The Clayton Collection: an archaeological appraisal of a 19th century collection

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Doctor of Archaeology

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September 2016

Abstract

This thesis examines the archaeological material from Hadrian's Wall within the Clayton Collection at Chesters, Northumberland. The Collection was formed through the work of John Clayton, antiquarian and landowner in the 19th century. His work took place at a pivotal time in the study of Hadrian's Wall, as public interest was growing, access was improving, and the discipline of archaeology was developing. As part of a large network of antiquarians, Clayton excavated, studied and published his discoveries. After his death his archaeological estate was retained, and the Collection was moved into a museum in 1896. Despite being in the public domain for so long, the material has never been studied as a whole, or in the light of its 19th century creation.

One aim of this thesis is to explore the 19th century context within which this collection was formed. Using published accounts, and archival letters and other sources, Clayton's methodology will be revealed. He was not simply a 'wall-chaser' or 'treasure hunter', but often considered carefully the motivations for his excavation. Nonetheless, he was also a man of his time, with his methodology regarding the retention of material not meeting modern archaeological standards.

The second thesis aim is to use the Collection to illustrate life on Hadrian's Wall in the Roman period. The Clayton Collection will be considered in comparison with other sites on Hadrian's Wall, as well as other sites in Britain and on the Continent. Case studies of certain groups of material will show that despite the lack of detailed findspots, the material recovered by Clayton can still provide information about Roman life, in particular at *Cilurnum*. Research throughout this thesis will show that despite constraints, the Clayton Collection can still provide answers to 21st century research questions.

Dedicated to the three Johns in my life

Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been possible without the funding and support provided by the Trustees of the Clayton Collection. Lindsay Allason-Jones and Ian Haynes, both Trustees as well as supervisors, have guided me through this long journey from the very beginning, helping me to form the ideas which have been explored throughout the thesis and providing continuous encouragement. Thanks also to my additional supervisor James Gerrard.

The School of Historical Studies is a wonderful place to study, as the range of expertise available is broad. Many members of staff have helped with me with specific areas of this thesis in particular; Helen Berry and Jeremy Boulton on historical matters, Caron Newman regarding maps, Rob Collins on Wall related queries. Fellow PhD students are always willing to offer help and I could not have finished this work without the constant support of Dr Maria Duggan who was there to fix anything.

The collection had been cared for by Georgina Plowright for over 20 years and her knowledge has been invaluable, as has Mike Bishops. My manager Kevin Booth of English Heritage has allowed me flexibility at work (as Curator of Roman Collections), and Graeme Stobbs has supported me at work for the last 4 years. Other curators on the Wall have been generous with their data, in particular Barbara Birley and Alex Croom. Philippa Walton offered encouragement throughout and provided valuable feedback. Others who have provided help or encouragement include; Richard Abdy, Richard Atkinson, David Breeze, David Clarke, Barbara Cochrane, Hilary Cool, John Cruse, Keith Elliott, Sandra Fletcher, Paul Franzen, Elizabeth Greene, Peter Guest, Dave Heslop, Richard Hingley, Stefanie Hoss, Fraser Hunter, Mark Jackson, Ralph Jackson, Bill Manning, Michael Marshall, Grace McCombie, Sam Moorhead, Don O'Meara, Ray Rutherford, Jen Scammell, Evan Scherer, Margaret Snape, Sam Turner, Angela Wardle and Sally Worrell.

Finally, I would like to thank all my friends and family who have supported me through this (longer than anticipated) project, in particular my husband John who has lived the highs and lows of every chapter with me! And to my parents who first took me to the wall when I was nine, look what you started.

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Abbreviations

Archaeologia Aeliana - AA

Archaeological Journal – Arch. J.

Bonner Jahrbucher – BJ

British Archaeological Reports – BAR

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum – CIL

Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani - CSIR

Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society - CWAAS

Journal of Roman Archaeology – JRA

Journal of Roman Military Equipment Studies – JRMES

Journal of Roman Studies – JRS

Notitia Dignitatum Occidental – N. D. Oc.

Portable Antiquities Scheme – PAS

Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society – TCWAAS

Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne – PSAN

Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland – PSAS

Roman Inscriptions of Britain – RIB

Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne – SANT

Yorkshire Archaeological Society – YAS

1. Introduction

This thesis will form the foundations for future study on aspects of the Clayton Collection. It will bring together details of the life of its founder John Clayton (1792-1890), the history of the Collection and archaeological analysis of specific parts of the Collection. The archaeological analysis in the thesis will be based on the Collection catalogue, which has been constructed as part of the research and will be appended digitally (Appendix A). The Collection comprises archaeological finds, books, furniture and archival material. This important group of material has been hiding in plain sight for the last 160 years. Many scholars know of its existence, and some pieces, such as the Carvoran Modius (*RIB* 2415.56) or the Chesters Diploma (*RIB* 2401.10) are internationally renowned. Yet the vast majority of the material has never been studied, and there are many popular myths regarding Clayton, the museum and the Collection. Research into archival sources aims to reveal who John Clayton was, his place in 19th century society, and his links with other important antiquarians and archaeologists of the day. This introduction will include a brief biography of John Clayton, explain the history of the Collection, discuss the creation of a catalogue and summarise the thesis structure.

1.1 Aims and Objectives

This study has two main aims; firstly to understand how the 19th century context affected the excavation, collection and conservation policies of Clayton and secondly, to use the Collection to illustrate life on Hadrian's Wall in the Roman period, both as it was understood in the 19th century and as it is understood today. The exploration of these aims will show whether or not a 19th century collection can be used to answer 21st century archaeological research questions.

In order to address the first aim, this thesis will consider the 19th century context that Clayton was part of, both from an archaeological and antiquarian perspective, and in terms of 19th century Newcastle society. Alongside a full documentation of Clayton's excavations and publications, this will allow a measured assessment of how the 19th century context influenced the Collection. To address the second aim, a fully revised collection catalogue will be constructed and the composition of the Collection will be

considered. Detailed case studies focussing on selected artefact groups will be carried out, and the material compared to other sites on Hadrian's Wall and further afield. Current research agendas will be examined and specific research questions relating to life on Hadrian's Wall in the Roman period will be applied to the Collection (Symonds and Mason 2009a; 2009b; Petts 2006).

1.2 The Collection; an overview

The Collection database contains 16,939 records as of July 2016. Whilst the vast majority of these records relate to archaeological finds, there are 53 books, 1282 records relating to archival material, 11 paintings, 6 photographs and 12 cases and cupboards. Clayton had a very large library, containing many archaeological books, some of which have remained in the Collection. Much of the archival material relates to the 20th century history of the Collection. In terms of archaeological material, coins represent a large part of the Collection, numbering 11,655, although 9344 of these are from the Coventina's Well deposit and not all of these have been added to the Collection database. Pottery is the next largest group, with around 5000 records (but many more sherds). The Collection has always been well known for its inscribed and sculpted stonework, and the figures bear this out with 97 altars, 39 statues and 56 centurial stones. Amongst the rest of the material are jewellery, tools, glassware, military equipment and votive offerings. The Collection contains a wide range of Roman material culture, presenting an opportunity to carry out archaeological analysis of this 19th century collection.

1.2.1 Provenance of material

In order to avoid confusion throughout the thesis, Chesters will be used when referring to the modern house, whilst *Cilurnum* will be used when referring to the fort. John Clayton owned and lived at the mansion house of Chesters, which contained in the grounds the site of *Cilurnum*[1] and the fort is the site from which the majority of the Collection comes.[2] However, within the Clayton collection are finds from many other sites, both along Hadrian's Wall and further afield. Clayton did not own all of these

[1] It is likely that whilst he was working he spent much of his time at the Newcastle house on Fenkle Street and came to Chesters at weekends. In later life he spent more time at Chesters.

[2] If the 9344 coins from Coventina's Well and the 1977 coins from the Throckley Hoard are taken out of calculations, then the material from Chesters makes up c.45% of the Collection.

sites, nor even excavate at all of them. Finds came to him by various means, sometimes through swapping material with friends, sometimes through purchase, and some through inheritance.

Although started by John Clayton, the Collection also contains material that has been added to the Collection after his death. This material is important and should be studied in conjunction with the material from the Central Sector of Hadrian's Wall; however, a distinction will be made throughout the thesis when material is discussed that was not collected by Clayton. The majority of 'non-Clayton' material within the Collection is that excavated by F.G. Simpson in the early 20th century, during his time as the estate archaeologist. Some of this material was discussed in his articles published in *Archaeologia Aeliana* (Gibson and Simpson 1909a; 1909b). His daughter, Grace Simpson, Honorary Curator of the Clayton Collection from 1950 to 1972, also published *Watermills and Military Works on Hadrian's Wall: Excavations in Northumberland 1907-13,* which covered much of the rest of his work (1976).

R. C. Bosanquet excavated at Housesteads in 1898, under the aegis of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne (hereafter SANT) (Bosanquet 1904, 204). Unusually for work supported by SANT, not all of the material went into the Society's museum. Some finds went to the Clayton Collection, perhaps as thanks for allowing the excavation on Clayton land, and this was the start of Bosanquet's association with the Collection, which continued for many years and will be discussed in more detail on page 19. From 1907 Simpson and J.P. Gibson excavated at Haltwhistle Burn, the *vallum* at Cawfields, and elsewhere; again this material became part of the Clayton Collection (Gibson and Simpson 1909b; Simpson 1976).

Over the years there have been occasional new acquisitions made by the Clayton Trustees. These have mostly been restricted to material found at *Cilurnum*, whether by visitors, the Ministry of Works projects or other means. Some items which have been accessioned into the collection are not archaeological items *per se,* being books, cases or paintings. These all add information when studying Clayton and his strategy of collecting, as they form part of the history of the Collection. Information can be found on these items through searching the catalogue of the Collection in Appendix A. Table

1.1 shows which sites Clayton excavated and when, whilst Table 1.2 shows the material from sites not excavated by Clayton and Figure 1.1 illustrates the proportion of finds from each site excluding the coins from Coventina's Well.

Site	Excavated	No. of items
Carrawburgh	1871, 1873, 1874 and 1876	171
Carvoran	1886	26
Cilurnum	From 1840s onwards[3]	4374
Coventina's Well	1876 and 1877	153
Haltwhistle (various sites)	Unclear as to exact dates	83
Housesteads	1850 onwards[4]	140
Housesteads- Chapel Hill	1883	5
Turret 26b (Brunton)	1872, 1873, 1878 and 1880	2
Turret 29a (Blackcarts)	1873	2
Turret 45a (Walltown)	1883	Unknown
Turret 45b (Walltown West)	1883	Unknown
Milecastle 29 (Tower Tye)	1857	Unknown
Milecastle 37 (Housesteads)	1852 and 1853	4
Milecastle 39 (Castle Nick)	1854	2
Milecastle 42 (Cawfields)	1847, 1848, 1849	14

Table 1.1. Sites where Clayton excavated and the number of items known to come from each site

Site	Items	Source
Barcombe/Thorngrafton	Arm purse and 63 coins	Clayton purchased the Barcombe/Thorngrafton purse in Nov. 1858 (Birley 1963)
Birdoswald	Arm purse	Gift from J. C. Bruce (Birley 1963)
Castlecary	Burnt wheat	Gifted to him- signature unclear on the letter
Corbridge	Late Medieval copper-alloy skillet and ewer	Gift from J. C. Bruce
Great Chesters	135 items, mainly pottery	Gift from H. J. W. Coulson[5]
Halton Chesters	1 piece of sculpture and 18 pieces of pottery	Gift from Blackett Family[6]
Heddon-on-the-Wall	2 prehistoric pieces of	Presented to the Collection in 1900

[3] More detail will be given of specific work at *Cilurnum* in Chapter 4.

[4] Full details are not always known but there was definitely excavation in the North Gateway in 1856 and 1862.

[5] Mr. Henry J. W. Coulson was the owner of the land in 1894 (Gibson 1903b, 20). In the 1871 census Henry Coulson was staying with Clayton at Chesters, along with his sister Alice. If they were family friends, perhaps Clayton was given material found on their land as they knew he was a collector and antiquarian. By 1881 Coulson is living in Surrey and he stays in the south until at least the 1901 census.

[6] Halton Chesters was owned by the Blackett Family. Clayton was legal advisor to the 8th Baronet, Hugh Blackett, as well as a friend, so it is possible that Sir Hugh gave Clayton the material.

	flint	by Cadwallader J. Bates
Horncastle	14 Roman coins	Gift from Miss Caull, presumably to Miss Clayton
Housesteads	142 coins, numerous iron arrowheads and three pieces of stonework	R. C. Bosanquet excavated here in 1898
Huntcliff	A piece of textile, framed and annotated	From 1912 excavations of the site, a gift to F. G. Simpson for his help in identifying pottery
Hutcheson Hill, Antonine Wall	Plaster cast of *RIB* 2189-Antonine Wall distance slab	Other museums have casts of this stone, presumably Clayton purchased one also
Isle of Harty	Two Samian ware dishes	Gift to Miss Clayton from the Ridley family at Walwick Hall (Payne 1893, 97; Simpson undated b)
Kirkby Thore	124 records, mixed material	Discovered in 1838 - Clayton's sister received the material from their Aunt Jane (Anonymous 1927)
Lanchester	2 pieces of stonework	Purchased – details unknown
Mediterranean	13 coins	Souvenirs from a Mediterranean visit
Nether Denton	184 records, mixed material	Material found when building vicarage in 1868 and given to Clayton
Pompeii	>10 tesserae	Two groups; 1st group in a box labelled H. W. Coulson. 2nd wrapped in paper with a note in a different hand.
Rochester and Alnham, Northumberland	Finger ring and 6 beads	Gift from H. W. Coulson[7]
Multiple Milecastles and turrets, including Haltwhistle Burn	c.1500 records	F. G. Simpson excavated 1907-1914
S. England	2 tiles	A gift or a purchase. Perhaps from the Isle of Harty
Throckley/ Walbottle Hoard	1977 coins and the ceramic vessel	Purchased the coins and pot from the finder in 1879/80
Vindolanda	23 inscribed or sculpted stones	Inscriptions from Crindledykes were chance finds. Other material inherited when site purchased in 1863.

Table 1.2. Material in the Collection not excavated by Clayton

[7] A shale bead is illustrated in the *History of the Berwickshire Naturalists Club* as found by Coulson on Castle Hill, Alnham (Hardy, 1882-4, 548). This cannot be matched to any of the beads in the collection unfortunately but may have been lost.

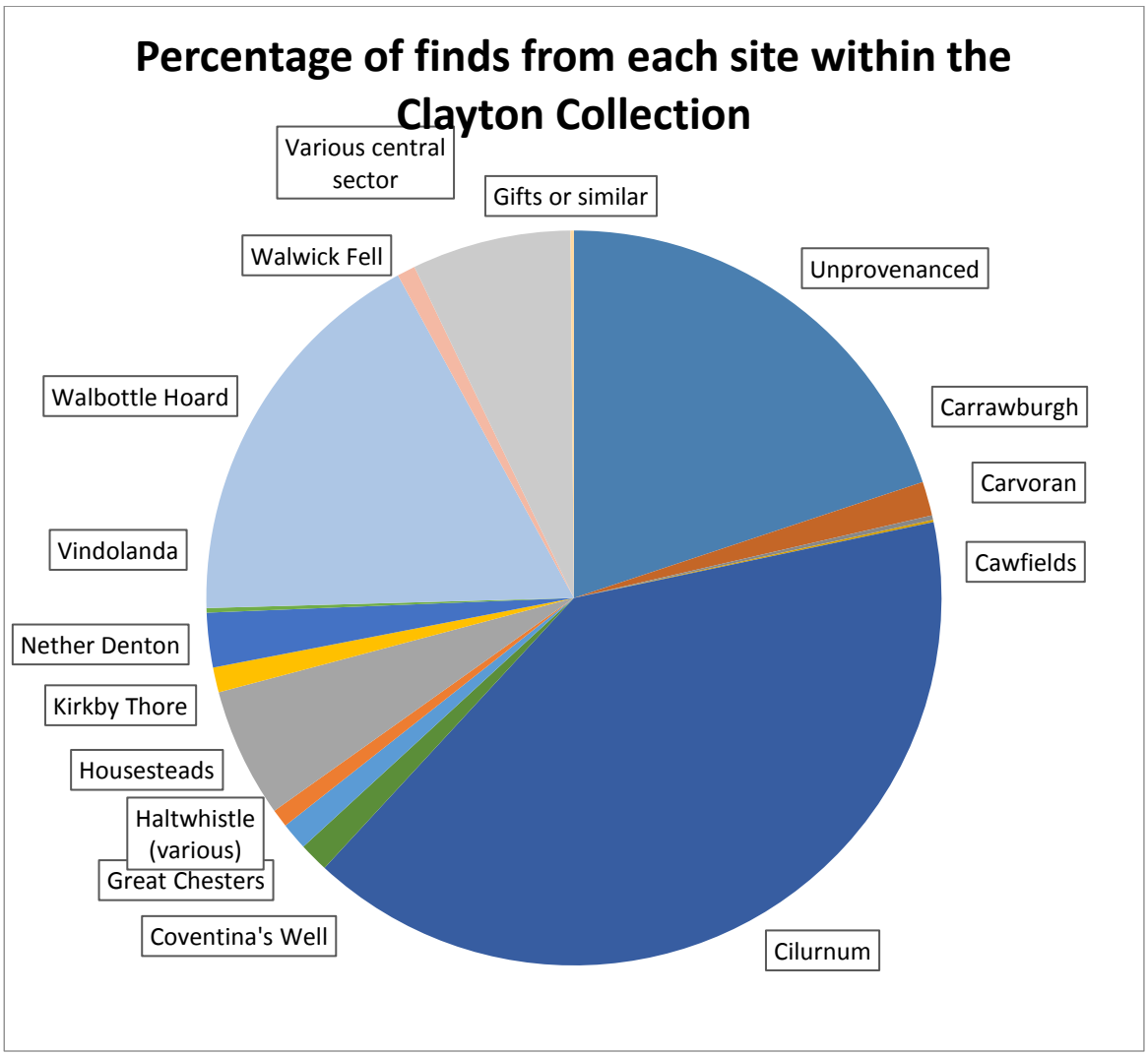


Figure 1.1. Showing the percentage of material from each site (excluding the Coventina's Well coins) accessioned in the Collections

1.2.2 Missing Material

The Collection is lacking any quantities of animal bone and coarse-ware pottery despite Clayton regularly finding deposits of this type of material. One example noted by Clayton was when "large quantities of horns and bones of deer and cattle, oyster shells" were found at *Cilurnum* (1876a, 173) much of which appears not to have been kept. The practice in the 19th century was often to 'cherry-pick' what was deemed interesting and important, and much of the material we would describe as bulk-finds today was ignored. In particular, unworked animal bone, which today would be used to identify agricultural and butchery practices, as well as provide data about the environment and diet, was not kept as it was not seen as useful or interesting. The more detailed environmental work of soil analysis, seeds and pollen had only rarely been considered. Figures 1.2 and 1.3 show many pieces of animal bone and pottery

laid out on the sides of trenches or within the niches at the bathhouse. One photograph from the time shows pottery strewn along the riverbank. It is presumed most of this material was re-buried or disposed of.

Figure 1.2. Photograph of ongoing excavations at Cilurnum *showing pottery and animal bone lying around trench edges (Clayton N.G. photo album)*

Figure 1.3. Photograph of ongoing excavations at Cilurnum *showing pottery and animal bone lying in the niches of the bath-house and on the top of the trench (Clayton N.G. photo album)*

As well as the practice of not retaining animal bone, it appears human bone was not retained. Thirty-three human skeletons were found just outside the fort bathhouse at *Cilurnum* (Bruce 1885b, 101); however, they are no longer in the Collection and their disposal is not discussed in the report on the excavation. Perhaps they were re-buried in the local churchyard, as it seems unlikely they were simply thrown away, given the religious beliefs of Clayton and Bruce.[8] This is an extreme example but highlights the difference in the recording between the 19th century and now. Whatever happened to the bones was not published; it may have been recorded in Clayton's private papers, but these sadly too are lost.

It is clear that parts of the Collection were sold in a sale in 1930. These range from coins to paintings of the excavations and from shells to Roman stonework. There is scant detail, with Lot 640 merely described as a "mixed lot including a cast of the Chesters diploma" (Hampton and Sons 1930, 43). Coins seem to have been the most popular item to be sold, with at least 1510 coins being sold. Unfortunately, the entries from the auction catalogue are vague, and do not state from which sites they came, or even provide any detail on the coins themselves. Appendix B contains everything that was listed in the auction catalogue which would have formed part of the Collection if they had not been sold.

Another way that items have left the Collection after excavation was the practice of fellow antiquarians giving gifts to each other. The presence of *tesserae* from Pompeii in the Collection shows that this took place internationally as well as within Britain. Clayton certainly received archaeological material as gifts from Bruce and other antiquarian acquaintances (see Table 1.2 and Chapter 3 for more details). There is also evidence that he gave items away, with the Hawick Archaeological Society noting in their minutes that they had contacted him for a donation of coins from Coventina's Well (Hogg 1876). As well as this informal method of exchanging finds, it was still the practice for material which was considered important or significant to be donated to the British Museum, and in this way, Clayton donated the Chesters diploma (*RIB* 2401.10). Overall, most of the material missing from the Collection can be identified,

[8] The current vicars of St. Michael's and All Angels Church in Warden, St. Giles' Church in Chollerton with Birtley and St. Aidan's Church in Thockrington were contacted and could not provide any information.

whether individual items or more general groups, and will be acknowledged throughout the thesis where relevant.

1.3 Chapter outline

Chapter 2 will discuss the sources and the methodology for data collection for the thesis, as well as giving a history of the Collection up to the present day. Approximately 6000 items from the Collection had been inputted into an electronic catalogue when research for this thesis began. This equated to just under half of the items which had been assigned a number (c.12, 000). Another c.4000 items were numbered and added to the database during the course of this study, with the database now containing 16,939 records.[9] Multiple issues were encountered when constructing the new Collection database. The main problem was the difference between the standard of recording in the 19th century compared to that expected in the 21st century. Information for this catalogue was mainly taken from the cataloguing books at the Corbridge store, but where these were not available, or sufficient, other sources were used. The catalogues compiled by Hall and Budge in 1900 and 1903 respectively were useful for confirming provenance information. Archival sources held at Northumberland Archives Centre, Woodhorn, such as letters to and from Clayton, which mention excavations, and the Blair sketchbooks,[10] both provided further information. Similar sources were also used for filling in details regarding the history of the Collection, which is more complicated after Clayton's death. The resulting history showed that the Collection has been at risk more than once, and thankfully saved from dispersal by various groups.

Archival research was extremely important for finding out more about John Clayton, both personally and professionally. His personal papers have not survived,[11] so in order to get an insight into his character and interests, the papers of his friends and colleagues have been investigated. These unpublished archives contained letters from Clayton and offer an insight into his character. In total, over 50 letters from him to

[9] Almost 2000 of these new numbers have been assigned to coins from Coventina's Well, which have been identified by British Museum staff but are still in the process of being added to the Clayton Collection database.

[10] These will be discussed in more detail on p.51.

[11] Although they were present in 1903 when Budge published his catalogue (Budge 1903, vii).

colleagues and friends have been located (Appendices J and L). These mostly deal with antiquarian matters and offer an insight into his thoughts and plans for excavation.[12]

In order to understand Clayton in context it is necessary to situate discussion within an analysis of antiquarian study in the 19th century, which is dealt with in Chapter 3. Clayton's role as Town Clerk and lawyer will be investigated. His wealth, accumulated through shrewd business deals, allowed him to purchase land and carry out excavations. Clayton's legacy of the Hadrian's Wall estate, the Collection, and the information produced through his excavations will be explored.

Coins are the focus of the second half of Chapter 3, where they are used as a case study in exploring the cultural biography of objects after discovery. Many of the coins discovered by Clayton are no longer in the Collection, whilst some coins in the Collection were gifts from friends and family. They are small portable items, immediately recognisable and very collectable. This case study will also help to highlight some of the antiquarian networks in existence both in Clayton's time, and later.

A discussion of the history of *Cilurnum*, from the Roman period to today, is given in Chapter 4. As approximately 45% of the material in the Collection comes from *Cilurnum* it is important to understand the history of investigation at *Cilurnum*, as well as the current understanding of Roman *Cilurnum*, much of which is based on Clayton's work. Very little study has been undertaken at *Cilurnum* since Clayton's death so fully understanding his work is vital to understanding Roman *Cilurnum*. Short case studies on some groups of material will be presented, including querns, pottery and glass.

Personal adornment is discussed in Chapter 5. Items of personal adornment can be used to look at various aspects of Roman life, including fashion, trade, manufacturing, religion, status and identity. The Clayton Collection's ability to illuminate these questions is explored where the evidence allows. In particular, evidence for 4th century occupation through the items of personal adornment will be analysed. There will be a focus in the second half of the chapter on brooches. 143 brooches can be assigned a type, of which 87 were from *Cilurnum*, allowing collection-wide analysis, as well as a

[12] The letter books from 1826-1940 from Clayton's law firm are held by Tyne and Wear Archives but were not dealt with as it was felt their contents were peripheral to the thesis' study area (DT.CG Acc.39).

focus on *Cilurnum*. Issues over the dating and typology of brooches in Roman Britain will be analysed, discussing the strengths and weaknesses of the current systems. The Clayton brooches will be compared with a large number of sites, from Hadrian's Wall, the North of Britain, the south of Britain and the Continent.

Chapter 6 deals with the *militaria* within the Collection and aims to discuss the material in relation to military equipment from other sites in Roman Britain. It will explore whether it is possible to identity a 'normal' *militaria* assemblage, and if so, how does the Clayton Collection compare? The Collection contains 693 items that can be classified as *militaria.* These will be compared with material from South Shields, Vindolanda and the National Museum of Wales in order to compare from Hadrian's Wall and further afield. Evidence for the cavalry unit based at *Cilurnum* will be sought in this assemblage, to discover whether we can identify units from their material culture as well as inscriptions.

The major theoretical debate in this chapter will be centred upon the question of 'what is *militaria?*' Many weapons could have been used for hunting, and civilians could have worn belt fittings or decorative mounts. The difficulty in clearly defining items used only by the military personnel will be explored. The accepted categories are used, although the flaws in this methodology will be discussed. Beads and their multiplicity of uses are a case in point, with melon beads having been found on harness, scabbards and spade sheaths, as well as possibly being worn as jewellery.

Evidence for craft and industry at *Cilurnum* will be discussed in Chapter 7. Iron tools will be the main source of evidence used, but unfinished items or waste will add to the picture. Evidence for antler- and bone-working, as well as bronze-smithing and iron-working will be reviewed. As Clayton only excavated within the fort area at *Cilurnum* the material may indicate that soldiers were carrying out these activities. This has an impact on our understanding of craft and industry at the forts along the northern frontier.

The final chapter, Chapter 8 will summarise the thesis and its findings, as well as its wider impact. This will include suggestions for future work on the Collection that has not been possible within the scope of a doctoral thesis. Equally, ideas for further work on Clayton and his place in 19th century Newcastle will be highlighted. Evidence will be

put forward to show that a 19th century collection can be used to answer 21st century research questions about life on Hadrian's Wall.

2. Sources and Methodology

As discussed in Chapter 1 the Clayton Collection is large and varied. Much information about excavation methodology has been lost with the loss of Clayton's papers and the archives relate almost solely to the life of the Collection after Clayton's death. This chapter will discuss the work carried out by the author to better understand the Collection. Cataloguing work was essential to understand exactly what was in the Collection, whilst research into the history of the Collection reveals the people involved throughout the Collection's life.

2.1 History of the Collection and Museum

John never married, indeed only two of his brothers, and one of his sisters did marry (see the Clayton family tree in Appendix C). Richard, the youngest brother married Mary-Anne Laing in 1832 and had five children with her. Their eldest child, Nathaniel George (1833-1895) was to become John's heir, whilst his eldest son John Bertram (1861-1900) in turn inherited from Nathaniel. These two relations were to play a very important role in the preservation and display of the Clayton Collection, as was Isabel, Nathaniel's wife. Nathaniel George commissioned the building of the museum whilst John Bertram oversaw the moving of the objects into their cases, and invited H.R. Hall to create a hand-list. Isabel lived at Chesters until her death in 1928 and played an active role in the museum throughout her time there. The details of the history of the Collection will now be discussed in more depth.

During John's lifetime, the material discovered through excavation was kept in various places around his house and grounds. Figure 2.1 shows the summerhouse, which was nicknamed the *Antiquities House* due to its role as a store for much of the stonework. Sometime in the 1860s, John added a colonnaded veranda to Chesters mansion house in order to provide better shelter for the many sculptural pieces and inscriptions (Bruce 1867, 157). Figure 2.2 shows the veranda in the late 19th century.[13] During John's lifetime, visitors were always welcome. His well-attested tradition of hospitality will be discussed further in Chapter 3. His collection was described as "a museum of Roman Antiquity of great interest and value" (Anonymous 1890a, 35). Therefore, it

[13] Both these photographs are from an album created by Nathaniel George Clayton which is held in the store at Corbridge Roman Museum, it is catalogued as CH5980 (Clayton N. G. undated).

seems that despite the far from perfect storage and cataloguing, the material was seen as accessible to others even before a specific museum building was constructed.

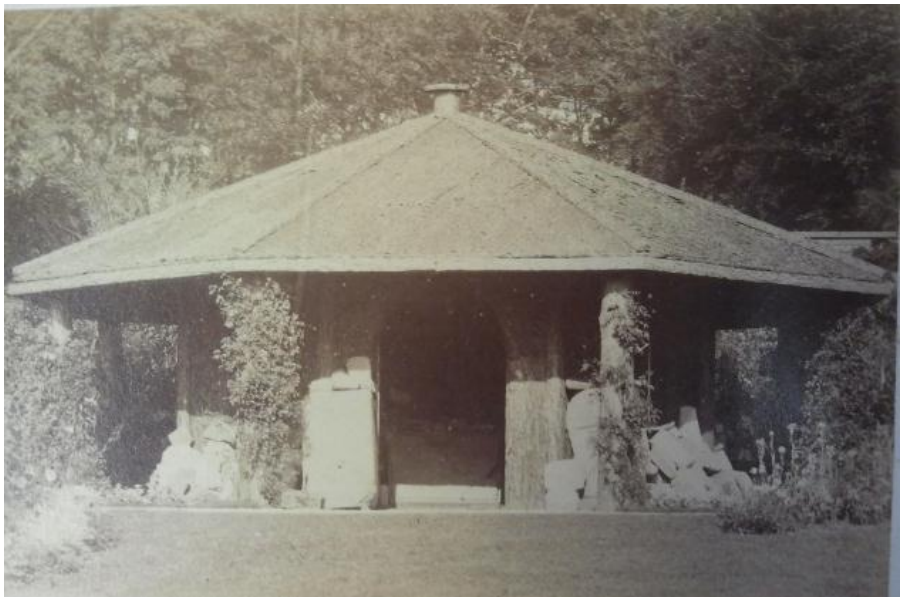


Figure 2.1 The Summer House, or 'Antiquities House' in the grounds of The Chesters (Clayton N. G. Photo Album)

Figure 2.2 The veranda of The Chesters showing altars and inscribed stones (Clayton N. G. Photo Album)

In Clayton's will he asks his executors to catalogue within a calendar month "*the pictures and framed prints and the statues marbles Bronzes Shells Mineral Specimens and other Articles of virtue and all the Altars Vases Sculptures and all and every the Roman remains which shall be in or about or belonging to my Mansion house of Chesters or the gardens or pleasure grounds*" (Clayton, J. 1886).[14] There is no proof that this was attempted within the time frame laid out by John, but we do know that Nathaniel contracted the local architect F.W. Rich to build the museum. On 6th August

[14] This is a direct quotation from the will of John Clayton and so the 19th century legal parlance has been kept. More details can be seen in Appendix D where relevant parts of the will have been transcribed.

1890 (less than a month after John Clayton's death), Nathaniel wrote to Robert Blair saying, "I am going to see Mr Rich's plan of the Museum tomorrow" (Clayton, N. G. 1890a, Appendix E). In the same letter, Nathaniel indicates that Blair was working on a catalogue, so it seems some attempt was being made to adhere to the will.[15] Blair was a family friend and spent much time with John at Chesters sketching the excavations and collections. He would have been well placed to produce a catalogue as he had good knowledge of the material and first-hand information about the provenance of much of it through his relationship with the family. Unfortunately, no other record of this catalogue survives.

As the building of the museum was in the planning stage so soon after John Clayton's death, it is possible the idea was conceived before John died. Rich was elected a member of SANT in 1886, and this may be one of the reasons he was chosen (Crawford Hogson 1913b). Although John had mostly stopped attending SANT meetings and lectures by that time, it is possible either John or Nathaniel knew of Rich from this association. In a letter from Rich to SANT in 1928, he states that the erection of the museum was completed within Nathaniel's lifetime (Anonymous 1928, 248). The museum building is shown on the OS map of 1896 (Fig. 2.3), and the 1894 plans by Rich (Rich, F. W. 1894) show it was unchanged from then. These two sources, along with the visitors' books, which begin in 1896,[16] combine to disprove the long-held notion that the museum was built by Norman Shaw and did not open until 1903.

[15] The full transcript of the letter can be seen in Appendix E.

[16] Visitor books for the museum are held in the archive and run from 1896-1954, with a gap between 10th August 1912 and 21st August 1924, suggesting there is a missing book from this period.

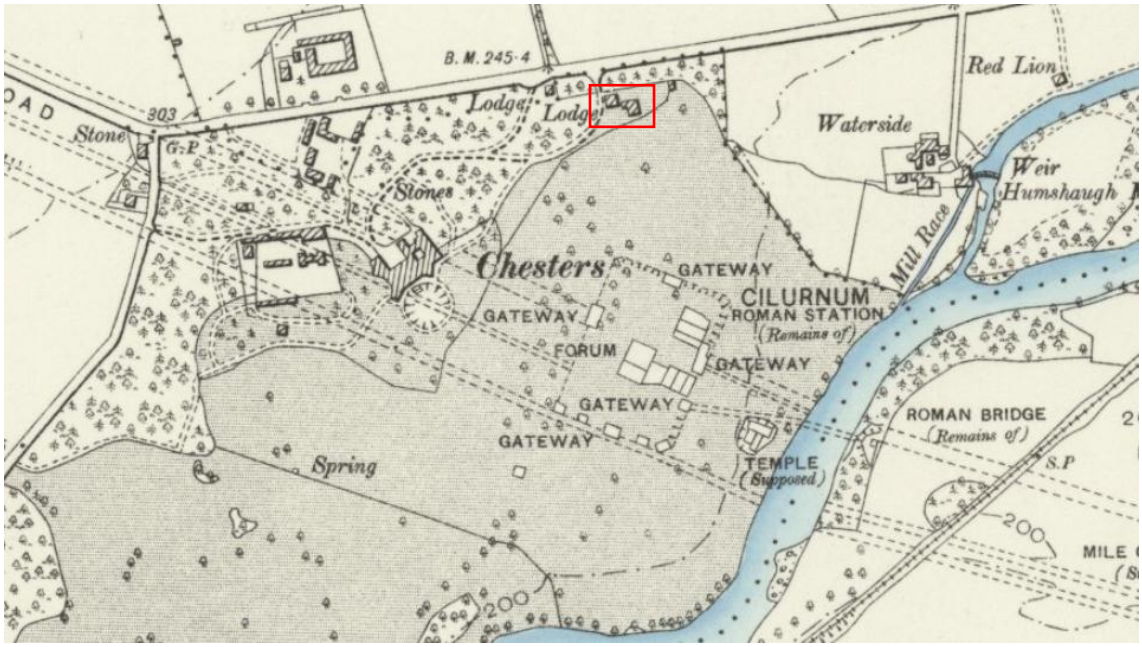


Figure 2.3 Showing the buildings at Chesters - including the newly built Lodge and Museum, published 1896
http://digimap.edina.ac.uk/ancientroam/historic

Nathaniel's son, John Bertram, who inherited the estate at his father's death in 1895, oversaw the moving of the items to the museum, and its opening to the public. Both William Tailford Junior and J.P. Gibson[17] were involved with this stage of preparation. Tailford Junior had been the foreman of Clayton's excavations for almost 50 years, and Gibson had photographed Clayton's excavations, so they were well suited to the task. John Clayton took care over the provenance of his finds and it was said that "*when several small objects were found they were either tied together by a string or placed in a box, and in this way they were kept until they were arranged ….in the Museum*" (Budge 1903, 31). This suggests that we may be cautiously confident in assigning provenance to items using the two early catalogues discussed below. The involvement of Tailford Junior, who actually excavated the material, gives greater confidence that the material was correctly provenanced and labelled when moved to the museum in 1896.

The 1896 Pilgrimage along Hadrian's Wall visited "the new museum next [to] the entrance lodge where all the inscriptions and other objects have been collected and

[17] Gibson was a pharmacist from Hexham who was a skilled photographer and archaeologist. He was a member of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne and was involved in work on Hadrian's Wall from the late nineteenth-century (Welford and Crawford Hodgson 1913). It is likely that many of the photographs in N.G. Clayton's photo albums were the work of Gibson.

displayed to the best advantage" (Anonymous 1896, 230). Here Gibson and Blair showed the Pilgrims around, apologising for the incomplete nature of the displays, explaining they were still in the process of setting up, and that "three weeks before there was not a single object in the room" (Anonymous 1896, 230). The first visitors' book for the museum starts on 24th March 1896, some three months before the Pilgrimage of June 1896, and before there was apparently any material there, so there is some confusion over this statement. Interestingly the Pilgrims did not sign the visitor book although there is a list of who was present at the Pilgrimage in the account in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* (Anonymous 1896, 217).

Sometime between 1895 and 1900, H. R. Hall (Assistant Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities at the British Museum) was asked by John Bertram to create a hand-list for visitors to the museum.[18] It is not clear exactly when this was started, or why Hall was chosen. Hall's methodology appears to have been to simply list each item in the cases as they had been laid out, marking them with his catalogue number. As his catalogue contains little text or explanation it must be assumed that he assigned provenance to items from their labels or case information. There are items in the Collection which have been marked by Hall, but do not figure in his catalogue. John Bertram died before the catalogue was completed and Hall's work was halted, which may explain the disparity (see Budge 1903, vi).

When John Bertram died in 1900, his mother, Isabel (Mrs Nathaniel) Clayton inherited. Nathaniel had wanted to avoid his brother Edward inheriting, as he had gambling issues (Browne-Swinburne, J. *pers. comm*.). When Isabel died, her great-nephew, John Maurice inherited (1902-1979). In the summer of 1900, Isabel asked E.A. Wallis Budge to carry out "numbering, mounting, labelling and exhibition of the antiquities", as well as to create a catalogue (Budge 1903, vi). Budge was actually Hall's superior in the department of Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities at the British Museum, but no better qualified than Hall to identify and catalogue Roman material.[19] Isabel seems to have

[18] The hand-list by Hall is dated 1900, but an unpublished catalogue of the *Clayton Collection Coins* created by W.P. Hedley states that Hall started work on the hand-list in 1895 (Hedley, W. P. 1924-6, 2).

[19] Hall had studied modern history at Oxford (Peet 2004), whilst Budge studied Semitic languages at Cambridge (Smith 2004), so neither had a background in Roman archaeology or material culture.

chosen him as he was known to the family (he had met John when visiting Chesters in 1887),[20] and worked for the British Museum, which gave him status in her eyes. As well as a catalogue of the collection on display, Budge arranged for mounts for the large stones, and re-arranged the order of the items in the table-cases. We have photographs of the museum at the time Budge carried out his work but it is not clear how much he changed it from its layout between 1896 and 1900, as no earlier photographs exist. The main work was the mounting of the stones, as the cases were already installed in the museum, with Budge simply altering the order of objects displayed within them. However even this

Enormous credit must be given to Isabel Clayton for her care of the estate, museum and Collection for 28 years. She continued to pay for the upkeep of the museum, keeping it open to visitors as well as maintaining the archaeological remains of the large Wall estate. The latter was done firstly by continuing to employ Tailford who was still supervising excavations in 1892, despite being over 60 years old (Gibson 1903a, 14). Later Isabel employed F.G. Simpson to be "a sort of archaeological land-agent with instructions to keep in repair the camps and so much of the Wall as are on the Clayton estate" (Crow 2004, 134). Simpson continued the conservation work that Clayton had started and helped to protect some of the most famous sections of the Wall. Employing Simpson was extremely forward thinking of Isabel, as he had some archaeological experience, rather than just being a labourer who could mend walls and cut grass.

The upkeep of the museum involved Tailford, once he had reduced the amount of time he spent excavating. By the time of the 1901 census, he was living in the Lodge at Chesters, the small gatehouse next to the museum that was built at the same time. The gatehouse contained the mechanism to open the gate and so he had a dual role as gatekeeper and museum caretaker. By 1911 two of his daughters, Sarah (1867-1941) and Margaret (1871-1955) were living there with him. He died in October 1912, ending

[20] Budge also had other local connections to the north east as his wife was the daughter of the rector of Allendale (Smith 2004).

almost 60 years of working with, and caring for, the archaeology on the Clayton estate.[21]

2.1.1 The Clayton Trustees

When Isabel Clayton died in April 1928, John Maurice Clayton decided to sell the Hadrian's Wall estate to cover his gambling debts. The estate was to be split back into the individual farms, with each one sold off at auction. This included the Chesters estate, with the mansion house, fort, museum and gatehouse. There was also to be a sale of the contents of the mansion house, as well as the contents of the museum, constituting a major risk to the Collection for the first time in its history. When local archaeologists and other interested parties discovered this, they pressured John Maurice into keeping the Collection together somehow, preferably in the museum. R. C. Bosanquet (the excavator at Housesteads in 1898) played a key role in this effort, corresponding with others to ask for their support, and contacting John Maurice. This group persuaded John Maurice to sign a Deed of Trust in which "the Settlor has handed over to the Trustees the collection of Roman Antiquities".[22] The collection was deemed to be those items displayed at the time in the museum. Captain A.M. Keith, who bought the Chesters estate, which included the house, grounds and museum in the land auction of 19-20th June 1929, was persuaded by Bosanquet to become a Trustee.

The deed was signed on 21st November 1930 and the original Trustees were Captain Keith (the owner of the land and museum), George MacDonald (numismatist and archaeologist), B. M. Holland Martin (unknown), R. G. Collingwood (philosopher and historian), William Parker Brewis (archaeologist) and R. C. Bosanquet (archaeologist).[23] At the first meeting, Captain Keith agreed to take on the upkeep of the museum building, and to pay for a caretaker. Rosemary Douglas-Menzies, a daughter of Captain Keith remembers that Sarah and Margaret (Maggie), the daughters of Tailford Junior

[21] William Tailford is a common name in the North East and it is not possible to be 100% sure this is the correct man, although this date does fit.

[22] Not all of the finds that Clayton collected were included in this, and this will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

[23] A copy of the Deed of Trust is held by The Trustees of the Clayton Collection in their paper archive.

were paid to open the gate to the driveway, take money from visitors to the museum and clean (*pers. comm*.). Although we have no formal records, it is likely that they simply inherited the task from their father when he died in 1912, and that Captain Keith continued the arrangement when he took over the running of the estate and museum.

Soon after forming, the Trustees made an appeal for an endowment fund, and some of the pamphlets from this remain in the Clayton Trustees archive. The Trustees were hoping to raise £500 by this appeal, to put towards the care of the collection. Within the archive of the Clayton Collection, the visitors' books run from 1896-1954 (CH6017-20). Trustees changed over time, and there was a hiatus in meetings between 1936 and 1949, but the museum remained open to visitors throughout. Captain Keith died on 14th May 1955 and since then a member of his family has been on the Board of Trustees; this along with a Bosanquet also being on the board, maintains a link with the first board.

Despite there being caretakers or custodians of the museum from its opening in 1896, the names of most of them are not known after the death of the Tailford family. However, credit must be given to them for their work in caring for the Collection, and maintaining the museum building. In 1954 when Captain Keith was negotiating with the Ministry of Works to take the fort and museum into Guardianship he notes in one letter that a Mrs. Llewellyn lived in the gatehouse and acted as caretaker of the museum, whilst Edward Telford maintained the fort (Keith, A.M. 1954). More names can be gleaned from minutes of the Trustees meetings or the archives from SANT held by Tyne and Wear Archives and Museums.[24] For example, we know that in the 1970s and 1980s Mr and Mrs Rutherford worked as Custodians of the museum, whilst a Mr. Craiggs is mentioned in papers from the 1970s. From 1955, the Ministry of Works employed these Custodians, but they appear to have continued good relationships with the Trustees.

[24] Box Files 1-4 labelled Chesters Correspondence, held in the Discovery Museum archaeological archives, contain many letters between the Trustees and Custodians and other Ministry of Works staff.

The Ministry of Works agreed to take Guardianship of *Cilurnum* Fort in June 1953, although it took almost two years for negotiations to be settled. Prior to this, the Keith family had managed the whole site. The site then came under the Department of Environment (which absorbed the Ministry of Works in 1970), who retained responsibility until 1983 when the site came under the care of English Heritage. The finds were still by owned and cared for by the Trustees, but the various official bodies managed entrance to both site and museum. Until 1950 there was no curator of the Clayton Collection, only a caretaker, paid for by the Keith family. Between 1950 and 1972 Grace Simpson was the Honorary Curator of the Collection, and spent a great deal of time working on the Collection, in particular the material excavated by her father, F.G. Simpson. When she left the position Dr David J. Smith, who at the time was the keeper at the Museum of Antiquities, University of Newcastle, took over until 1987. Lindsay Allason-Jones became a trustee in August 1987, at which time she became the Honorary Curator. Between 1976 and 1978, the Trustees also paid for short-term contracts for cataloguing the Collection and the names of some of these people are known: Francis Burton, Terry Hay, Mrs. Rainer and Miss Alison Wing.

Papers from the Chesters mansion house and from Grace Simpson's time as Honorary Curator form the two main archives within the Collection. Janet Graver, a volunteer for Georgina Plowright (Curator for the Collection 1987-2012), catalogued both these and they offer some insights into the care of the Collection from the 1930s through to the 1970s. A recently accessioned item (CH16939), a work notebook of Grace Simpson's, adds more detail to the trials of the Collection. There are two thefts recorded in 1963 and 1969, both of which occurred during the daytime. Simpson also records conservation work carried out on finds, damage done by a pheasant falling through a skylight and the discovery of new material through the Ministry of Works consolidation of the fort remains.

Since the first Guardianship agreement at *Cilurnum,* there had been a separation between the care of the finds and care of the fort. The creation of the post of Curator of Hadrian's Wall Museums by English Heritage in 1983 ended this, as the Collection came under the remit of this post and so both the site and its finds were the responsibility of English Heritage. This was the first time that there had been a

permanent, salaried curator for the Clayton Collection and so was an extremely important step forward. The post was filled by John Dore (1983-1986), Sally Dumner and Bill Hubbard (both short-term), before Georgina Plowright took up the position in 1987, retiring in 2012. It was under Ms. Plowright's tenure that an electronic catalogue of the Collection was begun, and she oversaw a complete refurbishment and re-display of the museum at Chesters in 2008. The author took over the post in 2012 and has continued the work of improving the catalogue of the material. The museum has retained its Victorian feel, despite re-organisaton by Simpson, Plowright and McIntosh, in the 1950s, 2009 and 2016 respectively. The latter two projects explicitly stated that their aim was to maintain the character of the collection and museum. Simpson understood the collection and its history so well, it is likely that her goal was also to preserve this aspect. The museum at Chesters is not simply a museum of Roman life at *Cilurnum*, but it tells a story of one man and his lifes work.

2.2 Previous work on the Collection

Since the Clayton Collection has been in existence, there have been numerous attempts to catalogue the material by a variety of people. Table 2.1 details what has been done, at what time, and if this work was published.

Name	Date	Work done	Publication / Product
H.R. Hall, British Museum	1895- 1900	Catalogue of material on display in the museum. Items given a Hall number	A handbook for visitors to use in the Museum (unpublished)
E.A.W. Budge	1900-1903	Catalogue of material on display - this included some material not mentioned in Hall's work. Items given a Budge number.	*An Account of the Roman Antiquities Preserved in the Museum at Chesters, Northumberland*. Published in 1903 and 1907
Francis Burton	1970s and 1980s	Items given a Card Index Number (CIN)	Card Index System in Corbridge Museum (unpublished)
M.C. Bishop	Finished Feb. 1995	Audit of the collection	Audit catalogue for museum curator (unpublished)
G. Plowright, Curator (and volunteers)	1991- 2011	Collection items given a CH number.	MODES catalogue (unpublished)
F. McIntosh	2012 onwards	Construction of a catalogue to be imported into HOMS which contains a record for every item within the Collection	HOMS catalogue (unpublished)

Table 2.1 Previous catalogues of the Clayton Collection

When Hall was asked to create a hand-list for visitors to the museum by John Bertram Clayton, it appears that Tailford and Gibson had already laid out the items in the museum. Hall grouped the items as much as possible by provenance, apart from the

larger items such as altars and inscriptions, which were grouped according to object type. He numbered the items, and marked them at the same time. The last number in his hand-list is 3429, but there are items which have been marked with his numbers up to the 3800s. It is possible that he ran out of time to put these all into the catalogue, as there seems no obvious reason to leave them out. He describes some items in the catalogue which are unprovenanced, yet some of these items have a known provenance. Perhaps he did not have all of the information that has now been deduced. The death of John Bertram on 8th April 1900 may have contributed to what appears to be an incomplete work.

When, at the request of Isabel Clayton, Budge started work on the Collection, he began his own numbering system, ignoring the numbers used by Hall. Although he does note the Hall number in the record of some of the finds, this is not done for every find, and is not always correct. He did not mark finds except the stones where the number was painted on the plinths onto which they were mounted. Budge's catalogue is mostly ordered by site, then by object type and appears to follow the way he arranged the items in the museum. He does not have a running sequence of numbers, but rather starts from one each time he begins a new site, case or area. Although Budge says he catalogued items which Hall did not, there are only 3053 numbers in his catalogue, which represents 3339 finds as some items are grouped and assigned one number per group, but still a smaller number than Hall's catalogue. There are some Budge finds which do not have Hall numbers, and there are also finds which have Hall numbers but no Budge number. These can be seen in the catalogue compiled for this thesis in Appendix A, as well as Appendix G, which lists the inconsistencies between the two catalogues.

Due to the variety of catalogues attempted for the Collection, linked to the lack of a curator until 1983, the Collection has a rather confusing documentation history. When looking at (or for) an object in the Clayton Collection there are the following systems to take into account; an item in the Collection could have any, none, or some of these numbers;

- Hall
- Budge

- Card Index Number
- 'Other' Number
- CH number

In addition to these, some items have also been given an *RIB* or *CSIR* and/or a number in the 1926 catalogue written by Collingwood on the inscriptions and sculpture in the museum (Collingwood 1926). Sometimes these numbers have been marked on the object itself, sometimes it is written onto a tag, which is tied onto the object. Until 2003, the Hall catalogue was presumed lost, and so all provenance information was taken from Budge, or publications pre-1903. The discovery of the Hall catalogue when the Benson family sold the mansion house at Chesters meant that the disparities between the two works became known.

There are some differences between the Hall and Budge catalogues in terms of assigning provenance to items and it is not always clear who should be believed. In one of Grace Simpson's many versions of a 'Guide to Chesters Museum', she comments that James Breasted, the first American Egyptologist, noted many errors on Budge's labels in the British Museum in 1890. "His venture into Roman studies here at Chesters Museum was no less inaccurate" (Simpson undated, 1). Budge's entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* also describes him as being careless over provenance, with information he gave often being proved inaccurate at a later stage (Smith 2004). This proven lack of accuracy means that when he gives an item a different provenance to that given by Hall it is not clear who to believe. Hall has not been proven inaccurate, but it appears that Budge had access to more information than Hall.

In his preface, Budge says, "I have drawn largely upon Mr. Clayton's papers, and have generally quoted his own descriptions and remarks *verbatim*" (1903, vi). We do not know whether Hall saw these papers or not. However, if Budge had access to those papers, surely Hall did also? When Hall was carrying out his work, Tailford (excavator of many of them) and Gibson had moved the finds into the museum. They were laid out in the order that John Clayton organised them, and it has been said that he kept finds from each site separate, tying groups together or putting them in a box (Budge 1903, 31). In addition, John Bertram was still alive and may have had information to

pass on to Hall, whereas he had died by the time Budge started his work. However, Isabel had likely had more contact with Clayton, so perhaps had information for Budge.

Budge appears to have consulted Tailford, so perhaps had information straight from the excavator of the finds. However, when Allason-Jones and McKay were writing the report on the material from Coventina's Well they discovered that "it should not be assumed…that a mention by Budge is firm proof that an object comes from the Well" (1985, 1). Within the section called 'Antiquities found in the Well of the goddess Coventina at *Procolitia* and in Other Places' Budge does not always distinguish between things from Coventina's Well and those from other sites. Where Budge and Hall disagree on provenance, if no further evidence can be found either way, then Hall's is generally accepted, as he does not have the reputation of Budge for lack of accuracy. Although it is recognised this is not a scientific method, it is the best option available.

One thing Budge and Hall do have in common is the degree of attention they gave to the inscriptions, giving them full descriptions and transcribing their whole texts. Each sculpture or inscribed stone has a provenance and this is clearly recorded whereas the mass of metal, glass and bone finds, as well as pottery, did not receive the same kind of treatment. Budge and Hall were not alone in this method; they were, in the main, working with the information that had been left by John Clayton and his excavators. Small finds were simply not seen as being as important as the sculpture, altars or inscriptions. Any small finds specialist wanting to use 19th century excavation data will encounter this problem. As well as a lesser degree of detail of findspot, there is also the tendency to group items for catalogue entries, with little descriptive information, making the identification of these items purely from either of their two catalogues nearly impossible. It also means that if items were separated from their labels or bags, then there was little chance of re-uniting them with their correct number and the corresponding information. This is one of the factors which has led to 2332 records having no provenance information at all.

As well as cataloguing the Collection as a whole, various works have looked at certain aspects of the Collection, including particular object types, or material from specific

sites. In order to avoid duplication of work, these were all consulted and their findings taken into account when looking at certain object groups. This published material has been affected by a multitude of factors but the main two are whether the researcher could get access to the collection beyond that which was on display and what could be found at the time of their research in terms of provenance information. Table 2.2 lists the main works, although it is probable that other material has been looked at or researched but there is now no record.

Within Table 2.2, note should be made of *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain* and *Corpus Signorum Imperii Roman:. Hadrian's Wall west of the North Tyne and Carlisle.* These important publications deal fully with the inscirptions and sculpture from the Collection, looked at by experts in their fields. As these pieces have been studied in such detail, they will not form a case study within this thesis. Certain pieces will be used throughout the thesis to illustrate points, or support other parts of the Collection as needed.

Name	**Date**	**Material Studied**	**Publication**
Collingwood, R. G.	1926	Inscriptions from the Clayton Collection	Guidebook for the Museum
Hedley, W. P.	1924- 6	Catalogue of Roman coins in the Clayton Collection	Unpublished (copy held at Corbridge)
Hedley, W. P.	1931	The Walbottle (Throckley) hoard of Roman Coins	*AA* 4th series, Vol. VIII, 12-48.
Kilbride-Jones, H. E.	1938	Glass bracelets.	'Glass Armlets in Britain', *PSAS*, Vol. **LXXII**, 366-395
Collingwood, R.G. and Wright, R.P.	1965	Inscriptions	*The Roman Inscriptions of Britain I. Inscriptions on Stone*.
Sockett, E. W.	1971	The Stanegate - including finds from Nether Denton Fort in the Collection	MLitt Thesis, Newcastle University
Richardson, C.	1974	Catalogue of wood-working and metal-working tools- includes material from *Cilurnum*	MPhil Thesis, Newcastle University
Wing, A.	1978	Some work on the pottery, scope undefined	MLitt Thesis, Newcastle University
Allason-Jones, L. and McKay, B.	1985	Coventina's Well material, including the coins	*Coventina's Well. A Shrine on Hadrian's Wall*.
Allason-Jones, L.	1988	Material from turrets on Hadrian's Wall	''Small Finds' from Turrets on Hadrian's Wall', 197-233 in

			Coulston, J. C. (ed.) *Military Equipment and the Identity of Roman Soldiers. Proceedings of the Fourth Roman Military Equipment Conference*. BAR Int. Series 394.
Coulston, J. C. and Philips, E. J.	1988	Sculpture	*Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani. Hadrian's Wall west of the North Tyne and Carlisle*
Cooke, S. L	1992	Kirkby Thore Material- including that held in the Collection	MA dissertation, Liverpool University (copy held at Corbridge)
Snape, M. E.	1993	Looked at the brooches from Nether Denton in detail, and briefly looked at brooches from *Cilurnum* and Housesteads	*Roman Brooches from the North of Britain. A classification and a catalogue of brooches from sites on the Stanegate.* BAR British Series 235
Caruana, I. D.	1994	Stone pine cone from Kirkby Thore	'On the trial of the Lonesome Pine-cone', *AA* 5th series, Vol. **XXII**, 274-276
Lewis, M. J. T.	1995	Festuca from Chesters	'A *Festuca* from Chesters?', *AA* 5th series, Vol. **XXIII**, 47-50.

Table 2.2 Work which has included material from the Clayton Collection

Conservation work has been carried out intermittently over the years on various parts of the Collection. Although there is no record of work during Clayton's lifetime, some work must have been done, particularly on the large amount of ironwork in order for it to survive in such good condition. Mr. A. J. H. Edwards conserved some of this ironwork in 1936 at the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, including "iron cavalry spears, the military tools and other standard service equipment" (Simpson 1973, 2). In 1956, the Ashmolean Museum restored some material from Nether Denton, which took two years (Simpson, 1973, 4). Since the Collection came into the care of English Heritage, there has been much more regular monitoring and preventative conservation, meaning interventive conservation is rarely needed and can hopefully be avoided in the future.

2.3 Cataloguing and understanding the collection

The main catalogue created for this thesis has been based on the MODES database,[25] which consisted of 5950 records, created by Georgina Plowright and volunteers. MODES was the database system used by English Heritage between the late 1980s

[25] Museum Object Data Entry System

until 2011. English Heritage now use a system called HOMS[26] and the database created for this thesis has been fed into this new system. The thesis database now forms the basis of the new Clayton Collection Catalogue, which it is hoped will become available in summary form online to view through English Heritage's collections online initiative at some point in the future.

The MODES database for the Clayton Collection was started in 1991 when Georgina Plowright initiated the new cataloguing programme. Each item was given a CH number, in order to have one over-arching system. It contained 5950 records in October 2011. The first number was CH200 and the final was CH9414. CH1-199 were left blank as Tyne and Wear Museums Archaeology Department were about to start excavating on site at *Cilurnum* in 1990.[27] As the MODES database was just being started at this time, it was thought sensible to leave some numbers for any finds made on this excavation. The excavations discovered no small finds, but numbering of the Collection had started at 200 and the gap was never filled. Although the numbers in the 'catalogue in progress'[28] book ran without gaps, there were many gaps in the MODES database, with only certain items having been digitally recorded. The final number in the 'catalogue in progress' book was 12,588 in October 2011, showing that less than half of the items were actually on the MODES database.

The MODES data was exported into Excel in October 2011. A row in Excel (a record) was inserted for every CH number, so that there were no gaps in the sequence. This means that each object had a row for its full information to be recorded. For those items not recorded on MODES, the 'catalogue in progress' book was used to discover their current location, and then those items were located to enable the following fields to be filled in; object type, description, material, date of object, provenance, date of excavation and current location. These were the minimum fields that would be filled in

[26] Historic Object Management System, which uses Citrix software.

[27] Excavations took place between 1990 and 1991. There is no full report published on this work but a summary is in *Hadrian's Wall 1989-1999* (Bidwell 1999, 119-120), with details of the survey published in 1992 (Griffiths 1992). The material from this excavation is still being held at South Shields.

[28] The 'catalogue in progress' book is where new CH numbers are allocated to avoid duplication of numbers. Only location information, and sometimes the object type is given in this book and it does not mean that the item has been catalogued onto MODES, merely it has been given a CH number.

for each item. In July 2015, the thesis catalogue contained 16222 records and was uploaded onto HOMS. The digital catalogue created for this thesis can be seen in Appendix A.

A very useful set of data was provided by the audit carried out by Mike Bishop in 1995, which allowed some information to be checked against the MODES catalogue. There is always human error in any catalogue, and the fact that many people had contributed to the MODES catalogue over a number of years meant that it contained quite a large number of inconsistencies. The main problem was the lack of data standardisation in the *provenance* and *item type* fields, meaning searches for specific item types, or for all material from one site was virtually impossible. This was the first aim, to standardise four key columns; object type, material, provenance and current location. The new Excel spreadsheet was subject to a large amount of data cleansing, using the English Heritage Thesauri for object type and material, and a standard site name assigned to each place represented in the Collection. This initial work allowed searches within the Collection to be carried out much more easily. In April 2012, a location audit of the Collection in store was conducted by the author and Jane Lovett (Documentation Assistant) which allowed the current location of all finds in the store to be recorded. This collection catalogue is used as the basis for the data chapters. Each group of material that is studied in depth will be updated on the catalogue/database so that information such as a full description, comparable finds and dating is recorded.

In order to place the Clayton Collection into context within the Roman period, comparison with other Roman sites along Hadrian's Wall and further afield is needed. The 2009 Hadrian's Wall Research Framework noted that due to systematic excavation along the Wall since the 1890s there was a large data resource to be analysed to help in our understanding of life on Hadrian's Wall, yet this had not always been accessible, either to academics or the public (Symonds and Mason 2009a). Great strides have been made in the last 10-15 years yet there are still gaps in the publication, and differing levels of publication quality. Throughout the object chapters in this thesis, problems with accessing good quality comparative data will be noted. Help was given by other curators along the Wall offering access to unpublished data, which was greatly appreciated.

The main theoretical approach used in this thesis is that of object biography (Kopytoff 1986). All of the objects in the Collection have been through many phases in their lives, from their use in the Roman period, through their discovery in the 19th century, to their place as a visitor attraction and research resource in the 20th and 21st century. Object biographies have been a part of archaeological thought for over 30 years, and Kopytoff's paper in 1986 was highly influential in the adoption of this approach by people such as Gosden and Marshall (1999). The approach taken in this thesis will follow that used in the 'Rethinking Pitt-Rivers' study (Marshman 2012: Allen 2012) and by Foster *et al.* (2014), where the biography of the item once it entered a museum or collection was considered. This approach will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3 when investigating the coins in the Collection (page 61ff).

2.4 Archival work to contextualise the collection

As well as much work on the Collection, an important part of this thesis has been the historical research into Clayton, 19th century Newcastle and the wider antiquarian network, as well as archival research to discover any material relating to, or written by Clayton. The study of material written by Clayton was important to get an insight into the man, and try to ascertain his motivation for excavation, his methodology and perhaps also previously unknown information about any of the Collection. Lindsay Allason-Jones very kindly passed on copies of letters from the Joseph Mayer collection, held in Liverpool, which she had acquired in the process of publishing the Coventina's Well material. This archive consisted of the correspondence of Charles Roach Smith, the well known London antiquary, with letters dating from the 1850s to the 1870s from both Clayton and John Collingwood Bruce to Roach Smith. These letters gave snippets of information about Clayton's health, family matters, archaeological discoveries and land purchases and have been extremely useful.

Other archive sources used include much material held by Northumberland Archives Centre, Woodhorn. Sketchbooks by Robert Blair of Clayton's excavations and material discovered, dating from 1877 until 1894, have helped provide provenance information for some finds, whilst also acting as confirmation of the dates of excavations of areas of *Cilurnum* fort. John Bell's scrapbooks contained evidence of the interest of John's sister, Sarah Ann, in coins and Roman history, whilst also recording the early days of

the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle Upon Tyne. Other sources have been used and will be referenced throughout the thesis where relevant. One very interesting piece has been the scrapbook by R.W. Martin who lived in Longbenton in the 1920s/30s (Martin, R. W. 1934). He collected letters by Clayton and articles in the newspaper about the Collection and Museum, indicating that it was not just archaeologists and academics who were interested in Clayton. Large amounts of Clayton's business papers in both Northumberland Archives Centre, Woodhorn and Tyne and Wear Archives would benefit from research as they would doubtless provide information on legal practices and land transactions from the 19th century in Newcastle and further afield. They have not been studied for this thesis, as they were not considered directly relevant to its archaeological focus.

2.5 Summary

The research into the history of the Collection, both during and after John Clayton's lifetime has provided insight into the various stages of the Collections care. Understanding who has been involved is important to take into account their impact on the Collection. Producing a full catalogue of the Collection allows analysis to be carried out on the material, by site and by object type. The archival work has revealed further aspects of Clayton's networks and added to our knowledge of his character as well as his archaeological methodology.

3. John Clayton, Antiquarianism and Intellectual Exchange

'*Few public men in the North lived in greater privacy*' (Anon. 1890b, 423)

John was born on 10th June 1792 and died on 14th July 1890 aged 98. He was the fourth of 11 children (the third son) of Nathaniel and Dorothy Clayton (née Atkinson) (Welford 1895). A family tree can be seen in Appendix C. Extended biographies of John Clayton were given in his obituaries and in his entry in *Men of Mark twixt Tyne and Tweed* (Anonymous 1890a; 1890b; Bruce 1892; Welford 1895) and this chapter will concentrate on the relevant parts of Clayton's life using both these and other sources. As part of this thesis, an entry for the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* has also been written (McIntosh 2015). It is important to understand Clayton and the world he was living in to be able to appreciate fully the development of the Collection and to put his work into context.

3.1 Personal Life

Despite living for 98 years, very little is known about Clayton in terms of his personality and character. As the quote above indicates, he was a private man and unfortunately, very few of his personal documents have survived.[29] A letter he wrote to his old school, Uppingham, printed in full in the Budge catalogue is illuminating. Written by Clayton in 1889, less than a year before his death, he reminisces about his school days, and it is here we learn of his schooling (Budge 1903, 15-26). He talks of his school garden, of the pet kite he acquired and the time he was caught trespassing whilst stealing rooks' eggs (Budge 1903, 19; 22; 23). Clayton's mastery of ancient languages was demonstrated when he was chosen to deliver the Greek speech at Speech-day, where he gives an example of his modesty, saying he was chosen for the tone of his voice, not his knowledge (*ibid*., 24).

As Clayton's personal papers are no longer extant, use has been made of letters written by Clayton to other antiquaries at the time, which have survived in their archives.[30] These letters give an insight into his personal views, antiquarian work and

[29] Budge states that he made use of Clayton's papers to compile the catalogue, so they have been lost or destroyed since 1903 (Budge 1903, vii).

[30] Transcriptions of many of the letters can be seen in Appendices J and L.

his relationship with friends, colleagues and family. His obituaries give details of his religious and political leanings, as well as his contribution to civic life in Newcastle. The obituaries are invariably positive and a counterpoint to these viewpoints has been found in some political writings from the time. Budge says that although Clayton's "remarks were occasionally cynical, and even caustic, they never went beyond the limits of good taste" (Budge 1903, 14). Having none of his personal documents, it is difficult to get a sense of the sort of person he was, and whether Budge was correct, or merely flattering the family.

John outlived all except one of his siblings, his sister Anne who survived him by less than 6 months. Of the eleven children, only three married: Matthew, Jane and Richard. Of these, only Richard had any children. This low rate of marriage is unusual for the period (Davidoff and Hall 1987, 322-3). The unmarried siblings appear to have remained close, with census records showing they lived together either at Chesters or at Westgate House in Newcastle, with the nieces and nephews also spending time at Chesters with their aunts and uncles.[31] Nathaniel Senior left almost his entire estate and money jointly to the three eldest surviving sons, Nathaniel (1787-1856), John and Michael (1793-1847), the other children receiving just over £7000 each (c. £350,000 at today's value).[32] Although still a large sum of money, the unmarried sisters would not have been able to maintain the same lifestyle if they left the family home, which may have influenced their decision to stay. Equally, John and the other unmarried brothers would have appreciated the sisters acting as the mistresses of the house in the absence of wives. Glimpses into their lives do, however, suggest the siblings actually enjoyed each other's company and shared interests, so the closeness may not have been purely to do with money or duty.

[31] In 1841, Bridget and Sarah Ann were at Chesters, along with three of their brother Richard's children (Elizabeth, Francis and Richard). In 1851 and 1861, Matthew and Anne were at Westgate House (John is listed as the Head, but absent). In 1861 John and Sarah Ann were at Chesters along with their nieces Charlotte and Elizabeth, whilst in 1871 they were joined by their grand-nephews John Bertram and Edward Francis and grand-niece Maria Sophie. Census data was found on www.ancestry.co.uk Accessed 20/11/2014

[32] A transcript of the relevant parts of Nathaniel Clayton Senior's will can be seen in Appendix H.

Nathaniel, the eldest brother, was a Commissioner of Bankruptcy in London until the system was reformed in 1831.[33] He was given a pension and came back to Chesters, living there for the last 25 years of his life, setting up his own social circle alongside "the intelligent company of his sisters" (Anonymous 1890b, 422). Letters to John Bell (a coin collector and founder of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle) from Sarah Ann, discussing Roman coins and tracings of altars from *Cilurnum* (Clayton, S. A. 1843a, b, c, d, e. Appendix I), indicate a clear enthusiasm for the subject. A reference to Miss Clayton, (which sister is not specified), by Dean Stanley who visited Chesters in 1869, describes her showing them her coins "with which she was as conversant as if she had lived in the court of Hadrian or Severus" (Bruce 1905, 171). It appears that John's youngest sister Elizabeth also took an interest in classics and history as John rose early before work to teach her Latin (Anonymous 1890a, 42). These glimpses suggest a happy extended family enjoying each other's company and sharing common interests.

In politics John was a Conservative, described as having been "born in the faith and died in it" (Anonymous 1890b, 425). Acting as the legal advisor for his friend Matthew Bell for the 1826 and 1832 elections he helped to retain Bell's seat by his "good generalship, and great personal influence" (Anonymous 1890a, 32). Political activity was a family concern as Matthew (the fifth brother, 1800-1867) was also heavily involved with electioneering and was described as "one of the most capable leaders of the Conservative Party" (Welford 1895, 577). In his diary James Losh[34] notes that he was involved in some "political wrangling" over candidates with Mr Clayton in 1833 (Hughes 1963, 149). Whilst it is not clear whether it was John or one of his brothers, this mention is another indication of the family involvement in politics.

Contrary to popular belief, John Clayton did not solely inherit the estate of Chesters in 1832 when his father died. The house and land went jointly to Nathaniel, John and Michael (Clayton, N. 1832. Appendix H). However as discussed above the siblings appear to have got on well with each other, and the brothers must have given permission for the excavations at *Cilurnum* as they had started by 1840. Both brothers

[33] http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C23 Accessed 4/12/2014

[34] Losh (1763-1833) was a barrister in Newcastle and a keen member of the Literary and Philosophical Society. He was a member of the board of the Newcastle and Carlisle Railway Company and so would have crossed paths with Clayton many times, both professionally and politically (Dorsch 2004).

died before John, Michael in 1847 and Nathaniel in 1856. Michael left his part of the family estate jointly to John and Nathaniel (Clayton, M. 1847. Appendix M), whilst Nathaniel left "all and every my Estate and Effects whatsoever" to his brother John (Clayton, N. 1856. Appendix M). A letter from Bruce to Roach Smith dated 7th August 1856 says that John's brother left everything to John (Bruce 1856d. Appendix K) and that it included some land. It is not clear whether this was just the family estate or whether Nathaniel had purchased more land separately. Therefore, by 1856 John was the sole owner of the estate inherited from his father.

Letters to Charles Roach Smith (1807-1890), a London based antiquarian and numismatist reveal much about Clayton's antiquarian work. Equally important however are the personal snippets about Clayton contained in these letters, which reveal his grief at the loss of his brothers (Clayton, J. 1856a; 1856b and 1867, Appendix J), and his keen interest, shared with Roach Smith, in gardening and fruit growing (Clayton 1868; 1872a; 1876b, Appendix J). Roach Smith was obviously very fond of Clayton, and this comes across publicly in his *Retrospections,* where he talks about "frequent and lengthy stays at Chesters" (1883, 171) where he enjoyed the "kind attentions and friendly consideration of Mr. and Miss. Clayton; and their brother the late Mr. Nathaniel Clayton" (Smith 1883*,* 185).

Roach Smith also wrote regularly to John Collingwood Bruce and letters between these two men often mention Clayton. It is in these letters that we hear of Clayton's increasing illnesses, such as fevers and gout, which he suffered with from middle age (Bruce, J. C. 1856a; 1856b; 1856c; 1876; Appendix K). His failing eyesight is commented upon in his obituaries, and must be taken into account when his later archaeological work is discussed. Letters written in 1882/3 to Bruce are not in Clayton's hand, with only a frail-looking signature written by him (Clayton, J. 1882a; 1882b; 1882c; 1883, Appendix J). The latest letter from Clayton found so far dates to December 1883, where he is discussing an "Antiquarian party" visiting the Wall, as well as details regarding the reading of inscriptions (Clayton, J. 1883, Appendix J). Although this is six and a half years before his death, excavations were taking place right up to his death at Chesters. In 1889, he also published an article entitled 'Notes on Lord Collingwood' in *Archaeologia Aeliana*, showing that his mind was still active. Despite his increasing ill

health and frailty, Clayton continued to correspond with friends, and retained a keen interest in archaeology right up until his death.

