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Third Century Urbanization in Northern Britain

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THIRD CENTURY
URBANIZATION IN NORTHERN BRITAIN

by

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THIRD-CENTURY URBANIZATION IN NORTHERN BRITAIN

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Western Michigan University, 1985

The third century A.D. marked a period of growth on Roman urbanization in northern Britain, while in the rest of the empire towns and cities were being abandoned. Although this growth of urban centers brought peace and prosperity to a once troubled area, there is no written record that documents this success. Ancient authors considered Britain a rebellious province and unsafe to visit, thus limiting the information they recorded. The second century provides sufficient written information to describe the growing change of the north from a military province, but the archaeological information dated to the third century century is needed to describe the urbanization and stability that developed throughout the north.

The third-century historical record still contains many caveats, but in northern Britain most of the period is still void. Focusing on York as the center of Roman achievement, this paper will combine the second-century histories with the third-century arch-aeological remains to describe the radiating political and urban accomplishments in the northern province of Britannia Inferior.

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<div align="center">Brent L. Coates</div>

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The third century A.D. is described archaelogically and historically as a period of crises and decline for the Roman Empire. In regard to the province of Britain, however, especially the northern area from York to Hadrian's Wall, it was a time of peace and prosperity. Throughout the century, while the rest of the Empire battled against barbaric invaders, debased coinage, and numerous imperial usurpers, Britain lay beyond the chaos and developed as an independent and self-sufficient pair of provinces. In the last decade of the second century, the island's three legions had proved under the governor, Clodius Albinus, to serve as a threat to Rome and the latest usurper, Septimius Severus,who, upon his victory at Luqdunum (Lyons) in A.D.193, sought to punish the region which served as the basis of Albinus' strength. The wealth of the island, military and economic, was divided into the provinces of Britannia Superior in the south, and Britannia Inferior in the north. This action, combined with cuts in continental trade, was supposed to weaken Britain, but only served to increase the wealth of the provinces by forcing increased production of local products. Britannia Superior continued to add to its already prosperous economy, while Britannia Inferior, for the first time, had the opportunity to

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develop beyond the level of a military frontier. Although the
military served as the source for growth in the north the northern
province did gain civilian attributes. The colonia of Eboracum
(York) served as the provincial capital and as the major urban
center north of the Humber River. A growing civilian population
caused towns to spread throughout the north and added stability to
the lives of the soldiers while an increase in trade and industry
gave Britain a sound economy just when on the continent money was
being replaced with barter. Rural living, moreover, developed in a
manner that did not pose a threat to the towns as it did on the
continent. Such Romanization began in earnest in the north during
the Severan Age at the beginning of the third century. It was at
that time that the northern limes, or boundary, was firmly estab-
lished along Hadrian's Wall, with no future emperor having the
desire, let alone the time, to use northern Britain and the frontier
as a way to improve his and Rome's glory as had been the norm in the
previous century. Change had given way to stability.

Septimius Severus' policy was to keep the soldiers happy and
ignore the others. Although pacification of the natives north of
the imperial boundary helped to draw civilians further north, it was
the favoritism shown towards the army by the Severi that caused the
urban expansion of Britannia Inferior. This is attested to by the
combination of the historical information provided in the second
century by ancient authors and the archaeological evidence of the
third century that has only recently come to light. Northern

Britain's rise to prosperity in the latter period did not receive the attention that the military action did earlier.

The sixth-century British historian, Gildas, described Britain as "... ungratefully rebelling, stiff-necked, and haughty,"[1] which appropriately describes the Britons' attitude towards Rome in the second century. It was not so much opposition to the Roman presence, but, as other ancient authors reveal, a desire to play an active role in the empire. Through archaeology it has been revealed that northern Britain became more receptive to the Romans and their way of life. The Severan policy established a century of peace as seen in the third-century archaeological evidence, which also shows native acceptance with the expansion of Romanized towns throughout the north.

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[1] Gildas Sapiens De Excido et Conquestu Britanniae 4.1.

CHAPTER II

NORTHERN BRITAIN: A SECOND-CENTURY MILITARY ZONE

The second century was a turbulent period for the north, one
which created changes with each emperor that came to the throne.
Unlike the other provinces, Britain's role in the Roman Empire was
never defined. Britain did not serve as a bridge to previously
acquired lands, nor as a buffer between Rome and a powerful enemy;
Britain lay outside the Mediterranean world with no treasure or
threat within to cause an emperor worry. Ancient Greece discovered
that the distant land had a source of tin as early as 350 B.C., but
there is no mention of exploiting the source.[1] Not until Julius
Caesar did Britain officially become a part of the known world, at
which time Rome began using the island not as a province, but as a
toy for the Roman rulers.

Caesar never clearly defined his reasons for going to the
island; Druid aid from Britain to Gaul cannot be taken seriously
since the Druids of Britain lived farther west than Caesar advanced.
It is possible that Caesar saw this foreign land as his only means
to compete with Pompey's victories in the East. As quickly as
Caesar had gone to Britain, he abandoned it with no further mention
of returning. If Rome gained anything from this, it was a new

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[1] Herodotus 3.15.

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source of grain for Roman troops in Gaul. The first century writer

Lucan was the first to question Caesar's motives and ask what

purpose the island could possibly serve in the Empire.[2]

During the reign of Claudius, Britain began to serve the needs

of the emperors and continued from then on. Claudius had come to

the throne with no military victory and saw the conquest of a new

province as the best way to gain the title _imperator_ officially,

Britain was the only place available. Hadrian used the island to

satisfy his artistic desires by having an architecturally elaborate

barrier built: a seventy-three mile barrier that proved costly[3] and

did nothing more than "separate barbarians and Romans."[4] Following

the precedent established by Claudius, Antoninus Pius sought to

establish himself firmly as Hadrian's heir by increasing Rome's

holding. What should have been northern Britain's first period of

peace turned it into a war zone from the Pennines to the newly built

turf wall of Antoninus. Marcus Aurelius had no desire for the

island province but sought to defend his adoptive father's decision;

the Antonine Wall was abandoned during his reign but not without a

great deal of violence throughout the north.

Matters changed when Septimius Severus brought his sons to the

island to teach them how to govern the empire and train them in

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[2] Lucan _Bellum Civile_ 2.572, 4.134.
[3] David J. Breeze, _The Northern Frontiers of Roman Britain_ (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982), p. 88.
[4] _Lives of the Later Caesars_, trans. Anthony Birley, Hadrian 12.1, p. 69.

military matters;[5] Severus' intentions were personal, but served to improve conditions in Britain, especially the north. In all cases Rome had little or nothing to gain; however, there the emperor's actions were safe from challenge. Part of the charm of Britain was its distance from Rome which kept it shrouded in mystery. Military actions were reported as violent in this troublesonme province; the Boudiccan rebellion of A.D.60/61 seemed sufficient evidence for this and kept historical writers from wanting to go to Britain. They preferred to write from a safe distance, often interviewing second- and third-hand sources for information. The people heard only what the emperor wanted them to hear.

Although information about Britain was limited in Rome, its use was not. The frontier of northern Britain was in a period of flux, but not as a result of violent attacks. Personal glory for the emperor was partly responsible, but more importantly it became a military training ground for advancing Roman commanders. This, more than anything else, could be looked upon as Britain's role in the Empire. The second-century military governors of Britain show the province as part of a _cursus_ _honorum_ beginning in _Germania_ _Inferior_, than _Britannia_, and with Syria as the peak.[6] Such governors as Aulus Platorius Nepos (122-c.125), the builder of Hadrian's Wall, Quintus Lollius Urbicus (138/139-c.144), who undertook the Antonine advance into Scotland and built the new Wall, Gnaeuss Julius Verus (by

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[5] _Dio's Roman History_ 77.11.1-2.
[6] Sheppard Frere, _Britannia_ (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1973), p. 192.

158),[7] possibly the governor who settled the Brigantian dispute mentioned by Pausanias at this time,[8] and Quintus Antistius Adventus (in the period 169-180) who resettled part of the Sarmatian cavalry,[9] taken by Marcus Aurelius during the Danube Wars, in northwestern Britain, all came to Britain via _Germania Inferior_ preparing for promotion to the higher command in Syria. Their military careers were possibly influenced by their forerunner Agricola,[10] with grand aspirations of following in a line similar to Vespasian. Although Vespasian did not serve as a governor of Britain, it was the military experience that he acquired there that promoted him in Syria and later provided support in his campaigns to become emperor. The building of Hadrian's Wall, with its numerous forts that provided permanent food and shelter, made it easier for the military to move the legions to an area for training exercises.[11] During Hadrian's tour of the empire he showed a great interest in getting the military whipped into shape; it is said that the Emperor himself demonstrated what he expected from the soldiers and could be seen working with them individually. In Britain he is said to have "set right many things,"[12] which no doubt could mean the army. Con-

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7 Sir George Clark, gen. ed., The Oxford History of England 16 vols. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1981) Vol 1A: Roman Britain, by Peter Salway, p. 200.
8 Pausanias,Graeciae Descriptio 8.63.
9 Dio 62.16.
10 Tacitus, Agricola 40.
11 David J. Breeze and Brian Dobson, Hadrian's Wall (Middlesex, England: Allen Lane, 1976; reprint ed., Bungay, England: Richard Clay (The Chaucer Press) Ltd., 1978), p. 109.
12 Lives of the Later Caesars Hadrian 10.3, p. 68.

struction and garrisoning of Hadrian's Wall involved all three legions,[13] as inscriptions clearly show; providing exercise and an area for training, north of the Wall, in rough terrain while checking on native settlements.

Without the Wall, Britain lacked stability. As an island, Britain's only boundary was the surrounding sea, but how important was total conquest? In A.D.71 the governor, Quintus Petillius Cerialis, showed that the whole of the Brigantian land in Yorkshire needed to be controlled by Rome because of the Cartimanduan and Venutian Civil War. However, neither he nor his successor, Sextius Julius Frontinus, considered it necessary to go any further north. Total conquest was thought of only by Gnaeus Julius Agricola (78-84). Agricola had pacified the Britons by removing the grain tax from profiteers[14] and felt that the remainder of the island could easily be conquered.[15] A string of forts along the east coast of Scotland shows his intended purpose; yet Agricola was unable to move into the Highland region successfully. Although Agricola greatly furthered the Romanization of Britain, the emperor Domitian recalled him before his conquest was completed. Tacitus claims his father-in-law was wronged by the emperor Domitian, who was jealous of Agricola's success and let the Roman line fall back to the south: "Perdomita Britannia et station omissa, Britain was completely

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[13] Breeze and Dobson, Hadrian's Wall, pp. 64-70; The Roman Inscriptions of Britain (R.I.B.), Vol.1., inscription no. 1762, 1358, 1319.
[14] Tacitus Agricola 19.
[15] Ibid., 20-25.

conquered and immediately let go."[16] There are many assumptions as to why this happened, none of which support Tacitus. A shortage of troops to hold the area is the most likely. In any case peaceful relations were established and that was enough. Scotland offered little to Rome, the rough terrain and climate held little interest, and thus Hadrian's line represented the extent of land usable by Rome.

Unfortunately, northern Britain was not to be allowed the chance to grow along civilian lines as easily as the southern half of the province. The Hadrianic period would indicate that some such growth did begin in areas south of York and north of Lincoln, but this was limited when once again the military, under orders from Antoninus Pius, moved into Scotland. Where there was a military unit, there was a town, for the soldiers provided a steady source of income that permitted growth. With the beginning of the Antonine Wall in 141/142, the population south of Hadrian's Wall was pulled north to be closer to the money source.

Antoninus Pius had brought order to the empire; Upper Germany, Raetia, Dacia and Mauretania had all challenged Rome. Each marked a success for Pius, especially Germany where he advanced the Frontier, but none of them was sufficient for him because he had only taken what was Rome's to begin with. Military prestige was important to an emperor, as Tacitus described in regard to Claudius, who, one hundred years earlier, had become emperor only by chance, as did

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[16] Ibid., 38.

Antoninus Pius. Both required a military victory of great proportion to gain imperial prestige. Breeze, an authority on northern Britain, accepts such a claim and adds that it was the safest choice.

> Any military expedition there could be limited by
> geography and also no doubt presented as a reclamation
> of former provincial territory. At the same time it was
> so far away that the successful general would not be in
> a position to get too ambitious himself.[17]

Through Lollius Urbicus, the imperial legate, Pius "conquered the Britains"[18] and built the wall of turf and clay between the Forth and Clyde.

Of course no emperor would give such a reason publicly. Here again historians can only assume what the political and military motives were. Politically, Pius assumed that the _legio_ VI stationed at York and along Hadrian's Wall had pacified all resistance in between and that with a small military force, a cohort, peace could be maintained. Militarily, the emperor might have visualized the Forth-Clyde line a more strategic line of defense than the Tyne-Solway line because of the difference in length. The Antonine Wall was constructed on a line thirty-seven miles long, half the distance of Hadrian's Wall. Thus with a shorter line of defense the troops were more highly concentrated and not in just a thin line. In theory this makes good sense, but in practice it failed and caused problems for Rome and northern Britain.

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[17] Breeze, _Frontiers_, p. 99.
[18] _Lives of the Later Caesars_ Antoninus Pius 5.4, p. 100.

Although the forward advance met with no recorded resistance, its permanance was never certain. At the beginning of Pius' reign a great deal of construction took place along Hadrian's Wall, as noted in an inscription recording the building of a granary at Corbridge in A.D. 139.[19] This marks a delayed interest in moving north. Alone it seems insignificant, but when combined with two recorded statements, it helps to prove that the move north was more for personal glory than for practical reasons. The first is found in the life of Pius. The Augustan History states, "for he conquered the Britons through the governor Lollius Urbicus and after driving back the barbarians built a wall of turf."[20] It is possible that before the advance was made, Hadrian's Wall was improved and restrengthened by Urbicus and that, once completed, Pius felt it inadequate for his own glory and took advantage of the established peace for his own gain. Pausanias, in his Description of Greece, says that "Antonius deprived the Brigantes in Britain of most of their territory because they too had taken up arms and invaded the Genunian district, the people of which are subject to Rome."[21] This is the only record of the Brigantian revolt of 154/155. Some described it as a misstatement on Pausanias' part, saying that he had confused the Brigantii of Raetia with the Brigantes of Britain. However, once again professors Breeze and Dobson are the preferred and accepted

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[19] Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani, (C.S.I.R.) Vol. 1.1 inscription no. 84-87.
[20] Lives of the Later Caesars Antoninus Pius 5.4, p. 100.
[21] Pausanius 8.43.3.

source and conclude that a revolt did occur in the northwestern area of Brigantia in Yorkshire. The evidence is little, but accurate.

The most important evidence is a coin issued in 155 that portrayed Britannia seated with her head bowed. From this it is conjectured that a disturbance of some sort had recently been put down.[22] Because of the workmanship and limited distribution of the coin Breeze and Dobson concluded that it was minted in Britain. To go along with this is the sudden appearance of numeri from Upper Germany in the area. They are dated and defined by an unusual type of small fort found along the German frontier that housed the soldiers and their families.[23] Both clearly show a misjudgement in regard to areas farther south and to how large a military force was needed to watch over them.

If peace was assured and Hadrian's Wall no longer necessary, why was it not turned over to civilian use as military installations in the south were when they were abandoned? As early as A.D.146, building was still continuing along Hadrian's Wall by legio VI at both Chesters and Benwell.[24] Further evidence shows an auxiliary diploma from 146 at Chesters, indicating the fort was garrisoned by multiple units.[25] The southern wall may have been abandoned in some areas but clearly not in all. The fact that civilians were not settling in the forts indicates, perhaps, a hesitation to give up

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[22] Breeze and Dobson, Hadrian's Wall, p. 106.
[23] Breeze, Frontiers, p. 113.
[24] Ibid., p. 112.
[25] Ibid.

totally a sound military defense.

In the year 158 more significant rebuilding is noted south of the Antonine Wall. Two forts at opposite ends of the frontier indicate that the military was too far away; Birrens, an outpost of Hadrians' Wall, and Brough-on-Noe in the southern Pennines were both completely rebuilt by the governor Julius Verus.[26] These two sites do not show massive problems; rather, they reveal certain areas that had difficulties with local dissidents, a problem that would reoccur until the arrival of Septimius Severus.

The Antonine Wall was not a distant frontier unvisited by civilians, for wherever the Roman army went, so did the Roman tax system, and there were always those who served as collectors from the natives. Such towns as Croy Hill, Westerwood, and Bearsban reflect local economies that prospered from the military by serving as the middlemen.[27] The town refined the tax goods needed by the army and supplied by rural natives. Thus properous communities were beginning to form.

Between 161 and 163, however, something happened to weaken Rome's hold so far north. Whether a strong attack came from north of the Wall or a string of local attacks south of the Wall occurred is uncertain. What is known is that by c.163 the forts of the Antonine Wall were destroyed, most likely by the Roman army itself, since it never left a fortified structure in enemy lands and the

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[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid., pp. 116-117.

northern most Wall was abandoned. Another alternative is that Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, upon becoming co-emperors, rejected the need for this extra strain on the military and after struggling with it, were forced, in the end, to abandon their father's great achievement. Hadrian's Wall was once again the official limes, but the Roman army still patrolled the area between it and the Antonine Wall, thus not totally condemning the work of Antonius Pius.

It is at this time that Britain enters a new phase in its history; the province is not the center of imperial attention, but is still watched closely. Military problems still plague the north as noted in the biography of Marcus Aurelius, in the year 169.[28] How strong an attack is uncertain since all that was mentioned was "the threat of a British war."[29] Since it is mentioned in the list of problems that beset the empire shortly after the death of the Emperor Lucius Verus, it is possible that the problem occurred earlier, in 163, and that this just mentions all problems that Marcus Aurelius had to deal with after taking the throne.

Peace generally seemed to settle over the north of Britain, and the emperor seems to have taken steps to insure it. In 175, 5,500 Sarmatians were settled near modern day Ribchester by Marcus Aurelius following his victory in the Danubian War.[30] They were a

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[28] Lives of the Later Caesars Marcus Antoninus (Aurelius) 8.6.7, pp. 116-117.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Dio 72.16.2.

part of an agreement between Sarmatia and Rome in which 100,000
Romans were released by the Sarmations and 8,000 cavalry given to
service for Rome.[31] Inscriptions to Marcus Aurelius were numerous in
the northwest where the Sarmatians were settled and show the em-
peror's interest in protecting this area.[32]

The last two decades of the second century brought forth a
Britain that was free thinking and assertive in Roman politics, yet
once again a troublesome province. For this period the Greek
historian Cassius Dio serves as the major source with his Roman
History. Throughout the reign of Commodus Dio recorded a turbulent
period. Beginning in 180 the northern tribes beyond the Wall had
crossed over it, inflicting heavy damage on the forts in the east,
starting at Carrawburgh. It took the Romans four years to stop the
native advance.[33] It is at this time that the governor, Ulpius
Marcellus, who was highly rated by Dio, set forth certain measures
to prevent further attacks from the north. What these were is
unknown, but evidently involved a treaty to prevent a union of the
two principal races, the Caledonians and Maeatae.[34] This treaty,
when broke in in 197, greatly affected the imperial attitude toward
Britain.

An end to warfare brought unrest to the northern frontier from
within the army. The British army decided to take an active role in

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[31] Ibid.
[32] Breeze, Frontiers, p. 126.
[33] Dio 73.8.6.
[34] Ibid., 77.12.1.

deciding who should rule the empire. With the rise of Perennis, once loyal followers of Commodus quickly sought to place an emperor of their own choice on the throne. When their choice, Priscus, refused to accept, 1500 soldiers marched to Rome to protest Perennis' actions and caused his downfall and death.[35] This did not end the British army's determination to be rid of Commodus, for the island's next governor, Heluius Pertinax, later emperor, was Britain's next choice. However, Pertinax's loyalty to Commodus caused a mutiny throughout Britain when he refused to take part in the overthrow. Because of the severity with which Pertinax put down the rebellion and that used by Marcellus before him, the British army was left open to control by whomever could please them. Upon Pertinax's departure in 192 to assume the purple, Clodius Albinus worked his way to the top, becoming govenor of Britain and having the full support of the army.

