Traditions and Transitions: Later and Roman Iron Age Communities in the North-East of England

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For Karen Whitney

"The conclusions are inconclusive. It may be wondered why this paper has been presented. The answer is simple: surviving material culture is the only evidence that prehistoric archaeology can muster; all else is speculation and perceived analogy. Barley (1994), in his masterly treatment of African pottery, has demonstrated the diversity of practice and tradition, with remarkably little castigation of the archaeological approach. His text might be seen as a counsel of despair for the prehistorian; it is not and is rather an encouragement, not to the revivalist emergent French school of *ethnoarchéologie* but to the realisation of the sheer diversity of any human enterprise."

(Kinnes 1995 p. 52)

Chapter One: Introduction

Aims and Objectives

The primary aim of this thesis is to reintegrate the indigenous communities of the north-east of England into the rapidly expanding narratives of Later Iron Age and Roman Britain. The period has received occasional periods of intense, productive study in the late 19th century, the 1960s and the 1980s, but that work has rarely seen a wider audience. As our appreciation grows of both the regionality and interconnectivity of the Later Iron Age it is time for this area to be considered more widely in the light of recent understandings.

In doing so it is my intent to demonstrate that by creatively considering datasets that are considered to be 'problematic' in either quality or quantity, interesting results can be obtained that both stand along side and facilitate further study of times and places in the European archaeological record that are considered difficult to work with productively.

Francis Pryor wrote in 1983 that '...the Iron Age is seen from a multivallate hilltop, somewhere well to the west of Watford' (Pryor 1983, p. 190). There has been a great deal of work since that time to redress this imbalance, but this attitude still too often prevails in the archaeological mindset, as will be demonstrated in Chapter Two, and it is hoped that this thesis will continue to help crystalize the conception of an Iron Age across the British Archipelago that is both regionally unique and deeply interconnected.

Geographical, Chronological and Social Scope

Geography

In physical terms this study covers the east of England from the Tees Valley to the River Tweed, covering wholly or in part the modern counties of Durham, Tyne and Wear, Northumberland, Cleveland and North Yorkshire (see figure 1.1).This is an attempt to conveniently cover an area which was at least potentially a distinct region or collection of regions in prehistory rather than selecting an arbitrary area. The North Sea formed a convenient eastern boundary to the study area, whilst the western boundary was drawn through the natural barrier of the Pennine range.

For northern and southern boundaries, river valleys have been chosen as there is evidence that rivers could be important cultural boundaries in later prehistory. The most relevant to this area is the dramatic falloff in coinage and apparent pottery usage north of the Trent (see Willis 1999). Additionally, it has been repeatedly shown that watery places were very significant ritual and depositional foci throughout prehistory, and that boundaries of any sort were considered highly significant (see Chapters Four and Five). Richard Bradley (1990) has even suggested that rivers functioned as tribal boundaries in the later prehistoric period. Therefore, though to some degree there have simply been lines drawn on a map, it is possible that this area, bounded by the Tees, the Tweed and the Pennines, may have been one or several distinct 'regions' in prehistory – hints enough to make it worthwhile to pursue the study of the region as an entity.

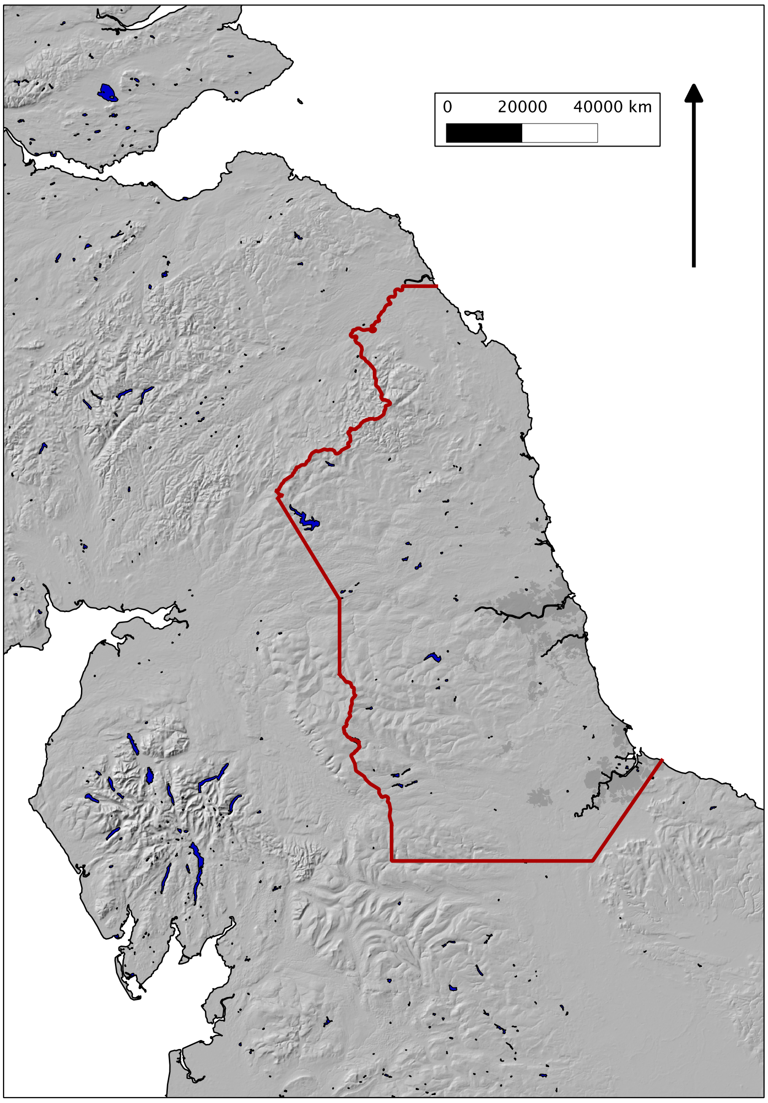

Figure 1.1: *The study area.*

There is some difficulty in the fact that these rivers remain significant boundaries which affect the way in which these valleys are considered by this study. Sites close to the southern banks of the Tees have been included, but a line is drawn near the coast as the land rises to the Eston Hills. Whilst the line of the Tweed does form a part of the northern boundary of the study area, the upper Tweed Valley is not considered here.

This selected area cuts across three of the 'provinces' of the Iron Age, suggested by Hawkes (1959) and Piggott (1966), covering portions of Hawkes' Eastern and Pennine provinces and Piggott's Tyne-Forth province. These provinces have also been divided into regions and this study area is comprised of the northern half of Hawkes' Eastern Yorkshire, the north-eastern portion of Hawkes' Pennine region and the majority of Piggott's Northumberland region. This work will demonstrate a commonality of material culture and social organization across these areas, but also wider connections between the area and the rest of the country.

This shows that as the Iron Age is further explored and the extent of the interplay between regional traditions and larger scale patterns becomes clear, these half-century old divisions are of little value in framing research, in structuring data or in determining survey areas. That said however, Hawkes' is clear in his initial presentation of them that the divisions are in large part geographical. 'I call the major geographical divisions "Provinces" and see five of them…[w]ithin these Provinces there are lesser natural divisions that I call Regions.' (Hawkes 1959, p. 172). It is important that Hawkes' and Piggott's provinces not be ignored however, as they are of value both descriptively and in understanding the ways in which they have influenced subsequent study.

Chronology

In chronological terms, this work begins in what is considered the Later Iron Age, using the divide of Earlier and Later Iron Ages which has become more accepted in recent years (Haselgrove and Moore 2007; Haselgrove and Pope 2007; and also Bradley 2007 for a similar system in the Bronze Age). This is considered more fluid and less restrictive than previous chronological divisions such as Early, Middle and Late Iron Age, and even the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age. It is particularly important to employ flexible and descriptive chronological terminology when working in central and northern Britain, as many of the chronological schemes of the Iron Age were designed with Wessex in mind. Subsequent to this, the Roman period will be referred to by and large as the Roman Iron Age, avoiding the term 'Romano-British' for reasons discussed below.

This work crosses the divide between the Later Iron Age and Roman Iron Age in a way that may seem unconventional, as it is focusing on the indigenous community both before and after the area came under the direct influence of the Roman Empire. The chronological scope under consideration at the conception of this work was 300 BC - AD 200. This was problematic because so many Iron Age sites are essentially artefactually undatable except in phases containing Roman objects, whilst very few have undergone modern, scientific dating programmes. Only Pegswood Moor (Proctor 2009) and Thorpe Thewles (Heslop 1987) are currently available reports which have reasonably recent programmes of scientific dating, and in the case of Thorpe Thewles this was dramatically revised as part of an as yet unpublished dating project part way through the current work (David Heslop, pers. comm.). Given the exceptionally poor chronological resolution at the moment and the ongoing work of Derek Hamilton at Leicester University on an expansive programme of scientific dating on these sites, it was decided that all post-Bronze Age sites in the region on which people were living in roundhouses, which displayed clear architectural similarities with roundhouse settlements, or which produced indigenous material culture were to be included. Thus, technically, the earliest phases of sites under consideration may date as early +/- 800 BC; but the later end of the spectrum remains much the same as there is very little evidence for clear architectural and depositional practices with their origin in the pre-Roman period after about AD 200, except in certain parts of Northumberland where it may linger for another century or so (see Chapter Five). Fortunately, as will be detailed below, there is remarkably little apparent chronological variation in the ceramic record and the types of material culture found in this region over the course of the later Iron Age, allowing this study to take a broad view of seemingly extremely resilient traditions.

The chronological resolution of this discussion then is unfortunately extremely vague in many areas. It was felt that an attempt to develop a detailed chronology for the region using the sources currently available would be an exercise in futility, with so much more detailed expert work in progress, and energies would be better spent exploring the larger patterns of social structure and economy in this region.

That is not to say that chronology is entirely absent from this work or that indigenous culture is considered unchanging over several hundred years. As seen in Chapters Four and Five, there are large scale changes across time such as the agricultural and economic intensification in many areas immediately prior to the Roman arrival in the area and the fluctuation of settlement types in the Cheviots. Additionally, Chapter Three suggests changes in the indigenous ceramic vocabulary as a result of involvement with the Roman trade networks in the last centuries BC. A narrative which discusses the broader context of some of these sub-regional changes and relates them to each other and to the subsequent changes in the Roman Iron Age is the goal of this study rather than a finely tuned chronology of the region.

It is important to note that this study follows one or several self identifying communities through a time when they went from being the sole inhabitants of this region to interacting in various ways with other incoming or newly developing communities in the area, and this study does not attempt to consider the entirety of the social fabric of north-eastern England towards the end of the period under study. This is an important aspect of the data collection strategy, which collates all excavated sites in the region across the later prehistoric and Roman periods and then focuses intensively on those which demonstrate key aspects of indigenous identity in action across that time period. This will be explained further below.

Communities in Archaeology

Archaeologists of the nineteenth century painted a picture of prehistoric Europe with a broad brush, and this 'culture historical' school of thought focused on the movement and distinctive practices and material culture of large, apparently monolithic groups of people. With the rejection of these models and their implicit progressivism and often explicit nationalism and socio-political agendas, the archaeological pendulum has quite rightly swung the other way and the search for the individual is now coming to the forefront, even in deepest prehistory (see, for example, Gamble and Gittens 2007; Foulds 2010).

In the Roman periods, this has generated a great deal of work on ideas of individual agency in a rapidly expanding and highly communicative Roman provincial society, the likes of which was entirely new to most of its inhabitants, and the ways in which they were able to have discrepant experiences of the same social and material world and negotiate discrepant identities[1]. This work has been invaluable in moving towards a *working* understanding of the Roman provincial world with a multi-scalar social narrative which can be actively engaged with when interpreting the archaeological record, from individual burials (Carr 2003) to province wide syntheses (Mattingly 2006). These extremes of scale have been engaged with productively, but the wide range in between, the communities of individuals which are at work within the province or Empire, have received less consideration and are key to filling out a working understanding of the social mechanisms of the Roman provinces.

Perhaps because of the greater acknowledgement of regionality in later prehistoric than in Roman Britain, discussion of communities and how societies worked on the regional scale

1 Ideas developed by Mattingly (2004; 2007) and Webster (1997a; 1997b; 2001) influence by Saïd (1978) and carried along by Carr (2003; 2006) and Eckardt and Crummy (2006) among others , which have perhaps found their most detailed and contextualized expression in Mattingly's recent history of Britannia (Mattingly 2006).

has been more common in Iron Age studies since the 1980s. Richard Hingley, (1984a) began to explore the social landscapes of the Upper Thames Valley and since then detailed, synthetic regional studies, such as this thesis, have become more common. Tom Moore (2006; 2007b) has explored the Severn-Cotswold region and western Britain more widely (Moore 2007a), whilst J. D. Hill has explored new perspectives on the classic Iron Age landscapes of Wessex (1995b; 1996). Additionally, the edited volume *Northern Exposure* (Bevan 1999) considers Iron Age societies of central Britain and offers creative and multi-scalar insights into their workings. Similar work has been undertaken on the Continent, by Fokke Gerritsen (2003) in the Meuse-Demer-Scheldt region of the Netherlands. This is an extremely promising climate of work with regional communities and exploration of the social organization of Iron Age groups which, as J.D. Hill (2006) has pointed out, is returning to the forefront of Iron Age studies. It is hoped that the greater understanding of the interplay of regionality and connectedness in pre-Roman society which has come about will continue to be useful in understanding the Roman period.

The idea of communities is an critical one to this thesis. Tom Moore (2007, p. 80) has explicitly discussed how the demise of the 'tribal' models of Iron Age society have left us with a rather amorphous idea of 'communities', the social workings of which are rarely explicitly defined. Andy Tullet (2010) has discussed the spread of the term 'community' over many scales and discussed the usefulness of this 'fundamental though hard to define' (Tullet 2010, p. 77) unit.

This thesis defines a community, in the archaeologically identifiable sense, as groups of agents who possess a shared aspect of identity. This definition applies primarily on two scales. The scale of community most frequently referenced here is that of the group inhabiting an individual settlement. Within this there may be sub-groupings of status, sex and gender, age, ability and various levels of family connection; and within those there are of course individual agents. For the purposes of this thesis though, the community inhabiting a settlement is the base line.

Additionally though, there are communities on the regional scale; groups of settlement communities that may come together in different ways. Ultimately, in the Roman Iron Age, the indigenous population forms a community on the largest possible scale, contrasted with other major communities such as, for example, foreign merchants or the military.

Particular attention has been paid to the military community (see James 2001 and below), as this is a large group with certain identifiable archaeological signatures which provide at least some degree of structure when discussing such a vague notion as communities of people. In a sense then, this work is also a synthetic narrative of one of the large scale communities active in the north-east of the province of Britannia, but one which begins much earlier.

Ideas of Ritual

The concept of ritual actions is invoked very commonly in archaeological explanation, and this thesis contains examinations of many actions and trends which are said to be in part ritual in nature, such as the importance of settlement boundaries or the deposition of artefacts. It is important then to lay out clearly what is meant by 'ritual' in this context

The concept of 'ritual' as an explanation of the inexplicable in the archaeological record is today more commonly encountered in a humourous context than in a scholarly one (e.g. Bahn 1989). The term can be useful however, (or as useful as any other) provided we are properly clear about the meaning of the expression.

Accordingly, this work is situated within the understanding forwarded by Joanna Brück (Brück 1999) and Richard Bradley (Bradley 2005) that a definition or explanation which considers ritual to be 'irrational' behavior i.e. a behaviour with no practical application apparent to the modern interpreter, is deeply flawed. Ritual behaviour was not engaged with in an irrational mindset, there was a conceptual cause and effect relationship perceived by the agent.

The behavior which will be discussed here under the epithet *ritual* is behaviour whose practical result is beyond our present understanding. For a very rough example, the building of a fence within an Iron Age enclosure is a plausible action within the present Western understanding of the world. It serves to divide the space and potentially enclose or exclude animals or obscure lines of sight. On the other hand, the deliberate and careful fragmentation of a heavy quernstone and the deposition of a fragment of it in the feature left when the fence is removed serves no purpose with the current conception of the world in which we as interpreters unavoidably operate. Such behavior will be discussed and conceptualized here in terms of ritual, though undoubtedly the function of this action (be it marking a moment, removing the spiritual effect of the boundary or a chthonic offering for example.) was very clear to those who carried out this action.

Theoretical Inspirations

The theoretical underpinnings of this thesis stem from a variety of sources and fields. On the very largest scale this work takes the idea of structuration, as presented by Anthony Giddens in his 1984 work *The Constitution of Society* as the basis for understanding how and why society works and can change. At its simplest – perhaps the best way to express it here as this work does not seek to delve into sociological debates in too much detail – the theory of structuration holds that all actions by agents are informed by the larger social structure which is created by the collective actions of the agents involved. This creates a reflexive cycle, in which human action creates the social norms which constrain it. This view accepts the idea of large scale social constraints and practices, but shows how they can change, or be changed, over time. A chief benefit of the theory of structuration is that it is able to effectively consider human behavior on different scales, and work past the apparent dichotomies of macro and micro scale human behavior (i.e. structure and agency). This is considered to be a more flexible and recursive approach than ideas of habitus, such as put forward by Bourdieu (1977). Though I acknowledge that Bourdieu's work is capable of explaining change, I believe that the theory of structuration as a general principle is more useful for discussing change across multiple communities and scales of communities.

This study also rejects all forms of economic and environmental determinism as being inconsistent with the reflexive ideas of structuration. This is explored further in Chapters Three and Five, covering ceramics and settlements, in which is is argued that though physical circumstances do affect the possibilities afforded to communities, communities creatively modify their resources to fit their needs rather than being constrained by them.

It is important to note that this is not a detailed explanation of Giddens' work, but it is the kernel which drove this study forward. I particularly note that I am using ideas from sociology in an attempt to constitute an archaeological understanding of the evidence and the past, not imposing the structure of modern sociology upon the dataset. Though I acknowledge the contributions, actual and potential, of 19th, 20th and 21st century social theory to archaeological interpretation, it must be borne in mind that these sociological and philosophical views are fundamentally a product of late second millennium AD perspectives. Interpreting the archaeological dataset through the lenses of these authors and thinkers can be a useful and rewarding exercise, however, when conducted carefully.

