

Syracuse University

SURFACE

Syracuse University Honors Program Capstone Projects Syracuse University Honors Program Capstone Projects

Spring 5-2016

Roman Britain in the Northeast: The Excavation and Interpretation of Arbeia, South Shields

Eleanor Shotton

Follow this and additional works at: https://surface.syr.edu/honors_capstone



Part of the [Social and Cultural Anthropology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Shotton, Eleanor, "Roman Britain in the Northeast: The Excavation and Interpretation of Arbeia, South Shields" (2016). *Syracuse University Honors Program Capstone Projects*. 933.

https://surface.syr.edu/honors_capstone/933

This Honors Capstone Project is brought to you for free and open access by the Syracuse University Honors Program Capstone Projects at SURFACE. It has been accepted for inclusion in Syracuse University Honors Program Capstone Projects by an authorized administrator of SURFACE. For more information, please contact surface@syr.edu.

Roman Britain in the Northeast:
The Excavation and Interpretation of Arbeia, South Shields

A Capstone Project Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements of the Renée Crown University Honors Program at
Syracuse University

Eleanor M Shotton

Candidate for Bachelor of Arts Degree
and Renée Crown University Honors
May 2016

Honors Capstone Project in Anthropology

Capstone Project Advisor: _____
Deborah Pellow, Professor and Undergraduate Director

Capstone Project Reader: _____
Craig Champion, Associate Professor

Honors Director: _____
Stephen Kuusisto, Director

Date: May 2016

Abstract

The research goal of this project was to understand the impact that the Roman Empire had upon the indigenous ‘traditional society’ of the northeastern British peoples at Arbeia, located in modern day South Shields. Within that broad goal, the focus was to determine if the influence of the Roman Empire cultivated a unique homogenization of Romano-British culture, or if both societies maintained their own cultures and lived side-by-side with little cultural interaction or meshing with one another, other than trading goods, etc. To seek out the answer to this research question, I conducted literary research on Roman fort practices and their makeup, relationships between indigenous and colonizing civilizations, the background history of the fort site at South Shields, and also performed archaeological excavations and research at Arbeia itself in June 2015, along with a team of EarthWatch archaeologists and volunteer excavators.

Through this literary research, personal excavation, and conversations with leading archaeologist Nick Hodgson PhD, I discovered that contrary to popular and previous belief stimulated by George Jobey in 1960s and 70s, the relationship between the Romans and the native civilians was fairly limited to trading goods and wares, and interactions with native prostitutes. For quite some time, it was believed that the rectilinear enclosed settlements found north of Hadrian’s Wall in the Newcastle area were made by indigenous Britons under the instruction of Romans under a *pax Romana* (a period of relative peace where there was minimal expansion of the Roman military). However, due to the rise in developer-funded archaeology, archaeologists have been able to more accurately date sites lacking or poor in artifacts by means of radiocarbon dating. Using this technique has led to the discovery that these sites predate the Roman conquest of the northeast region of Britain, and were definitely not the result of development under Roman rule. It is due to this detection that Nick Hodgson, other leading archaeologists in the area, and I believe that the Romans and the native Britons did not form a homogenized society.

Executive Summary

The research goal of this project was to understand the impact that the Roman Empire had upon the indigenous ‘traditional society’ of the northern British peoples and interpret the changes that occurred over the three centuries that the fort at Arbeia was occupied and maintained. In other words, the primary goal of this research was to determine if the influence of the Roman Empire in the northeastern portion of Britain cultivated a unique homogenization of Roman and Britannic peoples and their daily lives, or if both societies lived side-by-side with little cultural interaction or meshing with one another, other than trading goods, etc. This project consisted of literary research on: fort operations and makeup, historical background information on the site at Arbeia and surrounding area, research on the interaction between Romans and their native conquests, the archaeological excavations on Roman sites, and personal archaeological research alongside professional archaeologists and members of the EarthWatch Institute, conducted at the site of Arbeia, South Shields in the summer of 2015. Arbeia, at South Shields, was a Roman military and civilian settlement from the 1st to the 4th centuries AD (CE) and was a primary port of supply during that time. This is most likely due to its prime location on top of a flat-surfaced hill on the northeast coast, which had an excellent vantage point of the mouth of the River Tyne and defended an excellent anchorage. In addition, the fort itself became part of Emperor Hadrian’s frontier defense system, began in 122 AD (CE), which is situated roughly four miles west of the famed Hadrian’s Wall, which runs for 80 Roman miles (74 miles) across the island of Britain.

The most recent project at Arbeia, South Shields has been active since 1993, and the focal point of excavation was shifted in 2010 from the Roman fort to a new area located outside of the southwest fort wall. This plot of land was further identified as part of the civilian

settlement, as opposed to excavations that took place within the walls of the fort looking mainly at the Roman habitations at Arbeia. Another portion of the *vicus* (civilian settlement) was also excavated by this group in 2002. In 2010, archaeologists at the EarthWatch Institute have published their final report on discovered artifacts at the 2002 *vicus* site that suggest a surge of activity between 210-260 AD (CE), indicating that the area had large proportions of craftsmen living and working right outside of the military supply base. In the 2012 field report, leading archaeologist and principal investigator Paul Bidwell and archaeological projects manager Nick Hodgson PhD reported that there were seven research objectives: finding further archaeological evidence for the transition from Iron Age to Roman society at Arbeia; locating, dating, and understanding the origins of the Roman site at Arbeia; recovering the complete plan of the Arbeian Roman fort and supply base over its various periods; recovering more of the plan of the *vicus* outside of the fort walls to understand the sequence of its development thereby enhancing archaeologists understanding of the economic systems and supply systems and how they fitted into the context of the Roman Empire; assisting in the management of the World Heritage Site by assessing the degree of archaeological survival of the areas surrounding the fort, which could yield further excavation; and to engage the local communities in excavation and recovering more information about this time in history in the northeast portion of Britain, with which the study was concerned. In the 2014 excavation, fieldwork focused on finding and recording the Roman features within the portion of the site outside of the fort, and the same/similar research objectives were utilized and considered.

By using methods of literary research and excavation, alongside conversations with Nick Hodgson and Paul Bidwell, it became apparent that the relationship between the Romans and the native northeastern Britons was constrained to trading goods and fleeting interactions with native

prostitutes. During the 1960s and 70s, George Jobey of Newcastle University had advanced the idea that when the Roman army landed in the Northumberland coastal plain, they colonized the native Britons and helped them build rectilinear and stone structures under a *pax Romana*, a period of peace where there was minimal expansion of the Roman military.

However, due to the rise of developer-funded archaeology, a prevention method of the demolition of important historical structures and sites by architectural developers who've purchased the land on which the sites are located, Jobey's stance on these rectilinear enclosures is no longer the accepted view. Since this rise of funding, archaeologists have been able to use radiocarbon dating to more accurately date sites that were modest in datable artifacts. This technique has led to the uncovering of the more likely ages of these buildings, which predate the Roman conquest of the Northumberland coastal plain, and were definitely not constructed under the tutelage of the Roman military. As a result, Nick Hodgson, Paul Bidwell, and other leading archaeologists in the area believe that the Romans and the native Britons did not form a homogenized society at Arbeia, or any of the other sites in the Northumberland coastal plain.

The value of this project lies in the interpretation of the dates of the Iron Age sites at Arbeia, Segedunum (Wallsend) on Hadrian's Wall, and other fort sites in the Northumberland coastal plain. Without the recent influx of funding from developers in the United Kingdom, archaeologists, historians and the public alike would likely still believe that these sites fostered a homogenized Romano-British culture, and that more sophisticated and technological settlements were only built because of Roman intervention and instruction. However, not only does this newfound evidence tell us that the Romans and the native Britons, at least in the northeastern region of Britain, did not form a uniform culture with one another, but it also sheds some light on

the sophistication, intelligence, and technological advances that the Iron Age Britons had access to before the infiltration of the Romans into Britain in 43 AD.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	iii
Executive Summary.....	iv
Introduction.....	1
Chapter I: Historical Background of Forts and Their Operation.....	4
Introduction to Roman Britain.....	4
Forts, Fortresses, and Camps.....	6
Non-Military Buildings and Settlements.....	18
Conclusion of Roman Forts in Britain.....	21
Chapter II: Background of Roman Fort at Arbeia, South Shields.....	22
Description of the Geographical Area.....	22
Brief Fort History.....	23
Conclusions.....	26
Chapter III: Historical Background on Roman Interaction with Natives.....	27
Introduction.....	27
Introduction to Idea of Colonization and its Meaning.....	28
Interaction in Britain.....	29
Interaction in Other Parts of the Roman Empire.....	37
Conclusions.....	40
Chapter IV: Archaeological Research on Roman Forts.....	41
Sites on Hadrian’s Wall.....	41
Sites in Other Areas of Europe.....	47
Chapter V: Excavation at Arbeia, South Shields June, 2015.....	50
Week One.....	50
Week Two.....	53
Chapter VI: Interpretations of Romano-British Relationship at Arbeia.....	54
Conclusions.....	54
Chapter VII: Conclusions.....	59
Final Conclusions.....	59
Works Cited and Consulted.....	61
Appendices.....	65

Introduction

When contemplating what sort of Anthropological topic to choose for my Capstone project, my mind always raced back to my childhood fascination with the Roman occupation of Britain and its role in framing the English countryside that I used to call home. I have always been fascinated with the structural and technological skills of the Roman Empire as well as their vast territorial accomplishments, and I often visited Roman fort and bath sites, some examples being Housesteads, Vindolanda, Colchester, and *Durovernum Cantiacorum* at Canterbury, scattered across the British Isles with my family on summer holidays. Through a little bit of online research into excavations of Roman sites in Britain, I came across the opportunity through the EarthWatch Institute to spend two weeks in June 2015 working on an excavation in South Shields, England on the external *vicus* (city) site at Arbeia (Appendix D-H) with my brother. Not only was this opportunity exactly the type of archeology I was interested in, but the site was located a mere 15 miles from my Grandmother's home in Newcastle, a city I spent a substantial period of my childhood growing up in. Having the chance to start my capstone in a place so closely connected to my childhood immediately sparked an interest in working at Arbeia, and gave me the opportunity to use research I could personally gather at the site for a portion of my project.

It then came down to figuring out a research question to pose for the Roman site at Arbeia, and what I would do to develop it. Since the work at this site regarding the civilian settlement (*vicus*) is relatively new, beginning in the 1990s, I decided to focus on the relationship between the fort itself and its civilian counterparts. In addition, the site at Arbeia, though heavily damaged from looting throughout later periods in history, is still the clearest idea of an officer's house in Britain and provides a great deal of information in terms of the remains left for us to

consult. Because of that, I became interested in the relationship between the native British people living in the North Tyneside area and their relationship with the incoming Romans and their wives and slaves. It is from my interest in the interconnectivity between the native Britons and the Roman army stationed at Arbeia that led me to form my research question: did the Roman Empire cultivate a unique homogenization of Romano-British culture at Arbeia, or did they remain living side-by-side with relatively little interaction with one another other than trading wares?

To answer this question, I turned to literature on the following: Roman fort operations, setup and makeup in order to understand the Roman army's fort practices and their importance in Roman expansion and occupation, I read up on the relevant historical background of Arbeia and the surrounding areas in the North Tyneside valley, found other research on the interaction between Romans and their native conquests throughout Europe, consulted other archaeological excavations on Roman sites, and performed personal archaeological research alongside professional archaeologists like Nick Hodgson and Alex Croom and team members of the EarthWatch Institute, conducted at the site of Arbeia, South Shields in the summer of 2015. Through this research, personal excavation, and conversations with leading archaeologist Nick Hodgson PhD, I discovered that contrary to popular, academic and previous belief proposed by George Jobey in 1960s and 1970s, the relationship between the Romans and the native civilians in the North Tyneside area was fairly limited to trading goods and wares, and interactions with native prostitutes.

For quite some time, it was believed that the rectilinear enclosed settlements found north of Hadrian's Wall (Appendix A-B) in the Newcastle area were the makings of indigenous Britons under the instruction of Romans under a *pax Romana* (a period of relative peace where

there was minimal expansion of the Roman military). However, due to the rise of developer-funded archaeology, the stance on these rectilinear enclosures has altered. Developer-funded archaeology, written in England as the Planning Policy Guidance 16: Archaeology and Planning (PPG 16), first became popular in the 1990s in Britain as a way to try to prevent the destruction or demolition of important historical structures by architectural developers purchasing the land on which the sites are located. The PPG 16 document stated that archaeological remains are a ‘finite and irreplaceable’ resource, and stressed that before any developer planning could take place on land containing archaeological remains, excavations must be conducted and funded by the developer who purchased the property.¹ In 2010 PPG 16 was replaced with PPS 5: Planning and the Historic Environment, and in 2012 replaced with the National Planning Policy Framework.²

Since the rise in this type of funding, archaeologists have been able to more accurately date sites lacking or poor in artifacts by means of radiocarbon dating. Using this technique has led to the discovery that these sites predate the Roman conquest of the northeast region of Britain, and were definitely not the result of development under Roman rule. Thus I believe that the Romans and the native Britons did not form a homogenized society.

¹ National Archives. 2010. *Planning Policy Statement 5: Planning for the Historic Environment*. Belfast: TSO.

² National Archives.

Chapter I

Historical Background of Forts and Their Operation

Introduction:

“The Roman Empire was created by the valor and discipline of the Roman army”. – Edward Gibbon in *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.³

The Roman occupation of Britain spanned more than three-hundred-and-fifty years, starting in the summer of the year 43 A.D. with the invasion of Kent, led by Aulus Plautius and a force of four legions and additional auxiliaries,⁴ and ended in the year 410 A.D. when Emperor Honorius recalled all Romans to Rome and left the people of Britain to defend and fend for themselves.⁵ However, during that relatively short period of time, Rome left a visible mark on the landscape, economy, and cultural aspects of Britain through the construction of Roman forts, and implementation of Roman methods of warfare and defenses, religion, entertainment, and general ways of life. Because of the Romanization of Britain we are able to see cities such as London, South Shields, Chester, Bath, and Cirencester, founded and named by the Romans, still flourishing today and such ideas and concepts of road-mapping, hot baths, and city organization lasting over fifteen hundred years into modern-day society. The focus of this chapter is on forts in Roman Britain and all of the components that make up Roman occupation in Britain, ranging from the factions of the Roman army, to the setup and mechanisms behind marching camps, permanent forts and fortresses, defenses, internal building structures and their purposes, and finally to the *vicus*, the civilian settlement attached to the fort. After understanding the vast role

³ Bidwell, Paul. 2007. *Roman Forts in Britain*. Gloucestershire: Tempus Publishing. 13.

⁴ Hind, J.G.F. 1989. The Invasion of Britain in A. D. 43 - An Alternative Strategy for Aulus Plautius. *Britannia* 20: 1.

⁵ Thompson, E.A. 1977. Britain, A.D. 406-410. *Britannia* 8: 315.

that Rome played in determining the future of the British Isles, it is easy to attribute much of that success to the importance of forts and their function in cultivating a united Britain, distinct from the lands of the many warring tribes that once made up the island.

