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THE ROMANS
IN
EAST YORKSHIRE

by

A. F. NORMAN

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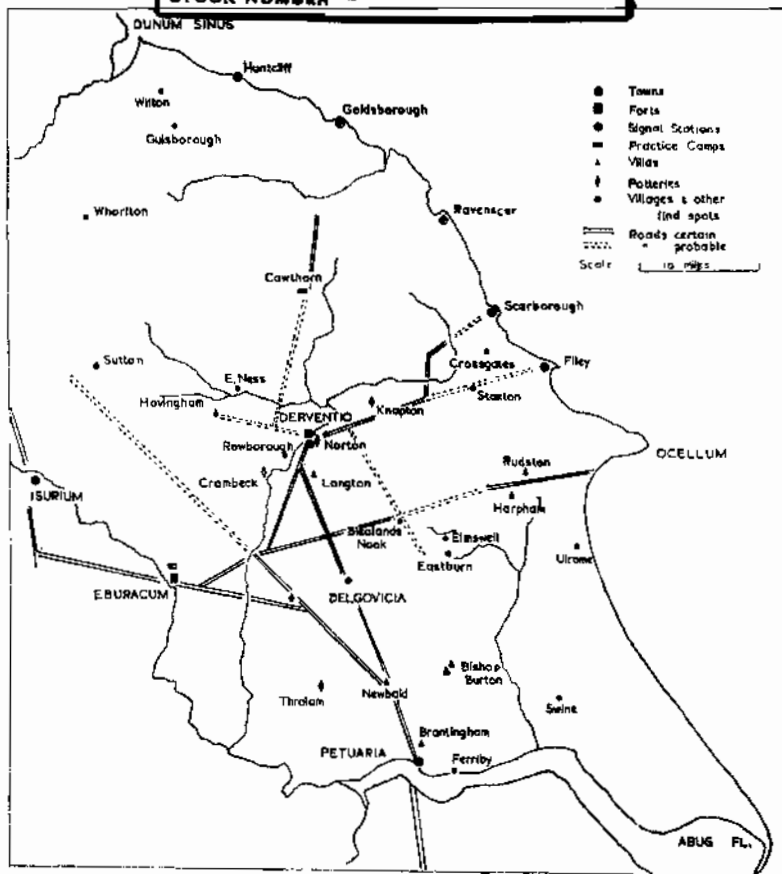
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ROMAN EAST YORKSHIRE

The Romans in East Yorkshire.

Literary evidence for the history of East Yorkshire in Roman times is slender. No mention of the area occurs in any account of the conquest of the North, although inferences may be drawn from Tacitus and Dio. The 2nd century produces notices in the geographer Ptolemy of the greatest value. In the 3rd century, one road through the district figures in the Antonine Itinerary (i.e. *Iter 1*), but textual corruption involves both names and distances, so that some identifications, if probable, remain conjectural. For the latest period, important information on the military arrangement of the district is embodied in the Roman List of Official Posts (*Notitia Dignitatum*). This list, compiled in A.D. 428 after the military withdrawal, still retains the disposition of military units in Britain as in the early 4th century. Thus the Wall garrisons are still shown, and at Derventio (probably Malton) a *praefectus numeri supervenientium Petuariensium* is in command, under the *Dux Britanniarum*, the Commander-in-Chief at York. Tacitus, Dio or Ammianus narrate events and policies which affected the area, along with the whole province. Yet except for this and the few inscriptions, which gain importance because of this sparsity of documentary evidence, the history of the district in classical times must be derived from evidence provided by the archaeologist. Here each new localized discovery invites a reappraisal of existing evidence concerning the whole, but this evidence must always be incomplete if only because of later geographical changes, like those caused by coast erosion and intensive cultivation, so that a final definitive account is impossible. Yet from these various sources a tolerable outline of the history and manner of life of the inhabitants in Roman times may be constructed.

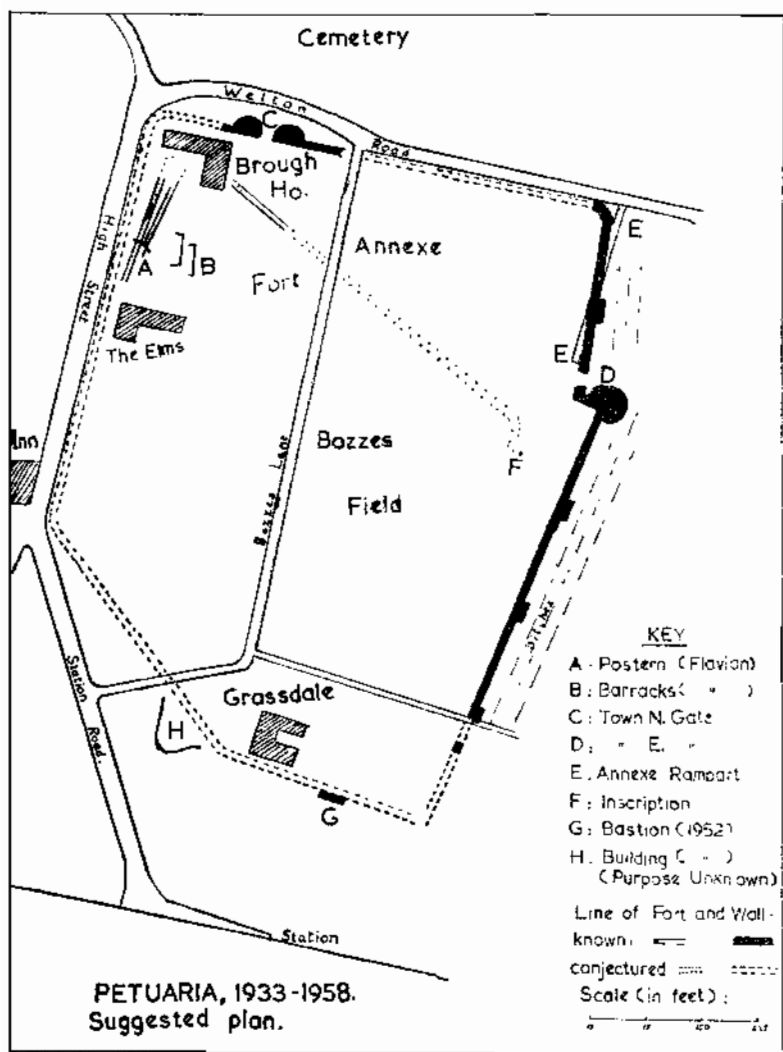
From the earliest times, the Wold districts clearly could support a comparatively dense population. In A.D. 43, when Claudius conquered the South, they had been inhabited for nearly three centuries by the Parisi, a tribe of Iron Age culture akin to that which has left an enduring name in Gaul. Ptolemy locates them north of the Abus (Humber), near the Brigantes and the Sixth Legion at York: he also marks their chief town (Petuaria) and the chief landmark (Ocellum promontory—Flamborough or, less likely, Spurn), but with a slight error so that the location of Petuaria remained in dispute until the discovery of the Brough inscription. Further north, evidently at the mouth of the Esk, he notes a harbour in the territory of the otherwise unknown community of the Gabrantovices, who are now thought to be a sept of the Brigantian confederacy. The Parisi were evidently the more advanced and more important of the two. Archaeology reveals that, like other

tribes, they had imported a culture closely resembling that of their Gallic kinsfolk, for the East Yorkshire chariot burials are very similar to those of the Marne region. Here, as elsewhere, an aristocracy of horsemen and charioteers imposed itself upon the existing population, and since for them power and wealth were related to the possession of horses and cattle, their form of economy was primarily pastoral. This way of life, and its associated tradition of art and craftsmanship, influenced either directly or by example the civilization of most other northern British tribes. Caesar, in his hearsay account of the inland tribes, had stated that settled agriculture was unknown, which may contain a germ of truth, considering the habits of these nobles. But in East Yorkshire, on the lower ground around the fringes of the Wolds, there also existed settlements and lightly defended villages such as Elmswell, inhabited by peasants who served these lords and even then conducted a rudimentary form of settled arable farming. There was, then, in the native society, a double economy—on the better soil, that of the chiefs and ranching aristocrats, who required wide grazing for stock rearing to maintain their position, and elsewhere, that of the village peasantry who supplied their other needs. This divergence in the tribal society may be seen in the pre-Roman occupation of the Rudston estate and of the Elmswell village, and goes far to explain the development of the system of villa and village in Roman times.

By the middle of the 1st century A.D., however, the centre of gravity, both military and political, had moved westwards to the territory of the Brigantes. The Parisi seem to have remained aloof from this confederation and, while still evidently retaining their own peculiar tribal organization, had begun to adopt a more settled type of society. The noble at Rudston, for instance, had now built his ditched enclosure on the earlier habitation site, for purposes other than defence. Such settled conditions did not imply isolation: the products of the old skill in metal working remained in demand, as is shown by the Elmswell panel, and other manufactures—the black Parisian pottery, for instance—had begun to circulate. Roman Republican and early Imperial coinage appears in the area, also the currency and products of southern British tribes and some wares from the continental provinces, all of the period from Caesar to Claudius. Still, the Parisi were not of great political importance, so that, after the organization of the new province in the south, the Romans were primarily concerned with the Brigantes, for with them lay the key to the North. Thus, to secure the stability of their new frontier, the Romans by A.D. 47 had accorded to the Brigantian queen Cartimandua recognition of her position as ruler of a client state, a situation which, following discords between the queen and her consort Venutius, produced violent reactions inside the tribe throughout the next twenty years. These quarrels required several interventions by the Romans on her behalf, and culminated in a war of independence waged against them by Venutius. Thus at the accession of Vespasian in A.D. 69, the original Roman policy of protecting the northern frontier by a client buffer state had collapsed. Venutius had rallied the dissidents, gathered aid from outside and driven out his peccant queen, and was busily constructing his great fortress at Stanwick, while the frontier of the province lay open to attack.

During this period, A.D. 47-70, the Romans, with the Ninth Legion at Lincoln, had consolidated their province along the Trent to the Humber with forts like that at Margidunum (Gunthorpe Bridge, Notts.) Thus the Parisi were brought into full contact with an area physically controlled by the Romans, who however did not insist upon a formal political relationship, apparently. The tribe was perhaps not important enough for that, while hopes remained of some reasonable settlement with Brigantia. Economic ties, however, increased rapidly, a natural consequence of this extension of the province which needed no official sanction or sponsorship by the Romans. The Parisi merely maintained or expanded commercial links previously established with an independent southern Britain. Thus, at the settlement at North Ferriby, where the traders were inevitably provincials rather than Roman citizens, there has been revealed a quantity of Roman wares of the period A.D. 40-70 without parallel in the North. The existence of the site was short, for it was soon superseded by the native settlement at Brough, the later Petuaria. Clearly such commercial relations, however limited their effects, were yet acceptable to the Parisi. They thus marked the beginnings of a connection which was to culminate in the official intervention of Rome and her use of the area in the offensive against Brigantia.

This intervention, whereby the history of the Romans in East Yorkshire officially is begun, was part of the Vespasianic reconstruction after the chaotic years A.D. 68-70, and proved the more necessary because of the open hostility of the Brigantes. Tacitus gives a brief general outline. In A.D. 71, Petilius Cerealis, the new governor, set out to bring order into the North with the conquest, pacification and annexation of Brigantia, a forward movement which marks Rome's confession of failure with regard to her earlier frontier policy. Consequently, the Parisi were temporarily advanced to the forefront of affairs. From the hints provided by archaeology, both the tribal leaders and the Roman high command appear to have agreed upon a policy of mutual interest, perhaps in the face of the common foe, for the Ninth is soon found first in Malton, then in York. They evidently crossed by ferry to Brough, for there a sizeable camp has been revealed, with turf rampart, breastwork and ditch of this period, near the Parisian settlement of Petuaria. This fort, which, with its annexe, covered the northern half of the later town, was the disembarkation point and supply centre for the most easterly prong of the invasion. Here the excavations of 1958 revealed traces of barrack blocks, dated to this time by coin evidence, near the north-west corner of the turf fort. Parisian territory was then of great strategic importance, as was immediately realized by Cerealis, for the rapid forward movement through it enabled him to deliver an unlooked-for thrust against the centre of Brigantian resistance at Stanwick from the uncovered eastern flank, masked by frontal attacks further south in the West Riding and Lancashire. Thus, the defences of Stanwick were stormed and slighted before ever they were completed, and the centralized resistance of Brigantia was broken. The rapidity of this movement and the lack of evidence for any forcible occupation of Parisian territory make it improbable that the Roman advance was ever seriously contested



by the Parisi. The tribal notables were probably rewarded for their politic attitude with a freedom from permanent military occupation and its attendant obligations, which most of the area seems to have enjoyed thenceforth.