This work is also based in the belief that hierarchy and competition, though extremely common, are not inevitable, or necessary aspects of human society and cannot always be seen as a driving social force[2]. In saying this however, I also explicitly reject a Marxist world-view and Marxist archaeology, perhaps most cogently expressed by V. Gordon Childe's works throughout the 1930s and 1940s (e.g. Childe 1936), for a number of reasons. The Marxist perspective views hierarchies in the context of an evolutionary spectrum – evolutionary in social rather than biological terms – rather than a frequent but not inevitable aspect of human societies. In short, social hierarchies are seen as both inherently oppressive and a necessary evil. The evolutionary viewpoints of Marxist archaeology, the idea of a standardized progression of social forms to reach an 'ideal', is again inconsistent with the constant renegotiation of social structures by individual agents or groups of agents that this work takes to be the driving force in social change or lack thereof.

To support this assertion that competitive hierarchies are not inevitability of the human condition, I do turn to the Russian natural scientist and philosopher Pyotr Kropotkin, whose work at the turn of the twentieth century has remained influential in the fields of political theory, particularly anarchism, and moral philosophy. His 1902 work *Mutual Aid: A Factor In Evolution* was written as a result of his journeys as a naturalist though Siberia and Manchuria in the later nineteenth century. It details his assertion that successful mutual aid and cooperation, rather than competition, is the factor that makes species or groups the 'fittest' to survive. This is supported primarily by his own zoological observations but also by philosophers such as Goethe and critique of contemporary social theories. As he puts it in the introduction of his work:

> Consequently, when my attention was drawn, later on, to the relations between Darwinism and Sociology, I could agree with none of the works and pamphlets that had been written upon this important subject. They all endeavoured to prove that Man, owing to his higher intelligence and knowledge, may mitigate the harshness of the struggle for life between men; but they all recognized at the same time that the struggle for the means of existence, of every animal against all its congeners, and of every man against all other men, was "a law of Nature." This view, however, I could not accept, because I was persuaded that to admit a pitiless inner war for life within each species, and to see in that war a

2 Or even socio-economic force, in the case of socially embedded economies– see Chapter Four.

> condition of progress, was to admit something which not only had not yet been proved, but also lacked confirmation from direct observation.
>
> (Kropotkin 1902 p. xiii)

Whilst Kropotkin actively praised the evolutionary ideas of Charles Darwin and Alfred Russell Wallace (Darwin 2006 [1859]; Wallace 1855), he did vehemently object to the use of Darwin's theory of 'survival of the fittest' to justify this 'pitiless inner war for life within each species'. I would agree with this and suggest that the very sound biological work of Darwin has subsequently been used to imply that modern, competitive capitalism is a 'natural' state for the human species and thus to see such motives as a driving force in past societies.

Kropotkin does organize his work along a chronology of social evolution which is jarring by todays standards (i.e. 'Mutual Aid Among Savages') and I do not wish to present him here as an idealistic anti-Darwin. In modern evolutionary biology, Kropotkin is considered (when considered at all) as an interesting idiosyncrasy, but a respected one. Steven Jay Gould's essay *Kropotkin Was No Crackpot* (Gould 1997) presents an interesting and balanced view of many of Kropotkin's ideas in a context where evolution, biology, economics and social theory were very much intertwined in the minds of thinkers and scientist, a difficult mindset for the modern reader to consider sometimes. I consider however that his suggestion that the capacity and willingness for mutual aid can assist in a group or community's survival, in biologically evolutionary terms, to marry well with Giddens' basic ideas of structuration, in that the need for mutual assistance in communities can be seen to be a key factor in how and why individual behavior is changed which in turn renegotiates the social norms of the greater community.

I by no means consider that competition, violence and oppressive hierarchies were absent in the past or from human nature – there is abundant evidence for these traits and systems in the past (Sharples 1991a ; James 2007; King 2010) and in the present. I do contend though that the post-Darwinian use of evolutionary theory to justify modern, competitive capitalism has caused the potential importance of cooperation in past societies to be overlooked

As discussed above, it is not revolutionary or new to suggest that Iron Age society was, by and large, non-hierarchical and certainly not the models of chieftains and tribes which were considered in past decades. Exploration of alternate forms of social organization beginning in the 1980's with consideration of the Germanic Mode of Production rather than stratified tribal societies have made the idea of a non-hierarchical and sometimes quite egalitarian Iron Age very common (Hingley 1984a; Ferrell 1992; 1997; Hill 1995b; 2006; Moore 2007; Tullet 2010)

I bring the work of Kropotkin to the table largely to suggest that as we endeavor to more explicitly explore the social organization and interactions of less hierarchical groups, it should be borne in mind that 'mutual aid' amongst agents and various scales of community can be as much of a driving force for social change and interaction. In the absence of larger social structures, which provide both potential control and potential aid, small non-hierarchical communities can only succeed by taking care of each other.

Ideas of Rome

Though this thesis is based largely in the Iron Age, it takes place across a transitional period with an often poor chronology, so it is necessary to explicitly discuss the idea of the Roman empire which expands in influence over the timeline covered here. This will be returned to in the conclusion, as one of the objectives of this thesis is to create an understanding of pre-Roman society in the area which can be used to deepen understanding of the increasingly varied Romano-British archaeology of the region.

In the pre-Roman period the communities detailed here were the primary inhabitants of the region, and a large part of this study is an attempt to discuss the social organization and traditions across that period. However, during and after the slow arrival of material and people from the Roman empire throughout the first century AD, the social context of these communities exists very differently, and to explore that further we must examine what is meant by 'Roman', 'Romano-British' and other such terms, and why.

Otherness and Sameness

Romano-British studies are hampered by a beguiling sense of familiarity which has perhaps limited understanding of the period by obscuring the fundamental otherness of the past. It is deceptively easy to think that we understand Roman Britain at the synthesised, macro level, where all the forts and roads are built the same way and discreet tribal and Roman groups can be identified both geographically and culturally. These models are not borne out on the ground however, where every aspect of the province deviates at least slightly from the Platonic 'perfect forms' of Roman-British phenomena presented in many older syntheses.

These macro-scale understandings rest upon, and result in, an implicit model of Roman Britain which equates much of it with experiences allegedly understood to the modern, western mind (see Hingley 2000; 2008). We speak of the 'Romans' in Britain in terms derived from a colonial understanding based in the experience of the British Empire, whilst at the same time indigenous peoples are described with terms derived from the western colonial experience with native North American and African peoples (Moore 2011). In many sources the Roman arrival in Britain is regarded with terminology which seems to draw equally from D-Day and Domesday. With these connexions we create a Roman Britain, and indeed a Roman Empire, with so many parallels to our own experience that to lack a working understanding of it would be to deny an understanding of our own world. This has created the presumption that our broad-brush understandings of the province, though they do not reflect the archaeology, must be correct at least in essentials. This creates an archaeology of anomalies, in which seemingly inexplicable aspects of the archaeological record must be retrofitted into broader understandings of the period.

Britannia springs from British prehistory into something insidiously familiar and with sudden glimpses of striking detail into individual lives, but the first step to refining our understanding of Britannia must be the acceptance that it does not 'make sense' in the way in which it would if we apply recent, western, 19th, 20th and 21st century motivations to agents in the past.

Cyclical Ideas of Empire

The use and overuse of modern colonial and imperial models in Roman studies is well documented, both in more positive early 20th century interpretations (such as Haverfield's 1923 *The Romanization of Roman Britain*) and more recently and critically with post-colonial and historiographical influence (Hingley 1997; 2005; Webster 1997; 2001; Mattingly 2006). These critical interpretations have refined our understanding of the nature of the empire in many ways, but modern considerations of the Roman Empire are haunted by the more recent imperial past of Britain (and arguably, current imperial actions of the United States) in the vocabulary used to describe empire.

The very word colonial is derived from the Latin *colonia*, a planned settlement for retired soldiers. This is not the place to discuss the sinister or benevolent connotations of this practice, but it must suffice to say that the word initially did have a particular specific meaning. When this was co-opted into English to describe a planted settlement[3], frequently in the New World and frequently in territory which another community or nation considered to be theirs, the word was associated with the Roman idea and with the idea of the Romans as bringers of culture and civilization, thus legitimizing the practice of colonization (see Hingley 2000).

To speak of colonies in modern archaeological discourse is to invoke the two thousand years of history and implication associated with the word and practice. In ways such as this, we find our writing about and characterization of the Roman Empire to be a perpetuation of Victorian and earlier ideas of Rome, since the English vocabulary of empire and colonization was consciously derived from then current conceptions of the nature of the Roman empire. It is thus extremely difficult to avoid casting the recent past onto the Roman Empire and Roman Britain when writing in conventional terms and this results in the experience of Roman Britain most often being described in a manner which, consciously or subconsciously, recalls more recent Empires and implies a similarity and thus comprehension which is inherently false.

The Other

This relates particularly to the time of the spread of Roman influence into the British Archipelago because of our modern, literal reading of classical authors casting of the indigenous peoples of western Europe as 'the Other'. By perpetuating this notion (as with Piggott's (1958) classic 'celtic cowboy' concept of north Britain, essentially straight from Caesar (*DBG* 5.14, see Webster 1999 and Robbins 1999 for more on conceptions of north Britain) we identify with those to who created this sense of otherness, i.e. the Roman authors. If, then, the 'Celts' are the other and modern writers identify with the Romans, a two dimensional us/them mentality is created which lacks the third dimension of removal from the situation via the passage of time. This in turn paves the way for Roman conceptions of the barbaric other

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3 Johnson's dictionary of 1755 gives a definitions 'CO'LONY *n.f.* [colonia, Latin] 1. A body of people drawn from the mother-country to inhabit some distant place … 2. The Country planted; a plantation.' and 'To Co'lonise *v.a.* [From colony] to plant with inhabitants; to settle with new planters; to plant with colonies.' (Johnson 1979).

to be used to categorize other peoples later subjugated by empires (Native Americans, the Irish, &c.).

This creation of our modern selves as the Romans in the past subtly politicizes history into an us/them continuum. This has fueled modern 'New Age' or 'Druidic' movements who accept this historical polarization and respond to the social conditions of the modern world (which often times marginalize the individuals involved) by attempting to reclaim the presumed and assumed identity of the historical 'other' as a foil to modern Western/Roman/Judeo-Christian/Capitalist dogma.

It is particularly interesting to note the unintentional ways in which modern accounts of later prehistoric Britain can carry backwards into the Iron Age Roman ideas of the otherness of the indigenous peoples involved, characterizing them by the terms used to describe more recent 'others' and at the same time, by this mystification, reinforce the sense of a mystical, indigenous European other that attracts modern fringe interest.

The so-called tribes of protohistoric Britain are the most universal manifestation of this trend. The Latin root of our modern word, *tribus,*, was used to refer specifically to ancient political divisions in Rome, and the political groupings described by ancient authors in western Europe are described variously. Tacitus refers to the *Brigantum civitatem* (*Agric. XVII*), or the Brigantian citizens- often translated as the 'state of the Brigantes' (Birley 1999, p. 14). The political groups described by the classical sources may indeed be creations or oversimplifications of the situation by classical or modern authors, but they have come to be described as tribes and this is indicative of a particular attitude. Dictionary definitions of the word often include some notation of the tribe as being a somehow primitive social unit, as well as derogatory uses of the phrase which imply insularity or wildness amongst the so-called group. These characterizations are products of an earlier era and the usage of the phrase for, say, African groups, youth subcultures and indigenous British groups all certainly inform each other (Moore 2011).

There may be a particular relationship, however, between the characterization of Native American and indigenous British 'tribes'. In the first instance, both the Roman experience in Britain and the European experience in North America involve a sense of 'first contact' with new peoples after a sea crossing and these 'untouched' groups are subsequently subjected to allegedly civilizing forces and to being held up as a 'noble savage' model. Again, the experience in North America was informed directly by the writings of Roman authors. Hingley writes of the manner in which Roman writings about encounters with indigenous

Europe reinforced the suggestion that the indigenous Americans *could* be 'civilized' (Hingley 2005, p. 27-29; 2008). Subsequent characterizations of the Roman arrival have been subconsciously informed by the North American experience in the creation of what Shanks (1992) might term the 'object past'.

Other analogies can be inferred in the current literature – Dennis Harding's (2004) relatively recent summary of the Iron Age of north Britain discusses tribes somewhat overcredulously, but interprets the Brigantes – a tribe whose exact political status has been debated more critically than any other – as a 'confederation'. Dudley and Webster also write of the British confederation which opposed the initial landings of the Roman army (Dudley and Webster 1965, p. 33). The use of this word reinforces the status of the group as among the 'other', but subtly calls up other imagery. The codified bond between the five or six Iroquois tribes of western New England is generally known as the Iroquois Confederacy (Snow 1994) and this is perhaps the most relevant example. The other is of course the Confederate States of America of the American Civil War, a group which has been distinctly relegated to the other and in many ways, both very rightly and somewhat wrongly, demonized in the modern era (Horowitz 1999). Both of these others retain, fairly or not, a sense of wildness which plays into ideas, ancient and modern, of wild northern peoples. It is interesting to note that the Brigantes are considered by Harding a 'confederacy', not called or thought of as an alliance (a word with positive connotations, especially in the sense of the Allies of the Second World War), a union (with connotations both of the Federal armies of the American Civil War and of trade unions), a league (with echoes of the League of Nations) or a coalition (with particularly contemporary connections, perhaps, with George W. Bush's 'Coalition of the Willing' in Iraq and Afghanistan).

What Is Roman?

The Roman armies storm into this other-world of pre-historic Britain in their own cloud of terminology which reinforces our impressions of familiarity. This 'conquest' is often capitalized in literature, tacitly referencing the Norman Conquest, which (with the bringing of the modern English royal line) is also in many ways considered a triumph of our modern selves, projected into the past, over the wild other of Anglo-Saxon England.

There also exists an interesting contrast between the idea of conquest, essentially a triumphal affair, and the idea of invasion. Invasion carries with it more negative connotations of aggression. A more explicitly negative or more neutral view of the Roman involvement in the British Archipelago has become established however. In 1997, Bill Hanson questioned the Romano-centric viewpoint which essentially made excuses for Roman imperialism (Hanson 1997), whilst Barry Cunliffe's recent lecturing series refers in the title to the 'Roman interlude' in Britain and David Mattingly's recent revision of the Penguin History of Roman Britain (Mattingly 2006) explicitly discusses the brutality of the Roman regime. Though a balanced view is important and the negative aspects of Roman rule have not received sufficient attention in past scholarship, there is a danger also in demonizing the Roman presence. In part this is a distinctly current anti-imperial stance adopted by archaeologists, who have tended in the last few decades to adopt a generally politically liberal attitude. This is to be expected, even encouraged, as long as it is recognized. As Michael Shanks says, 'we should expect archaeological explanations to reflect the present, there is nothing particularly worrying about this...we should just take note.' (Shanks 1992, p. 28).

The more insidious danger to scholarship lies in the assumption which begins to equate the Roman presence with more recent repressive regimes in much the same way that it used to be associated with 'civilizing powers'. The implication that the Roman armies carried out an organized, systematic campaign of oppression, repression and brutality does in some ways present the Roman army and Empire as a modern superpower with modern capabilities of organisation and communication. This brings the Roman presence back to being a monolithic entity and minimizes the role of the individual agent and of distinct communities, such as the military community as discussed by Simon James (2001). Similarly, the idea of systematized oppression presumes a monolithic oppressee, the community under discussion here. Thus the logical extension of the current trend towards emphasizing the negative, brutal aspects of Roman 'rule' in fact runs counter to the trend towards accepting a more diverse cultural blend in Britannia and the realization of discrepant experiences and identities.

The practicalities of the Roman arrival in/invasion/conquest/Conquest of Britannia has been discussed in explicitly modern military terms, and discussion of establishing beachheads and invasion tactics (see in particular Dudley and Webster 1965 for examples of this language) forces the Roman arrival into the mould of a sort of reverse D-Day landing. This is not to imply that the Roman arrival was not a forced, violent invasion, but it was not one that was conducted with a modern military mindset and should not be seen as such. Again, minimal knowledge is equated with a known modern phenomenon and used to interpret unknowns in the Roman past using modern 'common sense'. This is particularly explicit older works such as Dudley and Webster's *The Roman Conquest of Britain: A.D. 43-57*, where it is made explicit that the authors consider the only difference between writing Roman military history and 19th century military history to be the quantity and quality of information (Dudley and Webster 1965, p. 7-8).

At risk of drawing a weak comparison, it may be useful to consider the possibility of a socially embedded military campaign in the same vein as ideas of socially embedded economy discussed below. Indeed, Rich Hartis (2010) has argued that Hadrian's Wall, one of Britannia's most notable symbols of Roman military might, is better understood as an expression of power in the classical artistic tradition than a deadly military machine or customs barrier. In a similar vein, it has been suggested that given the paltry 'defenses' in the rear of some enclosed Iron Age sites, warfare may have been based in some form of ritualistic combat between certain groups (Frodsham 2004.). Though probably brutal in many ways, the Roman arrival can be demonstrated to be a complex mix of military incursions and socio-economic alliances and displays (Creighton 2000) that is not altogether comparable to a modern military invasion.

Britannia

In writing of post-invasion Britannia, the author's task becomes even more difficult. Beyond simply finding the means to express views without using terms burdened with modern implications and familiarity one must also tread a professional minefield. Since the early 1990s and Martin Millet's re-introduction of the concept of Romanization, the idea of Romans and Romanization in the provinces has become something of a straw man in the field and has been deconstructed and attacked from seemingly every angle. This has been instructive but not necessarily productive, as the store of potential terms to acceptably describe aspects of the province has been sorely depleted. Ideas such as Mattingly's (1994; 1997; 2006) concept of discrepant identities, discussed above, are proving the most useful and important in establishing a working understanding of the social networks of the province, but many writers are still left discussing 'Romans' in quotation marks, indicating awareness of the criticisms of the idea of a distinct Roman cultural identity or concept, but still needing to differentiate, say, *terra sigillata* from pottery of the indigenous tradition (see below).

