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ASPECTS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE BRIGANTES

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VOLUME II

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER TEN

RELIGION IN CENTRAL BRITAIN

Evidence pertaining to the spiritual life of the inhabitants of Central Britain is incomplete. There is no direct written material relating to later pre-Roman times. No doubt, the information provided by Classical writers concerning religion in Gaul and to a lesser extent elsewhere including Britain may be called upon to throw some light on the situation in Central Britain since the region was part of the Celtic realms. Even so, such evidence cannot distinguish either variations within the Celtic tradition itself or else other traditions surviving from pre-Celtic times that may have been peculiar to the region. Appeal to later literary record in Irish and Welsh sources contains a similar difficulty. This leaves archaeological evidence which, in the normal course of an investigation, might be expected to make up for the lack of direct information. Yet spiritual life, or more shortly, religion, is in many ways intangible and often difficult enough to comprehend even with the aid of written and spoken accounts and explanations. Without such accounts, to attempt to understand the spiritual thoughts of folk long since dead would seem to be a well-nigh impossible task. Nevertheless, some progress seems possible, for religion, especially at the level of communal endeavour, may express itself through the medium of material remains (cf. Clark, 1957, 232). Locations

where religious activity has been concentrated might be expected to exhibit the results in the form of the ruins of structures, such as shrines, together with artefacts, such as brooches, which have been deposited as votive offerings to supernatural powers. Such locations might be described as hallowed spots or sacred places.

That the Celts in general possessed sacred places is to be expected and this is supported by the evidence of various Classical authors. Diodorus Siculus, following Posidonius, states that there were in Gaul "temples and sanctuaries which are dedicated throughout the country" (Diod.Sic.V, 27, 4; Tierney, 1960, 249). That these places were sometimes woodland groves is clear from a reading of Lucan's account of the destruction of a sacred grove near Marseilles by Caesar. "Gods were worshipped there with savage rites, the altars were heaped with hideous offerings, and every tree was sprinkled with human gore" (Lucan, Pharsalia, III, 399-426; Duff, 1928, 143-5). The same is implied by the same poet's reference to the Druids who "dwell in deep forests with sequestered groves" (Pharsalia, I, 453-4; Duff, 1928, 36). For Britain, Tacitus records sacred groves of the Druids in Anglesey (Annals, XIV, 30). In addition, Dio Cassius refers to the Britons having 'holy places' (hiera), and to human sacrifices being offered to Andraste, the goddess of Victory, in a 'sacred wood' (alsos) (LXII, vi, 7; Dillon and Chadwick, 1967, 138).

Another type of holy site was the expanse of standing water. According to Posidonius, quoted by Strabo, the Tectosages deposited a vast amount of treasure in hallowed enclosures (or shrines) and in sacred lakes (or pools) (Strabo, IV, i, 13; Tierney, 1960, 262).

The island is another kind of sacred site. Posidonius, quoted by Strabo, mentions women living on an island off the south of the Loire where they performed various sacred rites. He also reports their custom of removing the roof of their temple every year and having to roof it again the same day. One of the participants suffered the fate of being torn to pieces by the others in the process (Strabo, IV, iv, 6; Tierney, 1960, 269). Pomponius Mela also refers to an island off the coast of Brittany on which lived nine priestesses (Chorographia, III, vi, 8; Dillon and Chadwick, 1967, 138).

Finally, another type of sacred place is the grave, as reported by Tertullian (de anima, 57; cited by Dillon and Chadwick, 1967).

Some of the sacred places would seem to have been cult centres of special importance to individual tribes. For example in the year 216 BC after defeating the Roman commander Lucius Postumius, the Boii carried off the spoils of victory to their most hallowed temple (Livy, History XXIII, 24). The implication here is that not only did the Boii possess more than one 'temple' but that one

of these was pre-eminent amongst the others. That a sacred place could assume supra-tribal significance is indicated by Caesar's account of the meeting place of the Druids in the land of the Carnutes. "All who have disputes come here from all sides." (Caesar, Gallic War, VI, 13; Tierney, 1960, 271).

Mention of temples in the accounts does not necessarily imply a structure of timber, much less of masonry, and it is not clear whether or when roofed buildings were being denoted. The original Greek and Latin terminology is open to different interpretations. Much of the evidence referring to groves and sanctuaries seems to imply the atectonic nature of Celtic practice and this was the conclusion that Lewis came to in his study Temples in Roman Britain (1965, 4). However, the reference to a roofed structure, though this is clearly of a simple form, is evident in the story of Posidonius quoted above concerning the temple-building activity of the women inhabiting the off-shore island. As will be seen archaeological evidence gives support to this idea.

The presence of cult figures at sacred sites is attested by various authorities. For example, Caesar records that the Gauls especially revered 'Mercury', "of whom there are the most images" (Gallic War, VI, 17; Tierney, 1960, 272). Lucan, too reports that "The images of the gods, grim and rude, were uncouth blocks formed of felled tree trunks" (Pharsalia, III, 412-413; Duff, 1928, 144).

While Caesar implies that the images of the Gallic Mercury were recognisable anthropomorphic effigies, Lucan, if not merely indulging in poetic exaggeration for the sake of effect, indicates at least scant regard for naturalistic rendering, if not indeed non-anthropomorphic representations.

That offerings to the gods were made at the sacred places is clear also from some of the classical accounts. Implicit in Livy's account of the victorious Boii mentioned above is that war-spoils were dedicated at their temple although no deity name is given for the presiding god or gods. Caesar too speaks of such offerings, saying that the Gallic people "frequently vow to Mars whatever they may take in war....... In many states one may see in sacred places lofty mounds of these objects....." (Gallic War, VI, 17; Tierney, 1960, 272). Votive offerings are also mentioned by Suetonius when he mentions temples being plundered by Caesar (Divus Iulius, LIV).

In addition to the classical evidence, Irish and Welsh written sources also make reference to sacred places. It is not proposed here to attempt to gather together examples of these. However, Wait has analysed a selection of tales from these sources and has identified eight types of location which provide points of contact with the supernatural. He calls them 'liminal places' (1986, 216, 229-231). Síd mounds, lakes and islands feature as points of contact with supernatural beings by serving as places

of entry to or exit from the Otherworld. In addition to lakes, water in general, including wells and springs, was often the setting for supernatural events. Linked to this, perhaps, are fords across rivers but these in a sense are also to be regarded as spanning boundaries, also identified by Wait as another type of contact point. Woods too in general are places where Otherworld influences are likely to be felt. Finally, gathering places such as tribal and provincial centres, where meetings were accompanied by feasting, were potential points of contact with the supernatural.

As can be seen, these various liminal places reflect and amplify the evidence concerning sacred places discussed above.

Before leaving the evidence of written sources, reference should be made to place names incorporating the Gallo-Brittonic word nemeton, meaning 'sacred grove' and 'shrine'. The meeting place of the council of the Galatians in Asia Minor was Drunemeton 'the oak sanctuary'. Across the Celtic realms there are many other place names incorporating this element, including Nemetudurum, Nanterre in France, and Nemetobriga, near Pueblo de Tribes in Spain. In Britain there are Medionemeton in southern Scotland, Vernemeton near Lincoln and Aquae Arnemetiae, the modern Buxton in Derbyshire (Ross, 1967, 36; Piggott, 1975, 63-4; Rivet and Smith, 1979, 254). This provides further widespread evidence of

the importance of sacred places in the life of the Celtic peoples.

Turning now to archaeological evidence, the importance of waters is underlined by the numerous finds of votive deposits connected with them. The deposits at the natural springs known as the Giants Springs at Duchcov in Czechoslovakia dating to the second or third century BC may serve as an example. Here a bronze cauldron containing 1,200 bronze and iron objects was discovered (Piggott, 1965, 231; 1975, 76). Amongst other similar sites are La Tène on Lake Neuchatel, Llyn Cerrig Bach in Anglesey and Carlingwark in Scotland. The collections of objects found in these locations seem best explained as resulting from ritual deposition (Vouga, 1923; Fox, 1946; Piggott, 1953).

Related to these watery sites are ritual wells and shafts of which there are many examples, both continental and British. In the various shafts and wells such items as animal and human bones, metal objects and potsherds have been discovered. These presumably represent votive deposits resulting from ritual behaviour. A group at Holzhausen in Bavaria may be mentioned. In this case three ritual shafts were within an enclosed area nearly 91m (300ft) square. The shafts were up to 2.4m (8ft) in diameter and 36.6m (120ft) deep. One shaft contained an upright post at the bottom with the remains of organic

materials, interpreted as resulting from flesh and blood (Piggott, 1965, 232; 1975, 72).

For Britain Ross has listed and studied a large number of examples (from 59 sites) embracing shafts, pits and wells, both of the Iron Age and Roman periods. She concluded that they were a Belgic phenomenon (Ross, 1968, fig.67). Wait, following Ross, has also studied the British sites. He has refined the selection of sites and the analysis of their contents, dealing separately with Iron Age and Roman examples. The Iron Age examples were seen to be concentrated in the south-east of England, in west Kent and Surrey but also to spread beyond across lowland England south of a line drawn between the Severn and Trent. From the distribution Wait rejects the Belgic explanation suggested by Ross (Wait, 1986, 61 and fig.3.1).

Another type of sacred site, or rather another characteristic of some sites, was mentioned above in connection with the Holzhausen ritual shafts, namely, the enclosure. Both rectangular and circular examples are known. Of the former, there are two categories, one a large, elongated type, the other comparatively small and squarish. They are identified by internal evidence for ritual procedure, including sacrifice (Piggott, 1965, 232; 1975, 67). The smaller, square-ditched enclosures are widespread. Sometimes these enclosures contain burials, sometimes four-post settings five to eight feet square as

though intended for small shrines, but basically the sacred area within the enclosure is unroofed. It is thus clear that there is plenty of evidence in pre-Roman Celtic contexts for open air enclosures devoted to sacred purposes. At the same time, there is evidence for roofed structures too which would justify the word 'temple' used in translating some of the classical texts. A continental example is that at St-Germain-les-Roches, Côte d'Or, where postholes and pits below the Romano-Celtic masonry structure may be interpreted as a Celtic predecessor of the later temple (Piggott, 1965, 232; 1975, 54).

British examples of Iron Age temples have been reviewed by Drury who concluded that rectangular examples outnumbered those that were circular in shape (Drury, 1980). There is room for confusion, however, between indigenous domestic circular structures and religious examples, especially before excavation has taken place, and it may well be that many round ones have not been identified.

Finally, from what has already been said it is clear that offerings were made at sacred sites. In addition, images of deities are also found. One example, in stone, is the sculpture from the double-rectangular enclosure at Mšecke Žehrovice in Czechoslovakia. However, that offerings and images could be fashioned from wood is clear from the discoveries of wooden figurines at the source of the Seine (Martin, 1965) and the spring of Les Roches, Chamalières. At the latter, over 5,000 wooden figures and other

carvings were found (Piggott, 1975, figs.63 and 64). No such dramatic finds have come from a river source in Britain but a few wooden figures are known including one from Ballachulish in Scotland and one from Dagenham in England, both dated on stylistic grounds tentatively to the first century BC or earlier (Piggott, 1970, 81 and 82).

Thus the three different sources of evidence combine to show that there were various types of sacred location in the Celtic world. As for the nature of sanctuaries, open-air sites were common but roofed temples were not unknown. It is clear too that images, both of stone and wood occurred at sacred places and that votive offerings were dedicated also. These conclusions form a background against which enquiry into the situation in Central Britain in the Iron Age, and indeed in the Roman period, may be conducted.

As already noted, the enquiry into the pre-Roman period depends upon archaeological evidence. Such evidence is scanty over the region as a whole but eastern Yorkshire (including North Humberside) provides immediate evidence in the form of hundreds of square-ditched burial enclosures (Stead, 1979, 29-30, fig.9). Apart from these there have been found at Wetwang Slack (SE 945602), formerly referred to as Garton Slack, examples of probable ritual enclosures. One excavated in 1970 measured 36.6m by 18.3m (120ft by 60ft) and the other, excavated in 1973

was 26m by 22m (85ft by 72ft) in size. Neither yielded
evidence of domestic occupation but the former had a few
small pits inside as well as a larger pit containing the
remains of a wooden chest and grain cinder; the latter
enclosure had within sixteen pits containing charcoal,
animal bone and Iron Age potsherds. To the north of each
enclosure were the remains of small semi-circular
structures of house-size facing south towards the
rectangular enclosures. Within the ditches of the
rectangular enclosures were found figurines made of chalk
as well as potsherds and animal bones. The figures are
small, ranging from 75mm to 161mm (3in to 6in) in height
as surviving, wedge-shaped and crudely rendered. They
depict belted sword-bearing warriors. Almost all have
been decapitated. Model shields have also been found.
(Stead, 1971, 32, fig.4; Brewster, 1975, 113-115 with
fig.). It is possible that these figures were merely toy
soldiers broken by accident and discarded. What appears
much more likely, however, is that they were ritually
employed. Brewster suggested that the semi-circular
structures to the north of the enclosures might have
contained the figurines prior to a ceremonious removal of
their heads. Stead thought that the beheading process
could have been a magical attempt to immobilize an enemy.
It is not clear whether they had been deliberately
deposited in the ditches surrounding the enclosures or had
been placed on the perimeter and had subsequently fallen
in. Either way, their positioning might be seen as

affording protection to the enclosure itself. Again, whether they represent enemy warriors as Stead's suggestion would imply, or a warrior deity is not clear. The latter possibility seems to the present writer the most likely. A warrior deity could symbolise protection against malign spiritual powers. The heads were perhaps removed in order to use their potency in further ritual. Whatever the ritual and its significance the concentration on decapitation brings the present case into line with other evidence illustrating the Celtic pre-occupation with the head as a source of power. It will be necessary to return later to this aspect of religious practice and belief. Meanwhile, the presence of the figurines in association with the ditched enclosures provides further evidence of their ritual nature. Further examples of very similar figurines have come from other locations in the district. A native farmstead in the vicinity has yielded four examples and others have come from a ditch at Blealands Nook and from Harpham Roman Villa (Dent, 1978, 50 with fig.; Mortimer, 1905, 198, fig.492; Challis and Harding, 1975, 171-2). Their presence at domestic sites would perhaps give support to the suggestion made above that a warrior deity is in question whose role was that of guardian or protector.

Other ritual practices have been recorded within the area covered by the excavations at Wetwang Slack. These involve the deposition of animals or their parts in pits.

Sheep, oxen and pigs are all involved (Brewster, 1971, 290-291). One oval pit situated north-west of the chariot burial found in 1971 and apparently to be associated with it yielded two bone sliders, three combs and on the bottom, a pig's skull (Brewster, 1975, 113 with sketch plan). Brewster suggested that the oval pit represented some special ritual or else a cenotaph burial. Challis and Harding, pointing also to animal burials elsewhere, suggested that such burials were intended to provide a supply of animals in the after-life for the humans interred in the surrounding cemeteries (Challis and Harding, 1975, 170). This seems a reasonable explanation. Whatever may be the exact details it seems clear that these animal burials are intimately linked with the burial practice of the humans amongst which they are found.

Still within the North Humberside region, another sacred site of the type noted previously may be identified, namely, one connected with water. At Roos Carr, Holderness, wooden figures were found in 1836. They were 6ft deep in blue clay and it seems likely that they were originally deposited in shallow water. Of eight originally recovered, only five survive, four of which are set in a crudely fashioned boat with animal head. Many more, however, were observed but not removed at the time of the discovery.

The figures represent naked warriors crudely fashioned and each originally with a weapon, in one case surviving as a

club, in the right hand and in the left hand a sub-
circular shield. They each have hollow eye sockets for
the insertion of quartz pebbles, as surviving examples
show, and a socket hole for the insertion of a separately
fashioned penis. As for dating, they have been variously
dated to the Late Bronze Age, the Iron Age and the Viking
period. Their similarity to the figures from Dagenham and
Ballachulish mentioned above makes it probable that they
belong to the same tradition. Precision is impossible but
Piggott's suggestion in 1970 of 'the 1st century B.C. or
earlier' seems acceptable (Challis and Harding, 1975;
Piggott and Daniel, 1951, cat.no.30; Piggott, 1970,
cat.nos.81-84).

The significance of warrior figures in a boat is
problematic. It may be that they were concerned with
actual warfare but the combat they engaged in may have
been spiritual rather than physical. Their phallic nature
points to a fertility aspect. The boat on which a crew of
four figures travels may be symbolic of a journey to the
Otherworld. On the other hand the explanation may be a
more straightforward one involving offerings to the waters
for safe passage by travellers either coming into the
country or departing. Such speculations, however, fall
far short of certainty.

Turning now to the remainder of Central Britain, no ritual
enclosures of the kind just described are known. It may
be, however, that among the large numbers of rectilinear

sites now known through aerial survey a proportion belong to just such a category. Only further investigation, notably excavation, will provide the opportunity of identifying such sites.

Ritual involving watery places, however, is evident. This is seen in the recovery of swords and other metal objects belonging to the later Iron Age from rivers and bogs (fig.10.1). The so-called Sadberge sword for example came from the river Skerne in County Durham. It was found by workmen repairing a bridge at Barmpton over the river (Greenwell, 1905, 209). Four other swords of the period have probably also come from watery contexts, one from a river and three from bogs. In addition, four bronze bowls, all from bogs, may be added to the total of objects from such contexts. Finally, a pair of bronze 'spoons' has come from a bog with nearby spring at Crosby Ravensworth in Cumbria. That this practice was not confined to the later Iron Age is seen by the occurrence for example of Hallstatt swords in similar watery contexts. Three, for example, came out of the river Tyne near Newcastle, two complete and one fragmentary (Challis and Harding, 1975, 44-45).

Wait has analysed the distribution of metalwork finds countrywide (1986, 15-40). His results show that over 70% of the 181 swords taken into account, ranging from the seventh century BC to the first century AD, have been found in a watery context, either rivers or bogs. Again

the majority of bronze vessels of the later Iron Age were recovered from the same context but in this case mainly bogs. The examples from Central Britain belong to this pattern.

Thus within the region of Central Britain, watery contexts may be regarded as being of ritual significance and accordingly may be categorised as being sacred locations.

Finally, another category of site having probable religious significance within Central Britain is the cave. This type of site has not featured in the Celtic sacred places already noted and it is difficult to understand why the cave should not have attained more prominence. It is easy on general grounds to see why a cave could be regarded as a passage into another world and why it should be invested with an aura of mystery. Caves in fact do occur in the mythology and folklore of many peoples (Dawkins, 1874) and indeed they are not unknown in Celtic contexts. An example is the Cave of Cruachan in Ireland which was regarded in Irish tradition as one of the entrances to the Otherworld and in Christian times believed to be a gateway to Hell (Ross, 1967, 122, 219).

Many caves in Central Britain have produced archaeological material but they have usually been regarded as dwelling sites. This has already been discussed when reference was made to King's argument that the caves of north-west England at least were in use as votive sites during the

Roman period (see Chapter 7). There is plenty of material evidence from the caves to support the Romano-British date (fig.7.10). However, account must be taken of the possibility of activity during the pre-Roman Iron Age. The presence of a dismantled chariot in Attermire cave already referred to (Chapter 7) may point to a pre-Roman sepulchral or votive offering. At the same time such an object need not have been deposited in pre-Roman times as the evidence from the three Scottish votive deposits of Carlingwark, Blackburn Mill and Eckford demonstrates (Piggott, 1953). Somewhat beyond the limits of the region but still within the Pennines, Harborough Cave, Derbyshire (SK242552) has yielded definitely pre-Roman items. These include a bronze ring-headed pin, a bronze bridle bit with stop knobs, and the well-known arched bow brooch with star pattern (Smith, 1909; Fox, 1958; Challis and Harding, 1975). These objects show activity within the pre-Roman Iron Age, whether votive or otherwise. If the former, then there is perhaps a case for regarding caves more centrally placed within the region of Central Britain as also having religious significance at a time prior to the Roman period. In this connection, too, it may be recalled that the Teesdale Cave in upper Teesdale has earlier been proposed as a possible sacred site (see Chapter 5.)

During the Roman period, the evidence available becomes more plentiful. Inscriptions, especially altars, and sculptured monuments are particularly valuable for

providing information about the religious life of the inhabitants of the region. There are four main categories of religious activity: oriental and African cults, Germanic deities, classical cults and beliefs, and finally Romano-British religion. It is the last category that is of concern here.

The evidence available, mainly epigraphic, yields a large number of deity names, almost forty, that belong to this group. Some of these names are known only in Britain while others are known both in Britain and on the Continent. It is probably safe to regard the former as indigenous, failing evidence to the contrary. With regard to the latter, some may represent imports into Britain during Roman times while others may be exports from Britain. Thus some of them may also be indigenous. Yet again, there is the possibility that a deity name represents a cult that, whatever its origin, should rightly be regarded as native British because it was established before Roman times. Such a cult would have resulted as part of the cultural interchange occurring within the Celtic realms.

Most of the deity names can be shown to be Celtic and can be made to yield a meaning which can aid interpretation. The majority occur without equation with classical gods, and in addition are found only once or in a single location. It is necessary too to be aware of another

possibility, namely, that apparently classical dedications may conceal reference to Celtic deities.

Also to be considered is iconographic material. Rarely is this found in conjunction with deity names and there is often difficulty in deciding whether a purely classical deity is being referred to or whether a Celtic god is appearing in classical guise.

Turning initially to the evidence which provides deity names, it will be convenient to deal first of all with those that are deemed to be indigenous. Those that are not equated with classical gods may precede the others (fig.10.2).

From Elsdon in Northumberland comes evidence of a deity of considerable importance in the region judging by the high rank of votary attracted to his worship. This evidence is in the form of a dedicatory slab, two portions of which survive. It is inscribed 'to the god Matunus' (RIB 1265) and dated by reference to Gaius Julius Marcus who was governor of Britannia Inferior in AD 213. The slab was set up under the direction of the tribune Caecilius Optatus who is attested at the Roman fort of High Rochester on two other inscriptions (RIB 1268, 1272). It is clear from the second of these inscriptions that he was the commander of the cohors I Vardullorum stationed at High Rochester. For this reason Mr. Wright (in RIB) supposes that the Matunus slab originated from High

Rochester which is situated some seven miles to the north-west of Elsdon. Dr. A. Ross (1967) assigns the slab to the Roman fort at Risingham, which is about six miles to the south-west of Elsdon, but this would, for the reason given, seem less likely. However, there would seem to be no need to suppose that Elsdon itself was not the actual location of the god's shrine. The Mote Hills, where the slab was found, although clearly a medieval motte, may conceal or have obliterated earlier structures. As an important local god Matunus would certainly have possessed his own shrine or cult centre. Since this is the sole mention of the deity name it seems best to take the evidence on its face value and accept Elsdon as the location of a shrine to Matunus, if not the god's cult centre.

As to the meaning of the name itself, there is a difference in interpretation. Following Tolkien, Collingwood gives 'the kindly one' (1937, 266), whereas Ross suggests 'Divine Bear', noting that such a name was 'appropriate to a deity of the northern region' (1967, 375). The first meaning suggests a role for the god especially concerned with providing help and support for his worshippers, indicating perhaps a protector aspect. The second interpretation should perhaps be regarded as symbolic of the community. If the second meaning is correct this might help account for the lack of 'interpretatio Romana' in that there was no appropriate

Roman equivalent. However that may be, the Matunus slab is in itself enough to show the presence of a native deity within the Rede valley. In view of the absence of Roman equations and other dedications the likelihood is that he was a deity worshipped by the local community rather than by the Romans, yet recognised by the latter as of importance within his own territory. Whether 'kindly one' or 'Divine Bear', it seems right to regard Matunus as having special significance to the folk of the district. In other words it is very probable that a community or 'tribal' god is in question.

Further to the south, at Benwell on Hadrian's Wall, is evidence of another deity of some importance. This is the Celtic Antenociticus, attested by three altars (RIB 1327, 1328, 1329). Two of these were recovered intact from the god's temple together with the fragment of a third (RIB 1328), of which two more pieces were later found in a nearby cottage. As indicated, the god had his own temple, a small rectangular structure with apse (Simpson and Richmond, 1941, 37-39, and figs.1 and 3; Lewis, 1966, 72). This was situated between the east rampart of the Roman fort and the Vallum. The two complete altars found within the temple had been set up in the corners flanking the apse. One was dedicated 'to the god Antenociticus and the Numina Augustorum' by Ael(ius) Vibius, centurion of Legio XX Valeria Victrix (RIB 1327), while the other was dedicated 'to the god Anociticus' (presumably the same as

Antenociticus) by Tineius Longus, prefect of cavalry, under the governor Ulpius Marcellus (RIB 1329). The third fragmentary altar, was a corporate dedication to the god by the coh(ors) I Va[n]gion(um), under their prefect '___? Cassianus' (RIB 1328). In addition to the altars were found fragments of a life-size stone statue which clearly depicted the god himself. These fragments were the forearm, middle leg and, most importantly, the head. The latter shows a youthful god with the groove round the neck for a torc and with a wig-like mop of hair, arranged in a pattern of deeply grooved sinuous locks, reminiscent of writhing serpents. Two of these locks seem to represent a pair of curving horns (Toynbee, 1963, no.41, frontispiece; Toynbee, 1964, 106; Ross, 1967, 163-4).

The evidence of collapsed walls, burnt timbers and roof-tiles associated with them indicates that the temple met a violent end. When that occurred is unknown. The reference to Ulpius Marcellus (RIB 1329), who was governor in about AD 184 (Breeze and Dobson, 1978, 237, rejecting E. Birley's second Ulpius), points to its use in the later second century.

The deity name, Antenociticus, with its presumed variant Anociticus, is Celtic but its meaning is unknown so that this cannot be used to help interpret the god's nature. However, that he was considered to be of considerable importance is seen by the ranks of the officers attracted to his worship. The corporate dedication of the cohors I

Vangionum might suggest that he was of special importance to that unit leading to the supposition that they had imported the deity when they were posted to Britain. However, the fact that Antenociticus is unknown elsewhere militates against this view and it seems best to regard him as belonging to the locality of Benwell. The local terrain as recovered from examination of soil samples was that of a wooded environment with open glades (Simpson and Richmond, 1941, 6 and Appendix, i and ii). This would be appropriate for such a horned deity, who as seen by his sculptured head was a hunter-woodland god. This head too shows him to be youthful and therefore in that respect like Maponus, yet to be discussed. Whether the sinuous quality of the hair-style was merely an expression of the artist's feeling for Celtic tradition or a deliberate intention to imply snake hair is not clear. If the latter, then the presence of serpents possibly implies a connection with waters and healing, as so often (Thevenot, 1955, 21; Ross, 1967, 140). The combination of serpents and horns is reminiscent of the ram-headed serpent so well-known in Roman Gaul (Lambrechts, 1942, 45-63; Thevenot, 1955, 21-24; Green, 1976, 13) where the ram-headed serpent symbolises both the underworld and fertility. Whether such conclusions can be drawn from the sculptural evidence at Benwell is dependent upon the interpretation of the artist's intention. In view of the doubt which is present it is perhaps better not to depend upon this symbolism too heavily. Even leaving such detail

aside, however, it seems possible to argue that
Antenocitus was the god of the district, propitiated by
the Romans, perhaps when his domain was disturbed by the
construction of fort, Wall and Vallum. He was a youthful,
hunter-god, Romanised to an extent at Benwell but not to
the point of equation with Silvanus, for example. It can
hardly be doubted that, as a local deity - if that
interpretation is correct - his worship by the native
population continued in a way which has left no trace in
the archaeological record.

A contrast to the two deities so far discussed is Sucabus,
(Brit.2 (1971), 292 no.14) whose name is inscribed on a
crudely lettered stone in the possession of Newcastle
University Museum of Antiquities. Its provenance is
unknown but it seems likely that it came from somewhere in
Northumberland. On the distribution map (fig.10.2) it has
been placed arbitrarily between the Roman Wall sites at
Benwell and Chesters. Nothing is known about this god -
it is not even certain that a deity name is actually
involved - but the dedicator bears a Celtic compound name,
Cunovindus (Birley A.R., 1979, 112). Thus a Celtic,
probably native, votary is in question and the poor
quality of the inscription suggests that he was of lowly
status. It would appear then that Sucabus - if deity he
was - made his appeal to ordinary folk of lowly rank.

Further along the Wall, to the west, are the find places
of altars dedicated to two gods which similarly seemed to

have appealed to lowly folk. These gods are Ratis and Latis, each of which is attested by two small altars.

The two altars to Ratis come from Chesters (RIB 1454) and Birdoswald (RIB 1902) respectively. They are simple dedications lacking dedicators' names. That from Chesters is inscribed 'dea(e) Rat(i) v(otum)s(olvit) l(ibens)', 'To the goddess Ratis (someone) willingly fulfilled his (her) vow'. The altar from Birdoswald is inscribed: 'd(e)ae Rati votum in perpetuo', 'to the goddess Ratis a vow in perpetuity'.

The deity name Ratis is Celtic and bears the meaning 'Goddess of the fortress' (Ross, 1967, 215, 377-8). These small altars are to be regarded as private dedications, presumably by Celtic votaries. Whether the Roman forts of Chesters and Birdoswald are being referred to and given the protection of a Celtic deity is not clear. If that is so, the dedicators, whether Celtic or not, are displaying a pro-Roman attitude. It is always possible that the goddess has been the protectress of some pre-Roman site in the vicinity. In the case of Chesters one thinks of the multivallate hillfort site at Warden Hill, a mere one and a half miles distant. As for Birdoswald, excavations in 1933 yielded evidence of native occupation prior to the Roman presence on site (Simpson and Richmond, 1934, 121-124).

In the case of Latis small simple altars are once more

involved. The first, from Birdoswald (<u>RIB</u> 1897) is only 203mm (8in) high and simply inscribed: 'Die/Lat [i]', 'to the goddess Latis'. This one lacks a dedicator's name. The second altar is even smaller, being only 102mm (4in) high but it provides the dedicator's name (<u>RIB</u> 2043). It comes from Fallsteads, near Kirkbampton, and about three miles south-west of the Wall fort of Burgh by Sands. Such a small altar could easily have been carried about and Wright assigns it to the fort site of Burgh by Sands. However, there is no reason why a non-Roman shrine or sacred place should not have been located at Fallsteads itself. The inscription on the stone reads: 'Deae/Lati/Lucius Ursei', clearly dedicated 'to the goddess Latis'. As for the dedicator's name, Wright gives 'Lucius Ursei(us)', (Collingwood and Wright, 1965), while E. Birley renders it as 'Lucius Ursei (filius)', that is, 'Lucius, son of Urseius' (1986, 67). The latter is preferable.

In seeking to understand the nature of the goddess Latis by taking account of the meaning of the name, there is some difficulty. Collingwood, following Tolkien (1937, 266) interprets the meaning as 'goddess of some pool or stream'. Ross gives two meanings, namely, 'Goddess of the Bog or Pool' and 'Goddess of Beer' (1967, 31, 215, 231). In explaining the second interpretation, Ross compares Mars Braciaca, whose name may be connected with the Celtic word for 'malt' and cites too the example of the Irish

divine queen Medb, 'Drunk-woman' (Ross, 1967, 180).
However, there are numerous instances of the sacred nature
of water in various forms, lakes, rivers, springs, bogs,
and the connection of religious cults therewith. Ross
herself provides examples (1967, 58 and passim). The
interpretation of Latis having a watery connection would
fall quite naturally into place alongside such examples.
There is no other evidence to help make a choice between
these two interpretations. Although Ross does not
explicitly discuss the choice, she seems to favour the
interpretations involving water.

Remaining in Cumbria, next to be mentioned is a dedication
(RIB 1991) to the god Vanauns, or Vanauntes as E. Birley
prefers (1986, 73). This was found close behind Hadrian's
Wall in the vicinity of Castlesteads fort. The text reads
'N(umini) Aug(usti) /deo Vana/unti Aurel(ius) /Armiger
/dec(urio) princ(eps)', 'To the power of the Emperor
(and) to the god Vanauns, Aurelius Armiger, decurio
princeps, (set this up).' Thus the dedicator is a senior
rank presumably serving in the cohors II Tungrorum
equitata attested at Castlesteads in the third century
(RIB 1983; Breeze and Dobson, 1978, 251). The meaning of
the name Vanauns is unknown. Presumably he was a Celtic
deity from the vicinity of Castlesteads.

Further west, at Maryport on the coast, the goddess
Setlocenia is attested on an altar dedicated by a German
Labareus (RIB 841). According to Jackson (1953, 325)

followed by Ross (1967, 214) the deity name is Celtic and may bear the meaning 'She of the long life'. For this concept Ross compares Buanann, 'The Lasting One', associated with the Irish mythical hero Cú Chulainn. This divine figure and her companion Scathach, 'The Shadowy One', belong, according to Ross, to the warrior-goddess mother-figure type of deity (1967, 228). This too may be the role of Setlocenia. However that may be, the meaning of the deity name at least emphasises the divinity of the goddess indicating her superiority in the eyes of her mortal worshippers.

Ross (1967, 214) has suggested that a sculptured slab (Bruce, 1875, no.890) from Maryport, depicting a robed female holding a vessel in her right hand represents the goddess Setlocenia. This suggestion was first made by Horsley (1732, Cumb.72) but Bruce rejected the idea, rightly in the view of the present writer. The slab is clearly a tombstone.

Thus there is little information about Setlocenia on which to elaborate. There is, however, no reason to believe that the goddess was other than local in origin and it seems likely that her role was that of guardian of the territory in the district around Maryport and consequently that she was the protectress of the folk living there.

Returning now to the eastern sector of the Hadrianic frontier, a statue with inscribed base (RIB 1123) found at

Corbridge requires consideration. The statue is quite large, 520mm (20.5in) in height not counting the head, which is missing. The inscription on the base reads: 'Deo/Arecurio/Apollinaris/Cassi (filius) v.s.l.m.', 'To the god Arecurius Apollinaris, son of Cassius, willingly and deservedly fulfilled his vow'. R.P. Wright has suggested that the name 'Arecurio' is a mistake for 'Mercurio', 'since the image above the inscription is clearly that of Mercury' (footnote to RIB 1123). This is manifestly incorrect, as inspection of the figure itself illustrates (RIB. Pl.XIV; Toynbee, 1964, 107), and as E. Birley has noted 'the relief displays none of the attributes of that god' (1986, 65). The figure is male and nude except for a cloak. He holds in his left hand an object which may be a goblet, and in his right hand an unidentified object held over a jar which in turn stands upon an altar. However, it would still be possible for the intended textual reading to have been 'Mercurio'. In that case the inscribed statue would represent an equation of the classical god with some non-classical deity. But, even though the name 'Arecurius' is otherwise unknown, there is no need to suppose that it is a blundered text since it can be interpreted as a Celtic word and made to yield an acceptable meaning. S. Gutenbrunner suggested the rendering 'of the district of the Curia' (1938, 288) while Ross interprets it as 'The one who stands before the tribe' (1967, 377). A god especially concerned with the local community would seem to be in question and it seems

reasonable to regard such a deity as the tribal god of the inhabitants of the district. It may even be permissible to go a stage further and, taking a cue from Prof. E. Birley (Birley and Richmond, 1938, 288; Birley, 1986, 65), suggest that Arecurius was the tribal god of the Lopocares, or whatever should be the proper rendering of the name belonging to the folk who were centred upon Corbridge (Rivet and Smith, 1979, 322-324; cf. discussion above, Chapter 2).

Another deity who is probably tribal is attested on an altar from Beltingham, Northumberland (RIB 1695) which has been discussed above in connection with tribal groups (Chapter 2). The dedication was by the 'curia Textoverdorum' signifying either 'the assembly of the Textoverdi' or more probably as argued above 'the pagus of the Textoverdi'. As there suggested the Textoverdi probably represented a tribal community occupying the district around Beltingham. The goddess-name is given in the form SAIIADAE which if rendered as 'Saitadae' is intelligible as the Latin dative form of a Celtic word containing an element related to the Welsh word 'hoed', meaning 'grief'. This is the conjecture of Jackson (1953, 325) which is followed by Ross who suggests the rendering 'Goddess of Grief' (1967, 228). What that might signify in respect of the functions of the goddess is open to interpretation. It may be that the reference is to funerary rites. The name itself may not have been the

only designation given to the goddess and it may be serving to underline only one aspect of her sphere of activity. What does seem clear is that Saitada was of special importance to the Textoverdi and in that sense she can be regarded as 'tribal'. No doubt she would function as a territorial guardian and in that respect Ross may be correct in regarding her as a warrior goddess who was also a mother-figure (1967, 228).

Still within the immediate hinterland of Hadrian's Wall, near Ebchester on Dere Street, is the find-place of an altar which supplies the name 'Vernostonus', another deity otherwise unknown. The dedication is 'to the god Vernostonus Cocidius' by Virilis, a German (RIB 1102). The deity name indicates a connection with alder trees for it incorporates the British word *verno- signifying 'alder, alder-swamp, marsh' as in the place-name Durovernum Cantiacorum (Rivet and Smith, 1979, 353-4). The find-spot of the altar which was on the left bank of the river Derwent opposite Bludderburn Dene would appear to be in keeping with such a designation. In addition, the equation with the god Cocidius, whose cult is yet to be discussed, underlines the woodland connection for Cocidius is on occasion defined as a Silvanus-type deity. Whether the find-spot's proximity to the river indicates that Vernostonus had a specific connection with waters is less certain but it is a possibility that should be borne in mind.

An undoubted connection with waters is evident from a dedication from Greta Bridge, some thirty miles to the south of Ebchester. The text of the altar was recorded by Horsley (1732, 305, York iv) but the altar was lost by 1823 (RIB 744). As surviving and reproduced in the Roman Inscriptions of Britain the text reads:

'Deae Nymphae/NEINE Brica et/Ianuaria fil(ia)/libentes ex vo/to solverunt'

'To the goddess Nymph NEINE Brica and Ianuaria, her daughter, willingly fulfilled this in accordance with their vow.'

While Wright suggests that the letters NEINE conceal the name of the goddess in question, both Salway (1967, 233, no.54) and E. Birley (1986, 36) suggest that they are part of the name of one of the dedicators, that is, 'Neinebrica'. If Mr. Wright is correct, then a native water goddess is being honoured. The Salway-Birley version, however, is a dedication simply to the nymph, unnamed. This does not preclude a native goddess but it increases the possibility that a purely Roman concept is involved. The distinction between the two possibilities might seem to be a fine and academic one, and indeed psychologically almost impossible to make. However, in historical terms the difference is between two traditions. The dedicators with their single names seem likely to be native Celts and on balance it appears to the present

writer that a Celtic deity is in question. The watery context in this case may be the river Greta with the nymph having her shrine between the fort and the river. It is tempting, however, to follow Salway and suggest that its origin was a shrine near to the confluence of the rivers Tees and Greta, a short distance to the north of the site of the Roman fort. Salway quotes Horsley who refers to ruins of shrines about 183m (200yds) east of the river confluence. These were locally referred to as 'cells for Nymphs' and it was from their vicinity that an altar dedicated by a beneficiarius consularis was recovered (RIB 745).

Yet another connection with waters is evident at Ilkley, on the river Wharfe in Yorkshire. The goddess Verbeia is attested on an altar found there. It was set up by Clodius Fronto, commander of the cohors II Lingonum. Etymologically the name Wharfe can be traced back to a British name containing the element *verb cognate with the Old English weorpan, meaning literally 'to twist'. The British river name would signify 'the winding river' (Ekwall, 1928, 455; 1960, 511). It is probable that the same element occurs in the deity name Verbeia. There is thus little doubt that the name of the goddess was the same as the name for the river (Rivet and Smith, 1979, 493). in other words Verbeia was the goddess of the river Wharfe.

While accepting this connection, however, Ross tentatively suggests another meaning for the word Verbeia based on a possible connection with the Old Irish root _ferb_ meaning 'cattle' and giving something like 'She of the Cattle'. In further support she refers to river goddesses known from Ireland and cites the case of Boand, the personification of the river Boyne, who was 'She of the White Cattle' (Ross, 1967, 217). Of these two meanings, however, that of Ekwall is preferable since it is less tentative and also neatly describes the course of the river.

Ross has also suggested that an altar bearing a female figure in low relief found at Ilkley represents the goddess Verbeia (1967, 217, Pl.68a). As Woodward pointed out there is a local tradition that this figure did represent Verbeia but he doubted that a river goddess was intended (1925, 313). He argued that such a goddess should be depicted seated, not standing, and holding an urn from which a stream of water flowed. He thought that the elongated objects held in either hand might be cornucopiae if at all identifiable.

There is clearly some force in Woodward's argument and furthermore there is no epigraphic or archaeological association between the inscribed and sculptured altars. In support of Ross, however, it should be said that the two objects held by the figure are undoubtedly snakes which as previously noted often betray a watery

connection. The figure must surely be regarded as a goddess at least and the identification of that goddess as Verbeia is an extremely attractive suggestion. However, actual proof that would enable that suggestion to become fact has not yet been forthcoming.

Further to the west of the region, in the lower Lune valley, the god Contrebis is attested by two altars, one from the site of the Roman fort at Burrow in Lonsdale and the other from a site located about one mile north of Lancaster.

The first example (RIB 610) was dedicated 'to the holy god Contrebis' by a woman called Vatta. On the left side were carved an axe and knife and on the right side a bird, probably an owl. The second altar was dedicated by an ex-decurion, Julius Januarius, 'to the most holy god Contrebis'. In addition, Contrebis is equated with the god Ialonus (RIB 600), also attested abroad, at Nîmes (CIL.12.3057 and add.834). On the left side of the altar is depicted an axe and on the right side a knife.

Contrebis means something like 'He who dwells among us' (Ross, 1967, 376; Collingwood, 1937, 266). This is suggestive of a god who is closely bound up with the community. The equation 'Ialonus', presumably imported from Gaul, means something like 'god of the meadowland' (Richmond, 1953, 18), 'god of the fair open space' (Collingwood, 1937, 266) or 'god of the glade or lea'

(Ross, 1967, 376). Such descriptions would seem to suggest a connection with pastoral activities.

A connection with waters is perhaps indicated by the fact that Januarius set up his altar at the site of a perennial spring (RIB). The occurrence of an owl on the side of Vatta's altar may also have significance. The owl is sacred to Minerva and it may be that the reference is to that goddess as consort of Contrebis. If so, it seems likely that she represents a Celtic deity. The owl also has sacred significance in Celtic contexts and appears to be associated with a goddess uniting chthonic and fertility aspects (Ross, 1967, 273-4).

Contrebis then would seem to be a deity closely connected, as a god of the community, with the folk who lived in the lower Lune valley. He was perhaps especially concerned with their prosperity as pastoral farmers, as the equation with Ialonus might suggest. This could account too for his apparent connection with waters although in this case it seems more likely that this connection is indirect, through a female companion, hinted at by the presence of the sculpted owl. Such a consort would fall into place quite naturally as a territorial goddess. However that may be, Contrebis himself must be regarded as another example of a Celtic tribal deity.

On the southern fringe of the region, in Derbyshire, was the site of a place from whose name a deity name can be

extracted. The name Aquae Arnemetiae can be recovered from the entry in the <u>Ravenna Cosmography</u> given as 'Aquis Arnemeze' (Richmond and Crawford, 1949, 23; Rivet and Smith, 1979, 254). The place-name, Aquae Arnemetia, 'The Waters of Arnemetia' is applicable to Buxton which in Roman times, as later, was the site of a spa. As noted above, the deity name incorporates the Celtic word <u>nemeton</u> signifying 'sacred grove' and means something like 'She who resides at the sacred grove' (Richmond, 1963, 94-5; Ross, 1967, 31, 36). Roman remains including lead-lined baths were recorded in the eighteenth century in the vicinity of St. Anne's Well. More recently a votive deposit of three bronze bracelets, a wire clasp and 232 Roman coins ranging in date from the first century AD to about AD 400 was found there (Hart, 1984, 94).

An altar to the goddess was also set up at the Roman fort at Brough on Noe, nine miles distant from Buxton. This was dedicated 'to the goddess Arnomecte' by Aelius Motio and was found in the fort's strong room (<u>RIB</u> 281).

It is clear that the Celtic goddess Arnemetia presided over the thermal waters at Buxton, at least in Roman times. It further seems clear that a grove existed which was sacred to the goddess. That a Celtic goddess, unless imported, should suddenly appear in Roman times is unlikely and it is probable that the cult was established prior to the Roman occupation of the region and their use of the thermal waters. Thus in Derbyshire, two common

elements in Celtic religion are to be observed occurring together, namely, the association with waters and connection with a sacred grove.

At York, the main centre of the region in Roman times, two deity names, otherwise unknown, are attested. One is found on an altar dedicated 'deo Arciaconi' by a centurion called 'Mat(...) Vitalis' (RIB 640; RCHM. York, no.40). Both authorities cited restore the deity name as 'Arciaco' but E. Birley prefers 'Arciacones' (1986, 65, no.11). It would seem to be Celtic but its meaning is unknown (E. Birley, 1966, no.5). The other deity name found on a broken dedicatory slab making reference to a Shrine, is incomplete, namely 'Deae Ioug[...]' (RIB 656; RCHM. York, 119, no.52). Once more the meaning is unknown but the word was probably formed from Celtic iougon meaning 'yoke' (RIB 656). Both deities are linked to the Imperial numen no doubt because of the need in a city of the status of York to reflect loyalty to the central government, especially when local Celtic deities were being honoured. The find spots of the two inscriptions were within an area to the south of the fortress which, judging from the inscriptions recovered, appears to have been partly occupied by shrines and temples (RCHM. York, Intro. xxxv). The local deities are of sufficient importance to be honoured here too.

Also from York comes a dedication to a deity unknown on the Continent but by contrast with the gods previously

discussed having a large number of dedications in the region. This is the god that on one variation of the name may be called 'Veteris' (fig.10.3, no.17).

All told, there are fifty-nine dedications to this enigmatic god. As can be seen by a glance at the map (fig.10.3), the example at York is very much an outlier. The main distribution of the dedications is within the Tyne Gap, along the Hadrianic frontier line with most examples clustering within the central sector. At least thirteen come from the Wall fort at Carvoran (nos.8a-m), although since three of these are by one and the same dedicator, namely, Necalemes (nos.8a, 8b and 8i), for comparison sake, this total could be reduced to eleven. Chesterholm has yielded the next highest total, namely, nine (nos.6a-i). As the distribution thins out, the main spread continues down the eastern side of the region, into the Wall hinterland of Durham and beyond. One dedication actually occurs quite outside the region, at Thistleton in Leicestershire (no.18).

Despite the Thistleton dedication it is quite clear that the cult of Veteris should be regarded as belonging to Central Britain as defined. Furthermore, it was popular in the northern part of the region and it is there that an important, perhaps indeed, the main cult centre is to be located. Such a distribution as this, with no dedications abroad, argues strongly in favour of the view that Veteris was a deity native to Central Britain.

The name itself is subject to many variations in spelling, as well as differences in gender and number. These have been tabulated in fig.10.4. On thirty-seven occasions, the deity is referred to in the singular and on twenty-two occasions, in the plural. There are seven cases where the deity name possesses an intrusive 'h', six being in the singular and two in the plural. Mostly, the deity is marked out as male by the presence of 'deo' or 'dibus'. On two occasions, however, both in the plural, on altars from Chester-le-Street, County Durham (fig.10.3, nos.14b and c), a female concept is indicated. On nine occasions, the deity is not specified as being either male or female (nos.1b, 2c, 5c, 6e, 6f, 6i, 8j, 9 and 11). Since most of the dedications are, as noted, to a male deity it may be that this was what was intended. It is possible, however, that on some or all of these examples the neuter form was intended, as if the deity concept was so vague and amorphous as to defy definition.

With regard to variations in spelling, two main categories can be distinguished, ignoring the presence of an 'h'. First are those names which begin with 've', and second those that begin with 'vi'. There are thirty-three of the former and twenty-five of the latter. That leaves the form 'votri' from Chesters (no.3d) in its own. There is no marked preponderance in favour of either main category. Subdividing within the two main categories, the two most frequent forms are 'Veteris' and 'Vitiris' with virtually

equal numbers of each. Consideration of the find places of these variations can detect no patterns which might indicate for example dialect differences to account for pronunciation changes.

On one altar only is there a formal epigraphic equation with another god, namely, on that from Netherby with the non-Roman Mogontes (or Mogons) (no.10a). In another case, also from Netherby, an equation with Hercules may be intended by reason of the symbols on the sides of the altar depicting scenes from his labours (no.10b). A third altar from Netherby is perhaps associating 'Hv[e]teris' with 'Iupiter Optimus Maximus' for the dedication to the former has been cut over the main part of the text pertaining to the latter but without erasing the vital 'I.O.M.' (no.10c). In eight instances, the epithet sanctus, 'holy', is employed.

With regard to 'Veteris' worshippers, only two betray military connections, one from Lanchester in Co. Durham (no.13b) and one from Carvoran (no.8c). The former is by a princeps and the latter by an imaginifer. Only one undoubted female devotee is recorded, namely 'Romana' from Great Chesters, who dedicates her altar to a male plural form (no.7c). Two other cases, however, may involve female dedicators: Ivixa from Carvoran, dedicating also to the male plural form, (no.8l) and Mocux[s]oma from Thistleton, dedicating to a singular Veteris (no.18). There is a fourth possibility. The secondary dedication

from Netherby mentioned above 'to Hv[e]ter(is)', the dedicant may be either 'Fortunat[a]', a woman, or 'Fortunat[us]', a man (no.10c).

Twenty of the dedications have been set up without the intention of providing dedicators' names, that is, in effect one third of the total known. Of the named worshippers, only five have Latin nomen and cognomen (nos.5c, 8c, 8g, 10a and 16). Twelve possess single Latin names including such common names as Regulus, Tertulus and Vitalis (nos.3a, 5e and 14b). There is little or nothing which can be learned about the origins of such worshippers (Birley A., 1979, 108). However, one of these twelve reveals his origins in that his name is Celtic with a Latin suffix; this is Senaculus on an altar from Chesterholm (no.6e). The rest of the named dedications are by people with barbarian names, mostly deemed to be Celtic, but with a couple of apparently German examples (Birley A., 1979, 107; Haverfield, 1918, 34).

It seems clear that most of the god's worshippers were male, of low status and civilian. The small size and poor quality of the altars and variations in the deity name support this conclusion.

A few of the altars are crudely ornamented on the sides. One from Benwell has jug, patera, knife and axe (no.1a) and another, from Carvoran, has knife and quadruped, probably an ox (8a). Animals are also depicted on other

altars. Such carvings lend themselves to interpretation as the implements and animals involved in sacrifice. However, the representation of bird (Ebchester, no.12a) and even more of serpent (Carvoran, no.8m) cannot belong to this category and urges reconsideration of the meaning of the symbolism. The serpent on this Carvoran altar (no.8m) has been wrongly identified by Wright (RIB 1805) as a dolphin. No doubt the reason for this error is because it possesses a fish tail. The reference to water is clear and the composite creature is reminiscent of examples of ram-headed serpents with fish-tails known from Gaul (Thevenot, 1955, 21-22). On the same altar is depicted a boar which in this context should be interpreted as being a Celtic rather than a classical sacred symbol. It may stand for the hunt, sexual and physical potency, and the Otherworld (cf. Ross, 1967, 308-321). The boar appears again on the Ebchester altar mentioned above with the bird figure on it (no.12a). The boar and serpent appear yet again on the Netherby altar, referred to above, showing scenes from the labours of Hercules (no.10b). On one side is shown a tree encircled by a serpent and on the other the front part of a boar. E. Birley has interpreted the first scene as standing for the apple tree of the Hesperides and the second one as a reference to the Erymanthean boar (1986, 83). No doubt these aspects of the mythology associated with Hercules were chosen because they provided a meaningful symbolism - serpent, boar and trees - for the non-classical deity.

With regard to dating none of the dedications can be closely dated. As Haverfield pointed out (1918, 35) Aelius Secundus on the Netherby altar (no.10a) should post-date the reign of Hadrian (AD 117-138). Again bearers of the name 'Aurelius' (nos.5d and 16) will belong to a period not preceding the region of Marcus Aurelius (AD 161-180). In her study of Roman domestic altars Kewley assigned several of the altars under present discussion (nos.7b, 8g, 13a, 14a-c) to the masons' workshops at Chester-le-Street and Lanchester, County Durham, which were in production during the third century (Kewley, 1974). Names such as Aurelius, Victor and Julius were indeed very popular during the third century (A.R. Birley, 1979, 109). The third century seems to be the period when the cult flourished, at least in the Romanised form surviving in the recorded dedications. How long it continued in that form is impossible to decide given the poor quality of the altars and their lettering. Continuation into the fourth century is a distinct possibility.

Turning now to the nature and origins of the deity, an appeal to the meaning of the name is not very helpful for there is no agreement concerning its origin, much less its meaning. One view has been that 'veteri' and 'veteribus' are the datives of the Latin adjective 'vetus', 'old' (Haverfield, 1918, 35). Based on this the argument went that the dedications were 'to the Old God (or Gods)',

contrasting the pagan gods with the new religion of Christianity. The variations in the name that existed could be accounted for by reason of the dedicators not being very literate. Haverfield, however, felt that this argument had to be abandoned because of the examples occurring where the name contained the intrusive 'h' (Haverfield, 1918, 36). Collingwood too pointed out that the 'Old Gods' in the sense required would be rendered not by _veteres_ but by _antiqui_. He also felt that it was very unlikely that the many and various pagan gods would be lumped together in this way (Collingwood, 1926, 23).

In attempting to account for the intrusive 'h' a Germanic origin has been suggested by Hodgson and Haverfield. The former suggest _vithrir_, 'The weather god', an epithet for Odin. Haverfield pointed to philological difficulties raised by German scholars (Hodgson, 1840, 140, 200 cited by E. Birley, 1986, 63; Haverfield, 1918, 37). Other suggestions are Old Nordic _hvitr_, meaning 'white' or 'shining', or _hvethr-ung_, 'son of a giantess', epithet of the fire-god Loki, equivalent of Vulcanus (A.R. Birley, 1979, 108). As Anthony Birley has pointed out this last suggestion is attractive because of its appropriateness in the context of frontier settlements where the work presided over by a Smith-god would be of such importance. Ross has very tentatively suggested that the intrusive 'h' may have arisen from aspiration which occurred after the vocative form of the name. As an example, she instanced

the modern form 'Hamish', from the original aspirated vocative form of the Gaelic name 'Seumas' (Ross, 1967, 374).

Thus the name (or names) employed poses (pose) real difficulties in interpretation and this approach is no real help with regard to the nature or origin of the god. It may be that the name belongs to a pre-Celtic stratum of language which could help account for its variations and for the confusion of modern scholars.

The equation with the god 'Mogons' (or Mogontes) whose name is said to mean 'the Powerful One', or 'the Great One' (Ross , 1967, 201), does not add much information. Such a name is rather general in its implication and does not specify the source of the god's power. The reference to Hercules on the Netherby altar (no.10b) may provide more specific information. Hercules too was a powerful god who fought against monsters and was therefore useful in protecting his worshippers. However, the symbolism on this altar, may, as has been seen, fall into line with that on other altars to indicate a connection with waters and healing (serpent) as well as with hunting, fertility and the Otherworld (boar). A further hint of the healing aspect may be provided by the use of the formula 'pro sa(lute)' on the altar from Catterick (no.16); the formula 'pro (se) et suis' on one of the Housesteads altars (no.5f) perhaps indicates the role of family protector.

Thus it is that the god Veteris (in whatever variation of the spelling) was a god who appealed to the lower strata of society. The cult in its Romanised form flourished mainly on the Hadrianic frontier probably during the third century AD and perhaps beyond. It is possible that Veteris was imported from abroad by auxiliary soldiers but more probable that an indigenous deity is in question. Addressed by 'his' votaries in various forms - singular and plural, masculine and feminine and perhaps even neuter - the deity seems ill-defined and amorphous as might befit a vague and primitive spirit of nature. Yet the Celtic symbolism detected on some of the altars suggests a concern with hunting and fertility, healing and protection. There is a similarity to the dedications to Belatucadrus, yet to be discussed, and it may be that, as will be suggest for Belatucadrus, Veteris should be regarded as the god of a specific community. If of course Veteris is regarded as imported, then that community is not likely to represent an indigenous tribal grouping but rather an assemblage of incomers. On the other hand, if the indigenous nature of Veteris is accepted, then a native tribal group is the likely source of the cult. That this tribal group was not the same as that belonging to Belatucadrus is suggested by the fact that despite some overlapping, the distribution of the dedications to the two deities does not coincide (figs.10.3 and 10.6). A location within the Tyne Gap would seem called for. In addition, from what has been said, the attractive

hypothesis suggests itself that the deity belonging to this tribal group was not only pre-Roman but pre-Celtic. This could account for some of the difficulties in interpretation and, while it cannot be proved, the possibility of such antiquity should be recognised.

Turning now to indigenous deities which have been formally equated with classical gods, all the examples except three involve equation with Mars (figs.10.5 and 10.6). The three exceptions are the gods Vinotonus and Bregans, and the goddess Brigantia. Although not to be found on the Continent, four of the deities under consideration are to be found both within and beyond Central Britain. These are Alator, Ocelus, Nodons and Condates. The question in regard to these arises as to whether they are native to the region of Central Britain or whether they represent imports during the Roman period. This point will be considered as each cult is dealt with.

From South Shields comes an altar dedicated 'to Mars Alator' (RIB 1055) by C.Vinicius Celsus 'pro se et suis', 'for himself and his family'. Only one other dedication to this god is known. This is on a silver plaque depicting Mars and inscribed 'to the god Mars Alator, Dum(nonius)? Censorinus, son of Gemellus willingly and deservedly paid his vow' (RIB 218). The plaque was part of a hoard comprising a bronze statuette of Mars and six other silver plaques and a bronze patera handle. These came from Rookey Wood near Barkway, Herts., and presumably

originated from a shrine (Vict. County Hist. Herts, 1914, 149-50). Of the six silver plaques, three depict Mars but are uninscribed, two depict Vulcanus, but only one of these is inscribed, 'to the deity V(o)lc(anus)' (RIB 220), and one is inscribed 'to Mars Toutates' but unfigured (RIB 219). Two Celtic divine names are present here, Alator and Toutates and it is clear that the Mars figurine and other Mars-figured plaques must conceal a Celtic deity or deities. Whether a single Celtic god with different names or epithets is present or not is open to further discussion (cf. Fairless, 1966, 209-12). Vulcanus no doubt stands for a Celtic Smith-God.

In seeking to establish the nature of Alator, the meaning of the name may be appealed to. There are two possibilities available. One meaning is 'the hunter' (Holder, 1907, 75) whilst the other is 'he who rears or nourishes', 'The Nourisher' (Ross, 1967, 174, 377). In the first case a god of the countryside would be in question, a 'hunter-god'. The second meaning is suggestive of a deity concerned with fertility and fruitfulness. Ross states that Alator was 'invoked primarily in his warrior capacity' (1967, 174). Presumably this conclusion is based on the fact that he is equated with Mars but that in itself is an unsafe guide, bearing in mind the variety of roles that Mars-equated Gallic deities can possess (Lambrechts, 1942, 147-8; Thevenot, 1955, 127-128). Whichever of the two possible

meanings of the deity name is favoured, neither would seem to indicate an emphasis on the war-like aspect of Alator. The formula 'pro se et suis' on the South Shields altar suggests a protector god. If at Barkway Alator refers to the same deity as Toutates, then the meaning of the latter word comes into play, that is 'god of the people' (Holder, 1907, 1805; Ross, 1967, 171). Such a designation marks the deity out as a tribal one. The all-purpose nature of such a god would help to account for the Mars equation for Mars was himself 'Mars Pater', 'Father of the Roman People' (Fink et al 1940, 59; cf. RIB 1901). Even if, however, the Toutates name should not be applied to Alator the indications that remain do not strongly favour the interpretation of Dr. Ross. Mars Alator was a protector god of the family and perhaps of the community who either nourished his people and aided their fertility or else represented them as a hunter.

It is difficult to decide whether the South Shields altar represents the personal dedication of a visitor, perhaps a trader, from outside the region who had brought knowledge of the god with him, or whether his dedication means that the cult was flourishing there already. The present writer has suggested elsewhere (Fairless, 1966, 290) that the cult of Alator flourished near Barkway and that the dedication at South Shields represented an import from beyond the region. The former presence of a shrine near Barkway is virtually certain while the altar from South

Shields seems isolated. However, reconsideration brings less confidence and failing more evidence there can be no certainty in the matter.

The deity name 'Ocelus' is attested at Carlisle on a dedicatory slab which provides an inscription 'to the god Mars Ocelus' coupled with the emperor Alexander Severus. This last piece of information provides the date of the dedication, namely between the years AD 222 and AD 235. Two other dedications record the name Ocelus, both coming from Caerwent. One is an altar on which the dedication is by an optio, Aelius Augustinus (RIB 310). The other is a statue base. The statue, of which only vestiges remain, was set up by Marcus Nonius Romanus on 23 August in the consulship of Glabrio and Homulus (i.e. AD 152). The dedication was 'to the god Mars Lenus, otherwise Ocelus Vellaunus and to the Numen of the Emperor Marcus' (RIB 309).

According to Richmond the name Ocelus means 'Lofty' or 'Holy' (1963, 192). This interpretation would seem to show the high regard in which the god was held, and indeed perhaps indicate that he was the chief god of the community. Ross, however, felt unable to suggest a meaning for the name (1967, 376).

At Caerwent, the dedication by Nonius Romanus equates Ocelus with Mars Lenus and also with Vellaunus. The latter is known from Hières in Narbonese Gaul, in the

territory of the Allobroges, where he is equated with the
Roman Mercurius (CIL.12.2373). According to Richmond, the
name Vellaunus means 'Superior' (1963, 192), which seems
to emphasise his divinity, placing him above ordinary
mortals. This would be in keeping with a tribal god. The
other deity involved in the equation, Lenus, was well
established in the territory of the Treveri in northern
Gaul (Brogan, 1953, 199). One aspect of his cult was that
of healing, as a bilingual text from Pommern an Mosel
shows (CIL.13.7661). This raises the possibility of
Ocelus too having this function. Certainly in the temple
excavated at Caerwent were found cult objects which point
to a connection with healing. These are part of a bronze
serpent and a fragment of a bird's head carved out of bone
(Ashby, 1905). This temple with its central position in
Venta Silurum, the capital town of the Silures
(Ant.It.Iter. xiv; Rivet and Smith, 493), might be
expected to be in honour of the chief god of the tribe.
It is very tempting to go along with Nash-Williams and
regard Ocelus as that god for there are no other local
rivals (Nash-Williams, 1953, 90). Unfortunately, neither
of the inscribed stones from Caerwent came from the temple
complex and so the final proof is lacking. At the same
time their find-spots within other buildings do not
preclude their having been removed from the temple to be
re-used as building materials. Indeed the excavators
record that the quadrangular base (RIB 309), was
discovered incorporated in a wall made up of fragments

from other buildings (Ashby, 1905, 293). The evidence strongly suggests that Ocelus was the chief god of the Silures and that whatever other functions he may have had, he was concerned with healing. As for his presence at Carlisle, the dedicatory slab points to a third century shrine and it seems clear that such a shrine represents an offshoot of the Silurian cult. What influence that cult had within the district is hard to assess. No other dedications to the god have been recovered thereabouts, but it must be remembered that only two such dedications have come from Silurian territory. Ross has suggested that the cult's transfer northwards resulted from population movements caused by Roman military activity in the first century AD (1967, 375-6). If correct, this would mean that the cult had had time to establish itself and that it had continued to flourish into the third century when the slab was dedicated. The evidence as it stands, however, favours the establishment of the cult at Carlisle during the third century and it seems more likely that this was done under the auspices of someone who was either a member of the Silures tribe or else had learned to pay his respects to that god while residing in Silurian territory. In this case the influence of Ocelus need be no more than minimal and the cult cannot be regarded as native to the region under discussion.

Another deity name attested at Carlisle is found on an altar dedicated by Ianuarius 'M(arti) Barregi' (RIB 947).

The rest of the inscription except the formula v.s.l.m. is unintelligible, apparently because of the confusion of the stonecutter. The god-name seems able to be restored as Barrex (or Barregis according to E. Birley, 1986, 68; or Barrecis according to Ross, 1967, 182). The abbreviation 'M' allows too the possibility of an alternative expansion 'M(ercurio)'. Thus the altar is probably dedicated to Mars Barrex (Barregis, or Barrecis) or possibly to Mercurius Barrex (etc.).

The name Barrex would mean something like 'Supreme' or 'The High God' (Ross, 1967, 182, 377). Ross sees the name as emphasising the military character of the god but caution is required failing further evidence. The name may have nothing to do specifically with military prowess but merely be underlining the deity's general superiority over mortals and perhaps other divine beings. Such a name as this could well be applicable to a tribal god.

Two other dedications from the region include names containing the 'rix' element which is the Celtic equivalent of the Latin 'rex', 'king' found in Barrex just discussed (Holder, 1907, 352 lists Rigisamus, Samorix, Vercingetorix etc.). One is a small altar dedicated 'to Mars Cocidius' from somewhere in Cumbria (RIB 1017). Along with the name Toutates occurs the name Riocalatis, in which 'Rio' represents 'Rigo-' (Jackson, 1953, 457) from the element 'rix'. Thus the 'royal' or 'ruling' god is in question. Toutates and Riocalatis may be individual

deities associated with or equated with Mars Cocidius. Alternatively, they may be epithets qualifying the deity concept Mars Cocidius, as the present writer has argued elsewhere (Fairless, 1984, 235). Either way, the 'royal' or 'ruling' god would, like Barrex, be a suitable designation for a tribal deity.

From Norton, east Yorkshire has come a stone inscribed:

'Deo Mar(ti)/Rigae/Scirus dic(avit)/sac(rum) v.s.l.m.'

'To the god Mars Rigas (or Rix) Scirus consecrated
this offering, willingly and deservedly
fulfilling his vow' (RIB 711).

Tolkien suggested that 'Rigae' represented 'rigai', Celtic dative of 'rix' (in Clark, 1935, 114). The meaning would seem to be 'Mars the Ruler', or 'Mars the King' and it can hardly be doubted that this refers to a Celtic deity. As with Barrex and Riocalatis it may be suggested that a tribal deity is in question.

The god Nodons is known from within the region. From a location about six miles south-west of Lancaster comes evidence of this god in the form of a statuette of Mars, with an inscribed pedestal, found in Cockersand Moss. The inscription reads:

'Deo Marti Nodonti Aurelius ...cinus sig(illum)'

'To the god Mars Nodons Aurelius ...cinus
(set up) this statuette' (RIB 616).

Another smaller statuette of Mars was found along with this one. Its pedestal was inscribed on all four sides:

'Lucianus/D(eo) M(arti) N(odonti)/collic(ae)/Aprili Viato/ris v(otum) s(olvit)'

'To the god Mars Nodons, Lucianus fulfilled the vow of his colleague, Aprilius Viator' (RIB 617).

The expansion of the abbreviations 'D M N' can hardly be in doubt in view of the accompanying inscription given in full and the representations of the god Mars. There is no hint of Mercurius which would be a possible alternative expansion. The expansion 'collic(ae)' is taken as a variant of 'colleg(ae)'. 'Colleague' here probably means 'fellow club member', and this may be taken to indicate that Mars Nodons was the patron of a club or guild but there is no further indication of what that might have involved. There is little else to provide a clue to the nature of the deity unless the find-spot indicates sacred deposits in a marshy place.

Much more evidence is available, however, from the famous temple site at Lydney Park, Gloucestershire. This site has yielded inscriptions in which variant forms of the deity name occur, appearing as 'Nudens' (RIB 307) and 'Nodens' (RIB 306), as well as in the form 'Nodons' (RIB 305). Once more abbreviations are employed and they introduce an element of doubt regarding the classical equation intended. Mars, however, is by far the most

probable deity intended in view of the evidence from Cockersand Moss. In no instance is there a formal epigraphic equation with Silvanus, despite the statements of Richmond (1963, 139) and Ross (1967, 201). That is not to deny the possibility of the hunter-god aspect being present in the god's nature. Indeed, the meaning of the name proposed by Tolkien (1932, 132-137) would provide support for this idea. He suggested that the name means something like 'catcher', 'snarer' or 'hunter'. The many dog figurines found on site might appear to reinforce this suggestion since a hunter might be expected to be accompanied by dogs (Wheeler and Wheeler, 1932, 88-89, Pls.25 and 26). However, the dogs may alternatively be explained as connected with healing and there are also alternative interpretations of the meaning of the deity name. Ross has suggested two possibilities, 'He who bestows wealth' and 'The Cloud-Maker' (1967, 176). Whatever the actual meaning of the deity-name, the material evidence from the site indicates the complexity of the cult practised there. Undoubtedly, healing played a large part as offerings such as bracelets and pins show, together with the bone figure of a pregnant woman, oculists stamp, bronze arm, and as already mentioned figurines of dogs. The architectural remains too with their public bath-house and residential 'Long Building' plausibly interpreted by Wheeler as intended for patients seeking 'dream-cures' underline this healing aspect

(Wheeler and Wheeler, 1932, 40-42, 51-52; cf. Dill, 1905, 459-460).

A connection with waters, the sun and fertility are other aspects of the cult that can be identified at Lydney (Wheeler and Wheeler, 1932, 42-43, 28; Fairless, 1966, 138-151). Thus Nodons can be seen to have been a complex deity at least as manifested at Lydney. Whether this applies to the finds at Cockersand Moss is unknown. It is possible that the statuettes found there belonged to a shrine in the vicinity. If so, then it was possibly an offshoot of the Lydney site although of course the reverse could be true. The evidence is insufficient to make a decision. The present writer prefers to hold to the view he expressed many years ago namely that the statuettes, being portable, probably came originally from the Lydney site itself (Fairless, 1966, 151). If this is correct it is virtually certain that the cult of Nodons had minimal influence within the region, certainly much less influence than if a shrine had flourished. In other words, although Celtic, both in name and complexity, Nodons can hardly be regarded as a god native to Central Britain.

Another deity for whom evidence comes from beyond as well as within the region is Condates. His cult has recently been discussed by the present writer (Fairless, 1984, 235-238). Four dedications can be assigned to this deity, three of which come from places in County Durham, while the fourth comes from Cramond. Two of these inscriptions

provide a clear equation with Mars by giving the classical god-name in full. They are on altars from Chester-le-Street (RIB 1045) and Bowes (RIB 731). Two of the dedications have abbreviations, namely the altars found at Piercebridge (RIB 1024) and Cramond (Brit.9, 1978, 475, no.15). In these last two examples there is the possibility of equation with Mercury rather than Mars.

The cult is clearly centred in the district between the valleys of the rivers Wear and Tees and the Cramond example may be explained as an outlier. As so often there is no accompanying iconography to help interpret the function of the god but the meaning of the name is helpful. The name 'Condates' means 'God of the Watersmeet' (Holder, 1907, 1092; Collingwood, 1937, 266; Ross, 1967, 182). The find-spots of two of the Durham altars, namely those from Chester-le-Street and Piercebridge, are in keeping with this interpretation for each came from a confluence of stream with river (Fairless, 1984, 237). This connection with waters may well imply concern with healing as Ross avers (1967, 376) but corroborative evidence for this is at present lacking. Only hints are available to widen the god's nature. The use of the formula 'pro se et suis' on the Chester-le-Street altar, if not a routine request to the deity, perhaps indicates that a protector role is a special part of his nature. Again, the swastika emblem incised on the Piercebridge altar points to a solar connection

(Lambrechts, 1942, 66). This would be in keeping with a deity concerned with waters and healing as with Nodons at Lydney discussed above, and Mars Loucetius at Bath and in Upper Germany (Fairless, 1966, 165-172).

As for the equation with Mars, what is certain is that it is not in his role of Ares, the War God that he is invoked in these dedications. He is much more akin to the many Mars-equated deities in Gaul connected with waters and especially those instances involving the confluence of streams (Thevenot, 1955, Table 3).

Thus Mars Condates may be regarded as native to the region under consideration. His cult appears to belong to a definite district and to the folk living there. In other words, it seems reasonable to suggest that Condates was a god of a tribal (or rather perhaps a sub-tribal) grouping within the district now known as County Durham. Whether he was in fact their main tribal deity cannot be known for certain on present evidence but perhaps choice of the great classical god Mars as an equation for him is a pointer in this direction.

Two other deities who are on occasions equated with Mars stand out from the rest by reason of the numbers of dedications to them which have survived (fig.10.6). These two deities are Cocidius and Belatucadrus. Their cults, together with that of Mars Condates, have been the subject of recent discussion by the present writer

(Fairless, 1984) and for that reason it is proposed to forgo detailed analysis here.

Taking Belatucadrus first, twenty-nine dedications, including conjectural examples, may be assigned to the god. The fact that twenty-four of these provide no equation with any other deity, classical or otherwise, shows that an independent god is being dealt with. The meaning of the name is given by Collingwood, following Tolkien (1937, 266), as 'fair shining one'. Ross accepts this as the more probable of two interpretations, the other being 'The Fair Slayer' (Ross, 1967, 181, citing Jackson, 1953, 430-431). Most of the dedications have been recovered from northern Cumbria; in the western sector of the Hadrianic frontier, the Solway Plain and in the valley of the river Eden. Seven have come from Brougham thus indicating perhaps the presence of a cult centre. The god has no consort, unless the last line of an altar from Castlesteads (RIB 1976) was intended to read 'Minerv(ae)', 'to Minerva', rather than 'Minerv(alis)', the dedicator's name (cf. Fairless, 1984, fig.13.2). On five occasions Belatucadrus is equated with Mars. These dedications come from the following places: Carvoran (RIB 1784), Netherby (RIB 970), Carlisle (RIB 948), Burgh by Sands (RIB 2044) and Old Penrith (RIB 918).

The deity name itself shows variations in spelling. The most common version is given in the form 'Belatucadro', implying the nominative 'Belatucadrus'

(or Celtic Belatucadros). Thirteen variations are known
(Fairless, 1984), suggesting that many of the god's
votaries were not well versed in the Latin language. Most
of the dedicators were probably civilian judging by their
use of single names without rank or status or indeed by
the absence of dedicators' names. Only five dedications
betray military connections. Four of these are certain.
The first is dedicated by an _optio_ (Maryport, _RIB_ 809),
the highest status recorded from among the god's votaries.
The second mentions a _cuneus_ (Brougham, _RIB_ 772), while
the third was set up by a _veteranus_ (Greenhill, near Old
Carlisle, _RIB_ 887). The fourth was dedicated by Iulius
Augustalis, _actor_ or steward of the fort commander, Iulius
Lupus, at Old Penrith (_RIB_ 918). A fifth dedication 'to
Belatocairus' is by an ordinary soldier unless the
expansion 'M(iles)' is wrong. This is the version
favoured, probably correctly, by E. Birley (1986, 61), but
Wright prefers 'M(arcus)' (_RIB_ 2056, Kirkbride). Whether
military or civilian, the simple texts, smallness of the
altars and variant names indicate that the god's votaries
were drawn from the lower ranks of society. As for
dating, there is no firm evidence to provide close dating.
The mention of a _cuneus_, for example, on the Brougham
altar (_RIB_ 772) indicates a third century date (E. Birley,
1932, 132) and most of the remaining altars probably
belong to the same century, according to the uncertain
criteria of style and lettering.