Certainly the Roman army had a massive influence on the nature of Roman Britain, and was the most responsible force for those defining features of ‘Romanization’ in the British Isles.⁶ Generally, the Roman army was divided into several separate units such as legions (units of 3,000-6,000 men), centuries (units of about 100 men), and auxiliaries (extra manpower for the legions). These units in the Roman army were extremely proud of their identities and loyalties to their respective commanders, with their identities stemming from a mixture of a unit’s individual history that may stretch back several centuries in some cases.⁷ These identities of the regiments, with its social and military standards and honors gained in battle, supplied a strong psychological and social foundation for its members that solidified their interest and loyalty to their company.⁸ “Where it had been based and for how long, from where its numbers had originally been recruited, and what its duties had been, all helped create a unique combination of military traditions and external influences.”⁹ An example of this would be a unit that had been based at a fort on Hadrian’s Wall for several generations, giving it ample opportunity to interact with the local population, in turn affecting the customs and language of that specific area.¹⁰

⁶ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 2006. *Roman Britain: A New History*. New York: Thames & Hudson Ltd. 101.

⁷ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 101.

⁸ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 101.

⁹ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 101.

¹⁰ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 101.

Forts, Fortresses, and Camps:

In Britain, forts and fortresses are what provide the most obvious structural remains of the Roman presence in the early AD centuries. This is somewhat due to the large scale of remains, especially in the northern portion of the country, but even in the south there are remains of forts, such as those at Pevensey and Portchester, that have endured the test of time.¹¹ In fact, the reasons that the northern Roman forts are in such great condition today is due to the fact that firstly, stone was more readily available and therefore used more frequently, and secondly, the north was far more secluded, which lessened the likelihood of robbing.¹² That being said, military bases used an enormous amount of resources in Britain, ranging from large-scale deforestation for timber, to serious stone quarrying.¹³ For example, one estimate from Caerleon suggests that that fort alone used up to 150ha (380 acres) of woodland when being constructed, and that large figure is entirely separate from what was surely a huge amount of timber used to maintain the fort over the long-term.¹⁴

However, a sizable number of forts were only in working use for a few years, while others were designed, “built, occupied, abandoned, reoccupied and rebuilt before being permanently given up.”¹⁵ This applies predominantly to the forts that were located in the south during the ‘conquest’ phase where the fort sites quickly became towns, for example Cirencester, and where the campaign forts were used for maybe one or two seasons before being torn down.¹⁶ Examples of part-time forts were the marching camps. These camps were overnight bivouacs, or

¹¹ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 113.

¹² de la Bédoyère, Guy. 113.

¹³ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 114.

¹⁴ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 114.

¹⁵ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 114.

¹⁶ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 114.

temporary camps without covers, and they were modeled on the same principles as the Roman permanent forts.¹⁷ “In the second century BC, Polybius provides the earliest detailed account of a marching camp, designed to accommodate two legions and around the same number of auxiliaries. It was square, measuring 2,017 Roman feet (596 m, or 1955 ft) on each side creating an area of about 36 ha (89 acres) in size.”¹⁸ Once the place for the commanding officer’s tent had been determined, the fort was laid out accordingly, based on a grid system with specific areas assigned for each unit and the soldiers within the unit.¹⁹ To mark the parameters of the fort, the men dug trenches, or ditches and created a rampart from the dug soil with a stockade along the top edge.²⁰ “An internal *intervallum*, a space within the camp, created a buffer zone between the fortifications and the internal accommodation.”²¹ The main idea behind this building structure was that once the camp was completed, every soldier knew what his job was and therefore the whole process was one of efficiency and could be performed quickly under extreme duress.²² In the third century AD, Hyginus described a marching camp for an army around forty thousand in size, and even with an army of that size the basic principles of the camp remained the same, though at 33ha (81 acres) it was quite a bit more claustrophobic and congested.²³ At the specific site that Hyginus was discussing, the fortifications included, “a ditch measuring 1.5 m (5 ft) wide by 0.9m (3ft) deep, and a rampart about 1.9m (6ft) high and 2.4(7ft 8 in) wide. The ditches were of two types: the *fossa fastigata*, which was V-shaped, and the *fossa Punica*, which had a steep

¹⁷ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 116.

¹⁸ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 116.

¹⁹ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 116.

²⁰ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 116.

²¹ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 116.

²² de la Bédoyère, Guy. 116.

²³ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 116.

outer slope and gentle inner slope.”²⁴ While the ditches of this specific fort were V-shaped and *fossa Punica* in shape, some ditches at forts had square-cut trenches along the bottom edges, which are believed to be due to the use of shovels, which cleared the area of silt and fallen debris.²⁵ The gateways at forts had something of a different arrangement. “The ditch and rampart could curve in or out from the fort to cover an entrance (*clavicula*), a type mainly first century in date, or there could be a small section built outside the fort entrance (*titulum*), a type used from the first to the early third centuries.”²⁶ Unfortunately, marching camps are next to impossible to date since they were put up and taken down so regularly, but the forts in north Wales most likely belong to the Roman campaigns of the first century AD.²⁷ These forts were likely the results of either the II or XX legions, but there is a large chance that the vexillations, detachments from legions as temporary task forces, from both and maybe even the XIV legions were involved.²⁸

Even where the newer forts were being built in stone, construction and preliminary work necessary to build a well-structured fort was prone to suspension and the work often remained in such a state for long periods of time. This kind of progress has been seen in the archaeology at Birdoswald, and also from an inscription at Netherby, both forts along Hadrian’s Wall.²⁹ This type of construction often means that the archaeology is extremely complicated and difficult to understand. This is because “major structures in the fort had been allowed to decay to the point of being ruinous before being repaired,”³⁰ especially at long-term forts. In fact, the buildings from a fort’s earliest phases are often completely altered over time, or totally demolished,

²⁴ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 116.

²⁵ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 117.

²⁶ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 117.

²⁷ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 117.

²⁸ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 117.

²⁹ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 115.

³⁰ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 115.

resulting in a fort that looks almost nothing like what it once was.³¹ During these refurbishments, sections of one part of the fort may have been recycled and used elsewhere in the updated fort. For example, at Birdoswald a portion of stone screen from what was most likely one of the headquarters' building was found in one of the granaries and functioned as a threshold.³²

In Latin, there are several interchangeable words for fort: *castra*, *hiberna*, and *castellum* all appear in the Vindolanda writing tablets, however, most of the place names by which the forts were known locally were Celtic in origin.³³ For example, of the seventeen Hadrian's Wall forts, including the fort at South Shields, there is only one that has a Latin name, *Pons Aelius*, or *Aelii* in Newcastle. This fort actually linked Hadrian's family name to the bridge (*pons*) that marked the original eastern terminus of the wall, which the fort overlooked.³⁴ In the first and second centuries AD the legions built all sorts of fortifications. In addition to Hadrian's Wall, the Antonine Wall and their own forts and fortresses, but they also constructed auxiliary forts, which many archaeological finds, such as name-stamps, show.³⁵ The earliest signs of auxiliaries being engaged in construction is shown in one of the Vindolanda writing tablets from 95-105 AD,

“Which lists 18 builders sent to the baths and mentions plasterers and activities connected with kilns, clay, lead, and rubble. A letter of the same general period concerns the movement by wagon of large quantities of stone. In the third century AD, to which most building inscriptions from forts belong, auxiliaries were usually responsible for repairs and new buildings in their own forts.”³⁶

In addition to the plethora of marching camps spread throughout the country, there were also many permanent camps all over Britain. It wasn't until the creation of the standing army by

³¹ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 115.

³² de la Bédoyère, Guy. 115.

³³ 2 Bidwell, Paul. 21-22.

³⁴ 2 Bidwell, Paul. 21-22.

³⁵ 2 Bidwell, Paul. 22-23.

³⁶ 2 Bidwell, Paul. 23.

Augustus, when “units came to be based in one place for several years at a time, that camps became permanent, albeit still being constructed of turf and wood where the terrain allowed it.”³⁷

These permanent forts were composed of consolidated marching camps, with the buildings, troops, and roads distributed in similar positions that they would have had in the marching camps, however, no two forts or fortresses were arranged in completely the same fashion.³⁸ In the very beginning, the forts and fortresses in Britain had the same layout as that of the camps described by Polybius and Ps.- Hyginus, but with local variations depending on the land.³⁹ These types of forts were most often located on hills and the outlines of the fort followed the fluid contours of the land as opposed to being delineated by a rigid structure.⁴⁰ “Before the mid-first century, forts were often polygonal or irregular rectangles. The ‘playing-card’ shape then became normal and lasted until the mid-third century.”⁴¹ These types of forts had systematic gridding systems for the roadways, which divided the fort into rectangular and square parcels that were held within parallel ramparts with curved corners and at least one gate in each of the four sides.⁴² In addition, these forts often had annexes, “a kind of fortified appendix to the main plan that could be used for a variety of ad-hoc purposes.”⁴³ Much like the marching camps, Roman permanent forts embodied a specific combination of factors ranging from location, available local materials, the intended garrison, and the “preferences of individual fort surveyors and architects.”⁴⁴ An example of them using the land and materials around them would be the fort at Hod Hill in Dorset, where they built the fort into the corner of an older Iron Age hill fort

³⁷ Sabin, Philip. 67.

³⁸ la Bédoyère, Guy. 117.

³⁹ Sabin, Philip. 67.

⁴⁰ Sabin, Philip. 67.

⁴¹ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 117.

⁴² de la Bédoyère, Guy. 117.

⁴³ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 117.

⁴⁴ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 118.

and used some of the old ramparts to bolster their defense.⁴⁵ When these types of permanent forts constructed in stone were built along the northern Roman frontier, there were very few major deviations from the standard plan; however, as previously mentioned, no two forts were identical. Due to the fact that most if not all forts contained the same basic components, it is usually possible for archaeologists to determine and predict the main features of the forts and their basic plans.⁴⁶ That being said, there are always outliers, and an example of this buck in the trend is the Roman fort Arbeia, at South Shields. Arbeia, in its third-century façade, has a typical fort outline, but it was pushed back and extended with much of its interior replaced or moved to accommodate the outstanding number of granaries at that site.⁴⁷ “South Shields is a visible reminder that forts rarely (if ever) remained in the form in which they were built. Forts that remained occupied were almost invariably modified in some way, with structures being rebuilt or falling out of use, and ramparts extended or reduced.”⁴⁸

For these types of permanent forts, there was a massive labor force, but little technical skill required to construct such a building, and the standards of construction were often very poor.⁴⁹ This was often due to the fact that the forts were built on sites that had not been properly prepared for such a huge structure, and the end result would be sinking walls, missing or poorly constructed foundations, the use of below-par materials and half finished stonework around gateposts.⁵⁰

A great example of a fort with its plan mostly intact is that of Wallsend (*Segedunum*) at the eastern end of Hadrian’s Wall. Wallsend was constructed in the middle of the 120s AD for a

⁴⁵ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 118.

⁴⁶ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 118.

⁴⁷ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 118.

⁴⁸ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 118.

⁴⁹ 2 Bidwell, Paul. 24.

⁵⁰ 2 Bidwell, Paul. 24.

cohors quingenaria equitata, a unit of four-hundred-and-eighty foot soldiers with an additional one-hundred-and-twenty cavalry, which was the most common type of auxiliary unit.⁵¹ This fort is the most heavily excavated second-century Roman fort in Britain, and the remaining plan is that of the later years of the second century; it was assembled out of timber buildings that were replaced by stone over time, which preserved the original plan from Hadrian's time but with a few minor alterations.⁵² The fort was built as part of the larger construction of Hadrian's Wall, which includes fifteen other forts on the line of the wall, and new hinterland and outpost forts.⁵³ Like many of the other Roman forts at this time, Wallsend was arranged in a 'playing card' shape, with an area of 1.7ha or 4.1 acres, and a gate in each of its four sides.⁵⁴ On the west side wall, "the smaller, fifth gate is a unique feature of forts which straddle Hadrian's Wall, providing additional access at the rear of the Wall; at such forts there are normally two smaller gates opposite each other, but at Wallsend the Wall changes direction to run down to the River Tyne (Appendix C) which meant that a smaller east gate was omitted."⁵⁵ In terms of the defenses of Wallsend, the fort had a stonewall most likely 4-4.5 m in height, which also had an earthen bank bolstering it, with several ditches beyond.⁵⁶ Towers were located at each of the four corners of the fort, as well as at specific intervals along the walls, and a parapet with merlons and embrasures (battlements) in place to protect the walkway.⁵⁷ To reach the walkway, soldiers

⁵¹ 2 Bidwell, Paul. 19.

⁵² 2 Bidwell, Paul. 19.

⁵³ 2 Bidwell, Paul. 19.

⁵⁴ 2 Bidwell, Paul. 19.

⁵⁵ 2 Bidwell, Paul. 19.

⁵⁶ 2 Bidwell, Paul. 19.

⁵⁷ 2 Bidwell, Paul. 19.

would enter doors on the ground floor of the fort at the towers or gates and ascend up to the upper level to serve as lookouts.⁵⁸

In the first and second centuries, defenses used in Roman forts in Britain began as earthen/clay ramparts with timber structures for support, especially in the southern part of the country where the only alternative would have resulted in the laborious carting and construction of flint and mortar structures.⁵⁹ Due to the use of earth and turf, the forts' defenses often decayed and disintegrated over shorter periods of time because of the weather.⁶⁰ However, on some occasions a rubble platform was used which aided in keeping the structure from deteriorating so quickly. An example of this type of structure is seen at the Antonine Wall, a turf rampart "wall" built by the Romans across the central belt of Scotland in AD 142, where its rampart was made entirely out of turf however, "rubble and cobbling were used as foundations throughout its length."⁶¹ In other areas of the country stone was only used where the earth conditions warranted it, for example if the land was marshy or unstable.⁶² In addition to this type of structure, the soldiers also constructed a timber walkway and palisade which served as a defensible 'fighting platform' that could be reached via a set of stairs called the *ascensi*, which were made out of stone or timber or conversely would have been cut into the earth.⁶³ The Romans also constructed watchtowers at all of the four corners along the breastworks and walkways.⁶⁴ As one would assume, it was fairly difficult to construct an entire rampart out of earth because of its

⁵⁸ 2 Bidwell, Paul. 19.

⁵⁹ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 120.

⁶⁰ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 120.

⁶¹ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 120.

⁶² de la Bédoyère, Guy. 120.

⁶³ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 120.

⁶⁴ Sabin, Philip. 67.

shifting quality and its inherent ability to slump over time.⁶⁵ An example of this type of problem is seen at the reconstructed ramparts at Lunt.⁶⁶ To combat this tricky issue, the Romans began to build a timber frame into the earth to bolster and contain the earth packed around it.⁶⁷ The frequency of use of this technique varies from fort to fort, with some of their ramparts using little or no framing and instead used “raked slopes with turf-facing to help reduce collapse.”⁶⁸ The archaeological evidence in Britain suggests that the preferred method of building these ramparts was the raked turf/clay with minimal timber-framing approach.⁶⁹ The use of stone ramparts did indeed cut down on the amount of time and effort spent repairing and rebuilding the earthen ramparts, but they also required huge numbers of men to not only transport the amount of stone needed, but also to construct the ramparts.⁷⁰ When stone ramparts were put into use at forts to replace the older earthen ramparts, they cut back into the earth and built a ‘stone revetment wall’ in its place.⁷¹ With these deeper foundations and the greater weight of the stonewall, the external ditches had to be built further away to prevent any sinking.⁷² At newly built forts, the soldiers would have constructed the stone ramparts first before placing an earthen rampart behind the stone.⁷³

“No Roman fort in Britain has even been entirely cleared, but excavation, aerial photography and geophysical surveys have recovered fairly complete plans. Since the Roman fort was an Empire-wide phenomenon, there is plenty of supporting information from elsewhere,

⁶⁵ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 120.

⁶⁶ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 120.

⁶⁷ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 120.

⁶⁸ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 120.

⁶⁹ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 120.

⁷⁰ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 121.

⁷¹ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 121.

⁷² de la Bédoyère, Guy. 121.