When writing of the Roman province, there is a very important note to be made: When we write of Roman Britain, we are writing very specifically of a Roman political unit, a thing given a name and (presumably) an identity. That name is Britannia. Why then do we write of Roman Britain, or even simply of Britain, when considering the Roman era past? The use of the modern political designation when speaking of the Roman period obscures further the sense of Britannia as a different and unique social and political entity from modern Britain, a name which is derived from the Roman province. By not giving it its Roman name we reinforce the derivation– we have *become* Britannia and it has become us and there is no need to call it something different. The link between the Roman Britannia and modern Britain is so solid as to be unworthy of comment or distinction, especially considering that Britannia did not encompass the entirety of the British Archipelago.

This makes writing about the province with any academic confidence exceedingly difficult. Specific terms like Roman can, and should, be theoretically attacked whilst writing of 'the cultural changes of the first century AD' is to begin to employ terminology which is sufficiently vague as to potentially limit its expressive value. Though such terms usefully avoid the implications of monocausal explanations, they are also in danger of skirting the need to explore these. How then do we conceptualize, analyse and usefully and fully discuss the cultural processes that occurred when the British Archipelago came under the influence of what we call the Roman Empire?

Description of traditionally Roman ideas, objects and people as external to differentiate them from indigenous practices not only reinforces the concept of monolithic Roman material and abstract culture but perpetuates the idea of the autochthonous society as static and unchanging, with no influence from any external source until the Roman arrival- an idea we know to be false and outdated.

The Way Forward

This cycle of terminology continues to condition our thinking about the past. This is one of the prime difficulties in the simplistic, structuralist language model of a straightforward signifier/signified relationship. As Michael Shanks suggests in his deconstruction of structuralist linguistics and assumptions in archaeology (Shanks 1992, pp. 30-33), both the signifier and the signified carry a series of associations. Many of these are general, cultural impressions and many are individual and differ between the author and the reader. Shanks summarises the situation in archaeological discourse very well, in saying:

> 'In this incongruence between word and world archaeological description always *fails*. It can never really be said what something is; undescribable meaning is unsayable. We can only ever say what something is not. Meaning involves us moving off into paraphrase, circumlocution, metaphor. Irony seems ever necessary. The question arises of how to represent such non-identity.'
>
> (Shanks 1992, p. 112)

Though Shanks is primarily discussing material culture here, his quote is particularly relevant in our present discussion about Roman archaeology in that Shanks identifies the irony and paraphrasing that is so often evident in the use of over-simplistic dichotomies mitigated by apologetic inverted commas. Shanks goes on to suggest that 'non-identity means accepting a dynamic to objects; they are now *and* then' (Shanks 1992, p. 112).

The acceptance of the dynamic past and present of an object may seem a far cry from the discussion of communities in the first and second centuries, and even long before, but the idea of dynamic non-identity is essential in discussing this period, which is so often, as discussed above, an archaeology of anomalies and an archaeology of exclusion; what things are not. In practical terms communities may be identified by what they are not – not Roman, not indigenous – as that is a part of corporate identity. This is one of the ways by which the 'community of soldiers', solidly defined as non-civilian, has been identified. But it is important that non-being be regarded as only an aspect of a given community rather than the be-all and end-all of how its identity is conceived. This requires an explicit rejection of Roman-ness as a yardstick by which all aspects of Britannia, and indeed the Roman Provinces, are measured. Romano-British society in *vici* for example, are just as non-indigenous as they are non-Roman and in their context this aspect may have been even more important.

But of course we must also concentrate on the positive aspects of identity and being as well as non-identity and non-being. What communities and identity groups might we be able to identify at work? Here we begin the difficult task of attempting some sort of definition.

It is firstly important to suggest that the majority of uses of the word 'Roman' in current literature, at least in the north of the islands, could be more clearly read as Roman military. The Roman military as a community is important, as they are a discrete community who can be recognized in the archaeological record. We are aware from textual sources that there was a commonality to military life and practice and there are distinct trends in the material culture used on military sites (see the discussion of certain brooches as military markers by Butcher 1991, p. 183 or the discussion of medical material culture in a military setting by Baker 2001). This is not to say that this was the, or a, primary self-prescribed identity to the members of the military community, but in relation to the indigenous population this would have been a defining factor (again a difference and a non-identity). We can also archaeologically trace that a large number of members of this community entered the area in the late first century, bringing with them a variety of ideas, materials, objects, languages, and so forth. In most contexts then, discussion of Roman influences in the north is really talk of the influence of the military community, and in a more nuanced sense the communities which may have accompanied them (i.e. *vicus* dwellers, merchants, wives or partners of soldiers &c.) When speaking of Roman arrival in the north, the Roman military and associated community may be the only group which ever really arrived *en masse* in an archaeologically identifiable sense.

The local, indigenous community cannot be defined in the same way as the Roman military. This is not simply to avoid another dichotomy, but because when speaking of indigenous practices we are speaking of a fluid set of traditions and ideas which can intertwine themselves more thoroughly with other conceptions of and aspects of identity yet are also larger in scale than the Roman military community, being a society with it's own interrelationships of communities and individuals and potentially without an overarching sense of identity. Though the Roman military community was certainly also fluid and transforming, probably moreso than is archaeologically recognized (see James 2002 for discussion of modern projections of military attitude onto the Roman army), membership in the Roman army did at least provide a 'baseline' identity marker common to the individuals involved.

It is the potential and actual mix of Roman military influence, indigenous tradition and influence from other Roman provincial society in Britannia and elsewhere that has come to be known as Romano-British. This is the term by which one would most readily describe the lives of majority of individuals in the area, at least from archaeological study, but what does the term really mean? How can we come to understand what it is to be Romano-British?

The answer may simply be that we cannot understand it as well as we would like. The idea of creolization has been introduced as a means of exploring this complexity on a small scale, by Jane Webster in the case of religion and society (2001) and by Gillian Carr (2003; 2006) in the case of artefacts and bodies. The term is borrowed from linguistics and the idea of two languages combining to make a new language in its own right, not simply a blend. Whilst this concept is useful in specific cases, with artistic styles and perhaps language, music and religion, it is not universally applicable in a social context. Every individual and community, every identity group (and one much remember that each individual is a component of many identity groups) must have negotiate this cultural discourse in their own way, and this seems to have very rarely resolved itself into a common understanding or a thoroughly creolised provincial culture which we can define as Romano-British of its own accord- it remains a dynamic blend of identity and non-identity markers.

How can we presume to read these in the present when it is unlikely that a definitive reading of them was available in the past? But if we cannot read these markers, how can we interpret and learn from the archaeological record? Can we accept the many threads which make up the society we call Romano-British without reducing our descriptions of communities and sites to virtual pie charts of Roman military/Roman provincial/indigenous influence? Can we accept, but not pigeonhole? How can we conceptualize the relationships, both theoretical relationships between identities and actual relationships in the past between individuals and communities?

An End to 'Romanisation'

The key issue is the acceptance that the society we refer to as Romano-British is its own fully fledged construct, and that the agents involved in Britannia in the first centuries AD were Romano-British, not a group of Britons and Romans whose interaction meant that that which they produced was to be labeled Romano-British.

In this framework, there is absolutely no room for the outmoded concept of Romanisation and similar acculturation based concepts and processes. The widespread use of the term process to describe Romanisation is revealing[4], as it is a linear term which implies a concrete end, implying a metamorphosis of one thing into another- the end result is becoming Roman (interestingly, the title of Greg Woolf's 1998 work, which deals fairly with the idea of Romanisation (p. 4 ff.) but does accept, obviously, the idea of becoming Roman), perpetuating the idea of a monolithic Roman culture which one could effectively 'join'. Richard Hingley (2005) gives an interesting discussion of the history and importance of the concept of Romanization, but demonstrates that more recent, postcolonial-influenced ideas provide a

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4 See Millet 1990, for example 'Understanding the process of Romanization requires…' (p. 1).

much more realistic interpretation. As Freeman's (1993) perspicacious review of Millet (1990) effectively makes clear, Millet's conceptualizing of the idea (local elite driven and economic-according to Hanson (1997, p.67) the 'new orthodoxy'[5] of Romanisation) effectively operates identically to that of Mommsen and Haverfield (see also Hingley 1997, p. 83), it is simply seen to be driven, received and used differently by the agents in the past.

Acculturation-free ideas of archaeology are being expressed in broader terms however. Without reference to Roman archaeology, Shanks (1992) speaks of the idea of sublimation of the threads which are a part of all people and things to produce a usable archaeology. This is, conceptually, an excellent solution: see things as one and accept the variable past. Though its philosophical rooting may be unimpeachable, the idea is unworkable in many situations when applied to archaeology (what do we write about?). Within the period itself, Mattingly noted just over ten years ago that 'it is important to recognize that most of the authors are not so much trying to impose a different model as attempting to deconstruct the existing one.' (Mattingly 1997, p. 15). Since then, more large scale ideas are being developed Richard Hingley has written of the need to recognise, and demonstrate, the complexity of identity and power relation in the period (Hingley 2005; 2003; 1997). Additionally,David Mattingly (1997; 2004) has described and put into practice the idea of discrepant identities and experiences at work in the provinces, particularly in producing a comprehensive history of Roman era Britain (Mattingly 2006) which takes account of the multiplicity of experiences possible.

Though Mattingly's work on discrepant identity is interesting, it suffers from a lack of definition about exactly what discrepant identity *is* and how it might differ from or compliment Edward Said's (1978) concept of discrepant experience, which Mattingly applies directly to archaeological contexts. The term seems to be generally used in reference to the large scale concepts discussed, part of a trend towards post-colonial understandings of the Roman Empire discussed on an increasingly macro level which can veer dangerously towards the creation of a new metanarrative. Mattingly does give specific case studies, however with provisos that they are preliminary. They are somewhat more traditional in outlook than his larger theories (see those in Mattingly 2004). In the case of his discussion of the discrepant identity of Regina, the woman represented on the tombstone found in South Shields, the

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5 A strikingly ironic, though essentially truthful, statement as Millet writes in his introduction 'Whilst the resulting book is partly designed as an alternative "Roman Britain" it does not aspire to be a "new orthodoxy".' (Millet 1990, p. xv). Hanson's statement may however reflect a largely uncritical reception and spread of Millet's work rather than Millet's own position.

chart of various facets of her identity (Mattingly 2004, table 1) can be read as a two dimensional, pie-chart approach to defining identity. Mattingly is also uncritical of the notion of 'tribal' identities as being straightforward and a primary factor in the identity of Britons of the Roman period.

Discrepant identity is also related in some ways to the trend for 'identity' to be considered a 'magic bullet' in fluid, modern understandings of the archaeological record (see Díaz-Andreu *et al.* 2006) without considering how the concepts are applied and related across various scales or moving being a linguistic style signifier/signified relationship for aspects of material culture and identity.

Embracing Complexity

It is time then for these more complex ideas of the workings of Britannia to be tested on a multi-scalar level in the local contexts which are increasingly coming to be understood as the keys to comprehending some of the larger processes at work in the Roman period. How was this complex network of engagement actually lived? Stated simply, what were people doing? The spaces and things created by people and the actions performed with and within them are of primary importance.

The local changes in practice and material surroundings occasioned by contact with the pan-European commonalities which we refer to as the Roman Empire are the way to understand what those commonalities are on a deeper level than the 'red-pots-and-bath's understanding of previous generations. Full appreciation of those changes of course are reliant on an understanding of societies before and as they were absorbed or incorporated into the Empire. Thus a key premise of this work is that the route to best understanding the Roman Imperial world is through understanding the societies that were affected by it and which affected it. In this way, we can re-understand the changes previously defined as Romanization and redefine 'Roman' (Hingley 2005; Mattingly 1997; 2004).

This may at heart seem an algebraic argument that *indigenous* + *x* = *Romano-British* and thus *Romano-British* – *indigenous* = *x,* and that the remainder *x* is what is 'Roman', but in order to avoid simply making our dichotomies mathematical there must be recognition that none of these ingredients can be considered monolithic culture-historical groups. In the past, the nativist viewpoints as discussed by Hingley (2005) have suffered from defining native as simply another monolith in opposition to Roman, and as Freeman (1993, p. 441) suggests, when simple Romanization becomes fluid then the Roman/native divide is replaced by Romanized/non-Romanized (or even a Romanization/resistance dichotomy, as Mattingly (2004, p. 7) implies). More than simply comparing hybrids, I would suggest that by understanding indigenous societies, and the discrepant experiences and identities already present within them, we can better understand the commonalities amongst all of the changes taking place in the early centuries AD in Europe, but we will not be redistilling this to a kernel of 'Roman-ness'. Indeed, it is worth bearing in mind John Barrett's suggestion that the Roman Empire itself may be 'an image or model which we and others have constructed out of our desires to give tangible form and coherency to historical processes, events and outcomes which would otherwise bewilder us with their complexity.' (Barrett 1997, p. 52). Perhaps more focused local studies with a wider time depth may be a compelling way to limit our 'bewilderment' as we explore a post-Roman Empire?

This is, of course, an enormous brief, but one into which the present work in part fits by seeking to develop a narrative of certain communities through these transitions and this period.

Continuity and Change

Continuity of social and cultural identity and practice from the pre- to the post-Roman periods in Britain is a subject of continual controversy. On the one hand it is difficult to argue that pre-Roman practices survived unchanged through the massive upheaval of the 400 years for which most of the British Archipelago was under the direct political control of the Roman empire. It is an equal stretch of imagination and common sense to suppose that these indigenous traditions and identities (very strong ones, as will be demonstrated below) were thoroughly erased.

This study takes an alternate view to the binary conception of continuity vs change. Taking into account the basics of structuration theory, this study considers that change is constant as society re-invents and/or re-enforces aspects of itself. For the same agents to enforce the same aspects of structure through their behavior in different circumstances and contexts requires differing motivation. In short, all 'continuity' is change.

In Summary

I offer the above comments, sometimes convoluted and sometimes personal though they may be, in order to be transparent about my perspective on the discipline of archaeology and to the material with which I will be working in the following pages. The preceding discussion has raised issues in working with communities during the period of Roman interaction which cannot be entirely resolved in this work, but which form part of the context in which it was conceived.

Approach/Methodology

With the exception of some of the evidence used in Chapter Five, this study relies almost entirely on excavated material. Though perhaps a controversial decision, this was arrived at for several reasons. Primarily it was decided that the corpus of excavated evidence built up over several hundred years and which had not been recently synthesised, provided the most fertile ground for exploration of the theoretical ideas presented here. Secondly, there is a mass of aerial photographic and geophysical and topographical survey evidence available and it is an equally enormous undertaking to begin to typologize, catalogue and map those resources. It would heavily skew the dataset of this thesis to begin to include and try to usefully interpret the mass of 'possible Iron Age/Romano-British enclosure seen on aerial photograph' type entries in SMR and HER records. On the whole it was decided that a focus on excavated material in an effort to provide a social narrative which may in turn give further context and importance to non-invasive survey data was the most important thing that this thesis could provide, and the best use of the author's experience.

There must, however, be a conceptual framework in place in order to build a social narrative from any sort of data. This thesis will try to consider the reflexive, circular relationship between concepts of identity, material culture and space as evidenced in the excavated dataset. As outlined in the discussion of structuration above, society is created by constant renegotiation of social norms amongst agents. The excavated evidence provides a sometimes detailed window into the societal conceptions of physical space and material culture (whether architectural or portable); and of their interaction as a part of this process. The third facet, identity, is more ephemeral as an archaeological concept and a necessary 'inference' from the other two aspects.

The Material World

As stated above, material culture, architecture and the use of space (and the actions which they represent) are important pieces of evidence in studying these societal changes. A key question, posed by Freeman as long ago as 1993, has been the precise definition of Roman material culture. There is, seemingly, a clear division used in studying artefacts- a look at almost any pottery report will reveal the iron clad distinctions- mortaria and *terra sigillata* are Roman pottery, well dated and all studied by different experts. The indigenous wares and forms are briefly summed up by someone else. These frameworks can and should be critiqued, but to simply declare that local calcite gritted wares, for example, are Roman too or that locally produced coarseware jars could be called native is of little use- no amount of redefining will refine a system in which such definitions are necessary to the point where it is useful in contemporary dialogues about identity in the Roman provinces. As Freeman notes, the classic example of *terra sigillata* is produced in southern and central Gaul in the tradition of northern Italy by local craftspeople. Despite being used extensively by the army, 'nothing makes it specifically Roman' (Freeman 1993, p. 444).

The study of Roman material culture is in step with the current post-colonial trend in Roman studies and has been a vital part of discussions of identities, discrepant and otherwise. As Hella Eckardt says, 'rather than thinking about how a specific identity may be reflected in material culture, the debate is shifting to the more subtle process of how material culture may have been used to construct multiple and shifting identities' (Eckardt 2005, p 157; Willis and Hingley 2007)

Roman material culture in indigenous contexts has been discussed, but generally in a traditional framework which does not question that there is a clear divide to be found between what is Roman and what is native (though in all cases, without actively defining either). Most of this work has focused on Scotland (Hunter 2001), probably because areas beyond 'the walls' can often offer a more clear cut approach- save for Roman forts, the entire area is a 'native context' and thus any Roman material is an anomaly to be explained.

The explanation is often simply that the natives desired Roman material as being 'better', either more technologically advanced or as offering an increase in the socio-economic status of the owner or user. More focus is generally placed on the mechanisms by which the trade occurred, using simplistic economic or anthropological models (down the line trade, for example) to explain the diffusion of objects.

The most recent account of this subject is unfortunately also amongst the least theoretically aware, but is perhaps a good summary of many previous approaches. Dennis Harding (2004) considers that 'in these areas, Roman imports must have been exceptional and exotic, whether brought by Roman entrepreneurs or through down-the-line native exchange' (Harding 2004, p. 192). Though Harding surely suggests in words that assumptions cannot be made about local attitudes towards Roman material in Scotland, the attitude of the work implies a general set of assumptions- 'There can certainly be no automatic assumption that Roman products were held in awe by a native population that was technologically less advanced that the intrusive Roman culture.' (Harding 2004, p. 192). This in essence the attitudes of the last 50 years paying lip service to more recent and balanced approaches.

Importance of Deposition

A key aspect of this study is consideration of the act of deposition. The primary reason this has become central to this thesis is that it is a unusual opportunity, particularly in this extremely variable dataset, to archaeologically observe a particular action of an agent or group. Whether accidental loss or deliberate deposition, observing patterns in the moment at which these artefacts left their use-life can show us patterns in how those objects were treated.