Albinus suited the desires of the British army, for in 193 he became a co-ruler along with Pescennius Niger of Syria and Septimius Severus, who had taken Rome in June of that year. The following year Albinus became consul and shortly after that Severus defeated Niger in a battle that the latter thought would weaken Severus but which made Albinus co-emperor. Severus and Albinus were already making plans to remove each other. They met at Lyons on 19 February 197,[36] Albinus with a large number of Britain's troops, including

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[35] Ibid., 73.9.1-3.
[36] Ibid., 76.6.1-8.

those from the area between the Pennines and Hadrian's Wall.

Expecting success that would give him the ability to deal with any problems that would occur in his absense, Albinus had worked to fortify Britain before leaving for the continent. Fear of the Caledonians breaking the earlier treaty[37] led to Britain's early building of walls around their towns under Albinus, but it was not enough.[38] Albinus was defeated, leaving Britain open to attack, especially in the north. For ten years the frontier seemed to be on shaky ground.

A reduced military force left Britain's fate hanging in the balance. Septimius Severus as the victor had to insure total victory and control by dealing with Albinus' supporters on the continent,[39] while Virius Lupus, his governor in Britain, had the job of removing any dissidents from position on the island. Political opponents posed more of a threat than military opponents in a province; the southeast of Britain, as the political center, thus held greater importance, while in the north many areas suffered native attacks until Lupus was free to deal with the frontier.

Was it an all-out attack that destroyed all of the northern forts and towns from York to the frontier? This is the major question dealt with by all historians of the British frontier. Various archaeological excavations throughout the north have produced a black layer of soil that dates to the late second and

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[37] Ibid., 75.5.4.
[38] Salway, Roman Britain, pp. 263-264.
[39] Dio 75.5.4.

early third centuries, the time which is said to be that of the destruction of the north. This soil stretched along Hadrian's Wall and was said to cover everything south of it through the southern Pennines. However, this theory was discarded long ago, and today such writers on Roman Britain as Dobson, Breeze, Salway, and especially Frere believe that what is destruction at one site is merely decay at another. The fact that Lupus paid off the Maeatae to insure peace[40] with them does not mean that they were the only threat to the Romanized area.

As mentioned above in regard to the 154 rebellion, local natives did pose a problem in mountainous regions, i.e. the Pennines, northwest Yorkshire, and areas along Hadrian's Wall, and this is possibly the case for 197 also.[41] By the thick scattering of pottery and coins throughout the black layer, the Pennine forts clearly show total destruction. Highland regions such as these were less receptive to the Roman way of life, and when there was no military present, rebellion occurred.[42] Along Hadrian's Wall and in other regions it becomes less obvious. Forts in this region were abandoned with the move north to the Antonine Wall and were in an area where, for sixty years, peace did not last for any extended period. Between native rebellions and the army's own political interests it appears that refortification was not a high priority

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[40] Ibid.
[41] Salway, Roman Britian, pp. 222-223.
[42] F. Haverfield, The Romanization of Roman Britain, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1906; reprint ed., revised by George MacDonald, Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1923) p. 23.

and that this accounts for the collapsed walls in many areas. Some
forts along the Wall did not go back into use until the Severan
advance in 208, and no doubt were looted for building materials and
anything else that was left behind. The years between 197 and 205
are the beginning of the restoration of these areas. Virius Lupus
first secured the Pennines at Brough-under-Stainmore, Bowes, and
Ilkley. Succeeding governors followed the same line, restoring the
Pennine forts first and then those along the western end of Had-
rian's Wall.[43] The military presence ended any problems that existed
south of this line.

What of York, the major urban center and military base of the
north? How did it fare during this time? Each time the military
went back and forth from one frontier line to another, the situation
in York changed. Prior to the building of Hadrian's Wall the
legionary fortress served as little more than an outpost where the
northern legion spent its winter.[44] The Trajanic period initiated
grand building projects on the fortress, but the area shows no sign
of prosperity until A.D. 130.[45] This marked the completion of
construction on Hadrian's Wall and defined the area that York
commanded for the first time. York served as the headquarters for
the north and had communications with the entire area through the

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[43] Breeze, Frontiers, p. 131.
[44] R.M. Butler ed., Soldier and Civilian in Roman Yorkshire
(Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1971) "Roman York and the
Northern Military Command to the Third Century A.D." by B.R.
Hartley, p. 59.
[45] Ibid., p. 60.

roads that radiated from the fortress. The Wall created the security needed for the growth of towns along the roads going out of York. Such towns as Aldborough and Brough-on-Humber represent the north's early growth.

However, the transition to the Antonine Wall did have its effects. York did not collapse, but its central position in the north was being taken over by the northern fort of Corbridge. In all respects this should have led to extended growth of the civilian area around the fortress, just as Lincoln had grown when the legionary fortress there was given over to civilians as the army moved north to York in A.D.70/71. Lincoln was immediately recognized as a colonia by the emperor, while York, in 141/142, was never offficially abandoned and held no status. It was neither a major military force nor an official civilian settlement.

Sometime after the abandonment of the Antonine Wall, York did gain recognition as a municipium for the settlement on the left bank of the River Ouse across from the fortress. This is the extent of the information for late second-century York. Even legio VI is not mentioned as being fully stationed there at this time. York was not poor, but it was not thriving, either.

It appears that the political difficulties of the last two decades of the second century left York in limbo; it was neither a civilian center nor a military center. Because of this, some conjectured that the black layer of destruction in the Pennines extended over to York. Professor Frere's statement that "York

suffered no damage"[46] at that time, but only those areas with local military control, is accepted by all as correct as is the idea that the collapsed walls and black layer around the fortress represent the decay of disuse that began in 141/142. Not until the arrival of the emperor, Septimius Severus, was the fortress completely rebuilt and back in full use. Although 197 marks a weak point in the north, it was to lead to a greater development of York and the north in the third century.

The first years of the third century began much the same as the last years of the second century. Rebuilding of the forts throughout the north was the priority, except for York. For its legion, legio VI, was a part of the construction crew and spent no time in York before 207. This building gained further importance when at that time the governor, Lucius Alfenus Senecio (206-207), sent word to the Emperor that the situation north of Hadrian's Wall was out of control and that his presence was felt necessary to prevent an advance of the Maeatae and Caledonians.[47]

Seeing the chance for another military victory and also to remove his sons, Caracalla and Geta, from the easy life of Rome, the emperor eagerly set out for Britain.[48] Along with his sons, he took the imperial court, including his wife, Julia Domna, and the Praetorian Prefect Papinias. He would fight and rule the empire in Britain. This was the last time that Britain was to be used for

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[46] Frere, Britannia, p. 169.
[47] Dio 76.10.5-7.
[48] Ibid., 76.11.1.

personal gain by a Roman emperor and marks the beginning of peace
and prosperity for Britain as a whole, which held special sig-
nificance for the north.

York not only was re-established as the military center for the
north, but became a provincial capital with the title _colonia_,
governing the new province of _Britannia Inferior_. For the next
century no emperor came to change the boundary of the frontier.
Severus had fought into the north of Scotland, not to move the
boundary, only to make it more secure, and not for military impor-
tance, but for economic control of the trade between the two
provinces of Britain and its native neighbors to the north.[49] The
north was still to serve as a training ground for troops, but
strictly for training exercises to keep them sharp.

With the departure of Severus' sons after his death in 211,
Britain entered into a period of independence. In the first half of
the century the island remained loyal to Rome; however, when the
threat to Rome's control tried to take all it could to aid the
continent's sagging economy, Britain rebelled and severed its
contact with Rome from 260-296. Even without the Roman markets
Britain still managed to prosper through self-sufficiency. This was
northern Britain's first chance to develop along civilian lines and
break away from being a totally military zone. The north was sta-
bilized, and though its growth as a civilian zone was limited
because of the end of Rome's expanding western empire, _Britannia_

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[49] Breeze and Dobson, _Hadrian's Wall_, pp. 37, 115.

Inferior developed cosmopolitan towns and an economy with growing
industry and trade, and was the military headquarters for the
province. The achievements made in the third century were for the
glory of Britain and not for Rome.

CHAPTER III

THIRD CENTURY STABILITY THROUGH URBANIZATION
IN NORTHERN BRITAIN

The Severan policy in Britain marked a return to the Republican
idea that "good order on the frontier and perfect regularity in all
international transactions"[1] were necessary to protect Rome.
Stability only existed in Rome if the periphery of the empire was
pacified[2] through the acceptance of Romanizing influences. In the
Roman world there was no stronger civilizing influence than the
development of towns in a newly conquered territory. Although York
and its northern lands had been a part of the Roman Empire since
A.D. 71, the instability of the second century had prevented urban
development. With the arrival of Septimius Severus in York in 208,
a movement towards integration in the north took the earlier
Agricolan policy of peace through urbanization up to Hadrian's Wall,
which marked Rome's most northern and distant boundary.[3]

Security was assured through revisions in military regulations
and the law of Roman citizenship. Septimius Severus permitted
soldiers to marry while in the army and thus gave official recog-
nition to the native wives married to Roman citizens throughout the

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[1] Livy 9:45.
[2] Tenny Frank, Roman Imperialism (New York: The Macmillan Co.,
1921) p. 47.
[3] Salway, Roman Britain, p. 194; Tacitus Agricola, 21.

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empire. This was followed in 212 by Caracalla's <u>Constitutio</u> <u>Antoniniana</u>, which made the concept of a Roman population and a native population absolute--all were Roman citizens. Together these changes ended a period of repression and created the only frontier in the Roman Empire that for the next century and a half showed no evidence of the local population's challenging the Roman author- ities.[4] Rome gained a loyal army and the growing interst of the native settlements for Roman products. For as long as the Severi dynasty ruled (A.D. 197-235) the army was well cared for with donations and increases in pay. Encouraging the men to live with their families caused the <u>vici</u> outside the forts along the Wall to grow over the <u>Vallum</u>. The Roman army was no longer a threat to the natives; it provided security, profitable markets, and a well-paid career for their sons and husbands for their daughters.

The stability which Severus worked to establish held firm in Britain while elsewhere in the empire it ended with his death. The loyalty of civilians and soldiers went to the emperor and the province where they lived. Over a century earlier, Tacitus had written of the unwillingness of a garrison to leave its friends and relations for service in a strange land and uninviting climate.[5] Now that they had homes and personal property, the soldiers had a strong sense of provinicial duty and were less likely to mutiny for a usurper. With these elements Severus established the security that permitted the prosperity of urbanization to expand through northern

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4 Salway, <u>Roman Britain</u>, p. 194.
5 Tacitus <u>Histories</u> 2:80.

Britain.

Expansion of Romanized Towns

The third century is accepted as a period of decay of the Roman Empire in both the town and countryside because of invasions and inflation, the result of weaknesses along the frontiers. While Severus' efforts had little effect in protecting the frontiers of the continent, in Britain it was the frontier province of Britannia Inferior that prospered and protected its sister province, Britannia Superior, from the chaos across the channel. The division of Britain represented the Severan policy of prevention of a large military force under one commander along the frontier. Severus himself had been challenged by the two commanders with the largest armies; Niger's five Syrian legions and Albinus' three British legions. Syria's having been divided earlier by Severus in 194[6] is one of the strongest reasons why Severus is accepted as the one who divided Britain. Albinus had proven that Britain's legions could unite and follow their governors. The Flavian period had placed the main garrisons in the north, but in order for the troops to remain there, food had to come from the south. Control of grain, the army's major food source, gave the south the right to dictate policy.[7] However, the division of Britain served as a catalyst for the development of sources for the daily needs in the north. In the late second century the Cumberland Plain and the Vale of York held

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[6] Dio 75.3.1.
[7] Salway, Roman Britain, p. 196.

productive farms which the new government took steps to expand throughout the new province. York served as an inland harbor from which the goods could be shipped to the new northern port at South Shields. The latter was connected to the Military Way that serviced the forts along the Wall. With its own provincial capital the north gained control of its own destiny.

The end of the second century brought with it an end to southern growth as the consolidation of towns into permanent defenses became a necessity.[8] Although _Britannia Superior_ had two legions, the II _Augusta_ at Caerleon and the XX _Valeria Victrix_ at Chester, it suddenly lost the additional legion and auxiliaries of the north, which had served to protect the south in case of a rebellion from within.[9] Without the frontier for expansion, the southern province had to limit its urban growth to further develop its own rural industries to supply its towns. Whereas previously the south had control of northern production to supply the already Romanized southeast[10] and controlled the rights to sell to the expanding military in the north, it now had limited markets that were in a non-military zone. The Roman economy was dependent upon an expanding military frontier, and southern Britain in the early third century suffered an economic slump because of its suddenly

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[8] A.L.F. Rivet, _Town and Country in Roman Britain_ (London: Hutchinson and Co., 1958) p. 90.

[9] Salway, _Roman Britain_, p. 97.

[10] This refers to that area of the north around Lincoln that was part of the Claudian conquest which fell behind the first Roman _limes_ in Britain, i.e. the Fosse Way.

insufficient markets.[11] Contact with markets outside the province was limited because of the crisis on the continent.

Northern Britain, though, had only just begun to develop urban centers throughout and had the added trade with natives beyond Hadrian's Wall. In addition, there was the military community that rotated throughout the province and kept the economy active. All of this, combined with the peace established by Severus and Caracalla, served to make Britannia Inferior the most prosperous province in the empire. Its prosperity in the third century kept the emperors interested in northern Britain and was strengthened by the fact that governors were still sent at regular intervals in the first half of the century.[12] However, with the unusual appointment of Octavius Sabinus, of senatorial rank,[13] at a time when equastrians were appointed, Rome seems to have begun to lose control politically. Nevertheless, in the latter half there was great construction of roads throughout the northern towns; both Decius and Probus took an interest in improving the lines of communication.[14] The forming of the Imperium Galliarum in 259 and Carausius' independent Britain in 274 proved to serve as the causes for such

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[11] Paul Middleton, "Army Supply in Roman Gaul: An Hypothesis for Roman Britain", in Invasion and Response, edited by Barry C. Burnham and Helen B. Johnson (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports (B.A.R.), 1979), p.88; and Kevin Greene, "Roman Trade Between Britain and the Rhine Provines: The Evidence of Pottery to c. A.D. 250," in Roman Shipping and Trade: Britain and the Rhine Provinces, edited by Joan du Plat Taylor and Henry Cleere. (London: Council for British Archaeology (C.B.A.), 1978), p. 52.
[12] Salway, Roman Britain, pp. 249-252.
[13] R.I.B. vol. 1. 605.
[14] Frere, Britannia, p. 188; Jeffrey P. Sedgley, The Roman Milestones of Britain (Oxford: B.A.R., 1975) pp. 11-12.

internal improvements; after each period of rebellion the emperors made improvements on forts and roads, no doubt to keep Britain happy and show that Rome, though troubled, still wanted the island in the empite at any cost.[15]

The English channel separated Britain from the barbarian invasions of Gaul, and the reforms of Severus and his successors had established a secure frontier through partition, which weakened the chances of rebellion. Because of Severan treaties, improved relations between the military and natives permitted the growth of York to an administrative center which spread its Romanizing influence throughout the north, not for the promotion of military settlements for veterans, but for the advancement of civilian settlements of native and immigrant merchants and craftsmen.

It is only within the last twenty years that Britannia Inferior has been accepted by scholars as a separate province of the Roman Empire which held numerous Romanized urban centers. Prior to this Haverfield's thesis was accepted that the south contained the only major civilian centers and that the north was strictly military, aside from the colonia at York and the civitas of Aldborough which governed the Roman military and natives respectively.[16] However, more recent archaeological studies and interpretations have proven that northern Britain did not and could not develop towns along the same guidelines as other western provines.[17] Because of

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[15] Frere, Britannia, p. 188.
[16] Haverfield, Romanization, p. 24.
[17] See Appendix.

the clearly defined boundary of the Roman Empire, i.e. Hadrian's Wall, northern Britain was unable to grow beyond the stage of military settlements, for its economy did not have a new expanding military frontier to gain the markets necessary for funding urban advancements. Thus, Branigan has stated that "recognition of the full spectrum of urbanization in Britain"[18] has permitted the most common civil settlement in the north to be accepted as a "valid urban form without having to distort our imagination,"[19] i.e. the *vici*. These small civil settlements that grew up outside forts and gradually took on the appearance of towns, have expanded the theory of urban development right up to Hadrian's Wall.

A study of the Romanized towns of the north cannot be limited to just those towns that contain the structures of Roman luxury that Tacitus outlined as important civilizing influences.[20] Instead, settlements are accepted as towns that are "substantially" Romanized, that is, Romanized as much as the circumstances permit.[21] This refers not just to the availability of industries and markets, but just how far the natives were willing to accept the Roman lifestyle. Rome had no reason to force total conversion since it had no intentions of further conquest in Scotland. This greatly limited the type of Roman towns that developed between York and

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[18] Peter Salway, "The *Vici*: Urbanization in the North"; in *Rome and the Brigantes*, edited by Keith Branigan (Sheffield: University of Sheffield, 1980), p. 8.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Tacitus, *Annals* 14.32.
[21] John Wacher, *The Towns of Roman Britain* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1975), p. 37.

Hadrian's Wall: these were the <u>colonia</u>, York; the <u>civitas</u>, and the <u>vici</u>. The only other towns are referred to as Romano-British settlements. These grew on an evacuated military site and show no indication of favoring either a Roman or indigenous lifestyle, but rather, a combination of the two. Whatever the type of town, it is the third century which marks the urbanization of the north.

The idea of the town as the focal point of Roman civilized life was strongly stated by Pliny, who saw the necessities of daily life that the rural communities provided, but saw the towns as the centers of Roman life. From the town came administration, tax collection, trade, education, and protection. These were the necessary elements that Rome used to establish control in a newly conquered province. Such were the reasons for developing provincial capitals, which marked the rise of York in the third century.

Of all the Roman towns in all of Britain, York was unique. Unlike the southern provincial capital of London, York held an urban title, <u>colonia</u>. Yet, different from the other <u>coloniae</u>, Colchester, Gloucester, and Lincoln, the town at York worked alongside the army, which remained intact, within the fortress, while in the other <u>coloniae</u> it had been removed before the title was given. York's rise to success and position was due to the imperial visit of Septimius Severus and the royal court in 208-211, rather than because of distinguished service during the battles for conquest for which Colchester, Gloucester, and Lincoln had been recognized by previous emperors. London's position came from circumstances similar

to York; the former was a growing center of trade, easily accessible by a navigable river. Tacitus recorded that London "did not rank as a Roman settlement, but was an important center for businessmen —and merchandise,"[22] a status that never changed.[23] Thus its rapid growth and location on the Thames assured its importance. York had been chosen in the first century as a military site for strategic positioning and access to the continent via the Ouse and the Humber Rivers to the North Sea. In the third century Severus saw it as the only sizable town in the north that could hold his court, and thus it became the center for his preparations to carry out military action in Scotland. London's position was certain in the first century; York's became so by chance over one hundred years later.

Political Alterations

York's growth was both political and physical. It was the governing unit of the north and therefore it is important to note York's role in the Severan reforms, which further explains the archaeological evidence of wealth and prosperity found in the colonia.

Clearly the most significant act which led to northern Britain's prosperity was the division of the island into Upper and Lower Britain, yet it is one of the least clearly defined or stated acts in Roman history. The chaos of the third century only served to further prevent the recording of events in Britain. The only

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[22] Tacitus Annals 14.33.
[23] Wacher, Towns, p. 80.

surviving historical evidence for the division is found in two brief
passages; one in Herodian, which states that after the troubles of
197, Severus immediately divided Britain into two provinces,[24] and
the second in Dio in a list of legions that places the VI <u>Victrix</u> of
York in <u>Britannia Inferior</u> and the II <u>Augusta</u> and XX <u>Valeria Victrix</u>
in <u>Britannia Superior</u>.[25] The comments of these two historians, sup-
plemented by inscriptions, prove that Britain was divided, but they
do not include a date. Herein lies a controversy that would involve
a separate work of considerable length as to whether Severus or
Caracalla divided Britain, i.e. between 197 and 213. Numerous
studies have been done, but none can definitely state that Severus
was not the one responsible for dividing Britain.

In 193 and 197 Severus eliminated both Pescennius Niger who
controlled the five legions of Syria and Clodius Albinus who
controlled the three legions of Britain. Severus became the sole
ruler of the empire. After defeating Niger, Dio recorded, Severus
divided the legions of the province to prevent succeeding governors
from having control of such a large army. Therefore it would seem
consistent that the defeat of Albinus marked the same fate for
Britain's legions, as noted in Dio and Herodian above. In this
manner and in order not to weaken the stability he had established
in Rome, Severus worked to protect the periphery from a foreign
attack by lessening the possibilities of internal dissension on the
frontier.

