Preface to the Second Edition

In the first edition of this book, published in 1993, I wrote that it was both a good time and a bad time to produce a book on Roman York. It was a good time because public and academic interest in the subject had probably never been greater, but a bad time, partly, at least, because research on most of the major archaeological excavations of what were then the previous twenty years or so was still in progress. On preparing this second edition some ten years later I felt the auguries were much more favourable because a good deal, although by no means all, of that research has been completed. For example, the great campaign of excavations under York Minster (1967-72), in which the legionary fortress headquarters and first cohort barrack were revealed, was published in 1995 by Derek Philips and Brenda Heywood. My own volume on the fortress defences (Archaeology of York 3/3) appeared in 1996 and we also have Jason Monaghan’s wide-ranging survey of Roman pottery from York (Archaeology of York 16/8), published in 1997, which has made available a vast body of data relating to ceramic production and trade in Eboracum, and has also allowed the critical re-evaluation of archaeological dating for the period. In the first edition of this book I also referred to the problems inherent in having only a very small archaeologically excavated sample of the Roman settlement at York on which to make conclusions of a general nature. The sample remains small, but since 1993 there have been some important new excavations which have expanded knowledge of the subject considerably. For example, in 2002 two previously unrecorded Roman camps were discovered by aerial photography at Monk’s Cross, about 5km (3 miles) north-east of York; one was excavated and dated to the Hadrianic period thereby prompting a renewed evaluation of York’s role at this crucial period in the history of Roman Britain. There has also been work on the fortress defences in the York Archaeological Trust training excavation at St Leonard’s Hospital which has revealed more of one of the interval towers (SW6) and a section through the adjacent rampart. Within the fortress work at the Minster Library in 1997 revealed an important structural sequence and confirmed the location of a street.

Readers familiar with the first edition will find the format and a good deal of the content of this new edition readily recognisable, but I am grateful to Tempus for allowing me both to expand on certain topics to take account of recent research and
to include others which had to be excluded for reasons of space the first time around. As a result, there has been an adjustment in terms of the relative length of the chapters. In particular, Chapters 3 and 4 have gained at the expense of Chapter 5 – Late Roman York – largely because construction of the defences in stone on the south-west and north-west sides of the fortress, and of the great public building, probably a bath house, at 1-9 Micklegate, south-west of the river Ouse is now regarded, in both cases, as belonging to the early third century rather than to the late third or even early fourth century. Although these changes of dating may seem to be unsettling, because they require a recasting of a narrative previously seen as firmly founded, they do, at least, serve to re-emphasise the vibrant character of York at the time of the Severan emperors (197 – 235). They also show, as if one was in any doubt, that the story of Roman York is constantly unfolding. New discoveries and new analyses in the next ten years or so will probably render many of today’s conclusions unsound or at least in need of modification and I, for one, look forward to seeing in what new directions we are taken.

P.J.C.O. New Year’s Day 2004

Acknowledgements

As it was when I was completing the first edition in 1993, it is once again a pleasure to acknowledge the encouragement and support I have received in the preparation of this new one. I am, first of all, grateful to colleagues past and present at the York Archaeological Trust, in particular Peter Addyman and Richard Hall. In addition, thanks are due to Glenys Boyles, Martin Brann, Amanda Clarke, Hilary Cool, Rhona Finlayson, Kurt Hunter-Mann, Mark Johnson, Jason Monaghan, Niall Oakey and Nick Pearson. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Terry Finnemore whose meticulous checking of detail was invaluable for my research on the Roman fortress plan. In preparing the second edition I am grateful to Lesley Collett for her work on preparing new illustrations and for re-drawing a number of others. Mike Andrews assisted me with finding photographs in the Trust archive and making digital copies.

Outside the Trust I am most grateful to Professor Martin Millett who read through the draft text of the first edition and made many useful comments and suggestions. My thanks are also due to Elizabeth Hartley, Keeper of Archaeology at the Yorkshire Museum and Melanie Baldwin, the Registrar, for making illustrations of items in the collections available. Louise Hampson and Peter Young generously assisted with images from the York Minster archive. Allan Hall, Andrew Jones, Harry Kenward and Terry O’Connor, past and present fellows of the Environmental Archaeology Unit at the University of York kindly provided information on matters concerning their specialist interests.