In the scrapbook volumes of John Bell, we see letters between Clayton and Bell (Appendix L). As with the Roach Smith papers they are antiquarian in focus, but what is interesting is the different tone. Bell writes in a semi-deferential tone to Clayton, who is ranked socially above him, whereas the letters between Roach Smith and Clayton suggest they saw themselves as equals. No personal details are mentioned in the Bell letters, they are shorter, to the point, and perhaps most importantly addressed 'Dear Sir', whilst letters to Bruce and Roach Smith were addressed 'My Dear Sir'. These letters give a fascinating insight into some of the subtle social rules that governed 19th century life.

Clayton was baptised at St. John's Church in Newcastle on 24th November 1792. The church was very close to the family's home, Westgate House, on Fenkle Street. His grandfather had long had links with this church, being a lecturer there for over 50 years. John restored the south porch of the Church in his memory (Welford 1895, 584). He was, in belief, an Anglican (Clayton, J. 1856b, Appendix J). His youngest brother, Richard (1802-56) was Master of the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalene and St. Thomas' Chapel from 1826-56. His family members helped him to his position, as shown by another entry in James Losh's diary, when he notes that the Clayton's "dexterous management" meant that Losh's candidate for the post would not get the position (Hughes 1963, 37). Despite this indication of opposition to Richard, once he was in post he became extremely popular (Welford 1889, 540). In fact, he was so popular that when he died his congregation wanted his assistant chaplain, who had the same beliefs, to succeed him. When the town council did not appoint their choice, the majority of the congregation left and set about building a new church in his honour, Jesmond Parish Church.[35] The process of filling the post had the town in "a ferment" according to Bruce, who kept Roach Smith informed of events in Newcastle (Bruce, J. C. 1856a, Appendix K).

Despite his wealth, and his influence in the city, John Clayton is always portrayed as a modest man. When the Corporation proposed to commission a portrait of him on his

[35] Anonymous 2011.

retirement he refused, saying, “portraits of ordinary men will go up into the garret as rubbish” (Welford 1895, 582).[36] He also tried to persuade Bruce to dedicate *The Roman Wall* to someone else with a “titled name” which “might be more ornamental to your pages” (Clayton 1849 in Bruce 1905, 128). This modesty extended to his antiquarian work, often asking for second opinions on readings of inscriptions from people who he believed were better qualified than him, such as Professor Hübner, a professor of Classical Philology at the University of Berlin.[37] However, he could also disagree vehemently with people, as his dispute with T. Watkins over the reading of inscriptions from Coventina’s Well, published via letters and accounts of meetings in the newspapers, shows.[38] In a private letter to Roach Smith, Clayton describes Mr. Watkins as an “ignorant imposter” and “a Gentleman of small knowledge, but large pretension, and childish vanity” (Clayton, J. 1878a; 1878b, Appendix J). It may be that his personal papers contained more descriptions such as this; showing a caustic side to his personality; it could be that such material was destroyed by family members wishing to protect his image posthumously.

Many people mention the warm welcome they received at Chesters from the Claytons, not just John, when they came to visit the site and see the finds. For example, in 1852 the Archaeological Institute “were hospitably entertained by Mr. Clayton at The Chesters” (Anonymous 1890b, 423), and members of the Social Science Congress in 1870 were provided with a “sumptuous luncheon” at Housesteads by Clayton (Bruce 1905, 173). These examples show Clayton entertaining his peers and colleagues in antiquarian studies, but he equally welcomed strangers. Two gentlemen from Boston visited the Wall in 1886 and at Chesters Clayton welcomed them into his house to show them the finds inside. They were left to look around the Antiquity House and grounds themselves, but were invited back for dinner (Walden 1886). He seems from all accounts to have genuinely enjoyed showing people his finds and the site. Perhaps

[36] He was almost proved right, when a portrait, which used to hang in his law firms’ offices, was no longer wanted and was offered to English Heritage to hang in the museum at Chesters Museum in 2010.

[37] Hübner (7 July 1834-21 February 1901) was a renowned epigraphist and an honorary member of SANT from 1883 (Oswald 1919, 26).

[38] The letters and meeting transcripts are printed in full in the Appendix of *Coventina’s Well* and show that Clayton was extremely derisive of Mr. Watkins knowledge or qualification for disagreeing with Clayton’s interpretation on the inscriptions (Allason-Jones and McKay 1985, 77-89).

this was due to pride in his work, but it would be nice to think his ethos of having an open house was partly linked to wanting to share knowledge and encourage further study.

3.2 Professional Life

Extracts from *A history of Northumberland* show that the Clayton family had a long history of being involved in local politics and power in Newcastle. The Clayton family moved from Yorkshire to Newcastle sometime in the early 18th century, and by 1750, William Clayton, John's great grandad was Sheriff of Newcastle. This was followed by his election as Mayor in 1755 and 1763. John's grandfather Robert Clayton was Sheriff in 1777 and Mayor in 1804, 182 and 1817 (Hodgson 1840a, 419-21). John was brought up in a wealthy household and family trees show barristers, rectors and merchants. The Clayton family were well established as being of the upper class, although John's business dealings and land purchases increased the family wealth, they would certainly fall into the 'old money' category.

Clayton became articled as a clerk in his father's firm in 1809, qualifying as a solicitor in 1814. Joining the family firm he worked alongside his father before taking over what was the "largest and most extensive legal practices in the North of England" alongside his two brothers Matthew and Michael (Anonymous 1890a, 8).[39] He became Under Sheriff in 1816,[40] before taking over from his father as Town Clerk of Newcastle in 1822. A Clayton was therefore in a position of power in the council from 1785-1867. This long-lived hold of both civic power and legal business led to comments at the time about a "Clayton Dynasty" (Wilkes and Dodds 1964, 50-51). Part of the issue could be due to the fact that in 1785 Nathaniel purchased the position of Town Clerk for £2,100 (c.£132,000 in today's money), implying it was not an purely elected position (Purdue

[39] The Clayton firm no longer exists under that name but it merged multiple times and its current incarnation is Bond Dickinson (Dickinson Dees until 2014). Held at the archives at Discovery Museum are the series of papers relating to the firm (Ref. DT.CG). They record the various name changes and contains letter books from 1826 to 1940 (Acc. 39). Also present is a small notebook that John used for his work trips to London in 1834 and 1835 (Acc. 925).

[40] http://www.highsheriffs.com/What%20is.htm Accessed 04/12/2014

2011, 112). John also held large numbers of roles on committees, Boards of Trustees and in companies, often as Clerk, further extending his influence.[41]

When Clayton became Town Clerk, it was decided that the salary should increase from £60 per year (equivalent to £3,771 now), to 500 guineas a year (equivalent to c. £22,000 now) (Anonymous 1890b, 423). The Town Clerk was also the legal advisor to the Corporation and so "a large professional income was derived" from this part of the position (Anonymous 1890b, 423). By using his knowledge of planned works, such as the railway or the Grainger redevelopments, Clayton was able to invest wisely, and offer his firm as legal advisors. Today many of his business transactions would be regarded as insider trading and would not be permitted. However, Newcastle, and Britain, was an oligarchical place in the 19th century and Clayton worked well within the system. It has been stated that between 1825 and 1835 he doubled his wealth (Anonymous 1855b, 79). In 1856, Bruce wrote to Roach Smith "John Clayton cannot have less than thirty or forty thousand per annum - an excessive sum to have to account for in the great day of reckoning" (Bruce 1856d, Appendix K). When Clayton died, his heir inherited £728, 746 (equivalent today to c. £43.6 million), as well as land totalling c.26, 708 acres. John had inherited all the lands his father had owned (after Michael and Nathaniel died, Appendix M), as well as the Temple Sowerby land in Cumbria from his aunt Jane (Atkinson, J. 1856. Appendix N), but he also increased his landholdings dramatically throughout his life through purchases. Nathaniel Clayton Senior was one of only three people from Tyneside between 1830 and 1839 to leave over £100,000 in his will, whilst in the year he died (1832) his personalty[42] excluding land amounted to £160,000, the sixth largest that year in Britain (Rubinstein 2009), so indicating the level of wealth the Clayton family enjoyed.[43]

[41] List of offices held by Clayton included; Clerk of the Peace, Clerk of Judicature, Clerk to the Magistrates, Registrar of the Court of Conscience, Prothonotary of the Mayor's and Sheriff's Courts, Clerk to the Commissioners of Lighting and Watching, Attorney and Solicitor to the Corporation, County Treasurer, Clerk to the Visiting Justices of Lunatic Asylums, Clerk to the Trustees of the Gateshead and Durham Turnpike Road, Derwent and Shotley Bridge Road, Scotswood Road and Bridge, Steward of the Court Leet and Court Baron of the Manor of Gateshead, Steward of the Court Leet and Court Baron of Winlaton, Clerk to the River Jury, Clerk afterwards to the Tyne Improvement Commissioners, Joint Solicitor of the Newcastle and Carlisle, Newcastle and North Shields, and Durham Junctions Railways.

[42] Personalty refers to personal property which is movable, and so excludes land-holdings.

[43] Collation of wills nationally has not been carried out for the period of John's death, so it is more difficult to give an idea of his wealth in relation to others of the time. When Nathaniel Junior died in

Perhaps a good indication of how important a figure John Clayton was in Newcastle life is the fact that the *Daily Journal* printed a 47-page booklet on his life when he died (Anonymous 1890a). The first 37 pages were about his civic duties whilst the last 10 were a reproduction of Bruce's words from the obituary given to the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle Upon Tyne. Charles Roach Smith offers another example of Clayton's influence within the area when during a visit to Newcastle with Mr. Fairholt they received "a free pass for the railway from Newcastle to Carlisle during our stay, so long as that might be. I at once recognized the benign influence of my friend at Chesters" (Smith 1883, 186). Clayton, as the Clerk to the railway company, would have had access to a free pass quite easily.

Clayton was involved in most of the important changes and schemes that took place in Newcastle during his lifetime. One quote from his obituary sums up quite how much Newcastle changed during the period of Clayton's Town Clerkship; "In no period was the progress so great or so rapid" (Anonymous 1890a, 9). Whilst obituaries are traditionally positive, there is much truth in this statement. His involvement in these schemes means that his impact on civic life in Newcastle can still be felt today, with tourists attracted by the beautiful architecture and commuters able to live in the Tyne Valley and get into Newcastle for work.

Along with Richard Grainger, the builder (1797-1861), and John Dobson, the architect (1787-1865), Clayton was described as one of the "three men who transformed the town's landscape, planned the earliest commercial centre to any English city, and gave to Newcastle a planned late Georgian elegance which made it a true capital city of the north instead of just another urban conglomeration" (Wilkes and Dodds 1964, 22). In 2010 Grey Street won a 'Great Street Award' from the Academy of Urbanism (http://www.academyofurbanism.org.uk/awards/great-places/). It was said that Clayton "inspired the Corporation with confidence" to pass the plans for this scheme, and playing a huge part in it being approved (Welford 1895, 580). Clayton also acted as a legal adviser and investor to Grainger, saving him from bankruptcy and ruin many times (Wilkes and Dodds 1964, 51, 103-121 and Ayris 1997).

1856 he left £100,000 which according to his will, all went to John, further supplementing his wealth (Rubinstein 2012, 510-11). Between 1840 and 1859 only 818 people left £100,000 or over in Britain, indicating the level of relative wealth of the Claytons.

A railway between Newcastle and Carlisle was first proposed in 1824, although the Act of Parliament was not granted until 1829. Clayton was involved in taking the proceedings before the Committee of the House of Commons (Hughes 1963, 80). At this time he was Town Clerk and legal advisor to the railway company, and it was said that although he was not on the board he "wielded more power than most directors" (Fawcett 2008, 23). John's father, Nathaniel, was also on the board whilst between them the Clayton brothers owned 65 shares, at £100 each by 1829 (*ibid.*). Clayton was involved in arranging money from the Public Works Loan Board, as well as in discussions about the route of the line along with James Losh, Thomas and Joseph Crawhall and others (*ibid.,* 39, 46). The Clayton family were influential in all aspects of the development of the railway, in a similar way to John's multi-aspect involvement with the Dobson and Grainger redevelopments.

Another change that John presided over in his time as Town Clerk was the Tyne Conservancy struggle of the 1840s. Newcastle Council was in receipt of the dues from river trade and so the responsibility for maintaining the quays and river fell to them. However, this maintenance had not been carried out sufficiently and an Admiralty inquiry found many problems. The inquiry revealed that of £957, 973 in dues received in the last 40 years only £397, 719 had been spent on improvements (Purdue 2011, 192). These findings gave Gateshead, South Shields and Tynemouth the evidence they needed to get the Tyne Improvement Bill of 1850 passed. The Bill removed Newcastle from sole control of the river and created a Conservancy Commission, which had six representatives from Newcastle, two from Gateshead and three each from South Shields and Tynemouth (Callcott 2001, 88). Clayton and the Newcastle Council fought the Bill (and previous attempts), not wanting to lose revenue, but they were unsuccessful. Clayton acted as Clerk to the Conservancy Commission until 1873, again overseeing an important milestone in Newcastle's history (Anonymous 1890a, 22-24; Rennison 1987).

The Clayton law firm had a London office, over which Michael presided and John travelled there regularly, as evidenced by the notebook listing his visits in 1834-5 (Clayton, J. 1834-5). The family firm was the legal advisor to important families who had land-holdings in the North East and beyond. The Stuart family, (the Marquises of Bute) held land in Durham and the Clayton firm had advised them since the 18th

century (Davies 1981, 47). It has been said that the second Marquis (John, 1793-1848) relied "heavily on the advice of John Clayton" (*ibid.*), in particular in relation to the Cardiff Castle Estate. Clayton offered advice to the staff managing this estate for the Marquis and they were extremely grateful, saying in a letter that his "attention and assistance in all our concerns cannot be overvalued" (Boyle 1853). Clayton's great wealth has been mentioned, and when the third Marquis (John Patrick, 1847-1900) was building docks in Cardiff, he borrowed £60,000 between 1855 and 1859 from Clayton (Davies 1981, 273). This is equivalent to around £2.5 million in today's money and illustrates the personal wealth Clayton had amassed. The second Marquis spent time in Newcastle, as he split his time between his various estates (Davies 2006). Perhaps whilst in Newcastle he got to know Clayton better, which might explain the loan of such large sums of money. John Patrick, the third marquis, was a keen historian and linguist, but there is no evidence of him spending time in Newcastle (Reynolds 2006).

John was not universally loved and, despite the many glowing reports from clients and fellow council members, there are negative comments to be found, presumably by people who did not approve of his ever-growing wealth and influence within Newcastle. In 1838, whilst he was Town Clerk and active in his law firm, an anonymous booklet was published entitled *The Corporation Annual; or, Recollections (not random) of the first reformed town council, of the Borough of Newcastle Upon Tyne.* This consisted of short anonymous character descriptions of the town councillors at the time. Despite no names being given, the copy held by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle has been annotated and each person identified. Clayton's entry says that his "great talents, indefatigable industry, immense wealth, and wonderful tact and facility in conducting business, give him an influence in society rarely possessed by one individual" (Anonymous 1838, 57). Even whilst acknowledging Clayton's talents, it is obvious the writer does not like him as he describes him as having "all the craft and subtlety of the devil" (*ibid.*). In 1855, with Clayton still in power in the Council, the second volume describes him as a "Sphinx in the desert" who is seen as blocking Reform and modernisation (Anonymous 1855a, iii-iv). Others also were resentful of the Clayton stranglehold over the Corporation, with the family described as a "dead weight upon the town" (Anonymous 1855b, 78). It was felt that having one family with so

much influence was detrimental to the development of Newcastle. It is likely that opposition councillors wrote these negative accounts. In 2011, the view of Purdue, given with hindsight, is much more positive, saying, “Newcastle benefited enormously from John Clayton’s sound judgement and his pivotal role in the development of the town’s centre” (2011, 180).

The effect of Clayton, and his family, on life in Newcastle through their roles in civic and religious offices, was significant. His brother’s death sparked the splitting of a congregation and the building of a new church. John presided over the Corporation when some of the biggest threats to the status quo were looming. He steered the council through both the 1832 and 1835 Reform Acts and helped the new Tyne Conservancy Commission through its early period. Whilst his dual role as Town Clerk and solicitor, as well as investor, would not be allowed now, it was not out of the ordinary at the time. Clayton persuaded the council to approve both the railway and the redevelopments in the city, and without his legal and financial support for Grainger, the latter may not have come about.

Clayton retired as Town Clerk in 1867 and as Clerk to the Commissioners of the Tyne in 1873, meaning that for the last part of his life he had much more time for excavation and archaeology. Nathaniel George, the heir of the estate, became head of the law firm after Clayton retired on 1st Jan 1870 (Anonymous 1890b, 422), continuing the family’s influence in the North East. However, he did not become Town Clerk and so the Clayton civic dynasty had ended and their influence began to wane. John’s legacy lives on, however, in the developments he was part of, and the street which is named after him.

3.3 Antiquarianism- a history

The study of the past can be carried out in two main ways, by using manuscripts and literature or by studying objects and monuments. These two methods diverged more clearly as the study of the past developed and increased. Antiquarianism has been linked with physical remains, rather than words (the domain of historians), and, simply put, this can be used to help differentiate the two areas of study through the ages. The study of antiquities (including documents, monuments, objects and landscapes) started long before John Clayton’s time, and it is useful to understand how the field developed and grew up to the 19th century in order to be able to discuss Clayton’s

work. This will not be an exhaustive history of the field as there are many large works on this topic (for example Levine 1986 and Hoselitz 2007 on the 19th century, Sweet 2004 on the 18th century, Parry 1995 on the 17th century).

Parry's discussion of 17th century antiquarianism marks the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th centuries as a period of change, moving towards objects and fieldwork rather than the previous focus on texts (1995, 3). Two of the best-known early antiquarians are William Camden (1551-1623)[44] and Sir Robert Cotton (1571-1631) (Handley 2004). In 1599, the pair travelled along Hadrian's Wall together in preparation for the 1600 edition of *Britannia* (Hepple 1999, 1). They were not lone figures in their study, working within a sphere of active antiquarians in particular their friends Richard Versetgan, John Selden and James Ussher (Parry 1995). Clayton owned two editions of *Britannia* and was well aware of the early visitors to the Wall.

One of the key features of 17th century antiquarianism seems to have been the expansion of the study, and the network of corresponding and co-operating scholars that this produced. Parry describes the process as antiquarianism moving from a diversion for few, to "the common pursuit of a large number of gentlemen scattered all over the British Isles" (1995, 2). The revised edition of Camden's *Britannia*, and its editor Edmund Gibson, highlight the progress the study of our past had taken. Gibson used his network of antiquarians spread across the country to update specific sections of the work. So, although Oxford and London were still the "vital centres of antiquarian studies", by the end of the 17th century there were people working all over the country who communicated and worked together (Parry 1995, 357). A correspondence network was also a mainstay of Clayton's work, with letters, photographs and drawings being sent to many colleagues for advice and study.

During the 18th century in Britain a more closely defined idea of what antiquarianism was, began to form. Rosemary Sweet discusses how the historian and the antiquarian were beginning to be seen as separate entities (2004). The 18th century also saw a widening interest in the past; it was becoming more popular amongst a broader stratum of society, not just the upper classes. By the end of the 18th century, the

[44] The author of the famous *Britannia,* first published in 1586 in Latin, with the first English version in 1610, translated by Philemon Holland (Herendeen 2004)

production of smaller works, at an affordable price, showed that there was an appetite by a wider audience to learn more about the past (Sweet 2004, 324). As will be discussed, however, the exclusive nature of the antiquarian field continued well into the 19th century, if not longer.

The 19th century also represents a period of change in the way that the past was studied. Until that point there was still an overlap between the activities of antiquarians and archaeologists and the terms were used interchangeably (Levine 1986). As the century progressed, antiquarians were seen as old-fashioned and out-dated, whilst archaeology was seen as more scientific and by the late 19th- early 20th century, had become professionalised (Levine 1986, 72). The period in which John Clayton was working was a time when there was an increased interest in the past by a wider audience. When he first started investigating sites on Hadrian's Wall, excavations were only carried out on behalf of or by wealthy landowners, but by the end of his life there were people calling themselves archaeologists and making it their profession. He died just before the true birth of professional archaeology but he was involved with many people later in his life who were key in this process on the Wall (see Breeze 2003 and 2014 on the history of Wall studies).

3.4 Clayton as antiquary

John Clayton Esquire
The proprietor of the most splendid remains of the Roman barrier in Northumberland
Whose antiquarian intelligence and classical learning have been most profusely and kindly afforded to the author
This work illustrative of the military character and usages of a great people is most gratefully inscribed

(Dedication by J. C. Bruce in his 1851 edition of *The Roman Wall*)

Clayton's father purchased The Chesters mansion house at Chollerford in 1796, and the front garden contained *Cilurnum* Roman Fort. His father was a lawyer and Town Clerk of Newcastle so it is unclear how much time the family spent in Chollerford as opposed to their house on Fenkle Street in Newcastle centre. John went to a private school in Cumberland in 1800 and then moved to Uppingham School in 1805. A letter to his father in 1808 shows that he had an interest in history at an early age, reading Sallust, Horace, Virgil and Ovid in his spare time (Budge 1903, 21-22). This interest does not seem to have come from his father, who took little notice of the Roman

remains in the garden, in fact levelling the lumps and bumps created by the ruins to landscape his garden (Bidwell and Snape 1993, 7-8; Grenville *et al.* 2002, 10). [45]

John was not the first member of his family to become interested in studying the past. His maternal grandmother, Bridget Atkinson of Temple Sowerby was made an honorary member of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle Upon Tyne in 1813 when the society was founded (Bruce 1886, 163) and she left her coin and shell collection to her daughter Jane, John's aunt (Atkinson, B. 1819). Jane was also given material from Kirkby Thore when the fort was discovered during the re-building works on the bridge in 1838 (Nicholson 1927, 232-3). Both the shells and the archaeological material were left to Sarah Ann, John's second sister, with whom he lived all their lives (Atkinson, J. 1856). The shells and the Kirkby Thore finds were absorbed into the Clayton Collection. This link to Bridget was not broken; despite it coming through multiple sets of hands before reaching John, the material was still recognised as 'Bridget's' by Clayton's family and friends. Roach Smith in 1886 states, Bridget Atkinson's "collections of coins and objects of natural history, as well as her library, are preserved at Chesters" (172).

Whilst at school John studied classical works in both Greek and Latin, becoming highly proficient in both. He practiced his skills on inscriptions found along Hadrian's Wall, to which his father drew his attention (Budge 1903, 24). These skills helped him with studying the inscriptions found during his excavations and he occasionally used Latin in his letters to friends (for example Clayton 1882a, Appendix J). John was a member of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne (SANT) from 1832 until his death in 1890. He was also a member of the Literary and Philosophical Society for 65 years, 57 of which he was the Vice-President, and a Fellow of Society of Antiquaries of London from 22 February 1866 (Watson 1897, 255-6). In the dedication to the third edition of *The Roman Wall* Bruce, states that Clayton was also a "corresponding member of the Royal Archaeological Institute at Rome etc. etc.", suggesting he was a member of numerous other societies (1867).

[45] Although less damage may have been done than originally thought. Hutton did not report any levelling or damage on his visit in 1801 (1802, 210) and Bidwell and Snape note that the ridge and furrow is largely intact so the work was more likely to have been "the extraction of individual stones rather than wholesale levelling" (1993, 7).

SANT was founded in January 1813, the initial initiative coming from John Bell, a Newcastle bookseller (Crawford Hodgson 1913c; Jobey 1990, 197). On 6th February 1813 Nathaniel Clayton, John's father was elected an ordinary member (Crawford Hodgson 1913b, 42). John became a member in December 1832 and was Vice-President from 1856 (Crawford Hodgson 1913a). During the time Clayton was a member, membership of the society was below 100 for most of the time, and attendance at meetings was low. For example, between 1850 and 1854 an average of 11 members attended monthly meetings (Jobey 1990, 204).[46] With such small numbers, it is likely Clayton knew all of the active members, and that they knew him, and his work. Some of these links will be discussed in more detail below.

As with the Society of Antiquaries of London and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, SANT began a society museum very early on in its history. On 3rd March 1813 Robert Surtees, John Adamson and GA Dickson donated objects to the society (Heslop 1913, 13). Over the years they moved to and from the Castle Keep to the Black Gate, then to the Museum of Antiquities and finally to the Great North Museum: Hancock. What is unusual is that John Clayton, as such a long-term and active member, did not donate any of his finds to the Society's collection. His motives for this are not clear, as so little of his correspondence and personal documentation survives. By keeping his material at Chesters, he could allow access to whomever he wanted, and be present whilst they were studying the material. Equally, he may have wanted to retain his material and create his own museum, in order to emulate those landed gentry who had done this for generations.

Two visitors from Boston provide the most detailed description of the antiquities in his house and their layout;

"the broad hall…fine figures in bas-relief that stood there…..the smaller articles in another room. Of these there was the richest variety. There were coins, literally by the peck, enclosed in many bags, heaped up in a box. There were in various cases, weapons, gold coins, intaglios, gems, ear-rings and finger-rings of gold. There were,

[46] As a comparision, in 2017 the society has over 800 members and at least 70 people come to the monthly lectures.

besides, articles and ornaments - hair-pins, for instances, without number-indicating the presence and residence of Roman ladies in the camp." (Walden 1886, 4)[47]

The minute books of SANT offer an insight into the contributions that Clayton made to the Society's meetings. These give details of Clayton's work on the Wall, but also tell us about his wider interests away from the Wall. Bruce read two letters from Clayton entitled 'On Antiquities in the South of France and North of Italy' on 6th October 1858, the only reference we have to Clayton travelling abroad (Clayton 1859b). This is a tantalising glimpse into Clayton's life, and the level of his interest in 'antiquities'. In these books, we also see that Clayton was aware of discoveries and work elsewhere in Britain. He visited Wroxeter in 1859 and gave a report on the site to the members on June 1st (Anonymous 1843-63), and read a paper on a recently discovered Roman sarcophagus at Westminster Abbey on 1st February 1870 (Anonymous 1863-87).

Clayton was very much part of the antiquarian network, both locally and further afield. As part of his role within SANT he went, along with Bruce and Carr-Ellison, to act as a deputation to co-operate with the friends at South Shields regarding an excavation they had planned (Minuted 3rd March 1875, Anonymous 1863-87). Here he would have met the Rev. Hooppell, perhaps for the first time, as Hooppell only joined SANT in 1876, perhaps prompted by meeting the deputation. Clayton's correspondence with Roach Smith shows that he had contacts in Scotland (Clayton, J. 1862a; 1862b. Appendix J), and read widely, for instance purchasing a book on the Faussett Collection of Anglo Saxon material[48] (Clayton, J. 1855b. Appendix J) and Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua* (Clayton, J. 1855c. Appendix J). Within his library, there were the journals of the Sussex Archaeological Society, the Royal Archaeological Institute, the Society of Antiquaries of London, as well as the Newcastle and Durham Societies. His books reflected his broader interests with works on the wider Empire, coins and inscriptions.

[47] This idea of females being present within Roman forts at such an early date is interesting when the 20th century discussions about female presence in these military places are considered. This issue will be looked at in more detail in Chapter 6.

[48] The Faussett Collection is held by National Museums Liverpool and consists of Anglo-Saxon material excavated by the Reverend Bryan Faussett (1720-1776) and purchased by Joseph Mayer in the 19th century (Rhodes 1990).

Clayton's open-house policy and willingness to allow visitors to see and study the finds and the sites ensured they became more widely known and better understood. His openness meant that material was available to experts to study and offer opinions. Through Bruce and Roach Smith, Clayton was in correspondence with Emil Hübner, the great German epigrapher, who verified readings of inscriptions along with Mommsen, an extremely important figure in Roman epigraphy.[49] The Coventina's Well coins benefitted from the expertise of Roach Smith. Another example of this collaboration between colleagues is when the diploma was found in 1879. It was sent to the British Museum to be cleaned by Mr Ready, whilst Mr Franks helped to read it.[50] A photograph was also sent to Hübner who also showed it to Mommsen, so meaning five experts in Latin read it and confirmed each other's findings (Bruce 1880a, 216); a prime example of the way knowledge was shared and exchanged.

Clayton acted as host on many occasions to visitors to Hadrian's Wall, both to fellow antiquarians, and to more general interested individuals. Roach Smith lists just some of the antiquarians he met through Clayton, saying "under the noble owner's hospitality, through a long series of years, I formed the acquaintance of Mr. Longstaffe, the Rev. Dr. Hooppell, Mr. Robert Blair, Mr. Godley, Mr. Ridley, and others" (1891, 165). This list shows how Chesters and the material excavated from the sites over the years became "the attraction of visitors, of Societies; and of students" (*ibid.*). Indeed a letter from Clayton to the Rev. Wordsworth in 1882 hints that there were high numbers of students regularly visiting Chesters. Clayton says that Wordsworth must stay with him when he next visits the Wall and that "so many of the corps of students as we have not room for must be quartered at the Inn" (Clayton, J. 1882d).

[49] Theodor Mommsen (November 30, 1817-November 1, 1903) was the founder of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* in 1853 (http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/388656/Theodor-Mommsen Accessed 10/12/2014). He was also an honorary member of SANT from 1883 (Oswald 1919, 36).

[50] Augustus Franks is regarded as the second founder of the British Museum due to his role in establishing the British collections. He was an important member of the Archaeological Institute and used his personal wealth to increase both the collection of the British Museum and to create his own collection (Wilson 2004). Apart from a letter dated June 21st 1880, which John sent along with the diploma, as a donation to the British Museum, there is no evidence they corresponded or were in contact. It is likely they knew of each other due to mutual friends and membership of the Society of Antiquaries of London, however no papers remain in the British Musuem to elucidate this.

3.4.1 Fellow Antiquarians

In Newcastle, as elsewhere, antiquarians could be divided into patrons and those who actually did the excavation or research. Clayton aspired to be the former whilst corresponding regularly with the latter, such as Charles Roach Smith and John Collingwood Bruce. Some of the important and influential patrons will be discussed briefly, before a more in-depth look at the antiquarians with whom Clayton had a relationship. It is worthwhile discussing Clayton's contemporaries at SANT in order to understand the intellectual and social atmosphere within which Clayton was working. It is not the passive members, those who came to meetings, and perhaps the outings, but rarely caried out research, or gave papers that are interesting here. The active members, who excavated, wrote and researched, are most relevant.

From the founding of SANT in 1813, when the second Duke of Northumberland became the society's Patron, the Percy family continued their involvement in the Society and in antiquarian research. The third Duke, Hugh, became an ordinary member in 1817 and Patron in 1818. Algernon, the fourth Duke (1792–1865) became an ordinary member in 1835 and Patron in 1848. He, in particular, was a generous patron of archaeological work in Northumberland. He financed the excavations in 1852 at High Rochester, and was a contributor to the 1855 work sponsored by SANT. His commissioning of Henry MacLauchlan to survey the Wall and roads, published in 1857 (MacLauchlan 1857 for the map and 1858 for the memoirs) is perhaps his longest lasting legacy. Despite the overlap in interests between Clayton and the Dukes, the archives at the Castle contain no letters from or to Clayton regarding antiquarian matters (Hunwick *pers. comm*.).[51] However, in *Life and Letters of John Collingwood Bruce*¸ when relating the story of Clayton's purchase of the Thorngrafton purse and coins, a letter from the fourth Duke to Clayton is included. This letter is worth quoting in full as it hints at a relationship between the two men, and also mentions the warm welcome friends receive at Chesters;

My dear Sir,- I am delighted that the 'Thorngrafton Find' is in your possession; it could not be in more worthy hands. It may add to the treasure of the Chesters Museum, but it cannot add to the pleasures that Chesters and its hospitable inmates always give your

[51] There are however two letters relating to Clayton's work as Clerk to the Tyne Improvement Commission; these can be found at Alnwick Castle archives; DP: D4/I/195 and DNA: B/90. My thanks to C. Hunwick the Castle archivist who provided this information.

friends.- I am, my dear sir, yours faithfully, Northumberland
(In Bruce, G. 1905, 147-8)

Charles Roach Smith (1806–1890) has been described as "by far the most important figure in the nineteenth-century history of London's archaeology" (Sheppard 1991, 9).[52] A chemist by profession he started collecting and saving finds when he moved to London in 1834. In a constant battle with the City of London Corporation, Roach Smith attempted to preserve any archaeology exposed when there was development or building work. By this method, he collected large quantities of finds, which by 1836 were being visited by people as a museum collection (*ibid*., 10). He was a founding member of the British Archaeological Association in 1843 (Rhodes 1990, 32) and was made an honorary member of SANT in 1844 (Welford and Crawford Hodgson 1913, 205-6). In his own words he made "frequent and somewhat lengthy stays at Chesters", having "secured the personal assistance and friendship of Dr. Bruce and Mr. Clayton" (Smith 1883, 171). His multi-volume *Retrospections, Social and Archaeological* contains snippets of the friendship between Roach Smith, Bruce and Clayton, and reveals Roach Smith's admiration for the two Newcastle-based antiquaries. Much more could be written about Roach Smith (indeed a PhD was undertaken to study him (Rhodes 1992)); here it is sufficient to say that his friendship with Clayton benefitted both men, but also benefitted the Collection principally through Roach Smith's expertise in numismatics.

Robert Blair (1845-1923), a solicitor from South Shields, was elected as a member of SANT in 1874, and served as its secretary from 1883-1923 and editor from 1884-1923. He was also a competent artist whose notebooks contain many illustrations of excavations he visited; of particular interest to this thesis are those from his time spent at Chesters with John Clayton (Oxberry 1923). These images are invaluable as they are often the only source of provenance information about certain items. They also contain two or three sketch drawings of Clayton and his sister, both elderly at the time, as well as some of the interior of the house. His involvement with the Collection continued after Clayton's death, with Nathaniel George writing to him about his next visit to Chesters in August 1890 to work on the catalogue (Clayton, N. G. 1890a). Blair's

[52] His collection of material rescued from the large-scale building work across London became a well-known collection of much importance. He published the material in two volumes, first a *Catalogue of the Museum of London Antiquities* (1854), then later *Illustrations of Roman London* (1859).

sketchbooks are held at Northumberland Archives Centre, Woodhorn and will be referred to where relevant in chapters on the Collection.

Rev. R.E. Hooppell (1833-1895), was first principal of Winterbottom Nautical College, South Shields from 1861-1875 and at this time he was on the committee which co-ordinated the excavations at South Shields fort. In 1875, he moved to the rectory of Byers Green, Co. Durham (Courtney 2004). Whilst at Byers Green, he excavated at Binchester, Roman *Vinovia,* and published in 1891 *Vinovia: a Buried Roman City in the County of Durham.* He was a member of SANT from 1876, and was present at meetings with Clayton, reading a paper on his work in 1879 (Anonymous 1863-87). Roach Smith comments that he met Hooppell through Clayton (1891, 165).

Henry Norman had purchased the site of Birdoswald sometime before 1849. He excavated the site (most probably inspired by the 1849 Pilgrimage, which visited Birdoswald) and this work "created the Birdoswald which visitors could see up until 1987" (Wilmott 2001, 156). Crawhall, the owner prior to Norman, excavated from 1830, working with the Potter brothers. He had an "Altarhouse at the farm where he kept all the inscriptions he could find", echoing Clayton's Antiquity House in his garden (see also Cowen 1965 for more information on his collection). Norman and Crawhall did not have the resources of Clayton but Norman's work in particular was important in preserving the site and, as such, he should be recognised for his efforts (Wilmott 2001, 160). These two men were smaller scale versions of Clayton, interested landowners investigating the remains on their land. Thomas Crawhall was a member of SANT from 1829 and one of the investors and Secretary to the Newcastle to Carlisle Railway, another link between him and Clayton (Fawcett 2008, 20). Crawhall is an example of how many of the same people were in the societies, on councils and investing in companies; it was a small circle of the upper-middle class of which Clayton was an active member.

As well as the antiquarians whom Clayton worked and corresponded with, his work was known of in a wider sphere. Bruce published at least one excavation in the journal of the Society of Antiquaries of London (Bruce 1880b). Roach Smith's *Retrospections* made many mentions of Clayton and his work. *The Antiquary: a magazine devoted to the study of the past,* was published monthly from 1880-1915, and one feature was a

report from many of the antiquarian societies around the country. SANT regularly submitted a report, some of which discussed Clayton's work. This magazine was distributed widely, with both a London and New York publishing house. Whilst Clayton worked closely with a group of antiquarian colleagues, they would not have been the only ones who were aware of his discoveries.

3.4.2 Land-owner: conservation and excavation

The "*policy of John Clayton to buy up portions of the Wall to save them from quarrying and re-use was instrumental to the survival of the Wall. He could rightly be identified as one of the most important factors in the survival of the Wall at all"* (Grenville *et al.* 2002, 15).

Having jointly inherited the Chesters estate in 1832, Clayton wasted little time in beginning to investigate the site he now owned. From the early 1840s, when he first began to excavate at *Cilurnum*, Clayton conducted an excavation somewhere along Hadrian's Wall nearly every year until his death. These excavations were led first by William Nickol, who was succeeded in 1840 by William Tailford Senior (c.1806-55) and after his death by his son, William Tailford Junior (1831-1912) (Budge 1903, 10). Clayton used local farm labourers to carry out the work, merely visiting the sites when he could fit it around his work, often on a Monday, which was the day he set aside for archaeological researches (Budge 1903, 6).

As well as excavating, Clayton had an active interest in preserving Hadrian's Wall for future generations. In his memorial, it was said "Whenever an estate came into the market having on it some portion of the Wall, he strove to become its possessor" (Anonymous 1890a, 33). By the time he died in 1890, he owned five forts and almost 20 miles of Hadrian's Wall. The list of known purchases relating to Hadrian's Wall is given below in Table 3.1. For more detailed information relating to Clayton's full land-holdings, the Succession Accounts prepared by his heir provide a list of every property, which totalled 26,708 acres (Clayton, N. G. 1890b).

In 1834, John purchased the stretch of the Wall from Knag Burn to Steel Rigg. By the time he died in 1890, he owned almost all the Wall from Acomb to Cawfields. In buying such large tracts of land along Hadrian's Wall, Clayton had the opportunity to exploit the natural resources on this land, in particular the thousands of ready cut stones.

Luckily, for Hadrian's Wall, this was not his plan; he wanted to improve the condition of the Wall and protect it. To this end, he demolished and re-built farmhouses away from the Roman remains, for example at Housesteads in 1860, Peel Cottage in the 1860s and Shield-on-the-Wall between 1867 and 1886 (Woodside and Crow 1999, 86-87). Steel Rigg Farm, was deserted by 1867 and not replaced when it was demolished in 1898 (Woodside and Crow 1999, 87). As well as this work, he also paid for and oversaw restoration work on the Wall itself between 1848 and 1873 at Peel Crags, Hotbank Crags and Housesteads Crags (Woodside and Crow 1999, 103). Modern analysis of this work has shown that it "allows the surviving core to 'breathe', thus preserving it" and so repairs to any of the 'Clayton Wall' are carried out in the same manner (Woodside and Crow 1999, 104).

These actions "show how Clayton was not just concerned about preserving the antiquities but that he wanted to secure the landscape setting of the Wall and its forts" (Crow 2004, 132). He was the first to understand that the whole landscape, and its context, was as important as individual sites or finds, and that the Wall as a monument should be preserved *in situ*. Quarrying still threatened parts of the Wall up until 1930, showing that Clayton was ahead of his time in conserving the Wall and its landscape (Allason-Jones and McIntosh 2011).

As well as purchasing land to protect it, John excavated along much of the line of the Wall, and in many of his forts. It must be remembered, however, that Clayton was not always present whilst these excavations were being carried out. Until 1867, when he retired as Town Clerk, he spent much of his time in Newcastle working. William Tailford Senior and Junior, his foremen, were the excavators in charge of all work, including the restoration, and their knowledge of the material must have been great.

Site/ land	Date
Steel Rigg (T39b), Loughside and Foulbog	1834
Hotbank (MC 38 and around)	1834
Housesteads	1838
Cawfields (MC 42)	1844
Shield-on-the-Wall (MC 33)	1848
East/The Bog(g) (MC40/ T39b) and Pasture House	1851
Beggar Bog (below Housesteads)	1853
Carrawburgh	Pre-1871
Vindolanda	1863
East Cawfields	1873
Carvoran	1885

Table 3.1 List of land purchased

A full list of excavations carried out by Clayton is given below in Table 3.2 and here some of the more important discoveries from this extensive list will be discussed. He was the first person to carry out excavation at *Cilurnum* (Bidwell and Snape 1993, 1), although the site had been known about from the 17th century and his father had discovered some items through clearance. His inheritance of Chesters was extremely important, moving from his father's era of disinterest to a time of excavation nearly every year for four decades. At many of his other sites, the intervention of Clayton heralded new activity and renewed interest, in terms of both conservation and excavation. In Crow's summary of the site at Housesteads, he describes Clayton's purchase of the site as "a new stage in the history of the site" (Crow 2004, 131).

Site	Excavated
Carrawburgh	1871, 1873 and 1876
Carvoran	1886
Cilurnum[53]	From 1840s onwards
Coventina's Well	1875 and 1876
Housesteads	1850
Turret 26b (Brunton)	1873, 1878 and 1880
Turret 29a (Blackcarts)	1873
Turret 45a (Walltown)	1885
Milecastle 29 (Tower Tye)	1857
Milecastle 37 (Housesteads)	1852 and 1853
Milecastle 39 (Castle Nick)	1854
Milecastle 42 (Cawfields)	1847, 1848, 1849

Table 3.2 List of Clayton excavations

It is often a criticism of early excavations that they were merely clearance activities, chasing walls and looking for objects, rather than the careful excavation that modern archaeologists practice today. Whilst it cannot be denied that Clayton's workmen did not record their work using contextual and stratigraphic information, they did not start work on a site without aims. Clayton's writings give clues to his methodology and research questions. For example, his work on the east gate at *Cilurnum* in 1876 had the "immediate object…..to investigate the point of junction of the wall of Hadrian with that of the station on its eastern front" (Clayton 1876a, 172). Equally, in this paper Clayton's understanding of basic stratigraphy is evident when he notes that "at an early period of Roman occupation the floor seems to have been raised rather more than a foot" (*ibid.,* 173), and that coins were found on these floors of different periods (*ibid.,* 174). Some of Clayton's excavations were prompted by chance discoveries, such as the remains of Coventina's Well, yet some of his work did have at least some research questions and aims, for instance, the desire to understand the turrets and

[53] A more detailed breakdown of the excavations at *Cilurnum* will be given in Chapter 4.

milecastles better, or to investigate how the Wall met the fort at *Cilurnum* (Clayton 1876a).

Clayton and Bruce agreed with Hodgson's argument that Hadrian built the Wall and carried on his methodology, excavating to produce more evidence of how the Wall was built, and illustrate the lives of those who lived on it.[54] Clayton's excavations provided more inscriptions to support the Hadrian argument, for example the dedication slab to Hadrian found at Cawfields Milecastle (MC 42) *(RIB* 1666). Discovery of inscriptions also increased the variety of units known to have been based on the Wall, such as a unit of Cugerni; the *cohors Cugernorum*, at Carrawburgh who were not previously attested (*RIB* 1524).[55] The large number of centurial stones within the Collection, 56 in total, produced evidence for the way the Wall was built, and gave names to some of the centuries involved. All of these discoveries were important in increasing people's knowledge of, and interest in, the Wall and its sites.

Bruce played a significant role in publicising Clayton's work. Although he carried out no excavation himself, Bruce was extremely important in the development of Wall studies. Birley feels that this is to Clayton's detriment as Bruce received most of the fame and recognition, both at the time and later. Birley also felt that Clayton's articles showed "far greater judgement and objectivity" than Bruce's work (1961, 63). One example of where things may have been different if Clayton had published more is in the matter of turrets. John Horsley (MacDonald 1933) was the first person to theorize how many turrets there were, deciding on four between every two milecastles (Birley 1961, 103-4). Despite Horsley having mis-measured, most people accepted his claims, with too few turrets being known to dispute him. When Clayton reported the excavation of Turret 29a, Blackcarts he states "This turret is 530 yards west of the Tower Tye Mile Castle, and therefore does not support the theory of Horsley, that the turrets were placed at equal distances of 308 yards from the mile castles and from each other" (Clayton 1876b, 258). He further undermined Horsley's model with the excavation of Turret 45a in 1883. Bruce wrote that it was likely there were two turrets

[54] See Raine 1857 401-7 for a discussion of how Bruce appropriated many of Hodgson's ideas, often without fully acknowledging him.

[55] The full title of the unit was *Cohors I Ulpia Traiana Cugernorum civum Romanorum.*

per mile not four (Bruce 1885b). Yet in the second and third editions of the Handbook in 1884 and 1885, Bruce continued to use Horsley's theory and so the finding was confused, and the myth of four turrets per mile perpetuated (Bruce 1884, 27: 1885a, 58). Bruce had not updated his new edition with all the new evidence from Clayton's work, an oversight on his part.

Up until the mid-19th century, Hadrian's Wall was seen as an impermeable barrier, constructed to keep the barbarians out. Perhaps the most important aspect of Clayton's work was to be able to challenge this view with his discoveries of gateways along the Wall (Birley 1961, 93-4: Hingley 2012, 190-1: Breeze 2014, 111). Horsley's study did not find any gates or openings in the Curtain Wall and he was unclear as to the date of any entrances within the forts that he saw (Horsley 1732, 121). Clayton's work at the milecastles of Cawfields (MC 42), Housesteads (MC 37) and Castle Nick (MC 39) revealed gateways through the north wall, indicating they were a normal feature in the design of milecastles (see Clayton 1855 for the excavation at Cawfields). Bruce noted the importance of this discovery in various publications, and the implications for understanding the purpose of the Wall were profound (Bruce 1863, 16; 1865, 223; 1892, 93).

Clayton was the first person to conduct large-scale excavation along Hadrian's Wall and so the amount of material he discovered was proportionally large. This material added greatly to the understanding of many aspects of life on the Wall and these will be expanded upon in the following chapters. Here a short example highlights the addition to our knowledge of religion on the Wall made by the Clayton Collection. There are at least 37 deities represented in the Collection, through sculpture and inscriptions (see Table 3.3). Some of these were well known at the time such as Jupiter, Mars and Victory, but some were unknown prior to his excavations, in particular some of the native deities or syncretised deities, such as Silvanus Cocidus (Webster 1995 discusses the name-pairing, and epigraphic *interpretatio* of Celtic deities).

Roman/ Classical	Native/ Celtic	Hybrid/ name paired
Aesculapius	Alaisiagae	Juno Regina
Aion or Mithras Saecularis	Belatucadrus	Jupiter Dolichenus
Attis	Cocidus	Jupiter of Heliopolosi
Cautes	Coventina	Mars Thinscus
Cautopates	Huitris/Heuteris	Regina Caelestis
Cupid	Matres	Silvanus Cocidius
Cybele	Ratis	
Di Custodes	River god	
Fortuna	Veteres	
Genius		
Genius praetorii		
Hercules		
Jupiter (Optimus Maximus)		
Mars		
Mercury		
Minerva		
Mithras		
Neptune		
Triton		
Victory		
Volcanus		

Table 3.3 Deities represented in the Collection

Coventina was unknown before the excavation of her well in 1876 and is the best-known example of Clayton's work producing brand-new information (see Clayton 1880a; 1880b; Allason-Jones and McKay 1985 for more discussion on this find). At the time, it captured the imagination of antiquarians locally and further afield, with a full-page illustration in the *London Illustrated News*. In the 1880 volume of *Archaeologia Aeliana*, there were six papers on the subject, two by Clayton, one by Bruce and three by other members of the Society. In Clayton's papers he mentions having consulted (or received information from) Professor Hübner, Charles Roach Smith, Ralph Carr-Ellison, the Rev. Canon Greenwell, Rev. Hooppell and Dr Wake Smart (of Cranbourne)

demonstrating both the number of people interested in this find, and Clayton's practice of taking advice and help from others (1880a; 1880b).

During Clayton's lifetime, he influenced many people, not least Bruce. Without the excavations funded and led by Clayton, many of Bruce's publications would not have been possible. Bruce's dedication to Clayton in *The Roman Wall* went some way to expressing Bruce's gratitude, and credits Clayton with helping with the text (1851 and 1867). Woodside and Crow describe their relationship as, "Clayton dug, Bruce wrote" (1999, 105). Bruce himself was not an archaeologist, he was an interpreter and publicist, although he became the "king of the Wall", seen as the authority by many (Breeze 2003, 8). Whilst Bruce did much to increase awareness of Clayton's work through his lectures and articles, he also became extremely well known himself, and perhaps took away some of the credit that Clayton should have received. Despite this criticism, Bruce's prolific writing did much to promote the work that Clayton was doing and included his findings in wider studies of the Wall.

Nearly every publication on Hadrian's Wall since Clayton began his investigations at *Cilurnum*, has made mention of him and his work.[56] Hingley dedicates a whole chapter to Clayton in his recent book *Hadrian's Wall. A Life* (2012, 177-200), as do Woodside and Crow in *Hadrian's Wall. An Historic Landscape* (1999, 84-95). Clayton was well known for his hospitality (e.g. MacLauchlan 1858, 2; Smith 1891, 164) as well as his archaeological work. Haverfield and Collingwood, whilst not wholly critical of Clayton's work, downplayed it in order to emphasize the work from the 1890s onwards, in what they saw as a new, more scientific age of investigation (Haverfield 1899, 337; Collingwood 1921, 55). Mainly authors recognise the debt that Hadrian's Wall and its scholars owe to him; Hingley credits Bruce and Clayton with focussing the attention of local antiquaries on Hadrian's Wall and so encouraging more work (2012, 178). Birley also praises Clayton's efforts which "led to a steady increase in knowledge" (1961, 63). Everything that is visible at *Cilurnum* today is due to Clayton's work and this will be discussed more in Chapter 4.

[56] Some examples are: Birley 1961; Breeze 2014; Bruce 1851; 1863; 1865; 1875; 1880b; 1880c; 1885; Hingley 2008; 2012; Young 2006.

After Clayton's death, work on the Clayton estate followed much the same pattern, albeit with perhaps more nuanced research questions and at a slower rate. Nathaniel George carried out excavations in 1892 and 1894 at *Cilurnum*, with Haverfield investigating the *vallum* and Wall in 1900 and 1903 (Haverfield 1902; 1904). There was still a focus on conservation across the estate, with the estate archaeologist, F. G. Simpson, carrying out repairs on some of the consolidated parts of the Wall in the first decade of the 20th century. Of the archaeological excavation which took place, much built on work by Clayton; for instance, the re-excavation by Simpson of Milecastle 39 in 1907-8 and Milecastle 37 in 1911 was able to reveal more information than Clayton's excavations had (Woodside and Crow 1999, 110; Simpson 1976).

Collingwood in 1921 barely mentions Clayton's work except to say that his excavations had shown, for the first time, that forts had been "repaired, rebuilt or remodelled", and that in particular gateways had been blocked up (1921, 59). This was not something which was expected, and so it was difficult to interpret at the time. J.P. Gibson who excavated at Mucklebank Turret and Great Chesters took up this 'problem'. Building on Clayton's work, he was able to begin to understand the process of these repairs and reconstructions (Gibson 1903a; 1903b). This is a clear example of where Clayton's work influenced later research.

As an antiquary, Clayton was well known, both within his lifetime, and beyond. However, his legacy has often been seen in terms of the preservation of the landscape through the purchase of land. Criticisms have been made of his methods of fieldwork and lack of recording (Collingwood 1921, 55; Breeze 2014, 21). Yet he must be judged within his time and for his time he was forward thinking in terms of conservation and protection of monuments. The list of books from his library for sale in 1930 as well as correspondence between other antiquaries show that he was well read and kept up to date with the current work.[57] He visited other Roman sites in England, France and Italy (see the SANT Minute Books) and corresponded with many of the leading scholars of the time.

Clayton's archaeological work can easily be criticised from the vantage point of the 21st century. His workmen were untrained labourers who excavated with little supervision

[57] For a full list of antiquarian books sold, see Appendix O.

by Clayton. Clayton's recording methods were far below the standards expected today, but were consistent with the general standards at the time, excepting the pioneering work of Pitt-Rivers at Cranbourne Chase. Clayton must be judged within his own context; as Collingwood says, scientific excavation as we understand it today had not been invented (1921, 55). His system of purchasing land along Hadrian's Wall saved much of it from damage or stone robbing, and the most visited section of the Wall at Housesteads is still standing today thanks to him and his workmen. Working at a time when there were many questions about the construction of the Wall, its components and its function, Clayton was able to provide new evidence to help answer some of these queries. His preservation and protection of the Wall enables modern scholars to continue this work.

3.5 Clayton as collector

In this section, the development of collecting and certain collectors will be discussed to understand the field of collecting as a point of comparison with Clayton's actions. One of the early manifestations of interest in antiquities (in terms of objects as opposed to monuments) is the phenomenon of cabinets of curiosity, seen as the precursors to museums. By the mid-16th century, the practice of amassing collections was widespread throughout Europe, although in England it did not become popular until the 17th century (MacGregor 2007, 12). Such a collection comprised not only antiquities, but also anything which seemed interesting, exotic or unusual: MacGregor describes them as "the universal collection" (2007, 30). Some collectors published catalogues of their material, although whether this was to increase awareness or just to ensure their names were linked with these collections is not clear.

By the mid-17th century, the universal collection had reached its peak, and henceforth there was a narrowing of fields, with collectors focussing on one or two areas. Some of these collections outgrew a cabinet and took over whole rooms or even houses, often being open to interested members of the public to come and view. One example of this is the Tradescant family (father and son, both named John) in the 17th century. They were gardeners by training and on their trips to source new plants for their employers' gardens they started collecting "curiosities". John the elder created The Ark, a house in Lambeth which housed this collection, and became the first museum open to the public in England (Allan 1964, 15). It was not solely individuals who

created these cabinets: early in the 17th century one was established in the Bodleian Library, the materials from which eventually went to the Ashmolean Museum (MacGregor 2007, 35).

Ralph Thoresby (1658-1725) was an antiquarian and topographer whose father founded the *Musaeum Thoresbyanum* by purchasing the cabinet of coins and library of Lord Fairfax from his heir. Ralph expanded this collection after his retirement in 1704 and the catalogue produced in 1715 included a wide variety of material, the largest section comprising over 2000 coins and medals. Typical of his time, his collection was not purely antiquarian, containing a large number of plants, shells, minerals, fossils and the remains of animals. Parts of his collection were included in reprints of Camden's *Britannia* and other important works (Kell 2004). His collection was well-known and attracted visitors from far and wide. Although in an earlier tradition to Clayton, his open house policy and willingness to share his knowledge was echoed by John Clayton.

On the other side of northern England, Rev. Abraham Hume (1814-1884), Henry C. Pidgeon (1807-1880), and Joseph Mayer (1803-1886) founded the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire (http://www.hslc.org.uk/). These three members were influential men in civic life in Liverpool, but also heavily involved in antiquarian matters, paralleling Clayton. Hume was also a fellow of the Royal Society, the Society of Antiquaries of London, the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries at Copenhagen, and other similar associations (Sutton 2004a), as well as being made an honorary member of SANT in 1861 (Oswald 1919, 35). He was the first to recognise the significance of the finds from Meols, an extremely important multi-period site on the Wirral peninsula (Griffiths *et al.* 2007, 5). Mayer was a prolific collector of antiquities and works of art and regarded his collections as a public resource, making them freely available for study. In 1852, he opened an Egyptian Museum (later the Museum of National and Foreign Antiquities) in Colquitt Street, Liverpool. In 1867 he presented the collection, then valued at £75,000 (equivalent to c. £3.4 million now),[58] to the Liverpool Free Library and Museum (Sutton 2004b). In both of these men we can see some similarities to John Clayton, albeit both on a greater scale.

[58] See the currency converter on the National Archives website; http://apps.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/

John Bell (1783-1864) was a bookseller and coin collector along with his younger brother Thomas (1785-1860). In 1803, he left the family firm and set up on his own, which was when he started collecting coins and antiquities (Isaac 2004). Bell was the librarian of SANT until 1849, and in the third volume of the Bell manuscripts, *An account of the rise and progress of the Antiquarian society of Newcastle Upon Tyne, by John Bell, projector thereof Vol. III. From Janu(ar)y 1840 to Decem(be)r 1843,* letters from Clayton to Bell suggest that Clayton may have accompanied Bell on a day surveying Risingham fort in October 1843 (Appendix L). A coin found by Bell that day was presented to Clayton's sister Sarah Ann, and she wrote to him thanking him for the gift (Appendix L). Bell also visited the house at Chesters to take tracings of some of the altars there and gave copies of these to the Claytons. These letters offer a tantalising glimpse into the network of antiquarians that Clayton corresponded with, and show his sister taking an active interest in coins and inscriptions. With so little of the Clayton correspondence surviving these letters are extremely important.

Clayton's grandmother, Bridget Atkinson, was a keen collector of shells and coins. A letter from George Dixon, an armourer on Captain Cooks' third voyage, to her husband, George Atkinson, suggests that he was looking for shells for the Atkinsons' (Dixon 1776). She was very much a part of the 18th and 19th century tradition of genteel collecting by women. Bridget's daughter Jane, and John's sister Sarah Anne seem to have followed on in this fashion. Clayton himself was different, he was never a collector in the traditional sense; he did not seek to amass a full run of coins of all Roman emperors or possess an example of all types of brooch, and he was not creating a cabinet of curiosities. Nor did he collect because it was fashionable; he was genuinely interested in what the finds could tell him about the Romans. He kept what was found on his land and excavations, and occasionally acquired items from the local area to avoid them being dispersed, such as the Walbottle Hoard. He was also given various items by his antiquarian colleagues, for example, the post-Medieval ewer from Corbridge, or alternatively picked them up on his travels, like the *tesserae* from Pompeii. In his article on the Thorngrafton arm purse, Clayton indicates an early understanding of the importance of the provenance of material. He states that the Thorngrafton coins were "valuable only from their association with the Roman Wall" (Clayton 1859a, 271). Items which he purchased, or were gifted, have been accurately

noted within the Collection, perhaps indicating Clayton's understanding of the need to know where items had come from, at least at a site level.

One important point to discuss when considering Clayton as a collector, is why he did not donate his collection to SANT, as many of his fellow members did. The proceedings of the society list donations every month from their members. Despite Clayton being a member for almost 60 years, and a vice-president for 34 years, there is no record of him ever donating a single archaeological piece from his excavations, instead he created his own collection. The formation of his collection allowed Clayton to invite scholars and experts to his house, and The Chesters became a hub for research. His collection earned Clayton a certain status in the eyes of other antiquarians, which may perhaps be one of the reasons for his actions. Equally, at that time, many of the wealthy landed gentry and aristocracy still retained collections of archaeological and other material. Clayton knew the Duke of Northumberland, whose collection was catalogued and published by Bruce in 1880 (Bruce 1880c). By creating his own collection, in his country house, Clayton would have been cementing his place amongst this group, as well as with the antiquarians of lower status.

3.6 Coins- revealing curation and gift exchange networks in the 19th century

At the start of this thesis, it was hoped that the coins from the Collection could be studied to look at coin-use, both at *Cilurnum* and along the Central Sector of the Wall. However, once the coin data was collated it was discovered that coins from hoards constituted the vast majority, with only a very small number classified as site finds. There are not enough coins to carry out any analysis on coin-use at any of the sites, except *Cilurnum*, and this will be done within Chapter 4. It was decided, therefore, that it was worthwhile highlighting the processes which have affected the coins within this historic collection. Coins have come into, and left, the Collection all the way through its history, by various means. As with many of the small finds, the recording of their provenance is poor, and some cannot even be assigned to a site. Those discovered after Clayton's death, either by excavation, repairs or chance finds are more accurately recorded. What follows is a history of the coins within the Clayton Collection, from their discovery through to today.

The history of the coins will follow object biography work carried out on the Pitt-Rivers collection as part of the Rethinking Pitt-Rivers project (http://web.prm.ox.ac.uk/rpr).

The coins will be discussed not as currency but as historical artefacts within the Clayton Collection, which were gifted and exchanged with colleagues, and also valued and treated differently to other archaeological material such as pottery or jewellery. It is clear that Clayton was interested in coins and was seen as being competent in identifying them. In 1855, coins found at *Bremenium* (High Rochester) were sent to Clayton to report on (Anonymous 1855c, 78). The only remaining record of his notes on his excavations are four notebooks on coins, and when the museum was built in 1896, many of the coins remained in the house. The following section will consider how the coins can be used to highlight the attitudes of both Clayton, and his contemporaries to coins, and the antiquarian networks within which these coins moved around.

The Clayton Collection contains 11,723 coins. However, when the 142 coins from Bosanquet's excavations at Housesteads, the 9344 coins from the Coventina's Well hoard and 1977 from the Walbottle hoard are excluded, only 192 coins remain. Table 3.4 shows that in fact there are only 33 coins from Clayton's excavations at *Cilurnum*, and 34 from his excavations at Housesteads. The Ministry of Works found 43 coins at *Cilurnum* during their consolidation work. There are 43 coins with no provenance, some of which probably come from Clayton's excavations along Hadrian's Wall. This is an extremely low number for the number of excavations carried out by Clayton over 40 years along Hadrian's Wall. For example, excavations at Vindolanda between 2006 and 2014 produced an average of c.250 coins per year (B. Birley *pers. comm*.). There are multiple explanations for this low number of coins, one of which may be 19th century excavation techniques. It may be that some of the coins were not seen when excavating with shovel and mattock. Excavations at Vindolanda between 1931 and 1937 produced an average of only 16 coins per year, an example of how an improvement in excavation techniques can increase the level of discovery (B. Birley *pers. comm*.). Another key difference between modern and antiquarian excavation is the use of metal detectors, which greatly increases the number of metal items found.

Despite the differences in excavation techniques, the Collection still has an unusually low number of coins for the amount of excavation undertaken (see Table 3.4). Possibly coins which were corroded were not kept at the time of discovery, as they were not seen as interesting or useful. It is known that antiquarians would give away finds to

friends and colleagues, and coins would have made a perfect gift or exchange; examples of this behaviour in the Clayton Collection are discussed below. One very significant factor in the low number of coins within the Collection is the 1930 sale of the contents of the house at Chesters. In this c.1225 Roman coins were listed for sale in various lots.[59]

Jane Atkinson (John's aunt) left to her niece, Sarah Ann "all my shells and coins and the cases in which they are placed" and stated they must not be disposed of in her (Sarah Ann's) lifetime (Atkinson, J. 1856. Appendix N). In fact, these coins and shells became part of the Clayton Collection, being subsumed into the rest of the material, presumably after Sarah Ann's death. It is not clear how many coins there were and there are no details about them within the Collection and its archive. There were non-Roman coins sold at the 1930 sale,[60] and it is possible that some of these came from Bridget and Jane as John seems to have been very focussed on the Roman period.

Number of Roman Coins	**Provenance**
2	*Cilurnum* - chance finds (modern)
33	*Cilurnum* - Clayton Excavation
43	*Cilurnum* - Ministry of Works repairs
9344	Coventina's Well
1	Great Chesters
14	Horncastle
142	Housesteads - Bosanquet Excavation
34	Housesteads - Clayton Excavation
4	Kirkby Thore
13	Mediterranean Visit
92	Nether Denton
2	Peel Crag Turret - (Simpson excavation)
43	Unknown
1977	Walbottle Hoard
Total = 11723	

Table 3.4 Showing the number of Roman coins within the Collection and their provenance

Sarah Ann is known to have had an interest in coins for much of her life, perhaps indicating why Jane left the coins to her as opposed to John. A note from Sarah Ann to John Bell in 1843 thanks him for sending her a coin of Plautilla he had found at

[59] Appendix B lists all the archaeological items sold in the 1930 sale. The number of coins is approximate as the lots are not detailed enough to be certain.

[60] For example Lot no. 1550, a set of Jubilee Coins and Lot no.1566, 30 Georgian farthings, 10 other coins and 5 medals.

Risingham (Clayton, S.A. 1843a. Appendix I). In 1865, Roach Smith identified a coin of Tetricus for her (Clayton, J. 1865a. Appendix J) and was sent another in 1872 (Clayton, J. 1872b. Appendix J). What is not clear from the latter two letters is whether the coins came from John's excavations or whether Sarah Ann was collecting in her own right. There are 13 coins recorded in the catalogue as being given to "Miss Clayton" as souvenirs from a Mediterranean visit (CH12060-12068 and CH12135-12138). The records do not state which sister, but Sarah Ann is the only one known to have had an interest. Bruce went travelling around the Mediterranean in 1860 and Clayton went to France and Italy in 1858 (Clayton 1859b), so the coins could be souvenirs from either of them. There are also 14 coins which were sent to Miss Clayton from Horncastle in Lincolnshire (CH16399-16412), suggesting that Sarah Ann was actively collecting through a network of friends.

CH no.	**Hall no.**	**Budge no.**	**Provenance**	**Coin type**
589	2693	P.404 & 26	Kirkby Thore	*Denarius* of Antoninus Pius
611	2713	P.405 & 52-60	Kirkby Thore	*Quadrans* of Claudius
612	2714	P.405 & 52-60	Kirkby Thore	*Quadrans* of Claudius
613	2716	P.405 & 52-60	Kirkby Thore	*Dupondius* or *as* of Domitian
696	3581	P.390 & 1711	Carrawburgh	16-17th century Arabic coin
838	2509	P.397 & 331	Great Chesters	*Denarius* of Julia Augusta
2161	2794	P.385 & 1399	Probably *Cilurnum*	4th century *nummus*
2310	3564	P.388 & 1698	*Cilurnum*	*Denarius* of Nero
2311	3562	P.388 & 1696	n/a	Cast of a Greek coin (broken)
3189	3861	n/a	Unknown	Radiate coin, perforated
3190	3862	n/a	Unknown	*Nummus* of Constantine II as Caesar, AD 319
3191	3863	n/a	Unknown	Contemporary copy of a *nummus* showing Romulus and Remus, c.330-346

Table 3.5 The coins specifically mentioned in either Hall or Budge's catalogues

The Hall and Budge catalogues list very few coins, Hall assigned numbers to twelve coins, whilst Budge lists only nine of these (Table 3.5). Despite Budge dedicating a whole chapter to the discovery of Coventina's Well and including a table of the coins

produced by Roach Smith, none of these coins are included in his catalogue. As both of these catalogues were dealing with material on display at the museum, these low numbers seem to indicate that very few coins were included in the original exhibition. This would help to explain why so many coins were sold in the 1930 sale, as the entire contents of the house were split into lots, including furniture, paintings, books and finds, whilst the material in the museum was put into Trust separately. Unfortunately, we have no documentation from the movement of the finds into the museum in 1895/6 by J. P. Gibson and William Tailford, so it is not clear whether particular things were left at the house for a reason.

3.6.1 Excavated coins

Four notebooks in the Collection in John's hand show that at some point, he was interested enough in coins to record his discoveries in great detail. In CH12298-12300, each emperor or empress had a separate section, with a small history about their reign, spread over the three volumes in chronological order (Figs. 3.1-3.3). It was obviously John's aim to fill in details of each coin as it was found, however only 335 coins were recorded in these notebooks Whether his enthusiasm waned, or this was the number of identifiable coins which were kept is not clear. Unfortunately, these books are not dated and the findspots of the coins are not recorded. Nonetheless, these books provide an insight into some of the recording undertaken by John and show that he had a keen interest in coins.

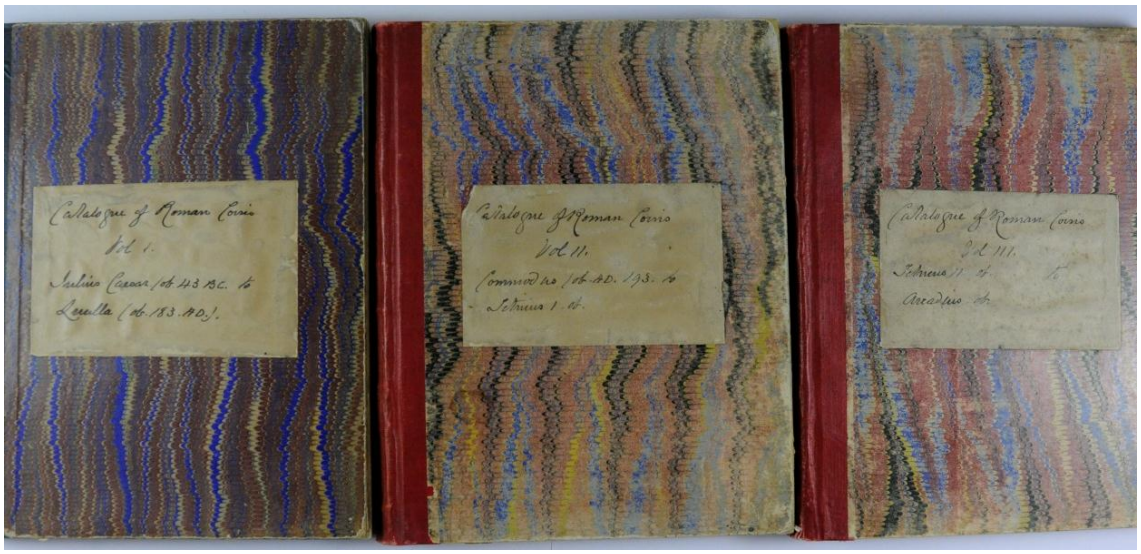


Figure 3.1 CH12298-300, three notebooks for recording coins

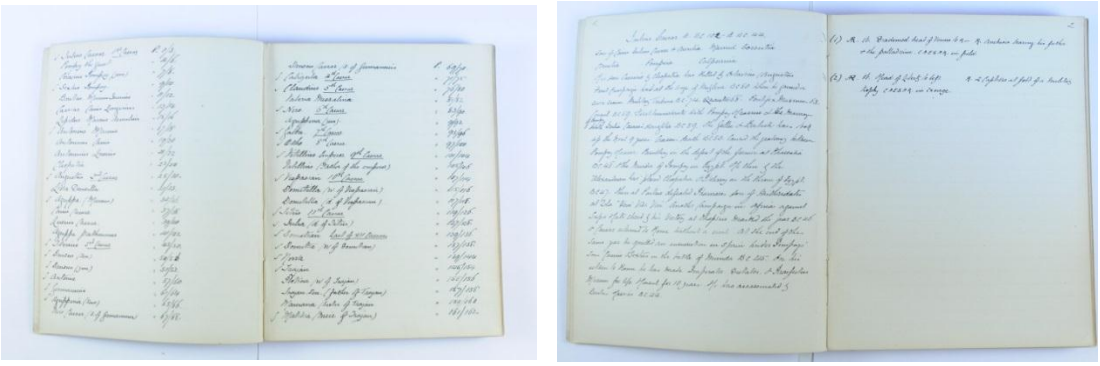


Figure 3.2 The inside of CH12298, showing the contents page and an example of the detail given for some emperors

Another notebook, CH8326, contains information on 144 coins and is of more use in linking coins to their findspots (Fig. 3.4). A suggestion by Kate Sheehan-Finn, who digitised CH8326, was that this was a rough workbook, used in the field, whilst CH12298-12300 were neat books, where information was written up as a separate record of the Collection. If this is the case, it is the only piece of evidence we have for any of Clayton's working methods and so is highly significant.

CH8326 was split into sections: *Large copper coins* (30), *Silver* (17), *Small copper* (36 plus 6 illegible), all with no provenance; *Coins found in the bath-house in 1843* (2 large brass, 1 silver and 52 small brass); *coins found in 1849 whilst excavating a "Mile Tower*" (4) and a final 8 coins with no provenance. In 1849 Clayton excavated at Cawfields Milecastle (MC 42), presumably the Mile Tower. It was hoped that some of the coins from the bath-house excavation and from Cawfields Milecastle could be identified within the Collection, to provide a findspot for coins which are currently lacking this information. Unfortunately, this has not been possible thus far but there is still the potential if a numismatic specialist can be consulted in the future.