It should be noted that the words 'object' and 'artefact' are chosen carefully in the following work. An artefact is considered to be an archaeological find, whilst the word object is used when considering the object as it was in use and/or being deposited. Thus a pot is an object which can be fragmented and deposited to be found as an artefact, or several artefacts.

The significance of depositional rituals or actions is discussed more fully in Chapter Four, but introduced here as a central theme of the thesis.

Context Categories for Depositional Analysis

It is impossible to reconstruct in detail the intentionality of the depositors, but the premise of this work is that an examination of the frequency of deposition of materials in different types of context should reveal meaningful patterning or lack of patterning. This assertion must be approached with caution, as categorization of contexts must walk a fine line between structuring our understanding of the archaeological record and presuming to reconstruct mental categories of the past. This analysis does not propose that the categories discussed had any conceptual relevance in the past, but simply relies on types of contexts which are practically very different from each other, and are therefore very different types of things to put things in.

Outlined below in table 1.1 are the types of context which have been established for use on depositional analysis throughout the thesis, to a minor extent when attempting to discuss deposition of specific types of indigenous ceramics in Chapter Three and forming the basis for much of the analysis in Chapter Four. These have been arrived at through examination of all relevant site reports and a categorization of the types of context found. Certain divisions in the material which are not necessarily highly relevant to many of the sites in the study area, such as the size categories of pits (a rare feature in the north-east) have been maintained. This is an attempt at creating depositional categories which are potentially applicable countrywide, though developed in an examination of the north-east.

Type	***Description***
Boundary Wall	Large bank or wall enclosing an area
Building Wall	
Construction Trench	Trench for setting of structural elements
Destruction Layer/Tumble	Collapsed remains of a structure or boundary (noted where identifiable)
Ditch Length	Section of substantial ditch
Ditch Terminal	Terminal of substantial ditch
Floor	Pavement or surface within a building. Occupation layer.
Subfloor	Layer below paving stones of flagged floors.
Gully/Fence/Hedgeline	Remains of an ephemeral division of space
Indeterminate Layer	Layer or spread with no discernible purpose, potentially a natural accumulation or disturbed area
Large Pit	Non-structural pit more than 1m at largest axis
Makeup Layer	Landscaping layer in advance of construction

Type	Description
Oven/hearth	An oven or heath, domestic or industrial – the distinction is often difficult and may be nonexistent.
Palisade Trench	
Post Hole	Ground setting for structural timber
Small Pit	Non-structural pit less than 1m at largest axis
Shallow Feature	'Scoop' or similar
Subsoil	Disturbed but archaeological layer between the natural and the ploughsoil (i.e. not top-soil but not horizontal stratigraphy
Surface or pavement	Outdoor surface or pavement
Unstratified	Unstratified
Roundhouse Gully	

Table 1.1: *Context types used in depositional analysis throughout the thesis.*

Site Selection

The initial list of archaeological sites to be investigated as a part of this study was created as an attempt to make a record of all excavated sites in the study area which date, in part, to the later Iron Age or Roman period.

This was achieved through consulting all relevant SMRs and HERs in the study area, the National Monument Record, searches of the Archaeology Data Service and OASIS, full trawls of journals which were selected to be especially relevant to the area (*Archaeologia Aeliana, Durham Archaeological Journal, Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, Transactions of the Durham and Northumberland Archaeological and Architectural Society, Northern Archaeology, Archaeology County Durham; Teeside Archaeological Society Bulletin*), consultation with local archaeological units and occasionally 'word of mouth' for recently excavated or in-progress sites.

In the gazetteer (Appendix 1) the 187 sites thus identified have been grouped broadly by the following site types:

- ✦ Cemetery
- ✦ Roman fort
- ✦ Roman 'fortlet'
- ✦ Indigenous burial
- ✦ Indigenous settlement
- ✦ Milecastle (Hadrian's Wall)
- ✦ Roman Settlement
- ✦ Shrine
- ✦ Possible signaling station
- ✦ Roman temporary camp
- ✦ Turret (Hadrian's Wall)
- ✦ *Vicus*
- ✦ Villa
- ✦ Other

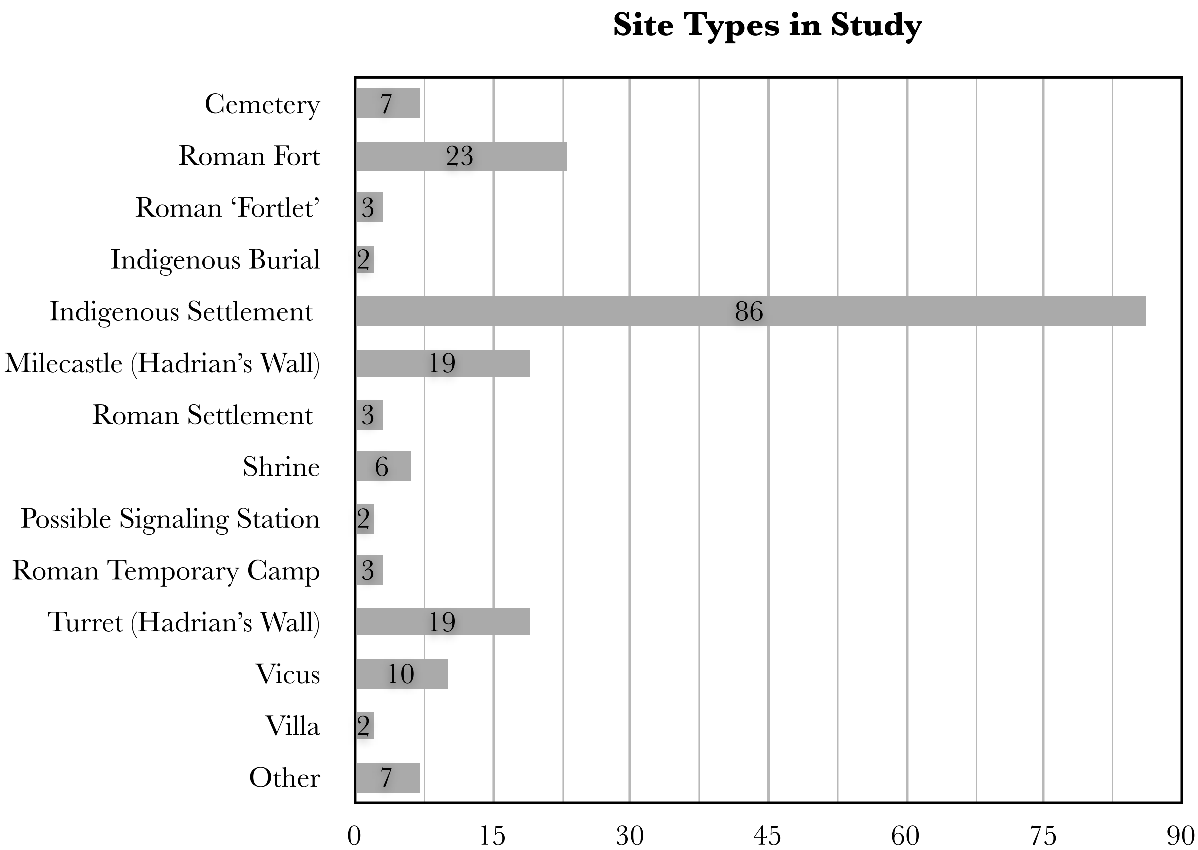

Figure 1.1: *Quantities of site types included in Appendix 1.*

The majority of these are based on the excavators interpretation of the site, but a few require greater definition. The divide between the categories of settlement, indigenous and Roman, is one of roundhouse architecture; if the settlement retains a tradition of roundhouse architecture it is considered to be indigenous, whilst the Roman settlements such as Sedgefield did not retain the roundhouse tradition. Both of these are, of course, separated from *vici* by not being associated with one of the areas auxiliary forts. Indigenous burials are very rare and each of the examples is questionable, but the category lists those which have been suggested as such by the excavators on the basis of material culture or, more commonly, radiocarbon dates.

Villas are a somewhat nebulous concept and term in this region, but here they are considered smaller, farmstead sized rural settlements with evidence of villa style buildings, such as the 'winged corridor' style structure at Dalton-on-Tees (Brown 1999)

Figure 1.1 shows the numbers of each site type used in the gazetteer in Appendix 1. The total number of sites on the graph is slightly higher, as certain sites– particularly indigenous settlements which became villas and settlements which existed around and eventually with parts of Roman forts– were placed under two categories. This does, however, give a good idea of the ratio and range of site types in the presently available literature.

It must be acknowledged that there are several potential, and interlinked, problems with this methodology. There has been a recent glut of work on these archaeological sites which has meant that a number of recently investigated sites in the area which are sure to prove influential in future understandings which have not been fully integrated into this Ph.D. This is due to the fact that either excavation or post-excavation is still in progress or the work has reached such a stage that those undertaking it are unwilling to share work at an advanced stage with the author prior to its publication. This is exacerbated by the fact that the research for this work has taken place during the 'credit crunch' or 'economic crisis' of the late 2000s and early 2010s and a great deal of archaeological work, particularly post-excavation work, is progressing in fits and starts as money is available.This has caused major upheaval in the way in which archaeology is practiced in the UK, causing many projects to progress very unsteadily (see Ford 2010).

Additionally, this has complicated access to 'grey literature', with most commercial companies undertaking work far from their base of operations. This, combined with the delay in getting records into the local record offices and in some cases the closure or cuts to record offices and commercial companies around the UK, means that the researcher cannot be sure that an examination of the grey literature for regional units can give them the appropriate picture. This is why the material existing in the records or known to be available from other sources has been put to use here. It was thought that personally engaging with post-excavation work or incomplete reports where available would be a drain on available time and potentially bias this study.. It is hoped, however, that the understanding gained here by the integration of what recent work is available with material from as far back as the 1860's will provide some useful context and perspective which will integrate with future understandings.

Thus it is clear that there are relevant sites in the study area which I have not had full access to due to a variety of reasons, but the 187 sites brought together in this work certainly represent the most complete record examined together to date of this time and place and will stand as an solid background record and context for exciting future research. Though very few of the Roman sites compiled in the gazetteer have ultimately been discussed in the thesis itself, these have been left in the gazetteer as it is hoped that the collection of references and spatial information will be of use to some.

Outline of Thesis

Chapter Two will introduce the study area and associated debates further with a regional history of research and demonstrate the effect that research history has had on assumptions about the region and the ways it has influenced further study.

Chapter Three will focus on the indigenous ceramics of the area, a much maligned assemblage which has never been comprehensively considered for this particular region. It is a very mixed and fragmentary group which does not respond to traditional ceramic quantification, but by considering these pots as a collection of individual, related artefacts we can examine their place in society and how the reflect economy, subsistence and social structure on several scales.

Chapter Four is a contextual analysis of artefact deposition. This will examine contexted artefacts from indigenous sites in the region. After discussing the composition of the assemblage, this will explore the patterning in types of context in which they were deposited and what this demonstrates about the ways in which certain artefacts and types were considered and treated. On a larger scale, the patterns of deposition and how this reflects depositional activities used to reinforce group senses of time and place are examined in reference to the probable scale of the groups involved in deposition.

Chapter Five is an examination of spatial and architectural traditions throughout the region, considering settlement distribution and form and how this reflects the nature and scale of the communities living in the landscape.

Chapter Six summarizes the previous chapters, presents a narrative history of these communities and discusses the larger applications of this work.

Appendices 1-4 contain, respectively, a full gazetteer of the sites compiled for this work, a full list of the ceramic vessels analysed in Chapter Three, full list of the artefacts analysed in Chapter Four and the maps associated with the settlement distribution evidence in Chapter Five.

Chapter Two: History of Research

Introduction

It is well known to most archaeologists that the Iron Age in northern England, or central Britain to use the phrase that may be more balanced (Haselgrove 1999), has a reputation in the 'common knowledge' of many people involved in British archaeology as being ephemeral and devoid of material culture. It is probably equally well known to many that this view has been challenged in a variety of ways in recent years and this chapter seeks to chart the development of all of these ideas as a basis for demonstrating in the following chapters that this region was culturally vibrant, and both unique and deeply connected to wider traditions in the British Iron Age.

This chapter will outline the last two hundred years or so of research in this area, beginning with a general narrative of changing research agendas and then sections providing a more specific focus on the development material culture and settlement research. The goal of this exercise is to demonstrate the degree to which perceptions of this region in the Iron Age have shaped a research agenda which has reenforced those perceptions.

It is also important to note they ways in which the tradition outlined here of portraying the northern Iron Age as culturally bereft has influenced past perceptions of the Roman period in the north by providing a convenient 'blank slate' for the well known and often highly visible military works to be constructed without the need to consider the pre-existing population in conceptions of society. Though this is changing significantly in modern Roman studies, there still exists a need for a coherent narrative of pre-Roman society in the area in order to fully consider the impact of this community on the rapidly shifting larger cultural picture of Roman Britain (see Chapters One and Six) and this thesis hopes to go at least some way towards filling this need. This issue will be further discussed in Chapter Six, but is worth highlighting here to note that a 'self-fulfilling' research tradition in one area of study can have significant impact in others.

A General Summary

The beginnings of the study of the Iron Age of the north-east lie in the mid to late nineteenth century, with local antiquaries such as the Rev. George Rome Hall of Birtley and Alnwick postmaster George Tate working alongside contemporaries such as John Clayton and John Collingwood Bruce, who are better known for their excavations of Roman sites in the region. These men published reports of their excavation and survey on the 'camps' of the region that we now recognize as being of the pre-Roman and Roman Iron Age largely in the pages of *Archaeologia Aeliana* (published to this day by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne) and the now defunct *Transactions* of the Berwickshire Naturalist's Field Club. Occasionally however, their work ranged as far as nationwide publications such as the Society of Antiquaries of London's *Archaeologia* in the case of Rome Hall's (1880) survey of Birtley Fell.

In these early accounts there is no sense that either the archaeological record or the communities who created it were in any way impoverished or even different than in any other part of the country and the archaeological record is taken very much at 'face value'. Throughout the later nineteenth and early twentieth century the region is viewed as a poorly understood period possessing a significant archaeological resource, particularly in the uplands of Northumberland. Though work was slow, it was productive and by the 1940's strides forward had been made in both cataloguing and understanding the resource.

Peggy Piggott's work at Hownam Rings, just outside the present study area, had developed the well known 'Hownam Sequence' as a model for the development of settlements in the area (see below) and the beginnings of a chronological outline for the area (Piggott 1948). Anthony Hogg undertook excavation in the Cheviot Hills on Ingram Hill and Gunnar Peak and discussed some of the results in a national forum, *Antiquity*, in 1943 (Hogg 1943). Hogg also took advantage of aerial photography techniques developed during the war, and in the cataloguing tradition of the *Northumberland County Histories* he published, in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, a *New List of the Native Sites of Northumberland,* giving references and location coordinates for an impressive list of about 500 sites in Northumberland. With an optimism characteristic of the period, Hogg declared that '[i]f excavation continues steadily at the pre-war rate, all will have been examined, and twenty fully excavated, by 2150' (Hogg 1947, p. 145).

The preceding has very much been a history of research between Tyne and Tweed, and this is a very real reflection of the available resource. There is little work to report in County Durham and Teeside until the beginning of the decline of extractive industry in the 1950s and 60s, which unfortunately coincides with the beginning of ideas of a culturally deficient, impoverished Iron Age in the region.

In 1953 Sir Mortimer Wheeler, certainly the world's most famous archaeologist at the time and the nation's first archaeological television personality, turned his attention from India to North Yorkshire and began excavations at the site at Stanwick. These were supported by the Daily Mail newspaper and loomed large in the public and professional spheres at the time in a way that the pre-Roman archaeology of northern England had never before done.

Unfortunately, the conclusions to which Sir Mortimer came from the excavations were less than flattering to the indigenous inhabitants of the area. Wheeler interpreted Stanwick as being very late and almost entirely the product of Roman contact and politics, essentially rejecting the idea that any impetus for the site's construction came from within the indigenous tradition and framing it within Tacitus' account of the struggles of the Brigantian king Venutius against the invading Roman army (Wheeler 1954), with a great deal resting simply on assumption[6]:

> The unwieldy complex in its final form still indeed reflects a single controlling intellect, which can scarcely have been other than that of the ageing Venutius himself. But tactically the whole plan had by now monstrously overgrown its strength must surely, in the ultimate trial, have dissolved into chaos. Its creator, fighting as he doubtless did to the end, was pitting an embattled mob in unwonted conditions against an army engaged upon a normal manoeuvre. Stanwick is at the same time a very notable memorial to a heroic episode of the British resistance and a monument to its futility.
>
> (Wheeler 1954, p. 26)

Wheeler's Stanwick report includes a footnote noting that whilst the volume was in press, he had become aware of Stuart Piggott's similar ideas regarding the northern English Iron Age economy, and the two of them – working off of a very literal reading of Caesar and Strabo, combined with the paucity of artefacts and dramatic remains – essentially cemented

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[6] The bold assumptions based on little evidence made in Wheelers work on Stanwick cannot be seen as a the norm for a less critical period in British archaeology- Colin Haselgrove notes that Christopher Hawkes commented later that the flimsiness of Wheelers broad conclusions was 'remarked on at the time by contemporaries' (Haselgrove 1999, p. 254)

Figure 2.1: *George Jobey (after Oswald et al. 2006 fig. 2.26).*

the 'Celtic Cowboy' idea of a northern Iron Age with little or no agriculture or sedentism: 'the Celtic cow-boys and shepherds, footloose and unpredictable, moving with their animals over rough pasture and moorland, could never adopt the Roman way of life in the manner of the settled farmers of the South' (Piggott 1958, p. 25). Haselgrove (1999, p. 253) and Webster (1999) have noted the extent to which modern north-south biases in England have affected attitudes (Robbins 1999). Particularly as this was a time which saw dramatic expansion of the discipline of archaeology, with Sir Mortimer on the television and other high profile excavations, these statements on the part of two of the most eminent prehistoric archaeologists of the time had enormous popular impact.

Whilst this attitude was firmly taking root, George Jobey was already beginning to work to challenge it. His work on the indigenous archaeology of the north began in 1956 at Gubeon Cottage in Northumberland and continued essentially unabated until his death in 1991. He worked with volunteers and through the continuing education department and later the archaeology department of what was becoming Newcastle University, often on a shoestring budget. One of his obituaries suggested that 'It is unlikely that anywhere in British archaeology at that time there was any greater contrast between the puny financial backing and the value of the results achieved' (McCord 1992, p. 154). He dug an enormous corpus of sites, such that he was remarked to be 'a Commission unto himself', and it is chiefly through his work that we began to know the northern Iron Age, and chiefly through his work that it became clear that to a more sympathetic investigator than Piggott or Wheeler, the northern Iron Age was not primitive, but was indeed different.