Chapter 1

The Search for Roman York – ‘A Place of Great Importance’

The City of York, known to the Romans as Eboracum (or Eburacum), owes its origins to the Ninth Legion which is thought to have arrived in the year AD 71 and built a great fortress on the north-east bank of the river Ouse. In about the year 120 the Ninth Legion was replaced by the Sixth which remained, nominally at least, as the garrisoning force until the end of the Roman period in the early fifth century. During the second century York also became the site of a major urban settlement. One part lay on the north-east bank of the Ouse and the other on the south-west bank. By the early third century this settlement had become a provincial capital and acquired the status of a colonia, a largely honorific title by this time, but at least showing that York had received a measure of imperial favour denied to most other places in Britain. This dual character, with military and civilian sites of the highest
rank side by side, makes *Eboracum* unique in Britain and crucial for the understanding of the Roman imperial achievement in this country.

*Map of Roman York and environs showing principal areas of settlement, recorded cemeteries and scattered burials, and selected roads and streets (known and conjectured).*
The importance of Roman York is underlined by the documented visits of two emperors, both of whom died here. The first of these imperial casualties was Septimius Severus who used York as a campaign base in the years 208-11 and the second was Constantius I who died in 306. Following Constantius’s death his son Constantine I (‘the Great’) was acclaimed as emperor by the army in York. These great events, which thrust York on to the world’s stage, have given an added edge to local pride over the years, leading William Hargrove, a newspaper proprietor and journalist, for example, to open his *History of York*, published in 1818, as follows:

‘In the earliest records of English History, Ebor, Eboracum or York, is represented as a place of great importance; and, in the zenith of meridian splendour, it was the residence of Imperial Power, and the legislative seat of the Roman Empire. Hence we may readily suppose, especially when the ancient historic accounts of this city are contrasted with those of London, that York far exceeded in dignity and consequence, if not in population and extent, the present capital of the British Empire, at that period.’

While such hyperbole is out of fashion amongst historians today, the Roman period still captures the imagination as powerfully as any other period of York’s history; indeed the status the city acquired in the late first century has influenced almost every aspect of its subsequent development. After Britain had ceased to be part of the Roman Empire York was to retain a pre-eminent role in the economic, military,
political and religious affairs of the north of England in the succeeding Anglian, Anglo-Scandinavian and medieval periods. Although it has to be admitted that York's economic and political dominance had begun to decline by the end of Elizabeth I's reign, the church and the army have retained York as northern headquarters to the present day. In the mid-nineteenth century York returned to a position of regional economic importance as a railway centre and during the reign of Elizabeth II it has become a thriving city of over 100,000 inhabitants with a diverse economy based not only on engineering and the manufacture of chocolate, but also on new technologies with centres at York University and elsewhere. In addition, tourism focused on the museums and historic sites provides an ever-increasing contribution to the city's income.

It is, of course, in the nature of things that a place which has been occupied for almost two thousand years should see the buildings, streets and monuments of one generation demolished and built over by the next. As a result there is little of Roman York to be seen above ground today, but a flavour of former glories can still be enjoyed at three locations in the former fortress. At its very heart, displayed where they were unearthed in advance of work to support the Minster tower, can be seen the remains of the legionary principia or headquarters building. A column from the

![Re-erected column from the Roman fortress headquarters basilica](image)

great hall, or basilica, has been re-erected outside the south door of the Minster. At the east corner of the fortress stands the fine walling of the defences which probably dates to the late second century. Finally, in the Museum Gardens is the Multangular Tower standing at the west corner of the fortress, which together with the adjacent stretches of the curtain wall, forms one of the most impressive witnesses to the military power of the Roman Empire to be found anywhere in western Europe. In addition, the nearby Yorkshire Museum boasts a remarkable collection of Roman
antiquities ranging from fine stone sculpture to grave finds such as pottery vessels and jewellery made of bone, jet and precious metals.

The Multangular Tower at the west corner of the Roman fortress

There are no other upstanding Roman remains in York, but the medieval city walls to the north-east and north-west of the Minster directly overlie the defences of the fortress while two of York’s principal thoroughfares, Stonegate and Petergate, run close to the line of important Roman streets. South-west of the Ouse the medieval walls are also likely to overlie Roman defences and Micklegate Bar, in origin an
eleventh century gateway, probably stands close to the site of a Roman predecessor.