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[24] Herodian 3.8.1-2.
[25] Dio 55.23.2,3,6.

The division made York the provincial capital of the northern province. An inscription dated to 237 has provided evidence that York and Lincoln were both in <u>Britannia</u> <u>Inferior</u>, which infers that the division in the east was south of Lincoln. Found in 1921 in a Roman wall in Bordeaux, built c. 300 or at least after the invasion of Constantius in A.D. 276, this inscription is one of the most important third century finds for understanding York. The inscription reads:

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          DEAE TVTELE BOVIG
        M AVR LVNARIS 111111
        VIR AVG COL EBOR ET
         LIND AR V BRIT INF
          ARAM QVAM VOVER
          AB EBORACI AVECT
               V S L M
          PERPETV TE CORNE
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In honor of the goddess Tutela Boudiga, M. Aurelius Lunaris
<u>sevir</u> <u>Augustalis</u> of the <u>coloniae</u> of York and Lincoln, in
the province of Lower Britain, [set-up] the altar which he
vowed on starting from York. Willingly and rightly did he
he fulfil his vow, in the consulship of Perpetuus and
Cornelianus.[26]

The consulship of Perpetuus and Cornelianus gives the date of 237. The monument's first significance is that it soundly identifies Lincoln and York both as <u>coloniae</u> in <u>Britannia</u> <u>Inferior</u>. The <u>Ravenna</u> <u>Cosmography</u> is the only other source to label Lincoln as such. York's status, on the other hand, had been questionable until this inscription was found. Only this epigraphic evidence, to date, defines York as a <u>colonia</u>; there is no written documentation. With the division dated sometime between 197 and 211, this inscription,

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[26] Paul Courteault, "An Inscription Recently Found at Bordeaux,"
<u>Journal of Roman Studies</u> (J.R.S.)(1921): 102.

then assures historians that York received its higher position no
later than 237. For the west Dio's list of legions, mentioned above,
places Chester in the southern province and the dividing line
somewhere to the north of this. Although Lincoln already held the
title colonia from the first century, its position was too far
removed from the frontier. York was the only other town of size in
the north that had roads connecting it with the frontier and other
major military and political centers throughout Britain.[27]

It is the title of York that historians use to date the
division of Britain. At present there is only one known inscription
that names York as a provincial capital, that is to the first known
recorded governor of Britannia Inferior, C. Julius Marcus in 213.[28]
This places the division during Caracalla's reign with no clear
reason as to why he would divide the province. No ancient author
supports this statement.

The problem is further complicated by the status of the
governors from 193 to 213. Britannia Superior had two legions and
was a consular province, and Britannia Inferior, having only one
was governed by an individual of praetorian rank.[29] However, as
stated above, the praetorian governor did not appear until 213,
which indicates that Britain could have been divided in 197 and both

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[27] "Antonine Itinerary", in Place-Names of Roman Britain, trans. by
A.L.F. Rivet and Colin Smith (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1979),
Iter I,II, V, VIII, pp. 155,157,158,162,167.
[28] R.I.B. vol. 1.1235.
[29] Sir George Clark gen. ed. The Oxford History of England 16 vols.
(Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1975) Vol. 1B: Roman Britain by
R.C. Collingwood and J.N.L. Myers p. 173.

provinces governed by one consular governor.[30] This had happened in Syria after Severus divided it. The province had continued to be governed by a single procurator.[31] Britain, too, could have remained a single procuratorship until Severus' arrival in 207/208.[32] Thus the aim of Roman policy in Britain, 197-207, was to gain military stability, since the first governors appointed by Severus spent their time in those areas hard hit in 197, i.e. the Pennines and Hadrian's Wall, where the task required experience. The appearance of M. Antius Crescens Calpurnianus as _iuridicus Britanniae_ in 202 marks an increase in the judicial affairs and the governor's need for help;[33] Albinus' adherents were coming to trial, the military was reorganized, and the province divided. It was an enormous task for one individual, yet Severus' conquest was perhaps recent enough to warrant caution and the use of one strong, experienced, and loyal supporter to govern the two new provinces until stability was achieved.

The title "legate" is important in defining the political division of military and civilian affairs. The legate of _legio_ VI did not call himself governor until shortly after c. 213. There are three governors who show this: Q. Antonius Isauricus, who is named

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[30] A.J. Graham. "The Division of Britain," _J.R.S._ 56 1966: 93-94.
[31] Ibid., p. 94.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Salway, _Roman Britain 1A_, p. 227.

in a dedication at York put up by his wife Sosia Juncina,[34] Cl.

Hieronymianus named on the noted Serapis inscription found under the

Old Rail Station,[35] and L. Junius Victorinus Flavius Caelianus noted

on a dedication at the west end of Hadrian's Wall "for success

across the frontier."[36] The last one is questionable in time;

however, the two former names are placed at c. 211-213 because they

are legates in the inscription. This could be due to the presence

of the emperor and his sons Caracalla and Geta.

It is possible that Geta and Caracalla were the co-governors of

the province, with the legate serving as the second in command. Geta

was placed in charge of administrative affairs of the empire[37] as

well as the civilian government of the two British provinces[38] under

the direction of the jurist Papinian. This further helps to prove

that prior to the arrival of Severus, a single governor watched over

both provinces. Caracalla, because of his untrustworthy character,

was kept with the emperor as second in command of the military. This

was denotative of the division of military and civilian roles in the

third century. The arrival of Calpurnianus further helps to subs-

tantiate the Severan division, since he served as a judicial aide to

the governor in civilian affairs, while Severus had full charge of

military affairs in regard to Albinus' supporters. Severus had

[34] Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (R.C.H.M.) An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York. 4 vols. (Leicester: Her Majesty's Stationery Office (H.M.S.O.), 1962) Vol 1: "Eboracum", p. 116.
[35] Ibid., p. 119.
[36] R.I.B. vol. 1.2034.
[37] Herodian 3:14.9.
[38] Ibid.

divided the province in two; why not divide the authority for additional security? York served the dual role of administrative headquarters for the empire and military headquarters for the Severan army. If York had not been recognized prior to 207, surely at the time of the imperial visit it was the provincial capital of Britannia Inferior.

Severus' division of Britain did not give the northern province its own governor immediately, since Romanization was not widespread beyond York. Only with the departure of Caracalla and Geta in 211 was the legate named governor. Thus in 213 G. Julius Marcus marked an advance in Romanization as the first such recorded governor. By 220 Tiberius Claudius Paulinus represented the north's acceptance of Rome's control and the stability it gave and was given the higher title of leg. Aug. pr. pr. prov. [B]ritanniae.[39] The imperial visit had served as the catalyst to the rise of York as an important political center. It could also be said that Rome was remembering the tragedy of the Boudiccan rebellion, which was caused by too many changes in too short a time by Rome. Northern Britain's tribes could have remained under local control through civitas capitals to prevent problems with York's gradual rise of power.

Any further discussion of the political offices is very limited and general. Because of an inscription mentioned above in regard to York as a capital, it is known that sevir Augustalis were present.[40] This respect towards the emperor's cult does indicate a greater

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[39] Collingwood, Roman Britain 1B, p. 161.
[40] Courteault, "Inscription at Bordeaux": 102-103.

acceptance of the Roman political system. However, inscriptions towards the other offices just do not exist. The presence of the _iuridici_ is attested above and had been present since Agricola.[41] _Decuriones_ in York are seen in four inscriptions. One is the tombstone of a wife of a decurion, Aelia Severa, described as an _honesta femina_, an unofficial title for women of the curial class.[42] T. Perpet(uius) and Aetern(ius) both held this office, as their inscription on a reconstrcuted temple to Hercules reveals.[43] Flavius Bellator[44] and Cla(udius) Florentinus,[45] on separate inscriptions, represent the third century rise of native Britons to political positions in the north during the Severan period. For other basic offices their existance is automatically accepted as part of all "urban communities either Roman in origin or (in theory at least) completely Romanized."[46]

Severus was successful within northern Britain in establishing order, as an inscription dedicated to Victory by a legionary commander, L. Julius Julianus, found near Hexham indicates.[47] The success was important enough to be inscribed in Italy at Interamna,[48] perhaps in recognition of the importance of the new province. In 206 the governor, L. Alfenus Senecio, recorded military control and

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[41] Collingwood, _Roman Britain_ 1B, p. 162.
[42] R.C.H.M. _Eboracum_, p. 128.
[43] Ibid., p. 119
[44] Ibid., p. 130.
[45] Anthony Birley, _The People of Roman Britain_ (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1979), p. 119.
[46] Ibid., p. 166.
[47] R.I.B. vol. 1. 1138.
[48] C.I.L. vol. 11. 4182.

success beyond Hadrian's Wall;[49] however, within a year Senecio sent
word that "an imperial expedition" was required to hold northern
Britain.[50] Both Dio and Herodian describe Severus as welcoming the
opportunity to campaign. He had already earned the title imperator
for military success that firmly established him on the throne, so
it was not as though he felt his power slipping. Northern Britain
in the past had served as a training ground for previous emperors,
and perhaps Severus wished to use it in this manner to prepare his
sons to rule.[51]

Severus refused any offers of peace from the northern neighbors
and proceeded to Britain, gathering troops from provinces along the
way.[52] The army was of such a size that some have described the
Emperor's intentions as Agricolan: a return to the idea of total
conquest of northern Britain. It is equally possible that Severus,
who knew his health was failing, wanted one last military victory.
For whatever reason, Severus decided to go to Britain, taking along
with him the imperial court, his wife, Julia Domna, and two sons,
indicating the visit was not to be short.

Prior to the imperial visit in the third century, the only
visible Mediterranean influence in York was a Roman-style govern-
ment. In the second century the civilian settlement across the River
Ouse from the legionary fortress had achieved the status of a

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[49] Dio 76.10.6.
[50] Herodian 3:14.1.
[51] Dio 77.11.1.
[52] Herodian 3:14.4.

municipium;[53] a community taken into the state from without. The people in general had Roman citizenship or at least had the Latin franchise. This served to initiate a government similar to that in Rome. There was a quasi-senate called an ordo where members were decuriones and ex-magistrates. It was a permanent executive body consulted by the elected magistrates, the quottuorviri. Upon becoming a colonia the only change was in the magistrates who became duoviri. Therefore, in looking at York as the leading town of the north, one can say that it had been Romanized in government.

The status of the north as a separate province required a number of political changes, changes that improved the position of the natives and brought peace to the north. This new stability took people further north, forming new settlements that grew into towns. Just as such well known tribal chiefs as Cuneobelinus and Carti- mandua retained high positions under Rome, it is evident that the local aristocracy of the third-century led the ordo in the new towns. The towns and their government were part of the Severan policy to protect the frontiers of the empire, but perhaps in the case of northern Britain Serverus made the province an official part of the Roman Empire.

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[53] R.C.H.M., Eboracum, p. 36.

CHAPTER IV

YORK AND ITS SETTLEMENTS: AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL APPROACH

York had risen from the ranks and expanded beyond the small canabae that grew outside the walls of the fortress. With the second century a town began to grow across the river, but showed little indication of advancing into a major provincial center. The arrival of the Imperial Court created a new importance for the town. The same thing had happened at Carnuntum on the Danube under Marcus Aurelius during the Marcomannic Wars, A.D. 172-174.[1] There, a legionary fortress and municipium existed and housed the emperor's army and Court during the wars. Along with the distinguished honor of the imperial visit, Carnuntum also received an imperial palace.[2] York, too, received a palatium or domus palatina as is mentioned in the Life of Severus.[3] The construction of a palace in York possibly initiated the change from timber housing of the second century to a greater use of stone and concrete, a fact which marked the growth of the colonia and other civilian areas in the third century.[4]

The colonia represented the final stage of urban development in the Romanizing process, emulating Rome, which served as the model

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[1] Eutropius Breviarum 8.13.1.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Lives of the Later Ceasars Severus 22.7, p. 218.
[4] R.C.H.M. Eboracum. p.9.

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and foundation of Roman civilization.[5] The title was granted by the

emperor: Colchester by Claudius, Lincoln by Domitian, Gloucester by

Nerva, and York by Severus. However, York represented a different

type of colonia. Instead of being a settlement for Roman veterans,

like the other coloniae of Britain and the Empire, York's population

was diverse and co-existed with the military beyond the walls of

the legionary fortress. The latter served as the center for other

coloniae when the military departed. The retreat to Hadrian's Wall

in the second century kept York as the major military center while

York's civilian population grew to profit from the needs of the

military.

Under the emperor Severus both military and civilian areas made

political advancements and, though controlled by the same imperial

legate, they remained separate units divided by the River Ouse and

functioning within the new province. Later on in the third century,

the emperor Diocletian officially separated military and civilian

government throughout the empire, but there are indications that in

Britain the political division occurred earlier. Since the Boudic-

can rebellion Rome had allowed the Britons certain political

privileges to create peace. York did not have a large number of

refined legionaries among its civilians and yet became a colonia. It

could have been yet another imperial means of pacifying the northern

natives by giving their town an imperial title and self-government,

while it was still responsible to the legate in the fortress who, no

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[5] Haverfield, Romanization, p. 14; Tacitus Annals 2:12.27;
    Agricola 14 and 32.

doubt, kept a close watch on the growing settlements.

There were three types of civilian settlements present outside the fortress at York: directly outside the fortress there was the first extramural settlement, centering on the southeast corner, the canabae; the colonia itself on the west bank of the River Ouse; and the suburban sites which lay south of modern-day Micklegate bar, as well as to the southwest and northwest of the canabae. Each one of these reflected the diversity of the urban population. Within the canabae lived the diverse element of traders and merchants from Gaul, Germany, Spain, and Italy; the colonia housed some legionary veterans and a larger number of the British aristocracy; in the suburban regions lived the Romano-British element of retired soldiers, who immigrated to the province, and native farmers. Together these three areas provided the necessary elements that a Roman urban center required: administrators, merchants, and farmers.

It was not in the third-century that each of the above came into existence. Their beginnings can be traced back to the late first or early second century. The canabae was the earliest settlement,[6] made up of the traditional camp followers who sold their wares in crude huts near the protected fortress. This area and the colonia were built over heavily in the post-Roman periods, thus limiting knowledge of both settlements. However, recent archaeological excavations by the York Archaeological Trust (Y.A.T.) have

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[6] "Sites Review," Interim 2 no. 3 (1975): 11.

produced new information.

The Canabae

Between the decline of the Roman occupation in A.D. 410 and the rise of the Scandanavian settlements in 860, there is no sign of disturbance on the fifty centimeters of soil that divide the periods.[7] It appears that the Anglo-Saxons, who arrived after 410, preferred the higher ground surrounding the modern day York Minster. There were, however, major intrusions in the canabae in the form of the numerous deep cess and storage pits of the Middle Ages. Where these pits did not exist the fifty centimenters of sterile soil protects information of the Roman canabae.

In one case numerous fragments of decorated and stamped Samian ware were found dating to the late first or early second century in the foundation trenches of what was a wooden building.[8] Unfortunately, the presence of potteries within the fill of the trenches makes their use as datable evidence uncertain. This is a common problem throughout the area. On the other hand, there are trenches on the southeastern portion of the Coppergate site that indicate a very early Roman beginning of the canabae, possibly as early as A.D. 71 when Petilius Cerialis established the Ninth Legion at York. Some of these by stain indicate that Roman timber buildings once occupied this site in the early Roman period.

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[7] Richard Hall, "Coppergate," Interim 8 no. 2 (March 1982): 22-24.
[8] Richard Hall, "The Romans at Coppergate," Interim 9 no. 1 (March 1983): 31.

In the center of the southwest portion of the same site the remains of two stone structures belonging to a later period were found.[9] One structure appears to have been nearly thriry meters long and subdivided into several rooms. Again, there is a lack of evidence for accurate dating. In this case there are no floor levels remaining that could provide a clue to the purpose of the building or its date. It could be Trajanic, representing the first stone structures, but the width of the walls and size of the building would indicate a much later period. To the northwest of these buildings an answer can be found. Here a set of inhumation graves were found dating to the late third or early fourth century by coins found in them. The above buildings are lower on the site, lower in depth and lower by the slope of the site.[10] All could be from the same period, but the lower depth of the building's could date them to the earlier half of the century.

If the earlier date is true, then it shows improvements in the buildings of the canabae. The width of a wall nearly forty centimeters indicates a building of substantial size, and the use of stone reflects the restructuring that took place throughout York in the first two decades of the third century. This, combined with a look at the information on the Scandanavian settlement, which showed walkways leading down to the River Foss behind the Coppergate shops, helps to prove that this area was the dock area with the above

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[9] Ibid., p. 32.

[10] Richard Hall, "Coppergate," Interim 8 no. 1 (December 1981): 25-29.

buildings as possible warehouses.[11] The Foss, in these earlier

periods, was wider and, as today, a calmer river than the Ouse, and

hence was more accessible for docks.

Although the information in this area is very limited, there is

evidence that can show the third century growth and improvements of

the canabae. For one thing, the settlement was not limited to just

the triangular section between the Foss and Ouse. The settlement

expanded further along the roads that ran parallel with the front of

the fortress from Clifton in the west[12] to the Guildhall and Foss

River in the east.[13] Architectural fragments make up the majority of

the remains, consisting of walls, capitals, and flagstones from what

are considered to be substantial buildings.[14]

At the modern day junction of Spurriergate and High Ousegate,

which was also the junction of two Roman roads, but on a more

northwesterly alignment, was found a third century bathhouse.[15] A

second-century necked jar found in a wall of the bathhouse is a

solid piece of evidence that this structure was a part of the third-

century development. The use of the necked-jar in the wall with no

third-century pottery or coins found with it in the wall or floor

provide the later date of the construction.[16]

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[11] Richard Hall, "Sites Review - Coppergate", Interim 6 no. 3
(December 1979): 10-12; Hall, "Coppergate," Interim 8 no. 2:
17-18.
[12] David Brinklow, "Romans Under the Raft," Interim 7 no. 4 (August
1981): 16.
[13] R.C.H.M. Eboracum p. 65.
[14] Ibid., pp. 59-61.
[15] Ibid., pp. 59-60.
[16] Ibid., p. 59.

Following straight down Road Five to the southwest corner of the fortress there is a set of buildings that are clearly third century in date. One originally sat on pre-Flavian and later Flavian alignments, and evidence has been produced to show further alteration to the Severan alignment in the early years of the third century. It contained numerous tiles stamped LEG VI SEV, and the floor had a scatter of coins from the time of Septimius Severus, Julia Mamaea, Elagabalus, amd Valerian on the top of it.[17] The number and variety of third-century coins with none later than Valerian, A.D. 260, shows that the building was used at the earliest in the first half of the third century. At some time after 260 the building was demolished and a road put over it and the other buildings near it.[18] Resurfacing of the late third-century road is seen by the fourth-century materials found on top. There are no other buildings in this region that left behind as sufficient evidence as the one discussed above. Its construction and destruction dates are assumed to be typical for the area, representing the third-century need for storage, and also, in the second half of the century and the early fourth, the need for wider and improved roads.

Between these buildings lay numerous others. The Royal Commission study of archaeoloigcal sites in York describes nine building sites, the majority of which were multiple structure

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[17] "Sites Review," Interim 2 no. 2 [1975]: 7.
[18] R.C.H.M., Eboracum, p. 61.

sites.[19] The information is slight, but the small size of the buildings would indicate workshops or just shops that sold goods.[20] This, combined with the work of the Yorkshire Archaeological Trust along the Coney Street river front that revealed raised structures of substantial size with large amounts of grain remnants, which indicates a mercantile area because these buildings were warehouses. The site shows continuous use from the first century through the building and rebuilding of the warehouses; third-century use is seen in their enlargement of these. They indicate York's role of supplier for the north, and creator of any changes in the canabae.[21]

With the increased position of Corbridge in the late second century as a supply station for the military frontier, York built up its dock areas to hold greater amounts of goods to supply its northern station. Septimius Severus, in his intentions to increase the function of Corbridge, turned York into the major port and shipping station for Britannia Inferior.[22] York was on a navigable river so that when it housed the imperial court the emperor must have felt it a waste of time to unload goods at the earlier port of Brough-on-Humber for reshipment to York. It can thus be theorized that imperial needs led to the York canabae's expanding its dock, storage, and trade area.