Whilst Jobey's work was on the one hand upending the earlier conceptions of the culturally backwards Iron Age, Colin Haselgrove has noted that:

> The growing quantity of Iron Age settlement data uncovered from the 1940s and 1950s onwards … was for many years its undoing, serving only to reinforce existing perceptions of the 'northern' Iron Age as repetitive and essentially uninteresting. The simplicity of structures and lack of finds which made sites straightforward to excavate and publish was naturally seen as a validation of Julius Caear's famous description of Britain (*De Bello Gallico* V, 12), whereby the peoples of the *pars interior* led a backward and materially-impoverished lifestyle compared to their maritime (southern) neighbors.
>
> (Haselgrove 1999, p. 253)

Jobey's work, which was chiefly in Northumberland, was taken up in Durham in the 1980's by Colin Haselgrove, and others. During that decade a great deal of work was done at lowland sites such as Coxhoe West House by Haselgrove and Thorpe Thewles by David Heslop and upland work in Teesdale by Dennis Coggins at Dubby Sike and Forcegarth Pasture, as well as Haselgrove's explorations in southern Scotland and further excavation in and around the site at Stanwick, programmes of mapping aerial photographs and survey. This enormously expanded the scope and context of previous work in Northumberland and larger regional settlement patterns became more apparent whilst some of the differences from Iron Age life further south were more clearly defined. Of particular importance was environmental work by Marijke van der Veen who definitively produced direct evidence for extensive agriculture in the northern Iron Age (van der Veen 1995).

As this work began to reach a wider audience outside the region this is perhaps the first time it can be said to be widely recognized that the northeast was a well populated agricultural area in the later Iron Age, though with many significant regional traits, such as the puzzling lack of material culture which cause many to still view the area as, in some nonspecific way, 'backwards.

In the very late 1990s and early-mid 2000s there was an exciting spate of work with the Iron Age of the north-east, both in academic terms and in field excavation. The TAG conference session and subsequent volume '*Northern Exposure*' (Bevan 1999) provided a nuanced and up to date theoretical perspective on the Iron Age from the midlands to Scotland and provides a fascinating counterpoint to the then-recent *Reconstructing Iron Age Societies,* (Gwilt and Haselgrove 1997) which was a volume whose greater academic scope caused it to focus largely on the south of the country (though unintentionally and with notable exceptions). Several years later, Dennis Harding's volume *The Iron Age in Northern Britain* (Harding 2004) was produced. This work serves as a good overview of much of the evidence in the region, though focusing on Scotland, but unfortunately carries forward many older ideas rather uncritically, particularly in its reference to monolithic cultural groups such as Celts, Romans, Scots, Norse, Britons, Picts &c.

Along with these re-evaluations of aspects of the northern Iron Age, new fieldwork was also occurring. This was both developer funded, in the case of Pegswood Moor, Pig Hill or Blagdon Hall and conducted by local societies such as at Foxrush Farm by the Teeside Archaeological Society or Fawdon Dene by Northern Archaeological Group. There are also ongoing research projects such as a Bollihope Common, Street House and Catcote.This has been problematic for this study, as many of the reports on these sites remain uncompleted or unavailable, due in part to the financial pressures of the mid 2000s (see Chapter One).

These projects have been exciting in opening up the idea of a vibrant northern Iron Age to the public and professional spheres and it is hoped that this work and others will contribute to a further change in our understanding of the north-eastern Iron Age in the coming years.

Material Culture

Much of archaeology remains focused on material culture, and this is particularly true of the later Iron Age. This is perhaps the chief reason that the north-east has seen so little organized work in the period. Barry Cunliffe's standard work on the subject, *Iron Age Communities in Britain* (1974-2005) began as a pottery based Ph.D. thesis, and provides a good example of how the characterization of an entire period can be based largely on the ceramic record. For example, in the 3rd edition of *Iron Age Communities* (Cunliffe 1991), 12 pages (pp. 279-291) of the 683 page volume (0.02%) covers settlement between the Tees and Forth, roughly the area of this study. This bias is more difficult to quantify in edited volumes and other publications on the Iron Age as a whole. As an example however, in the well known volume *Reconstructing*

Iron Age Societies (Gwilt and Haselgrove 1997) has only four papers out of it's 31 contributions which focus on the north of England- 13% of the material.

In north-eastern England, the paucity of material culture and in particular the infrequent and unrefined ceramics have been seen as inferior in quality and of little cultural significance (see below). Through the cycle of continued dismissal of the ceramic tradition which engenders lack of serious study, the ceramic record (or lack thereof) has been key in the perpetuation of the myth that the immediately pre-Roman inhabitants of the north-east were living in a 'retarded Bronze Age cultural tradition', as van der Veen (1992, p. 1) described the prevalent view. Recent work has begun to address this imbalance (Bevan 1999; Haselgrove in press; Proctor 2009), but there remains a prevailing view of the north as a cultural backwater.

This has not always been the case however, and it is useful to consider the history of research into this material and why the present attitudes, which have so shaped ideas of the archaeology of Northern England, came to be. Early excavators and commentators were not dismissive of the indigenous ceramic tradition, though they could hardly be said to be complimentary of its aesthetics. One of the earliest excavators in Northumberland was George Tate, whose work at Greave's Ash (Tate 1861; 1862) provided some of the first published engravings of indigenous ceramics. He described the material from Greaves Ash to the standard of the day, and even implied a date by noting the presence of similar fabrics at the Roman fort at Chesters (Tate 1861, p. 306). He also observed charred residue on the lip of the vessel illustrated and (correctly, according to many current views) described it as a cooking jar.

The Rev. George Rome Hall, in his excavations at Gunnar Peak Camp (Rome Hall 1885), produced several fragments of indigenous vessels which were described

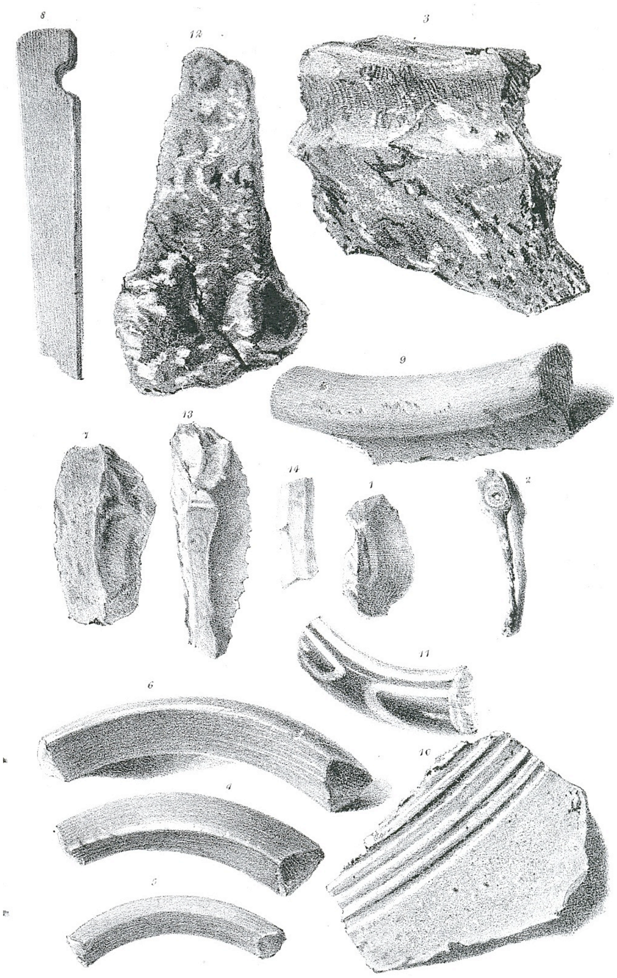

Figure 2.2: *Artefacts from Yeavering Bell, illustrated by George Tate (after Tate 1862).*

alongside and in as much detail as Roman material:

> 'The British pottery— for such the fragment seems— it certainly cannot even by a novice be taken for any kind of Roman *fictilia*— is very coarse in material, black within, only slightly reddened externally by the half-baking process to which it has been subjected at the fire. It shows on the rim, impression of the finger tip and finger nail— an ornament not unusual in this type— of the British lady who may have constructed within these ruined walls her rude native fictile ware for family use.'
>
> (Rome Hall 1885, p. 27-28)

Though this initially seems a somewhat negative view of the material in question, it is notable here that the pottery is given a detailed description and this is then used in interpret-

Figure 2.3: *Sir Mortimer Wheeler's excavations at Stanwick St. John in the early 1950s (after Wheeler 1954 plate XIII).*

ing the creation and use of the artefact. Even the language used, which to our ears seems a negative description of the 'rude' and 'coarse' material, can be seen in a Victorian context as a reenforcement of the 'noble savage' conception of the prehistoric Briton. In many ways the passage might be seen as culturally contextualizing the material to the Victorian mind rather than disparaging it, as we might read such a sentence today.

As late as the 1940s, Ian Richmond offered an interested view of the indigenous or 'Votadinian' pottery from the vicinity of the Breamish Valley (Richmond in Hogg 1942). He noted with excitement that recent discoveries had expanded knowledge of this pottery and, save for some comments now considered to be assumptions — such as the making of the vessels 'it would seem, by feminine hands' (Ibid., p. 128) — Richmond provides an excellent description of the construction and firing of the vessels and of their probable uses. Richmond also considers the relationship with later Anglo-Saxon ceramics. Though this can be seen as an over-enthusiastic attempt to find continuity, it is significant that Richmond here identifies an indigenous craft tradition: 'there is no reason why any Cheviot village community might not have produced pottery of this character in any epoch if isolated and thrown back on its own local resources' (Ibid., p. 122). Though Richmond is far from commendatory about the 'crude and graceless' vessels, he admits that 'the sheer weight of material called for some sort of dexterity' (Ibid., p. 122) and, most importantly, considers the material of academic, if not aesthetic, value.

Certainly the most spectacular excavations in the north-east at the time, if not the most important, were Mortimer Wheeler's diggings at Stanwick St. John in North Yorkshire. Expectations for material culture were high, since the excavations were undertaken in the vicinity of the ill-defined find-spot of the Stanwick Hoard discovered in 1843 (see MacGregor 1962 and Fitts *et al.* 1999); and the site was also being touted as a pre-Roman royal centre. Despite this, the indigenous pottery, 'Brigantian Ware' to Wheeler (Wheeler 1954, p. 38-44), warranted a substantial section of the pottery report, and is well described and illustrated, with discussion included of the forms and fabrics present. Though there is some thought given to relationships with other sites and material, most of the comparisons are with material from southern England, which serves only to highlight the rougher nature of the Stanwick assemblage. Wheeler's report is the first to take up the refrain of 'There is at present little published Yorkshire material with which the Stanwick pottery can be compared…' (Wheeler 1954, p. 39) which becomes a standard (and increasingly illogical) part of many regional pottery discussions in later years, as more material is unearthed.

Wheeler is less prolix in his aesthetic condemnation of the material than his Victorian predecessors, commenting almost immediately that 'the standard of potting is remarkably low.' (Wheeler 1954, p. 33). He then, however, gives the most thorough account of the material available at the time, with description of the inclusions and fabrics providing a level of detail not seen again until the 1990s. However detailed his description may have been though, Wheeler's interpretation revealed a new trend.

Sir Mortimer's interpretation of the Stanwick site and material culture was very literal and in accordance with written, Roman history. He saw the site as the capital of the Brigantes, and their Roman client-queen Cartimandua and tied his phasing to 'historical' events (Wheeler 1954, pp. 3-6)[7]. According to this reading of the site, based heavily on Roman literature, the pre-Cartimanduan Brigantes were wild men of the hills who were only civilized as a result of their heroic, pro-Roman client queen's rebellion against her husband. The unrefined nature of the pottery played into this impression, and the seemingly crude ceramics and allegedly crude lifestyle were used to support each other:

> 'The potter's craft was altogether of a lower order; until the introduction of the wheel it was a woman's job. The Brigantian women cooked, and herself made such elementary pots as she needed for her menial task. She had little enough incentive to ceramic skill. Based upon a meat diet with little in the way of cereals or vegetables, her cooking was of the simplest sort, and her pottery matched her cooking. Only for the mead or country-wine of the menfolk were beakers of quality required, and beakers of quality were now readily obtained from southern or even Gaulish markets, presumably in exchange for metalwork and livestock (animal and human). *Thus regarded, the crude local pottery of Brigantia faithfully reflects a crude pastoral, semi-nomadic economy;* good pottery requires the stimulus and opportunity of settled agriculture, and its absence at Stanwick helps to complete a consistent outline of a social system in which agriculture played a subordinate part.'
>
> (Wheeler 1954, p. 30, emphasis mine)

7 Wheeler's phasing has been dramatically revised by later excavations, see Haselgrove in press and Chapter Five.

This quote, though perhaps subtly, demonstrates a very different attitude on the part of the author than George Rome Hall's similar domestic reconstruction based on ceramic evidence, sixty-nine years earlier. Hall discusses a woman in a 'rude hut' making vessels for family meals, and conjectured that she was the 'happy possessor and wearer of the beautiful harp shaped brooch of bronze' (Rome Hall 1885, p. 27-28). Wheeler has here begun the process of rendering north-eastern indigenous pottery before the Romans essentially marginal in cultural terms.

The tradition of academic research into the pottery of the region was channeled further down this line by Stuart Piggott's literal reading of Caesar (*BG V.14*)[8] and his characterization of the 'Celtic Cowboys' of the region (Piggot 1958). In the wake of *Roman and Native in North Britain* (Richmond 1958), the indigenous north was looked upon less as an area in which interesting research could be profitable and more as a primitive region upon which the Roman conquerors could impose their will freely, fueling the lack of concern for indigenous influence within northern Britannia.

Figure 2.4: *An example of indigenous ceramics from Bonny Grove Farm (photo: the author).*

8 Wheeler even provides a footnote explaining his discovery of Prof. Piggott's similar theories of Iron Age economy whilst the Stanwick volume was in press!

This perspective from Wheeler and Piggot was essentially rooted in North Yorkshire, whilst occasionally ranging up to Traprain Law (Wheeler 1954, p. 34) but ignoring Northumberland, where little work had been undertaken since the Victorian era, and County Durham where little work had occurred at all. This changed in the late 1950s with George Jobey's numerous excavated sites from West Brandon in County Durham to the Borders and Peebleshire (e.g. Jobey 1959; 1962a; 1982; Jobey and Jobey 1987 amongst others).

The threads of Jobey's work ran somewhat counter to the grim imaginings of Wheeler and Piggott, and he championed the idea that the region between Stanwick and Traprain *was* a settled landscape (see Jobey 1962a, p. 1), digging and surveying numerous sites in the region and developing models of landscape and social development in the mould of Mrs. Piggott's Hownam Sequence for south-east Scotland (Piggott, 1948). Jobey's idea of social development across the Iron Age did not focus on the pottery however, since it had been virtually written out of the narrative in the previous decade and so little was found that reappraisal was not considered necessary. In the case of the report on the small excavations at Riding Wood and West Longlee (Jobey 1960), the ceramics found were considered to be so like the assemblage from Huckhoe (Jobey 1959) that they were not described at all! Though his work was critical to the development of the 'big picture' of social and landscape archaeology in the region, Jobey did not involve the meagre material remains in his narratives of social development.

The first serious synthetic study of the pottery of the north-east as a region, at least up to the Tyne, came in D.W. Harding's publication of A. Challis' Ph.D. thesis (Challis and Harding 1975). Again, the manufacture and probable use of later prehistoric pottery was considered, though the nature of the material – its quantity and condition – made the authors reluctant to construct a straightforward fabric and type series. Key points were the identification of local production and clay sources. This work drew on Richmond (1942), but took into account a much wider area which made an organized fabric series difficult to establish. Another important aspect of Challis and Harding was the initial publication of part of the mass of prehistoric ceramics from Catcote, Cleveland, which still awaits detailed publication. Challis and Harding's treatment of the issues regarding the variability of the material and the difficult chronology is sensitive. As they put it:

> 'To attempt classification of pottery on the basis of analogies of form, fabric or style of decoration is clearly a subjective process, and one in which we may

> anticipate a constant reappraisal of the evidence as research in this field progresses. But until laboratory techniques are perfected which make possible the dating of individual sherds of pottery, we believe that this conventional approach to the study of pottery, for all its inadequacies, has some merit in reducing a mass of material to a semblance of order from which further research can proceed.'
>
> (Challis and Harding 1975, preface)

This explicit wish to create a framework for further study makes it all the more unfortunate that the work has been largely ignored. It is the first of several works (e.g. Swain 1987, p. 65). which consider that there is value in examining the material, but that the time is not right- either the assemblage(s) are too small or ragged, or there are too few apt comparisons. In short, the material has often been considered interesting but too difficult to work with.

This attitude results in most site reports starting from scratch with the indigenous ceramics. Though this is in part influenced by the small size of most of the assemblages, this piecemeal approach has resulted in a lack of standardised recording. The question of fabric and type series is a difficult one, as it is most likely that this material is the result of extremely local production (see below for more discussion). This unique challenge and its potential application to other 'difficult' ceramic types has not been addressed at all by previous approaches, which has led to the extreme vagueness and lack of useful categorization on the broad scale. In 1987, Ian and George Jobey's report on Murton High Crags discussed a rough fabric series for the site, but was only able to express possible relationships and similarities by non-specific comparison (Jobey and Jobey 1987). In 1987 the report on the pottery from Thorpe Thewles did typologize the material (Swain 1987, see the full ceramic report in the microfiche), but any explanation of the typology was relegated to the microfiche. The report made only passing reference to the fabric categories used in analysis, with no full explanation of them which would enable further work. With regard to rim sections, for example, it was largely a minute list of rim profiles found on the site, with only a brief (but important!) mention of possibilities these offered in terms of coverings.