The history of the following period is almost entirely an inference from archaeology. After Cerealis' defeat of the Brigantes with its destruction of Stanwick and the foundation of the permanent legionary headquarters at York, there was no prolonged need for the Brough base. The headquarters was served by a network of major roads which allowed a freer movement of troops, and supplies could reach it direct by river. Thus in the early 2nd century, the military installations at Brough were merged into the town area of Petuaria. At Malton also, (probably the Derwentio of the Itinerary), the original legionary base was replaced by a camp of cohort strength as early as Agricola's time (A.D. 78-84), when the tide of conquest had flowed far northwards. Yet the moors of North Yorkshire probably did not pass under Roman control uncontested. Resistance towards penetration from the south, though brief, was probably real. A native settlement near Levisham may have been a centre of resistance. The construction of the Wheeldale road (Wade's Causeway), which in the absence of dateable evidence has been ascribed to the 1st or the 4th centuries, may thus indicate their consolidation of the area after these operations, at a time when, judging by coin evidence, Roman influence approached Cleveland from the west also along the Tees valley.

Among the Parisi, in the Wolds fronting the Vale of Pickering there are traces of a short and lightly maintained occupation before A.D.100, with posts which cannot be proved to be military sites but yet reveal some military influence. Such outlying sites as the Staxton settlement and the Crossgates ditches are perhaps indications of the interest taken by the Romans in the development of the resources of the area, which was to be the granary for their military bases. Since the main centres of resistance lay elsewhere, this was no rigorous occupation and in any case it was short-lived, this phase of habitation at each site ending soon after A.D.100. However, such a concentration on the Northern Wolds at this early date receives confirmation from the plentiful scatter of coins of this period, as at Binnington, and from contemporary military type cooking pots of bronze discovered at Stittenham. By A.D.100, the neighbourhood of the Vale of Pickering had become so devoid of possible enemies that it could regularly be used by the legion at York for 'battle courses' at the practice camps at Cawthorn, without fear of hostile tribesmen. Some primary training took place on Bootham Stray, but at least twice recruits were marched out to the moors and put through a stern course of camp construction, artillery practice, manoeuvres and fatigues in terrain similar to that over which they must campaign when their training was done.

Later, in Trajan's time or early in Hadrian's reign, the disturbance often associated with the disappearance of the Ninth Legion occurred. In A.D.108 the Ninth was engaged in construction work at York, but by A.D.122 the Sixth had replaced it there, and its name disappears from the army records. The effects of this disturbance upon the Parisian country are not fully known, but they must have

been serious. The last phase of the camp defences at Petuaria may be referred to about this time, the Malton fort shows signs of dilapidation and the occupation of Staxton ceases suddenly. The crisis here, however, was not prolonged since Hadrian succeeded in securing the frontier and Pius in pushing it northwards. Thereafter East Yorkshire relapses into peaceful anonymity. Excavation at Malton shows that the fort was indeed restored, but not maintained on a full military footing. Petuaria takes on the appearance of a small provincial town with no military function, its realigned northern wall enclosing both the camp defences and part of the annexe north of them; and, in the countryside, Elmswell continues its busy village life, there is continuous occupation at Rudston, and a new construction appears at North Newbald.

Only at the end of the 2nd century is this calm broken. Then, after the renewal of the threat from the North and the outbreak of civil war, Petuaria received new defences of stone, as did the other civil centres in Britain. In A.D. 196, Clodius Albinus, in his bid for the throne, stripped the northern frontier of its garrisons. The military disasters which followed and the inroads of the northern tribesmen, which ravaged the province as far as York, must have affected seriously the prosperity of Parisian territory and produced a temporary panic. This is indicated by material damage at Malton and Langton, and by coin hoards of the time far south in Holderness at Sutton and Swine. However, under the Severi, with York restored, Malton reoccupied and Petuaria walled, confidence returned, and East Yorkshire enjoyed a prolonged period of peace and economic expansion throughout the 3rd century, both in the towns and in the countryside. Coin evidence indicates a consolidation of the original areas and the continuance of the Roman penetration of Cleveland, where the Guisborough parade helmet reveals some form of military settlement. The Bridlington Bay region appears to have developed busily throughout this period, and the houses at North Newbald and Langton begin their period of maximum occupation. Moreover, Severus' reforms, whereby the soldier might legitimately marry while on active service, regularized what was often a *fait accompli* and hastened the merging of the civil and military near such stations as Malton. The soldier and the civilian thus became knit together in a more harmonious society: in York, the fort and the civil *colonia* begin to form a unity, as do the Malton fort and the civil lines in Norton. The effectiveness of the army in Britain was never so well revealed as in the 3rd century, when the whole island remained immune from the disasters then afflicting the Roman world. In this immunity East Yorkshire shared: its prosperity was enhanced by the reoccupation of the Malton fort, with its consequent demand for corn, and by the establishment of a provincial capital at York under Severus. Later in the century, as a result of monetary inflation and the institution of a system of payment in kind, its produce was in even greater demand. Its grain was forwarded in quantity to the storage centre at Malton, where the extensive 'burnt corn layer' indicates its importance. In addition, its potentialities as a manufacturing area begin to be realized with a growing and ready-made market nearby in York. During the last quarter of the 3rd century this phase ends. In the countryside, early signs of some disturbance

are visible in coin hoards ending with Aurelian and Tetricus, at Warter and Crossgates respectively, while at Malton the corn stocks were burnt, and the fort again evacuated, to experience yet another restoration and even more intensive occupation following Constantius' reconstruction.

In the 4th century, to the tip-and-run raids of the Saxon pirates, whose activities further south had been curbed by the Saxon Shore installations, was added pressure from the North. The military dispositions of Constantine kept the peace more or less intact, but the garrison of a fort like Malton was by now little more than a home-guard unit, living with their families inside the fort area, as numerous infant burials show. Such local units, since the army's striking power now lay in the palatine troops, were effective only in a limited area and against an ill-organized foe. With such troops, the towns of Britain had to reorganize their defences which, after the last century of peace, were now out of date and in ill repair. A reorganization, embodying the new principles of static defence, conservation of man-power and increased firing potential, was very soon completed. In the town walls of Roman Britain, bastions were added, old ditches levelled and new ones constructed further out to provide a wider arc of fire for defending artillery. So at Petuaria, the East gate is enfladed by its oddly irregular bastions, and at regular spaces on East and South interval bastions were sited. The North gate, excavated at Brough House in 1958, is 10 feet wide and flanked by massive twin half-moon bastions, each over 30 feet in diameter. Such fortifications are common throughout the province. Previously ascribed to the Constantian reconstruction, they have been more recently dated to the middle of the 4th century. Their effectiveness was soon put to the test in the 'barbarian conspiracy' of A.D. 367. This affected both country areas and military bases like Malton and Piercebridge, but Petuaria seems to have emerged unscathed. However, the severe strain imposed upon the civilian population is attested by damage at the prosperous villa at Langton, the discovery of coin hoards at Cowlam and Swine and the abrupt end of the occupation at North Newbald. At Rudston, the reconstruction indicated by the latest pavements follows this event. Yet the countryside shows unexpected resilience and emerges to attain its highest prosperity before the century's end. This was secured by the system of coastal defence inaugurated by Count Theodosius in A.D. 370, which involved also a consolidation of local military forces and, in its demand for mobility, allowed the local notables a prominent part to play in the mounted militia, which in Malton consisted of the *numerus supervenientium Petuariensium* at this time. This, with a similar mounted body at Piercebridge to cover the Tees valley, was the land-based force to protect the countryside against the scattered bands of sea-borne raiders. Any of the signal stations along the North Yorkshire coast (Huntcliff, Goldsborough, Ravenscar, Scarborough, Filey and—surely—Flamborough) would raise the alarm and pass it laterally to the nearest fleet base for the organization of a naval pursuit, and rearwards to the militia. Also an exceptionally wide road running east from York allowed free movement to the cavalry of the head-quarters garrison against such raiders. They were therefore an essential link in a new system of combined opera-

tions, and parallels for them exist in the Bristol Channel area. These Yorkshire stations were evidently effective, for archaeology reveals that they were a special target for attack, being overrun a full generation after their first erection. Huntcliff and Goldsborough are known to have been destroyed and their garrisons massacred, and Filey showed signs of burning. Yet for those thirty years this early-warning system covered the hinterland, despite the changes made in the defence forces from A.D.383 onwards, with Maximus' attempted usurpation, the abandonment of the Wall and the delegation of the northern defences to the local British tribes. All such changes left the Yorkshire region with more responsibilities for its own defence, which it seems to have discharged for a time with some success. The villa estates were never more active than in the late 4th century: extant coin lists from almost all of them show their importance then, for besides the numerous late coins from Rudston and Langton, coinage of Valentinian II and Theodosius is recorded at East Ness and Hovingham, and further north, that of Honorius and of Eugenius and Arcadius at Wilton Castle and at Whorlton respectively. Equally, the alternative unit in the Romano-British economy, the native village, was more flourishing than ever. At most village sites known in the area, intense activity can be securely dated to this period: not merely earlier settlements, like Eastburn, Elmswell or Crossgates, continue to thrive, but there is certain evidence for occupation elsewhere, as at Bessingby, Pocklington and Kelleythorpe.

Exactly what were the means of defence is uncertain. The forces still at the disposal of the head-quarters in York and those at nearer bases like Malton and Piercebridge must have played their part. More recently, however, it has been suggested that the evidence for the association of British and Saxons at an early date, near York and Malton and in the Riding, is to be interpreted as indicating the early use of Saxon *foederati* here: such barbarian settlements, where the newcomers were granted land and guaranteed annual payment in return for their services in defence of the Empire, became even more common from the time of Theodosius. However that may be, the last possible dated reference to Roman military activity here concerns the signal stations. At Ravenscar, a local commander (*magister*) Vindicianus acting under the *praepositus* Justinianus erects the station at some late date. Vindicianus almost certainly belongs to the family of East Ness, and Justinianus is possibly the henchman of Constantine III, the leader of the last British army to the Continent against the German invaders of Gaul in A.D.407. The effect of these events upon the life of Yorkshire was that the naval screen was withdrawn and the signal stations, already under pressure, had to serve the local forces alone. One by one they fell to the pirates, probably in this first decade of the 5th century, and with this defensive system gone, the villas inland rapidly decayed. Neither the base and town at Malton nor the more developed economic unit represented by the villas long survived the fall of these outliers. In all cases, coinage and pottery indicate that the end of the villas was roughly contemporary with that of the stations, and while there is no evidence that Malton was ever stormed, it decayed quickly under increasing pressure. The area no doubt attempted to defend itself, in accordance with Honorius'

rescript of A.D.410, but the economic props and the military shield of its leaders had vanished with the Romans. The villas died, if not violently, then more slowly through lack of markets and labour: what remained of the Romano-British system was the life of the village, which was primitive enough to allow some fusion with Anglian culture. While this became progressively less Roman and less British here, it ensured some survival of the Romano-British system, however debased, in places like Catterick, Elmet and Pennine areas. The absorption of East Yorkshire by the newcomers, whether friend or foe, allowed time for the organization of a native system in the rear which could link the kindred districts to North and West and dispute any further advance by them.