The makeup of the population in the extramural settlement was

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[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid., pp. 60-61.
[21] "Sites Review," Interim 2 no. 3 [1975]: 8.
[22] Eric Birley, Corbridge Roman Station. (London: H.M.S.O., 1935), p. 10.

of a motley group of merchants and tradesmen who leased land in the
territorium legionis, that which had been legally assigned to the
legion in garrison. These people were given use of the land for a
lustrum or five-year period, land which included arable, wooded, and
pasture lands beyond the settlement.[23] The simple community grad-
ually grew to resemble a town more than a farmer's market with
streets and sound structures. Inscriptions to various gods found
·outside the southwest gate of the fortress indicate numerous
structures packed together.[24] Population increase and structural
improvements in the second century possibly led to the title of
vicus being given to the settlement, one which meant political
advancement; possibly it was separate from Eboracum across the
river.

Information on the area is found only in fragments, but never-
theless provides enough descriptive evidence about the community.
The third-century fragments for it are just as rare but do represent
a prosperous community. Found in modern day Fishergate, a funerary
monument of a lady's portrait-statue is one example.[25] The head is
life size, ten inches, with her hair parted down the middle, waved,
drawn back over the ears and turned up behind in a chignon, a
coiffure common in the middle third century. Two other burials show
people of position and wealth found in Castle Yard. One of a
centurion with an elaborate inscription on his coffin dated to this

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[23] R.C.H.M., Eboracum, p. 35.
[24] Ibid., p. 119.
[25] Ibid., p. 131.

period by the third-century abbreviation _Aur_ for Aurelius,[26] while a second is of the wife of a centurion, Julia Victorina, elaborately carved and with its monumental style inscription dating it to the third century.[27]

Architecturally there are significant finds that show that elaborate structures must have existed. Most of the carved stone is from highly-decorated monumental tombs. Bootham and Clifton both have produced carvings of sea monsters, sphinxes, Dioscurus and hunting scenes,[28] all signs of a person of wealth.

Since Severus was also in the process of rebuilding the fortress for an enlarged military role, a closer, larger supply base was needed. With such a massive building project right next door, it is hard to believe that the _canabae_ would not have profited from the army and that merchants would not have improved their own lodgings and shops. The army represented a steady supply of money. Thus, where crude huts once existed walls of cut stone sprang up from concrete foundations. These typified the Severan period; some even housed mosaics which covered the former dirt floors.[29] The _canabae_ became an organized well structured community.

The _Colonia_

Across the River Ouse was the _colonia_. This was the Roman _Eboracum_. In it lay the prosperity of _Britannia Inferior_, which

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[26] Ibid., p. 129-130.
[27] Ibid., p. 130.
[28] Ibid., pp. 78, 122,126,127,128.
[29] Ibid., p. 59.

represented the most Romanized element in the north. The presence

of the imperial family and court in the <u>colonia</u> must have had an

architectural impact to go along with the new political role.

Architectural improvements must have played a part in Severus'

visit to York and the north, since they did in other towns in the

provinces that he visited.[30] His wife, Julia Domna and court could

not be expected to live in military housing in the fortress. In

Severus' biography there is the mention of a <u>domus palatina</u>, the

building of which does not seem unlikely, especially if Marcus

Aurelius' Marcomanni Wars of A.D. 172-174, are compared to Severus'

wars in Scotland. Marcus Aurelius took his court with him to

Carnuntum where he had a palace constructed in the town that was

near the fortress.[31] This probably influenced Severus' trip to

northern Britain.

The reign of Severus was the start of a great building program

throughout York that clearly marked the beginning of a new period.

The Roman road to Calcaria (Tadcaster) that entered the fortress

still served as the main axis for the civil town, but construction

was now done on an alignment different from that of the Flavian and

Antonine periods. Archaeological evidence has produced significant

finds to prove this; the R.C.H.M. volume on <u>Eboracum</u> and the

Y.A.T.'s quarterly reports in <u>Interim</u> are the primary records of

such information. However, the finds are not as numerous as

historians and archaeologists would like for fully understanding the

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[30] <u>Lives of the Later Caesars</u>. Severus 22.1, p. 223.
[31] Eutropius <u>Breviarum</u> 8.13.1

Roman town.

A map of the archaeological finds in the town is profitable for the number of buildings found, but they are only fragments.[32] Not only that, there is little indication of the road system which further limits the interpretation of a site. Modern construction rests on top of the entire area and the matter is further complicated by having laid out the roads of today along the line of the Roman roads. There is very little variation among Roman, and medieval and modern. The few roads known prove this.

The _Calcaria_ Road today serves as Toft Green and Tanner Row, except for being bowed in the middle.[33] Micklegate, a medieval street, lies on top of a Roman road that ran parallel to the previous one.[34] These two mark the longest stretches of Roman road known in the area. Other finds can only lead archaeologists to assume that the small stretches of cobbling ten feet below North Street,[35] or the thick stone works under Bishophill Junior,[36] or the cobbled channel off Tanner Row were Roman roads and that many more are yet to be found.[37] Although such information would more accurately substantiate past and present archaeological finds, it does not diminish the importance of what is known, i.e. that the third century created _Eboracum_, the _coloniae_.[38]

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[32] R.C.H.M., _Eboracum_, pp. 48,50.
[33] Ibid., p. 49.
[34] Ibid., p. 50.
[35] Ibid., p. 51.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid., p. xxxiv.

The domus Palatina would have been the single most important
and largest structure in York. Only one such group of architectural
finds so far is considered to be the royal residence. In 1839-40
and again in 1939 construction done in the area of the Old Railway
Station produced fragments of very large buildings.[39] One was a
bathhouse that held a caldarium thirty feet wide and over thirty-
five feet long, second in size only to the one in Britain at Huggin
Hill, London.[40] Originally this led to the belief that this complex
was a public bathhouse, but it is now viewed, through Wacher's
study, as the royal residence.

Confusion is a major problem with the many buildings in this
group (34 R.C.H.M). Three of them are baths, including the cal-
darium mentioned above, and each one has its own suite of rooms.[41]
Nearby there are numerous structures in various states containing
polished floors of tesserae, plastered walls, or leveled floors of
concrete, all showing a similar construction of sandstone, limestone
and concrete.[42]

Datable evidence is not abundant among the remains. There are
no coins or pottery from any period. The use of wattle in building
and the stains of timber structures in the ground indicate an early
period of building, early second century, possibly. The most common
factor shared by these buildings is that they remained on the
earlier period's alignment and did not change from it even in the

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[39] Wacher, Towns, p. 156.
[40] Ibid., p. 156; R.C.H.M., Eboracum, pp. 55-56.
[41] R.C.H.M. Eboracum, pp. 54-55.
[42] Ibid., pp. 54-57.

third century.[43] It would appear that additions were made as time passed remaining parallel to an older road, Eight in the R.C.H.M., and not Ten.

A Mithraeum found further north is the closest to third century dating available and was on the Road Eight alignment.[44] Mithraism was introduced to Britain by the army in the third century.[45] The Persian god had many devotees in the army and arrived in the province with the Severan forces. A Mithraeum found at Carrawburgh indicates this by a dedication date between 198-211[46] by the prefect of the First cohort of Batavians, Aulus Cluentis Habitus of Larinum in Italy.[47] The relation of the Mithraeum to the other structures in the group is the concrete floor that appears in the baths. With Severus being a devotee of the eastern god, probably influenced by his Syrian wife, this helps to accept this building and the others of similar build, i.e.concrete, as early third century and belonging to the supposed palace.

The remnants of another building consist of the remains of seven columns, labeling it the colonnaded building. It was discovered on Railway Street in 1898, but unfortunately, because of poor records of the excavation very little is known about the building. According to Richmond the seven columns, three feet in diameter and six feet apart, represent, "an architectural solecism

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[43] Wacher, Towns, p. 156.
[44] R.C.H.M. Eboracum, p. 57.
[45] Collingwood. Roman Britain 1B, p. 263.
[46] Salway, Roman Britain 1A, p. 711.
[47] R.I.B. vol. 1. 1545.

in the form of a central column in the short side where convention
would require on intercolumnation."[48] It was surely a sizable
building, possibly a public building, such as a basilica.[49] This was
not a common style of architecture and could have been built by an
imperial architect during the Emperor's stay or shortly after.

There is a problem in dating the building. It was built on a
clay and cobble foundation, common in the second century, and in it
were found two hundred silver coins, fifteen of which, with Geta on
them, were the latest in date.[50] A late second century date is
possible, which would still place it in the Severan era. The coins
of Geta, though nothing is known of them today, could have co-
memorated his gaining the title of Caesar in A.D. 198, with the
building built to commemorate Severus' success over Albinus the year
before. The use of concrete foundations, typical of Severan build-
ings, might not have been common in Britain until the Emperor's
arrival, which could place the construction of the colonnaded
building to just prior to that date.

Aligned on the main road that entered the fortress were the
remains of five rooms of a house under Toft Green. Whoever owned it
was an individual of some wealth, as three of the rooms had mosaics.
They were in situ in various degrees of disrepair.

The rooms were of substantial size.[51] Room one was eighteen
feet square and separated from room two by a wall fourteen inches

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[48] R.C.H.M. Eboracum, p. xxxvii.
[49] Ibid., p. 53.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid., pp. 57-58.

thick. In room two, which was thirteen and three-quarters feet square, there was a large mosaic depicting the four seasons, surrounded by a meander pattern. The center had a Medusa's head in good condition, but circles holding the symbols for the seasons were badly damaged. Room three was eighteen feet square and had a wall only eight inches thick separating it from room two. Here, the mosaic was so badly damaged that only fragments of the border, minimally four feet wide, were found. The fourth room lay behind the second and third rooms and was sixteen feet square. Its mosaic revealed various geometric patterns. It is impossible to give any details on the fifth room, as the majority of it lay under modern day Toft Green. Its size, though, was somewhere between thirteen and eighteen feet square if comparison with the others is any indication .[52]

A third-century date is given to the building for two reasons: first, it was constructed on concrete foundations and second, beneath the mosaic, but on top of the concrete, a posthumous coin of Claudius II (268-270) was found in room two.[53] This definitely dates the mosaic of the room to at least the late third century, since the coin was on top of the concrete, below the mosaic, and not within it and was probably lost when the mosaic was laid. However, the building itself could date to an earlier time in the century.

East of the Old Railway Station another significant building was found along Toft Green. According to research done by Wacher

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[52] Ibid., p. 58.
[53] Ibid., p. 57.

the house has been labeled as possibly the governor's house.[54] This

is due to an inscription found on a stone which dedicates the

building by the legionary legate Claudius Hieronymianus to another

eastern god, Serapis

<div align="center">

DEO SANCTO
SERAPI
TEMPIUM A SO
LO FECIT
CL(AUDIUS) HIERONY
MIANUS LEG(ATUS)
LEG(IONIS) VI VIC(TRICIS)

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     To the holy god Serapis, Claudius Hieronymianus, legate
of the Sixth Legion Victorious, built this temple from the
ground.[55]

Serapis is an Egyptian god that moved west with Severus' take over,

for the emperor seemed to have a special interst in this eastern

deity.[56] Hieronymianus was an official of the early third century

and described as anti-Christian.[57]

     The inscription was found in an apsidal room below the foun-

dations of the building. It was possibly an underground chamber, or

a destruction in a later period buried it there. The former is very

likely true, for the worship of Serapis was reminiscent of the

Dionysiac belief in an afterlife, entry into which, as in Mithraism,

took place in dark chambers.

     The structure's foundation was of soft brick set in hard

mortar. Its walls were two feet thick and the room twelve feet

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[54] Wacher, Towns, p. 159.
[55] R.C.H.M. Eboracum, p. 54.
[56] Lives of the Later Caesars Severus 18.1, p. 217.
[57] Tertullian Apologia De Spectaculis 35.9-10. Loeb Classical
Library, 1931.

across and twenty seven feet long. Within the room a mosaic of a
bull with a fish tail, a prominent figure in eastern religions was
found. It rested on a concrete floor, six inches deep. The apsidal
room was adjacent to the mosaic and was probably connected to the
mosaic.[58] Both were on the Severan alignment of the colonia.

Since York served as the capital of Britannia Inferior, it was
also the seat of an imperial governor and his praetorium, or
official residence. However, this legate also served as legionary
legate and may have lived within the fortress. Before the end of
the century, though, the civil and military commands became sep-
arated and such places as York may have already taken such steps
earlier on. York, like Cologne, could have kept the praetorium
within the colonia, as evidence supporting the fortification of the
civil settlement indicates.[59] Massive sections of wall have been
found in the southwest portion behind structures of group 34 which
cut off the older road, Eight, that originally entered from the
west. Exactly when the wall was erected may be learned from further
research. Still, it is known that town walls began to rise in
Britain in the second century, an expenditure even the continent
could not afford, but which, by the early third century, was common
in Britain.[60] The towns within the civitates showed interest in
emulating the coloniae. It is generally accepted that in Europe
walls going up meant military and urban decline, whereas in Britain,

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[58] R.C.H.M. Eboracum, p. 54.
[59] Ibid., p. 49.
[60] Salway, Roman Britain 1A, p. 263.

they meant "urbanization was developing actively."[61]

The enlarging of the civil settlement introduced more wealth. It appears that structures with bathhouses were not uncommon, but there is little indication to show their function, whether public or private. In regard to the bathhouse associated with group 34, it was said to appear as part of a grand structure. Now with a second found on Fetter Lane that, too, appears by its remains to be a large structure.

It is possible that the Fetter Lane structure was in a home or that it was a private bath for a select group or club. The remains were limited to architectural elements with only portions of three rooms. There is, however, little doubt that the building does date to the third century.

The three rooms consist of one thirty-six feet long; another with a plunge bath, which was nine feet across, hardly large enough for a public pool, with a floor of red cement;[62] and a third which is the most important for the evidence it provides. It was twenty-one feet across with a floor of tiles with the flanges cut off and stamped LEG IX HIS. The roofing timbers were thiry feet long and one foot square, giving the building a width of twenty-six to twenty-seven feet.[63]

There is no indication of any previous building on this site, which could mean that this area was included in the expansion of

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[61] Ibid.
[62] R.C.H.M. Eboracum, p. 52.
[63] Ibid.

the colonia while Severus was in York. Such large rooms and massive roofing timbers indicate an elaborate strucutre, unknown in York until the third century. The use of the stamped tiles does not mean that it is an earlier building. Since a legionnaire was not just a soldier, but an architect, builder, plumber, engineer, potter, and more, the Ninth Legion produced their own roofing tiles and bricks, as did other legions. Therefore, it would not be unlikely that, even in the third century, some of these tiles still existed. The quick departure of the Ninth and the constant movement of the Sixth, upon its arrival, prevented the earlier tiles from being used up. Some could have been reused from earlier buildings that had decayed.

The bathhouse at Vindolanda in the civilian settlement held numerous bricks stamped LEG VIV;[64] they were found in situ in the hot room. It would have been the legio VI that had access to these tiles and bricks, and no doubt retired soldiers from a Sixth Legion detachment that was stationed there acquired them. Coins dating into the reign of Severus Alexander indicate construction at various stages in the early third century. It can then be said that the bathhouse in York was either built by a retired soldier, or by legio VI for its own use or just for the use of the officers.

There are numerous other fragments that allude to the grandeur of York in the third century, even though their remains are sparse. Most of the datable evidence was merely the use of concrete in foundations or very elaborate designs carved on stone. In some

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[64] Robin Birley. Vindolanda (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977) p. 36.

cases a small size does not weaken the evidence, since Severus wished to show his strength not just with his army, but in sound, distinctive architecture.

Excavations on Tanner Row in 1901 for the present railway offices produced the remains of a substantial building. The facade was aligned with the main Roman road in Tadcaster. Its walls were one to three feet thick and composed of gritstone blocks.[65] Most of the materials found in 1901 have been lost. They primarily consisted of capitals of acanthus leaves and worked stone one foot thick. Elaborate capitals were not found prior to the third century.

Another building of sizeable materials was found on St. Mary Bishophill Senior in 1959. The building was discovered in part of an earlier structure under the church of St. Mary on a more northwestern and westerly alignment than the foundation of the church.[66] It had walls two and one-half to three feet thick, faced with magnesium limestone ashlars on concrete foundations. This was not a common or basic structure. Fourth century Castorware found under a flagstone floor shows a long period of continuous use. Also a drain system of a definitely earlier period was found under the foundation and was on the Severan alignment.[67]

Another building was found at the modern junction of Trinity Lane and St. Martin's Lane, and appears to have been on the same

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[65] R.C.H.M. Eboracum, p. 53.
[66] Ibid., p.51.
[67] Ibid., p. 52.

line in Roman times.[68] The remains consisted of a wall of box-tiles and a concrete floor resting on the top of layers from the second half of the second century.

On Micklegate west of the junction with Railway Street, an excavation produced fine lined remains of a highly detailed stone structure beneath the modern sewer. The foundations were of large blocks of gritstone supporting columns on squared and moulded pedestal-bases.[69] Both were on the alignment of the Severan colonia and represented the new architecture of the period. Unfortunately, the remains provide a limited description.

There is abundant evidence for a large Roman settlement on the west bank of the Ouse. Modern cellars contain portions of Roman walls, floors, mosaics, and pipes; North Street, Fetter Lane, Blossom Street, Tanner Row, Bishophill Senior, Marygate, Toft Green, and especially along Micklegate contained Roman remains that reflect the various periods from timber to stone construction. The colonia did spread out and grow, even beyond the limits of the enclosure. A wall of worked stone was constructed, fairly early in the third century. It blocked one road that was found near the supposed palace area from entering the colonia.[70] The purpose of the wall does not appear to be strictly defensive, but as many third century towns of Britain did, York built a wall to show that it had wealth. The development of housing beyond it shows that there was no

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[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid., p. 49.

military threat. These outlying settlements were the suburbs.

The Suburbs

The suburbs are broken down into two regions: those southwest
of the Ouse and those northeast of the Ouse. In no way are these
inferior buildings to what were in the colonia. These structures
are considered separately because they lay outside the defensive
wall.

Unfortunately information on these regions is no better than
that of the canabae. However, there still is sufficient evidence to
indicate growing communitites. Just as the Romans built up these
outlying areas, so too have modern day people who choose not to live
in town.

On the southwest side there are two buildings that have left
enough remains for archaeologists to obtain more detailed des-
criptions than from some others. In the mid-nineteenth century, a
tessalated pavement was found at the junction of Cherry Street and
Clementhorpe. Only half was visible to archaeologists, yet it alone
covered an area eleven feet by eight feet and was decorated with a
geometrical design.[71] Geometrical mosaics represent late first,
early second century work and so provide an early date for this
mosaic. There is no record of the building in which it was housed.
However, the mosaic belongs to the early phase of the structure, for
it served as a base for two inches of concrete that was the floor

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[71] Ibid., pp. 62-63.

for third century improvements made on the building.[72] Disturbance by

later period graves limits the information available.

The second building provides a little more knowledge. Although

it lies close to Road Ten, the Tadcaster Road, its alignment is more

closely related to the road labeled Nine that leads to Aldborough. A

fourth-century floor of opus signinum, with a coin of 335-340 on it,

sealed a late third-century floor, dated by a coin of Victorinus,

A.D. 268-270, which marked the period of refined construction. This

is the time when major alterations occurred, but they must have

begun earlier in the century.

The building consisted of five stages:[73] a first-century timber

building; a second-century building on clay and cobble foundations;

a late second-century building defined by a coin of Faustina I, A.D.

138-141, and also on clay and cobble foundations and with painted

wall plaster; a third-century building that had thin stone slates

for a roof instead of tegulae, like earlier roofs; and finally the

fourth-century of opus signinum mentioned above. Above all else,

this building shows that with each period came building improvements

and refinements that aid archaeologists in dating structures. The

coins mentioned above are useful for dating because each was sealed

between two layers and not within. Had the coins been found within

the flooring and not on top they would have been a less valid piece

of evidence.