⁷³ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 121.

especially along the Rhine frontier. None of the structures survives to any significant height, so roofing details remain largely unknown.”⁷⁴ Unfortunately, there are no surviving Roman forts in Britain that still retain their full height from when they were in use to fully confirm what they looked like. However, at the fort at Wörth in Germany there are collapsed sections that show the height of the rampart walkway to range from 4.2 to 4.8 m (13ft 8in to 15ft 8in), and that above that was a parapet with merlons (cutouts that resemble crenellations in a medieval castle).⁷⁵ In addition, Wörth’s fort used dressed stone on the outward-facing wall, and was painted with plaster and red lines to give the illusion of impressive stonework.⁷⁶ Something similar was done at interval sections of Hadrian’s Wall, and the effect of the dressed stone would have been much more imposing and impressive to opposing forces, however it made it much easier to spot the damaged portions of the wall.⁷⁷ Even with these new stone ramparts, much of the fort was still constructed out of wood. “Timber gateways and interval towers built into the ramparts survive almost always only as postholes...even in stone ramparts, interval towers may have had stone foundations but timber superstructures [and] until the middle of the third century, towers remained flush with the wall.”⁷⁸ The weakest points of any Roman fort in Britain was it’s gates, and therefore these points were what required the most defense.⁷⁹ Most typical Roman forts had four gates, one on each of the four sides, known as the *portae principales*, but on larger, more permanent forts, there could be anywhere up to six.⁸⁰ “Since the number of postholes varies from gate to gate, several different designs clearly existed, based normally on four or six postholes,

⁷⁴ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 123.

⁷⁵ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 121.

⁷⁶ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 121.

⁷⁷ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 121.

⁷⁸ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 121.

⁷⁹ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 122.

⁸⁰ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 122.

and if the gate was single or double. More complicated gates projected inwards and had towers that could be L-shaped.”⁸¹ When the fort constructed stone gates, they were either single- or double-portalled, with each passageway requiring arches, and the stones in the doorjambs needed to be drilled to house the pivots and locking mechanisms.⁸²

Excavation throughout Britain has given archaeologists and historians the best evidence of Roman fort buildings and a more complete understanding of how these forts changed over time.⁸³ Most of the fort buildings during the Roman occupation of Britain housed troops in identical barrack blocks, called *centuriae*.⁸⁴ These uniform rectangular quarters commonly held ten pairs of rooms in a row and had a larger suite attached on one end.⁸⁵ Although generally the barracks were arranged in a side-by-side pattern in the *praetenura* and *retentura*, the local conditions of the land and the specific fort plan could alter the orientation of the barracks and the number of rooms they held.⁸⁶

“The typical T-shaped plan of the interior is formed by the street (*via principalis*) running between the gates (*portae principales*) in the long side of the fort and the other main street (*via praetoria*) running from the front gate of the fort (*porta praetoria*). At the junction of these streets stands the headquarters building (*principia*). Behind the headquarters building a street (*via decumana*) runs to the rear gate (*porta decumana*). The interior of the fort was effectively divided into three parts: the front and rear were the *praetenura* and *retentura*, while the central part was the *latera praetorii*. These are the terms employed by early Roman writers to describe the layout of temporary camps and it has been convenient to assume that they were all applied to permanent forts a century or so later. Except in some rare circumstances, these features occur in all forts built in Britain until the early third century, whether they are fortresses of c.20ha with

⁸¹ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 122.

⁸² de la Bédoyère, Guy. 122.

⁸³ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 124.

⁸⁴ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 124.

⁸⁵ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 124.

⁸⁶ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 124.

accommodation for some 5500 legionaries or forts less than a tenth of that size built to house 480 lower-grade auxiliaries.”⁸⁷

There is little information about what facilities were made available to the Roman soldiers, but from postholes and hearths archaeologists can determine where bunks, tables, and fires were positioned.⁸⁸ In the officers’ quarters, archaeologists have determined where latrines and drainage facilities were located, suggesting that those of higher rank had far superior amenities.⁸⁹ In the center of the fort was the *latera praetorii*, which housed all of the administrative buildings, such as the main headquarters building, the *principia*, and other important military and administrative services.⁹⁰ The *principia* originally denoted an “open space in a camp where the standards of the army were kept and which was bordered by the tents of the commander and his staff.”⁹¹ Unlike the barracks’, the size of the *principia* was often by the prestige of the fort and the military unit that occupied it.⁹² The *principium* was composed of a cross-hall, which opened up into a courtyard that had portico on three sides,⁹³ and stood at the junction of the two main streets of the fort, the *viae praetorian* and *principalis*, which was where the main entrance was located.⁹⁴

⁸⁷ 2 Bidwell, Paul. 19.

⁸⁸ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 124.

⁸⁹ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 124.

⁹⁰ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 124.

⁹¹ 2 Bidwell, Paul. 72.

⁹² de la Bédoyère, Guy. 125.

⁹³ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 125.

⁹⁴ 2 Bidwell, Paul. 72.

Non – Military Settlements and Buildings:

The easiest features detected at Roman forts are the remains of the granaries used to feed the troops.⁹⁵ This is due to the massive walls, raised floors and considerably large buttresses, which were used to endure the effects of the grain settling over time.⁹⁶ These structures were normally erected in pairs so that they could support one another, and were often the most impressive buildings at a Roman fort.⁹⁷ It was common for most forts in Britain to contain only two granaries, but at Arbeia at South Shields, a 3rd Century fort on the River Tyne, about 70 miles north of York,⁹⁸ “their numbers were increased at the expense of more conventional fort buildings, presumably to convert the fort into a fortified stores compound, to service both the frontier zone and the Severan campaigns into Scotland. The fort was enlarged from 1.5 ha (3.7 acres) to just over 2 ha (4.9 acres), so that 14 granaries could be built in the northern part by c. 205-8. Additions over the next 20 years brought the total to 24.”⁹⁹ This vast expansion of the granaries at South Shields created a grain stock of over 2,500 tons, which was enough to feed an army of 50,000 men for up to two months.¹⁰⁰ From this location, grain could be transported up and down the River Tyne, and along Hadrian’s Wall to other forts along its breadth.¹⁰¹ Additionally, due to the prime location near the ocean, grain could be shipped up the eastern coast to feed and supply the Roman army marching into Scotland.¹⁰² In addition to the granaries and administrative buildings, Roman forts in Britain also held hospitals, shrines, and military

⁹⁵ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 126.

⁹⁶ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 126.

⁹⁷ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 126.

⁹⁸ Moorhead, Sam, and David Stuttard. 2012. *The Romans Who Shaped Britain*. London: Thames & Hudson Ltd. 162.

⁹⁹ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 162.

¹⁰⁰ Moorhead, Sam. 162.

¹⁰¹ Moorhead, Sam. 162.

¹⁰² Moorhead, Sam. 162.

amphitheaters. For example, the legionary fortresses in both Chester and Caerleon both had amphitheaters, which were built just outside the forts' ramparts.¹⁰³ By the Flavian period, AD 69-96, the primary timber amphitheater at London was replaced in stone.¹⁰⁴ These structures were predominantly used for “for military displays and ceremonies, many of which were religious in nature, and which commemorated great historical and mythical conflicts. However, the dedication to Nemesis (Fate) in one of the amphitheater arena shrines at Chester by a centurion shows that gladiatorial bouts were probably staged there too.”¹⁰⁵

When Roman forts remained established for certain lengths of time, they often attracted civilians who set up permanent settlements alongside the forts, called *vici*, and many modern-day towns and cities in Britain, such as Cirencester, originated from *vici*.¹⁰⁶ In the south of Britain, when the army moved on up to the north and abandoned their forts, the economic and social conditions were retained by the *vici* and the settlement continued to thrive.¹⁰⁷ Permanent forts in the north often had *vici* develop close by to the fort, and these civilian settlements covered vast areas, often ones bigger than the fort itself. “These were characteristically straggling settlements that included houses, shops, industrial buildings, shrines, and cemeteries. Like everywhere else in the military zone, the chance of finding useful inscriptions is relatively high.”¹⁰⁸ An interesting phenomenon is that of how long the *vici* lasted in the southern portion of Britain versus the northern sections. In the south, as previously mentioned, many of the *vici* superseded their fort counterparts, however in the north most of the *vicus* settlements seemed to have fallen

¹⁰³ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 127.

¹⁰⁴ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 127.

¹⁰⁵ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 127.

¹⁰⁶ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 127.

¹⁰⁷ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 127.

¹⁰⁸ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 127.

out of fashion before the forts were abandoned.¹⁰⁹ Suggestions of waning economic security or army protection have surfaced to serve as explanations for the decline of northern *vici*, as well as the idea that these civilian settlements moved within the fort's walls for better protection.¹¹⁰ The primary purpose of the *vici* in terms of Roman forts was to serve the economic and social needs of the fort it was associated with, and provide necessary goods, services, and accommodation for the 'unofficial wives and children' of the soldiers.¹¹¹ Local traders as well as other individuals who were interested in the ready-made market of the Roman army supplied the majority of the goods regularly needed by the soldiers.¹¹² Because the *vici* was predominantly supported by the patronage of the Roman army, the troops at the forts held a considerable amount of power. "Soldiers had some ill-defined rights to demand services from local populations when passing through or billeting in an area, and these were clearly of immense practical value. Such powers, together with the soldiers' ability to wield violence, were open to abuse, and there can be little doubt that soldiers were often corrupt."¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 128.

¹¹⁰ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 128.

¹¹¹ Todd, Malcolm, eds. 2004. *A Companion to Roman Britain*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. 149.

¹¹² Sabin, Philip. 70.

¹¹³ Sabin, Philip. 193.

Conclusions:

Throughout the three-hundred-and-fifty odd years that Rome occupied and patrolled Britain, the impact that forts and fortresses had on the development of Britain, as it is known today were huge. Not only did the fashion in which the Romans built their forts play a role in later civilizations' fort and castle building in Britain, but also creation of modern-day cities and towns, military fighting and defensive strategies. The whole idea of the Romanization of Britain was singlehandedly developed by the Roman army since they were the individuals manning all of the forts and thereby effecting the changes in Britain and performing all of the necessary duties to truly integrate Britain with the rest of the Roman Empire. Without the Roman army, and their *vici*, civilian settlements attached to military forts, Britain would most likely have remained a tribal nation until some other paramount power came to the island and transformed the landscape, culture, and civilization just as the Romans had done.

Chapter II

Background of Roman Fort at Arbeia, South Shields

Description of the Local Area:

The Roman Fort at Arbeia is situated under and within the modern-day coastal town of South Shields, located right at the mouth of the River Tyne, roughly 5 miles from the city of Newcastle in the northeast of England. It is no wonder that the Roman army decided to establish a fort at this location, seeing as it is not only situated on top of a flat-surfaced hill on the northeast coast, which had an excellent vantage point of the River and defended an exceptional anchorage, but it is also rather close to the easternmost fort along Hadrian's Wall – Segedunum. The South Shields fort itself became part of Emperor Hadrian's frontier defense system, started in 122 AD (CE). It is situated roughly four miles west of Hadrian's Wall, which runs 80 Roman miles (74 miles) across the island of Britain.¹¹⁴ The first of several rebuilds of the Roman Fort at Arbeia is thought to have been originally constructed in the late 150s or early 160s AD on top of an older Iron Age Roundhouse Settlement, though several reconstructions occurred over the following 300 or so years.¹¹⁵ Due to the well-watered and 'gently rolling' topography of the middle Tyne valley this location would have been extremely attractive to early settlers.¹¹⁶ Traces of prehistoric, Iron Age and earlier Roman materials hint at the significance of the river crossing that unites the surrounding areas of south Tyneside, but it is only from the time of Hadrian that a well-developed idea of the importance of the riverbanks becomes clear.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ EarthWatch Institute: *Excavating the Roman Empire in Britain*. Excavation in South Shields, UK. June 15-27 2015. 4.

¹¹⁵ 2 Bidwell, Paul. 48.

¹¹⁶ Ashbee, Jeremy, and Julian Luxford. 2013. *Newcastle and Northumberland: Roman and Medieval Architecture and Art*. Leeds: Maney Publishing. 2.

¹¹⁷ Ashbee, Jeremy. 1.

Brief Fort History:

Around 208 AD, Arbeia was substantially redesigned to accommodate and incorporate a vast number of granaries to support the troops.¹¹⁸ The fort itself was enlarged from 1.5 ha (3.7 acres) to just over 2 ha (4.9 acres) so that 14 granaries could be built into the northern section of the fort. Additions over the next 20 or so years brought the total to 24.¹¹⁹ These granaries had a combined capacity of over 2,500 tons: enough to feed 50,000 men for up to 2 months.¹²⁰ From South Shields, the grain could be transported on barges up the River Tyne and from there to forts along Hadrian's Wall.¹²¹ In addition, and just as importantly, the cargo was loaded onto ships and ferried up to coast to support the Roman army as it forged its way into Scotland for the Severan campaigns.¹²² The remains of the plethora of granaries are the easiest structures to detect in stone forts, like Arbeia, from their massive walls, raised floors, and substantial buttresses used to withstand the effects of the weighty grain settling.¹²³ At any other ordinary fort, two granaries normally sufficed,¹²⁴ which shows that such a volume of grain needed points to the vast size of the Roman army.¹²⁵

When the Romans built permanent forts in stone along the northern frontier there were few major variants. More often than not it is possible to predict the main features of a fort once its basic dimensions have been established.¹²⁶ However, forts could still break the traditional mold; South Shields being one of them. In its 3rd century façade, retaining the stereotypical

¹¹⁸ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 63.

¹¹⁹ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 126.

¹²⁰ Moorhead, Sam. 162.

¹²¹ Moorhead, Sam. 162.

¹²² Moorhead, Sam. 162.

¹²³ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 126.

¹²⁴ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 126.

¹²⁵ Moorhead, Sam. 162.

¹²⁶ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 118.

playing card outline, but was extended and had many internal buildings removed, replaced, or relocated to accommodate all of the granaries added.¹²⁷ Arbeia is a prime example of Roman forts rarely remaining in the form in which they were originally built, especially those that remained occupied for long periods.¹²⁸

More recent excavations at Arbeia have shown that in the late 3rd or early 4th century (from about 274 onwards)¹²⁹ there was a complete overhaul of at least two-thirds of the interior of the fort to provide a much larger living accommodation.¹³⁰ The northern frontier has shown that even newer military installations could have Latin or Celtic names given to them, although Arbeia has challenged easy explanation. One likely suggestion, and one that is believed by Paul Bidwell,¹³¹ is that it preserves a reference to the Tigris bargemen or boatmen, listed as the garrison *Notita Dignitatum*, which alludes to an Arab population.¹³² However, other suggestions reference *Horrea Classis*, meaning Fleet Granary, which may also be a possible name for South Shields due to the sheer amount of granaries located there.¹³³ Its 3rd century garrison was the fifth Cohort of Gauls, and the reorganization of the fort was connected with the arrival of a new unit following a huge fire, which had destroyed the barracks and perhaps surrounding buildings.¹³⁴

Since the 19th century, chance finds of Roman artifacts in the vicinity of the fort have suggested a presence of a military *vicus*, a civilian settlement, and this has been confirmed by

¹²⁷ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 118.

¹²⁸ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 118.

¹²⁹ Todd, Malcolm. 395.

¹³⁰ 2 Bidwell, Paul. 122.

¹³¹ 2 Bidwell, Paul. 122.

¹³² de la Bédoyère, Guy. 224.

¹³³ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 224.