The military history of the area is fundamental not merely for the pacification and security of the countryside but also for its economic development and for social changes among its population. The Romans came not to annihilate but to exploit; the province must be organized to pay its way, as far as possible, by taxes, labour, requisitions in kind and quotas of recruits. Only the inveterate foes of Rome are subjected to a war of extermination and can allege that she "makes a desolation and calls it peace". Peace was the prime objective of Roman policy, but they aimed to make peace financially and socially worthwhile, primarily for themselves but incidentally for their new provincials. Hence a policy of assimilation and urbanization, for which Tacitus commends Agricola, was inaugurated almost immediately after the conquest. With those ripe for assimilation or possessing natural resources, development was deliberately promoted by gradations of privilege, rewards and inducements. Wherever possible, the tribal notables must be won over. The Parisi were clearly treated from the first with uncommon gentleness. Only one trunk road crossed their country, and that merely on the western edge. Thus they were freed from the provision of forced labour for construction and from the financial burdens required by repairs and the maintenance of the public post. Such expenditure must have borne heavily upon the recalcitrant Brigantes, whose territory was criss-crossed by a network of major roads. The military occupation of Petuaria, and the necessity for providing for the garrison, lasted a mere 50 years. Thereafter Malton remains the only permanent fort in Parisian territory, and even so, not always fully occupied. These were undoubtedly privileges to be coveted, for they meant greater freedom from the more arbitrary demands which affected other communities. The normal forms of direct taxation—poll tax, land tax requisitions and recruits—and those of indirect taxation were inescapable, but there would be less highhandedness in exaction and the military would be less in evidence. Moreover, there was no expropriation at the Conquest: the landowning chieftains and the village peasantry retained both property and status: had they not done so, sites like Elmswell and Rudston would have developed very differently, with more sign of forced and rapid change. Neither was there any forced urbanization or removal of site, designed for the maintenance of order and the convenience of the Romans, such as happened elsewhere. In short, the area kept its individuality, and was allowed freedom to develop in its own time under no undue pressure. It thus escaped some effects of a too hasty urbanization which jerry-building

and bad plumbing indicate at places like Leicester and Wroxeter. With this individuality, as compared with the rest of the North, the tribe long retains an oddly civilian background and development, so that few better illustrations of the success of purely voluntary adoption of Roman ways are to be found. It appears, from the Petuaria inscription, that from the start they were allowed to retain their decentralized tribal institutions, and to create their own fusion of Roman and British on that basis. The name, Petuaria, implies that the tribe was divided into four septs, (cf. Welsh, "pedwar"). At the setting up of the inscription in the middle of the 2nd century, the place is described, unlike other provincial tribal capitals, not as a *civitas* (tribal state) but as a *vicus* (village). The implications of the name thus seem to be extended to its political status: strictly speaking, there should be other *vici* in the tribe, though their whereabouts are unknown. Petuaria, however, is for Britain a most unusual kind of *vicus*, for the term mostly describes civilian annexes to military sites in the North, of which examples are the *canabae* which anticipate the *colonia* at York or civilian Norton in its relation to Malton fort. Petuaria bears no resemblance to such centres, or to the other common form of village organization, a rural settlement controlled by a local official called *magister* and depending on the tribal centre for administration. In East Yorkshire this would presumably best suit the status of the Elmswell community. Instead, as the inscription shows, we have a self-governing community of part of the tribe with an urban magistrate holding position as aedile in this *vicus*: but normally the aedileship is an office proper to the full Roman municipal form to which tribal *civitates* aspired. The nearest parallel to this official at Petuaria is an aedile of a *vicus* among the Senones in Gaul, a tribe of kindred stock. Clearly, the Roman laissez-faire had paid handsome dividends, for within 70 years this British canton, left to itself, had become so enamoured of Roman institutions and customs that it was expressing the conventional loyalty to the throne through Roman political and religious formulae, and was aping, though in a somewhat individualistic manner, the fully-fledged municipal institutions to which it was not, in theory, entitled. Moreover, the community was sophisticated enough to introduce such amenities as the theatre, on the Roman model and through the Roman method of magisterial benefaction.

It is indeed surprising to find so small and remote a community providing such urban amenities as early as A.D.150, and both the title of the official and the nature and manner of his dedication stand out as warning against too easy an acceptance of the notion of backwardness among the Parisi. The town and its chief inhabitants, in fact, pursued eagerly the Roman ideal of city life at this time. By the 4th century, they had evidently attained their ambition. The *numerus Petuerensium* then at Malton implies, by its name, that Petuaria had so extended its authority as to represent the whole body of the Parisi and now was, in effect, the tribal capital. However, as distinct from centres like Ratae Coritanorum, where the name shows the town recognized from the first as the centre for the whole tribe, here the capital of the part had given its name to the whole. Yet despite its importance on paper and its massive defences in the 4th century, Petuaria is by then a dwindling town. Excavations clearly indicate

this lack of progress. A rapid advance towards normality on the Roman pattern, however diligently fostered by the earlier townsmen and others, might yet prove too swift for the natives of the countryside. The Parisian notable, a priest who was buried with his ceremonial bucket and sceptres at Brough a generation or so before Januarius' dedication, may well be more in line with the native British tradition. His ceremonial gear reveals the underlying native culture receiving a more leisurely Romanizing influence than that represented by the brash and ambitious Januarius. Here, it may be, is a surer fusion of Roman and native than that shown by the combination of squalid native huts and high-faluting civic amenities contained in Petuaria. In another sphere later, this slower process may be seen to produce the remarkable Rudston pavement, where the theme and background of taste are completely Roman while the standard of execution is rustic and local in the extreme. The Romans had, in their first definition of status and privileges, accepted a regional individualism, and had then encouraged a tendency to imitate polite society on their own model. The result was a tension between centrifugal and centralizing forces, which may in part explain the comparatively late development of the area.

From its inception, the Roman peace posed a problem for the native nobility, and through them, for the peasantry. Before the Romans came, the noble's importance had demanded a primarily pastoral economy: arable farming, however important to the villagers, was not the yardstick by which his position was measured. With the arrival of Roman forces, not only his political but also his economic and social position changed, and with it the method of agriculture, the more strikingly as the take-over was so uneventful. The immediate demand, under *Cerealis* and *Agricola*, was almost certainly for corn: stock for draught and remounts could mostly be confiscated from late enemies like the Brigantes, although in the long run the Parisi too probably had to provide their quota for the army requisitioning officers. However, the number of horses in the East Riding must have been greatly reduced: under the Roman peace, the noble warrior's retention of his war vehicle and stable would be tantamount to treason. Thus, at Rudston, that elaborate ditch system which had been constructed, as horse and cattle pound probably, not long before the Romans came, was filled in very soon after they drove to the north. Here the Parisian noble is seen to submit promptly to the requirements of the occupation forces, and so to experience a tacit direction of agriculture which was to alter the way of life of all his class. His armed independence was gone; his qualification for leadership in the tribe was not now based on military prowess. The main requirement was for corn and services, and he must ensure their production. On his Wold estate he rapidly settles down to the life of a country land-owner, and arable farming becomes his staple. If he grazes, as he must do on his fallows, his animals are now sheep rather than horses. Both utility and prestige require him to continue to raise some horse stock, for he is a land-owner and noble, and so will not normally be seen on foot, but the emphasis has certainly shifted to a more sedentary way of life. There were compensations, of course. In every province the Roman sought to deal with these upper classes in the tribal community,

to conciliate them and to retain them in their position of responsibility. Agricola's campaign of Romanization was designed to appeal to them, and they were encouraged to adopt the polite forms of Roman social behaviour: they could, through favour or merit, attain privilege, responsibility and franchise, and so identify themselves with the ruling power. At Rudston, the attractions of such a course for the owner are clearly revealed from the beginning by the quantity of Flavian remains there. He had soon recognised this new situation, and he and his class during the next three centuries can be seen to be closely linked, by vested interest and a sense of genuine responsibility, to the maintenance of the Roman peace. Hence the 4th century Vindiciani, land-owners at East Ness, actively maintain the security system of the Signal Stations, and the demand for a cavalry force was met by those wealthy landlords who were best able to provide it. The villas, developing from estates like Rudston, cannot be shown to have survived the fall of the Signal Stations as the villages to some extent did.

However, the coming of the Romans affected the life of the native village no less immediately. Here too, the inhabitants enjoyed a new and inestimable security under the Roman peace and, while fulfilling their obligations to the newcomers, experienced some rise, at least, in living standards. The quasi-military settlements at Staxton and Crossgates produce the required corn, and in return employ Roman wares almost immediately. At the purely native villages of Elmswell and Eastburn, between A.D. 70 and 110, the inhabitants clearly begin to use Roman products as soon as they can afford to do so. This conformity had its price, however. The traditional Celtic practice of metalwork, which had catered for the needs of the nobles, provided employment for the artisans and created an art of the highest quality, now had no basis in the social economy, and consequently begins to fail. In East Yorkshire, no later piece than the Elmswell panel (dated to the middle of the 1st century A.D.) has yet appeared. The local smiths then began to produce stuff less elaborate and more utilitarian, as is shown by the blacksmith's gear at Crossgates and the slag heaps at Elmswell. The artistic deterioration, revealed by a comparison of the Elmswell panel with the Brough sceptres 50 years later, may be regarded as part of the price paid for the security of this new order. Equally, in the manufacture of pottery, the coarser native wares continue to be produced for the poorer classes, but the black 'Parisian' ware of the best native tradition was driven out of existence before A.D. 150 by the importation of mass-produced Samian ware from Gaul. This was the stuff with which the Romans were familiar and its spread into town, villa and village in the 1st and 2nd centuries is the clearest evidence for the extent of Romanization, in so far as it implies the use of things Roman, and of a rise in living standards.

In country districts, however, this rise is not to be rated too highly or too soon. The development of the 1st century native farmstead into the 4th century Romano-British villa, and the steady progress there towards the identification of Roman and native no doubt indicate how far the upper-class tribesman could become part of this new provincial society. For the humble villager, the privileges

of civilization, peace and security apart, were more remote, the burdens no less real. Tribal society had long been oligarchic, and so were the Romans: the villager, therefore, now had not one master but two, the old tribal nobility in their new guise as leaders of the *civitas*, and the new Roman administration superimposed upon them, with more demands for taxes and produce. Hence burdens for the peasants were increased, for while order was maintained in the community and its dues paid, the Romans saw little cause for interfering. Thus the humble villager stayed anchored at the bottom of the social ladder, confronted by this identity of interest on the part of his betters. In the economic sphere also, any welfare schemes were the prerogative of the towns, and the peasant had no part in them.

With this increase in burdens for the peasant, the Romans brought no compensating improvements in agricultural technique. True, text books on the theory and practice of agriculture, on the Mediterranean pattern, had long been the vogue, and they were concerned to stimulate corn production here for the maintenance of their armed forces, but they brought nothing new in the way of tools or methods of production.

The rise in production for which they were responsible came either from compulsion or by accident: their forte was organization and distribution. Any improvements for the peasant were incidental to the increased demand caused by the presence near the producing area of a large concentration of troops and by the development of the military road system which could also serve as arteries of general transport. But always this increased demand was met by requisitioning through the *annona*. Thus the household economy of the peasant was now insufficient, and he experienced direction of agriculture, but there was no fortune to be made out of it while the administration took its share without payment. Hence, the progress of the northern villager towards civilization seems to have been one from the nearly brutal to the merely squalid. The construction of peasant dwellings in the 4th century generally shows little difference from that of the 1st. Circular huts, of wattle and daub as at Ferriby, or with stone, or turf wall, roofed with thatch and floored with cobbles, remain the norm. The central hearth still serves the villager and produces a layer of ash and occupation dirt to cover the whole hut floor. Ill-lit, ill-ventilated, smoky and dirty, such single-roomed huts remain the homes of peasants throughout the Roman period and beyond. Normally, such settlements were peaceful enough, for any ditches around them were delimiting rather than defensive, as the Elmswell village shows. Yet they have a certain individuality: the siting of the huts inside the enclosure appears unplanned, but their scattered formation is different both from the huddle of huts in the more exposed villages nearer the Border and from the centralized lay-out of some southern villages. Romanization here rarely went deep, and its impact upon the village can only be guessed at by the accidental survival of non-perishable remains, such as coins and pottery.