As for the nature of Belatucadrus, Ross has argued that the Mars equation indicates that he was invoked 'in his essentially military capacity' (1967, 371). Richmond, however, felt that caution had to be exercised in drawing conclusions from the Mars equation and suspended judgement regarding the god's sphere of activity (1963, 227). The present writer has already referred to the unreliability of the Mars equation as a guide to a deity's function as a war-god. Belatucadrus may have exercised a warrior-function but other aspects can be detected. The favoured meaning of his name, 'fair shining one', seems applicable to a solar deity and this view is strongly supported by an inscribed statue, now lost, from Brougham, which almost certainly possessed a radiate crown (RIB 777). Another aspect is that of family protector which is suggested by the use of the formula 'pro se et suis' on two dedications, one from Brougham (RIB 773), the other from Hawstones (RIB 2039). Again, in the use of the formula 'p(ro) s(ua) s(alute)' on an altar from Brougham (RIB 774) and similarly '[pro] salute sua [et suorum]' on one from Burgh by Sands (RIB 2045), there may be more implied than routine appeals for 'well-being' such as might be addressed to any divine power. It seems distinctly possible that, as a solar deity, Belatucadrus had powers of healing and that the word salus, that is 'health', should be taken more literally.

Thus Belatucadrus was a god who appealed to the lower

strata of society. Although equated with the Roman Mars, this does not automatically mean that he was a war-god. He may have possessed a warrior capacity but there are hints of other sides to his nature, such as solar connections, protector aspects and perhaps healing capabilities. Such a deity is more complex than a specialised god of war. This fact, together with the compact distribution of the god's altars would argue strongly for Belatucadrus being a tribal god. The present writer (Fairless, 1984, 228) has suggested that the Carvetii whose presence in Cumbria is discussed above (Chapter 2), would be an obvious choice in seeking for a tribe to match the god.

The other god with many dedications to his credit is Cocidius (fig.10.6). That he is to be regarded as an independent deity is seen by the fact that a cult centre for him, Fanum Cocidi, the 'Shrine of Cocidius' existed. This is recorded in the Ravenna Cosmography along with forts listed for the western sector of the Hadrianic frontier (Richmond and Crawford, 1949, 19; Rivet and Smith, 1979, 363). Further support for Cocidius' independence is provided by the fact that the majority of the dedications to him are without equation. Overall, twenty-five dedications to the god Cocidius are known, including two on silver plaques from Bewcastle (RIB 986, 987). Apart from an outlier found at Lancaster (RIB 602) the dedications all come from the vicinity of Hadrian's

Wall. Most of them, in fact, have come from the western sector of the frontier with six, or possibly seven, coming from the outpost fort of Bewcastle. It seems certain that the god's shrine, referred to above, must have been located at or near Bewcastle itself (Fairless, 1984, 228).

On five occasions, Cocidius is equated with Mars (RIB 602, 993, 1017, 2015, 2024), once with Silvanus (RIB 1578) and once with the Celtic god with woodland connections, Vernostonus (RIB 1102), discussed above. The divine names Toutates and Riocalatis also occur, as has already been seen, on one Mars-equated dedication (RIB 1017). Equation with Mars is also implied by the representation of that god on the silver plaques dedicated to Cocidius from Bewcastle (RIB 986, 987). Equation with Silvanus or, according to an alternative interpretation of text and scene, association with Silvanus, is attested by an altar from East Woodburn, Northumberland (RIB 1207; Fairless, 1984, 230). Similar woodland connections may be inferred from the evidence of an altar recovered from Bankshead milecastle (no.52) on Hadrian's Wall (RIB 1956). This depicts in the front lower panel a woodland scene, unfortunately well weathered but which seems to include not only a boar but also a dog and horned figure (Fairless, 1984, 230, fig.13.4). If correctly interpreted the figure in this scene would almost certainly represent Cocidius in his role of hunter god, or in Roman terms, Silvanus. Close association with a genius is known in

three instances. One is a dedication from Housesteads to the 'genius of the garrison' RIB 1577), a second, also from Housesteads refers to 'the genius of this place' (RIB 1583), while the third is on an altar built into the foundation of the Wall at Old Wall (near milecastle 59) where the affinity of the genius is uncertain. The reference may be 'genio Val(1)i', 'to the Genius of the Wall' (Fairless, 1984, 232). This explanation is rejected by Wright who suggests 'Genius of ....valium', that is, a place name ending in '-valium' (RIB 2015). Rivet and Smith take this a stage further and suggest that the place in question could well be '[Lugu]vali', the genitive of 'Luguvalium', to be identified with Carlisle, only six miles distant from the find-spot (1979, 402). Iupiter Optimus Maximus is also associated with Cocidius on the second of the Housesteads altars listed above (RIB 1583). What is arguably a similarity of function with regard to these two gods is to be seen in the case of an altar from Birdoswald originally dedicated to Cocidius but re-dedicated to Jupiter, Best and Greatest (RIB 1885).

Most of the dedicators to Cocidius can be shown to have been military, both legionary (e.g. RIB 985) and auxiliary (e.g.RIB 966), ranging from private soldiers (Housesteads, RIB 577) to commanding officers (Housesteads, RIB 1578). Many of these altars represent corporate dedications, whether auxiliary (e.g. RIB 1872, Birdoswald) or legionary (e.g. RIB 1961, near milecastle 55). This military

support of Cocidius would seem to give some indication of the role of the god in the eyes of the soldiery, and thus in turn have a bearing on the god's basic characteristics. The equations with Mars would seem to provide an obvious explanation, namely, that it was as a war-god that Cocidius appealed to such military devotees. Yet there are hints that there were other sides to the god's nature, and perhaps an alternative reason for his popularity with the military. A deity offering protection, no doubt through the deployment of warrior qualities, would be attractive to frontier troops. Indeed, the present writer has argued that Cocidius was adopted by the Roman soldiers and even honoured in the manner of orthodox Roman gods such as Jupiter, Best and Greatest (Fairless, 1984, 233-234). In other words, it is suggested that Cocidius became in effect the protector or patron of the Tyne-Solway frontier.

In seeking to elucidate further the nature of Cocidius it is natural to turn to the name itself. Although Celtic, its meaning has not been satisfactorily explained. There are philological difficulties in interpreting the name as meaning 'The Red One', as suggested by Richmond and Crawford (1949, 34; Ross, 1967, 169), yet such a name would suit very well the two aspects implied in the equations with Mars and Silvanus. In respect of these two aspects it has been argued that Cocidius changed his role on moving from west to east, that he was a war-god in the

west and a hunting god in the east of the country (Richmond and McIntyre, 1937, 103-106; followed by Ross, 1967, 169-171). The present writer has cast doubt upon this geographical distinction, mainly because of the small proportion of equated examples known (Fairless, 1984, 235). Support for the rejection of this view is also sought from the woodland scene on the Bankshead altar (RIB 1956) discussed above, for Bankshead is some 2.5 miles west of Birdoswald fort, well inside the western sector of Hadrian's Wall. The complexity of the god is seen in the presence of the divine names 'Riocalatis' and 'Toutates' occurring on the Cumbrian altar of unknown provenance (RIB 1017). Whether epithets or actual equations, with their references to 'ruling' and 'god of the people' respectively, such names reflect the native side of the cult and point to a tribal dimension. The altar itself is small and poorly lettered and the dedicator has the single name of a non-citizen. It seems likely to have been offered by a civilian and so is a rarity amongst Cocidius dedications. Such lack of civilian dedications shows that the native Cocidius had not been Romanised to any extent, unless, of course, the evidence for this has yet to be found in unexcavated civilian settlements. The community whose tribal god Cocidius was - if that is a correct assessment - must be sought in the vicinity of Fanum Cocidi, that is, north of the Wall at its western end. It has been suggested that the Selgovae, occupying territory north of the western sector of Hadrian's Wall, would be a

possibility (Fairless, 1984, 235). A god such as Cocidius with a Silvanus aspect to his nature would seem to be well-suited to people whose name means 'the hunters' (Rivet and Smith, 1979, 455).

From the southern fringe of the region comes the last of the indigenous deities equated with Mars. This is Mars Braciaca attested on an altar (RIB 278) found at Haddon Hall, Derbyshire (Haverfield, 1905, 252). The dedication was made by Quintus Sittius Caecilianus, prefect of the cohors I Aquitanorum, who were in garrison at nearby Brough on Noe in the years following the period AD 156-9 as shown by a commemorative slab from the fort (RIB 283).

As for the nature of the god Braciaca, there is no iconographic evidence to provide a clue. The name itself might be connected with the Celtic word for 'malt' (Holder, 1907, 509; Ross, 1967, 180-1) giving a meaning such as 'God of Malt', or 'God of Intoxication'. Ross points to the predilection of the Gauls for intoxicating drink and quotes Diodorus Siculus who refers to the Celtic fondness for unmixed wine. Perhaps more appropriate in this case would be Diodorus' earlier reference to beer making. 'They (the Gauls) concoct a drink out of barley called "zythos", (beer)....' (Diod.Sic.V.26; Tierney, 1960, 249). However that may be, that Mars Braciaca was a deity of some local importance is suggested by the fact that the garrison commander at the nearby Roman fort, Brough on Noe, took the trouble to pay his respects. It

seems probable too that the god's shrine was near the find-spot at Haddon Hall, close by the river Derwent. Whether or not this implies a connection with the river is unclear but such proximity may be significant. However, more evidence is needed to confirm these speculations, or otherwise, and to arrive at firmer conclusions regarding the nature of Braciaca.

The next deity requiring consideration is attested on altars found on Scargill Moor, County Durham, at a location situated about two miles south of the Roman fort at Bowes. Two small shrines were found situated on the west bank of the East Black Sike near to its confluence with the Eller Beck (Wright, 1946; Richmond and Wright, 1948). The first shrine was rectangular and aligned broadside to the stream. Excavation recovered an altar dedicated 'to the god Vinotonus Silvanus' by Julius Secundus, centurion of Cohors I Thracum (RIB 732). The second shrine, situated about 15m further upstream was circular. This yielded a large altar dedicated 'to the god Vinotonus' by Lucius Caesius Frontinus, prefect of the Cohors I Thracum (RIB 733). Besides this main altar which occupied a central position at the rear of the shrine, were found fragments of six other smaller altars as well as part of a stone slab and two altar bases. Coins too were recovered, comprising a worn example of Nerva (AD 96-98) and a fairly unworn one of Hadrian, dated to AD 119-122. The pottery found included sherds that extended

to the end of the third century and beyond, including a
rim of an early fourth century cooking pot.

Later, salvage excavation of the rectangular shrine which
was being badly eroded by the stream, yielded nothing new
(Coggins, 1981, 12-18). In 1986 another inscribed altar,
or rather its upper portion, was found between the two
shrines. This proved to be one of two stones laid bare by
storm action, the other being uninscribed. The inscribed
altar is dedicated 'Deo Vino/tono Silva/no Aug(usto)', 'To
the god Vinotonus Silvanus Augustus' (Pl.VIII). The
remainder of the inscription is incomplete but it seems
possible to identify the presence of a 'pri(nceps)',
although his unit is not clear. Whether the area from
which this altar was recovered between the two known
shrines is the site of another shrine is problematical.
There is no structural indication that it was but as yet
it has not been excavated, so firmly based evidence is
lacking. However, personal inspection in the vicinity has
revealed further up-stream two other places providing
suitable platforms for shrines as well as another one
down-stream, closer to the confluence of the streams.
This last example is situated on the east bank of the East
Black Sike at a spot 18m from its junction with the Eller
Beck. It is in the form of a grass-and-bracken-covered
oval platform measuring 9m north-south by 5.5m east-west
and surrounded by a shallow ditch. If this represents a
shrine it was bigger than the two excavated examples. On

the other hand it may be a hut intended for occupation by humans rather than gods. Only excavation will offer an opportunity to elucidate this point.

The quantity of altars found at or near the Scargill shrines suggests the popularity of the cult amongst the Roman forces and these altars, together with the few small finds, indicate that this popularity occurred during the third century and continued into the fourth century AD. Further exploration may reveal whether the devotion of the soldiers preceded the third century, which seems not at all unlikely. in view of the coins found That the spot was an important cult centre is clear from the presence of the two shrines already known, not to mention the probable existence of others.

In seeking to discover the nature of the god Vinotonus, the fact that the name is unknown elsewhere points to an indigenous god of the locality. The meaning too of the name is unknown. Ross has conjectured '(?)God of the Vines' (from *vino-) (1967, 52) but it is hard to see what relevance this could have in the present context unless the reference is to the Celtic fondness for wine drinking. One may recall the passage of Diodorus Siculus in this respect, cited above: 'They are exceedingly fond of wine and sate themselves with unmixed wine imported by merchants' (Diod.Siculus, V,25-32; Tierney, 1960, 248). A more straightforward explanation would seem to be preferable. Consequently, the altar texts and location of the shrines may be appealed to.

The equation with Silvanus on two altars gives a guide to
the aspects of Vinotonus that two Roman votaries at least
saw as important, namely, god of the wild countryside.
Such a god would elicit the vows of those who were wont to
indulge in the hunt, as in the case for example of the
well-known altar from Bollihope in Weardale which recorded
the capture of a boar (RIB 1041). It may have been
primarily in this capacity that Vinotonus attracted Roman
worship. The countryside round about probably provided in
earlier times more tree cover than nowadays if the name
Eller Beck, that is Alder Brook (Ekwall, 1960) is anything
to go by. If this applied to the Roman period too the
district would have been even more suitable for the
leisure pursuit of hunting favoured by Roman officers.
Thus, in one sense, Vinotonus may be regarded as god of
the wild uncultivated land who was a patron of hunting.
At the same time, the location of the shrines would seem
to point strongly to another aspect. Set as they are into
the bankside of the East Black Sike they are in very close
proximity to the stream. This fact argues strongly for
the view that there is a connection between Vinotonus and
running water, either in the capacity of god of the East
Black Sike or at least as consort of the goddess of that
stream. Even more, it will be noted that the shrines
already discovered are located close to the junction of
two streams. It is hard to resist the conclusion that
there is in this some religious significance and
accordingly to classify Vinotonus as a deity presiding

over streams and especially their confluences. The similarity to Condates discussed above is striking.

It is necessary now to return to consideration of the cult of Brigantia (including too the deity Bregans). Preliminary discussion has already taken place during examination of the question of the extent of Brigantian territory (Chapter 2) and the question of Brigantia's nature may be approached at once.

The name itself, Brigantia, meaning the 'High One' (Jolliffe, 1941, 36; Ross, 1967, 358-9) is derived from the tribal designation, 'the Brigantes'. It is clear therefore that the goddess was the personification of the tribe. The role of territorial guardian would be expected to arise from this and such an aspect is evident in the case of the relief from Birrens (RIB 2091 and Pl.19). In the Birrens relief the goddess depicted wears a mural crown indicating her function as city or regional goddess (Jolliffe, 1941, 51-52, Pl.1; Toynbee, 1963, Pl.77, cat.no.80). This function of territorial goddess is further demonstrated by the fact that she holds a globe in her right hand indicating world-wide dominion. This might seem to be an extravagant claim for a remote provincial goddess but the presence of the omphalos or sacred stone on her right puts the matter in context. The stone is indicative of the presence of Juno Caelestis whose rule was world-wide and who was the embodiment of Syrian and African tutelary goddesses as well as being the consort of

Jupiter Dolichenus (Jolliffe, 1941, 49-55; Toynbee, 1963, cat.no.80; 1964, 174). In other words, Brigantia is being assimilated by Caelestis, the former being regarded merely as the local manifestation of the latter. This same process is seen in epigraphic terms on the Corbridge altar (RIB 1131) dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus where Brigantia is equated with Caelestis. At Birrens too the goddess is depicted as Minerva Victrix, with shield, spear, aegis and wings. Such a warrior goddess might be expected to be able to control and defend her territory. The two altars from west Yorkshire dedicated to Victoria Brigantia (RIB 627, 628) would appear to be referring to the same warrior aspect.

As both Jolliffe and Richmond have pointed out the references to African and Syrian deities at Birrens and Corbridge serve also to pay a compliment to the Imperial House; the emperor Severus was African born while his wife Julia Domna hailed from Syria (Jolliffe, 1941, 44, 53; Richmond, 1943, 195).

Another aspect of Brigantia's nature is clearly signalled in the terms of the dedication from near Brampton (RIB 2066). Here the goddess is addressed as 'the goddess nymph', an undoubted reference to her role as water deity. It may be significant in this respect that two of the west Yorkshire altars were set up, whether in shrines or otherwise, near to the river Calder. That from Bank Top, Greetland (RIB 627) was found 'not far from the river',

while the altar from Woodnook (RIB 628) was found actually in the river itself (Jolliffe, 1941, 59).

Often, some would say always, connected with a cult of waters is that of healing. There are indications that this too was an aspect of Brigantia's nature. On the left side of the altar from Adel is depicted a serpent (RIB 630), often, as previously noted, to be associated with healing. Again, on the Corbridge altar Brigantia is coupled with the Roman Salus who, equated with the Greek Hygieia, tends to be associated with the Greek god of medicine, Asclepius (Richmond, 1943, 195; cf. RIB 609 and 1028). The text of the Brampton altar makes a reference to the emperor's health. According to the imperial titles recorded the altar belonged to the reign of Caracalla. Jolliffe refers to that emperor's concern with his health and, citing Dio, connects this dedication with offerings which the emperor sent in AD 213 to shrines of gods who presided over health (Jolliffe, 1941, 58; Dio, 78, 5-6). Finally, there may be implicit in the Minerva figure of the Birrens relief this same healing aspect. Healing was often a function of the Gallic Minerva and indeed is to be seen in Britain too, notably in the case of the Romano-British goddess presiding over the waters at Bath, namely, Sulis-Minerva (RIB 146).

Another facet of the goddess' potency is hinted at in the appeal to her by the dedicator of the Greetland altar,

'pro se et suis'. The concept implied of family protector is not far removed from that of healer.

Such an aspect of protector is no doubt a basic characteristic of Bregans the male version of Brigantia, recorded on the Longwood altar (RIB 623). He must be regarded as the tribal god of the Brigantes. The altar itself, however, provides no clues to elaborate on the nature of the god.

Thus, Brigantia, the eponymous deity of the Brigantes was warrior guardian of their territory. She also had connections with water and probably functioned too as a healing, or at least health-providing, deity in addition to offering support for the individual and his family. A male equivalent, Bregans, may be assumed to have been the tribal god of the Brigantes. In the early third century the cult of Brigantia flourished in a Romanised and highly syncretistic form. This has led Salway for example to suggest that the cult was in fact 'a purely Roman creation' (1967, 21). While it is likely that it was with the encouragement, indeed on the instigation of the Imperial House that the cult was given prominence, the various aspects detected as part of the make-up of the goddess are sufficient to support the case for the presence of a Celtic divinity behind the facade of Romanisation.

It is time now to deal with those deities which are

attested both in the region and on the Continent
(figs.10.7 and 10.8). The first one to be considered is
Maponus.

Evidence for the cult of Maponus comes mainly from the
Hadrianic frontier zone (fig.10.7). An altar has been
found at Corbridge, Northumberland dedicated to Apollo
Maponus by a 'trib(unus)' (RIB 1121). On the left side is
carved a figure representing Apollo with lyre in his left
hand and laurel in his right hand. On the right side of
the altar is a figure of Diana with bow and quiver. Two
more altars dedicated to the god have been found not far
away, at Hexham only four miles to the west of Corbridge.
One (RIB 1120) found outside Hexham Abbey was dedicated to
Apollo Maponus by Q(uintus) Terentius Firmus, 'praefectus
castrorum' of Legio VI Victrix. The other (RIB 1122),
still forming part of the roof in the Saxon crypt of
Hexham Abbey, was dedicated '[Deo/Ma] po[no]/Apo[llini]',
'to the god Maponus Apollo' by a centurion of Legio VI
Victrix. These Hexham altars are to be assigned to the
second century AD by the style of their lettering.
Confirmation of this dating for the former stone comes
from the dedicator's rank, 'Camp Prefect', which is not
found in the third century (Richmond, 1943, 208). Thus it
is that a cult of Maponus equated with Apollo was followed
by high ranking Army officers in the second century at or
near Corbridge. Another dedication, in the form of a
pedestal, to Apollo Maponus by a centurion of Legio VI

Victrix has come from Ribchester, Lancashire (RIB 583).
The dedicator Aelius Antoninus was commandant of the
garrison at Ribchester and of the region around. The
inscription is dated to the years AD 238-244 or later by
reference in the unit's title to the emperor Gordian
(Richmond, 1945). Once more a high ranking officer is
honouring Apollo Maponus, but in the third century. The
back and sides of the stone have been sculpted. A
representation of Apollo Citharoedus, 'the Harpist',
appears on the right side but its matching side, on the
left, which probably depicted Maponus has been removed.
The back is occupied by two female figures difficult to
identify because of their worn condition. They may, as
Richmond suggested, represent the goddesses Leto and
Artemis, mother and sister respectively of Apollo, with
the former standing for Modron the mother of Maponus in
Celtic terms (Richmond, 1943, 210). Ross tentatively
suggested a similar solution, with one figure standing for
Modron and the other for a native Diana (Artemis) (Ross,
1967, 215-216). Later, Richmond identified the
headdresses worn by the two figures as turreted crowns and
accordingly interpreted them as administrative or
geographical personifications. The younger, partly draped
figure, he saw as Regio Bremetennacensis and the elder,
fully draped figure as Britannia Inferior (Richmond, 1945,
27-28). The worn nature of the scene makes a decision in
favour of one or other explanation impossible but it
should be noted that the two solutions are not

incompatible and indeed such double meanings are in keeping with the syncretistic tendencies of the Graeco-Roman world. Maponus is being appealed to as the god who will provide aid and protection for the local garrison. It would be natural to include in the reference Celtic goddesses associated with him. As is the way with Celtic goddesses they are closely associated with territory and it would be natural to equate them with territorial personifications.

The three remaining inscriptions involving Maponus do not make an equation with Apollo, nor do they specify military connections.

The first is an altar found near Brampton, but its exact find-spot is unknown (RIB 2063). It is dedicated 'to the god Maponus and the divine spirit of the Emperor' by four Germans. According to its style it is best dated to the first half of the third century AD (E. Birley, 1954, 39). The next reference occurs on a silver 'lunula' inscribed 'Deo Mapono' 'to the god Maponus'; this was found in the vicus at Chesterholm, Northumberland (Brit.2, 1971, 291, no.12). No doubt, it represents an offering in a shrine made by someone of means, whether civilian or military is unknown. A complete contrast to this object is a stone slab found at Birrens (JRS.58, 1968, 209, no.28. Pl.19.2; Robertson, 1975, 95). This is roughly inscribed in lettering difficult to read and interpret but which includes the letters: 'Lo Mabomi', capable of expansion

as 'Lo(co) Maponi', meaning 'at (or from) the place(?) of Maponus'. Also, rudely inscribed below the inscription is a drawing which has been interpreted as a serpent by R.P. Wright (JRS. 1968). If that is correct then a reference to waters and healing may well be implicit in this.

Reference to Maponus also occurs in the Ravenna Cosmography as '(locus) Maponi' (Richmond and Crawford, 1949, 39; Rivet and Smith, 1979, 395). This may signify 'place of Maponus' accepting the word 'locus' at its face value as Latin meaning 'place'. Alternatively, Rivet and Smith suggest that a British word is involved, namely, '*loc- ' meaning 'pool, lake' (represented for example by Irish, 'loch'). This would signify 'lake of Maponus'. This is supported by the Birrens inscription mentioned above where 'Lo(co)' could equally well stand for the British word. The interpretation then would be 'at (or from) the lake of Maponus'. Such a connection with waters would be an attractive suggestion in relation to a Celtic deity.

Of place names surviving into modern times which incorporate the deity name 'Maponus', two seem worthy of consideration at this point. One is Clochmabenstane (NY 312660), the name of a megalith situated on the north shore of the Solway Firth, about 0.75 mile south-west of Gretna Green. The other is Lochmaben, the site of a village, castle and lake in Annandale some three miles west of Lockerbie.

With regard to the former, Richmond and Crawford identified it as 'Locus Maponi', a tribal meeting place and cult centre, pointing to the fact that it was the location of a traditional meeting place in the Middle Ages (Richmond and Crawford, 1949, 39; Richmond, 1940, 97). Radford, however, showed that the medieval tradition of assembly did not go back uninterrupted to earlier times. Consequently, he suggested an alternative site, namely, the second one at Lochmaben. More specifically he suggested a promontory with small island on the southern shore of the loch (NY 088812). This is the site of a medieval castle and early earthworks. This he suggested was an ideal location for a Celtic sacred site, viewed both locally in relation to the loch and its offshore island and regionally in relation to Annandale, Nithsdale and the surrounding uplands (Radford, 1954, 37-38). As Rivet and Smith point out (1979, 395) 'Lochmaben' can be taken as an exact derivative from 'Locus Maponi' if the latter is interpreted as 'Lake of Maponus'. This seems almost certain to be the correct identification of the entry in the Ravenna Cosmography.

Clochmabenstane, however, even if not '(locus) Maponi' as recorded in the Ravenna Cosmography, must have some significance regarding Maponus. 'Cloch', meaning stone (duplicated by 'stane') combined with 'maben' would give the meaning 'Stone of Maponus'. There is the possibility that the megalith itself was the focus of attention. On

the other hand, it stands at the north end of a ford across the river estuary (Radford, 1954, 36) and it may be merely that its importance lay in its function as a marker. As such, it no doubt attracted to itself the status of sacred spot in the role perhaps of wayside shrine, boundary shrine, or indeed both.

Another possible reference to Maponus occurs in the Ravenna Cosmography in a list of names seemingly applicable to the region between the two Walls. This is Maporiton which may mean 'young man's ford', or 'son's ford' (Richmond and Crawford, 1949, 19 and 40). It is possible, however, that the reference is to the 'ford of Maponus', although it should be noted that Rivet and Smith are doubtful about this (1979, 412). However, the connection with waters and wayfaring is not dissimilar from the situation at Clochmabenstane discussed above and it is tempting to retain the deity reference. The site has not been identified.

Reference to Maponus also survives in medieval Welsh literature in the story of Culhwch and Olwen where he appears as Mabon, son of Modron 'who was taken away when three nights old from his mother' (Jones and Jones, 1949, 118; MacQueen, 1954, 43-57). This occurrence in the Welsh tradition suggests that Maponus' cult was well established in Britain in earlier times and probably more widespread than the evidence of Roman altars and native place names adduced above would suggest.

Traces of Maponus can also be found in France. The name occurs at Bourbonne les Bains as a personal name (Holder, 1907). In addition in a cartulary of the abbey of Savigny, Rhône, in about AD 1090 reference is made to the name in the phrase 'de Mabono Fonte' (Holder, 1907, 414). This implies a sacred spring to Maponus. Finally, in 1971 Maponus was found on an inscription from Chamalières (Auvergne). This last is particularly interesting in that the spring of Les Roches at Chamalières has yielded a deposit of over 5,000 wooden figures and other carvings, some showing internal organs (Piggott, 1975, figs. 63 and 65). A cult of healing waters is in question and Maponus may well be connected with this.

Thus the presence of Maponus in Gaul can be accepted showing that the god's cult was more widespread than the British evidence alone would suggest. The existence of sacred locations in Britain to which the deity name was attached seems to suggest that the cult was in existence thereabouts in a period before the Roman occupation. If that is correct, then however the cult was disseminated, it seems reasonable to regard Maponus as a native Celtic deity.

Turning now to a consideration of the nature of Maponus, the name itself yields a meaning, namely, 'Divine Son', 'Divine Youth' (Ross, 1967, 208, 359). The evidence of the Roman altars from Corbridge and Ribchester showing him equated with Apollo Citharoedus, the Harpist, emphasises

his role as musician. Another aspect of the god was his connection with waters, seen both in Gaul and in Britain. Arising from this the role of healer god may be strongly suspected. The serpent inscribed on the Birrens slab, if correctly interpreted would support this. Indeed the divine power of music may also have a bearing on this too for, as Richmond suggested, healing could be effected through musical enchantment (Richmond, 1943, 210). This role of healing god would accord well with what is known of other Apollo-equated deities from Gaul who are often patrons of thermal springs and concerned with healing (MacCana, 1970, 32).

Whilst the aspect of Hunter is not to the fore on the Corbridge altar yet the huntress goddess Diana accompanies the god. In the story of Culhwch and Olwen referred to above, Mabon is depicted as a great hunter. 'There is no huntsman in the world can act as houndsman to that hound save Mabon...' (Jones and Jones, 1949, 118). Care needs to be taken in projecting backwards from such medieval accounts lest the story-teller of later times has inserted new elements. However, the concept of hunter accords well with the Apollo image, and it seems safe to accept this aspect as another characteristic of the native god.

The role of community protector would also seem to be implicit in the Ribchester dedication. It may be as Richmond suggested that the cult was originally centred in York, the legionary headquarters of Legio VI Victrix which

supplied the Corbridge and Ribchester dedicators. In that case the cult may represent an 'import' into Lancashire which was imposed upon the dwellers within the 'Regio Bremetennacensis', administered from Ribchester. In other words, Aelius Antoninus, the dedicator and commander of the district chose Maponus as a Celtic god already known to him. However, Maponus, as has been seen, was known and apparently well-established in the north-west corner of the region and there is reason to believe that his cult was more widespread still. In that case, the god may have been known to the indigenous folk belonging to the district administered from Ribchester. If so, then that would help to explain why Maponus was chosen to be honoured in such a way.

Thus the god Maponus equated with Apollo, was almost certainly an indigenous deity of Central Britain though known further afield. He was a youthful, peaceful god associated with waters and having skill in music and also probably healing. A hunting aspect too seems quite probable. His cult seems to have been rooted firmly in the north-west part of the region but the adherence of members of Legio VI Victrix may point to its presence at York too. However that may be, that he was regarded as being of considerable importance is clear from the fact that high ranking legionary officers paid their respects to him.

Another Apollo-equated deity is attested at South Shields (fig.10.8) but by contrast with Maponus there is only one dedication and no other evidence for his presence elsewhere in the region. The god in question is Apollo Anextlomarus (or Anextiomarus) whose name is found on a bronze patera discovered amongst other bronze vessels in the river Tyne near Herd Sand (EE.7.1162; Hodgkin, 1891, 163; Henig, 1984, 132, fig.56). Another dedication to the same god is known from east Gaul (CIL.13.3190) in the territory of the Aulerci Cenomanni (E. Birley, 1986, 44) and a goddess 'Anextlomara' is attested by an inscription from Avenches (Aventicum) (E. Birley, 1986, 44). The meaning of the name, given by Henig as 'The Great Protector', marks Anextlomarus out as a protector or guardian deity. There is no other indication of his role but such a god may have been similar to other Apollo-equated deities from Gaul, such as Belenus and Grannus, who tend to be associated with healing cults (Green, 1976, 12). As to the cult's origin, the likelihood is that the South Shields example represents an import during Roman times and if that is correct, then the god cannot be regarded as being native to the region.

Near the west end of the Hadrianic frontier altars have been found which attest the presence of the Celtic goddess Epona. One comes from Carvoran (RIB 1777) and the other from Netherby (RIB 967). The deity name is certain on the former but occurs in abbreviated form on the

latter, namely 'D.S.E' interpreted by E. Birley as 'D(eo) S(anctae) E(ponae)', 'To the holy goddess Epona' (E. Birley, 1986, 46). Part of the dedicator's name appears as 'Monime'. The Carvoran example does not have a dedicator's name.

Epona means 'Divine Horse' and she was protectress of horses (Ross, 1967, 206). Her cult was widely spread, in Gaul, Germany and the Danube provinces (Green, 1976, 14; Ross, 1967, 224). The goddess was adopted by cavalry units of the Roman army and there seems little doubt that the two examples from the region under consideration represent imports by cavalrymen. Both Netherby and Carvoran had equitate units in garrison during the third century (RIB 968, 1795; Breeze and Dobson, 1978, 245, 248).

A small altar from Chester-le-Street attests the presence there of 'Digenis' (RIB 1044). Professor Birley has conjectured that the same deity occurs on an altar (RIB 1314) from milecastle 3, near Newcastle upon Tyne (E. Birley, 1986, 46). On this altar there is a reference to sacerdos, a 'priest'. Two inscriptions from abroad give the same deity except that each is in the plural. One comes from Baeterrae in Narbonensis (CIL. 12.4216) and the other from Cologne (CIL. 13.8176). The presence of a priest is perhaps implied in the use of the phrase 'ex imp(erio)' as if instructions had been issued through the medium of a human representative. Digenis then would

seem to have been thought of variously as singular or plural but male. The meaning of the name is unknown and there is virtually nothing to reveal the nature of the god invoked. The very obscurity of the deity is perhaps a clue in itself suggesting a god who retained his Celtic or even pre-Celtic nature. The presence of a priesthood - if correct - would suggest the continuation of a pre-Roman tradition. There is nothing however to help decide whether Digenis was native to Britain and exported or vice-versa.

From York comes the only inscriptional evidence in Britain for the god 'Sucellus' (EE, 3, 181a; RCHM York, 133, no.140, Pl.65). This is in the form of an octagonal silver ring found in 1875 and inscribed 'DEO SVCELO', 'to the god Sucelus'. Sucellus is the usual spelling as found on the Continent where the god is depicted with Nantsuelta as his consort, as on an altar from Sarrebourg, France (CIL.13.4552; Espérendieu, 1955, 4566). Here the god is bearded and holds a mallet. The name means 'The Good Striker' (Ross, 1967, 339) and he is a god concerned with prosperity (Lambrechts, 1942, 100; Green, 1976, 11-12). He also functions as a Smith-god and in that respect he is a Celtic Vulcan. Whilst there is considerable evidence for a Smith-god from both the region under examination and for Roman Britain as a whole (Leach, 1962), the name (or names), to be applied to this concept has (have) not survived. It would be unsafe to assume that the

designation 'Sucellus' belonged to all manifestations of this deity type. It seems highly likely that such a deity concept existed in Britain before the Roman conquest, bearing in mind the importance of iron-working in Celtic society. Certainly this importance survived in Celtic mythology where the Irish Goibhniu (Gofannon in Wales), derived from the word for 'smith' helped to supply weapons to the god Lugh and the Tuatha De Danann (MacCana, 1970, 35-6).

Thus it seems likely that while there was a deity-type representing a Smith-god in Roman Britain surviving from pre-Roman times, there is no certainty that this represented a single god with a single name. 'Sucel(l)us', as known from the ring at York almost certainly represents an import. Such an item as a ring could easily have been worn on the finger of some merchant or soldier who had reason to come to York, the most important city in the region.

Another silver ring from York, this time a circular one, also seems to provide a deity name. It is inscribed 'TOT' which may be expanded 'Tot(atis)', 'of Totates' (EE. 3. 181b; RCHM. York, 133, Pl.65). If this is correct then the reference is probably to Toutates, one of the three divine names mentioned by the Roman poet Lucan (Pharsalia, I, 445), in the form 'Teutates'. In addition, two continental inscriptions provide dedications which include the same name; one comes from Rome (CIL.6.31182)

and one from Seckau, near Leibnitz (CIL.3.5320). The occurrence of the name in Britain elsewhere than at York has already been mentioned. The inscriptions in question are the altar from Cumbria dedicated to Mars Cocidius (RIB 1017) and the silver plaque from Barkway, Herts. (RIB 219).

The name means 'God of the people' (Ross, 1967, 54). Such a designation would seem most appropriate for a tribal god. It is possible that, as Ross argues, Toutates was a god in his own right, widely worshipped in the Celtic world (1967, 54), having achieved the status of supra-tribal deity. This would account for Lucan's notice of the god. At the same time, the epigraphic evidence for the god is extremely sparse. An alternative explanation may be that the name was descriptive and suitable for general application to different tribal deities, sometimes with the local tribal name expressed, as on the Cumbrian altar, and sometimes unexpressed as at York. This seems to the present writer to be the most likely explanation of the evidence. However, whichever explanation is correct, this does not of itself provide a solution to the origin of the York ring. The cosmopolitan nature of York, together with the portable nature of the object, must lead to caution in assessing the affinities of the deity recorded and the beliefs of the ring's owner.

From the Hadrianic frontier comes evidence of the goddess Coventina, to use one version of the name, attested on

thirteen inscriptions. These comprise two inscribed slabs (RIB 1527, 1534), ten altars (RIB 1522-1526, 1528-9, 1532-1535) and one pottery vessel, possibly a thurible (RIB 1531). A second very similar pottery vessel usually believed to involve a dedication to Coventina (RIB 1530) has recently been re-interpreted by Tomlin to exclude the goddess-name (Brit.14 (1983), 349). All these inscriptions have come from a single site, namely, the famous Coventina's Well at Carrawburgh. In addition, along with the other dedications was found an altar dedicated 'to the goddess Minerva' (RIB 1543). Coventina herself is unknown elsewhere in Britain.

The altars and other dedications were recovered from the well itself. This was a rectangular masonry structure slightly more than 2.4m by 2.1m (8ft by 7ft) in size and rather more than 2.1m (7ft) deep. The well occupied a central position within a rectangular stone-walled enclosure measuring internally 12.2m by 11.6m (40ft by 38ft). Access to this enclosure was by an opening in the west wall, at least 5.5m (18ft) across.

Richmond suggested (1963, 196) that the whole arrangement represented a Romano-Celtic temple with the well taking the place of the 'cella' or central shrine. Against this theory Allason-Jones and McKay (1985, 3) point out that no tiles or any other sort of roofing material have been found. They argue instead for an open-air shrine similar

to the neighbouring one dedicated to the nymphs and <u>Genius Loci</u> (Smith, 1962).

Besides the inscribed objects, the well contained many coins, together with objects of bronze, bone, pottery, glass, lead, leather, jet and shale. There were also uninscribed stone altars, two gold finger rings, three silver rings as well as quantities of animal bone, deer horn and boars tusks (Allason-Jones and McKay, 1985, 6-9). Some of this material represents votive deposits - items such as coins and beads; other objects, such as the altars and thuribles had been carefully placed in the well as if to safeguard them. Yet other items such as broken glass seem to be rubbish, whether resulting from vandalism or litter-throwing is not clear. The animal bones, boars' tusks and deer horns may have been put in as offerings. Allason-Jones and McKay however doubt that the bones were the remnants of ritual meals on the grounds that the well would have filled up too rapidly and would also have become unpleasant owing to the resulting smell (1985, 9). As they point out, it is difficult to assess their significance seeing that none of the bones from the excavations, which were carried out in 1876, were kept (Allason-Jones and McKay, 1985, 2 and 9).

Turning to the evidence of the inscriptions, the form of the deity name shows considerable variation in spelling (see fig.10.9). This perhaps indicates its non-Roman nature as if being difficult to express in Latinised form.

The goddess is not equated with any other deity, classical or otherwise, thus establishing her independence. Once she is referred to as 'Augusta' (RIB 1531) and once as 'sancta' perhaps pointing to her importance in the eyes of her worshippers. Of these, six reveal their military connections. They range from ordinary soldiers to unit commanders. Two are prefects of cohors I Batavorum, the third century garrison at Carrawburgh (RIB 1534, 1535), one is an optio of cohors I Frisiavonum (RIB 1523), and one a miles of cohors V Raetorum (RIB 1529; E. Birley, 1986, 45). A fourth dedicator does not specify his rank (RIB 1524) but since he names cohors I Cubernorum, he no doubt served with that unit, probably as an ordinary soldier. Finally, the dedication by a 'decurion' called '[---]tianus' is so worn that other details about him are indecipherable (RIB 1527). Other votaries include two who describe themselves as Germans, Crotus (RIB 1525, 1532) and Maduhus (RIB 1526), and one with a possibly Germanic name, Vinomathus (RIB 1528). The fact that Crotus and Maduhus specify their ethnic affiliations may indicate that they were in a minority.

As for dating the site, Allason-Jones and McKay argue cogently for the construction of the well for the purpose of controlling the water within the marshy area west of the Roman fort site at Carrawburgh. This was intended to facilitate the building of the south mound of the Vallum in about the period AD 128 to 130 (1985, 12). The

boundary wall, not necessarily contemporary with the construction of the well, would appear in fact on present evidence to post-date the south mound of the Vallum since the latter does not change direction to avoid it. They suggest that the boundary wall, serving to demarcate a sacred area around the well, was not constructed until after the arrival of a Romanised population following the establishment of the Roman fort in AD 133. Coins from the well show that the shrine continued in use into the fourth century (Allason-Jones and McKay, 1985, 11-12 and fig.2). The edicts against paganism issued by the Emperor Theodosius (AD 379-395) (Salway, 1981, 408) were a probable cause of the close-down of the shrine (Allason-Jones and McKay, 1985, 12).

In considering the nature of Coventina, the name itself is of limited help. Previous discussion of this is well summarised by Allason-Jones and McKay; the meaning remains unknown but the remarks of Professor Jackson indicate that it is Celtic (Jackson, 1953; Allason-Jones and McKay, 1985, 3-4). However, the circumstances of the discovery make it clear that Coventina was a goddess who presided over the well in which her altars were found. One aspect therefore of her personality is that she was a water goddess. This is confirmed by the fact that on two dedications she is referred to as the 'nymph' Coventina (RIB 1526, 1527). In addition, on one of the inscribed slabs (RIB 1534) the goddess is depicted as a water-nymph

reclining on the river bank (Allason-Jones and McKay, cat.no.4, Pl.6) or on a floating leaf (Toynbee, 1963, cat.no.75, Pl.80). She holds a plant leaf, perhaps a water-lily, in her right hand and rests her left arm on an overturned jug from which water is flowing. Further references to water are to be noted in the rendering of two confronted dolphins on one altar (RIB 1533) and on the slab which clearly depicts three water nymphs (Allason-Jones and McKay, 1985, cat.no.1, Pl.5). The latter scene has been interpreted as Coventina in triad form (Ross, 1967, 187) or as the goddess accompanied by a pair of attendants (Budge, 1907, 42, 310). The former of the two explanations would be very much in keeping with a Celtic goddess. However, it is possible, as Allason-Jones and Mckay suggest, that this slab originally belonged to the nearby shrine of the 'Nymphs and Genius Loci' (Smith, 1962, 59-81).

Connection with waters encourages the search for evidence of healing too. Ross refers to the bronze statuette of a terrier dog and points to the role of the dog in the sphere of healing (1967, 30, Pl.5a and 339-340). However, Allason-Jones and McKay point out that there is doubt in respect of the attribution of the object to the well (1985, cat.no.38). The horse-figurine from the well may be a hint of the therapeutic aspect often attached to the role of the horse as a solar symbol (Ross, 1967, 324, Pl.82b). There is no doubt in this instance that the

object in question came from the well (Allason-Jones and McKay, cat.no.39) but its significance is a matter of interpretation. In appealing to the inscriptions from the well, Allason-Jones and McKay state that none of them 'specifically mentions health' but that is not strictly true. The use of the formulae 'pro m(ea) sa(lute) (RIB 1532) and 'pro salute sua' RIB 1533) in connection with a water deity may be strongly suspected as being in fact a specific reference to 'salus' in its literal meaning of 'health'. The presence too of Minerva (RIB 1543), as remarked previously often concerned with health and healing, would seem to add support to this idea. It should further be noted that the Minerva dedication also includes the formula 'pr(o) s(alute)'. It may indeed be that Venico, the dedicator of the Minerva altar, was making a dedication to the Celtic Coventina but addressing her in Roman terminology, in other words implying an equation of the two. Such a conclusion is tempting although actual proof is lacking.

Not far removed from the concept of healing goddess is one of protectress. A hint that this aspect might be present in Coventina's make-up is perhaps seen in the altar dedicated by the German Maduhus when he uses the formula 'pro se et suis', 'for himself and his family' (RIB 1526).

Several shoe soles recovered from the well may also have religious significance. They may be 'ex-votos' connected with complaints of the foot (Allason-Jones and McKay,

1985, 37). Alternatively, they may have a funerary significance, having been provided to facilitate the journey of the dead to the Otherworld (Allason-Jones and McKay, 1985, 10). A well may be regarded as a means of access to the Otherworld (Ross, 1967, 58; Green, 1976, 51; Wait, 1986, 263). This funerary aspect may also be the explanation of the dolphins mentioned above, depicted on one of the altars from the well (RIB 1533; cf. Toynbee, 1964, 298.

Symbolism on other altars perhaps indicates other aspects of the nature of the goddess. On the altar dedicated by the optio Maus(aeus) (RIB 1523), a set of writing tablets is depicted carved in relief on the right side of the altar. This may be symbolic of a role for Coventina similar to that of Minerva, who often presided over the regimental records (cf. Richmond, 1943, 154-5). Such a suggestion becomes more plausible in the context of the possible equation of Coventina and Minerva mentioned above. On the other hand the writing tablets may simply be an attribute appropriate to an optio as suggested by Allason-Jones and McKay, citing a tombstone of an optio from Chester (RIB 492). On another altar (RIB 1529) is a figure wearing a pleated tunic and holding in the right hand a wreath and in the left hand what has been taken for a palm branch. It has been suggested that this figure represents Victory, indicating that Coventina was invoked as a goddess of war (Allason-Jones and McKay, 1985,

cat.no.7). However, the object in the figure's left hand looks much more like a cornucopia, symbol of fruitfulness. Such an idea as against the concept of war would seem to be much more in keeping with the characteristics to be expected of a water goddess. In addition, there were no objects in the well, such as weapons, which might be expected in the case of a warrior deity.

Boars tusks and deer antlers from the well may have been deposited as offerings after or before hunting expeditions (Allason-Jones and McKay, 1985, 37). They may indicate that Coventina had some competence as a woodland-countryside deity. The bronze deer brooch from the well (Allason-Jones and McKay, cat.no.40) may also be significant in this respect. Such symbolism is very much in the Celtic tradition (Ross, 1968, 164-167, 308-321, 333-338 and passim). The single tree depicted on the left side of the altar discussed above in connection with the supposed Victory figure (RIB 1529) may be relevant to such a woodland-countryside concept. It is also possible, however, that the reference is to a sacred tree associated with the well. Whilst there is in this instance no corroborative evidence there is ample evidence in general of the sacred nature of trees in such contexts (cf. Ross, 1967, 33-38 and passim).

Also from the well comes a carved stone head with lentoid eyes, beard and moustache. In addition there are bronze masks and a human skull. A pottery face-urn too may

properly be included in this list (Allason-Jones and McKay, 1985, cat.nos.2; 35-37; 107 and 144). These objects demonstrate a special regard by Coventina's worshippers for the human head. They demonstrate the Celtic nature of the cult centred upon the well. To the Celts, the head was the seat of the soul and a symbol of divine power and the Otherworld (Ross, 1967, 61).

Thus Coventina was a water goddess quite probably concerned with health and fertility, death and the Otherworld. That she had potency too in a more general woodland-countryside connection is also possible. Coventina may have been equated with the Roman Minerva, perhaps because of the latter's healing function. She may also have appealed to some of her votaries as a guardian of regimental records. This function no doubt could have been added to her other characteristics through the agency of the Roman Minerva if the suggested assimilation of the two has any validity. Her cult too involved a special regard for the human head, emphasising the sacred nature of her well, her divine power and relationship with the Otherworld.

As for Coventina's origins, the discovery of three inscriptions abroad raises the possibility that her cult was imported. Two of the inscriptions come from Galicia in north-west Spain while the third comes from Narbonne in southern France (Allason-Jones and McKay, 1985, 4-6; E. Birley, 1986, 45-46). Of the two from Spain, one from

near Guitiriz is rendered 'Convetene', 'to Convetena' (Ann.Ep. 1950, 13 etc.), and the other, from Santa Cruz de Loyo, as 'Cuhvetenae', 'to Cuhvetena'. The second one would seem to be equated with a deity known as 'Berralogegus' (J.Vives, 1971, Inscripciones Latinas de la Espana Romana, no.786). The third inscription, from Narbonne, gives 'Convertine', 'To Convertina' (Ann.Ep. 1950, no.49 etc.). (The references are cited by Allason-Jones and McKay, 1985, 4).

These dedications are taken to be identifiable with the British deity from Carrawburgh. The spelling of the names on them must give reason for doubt as to the accuracy of this conclusion. At the same time, the variations already observed in the deity name at Carrawburgh weaken such objections.

Allason-Jones and McKay (1985, 4-5) discuss the possible links with Galicia in Spain, Narbonensis in Gaul and Britain. They refer to the vexillation of a thousand men detached from Legio VII Gemina, raised in Spain in AD 69 by Galba, and despatched to Britain in AD 199 (Dessau.2726). A soldier from this force may have returned to Spain taking the cult of Coventina with him. Alternatively, the movement may have been the other way and the vexillation may have brought the cult to Britain. However, there is no evidence of the unit's presence in the area of Hadrian's Wall. Again, there is no evidence of the cult's presence in other parts of the Roman world

connected with the legion, Pannonia and Italy. This would be expected if the cult of Coventina held special significance for the legion. A possible link with Narbonne is seen in the fact that P.Sabinus, the commander of the vexillation, is recorded as being procurator of the province of Narbonensis (Dess.2726).

These links are tenuous and it is understandable that Allason-Jones and McKay are not willing to commit themselves to a decision regarding the origin of the Coventina cult (1985, 6). On present evidence any conclusion must be tentative. The Celtic name, nature and location of the cult, however, would seem to support the case for a British origin. The valley in which the shrine was constructed is notable for its gushing waters and it can hardly have escaped the attention of the local inhabitants. They would naturally have regarded such an area as sacred. With the arrival of the Romans it would seem reasonable to suppose that the builders of the Vallum took the trouble to find out the name and nature of the deity whose territory they were disturbing. The goddess in question was Coventina.

Also from the northern part of the region came dedications to Mogons (or Mogontes) with variations. This form is known at Netherby (fig.10.8, no.5c) and it has already been met with in the discussion above on Veteris. At Netherby the dedication is 'deo Mogont(i)' from which may be conjectured either 'Mogons' or 'Mogontes, (-is)' as the

nominative form. From Chesterholm (no.5b) is a dedication 'deo Mogunti' giving a variant form 'Moguns' or 'Moguntes, (-is)'. Old Penrith (no.5d) has yielded an altar with the dedication 'deo Mogti' which may reasonably be expanded 'Mog(on)ti' or 'Mog(un)ti' as in the Netherby and Chesterholm versions respectively. A further variant of the name comes from Risingham (no.5a), as follows: '[d]eo Mogonito', 'to the god Mogonitus'. This last version, on a fine altar set up by a <u>beneficiarius consularis</u>, was perhaps a mistaken attempt to Latinise the name further. At the same time it would seem to support the variant version of 'Mogontes, (-is)' as against the form 'Mogons'. Along with this altar was found another one (no.4) dedicated 'deo Mouno', 'to the god Mounus'. It is very tempting to regard this one too as referring to the same deity, not only because of the circumstances of their discovery and the general similarity of the names, but because both inscriptions have the letters 'Cad(...)' following the deity name. The significance of the abbreviation is unknown; it could represent a genitive 'Cadorum', that is, 'of the Cadi', an unknown ethnic designation. Richmond suggested 'a territorial epithet' which 'may well be a German pagus name' (Richmond, 1940, 86). With regard to the deity name itself, barbaric pronunciation could account for the omission of the consonants 'g' and 't'. 'Mo(g)un(it)us' or 'Mo(g)un(t)us' would be the required nominative forms. Following a similar line of argument, two other dedications should

probably be included among the variant forms being discussed. One dedication from Old Penrith (no.6b) giving 'deo Mounti' may be rendered as 'deo Mo(g)unti' and the other, from High Rochester, (no.6a) occurring in the plural as 'Dis Mountibus', may be expanded as 'dis Mo(g)untibus'. Thus, in the northern frontier region instead of three separate deity names which are similar: Mounus, Mogonitus, with its variations, and Mountes, with a plural dedication Mountibus, it may be argued that these all refer to one and the same deity usually rendered 'Mogons' (cf. Ross, 1967) but perhaps better rendered 'Mogontes'.

If this is correct then Mogontes can be seen to have a distribution which overlaps those of Cocidius, Belatucadrus and Veteris already discussed, but one which is much more restricted. Mogontes, like Veteris with whom he is equated, occurs in the plural as well as in the singular. On no occasion is he equated with a classical god. As already pointed out, the meaning of the name, 'The Great One', is rather general and does little more than underline the god's elevated position, presumably in relation to his mortal worshippers. The equation with Veteris may mean that Mogontes was to some extent similar, concerned possibly with fertility, hunting, healing and protection. The fact that the two Mogontes altars from Risingham were recovered from the river Rede (Bruce, 1875, no.603 citing Camden) may indicate a connection with

waters and in turn concern with healing. There is, however, no other evidence to support these or the other suggestions.

As to Mogontes' origins, it might be expected that, taking account of the meaning of the deity name, he was a god belonging to some community. If he was indigenous he would naturally be assignable to a 'tribal' group located in the vicinity of the Hadrianic frontier. However, Professor E. Birley cites evidence to support Upper Germany as the place of origin of the cult (1986, 52, no.15). This evidence consists of the place name 'Mogontiacum' (Mainz), a dedication from Metz, 'deae Mogontiae', and a graffito from the Saalburg, 'Mogont(i ?) Narci(ssus?)'. At the same time no dedications to the god have been found on the continent and the evidence presented is indirect. An explanation may be that both sources drew upon a common root (mago-, mogo-) to form similar names. Thus while, as Birley says, it seems reasonable to regard the god as an importation, an element of doubt must remain pending further evidence.

Of two named male deities remaining in this discussion, one, Ialonus, has already been dealt with in connection with Contrebis (RIB 600) worshipped in the lower Lune valley. He is presumed to have been imported from Gaul. The other male god is Camulus whose presence in the region can be deduced from the place name Camulodunum, given by Ptolemy as one of the nine poleis assignable to the

Brigantes (see Chapter 2 for discussion). Camulodunum occurs also as the name of the more famous pre-Roman capital of the Catuvellauni and the Roman colonia at Colchester in Essex. The name means 'fortress of Camulos' (Rivet and Smith, 1979, 295). Another similar place name is recorded in the Ravenna Cosmography. This is 'Camulosessa', 'the seat of Camulos', which was situated somewhere in southern Scotland (Rivet and Smith, 1979, 296). Only one dedication to Camulus is known from Britain. This is an altar from Bar Hill on the Antonine Wall (RIB 2166) dedicated 'to the god Camulus' by soldiers of the Cohors I Hamiorum (Brit.16 (1985), 332, 1).

Dedications from the continent show that Camulus was specially honoured by the Remi (CIL.13,8701, from Rindern; Ann.Ep., 1935, 64, from Reims; CIL.6.46, from Rome). The god's cult must have been brought over to southern Britain in pre-Roman times to account for the presence of his name at Colchester-Camulodunum. It seems very probable that the cult was translated northwards to the territory of the Brigantes and to southern Scotland before these regions fell under the sway of Rome. An attractive explanation would be that Belgic overlords had brought the cult with them.

As to the nature of Camulus, Ross pointing to his equation with Mars and the warlike proclivities of the Belgic tribes has no doubt about his warlike capacity (1967, 156, 180). She terms him the 'Belgic war-god' (1967, 68). Yet

such a designation is perhaps misleading by being over-specialised. The present writer, while accepting the importance of the warrior element in the god's make-up, has argued elsewhere for a wider role for him (Fairless, 1966, 194-7). Here it is perhaps sufficient to suggest that the naming of a tribal capital after the god points to a divine tribal leader. As such he would be not only a warrior but also a patron-protector. Such a concept is different from that of war-god, pure and simple.

The last epigraphically attested Celtic cult to be dealt with is that of the Mothers. Nearly sixty examples of dedications to the _Matres_ occur in Britain and of these over forty have been found in Central Britain, mostly in the region of Hadrian's Wall. There is in addition figured material, mainly stone sculptures (E. Birley, 1986, 49; Collingwood and Wright, 1965; Toynbee, 1964).

The _Matres_ are usually portrayed in triplicate and have as attributes _cornucopiae_, fruits, bread and infants. Thus their general designation is descriptive of their function, namely, concern with the prosperity and fertility, both of land and people. Their cult is widespread and they are found throughout the western Celtic provinces with especial concentration in Cisalpine Gaul, Transalpine Gaul and the Rhineland where besides being known as the _Matres_ the variants _Matronae_ and _Matrae_ are employed (Haverfield, 1892).

The cult of the Mothers was clearly introduced into Britain during Roman times and it is not proposed to list the various examples or rehearse the evidence in detail. It may be observed, however, that it took root in Britain, as is emphasised, for example, by the dedication from Xanten to the 'British mother-goddesses' (matres Brittiae) (Dessau, 4789). At the same time, the concept of mother-goddess was almost certainly embedded in native British religious belief (Ross, 1967, 204-208 and passim). This would help to account for the ready acceptance of the Romano-Celtic cult. It also makes it difficult for the modern observer to decide whether the inspiration for some of the material evidence is native Celtic in origin or imported Romano-Celtic.

Two objects that illustrate this problem of derivation of ideas require notice. The first is a cast lead figurine, 7.6cm high, from Bank Well, Giggleswick (SD 8164) in Ribblesdale (King 1970a, 47; 1970b, 414.Pl.1b). It depicts a female figure with prominent breasts, full-length hoop skirt, arms akimbo with palms spread over the stomach. The reference to maternity is clear and such a figure might well be designated a 'Mother Goddess'. In addition, below the breasts is a St. Andrew's Cross which is a funerary symbol. It is probable that, being a well, the find spot was regarded as a sacred place, providing contact with the Otherworld, and that the figurine had been deposited there as an offering. It may be that a

female worshipper seeking relief in child bearing had made the offering. Alternatively, the fertility symbolism may have had a more general significance and the offering may have been made to ensure success in farming or lead-winning activities.

The second object is the small stone cylinder recovered during the excavations at Forcegarth Pasture South in Upper Teesdale and referred to earlier (Fairless and Coggins, 1986, 32, fig.8.1; see Chapter 5). It depicts a stylised human figure with featureless face, left arm across the body and right arm by the side; on the reverse is a snake-like design. Such an object seems best regarded as religious in purpose, possibly an amulet or offering. It is difficult to cite a true parallel for this piece but a somewhat similar one was found during the early 1930s near Baginton parish church, Warwickshire, though this is slightly larger, being three inches (76mm) high. It too is a minimal representation of a human figure with right arm extended by the side and left arm apparently across the body. It does, however, show eyes and mouth. As with the Forcegarth example it is difficult to decide whether the figure is standing or seated.

Of the Baginton figure Toynbee tentatively suggests that '....the carver may have intended to depict a personage seated in a species of armchair, in which case it might be a Mother Goddess...' (Toynbee, 1967, 109). It thus seems possible to interpret the Forcegarth cylinder too as

bearing a representation of a Mother Goddess. The curving object depicted on the reverse could well be a serpent. If so then the symbolism will be to do with fertility, the Otherworld and perhaps healing (Ross, 1967, 344-348). The additional observation may be made that the inability, or indeed the reluctance, of the craftsman to represent the human figure can be taken as an indication of the lack of Roman influence.

If these two objects have been interpreted correctly, then the concept of mother goddess is seen to have been operative in rural districts of Central Britain during Roman times. However, lacking the usual attributes of the Matres cult - fruit, bread, etc. - and rendered in singular rather than in the more frequent triplicate form, it is not easy to decide upon the actual source of inspiration. On balance, the nature of the find-spots and the lack of strong Roman influence might seem to favour a native origin.

Returning now to the epigraphic evidence, the undoubted presence of Celtic deities has been observed in the employment of Celtic names, whether equated with classical gods or not. However, in addition to these there are instances where dedications to apparently 'uncontaminated' Roman gods may conceal, as it were, Celtic deities. A first clue is the use of the word 'deus' which is frequently used to prefix a reference to a non-classical god. This is not an infallible test, however, and more

information is required to further the enquiry. The context of the dedication, whether textual or archaeological, may provide more data on which to base a judgement. A specific case from outside the region may be cited to illustrate the point, namely, inscriptions from an octagonal temple at West Kington in Wiltshire. Here two dedications to Apollo were found (Wright, 1962, 191, nos.3 and 4). The first inscription, on a bronze votive plaque dedicated simply 'to the god Apollo' (D(eo) Apol(lini)/Decimius), fails to reveal any Celtic affiliation. The second inscription, however, on a stone altar, is a dedication 'to the god Apollo Cunomaglos'. Cunomaglos is Celtic meaning 'Hound-Prince' and it can hardly be doubted that a Celtic god equated with Apollo is being referred to in this inscription. If this is accepted the strong probability must be that the same Celtic god was intended in the first dedication. If the bronze plaque had been found by itself the presence of the Celtic divinity would have remained undetected.

No such clear-cut example comes from Central Britain but there are several instances where the presence of a Celtic deity may be suspected. A few of them may be cited.

The first example to be noted involves Apollo once more. This is in the form of a small altar from Chester-le-Street, County Durham dedicated 'To the god Apollo' by a non-citizen, Tertius (RIB 1043). It may be more than a coincidence that it was found along with two definite

non-classical dedications (discussed above), namely, one 'to the god Dig[enis]' and another 'to the goddesses Vitires' (RIB 1044 and 1047). The dedication of Tertius is most likely a civilian one at least and even more it may conceal an indigenous deity. If that is a correct explanation it is probable that some Apolline characteristic, perhaps solar or therapeutic, was part of his nature.

A second Apollo dedication to be considered is by contrast military and much more elaborate than the last one. It is in the form of an inscribed altar dedicated 'to the god Apollo' and with sculptured panels on the four sides of the capital (RIB 1198). The find-spot, outside the fort of Whitley Castle, Northumberland, was on marshy ground, suggesting a deliberate positioning of the altar next to a spring. Weathered though they are, Mr. R.P. Wright has elucidated the scenes on the panels (1943, 36-38, Pl.2). They show the classical Apollo in his role of Harpist and Sun-god, and equated or associated with Mithras. Mr. Wright has also suggested that one scene showing a sceptred figure with worshipper depicts the Celtic deity Maponus, representing the local manifestation of Apollo. In view of other dedications from the region already discussed equating the two deities this is a conclusion that is tempting to accept despite the absence of final proof.

Another dedication to be noted, this time to Mars, occurs on an altar from Castlesteads on Hadrian's Wall. This is phrased 'to the holy god Mars' and the dedicator is given as Venustin[i]us Lupus (RIB 1986). This is clearly a private, unofficial dedication and the terminology is reminiscent of that used in connection with the Celtic Belatucadrus discussed previously. It will be recalled that he is addressed as 'holy' on seven occasions, including that on one of the two Belatucadrus altars coming from Castlesteads itself (RIB 1977). One may well suspect that the Mars altar under discussion conceals in fact a dedication to the Celtic Belatucadrus.

Another altar dedicated 'to the god Mars' comes from Greta Bridge, County Durham. It was set up by a non-citizen with a Celtic name, 'Enemn[o]genus', 'on behalf of himself and his family' (RIB 742). It is possible that here the dedicator was a devotee of the purely classical god Mars. What seems much more likely, however, is that this is another example of a concealed native deity. The deity name may not have been recorded elsewhere. In view of the fact however that, as already discussed, the presence of Mars Condates is known hereabouts, namely at Bowes and Piercebridge, that god must be a candidate for the hidden equation in this instance.

Finally, a small, roughly inscribed stone (RIB 924) from Old Penrith, Cumbria, bearing the inscription 'to the god Silvanus' but lacking the dedicator's name is certainly to

be classified as a private dedication, probably by someone of low status. That a native deity lurks behind the classical god in this and similar dedications seems not at all unlikely.

This small selection of dedications to classical gods may suffice not only to illustrate the problems involved in proper identification of cults but also to demonstrate the fact that native elements in the religion of the region may be more widespread than a superficial consideration of the evidence might indicate. It is rare, however, that the native element underlying the classical portrayal can be satisfactorily demonstrated beyond reasonable doubt.

Similar problems attend the interpretation of uninscribed figured material. The two stone Mercury figures from Aldborough, discussed in chapter nine, provide an example of this (Smith, 1852, Pl.11). Both figures have symbols which identify them as Mercury but instead of the petasus one figure has horns, thus representing a conflation of the classical god with a native horned god. It can be stated with a great degree of probability that despite his purely classical guise the other Mercury figure represents the same deity concept. Without the clue of the horned figure the evidence could only be used to support the presence of the classical cult.

Posing similar problems are pipe-clay figurines which are widespread in the Roman province of Britain. Imported

from Gaul to provide cheap substitutes for bronze and stone figures there are two main types, one in the form of Venus, the other in the form of Dea Nutrix (Toynbee, 1964, 420-422; Green, 1976, 20; 1978, 16-17).

The Venus figurines, showing the goddess upright and half naked are purely classical in their rendering. Their association, especially in Gaul, with healing springs and graves shows their connection with the after-life and fertility. In that respect they betray their relationship with the Celtic cult of the Mother Goddess discussed above. Venus figurines are known from fourteen sites in Central Britain.

The Dea Nutrix figurines depict a draped goddess, seated in a basket chair, nursing one, or more often two, infants. Here again their classical ancestry as art types is assured. They are known from nine sites in Central Britain. Their role was clearly concerned with maternity and they were probably acquired by women as offerings or amulets with the aim of gaining protection during childbirth.

It is clear that both these types of figurine denote a mother-goddess concept. Yet whether those who made use of them had in mind any clear idea of an indigenous 'Mother' in contradistinction to the Graeco-Roman rendering of what were imported Gallo-Roman cults is a moot point. The mother concept no doubt is a universal one but one may

suspect that at this level of religious belief its portrayal in classical terms would be enough to overwhelm any native features existing in the psyche of its British devotees. These pipe-clay figurines may be cited as evidence of religious practice in Central Britain under Roman rule but they do not necessarily illustrate native custom. The Venus and Dea Nutrix figurines represent imported cults requiring and obtaining little or no input from indigenous sources.

Before moving on from the Mother Goddesses and related cults mention should be made of the cult of the Genii Cucullati. They occur as figures, rendered sometimes in stone and sometimes in clay, distinguished by their hooded cloaks or cuculli. Their distribution is similar to that of the Matres with concentrations in the Cotswolds and in the northern frontier region. Often appearing in triplicate, they seem to be godlings of fertility, healing and the Otherworld. Within Central Britain examples come from Corbridge, Housesteads, Carlisle and Netherby. Like the Matres these 'Hooded Deities' also seem to have been a continental import. There is no evidence to show whether a similar deity-type already existed in the indigenous religious thought of the region (Heichelheim, 1935; Toynbee, 1964, 105, 177; Green, 1978, 20-21).

Decisions on whether native deities were intended are less difficult in respect of figured objects which deviate from the orthodox representation of classical divine types.

One example has already been provided above, namely, the horned Mercury from Aldborough. In addition to this, from Central Britain come several crudely rendered figures which seem to represent the indigenous element in the religion of the region.

First to note are eleven warrior figures either incised or rendered in low relief (fig.10.10). All are worked in stone except one from Chesters, Northumberland (no.7), which is a lead plaque. A twelfth figure, from South Shields (no.11), is different from the others in that it is not only fashioned in the round but also more sophisticated. However, as a warrior figure betraying Celtic influence, it is convenient to include it along with the other uninscribed warrior figures under consideration.

It is not proposed to discuss here the individual figures in detail for that has been done for many of them by the present writer elsewhere (Fairless, 1966, 83-89, 249-250). Only the torso and head of the South Shields figure (no.11) survive but its cuirass and baldric can be discerned indicating that it was a warrior figure. Its general rendering, especially its bulging eyes, show that a Celtic workman has been involved and it seems likely to represent a Celtic martial deity. The other figures in the group betray their martial aspect by possession of spear (or sword) and sometimes shield. Two of them are horned and phallic (nos. 3 and 12), four more are horned

(nos.2, 5, 6, 7) and another one is phallic but not horned (no.10). Thus besides the warrior aspect there is seen here a concern with the wild countryside and with fertility (Pls. IX and X).

Geographically, these warrior-figures fall into two main groups, one from north-west Cumbria and one from the district of Northumberland and Tyneside. The figure from Kirby Underdale (no.12) stands alone, apart from the rest.

The Cumbrian group is a compact one and its civilian nature is emphasised by official altars from Maryport which are dedicated to Mars Militaris (RIB 837, 838). It is possible that the two warrior figures (nos.1 and 4) depicted without horns and without phallic emphasis represent civilian adherence by people of lowly status to the classical Mars. What seems much more likely, however, is that these figures symbolise the same Celtic deity as the less orthodox examples. In that case the various figures will stand for a single deity who could be portrayed as a warrior sometimes possessing no other attributes than his military accoutrements, but sometimes with horns and sometimes phallic. The deity so represented is in general terms a hunter-warrior god concerned also with fertility. In Roman terminology the designation Mars-Silvanus would suit him. By definition, the Celtic name of the deity involved is unknown but the similarity of his characteristics to those of Cocidius already discussed raises the possibility that this is the

god in question. On the other hand the distribution of the unnamed warrior figures accords more closely with the distribution of dedications to Belatucadrus. If it is correct to regard Belatucadrus as the tribal god of the Carvetii, whose name as has been seen means 'deer men', then the hunter aspect of the unnamed warrior god would be most appropriate. Before leaving the Cumbrian group of warrior figures another martial figure from Maryport should be noted. This represents Minerva by reason of the gorgoneion on her breast (Bailey J.B, 1915, 153, no.42, Pl.6). It is reasonable to regard her as a native goddess whose role was that of consort to the warrior-god.

Looking next at the Kirby Underdale figure (no.12), this too can be seen to be a horned, phallic warrior and in that sense matching the Cumbrian warrior type. Whether the coincidence ends there or not is unknown. It is possible that the same actual god was being referred to in both districts. What is more probable, however, is that there was a geographical differentiation and that a separate local god was involved in each case. The employment of the same deity-type perhaps argues for a common origin in pre-Roman times. Another possible connection for the Kirby Underdale figure is the deity-type - if that is the correct interpretation - represented by the chalk figurines from Wetwang Slack and district discussed above. Both the Kirby Underdale carving and the chalk figurines are rendered in a wedge-like shape

providing a further point of agreement besides their warrior guise. The horned aspect, however, is absent from the chalk figures and it may be that this represents a later addition from elsewhere in the case of the Kirby Underdale figure. If that is so then one could envisage the coming together in some way, perhaps by amalgamation or association, of two different communities, each with its own deity-type.

Turning now to the Northumberland-Tyneside group of warrior figures, the Chesters example (no.7) is virtually identical to that from Beckfoot and may represent the eastward extension of the Cumbrian cult. The exact provenance of the Newcastle figure (no.10) is unknown but its phallic nature indicates the presence somewhere in the frontier region of a warrior deity concerned with fertility. The three remaining figures are without additional attributes but the find-spots of two of them provide an archaeological context.

The South Shields warrior figure (no.11) came from the presumed edge of the parade ground outside the fort there. If correctly interpreted as a Celtic deity, then he can be regarded as having been accepted by the Roman forces as equivalent to the orthodox Roman gods honoured in this way. In such circumstances, it is possible to see the Celtic god as guarding the Roman fort. Earlier, when named Celtic deities were under discussion, just such a role was postulated for Cocidius and it is tempting to

apply the same name to the warrior figure from South Shields.

The Yardhope figure from Coquetdale in Northumberland (no.9) has been carved on the rock face at the entrance to a remote rock-shrine. This shrine is formed from a small natural chamber in the bed-rock but embellished by the hand of man. For example, above a narrow ledge along the north side of the shrine which would have been suitable for a lamp or offerings, is a groove chiselled out as if to take roofing timbers. Again, along the west wall of the interior a raised ledge or bench has been cut out of the bed-rock. Unfortunately, upon excavation, no finds were made that would elucidate further the nature of the shrine or its presiding deity. The carved military figure, however, is sufficient to illustrate Roman influence and period while Celtic features, such as lentoid eyes and jutting brow, as well as the location of the shrine itself, point to a native cult. At the least, this was a spot sacred to the god of the locality, or in Roman terms, to the genius loci, 'god of the place'. It is tempting to go further and accept the suggestion of Charlton and Mitchison in identifying that god with Cocidius (1983, 152).

In addition to the horned-warrior figures just now discussed, other horned figures are known from the region (fig.10.11). Two of these possess the attributes of Mercury (nos. 8 and 13). The others are without obvious

attributes apart from their horns and may therefore be classified as hunter-gods or Silvanus-like deities although it is possible that some do in fact represent modified Mercury figures. Not all the Silvanus figures are horned, however, for there are three instances where other attributes betray the presence of this deity-type. That known as Rob of Risingham, carved on a rock in Parkhead Quarry near Risingham, Northumberland (no.4) possessed before its destruction a quiver of arrows, a bow and probably a hare. Richmond suggested in fact that this figure should be identified with the Celtic Cocidius (Richmond and McIntyre, 1937, 108; Richmond, 1940, 86). Another smaller figure, from near Lanchester in County Durham (no.2) is badly weathered but enough survives to show that the skirted figure is resting his hand on an animal's head. A Silvanus-type figure seems a reasonable identification. A third Silvanus-type figure is that depicted on an intaglio from South Shields (no.1). This object shows a figure holding a throwing stick in his left hand and a hare in his right hand. Richmond suggested that this figure too represented Cocidius in his Silvanus aspect (Richmond and McIntyre, 1937, 109).

Of the horned figures, two are phallic, namely, one of three from High Rochester, Northumberland (no.5) and that from Great Chesters, Northumberland (no.8), showing concern with fertility. Another horned figure, the geometrically-styled incised figure from Maryport, Cumbria

(no.11) displays a Cross of St. Andrew on his square body, thus indicating a funerary aspect.

When plotted on a map these various horned and woodland-countryside figures can be seen to be concentrated in the Hadrianic frontier zone (fig. 10.11). Only the horned Mercury from Aldborough (no.13) stands apart. In their distribution, however, no obvious discrete groupings can be observed. There is a fairly even spread across country from east to west.

Horned heads also occur and should be taken into account at this point; there are ten of these in all, two made of bronze and the rest of stone (fig.10.12). These should not be regarded as different from the other horned figures. The head, as repository of the soul in Celtic belief, is in these cases being employed to symbolise the divine entity. Its horns no doubt mark it out as Silvanus-like in its nature. As can be seen, one example, the famous bronze terret, supplements the horned Mercury at Aldborough. The remainder, like the full-sized figures, are also to be found within the Hadrianic frontier zone but their distribution is not quite as wide. The horned heads reinforce the evidence of the figures but extend the distribution only slightly. The janiform head, however, from Mirfield, West Yorkshire, representing a human on one side and a ram on the other, should also probably be placed in the same category (fig.10.12). The result is to extend the distribution yet further.