¹³⁴ 2 Bidwell, Paul. 122.

thorough modern excavation.¹³⁵ Roman activity in this area spanned a long date range, falling into four broad categories: activities earlier than the mid-Antonine stone fort, including a possible timber granary, which was abandoned unfinished; desertion of the site except for the use of the East-West road; and the construction of *vicus* buildings in c.210-30 and their abandonment in c.260-70.¹³⁶

At South Shields a large courtyard house, built in c. 300 AD for the commanding officer was excavated between 1977 and 1997.¹³⁷ This courtyard house was well-appointed and Mediterranean in style, likely to remind the commanding officer of home while away in Britain.¹³⁸ Although the area was heavily damaged and looted by both medieval stone robbers and Victorian antiquarian excavators, what remains for modern scholars still presents the clearest idea of the arrangement of an officer's house in Britain.¹³⁹ About the same time as the installation of the commander's house was the conversion of some of the granaries into barracks and the introduction of the headquarters building to the middle of the fort.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁵ Snape, M. E., P.T. Bidwell and G. Stobbs. 2010. Excavations in the Military *Vicus* Southwest of the Roman Fort at South Shields in 1973, 1988, and 2002. *The Arbeia Journal*, 9:43-132. 43.

¹³⁶ 1 Snape, M. E. 43.

¹³⁷ Bidwell, Paul. 57.

¹³⁸ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 129.

¹³⁹ Bidwell, Paul. 57.

¹⁴⁰ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 129.

Conclusions:

With the perfect vantage point out onto the River Tyne, the close proximity to the last fort along Hadrian's Wall, *Segedunum*, and the vast number of granaries to support extensive exploration into the highlands of Scotland, it is not surprising that the Roman fort at Arbeia was occupied and maintained for as long as it was. Not only does it give archaeologists and historians valuable information into fort operations there, but it also provides some of the best remains of a commander's living quarters and *vicus* sites in northern Britain. In addition, its presence on top of an Iron Age Britannic settlement is what initially fueled George Jobey's idea of inter-Roman and native Briton interaction and homogenization at this location in the north of Britain. Without this site, it is quite possible that thoughts of a Romano-British relationship in the Northumberland coastal plain could have taken an entirely different turn and the history of the land completely changed.

Chapter III

Historical Background on Roman Interaction with “Natives”

Introduction:

The aim of this chapter is to understand and interpret the idea of the Roman colonization of Europe, and the acceptance, or lack thereof, of Romanization throughout the area. While in certain areas of Britain and elsewhere in Europe the introduction and establishment of Roman culture was accepted and integrated, other areas rejected Roman custom and preferred to live in separate spheres from their Roman colonists. In this chapter, I discuss the idea of colonization and culture contact and its use in archaeology to determine relationships between native and incoming groups, the interactions of native Britons and their Roman colonists, and also the interactions and relationships between other groups throughout Europe and the Romans stationed there. Through examining this research conducted throughout Europe and Britain specifically, and having in depth conversations with leading archaeologists Nick Hodgson and Alex Croom at Arbeia in June 2015, I discovered that the fort at Arbeia in South Shields had a relationship resembling that of trader and buyer and little else.

Introduction to Colonization:

In Stephen Silliman's *Culture Contact or Colonialism? Challenges in the Archaeology of Native North America*, his explanation of culture contact and interrelationships with indigenous people in Native North America can give the research question of this paper some context. He states that *contact* or *culture contact*, is a general term archaeologists use to refer to groups of people, "coming into or staying in contact for days, years, decades, centuries, or even millennia".¹⁴¹ This type of contact can range from harmonious to hostile, vast to minor, long term to short duration, ancient to recent, and may include a variety of components such as exchange, integration, slavery, colonialism, imperialism, and diaspora.¹⁴² Generally speaking colonialism is defined as the, "process by which a city- or nation-state exerts control over people – termed indigenous – and territories outside of its geographical boundaries".¹⁴³ According to Silliman, studies of culture contact and colonialism have taken up a role in archaeology, and modern archaeologists have made advances towards documenting the 'complexities of interaction' between indigenous people and expanding European (in this case Ancient Roman) power.¹⁴⁴ It is evident that throughout the centuries that the Romans maintained power that they did in fact colonize their holdings outside of Rome. All over Europe and Asia the Romans conquered and controlled their assets and instilled a Roman style of living in their constituents.

¹⁴¹ Silliman, Stephen. 58.

¹⁴² Silliman, Stephen. 58.

¹⁴³ Silliman, Stephen. 58.

¹⁴⁴ Silliman, Stephen W. 2005. *Culture Contact or Colonialism? Challenges in the Archaeology of Native North America*. *American Antiquity* 70:55-74. 55.

Interactions in Britain:

“Rome went. The Wall Remained. But Romanized Britain disappeared as if it had never been”. – David Divine in *The North-West Frontier of Rome*.¹⁴⁵

In Brian Campbell’s *The Roman Army*, he describes how an influx of soldiers to a given area attracts people from neighboring areas. This is understandable given that the possibility of revenue and trade appealed to Roman citizens, non-citizens, and locals alike.¹⁴⁶ Those traveling to Roman camps came bearing indispensable services for the troops – traders, craftsmen, innkeepers, and women in exchange for protection and profit.¹⁴⁷ Some of the occupations of the inhabitants in the military *vici* and the components of it were the following: prostitution, metalworking, construction, stone masonry, weaving, spinning, and agriculture.¹⁴⁸ Not only would these travelers come from all over the local area, but they also sometimes set up primitive temporary settlements called *canabae*, which served as their home until all trades were made.¹⁴⁹ Likewise there were traders and buyers, and there was most likely a group of middlemen, exchanging “for the products from the farms which grouped round the forts, the goods required by the local farmers – pottery, nails, salt and similar commodities”.¹⁵⁰ Over time, as the armies began building semi-permanent and permanent forts, the *canabae* also developed into more sophisticated and permanent structures, with layouts designed in keeping with the camp

¹⁴⁵ Divine, David. 1969. *The North-West Frontier of Rome: A Military Study of Hadrian’s Wall*. London: MacDonald & Co. 233.

¹⁴⁶ Campbell, Brian. 1994. *The Roman Army, 31 BC – AD 337: A Sourcebook*. London: Routledge. 141.

¹⁴⁷ Campbell, Brian. 141.

¹⁴⁸ Sommer, C. Sebastian. 1984. *The Military Vici in Roman Britain: Aspects of Their Origins, Their Location and Layout, Administration, Function, and End*. Oxford: B.A.R. 34-5.

¹⁴⁹ Campbell, Brian. 141.

¹⁵⁰ Salway, Peter. 1967. *The Frontier People of Roman Britain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 24.

organization.¹⁵¹ The populations of these settlement camps often included local women who, after having relationships with the soldiers, often bore their children.¹⁵² In fact the presence of such ‘unofficial’ wives and bastard children was occasionally substantiated by inscriptions on altars and tombstones in many forts.¹⁵³ In times where the populations of the *canabae* were vast, expansions of the sites often led to the development of an adjacent settlement related to a preexisting native community.¹⁵⁴ Due to this common custom of natives living within areas of Roman forts, it is appealing to think that if a unit had been based for “generations on Hadrian’s Wall, for example, [it had] over the years abundant opportunity to interact with the local population, affecting customs and language”.¹⁵⁵ The economy, especially up in the northern frontier of Britain by Hadrian’s Wall was divided into four parts: agriculture, livestock, mining, and manufactures.¹⁵⁶ And at Hadrian’s consent, the northern tribes at this time, c. 83-84 AD, were only just recovering from the lack of sustainable items and depressed conditions of the life post Mons Graupius, a battle won by the Romans in 84 AD.¹⁵⁷

Other than these *canabae* there were the fort *vici*, civilian settlements populated by the wives, slaves, and children of the Roman Army. The primary purpose of the *vicus* would have been to serve and maintain the economic and social needs of the local garrison, providing goods and services, much like the *canabae*.¹⁵⁸ When I was speaking with Alex Croom, the keeper of archaeology at several Tyne and Wear Museums, at the site at Arbeia this past June, she explained that not only did the local people have trading goods that appealed to the Romans, but

¹⁵¹ Campbell, Brian. 141.

¹⁵² Campbell, Brian. 141.

¹⁵³ Todd, Malcolm. 149.

¹⁵⁴ Campbell, Brian. 142.

¹⁵⁵ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 101.

¹⁵⁶ Divine, David. 150.

¹⁵⁷ Divine, David. 150.

¹⁵⁸ Todd, Malcolm. 149.

that Romans also had skills they shared with the Britons. An example of this is shown in pottery making. The local Britons lacked the finesse and basic skill of potting so the Romans made items for them and shared their methods of producing ceramics.¹⁵⁹ In addition, where the Romans saw preexisting and successful pottery industries, such as BB1 and BB2 in Dorset and Yorkshire, they refrained from intervening.¹⁶⁰ According to Malcolm Todd in his *Companion to Roman Britain*, it may not be insignificant that, “as outpost forts to Hadrian’s Wall, the last three [forts] were occupied over a longer time-scale than other forts in the area, the latter two into the third century, when marriages of military personnel ceased to be proscribed. The civil settlements would have been imposed on the indigenous pattern along with the forts with which they were associated”.¹⁶¹ Peter Salway in his *The Frontier People of Roman Britain* explains that his study of the process and products of Romanization, of the impact of Rome on Britain and the location of the civilians in the area is primarily concerned with individuals that can be identified as ‘recognizably Roman’.¹⁶² When establishing someone as ‘Roman’, he explains, one should not consider race as a main criteria, but instead focus on their culture, since there is neither reason to think that Britons actively spurned Roman culture for nationalistic causes, nor the possibility of considering the civilian population in the Roman period as a simple mass of subjected Britons. Indeed, it will appear later that it was an amalgam of people drawn from all over the Roman world.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁹ EarthWatch Institute. June 2015.

¹⁶⁰ EarthWatch Institute. June 2015.

¹⁶¹ Todd, Malcolm. 149.

¹⁶² Salway, Peter. 7.

¹⁶³ Salway, Peter. 7.

Not only did *vici* and *canabae* sprout up with the forts gradually, but also after some time the fort “planning committee”, for lack of a better term, built large *vici* into the fort proposal.¹⁶⁴ These big *vici* were renowned as a military phenomenon, and often were styled after Mediterranean or Italian prototypes.¹⁶⁵ Some wonderful examples of these large *vici* are the remains of Housesteads and Maryport. At Housesteads, located along Hadrian’s Wall, the military *vicus* was attached to the fort to distinguish it and was a popular trading locale along the Wall.¹⁶⁶ The Maryport *vicus* was designed much like modern commercial buildings, with small frontages and long narrow stores behind.¹⁶⁷ With this method of organization, the layout became far more systematic and the fort itself more extensive.¹⁶⁸ Another type of earthwork settlement found in the first and second centuries BC called *oppidum* or *oppida* (Appendix Cc) appears.¹⁶⁹

Over the last few decades there has been much discussion as to what the function and nature of *oppida* and their use within the wider settlement pattern was.¹⁷⁰ “The term *oppidum*, from the Latin for ‘town’, was used by Julius Caesar in the *Bellum Gallicum* to describe the late Iron Age sites he saw in Gaul. By labeling these sites as *oppida* he was interpreting them through his own elite Roman mindset”.¹⁷¹ The term *oppida*, singular *oppidum*, is term used to describe large enclosed settlements in the late Iron Age in Northwestern Europe.¹⁷² In contemporary archaeology we can think of the late Iron Age *oppida* as being “primitive” forms of urbanized

¹⁶⁴ EarthWatch Institute. June 2015.

¹⁶⁵ EarthWatch Institute. June 2015.

¹⁶⁶ EarthWatch Institute. June 2015.

¹⁶⁷ EarthWatch Institute. June 2015.

¹⁶⁸ EarthWatch Institute. June 2015.

¹⁶⁹ Rogers, Adam. 2011. *Late Roman Towns in Britain: Rethinking Change and Decline*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 48.

¹⁷⁰ Rogers, Adam. 48.

¹⁷¹ Rogers, Adam. 48.

¹⁷² Pitts, Martin. 2010. Rethinking the Southern British Oppida: Networks, Kingdoms and Material Culture. *European Journal of Archaeology*, 13:32-63. 32.

settlement [Appendix N].¹⁷³ Much like *canabae* and *vici*, *oppida* and hillforts were only a small percentage of the wide variability of settlement types in Iron Age Britain, and were most likely additions to larger complexes dotting the island.¹⁷⁴ *Vici* and *canabae* served as places of civilian use, but annexes did as well, seen through extensive remains interpreted as leftovers of civilian use.¹⁷⁵ Annexes were defense mechanisms tacked onto the side of a main fort and vary in size dependent upon the fort. These features were always secondary additions that are perhaps the precursors of the military *vici* that popped up around many other forts.¹⁷⁶ Sebastian Sommer's conclusion from this is that at least annexes, which took up a whole side of the fort, were not solely intended as protection for buildings such as the bathhouse and *mansiones*, but also for shelter for camp followers and traders.¹⁷⁷

The most recent discussions of the impact of Rome on the British terrain draw a broad distinction between “landscapes of opportunity” and “landscapes of resistance” (and to which Millett adds “landscapes of mutual indifference”).¹⁷⁸ Landscapes of opportunity are areas in which there are plentiful resources for incoming populations, in this instance the Romans, to use and cultivate with not only access to growing crops but also trading opportunities and amicable relations with the locals. In a not so welcoming environment, immigrants often encounter landscapes of resistance with the native population responding negatively to the newcomers with hostility between the indigenous and incoming groups. Finally Millett introduces a new

¹⁷³ Rogers, Adam. 48.

¹⁷⁴ Rogers, Adam. 49.

¹⁷⁵ 2 Sommer, Sebastian. 21.

¹⁷⁶ Campbell, Duncan. 2009. *Roman Auxiliary Forts 27 BC – 378 AD*. Oxford: Osprey Publishing. 45.

¹⁷⁷ 2 Sommer, Sebastian. 22.

¹⁷⁸ Breeze, David. 16.

landscape: a landscape of mutual indifference.¹⁷⁹ As the name might suggest, in this type of landscape the immigrant group is met with neither overwhelming unfriendliness nor amiable relations, but has relatively little interaction or relationship with those who already inhabit the area.

Millett speaks of the fact that often the impression of this time is one of a symbiotic, if not symmetrical, relationship between the Roman military and the indigenous communities of Britain.¹⁸⁰ However, from the physical evidence left for modern archaeologists to study, it seems that not only did the local economy not look as if it had changed, but that in some local farmsteads people took up Roman materials in limited ways, and others rejected the tools outright.¹⁸¹ He explains that what seems evident from excavations is that people's acceptance of Roman material culture happened in stages and over the span of several generations, with the adoption and acceptance of clothing (including brooches and shoes) occurring first while people were still living in traditional British roundhouses, with other adoptions such as cooking and eating styles (as witnessed by the pottery forms and the deposits in the vessels), and finally new architectural forms and furniture being accepted much later on.¹⁸²

Furthermore, throughout the Roman occupation of Britain, the economy seems to have remained firm in the previous pattern.¹⁸³ Stepping further back from the Roman road and more towards the rural countryside lies a plethora of evidence: "in the wetlands and woodlands not much changes before pottery manufacture is developed in the third century; further up our valley

¹⁷⁹ Breeze, David. 17.

¹⁸⁰ Breeze, David. 17.

¹⁸¹ Breeze, David. 17.

¹⁸² Breeze, David. 18.