Elmswell is the best recorded East Yorkshire village and may, perhaps optimistically, be taken as typical of other settlements clustering on the ill-drained land around the upper waters of the

Hull near Driffeld or flanking the southern Wolds. Among them, Eastburn, Kelleythorpe and Bessingby are known, Eastburn, itself a 'rescue dig,' being the only one at all adequately reported. Elmswell was a large village, occupied before, during and after the Roman period. It is limited by ditches on two sides only, the beck marking the others. Its area was enough to allow habitation and industrial activity to take place inside it. A shallow drainage system traverses it, and habitation floors are scattered about at random. Corn was the centre of activity here, as elsewhere, but unlike Staxton and Crossgates, there is no hint of military influence, perhaps because it lies in the centre of Parisian territory and so was less prone to disaffection. Here are all the appurtenances of corn production in the traditional manner. There are kilns for parching the harvested grain, a method of conserving the crop used by Briton and Roman alike and the more necessary owing to the slower maturing types of grain then grown. There are working hollows where the village women prepared and husked the grain for storage, and pits to receive it after this preparation and used as rubbish dumps after a season or two. Numerous querns and grinding stones indicate further activity on the part of the women in the production of flour. The village made its living from arable: it was busy, productive and reasonably prosperous, so that ancillary industries are present also on the site. A bloomery and smithy, revealed by a dump of iron slag and a working hearth, must have been long in operation. Moreover, local ore can hardly have sufficed for work in this quantity: one must assume importation of ore and, hence, a remarkably easy system of communications for the satisfaction of such needs. Lime working also occurred, not unexpectedly here, perhaps for the cleansing and disinfecting of pits before storage, and the inevitable spindle whorls and loom weights indicate weaving activity by the women and an important supplement to arable farming in sheep rearing. Such occupations were the norm for any self-sufficient rural community. The famous bronze panel, with its associated enamel work and iron backing, raises this site from the level of the ordinary. If it was made here, (and while there is no positive evidence for bronze working on the site except for a crucible fragment, the panel's presence in such a village context is difficult to explain otherwise), Elmswell had a metal working industry of high quality and possessed a very diversified economy. Even if it was imported from elsewhere, the discovery of such an ornament implies the possession of articles of value here and raises the site above the level of mere subsistence. This is confirmed by the fact that even in the earliest days the villagers could and did use some good class Roman wares, and in this attitude they are no different from the owner of Rudston. By the 4th century, imitation of Roman ways led to some change. Then, instead of the traditional circular form, at least one hut has a rectangular shape and can boast one permanent article of furniture, a raised chalk platform constituting the so-called 'bed-place.' This imitation of urban amenities yet remains pathetically crude: the flooring still consists of cobbles, the roofing is certainly not of tile or stone, and the 'bed-place,' if such it be, (and a cooking pot discovered nearby shows that it was part of the domestic quarters), is far removed from the couches like those, represented on tombstones

of the urban middle class, which it seems to copy. The domestic wares used here are common throughout the north, the cooking pot being of Huntcliff type, but the slightly superior standing of the inhabitants is hinted at by a glass cup and a sherd of Crambeck ware inscribed with a conventional toast. This may or may not indicate literacy here, but it certainly hints at a relatively high standard of living.

In contrast with this are the 4th century settlement at Bessingby, with typically squalid hutments, and the even greater backwardness of the villagers at Blealands Nook, near Wetwang, as revealed by the contents of their burial ground. There, on the high and drier Wolds, they lived in extreme poverty and in a very primitive manner. Romanization, whether implying the adoption of Roman customs or the mere use of things Roman, had barely touched this Wold settlement. The pottery recorded from nearby is of the coarsest, but coins of Constantine are evidence for a late occupation. Yet the old ideas have not changed. The Iron Age custom of contracted burial is still observed, and more revealing still is the separate burial of pig and goat in the cemetery, not as burial goods but as offerings to sanctify the site. This survival of the old religious ritual in a settlement so close to a highway across the Wolds would be startling indeed, were it not matched by a similar situation at Millington. Here, near a Romanized settlement, tentatively identified as the Delgovicia of *Iter I* and which is certainly on the main highway from Brough to Malton, were found more contracted burials, indicating this same tenacity of primitive ritual. No less indicative of poverty here was the continued use of a pot, broken and repaired by plugging the hole with lead. Yet the settlement nearby is recorded as producing numerous evidences of a civilized occupation, including obviously Roman buildings and moulds for illicit coining, a very Roman activity and sure sign of a desire for higher living standards.

Two sites seem to show military influence of some kind in the 1st century, with features which distinguish them from both types of native settlement mentioned. Both Staxton and Crossgates reveal the usual circular hut floors, roughly cobbled or paved with chalk, and some stone walled. At first sight such dwellings are primitive enough and in the native fashion, but their appointments imply culture higher than that of the average peasant. Staxton shows that the occupants had their names or a measure of contents inscribed on their pottery. Such literacy at such a site and so early is rare indeed: another two centuries at least pass before anything similar is seen at Elmswell. In Staxton, too, the objects of personal adornment are of a superior quality, with Romanized bronze work and enamel which can claim artistic merit. Samian appears, and the whole site has the look and lay-out of an ordered settlement. The early huts at Crossgates, however fragmentary their remains, produce ample local ware. More revealing are the remains of a regularly shaped early ditched enclosure and the associated finds of sword and stone shot, implying some early military influence, and the blacksmith's tongs. The signs of a subsequent civilian occupation, when a rectangular building was erected with timber frame and, possibly, stone walls and tiled roof, continue the history of the

site on from the 1st century. After a period of anonymity in the 2nd century, it appears to regain importance as a purely civilian centre in the later 3rd century, when a small hoard of coins of the Tetrici discloses some material possessions among its inhabitants. Thereafter it was intensively occupied, revealing increasing prosperity in the 4th century with quantities of wares of Signal Station types. By now the village was similar to others: there is no trace of defensive works, and the atmosphere was peaceful. In peace and progress the villagers amassed property of value, to be kept under lock and key. But the huts remained, in accordance with native tradition, of the circular type, with central hearth and internal storage pits. Left to themselves, the villagers had reverted to the old forms and structures, but even so they were capable of devising improvements and innovations. One hut shows three concentric stone walls, with none of the usual postholes and no central hearth. Instead, a fire-hole and flue are found inside the central area of the hut. The expansion of this hut on two separate occasions indicates real progress, just as the intrusion of this novel method of heating shows some improvement of technique in the 4th century. In addition, iron slag indicates manufacturing industry in some form at this time.

Crossgates thus resembles Elmswell at the same time. Long acquaintance with settled life had produced in both villages a step forward and an increasing readiness to adopt amenities and to make innovations in the normal rural life, although Crossgates seems to show more traces of a mixed economy. Corn production again seems to have been the major industry there, querns and millstones indicating that corn was ground in quantity on the site, as also at Elmswell, but numerous bones of cattle and pigs as well as sheep reveal the natives as confirmed stock-raisers and meat-eaters, in this respect perhaps differing from the Elmswell villagers. Shellfish is conspicuous by its rarity, even though easily accessible at Crossgates, a very different situation from town and villa sites.

Roman *laissez-faire* and unconcern for the progress of the villages apart from the maintenance of order are equally revealed by their leisurely penetration of Holderness. This marshy region had little to charm them and, except for its coastal fringe, its fishers and fowlers long remained intact from Roman influence. Coins of Tiberius at Patrington, and of Nero and Vespasian recorded at the lost village of Auburn, show some of its coastal areas early linked with Roman influence in some form. Along Humberside, the navigable creeks and waterways determine the course of infiltration of things Roman during the next three centuries. Kilnsea is open to such influence by the middle of the 2nd century, Sutton before its end, Keyingham, Patrington, Winestead and Easington during the 4th century. Sites on the Holderness coast were opened up by sea: signs of Roman wares and some commerce appear at Hornsea and Aldbrough: at Withernsea, in the 3rd century, the natives had access to Roman wares and could amass Roman coinage. Yet the area as a whole remained probably the most primitive in East Yorkshire. Its northern portion, near Ulrome and Gransmoor, though not unapproachable from the Wolds or the sea, shows real backwardness even while it is connected with the outside world. At Gransmoor, where coins of the 2nd and 4th centuries have been found, another example of the continued use

of a pot of common grey ware, after it had been repaired with a leaden plug, reveals the poverty of some, at least, of the inhabitants. At Ulrome, on the site of the lake dwelling, Roman sherds have been disclosed and, nearby, flint flakes in association with a large storage jar, twin to that found in a 4th century context at Langton. In some respects, therefore, though they served the Romanized interior with the produce of their hunting, these marsh dwellers had barely entered the Iron Age.

The garrisons of the Signal Stations and their families show more Romanization than any other part of the rural community except the villas. Considering their responsibility, this is not unexpected: here apparently, the Theodosian defence system deliberately attempts to avoid such disastrous errors as the military authorities had committed north of the Wall, before A.D. 367. There the outlying observer corps had been allowed to identify themselves with the enemy: here, in the new observation posts, the garrison seems to have been carefully selected from the local militia, before being sent out with their families to their duties. They had certainly been conditioned to Roman ways, and they took with them the same habits of life as are to be seen in the garrison at Malton at this time. Family and garrison together manned the station and gained a livelihood from the land nearby. In their diet, they may perhaps be compared rather with the Romanized townsman or villa dweller than with the British villager. Variations in taste for meat occur, due in some part to differences in local conditions. Thus in the Wolds, the more Romanized settlers reared and ate lamb rather than beef, as in Langton and Staxton, whereas the native villager nearer the moors preferred beef, as at Crossgates. Here on the wilder moors near the stations, conditions seem to have favoured cattle raising rather than sheep herding, and discounting the meat obtained by hunting, beef is the main item of home bred meat for the Romanized garrisons at Goldsborough and Huntcliff. Thus the best evidence for their urban tastes is provided by the variety of shellfish on these stations. Mussels, whelks, limpets, oysters here form part of the diet, just as at Petuaria or Malton, Langton or Staxton. In contrast, there is no record of such tastes in the villages of Eastburn and Elmswell, and Crossgates, within easy reach of the sea, has produced only a few mussels.

Nor is this the only sign of a connection between townsman and garrison. Statistics concerning types of domestic pottery reveal a notable correspondence between the inhabitants of Catterick and those of the stations in their use of various kinds of coarse-ware. Such evidence, by itself inconclusive, tends to bear out the implications of a similarity of living standards suggested by the diet. Life here was something above mere subsistence or exploitation, and the women-folk could possess ornaments not merely of bronze or jet but of silver.

The Huntcliff well, into which the bodies of the inhabitants were hurled after the storming of the place, has preserved further evidence of their domestic activities. They aspired as near as possible to self-sufficiency. Thus, although they relied, for most purposes, on imported coarse wares of Knapton or Crambeck types, they supplemented them with home-made platters and bowls of wood, which have been preserved in the well as the wooden bucket was at Langton. Also preserved were a yard of home-spun cloth and a leather sandal. The

sandal, though serviceable enough, shows no great skill in manufacture, but the spinning of the coarse quality local wool and the production of cloth with a weave of herringbone stripe are part of a long established household tradition.