In attempting to interpret the evidence provided by the
horned figures and heads, and the related figured
material, the same problem exists as was faced with
understanding the warrior figures. The question is
whether a single god or not is implied by the many
representations. There is the additional problem of the
connection of this material with that relating to the
warrior figures. As has been argued for the latter, it is
probable that separate, geographically differentiated
groups are involved but with all drawing upon a common
symbolism. It has already been seen that some of the
Silvanus figures seem able to be assigned to the
epigraphically attested cult of Cocidius. The same
possibility is available for the horned figures and heads
which occur within the same area of distribution as
Cocidius. For example, the three horned figures from High
Rochester, not to mention the horned head from that
district, could perhaps belong to the Cocidius cult. The
fact that they are of such a poor standard of workmanship
need be no bar to this idea. As such they might be
considered to be the offerings of folk of lowly status,
thus filling a gap which exists in the tally of Cocidius'
votaries. But as has been seen Cocidius is not alone;
Belatucadrus is another possibility and there are several
other named deities that such material could be assigned
to. Indeed, it is probable that there were also other
Celtic deities whose names have not survived who were
symbolised by the material under present discussion. In

view of this and by reason of the overlapping of cults, clear-cut decisions seem impossible to achieve.

Other evidence adds to the complexity of the picture regarding probable indigenous cults.

From Maryport comes a crudely carved stone showing a small figure with radiating rays around his head and with his right arm raised. A sun-god is here being portrayed. The intention may have been to represent the classical Apollo but it is much more likely that the figure symbolises a native deity. If identification is sought amongst the deities that are known by name in the region a likely candidate is Maponus whose cult has already been discussed (cf. fig.10.7).

Again from Maryport comes the so-called Serpent Stone found in 1880 north east of the Roman fort. Nearby was found part of another similar stone (Robinson, 1880, 241-242; Bailey, 1915, 148, Pl.4). The Serpent Stone itself is in the form of a column with square base, circular top and octagonal shaft (Pl.XI). Its overall height is just over four feet (1.2m). On one side within the circular top is carved a face encircled by a pair of snakes above and a pair of fishes below, under the chin. On the other side in low relief is carved a crested serpent swallowing a fish.

Even if the full significance of the object cannot be understood, the Serpent Stone can be explained within the

Celtic tradition. The column clearly suggests a phallus with the circular top representing the glans. The face occupying the glans perhaps stands for a local deity. In the 'severed head' tradition, the essence of the personage is symbolised by the head only. The fishes around the neck not only suggest a connection with waters but serve as a torc, in itself, a symbol of high rank or divinity. The serpents around the head and the serpent occupying the reverse also suggest a connection with waters and perhaps also with healing.

Thus the Serpent Stone would seem to reveal the presence at Maryport of a cult concerned with fertility, waters and possibly healing. It seems reasonable to regard the deity involved as being local and indigenous. Maponus might be thought an appropriate identification for such a deity. Yet in view of the symbolism concerning fertility which is common to both the Serpent Stone and the hunter-warrior group of figures, it is tempting to deduce a link between the two. It may be that different aspects of one and the same deity are being emphasised. Such a deity would be multi-functional in nature. This is speculation which is beyond proof. Whatever the explanation, however, the Serpent Stone does provide yet more evidence of religious activity centred upon Maryport thus suggesting at least the presence hereabouts of an important native cult centre.

From Corbridge, Northumberland in the eastern hinterland of Hadrian's Wall, comes evidence of two more Celtic deities, a Smith-god and the Wheel-god. This evidence is in the form of pottery appliqué figures and a clay mould of a figure (Forster and Knowles, 1910, 224-226, fig.6; Leach, 1962; Toynbee, 1964, 401).

The Smith-god is portrayed as a figure equipped with hammer, tongs gripping an ingot, and an anvil. A less complete sherd portrays a similar figure. Within the region traces of a Smith-god in the form of sherds decorated with his tools have come from Chester-le-Street, Malton and Norton (Leach, 1962). Other traces of a Smith-god have come from beyond the region in civilian Roman Britain (Green, 1976, 25).

From this evidence it is clear that there was a cult of a Smith-god in Britain under the Roman occupation. What is not clear is whether a single deity is involved or not. Again, it cannot be decided whether or not the Smith-god was introduced during Roman times for the tools which served as his attributes were common to both the British and Roman practice. However, as suggested above when discussing Sucellus, the concept of divine craftsman in ironworking was probably already entrenched in Celtic Iron Age society.

The Wheel-god appears at Corbridge in the form of a figure produced by the clay mould referred to above and known

since its discovery as 'Harry Lauder'. This figure is equipped with a conical helmet, rectangular shield and crooked club. At his left side stands the tell-tale wheel. Evidence for the presence of the Wheel-god in Britain, mostly in the form of wheel symbolism, comes from both within the region and beyond. Pottery wheels have been found at Housesteads and Malton (Leach, 1962, 40; Green, 1978, 19) and a stone example comes from Maryport (Bailey, 1915, 155, no.65). A wheel is depicted on each of two altars from Castlesteads dedicated to Jupiter Best and Greatest (RIB 1981, 1983). In these last two examples, however, the wheel is perhaps merely being used as a solar symbol in recognition of Jupiter's role as sky god and with no thought of assimilation with the Celtic deity. This may well be the case too with the many wheels used as brooches or incorporated into necklaces. However, in Gaul the Wheel-god is linked to the Celtic Taranis, 'the Thunderer' and equated with the Roman Jupiter (Lambrechts, 1942, 64-80). Again, in Britain an altar from Chester is dedicated 'to Jupiter Tanarus Best and Greatest', using a variant form of the Celtic Taranis (RIB 452), but showing the presence of the named Celtic god in Britain. This in turn might be thought to give some support to the identification of the Corbridge figure with the Gaulish god. At the same time, the Corbridge figure - Harry Lauder - is a composite one. Besides the wheel, there are the helmet and shield pointing to a warrior element and the club, suggesting an aspect of Hercules,

the demi-god. The unusual bend in the club itself suggests the intention to represent also the thunderbolt appropriate to both Jupiter and Taranis. Of various explanations possible to account for such a hybrid deity one may be offered here, namely, that a deity native to the district has had the attributes of other divine types grafted on, as it were, to his basic portrayal in an attempt to express his manifold nature. A god of the local community may lie behind the Corbridge Harry Lauder figure. Be that as it may, it is clear that the Wheel-god, whatever his designation, is attested in Central Britain under the Roman occupation. Whether he should be regarded as pre-Roman or imported during Roman times is less clear and on present evidence it does not seem possible to arrive at a decision.

Cult of the Head.

One aspect of the Celtic religious scene that has been referred to occasionally in this discussion is the cult of the head. Classical authors tell of the Celtic practice of head hunting in warfare and relate how such heads were displayed for all to see and how those of distinguished enemies were preserved (Diod.Sic.V.29; Strabo, IV iv,5; Livy, X,26; XXIII,24). This information is supported by the evidence of archaeology and the vernacular literature of the British Isles (Jackson, 1964; Ross and Feachem, 1984). But the Celtic pre-occupation with the head went further and amounted to veneration. The head was regarded

as the seat of the soul and the essence of the being concerned. Besides actual human heads representations in wood, metal, stone and pottery were used as symbolical substitutes. Such heads could have supernatural powers or portray specific Otherworld beings. In either case they could attract worship.

With regard to Central Britain in pre-Roman times there is little certain evidence for the cult of the head. The bronze Aldborough terret, already mentioned, could belong to this period. In the same category are the small human masks, presumably chariot fittings too, found as part of the Stanwick hoard (MacGregor, 1976, no.61; 1962, nos. 103 and 104). Such portrayals on chariots would have an apotropaic function. Stone heads are equally sparse. Amongst examples cited by Ross as probably belonging to the pre-Roman or early Roman period by reason of their 'archaic appearance' there is only one from the region. This is a phalloid stone from Corbridge, Northumberland which has the face cut on the glans (Ross, 1967, 72, Pl.16c). There is a clear reference here to fertility. Most of the evidence however for the cult of the head comes from the Roman period.

A few items from Roman times illustrate the tradition of depicting heads using the medium of metalware. One example is the triple-headed bronze bucket mount recovered from the river Ribble, probably near Ribchester (Hildyard, 1954, 225, Pl.24; Ross, 1967, 94, fig.60). This depicts

a hawk or eagle surmounting the head of a knob-horned bull with a human head on the reverse. From the symbolism it seems likely that the original bucket was of religious significance and that it had been ritually deposited in the river, thus following the pre-Roman tradition discussed above. In this respect, it is appropriate to note that the river Ribble near Ribchester has also yielded a gritstone head (Toynbee, 1964, 109).

Another example of a metalware head comes from the bucket and sceptre burial discovered near Brough on Humber. The head is in the form of a bronze escutcheon from the bucket. No doubt, the person interred was a priest or other dignitary of the Parisi in whose territory the burial occurred (Corder and Richmond, 1938, 68-74).

A third metalware object to be noted is a steelyard weight in the form of a hollow-cast bronze mask filled with lead which was found at Old Carlisle, Cumbria. The features depicted on this object are Celtic in style and Toynbee has suggested that it probably represented a local god (Toynbee, 1963, no.44, Pl.46; Ross, 1967, 95, Pl.34b).

A fourth item in the metalware tradition is the small pear-shaped bronze mask from Coventina's Well, Carrawburgh, Northumberland (Allason-Jones and McKay, 1985, no.35). It is very much Celtic in its style and probably decorated a bucket or cauldron. Reference has already been made to the significance of this and other

items related to the head from Coventina's Well emphasising the Celtic nature of the cult practised there.

A medium for depicting heads which has no pre-Roman ancestry is that of terra-cotta. Six antefixes from York depicting female busts presumed to portray Celtic divinities illustrate this practice (RCHM York, 1962, 114, Pl.39, no.21; Ross, 1967, 102, fig.74). When attached to the eaves of buildings, they served to ward off evil. Thus Celtic divine beings were symbolically conferring protection on Roman-style structures. Two more terra-cotta antefixes from York depict Gorgons' heads, well-known as apotropaic symbols. Whether these should be regarded as representing solely the classical tradition is debatable. Both Celtic head and Gorgon's head were similar in function and conflation of the two traditions was thus facilitated. This is well seen at Bath as well as at Chester and Caerleon (Ross, 1967, 90). That it occurred at York too is attested by the gritstone plaque depicting a Medusa-like moustached face kept in the Yorkshire Museum (RCHM. York, 114, Pl.46, no.70). Besides these antefixes, pottery vessels occur which have applique heads. These are found country-wide and no doubt they were used as ritual vessels (Toynbee, 1964, 404-407; Ross, 1967, 102-103).

It is in the medium of stone, however, that most evidence has survived to attest the cult of the head within the region. Dr. Anne Ross has devoted much attention to the

topic of the cult of the head and has demonstrated the presence of many Celtic stone heads in the region, especially in the area of Hadrian's Wall. Other discoveries have been made from time to time, increasing the total numbers of stone heads known. It is not proposed to list here the various heads recorded and discuss them individually. The subject is worthy of separate study in its own right. A few examples, however, may be noted.

Horned heads have already received attention (fig.10.12) as well as a few other examples including the Serpent Stone from Maryport. To be added to Ross's totals is one from West Denton near Milecastle 8 on Hadrian's Wall (Harrison, 1970, 347-348, Pl.34). At Piercebridge, County Durham a probable Celtic head is set into the front of a house adjacent to the present-day bridge. In addition, further up Teesdale, two small examples have been observed by the present writer set high up in the gable end of the former Wesleyan Chapel, now a private house, Chapel Villa in Cotherstone. These discoveries illustrate the difficulty attendant upon such items as evidence. The chapel at Cotherstone was constructed in 1869 and enquiry has so far failed to discover the origin of the two heads thus depriving the investigator of their archaeological context.

By far the greatest number of additions to the corpus of heads from the region of Central Britain has come from the

work pursued by the late Sidney Jackson in the 1970s. There are some 750 heads indexed in the Jackson Archive at the headquarters of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society in Leeds; eighty per cent of these have come from Yorkshire. New discoveries continue to be made and the total numbers known to date would appear to be in the vicinity of 1,000 heads (Manchester Museum information).

The problem of provenance and age is a difficult one. Some of the stone heads may have been made before the Roman period and it seems likely that they continued to be made after Roman times. Thus it would be more accurate to designate all the unprovenanced examples as 'Stone heads in the Celtic tradition'. Few are found in a dated context. Many have come from garden rockeries, dry-stone field walls, from the exterior walls of buildings, especially gable ends, or from moorland. Sometimes they have been found close to springs which may mean that the find-spot was at or close to the original location. Recurring features are lentoid or 'spectacle' eyes, simply rendered triangular or rectangular nose, slit mouth, sometimes with a hole in it ('cigarette hole'). Other features are often neglected but sometimes the eyes are bulbous, the lips when present are thick and ovaloid and the tongue protrudes. Some of the heads are shown with beards and moustaches. Examples also occur where the ears are merely slits or hollows which are obviously intended for the insertion of separate ears, perhaps in animal

form. Other variations occur such as hollow crowns, which may have been intended to receive offerings, and 'panel' heads' where the faces are carved in relief against a panel background (fig.10.13). Most of the examples depict single heads but multiple head-types do occur. A quadricephalic example has come from Dacre, near Harrogate (Jackson, 1973, no.56). This was part of a garden ornament. Two tricephalic heads were recovered from Greetland, near Halifax (Jackson, 1973, nos.54 and 55). The janiform head, depicting a human head backed by that of a ram, which came from Mirfield, West Yorkshire has already been referred to (fig.10.12).

No corpus of Celtic heads has yet been compiled and as noted there are difficulties inherent in the use of evidence which is not closely provenanced. Even so, those heads so far recovered show the former and indeed the continuing presence of strong Celtic religious traditions within the overall region of Central Britain. The paucity of material from pre-Roman times is no doubt largely due to the fact that substitute heads as well as other cult objects would be made of wood which has subsequently perished. As for metallic objects, they for the most part may have been melted down for re-use - presumably the fate intended for the Stanwick hoard - or else deposited as offerings in rivers and bogs and lost in that way. The use of stone as material for representing heads no doubt came about as a result of Roman influence. Yet the crude

and non-classical rendering of most of the heads suggests that the Roman artistic influence was strictly limited. It is very probable that stone heads largely represent a substitute for actual human examples, no doubt in short supply as a result of the Pax Romana.

Distribution of the stone heads shows greater frequency in upland than in lowland areas with concentration in West Yorkshire and along Hadrian's Wall. One possible explanation of the upland frequency is that stone would be more readily available in these parts. Again, the concentration in West Yorkshire may indicate a cult centre. However, another explanation might be applicable, namely, that the greater numbers of heads reflect the former presence of border areas, where the apotropaic functions of the heads would be required by folk on both sides of the divide. This would help to account for the incidence of heads along the Hadrianic frontier and would take on more meaning if the Roman frontier in fact perpetuated the Brigantian border on the north. In the same way, the southern border zone might be marked by the concentration of heads within the Aire-Calder basin. Even if valid, however, the situation is likely to be more complicated than that with different, smaller communities having their own protective mechanisms including religious ones. The variations noted in the characteristics of the heads might perhaps reflect such differences. At the same time they could be accounted for by the styles of

different workshops. These two explanations, however, are
not necessarily in conflict. A local workshop might well
have supplied the local community. Before further
progress can be made on this theme more detailed study
than can be attempted here needs to be carried out. It is
necessary therefore to conclude this discussion having
shown the occurrence of this strongly Celtic trait within
the religious practice of the region and having indicated
possible explanations to account for the evidence as it is
perceived to date.

Burial practice.

Burial practice is another aspect of religious activity.
Survey and discussion of the pre-Roman evidence from the
region have already been carried out by Challis and
Harding (1975) and Whimster (1981). The Arras culture of
eastern Yorkshire (and North Humberside) has been the
subject of intensive study by Stead (1965, 1971, 1979).
There is no comparable investigation of native burial
practice for the Roman period although the work of Faull
(1977) referring to later Roman and post-Roman times is an
important contribution to the topic. Roman-period native
burial practice within the region is worthy of special
study in its own right but this is unlikely to be very
informative until more native burials have been identified
and excavated, always supposing that this is
archaeologically possible.

For the pre-Roman period, a major drawback is the fact
that apart from the cemeteries of the Arras culture
burials are few in number and usually not well-documented.
During the Roman period there is the same difficulty in
respect of rural sites.

Early in the first millennium BC both inhumation and
cremation burials are found. Inhumations associated with
Bronze Age objects are known from Butts Beck, Dalton in
Furness, Follifoot, Yorkshire and Buxton in Derbyshire.
Continuation of the tradition into an Iron Age context is
seen at Roomer Common, Yorkshire (SE 225787) where the
burial contained both Bronze Age pottery and ironwork.
Ebberstone in the Vale of Pickering has yielded a
Hallstatt inhumation which contained two swords,
presumably ritually broken (Challis and Harding, 1975,
fig.99). Cremation sites are known from Nanny Howe on
Coate Moor (NZ 599103) and Ampleforth Moor (SE 580800).
The latter yielded radiocarbon dates belonging to the
seventh and sixth centuries BC (Challis and Harding, 1975,
fig.99).

By about the mid-fifth century BC inhumation burials were
being made in the cemeteries of the Arras culture. The
main features of the burials are the occurrence of
cemeteries containing small barrows and rectangular
ditched enclosures. Circular ditched enclosures also
occur and a small number of chariot burials. Bodies are
usually contracted and grave goods include brooches,

bracelets and other personal ornaments. Apart from the contracted position of the bodies, a tradition which must have survived from pre-Arras times, these practices would seem to have been brought into Britain by an intrusive group or groups entering from continental Europe. Differences between British and continental practice and artefacts are accounted for by insular development. Most of the artefacts found would seem to belong to the second and first centuries BC. By about 100 BC certain warrior burials too can be identified: at North Grimston (the earliest), Bugthorpe, Grimthorpe, and perhaps Thorpe Hall, Rudston. These are inhumations accompanied by swords but unmarked by a barrow (Stead 1979). This is a minority group but the practice of burial in a square barrow was clearly accorded to the majority of the adult population. This perhaps continued almost to the time of the Roman conquest although Challis and Harding have pointed to changes in the immediate pre-Roman period. These comprise burial in ditches and an increase in infant burials (Challis and Harding, 1975, 170-171).

From the Pennine uplands of western Yorkshire comes evidence of inhumation, both single and multiple (Raistrick, 1939; Challis and Harding, 1975; Whimster, 1981). Multiple burials occur in large barrows or stony cairns close to settlement areas. One example on Lea Green, Grassington (SD 996658) was oval in shape being 76 feet (23m) east-west by 66 feet (20m) north-south. It

contained seven crouched burials within a double wall of loose stones. The burials yielded four iron knives, a bronze razor, a bronze pin and a patterned bone pin. Other similar large mounds are located in the vicinity of Grassington as well as at Kex Gill, Blubberhouses and at Great Close Scar, Malham. Animal bones have been found scattered within the filling of most of these mounds.

Smaller mounds are also recorded under which single inhumations occur. One such example was the barrow at Grassington (SD 999663) which contained a crouched skeleton and two iron knives. Another crouched skeleton came from a cist within one of twenty-two barrows at Giggleswick (SD 805774). Several individual burials have yielded iron spearheads instead of iron knives. Whether these have any separate significance is uncertain. They may belong to a different period or else be the burials of a special group in the community, such as warriors or hunters. 'Clint' burials too are recorded. In this type of burial, the skeleton was deposited within an enlarged joint such as occurs in the limestone pavement. It was then covered by a rough mound of limestone slabs surmounted by gravel or else covered by a bank or rough stone wall. One such burial, at Feizor, was accompanied by two iron knives. Such a mode of disposal seems little different from that employing an overlying mound with internal cist. It seems likely that the difference has

come about merely by reason of the opportunist use of readily available natural conditions.

In addition to these types of burial, there are examples where mounds of earlier periods have been utilised to provide resting places for multiple burials. Examples occur at Conistone with Kilnsey (SD 996674), Giants Grave, Halton Gill (SD 856734) and Seaty Hill, Malham (SD 907654). This last case is of special interest in that amongst other objects it yielded a pipe whistle. This provides a faint clue to an entire area of activity probably involving music and dance which is normally unavailable in the archaeological record.

Finally, similar to the multiple-burial mounds, whether involving primary or secondary burials, are the cave burials. For example, in Jubilee Cave (SD 388655) more than ten inhumations were found. Although no cists or graves had been prepared, nevertheless, the bodies seem to have been carefully placed in position, usually under overhanging ledges or in fissures. Burials have also been recovered from Sewell's Cave, which produced six bodies, Dowkerbottom Cave, Kilnsey and Cove Hole, Grassington.

The burial evidence from west Yorkshire is not easy to evaluate in view of the general lack of diagnostic and dating material. One barrow at Grassington (at SE 003650) contained Roman pottery including Samian ware thus indicating its Roman date. Others, which have not yielded

Roman pottery may well be pre-Roman in date although the absence of Roman wares may equally well indicate lack of Roman influence. There is, however, no indication of the Romanisation of burial customs and the barrow burials must be regarded as part of the native tradition. These barrows are quite distinct from those of the Arras culture, being much larger, and they should probably be regarded as representing a local cultural tradition. It seems reasonable also to associate with this tradition those secondary burials making use of earlier barrows. Indeed, it may be that the early barrows provided the inspiration and example which led to the later tradition. Multiple burials suggest that such a tradition involved communal practice where members of the same clan or family were disposed of within the same hallowed location. Cave burial may be a variation on the same practice. Exactly how the single inhumations should relate to the multiple burial tradition is not clear. Their dating is not secure. The explanation of their distinctiveness may be chronological and it is even possible that some of them should be assigned to post-Roman times. Otherwise, if contemporary with the multiple-burial tradition their distinctiveness marks them out as being the result of a different ritual applied to separate members of the community.

Elsewhere within the considerable extent of territory represented by Central Britain it is possible to muster

only a small number of scattered sites which could belong to the Iron Age or early Roman period. At Crosby Garrett in Cumbria three contracted inhumations without an overlying barrow may be early Roman rather than Iron Age in date. The bracelet with overlapping ends worn by one body recalls the snake bracelets of that period from Scotland. The Iron Age and Roman native site of Catcote near Hartlepool (NZ 490315) in County Cleveland has produced two extended burials but these have not been dated. At High Coniscliffe in County Durham (c.NZ 2116) probable Iron Age burials occurred in an inhumation cemetery where small finds included a twisted bronze torc and bones of horse and bullock. These too are undated but Challis and Harding suggest a date in the First Century AD. At Bishop Middleham, County Durham (NZ 332321) eleven inhumations found in a limestone fissure along with pottery and animal bones have been claimed to be Iron Age but the evidence is inconclusive. Such a site is perhaps comparable to the cave sites in western Yorkshire which have been considered above. Also similar is the Dog Hole Cave, Haverbrack (SD 484803) from which came the remains of at least twenty-three individuals. Objects associated with these remains ranged from the first to the ninth century AD thus posing a problem of interpretation. Either the material has been washed in and so become mixed up or else the mixture is the result of continual ritual activity.

The site of Middle Hurth in Upper Teesdale (NY 867307) offers a contrast in burial practice, namely cremation. This site along with the Teesdale Cave which yielded a skeleton has been described in a previous chapter (see Chapter 5). Such a finding is a warning against assuming that inhumation and cremation practices are mutually exclusive in a native context. Also to be recalled (see Chapter 4) are the two pit burials from Ledston in a tradition found otherwise only in southern Britain. The interment near Brough on Humber of a Parisian dignitary in a cist with bucket and sceptre has also been referred to above. Another body nearby was also in a cist.

The use of a cist is a recurrent feature of burials throughout the region. Other common features are contracted burial and orientation in a northerly direction. Taking these characteristics as a guide for distinguishing native British from Anglo-Saxon practices Faull (1977) has assembled a number of burials which carry on the native tradition. This information duplicates in a few cases that of the authorities already cited as the basis for this discussion but for the most part supplements it. From this it can be seen that the native traditions in burial practice are much more evident in the Roman period than before. The explanation may lie in a change in custom. Apart from the Arras culture burials and the later western Yorkshire burials there is not enough evidence to establish what the normal burial

practice was over the region as a whole. The reason may lie in the kinds of practices followed, such as exposure of the remains at a distance from the settlements. It is even possible that cremation took place followed by scattering of the remains. Whatever the reason Wait has concluded that during the Iron Age the vast majority of the population in Britain as a whole has 'vanished without trace' (1986, 120). The increased numbers of native burials known for the Roman period perhaps shows that inhumation practices were spreading to embrace a wider share of the population. It may be that in Iron Age and early Roman times burial rites such as inhumation under barrows were appropriate only for élite members of the community such as tribal notables. With the Roman occupation many of these folk adopted Roman customs such as cremation and, later, burial in sarcophagi. This process, it has been argued, can be seen at work in Aldborough (Chapter 9). As a result, former élitist native styles of burial became available for lower-status members of the community, with the result that more examples have survived in the archaeological record. These are speculations and more work is needed on the subject than is possible here to decide whether or not there is any substance in them.

It is appropriate now to return to consideration of sacred places in the light of discussion of evidence pertaining to the period of Roman occupation.

Any place where altars were set up or offerings made must be regarded as sacred. In some cases ruins attest the occurrence of a temple, in others the former presence of a shrine is indicated by the text of an inscription or the frequency of votive offerings (cf. Lewis, 1965, Collingwood and Richmond, 1969; Drury, 1980). Very often there is insufficient information to identify the nature of the arrangements at the sacred location even though its occurrence is assured.

The small apsidal temple of Antenociticus built in stone at Benwell, Northumberland is an example of structural remains together with associated finds which provide evidence of a roofed building devoted to a cult. Although simple in form the building was essentially of Roman inspiration. What arrangements if any obtained prior to the erection of the temple is unknown. Other examples of sacred buildings are the round and rectangular shrines from Scargill, near Bowes, dedicated to Vinotonus. These were much less sophisticated structures than even the Benwell temple. They were small, had dry-stone walls and were probably thatched. Plain, rectangular shrines are not common in Britain but are frequent on the Continent and this may be the source of inspiration for the rectangular one. By contrast, the circular shrine may perpetuate the shape of the native house, although here again there are Continental examples from which it may have been derived. Much more elaborate circular

structures probably serving as shrines are known from Maryport, Cumbria and Millington in eastern Yorkshire. In neither case is the deity worshipped in the temple known but in the case of the latter a connection with waters is evident by reason of the nearby springs (Lewis, 1965; Ramm, 1978).

The chapel of the fort at Bewcastle, Cumbria housed the silver plaques dedicated to Cocidius and it is probable that other structures along Hadrian's Wall served the same purpose.

Where remains have not survived or been identified the former presence of sacred structures may also be deduced from epigraphic evidence. The dedication to 'Dea Ioug...' at York (RIB 656) makes mention of aedes, 'a shrine' which in the circumstances one would expect to have been a roofed structure.

Often, however, where finds have been made in places lacking structural remains it is not at all unlikely that roofed buildings had never in fact been present. This situation may have applied to altars such as that to Contrebis set up near a spring (RIB 610) or to those dedicated to Condates, set up at the confluence of rivers (RIB 1045, 1024). They may have been open to the sky or at best protected by flimsy material which has not survived in the archaeological record.

No certain temples of the Romano-Celtic form where a

central roofed shrine was surrounded by a portico or
veranda are known from the region. It has been supposed
that the shrine of Coventina at Carrawburgh was a modified
version of this type but as has been seen it was rather an
open-air shrine set within its own sacred temenos. Even
so, it follows very much in the Celtic tradition.

Another example of a well, or at least a pit which may
have been originally dug as a well, has been found at the
site of a tilery probably associated with the fort at Old
Church, Brampton in Cumbria. Manning has argued that the
hoard of ironwork found in this pit was a votive deposit
made by Celtic auxiliary soldiers from the fort (Ross,
1968, 26; Manning, 1966, 1972). The ritual involved in
this case may have been in the Celtic tradition but the
actual sacred location was almost certainly not dictated
by local custom. The well had probably been dug
originally as part of the military establishment and the
deposit was made upon the occasion of the closure of the
fort.

By contrast with Brampton, the Bank Well at Giggleswick in
Yorkshire, from which the lead 'mother-figure' was
recovered, must be regarded as a sacred spot hallowed by
local custom since it is a natural phenomenon. No doubt,
other similar locations would be likely to become the
focus of religious attention. If such places remainedopen-
air shrines then the chances of identifying them as sacred
are small.

In two cases, textual evidence attests the presence of cult centres, namely, Fanum Cocidi and Locus Maponi. As has been seen attempts have been made to identify them, Bewcastle having been suggested in the case of the former and in the case of the latter, Lochmaben. Nothing is known about the pre-Roman condition of Bewcastle, but Lochmaben with its lake, island and promontory possesses the various components appropriate to a Celtic religious site. Other sacred places connected with Maponus are the standing stone and ford at Clochmabenstane and possibly the ford recorded as Maporiton.

Concentrations of dedications provide an indication of the whereabouts of cult centres. This is the main reason for identifying Bewcastle as Fanum Cocidi. For the same reason Brougham is probably a cult centre for Belatucadrus and Chesterholm and Carvoran centres for the cult of Veteris. In none of these examples are the actual arrangements or nature of the sacred location known, either in Roman or pre-Roman times. Other cult centres may be deduced from single dedications too. Beltingham or somewhere in its vicinity, perhaps Chesterholm, was probably the cult centre of the goddess Saitada, a tribal deity of the Textoverdi. Similarly, Corbridge was no doubt the cult centre of Arecurius, tribal god of the Lopocares (?). In these cases tribal and religious centres seem to co-incide. The find places for other deities for which a tribal dimension has been argued probably fall into the

same category. Elsdon, it has been suggested, is possibly such a centre, the deity in this case being Matunus. Concentrations of religious objects may also point out centres of religious importance. Maryport with its dedication to Setlocenia and its wealth of iconographic material is a centre of this kind. In none of these examples are the actual arrangements or nature of the sacred location known, either in Roman or pre-Roman times. However, in the case of Verbeia, god of the river Wharfe, the sacred nature of the river itself is underlined even though the nature of any shrine that might have been erected close by the river is unknown. Arnemetia too reveals in the form in which her name has survived the fact that her sacred site included a grove and waters. Further investigation would no doubt reveal the arrangements which obtained during Roman times but the chances of recovering evidence to throw light on the pre-Roman situation are more remote.

Caves too containing much Romano-British material have a claim to consideration as sacred sites. The rock shelter at Yardhope in Northumberland falls into the same category. Why, according to the material evidence, they should have become more popular in Roman times by contrast with the period of the Iron Age is a problem. One possibility is that votive offerings made during the Iron Age were made of more perishable materials than those of Roman date and so have not survived. Another possible

explanation is that the territory in the vicinity of the caves did not become occupied to any great extent until the Roman period and so the caves were not utilised until then. Neither explanation is convincing as it stands and the solution to the problem is elusive.

Finally, burial mounds, which continued into Roman times in western Yorkshire, must have had religious significance. The animal bones found within such mounds may well represent funeral feasts. Beyond that there is some slight evidence to elucidate the attitude of the living towards the burials as hallowed spots. The fact that earlier burial mounds were utilised suggests at least that they maintained their sanctity. No doubt this meant that they were regarded as places suitable for the passage of the dead person's spirit into its Otherworld existence.

Summary and discussion.

The evidence for religious beliefs and practice in Central Britain before the Roman occupation is slight. Most of it comes from eastern Yorkshire, the territory of the Parisi, which has produced evidence of square ritual enclosures as well as distinctive burial practices designated the Arras culture. Animal burials too are known which are probably related to the human interments. In addition, there is a probable warrior cult concerned with protection belonging to the later Iron Age. Less certain in date is the cult involving warriors connected with waters. Whether there is any connection between the two cults is unknown.

For the remainder of pre-Roman Central Britain there is very little material evidence. Deposition of metal objects, however, in wet places is attested. It is less clear how far caves were regarded as sacred at this time. As for burials, there would seem to have been a distinctive burial practice in western Yorkshire making use of large burial mounds, either constructed anew or else utilised from an earlier period. Contracted burials in cists are characteristics that occur and these persist in other parts of the region and indeed beyond into Roman times and afterwards. As for the Celtic pre-occupation with the human head, the evidence from Stanwick illustrates the head-hunting proclivities of the Celtic warrior but in itself is not enough to demonstrate the veneration accorded to the human head. Only one or two stone heads seem assignable to this period but there is some metalwork evidence in the form of the chariot trappings from Aldborough and from the Stanwick hoard. The Aldborough terret perhaps may be taken to represent a horned deity but in this period no names are known.

From the increased evidence available during the Roman period, it can be seen that amongst the cults imported into Britain a considerable number were Gallo-Roman. These include Apollo Anextlomarus, Epona, Ialonus, the Mothers, the Pseudo-Venus, Dea Nutrix and the Genii Cucullati. Coventina, however, seems to have been a local goddess whose cult was exported. With regard to Maponus,

he was probably established in the region before Roman times and on that account should be regarded as native to Central Britain. There is less certainty about Digenis and Mogontes. Camulus, however, must be regarded as indigenous inasmuch as he was introduced into Southern, and then Central, Britain in pre-Roman times. In the case of other deities native to Britain, namely, Alator, Ocelus and Nodons, although occurring in Central Britain, their cults should probably not be regarded as having roots in the region.

There remains, however, a considerable assemblage of Celtic deity names, over thirty in number, and deity types, which belongs to the region of Central Britain. Most of the deities so named are not equated with Roman gods (figs. 10.2 and 10.3). Nevertheless, many are so equated, Mars being the most popular god involved in this process (figs.10.5 and 10.6). Many of the deity names, whether equated or not, occur once only. Examples are Arecurius, Setlocenia and Verbeia. Others again, while having more than one dedication to their credit, are confined to a single find place. Examples of these are Antenociticus and Vinotonus, though in the case of the latter there were two separate temples. Yet other names are found on dedications coming from different places. These range from those having two dedications only, such as Ratis, Latis and Arnemetia to those with large

numbers of dedications from many different places, namely, Belatucadrus, Cocidius and especially Veteris.

Those deities with several or many dedications from different locations clearly had wider geographical influence than those from a single find place. Maponus, with his cult centre in the north-west part of the region, was well-established in the frontier region and probably within the remainder of Central Britain. It seems clear, however, that his cult was even more widespread and it is probable that he should be regarded as a supra-national god. The Smith-god too, at least as a deity-type, was widespread. Other 'multiple' dedications belong to deities which may be assigned to tribal communities. Belatucadrus was probably the tribal god of the Carvetii with a cult centre at Brougham in Cumbria. It has been suggested that Cocidius was in origin a tribal god of the Selgovae but that he was adopted by the Roman soldiers to become the patron-protector of the frontier. This would help to account for the spread of his cult eastwards from his cult centre at or in the vicinity of Bewcastle. Veteris too may well have been tribal in origin belonging to a community occupying part of the territory within the Tyne Gap, centred perhaps upon Carvoran. The distribution of his altars illustrates expansion of his cult but why that should have happened is unclear unless it was the result of his appeal to folk of lowly status who continued

to cling obstinately to such a non-Roman god in the face of increasing Roman influence.

Single-dedication or single-site deities too may have been tribal in their role. Bregans, clearly the male god of the Brigantes, is a case in point. The goddess Saitada had a special significance for the Textoverdi as did Arecurius for the Lopocares(?), both communities occupying parts of the Tyne valley. Some of the remaining deities from single locations may have been local godlings associated with some specific feature, such as Coventina and her Well. Yet a tribal role may be argued for many, perhaps most, of the others: Matunus, Barrex, Rigas are examples of these. Much of the uninscribed material such as the warrior and horned figures as well as many of the stone heads could reasonably be assigned to such tribal gods.

Besides this tribal role, which seems to be so prominent in Central Britain, certain other characteristics belonging to the cults recur. These are often reflected in the various sacred locations which can be identified. For example, Coventina's cult centred on a well shares the watery aspect common to many other cults. The sacred locations recoverable from the information available during the Roman period provide evidence that matches the range of such sites from other parts of the Celtic world. This evidence goes a long way towards filling the

gap that is present in the data relating to pre-Roman Central Britain.

With regard to the various characteristics referred to, a recurrent feature is the warrior concept, seen in Mars equations and in the unnamed warrior figurines. Another common theme is that of woodland-countryside deity, seen not only in horned figurines, both named and unnamed, but also in Silvanus equations. Linking this characteristic with that of the warrior is the fertility aspect evident in the presence of Mother-goddess types and in the case of male deities by the symbolism of the phallus. Frequent too as noted above are references to waters - rivers, streams, springs, bogs and wells. The goddesses Arnemetia, Brigantia, Coventina, Verbeia, the nymph 'Neine' (?) and probably Latis all betray such connections. Vinotonus, Condates and Maponus are male deities with watery connections. The same feature has been noted at Bank Well, Giggleswick and the temples at Rillington and Well, if the latter is to be so interpreted. The characteristic of healing is not, however, clearly delineated apart from what may be deduced from watery connections in themselves but there are hints of the therapeutic aspect with regard to Maponus, Coventina and Brigantia herself. The presence of the serpent symbol as on some Veteris altars and at Maryport and Ilkley may well point in the same direction, thus extending the occurrence of this characteristic. A common

theme, is that of protector, evident in the cases of Belatucadrus, Brigantia, Cocidius, Condates, Camulus and Maponus. The cult of the head with its apotropaic function also falls into place here as an aspect of divine protection.

These characteristics may be interpreted as reflecting, to some extent, at least local conditions. The concept of woodland-hunter deity may have resulted from a largely forested environment. Even when woodland clearance took place, the former situation may have been fossilized as it were in the deity-type still honoured by the community. In any case it is probable that wooded areas still survived even after major deforestation and these would not only provide hunting, perhaps for the élite members of the community, but serve as sacred places for the god concerned.

Again the emphasis on fertility is in keeping with folk living close to nature, whether as hunters or farmers. The honouring and propitiation of the unseen spiritual forces of the countryside would be an essential part of their regular activities.

The prevalence of warfare may also be suggested by the martial element identified although in this the guardian aspect emphasises the protector role of the warrior with regard to the community. Warfare too may lie behind the popularity of stone heads produced during the Roman

period. As substitutes for actual human heads it may be that they were replacing trophies obtained during fighting prevalent in earlier times.

References to watery contexts may simply be seen as reflecting the importance of water in the daily life of human kind but this does not explain the special emphasis noted in the region. One explanation may be the deterioration in climate involving increased rainfall which occurred during the earlier part of the first millennium BC (Lamb, 1981). The resulting wetter conditions may have brought about a heightened perception of the influence of water. This in turn would have led to explanations involving the supernatural. Once set in motion, the trend of spiritual connections with watery contexts would continue until other conditions, whether climatic or otherwise, prevailed sufficiently to counteract it.

It must be accepted, however, that these various characteristics may have been transferred from other places for they are found elsewhere in Britain and indeed in the wider Celtic world beyond. Consequently, there must remain some doubt as to how far they can be depended upon to give a true picture of local conditions and their influence on spiritual development.

As far as Roman influence is concerned, the presence of Rome is perceived clearly enough in the setting up of

stone altars, the carving of anthropomorphic figures, the use of Latin in religious inscriptions and equations of indigenous with Roman gods. Indeed, these practices have enabled the evidence to survive upon which most of the information discussed in this chapter is based. Through the medium of Roman-style objects the modern observer can obtain a glimpse of indigenous religion within the region albeit in a distorted way. Yet there are large areas which have yielded little or no evidence. Most of the evidence has been derived from urban centres of the Roman period leaving rural settlement little represented. The paucity of evidence concerning religion in pre-Roman times too makes comparison difficult if not impossible. It is accordingly hard to judge the extent to which Roman influence was felt even within those settings where the trappings of Roman religion prevailed. Religious concepts are very much within the mind; they are matters of perception and emotion. No doubt the repeated use of Roman imagery expressed, for example, in sculptural terms would have had an effect on those worshippers subjected to them. How far they in turn influenced others not subjected to direct Roman impact is wholly unknown. Hints exist too that point to the survival of traditional indigenous ways of thought, in places remote from Roman centres, as, for example, the cult of the head and disposal of the deceased. The absence of Romano-Celtic temples in the region also suggests that there was no strong tradition of roofed shrines. In these

circumstances much worship must have taken place in the open air no doubt at those sacred locations discussed earlier, such as tribal centres, frontiers, rivers, woodland groves and the like.

The country folk must have maintained their traditional religion long after the start of the Roman occupation. What that involved is not for the most part known aside from the glimpse provided mainly through the medium of Roman material evidence.

CHAPTER 11

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ASPECTS.

It is now possible to attempt an overall view of the economic basis and social organisation of the Brigantes of Central Britain. In seeking to understand these matters appeal may be made primarily to those regions and topics which in the preceding chapters have been discussed in greatest detail.

Turning first to economic aspects, density of settlement not only shows the whereabouts of the population but also the success or otherwise of its economic base. In the districts that have been dealt with in detail, it has been seen that the most densely occupied area occurred at the southern end of the lowland zone, between Harrogate and Castleford. Here too it would appear that the landscape was the most intensively utilised. However, a the northern end of this lowland zone the Tyne-Tees area was not an empty waste land but provides evidence of a considerable number of occupation sites. At the same time the landscape there does not seem to have been divided up to the same extent as that in the Castleford-Harrogate area. The linking corridor between these two lowland areas, namely, the Vale of York, exhibits much sparser occupation although the presence of villas along the Magnesian Limestone belt is noteworthy.

In the Pennine uplands the most heavily occupied area was the Craven Uplands at the southern part of the Central Pennines. Settlement became more dispersed in mid-Wharfedale and within the area drained by the Aire-Calder river system. Here again, however, the presence of villa sites, one certain the others possible, must be noted. In the northern part of the Central Pennines and in the Northern Pennines the incidence of settlement was in no way comparable to that in Craven and indeed the almost total blank area which appears to have existed in the immediate hinterland of the Tyne Corridor is most striking. The Tyne Corridor itself was not unoccupied but even so, on present evidence, occupation sites were not numerous.

In the detailed examination of settlement, mixed farming has been seen to operate even in those parts of the region such as upper Teesdale where pastoral farming is the usual practice nowadays. It is a mistake to think in terms of a complete contrast between pastoral and arable farming, even in the Pennine uplands, with one type of farming excluding the other. Until comparatively recent times the two activities were normally mixed. When attempting to assess the economic basis of settlement, the problem is not usually one of a choice between arable and pastoral farming but between mixed and pastoral farming. Thereafter, if the decision comes down in favour of mixed farming activities for a settlement the problem is one of

balance, namely, of deciding where the emphasis lay between the two. The evidence is not usually sufficiently complete to allow a truly objective result to be arrived at and conclusions must be based upon a judicious estimate and accordingly be tentative.

Bones provide the best evidence for the presence of the animals themselves as well as for the species involved. Unfortunately, in many parts of the uplands the acid soil conditions do not favour bone survival. This, together with the lack of excavation, no doubt contributes to the near absence of bone assemblages found in the northern Pennines. Amongst the species identified in the collection of bones from the Teesdale Cave (Sim 1971) are cattle, sheep and horse but there is no firmly based stratified record which might enable them to be placed in a closely dated archaeological context. Another reason for the loss of bone evidence could be that bones were left lying on the surface and even if they escaped the attention of wolves and domesticated dogs they would suffer badly from weathering. Certainly, Milking Gap in the Tyne Valley yielded no bones. Where they have been protected, as in caves, bones have survived. Within the Central Pennines, Leyburn Shawl cave in Wensleydale produced bones of cattle, and sheep/goat amongst the domesticated species as well as red deer and fox. Similarly, cave deposits of bones from the Craven caves consisted mainly of cattle, sheep and deer. In lesser

quantities were dog, horse, wolf and fox. Cockspurs have also survived to attest the former presence of fowl. Burial mounds too in the Craven area have yielded animal bones of the same range.

This information is sufficient to indicate the range of domesticated animals reared and to show the predominance of cattle and sheep within that range. However, it is quite inadequate for making comparisons between the incidence of sheep and cattle or for drawing any further conclusions.

The eastern lowlands provide fuller information and this has been usefully assembled in tabular form by Haselgrove (1984, 18). Catcote, Coxhoe, Stanwick and Thorpe Thewles have produced animal bones. Haselgrove's table also includes faunal assemblages from Burradon (NZ 269729) in south-east Northumberland as well as material from sites in east Yorkshire. Even this fuller lowland material is too limited to permit detailed analysis. Cattle predominate on sites, including Stanwick Camp, from the Tyne-Tees region. No doubt the clayey soils of the lowlands provided well-watered pasturage well-suited to cattle rearing. This would be especially applicable to sites like Stanwick and Catcote. A comparatively large proportion of sheep is to be noted from Coxhoe in County Durham. This probably reflects the availability of suitable grazing on the lighter soils of the Magnesian Limestone escarpment. Catcote has an even higher

proportion of sheep, namely, 39.6% of sheep to 45.6% ox (Hodgson, 1968, 136). The explanation here might be that, all other factors being equal, there was an increase in arable production integrated with sheep rearing. Sheep need less grazing than cattle and their manure can be of the utmost value in crop production (Bradley, 1978).

With regard to arable practice, rarely is palynological evidence able to be referred directly to archaeological sites. However, as has been seen (Chapter 4) material from the Vindolanda ditch in the Tyne Valley has indicated the presence of cereals at about AD 100-125. Again, carbonised plant remains from Thorpe Thewles and West House, Coxhoe have shown the presence of barley and spelt wheat in pre-Roman contexts (see Chapter 4). Given its hardiness and ability to grow well on both heavy and light soils the latter represents an important new addition to the range of crops available to the farmer of pre-Roman times (Jones, 1981, 106).

When direct evidence fails, it is necessary to have recourse to indirect forms of evidence. As several writers have suggested settlement patterns and landscape divisions may in themselves furnish some evidence of the type of farming activities practised (cf. Ramm, 1980; Fowler, 1983; Haselgrove, 1984). Solely or predominantly pastoral farming tends to require land allotment on a wider scale than other types of farming. Thus it may be revealed by extensive linear land boundaries and the

presence of stock enclosures. Dispersed settlement may also be a feature of pastoralism but this characteristic especially needs caution in interpretation. Agricultural practices are betrayed by smaller fields and when closely integrated with pastoral activities in a mixed farming regime tend to produce more complex patterns than those connected with pastoral farming. This complexity arises from the need to separate the two kinds of activity. As a result, animal pounds tend to be situated near or be attached to the main settlement and droveways lead away, through and beyond enclosed fields, to pasture beyond. In a heavily utilised landscape, enclosed pasture for stock may be indistinguishable from cultivated fields and in fact in such circumstances the function of a field is likely to be a variable one. Thus in practice interpretation of such evidence is often difficult. Such a dilemma is more likely to arise when dealing with crop marks on air photographs. When the remains can be examined on the ground and lynchets identified then it may be concluded that the soil has been disturbed over a period of time, or in other words that cultivation has taken place. That is not to say of course that such a field has never functioned as pasture. Again the absence of lynchets is not enough in itself to deny the cultivation of the land since the conditions conducive to the formation of lynchets, namely sloping land, may not have been present. It is necessary, therefore, to bear these points in mind when drawing conclusions

from settlement patterns and landscape divisions.

Within the region of detailed examination the areas of large-scale land division identified in Teesdale and Swaledale point to pastoral activities. In Wensleydale only on Burton Moor are large-area fields known and there is the possibility of similar land division near the site of Deepdale in Upper Wharfedale.

In the eastern lowlands, evidence of land division in the northern part is not widespread. In several cases all that is known from aerial photography is a short length of boundary ditch attached to an enclosure. This in itself is not enough to make clear whether large-scale land division appropriate to pastoral farming is in question, or whether a more complex series of fields should be envisaged. The latter would be more in keeping with mixed farming. A few complex field systems are indeed known, as at Ingleby Barwick (Heslop, 1984), and these are strongly suggestive of a system involving cultivation.

Similar and indeed more widespread examples of complex field enclosures occur at the southern end of the eastern lowlands. These point to an intensive use of the terrain in a mixed farming regime.

Extensive field systems of the same kind have been seen to occur at Grassington and in other parts of Craven. Such 'Celtic' fields are known to a lesser extent in other

parts of the Pennine uplands once more providing evidence of extensive cultivation.

Unenclosed terrain may of course have been covered by woodland but when it is found in conjunction with isolated enclosures and settlement sites located at high elevations open pastures become a strong possibility. Taken with hollowed droveways the case for the former presence of stock is strengthened further. Such unenclosed areas are quite widespread in the Pennine uplands. An example in Weardale is the land around the enclosure at High Northgate located at 380m (1250ft) O.D. In Teesdale the settlement site at Dubby Sike at 488m (1600ft) O.D. could well fall into the same category. Further south on Barningham Moor the settlement site of How Tallon at 430m (1400ft) O.D. is situated amidst apparently unenclosed terrain and is associated with two droveways giving access to open land above. A pastoral basis for the economy of such a site seems extremely likely. Many enclosures and small settlement sites in Wensleydale would seem to fall into the same category. As has been seen a considerable number of these are located at surprisingly high elevations. A good example is the small settlement at Woldside located at 540m (1772ft) O.D. Further south in the Craven uplands the Penigent Gill settlements at altitudes of 305-366m (1000-1200ft) seem to have access to unenclosed land which if not wooded would have provided rough grazing. Such sites as these, especially those

within the higher altitude range exceeding say 500m (1600ft) O.D. raise the problem of seasonal occupation. Many may be explicable as the encampments of shepherds and herdsmen seeking summer grazing, in other words they were engaged in a system of transhumance.

At the settlement sites themselves arrangements may argue strongly for the presence of animals. Within the Tyne valley, the internal divisions of the enclosure at Milking Gap seem best interpreted as intended for confining animals. Again, many of the settlement sites noted in Teesdale have small attached enclosures capable of being interpreted as paddocks although 'garden' plots may be present also. The occurrence of funnel arrangements seems to betray the presence of animals. Two examples have been noted in the Durham lowlands while in the uplands there are the sites of Wool Ingles and Bleabeck Washfold in Teesdale and that at Eller Keld in Craven. The approach avenue at Maiden Castle in Swaledale is similar and according to one interpretation serves the same purpose as a funnel for livestock.

Apart from the actual arrangements at the settlement sites themselves, enclosed areas often suggest the control of animals. These are sometimes difficult to interpret, since apparently empty enclosures may have contained dwellings not recognised by the modern observer. Undoubtedly, however, many enclosures are quite reasonably identified as stock pounds. In Weardale, the curvilinear

enclosure with medial ditch at High Northgate falls into this group. Again, enclosures possessing internal ditches seem well-suited for containing stock. Curvilinear examples of these have been noted at Crossley Wood near Shipley in West Yorkshire and at Moor End in the Calder valley. The Round Ring, a sub-rectangular enclosure in West Yorkshire, yielded nothing from excavation thus supporting the view that it was intended to contain stock. Although more controversial, strongly defended enclosures with inner ditches may have also been intended to contain stock. An example in Wensleydale is Castle Steads Earthwork and another in Calderdale is that at Royd Edge, Meltham. The intention in these cases may have been not simply to round up stock but to guard them against raiders. More certain in function are the many places in the Pennine uplands where small valleys are enclosed by means of cross-walls. Such arrangements seem perfectly suited for corralling animals. A good example occurs near Dewbottoms in Craven.

Artefacts too are indicative of the type of farming practised. Spindle whorls, loom weights and weaving tools such as combs and shears point to such pastoral activities as sheep rearing. The two Forcegarth sites in Teesdale and Leyburn Shawl in Wensleydale have yielded spindle whorls and loom weights. Within Craven weaving combs made of bone have come from Victoria, Dowkerbottom and Attermire caves. Loom weights, usually conical and made

of stone but sometimes made from pottery, have come from Dowkerbottom, Sewell's, Jubilee and Kelco caves as well as from the settlement at Lea Green. Spindle whorls of stone, lead and pottery have also been found. The lead and stone whorls are sometimes plain, sometimes patterned. Lea Green Grassington and various caves have produced such spindle whorls as have many places in mid-Wharfedale (Raistrick, 1939, 136; Cowling, 1946, 162). Such pastoral-linked artefacts have been found on lowland sites too, namely, at Thorpe Thewles, Coxhoe, Stanwick and Ledston.

Besides these artefacts involving spinning and weaving, there are artefacts connected with leather working and the use of leather. All the Craven caves and the Grassington enclosures have yielded thick bone needles which would be suitable for stitching leather. Awls too made of sheep bones and used for piercing holes in skins have also been found. From various Craven sites including the caves have come bone toggles suitable for fastening garments made of leather. It is not possible, however, to make a distinction between domestic and wild animals involved in these activities.

Arable-linked artefacts include quern stones and grain rubbers used for grinding corn. The caveat here is that while such implements may reliably indicate the preparation of grain they do not necessarily attest its cultivation by the folk carrying out the process.

Nevertheless, despite this element of doubt such implements are probably fairly reliable indicators of local corn production. There are three main types: saddle querns the earliest type, beehive querns, which were introduced into the region during the period of the later Iron Age, and flat querns, which are Roman in type. The last two types, being rotary querns, represent an improvement on the saddle quern, making for greater efficiency in the processing of the corn.

In the eastern lowlands saddle querns have been found at West Brandon and Coxhoe while Stanwick, Catcote, Thorpe Thewles, Ledston and Rothwell Haig have all produced beehive querns. In the uplands, the sites on Forcegarth Pasture have produced both saddle and beehive querns as well as grain rubbers. Flat Roman-type querns have also come from a nearby field. Beehive querns have come from the Leyburn and Carperby sites in Wensleydale, and the latter has produced grain rubbers too. Saddle querns, beehive querns and grain rubbers have also been found in various Craven sites. Many quernstones, especially of the beehive type, have survived as strays and although lacking a close archaeological context nevertheless serve to indicate in general terms the occurrence of cereal cultivation within the region. The maps compiled by the West Yorkshire Archaeological Survey, show a considerable number of beehive querns occurring in the county with notable concentrations in the northern part, in the area

between the Wharfe and the Aire (Faull and Moorhouse, 1981, maps 5-8; cf. Cowling, 1946). For the region as a whole and beyond the map given in Challis and Harding (1975, fig.98), although incomplete, gives a good idea of the spread of these indicators of arable activity. Sickles too indicate cereal production. Examples have come from the Grassington enclosures and Baildon Moor (Raistrick, 1939; Butterworth, 1970).

Before leaving the question of artefacts connected with farming, mention should be made of the so-called plough marks found under various sites in the northern part of the region (Clack, 1982, 387). Reynolds has argued convincingly that such marks are not evidence of ordinary ploughing but of the use of the 'rip-ard' (1981, 98-104). Its function was to clear the land on specific occasions not necessarily for the purpose of cultivation, although one might reasonably expect that this would often be the case. Again, the marks cannot be closely dated and so caution is required in citing them as evidence for cultivation during the pre-Roman Iron Age.

Other activities connected with the food quest and survival besides farming are to be expected where opportunities presented themselves. Hunting, fishing and gathering would no doubt supplement the products of farming but the evidence for these is rarely forthcoming. When dealing with settlement in the Northern Pennines it was suggested that the dwellers in the riverine sites in

upper Teesdale would have taken advantage of the availablility of fish in the river Tees, but if they did, the evidence has not survived. Fish bones are fragile and easily disintegrate. However, indirect evidence in the form of fish hooks made of bone have been recovered from sites in Craven (Raistrick, 1939, 141, fig.3, nos. 16, 17). There is by contrast direct evidence for hunting in the form of deer bones on both upland and lowland sites. In the uplands, such bones are recorded as having come from Leyburn Shawl in Wensleydale and various caves in Craven. Also from the Craven sites indirect evidence in the form of hunting spears, from both caves and burials, as well as iron arrow points add support to the skeletal evidence (Raistrick, 1939).

The presence of deer remains on about half of the lowland sites tabulated by Haselgrove (1984) indicates that hunting played some part in the life of these settlements. There are several possible reasons for hunting deer (Grant, 1981, 206) but the percentages of deer within the overall faunal assemblages are small. Clearly, deer made only a minor contribution within the economic sphere. If not important as a source of food, deer may have been hunted for sport, perhaps by select members of the community. It will be recalled that stags antlers were found in Aldborough, the civitas capital of the Brigantes (Chapter 9). It was suggested that these had resulted from the hunting activities of tribal aristocrats. If

this is correct it would seem likely that they were carrying on a tradition from earlier times. Another aspect namely that of religion, referred to in respect of the Aldborough evidence, is applicable also to other settlements yielding evidence of hunting. Bearing in mind the existence of a hunter-god amongst the Brigantes such an explanation becomes more attractive.

Such archaeological evidence is enhanced by that supplied by the palaeobotanists. The relevant palynological material has been summarised in the separate chapters dealing with rural settlement. When the various strands of evidence thus provided are assembled it is possible to arrive at some idea of the economic basis of the region.

With regard to settlements occupying the eastern lowlands enough information has been recovered to indicate that mixed farming was practised. In the northern area stretching from the Tyne to the Swale, palynological evidence indicates not only intensive tree clearance during the later Iron Age and in the Roman period, but also both pastoral and arable activity. North of the Tees valley, the evidence from Halowell Moss near Durham city lays emphasis on the former while that from Thorpe Bulmer near the coast stresses the latter. Within the Tees valley itself parts were still forested throughout the Roman period, as the Neasham Fen pollen diagram has shown. South of the Tees, however, the Seamer Carr evidence

indicates that following large-scale woodland clearance, there was arable activity with cereal production.

As has been seen, the direct archaeological evidence for these activities is slight yet important. Only a few sites have been excavated but about half of them including Holme House villa have yielded animal bones. Direct evidence of cereal production is confined to West House, Coxhoe and Thorpe Thewles. Indirect evidence, however, from these sites and some of the others supplements this information. Arable-linked artefacts notably quernstones have come from most of the sites. Beehive quernstones have also been found as strays, for example from Egglescliffe (NZ 4113) and Middleton St. George (NZ 341123) (information from H. Jones, specimens inspected by present writer). The presumed threshing floors at the villa site of Old Durham bespeak the processing of corn and suggest its local production. Pastoral-linked artefacts such as spindle whorls and weaving combs have come from Catcote, Thorpe Thewles and Stanwick.

Besides artefactual evidence there are indications that parts at least of the landscape were under close management. The rectilinear field system with probable droveways identified and partly excavated at Quarry House, Ingleby Barwick is indicative of cultivation allied to stock control. Sunderland Bridge, Croxdale (NZ 269369), Harbour House Farm (NZ 282483), Holborn Wood (NZ 193409) and Stob House Farm (NZ 457272) are other sites where crop

marks, if not geological in origin, betray the presence of terrain divided up by a complex of fields similarly suggestive of agrarian practice. Yet the evidence of lynchets has not been forthcoming except at Henah Hill, Stanwick. Other evidence of land management in the form of linear features adjoining settlement enclosures is found on various crop-mark sites throughout the region. Among such sites are Field House Farm, West Rainton (NZ 325462) (Aerial photo, Durham Univ. neg.no.9/1), The Rift, Pittington (NZ 321451) (Aerial photo, Durham Univ. neg.nos.19/6-8), Gatherley Moor, Gilling (NZ 185066) (Haselgrove, 1982, 100) and Street House, Manfield (NZ 215138) (Haselgrove, 1982, 100). While these can be interpreted as remnants of land boundaries they are insufficient in themselves to indicate whether pastoralism or agriculture was the cause. One may reasonably allow that land division was much more widespread in these northern parts of the eastern lowlands than the aerial survey evidence might indicate. The lesson of excavations at both Thorpe Thewles and Stanwick is that land divisions did exist that are not visible from the air. The former has shown that the terrain was divided up prior to the addition of the main rectilinear enclosure, while the latter exhibits both the superimposition of later settlement on a sub-divided landscape and the adaptation of earlier divisions for later settlement (Chapters 4 and 9). The development towards open settlement with its implication of greater numbers in the population also

probably indicates increasing dependence upon agriculture. The same is applicable to villas but as has been seen only two are at present known in these northern parts.

At the southern end of the eastern lowlands the guidance afforded by palaeobotanical evidence is lacking. Even so, the evidence mainly of air survey shows a heavily exploited landscape especially along the magnesian limestone belt between Harrogate and Castleford. Multiple enclosures are frequent and there are many field systems amidst which droveways are in evidence. Many settlements are enclosed, mainly within ditched rectilinear enclosures but there is open settlement too. All this is indicative of mixed farming with much emphasis on cultivation. At Ledston and pre-Roman Dalton Parlours the existence of large numbers of grain storage pits, together with four-post structures, probably granaries, points to agricultural practice on a large scale in pre-Roman times. The arrangements at Ledston are such as to suggest that it served as a collecting centre for the surrounding district. As for Dalton Parlours, although unbroken continuity has not been proved, the location of the Roman villa in the same place as the pre-Roman agricultural settlement shows a similar utilisation of the land under Roman rule. It is indeed tempting to imagine that there was in fact real continuity from pre-Roman to Roman times. The presence of other Roman villas in the region indicates that the economic potential of the land was being

similarly exploited. Too little is known about these villas, certainly not enough to argue for actual continuity of occupation from earlier times. However, for the majority, this does not seem unlikely. In any case, each must be seen as the centre of a mainly agricultural complex. They are situated on good farming land, close to centres of population which would provide ready markets for their produce. That all villa sites did not conform to this pattern has already been noted in the form of the villa at Drax occupying a waterlogged site between the junction of the Ouse and the Aire. It has been suggested that its speciality was the growth of flax for the production of linen. Again, it is equally clear that not all rural settlement sites apart from villas were pre-Roman. The excavation of Rothwell Haigh, on the edge of the uplands, showed that in these parts too, as well as in the Tyne-Tees region, a rectilinear ditched enclosure could belong to the Roman period. The recovery of beehive quernstones from the site suggests that it was involved in agriculture.

The thinning out of settlement north of Wetherby has been noted but what settlement there is, including villas, is located on the western edge of the Vale of York. The argument already applied in respect of the villas, namely, that on or near such good farming land agriculture must have played a large part in their existence could well be applied to other types of settlement. There is some

evidence to support this in the form of apparent field systems at Walkingham Hill with Occaney (SE 348615), north of Harrogate, and at Kirklington (SE 303803) and east of Snape villa (SE 266847), north of Ripon (Riley, 1977, 29). Otherwise, however, there is little to reveal what the economic basis of these settlements might have been.

The contribution of hunting to the economy of the lowland settlements in general has already been referred to. It was concluded that deer played only a minor part in the food quest. Metalworking too took place. Evidence of iron working has come from West Brandon, Catcote, Thorpe Thewles and Stanwick. Thorpe Thewles and Stanwick have also produced evidence of copper working. The indications are that, Stanwick apart, metalworking was merely of such an order as to supply domestic needs. In the case of Stanwick it is difficult to judge on present evidence. More evidence is needed from Stanwick but one may hazard the guess that such a pivotal centre would have produced more than its immediate requirements.

Turning now to the uplands, the palynological evidence from the Tyne Gap marking the boundary of the Northern Pennines shows the existence of a wooded environment late into the Iron Age or early Roman period. By this time, at least in the central part and towards the western end of the region, clearance had led to a more open landscape (Chapter 5). The pollen evidence indicates the predominance of pastoral farming but with some cereal

production. Further east, in the vicinity of Benwell, the evidence from the fort on Hadrian's Wall shows a wooded landscape with open glades (Chapter 10).

Palisaded enclosures at Corbridge of the pre-Roman or early Roman period are in keeping with this kind of environment. It is difficult to estimate the density of settlement during the pre-Roman period bearing in mind the lack of known sites and the difficulty of identifying the presence of palisaded sites. Dispersed settlement would be in keeping with a pastoral economy carried on within cleared areas amid woodland. No doubt hunting played a part in such an economy but the evidence is lacking. Even within the Roman period the sparse distribution of stone-founded settlements suggests pastoralism. As has been noted the internal arrangements of the site at Milking Gap suggest the keeping of animals. At the same time the cultivation terrace at Milking Gap, whether directly associated with the settlement or not, and the unattributed cultivation terraces at Bishop Rigg near Corbridge accord with the pollen evidence which suggests some cultivation of cereal crops. Thus the situation within the Tyne Gap would suggest the comparatively late development of farming and when that occurred, the emphasis was upon pastoralism.

In the immediate hinterland of the Tyne Gap there are no pollen diagrams to aid interpretation and the present lack of settlement evidence suggests a terrain that was

unexploited. This was not the case, however, in Weardale and especially Teesdale. In these parts, the pollen diagrams show that deforestation occurred at different times ranging from the Bronze Age into Roman times. By the late Iron Age there were probably wide areas of grassland and heather moorland suited to grazing animals. There is no direct evidence for stock keeping in the form of animals bones. The material from the Teesdale Cave referred to in Chapter 5 was a heterogeneous collection which had obviously accumulated over a long period of time. However, the enclosure at High Northgate in Weardale has been noted as a possible stock enclosure. In Teesdale, wide-ranging field boundaries within the 305m to 457m (1000ft to 1500ft) contours on Holwick Fell and Harter Fell would probably be appropriate to pastoral farming activities. Coggins would assign these to the Bronze Age (1986. 66-67). However, a later date, or later re-use, during the Iron Age is possible, for the excavations at Simy Folds on Holwick Fell revealed not only Bronze Age activity on the site and eighth century AD occupation with re-use of the field boundaries, but also Iron Age activity (Chapter 5). Besides the evidence of these field enclosures, the site of Wool Ingles, with its 'funnel' entrance appropriate for herding animals, indicates pastoral farming. Unfortunately, the site is undated.

Not all the evidence, however, from the two Durham dales

is in favour of pastoralism. Small square fields appropriate to cultivation occur in Weardale in association with the settlement on Bollihope Common. In Teesdale similar 'Celtic' fields with lynchets have been found on Crossthwaite Common (centred on NY 934248) (Coggins, 1986) and also at East Forcegarth (Pl.I). Indeed. the evidence from the excavated settlements on Forcegarth Pasture shows that here at least mixed farming practice prevailed. This seems likely to have been the case for other riverine sites in the area. Metalworking revealed on the excavated sites must be seen as subsidiary to and supportive of the main economic function of the settlements. There is no question of such metalworking being an industrial process on a commercial scale.

Another activity that took place at least within Weardale was hunting. This is attested by the altars dedicated to Silvanus set up on Bollihope Common (RIB 1041) and at Eastgate (RIB 1042) respectively by Roman cohort commanders. The specific mention of the capture of a boar on the Bollihope altar reveals the nature of the quarry. How far this activity was shared by the native folk of the district is unknown but it seems quite likely that hunting had a contribution to make to the basic economy of the settlements in both Iron Age and Roman times.

For Stainmore and its eastern approaches, the sparse settlement denies the practice of agriculture on any significant scale. At the eastern end of the region,

pastoral activity seems certain at How Tallon settlement and Castlesteads fort, the former with its holloways leading to higher pastures and the latter with its huge annexe. It seems likely too that different periods are represented here, Roman in the case of How Tallon, Iron Age in the case of Castlesteads. Palynological evidence from the western end of the region emphasises the dominance of pastoralism although some cultivation is attested by field terraces occurring near Rey Cross. The presence of deep, loamy soil at the settlement near Maiden Castle may point to the same thing and also the clearance plots near Ravock. There is also the possibility of arable fields at the settlement of East Mellwaters near Bowes. However, the small enclosures at the Maiden Castle and Rey Cross settlements are best interpreted as paddocks for animals. It has been suggested by analogy with the findings from the Forcegarth Sites in Teesdale that the farming regime at East Mellwaters was a mixed one. Although strictly speaking undated, most if not all of these settlements may have developed to take economic advantage of the presence of Roman garrisons at Bowes and Maiden Castle guarding the cross-Pennine route. In addition, besides the rearing of animals for food and clothing another possible activity is the supply of animals for transport. This would be particularly apposite for the Stainmore sites flanking as they did this important route.

As in the case of Weardale noted above hunting is attested by religious dedications to a hunter-god, namely, to Vinotonus Silvanus on Scargill Moor (see Chapter 10 and Pl.VIII). The specific use of an indigenous Celtic deity name illustrates the native dimension of this activity although the evidence as it has survived shows the involvement of Roman military officers.

No pollen diagrams are available for Swaledale and Wensleydale. The evidence from Swaledale showing slight occupation and wide-scale land division indicates that the region was dominated by pastoralism, although different phases or even periods seem able to be identified for this. Maiden Castle with its approach avenue has already been noted as a possible stock pound. Near the entrance to the dale, the Whitcliffe settlement has attached enclosures suitable for enclosing and protecting livestock. However, evidence of cultivation is not entirely absent, Clearance cairns and field plots occur on both sides of the valley, for example, on the north side, Black Hill (NZ 028002), Cringley Hill (NZ 001002), Fremington Edge Top (SE 0535), on the south side, Grinton Gill (SE 043975), Ellerton Moor (SE 074959), Ellerton Scar (SE 088967) and near Harker Mires (SE 035976). Such areas of initial land clearance might well have been intended for cultivation but this is not inevitable. Again, they are undated. The Grinton-Fremington Dyke system was later than the clearances near Harker Mires but since the Dyke

is undated this is of little help in deciding the period or periods in which cultivation first occurred.

It is important to recall that most of the currently available evidence for settlement and land use is derived from areas above the present-day level of field enclosure. In view of the palynological evidence from Stainmore and elsewhere in the Pennines, it seems not unlikely that in Swaledale woodland clearance had advanced sufficiently by later Iron Age and early Roman times to permit exploitation of the lower slopes of the dale. Subsequent farming activity in these parts has perhaps tended to obscure such evidence leading to a distorted picture.

In Wensleydale, apart from Burton Moor, there is not the evidence for pastoralism in the form of wide-ranging division of terrain. Nevertheless, there is other evidence. Small settlements and enclosures at high elevations would be suitable for shepherds grazing their flocks on open pasture during the summer months as part of a system of transhumance. The parent settlements for such high elevation sites would be situated lower down the valley sides in locations such as Greenber Edge and the slopes of Addlebrough. Leyburn Shawl Cave has produced direct evidence of stock rearing in the form of animal bones representing cattle, sheep and goat. Red deer and fox have also been found here suggesting that hunting also had a part to play in the basic economy. The Leyburn Shawl settlement has also yielded pastoral-linked

artefacts such as spindle whorls and loom weights. Spindle whorls have also been got from sites on Greenber Edge (Raistrick, 1939). Structural evidence from Greenber Edge also tends to support this conclusion. Enclosures with wide entrances and attached walls seem best explained as stock pounds. Subdivided valleys would also seem to make provision for enclosed areas suitable for penning animals. One enclosure, probably a hut, is explicable as a byre in view of its internal divisions which may be interpreted as stalls. On Burton Moor the agglomerated settlement made up of a series of huts with large courtyards possessing massive gateways and attached smaller enclosures seems to betoken pastoralism on a large scale. Further east, the hillside enclosure of Castle Steads earthwork may have been an enclosure designed to contain and guard stock.

Yet cultivation was also practised in Wensleydale. Beehive quernstones have been recovered from Preston Scar, Leyburn Shawl and Addlebrough. What are almost certainly cultivation plots associated with huts can be identified along Greenber Edge and on the slopes of Addlebrough Hill. Further down the dale, the beehive quernstone kept at Coverham Abbey gives a further hint of such activity. The presence not far away of the villa at Middleham provides additional tentative support on the assumption that such Romanised farms would carry out mixed farming where

possible. The nearby fort of Wensley would provide a market for surplus farm produce.

On the eastern side of the Central Pennines south of Wensleydale, the Nidderdale moors exhibit sparse early settlement suggestive of pastoralism. The small cluster of sites on the eastern fringe of the uplands in the vicinity of Swinton may be the result of exploitation of lower land more suited to arable farming a short distance away. There is indeed the hint of a Roman villa in the vicinity. However, other sites away from the edge of the eastern lowlands, such as Cast Hills (SE 204716) and Fortress Dike Camp (SE 179732), are explicable as stock enclosures designed to guard against cattle raiders. Palynological evidence gives support for this reading of the situation for it shows the dominance of pastoral farming from the Iron Age into the Roman period and beyond. There is, however, some evidence in the pollen diagrams for cereal cultivation. Lack of extensive field systems supports the indications that this was on a small scale. The settlement of Stonebeck Down (SE 122664 - SE 127666) with its associated enclosures, field systems and possible corn-drying kiln is a good example of a site likely to be involved in crop growing as part of a regime of mixed farming.

With regard to the economic functioning of the Craven settlements to the west of Nidderdale, there are clear indications of both agrarian and pastoral activities.

'Celtic fields' together with the recovery of sickles, quernstones and grain rubbers point to the former. Larger land divisions along with probable stock enclosures and droveways suggest the latter. Animal remains too attest the keeping of stock: sheep, ox, goat and pig have been identified (Raistrick, 1939, 132-133). Spindle whorls and loom weights add support. Palynological evidence indicates intensification of cereal growing during the Iron Age to Roman period (Smith, 1986). In general, the evidence points to mixed farming practices with the emphasis varying from site to site. Some settlements, whether large or small, seem to have been mainly devoted to pastoral farming. Examples are Langscar Gate and Middle House Pasture. Yet others are heavily involved in crop cultivation; the Grassington settlements seem to belong to this category. The presence of droveways between the fields, however, shows that one activity need not exclude the other. In addition to farming there is evidence to show that hunting and fishing took place: remains of deer, otter and wolf have been found as well as javelin points and hunting spears, lance points and fish hooks (Raistrick, 1939). No doubt much of this activity was designed to provide subsistence and support for the communities within the region. There are also indications of other activities such as iron, copper and lead working and quern production which may well have extended beyond the confines of the communities practising them. The presence of coins and valuable objects such as silver and

bronze brooches in the caves argues for a prosperity that arose no doubt from a successful farming strategy.

The region embracing the Craven Lowlands and Mid-Wharfe-Aire-Calder drainage system now requires consideration With regard to the economy of the settlements there is little direct evidence. A pastoral emphasis is implied by the suggested defended stock enclosures. The pollen diagrams combined with the evidence of field systems, as at Crossley Wood, and taking account of the occurrence of beehive querns in various districts, give an indication of increased arable farming activity during the later Iron Age. This would seem to have ceased in the high districts south of the Calder early in Roman times without later resumption. The demolition of the rampart at Oldfield Hill may be linked to the same phenomenon. Here is a hint of Roman influence. Iron working on sites such as Catstones Ring and Oldfield Hill was probably no more than was required for domestic needs. What happened further east in Calderdale is not clear but if the evidence from Birstall and Snapethorpe does in fact represent villas, it is enough to suggest that farming prospered during the Roman period. The same is true in Airedale with regard to the Gawthorpe site. Certainty is available for Kirk Sink villa, which was established on fertile land with probable extensive field systems as part of its estate. Other activities such as lead working may have played a part in

the economy of the region but the evidence from the sites themselves is almost totally lacking.

It is convenient at this point to take note of other areas within the region not examined in detail in previous chapters. These are Cumbria, part of north-east Yorkshire and, although quite possibly not part of Brigantia, the southern Pennines of North Derbyshire.

The palynological evidence from Cumbria shows that considerable areas were still forested in late Roman and post-Roman times. However, some parts had been deforested by the end of the first millenium b.c. These were mainly some better drained areas of southern lakeland, much of the uplands of the southern lakeland massif and the coastal and riverine plain of the Solway and the Eden valley (Higham and Jones, 1985, 4).