The earliest written reference to York is datable to about the year 100 and occurs as an address on one of the famous wooden writing tablets from Vindolanda, a fort near Hadrian’s Wall. It occurs here in the form *Eburacum*, as it does in the Antonine Itinerary and Ravenna Cosmography, two road books of the Roman period which give place-names along the principal highways of the empire. The form *Eboracum* is, however, a little more common, occurring, for example, in the works of the second century Greek geographer Ptolomey and on several inscriptions on stone from York. The second spelling is used in this book and is still current today, usually in its abbreviated form ‘Ebor’, in, for example, the signature of the archbishop and the name of the principal race meeting on the Knavesmire featuring the great Ebor handicap over 1 mile 6 furlongs. The original meaning of *Eboracum* is uncertain, but it may derive from a British word meaning ‘the place of the yew trees’.

The Vindolanda address is one of only about thirty or so written references to York in literary and epigraphic sources, many of which tell us little else of historic value. What is known of the history of Roman York is, therefore, based almost entirely on archaeological evidence. Since much of this evidence is buried and unseen, it is worth outlining some of its characteristics by way of an introduction to the discoveries themselves. The archaeology of York is made up, firstly, of abandoned structures in varying states of incompleteness and, secondly, of a vast number of superimposed layers of building debris, domestic and industrial refuse, ancient garden soil and the like which are testimony to the intensity of human activity in the city over the centuries. Within the city centre there is typically about 3- 5m (10 – 16 feet) of archaeology below modern ground level. The depth of buried structures and deposits poses serious technical problems for archaeologists, requiring, for example, the use of expensive shoring to keep trench sides safe. The remains of the Roman period, usually buried more deeply than those of later times are, however, relatively well-preserved from damage by modern intrusions, such as cellars and service trenches. Another factor favouring preservation of archaeological material arises from York’s low-lying situation which means that it has been greatly affected by a gradual rise in the water table since Roman times. In many areas of the city the ground has become waterlogged and this has ensured the remarkable and unusual survival of organic materials, from timber buildings to insect and plant remains.

Although the archaeology of York can be seen as an archive it is, of course, unlike the papers in a book which can be consulted time and time again. Every time we read a page of the buried past in the course of excavation, either deliberately for research purposes or accidentally for construction and the like, we are destroying that past and the thorough recording of any discoveries is therefore vital. It is fortunate therefore that in York, as in Britain’s other historic towns, there has been a long history of investigating the buried remains of the past. A continuous thread links the early antiquaries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, who recovered individual objects of intrinsic artistic or historic interest, such as coins, jewellery and tombstones, to the archaeologists of today who adhere to a rigorous academic discipline demanding the highest standards in recording and publication.
The first scholar of national reputation to draw attention to Roman York was probably the Tudor geographer and historian William Camden. In his *Britannia* (first published 1587), a unique survey of the country’s historical sites and monuments, Camden noted such items as a stone coffin (since lost) of Verecundius Diogenes, a *sevir augustalis* (priest of the cult of the deified emperor), apparently brought to light in 1579. Amongst other early discoveries was that of an altar dedicated to Jupiter found in 1638 in Bishophill Senior on the south-west bank of the Ouse and the tombstone of the standard bearer Lucius Ducciuss Rufinus found in 1688 at Holy Trinity Church in Micklegate.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries many distinguished York residents interested themselves in the city’s Roman remains. They included Martin Lister (1638? – 1712), the eminent zoologist who was a polymath true to the spirit of his times. He contributed papers on such discoveries as the Bishophill altar to the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society. Lister was also the first person to recognise the Multangular Tower as a Roman structure and his work formed one of the sources for a great landmark in the study of York’s history. Entitled *Eboracum*, but covering other periods as well as the Roman, this was published in 1736 by Francis Drake (1696 – 1771), a local surgeon. As a correspondent of the great antiquary William Stukeley, creator of much of the mythology surrounding the druids, Drake like many other amateur scholars of his time, combined a curiosity about the past and a desire to record its remains with fanciful speculation and misplaced civic pride. This led him, for example, erroneously to assert that the emperor Constantine the Great had actually been born in York and that Helena his mother was British.
In 1818 William Hargrove published the history of York quoted earlier which reviewed previous discoveries and such new material as the Mithraic relief found in 1747 near St Martin-cum-Gregory church and the inscription from a temple of Serapis found on Toft Green in 1770. The search for Roman York was continued by the Reverend Charles Wellbeloved (1769-1858), a Unitarian minister who was also one of the founders of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society in 1822 and the first honorary curator of antiquities in the Society's Museum, known today as the Yorkshire Museum. In 1842 Wellbeloved published his *Eburacum*, based both on previous discoveries and first-hand observation. For example, he included the discovery of the fortress defences destroyed during the creation of St Leonard's Place and Exhibition Square in 1835. Wellbeloved also correctly surmised the limits of the legionary fortress – or ‘city’ as he called it – although they were not finally demonstrated by excavation until the 1950s. In addition, *Eburacum* contains extensive descriptions of discoveries in the ‘suburbs’ on the south-west bank of the