The Romans lavished their encouragement on towns and villas rather than on the villages, and here the inhabitants were more easily assimilated. Yet known towns number but two, and their size is small. In both cases, the initial impetus comes from the military, and the development of the community depends largely upon the presence or absence of the soldiery. Malton prospers with the presence of a garrison; with its absence, after fair beginnings Petuaria declines. Archaeology reveals these vicissitudes in her history. The 1958 excavations now show the Flavian fort as a well laid-out base, occupied for a longer period than was first conjectured. On north and west it is enclosed by the later town walls. Its northern defences run ESE from an acute angled corner at Brough House towards the town's east gate, with an annexe or emergency concentration area for troops and supplies adjoining them. The junction of fort and annexe is traceable at the gate in the changed alignment in the town's east wall, which here follows the Flavian lines. The western fort defences, running S by W, show a postern with timbered barrack blocks in rear, three phases of activity being observable in this early complex. The original British settlement, adjoining the fort to the south, consisted of a collection of crude native huts. This, the first invasion base in the North, remained in use until Hadrian's reconstruction, and it was this early juxtaposition of Roman and native which secured for Petuaria its pre-eminence as a tribal centre. As a civil community, Petuaria has a generation's start upon Norton, during which time the presence of the soldiery stimulated its development economically, socially and politically, so that, upon their departure, they left behind a civilian nucleus of Roman citizens and other notables capable of tribal administration and business activity, who set a standard of taste and conduct for the rest. Januarius' family had already received the franchise, probably as tribal officials on the Roman model, in Trajan's time: about the same date the local priest is buried in a location ordained by Roman law, and at Petuaria Derbyshire lead is unloaded for its journey north.

The departure of the military thus saw a strenuous effort to promote civil development on the Roman model, and a town site covering both settlement and fort was now envisaged. The native huts and the southern wall of the fort were cleared by the town planners, while the northern section enclosed at least part of the annexe and acquired a more regular rectangular form. The whole site was soon to be marked off by a rampart and ditch, the main road north lying oddly off-centre with many resurfacings as indication of its importance. The harbour gate in the west wall, so far undiscovered, must have been the most important of them all. Internal building in stone occurs in Hadrian's time, at first in a rather grandiose manner but soon continuing with more discretion, until under the Antonines the place can rise to a theatre. The period from A.D.120 to 200 is the hey-day of the town, but the early progress was not without difficulties, since these enthusiastic beginnings reveal an over-optimism which Hadrian's need for masons and engineers elsewhere soon

deflated. Thus signs of inferior workmanship were noted in the ensuing phase of construction. However, by A.D.150 the march towards urbanization had proceeded apace, so that the site, small as it is, possesses a civil magistrate, a civilized amenity and a built-up and protected internal area. Upon its rampart line stone walls were to rise at the end of the 2nd century.

The dual origin of the town produced some incoherence in lay-out and Petuaria probably never presented a regular rectangular shape. In Grassdale House grounds no sign of any south-western defences have been traced. The southern wall runs, east of the house, on a line approximately east to west with rectangular interval bastions, but somewhere near the house itself it apparently strikes off north-westerly towards the Ferry Inn. However, some buildings, the purpose of which is at present unknown, have been noted outside this line of wall in Grassdale grounds. The whole area is thus less than the estimated 12 acres, and despite its erection of stone walls at the end of the 2nd century and the alterations made to them in the 4th, it never extended further. Significantly, after both these efforts upon the defences and the contemporary rebuilding inside the town, no signs of any further urban development are visible. Throughout the 3rd century, Petuaria stood still inside its walls: in the later 4th century, after its effort to restore them, it dwindled, domestic quarters at this time revealing considerable squalor. The signs of vitality so exuberant in the Antonine period are never to be repeated. Apparently the community exhausted both its material resources and its will to expand by these efforts, ordained by higher authority, to ensure its own protection. But before this exhaustion occurred and perhaps from the very start of the town, it had attained recognition as the capital of the whole tribe. This certainly cannot have taken place, considering the town's appearance as a mere backwater, after the end of the 2nd century, when Petuaria was still ambitious and Malton yet undeveloped. In the later 4th century, a time of the greatest activity in East Yorkshire generally, Petuaria, the nominal capital of the area, stagnated or declined. The absence of new building, the dwindling coin lists which end with Gratian and Maximus (i.e. before A.D.388), and the sparsity of Signal Station types led pre-war scholars to this conclusion, which the excavations of 1958 fully confirm. A recent examination of civil life in Cataractonium (Catterick) has underlined more emphatically the contrast between its vitality in the late 4th century and afterwards, and the stagnation characteristic of Petuaria even earlier. The northern town continued to play a vital part in the economic and military life of the province long after Petuaria had failed.

Malton's situation and history were very different from those of Petuaria. Permanent settlement on the Malton fort site or in Norton does not appear before the coming of the Romans. The fort was, upon the evidence of archaeology, first occupied even before the choice of York as the permanent army headquarters. The large camp of the Ninth Legion, over 22 acres in extent, was rapidly replaced, under Agricola's governorship, by a turf fort of cohort strength. Under Trajan, the fort is walled with stone, but seems to have suffered in the disorders at his death. Under Hadrian and the Antonines, it was either abandoned or only partly garrisoned, to be fully re-

occupied before the end of the century following the disturbances connected with the evacuation of Scotland. Town life in Norton began with the coming of the army and was maintained during its presence. This initial fillip, which it received from those 50 years of military occupation, enabled the *vicus* to survive the reduction in the fort establishment in the 2nd century. Then the *vicus* shows more signs of life than the fort itself: in the section located between fort and river are buildings dating from the early 2nd century, with Hadrianic and Antonine material comparatively common. One such building, of the middle of the century, contained ovens indicating baking on a more than domestic scale. The reoccupation of the fort as a supply dump, revealed by the 'carbonized wheat layer', indicates peaceful progress through the 3rd century until the evacuation and destruction near its end, and Norton shows more signs of industry to meet this demand, with sizeable potteries now in operation. The town itself comes into its hey-day after yet another restoration and reoccupation nearer the turn of the century, in confirmation of which coinage of emperors from Carausius onwards appears in greater quantities. By now fort and *vicus* had become more closely interlinked both by ribbon building and by the normal course of intermarriage. Numerous infant burials appear on the fort site, and the *vicus* is closely packed with workshops and storehouses along the west of the road leading down to the ford. To the east of this road, a large house with several rooms, portico, hypocaust, mosaic and courtyard, discloses the high standard of living to be attained in 4th century Derwentio. The Pictish War of A.D.367-70 was a severe setback both to fort and *vicus*, but both show renewed importance and activity thereafter, as a base for the signal station system of Count Theodosius. At some later period, the last glimpse of life organized on the Roman model may be observed here: a final ramshackle wall in the crumbling fort and ditches, driven through these *vicus* buildings as a protection for the main road, show the disintegration of a society which had based itself on the town and the villa. At a comparatively early date evidence of the Saxon occupation occurs, with the strong probability that these newcomers were first settled here as part of the defending forces of sub-Roman Yorkshire.

The two towns, and the life in them, thus reveal notable dissimilarities. Such differences may be partly due to the incurably rustic character of much of the tribe, and even of many of its chief men. The attractions of urban life had less appeal, either being presented later and without the same overwhelming influence as in the south, or because there remained in the tribe a tacit but genuine reluctance to break with the older order. Consequently the towns were in the countryside but not quite of it. Their first construction and development were artificial features, promoted by encouragement from without rather than brought into being spontaneously by the tribe. In essence, they were more of a parasitic growth upon the countryside than a dynamic factor in its life. They were centres of administration and marts for commerce, the haunt of the middleman in defence, government and trade. In defence and government, they contributed the organization which carried out the demands of higher authority: in commerce, they were non-producers, for industry belonged almost entirely to the countryside.

The system of communications also had the greatest influence upon their development. The advantages of the central position of the Malton-Norton unit are at once revealed: equally clear are the weaknesses of Petuaria for long-term development. Petuaria is served by but one land route: admittedly, it served her well—massive bastions and frequent resurfacing mark its importance, as does the trail of lead pigs, waterborne from the Derbyshire mines of Lutudarum and unloaded at Petuaria, which have been found at Brough, Ellerker and South Cave. Yet in every other direction communications are by water, and in this her position was most vulnerable, for, with the military gone, there was no steady or increasing demand at her back from a large and concentrated market. After playing an important role in the early stages of the occupation, she had to face the overwhelming competition of the new centre at York, with all its advantages of geography, population and prestige. Thus the rise of Petuaria as a centre of commerce and urban life is early, her potentialities limited, and her development stunted. After her early role as point of discharge for the army of the North, the Romans were more interested to service their headquarters base as directly as possible. In their dislike of long sea voyages, and eager to exploit every means of supply, they soon began to open up a system of internal waterways to connect York direct with Lincoln and the Fenland beyond. So, in the 3rd century, the wine merchant Lunaris trades with Bordeaux direct from York and Lincoln. Sea-borne traffic discharging at Petuaria was thus reduced: moreover, river-borne traffic between York and the South need not necessarily call there. She therefore missed being a major port, and had to be content with an importance that was purely local and an economy which remained, at the most, static. An early start had sufficed to win her a local pre-eminence, but there was no good reason for any further development. Malton's position, in both geography and population, was vastly different. A garrison was there for much of the time, and this retention was of considerable importance, as its withdrawal was in Petuaria. A concentration of troops provided a ready-made market and required the services of a civilian population. Hence the original development of the *vicus*. With the 2nd century withdrawal of troops, the *vicus* manages to exist, but the whole complex, fort and *vicus* alike, leaps to life with their return thereafter and the consequent increase of demand. Moreover, its function as military storage base and supply centre led to the development of a network of roads in its vicinity. At least eight roads serve the town and neighbourhood, or connect it with the coast or York and the main military highways. Of these, if Derventio of *Iter I* be Malton (a reasonable assumption, despite a discrepancy in mileage) one is a main trunk road. Hence, the position of York as the civil and military centre of the North proved to be a stimulus rather than a deterrent to Malton's growth. As York grew, it also grew, for there a market, not a competitor, was found. Now, more than ever, it was the collecting and distributing agent between the producing areas and the centre of demand. Thus the economic life of the town depended not upon any production of its own, but upon the provision of ancillary services, consequent upon the flow of produce for which it was responsible.

Industrial activity, such as it was, for some time was mainly for

local consumption: hence the development of potteries at Norton, for Malton, and at Throlam (Holme-on-Spalding-Moor), for Petuaria. Only in exceptional cases did mass-production occur for the export of manufactured articles. Thus, industry in Norton and Petuaria is almost entirely based on the family workshop, and the type of premises is characteristic of provincial towns generally. It is a far cry from the shop buildings in the towns of Italy, and even further from the huts which house the village industries in the Riding. The normal combination of house and shop runs back at right angles from the road in a narrow strip. In essence, it imitated the shops and houses of Gallic and other traders, imported into Britain in the wake of the army, of which early examples are found in 1st century ribbon building along Watling Street at Verulamium. The room facing on to the street is the business premises, whether workshop or retail stall, the rear rooms being the family living quarters. Such a house might have a pretentious appearance. At Malton, the large house already mentioned in the *vicus* had an exterior with false portico for this front room, while the domestic rooms, entered from the side alley, show a presentable mosaic. This fairly opulent establishment was active in the 4th century up to A.D.367. At the same time there were other lock-up shops, invariably rectangular in shape, either built separately or formed from hired rooms in the front of the domestic quarters of houses. Such, presumably, was the goldsmith's shop in Norton, where a slave was placed in charge: certainly in the *vicus* at Malton itself, these rectangular buildings show ovens and furnaces for domestic industry from the 2nd to the 4th century. On the other hand, a smithy inside the fort proper must have served the garrison's needs and was part of the establishment. At Petuaria also, similar civilian structures indicate some small-scale bronze-working in the 2nd century, but this had long ceased by the 4th, when the building was reconstructed for more domestic uses, with coloured wall plaster and timber partitioned rooms.

Little remains of any movable furniture in such town buildings, but clearly there was a reasonable standard of comfort even for the moderately well-to-do. The style of domestic furniture in the towns is shown by representations of couches, tables or stools on the tombstones at York. For the more prosperous citizens and for public buildings, the minimum comfort required was that given by the hypocaust and central heating system, and a floor of flags or cement at the least. Lower class dwellings, though rectangular in shape and walled with stone, reveal their poverty by their lack of heating and floors of packed gravel. Upper class houses at Petuaria, probably all of one storey, had windows glazed, roofs tiled and internal walls decorated with plaster in many colours. Signs of movable property are to be found in objects of glass, bronze and iron. Keys, a deed box handle, brooches and other adornments of bronze, and large quantities of Samian ware hint at the tastes and possessions of these town dwellers.