Rural settlement took the form of scattered communities mainly of single farmsteads practising mixed farming. Only a minority of settlements occurred in elevated locations above 400m (1312ft) O.D. In less favourable parts, for example on the south and west sides of the Cumbrian mountains, the upper limit is further downhill with no sites occurring above 250m (820ft) O.D.

Settlements tended to avoid acid soils and poorly drained boulder clays but favoured well-drained limestone areas which provided good pasture for grazing animals. In low-lying terrain easily drained sand or gravel areas were

chosen, and in the river valleys the clays and loams supported a scattered settlement pattern.

Most settlement sites seem to have been located with an eye to the exploitation of a variety of resources. Lowland sites made use of good arable land, no doubt on a rotational basis, with smaller holdings having the addition of rough grazing land. Upland settlements occupied limestone areas suitable for pastoral farming with a small amount of cultivation in arable plots. Between the two, the high valley slopes were almost as densely occupied as the rich lowland areas, no doubt because the farmsteads in these locations were able to exploit the grazing potential of the higher land as well as the arable potential of more fertile and sheltered lower slopes (Higham and Jones, 1985; Higham, 1980).

The uplands of north-east Yorkshire can be divided into three main areas. The tabular limestone hills bordering the Vale of Pickering to the south, the central heather-clad moorlands occupying the highest land north of the limestone hills and the Cleveland Hills to the north penetrated by the Kildale gap and Eskdale (cf. Elgee, 1930; Hemingway, 1982). Known settlements clustered around the northern and southern edge of the region, mainly at about the 245m (800ft) contour or below. Archaeologically, the limestone hills to the south belong to the territory of the Parisi and so will not be considered here; the central moorlands were barren,

leaving the northern area as having relevance in the present discussion (Ramm, 1978; Spratt, 1982).

Sustained investigation by the palaeobotanists in north-east Yorkshire has led to the accumulation of a considerable body of material, now assembled and discussed by Simmons et al in Spratt (1982). Major forest clearances occurred during the period ranging from the Iron Age into the Roman period with trees being replaced by heather and grass. A dated diagram from Fen Bogs in the east-central area shows a long period of pastoral activity preceding the introduction of cultivation during the first century b.c. This is supported by other diagrams in the vicinity. That clearance is maintained throughout the Roman period is shown by the fact that forest recolonisation does not occur until a.d. 420±130 (T1086). At the same time the rate of clearance was not uniform and some parts retained their woodland cover if the dated diagram from Wheeldale Gill is to be accepted for clearance on this diagram is radiocarbon-dated a.d. 380±90 (GaK-3879).

Settlement is concentrated on the edge of the Cleveland Hills and in the Esk valley. The strongest evidence of arable activity is in the form of beehive querns occurring both as strays and on excavated sites. Material remains from the excavated sites provide indirect evidence for both pastoral and agrarian activities thus pointing to mixed farming. Settlements are usually well placed to

exploit the grazing lands on higher moorland and soils suitable for cultivation at lower levels (Spratt, 1982). Other activities include pottery making and iron working. Jet gathering and working is also attested by the presence of jet on two sites, namely, Pale End in Kildale and Newbiggin Hall near Whitby. Both these sites were occupied during the Roman period according to the Roman pottery found and it may be that they were part of a trade network linked to the jet workshops attested at York (Close et al, 1975; Hayes, 1966, 1968; RCHM York, 1962, 141). Quernstones, both beehive and flat rotary types were manufactured at a site near Goathland in the vicinity of Whitby. The material was obtained from two small quarries in channel sandstone and the distribution was local, within a 20km radius of the factory (Hayes et al, 1980, 305).

In the southern Pennines palynological evidence indicates deforestation occurring during the second half of the first millenium b.c. A dated diagram from Leash Fen in Derbyshire shows wholesale forest clearance associated at first mainly with pastoralism at a period dated from 340±100 b.c. (GaK-2288) to 140±100 b.c. (GaK-2289). After this period small quantities of cereal pollens occur and then above a level dated to a.d. 40 (GaK-2291)(AD 82) mixed farming took place until a.d. 420 (GaK-2292)(AD 544). A diagram from Featherbed Moss, some 15 miles to the north-west, showed a well-marked clearance phase,

indicating the presence of grassland but with some cultivation of cereals. This is dated to a period 301 b.c. (Q-854)(383 BC) to a.d. 550 (Q-852)(AD 647) (Turner, 1981, 268-269).

It would appear that during the Iron Age farming economy was mainly that of the pastoralist. The failure to identify sites belonging to the period has led to the conclusion either that Iron Age settlement was scattered and has not left clear traces or else that the area was exploited seasonally as part of a system of transhumance. However, many of the sites assignable to the Roman period but classified as native may also conceal an Iron Age ancestry. To the few that were previously known recent fieldwork has added nearly fifty. Again, there is evidence of an influx of newcomers in the early part of the second century AD whose typical dwelling structure was a sub-rectangular aisled house examples of which are to be found in the southern part of the territory of the Corieltauvi. The settlers were engaged in mixed farming but were also prospecting for lead (Hodges and Wildgoose, 1980; Hart, 1981).

When dealing with the various settlements throughout the region certain activities besides those directly concerned with husbandry have been noted. Some of these activities such as iron working seem to have been usually of an order to meet the domestic needs of the settlements themselves. Other tasks were performed by the dwellers in the

settlements which were similarly supportive of the functioning of the communities. Coarse, hand-made pottery recovered from several sites was probably the result of domestic activity at the sites themselves. There is a dearth of such material on northern Pennine sites and it seems probable that other materials such as leather and wood were depended upon to provide containers in these instances. The birch bark found at Forcegarth Pasture North as well as the oak dish and basketwork fragments from Stanwick may be recalled in this connection (Fairless and Coggins, 1980 and Chapter 5 above; Wheeler, 1954, 52-53). The rural peasantry probably had the skills necessary to meet these requirements. Similarly, spinning and weaving implied by spindle whorls, weaving combs and loom weights would have been domestic processes, no doubt carried out by the womenfolk. House construction techniques and woodworking skills are also clearly implied by the existence of buildings and enclosures, the remains of which have been discussed. Such skills, however, are not unexpected in farming communities, although it is possible that there were in existence specialists, perhaps part-time, who applied their skills beyond their own communities. Some activities involved production beyond domestic needs. Quernstones made of millstone grit indicate the manufacture and 'trading' of these items far afield; examples have been found in north-east Yorkshire as much as 40 miles from their geological source of supply identified as probably somewhere between Ripon and

Harrogate (Hayes et al, 1980). Quern workings have also been identified at Wharncliffe in the Southern Pennines (SK 2997-2998). The site covers some 200 acres (80ha) and examples of querns at various stages of manufacture have been found. Both beehive and flat disc types occur. It seems quite probable that the inhabitants of agricultural settlements in the vicinity were engaged in this activity in addition to their regular farming practice. That the querns produced were for a more distant market is clear from the fact that only a small proportion of the querns found in the neighbourhood can be assigned to the Wharncliffe workings (Butcher, 1957, 38-39; 1970, 36, fig.16). Quernstone production has also been noted near Whitby in north-east Yorkshire (above) and at Helwith Bridge in Ribblesdale (Chapter 7). In the former case, the area of distribution was local, in the latter the extent of distribution is as yet unknown. Another possible site of quernstone manufacture has been recorded in Cumbria, at Dalton Hall near the village of Burton where excavations yielded about twenty beehive querns comprising both upper and lower stones (RCHM Westmorland, 1936, xxxiv).

Detailed surveys are required to throw more light on the production and distribution of these quernstones.

Akin to the production of quernstones is the carving of stone heads as discussed in Chapter 10. The large numbers produced and the different styles would suggest the

existence of various centres of manufacture. If so, these centres have not yet been recognised. The religious dimension of the heads is clear. Whether their production should be regarded as mainly commercial or social is unknown. Pending a full corpus of heads to which study can be applied it would be premature to attempt to reach conclusions on these questions.

Returning now to metalworking, despite the suggestion made above that most rural settlements produced iron sufficient only for their domestic needs, the recovery of iron swords and their bronze scabbards indicates the presence of specialist craftsmen engaged in their manufacture. Of particular relevance are those swords classified by Piggott as Group IV and designated 'Brigantian' by reason of their main concentration within the territory attributed to the Brigantes (Piggott, 1950; MacGregor, 1976). Dated to the first century AD they are found both before and after the Roman conquest of the region. In native contexts such weapons seem best regarded as crafted for the tribal aristocracy. After the Roman conquest, the armourers, deprived of native patronage, would appear to have continued their sword production on behalf of members of the Roman auxiliary forces, as the sword from the Roman fort at Fendoch suggests.

The craft of the native metalworker is also seen operating in the production of horse and chariot trappings. Of these trappings, types which seem to have been specially

developed or adopted by local craftsmen are the derivative three-link bits, strap-junctions with concealed bar and platform terrets. Their distribution, concentrated within a region bounded on the south by a line drawn from the Mersey to the Humber and on the north by one drawn between the Clyde and the Forth, embraces the territory attributable to the Brigantes. No doubt, other types of fitment more widely distributed, such as the simple terret, were manufactured in the region too. In date these horse and chariot trappings, like the Brigantian swords, straddle the chronological divide marked by the Roman conquest of the north (MacGregor, 1976). It would appear that the Roman auxiliary forces provided a new outlet for the Celtic bronze workers' products.

Continuation of native metalworking activity into the Roman period is also evidenced by objects of personal adornment, notably brooches and beaded torcs. The latter, ranging in date from pre-Roman times into the early second century AD are mainly distributed within the region extending from the Mersey-Humber line in the south to the Clyde-Forth line in the north. Decorative details lead to the conclusion that they belong to the same tradition of craftsmanship as the scabbards of Brigantian swords (MacGregor, 1976, map 15, 97-99). With regard to brooches, the three most common types are the dragonesque, trumpet and head-stud. These continued the Celtic tradition of ornament and enamelling into the second

century AD (MacGregor, 1976, 123-129; Collingwood and Richmond, 1969, 295, 297; Feachem, 1951).

With regard to the manufacture of the metallic artefacts under discussion, MacGregor has ventured to suggest two 'schools' of decoration within Brigantia, the first, a southern school, the second further north with one focus within the Eden valley (MacGregor, 1976, 184). Manufacturing sites and actual workshops, however, are not easy to identify. On general grounds one would expect a major site such as Stanwick to be a prime candidate for this activity and indeed metalworking is attested there. No doubt one source at least of raw material for bronze working came in the form of melted down bronze artefacts. The Stanwick hoard was probably intended for this fate (see Chapter 9). Another possible site is Thorpe Thewles where too bronze working is attested (see Chapter 4). Both these locations refer to pre-Roman metalworking. As previously noted, Brough under Stainmore and Kirkby Thore have been recognised as production sites during Roman times (RCHM Westmorland, xxxviii-xli). From this it looks as if native metalworkers were continuing their craft under Roman patronage or control. At the same time, however, the evidence from Victoria Camp shows that native settlements were also involved in bronze working (King, 1970b; see Chapter 7). It is probable too that in this case the relevant minerals were obtained locally (King, 1970b, Appendix 3). In addition, King has identified

among artefacts from Victoria Cave craftsman's tools connected with enamelling: gouge cum spatula, tweezers for holding hot objects, and spoons for handling powdered enamel (King, 1970b).

Lead working by native craftsmen in the Central Pennines is suggested by various finds including the lens-shaped ingot from Victoria (or Dowkerbottom) cave, the lead 'Mother-goddess' figurine from Giggleswick (King, 1970b, 414) and the lead spindle whorls obtained from various native sites in the region (Raistrick, 1939, 133-135). In addition, lead ore, galena, has been found at Attermire Camp East (King, 1974b, 145). How this activity related to the Roman exploitation of lead in the region is unknown.

Roman exploitation of lead in the Central and Southern Pennines is attested by the survival of a considerable number of inscribed lead ingots or pigs as they are called (Raistrick and Jennings, 1965, Chapter 1; Tylecote, 1962, 82-93). Some stamped with imperial titles indicate that there was, for some periods at least, direct official control. That rapid exploitation occurred is shown by the two pigs from Nidderdale dated to AD 81 by reference to the seventh consulship of Domitian (CIL.7.1207). Each of these also bears a reference to the tribal name in the form Brig, standing for (metallum) Brig(anticum). A third pig from Nidderdale, now lost, made reference to the emperor Trajan thus dating it to the years AD 98-117

(Tylecote, 1962, no.68). From Swaledale came a fourth pig, which is to be dated to the years AD 117-138 by its reference to the emperor Hadrian (Speight, 1897, 207). This one too is now lost. There is no record of a tribal reference on these last two pigs.

North of Stainmore no lead pigs have been found but there is nevertheless evidence for official exploitation of the Alston lead field with control during the third century at least centred upon the Roman fort at Whitley Castle (Richmond, 1936, 109). Further west in Cumbria there is evidence of similar military control of lead production centred upon the Roman fort of Caermote (Richmond, 1963, 155). With regard to other lead-mining districts in the northern Pennine bloc, namely Weardale and Teesdale, there is no convincing evidence of Roman lead working activity.

In Derbyshire, one pig recovered bearing the imperial stamp shows official control under Hadrian (AD 117-138) (Tylecote, 1962, Table 33, no.14; Gowland, 1901, no.1). In the period after Hadrian, military supervision at least is seen by the fact that the Antonine fort at Brough-on-Noe has yielded lead in pebble form, indicative of its collection from streams (Richmond, 1963, 153; Frere, 1978, 323). Whether such collection was made by free persons for their own profit or by prisoners cannot be decided. Certainly, second century settlers in the district apparently supplemented their income from farming by prospecting for lead as the evidence recovered from

Royston Grange indicates (Hodges and Wildgoose, 1980).
Again, the existence of a private company, the socii
Lutudarenses, and of private lessees is also attested
by inscribed pigs which have survived (Tylecote, 1962,
Tables 33 and 34; Raistrick and Jennings, 1965, 4-6).

Returning to the Central Pennines, the reference on the
pigs to 'Brigantian lead' if that is the correct
explanation, is an interesting problem. Whether the
reference is merely to the fact that the lead was
recovered from Brigantian territory or whether the
Brigantes themselves were in some way involved is not
clear. At the early date of AD 81 direct military control
seems most likely. It is possible, however, that after a
period of imperial control responsibility was handed over
to the curiales of the civitas Brigantum. Be that as it
may, bearing in mind what happened in Derbyshire, the
local tribesmen may have been involved in prospecting for
lead, whether officially or otherwise, and in smelting it
too. As the Elder- Pliny- reported there were abundant
supplies obtainable from surface strata (Natural History,
34.29). Lead would have been useful to local craftsmen to
increase fluidity and as a cheap diluent in bronze
working. In addition, by cupellation it could have
provided the source for silver used in making silver
brooches attested in the finds from the region (Tylecote,
1962, 43; King, 1970b). Direct evidence in the form of
furnaces for lead smelting and cupellation in a rural

context has not yet been produced but this is probably due to a lack of investigation rather than real absence of such sites.

This picture of the economic basis of rural settlement has tended to be a composite one without well-defined chronological or cultural distinctions. This is the result of the limitations of the evidence especially the lack of dated settlement sites. However, that the pattern of rural settlement and the economic situation remained static during the lengthy period involved in the combined Iron Age and Roman Era is unlikely and in fact there are signs that changes occurred. For example, the palynological evidence shows an intensification of forest clearance and arable production during the later Iron Age and early Roman period in various parts of the region.

In looking for causes of change one would expect at least that the Roman conquest and occupation, well attested in the historical record, would have made an impact on the communities of the region. The influx of new 'settlers' in the form of troops, not to mention traders and other newcomers would have made huge demands on the available rural resources. Even if at first supplies were brought in from further afield, the tendency would be for Roman military requirements to be met from local sources as far as possible (Manning, 1975, Higham, 1982, Branigan, 1984). Increased cultivation and stock rearing might be expected as a result of the Roman occupation. In addition, the

Pax Romana would have meant the control of petty warfare leading in turn to the possibility of more successful farming. Improved communications too would aid marketing.

The situation in north Cumbria may be interpreted as an example of this Roman influence. South of the Solway there is a much higher density of native settlement than to the north. Again fewer field systems are known to the north. It has been suggested that this contrast arose as a result of the presence of the Roman frontier with its fort garrisons (Higham & Jones, 1985, 78-80). Besides the requirements of the military, an additional factor leading to this contrast may have been the security to be found in the immediate hinterland of the frontier.

Still within Cumbria, Higham has pointed out that the Eden valley forts at Old Penrith, Brougham and Kirkby Thore are closely spaced and set within an area providing some of the best farming land in the region. A potentially hostile population may have been the main reason for the existence of the forts. Their actual location, however, may have been governed by the desire to be in close proximity to good sources of supply (Higham, 1982). As has been seen, research in recent years has shown that the Eden valley was fully exploited by native farmers. The presence of the Roman garrisons can be seen as a stimulus to this activity.

On the eastern side of the Pennines, there is as yet

little evidence to illustrate the impact of Rome on rural settlement in the Wall hinterland. As has been seen, in this northern lowland area there are only two villas known to date and few securely dated native sites. The most likely reason for this situation is that the relevant sites have not been identified (cf. Chapter 4). Within the Tyne Gap and its immediate hinterland sparse settlement illustrates negative Roman influence on the rural economy. Many of the local supplies for the frontier may well have come from the native settlements of Roman date situated north of the wall (Jobey, 1966).

In the Vale of York, the few villas known have been seen to have been located on good farming land in situations able to take advantage of centres of population at Catterick, Aldborough, Newton Kyme and York. These Roman urban centres must surely have been a factor in the development of the prosperity of the villas. Again, field systems of the Roman period identified near Dalton Parlours (Chapter 4) show Roman influence.

Within the uplands the second century AD influx of newcomers noted in the southern Pennines might reasonably be thought due to the Roman demand for lead supplies. With regard to the comparatively intensive farming activity observed in the Craven uplands it is tempting to argue similarly for Roman influence. In this case, however, although lead winning may have been a factor the produce of farming settlements would be the major reason.

The forts of Elslack, Ilkley and the presumed fort at Adel would have provided possible markets. There was also perhaps a contribution to be made by the upland settlements to urban settlement in the lowlands (cf. Faull, 1981a). A problem is the paucity of pre-Roman evidence for the Craven uplands. Although occupation during the Roman period is attested the situation in pre-Roman times is uncertain due to this lack of evidence. As a result, comparison is impossible and the Roman impact difficult to assess. Indeed this difficulty is generally applicable to Central Britain. Much more evidence is required to delineate more clearly the nature and extent of Roman influence throughout the region.

If the lack of pre-Roman information is a difficulty in assessing the impact of Rome so much more must it be a problem in attempting to chart developments occurring before the arrival of Rome. Yet there are some signs of changes in farming practices in the years preceding the Roman conquest.

Within the lowland areas studied expansion of farming activities would appear to have taken place in the closing centuries of the first millennium BC. Pollen evidence from the northern sector has suggested the intensification of arable activity during the later Iron Age. Open settlement, too, as at Thorpe Thewles and Catcote in the north and at Ledston and Dalton Parlours to the south, is indicative of the same process. More intensive use of the

land would add further support. Such evidence as this implies increase in population.

In seeking reasons for such developments a political or military solution comparable to that of the Roman occupation is not evident. However, such an explanation need not be sought for. Of various factors having potential influence in effecting changes it would seem possible to assign a major role to climate. The warm dry conditions of the second millenium BC and the early part of the first millenium BC gave way at about 800 BC to a long period of increased rainfall. At the same time there was a decline in temperatures and an increase in stormy conditions. However, after about 150 BC the trend was towards milder, drier and less stormy conditions. By the time of the Roman invasion of Britain in AD 43 climatic conditions had become much the same as those of today although somewhat drier and warmer. This general situation prevailed until about AD 400 at which time a colder period was ushered in with wetter summers and colder winters (Lamb, 1981).

It may be suggested that the improved conditions towards the end of the first millenium BC seen in this climatic scheme led to greater farming productivity resulting in increased population. This in turn led to expansion of settlement and encouraged exploitation of hitherto less favoured terrain such as forested clay lands in lowland Durham. The reduction of wet conditions enabled such

lands to be utilised not merely as cattle pastures but also for crop cultivation. At the same time a range of suitable crops become available (Jones, 1981) including spelt wheat now recorded, as noted above, in the Durham lowlands. Concurrent with these developments came improved implements both for harvesting the crops and processing them such as the the balanced sickle and beehive quern.

By the time of the Roman occupation of the region it seems very likely that a considerable population occupied parts of the eastern lowlands and that the farming potential for yielding surplus produce had been established. It has been suggested above (Chapter 9) that farming settlements in the region around Stanwick contributed to the earlier importance of that site. The fact that Stanwick ceased its existence as an important centre early in the Roman period had more to do with political and social factors than with economic ones. Holme House shows continuing success of indigenous settlement even though for very localised reasons there had to be a shift of the centre of the villa estate it represented to another location. When looking for comparable success in survival and indeed prosperity there are, as has been seen, other rectilinear sites in the vicinity of Stanwick. Not all need to have attained the status of villa.

Further north, in County Durham, Haselgrove, has suggested that higher elevation lowland sites such as West Brandon

and West House, Coxhoe represent pastoral exploitation of lighter soils and that they were abandoned before Roman times in favour of low-lying sites such as Thorpe Thewles. However, more sites need to be excavated to confirm this as a pattern or otherwise. It is possible that the abandonment of these two sites merely represents a thinning out of the population with the balance of settlement transferring to land that could be more intensively cultivated. Other sites near those at West Brandon and Coxhoe may well have continued their existence much longer. The demise of Thorpe Thewles before the onset of the Roman period shows too that not all such low-lying sites maintained their initial success. Their dependence upon a kinder climate may have made them more vulnerable to weather changes. A slight worsening of weather conditions, even for a short period of time, would perhaps have been sufficient to tip the balance against many such sites which were prone to waterlogging. Yet Ingleby Barwick and Catcote demonstrate the continued success of farming practice in other similarly low-lying locations. Very localised conditions connected with drainage probably helped to decide the fate of various such settlements.

With regard to upland settlement one may suggest that here too climate provided the major factor influencing change. Amid the varying climatic conditions outlined above it might be expected that shelter and drainage as well as

temperature would have had a considerable part to play in governing settlement. Well-drained limestone areas would be favoured during periods of higher rainfall. Natural terracing and limestone scars in such terrain would provide shelter. However, the improving conditions towards the end of the first millennium BC would have led to greater productivity encouraging population increase. At the same time, movement on to less well-drained areas such as the lower valley slopes and the gritstone moors would have become possible. General conditions would have favoured not only expansion of pastoral farming but, perhaps more important, an increase in arable production.

Within the Pennine uplands the evidence for definite or probable pre-Roman Iron Age activity is sparse. At the southern end of the region specially studied such sites as Royd Edge, Oldfield Hill and Meg Dyke may be assigned to this phase. Similarly, further north, Horse Close Farm in the Craven lowlands is a likely site in this context as are Gauber Limekiln Pasture in Ribblesdale, Forcegarth Pasture North and Dubby Sike in Upper Teesdale. The earlier palisaded phases at Oldfield Hill and Royd Edge must also be regarded as pre-Roman. Palisaded sites noted in Teesdale and Tynedale seem best regarded as pre-Roman too and earlier than embanked enclosures. These hints combined with palynological evidence allow one to envisage a more extensive Iron Age occupation of the Pennine uplands than a narrow interpretation of the settlement

evidence would suggest. Increased arable activity has been argued for the southern part of the region during the later Iron Age. Taking the wider view outlined above, it seems possible to suggest the same thing for parts of Craven where field systems, especially in the Grassington district, might well have begun their development before Roman times. At the moment, however, actual dating evidence is lacking and so these suggestions must remain tentative. The phenomenon of increased pre-Roman arable farming is more clearly observed in north-east Yorkshire in the case of such sites as Percy Rigg (NZ 610115), Great Ayton Moor (NZ 599113), Pale End (NZ 611100) and Crag Bank (NZ 631098) (Spratt, 1982). As for Cumbria, there is a lack of evidence for pre-Roman habitation sites (Collingwood, 1933; Higham, 1982, 105). In view of the palynological evidence outlined above pointing to late Iron Age deforestation it seems highly unlikely that settlement in favoured districts such as the Solway Plain and the Eden valley did not commence at a time prior to the Roman occupation of the region.

In characterising the economic basis of the region within which the Brigantes were established, Piggott and Wheeler both laid stress on the pastoral element and saw the Brigantes as possessing a 'crude semi-nomadic economy' (Wheeler, 1954, 27-30; Piggott, 1958). As part of the argument in support of this conclusion appeal was made to the well-known observation of Caesar that 'the people of

the interior (of Britain) do not, for the most part, cultivate grain, but live on milk and meat and are clothed in skins.' (Gallic War, V.14).

Ramm rejected this as a model applicable to the whole of Brigantian territory. He suggested that, on the eastern side of the Pennines at least, while the evidence indicated a predominance of pastoralism north of Aldborough, to the south of that location arable farming assumed much greater importance (Ramm, 1980). In effect, this model is a modified form of what is basically the Piggott-Wheeler one.

It is clear, however, from the evidence adduced in the preceding discussion that not only should the Piggott-Wheeler position be rejected but Ramm's modification of it too. During the Roman period agriculture as part of a system of mixed farming was much more widely spread than these models allow for. Even in the pre-Roman period there is now seen to be much more evidence for agricultural practice in the north-eastern lowlands and their upland fringes than was once believed to have been the case. Thus a revised hypothesis is necessary. The pastoralist view of farming practice in the later Iron Age is much more applicable to the uplands where too there are indications of the practice of transhumance. The position adopted by Haselgrove would appear to be much closer to the truth than the Piggott-Wheeler and Ramm hypotheses. Haselgrove suggested that, by the time of the arrival of

the Romans, mixed farming was well established on the magnesian limestone zone extending along the eastern edge of Pennines from Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire northwards to the Durham coast. This mixed farming zone, he suggested, also extended into the flatter and wider Pennine dales (Haselgrove, 1984, 20). He also suggested that on the higher ground of the uplands and in the areas of higher elevation of the Durham lowlands the emphasis was on pastoral farming. That this will require further modification to allow for pre-Roman arable development within the dales at comparatively high elevations seems likely to the present writer. It seems probable too that in parts at least Cumbrian settlement and farming practice can be explained in much the same fashion. However, as has been seen, more investigation needs to be undertaken to establish whether the hints of Iron Age activity underlying these speculations can be translated into sound evidence or not.

Turning now to the way in which the population was organised, concentration of settlement sites has a relevance here as well as in the economic sphere. Settlement not only shows the location of potential communities but offers clues regarding the way in which those communities might have been organised. In general terms, more densely occupied districts are likely to have been occupied by communities more highly organised than others. Decisions regarding the lives of members of such

communities are likely to be vested in a unit over and beyond the individual household, such as a village, or clan. Communal tasks or issues affecting all the constituent households in the village or clan make such co-operation necessary. Allocation of farming land or threat of outside aggression are examples of such issues. Combinations of village or clan units into communities which develop a self-awareness of their separate identity lead to tribal groups.

In those districts which have sparse and scattered habitation sites there is likely to be less competition for land and resources, and a more individualistic approach to existence. In such circumstances, the household is likely to be the basic unit for dealing with most situations. Even so, extreme isolation apart, there is likely to be need on occasion for co-operation with other households. The fact that this need is rare means that a higher order of communal association such as a clan or tribe has little effective power or influence.

Again, types of settlement may provide a clue to social organisation and inter-settlement relationships.

Unenclosed settlements may indicate a society where threats of attack, whether from humans or animals, are not felt to be paramount. Society may be so organised that rivalry between settlements is controlled or external threat minimised. Often this is achieved by means of some

higher authority, whether secular or divine. Isolation, or protection by natural barriers such as rivers, marshes, forests or mountains may be other factors permitting settlements to be open.

Enclosed settlements indicate the need for protection or for delineation of territory. They can range from strongly fortified sites to slightly enclosed examples verging on the open site. The response to threat and the need to mark out territory govern the degree of enclosure. Within the extremes of the range are those enclosures which are not sufficiently strong to be termed fortifications yet enough to deter occasional raiders and wild animals. Such sites may be termed 'protected'. They are encompassed by such barriers as walls, stockades or mounds often in combination with a ditch or ditches.

Another factor in fortification and enclosure is that of status. Even when conditions do not strictly warrant it, perimeter works may be made stronger and more elaborate than necessary in order to impress, and to symbolise the importance of the settlement and its occupants or owner.

In employing settlement evidence to attempt to gain an understanding of social organisation one element of outstanding importance is chronology. A cluster of sites, for example, may suggest the presence of a community forming the basis for co-operation. If, however, the various sites are not contemporary a different explanation

is required for their proximity to one another. Again, a fortified site amid other settlements may represent a place of importance within its group perhaps the power centre of a community leader such as a king or chieftain. If it is not of the same period as the other sites, however, here again a different explanation is called for.

Within the areas studied in greater detail, smaller fortified sites have been considered along with other forms of rural settlement. Very often they show affinity in shape and size with other enclosed sites and differ from them only in the fact that they are more strongly defended. It is not always easy indeed to distinguish between the two groups for at one end of the scale of enclosure there tends to be a merging together of the fortified and protected types. Two sites in Teesdale, for example, illustrate this point. These are the enclosures at Low Shipley and Baxton Gill both of which have been classified as 'fortified', the first by reason of its perimeter ditch and the second because of its ditch and promontory situation. Their shape and size otherwise mark them out as being of the same order of settlement as other enclosed settlements following the native curvilinear tradition (see Chapter 5 and fig.1.5).

Taking account of these factors concerned with settlement it is appropriate now to proceed with consideration of the social implications of settlement in general including fortified sites.

At the northern end of the areas specially studied (fig.1.5) the Tyne corridor does not seem to have been heavily occupied by rural sites although there remains the possibility that timber dwellings existed which have not been identified (Chapter 5). In such circumstances one would expect that co-operation between communities would have been loosely based and that small 'tribal' units only would develop. Added to this are the fortified sites in the area. If they were isolated they might be explained as fortified to provide control of the trans-Pennine route following the Tyne gap or for the purpose of defence against marauders using that route. However, they are part of a more extensive spread of fortified sites further north. As such, they seem best explained as reflecting a state of competition between settlement sites thus suggesting a highly fragmented society ruled perhaps by chieftains or petty kings. Unfortunately, as has been seen, dates are not available for these sites. Failing a satisfactory chronology, meaningful discussion as to their function and relationship is curtailed.

Remaining with fortified sites for the moment, elsewhere within the region of Central Britain in general the paucity of fortified sites has often been remarked upon. Maps of hill forts provided for example by Challis and Harding, when consolidated, show this well enough (Challis & Harding, 1975, Pt.2., figs. 87-90). The contrast with the situation in the Welsh Marches is extreme. Again, the

map provided, in the present study, of larger fortified sites in the region underlines the contrast with southern Britain (fig.3.1; see Chapter 3). Yet the region is not altogether devoid of fortified sites. In addition to the larger examples already discussed there are at least fifty fortified sites within the region. This number excludes stockaded camps and sites in presumed Parisian territory of east Yorkshire but it does include several sites not counted among the hill forts in the lists of Challis and Harding. Examples of this latter group are Toft Hill and The Castles at South Bedburn, in County Durham., Whitcliffe Scar and East Witton Camp in Swaledale and Wensleydale respectively, and Oldfield Hill and Royd Edge in Calderdale.

In seeking to explain such fortified sites there are difficulties concerned with lack of detailed knowledge about them, especially with regard to dating. The majority have not been excavated and of those that have, the information obtained is variable and— absolute dating difficult to achieve. In regard to dating sequences the same considerations apply as to those concerned with the larger fortified sites already discussed. Sites possessing timber-laced or timber-framed ramparts should probably be assigned to a period falling within the first half of the first millennium BC (Challis and Harding, 1975, 105-110). Thus Skelmore Heads (SD 274752) in Cumbria, Portfield, Whalley (SD 746355) and Castercliffe

(SD 885384) in Lancashire, and Wincobank (SK 378910) in Yorkshire fall into this category. Eston Nab, however, with its dump rampart, is not securely dated for that phase in its history (see Chapter 4). The large numbers of unexcavated sites pose a problem. Most of them are quite small, less than an acre in area but a few are larger, for example Carrock Fell, Cumbria already referred to which is two hectares (5 acres) in area (Collingwood, 1938; fig.3.2).

The lack of information about fortified sites means that when assessing settlement evidence belonging to the Late Iron Age or Roman period they may be wrongly taken into account. Equally, however, it may be wrong to assume that fortification of a site should automatically exclude it from consideration. The dilemma is well illustrated in the case of Cumbria where most of the fortified sites are unexcavated. Over twenty such sites seem identifiable (Challis and Harding, 1975; Collingwood, 1933; Higham and Jones 1975; Higham, 1982). Taken at face value it would be tempting to conclude that they represent a fragmented society. However, it seems probable that they are not all contemporary. Some of the fortified sites may belong to the earlier part of the first millenium BC as suggested for Skelmore Heads above. Others may be late Roman or post-Roman as suggested by Collingwood for Castle How, Peel Wyke (NY 202308) (1924, 78-87). Some may belong to the Later Iron Age as Collingwood suggested for Carrock

Fell (1938). Roman-period occupation is even possible as suggested by the recovery of Roman pottery including Samian ware from Castle Crag near Keswick (NY 251159) (Collingwood, 1924, 83).

As for Carrock Fell, Collingwood suggested that it was the centre of a sept of the Brigantes, describing it as one of the major hill forts of Britain (1938). Several gaps in its wall may indeed be the result of slighting by Roman forces. Challis and Harding accepted it as a probable pre-Roman hill fort but dismissed most of the other potential fortified sites in Cumbria either on the grounds that they have not yielded adequate dating evidence or because they have produced stray post-Roman material (Challis and Harding, 1975, 122). Perhaps this is all that can be done in the circumstances but it is a far from satisfactory situation.

Thus problems of interpretation are present with regard to fortified sites in the region adding to the difficulties of understanding settlement in general.

Returning to the northern Pennines (see Chapter 5 and fig. 1.5) the almost total absence of habitation sites in the immediate southern hinterland of the Tyne corridor, if real, would suggest a sparse settled population amongst whom there would be little incentive for developing communal ties. However, within Weardale and Teesdale groups of habitation sites compose settlement areas which

imply the existence of communities. In Weardale, the settlement at Brians Folds is one such potential community. In Teesdale, those sites on and around Forcegarth Pasture were sufficiently concentrated to encourage co-operation. One may in this district envisage the formation of a clan or lesser tribe. There is, however, no clear evidence of political centralisation here although it is possible that the enclosed, well-protected site at Forcegarth Pasture North, for example, should be regarded as of that order. It could well be the abode of a petty chieftain.

Higher up the side of the dale the palisaded settlement at Harter Fell can be regarded as a small village or hamlet but this is probably to be assigned to an early stage in the pre-Roman Iron Age. Stone-founded settlements such as Wool Ingles and Bleabeck Washfold on Holwick Moor must also be regarded as representing communities of the same order although of a different date. Small settlements consisting of one or two huts with attached yard such as that on Crosthwaite Common must stand for single homesteads. The type is frequent throughout the Pennines and may be thought of as the basic unit typical of the region. No doubt where nucleated settlements occur single homesteads in the vicinity would be likely to be associated with them. The only two fortified sites within the dale up-river from Barnard Castle exist in apparent isolation. These are the sites at Baxton Gill and Low

Shipley mentioned earlier in this discussion. They should probably be regarded as fortified not because they served as centre places but because they were located at river crossings.

Amid the evidence of varying types of settlement, ranging from single homesteads to what may be termed villages, there is little or no indication of sites in Teesdale or Weardale with features that would set them apart from the others. Within the Durham dales the settlement evidence for social stratification is not strong. That need not mean, however, that corporate self-awareness was absent. In such conditions of settlement, isolated and virtually cut off from the outside world, local loyalties are liable to become strongly developed. Observation of the behaviour of the present-day dales population points to this kind of development. In earlier days the isolation and the feeling of separateness which it engendered were certainly more pronounced. In this respect it is worth quoting in full the record of Ward writing in the nineteenth century of just such a situation.

> "...... one of the oldest inhabitants of Keswick
> can just remember the time when there was little
> or no intercourse between the inhabitants of the
> different dales; they lived almost as separate
> tribes, marrying among themselves, so that all
> were more or less related to one another, and
> when they did come out of their seclusion, on
> the occasion of fairs and holidays, usually
> finishing up the day by a round fight with
> their neighbouring dalesmen."

(Ward, 1874, 221.)

The dales in question here are the Cumbrian not the Durham dales, but the observation still applies. There is little doubt that this kind of development would have occurred in later prehistoric and Roman times also. Nor would it have been confined to the northern Pennines. The inhabitants of other Pennine dales may be expected to have developed similar attitudes and to have behaved in a similar fashion.

Amongst village communities identifiable in Stainmore south of Teesdale (see Chapter 6 and fig.1.6), How Tallon is outstanding. Its isolated position on Barningham Moore no doubt contributed both to its protection and led to a corporate self-awareness. The promontory fort of Castlesteads at the eastern end of Stainmore may represent the nucleus of a community although there is a paucity of settlement evidence in the vicinity. It seems doubtful that there was a sufficiently high incidence of settlement along Stainmore to lead to the formation of a larger tribal community. The apparent slight occupation within Swaledale would also tend to support a model of scattered communities without potential to combine into a tribal group. Yet there is evidence of overall planning both in the extensive field systems identified along the sides of the dale and in the 'Swaledale dykes'. Unfortunately, as has been seen, these are undated and although it is clear in the field that the two systems are different, it does not follow that either should be assigned to the later

Iron Age or Roman period. In looking for a dominant site that would represent leadership of the kind to organise such works, Maiden Castle, Grinton is a possible candidate although as noted previously, there is little evidence of internal occupation. Again, some would regard it as being a stock enclosure although it is exceptionally well-fortified to serve such a purpose. Whatever the explanation its construction represents a considerable control of manpower. The most outstanding site in Swaledale, however, is the fortified settlement at Whitcliffe Scar, near the entrance to the dale. It must be reckoned to be a centre of power not only controlling its environs but with wide-ranging influence over the dale as a whole. The existence of such a site points to a tribal dimension.

For Wensleydale, the settlement evidence has shown that there was considerable potential for development of tribal groupings with concentrated settlements in several places, especially in the vicinity of Addlebrough. The most outstanding unified settlement in the dale is that on Burton Moor which represents a large isolated, close-knit community. No one part appears to dominate the rest and on field evidence alone it might be supposed that it formed a community organised on a communal basis, perhaps with heads of families forming a council of 'elders'. An alternative explanation is that it was controlled from outside. In a pre-Roman context such control might have

been vested in an authority such as a tribal chieftain established in the fortification at East Witton Camp near the entrance to the dale. It is possible to envisage a situation similar to that suggested for Swaledale in respect of Whitcliffe Scar. In a Roman context, outside control might have come from Roman military authority as represented at the forts of Wensley or Brough by Bainbridge (cf. Ordnance Survey Map, Roman Britain, 1978). One further tempting speculation is that tribal authority during Roman times remained in native hands and that the villa at Middleham represented the abode of a local chieftain. That this is not entirely without warrant is seen by the fact that the Swaledale site of Whitcliffe Scar was occupied for part of its existence at least during the Roman period (see Chapter 6). That would imply that it at least functioned as a 'centre' during Roman rule. The same situation would be likely to prevail in Wensleydale the difference between the two being that the Wensleydale chieftain chose, or was able, to adopt a Romanised style of living instead of remaining in his native-style fortification.

In the southern part of the Central Pennines (see Chapter 7 and fig.1.6), the scattered settlements of Nidderdale and district point to small communities that did not have the potential to combine into a larger unit. This is in contrast to the situation further west where concentrated settlement in upper Wharfedale, Malhamdale and Ribblesdale

offered ample potential for the development of tribal communities. Habitation sites range from single huts with or without attached enclosure to nucleated settlements representing respectively small farmsteads and villages. The latter perhaps served as centre places of a minor character around which a clan structure could develop. Land allotment in many parts in the form of regular field systems seems to indicate organisation stemming from higher authority than that of the individual farmsteads. There is little else, however, in the way of fortified sites or other dominant settlement types that would suggest cohesion beyond this point apart from the fortified sites of Gregory in Wharfedale and that of Ingleborough in Ribblesdale. Whilst the former may represent the power base of a local chieftain wielding authority within the immediate district it does not compare with Ingleborough in respect of size, inaccessibility, fortification and internal occupation (cf. Chapter 3). The latter could possibly be seen as representing the centre of a tribal group of considerable size and importance. A final dominant or superior site possibly representing a place of authority is the villa at Kirk Sink, Gargrave (cf. Chapter 8). With a history beginning with round houses a native owner is a probability. The owner must have had both the resources and the desire to Romanise his living style. One may speculate that such an owner is likely to have had a

position of authority at the outset, or in other words, that he was a tribal notable.

Within the region of Craven as a whole, over and above the potential for tribal development within the individual dales, the spread of settlements between the dales suggests the possibility of coalescence of the separate tribal communities so formed. The result would be to produce a large, overriding tribal unit. That this has a basis in historical reality is seen in the existence of the post-Roman British kingdom of Craven (cf. Faull, 1981, 171).

To the south of Craven, settlement in the mid-Wharfe and Aire-Calder drainage is more scattered in general although there are groupings of sites (see Chapter 8 and fig.1.7). Examples occur in the vicinity of Briscoe Rigg north of the Wharfe, near Brackenhall Green in Airedale, and in the Calder valley just to the west of Halifax. These clusters could possibly indicate the presence of communities although much more information is required to be sure of this. There is some open settlement north of the Wharfe and one would suppose that these are symptomatic of higher level control permitting peaceful co-existence. This is likely to have been in operation during Roman rule although it could possibly have occurred earlier. However, further south there are several sites so strongly defended as to qualify for the description fortified. This situation would suggest rivalry among the

various settlements and the existence of many small
communities. Heavy modern occupation has tended to
obscure the situation around Halifax, Huddersfield,
Bradford and Leeds. It seems certain that the lack of
settlement evidence does not reflect reality. The
suspected presence of two former villas, at Birstall and
Snapethorpe, suggests that these areas had the potential
for settlement and the development of community life.

Turning attention now to the eastern lowlands (cf. Chapter
4 and figs. 1.3 and 1.4), the clusters of settlement sites
noted as widespread might well be interpreted as
representing small communities. Some of these are so
grouped especially to the south of the study area as to
suggest a dense population with the potential for larger
units beyond the individual settlement. Examples of
various site clusters have already been given in previous
discussion (Chapter 4) but the group on the fringe of the
uplands at Cockfield Fell and its vicinity, in County
Durham, may be further noted. One of the enclosures on
Cockfield Fell itself is more heavily defended than the
others and this perhaps points to a differentiation in
status. In looking for other fortified sites to indicate
the existence of higher status centres, the fortified
sites of Maiden Castle, Toft Hill and Shackleton Beacon in
County Durham could all easily be related to districts
containing concentrated settlement. Additionally, the
Castles, South Bedburn in County Durham could be seen as

matching the rather similar site of Whitcliffe Scar in Swaledale in its apparent function of controlling the entrance to the dale. In the case of the Castles the dale in question would of course be Weardale. However, as has been emphasised earlier in this discussion and elsewhere dating is a serious difficulty in respect of fortified sites in County Durham. Their connection with most of the settlement sites discussed, and plotted on the maps, may be illusory. The same observation applies to Eston Nab (County Cleveland) to which it is tempting to attach the role of tribal centre serving the settlements not only clustering on the Eston Hills but also located in the adjacent Cleveland Hills and Kildale Gap. There is, however, no doubt attaching to Stanwick (cf. Chapter 9) which is the centre of a considerable settlement area. Indeed, settlement between the basins of the rivers Wear and Tees is sufficiently concentrated to postulate that this region was the territory of a large tribal unit, with the various clusters providing focal points for sub-units.

South of Stanwick, in the Vale of York, clusters of sites along its western edge may be taken to represent the existence of communities. As noted previously, villas are the superior sites here not fortified settlements although Castle Dikes with its massive perimeter ditch seems likely to have had a pre-Roman fortified phase. At that stage of its history it could well have had a role as a centre place occupied perhaps by a petty ruler. Its continuation

into Roman times may mean that such a role was maintained only in a more Romanised form. Occupation, however, north of Wetherby, was not sufficiently heavy to suppose that such units of associated settlements that did develop were other than small.

By contrast, further south the heavy concentration of settlement recorded all along the magnesian limestone zone in the district between the basins of the Wharfe and the Aire would seem to encourage an interpretation involving the existence of a much larger tribal unity. The fortified site of Barwick in Elmet occupies a pivotal position in this settlement spread, controlling as it does the route north and that through the Pennines to the west through the Aire gap (cf. Chapter 3). It is extremely tempting to envisage Barwick in Elmet as being a centre place for a large tribal community represented by the settlement in the region. It is, however, undated. The fact too that Bronze Age finds occur in its immediate vicinity while Iron Age finds are largely absent (Faull and Moorhouse, 1981, map 8), warns against a ready acceptance of its Iron Age date. Even so, the post-Roman kingdom of Elmet centred on Leeds (Faull, 1981b) illustrates in historical terms the authenticity of the tribal model proposed. There is of course no proof that such a community developed before Roman times and more evidence is required to add to that from Ledston and

Dalton Parlours to strengthen the case for pre-Roman settlement.

One further aspect of settlement evidence requires consideration, namely, the predominance of rectilinear styles of settlement enclosure within the eastern lowlands. By contrast, styles of enclosure in the Pennine uplands are much more markedly curvilinear. It might be that the difference is essentially one of topography. It is easier to lay out rectilinear shapes on level ground than in hilly terrain and such level ground is likely to be more readily available in the lowlands. However, it is tempting to seek some cultural explanation. Obviously in the case of sites belonging to a pre-Roman context Roman military architecture cannot be cited as a direct influence. It is not necessary, however, to look for some exotic source for the morphology. A tradition of indigenous construction practice could have developed somewhere within the eastern lowlands, perhaps indeed originally motivated by topographical considerations, and then spread. The upland region of the Pennines with its dominant curvilinear tradition would have proved a barrier not merely because of its generally unsuitable terrain but also because of its isolated nature. As a tradition followed by lowland people the rectilinear enclosure style would meet resistance on the part of upland folk.

It may therefore be suggested that what began as forms influenced by topography became cultural traits, the

rectilinear type favoured by lowlanders, the curvilinear by uplanders. That is not to deny the complications in morphology noted in the settlement evidence assembled in previous chapters. These must be borne in mind when making assessments and allowance made for exceptions. However, the broad distinction seems likely to be valid and the hypothesis offered could prove useful in the attempt to understand settlement within the region. For example the presence of pre-Roman rectilinear settlements in the Aire-Calder region, on the upland fringes of the Pennines, and in the Tyne valley could represent a colonising movement into the uplands by the lowlanders. By the same token, the reverse process could explain some at least of the curvilinear sites in the lowlands.

Thus the settlement evidence shows, not unexpectedly over such a large and diverse region, that the population of Brigantia was organised in a variety of ways. Overall there was not political uniformity but fragmentation. In some parts there was the potential for and likelihood of development into quite large population units which might be called 'tribes'. In other parts close-knit communities probably developed to form clans and smaller 'tribes'. Yet other districts probably had such a sparse population that little or no community development occurred. There were other areas too where suitable terrain for settlement and subsistence was at a premium leading to intense competition which resulted in fragmentation.

This reading of the situation is given support by evidence arising from a study of the religious and documentary material such as has been undertaken in earlier chapters.

With regard to religious affairs it has been seen that many of the indigenous deities identified can be interpreted as 'tribal', that is they were special to particular communities (Chapter 9). One such is Matunus located within the Rede valley and thus probably lying within Votadinian rather than Brigantian territory (cf. Rivet and Smith, 1979, 509). Within the Tyne corridor (fig.10.2) the goddess Saitada is linked with a community, namely, the Textoverdi located at or in the vicinity of Chesterholm. Another tribal god is Arecurius, centred upon Corbridge upon Tyne further east and thereby quite probably connected with the Lopocares(?). Less certain but yet a distinct possibility as a tribal god is the horned god Antenociticus at Benwell. To the west, Vanauntes (or Vanauns) may belong to a tribe located in the vicinity of the site of the Roman fort at Castlesteads and Barrex to one centred upon Carlisle. A strong candidate for a tribal role is Veteris concentrated upon the central sector of the Hadrianic frontier (fig.10.3). The spread of dedications beyond, no doubt reflects expansion of the god's cult rather than the tribal group. If as suggested these deities are assignable to differentiated communities then they indicate that the population occupying the Tyne-Solway isthmus was

fragmented being divided up into small tribal groups.
Cocidius, although frequent within this northern frontier
region (fig.10.6) probably owed this popularity to his
adoption by the soldiery. The spread of his worship is a
later phenomenon which occurred during Roman times and
does not reflect the territory of an indigenous community.
However, Fanum Cocidi, a cult centre for the god at or
near Bewcastle in Cumbria was no doubt in the territory or
on the border of a tribal group to which the god should be
assigned. It was suggested earlier in fact (Chapter 10)
that Cocidius was a god belonging to the Selgovae whose
tribal territory lay north of that of the Brigantes (Rivet
and Smith, 1979, 455). It seems quite likely that the
'Shrine of Cocidius' was a border shrine. South of the
Hadrianic frontier dedications to the god Belatucadrus
coincide with the most heavily populated parts of Roman
Cumbria, namely the Eden valley and the Solway plain. The
occurrence of the tribal name Carvetii applicable to these
districts enables a link to be postulated between them and
Belatucadrus and it has been suggested that he was their
tribal god. The unnamed horned-warrior god from the north
Cumbrian coastal region may well represent Belatucadrus.
If not it is likely that his occurrence betrays the
presence of yet another distinct community. North of the
Hadrianic frontier on its western side is the site of
Locus Maponi (fig.10.7). This may mean that the god
Maponus was special to a tribal community hereabouts. How
reliable as the indicator of a tribal dimension the

presence of such a shrine may be in the case of what seems to have been a supranational deity is questionable. On the eastern side of the Pennines, however, south of Hadrian's Wall it seems reasonable to regard Condates as belonging to a community which had developed within the district between the basins of the Wear and the Tees (fig.10.5). As has been seen already, there was sufficient population in this area to suggest the development of tribal self-awareness but the name of such a tribe has not survived.

Further south, Rix from Norton in east Yorkshire may have had a tribal role but this was within Parisian territory. On the western side of the region, dedications to Contrebis within the lower Lune valley would seem to reflect the presence of a distinct community there.

Finally the distribution of the dedications to the goddess Brigantia (together with that to Bregans) suggests a uniformity of some kind for most of the region. Yet the other religious evidence just now discussed suggests the opposite, that is, multiplicity. This is a paradox which will have to be returned to later in this discussion. Meanwhile, reference to documentary and epigraphic evidence is called for.

Of the various tribal names that examination of the documentary and epigraphic evidence can provide (see Chapter 2) two in the Tyne Corridor have been noted above,

namely, the Lopocares(?) centred on Corbridge and the Textoverdi with their focus on Beltingham or its vicinity. The Carvetii of Cumbria have also been referred to in connection with the god Belatucadrus. Further down the west coast were the Setantii about whom little else is known apart from the name. If, however, their territory extended coastwise at least from Fleetwood to the Mersey estuary they were a fairly large tribal unit in extent of territory at least if not in numbers. Over on the east coast the Gabrantovices were located in east Yorkshire south of Teesmouth. As discussed earlier their affinities are not without dispute, whether with the Parisi or the Brigantes. Another tribal name is that of the Corionotatae but this should more probably be assigned to a community from the north, beyond Brigantian territory. The post-Roman political units with the British names of Craven and Elmet may also reflect communities surviving from Roman times and even earlier. The former was located in the upper dales of the Aire and Wharfe and the latter was centred upon Leeds (Faull, 1981b, 171-172; 1984, 51-52). These may be two additional tribal areas to be added to the total known. Furthermore, regio Loidis a sub-district within the post-Roman kingdom of Elmet situated between the rivers Wharfe and Aire could by the same token represent a smaller 'tribal' group which should be added to the overall list of tribal units. These suggestions, however, must on present evidence remain tentative.

Although other relevant tribal names are lacking, certain named sites may be interpreted as centres relating to communities (see Chapter 2). It seems certain that Rigodunum, 'the royal fortress' must represent such a centre. What is more it implies the existence of a royal leader suggesting a hierarchical arrangement for society. Camulodunum too as the 'fortress of Camulos', the god, may be regarded in the same light as Rigodunum. With its religious dimension, however, it would not be surprising to find it occupying a border location in which case the argument for its role as a tribal centre is weakened. There is implicit in the name too influence of some kind from beyond the region, probably from the Catuvellauni of south-east England. It is unfortunate that the identification of the sites bearing these names is uncertain. By contrast, the identification of Dunum with the hill fort of Eston Nab, though not altogether without doubt, may be made with considerable confidence. The fact that Dunum, 'the fort' was picked up by classical sources (Ptolemy, Geog.) suggests that the name was still in use in early Roman times. This in turn implies recent use for the fort itself. If this is correct, it follows that Dunum qualifies as a potential tribal centre in the period of the later Iron Age. As has been seen, a candidate for the tribal name is the Gabrantovices. The two other '-dunum' names discussed in Chapter 2, that is, Segedunum and Uxelodunum, have much doubt attached to them as pre-Roman names and so must remain only possibilities as

tribal centres. Similarly, there is doubt attaching to
Caturactonium (Catterick). Even if the name is British
meaning '(place of the) battle ramparts' it may only have
been applied to the Roman fort and not to a native centre.
The evidence as it stands at present is insufficient to
be other than tentative in suggesting such a centre.

Folk names too may well have been attached to places which
were centres of communities. Three of the poleis
assignable to the Brigantes may fall into this category.
As discussed earlier these are Eboracum (York), Olenacum
(near Elslack?) and Epiacum (Whitley Castle?). All three
may be explained as meaning 'the place or estate of' a
named person. Since Eboracum may be explained
alternatively as 'place of the yew trees' there is more
doubt about placing it in the folk name category. It
seems plausible to argue that such places were named after
leaders of communities which were established in the
vicinity. On the evidence of the name alone it is
difficult to establish what the relationship might have
been between the leader and the rest of the community.
Suffice it to say that some kind of differentiation in
status seems implied and that two or possibly three of the
places recorded by Ptolemy suggest the existence of
separate population groupings with such an arrangement.

Thus the epigraphic and documentary evidence in general
reinforces and supplements the settlement evidence

indicating a population much divided into various 'tribal' groups, both great and small.

Despite the uncertainty in the settlement record about the identification of sites indicating political centralisation, the existence of an aristocracy seems to be implied by literary evidence. The folk-name evidence discussed above is too slight to do other than provide a hint of this possibility. However, the fact that, as recorded by Tacitus, the Brigantes were ruled by a queen, namely Cartimandua, implies the existence of such an aristocracy. The place name Rigodunum has already been noted as carrying the same implication. Support for the presence of an élite is provided too by the occurrence of swords with their scabbards and other fine metalware, notably horse and chariot fittings, referred to above (MacGregor, 1976). These were no mere utilitarian objects but, with their elaborate design and colourful decoration, were intended to serve as the trappings of display. They are just the kind of items that might be employed to buy the support of an élite and for such an élite to proclaim its superiority. Other items of wealth might not be so obvious but an economy with a strong pastoral element would place value upon the ownership of livestock. Despite increasing agricultural production occurring in later Iron Age times, wealth would probably continue to be reflected in flocks and herds. This is the kind of situation existing among the Germans in the time of

Tacitus (Thompson, 1965, 48) and mirrored in the Irish tales (Jackson, 1964, 8). Various fortified enclosures especially those with inner ditches such as Castlesteads in Wensleydale and Royd Edge in Calderdale have been noted in previous pages as being suitable for containing and protecting cattle. These may be symptomatic of a society where cattle represented wealth and where cattle raiding was prevalent.

As already noted (Chapter 9) the Brigantes lacked a native coinage. The reason may have less to do with commerce and trade in the usual sense of the words than with the political condition of Brigantia. Coinage tends to be used by states possessing centralised control or at least pretending to such. Besides facilitating trade coinage serves both to promote and to reflect central control or influence. It seems likely that the fragmented and divided realm of the Brigantes militated against the emergence of a coinage. Cartimandua as queen no doubt had assumed control of a state which had power and influence within its immediate region (cf. Chapter 9). At the same time she did not possess sufficient power beyond that region to enable her (or her predecessors) to lay claim to that extent of political or economic sovereignty which coinage reflects. Even with Roman support, Cartimandua's position was precarious (cf. Chapter 2). No doubt her marriage to Venutius represented an alliance which was intended to strengthen her position. Tacitus does not

reveal Venutius' origins but the implication of all that he does say about him is that he belonged to the nobility of a community which was aware of its own separate identity. It is possible that Venutius came from a tribe such as the Selgovae designated by Ptolemy as separate from the Brigantes (Ptolemy, Geog. II, 3,6; Rivet and Smith, 1979, 139). Alternatively, it is possible that he came from one of the tribal groups subsumed under the general term Brigantes but which examination of the evidence has shown to have existed separately. One is tempted in this case to speculate that the Carvetii were the tribe from which Venutius originated. Stainmore would provide the link between Stanwick on the east of the Pennines and the lands of the Carvetii within the Eden valley on the west of the Pennines. Such an alliance would also help to account for the later attribution of part of south-west Scotland to Brigantian territory in that these parts would more naturally have belonged to the Carvetii. Be that as it may, Cartimandua's attempts to establish a strong united realm failed (Tacitus, Annals, XII). The lack of coinage was a symptom of a divided state.

This emphasis on a divided population within Central Britain highlights once more the problem of the relationship of the Brigantes with the rest of the communities within the region. Various solutions to the problem are possible. One explanation is

that the Brigantes as such did not exist but that the term was a generic one used by the Romans for convenience to designate the peoples north of the Humber and Trent. This would imply the use of the Celtic name 'Brigantes' interpreted to mean 'the upland people' in preference to the alternative meaning of 'mighty ones', 'Overlords' (cf. Rivet and Smith, 1979, 279). The implication here is that the view from southern Britain perceived all the lands to the north as 'uplands'. This is similar to the scheme propounded by Sir Cyril Fox involving Highland and Lowland zones (1943). It may well be that on occasion from the distant viewpoint of London not to mention Rome the term 'Brigantes' was indeed employed in this way. However, as a complete explanation it is not convincing. It is inconceivable that the people and queen referred to by Tacitus were an amorphous, indeed non-existent, community. What seems certain is that a community bearing the name Brigantes did in fact exist and that as a consequence the Romans became acquainted with the people and their name. This leads to another possible explanation of the state or tribe of the Brigantes, namely, that the name was applied to most, if not all, of the various communities in Central Britain by themselves. This would imply that they had all been combined under a monarchy and chosen for themselves or acquired the Celtic name which was particularly appropriate for folk belonging to a predominantly upland region. Autocratic rule is explicit in such an arrangement. It is not inevitable, however, that such

rule would have been exercised from a single centre. Like the kings of the Middle Ages the ruler could have travelled about. This explanation, however, does not recommend itself either, in view of what has been said about the existence of various tribal communities and the difficulty in exercising complete control.

A third explanation would involve a confederation of various tribal groups in which the Brigantes were the leading member. In other words the Brigantes exercised or claimed an overlordship and it was because of this position that they were recognised by the Romans as the leading power of the region. This explanation would account for the cultivation of the Brigantes and their queen Cartimandua by the Romans. It would also provide a solution for the paradox underlined above concerning the multiplicity of tribal groups occupying a region which possessed an ostensible cohesion under the control of a monarchy called the Brigantes. In this explanation there is no need to suppose that all communities within the region were subject to the Brigantes or that Brigantian rule where operative was all-powerful. The evidence as it stands seems best interpreted as favouring a loosely based system of alliances rather than one involving subordinates completely dominated by one main power. Only with the might of Rome did such control occur. Thus this third explanation of the situation within Central Britain at the

time of the Roman conquest of the region seems to be the one closest to the truth.

Even with this explanation accepted, however, the problem of where the Brigantes were still remains. The whereabouts of the tribe in what may be termed the broader sense of the word has already been demonstrated, that is, most of Central Britain. The question here is concerned with what may be termed the narrower use of the name 'Brigantes', that is, as applied to the postulated smaller tribal community.

One possible candidate for Brigantian tribal territory in this narrower sense of the word is located within south west Yorkshire. This area might be postulated as such on the grounds that there occurred a coincidence of evidence within it concerned with the existence of the tribe: dedications to the goddess Brigantia, lead pigs bearing the tribal name, location of the later <u>civitas</u> capital Isurium, occurrence of Brigantian coinage and the supposition that the hill fort at Almondbury was a major tribal centre (cf. Clark, 1939). Concentration of population might now be added to these points. However, as has been seen two major aspects of this argument are no longer valid. The existence of a Brigantian coinage and the argument that Almondbury belongs to the later Iron Age are now to be rejected. The case for south west Yorkshire as being the nucleus of Brigantia and therefore the location of the tribal group in the narrower sense of

the word is thereby considerably weakened though not completely demolished.

At the same time there is a case for establishing the basic tribal territory further north. This depends upon the acceptance of Stanwick as the power centre of queen Cartimandua. The arguments for this, presented in previous discussion (Chapter 9) seem very strong. If correct, it might be felt that this could hardly be other than the centre place of the core community over which Cartimandua was queen, namely, the Brigantes. That the queen had adopted as her headquarters the capital of another tribal group is no doubt possible but in the circumstances seems highly unlikely. Thus following this argument Stanwick may be seen as the centre of the tribe known as the Brigantes and the tribal territory as comprising the basins of the middle Tees and Swale, and probably beyond.

When and how this tribal community known as the Brigantes developed are further relevant questions which are not easy to answer owing to lack of sound evidence. However, a speculative solution may be hazarded. Excavations have made it clear that as a fortified centre-place Stanwick had not suddenly sprung into being but had been established in an earlier fortified form. It is possible that this fortification, dating back perhaps to 100 BC or earlier, represented the natural economic outcome of a development which began locally with farming settlement.

In this economic progress Stanwick served as a centre for exchange and redistribution of goods and produce. Coupled with this economic activity went social development. Out of this a leadership arose which involved a system of monarchy. The surrounding population gained an awareness of a common purpose and identity. From this the tribe known as the Brigantes arose. Their name may be interpreted as meaning 'Overlords' (Rivet and Smith, 1979, 279) and this name would be acquired by the tribe as, with an increase in importance and influence, it embraced other lesser communities within its orbit. Cartimandua was the heir to this tradition. At the time of the establishment of the Roman province in southern Britain the Brigantes were in the process of further expansion and were in a position both to impress the Romans by their power and to take advantage of Roman support.

A variation of this account involves the alternative interpretation of the tribal name as in fact meaning 'the Uplanders'. (Rivet and Smith, 1979, 279). Such a name, within the context of the region itself, would imply that the folk who bore it came originally not from the comparatively low lying terrain in the vicinity of Stanwick but from the neighbouring Pennine uplands. Following this line of thought it becomes possible to suggest that the earliest fortified site at Stanwick (fig.9.3, stage 2) was established by folk from the Pennine uplands encroaching upon lower lands, enticed by

the rich pastures suitable for their herds. Support for
this is perhaps to be seen in the fact that the earlier
fortified area of Stanwick is curvilinear. This
curvilinear mode of enclosure seems to be a predominantly
upland custom in these parts at least and it may represent
an insular tradition going back even to Bronze Age times.
A further hint of archaic custom, which might be expected
to have survived in the more isolated conditions of the
Pennine uplands, is the fact that the Brigantes were ruled
by a queen. As Faull has pointed out (1981a, 141) this
was unique in a Celtic context. Boudica, queen of the
Iceni, was in a different category since she was the
king's widow and thus not queen in her own right (Tacitus,
Annals, XIV, 31-37). The occurrence of queenship among
the Brigantes suggests the institution of descent through
the female line. Such matrilinear descent occurred among
the Picts of northern Britain where it is thought to have
been a pre-Celtic trait (Wainwright, 1955). The same was
probably true of the Brigantes.

CHAPTER TWELVE

CONCLUSIONS

The documentary and epigraphic evidence combined indicates not only the existence of a 'tribal' community known as the Brigantes but also their general whereabouts, namely, within the region here designated Central Britain. While the evidence is not sufficiently detailed to enable their exact boundaries, if such indeed existed, to be established, it has seemed possible to regard their northern boundary as being based on the Tyne-Solway isthmus with a northward loop to embrace Annandale. The southern boundary, though less certain, would seem to have followed a line roughly drawn from the Humber to the Mersey with the Calder valley forming part of it. On this reckoning the greater part of the southern Pennines, including the Peak district of Derbyshire, is not counted as part of Brigantia. Similarly, eastern Yorkshire occupied by the Parisi would seem to have been separate. With regard to Cumbria, the Eden valley and the Solway plain probably came under Brigantian suzerainty thus forming a link with Annandale. The status of the remainder of Cumbria is uncertain but on balance this region should probably be excluded.

Settlement evidence too shows the whereabouts of the population. Broadly speaking the heaviest occupation was on the eastern side of the Pennines in the lowlands.

Moreover, the lowlands towards the southern end of Brigantia, in the vicinity of the river Aire, were more heavily utilised than those areas further north. There was, however, comparatively slight occupation in the vicinity of Aldborough, the capital of the Brigantes under Roman rule, and the same observation applies to York. Within the Pennine uplands the region of Craven occupying the southern part of the Central Pennines contains site evidence that suggests comparatively dense settlement.

The documentary and epigraphic evidence also reveals the existence of sub-divisions within Brigantia at large with the names of lesser communities even being given, such as the Setantii and the Carvetii. Named sites too, such as Rigodunum and Epiacum, seem to betray the presence of communities for which they served as centres. Further support for the fragmentation of the population of Brigantia is provided by the evidence, mainly epigraphic, for the existence of various tribal deities, examples being Belatucadrus, Condates and Veteris.

In looking for centres of power amongst settlement evidence there is a paucity of fortified sites. Those that do exist, however, are not all contemporary. Some, such as Almondbury belong to the earlier part of the first millennium BC. Others, such as Stanwick, are relevant to the time of Cartimandua. Most, however, are undated and thus their role and relevance are difficult to assess. It seems probable that some of these at least belonged to the

late pre-Roman Iron Age and functioned as power centres within their own districts. The spread of known sites is now such that a relationship between fortified sites and surrounding settlements can frequently be regarded as plausible. Eston Nab, especially if correctly identified with Ptolemy's 'Dunum', is only one example. A function of some fortified sites may have been that of power centre dominating the territory within an individual upland valley. It is possible to envisage different Pennine dales as being occupied by distinct communities each with a dominant 'centre' from which political or economic influence was exercised. Whitcliffe Scar near the entrance to Swaledale has been postulated as such a centre. Similar sites can tentatively be proposed for Wensleydale and Weardale although Teesdale would seem to lack a candidate for this role unless Stanwick served that purpose.

As for Stanwick itself, it appears on present evidence to have developed at least during the later pre-Roman Iron Age as an economic, social and political centre within its own region between the Tees and Swale. In this location too it was ideally suited for a larger role, namely, that of exercising wide-ranging influence and control over much of Central Britain. Although it has been suggested as having been the major centre of resistance by Venutius to the Roman occupation the evidence of strong Roman influence revealed by the latest excavations there is more

in keeping with its role as the capital of the pro-Roman Cartimandua. The latest stage of its development may be explained as one of aggrandisement boosted by the support of Rome. Even if not the Rigodunum of Ptolemy, Stanwick can lay claim to being 'a Royal Fortress'.

In addition to clues provided by fortified sites, actual patterns of habitation sites make a contribution towards an understanding of the Brigantian polity. Unfortunately, the evidence that is available is uneven and very incomplete. In addition to such questions as unidentified and lost sites, as well as the problem of bias arising from differential field-work and aerial survey, the problem of dating the sites is acute. Even when habitation sites are classified as probably 'native' as opposed to those clearly in the Roman tradition as for example villas, there remains the difficulty of distinguishing between 'native' habitations of the Roman period and those of pre-Roman times. That this situation should obtain at all is, of course, partly a measure of Roman influence or rather lack of it. Large numbers of sites which may be classified as being in the indigenous tradition are now known but only a few have been excavated and fewer still have good dating evidence as a result.

In attempting to identify regional divisions by concentration of population, Richmond referred to the distribution of Bronze Age inhabitants of the region as mapped by Sir Cyril Fox. This gave an indication of some

fifteen districts wherein tribal septs might be contained, utilising the lighter soils for their farming activities. The maps of Challis and Harding (1975, figs. 92-93) showing presumed later prehistoric and Romano-British sites of various kinds should illustrate the later period rather more accurately. Removal of unenclosed sites on the grounds that such sites are more likely to exist during the Roman period than in the Iron Age would perhaps give a still closer approximation of the true situation in pre-Roman times. Many more sites, however, have been identified since 1975, mainly as the result of aerial survey, and have to be taken into account also. Additional sites have been found in the lowlands south of the Solway, in the Eden valley, in Teesdale, over the Durham lowlands, in the vicinity of Stanwick, along the western edge of the Vale of York, and along the Magnesian Limestone belt between the Wharfe and the Aire and beyond. When these sites are added to those previously known there can be seen to have been a spread far beyond the basic sub-regions envisaged by Richmond. The settlement evidence indicates the presence in the region of a variety of communities ranging from single homesteads to villages with the potential for the development of small, corporate groupings in some areas and large associations worthy of the name of 'tribes' in others.

When the various types of evidence are assembled, a picture of the political situation within the wider region

can be made out. Sometimes the various kinds of evidence coincide. The best example occurs within the Eden valley in Cumbria where there is evidence of the community called the Carvetii, the religious dedications to the god Belatucadrus are concentrated and settlement evidence shows the presence of a considerable population. On the opposite side of the Pennines the religious dedications to Condates can now be matched by settlement evidence but the tribal name is lacking. Within the Tyne Gap, however, where religious and tribal names are suggestive of several corporate groupings, evidence of intensive rural settlement is not forthcoming. In other parts, where there is evidence of considerable settlement, as for example in Wensleydale, the tribal names are lacking. However, taken together the documentary, epigraphic and settlement evidence along with the support of geographical probability shows the existence of a considerable number of cohesive groupings forming distinct communities within the wider ambit of Brigantia.

The general whereabouts of the Brigantes have been established and defined as a large part of Central Britain. It is clear that as far as the Romans were concerned the Brigantes were deemed to be in control of the region. It is also clear that in the view of the Romans they were represented by the person of their queen, Cartimandua. Thus the Romans took little or no account of other tribal groups within the region. However, the

evidence has shown that such groups existed. Exactly what their relationship was to the Brigantes and their queen is difficult to ascertain. The argument has been presented above that the name belonged to a smaller tribal nucleus which was only one of the various tribal groups within the region. Further, it is suggested that this group had by the time of the Roman conquest of Britain achieved supremacy over the rest. Its territorial base may have been south-west Yorkshire but middle Teesdale has been presented as a preferred alternative. The main reason for this latter suggestion is the argument that Stanwick reveals itself as more likely to have been the power base of the pro-Roman Cartimandua than otherwise. It has been suggested too that originally the Brigantes were Pennine hill folk who had descended to the lowlands and established their fortified base at Stanwick. From this strategic location at the junction of routes the Brigantian rulers were able to establish wide-ranging alliances and effect a confederation of tribal communities within the region of Central Britain with themselves as dominant partners. At the same time it has been suggested that that dominance was not all-pervading nor all-powerful.

If this reading of the situation approximates to the truth then it is more than likely that the other tribal partners in the confederation did not look upon Cartimandua as their queen but had their own internal arrangements.

These need not necessarily have involved the system of monarchy although the place name evidence gives pointers in that direction. At the same time Cartimandua might well have exercised 'overlordship' or what in her case might be better termed 'regal authority' over some of the other communities within the region. Clues as to possible links between the various communities may be provided by the classical writers on Gaul and by the Irish Law tracts with regard to Ireland. According to these sources authority of the kind envisaged could be exercised by the system of fosterage where the sons of lesser nobles lived in the household of more powerful nobles. Apart from the emotional bonds so engendered this amounted to the holding of hostages (Binchy, 1954, 54; Jackson, 1964, 10). This is an aspect of clientship known in both Gaul and Ireland whereby freemen gave support to a lord who in turn reciprocated by giving protection (Jackson, 1964, 9). Marriage alliances too may have been used to forge links between communities and it has been suggested above that the marriage of Cartimandua and Venutius was just of such an order (Chapter 11).

The internal social structure of the various communities occupying the region is unknown for there is no direct evidence but it has been deduced above (Chapter 11) that besides the monarchy expressed in the person of Cartimandua there was a nobility. The existence too of specialised craftsmen or artisans is suggested by the

production of fine metalware. In addition the basic economy involving farming activity presupposes the existence of farmworkers. It may be that they formed part of a hierarchical system similar to that revealed by the classical and Irish texts as operating in Gaul and Ireland respectively (Caesar, Gallic War, VI, Tierney, 1960, 271-272; Jackson, 1964; Binchy, 1954). At the top of the structure were kings or magistrates supported by equites or nobility. In addition there was a class of skilled and learned men including religious specialists known as Druids. Below them came freemen farmers. However, just as there appear to have been differences in the size of separate communities so there may well have been variations in internal social structure and it would be unwise to suppose the existence of a rigid uniformity.

The economic basis of the communities living within the wider Brigantia was that of farming. There are deficiencies in the evidence but it is possible to conclude that agricultural practice was much more widespread than was once thought to be the case. The concept of a territory dominated by pastoralism must now be rejected. However, agrarian activity was usually part of a mixed farming regime. Intensification of such cultivation occurred especially in the eastern lowlands prior to the Roman occupation. This also happened on the fringes of the Cleveland Hills in north-east Yorkshire and in the northern part of the Southern Pennines. Hints that

the same may be true in other parts also, notably in the Craven uplands, require further verification. A major factor operating in bringing about this increased farming activity was probably that of climate. Improving conditions during the last 150 years or so of the first millennium BC encouraged the expansion of both pastoral and arable farming. This was linked to increased population and the exploitation of terrain not utilised during less favourable climatic conditions. At the same time there was an improvement in the type of crops available and methods, including tools, used both to harvest and process those crops. During Roman times at least mixed farming is evident in the Pennine dales even at heights exceeding 300m (1000ft). This may have resulted from increased Roman demand on farming resources but that demand may have merely intensified what was already an ongoing process. Throughout the region too there is a variety of farming settlements ranging from single homesteads to small villages, with the emphasis varying between sites practising mixed farming to those engaged in pastoral farming. Such evidence as there is suggests that the latter predominated in the uplands where too sites at very high elevations may be explained as resulting from the practise of transhumance.