¹⁸³ Breeze, David. 19.

there is evidence for the abandonment of some farms (and perhaps migration to the roadside), but the continuation of others some of which, however, rejected aspects of material culture”.¹⁸⁴

Bidwell writes that the Roman abandonment of *vici* outside the forts at Hadrian’s Wall up until quite recently was thought to have occurred some 40 odd years before the end of Roman rule in Britain.¹⁸⁵ After this abandonment, local inhabitants moved into the forts, which became, “, in the words of Sir Ian Richmond, ‘little fortified townships, more like a medieval Conway, Beaumaris or Flint than a Roman *castellum*’. The result was a ramshackle settlement full of crudely constructed buildings, at the sight of which ‘a centurion of the old order would have blanched’”.¹⁸⁶ More recently archaeologists have discovered that some of the civilian settlements along Hadrian’s Wall had in fact been abandoned almost 100 years earlier than Richmond originally believed.¹⁸⁷ “The irregular plans of the later Roman barracks, many of them known from old excavations, can now be seen to represent a much more complicated story which begins with a reduction in the number of *contubernia*, the smallest organized unit of soldiers in the Roman Army, and by implication the number of men in a century, which took place in the early third century”.¹⁸⁸

Archaeologist Roger White asked, “what happens to the countryside when you impose a town upon it where none has existed before?”¹⁸⁹ He goes into detail explaining the excavational support for the engagement of sites in Roman economic supply, especially at the site at River Severn.¹⁹⁰ His example at the site at Wroxeter’s hinterland shows how the earlier sites were

¹⁸⁴ Breeze, David. 19.

¹⁸⁵ 2 Bidwell, Paul. 67.

¹⁸⁶ 2 Bidwell, Paul. 67.

¹⁸⁷ 2 Bidwell, Paul. 67.

¹⁸⁸ 2 Bidwell, Paul. 67.

¹⁸⁹ Breeze, David. 7.

¹⁹⁰ Breeze, David. 8.

principally founded in the Iron Age and continued into the Roman period with slight modifications: “the conquest did not break the continuity of landscape use but it may have changed its economic production”.¹⁹¹ Evidence for this change came from mapping the enclosed areas against soil quality.¹⁹² This demonstrated that in some locations away from Wroxeter, settlement enclosures were situated on the most arable land, but in the immediate hinterland of Wroxeter enclosures were sat on the best pastureland.¹⁹³ White and his group interpreted this as a change from an Iron Age pattern of land use that “increased an existing reliance on livestock to an overproduction so as to supply the needs of the Roman army”.¹⁹⁴ Soil and archaeological analysis of the earliest phase of the settlement (roughly AD 90-180) discovered a network of track-ways linking the settlements, suggesting a strong economic relationship between the two settlements and their immediate landscapes.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹¹ Breeze, David. 8.

¹⁹² Breeze, David. 8.

¹⁹³ Breeze, David. 8.

¹⁹⁴ Breeze, David. 8.

¹⁹⁵ Breeze, David. 8.

Interactions in Other Areas of the Roman Empire:

“Across the whole Roman Empire, it is important to know to what extent differences between *vici* are due to differing ideas of individual provincial governors differing provincial policies, or even differing instructions in military handbooks; or are the varieties due rather, perhaps, to socio-economic factors, which naturally vary from province to province and even from micro-region to micro-region?” – Sebastian Sommer in *Romanitas*.¹⁹⁶

Much like in Britain, the Romans established forts, *vici*, and other settlements throughout their domain in other parts of Europe and Asia. The *vici* often grew into major towns, like in Britain, and full civilian development tended to be populated until the troops moved on.¹⁹⁷

“Legionary fortresses in particular frequently spawned conurbations which have since become major cities, such as Bonn, Vienna, Budapest, and Belgrade”.¹⁹⁸ Not only did the Romans trade with the populations of their European cities and towns, but they also shipped items from one locale to another. An example of this would be the brooches made in Northern Britain being traded up the Rhine.¹⁹⁹ In addition, much like in Britain, members of the Roman military in other areas of Roman occupation kept their wives, children and slaves in the *vicus*, and traders from surrounding areas and villages came to sell their wares.²⁰⁰ In Peter Salway’s *The Frontier People of Roman Britain*, he explains that some soldiers are moved from one base in one province of the Roman Empire to another perhaps hundreds if not thousands of miles away and that it is fairly evident that the wives, brought with the soldiers from Rome or other Roman provinces, of “even private soldiers accompanied them on transfer to another province. Other unions with troops were less permanent, and a soldier in Egypt refers to the mother of his child as his *hospita*. There

¹⁹⁶ Sommer, C. Sebastian. 2006. Military *Vici* in Roman Britain. In R. J. A Wilson, *Romanitas: Essays on Roman Archaeology in Honour of Sheppard Frere on the Occasion of his Ninetieth Birthday* (Chapter 5). Oxford: Oxbow Books. 132.

¹⁹⁷ Sabin, Phillip. 70.

¹⁹⁸ Sabin, Phillip. 70.

¹⁹⁹ Divine, David. 150.

²⁰⁰ 2 Sommer, Sebastian. 30.

must, too, have been plenty of prostitutes in the British settlements as near army, though there is not surprisingly no epigraphic record”.²⁰¹

Even though the relationship between the native populace and the Roman military was often amicable, soldiers had the right to demand and force services from the local people when they were marching through or stationed in an area.²⁰² This power, coupled with a soldier’s ability to wield a weapon, was often abused and there is little doubt that many soldiers were corrupt.²⁰³ Other areas in Europe help us understand the British counterpart. For example, Nico Roymans asserts that Roman rural landscapes “did not form a homogeneous whole in terms of either their physical appearance or social organization. Stimulated by the post-colonial agenda, much more attention is now being given to the heterogeneity and regionality of rural landscapes. Another focus in [his] research was the complex interaction between Roman military community and rural populations.”²⁰⁴ In this research, Roymans and his team analyzed developments from a “rural perspective” and used a multidimensional approach to do so. This approach takes into account the social, economic, and cultural aspects of the area and also looks at the changing of structures and groups of individuals over time.²⁰⁵ This process monitored the following issues: a critical reconsideration of rural settlement patterns, the agrarian basis of the rural economy, rural change and the agency role of veterans, settlement differentiation in peripheral regions, material culture and the articulation of interconnectivity and regionality.²⁰⁶ Roymans’ example of this was in the Rhineland, on the frontier zone of the Empire where the troops were based in huge

²⁰¹ Salway, Peter. 22.

²⁰² Sabin, Phillip. 193.

²⁰³ Sabin, Phillip. 193.

²⁰⁴ Breeze, David J, eds. 2013. *The Impact of Rome on the British Countryside: A Conference by the Royal Archaeological Institute, Chester, 11-13 October 2013*. Chester: The Royal Archaeological Institute. 5.

²⁰⁵ Breeze, David. 5-6.

²⁰⁶ Breeze, David. 6.

quantities.²⁰⁷ He states that although German and Dutch archaeologists have normally placed a large emphasis on both Roman military studies and rural research, the theme of the Roman military in a rural world has largely remained an underexplored field of interest.²⁰⁸ Furthermore, Roymans goes on to say that this theme has allowed archaeologists to gain a better understanding of a series of other related topics such as: the mass recruitment of auxiliaries, the supply system of the Roman army, the social transformation of the countryside, and the agency role of veterans in this process.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁷ Breeze, David. 5-6.

²⁰⁸ Breeze, David. 6.

²⁰⁹ Breeze, David. 6.

Conclusions:

While change within the Roman Empire's states certainly took time, roughly two to three generations, it would be interesting to figure out whether and why Roman material culture, such as brooches, pottery, and other items were accepted at different speeds and in different locations.²¹⁰ In fact some areas seem to have not agreed to it at all. So what does this mean in the grand scheme of the Roman Empire, and specifically Roman Britain? Nick Hodgson and Alex Croom are of the understanding that in those areas where there was relatively little change, or no change whatsoever, the Romans and native populace lived in a world that was separate and amenable. Here, trading for goods and profit was most likely the extent of a Romano-British relationship, whereas other areas did create what we could consider to be a more homogenized society with interbreeding, and teaching of trades to one another.

²¹⁰ Breeze, David. 54.

Chapter IV

Archaeological Research on Roman Forts

“Did people consciously reject Roman culture? This goes into [a] list of unanswerable questions”
– David Breeze in *The Impact of Rome on the British Countryside: A Conference by the Royal Archaeological Institute, Chester*²¹¹

Sites on Hadrian’s Wall:

If looking at a map of the United Kingdom, Hadrian’s Wall is positioned in the north of England, running roughly east to west from the modern cities of Newcastle-Upon-Tyne in the east to Carlisle in the west.²¹² The Wall itself is in fact the most substantial frontier construction surviving from the Roman Empire, and was recognized as a world heritage site in 1987 and noted as a ‘member’ of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site along with several other frontier structures from other European countries.²¹³ The Wall was constructed in the 120s AD under the advisement of Emperor Hadrian, and forts along its length were in continual use until the early 5th century.²¹⁴ The Wall has been the focus of much antiquarian and archaeological attention since the late 16th century.²¹⁵ For as long as archaeologists have been interested in Hadrian’s Wall, they have struggled to identify the impact that it had on the lives of the local native people who lived on and tended to the land in the surrounding area of the Wall.²¹⁶ This lack of understanding is mainly due to the fact that the surviving written sources from the Roman period

²¹¹ Breeze, David. 55.

²¹² Hingley, Richard C. 2010. Hadrian’s Wall: Past Present and Future. *English Heritage: Antiquity* 84(326): 1192-1194. 1192.

²¹³ Hingley, Richard. 1192.

²¹⁴ Hingley, Richard. 1192.

²¹⁵ Hingley, Richard. 1192.

²¹⁶ Hodgson, Nick. 2013. Divide and Conquer: Hadrian’s Wall and the Native Population. *Current Archaeology*, 277, 20-27. 21.

leave very little information about the lifestyle of the indigenous population and their relationship with the stationed Roman military.²¹⁷

Because of this lack of information, researchers turned to Roman and pre-Roman Iron Age settlement sites in the region to find archaeological evidence to answer this question of Romano-British relationship. However, in the past these two types of sites have added relatively little information to the question of the relationship between the conqueror and the conquered. This problem stemmed from the inability to closely date these sites because of the relatively few artifacts that were actually found, and of those few artifacts the only dateable ones are a scattered few Roman objects, which created the “impression that life in these Iron Age farmsteads continued much as it had done before the army arrived, with minimal interest in Mediterranean lifestyle.”²¹⁸ In addition, the problem regarding site detection and mapping, which ‘is as much of an issue for the post-Roman period as the Roman one,’²¹⁹ is very common in these parts. Ashbee and Luxford explain that if the settlements were not defined by ditches, non-degradable building materials, or the occupants left no artifacts behind to be discovered, that the sites of the period being studied are extremely difficult to detect and monitor.²²⁰

Since the early 1960s, these indigenous settlements have been known to exist in substantial amounts directly north of the Wall in the southeast portion of the Northumberland coastal plain, with the predominant form being small rectilinear enclosures containing roundhouses.²²¹ These site structures are indistinguishably linked with a man named George

²¹⁷ 2. Hodgson, Nick. 21.

²¹⁸ 2. Hodgson, Nick. 21.

²¹⁹ Ashbee, Jeremy, and Julian Luxford. 2013. *Newcastle and Northumberland: Roman and Medieval Architecture and Art*. Leeds: Maney Publishing. 5.

²²⁰ Ashbee, Jeremy. 5.

²²¹ 2. Hodgson, Nick. 21.

Jobey, who pioneered the investigation of such settlements in the 1960s and 1970s.²²² It is through his excavation techniques that modern day archaeologists are able to identify this settlement style throughout the northeastern region of Britain.²²³ Furthermore, with the emergence and prevalence of aerial photography, radio carbon dating, and soil analysis in recent years, it has become a little easier to start to piece together the past. In Robert Witcher's *Archaeologies of Landscape: Excavating the Materialities of Hadrian's Wall*, he explains that the analysis of both textual and cultural materials has shown that even the name given to the Wall has cultural significance and is fueled with expectations and allegations about the age, function, and meaning of it.²²⁴ Although the name 'Hadrian's Wall' has become the common consensus, previous names have included: Picts' Wall, Severus' Wall, and the Roman Wall, which is still used locally.²²⁵ In Ashbee's *Newcastle and Northumberland: Roman and Medieval Architecture and Art*, he writes that the Iron Age sites north of Newcastle lack much of a sign of use after Hadrian's establishment of the imperial frontier in 122 AD, but that the area was clearly utilized in farming techniques throughout the period.²²⁶

While Hadrian's Wall did not originally extend all the way to the coast on its eastern side, it was lengthened to prevent enemy usage of the River Tyne, with forts like Wallsend and Arbeia added for extra protection and vantage.²²⁷ In Malcolm Todd's *A Companion to Roman Britain*, he writes that it may not be inconsequential that the last three forts along Hadrian's Wall

²²² 2. Hodgson, Nick. 21.

²²³ 2. Hodgson, Nick. 21.

²²⁴ Witcher, Robert, Divya P. Tolia-Kelly, and Richard Hingley. 2010. Archaeologies of Landscape: Excavating the Materialities of Hadrian's Wall. *Journal of Material Culture* 15(105): 105-128. 108.

²²⁵ Witcher, Robert. 108.

²²⁶ Ashbee, Jeremy. 5.

²²⁷ Wilson, Roger J. A. 1975. *A Guide to the Roman Remains in Britain*. London: Constable and Company Ltd. 273.

were occupied over a far longer time scale than other forts in the same area, and that the latter two were continued on into the 3rd century, when ‘marriages of military personnel ceased to be proscribed.’²²⁸ In addition, he explains that the civil settlements around these forts would most likely have imposed on the ‘indigenous pattern’ along with the forts that they were connected with.²²⁹

These sites have been heavily excavated to interpret their usage and importance to the Roman troops along the Wall during this time. At Wallsend and Arbeia, four 2nd century cavalry barracks have been completely excavated, and represent the first really complete plans of this structure type to have been recovered.²³⁰ Not only are they increasingly important in determining the layout of forts of this type, but they also answer important questions regarding the strength of cavalry troops, and the arrangement in forts with both garrisons of cavalry and foot soldiers.²³¹ At South Shields, a large courtyard house, dated to c. 300 AD was excavated sporadically throughout the years between 1977 and 1997.²³² Although in the past 1500 years or so, much damage has occurred to the site due to medieval stone robbers and Victorian antiquarians, what remains now is still a clear picture of a British arrangement of an officer’s quarters.²³³ At both of these sites large archaeological and historical reconstructions have been added to create a better picture of what the forts could have looked like during this time: a bathhouse at Wallsend and a 3rd century barrack along with part of a late Roman house at Arbeia, South

²²⁸ Todd, Malcolm, eds. 2004. *A Companion to Roman Britain*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. 149.

²²⁹ Todd, Malcolm. 149.

²³⁰ 2. Bidwell, Paul. 17.

²³¹ 2. Bidwell, Paul. 17.

²³² 2. Bidwell, Paul. 57.

²³³ 2. Bidwell, Paul. 57.

Shields.²³⁴ The reconstructed West Gate at South Shields provides a full-scale three-dimensional interpretation of a 2nd Century stone fort gateway in Britain. Although extremely impressive, it is only an interpretation of what the gateway could have looked like, however the South Shields reconstruction accurately portrays the “very slight project of towers at this date, with recessed entrance gates, enabling guards on the tower to look out on any visitors to the fort”.²³⁵ This is important because it shows that the fort at South Shields was well equipped as the lookout post for Hadrian’s Wall, and aided in keeping an eye on the mouth of the River Tyne for incoming trade shipments, soldiers, and enemies.