This is basically where the information ends that defines a

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[72] Ibid., p. 62.
[73] Ibid., p. 63.

structure south of the _colonia_. Other sites are noted but are made up of building debris. One was a building that contained a mosaic, but with no record. A similar site did produce numerous stone slate roof tiles stamped LEG VI and coins of Geta and Severus. Large amounts of stone chippings in the area indicate a stone mason's yard.[74] Found near the Mount School, it is possible that it could have been the shop that cut stone for the nearby cemetery of Trentholme Drive, as well as for construction. It is very likely a third-century work site for the production of lead dross, used to make iron clamps that held stone together.[75] There is another which shows Romano-British pottery sherds from the second through the fourth centuries. This could have been in the area of a potter since the finds cover the period of Roman Britain.

Romano-British pottery certainly did flourish in the third century after Septimius Severus cut off trade contacts between Gaul, Spain, and Britain for aiding Albinus.[76] Other sites containing Samian ware reflect the Flavian period, but also show a number of ivory and jet objects in the raw and finished stages. The area north of The Mount, especially around Acomb, has revealed production fragments of metal, bone, stone, tessarae, and shells of the second through fourth centuries.[77]

The other area of suburbs northeast of the Ouse is that area considered to be the Roman wharves. It is the region on the

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[74] Ibid.
[75] Wacher, _Towns_, p. 171.
[76] "Ebor Brewery," _Interim_ 2 no. 2 [1975]: 7.
[77] R.C.H.M. _Eboracum_, p. 63.

opposite banks of the Foss from the _canabae_. Originally the course of the Foss was closer to the fortress, wider, and more tidal, providing convenient access for boats to unload. Twelfth century damming created the present course. On the left bank of the Foss, lying in line of the _via principalis_, was a structure twenty-three feet by twenty feet with a large gritstone block platform below it on the riverside.[78] In front of the platform there were two rows of piles as part of the revetment or support for a wharf. Roman occupation is noted by a spread of Roman pottery over a cobbled area on the north side of the structure. The exact purpose of this platform is unknown, but it was definitely a functional element on the Roman waterfront.

East of the Foss Bridge a jetty was found thirty feet below the surface. It was made up of a brick wall resting on gravel and supporting a jetty of beams and posts.[79] Pottery fragments show continuous use from the late second to the fourth century.

A wharf is known to have been on the Foss on what is Picadilly Street today; the street was under the Foss in Roman times.[80] Two rows of rough stone columns, three feet high and one to one-and-one-half feet square, were found there and would indicate that they were built to support a platform.[81]

Other evidence in this area is scanty. One of building debris

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[78] Ibid., p. 64.
[79] Ibid., p. 65.
[80] J.R.S. 28(1938): 204.
[81] R.C.H.M. _Eboracum_, p. 65.

holding sixth and ninth legion stamped tiles and bricks of a "strong wall" on Peasholme Green indicates greater expansion in the north-west.[82] At that time it would have been along the Foss and possibly some sort of shipping house. In another house a tesselated pavement was found, red, coarse, and five feet by three and one-half feet. On the pavement was found a ring with an inscription to a Germanic God, DEO SUCELO, indicating a possible temple on St. Maurice's Road.[83] Further evidence shows expansion as far up as 210 Stockton Lane, and into the fourth century. These facts help to prove the increase of trade and shipping which originated from York in the third century. The Antonine period of northern military advances initiated the need for greater amounts of goods in the north and worked to enlarge the base of Corbridge for the distribution. With the arrival of Severus, York was revived and constructed of stone and concrete and enlarged for storage and shipping. Because it was the center through which all goods passed before being sent into the province, it required larger and perhaps more wharves.

On the northeast side of the River Ouse, west and northwest of the fortress, was another suburb. This area was along the roads that led north to Catterick and developed in the second century as various scattered debris have shown. Above this debris is a layer of stiff clay which represents the rebuilding of the third and fourth centuries.[84] However, there was a period when the road coming

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82 Ibid.
83 Ibid.
84 Ibid.

into the fortress from the west, Six, shows, from the amount of wall plaster beneath it, repairs or widenings. These could represent some of the road work projects that occurred during the reigns of Decius and Probus that can be found throughout the north in the later third century.

Along with this is an occupied area of Hadrianic or Antonine origin sealed by a clay that holds third- and fourth-century sherds. Perhaps the northwest, which was the side of the fortress with no natural barriers, became the new area to show the peace that had developed under Severus and Caracalla. The filling in of pits and sealing with clay shows a definite new beginning for solid construction in stone. In order for such work projects to take place, peace and prosperity must have been enjoyed in York.

The canabae had gained the appearance of a small Roman town, while the civil settlement gained independent status through its increased size and wealth within and from outside its walls. Septimius Severus had created an urban center that remained the most important in the north, not just for the Romans, but for those in centuries to come.

Information, though, is still all too limited. It is known that York was a colonia, but the major elements needed for an urban center have yet to be found. The basilica is not known for certain, and a forum has yet to be found among the remains. Many have theorized that the bits and pieces found in the colonnaded building were from a basilica, but like the royal palace this remains only a

theory. Some would still say that the colonia was ruled by the imperial legate in the fortress across the river; however, this seems unlikely. After all, why would a legate govern a colonia of such importance as Eboracum while yet smaller, less importwant vici had self-governing powers? Carriden, a second century settlement on the Antonine Wall, left an inscription that described a vicus with independent powers from the military.[85] In the third century Housesteads and Old Carlisle were recorded as self-governing,[86] with Carlisle receiving the same status as a civitas[87] and Corbridge possibly as well for its size and importance as a supply station.[88] Administrative divisions in the north of England are also hinted at in the South Tyne valley by an inscription that mentioned a curia Textoverdorum, a possible, but unknown administrative unit of the Brigantes, or possibly of the Votadini.[89]

To the south of the Humber River and still in Britannia Inferior was Lincoln, also a colonia and a self-governing community. In the case of Lincoln (Lindum), the military was withdrawn and left the fortress to the town. In A.D. 71 Cerialis removed the Ninth Legion for protection against the Brigantes at York. The land surrounding the fortress had belonged to the military, and with their departure was given to the town. Within the fortress was built the forum complex that showed political control, but has yet

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[85] Breeze, Frontiers, p. 148.
[86] Breeze and Dobson, Hadrian's Wall, p. 206.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Birley, Corbridge, pp. 10-11.
[89] Breeze, Frontiers, p. 149.

to be found. However, its population, like York's, consisted of three units: the _colonia_, the lower city, just outside the fortress, and the suburbs. In the third century the lower town was included in the walled in area and reflects the rebuilding and reorganization that took place in the _colonia_.[90]

Lincoln's wealth is reflected in its excellent water and sewage system, the best found to date on the island. A thriving pottery industry that was developed in the first century A.D. and continued throughout the Roman period supplied not only its own community but the military in the north.[91] Miss M.J. Darling, a Roman pottery researcher for the Lincoln Archaeological Trust, has shown that kilns from the area produced "Castor ware" and _mortaria_ that have appeared in Yorkshire, and a single _mortarium_ found at Newstead, north of Hadrian's Wall. There is little doubt that in the third century Lincoln grew industrially; even in the suburbs iron slag and furnaces indicate industry and, stone houses containing mosaic and baths-suites show a definite wealth.[92] At this stage Lincoln's connection with the military was strictly commercial.[93]

It would seem unlikely that York, a _colonia_ and provincial

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[90] Christian Coyler, _Lincoln, The Archaeology of an Historic City_ (Lincoln: Lincoln Archaeological Society, 1975), pp. 16-17.
[91] Ibid., p. 27.
[92] Ibid., p. 28.
[93] Lincoln is mentioned here strictly as a political comparison to York. Beyond this it lies outside the scope of this paper, since it represents the first century Romanization of Britain. Its conquest at the time of Claudius separated it from the area of Britain it joined in the third century. Lincoln was placed in the northern province as a blanace; two _colonia_ per province.

capital, would have still had a military government while its surrounding communitites that it oversaw were independent, especially York's southern counterpart, London. Here again information is limited. While in northern Britain Severus divided the duties of civil and military between himself, Caracalla, and Geta,[94] it hardly seems likely that upon departure the two would have been reunited by Caracalla and Geta. Caracalla was busy trying to eliminate his brother, just as Severus had done with Niger and Albinus, requiring peaceful frontiers as he secured a stronger hold in Rome. If truly the military power that was found in Britain was to be limited by the number of individuals in control, then just as Virius Lupus conquered the Caledonians by paying off the Maeatae,[95] under the Roman auspices of "divide and rule," than it is likely that Severus divided the political functions of civilian settlements from those of the military to prevent military control of civilian wealth. Undoubtedly, there being no sign of a _forum_ in the _colonia_ to date makes this questionable. However, Lincoln has not produced one, either, and it is the assumption that the forum lies on the west side of Ermine Street near the junction of the _via praetoria_ and the _via principalis_ that extends credibility to the statement that Lincoln was self-governed. The fact that London was administered by a consular governor and York by a governor of praetorian rank would make no difference. London held the higher rank because of its proximity to Rome and because it was a more Romanized area with

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[94] Herodian 3.14.9.
[95] Dio 75.5.4.

greater financial affairs. The governor was the direct representative of the emperor and therefore was not to be ignored, but the _ordo_ must have controlled civilian affairs in York. After all, why would Aldborough, a Brigantian _civitas_ and former enemy of Rome, hold more independent authority than a _colonia_? Civilian York rose in stature politically just as it did architecturally.

CHAPTER V

URBAN DEVELOPMENT BEYOND YORK

In 1906 Haverfield's essay on the Romanization of Britain stated that "northwards, no town or countryhouse has been found beyond the neighborhood of Aldborough, some fifteen miles northwest of York."[1] For over fifty years this thesis was accepted and believed. Today this is accepted as a scholarly work for the beginning of the twentieth century, but now, as Branigan has worked to prove, a wider spectrum of towns must be considered when looking at the urbanization of the regions beyond York. Research has proven that in the third century "military control had given way to civil in the middle of the frontier territory."[2]

When Haverfield was published York and Aldborough were the only two "towns" named north of the Humber River. Brough-on-Humber was yet to be discovered. In 1979 Rivet and Smith published Place-Names of Roman Britain, which contains the names of almost three dozen "towns" that were in Britannia Inferior. These "towns" were not all lowland communities, where many people thought Romanized "towns" could only be found, but in the highland regions of the

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[1] Haverfield, Romanization, p. 23.
[2] R.F.J. Jones "Change on the Frontier: Northern Britain in the Third Century", in The Roman West in the Third Century, 2 vols. ed. by Anthony King and Martin Henig (Oxford: B.A.R., 1981), vol. 1, p. 406.

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Yorkshire Dales and Moors. Such "towns" as Kirkby Thore (Brav-
oniacum), Wetwang (Delgovicia), and another near Chesterholm,
occupied only in the Roman period, Curia Tectoverdorum. These were
neither large centers nor were they equal in size, and the archae-
ological finds were not of a large quantity. The type of artifacts,
articles of clothing or equipment belonging to women, children,
merchants, and traders help to indicate a civilian population. One
of the best finds though, for an archaeologist to discover, however,
is an inscription. In the case of Old Penrith it is known that a
civilian population was there from the inscription of a German
traveler, Crotilo Germanus.[3] The artifacts often are nothing more
than a few fragments of daily wares, but like the size of a "town,"
that is not important. It is the degree of Romanization that
establishes a civilian community as a "town." From Haverfield to
Branigan the number of known Roman towns has grown to prove that
urbanization spread across the north.

Civitas Capitals

The development of Romanized centers began with the departure
of the military. As mentioned above, Rome had learned after A.D.
60/61 to be less strict on the Britons and by then had turned tribal
regions into self-governing civitates peregrinae by imperial decree.
The concept was started during the Republic, a period when as Rome
began to grow and her boundaries touched new lands. Client kingdoms

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[3] R.I.B. vol. 1. 934.

had been formed as buffers. Expansion had served to introduce Roman goods beyond the occupied areas and to Romanize the people gradually. In the future, should a takeover be necessary, fewer changes would have to be made. Tribal political independence was not lost though as a _civitas_ capital was labeled by Rome to watch over the tribal areas for administrative convenience. In northern Britain, the Hadrianic period marked the development of _civitates_ and the last recorded expansion of truly civilian areas in the province.[4] With the arrival of Severus the _civitas_ capitals developed into fully Romanized centers.

Northern Britain was divided originally into two _civitates_: that of the Brigantes in the west and of the Parisi in the east. In each the major tribal centers remained the capitals. Aldborough, _Isurium Brigantum_, which had been Cartimandua's capital, still governed Brigantian lands,[5] while in the east it is known from Ptolemy that Brough-on-Humber, _Petuaria Parisorum_, was the _polis_ or _civitas_ of the Parisi.[6] Later on in the third century, Brigantium would be divided in half, thus creating another _civitas_ capital at Carlisle, _Luguvalum_. These were client kingdons prior to 71, when Petilius Cerialis found it necessary to take control of the north and turn them into stations for the Roman army. Under Hadrian the military was relaxed, the capitals named, and town growth began.

There were distinct differences between the _colonia_ and the

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[4] Wacher, _Towns_, p. 375.
[5] Ibid., p. 398.
[6] Ptolemy _Geography_ 2.3.17.

civitates. Whereas the colonia was a Roman settlement, the civitas
was a tribal community whose inhabitants were not Roman citizens.[7]
However, this changed in the third century in 212 with Caracalla 's
Constitutio Antoniniana which gave Roman citizenship to all freeborn
provinicials. The change greatly influenced further development of
towns in native areas. The second difference did not change with
time. Whereas colonia and municipium are precise Latin terms to
define a town and the rank of its citizens, a cantonal capital had
no Latin equivalent.[8] In the Mediterranean world the city was most
important. Territory was given to the Roman towns, but those who
lived there looked to the town as the state and not the surrounding
land as the Britons did. To the Britons, Aldborough was all of
Isurium Brigantium and Brough-on-Humber was all of Peturia Pari-
sorium, whereas those who held Roman citizenship longer recognized
York, Eboracum, as the state. York was the closest thing to a city
like Rome that Britannia Inferior had, but to the natives the
preservation of their ancient lands and tribal capitals was more
important.

Unlike the case of York, there is little evidence that can be
directly related to the third century that will show great advances
in town life in the civitates. Datable evidence is even less common
in these areas, and it is on the basis of the bits and pieces
available that the generalization is made that if refined archi-

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[7] A.L.F. Rivet. Town and Country in Roman Britain (London: Hutchinson
and Co., 1958), p. 64.
[8] Ibid., p. 65.

tectural designs are dated to the third century in York, then better living conditions throughout the north can be placed during the third and fourth centuries. The information is slight but, all the same, it does indicate growth through the Severan peace.

The area to the east of York along the North Sea was the land of the Parisi, a people said to be possibly connected with a tribe found around modern-day Paris at the time of Caesar's conquest of Gaul.[9] If such a connection were true, it would help explain why the Parisi of Britain remained peaceful toward Rome, i.e. ancestral connections preserving peace. Whatever the connection, if any, the Parisi never challenged Roman authority in Britain.

Aside from Ptolemy's Geography, Blough is also mentioned in the Ravenna Cosmography[10] and in the Antonine Itinerary,[11] but without the tribal suffix. Its importance and recognition by Ptolemy lay in its strategic position on the Humber River. The peaceful nature of the Parisi served as a buffer to Brigantia and let Rome use Brough (Petuaria) as a port to serve its northwestern area around Lincoln. In the first century, a fort was built there and at Malton (Derventio) for protection. It is possible that a Roman advance was desired by the Parisi for better control of the Brigantes.[12] Petilius Cerialis used the line for advancing to York in 71-72. Under Agricola the military was removed from Brough and replaced with a

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[9] Rivert and Smith, Place-Names, p. 436.
[10] "Ravenna Cosmography," in Rivet and Smith Place-names, 107 (138), p. 208.
[11] "Antonine Itinerary," Iter I 466$_5$, p. 155.
[12] Wacher, Towns, pp. 394-95.

civil government.[13] At that time it became a large depot, possibly to serve the large fort that remained in Malton as well as that of York.

The Hadrianic period created the biggest changes. At that time Brough became a base for the <u>classis Britannica</u>. The earlier fort and depot were moved away on a line of defense for the new naval base. This initiated a separation between military and civilian.

Earlier a settlement had begun to grow in nearby Borth Ferriby where the civilians became centered. An inscription found there described it as the <u>vicus Petuariensis,</u> set up by a Roman citizen, M. Ulpius Lanaurius, to dedicate a new <u>proscaenium</u> of a theater at Brough.[14] This places the <u>Praetorium</u> (<u>Petuaria</u>) of the <u>Antonine Itinerary</u> at Brough, the <u>civitas</u> governing unit.

Prior to the third century, it can be seen that Brough held a sizable civilian community and had the luxury of a theater. From the third century on, however, Brough becomes more vague. There seems to have been a decrease in the population and collapse of the local government.[15] Three possibilities can be suggested for the town's decline: one, the rise of York to a <u>colonia</u> might have attracted many; two, perhaps poor management by a prefect; and three, poor connections because of the lack of roads that came to Brough and limited its trade by road with other centers. There was not total collapse, however: archaeological finds from before the

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[13] Ibid., p. 395.
[14] R.I.B. vol. 1. 707.
[15] Wacher, <u>Towns</u>, p. 397.

third century ended indicate that a school of mosaicists had formed here and flourished. This does not seem unlikely, as in the south Cirencester also had a school of mosaicists while its town was also losing people. All the same, Wacher described Brough as a "failed town".[16]

Brough is not a success story in respect to its growth, but it does show that people were attracted to the Roman lifestyle offered in nearby towns or in the country. A small population did remain in the town through the fourth century, not as absorbers of common living, but as distributors through the mosaicists.

If Brough collapsed in the third century, did it remain a civitas capital or was its land absorbed into total control by York? There is no certain evidence that indicates what happened, but it is likely that with its decreasing population, Brough did lose its title. York would not have gained more territory, for to take native lands went against Rome's policy in Britain. Instead, what is possible is that the Malton/Norton area became the new civitas capital. For as Brough dwindled, Malton was "being rebuilt, extended, and improved."[17]

The success of Malton, according to the director of the site, Peter L. Wenham, was due to the seven and possibly nine roads that radiated from it.[18] In the Antonine Itinerary, Iter I places Malton

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[16] Ibid.
[17] Peter L. Wenham, Derventio (Malton) (Huddersfield, England: Cameo Books, 1974), p. 39.
[18] Ibid., p. 41.

in the center of the eastern roadways out of York.[19] These connected

Malton with various military installations as well as the kilns and

potteries of the east. However, there is only one piece of evidence

that indicates the authority Malton may have held. The arrival of

the numerus Petuariensium, from Petuaria, in the fort at Malton

would indicate a change in Brough's position. Unfortunately, the

only title given so far for the civilian settlement is that of a

vicus, a settlement outside of a fort. It is placed in this

section, though, because of its relationship to Brough-on-Humber and

the possibility of its titular increase.

The beginnings of Malton were mentioned above. There was

little change until the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius when

sound houses of stone began to appear and take on the shape of a

town.[20] From c. 200-367 the settlement was at its peak in prosperity

and population.[21]

Unlike York, Malton grew with no plan, first along the main

road into the fort and then branching out into narrow streets and

alleys.[22] Most of the structures in the area show continuous use in

all periods, with the changes dating each period. The majority

indicated a great degree of "comfort and sophistication."[23] Either

water was piped into the houses or houses had their own wells.

Private latrines were not uncommon. All buildings had floors of

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[19] "Antonine Itinerary" Iter I, p. 155.
[20] N. Mitchelson, "Roman Malton: The Civilian Settlement," Yorkshire Archaeological Journal 41 (1963-66): 235.
[21] P. Wenham. Derventio. p. 36.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid.

either beaten clay, opus signinum, or, as in the case of the "Town House", mosaic pavements.[24]

Excavations in Orchard Field have revealed that, unlike York, where the third century brought in a new alignment, Malton's civilian settlement indicates new periods by internal repairs rather than major changes.[25] Building "A" in the shop area in the southwest corner shows continuous use through various layers of cement floors. One layer represents the late second century with a piece of Samian ware, Dragendorf 31, another sealed coins of Gallienus and Claudius II, while in the latrine a stone sealed coins, the latest being one of Diocletian. In each period the building's size increased.[26]

By far the most impressive structure of the peak period is that known as the "Town House". The building stood near the southeast gate of the fort along a road eighteen feet wide that was used throughout the Roman period;[27] continuous use of the road adds to the continuity of the building and its use. Its facade was of chiseled stone with a six-foot wide doorway and windows of glass.[28] The interior is heated by a hypocaust system with flues going into each room covered by a floor made of concrete or mosaics of colorful tesserae.[29] Although the "House" was constructed in the late second century, its improvements along luxury lines were third century and continued into the fourth.