![Relief of Mithras and tablet commemorating the construction of a temple to Serapis (from Eburacum by C. Wellbeloved 1842)](image)

Ouse, notably remains of a great baths complex some remains of which were revealed during the building of the first railway station (the ‘Old Station’) in 1839-40. This involved making a breach in the medieval and Roman defences and was perhaps the most devastating single episode of destruction ever suffered by York’s archaeology.
A great deal was also destroyed during the latter half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when York grew rapidly as a result of its new-found role as a railway centre. One of the more important discoveries was part of a great commemorative inscription of the reign of the emperor Trajan, found in King's Square in 1854 during work on York’s first main sewers. In the 1870s another redoubtable clergymen-antiquary, the Reverend James Raine, curator of antiquities at the Yorkshire Museum 1873-96 observed the massive earthmoving operations undertaken for the present railway station which disturbed one of the principal cemeteries of the Roman *colonia*. At much the same time the creation of the fashionable suburb on The Mount outside Micklegate Bar led to the discovery of more of the fine funerary monuments which had originally lined the main Roman road to York from the south-west.

An impression of the Roman cemetery on The Mount, York looking north-east towards the Roman town

The first systematic archaeological excavations in Roman York were conducted in the 1920s under the direction of Stuart Miller, a lecturer at Glasgow University, on behalf of the York Excavation Committee. This was a body newly formed along the lines of a number of others which emerged in historic towns around Britain at this time. Between 1925 and 1928 Miller addressed himself primarily to the fortress defences and it was while digging at the east corner that he revealed, preserved beneath the medieval rampart, the stretch of fortress wall standing some 5m (16 ft) high which can still be seen today. Other early excavations revealed part of the fortress baths in St Sampson's Square in 1930-1, and, in advance of the construction of an Air Raid Control Centre in 1939, more of the baths previously encountered when the first railway station was built.

During the 1950s and 1960s, a time in which the pace of redevelopment in the city increased considerably, much of the burden of investigating York’s archaeology was
borne by volunteers, although their resources were usually very restricted. One of
the most active excavators of the period was Peter Wenham, head of history at St
John’s College. His work included investigation of the site of the Davygate shopping
arcade from 1955 to 1958 where he recorded the fortress defences and four
legionary barrack blocks (which he designated S, P, Q and R!). Wenham’s most
extensive excavation, however, took place at Trentholme Drive in 1951-2 and 1957-
9, about 1.5km (3/4 mile) south-west of Micklegate Bar where he found a substantial
Roman cemetery, the first in York to be examined archaeologically rather than
unearthed in building work.

Archaeological work in the 1950s was also undertaken by the staff of the Royal
Commission on Historical Monuments for England (hereafter RCHME) as a part of
their great inventory of the city. The first volume, *Eburacum*, which appeared in
1962, is a thorough catalogue and evaluation of all discoveries of the Roman period
made up to that date. It remains a vital source for research into Roman York,

*Peter Wenham (centre) at work on the site of a Roman building near St Mary Bishophill
Junior Church, York (c.1963)*

although its conclusions now require modification in many respects. The RCHME
was also involved in excavations at the Minster in the heart of the legionary fortress
where the danger of collapse of the central tower rendered major ground works
necessary. Archaeological work began in 1967 and was completed in 1972 by Derek
Philips who became the York Minster archaeologist. Initially, the aim of the Minster
excavations was to locate the Anglo-Saxon Minster referred to by the Venerable
Bede as the site of King Edwin of Northumbria’s baptism in 627. As time went on,
however, and Edwin’s church did not appear, other research topics including the
Roman fortress headquarters were given attention, and in due course it was decided
Impression of the Roman fortress basilica at York (looking north-east)