As Salway explains in *The Oxford Illustrated History of Roman Britain*, at Arbeia, South Shields, one of the best-known British examples of veterans participating in commerce with traders is that of Barates of Palmyra.²³⁶ Barates appears to have been a dealer in military standards and banners, and was in fact commemorated at Corbridge with a relatively modest tombstone.²³⁷ However, it is his wife Regina (Appendix Dd) that poses a more interesting story. Regina had a far more remarkable tombstone at South Shields, with many noteworthy features such as eastern craftsmanship and a bilingual inscription upon its face: Latin and Palmyrene.²³⁸ From her tombstone, archaeologists and historians have learned that prior to their marriage, Regina was a Catuvellaunian slave of Barates, a member of a tribe “of what had once been the proudest nation in Britain”.²³⁹ This marriage is an example of how varied, mobile and unusual

²³⁴ 2. Bidwell, Paul. 18.

²³⁵ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 122.

²³⁶ Salway, Peter. 1993. *The Oxford Illustrated History of Roman Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 346.

²³⁷ 2. Salway, Peter. 346.

²³⁸ 2. Salway, Peter. 346.

²³⁹ 2. Salway, Peter. 346.

Romano-British society could be.²⁴⁰ However, when at Arbeia at South Shields this summer, I asked Nick Hodgson about the significance of this tombstone, and he explained that while it was incredibly interesting and is an indication of the variance of Romano-British society, evidence such as this tombstone is relatively rare in sites along Hadrian's Wall like Arbeia, and this find does not change his interpretation of the lack of a Romano-British relationship whatsoever.

²⁴⁰ 2. Salway, Peter. 346.

Sites in Other Areas of Europe:

“It is important to stress also that equally important for the understanding of British military *vici* is their comparison with continental examples”. – Sebastian Sommer in *Military Vici on Roman Britain*.²⁴¹

Guy de la Bédoyère writes that archaeological excavation has produced the most and best sources of evidence for Roman fort buildings, and evidence as to how fort structures changed over time, and that there is plenty of supporting information elsewhere in Europe, especially along the Rhine frontier, due to the fact that the Roman fort was an Empire-wide phenomenon.²⁴² In addition, it has shown that “predicting fort plans from limited and selective excavation might overlook local peculiarities”.²⁴³ Sebastian Sommer in his essay *Military Vici in Roman Britain* speaks of evidence in southern Germany as an indication of a military *vici* and its occupants being slightly different than other forts of the same size and date.²⁴⁴ He explains that, “questions can be asked (but not answered on present evidence) about the recruitment from and the interaction with the (native) population in the fort’s immediate hinterland, as well as the overall importance of the *vici* in the socio-economic fabric of the micro-region which they served”.²⁴⁵

Ioana Oltean, a researcher from the University of Exeter, explained that Britain and Romania are separated not only by their geographical region, but also by the history of research and methodological approaches that has been afforded to them.²⁴⁶ In the past, Romanian archaeology has received relatively little funding since there has been less public interest in

²⁴¹ 2. Sommer, Sebastian. 131.

²⁴² de la Bédoyère, Guy. 123.

²⁴³ de la Bédoyère, Guy. 123.

²⁴⁴ 1. Sommer, Sebastian. 132.

²⁴⁵ 1. Sommer, Sebastian, 132.

²⁴⁶ Breeze, David. 45.

excavations taking place, whereas in Britain interest and pursuit of archaeology has been comparatively prominent in historical importance. She also states that regardless of these differences there are broad similarities in the chronology and political circumstances behind the Roman conquest of Britain and Romania, which provide a clear picture of the “changing character of Roman power at the peak of the Empire”.²⁴⁷ What she observes is that unlike Romania, Britain has seen the application of some of the most expensive and progressive methodology in data achievement and most advanced theoretical frameworks in their interpretation.²⁴⁸

“Rural settlements in Roman Dacia and Dobrogea include both individual and aggregated examples, displaying both Romanized and indigenous architecture. The peak in villa development in Dacia in the second-early third centuries (predating the major transformation of provincial villas in the late third and fourth centuries) justifies their apparent lack of architectural sophistication in comparison with western-central European provinces and is far from being an indicator of the lesser wealth or social status of their occupants”.²⁴⁹

This is important because it shows that like in Britain, Romanian settlements adapted over time and incorporated some aspects of Romanization into their lives. Furthermore, the presence and location of some of the indigenous villa owners could have been imitating certain building plan parallels in pre-Roman architecture with sporadic evidence for indigenous pottery (including fineware) and for traces of pre-Roman occupation of those sites.²⁵⁰ Oltean argues that the recent advances in archaeological prospection and development-led excavation have completely changed archaeologists’ appreciation for settlement density and distribution across the rural

²⁴⁷ Breeze, David. 45.

²⁴⁸ Breeze, David. 45.

²⁴⁹ Breeze, David. 45.

²⁵⁰ Breeze, David. 45.

landscape.²⁵¹ In this case, the archaeologists involved were operating loosely within a definition of rurality as ‘non-military and non-urban’, and it was necessary to reassess the distribution and character of the military presence and of the urban centers nearby.²⁵² Given the habitual emphasis in Romanian archaeology on ancient chartered towns and following the well-established British framework, the idea of small towns has been successfully utilized in Dacia to label minor local centers, which include specialized settlements of industrial (mining, pottery, etc) or religious interest as well as military *vici*. In addition, the complexity of military *vici* is noticeably urban which serves as an explanation as to why many major towns were initially *vici* (e.g. *Drobeta, Porolissum, Tibiscum*).²⁵³

²⁵¹ Breeze, David. 47.

²⁵² Breeze, David. 47.

²⁵³ Breeze, David. 47.

Chapter V

Excavation at Arbeia, South Shields, June 2015

The Daily Routine and What was Found Week One:

June 14th 2015, my Grandmother drove my brother and me over to South Shields to our Bed & Breakfast, where we would be staying for the next two weeks while working at the Roman Fort at Arbeia. Upon our arrival we were met by Nick Hodgson, principal investigator for the project at Arbeia, and he showed our team of 12 around the worksite and showed us where we would be spending 8 hours each day. There were two separate locations being excavated beyond the original fort wall: the *vicus* (city) site, and another site where the fort tower had collapsed into a mess of cobbles and mortar. Since my brother and I were there for two weeks, while others in our group were only there for one, we offered to work on the tower site first so that the others could work on the more impressive location.

Monday June 15th we broke ground on the tower site (Appendix I-M). Massive quantities of roughly cut and dressed stones lay scattered in a large heap, and it was our job to remove the stones one by one, looking for any engravings or carvings on the dressed sides, and carefully troweling the surrounding soil until we reached the sunken soil level of pre-Roman times. For the first few days, nothing of serious interest was found, none of the cut stones had any markings other than that of the chisel that shaped them, and we found several soda cans and candy wrappers that had been dropped in by passersby over the years. However, about mid-way through the week, we found several pieces of Samian ware (Appendix M), animal bones (pig and cow mostly), charcoal, BB1 and BB2 ware, and we also uncovered the beginnings of a monolith,

which my brother aptly dubbed “Big Bertha”. “Big Bertha” drew some immediate interest due to the size, shape and weight of the stone, and Nick Hodgson believed that if we could just flip it over it might uncover some engravings of import. That job was easier said than done, however. The stone around 5ft long, a foot wide and incredibly heavy, needed multiple people to lift it to a stable area to flip, since it was situated halfway down the muddy incline of the tower site. Unfortunately, when we managed to get the stone to the top of the hill and turned it over, there were no markings or stamps to be seen, and “Big Bertha” was just a big stone used to most likely bolster the lower portion of the tower. For the second portion of the week, my brother Charlie and I continued to root out the stones of the tower site, finding many more bones, shards of pots, and charcoal in the debris from the fallen tower. It is Nick Hodgson’s belief that we uncovered some sort of midden, or trash pit, that soldiers would have used to toss rubbish into over the tower wall while on guard.

Over the weekend, when many of our group were travelling home, Nick asked those of us who were staying if we would like to visit Wallsend (*Segedunum*), Housesteads, and Vindolanda on Hadrian’s Wall to get a better picture of the Roman wall and the importance of the locations along it. Of course we jumped at the opportunity to visit other places along the Wall and eagerly accepted his invitation to guide us through the sites. At Wallsend (Appendix U-V), we not only saw the modern reconstruction of the bathhouse, layout of the fort, and museum exhibitions, but we also got to see the ruins of the bathhouse, which are currently under excavation and not available to the public. At Housesteads (Appendix W-Y), we walked 3 miles along Hadrian’s Wall to grasp the concept of its size and length firsthand. Much of Hadrian’s Wall has yet to be excavated, with many portions still covered in mud, rubble, and grass because there is simply not enough funding to cover the immense project. After our 3-mile hike up and down the hilly Wall,

we drove to Vindolanda, an auxiliary fort located just south of Hadrian's Wall. Vindolanda (Appendix Z-Bb) is one of the largest excavated Roman forts in Britain, and is also home to the Vindolanda tablets, the oldest surviving handwritten tablets in Britain. After wandering through the expansive fort site and grounds, we visited the museum, which not only exhibits the Vindolanda tablets, but also the largest collection of leather Roman sandals, and countless other incredible artifacts. After visiting Wallsend, Housesteads and Vindolanda, my interest in and love of Roman ruins and artifacts grew, and I was ready to tackle the *vicus* excavation site at Arbeia, hoping to find some incredible pieces like those I had seen in the museums of Wallsend and Vindolanda.

Daily Routine and What was Found Week Two:

After a week on the tower site at Arbeia and a weekend touring other Roman sites, it was time to move over to the *vicus* site (Appendix N-T), the reason I came to Arbeia and the location of where I hoped to find an answer to my research question. While there were 12 of us in the team for week one, there were only 5 of us the following week, giving each of us a larger portion of the site to work on and excavate. Immediately, there were more artifacts to be found, we almost doubled our artifacts trays of the entire week at the tower site in just two days at the *vicus* site! Throughout the week we found a plethora of animal bones, potsherds in Samian, BB1 and BB2 styles, an arm off of an amphora, amber beads, a bronze trumpet brooch (Appendix Q-S), and several large chunks of *mortaria*, a grinding bowl for herbs.

In addition to searching for artifacts, we were also trying to reach the lower soil level of pre-Roman occupation to create an even level for the groups to excavate in the following weeks. Once we hit a dark grey silty soil, we knew we had excavated the Roman level in its entirety. Then came time to wash, label, and analyze the artifacts from both weeks, and organize them into trays of the same types. It was also during this time when Nick Hodgson allowed me access to his reference library to consult any of the sources to incorporate into my project. This was incredibly helpful seeing as a lot of the sources that were available to me in his library were not readily accessible online or in libraries back in the US. In addition, I got to sit down with both Nick and Alex Croom to pick their brains with regards to my research question, and to ask them their opinions on the subject. Both Nick and Alex agreed that while the Romans and native

Britons did coexist in the North Tyneside area, it was unlikely that they created a homogenous culture and society.

Chapter VI

Interpretations and Explanations of Romano-British Relationship at Arbeia

“The study of Roman native/civilian settlement archaeology in the north of England, generally, has been dogged by problems of archaeologists’ own making” – Robert Young in *An Archaeological Research Framework for Northumberland National Park: Resource Assessment, Research Agenda and Research Strategy*²⁵⁴

Conclusions:

To fully grasp the modern understanding of the Romano-British relationship at sites along Hadrian’s Wall, including Arbeia at South Shields, we must look at the original thesis that suggested the homogenization of the Romano-British culture. George Jobey was a professor in the Department of Extra-Mural Studies at King’s College, Newcastle University.²⁵⁵ While teaching there, he began a series of site excavations and field surveys, making him one of the most prolific researchers in archaeology.²⁵⁶ In the excavations he conducted along Hadrian’s Wall, he adopted a systematic approach to the landscape by combining survey techniques with small-scale excavations to establish any recurring patterns in the archaeological evidence and put them into a chronological framework.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁴ Young, Robert, Paul Frodsham, Iain Hedley, and Steven Speak. Undated but post 2004. *An Archaeological Research Framework for Northumberland National Park: Resource Assessment, Research Agenda and Research Strategy*. 164.

²⁵⁵ Macinnes, Lesley. 1991. Obituary: George Jobey. *Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 121: 1-3. 1.

²⁵⁶ Macinnes, Lesley. 1.

²⁵⁷ Macinnes, Lesley. 2.

His original and best-known work began in 1956 and was directed toward the native settlement of the Roman period. He propelled this subject forward almost singlehandedly for the next 30 years in Northern Britain and many of his papers remained influential for quite a time, some being referred to even after a portion of his work had been discounted in the 1990s.²⁵⁸ Jobey originally concluded that the rectilinear enclosed settlements that he uncovered along Hadrian's Wall had flourished in the Roman period under a *pax Romana*, a period of relative peace, and that view had been accepted up until the early 2010s.²⁵⁹ When he was first documenting his findings, Jobey believed that these settlements were even founded during the Roman occupation, alluding to a close-knit relationship between the native Britons and their Roman counterparts.²⁶⁰ Even in the 1970s when he was finding clear support for phases of pre-Roman Iron Age activity in the North Tyne valley, his view remained that the rectilinear settlements only attained their final and most sophisticated form under the instruction of Roman rule.²⁶¹ Jobey spearheaded an appreciation of the relationship between the native population and the Roman forces and showed the 'barbarians' to be a more sophisticated peoples than was often believed or admitted in the past.²⁶²

Since Jobey's time in the 1950-1980s, the use of air-photographic survey has become prolific in these types of excavations, and has uncovered many more sites of later Iron Age typology located extremely close to Hadrian's Wall, where Jobey was excavating.²⁶³ These Iron Age sites have been assumed to be contemporary with the Wall: the homes of those who lived in the shadow of it and benefited from the peace it gave, the communication ability it had, and the

²⁵⁸ Macinnes, Lesley. 2.

²⁵⁹ 2 Hodgson, Nick. 22.

²⁶⁰ 2 Hodgson, Nick. 22.

²⁶¹ 2 Hodgson, Nick. 22.

²⁶² Macinnes, Lesley. 2.

²⁶³ 2 Hodgson, Nick. 22.

local markets that the Roman military presence presented.²⁶⁴ Over time, this view merged with another theory that gained some approval in the 1960s and 1970s: that the Wall was not a military obstacle, but instead a method of regulating economic movements of the indigenous British population living on either side of the Wall.²⁶⁵ Even though the use of aerial surveys was still ongoing in the 1980s and 1990s, and new discoveries were being made, little excavation or research took place on the ‘Jobey sites’, and the views of archaeologists on the indigenous people and their relationship with the Romans remained based on the evidence recovered during Jobey’s work.²⁶⁶

However, in the 2010s, the situation and idea of the Romano-British relationship had changed. This adjustment from the prior school of thought was not due to any deliberate program of research, but due to the rise of developer-funded archaeology in the area.²⁶⁷ Since 1990, the British planning policy has allowed developers to fund excavations of sites threatened by building projects on the sites, especially since the Northumberland coastal plain north of Newcastle is rich in open-cast coal mining and the need for energy had risen in recent years.²⁶⁸ The funded archaeology and the pressure of housing development in the area led to new discoveries and excavations of Late Iron Age settlement sites.²⁶⁹ These new discoveries suggest that Hadrian’s Wall was no ordinary backdrop against which rural life carried on similarly as it has before, but a large social dislocation located north of the Wall.²⁷⁰ With this social dislocation came the creation of a supply-network and undeveloped Roman provincial society to the south of

²⁶⁴ 2 Hodgson, Nick. 22.