Besides farming, hunting and fishing are attested in some areas. No doubt gathering should be added to these despite the lack of evidence. Additionally, there is

evidence for various domestic activities including iron working. Other activities exceeding domestic requirements included the manufacture of swords and the decoration of their scabbards, the production of fine metalware, jet working, quernstone manufacture and the carving of stone heads. Many of the objects so produced no doubt formed part of a system of trade which involved barter and exchange in view of the absence of pre-Roman coinage. Certainly in this situation farm produce would represent wealth. Yet not all transactions need have been in pursuit of commercial profit. Transference of objects of value may have often been for the purpose of furthering social relations. Even with the introduction of Roman coinage it seems likely that in a rural context much of this system survived for Roman coins are far from prolific on native sites. In an urban setting, however, the Roman monetary system held sway as the evidence from Aldborough shows.

With regard to religion the evidence adduced suggests the sub-division of the population within Brigantian territory into distinct communities each with its own deities. In the cults available for study certain characteristics have been identified which are prominent in the region - warrior-protector and woodland-hunter deities, watery contexts and connections, and the cult of the head. Some of these are shared with politically differentiated neighbouring tribes. For example, the concept of the

horned god representing the woodland-hunter deity, special to the Brigantes, was probably shared with the Selgovae to the north. Again, the warrior-god was known to the Parisi also.

These characteristics may have developed as a result of local conditions. For example, the hunter deity concept may have arisen amid a wooded environment and warrior deities may have resulted from differentiated communities needing to defend their own territories. However, the widespread occurrence of these and the other characteristics noted raised the possibility that they were introduced from elsewhere.

Some deities from the region may have been more than community gods, supra-national in appeal, while others may have been less so, merely local godlings. Maponus, known in both Central Britain and in Gaul seems to fall into the former category, while Coventina, goddess of her well, belongs to the latter. Symbolising unity amid the diversity within the region was the goddess Brigantia, eponymous deity of the Brigantes. As a typical Celtic territorial goddess she laid claim to the greater part of Central Britain as her domain. Her male version was Bregans about whom nothing is known in respect of his attributes and characteristics. One may speculate, however, that he was the consort of the goddess and had the role of multi-purpose tribal god. Further speculation might lead to the suggestion that the horned god, so

prominent in Brigantia, was a favoured aspect of this male god. More evidence is needed, however, to decide whether there is any substance in these suggestions.

Virtually nothing is known about the details of religious ritual but it seems likely that much religious activity took place in the open air, at various sacred places. If, as supposed, many of these places were natural features, this could explain why religious ceremonies performed at them have left little evidence.

Little evidence too has been found with regard to the disposal of the dead, especially for pre-Roman times. This in itself suggests, for the bulk of the population, practices such as excarnation or the scattering of cremated remains. In this respect, Brigantia is in sharp contrast to eastern Yorkshire, the territory of the Parisi but in accord with a large part of the rest of Britain. Mound burials, however, do occur in the Central Pennines and these seem to represent a minority rite. In addition, there are scattered inhumation burials over a wider area in which recurrent features are the use of a cist, contracted position, and a northerly orientation. These increase in frequency during the Roman period, perhaps because the rite became more widely available. The mound burials as well as the features found in other native burials suggest a usage going back perhaps even to the Bronze Age.

The Roman occupation of Brigantia and its political absorption in the Empire was perhaps the most dramatic event to take place in its history. The interesting question following from this is to what extent the native folk of the region were influenced by Rome. The remains of roads, forts, civil settlements, towns, tombstones, altars and other material evidence all betoken the presence of Rome. What effect this presence had on the population and how far Roman civilisation penetrated their traditional ways of living are really the problems that lie behind the use of the general term 'influence'.

The clearest evidence of Roman influence bringing about a change in the style of living is to be seen in the civitas capital of Aldborough. Here it has been suggested that the large houses present in the town were occupied by tribal notables. These in themselves are in complete contrast to the indigenous round house known from Stanwick or Thorpe Thewles. But more than that the entire concept of Roman town life with all its amenities, even in its most provincial form, was altogether different from that of a native settlement. Celtic styles were not altogether abandoned at Aldborough for a synthesis with the Roman can be observed in artistic and religious aspects. Even so, the inhabitants of Aldborough had a life-style within the town that was to all intents and purposes Roman.

In the rural setting, the most obvious result of Roman influence is the villa. This style of farmhouse dwelling

implies not only the impact of Roman architectural ideas and dwelling amenities of a similar order to those found in town houses but carries with it the implication of economic success. The capital expenditure involved in building a villa was very large; wealth would be needed at the outset and a successful farming strategy required to maintain it. Where native owners were involved they would very likely have been members of the tribal aristocracy. Native ownership seems virtually certain in the case of two villas in Brigantia, Holme House and Kirk Sink, and a strong possibility in the case of Castle Dikes and Dalton Parlours. Not enough is known about the remaining 'Brigantian' villas to determine their ownership but a proportion could also have belonged to native folk. For those owners who were native, the possession of a villa represents the impact of Roman civilisation both culturally and economically. However, as has been seen, only a few villas can be postulated for Brigantia. Even if, as is probable, others remain to be discovered, it is unlikely that the picture of a region poor in villa settlement will be much altered. This situation suggests the lack of Roman cultural and economic influence on the general rural scene.

As for rural settlement in general, the native style of circular hut for the most part maintained its hold during the Roman period. However, the occurrence, from the third century AD, of sub-rectangular huts in various parts of

the region may well represent diluted Roman influence. Apart from shape, however, there is nothing that marks these structures out as being any more commodious than the more traditional circular hut. The homesteads and villages which follow an indigenous tradition are dominant throughout Brigantia. They stand apart from Roman-style building practice thus perhaps indicating a lack of or even resistance to Roman influence. Cultural influence, or Romanisation, is slight on these rural sites. Harder to estimate is the economic impact on such settlements because of the uncertainty regarding conditions prior to the Roman period. Density of settlement may be a sign in various parts of the region of Roman influence, the Cumbrian hinterland of Hadrian's Wall having been cited as one possible example, from the lowlands, and Craven Pennines as another example, from the uplands. If such density of settlement does in fact represent increase occurring during the Roman period the paradox exists of greater farming activity coupled with limited Roman material influence. The explanation might be that wealth arising from farming surplus was siphoned off as it were by the requirements of taxes, thus helping to depress standards of material comfort. Another possible reason could be that the people of Brigantia for the most part preferred to live in their traditional way.

In the sphere of religion it would be easy to be misled into believing that traditional ways were abandoned in

favour of those of Rome since most of the surviving evidence is in the Roman form. Most of this evidence, however, has come from urban not rural sites. This suggests that the country folk were continuing to practice their religion in their traditional way. Moreover, the evidence which is available in Roman form shows the maintenance of native religious beliefs in the guise of some deity concepts right through the Roman period into the fourth century AD.

As the enquiry has proceeded it has become clear that more basic data is required in almost all aspects of the subject. The main lines of further archaeological research may be suggested here.

Future work should include a refined classification of settlement sites based upon detailed survey and selective excavation. Fortified sites too need similar attention. Besides Stanwick, where work is proceeding, Barwick in Elmet, Ingleborough and Whitcliffe Scar should be investigated. The programme of investigation should also include selected sites in the vicinity of Stanwick. Villas also need investigation and attention should be paid especially to their environs in an attempt to discover more about villas as working establishments. It is important to establish some basis for assessing ownership, whether native Brigantian or otherwise. The two villas at Middleham and Castle Dikes would probably throw more light on this question.

Field systems require special consideration and the attempt should be made to discover their dates. The Grassington field systems which seem to represent at least three different phases may be mentioned as a likely target for such investigation.

As for religion, it is hard to suggest a course of action designed to elucidate the situation in rural contexts. The problem must always remain that of identifying religious sites in the first instance. The same problem applies to the question of rural burials. For religious sites careful search might be made in the environs of outstanding natural features, such as waterfalls, springs, wells, caves and former lakes. Folklore too is a possible line of enquiry. Of known sites, Scargill Moor near Bowes and the stream where the shrines dedicated to Vinotonus were found would almost certainly repay further investigation. As for the cult of the head, a full corpus of stone heads in the Celtic tradition must form the basis for further critical discussion. This might illuminate more than just the religious aspect, for there may be economic and political implications involved. Similarly, a survey of quernstones and their distribution in relation to their places of origin may well have more than economic implications.

Finally, in order to complement the work done here, similar attention should be paid to urban settlement within the region. This in itself is a major undertaking

but will undoubtedly throw additional light on the question of the Roman impact on Brigantia.

In the present study the attempt has been made to understand more clearly the nature of the community known to the Romans as the Brigantes. It is perhaps surprising how much can be learned by bringing to bear on the one topic evidence of different kinds. At the same time, it is salutary to realise that more detailed investigation often does no more than reinforce conclusions already arrived at on the basis of less adequate data. But that in itself represents a gain for it leads to greater confidence in making assertions about the subject matter, in this case the Brigantes, than would otherwise be possible. However, no investigation can be final and much work remains to be done. The detailed discussion and assessment of evidence together with the hypotheses presented here should have achieved the main objective but in addition should provide a useful basis for further progress.

APPENDIX 1.

CATALOGUE OF RURAL SITES

1. <u>EASTERN LOWLANDS</u>   (see maps figs. 1.3, 1.4
                             and Chapter 4).

   Tyne to Tees region (fig. 1.3)
   Tees to Swale region (fig. 1.3)
   Swale to Aire region (fig. 1.4).

<u>TYNE TO TEES REGION</u>   (fig. 1.3).

BARFORTH (Bank of River Tees 2)   NZ 173162
Curvilinear enclosure.
(Haselgrove, 1982, 101).

BARMPTON, CO. DURHAM   NZ 321176
Curvilinear enclosure.
(Still & Vyner, 1984, 19).

BOLTON GARTH'S FARM, ETHERLEY NZ 176237 137m (450ft) O.D.
Rectilinear enclosure.
(Haselgrove, 1982, 99).

BRANDON   NZ 234405   137m (449) O.D.
Rectangular enclosure, hut circle at rear.
(Durham University Collection - slide).

BRAWN'S DEN 1, BRANCEPETH   NZ 208389   167m (550ft) O.D.
Sub-rectangular enclosure.
(Harding, 1979, 25).

BRAWN'S DEN 2, BRANCEPETH   NZ 210385   167m (550ft) O.D.
Rectangular enclosure.
(Haselgrove, 1982).

BRAWN'S DEN 3, BRANCEPETH   NZ 210386   167m (550ft) O.D.
Rectangular enclosure.
(Haselgrove, 1982).

BRIDGE HOUSE, FERRYHILL   NZ 287317   120m (394ft) O.D.
Rectilinear enclosure.
(Haselgrove, 1982, 99).

BURNWOOD BRIDGE, LONG NEWTON   NZ 3915
Curvilinear Enclosure.
(Still & Vyner, 1986, 22).

THE CASTLES, HAMSTERLEY   NZ 103331   152m (500ft) O.D.
Fortified square enclosure, area 1 acre (0.4ha).
(Hodgkin, 1936, 92-98;   HBMC. SAM. Durham 13).

CATCOTE   NZ 490315
Open settlement(?).
(Long, 1965, 1986; Challis & Harding, 1975).

CHILTON (near)   NZ 293298
Curvilinear enclosure, ditched track attached.
(SMR. Durham, NZ 22 NE 52).

COCKFIELD (south-east of), DURHAM   NZ 136239
                                     198m (650ft) O.D.
Curvilinear enclosure.
(SMR. NZ 12 SW 20).

COCKFIELD FELL 2, DURHAM   NZ 117250   197m (646ft) O.D.
Curvilinear enclosure about 1.7 acre (0.7ha).
(Roberts, 1975, 48, a1; SMR. NZ 12 SW 12).

COCKFIELD FELL 3, DURHAM   NZ 117254   183m (600ft) O.D.
Square enclosure.
(Roberts, 1975, 48, a3; SMR. NZ 12 NW 2).

COCKFIELD FELL 4, DURHAM   NZ 122252   183m (600ft) O.D.
Rectilinear enclosure.
(Roberts, 1975, 48, a2; SMR. NZ 12 NW 3).

COCKFIELD FELL 5, DURHAM   NZ 122249   198m (650ft) O.D.
Rectangular enclosure - large;   single entrance;
substantial rampart.
(Roberts, 1975, 48, a5).

COPELAND HOUSE, ETHERLEY   NZ 166261   152m (500ft) O.D.
Rectilinear enclosure.
(Durham Univ. Aerial photo., neg.nos.1/1-3;
 Harding, 1979, 27).

COWLEY MOOR FARM, EAGLESCLIFFE   NZ 414164   20m (65ft) O.D.
Curvilinear enclosure.
(Still & Vyner, 1984, 19).

COXHOE HALL, (south of)   NZ 332356   107m (300ft) O.D.
Curvilinear enclosure, overlapping circles within.
(Aerial photo. Selkirk).

DENEACRES, EDMONDSLEY   NZ 238496   110m (360ft) O.D.
Rectilinear enclosure - linear feature attached.
(Haselgrove, 1982, 58).

DENE HOUSE FARM, THORNLEY   NZ 353388   152m (499ft) O.D.
Sub-rectangular enclosure.
(Harding, 1979, 23, fig.3.1).

DENE HOUSE FARM WEST,
          OLD CASSOP   NZ 348393   183m (600ft) O.D.
Rectangular enclosure.
(Aerial photo. Durham Univ., neg.no.115/6).

DIDDRIDGE (south of)   NZ 132296   152m (499ft) O.D.
Large square enclosure with one large and three small
circles.
(SMR. NZ 12 NW 29).

DRIFT PLANTATION, (near)
                    LANGLEY   NZ 207463   168m (550ft) O.D.
Rectilinear site.
(Air photo. Selkirk).

DRIFT PLANTATION, (near) 2,
                    LANGLEY   NZ 202460   130m (426ft) O.D.
Rectilinear enclosure.
(Air photo. Selkirk).

DYANCE, KILLERLY   NZ 191188   76m (250ft) O.D.
Rectilinear enclosure.
(Haselgrove, 1982, 99).

EAST PARK FARM, EVENWOOD AND BARONY   NZ 158305
Curvilinear enclosure - small.
(Haselgrove, 1982, 101).

ELSTOB (near)   NZ 345241   61m (200ft) O.D.
Square site, circle inside.
(Air photo. Selkirk).

ESP GREEN   NZ 146482
Settlement - excavated - hut circle and pottery.
(Clack, 1980b; Clack & Gosling, 1976, 217).

ESP GREEN FARM, GREENCROFT   NZ 147493
Curvilinear enclosure, ditched track attached.
(Air photo. Dur. Univ., neg.nos.13/1,2,3,4).

FAIR VIEW, ETHERLEY   NZ 179243   137m (450ft) O.D.
Curvilinear enclosure with interior circle.
(SMR. NZ 12 SE 12).

FIELDHOUSE FARM, WEST RAINTON NZ 325462 91m (300ft) O.D.
Rectilinear enclosure.   Internal circle, external linear
features?
(Aerial photo. Dur. Univ., neg.no.9/1).

FYNDOUNE, WITTON GILBERT   NZ 245455   122m (400ft) O.D.
Rectilinear enclosure.   Faint internal feature?
(Air photo. Selkirk).

GORDON HOUSE   NZ 145233   198m (650ft) O.D.
Rectilinear enclosure, one interior circle.
(SMR. NZ 12 SW 24).

HAG WOOD, ESH   NZ 193431   183m (600ft) O.D.
Sub-rectangular enclosure.   Attached linear feature.
Internal oval feature.   External sub-circular enclosure.
(Aerial photo., St.Jo.DS 002).

HARAP HILL, FISHBURN   NZ 351337   160m (525ft) O.D.
Rectilinear enclosure.
(Haselgrove, 1982, 99).

HARBOUR HOUSE FARM, FRAMWELLGATE   NZ 282483
                                               15m (49ft) O.D.
Circle within irregular enclosure amid patchwork of enclosures.
(Aerial photo. Dur. Univ.,
 neg.nos.65/1-3;   65/6;   66/16-21).

HEDLEY HALL WEST, LAMESLEY   NZ 217563   152m (499ft) O.D.
Rather irregular, single-ditched, curvilinear enclosure.
(McCord & Jobey, 1971, 26).

HEIGHINGTON (east of)   NZ 259224   100m (328ft) O.D.
Sub-rectangular enclosure - small interior circle.
(SMR. NZ 22 NE 35).

HELMINGTON HALL, WILLINGTON   NZ 186334   107m (350ft) O.D.
Rectilinear enclosure.
((Air photo., Dur. Univ., neg.nos. 7/4, 7/5).

HEUGH   NZ 193431   183m (600ft) O.D.
Irregular enclosure with one hut-circle.
(Jobey, 1962, 2).

HIGH CONISCLIFFE, CO. DURHAM   NZ 235154   46m (150ft) O.D.
Rectangular enclosure.
(McCord & Jobey, 1971, 122).

HIGH STONECHESTER   NZ 127286   198m (650ft) O.D.
Square enclosure with one interior circle.
(SMR. NZ 12 NW 27).

HIGHLAND HOUSE,
 BISHOP MIDDLEHAM   NZ 331330   130m (426ft) O.D.
Rectilinear enclosure - internal rectangular feature.
(Haselgrove, 1982, 98).

HILL HOUSE, GREAT AYCLIFFE   NZ 277211   75m (245ft) O.D.
Rectilinear enclosure.
(Still & Vyner, 1984).

HILL HOUSE (west of)   NZ 276214   80m (262ft) O.D.
Square enclosure, one interior circle.
(SMR. NZ 22 SE 28).

HILL TOP FARM, BROOMSIDE   NZ 315440   91m (300ft) O.D.
Rectangular enclosure, internal circular feature.
(McCord & Jobey, 1971, 122).

HOLBORN WOOD,
 BRANDON & BYSHOTTLES   NZ 193409   198m (650ft) O.D.
Hut circles and field systems (?)
(Aerial photo. Dur. Univ.,   neg.nos.9/6-7).

HOUGHTON-LE-SIDE   NZ 225214   120m (394ft) O.D.
Square enclosure - one interior circle.
(SMR. NZ 22 SW 70).

INGLETON GRANGE, INGLETON   NZ 166209   107m (351ft) O.D.
Rectilinear enclosure.
(Haselgrove, 1982, 99).

KEPIER, BELMONT   NZ 282433   30m (98ft) O.D.
Rectilinear enclosure.
(Haselgrove, 1982, 98).

KIMBLESWORTH GRANGE,
          CO. DURHAM   NZ 256467   122m (400ft) O.D.
Rectilinear enclosure.
(Aerial photo. Selkirk)

KIRK MERRINGTON, SPENNYMOOR   NZ 266315
Sub-rectangular enclosure - internal circle.
(Harding, 1971; Haselgrove, 1982).

LARBERRY PASTURES, LONG NEWTON   NZ 384178
Rectangular site with circular internal hut.
(McCord, 1971, 8).

LOW GRANGE, BELMONT   NZ 298448
Rectangular enclosure, single ditch, internal circle.
(McCord & Jobey, 1971, 121).

LOW MOOR HILL (near)   NZ 113296   180m (590ft) O.D.
Rectilinear enclosure with two interior circles.
(SMR. NZ 12 NW 24).

MAIDEN CASTLE, DURHAM   NZ 282417   61m (200ft) O.D.
Hillfort: promontory.
(Jarrett, 1958).

MARSHALL LANDS, near GATESHEAD   NZ 216603
Rectangular enclosure.
(McCord & Jobey, 1971, 122).

MEDOMSLEY   NZ 116543   220m (722ft) O.D.
Curvilinear enclosure with interior circle.
(SMR. NZ 15 SW 25).

MIDDLE RAINTON, HETTON   NZ 328470   90m (295ft) O.D.
Rectilinear enclosure with internal circle.
(Haselgrove, 1982, 99).

MILKUP BANK, CO. DURHAM   NZ 190365   183m (600ft) O.D.
Sub-rectangular enclosure.
(Harding, 1971).

MORDON SOUTH SIDE   NZ 331258
Curvilinear enclosure with internal circle.
(Air photo. Dur. Univ.,   neg.nos.114/3-5;
 Haselgrove, 1982).

NORTH FARM, ELSTOB   NZ 338240
Rectilinear enclosure. Double-ditched.
(Air photo. Selkirk)

NORTH FINCHALE, FRAMWELLGATE   NZ 297475
Rectilinear enclosure.
(McCord & Jobey, 1971, 122).

NORTH LODGE, PICKTREE   NZ 280537
Curvilinear site with circle outside.
(Harding, 1979, 27).

OLDACRES HALL, OLDACRES   NZ 391284   90m (295ft) O.D.
Rectilinear enclosure.
(Haselgrove, 1982, 99).

OLD DURHAM, ST. OSWALDS   NZ 2841   46m (150ft) O.D.
Villa.
(Richmond et al, 1944; Wright and Gillam, 1951, 1953).

PARK HEAD, WESTERTON   NZ 233311   160m (525ft) O.D.
Rectilinear enclosure, with interior circle.
(Haselgrove, 1982, 99).

PARK HOUSE, EAST LANGLEY   NZ 206462
Sub-rectangular enclosure in uncertain relationship to
field system.
(Haselgrove, 1982, 99).

PARK HOUSE PLANTATION,
            LANGLEY   NZ 203460   152m (500ft) O.D.
Rectilinear enclosure, internal circles? adjoining a
linear feature.
(Aerial photo. Selkirk)

PIG HILL, HASWELL   NZ 369445
Polygonal enclosure.   Double-ditched or twin-palisaded
with internal circle.
(Harding, 1979, 27).

RABY CASTLE (north of)   NZ 135233   213m (699ft) O.D.
Square enclosure, one interior circle.
(SMR. NZ 12 SW 21).

THE RIFT, PITTINGTON   NZ 321451   91m (300ft) O.D.
Rectangular enclosure, linear feature attached(?).
(Aerial photo. Dur. Univ., neg.no.19/6-8).

SACRISTON WOOD (south of),
            SACRISTON   NZ 230480   170m (558ft) O.D.
Rectilinear enclosure.
(Haselgrove, 1982, 99).

SHACKLETON BEACON   NZ 229233   183m (600ft) O.D.
Small hillfort.
(Turnbull & Jones, 1978, 141;   HBMC. SAM. Durham 58).

SLEIGHT'S HOUSE,
 WITTON GILBERT   NZ 24645   140m (460ft) O.D.
Rectilinear enclosure.
(Haselgrove, 1982, 99).

STOCKLEY BECK CAMP, BRANCEPETH
Promontory fort.
(SMR. NZ 13 NE 3; Turnbull & Jones, 1978, 22).

STRAWBERRY HILL, SHADFORTH   NZ 338402   168m (550ft) O.D.
Polygonal enclosure.   2 circles within and 1 outside.
Lattice of external marks (geological).   Excavated.
(Aerial photo. Dur. Univ., neg.nos.114/1-2;
 Harding, 1979; Haselgrove, 1980, 39-43).

SUNDERLAND BRIDGE, CROXDALE NZ 269369   76m (250ft) O.D.
Enclosures complex.   D-shaped enclosure.   Irregular
curvilinear enclosure.   Circular enclosure plus field
system.
(Aerial photo. Dur. Univ., neg.no.72/31; Harding, 1979,
27)[see fig.4.3].

THORPE LARCHES, GRINDON   NZ 391257   80m (262ft) O.D.
Rectilinear enclosure.
(Haselgrove, 1982, 98).

THORPE THEWLES   61m (200ft) O.D.
Sub-rectangular enclosure with large central house.
Excavated.
(Heslop, 1983, 17-26).

TOFT HILL
Hillfort, now destroyed.
(Turnbull & Jones, 1978, 14).

VILLA FARM, OUSTON   NZ 263538   60m (197ft) O.D.
Rectilinear enclosure.
(Haselgrove, 1982, 99).

WADSWORTH   NZ 186313   122m (400ft) O.D.
Curvilinear enclosure with interior circle.
(SMR. NZ 13 SE 25).

WALES FIELD   NZ 119275   229m (751ft) O.D.
Square enclosure with three interior circles.
(SMR. NZ 12 NW 26).

WEST BRANDON,
 BRANDON & BYSHOTTLES   NZ 201398   259m (850ft) O.D.
Sub-rectangular ditched enclosure.   Excavated; centrally
placed round house.
(Jobey, 1962, 1-34)[see fig.4.1].

WEST HOUSE, COXHOE   NZ 326360   137m (450ft) O.D.
Sub-rectangular enclosure, ditched.   Centrally placed
house.   Excavated.
(Haselgrove & Allon, 1982;   Van der Veen & Haselgrove,
1983).

WHICKHAM   NZ 194613
Rectangular enclosure similar to West Brandon.
(Challis & Harding, 1975, 49, fig.92).

WHILEY HILL FARM
 (north west of)   NZ 270210   90m (295ft) O.D.
Square enclosure, one interior circle.
(SMR. NZ 22 SE 29).

WILLOW BEDS PLANTATION, WALWORTH   NZ 234180
Curvilinear.
(Still & Vyner, 1984, 19).

WINSTON, CO. DURHAM   NZ 134154   107m (350ft) O.D.
Sub-rectangular enclosure.
(Still & Vyner, 1984, 19).

WOODHAM,
 near NEWTON AYCLIFFE   NZ 291260   91m (300ft) O.D.
Rectangular and circular cropmarks in immediate
juxtaposition.
(Air photo. [slide] Durham Univ., 1979, 27)[see fig.4.2].

WOODWELL HOUSE, CARRVILLE   NZ 301454
Circular enclosure plus field system(?)   Hut circles
within and outside.
(Aerial photo. Selkirk)

WOOLEY CLOSE, BRANCEPETH   NZ 192385   183m (600ft) O.D.
Rectilinear enclosure.
(Haselgrove, 1982, 98).

TEES TO SWALE REGION   (fig.1.3)

BARNABY SIDE   NZ 573168   200m (656ft) O.D.
Rectangular ditched enclosure with attached rectangular
enclosure abutting boundary ditch.
(Spratt, 1975, 11).

BLACK SCAR, GAINFORD   NZ 174163   76m (250ft) O.D.
Curvilinear enclosure D-shaped.
(Still & Vyner, 1984, 19).

BRETTANBY FARM   NZ 230106
Rectangular enclosure.
(Dur. Univ. Air photo slide no.595).

CATTERICK   SE 232987
Two palisaded sites, one rectangular the other oval.
(Brewster, 1970, 1971b; Challis & Harding, 1975, 132-3).

COCKSHOTT CAMP, OVINGTON   NZ 125146
Curvilinear enclosure against cliff edge.
(MacLauchlan, 1849, 340; Elgee & Elgee, 1933, no.252).

CRABBY PLANTATION, MANFIELD NZ 221144 80m (262ft) O.D.
Sub-rectangular enclosure - ditched track attached.
(Haselgrove, 1982, 100).

CRATHORNE   NZ 450076   70m (230ft) O.D.
Double-ditched   rectangular   enclosure.   Pottery   and
beehive quern.
(Brown, 1978, 19;   Spratt, 1982, Table 31).

CROFT ON TEES   NZ 282096   40m (130ft) O.D.
Unenclosed settlement.
(Still & Vyner, 1984, 19).

ESTON NAB   NZ 568184   229m (750ft) O.D.
Hillfort - promontory.
(Elgee, 1930, 152-6;   Aberg, 1968, 111.)

FORCETT WITH CARKIN   NZ 167124   107m (350ft) O.D.
?Sub-rectangular enclosure.
(Still & Vyner, 1984).

FOX COVERT, MANFIELD   NZ 226127   90m (295ft) O.D.
Rectilinear enclosure.
((Haselgrove, 1982, 100).

GATHERLEY MOOR 2, GILLING   NZ 185066   167m (548ft) O.D.
Rectilinear enclosure, interior circles, attached linear
feature.
(Haselgrove, 1982, 100).

GATHERLEY MOOR 3, GILLING   NZ 190068   183m (600ft) O.D.
Small sub-rectangular enclosure.
(Haselgrove, 1982, 100).

GUISBOROUGH PARK   NZ 597171   160m (525ft) O.D.
Heart-shaped ditch containing 2 circles.
(Spratt, 1982, Table 31).

HARRISON'S PLANTATION   NZ 578178   198m (650ft) O.D.
Circular site 15m (50ft) diameter, with central hut.
(Spratt, 1971, 192).

HOLME HOUSE, MANFIELD   NZ 221152
Sub-rectangular enclosure.   Roman villa and native round
house inside.   Track from site.   Excavated.
(Harding, 1984, Salway, 1967).

HOLME HOUSE 2, MANFIELD   NZ 220152   80m (262ft) O.D.
Curvilinear enclosure, irregular.
(Haselgrove, 1982, 101).

HUTTON MAGNA   NZ 139122   122m (400ft) O.D.
?Sub-rectangular enclosure.
(Still & Vyner, 1984).

NAMEN LEAZES   NZ 204126   90m (300ft) O.D.
Circular enclosure.
(Still & Vyner, 1984).

NORMANBY   NZ 557171
Settlement (?);   refuse pit - shells, bones, pottery and
quernstones.
(Elgee, 1923, 13;   Hayes, 1958, 27).

NORTH TANTON FARM   NZ 527113   80m (262ft) O.D.
Rectilinear enclosure.
(Brown, 1978, 7).

OLD QUARRIES   NZ 201108   85m (278ft) O.D.
?Sub-rectangular enclosure.
(Still & Vyner, 1984).

PETTICOAT BOTTOM, CLIFFE   NZ 195145   91m (300ft) O.D.
Curvilinear enclosure.
(Still & Vyner, 1984).

QUARRY FARM, INGLEBY BARWICK   NZ 437151   20m (66ft) O.D.
Rectilinear field systems. Ditched enclosure. Excavated.
(Spratt, 1975, 11;   Heslop, 1984).

SOUGH HILL FARM, CALDWELL   NZ 167143   122m (400ft) O.D.
Rectilinear enclosure.
(Haselgrove, 1982, 100).

STANWICK CAMP   NZ 180115   91-122m (298-400ft) O.D.
Fortifications.
(Wheeler, 1954)[see figs. 9.1-9.3].

STOKESLEY, CLEVELAND   NZ 5308   70m (230ft) O.D.
Open settlement.   Series of rectilinear fields, with hut
circles, rectangular buildings, two lanes.
(Still & Vyner, 1986).

STREET HOUSE, MANFIELD   NZ 215138   80m (262ft) O.D.
Rectilinear enclosure - three interior circles - linear
feature attached.
(Haselgrove, 1982, 100).

SUDDELS, FORCETT AND CARKIN   NZ 180099   152m (500ft) O.D.
D-shaped (?) enclosure.
(Haselgrove, 1982, 100).

SWINE LAIRS, MANFIELD   NZ 238143   50m (165ft) O.D.
Curvilinear enclosure.
(Still & Vyner, 1984).

TANTON, near STOKESLEY   NZ 519108   70m (230ft) O.D.
Rectilinear enclosure.
(Brown, 1978, 7).

TOFT'S FIELD 1, STANWICK   NZ 184117   107m (351ft) O.D.
Oval enclosure, interior circles.
(Haselgrove & Turnbull, 1983).

TOFT'S FIELD 2, STANWICK   NZ 185117   107m (351ft) O.D.
Roughly square enclosure.
(Haselgrove & Turnbull, 1983).

UPSALL   NZ 557164   200m (656ft) O.D. and
          NZ 565167   90m (623ft) O.D.
Two curvilinear enclosures.
(Spratt, 1982, Table 31).

SWALE TO AIRE REGION   (fig.1.4)

ACKTON (north of)   SE 418232
Rectangular enclosure at junction of 2 lanes.
(Riley, 1977, 24).

ADAMSON'S FARM   SE 645379
Rectangular enclosures, circular hut, rectilinear fields.
(Riley, 1977, 27).

BARWICK-IN-ELMET   SE 399376   76-91m (250-300ft) O.D.
Hillfort.
(Challis & Harding, 1975, fig.90).

BEAL   SE 540235
Square enclosure and field boundaries.
(Riley, 1978, 24).

BECKFIELD HOUSE (north-west of) FAIRBURN   SE 455284
Rectangular enclosure, associated lane.
(Riley, 1977, 23, fig.4E).

BIRKIN   SE 528272
Square enclosure.
(Riley, 1978, 24).

BOSTON SPA (near)   SE 407458
Conjoined   rectilinear   enclosures,   also   lanes,
a curvilinear enclosure, hut circles and fields.
(Riley, 1977, 22, fig.8).

BRAMHAM PARK   SE 420413
Rectangular enclosure, traces of field system.
(Riley, 1978, 24, fig.2).

CAMP HILL, GREWELTHORPE   SE 226774   213m (700ft) O.D.
Rectangular enclosure. Entrance near corner.
(Allcroft, 1908, 306-7;   HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 273).

CAST HILLS   SE 204716   213 (700ft) O.D.
Curvilinear enclosure.
(Challis & Harding, 1975, pt.2, fig.93, no.54).

CASTLE DIKES   SE 292756   49m (160ft) O.D.
Villa surrounded by massive ditch, excavated 1866.
(Scott, 1973, 39;   HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 104).

CAWOOD   SE 5638
Villa?
(Branigan, 1980, 19).

CLIFFE (near)   SE 684327
Adjacent rectangular enclosures, several with interior
circles.
(Riley, 1977, 27).

CLIFFORD (West of)   SE 412451
Sub-rectangular enclosure - large.
(Riley, 1978, 23).

COMPTON (near)   SE 398444
Rectilinear enclosure crossed by trackway with attached
fields.
(Riley, 1977, 30, fig.7)[see fig.4.4].

DALTON PARLOURS   SE 403446
Extensive settlement, circular houses, storage pits,
preceded by palisaded enclosure, followed by Roman villa.
(Moorhouse, 1978, 7 & 9;   Keighley, 1981, 120).

DRAX   SE 690261   5.5m (18ft) O.D.
Villa.
(Scott, 1973, 116).

DUNNINGTON, near YORK   SE 666505, SE 672508 and SE 681511
Three rectangular enclosures with rectilinear field
system.
(Riley, 1975, 14).

FAIRBURN   SE 455284
Rectangular enclosure and lane.
(Riley, 1975, 13).

FORTRESS DIKE CAMP   SE 179732   259m (854ft) O.D.
Earthwork - sub-rectangular, inner and outer bank, ditch
between.
(Allcroft, 1908, 132-4;   HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 1053)
 [see fig.7.1].

GRAFTON HILLS, MARTON CUM GRAFTON   SE 420631
Stockaded camp.
(Waterman, Kent & Stickland, 1955, 383-397).

HOWARD ROAD, STRENSALL   SE 638595
Curvilinear double-ditched enclosure.
(Challis & Harding, 1975, pt.2, fig.93, no.58).

HUDDLESTON   SE 478331
Rectilinear enclosures and traces of fields.
(Riley, 1976, 14).

INGBARROW FARM, KIRK DEIGHTON   SE 385500
Irregular enclosure, two interior circles, part of third
circle; rectangular fields, approach lane.
(Riley, 1975, 13).

KELLINGTON   SE 559243
Square enclosure, and field boundaries.
(Riley, 1978, 24).

KIRKBY WHARFE   SE 5041
Villa?
(Elgee and Elgee, 1933, no.256).

KNOTTINGLY   SE 470242
Small rectangular enclosure.
(Riley, 1978, 23).

LANGWITH HOUSE   SE 2881
Villa?, tesserae found.
(Gilyard-Beer, 1951; Wenhaim, 1945, 250).

LEAD   SE 463375
Two rectangular enclosures.
(Riley, 1975, 13).

LEDSHAM VILLAGE (north of)   SE 459301
Rectangular enclosure.   Field boundaries and lane.
(Riley, 1977, 23, fig.4C).

LEDSHAM VILLAGE (south of)   SE 458292
Rectangular enclosure and fields.
(Riley, 1977, 23, fig.4D).

LEDSTON (north of)   SE 436305-434295
Open, extensive settlement.   Small enclosures, 3 lanes,
fields and pits - part excavated.

LEDSTON VILLAGE (East of)   SE 441287
Rectilinear enclosure with few pits, lane and field
boundary.
(Riley, 1977, 23, fig.4H).

LINGCROFT FARM, near York   SE 6146
Enclosed farmstead, associated field system.
(Jones, 1984, 40).

LUND FARM   SE 575291
Rectilinear, ditched enclosure, early Roman, rectangular
timber buildings inside.
(King, 1981, 139).

MARROW FLATTS FARM, HUTTON CONYERS   SE 361726
Large curvilinear enclosure.
(Riley, 1977, 29).

MAGDALEN FIELD   SE 237774   107m (351ft) O.D.
Promontory enclosure.
(Allcroft, 1908, 447-9).

MICKLEFIELD (north of)   SE 443349
Extensive group of enclosures.
(Riley, 1977, 23).

NEWFIELD FARM (west of)   Se 449285
Rectangular enclosure with lane and field boundaries.
(Riley, 1977, 23, fig.4F).

NEWTON KYME   SE 4545
Villa?
(Branigan, 1980, 19).

NORTH DEIGHTON and KIRK DEIGHTON   SE 383499 - 383511
Open settlements associated with rectilinear fields.
(Riley, 1977, 22, fig.3; 1978, 23).

NORTH STAINBY   SE 292756
Hillfort: crop-mark.
(Challis & Harding, 1975, pt.2, fig.90, no.24).

NORTH STAINLEY   SE 299764
Sub-rectangular enclosure.
(Riley, 1977, 29).

OGLETHORPE HALL   SE 448440
Irregular enclosure, enclosing small penannular enclosure.
(Riley, 1975, 13).

PONTEFRACT   SE 450207
Large rectangular enclosure, a lane, other enclosures(?).
(Riley, 1977, 24).

RIPON   SE 3171
Villa?   (Branigan,1980)

ROOMER COMMON   SE 22225788   122m (400ft) O.D.
Rectilinear enclosure, double mound, ditch between.
(HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 274); Allcroft, 1908, 130-132).

ROTHWELL   SE 362252
D-shaped enclosure with part of another.
(Riley, 1978, 21).

ROTHWELL (east of)   SE 415272
Small rectangular enclosure and fields.
(Riley, 1977, 24).

ROTHWELL HAIGH   SE 352297   46m (150ft) O.D.
Sub-rectangular enclosure.   Excavated.
(Riley, 1978, 21; Keighley, 1981, 125; Faull, 1981a, 152).

SHEEPCOTE FARM (near)   SE 438304
Adjacent rectilinear enclosures, fields and lane.
(Riley, 1977, 2, fig.4B).

SKIPWITH   SE 658391
Rectilinear enclosure - interior circle.
(Riley, 1977, 27).

SNAPE   SE 266847   46m (150ft) O.D.
Villa enclosed by ditch 30m square. Overlies rectilinear
field system.
(Riley, 1977, 29).

SNAPE, 1.   SE 257831
Rectangular enclosure, partly double-ditched.
(Riley, 1975, 13).

SNAPE, 2.   SE 259838
Rectilinear enclosure, irregular shape.
(Riley, 1975, 13).

SNAPE, 3.   SE 265831
Rectangular enclosure.
(Riley, 1975, 13).

SWILLINGTON, 1.   SE 377322
Rectangular enclosure.
(Riley, 1978, 22).

SWILLINGTON, 2.   SE 385312
Complex of rectangular enclosures.
(Riley, 1978, 22).

SWINTON (near)   SE 198777   244m (800ft) O.D.
D-shaped enclosure.
(Challis & Harding, 1975, pt.2, fig.92, no.41).

TICKHILL FARM, PLOMPTON   SE 371550
Two rectilinear enclosures, the larger with interior
circle and trackway.
(Riley, 1975, 13).

WALKINGHAM HILL with OCCANEY   SE 348615
Large curvilinear enclosure, former field systems nearby.
(Riley, 1977, 29).

WATH   SE 309766
Part of sub-rectangular enclosure - lane attached.
(Riley, 1977, 29).

WELL   SE 2681   76m (250ft) O.D.
Villa(?)
(Gilyard-Beer, 1951).

WELL, 1.   SE 258819
Rectangular enclosure.
(Riley, 1975, 13).

WELL, 2.   SE 267827
Two rectilinear enclosures.
(Riley, 1975, 13).

WELL HILL   SE 419419
Rectangular enclosure, traces of field system and lane.
(Riley, 1978, 24).

WHITEWELLS   SE 420402
Sub-rectangular enclosure - traces of field system.
(Riley, 1978, 24, fig.2).

2. <u>NORTHERN PENNINES</u> (see map fig. 1.5 and Chapter 5).

The Tyne Gap and Hinterland
Teesdale and Weardale.

THE TYNE GAP AND HINTERLAND

APPERLEY DENE   NZ 056581   123m (403ft) O.D.
Rectilinear settlement, double-ditched with round house -
2 phases of occupation.
(Green, 1978).

BARCOMBE HILL   NY 783668   244m (800ft) O.D.
Hillfort, univallate, less than 1 acre.
(Jobey, 1965, no.111).

BARDON MILL   NY 778698   240m (787ft) O.D.
Earthworks, inner ditch, outer rampart.
(Challis & Harding, 1975, Pt.2, 48, fig.91).

BISHOP RIGG   NY 976653   45m (148ft) O.D.
Two palisaded enclosures, 1 rectangular, 1 curvilinear.
(Jobey, 1979).

BOW BRIDGE   NZ 023663   130m (426ft) O.D.
Rectilinear site.
(Jobey, 1960, no.6).

BRADLEY   NY 775682   280m (920ft) O.D.
Rectilinear settlement, 4 hut circles, 2 dividing walls.
(Crow, 1985).

CORBRIDGE   NY 984649   40m (131ft) O.D.
Curvilinear earthwork, enclosing hut.
(Richmond & Gillam 1955; Jobey, 1962).

EAST ERRINGTON, COCKLAW   NY 971705   220m (722ft) O.D.
Rectilinear site.
(Jobey, 1960, no.9).

GRINDSTONE LAW   NZ 004734   222m (730ft) O.D.
Hillfort, small, 0.7 acres (0.28ha).
(Jobey, 1965, no.123).

HIGH CLOSE HOUSE WEST   NZ 118658   61m (200ft) O.D.
Single ditched site - rectangular with rounded corners,
east entrance, sides 46m-61m (150-200ft), on south facing
slope.
(McCord & Jobey, 1968, no.26).

HILL HEAD   NY 968706   222m (730ft) O.D.
Hillfort, small - about 1 acre (0.4ha).
(Jobey, 1965, no.120).

HOUGHTON   NZ 123666   107m (350ft) O.D.
Curvilinear enclosure, hill-slope.
(Jobey, 1965, no.141).

HORSLEY HILL   NZ 093662   137m (450ft) O.D.
Curvilinear enclosure.
(Challis & Harding, 1975, fig.93).

HORSLEY WOOD   NZ 094647   46m (150ft) O.D.
Rectilinear site.
(Jobey, 1960, no.8;   McCord & Jobey, 1968, no.25).

KING'S CRAG   NY 801712   240m (787ft) O.D.
Rectilinear settlement.1
(Jobey, 1960, no.12).

LONBROUGH   NY 816737   260m (853ft) O.D.
Rectilinear settlement.
(Jobey, 1960, no.11).

MILKING GAP   NY 773678   220m (722ft) O.D.
Rectilinear settlement.   Excavated.
(Kilbride-Jones, 1938;   Jobey, 1960, no.2)[see fig.5.1].

MINISTERACRES   NZ 0356   210m (689ft) O.D.
Undefended settlement.
(Clack & Gosling, 1976, fig.3).

NEWBROUGH   NY 877677   60m (197ft) O.D.
Sub-rectangular enclosure with two widely separated
palisades.
(Jobey, 1962, 32).

NORTH DUNSLAWHOLM   NZ 089676   107m (350ft) O.D.
Two overlapping single-ditched rectangular enclosures,
sides about 76m (250ft) long.
(Jobey, 1960, no.7;   McCord & Jobey, 1968, no.24).

PLENMELLER   NY 722627   150m (492ft) O.D.
D-shaped earthwork.
(Challis & Harding, 1975, fig.92).

SHARPLEY   NY 882726   160m (492ft) O.D.
Rectilinear settlement.
(Jobey, 1960, no.10).

SHILDON HILL   NZ 035671   180m (590ft) O.D.
Hillfort: univallate, less than 1 acre (0.4ha).
(Jobey, 1965, no.124).

SOUTH NEWBROUGH   NY 878676   50m (164ft) O.D.
Rectilinear settlement.
(Jobey, 1960, no.4).

THORNBROUGH SCAR   NZ 011633   70m (230ft) O.D.
Single-ditched sub-rectangular enclosure.
(McCord & Jobey, 1968, no.23).

TOWER TYE   NY 886707   210m (689ft) O.D.
Rectilinear site.
(Jobey, 1960, no.5).

WALL HILL   NY 922691   137m (450ft) O.D.
?Hillfort: univallate, 0.6 acres (0.24ha).
(Jobey, 1965, no.117).

WARDEN HILL   NY 904678   181m (593ft) O.D.
Hillfort: multivallate, 0.8 acres (0.32ha).
(Jobey, 1965, no.60).

WEST HOWDEN HILL   NY 826692   220m (722ft) O.D.
Rectilinear site.
(Jobey, 1960, no.3).

TEESDALE AND WEARDALE

BAXTON GILL   NZ 025195   183m (600ft) O.D.
Curvilinear enclosure - ditched.   1.3 acres (0.5ha) area
- inner rampart - on promontory overlooking river Tees.
(SMR. NZ 01 NW 1).

BIRK RIGG   NY 859281   381m (1250ft) O.D.
Circular foundation c. 3m interior diameter.
(Coggins, 1986, no.31).

BLACK HILL   NY 817284   427m (1400ft) O.D.
Settlement - circular foundations - not very substantial,
irregular and ill-defined enclosure.
(Coggins, 1986, no.40).

BLEABECK FOOT   NY 875280   335m (1100ft) O.D.
Enclosed settlement.   3-6 circular house foundations.
Massive walls.
(Coggins , 1986, no.27).

BLEABECK WASHFOLD   NY 873274   411m (1350ft) O.D.
Settlement.   Complex of foundations, circular and sub-
rectangular.
(Coggins, 1986, 85, no.12).

BRIAN'S FOLDS   NY 97553537-97773510
                       320-381m (1050-1250ft) O.D.
Enclosures.   Round and rectangular huts.
(Clack, 1980; SMR. NY 93   NE 79).

BRIAR DYKES   NY 948199   350m (1148ft) O.D.
Sub-rectangular   enclosure,   87m   by   82m   marked   by
'palisaded' slight ditch and mound.   Partly excavated.
(Fairless, identified 1982 [publication in preparation]);
 [see fig.5.8].

CALF HOLM   NY 865284   351m (1150ft) O.D.
Small settlement.
(Coggins, 1986, no.28).

CHESTER SIKE EAST   381m (1250ft) O.D.   NY 882302
Hut circle.   Circular bank about 9m diameter.
(Coggins, 1986, no.67).

CROSSTHWAITE COMMON   NY 934247   320m (1100ft) O.D.
Farmstead.   Two-roomed hut with attached enclosure.
(Coggins, 1986, 92, no.23, fig.4.8).

DUBBY SIKE   NY 795311   488m (1600ft) O.D.
Open settlement.   Circular and boat-shaped huts and 'ring
cairn'.   Part-excavated.
(Coggins & Gidney, 1985;   Coggins, 1986, no.90).

FAIRY DELL   328m (1075ft) O.D.   NY 912262
Hut circle, foundation 6m diameter.
(Coggins, 1986, 96, no.64).

FORCEGARTH PASTURE, NORTH   NY 875285   320m (1100ft) O.D.
Farm settlement, curvilinear, walled, ditchless.   Central
house complex, separate hut, two hut circles outside.
Field system nearby.   Partly excavated.
(SMR. NY 82 NE 26;   Fairless & Coggins, 1980)
  [see fig.5.3   and 5.4].

FORCEGARTH PASTURE, SOUTH   320m (1100ft) O.D.   NY 876283
Settlement -almost circular enclosure - wall, ditchless on
hill-slope, rectangular enclosure attached, 5 oval houses,
'ring groove' structures below two.   Partly excavated.
(SMR. NY 83 NE 27;   Fairless and Coggins, 1986)
  [see figs.5.5 and 5.6].

HARTER FELL (EAST)   NY 936237
Palisaded settlement.   Two enclosures,   the   larger
including the smaller.   Hut circles within.
(Coggins, 1986, 100, no.19, fig.23).

HIGH FORCE QUARRY   366m (1200ft) O.D. NY 880290
Settlement, partly destroyed, hut circle enclosed by bank
and ditch (part only remaining).   Outside enclosure -
another hut.
(SMR. NY 82 NE 2;   Coggins, 1986, 101, no.26).

HIGH NORTHGATE   NY 937400   380m (1247ft) O.D.
Curvilinear enclosure.
(HBMC. SAM.   Durham 65).

HIND GATE   351m (1150ft) O.D.   NY 902269
Hut circle.   Small circular foundation.   8m diameter.
(Coggins, 1986, 102, no.44).

HOLMWATH   NY 833291   427m (1400ft) O.D.
Settlement.   One very small circle (c.2m), 2 larger ones
(c.6m) with attached irregular enclosure.
(Coggins, 1986, no.11).

LINGY HOLM   NY 820281   427m (1400ft) O.D.
3 circular houses - poorly defined.
(Coggins, 1986, no.10).

LOW SHIPLEY   NZ 014202   168m (550ft) O.D.
Ditched enclosure.   Curvilinear: one probable hut circle.
(Fairless, unpublished).

NEWBIGGIN (near)   NY 893288   392m (1080ft) O.D.
Rectangular earthworth.   North and west double bank - also
traces of outer ditch on west.   Lynchet bank forms
southern boundary.   Small enclosure formed by lynchet
banks occupies the south-west angle.
(SMR.   NY 82 NE 7).

OLD PARK FARM   NY 926382   305-335m (1000-1099ft) O.D.
Rectangular enclosure and field system.
(Durham University Aerial Photos, nos. 104/8; 120/1-2
 HBMC. SAM. Durham 102)[see fig. 5.2].

PASTURE FOOT   313m (1075ft) O.D.
Unenclosed settlement, round plus subrectangular house
foundations.
(Coggins, 1986, no.20).

PEG'S HOUSE   NY 982352
Settlement complex.
(Clack, 1980).

PENNY HILL   NZ 080235   259m (850ft) O.D.
Rectangular enclosure 45m by 55m - inner mound, outer
ditch and counterscarp mound.   Single entrance on east.
(SMR.   NZ 02 SE 4;   HBMC. SAM. Durham 95).

SKYER BECK   NY 867281   335m (1100ft) O.D.
Small settlement.   Circular huts, small fields, other
irregular enclosures.
(Coggins, 1986, 118, no.84).

TEES BANK PLANTATION   NZ 069150
Rectilinear enclosure.   Ditched.   Interior hut circles.
Field boundaries attached.
(Selkirk, Aerial photo.) [see fig.5.9].

WINCH BRIDGE   266m (875ft) O.D.
Settlement.   Hut circles, subrectangular fields.
(Coggins, 1986, 123, no.21, fig.25) [see fig.5.7].

WOOL INGLES   NY 882271   427m (1400ft) O.D。
Complex site, large circle, containing hut circles, with
funnel entrance。   Attached is a large rectangular
enclosure。
(Coggins, 1986, 124, no.13)。

3. CENTRAL PENNINES (see map fig. 1.6, and Chapters 6 and 7).

Stainmore and Eastern approaches.
Swaledale.
Wensleydale.
Nidderdale and Wharfedale.
Malhamdale.
Ribblesdale.
Craven Lowlands (see section 4).

STAINMORE AND EASTERN APPROACHES

EAST MELLWATERS FARM   NY 968124   288m (950ft) O.D.
Enclosed settlement.   Oval enclosure.   Central hut,
circular; either side, smaller huts. Slight outer ditch.
(Laurie, 1984, 35-39).

HAYTHWAITE (near)   NZ 055094   260m (853ft) O.D.
Isolated hut circle.
(Laurie, 1977, 11-13).

HOPE PLANTATION (near)   NZ 050094   240m (787ft) O.D.
Isolated hut circle, 8m diameter.
(Laurie, 1977, 11-13).

HOW TALLON SETTLEMENT   NZ 057077   430m (1411ft) O.D.
5 large curvilinear enclusures, each with 2 or more huts
(mainly circular) plus small stock enclosures.
(Laurie, 1977, 11-13).

MAIDEN CASTLE, STAINMORE   NY 871130   396m (1300ft) O.D.
Settlement, hut circle, rectilinear platforms.   Plots.
Roman coarseware mortarium rim found.
(Clare, 1976).

RAVOCK MIRE (near)   NY 957147   366m (1200ft) O.D.
Circular huts amid field system
(Laurie, 1985, 150).

REY CROSS (near) 1.   NY 901121 - NY 903120 and NY 899121
                          296m (1299ft) O.D.
Remains on broad terrace below Roman camp.   Round huts 5-
7m diameter, small enclosures, field walls.
(Farrar, 1977, 19;   Dunn, 1977, 17).

REY CROSS (near) 2.   NY 904124   442m (1450ft) O.D.
Sub-rectangular enclosure 28 x 15m, eastwards from Roman
camp, drystone-walled, field terraces to south-east.
(Farrar, 1977, 19).

ROWLEY INTAKE   NZ 068095   260m (853ft) O.D.
Enclosure 40m diameter.
(Laurie, 1977, 13;   HBMC. SAM. Durham 124).

SCALE KNOLL   NZ 055084   350m (1148ft) O.D.
Small enclosure.
(Laurie, 1977).

SNAIZA (near)   NZ 080059   320m (1050ft) O.D.
Isolated hut circle, has an outer ring ditch.
(Laurie, 1977, 11-13).

WASHBECK GREEN (near) NZ 060084   350m (1148ft) O.D.
Curvilinear enclosure.
(Laurie, 1977; SMR. NZ 00 NE 6).

SWALEDALE

CASTLESTEADS   NZ 112075   244m (800ft) O.D.
Hillfort.   Promontory defended by rampart and ditch
enclosing 3.75 ac (1.52ha).
(Elgee and Elgee, 1933, 119, no.246;
 HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 220).

COPPERTHWAITE ALLOTMENT, near MARRICK   SE 057998,
                                    430m (1415ft) O.D.
Stone-founded round house with cairns and field systems.
(Laurie, 1982, 171).

CRINGLEY HILL, near HEALAUGH   NY 999003
                                  380m (1247ft) O.D.
Curvilinear enclosure containing stone cairns and
foundations of round house.
(Laurie, 1985, fig. 8.3, A).

FREMINGTON EDGE   NZ 033016   c.427m (1400ft) O.D.
Hut circles.
(Hamilton, 1978, 7).

FREMINGTON EDGE TOP   NZ 037012   450m (1476ft) O.D.
Three huts and irregular fields.
(Laurie, 1985, 145).

HARKER MIRES, GRINTON   SE 033976   340m (1115ft) O.D.
Enclosures, hut circles and small henge.
(Cooper, 1974, 142).

MAIDEN CASTLE, GRINTON   SE 022981
                            305-321m (1000-1053ft) O.D.
Oval defended area on slope - bank and outer ditch - stone
avenue.
(HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 46).

MEBECKS (near POTTING)   SD 951989   343m (1125ft) O.D.
Defended promontory.
(Welsh, 1977, 3).

REETH, LOW MOOR   NZ 003005   420m (1378ft) O.D.
Oval enclosure, hut circles nearby.
(Challis and Harding, 1975, pt.2, fig. 93, no.18).

RISPEY WOOD   NZ 06180445   320m (1050ft) O.D.
Rectangular enclosure, huts (one circular) within.
(Laurie, 1982).

STUBBINGS   SE 019982   263m (863ft) O.D.
Settlement, 14 huts and 2 circular enclosures.
(Welsh, 1977, 1).

SWINNERGILL   NY 912009   410m (1345ft) O.D.
Hut circles.
(Cooper, 1974, 142).

WHITCLIFFE SCAR, near RICHMOND   NZ 137019
                                   213m (699ft) O.D.
Fortified settlement, rectangular enclosures, with hut
circles.   Samian found.
(HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 565).

WENSLEYDALE

ADDLEBROUGH   SD 944879 and SD 949875
               420-440m (1378-1444ft) O.D.
Extensive settlement, numerous enclosures including huts.
(Elgee and Elgee, 1933, 85).

ASH GILL   SD 895864   330m (1083ft) O.D.
Enclosures and field system.
(Hall, 1974, 150).

BAINBRIDGE (near)   SD 932898   244m (787ft) O.D.
Oval enclosure, outer mound and ditch and slight inner
mound.
(HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 1028).

BISHOPDALE HEAD   SD 939819   550m (1804ft) O.D.
Fields and hut circles.
(Raistrick, 1969, 238).

BURTON MOOR,   SE 031860   457m (1500ft) O.D.
Settlement.   Stone huts and enclosures.
(HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 1153)[see fig.6.1].

CAM WEST END   SD 817827   580m (1903ft) O.D.
Five enclosures.   One hut circle survives.
(Hall, 1974, 144).

CASTLE STEADS   SE 105854   290m (951ft) O.D.
Sub-rectangular earthwork, ditch and outer (and inner)
banks .
(HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 1027).

CLOSE ING GILL   SD 883858   340m (1115ft) O.D.
Two irregularly shaped enclosures.
(Hall, 1974, 143).

COUNTERSETT CRAG   SD 907880   490m (1608ft) O.D.
Homestead - hut circle and small enclosure.
(Hall, 1974, 143).

CRAGDALE   SD 920846   420m (1378ft) O.D.
Settlement - huts and enclosures.
(Hall, 1964, 163).

EAST WITTON CAMP   SE 120853   244-274m (800-900ft) O.D.
Irregular enclosure.   Strongly fortified sub-rectangular
enclosure within.
(Elgee and Elgee, 1933, Gazetteer 252;
  HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 322.).

GREENBER EDGE   SD 952869   427m (1400ft) O.D.
Extensive settlement area - more than 0.5 mile - various
periods and types.
(Raistrick, 1964, 30; HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 103).

GREENSIDE   SD 864844   570m (1870ft) O.D.
Two enclosures, smaller contains a hut circle.
(Hall, 1974, 143).

GREENSIDE ALLOTMENTS   SD 862845   580m (1903ft) O.D.
Two small enclosures and three hut circles.
(Hall, 1974, 144).

GREENSIDE END   SD 864845   570m (1870ft) O.D.
Hut circles and enclosures.
(Hall, 1974, 144).

GILBERT LANE   SD 940809   480m (1575ft) O.D.
Enclosures.
(Hartley, 1964, 165).

HIGH ABBOTSIDE   SD 842929   320m (1050ft) O.D.
Settlement(?).   Faint traces.
(Hall, 1964).

KELL BOTTOM   SD 937852   520m (1706ft) O.D.
Hut circles and small enclosures.
(Hall, 1974, 144).

KIDSTONES SCAR   SD 945809   490m (1608ft) O.D.
Huts and enclosures.
(Hall, 1964, 165).

LEYBURN SHAWL   SE 096908   240m (787ft) O.D.
Cave and settlement have yielded artefacts and animal
bones.
(Raistrick, 1939, 124).

LOCKAH BECK SPRINGS   SD 939832   540m (1772ft) O.D.
Hut circles and small enclosures.
(Hall, 1974, 144).

MIDDLEHAM   SE 1387   122m (400ft) O.D.
Villa.
(Elgee and Elgee, 1933, 166).

OX CLOSE PASTURE   SD 982904   280m (919ft) O.D.
Settlement - huts and rectangular crofts.
(Raistrick, 1939, 119).

PRESTON SCAR   SE 082911   214m (700ft) O.D.
Settlement.   Huts and crofts yielded beehive querns.
(Raistrick, 1939, 119).

SNAIZHOLME HIGH SIDE   SD 840861   540m (1772ft) O.D.
Rectilinear enclosure.
(Hall, 1974, 144).

STAGGSFELL   SD 867931   460m (1509ft) O.D.
A complex of hut circles and enclosures.
Also: at   SD 869932:   a single enclosure.
(Hall, 1974, 144).

STAKE ALLOTMENTS   SD 935849   540m (1772ft) O.D.
Irregularly shaped enclosures and rectilinear huts.
(Hall, 1974, 144).

WOLDSIDE   SD 883832   580m (1903ft) O.D.
Enclosure contains group of hut circles.
(Hall, 1974, 144).

NIDDERDALE, WHARFEDALE (and LITTONDALE)

BLUE SCAR 1, ARNCLIFFE   SD 932711   351m (1150ft) O.D.
Settlement.   Sub-rectangular houses grouped around a
rectangular courtyard, rectilinear enclosure attached.
(HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 724;   Raistrick and Chapman, 1929)
 [see fig.7.3.].

BLUE SCAR 2, ARNCLIFFE   SD 935710   312m (1025ft) O.D.
Fields and huts.
(Raistrick, 1965, 316).

BULL SCAR (south of)   SD 989676   305m (1000ft) O.D.
Enclosures.   Hut circle nearby.
(HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 667).

CALF HOLE, SKYETHORNS   SD 9764
Cave and settlement.   Fields/crofts, isolated hutments.
(Raistrick, 1939, 122-3).

CAPSTICK PASTURE   SD 994669   335m (1100ft) O.D.
Hut circle and rectangular fields.
(Raistrick, 1965, 320).

CHAPEL HOUSE WOOD   SD 975653   229-290m (750-950ft) O.D.
Settlement - hut circles and small enclosures, field
system.   Rectilinear huts.
(Raistrick, 1965, 326).

CHAPEL HOUSE WOOD (west of) SD 969655 328m (1075ft) O.D.
Oval enclosure and circular hut.
(Raistrick, 1965, 333).

CHESTER WOOD and LITTLE WOOD SD 984643 198m (650ft) O.D.
Well-defined fields and a central enclosure with a
connected group of 6 hut circles.   2 other huts among the
fields.
(Raistrick, 1965, 333;   HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 658).

COOL   SD 965678   312m (1025ft) O.D.
Rectilinear fields with 2 associated hut circles.
(Raistrick, 1965, 326).

COVE PASTURE   SD 000649   213m (700ft) O.D.
Large circular hut.   6 small crofts.
(Raistrick, 1965, 323).

COWSIDE BECK   SD 924716   244m (875ft) O.D.
Rectangular fields and enclosures.
(Raistrick, 1965, 316).

DEEPDALE   SD 895807   472m (1550ft) O.D.
Settlement.   Series of steadings.
(Raistrick, 1939, 120;   HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 1054)
 [see figs. 7.4 and 7.5].

DOWKERBOTTOM CAVE, KILNSEY SD 951688 396m (1300ft) O.D.
Cave and settlement.   Has yielded Romano-British objects.
(Raistrick, 1939;   Haverfield, 1905, 239-240).

FIRTH DELL   SD 937753   381m (1250ft) O.D.
Fields and hut circles.
(Raistrick, 1969, 240).

GRASSINGTON   SE 004650-004657 229-305m (800-1000ft) O.D.
Hut circles and cultivation systems.
(Raistrick, 1937, 166-74;   HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 536).

GRASS WOOD   SD 995651   213m (700ft) O.D.
Settlement.   Hut circles and adjoining enclosures.
(HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 677b).

GREGORY   SD 988684   274m (900ft) O.D.
Hill fort.
(Raistrick, 1939;   HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 677a).

HAMMONDS CLOSE   SD 950652   381m (1250ft) O.D.
Settlement with field system.
(Raistrick, 1965, 332).

HAWKS'WICK CLOWDER   SD 941676   472m (1550ft) O.D.
Settlement - huts and enclosures.
(Raistrick, 1965, 324).

HEIGHTS, THRESHFIELD   SD 966643   320m (1050ft) O.D.
Sub-rectangular enclosure.
(Challis and Harding, 1975, pt.2, 49, fig. 92;
 Raistrick, 1965, 332).

HIGH HILL CASTLES (south of) 1,   CONISTONE
                    SD 990685   335m (1100ft) O.D.
Complex of adjoining enclosures.
(Raistrick, 1965, 320;
 HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 664b, Plate VIb).

HIGH HILL CASTLES (south of) 2,   CONISTONE
                    SD 989685   335m (1100ft) O.D.
Three rectangular enclosures set end to end and a sub-
rectangular enclosure.
(HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 664a,) [Plate 111b].

HIGH MARK   SD 941678   465m (1525ft) O.D.
Hut circles with enclosures.
(Raistrick, 1965, 318).

HIGH OX PASTURE   SD 961682   350m (1150ft) O.D.
Valleys enclosed by boulder walls including circular hut,
oval pound.
(Raistrick, 1965, 326).

HILL CASTLES SCAR (north-east of) 1,
                    SD 991685   335m (1100ft) O.D.
Sub-rectangular enclosure with wall-passage.
(HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 664d; Plate IV).

HILL CASTLES SCAR (north-east of) 2,
                    SD 991685   342m (1125ft) O.D.
D-shaped enclosure with wall-passage and adjacent
chambers.
(HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 664d; Plate V).

KILNSEY (north-west of)   SD 966687   244m (800ft) O.D.
Settlement sites. Enclosures, hollow way, strip fields.
(HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 698).

KILNSEY MOOR SETTLEMENT   SD 954666   351m (1150ft) O.D.
Enclosures with huts attached.
(HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 1075)[see fig.7.2].

KILNSEY WOOD   SD 972657   328m (1075ft) O.D.
Settlement.
(Raistrick, 1965, 326).

LANGCLIFFE   between SD 980719 and SD 984708
                                    381m (1250ft) O.D.
12 small homesteads on limestone terraces.
(Raistrick, 1965, 326).

LANGCLIFFE   SD 978722   305m (1000ft) O.D.
Single homestead, 2 hut circles and rectangular enclosure.
(Raistrick, 1965, 325).

LANTERN HOLES   SD 953657   427m (1400ft) O.D.
Huts and enclosures with some small fields.
(Raistrick, 1965, 332).

LEA GREEN   SD 995660   259m (850ft) O.D.
Major habitation site, huts inside massive enclosing wall.
Partly excavated.
(Raistrick, 1937, 166-174).

LITTLE WOOD - see Chester Wood.

MIDDLESMOOR, near KETTLEWELL SD 963723 305m (1000ft) O.D.
Settlement with fields on 3 limestone terraces.
(Raistrick, 1965, 325).

MIDDLESMOOR, STONEBECK UP SE 091743   305m (1000ft) O.D.
Oval enclosure, possible hut circle inside.
(HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 524).

OLD PASTURE, 1.   SD 996672   290m (950ft) O.D.
Roughly oval enclosure.
(HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 666b).

OLD PASTURE, 2.   SD 994670   297m (975ft) O.D.
Sub-rectangular enclosure.
(HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 666a).

OUTGANG HILL   SD 971669   259m (850ft) O.D.
Oval enclosure, divided internally into 4 circular huts,
and 4 roughly rectilinear areas plus some irregular parts.
On north another enclosure with hut in one corner and
large fields linked by a sunken road.
(Raistrick, 1965, 326).

PENIGENT GILL   SD 875742   305-366m (1000-1200ft) O.D.
Settlements.   Round and sub-rectangular huts, and
rectangular enclosures.
(Bennett, 1938;   HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 682).

SCOT GATE LANE (south-east of)   SD 993681 - SD 996677
                                    320m (1050ft) O.D.
Fields and hut circles under limestone scar.
(Raistrick, 1965, 320; HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 665, [Plate II]).

SCOT GATE PASTURE, 1.   SD 989683   335m (1100ft) O.D.
Large   sub-circular   enclosure,   subdivided   internally,
including circular huts.
(HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 663a; Raistrick, 1965, 320).
 [see Pl.IIIa].

STONEBECK DOWN, 1.   SE 12256643   229m (751ft) O.D.
Hut circles.   Long walls run east-west with subdivisions.
(Calvert and Collins, 1981, 144).

STONEBECK DOWN, 2.   SE 12506657   244m (800ft) O.D.
Enclosure contains 2 hut circles, complex of folds and
pens with 2 further hut circles.
(Calvert and Collins, 1981, 144).

STONEBECK DOWN, 3.   SE 12686661   259m (850ft) O.D.
Rectangular enclosure, hut circle, corn-drying(?) kiln.
(Calvert and Collins, 1981, 144).

SWINEBER SCAR (below)   SD 984693
Rectangular enclosure containing rectangular huts within
rectangular field system. (King,1985,fig.7.7).

TAG BAILE   SE 054670   381m (1250ft) O.D.
8 circular huts plus enclosure.
(Raistrick, 1965, 325).

TATTERSALLS PASTURE SD 942668-942671   419m (1375ft) O.D.
Hut circles and enclosures, etc.
(Raistrick, 1965, 318).

THRESHFIELD BRIDGE   SD 985632   213m (700ft) O.D.
Celtic fields, huts and enclosures
(Raistrick, 1965, 333).

WASSA HILL (south-east of)   SD 990677   305m (1000ft) O.D.
Conjoined sub-rectangular enclosures with hut circles,
track leading to it.
(HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 668).

MALHAMDALE

ABBOT HILLS, MALHAM   SD 905646   381m (1250ft) O.D.
Sub-rectangular enclosures and huts, and hut circle.
(HBMC. SAM. N. Yorks. 6576).

CHAPEL FELL   SD 885675   396m (1300ft) O.D.
4 large hut circles.
(Raistrick, 1965, 327).

COMB SCAR   SD 895648   366m (1200ft) O.D.
Hut circle.   Excavated.
(Raistrick and Holmes, 1962; [Plate VIa]).

COW BANK   SD 894708   381m (1250ft) O.D.
Curvilinear enclosure, rectilinear building inside.
To north is sub-circular hut.
(HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 725).

DEWBOTTOMS (1)   SD 913695   434m (1425ft) O.D.
Fields with huts.
(Raistrick and Holmes, 1962, 82-3, fig. 3;
 HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 660b) [see fig.7.9].

DEWBOTTOMS (2)   SD 913693 (1500ft) O.D.
Settlement.   Three enclosures and several hut circles
associated with cross-valley wall.
(HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 660a).

DEWBOTTOMS (3)   SD 912694   442m (1450ft) O.D.
Homestead.   Enclosure containing two hut circles
occupying promontory.
(HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 660b, additional note).

EWE CLOSE (south of)   (centred on) SD 888640
                                   442m (1450ft) O.D.
Various settlement sites.   Enclosed valley with hut
circles.   Enclosures against outcrop.   D-shaped
enclosure.   Rock-cleft shelters.
(HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 703a-d).

ING SCAR   SD 893646   343m (1125ft) O.D.
Irregular enclosures and huts.
(HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 704).

KNOWE FELL   SD 881672   421m (1380ft) O.D.
Settlement.   Enclosures, two hut circles, two rectangular
huts added.   Partly excavated.
(Raistrick, 1968, 113).

LANGSCAR GATE (north-west of) SD 883651 411m (1348ft) O.D.
Cross-walls, enclosures - hut circles.
(HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 706) [see fig.7.6].

MIDDLE HOUSE PASTURE   SD 901680   457m (1500ft) O.D.
Settlement.   Complex of huts enclosed by strong stone
walls.   Part excavated.
(Raistrick and Holmes, 1962, 73; HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 661)
 [see fig.7.8].

NEW CLOSE PASTURE   SD 907651   366m (1200ft) O.D.
Settlement - several hut circles associated with field
system.
(Personal inspection).

PRIOR RAKES (west of TROUGATE)   SD 895652
                                   381m (1250ft) O.D.
Enclosure and hut circles.   Part excavated.
(Raistrick and Holmes, 1962, 88, fig. 10) [see fig.7.7].

SHERIFF HILL   SD 900640   320m (1050ft) O.D.
Sub-rectangular enclosure and wall passage.
(Raistrick and Holmes, 1962;   HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 648).

SHERIFF HILL (east of)   SD 902640   335m (1100ft) O.D.
Settlement.   Nucleated hut circles, enclosures, wall
passages and sub-rectangular huts;   part excavated.
(HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 652a).

SHARKLEY HILL (north-west of)   SD 903639
                                     335m (1100ft) O.D.
Sub-rectangular walled enclosure, 5 interior hut circles.
(HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 652b).

STRIDEBUT EDGE (north of)   SD 905638   335m (1100ft) O.D.
Settlement, circular huts, a rectilinear house and several
enclosures - two have a 'wall passage'.   Part excavated.
(Raistrick and Holmes, 1962, 88-9, fig. 7;
HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 649).

TORLERY EGE   SD 898652   389m (1275ft) O.D.
Settlement.   6 hut circles under western knoll, plus 2
circles under eastern knoll.
(HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 656; [Plate VII]).

RIBBLESDALE

ATTERMIRE CAMP EAST   SD 846641   381m (1250ft) O.D.
Farmstead - part excavated.   Hut circle and sub-
rectangular enclosure.
(King, 1974b, 145).

ATTERMIRE CAVE   SD 841642
Cave - yielded Romano-British artefacts.
(King, 1974a).

ASHES SHAW PASTURE   SD 775780   335m (1100ft) O.D.
Enclosures plus hut circles.
(HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 680).

AUSTWICK   SD 758686   150m (492ft) O.D.
Settlement and field system - double complex of irregular
enclosures and huts.
(Walker, 1969, 237;   HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 1193).

ELLER KELD   SD 748782   305m (1000ft) O.D.
Settlement.
(HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 1197).

GAUBER COW PASTURE ROCKS   SD 770785   320m (1050ft) O.D.
Settlement with rectangular huts.
(King, 1978, 114).

GAUBER LIMEKILN PASTURE (West)   SD 761788
                                    305m (1000ft) O.D.
Hut circles and enclosures.
(Walker, 1966, 559-560).

HELWITH BRIDGE   SD 816693   244m (800ft) O.D.
Two settlements, one with hut circles, the other with
rectangular huts.   Part excavated.
(King, 1970a, 67-68;   King and Walker, 1965, 325)
 [see fig.7.11].

INGLEBOROUGH HILL   SD 711747   723m (2373ft) O.D.
Hill fort, 16 acres - stone rampart and hut-circles.
(Elgee and Elgee, 1933, 119-120, gaz. 255;
HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 217).

INGMAN LODGE SHAW PASTURE   SD 777774
                               320-335m (1050-1100ft) O.D.
3 farmsteads with circular huts.
(King, 1970a, 62).

JUBILEE CAVE   SD 839649   411m (1350ft) O.D.
Cave.   Yielded Romano-British artefacts.
(Raistrick, 1939).

JUBILEE CAVE   SD 838655
Settlement.   Yielded Romano-British artefacts.
(HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 324).

KELCO CAVE   SD 810647
Rock shelter - yielded Romano-British artefacts.
(King, 1974, fig. 29a).

KINSEY CAVE   SD 804657   305m (1000ft) O.D.
Rock shelter - yielded Romano-British artefacts.
(King, 1974).

LEYS BARN   SD 806680   274m (900ft) O.D.
Settlement.   2 rectangular hut platforms, some small
rectangular plots and long strip fields.
(King, 1970a, 70).

SEWELL'S CAVE, SETTLE   SD 85666
Rock shelter - yielded Romano-British artefacts, mostly
2nd century AD.
(Raistrick, 1936).

SOUTHERSCALES   SD 741767   320m (1050ft) O.D.
Sub-rectangular enclosures and rectangular huts.
(HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 696).