An impression of the interior of the fortress headquarters basilica looking north-west with one of the aisle arcades on the right
that the Roman walls should be put on public display. Although work could only proceed in small areas during restoration, and conditions were difficult, if not dangerous, the complete sequence of development, from the first to the fifth century and beyond, of the headquarters basilica and adjacent barracks was discovered.

While work was beginning at the Minster, RCHME had moved on to the next volume of its York inventory which was concerned with the city’s defences. In connection with this work Jeffrey Radley set about re-excavating a stone tower built into the Roman fortress wall near the Multangular Tower. This was first discovered in 1842 when the Recorder of York had by chance driven a tunnel through it to get access to his stables in King’s Manor. Radley suggested that the tower was post-Roman and it is now officially known as the ‘Anglian Tower’, although for reasons which will be discussed below, the tower is more likely to be late Roman. Subsequent to the excavation York City Council decided to put the tower on permanent display and, in addition, as part of the celebrations which took place in 1971 to commemorate 1900 years of York since its foundation by the Romans, exposed an adjacent stretch of the fortress wall by removing the overlying medieval rampart.

The ‘Anglian Tower’ (looking north-east) – the inner face of the Roman fortress wall is on the left and upper left is York’s medieval town wall

In spite of the discoveries outlined above, the overall picture of archaeological work in York in the late 1960s and early 1970s was one of an inadequate response to the threat posed by modern development. Projects were dealt with on an individual basis and there was no body with overall strategic or academic responsibility. The ‘rescue
archaeology’ crisis in York acquired a new urgency in 1968 with the publication of Lord Esher’s report entitled *York: A Study in Conservation* which led to plans for an inner ring-road. While it was the intention to avoid above-ground historic buildings, the road threatened large areas of rich below-ground archaeology immediately outside the city walls including Roman cemeteries and suburbs. At this point the Council for British Archaeology and the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, the latter imbued no doubt with the spirit of its founder member, Reverend Wellbeloved, sponsored the formation of the York Archaeological Trust (YAT). This was set up in April 1972 with funds from the Department of the Environment, and assistance and premises from York University.

The Trust was an organisation comparable to a number of others set up at about the same time to tackle archaeology in important historic towns. Its work has involved, first of all, excavation in advance of new building and other construction work, and also the monitoring of all other disturbances of the ground caused, for example, by trenches for gas, sewage and other services. Fieldwork has, however, been guided by specific research objectives within what founding Trust Director, Peter Addyman, described as a ‘broadly based examination of the whole process of urbanisation over the past two millennia’. The study of Roman York has, of course, had a major part to play in this and, since 1972 a wide range of projects has added enormously to our understanding of the subject. A brief summary of some of the more significant discoveries by the Trust and by other organisations who have worked in York recently may serve to prepare the reader for more detailed discussion in the following chapters.

**Recent Excavations and Research**

As far as the Roman fortress is concerned, work has, as before 1972, been mostly small scale, but has included further examination of the defences and adjacent areas, in the first instance, near the east corner in the Aldwark / Bedern area in advance of the urban renewal proposed by Esher. In the central part of the fortress, rescue work in Church Street in 1972 revealed the great sewer which served the bath house, and an excavation at 9 Blake Street in 1975 produced a sequence of buildings and a street. In 1997 an excavation by York University archaeologists examined buildings and a street near the north corner in advance of construction of the Minster Library extension. Important work also took place on the south-western fortress defences in 1996 at Davygate and at St Leonard’s Hospital adjacent to Interval Tower SW6 in 2001-4, the latter in a training excavation which grew out of a three day project (September 1 – 3, 1999) by the well-known television programme, *Time Team*. Although large areas of the fortress will remain inaccessible for archaeological examination below the historic buildings of the city centre, the small excavation sites and watching briefs which have been possible in the last thirty years have, as will be shown in the next two chapters, allowed much of the plan of the late first century fortress to be determined along with aspects of the changes in layout which took place in the second century.