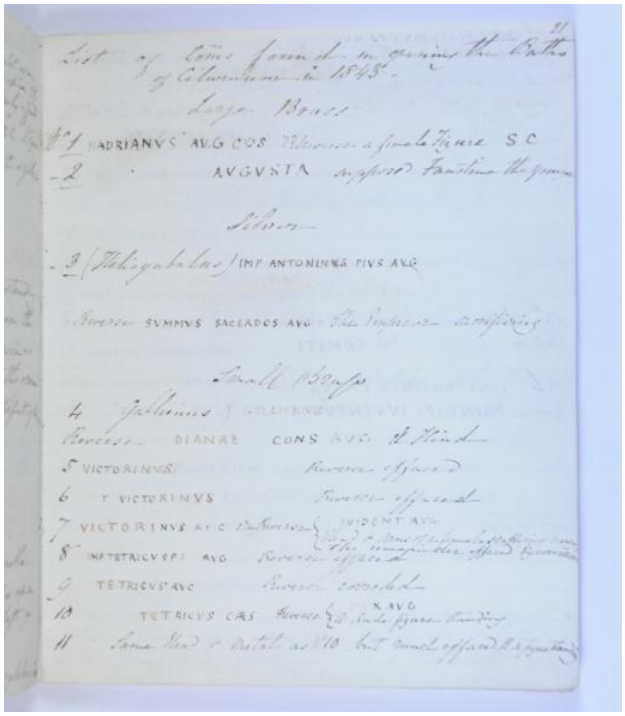


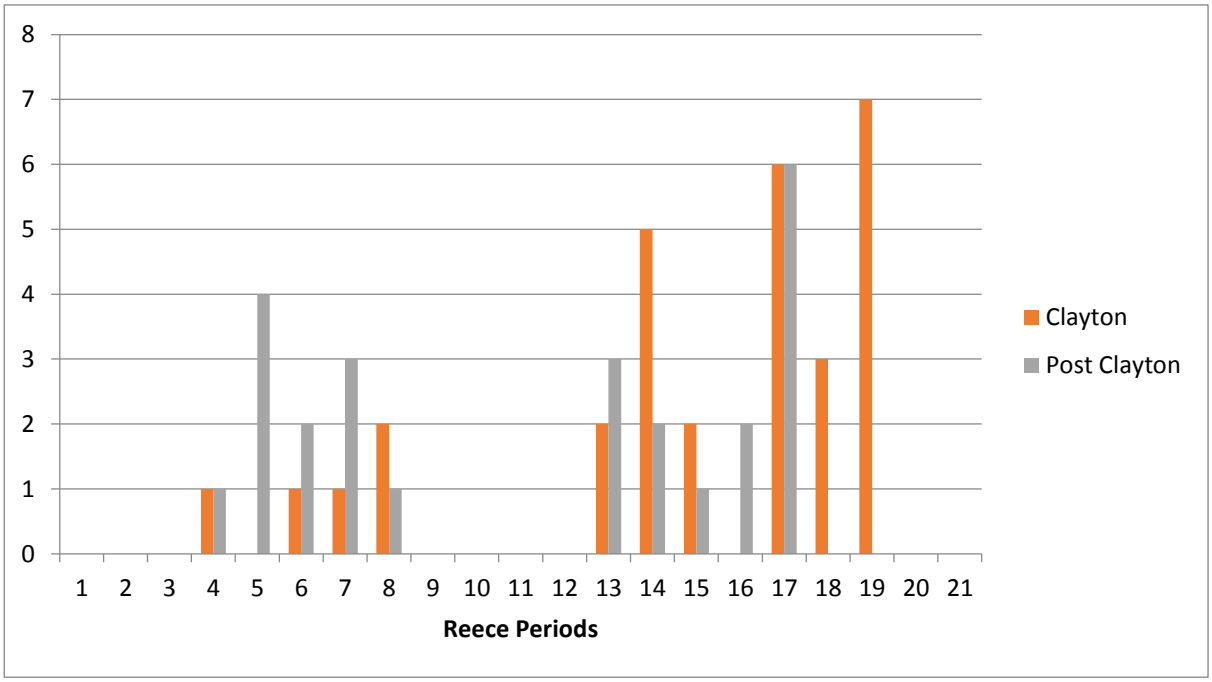
Figure 3.3 CH8326, the first page of the section describing coins from the bath-house

Between 1924 and 1926, W. P. Hedley completed an unpublished study entitled *Catalogue of the Collection of Roman coins at The Chesters*. Within this catalogue he splits the coins into three parts, non-hoard coins (totalling 542 or 546[61]), the Coventina's Well coins (only a selection of 200 were looked at by him) and the Walbottle hoard (4607 coins). For the non-hoard coins there is no information given about the provenance of the coins, they are split into chronological order by emperor. It is therefore of no use when trying to improve information on the findspots of coins within the Collection. However, the numbers show that he must have looked at some of the coins which were in the house at the time as well as those which went into the museum, as this is a much higher number than those coins thought to have been on display. What is not clear is whether some of the coins listed by Hedley were coins not found through excavation but exchanges or purchases, for example the 14 coins from Horncastle.

Within the Collection 76 coins can be assigned a findspot of *Cilurnum*; however, the Ministry of Works team when carrying out consolidation found 43 of these. Only 33 coins can be securely identified as having come from Clayton's excavations at

[61] His handwriting when dealing with the Republican coins is unclear and the total of this group could be 52 or 56, hence the uncertainty for the count of all non-hoard coins.

Cilurnum. Whilst not a large number and certainly not representing all of the coins found by Clayton and his men, it is still possible to carry out statistical analysis on the coins. Graph 3.1 shows that the coins found by Clayton differ in their chronological profile to those found by the Ministry of Works team. Clayton's coins have a much later concentration, in particular Reece Periods 17-19, AD 330-78. There could be a very simple explanation for this linked to the work carried out by Clayton as opposed to the Ministry of Works. Clayton excavated from the top, until he recognised archaeological remains. The stone buildings he discovered are generally 2nd or 3rd century and in digging until he found these layers he would have dug through the later occupation layers. The Ministry of Works were merely consolidating the remains revealed by Clayton's excavations, and so were much more likely to come across 2nd and 3rd century material. Lack of coins in the period AD 180-260 (Reece periods 9-12), however, cannot easily be explained.



Graph 3-1 Comparison of coins found by Clayton and coins found Post-Clayton

3.6.2 Acquisition of Coins

Although the Clayton Collection comprises mostly items excavated by Clayton and his workmen, there are some items which he purchased. Two coin hoards are well-documented examples of this, the Thorngrafton arm purse and the Walbottle Hoard. The circumstances of their discovery and the aftermath will now be discussed in relation to the Clayton Collection.

In 1837, a group of labourers discovered a copper-alloy arm purse containing 3 gold and 60 silver coins in a quarry near Barcombe (McGuire 2013). This became known as the Thorngrafton purse and it had a long, convoluted life before it was purchased by Clayton in 1858 (Clayton 1859a). Thomas Pattison, one of the labourers, took possession of the coins and showed them to a local antiquary, Mr. Fairless, who listed them, and purchased one of the coins. Under the Treasure Trove law at the time, the coins belonged to the Duke of Northumberland as they were found on his land. Unfortunately, Pattison disagreed with the valuation given to the coins (£18) and fled to Denbighshire, North Wales with the coins. He was detained in debtor's prison for 12 months before returning to the North East where he died shortly after. William, Thomas' brother, then took possession of the coins and it was from him that Clayton purchased the coins and purse for 50 gold sovereigns (Bruce 1871 discusses the story in more detail). Clayton wrote to the fourth Duke, Algernon, asking if he should return them to Alnwick Castle but the Duke was content they became part of the Clayton Collection (Bruce, G. 1905, 147-8). Unfortunately, none of the coins from this purse now remain in the Collection and the reason for this will be discussed in Section 3.6.3.1.

Whilst laying water-pipes close to the southern face of Hadrian's Wall in September 1879, half way between Benwell and Rudchester,[62] a labourer discovered an "earthenware vessel full of coins" (Clayton 1880c, 256). This has since been known as the Walbottle or Throckley hoard. A little more contextual information is recorded for this hoard than for the Thorngrafton purse. It was discovered four feet beneath the military road, "in close proximity to the southern face of the Wall of Hadrian" (Clayton 1880c, 256). Despite Clayton and Blair approaching the labourer soon after the discovery, some of the coins were still dispersed. Blair examined 5024 coins in total, with his catalogue detailing 4597 at the end of Clayton's discussion of the discovery. It is not clear exactly how many coins were discovered as there are contradictory reports. The finder retained 416 and Clayton notes, "without doubt some of the coins have been sold in small parcels and cannot be traced" (1880c, 257). Philip Spence in 1908 donated 603 coins from this hoard to the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, which his father, C.J. Spence, had bought from the finder (Anonymous 1909, 334; Spain

[62] This is presumably somewhere around about Milecastle 10, c. NZ 163 667.

and Wake 1933a, 13).[63] In 1931, Mrs. H. Pease and her son Mr. J.W.K. Pease donated to the Society 14 *Antoninianii* from the collection of the late Mr. H. Pease, which belonged to the Walbottle Hoard (Spain and Wake 1933b, 201). What is not clear from the entry in the Curator's Report is when or how Mr. Pease came into possession of the coins. He did not become a member of SANT until 1891, but could have bought the coins from the finder or from the House Sale in 1930. Currently there are 1977 coins in the Collection linked to this hoard, as some were sold in the house sale in 1930 (for more detail see Section 3.6.3.1).

The tales of the discoveries of the Thorngrafton purse and the Walbottle hoard seem typical for the 19th century. The finder often dispersed the contents of any coin hoard to the highest bidder with no understanding of the importance of keeping the hoard intact. An article in the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* reviews a find of coins in 1854 near Coleraine, Northern Ireland, which were purchased by a local watchmaker. In this instance despite being sold, the coins were kept together, but the article also discusses coins found in 1827 which had been separately sent to London and Dublin for sale, as well as being sold to "individuals as opportunity offered", whilst another hoard found in 1830 had gone to Australia with the finder (Porter and Carruthers 1854, 192). The case of the hoards from Coleraine highlights the difficulty associated with 19th century coin finds in particular. In contrast, the discovery and dispersal of the Thorngrafton and Walbottle finds are fairly well documented, and were saved by Clayton's intervention.

3.6.3 Loss of Coins

3.6.3.1 House Sale

When Isabel Clayton died in 1928, the heir of the Clayton estate, John Maurice Clayton decided to split up and sell the Hadrian's Wall estate, including the Chesters mansion and all its contents. The sale of the contents of the house and outbuildings took place over eight days from 6th January 1930, and the Sale Catalogue ran to 164 pages (Hampton and Sons 1930). This phase of the Collection's life is discussed in more detail in Chapter 2. Fig. 3.4 shows the entries for Roman coins from the Sale Catalogue. At least 1225 Roman coins are listed, but many of the listings are vague and so this number is an estimate. For example, Lot no. 1580 is described merely as a packet and

[63] For further details on the story of the Walbottle Hoard see McIntosh, Guest and Ponting forthcoming.

13 envelopes of Roman coins; there could well have been multiple coins in each of these envelopes. The Deed of Trust did not protect the coins that were in the house, only material in the museum, and it is likely at least some of these coins came from Clayton's excavations.

It has been possible to connect certain lots to specific finds which were originally in the Clayton Collection. For example, Lot No. 1572 is surely the Thorngrafton find of three gold and 60 silver coins. Unfortunately, no record of the successful bidders of the coins remains, but some of them later donated their purchases to the SANT and so it has been possible to link more of the lots to provenanced coin finds through research into their collections, and through the proceedings of the society. Dr Ranken Lyle purchased 619 coins in the 1930 house sale, all of which he donated to SANT. 280 of these coins were identified as belonging to the Walbottle hoard (Hedley 1931, 12; Spain and Wake 1933a, 13-14). On 26th February 1930, Captain E. W. Swan presented to the Society a group of coins, thought to number 180, which he had purchased from the house sale (Anonymous 1930, 151). Gilbert Askew examined these and the number was determined to be 213. Askew's report suggests that the coins purchased by Swan could be Lot no. 1575 as they are a mix of silver and bronze types. Askew identified 75 of the coins as being part of a hoard of 300 4th century coins found at Vindolanda in 1833 (Askew 1932, 216-7).

p.97. 'Roman, Old English and Foreign coins &c.'

No. 1555. A Greek gold coin of Athens, 2 others of silver and 13 Roman gold coins from Augustus to Domitian.
No. 1556. Roman gold coins from Trajan to late Roman, and a fine first brass of Commodus found at Procolitia.
No. 1572. Three Roman gold coins, and 60 silver.
No. 1574. Roman third brass coins (115).
No. 1575. Roman second brass coins and similar silver (210 in all).
No. 1577. 270 Roman first brass, silver and Billion.
No. 1578. Roman third brass coins (184).
No. 1579. Roman second and third brass coins (about 370).
No. 1580. A packet and 13 envelopes of Roman coins.
No. 1581. A collection of 120 casts of Roman coins and medals, and 4 trays for same.

Figure 3.4 All Roman coins listed as having been sold in the 1930 sale

SANT also owns coins originally from the Clayton Collection which cannot be linked to the house sale. John Maurice Clayton donated to SANT 66 *denarii*, which had been found in 1875 at Carrawburgh fort (Spain and Wake 1933a, 13). Four coins from

Housesteads in the Society's Collection[64] possibly came from the house sale but it is not clear, as there is very little information in the acquisitions register. These coins could have been from multiple sources, perhaps John Clayton or from Bosanquet, the excavator of the site in 1898.

3.6.3.2 Gifts/Donations

Within the Clayton Collection there are finds from sites where Clayton did not excavate, yet there are no records of him purchasing the finds, as there is with the Walbottle or Thorngrafton finds. There is a variety of material, from Scotland to Pompeii, which made its way into the Collection through various means. He was given material by friends who owned land such as at Great Chesters and Halton Chesters, whilst Bruce gave him two post-medieval bronze vessels and the Birdoswald arm purse and Clayton was sent burnt grain from Castlecary in Scotland. These finds are discussed in Chapter 1 and they draw attention to the differences in practice of the 19th century antiquarian or archaeologist as opposed to today. Archaeological material was gifted to friends and colleagues on a regular basis. It can be presumed that Clayton reciprocated these gifts with material from his Collection. Unfortunately, without records from Clayton as to what he gave away it cannot be known what has been lost from the Collection. Despite the lack of records, the low number of coins within the Collection indicates that coins are likely to have been one of the types of items given away. The example of Coventina's Well is a case in point (see below for more details) and it is possible that more examples will be discovered as further study is undertaken.

Even within Clayton's time, the use of coins as dating evidence was known, as the work on the Thorngrafton arm-purse and Coventina's Well highlights (Clayton 1859a and 1880b). Despite Clayton's knowledge of the coins, and his ability to identify them, he does not seem to have valued the more common coins particularly highly. His limited remarks on the coins comment on their quality and preservation, often comparing them to better-preserved examples elsewhere. For example, he comments that the coins in the Thorngrafton purse can be paralleled with higher quality examples in the Duke of Northumberland's collection (Clayton 1859a, 276). He also notes where duplicates of certain coin types are found. In this aspect, he appears more like a coin

[64] Or three, as the fourth one has possibly been misattributed to Housesteads (R. Collins *pers. comm*.).

collector, interested in examples of high quality or new types. Numismatists today still sometimes have this attitude; it is about getting a 'full set' of coins. This attitude may have contributed to the low number of coins in the Clayton Collection, with duplicates or worn coins being seen as less important. The duplicates may have been used as gifts or exchanges, whilst the worn coins were not kept.

3.6.3.3 Coventina's Well

The coins from Coventina's Well stand as a key example of the very different practices in the 19th century towards archaeological material, and in particular coins. When the Well was first uncovered it was left unguarded for a day and a group of local miners "carried away two or three thousand of the coins" (Clayton 1880b, 34). After this incident, a policeman was seconded to the site until the Well had been emptied. 13,490 coins were eventually taken down to Clayton's house for identification by Roach Smith, Blair, Canon Greenwell and Bruce, and published by Roach Smith in 1880 in *Archaeologia Aeliana*. Of this number, the vast majority were bronze but there were 4 gold and 184 silver coins. It is thought that these higher value coins were incorporated into Clayton's coin collection, whilst the bronze coins were kept together.

Figure 3.5 The eagle made from coins found in Coventina's Well (19cm tall, 6010g) © Clayton Trustees

What happened next would be seen as shocking by today's archaeologists. The coins that were deemed illegible and too worn for further identification were melted down to make a statue of an eagle (Fig. 3.5) to sit on top of Bruce's bookcase.[65] The Hawick

[65] This bookcase, and the eagle, is now at South Shields Museum, along with the Bruce Archive which contains many books and some photograph albums.

Archaeological Society also requested some coins for their museum (Hogg 1876).[66] Neither the melting down of the coins, nor this dispersal to other interested parties, are practices that would be carried out today.

As well as the Hawick Archaeological Society, many other people also received coins from the hoard. The Rev. G. Rome Hall had 41 silver coins which were listed in a notebook held by John Casey (Allason-Jones and McKay 1985, 52). In September 1925 the daughters of Rev. Hall loaned material to SANT which included six coins from Coventina's Well (Spain 1925, 90). Presumably these are some of the 41 coins listed in the notebook; these coins are now unfortunately lost. They were not sold in the house sale as they were in Hall's possession before that, demonstrating Clayton had given away coins at the time. Rev. Hall was a member of the Society from 1865 and became a Vice President, like Clayton. He was also a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London and a member of the Berwickshire Naturalists Society, both of which Clayton was part of (Welford and Crawford Hodgson 1913, 268-70). Hall published an article on cup-marked rocks which included a photographic plate illustration presented by Clayton (1887), and presumably discussed the Coventina's Well discovery with Clayton to produce his article on modern survival of ancient well-worship (Hall 1880).

In May 1927, William Elliott presented SANT with 113 coins along with a bronze spoon, bone counter, boars tusk and a beaker of sandy red fabric, all from Coventina's Well. Five of the coins were silver, the rest were bronze (Spain 1927, 57-60). He donated a further 106 coins in May 1928 which were described as belonging to the same group of coins given the previous year (Spain 1928, 199). Elliott lived in Brandling Place, as listed in the entry in *Proceedings*, but little other information about him can be gleaned. It is not clear what his relationship with Clayton was, as he did not become a member of the Society until after 1913. Tullie House Museum in Carlisle has a Hadrianic *sestertius*, donated in 1940 by William Carrick, grandson of collector J.E.C. Carrick of Haltwhistle (Allason-Jones and McKay 1985, 54). Unfortunately, it is not known how or when J.E.C. Carrick came into possession of the coin.

[66] Although there is no reference of these coins being received in the transactions of the Hawick Society it is possible that some coins were sent.

109 coins, which were given to J.C. Bruce from the Well, became part of the Laing Art Gallery's collection. In 1948, the grandson of Bruce donated the above-mentioned bookcase along with its contents and other material, including 30 watercolours and 2 groups of coins, 116 mostly post-medieval and 426 Roman coins.[67] In 1985 only 52 of the 109 coins at the Laing linked to Coventina's Well could be found, although a full list was still extant, so the details are known. Several of the coins in this group were "collectors' pieces" which appear to have been selected for their rarity or high level of preservation (Allason-Jones and McKay 1985, 53). An unanswered question is what other items, coins or finds, did Clayton give to Bruce over their long friendship and working partnership?

The British Museum owns two coins originally from the Clayton Collection. The first, a *sestertius* of Hadrian from Coventina's Well, was donated to them in 1983 by the Trustees of the Clayton Collection, as it is an extremely rare coin (Museum number 1983, 0129.1). The second a *denarius* of Hadrian donated in 1932 by Betty Burn, has a provenance only of Hadrian's Wall (Museum number 1932, 0306.1). It is not clear how Ms. Burn came into possession of the coin, it is possible she purchased it at the 1930 sale. In 1931-2, she worked on the coin collection of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, providing a link to the North East, but not explaining how she acquired the coin (Spain and Wake 1933b, 200; Spain 1935, 11). She donated 11 items to the British Museum, 10 of which were coins, so she could have been a small-scale coin collector.

The coins from Coventina's Well and the Walbottle Hoard were taken down to London between 1969 and 1973 in order for them to be looked at by John Kent at the British Museum. Richard du Cane, the owner of Carrawburgh fort at the time, transported them in multiple car journeys (seven or eight) on the request of Grace Simpson, Honorary Curator. It is not clear exactly how many coins were taken down. By 1985 when the report on Coventina's Well was written, there were only 8362 coins available for study (Allason-Jones and McKay 1985, 66). When clearing his office at the Institute of Archaeology Richard Reece discovered 939 coins. In 2011 Reece asked Ian Leins and Philippa Walton to produce a catalogue of the coins using the most up-to-date

[67] My thanks to Alex Croom for her help on this matter, the two groups of coins are accessioned separately on TWAM's database and can be found as Emu accession lot: internal ref. no: 148944 and Emu accession lot: internal ref. no: 148780.

references, and the coins were returned to the British Museum and stored with the other part of the hoard. When the coins, which belong to the Clayton Collection, were returned from the British Museum to the store at Corbridge in February 2014 9344 coins were returned. From its discovery in 1875, the hoard has been reduced by over 6000 coins through various means; theft, gifts, re-shaping and auction. This hoard acts as an example of the fate of many antiquarian discoveries.

3.7 Summary

It is hoped that this short case study into the coins has highlighted some of the problems associated with understanding collections with a long history such as the Clayton Collection. Taken alongside the research into Clayton, the 19th century and the state of antiquarianism at the time, this allows the Clayton Collection to be studied in context. Understanding the formation processes of the Collection enables it to be used for archaeological research in a more robust manner. The findspot information is not as detailed as material found in the 21st century, but the Collection is still a great resource for research on Hadrian's Wall.

4. Cilurnum

"*Within the rampart and to the south of the gate, the surface of the ground was somewhat elevated, and formed a green knoll, which seemed to invite antiquarian research, and on the application to this elevated spot of the pickaxe and spade, the baths and Sudatorium of the station were discovered*"
(Clayton 1844, 142)

Cilurnum was the first fort that Clayton owned, and the first place at which he directed an excavation. The material from *Cilurnum* represents approximately 45% of the Collection, a significant proportion, representing c.4500 items. Throughout this thesis, the focussed object chapters will, of necessity, separate out the material from *Cilurnum* for more detailed work. In order to avoid repetition in each chapter, the background of Clayton's work at *Cilurnum* will be laid out in this chapter. Equally, it is important to understand the history of the Roman occupation of *Cilurnum*, and what happened to the site after AD 410.

Our understanding of Roman *Cilurnum* is based almost exclusively on the discoveries by Clayton, his workmen and his family. Since the site left the ownership, and control, of the Clayton family in 1930 only one new area within the fort has been excavated, by Simpson and Richmond in 1945 on the site of T27a (Anonymous 1946, 134). This chapter will bring together and discuss all of Clayton's work at *Cilurnum* and how it has defined study of the site since his death. Understanding Clayton's research is key to understanding the Collection, both in its 19th century context and today.

4.1 Roman *Cilurnum*

Cilurnum fort is 5.75 acres in size (2.32 ha) and lies astride the Wall (Fig. 4.1). It was built over the foundations of Turret 27a and the Broad Foundation of the Wall, which were excavated in 1945 (Anonymous 1946, 134). It is one of four cavalry forts along the line of the Wall, Wallsend, Benwell and Stanwix being the other three. Built by *Legio VI Victrix*, under Hadrian, the *ala Augusta ob virtutem appellata* was stationed there initially (*RIB* 1466). There was an auxiliary regiment present in AD 146, although which one is not known (*RIB* 2401.10 and 2401.13 and *N.D. Oc*. XL 38, Seeck 1962, 211). This was replaced by the *ala II Asturum* under Commodus, and this unit seems to have stayed there through to the end of the 4th century (*RIB* 1464 and 1465). The *cohors I Delmatarum* and the *cohors I Vangionum* are also attested through

inscriptions in the 2nd century (*RIB* 3300 and *RIB* 1482; Breeze and Dobson 2000, 258). Traces of the extra-mural settlement were found in the 19th century and aerial photography and geophysical survey have since confirmed the existence of an extensive civil settlement covering up to 37 acres to the south and east of the fort (Breeze 2006, 209). Cemeteries have been identified on the east bank of the Tyne (Bruce 1867, 233) and south of the fort near the riverbank (Bruce 1867, 155). Bidwell and Snapes' survey of the archaeological remains at *Cilurnum* and the Conservation Plan both provide full summaries of the fort (Bidwell and Snape 1993; Grenville *et al.* 2002).

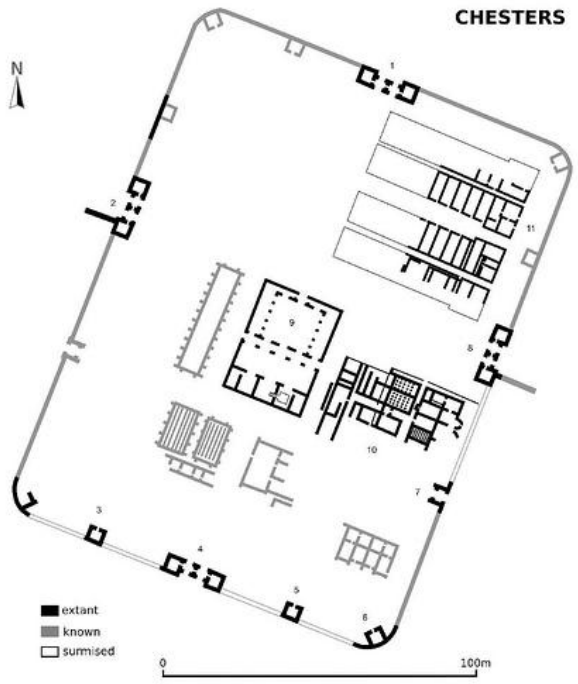


Figure 4.1 Plan of the remains of the interior of the fort at Cilurnum *(Mike Bishop©)*

Certain features of the fort deserve special mention, either because of their level of preservation, or because they are of particular interest. The bath-house lies east of the fort, between the fort and the river and is extremely well preserved. It remained in use until the end of the 3rd - beginning of the 4th century, when the bath-house next to the *praetorium* appears to have become the fort bath-house, presumably due to reduction in troop numbers rendering the external bath too large to be economical to run (Snape and Stobbs forthcoming). Birley notes that cavalry forts would have larger headquarters and commanding officer's house's than infantry forts, reflecting the difference in status between the two auxiliary troop types (1959, 13). At *Cilurnum*,

both these buildings are larger and more impressive than the same buildings at infantry forts along the Wall (Grenville et.al. 2002, 4).

The meaning of Chesters' fort Roman name, *Cilurnum*, is still debated. It has been translated as meaning cauldron pool (Rivet and Smith 1981, 307-8), which could link it to the Inglepool, a pool to the south-west of the fort which has now been filled in, or to a feature of the Tyne (Bidwell and Holbrook 1989, 1). Another point to note is that when the river is in full flow there are small rapids, which could be the inspiration for the name. Excavations in Gijón, Spain, the area from which the Astures troops originated, however, discovered a tombstone dating to the end of the 1st century – beginning of the 2nd century AD. This suggests a connection between the name *Cilurnum* and the *ala II Asturum* (Fernández Ochoa and Murillo Cerdàn 1997, 339). The tombstone documents the *gens Cilurnigorum,* which implies that the name only came to *Cilurnum* with the *ala II Asturum* who brought with it links to its homeland. Neither of these hypotheses have been universally accepted, and would require further epigraphic or literary discoveries to be confirmed.

4.2 Post-Roman *Cilurnum*

As with almost all Roman sites in Britain, it is not clear what happened at *Cilurnum* after the Roman period officially ended in AD 410. It is generally accepted that the forts on Hadrian's Wall would have continued to be occupied, most probably by the soldiers and their families who had been based there before the official separation from the Roman Empire. The best-preserved and most clearly understood late Roman evidence on the Wall is at Birdoswald; this shows that the change was gradual rather than abrupt (Wilmott 1997; 2000). Other sites along Hadrian's Wall have provided a variety of evidence for what took place after AD 410 and it seems there was no universal pattern (Wilmott 2000, 18). As no structural evidence remains, or is visible, at *Cilurnum* of any immediate post-Roman occupation it is almost impossible to suggest what may have happened. It is likely that there was some continuity in occupation post AD 410, but it has either been ploughed away or Clayton's workmen dug straight through without recording it, or perhaps even recognising it.

Two historical sources offer evidence for activity in the vicinity of *Cilurnum* in the Early Medieval period. Bede gives an account of the Battle of Heavenfield in AD 634 at which King Oswald of Northumbria defeated Cadwallon. Heavenfield is c. 2.5 miles to the

east of *Cilurnum*, and there is now a church on the presumed site of the battle, which has Saxon origins (Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 215-7). Another battle, which may have taken place near to Cilurnum, was in AD 788, when King Elfwald of Northumbria was killed (Raine 1864, xxxvi). Neither of these sources tell us whether the fort was still occupied, merely that battles were occurring in the area. Archaeological evidence is equally sparse; with a 7th century annular brooch assigned a provenance of "probably Chesters" being the only find still in the Collection from this period (CH1053; Miket 1978, 177). The two infant burials found in the southeast interval tower and the thirty-three skeletons found in the bath house are no longer extant and their date could just as easily be late Roman as stratigraphic information was not recorded (Bruce 1884).

Both Bidwell and Snape (1993), and the Conservation Plan (Grenville *et al*. 2002) rely mostly on documentary evidence to discuss the medieval period at *Cilurnum*, mainly using Hodgson's *History of Northumberland* (1840b). Bidwell and Snape suggested that the walls running diagonally across the southern guard chamber of the west gate may have been the remains of Medieval buildings but this has not been investigated further (1993, 4). There is extensive ridge and furrow across the site, but it is not possible to date this closely.

There is a small amount of material in the Collection which dates to the medieval period. Coleman-Smith and Coleman-Smith identified CH1112 as a 14th century ceramic Siegberg beaker from the Rhineland (1987). Research for this thesis has identified four probable medieval buttons (CH686-8, CH2537), a fragment of a mirror box (CH2135), two sherds of green glazed pottery (CH13415-6) and an annular brooch (CH2340). This low level of material can be explained as stray finds, and does not necessarily indicate occupation. It seems likely that the land around the fort remained as agricultural land, sometimes ploughed, sometimes pasture, up until the 18th century.

Luckily, for Clayton, and successive archaeologists, the remains at *Cilurnum* seem to have avoided large-scale disturbance since Roman times. Many antiquaries visited the site over the centuries and their records can be used to identify the state of the remains at various points in time. The first known antiquarian to visit *Cilurnum* was Thomas Machell in 1691 (Birley 1961). Camden and others found the area too

dangerous, due to reiving and banditry, and so saw only the end sections of the Wall, gaining information through local contacts to fill in the gaps. For example, a Mr. Smith of Durham visited in 1708 and passed on his description to Gibson (1722, II, 1054), giving an account of the whole of the Wall along with several of the forts (Birley 1961, 14).

As the 18th century progressed many more visitors were able to access *Cilurnum*, with Horsley (1732, 215-7), Warburton (1753, 53-4) and Hutchinson (1776, 72-85) all visiting and writing about the site. All three of these authors list inscriptions known to have come from *Cilurnum* and commented that many ruins were visible, both within and without the fort, Hutchinson's account being the most detailed. They generally agree in their descriptions, being able to see the line of the Wall meeting the fort, and commenting that the ramparts were clearly visible. Bishop Pococke, who travelled extensively in Britain and on the Continent, visited *Cilurnum* in 1760 and his account suggests that the agricultural work was uncovering more than inscriptions. He mentioned a building which had been recently discovered and also noted, "they now find very little coin at Chesters", indicating that at some point, the discovery of large numbers of coins had been a regular occurrence (Pococke 1915, 233-4).

The 19th century saw an increase in antiquarian activity along Hadrian's Wall, and *Cilurnum* was visited often. The fort walls and some intermural remains were visible, and locals as well as antiquaries were aware of them. When Nathaniel Clayton bought the estate from Adam Askew in 1796, he must have known he was purchasing land with Roman ruins included. William Hutton in 1801 mentions the site only briefly (1802, 209-11), whilst the Rev. Skinner provides us with the first notice that the fort remains were at risk. Workmen were employed in clearing the field containing the fort, although Skinner thought the remains would be safe as they were not going deeper than two or three feet! (1978, 35). Not long after Skinner and Hutton visited, this clearance did disturb archaeological remains, when the strong room in the *praetorium* was found. A letter from Bridget Clayton (John's older sister) to her grandmother Bridget Atkinson tells of the discovery by workmen in the winter of 1803 (Clayton, B. 1803; full text in Appendix P).

Despite Hodgson's statement that "modern improvements have smoothed down the ridges and knolls of the ruins of *Cilurnum*" (1840, 180), the presence of the earlier ridge and furrow indicates that the landscaping was not as severe as this implies. Bidwell and Snape suggest that the clearing consisted merely of moving individual stones rather than moving large amounts of earth and the destruction of standing remains (1993, 7).

4.3 The John Clayton era at *Cilurnum*

Clayton inherited the estate at Chesters in 1832 but did not begin excavating until the early 1840s. 1832 was the year of the first Reform Act, with the second being enacted in 1835; Clayton was heavily involved in helping Newcastle's Corporation manage the changes as they affected the city. Alongside this, his commitments to the railway and his involvement with the Dobson and Grainger redevelopments would have taken up large amounts of time. All of these were taking place until the 1840s, which could help to explain this delay in excavation.

Table 4.1 lists all known work by Clayton and his men at the site. Clayton seems to have been particularly interested in the layout of the fort's external features, as all six of the gates were excavated, as well as the southern interval and angle towers. This excavation programme was extensive, as can be seen when visiting the site today. Since Clayton's excavations, no new buildings have been exposed. Some Roman buildings were reburied or removed by Clayton, so less is currently visible than was investigated. Two granaries behind the headquarters building, for example, were removed by Clayton as they were not original (Birley 1961, 175; Breeze 2006, 196).

Terminology in the 19th century was different to that used by modern archaeologists, as was the accepted knowledge of the Roman frontier. The forts were often referred to as stations, and there was still discussion as to who built the Wall and the forts. Bruce and Clayton were in the group of scholars who assigned the building of the Wall to Hadrian, but thought that at least some of the forts, including *Cilurnum*, were built earlier by Agricola (Clayton 1876a). When Clayton excavated the *principia* from 1870 onwards, the first to be excavated on the Wall, its general purpose and its name was debated. Bruce refers to it as "the forum" in his publication in 1876, and discusses it being used as a market place (Bruce 1880b, 4). However, they rightly postulated that the treasury would be there, as well as offices for administration and the dispensing of

justice (Bruce 1880b, 3). These conclusions were reached by comparison with buildings of similar layout in Pompeii, and the discovery of a large number of coins.

Date	**What excavated**	**Published**
Sometime after 1840	Clearance begins	Budge 1903
1843	NE part of *praetorium* including baths	Clayton 1844
1848-9	Part of north fort wall and northern portion of west fort wall	Bruce 1853, 143
By 1851	2 more rooms in *praetorium*, next to and west of earlier excavations	Bruce 1853, 146
1852-3	External face of south west angle tower and wall	Bruce 1853, 143
after 1853	Lesser east gate and portion of north gate	Bruce 1863, Clayton 1876a, MacLauchlan 1858
1855	Water tank in north guard chamber of main west gate	Bruce 1867
1860-4	Eastern Bridge abutment	Clayton 1861 and 1865b
by c. 1860	Part of north gate?	25 inch OS map c. 1860
by c. 1860	Section of HW to east of fort	25 inch OS map c. 1860
by 1863	Entire north gate	Bruce 1863
1867	Main east gate and some of the fort wall	Clayton 1876a
1870-5	Headquarters building	Bosanquet 1929, Bruce 1880b, Clayton 1876a
1879	Main west gate	Blair, R. 1878-81, 84 and 86
1879	South gate	Bruce 1880a, 1
1879-1884	Lesser west gate	Rowlands 1939, 19
1880-2	South wall and four interval towers	Bruce 1884
1881	South east angle tower	Blair 1881, 61
c.1881	Granaries	Bruce 1884
c.1881	Structure adjacent to south side of granaries, of unknown function	Bruce 1884, fort plan
c.1881	Building to east of granaries, of unknown function	Bruce 1885b
1882	Building (stables?) with colonnade in southern half of the fort	Clayton 1885
1882	Portion of south east fort wall	Blair 1882, 151
by 1883	Location trench to ascertain position and nature of Roman road running south from fort	Bruce 1880a
by 1884	2 columns and a building of unknown function in the northern half of the fort Another room in the CO's house	Bruce 1884
1884-6	Bath house	Bruce 1884, Holmes 1887, MacDonald 1931
1888-9	Northeast part of the fort. Four rooms in the barracks in this area.	Bruce 1889

Table 4.1 Excavations at Cilurnum *during Clayton's lifetime*

It is easy to be dismissive of these 19th century scholars when looking back from the 21st century, but it must be remembered that they were working with much less information that we have today. Since the excavation of the *principia,* scholarship has moved on and the understanding of the use of the space has been refined. Clayton and Bruce were thinking along the right lines but they did not fully understand what they were discovering. Clayton's work produced much more evidence on which to build the picture of the construction and occupation of the Wall and its forts, in particular *Cilurnum*. Scholars since the 19th century have been able to use his excavations, alongside more modern excavations in other forts, to discuss similarities and differences between cavalry and infantry forts, as well as those forts straddling the Wall as opposed to being behind the Wall.

1844	'Account of an Excavation recently made within the Roman Station of Cilurnum', *AA* 1st series, III, 142.
1861	'Roman Bridge of Cilurnum', *AA* 2nd Series, V, 142-3.
1865	'The Roman Bridge of Cilurnum', *AA* 2nd Series, VI, 80-6.
1876	'Notes on an Excavation at Cilurnum' *AA* 2nd Series, VII, 171-6.
1885	'On a Roman Signet-Ring, representing a Chariot Race, found at Cilurnum in July, 1882' *AA* 2nd Series, X, 133-7.
1886	'On an Altar to Fortuna Conservatrix from Cilurnum' *AA* 2nd Series, XI, 117-19.

Figure 4.2 Publications by Clayton on Cilurnum

1861	Longstaffe, W.H.D. *'Cilurnum', AA* 2nd Series, V, 148.
1880	Bruce, J.C. 'An Account of the Excavation of the South Gateway of the Station of *Cilurnum*', *AA* 2nd Series, VIII, 211-221.
1885	Leader, J.D. 'Notes on a Roman Knife found at *Cilurnum*' *AA* 2nd Series, X, 115-20.
1886	Philipson, J. 'Roman Horse Trappings compared with Modern Examples, with special reference to Roman Bronzes discovered at *Cilurnum* and South Shields', *AA* 2nd Series, XI, 204-15.
1886	Bruce, J.C. 'Note on an Inscribed Votive Ring from *Cilurnum*', *AA* 2nd Series, XI, 235.
1889	Watkin, W.T. **'**Inscriptions from Cilurnum, etc.', *AA* 2nd Series, XIII, 190-2.
1889	Bruce, J.C. 'Inscribed Stones at Chesters', *AA* 2nd Series, XIII, 357.
1889	Bruce, J.C. 'Some Excavations at Chesters', AA 2, 13, 374-8

Figure 4.3 Publications by others on excavations and finds from Cilurnum *within Clayton's lifetime*

Of the twenty-four papers that Clayton published in *Archaeologia Aeliana,* six were based on discoveries at *Cilurnum* (Figure 4.2). There were, however, 17 years in between his publication of the *praetorium* excavation in 1844 and his next on the bridge in 1861. This is despite excavation during this time of parts of the north and west fort wall, the south-west angle tower and the north gate. It is not clear why neither he nor Bruce published these excavations specifically. It could have been due to other workloads, with Clayton still involved with the Corporation and his law firm and Bruce publishing *The Roman Wall* and giving lectures on the Wall more generally. Bruce published four articles on aspects of *Cilurnum* excavations but not until the 1880s, with other antiquaries also publishing notes occasionally (Figure 4.3).

As mentioned in Chapter 3, Clayton's surviving records are sparse, but in his publication on excavations at the east gate, we see that there was some method in his programme of excavation. His plan at *Cilurnum* seems to have been to expose the extent of the fort, and investigate the gateways and the fort's relationship to the Wall. Unfortunately, his excavation of the east gate in 1867 appears to have led him to a wrong conclusion. The aim of that excavation was to investigate how the Wall and fort relate at this point and his conclusion was that they were "obviously distinct and separate works, and though they touch each other there is no intermixture of masonry" (Clayton 1876a, 171). Clayton used this as further evidence to demonstrate that the forts and Wall were built at different times, the forts under Agricola and the Wall under Hadrian. Today the Wall and the east gate appear bonded together; however, this could be due to later consolidation and does not mean Clayton misunderstood the evidence, merely that he misinterpreted it.

Clayton's management of *Cilurnum* can be compared to that of the management of an archaeological site open to visitors today. Indeed, photographs from the 19th century show striking similarities to the scene visitors can see today, albeit the site is tidier and the grass is mown now. Excavated walls were left with a turf capping, which is how Clayton's workmen finished the sections of Wall they consolidated. Fencing on parts of the site was definitely in place by 1877 as is shown by one of Blair's sketches (1877-8) while later sketches and photographs show that fences seem to have been put around most of the excavated areas. Whilst this may have simply been to keep grazing animals out, it may have helped to demarcate the excavated areas for the many visitors to the

site. Whatever the reason, this fencing style is still maintained at *Cilurnum* today as it is now seen as part of the history of the site.

4.3.1 Material discovered before Clayton

It is likely that Roman building material has been removed from *Cilurnum* since the day it ceased to function as a fort. As with all forts along the Wall line, local inhabitants have made use of the fabric. There are doubtless hundreds of plain building stones used within the houses and farm buildings near to the fort which are unidentifiable. Those that are traceable are the inscribed and carved stones. In the nave of St. Giles Church at Chollerton, for example, stand three pillars presumed to have come from *Cilurnum*, and an altar which was reused as a font (*RIB* 1450) (see Figs 4.4 and 4.5). These pillars and altar belong to the building phase which has been dated to c.1200 (Carlton and Rushworth 2011, 153). Some of the stone used in the early building of Hexham Abbey came from the bridge at *Cilurnum*, as well as a *Dolichenum* and other unidentified buildings (Bidwell 2010).

Figure 4.4 The nave showing the Roman pillars at St. Giles' Church

Figure 4.5 The reused altar at St. Giles' Church

In the post-medieval period stone robbing of the Roman remains seems to have increased, as more material can be identified from later buildings. At West Uppertown Farm, Simonburn, voussoirs have recently been discovered built into the walls which are most likely to come from the *principia* (Allason-Jones, L. *pers. comm*.) Walwick Grange, less than half a mile from the fort was built in the 18th century by the Errington family, the builders of Chesters mansion. Two stones which had been built into the house are now both lost; *RIB* 1451, an altar seen by Horsley in 1732 and *RIB* 1459 a dedication stone seen by Bishop Pococke in 1760. Two centurial stones built into the house had originally moved to Alnwick Castle but are now kept at the Great North Museum: Hancock in Newcastle upon Tyne; *RIB* 1475 seen by Bishop Pococke in 1760 and *RIB* 1476 seen by Hodgson in 1812. The same journey was taken by three tombstones, *RIB* 1480, 1481 and 1483 (Figs 4.6 and 4.7), whilst *RIB* 1482, another tombstone, is in Durham Chapter Library. Although these stones were found before Clayton's time it is likely that he knew of them and used them as sources of information for his understanding of the site.

Figure 4.6 RIB 1481

Figure 4.7 RIB 1483

All of these stones were found before Clayton's involvement with the site, and before close recording of the findspot of items was the norm. Nevertheless, the information they offer about the inhabitants of *Cilurnum* in the Roman period is extremely useful. In particular, the tombstones provide the names of some of the people who lived and died at *Cilurnum*. There are ten names mentioned within the texts, four of whom are women. Both *RIB* 1480 and 1481 provided evidence of the presence of cavalry at *Cilurnum*, with *RIB* 1480 being the tombstone of *Aventius*, the *curator* of the Second Asturians. These were both mentioned in many publications on the Wall and being housed at Alnwick Castle would have been well known. *RIB* 1482 and 1483 (in Durham and Alnwick respectively) would have given Clayton more to consider. Why were troops from these different regiments burying their relatives at *Cilurnum*? The First Cohort of Vangiones was not otherwise attested as being based at *Cilurnum*, whilst Lurio the German did not give his unit's name. It is perhaps telling that Bruce did not include either of these stones in *The Roman Wall*.

4.3.2 Material discovered by Clayton and not within the Collection

Whilst Clayton kept the majority of the items he found through excavation, when a bronze diploma was found in the eastern guard chamber of the southern gateway in 1879 he felt it should go to the British Museum. As the letter below shows, Clayton felt that "all objects of general interest should rest there". This practice of sending important items to the British Museum had a long tradition. As the national museum, it was thought the best resting place for significant or important material. A copy of

the diploma was made for display at *Cilurnum* and the original remains at the British Museum (BM number 1880, 0707.2).

Letter John Clayton to Augustus Woolaston Franks (underlining as in letter)

June 21st 1880, Chesters

My dear Sir,
I mean to present to the British Museum the Roman Military Diploma found last year at Cilurnum – I do this from a feeling that all objects of <u>general</u> interest should rest <u>there</u>.

In case you should be likely to be in town next month I should be glad to call on you on Thursday the 8th and deliver into your hands the precious slate.

I remain always
Sincerely yours
John Clayton

In the 1930 auction, which sold the contents of the mansion house at The Chesters, there were many items sold which can be identified as archaeological finds. The listings are vague, however, so ascertaining material which was discovered at *Cilurnum* is difficult. One item which can definitely be linked to a specific find from *Cilurnum*, is Lot. No. 1553, "A Roman gold ring with stadium intaglio" (Hampton and Sons 1930, 97). This ring was an important find for Clayton, who dedicated a note to the object in *Archaeologia Aeliana* (1885). He had the intaglio re-set into a gold ring, at the suggestion of Rev. C. W. King of Trinity College Cambridge, as the iron ring was corroded (Clayton 1885, 134). The imagery on the gem was extremely ornate, and illustrated a very Roman activity, chariot racing in a circus.

Unfortunately, the other lots are not specific enough to be able to ascertain if they relate to material discovered at *Cilurnum*. Lot No. 2081, which is listed as "About 50 pieces of ancient Roman stonework", is likely to have contained material from *Cilurnum*, purely from a statistical point of view (Hampton and Sons 1930, 124). Many of the coin lots do not list where the material was found and so there is no possibility of knowing; some must have come from *Cilurnum* as Clayton and Bruce regularly noted the discovery of coins, but there are now only 33 identifiable as coming from Clayton's excavations within the Collection. The specific issue of coins within the Collection is discussed in Chapter 3. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to identify those coins found at *Cilurnum*, which were either given away or sold by Clayton in his lifetime, or

those sold in the 1930 House Sale. The only coins traced have been from Coventina's Well, the Walbottle Hoard, the Thorngrafton arm purse and Carrawburgh fort (see pages 70-78).

4.4 *Cilurnum* after Clayton

After Clayton's death in 1890, the pace of investigation at *Cilurnum* slowed. Whilst the land remained in the ownership of the Clayton family excavation continued in order to complete some of the work started by John. Once the land had been sold to Captain Keith excavation was much more limited to small, targeted trenches to answer specific questions. This may partly be linked to the rise of archaeology as a more a scientific discipline, with a move towards research plans and methodology rather than large-scale excavation for general interest. Tables 4.2 and 4.3 list these two different series of excavations.

Date	**What excavated**	**Published**
by 1892	Area between HQ building and commandant's house	Haverfield 1902
1894	Barracks in NE corner of fort, to the extent visible today	Bruce 1895
1900	Trenches to locate line of Hadrian's Wall ditch	Haverfield 1902, 9-21
1903	Trenching of the vallum	Haverfield 1904, 238-43
1904	*Principia*, including the well	Hodgson 1909, 136
1921	Fort ditches at east and west gates	Simpson 1922, 216-8
1924	North entrance of principia	Brewis 1924, 319-23

Table 4.2 Excavations at Cilurnum *after Clayton's death whilst the estate was still in Clayton hands*

Within the Collection, most material discovered after Clayton's death is from *Cilurnum*. Some is from the period 1890-1930, but there is also a group of material from the Ministry of Works consolidation programme in the late 1950s. The material that can be assigned to the period between 1890 and 1930 are approximately 15 pieces of Samian ware, the leather shoe now mounted on a wooden foot (CH1107), a silver belt-plate (CH3086) and 19 pieces of stonework, mostly architectural or sculptural. Material found by the Ministry of Works consolidation has better findspot information than most of the material found prior to this. Ornate painted plaster was discovered in the *praetorium,* and across the site coins and other small finds were found. Most of the discoveries post-1890 confirmed Clayton's thoughts on the units garrisoned there and the type of material culture at the fort. CH502 however, discovered in 1956, provided evidence for another unit at *Cilurnum*. A building dedication slab dedicated by the First

Cohort of Dalmatians was found upside down, being reused in the strongroom. This discovery serves as a reminder that Clayton and his men did not answer all the questions about Roman occupation at *Cilurnum*.

Date	**What excavated**	**Published**
1930	Trenches to investigate bath-house stratigraphy	MacDonald 1931, 219-304
1938	Trenches at East gateway	Rowlands 1939, 31-4
1938	Trenches at P*rincipia*	Rowlands 1939, 50-56
1938	Trenches at *Praetorium*	Rowlands 1939, 66-69
1938	Trenches at Barracks	Rowlands 1939, 71-73
1945	Turret 27a	Anonymous, 1946
1946	East pier of 2nd bridge	Bidwell and Holbrook 1989, 6
1954	Trenching to locate the vallum on eastern river bank - outside of the fort	Bidwell and Holbrook 1989, 20
1957-8	Consolidation of the Bath-house with recording by Gillam	Bidwell and Holbrook 1989, 20
1950s and 1960s	Ministry of Works consolidation	Bidwell and Snape 1993, 17
1960	South-west part of *Praetorium*	Harper 1961, 321-6
1977	Watching brief for service trenches to shop - outside of the fort	Grenville *et al.* 2002, 18
1978	Watching brief for service trenches to café - outside of the fort	Grenville *et. al.* 2002, 18
1982-3	Eastern bridge abutment	Bidwell and Holbrook 1989, 6-7
1990-1	Western bridge abutment	Bidwell and Griffiths forthcoming

Table 4.3 Excavations at Cilurnum *after the splitting up of the estate in 1930*

4.5 Case studies of *Cilurnum* material

Of all the material within the Collection, when archives and the two coin hoards from Throckley and Coventina's Well are taken out, the material from *Cilurnum* represents 45% of the Collection - 4577 records out of 10,089. Of this number, 4339 (43%) records relate to material found by Clayton and his heirs, which will be discussed here. This

percentage could be increased if the unprovenanced material was assigned to *Cilurnum*, which is relatively likely, albeit speculative.

Clayton and his workmen did not apparently keep coarseware pottery or unworked animal bone. This is deduced from the amounts described either as being found, or seen in excavation photographs compared with the quantity of this type of material within the Collection. However, neither did they cherry-pick only complete or well preserved items. Whilst their collection method would not be approved of today, it does appear that a large proportion of the finds discovered was kept. The effect that this practice had on the Collection as a whole has been discussed in more detail in Chapter 1.

In this section, some general analysis of the material culture of *Cilurnum* will be carried out. Table 4.4 breaks down the 4339 records into material type showing that although pottery makes up a large percentage of the Collection (just under 49%), copper-alloy items constitute almost 24%, which is a very high proportion compared to modern excavations, where iron is usually much more dominant in the metal finds. Equally, animal bone and antler only represent 6% of the Collection, which is much lower than would be expected on a modern excavation. These disproportionate material groups reflect the 19th century context in which *Cilurnum* was excavated. It must be remembered throughout this section that the material being discussed does not represent all of the material discovered at *Cilurnum* by the 19th century workmen. In addition, only material discovered during Clayton's time will be analysed, looking at it through the 19th century lens. Certain later finds will be mentioned when relevant to the argument but in the main, the analysis will deal only with the material within the Collection found during Clayton's lifetime. Short case studies will look in more detail at the quern stones, pottery and glass.

Material	Number of Records
Animal bone	243
Antler	14
Ceramic	2113
Copper-alloy	1036
Gemstone	8
Glass	329
Gold	3
Human bone	8
Iron	311
Jet	16
Lead	42
Leather	6
Pipeclay	6
Shale	37
Shell	3
Silver	7
Stone	149
Other	7

Table 4.4 Materials of all objects from Cilurnum

Breaking the stone category down into types reveals 45 quern stones, 15 altars, 9 centurial stones, 12 commemorative inscriptions, 7 reliefs and 8 statues as well as some small finds. The deities represented on the stonework have been discussed in Chapter 3 whilst the units referred to were used to build a picture of the garrisons based at *Cilurnum* earlier in this chapter. Centurial stones provide the names of some of the soldiers who helped to build the Wall, those found in the area around *Cilurnum* give seven names. Clayton was interested in these centurial stones, writing a detailed article on all the centurial stones he had found (1883).

Ten pieces of copper-alloy, CH8854-8863, are fragments of what is presumed to be a life-sized statue. Traces of gilding remain on some of the pieces, and they appear to have been deliberately cut. CH8855 shows traces of drapery but unfortunately, very

few other details remain. If these pieces were from a life-size statue, it would most likely have been of an Emperor.[68] Which emperor will never be known, and whether the statue was destroyed in the Roman period or later is also unknown. However, the presence of these pieces in the Collection shows that the retention policy for metalwork was more comprehensive than that for pottery. The pieces may also give an insight into the manifestation of the Imperial cult at *Cilurnum*.

The loss of Clayton's personal papers, which were so useful to Budge (1903, vii), has meant that detailed provenance information has been lost for the bulk of the Collection. Only around 65 finds found at *Cilurnum* in Clayton's era can be given a detailed findspot within the fort, of which 15 are sculptures or inscriptions, 38 are sherds of pottery and only around 10 are objects or small finds. This information has been gleaned using publications from Clayton's excavations, where he often gave details on inscribed or sculpted stone, as well as briefly listing some of the small finds from that excavation, or from notes attached to the finds. The stonework has all been published in *Roman Inscriptions in Roman Britain* (Collingwood and Richmond 1965) or *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani* I.6 (Coulston and Phillips 1988).

One source that has been useful to make up for this lack of information is the Blair sketchbook collection held at the Northumberland Archives Centre, Woodhorn. Blair visited Chesters on a regular basis and his sketchbooks record what he saw on these visits from 1877 through to the 1890s. Individual sketches are dated, and as such, we can use these dates to ascertain where certain finds were excavated by linking them to the timetable of excavation. Two examples will be discussed here to show the methodology used in this process. Fig. 4.8 shows an ornate bronze furniture mount with a projecting bust of a *maenad*. The illustration is dated 16/9/1881. Unfortunately, Clayton excavated in multiple parts of the fort that year so this does not lead to an exact findspot, although it does provide a firm *Cilurnum* provenance and a date. Fig. 4.9 shows a highly decorative harness mount, dated 25/6/1888. In this year, excavation was restricted to only four rooms in the barrack blocks in the north east corner of the fort so this piece must have come from this area. Other items have been

[68] Fragments of statues, probably of emperors have been found at multiple forts along the German limes (Kemkes 2008, 143, Abb. 5).

given improved findspots using Blair's sketchbooks and these are listed in Table 4.5, whilst a more detailed list of all items identified in the sketchbooks is given in Appendix Q.

CH number	Object Description	Date seen by Blair	Provenance
CH908	Copper-alloy fitting or knife handle	25/3/1889	North east corner of fort
CH993	Copper-alloy lamp	28/6/1880	South wall and four interval towers
CH1056	Copper-alloy and enamel seal box	April 1880	South-east angle tower, granaries or south wall
CH1504	Copper-alloy figurine of a dog	28/6/1880	South wall and four interval towers
CH3084	Copper-alloy mount of a maenad	16/9/1881	South-east angle tower, granaries or south wall
CH3085	Unidentified pewter item	28/6/1880	South wall and four interval towers
CH3529	Copper-alloy and *millefiori* stud	25/6/1888	Barrack blocks in north-east of fort

Table 4.5 Items given improved provenance using Blair's sketchbooks

Figure 4.8 Bronze mount of a maenad CH3084 (Blair Sketchbook SANT/BEQ/02/01/03 P31)

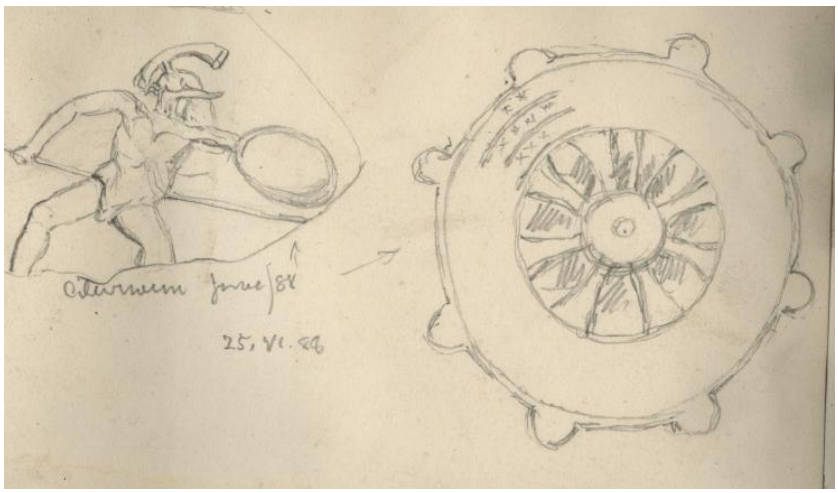


Figure 4.9 Enamelled bronze mount CH3529 on right, with decorated samian on the left (Blair Sketchbook SANT/BEQ/02/01/05 P301). A photograph of CH3529 can be seen in Fig.6.12 (p.195)

Holmes' summary of the excavation of the bath-house ends with a very brief list of objects found, namely "*beads, brooches and a jet ring….a piece of delicate gold chain….and hair pins were scattered about over the rooms generally*" (1887, 129). This brief description is typical of 19th century reports, meaning it is often impossible to link objects back to findspots not marked at the time. There is only one piece of gold chain within the Collection, CH966, so it is presumed that this is the item mentioned by Holmes. There are two jet finger rings ascribed to *Cilurnum* and so it is not possible to know which of these Holmes means. Equally, the beads, brooches and hairpins were not described in this report and so cannot be matched to any items in the Collection. One penannular brooch (CH2426) has been listed with a findspot of the bath-house but this was done by a recent curator and the evidence is not known. As has been discussed in the Coins section of chapter 3, it has proved impossible to match any of the 55 coins listed in Clayton's notebook as having been discovered in the bath house, to coins in the Collection (CH8326).

Clayton's publications on the material from *Cilurnum* reveal a little of his interests and expertise. His first article is in the form of a letter to the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, suggesting he did not have time to attend the meeting. In this, he refers to the baths found near the Commanding Officer's house, which he compares to baths found in Stabiae, Italy, demonstrating he was aware of discoveries elsewhere. The short letter concludes with a list of items found during the excavations, including a crossbow brooch, silver intaglio finger ring, three styli, two spear heads and "upwards of fifty coins of various Emperors" (Clayton 1844, 144).

Throughout this thesis, some groups of material from *Cilurnum* will be analysed in more detail with regards to specific questions. Items of personal adordment are discussed within Chapter 5, where ideas of fashion and choice are considered. When items of *militaria* are examined in Chapter 6, material related to the cavalry unit garrisoned at *Cilurnum* is highlighted, as is the high number of spears of an unusual form. Chapter 7, on craft and industry, reviews the tools and other evidence for manufacture, the vast majority of which was from *Cilurnum*. This indicates items were being produced in metal, antler and bone on the site, and that this activity was taking place within the fort, not just in the surrounding extra-mural settlement. Three short studies on the querns, pottery and the glass vessels will serve to discuss the material within its 19th century context, and investigate how the composition of the assemblage came about.

4.5.1 Querns

In 1889 when excavating the barracks in the north-eastern corner of the fort, a "quantity of mill-stones" were found (Bruce 1889, 375). These items are now referred to as quern stones, and were used for grinding grain by hand. These querns reflect the everyday activities of life in a fort, compared to the much rarer occurrence of military action. There are 45 querns, or parts of querns, probably from *Cilurnum* out of 51 in the whole Collection. Budge merely says the querns are "chiefly from Chesters" and Hall does not assign a provenance (Budge 1903, 409; Hall 1900, 67-8). A high number of querns clearly was found at *Cilurnum* as they are mentioned specifically by Bruce, who unfortunately does not give a quanity.

The querns caught the interest of Bruce who assigned a whole page of his article on the excavation to a discussion of their use (1889, 375). In particular, CH530, which was found with both its upper and lower parts and the remains of an iron band around the top section, allowed Bruce to consider in detail how these items functioned. A wooden handle was made to fit into the iron band in order to illustrate this to visitors almost immediately after discovery. This is not a practice which would be advocated by archaeologists and conservators today, as wood and iron require different storage conditions.

In the 19th century, hand querns were still used in some rural areas, as evidenced by the example Bruce notes from Kilkenny, Ireland (*ibid.*). At *Cilurnum,* no proof of a

watermill has been discovered, although they are known at Birdoswald (Willowford Bridge) and Great Chesters (Haltwhistle Burn) (Croom 2011, 53) and so it must be presumed that the flour at *Cilurnum* was hand ground. The presence of so many quern stones in the barracks backs up this possibility. Indeed, it is widely accepted that soldiers ground their own grain if no mill was available (Haynes 2013, 179).[69] Croom estimates that it would take a solider at the most half an hour to grind his daily grain ration of 850g, (representing approximately 65% of the suggested 3000 calories a day for a soldier) (2011, 51). If members of a *contubernium* shared one quern, it would be in use for up to four hours a day, every day. It is not clear if Bruce imagined soldiers as the "busy operatives" using the querns, or envisaged civilians or slaves as carrying out this task (1889, 375). He notes that the Kilkenny example was worked by women, so was he presuming the same for the Roman period? Unfortunately, we cannot know, but it is interesting that the antiquarians felt these functional items worthy of attention.

Figure 4.10 CH530, showing the wooden handle added by Clayton

4.5.2 Pottery

Although not a large group compared to assemblages found on many Roman sites, the pottery vessels make up the largest single group of material from *Cilurnum* with over 2000 records.[70] Some of these records relate to individual sherds, whilst others are groups of pottery. Within the ceramic group, over 1000 records relate to Samian ware. This is not a normal ratio and is probably due to Clayton's workmen favouring the

[69] Caracalla is said to have ground his own grain and bake his own bread in order to identify with the soldiers under his command (Herodian 4.7.5).

[70] Not included in this count are objects other than vessels made from ceramic, e.g. inkwells or tiles.

retention of Samian over coarseware and even other fineware pottery. Much more coarseware would be expected when all material is retained from a Roman site, for example the Piercebridge excavations between 1969 and 1981 produced 7018 sherds of Samian and approximately 50,000 sherds of coarseware (Cool and Mason 2008, 169; 208).

Although it is not stated in any of Clayton or Bruce's publications on the excavations that Samian was favoured over coarseware, Samian was always mentioned separately to other pottery. It is likely that as Samian was often figured or stamped it drew more attention from the antiquaries. In addition, as it was found all across the Empire, it would have been associated with Roman culture more than the plainer coarsewares, which were regional. Photographs of Clayton's excavations show large quantities of animal bone and pottery left on the sides of trenches (see Fig. 4.11). It would seem that most of this pottery was coarseware as the ratio between Samian and coarseware in the Collection is not what might reasonably be expected.

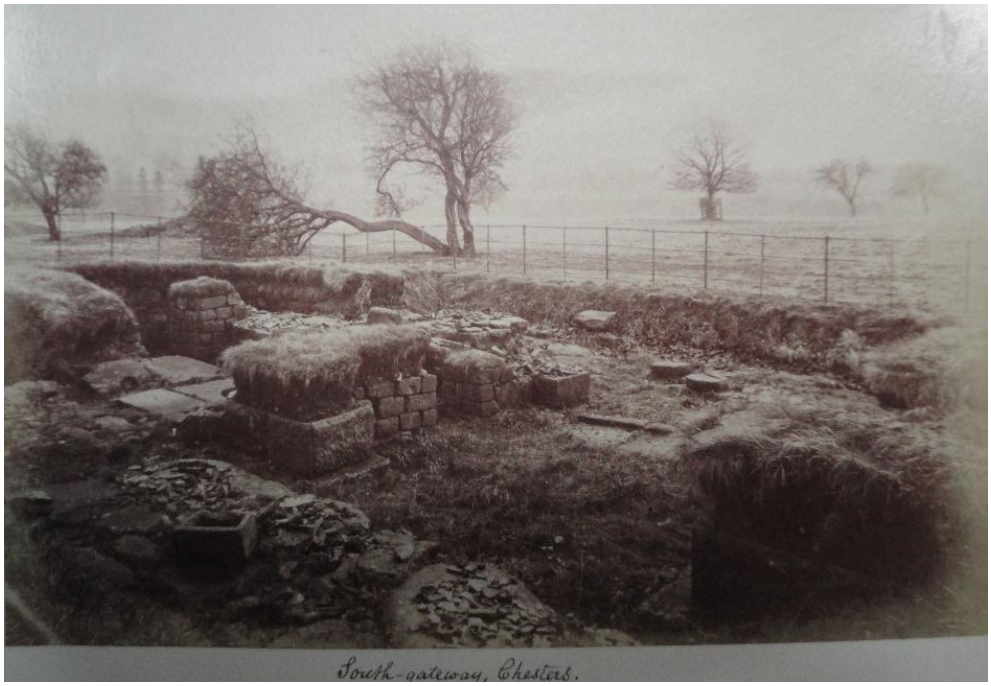


Figure 4.11 Photograph of the south gateway under excavation with pottery and animal bone laid on the exposed stones

Pottery	Number of records
Amphorae	28
Ceramic (undefined)	762
Greyware	132
Mortaria	77
Samian	1075

Table 4.6 Broad forms of pottery from Cilurnum *(where identifiable)*

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to carry out a detailed quantification of the pottery from the Collection as almost no work has been carried out previously on it in terms of fabric or form identification. Indeed, the number of sherds is not even listed in every record. It would require a great deal of research, and in depth knowledge of Roman pottery, in order to be able to discuss the material in any significant way. As this thesis aims to focus on the small finds, what follows is a short summary of the pottery intended to highlight the potential for future work. Table 4.6 shows the fabric breakdown of the *Cilurnum* pottery, where it is known. No attempt has been made to create Minimum Number of Vessel counts, as the data is not adequate for this. Equally, comparison with other sites is not possible with the current level of data.

Pottery, which can be assigned to a specific location on the site, falls into two main groups. Firstly twenty-one sherds are from the excavations near the North Gateway, which took place around 1888-9. Almost this entire group comprises Samian ware or *amphora* fragments. Secondly, fourteen pieces of *amphora* (CH12046-12059) have been marked with the date 1885, which is when Clayton and his men were excavating the external bath-house so it seems likely this is where they were found. There are also nine pieces which Blair saw in spring 1893 which may have come from these excavations, but it is not certain and they may have been discovered by work carried out under Nathaniel George in 1892 in the area between the *principia* and *praetorium*.

Even from this initial assessment, the pottery assemblage can be shown to reflect 19th century collecting practices rather than being representative of the pottery left by the occupants of the site. Much more *mortaria*, *amphorae* and other coarsewares would be expected in an assemblage from a site occupied for three centuries. There has been deliberate selection by Clayton and his workmen, as a study by Hudak (2013) shows. Of

the 148 sherds of *mortaria* within the Collection, 77 can be identified as being from *Cilurnum*. Hudak's work suggests Clayton and his workmen preferred rim sherds, white wares and stamped sherds over plain body sherds, as the proportions are skewed towards the former group (2013, 21). The pieces kept by Clayton and his men are the more diagnostic pieces which they would have recognised as providing more information. The study of the *mortaria* in the Collection was an interesting case study, which revealed much about Clayton's attitude to pottery, but the material cannot be used for traditional pottery analysis due to this pre-selection of material.

4.5.3 Glass

The study of glass from Roman Britain was slow to begin, and many early reports contain only brief summaries of the finds. In Clayton and Bruce's reports on excavations at *Cilurnum* glass is rarely mentioned and when listed receives only the briefest mention. The first overview of Roman glass from northern Britain was by Charlesworth in 1959, who also wrote reports on the glass finds from individual sites in the 1960s and 1970s. From the 1980s, more detailed study was undertaken on the glass assemblages from Hadrian's Wall sites as more excavations were published. Price's assessment of the state of knowledge of glass in the Hadrian's Wall zone is the latest synthesis, which lists all previous work (2009, 135-6).

From the 329 glass records, the 86 beads and 6 bracelets will be discussed in the Chapter 5. There are also nine pieces of window glass. It is possible that they come from the bath-house by the river, as Bruce notes that he found some fragments of window glass outside the hot bath room (1884, 103). Bruce's suggestion of how window glass was made is extremely observant, noting the smoothness of one side as opposed to the irregularities on the other (*ibid.*). A brief discussion of the 209 vessel sherds highlights the range of glass, from the common blue-green square bottles to some rare painted and engraved glass.

Vessel Type	**Number**
Beaker	6
Bottle	48
Bowl	18
Cup	17
Flask/ Flagon	7
Jar	7
Jug	10
Unguentaria	6
Unknown vessel	90
Total	**209**

Table 4.7 Listing the vessel glass from Cilurnum

Table 4.7 shows the range of vessel types represented in the Collection. Of the 48 bottle pieces, most are from the common blue-green square bottles, which are found in large quantities on most Roman sites, being used for storage of liquids. Amongst the functional vessels, there are also some highly decorative and delicate pieces. CH1363 is a fragment of a colourless cylindrical cup, which has painted decoration (Fig. 4.12). These cups were the dominant form of drinking vessel in the 2nd and 3rd centuries in forts and *vici* and come in two decorated forms, painted and engraved. Allen states, "both groups have characteristic design elements that indicate that each represents the work of one person or a small team." (1998, 39). The painted examples are concentrated along Hadrian's Wall (*ibid*., 42). There are individual pieces at Housesteads and Corbridge with similar designs to the *Cilurnum* example, whilst Vindolanda has around one-third of a cup with a gladiator scene. Engraved glass is also present in the Collection. CH1365 and CH1366 are fragments of the same vessel, showing a man mounted on a horse. CH1367 shows just the tail of a fish, echoing the fish painted on CH1363. This small group of decorative glassware shows both that Clayton's men were excavating carefully enough to be able to spot these small pieces,

and that there was sufficient wealth at *Cilurnum* to purchase imported items of decorative tableware.

Figure 4.12 CH1363, painted glass cup fragment (Blair sketchbook SANT/BEQ/02-01-11 P95)

There has been no study of the whole collection of vessel glass from *Cilurnum* prior to this thesis. Professor Jennifer Price has looked at some of the pieces of glass, but this work was limited to specific types, such as the cut glass or mould blown bases (2010, 42; 2011, 27-8). Similarly, Charlesworth included the painted and cut pieces in her summary of Roman glass in Northern Britain (1959, 42-48). Of the 209 vessel fragments, 90 are not diagnostic enough to be assigned to a specific vessel type. This short case study has highlighted that specialist work is needed on this part of the Collection and that all the glass should be examined, not just that from *Cilurnum.*

4.6 Conclusion

Cilurnum, a cavalry fort for almost 300 years, was partially revealed by Clayton and his workmen in the 19th century. In the intervening period, it suffered stone robbing and damage by the plough, but compared to forts under modern towns it survived extremely well. Since Clayton's death in 1890, excavation at *Cilurnum* has been minimal and research on the material from the site has been limited in both scope and depth. The enormous impact that Clayton has had on our understanding of *Cilurnum* is apparent from this short summary of the history of his work there: almost all analysis is based on his excavations, scanty records, and the Collection. To fully understand the finds from this period of excavation, the methodology, retention/disposal policy and the effect of the following 140 years have to be taken into account.

From a 21st century perspective, the collecting methods of Clayton's men were not ideal and as a result, there are biases within some of the artefact types; for example, the pottery assemblage is skewed towards Samian ware. Nevertheless, analysis can still be carried out on the material, as long as these biases are taken into account. Despite the lack of modern recording and investigation, the site at *Cilurnum* is comparatively well understood. There are some artefact groups which require more study, for instance the glass and pottery, and no doubt, modern excavation would help to refine some of the sequencing on the site.

5. Personal Adornment

"*The study of personal ornament is not a frivolous or trivial pastime, but is an area of scholarly research that is essential to the overall understanding of any ancient society*" (Johns 1996, 207)

5.1 Introduction

Items of personal adornment encompass a large range of object types. Some can be classified as jewellery such as finger rings, bracelets, necklaces, ear-rings and beads, while brooches and pins have a functional as well as decorative uses, particularly in the Roman period. Within this chapter, all items of personal adornment from *Cilurnum* will be discussed with an extended case study focusing on the brooches. The brooches from the entire collection will be briefly analysed, with more detailed work carried out on the brooches solely from *Cilurnum*. Analysis will focus on the expression of identity through the choice of specific personal adornment and the identification of women in the fort through items associated with female dress. In addition, questions of interaction between Roman and Celtic art styles will be discussed.

Identity has many strands, including gender, sex, age, status, fashion, ethnicity, religious affiliation, military and civilian status. Within the field of Roman studies, brooches have been one of the key artefact types used due to their role as dress accessories and personal items found across the Empire in such large numbers. However, other items of personal adornment can also be used when studying the expression of identity in Roman Britain, for instance hairpins (Eckardt 2014, 174). Lurie discusses how clothing can be seen as a form of language, as a "non-verbal system of communication" (1981, 3) and that "the vocabulary of dress includes not only items of clothing, but also hair styles, accessories, jewellery, make-up and body decoration" (Lurie 2000, 4). For some wearers the choice of clothing and accessories was not a voluntary decision as there were societal rules regarding what should and should not be worn by certain groups of people (Croom 2002, 30).