Concern for public hygiene is manifested on both sites. By Roman law and custom, cemeteries must be placed outside the town, the only exception being with the burial of new-born infants. Thus to the north of Petuaria and outside the Malton fort and the Norton *vicus* the Roman cemeteries lie, while inside the town of Petuaria and the

Malton fort, as well as on the villa sites at Langton and Rudston, infant burials occur. It may be noted in passing that the long-maintained view, that these indicate a primitive form of birth control in Roman times, is not necessarily true. It should be remarked that this was the only form of burial allowed in built-up areas, and so the only one to be discovered, and that the infant mortality rate, as well as the expectation of life, which in York did not reach an average of 40 years, in Roman times was different from that today. One social phenomenon, confirmed by burials and inscriptions throughout the province, is that family life was of the highest importance at all social levels and devotion to the family most esteemed. Such burials may, and probably should, be regarded as indicating the conformity of the inhabitants to public law and family loyalties rather than any attempt at family limitation.

Drains from domestic premises indicate ordered sanitary arrangements in Petuaria. The siting of the original barrack blocks of the soldiery can be observed by the drains used as urinals. Similarly, after the construction of the town buildings, domestic premises boasted their outside drain and urinal. Some system of town drainage is also seen in the culvert which ran under the eastern rampart to empty into the town ditch. For water supply, Malton fort certainly used a spring, Norton river-water perhaps, or wells. Petuaria probably relied on wells, but water was stored there for some purpose, as is shown by the tank which, it was suggested, served as a storage pond for shellfish. In neither town have the public baths yet been discovered, but these almost certainly existed, for they were one of the prime essentials, holding priority over such less immediate needs as the theatre.

Linked with these towns and, like them, sheltered by the protection of the 4th century signal stations, lie the villas scattered throughout the East Riding. The villa and the village exist simultaneously as the more and the less Romanized economic unit in the country life of Roman Yorkshire, the villa usually being sited on the well-drained, fertile slopes, the village in water-logged or waterless districts. They are not exclusive of each other, any more than are town and village. But, in relation to the towns, the villa owners were generally of the same class and, in fact, were the same people as the leaders of the towns: the villagers were the commons whom the Roman government left under their control for administrative purposes. Both the Romans and the British tribes were oligarchic by nature, the oligarchy controlling the best land. The criterion of respectability had always lain in the possession of land since the first definition of the status of the decurion or town councillor under Julius Caesar, so to remain until the end of the Empire. Thus a town councillor must also be a landowner in Roman law, and on the coming of the Romans, the British nobles, already established landowners, were the obvious people to be used to guide their tribal communities towards urban life. From such estates as Rudston come the villas, but, for them to take the pattern which they do take, the town must be called into existence. Thus the rise of the villas is legally and chronologically dependent upon that of the towns, and they may be regarded as a sign of thriving but unpretentious civil development rather than one of decline. In the Western provinces, Britain included, the growth of the villa shows that the absentee landlord system, the bane of Mediterranean urban

life, had not gained hold in the 4th century, and the small number of colonies and municipalities founded here by the Romans themselves enabled the British provincials to work out their forms of society in a manner suited to their own character. Thus, these Yorkshire villas, in their position and development, confirm the importance of the relationship with the towns. Near both Petuaria and Malton, villas are found within easy reach. Malton has them close by at Langton, Rowborough and Musley Bank, and further afield at Hovingham, Harpham and Rudston. Petuaria has villas at Brantingham nearby, and further away at Bishop Burton and probably North Newbald. The claims of the country were regarded as superior to those of the town, for the landowners supervised their estates on the spot and went to town only as duty or interest required.

Unfortunately, the record of the East Yorkshire villas is in almost every case incomplete. The majority depend on the notices of 18th or early 19th century antiquarians (e.g., Bishop Burton, Hovingham, Rowborough); where more recent excavation has occurred, with records kept more methodically, the whole site has rarely been investigated. Indeed only Langton has received such treatment, and even there the companion establishment nearby had to remain untouched. Even Rudston and Harpham are only partly investigated. Clearly, therefore, however circumstantial our knowledge of villa life may be from these examples and the notices of the rest, it still remains deficient, with much more to be done, not merely in new excavation but in orderly publication of material already existing.

Two sites on which the beginnings of the villa may be traced are Rudston and Langton. Here the different origins reveal the various influences which gave the villa its final form. At Rudston, situated away from immediate urban influence though close enough to an important native village site, a pre-Roman steading remained in continuous occupation from the conquest until the end of the Roman period, and so gives some clue to the merging of Roman and native at the higher social level and to the development of a Romano-British way of life. Part of the original ditch system, boundary and stock pound both, was soon filled, but the site remained very much the same for over a century, the owner conforming more and more to the conventional pattern, as the presence of Roman wares indicates. By the 3rd century, the civil centres of Malton and York could provide a standard of taste for the polite society of tribal gentry, as well as an opportunity to dispose of their produce. Hence the first building in stone, according to the standards of the day and of the locality, then occurs. So the pattern of the town house, as seen at Malton or York, was transplanted to this estate and adapted to the requirements of the owner, who at the same time began to erect farm buildings of a more permanent kind than hitherto. By the 4th century, at least, the house could show its hypocaust and stokehole, bathsuite and mosaic, the latest addition being the mosaics of the late 4th century. Also by then it had industrial activity of some importance in the 'workshop'.

Langton, on the other hand, shows no pre-Roman occupation. Its earliest ditched enclosures, which are not now regarded as military works, are roughly contemporary with the Roman conquest, and may indicate the more settled conditions produced by the Roman

peace. Not until the end of the 2nd century is there any sign of a permanent structure. Matching the Severan restoration of Malton, a bath house, the outward and visible sign of progress on the Roman model, appears. Really intensive occupation starts with the beginning of the 4th century with baths, heated rooms, mosaic and, later, a verandah. Here too, the architectural influence is that of the town houses in Malton. To this period is dated the full industrial occupation, the so-called 'threshing-floor', a mill, storehouse and corn-drying installation. After some later destruction, probably in the Pictish War, there was again intensive occupation from A.D.370 onwards, the last coins dating to A.D. 395.

Harpham also, where a verandah has been revealed and some half-dozen mosaics of the 4th century, shows an earlier hypocaust building, with hearths and sherds of Throlam and Crambeck ware. Evidence of industrial activity exists in moulds and crucibles for bronze working, and in various iron implements, including a saw. North Newbald, most probably a villa, begins its occupation in the 2nd century, reaches maturity by A.D.220, and continues, with signs of luxury, until A.D.370. Brantingham revealed two mosaics and hypocaust of 4th century date, post holes of an earlier building below them, and coins of the 3rd century, all of which may be but part of a longer history of habitation. In general, the evidence shows that towns, villas and signal stations, at the end, stood and fell together, but in their earlier stages the growth of villas was conditioned by the life of the towns.

The villas are most interesting for the thorough Romanization, in so far as this reflects the assimilation of an urban manner of life, of their owners. They reveal all the features of town life, as adapted to the landed estate, and so are an extension of town life rather than a withdrawal from it. Industry of the family workshop type was translated from town to country, and the three best known villas show its diversity. At Langton, concentration on grain growing is indicated, with more scientific methods of harvesting. Also, there are, preserved in the well, indications of other necessary, but subsidiary, crafts—bone carding combs and spindle whorls for wool, and worked wood, oak being used for timber and ash for domestic utensils such as buckets. Harpham reveals bronze working on the same pattern as in the towns, and the collection of tools indicates other activities. The Rudston 'workshop' gives the clearest view of what usually went on. A lean-to structure, with one end open for light and air, encloses the spares and materials of the builder's yard, and here, presumably, the materials for the villa's pavements were worked, the *tesserae*, of local origin except for imported yellow sandstone, still lying tidily in heaps. Numerous ovens of different types hint at some other activity than corn growing, possibly tanning or dyeworking. Thus Rudston may well exemplify the mixed Wold farming of Roman times: arable required a two-year fallow and natural manure, and the owner capitalizes on this agricultural routine by the domestic processing of animal by-products.

Standards of taste and comfort are revealed by the lay-out and workmanship in the villas. Hypocausts, mosaics and wall-plaster, characteristic of houses in town, in these country establishments became the minimum for comfort and, it may be suspected, for

social snobbery too. In their execution, the requirement was a colourful and decorative display, not only on floor and walls of the main rooms but, as is shown at Rudston, in the bath suite and in certain subsidiary buildings. Highly artistic reproduction was not needed: liveliness and colour certainly were. The Parisian squirearchy here shows a preference for high colour which characterizes domestic decoration elsewhere in the province and the Roman world. However defective the execution at times, the underlying motif and taste are never out of keeping with those of the day. Admittedly the wall plasters at Verulamium or at Lullingstone (Kent) show a higher standard of artistry and more elaboration in subject matter, and many examples of better craftsmanship in mosaic exist in the more refined south, but what is most striking about these Yorkshire examples is the unhesitating acceptance of the fashion and of the conventions in which that fashion was expressed. Here a strongly class-conscious society expresses itself in the standards of taste normal for the same social stratum elsewhere. It was *de rigueur* to have an establishment with one or more mosaics, and to have one's walls decorated with fashionable display. Thus the basic similarity in the geometric designs at Brantingham, Harpham and Rudston probably indicates not only the availability of the same pattern book, but also the determination of the customer to be at least as good as, and if possible better than, his neighbour. An element of competitive exhibitionism is embodied in the artistic demands made by this select class in a remote community, for this was the visible sign of their entry into polite society. The surviving examples, however few, allow some insight into the ways snobbery expressed itself in this part of the province.

Here some of the tendencies which characterize the area in the political and economic spheres are manifested in that of social taste. In each case, there is a curious interplay between the ordinary and the remarkable which seems peculiar to the district, and indicates an individuality of form which the Romans readily tolerated. Here it produced an effort to attain a recognized civil status, but finds it in a variant form, it shows an early urban sophistication, yet reveals some retention of native ways: its economic progress was slow as compared with that of the rest of the province, but it became complete. Nothing is more typical of a Roman social institution or more indicative of wealth and luxury than the settlement of a slave in charge of a goldsmith's shop, yet in an equally typical and wealthy context, there are few examples of naive rusticity more complete than the Rudston Venus. Romanization made haste slowly and progressed by devious routes to produce a regional individuality which makes the unquestioning acceptance of the traditional spirit and the artistic convention stand out in clearer relief. The theme of the Rudston mosaic is the stock one, inspired by classical literature and often represented in Roman art, of Venus at the bath before the Judgement of Paris. The supporting scenes are no less traditional: Mercury, the Luck-bringer, bids welcome at the doorway, and there are conventional hunting scenes, birds and plants. It is the execution which raises this from the level of commonplace and is most eloquent of the desires and requirements of the owner. The workmanship is crude and the materials home made, though that could happen any-

where. But in the scenes of hunting, a pastime in which the owner would certainly indulge, familiar huntsmen pursue unknown and exotic beasts, a lion or a leopard which had never come within the artist's experience. Equally outlandish is his dusky Venus. Not merely unknown beasts but the beauty of the female form caused the imagination of the workman to boggle, and his incapacity to reproduce his pattern has given a mere caricature of his theme. But the significant thing is that the owner lived with this work of his commissioning, and was satisfied enough to wish to keep it. The 'fish' pavement also had its peculiarities. The workman was here more successful in depicting marine animals and vegetation than he had been with other figures, but this theme has been shown to be of African origin, and it is interesting to speculate how this pattern finally came to this remote corner of the most northerly Roman province, to be rendered by such unskilful hands.