Study of the Roman civilian settlements has been concentrated on the opposite bank of the Ouse to the fortress and has formed one of the Archaeological Trust’s most coherent research projects within the rescue framework. This began in 1973 with the examination of the remains of a large town house sited on an artificial terrace in the...
south-eastern part of the settlement at 37 Bishophill Senior. On the adjacent 58-9 Skeldergate site a remarkably well-preserved timber-lined well was discovered. Its conservation had an important part to play in the development of techniques for the treatment of waterlogged wood from archaeological sites, in which the Trust’s conservation laboratory has become an internationally recognised centre of excellence. In addition, the contents of the well were highly organic and included abundant plant remains, animal bones and even micro-organisms from the human gut. This material provided one of the first indications of the potential in York for understanding the ecology of Roman settlement and the subject has been one of the principal research themes of the Environmental Archaeology Unit established by the Trust and the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments at York University.

In 1981 the archaeological potential of Roman York south-west of the Ouse was further revealed by a small trench at 5 Rougier Street close to the main approach road to York from the south-west. The site produced a 3m (10 ft) depth of Roman deposits and demonstrated the existence of a well-preserved buried Roman townscape in this hitherto unexplored part of the city. In 1983-4 more extensive trenches were dug in the same area in advance of an extension to the offices of General Accident Assurance (now part of Aviva) on the corner of Rougier Street and Tanner Row. This was one of the first excavations in York to receive substantial funding from the site developers themselves. Previously, funding for the Trust’s excavation work had been largely provided by central and local government, but since the early 1980s it has become the norm at York, in line with practice elsewhere in the country, for developers to bear the principal cost burden of rescue archaeology.
The Tanner Row site produced remarkable remains of late second century timber buildings with their associated artefact-rich refuse heaps. The trenches here were narrow, however, and complete building plans could not be determined. Fortunately a much larger area became available in May 1988 at the nearby Wellington Row site where excavations directed by the author continued for much of the next two years. The first major discovery here was the main Roman road from the south-west at a crucial point where it approached the crossing over the Ouse. Alongside the road the remains of a substantial stone building were uncovered. It had had a long and chequered history from the mid-second to the late fourth century, presenting in many ways a microcosm of the history of the settlement itself. At much the same time, part of a massive public building, probably a second bath house, emerged at 1-9 Micklegate (Queen’s Hotel) in another previously unexplored area of the Roman town near Ouse Bridge. One stretch of wall here survived standing to a height of 4m (13 ft) making it one of York’s most impressive archaeological finds and providing a foretaste of what may be found in any future investigations in the vicinity.

As a result of problems in securing access and funding for the excavations at the 1-9 Micklegate site, a changed relationship between archaeology and new development in the city emerged, guided by advice on archaeology’s place in the planning process from central government. This, in turn, has had a profound effect on the direction the study of Roman York (and of York in other periods) has taken. Under provisions established by the city authorities for the preservation of archaeological remains, developers are required to make an archaeological evaluation of the sites on which they propose to build. This has meant the excavation of large numbers of small trenches in and around the city to test the depth and nature of archaeological remains. On the basis of the information derived from evaluation developers are expected to put in place a strategy to minimise damage to the remains if at all
possible, although destruction of 5% is considered acceptable. In the city centre this has usually meant building on thin piles driven through the archaeology. As a result, since the beginning of the 1990s there have been no large-scale excavation projects in the city centre of the sort undertaken in advance of development in the 1970s and 1980s at sites like Wellington Row. It is none the less the case that, because development has proceeded strongly in all parts of York, central and suburban, numerous windows into hitherto unexplored parts of the Roman settlement have been, at least, briefly opened. Of particular interest and value in the last ten years have been the opportunities to examine areas immediately outside the fortress and principal civilian settlements. In addition, parts of the Roman cemeteries have been excavated for the first time since the 1950s. For example, another component of the *Time Team* project in 1999 was work in the Roman cemetery adjacent to the railway station in the grounds of what was then the Royal York Hotel, as part of an important excavation by On Site Archaeology.