The decoration on jewellery, or the material chosen, can often be used to investigate a person's identity, whether it is their religious leanings, fashion sense or perhaps their ethnicity. Ethnicity is the one aspect of identity which is potentially the most controversial and difficult to identify and define (Gardner *et al.* 2013, 2). Sian Jones'

The Archaeology of Ethnicity acknowledges the issues in defining ethnicity and whether or not ethnic identity can even be seen through material culture (1997). Ethnicity is not a static concept, the ethnicity of a group or individual can change through time and may be dependent on the situation. This fluidity of ethnicity, as well as the fact that people may not always be certain of their own ethnicity, means we must be cautious when studying this concept.[71] The work at Lankhills cemetery showed that assigning ethnic origin merely by material culture is not reliable, as the results from isotope analysis showed that the geographical origin of individuals often did not match the ethnic identities assigned from a study of the grave goods (Booth *et al* 2010).

Ivleva's work on the Continent aimed to use 'British' brooches as indicators of a British ethnicity. She looked at epigraphic and literary evidence alongside these brooches to try to identify the presence of British soldiers (and their families) across the Roman Empire, focussing in particular on Continental Europe (2012a; 2012b). The four brooch types identified as British were the trumpet, headstud, dragonesque and umbonate types, plus their variants. Ivleva notes that the presence of a British brooch does not necessarily signify the presence of a person of British ethnicity or origin; it could also indicate a soldier who served in Britain returning to his home province (2012a, 53; Tacoma, Ivleva and Breeze 2016). Ivleva concluded that brooches were used to identify some link with Britain, whether this is through trade (an itinerant trader coming into the area), ethnic origins or place of service. Equally the brooch could have been seen as just a functional clothes fastener, just another brooch, but it is likely that all of the scenarios were true at certain times, for certain people. Jackson's catalogue *Cosmetic sets of late Iron Age and Roman Britain* identified these items as a "distinctively British" object (2010, 69). The four examples in France (2010, 49) show the movement of this item type, which could have arrived by any of the methods Ivleva discusses.

As many of the forms of jewellery are thought to be worn by women, their discovery is often used to strengthen the argument for the presence of women inside forts along

[71] For more detailed work on ethnicity see Diaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005; Jenkins 1997. For modern studies into Roma gypsies which highlight the difficulty in assigning ethnicity, even in a current population, see Tesfay 2009 and Boscoboinik 2006.

Hadrian's Wall.[72] Cool ascribes bracelets, hairpins and beads from necklaces as being "overwhelmingly female" whilst brooches, finger rings, and large beads, such as melon beads, are gender neutral (Cool 2010a, 3). Clayton excavated only within the fort at *Cilurnum*, not in the *vicus*, and so all the items in the Collection associated with women provide further evidence that women were allowed within forts. Due to the limited find-spot information, it cannot be ascertained whether there are areas where more material has been found, so suggesting a focus of female activity, as has been done at Vindolanda (Birley, B. 2013). Nonetheless, this material helps to further support work by Allason-Jones, Greene and van Driel-Murray to demonstrate through personal adornment items or shoes that women were present within the forts (Allason-Jones 1999a; Greene 2012; 2013a; 2013b; van Driel-Murray 1997). The question of the presence of women in forts was listed in the Hadrian's Wall Research Framework (Symonds and Mason 2009b, 14), despite the large amount of work done before the publication of the framework and the validity of the question with the current evidence can be questioned. However, this question is in the research framework referred to by scholars, and so the role the Collection can play in answering any of these questions is worth highlighting.

Another slightly problematic question from the aforementioned research framework is that of "cultural assimilation" (Symonds and Mason 2009b, 14). It is accepted that the culture reaching Britain in the 1st century AD could no longer be considered as classically Roman, having adopted many aspects of culture from the provinces. Vivien Swan puts this elegantly in her work on pottery and ethnicity; ''The processes of conquest, assimilation and Romanisation did not always involve the spread of traditions which pertained to Rome itself, or even to Italy; more often it was the native traditions of soldiers which involved these processes, which were transmitted to and occasionally absorbed by, the provinces which Rome subdued" (Swan 2009, 15). Nonetheless, the arrival of the Romans to Britain did change the style of art and the choice of artefacts that were decorated.

[72] However, as a counter-argument see Allason-Jones 1995 where she discusses the difficulty in ascribing many items of jewellery to a specific sex.

Cultural assimilation between the art styles of the Roman Empire and 'Celtic Britain' can be seen in large scale pieces of art such as statuary, mosaics and reliefs, for instance the Aldborough mosaic which shows the image of Romulus and Remus suckling the she-wolf, but in a style that is most definitely not classically Roman. In this chapter, the potential for the meshing of two different styles of art can also be investigated in smaller items. The most famous example of this hybridity is the dragonesque brooch, which uses Celtic style motifs and colours on a brooch form which is part of the range of zoomorphic plate brooches introduced in the Roman period (Hunter 2008; 2010). Assimilation of so-called local or provincial art on Roman period pieces can be seen all over the frontier zone, and the Clayton Collection is no exception. Items which show this will be discussed throughout the chapter where relevant, but Fig. 5.1 illustrates one such example, a headstud brooch with triskele motifs in enamel giving the Roman brooch form a Celtic look. Clayton's publications rarely mentioned finds in much detail. In regards to cultural assimilation or the mixing of art styles, it is not clear that he considered this at all. Within his letters and publications, the word Celt or Celtic is never discussed. In terms of change in practice and art forms, he and Bruce were more concerned with the affect of Christianity on sculptures and the demolition of Coventina's Well.

Figure 5.1 Headstud brooch CH935

In order to understand Clayton's perception of this material it is worthwhile exploring the Victorian attitudes to jewellery and personal adornment. The following suggests that perhaps Clayton and his peers may have understood the multiplicity of meanings which Roman jewellery could convey: "Jewellery affected all classes and conditions in

Victorian society and had significance beyond that of mere personal adornment, fashion or intrinsic value" (Gere and Rudoe 2010, 82). Gere and Rudoe also state, "throughout the Victorian period jewellery was routinely worn by men…a number of precious ornaments and accessories were normal for men in high society and professional or public life" (*ibid*., 133). However Clayton himself in his portraits is not shown wearing any jewellery, not even a fob watch or cravat pin. It may be significant that Clayton thought that it was women who had "cast into the Well their spare trinkets in the hope of obtaining the countenance of the goddess" at Coventina's Well (1880b, 31). He does not seem to have considered that men may have worn the brooches or other items found in the well. Perhaps he considered the discovery of the brooches, bracelets and rings as evidence of women within the fort of *Cilurnum.* Unfortunately, without his papers or any comments within his publications, this is mere speculation.

During the Victorian period, archaeologically inspired jewellery was extremely popular. Discoveries of material on excavations directly inspired new forms of jewellery (Gere and Rudoe 2010, 376). Clayton can perhaps be seen to be influenced by this in the way he re-set the carnelian intaglio into a 22-carat gold ring (Clayton 1885). This piece was not in the museum, but was kept in the house, suggesting it was being either worn, or at least displayed separately from the main Collection. It is for this reason that the intaglio is no longer in the Collection, along with a small number of other jewellery items sold in the house sale. [73] At least one other intaglio appears to have been re-mounted in a modern fitting, from the information in the auction catalogue. Did Clayton or his sisters ever wear any of the jewellery found during the excavations? As with Clayton's thoughts on who wore these items, this will also remain unknown, but it is clear that Clayton's heirs viewed these items differently to the main collection, perhaps due to the way they were treated by John.

5.1.1 Items of personal adornment excluding brooches

The next section will deal with the items of personal adornment within the Collection from *Cilurnum*. Similar items will be discussed together where it is appropriate.

[73] "Lot No. 1552. A Roman gold ear-ring, another, a ring, and another of bronze and Lot No. 1553. A Roman gold ring with stadium intaglio, 5 various intaglio, a Roman silver ring, another with a modern mount, and a silver Fede ring."

5.1.1.1 Pins

Pins are ubiquitous on Roman sites, and come in a variety of materials, with metal and bone being the most common. There was a wide range of sizes and styles with the design on the head varying greatly. In Cool's typology of metal pins from Southern Britain, she identified 27 types, two of which were miscellaneous groups (1990). Their main use is presumed to be as hairpins during the Roman period, although it is possible they were occasionally used as dress-fasteners. Brooches were used so widely however that pins would not have been as necessary for this function as in the pre-Roman and early medieval periods (Cool 1991, 150; Johns 1996, 137). Here the pins are taken as being used for securing hairstyles and hair ornamentation rather than dress-fasteners (see Hall and Wardle 2005, 173 for further discussion around decorative hairpins). The modern forms of Kirby grips and clips were not in use in the Roman period and so these pins, alongside need-and-thread, were the only available method of securing the buns, twists and coils required by fashionable ladies. When the range of ornate hairstyles seen in the Roman period is considered, it is understandable why so many pins were needed (see Croom 2002, Fig 46 and 47 for details). The changing fashions in the Imperial women's hairstyles can be seen on coins (Croom 2002, 98), whilst sculptural evidence from Britain illustrates the provincial styles (Allason-Jones 2005, 129-33). An example in Roman Britain of pins being used in hair comes from a find of auburn hair wound in a bun and secured by jet pins at the Railway cemetery in York (*ibid.*).

Whilst a large number of hairpins are found on Roman sites, they are very rarely seen in portraiture and sculpture, even when the hairstyle is shown in detail. Stephens article discusses how many of the ornate, but looser, hairstyles could not have been secured using pins but would have been sewn (2008,132). This study showed, through practical experiments, which hairstyles could, and could not, be held by pins or needle-and-thread, so explaining why so few hairpins are seen on sculpture. Stephens then uses the examples of the Kapljnc tomb and Cumae beauty case, both of which show needles and spindles within a cosmetic set, to support her experiments (2008, 122). There are only 34 needles within the Collection, but with closer inspection, using Stephens criteria, some may perhaps be assigned to hair styling rather than textile working however this is something for the future.

Material	Number
Animal bone	124
Antler	1
Copper-alloy	33
Jet	2
Shale	2
Total	162

Table 5.1 Material of the pins

Within the Collection, there are 188 pins, of which 162 are from *Cilurnum*, the focus of this case study. Table 5.1 breaks the pins down into the different materials. 124 are made from animal bone and Cool remarks that it is usual for more bone pins to survive than metal but that this does not necessarily reflect the ratios of pins used in the Roman period. Metal can be melted down into a new form when a style goes out of fashion whereas bone cannot (Cool 1991, 149). In general, metal pins were made of copper-alloy, and this is reflected in the Collection with 33 pins of copper-alloy and none of any other metal. Silver was occasionally used, and became more common in the later Roman period; however, none are present in the Collection.

Table 5.2 shows that 79 of the 124 bone pins can be assigned dates before c.250 AD, whilst Table 5.3 shows few of the copper-alloy pins can be dated to the later periods. Can this high number be explained when thinking about the change in hairstyles throughout the Roman period? From the coin evidence, the hairstyles fashionable in the 4th century would have still required hairpins so fashion choice is not a factor (Croom 2002, Fig 48). The jet and shale pins are most likely to reflect later forms (Allason-Jones 1996; 2010, 83) but the examples in the Collection are so fragmentary they cannot be assigned types or dates. The trend seen on all Roman sites along Hadrian's Wall of material culture reducing in quantity from the late 3rd century onwards must also be taken into account. These two factors combined may explain the lower number of pins from this later period, rather than implying a change in fashion.

Crummy Type	Date Range	Number
1	c.70-200/250 AD	68
2	c. 50-200/250 AD	11
3	c.200- late 3rd/ early 4th century AD	27
5	c.250- late 3rd / early 4th century AD	1
6	c.200- late 3rd / early 4th century AD	2

Table 5.2 Showing the dates of Crummy type bone pins from Cilurnum (using Crummy 1979)

For this analysis Cool's typology of metal pins was used to assign types and date ranges to the metal pins within the Collection, although only 14 of the 33 pins could be assigned a type as many did not retain the head which is the diagnostic feature in this typology. Table 5.3 shows these types, which span the whole of the period of occupation at the site. Cool notes that there is a change in the length of pins through time, probably relating to the way they were worn. The pins in use in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD tend to be longer than those in the 3rd and 4th centuries (1991, 173). This can be used as a guideline to date pins even if the head is missing, but only if the entire shank is present, which is not the case in the examples within the Collection.

Amongst the copper-alloy pins there are four unusual examples, which do not fit Cool's typology and deserve greater attention. There are three with zoomorphic heads, CH980-2 (Fig. 5.2),[74] and one described as proto-zoomorphic with a rounded head, CH984 (Fig. 5.3).[75] All four of these pins can be classed as being Celtic in design, influenced by art from the Iron Age, in a style of art found only in Britain and Ireland, not the Mediterranean regions. The zoomorphic pins are broadly dated to the late 3rd to 4th centuries AD (Fowler 1964, 122) and are very similar to the terminals on Fowler Type E penannular brooches, which are dated to the 4th century AD.[76] The examples with the rounded heads are earlier, probably 1st-2nd century AD, being similar to

[74] Fowler lists these three pins in her 1964 article but has little detail and no numbers, perhaps indicating she saw them only on display and did not have the chance to study them (Appendix 8, p.150).

[75] This pin is listed by Kilbride-Jones (1980, Fig.2).

[76] There is one example of a Type E brooch (CH2051) and one Type E1 (CH2692) within the Collection, both of which date to the 4th century

Fowler Type D4 and D5 brooches (Laing 1993). It is not clear how the penannular brooches and pins are related. Kilbride-Jones suggests that the proto-zoomorphic pins are the precursors to both the zoomorphic pins and brooches (1980, 5-8), yet there is a gap of about 200 years between the development of the two designs. In addition, the penannular brooch form had been in use since at least the 3rd century BC and developed a wide variety of forms early on. It seems more likely that the zoomorphic pins developed from the zoomorphic penannular brooches, or at around the same time, being part of the same package of zoomorphic personal adornment items.

Cool Type	Date Range	Number
1	1st – 4th centuries AD	4
1D	1st – 4th centuries AD	1
2	1st – 4th centuries AD	1
3	1st- 3rd centuries AD	1
3 or 11	2nd century AD (?)	3
5	2nd century AD	1
24	2nd century AD	3

Table 5.3 Showing the dates of Cool type copper-alloy pins from Cilurnum

The topic of Celtic art is complicated and contentious, with its origins in the Iron Age, continuation into the Roman period, and re-emergence in the early medieval period (Gosden and Hill 2008; Laing 1993). This is not the place to explore the complex issues of the links and influences of this art style but it is worth noting that items in the Clayton Collection could be brought to bear on some of these arguments. The three zoomorphic pins at *Cilurnum* provide evidence for the continuation of Celtic influences in the personal adornment worn by the occupants. 2nd century dragonesque brooches, which will be discussed in more detail on page 128, further indicate that although the majority of the material culture was Roman in style, there were pieces of a Romano-British, or Romano-Celtic, nature being worn. These small clues are important when looking at broader issues of cultural assimilation within the frontier zone, and the use of artistic style to express identity. Further, the dates of items CH980-982 add to the growing evidence for later material on Hadrian's Wall. The presence in the Collection of two crossbow brooches which date to c.AD 340-380 are also part of this and are discussed in more detail in Chapter 6 on pages 192-3.

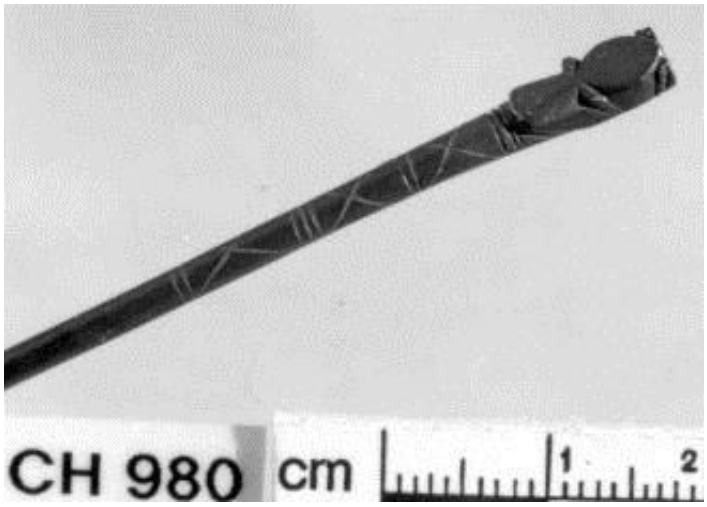


Figure 5.2 CH980, zoomorphic pin

Figure 5.3 CH984, proto-zoomorphic pin

5.1.1.2 Finger rings and intaglios

Finger rings were a Roman introduction to Britain (Johns 1996, 41). As with pins, finger rings were made from a range of material, from gold to bone, so all levels of society would have been able to purchase rings. Finger rings can mainly be seen as ornamental rather than functional or practical items; however, rings with intaglios did originally function as sealing devices, whilst key-finger rings were used for opening boxes and other small locks. Whilst finger rings rarely had a practical function, like that of dress-fastener for brooches, they could be used to convey many messages about status and beliefs. Much of the imagery on intaglios had religious meaning, as did the inscriptions, meaning these rings were not simply ornamental, but had layered meaning. The material used to make the ring, as well as the intaglio would demonstrate your wealth, whilst the style could indicate your fashion tastes or religious beliefs.

There are 45 finger rings in total in the Collection; thirteen from Coventina's Well, one from Carrawburgh, one from Great Chesters, one each from Rochester or Alnham, and from Nether Denton, one where the provenance is unknown and twenty-seven from *Cilurnum*; these will be the focus here. The finger rings from Coventina's Well have been fully published (Allason-Jones and McKay 1985), whilst the sites with only one ring do not allow any detailed analysis. The *Cilurnum* finger rings are made from the range of materials to be expected, with seventeen being made from copper-alloy, two each of iron, jet and silver, and one each of shale and gold. It must also be remembered that another iron ring was found at *Cilurnum*, which housed the impressive chariot scene intaglio, whilst some of the jewellery sold in the House sale could also have been discovered on the site. Within the group, there are also two key-finger rings, which as mentioned, performed a different role to the other finger rings.

In general, jet finger rings followed similar styles to rings made in metal (Johns 1996, 70). CH 3130 follows this rule, with an oval bezel on top of the hoop, similar to Guiraud Type 4f (1988). Conversely, CH1454 is unusual in its form as well as its decoration, not copying any of the normal range of metal rings. It has, in effect, two bezels, at opposing sides of the hoop (Figs. 5.4 and 5.5). An inscription and Christian symbols are carved onto the surface on the bezels and hoop. The inscription and *chi-rho* on the bezels are engraved into the surface in retrograde, whilst the inscription on the hoop of the ring is in relief, in sunken panels and can be read in the normal order. This ring is an example of high-quality craftsmanship, indicating the presence of someone at *Cilurnum* with a level of wealth to be able to purchase such an item. With an internal diameter of 24.5mm, this is most likely to be a ring worn by a man, and equates to a modern British size Z+6 (http://www.ringsizes.co/).

QVIS SEPΛ | MEVMETTVVM | DVRΛNTEVITΛ
quis sepa(rabit) meum et tuum durante vita?
Who shall separate mine and thine while life lasts?
RIB 2422.80

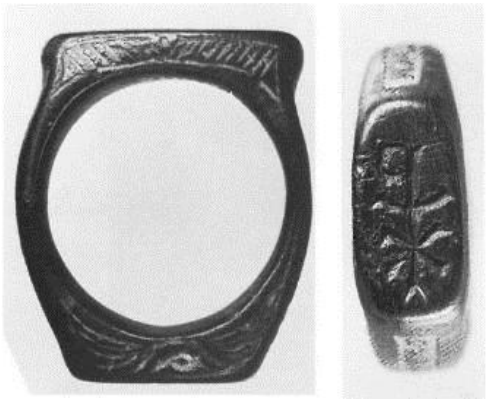


Figure 5.4 and Figure 5.5 CH1454, jet ring with Christian symbols

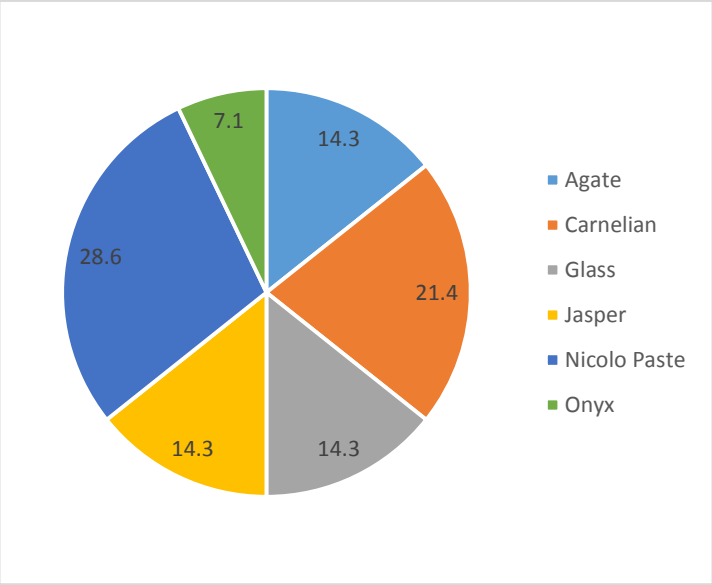
Debate over the identification of items with Christian symbols or phrases has a long history, and it is accepted that that some objects or buildings are clearly associated with Christianity, whilst others are less obvious (Thomas 1981, 98). This finger ring can be used as an example of the contrasting opinions and methodology applied to item when assigning them a Christian link, or not. Wall (1965, 223) and Thomas see the ring as clearly Christian, both the *chi-rho* and the inscription lending weight to this argument and Thomas states that in this ring "personal and Christian devotion are combined" (Thomas 1981, 132). In opposition, Mawer has catalogued this item as only possibly being Christian, and not even definitely Roman (1995, 75-6). Whilst recognising Mawer's arguments, it is felt that the balance lies with this ring being Christian and of a Roman date, as so few non-Roman items have been found on site.

The symbolism on the ring provides evidence for at least one person at *Cilurnum* of Christian faith. Unfortunately, it is very difficult to assign a date to the ring as it does not fit the general typologies, though due to its Christian nature it is more likely to be 4th century in date. There is a small, but significant, amount of evidence for Christianity in the military zone, for example the Aemelia finger ring found at Corbridge (*RIB* 2422.1), perhaps dating as early as the 2nd century, and a 5th-6th century tombstone of a Christian within the Collection from Vindolanda, CH247.[77] CH1454 further adds to this growing body of evidence for the spread of this religion into the region. What is surprising is that Clayton and Bruce did not recognise this ring, and its significance, at the time of its discovery. Budge thought the monogram read 'TB', which presumably followed the translation by Clayton and Bruce, so no Christian meaning was attributed

[77] For a more detailed list on evidence for Christianity in the frontier zone, see Wall 1965 and 1966, whilst for a wider survey see Thomas 1981.

at the time. If the Christian link had been made by Clayton or Bruce it is highly likely that more attention would have been paid to the ring as they were very interested in the religion of the inhabitants of the Wall, see for instance Clayton's long descriptions of the material from Coventina's Well (1880a; 1880b).

Moving from items with Christian symbols to those with pagan symbols, there are 14 intaglios within the Collection, all from *Cilurnum*. Five of these are still set into their rings; CH988, 1780, 2250, 2258 and 2846. The materials of which the intaglios are made is shown in Graph 5.1. Henig's *Corpus of Roman Engraved Gemstones from British Sites* also lists four other intaglios no longer in the Collection; No.11, Jupiter enthroned; No.94, Mars; No. 513, the chariot scene; and No.678, a cock with an ear of corn (Henig 1978). These intaglios were presumably sold in the House Sale as six are listed in the auction lots. Clayton seems to have been rather interested in the intaglios, writing an article on the chariot scene intaglio and illustrating a finger ring and its intaglio found in the excavations of the internal bath-house (1885; 1844). This interest is most likely to be linked to their imagery, marking them out as pieces of art, illustrating Classical deities or themes. Although originally intaglios were used as seals (Henig 1978, 17), "the decorative potential of a beautifully engraved and coloured gem often came to be more highly valued than its practical purpose of a seal" (Johns 1996, 75). In this light, the motifs used on the gems are seen as the most important aspect, and their symbolism will be discussed.



Graph 5-1 Showing the materials used in the Cilurnum *intaglios*

Sixty-one intaglios have been published from Vindolanda which allowed Greene to analyse the ratios of the different subjects portrayed on the intaglios (2006, 62-3). She noted that 35% of the intaglios had imagery related to prosperity and 23% were related to military themes (*ibid.).* Whilst the low number of intaglios from *Cilurnum* makes this statistical comparison less valid, some comments can be made. The imagery used on the *Cilurnum* intaglios is mixed, with a variety of deities, animals and other symbols. There are four images which can be linked to the military (CH969, 974, 966 and 2846), and three to prosperity (CH970-972), so reflecting similar themes seen at Vindolanda. There are some images where the meaning is unclear, for example CH2250 showing a leaf of a deciduous tree or CH968 with a female bust. 23% of the Vindolanda intaglios had images where the meaning was unknown or unclear, so this is not an unusual phenomenon. From the small sample of intaglios at *Cilurnum* it can be seen that occupants here were concerned with the same broad issues as at Vindolanda; wealth, well-being and safety during military action. This is not altogether surprising when they were living on the north-western edge of Roman civilisation.

The intaglios from Vindolanda could be assigned dates linked to the stratigraphy revealed through modern excavation. This allowed the observation that from the late 2nd century onwards there was a higher proportion of inferior quality material used to make intaglios, such as nicolo paste and glass (Greene 2006, 57-9). Whilst none of the intaglios from *Cilurnum* can be closely dated, those set within rings can be dated using the ring form. Three of the five rings contain intaglios of inferior material, with CH988 (paste) and CH2250 (glass) being dated to the 3rd century and CH2846 (glass) dated to the 2nd century. CH2258 also has a later date, from the late 2nd-4th century, but has an agate intaglio. Unfortunately, there is no 1st century occupation at *Cilurnum* to compare this with, as at Vindolanda, but nonetheless it is worth considering the implications of this trend. Glass and paste are cheaper than semi-precious gemstones, so opening up the market for intaglios to a wider spectrum of the population. This implies there was a market for intaglios, and that people within different social classes were now able to purchase them.

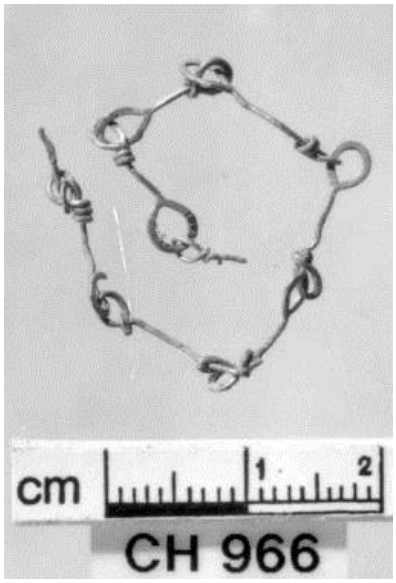
5.1.1.3 Bracelets, necklaces and ear-rings

Necklaces and bracelets were an integral feature of the female dress all over the Roman Empire (Johns 1996, 87) and ear-rings were worn mostly by women, although

in some of the eastern provinces men also wore ear-rings (Allason-Jones 1989a). All three of these object types were worn and used in Britain before the arrival of the Romans. New forms were introduced and hybrids of Roman and British styles developed throughout the Roman period as the native craftsmen produced items to attract locals, soldiers and other incomers to the area.

There are only two sections of necklace from *Cilurnum*; one is gold, the other copper-alloy. CH966, Fig. 5.6, is a short piece of gold chain, with a slightly unusual form of loop. One end of each link is a flattened loop, whilst the other is made from wire, twisted into a loop with the ends curled back around to form a collar. Necklaces consisting of gold chain alone were sometimes worn, as on a choker found near Carlisle (Johns 1996, 92) and this could be one such example as it is difficult to see how beads could be threaded onto this chain. There is the possibility of a pendant, although the chain is extremely delicate so could not have held much weight. Johns says it is often difficult to say whether bronze chains are for jewellery, but they "must have existed in considerable numbers" (1996, 96), CH965, Fig. 5.7, is so delicate and with the twisted central sections, decorative, that it seems likely this was a piece of jewellery.

The significance of these two pieces is two-fold. Firstly, they indicate the presence of women in the fort of *Cilurnum*, and in the case of CH966, a woman with sufficient wealth to own a gold necklace. Secondly, they demonstrate that although the methods of excavation by Clayton's workmen were not to our exacting modern standards, the workmen were observant. Whilst the gold chain probably glinted in the sun and so was easy to spot, the copper-alloy chain, dulled by corrosion to a green hue, required a careful eye to discover. Necklaces are found less often on Roman sites than beads or finger rings, as evidenced by the Piercebridge report, which contains 2 necklaces, but 136 beads and 46 finger rings (Cool 2008, 246). Therefore, the small number of necklaces at *Cilurnum* is not significant. There is an equally small number of ear-rings in the Collection, only four, one of which is from Great Chesters and little of interest can be said about these pieces.



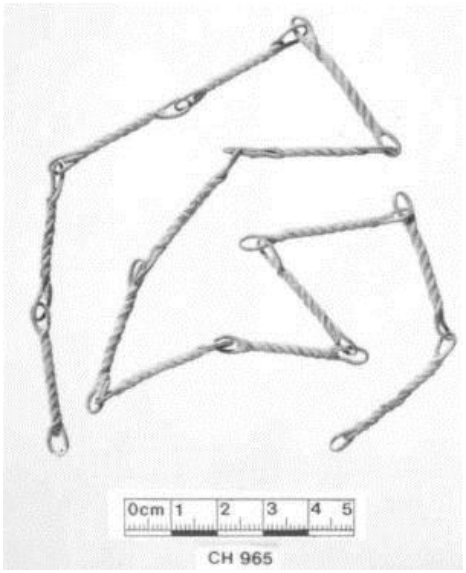
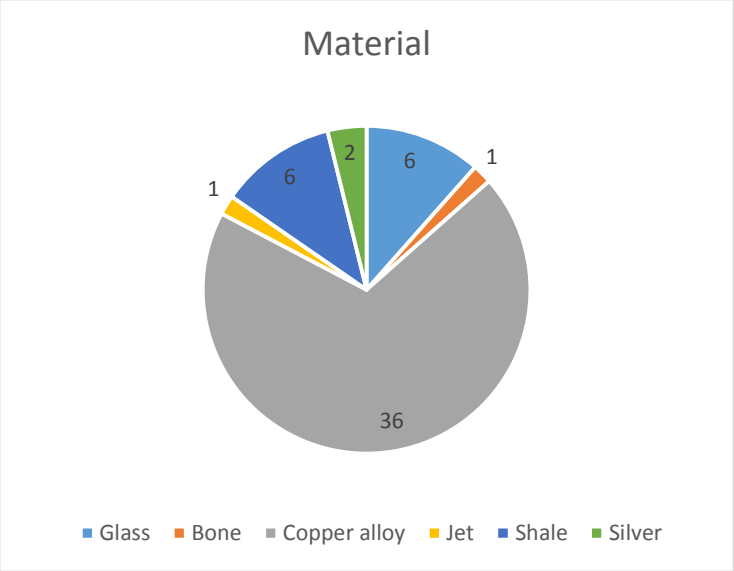


Figure 5.6 CH966, gold necklace *Figure 5.7 CH965, copper-alloy necklace*

Of the 79 bracelets in the Collection, 52 are from *Cilurnum*, whilst the rest are split between a variety of sites; four unknown, two Nether Denton, six Kirkby Thore, one Housesteads, one Highshield Turret, five Great Chesters and six Coventina's Well. The bracelets from *Cilurnum* are mostly made from copper-alloy, with small numbers made from other materials, Graph 5.2 gives full details. Glass bangles have engendered a large amount of interest and were first studied in detail by Kilbride-Jones in 1938 and since then they have been regarded as an indicator of Romano-British culture, particularly the British side. They are found on both native and Roman sites, in towns and forts and work following on from Kilbride-Jones has shown that the distribution of specific types of this bracelet are linked to site types (Kilbride-Jones 1938; Stevenson 1976; Price 1988).

There are only six glass bracelets from *Cilurnum* as opposed to thirty-four from Vindolanda. Why therefore are there so few glass bangles at *Cilurnum*? *Cilurnum* has a much higher percentage of copper-alloy bracelets than Vindolanda, where there is a similar percentage of glass and copper-alloy bracelets (Birley and Greene 2006, 134). This occurs in both the military and the civilian areas at Vindolanda, so the difference cannot be attributed to the fact that the Collection is only from the fort. Although dating for the glass bangles is sketchy, it is thought they are a 1st and 2nd century phenomenon (Stevenson 1976). Vindolanda was occupied around 50 years prior to *Cilurnum*, which could explain the higher number of glass bracelets. The evidence at Piercebridge, which has 67 copper-alloy bracelets, backs this up and only 9 of glass

(Cool 2008, 254). The fort was not built at Piercebridge until the 3rd century, when glass bracelets were no longer in use (Cool and Mason 2008, xxi). Therefore, the low number of glass bangles at *Cilurnum* can be explained by the dating of the site, rather than a specific fashion statement by the occupants.



Graph 5-2 Materials of bracelets from Cilurnum

There was a considerable variety in the form of Roman copper-alloy bracelets across Britain. Allason-Jones and Miket produced a typology based on the 96 examples from South Shields which has been used as a guide here (1984, 126-8). The 36 copper-alloy bracelets from *Cilurnum* have a range of form and design similar to those seen at South Shields, Vindolanda and elsewhere in the frontier zone. There are single wire examples, alongside those with multiple strands twisted together. CH963, one of the silver examples, copies the twisted wire form seen in copper-alloy bracelets. Of the cast examples, seven are plain, whilst eleven have a variety of decoration, ranging from copying the twisted wire, to ribbing or beading. No attempt was made by Allason-Jones and Miket to assign date ranges to the bracelet types and whilst Cool notes that bracelet fashion changed in the 4th century (2010a, 3), with a preference for the wearing of multiple, more delicate bracelets, there is no accepted dating for the majority of bracelet types. Unfortunately, little more can be done with the *Cilurnum* bracelets; however, the comparative data has shown that the Collection reflects the styles being used at Vindolanda, another Central Sector fort and South Shields, on the east coast. Question 6.4.3 in the *Hadrian's Wall Research Framework* asks whether differences can be seen in the material culture between the east, centre and west of

Hadrian's Wall (Symonds and Mason 2009b), and the small case study here shows that in broad terms bracelet use is the same, the differences being due to dates of occupation.

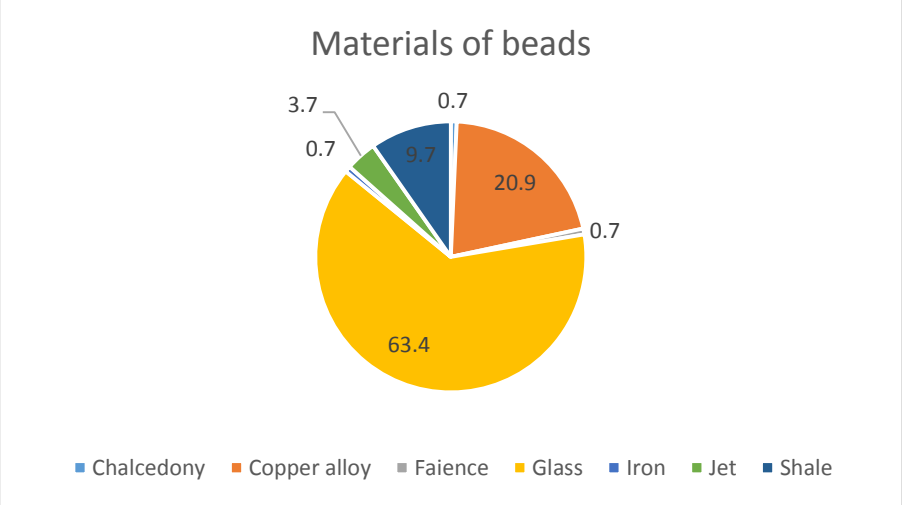
5.1.1.4 Beads

It is very rare to find beads strung together in their original form on a necklace or bracelet, although it is likely that this represents the use of the majority of beads found on Roman sites. The exception are melon beads, which have a much more varied use. This type of bead has been discussed in more detail in the *Militaria* Chapter, along with the copper-alloy facetted beads (see page 157). Dating individual beads out of context is almost impossible as the same materials and shapes were used for long periods of time and over wide geographic areas (Johns 1996, 100). Due to this difficulty, the discussion of the beads from *Cilurnum* will focus on the numbers and types in comparison to the beads from Vindolanda, the only site with a large number of beads published, although reference will also be made to the beads from South Shields where relevant. The beads from *Cilurnum* and Vindolanda will be compared to look at use along the Wall, as well as looking at unusual beads from *Cilurnum* in order to consider trade or movement of people.

One key factor to take into account when discussing possible groupings of beads is the retrospective stringing together of beads. Within the Collection there are at least four groups of beads which have been strung together: CH799-815, CH1013-1024, CH1025-1033 and CH1034-1038. These arrangements were kept, as this is how Hall and Budge grouped them, so it was assumed they had some sort of relationship (Georgina Plowright *pers. comm*.). Johns notes that it is very difficult, even through careful excavation, to ascertain the order of beads on a necklace (1996, 103). We must be careful of imposing our ideas of what matches, or what looks good. Discoveries in Britain show necklaces made up of similar beads as well as ones of different materials, or beads that do not 'match' to our modern eye (Johns 1996, Figs. 5.11-13). It is possible, for example, that the grouping CH799-815 is a Hall/Budge construction as these are mostly melon beads, which as discussed in the *Militaria* Chapter, are thought to mainly be used in non-jewellery contexts (pages 181-3).

There are 168 beads within the Collection, of which 134 are from *Cilurnum*, Graph 5.3 breaks these down into the materials. Of these 134, 63% are glass, by far the largest

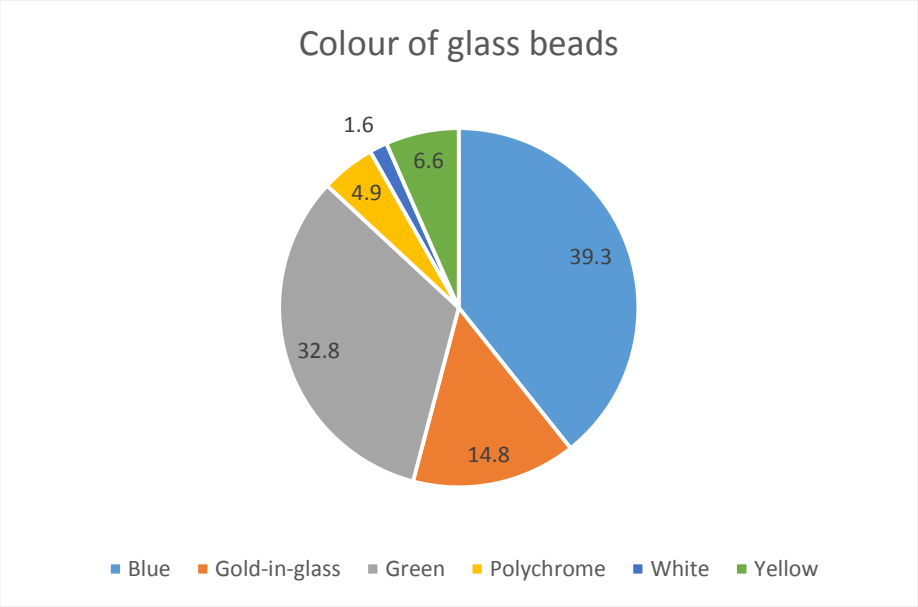
category. Only 0.7% of the beads have been identified as faience but it may be that if a specialist analysed some of the glass beads, they would be re-classified as faience. At Vindolanda, the glass and faience beads together make up 85% of the assemblage. *Cilurnum* has a much higher percentage of copper-alloy beads than at Vindolanda, with 20%, representing 28 beads, even with the harness beads not counted. Vindolanda has only 13 copper-alloy beads (3.4%), with none being identifiable within the South Shields assemblage. This difference in number could represent a single necklace or bracelet and so it is difficult to assign any specific meaning to this. *Cilurnum* has beads made from both jet and shale whilst the material at Vindolanda has not been split into these categories, all beads made from shiny black material being listed as jet. It requires a specialist who has dealt with a lot of this material to be able to distinguish between the two materials, and study by Lindsay Allason-Jones has allowed the identification of the materials in the Clayton Collection.



Graph 5-3 The materials of the beads from Cilurnum

As the glass beads make up such a large percentage of the Collection they merit further study. The first area to discuss is the colour, as some bead forms are only made in one colour, Graph 5.4. As with the Vindolanda and South Shields beads, blue is the most common colour with green second. At *Cilurnum* the percentage of green is closer to the percentage of blue than at Vindolanda. There has been much work carried out into the importance of colour throughout past societies (Gage 1999; Taçon 1999; Jones and MacGregor 2002) and in the Roman period this has been focussed on interior decoration (Allison 2002), or the enamel used on brooches (McIntosh 2009; 2014). For glass, green and blue are by far the most common colours in Roman vessels and it

seems likely that the high proportion of blue and green is due not to specific choice by the customer, but practical matters of sourcing material to make the glass, as reflected in the vessels. Green is the natural colour of glass without any added colourants and so would be the easiest and cheapest colour to produce.



Graph 5-4 The colours of the glass beads from Cilurnum

It is not necessary to discuss each form of bead; however, some groups merit further attention. One such group consists of the nine gold-in-glass beads, which represents almost 15% of the assemblage. This form of bead, made by encasing a thin sheet of gold, or silver, inside two layers of clear glass, has an unusual distribution across the Empire, and has sparked much debate about how it came to Britain. The technique of producing these beads originated in Ptolemaic Egypt and was introduced to the Romans when they annexed Egypt (Boon 1977, 196). In what is now southern Russia, Sarmatia in the Roman period, finds are common, and there is a possibility they were being made locally (*ibid.,* 197). Gold-in-glass beads are rare finds in the western provinces of the Empire, but found quite frequently in Britain (Cool 2004, 387). Trade in these beads would have meant they would be found in Germany, France, Austria etc., but they are not. The distribution is abnormal for a traded commodity, and Boon suggested the beads arrived in Britain with the transfer of 5500 cavalrymen of the Iazyges tribe from Sarmatia under Marcus Aurelius (Boon 1977, 200). Whilst caution must be taken when trying to link historical events to specific archaeological finds, this explanation remains the most likely. Finds in Britain are, however, found on many sites

where the Sarmatian troops were not based. It may be that they originally came to Britain with the troops, but then became just one of the bead forms made and traded across the province.

The gold-in-glass beads from *Cilurnum* are not mentioned by Clayton or Bruce specifically in any of their reports, but 24 were discovered in Coventina's Well.[78] Bruce thought that they were meant to represent pearls, similar to the fakes sold in Rome in his time (1885b, 125). Neither Clayton nor Bruce relate the Coventina's Well beads to finds from *Cilurnum*, something which would be done as the norm in modern reports, so highlighting the difference in the methods employed for recording archaeological material. This lack of cross-referencing means it is unknown when the gold-in-glass beads were found at *Cilurnum* and it is therefore not possible to assign the beads to a more precise findspot within the fort. Assigning a location to the beads may have given clues as to who used these beads, which may have added more information about how these beads reached the frontier zone.

5.2 Brooches

As brooches are the most common finds of personal adornment at any Roman site in Britain, they will be studied in more detail. Within the Clayton Collection, there are 160 objects which have been classified as brooches. Of this number, three are medieval annular brooches and fourteen are so fragmentary that they can only be broadly dated to the Roman period. This leaves 143 brooches, which can be assigned to a particular series or type, and assigned a date to at least a century; this is called the diagnostic group. In this section, a short historiography will explain the methods used to study brooches and the current state of knowledge of typologies, production and distribution. A comparative study of the brooches in relation to other major assemblages will be offered, allowing discussion of site profiles. Separate site evaluation will also be undertaken on the brooches from *Cilurnum* (87 of the diagnostic group). This section aims to characterise the brooches from the Collection and study them in the context of wider brooch studies. Some of the debates raised by the study of brooches, such as the various strands of identity - ethnicity, fashion, religion, status and wealth - will be explored in relation to the Collection.

[78] Unfortunately, these beads were stolen in 1967 so are no longer in the Collection.

5.2.1 *Brooches in Roman Britain*

Brooches were used in Britain long before the Roman conquest in AD 43, with the earliest insular products dating from the early 6th late 5th century BC (Haselgrove 1997, 53). From the 1st century BC, the number and types of brooches in use increased dramatically and this change has been termed the "Fibula Event Horizon" (Hill 1995). Haselgrove's work showed that in 1997 there were only 360 provenanced Early and Middle Iron Age brooches in the whole of Britain (1997), whilst there were 162 from late pre-Roman Iron Age and early Roman Iron Age layers at Baldock alone (Stead and Rigby 1986). This increase is clearly reflected at a national level in the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS)[79] data set where 1955 Iron Age brooches are recorded, compared to 21,210 brooches from the Roman period.[80] As the number of brooches increased, so did the level of decoration, and often the size, so increasing the visibility of the brooch. Scholars such as Jundi and Hill believe that the increased visibility of brooches is inextricably linked to the increase in the number of brooches (1998, 129).

Following a floruit in the 1st-2nd centuries, by the 3rd and 4th centuries AD the number of brooches and the variety of types had reduced dramatically, perhaps suggesting that brooches in the later Roman period played a different role to brooches in the early Roman period. This decline is illustrated within the Clayton Collection where there are only 13 brooches of 4th century date (crossbow brooches) but 33 of late 2nd-3rd century date; the majority of the brooches in the Collection date to the 1st and 2nd centuries AD (Table 5.7, page 135). The decrease in numbers continued into the Early Medieval period (AD 410-1066), with the PAS having recorded only 4369 brooches of this date,[81] less than a quarter of the number recorded for the Roman period. The late Iron Age and early-mid Roman periods, therefore, see the peak of brooch production and consumption. Interpretation of this phenomenon is the subject of much debate. One of the most straightforward explanations for the boom-and-bust in brooch use are

[79] The Portable Antiquities Scheme is a national scheme which records archaeological objects found by members of the public onto an online, freely accessible database www.finds.org.uk for more details.

[80] Search carried out on 05/02/2014 at www.finds.org.uk/database and includes plate and bow brooches.

[81] Search carried out on 05/02/2014 at www.finds.org.uk/database using 'brooch' as the object type and 'Early Medieval' as the period.

changes in fashion and dress. However, as the role of the brooch was not purely functional, there are other aspects which must also be investigated.

In Roman Britain, fastenings for clothing other than brooches and girdles were not common (Allason-Jones 2005, 112) and many outfits would have required more than one brooch to hold them together. Bow brooches are thought to have been worn in pairs, around the collar-bone area, to hold up the tunic or tube dresses, as shown on the resonctruction drawing on the front of Bayley and Butchers publication of the Richborough brooch assemblage (2004). This helps to explain their high rate of occurrence on urban and military Roman sites in the country, with even rural sites usually producing at least one brooch even if they have few other small finds. This is clearly demonstrated through the PAS database, which has recorded 21,210 brooches from rural parts of England and Wales. On Scottish native sites that have produced Roman finds, brooches are the most common items found after coins (Hunter 2007, 14-15).

Brooches have been one of the favoured small finds since the 19th century, receiving attention well beyond other types of objects. For example, in Clayton's note in *Archaeologia Aeliana* regarding work at *Cilurnum* bath-house, a crossbow brooch is given an illustration alongside a sculpture and an intaglio finger ring whilst other finds are merely listed (Clayton 1844, 145).[82] Equally, in 1865, two brooches found at Housesteads were thought noteworthy enough to be presented at a monthly meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne (Clayton 1865a, 225). This focus must partly be due to their ubiquity on all Roman sites, providing plentiful evidence and large enough groups for patterns to be discerned. They are also often attractive finds and are suitable for description and assigning a typology. As late as 1930, in *The Archaeology of Roman Britain,* Collingwood dedicated a chapter to brooches whilst most other small finds, other than coins and weapons/armour, were not discussed at all.[83] A statement in the 2nd edition of this book reveals what was considered to be the

[82] Many finds were probably not even listed as it is unlikely that the only finds from such an extensive excavation in a bathhouse were the River God statue, a centurial stone, the crossbow brooch, intaglio ring, one brass and two 'ivory' styli, two javelin heads and c.50 coins (Clayton 1844, 145). Pottery does not even merit a reference.

[83] The revised edition in 1969 dedicated 13 pages to brooches, with 19 for weapons, tools and utensils combined, slightly improving the coverage (Collingwood and Richmond 1969).

role of brooches in archaeology at the time: “The concern of the archaeological field-worker is the classification of standard types and an understanding of their dating and distribution” (Collingwood and Richmond 1969, 286).

Despite brooches being the focus of study for so long there is no over-arching typology for brooches within Britain. The two main (but not only) systems used are that of Hull, which uses numbers for types (forthcoming) and Mackreth which uses names (2011). This means that brooches can be called different things in different reports, and so comparison between sites is not always as simple as it should be. If the brooches are not illustrated, and it is not clear which system is being used, the data cannot be included in comparative studies. Plouviez, in 2008, attempted to reconcile “common names”, Bayley and Butcher’s groups (2004) and Hull’s types in a table. This was an extremely useful exercise and the table can be used as a guide when trying to compare brooches listed using a different system. However, she then assigned her own letter system to the groups and used this system in her analysis of brooches from London and elsewhere (Plouviez 2008, 171). Whilst simplifying a graph or table, this method has added yet another labelling system to brooch typologies, and if one is to use the London brooches in comparative studies, the need to decipher another system.

The main difficulty in creating a brooch typology is the great variety of brooches. Mackreth sums this problem up in his prologue by saying “let me apologise for having devised a monster of a classification system: **brooches were made in their millions, types and variations came and went** and we only have the pitiful remnants of a bewilderingly diverse scene” (2011, vi).[84] With such a large variety of features to take into consideration, it can be subjective as to which type a brooch belongs to when it shares features with more than one type; indeed Bayley and Butcher admit this, saying “almost every piece differs to some extent from others with a generally similar appearance and **typological judgements are inevitably subjective**” (2004, 206).[85] Collecting data for comparison with the Clayton brooches has been problematic when brooches are listed in excavation reports as ‘other’, or not assigned a type. A decision has had to be made on occasions as to whether or not to include such a brooch; assign

[84] My emphasis

[85] My emphasis

it a type, or to exclude it. There is also the issue of whether or not the classification of certain brooches was deemed correct.

Due to the high frequency of brooches on Romano-British sites, Creighton hypothesised that it should be possible to create a "brooch profile" for each site which would enable it to be compared to other sites (1990, 186). He postulated that by assigning each brooch type to a date range, one could create a "brooch curve" for a site, which represents the numbers of brooches lost through time (1990, 189). This idea has been taken from the Roman coin divisions pioneered by Richard Reece, which involves splitting the Roman period in Britain into 21 period profiles (1972, 271). By assigning each coin to a Reece Period and creating per mills values for each period, different sites could be compared through their coins. However, brooches cannot be as closely dated as coins and their chronology and typology is not firmly established, so whilst this is an interesting exercise, it is too rigid a system for this object type. It is still, however, useful to put brooches into chronological order so that peaks and dips can be compared to other dated evidence from a site. For this chapter, the brooch types will be ordered chronologically so that differences between types can indicate differences in the date of brooch usage at the sites. If there are dips in brooch usage when a site is known to have been occupied, or when other sites appear to have a higher level of brooch usage, then questions can be asked about what was being worn and what this might signify.

As well as the issues of classifying a brooch, there is also the problem of its length of use. In general, end dates for date ranges are given when brooches stop being found in stratified contexts. We therefore have approximate dates for brooch use, but these can only be approximate, as items could have been curated by generations, long past the use of most of the rest of that type. Also, brooches are sometimes given different dates depending on whether they are found in Britain or on the Continent (see discussion in Bayley and Butcher 2004, 148 on Continental one-piece brooches), which complicates the picture immensely. Equally, new finds can help to extend the known life of a brooch type if a significant number are found in contexts, which argue against simply an individual using old brooches. For example, Snape's study proposed that some types previously thought to go out of use by the mid-1st century actually carried on in use until at least the AD 80s (1993, 99-100). Snape's work reminds us to be

cautious when using brooch evidence to date a site; it may be that a brooch was introduced earlier, was an antique when it arrived at the site or was used for longer than previously thought. As with the dating of any small find type, we must be cautious with the date ranges assigned, and be prepared for future finds to affect the dates.

There is little evidence across Roman Britain, and indeed the Empire, for the manufacture of brooches. Brooches made from clay one-piece moulds leave few manufacturing traces as the moulds would be broken to extract the brooch and it is likely that the fragments were then re-used for other purposes, perhaps crushed up to use as temper. Metal investment moulds would be re-used until either the mould became worn, or that brooch went out of fashion. However, metal was a precious commodity and the mould would not be discarded but melted down and recycled with no trace left for archaeologists to find. Therefore, analysis on the production of brooch types is focussed almost exclusively on distribution.

5.2.2 Consumption: Distribution and Identity

Consumption is defined as the "purchase and use of goods, services, materials, or energy".[86] Consumption of a product in archaeological terms is studied mainly by its distribution, both geographical and social. The study of consumption has become a major area of study in social sciences and there has been much theoretical literature written in the fields of sociology and anthropology (see Eckardt 2005 for a short discussion on this). Eckardt notes that caution must be used in projecting these theories, based on modern societies, back onto Roman Britain (2005, 139-140).

Basic geographical distribution can show whether types of object were preferred in certain provinces, regions or areas. Social distribution observes whether items are found only on certain types of site, or only found in certain areas of a site, indicating use by specific groups of people. Distribution may be governed by economic factors, such as cost of transport, production issues for example where the raw materials are sourced, or where the craftsmen with the skills are based. Cooper comments that the "importance of availability and convenience" must not be forgotten when thinking

[86]Oxford English Dictionary http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/39997?redirectedFrom=consumption#eid

about the uptake of material (1996, 85).[87] Bayley and Butcher explain the presence of so many regional types of brooch by the presence of a large market: "there would be no commercial need to take or send the products long distances" (2004, 214). As the production of brooches was relatively easy, requiring few specialised tools, it is likely that much brooch manufacture took place on a small scale and that the products were sold locally. This system would help to explain the many small variations visible in brooch types, as individual manufacturers produced their own versions of brooches, adding decorative touches according to their taste or that of the local consumer.

Once the more practical concerns, such as economy and production, are taken into account, social factors affecting distribution can be discussed. Brooches are well suited to the study of identities of a person, as they were small, affordable items and would have been worn by all levels of society. The material, decoration and size would have affected the price, and so all budgets could be catered for. They are items of dress, which were used in almost all provinces throughout the Empire as a functional dress fastener.[88] Whilst some brooch types are found all across the Empire, such as the crossbow brooch, some are restricted to an individual province, such as the British trumpet brooch, and others are found in even smaller distribution areas, such as the Wirral brooch (McIntosh 2014).

Any individual had multiple identities, and these could be expressed in different ways and in different contexts. For instance, a soldier might identify himself as a member of the Roman army, as a Tungrian (or wherever he was born), as a Mithraic worshipper, as a father, son and/or husband. All of these strands of his identity could require different behaviour, and perhaps different forms of dress. The next section will discuss the distribution of brooches and how this can inform our understanding of the multiplicities of identities expressed by the people of Roman Britain. Ethnicity is a difficult aspect of identity to demonstrate through brooches (and in fact any aspect of

[87] Here Cooper is talking specifically about the uptake of 'Roman' material in Britain after the conquest but I feel this idea can be applied more broadly. 'Roman' here can be taken to mean items introduced into Britain through contact with the Roman Empire, not just those from Rome/Italy, for example Samian ware.

[88] See Allason-Jones 2013 for discussion on the provinces where brooch use was not ubiquitous, such as Libya.

material culture). Initial examination of the Clayton Collection brooches and identification of the types showed that they would not support work into ethnicity. However, other aspects of identity can be studied using the available data in the Collection, for instance ideas of fashion choice, status and religious affiliation.

The increase in the number of different types of brooches from the late 1st century BC meant that the people wearing the brooches had a greater choice of styles. This fits well with Jundi and Hill's statement that although brooches originated as clothes fasteners, they could also be used "to express gender, ethnicity, age, and group membership" (1998, 125). Practicality must also be taken into account; for example, J.P. Wild notes that the half-moon cloak (*chlamys*) would require a heavy brooch to pin it together. This type of cloak appears in Britain and the Rhineland around the early 3rd century AD, about the time that crossbow brooches develop (1968, 177). Different thicknesses of material, and different garment types would require different brooches. Some of the smaller penannular brooches are able to hold much less fabric and weight than larger, more robust bow brooches such as a trumpet or dolphin.

The crossbow brooch, with its military links, indicated a particular identity and the presence of people in positions of authority. However, they will not be discussed in detail in this chapter as they will be discussed with the *militaria* and so are dealt with fully on pages 192-3. It is enough to say in this chapter that they were one of the few brooches available in the 3rd and 4th centuries and that they were linked to civilian and military office, so acted as identifiers, marking out the people who wore them as being in positions of power (Swift 2000; Collins 2010).

5.2.3 Analysis

The 143 brooches from the Clayton Collection have been divided into types, and grouped broadly in chronological order. The system designed by Snape (1993) has been used as a foundation for this work, as this was constructed for brooches from the frontier zone. For types not represented, or not sub-divided sufficiently, the terminology in Mackreth's study was used (2011). The general date ranges have also been taken from Mackreth as his larger data-set offers the most up-to-date and comprehensive study of brooches from excavations. Table 5.4 shows the types used and their general date range. Table 5.5 shows the brooch numbers per site, whilst Table 5.6 shows the number of brooches by type. The brooch assemblage from

Cilurnum, comprising 87 brooches, will also be studied separately as this provides an opportunity to undertake comparative study with other sites; this data has been separated in Table 5.7. The other sites represented in the Collection have very small numbers of brooches, which were not numerically significant enough to allow site analysis.

Brooch Type	**Date range**
1st century types (early)	1st century AD
Polden Hill	75 – 175 AD
trumpet (and variants)	75 – 175 AD
2nd century enamelled bow	2nd century AD
plate brooch; circular	2nd century AD
plate brooch; zoomorphic	2nd century AD (generally)
dragonesque	50- 150 AD
plate brooch; skeumorphic	2nd century AD
plate brooch; equal ended	2nd century AD
divided bow	Late 2nd- early 3rd century AD
P-shaped	3rd century AD
plate brooch; gilded with gem	3rd- 4th century AD
knee	Late 2nd- 3rd century AD
crossbow	Late 3rd- 5th century AD
penannular brooch	1st- 4th century AD

Table 5.4 The brooch types used in the data sorting and their date ranges

Site	**No. of Brooches (incl. fragments)**	**No. of brooches without fragments**
Carrawburgh	2	1
Cilurnum	96	87
Coventina's Well	11	11
Great Chesters	10	8
Housesteads	6	6
Kirkby Thore	5	5
Nether Denton	16	15
Unknown	8	7
Winshields (MC41)	3	3
Total	**157**	**143**

Table 5.5 Numbers of brooches from each site (in alphabetical order)

Type	Number
1st century types (early)	8
Polden Hill	1
trumpet (and variants)	15
2nd century enamelled bow	5
plate brooch	34
plate brooch; zoomorphic	1
dragonesque	2
plate brooch; skeumorphic	1
plate brooch; equal ended	2
divided bow	4
P-shaped	6
plate brooch; gilded with gem	0
knee	23
crossbow	13
penannular brooch	28
Total	**143**

Table 5.6 Number of brooches by types in chronological order (whole Collection)

Type	Number
1st century types (early)	1
Polden Hill	1
trumpet (and variants)	9
2nd century enamelled bow	5
plate brooch	19
plate brooch; zoomorphic	0
dragonesque	2
plate brooch; skeumorphic	1
plate brooch; equal ended	2
divided bow	3
P-shaped	4
plate brooch; gilded with gem	0
knee	15
crossbow	8
penannular brooch	17
Total	**87**

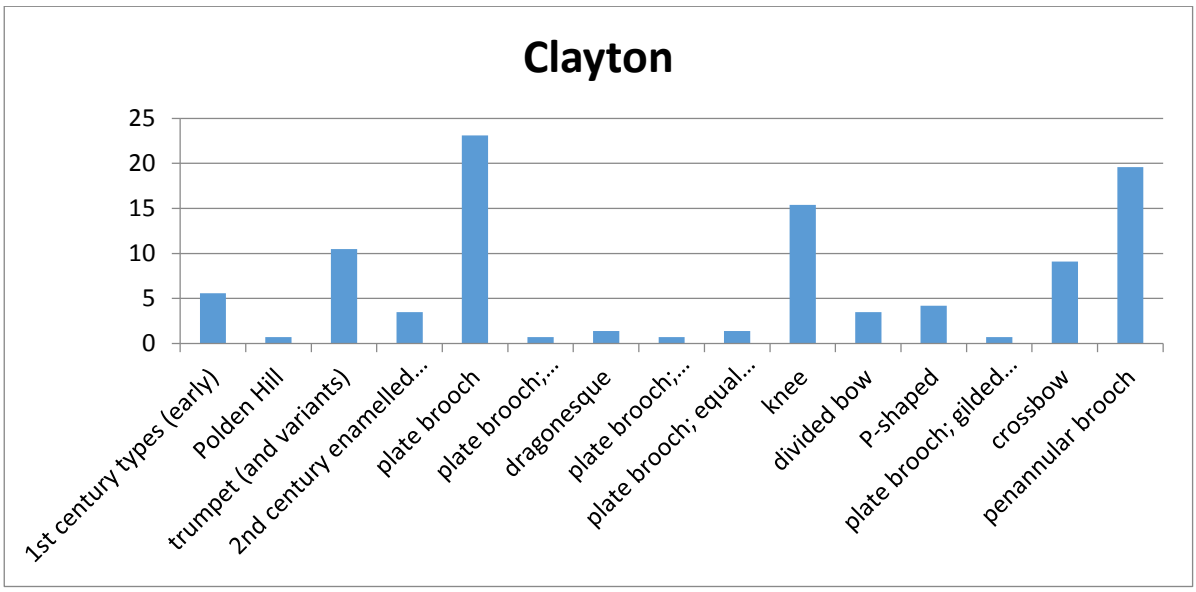
*Table 5.7 Number of brooches by types in chronological order (*Cilurnum *only)*

In her 1993 study of brooches from the Stanegate, Snape looked at the material from Nether Denton, and examined all of the known brooches from the site in the Collection (16 examples, one of which was a fragment only). Her discussion of these brooches will be summarised and critically examined. She also briefly looked at the brooches from some sites on Hadrian's Wall, which included sites represented in the Collection: *Cilurnum,* Great Chesters and Housesteads. She did not examine all of the brooches in the Collection, with 96 pieces in the Collection from *Cilurnum* and only 78 seen by Snape. Of the fourteen brooches she lists from Great Chesters, five are from the Collection,[89] but only three can be now be matched to a specific brooch as her reference numbers do not correlate with the current database. For Housesteads, she lists having seen two brooches in Chesters Museum, but again these cannot be linked to brooches in the Collection.[90] Her identifications have been checked, and the other brooches identified. Snape did not use the brooches from Cilurnum for any analysis and so this will be undertaken here.

Graph 5.5 shows that within the Collection there is a high percentage of plate brooches, with penannular and knee coming second and third. There appears to be a very low percentage of the P-shaped and divided bow brooches, both of which are seen as precursors to the crossbow. More may perhaps have been expected due to the military nature of the sites included, but this will be discussed further in comparison to other sites.

[89] The other brooches are held at the Great North Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne.

[90] This is a recurring problem throughout the Collection as many items have numbers from Hall and Budge, as well as later museum numbers. For more information about the issues with the cataloguing of the Collection see the Sources and Methodology chapter, page 27ff.



Graph 5-5 Percentage of brooch types within the Clayton Collection (all)

Only sites with more than 15 brooches were used to compile the comparative data set, any number smaller than this was not considered statistically valid (Walton 2012, 20 notes that in coin analysis groups of 12 or more are useable). The comparative assemblages looked at include sites from the Hadrian's Wall Zone, military and non-military sites in Britain and three comparative data sets from the Continent, Table 5.8 below lists these. Sites on Hadrian's Wall with too few brooches include: Nether Denton (15 identifiable brooches), Benwell (9), Newcastle (5), Halton Chesters (7), Great Chesters (14) and Stanwix (11), along with brooches from milecastles and turrets, which often produce just a single brooch (mostly Snape 1993, Appendix 1, but see Allason-Jones 2002b for the data from Newcastle).

Hadrian's Wall Zone[91]	**Britain**	**Continent**
Birdoswald[92] (19)	Binchester[93] (23)	Augst[94] (1837)
Carlisle[95] (93)	Castleford[96] (142)	Saalburg/Zugmantel[97] (1233)

[91] As well as the fort sites listed in Table 5.8, small numbers of brooches have been found at various turrets along Hadrian's Wall: T18b (1), T29a, (2), T33b (2), T34a (1), T35a (1), T49b (1), T50b (1), T52a (1) (Allason-Jones 1988).

[92] Summerfield 1997

[93] Mackreth 2010

[94] Riha 1979

[95] Data combined from Snape 1993 and Howard-Davis 2009

Corbridge[98] (172)	Catterick[99] (65)	Gaule Meridionale[100] (2079)
Housesteads[101] (29)	Colchester[102] (87)	
South Shields[103] (126)	Meols[104] (44)	
Vindolanda[105] (58)	Piercebridge fort and vicus[106] (49)	
Wallsend[107] (49)	Piercebridge River deposit[108] (110)	
	Plouviez Sites[109] (1226)	
	Richborough[110] (445)	
	Shiptonthorpe[111] (16)	

Table 5.8 Showing the sites used as comparative data with the number of identifiable brooches in brackets

[96] Cool 1998

[97] Böhme 1972

[98] Snape 1993

[99] Cool 2002

[100] Feugère 1985

[101] Allason-Jones 2009

[102] Data combined from Crummy, N. 1983, Crummy, N. *et. al.* 1993 and Crummy, P. 1984.

[103] Data combined from Allason-Jones and Miket 1984, Miket 1983 and Snape 1993.

[104] Philpott 2007

[105] Snape 1993. The brooches from Vindolanda remain unpublished, so only those listed by Snape have been used in this study.

[106] Cool 2008

[107] Allason-Jones 2016 and Snape 2003.

[108] Walton pers. comm.

[109] Hacheston, Wenhaston, Coddenham, Pakenham, Saham Toney, Camulodunum, Colchester and Charsfield (Plouviez 2004). These sites are of different nature, some rural, some military; however, they have been combined here to give a comparison between north and south Britain rather than site types.

[110] Bayley and Butcher 2004

[111] Allason-Jones 2006

5.2.4 Bow, plate and penannular

There are three main forms of brooch; the bow, plate and penannular, as illustrated in Figures 5.8-10. Plate brooches perform a very different function to bow and penannular brooches. They have a very narrow space between the pin and the back of the brooch and so could not hold much fabric at all; even small penannular brooches could hold more material than most plate brooches (Johns 1995).[112] This means they were either for use only with finer fabric or perhaps that they were not used to hold clothes together at all. The enamel design on most plate brooches, along with the symbolism of the shapes of the skeumorphic and zoomorphic broooches, would seem to preclude their use where they would not be visible. Work on plate brooches suggests they were made to be seen (Crummy 2007 and Allason-Jones 2014 give good summaries). Therefore it seems that, in general, bow and penannular brooches might be viewed as functioning primarily as clothes fasteners, with the decoration being secondary, whilst the plate brooches would not function well as clothes fasteners and may have been intended as adornment. The penannular brooches can be seen as different to the bow brooches as they offered much less scope for decoration and their long-lived forms do not fit within the same pattern of the multiple types of bow brooch available in the late 1st and 2nd centuries AD. The pennanular brooch will be discussed in more detail below on pages 150-2.

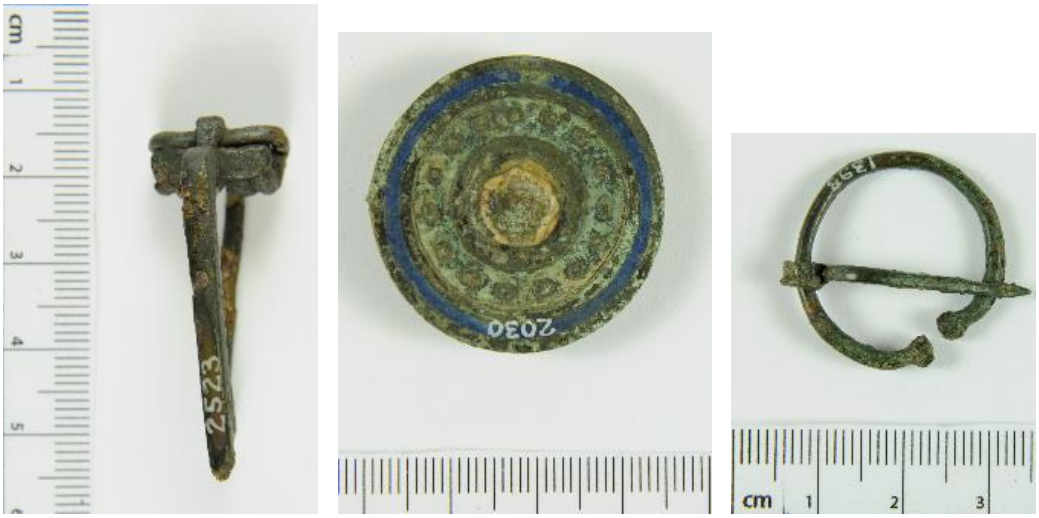
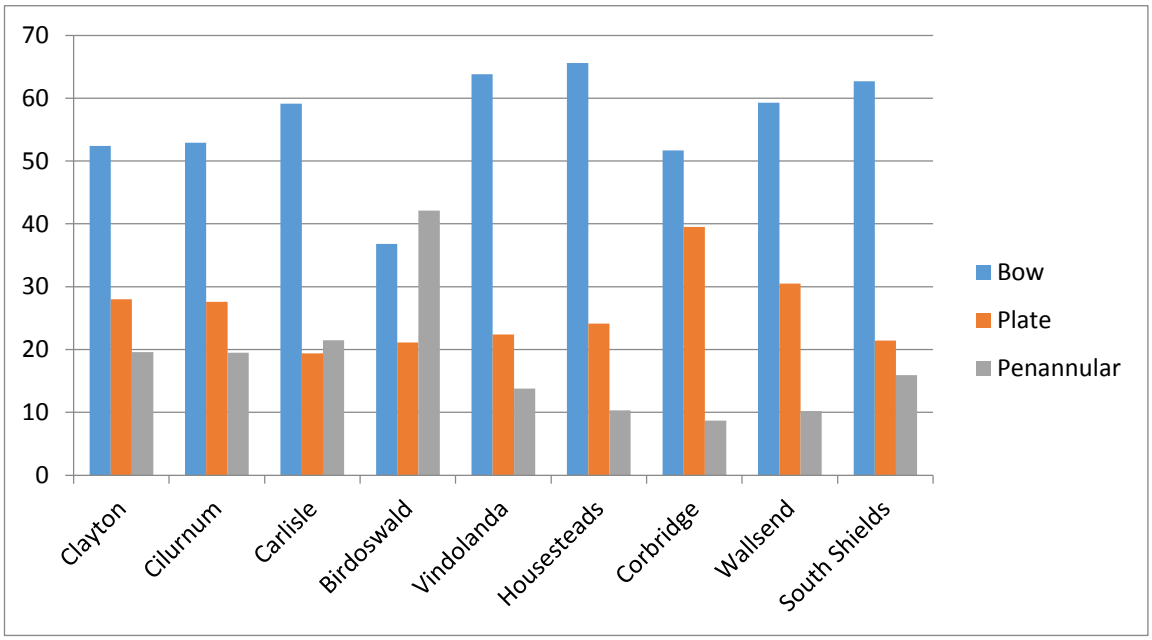


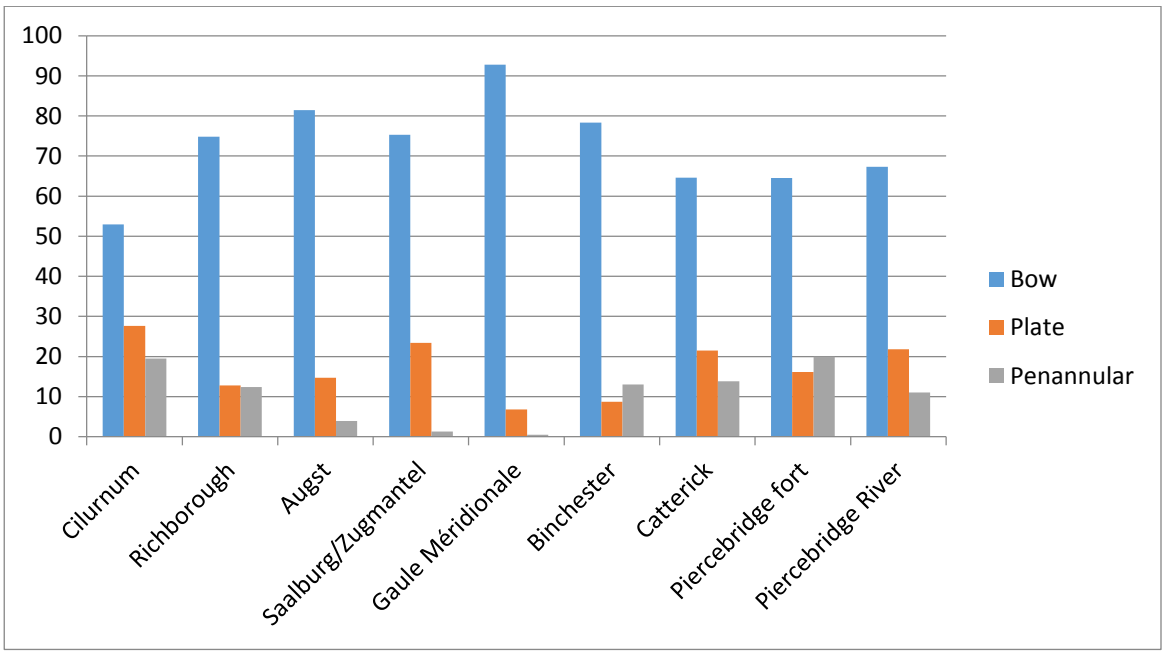
Figure 5.8 CH 1437, early bow brooch; Figure 5.9 CH 725, plate brooch; Figure 5.10 CH 943, penannular brooch

[112] Although see Fowler's note about the variety of sizes for the penannular brooch, meaning that perhaps different types were used for different types of fabric (1960, 171)

Graph 5.6 compares the percentage of the three basic brooch types - bow, plate and penannular - from the Collection and *Cilurnum* with other sites on Hadrian's Wall to see if any differences or similarities can be seen. Bow brooches dominate brooch assemblages from all sites, with only Birdoswald dropping below 50%, mainly due to its high percentage of penannular brooches, 42.1%, compared to 19.6% from *Cilurnum*. Carlisle had a similar percentage to *Cilurnum* and the Clayton Collection, whilst all the others were lower. The lower percentage in penannular brooches at most of these sites was balanced by a higher percentage of bow brooches; however, at Corbridge plate brooches were represented in greater numbers. Corbridge being a town for much of its life, albeit with a military presence, may account for the difference in brooch use.