The over-all impression given by the Rudston pavements is one of self-satisfied pretentiousness. Their atmosphere of polite vulgarity is emphasized, in choice and treatment of the theme, by a passion for antithesis which is typical of classical rhetoric. The central theme of the Venus pavement is, or is intended to be, that of feminine charm. The supporting scenes depict the conscious heroics of the pursuing male. The stag at bay, the wounded lion, the poised leopard and the rampaging bull portray masculinity in the grand manner, and this antithesis must not be indicated by pictorial representation alone, but must be specifically designated by high sounding and oddly lettered descriptions of the beasts, so that the whole effect is a conscious straining after contrast, which to modern taste verges on the ludicrous.

A similar tendency may be observed in the wall plasters. Small quantities had been found at Malton and Petuaria, but a more genuine appreciation can be obtained from the remains in the Wold villas. Langton, Newbald and Rudston have produced enough to disclose the schemes of domestic decoration in upper class homes. Some tension exists between the artificial and the naturalistic in these designs. Langton provides, along with a standard pavement of red and white and plaster in stereotyped panels of the same colours, a natural flower design of wild roses in an artificial background. Rudston has produced chiefly panel designs in red, but also with some white, black and yellow appearing, and these reveal a taste for the warm and highly coloured both in the bath rooms and the living rooms. Even here, however, some naturalistic designs can be traced. At Newbald, both the conventional line and panel designs occur and more realistic renderings of vine tendrils, grass and flowers, with more variety than elsewhere and five separate colour schemes at least. Redecoration here was done by plastering over the old design and then applying the new, so that each spring-cleaning could involve replastering as well as repainting. The rooms which the surviving mosaics represent must be envisaged as containing all the essentials of comfort, colour and taste demanded by contemporary society, with central heating, and windows of translucent glass to set off the decoration of walls and pavement. Into this scene must be set furniture, such as may be seen on the tomb of Julia Velva in York, itself painted, and also the brightly coloured clothing of the family, for

among the later Romano-Britons the toga had long since given way to garments more suited to climate and taste. Thus the colour scheme of the British outdoor dress, as found at Grewelthorpe, was green cloak, scarlet tunic, yellow stockings and leather sandals. Such clash of colour is perhaps too garish for modern taste, but the remains of the decorative schemes confirm that this then was the fashion. Moreover, from the many varied toilet articles which survive, one may conjecture that the fashion in make-up still remained that expounded by Ovid and observed by Juvenal in Rome, so that the lady of the house would present a face highly coloured with applications of red, white and black.

As regards taste, East Yorkshire was clearly on a par with other areas. Exhibitionism has its parallels elsewhere, as in the lengthy and involved verse description of Neptune on the Frampton (Dorset) pavement. A standard of workmanship which could range from the good to the downright amateurish was also accepted elsewhere. If culture be measured by literacy also, this differs little from other communities. Because of a late start and small urban population, the area was perhaps less articulate than others which had developed earlier, but there is yet sufficient evidence to show that literacy was not uncommon. Although literary standards declined sharply after the 2nd century, literacy, as distinct from literature, evidently did not. Both town and villa sites have yielded sufficient writing implements to show that it was common enough, as is only to be expected in such centres of social and business activity. The villages are a more uncertain quantity, however: in the 1st century, there are the graffiti from Staxton, but this does not appear to be a typical native village. The only other example of possible literacy in the villages is the 4th century graffito on the Crambeck sherd from Elmswell, and this while proving that the potter could write, does not necessarily show that the customer could read. *Stili*, as yet, are absent from village sites, and it must be taken that literacy there was rare. This is not unexpected: education among the Romans was confined to those classes who could pay for it, and evidence for it is thus concentrated in towns and villas. Even in Malton, where facilities for education probably existed and the practice of writing was certainly more common, a humble person like L. Servenius Super blunders in spelling his own name.

Nor can the level of culture be assessed simply from the forms of expression in the Latin of the area, as some critics, often with much inaccuracy, have attempted to do. Because of an alleged disagreement in gender between '*taurus*' and '*omicida*' as inscribed on the Venus pavement, it is still said, for instance, that the master of Rudston or his mason or both were almost illiterate. Reference to a Latin dictionary will dispose of this absurdity and reveal the 4th century native as having a better command of Latin than his 20th century critic. Popular Latin, like 17th century English, had little use for rigid literary rules in spelling and syntax, and in this the local inscriptions are the same as those elsewhere, so that no judgement of literacy or illiteracy can be passed on the Malton magnate for the syntax of '*utere tabernam aureficinam*' or on the mason of Ravenscar for his botched version of '*magister*'. Such renderings, caused by popular speech usage or by misunderstanding an original draft,

could happen anywhere and are no indication of the relative progress or backwardness of the district. More important are the style and standard of such inscriptions. The neatly formed letters of the official inscription in honour of the Imperial House, set up by Januarius in 2nd century Petuaria, the ligatured letters on the tombstones of the Aurelii in 3rd and 4th century Malton, the tidiness of the goldsmith's inscription, and the rude lettering of the late Ravenscar tablet, all can be matched in other districts and, in their execution, are in keeping with the standards of the day. The lettering on the Rudston pavement can thus be viewed in its proper context, that of decoration. Combined with the high-sounding wording, it is a novel, if unsuccessful, attempt to use the letters as part of the decorative scheme. Hence the artificiality of the inverted A for V and its duplication for M. This was not the last time that decorative lettering was to be attempted in North-eastern England.

Consequent upon the Roman occupation, population mixture became increasingly important and all the easier, since there was no colour bar or religious persecution, except for those who persisted in inhuman practices, like the Druids, or, like the Christians, disloyally refused to participate in the Imperial cult. Although there was the annual draining away of men from the area—army recruits according to the tribal quota destined to spend their lives in auxiliary cohorts overseas and then to settle there—in their place there came a numerous, more heterogeneous influx, both military and civilian, from all parts of the Empire. Again, though immediately this admixture of fresh blood was more potent near the towns, in the long run it must have affected the life of the countryside. The soldiery seems to have fraternized with the local population at all times: in the earliest days at Petuaria, there is no sign of dissension between native and newcomer: at Staxton and Crossgates, some military influence comes into the countryside. Discharged veterans, like M. Aurelius Macrinus 'late member of the Imperial bodyguard' (*equus singularis Augusti*), settle near 3rd century Malton, while another Aurelius appears as a country squire near Thirsk. In the 4th century, the Malton garrison was almost indistinguishable in customs from the dwellers in the *vicus*. In the latest period, in the late 4th and early 5th centuries, the early Saxon settlement, near Malton and elsewhere, occurring in conjunction with a Romanized tradition, produces a fusion of culture.

In addition, newly arrived civilians would find the towns most congenial for their activities. Traders, merchants, freedmen, slaves, officials and their staffs would form the bulk of these. Thus Valerius Valentinus in Norton is engaged in manufacture, Scirus who makes the dedication to Mars Riga is probably a freedman, and the barely literate Servenius Super at Malton may be another. These imported their urban mercantilism and secured their own vested interests and advancement, and in time new elements were added to the squirearchy. At Malton, the more important ex-soldiers, like Macrinus would have this ambition, and probably attained it, and a similar record of service may have taken the family of Aurelius Serenus near Thirsk up the social ladder into the ranks of the local gentry. A fairly continuous change in land ownership could occur, affecting the upper classes. The native nobility, as a result of the new social con-

ditions sponsored by the Romans, began to relinquish the monopoly of land ownership, and a new type of gentry, whose qualifications were service and landed property combined, finally developed. Some such competition faced the owners of Rudston, who found it easier to go with the stream of Romanization. The ultimate fusion of the old native system and the new Romanized land owning class into one homogeneous squirearchy may well be found in the family of the 4th century Valerius Vindicianus of East Ness, with which the last defensive system is connected. By his time, a succession of land owning families can be traced, even in the few names left, from the 2nd century Ulpian, through the Aurelii of the 3rd century to the Valerius of the 4th. As for the peasantry, there is little information concerning the interrelation of native and newcomer. The anonymous, semi-civilian occupation of Malton fort in the 4th century shows a considerable mixture of population there, and probably, considering the spread of Romanized wares through the countryside at the same time and the signs of a higher living standard in the villages, something of the kind did occur. However, the innate snobbishness of the Romanized townsman and the conservatism of the peasant would make this a slow process, and the most obvious sign of it is that association of alien Saxon culture with that of Romanized villagers, which itself marks the beginning of the end for Roman Yorkshire.

The evidence for the religious habits of the local provincials again indicates general conformity with the standards and aspirations of the rest of the province. Admittedly, of the two early examples from Petuaria, one shows an individuality in ritual form and the other in dedicatory terminology, but they both reveal assimilation between Roman and Briton in religion, and the tendency towards fusion. Thus the ritual of burial of the late 1st or early 2nd century notable at Petuaria shows the survival of native tradition in the elaborate burial, the deliberate distortion of the sceptres and their burial with the dead, complete with ceremonial bucket. The bucket escutcheon, depicting a human head, also marks a survival of pre-Roman tribal ritual. Yet Roman influence is equally revealed both by the place of burial, in a cemetery situated in Roman fashion outside the settlement, and by the design of the sceptre heads. These, lacking the elaboration of earlier Parisian metal work, present only a clumsily stylized picture of a warrior, probably the native deity equated with Mars, who now wears a crested helmet like a Roman cavalryman. Later, under Pius, Januarius' dedication discloses the community's adherence to the Imperial cult. This local manifestation of Emperor worship, where the magistrate of the *vicus* dedicates his theatre 'in honour of the Divine House of the Emperors and to the Spirits of the Augusti', expresses loyalty to the regime in terms which anticipate the adulation of a later time. The formal language illustrates the reality of the tie which binds the community to the Imperial House, and shows that this centre, however remote, has not only not stayed aloof from the loyalties and ideals of contemporary society, but readily outdoes the Romans by expressing them with unusual demonstrativeness.

Equally significant of the harmony of Roman and British in a common religious attitude are the two private inscriptions from Norton. In terms common to such unofficial vows throughout province

and Empire, (for in its way the terminology of these is as stereotyped as that of official dedications) the first records a dedication by Scirus 'in willing discharge of a vow to Mars Riga', while the second, in recording the settling of a slave in charge of a goldsmith's shop, wishes good luck 'to the genius of the place'. The first shows how the gods of the Roman pantheon became less consciously Roman on their way through the provinces. As the citizens increasingly came of non-Italian provincial stock and lived their lives far from Rome, they could more easily identify the resident native god with a member of the state pantheon. The more articulate natives could perform this act of identification just as easily, for, without rejecting their tribal deity, they readily cultivated Roman gods as a sign of their fitness to be received as Roman citizens, and there was no difficulty in believing in a multiplicity of gods. Both parties unreservedly willed such mergers, and the gods of both Roman and Briton were therefore obligingly capable of syncretism, but the forms of religion thus expressed are those of a Romanized religion. So the god of the native aristocracy is equated with Mars, his nearest Roman equivalent—here as Mars Riga, in Somerset as Mars Rigisamus. Such identifications show the Roman's firm intention of making himself at home. Similarly, they readily pay court to the presiding spirit of any place whether great or small. Thus, elsewhere in the North, Brigantia becomes a 'Heavenly Goddess': here in Norton, the deity invoked presides over the confines of the shop with the more anonymous title of '*genius loci*'. Deification was easy in a pantheistic religion where burning faith was not required so much as formal ritual. For the Roman there was no fixed gulf between human and divine: divinity depended on the relative position on one ascending plane, and so Emperors, being not as other men, were fit objects of worship. Moreover, the Roman genius for abstraction and personification populated the world with gods; features of the countryside like Verbeia (the River Wharfe) or human virtues like Loyalty and Clemency are deified, and even Discipline becomes an object of worship for the army.