Since 1995 the City of York has been governed as a Unitary Authority which includes 31 parishes around it and the advantage of this has been a co-ordinated approach to the curation and management of its archaeological resources as far as the planning process is concerned. In respect of archaeological research, however, a disadvantage of the current arrangements is that there is no effective provision for a co-ordinated approach since developers usually invite competitive tenders for fieldwork projects. This has allowed a proliferation of archaeological organisations working in the York area, each of which usually controls the archive (finds and records) from its own discoveries and works to its own priorities for the dissemination of results. Although these archives may one day be managed by a single institution, a challenge for the present generation of archaeologists is to find a way of bringing together the results of excavations by the various organisations operating locally in such a way as to allow research into York’s past to proceed effectively. Since 1995, for example, no fewer than four separate bodies have excavated, in total, well over a hundred Roman burials in York. How a research programme which would study and publish the material recovered, including the artefacts and human remains, is to be co-ordinated and funded remains far from clear. Another challenge which will not be easily met is to complete the analysis and publication of a number of important sites excavated in the 1980s at, for example, 1-9 Micklegate and Wellington Row. Should there be a third edition to this book in another ten years or so, it is to be hoped that the response to these challenges will be satisfactorily documented.

**Further Reading**

A good starting point for further reading about Roman York is *Eburacum*, Volume 1 of the inventory of York by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments for England, published in 1962. The reader may also find some interest and amusement in earlier works including Francis Drake’s *Eboracum* (published in 1736), William Hargrove’s *History of York* (1818), and Charles Wellbeloved’s *Eburacum* (1842).

Since 1962 aspects of Roman York have been discussed in *Soldier and Civilian in Roman Yorkshire* edited by R.M. Butler and published in 1971 by Leicester University Press. It includes the following papers which relate specifically to Roman York: B.R. Hartley, ‘Roman York and the northern military command to the third century AD’, pp. 55-70; E.B. Birley, ‘The fate of the ninth legion’, pp. 71-80; R.M. Butler, The defences of the fourth-century fortress at

Detailed publication of excavations in York since 1972 is to be found in the fascicules of the *Archaeology of York* series, published for York Archaeological Trust by the Council for British Archaeology under the general editorship of Peter Addyman. The following concern the Roman period.

Volume 3, *The Legionary Fortress*

1. J. B. Whitwell, 1976. *The Church Street Sewer and an Additional Building*


Volume 4, *The Colonia*


Volume 6, *Roman Extra-mural Settlement and Roads*


2. P. Ottaway, in prep. *Excavations on Blossom Street, at 16-22 Coppergate and other Sites*

Volume 14, *The Past Environment of York*

1. P. Buckland, 1976. *The Environmental Evidence from the Church Street Roman Sewer*

2. H. K. Kenward and D. Williams, 1979. *Biological Evidence from the Roman Warehouses in Coney Street*

3. A. R. Hall, H. K. Kenward and D. Williams, *Environmental Evidence from Roman Deposits in Skeldergate*


Volume 15, *The Animal Bones*

2. T. P. O’Connor, 1988. *Bones from the General Accident Site*

Volume 16, *The Pottery*


Volume 17, *The Small Finds*

1. A. MacGregor, 1978. *Roman Finds from Skeldergate and Bishophill*


Other specialist publications on Roman York and related topics may be found under the following headings:

**The fortress and the Roman army in York**


Radley, J., 1966. ‘A section of the Roman fortress wall at Barclay’s Bank, St Helen’s Square, York’, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 41, 581-4

Radley, J., 1970. ‘Two interval towers and new sections of the fortress wall, York’, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 42, 399-402


Stead, I.M., 1958. ‘Excavations at the south corner tower of the Roman fortress at York 1956’, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 39, 515-8

Stead, I.M., 1968. ‘An excavation at King’s Square, York, 1957’, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 42, 151-64

Wenham, L. P., 1962. 'Excavations and discoveries within the legionary fortress in Davygate, York, 1955-8', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 40, 507-87

Wenham, L. P., 1968. 'Discoveries in King’s Square, York, 1963', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 42, 165-8


**The Civilian Settlements and Cemeteries**


**Artefacts and Inscriptions**


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For readers with an interest in the people of Roman Britain, including York, and in Roman inscriptions an excellent introduction is to be found in A.R. Birley, The People of Roman Britain (1979). The same author has written Septimius Severus: The African Emperor (1988) which in Chapter 16 covers the visit to York.