Graph 5-6 Showing the percentage of the three basic brooch types from sites along the Wall and the Stanegate



Graph 5-7 Showing the percentage of the three basic brooch types from military sites not on the Wall against Cilurnum

Comparison of Graph 5.6 and Graph 5.7 shows that, in general, sites from Hadrian's Wall have higher percentages of plate brooch than the southern site of Richborough,[113] the Continental sites of Augst,[114] Saalburg and Zugmantel[115] and the collection of brooches from Southern Gaul.[116] These sites are military in nature, as are those on Hadrian's Wall, so it appears that the difference is due to geography rather than a military/civilian divide. Snape's comparison of her data from the "northern military zone" with around 7000 brooches from one of Hattatt's collections, whose findspots were mainly southern, produced the same results, but she did not offer any interpretation for this pattern (1993, 8).[117] Plate brooches were used on the Continent, on military and non-military sites but there they make up a smaller proportion than in the north of Britain. Catterick and Piercebridge have similar percentage ratios to the Hadrian's Wall sites, with Binchester having more in common with Richborough. Binchester Roman fort in County Durham produced 23 brooches from excavations between 1976 and 1991: of these only two were plate brooches (8.7%) (Mackreth

[113] Bayley and Butcher 2004

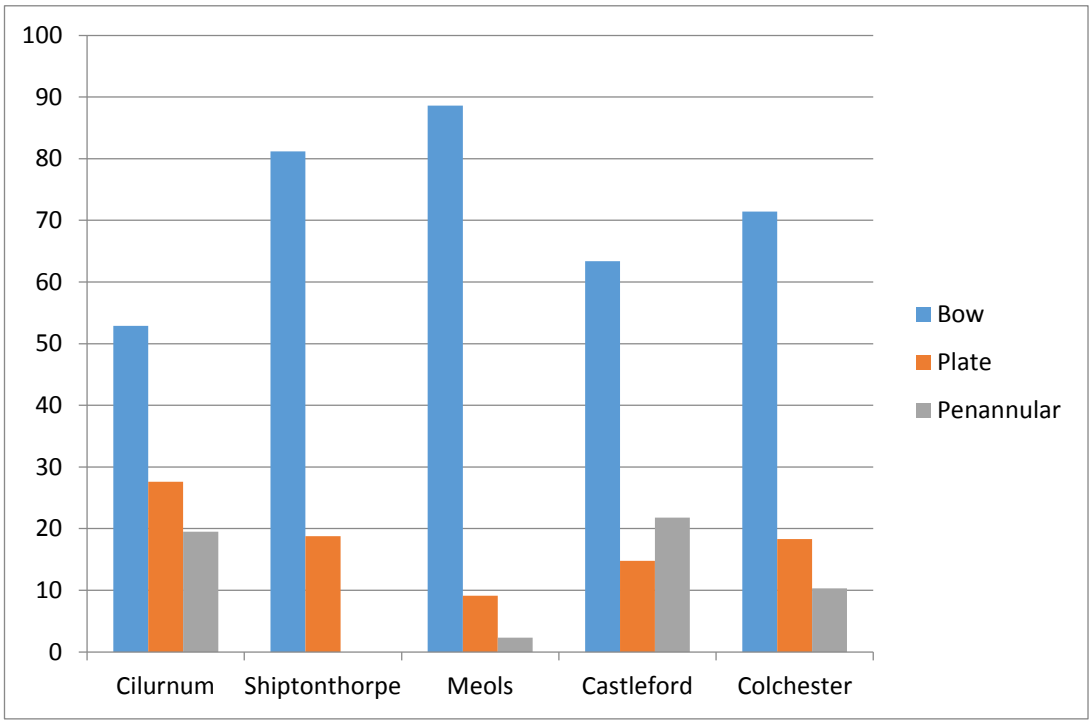
[114] Riha 1979

[115] Böhme 1972

[116] Feugère 1985

[117] Snape's data contained 24.7% of plate brooches, whilst Hattatt's only 16.5% (Hattatt 1993).

2010, 340-5). All three of the Continental data sets have extremely low percentages of penannular brooches, which may perhaps be due to the fact that there was no Iron Age tradition in these areas for this type of brooch.



Graph 5-8 Showing the percentage of the three basic brooch types from non-military sites

Graph 5.8 compares *Cilurnum* with some British non-fort sites, mainly from the North, although Colchester acts as a Southern comparison.[118] Meols, a coastal trading village occupied from the prehistoric period through until the Post-Medieval, produced 44 brooches (plus fragments), of which only 4 were plate brooches (9.1%) (Philpott 2007, 40-47). Shiptonthorpe, a possible mansio site in Yorkshire, had more plate brooches but no penannular brooches (Allason-Jones 2006).

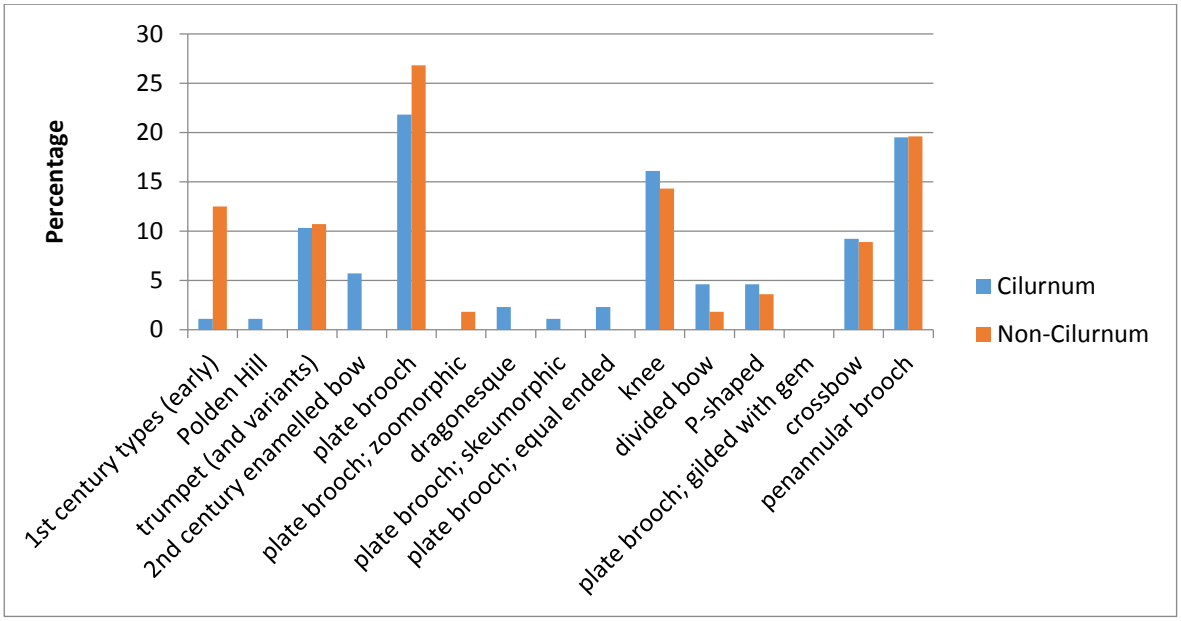
Graphs 5.6-8 have raised more questions than they have answered. There does not seem to be a brooch profile for certain site types, *contra* Creighton (1990). We cannot say that a military site will have a particular ratio of bow/plate/penannular brooches; however, we can deduce some patterns. In the provinces where penannular brooches were not an established type before the Roman period, they do not feature strongly in brooch use during the Roman period. In general sites on and around Hadrian's Wall have more plate brooches than sites in the South of Britain and on the Continent.

[118] These sites were chosen mainly due to their availability of published data.

5.2.5 Cilurnum

Cilurnum has been chosen as a case study due to the large number of brooches present in the Collection. The other sites will be discussed only as part of the whole Collection, looking at broader patterns along Hadrian's Wall. Graphs 5.9 shows that separating out the brooches from *Cilurnum* (n87) from the rest of the Collection (n56) does not change the general pattern for most brooch types although *Cilurnum* has a higher percentage of knee brooches than the rest of the Collection and this brooch type will be discussed in more detail on page 153ff.

Occupation at *Cilurnum* did not begin until Hadrian's reign and so, not surprisingly, there is only one brooch from the 1st century from *Cilurnum*, with another seven in the rest of the Collection.[119] *Cilurnum* is the only site in the Collection which has any of the 2nd century enamelled bow brooches such as the Wirral or headstud. Some of the trumpet and variant types were enamelled, as were many of the plate brooches which were present within the Collection, so it cannot be that the occupants of the forts simply did not like enamel on brooches.

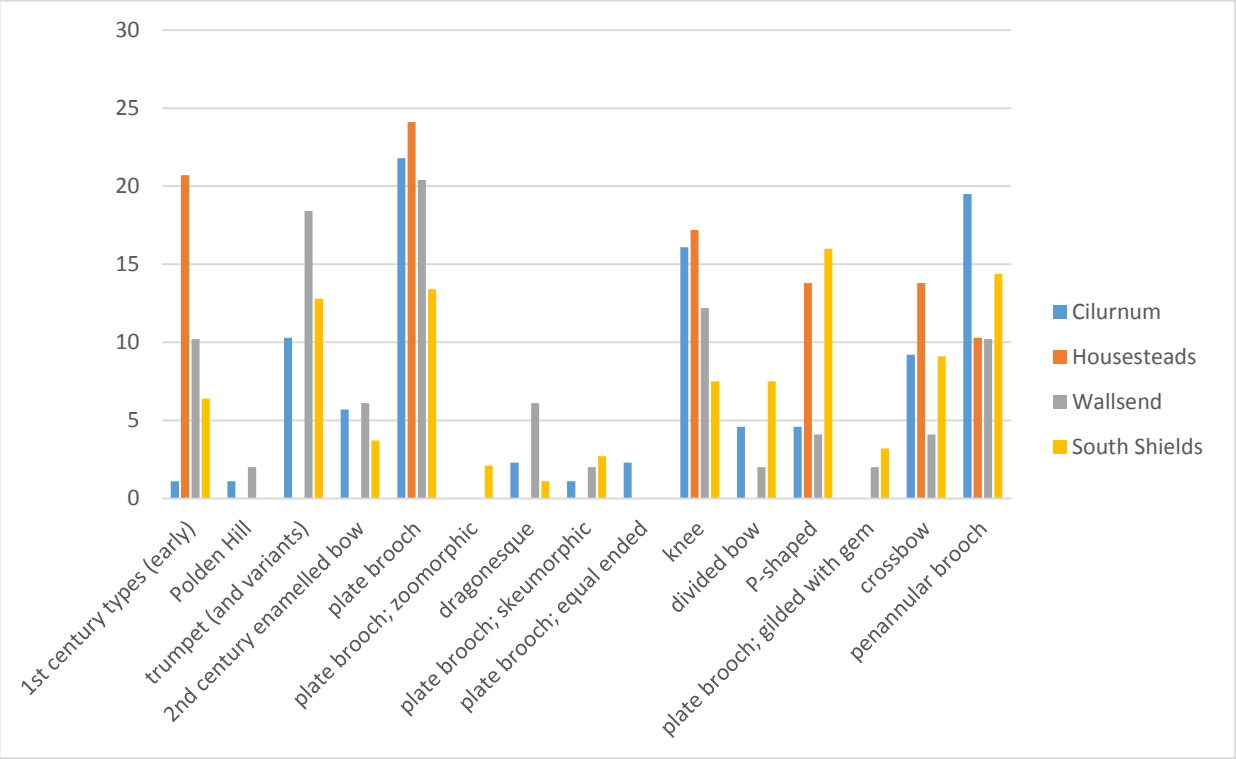


Graph 5-9 Showing the percentage of brooch types from Cilurnum *against the rest of the brooches in the Collection*

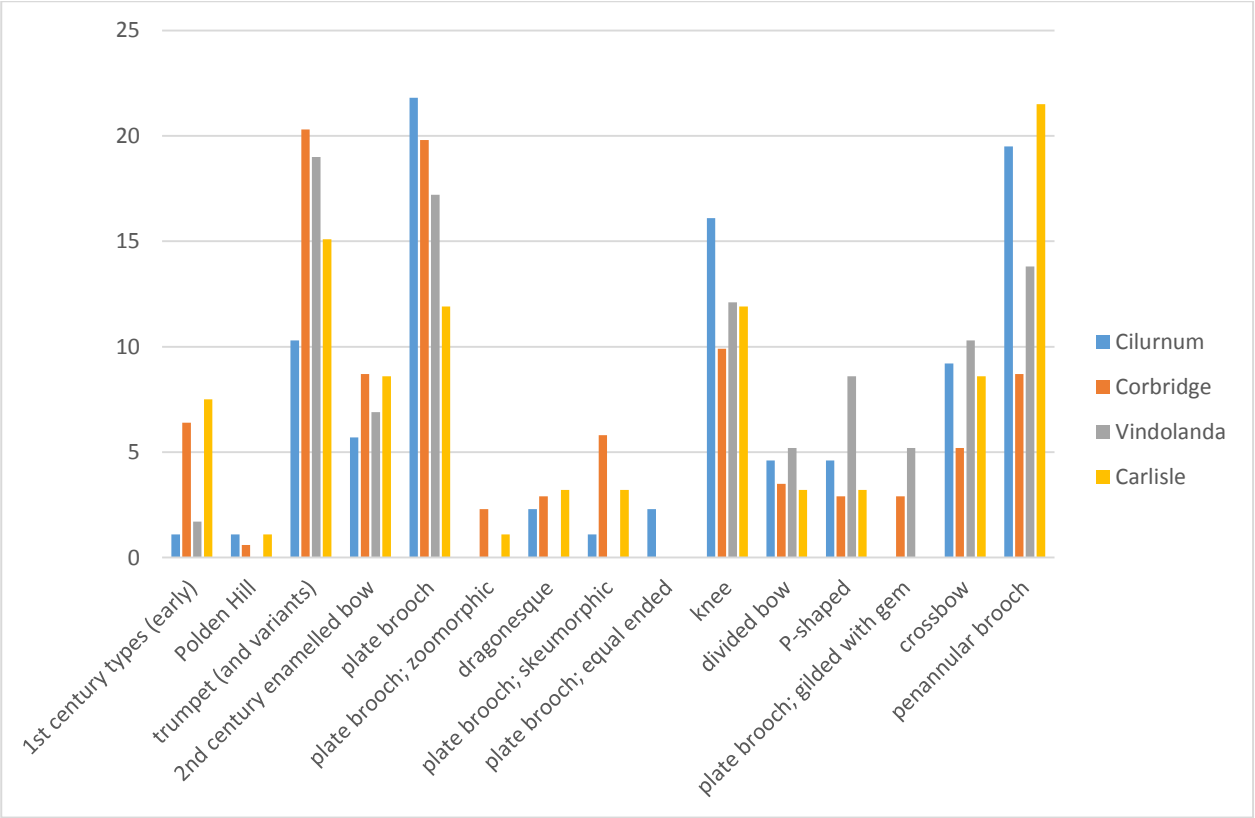
Graph 5.10 compares *Cilurnum* with other sites from Hadrian's Wall, whilst 5.11 compares *Cilurnum* with sites on the Stanegate, just to the south. There are so many differences between the various types with very few similarities that it is not possible

[119] Four of these come from Nether Denton, which on pottery evidence was occupied from Flavian times (Breeze and Dobson 2000, 17).

to define a common brooch profile for these frontier sites. Corbridge and Vindolanda have earlier foundation dates than the other sites yet they do not show peaks in the 1st century types. All the sites apart from Corbridge are forts for their whole life, mostly presumed to have been occupied continuously from their foundation c. AD 122 until the end of Roman Britain (Breeze and Dobson 2000). For all of the sites there are low numbers of any plate brooch type other than the circular/umbonate forms, and the Polden Hill type is not a common form. The so-called military forms range in number and these will be discussed in more detail later. It would be extremely interesting to see differences between the brooch use at cavalry and infantry forts, as this would be evidence for a difference in dress between the two types of troop, but this is not the case.

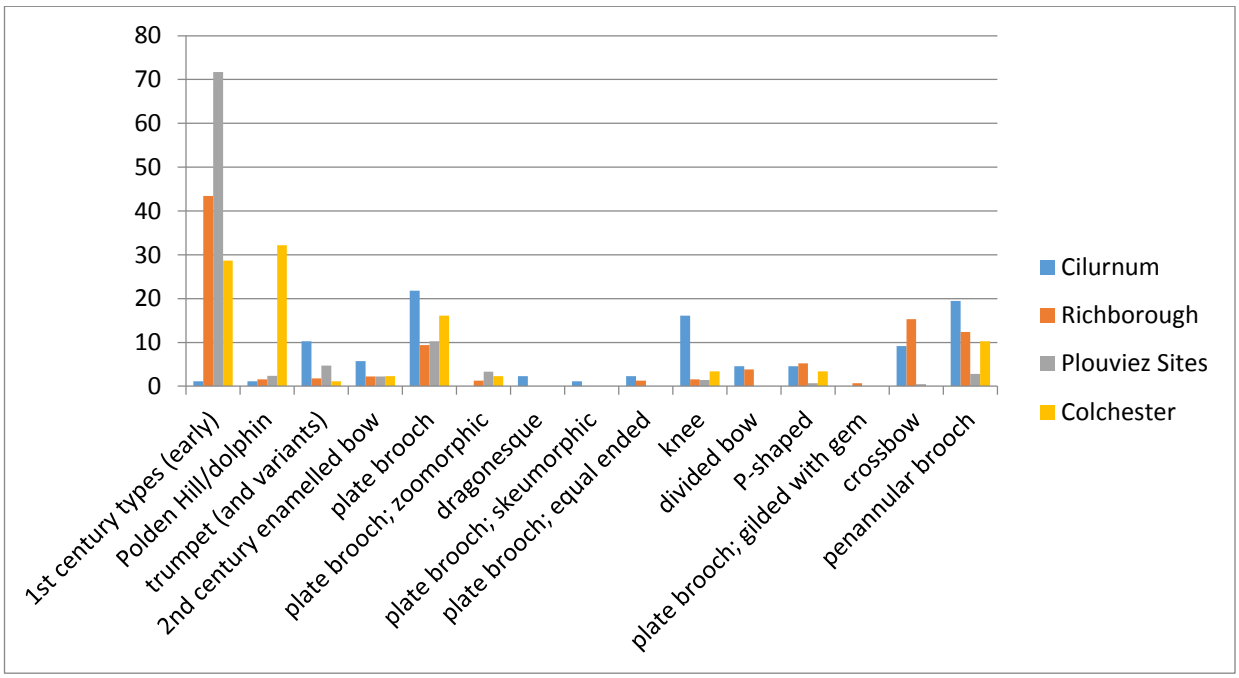


Graph 5-10 Cilurnum *compared to other Hadrian's Wall Sites*



Graph 5-11 Cilurnum *compared to Stanegate Sites*

Graph 5.12 shows that 43.4% of Richborough's brooches were of the 1st century type, reflecting its early foundation date around the time of the invasion in AD 43. As noted above, the low number at Chesters is equally to be expected due to its later foundation date. Plouviez's sites have an even higher percentage, 71.7%, whilst the majority of Colchester's brooches are split between the 1st century category and the Polden Hill/ dolphin group. This graph shows that in very broad terms a north-south divide can be seen in the brooch profiles for the sites.



Graph 5-12 Cilurnum *compared to sites in the South of Britain*

5.2.5.1 Enamel – design and choice

It appears that most brooches were worn on the shoulders or the breast and so would have been in plain view. Enamelling them would have increased their visibility. Enamelling was the most frequent form of decoration for Roman brooches in Britain and on the Continent, although there were differences between Continental and British types in the style and form of the enamel used. The Continental craftsmen used *millefiori* and inset spots, while the British craftsmen used simpler techniques of juxtaposed colours in champléved blocks (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 213). *Millefiori* and inset spots are found on brooches in Britain but it appears that these were not produced in Britain, and they are not found as commonly as the blocks.

Plate brooches are more frequently enamelled than bow brooches, their large fields allowing greater opportunities for creative designs and this is reflected in the Collection. Of 46 bow brooches at *Cilurnum*, only 7 are enamelled (15.2%), whilst 14 of the 24 plate brooches (58.3%) have enamel decoration. Corbridge has similar percentages for enamelled plate and bow brooches, whilst at Richborough, only 2.7% of the bow brooches were enamelled (yet 56. 1% of the plate brooches were). This can be partly explained by the presence of a large number of 1st century bow brooches, which were traditionally not enamelled.

The range of 2nd century enamelled bow brooches such as the headstud, Wirral and Southwestern brooches are not common on Hadrian's Wall and most of the trumpet brooches are the un-enamelled forms. Snape's data indicates a higher percentage of enamelled plate brooches on the sites along the frontier zone than either PAS data for the North, or Richborough, so the military sites were using, or losing, these types more often (McIntosh 2009). Is it a military feature to prefer plainer bow brooches and save the colour for the plate brooches, which are perhaps worn when off duty, or by non-soldier members of the military community? This is one suggestion, with enamel being worn off duty, yet enamelling is seen on other items worn by soldiers, for instance enamelled belt plates or harness fittings. Other items regularly found on military sites such as button-and-loop fasteners and seal boxes were often enamelled. So why were the enamelled forms of bow brooch not more popular? Unfortunately, there are more questions raised by detailed study of brooch types and decoration than can be immediately answered.

5.2.5.2 Status/wealth

Due to the visibility of brooches, they could be used, along with other items of jewellery, to project an image of wealth and status. The majority of brooches were made in copper-alloy but many were gilded, silvered or tinned and indeed these surface treatments were applied to brooches more frequently than to most other metal personal items (Johns 1996, 149). Occasionally gold or silver brooches are found but these are extremely rare. At Richborough for example, only eight brooches were silver and none were gold from 445 (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 26), whilst the PAS has recorded only two gold and 43 silver brooches.[120] Within the Collection, no brooches were made from anything other than copper-alloy. Two retained signs of gilding, a P-shaped brooch from *Cilurnum* (CH3381) and a late plate brooch from Coventina's Well (CH723). Five have either silvering/tinning on the surface or silver decoration (CH937 (knee), CH938 (Hod Hill), CH942 (trumpet), CH1432 (knee) and CH1440 (crossbow)). This only represents 4.5% of the Collection; however, traces of surface treatment such as silvering or gilding may have been lost during burial or cleaning. Little can be said about the use of brooches as a means of indicating status at *Cilurnum* and the other sites represented in the Collection, as the sample is too small.

[120] Search carried out 23/04/2014 at www.finds.org.uk/database

5.2.5.3 Plate brooches

Johns suggests, "a specific religious cult or site, or a group of people with related interests, might be identified by a badge", which is how she sees most plate brooches functioning (1995, 104). As has already been noted, plate brooches were most likely used not as dress fasteners but as adornment. Whether this decoration was simply ornamental or had deeper symbolism varies between brooch types. It is likely that the circular and umbonate plate brooches were mainly ornamental, whilst the zoomorphic and skeumorphic brooches could be used to convey meaning.

The high percentage of the circular or umbonate types of plate brooches in the Collection is not matched in the number of zoomorphic, skeumorphic or dragonesque brooches. There are 39 plate brooches whilst dragonesque brooches are represented by only two examples from *Cilurnum* (CH2885 and 2886), and the only zoomorphic brooch is a deer or stag from Coventina's Well (CH732). Allason-Jones notes that zoomorphic brooches are "rarely to be found on purely military sites" (2014, 70), so the Clayton data fits the expected pattern. The stag has "a very clear military distribution", and so the stag or deer brooch, from a shrine associated with a fort, again fits the expected pattern. Crummy suggests this type of brooch can be linked to the woodland god Silvanus or the horned god Cernunnos (2007, 225), whilst Johns (1995, 105) and Allason-Jones (2014, 72) both remind us of the popularity of hunting and highlight this as a possible source of the imagery. [121]

The two dragonesque brooches are very different forms of the type. CH2885 is a Hunter Type A1 or A3, which have enamel panels on the front, whilst CH2886 is a Hunter Type C1 which has no enamel and is much less zoomorphic in its decoration, simply being an S-shape: see Figs. 5.11 and 5.12 (Hunter 2010). Type A is the most numerous, with 165 examples recorded in Hunter's work, whilst there are only 26 of Type C (*ibid*., 96). Dragonesque brooches have been a subject of much study due to their Celtic style of decoration and it had been thought they were a British reaction to incoming Roman styles, used only by natives, as a symbol of "non-military, non-Roman identity" (Jundi and Hill 1998, 134). However, Hunter's study shows that this is not the case, with many examples being found on military and urban sites, as well as on rural

[121] See also work by Simpson and Blance 1998 on the significance of plate brooches.

sites. There are subtle differences between the types found on each site type, with the military and urban population preferring the enamelled types and the rural population preferring non-enamelled boss style decoration (Hunter 2010, 101). Both types were found on all types of site, however, and so there is no straight division between the different populations. The dragonesque brooch gives us an insight into the complexities of brooch use and what it may be able to tell us. They cannot simply be used to signify 'British-ness', or resistance to Roman rule. However, they do show a form of hybridity in craft, using Celtic art styles on a Roman introduced object.

Figure 5.11 CH2885

Figure 5.12 CH2886, both dragonesque type brooches

Despite the presence of crossbow brooches from the late 3rd and 4th centuries, indicating evidence for occupation at that date (particularly at *Cilurnum*), there is only one plate brooch type dating to that period in the Collection, from Coventina's Well (CH723; Allason-Jones and McKay 1985, 23 no.41). Coventina's Well produced 11 brooches, 8 of which were plate types, mostly the circular, flat types with enamel decoration. This appears to represent a deliberate choice of a specific brooch type in a votive setting. Plate brooches are present on sites in much smaller percentages than bow brooches yet here at Coventina's Well the plate brooches are the main type (see Graphs 5.6-8 above). Why did the devotees chose to offer the plate brooch rather than the bow? At the main time of activity at the Well, late 2nd to early 3rd century AD, the number of bow brooches was decreasing but had not shrunk to the level of the later 3rd and 4th centuries; there would still have been bow brooches in use. Did the devotees see the plate brooch as a more feminine type, and so relevant to offer to a goddess? We may never know the answer to this, but it is worth considering the reason for the brooch types offered in this votive context. The riverine deposit at Piercebridge produced a higher percentage of plate brooches than the fort (see Graph

5.7) so it is possible that at the river at Piercebridge the plate brooches were being chosen deliberately for votive deposition (P. Walton *pers. comm*.).

The two equal-ended (or symmetrical) plate brooches found at *Cilurnum* are the only ones present along Hadrian's Wall and the Stanegate sites (see Snape 1993, 25 and McIntosh 2011). This is a Continental type, not made in Britain, with sites such as Augst and Zugmantel having much larger numbers of them than any British site. One of the examples from *Cilurnum* (CH2119) can be paralleled at Zugmantel (Böhme 1972, Taf. 24.930) and Vindonissa (Ettlinger 1973, Taf. 14.3). The PAS has 134 of this brooch type recorded on its' database,[122] the majority of which were found south of the line of Fosse Way,[123] with two just east of Wakefield in South Yorkshire being the northern outliers. Their presence at Richborough (n6, Bayley and Butcher 2004), close to the Continent, fits the accepted pattern of a southern distribution, whilst the presence of the two at *Cilurnum* is an anomaly. One or two brooches could represent one act of trade, or the movement of one person from the south up to Hadrian's Wall, and they cannot be used to imply a new distribution or movement of troops. This example highlights just how portable brooches were and reminds us that they were personal possessions, items that moved with people, on their clothing.

5.2.5.4 Penannular brooches

Penannular brooches originated in the Pre-Roman Iron Age and were described by Fowler as a native form which became popular with the Roman military (1960, 171). They develop in style and type from the Iron Age onwards, and during the Roman period, certain types are found more frequently on military sites, in particular variants of Types A and D (Fowler 1960, 171). They are found in other areas of the Empire such as Germany and Iberia (Simpson 1979, 322-8), as well as outside the Empire in Scandinavia, and are thought to have developed independently in each of these areas (Fowler 1960, 160). Bayley and Butcher feel that these should be seen as "native" brooches which "were taken up by romanized communities" (2004, 186) which is slightly at odds with Fowler's view that they were linked with the military. They continue in use in Britain well into the 5th and 6th centuries, morphing into the much

[122] Search undertaken on 4/4/14, using 'brooch' as object type, 'equal ended' in description box and 'Roman' as the period.

[123] The road linking Roman Lincoln (*Lindum Colonia*) and Exeter (*Isca Dumnoniorum*).

larger early medieval forms. This long life is unlike the majority of brooch types used in Roman Britain and Collins suggests that their distribution in the later Roman period may indicate a native British influence or presence (2010, 73). Evidence from the Continent indicates that in the later Roman period these brooches were a part of military uniform (Keller 1971, 55-6).

As each type has a very long life-span and many of the types overlap in use, it is difficult to reach definite conclusions about the varying use of penannular brooches through time. Indeed, Fowler stated that it was not possible "to use any penannular brooch as independent dating evidence…because many types had a long life" (1960, 171). Table 5.9 attempts to date the various types, using data from Fowler 1960, Snape 1993 and Mackreth 2011, but dating information for this group of brooches is elusive and for some types, it was not possible to find an accepted date.

Types	**Collection**	**Dates of brooch Type**
Aa	2	3rd century BC- 1st century BC
A1	1	
A2	9	1st- 4th century AD
A3/4	3	1st- 3rd centuries AD
B	1	c. 150 BC- 1st century AD
C	1	1st- 4th century AD (if not later)
D	1	Origin in late 1st century BC or early 1st century AD
D1/2	1	1st- 3rd centuries AD
D6	5	
E	1	Mid to late 4th century AD
E1	1	4th century AD
H1	1	
Total	**27**	

Table 5.9 Showing the types of penannular brooch in the Clayton Collection and their date ranges where known

Of the twenty-seven penannular brooches that can be assigned a Fowler Type (Table 5.10), nine brooches in the Collection are of type D or D/E; however, most of these are of sub-groups which have long life-spans. It is mainly the D7 group onwards, E, F and G, which is thought to be of a 4th century date and later. There are no Type D7 brooches in the Collection, and only two Type E, it seems that most of the penannular brooches may be part of the earlier tradition, which began in the Iron Age, rather than part of the later military dress.

A doctoral thesis mapped the distribution of the penannular brooches in Britain from both excavation and PAS data (Booth 2015). The project found that three early types

(and their sub-types) in Britain have concentrations in different parts of the island. Type A is found most commonly in the north, Type C in the south-east and Type D in the south-west.[124] The popularity of Type A in the north is reflected in the Clayton data (see Figs. 5.13-4), and with only one Type C in the Collection fits its distribution being mostly in the south-east. However, there is quite a high number of Type D penannular brooches from the Clayton Collection, and *Cilurnum* in particular (seven). It is usual for occasional outliers to be found in any distribution, but to have seven Type D brooches from one site outside of the normal distribution area seems significant. What this means is unclear, and could perhaps be explained by a single trading event of a merchant bringing that type to the site, or a brooch-maker in the area copying a terminal style seen elsewhere. The Clayton Collection and *Cilurnum* have the highest percentage of penannular brooches on Hadrian's Wall apart from Birdoswald; unfortunately, the current level of knowledge about penannular brooches does not allow many conclusions to be drawn about their use at *Cilurnum* and the other sites represented.

Figure 5.13 CH943, most common penannular brooch type in the Collection, Fowler Type A2, 1st-4th centuries; Figure 5.14 a close up view of the terminals

[124] Thanks to Anna Booth for allowing me access to some of her conclusions before her work was published.

5.2.5.5 Knee brooches

The Clayton Collection has 21 knee brooches, 5 divided bow brooches and 6 P-shaped brooches. These are all brooches associated with the military, with the divided bow and P-shaped types being seen as the precursors, typologically, to the crossbow brooch.[125] Table 5.10 shows which sites these brooches came from, Figs. 5.15-17 illustrate each of these types. The crossbow brooch and its military links will be discussed in detail in the *Militaria* chapter (see pages 192-3). As the Clayton Collection comprises material almost exclusively from military sites in the frontier zone of Britain, the presence of these brooch types should be expected, if their military nature is accepted. This next section will discuss the knee brooch type in more detail and interrogate its suggested military character.

Figure 5.15 CH3492, divided bow; Figure 5.16 CH3381, P-shaped; Figure 5.17 CH939, knee

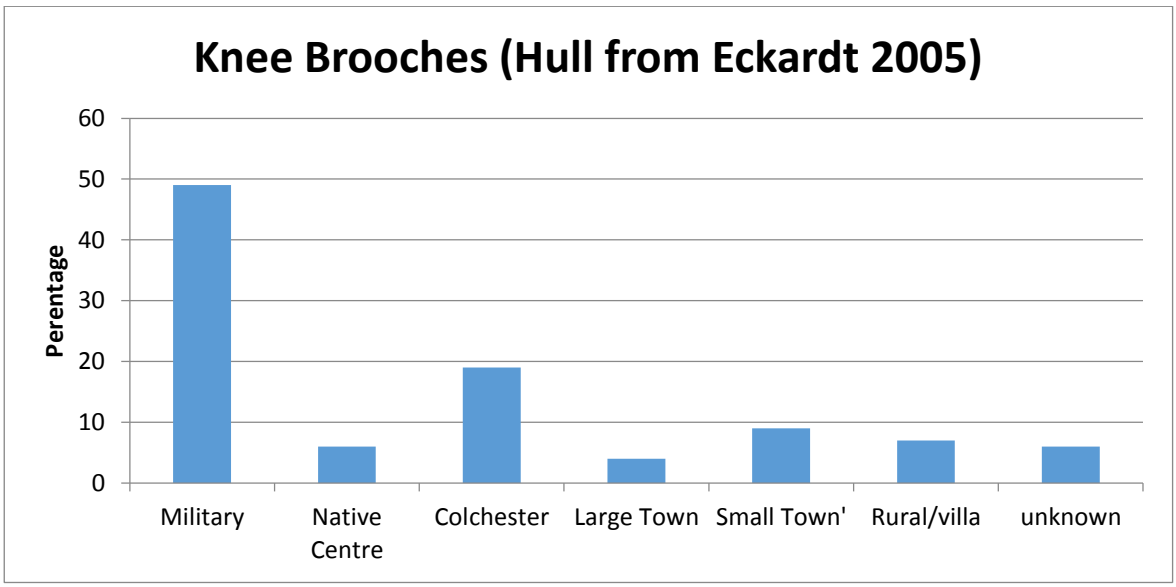
[125] Snape 1993, 8 discusses these types as imports from Germany, where they are seen as soldiers' brooches and are most common on the frontier; Mackreth 2002 discusses the Continental origin of the knee brooches, and their military distribution there (154); Bayley and Butcher 2004, 181 discuss the origins of the P-shaped and divided bow brooches as being on military sites on the Continent, coming over to Britain with troops, although appearing on non-military sites once in Britain; Collins 2010, 64 notes that the crossbow brooch develops from the lighter forms (i.e. the P-shaped or sheath-footed types); Mackreth notes that his Knee Type 2 (a and b) is most common on military sites, although examples are found elsewhere (2011, 190); Mackreth sees the P-shaped and divided-bow brooches as part of the sequence of development of the crossbow brooch (2011, 196).

Brooch Type	*Cilurnum*	Housesteads	Kirkby Thore	Nether Denton	Winshields	Total
Divided Bow	4	1	0	0	0	**5**
P-shaped	4	1	0	1	0	**6**
Knee	14	1	2	3	1	**21**
Total	**22**	**3**	**2**	**4**	**1**	

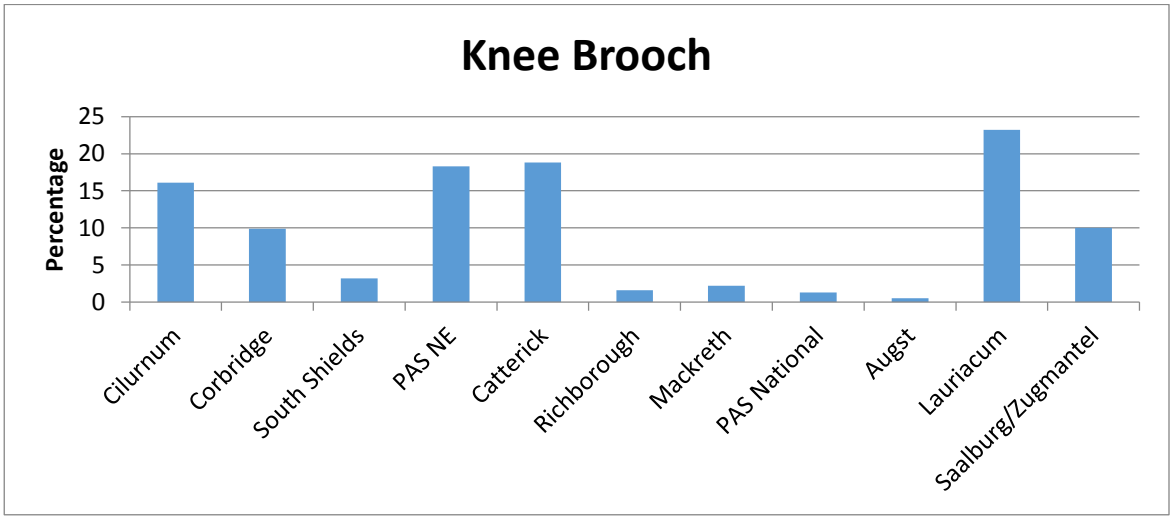
Table 5.10 Showing the three brooch types and the sites they come from

Knee brooches are smaller than many of the 1st and 2nd century bow brooches, often measuring between 3 and 4 cm in length. They date from the mid-2nd century into the early 3rd and are thought to have developed on the Continent from a North Germanic type of brooch. In Germany, these are described as *Soldatenfibeln* and many types are rarely found outside of forts (Böhme 1972, 21). In Britain, however, they are found on civilian settlements as well as military sites (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 179-80; Eckardt 2005, 154; McIntosh 2011), Graphs 5.13 and 5.14 illustrate this.

A paper by the author in 2011 looked at brooch use in the north of England, both rural (PAS data) and urban/military sites and compared this data with that from southern England and the Continent. This showed that the knee brooch is found more frequently in the north than the south of England, on all types of settlement, military, urban and rural (McIntosh 2011, 175 and 177). The north eastern rural sites also had many more of this brooch type than the north west or Yorkshire (*ibid.,* 162-4), showing that the military presence in the area appears to affect even rural brooch use, perhaps due to stronger links between the military and rural population than is generally acknowledged. Surprisingly however, Corbridge and South Shields had lower percentages of the knee brooch than the PAS data in the North East (*ibid.,* 165-167 and see Graph 5.14 here). South Shields had only four knee brooches, whilst Corbridge produced 17 and the PAS 24. South Shields is much more similar to Richborough (an urban settlement by the 2nd century) in its knee brooch usage.



Graph 5-13 Showing the percentage of knee brooches from each site type in Britain (202 brooches), from Eckardt 2005, 154



Graph 5-14 Showing the percentage of knee brooches from each site (% of the site assemblage)

It has been suggested that the presence of knee brooches in civilian settlements might indicate the stationing of troops in towns as described by Vegetius (*Mil.* Book III, 8), in the same way Bishop has explained the presence of 2nd and 3rd century military equipment in towns (Bishop 1991). Knee brooches worn by soldiers out on exercise or foraging may be as easily lost as other bow brooches, and this may explain some brooches from rural areas. In this vein, the higher density of military personnel in the area, compared to the NW or Yorkshire, to lose knee brooches could explain the NE PAS data. Another option to consider is veterans settling in the area, whether they are returning from service abroad, or merely moving out of a fort and into the surrounding area when retiring; Derks and Roymans discuss this more fully in relation to the Netherlands (2006).

Allason-Jones suggests that the knee brooch was more likely to have been worn by people accompanying the soldiers, such as wives or daughters (2013, 27) rather than the soldiers themselves, as she has expressed difficulty in identifying where the soldiers would wear them when in their armour. This is due to their small size and the small amount of fabric which could be held between the bow and pin, meaning they would not be able to hold a cloak, and the lack of other fabric exposed when a soldier was wearing armour. Alternatively, it is possible they were worn when soldiers were off duty, although this makes the brooches found in rural areas more difficult to explain.[126] If worn by other members of the military community this would explain why knee brooches were present in extra-mural settlements, but not necessarily in urban or rural settings. Perhaps the knee brooch came into Britain with soldiers, but as it was not seen as a symbol of military status, it was copied and manufactured by civilian brooch makers and taken up by the civilian population? In this scenario, knee brooches may be seen as very different to crossbow brooches.

As well as considering by whom these brooches were being worn, there is also the question of how they got to Britain, and if they were manufactured here. Work on the Continental examples may suggest that the brooches initially came to Britain through the movement of troops from the German and Raetian Limes. Böhme's work on the brooches from Zugmantel and the Saalburg discussed the variety of knee brooches, and suggested that some forms were manufactured in Britain (1972, 22). However, types which originated on the Continent could have been copied elsewhere, and so some of the so-called Continental types could have been made in Britain, copying the originals from the Continent. It may be that, like Swift's work on the crossbow brooch (2000), more evidence for British manufacture and variety will present itself through detailed study. Figures 5.18-23 highlight the differences between the different knee brooches, some of which have been identified as British types and others as of Continental origin.

[126] The appearance of off-duty solders is not really understood, Hoss suggests that the only distinctive feature would have been their belt (2012, 29), however in terms of clothing nothing much is known. If they wore a tunic and cloak then there would have been both space, and a practical need for brooches, but this is merely speculation.

Cool suggests that at Catterick the high proportion of knee brooches of Continental type indicates a sudden influx of Germanic people to the site (2002, 30). Is this evidence then of brooches marking the presence of certain groups of people? There are 13 knee brooches from Catterick of a total of 69 brooches, so representing 18.8%, and all are of what Mackreth calls Continental types (2002, 153). At *Cilurnum*, the knee brooches constitute 16.1% of the assemblage and of these twelve are of so-called British types, whilst seven are Continental.[127] The epigraphic record at *Cilurnum* contains two 'Germans': *RIB* 1449 (altar set up by a German) and *RIB* 1483 (tombstone to a German), illustrating the presence of some Germans at the site. The Germanies were a fertile recruitment ground for the Roman army and the presence of many units originating there is well attested (Breeze and Dobson 2000, Appendix 2). The continued recruitment from these areas, with troops from Gaul and Germany coming into Britain, lends support to Cool's hypothesis (Haynes 2013, 127). However, we should be cautious in using material culture to indicate the presence of specific groups of people.[128]

Figure 5.18 CH3388, a semi-circular head (British type); Figure 5.19 CH1439, cylindrical wings holding the spring (British type)

[127] Two are of types which do not fit into Mackreth's groupings and so assigning them a British or Continental origin was not possible.

[128] See Haynes 2013, Part II for a full discussion of the varied recruitment practices within the Roman Empire.

Figure 5.20 CH939, semi-circular head and fantail (British type); Figure 5.21 CH3681, silvering, cylindrical wings holding the spring and a squared off foot (Continental type)

Figure 5.22 CH3486, with decoration on the bow and head; Figure 5.23 CH3047, a very angular bow (see Richborough, no.244 (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 101) for similar)

5.3 Conclusion

This chapter has used items of personal adornment to consider questions of identity on Hadrian's Wall, in particular at *Cilurnum.* Unfortunately, due to the lack of detailed findspot information, it is not possible to identify focus areas for their presence, and dating is difficult due to the long-lived nature of many of the forms of object, and the lack of stratified material associated with them. Nonetheless, light has been shone on some of the aspects of identity discussed in the introduction to this chapter. The discovery of a range of items related to female dress within the fort has further strengthened the arguments that women were present within forts on Hadrian's Wall.

Items of high value, such as the detailed intaglio of the circus scene (now lost), the gold necklace (CH966) and the ornate jet finger ring (CH1454) indicate the presence of people with wealth at *Cilurnum*. Whilst wealth does not always equal high status, as these items came from within the fort it is likely they were owned by someone within the wider military community. The intaglios represent more material worked by skilled craftsmen, which would have been costly and not available to all strata of the military community. The motifs and deities carved into the intaglios give an insight into the

beliefs and leanings of the wearers. The prevalence of military images and those linked to prosperity fitting well with a population in a frontier fort.

As Cool notes, the material culture in the 4th century is not necessarily poorer, it is just different to the earlier period, and archaeologists have to be aware of this when considering 4th century occupation on sites (Cool 2010a, 1-3). Following on from Collins and Allason-Jones' publication in 2010, this study has shown that when collections are studied in detail more evidence for later occupation comes to light. Here the three zoomorphic pins, the two 4th century penannular brooches and some of the later bow brooch forms such as the knee, P-shaped and crossbow contribute to this evidence. Although this material represents a much smaller part of the Collection than the 2nd or 3rd century material, this is a general trend and does not reflect a specific problem with the Clayton Collection.

The detailed case study looking at the brooches allowed the validity of the Collection for use in 21st century research to be tested. Through comparative work, it can be seen that the Collection is a valid data-set. There are no marked anomalies which would suggest 19th century practices have affected the data set: fragments as well as whole brooches were collected and retained and so we can be confident that the 19th century collection methods have not skewed the data. The analysis of the collection and comparison with other data sets has highlighted just how complex current brooch typologies are, and how subjective they can be. They are necessary to allow for comparison between sites, but an over-arching typology for the country is needed.

The differing rate of brooch use throughout the period, in particular the reduction in the 3rd and 4th centuries, has been linked to changes in fashion, with different clothing requiring different means of fastening. The noticeable increase in brooch use through the 1st and 2nd centuries, however, can be seen slightly differently as the large range of bow brooches with ever more elaborate decoration seems to point to a desire for increased visibility of the items. The decorative aspect became more important, with people choosing the designs they liked the best, or perhaps those which represented the group they felt they belonged to or aspired to belong.

Plate brooches are a rich field for understanding certain forms of identity and how it may have been expressed through personal adornment. Unfortunately, the

zoomorphic and skeumorphic types best suited to this sort of study are scarce within the Collection. Brooches have the potential to indicate movement of ideas or people with specific types. However, caution must be used, as has been discussed above in relation to Ivleva's work and Cool's comments on the knee brooches at Catterick.

The knee brooch itself is still an enigma as there is clearly some association with the military community, although this association is not as obvious on the Continent. The longest-lived type of brooch, the penannular, was present in higher percentages at *Cilurnum* than at many of the other Hadrian's Wall sites, and all three of the southern British data sets. Again, the significance of this is not understood, as much work needs to be done on this brooch type. Anna Booth's thesis went some way towards better understanding more more work is need to better elucidate the use of the penannular.

Many of the graphs show that there is no clear-cut brooch profile for site types, or even necessarily for certain geographical areas. Brooches were a personal item and it seems that, for bow brooches at least, personal choice may have over-ridden any sense of group image or identity, as long as the brooch carried out its function as a clothes fastener. Plate brooches may tell us more about group identities or affiliation but this collection cannot answer those questions.

Combining the brooches and other items of personal adornment has shown that Clayton's workmen did not leave us with an unusable data set of this material. Comparisons with material from other sites along Hadrian's Wall and further afield has shown that this is a valid data set. The analysis has also highlighted just how many items of personal adornment are in the Collection from within the fort at *Cilurnum*, a military context, adding to the picture of a variety of people within this space, choosing the material culture which best expressed their identities. Questions have remained unanswered in certain areas, sometimes due to a lack of comparative data, or dating information, but the work on the Collection has brought the data together for further study.

6. *Militaria*

"*Appearance not only was important to the individual and his peer group, but also served to define his place in society…..key symbolic components in the iconography - the sword and belt, the length of tunic, the military cloak or cape, the horse if a cavalryman…..such symbols were as important in life as they were in death and the soldier marked his place in peacetime society with their help*."
(Bishop 2011, 130)

6.1 Introduction

This chapter will collate and investigate the *militaria* within the Collection, highlighting how the Collection can be used to discuss wider issues of Romano-British material culture within a military sphere. First, the definition of *militaria* will be explored, and thus, what should be included in this study will be analysed. Comparison with material from other sites along Hadrian's Wall will allow the *militaria* to be used as a case study to answer questions 6.4.3 in the Research framework; can any differences be discerned between the material culture of the central, eastern and western sectors of the Wall (Symonds and Mason 2009a, 22). The material will be studied in order to answer broad questions of aspects of identity, such as uniformity, as well as looking at specific classes of item. For instance, the use of some items, in particular melon beads and tubular facetted beads will be questioned, and their military link discussed.

Using the *militaria*, the question of whether the archaeological evidence supports the epigraphic evidence will be discussed (Symonds and Mason 2009a, 13, 4.2.4). *Militaria* is the key group of material through which to investigate whether cavalry units leave behind a significantly different finds assemblage as compared to infantry units. Evidence of metal-working at *Cilurnum* will be discussed in the context of production and supply of *militaria* along the Wall, alongside the evidence from other sites on the Wall. Throughout the chapter, the 19th century context in which Clayton was working will be considered. Were Clayton and his colleagues influenced in their view of Roman soldiers by the 19th century army? How did the excavation and collection methodology affect the *militaria* assemblage?

6.1.1 *What constitutes* militaria*?*

Whilst collating the data for this chapter and searching for comparative data, one main problem has been highlighted. How do we define a military item? This question was

the title of an article by Lindsay Allason-Jones in 1999, which began by discussing the example of a set of Flavian harness mounts found in a Meroitic pyramid tomb in the Sudan adorning a cow (Allason-Jones 1999b, 1). It illustrated problems in definition and the extent to which the context of the object affects its interpretation. The harness mounts from the Sudan cannot be seen in the same way as harness mounts found in a Flavian context in Britain, for example. This is perhaps an extreme example, used to make a point, but it is backed up by evidence much closer to Hadrian's Wall. The site of Shiptonthorpe, Yorkshire is a case in point. Excavation of a roadside building produced finds which can be compared with what would be expected from a military context on Hadrian's Wall (Allason-Jones 2006, 220), whilst the building, and the rest of the site, appears to be non-military in nature.[129]

So-called military equipment found in rural areas is a topic revealed by the work of the PAS in England and Wales, and by Nicolay's work in the Rhine Delta (Worrell and Pearce 2012; Nicolay 2007). Worrell and Pearce's summary and discussion of the *militaria* recorded on the PAS database (more than 2000 items in 2011) describes an "abundance of military objects in rural areas of the province" (Worrell and Pearce 2012, 436). Nicolay's study of the *civitas Batavorum* lists approximately 2,700 items of *militaria* from urban centres, rural settlements, cult places, rivers and graves as opposed to military sites (Nicolay 2007, 1). Both these studies try to explain the presence of the material and concluded that the amount of this material and its geographical distribution cannot be explained solely by military activity. The range of object types termed *militaria* is questioned, in particular belt and harness fittings used for both men and animals, which Nicolay argues cannot be easily or satisfactorily categorised as military or civilian (Nicolay 2007, 11; Worrell and Pearce 2012, 436).

Allason-Jones states that the military category should be "confined to objects that are unequivocally military, such as helmets, swords, shields, etc. Ambiguous objects, such as studs, should no longer be included" (Allason-Jones 1999b, 3). It is fairly easy to exclude objects such as studs, but what about items such as belt fittings, mounts and pendants? Although the military belt is a well-known symbol of the soldier, it is not

[129] Shiptonthorpe was a dispersed roadside settlement covering c.9.6ha with a primarily agricultural economy supplemented by trading and service roles (Millett 2006, 308)

impossible that other inhabitants of the Roman Empire wore belts with decoration. However, to exclude belt fittings and mounts would be to exclude much material worn by soldiers as part of their costume. Pendants are known to have been worn by many parts of society and are seen on necklaces, for example the lunular pendants found as part of female jewellery (Massart 2002, 101), yet they are readily viewed as military artefacts. Where should we draw the line between items which are military in nature and those which are not?

Figure 6.1 and Figure 6.2 Sections from Mosaics in Tunisia showing the use of spears and bow and arrow in hunting (Yacoub 1995, Fig. 109 and 129)

Allason-Jones' suggestion of including in a *militaria* section of a small finds report, only items that are "unequivocally military" becomes even more difficult to follow when the other uses for many of the weapons are considered (1999b). Bows and arrows could be used for hunting, as could some forms of spears and shields, see Figs 6.1 and 6.2 for mosaics from Tunisia illustrating this. Non-soldiers could legitimately possess arms under the *pax Romana,* and their use for hunting and self-defence was legal and widespread (Justinian, XXXXVIII, vi. Tr. Mommsen *et al*. 1985, 816-7). As James points out, the *Lex Julia de Vi Publica* (Julian Law on Unlawful Public Violence) which is often used to show that civilians did not carry weapons, dealt mainly with bearing arms in public contexts and the setting up of armed private retainers (James 2001, 83). The carrying of weapons by non-soldiers may explain some of the finds recorded by Nicolay and the PAS. It also, however, makes the attribution of these types of objects to a military presence more difficult. Context is very important, with isolated items more prone to "appropriation, reuse and redefinition" whilst sets of equipment are more likely to be in their original use or context (James 2001, 83). It is not just the rest of the assemblage however, but also the location of the discovery, within a fort, or a rural settlement, which should be considered.

Work on forts has shown that people other than soldiers were present there. This includes soldiers' servants or slaves, soldiers' dependents (wives, children, sisters or mothers) and also what might traditionally be termed 'camp followers', the tradesmen and other service providers who follow armies. The work by Carol van Driel-Murray (1995; 1997; 1998) and Elizabeth Greene (2013b) at Vindolanda has used the evidence

of the shoe sizes to show how widespread the presence of women and children was in the fort. The term 'military community' is now recognised as being more useful when thinking about the military (Goldsworthy and Haynes 1999; James 2001). The soldiers were not living in isolation from the non-soldiers, whether they be inside or outside the forts. Once the possibility of non-soldiers in and around forts was accepted, the issue of gender of finds and association of these finds with the different groups arose. Allason-Jones noted the problems inherent in this work (1995; 2001, 21-24), whilst Allison has attempted to map gendered activities in forts (Allison *et al.* 2004; Allison 2006). This is a complicated area of study, and one which will be discussed further when looking at specific object types throughout this chapter.

Another work by Allason-Jones highlights an additional problem in the attribution of items to the military: "A soldier's life does not consist solely of his uniform but involves his whole way of life: what he eats, how he eats it, what he believes in, how he spends his leisure time, as well as his specific job within his unit" (Allason-Jones 2001, 24). If we view any item that a soldier uses as military, then we encompass almost all aspects of material culture. We must try to define those objects which were necessary for a soldier to do his job, and express his identity as a soldier, as opposed to those items which were also used by civilians (whether part of the military community or not).

In the introduction to their handbook on military equipment, Bishop and Coulston state "there is no general agreement amongst scholars" as to the definition of a military item (Bishop and Coulston 2006, vii). Bishop in a shorter synthesis in 2011 describes a "measure of fuzziness" in the definition of military equipment and suggests three sub-sets: those that were truly military, those that were not, and those that may be depending on context (Bishop 2011, 115). These works by experts in the field of small finds and military equipment encourage caution when attempting to fit items into categories.

Despite criticism of using fixed categories, they are a necessary tool in order to compare material between sites or groups. If they are to be used, their relevance and meaning should constantly be reappraised, as well as their usefulness. Crummy's fourteen categories aimed to move away from material being grouped purely by material, in order to use the finds to look at types of activity on a site. These

'functional categories', which were proposed in a 1983 publication (Crummy 1983, 5-6), allow analysis of objects according to their use. They have been widely accepted and are often used in site reports today. Whilst it is not the intention of the current author to criticise all who have used these categories, it is important to note some of the problems of trying to put every item from an assemblage into a category. This problem does not only apply to military equipment; for example, it is often very difficult to differentiate between parts of hair-pins, needles and medical/toilet implements, all of which would be put into different Crummy categories.

Before detailed analysis of any group of objects was undertaken, items which had previously been recognised and/or studied were identified in order to take into account previous scholarship. The inclusion of items from the Clayton Collection in various publications has not been systematic or consistent over the years. It has depended on the authors' awareness of the Collection (and the Budge catalogue), as well as the level of cataloguing of the Collection at the time of the publication. This applies to all sections of the Collection and has been explained more fully in Chapter 2. Table 6.1 shows the items which have certainly been included in publications.[130] However, the *militaria* has not been looked at as a group before and has not been used to discuss what it can tell us about the sites it came from.

Author	Date	Publication	Items Included
Allason-Jones, L.	1988	''Small Finds' from Turrets on Hadrian's Wall', 197-233 in Coulston, J. C. (ed.) *Military Equipment and the Identity of Roman Soldiers.* BAR Int. Series 394.	Material from T29a and T29b
Allason-Jones and McKay	1985	*Coventina's Well. A Shrine on Hadrian's Wall.*	CH 3661, CH 3662, CH 3664-7
Collins, R.	2011	'Brooch use in the 4th–5th century frontier', 62-75 in Collins, R. and Allason-Jones, L. (eds.) *Finds from the Frontier.*	Cross-bow brooches; CH 945, CH 946, CH 2371, CH

[130] Allason-Jones and Miket 1984 used many items from the Clayton Collection as comparative material to their assemblage from South Shields, but did not reference CH numbers.

			3661
Frere, Roxan and Tomlin (eds.)	1990	*RIB* II.1, 2401.10 and 2401.13	Diploma; CH 920
Frere and Tomlin (eds.)	1991	*RIB* II.3, 2429.16 and 2429.17	VTER FELIX belt plates; CH3073 and CH3086
MacGregor, M.	1976	*Early Celtic Art in North Britain; a study of decorative metalwork from the third century B. C. to the third century A. D.*	CH 1310 and 1311; button and loop fasteners.
Manning, W.	1976 1985	*Catalogue of Romano-British Ironwork in the Museum of Antiquities.* *Catalogue of the Romano-British Iron Tools, Fittings and Weapons in the British Museum.*	Spears, no specific museum numbers given.
Philipson, J.	1886	'Roman Horse Trappings, compared with modern examples, with special reference to Roman bronzes lately found at South Shields and Chesters (*Cilurnum*)', 204-215 in *AA*2, XI.	Horse harness, no specific numbers given (before museum was formed).
Dixon, K. R.	1990	'Dolphin scabbard runners', 17-25 in *Journal of Roman Military Equipment Studies* 1. M. C. Bishop, Ryton.	Scabbard slides; CH 927, CH2902-2905
Scott, I. R.	1980	'Spearheads of the British Limes', 333-343 in W. S. Hanson and L. J. F. Keppie (eds.) *Roman Frontier Studies 1979. Papers Presented to the 12th International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies.* BAR Int. Series 71(i).	Spears from *Cilurnum*, no specific museum numbers given

Table 6.1 Showing items included in other publications

The catalogue of military equipment from the collections of the National Museum of Wales by Chapman (2005) split the Welsh material into fifteen categories, with sub-groups within those categories. Nicolay used similar, but slightly less rigid, categories in his 2007 work on the material from the Rhine Delta. Worrell and Pearce in 2012 used Chapman's categories as a guide when analysing the material recorded by the PAS but altered them slightly. These categories have been used to analyse the material from the Clayton Collection, with the addition of spurs as a separate category, the only spurs present in the Clayton Collection are 4th century and so are a useful indicator of late activity at a site.

6.1.2 The Clayton militaria

As discussed above, there are problems inherent in assigning items to a military function. In particular, the author feels the following items are not clearly military: cart fittings, button-and-loop fasteners, pendants and belt mounts. These are items which

could easily be used by non-soldiers within the military community, and by people not part of the wider military. They have been used for the initial discussion, as it was felt that it would be useful to show the presence/absence of them in certain data sets, as a further indicator that they should not be seen as military items. The arms and armour category is large and varied and so to remedy this, the category has been broken down into different types of weapons and armour and is discussed in more detail below (see Graph 6.5).

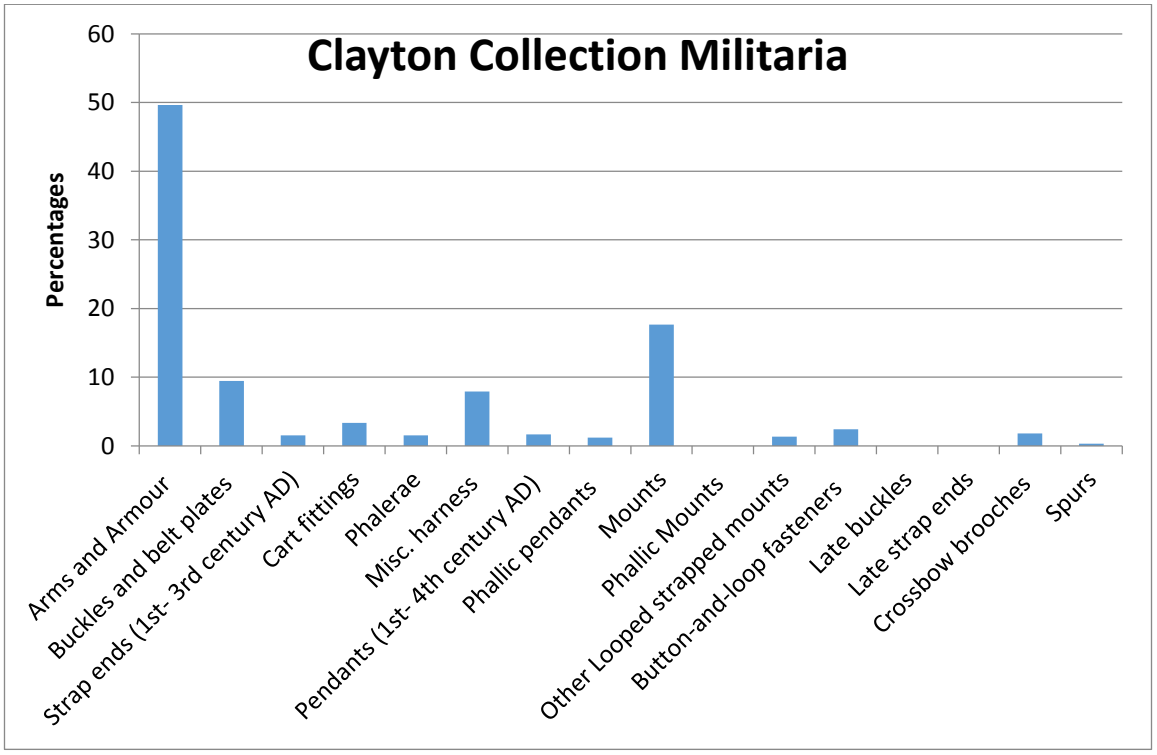
Table 6.2 and Graph 6.1 show the breakdown of the number of items of each category present in the Clayton Collection, and some immediate points can be made. There is a very high percentage of arms and armour, almost 50%. Items which are missing or are low in numbers are 4th century buckles, strap ends and spurs (only two of the latter), but there are crossbow brooches of both the light (3rd century) and heavy (4th century onwards) type present. The high number of late 3rd and 4th century brooches from *Cilurnum* shows that not all of the later layers were dug straight through by Clayton's workmen.[131]

Category	**Group**	**Number**	**Percentage**
A	Arms and Armour	326	49.62
B	Buckles and belt plates	62	9.44
C	Strap ends (1st- 3rd century AD)	10	1.52
D	Cart fittings	22	3.35
E	Phalerae	10	1.52
F	Misc. harness	53	7.91
G	Pendants (1st- 4th century AD)	11	1.67
H	Phallic pendants	8	1.22
I	Mounts	116	17.66

[131] This is something that can be a problem with 19th century excavations, where the aim was to reveal walls and buildings. Discussion of the methods used by Clayton's workmen can be found in the Chapter 1.

J	Phallic Mounts	0	0
K	Other Looped strapped mounts	9	1.37
L	Button-and-loop fasteners	16	2.44
M	Late buckles	0	0
N	Late strap ends	0	0
O	Crossbow brooches	12	1.83
P	Spurs	2	0.3

Table 6.2 Showing the Clayton militaria *divided by category*

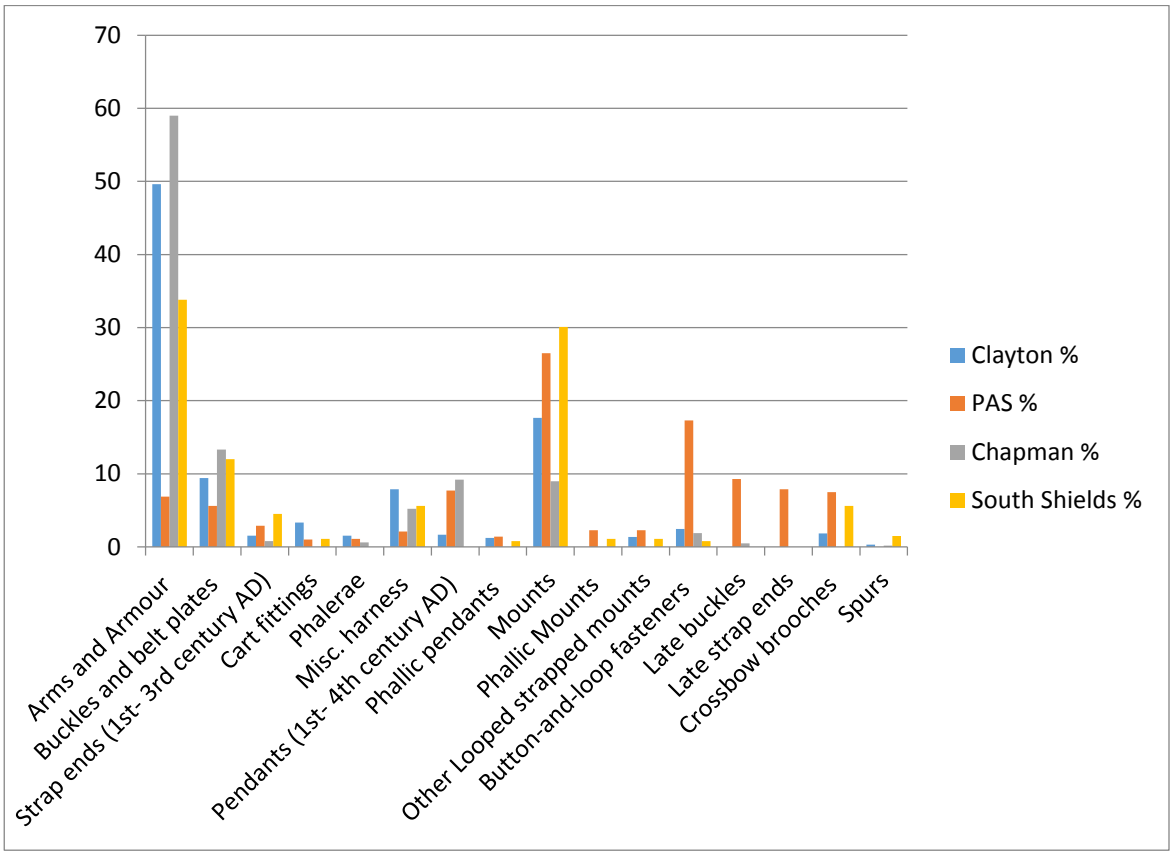


Graph 6-1 Showing in graph form the percentage of material in each category

6.2 General Discussion

In order to ascertain whether or not the *militaria* in the Clayton Collection, coming mostly from Hadrian's Wall, is different from, or similar to, other types of site, comparison with those sites is needed. For broad comparison three data-sets were chosen, that of the South Shields catalogue by Allason-Jones and Miket (1984), the PAS data-set by Worrell and Pearce (2012), and Chapman's data (2005). They were chosen for different reasons: the South Shields material was all excavated pre-1977, and much

of it is from 19th century excavations so is comparable in regards to the method of excavation used to construct the Clayton Collection. In addition, South Shields is on the eastern end of the Hadrian's Wall zone, so using the data allows a comparison between *Cilurnum* in the centre. The PAS data is all stray find data, predominantly from rural sites, and so enables comparison between military and rural contexts to be made. Chapman's data from the National Museum of Wales encompasses finds from seventeen different sites,[132] and the collection was begun in 1847 so in some ways has a similar life history to the Clayton Collection. To give an idea of scale, Chapman's data set contained 1094 items, whilst the PAS data contained 2183 and South Shields 266.



Graph 6-2 Showing the Clayton militaria *against the PAS, Chapman and South Shields data*

As the PAS data is from completely different site types, it would be expected that the finds would show different patterning from the other three, which are from military sites. However, it is not as simple as this. As can be seen from Graph 6.2 the four data sets vary considerably in many of the categories. For the 'Arms and Armour' group

[132] Sites represented are; Brecon Gaer, Caerleon, Caersws, Caerwent, Dinorben, Ffrith, Gelligaer, Hindwell Farm, Holt, Llandough, Loughour, Pen Llystyn, Pen-y-Corddyn, Segontium (Caenarfon), Seven Sisters, Usk and Whitton.

South Shields is significantly lower than Clayton and Chapman, with the PAS data being dramatically lower (only 6.9%). Whilst the rural context of the PAS finds means that we might expect to have low numbers of arms and armour, it is not clear why South Shields is lower than the other two data-sets. The PAS data has notably more late buckles, strap ends and crossbow brooches than any of the other three groups, with only South Shields being close in the numbers of crossbow brooches. The rural sites produce a higher percentage of 4th century material (apart from spurs) than the military sites. The Clayton Collection has almost double the percentage of miscellaneous harness pieces than South Shields and Chapman, and almost four times that of the PAS data. Therefore, although the percentage is low (7.9%), the cavalry fort has produced more equestrian material than the non-cavalry military sites and the rural areas, as might be expected.

Where the PAS data is highest in comparison to the site data is in regard to the button-and-loop fasteners, 17.3% as opposed to less than 3% in the other data sets. This raises the questions, should button-and-loop fasteners be considered as military items? When button and loop fasteners were assigned a military association by Wild in 1970, only 165 were known, and only excavated data was taken into account (Wild 1970). The advent of metal detecting, and the introduction of the systematic recording of finds by the PAS has completely changed the picture, with 362 fasteners being recorded between October 1997 and September 2013. The distribution of these items has widened geographically, and they are not found only on military sites nor only in Britain (Worrell 2008). This new data-set supports Allason-Jones' work which showed that one third of examples from the environs of Hadrian's Wall come from native rather than military sites (1989b, 17). Despite the fact that button-and-loop fasteners are no longer regarded as exclusively military items, they are regularly included in the military section of catalogues.

These three data-sets allowed analysis of the Clayton Collection in comparison with multi-site data, rural data, and data from another 19th century excavation. As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, it is necessary to consider how the formation of the Collection has affected its composition. It was hoped that it would be possible to be able to compare the Clayton Collection with other forts along Hadrian's Wall excavated

in the 20th and 21st century, as these would allow the most direct comparison in terms of site type, with the variable being the excavation date (and method). Unfortunately, most of the sites in this group did not produce enough *militaria* to allow analysis, only Carlisle and Vindolanda producing a sufficient quantity.[133] This in itself is important as most of the forts on Hadrian's Wall were occupied for almost 300 years and so higher numbers of *militaria* would be expected. This could be because material is scattered throughout various collections and publication is limited, as is the case with Housesteads, but could also be due to lack of large scale, open area excavation on Hadrian's Wall from the 20th century onwards. The larger amount of material in the Clayton Collection can be explained by two reasons: more than one site is represented and it represents over 40 years of excavation.