These examples of Romanized religion all originate from the towns. The country districts have been less articulate, although the peasants were no doubt equally devout and much more conservative in religion than the townsfolk or villa dwellers. Hence the survival of the older ritual of burial at Blealands Nook and Millington. A site such as the Rudston monolith may well have remained an object of veneration for the superstitious peasant even in Roman times. Even so, there are signs that Romanized religious practices were widespread in the countryside. Altars, such as those at Dunnington or that attributed to Cawthorn which is now in Lastingham church, imply the existence of wayside shrines: the roughly carved head of some deity at Kirby Underdale implies some rustic sanctuary nearby. It is probably mere accident that from the villas there are no more than one or two funeral inscriptions. Aurelius Serenus, who buried his wife Cosconia Mammiola at Sutton, near Thirsk, used the stock terms of Roman paganism, but the absence of '*D.M.*' from the recorded inscription erected by Vindicianus of East Ness may just possibly, though not necessarily, indicate a Christian family. Other than this, whatever the *a priori* arguments for Christianity in the area,

such as the presence of the bishop of York, Eborius, at the Council of Arles in A.D.314, there is no evidence available as yet to confirm it. The alleged identification of the apsidal outbuilding at Rudston as a place of Christian worship, or as a place of any kind of worship, remains more than doubtful in view of the excavators' findings that it belongs to a building complex earlier than the 4th century.

The achievement of the Romans in East Yorkshire presents a curious paradox, for, without importing any fundamentally different technique, by sheer organizing ability they drastically changed the life of the district. The Roman system of agriculture had little technical superiority over that of the *Parisi*. The methods of cultivation and harvesting remained the same, as did the system of land ownership. Rural society was thus the same as before—nobles, whether of the new type or the old, and peasants in varying degrees of dependence. But by creating a demand and providing a market from the earliest days, the Romans imposed, first, state exploitation and, later, a capitalist economy upon the old native system. Up to A.D.300 at least, the army, by its requisitions of corn, undoubtedly stimulated a large scale development of arable, though it may have meant little profit for the grower. The prosperity of the 4th century may be explained partly by the new system of payment in kind, resulting from inflation after A.D.250, and partly by the relaxation of demand for military supplies as agricultural self-sufficiency developed in the thriving military *vici* further north. By this time, corn production was the major industry in East Yorkshire and, to compensate for any slackening demand in the unprofitable requisition, there was the growing *colonia* and provincial capital at York, which at last allowed real profits to be made from corn under private enterprise and stimulated a demand for alternative products also. Langton shows an estate still wedded to corn production; Rudston experiments, perhaps with sheep and wool. However such capitalist development based on the new civilian markets was, for the Roman administration, essentially accidental, though it sprang from the earlier direction of agriculture which they had required. Their insistence had possibly caused some improvement in the type of grain in use. Iron Age Britain produced an inferior kind of wheat, and barley was apparently part of the Scottish crop, but 1st century Staxton reveals a carbonized grain that was probably oats, and 3rd century Malton certainly stored good quality wheat. Other importations were amenities rather than essentials: walnut at Langton can only be explained as a Roman introduction, and the cherry found there may possibly be another. With regard to stock, however, there is little evidence here of improved breeding inspired by the Romans. Various reports mention the small size of horses and cattle: the Staxton animals of the 1st century are small, as are the horses and oxen at Langton: in 4th century Crossgates, the cattle are noted as being of the small Celtic type, improvements in breeding coming only with the Angles. The old habit of killing off stock in autumn seems to have been maintained, to judge from the many remains of young animals.

The same tendency is revealed in the famous Yorkshire potteries. Throughout the North there is a long tradition of native pottery manufacture, and in the Riding an influence which reaches far back

through the Iron Age is traceable during the Roman period. Typical of this are the settlements at Costa Beck and Thornton Dale: at this last, indeed, an 'Aucissa' brooch and early Samian are found directly associated with such native wares, while at Langton similar 'Brigantian' ware is found with Romanized wares of the period A.D. 70-90. At Rudston too, the rough hand-made, loop-handled jar of calcite-grit ware, dated to pre-Roman times, emphasizes the crudity of manufacture and the strength of tradition, for the style is still in use late in the Roman period. Native pottery of this early date, originally home-made for the village economy, is the source of inspiration for the flourishing potteries of the 4th century. Until the Signal Station period, indeed, the dating of such coarse ware is very difficult because of this overlap, but clearly, throughout Roman times, these kilns, of which Knapton is the best known, produced gritted ware in the same tradition and by the same methods of manufacture as before. The only technical improvement under the Romans is the wheel, and the increase of these wares among the humbler households of the North in the 4th century is due to the more centralized system of distribution then operating.

Upon this section of the economy, the advent of the Romans seems to have made little impression initially: upon the higher class 'Parisian' ware, however, it was disastrous. This, consonant with the character of native society, had catered for a limited field among the upper class, and now, being native, it became unfashionable. The newly-arrived Roman 'went native' only as far as he must: he rather introduced the natives to his own tastes, as part of their subjection, says Tacitus sourly. Hence floods of mass-produced, heavily decorated Samian, suited to the taste and snobbishness of the Romans and their imitators, were imported by the shipload. Parisian ware thus disappeared by A.D. 150, but among the poorer classes of the towns and the peasantry, where there was no call or cash for politeness and fashion, the less refined native wares were still used and produced.

The greatest fillip to the attainment of a position of respectability by British manufactures occurred accidentally. In the 3rd century, partly owing to growing insecurity in Gaul, the production of Samian there declined, and communications broke down. Consequently, there was immediately an increased demand for British manufactures, which improved both in quality and quantity. Castor ware, from the Nene valley, began to fill the gap, and British pottery reappears in upper class households, and gains a steady footing in East Yorkshire, as elsewhere in the North. Through the 4th century, a steady stream of pottery flowing northwards from the Midlands testifies to the success of Castor in capturing its share of even more distant markets. In 4th century Catterick, for instance, some 10% of the pottery found is Castor ware, and in Crossgates, where Samian in its day never penetrated, some 3% comes from the same source.

The East Yorkshire potteries also grasped the opportunity, and ultimately their increased production went far towards cornering the northern market in the cheaper ranges, at least. Large scale production occurred at Throlam (Holme-on-Spalding-Moor) and Norton in the 3rd century, and at Crambeck (Castle Howard) and Knapton throughout the period, but reached a peak in the late 4th century. Of these, Norton and Throlam, both specialists in smooth

grey ware, seem to have been the successors to the early localized system of manufacture: each served a fairly limited area, Throlam covering Petuaria and neighbourhood and Norton the Malton—Norton complex. Each catered, from about A.D.220 to near the end of the century, for the concentrated, though limited, markets of the immediate vicinity. Their products never spread widely over the region, Harpham marking about the furthest limit of Throlam ware and Crossgates that of Norton, and they indicate either the beginnings of a capitalist approach to industry here or even, perhaps, some civic enterprise, similar to the municipal tileries of Gloucester.

Knapton and Crambeck develop very differently, each with interdependent specializations. Knapton long maintained its traditional calcite gritted ware in a hand made type. This style, with the advent of the wheel, was improved to become the Huntcliff type cooking pot and the cognate types of storage jar in the late 4th century. Then Knapton types flood the lower class market throughout the North, being found in Wall forts, Signal Stations and civilian sites. In the Signal Stations, for instance, and in 4th century Catterick, Huntcliff types account for about one half of the total wares discovered. Joint activity between these kilns is shown by the fact that the Crambeck potters used imported Knapton wares for their own domestic purposes. Crambeck, in production from the late 1st and early 2nd centuries and continuing, along with Knapton, to its peak in the Signal Station period, provides a slightly better class of ware, mostly in smooth grey or buff, painted with red. Some of this would not disgrace a good class dinner table, and calcite grit does not appear among its types. At Crossgates, one fifth of the whole, at Catterick, one quarter has been identified as Crambeck ware.

The scale of production and the wide distribution, as well as this interlinked specialization on the two sites, suggest a central organization for the East Yorkshire industry in the late 4th century. Though it would be in keeping with the tendency of the times for this rationalization of industry to indicate a state-run monopoly, there is no evidence for this, and it may just as likely signify capitalist enterprise.

The delay in exploiting this industry is typical of the Roman attitude in the first part of the occupation. Only when other sources failed and imports dried up, did local industry come into its own. One may suspect that vested interests, such as cut back Cornish tin production or prohibited the growth of the vine in the West, had some part in this delay. Significant, too, of a reluctance to adopt new techniques is the long retention of hand made types at Knapton. Moreover, there was little improvement in kiln firing or construction. Ovens were rebuilt after each firing, both at Throlam and Crambeck, so that the whole installation was a merely temporary affair over a furnace which in any case rarely exceeded four feet in diameter. The workers lived on the site and, at Crambeck, were buried there. Women were certainly active among them, and the general picture, both of personnel and technique, is that of the family workshop translated into the countryside, with workpeople often existing in some squalor. Though the production came from such small units, the produce was systematically distributed among the markets by some higher authority.

The curious feature of the system, whether agricultural or industrial, is its acceptance at production level of the time-honoured methods, with only the slowest improvement of technique, and the simultaneous insistence upon a highly organized scheme of distribution. It was the very success of the Romans which marked their ultimate failure, for the whole system smacked too much of exploitation and left a living little above subsistence level for the lowest classes. They might, at first, be better off than they had been under their tribal rulers, for at least they gained the security of the Roman peace and a status in law: but as the peace became less secure and the legal status lowered, there was little cause for them to identify their interests with those of their superiors. The peasant or herdsman, as likely as not, did not use the same language as his betters, if the analogy of the survival until recent times of Celtic terms among the vocabulary of Pennine shepherds is any guide. There was thus a risk of schism between leaders and led in Roman society, which the ability of the upper class to flout the laws designed for the protection of their inferiors did nothing to prevent. In Romanized Gaul and elsewhere, peasant revolts and banditry were already common: Britain, a late-comer, had not yet reached this pitch, but the material was there. The exploitation of the countryside was no doubt an economic success for the Roman system: that of the countryman was certainly a social failure, for he remained nearer the cultural level of the barbarians than that of his superiors. An association of native peasant culture and that of the invaders was not impossible, and the danger had been recognized in the 4th century. There had been examples of provincials preferring refuge among the barbarians to exploitation at home, and in Britain the alliance between the outlying 'areani' and the enemy had heightened the disaster of A.D.367. By A.D.370, the central government had banned marriages between provincials and barbarians, but nothing was done to raise the standard of the lower classes. Salvian, in Gaul, was to say the last word—'All town councillors are tyrants.'

Among the upper classes in town and villa, however, the case was very different, for the administration had been completely successful in its policy of integration. Thus, on the analogy of the rest of the province, local government on the Roman model survived, to be followed by the Christian Church. The identification of interest, cultural, political and economic, was complete, and the latest military forces of the district were those for which the property owners were responsible. This urbanized class was the citadel of vested interest and established order, and the success of the Roman policy of assimilation is shown, in the province generally, by the persistent appeals sent to both the secular and religious authorities of Rome between A.D.410 and A.D.450, and by the hatred which was to excite the sub-Roman Britons against the Saxon invaders so bitterly that they would refuse to convert them. In East Yorkshire too, the local authorities did not give up easily: the last ditches at Malton proclaim the continued will to resist, however impaired the resources might be.

The agricultural exploitation of the area under the Romans goes far to condition the course of the Anglian settlement of East Yorkshire. Their very success had made the area a more tempting one, and

the communications, which the Romans had opened up, and their acquiescence in allowing some Saxons in their midst, had shown the way. It is no accident, therefore, that the Moors received Anglian influences on the fringes only, for the Romans had penetrated no further. For Roman and Angle alike, they were 'more suitable for dens of robbers and haunts of wild beasts than for human habitation.' Again, when the pressure of invading settlers had brought down the capitalist elements embodied in the town, villa and landlord system, it was on village sites, which the economic development of the 4th century had rendered particularly attractive to a people of their attainments, that the Anglian settlement fixed itself most firmly. Eastburn, Elmswell, Crossgates, and numerous sites along the high-ways of the Wolds, show these villages as most congenial to alien culture. Here any surviving native, the women most likely, might without too much difficulty be associated with new masters, whose economy and society would not be unfamiliar in form. Meanwhile, however, the tenacity with which the upper classes of the society left behind by the Romans continued to resist encroachment, provided a shield behind which the native tradition and the Christian Church together could continue to exist and perform its work of fertilization elsewhere.

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