the Roman presence given that one of the largest Roman sites in the north, Carlisle, is situated here; but native settlements have so far revealed no evidence for the presence of romanised goods although this may be the result of a lack of excavation. The evidence available at this point indicates a conservative, traditional outlook amongst the indigenous population.

The Carvetii are the only group other than the Brigantes regularly cited by modern authors as holding power in northern England.[881] If this name has any link to a regional identity it could belong anywhere in northern England. In

[880] See p.241
[881] See eg. Shotter, D. (2004)

practice the only plausible options are regional identities indicated in the Upper Eden Valley and the Solway Plain area.[882] If interpreted in its civilian context, as seems most likely, the epigraphic evidence referring to a large civilian centre – probably Carlisle – suggests the Solway Plain region is the more likely despite its findspot at Old Penrith.[883] The early building works in the Solway area could indicate a pro-Roman stance in the population, with Carlisle acting as a form of base camp for the army before it tackled hostile forces in the Eden Valley. Alternatively it might suggest an anti-Roman population, quelled quickly and permanently by the construction of a large military centre at Carlisle. The survival of a Celtic name, Lugovalos, in the name for Carlisle suggests that the former explanation is more likely, and that the area was favourable to the Roman presence. Given that the name of the Brigantes survived owing to their pro-Roman stance, it is possible that the Carvetii, the other commonly mentioned group, were also pro-Roman. If this was the case then a territory on the Solway Firth and the indication of a friendly native presence in the Roman name for Carlisle would make sense.

On the assumption that names can be associated with regional identities and that the Carvetii have been correctly identified as the inhabitants of the Solway Plain area (region 14) then region 12 in the Upper Eden Valley is likely to have been inhabited by a population with a regional identity for which no associated name is yet known. If they were anti-Roman then the fort at Eamont Bridge is likely to have functioned at least in part as an expression of Roman containment and control.

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[882] See discussion and references in chapter 2
[883] See discussion of the evidence p.122 above

There is no particular reason to attach Venutius to either the name Carvetii, whatever significance this term may or may not have had, or the Solway plain area. Aside from the region associated with the Brigantes there are several other distinct regions virtually any of which could provide a plausible home for an anti-Roman leader. This author believes that the frequent assumption of a link between Venutius and the name Carvetii, which is based on very little hard evidence, should be abandoned.[884] If a suggestion has to be made he is more likely to come from the population of the Eden Valley where the evidence and the presence of a later Roman containment fort indicates an anti-Roman population which took some time to crush. Such a population may well have had an actively Roman leader in the period shortly before the Roman invasion; that his name was Venutius is a distinct possibility. Alternatively region 15, where a militaristic outlook appears to have been maintained up to the conquest, is another area where a late Iron Age anti-Roman leader such as Venutius could have been influential.

The final possible region is 15, which consists of the central and southern Lakeland. Settlement in the central Lakeland massif is governed by the geography of the area: of the hillforts in the region several sites appear to have been in use in the late pre-Roman period – the only region within the area of study for which this is the case. This indicates the presence of a society and perhaps a regional identity quite different from others in northern England.[885] An associated name, if valid, is uncertain. According to Ptolemy, however, the Setantii lived somewhere in the north-west and possessed a town and a harbour.

[884] See discussion chapter 2. and eg. Shotter, D. (2004) p.5

[885] The continued use of hillforts in Northumberland, generally attributed to the Votadini, marks this area out in the same way.

Ptolemy speaks of tribal names which may not be a valid concept but it is certainly plausible that the population living in the strongholds of central and southern Cumbria could have had a harbour situated somewhere around Morecambe Bay. They could therefore have had a regional identity associated with the name 'Setantii' alongside other less visible social, political and religious identities existing on different scales and subject to change over time.[886]

After thorough analysis of the forms of evidence included in this thesis it has become clear that the argument for one regional identity in northern England is virtually untenable. There is no evidence to support the existence of such a group. Indeed far from this there is a large body of evidence to indicate the presence of several entirely different groups with a range of social, religious, political and regional identities of which evidence for the latter has been investigated here.

Six areas where the populations may have associated themselves with some form of regional group identity have been noted here. Assuming the available names in ancient literature have any association with these regional identities 'Brigantes' may be attached to the Tees Valley area. 'Gabrantovices' may have some association with region 2 or region 4, with region 4 being the most likely; 'Carvetii' may be connected with region 14 and 'Setantii' with region 15. No names may be associated with the regional identities suggested in regions 2 and 12. For the other regions of northern England noted in chapter 4 there is

[886] See discussion of Setantii chapter. 2

insufficient definite evidence and the results are too far affected by a lack of data and variations in the nature and intensity of fieldwork to draw any valid results.

Assuming that a group by the name of the Brigantes did indeed exist in northern England, it is now certain from the evidence available to this thesis that they were not in control of the entire region. This was divided into numerous apparently independent regions, perhaps associated with further names found in literature; the Carvetii, Gabrantovices and Setantii. There are certainly very clear differences between land east and west of the Pennines. Far from ruling northern England from sea to sea the Brigantes are most likely to have been a regional identity restricted to the hierarchical, romanised and entirely anomalous area of the Tees Valley.[887]

If the name Brigantes did at any time also represent a larger regional grouping then a possibility is federation whereby loosely-related groups coalesced when under pressure from other stronger political and social groups. The term Brigantes may thus have denoted, or been applied to, a number of different groups coming together under circumstances caused by external pressure rather than by any internal development. There is no evidence to indicate that this may have been the case in northern England, however it is possible that facing the encroaching power of the Roman Empire a federation of previously more

[887] This suggestion does conflict with the Roman place-name evidence for Aldborough (*Isurium Brigantium*) which lies some distance south of region 3 (see map 2 p.87). The name may reflect a voluntary movement of population or some sort of 'refocusing' away from Stanwick as the Iron Age and late pre-conquest centre and towards the new Roman Civitas Capital at *Isurium*. Alternatively the name may simply reflect the presence of a further, far more localised, group of hill people with no link to region three, near to the new development at Aldborough.

independent identities did emerge in the region of study. The name Brigantes is here notionally applied to an apparently more pro-Roman group however it should be acknowledged that if the term was of any relevance at all it could have had more than one meaning depending on the context in which it was applied. Thus it may have meant a regional identity for one group but also the term given to a federation either by those who created it or, and perhaps more likely, by the Roman authorities who were now facing it; given that the group associated here with the term Brigantes are those with whom they appear to have had the greatest contact. It is thus possible that, in the late pre-conquest period, the name Brigantes was applied to an emerging federation and took one or more context dependent meanings partly or even wholly different from that to which it may have initially applied. This study has revealed no evidence for such a federation and it is clear that northern England consisted of several different communities. However if, in the period immediately before the conquest of northern England such a federation did occur, it may explain the apparent association seen in the literature of all the communities of northern England with one name which this study has indicated cannot have represented a single social, political or regional identity.

Further detailed archaeological investigation, and particularly excavation, is necessary in order to confirm the regions identified in this thesis and to address the many gaps in knowledge of settlement across much of the area. In particular additional excavation is needed to confirm the chronology of similar settlement forms across the region and assess how far previous assumptions of dating for late Iron Age and Roman native rural settlement are indeed valid.

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