In order to ascertain whether the Clayton material is similar to other Roman forts in Britain[134] a site away from Hadrian's Wall was also chosen to provide a comparative data-set. The three sites, Carlisle, Piercebridge, and Vindolanda were chosen as they had all been excavated in the 20th century, with the more stringent recording methodology now expected.[135] Carlisle is also on the western section of Hadrian's Wall so allows a comparison with the Central Sector sites of Vindolanda and the Collection. Graph 6.3 compares the Clayton Collection with the material from those three sites.[136] This data should allow us to see whether the Clayton Collection is representative of a military site, and whether the differences in material recovered may be linked with modern excavation techniques.

Graph 6.3 shows that overall the four sites are not dramatically different, with the largest category for all being 'Arms and Armour', followed by 'Mounts'. However, Vindolanda has a much higher percentage of 'Arms and Armour' at almost 85%, whilst the Clayton Collection has just under 50%. Piercebridge had the highest percentage of

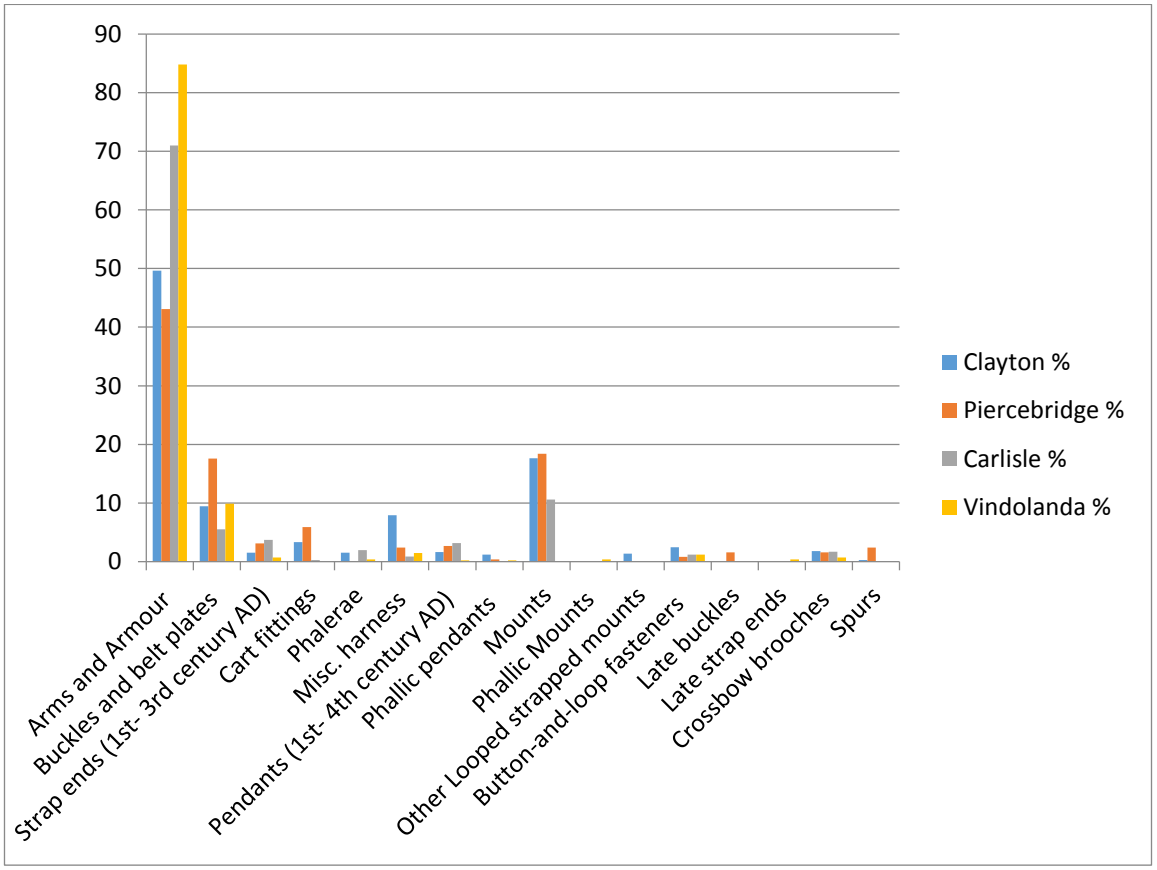
[133] For example, the Housesteads report for the 1974-81 excavations produced only 66 pieces of *militaria* (Allason-Jones 2009), whilst the Wallsend 1997-8 excavations produced only 21 (Hodgson 2003).

[134] Although it is highly likely that there is no normal or typical fort assemblage and no signature military assemblage: work by Allason-Jones has shown that there is no typical assemblage from turrets (1988).

[135] Piercebridge had 255 items classified as *militaria*, Carlisle 348 and Vindolanda 857.

[136] Thanks must go to Barbara Birley of The Vindolanda Trust for providing this data which is not yet fully published.

buckles and belt plates, perhaps reflecting the solely military nature of the excavation, with the importance of the belt to the military well attested.[137] Of these four sites, the Clayton Collection has the highest percentage of miscellaneous harness pieces, reflecting the cavalry presence there for a large part of the life of the fort.



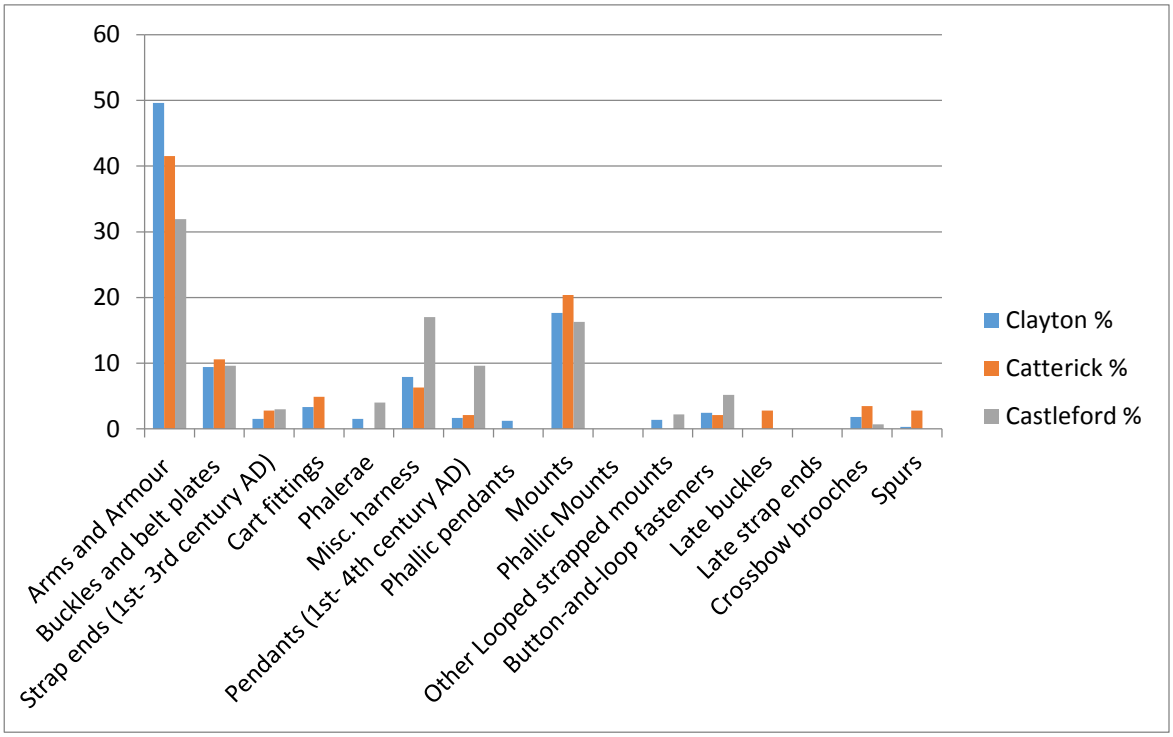
Graph 6-3 Clayton militaria *against that from Piercebridge (Cool 2008), Carlisle (Padley 1991 and Howard-Davies 2009) and Vindolanda (B. Birley pers. comm.)*

Graph 6.4 compares the Clayton Collection with Catterick and Castleford.[138] These two sites are slightly different in nature so should allow a comparison between a military site and sites with a more urban function. Catterick was an early fort, which developed into a large urban site with Castleford also changing from military to civilian use. No other non-military sites have been chosen for comparison as within the north they have not been excavated or published well enough to provide the data needed for this study. In general terms, the urban element of Catterick and Castleford does not seem to produce a drastically different material culture with 'Arms and Armour' being the

[137] Hoss 2006 and 2012 pulls much of the source material and current arguments on this topic together.

[138] Catterick had 142 items and Castleford 135. It must be noted here that there are problems with the data in the Catterick report which Cool discusses in detail in her summaries (Cool 2002, 24).

largest category, followed by 'Mounts'. It is in the smaller categories that more subtle differences can be seen. The civilian nature of the later occupation of Castleford probably accounts for the lower percentage of arms and armour (31.9%). Castleford had the highest percentage of miscellaneous harness and pendants, which might be linked to the civilian use of horses as pack animals and carthorses. It is not always clear with harness pieces which can be associated with the military and which were also used by civilians. The later occupation at Catterick is represented by the presence of the spurs, crossbow brooches and later buckle types.



Graph 6-4 Clayton militaria *against that from Catterick (Cool 2002) and Castleford (Cool and Philo 1998)*

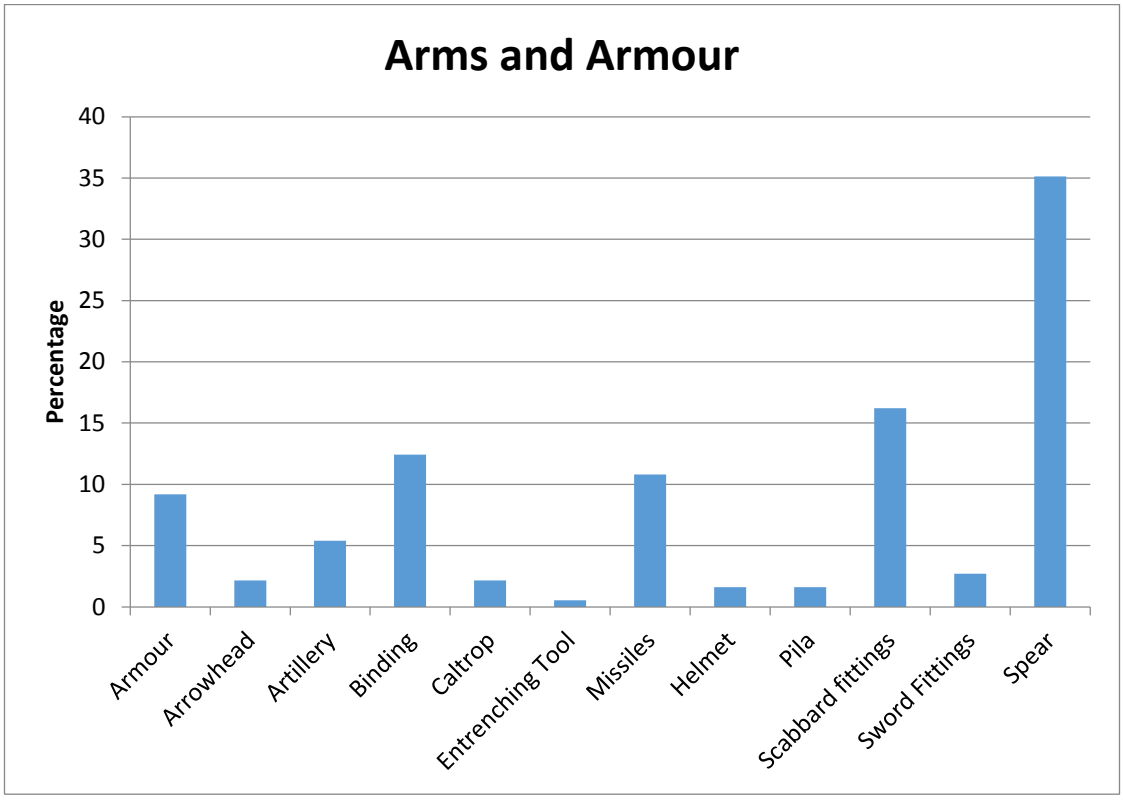
6.2.1 Arms and Armour

The 'Arms and Armour' category was the largest by far within the Clayton Collection (322 items), and it was thought that it deserved closer attention. Accordingly, this category was broken down into more specific object types, in order to see which were best represented. Graph 6.5 does not include the 137 arrowheads from the hoard from the headquarters at Housesteads as they skew the data (as with any hoard).

Graph 6.5 shows that after spears the next largest group is that of scabbard fittings, which includes chapes and scabbard runners or slides. Binding is treated as a separate category, as it is difficult to confidently assign this to shield, scabbard or other.

Scabbard fittings represent 16% of the total of the arms and armour group, whilst for the South Shields data it is only 6.6% and Chapman 7.4%.

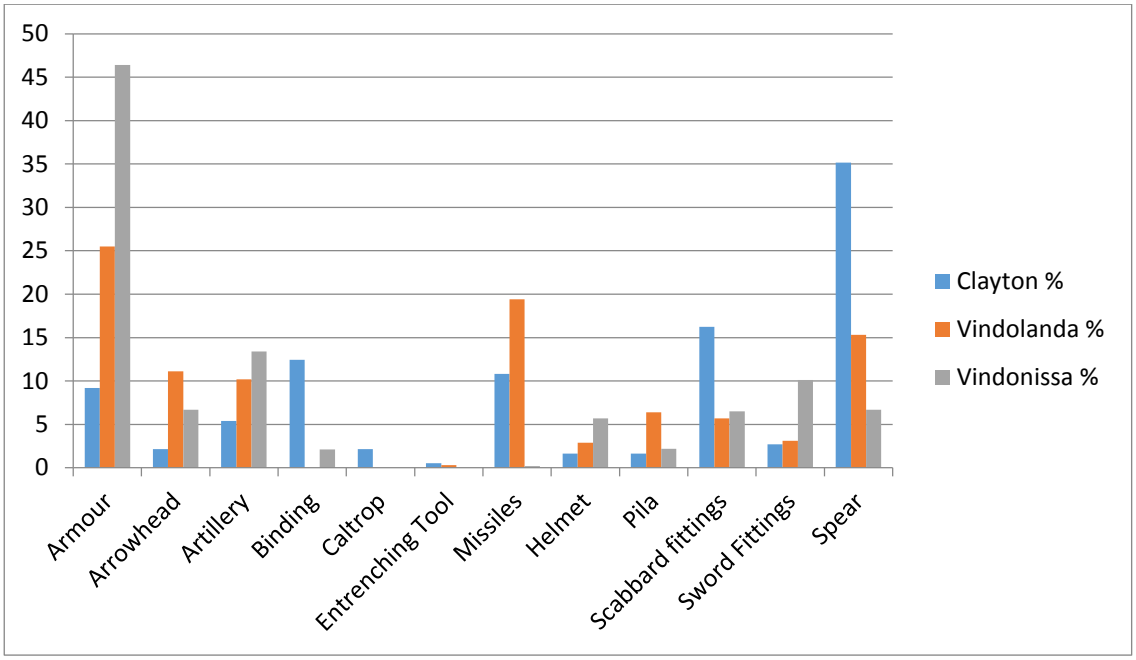
Without the arrowhead hoard from Housesteads (Bosanquet 1904), there are only three arrowheads in the Collection. This is normal according to Manning, who notes the rarity of arrowheads from Hadrian's Wall and the province in general. This is in contrast to artillery bolts, which are common finds (Manning 1976, 7-8). The Clayton Collection contains ten bolt heads and so fits into the pattern seen elsewhere along Hadrian's Wall.



Graph 6-5 Breakdown of the Arms and Armour category for the Clayton Collection (185 items)

Graph 6.6 compares the 'Arms and Armour' categories from Clayton Collection with that from Vindonissa in Switzerland and Vindolanda (Unz and Deschler-Erb 1997). Both sites were chosen for comparison here because of their large groups of Arms and Armour, allowing more detailed discussion. Vindonissa is a 1st century AD fort, whilst Vindolanda was a fort from the 1st through to the 4th century. Graph 6.6 shows that the Clayton Collection has a higher percentage of scabbard fittings than both sites; however, Vindonissa has many more sword pieces. The data from Vindolanda is not complete, and so the absence of binding should not be seen as significant. The

Vindonissa material has a much higher percentage of armour than the Clayton Collection, as does the Vindolanda material.



Graph 6-6 Showing the breakdown of the Arms and Armour category for the Clayton Collection (185 items), Vindonissa (1299 items) (Unz and Deschler-Erb 1997) and Vindolanda (727 items)

6.2.2 Spears

The largest group of material in the Clayton Collection is the spears, which make up just over 35% of the assemblage, with 65 spears (three of which are spear butts and so are not included in the following analysis). The Clayton Collection has more than double the percentage of spears from Vindolanda, and more than triple that from Vindonissa. It is also extremely high when compared with South Shields, which has parts of only four spears, and whilst Chapman's data has 49 spears, this represents only 7.6% of the group. From the Clayton Collection, of 62 spearheads, all but one can be firmly attributed to *Cilurnum*. Is the number of spears linked to the cavalry presence at *Cilurnum*? Whilst there is no suggestion that spears and lances were purely cavalry weapons, the high number of spears from *Cilurnum* may indicate the importance this form of weaponry played in cavalry manoeuvres. Interestingly, Sewingshields Milecastle (MC 35) has a high number of spearheads; from thirty-one pieces of *militaria*, eight were spearheads (Allason-Jones 1984). No explanation was given for this high number of spears in the publication, and further conversations with the author has not further illuminated this (Allason-Jones *pers. comm*.).

In 1990, Marchant carried out a survey of spearheads in Britain and concluded that they were one of the most difficult weapons to investigate, due to their large variety and lack of standardisation (Marchant 1990, 1). By assigning the spears into types, more detail can be gleaned as to whether certain types were more prevalent at *Cilurnum*. Manning compiled a catalogue of the ironwork held in the collections of the Museum of Antiquities, Newcastle upon Tyne in which he put forward a simple classification for spears (1976, 18).[139] This classification was used for the *Cilurnum* spearheads as it was constructed for a dataset from the Northern frontier zone and so should be a useful system for the *Cilurnum* data. A tablet from Carlisle lists two types of lance, the 'fighting lance' and the smaller *subarmalis* (Tomlin 1998, 55). The former is assumed to be a thrusting spear, whilst the latter is used as a missile or javelin, as per Scott's 1980 classification (Scott 1980, 341). It is worthwhile considering whether or not Manning's types 1 and 2 could be equated to the two different types of weapon listed in the Carlisle tablet, although currently that is merely speculation.

Manning's Classification:

1. Those with narrow, leaf shaped blades

2. Those with wider and generally shorter blades than Type 1

3. Small spearheads, with a narrow blade, which expands into an oval or diamond at its base.

Type	Clayton Collection	Museum of Antiquities
1	18	7
2	21	8
3	22	3[140]
Totals	62	18

[139] The collections from the Museum of Antiquities are now held in the Great North Museum: Hancock, Newcastle upon Tyne.

[140] Two of these examples are unfortunately unprovenanced.

Table 6.3 Showing the numbers of spears in Manning's 1976 categories

Figure 6.3 Example of a Type 3 spearhead from the Clayton Collection

From Table 6.3 it can be seen that within the Clayton Collection there is an almost even split of spearheads which fit into each type. The Museum of Antiquities spears, on the other hand, show a much smaller number of Type 3 spearheads than the other two types (see Figure 6.3 for an example of this type). Manning states that published Roman examples of Type 3 are hard to find, with only Richborough and Hod Hill producing similar, although not such pronounced examples (1976, 19). Of the 49 spears from Chapman's data, there is only one spear which possibly has this form, Da25 (2005, 31-2, Plate D3).

Therefore, it would seem that the types of spear, as well as the large number in the Clayton Collection, is unusual. Manning notes the prevalence of this type in the Clayton Collection; commenting that there were "some of such an exaggerated form that they can scarcely have been functional" (1976, 19). Robinson illustrates some of these items as spearheads and dates them to the 3rd and 4th centuries, but does not explain why they are assigned this date (1975, 22).

Excavations in 1980 at Vindolanda produced six spears of Mannings type 3 (Jackson 1985). Marchant later identified examples of Type 3 from Birdoswald, Brancaster, *Cilurnum*, Housesteads, Sewingshields Milecastle and Wallsend, "amongst others", and commented that their distribution is centred on Hadrian's Wall, although he missed the group from Vindolanda (Marchant 1990, 4). Two further examples were published in 1998 from Greta Bridge where they were classified as standard tips (Casey and Hoffman 1998, 135). Alföldi has discussed the use of the spearhead as a symbol of military might and an emblem of authority (Alföldi 1959), these standard tips can be seen as an extension of this system. All examples mentioned so far have been of iron and fairly crude in production. A silver standard tip from Caerleon, which appears to

have been modelled on the most extreme version of this type, is a very different case (Boon 1972, 67). Casey and Hoffman suggest that as Caerleon was the home of legionaries, their standards were silver, whilst the auxiliary troops at the other sites made do with iron (1998, 137). Iron which has been gilded, tinned or silvered can nonetheless still be made to look presentable, and so these items are not unsuitable as standard tips.

If these items were not functioning offensive weapons, what does this indicate about military equipment and its use at *Cilurnum*? It is possible that they were used in exercises such as the *Hippika Gymnasia,* in which sports or parade armour was worn and that these forms of spearheads or standard tips were part of such ensembles. Another explanation is that they may have been some sort of standard or badge of office. Both Jackson and Marchant suggest their use as standard tips, with one example from Vindolanda having a rivet at the tip, which could have been used to attach further decoration (Jackson 1985, 135; Marchant 1990, 4). Of the forts where these spears have been found only Birdoswald and Brancaster have no cavalry links and so the possibility of these being cavalry standards may explain why there are so many from Chesters.

6.2.3 Horse Harness

Initially, the amount of harness-related material from the Clayton Collection, and in particular *Cilurnum*, seems low, when considering the presence of the *Ala II Asturum* at the site for c.250 years: just under 8% (53 items) for miscellaneous harness and less than 2% (11 items) for pendants. For example, at Kops Plateau, Nijmegen, a fort occupied for only around 60 years, 1000 iron and bronze items of horse harness were found (van Enckevort and Willems 1996, 126).[141] To ascertain whether the amount of material from the Clayton Collection was low or not, the ideal comparison would have been with the two other cavalry forts along Hadrian's Wall, Stanwix and Benwell. Unfortunately, neither of these forts have been excavated on a large scale, nor is the material fully published. It was therefore decided that forts which are known to have

[141] However, the site produced 30, 000 metal objects in total, so the harness equipment represents only 3% of the total assemblage. As the Kops Plateau material has not been fully published it is not possible to work out what percentage of the *militaria* the harness material represents. The harness equipment from the Clayton Collection, however, represents c.0.6% of the total assemblage, so it can be seen that Kops Plateau did produce a much larger percentage of this type of material.

had *cohortes equitata* based there, and for which the data was accessible, would be useful comparisons. To this end, the data from Vindolanda, South Shields and Wallsend was used, alongside Housesteads as an infantry fort to act as a counter balance (Table 6.4 lists the known regiments from these sites through inscriptions and literary sources).

Fort	Under Hadrian	Under Pius	Under Marcus Aurelius	Under Commodus	3rd century	Notitia Dignitatum
Cilurnum	*Ala Augusta ob virtutem appellate*	Auxiliary regiment	No evidence	*Ala II Asturum*	*Ala II Asturum*	*Ala II Asturum*
House-steads	*Cohors milliaria peditata*	n/k	No evidence	n/k	*Cohors I Tungrorum milliaria, numerous Hnaudifridi, cuneus Frisiorum Ver.*	*Cohors I Tungrorum*
South Shields	No evidence	n/k	Cohors (?)	n/k	*Cohors V Gallorum*	*Numerus bacariorum Tigrisiensium*
Vindolanda	No evidence	n/k	*Cohors II Nerviorum civium Romanorum* (??)	n/k	*Cohors IV Gallorum equitata (213)*	*Cohors IV Gallorum*
Wallsend	*Cohors quingenaria equitata* (?)	n/k	*Cohors II Nerviorum civium Romanorum* (?)	n/k	*Cohors IV Lingonum equitata*	*Cohors IV Lingonum*

Table 6.4 Showing the troops known to have been stationed at Cilurnum*, Housesteads, South Shields and Wallsend throughout the Roman period (Taken from Breeze and Dobson 2000)*[142]

Table 6.5 and Graph 6.7 show the data from these sites in absolute numbers rather than percentages. They show that in fact the number of harness-related items from *Cilurnum* is not such a low total, completely eclipsing the total from Housesteads. South Shields has slightly more material; however, it was excavated more intensively than *Cilurnum* during the 20th and 21st centuries and so this may account for the total.

[142] This table shows only the troops known to be stationed there. It is quite possible that small vexillations or detachments of other units were present at sites with no record. This has been highlighted by the Vindolanda Tablets where a strength report notes soldiers off site at Corbridge, London and elsewhere (Tab. Vind. II 154, Bowman and Thomas 1994).

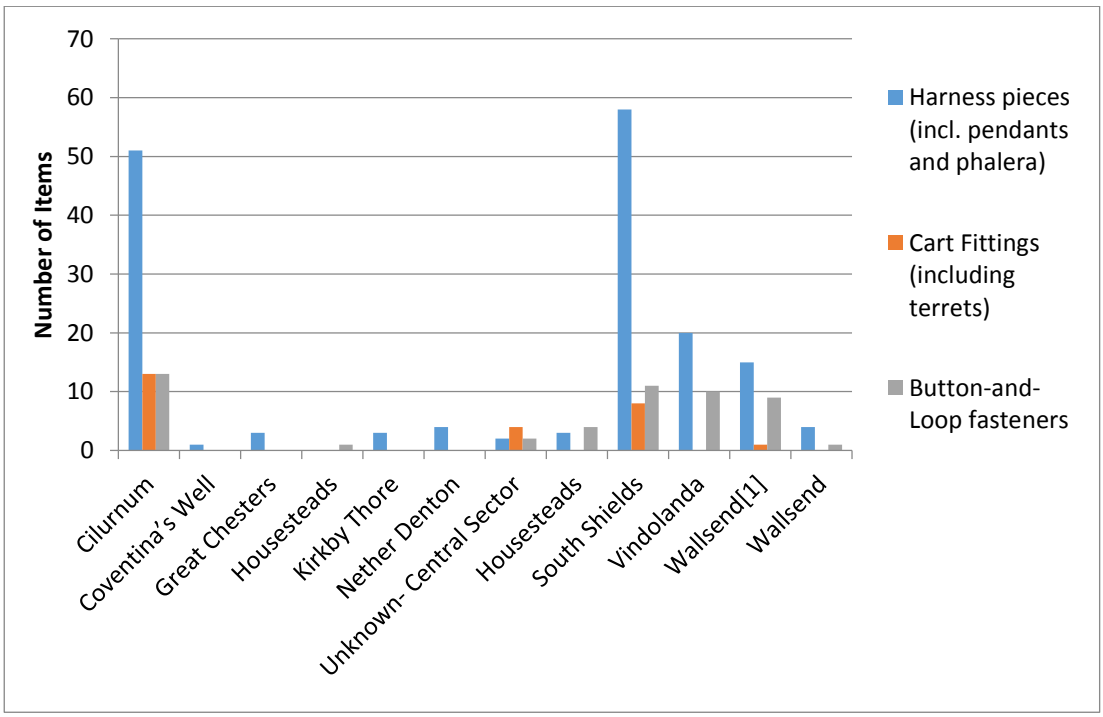
What is surprising is that the Wallsend excavations, both by Daniels and by TWA[143] did not produce more material. These excavations included areas now accepted as cavalry barracks (Hodgson 2003), yet they produced only 19 harness related items. Therefore, although the harness equipment represents only a small percentage of the material from *Cilurnum*, it is still much higher than that found on an infantry fort, and is comparable to (South Shields) or higher than (Wallsend and Vindolanda) forts with mixed units.

Site	**Excavation**	**No. of Harness pieces (incl. pendants and Phalerae)**	**No. of Cart Fittings (including terrets)**	**No. of Button-and-Loop fasteners**
Cilurnum	Clayton Collection	51	13	13
Coventina's Well	Clayton Collection	1	0	0
Great Chesters	Clayton Collection	3	0	0
Housesteads	Clayton Collection- FGS	0	0	1
Kirkby Thore	Clayton Collection	3	0	0
Nether Denton	Clayton Collection	4	0	0
Unknown-Central Sector	Clayton Collection	2	4	2
Housesteads	1974- 81	3	0	4
South Shields	All excavations (19th and 20th century)	58	8	11
Vindolanda	Ongoing- 20th and 21st century	20	0	10
Wallsend [1][144]	Daniels 1975-84	15	1	9
Wallsend [2]	1997-8	4	0	1

Table 6.5 Harness related items from various sites compared with the Clayton material

[143] Tyne and Wear Archaeology.

[144] My thanks to Alex Croom who sent me through the data from the then unpublished excavations at Wallsend and South Shields.



Graph 6-7 Harness related items from various sites compared with the Clayton material

6.2.4 Beads

Beads are items always placed within the personal items or dress accessories categories when cataloguing an assemblage. They are seen as something that is uncomplicated in their use, however, this is not the case. Archaeological and sculptural finds mean we have to reassess whether they can all be placed in that category, or whether some of them could have a military link. Melon beads are one such example. They range widely in size and weight. Although we cannot put our own modern assumptions about what is acceptable as jewellery onto the Roman material, practically some of these types of beads would be uncomfortably large to wear as jewellery. Combining this feature of some of the beads with archaeological and sculptural evidence suggests other ways that these beads were used.

A cavalry tombstone found at Cologne, dating to the last decade of the 1st century AD, shows the rider, Bassus, and his horse in detail. A strap around his neck is adorned with five items, which resemble large melon beads (Dixon and Southern 1992, 39, *CIL* 13.8308) (Figure 6.4). This is described by Dixon and Southern as the "most detailed Roman cavalry tombstone to survive" (*ibid.*) but similar details can be seen on other tombstones, for example *Primigenius* from Cologne and *Sextus Valerius Genialis* from Circencester (*CSIR* I. 7, no. 137) (Figures 6.5 and 6.6). At Vindolanda, a melon bead was found strung on a leather strap, close to two other examples (Birley and Greene 2006,

23), whilst at the battle site of Krefeld Gellup a horse was found which had a leather strap round its neck strung with 26 beads, many of which were melon beads (Höpken 2003, 353).

Figure 6.4 Detail of tombstone of Bassus*, Cologne (Dixon and Southern 1992, 39,* CIL *13.8308)*

Figure 6.5 Detail of tombstone of Primigenius*, Cologne (Éspérandieu 6448) (http://www.flickr.com/photos/thearmaturapress/7401545458/)*

Figure 6.6 Detail of tombstone of Sextus Valerius Genialis*, Cirencester (*CSIR *I. 7, no. 137)*

The above examples all relate to harness, and fit well with the known presence of the cavalry at *Cilurnum*; however, there are also other known uses for melon beads apart from jewellery. Again, from Germany, the find of a *dolabra* sheath in Bonn, near Jesuitenhof illustrates one such example. The sheath is copper-alloy in composition with eight melon beads suspended on thin wire (Curle 1911, p.279, fig.39). If melon beads were used on such items as *dolabrae* and harness, which have a very strong military association, then they cannot solely be classified as jewellery. Neither however can they be considered just as military items. Allison notes that we must be aware of the multi-functionality of these beads, and that beads found in forts must not immediately be assigned to the military sphere (2006, 6). Within the Clayton Collection, there are 31 melon beads, 23 of which are from *Cilurnum*. A study of their size shows that they range from 10.48mm to 29.99mm in diameter. This difference in diameter could be used to argue for differential use, with the larger ones on harness or *dolabrae* and the smaller ones as jewellery.

Another form of bead which deserves closer attention is the copper-alloy tubular facetted bead, of which there are 20 in the Collection, 19 assigned to *Cilurnum* (see

Figure 6.7 for an example). These are named as beads, but again it seems likely that they are not from jewellery, being large and unlike other jewellery items from the Roman period. If it is to be accepted that some melon beads, in particular the larger examples, could be used for purposes other than jewellery, it seems equally plausible that these copper-alloy beads could be used in similar ways, for example to adorn harness.

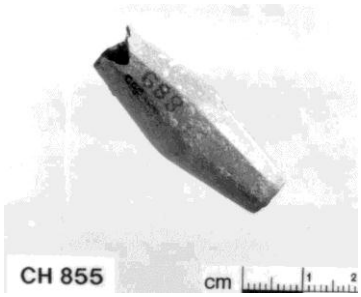


Figure 6.7 CH855, copper-alloy facetted bead

Images of cavalry tombstones indicate that horse harness included items other than the studs, mounts and pendants usually associated with it. For example, the Bassus tombstone previously mentioned shows some type of spacer between the melon beads, perhaps this form of facetted bead (Figure 6.4). Melon beads would not stay in place on their own; they would need something to separate them. Deb Bennett, an expert on horsemanship and horse harness, has commented that when cavalry tombstones are studied closely that 'lumpy' reins on sculpture are not a product of poor carving, but that they show these beads strung onto the reins where they would act as weights to keep the harness in place (*pers. comm*.). It is not solely tombstones which depict these items: an *ostrakon* from Egypt depicts an auxiliary cavalryman, and closer inspection of the reins and harness seems to show segmentation, which again this sort of bead (Figure 6.8) could explain.

Figure 6.8 An ostrakon from Egypt showing a cavalryman with beads on the reins and harness - both melon and another form (©Mons Claudianus Project)

No beads of this type were found in the 1974-81 excavations at Housesteads, the 1997-8 excavations at Wallsend or in the material from South Shields published in the 1984 report. Searches in site reports away from Hadrian's Wall have failed to find sites with such a large number as are present at *Cilurnum*, the most being five from Catterick (Lentowicz 2002, Fig. 246 and Mould 2002, Fig. 282) and three from the fort at Piercebridge (Allason-Jones 2008, Fig. D11.53) and at least six from the river (P. Walton *pers. comm*.). There were two each from Old Penrith (Mould 1991, Fig. 97) and Vindolanda (Bidwell 1985. Fig. 42) with single examples from Richborough (Bushe-Foxe 1949, pl. LV) and the Saalburg (Jacobi 1879, Taf. LXVII). As *Cilurnum* is the only fort to be a cavalry fort of this group, the presence of this type of bead in large numbers supports their postulated use on harness. Discussion at the 2016 Roman Military Equipment Conference backs up the above argument and it is hoped some of that discussion will be published in the next proceedings of that conference.

There is no simple way to define which beads within an assemblage could have been used to adorn people, horses or military equipment unless they are found on specific items. Attempts to categorise them by size are arbitrary, but it does at least give a complete picture of the range of sizes on a site. If no larger beads were found, it may suggest they were mainly used as jewellery at that site. We must also remember that items used on harness are not always military in nature. A discovery in Dorf Karanovo, Southern Bulgaria, of a four-wheeled two-horse wagon burial included melon beads

and trifid pendants, the latter usually associated with cavalry (Ignatov 2009). This burial indicates that these so-called cavalry pendants could just as easily have been used on harness for horses used as draught animals - yet another example of the 'fuzziness' described by Bishop (2011, 115) and another warning against automatically assigning items to a military sphere.

6.3 Late Roman material in the Clayton Collection

The late Roman period in Britain, in particular the late 4th century and into the 5th, has often been seen by archaeologists as a difficult period to understand and interpret. The number of artefacts recovered from sites diminishes and the architecture comprises predominantly wooden structures, which leave less trace in the archaeological record. This has often been seen as proof of a decline in standards of living, loss of skills and a reduction in wealth in the province (Faull 1984). Much work in the 1980s and 1990s meant that the amount of data and evidence for occupation during this period increased and so new ideas could be put forward (Wilmott and Wilson 2000, iii). Hilary Cool showed that Faull's (and others) view of this period was not accurate, material culture did change, but that they indicated changes in lifestyle and fashion, not necessarily a decline (2000). Cool's use of a quote from Startrek, "it's life Jim, but not as we know it", sums this up perfectly (Cool 2010a, 1).

Collins and Allason-Jones wanted to further remedy this misconception with a conference in 2008 focussing on finds from the frontier zone in the 4th and 5th centuries. This resulted in a publication in 2010, *Finds from the Frontier. Material culture in the 4th-5th centuries,* where many of the papers agreed with Cool that the evidence was there, it was just of a different nature to that from the previous centuries. For example, Allason-Jones' paper on personal appearances showed that the loss of pictorial tombstones from the 3rd century onwards means evidence for dress and hairstyles can be gleaned solely from the artefactual evidence (2010, 78).

The Clayton Collection has crossbow brooches but little other 4th or 5th century military material. There are fragments of two spurs but no late belt buckles or strap ends. Coulston remarks that the military belt with its large buckle and stiffening plates decorated with chip-carving is extremely rare in Britain (2010, 59). Therefore, it is not altogether surprising that no fittings from this item of dress are present in the Collection. However, it is worth considering what the 4th century occupants of the fort

were wearing in terms of items to mark their military status. The crossbow brooch is the only item which is definitely dateable to that period. Coulston notes that openwork D-shaped buckles, usually dated to the 3rd century have been found in secure 4th century contexts at Birdoswald, Newcastle and Piercebridge and suggests this type could have continued in use for longer in the frontier zone than it did further south (*ibid*.). Unfortunately, none of the buckles in the Clayton Collection conform to this type and so it seems that evidence for 4th century occupation is sparse when using the *militaria* alone.

6.4 Identities

Identity takes many forms: gender, wealth, status, rank and ethnicity to name a few, and should always be thought of in the plural. These identities are often interlinked and can change through a persons' life. As Gerrard notes, "material culture can be used to construct and display complex worldviews or ideologies that may or may not be synonymous with past 'identities'" (2013, 120). Whatever form of identity may be suggested by the material culture, it only shows the identity at that time and in that place. In this section, some aspects of identities will be discussed in relation to the Clayton Collection. Some are not illuminated by the Collection and this will be explained.

6.4.1 Ethnicity

Ethnicity is a contentious word, with discussion over its meaning and significance having taken place for decades in archaeology (see Jones 1997 and Halsall 2007 for good overviews). In sociology and anthropology, scholars are no closer to an agreed definition than in archaeology, with a survey of 52 publications revealing only 13 including some kind of definition of ethnicity (Isajiw 1974, 111).

- Ethnicity "should refer to self-conscious identification with a particular social group at least partly based on a specific locality or origin" (Shennan 1989, 14)
- Ethnicity can be described as "social organization of cultural difference" (Barth 1969, 10-11)
- "Ethnicity is about cultural differentiation" (Jenkins 1997, 165)
- "A social and psychological phenomena associated with a culturally constructed identity" (Jones 1997, xiii)

Four definitions by scholars studying ethnicity reveal some common themes; identity, a social group/aspect and differentiation, in other words 'them' and 'us'. However, despite many definitions being assigned to the term, they all differ slightly, and it can mean different things to different people. Most scholars agree about the changing nature of ethnicity, it is not a static state, making it even more difficult to ascribe an ethnicity to a person or group. The difficulty of defining ethnicity itself, and of defining ethnicity of people today[145] means that the current author is doubtful how accurate we can be in assigning ethnicity to people who lived between 1600 and 2000 years ago. In 2002, Lindsay Allason-Jones stated that in Scotland and on Hadrian's Wall, it was not possible "to identify a military unit from the material [culture] it leaves behind" (Allason-Jones 2002a, 821). Archaeologists still rely on epigraphic sources, whether in the form of inscriptions, writing tablets or official documents, to inform us which units were stationed where, and when.[146]

Of the 97 altars and the various tombstones and inscribed building stones many units which originated from across the Empire are mentioned. Recruitment practices are known to have varied however, and although the unit may have the name of a region, by the time the unit reached the wall, it is unclear how many troops actually came from that place. So, inscriptions erected by units of Vardullian, Tungrian and Asturian nomenclature, do not guarantee the individual soldiers actually came from those places. When inscriptions are more explicit however, they demonstrate a specific individuals ethnicity as they expressed it to the world. The altar that Venenus, a German, erected to Fortuna (CH335, *RIB* 1449) is one such example. Cornelius Victor the Pannonian (CH243, *RIB* 1713) is another. These cases are much rarer, with only five examples in the Collection compared to the many more inscriptions listing units rather than individuals.

[145] See the ethnographic work on the Roma people in particular which highlights these issues, e.g. Boscoboinik 2006

[146] For Britain the main literary source for location of troops is the *Notitia Dignitatum* (Seeck 1962).

Various inscriptions and literary sources attest the presence of the various units stationed at *Cilurnum*, as with all forts, with the Asturians being the longest lasting.[147] However, without the inscriptions and text, would any of these different units, and soldiers of various origin, be identifiable in the archaeological record? The simple answer is no and this would be the case for almost every fort within the province of Britannia. Vivien Swan attempted to explore the identification of ethnic origin using pottery (2008), as did Jobey before her (1979), and work at Lankhills and Brougham has also suggested material linked to ethnic groupings (Cool 2010b; Cool 2004). Isotope analysis of the remains found at Lankhills, however, contradicted the evidence from the grave goods in most cases, highlighting the problems involved (Booth *et al.* 2010). The author feels that it is very difficult to assign ethnicity through the study of artefacts, and in general, the material from the Clayton Collection does not offer the scope for this sort of analysis.

6.4.2 Military/ civilian

In an assemblage from a fort and/or its civilian settlement, it is often difficult to ascribe items to military or civilian use. This issue has been discussed earlier in this chapter in relation to the definition of *militaria.* Here items which were used to indicate that someone was part of the military rather than a civilian are discussed. How did soldiers express their military identity, and can this be seen in the archaeological record?

6.4.2.1 Belts and their fittings

Apuleius writes in the 2nd century AD that a legionary soldier could be identified through his dress and behaviour (*Apuleius* 9, 39). If this is the case, then soldiers must have worn items which distinguished them from civilians, and so indicated a military identity.[148] If we are able to identify these items, then in simple terms could they be used as evidence for a military presence? Hoss writes that the main (if not only)

[147] Inscriptions: *RIB* 1460, 1461, 1471- detachment of Sixth Legion Victrix; *RIB* 1462, 1463, 1464, 1465, 1466, 1480- *Ala II Asturias*; *RIB* 1482- cohort of Vagiones; *RIB* 1449, 1483- a German; *RIB* 3300 -1st cohort of Dalmatians. *Notitia Dignitatum Oc. XL 38, Ala II Asturias*.

[148] It is, however, extremely difficult to distinguish differences between the dress of legionaries, auxiliaries and the various ranks within both these groups. There has been much work on this subject: van Driel Murry 1985 on shoes: Maxfield 1986 on *lorica segmentata*: Fuentes 1987 on tunics; Bishop and Coulston 2006 on a wide range of material: Haynes 2013 focussing on auxiliary dress

distinctive part of a soldiers' off-duty costume would have been his belt (2012, 29).[149] These belts were decorated with "elaborate buckles, metal plates, strap-ends and other attachments, which made it heavy, eye-catching and jingly" (*ibid*., 30). By studying the different types of these fittings throughout the Roman period, it is possible to see change through time in their style and form. Along with the horizontal line of the belt are the vertical straps of the apron. Whilst the belt has a functional use for attaching a sword and/or dagger, the apron straps (usually between four and eight) are purely decorative. These were decorated with plates and strap-ends with pendants, the design of which must have had some symbolic as well as decorative meaning (*ibid*. 35). Bishop and Coulston comment that experimental reconstruction has shown that rather than protecting, the aprons were actually more likely to hurt the soldiers when running (2006, 100). They suggest its use more as a mark of status, with the noise adding to the impact soldiers would have made (*ibid*.). By the Antonine period, the apron had disappeared but the belt remained an integral part of the outfit (Bishop and Coulston 2006, 37).

If the belt was such an important part of a soldiers' dress and identity, it might be expected that larger numbers of their fittings would be found in forts where the highest concentration of soldiers were garrisoned. However, when comparing the Clayton, South Shields and Chapman data with that of the PAS, it is not such a simple distinction. In fact, the PAS data has a higher percentage of strap ends, pendants and mounts than the Clayton Collection, and only slightly lower percentages of the belt plates and buckles (see Graph 6.2). The former three items could fall off the belt unnoticed whilst out and about, and would not have affected the wearer. If the buckle and its attached belt plate came loose, the belt would fall off and so it would be noticed. This may explain the higher number of strap ends, pendants and mounts in the rural areas compared to the belt plates and buckles. If fittings were lost within the fort, they were more likely to be retrieved, than those lost whilst out on patrol or engaged in other duties outside of the fort. Catterick and Piercebridge had higher

[149] Note must be made here that the wearing of a belt was not itself a military feature, it is the specific form of the belt which distinguished it as military. In large urban areas it was seen as improper not to wear a belt with a tunic (Balsdon 1979, 220-1). Further work on the association of lower status with an unbelted tunic has been carried out by Croom (2002, 33) and Olsen (2010, 23) and much of this is brought together in discussion by Haynes (2013, 262).

percentages of belt plates and buckles than the Clayton Collection (Graph 6.3 and 6.4), whilst Vindolanda had around the same (see Graph 6.4).

Hoss notes that from the numerous military gravestones showing the deceased in military dress that the belt of the infantrymen is relatively well understood (2007, 283). However, this is not the case for cavalrymen, the *equites*, which is relevant to *Cilurnum* due to the long-term presence of an *ala* there. Although gravestones depicting cavalrymen do survive, details of their belts are often much more difficult to see, due to the size of the man being relatively proportional to the horse (*ibid.*, 286). However, Hoss's work showed that there is no "clear distinction" between the discoveries of belt fittings at cavalry and infantry forts (*ibid.*, 290). Therefore, although the types of buckles and belt-plates may have been slightly different, it seems that numbers of items lost, and so discovered by archaeologists does not vary between the cavalry and infantry forts.

There is one belt fitting in the Collection with the word 'VTER', dating to the 3rd century, CH3086 (Figure 6.9). This is most likely part of a pair, which made up the phrase 'VTERE FELIX', meaning 'use with good luck'. Another item, possibly from furniture also has this motif CH3073 (Figure 6.10). This motto was not uncommon in the Roman world being found on items such as pots, glass vessels and many different items of adornment and personal possessions (Johns 2010, 52). Spoon handles so inscribed have been found at Malton, South Shields, Colchester and Canterbury (Sherlock 1985). Bishop and Coulston note one example of VTERE FELIX on military equipment, the Lyon belt set, where separate letters were used to stiffen the belt and present it curling over (Bishop and Coulston 2006, 180 and Fig. 101). Similar mounts have been found in Dacia and discussed by Petculescu (1991) whilst Hoss has summarised finds from across the Empire stretching from France to Syria (2006). A belt fitting from Feldberg in Oldenstein's corpus says BONA, which must surely have fulfilled the same sort of function as the VTERE FELIX examples (Oldenstein 1976, Tafel 65, no.847).

Bishop and Coulston note that as the motto was still being in the inscribed on buckle plates 4th century, it must still have had relevance and meaning (2006, 219). In the cases mentioned above the item is functional (to keep the belt flat) but in

characteristic Roman style an added dimension of decoration and symbolic meaning has been included in the design. The Clayton example is different to the individual letters discussed by Petculescu, Hoss and Bishop and Coulston, being a single cast openwork belt plate. It is however, 2.5cm in height, around the same height as the letters, so would have been able to fulfil the same function if used on the narrower waist belts.

Figure 6.9 CH3086, belt plate (silver),

Figure 6.10 CH3073, furniture fitting (copper-alloy)

6.4.2.2 Rank

Other forms of belt fitting which have an additional meaning are the *beneficiarius* spear-heads. A spearhead with two circular perforations towards the base was the symbol of the rank of a *beneficiarius*. There are small spearheads in the form of pendants, brooches, studs and various belt fittings found across the Roman Empire (Bishop and Coulston 2006, 184, fig. 119; Kiernan 2009, 89; Oldenstein 1976, 366-387). Bishop and Coulston date these objects to the second half of the 3rd century (Bishop and Coulston 2006, 182). There is one possible example of this type of rank indicator in the Clayton Collection (CH3453 Figure 6.11). It is not exactly the correct shape, as instead of the perforations towards the base, it has curled ends, but it is in the right style.[150] It is flat on the reverse so was most likely a belt mount.

[150] Mike Bishop has seen this item and agreed that this is the most likely identification.

Figure 6.11 CH3453, a belt fitting, in the form of a beneficiarius *spear*

6.4.2.3 Military brooches

Using Hull's typology (Hull forthcoming; also used by Bayley and Butcher in their 2004 study) knee brooches, P-shaped brooches, divided bow brooches and crossbow brooches can be seen as a related series. On the Continent all these brooch types are linked to the military, but this is not necessarily the case in Britain. The discussion of these other brooch types is in the Personal Adornment Chapter above whilst the crossbow brooches will be briefly discussed here as their military status is rarely questioned.[151]

Crossbow brooches have been the focus of much work by archaeologists and ancient historians due to their link with both the military and high-status civilian officials (Heurgon 1958; Keller 1971; Clarke 1979; Pröttel 1988). They developed in the late 3rd century AD and are thought to continue into the 5th century. Their presence on a site is invariably used to indicate military activity in this late period (Swift 2000). Ellen Swift's work looked at regionality in dress accessories across the Western Roman Empire. One of her case studies was the crossbow brooch, previously thought to have been centrally manufactured and distributed due to their uniformity (Riha 1979, 171). Swift found that by looking closely at the brooches, and mapping the distributions of the different types, patterns could be seen: this indicated that although manufacture was probably controlled, the brooches were not all made in one location (Swift 2000, 88). Her work also refined the previous typologies by Keller and Pröttel. This work was used by Collins as a basis for a more detailed analysis of the crossbow brooches from the frontier zone of Hadrian's Wall (2010).

[151] See the Wincle brooch, Cheshire for an example where the military nature is uncertain (Johns *et al.* 1980).

Within the Clayton Collection, there are thirteen crossbow brooches, or fragments of crossbow brooches. Of this total, eight come from *Cilurnum*, two from Coventina's Well, one from Carrawburgh and two from Nether Denton. The brooches from *Cilurnum* cannot all be dated precisely, in particular CH2808, 2970 and 2991 for which only the beads from either arms or heads survive and so can only be assigned a 4th century date. However, those which have been given a date run from the 3rd century for the light crossbow types, to two Type 1 pieces from c. AD 280-320, up to the latest Type 3/4b which dates to c. AD 340-380.

Of the eight brooches from *Cilurnum,* six are of the developed type. Collins' summary of finds of developed crossbow brooches from the northern military zone shows that only South Shields, with nine, has more than this. Carlisle and Housesteads both have six developed crossbows, whilst York and Corbridge have five each (2010, Appendix). In the south, Richborough has the largest number of crossbows from a single site in the province, with 20 of the developed type and many more of the light form (Bayley and Butcher 2004). These brooches from the 4th century at *Cilurnum* add to the evidence of continuing occupation of the site, with the presence of military or civilians of a high enough rank in the administration to merit these markers of status.

6.4.3 Wealth/Status

Displaying social status was very important in order to confirm and reinforce position within the hierarchy, as this position reflected your power, whether that be military or civilian (Gerrard 2013, 121). Status was expressed in many ways in the Roman period but one way then, as now, was through dress and adornment. Finds of items made from precious metals, or with surface decoration such as silvering, gilding, tinning and enamelling (moving down the scale in expense) were used to show the wealth of a person (and so their status). Reinhold discusses in more detail the use of status symbols both to denote social status and military rank, as well as the illegal use of these symbols (1971).

In the Clayton Collection, there are only three pieces of gold, all fragmentary, and seven items of silver (apart from coins). From the 1930 Sale Catalogue we know that two gold ear-rings and two silver finger rings were sold, as well as five intaglios and it is possible other items of high value were sold but were not clearly listed (Hampton and Sons 1930). Even including the items known to have been sold in the sale, this is a low

number of items of precious metal. As discussed in the Personal Adornment chapter, out of 74 finger rings from Vindolanda, six were made of gold and 13 of silver, whilst of the 45 finger rings in the Collection there are no gold and only five silver rings. The proportion of precious metal finger rings is much higher at Vindolanda than in the Collection, 25% compared to 11%. This difference must surely be linked to the fact that the cavalry soldiers at *Cilurnum* were higher status than the infantry at Vindolanda, and their wages were higher, so items that are more expensive might be expected. Did Clayton and his colleagues keep the precious metal items separate from the rest of the Collection, so they did not enter the museum? Unfortunately, without records this must remain speculation, whilst noting that this aspect of the Collection has been adversely affected by its history.

All of the Collection's crossbow brooches are made of copper-alloy, with no evidence of any surface treatment such as tinning, silvering or gilding. As these are brooches known to have been used as symbols of rank and status, these are the items which would signify differences in specific rank or position through the differing material. Other items which have been gilded or silvered would have been decorated purely for personal pride, perhaps showing wealth. Some of the other brooches and dress accessories have had one of these surface treatments, as well as a small number of military related items, such as the silver-plated VTER belt plate, CH3086, discussed on page 165. CH3529 is an example, which shows a high level of decoration (Figure 6.12). It is a large mount, possibly harness related which has detailed *millefiori* enamelwork and surface gilding. This sort of decoration does not add to the utilitarian function of the item, but would have indicated that the user could access this sort of high quality workmanship and had the means to afford it.

Figure 6.12 CH3529, copper-alloy and enamelled boss/mount

6.5 Uniformity

There is no evidence that there was a military uniform in terms of clothing in the Roman period (Bishop and Coulston 2006, 253). Their tunics, leggings and cloaks would have been the most practical in terms of durability or weatherproofing, and could have been worn by other outdoor professions. The items which distinguished soldiers, as discussed above, were their military equipment, the arms, armour and belts. A military uniform is a modern concept, as up until the mid-17th century in Europe military personnel wore clothing that was simply "part of contemporary dress fashion" (*ibid*.).

When 'Roman Soldier' is typed into Google, there are many pages of results before an image of anything but the soldier in a red tunic with *lorica segmentata* and a helmet with a red brush appears. Many also have the rectangular curved shield and apron. This idea of homogeneity is reflected in films, in many museum education/family packs and also in the school curriculum. Whilst this is seen by academics as the 'public' view, and they pride themselves on having a more nuanced understanding of the past, the idea of Roman soldiers having a uniform, and being uniform in looks, still pervades. The study of Trajan's Column has helped to foster this idea (Coulston 2004, 144).

Robinson noted that this perception of uniformity in the Roman army has been heavily influenced by things such as the Trooping of the Colours (1975, 9). In fact, there is no reference in the ancient sources to a 'uniform' as we would understand it today. The closer you looked at a group of soldiers, however, the more differences would have been apparent, particularly in the belt and sword fittings. As Bishop and Coulston note, it would have been "the military equipment which visually proclaimed his (the soldiers) identity" (2006, 253). Whilst there would have been at one level, a distinction between soldier and civilian through clothing and accessories, for each soldier there was the opportunity to express individuality though the type of decoration chosen for their fittings. Both Coulston (2004) and James (1999; 2001) have argued for this lack of uniformity and the presence of individuality.

The use of crossbow brooches has been discussed as markers of rank and status, but was there any way to distinguish between an auxiliary and a legionary soldier? The latter were citizens of Rome, and so of a higher status.[152] Did they receive different equipment in order to mark this difference? From the evidence of Trajan's column, it has been argued that this was the case; the legionary soldiers had curved rectangular shields and segmental armour, whilst the auxiliaries had flat oval shields and mail shirts (Coulston 1989). Maxfield's summary of the wider sculptural and archaeological evidence, argues that the evidence cannot sustain this clear-cut division (1986, 66-70). Legionaries wore other forms of armour, as is seen on the Adamklisi Monument and a frieze thought to have adorned Trajan's Forum (*ibid,*. 67). There are multiple finds of *lorica segmentata* on sites with no known legionary presence both in Britain and on the Continent, and although there is no sculptural evidence of an auxiliary soldier wearing it, the possibility cannot be ruled out. Haynes compares tombstones of an auxiliary and legionary, both wearing the sword, sword-belt and apron, and the two soldiers are almost indistinguishable from each other (2013, 260-1). The question of how, or if, auxiliary and legionary soldiers differentiated between themselves through dress is therefore still unclear.

[152] Until the Edict of Caracalla in 212 AD which gave citizenship to all free men.

6.5.1 Sculpture

Sculpture is one of the main forms of evidence used to identify the dress of soldiers, Bishop and Coulston summarise the evidence succinctly (2006, 1-22). The main two forms are "propaganda sculpture", large public displays, of which Trajan's column is the most famous, and tombstones (Bishop and Coulston 2006, 4). Studying both these forms of sculpture can show changes in fashion through belts, helmets and more; however, it should not be used in isolation. The soldiers (both infantry and cavalry, legionary and auxiliary) are depicted in a small number of formulaic poses, which reduces the chance for individuality. In addition, as is the case with tombstones of civilians, the grave monuments have been erected by those left behind, who presumably wanted the deceased to be seen in the best light. So they were shown in recognisable army attire to identify themselves. By combining the sculptural evidence with archaeological finds, the more nuanced details such as small decorative studs, buckle shapes and harness pendants can be added to the picture of military dress. For example, Hoss' work on belt fittings combines both sculptural and archaeological evidence (2006; 2012).

6.5.2 Adoption of ideas, or barbarization

Auxiliary troops often kept their own style of dress and traditional weapons, for example the Dacian *falx* and the Syrian recurved bow. This has led scholars to use the discovery of certain 'ethnic' items to indicate the presence of specific groups of people or troops (Coulston 1981). However, this idea is thrown into disarray by the long-practiced tradition of the Romans to adopt ideas, technology, art and fashion from their allies and conquered peoples. Bishop and Coulston note the influence of Celtic peoples on helmet forms, as well as the long sword used by auxiliary cavalry (2006, 271). This adoption by the Roman army of equipment from neighbouring peoples started with ring mail armour in the 3rd century BC and continued right through to the Germanic influence on shields, scabbard-fittings and spearheads of the 3rd century and the Oriental influence on the 'Ridge' helmet (*ibid.*). This long-term, widespread adoption of ideas shows the pragmatic nature of the Roman army, despite seeing the Celtic and Germanic people as barbarians they could recognise useful technology and encompass it in their armoury. Haynes discusses this borrowing and adaptation of

military equipment in terms of 'bricolage', the reuse of second hand materials or ideas, to create the new (2013, 241).

6.5.3 Production methods and supply

The "nature of production of military equipment in the early imperial period is an extremely complex problem" (Bishop 1989, 1). Study of the supply of the Roman army with equipment (as opposed to food etc.) was first carried out seriously by MacMullen in 1960. He suggested that the Praetorian Guard were supplied from Rome, but that the other troops would have had to arrange their own supply. For their fine parade armour perhaps small shops and dealers were favoured, whilst for their everyday, fighting armour the *fabricae* at various forts are assumed to be the source (MacMullen 1960, 24 and 27). In the province of *Britannia,* he suggested that the west military compound at Corbridge would have been large enough to supply the needs of the garrison of the northern part of the province (*ibid*., 29).

MacMullen's view was accepted throughout the 1960s by most, although Robinson in the introduction to his 1975 work on *The Armour of Imperial Rome* saw the army workshops as mainly repairing equipment (Robinson 1975). However, Oldenstein's work in the 1980s on the German and Raetian Limes produced evidence for production of small copper-alloy items such as buckles and belt fittings (Oldenstein 1985). Bishop in 2011 states that it is "likely that the bulk of the time of such workshops was spent in repairing, rather than manufacturing, equipment" (Bishop 2011, 125). Scholars do not agree over the method of armour production, supply and repair around the Empire, and it may well be that it was different in each province or region. A source on Hadrian's Wall to consider is the tablet from Carlisle relating to missing lances from Docilis, the decurion of the unit around 100 AD (Tomlin 1998, 55-63). This stock-take of the units' weapons is an unparalleled glimpse into the everyday routine of the army, however it also poses many questions. Where might Docilis get replacement lances; does the fact he has prepared a report for his commanding officer suggest that the prefect has to arrange for their supply to the fort, rather than production 'in house'?

Literary and epigraphic sources can be used to further investigate supply and production of items for the army. Cassius Dio shows that the local towns in Jerusalem were making weapons for the Romans as "they purposely made of poor quality such weapons as they were called upon to furnish, in order that the Romans might reject

them" (Book LXIX 12.2). In support of the army producing their own equipment, Vegetius in his *Epitome of Military Science* notes that a legion had "engineers, carpenters, masons, wagon-makers, blacksmiths, painters and other artificers, ready-prepared to construct buildings for a winter camp, or siege-engines, wooden towers and others devices….to fabricate new arms, wagons…. . They also used to have workshops for shields, cuirasses and bows, in which arrows, missiles, helmets and arms of every type were also made" (Veg. *Mil*. Book II, 11). Vegetius was writing with an agenda in the 5th century, wanting to improve the army of the time, so harking back to what he saw as the golden age of the army in the 1st and 2nd centuries. His work therefore cannot be taken as an entirely accurate source. However, evidence from elsewhere shows the presence of craftsmen within both auxiliary and legionary units.

The discovery of both papyri in Egypt and writing tablets from Vindolanda support the view of some form of manufacture and or repair taking place within forts. Two tablets from Vindolanda, list workshop staff and include *gladiarii* and *scutarii* (*Tab. Vind. I*, 1 and 3, Bowman and Thomas 1983). One of the Berlin Papyri records two days' activity within a legionary *fabrica*, stating 100 men were at work and lists items made including a *spathae*, two sorts of shield, iron plates, bows and catapult fittings (*P.Berlin* inv. 6765, Bruckner and Marichal 1979, No. 409). All the ancient sources relate to legionary fortresses; however, the Vindolanda tablets show this form of workshop was present in an auxiliary fort. Bishop feels that even temporary camps would have had a small forge for immediate repairs (1985, 12-13); suggesting that workshops would be set up once the unit was in a more permanent bases. This idea of repair and production at almost all level of site is borne out by the evidence from Hadrian's Wall, summarized by Allason-Jones and Dungworth (1997).

It is extremely difficult to identify a *fabrica,* as there does not seem to be a set plan for this sort of building, with the three currently identified being completely different. The list at the moment has examples from Exeter, Inchtuthil and Hofheim (Bishop and Coulston 2006, 234). A *fabrica* would not necessarily need to be constructed to a set template. A blacksmith would just need a forge and anvil, along with space for storage. Small amounts of metal-working in various locations around a fort suggest that smaller scale metal-working could meet the needs of the garrison. Perhaps as Bishop suggests, most work within forts took the form of repairs or small-scale production (2011, 125).

Each fort may have had different sized facilities for the manufacture and repair of equipment, as suited their needs.

Table 6.6 lists the evidence for metalworking on Hadrian's Wall as known in 1997. *Cilurnum* can now be added to this list, as there is evidence for copper-working as well as probable lead-working. The relevant section here is the copper-working and manufacture of military items. Finding evidence for metalworking at *Cilurnum* is not surprising when the evidence for other forts is considered. What the evidence does tell us is that Clayton's workmen were not 'cherry-picking' the finds as much as was previously thought. There are many 'unidentified' objects within the Collection, some of which can be assigned to the metal-working process, as waste or mis-casts. The workmen did not keep only the identifiable, complete objects. *Cilurnum* can be seen as sitting alongside evidence for metalworking all along Hadrian's Wall.

Site	**Evidence**	**Date of Excavation**	**Publication**
T18b (Wallhouses West	Iron objects and iron oxide ash	1931 and 1959	Woodfield 1965
T26a (High Brunton)	Bronze clippings, bone tool, crucible, clay mould	1959	Woodfield 1965
MC34 (Sewingshields)	Several hearths, a crucible and possible moulds	1978-80	Bayley 1984
Coventina's Well	Flawed buckle and vessel handle	1886	Allason-Jones and Mckay 1985
Housesteads Fort	3rd century hearths and possible 4th century workshop	1979 and 1898	Daniels 1980 Bosanquet 1904 Dungworth and Starley 2009
Housesteads Vicus	Coin mould and smith's tongs	1934	Birley and Keeney 1935
Newcastle Fort	Group of clay moulds	Various	Allason-Jones 2002b
South Shields Fort	Clay mould, crucible fragments,	Various	Allason-Jones and Miket 1984
Stanwix Fort	3 copper-alloy items in various states of working	1930	Collingwood 1931
Vindolanda Fort	Large scale iron-working	1980	Bidwell 1985
Vindolanda Vicus II	Copper- and iron-working	1976	Birley 1977

Table 6.6 Sites on Hadrian's Wall with evidence for metal-working (adapted from Allason-Jones and Dungworth 1997)

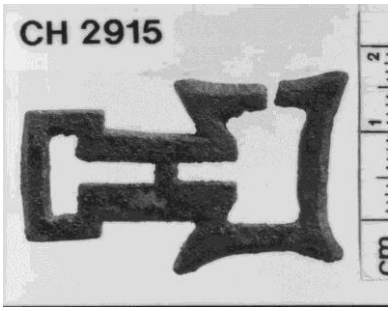


Figure 6.13 CH2271; Figure 6.14 CH2914; Figure 6.15 CH2915. Unfinished/mis-cast buckles from Cilurnum

Figure 6.16 CH3665, mis-cast buckle from Coventina's Well, Carrawburgh.

Buckle CH2914 (Figure 6.14), from *Cilurnum*, is almost identical to CH3665 which came from Coventina's Well, Carrawburgh (Figure 6.16). Although there are no moulds or crucible fragments known from the Collection this does not mean production was not taking place on these two sites. They are uncommon items usually, and it is likely the 19th century excavators did not recognise them, if they had survived at all. CH2914 is an obvious flawed casting, whilst CH2915 and CH2271 are less so, although this is the most likely explanation for their imperfections. As well as these three items from *Cilurnum*, and the one from Coventina's Well, the Collection contains at least twenty-seven pieces of metal-working waste. Of these, ten can be attributed to *Cilurnum*, whilst nine are unprovenanced. Of the ten from *Cilurnum* copper-alloy, lead and iron are represented. Considering the nature of the Collection, and the excavation methods which formed it, it is probable that much more material was not picked up.

Cilurnum therefore can be seen to fit within the current theory that metal-working occurred at all forts to varying degrees. Unfortunately, due to the lack of contextual information we cannot locate whether this was taking place in a specific part of the

fort, or in multiple locations. CH2914 from *Cilurnum* and CH3665 from Coventina's Well are almost identical, and could have been manufactured in the same place. They are of a type seen in many sites in Britain, for example South Shields (Allason-Jones and Miket 1984, no.619), with similar ones spread all over the Empire, e.g. Volubillis, Morocco (Boube-Piccot 1994, 166-168). CH2271 (Figure 6.13) is of a type paralleled at Oberstimm, Germany (Bishop and Coulston 2006, fig. 62, no 14). Other material from the Clayton Collection can also be paralleled in many sites across the Empire. It seems that there were some forms of buckle and other items, which were used by soldiers all over the Empire. There was some aspect of the military dress, which would have looked similar whether you were a soldier in Britain or in Morocco.

Bishop and Coulston use equipment from across the Empire to illustrate the level of homogeneity; for example, amongst apron mounts of the early Principate (Bishop and Coulston 2006, 109). Papers in the proceedings of successive Roman Military Equipment Conferences, and the *Journal of Roman Military Equipment Studies* have also shown examples of this (Dixon 1990 on dolphin scabbard runners; Sim 1996 on mass production of weapons; Aurrecoechea Fernández 1996 on harness fittings, to name a few). In particular, armour is often seen as homogenous, with the Newstead and Corbridge finds acting as 'type' categories from which to reference new finds. Allason-Jones in 1986 has shown that the openwork eagle mounts found across the Empire were all made from one of two moulds (Allason-Jones 1986).

Any scholar of military equipment will recognise material from military sites all over the empire, as there is much similarity. However, as there was no real form of mass production in the modern sense, items from certain sites or workshops will have gained some individuality. This is especially seen in parade armour (see Robinson 1975 for his thoughts on this idea), where pieces were made individually and to order, for specific customers. Also different moulds would have produced slightly different products, which from afar would have looked the same. The influence of the origin of the soldiers, or the place where they were stationed would also have affected the style of decoration and ornamentation on items.

6.6 Conclusion

The study of Roman military equipment could be viewed as a niche field; however, it can be used for much more than simple typologies of helmet types and spears. The

Clayton Collection *militaria* offers a window into many aspects of life in the past. It allows discussion of identity at many levels, and illustrates both the variety and homogeneity in military dress. Comparisons with other sites showed that there really is no typical or normal military assemblage, and that finds need to be looked at within their own context. Despite what seemed a low percentage of harness equipment, that present at *Cilurnum* does represent more than at infantry or mixed forts, and so the cavalry presence has shown itself through the archaeological record, if at a more subtle level than expected. The problem with typologies of spearheads and their different uses was brought up by the presence of an unusual type of spearhead, and some suggestions were put forward to try to explain this.

The presence of crossbow brooches and spurs from the 4th century, along with many waste pieces and scrap, show that the 19th century excavators, despite following a very different methodology from that recommended today, did not entirely miss the later layers, or pick up only complete items. The lack of 4th century material other than the crossbows and spurs does not mean that Clayton's workmen missed material; there are fewer artefact types in that period all along the Wall, and so less material is to be expected. The low number of items of precious metal may be due to the history of the Collection post-excavation for which documentation is lacking. Overall, however, the 19th century context of the Collection's discovery has not rendered it useless for analysis when looking at issues through the *militaria*.

There was no significant difference in the material from Carlisle (west), *Cilurnum* and Vindolanda (central) and South Shields (east) when studying the *militaria*. Different supply routes have been suggested for these three sections of Hadrian's Wall, postulating that this may have meant different goods getting to the sections. This cannot be supported by an examination of the *militaria* from this collection. The differences in styles on individual items may in part be linked to the presence of metalworkers and armourers at forts, but this level of detailed study has yet to be carried out. Work to try to distinguish pottery supply to the east, central and west sections of the Wall is being carried out by Paul Bidwell but has yet to be completed or published (Bidwell *pers. comm*.).

Analysis of the material has shown that there are still many issues to be worked through in terms of the definition of military items. In particular, button-and-loop fasteners and cart fittings should not be classed as solely military equipment, whilst the military nature of some bead types was discussed. This is not something which can be answered within a chapter of a PhD; however, it is hoped that by highlighting some of these problems, it may help solutions to be found through future work. This chapter has shown that the *militaria* from the Clayton Collection can be used as a valid data-set in order to investigate the dress of the soldiers based at *Cilurnum*. The cavalry unit left evidence of their presence through harness fittings, and manufacturing waste shows some of the work carried out on site to produce and repair items of a soldier's kit. The lack of detailed findspots means differential use of space cannot be ascertained, yet this does not preclude other analysis. As with all of the material from the Clayton Collection, broad level analysis can provide answers to some of the research questions relevant to Hadrian's Wall in general.

7. Craft and Industry

"Nothing conjures up so clearly a sense of the life that once moved within the fort, and nothing brings us into such close touch with the individual men who held it, as does a sight of the tools, the implements and the vessels which they handled in their daily life. The axes that levelled the woods of birch and hazel, the scythes that cut the hay, the hammers and tongs with which the smith beat out the blunted spear-points or fashioned the sword-blades, have come down to us in such perfect preservation, differing so little in their forms from those with which we are familiar, that in their presence it is difficult to realise how many centuries have passed since the camp fires of a Roman army glimmered for the last time"

(Curle 1911, 277)

7.1 Introduction

This chapter will address the evidence for craft and industry found within the Clayton Collection, mostly at *Cilurnum*. The current understanding of craft and industry in forts and the military zone will be used to place the Clayton material in context, and the evidence for *Cilurnum* analysed in more detail. The material from *Cilurnum* will help to either confirm or challenge this understanding. The main focus will be on the iron tools as these represent the largest body of material illustrating craft and industry. Alongside the iron tools, waste material and unfinished items will add to the picture of production. The database contains 557 records of iron items from the Collection, 5.9% of the Collection excluding coins and archives and 27.5% of the non-coin metal finds in the Collection. Of this total, 140 are arrowheads, 10 are bolt-heads of various forms and 60 are spearheads. There are many fixtures and fittings from furniture and buildings such as parts of window grilles, clamps and joiners dogs, as well as 48 nails. Of the large number of iron items in the Collection, only 73 can be identified as tools, the vast majority of these being from *Cilurnum*.

Curle's comment that tools had changed little between the Roman period and the early 20th century (1911, 277) also applies to the 19th century. Compared to the ornate sculpture and beautiful *intaglii*, as many of Clayton's excavators were local farm labourers the tools they discovered whilst digging the Roman remains would have been familiar to the excavators. Whether this increased or decreased their interest is not known, but it may well have affected which pieces were kept. Recognising a tool could have meant it was interpreted as more ordinary, and so less important, however, its identification may have led to its retention. The large number of iron tools in the Collection suggests the latter, however this is merely speculation.

The non-tool evidence for craft is much smaller in range and number but is nonetheless important. There is waste from glass- and metal-working, as well as unfinished items in other materials such as antler, indicating manufacture. The presence of such incomplete items and waste implies that the excavators had not been told to keep only complete or undamaged items. This supports the reliability of the Collection in its use for archaeological research as it can be seen to be more representative, rather than the excavators selecting only certain pieces.