The situation was marginally improved in the 1990s with the publication of the material from Bonny Grove Farm (Annis 1996). Despite the small assemblage, a fabric type series was fully described in the report (Vyner in Annis 1996, p. 51). Unfortunately however, few forms were reconstructable. In the 1996 report on the pottery from St. Giles by Brompton Bridge (Manby in Cardwell and Speed 1996), T. G. Manby attempted to divide the small assemblage into 'fine', 'medium' and 'coarse' wares, which (though a laudable attempt at organization) is more modern pigeonholing that the assemblage could support and ultimately not a particularly useful division.

Jeremy Evans published a wide ranging summary of later Iron Age ceramics in North Yorkshire, Cleveland and Durham in 1995 (Evans 1995, discussed further below). His treatment of fabric categories (rather than strict fabric definitions) is a decidedly useful way of approaching the problem of categorization and discussion, but the extremely detailed form typology, based on rim forms, was so refined (the subdivisions of type G having either 'everted, outcurving rims' (Ibid, p. 50) or 'slightly everted, curving rims' (Ibid, p. 51) for example) that it could be said to have little practical relationship to the use or categorization of the vessels, both in the past and today.

Most recently, Steven Willis' work on the ceramics of the area have set a new standard. Unfortunately the most fundamental piece of this work, the large collection from excavations in the 1980s and 1990s at Stanwick remains forthcoming (Willis forthcoming), which in some ways limits the usefulness of his work which references the fabric series employed (e.g. Willis 1997). Willis' approach is more open, giving detailed descriptions of inclusions but considering production local and fabrics more a 'recipe' (Willis in press a) than a strict type and employing a detailed, descriptive rim typology. This is the first large scale framework to be developed and used by a researcher over several sites, even returning to and reevaluating the ceramics from Wheeler's excavations (Willis in press). The work by Willis forms an important part of changing the view of the region by presenting some analysis of the pottery in a structured manner along with a series of old and new excavations being published which shed new light on the period (Haselgrove in press; Proctor 2009; Cool and Mason 2008)

It can be seen then that the shifting attitudes towards this material have significantly affected attitudes towards and thus interpretations of the region as a whole. Through the past thirty years in particular there has been a gradual shift from a near dismissal of the ceramic evidence to an attitude that it is interesting, but difficult or problematic to work with. Thus there is no larger scale framework for analyzing and discussing the material.

Settlement

Northumberland

The initial exploration of what we now know as Iron Age settlement was conducted with remarkable acumen by George Tate and George Rome Hall in the 1860-80s, who produced splendidly illustrated reports of their activities at Yeavering Bell (Tate 1862), Greave's Ash and Prickly Knowe (Tate 1861, see figure 2.5), Carry House Camp (Rome Hall 1880) and Gunnar Peak (Rome Hall 1885). These excavations and surveys, of which Rome Hall's at Carry House Camp is perhaps the finest, were exceptional in their day but sadly provide little to work with for the modern researcher as they were essentially records of what was found but not always precisely where it was sought.

The serious enquiry into and cataloguing of earthwork enclosures in the north-east began in the pages of the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*. In 1923, R. C. Hedley, inspired by the work of Christison in Scotland (Christison 1898), published a list of references compiled by his son Percy and his own rather forceful discussion of the phenomenon of earthwork enclosures (Hedley 1923). To the reader who came into the field during or after the work of George Jobey, beginning less than 40 years later, it is extraordinary to observe the state of knowledge at the time. Hedley approaches the noted but undated phe-

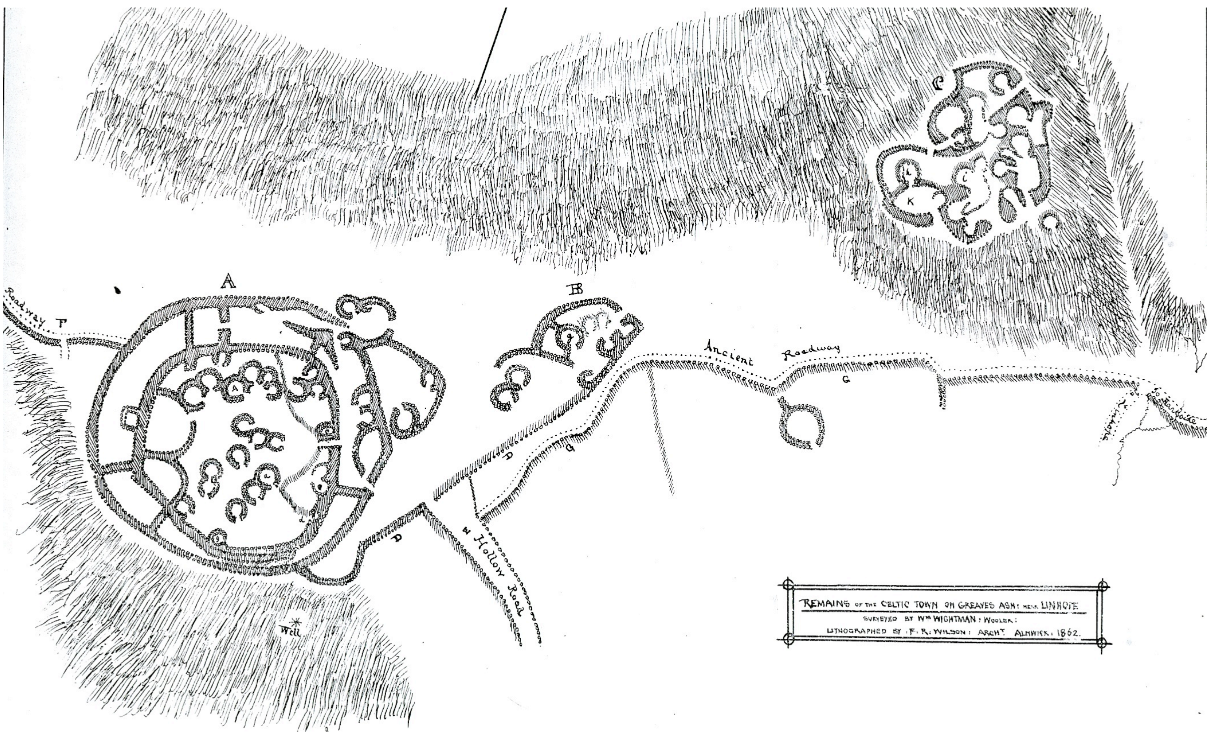

Figure 2.5: *George Tate's plan of Greaves Ash (after Tate 1861).*

nomenon of ancient 'camps' or 'forts' as described in the previous hundred years or so by MacLachlan and others by saying that '[i]t cannot be too strongly insisted that at present we are absolutely unable to determine even the approximate age of our earthworks' (Hedley 1923, p. 81) and fixed their age only sequentially, offering the thought that '[s]imilar works constructed by races emerging from a state of barbarism to civilization which have been noted and described in recent times, provide much that is suggestive and illustrative' (Hedley 1923, p. 81).

Hedley found it unlikely that the earthworks in question were a product of the later Iron Age or any part of the Roman period. This belief stemmed from his assertion that the works were military in character, but that they seemed unfit to resist the advance of the Roman legions and more suited to a military tradition of local raiding, much like the warfare that plagued the area until the 17th century. On the whole, though Hedley avoided any definite statement of date, he considered the monuments associated with tribal raiding of reasonably remote prehistory.

In the later 1930s, the gap left by the lack of a Victoria County History for Northumberland was filled with the publication of the final volumes of the Northumberland County History. The final two volumes, XIV and XV (Hope-Dodds 1935; Hope-Dodds 1940), contain prehistoric sections which together cover nearly the entirety of the county, making up for absences in earlier volumes. These provide the first useful categorization system of earthworks, which was noticeably lacking from Hedley's work as he considered the form of the camps to be 'of comparably little importance (Hedley 1923, p. 86)

These contributions were revisited in the1940s by A.H.A. Hogg in two forms, a synthetic article in *Antiquity* (Hogg 1943) and a more detailed article accompanied by a new and considerably expanded list of sites and bibliography in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne* (Hogg 1947). Though indebted in many ways to Hedley's work, these represented major advances in understanding of earthworks in the region and synthesize the work of Hedley and the County Histories into a coherent dataset for the county of Northumberland. Most importantly, excavation and investigation in the intervening period at a number of sites (see Hogg 1947, p. 150) suggested that these earthwork monuments spanned the later Bronze Age into the Medieval period but were frequently of Iron Age date, and that they could be roughly morphologically dated and categorized. More practically, exact locations of all sites discussed were provided as latitude and longitude coordinates.

Hogg's categorization system was as follows (Hogg 1947, p. 148-9):

Ring: Broadly circular enclosures exceeding .25 acres in area

Oval: As above, but oval

Cliff: Curvilinear enclosures in which part of the 'defenses' is a cliff face

Prom: 'Promontory forts, formed by ramparts drawn nearly straight or in a slight curve across a promontory' (Hogg 1947, p. 148)

Hill: Hilltop enclosures in which the ramparts follow the available topography

Irreg.: 'Sites which appear to be fortified, but which show no obvious regularity in plan' (Hogg 1947, p. 148)

Rect.: Roughly rectilinear enclosures

Enc.: Sub .25 acre oval enclosures

Vill.: Open settlements

Hut: Individual hut circles

P.N.: Place-names[9]

Motte: Medieval mottes, included only when there was some risk that they would be in future confused with a indigeous settlement

Site: Sites of uncertain form which were recorded in the past and have since been destroyed

Whilst the early work by Hedley stressed the lack of knowledge and rather severely outlined instructions for further research, Hogg's work was altogether more optimistic about the dataset, and prior to listing his more than 500 sites he suggested that 'If excavation continues steadily at the pre-war rate, all will have been examined, and twenty fully excavated, by 2150.' (Hogg 1947, p. 145).

Given the enormity of the dataset collected by Hogg, it was clear that some subdivisions must be considered individually and this was taken up by George Jobey in 1960, fresh from his excavations at Gubeon Cottage (Jobey 1957) and Huckhoe (Jobey 1959). He focused on the rectilinear settlements and presented in *Archaeologia Aeliana* (Jobey 1960) a categorization and list of these sites along with the results of his small scale excavations at three sites and a discussion of their general type (Riding Wood, Bridge House and West Longlee, all of Jobey's type A; see Chapter Five). Whilst the OS grid system was only coming into wider use

9 It is interesting to note that Hogg so enthusiastically accepted place-name evidence, to the extent of including entries in his list based entirely on the element 'chester'. This is particularly notable since Hedley had taken the opposite extreme view, stating 'The snare of derivations and significance of place-names ought to be carefully avoided. Much erudition has been wasted on the subject, and the result has tended to bring archaeology into disrepute as an exact science' (Hedley 1923, p. 17)

in Hogg's time and mapping of Northumberland using the modern OS grid system was unavailable to him (see Hogg 1947, p. 151), Jobey presents an organised list of rectilinear sites in that more accessible format for the first time.

Jobey refined Hogg's categories for rectilinear sites, far more dramatically than the 'brief, even if tentative, reclassification of the rectilinear sites included in Mr. Hogg's List…' (Jobey 1960, p. 32) which he suggests. In focusing on rectilinear enclosures Jobey also widens his chronological spectrum to include a small number of medieval sites in the considered typology, which are further considered by him in *Archaeologia Aeliana* the following year (Jobey 1961). His typology is outlined below:

A. The primary type of settlement considered in Jobey's 1960 article, these are stone built enclosures containing roundhouse remains. They are roughly rectilinear and frequently have a sunken yard area in the third of the settlement facing the entrance, often with paved pathways leading to the houses in the centre of the enclosure, whilst the furthest third of the enclosure is generally empty. This general pattern, however, is highly variable. Jobey considers them to be of broadly second century AD date.

B. Irregular stone enclosures with roundhouse architecture which do not display some of the signatures of type A settlements, such as yards and pathways. Considered broadly Roman period.

C. Small, rectilinear enclosures containing one or possibly two roundhouses. Jobey likens these to the types of settlement uncovered in Roxburghshire such as Crock Cleuch (Keeney and Steer 1947) and Hownam (Piggott 1948) and considers them to be likely Roman.

D. Unusual, multivallate rectilinear sites of uncertain date.

E. Post-Roman moated farms.

F. Post-Roman steadings.

After this, in 1962, Jobey went on to add a short article and discussion of 'scooped' settlements (Jobey 1962b) in the north-east, though their distribution is confined to north

Northumberland and the Borders. Though essentially a short description and survey of several sites, this article first firmly established the probable late prehistoric date for these settlements rather than the late medieval dates theretofore considered (probably a result of reoccupation) and Jobey considered them to be a forerunner of the 'Type A' settlements of the Roman Iron Age.

Jobey's final survey article in *Archaeologia Aeliana* came in 1965 when he considered Iron Age hill-fort type settlements, that is to say settlements with earthwork boundaries. These were simply categorized by univallate or multivallate enclosures and subsequently by size.

By the middle of the 1960s then, survey work and very limited excavation on both sides of the Border (see Piggott 1948; Feachem 1961) had established a fair understanding of the wide distribution, several types and rough chronology of Iron Age and Roman settlement in Northumberland, beginning (simplistically) with open Bronze Age settlements such as at Greene Knowe (subsequently excavated, see Jobey 1980), hill-forts and palisaded settlements of the earlier Iron Age which gave way to enclosed and 'scooped' settlements around the turn of the millennium.

On the whole this remains the present understanding of the settlement history of the area, though this has been greatly expanded in some places by work by English Heritage in the Northumberland National Park, where extensive survey projects have explored hill-forts (strongholds of the northumberland national park) and unique landscapes such as the south-east Cheviots in detail (Topping and Pearson 2008) and very recent work in the coastal plane north of Newcastle at Pegswood Moor (Proctor 2009) and East and West Brunton by PCA North and Tyne and Wear Museums have revealed that larger scale enclosed settlement such as that seen at Thorpe Thewles (Heslop 1987) and Catcote (Long 1988; Vyner and Daniels 1989) is seen in the first centuries AD to the north and south of Hadrian's Wall.

Durham, Cleveland and North Yorkshire

The situation in Durham, Cleveland and those parts of North Yorkshire included in the study is rather different. The area has received much less attention overall and has a far shorter history of systematic study than Northumberland and the Borders, most likely due to the comparative lack of good upland preservation of remains and the extensive industrial history of the area which has potentially erased so much. The Victoria County History for Durham provides only rough and speculative accounts of early settlement in the area and antiquarian reports of hill-forts are unconvincing. The rather unique settlements at Stanwick St. John in North Yorkshire (Wheeler 1954; Haselgrove forthcoming) and Eston Nab (Vyner 1988; Elgee 1930) are the only known large scale standing earthwork settlements to be accepted in this study. Optimistic antiquaries have recorded potential hill-forts at Maiden Castle near Durham City, Shackleton Beacon at Heighington and at Toft Hill in Teesdale but none of these are convincing. The earthworks at Maiden Castle are likely best explained by the early medieval pottery found in excavations there (Jarret 1958) whilst Toft Hill was posited as a hill-fort which had suffered from extractive industry in the *VCH* but has now been entirely mined away without excavation. The argument is not convincing on the whole. Shackleton Beacon may be the most likely candidate as it was recorded as a 'Danish fort' with a garden folly incorporated in 1794 (Hutchinson 1823) but has subsequently been planted with trees and further landscaped. Particularly considering the lack of hillforts in the surrounding area, this does not seem a good candidate either.

With little by way of the standing remains for which Northumberland and the Borders were best known, the area was posited as perhaps simply a blank (see Jobey 1962a, p. 1) but the development of aerial survey techniques after the Second World War began to shed some light and Jobey excavated what is now a classic 'type site' for lowland rectilinear enclosures at West Brandon in 1962 (Jobey 1962a). Jobey did little other work in County Durham but aerial survey continued (Harding 1989; Still and Vyner 1986; Still, Vyner and Bewley 1989; Challis and Harding 1975) and in the 1980s interest was renewed and Colin Haselgrove and others began to pursue more active excavation in lowland (Haselgrove and Allon 1982; Heslop 1987) and upland (Fairless and Coggins 1980; 1986) areas and survey programmes (Turnbull and Jones 1978; Haselgrove *et al.* 1988). Early in this period a number of comprehensive synthetic articles were produced (Haselgrove 1982; Haselgrove 1984), as well as an excellent study of settlement form and society by Gill Ferrell (discussed at length in Chapter Five, see Ferrell 1995; 1998) and though Haselgrove revisited the subject recently (Haselgrove 1999; 2002) these foundations have not been significantly updated since then[10].

The early 1990s also saw the significant work by Leon Fitts and Colin Haselgrove in the vicinity of the unique site at Stanwick St. John and the findspot of the Stanwick Hoard (MacGregor 1962) at Melsonby (Wheeler 1954; Haselgrove, Fitts and Turnbull 1991; Welfare

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10 Though it should be noted that the introductory material for the report on Pegswood Moor (Proctor 2009) and the regional research framework (Petts and Gerrard 2006) both provided good but brief recaps of recent work

et al. 1991; Haselgrove, Turnbull and Lowther 1991; Haselgrove and Fitts 1999; Haselgrove forthcoming).

The work of the 1980s and 90s was vital in bringing work on the north-eastern Iron Age up to date with wider archaeological thinking, though it is unfortunate that small scale publication of much of the material limited its penetration into wider archaeological thinking. Though important, this work suffered from being based primarily in a heavily model-driven approach. Whilst Haselgrove's synthetic works are less explicit about this, the main manifestation being the strength of the proposed division between upland and lowland groups, others working at the time took a more directly model driving approach.

The two most influential works to come out of this period of study were an exploration of agriculture in the pre-Roman north-east by van der Veen (1992) and the aforemention edsettlement survey across sample areas of the north east by Gill Ferrell (1995). Though extremely valuable works in their broad conclusions, these both take explicitly model driven approaches Van der Veen sought to determine the role of settlements in production, processing or consumption of grains on a model presuming clear differentiation between these categories, whilst Ferrell assessed settlement through statistical models, primarily rank size analysis. Both of these approaches proved fruitful, but in the subsequent chapters I will suggest that more flexible ways of looking at the material in question may produce results which fit better with the larger archaeological record known today.

Overall the picture of settlement patterns and types is not as well developed in this area, though ongoing projects such as those at Bollihope Common (Young and Webster 2006; Young, Webster and Newton 2008; Young and Webster 2010) and Catcote will hopefully continue to shed light on this in the coming years.