TOP COW PASTURE   SD 775759   351m (1151ft) O.D.
Nucleated settlement enclosures and huts, circular and
rectangular.
(King, 1978, 114).

TWISLETON HALL   SD 699746   229m (751ft) O.D.
Settlement.   Series of oblong small enclosures, a hut
circle adjoining.
(HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 1232b).

VICTORIA CAMP   SD 842652   457m (1500ft) O.D.
Settlement.   Round hut-bases, evidence of metalworking.
(King, 1970a, 65).

VICTORIA CAVE   SD 838650   442m (1450ft) O.D.
Cave.   Romano-British artefacts.
(Elgee and Elgee, 1933, 22 and 159;
 HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 290).

YARLSBER CAMP   SD 710726   244m (801ft) O.D.
Curvilinear enclosure.
(Raistrick, 1939, 125;   HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 218).

CRAVEN LOWLANDS - see section 4.

4. SOUTHERN PENNINES   (see maps figs. 1.6 and 1.7,
                          and Chapter 8).

    Craven Lowlands
    North of river Wharfe
    Between Aire and Wharfe
    Between Aire and Calder
    South of river Calder.

CRAVEN LOWLANDS

CARLETON, 1.   SD 956492   244m (800ft) O.D.
Curvilinear earthwork - bank and outer ditch.
(Challis and Harding, 1975, pt.2, fig. 93, no.37).

CARLETON, 2.   SD 963491   183m (600ft) O.D.
Curvilinear earthwork with inner ditch outer rampart.
(Challis and Harding, 1975, pt.2, fig. 91, no.8).

HORSE CLOSE FARM   SD 997505   198m (650ft) O.D.
Curvilinear enclosure, stone-walled.   Excavated.
(Challis and Harding, 1975, pt.2.52, fig. 93, no.38).

KIRK SINK   SD 939536   114m (375ft) O.D.
Roman villa.
(Hartley, 1975, 238; 1976, 317-318).

PARK HILL   SD 887587   213m (700ft) O.D.
Circular earthwork with inner ditch, outer rampart.
(Challis and Harding, 1975, pt.2, fig. 91, no.5).

SHARP HAW CRAGS   SD 960546   274m (900ft) O.D.
Oval enclosure.   Defensive site.   Part excavated.
(Atkinson, 1963).

STEELING HILL   SD 886551   213m (700ft) O.D.
Rectilinear enclosure.
(HBMC. SAM. N.Yorks. 707).

SWINDEN   SD 867534   183m (600ft) O.D.
Curvilinear enclosure, ditched.
(Challis and Harding, 1975, pt.2, fig. 93, no.36).

NORTH OF RIVER WHARFE

BRISCOE RIGG   SE 258510   213m (700ft) O.D.
Curvilinear earthworks with inner ditch.
(Cowling, 1946, 139, fig. 65).

CASTLEBERG   SE 092494   122m (400ft) O.D.
Promontory hill fort, univallate.
(Cowling, 1946, 141, fig. 65).

CROW WELL   SE 141521   305m (1000ft) O.D.
Walled enclosure and hut circles.
(Cowling, 1946, 133, fig. 62).

GREYSTONE ALLOTMENT, WESTON MOOR   SE 1849
                                        289m (950ft) O.D.
Settlement.
(Cowling, 1946, 138).

HORNE BANK, RIGTON   SE 2650   183m (600ft) O.D.
Three enclosures, one round and two square.   Many querns
found.
(Cowling, 1946, 139).

KEX GHYLL   SE 1555   2139m (10000ft) O.D.
Settlement, enclosed by wall, many hut-circles.
(Cowling, 1946, 137-8; Raistrick, 1939, 121).

SNOWDEN CARR   SE 176513   259m (850ft) O.D.
Rectilinear earthwork with inner ditch.
(Cowling, 1946, 135, fig. 63).

STEELING HILL   SD 886551   213m (700ft) O.D.
Rectilinear earthwork - inner ditch, outer bank.
(Raistrick, 1939, 126;
 Challis and Harding, 1975, pt.2, fig. 91, no.6).

BETWEEN AIRE AND WHARFE

BRACKENHALL GREEN   SE 130392   137m (450ft) O.D.
Enclosures: both circular and rectangular including part
of Iron Age field system.
(Cowling, 1946, 138;   Jackson, 1970, 42).

CAMP HOUSE, BRAMHOPE   SE 248422   152m (500ft) O.D.
Square enclosure.
(Cowling, 1946, 140-141; Keighley, 1981, 123).

CROSSLEY WOOD   SE 117385   76m (250ft) O.D.
Circular enclosure.   Double boulder walling.   Associated
(?) rectilinear fields.   Excavated.
(Faull, 1981, 151;   Mayes, 1971, 19-23).

DANEFIELD WOOD   SE 219445   168m (550ft) O.D.
Open settlement and field system.
(Cowling, 1946, 135-7; Keighley, 1981, 121).

GAWTHORPE VILLA(?)   SE 1140   122m (400ft) O.D.
Tesselated pavement.
(Faull, 1981, 147).

GIPTON   SE 327365
Rectilinear enclosure.
(Keighley, 1981, 123).

GREEN CRAG SLACK   SE 137457   320m (1050ft) O.D.
Extensive settlement including large rectilinear walled
enclosure and conjoined enclosures.
(Cowling, 1946, 131;   Keighley, 1981, 121).

HARLOW HILL   SE 288361   61m (200ft) O.D.
Rectangular enclosure, triple entrenchment.
(Keighley, 1981, 122).

HIRST WOOD   SE 126382   91m (300ft) O.D.
Settlement - hut circles and rectilinear enclosures.
(Keighley, 1981, 121).

MARCHUP BECK   SE 048498   259m (850ft) O.D.
Rectangular enclosure within larger enclosure mound.
(Cowling, 1946, p.141, fig. 65).

ROUND DYKES   SE 055501   274m (900ft) O.D.
Curvilinear eathwork, ditched, surrounded by larger
enclosure.   Contains 9 hut circles.
(Keighley, 1981, 127).

SHIPLEY GLEW   SE 129390-133385   91m (300ft) O.D.
Extended settlement.
(Keighley, 1981, 121).

SOLDIERS TRENCH   SE 130391   122m (400ft) O.D.
Circular enclosure.
(Keighley, 1981, 121).

WOOFA BANK   SE 048499   259m (850ft) O.D.
Curvilinear earthwork, centre of extensive field system.
(Cowling, 1946, 131;   Keighley, 1981, 127).

BETWEEN AIRE AND CALDER

BIRSTALL VILLA(?)   SE 224263   107m (350ft) O.D.
Tesselated pavement.
(Faull, 1981, 147).

CASTLE STEAD RING   SE 051363   244m (800ft) O.D.
Curvilinear enclosure, rampart and ditch, excavated.
(Keighley, 1981, 127).

CATSTONES RING   SE 068381   274m (899ft) O.D.
Rectangular ditched enclosure.
(Keighley, 1981, 123).

KIRKLEES PARK   SE 173217   91m (300ft) O.D.
Six-sided enclosure, internal rampart, external ditch,
excavated.
(Toomey, 1966, fig. 4;   Keighley, 1981, 126).

KIT WOOD   SE 207305   152m (500ft) O.D.
Oval enclosure.
(Keighley, 1981, 127).

LOWER SWAIN ROYD FARM   SE 101357   244m (800ft) O.D.
Curvilinear enclosure.
(Keighley, 1981, 127).

MIDGLEY   SE 023267   244m (800ft) O.D.
Curvilinear earthwork.
(Challis and Harding, 1975, pt.2.52, fig. 93, no.41).

MOOR END   SE 052279   320m (1050ft) O.D.
Curvilinear enclosure, inner ditch.
(Challis and Harding, 1975, pt.2, fig. 93, no.42).

OVENDEN   SE 055299   350m (1150ft) O.D.
Sub-rectangular earthwork.
(Keighley, 1981, 126).

ROUND RING   SE 0552941   350m (1150ft) O.D.
Sub-rectangular enclosure, mostly destroyed.
(Keighley, 1981, 126).

SNAPETHORPE HALL   SE 306200   61m (200ft) O.D.
Villa?   Tesserae found.
(Faull, 1981, 147).

TOWER HILL   SE 055260   305m (1000ft) O.D.
Curvilinear enclosure - excavated - no finds.
(Keighley, 1981, 128).

SOUTH OF RIVER CALDER

CASTLE HILL, ALMONDBURY   SE 152140   274m (900ft) O.D.
Multivallate hill fort, timber-laced and vitrified
ramparts.
(Challis and Harding, 1975, pt.1, 116-121;
                    pt.2, fig. 87, no.4).

CROSLAND MOOR   SE 123141   213m (700ft) O.D.
Curvilinear enclosure but in 1759 there were 2 enclosures.
(Keighley, 1981, 127).

HOLMES ROAD   SE 066235   76m (250ft) O.D.
Rectilinear enclosure.
(Keighley, 1981, 126).

LEE HILL   SE 091184   282m (925ft) O.D.
Curvilinear earthwork, stone (box?) rampart and outer
ditch.
(Toomey, 1960, 8;   Keighley, 1981, 127).

MEG DYKE   SE 050174   274m (900ft) O.D.
Sub-rectangular double ramparted enclosure.   Excavated.
(Keighley, 1981, 124).

NOTTON   SE 343119   61m (200ft) O.D.
Rectilinear enclosure, six-sided.
(Keighley, 1981, 126).

OLDFIELD HILL   SE 087101   274m (900ft) O.D.
Sub-rectangular with stone-box rampart and outer ditch.
Excavated.
(Keighley, 1981, 124;   Toomey, 1966, 4-6).

ROYD EDGE   SE 091097   305m (1000ft) O.D.
Earthwork, inner ditch, box-rampart and inner ditch.
Excavated.
(Keighley, 1981, 125;
 Challis and Harding, 1975, pt.2, fig. 91, no.9).
 [see fig.8.1].

APPENDIX II

Calibrated radiocarbon dates from sites.
(see Stuiver and Kra (eds.), 1986).

SITE	LAB. REF.	RADIOCARBON DATE	CALIBRATED DATE(S)
Almondbury	I-4542	555±100bc	765, 673, 667, 613, 608 BC
Belling Law	Har-1394	160±80bc	125, 140, 165 BC
Bracken Rigg	Har-2414	1230±80bc	1445 BC
Burnswark	GaK-2203b	500±100bc	530 BC
Burnswark	I-5314	525±90bc	756, 690, 650, 590, 540 BC
Dinorben	V-122	895±95bc	1003 BC
Dubby Sike	Har-6551	161±90bc	158, 121 BC
Dubby Sike	Har-6552	221±100bc	200 BC
Fenton Hill	Har-825	690±100bc	805 BC
Forcegarth Pasture North	Har-864	ad140±70	AD 220
Forcegarth Pasture South	Har-1447	ad210±90	AD 257, 296, 321
Hartburn	I-6300	35±175bc	AD 15
Huckhoe	GaK-1388	510±40bc	755, 699, 537 BC
Ingram Hill	I-5316	220±90bc	197 BC
Kennel Hall Knowe	Har-1943	100±90bc	73 BC
Mam Tor	Birm-192	1136±115bc	1394, 1331, 1329 BC
Middle Hurth	Har-2918	260±80bc	355, 290 BC
Simy Folds	Har-4035	380±100bc	396 BC
Staple Howe	BM-63	450±150bc	408 BC

APPENDIX III

Select list of calibrated radiocarbon dates
from pollen diagrams.

(see Stuiver and Kra (eds.), 1986).

LOCATION	LAB. REFS.	RADIOCARBON DATE	CALIBRATED DATE(S)
Bishop Middleham, (Durham Lowlands)	GaK-2072	1710+80bc	2037 BC
Bishop Middleham, (Durham Lowlands)	GaK-2073	1410+80bc	1677 BC
Bollihope Bog, (Weardale)	GaK-3031	ad220+100	AD 265, 330
Cow Green, (Teesdale)	GaK-2027	1220+100bc	1439 BC
Fellend Moss, (Tyne Gap)	SRR-876	ad2+45	AD 60
Fellend Moss, (Tyne Gap)	SRR-875	ad620+40	AD 676
Fen Bogs, (N.E. Yorks.)	T-1085	330+120bc	388 BC
Fen Bogs, (N.E. Yorks.)	T-1086	ad420+130	AD 544
Fortress Dike Camp, (Nidderdale)	GaK-385	ad630+90	AD 673
Hallowell Moss, (Durham Lowlands)	SRR-415	6+70bc	AD 58
Hallowell Moss, (Durham Lowlands)	SRR-413	ad595+50	AD 662
Hambleton Dike, (Nidderdale)	GaK-3670	250+80bc	353,306, 236 BC
Hutton Henry, (Durham Lowlands)	SRR-600	ad108+70	AD 140

Select list of calibrated radiocarbon dates
from pollen diagrams. (continued)

LOCATION	LAB. REFS.	RADIOCARBON DATE	CALIBRATED DATE(S)
Leash Fen, (Derb.)	GaK-2288	340+100bc	390 BC
Leash Fen, (Derb.)	GaK-2289	140+100bc	110 BC
Maiden Castle, (Stainmore)	Har-2689	560+80bc	767 BC
Neasham Fen, (Durham Lowlands)	SRR-100	538+75bc	760, 680, 660, 600, 570 BC
Neasham Fen, (Durham Lowlands)	SRR-96	ad733+60	AD 689
Rishworth Moor, (W. Yorks.)	GaK-2824	470+100bc	484, 438, 423 BC
Simy Folds, (Teesdale)	Har-3791	450+80bc	408 BC
Steward Shield Meadow, (Weardale)	GaK-3033	110+118bc	96 BC
Thorpe Bulmer, (Durham Lowlands)	SRR-404	114+60bc	100 BC
Thorpe Bulmer, (Durham Lowlands)	SRR-405	ad1098+60	AD 1200
Tinkler's Sike, (Teesdale)	GaK-2027	620+80bc	795 BC
Valley Bog, (Teesdale)	SRR-88	262+55bc	360, 290, 252 BC
Valley Bog, (Teesdale)	SRR-89	255+46bc	353, 306, 236 BC
Wheeldale Gill, (N.E. Yorks.)	GaK-3879	ad380+90	AD 450

MAIN ABBREVIATIONS

Ann. Ep. : l'Année Epigraphique.

Arch. Ael. : Archaeologia Aeliana (published by Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne).

Brit. : Britannia (A Journal of Romano-British and Kindred Studies).

CBA : Council for British Archaeology.

CIL : Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.

Cumb.West.Trans. : Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society.

D and N Trans. : Transactions of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland.

EE : Ephemeris Epigraphica.

HBMC : Historical Buildings and Monuments Commission for England.

ILS : Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae (see Dessau).

JRS : Journal of Roman Studies.

RCHM : Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England.

RIB : The Roman Inscriptions of Britain [see Collingwood and Wright, 1965].

SAM : Scheduled Ancient Monument (combined with 'HBMC' and with county ref. indicates information thus recorded).

SHA : Scriptores Historiae Augustae.

SMR : Sites and Monuments Record.

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Fig.1.1 Central Britain
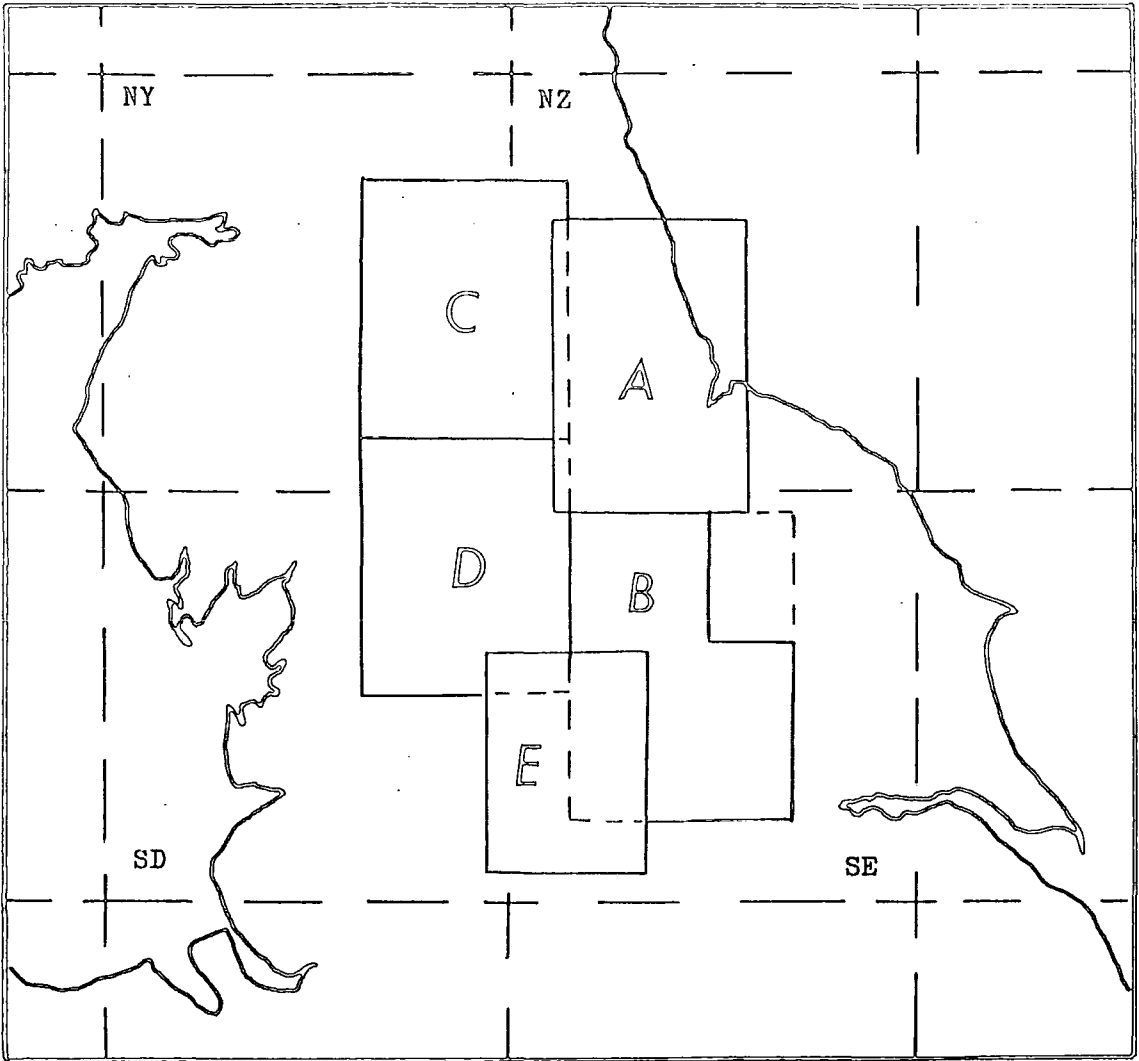
Fig. 1.2 Rural settlement, study areas

Key:

A	-	fig. 1.3
B	-	fig. 1.4
C	-	fig. 1.5
D	-	fig. 1.6
E	-	fig. 1.7

△ - villa

▣ - rectilinear enclosure

○ - other site

(Unnamed open symbols - not listed in catalogue)
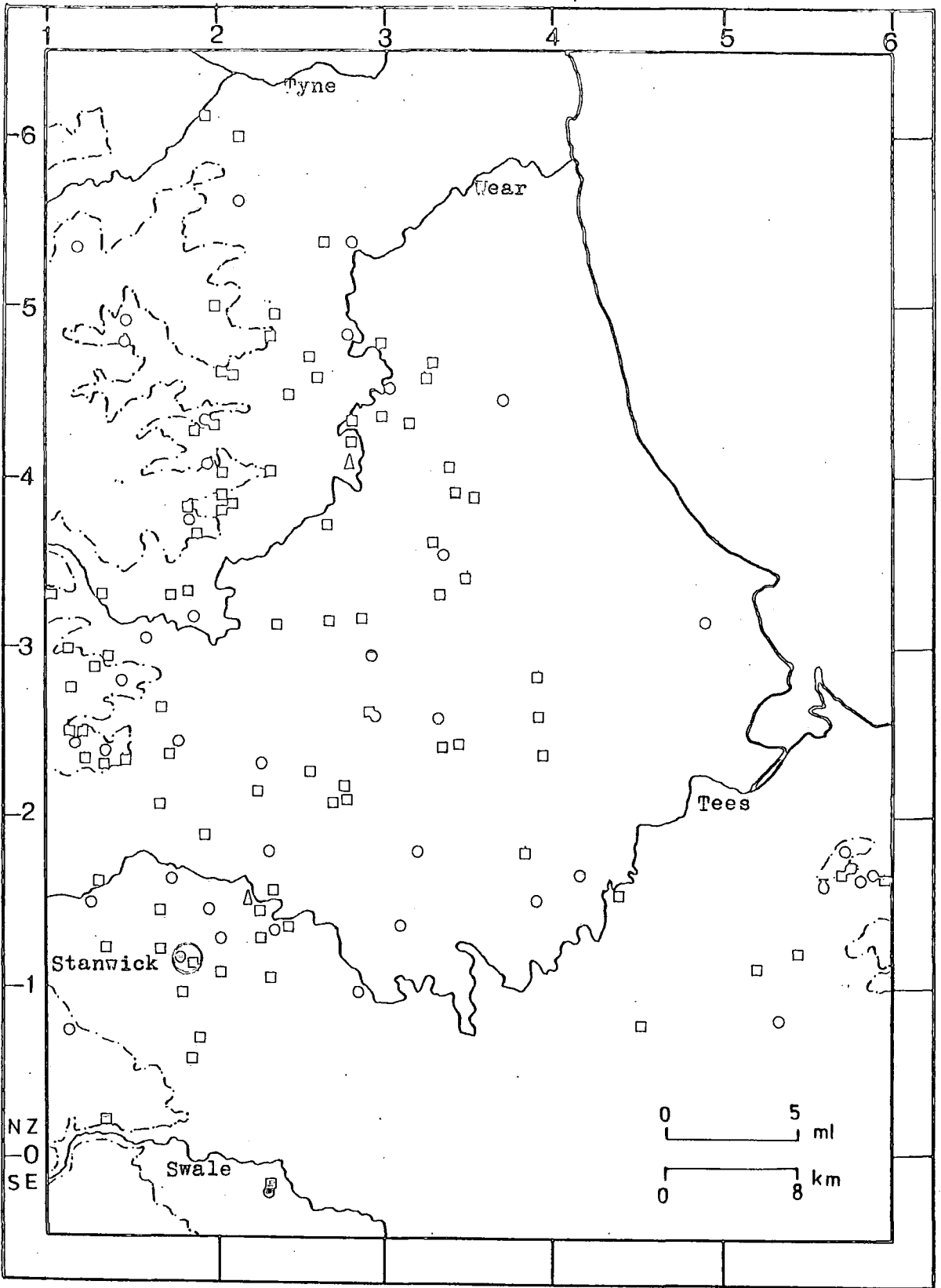
Fig. 1.3   Map A
Eastern Lowlands: Tyne to Swale
Contour - 600ft (183m)
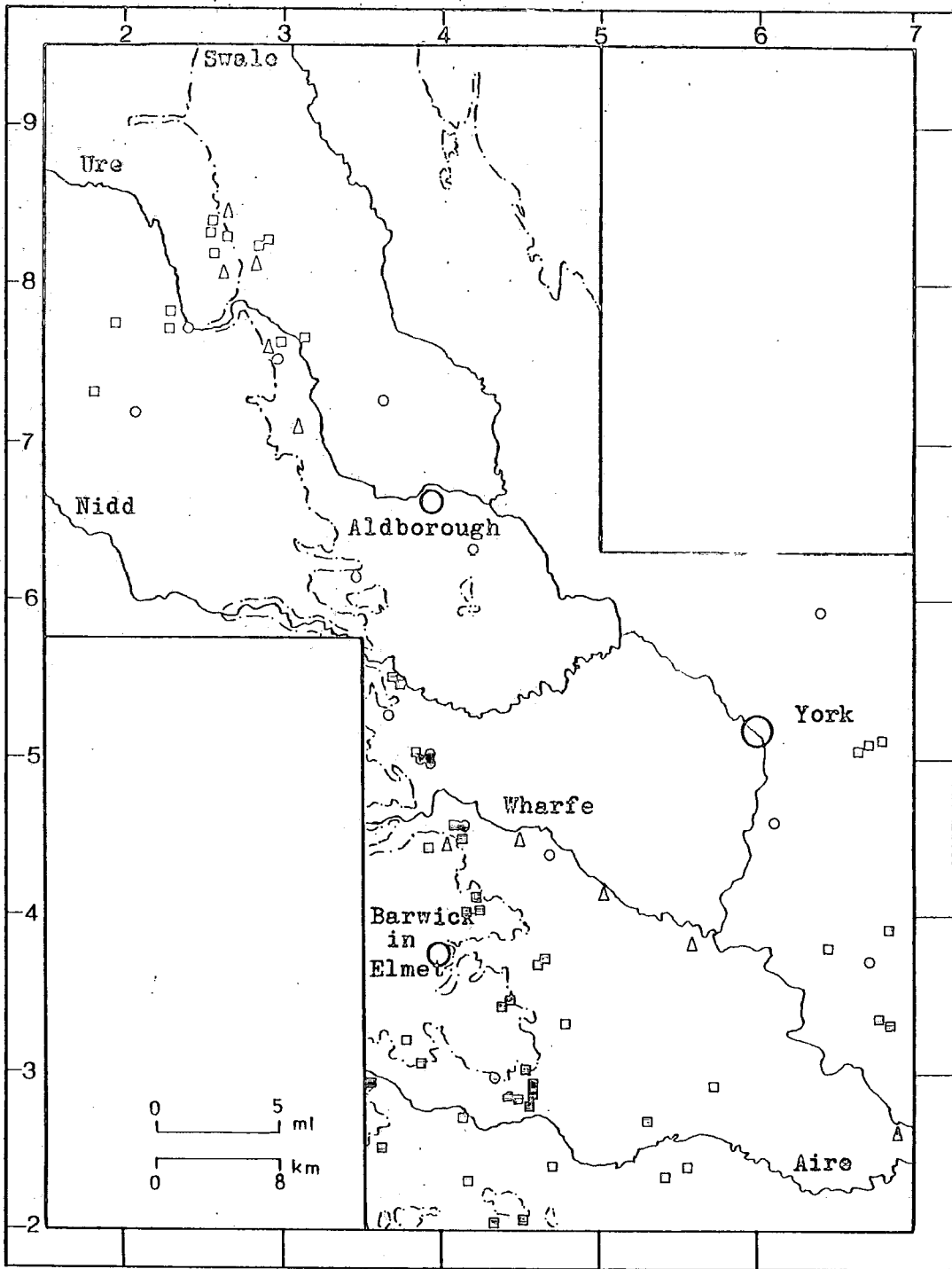
Fig. 1.4   Map B
Eastern Lowlands: Swale to Aire
Contour   -   200ft (61m)
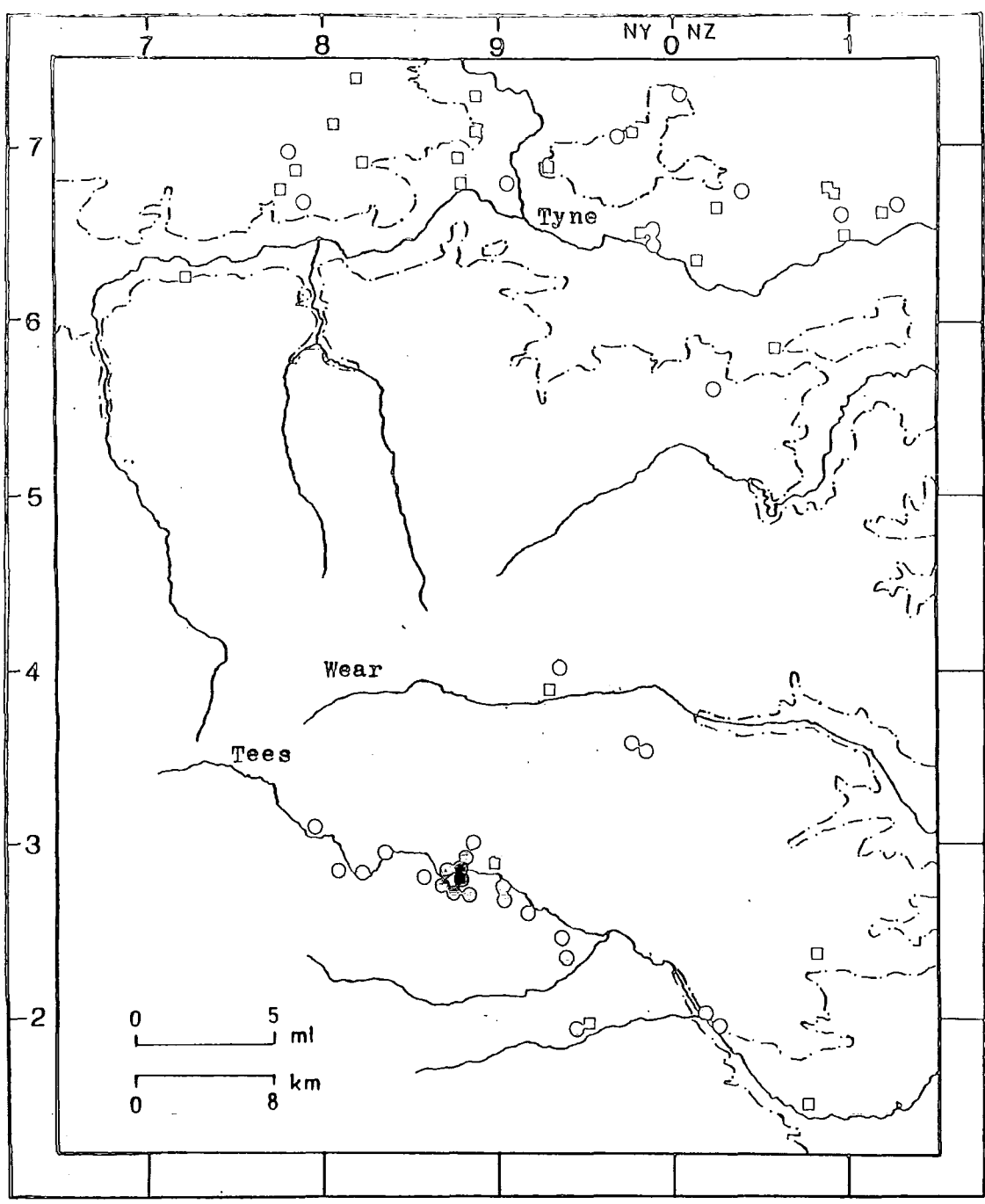
Fig. 1.5   Map C
Northern Pennines
Contour - 600ft (183m)
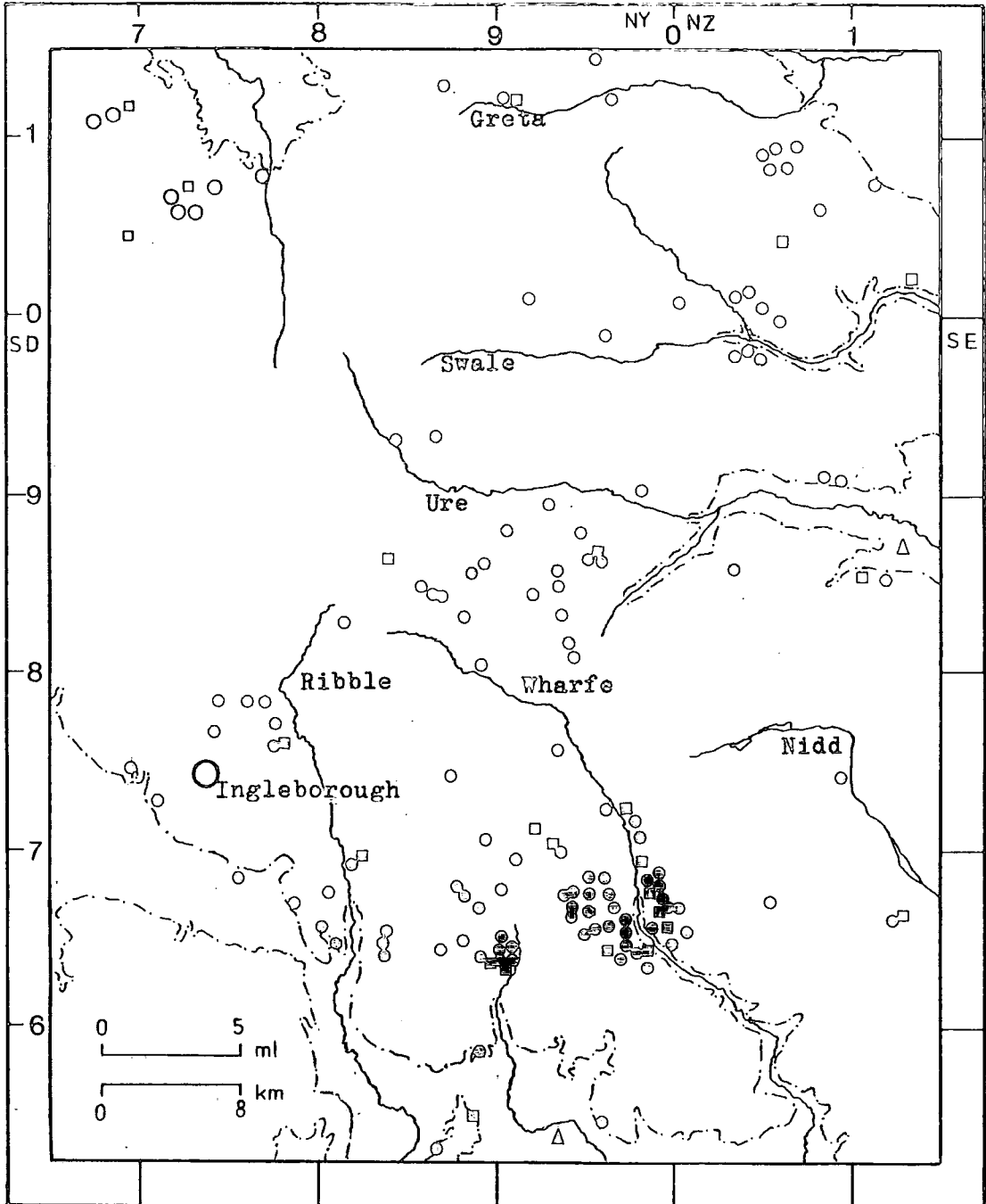
Fig. 1.6   Map D
Central Pennines
Contour — 600ft (183m)
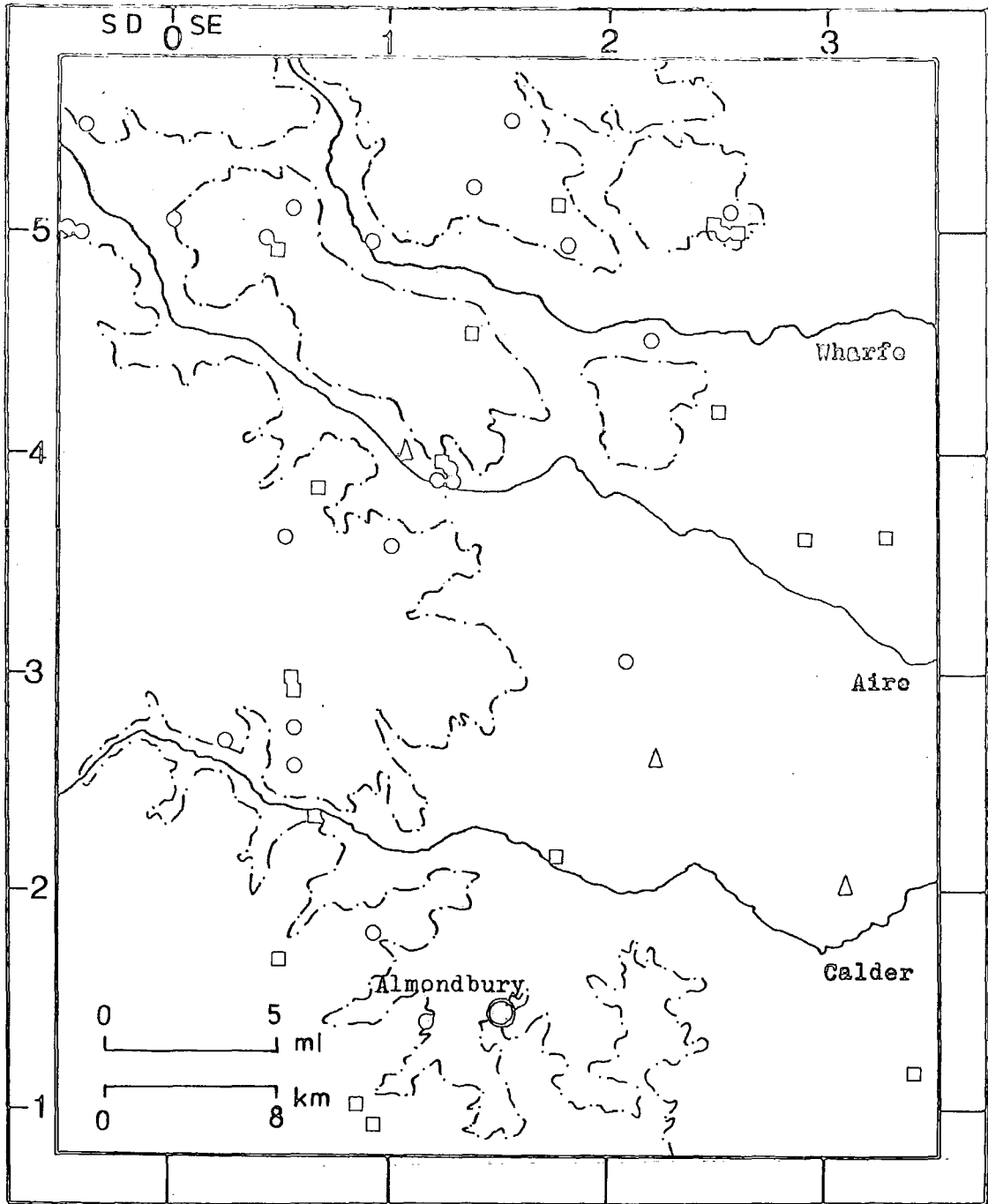
Fig. 1.7   Map E
Southern Pennines, Northern Part
Contour -   600ft (183m)

Fig. 2.1   Northern England, physical

   Land over 300ft (91m)
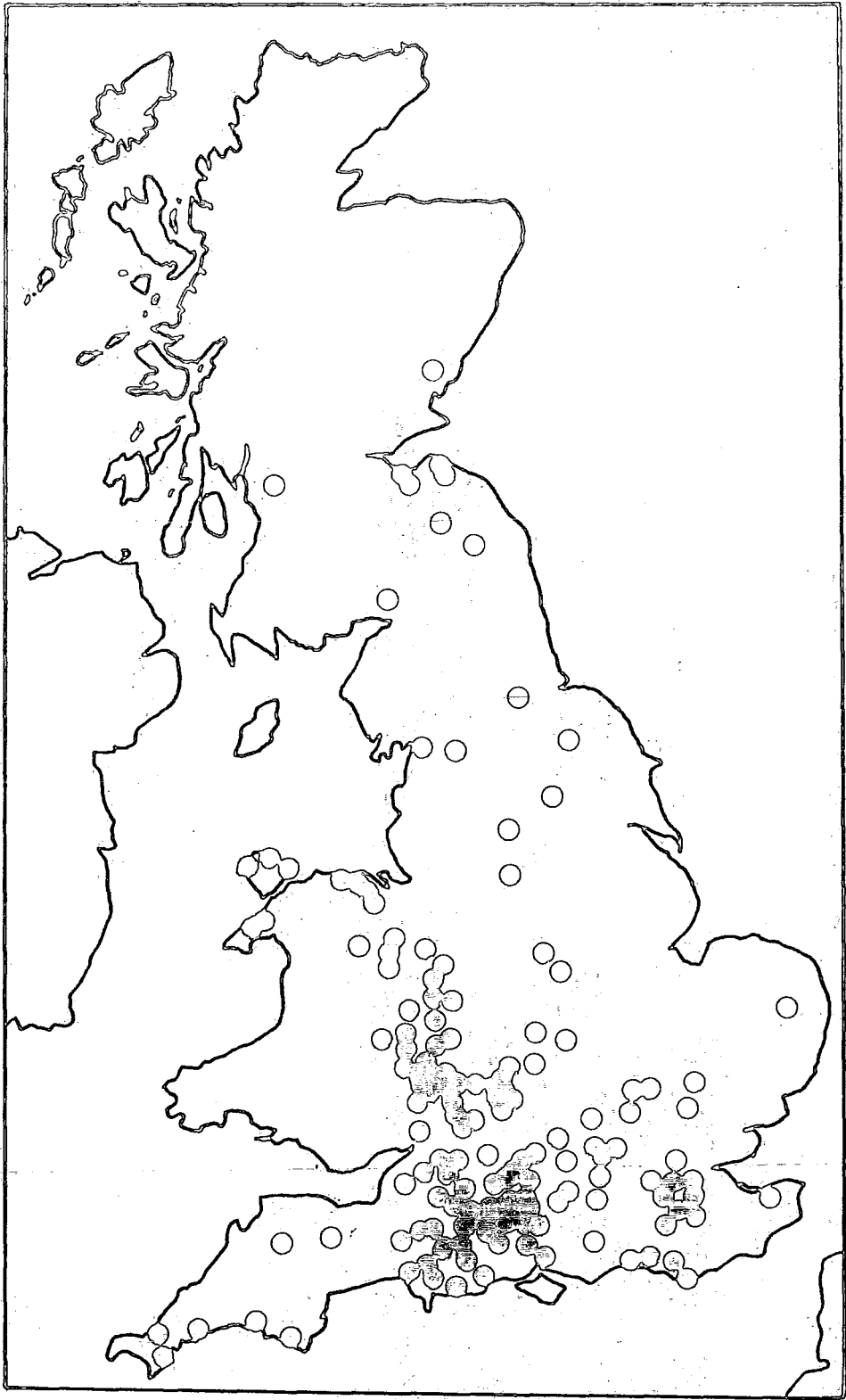
Fig.3.1   Large fortified sites in Britain
           (6ha and over)

Sources: Ordnance Survey Map, 1962;
           Feachem, 1963 & 1966;
           Challis & Harding, 1975

Fig. 3.2.

Britain: Comparison of some Hill Forts.

NAME	Acres	Hectares	Population Density	Radius Km	Radius Miles
Mam Tor	16	6.5	3.7	5.8	3.6
Almondbury	16	6.5	3.7	5.8	3.6
Barwick in Elmet	15	6.0	2.0	7.6	4.75
Roulston Scar	53	21.5	1.9	14.7	9.1
Ingleborough	16	6.5	1.5	9.1	5.7
Warton Crag	15	6.0	1.5	8.7	5.5
Stanwick I	17	6.9	1.9	8.3	5.2
Stanwick II	130	52.6	1.9	23.0	14.4
Stanwick III	850	344	1.9	58.8	36.75
Burnswark	17	6.9	6.6	4.5	2.8
Eston Nab	3.25	1.3	1.8	3.7	2.3
Carrock Fell	5.0	2.0	1.6	4.9	3.0
Maiden Castle	45	18	10.8	5.64	3.5
Hod Hill	55	22	10.8	6.2	3.9
Poundbury	15	6.0	10.8	3.3	2.1
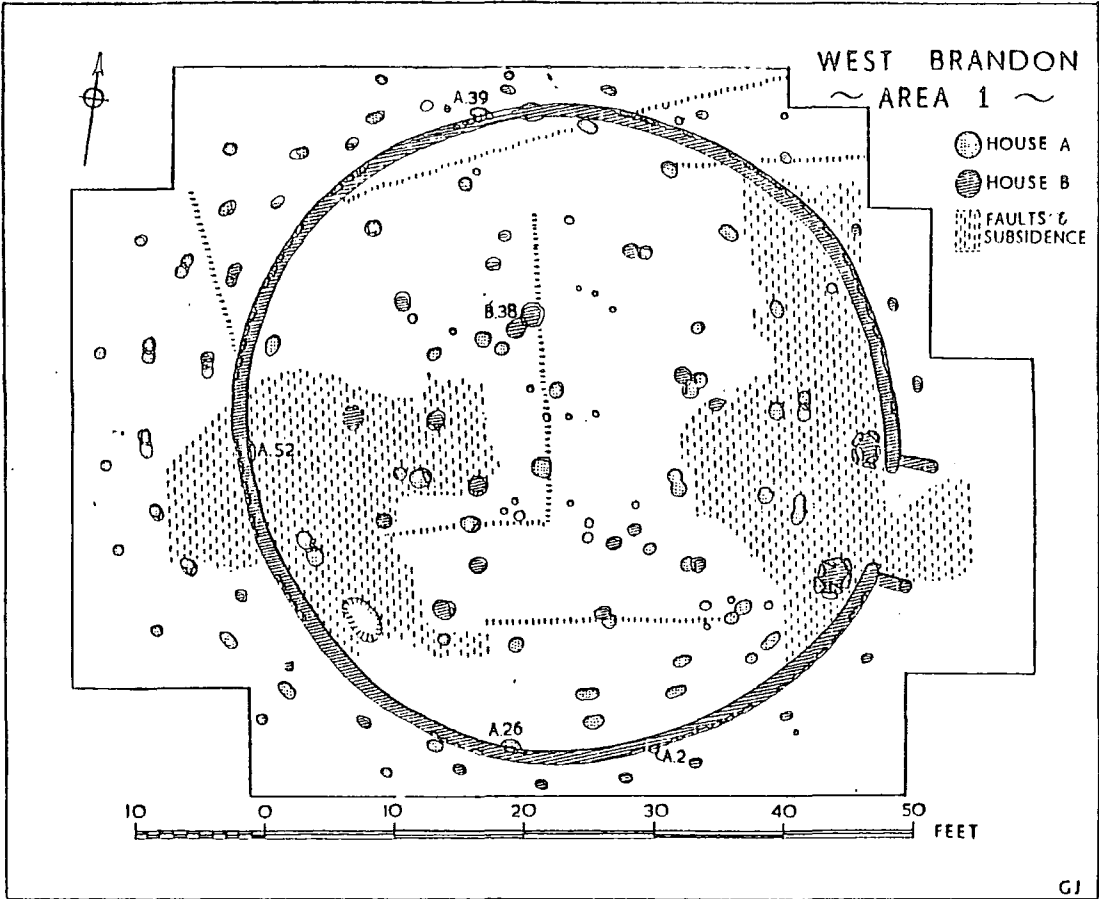
Fig. 4.1   House plans, West Brandon

(source: Jobey, 1962)
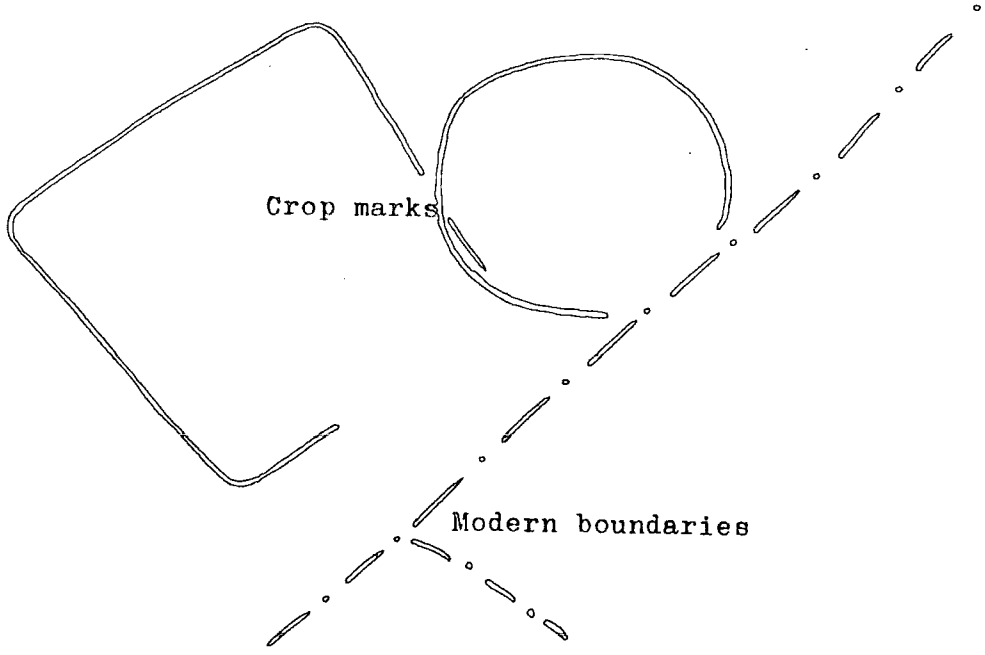
Fig. 4.2   Woodham, crop mark sites

(from Dur.Univ.Air Photo)
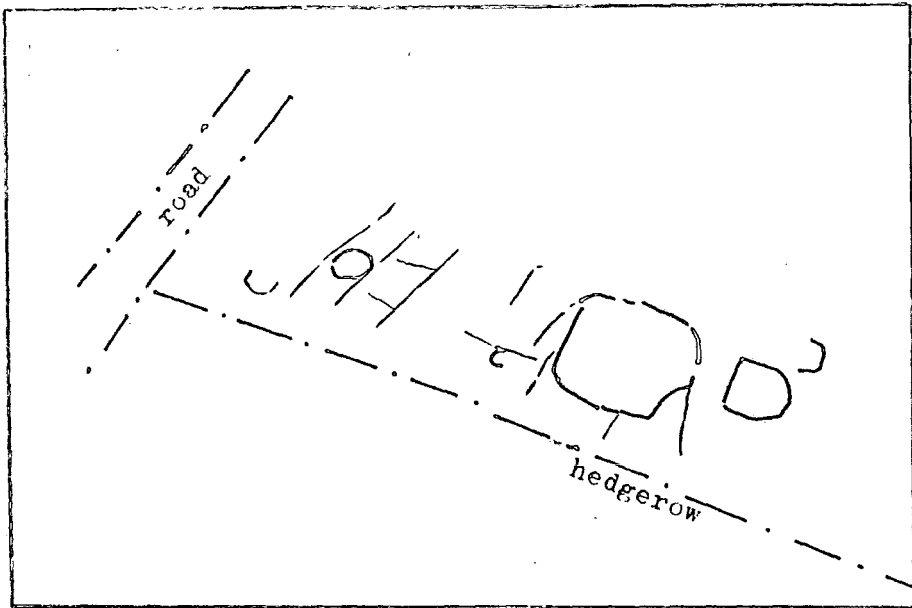
fig. 4.3   Sunderland Bridge, Croxdale, crop mark
            sites

            (from Dur.Univ. Air Photo)
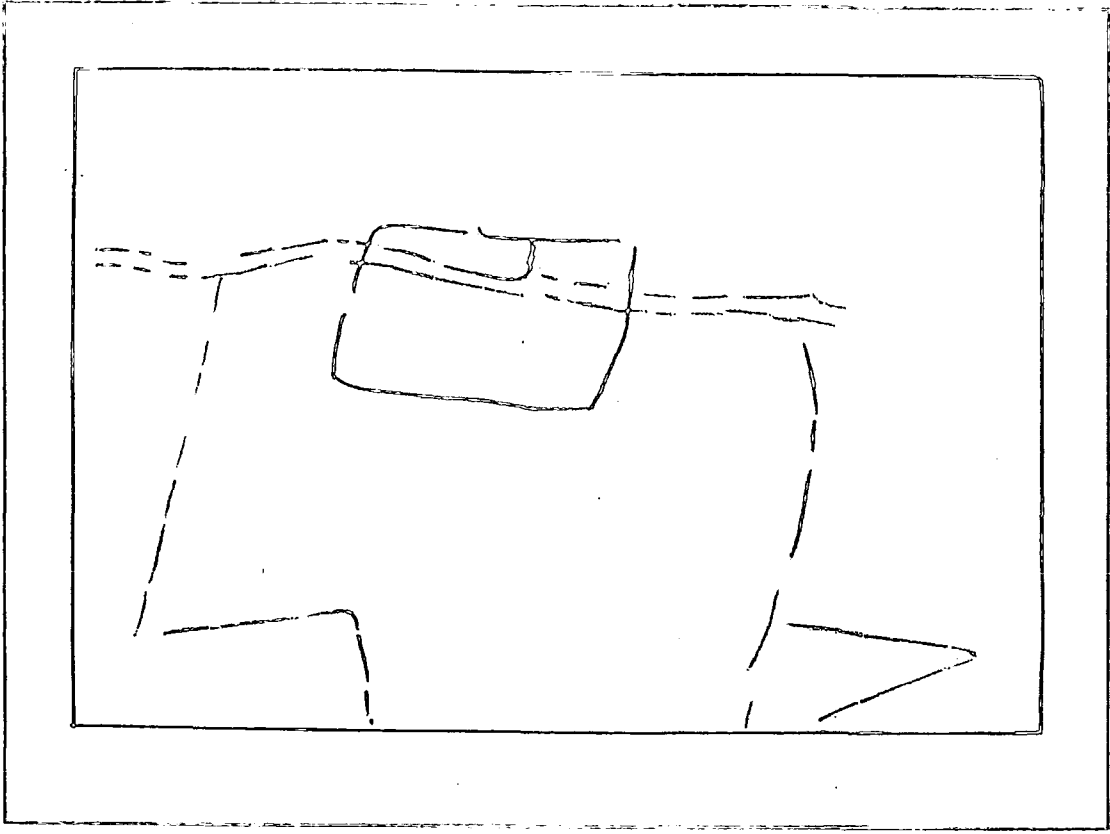
Fig. 4.4   Compton (near), crop mark site

(from Riley,1977,30, fig.7)
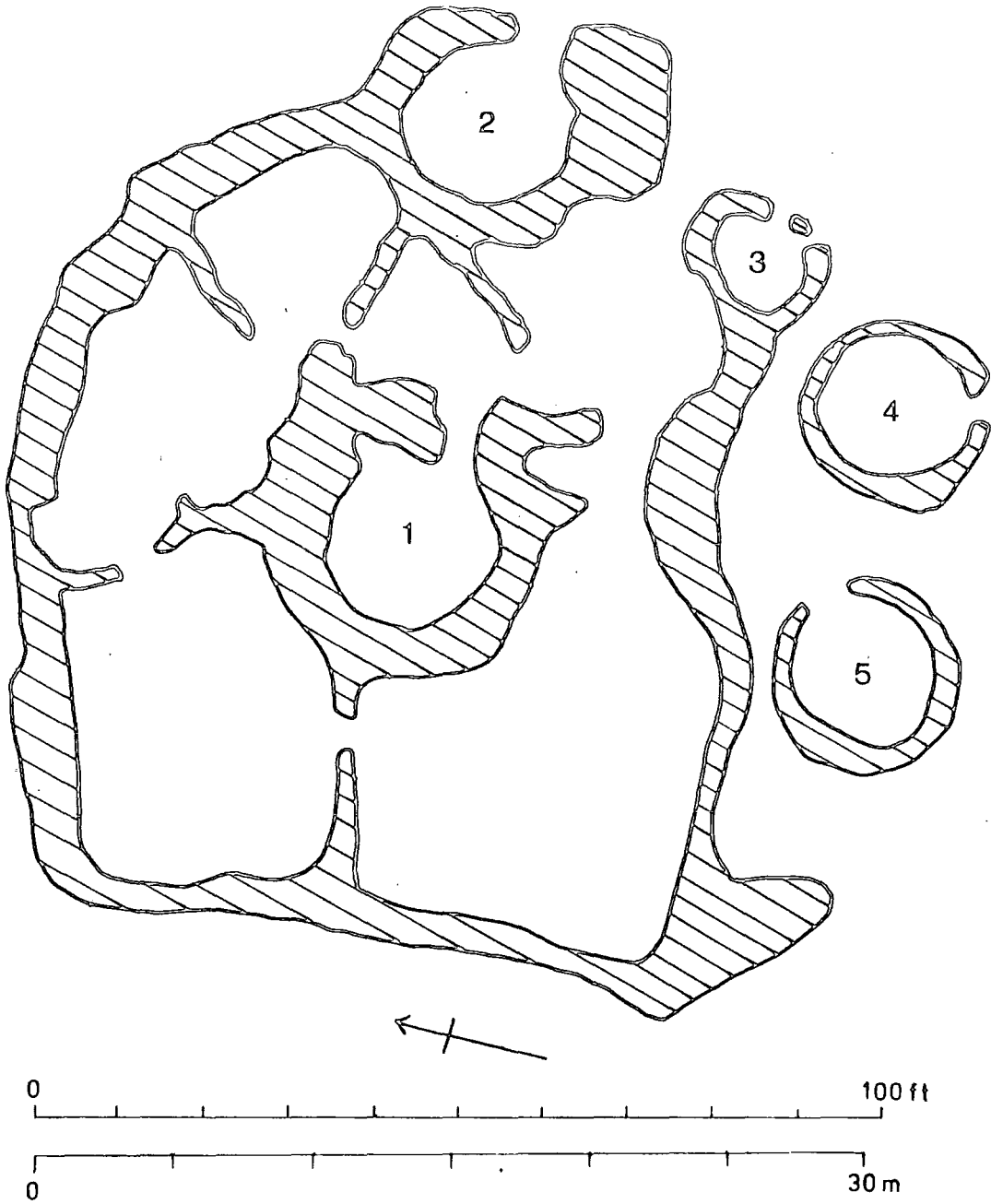
Fig. 5.1   Milking Gap settlement, plan

(after Kilbride-Jones, 1938)
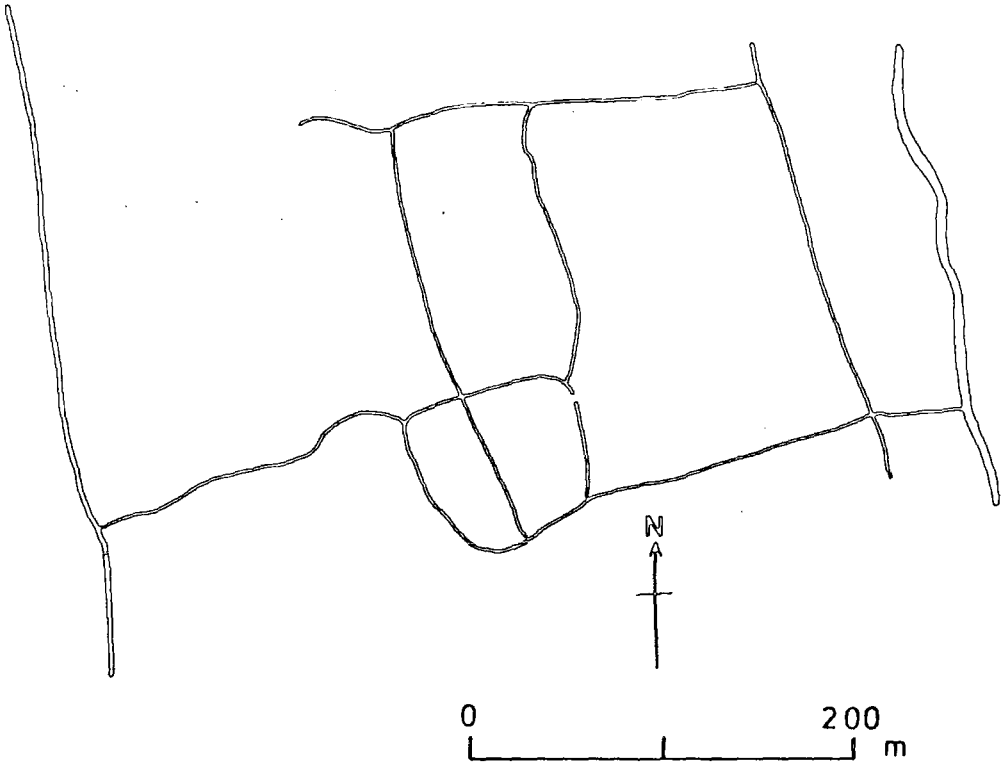
Fig. 5.2   Old Park Farm enclosures, sketch plan

The labeled features in the plan include: E, D, B, post-holes, L, C, K, G, J, F, M, A, H, Smithy Sike, field wall, N, and a scale bar marked 0, 5, 10 metres.
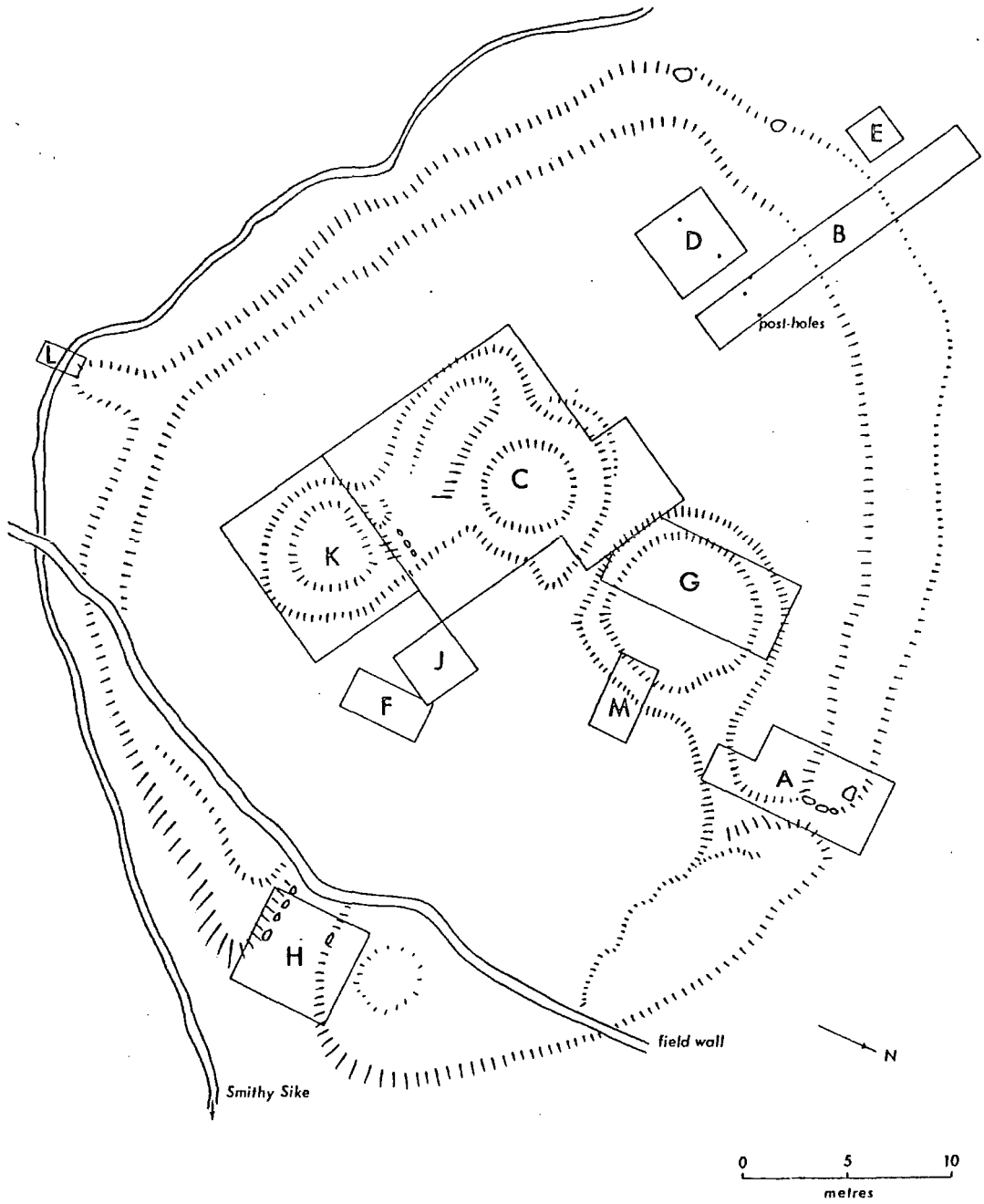
Fig. 5.3   Forcegarth Pasture North, site plan

(source: Fairless and Coggins, 1980)

0   1   2

metres

N

paving
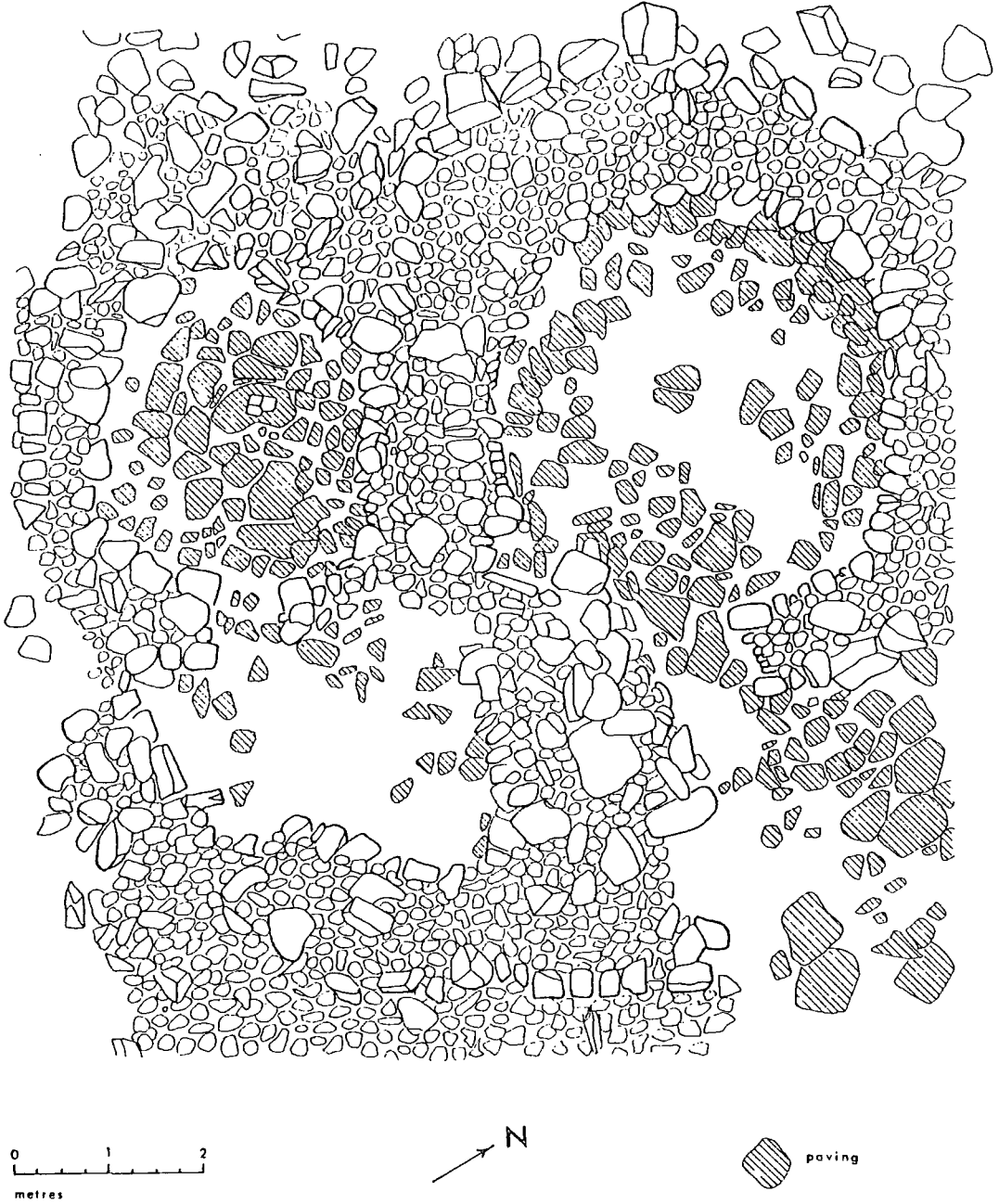
Fig. 5.4   Forcegarth Pasture North, plan of central house

(source: Fairless and Coggins, 1980)
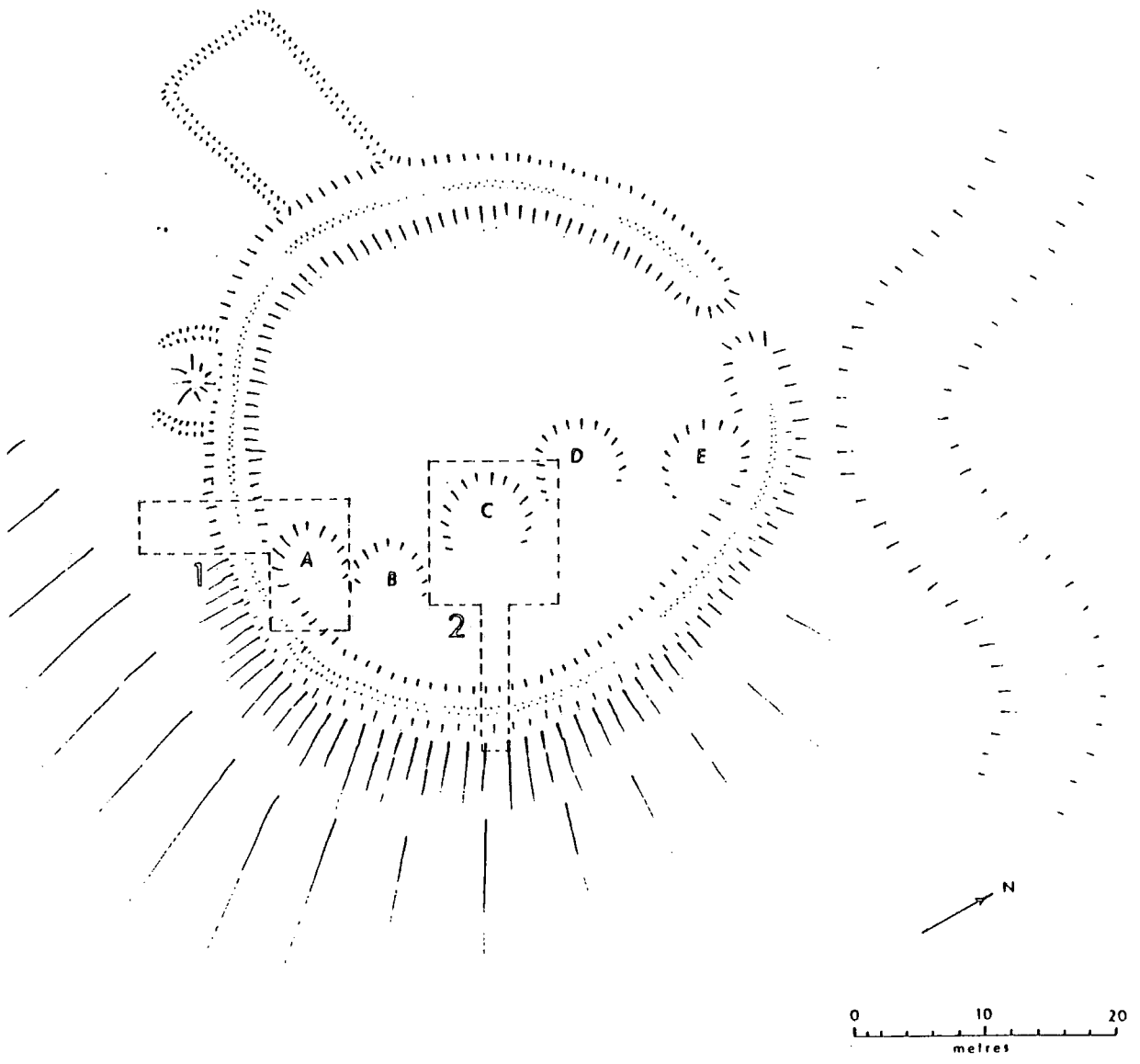
Fig. 5.5   Forcegarth Pasture South, site plan

(source: Fairless and Coggins,1986)

FORCEGARTH PASTURE. SOUTH.