The extra-mural settlements around the forts would have been home to many civilians producing material to supply the army. Therefore, tools found within these areas should be considered evidence of their activity, rather than soldiers. From the publications of Clayton's work however, it appears that he only excavated within the forts, and so the material in the Collection represents the belongings of the army. Therefore, we must look to the evidence for craft and industry being carried out by soldiers and the wider military community to give a context to these tools and other material.

It is an accepted fact that soldiers would have performed tasks within and around the fort other than those relating to the purely military duty of the defence of the empire. Vegetius lists the trades represented within a legion, naming engineers, blacksmiths, armourers, masons and carpenters, as well as other more specialised skills (Veg. *Mil.* Book II, 11.). He also lists the tools that a soldier would have access to from the army's stores; "forks, mattocks, spades, shovels, troughs and baskets for carrying earth…..also axe-picks, axes, adzes and saws" (Book II, 25.). The Vindolanda Tablets provide evidence for these non-military duties in the Hadrian's Wall zone, showing that it was not just the legionaries who carried out these activities.[153] *Tab. Vindol.* II, 155 notes that on 25th April, there were 343 men in the workshops, and although the text is incomplete, some of the jobs can be discerned. There were 12 men making shoes, 18 building the bath-house whilst there were also men at the kilns, some plastering and others working on tents (*Tab. Vindol.* II, 155). On 7th March, men were producing clay for the wattle fences and burning stone (*Tab. Vindol.* II, 156). Whilst there is no written

[153] See also the altar found in Binchester in the summer of 2013 which was erected by an architect of the *ala Vettonum,* the first proof that this was a position within auxiliary units as well as the legions (Tomlin 2014, 434-5).

record of this nature from *Cilurnum*, it is highly likely that these activities were taking place in a similar manner.

7.1.1 Tools and their study

Previous studies of iron tools from the Roman period are not numerous: they have attracted much less attention than other categories of material culture, perhaps because iron is not as aesthetically appealing as other materials. One barrier to their study is the level of corrosion on much of the material. Iron does not survive well in the archaeological record, meaning that items can be fragmentary, thus precluding detailed identification., Some catalogues of ironwork from Roman Britain exist, however, which can help to contextualise the Clayton material: Manning's work is the best known, with his *Catalogue of the Romano-British Ironwork from the Museum of Antiquities, Newcastle upon Tyne* (1976)[154] and *Catalogue of the Romano-British Iron Tools, Fittings and Weapons in the British Museum* (1985) being used as reference texts for most reports on archaeological ironwork.

Few sites along Hadrian's Wall have produced a large enough number of iron tools to enable useful comparison with the Clayton material. Tools would not often be discarded, as blades could be re-sharpened and handles replaced, so the number of tools left by the Romans would not be large. Further taphonomic factors also affect their survival: either the iron items did not survive well in the ground, were discarded during excavation, or have corroded since discovery. Vindolanda has by far the largest number of iron tools and the material discovered up to 1999 has been published (Blake 1999). Curle published the material from Newstead fort in Scotland in 1911.[155] These two datasets, alongside Manning's catalogues of the material from the British Museum and the Museum of Antiquities, will be used to investigate the Clayton material. It is hoped that by comparing the tools from the Clayton Collection with these four assemblages, it can be seen whether there are any unusual items within the Collection, or whether there are items not present which might be expected.

[154] This material, which belongs to the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne, is now held at the Great North Museum: Hancock.

[155] Manning is currently working on an updated catalogue of this material but as it has not been completed it is not included within this study (Manning *pers. comm.*).

Some limitations of the comparative data should be discussed before it is used. A large part of the material from the British Museum comes from Hod Hill, Dorset. This site was an Iron Age hillfort, with a Roman fort in one corner from c. AD 43-51. Therefore, all of the material from this site dates to at least c.70-80 years before the occupation of Hadrian's Wall. This means that differences in the composition of the British Museum collection compared with the Clayton Collection may be linked to chronology. The material from the Museum of Antiquities is of a more comparable date and setting, being almost entirely from forts along Hadrian's Wall; however much of the material is from early excavations with poor records of context and stratigraphy. This means that any dating evidence from the context is lost, as with much of the Clayton Collection, therefore comparison of this dataset will not assist in refining dates for the Clayton material. The material at Newstead, and its reason for deposition is still debated. Some see it as material left behind when the site was abandoned (Manning 1972) whilst others consider the pits to be ritual deposits (Ross and Feacham 1976; Clarke and Jones 1994). Despite this uncertainty over deposition, either option makes the collection very different to a normal site assemblage, which represents 'what is left over', rather than a deliberate choice of deposition. Nonetheless, this assemblage is still a useful data set for this study as it enables comparison with another individual military site, compared to the other comparators which contain material from multiple sites.

Within the Clayton Collection, little previous detailed study of the tools has been undertaken. Some of the cataloguing work done by Bishop in the 1980s and 1990s gave basic identifications to many of the iron pieces. Occasionally, external research projects have included some items from the Collection. Rees produced a catalogue of *Agricultural Implements in Prehistoric and Roman Britain* in 1979, which included seven items from the Collection. Richardson's MPhil thesis*, A Catalogue and Study of Wood-working and Metal-working Tools in the Pre-Roman and Roman Iron Age in Northern Britain* (1974) referenced fifteen items from the Collection. Table 7.1 lists these and, where possible, matches them to items within the Collection. Manning's catalogue of the material from the Museum of Antiquities, which included all ironwork, not just tools, notes the large size of the Clayton Collection but does not reference any individual items specifically.

Rees Catalogue	Richardson Catalogue
Entrenching tool from *Cilurnum* *	Nail extractor - Fig. 357 = CH 1714
Spade sheath - Rees no. 1707 *	Nail extractor - Fig. 358 = CH 1715
Spade sheath - Rees no. 3144 *	Chisel - Fig. 216 = CH 1783
Spade sheath - Rees no. 3106 *	Gimlet - Fig. 137 = CH 1786
Spade sheath - Rees no. 3454 *	Axe-hammer - Fig. 90 and pl. 4 = CH 1740
Pitchfork - Rees Fig. 254 = CH 1690	Axe-hammer - Fig. 91 and pl. 4 = CH 1737
	Bit-head - Fig. 121 (identified as an awl) = CH 1791
	Chisel – Fig. 217 *
	Chisel - Fig. 218 *
	Chisel - Fig. 219 *
	Chisel - Fig. 220 *
	Punch/awl – Fig. 450 = CH 1758
	Punch – Fig. 451 *
	Punch/awl – Fig. 452 = CH 1789
	Punch – Fig. 453 *

*Cannot be matched to a CH number

Table 7.1 Items referenced in Rees and Richardson's work.

There are general difficulties in dating iron tools to more than a broad period due to longevity of types, as well as the aforementioned poor preservation often obscuring diagnostic features. Many other authors who have studied this group of material (Richardson 1974, 1-3; Manning 1976, 1-2; Rees 1979; Manning 1985, xvi) echo this problem. It is also problematic to try to define implements as being Roman introductions to Britain, as non-weapon iron finds on Iron Age sites are extremely rare and so our knowledge of the typology of Iron Age material is very limited (Manning 1976, 1). Equally, the level of contact between the Continent and Britain in the pre-Roman Iron Age was such that new types of tools could have been introduced into Britain before the invasion in AD 43. The discovery of the hoard of late Iron Age/early Roman ironwork from Waltham Abbey in Essex in 1967 highlighted how little was known about this area of study (Manning 1977).

7.1.2 Preservation

At *Cilurnum,* there is evidence to suggest good preservation of iron, as the *in situ* iron collars for the lower door pivots at the southern portal of the west gate demonstrate. In addition, many of the iron items from *Cilurnum* are still in fairly good condition,

considering they were excavated between 170 and 120 years ago. It is not clear what factors contribute to this level of preservation, as work on soil composition along Hadrian's Wall is very limited. Table 1 in volume 2 of *Frontiers of Knowledge* lists all known environmental work along the Wall up to 2009. Soil analysis had been undertaken at only two sites, with "moderate" work carried out at Stanwix and "minimal" work at Carlisle. There had been "little" work done on the milecastles and turrets, with none on the Turf Wall and "minimal" work on the Vallum, curtain wall and ditches (Symonds and Mason 2009a, 17). In the interim since that publication, the situation has not changed, with no further soil analysis having been carried out (Jacqui Huntley *pers. comm*.).

It is possible that the ground at *Cilurnum* was waterlogged, which would aid the preservation of iron, as well as organic material, through the anaerobic nature of the soil. Neither Clayton nor Bruce mention the soil conditions when excavating at *Cilurnum*, or indeed anywhere along the Wall.[156] Budge claims that the external bath-house was found by accident during work to build a drain from the fort to the river, perhaps suggesting there was a problem with waterlogging on the site (Budge 1903, 111-2). Unfortunately Clayton did not publish the excavations of the bath-house himself and the report by Holmes does not mention the ground conditions at all (1887). Haverfield's report on trenching at *Cilurnum* in 1900 notes that the subsoil was "gravel with much water flowing through it", which the excavators were told was the same across the whole area of the fort (1902, 13). Trenches in the north guard chamber of the north-east gateway had to be closed, as there was so much water (*ibid*.). Haverfield notes that the soil conditions had contributed to good preservation of finds as leather and wood had also survived (1902, 16). From these snippets of information, it can be hypothesised that the soil conditions at *Cilurnum* may have contributed to the good level of preservation of iron at the site, although more detailed analysis of the soil would be needed to confirm this.

Once iron has been removed from the ground corrosion accelerates, even if the item was stable in the ground (see Gerwin and Baumhauer 2000 for a discussion on the effects of soil on iron post-excavation). Neither Clayton nor Bruce make mention of

[156] Bruce notes layers of ash found in the east guard chamber when excavating in 1878, but that is the closest to a mention of the soil conditions (1880a, 213).

deterioration of excavated material, although they rarely go into such details in their reports in *Archaeologia Aeliana*. However, some early form of scientific analysis was carried out on an item from the Clayton Collection. When "a great quantity of spear heads and iron daggers" was found in the north-east angle of *Cilurnum* Sir Lowthian Bell took away a portion of one of the spearheads found in the barrack rooms to ascertain whether it was iron or steel (Bruce 1889, 374-5). Bell was an iron and steel manufacturer, educated at Bruce's Academy, an important civic and business figure in the North East (Tweedale 2004). Whether or not Bell gave any advice to Clayton about other items or perhaps on the care of iron is not known. His involvement could go some way to explaining why so much iron has survived in the Collection.

The first recorded conservation work on the Collection was conducted in 1936 when Captain Keith paid for the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland to conserve "the magnificent iron cavalry spears, the military tools, and other standard service equipment." The work was carried out by Mr. A. J. H. Edwards[157] and in the 1970s the items were still stable (Simpson 1973, 2). Unfortunately, it is not known which specific items were conserved or what treatment was carried out. In 1953 when a pheasant crashed into the museum through a skylight, around 20 iron items were exposed and became rusty. Initially, Miss Simpson placed them in "a mild electrolytic solution" where they remained until between 1967-8 when Miss White, the conservation officer for the Museum Service for the North of England, carried out work on them (Simpson 1973, 3). Since then occasional conservation has been carried out on individual items when the need has arisen, but in general, it appears much of the iron is stable.

7.2 Crafts

The comparative data sets from Vindolanda and the Museum of Antiquities show that tools for many crafts are found on Hadrian's Wall and this is not the only evidence for craft and industry in the area. Along Hadrian's Wall evidence for production of metalwork has been found at many sites including Housesteads (Dungworth and Starley 2009), Newcastle (Allason-Jones 2002b) Sewingshields (Bayley 1984) and

[157] Edwards was a technician at the Royal Scottish Museum until he joined the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland in 1912 as Assistant Keeper, being promoted to Keeper in 1938. In 1913 he went to Berlin to learn new conservation skills and set up a lab in Edinburgh on his return (Stevenson 1981). Simpson appears to have mixed up the two museums in her report on this work as he was working at the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland in 1936, not the Royal Scottish Museum as she notes (1973, 2).

Vindolanda (see Allason-Jones and Dungworth 1997 for a summary). Recent analysis of antler remains from South Shields has provided information on the working of that material (Greep 2015). There is evidence for local quarrying of stone for the forts all along the Wall, with visible quarries from many forts.[158] Unfinished products in all materials have regularly been found at sites along Hadrian's Wall. The next section of this chapter will deal with the evidence for the different crafts represented in the Collection, studying both the tools and other evidence.

7.2.1 Blacksmiths and smiths

By the end of the Roman period, the blacksmith's array of tools had fully developed and subsequently changed little up until the 19th century (Sim 2012, 19). This lack of change means it is often easy to identify the basic forms of tools, as long as the preservation level is good enough. Vindolanda's soil conditions mean much of the iron from that site is in extremely good condition, accounting for the 14 files or rasps found. There are multiple pieces of iron in the Clayton Collection, which may have been tools such as files, rasps or chisels, but their level of corrosion means they cannot be definitively identified. The tools which have been identified, are three metal-working chisels, a pair of tongs, and a hammer.

Of the six tools identified as being used by blacksmiths the only item not from *Cilurnum* is CH205, a possible anvil from Housesteads discovered during the 1898 excavations led by Bosanquet (Figure 7.1). Found within Room 12 in the *praetorium* alongside around 800 iron arrowheads, it was taken to indicate the presence of a workshop (Bosanquet 1904, 225). It is a rather crude anvil, and is incomplete, meaning that it is difficult to assign it a type. It is sub-rectangular, with the upper side concave and one end broken away. No anvils are present in the Museum of Antiquities collection, or the Vindolanda publication. Newstead had two examples (Curle 1911 Pl. LXIII nos. 10 and 12), whilst there are three in the British Museum catalogue (Manning 1985, A1-A3). None of these resemble the Housesteads example, which appears to be a crude form of block anvil.

[158] A recent project at Vindolanda has used geological analysis to identify stone sources for the multiple phases of building at the site (McGuire 2013). This evidence builds on Hill's theory of the stone being chosen purely due to proximity rather than other reasons (Hill 2006, 39).

Figure 7.1 CH205, anvil

In modern tool sets, metal-working chisels can be divided into two groups, those used to work cold metal and those used to work hot metal. The former are shorter but need to be stronger, whilst the latter are longer, to protect the smith from the heat, but can have a thinner and sharper blade (Manning 1985, 8). However, this differentiation is not always evident in Roman chisels, with smiths using individual tools for a wider range of functions. This multi-use of tools, alongside corrosion, means it is not always clear whether a chisel was used by a smith or a mason. The three Clayton chisels share more similarities with examples of smith's chisels in the British Museum and thus have been assigned as such. CH1686 is more solid than CH635 and CH1749, which according to Manning may suggest it was used with a large hammer such as a sledge-hammer, but trying to ascertain how these tools were used is mostly speculation (1985, 9).

CH1771 is a small cross-pane hand-hammer used for striking metal when working it. This is the most common type of hand-hammer from the Roman period, with two from Vindolanda (Blake 1999, 18, nos. 1763 and 5329), four from the British Museum (Manning 1985, A5-A8) and an almost identical example amongst the finds at Newstead (Curle 1911, Pl. LXIII, 5). Surprisingly, there were no hammers of this type within the collections of the Museum of Antiquities.

Only a small part of CH1768, a pair of tongs, survives (Figure 7.2). The central section shows the rivet holding the two arms together. Both arms have broken off, and only one jaw remains. The jaw is straight at first, before starting to curve. It is not clear what shape would have been formed, though these tongs seem quite delicate and long, similar to Manning's A16 (1985, Pl. 4). Manning suggests that larger tongs such as this were used for moving metal in and out of the fire (1985, 6). Larger tongs are more common in the archaeological record, although this could be as much due to

taphonomic reasons as indicating choice by the smith: they are more visible to excavators and take longer to corrode.

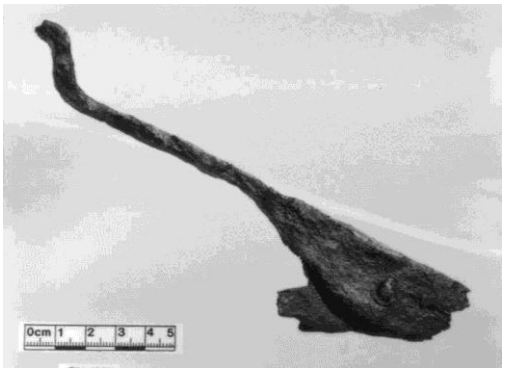


Figure 7.2 CH1768, tongs

Non-tool evidence for metal-working in the Collection comes in the form of eleven identified pieces of copper-working waste, as well as an unfinished buckle (CH2271) and many sheet and strip fragments probably related to making copper-alloy items. There is also evidence of lead-working, with thirteen records relating to pieces of lead from working. Only one piece of iron slag and one piece of iron waste have been found (CH2374 and CH9295), but the smaller amount of iron waste may be due to the production methods: iron was not melted down and moulded like copper and lead, and so there would be no casting sprues or other waste. Instead, it was worked from ingots through forging and cold working.

CH1742 is direct evidence for the production of iron items at *Cilurnum* (Figure 7.3).[159] It is an axe-head which has not been finished. The central hole, which would have taken the handle, has not been completed, and the blade edges have not been cleaned or sharpened. It is not clear why this axe was not completed when much of the shaping had been carried out. Nonetheless, this is an important piece of evidence from the Collection for the production of iron tools.

[159] This is an item which Hall states has an unknown provenance but that Budge ascribes to *Cilurnum*.

Figure 7.3 CH1742, unfinished axe-head

7.2.2 Carpenters

Figure 7.4 and Figure 7.5 Images of a mocked-up workshop at the Museum of London showing wood-working tools

Ulrich (2007) lists the typical wood-working tools found in the Roman period and advises dividing them into two categories, those which are used for measuring and marking (e.g. rulers, compasses, plumb bobs, squares, levels and chalk lines) and those used for cutting. Within the Collection, there are no examples of the former, but the latter group is represented. Ulrich lists the following cutting tools: adzes, axes, saws, planes, knives, drills, files, rasps and chisels (2007, 13). There are ten tools in the Collection from this group and they will be examined in more detail.

Of the ten wood-working tools, four are axes. Three of these axes (CH678, CH1737 and CH1740) are of Manning Type 2, which is a heavy type used either as a felling or

shaping axe, see Figure 7.6 as an example. These tools could have been used to fell trees for fuel, or to be used in construction. CH1691 is a Manning Type 3 axe, which is much smaller and would have been used as a carpentry tool for more delicate work. However, a rather rare survival is part of a draw knife (CH1611) which would be used for the rough shaping of wood, and would be especially useful on curved pieces (Ulrich 2007, 37). CH1611 is fragmentary but this seems the most likely identification. All of the tools discussed in this section would have been recognised by Clayton's excavators, as almost the exact same forms would still have been in use at the time. This may help to explain the presence of CH1611, as they have been able to identify it through knowledge of wood-working tools rather than seeing it merely as a corroded piece of iron.

Figure 7.6 CH1740, Manning Type 2 axe

There are five tools used for smaller-scale, more detailed work, such as making holes and small joints. CH1786 is a gimlet, another rare survival, Figure 7.7. This type of tool was used for drilling holes by hand and is still used by wood-workers today. It is socketed, and the terminal is formed into a spiral with a pointed tip. The screw end is well preserved on this example and retains its point. No gimlets were found in any of the four comparative datasets. Ulrich notes two spiral bits from Aquileia, Italy and these are the most similar items found from an ancient context (2007, 22, Fig. 3.11).

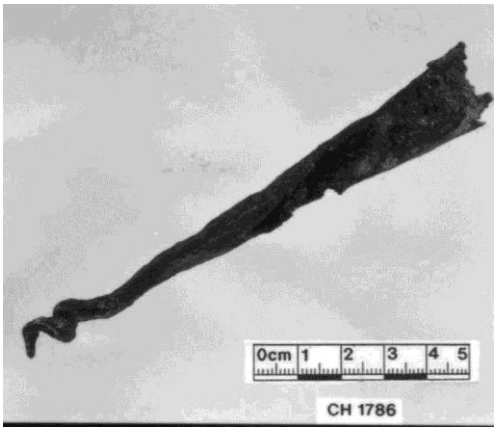


Figure 7.7 CH1786, gimlet

Two items have been identified as chisels: CH653 and CH1783.[160] CH1783 is an unusual form of chisel, in particular because it has an integral handle of iron (Figure 7.8). It is not unique, however, as the handle can be paralleled in a firmer chisel from the Sandy Hoard (Manning 1985, 22, B32). The blade of the *Cilurnum* example is broken and so it is not possible to classify it as either a paring, firmer or mortise chisel. CH653 has a square-sectioned handle, before narrowing to a flattened blade and is paralleled in the mortise chisels seen in the British Museum catalogue (Manning 1985, 23, B35-44). This type of chisel was used for creating mortise joints and they are often larger and heavier than firmer chisels. CH653 (a mortise chisel) is twice the length of CH1783, suggesting that CH1783 was more likely a paring or firmer chisel. The final two wood-working tools within the Collection have very similar functions. CH1790 is a bit-head, whilst CH1580 is an auger. Both tools were used to make holes, though the bit-head would have been used with a drill (either a bow- or strap-drill), whilst the auger was held in the hand.

Figure 7.8 CH1783, wood-working chisel

Two nail extractors of differing size were found at *Cilurnum*, CH1714 and CH1715 (Figures 7.9 and 7.10). These tools are also known by the term 'wrecking bar' but 'nail extractor' has been chosen here because it is the nail extraction end of the tool which is the identifiable part. Both these examples are almost complete, with just small pieces missing from the nail extraction claw end. CH1714 (23.5cm long) is bigger than CH1715 (19cm long) by almost 5 centimetres. CH1714 has an expanded hole at the end

[160] This was described by Richardson (1974) as a metal-working chisel (Fig. 216) but after examination it is thought that it is more likely to be a wood-working chisel.

of the claw, whilst on CH1715 the claw only widens slightly. As with many of the tools throughout this chapter, almost identical versions of this tool are used today.

Vindolanda has five examples of nail extractors (Blake 1999 53-55, nos. 1000, 3669, 3719, 4102 and 5617) whilst there is also one from Newstead (Curle 1911, pl. LIX, no. 17). The presence of nail extractors suggests construction, or deconstruction, of wooden articles, be they buildings or boxes, was taking place on site, as it is difficult to see how they would be useful for stone construction. These are not particularly common items, with no examples found in the collections of the British Museum or Museum of Antiquities. There are 48 records for nails within the Clayton Collection, representing at least 60 nails,[161] although not all of these come from *Cilurnum*. The nail extractors can only be broadly dated to the Roman period, so it is not possible to identify building in wood at a specific phase, but the presence of nail extractors indicates demolition of wooden structures at the site at some point during the Roman occupation.

Figure 7.9 CH1714 and Figure 7.10 CH1715, nail extractors

7.2.3 Quarrying and Stone-Masons

It is accepted that Hadrian's Wall, and its associated forts, milecastles and turrets, was built by soldiers. The stone for this construction was quarried locally and is mostly sandstone and gritstone (Hill 2006, 39). Tools used for quarrying were picks, walling hammers, axes, adzes and chisels (used with a hammer or mallet). Stone could be lifted from thin beds using a crow bar, but for the deeper beds wedges would be needed (Hill 2006, 42). Within the Collection, there is one probable rock wedge, CH5263 (Fig. 7.12): it is broken, so that only the wedge part remains. There is also

[161] Not all of the records detail the exact number of nails.

what Manning calls a ‘mason’s wedge’ which is more delicate, perhaps for more detailed splitting than the rock wedge used for quarrying, CH1685, Fig. 7.11. The Museum of Antiquities collection contains two rock wedges, found buried within Hadrian’s Wall at Brunton Bank, as well as a mason’s wedge of unknown provenance (Manning 1976, 61-63). Since this publication, another wedge was found at Bowes Fort, Co. Durham and is now held by SANT (Allason-Jones *pers. comm*.). At Newstead, one heavy wedge similar to CH5263 was found (Curle 1911, pl. LXI, no.6), but there are none in the British Museum catalogue, or from Vindolanda.

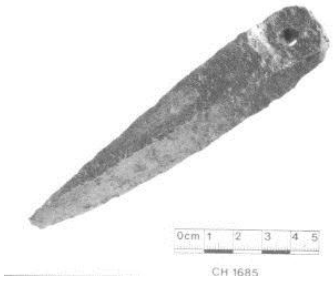


Figure 7.11 CH1685, masons wedge

Figure 7.12 CH5263, rock wedge

Of the other tools linked to quarrying, only the pick is represented in the Collection (Figure 7.13). CH1769 is incomplete, having lost both of its ends, but its profile and size suggests it was linked to either quarrying or masonry work. There are four mason’s picks in the Museum of Antiquities collection (Manning 1976, nos. 64-67), and five from Vindolanda (Blake 1999, 33-34 nos. 937, 998, 999, 1618 and 5211), so the Clayton Collection’s single example is a low number in the wider context of Hadrian’s Wall sites.

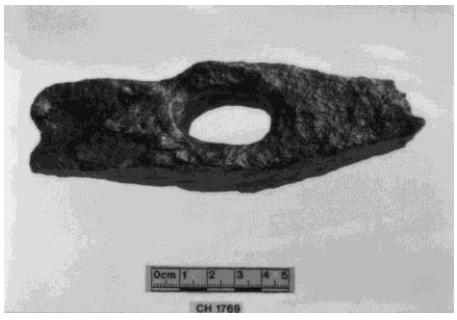


Figure 7.13 CH1769, stone-working pick

Clayton had stone graffiti inscriptions in his collection (CH12045), and would have known of others (e.g. *RIB* 998 and 999), from quarries used to source stone for the building of Hadrian’s Wall. Quarrying of local stone was still taking place at the time of his excavations, using many of the same techniques and tools as were used in the

Roman period. Both Clayton and his excavators would have been able to recognise the tools discovered and so the low number of tools relating to stone-masons and quarrying appears to indicate that fewer of these items were to be found. This may be due to stone trimming taking place outside the fort, close to the source of the stone. The vast majority of Clayton's excavations were focussed within the forts, as well as milecastles and turrets, not in the broader landscape.

7.2.4 Antler- and bone-working

Evidence for bone and antler-working is usually indicated by the presence of waste products associated with the production of items. Very few, if any, tools have been found in a context that can link them specifically to working these materials (MacGregor 1985, 55). Almost all of the tools used for working antler or bone were also used by other craftsmen; saws for splitting, files for smoothing, drills and awls for perforations and decoration. Carpentry tools would have worked equally well on antler and bone as they did on wood. Indeed it has been suggested that carpenters also worked antler and bone, for instance at South Shields (Greep 2015). In light of the difficulties in assigning tools to this craft, it is not surprising that no tools from the Collection could be assigned to antler- or bone-working. However, there is other evidence which can be used to discuss this craft.

Within the Collection, there are 56 records of antler and 283 of animal bone. Of the 283 records of animal bone, 230 are objects. Only 42 of the animal bone records are for unworked animal remains, with a further 11 having some evidence of working. Only six of the antler records are finished items, with the rest being either unworked or items in preparation. Proportionally it appears that the excavators kept more antler, whether it was a worked piece or not, whilst unworked animal bone was rarely retained. Photographs from excavations in the 19th century show large amounts of animal bone lying on the sides of trenches. Occasionally Clayton or Bruce mention the discovery of animal bone in their reports (e.g. Clayton 1876b, 260; Bruce 1880a), but there does not appear to be enough material in the Collection for it all to have been kept. Why unworked antler was kept when unworked bone was not is not clear. Was it a case of there being so much animal bone that it was not seen as important to keep it all? One possibility for the preference shown to antler as opposed to animal bone is perhaps the country pastime of hunting. Deer have long been animals associated with

this activity and so their remains were perhaps seen as proof of hunting in the Roman period. Supporting this hypothesis is the presence of 40 pig canine teeth, which were originally recorded as being boars' teeth. Boars were another popular animal to hunt, and Clayton may have seen these as further proof of hunting by Roman soldiers. Of the unworked animal bone, there is a bias towards certain bones, with skulls or jaws being the most popular. As well as the 13 skull or jaw records there are 64 records for animal teeth, suggesting that there were selective processes going on during the excavations in relation to what animal remains were kept or discarded.

Antler-working is represented by 19 pieces of antler which have saw marks showing removal of a tine or part of the antler, and 16 items which have been worked in more detail but still not finished. There are also 15 pieces of antler, which appear unworked. Some of the antlers have been shed naturally but some retain pieces of the skull and so have been removed from a dead animal. These items represent the various stages of antler-working from the raw material through to almost finished items. There are also at least six objects within the Collection which are completed items. It is likely that there are more that have been identified as being made from bone, and detailed study of these is needed. CH3100 is a good example of the antler-working process; it was being made into a handle of some sort but has not been completed (Figure 7.14). Saw marks are visible at both ends and the natural surface has been removed from the antler to give a smoother surface. The inner cartilage can still be seen, which would have been removed to make a hollow handle further into the process.

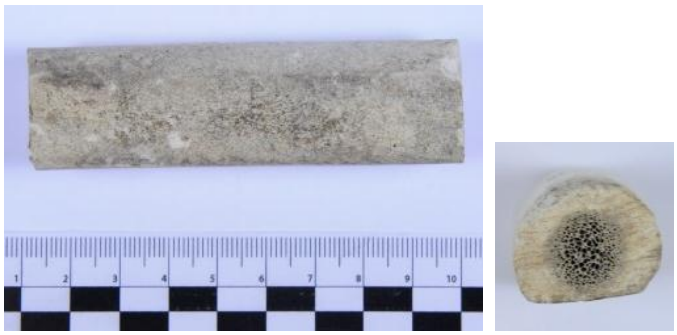


Figure 7.14 CH3100, worked and trimmed antler, unfinished

Another individual item of interest is CH1251 (Figure 7.15). This is a piece of antler, which has been cut down, a lengthways split made along 90% of the length, and one side highly polished. At first, it was thought that this was a knife handle which was unfinished but closer inspection suggests the production of decorative inlays, which

were used on high status furniture and funeral pyres. Evidence at Birdoswald and Brougham show this sort of inlay was used in cremation in the north of Britain (Cool 2009 for Birdoswald; Cool 2004 for Brougham). Production of an inlay would explain why one side of the antler is so highly polished when the other half retains its natural surface. The split was most likely made before the polishing occurred as during the splitting there is a risk of the antler cracking (Don O'Meara *pers. comm*.).[162] Once the surface was polished to a suitable level, then the split would have been completed. Inside the split saw marks can be seen. The high level of polishing suggests the maker was trying to imitate ivory, which would have been more expensive. CH9327, a piece of worked cow bone (possibly a rib), also appears to have been worked to produce inlay, whilst CH1241 and CH1242 are pieces of finished inlay (Figure 7.16). The presence of this sort of manufacture at *Cilurnum* is significant as furniture, or funerary items, with inlays would have been expensive items. Who was purchasing these items from the manufacturer? The presence of incomplete items also indicates highly skilled craftsmen at *Cilurnum*, adding yet another facet of information about life at *Cilurnum*.

Figure 7.15 CH1251, worked but unfinished antler

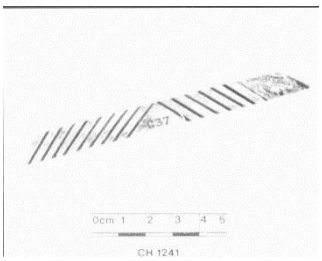


Figure 7.16 CH1241, piece of bone inlay

Bone-working is not as well represented in the Collection as antler-working. The vast majority of bone items are completed objects, with only 53 out of 283 records

[162] My thanks to Don O'Meara for his help with all the antler and bone remains.

representing unworked or worked bone. Only 11 pieces of bone show evidence of working, the other 42 being unworked bone. If bone-working was taking place at *Cilurnum* to any scale, then this evidence has now been lost. CH3184 is a record for four pin blanks, unfortunately, their provenance is unknown. There are only four pieces of worked animal bone, which can be attributed to *Cilurnum*, so little can be said about the level of bone-working on site.

7.2.5 Agriculture

As with metal-working, stone-working and wood-working, many of the agricultural tools which developed during the Roman period remained in use until at least the Industrial Revolution (Rees 1979, 2). Therefore, the Roman period is extremely important when studying the evolution of agriculture and its tools. Rees divides the agricultural tools into two main groups, those for cultivating, both manually and with a plough or ard, and those involved in harvesting. This classification will be followed here when discussing the Clayton Collection in relation to agricultural tools. As discussed at the start of the chapter the agricultural tools would have been the most recognisable category of material found by Clayton's excavators. They would have used many of the tools in their normal day-jobs and this familiarity with the material may have affected which items were kept. If the function of a tool was recognised then it was more likely to have been kept.

Tools associated with cultivation were better represented in the Clayton Collection than harvesting tools. There are four spade sheaths, two mattocks, an antler hoe, a ploughshare and a possible cultivation tool. As well as these tools, there is one entrenching tool and two *dolabrae*, both of which were military tools, issued to soldiers, for constructing defences. However, these could equally have been used for non-military digging. There is a discrepancy between authors over the naming of these types of tools, with Manning describing the *dolabra* as a form of pickaxe (1976, 27-8), with the entrenching tool classified separately, but Blake equating the two (1999, 31). For this thesis, the names entrenching tool and *dolabra* will be taken as referring to the military items, whilst pickaxe will be used for more generic pickaxe-type tools used for breaking up ground.

Spade sheaths are an iron edging which was fitted to a wooden spade, and are thought to have been a Roman introduction to Britain (Manning 1985, 44). Spade sheaths, or

spade shoes are they sometimes known, are fairly common finds on Roman sites in Britain. Any differences in types are not thought to be chronological and no regional patterns have been discerned (Rees 2011, 99). All four of the spade sheaths in the Collection are of Manning's Type 2 with straight-mouths, rather than round-mouths, see Figure 7.17 showing CH1702 as an example of this form. Whilst spades could also have been used in non-agricultural work, such as digging foundation trenches or rubbish pits, it is impossible to know what activity they relate to specifically, other than their function of moving earth.

Figure 7.17 CH1702, straight-mouthed spade sheath

The two mattocks could also be used in areas other than agriculture, as building work would require similar tools for jobs such as breaking ground and digging foundations. However, they are traditionally considered as related to agriculture and so this convention will be followed. CH1735, Figure 7.18, which has been tentatively identified as a mattock, has an unusual form and it is possible that it is actually a variant of a hoe. If it is considered as a hoe then the link to agricultural work is strengthened. It has a circular socket, a circular-sectioned curved handle and the remains of a spatulate blade, whose original shape cannot be ascertained. The blade is slightly curved and so would have served well as a mechanism for moving earth. CH1738 is a more typical mattock with a central socket and two blades, one an axe and one an adze, at opposing angles.

Figure 7.18 CH1735, possible hoe or mattock

Antler hoes or rakes developed in the early Iron Age to have a perforation in the handle and were still used in the Roman period despite iron forms developing (Rees 1979 and 1981). They were two-pronged with the perforation being used to attach a handle, and came in two forms depending on which section of the antler was used. The iron forms copied this design initially, but other forms developed later. CH13260 and CH13262 is an almost complete example of an antler hoe/rake, although one of the tines has broken off, so its pointed end is missing (Figure 7.19). It has broken since discovery and subsequently each half had been catalogued separately, the join only being discovered through work for this chapter. It is made from the top end of the antler, furthest from the base. Two tines form a natural fork and it has a circular perforation at the base of the fork which has been damaged.

Figure 7.19 CH13260 and CH13262, antler hoe

CH1741 was originally identified as a *dolabra* or entrenching tool, and while this may be correct, the item is so worn and fragmentary that it was deemed sensible to give it a more broad identification. It seems clear it was used for the manual movement of earth, with the broad flat blade. It is extremely flat, with no hint of a curve, and how it attached to a handle is not clear (Figure 7.20). This is a prime example of the difficulties encountered with iron objects from archaeological contexts. It also

highlights that Clayton's excavators did not just keep pieces that were recognisable or complete, a theme which is discussed in more detail elsewhere throughout the thesis.

Figure 7.20 CH1741, possible cultivation tool

An iron tip from a ploughshare is the last of the items related to cultivation within the Collection. CH1660 is conical and has a solid tip with an open socket, the end of which is broken. It is not clear whether this came from an earlier form of share, where the tip was fitted over a wooden ard or the later development, where the iron piece completely replaced the tip. No examples of this tool are present in the Museum of Antiquities or Vindolanda catalogues, whilst the British Museum has five, three of the earlier form and two of the later (Manning 1985, F1-F5).

Four tools relating to harvesting can be classified within the Collection: three pitchforks and a sickle. The pitchforks are of varying form and size and so were probably used for a variety of tasks. CH1586 is a baling fork, although it has lost the end of the tines where the extra U-spikes would have been (Figure 7.21). Both Rees and Manning have almost complete examples in their catalogues, from London and Chesterford respectively (Rees 1979, Fig. 254a; Manning 1985, Plate 25 F67). CH1591 is a three-pronged fork, which has lost its handle, and so the method of attachment is not known (Figure 7.22). This type is not present in any of the four comparison datasets, nor in Rees' work on agricultural tools. Its function seems obvious, as some form of pitchfork, but currently a parallel cannot be found. CH1690 (Figure 7.22) is a different form of fork again, but is described by Rees as a pitchfork, (1979, Fig. 254b). Rees suggests that many pitchforks were made from wood, which would help to explain the low number found in Roman Britain, the only ones surviving being made from metal (2011, 106).

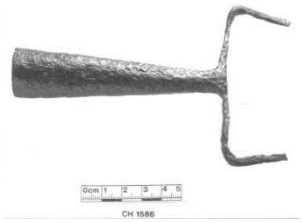


Figure 7.21 CH1586, baling fork

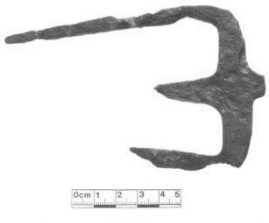


Figure 7.22 CH1591 pitchfork

Figure 7.23 CH1690 pitchfork

The final tool to be associated with agriculture is CH3782, part of a sickle blade. There are no scythes nor reaping hooks present. It is possible that there are items in the Collection which are too corroded to be identified as tools of these types, but an examination of items recorded as "hook" did not reveal any further examples. Vindolanda has two scythes and five reaping hooks (Blake 1999, 29-30 nos. 2337, 4442, 1152, 2632, 2334, 3738 and 4413), whilst the Museum of Antiquities has only one reaping hook and no scythes (Manning 1976, no. 85). It appears that tools for cutting crops are not found in high numbers on military sites around Hadrian's Wall. The British Museum has much higher numbers and this may be linked to the origin of its collections. Four axes, probably used for wood cutting, have been discussed in the wood-working section, although they could equally be linked to agricultural work if ground needed clearing. Overall, the Clayton Collection contains a range of agricultural tools, not dissimilar to those found on comparable sites such as Vindolanda or in the Museum of Antiquities collection.

7.2.6 Plasterers

Four mason's or plasterer's trowels are listed in the Museum of Antiquities catalogue, three of which are from Housesteads and one from Halton Chesters (Manning 1976, 27, nos. 71-74). There are two from Vindolanda (Blake 1999, 3007 & 5149), but none from the British Museum or Newstead. This does not mean that finds of trowels are much more common along Hadrian's Wall than elsewhere in Britain, however, as Manning lists at least 12 examples from elsewhere (Manning 1976, 27). The first example from *Cilurnum*, CH1609, is incomplete, with the blade broken (Figure 7.24). It is unclear how much is missing but it seems most likely from the surviving section that it can be classified as a Manning Type IV with a narrow leaf-shaped blade, which Manning says would have been used for finer plaster (Manning 1976, 26-7). CH1609 is tanged, and would have had a wooden, bone or antler handle, which is now missing. The tang, unlike the blade, appears complete and is cracked. CH1599 is also likely to

have been used by a plasterer as a trowel or smoothing tool. It does not match any of Manning's Types in shape, being almost square with rounded edges (Figure 7.25). It is tanged, but the handle has broken and only a small part remains. With the presence of almost 90 pieces of wall plaster from *Cilurnum* it offers a rare opportunity to be able to link a tool to something it may have been used to work on. Both these items are a reminder of how little some tools have changed in almost 2000 years, being almost identical to the pointing or delicate trowels used today.

Figure 7.24 CH1609, trowel

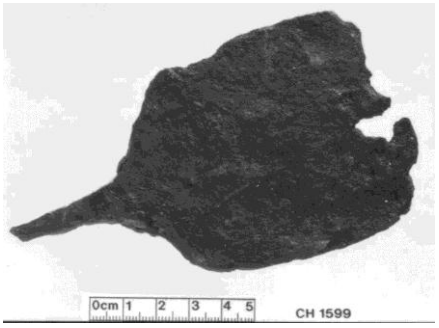


Figure 7.25 CH1599, trowel-type tool

Modelling tools are items which could have been used by multiple types of craftsmen, as they can be used for shaping clay, wax or wet plaster. Manning split these tools into three main types and the two *Cilurnum* examples have been assigned according to this system (Manning 1985, 31). CH1573 is a Manning Type 1 with a triangular blade (Figure 7.26), whilst CH1689 (Figure 7.27) is most like Manning Type 2 which has two blades. CH1689's two blades are at opposing angles to each other. Seven modelling tools were found at Vindolanda, whilst there are fourteen in the British Museum but there are none in the collection of the Museum of Antiquities. The majority of the British Museum examples come from the Walbrook Valley, where it is thought much trade and industry took place. The modelling tools from *Cilurnum* may have been used for a variety of crafts, but the evidence of a plasterer's trowel may perhaps indicate they were used for plasterwork. It is not known if pottery was made at *Cilurnum* although, if they were, the modelling tools may equally be linked to this.

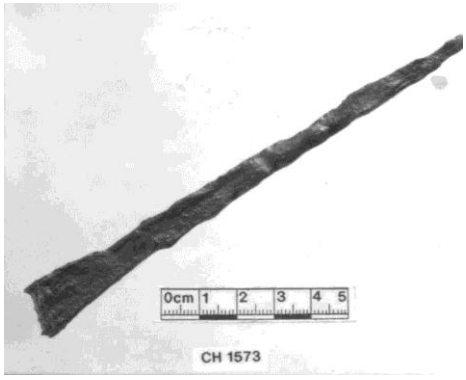


Figure 7.26 CH1573 modelling tool

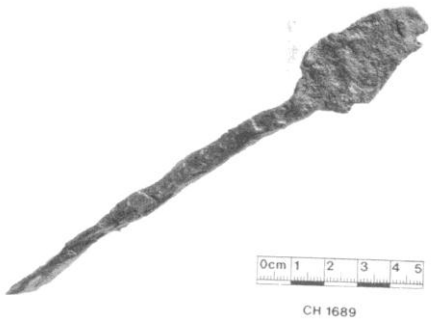


Figure 7.27 CH1689 modelling tool

7.2.7 Textile- and leather-working

There are only two iron tools within the Collection relating to textile-working, CH1579, a packing needle (Figure 7.28) and CH1552, a hook (Figure 7.29). Also related to textile-working are two bone weaving combs as well as at least 80 spindle whorls and 35 needles of varying materials, many of bone. CH2192 is a small bone point, which could have been used for marking or piercing leather or cloth, but it is not possible to assign it specifically to either craft. Manning discusses iron wool-combs but the British Museum is the only catalogue which contains examples. There are two bone-weaving combs from *Cilurnum*, CH1262 and CH1263, both of a type which originated in the Iron Age.[163] Textile-working probably did take place at *Cilurnum*, and elsewhere along Hadrian's Wall but the evidence is sparse.

Figure 7.28 CH1579, packing needle

Figure 7.29 CH1552, hook

Within the Collection, there is nothing which could have been used to cut leather or thick cloth. No large shears survive in the Collection, only one pair of delicate shears

[163] Although note that the identification of these items as weaving combs has been called into question by Hodder and Hedges (1977).

which are more like scissors, despite Budge listing five (1903, 397 nos. 1791-5).[164] CH1040 and CH1041, the two parts of a pair of delicate shears, are extremely small and seem more likely to be used for cutting fine cloth or may even perhaps have a medical function.

Within the Collection, there are 11 iron awls of varying types. The main difficulty in identifying awls within archaeological collections is that they must be complete in order to differentiate between an awl and other similar tools such as punches or carpenter's bits. It is also not always clear whether awls were used only by leather-workers or could be used by carpenters too. Manning devised a typology of awls (1976, 38) and the Collection's awls have been assigned a type where possible, Table 7.2 lists these. As can be seen, Manning Type 4 and its sub-types are by far the most common, representing nine of the eleven awls. Type 4 is also the most common in the British Museum catalogue where 19 out of the 28 examples fit within this type (Manning 1976, 40-1). This form of awl would have been tanged, probably with a wood, antler or bone handle, whereas Type 3 would not have needed this extra piece. Figures 7.30 and 7.31 illustrate the two types of awls. Leatherworkers would have different sizes of awl for specific tasks, but it is not possible to differentiate the awls in the Collection to such a degree. CH1701, a Type 4 awl is smaller and more delicate than CH1684, a Type 3 awl. The decoration on the bone handle of CH1701 consists of an intricate repeating pattern of shallow dots and lines scored into the surface. The time taken to produce this decoration would mean the piece would have been more expensive than one with a plain handle. There is no benefit to functionality through adding decoration to the handle, it is purely aesthetic. This piece indicates that craftsmen at Cilurnum had enough money to purchase a more costly tool, or perhaps took the time to decorate it themselves after purchasing it.

Manning Type	**No. in Collection**
3a	2
4	2

[164] Those listed by Budge cannot all be identified on the database but those that have been were actually a knife and a plough share, further evidence of Budge's lack of expertise in identifying finds.

4a	1
4b	6

Table 7.2 Showing the types of awl within the Collection

Figure 7.30 CH1684, a Manning Type 3 awl with an integral handle

Figure 7.31 CH1701, a Manning Type 4 awl with a decorated bone handle

Cobblers' lasts have changed little since the Roman period, as Figure 7.32 shows. They were set into benches, and used to hold the shoe in place. The main difference between Roman and modern lasts is that nowadays the head is shaped much more like a human foot. In Manning's discussion of lasts, he states that most of the examples in Britain come from ironwork hoards (Manning 1985, 42). The British Museum is the only comparative dataset to contain a last, and this comes from a hoard in Bedfordshire (*ibid*., E35).

Figure 7.32 Relief showing a cobbler at work, Reims. http://www.gettyimages.in/detail/photo/stele-depicting-clog-maker-from-reims-high-res-stock-photography/479639497

Figure 7.33 CH1564, cobblers last

The Clayton last, CH1564, is smaller than the Bedfordshire one, being almost half its size (15.5cm long and 9.5cm wide). However, examination of the item confirms the identification, making this an important find. Unfortunately, there is no contextual information about this find: it is listed as having an unknown provenance in Hall's catalogue, whilst Budge assigns it to *Cilurnum*. This represents yet another example of where the lack of surviving documentation from Clayton means that contextual data is unclear. This piece also highlights the disparity in Budge and Hall's work, which has been discussed in more detail in the Sources and Methodology chapter (pages 22-24).

7.2.8 Glass Production

Evidence for glass production is difficult to identify: the furnaces needed were small and most waste glass would be recycled, thus leaving little evidence. Few of the tools survive and so it is assumed they were similar to those used by modern glass-workers; blowing irons, pontil irons, shears, pincers and moulds. In the north of Britain most of the evidence for glass production comes from or near military or urban settlements (Price 2002, 87). This suggests that it is likely that production of glass items would have been taking place at *Cilurnum*. There are only three pieces which have been identified as glass-working waste within the Collection. This low number is likely to be mainly due to the practice of recycling in the Roman period. No specific tools associated with glass-working have been identified within the Collection but, as the evidence across Northern Britain has been described as "scattered and ephemeral", this is perhaps to be expected (Price 2002, 91).

7.2.9 Jet-working

The tools used by craftsmen working with jet are not easily distinguishable from those of other crafts (Allason-Jones 2002c). The largest piece was the lathe, used for

producing armlets and rings, which could equally be used a carpenter. Saws, chisels and drills for carving would have been the same forms as those used for wood-working. Files used to smooth away saw marks would have been at home in the tool-set of a metalworker, carpenter or blacksmith. Evidence for jet-working must therefore be determined by the presence of raw material and unfinished items.

Items made from jet have a black shiny appearance, which was popular in the late Roman period (Allason-Jones 1996, 9). Jet was used mainly for jewellery such as beads and bracelets and decorative hairpins. Its low density means it is extremely light, which would have been an attractive quality, and its electrostatic properties added to its popularity. However, not all black shiny items are made from jet. Shale and cannel coal were widely used as alternatives to jet, and without scientific analysis it is impossible to tell the difference (Allason-Jones and Jones 1994, 265). Jet is easier to work than shale and cannel coal but was limited in its availability. Shale and cannel coal were much more abundant, yet provided different challenges to produce items from (*ibid.,* 272). Roman craftsmen produced items from all forms of black shiny material, but often seem to prefer the higher quality material as opposed to local shale or coal (Allason-Jones 2002c). Much of the black jewellery from South Shields is not made from the local deposits, but from Whitby jet, torbanite from Midlothian and shales and cannel coals from Northumberland and the Midlands (Allason-Jones and Jones 1994; Allason-Jones and Miket 1984).

Within the Collection 23 items have been identified as jet, and 35 of shale.[165] Of the jet items, 15 are from *Cilurnum*, whilst 6 are from Coventina's Well or Carrawburgh. The final item is a small globular bead found at Rochester or Alnham. As the material from Coventina's Well has been fully published (Allason-Jones and McKay 1985) only the jet from *Cilurnum* will be discussed in detail. The normal range of items are represented with five finger rings, one bracelet fragment, three beads, two pins and four spindle whorls. The most interesting piece in relation to craft is CH2781, a natural pebble of jet (Figure 7.34). It has inclusions and so cannot be worked, hence it being discarded. The presence of this piece suggests that the raw materials for jet-working were being brought to *Cilurnum*, where they were then worked by craftsmen on site, as is thought

[165] Thanks to Lindsay Allason-Jones who has looked at these items and given visual identifications of the material used.

to have taken place at South Shields fort. Transportation would have been simpler than with some other raw materials due to its lightweight.

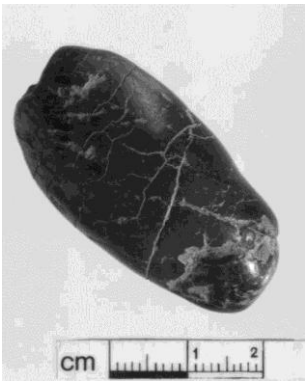


Figure 7.34 CH2781, natural jet pebble

The most commonly used alternative to jet within the Roman period was shale. Within the Collection there are 36 objects made of shale. As with the jet objects the majority of these come from *Cilurnum* (24), with five from Coventina's Well, four from Kirkby Thore and three from Great Chesters. CH571 is possible evidence for the working of shale at Kirkby Thore. Its identification is not certain but it is either a centre from producing a bracelet or an unfinished spindle whorl. Either identification provides evidence for shale-working in the area around the fort. Of the material from *Cilurnum* there are fourteen beads, five fragments of bracelet (three of which fit together), five spindle whorls and two finger rings. All of these types of objects are often made in jet or shale and there is nothing remarkable. One object worthy of note, however, is an unusual bracelet form. CH3120, CH3121 and CH3122 all fit together to make up part of a bracelet which Allason-Jones comments has an uncommon form of decoration on the surface. The decoration consists of a raised outer line cut to form crenellations on each edge, with three ridges in the central part. It shows skilled craftwork by the maker.

There is a single piece of evidence, which points to shale-working at *Cilurnum.* CH12799 appears to be an unfinished item, or a blank, perhaps for a bead. One face is smoothed whilst the other is irregular, almost as though it has been split. It appears to form approximately a quarter of a circular item which had a central circular perforation. The smooth face has incised lines but a pattern is not discernible.

Figure 7.35 CH12799, unfinished shale item

Jet went out of fashion after the early Anglo-Saxon period but became popular again in the 19th century, particularly with its adoption by Queen Victoria for her mourning attire (Cooper and Battershill 1972, 26; Phillips 2008, 96-7). It is possible that Clayton's sisters followed this trend, however, this is mere speculation and no items of personal jewellery are listed in the house sale to help on this point. John Clayton would, however, have been able to recognise black material as jet/shale and may have told his labourers what it was. Jet was seen as a desirable jewellery item at the time and this may have affected Clayton's level of interest.

7.2.10 Knives

There are ten iron knives in the Collection, all of which have been assigned a Manning type (see Manning 1985 for details of the typology). Only one copper-alloy knife handle is present in the Collection, an example of a folding knife with the handle in the form of a dog chasing a hare (CH998). This form of knife has often been seen as the precursor to the pocketknife, being personal items carried around for multi-purpose use. The ten whetstones within the Collection are all small examples and so would probably only have been used on knives and small tools such as chisels or gouges, rather than cleavers and axes. They cannot be assigned to a specific craft and so they do not need to be discussed beyond noting their presence. For the general assessment, knives were included as it is impossible to say whether they were used for industrial or domestic purposes exclusively. However, as so few (if any) types of knives can be associated with a specific function or task, there is no further information to be gained from more detailed study. The Manning Types represented in the Collection did not indicate any particular activity.

7.2.11 Unidentified tools

There are three unidentified iron tools and one copper-alloy tool within the Collection and their discussion here is useful in order to provide their full details and investigate

possible functions. For the first two tools, the main reason they cannot be confidently identified is the level of corrosion, which has affected both pieces. CH656 in particular is extremely corroded on the stem, with layers having laminated away, and the head is incomplete. The most likely identification would seem to be a spoon bit, used with a drill for wood-working. This form of bit is the most common constituent of the Roman carpenter's tool-kit and Manning lists multiple examples from Britain and Germany (1985, 26-7). CH1787 has been tentatively identified as a modelling tool used for shaping clay, wax or wet plaster. As has been discussed in more detail on page 197 there are two firm identifications of modelling tools within the Collection, so it is a reasonable assumption that this corroded item could also be one. These two tools serve to highlight the difficulties in working with iron artefacts, as corrosion often obscures the identifiable details. Their identifications are only tentative so they have not been included in the sections relating to specific crafts. They also further support the theory that Clayton's excavators retained a wide range of material, not only those items that were well preserved and easily identifiable.

Figure 7.36 CH656, possible spoon bit

Figure 7.37 CH1787, possible modelling tool

CH1589 is very different to the two previous tools. It appears complete and the corrosion has not obscured details. However, no parallel has been found, despite an extensive literature search and consulting many finds specialists. The nearest possible

parallel is a branding iron from Vindolanda (Blake 1999, 32, no. 4482), though on the *Cilurnum* example the prongs, which would be used for branding, are in a perpendicular plane compared to usual examples (Figures 7.38 and 7.39). All three prongs are slightly differently shaped so their ends would create slightly different marks, perhaps making a brand. This identification as a branding iron is extremely tentative however.

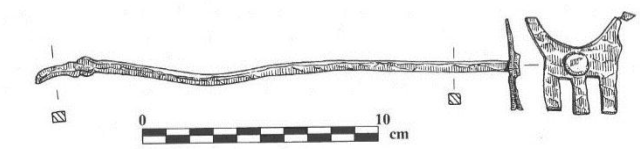


Figure 7.38 CH1589, unidentified tool and Figure 7.39 Example of a branding iron from Vindolanda (Blake 1999, 32, no. 4482)

CH873 is not made from iron but from copper-alloy. It has been included here, as its function seems likely to be linked to craft and industry in some way. It consists of a thin circular sectioned rod, broken at both ends. At one end there is a biconical fitting which has a spike protruding from the centre. It is extremely delicate and no parallel has been found thus far. The most likely function for this item is currently thought to be as some form of measuring device. In relation to wood-working tools, Ulrich says, "measuring devices were often fashioned from bronze" (2007, 13). The spike would have been able to mark wood, bone, antler or leather and so could have been used for marking out designs.

Figure 7.40 and Figure 7.41 CH873, potential measuring device

7.3 Conclusion

Detailed findspots are not available for almost all of the finds in this chapter and so it has not been possible to locate *foci* of craft working within the fort at *Cilurnum*. In addition, due to the longevity of the forms of tools, it is not possible to discuss any chronological patterns in activity as the tools could have been used at any time throughout the long Roman occupation of the site. The extramural settlement at *Cilurnum* has not been excavated and so it should be assumed that all the tools relate to activity within the fort. This does not have to be activity carried out only by military personnel as it is known that civilians were present within the fort (Allison 2007; 2013: Greene 2013a: 2013b; van Driel-Murray 1997; 1998). Birley's work on the extramural settlement at Vindolanda has shown that the fort walls were not such a "great divide" as previously thought (Birley 2010).

Despite a seemingly small number of iron tools from the Collection, there is a lot of information to be gained from studying this group of material. All of the crafts listed in Manning's discussion of industry: smithing, carpentry, quarrying, masonry, plastering, textile processing and leather-working are represented to some extent in the Collection (Manning 2011). There is also good evidence for antler-working through the products of this craft, some of which were of extremely high quality, although bone-working is not as well represented. This disparity may be to do with the methodology of the excavators rather than an indication of varying levels of Roman activity.

Throughout this chapter, the difficulty of assigning tools to specific crafts and specific tasks has been emphasised. Some tools lend themselves to multiple uses, for example the modelling tool discussed above. There is a crossover between craftsmen in their tool-kits, with awls and punches used by smiths, carpenters and masons. In addition, there is human ingenuity to contend with. Many items in today's tool-kits are produced for one purpose but can also be used for another. The prime example of this is the screwdriver being used to open paint tins (Allason-Jones 2011, 8-9). Similar things surely happened in the Roman period too, but this will be invisible to archaeologists unless telltale signs, such as paint splashes on the screwdriver, are left.

As discussed in the introduction, soldiers would probably have carried out many non-military tasks around the forts and almost all of the tools mentioned by Vegetius were present at *Cilurnum*. One of the main missing item is baskets, but these would be

made of organic materials and so unlikely to survive. Of the duties listed in the Vindolanda tablets, making shoes, building, plastering, repairing tents and burning stone can all be seen in the Collection, with the tools used for these activities showing the work which took place. There is no evidence from the tools of soldiers working at the kilns or producing clay for wattle fences as the Vindolanda tablets list, but a detailed study of the pottery from *Cilurnum* may reveal wasters, which would indicate pottery manufacture on site. The modelling tools listed could potentially have been used by potters to decorate their wares.

Within the Clayton Collection there are some less common items, such as the antler hoe, the cobbler's last and the gimlet. There are also items not present which might be expected in a Collection of this size, such as a scythe or reaping hook and metal-working punches. However, little significance can be attached to either their presence or absence. The comparative datasets used for this study also have gaps and uncommon items. There are multiple taphonomic factors, which affect the contents of any archaeological collection, which started in the Roman period and continued through to the present day. These include care for tools by the craftsmen, soil conditions, collecting policies and conservation techniques. Overall, it seems that the Clayton Collection has not been affected by these factors any more than the comparative datasets, as various trades to be expected in a fort are represented through multiple tool types. The Collection can be used to answer questions about the crafts and industries taking place at *Cilurnum* and elsewhere along Hadrian's Wall, despite its 19th century origin.

8. Conclusion

The 2006 *North East Regional Research Framework* listed the Clayton Collection as an extremely important group of material, which should be further investigated (Petts 2006, 58). Ten years since the publication of that document, this thesis has done just that. Many of the questions explored within this thesis have been aligned with objectives outlined in the Hadrian's Wall research framework, *Frontiers of Knowledge* (Symonds and Mason 2009a; 2009b). For instance, the first Key Universal Priority within the framework recommends an audit of existing material. The Clayton Collection was a prime candidate for such work, as having been discovered in the 19th century, it has been little studied since then. Each chapter has linked to aims within *Frontiers of Knowledge*, but other research agendas are also useful in placing this research within the wider agendas of the North East, and Roman studies and these will be referenced in the following summary.

Throughout this thesis, there have been two main aims: to understand how the 19th century context has affected the Collection and then to use the Collection to illustrate life on Hadrian's Wall. These aims have been pursued through research into the history of the Collection and its formation as well as analysis of the Collection. Chapter 2 dealt with better understanding the history of the Collection, both during Clayton's life and after his death. This highlighted the lack of detailed provenance for the majority of material, and the presumed disposal of most coarseware pottery and animal bone in the 19th century. Both of these weaknesses in the Collection are acknowledged throughout, but do not exclude the Collection from contributing to modern study.

Clayton played a key role in the mid-19th century development of Newcastle, both in terms of the physical and political organisation of the city and Chapter 3 investigated this further. His business dealings, in particular through his legal work, meant he knew the leading men of the north east and sometimes further afield. Despite this position of influence, Clayton rarely socialised outside of archaeology, dedicating all of his spare time to the study of the past, whether attending meetings of the Society of Antiquaries, entertaining like-minded guests at his mansion or leading excavations. The vast wealth accrued from his professional life was used to purchase, protect and investigate Hadrian's Wall and his legacy of the Central Sector of Hadrian's Wall is a

credit to his work. Chapter 3 placed Clayton in context with other 19th century antiquarians and collectors. Clayton was not a traditional collector; rather he was interested in studying the fruits of his excavations and in analysing them with his network of colleagues. The Collection is the other part of his legacy, but the second half of this chapter showed how some parts of the Collection, namely the coins, have not survived as well as the rest of the material. Some of this material can be traced however, and it is likely that further work on the coins would increase those identified in other collections.

Chapter 4 highlighted just how little would be known about *Cilurnum* fort without Clayton's work. Before his excavations there had been no formal investigation of the site, and since his death very little new work has been carried out. Whilst interpreting a site purely from 19th century excavations can be more difficult than using 20th or 21st century data, much can still be gleaned from Clayton's work. When small trenches were put in to answer specific questions in the 20th century, Clayton's publication records were verified. Much of the Collection from *Cilurnum* had not been studied prior to this thesis and there is still much work to be done which could help to add further to our understanding of occupation at the site.

Brooches, as with almost all sites in Roman Britain, dominated objects of personal adornment in the Collection, discussed in Chapter 5. Detailed comparative work between the brooches in the Collection and those from other sites on Hadrian's Wall illustrated that the Collection can be viewed as a valid data set for research into Roman life. The 19th century formation of the Collection has not rendered it an unusable resource. Furthermore, study of the objects of personal adornment showed the presence of 4th century material, showing that the later occupation layers were probably intact in the 19th century. This material adds further to our understanding of the material culture of the frontier in the 4th and 5th centuries, a key period highlighted in section 7.2.1 of *Frontiers of Knowledge* (Symonds and Mason 2009b, 23-4).

In *Past, Present and Future: The Archaeology of Northern England*, Allason-Jones reviewed the Roman small finds and noted that the *militaria* in particular would benefit from comparison with material further afield than the Wall (2002d, 114-5), echoing her call to action in the *Britons and Romans* volume (2001, 23). This form of

comparison was carried out in Chapter 6, with the Collection being compared with sites across Britain and the Continent. The study of the *militaria* from the Collection also highlighted problems with the methodology of studying this material, in particular the difficulties in classifying material as being categorically military in nature. Certain types of bead, which are usually dealt with in the personal adornment category, were shown to have a likely link to the military. Melon beads can be assigned to either the personal adornment or *militaria* category, as they are known to have been used both on jewellery and to decorate horse harness and other military equipment. The copper-alloy facetted beads are more likely to have been used only within a military setting, on horse harness, but their use as personal adornment cannot be ruled out.

Cilurnum's history as a cavalry fort for much of its life gave the expectation of a large amount of harness-related material. This was not the case, with cavalry equipment representing a much smaller percentage of the overall *militaria* than had been presumed. However, when the assemblage was compared with infantry forts, and those with mixed units, it could be seen that *Cilurnum* did have a higher percentage of this material. No evidence was found that specific units left behind markers in their material culture to identify themselves without inscriptions. This case study showed that the evidence for cavalry in the material culture was more subtle, and that inscriptions are still extremely important when assigning unit types to forts.

Chapter 7 on Craft and Industry raised the question of the daily activities of the soldiers based at *Cilurnum*. Good preservation of the iron led to discussions of the soil conditions at *Cilurnum* and the possibility of conservation by Clayton and his successors. Clayton's links to a leading figure in the steel industry highlighted the extended network of people he could call upon to help him with his work. Snippets in the publications of the excavations indicate that the ground was waterlogged which may have contributed to the large group of well-preserved iron items which provided a good data set for this study.

Clayton excavated almost exclusively inside the fort footprint, commenting on the *vicus* but not investigating it. The evidence discussed in this chapter, therefore, indicates that the soldiers most likely had a secondary job within the unit, as demonstrated by the Vindolanda Tablets and the Egyptian papyri. All of the general

crafts were represented in the Collection; wood-working, masonry, black-smithing and metal production, antler and bone-working as well as leather-working. Iron tools were the main source for this chapter but other evidence such as mis-casts and unfinished pieces in different materials supported the research. Pieces of bone being made into inlay suggest high status items were being produced at the site. These pieces, known to have come from funerary material at Birdoswald and Brougham will be included in a paper at the Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference in March 2017 comparing the variety in the grave materials on Hadrian's Wall.

8.1 Impact

Even at the time of publication, the authors and contributors alike accepted the limitations of the Frontiers of Knowledge document. It was a collaborative work, taking into account a large number of peoples' views, with all of the complications this entails. Nonetheless, it was the first document of its kind focussed entirely on Hadrian's Wall and provided a useful reference point. Discussions are under way, within the Archaeological Research Working Group of the Hadrian's Wall Management Plan Committee, to update the document. The situation has changed along the Wall since 2009 in many ways, the economy in particular affecting resource availability. Some of the stated aims are now seen as unfeasible and very low priority, for instance S7.5 to create integrated finds databases of multiple museum collections (Symonds and Mason 2009b, 49). Research ideas have progressed and nuanced, meaning that some of the broader statements in *Frontiers of Knowledge* are no longer appropriate and need refining and expanding. It is hoped that the work carried out within this thesis will help to inform these discussions.

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, the situation within the world of finds research was not good. Few students were interested in working with small finds, and the experts were getting older, with no plan for succession. The list of postgraduate theses involving research into Roman small finds was extremely short, which led to Allason-Jones' warning that this must be resolved (2001, 24). Thankfully, fifteen years later, finds are once more in vogue by research students and professionals alike. The Roman Finds Group has gone from strength to strength, regularly hosting packed-out sessions at the broader Roman Archaeology Conference, even when competing with Pompeii.

This current thesis sits alongside recently completed theses, as well as those in-progress, focussed on Roman material culture, for instance Anna Booth on penannular brooches, Matthew Fittock on pipeclay figurines and Ian Marshman on intaglios. The foundation of the Portable Antiquities Scheme in 1997 has had a profound impact on the small finds world, with Finds Liaison Officers becoming experts in various periods, and their work recording finds producing an enormous new dataset for research. There are still worries about the loss of skills within this sector, however the future is much brighter than it seemed.

The fifth Key Universal Priority of *Frontiers of Knowledge* noted the need to communicate knowledge and raise awareness of Hadrian's Wall, both its sites and collections. Conference papers, society talks and publications have all promoted the Clayton Collection during the last five years of this research. The doctoral research was invaluable in the creation of the new exhibition at the Clayton Museum, Chesters. It was used extensively, both on the site and in the museum, to highlight to visitors the key role Clayton played in the 19th century work on Hadrian's Wall. Much of the exhibition would not have been possible without the doctoral work.

8.2. Future research

Archaeological work on the Collection is by no means complete. Prior to the *Frontiers of Knowledge*, the 2006 *North East Regional Research Framework* laid out priorities for all periods. Within the Roman section, the objectives related to trade and industry can be seen to be extremely relevant to future work on the Collection (Petts 2006, 151). Study into Roman quarrying and stone extraction could be supported by analysis of the large group of inscribed and sculpted stone held within the Collection. It was noted that more work needed to be done to understand, if possible, patterns in votive deposition practices from the Iron Age and Roman periods (Petts 2006, 146). Coventina's Well would play a large role in this research if carried out.

The evidence for production of buckles shown in Chapter 6, and the production of a variety of items in a range of materials in Chapter 7 all link to *S.7. Production and Procurement* in the Agenda and Strategy volume of *Frontiers of Knowledge* (Symons and Mason 2009b, 49-50). The glass and pottery in the Collection would both benefit from specialist work, which would allow them to be used in comparative studies of trade and consumption in the Wall zone. Much of the material has not been properly

catalogued and analysed. The mortaria case study by Húdak showed that the collecting policy limits the value of the pottery, but does not render it completely useless. Further work on the Samian within the Collection would help to add to our understanding of the trade to the Wall area, when compared with the Samian from other forts, and the same would apply to the coarseware. The glass bracelets have been included in a post-doctoral study by Tatiana Ivelva, which is looking at their use and life cycles, so adding much more to our understanding of these items.

Further research is also needed on the non-hoard coins in the Collection, firstly to improve the identifications, and secondly to attempt to improve provenance information by linking them to Clayton's notebooks and publications. This would allow the Collection coins to be included in wider studies of coinage on Hadrian's Wall, another point noted in the Agenda and Strategy volume of *Frontiers of Knowledge* (Symons and Mason 2009b).

This thesis has dealt only with material relevant to Clayton in terms of the Collection, whether it be letters to colleagues, comparison to other antiquarians of the day, or research on the archaeological material itself. Both at the Northumberland Archives Centre, Woodhorn and Tyne and Wear Archives there are a large number of papers relating to Clayton's law firm. The firm dealt with many land transactions within Newcastle and Northumberland and it is likely that study of these would provide insight into the ownership and sale of land over more than a century. Equally, better understanding of Clayton's dealings would shed light on the functioning of Newcastle Corporation and the society in Newcastle as he played a role in so many aspects of the civic and business life of the city.

As a case study, the Clayton Collection has shown that 19th century collections can be used to answer 21st century research agendas. The momentum must not be lost and the Collection should continue to be publicised so that it is included in future studies of Roman material culture. This thesis is just the start of the work to promote and understand the collection. Publications resulting from this thesis will further the awareness of this important collection and hopefully inspire more study of the material.

Appendices

Appendix A. Collection Database

This Excel database was loaded onto HOMS in July 2015 and so is not the most current version of the Clayton Collection Database. However, all work done after July 2015 was outside of the doctoral remit as it related mostly to the Coventina's Well coins. Therefore the last number on this database is not the same as the current last number on the HOMS database for the Collection.

Appendix B. Collection items sold in the 1930 sale. Mon 6th- Tuesday 14th January

Hampton and Sons (auctioneers and valuers) in conjunction with Turner, Lord and Dowler. 'Chesters', Humshaugh, Northumberland. Antique and modern furniture, old silver, pictures, library of valuable books, outdoor effects.
By Direction of J.M. Clayton.

p.24. Lot no. 325. A marble bust of the Young Augustus (19 ½ in.) and another of a Roman Emperor (24 in.)

p.43. in the Business Room.

Lot no. 640. mixed lot including a cast of the Chesters diploma.

Lot no.641. collection of shells and marine fossils.

p.58. Corridor from Billiard Room to Hall.
Lot no. 895, a quantity of native and other curios.

p. 92.
Lot no. 1474 'A set of three views of the Roman Villa, Chesters' by Charles Richardson.

Lot no. 1476, 'Nine studies of Roman ruins around Chesters' by T.M. Richardson, Jnr.

Lot no. 1477, 'Roman ruins, also 2 small studies of Roman vases, another of coins and antiquities, and 2 tinted drawings- portraits of Gentlemen' by D. Mossman.

p.97. 'Roman, Old English and Foreign coins &c.'

Lot no. 1552. A Roman gold ear-ring, another, a ring, and another of bronze.

Lot no. 1553. A Roman gold ring with stadium intaglio, 5 various intaglii, a Roman silver ring, another with a modern mount, and a silver Fede ring.

Lot no. 1554. A very fine 14th century gold ring brooch with inscription *(bought by Dr. Ranken Lyle, now in collection of SANT)*

Lot no. 1555. A Greek gold coin of Athens, 2 others of silver, and 13 Roman gold coins from Augustus to Domitian

Lot no. 1556. Roman gold coins from Trajan to late Roman, and a fine first brass of Commodus found at Procolita

Lot no. 1572. Three Roman gold coins, and 60 silver *(this is the Thorngrafton hoard)*

Lot no. 1574. Roman third brass coins (115)

Lot no. 1575. Roman second brass coins, and similar silver (210 in all) *(possibly bought by Capt. E. W. Swan, 75 of them are part of a hoard from Vindolanda in 1833, now in collection of SANT)*

Lot no. 1576. Roman silver coins (269)

Lot no. 1577. 270 Roman first brass, silver and Billion

Lot no. 1578. Roman third brass coins (184)

Lot no. 1579. Roman second and third brass coins (about 370)

Lot no. 1580. A packet and 13 envelopes of Roman coins

Lot no. 1581. A collection of 120 casts of Roman coins and medals, and 4 trays for same

p. 124.