Upland settlement seems to consist of small, often stone built nucleated settlements whilst the pattern of lowland settlements has traditionally been seen as isolated rectilinear enclosures such as Coxhoe and West Brandon, most recent work involving large scale stripping of sites in advance of development has shown the Tees Valley have exposed large sites with a complex network of rectilinear enclosures or boundaries. Amongst the issues explored below is whether these represent different settlement trajectories or types or whether this is a product of the fieldwork which produced the data.

The area also contains several entirely anomalous sites, such as the regions only hillfort at the mouth of the Tees at Eston Nab, the highly unusual sites at Melsonby and Stanwick St. John as well as suggestions of Roman period roundhouses at the villas at Holme

House Piercebridge at Old Durham and an increasing recognition of non-military, non roundhouse dwelling Roman period settlements. This is perhaps to be expected in an area which clearly had more early trading links with the Roman provincial world (as demonstrated by finds at Catcote and Thorpe Thewles) and was likely a more culturally fluid and debatable area than those beyond the wall in the early Roman period.

Summary

This section has outlined the development of study of the north-eastern Iron Age in the previous two centuries or so. This has demonstrated that Victorian thinkers viewed the material in question as both interesting and valid, in quantity and quality. It was only in the 1950s, with the work of Mortimer Wheeler and Stuart Piggott (influential academics and, in Wheeler's case, an influential public figure) that the suggestion that the northern indigenous peoples were somehow deficient or impoverished came to be seen. These ideas largely came from an uncritical repetition of the statements of classical authors and from the expectation that the material unearthed would be directly comparable to the same period in other parts of the country or continent.

These views on settlement and society were challenged by George Jobey, Colin Haselgrove, others throughout the later half of the twentieth century, though without an extensive focus on the admittedly scarce material culture of the region. It is in the last twenty years or so that attitudes have finally come to change in wider archaeological circles and the northern Iron Age is again viewed as potentially fertile ground for research and it is clear that, though it is one of Britain's 'different Iron Ages' there are connections with the wider world which cannot be ignored.

Thus, having demonstrated how strongly attitudes and research strategies have been shaped by the history of research, the remainder of this thesis will seek to use the excavated record, with particular focus on the under-studied material culture of the region, to explore those similarities and differences in north-eastern indigenous society and further contextualised it within wider views of the Later and Roman Iron Ages of Britain.

Chapter Three: Indigenous Ceramics

Introduction

Having outlined previous research on indigenous ceramics in Later Iron Age northern England, this chapter will discuss why the material does not respond well to traditional ceramic analysis and will seek to provide an alternative framework for analysis. Through use of this analytical framework it will be demonstrated that these ceramic assemblages are able to reveal a great deal about the social and economic choices of the indigenous communities of north-eastern England and show that ceramic assemblages once thought to be indicative of cultural and material poverty are in fact a representation of the priority and needs of vibrant communities.

This will start with a discussion of how the standard approaches to ceramic assemblages can cause the indigenous ceramics to be marginalized, before moving on to a definition of the indigenous ceramic assemblage and the difficulties posed by the loose chronology and small quantity of material available. This is followed by the main data collection strategy for reconstructable vessels and discussion of how alternative means of considering the functionality of the ceramic assemblage might be more useful than traditional ceramic analysis. Finally, the assemblage is characterized discussed alongside the evidence for diet and environment in the northern Iron Age to present a picture of how this unusual assemblage may have functioned.

Aims and Objectives

The primary objective of this chapter is to provide a synthesis of the available Iron Age ceramics of the region in order to integrate the material into the better understood types of material culture discussed in Chapter Four. Additionally, it is hoped that this work will provide a foundation for further study of the material and I aim to create a flexible framework for describing and discussing Iron Age ceramics of the north-east. It is hoped that this work will demonstrate the potential of alternative, less quantitative analysis methods for small, non-mass produced ceramic assemblages. An important part of this is discussing the foodways of the pre-Roman Iron Age in greater detail and thus appropriately contextualize the ceramic and cultural changes of the early centuries of the first millennium AD.

Background to Ceramic Research

The history of research into the indigenous ceramics in the north-east of England has been discussed in full in Chapter Two. This section will discuss the place of these assemblages within the wider study of pottery and why alternative methods may be needed to make the most of these potentially data-rich assemblages.

Ceramic assemblages of the latest centuries BC and the early first millennium AD in the north-east of England generally comprise several categories of material, which can be defined as:

- Ceramics in the indigenous tradition
- Roman coarsewares
- Imported finewares (such as Terra Sigillata, Terra Nigra &c.)
- Vessels for specific purposes (such as amphorae, mortaria, flagons, briquetage &c.)
- Non-vessels (such as lamps, spindle whorls, statuettes &c.)

I will demonstrate below that, usually, these categories of material have been studied as separate entities, or several separate entities, by individual specialists with little or no attempt made to synthesize the entirety of the ceramic assemblage of the site in question in functional rather than economic terms. Chapter Two has detailed how assumptions about the usefulness of the indigenous ceramic assemblage have caused it to be understudied on many exclusively Iron Age sites, and I would like to note here how the modern system of dealing with ceramics on sites which produce these different types continues to under-utilize and misunderstand the indigenous ceramic tradition.

Elaine Morris laments that on many prehistoric sites, pottery is not discussed by function and use but ‘primarily as a marker of chronology’ (Morris 2002, p. 54). This lamentable situation is less common in the this area though, as the assemblages are extremely mixed on many sites Roman material culture can be so readily dated and the indigenous assemblage so strikingly non-diagnostic. Instead the pottery becomes a matter of the perceived status of the site.

This pigeonholing of ceramic remains at the earliest stages of analysis encourages the study of pottery in mainly macroeconomic rather than sociocultural terms (though see Cool 2006 and Biddulph 2008 for some alternative looks at Romano-British dining). At its simplest, this creates a situation in which categories of pottery are considered proxies for particular economic trends, i.e. the ratio of indigenous tradition coarsewares to 'Roman' pottery is seen as a measure of economic interaction between these two spheres (and thus implicitly, the economic 'success' of the settlement). In the same vein, amphorae, stamped mortaria and exotic, imported wares are seen to represent the extent of trade relations and access to 'elite' goods (a term rarely convincingly explained). Though this larger scale economic data is often used to explain large-scale aspects of society and changes in the archaeological record (see Greene 1986) the everyday utilization and function of the vessels and assemblages as well as the practices, traditions and actions which they indicate is rarely explicitly explored.

An example of this approach can be seen in the major report on several decades of excavation on the fort and *vicus* at Catterick in North Yorkshire (Wilson 2002). The final report details each category of material for each series of excavations separately. This results in three major pottery report sections, each covering separate analysis of several sites with the various material from each analysed by different individuals at different times. These sections in turn are summed up by a synthesis of the ceramics covering only four of the 567 pages of the first volume of the monograph, of which 261 pages are pottery report. Given the data with which it had to work, this synthesis (Evans 2002) focuses on dating evidence, brief site comparisons and pottery supply (i.e. economic interactions). In the case of Catterick, the compilers of the volume were seriously hampered in synthetic analysis by having to bring together so many older reports, and rather than suggesting that the authors neglected to fully explore the pottery assemblage, this clearly demonstrates that such a categorical and compartmentalized approach at the outset can make it very difficult to bring new ideas of analysis to bear on older assemblages and reports.

This is an exceedingly difficult problem to overcome, especially since on such large sites time and money for pottery analysis must be focused quite carefully. Even on more discrete sites than Catterick though, basics of standardization are often not considered fully. In the recent and informative report on the 1969-1981 excavations at Piercebridge (Cool and Mason 2008), the indigenous tradition and Anglian pottery is given a combined chapter (Cooper 2008, and see below for further discussion of ideas of continuity in ceramic assemblages and the problems with this approach) which is again separated from the mass of specialist reports on other pottery types. No Estimated Vessel Equivalents (EVEs) are given (as they are for amphorae and others) simply sherd weights and fabric percentages. It is notable that a few assemblages (the inner and outer fort ditches primarily) are given full contextual treatment in the report (i.e. fabric distribution as weight percent, sherd percent and EVE percent for a feature) and show a mix of all the ceramics discussed in separate reports, but the reader is left unable to reconstruct other features assemblages for themselves. Though we can tell that the outer ditch area contained 0.12% indigenous tradition pottery by EVE (Croom, *et al.* 2008, p. 214) there is no EVE information given for the entire indigenous tradition assemblage. As the assemblage is separated to be looked at as a whole, important quantifiable and contextual information is left out. It is all the more unfortunate since the reports in the volume are of such a high, modern standard.

This compartmentalized analysis is also present, perhaps more glaringly so, on smaller sites. At Catcote in the 1963-64 excavations, fragments of an exceedingly delicate 'eggshell ware' beaker were discovered, dating at latest from the very early second century and very possibly imported, as it is of finer quality than examples produced around Londinium (Long 1988, p. 27). This object prompted a lengthy discussion of its dimensions, quality, parallels, and possible sources; but no discussion of why the inhabitants of this community may have required or desired such an object or the possible physical and social uses to which the item was put. A disparate assemblage of additional non-indigenous material, such as a Terra Nigra platter and graffittied Terra Sigillata fragments, are not discussed at all beyond a basic description. The Finewares and Gallo-Belgic Pottery, Romano-British Pottery and Iron Age Pottery are all discussed in different sections with no quantification and no summary of the ceramic assemblage. It is clear that the ceramics are considered as economic proxies more than a reflection of the actions or intentions of past agents or communities.

These observations are not offered as criticism, but to highlight the difficulty in using the ceramics as published to create a picture of life on a site rather than a series of economic hypotheses. Such an approach leaves indigenous pottery in a middle ground- it is not quantified so as to be fully comparable with other assemblages, but neither is it discussed fully it its own right.

This demonstrates that the present frameworks for studying pottery pigeonhole certain types as indicators of certain economic functions and then attempt to reintegrate the subsequent specialist reports into a summary which often becomes a brief and dry economic discussion of the site. This method of studying ceramics continues to marginalize the indigenous ceramic assemblage which, as seen above, has been already marginalized by previous researchers with differing research interests and often assumptions that the indigenous ceramics had little to offer.

It is suggested here that the indigenous ceramic assemblage be studied more individually, as a series of artefacts rather than economic proxies. A full understanding of the indigenous assemblage in its own right, presented here, will allow a more effective comparison with incoming Roman material, discussed in Chapter Four.

Deposition and Economies

Economy

When discussing the splitting of ceramic assemblages into differing categories of economic proxy, assumption about contemporary economics must be made clear. The economy of the Roman empire has been conceptualized in a number of different ways, and key debates mainly centre around the 'difference' of the ancient economy. In short this addresses whether it was a fundamentally different means of, as Sheidel and von Reden put it, 'coordinat[ing] human competition for scarce resources' (Sheidel and von Reden 2002, p. 1), or one which which operates largely on the rules of our own modern market economy. The idea that the ancient economy might be fundamentally different and driven mostly by social and status based elite pressures was first explored by Moses Finley in *The Ancient Economy* (1973), a work which crystalized much of the debate for several decades afterwards. In this he was influenced by the ideas of Karl Polanyi, who first discussed the idea of a socially embedded economy (as essentially advocated by Finley) as alternative to classical economics (see principally Polanyi 1957; 1977; Polanyi *et al.* 1957).

In these debates about the economic systems of the Roman empire, the larger picture of how societies form and reflect economies is often overlooked (Sheidel and von Reden 2002, pp. 1-2). The basis of Finley's work was a rejection of the modern economics of his time in order to embrace the difference of the ancient economy, and this assertion at least was seen as the last word for some time (i.e. Greene 1986; Garnsey *et al.* 1983). However, Finley's premise of an elite driven economic system for the Mediterranean region from the first millennium BC through to around 500 AD has faced mounting archaeological criticism as evidence for more extensive trade and market-type economies than Finley envisioned becomes available- as Sheidel and von Reden suggest, 'tensions between the historical record and the model which was meant to make sense of it.' (Sheidel and von Reden 2002, p. 3). Woolf (1992) for example explicitly explores the archaeological 'patterning' of material culture (Woof 1992, p. 289) and concludes that any realistic economic model must be capable of explaining this. Sheidel and von Reden therefore call attention the to macroeconomic and socio-economic theorizing which has taken place since Finley's original rejection of the role of modern economic thought in the ancient economy, particularly the work of Douglass C. North. North (1990), puts forward the framework that economic systems are composed of various economic, social and political organizations. These are both the organizations which societally mediate the economic forces of supply, demand, production, distribution, &c. and the means by which these organizations are not simply controlled by the mechanics of a free market economy, or as North describes it, the 'individualistic rational calculus of neoclassical theory' (North 1981, p. 12).

This thesis therefore abandons the monolithic Finley model and instead works from the structure of North's model of economic systems. Within this it is clear that societal mediation plays a major role in the character of an economic system and thus societies create unique economies. Within this model of socially mediated economy, it can be said that all are 'embedded' in the traditional sense but they may, as in the case of modern western capitalism, socially mediate a free market economy (in a way not dissimilar to Polanyi's premise (1957) that disembedded economies have been pushed out of 'embeddedness' by political force). In the same way, all economies are indeed as 'different' from each other as Finley stressed the ancient economy to be from our own as all different societies mediate the economy differently. This suggestion of an economic system in the ancient world is flexible and reflexive, in some ways similar to the structuration theory outlined above. In addition to explaining economies across the ancient world, this model provides room for communities on the edge of the larger systems of ancient economy controlled in part by states such as the Roman empire to have varied and socially mediated interaction with larger economic circles.

Deposition and Quantification

In depositional regimes and other practices related to material culture we can observe a physical (and thus potentially archaeologically recoverable) expression of cultural attitudes (which mediate economies) and begin to explore the psychological and practical value of objects (a key aspect of economy). Therefore the spectrum of different depositional regimes at work in northern Britannia, incorporating indigenous and external traditions, can be shown to represent different societies and their respective economies. It is beyond the remit of this study to engage with the larger world of Roman imperial and ancient economies; but as archaeological remains are a reflection of cultural and thus economic practice, we can discuss the regimes at work in the area and provide some relevant economic insight.

Broadly speaking, the Roman military community participated in a consumption economy where items were frequently discarded and replaced for social or practical reasons. A cycle of production/importation and discard which is not necessarily unfamiliar[11] to us today is evidenced on Roman military sites. This is witnessed, for example, through the spread and deposition of Dressel 20 amphorae from Baetica (see Tyers 1996; Woolf 1992; Blazquez 1992; Funari 1996), though such large scale deposition of material with a commercial aspect is interwoven with what is very possibly genuine loss (debris in bathhouse drains and ground into floors or pavements) and apparently ritual depositions (see Clarke 1997; Fulford 2001 and Isserlin 1994 for more on ritual deposition in 'Roman' contexts). In essence, the Roman military community (James 2001) was economically and socially at least partially engaged in large scale, perhaps Empire wide, networks and thus larger patterns of economic cause and effect. This connection need not actually be more than minimal to create a psychological relationship in the mind of the individual agent and thus affect ideas of consumption. This is key to the idea of consumer agency in the economy of Britannia, as explored in villa construction by Chris Martins (2005). The identification of such consumer practice is an important aspect of the changes of the early first millennium.

It seems that indigenous communities' treatment of material culture was less based in a consumptive idea than that of their contemporaries living a more 'Romanized' lifestyle, and perhaps participating more fully in the larger economy of the province. Production of ceramic material in the indigenous tradition is almost invariable extremely local (see below), giving excellent opportunity for expression of varied scales of identity in ceramic creation but little chance to exercise consumer agency. As will be demonstrated in Chapter Four, the majority of material used and deposited on indigenous settlements is of localized origin.

Given the infrequency of deposition, as indicated by the low number of artefacts recovered (see below and Chapter Four) and the high levels of patterning of this deposition, it seems that the more common cycle of objects in indigenous communities was local production of common materials or trading for exotics such as glass beads or rings (see Guido 1978; Kilbride-Jones 1937; Stevenson 1956; 1976), some metalwork (see Hunter 2007a) and fine-

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11 A familiarity which has a dangerous capability to skew archaeological thought, see Chapter One.

wares (see Chapter Four). After the use of the items came careful, deliberate deposition. Since the pioneering work on structured deposition in the 1990s (Fitzpatrick 1984; Hill 1995; also Fulford 2001; Hingley 1990) the idea that some archaeological deposits are the result of careless discard has been heavily challenged. Whilst structured deposition remains a debated term, human agency is increasingly being identified in the creation of the archaeological record which we excavate. Richard Hingley has recently worked on the deposition of individual iron objects on Roman and pre-Roman sites (Hingley 2006a; 2006b). Though these have not previously been considered to be ritual deposits, Hingley shows that they can display some distinct patterning and many individual objects can be considered structured deposits. It thus appears unlikely that *any* objects found on indigenous sites in northern Britain are the result of casual loss whilst the material on Roman forts is clearly the result of a complex series of discards and deliberate depositions. Is it possible then to compare these depositional regimes in a meaningful way?

Though the relationships between the 'life assemblage' and deposited material on any archeological site are always an unknown, one of the great tacit assumptions of archaeology is that this relationship might be similar between similar sites so that comparisons may be sensibly made (see Woodward 1997, p. 31); that a fort with significantly more Dressel 20 amphora than another might indeed have consumed more olive oil (or at least more oil amphora). Between, for example, an indigenous farmstead and a Roman fort, with their very different depositional regimes, quantitative comparisons bearing any relationship to alleged life assemblages is impossible. The difficulty of comparison between these idealized site types is insignificant though when compared to the bewildering array of different and unique sites found in Britannia, particularly in the north-east of the province. How is one to know how the mix of depositional regimes was played out in various small towns, rural agglomerations, *vici*, villas, farmsteads and so on?