HOUSE 'C'   EXCAVATED, SUMMER '75
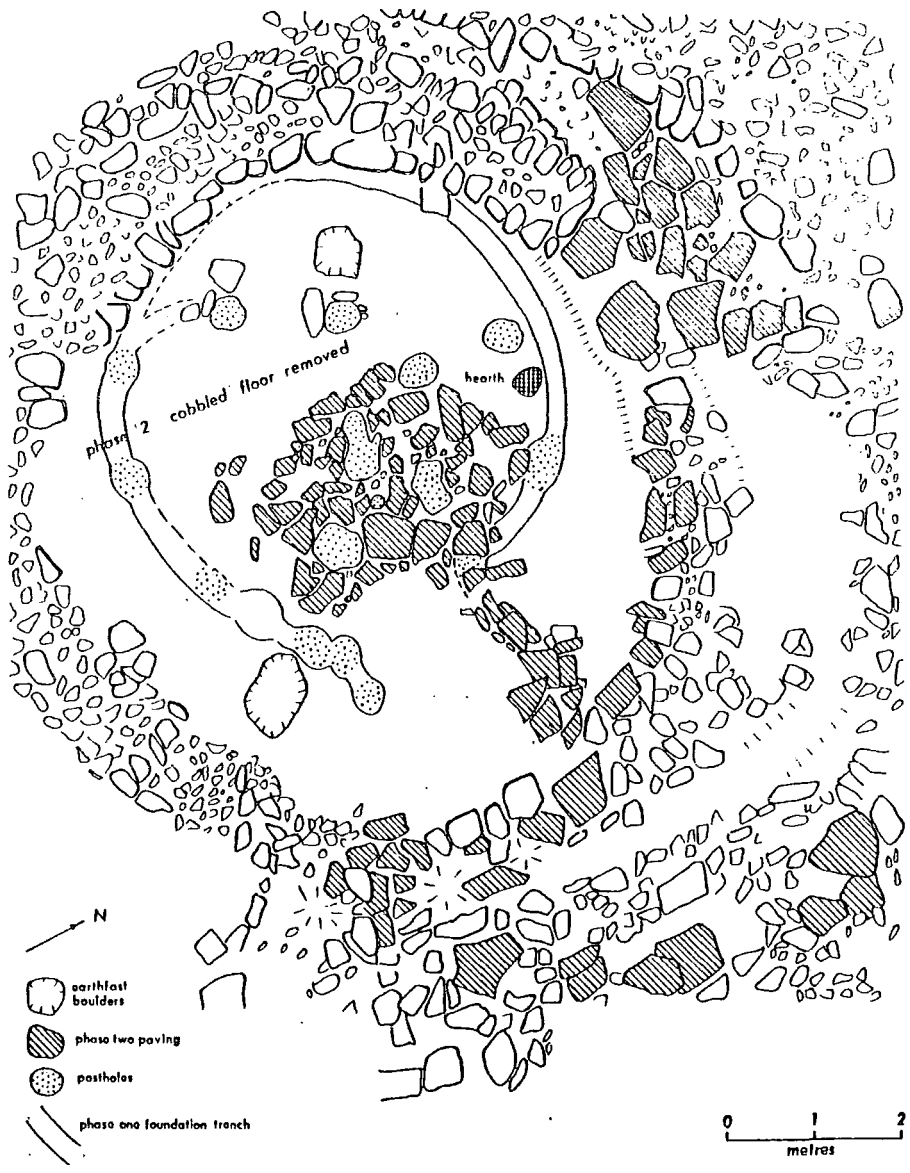
Fig. 5.6   (source: Fairless and Coggins, 1986)
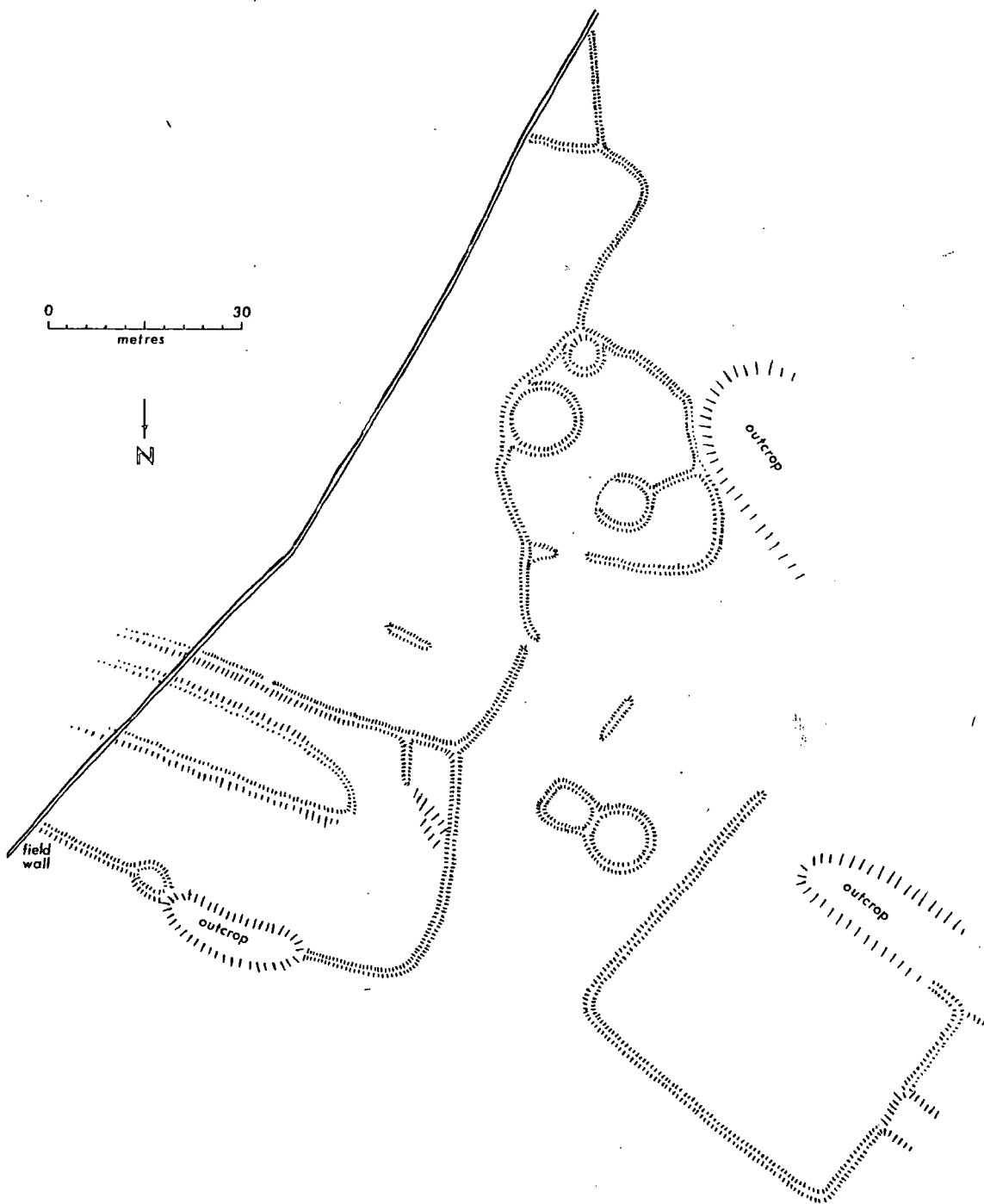
Fig. 5.7 Winch Bridge settlement, plan

(source: Coggins, 1986)
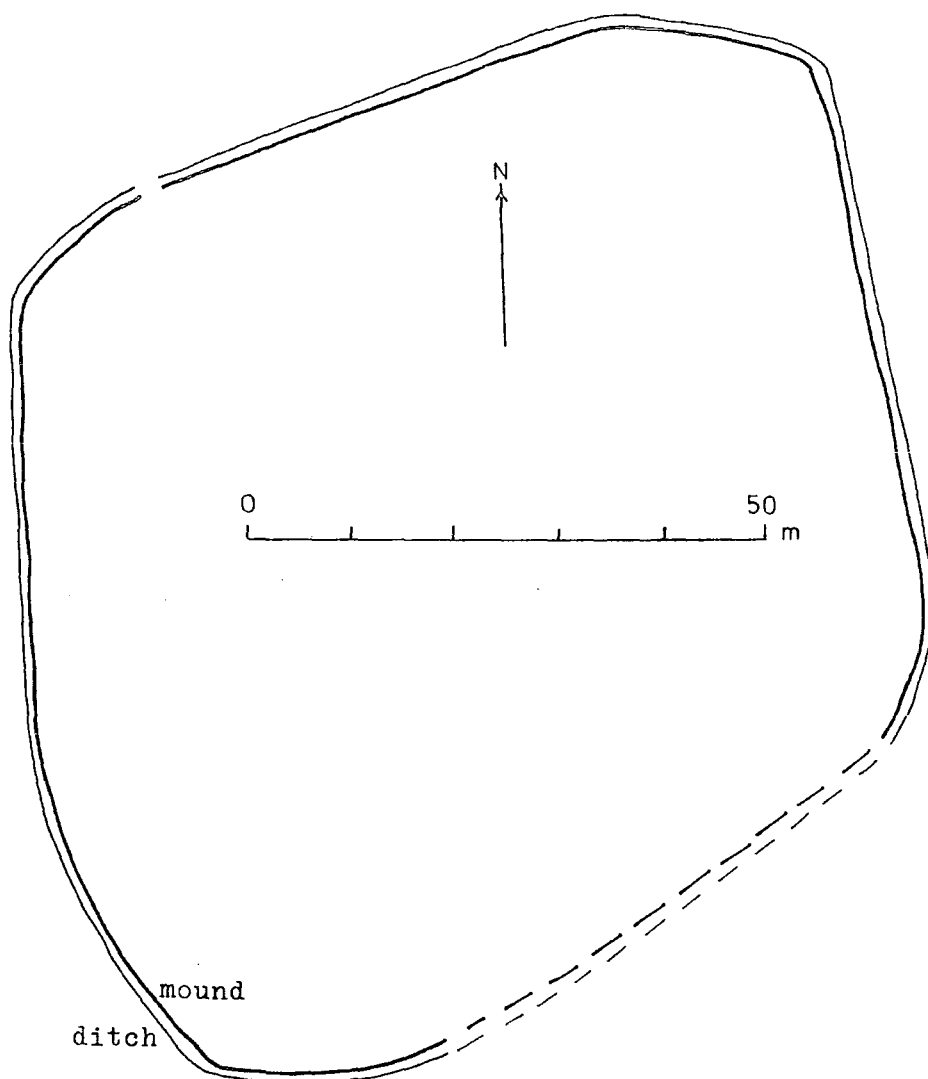
Fig. 5.8   Briar Dykes enclosure, plan
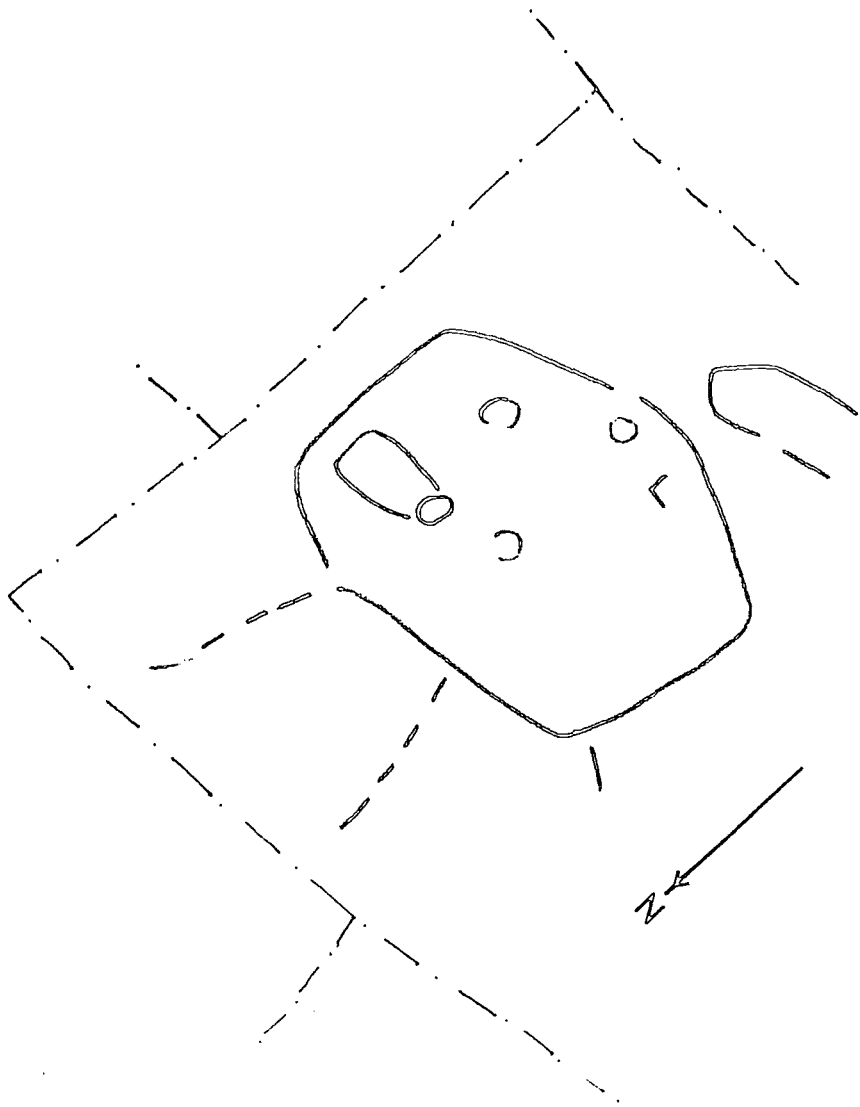
Fig. 5.9   Tees Bank Plantation, crop mark site

(from Selkirk Air Photo)
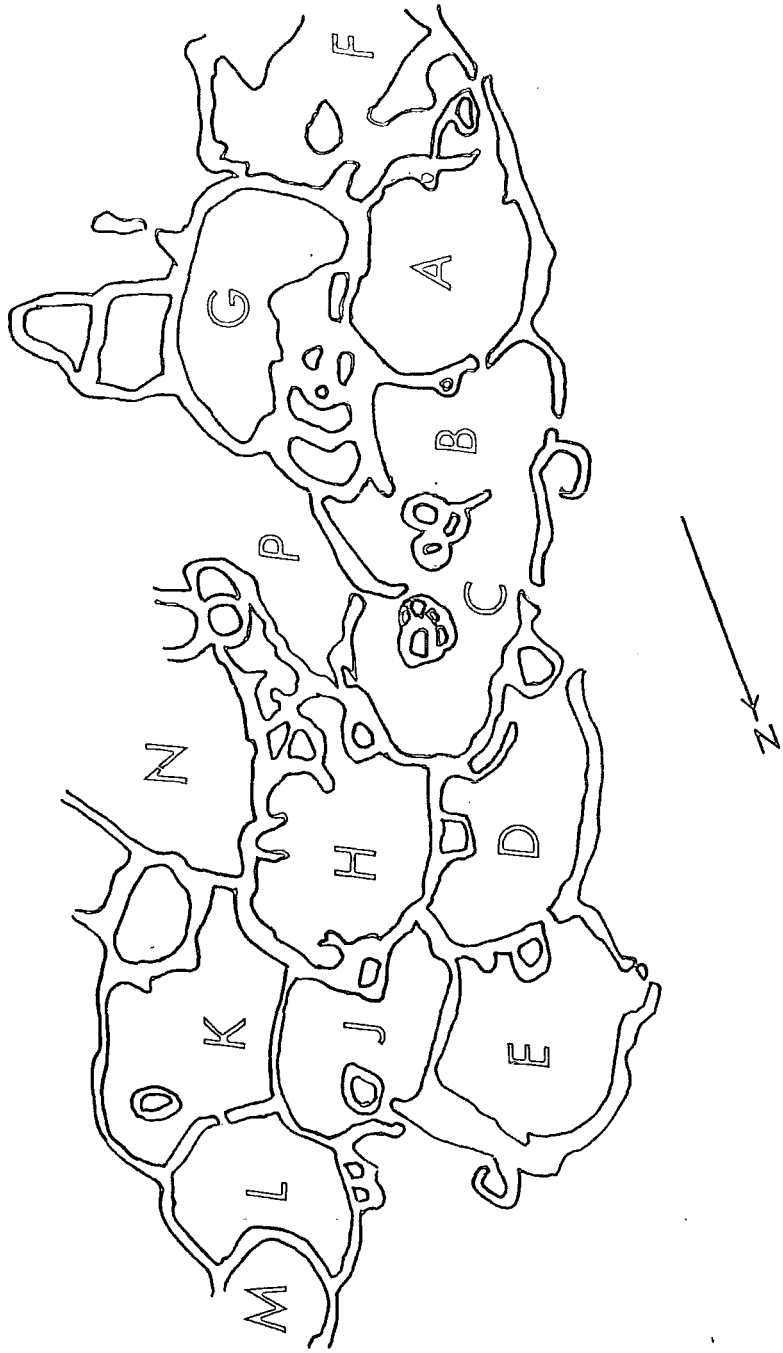
Fig. 6.1   Burton Moor settlement
(from oblique air photo, Riley,1979)
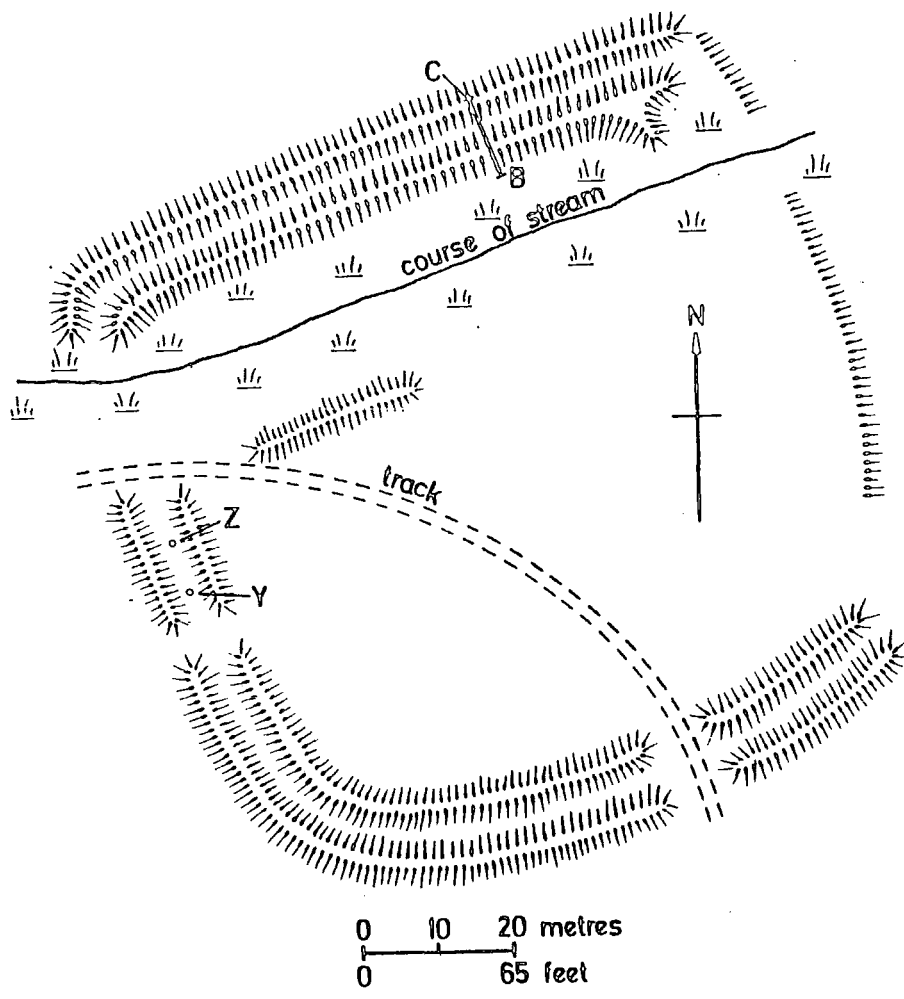
Fig. 7.1   Fortress Dike Camp, plan

(source: Tinsley & Smith, 1974)

50 m

0

hollow way

hollow way

hollow way

ancient walls,
grass covered
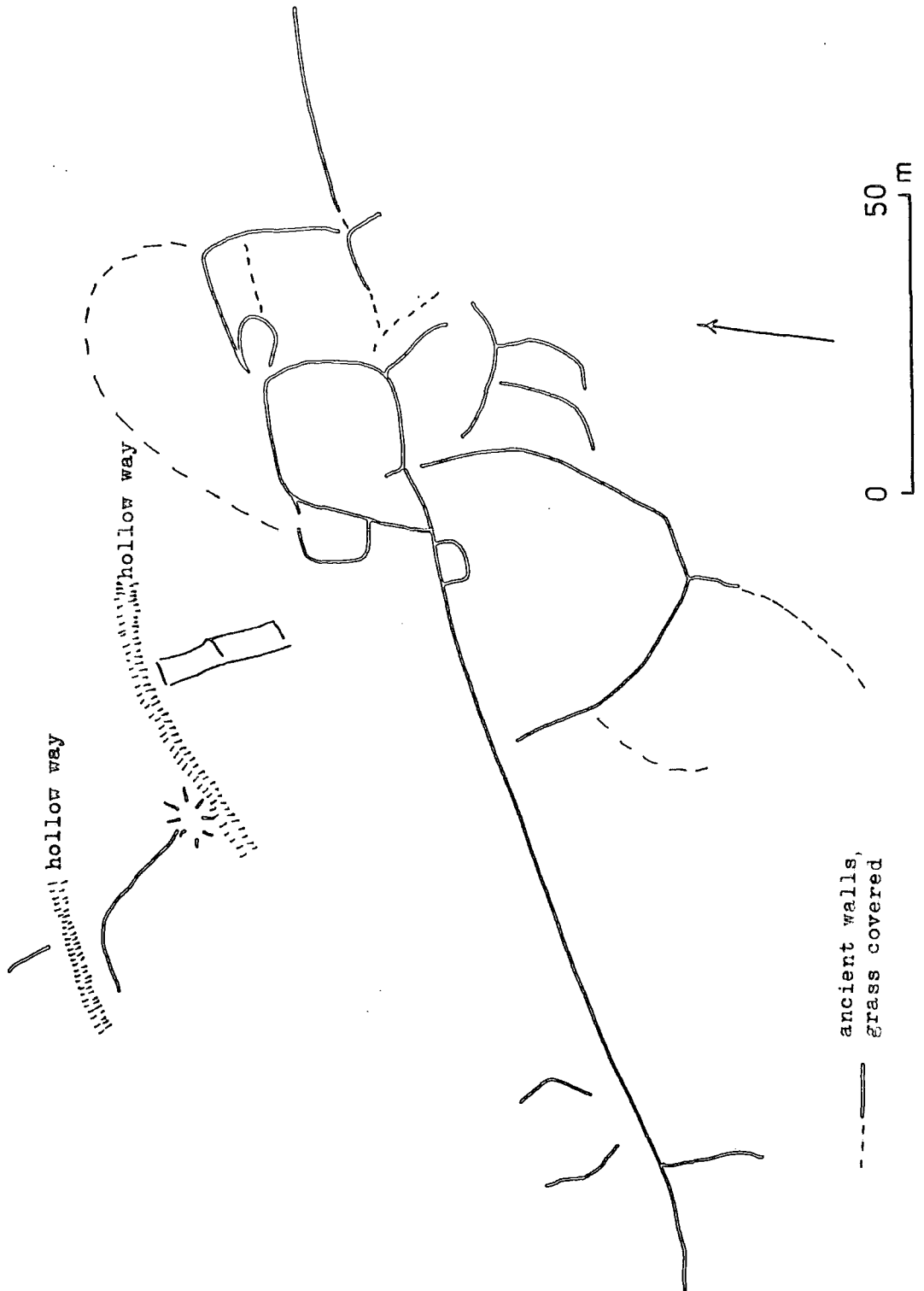
Fig. 7.2   Kilnsey Moor settlement, sketch plan
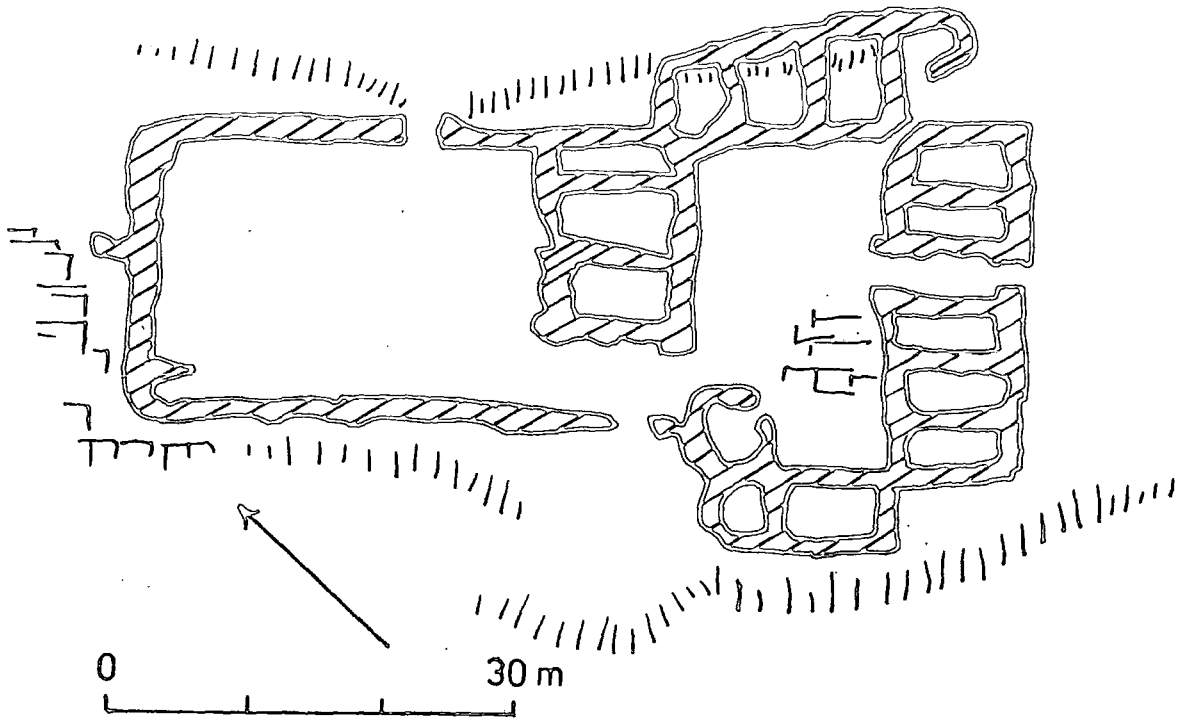
Fig. 7.3   Blue Scar settlement,1

(after Raistrick & Chapman, 1929)

foundation only

Z

corbelled
apse

J   -   Straight
        joint

5 m

0

J

J

J
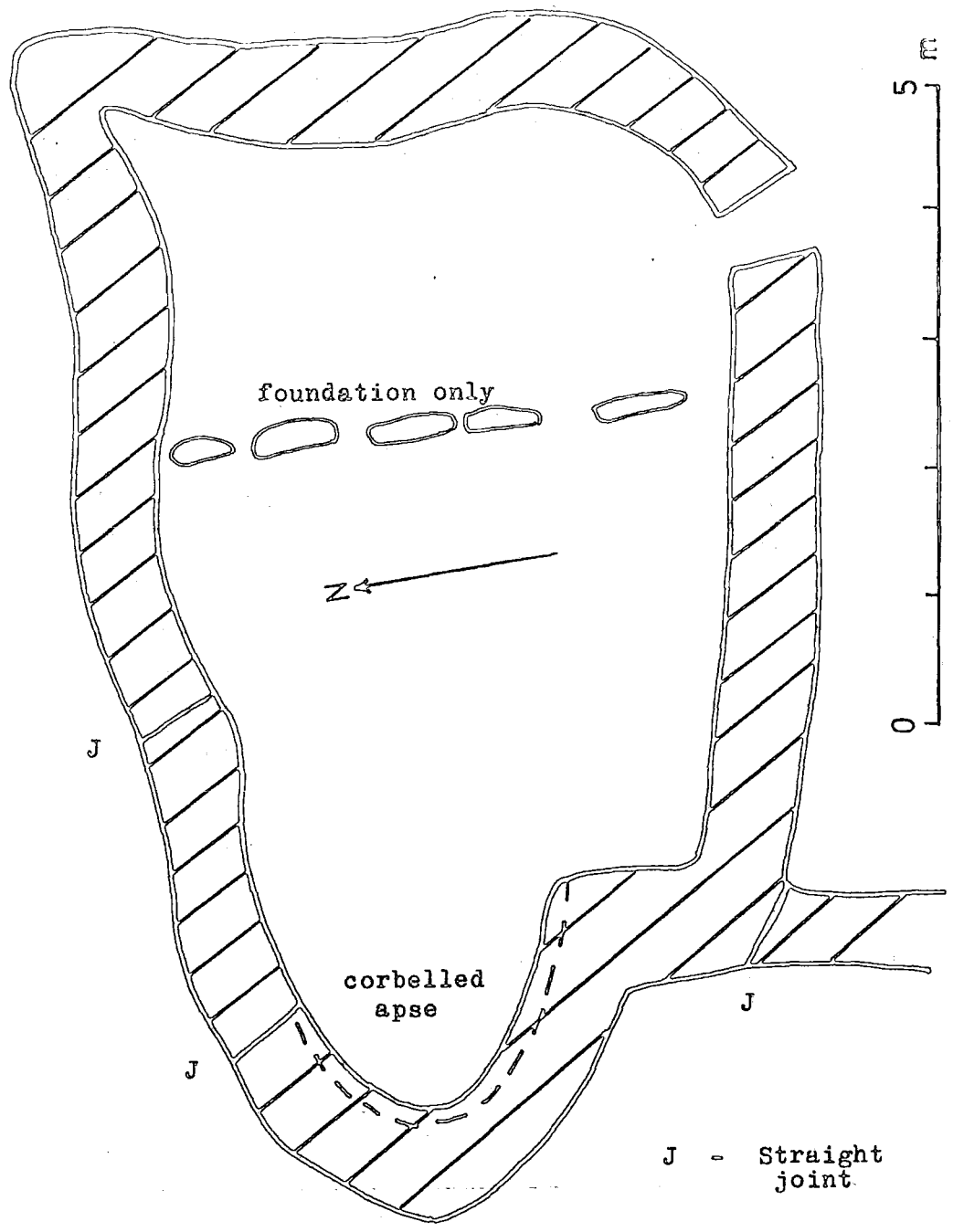
Fig. 7.4   Deepdale settlement, plan of
apsidal building

cliff

walls
surviving

0   20
‖_____‖ m
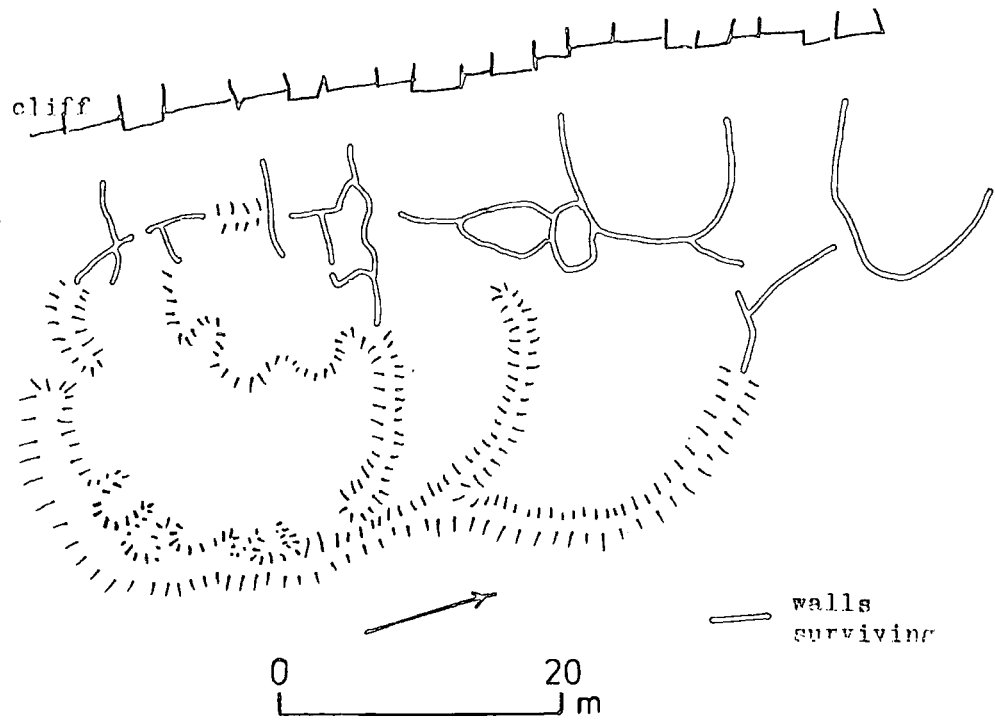
Fig. 7.5   Deepdale settlement (part of)
            sketch plan

scar   pond   huts

ancient walls,
grass covered

scar

N

0   50
               m
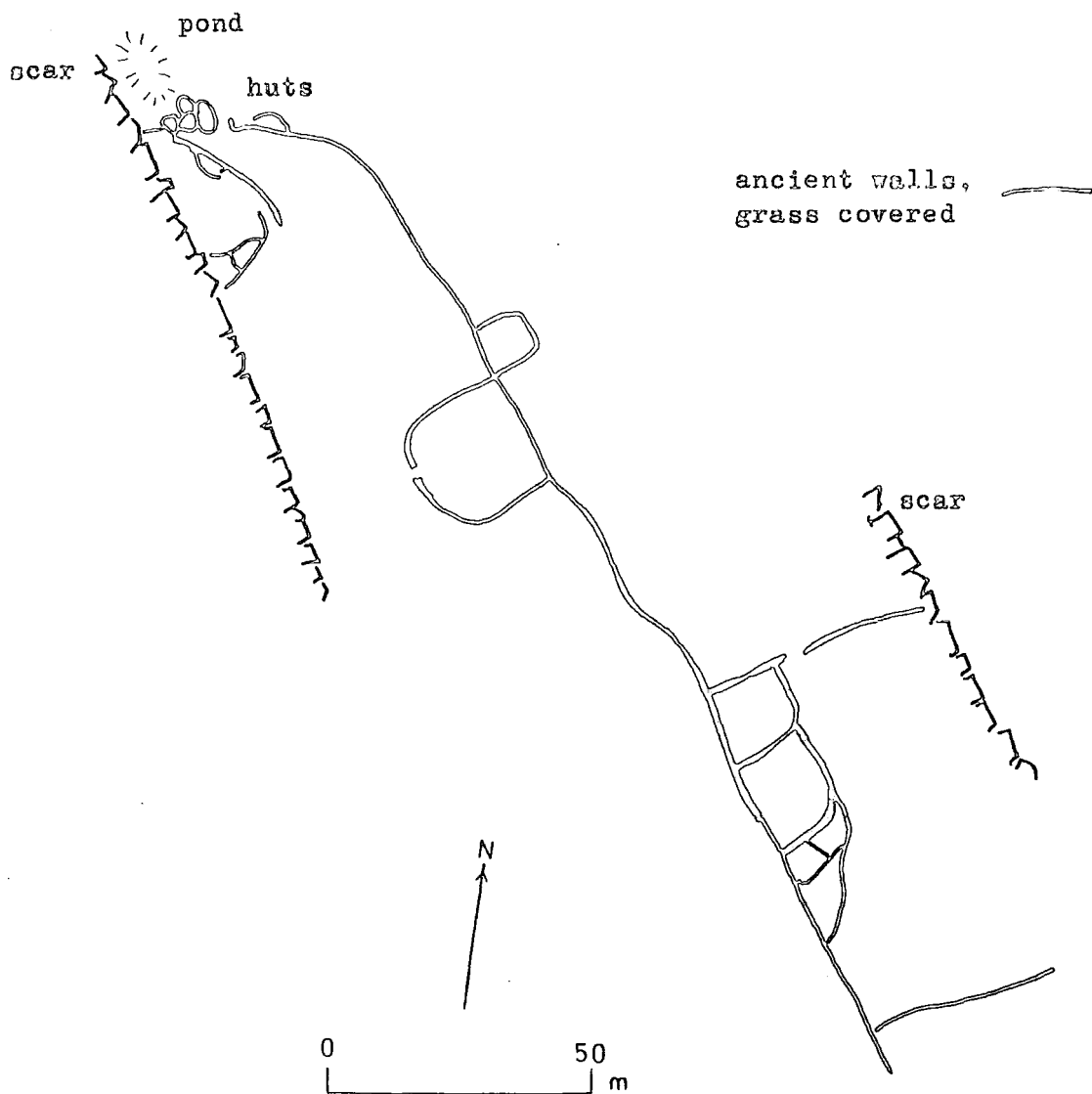
Fig. 7.6   Langscar Gate settlement, sketch plan
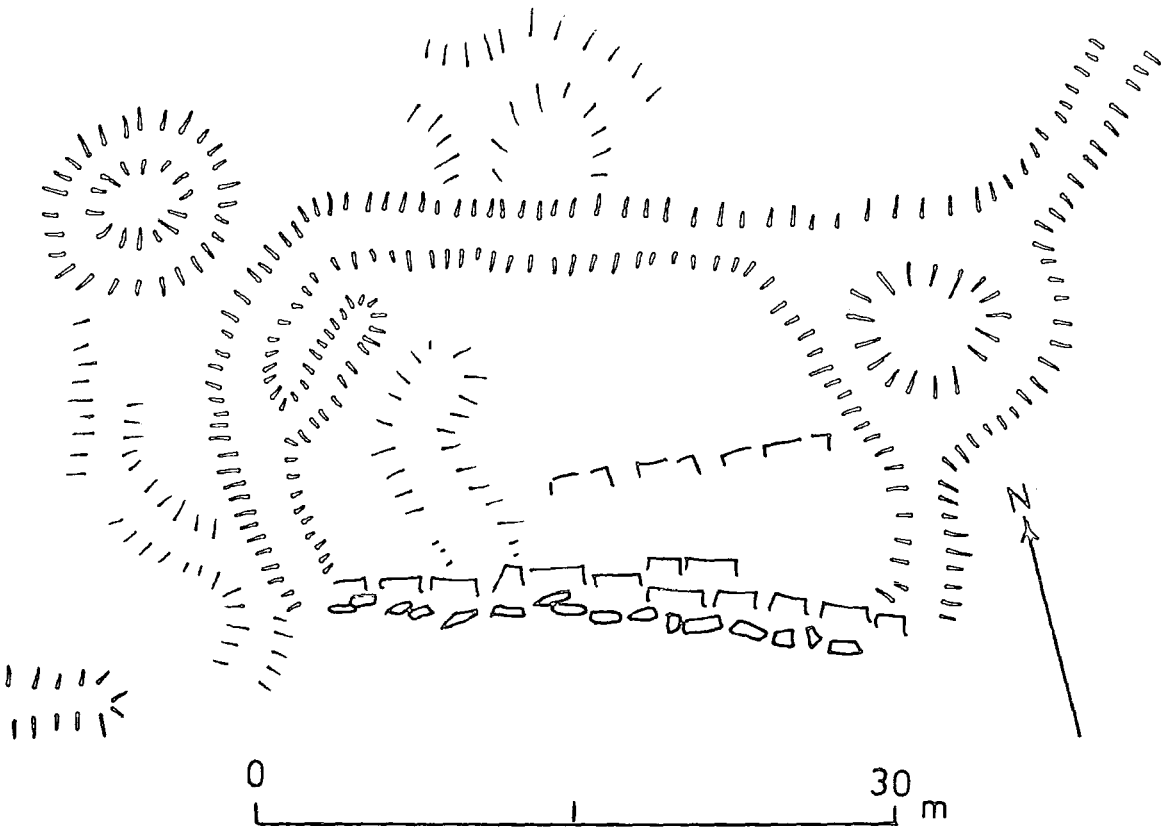
Fig. 7.7   Prior Rakes site

(after Raistrick & Holmes, 1962, modified)
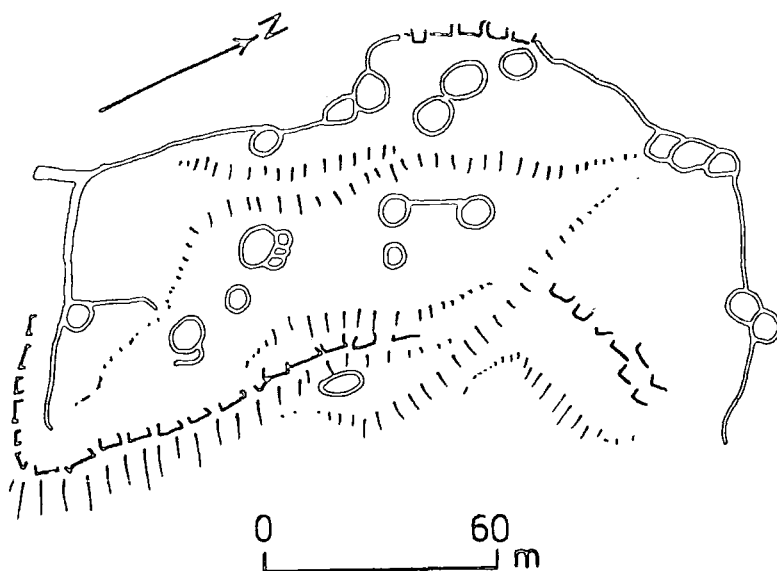
Fig. 7.8 Middle House Pasture settlement, plan

(after Raistrick & Holmes, 1962, modified)
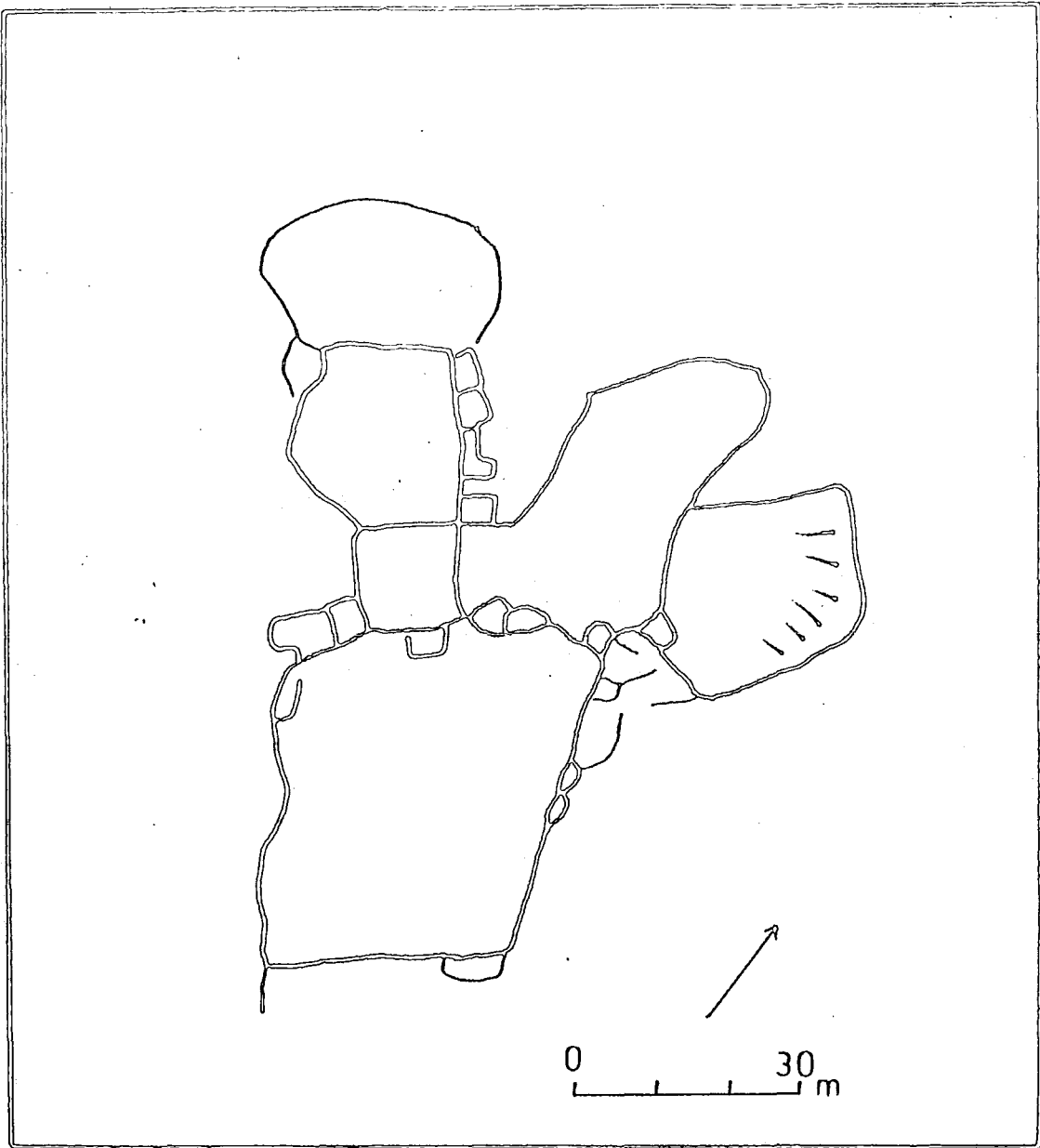
Fig, 7.9 Dewbottoms settlement 1, plan
(after Raistrick & Holmes, 1962, modified)
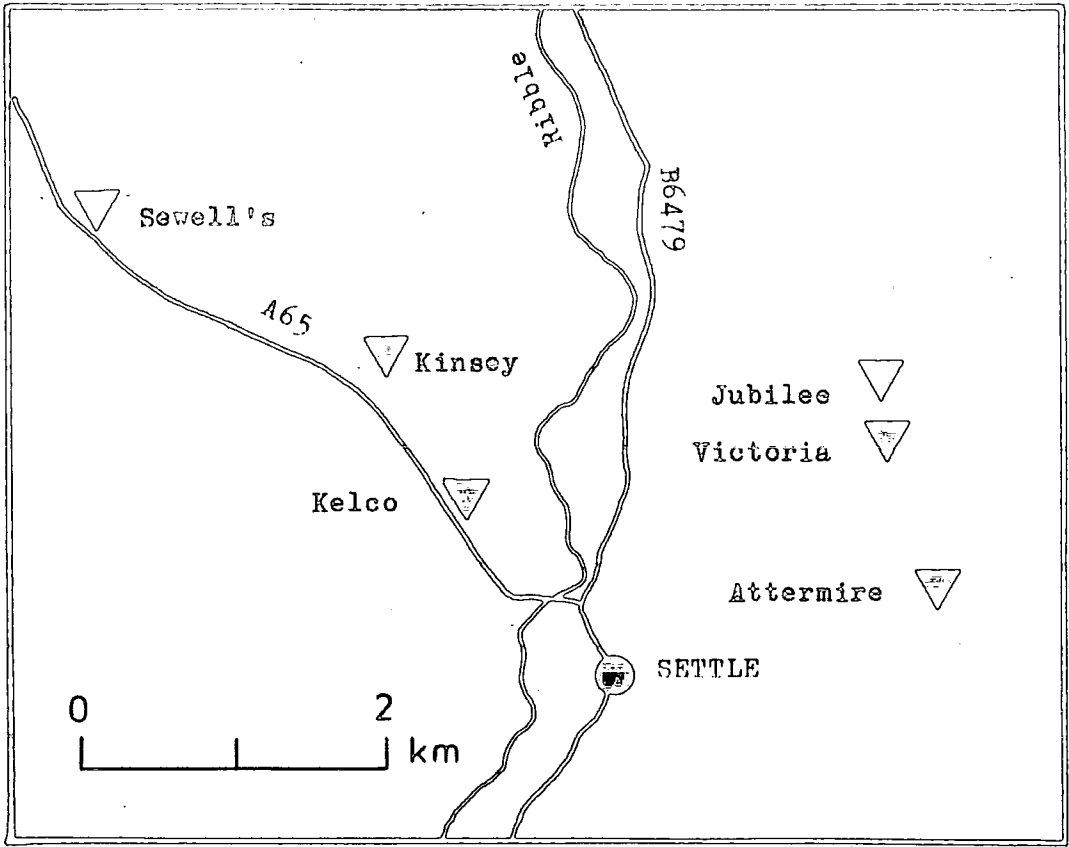
Fig. 7.10   Caves near Settle yielding Romano-British
            artefacts
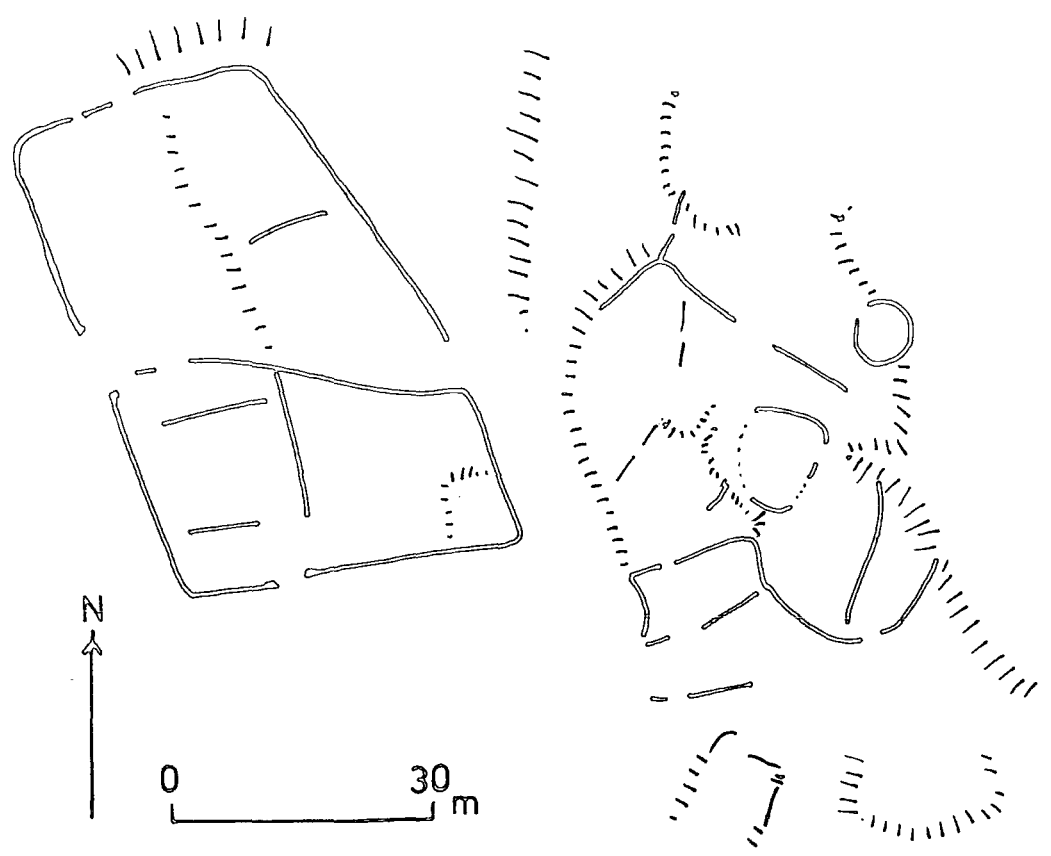
Fig. 7.11 Helwith Bridge settlement, plan
(after King, 1970a)
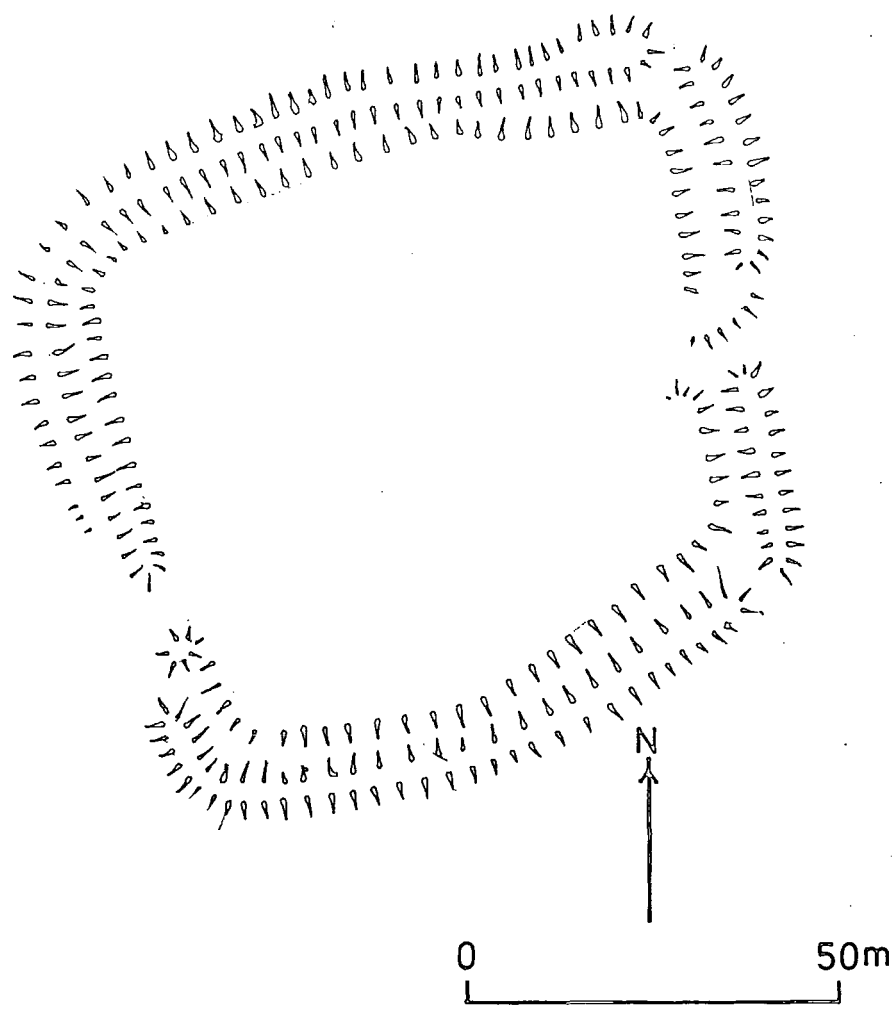
Fig. 8.1   Royd Edge, plan
(after Toomey, 1966)
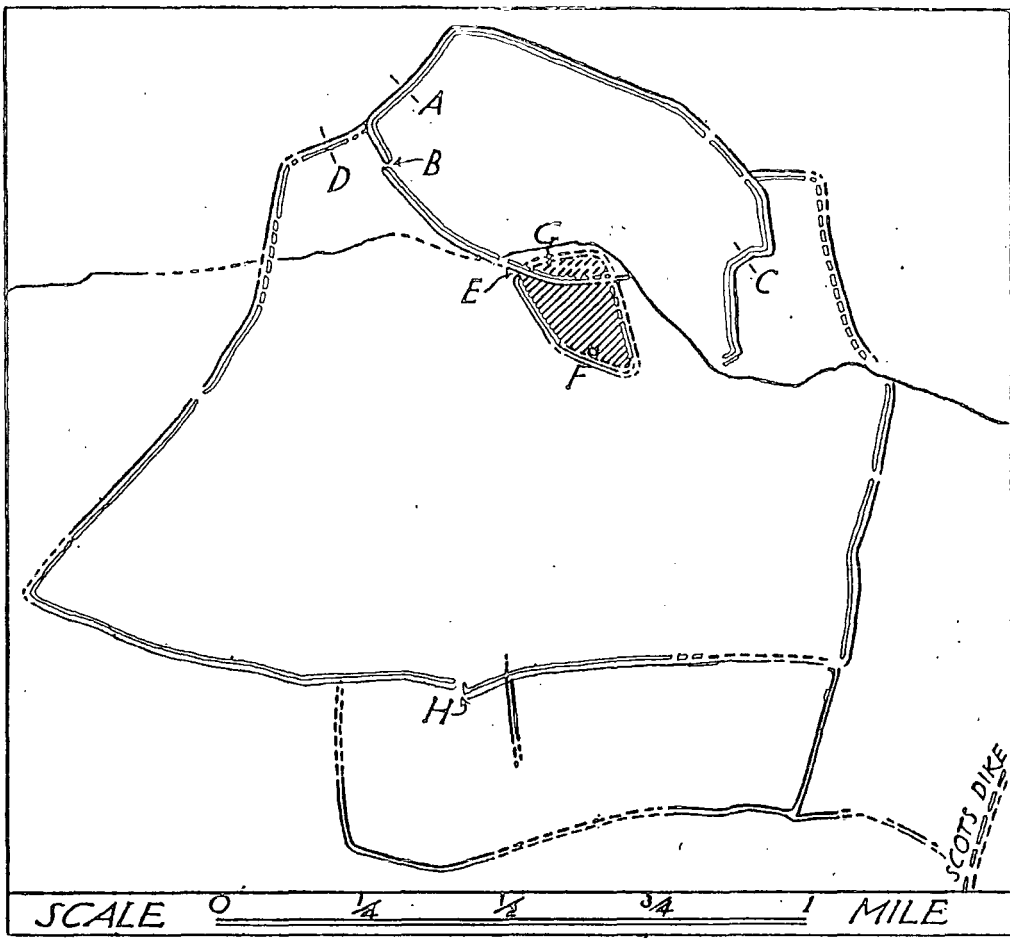
Fig. 9.1   Stanwick, N.Yorks, schematic general plan
           (source: Wheeler, 1954, fig.1)

THE STANWICK FORTIFICATIONS

FORCETT CH.

STANWICK CH.

MARY WILD BECK

THE TOFTS

PHASE I.

PHASE II.

HENAH HILL

PHASE III.

REMW.51

SCALE   0   ¼   ½   ¾   1   MILE
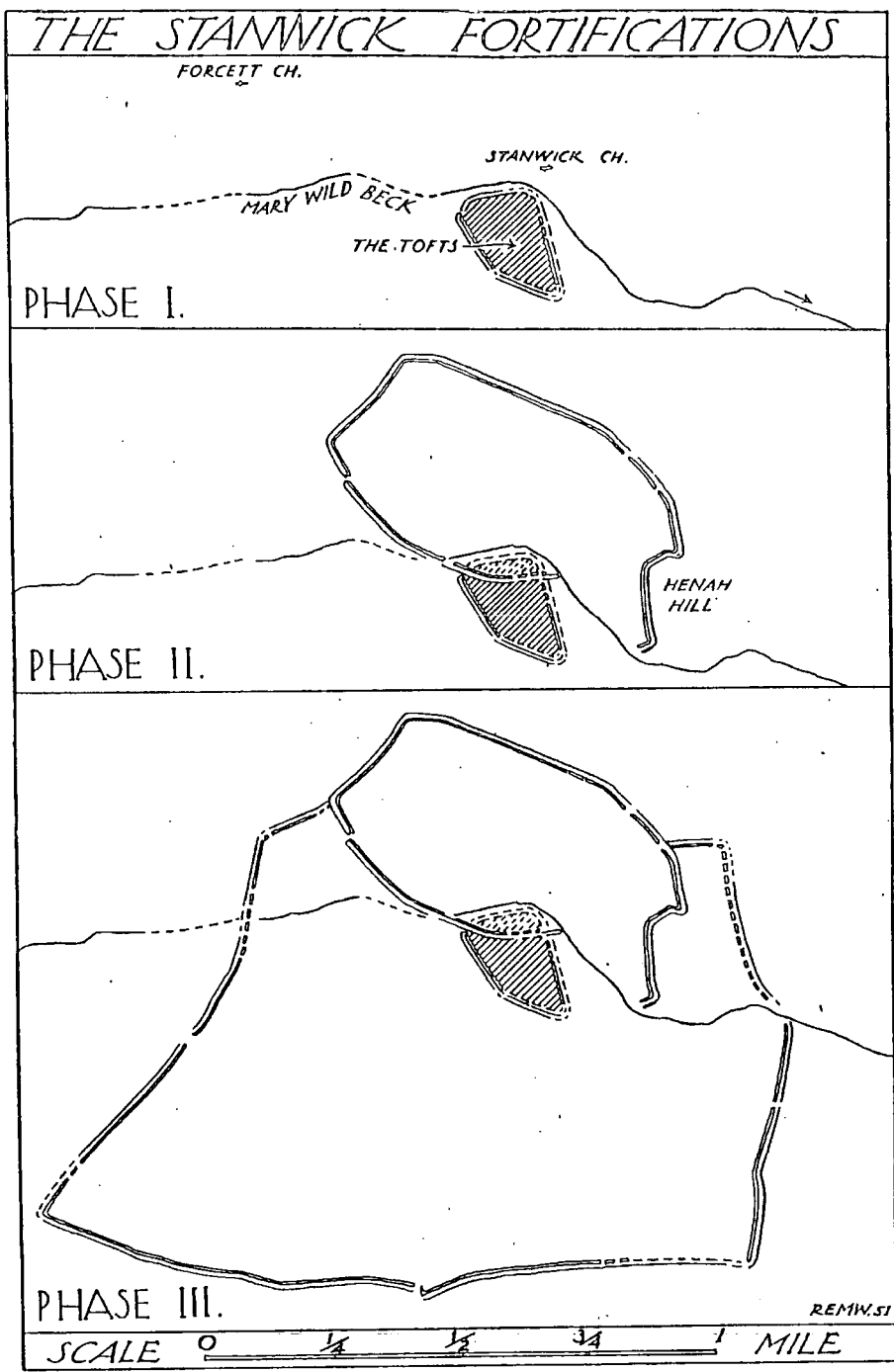
Analysis of Phases I–III

Fig. 9.2   Stanwick, N.Yorks, main phases
           (source: Wheeler, 1954, fig.2)
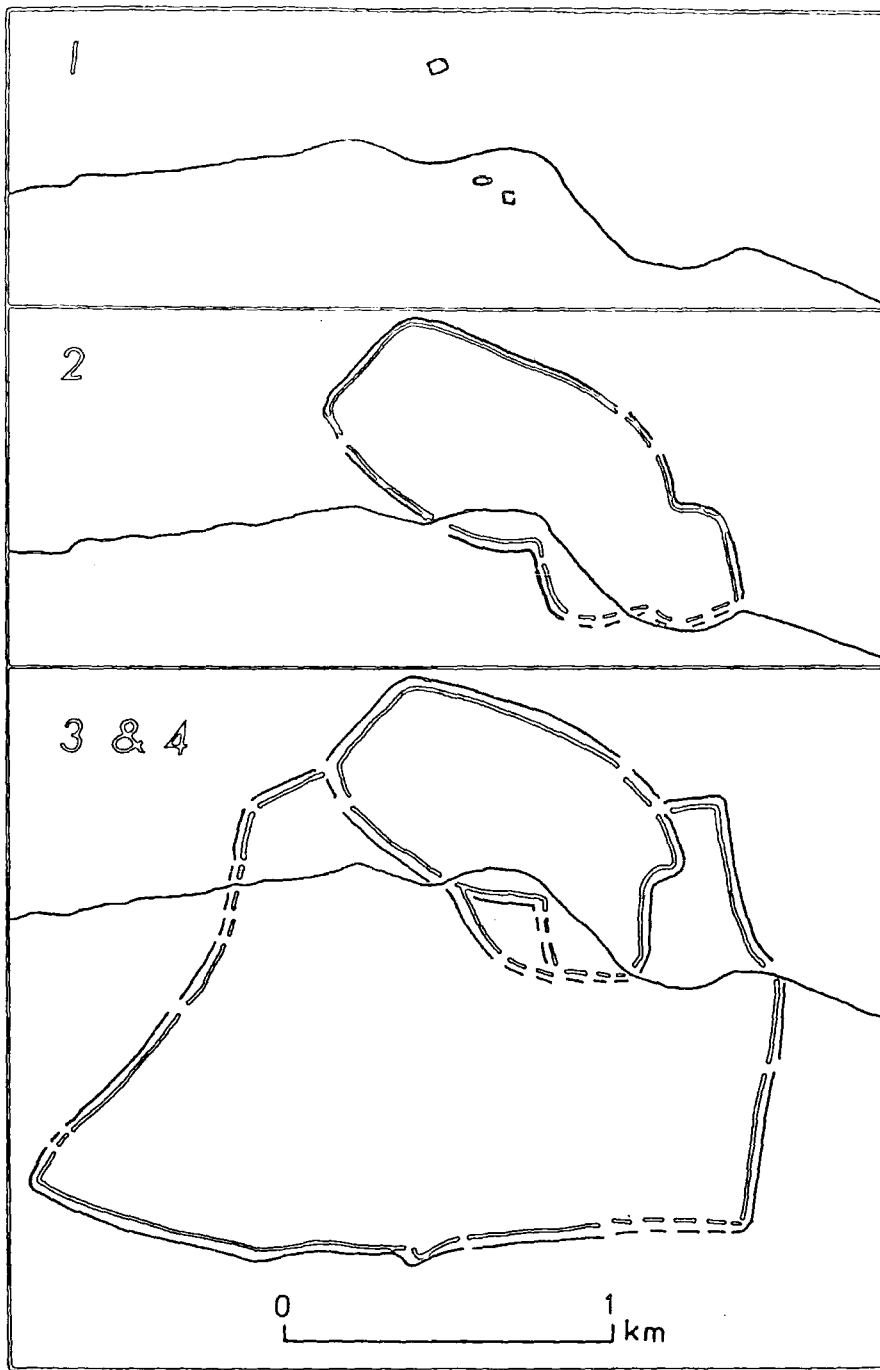
Fig. 9.3 Stanwick, N.Yorks, stages of development
(after Wheeler,1954 & Haselgrove,1982 modified)
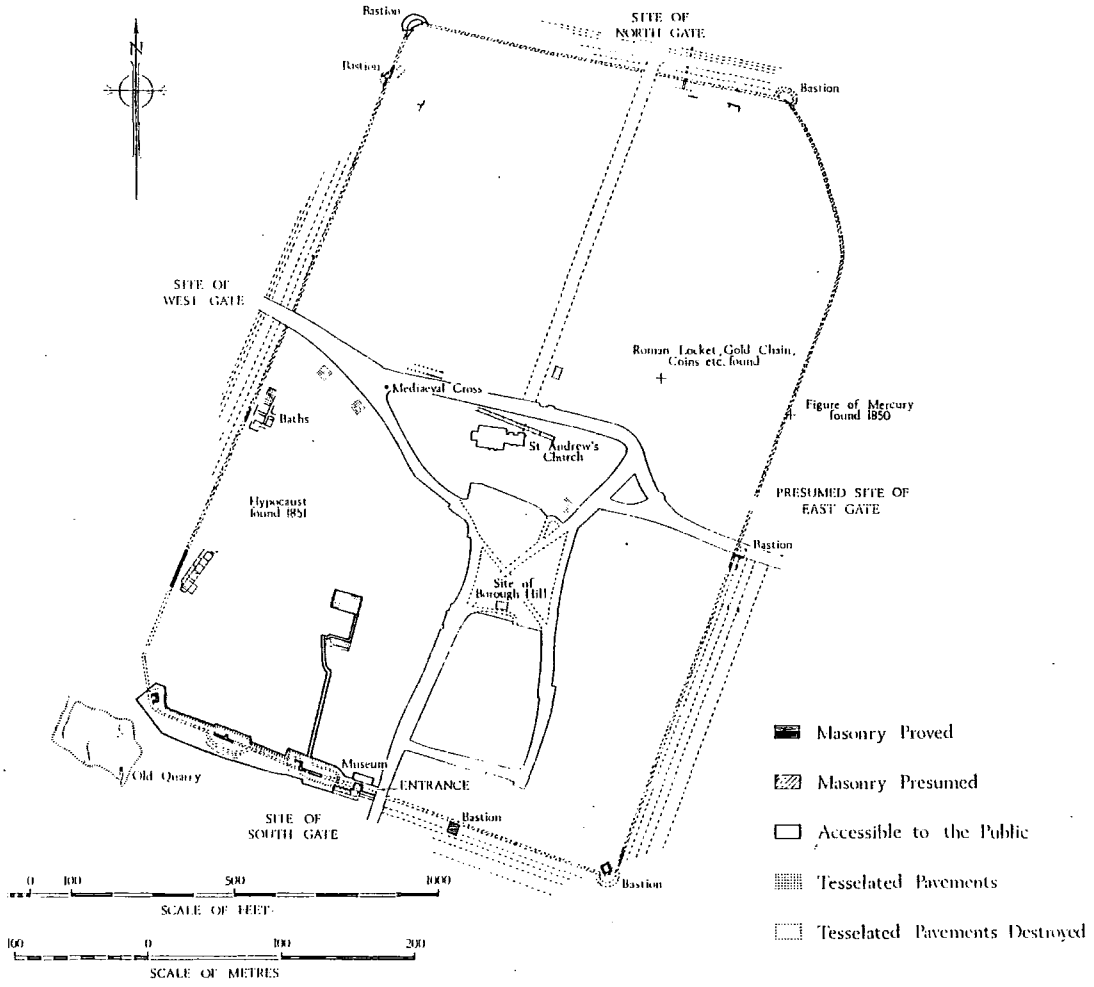
ISVRIVM BRIGANTVM

Fig. 9.4

(source: Charlesworth, 1971)

Fig. 10.1.

Central Britain: Later Iron Age;

Metalwork Finds from Watery Places.   (also see map).

Swords and scabbards.

1.   Clotherholme (SE 3171)   River Ure?

2.   Cotterdale (SD 8394)   Moorland-bog.

3.   Embleton, near Cockermouth (NY 1829)   Bog?

4.   Pilling Moss (SD 4146) Bog?

5.   Barmpton, near Sadberge (NZ 3218)   River Skerne.

Cauldrons/bowls

6.   Austwick, Crummackdale (SD 7768)   Bog.

7.   Bewcastle (NY 5675)   Bog.

8.   Lochar Moss (NY 0471) Bog (contained beaded torc).

9.   Whitehills Moss (NY 1575)   Bog.

Bronze Spoons

10. Crosby Ravensworth (pair) (NY 6215) Bog, near spring.

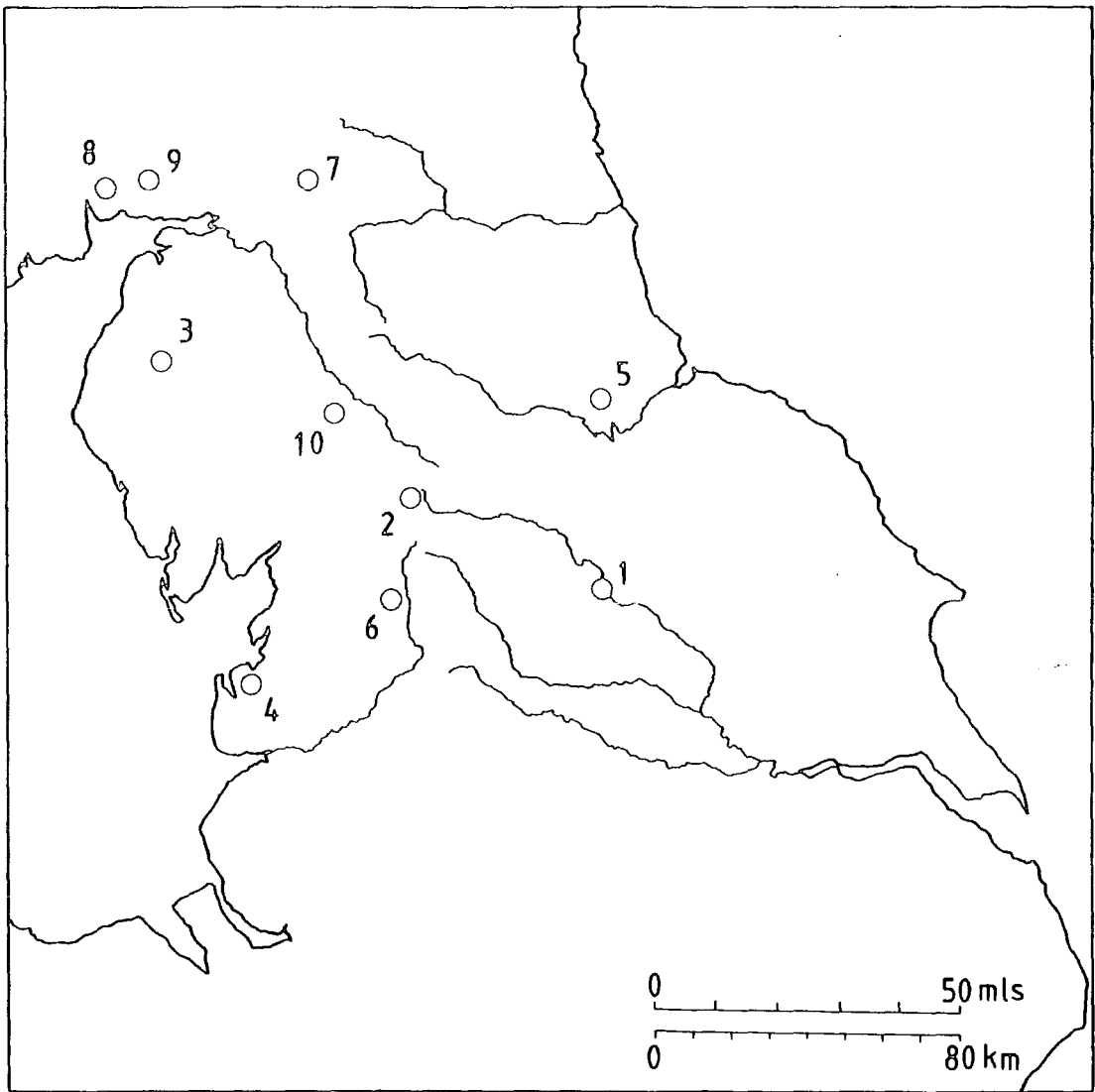(Sources: MacGregor, 1976;   Wait, 1986; amended).

Fig. 10.1

Central Britain: Later Iron Age

Metalwork Finds from Watery Places

Fig. 10.2.

Central Britain.

Indigenous deities not equated with classical gods
(excepting Veteris).   (also see map).

| No.	Deity Name	Provenance	Standard Reference
1	Matunus	Elsdon, Northumberland.	RIB 1265
2	Antenociticus	Benwell.	RIB 1327, 1328, 1329
3	Sucabus	Northumberland.	Brit 2 (1971), 292, no.14
4	Arecurius	Corbridge	RIB 1123
5a	Ratis	Chesters	RIB 1454
5b	Ratis	Birdoswald	RIB 1903
6	Saitada	Beltingham, Northumberland.	RIB 1695
7a	Latis	Kirkbampton (near)	RIB 2043
7b	Latis	Birdoswald	RIB 1897
8	Vanauntes	Castlesteads (near)	RIB 1991
9	Setlocenia	Maryport	RIB 841
10	Vernostonus	Ebchester	RIB 1102
11	Nymph 'NEINE'	Greta Bridge	RIB 744
12a	Contrebis	Burrow in Lonsdale	RIB 610
12b	Contrebis Ialonus	Lancaster (near)	RIB 600
13	Verbeia	Ilkley	RIB 635
14	Arciacones	York	RIB 640
15	Ioug[---]	York	RIB 656
16a	Arnomecta	Brough on Noe	RIB 281
16b	Arnemetia	Buxton	Rivet and Smith, 1979, 254
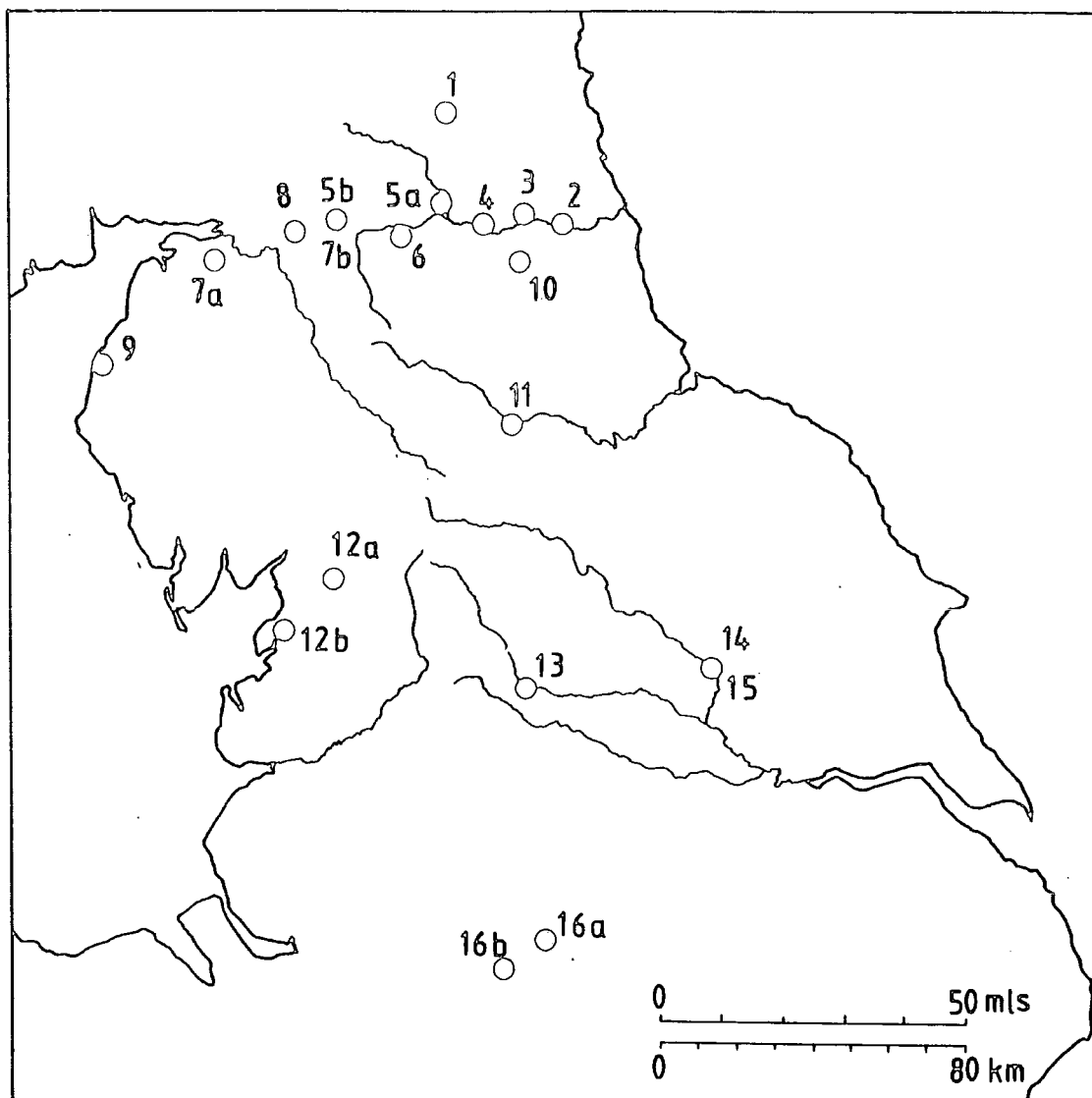
Fig. 10.2

Central Britain

Indigenous deities not equated with classical gods
(excepting Veteris)

Fig. 10.3.