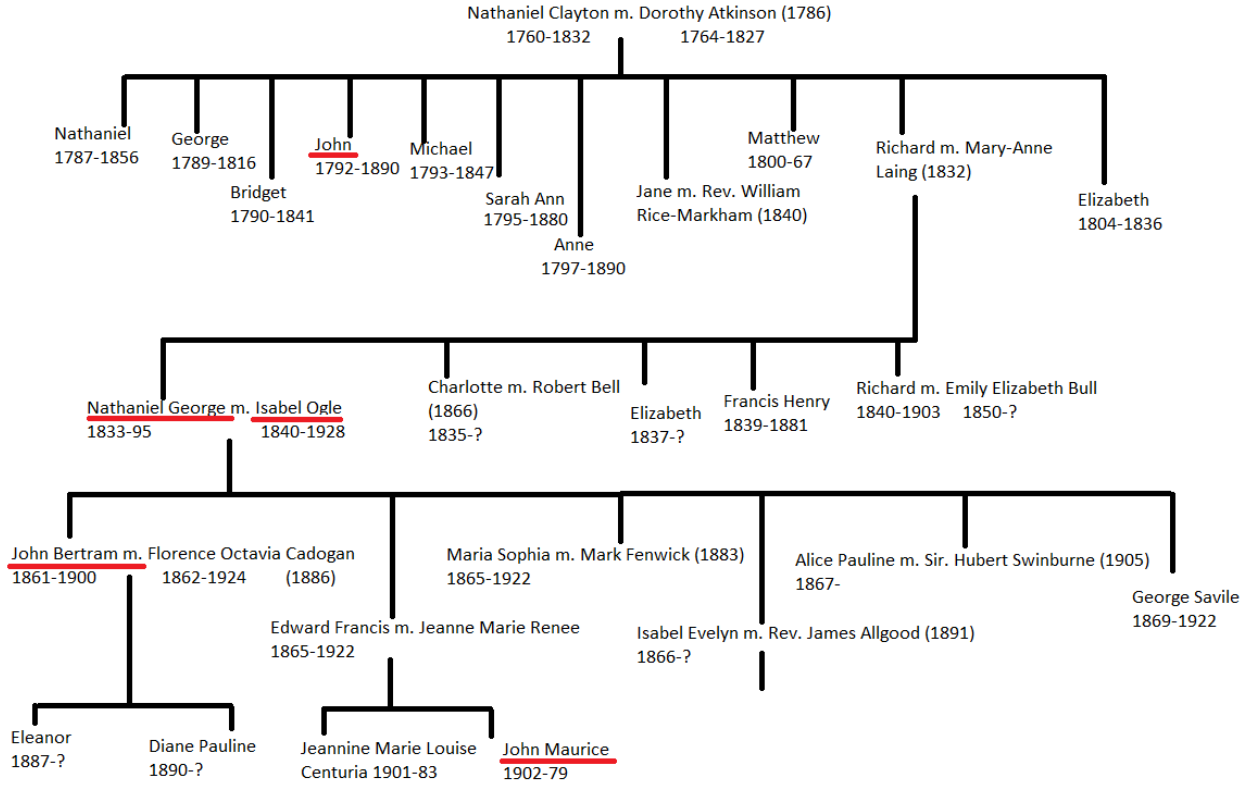
Lot no. 2081. About 50 pieces of ancient Roman stonework

Lot no. 2082. Two large stone ball ornaments

Lot no. 2086. A large ancient bronze bell

Appendix C. Clayton Family Tree.

Red lines indicate the inheritance of the Collection and estate.



Appendix D. Relevant excerpts from John Clayton's Will

Executors; Nathaniel George Clayton, John Bertram Clayton and William Gibson

p.1-2. Pecuniary legacies:

Newcastle Upon Tyne Infirmary - £500

Newcastle Upon Tyne Dispensary - £200

Prudhoe Convalescent Home at Whitley - £200

Northern Counties Orphan Institution (Philipson Memorial) for Boys, Newcastle Upon Tyne - £200

Northern Counties Orphan Institution (Abbot Memorial) for Girls, Newcastle Upon Tyne - £200

Niece, Maria Markham - £2000

Niece, Charlotte Bell - £1000

Grand Nephew, Adrian Allgood - £500

Grand Nephew, Bertram Allgood - £500

William Gibson (friend) - £500

Thomas Rowell, 'as a mark of my appreciation of his long and faithful services' - £1000

Sister's companion and friend, Charlotte Davidson Taylor - £500. His dog Marcus Aurelius, and £20 per year for its upkeep

Servant, Elizabeth Hudspeth - £300

Servant, John Thompson - £200

'every other domestic servant who shall be in my service either at Chesters or at my house in Newcastle at my death' - £20

Sister, Anne Clayton - £200 per year.

p.3.Land;

Maria Markham - farm and lands in the parish of Morland in the County of Westmorland lately purchased by me.

Nephew, Nathaniel George Clayton - ''the life estate of Thomas Butler Esquire, recently purchased from him in Walwick Hall and other messuages, lands and hereditaments situate in the respective parishes of Simonburn and Warden'' linked to that estate.

'I devise all other the freehold hereditaments of or to which I am now or shall at my death be seized or entitled or over which I shall at my death have a general power of appointment to the use of my said nephew, Nathaniel George Clayton'

p.10-11. **'I desire that the pictures and framed prints and the Statues Marbles Bronzes Shells Mineral Specimens and other articles of …..and all the Altars Vases Sculptures inscribed stones Coins, Medals and other others of antiquity and all and every the Roman remains which shall be in or about or belonging to my Mansion house of Chesters aforesaid or the gardens or pleasure grounds belonging thereto at my decease shall be annexed to the same mansion house as heirlooms to be enjoyed by the person or persons for the time being beneficially entitled to the same Mansion house under the limitations……..** contained but so that such heirlooms shall be subject to an executory limitation over on the death of each tenant in …. under the age of twenty one years without leaving issues in tail male living at his death to or in favour of the person or persons entitled under the subsequent limitations according to the ….. of such limitations. **And I direct that my Executors shall within one calendar month after my decease cause an Inventory to be made of the said heirlooms** and place a copy of such Inventory signed by them and by the person then entitled to the enjoyment of the said heirlooms among the muniments of title to my said Mansion house to be kept therein and deliver another copy so signed to my said Trustees to be kept by them'

p.11. to my trustees - £50, 000 to invest in stocks

p.12. John Bertram Clayton could let his wife have up to £800 a year from rents, even whilst Nathaniel George was still alive.

'I bequeath all the residue of my person estate subject to the payment of my debts funeral and testamentary expenses and the legacies herein or at any time thereafter to be bequeathed by me unto my said Nephew Nathaniel George Clayton'

p. 16 - 30th April 1886 signed in the presence of William Gibson solicitor and William Welton, Chesters Estate Manager

Codicil:

[If Nathaniel George died before John then everything was to go to his trustees]

p.17. £50, 000 will go to Maria Markham (wife of nephew Francis) instead of the trustees for her use. And the lands called Oatlands in the parish of Morland.

Signed 10th March 1888. Witnessed by Thomas Rowell, Clerk to the law firm, and William Welton.

2nd codicil:

Allotting an extra £10 yearly to Charlotte Davidson Taylor.

Signed 14th June 1890. John only made his mark. Witnessed by William Gibson and James Joseph Thompson, footman at Chesters.

14th July 1890, John Clayton died and was buried at Warden

15th August the Will and codicils were proved.

Appendix E. Letter N.G. Clayton to Blair regarding the museum

Chesters, Humshaugh-on-Tyne

6th August 1890

Dear Mr. Blair,

You are coming here on Saturday are you not? Do not reply if it is all right. We are going to the town (?) on Monday but I hope you will stay as long as may be convenient to you with a view to the Catalogue. I am going to see Mr. Rich's plan of museum tomorrow. I think the shells may go there also.

Yours truly

N. G. Clayton

Appendix F. Hall and Budge Catalogue Queries

Hall's numbers go from 1 to **3429** in his catalogue. Some of these are groups of pot sherds but most items are individually numbered.

There are also items with Hall numbers written on which didn't make it into the catalogue, these go up to **3866**.

Budge has **3053** numbered items (or groups of items) in the catalogue but he does not run his numbers from 1 to 3053.

Budge categories are as follows;

Sculpture. 1- 304.

p. 363. 1- 1712

p.390. 1- 338

p.397. 1713 -2032

p.403. 1-146

p.409. 1- 40

p.411. 1- 8

Between these two catalogues there is a large part of the collection not numbered. The following lists show which finds were numbered by Hall and not by Budge, and vice-versa.

Finds which have a Hall number but no Budge number and vice versa

CH number	**Hall number**		**CH number**	**Budge Number**
CH593	Hall 2656		CH623	Budge 1907 (p.402)
CH618	Hall 2390		CH635	Budge p. 401-2 but has no specific Budge no.
CH658	Hall 3457		CH637	Budge p.402 but has no specific Budge no
CH659	Hall 3458		CH647	Budge p. 402 but has no specific Budge no.
CH667	Hall 2391		CH1101	Budge 2503 (p.411)
CH690	Hall 2907		CH1128	Budge 2068 (p.386)
CH871	Hall 3477		CH1160	Budge 2071 (p.384)
CH978	Hall 1467		CH1176	Budge 2047 (p. 383)
CH1014-1017 and 1019-1024	Hall 869		CH1192-1206 and 1219, 3287-3293	Budge 200-17 (p. 369)

CH1129	Hall 1889		CH1217, 1218 and 1220, 1226-1234, 3317-3366	Budge 246- 313 (p.369)
CH1137	Hall 2921		CH1419	Budge 12-22 (p.407)
CH1138	Hall 1890		CH1433 and CH1434	Budge 8-11 (p. 406)
CH1144	Hall 2834		CH1452	Budge 1712 (p.390)
CH1148	Hall 2833		CH2228	Budge 653 (p.376)
CH1161	Hall 434		CH2246	Budge 1328 (p.383)
CH1162	Hall 437		CH2435	Budge 1284 (p.382)
CH1171	Hall 1891		CH2478	Budge 1376 (p. 385)
Ch1172	Hall 2182		CH2484	Budge 1374 (p.385)
CH1173	Hall 2917		CH2695	Budge 281 (p.396)
Ch1174	Hall 1892		Ch2733	Budge 306 (p.396)
CH1175	Hall 1898		CH2762-2780	Budge p.369 but have no specific Budge no.
CH1184	Hall 2831b		CH2835	Budge 1670 (p.388)
CH1187	Hall 437a		CH3282	Budge 198 (p.368)
CH1188	Hall 436		CH3294	Budge 327 (p.369)
CH1189	Hall 435		CH3295-3302 and 3303-3316	Budge 218-45 (p.369)
CH1430	Hall 2541		CH3461	Budge 1072 (p. 380)
CH1443	Hall 2543		CH3477	Budge 1402 (p.385)
CH1605	Hall 2241		CH4821	Budge 167 (p.407)
CH1613	Hall 3137		CH4842	Budge 2248 (p.411)
CH1619	Hall 3138		CH4856	Budge 2247
CH1687	Hall 3129		CH 5455	Budge 411 & 2512
CH1779	Hall 2242		CH5456	Budge 411 & 2512
CH2198	Hall 1476		CH5457	Budge 411 & 2512
CH2333	Hall 3551		CH5458	Budge 411 & 2512
CH2377	Hall 3473		CH5459	Budge 411 & 2512
CH2419	Hall 1066		CH5460	Budge 411 & 2512
CH2535	Hall 2553		CH5586	Budge 370 & 424
CH2539	Hall 2550		CH8775	Budge 182
CH2782	Hall 682			
CH2802	Hall 1491			
CH2895	Hall 3476			
CH2897	Hall 3477			
CH3019	Hall 2763			
CH3020	Hall 2236			
CH3078	Hall 2090			
CH3161	Hall 3100			
CH3172	Hall 1916			

CH3178	Hall 1940			
CH3187	Hall 3864			
CH3188	Hall 2820			
CH3189	Hall 3861			
CH3190	Hall 3862			
CH3191	Hall 3863			
CH3261	Hall 25__			
CH3262	Hall 2568			
CH3404	Hall 1512			
CH3520	Hall 2063			
CH4687	Hall 2657			
CH5302	Hall 3837			
CH5303	Hall 3824			
CH5304	Hall 3810			
CH5305	Hall 3828			
CH5306	Hall 3826			
CH5307	Hall 3850			
CH5321	Hall 3860			
CH5322	Hall 3847			
CH5323	Hall 3809			
CH5324	Hall 3844			
CH5325	Hall 3842			
CH5326	Hall 3831			
CH5327	Hall 3854			
CH5328	Hall 3841			
CH5329	Hall 3853			
CH5404	Hall 3855			
CH5405	Hall 3823			
CH5406	Hall 3843			
CH5407	Hall 3834			
CH5408	Hall 3813			
CH5409	Hall 3835			
CH5410	Hall 3848			
CH5411	Hall 3806			
CH5412	Hall 3815			
CH5413	Hall 3816			
CH5414	Hall 3839			
CH5415	Hall 3811			
CH5416	Hall 3859			
CH 5417	Hall 3084			
CH 5418	Hall 3819			
CH 5419	Hall 3826			
CH 5420	Hall 3820			
CH 5421	Hall 3825			
CH 5422	Hall 3840			

CH 5423	Hall 3846			
CH 5424	Hall 3807			
CH 5425	Hall 3808			
CH 5426	Hall 3803			
CH 5427	Hall 3812			
CH 5428	Hall 3838			
CH 5429	Hall 3818			
CH 5430	Hall 3832			
CH 5431	Hall 3852			
CH 5432	Hall 3851			
CH 5433	Hall 3827			
CH 5434	Hall 3821			
CH 5435	Hall 3822			
CH 5436	Hall 3817			
CH 5437	Hall 3857			
CH 5438	Hall 3845			
CH 5439	Hall 3833			
CH 5440	Hall 3814			
CH 5441	Hall 3829			
CH 5442	Hall 3849			
CH 5443	Hall 3830			
CH5575	Hall 805			
CH5580	Hall 838			
CH5582	Hall 754			
CH5583	Hall 755			
CH5584	Hall 771			
CH5585	Hall 770			
CH5642	Hall 719			
CH5643	Hall 802			
CH5645	Hall 803			
CH5647	Hall 749			
CH5654	Hall 741			
CH8723	Hall 3743			
CH 8776	Hall 3601			
CH9047	Hall 1859			

Finds where Hall and Budge numbers/descriptions don't match

CH828

CH1476

Appendix G. Hall and Budge provenance inconsistencies.

In this table are only those where Hall and Budge contradict each other. If Hall provided no information on provenance, as opposed to defining it as unknown, then this has not been included.

CH Number	Hall Number	Hall Provenance	Budge Number	Budge Provenance
CH 341	296	Chesters	p.343, 237	Housesteads
CH 634	3209	Unknown	p.401, 1999-2010	Chesters
CH 675	3201	Unknown	p.401, 1999-2010	Chesters
CH 1169	2181	Carrawburgh	p.383, 2049	Chesters
CH 1185	2911	Walltown	p.383, 2053	Chesters
CH 1548- 1675	1603- 1690 and 3130- 3190	Unknown or in a group 'chiefly from Chesters'	p.397, 1713-90 p.401, 1977-90	Chesters
CH 1867	2850	Unknown	p.407, 129	Nether Denton
CH 1868	2848	Unknown	p.407, 140	Nether Denton
CH 1869	2846	Unknown	p.407, 120	Nether Denton
CH 2225	3010	Unknown	p.386, 1489	Chesters
CH 2226	3007	Unknown	p.386, 1486	Chesters
CH 2227	3008	Unknown	p.386, 1487	Chesters
CH 2231	3009	Unknown	p.386, 1488	Chesters
CH 2262	3011	Unknown	p.386, 1490	Chesters
CH 2274	2994	Unknown	p.386, 1469	Chesters
CH 2992	2223	Housesteads	P.405, 75-6	Kirkby Thore
CH 2994	2237	Housesteads	p.405, 119	Kirkby Thore
CH 2995	2232	Housesteads	p.406, 122	Kirkby Thore
CH 3010	2234	Housesteads	p.405, 95-101	Kirkby Thore
CH 3014	2235	Housesteads		Kirkby Thore
CH 3020	2236	Housesteads		Kirkby Thore
CH 3024-3044	2197- 2217	Housesteads		Kirkby Thore

Appendix H. Excerpts from the will of Nathaniel Clayton Snr. (1760- 1832)

1832

This is the last will and testament of Nathaniel Clayton of Newcastle Up on Tyne and of Chesters in the County of Northumberland Esquire. I wish that my funeral be very private and that my body be interred in the vault of the churchyard of Warden where my beloved wife's remains are deposited.

I hereby ….if…..my….Estate with the payment of my debts, funeral and Customary expenses and ….in and of my personal Sock.

I give and bequeath and appoint …the powers rou… in that settlement on my Marriage the sums of money thereby other and now in my hands unto my 2 youngest sons, Matthew and Richard equally to be divided between then and for their equal benefit

I give and advise to my eldest son Nathaniel Clayton his h… and a…for over my f…. out of Chambers in …Square Lincoln Inn up our pair of Stairs of number 21. I now ….by him and I give to him the share I hold in the English Count…for which he is the nominee.

I Give to my sons John Clayton, Michael Clayton and my daughters, Bridget, Sarah Ann and Anne Clayton respectively the shares I hold in the ….granted by the Corporation of Newcastle …of … to take that share of which is or …in the …..

And I give to my other children Jane, Matthew, Richard and Elizabeth the sum of one hundred pounds apiece in order to put them on an equality with their ….brothers and sisters in respect of such content sh….

…….

To Mrs Ann Tyson (?) an annuity of forty (?) pounds a year for her life to be paid out quarterly from my estate as a testament of my sense of her long and faithful service and ……to the care and protection on all my children.

I give …appoint and bequeath unto my sons …..Sons Nathaniel, John and Michael **all my manors, messuages, lands**…. **Covenants and all other my real estate** of what nature ….or kind …..and all my personal estate and effects whatsoever and …..not …..bequeathed or appointing to ….the …. ….unto and to the use of my said sons Nathaniel John and Michael their… executors…. Their quality thereof respectively as tenants in common and for their equal use and benefit and equally to be divided between and amongst them subject to the said annuity …. Given to the said Anne Tyson.

I give and bequeath to each of my said younger sons Matthew and Richard, and to each and every of my said five daughters Bridget, Sarah Ann, Anne, Jane and Elizabeth the further sum of seven thousand pounds, all which said …. I wish shall be paid to them my said younger sons and daughters respectively at my death and I … that until actual payment therefore interest at four pounds per annum for the same … …. Shall be paid half yearly to my said two younger sons and my said daughters respectively.

I give and …. Unto and to the use of my said three eldest sons Nathaniel John and Michael their own executors and administrators as tenants in common and not as joint tenants all such

lands, covenants … as I … agree to purchase either in my own name or in the name of my said son John in trust for me and on my behalf and all my equitable interest …. …. My said three eldest sons p…the purchase monies thereof or so much of such monies as shall remain unpaid at my death as and when they shall obtain proper….?

Appendix I. Letters from Sarah Ann Clayton and John Bell.

S.A. Clayton 1843a.

Oct 30th 1843

Miss S Clayton …..many thanks to Mr Bell for his kind present of the silver coin found under his eye at Risingham. It is interesting as being the only one that we have found there, likewise the only one of the Empress Plautilla in our possession

Miss S. wishes Mr. Bell much success in forwarding the researches at that station and anticipates the pleasure some day of seeing the fruits thereof in the Arcade or Cabinets of the N. Society of Antiquaries. The Roman Well at this station has unfortunately yielded nothing but mud and a few small fragments of earthen ware. Nothing so ornamental as the Pavements near Bath can be expected in this Border Fortifi(cation). The 2 Books Mr Bell was obliging enough to send will lye in Westgate Street till called for.

Chesters

S.A. Clayton 1843b.

Nov. 28th 1843.

Miss S Clayton returns to Mr Bell with many thanks – those two books he has been so kind as send & she will be much obliged if Mr Bell will let her have for a day or two the impressions he took at Chesters of the two largest inscriptions there.

Newcastle

S.A. Clayton 1843c.

Miss S Clayton returns with thanks the Book on Coins Mr Bell was so obliging as send up a fortnight ago - & hopes before she returns into the country to avail herself of Mr Bell's….. to see the locked up Antiquities in the Societies Collections.

Fenkle St. De…1843

S.A. Clayton 1843d.

Miss S Clayton will be very much obliged to Mr Bell to let her have the impressions of the Inscriptions back when he has done with this eve, or tomorrow, & allow her to keep them until after Friday next. She is much indebted to his kind intention to make ….copies for her, they will be very acceptable, & the more so if upon very thin paper so as to admit of their being pasted into a book.

Fenkle St. Tuesday.

Appendix J. Letters from Clayton to Roach Smith.

Oct (?) 5 1855

My dear Sir, I have the pleasure to enclose a post office order for £2.2 for my subscription copy of the work on the Fawcett Collection, to which I look forward with great pleasure. If there is no more convenient mode of disposing of my copy, it may be left at No 7 Suffolk St, …..til I next come to ….

Dr. Bruce at our meeting in the Castle this evening will say something about excavations at Bremenium.

I remain always
Yours sincerely
John Clayton

Nov 6th 1855 Newcastle

My dear Sir,

I very much expect that I had not the pleasure and the benefit of your Society at Avignon. I wait impatiently for the next number of your Collectanea Antiqua which will give to the world the results of your recent tour in France. The observations of a sound and true antiquarian are to me, most ……., at all times.

The case of the Walls of Dax is most provoking - and fortunately in France is nearly unique. I found, so far as I had the means of showing, that all chaps in France have a feeling for the national glory, and the national monuments. Dr. Bruce read your letter with thrilling effect at the meeting of the Society.

On Friday I acquired by purchase the "Thorngrafton Find" discussed in Dr. Bruce's second edition page 416. The vessel of bronze and the coins contained in it are precisely in the condition in which they were taken out of the Earth in August 1839- for the last 12 years no one has been permitted to see them but our fellow antiquarian Mr Fairless of Hexham. The coins are of Claudius, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vespasian, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian, those of Hadrian are apparently fresh from the mint, which shows the date of the Deposit. The quarry in which these coins were found, contains stone of the same description, precisely, as has been used in building the Housesteads Mile Castle and the Wall of which is found in part, and from the proximity of the quarry to the Wall, there is no doubt but this quarry supplied the stones for the Wall. If… … not is this deposit a further piece of Evidence to support Dr. Bruce's position that Hadrian built the wall?

I remain always
Most truly yours
John Clayton

16th July 1856

Many thanks my dear sir for your kind letter of the 8th instant. The sudden death of our brother has indeed been a severe shock to us all. I have just left my sisters at Harrogate, where I trust change of air and change of scene will benefit them. We are sensible of the kindness of

your invitation but we shall not have the …. This year. I hope, I need not say, how happy we shall be at all times to see you.

I remain always
Most truly yours
John Clayton

6th Nov. 1856 Newcastle
My dear Sir

We are all dearly sensible of your kind feelings and value your sympathy as that of a true friend. The loss of our two brothers the last the youngest and strongest of us all has rendered the year 1856 a year of sorrow and mourning. It is useless to reprieve, all that can be said is "God's will be done".
I am sorry that you have not gone with Lord Londesborough Rome, because you would have brought back with you for me ….benefit a fund of information on Roman antiquities.
Mr Fairholt's pencil will do justice to whatever he sees.
During the past year we have been too much engaged in Utilitarian pursuits to make much progress in Antiquarian research at Borcovicus but we have now begun to excavate within the Northern Gateway, where from the depth of the [course] which is over the Tracks of the Roman, they are more protected than in any other part of the Station, and I think there is a very fair prospect of us meeting with altars and inscribed stones.
I have just had prepared and sent off to Mr McClauchlan for the purposes of his map an accurate plan of the ..engine passage through the Roman Wall discovered in the S Valley of the Knag Burn.
Dr. Bruce and I are considering of a locality in which the Wall can be conveniently restored to its full length.

I hope you enjoy the leisure of Retirement

I remain always
Yours sincerely
John Clayton

25th March 1862, Newcastle
My dear Sir,

I feel very much interested in the Discovery indicated by your letter of the 22nd … - and will endeavour to procure an accurate copy of the Inscription in the advocate's library at Edinburgh. In case I should not myself have occasion to visit that city I will ask a friend an advocate to examine the letters, and send me a rubbing which shall be immediately be forwarded to you. Dr. Simpson is so entirely occupied by his attendance on the Loshes (?) that great allowances much be made for him as a correspondent.
Stuarts Caledonia Romana is evidently the work of a man, not much of a scholar, not deeply versed in antiquarian lore. I have not the means of referring to his work which is at Chesters.
I shall look forward with some interest, for your observations on the monuments of Vaison, which are of a very interesting character.

Dr. Bruce has visited Naples, Pompeii and Herculaneum during the winter and has much to say on the subject.

My Brother and sisters join in kind regards

I remain always
Yours sincerely
John Clayton

29th March 1862
My dear Sir,

I enclose the report of my friend in Edinburgh on the inscription referred to, which is appears, has been transferred from the advocates library to the museum. Your reading of the inscription seems to be fully confirmed- my correspondent is the …. Descendant of Mr. Cay, the friend and correspondent of Horsley – and though not an antiquarian is a scholar.
I wish you had accepted the invitation to France there is much to be learnt in that country.
Lord Ravensworth presents us a paper at our next meeting, on the 'Corbridge Lanx', that singular piece of Roman Plate, which is preserved (?) at Alnwick Castle. So far I have never seen any satisfactory ….. of it.

I remain always
Most truly yours
John Clayton

3rd April 1862, Newcastle
My dear Sir,

I laid the contents of 'entailes' paper this evening before our society. It is gratifying to see you have justice done to you, out of your own county.
The Scottish Society of antiquarians suggest as a possible reading of the Inscription (see Vol.1. p.32), (much discussed by Sthait) – that which you give us- about which I do not think there can be any doubt in the world.
I feel grateful to you for this addition to our knowledge and shall read with great Interest your promised paper on Varis, the Capital of the Vocatini.
Our President Lord Ravensworth gave us last night a very interesting and clear paper on the Corbridge Lanx with which Hodgson the Historian dealt very ably – his Lordship has certainly thrown some new light upon it.

I am yours sincerely
John Clayton

23rd July 1865, The Chesters, Hexham
My dear Sir,

Many thanks for your letter of the 21st last, in the ….part of the Summer I had an opportunity of visiting Silchester from Basingstoke – the result of the excavations appeared to be much the same as of those of Uriconium, they reveal the Remains of a Romano-British town, having no garrison of Roman Soldiers and no altars or inscriptions.
I am not at all sure I shall be able to get to Dorchester – if I should accomplish the journey, it seems highly probable from the Programme that is shall find the proceedings …in which case I will avail myself of your kind introduction to Mr Durden.
The Bigassean Chessy ..ees imported into ….. from Kent two… finds very spassings and, I am agreed, they will be found not to … our …
My sister was very much obliged by your reading of the coin of Tetricus, though it dispelled her notion that she had become possessed of a rarity. She joins me in kind regards.

I remain always
Most truly yours
John Clayton

12th May 1867 Newcastle
My dear Sir,

Many thanks for your kind condolences on our late very heavy loss.
The accident to myself was nothing, my horse fell and I got a slight bruise, from the effects of which I recovered in 48 hours.
I congratulate you on your success in entertaining the natives of the Isle of Wight, and in simultaneously benefitting the Agricultural Benevolent Society- it belongs to few Individuals to be able to achieve such success.
I returned from London yesterday and I have not yet seen Dr. Bruce, who has been on the Wall Lord Stokes, the …. Whom you doubtless know, as a member of the Institute

I remain always
Most truly yours
John Clayton

(a first class scholar and esteemed friend of Lord Ryrous at Harrow)

16th Jan 1868, The Chesters, Hexham
My dear Sir,

I have received your letter of the 9th last a….in London
The forthcoming 2 parts of your Collecteana Antiqua contain a memoir of Fairholt, with his …., will be very <u>generally</u> interesting, and <u>particularly</u> so to those who lack, like myself, the advantage of an acquaintance with that pleasing man, and admirable artist.
It is indeed singular that no inscribed stone of the reign of Vespasian has been found in the North of England.
The Potters names discovered by recent excavations here, are to be found in the list …. In your Roman London (which is the most complete list I have … into). I am aware of only <u>one</u> name on the Roman Wall which is <u>not</u> to be found in that list …the name of 'Capitolinus'- the Belgian list

which you mention, must be ….as affording means of comparison.
I was at the meeting of the Society of Antiquaries at Senate House on Thursday of last week, when a paper by Dr. Whasin (?) was read describing the progress of the Excavations at Wroxeter, the absence of altars and inscribed stone which struck me as remarkable features in that excavation still continues.

I remain always
Most truly yours
John Clayton

3rd March 1868, The Chesters, Hexham
My dear Sir,

My sister would send you, during my absence, a photograph of the Roman Gateway lately disinterred- in reducing the slopes of the excavation to the inclination at where they will stand, we have met with a small altar inscribed 'Dibus Veteribus' similar to those which are described at paged 187 + 188 of Dr. Bruce's third Edition- I cannot find others in … or …, or indeed anywhere else, examples of these dedications. What is your idea of its meaning?
On one of the stones in the Walls of the Guard Rooms we find the Emblems, which you will recollect, are found on a large ….on one of the stones of the Bridge.
I shall be glad to hear that you are in the full enjoyment of your … health of body and vigorous of mind.

John Clayton

8th March 1868, The Chesters, Hexham
My dear Sir,

The Photograph represents the recent excavations of the Gateway at Cilurnum. Four altars inscribed 'Deibus Veteribus' have been found in the stations of Magna, Aesica and Cilurnum. In these stations altars to the British God Cocidus Belatucarus and Vitiris, and to the Persian God Thinscus have been found and …. by dedications to the old gods, the Roman soldiers returned to the Gods of their own country.
I shall hope soon to see your …..(name of a book?)- and that you may ….in health to complete many more.
My sister joins in kind regards

I remain always
Sincerely yours
John Clayton

14th May 1868, The Chesters, Hexham
My dear Sir,

I was about to write to ask you to place my name amongst those of the subscribers to the memoir of Mr Fenwick.
The Discontinuance of the Collectanea Antiqua will be a serious loss to antiquarians- the Gentleman's Magazine, I see, is about again to change Hands. I hope your monthly article (which constitutes its chief value) will pass to the new administration.
My sisters quick eye desound the letters LEG II AUG on the Labassum on the Scotch Slab from the Antonine Wall of which I got a photograph. She thinks there is a colour line, but it appears to be only a border.
Dr. Bruce led us to hope that we might see you in the North this year. I wish it may be so.

I remain always
Sincerely yours
John Clayton

12th July 1868, The Chesters, Hexham
My dear Sir,

Many thanks for your pamphlet on the Scarcity of Home Grown fruits, which is calculated to be of much practical use- more p…in the Southern counties than in these colder regions. Your hints (?) as to the Treatment of Apples are applicable to the whole country. The fruits of this year will reach maturity ….by three weeks ….their usual time.
The c…of the old Gentleman's Magazine has apparently closed, if not …to the look of the ordinary periodical of the day.
Dr. Bruce has been here for a few days and we have been doing a little work of excavation at the North Gateway of this station, which turns out to be a double gateway with Guard Rooms. We have much ….good deal of Samian Ware with potters marks- 'Mastuis' 'Alacrimus' and 'Rebusse' on. All to be found in your Roman London which contains the largest collection of potter names to be met with anywhere.

I remain always
Sincerely yours
John Clayton

6th Oct 1871, Chesters
My dear Sir,

We shall be delighted to see you once more on the Roman Wall. Thursday or Friday in next week will be quite as convenient to my sister and myself as Wednesday.
You will find a good deal has been done in the way of excavation since you last visited us, and a further concentration of objects has taken place here.
Chollerford is our station, but your travelling companion Dr. Bruce will keep you right.
I visited Silchester a few years ago- from Basingtoke, but the day being Sunday I had not the benefit of Mr Joyce's presence. I will look with interest for your notes …it in next Saturday's Builder.

I remain always
Most truly yours
John Clayton

20th Nov 1871, Chesters
My dear Sir,

I shall look with much interest for your Paper in the Builder. The last structures on the Wall are not important they consist of the produce of last year's excavation at Procolita and are detailed in a paper read at the last meeting of our antiquarian society on the fourth Wednesday in the month.
Your recent Discovery of the altars at Hexham confirms the conjecture of Horsley that Hexham was a Roman station. The conjectures of Dr. McCaul that the inscribed stones found at Hexham were brought from Corbridge is most improbable. That …… functionary generally speaks with a degree of confidence which is often found to belong to ignorance. He adheres to the Hypothesis that our centurial stones are land marks, and not records of work executed.
I have great faith in your interpretations of the ….altars.
My sister joins in kind regards, and we hope that your next visit to us may not be far distance.

I remain always
Sincerely yours
John Clayton

Feb 23rd 1872, Chesters
My dear Sir,

Many thanks to you and Mr Mayer for the very curious and interesting volume which you have sent me. I was not previously aware of the existence of these Historical Rolls.
I hope you have enjoyed good Health during this singular winter of moist and open weather. Our spring flowers here are in bloom and the song of the thrush is heard on the ….

Always yours most …

John Clayton

The Chesters 17th Nov 1872
My dear Sir,

I have no antiquarian acquaintances in Melrose but a fellow antiquary of Brown, Robert White, probably has and I will ask his assistance, feeling with you that the articles found ought to be inspected by a competent person.
We are closing our earthworks for the winter, perhaps you will have heard from Dr Bruce of the discovery of the only remaining exploratory Turret on the Roman Wall. It has been protected by a vast accumulation of debris, and a Medieval thicket of Copswood- Part of its walls are upstanding to the extent of 15 courses of facing stones.

Hodgson the Historian found the remains of only one of these turrets which in 1833 had 6 courses of facing stones- but in 1837 it had disappeared. Dr. Bruce was able to trace its remains. The coins found in this turret are coins of Vespasian, Trajan, Hadrian and Constantine the Great. There are none of the many less distinguished emperors.
The fruit season seems to have been much the same in Kent, and in Northumberland we have no plums, very few apples, but in our garden a fair crop of Plum, grapes and peaches under glass have with us done well.

My sister joins in kind regards

I remain always
Most truly yours
John Clayton

The Chesters 29th Nov 1872
My dear sir,

I enclose the report of a correspondent of Mr Robert White on the relics near Melrose. The writer is a sculptor and Mr. White has said to him that he will wait his inspection of the objects.
My sister will be much obliged by your looking at the coin which I send, and by your telling her what it is.

Always truly yours
John Clayton

Chesters 19th Oct 1873
My dear Sir,

I am much obliged to you for the Leicester, in which I have read with much interest the Report on the lecture delivered at that town.
The world seems to be altogether indebted to you for its knowledge of Roman pottery – for the …..volume of the "Corpus Inscriptorium Latinarium" published by the University of Berlin which has recently come out, there is a chapter headed "Supellex Cretacea" in which very large use is made of your Roman London, but with a frank acknowledgement of "…." To its authors.
I hope that you continue to enjoy health and vigour.

My sister joins in kind regard

I remain always
Sincerely yours
John Clayton

Chesters 7th Feb 1876.
Dear Sir,

Many thanks for your paper on the Roman leaden seals- your conjecture that Brough Upon Stainmore was the seat of a Roman manufactory of these seals seems highly probable. The place is near to a Lead Country and so it is easily accessible from the surface and in those days there would be wood growing on what is now a base of t… waste
We are gradually opening out the colonnades on the Forum of Cilurnum but as yet we have met with no objects of Statuary except No. 943 in Dr. Bruce's Lapidarium, we have met with some very good Samian ware but no potters name which does not appear in your Roman London

Sister joins in best regards and in the hope that we may see you again in the North

I remain always
Sincerely yours
John Clayton

Chesters, JC to CRS 22nd April 1877

My dear Sir,

Many thanks for your letter of the 19th instant and for the letter of your French correspondent ….which contains a reference to Publications which I have desired my bookseller to obtain, which I suspect will contain all the information I need. I do not mean to say anything on the subject till we have excavated the Temple surrounding the well.

If the Race of Scots in general … of Mr …Smiths' publication, it m…largely, supported. Required for …. bearing the …will probably lead me to subscribe.

Dr. Bruce, Mr. Blair and I propose to give two days this week, to the further examination of the Goddess Coventina's Collection of coins. We expect to finish most of the Emperors from Claudius to Gratian represented. Lord Selbormer's find recently from Gordian to Constantius Chlorus about 50 years and of course is confident in the debased coinage of the lower Empire.

I have not seen Mr Parkers' Forum and Via Sacra, but after what you say I will go through it.

I remain always
Sincerely yours
John Clayton

I return the letter of Mons. Henri Baudot, whose admirable Paper on the Temple of the Goddess Sequanna and its contents, I have read with great interest.

Chesters, JC to CRS, 6th February 1878.

My dear Sir,

I thank you much for the particulars of the find of coins near Mayence, The Pu…P…, would doubtless encourage offerings of coins, as well as of other Things, but those coins …would put in their Treasury and not in this Well of a water deity. I have been able to meet with no precedent for such a proceeding. Devotees have thrown coins as offerings into Rivers and Lakes, and in such cases the Priests would have no opportunity of interfering.

At the anniversary meetings of our Society we had before us your report on the coins found in the Well of Coventina which excited much interest, it will be presented separately, and Dr. Bruce will send you some copies. I presumed Lord Selbourne… . .. you would send unto Mr. B… of the Numismatic Society.

I am disappointed that the proceedings of the Archaeological Institute contains the production of that ignorant imposter Mr Watkins, who is … 'tis strange to see what Impudence can do for a man!

My sister joins in kind regards,

I remain always
Sincerely yours
John Clayton

Chesters, JC to CRS, 11th February 1878.

My dear Sir,

The chief value of my paper on the contents of the Well of Coventina will con… in the information which I have collected as to the Establishments of the Water divinities in France and Italy which I have collected, and which corroborate in a very remarkable degree your views of the History of the deposit in the well of Coventina. I will take care you are supplied with half a dozen copies. I hope it may be accompanied by a landscape from the point you suggested, as I am in daily expectation of a visit from an artistic friend, who I think will undertake, which Mr. Blair hesitated to attempt.

The custom of Forresr described in the extract from the Archaeologia is very suggestive… The object referred to is in the Gazeteer described as an object of …sculpture called Invernos' Stone, supposed to have been erected to commemorate a victory over the Danes.

I remain always
Most truly yours
John Clayton

Chesters, JC to CRS, 6th March 1878.

My dear sir,

So far as I remember Mr. Watkins' paper of 1876 it was founded on the theory that the coins and other objects had been placed in the Well in which they were found as offerings, which is

very clearly demonstrated in your paper on the coins, is a preposterous idea, whatever may have been their previous history they must have been deposited in the Well for the purpose of concealment and safety. Mr. Watkins is evidently a Gentleman of small knowledge, but large pretension, and childish vanity.

My bookseller got for me in France, the number of the Messages de la Semaine containing a full account of the Discovery of Bourbonne les Baines, the coins consisted of about 500 bronze coins of about 300 silver coins and 4 gold coins. The coins extended from Augustus to Honorius, and were found in an abandoned Re…for the thermal waters, where they had doubtless been placed for concealment and safety.

I have no information as to any Discovery of coins at Vicantto, it is probably Mr Watkins may be confused by the recollection of the discovery in the Ae.. Apollinari of a countless number of Roman coins.

My sister joins in kindest regards, she desires me to tell you that she has in safe keeping for you the ivory pen which you left behind you here.

We have a marvellous spring in Northumberland as well as in Kent. The blossoms of the pear and apricot are opening but we dread the frosts of May

I remain always
Most truly yours
John Clayton

Chesters 15th March 1878.
My dear sir,

We are having Capt. Markhams sketch of the Landscape to the south part of the well of Coventina lithographed for the Archaeologia Aeliana, and if on inspection of the lithograph you find that it meets your views, I will have any number of copies you may require struck off for your use.
I do not feel confident that the sketch will be satisfactory to you, the darkness of the day on which it was taken, with the heavy rain that was falling limited very much the extent of the prospect, but we will send you an impressment from the stone as soon as we receive ours.

My sister joins in kind regards

I remain always
Sincerely yours
John Clayton

Chesters 3rd April 1878.
My dear Sir,

I send you a transcript of a paper containing some remarks on centurial stones (as found here) which I read some time ago to our society, and which may or may not appear in <u>our</u> Archaeologia. If we should have a dearth of Roman materials, I may hopefully hereafter correct it for publication.

I am amused, as you doubt will be, at the tone of confidence with which our Transatlantic Friend unfurls his unique Theory, which would place the Shivering Asturians, in quarters, on the Mountain tops. He evidently sets himself up in opposition to Horsley, and is evidently satisfied that the Dr. McCaul is much superior authority and much more to be relied on than that antiquated antiquary.
I am very much satisfied to think that you are about to write on the subject of these stones, which will make it quite unnecessary for any one else to do so. It is not fair towards the antiquarian world to leave unnoticed and uncontradicted the rubbish that has been spread before us.

My sister joins in kind regards

I remain always
Sincerely yours
John Clayton

Chesters 9th May 1878.
My dear Sir,

I have no acquaintance with Mr. Courte, nor do I know any one who has- from his writings I collect that he is a man of Diligence and research but wanting sufficient logical process to arrive at a sound conclusion.
If the Leaden seals were worn by the Roman Soldiers to indicate the cohorts to which they belonged these seals would be found generally and not in particular localities.
Mr. Watkins is (crossed out section) and labouring as he does under that disadvantage, it is marvellous that he should have been clever enough to write himself into some reputation as an Epigraphist.
The forthcoming number of the Archaeologia Aeliana is still delayed and I am not yet able to send you half dozen of the paper on Coventina for want of the lithographic landscape.
If I find there is sufficient interest in the subject it is probable my paper on centurial stones may be in the next number. I think that Camden described which knowledge he had on the subject from G… with whom he and Sir Rob Cotton were in communication previous to the Publication of G… work in 1601. Camden certainly got no information on the subject of the Roman Wall.
I see from the hand writing of the address that I have to thank you for Parcel of papers of the collection of that magnificent portion of archaeology and general knowledge Mr. Mayer.

My sister joins in kindest regards
I remain always
Sincerely yours
John Clayton

Appendix K. Excerpts of letters from John Collingwood Bruce which mention the Collection or Clayton to Charles Roach Smith.

From Museum of London archive. Acc. No .5121

1st November 1853

Talking about various things, one of which is a stone from John Clayton (hereafter JC) which was found recently at Housesteads

'CELLI/ PHILPI'

Talking about the clearing of a milecastle, and it looking very grand. Found a fragment of an inscription with name of 'Aulus Platorius Nepos', seen as a counterpart of the Milking Gap inscription.

22nd November 1867

Discussing the Nether Denton parsonage material

'On the south of the hill a quantity of black earth has been found in which have been discovered some splendid Samian bowls, wine amphora, mill stones of Andernach stone, fibulae, knives, spear heads, two large iron rings like fetterlocks, mortaria, and iron lamp (?), a bronze vessel containing what appears to be a quantity of wax or tallow and a ….'' No inscriptions but a few coins, ''some consular denarii, a forged denarius of Domitian and some bronze coins of Trajan''

Says he stopped at Chesters and stayed for a few days, JC 'has traced the wall to its junction with the earth rampart of the station. On the north of the wall a second gateway has been found on this side which had been walled up at an early period. This gateway will I think have a double one as is the corresponding gateway at Amboglana. It is quite evident that Cilurnum is one of Agricola's stations. It is curious to note the various ….which have been adapted at different times and in altered circumstances.

Mayer Collection, Liverpool Library/ Museum

Papers of Correspondence of J.Mayer (1803- 1886) silversmith and antiquarian, deposited in the Hornby Library, Liverpool 1972, by the Walker Art Gallery. Acc. No. 2528.

5th January 1856

Mentions that he includes a Newcastle paper which features John Collingwood Bruce (hereafter JCB). 'It gives weekly a portraiture of some local personage, and generally turns them to ridicule or holds them up to scorn. It has already dis..ped Mr John Clayton and his brother the Revd. Richard Clayton.

JC 'has had a rather bad attack of a feverish nature; after nearly a fortnights detention he was able to get out for a little yesterday.

16th January 1856

JC had gone to Chesters for a week after an attack of small pox 'before again betaking himself to business'

JC will contact him about the propriety of 'petitioning parliament respecting your (CRS) museum'

13th February 1856

JC is better but he 'does not regain his spirits; I fear he is suffering from the effects of an overtaxed brain'

11 March 1856

'I have not seen John Clayton lately but I hear and fondly hope that he is considerably better'

3rd June 1856

A post-script; 'Mr John Clayton is in town and will call upon you'

5th July 1856

'You will see Mr. Nath Clayton's death in the paper. He never got over the hurt he received from a cab in London; his death was sudden at the last, he had had a drive out in the forenoon of the day on which his spirit winged its flight to the eternal world.'

7th August 1856

'The late Mr Clayton I hear from what I believe to be good authority has left everything to his brother John, amounting to fourteen thousand per annum- a nice little addition to his income. John Clayton cannot have less than thirty or forty thousand per annum- an excessive sum to have to account for in the great day of reckoning'

1st December 1856

Sent him a newspaper clipping as the town has been in a 'ferment' over the 'filling up of the post vacated by the late Revd. Richard Clayton'

JC is in excellent health and spirits. Is now excavating the wleuer at Borcovicus at the North gateway. Has only one pair of hands at work.

JCB has named (or nick-named) his youngest child 'Borcovicius'

12th December 1856

Some dispute going on in Newcastle town council. JCB went to call on JC 'the whole of his

family being present- Mr Matthew after bantering me a good deal about being 'called out' by Mr Alderman Hodgson to said….

16th May 1857
'you would see from the newspapers that Mr Clayton and I had a scramble along the Wall at Easter'

26th July 1857
Was at Amboglana 'grubbing away at the Wall- and getting drawings made'

'You will see I am not at Chesters. I confess I would like have been there had it been only to meet Mr. Mayer but my school arrangements forbad it.'

3rd January 1858
JCB is getting books from Monsieur Bouche de Perthes. Sending some coins from Carlisle for Charles Roach Smith (hereafter CRS) to identify.

5th November 1858
My dear Friend,

I read your letter at the meeting on Wednesday night. I had made arrangements for its appearing in the Express of the next morning but Mr. Clayton thought that we might gain our object best by cutting it down a little and putting the report in our proceedings in such a form as it invite is insertion Gallivains Newspaper which it seems the Emperor reads regularly. He thinks he can secure its insertion in Gallivain and will take measures to that effect. He has himself prepared the report for the Observer. As the Express is in bad odour with France just now it was thought most politic to send the report to the Observer. A copy of the Observer will be sent off to night to all the addresses you have furnished me with – I have sent the rest to the office.

Mr McLauchlan is finishing his campaign in the north of Northumberland, I propose joining him at Wooler on Monday to go over some of the ground with him. He wants to make out a Roman way from the Devil's Causeway to the sea at Alnmouth or Warkworth.

Since I last wrote to you I have been in the neighbourhood of Stanwick and have seen the huge earthen ramparts there. Mr Clayton is in the West to day and is to try and get possession of the Thorngrafton coins. The weather has been very fine lately but is broken to day. With kindest regards to your sister.

9th February 1859
Made mention of Thorngrafton Find

'Mr Clayton keeps remarkably well. He has added to his mural possessions and is now the owner of the Whinshields Crags, the highest point of the Wall. As soon as I can I shall lug a bottled of Falernian up to that point and drink his health and that of all antiquarians'

11th July 1860

'I cannot give you much information about the Roman Bridge over the North Tyne but I shall probably visit it before the close of this month when I will be able to tell you something about it'

23rd October 1860

'I have been nearly a week at Chesters trying to spell out the mysteries of the wonderful Roman Bridge on the East bank of the North Tyne. I have arranged to get a plan done of it showing every stone and an artistic view which will enable those who have not seen it to understand it. Still we must have the aid of some practical builders to enable us to read its history. My brother the engineer who is now resident in London is going to give me a day at it; he will be of service. I think I shall be in London this autumn or winter when I will be sure to find you out. I was at Alnwick Castle for some days last week to meet Mr. Way and Mr McLauchlan. I am to be there again on Thursday and Friday; on the former day to …. In celebrating the Jubilee of the Duke's school and on the latter to meet Mr. Clayton. Young Mr. Nat. Clayton, the heir apparent, is going to be married to a Miss Ogle of Kirkley. The friends on both sides approve of the match. When at Corbridge the other day I saw the board of the 20th legion built up into the back of the church and an altar, partly obliterated, built up into a house, both of which have hitherto been un….; I hope to make out the altar thought it is difficult'

11th March 1861

My dear Friend,

You will I fear have begun to suspect my fidelity. I am still true. I put off my visit to London until I could bring all information about the bridge over the North Tyne and have a field night either at the Institute or Antiquaries but the explorations there are not yet complete and I saw Mr Clayton did not wish much to be said about it till all was laid bare. I have two splendid large plans of the works as they stood last November. Little has been done since last time. Either the weather is bad or the labourers are wanted for something else. I hope however something will be done between seed times and hay harvest. I could not well explain the works to you without plans and a verbal interview; every one says it is the grandest thing yet found upon the Wall. There are clearly two kinds of masonry- the whole thing is a study and we have much yet to learn respecting it. When summer's drought has reduced the waters of the river I think we may find two sets of piers. So far, the discoveries confirm the correctings of the slight plan I have of the piers of the bridge in my book. Mr. McLauchlan gives the bridge an erroneous direction. I am half inclined to think that he had got hold on the West side of a pier of the second period and on the East of a pier (if such exists) of the fourth period. After loving

patience about the bridge I did take a … … to London at the end of January for three or four days in order to have an interview with my engraver but I had not time to…..

2nd October 1861
JCB wife and daughter, off to Italy, Naples and Pompeii

'I have ordered a newspaper to be sent to you of our tonights proceedings at the Castle. Without drawings you will hardly understand Mr. Claytons paper'.

Newcastle, 24th April 1862
Sending CRS a photograph of a stone found in Carlisle

'Mr Clayton is digging again at Borcovicus; I have not heard with what result but I shall see him shortly'

3rd April 1862
Talking about his trip to Italy.

'Mr. Clayton is digging again at Borcovicus; he ought to find some altars this time, he certainly is turning up the most likely part of the station.'

Newcastle, 16th Feb 1864
'Mr. Clayton has had a bad cold lately but I hope is quite well by this time; I hope to see him tonight. He is contemplating a dig into Procolita if he can get permission (?) to do so but the stupidity of tenant farmers who are the chief gainers by excavating is bad to beat back'

Newcastle, 12th Dec 1867
'I was not at the last meeting of our antiquarian society and so did not read my little account of the recent discoveries at Nether Denton. I will probably write it in time for the next meeting.

Mr Clayton moves on with his diggings at Chesters. I have been spending a few days with him there and I shall probably make a call there next Tuesday to see how the excavator gets on. He made a cutting to see in what way the Wall joined the station. He found some masonry which he did not understand - and this induced him to open up a piece of the rampart of the station on the north of the Great Wall. A gateway revealed itself- which have however been walled up with solid masonry. When I saw the gateway I suggested further excavation for I felt sure it would have a double gateway like the northernmost one in the east rampart of Amboglanna. This has proved to be the case. Its upper guardchamber is now being excavated. Part of a slab dedicated to Antoninus Pius has been found. This was found in the upper part of the excavation.

The curious thing about this discovery is that the gate is on the north side of the Wall. We have all along thought that this station had been founded by Agricola. In the abutment of the bridge over the North Tyne we noticed work which we ascribed to Agricola. The portion of the gateway confirms our conjectures. When the Wall was built and brought up to the centre of the station this gateway would no longer give access to the bridge it was therefore solidly blocked up. The lower gateway on the same side led to the bridge. Mr Clayton will probably when these explorations are complete himself give an account of them.

Newcastle, 9th Jan 1868
My dear Friend,

I send you (in the N.C. Journal) Mr. Clayton's notes on his late diggings and some of my own. I send you also the latest antiquarian intelligence I have received viz. a letter I got this morning from Sir Edwd Blackett informing me of the finding of a tablet in Hunnum I have written to him to ask if he perceived any traces of the letters D M at the top of the slab. I have not before met with the phrase COLLEGIVM CONSERV[ATORVM] neither have I met with such a name as HARDALIO.

However I am only giving you my first thoughts upon the subject- if necessary I will go and see the stone. Give me your thoughts of it; I will send you at once any additional information I may glean.

It is very encouraging to find inscription after inscription coming to light. Please to return Sir Edward Blacketts letter when you write.

Mr Clayton is in London just now.

Newcastle, 12th March 1868
My dear Friend,

The gateway Mr Clayton has recently discovered is to the North of the Wall. Suppose the line I have drawn to be the earth rampart of the station.

A little picture to illustrate about the new gate to the North of the Wall at Chesters

A is the gateway leading to the bridge. B is the Wall, C is the new double gateway which was that out by the Wall p… access to the bridge and therefore was built up. I wish when you are so far north as Liverpool you would come on and see it. My house is entirely at your disposal and my wife and I would do all we could to make you comfortable. We have however to leave home on Monday 6th April to attend the marriage of a niece in London.

I send you a newspaper (which I ought to have sent before) containing Mr. Clayton's brief account of the newly discovered altar. I do not think that you can make anything of it than 'the ancient gods'. It is an early edition of the 'new' and 'old learning'. I cannot find in Heugeu (3rd. vol of Orelli) any reference to a similar altar. I may mention when I visited Rome last Spring I have Mr Heugeu a copy of my book on the Wall and asked him to give me the benefits of any

observations which might occur to him on reading it. He has done so but makes no remarks on what I have said about this class of altars.

We had a little discussion at the castle the other night about DIBVS; therefore enclose you some exampled from Gruter (they are also in Groll) of its use.

Newcastle, 8th May 1868
'I send you a photograph of the newly discovered legionary slab. It is by far the longest and most elaborate which has been found. The group of figures at each extremity is very interesting – to a certain extent I suppose the representations may be regarded as truthful. On the left hand the form of the shield of the horseman differs from that of the subjugated natives. These poor Caledonians are naked and yet they have no beards. One thing is worthy of observation and I think you would do well to call Mr Wright's attention to it, near the headless figure there is a leaf-shaped (bronze?) sword. I do not want the photograph back again……..I have not seen Mr Clayton lately. He has made from fine excavations at the Chesters since I was up.'

Alnmouth, Bilton, 18th Aug 1870
'I am not without hopes that Mr. Clayton may soon become the owner of Procolita. If he should success in securing it he will at once begin to excavate, and there is not a more hopeful spot on the whole line of the Wall.'

'I did not wish to leave out the sculptures belonging to Borcovicus; though less important than inscriptions they are still important'

Newcastle 2nd December 1871
'I have not yet got back my proofs from Hübner'

Mentions a paper CRS wrote in 'The Builder' and that he will show JC today as he is town so they are meeting up.

Newcastle 9th Oct 1872
'I sent off some "proof" last night'

'I have asked Mr King about the cut with the (image of a chi-rho), he says it is undoubtedly (judging from the style of ornament) …..to the time of Constantine – he thinks of the time of Valens- and consequently Christian. If so it is the only decidedly Christian memorial found in the North of England or perhaps of Britain. In this case it is a very precious relic – is it not funny that I should be the first to engrave and publish it though the Society of Antiquaries has had all the material in their hands for the best part of a century……I expect to see Mr Clayton today or tomorrow when I will inform him of the contents of your letter'

Newcastle 30th Oct 1872
'the last page of the 3rd part of the Lapidarium has been in type for a month but as I am still uncertain whether I am to get the old plates or have an independent engraving I cannot publish……Mr Clayton is well. He is in high spirits. He has been excavating a turret on the Black Carts farm and finds it in high perfection, it is unique. I hope to go and see it next week'

Newcastle 4th Nov 1872
'I have seen Mr Clayton today and have agreed to go to Chesters on Thursday. He has got two new centurial stones and some coins, beside the turret.

Slaterfield, Humshaugh 14th April 187
'I am very much obliged to you for the kind notice you have given of the Lapidarium in "Long-Ago" and for having sent me a copy of the paper. Both Mr Clayton and I are going to take in "Long-Ago" - we took in the "Antiquary", but I seldom saw in it anything that I cared to read …..Mr Clayton is going to dig this summer in Procolita and he wishes me to wait for the results of his explorations….the other day Mr Clayton and I saw it (the Wall) quite distinctly from those wonderful works on Tepper Moor'

Slaterfield, Humshaugh 27th June 1874
'I have a note this morning from Mr Clayton; he says that his diggings at Procolitia have thus far not yielded much. Mrs Bruce and I are to spend a few days with him on our way home'

Newcastle 15th July 1874
'I have been a good deal at Chesters. Your kind messages to Mr Clayton and his sister delivered faithfully and they thoroughly reciprocated them. Mr Clayton is digging again in Procolitia. He has turned up a small altar inscribed to the Genius of the Place by a standard bearer of the 2nd cohort of the Nervii.

Mr Clayton called my attention to that silly thing in the proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries that you allude to in your last letter. It is enough to make archaeology the laughing stock of the world.'

Newcastle 25th September 1874
'I send you three copies of the Newcastle Journal – it contains a notice of your little book. It will be all the more interesting to you when you know that it comes from the pen of Mr. Clayton.

I am just off to the Wall with a party of the Chamber of Commerce people'

Newcastle 3rd December 1874
'Mr. Clayton read a brief paper at our Antiquarian Society last night which is reported in today's paper; I send you a copy……

16th Feb 1876.
JC is much better than he has been for a while.

JCB been elected an honorary member of the Yorkshire Philosophical society

Lincoln Hill, 11th April 1876
The property is owned by JC but is rented by JCB's youngest brother who resides there in the autumn

'Mr Clayton has had two attacks of gout lately but as it has chiefly attacked his joints he is in better spirits than he was last year; he is a patient sufferer….

I will go down the hill to see Mr. Clayton'

Appendix L. Letters Clayton to John Bell.

Undated but potentially 1843.

Newcastle
Thursday

Dear Sir,

If you still think of visiting Risingham, and the weather should be different at the end of the week, I could probably so arrange as to give you a cast on your way here (or there?)

Yours truly

John Clayton

Mr Clayton will much oblige Mr Bell if he would kindly forward the enclosed to the Chesters

J. Clayton Esq.

1st Nov 1843

Dear Sir,

I received your tracings of the Inscriptions with thanks. The tracings seem to ci… perfect.

The coin you were so good as to send to my sister, we found to be one of Plautilla the wife of Caracalla, the reverse being a figure of Venus having of a shield with an apple in her hand & …. Before her feet -…. The legend “Venus Victorix”.

Yours…..

John Clayton

Appendix M. Wills of Nathaniel Clayton Jnr. and Michael Clayton

Will of Nathaniel Jnr. (1787- 1856) Transcript

Nathaniel Clayton, will. 19th September 1856 before the worshipful … Blake porter of …. And Harrogate (?) by the …. Of John Clayton Esquire the brother and sole Executor to whom …. Was executed having been first sworn only to administer.

This is the last will and testament of Mr Nathaniel Clayton of the Chesters in the County of Northumberland Esquire. I give ….bequeathed all and every my Estate and Effects whatsoever and ….. unto and to the use of my estate John Clayton his heirs executors administrators and …. For …. And to appoint the said John Clayton my sole Executor as ……my …. This ….day of march one thousand eight hundred and fifty six – Nath. Clayton - …. And …. By the testator as his last will and testament in our presence at the same time who at his request in his presence and in the presence of …. Other executors subscribe our names as witnesses – Ri. Philipe – Tho. ….- … Clerks to Clayton, Cookson, Wainwright , 6 Lincoln Inn

Will of Michael (1793-1847). Relevant excerpts

21st July 1847, Nathaniel and John were the executors

Wife Elizabeth receives, carriages, plates, books, pictures, "furniture which shall be in and about the mansion", and also gets an annuity of 100 pounds a year.

The wife of Captain Markham gets an annuity of 100 pounds a year.

Wife's brother gets an annuity of 50 pounds a year

A cousin in Cumberland gets £4000

Other people listed as getting annuities

Brothers Nathaniel and John- get his part of the estate, and his shares in a company (name unclear)

Other brothers and sisters get the rest equally divided between them.

Appendix N. Antiquarian or Archaeological Books in the Clayton Library (Taken from the Sale Catalogue. Hampton and Sons 1930)

Journals;

Sussex Archaeological Society, from vol. 19-24, 1858-73

Archaeological Journal from vol. 9-32, 1852-1875

Northumberland and Durham, Natural History Transactions of, volumes 1-14

Proceedings of the Archaeological Society of Newcastle, 22 volumes

Ephemeris Epigraphia, 8 volumes, 1872-1899

Archaeologia Aeliana, 1857-1925, 25 volumes

CWAAS up to 1928, 16 volumes and then 1881-1928 25 volumes

Archaeologia, vol. 41- vol. 51

Proceedings of SANT from vol. 1 to 1925

Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London 1859-95. 12 volumes

Monographs; General Antiquarian;

Antiquarian Tracts, 1852

Richardson, *The Local Historian's Table Book*, 8 volumes

Pinkerton, *Essay in Medals* (and others)

Humphrey, *Ancient Coins and Medals* (and others)

Dibdin, T.F. *Bibliographical Tour in Northern Counties of England and Scotland*, 1838

Hodgson, J. *History of Northumberland* (various editions)

Wilson, D/ *The Archaeological and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, 1851

Petrie, H. and Sharpe, J. eds. *Monumenta Historica Britannicae*

Bruce, J. C. *Catalogue of Antiquities at Alnwick Castle,* 1880

Nicholson and Burns, *Westmorland and Cumberland*.

Scott, *Border Antiquities,* 1814.

Brandt, J., *History of Newcastle,* 1789.

Gordon, A. *Itinerarum Septentrionale; a Journey through Scotland and the North of England*, 1726

Stukeley, W., *Itinerarium Curiosum*, 2nd ed., 1776

King, D., *Description of Chesters*, 1656.

Illustrated Catalogue of the Hamilton Palace Collection, 1882.

Catalogue of the Adrian Hope Collection, 1894.

Camden, W., *Britannia*, 2nd ed. 1722

Camden, *Britannia*, 1607

Stukeley, *Itinerarium Curiosum*, 1724

Brand's Newcastle-Upon-Tyne, History and Antiquities of, 1789

Roman Britain

Smith, *Antiquities of Richborough*

MacLauchlan, *Survey of the Roman Wall* (and others)

Watkyns, W.T. *Roman Lancashire*.

J. C. Bruce, *The Roman Wall* (various editions)

Horsley, J., *Britannia Romana or Roman Antiquities of Britain,* 1732

Roman Northumberland

Lapidarium Septentrionale, or Monuments of Roman Rule in the North of England.

Roman Empire

Lee, *Roman Coins*

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum edited by Mommsen

Imperatorum Romanorum Numismata (and others)

Mervale, *History of the Romans,* 8 volumes

Gibbon, E. *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* 12 volumes, 1802

The Historie of Twelve Caesars, transl. P. Holland, 1606.

Merivale, C. *History of the Romans under the Empire*, 7 volumes, 1865

Nubuhr, B.G., *History of Rome*, 3 volumes, 1850

Hine, W., *The History of Rome*, 5 volumes

Gibbon, E. *The Roman Empire,* 8 volumes, 1887.

Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology, 3 volumes.

Appendix O. Letter written by young Bridget Clayton to her grandmother Bridget Atkinson (ZAL 96/3/10).

The year is not given, but it must be from December 1803.

'I have taken this opportunity of sending you some Renunculus and some Tulip roots which I hope you will find pretty good… Miss Brunton left us last Saturday and she hoped to be remembered to you in my last letter to you which however you would not get as it never left Chesters as Aunt Bridget did not leave us that day. We had a heavy fall of snow the beginning of last week and the most intense frost that I ever remember so as entirely to prevent our getting out till at length curiosity took us down to Chesterholes as the two men who are working there said when they came up to their dinners that they had found a vault so of course Miss B. Aunt B. and I ran down throw the snow till we were up to the knees to see it but when we got down we were very much disappointed there was a place with little arches thrown over it which would admit of several people standing up in it but there was nothing curious in it in what came out of it which consisted of the skeleton head of two goats however our curiosity was soon satisfied and we hasted home as fast as we could after having got our selves well wet I was afterwards told that tradition says that there is a vault about this place and so I dare say the old men thought they had found it but as soon as it is found I will let you know.'

Appendix P. Items from collection illustrated within the Blair Sketchbooks.

Vol.	Page	Date of Illustration	Description	CH number
1	11	1877-8	Material from Procolita	CH723, CH725, CH728, CH730, CH1505, CH1507,
1	12	1877-8	Material from Procolita	CH732, CH735, CH1476, CH1477
2	53 C	25/7/79	Material from the South Gateway at Chesters	n/a
2	54	n/a	Military diploma	CH920 (copy of this item)
2	83 A	11/10/79	Strap junction- cruciform, South Gateway, Chesters	?CH899-901
2	83 B	n/a	Pot holding the Heddon-on-Wall coins (presumably meant Throckley Hoard)	CH1824
2	85	10/10/79	Carved head from South Gateway, Chesters	CH342
2	88	n/a	Iron bit from west (small gateway)	CH1764
2	105 C	n/a	Centurial stone from Brunton	CH345 or 370
2	106 B	28/6/80	Lead stand, Chesters	CH3085
2	106 B	28/6/80	Bronze dog figurine, Chesters	CH1504
2	106 B	28/6/80	Bronze lamp, Chesters	CH993
2	127 B	18/8/80	Penannular brooch, Chesters	CH2426
2	127 B	18/8/80	Bronze key, Chesters	CH911
2	127 B	18/8/80	Ceramic vase/jar, Chesters	CH1541
2	179	30/4/81	Bronze chape, Chesters	CH884
2	179	30/4/81	Bone pin, Chesters	?
2	181 B	2/5/81	Beneficiarius standard strap end, Chesters	CH3453
2	181 C	2/5/81	Stone axe	Possibly CH1520
2	182	2/5/81	Designs from Samian ware and potters stamps at Chesters	n/a

2	182	2/5/81	Bronze strap slide	CH2908
2	182	2/5/81	Bronze mount in the shape of a leaf	CH2152
3	31	16/9/81	Bronze mount with a female bust, Chesters	CH3084
3	33	16/9/81	Sculpted stones, possible hunting scene	CH317 or 322
3	57	7/11/81	Horse shoe	CH1744
3	153 B + C	20/6/82	Sketches of two inscriptions, no provenance information	B is CH328
3	191	23/9/82	Openwork beltplate	?
3	191	23/9/82	Pottery face	?
3	192 A	24/9/82	Inscribed stone from Chesters	?
3	192 A	24/9/82	Milestone from near Cawfields	CH494
3	192 B	24/9/82	Bronze cosmetic grinder	?
3	192 B	24/9/82	Bronze annular brooch	?
3	192 B	24/9/82	Samian graffito and a centurial stone	?
3	193 A	24/9/82	Bone handled knife	CH3083
3	195 B	25/9/82	Inscription from Cawfields	CH504
3	196 A	25/9/82	Marked stone in the portico at Chesters	?
3	211 A- E	n/a	Group of inscriptions, variety of provenances	CH290, CH326, CH431, CH444, CH449, CH515
3	239 A + B	n/a	Potters names and graffito from Samian	N/a
3	265	19/6/83	Group of material from Carvoran	CH211
4	52 A – C	2/10/83	List of potters stamps from Chesters	n/a
4	53 A	29/9/83	Altar from farmhouse at Carvoran	? CH 203
4	53 B	30/9/83	Potters stamps from Chesters	n/a
4	70 B	24/3/84	Inscription from Chesters	CH 320
4	71	n/a	Inscribed stone	Now lost
4	73 B	13/4/83	Bone knife handle, Chesters	CH 3527

4	74 A	25/8/84	Mixture of finds and inscriptions from Chesters	?
4	74 B	n/a	Chape from Chesters	CH883
4	74 B	n/a	Inscribed stone from Chesters	CH308
4	75	n/a	Altar- sketch only of basic outline	n/a
4	76	n/a	Altar- sketch of the top section only	n/a
4	77	n/a	Arch of Mars Thincsus	CH390
4	105 II A	14/7/84	Stamped amphora handle	? CH5659
4	105 II B	22/7/84	Key	Can't find in collection
4	105 II B	22/7/84	Iron trowel	CH1609
4	141	November 1884	Piece of stamped and decorated Samian, and a roughly carved stone	n/a
4	176 A	10/5/85	Object of 'Kimmeridge Shale'	?
4	176 B	10/5/85	Pot sherd with a face on it	?
4	177 B	10/5/85	Stone trough and an unidentified object	?
4	188	n/a	Milestones	CH242 and CH505
4	189B	n/a	Milestones	CH274 and CH495
4	209 A + B	n/a	Mixture of items from Chesters and Vindolanda	?
4	236 A	1885	Head from Carvoran, unclear if stone or pottery	?
4	236 B	21/12/85	Face pot from Chesters	CH1265
4	236 B	21/12/85	Bone bridle cheekpiece	CH1250
4	238 A	n/a	Bronze eagle	Not in collection
5	275	27/4/88	Disc brooch with central blue stone and red enamel surrounds, Chesters	Not in collection
5	275	27/4/88	Stamped mortarium, Chesters	?
5	301	25/6/88	Large enamelled mount, Chesters	CH3529
5	301	25/6/88	Samian ware with gladiator design, Chesters	CH4186 or 4187

6	51, 53	n/a	Rubbings of graffiti from stones near North Gateway Chesters, and rubbings of Samian graffito	n/a
6	55	n/a	Rubbings of graffiti from stones	n/a
6	57	n/a	Pottery rubbings	n/a
6	58 A	November 1889	Samian sherds with graffiti on, North Gateway Chesters	?
6	58 B	November 1889	Pottery rubbings	n/a
6	59, 61	n/a	Names of potters, rubbings and drawings of stamps and graffito	n/a
6	66	25/3/89	Pottery from Chesters, rubbings and drawings of stamps and graffito	n/a
6	66	25/3/89	Silver finger ring from Chesters	No longer in collection
6	66	25/3/89	Stand, from Vindolanda	CH908
6	66	25/3/89	Fitting, from Vindolanda	CH997
6	273	8/9/89	Lamps at Chesters	unclear
6	274 A + B	9/9/89	Quern from Chesters with iron band around	CH530
6	303 A + B	4/11/89	Samian ware from Chesters and a mortaria stamp	n/a
6	303 A + B	4/11/89	Steelyward weight from Chesters	? CH2879
6	303 A + B	4/11/89	Face-pot fragment from Chesters	CH1267
6	309	n/a	Rubbings of pot-stamps and inscriptions	n/a
7	7	n/a	Moulded Samian with a stamp	n/a
7	78	21/9/90	Rubbings of pot-stamps	n/a
7	79A	21/9/90	Bronze harness mount, Chesters	CH896
7	79A	21/9/90	Possible pin	?
7	79B	21/9/90	Bronze chape, Chesters	CH885

7	79B	21/9/90	Bronze chape, Chesters	CH882
7	79B	21/9/90	Base of a square glass bottle with moulded flower	?
7	79B	21/9/90	Copper alloy item, square with one rounded edge	?
7	79C	21/9/90	Openwork harness mount, Chesters	CH897
7	97	n/a	Key	?
7	97	n/a	Bell	?
7	221 D	27/7/90	2 Samian pieces with graffito, from near North Gateway, Chesters	?
7	221 D	27/7/90	Samian with graffito- *RIB* 2501.366. From near North Gateway, Chesters	CH5471
7	263 + 264	n/a	Drawings of Samian ware	?
8	5 + 6	January 1891	Various finds from Chesters	?
9	105	23/5/92	Two columns from Chesters	?
9	116 + 117	n/a	Graffiti from Chesters	?
9	230 B	September 1892	Bronze spear tip from NE angle, Chesters	?
9	230 B	September 1892	Iron sword tip	CH1699
9	230 C	September 1892	Iron axehead, Chesters	Probably CH1691
9	236 A	September 1892	Samian pottery with a lion eating a boar	?
9	236 B	September 1892	Iron spearhead with expanded base	?
9	236 C	September 1892	Iron blade	?
10	76	10/4/93	Plain terret ring, from NE corner of Chesters	?
10	76	10/4/93	Some beads, from NE corner of Chesters	?

10	76	10/4/93	Spindle whorl, from NE corner of Chesters	?
10	76	10/4/93	Spoon bowl, from NE corner of Chesters	?
10	76	10/4/93	'other bronzes', from NE corner of Chesters	?
10	76	10/4/93	2 bone latch-lifters, from NE corner of Chesters	CH1239 and CH1240
10	77	10/4/93	2 iron spears, from NE corner of Chesters	?
10	77	10/4/93	Bronze pin, from NE corner of Chesters	?
11	9	Jan- March 1894	Most pottery but some objects	?
11	95A	n/a	Bronze cruciform harness piece	?
11	95A	n/a	Painted glass	CH1363
11	95A	n/a	Small bronze stud	?
11	95B	n/a	Hipposandal	No longer in the collection
11	95C	n/a	Hipposandal	No longer in the collection
11	171	July 1894	Broken terret, from NE corner of Chesters	CH872
11	171	July 1894	Finger ring, from NE corner of Chesters	CH3401
11	171	July 1894	Shale spindle whorl, from NE corner of Chesters	CH581
11	171	July 1894	Bronze helmet piece, from NE corner of Chesters	CH931
11	171	July 1894	Fragment of a pendant	CH3471
11	171	July 1894	Bracelet or handle, from NE corner of Chesters	?
11	184	September 94	Bone comb	CH1262

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