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[24] Ibid., pp. 36-37.
[25] Mitchelson, "Malton," p. 213.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid., p. 217.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid., p. 219; and P. Wenham, Derventio, p. 37.

The limits of this civilian settlement did not end at the River Derwent. Fifteen miles away in _Eboracum_ a small settlement crossed the River Ouse, grew, expanded, and flourished in the wake of the third century. Is this what happened in Malton, with the settlement that grew across the Derwent in modern-day Norton? There is little doubt, according to Wenham that the wealth that _Eboracum_ gained helped nearby Malton/Norton by the multiple roads that passed through and distributed trade goods.[30]

Norton was more Romanized than Malton, with its streets crossing at right angles rather than the hodge podge found in the latter. This also parallels York's growth with the idea of a planned settlement, a growing area for the distribution of potteries from the numerous nearby kilns.

The Norton kilns were some of the most prosperous in East Yorkshire. This prosperity seemed to be due to the kilns having their own furnaces, whereas Crambeck to the south had one furnace for each pair of kilns. Excavators of the kilns describe them as Romano-British in structure and in the style of pottery they produced.[31] According to their pottery remains, these kilns were at their peak of production in the period between 220-280.[32] The native calcite gritted ware of the Yorkshire Wolds and Moors created a monopoly in the cooking pot market.[33] Beakers, flagons, and face vases, originally imported from Germany, began to be produced in

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[30] P. Wenham. _Derventio_, p. 39.
[31] Ibid., pp. 40-41.
[32] Ibid., p. 40.
[33] Mitchelson, "Malton", p. 242.

Norton and were found in York.

There are still many questions to be answered about Malton-/Norton and the role it played in the Parisi civitates, but it was a success for the northeast as an expanding town community with economic strength and possible political power. However, this would not last through the fourth century. Late in the third century Carausius and Allectus weakened the economic structure with their takeover, but did not cause a total collapse. Outside invasions caused such communities to fall. Still, while the European continent was weakening in towns, a small town in the Moors of northern England prospered.

Northwest of York was Aldborough, Isurium Brigantum, the civitas capital of the Brigantes. This tribe occupied the largest area in Britain: from the Lake District to York and from the southern point of the Pennines to just north of Hadrian's Wall. The territorium that was given to the fortress of York was a part of Brigantia, possibly the tribes' southeast stronghold. Rome generally tried to follow the tribal boundaries as much as possible in organizing the civitates. The Brigantian and Parisian lands laid the limits for Britannia Inferior.

The Roman choice for Aldborough was not due to any previous Brigantian use. There are signs that some of the most influential natives lived in the area because of local religious significance. Hence Rome wished to use this to preserve peace with the Brigantes

by further recognizing the importance of the area[34]. The choice also could have been to have the _civitas_ away from York yet close enough to keep an eye on the troublesome tribe.

Rome had had problems with the tribe from the late first century with Queen Cartimandua and her husband Venutius and off and on during the second century. During the Flavian period some agreement must have been reached as substantial buildings began to appear at that time on the northwest side of the defenses.[35] Likely in the period of Hadrian, a formal plan was laid out for the town when Rome's control of the north was certain through the consolidation of Hadrian's Wall. There is no evidence to indicate that the town gained any importance prior to the third century. Ptolemy's _Geography_ calls it merely _Isurium_,[36] while in the _Antonine Itinerary_ it is _Isurium Brigantum_.[37] The latter's being more representative of late second and early third century towns places Aldborough's political growth at this time. The lack of inscriptions makes it difficult to be any more precise. It is also possible that at this time Rome felt the Brigantes in this area could be trusted with more self government. This must have been true as the Brigantes did not challenge Rome after this, and later, in the northwest, further rights were granted.

Although Hadrian initiated the growth of the town, the majority

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[34] Wacher, _Towns_, p. 379.
[35] Dorothy Charlesworth. _Aldborough Roman Town and Museum_ (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1970) p.10.
[36] Ptolemy 2.3.10.
[37] "Antonine Itinerary"_Iter_ V 476, p. 162.

of the information found on the site dates to the third century. Mosaics and painted plaster found in the nineteenth century describe a flourishing town of wealth. In the middle of the century, during the reign of Decius, 249-251, the town received walls and an improved road system that proved prosperity was not brief, but representative of the entire period.[38]

Isurium was the most Roman of small towns in northern Britain. Its streets were on a regular grid with the public square, or forum, in the center.[39] Long walls with sectioned rooms appear to represent a wing of the forum or perhaps part of the offices or rooms behind the basilica.[40] South of the west gate of the defenses was found part of a bathhouse attached to a private residence.

With the end of the second century came an earthwork defense around the town. Before the next century was half over, a masonry wall replaced the earthworks. The walls enclosed nearly fifty-five acres in a playing card shape, but with the southwest and northeast corners being straight lined rather than rounded. Corner towers were added at this time. Inside the walls was found a stone-lined water tank serviced by an aqueduct for the water supply.[41]

All of the above indicate a town of wealth, but the houses found prove to show the luxury the townspeople enjoyed.

One house has revealed a long corridor that leads into an

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[38] Charlesworth, Aldborough, pp. 11-12.
[39] Ibid., p. 3.
[40] Wacher, Towns, p.399.
[41] Ibid., pp. 401-402.

apsidal room. The walls are painted in a design that imitates marble veneers and foliage patterns.[42] In a second building there were two wings found with a colonnaded central courtyard. A hypocaust heated all the rooms, with the principal ones having fine mosaics covering the floor. The patterns were generally geometrical or floral. In the apsidal room the largest was found with Greek looking figures and objects,[43] but because of severe damage it is difficult to be certain. The workmanship was the best of the mosaics. Another mosaic depicts a crude design of Romulus and Remus, similar in proportion to the Venus pavement at Rudston Villa.[44]

Two other mosaics remain in situ. One, with various borders of black, white, yellow, and red guilloches, and Vitruvian scroll,[45] has a central square with a lion resting under a palm tree.[46] Another, made of the same colors, had borders of swirls, guilloches, and a meander pattern surrounding a square that contained an eight-pointed star. This was not the house of a common laborer.

There is little evidence to provide in-depth details of the industry of the town. However, for a town of wealth it appears that rather than distributing finished products brought in from rural areas, Aldborough preserved the ancient Brigantian crafts[47] of bone and metal working and sold their own goods finished from the raw

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[42] Ibid., p. 402.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Charlesworth, Aldborough, p. 5.
[45] Ibid., p. 6.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid., p. 13.

material.[48] It was unusual for an urban center to be a producer rather than a distributor of goods, but like York Aldborough had gained its wealth from local crafts and served as a third-century industrial town.

The area that Aldborough governed was described above. For nearly a century, it remains the only major center in the *civitates* and required little work to govern the Iron Age style farms that were typical of the west. In the latter half of the century, though, the northwest area along Hadrian's Wall began to develop Romanized towns. Of these, Carlisle or *Luguvalium*, showed the most promise.

Carlisle is first noted when in A.D.154-155 Pausanias describes a Brigantian revolt which caused Antoninus Pius to deprive "the Brigantes of the greater part of their territory."[49] Since Aldborough was in the process of building a town it seems possible that the problem lay further west. Salway has assumed that this was done so that the emperor could enlarge his holdings in the empire, because of the visit of an imperial procurator.[50] Evidence does indiacte such a visit, and with no evidence to show local aristocratic control, perhaps the emperor felt it necessary to take control and allow the military to have the rights to the land.[51]

The third century brought unrest to the continent and weakened

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[48] Wacher, *Towns*, p. 403.
[49] Pausanias 8.43.4.
[50] Salway, *Roman Britain* 1A, p. 201; R.I.B. vol. 1. 2132.
[51] Salway, *Roman Britain* 1A, p. 277.

the emperor's ability to hold his lands. Upon assuming charge,
Septimius Severus showed no designs to retain all that previous
emperors had held in Britain. With permission granted to soldiers
to marry, more and more families settled outside the walls of Roman
forts. Along Hadrian's Wall, the Vallum, which served to separate
soldier from civilian, was swept away to make way for urban growth.

Carlisle's position along the Wall provided the wealth for the
soldiers' pay, while it also sat close to the port of Bowness for
easy shipment of goods to and from the town. Although Antoninus
Pius might have recognized Lugvalium's signifiance and made it the
major military center for the area, it would appear that the next
century promoted it to the position of civitas capital of the
civitas of Carvetiorum, what is today the Cumberland Plain. The
earliest known date of this happening is from an inscription of c.
A.D. 268, but, like York, a definite date is difficult to state, and
its rise in position might have occurred much earlier.[52] This later
date places it in the Gallic Empire of Posthumus, 258-268. It was
dug up near Brougham and names the community C CAR.[53] A tombstone
at Old Penrith for Flavius Martius, Senator of civitas Carvetiorum
provides the only complete spelling of the tribal capital.[54] Salway
questions whether or not this reflected administrative developments
to promote the expansion of civil settlements.[55] This is possible,

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[52] Breeze and Dobson, Hadrian's Wall, p. 207.
[53] Jeffrey P. Sedgley. The Roman Milestones of Britain (Oxford: B.A.R., 1975) p. 42.
[54] R.I.B. vol. 1. 933.
[55] Wacher, Towns, p. 277.

not in the sense of creating the _civitates_, but, as Wacher looks at it, as the earliest division of duties between military and civilian, a move which did not occur outside of Britain until the reign of Diolectian.[56] In creating the separate empire, Posthumus may have found it necessary to balance things between soldiers and civilians if he wished to have civilian support.[57]

Such a division would have given more self-governing rights to the _pagi_ of the _civitates_. By lessening military control, the _curiales_ in the various districts gained control of the lead and/or iron mines in their areas. Branigan, in his study of the north, noted the high density of settlement in the western valleys. There a surplus of local production contributed to inland forts and towns.[58] Their existence was rural - agricultural and pastoral -requiring higher taxes. With control of the mines the civilians in the west could help to prevent a greater financial division with its eastern counterpart.

Carlisle must have been a town of impressive size and large buildings.[59] In an anonymous biography of St. Cuthbert, Cuthbert in A.D. 685 described large walls of Roman origin.[60] Beyond this the finds are small and tell us little of the type of people who lived there. The west contained many Romano-British settlements, and it

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[56] Ibid., p. 407.
[57] Salway, _Roman Britain_ 1A, p. 277.
[58] Nick Higham, "Native Settlements West of the Pennines," in _Rome and the Brigantes_ ed. by Branigan, p. 47.
[59] Dorothy Charlesworth, _Roman Carlisle_, p. 123.
[60] Vita Sancti Cuthberti, 4.

is assumed on the basis of inscriptions that Carlisle contained a mixture of people. William of Malmesbury recorded numerous altars to many gods:[61] local, Celtic, and eastern. There were inscriptions to Mars Barrex,[62] Mars Belatucadrus,[63] Mars Ocelus,[64] Mars and Victory,[65] and Cautes,[66] attendant to Mithras, and the usual dedications to various Mother Goddesses and the Genius. There is one inscription of a Greek Christian, Papias, possibly a trader.[67] All of these indicate a diverse population engaged in trade and commerce and with a military background.[68] The evidence is limited but serves to show a sound community of wealth and size only a few hundred feet from the frontier.

The civitas capitals reflect the wealth that third century Romanization brought to them. Only one, Petuaria , Brough-on-Humber, failed as a town, but still maintained its urban look. This can be understood by studying the positions of the other three. Malton, Aldborough, and Carlisle lay in the center of major trade routes to the military with more than one access route. Aldborough alone became so busy that a special road was built to take some traffic to the east of the town.[69] Such wealth as these towns acquired was due to the development of Roman styled towns, an

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[61] Charlesworth, Roman Carlisle, p. 122.
[62] R.I.B. vol. 1. 947.
[63] R.I.B. vol. 1. 948.
[64] R.I.B. vol. 1. 949.
[65] R.I.B. vol. 1. 950.
[66] R.I.B. vol. 1. 943.
[67] R.I.B. vol. 1. 955.
[68] Charlesworth, Roman Britain, p. 122.
[69] Sedgley, Milestones, p. 38; R.I.B. vol. 1. 2278.

acceptance that could not spread fully because of limited wealth at the end of the period of Roman expansion, but can be seen in the smaller communities that grew up alongside small forts on Hadrian's Wall and elsewhere.

The Vici

The urbanization of northern Britain was not accepted by many scholars as expanding beyond East Yorkshire; anything smaller than a civitas capital was considered less than a town and hardly Roman. However, excavations along Hadrian's Wall produced numerous civil settlements outside the gates of the walled forts; remains of these appeared to be more than those of a canabae. These were the vici, the most Romanized settlement found along the frontier.[70]

With the construction of Hadrian's Wall, not only was the expansion of the Roman Empire halted, but so too was the urban growth of Britannia Inferior. Without new military markets to profit from, the vici on the wall had limited markets and therefore limited growth potential. Under these circumstances, as Branigan states, the "full spectrum of urbanization in Britain" must be expanded to include the vici,[71] for they were of Roman design and represented town life as much as was possible at the boundary of the Empire.

The vici owed their existence to the fort that sat in front of

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[70] Salway, "Urbanizatrion in the North," p. 8.
[71] Ibid.

them.[72] In them resided the families of soldiers, if they possessed them, and the place where the soldier himself would retire. This was the difference between a _vicus_ and a _canabae_; the former housed families and some shops, the later was the shop and storage area for a legionary fortress. A _vicus_ was also known as a subdivision of the _canabae_, but according to Ulpian, a lawyer and advisor to the emperor, the _vicus_ can be considered a separate and self-governing unit. Ulpian states, " The man who comes from a _vicus_ is considered a citizen of the local government unit to which that _vicus_ answers".[73] In other words the _vicus_ itself is responsible to the _res publica_, the state, and not to a lesser individual. The _res publica_ for the northern _vici_ remains unknown, but, as Salway states, due to special considerations given to Aldborough, and later Carlisle, it is known that in the _civitas_ of the Brigantes administration fell to the local aristocracy.[74] However, whatever the smaller settlements' political status, they are known to have been called _vici_ by inscriptions at Housteads and Vindolanda.[75] They existed because of the presence of a fort, but they were not responsible to it.

In the second century, the Vallum provided a clear division between the civilian settlement and the army. However, the third century showed the insignificance of such a division, with the filling in of the ditch and the expanding of the civil settlements

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[72] Breeze and Dobson, Wall, p. 191.
[73] Ulpian Digest 50.1.30.
[74] Salway, "Urbanization in the North", p. 13.
[75] R.I.B. vol. 1. 1616, 1750.

to the gates of the forts. Within the military reforms of Septimius Severus was the cause of this change on the frontier, i.e. by permitting soldiers the right to marry while still in service. Severus' general policy had favored the army above all others.[76] The soldier could set up a household, domum comparare, and run a business except one engaging in agriculture in the province in which he was stationed. This helped to establish solid, more permanent vici without weakening the military strength or status by creating farmer soldiers.

The status of the population in the second century was one of confusion with the various titles for non-citizens.[77] Citizenship in Rome was dependent on the mother's status. The son of a Roman citizen mother and a freed man was considered a citizen whether or not his parents were married. On the frontier where soldiers were necessary, Rome was cautious in making the sons of non-citizen wives and Roman soldiers citizens, denying the mother's status while accepting the son for future use in the military. With the passage of the Constitutio Antoniniana under Caracalla all became citizens; this led to further importance of the vici, where the greatest concentration of Roman citizens lived within the province.[78] All who were free became full Roman citizens and thus created a stronger bond between the vici and the forts; the farmer supplied goods; the latter, jobs.

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[76] Dio 77.15.2-3.
[77] Breeze and Dobson, Wall, p. 193.
[78] Ibid.

The number of vici was large; yet the archaeological finds from most are very few. There are some basics, though, which are common to all of these settlements: strip houses, bathhouses, and mansiones. All three of these are easily found in the third century, which represented a period of rebuilding or remodeling of most structures. More easily identifiable are the remains found in the area that was the Vallum and north of it.[79] These are, at their earliest levels, third-century Severan stone buildings representing the expanding vici and in most cases they did not survive to any great extent, because of Constnatius Chlorus' invasion force in 296.[80]

Strip houses have produced the highest proportion of structural finds among the vici. This is not impossible, as these simple rectangular buildings served as both home and shop. They were two-storey with a gabled roof, the lower storey of stone, upper storey of timber, built with the shop to the front opening onto the street and with a large living room to the back. The finding of such structures is evidence of a civilian settlement.

Most sites show these buildings as centered over the Vallum. At Benwell the majority of the vicus was found in this area[81] and Severan in date, as was that at Housesteads where the vicus was

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[79] Peter Salway, The Frontier People of Roman Britain (Cambridge, England: The University Press, 1965) p. 68.
[80] J.R.S. 51 (1961): 163,164.
[81] Salway, Frontier People, p. 76.

built over the south road that came from the fort.[82] Two of the best

vici known to date for their information are Corbridge,(Corstopitum)

and Chesterholm (Vindolanda). The vicus at Corbridge was one of

great size because of its military role on the Stonegate frontier

and later as the depot of the north. Severus worked to turn it into

a fortress, but it was altered to an elaborate town at the junction

of the Stanegate and Dere Street,[83] with a grid street pattern and

insulae of various sizes.[84] At Vindolanda various strip houses have

been found. A second-century corridor house was turned into two

strip houses in the third century.[85] This is part of what Birley

calls vicus II which began in the later Antonine period, but in the

third century represented the structures lying over the Vallum. A

greater use of stone and the lack of coins for Commodus and Severus,

but with several for Pius and Aurelius, dates the reconstruction of

the building to A.D. 200.[86]

These are some of the best identified strip houses among all

vici known to date. Numerous others are known, but evidence is

limited to information supplied by aerial photography, as at Great-

chesters,[87] or by altars and tombstones as at Maryport,[88] Carvoran,[89]

[82] Eric Birley. Housesteads Roman Fort (London: H.M.S.O., 1936), p. 27.
[83] Salway, Frontier People, p. 48.
[84] Birley. Corbridge, pp. 23-26.
[85] Birley, Vindolanda, pp. 40-41.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Salway, Frontier People, p. 93.
[88] Ibid., p. 102.
[89] Ibid., p. 94.

and Carrawburgh.[90] Other sites such as Whitley Castle produced only a few ladies shoes,[91] while at Stanwix it is not even known where the vicus was placed.

Probably the building that was of greatest importance to a vicus was the bathhouse. These generally were built in the second century for military use and were either rebuilt or added to in the third century, possibly to accomodate civilian use.[92] The social importance of these buildings must have been one reason why the bathhouse was the most durable and left behind the most obvious remains.

Although the bathhouse was generally located outside the walls of a fort within a vicus, its major function was to serve the army. The designs of known baths are Hadrianic and represent the traditional floor plan.[93] However, the Severan period created a change in these buildings that became the standard: a large apodyterium, or changing room, on the north end that might indicate use by civilians at that time.[94] Such a possibility is based on the lack of an apodyterium in baths that are not near a vicus; Netherby(Castra Exploratorum) is one example where there is a dedication dated to Severus Alexander, but the Hadrianic floor plan shows no Severan addition.[95]

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[90] Ibid., p. 91.
[91] Ibid., p.95.
[92] Salway, "Urbanization in the North," p. 10.
[93] Salway, Frontiers, p. 80.
[94] Ibid., p. 183.
[95] Ibid., p. 109.