²⁶⁵ 2 Hodgson, Nick. 22.

²⁶⁶ 2 Hodgson, Nick. 22.

²⁶⁷ 2 Hodgson, Nick. 22.

²⁶⁸ 2 Hodgson, Nick. 22.

²⁶⁹ 2 Hodgson, Nick. 22.

²⁷⁰ 2 Hodgson, Nick. 26.

the Wall.²⁷¹ Thus archaeologists such as Nick Hodgson, David Breeze, and others have come to the different conclusion that Roman rural landscapes did not form a homogenous whole in terms of their appearance or their social organization with the indigenous Britons.²⁷² In this light, the Wall represents a blunt distinction between two different kinds of development, and no homogenization at all between the natives and the incoming Romans.²⁷³

Another supporting idea comes from Jeremy Ashbee in his and Julian Luxford's *Newcastle and Northumberland*. In his writings, he explains that in the military zone, "it seems inconceivable that the majority of the population left their ancestral homes to move to the extra-mural neighborhoods (*vici*) and small towns, and, if they did so in the 2nd century, one might ask where they lived after the *vici* were in decline and abandoned around 250-70 AD (as appears consistently to have occurred)".²⁷⁴ While talking with Nick Hodgson at the South Shields excavation site in June 2015, he explained to me that the *vicus* site attached to the Roman Fort at Arbeia was more likely the settlements of immigrant traders, or family members following their husbands/fathers to Britain than the influx of British natives moving in with the Roman army. In fact, he believes that there was little relationship between the native Britons and the Roman army at Arbeia, much like there was at the other fort sites along Hadrian's Wall. When asking what he meant by that, he gave an analogy of the Iraq war. In this analogy he used the '*vicus*' or civilian town surrounding the 'fort' or army base as being full of other Americans, such as medics, cooks, technicians, etc. rather than native Iraqis living in close proximity and creating a unique culture together. In addition to this analogy, Nick explained that the lack of archaeological evidence to suggest a close connection with the natives was also a hint at the most probable

²⁷¹ 2 Hodgson, Nick. 26.

²⁷² Breeze, David. 5.

²⁷³ 2 Hodgson, Nick. 26.

²⁷⁴ Ashbee, Jeremy. 5

absence of a relationship. Although the Romans did have slaves, both brought with them from Rome and from Britain itself, and they did take part in local prostitution, that was most likely the extent of the Romano-British relationship along Hadrian's Wall and at Arbeia.

Chapter VII

Conclusions

Final Conclusions:

When first beginning the journey of this Capstone project, I thought that the answer to my research question, “did the influence of the Roman Empire cultivate a unique homogenization of Romano-British culture at Arbeia, or did they remain living side-by-side with relatively little interaction with one another other than trading wares?” would be that the Romans did indeed create a melting pot of Romano-British culture, and that there would be far more literary and archaeological evidence to prove that point. After all, in other areas of Britain there are obvious indications of Romano-British homogenization, with examples seen in Bath, London, and several other large modern cities throughout the Isles. However, in the Northern more rural portion of the island, far less archaeology has been conducted and relatively little evidence of this homogenization has been documented or found.

To begin my literary research for my project, I turned to documents on Roman fort practices to learn the basis of how forts were occupied, maintained, and ran in Britain, and ultimately how the fort at Arbeia was managed. Since Arbeia was the site for an overwhelming number of granaries for the time, I naïvely assumed that that could be an indication of not only their use in transporting goods further north into Scotland, but was also a hint at a possible relationship with the native populace surrounding the area. Following that research, I looked into information regarding Roman interaction with native people throughout Europe, and continued by finding other archaeological research on Roman forts and background history on Arbeia itself.

However, trying to find literary and archaeological research on this area, and specifically on Arbeia was extremely difficult, and it wasn't until I got to South Shields in June 2015, where I could actually speak with leading archaeologists, that I could actually start formulating an answer to my thesis. I think that what really helped me to answer my question was not only getting to meet and speak with individuals like Nick Hodgson, Alex Croom, and Paul Bidwell at Arbeia, but it was also the British literary resources that they gave me that I could not get hold of in the United States, which contained relevant information to my query. It was especially *The Impact of Rome on the British Countryside: A Conference by the Royal Archaeological Institute* pamphlet that Nick Hodgson gave me containing his article on Hadrian's Wall that really solidified the answer to my question, and his belief that something similar had occurred at Arbeia. Learning this drove home my conclusion that the *vicus* site at Arbeia was not the remnants of Romano-British homogenization but in fact the living space of Romans accompanying their husbands, fathers, and owners across the Northumberland plain, and that contrary to previous and somewhat popular belief, there was relatively little of a relationship between the Northern indigenous Britons and their Roman counterparts.

Sources Cited and Consulted

- Allason-Jones, Lindsay. 1999. Healthcare in the Roman North. *Britannia* 30:133-146.
- Ashbee, Jeremy, and Julian Luxford. 2013. *Newcastle and Northumberland: Roman and Medieval Architecture and Art*. Leeds: Maney Publishing.
- Bidwell, Paul. 2012. The Roman Fort at Bainbridge, Wensleydale: Excavations by B. R. Hartley on the *Principia* and a Summary Account of Other Excavations and Surveys. *Britannia* 43: 45-113. Bidwell 1.
- Bidwell, Paul. 2007. *Roman Forts in Britain*. Gloucestershire: Tempus Publishing. Bidwell 2.
- Bidwell, Paul, eds. 1999. *Hadrian's Wall 1989-1999: A Summary of Recent Excavations and Research Prepared for the Twelfth Pilgrimage of Hadrian's Wall*. Cumberland: Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society. Bidwell 3.
- Bidwell, P.T. 1995. Excavation Summary: South Shields – Arbeia, South Shields – Brigham and Cowan Yard, South Shields – Morton Walk, Berwick-Upon-Tweed, Corbridge, Hylton Castle, Newcastle – Bridge Hotel, Tynemouth. *The Arbeia Journal*, 4, 61-72. Bidwell 4.
- Brand, C. E. 1968. *Roman Military Law*. Austin: University of Texas.
- Breeze, David J, eds. 2013. *The Impact of Rome on the British Countryside: A Conference by the Royal Archaeological Institute, Chester, 11-13 October 2013*. Chester: The Royal Archaeological Institute.
- Burnham, Barry C., F. Hunter, A. P. Fitzpatrick, S. Worrell, M. W. C. Hassall, and R. S. O. Tomlin. 2006. Roman Britain in 2005. *Britannia* 37: 369-428.
- Campbell, Brian. 1994. *The Roman Army, 31 BC – AD 337: A Sourcebook*. London: Routledge.
- Campbell, Duncan. 2009. *Roman Auxiliary Forts 27 BC – 378 AD*. Oxford: Osprey Publishing.
- Champion, Craige. 2015. *Pax Deorum: E lite Religious Practi
Republic*.
New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Croom, A.T., and M. E. Snape. 1996. Lost Small Finds from South Shields Roman Fort and *vicus*. *The Arbeia Journal*, 5, 19-48.
- Divine, David. 1969. *The North-West Frontier of Rome: A Military Study of Hadrian's Wall*.

- London: MacDonald & Co.
- de la Bédoyère, Guy. 2006. *Roman Britain: A New History*. New York: Thames & Hudson Ltd.
- EarthWatch Institute: *Excavating the Roman Empire in Britain*. Excavation in South Shields, UK. June 14-27 2015.
- EarthWatch Institute: *Excavating the Roman Empire in Britain 2015 Field Report*. Excavation in South Shields, UK. June 14-27 2015.
- Fleming, Andrew and Richard Hingley. 2007. *Prehistoric and Roman Landscapes*. Oxford: Windgather Press.
- Gerrard, James. 2013. *The Ruin of Roman Britain: An Archaeological Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hadrian's WallQuest, partnered with the EarthWatch Institute.
<http://www.hadrianswallquest.co.uk>.
- Hind, J.G.F. 1989. The Invasion of Britain in A.D. 43 – An Alternative Strategy for Aulus Plautius. *Britannia* 20: 1-21.
- Hingley, Richard C. 2010. Hadrian's Wall: Past Present and Future. *English Heritage: Antiquity* 84(326): 1192-1194.
- Hodgson, Nick, Jonathan McKelvey, and Warren Muncaster. 2010. *The Iron Age on the Northumberland Coastal Plain: Excavations in Advance of Development 2002–2010*. Tyne and Wear: TWM Archaeology. Hodgson 1.
- Hodgson, Nick. 2013. Divide and Conquer: Hadrian's Wall and the Native Population. *Current Archaeology*, 277, 20-27. Hodgson 2.
- Keppie, L. J. F., A. P. Fitzpatrick, M. W. C. Hassall, R. S. O. Tomlin, and Barry C. Burnham. 2001. Roman Britain in 2000. *Britannia* 32: 311-385 & 385-400.
- Macinnes, Lesley. 1991. Obituary: George Jobey. *Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 121: 1-3.
- Miket, Roger. 1984. *The Roman Fort at South Shields: Excavation of the Defenses 1977-1981*. South Shields: Tyne and Wear County Council.
- Moorhead, Sam, and David Stuttard. 2012. *The Romans Who Shaped Britain*. London: Thames & Hudson Ltd.
- National Archives. 2010. *Planning Policy Statement 5: Planning for the Historic Environment*. Belfast: TSO.

- Pitts, Martin. 2010. Rethinking the Southern British Oppida: Networks, Kingdoms and Material Culture. *European Journal of Archaeology*, 13:32-63.
- Rogers, Adam. 2011. *Late Roman Towns in Britain: Rethinking Change and Decline*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sabin, Philip, Hans Van Wees, and Michael Whitby, eds. 2007. *The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Warfare, Volume II: Rome From the Late Republic to the Late Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Salway, Peter. 1967. *The Frontier People of Roman Britain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Salway 1.
- Salway, Peter. 1993. *The Oxford Illustrated History of Roman Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Salway 2.
- Sibbald, Robert. 1711. *Portus, coloniae & castella romana, ad Bodotriam et ad Taum; or, Conjectures concerning the Roman ports, colonies, and forts, in the firths, taken from their vestigies and the antiquities, found near them. In three sections, the first, concerning these upon the north coast of Forth, the second, concerning these upon the south coast of Tay, the third, concerning these upon the north coast of Tay*. Edinburgh: Printed at the expense of the author, by A. Symson.
- Silliman, Stephen W. 2005. Culture Contact or Colonialism? Challenges in the Archaeology of Native North America. *American Antiquity* 70:55-74.
- Snape, M. E., P.T. Bidwell and G. Stobbs. 2010. Excavations in the Military Vicus Southwest of the Roman Fort at South Shields in 1973, 1988, and 2002. *The Arbeia Journal*, 9:43-132. Snape 1.
- Snape, M. E., and P. T. Bidwell. 1994. The Vicus of the Roman Fort at Wallsend, Tyne and Wear. *The Arbeia Journal*, 3: 13-32, 49-50. Snape 2.
- Sommer, C. Sebastian. 2006. Military Vici in Roman Britain. In R. J. A Wilson, *Romanitas: Essays on Roman Archaeology in Honour of Sheppard Frere on the Occasion of his Ninetieth Birthday* (Chapter 5). Oxford: Oxbow Books. Sommer 1.
- Sommer, C. Sebastian. 1984. *The Military Vici in Roman Britain: Aspects of Their Origins, Their Location and Layout, Administration, Function, and End*. Oxford: B.A.R. Sommer 2.
- Thompson, E. A. 1977. Britain, A.D. 406-410. *Britannia*, 8: 303-318.
- Todd, Malcolm, eds. 2004. *A Companion to Roman Britain*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Warburton, John. 1753. *Vallum Romanum: or, the History and Antiquities of the Roman Wall*,

Commonly Called the Picts Wall, in Cumberland and Northumberland, Built by Hadrian and Severus, the Roman Emperors, Seventy Miles in Length, to Keep Out the Northern Picts and Scots. London: Printed for J. Millan, at Charing-Cross; J. Robinson, in Ludgate-Street; R. Baldwin, in Pater-Noster-Row; and J. Swan, near Northumberland-House, in the Strand.

Wilson, Roger J. A. 1975. *A Guide to the Roman Remains in Britain.* London: Constable and Company Ltd.

Witcher, Robert, Divya P. Tolia-Kelly, and Richard Hingley. 2010. Archaeologies of Landscape: Excavating the Materialities of Hadrian's Wall. *Journal of Material Culture* 15(105): 105-128.

Young, Robert, Paul Frodsham, Iain Hedley, and Steven Speak. Undated but post 2004. *An Archaeological Research Framework for Northumberland National Park: Resource Assessment, Research Agenda and Research Strategy.*

Appendices

Appendix A

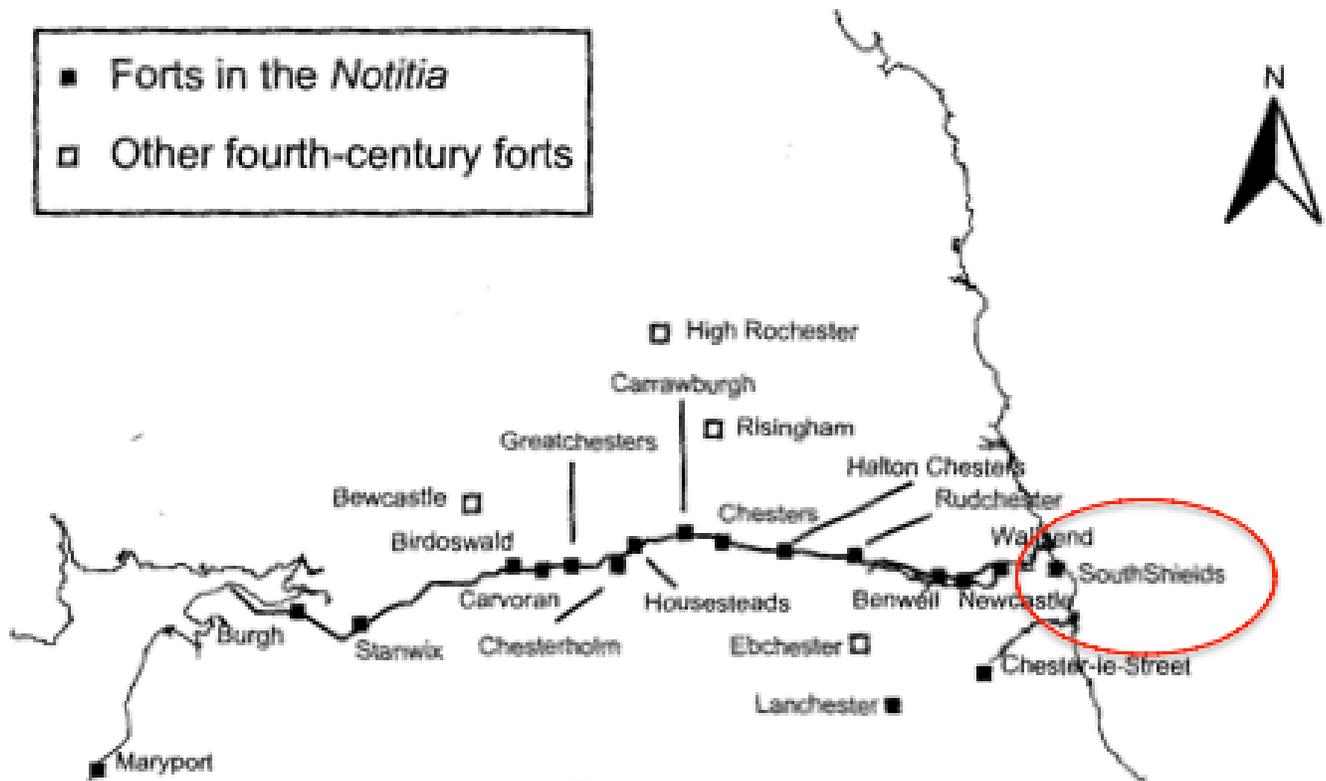
A Map of the United Kingdom with Forts Marked



Moorhead, Sam, and David Stuttard. 2012. *The Romans Who Shaped Britain*. London: Thames & Hudson Ltd. 169.