Central Britain

Dedications to Veteris etc.   (also see map).

No.	Find Place	Text	Standard References
1a	Benwell	Deo Vetri sangto	RIB 1335
1b	Benwell	Vitir(i)bus	RIB 1336
2a	Corbridge	Deo Veteri	RIB 1139
2b	Corbridge	Deo Vitiri	RIB 1140
2c	Corbridge	Vit(iri) Miti(us) ?	RIB 1141
3a	Chesters	D]eo sancto Vitiri Tertulus	RIB 1455
3b	Chesters	Dibus Veteribus v.s.l.m.	RIB 1456
3c	Chesters	Di]bus Vitir[i]bus	RIB 1457
3d	Chesters	SVΛƆ�painV SVOTVT	
		Do Votri v(otum) s(olvit)	RIB 1458
3e	Chesters	De]o Vetetri (?)	RIB 2068
4a	Carrawburgh	Deo Veteri votum	RIB 1548
		Uccus v(ovit) l(ibens).	
4b	Carrawburgh	[Dibu]s	RIB 1549
		Hviteribus	
5a	Housesteads	Deo Veteribus votum	RIB 1604
5b	Housesteads	Dib]us Vete[ri]bus	RIB 1605
5c	Housesteads	Veteribus [p]osuuit Aure(lius) Vict(or) votum	RIB 1606
5d	Housesteads	Dibus [Veteribus ----(?)	RIB 1607
5e	Housesteads	Deo Hveteri Superstes [et] Regulu[s] v.s.l.[m.	RIB 1602
5f	Housesteads	Deo Hvitri Aspuanis pro (se) et suis vot(um) sol(vit)	RIB 1603

Fig. 10.3. (continued)

No.	Find Place	Text	Standard References
6a	Chesterholm	Deo [V]ete[r]i	RIB 1697
6b	Chesterholm	] Veteri...] tin[....]s	RIB 1698
6c	Chesterholm	Deo S(ancto) Vetiri pos(uit)/[---	Brit 6 (1975) 285 no.6.
6d	Chesterholm	Deo Ve[tiri] N [.][... ?	Brit 6 (1975) 285 no.7.
6e	Chesterholm	Veteribus pos(uit) Senaculus	RIB 1699
6f	Chesterholm	Veteri|bus po[s]uit Sen|ilis	Brit 4 (1973) 329 no.12 Pl.38c.
6g	Chesterholm	Dibus Ve|teribus| pos(uit) Longi|nus	Brit 4 (1973) 329 no.11 Pl.38b.
6h	Chesterholm	Deo Hvitiri v(otum) s(olvit).	Brit 8 (1977) 432 no.22
6i	Chesterholm	Ara vitirum	Brit 10 (1979) 346 no.8.
7a	Great Chesters	Deo Vetiri v(otum	RIB 1728
7b	Great Chesters	Dibus Veteribus [---	RIB 1730
7c	Great Chesters	Dib[us] Veteribus possit Romana	RIB 1729

Fig. 10.3. (continued)

No.	Find Place	Text	Standard References
8a	Carvoran	Deo Veteri Necalame[s] v.s.l.m.	RIB 1793
8b	Carvoran	Deo Veteri Necalames v.s.l.	RIB 1794
8c	Carvoran	Deo Sanc[to] Veteri Iul(ius) Pastor imag(inifer) coh(ortis) II Delma(tarum) v.s.l.m.	RIB 1795
8d	Carvoran	Deo Vetiri sancto Andiatis v(oto) s(oluto) l(ibens) m(erito) f(ecit)	RIB 1796
8e	Carvoran	Deo Vetiri v(otum)	RIB 1797
8f	Carvoran	Deo Viteri No[---	RIB 1798
8g	Carvoran	Deo Vitiri Meni(us) Dada v.s.l.m.	RIB 1799
8h	Carvoran	Deo Vitiri Milus et Aurides v.s.l.m.	RIB 1800
8i	Carvoran	Deo Vitiri Ne[c]alimes [--]ro v(otum) p(osuit) l(ibens) m(erito).	RIB 1801
8j	Carvoran (?)	Veteribus [--- ?	RIB 1802
8k	Carvoran (?)	Dibus Veteribus vot(u)m	RIB 1803
8l	Carvoran	Dibus Vit[irib]us Ivixa v.s.l.m.	RIB 1804
8m	Carvoran	Dibus Vitiribus Deccius v.s.l.m.	RIB 1805

Fig. 10.3. (continued)

No.	Find Place	Text	Standard References
9	Hadrian's Wall (origin unknown)	Hvitiribus votum	RIB 2069
10a	Netherby	Deo Mogont(i) Vitire San(cto) Ael(ius) [Secund(us)] v.s.l.m.	RIB 971
10b	Netherby	Deo Hvetiri	RIB 973
10c	Netherby	Primary text:- I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) ------- V(otum) [s(olvit) - l(ibens)] m(erito) Secondary text:- D(eo) Hv[e]ter(i) sanct(o) Fortunat[a-? (OR) Fortunat[us]? v.[s.l.]m.	RIB 969
11	Old Penrith	Vicri[b]us T.(---) S(---) v.s.l.m.	RIB 925
12a	Ebchester	Deo Vitiri Maximus v(otum) s(olvit).	RIB 1103
12b	Ebchester	Deo Vitiri I--IT	RIB 1104
13a	Lanchester	Deo Vit(iri) ?	RIB 1087
13b	Lanchester	Deo Vitir[i] VNTHAV[pr(inceps) pos(uit) [p]ro se e[t] sui[s]	RIB 1088

Fig. 10.3. (continued)

No.	Find Place	Text	Standard References
14a	Chester-le-Street	Deo Vitiri Duihno v.s.	RIB 1046
14b	Chester-le-Street	Daeab[u]s Vitiribus Vitalis [v] s.l.m.	RIB 1047
14c	Chester-le-Street	Deab(u)s Vit(iri)bus VIAS VADRI	RIB 1048
15	Piercebridge	Deo Veteri	Brit 5 (1974) 461 no.3
16	Catterick	Deo sancto Vheteri pro sa(lute) Aur(eli) Muciani v.s.l.m.	RIB 727
17	York	Deo Veteri Primulus vo(vit) l(ibens) M(erito)	RIB 660 RCHM York, 39, Pl.44
18	Thistleton (Leicestershire)	De(o) Vete(ri) Mocux[s]oma pa(ngit)	JRS 52 (1962) 192, no.6
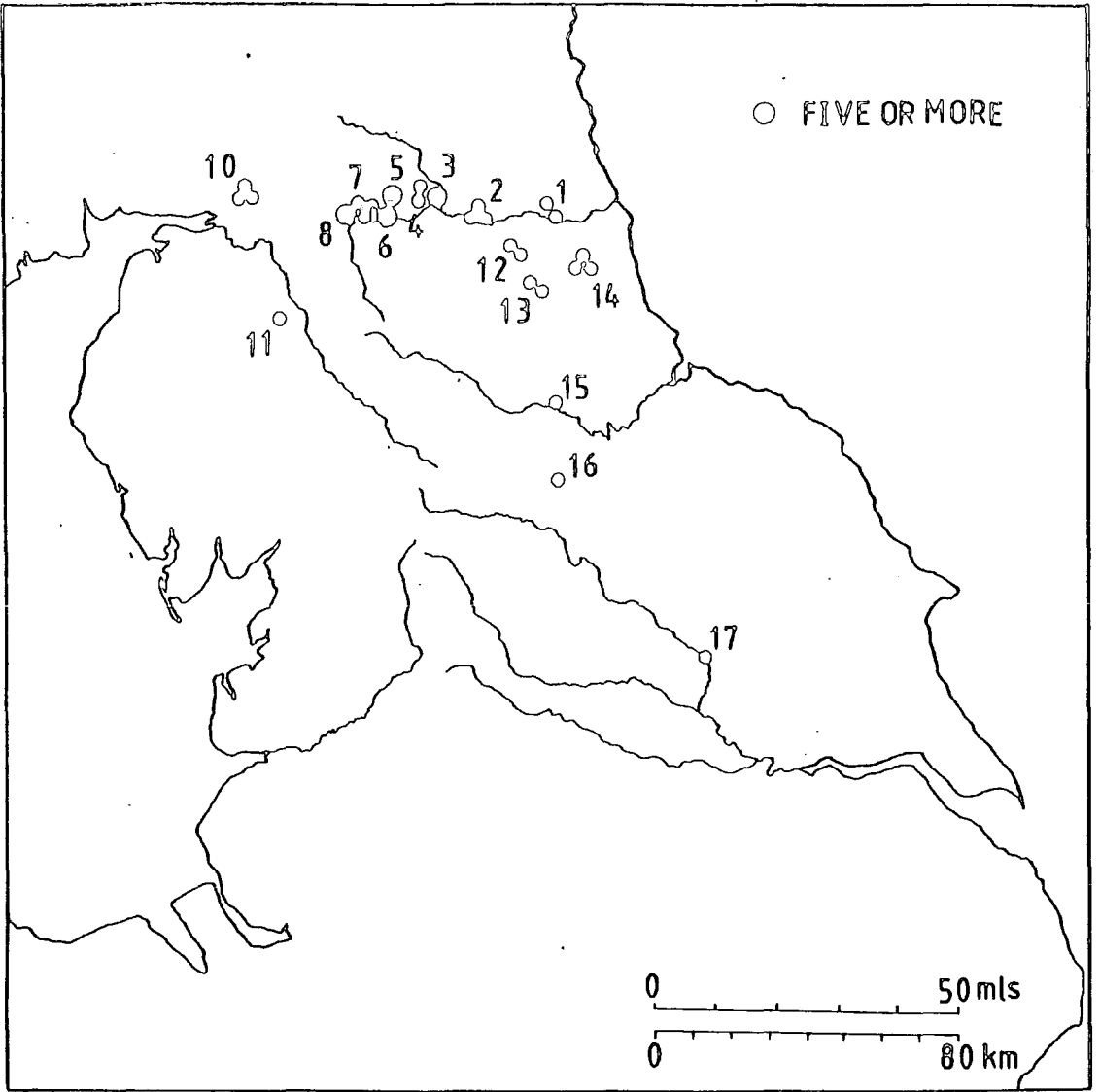
Fig. 10.3

Central Britain

Dedications to Veteris etc.

Fig. 10.4.

Dedications to Veteris - name variations

Epigraphic Form	No. (see Fig. 10.3)	Totals
SINGULAR		
Veteri	2a, 4a, 6a, 6b, 8a, 8b, 8c, 15, 17, 18.	10
Vetetri	3e.	1
Vetiri	6c, 6d(?), 7a, 8d, 8e.	5
Vetri	1a.	1
Viteri	8f.	1
Vitire	10a.	1
Vitiri	2b, 2c(?), 3a, 8g, 8h, 8i, 12a, 12b, 13a(?), 13b, 14a.	11
Votri	3d	1
Hveteri	5e, 10c.	2
Hvetiri	10b.	1
Hvitiri	6h.	1
Hvitri	5f.	1
Vheteri	16.	1
PLURAL		
Veteribus	3b, 5a, 5b, 5c, 5d(?), 6e, 6f, 6g, 7b, 7c, 8j(?), 8k.	12
Vitiribus	1b.	1
Vitiribus (masc.)	3c, 81, 8m.	3
Vitiribus (fem.)	14b, 14c.	2
Vitirum	6i.	1
Hviteribus	4b.	1
Hvitiribus	9.	1
Vicribus	11.	1
		59

[Those underlined are unspecified as male or female.]

Fig. 10.5.

Central Britain:

Indigenous Deities Equated With Classical Gods.
(excepting Cocidius and Belatucadrus). (also see map)

| NO.	DEITY NAME	EQUATION(S)	FIND PLACE	STANDARD REFERENCE
1	Alator	Mars	South Shields	RIB 1055
2a	Condates	Mars	Chester-le-Street	RIB 1045
2b	Condates	Mars(?) (Mercury?)	Piercebridge	RIB 1024
2c	Condates	Mars	Bowes	RIB 731
3	Barrex	Mars	Carlisle	RIB 947
4	Ocelus	Mars	Carlisle	RIB 949
5	Riocalatis	Mars Cocidius	Old Carlisle(?)	RIB 1017
6	Vinotonus	Silvanus Augustus	Scargill, near Bowes.	RIB 732-737 +unpublished.
7	Rix (Rigas?)	Mars	Norton	RIB 711
8	Nodons	Mars	Cockersand Moss, Lancashire.	RIB 616, 617.
9a	Brigantia	Victoria	Woodnook, near Castleford.	RIB 628
9b	Brigantia	-	Adel	RIB 630
9c	Brigantia	Victoria	Greetland.	RIB 627
9d	Brigantia	-	South Shields	RIB 1053
9e	Brigantia	Caelestis	Corbridge	RIB 1131
9f	Brigantia	-	Near Brampton	RIB 2066
9g	Brigantia	Minerva Victrix	Birrens	RIB 2091
10	Bregans	-	Outlane, near Slack.	RIB 623
11	Braciaca	Mars	Haddon Hall, near Bakewell, Derbyshire.	RIB 278
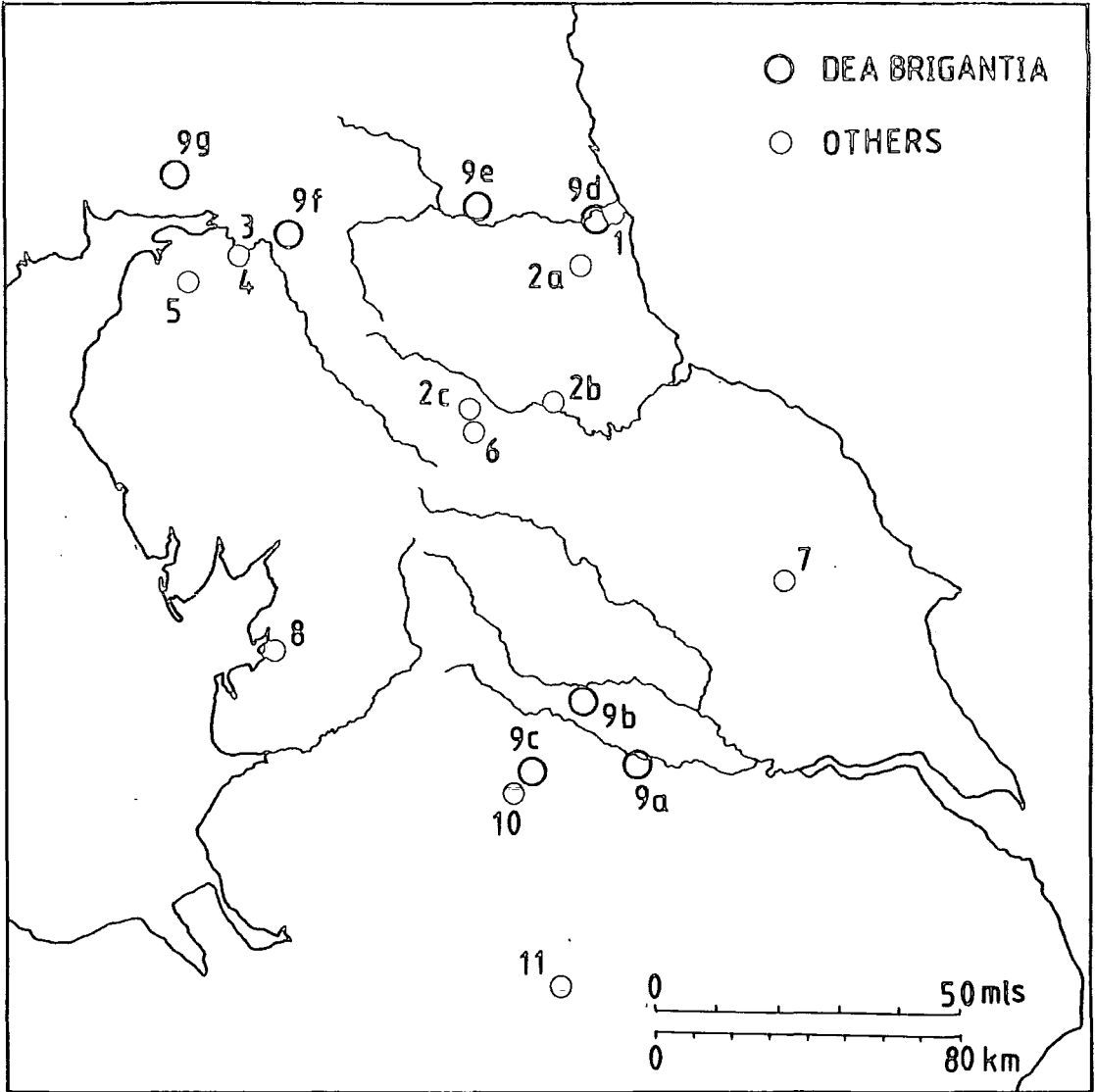
Fig. 10.5

Central Britain

Indigenous deities equated with classical gods
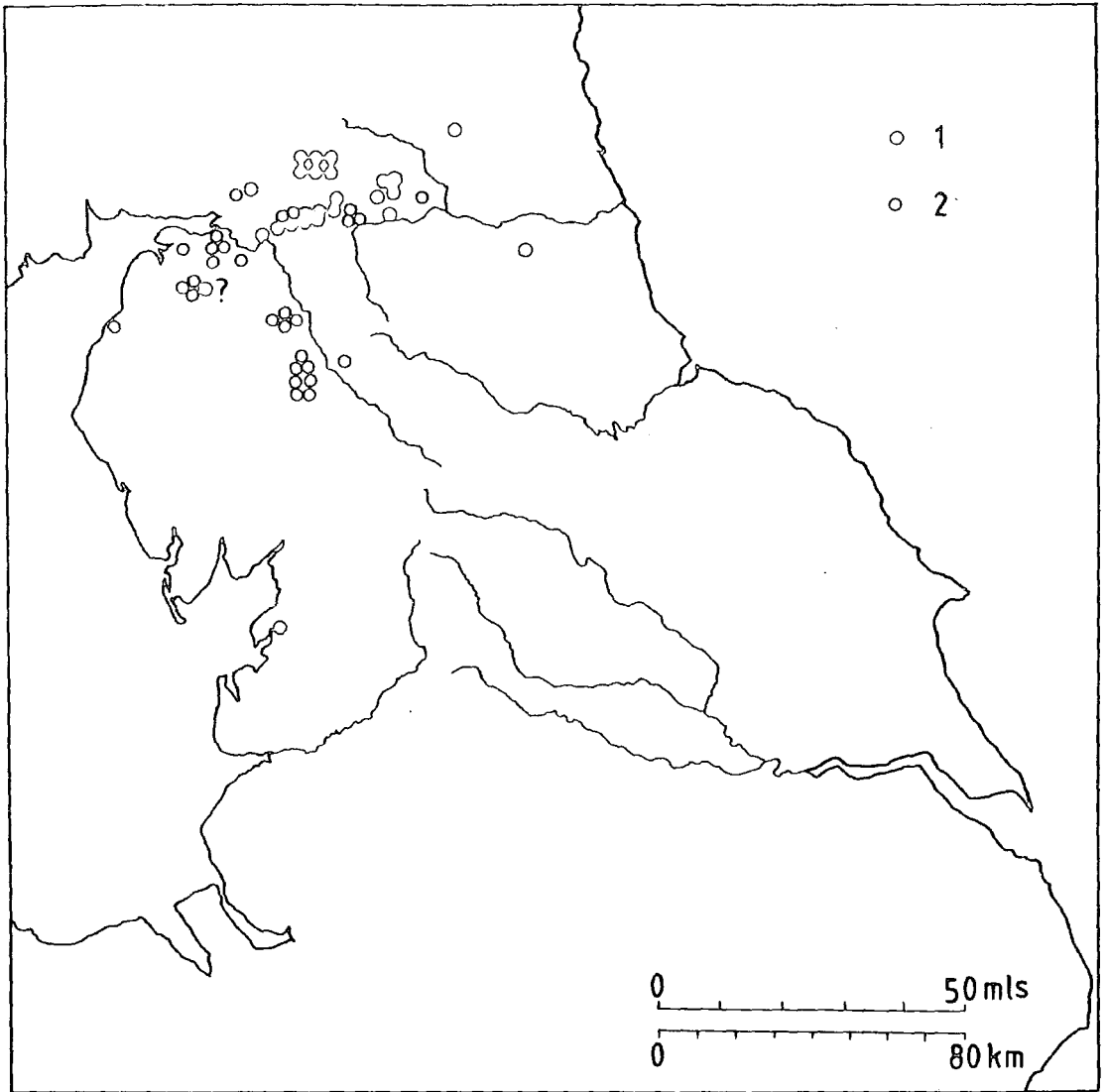(excepting Cocidius and Belatucadrus)

Fig. 10.6

Central Britain

Dedications to 1, Cocidius; 2, Belatucadrus

Fig. 10.7.

Dedications and sites sacred to Maponus (also see map).

NO.	PLACE	EQUATION	REFERENCES	REMARKS
1	Corbridge	Apollo	RIB 1121	Altar. Sculptures. L.S. Apollo with lyre and laurel. R.S. Diana with bow and quiver.
2	Hexham	Apollo	RIB 1122	Altar.
3	Hexham (near)	Apollo	RIB 1120	Altar.
4	Chesterholm Vicus	–	Brit 2 (1971) 291, no.12	Silver lunula.
5	Brampton (near)?	–	RIB 2063	Altar.
6	Birrens	–	JRS 58 (1968) 209, no.28.	Stone slab.
7	Ribchester	Apollo	RIB 583	Altar: reliefs on sides, front and back.

===

A Clochmabenstane   Richmond, 1940, 97.

B Lochmaben = Locus Maponi (?)   Radford, 1954.
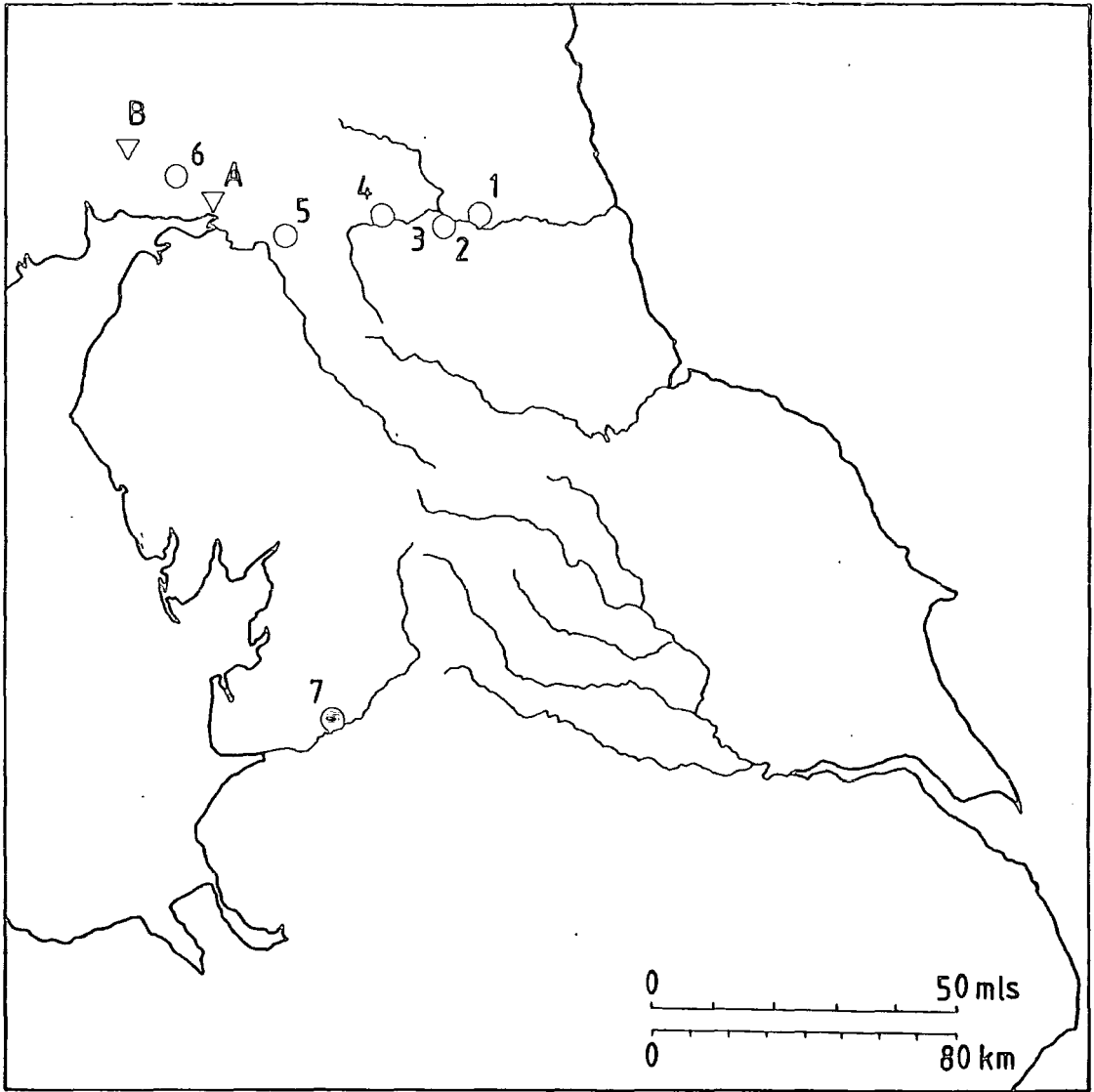
Fig. 10.7

Central Britain

Dedications and sites sacred to Maponus

Fig. 10.8.

Central Britain -

Celtic Deities also found on the Continent
(excepting the Matres and Maponus) (also see map).

| NO.	DEITY NAME	EQUATIONS etc.	PROVENANCE	STANDARD REFERENCE
1	Anextlomarus	Apollo	South Shields	EE 7.1162
2a	Digenis		Newcastle (near).	RIB 1314
2b	Digenis		Chester-le-Street.	RIB 1044
3	Coventina	Augusta	Carrawburgh	RIB 1522-1529, 1531-1535.
4	Mounus	Cad(---)(?)	Risingham	RIB 1226
5a	Mogonitus	Cad(---)(?)	Risingham	RIB 1225
5b	Moguntes		Chesterholm	Brit 4 (1973), 329,no.10.
5c	Mogons	Vitiris	Netherby	RIB 971
5d	Mogons		Old Penrith	RIB 921
6a	Mountes		High Rochester	RIB 1269
6b	Mountis		Old Penrith	RIB 992
7a	Epona		Carvoran	RIB 1777
7b	Epona		Netherby	RIB 967
8a	Toutates	Riocalatis Mars Cocidius	Old Carlisle (?)	RIB 1017
8b	To(u)tates		York	EE 3.181b
9	Ialonus	Contrebis	Lancaster	RIB 600
10	Sucellus		York	EE 3.181a
11	Camulus		Camulodunum (near Slack?)	Rivet and Smith, 1979, 295.
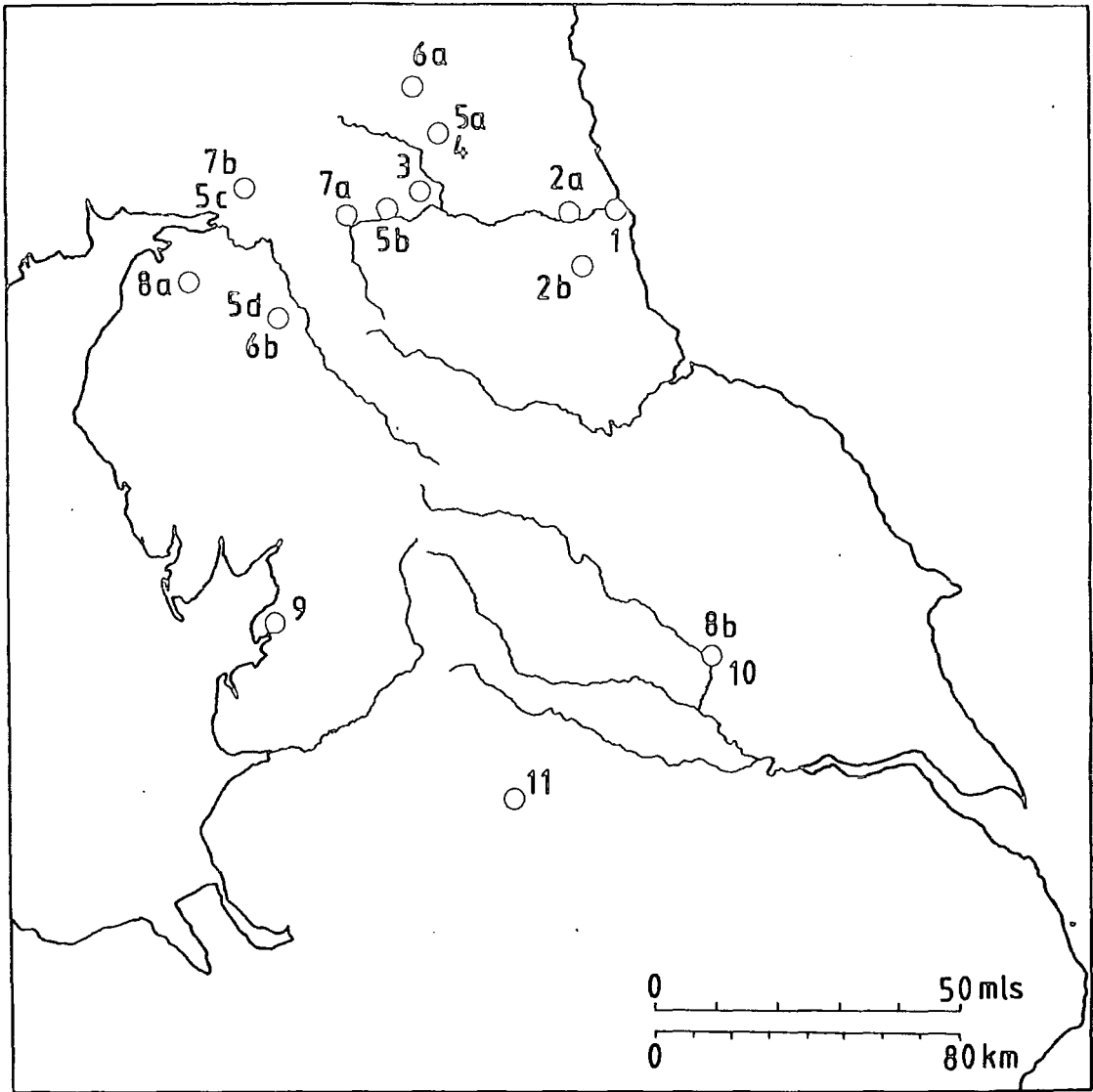
Fig. 10.8

Central Britain

Celtic deities also found on the Continent
(excepting the Matres and Maponus)

Fig. 10.9.

The Goddess 'Coventina' - Variants.

		EPIGRAPHIC	FORM	
NO.	PREFIXED TITLE	NAME	REFERENCES
1	[Ni]mphae	Coventinae	RIB 1527
2	D(e)ae	Coven(tinae)	RIB 1528
3	Deae	Coventine	RIB 1524, 1529.
4	Die	Coventine	RIB 1525
5	Deae Nimfae	Coventine	RIB 1526
6	Deae	Covventinae	RIB 1534
7	-	Covven[ti(nae)]	RIB 1535
8	Deae	Covetine	RIB 1532
9	-	Covetina(e)	RIB 1531
10	Deae sanc(tae)	Covontine	RIB 1533
11	Deae	Conventinae	RIB 1522
12	De(ae)	Conveti(nae)	RIB 1523

Fig. 10.10.

Central Britain: Uninscribed warrior figures.

(also see map).

No.	Find Place	Brief Description	Reference(s)
1	Maryport	Peck-incised figure in outline. Spear (or sword) in right hand, small shield (?) in left hand.	Bailey, 1915, 155, no.61, Pl.6.
2	Maryport	Top left-hand corner of a broken stone panel, 7.5in wide by 5in high. Upper part of horned figure with spear in right hand.	Ross, 1967, 156, Pl.49b (see Pl.IX).
3	Maryport	Crudely carved relief showing horned figure with knobbed spear in right hand and rect--angular shield in left hand. Phallic.	Bailey, 1915, 153, no.39, Pl.6.
4	Maryport	Small figure with spear (or staff) in right hand.	Bailey, 1915, 155, no.60.
5	Beckfoot	Figure with knobbed horns, cuirassed, standing in columned niche and with spear in right hand (broken off below waist, and left arm missing).	Haverfield, 1922, no.146.
6	Burgh by Sands	Horned figure, holding spear in right hand, above an altar(?), grasping bulbous object (shield?) in left hand.	Collingwood, 1926, no.274. (see Pl.X).

Fig. 10.10.　(continued)

Central Britain:　Uninscribed warrior figures.

(also see map).

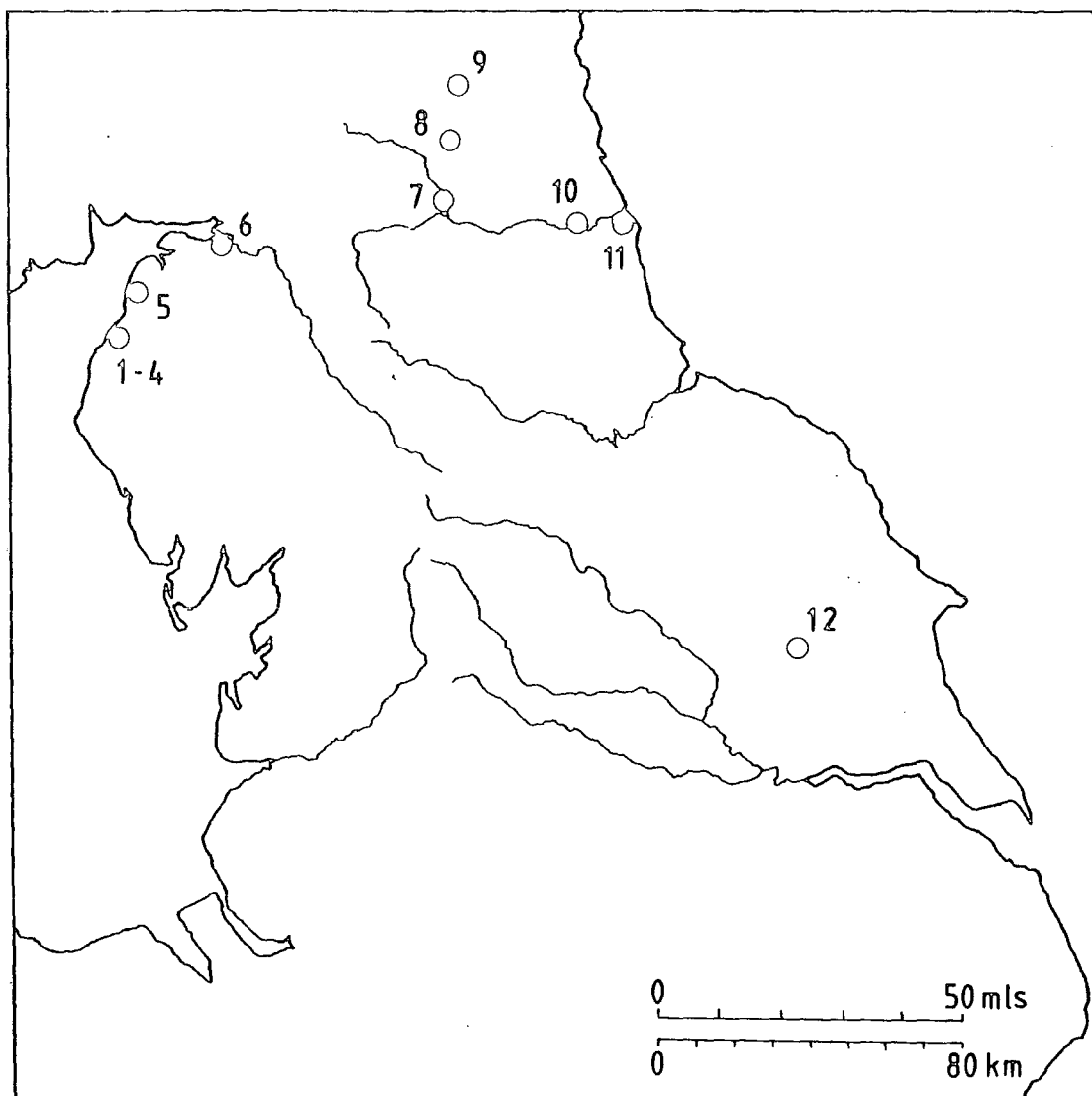| No.	Find Place	Brief Description	Reference(s)
7	Chesters	Lead plaque of horned figure, cuirassed with spear in right hand.	Budge, 1907, 366, no.61.
8	The Heads Farm near Risingham	Figure in low relief with tunic, belted. Spear in right hand, left hand raised but attribute missing.	Charlton and Mitcheson, 1983, 151, Pl.XV B.
9	Yardhope, Northumber--land	Figure carved on rock face at entrance to rock-shelter shrine, 32cm high, helmeted, with spear in right hand, reverse of small round shield in left hand. Naked but not phallic.	Charlton and Mitcheson, 1983, 151, Pl.XIV A and B.
10	Unknown (in Joint Museum, Newcastle)	Peck-inscribed figure with pointed beard. Holds spear in right hand and small shield in left hand.　Wears belt and is phallic.	Collingwood, 1926, no.263. (see Pl.X).
11	South Shields	Sculpture in the round of stone head and torso (broken), arms missing. Depicts bearded person--age with bulging lentoid eyes, wearing cuirass and baldric.	Thornborough, 1959, 23, Pls.3-4. Ross, 1967, 195, Pl.64 a and b.
12	Kirby Underdale, Yorkshire.	Wedge-shaped stone with horned figure in low relief.　Phallic. Holding spear in right hand and shield in left hand.	Ross, 1967, 157, Pl.50b.

Fig. 10.10

Central Britain

Uninscribed warrior figures

Fig. 10.11.

Central Britain:

Uninscribed figures of the native Mercury and Silvanus.
(also see map).

No.	Find Place	Brief Description	Reference(s)
1	South Shields	Intaglio	Smith, 1963, 235, Pl.12.
2	Hollinside Farm, near Lanchester	Stone figure in low relief. Skirted(?). Left hand holds long unidentified object, right hand rests on animal's head.	Charlton and Mitcheson, 1983, 151, Pl.15c.
3	Corbridge	Naked figure with pronounced horns. Stone.	Ross, 1961, 79.
4	Parkhead Quarry, near Risingham	'Rob of Risingham'; figure with tunic and quiver. In right hand a bow, in left hand a club(?) or animal(?). Carved on rock face.	Horsley, 1732, 234-241; Hodgson, 1827, 166.
5	High Rochester	Crude stone relief of phallic horned figure.	Toynbee, 1964, 155; Ross, 1967, 161, fig.115.
6	High Rochester	Crude stone relief of horned figure - lower part broken off.	Bruce, 1875, no.586.
7	High Rochester	Crude stone relief of horned figure with altar depicted on right.	Bruce, 1875, no.587.

Fig. 10.11. (continued)

Central Britain:

Uninscribed figures of the native Mercury and Silvanus.
(also see map).

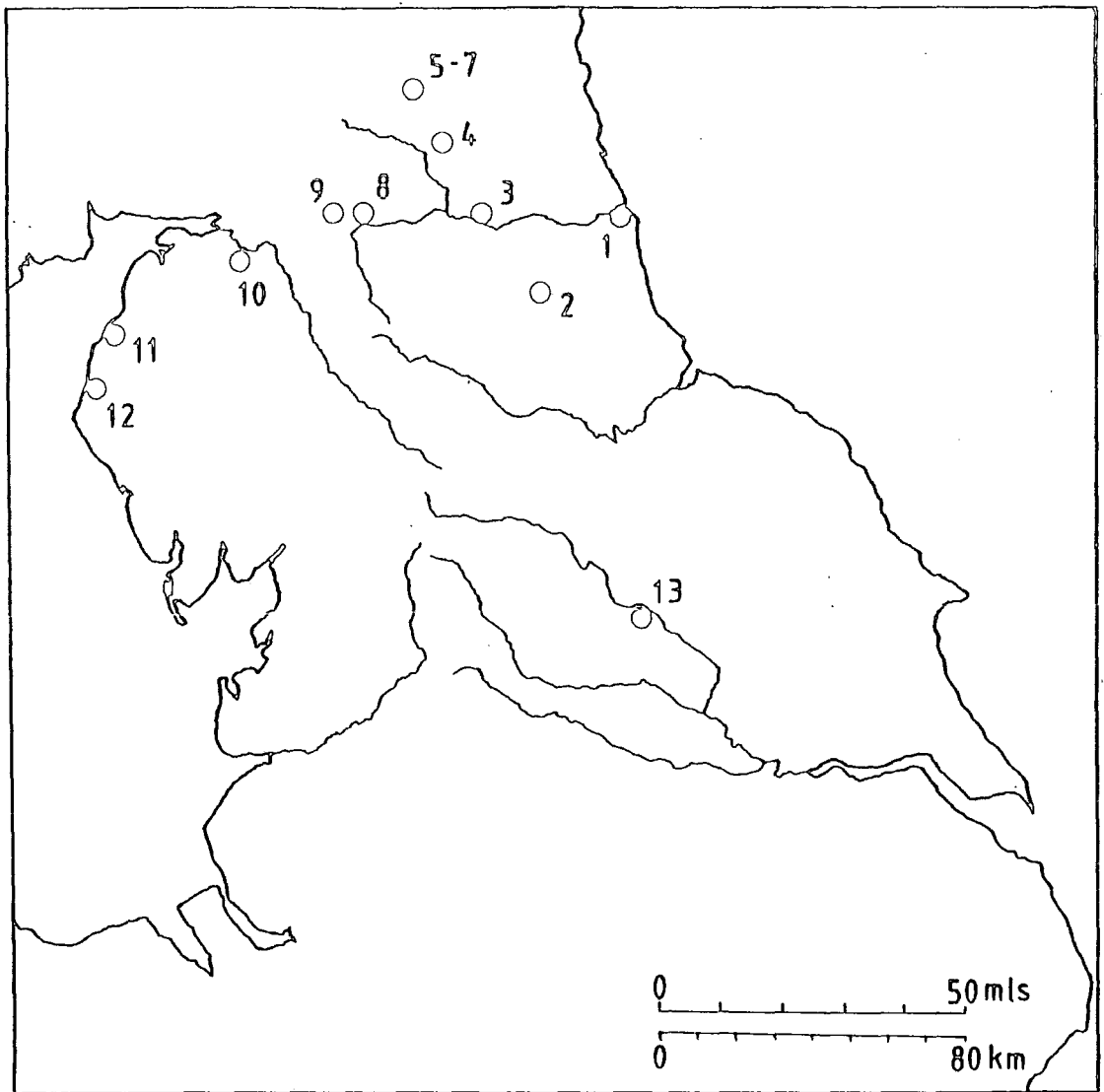| No.	Find Place	Brief Description	Reference(s)
8	Great Chesters	Gable-topped stone with incised figure. In left hand the caduceus, in right hand bursa over an altar. Wings on head modified to represent horns. Phallic.	Collingwood, 1926, no. 271; Ross, 1967, 158, Pl.53a.
9	Bridge abutment, Willowford	Incised, naked figure, with left arm raised, right arm lowered, no attributes surviving other than two horns.	Ross, 1967, 161, fig.117.
10	Carlisle	Small altar with figure in relief. Naked apart from cloak, and horned. Holds animal over altar.	Bruce, 1875, no.494; Ross, 1967 161, fig.116.
11	Maryport	Small altar (10in high). Male figure with horns is depicted in outline on the face. Cross of St. Andrew on square body.	Bailey, 1915, 152, no.22, Pl.6.
12	Moresby	Horned bust with pleated upper garment about shoulders.	Ross, 1967, 85, Pl.57a.
13	Aldborough	Stone relief of figure with caduceus but twin horns replacing petasus.	Smith, 1852, 27-28, Pl.11.

Fig. 10.11
Central Britain
Uninscribed figures of the native Mercury and Silvanus

Fig. 10.12.

Central Britain: Horned Heads.   (also see map).

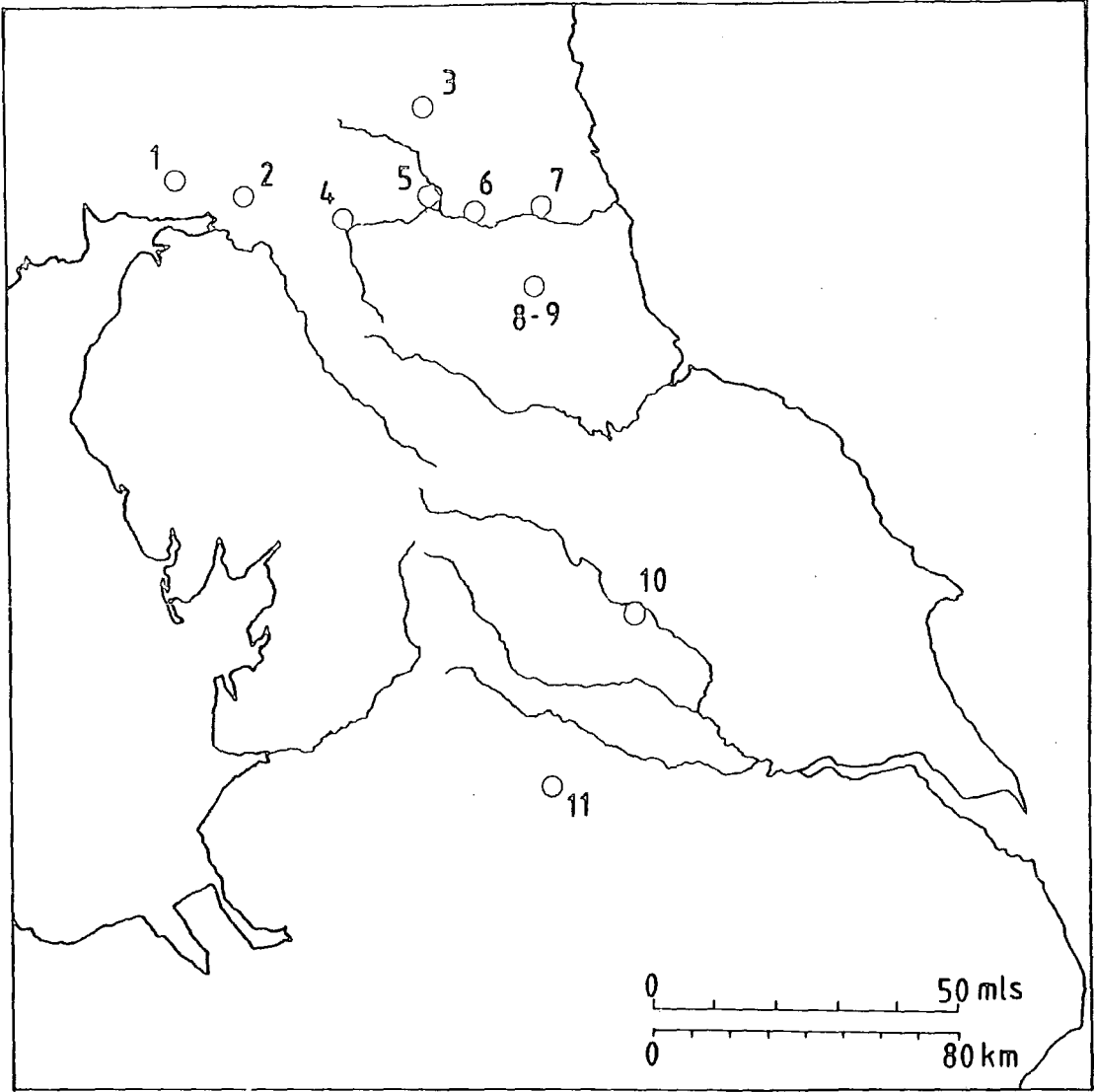| No.	Find Place	Brief Description	Reference(s)
1	Birrens	Bust on bronze mounting.	Robertson, 1975, 124, fig.35.
2	Netherby	Stone head with ram's horns.	Toynbee, 1964, 109; 1963, Pl.44. Ross, 1967, 81, Pl.21a.
3	High Rochester or Risingham	Bearded head of stone.	Ross, 1967, 82.
4	Carvoran	Stone head with lentoid eyes.	Toynbee, 1964, 110; Ross, 1967, 82, Pl.21b.
5	Chesters	Stone head.	Ross, 1967, 82, Pl.21d.
6	Corbridge	Stone janiform head: vestigial horns.	Toynbee, 1964, 108; Ross, 1967, 79-80, Pl.21c,d.
7	Lemington	Stone head.	Smith, 1984, 221-223, figs.12.1, 12.2.
8	Lanchester	Pear-shaped stone.	Dodds, 1967, 29-31, fig.2.
9	Lanchester	Large head, bearded, phallic body.	Ross, 1967, 82, Pl.23a.
10	Aldborough	Bronze terret	MacGregor, 1976, 42, cat.no.61.
11	Mirfield, West Yorkshire (SE2019)	Stone janiform head, human on one side, ram on other, with reversed horns.	Jackson, 1973, no.53.

Fig. 10.12

Central Britain

Horned heads

Fig. 10.13.

Central Britain: Some stone heads in the Celtic tradition.
(also see illustrations).

| No.	Find Place	Brief description	Reference
1	Baildon, near Shipley.	Sandstone, 11in (280mm) high. Recessed face (cf. 'Serpent Stone', Maryport).	Jackson, 1973, no.32.
2	Nab Wood, Shipley.	Sandstone, 11in (280mm) high. Relief carving, slit mouth ('panel head').	Jackson, 1973. no.24
3	Allerton, near Bradford	Fine sandstone, 13in (320mm) high. Hollow crown.	Jackson, 1973, no.18.
4	Round Wood, Waterloo, near Hudders-field.	Sandstone, 5½in (140mm). high. Eye sockets for yellow sandstone eyes. Sockets for animal(?) ears. 'Cigarette hole' in slit mouth.	Jackson, 1973, no. 36.
5	Allerton near Bradford.	Sandstone 7in (179mm) high. Bulbous eyes, 'cigarette hole' in mouth.	Jackson, 1973, no.5.
6	Boston Spa, near Wetherby (from Spring).	Fine sandstone 10½in (267mm) high. Long neck, top knot on head, protruding tongue.	Jackson, 1973, no.11.
7	Swinsty, near Harrogate.	Sandstone, 13in (320mm) high. Large head on small square base.	Jackson, 1973, no.49.
8	Siddal, near Halifax.	Sandstone, 11½in (293mm) high. Protruding tongue, 'spectacle-eyed', thick lips.	Jackson, 1973, no.2.
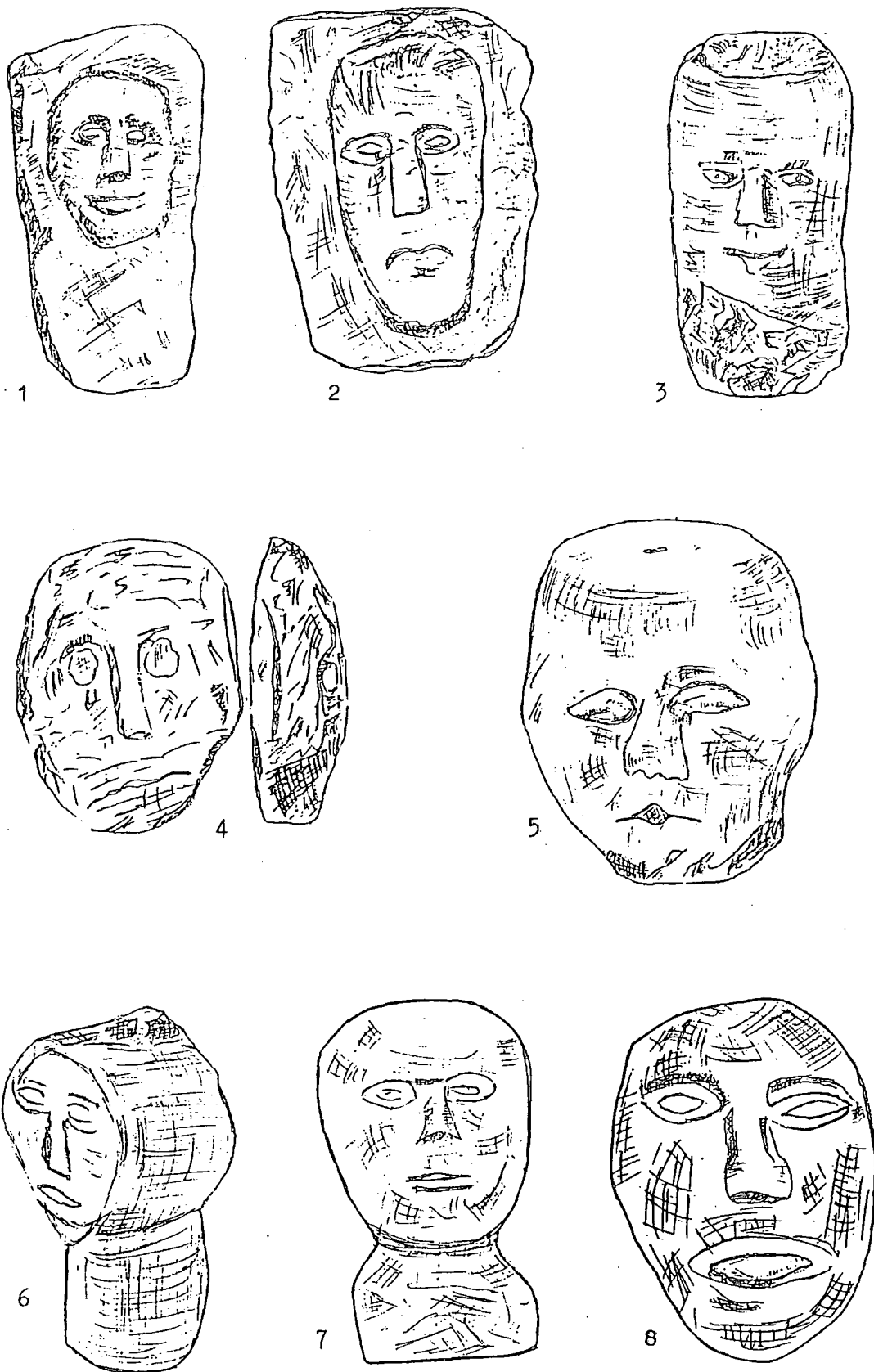
Fig. 10.13   Central Britain
Some stone heads in the Celtic tradition
(after Jackson, 1973)

Plate I   East Forcegarth, Celtic fields

Plate II

Settlement and field system south-east of Scot Gate Lane

Above: a. general view
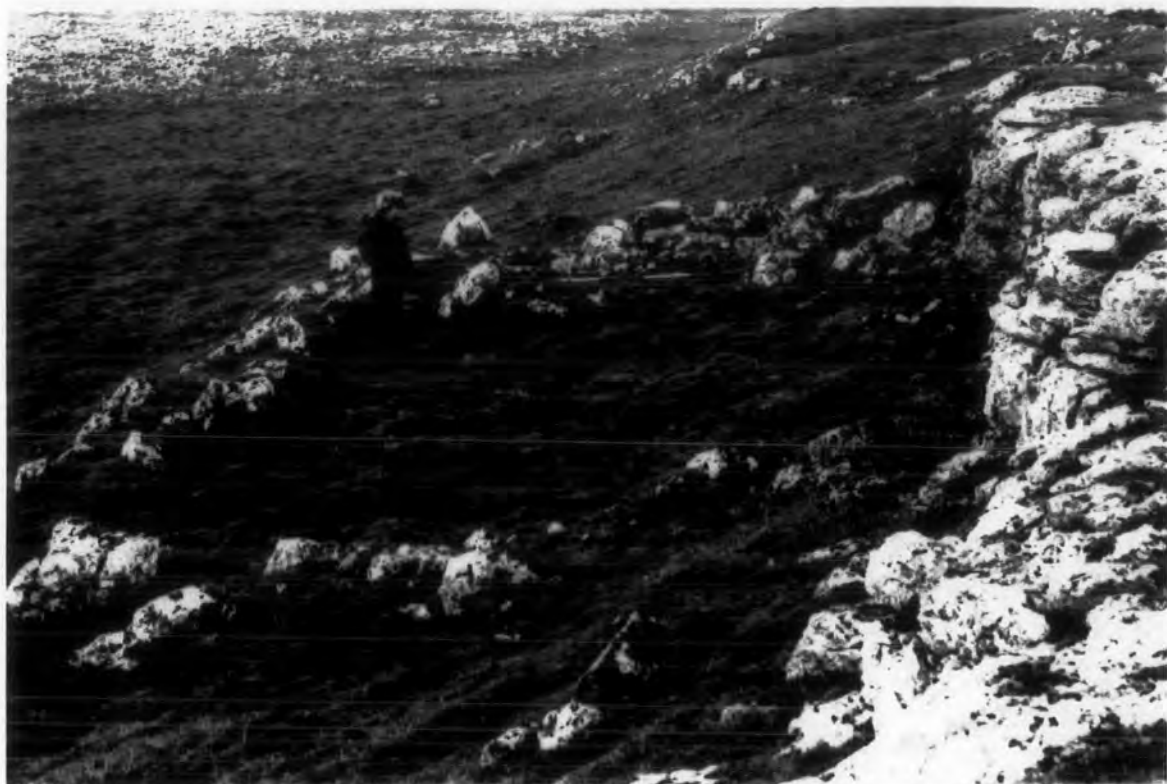Below: b. Remains of hut circle

Plate III   848.

a.   Scot Gate Pasture, settlement no.1

b.   High Hill Castles (S of), settlement no. 2
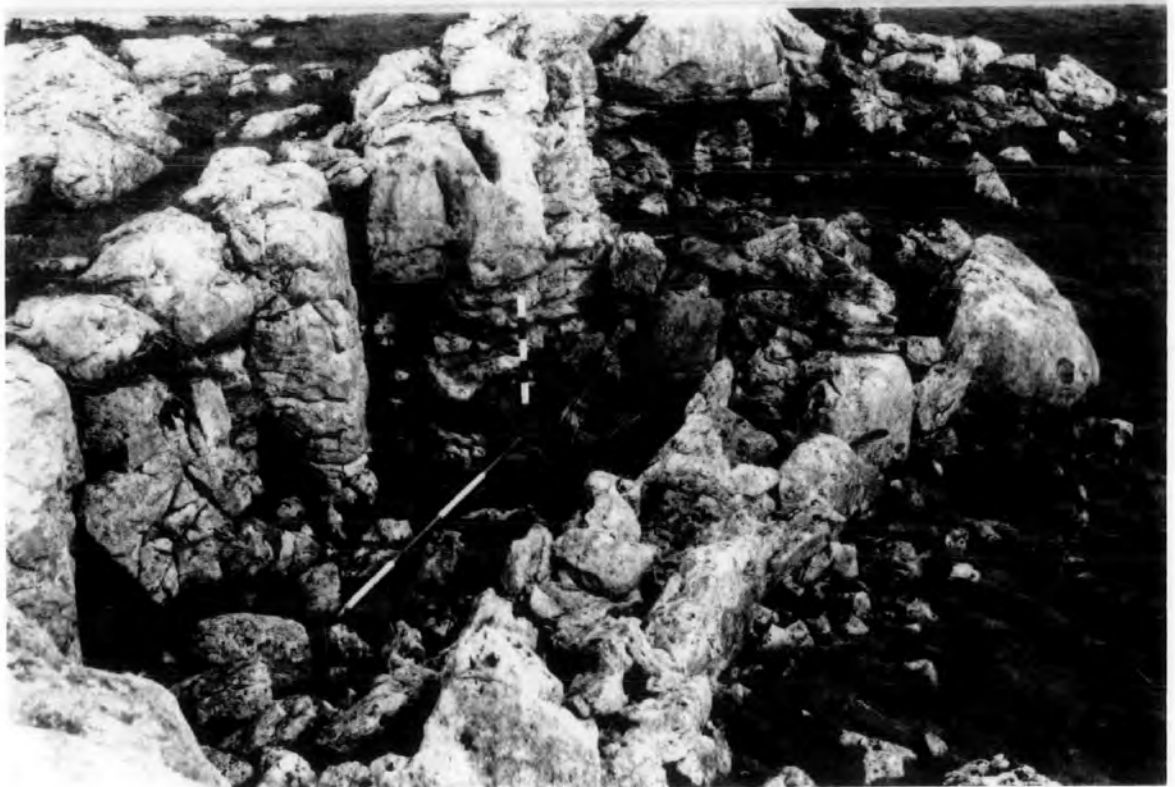
Plate IV

Hill Castles Scar (NE of), site 1

Above: a. general view
Below: b. wall passage

Plate V

Hill Castles Scar (NE of), site 2
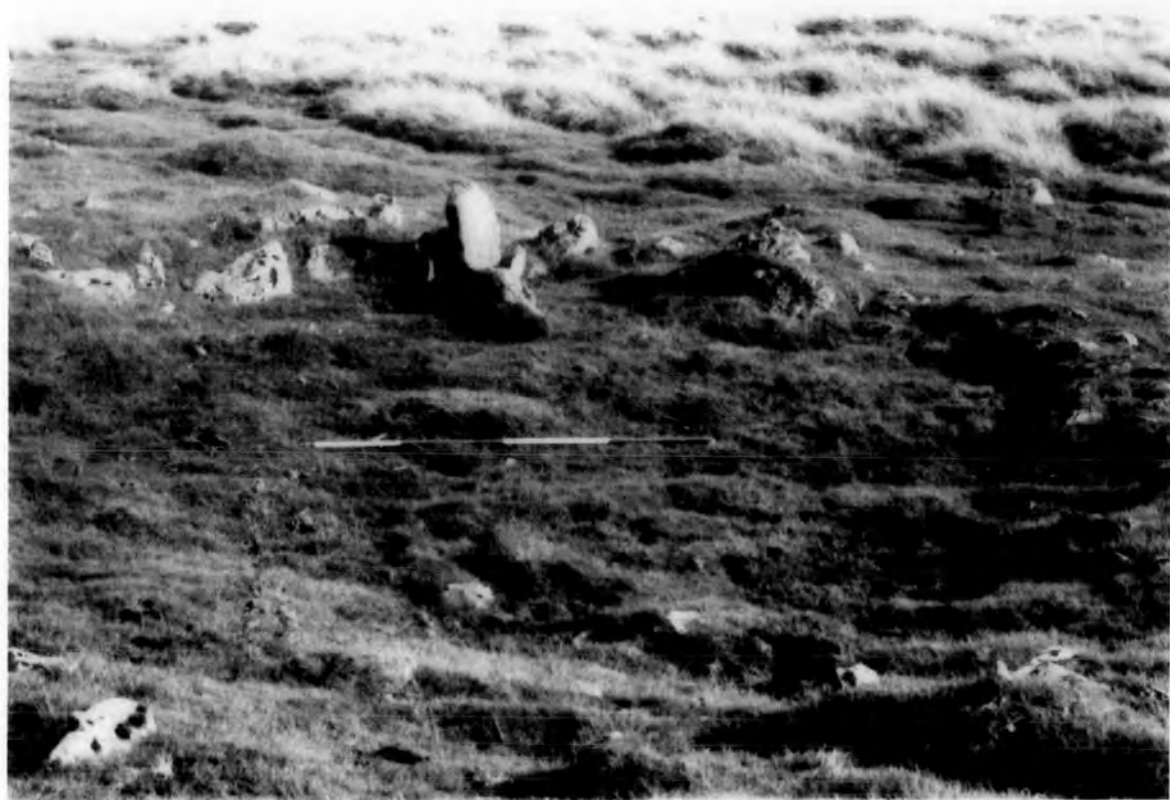

Above: a. general view
Below: b. wall passage

Plate VI   851.

a.   Comb Scar hut circle, Malham

b.   High Hill Castles (S of), settlement no.1

Plate VII

Torlery Edge, Malham, hut circle
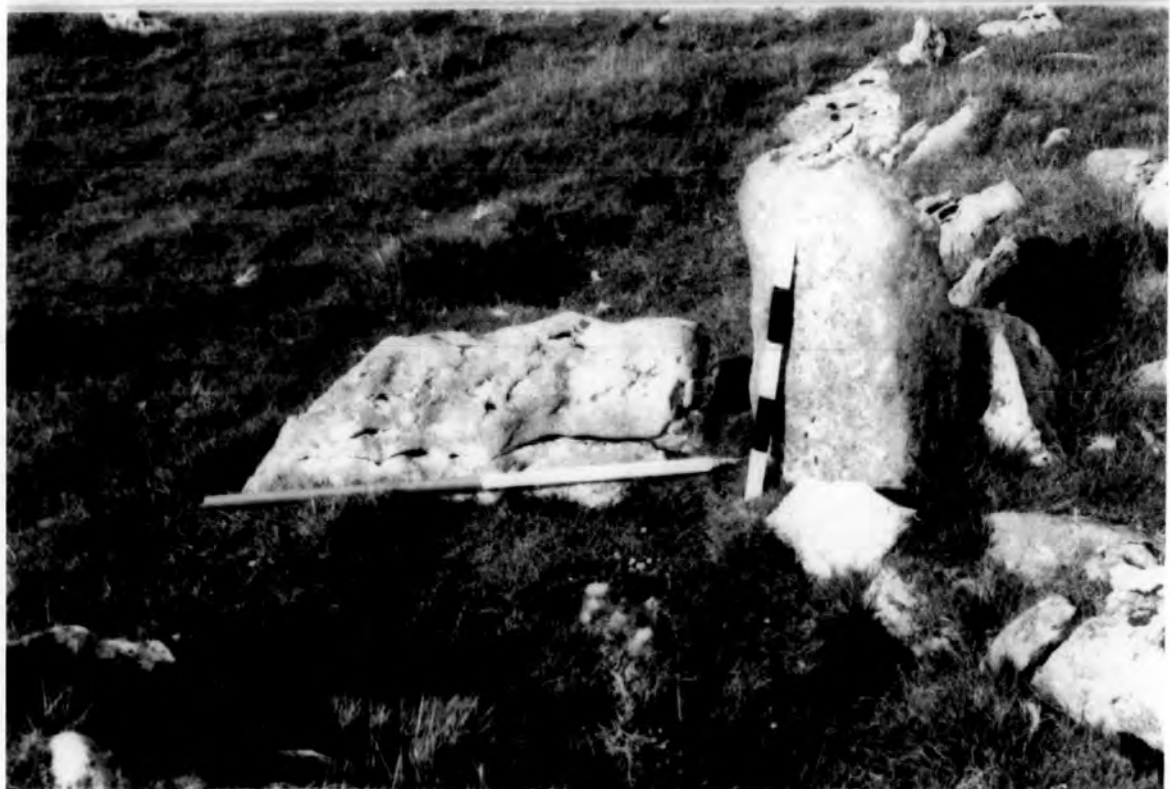
Above: a. General view from rear
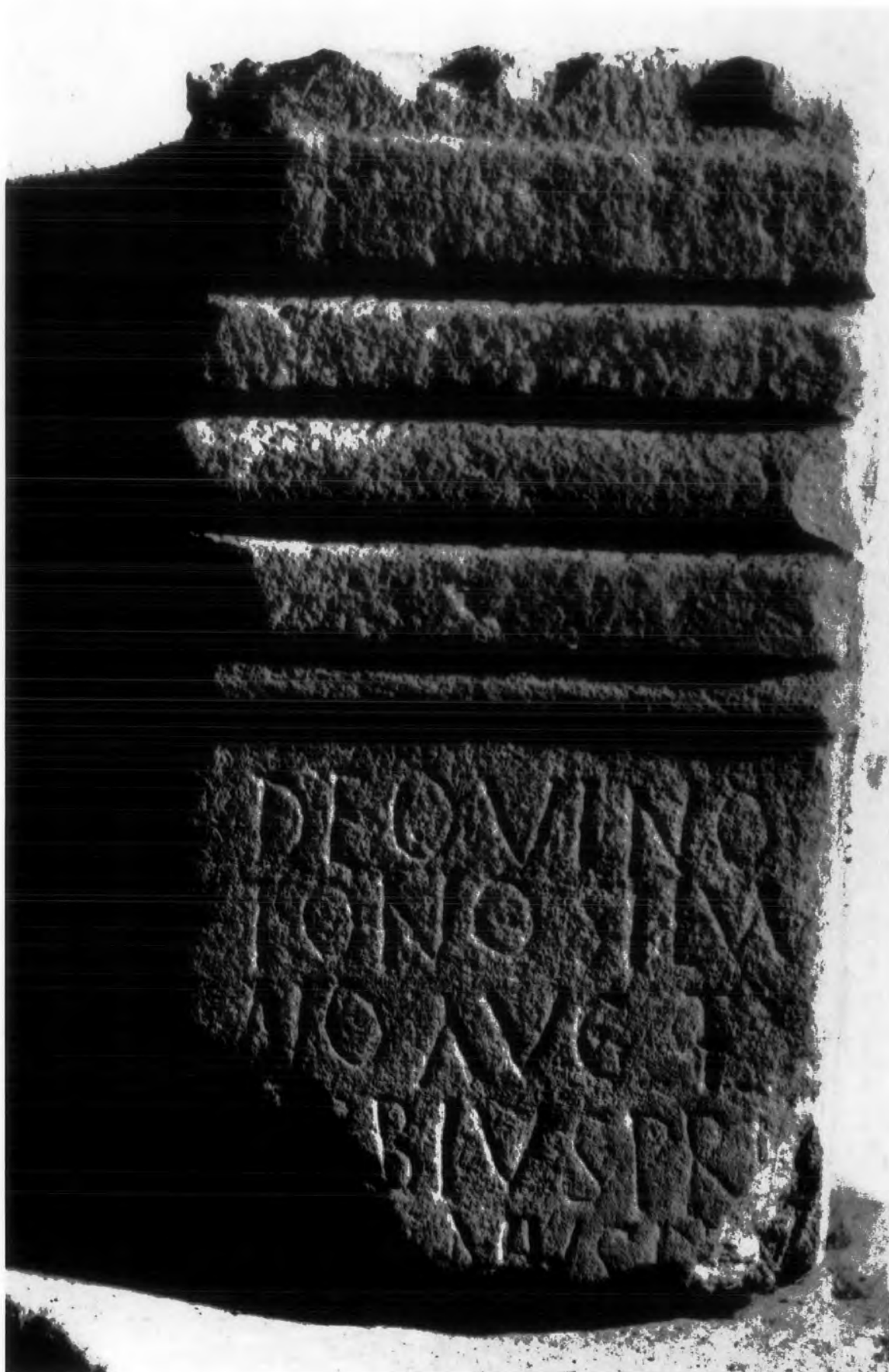Below: b. View of entrance from exterior

Plate VIII   Dedication to Vinotonus Silvanus from Scargill Moor
              (found 1986)
              280mm wide by 510mm high by 260mm deep

Plate IX   Horned warrior from Maryport, Cumbria
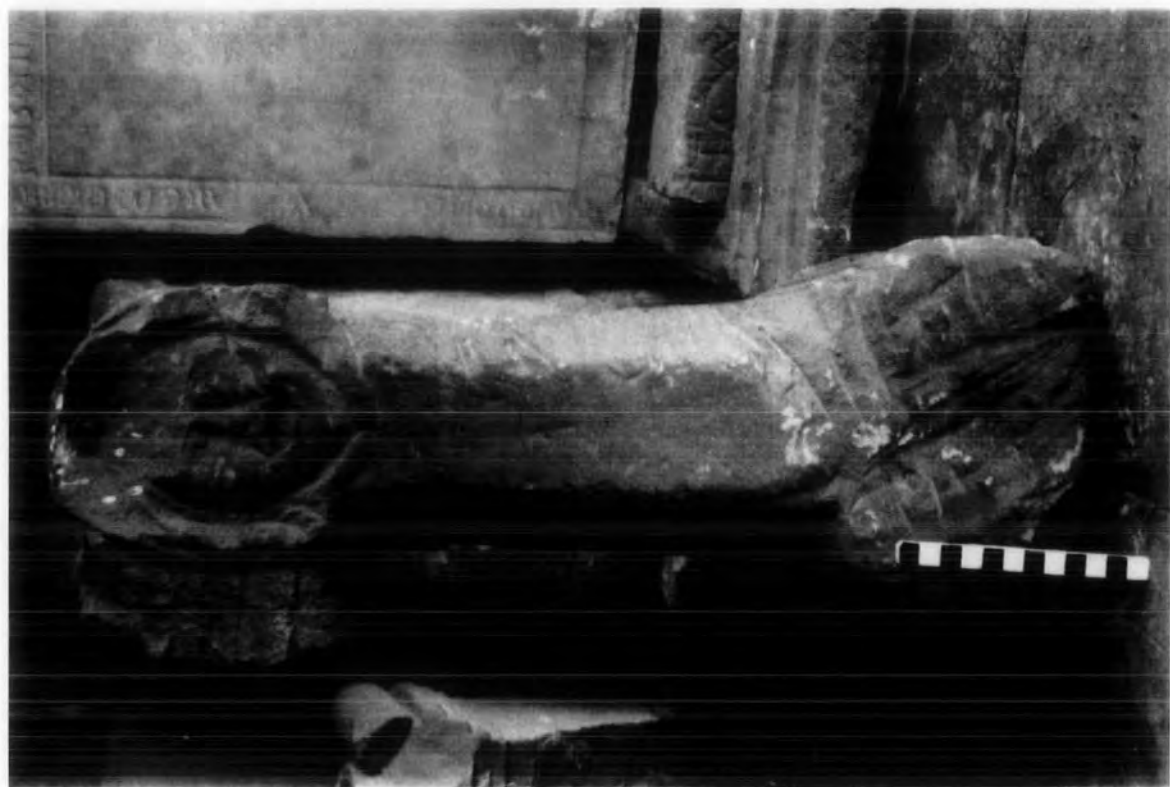   (scale in inches)

Plate X

Above: a. Warrior figure in Joint Museum, Newcastle

Below: b. Horned warrior from Burgh by Sands, Cumbria

(Scale in inches)

Plate XI

The 'Serpent Stone' from Maryport, Cumbria

Above: a. Reverse

Below: b. Obverse

(Scale in inches)