One of the problems found in studying bathhouses involves post-Roman robbing of walls and foundations. Roman baths in the post-Roman period served as excellent stone quarries. At Housesteads, an archaeological site along the Wall, with its well preserved remains has helped to define foundations at other sites, but there is little to show of a bathhouse because farmers took the stone for field walls.[96] At <u>Vindolanda</u> the original foundations are still visible but the Severan <u>apodyterium</u> and latrine wall were robbed. Severus worked to improve the architecture of Britain's forts, possibly as a means to preserve peace among its legions by showing them that their provinces were important or remembered in Rome, and that the refined stone work construction of the Emperor caught the eye of farmers needing stone who preferred it over the rougher Hadrianic stone.[97]

There are, however, two baths that are representative of the third century: at Chesters (<u>Cilurno</u>)[98] and at Bewcastle (<u>Fano Cocidi</u>).[99] From the remains of their floor plans the elaborate Severan additions are evident. Through a porch on the north end of the building there is an entrance into the <u>apodyteria</u>, which is also connected to an enlarged latrine area. The baths have a smaller lobby which is entered in the southeast corner of the changing room. Progression through the various cold and hot rooms is clockwise in

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[96] Birley, <u>Housesteads</u>, p. 22.
[97] Salway, <u>Frontier People</u>, p. 48.
[98] "Ravenna Cosmography," 107_{29}(143), p. 209.
[99] Ibid., 107.155.

two rectangular sections, finishing up in the hot dry room to the southeast of the changing room. It appears that the changing room serves to accommodate and create easier movement of a larger number of people through the baths. Baths at Chesters and at Bewcastle follow the same floor plan as do the remains of Vindolanda.[100]

The bathhouse was a sign of true Romanization. Its purpose was social and especially promotive of cleanliness, which the Romans considered part of a civilized society. Baths were generally large structures decorated with mosaic floors and altars to the goddess Fortuna. The need for aqueducts to transport water created an expense for such small vici. The military was originally responsible, but civilian growth in population and taxes must have made the third-century expansion and architecture possible. There was very likely some wealth present for these to be built by the civilian population.

The final structural element of the vici, the mansio, is not limited to just this type of settlement, but is always present. A mansio is the Roman equivalent of the modern day motel; it was a roadside inn found on the edge of the vici. Like the Roman postal service which had stations every fifteen miles, mansiones were also located along major trade routes at various distances many times not connected with any settlement.

The archaeological remains of a mansio are just as easy to define as those of a bathhouse. Aerial photography reveals a

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[100] Birley, Vindolanda, p. 35.

complex of buildings at Chesters,[101] while at Benwell was found a long

rectangular structure with a nave and two aisles, a common, simple

floor plan that represents the same type of structure.[102] How

elaborate a _mansio_ was depended on its location, and Chesters, lying

on the Tyne River, proved more attractive than Benwell. Although

Benwell reflects a strong growth of building over the _Vallum_, the

barn-like _mansio_ that it had was new and represented the Severan

growth[103] as dated by the pottery sealed in the foundation.[104] Chesters,

on the other hand, was typical of _mansiones_ showing many alterations

through various periods.

Third-century dating for _mansiones_ is unusual, for most date to

the Antonine period. It is only assumed that these inns saw some

improvements at this time when freedom of movement was possible.

Corbridge, as an example, was originally a small fort. At the time

of Severus, designs to turn it into a fortress were produced but

were rejected with the prominence of York. Instead, Corbridge

remained a small fort, but with an extensive depot to supply the

Wall area as well as its civilian settlement.[105] This was the

largest center in the northeast area of Hadrian's Wall, and,

considering the style of a _mansio_ with a fountain designed in a

shrine-like structure, it probably served as a place for soldiers to

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[101] Salway, _Frontier People_, p. 80.

[102] Ibid., pp. 74-75.

[103] Ibid., p. 71.

[104] Ibid., p. 75.

[105] Birley, _Corbridge_, p. 18.

go on leave,[106] much like Wroxeter to the southwest.[107]

Once again, though, it is Vindolanda that produces the best remains. Here the gradual change and expansion of a mansio can clearly be studied. The third century can likely be seen through the remains of an extended barracks that served as housing for married soldiers.[108] The evidence is not conclusive, but strong proof does come from a coin hoard belonging to Birley's vicus II period and showing use in the first half of the third century. These coins reveal that Severan construction began in the last three years of the second century; likewise, there was a lack of a coin later than Commodus. During the period 245-270 the site was abandoned, and not used again until later, as the coins of Gallienus 253-268, Tetritus I and II, 271-273, and Victorinus, 269-271, found in that period after the fall of the Gallic Empire, reveal.[109] Although it is not solid evidence, it does help to indicate at least two construction periods in the third century.

In the earlier half it is seen that a courtyard block was built over the east wing, the original kitchen and guest rooms, while leaving the west wing of stables intact. The enlarged area added an enlarged kitchen, six guest rooms, a new larger bathhouse and a brewery.[110] During the last quarter of the century the baths went out of use somewhat by civilians, but this was not a drastic decline. As

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[106] Ibid., p. 16.
[107] Ibid., p. 26.
[108] Birley, Vindolanda, p. 47.
[109] Ibid., p. 48.
[110] Ibid., p. 44.

long as there was a military garrison, there was a vicus with both

units separate and yet dependent upon each other. During the fourth

century further improvements in Wall settlements reduced the need

for the Stanegate, requiring less construction and a smaller

business in travel. Such early third-century improvements in older

settlements, like Vindolanda, on the Stanegate, became common along

the Wall forts; hypocausts and improved facilities in the settle-

ments on the main road built between the forts and former Vallum

meant a more direct route.[111] Except for Corbridge, Stanegate

settlements took on more of a military appearance for training

camps, while the Wall vici became even more urbanized in the later

third century.[112]

The growth and expansion of strip houses, bathhouses, and

mansiones are all elements of a Roman town. Their use in the vici

of the north in the third century does not represent the beginnings

of towns, but, in Branigan's words, the "substantially Romanized"

elements along the frontier.[113] Each vicus was different in size but

all prospered during this period.

Self government even started to become more common among them.

The development of Carlisle at the west end of the Wall as the

civitas capital of the Eden valley initiated a sweep through

Brigantian lands for more localized government.[114] Both Chesterholme

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[111] Breeze and Dobson, Wall, p. 212.
[112] Ibid., pp. 210-213.
[113] Salway, "Urbanization in the North," p. 8.
[114] Breeze and Dobson, Wall, p. 208.

and Corbridge by virtue of their vast settlements, ten acres and seventy acres, respectively, gave them political importance.[115] The fact that Corbridge was also an enclosed town gave it further significance in the changing Roman world. Once Rome thought walls around conquered communities a problem, but in the third century recognized them as essential and a sign of wealth.[116] This showed great trust in the expanding native communities which Rome worked so hard to remove from behind walls, only to rebuild them for security. No longer were there fears of internal unrest, for the Pennines were at peace as well as the earlier rebellious areas in County Durham, Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Westmorland. This fact is responsible for the development of the vici as well as the smaller settlements throughout these areas.

With the Vallum removed, development along the Wall gained momentum. Carlisle served as the port in the west, while South Shields (Arbeia) became the eastern port and attracted civilian traders and officials. South Shields did not attract a large civilian population, but like London became more of a business center.[117] At that time it was under civilian government, though in the fourth century its harbor became strategically important for protection from invasions. Meanwhile, also on the Cumberland west coast, Maryport (Alavna), and Moresby (Tunnacelum), all south of Carlisle, grew as coastal towns of trade with the communities in the

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[115] Ibid., p. 205.
[116] Rivet, Town and Country, p. 92.
[117] Salway, Frontiers, pp. 61-62.

Western Pennines. Their <u>vici</u> are judged by the cemetaries and temple areas found south of their towns and are a common part of a <u>vicus</u>. With the growth of coastal towns from external and internal trade, these settlements all along the major roads could not help but prosper and develop under the Severan military reforms and civil developments .

"Small Towns"

One of the greatest influences that Rome had in Britain was the development of a system of roads that connected larger centers, such as York, with the <u>civitas</u> capitals, and the smaller <u>vici</u> along the frontiers. Between them there were what are classified in this study as "small towns", a modern-day definition rather than a title. The Roman name for little town was <u>oppidum</u>, but this is inaccurate for use in Britain. There this term more closely describes the <u>vici</u>, while the modern term "village" is more accurate in this instance.[118] In these "villages" were the strong remnants of Celtic society combined with the influence of the Romans. These settlements represented the roadside and minor settlements common throughout the Roman Empire to aid in administration of the provinces.

The role of administration was assigned to these smaller settlements by their role in the <u>cursus</u> <u>publicus</u>. Not only did postal workers stop along their route, but so did provincial

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[118] Michael Todd, "The Small Towns of Roman Britain," <u>Britannia</u> 1 (1970): 116.

governors and members of their staff and <u>beneficiarii consulares</u>.[119]
Through these small centers the Roman government worked to govern
the <u>pagi</u>, divisions in the <u>civitates</u>. Beyond this there is little
on which to judge these settlements.

Although considered part of the urbanization of the north,
their existence was more closely related to the rural areas. The
Romano-British settlements in the north had held to the agricultural
economy of the Brigantes.[120] Rome offered very little in the form of
agricultural improvements to farming communities; rather, it made
the rural areas more accessible by the roads it built.[121] Thus these
"villages"or "small towns" not only provided produced for their own
needs, but also acted as market-centers for the surrounding farms.

The location of a "small town" did not depend on any criteria
and can be found in the hilly regions, valleys, moors, and wooded
areas. If the "town" was to prosper, it required access to the main
roads and the development of villas within the surrounding land.
According to Rivet, the distribution of villas depended on a town
within two to four miles distance, and in the north each "small
town" or posting station had a "satellite" villa that depended upon
it and <u>vice versa</u>.[122] Looking at the <u>Ordinance Survey Map of Roman
Britain</u>, it is evident that the forests were cleared in the Lowlands
where the Roman settlements and farms were more numerous, indicating

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[119] R.I.B. vol. 1. 235.
[120] Hermann Ramm, "Native Settlements East of the Pennines," in <u>Rome
and the Brigantes</u>, ed. by Branigan, p. 31.
[121] Rivet, <u>Town and Country</u>, p. 100.
[122] Todd, <u>Small Towns</u>, p. 129.

that land clearance took place at this time to make room for the rural roads that cut across the province. Along these grew the "towns" that cleared land for their own needs. In the distance further land was cleared for the villas. The "towns" depended on the roads and later on villas.[123]

There was no definite size required for these smaller settlements; instead their value was seen in whether or not their streets were walled in.[124] Walls were not constructed in the north until the late second and early third century around larger centers. So it is possible that the "small towns" did not grow until the third century and did not build walls until the later quarter of the century, as Salway states.[125] The walls enclosed simple houses and shops very similar to those found in the vici, but the streets branched off the main roads much like the curved hodgepodge of medieval streets.

Although agriculture played a major role in the growth of these "towns," archaeological evidence indicates some industrial activity on a small scale.[126] Native settlers generally remained farming or pastoral workers, but Roman influence and growing urbanization led to the expansion of lead and iron products.[127] Northern Britain's "small towns" grew up near the lead and iron mines. Such towns as

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[123] Ibid., p. 126.
[124] Ibid., p. 118.
[125] Salway, Roman Britain, pp. 262-63.
[126] West Yorkshire: An Archaeological Survery to A.D. 1500. 3 vols., M.L. Faull and S.A. Moorhouse, eds. (Wakefield, England: West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Council, 1981) Vol 1: Sources, Environment, and the County to A.D. 1066, p. 151.
[127] Todd, Small Towns, p. 129.

Adel, Wetherby, and Cleckheaton have produced coinage that places their foundations during the Severan period as suppliers to larger centers.[128] All these are in the region around Leeds (Camoludunum) and served the area between Leeds and Manchester. Adel and Cleckheaton show sizeable "towns" in their remains of Roman origin, while at Wetherby, native rites in burials would seem to indicate that the Roman settlement came later. The area was the supplier of lead for the whole of Britain. This industry helped to develop these "small towns" in the hilly regions of the Yorkshire Dales.[129] The growth of the lead industry was due to greater urbanization and the need for lead piping for public and private buildings and for lead coffins. This increased use of lead took Rome into the once rebellious areas. They were located primarily in the Pennines and the far west. Wharfedale was the major center for lead according to lead pigs found at Brough-under-Stainmore and Ellerker.[130]

In fact, one of the major reasons given for Rome's desire for Britain was the mineral wealth to be found there. The wealth that they provided was important to the military government which sought to control all mines. Ownership of mines and quarries by the Roman provincial government was in general the practice in Britain.[131] Administration of the mines was done by three methods: through a procurator for the emperor, placed under military control, or leased

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[128] Faul and Moorhouse eds. Sources, Environment, and the County to A.D. 1066, pp. 143-146.
[129] Ibid., pp. 143-145.
[130] Ibid., p. 149.
[131] Collingwood, Roman Britain 1B, p. 228.

to private companies. For Tacitus described Britain's metals as the "...reward of victory," serving to pay Rome for the cost of the new conquest. Pliny the Elder described the importance of lead and its accessibility at the time of Vespasian: "Lead is made into pipes and sheets. It is mined with some difficulty in Spain and Gaul, but in Britain is present in such quantity near the surface that there is a law limiting its exploitation."[132] Yet despite the importance of lead Romanization was never as strong in rural areas; there the Celtic styles remained dominant for the people who, nevertheless, accepted the importance and possibilities of the Roman economy.

Urbanization beyond York was dependent upon the native acceptance of Roman culture. The Severan recognition of the natives provided the Romans with the approval needed to develop the province. THe local aristocracy governed their tribal lands in the name of Rome in the _civitas_ capitals; native wives became Roman citizens, increasing the civilian population in the _vici_; and the improved system of roads between larger urban centers turned many native villages into the "small towns" that acted as the middlemen between town and country. This urbanization was a mixture of Roman and British cultures, in some cases more British than Roman, but still provided the economic means to change the province from one of Iron Age huts to planned towns.

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[132] Pliny, _Naturalis Historiae_ 34.49.164.

CHAPTER VI

VILLAS AND THE COUNTRYSIDE IN NORTHERN BRITAIN

The "towns" provided necessary services, shops and marketing

facilities, but had little to offer to the upper classes. Housing

was basic and there were no luxuries of the larger towns, like

public baths, to attract people of money. Day to day business was

primarily with the villas and not with the cities. Such towns might

have attracted soldiers' families--especially in the latter half of

the third century when Rome gave less money to the soldiers, but

rather more land for service--and peasant Britons, who worked on

farms but lived in towns.[1] The little contact that these people had

with stronger Romanized communities allowed the Celtic culture to

continue and influence even Roman citizens. However, even the

cities were dependent upon the countryside for their existance. Rome

had a heavily subsidized food supply that allowed the urban pro-

letariat to exist without employment. Meanwhile,

> the rest of the free town-dwelling world if it was not
> of private means or in public employ,either had to work
> in trade or in the craft and service industries of the
> city or was employed in the suburbs and surrounding
> countryside in agriculture or rurally-based industry.[2]

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[1] The Cambridge Ancient History, 12 vols. (Cambridge, England: The
University Press, 1961), vol 12: The Imperial Crisis and Recovery,
A.D. 193-324, edited by S.A. Cook, F.E. Adcock, M.P. Charlesworth,
and N.H. Baynes, p. 33-34.

[2] Salway, Roman Britain 1A, p. 588.

Although Britain had proven difficult for Rome to urbanize, there was no problem in getting the Britons interested in establishing the rural centers that produced the neccesities for the towns throughout the empire; the villa was Roman in name, but the idea of individual, self-sufficient settlements had begun in Britain back in the Iron Age. Rome's need for grain, though, was more than Britain produced and this created hardships for the British farms. In the north the military actions that had slowed urban growth also restricted growth of the countryside north of the Humber River during the Antonine period. Further complications were caused by the Severan wars in Scotland; however, from the peace that was established came the "forward movement in the civilization of the villas".[3] In the south the villa had reached a level of prosperity in the second century that previously had been unknown to British farmers, but the expansion of agricultural lands in the north in the third century was to mark the beginning of the golden age of villas.

Rome had little to offer Britain in the way of improved machinery. What Britain had in the way of equipment and technique had come earlier from the continent via the Belgic kingdoms.[4] The heavy wheeled plow, caruca, was used with an open field system in the pre-conquest period much the same as in the villas of Italy.[5] Caesar was the first to describe these farms and compared them to those in northern Gaul.[6] Round huts surrounded by an earthen work

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[3] Collingwood, Roman Britain 1B, p. 216.
[4] Rivet, Town and Country, pp. 100-01.
[5] Collingwood, Roman Britain 1B, p. 211.
[6] Caesar De Bello Gallico 5.12.

barrier from the Iron Age in Britain had the same design as the

Celtic settlements in Gaul. The Iron Age farms in Britain were the

hillforts that gave Rome so much trouble; at the time of the

Claudian conquest they had become more defensive, and farms spread

out as independent settlements and more closely resembled those of

Gaul.[7] This does not mean that the Belgae introduced the Britons to

farm equipment, as skilled smiths can be attested to by the metal

objects found, but that Britain had a similar culture going through

its own evolutionary process.[8]

Frere points out that cultivation of the soil had long been a

feature of southern Britain's economy in the Iron Age, and he, like

Haverfield, believes that it did not expand into the north. For the

longest time rural activity in the north was considered to be

woodland and could not sustain field farms, only pastoral com-

munities. Aerial photography has helped to show that beyond the

Vales of York and Pickering there were extensive fields.[9] This

would further help to explain the surplus of goods that Strabo lists

as being exported from Britain.[10] The southeast was rich in arable

land, but did not have all of these materials in its area and must

have traded throughout the island to obtain them with other goods

from the continent. Roman coins and pottery gradually filtered

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[7] Keith Branigan, "Celtic Farm to Roman Villa," in The Romano-British
Countryside 2 vols., edited by David Miles (Oxford: B.A.R., 1982)
Vol 1: p. 83.

[8] A.L.F. Rivet. The Roman Villa in Britain (New York: Frederick A
Pineyer, 1969), p. 18.

[9] Higham, "Native Settlements West of the Pennines," p. 41.

[10] Strabo Geography 4.5.1-2.

through Britain prior to A.D. 43. Their being found within the Brigantian communities where leather and bone goods were produced indicate independent Belgic merchants expanding the British markets into the north.[11] With the wealth of Rome only across the channel and grain being the most important military need, the northern lowlands would have profited from grain sales as well.

The major limitation on northern agricultural expansion was the primitive state that continued in the highland zone (northwest England) into the Roman period. This area prevented the development of the north as civilian until the third century. Whereas the south had continued to profit from Rome's presence as a civilian area and expand with its wealth into the countryside, the north remained under military control and therefore heavily taxed. This was a tax paid in kind because of a lack of coinage which prevented industrial growth that built towns;[12] with no towns, there was insufficient wealth for rural expansion.

The stability of the late second century was shattered by the physical devastation in the north when Albinus removed his troops. Further economic difficulties arose with the arrival of the Severan forces. Northern Britain, recently divided, suddenly became responsible for the feeding and housing of six legions plus various auxiliary forces; legio VI was the stationed legion, while Dio

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[11] Ramm, "Native Settlements East of the Pennines," p. 33; Rivet, Town and Country, p. 101.
[12] Keith Hopkins, "Taxes and Trade in the Roman Empire," J.R.S. 70 (1980): 120.

states that at least five other legions arrived with the emperor.[13]

The annona militaris and the issue of free rations, which became

part of a soldier's pay because of inflation, caused British

agriculture to fall into a recession.[14]

This final phase of military control, though, was brief. With

the departure of the imperial court and extra legions in 211, the

northern economy saw prosperity in the expanding towns. In the

countryside lay acres of arable land that the Roman army had

acquired from those unable to pay their taxes.[15] The new security

and urban wealth brought about increased interest in developing the

countryside. Thus began the second movement of Romanization.

The information concerning villas in the area north of the

Humber remains very slim. To date, there are thirty-nine possible

sites, with only twenty-seven of these described as "certain or

probable examples".[16] From the remaining sites the information is

too limited. Without sound finds, such as tesserae, window glass,

walls, and roof tiles, the certainty is less. Without these a site

is only another native settlement. Still, there is enough arch-

aeological evidence to show the third century as the golden age of

the villas.