Appendix B

Map of the Forts along Hadrian's Wall



Gerrard, James. 2013. *The Ruin of Roman Britain: An Archaeological Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 38.

Appendix C

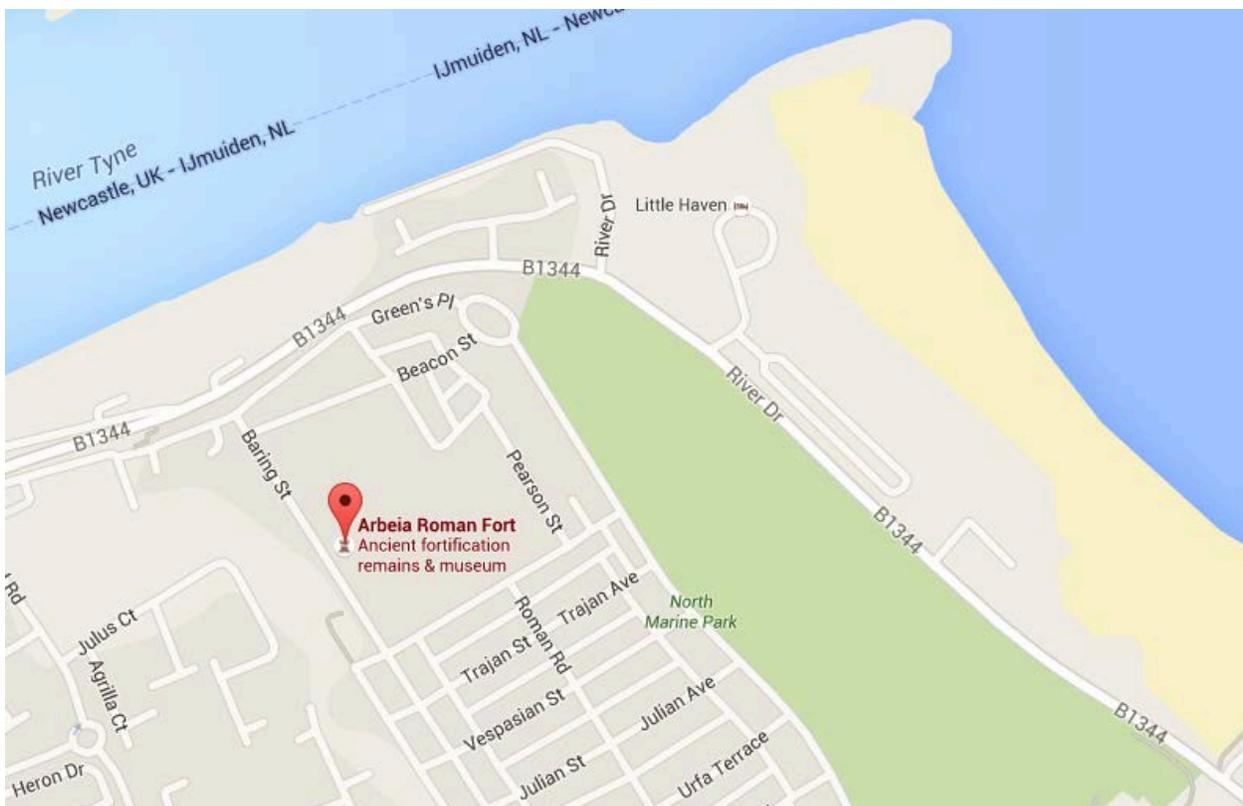
Map of River Tyne and South Shields' Location



Google Maps.

Appendix D

Map of South Shields and Location of Arbeia Fort



Google Maps.

Appendix E

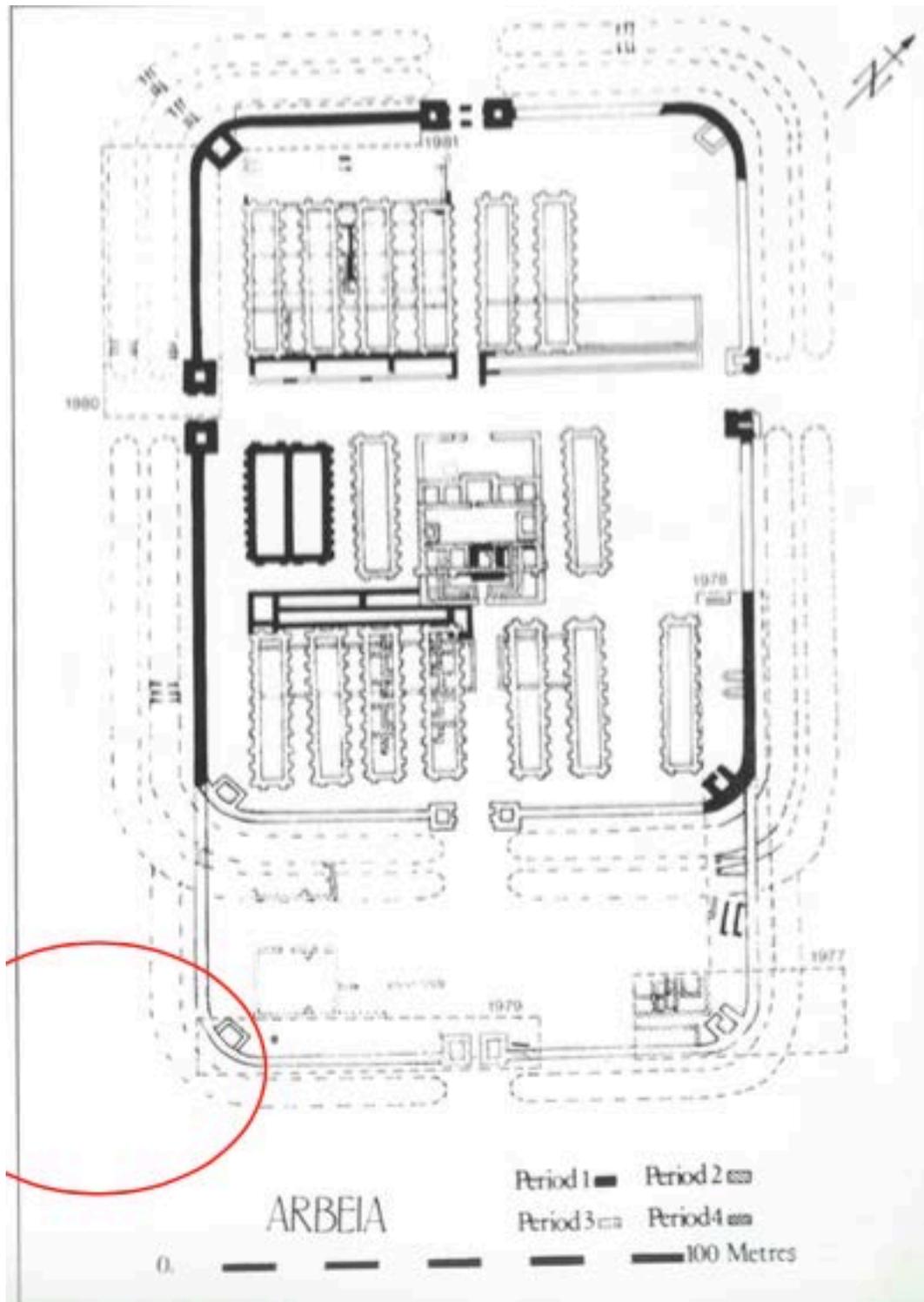
Google Earth Map of Arbeia Fort with June 2015 Excavation Site Marked



Google Maps.

Appendix F

Roger Miket's Linear Drawing of the Fort at Arbeia, 1977, With 2015 Excavation Site Marked



Miket, Roger. 1984. *The Roman Fort at South Shields: Excavation of the Defenses 1977-1981*. South Shields: Tyne and Wear County Council. 8.

Appendix G

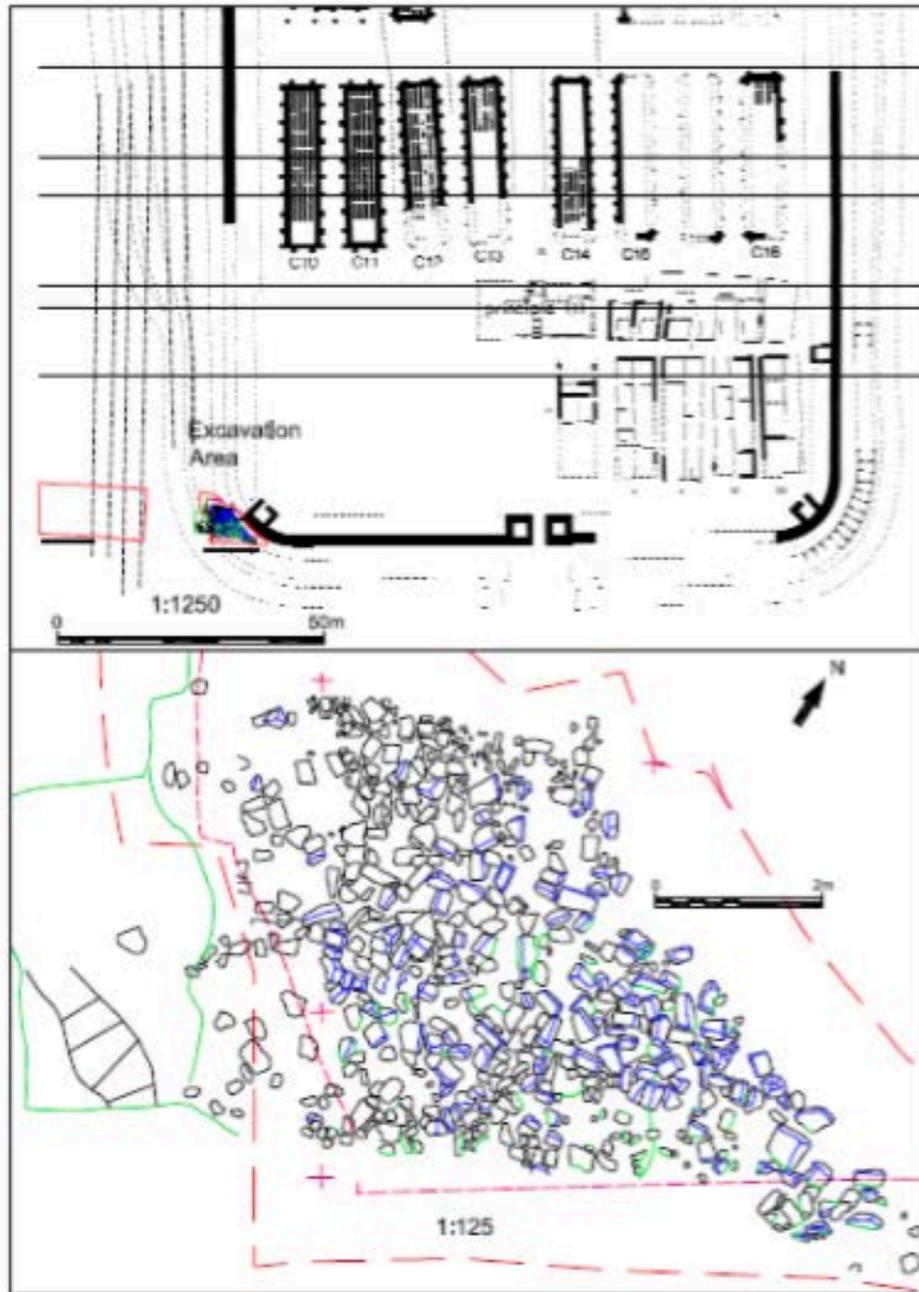
EarthWatch WallQuest Excavation Site



Hadrian's WallQuest, <http://www.hadrianswallquest.co.uk>.

Appendix H

EarthWatch WallQuest Excavation Site



1. Location of excavation trenches outside southwest corner of Arbeia fort © TWAM

EarthWatch Institute's Excavating The Roman Empire in Britain 2015 Field Report.

Appendix I

Fort Tower Pre-Excavation Site



Excavation at Arbeia, South Shields. Summer 2015.

Appendix J

Fort Tower Excavation Site Midway



Excavation at Arbeia, South Shields. Summer 2015.

Appendix K

Fort Tower Excavation Site Almost Complete



Excavation at Arbeia, South Shields. Summer 2015.

Appendix L

Removal of "Big Bertha" from Fort Tower Site



Excavation at Arbeia, South Shields. Summer 2015.

Appendix M

Broken Samian Ware I found at the Fort Tower Site



Excavation at Arbeia, South Shields. Summer 2015.

Appendix N

Vicus Excavation Site at Arbeia, South Shields.



Excavation at Arbeia, South Shields. Summer 2015.

Appendix O

Vicus Excavation Site at Arbeia, South Shields Full View.



Excavation at Arbeia, South Shields. Summer 2015.

Appendix P

Vicus Excavation Site with my Brother and Me Marked



Excavation at Arbeia, South Shields. Summer 2015.

Appendix Q

Initial Finding of the Bronze Trumpet Brooch at the *Vicus* Site



Excavation at Arbeia, South Shields. Summer 2015.

Appendix R

Bronze Trumpet Brooch That I Uncovered at the *Vicus* Excavation Site



Excavation at Arbeia, South Shields. Summer 2015.

Appendix S

Image of the Bronze Trumpet Brooch as it is Displayed in the Arbeia Museum



Excavation at Arbeia, South Shields. Summer 2015.

Appendix T

Group Photo from Week 1 of the Excavation



Excavation at Arbeia, South Shields. Summer 2015.

Appendix U

Bathhouse Remains at Wallsend (*Segedunum*)



Excavation at Arbeia, South Shields. Summer 2015.

Appendix V

Heating Elements for the Bathhouse at Wallsend (*Segedunum*)



Excavation at Arbeia, South Shields. Summer 2015.

Appendix W

Hadrian's Wall – Housesteads



Excavation at Arbeia, South Shields. Summer 2015.

Appendix X

One of the Gate Entrances of Hadrian's Wall – Housesteads



Excavation at Arbeia, South Shields. Summer 2015.

Appendix Y

Tower on Hadrian's Wall – Housesteads



Excavation at Arbeia, South Shields. Summer 2015.

Appendix Z

Vindolanda Excavation Location



Excavation at Arbeia, South Shields. Summer 2015.

Appendix Aa

Vindolanda Granary Stores



Excavation at Arbeia, South Shields. Summer 2015.

Appendix Bb

Vindolanda



Excavation at Arbeia, South Shields. Summer 2015.

Appendix Cc

Example of an Oppida from Salisbury.



Castle and Manor Houses: http://www.castlesandmanorhouses.com/types_01_ancient.htm

Appendix Dd
Tombstone of Regina from Arbeia, South Shields.



de la Bédoyère, Guy. 2006. *Roman Britain: A New History*. New York: Thames & Hudson Ltd. 217.

Appendix Ee

Tombstone of Victor from Arbeia, South Shields



de la Bédoyère, Guy. 2006. *Roman Britain: A New History*. New York: Thames & Hudson Ltd. 227.