The expansion of the Roman Empire was dependent upon an active

economy, an economy centered in the towns, and production centered

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[13] Herodian 3.14.3.
[14] Rivet, Roman Villa, p. 201.
[15] P.A.G. Clack "The Northern Frontier: Farmers in the Military Zone,"
in The Romano-British Countryside ed. by Miles, Vol 2: pp. 381-384.
[16] Keith Branigan, "Villas in the North: Change in the Rural
Lanscape," In Rome and the Brigantes, ed. by Branigan, p. 18.

in the countryside. The Roman villa was the core of the rural community and it is important to define this concept. In general a villa is described as a house with well-built walls, several rooms, hypocausts, tessellated pavements, and mosaics. Limiting the word to designate only elaborate rural dwellings is incorrect. Since the beginning of this century, historians and archaeologists have worked to come up with an acceptable definition of a villa, and so far the best is still that given by Collingwood in The Archaeology of Roman Britain:

> "Villa" in Latin, means farm. It is an economic term;
> it refers to the fact that the place so designated is
> an agricultural establishment...There is a popular tendency
> to restrict its application to the country houses of the
> rich, with luxurious accessories and an ambitious plan;
> but there is no good reason for any such restriction.
> Any house of the Roman period may be called a villa,
> provided it was the dwelling of people, somewhat Romanized
> in manners, who farmed a plot of land; as opposed to a[17]
> town house on the one hand and a cottage on the other.

The importance is placed on the degree of civilization of the occupant as defined in the Augustan era. Each individual saw a villa as something different; some agricultural, but primarily as the escape from the city and a return to the origins of the Roman people. Neither Hadrian nor Pliny the Younger held large tracts of farmland, while Varro, Virgil, and Columella worked to attract the interest of townsmen into agriculture. It represented economics and Virgilian romance, with the desire to build an urbs in rure which would provide the income for an individual to live in luxury in the

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[17] Robin G. Collingwood and Ian Richmond, The Archaeology of Roman Britain (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1933), p. 133.

city.[18]

Thus it became necessary that, in order to have a villa, a nearby town was required; this meant that farms were run for a townsman by a bailiff. Therefore without the Severan urban development northern Britain would not have had villas. And as with the vici, it is not size, but the degree of Romanization That is important. This meant a change in farming and thefabric of life .

If a town is a requirement for the existence of a villa, than it is in the northeast that the largest number were to be found. In this region there were the major social and market centers: York, Malton, Brough, and Catterick.[19] There was a strong sense of security, too, which had remained unaffected by the second century uprisings.[20] The development of villas, also, required the means to build and maintain them. In the east the four types of individuals that could do this were more numerous: retired legionnaries, retired auxiliary troops, the local aristocracy of the Brigantes and the Parisi, and businessmen. These represented the most Romanized and educated element in the population, those of new wealth found in the Roman system of trade, and the local group dedicated to Romanization to further acquire Roman goods.[21]

Each group settled among their own people or within an area where they could further advance in society. Retired soldiers who owned villas were of the higher ranks and settled around York and

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[18] Rivet, Villa, p. 277.
[19] Branigan, "Villas in the North," p. 20.
[20] Breeze and Dobson, Wall, pp. 105-108.
[21] Ibid.

Catterick.[22] Upon retirement a soldier usually received thirty to forty acres, an amount of land insufficient to maintain a villa. However, in the third century the army was given priority by the Severi over all others and perhaps larger allotments were given to officers to help further rural expansion. The use of tiles stamped "Legio VI" as at Collingham villa, west of York, is one example of this possibility. As for traders and merchants, they settled where they could best be promoted to higher social positions, e.g., near the civitas capitals, i.e. Brough, Malton, Aldborough.[23] A close association with these towns could earn an individual a position in the ordo. They could also maintain their trade and business contacts in these financial centers.[24] As regards villas of the tribal aristocracy, these are found near Brough and Malton for the Parisi and Aldborough for the Brigantes. These were the individuals who governed the civitates, serving on the ordo as magistrates, or decuriones. According to Rivet's study, the Parisi had the means to produce more villas of the Virgilian style, twenty-four to be precise, than the Brigantes, whose were smaller and of the rustic style.[25] Beyond these areas there are a few more villas, probably native-owned by their location. Around Bridlington there is a grouping and in the west near Elsack, Ilkley, Castleford, Bain-bridge, and Bowes single villas are noted, plus one as far north as Chester-le-Street. The western villas no doubt represent the third-

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[22] Branigan, "Villas in the North," p. 21.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Clack, "Farmers in the Military Zone," p. 397.
[25] Rivet, Villa, pp. 209-214.

century security in the Pennine and Wall regions. The number of these grouped around a single town shows the vast _territorium_ some towns had and may thus have supported a large population.

The first half of the third century laid the foundations for the northern province's villas. These were not for the first villas, but they represented the new age.

In the second century, the northern villas, like those of the south already represented sites of continuous use. There are three potential villas that demonstrate this: Old Durham, Holme House, and Apperley Dene. Each of these has a late second-century structure superimposed over an earlier native settlement that reflects the various stages towards the Romanized structures.[26] Old Durham was built over a boundary ditch of pre-Roman date, with a fourth century bathhouse marking the last period. Holme House reveals more, with its outline of a corridor house that was dismantled in the third century. Apperley Dene shows an enclosed native settlement that became strongly Romanized. It marks one of the northern sites that, though lacking native artifacts, shows that it had early dealings with the Romans.[27] The pottery was Roman and more than normal was found; there was Roman tile, unknown to strongly native sites; and no indication of weaving materials as is common on native sites. Thus it was a continuous site of two phases, one native, the second, Roman.[28]

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[26] Clack, "Farmers in the Military Zone," pp. 381-385.
[27] Ibid., p. 384.
[28] Ibid.

With the Severan age came the golden age. These are villa sites
that show clearly the end of native use and new foundations laid for
a Roman villa.[29] The best example of such is found at Collingham,
Dalton Parlours in West Yorkshire, a first century B.C. farm
settlement of timber structures that remained occupied until
sometime between A.D. 50 and 150 and then was unoccupied until the
third century, when the first stone structures were built.[30] The
residence has revealed ceiling plaster and mosaics of high quality,
with a bathhouse nearby. It is the excellence of decoration and the
building of the bathhouse at the same time as the residence and not
later, as on continuous native sites, that defines a high degree of
civilization; its proximity to York defines its owner as an indi-
vidual of high position in the colonia. Continuity of occupation is
disproved by the two sets of pottery found with a clear division
between native and Roman.[31] The original timber structure was large
and well constructed, but its destruction came about from local
uprisings and decay from further military advances.

At the time of the Claudian conquest many southern towns had a
partly-Romanized society, which provided for the continuity of many
rural sites. While at York a large portion of the rural population
was made up of retired legionnaries and suggests a region of new
landowners.[32] Riley's aerial photography of the Yorkshire landscape

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[29] Branigan, "Celtic Farm to Roman Villa," p. 92.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid., p. 93.
[32] Ibid., p. 94.

reveals extensive Roman fields.[33] These are distinguished from Celtic by their checkerboard pattern divided by the straight lines of the Roman roads, while Celtic fields were circular with irregular divisions of curves. The third century brought a change to the landscape through the clearing of thousands of acres of new fields for the many new owners.

A complete study of agricultural changes is not yet possible, but the increased role of agriculture in the economy can be seen. What was once a subsistance economy with limited surplus had grown into high profit farming. A retired Roman soldier followed the tradition that farming was for profit.[34] The native, on the other hand, sought out the improved lifestyle for his family, with his fields showing the gradual change to profit making. The distribution of villas in the north in groups close to the major centers of York, Malton, and Brough suggest the changing values of the natives who owned the greater number of villas.

Field systems of Rudston and Langston show the native changes. In both cases the creation of a villa involved one settlement's taking over the lands of other communities. Large-scale reorganization of field boundaries, seen in aerial photography and crop marks, reveals the acceptance of the natives to the Roman ideas. Though the fields were extensive in many cases, the villas did not reflect the expected elaborate features. They remained simple

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[33] Ramm, "Settlements East of the Pennines," p. 35.
[34] Branigan, "Villas in the North," p. 24.

rectangular houses with an Iron Age interior.[35]

The purpose of villas in the second century had been to express the owner's "Romanitas." Colorful mosaics were numerous in the Parisian villas and must have been thought to be the best way to impress Rome. In the third century, the fact that all became citizens of Rome was noticeable by the Parisis and Brigantes through an improved design in their villas.[36] Such improvements became even more noticeable in the second half of the century with the influx of Gauls.

Barbarian invasions had made urban life for the aristocracy impossible through excessive taxes. They had retreated to their villas to avoid the taxes to build the much needed town walls. With the sacking of towns there was nothing to collect, and no one could afford to buy the saleable lands. The departure of the aristocracy from Gaul and their arrival in Britain was marked by the building of courtyard villas on the island.[37] At present not one has been found north of the Humber, but this does not mean that none exist. The trade connections between the Humber and Rhine drew many Gallic traders to the northern province throughout the second and third centuries, and probably some settled in such villas in the north-east.[38]

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[35] Ibid., pp. 24-25.
[36] Ibid., p.26.
[37] Salway, Roman Britain 1A, p. 280.
[38] Mark Hassall, "Britain and the Rhine Provinces: Epigraphic Evidence for Roman Trade," in Roman Shipping and Trade: Britain and the Rhine Provinces, Joan du Plat Taylor and Henry Cleere eds. (London: C.B.A., 1978), pp. 43-46.

With or without a courtyard villa, northern Britain's country-
side overcame tremendous odds and became a viable part of Britannia
Inferior's success. In the Agricola Tacitus recorded Rome's abuse
of the grain levy and related how Agricola, employing the rule of
Tiberius to shear the sheep, not to skin them, eased the levy of
grain and tribute.[39] However, the extensive military actions in the
north did little to lighten the pressure placed on the small native
farms. Unlike other western provinces, i.e. Spain and Gaul, northern
Britain was the frontier and classified as a military zone. Spain,
though mountainous, had no permanent military zone. Gaul, on the
other hand, had a frontier army to supply, but its wealth made it
possible to produce enough grain for its own population and the
army, and still to send part from the Provence and Aquitania to the
annona of Rome itself.[40]

The third century marked a great rise in production of grain
due in part to the growth of Roman villas. During the second half
of the century when Britain became separated from Rome in the Gallic
Empire, 260-264, and again under Carausius from 276-294, the loss
of a food source was felt on the continent. Both Ammianus and
Zosimus recorded the need of British grain to support the western
continental legions.[41] Britain remained important and controlled
through the reign of Theodosius, after which the Saxon raids became

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[39] Suetonius The Twelve Caesars Tiberius 32.2, p. 26; Tacitus
Agricola 19.
[40] Frank. Roman Imperialism, pp. 578-79.
[41] Ammianus 18.2.3; Zosimus 3.5.2.

more than Rome could handle.[42] Rudston villa, east of York, re-
flected the growing wealth with its mosaics of aquatic creatures;[43]
the founding of the Petuarian school of mosaicists further suggests
the wealth that was able to be produced in the countryside and the
degree of "civilization" that the north had achieved.

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[42] Ammianus 28.3.1, 30.7.9, 30.9.1.
[43] Rivet, *Villas* p. 86.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

Although urbanization and the building of villas are considered two separate phases of Romanization, it is the relationship between them which created the prosperity of Britannia Inferior. Rivet states that "we cannot have a villa without a town;"[1] and Collingwood says that "towns were parasitic on the countryside,"[2] for one depended upon the other. Villas required the funds found among those who could afford to live in the larger towns, and towns required the goods that were produced in the villas. Their existence proved the acceptance of the Roman lifestyle, but without the division that occurred between town and country elsewhere in the empire. Britannia Inferior had succeeded in preserving the necessary unity that had Romanized the natives by their continued interest in Roman goods and civilization.

Within the first two decades of the third century, the emperor Septimius Severus and his son Caracalla recognized the native populations of the empire in both marriage and citizenship. Their purpose was not to give equality to the natives; these rights were to appease the army and to create more tax revenues. In the case of

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[1] Rivet, Town and Country, p. 105.
[2] Collingwood, Roman Britain 1B, p. 198.

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northern Britain these reforms served as the catalysts to the urbanization of the province. The acceptance of the natives and their increased role in the state drew them into the towns off their simple farms. As their wealth grew with the aid of Roman urban economics, which provided extensive trade outside the province, native Britons wished to further emulate their conquerors by returning to live part-time in the countryside in the luxury of villas. With the further expansion of the rural lands for profit, and in close proximity to the towns for greater access to the market centers, the native population had recognized the most important phase of Romanization. They built and supported the existence of the towns.

Pre-conquest farms of circular, wattle and daub, Celtic huts, still existed and supported native settlements in Iron Age fashion through the third century.[3] These settlements were in the mountainous areas where Rome had battled in the second century and were pacified by the Severan armies. The Boudiccan rebellion taught Rome not to force change upon the Britons, but to let them choose how they wished to live. Thus, so long as they remained peaceful, the Celtic farms would not have to change. And while these people lived in the "Iron Age", the people of the lowlands lived in the urbanized areas of the capital at York, or in the native capitals of Aldborough, Brough, or Malton, or in the largest form of native urbanization, the vici. The "degree of civilization" was less than

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[3] Collingwood and Richmond, Archaeology, p. 181.

that of Gaul and Spain nevertheless, it marked a successful Roman province.

The third century was a period of prosperity for northern Britain marked by an increase in the civilian population and its interest in the Roman lifestyle. In his book on the northern frontier, Breeze best describes the difference between the second and third centuries:

> The second century might in simplistic terms be called a century of war, the third century one of peace. This is certainly the impression provided by the contemporary sources. Through the second century references to warfare or in the imperial biographies and other documents, but from 211 to 297 there is not a single such comment in the, admittedly sparse, literary sources. The difference between the two centuries may not merely reflect the different sources, or the change in imperial interest in Britain, but may accurately reflect the actual situation on the northern frontier for the picture which emerges from the literary sources is supported by the testimony of archaeology.[4]

There can be no doubt that this change from war to peace, achieved by Septimius Severus, relaxed the governmental pressure that the north felt, allowing it to develop as a civilian zone. No longer did the north serve as the military playground for the emperor's personal glory, but as an urbanized province with York as its center and towns radiating from it to the distant frontier.

Salway described the early third century as a time of "revolution and prosperity."[5] The Severan reforms created a rapidly growing prosperity that permitted public and private development to shoot forward. Archaeological excavations have produced evidence

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[4] Breeze, _Frontiers_, p. 125.
[5] Salway, _Frontier People_, p. 192.

that shows widespread building, from York to Hadrian's Wall, along new lines,[6] which reflected the Roman idea of urban living.

Prior to the third century urban development was restricted to York and those areas that lay within the Vale of York. York itself, although a _municipium_, did not reflect a strong Romanized community. Its title was due more to its role as a trade center for the north than as a major town. The position York held in the last quarter of the second century came only because of the Antonine withdrawal from the north; this had caused another phase of building, noted in timber structures along Tanner Row.[7] With the success of Severus in A.D. 193, York entered the third century with the strength of stone and concrete construction in its civilian settlement across the river from the fortress.

Archaeological excavations, in 1984 in York have found stone buildings that date to the period 197-211 built on top of the timber structures mentioned above.[8] This was the solid construction that was influenced by the emperor Septimius Severus, who no doubt had York built up to reflect its new position of provincial capital. York earned this position not for having a large settlement of veterans, but for an increased civilian population that is attested to by the excavations of the cemetery on The Mount and Trentholme Drive.[9] The cemetery showed use since the first century; however,

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[6] Jones, "Change on the Frontier," p. 408.

[7] Nick Pearson, "General Accident (Tanner Row)" _Interim_ 10 no. 1 (November 1984): 6.

[8] Ibid., p. 5; Pearson, "General Accident" _Interim_ 9 no. 4 (June 1984): 10-12.

[9] L. Wenham, _Trentholme Dr. Cemetery_, p. 4.

its use increased in the third century as the pottery and other grave goods have shown. Even with the unusual presence of the military York became a _colonia_.

York showed the changes Rome had to make if the northwest was to remain a peaceful part of the empire. There was neither the large veteran population found at other _colonia_, nor did it gain its title as a major settlement that was given to civilians by the military that had abandoned the site. York's _colonia_ grew on virgin soil and was recognized for its independence from the military. The population was not of Roman citizens, but of natives that had become accustomed to Roman luxury goods and had gained the wealth that permitted them to live in towns that had easier access to those luxury items.

The architectural and political advancements in York were further enhanced by the imperial visit from 207-211. This direct contact with Rome's elite was to help further the urban growth and organization of the northern province. Severus' grants of permission for soldiers to marry served as the catalyst for the expansion of the _vici_, settlements that were considered earlier to be of military origin, but in Britain represented the best means for urban communities to develop along the frontier.[10] Their expansion further enhanced the wealth of the _civitas_ capitals which were

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[10] Salway, "Urbanization of the North," pp. 8-9.

responsible for their political and industrial organization.[11]

The civitas capitals were part of the Hadrianic organization of the north, but had achieved little wealth until the third century. Like York, Aldborough and Brough-on-Humber, which was displaced by Malton, both show urban wealth in architecture and industry. This wealth spread into the west and caused a division of the Brigantian lands and formed the new civitates of Luguvalium, centered at Carlisle.

The growth of towns in the west had required such a division of wealth. Caracalla's Constitutio Antoniniana had established better relations between the soldiers and civilians by declaring all free born people of the empire Roman citizens. There were no longer any social differences. This combined with the earlier Severan act of marriage caused the vici to grow across the Vallum along Hadrian's Wall, as well as near the forts of the Pennines and along the west coast. Families settled near the forts, developing new industrial and trade centers.

With the growth of civilian settlements, more and improved roadways covered the province. Smaller towns grew up along these roads between the larger centers; these were primarily agricultural settlements that had contact with the rural native farms and villas. These towns indicate the peace that existed by having no military

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[11] R. Hingley, "Roman Britain: The Structure of Roman Imperialism and the Consequences of Imperialism on the Development of a Peripheral Province," in The Romano-British Countryside ed. by Miles, pp. 24-25.

fort near them for protection.. Along some stretches of road even smaller settlements, the _mansiones_, existed. Some were built in towns, as indicated above, but many of these roadside inns lay between towns to serve military officers and the postal service with rest stops.

These smaller "urban" units marked the acceptance of Romanization, as Rome considered the town the most important phase of its conquest of a new province. In Britain such a development was slow to take hold, since nothing resembling a town existed in the pre-Roman period. With northern Britain's limited area for expansion and strong military presence, it took the Severan reforms, although favoring the soldiers, to encourage civilian settlements. Only with this success could Rome enter upon its second phase, the growth of villas.

These Roman settlements were accepted easily by the natives, for, as Caesar noted, the Britons had lived in similiar units prior to the Claudian conquest. On the continent it was such rural estates that were weakening the urban population at this time. In northern Britain the idea of owning both a townhouse and country estate was new, and though many villas were built, their owners did not live in them, but left them to the charge of a bailiff. They were as self-sufficient as the villas of Italy, except that the houses were smaller and were merely visited by their owners in the evening. Collingwood described the towns as "parasitic" of the villas, since these were the largest producers of goods, especially grain. The

proximity of villas to the towns would show that they were close to their necessary trade distribution center. Their closeness to the towns, also, kept the greatest share of the owner's wealth in the towns, which made the life of the decuriones a lot easier than it was on the continent.

While the rest of the Roman Empire faced war and economic failure in the third century, northern Britain saw peace and prosperity. The military actions of the second century had delayed the Romanization of the area. It was only with the guidance of Septimius Severus in the first decade of the third century that the north became an expanding civilian province. Britannia Inferior was militarily protected, yet guided by a civilian government. The diversity of population created a wealth of industry and trade that embedded peace into the province to preseve the prosperity of the new age.

APPENDIX

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Urbanization in Gaul and Spain

Gaul and Spain had been influenced in the fifth-century B.C. by the Greek colonists who first brought the idea of planned towns to the west. In Gaul such towns only existed in the south Provence region, but did have an influence in tribal communities north of there. Many built walls around their tribal capitals in a manner similiar to the south, as noted by Caesar. In Spain, however, there was a steady influence of Greek and Carthaginian, so that when Rome made it part of the empire after the First Penic War it was already an urbanized province. Both provinces prospered and grew due to the long distance trade made possible by the continous expansion of the Roman Empire. Gaul transported grain while Spain shipped wine.

The Roman advance into Germany at the time of Augustus placed a large number of soldiers nearby that further expanded the markets of the two provinces. With the conquest of Britain, Spain and Gaul became the chief suppliers for the majority of the western frontiers. As their trade markets increased in number and size, so did their industries, which allowed for greater urban growth and expansion. The lack of military advance beyond Britain curtailed western industrial growth, weakening the economy on the continent. Britain, however, was able to develop a strong industry due to its large military population in the third century, but without further military expansion urbanization was limited.

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