As discussed above, pottery specialists often seem to have been unwilling to go beyond the use of quantitative and economic analysis, and since the evidence is insufficient to allow this type of analysis on many sites in the north-east, pottery studies have foundered; as a result antiquated, culture-historical type categories and boundaries remain in the separation of Roman and 'native' pottery in reporting strategies. Assemblage sizes on pre-Roman and indigenous tradition sites in the area range from zero to several thousand sherds. In the larger cases traditionally quantitative pottery analysis can be successful and useful within a traditional framework, and there is no doubt that work such as at Thorpe Thewles (Heslop 1987) has helped to form a basis of understanding the ceramics for this study. But considering the wider picture of the region, one sees that smaller assemblages are failing to provide meaningful data in this quantitative model; sites such as Belling Law (Jobey 1977) or Prickly Knowe (Richmond in Hogg 1942), each providing one rim sherd, are unable to provide information in this paradigm. Meanwhile, on larger sites such as those discussed above at Catterick (Wilson 2002 and Piercebridge (Cool and Mason 2008), specialist reports for a remarkably small component of the total assemblage are duly published as separated and largely unintegrated. This study is based on the acceptance of the limits of quantitative analysis in this context and focuses on expanding our knowledge of the period and area by considering the presence and absence of various wares and types and considering the functionality of changing assemblages to the best that they can be reconstructed.

In this chapter, the ceramics of indigenous tradition will be detailed, as this will form the basis of a conceptualization of the use and attitudes towards ceramics in later prehistory. These form the ceramic background for the changes under discussion and are a particularly high priority as there is no current satisfactory framework for their study, though the North East Regional Research Framework for the Historic Environment (Petts and Gerrard 2006), the Study Group for Roman Pottery research framework (Willis 2004, p. 15) and the Prehistoric Pottery Research Group (1991) have identified the study of indigenous ceramic traditions as a priority. In Chapter Four, the results of these investigations will be considered in the larger economic and social picture of changing assemblages and practices. A basic theoretical tenet of this study is that change in the composition of indigenous pottery assemblages in the Roman period should not be expected- as North says, one must 'account for either stability or change in those [economic] structures (North 1981, p. 3). It is a progressivist myth that the ceramic habits of indigenous population *must* naturally change with the arrival of the Roman military and civilian communities, and the change we see in indigenous assemblages requires explanation (Evans 1995). The primary goal of research should be to explain this change, and this must begin with an understanding of the local craft tradition.

As part of the larger attempt to reintegrate the indigenous ceramic tradition and use the unusual ceramic assemblages of the region to explore more complex social issues (see Chapter Four), this chapter will consider ceramic vessels themselves as objects, rather than their constituent potsherds as bulk finds. Ceramic assemblages can then be seen as assemblages of artefacts rather than categories of potsherds. Considering the quantitatively small but varied ceramic record in the north-east, this angle of analysis is ideal. Though many of these vessels are reconstructed from sherds, these fragments once made up a vessel which was created and used by agents in the past. This creation and use were important aspects of expressing identity on various scales, and using sufficiently reconstructible vessels they can be examined. A key part of, or perhaps postscript to, use of these vessels is their deposition, a subject which will be discussed more widely as part of Chapter Four but whose importance deserves to be discussed here with specific reference to the indigenous material as we explore this alternative conception of ceramic assemblages.

Defining a Regional Ceramic Tradition

A Distinct Tradition?

Given the focus so far on loosening typological constraints and thinking globally about the pottery in question, can the immediately pre-Roman material from the north-east be considered a distinct tradition? Work with the Bronze Age pottery of the region has identified distinct traditions in the ceramic work of that period, and it is notably different from the Iron Age material, often comprising shouldered, 'beaker' style vessels such as the Early and Middle Bronze Age Green Knowe style (see Burgess 1995). This demonstrates a relationship with the Neolithic pottery of the region, which is clearly a part of larger, Britain wide trends in Neolithic vessels. There is some similarity in decoration between the Bronze and Iron Ages, with a general focus on the vessel rim and slashes or fingerprints as common design elements. In short, the pre-Roman pottery of the region has a clear place in the development of regional pottery styles, being distinct from what preceded yet retaining some basic connections with it. This is analytically important, as this material must be viewed as an intentional tradition and not, as Richmond (1942) postulated, ceramics whose properties are largely the result of extremely basic construction.

Continuity

The idea of continuity between pre-Roman and post-Roman pottery was first suggested by Richmond (1942), as explored above, and has always existed in the background in discussions of Iron Age ceramics. This issue was recently confronted by the conflated "Native' Romano-British and Anglian Pottery' report from the recent Piercebridge volume (Cooper 2008), which takes the view that there is a 'continued and shared technology of hand-made potting traditions amongst 'native' and incoming communities (using a common range of local clays and opening materials) from later prehistory, through much of the Roman period and, following a break of 200 years, into the Anglian period.' (Ibid, p. 231).

This is a bold and worrying statement, and one which does not fit with the conception of indigenous pottery discussed here. It is irrefutable that there are similarities in many fabrics and firing techniques, but as discussed above this is the result of simple clay preparation from available, local materials and easy firing (probably in bonfires). These are both signs of a localised, 'low tech' pottery industry which is most likely not the preserve of specialist potters, but here the similarities end. Decoration is much more common on the Anglian material, and very different being comprised largely of linear patterns and stamps. There are also differences in form, some subtle and some not so subtle- more prominent pedestal bases and more elaborate shouldering are common.

Whilst some of the simpler forms from both the pre- and post- Roman era in northern Britain could reasonably be seen as similar, the idea that there is a continuity of ceramic tradition implicitly suggests that the Later Iron Age pottery represents an unchanging base level of skill-less pottery production and feeds into perceptions of static 'dark' ages bracketing the Roman period in Britain. To declare a continuity of tradition based purely on similarities of fabric caused by material sourcing strategies which are most likely symptomatic of economic and social circumstance and choices is to devalue the cultural significance of both ceramic traditions.

Fabric and Sourcing

Few attempts have been made at a fabric classification in the region beyond a single site assemblage, and this is perhaps telling as to the usefulness of such an approach. Early works by Jobey and Wheeler tend to describe fabric in rough relation to another site or vessel, and even then frequently conditionally. It must be borne in mind however that in the late 50s and early 60s, the corpus of known material was remarkably small.

The earliest and most widely used classification for a similar material which attempts a wider view is Cool's (1982) classification of Type I and Type II ceramics from south-eastern Scotland. This has found use in the publication of many Scottish later Iron Age sites (Cowie in Haselgrove *et al.* 2000, Lelong and MacGregor 2008). Its primary application has been in

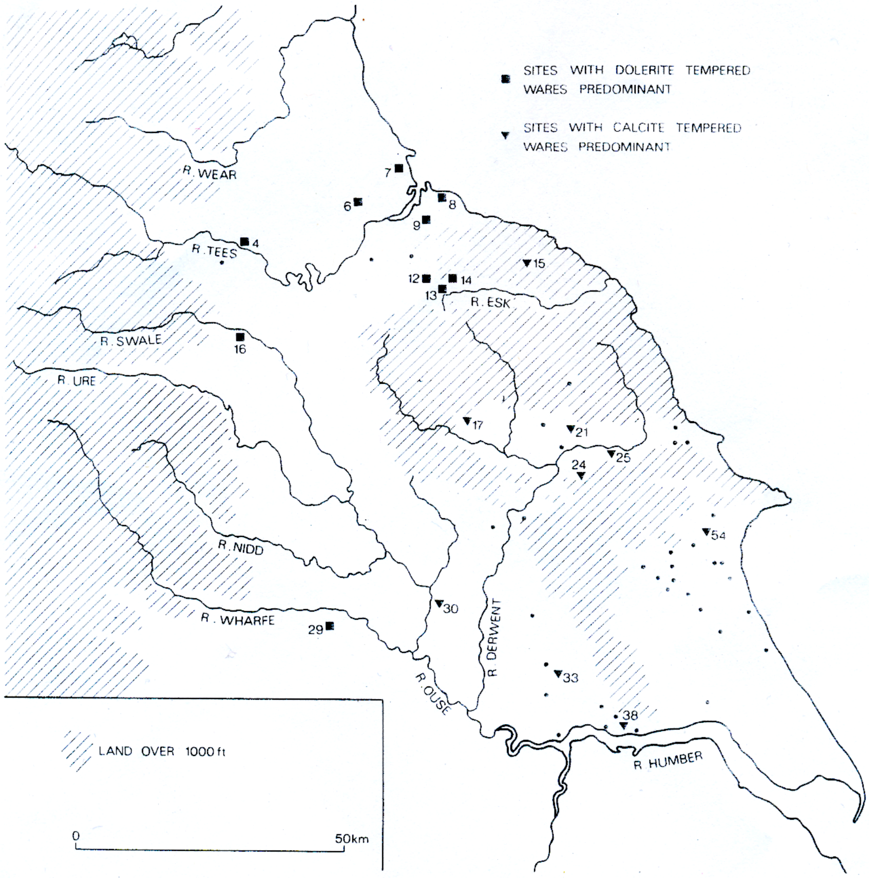


Figure. 3.1: *Geographical distribution of primary ceramic tempers (after Evans 1995, fig. 5.2)*

relative dating and phasing, with the coarser, thicker Type I pottery considered earlier that the (slightly) finer Type II. Recent detailed work on the assemblage from Broxmouth itself has however proven that this rough distinction is not a chronological marker (Mhairi Maxwell, pers. comm.).

Evans (1995) discusses fabrics based on primary tempering materials (i.e. additions to the clay matrix), and identifies two primary groups: calcite and dolerite tempers [12] (see figure. 3.1). Evans notes the possibility the different tempers reacting differently to heat (Evans 1995, p. 49). It seems unlikely that this could be a major issue, since (from personal observation) the amount of temper in individual pots varies substantially and the robustness of most of the vessels would probably be the primary factor in heat resistance/conduction. Additionally, though tempering is often discussed as a factor relating to the properties of the vessel, this is never scientifically backed up beyond vague statements (see example from Swain 1987 discussed below). Evans also flags up a higher incidence of sooting/deposits on dolerite tem-

[12] Calcite being a white crystal mineral found in limestone and sandstone deposits and dolerite being a basaltic, volcanic stone.

pered material, citing personal comments from some researchers (Evans 1995 p. 49) and a 'disproportionally' (Evans 1995, p. 50) higher incidence of sooting on dolerite tempered diagnostic sherds from the quantified assemblage at Thorpe Thewles, the report for which notes the 'suggestion' (Swain 1987, p. 64) of Peacock (1982) that quartz[13] (the other major temper in the Thorpe Thewles assemblage) is unsuitable for a cooking vessel. This patterns is tested in the analysis below and does not appear to apply to the assemblage quantified here however. Instead, the major distribution seems to be geographical (see figure 3.1). Though some sites seem to be furnished with at least some of both types (see Willis 1997 as well for a tentative blurring of some of the very stark lines drawn by Evans in this respect), the predominant geographical distribution is summed up by Evans:

> 'Overall, the evidence of tempering traditions seems to be of the predominant use of calcite within East Yorkshire and dolerite in the Tees Valley… with material from Dalton Parlours suggesting that the Tees Valley tradition extended into West Yorkshire and that from Lingcroft Farm appearing to be on the edge of the East Yorkshire tradition, with just of 50% of calcite gritted wares'
>
> (Evans 1995, p. 50)

It seems then that the strongest trend here is the geographical distribution of tempers. When considered with the near certainty of local production (see Richmond in Hogg 1942; Challis and Harding 1975; Morfin 1978; Swain 1987; Long 1988; Ferrell 1990; Willis forthcoming, Willis in Proctor 2009) it seems that this distribution pattern may be related more to availability of materials. The suggestion that local material sourcing was a primary determinant accords well with the results of experimental work carried out on the site at Thorpe Thewles after the excavation there, when clays from a presumed Iron Age quarry pit were prepared, shaped and fired. These produced pottery nearly identical to the excavated material (David Heslop, pers. comm.). Dolerite temper was added from crushed dolerite erratics found on the site, which were discovered to be the most easily accessible and crushable material present to create the pottery (*contra* Willis in press pp. 44-47, which suggests a special significance to dolerite). It was thus found that the pottery excavated on the site could be easily produced from materials available on the site itself and that the dolerite temper was, crucially, the most readily available tempering material on the glacial tills of Durham and the Tees Valley. These dolerites would have been less readily available to those living on the limestone geology of Yorkshire, where the calcite crystals formed in those limestones are likely to have been a similarly accessible, crushable tempering material.

Though sites on the boundaries of these regions, as noted by Evans (1995), do appear to have been using both types of pottery, their geologically liminal status reinforces the idea of local production and limited trade. This may suggest that any trade was short distance, i.e. the sites which contain reasonable measures of both temper types are close to areas which could access both tempers and there is no evidence of, for example, calcite pottery being traded deeper into the Tees region. In fact, it may be that the difference between the tempering categories is as simple as shifting sources of clay and temper over time for the inhabitants of a single site. Given the variable, boulder clay drift geology of the area both materials are potentially available throughout most of the region.

The view proposed by Evans may in fact be slightly simplistic. One of the only detailed studies of inclusions, in the pottery appendices for Thorpe Thewles (Swain 1987), also reports mixes of dolerite and quartz inclusions, mixed sandstone and dolerite. Voids left by organic material are also reported, with both dolerite and quartz temper as well as the sole tempering in some vessels. The evidence strongly suggests that pottery tempering was largely opportunistic and that the geographical trends are primarily related to geological and ecological issues.

Cool's and Evans' two conceptions for organized fabric groups bracket the present study to the north and south, but almost no research has been done on the larger aspects of the assemblages from Northumberland. The 'grits' reported in many of the pottery discussions throughout the study area (Richmond in Hogg 1942; Hogg 1942; 1956; Jobey 1977, 1973, 1981; Burgess 1970; Annis 1996) are not precisely identified (except occasionally by colour- see for example Jobey 1981, p. 66-67). There is some a small amount of calcite gritted material; for example, one sherd out of 165 (Jobey 1973, p. 34) was noted from Hartburn), but this is available as a local temper in many parts of Northumberland. It seems most likely then that the tradition of locally sourced materials continued in Northumberland.

The fabric series which are used on individual sites and in reports are often useful for classification of that material relative to itself; but few comparisons can be found with material from other sites, except in the very general sense which has been explored above. This suggests that the fabric series used on individual sites are in fact quite unique to the sites themselves and cannot be related to one another, reinforcing the notion of local (very local judging by the Thorpe Thewles experiments) production. Some illustrative examples of locally useful, but globally problematic, fabric descriptions from various reports are given below:

> '*Fabric B.* A somewhat finer ware, with fewer and smaller grits, which has buff to red surfaces more carefully smoothed and a dark grey core. Similar fabric seems to occur on both pre-Roman and Roman native site in the area. At the moment it is not a useful chronological indicator and it could always be that the differences between A and B in some instances may be no more than functional'
>
> (Jobey 1973, p. 34)
>
> '6. Wall sherd in black fabric with large black grits… '
>
> (Jobey 1981, p. 66)
>
> '*Fabric 1* The standard dolerite gritted fabric found at Thorpe Thewles (Swain 1987), Catcote (Vyner 1989), Eston Nab (Vyner 1989a) [sic] and elsewhere. Characteristically the grits vary in size from 2mm to 6mm square and larger; the fabric is dark grey and the surfaces vary from dark grey to orange. The external surfaces exhibit much greater colour variations than the interiors. There is a small amount of quartz dust visible'
>
> '*Fabric 4* Thick fabric; dark grey surfaces and interior, containing small mixed grits including black micaceous fragments'
>
> (Annis 1996, p. 51)
>
> 'Fabrics three to five (102 catalogue examples: 39%) are fine fabrics which appear in the majority of vessel types and with the full range of inclusion types and vessel colours.

> Fabrics six and seven (112 catalogued [*sic*] examples: 42%) are coarse fabrics which appear in the majority of vessel forms.'
>
> (Swain 1987, p. 63)

As can be seen from these examples, the business of minute fabric descriptions frequently results in a comparatively large number of fabrics within a small assemblage due to the variability of fabric, whereas larger scale descriptions attempting to integrate the material with the regional assemblage can be so general as to be of little value (i.e. thick grey to red fabrics with large dolerite grits). Additionally, in all examples vague, relative (i.e. dark, thick, &c.) language is used and there is little standardization of terminology.

In his most recent works on Stanwick St. John (Willis forthcoming), Steven Willis carefully describes all the encountered fabrics, but does work off of the premise that pottery production is local. In light of this he states 'The diversity of fabrics suggests there was no preferred source or technique of fabric manufacture, a pattern which endures throughout the chronological sequence.' (Willis forthcoming), echoing a similar but more blunt statement by Burgess writing of the Hetha Burn 1 assemblage and the 'difficulty of dividing up such universally crude material' (Burgess 1970, p. 21).

It is particularly notable that the report on Piercebridge notes one sherd of indigenous pottery that is said to be in the same fabric as some of the Anglian pottery (Cooper in Cool and Mason 2008, p. 310), begging the question quite directly as to whether or not these fabrics can be considered 'recipes' or simply opportunistic use of the same local resources.

A New Approach

As has been demonstrated above, the material in question does not respond well to a traditional fabric classification system. To attempt to create and use one would, if even actually possible, most likely be counterproductive since it would be unlikely to create a useful understanding of the ceramic record in this area. Thus, in this study, local production will be considered the norm and fabric will not be considered in detail. Though some of the fabrics are indeed quite rough by many standards, it is considered here that this does not reflect lack of care or skill but simply the fact that this suited the needs of the populations using the pots. This is not to say that careful, scientific analysis of the locally produced fabrics would not be rewarding, but such an approach is outside the remit of the current study of form, function and society. Record has been kept, where possible, of the primary tempering of the ceramics in question as it is thought that this is one area which may have ramifications for the use of vessels and any relationship between sizes, types and inclusions should be investigated and is within the remit of this study.

Chronology and Quantity

Chronology

It is difficult to draw chronological boundaries in this material, given that the craft tradition in question was active well into the early days of Britannia as a province (see Evans 1995 and see Cooper 2008; Swain 1987 and Long 1988) for sites with clear contemporaneity of traditions). Thus, though the discussion in this chapter focuses on the pre-Roman tradition, one must accept that some of the material discussed here is definitely from post 'conquest' deposits. Given the extremely rough dating and the inherent bias towards considering the material to be Iron Age (especially on less recently excavated sites with no definitely Roman material, i.e. West Brandon [Jobey 1962a]), more of it is likely to be 'late' than is presently expected or suspected (see Cooper's [2008] suggestion that most of the indigenous material from Piercebridge is of Roman Iron Age date).

This being said, the pottery discussed here represents a distinct tradition, as explained above, which exists before and alongside the physically or conceptually imported material. It is problematic to assume that any influence derived from imported material[14] would only have occurred after the somewhat artificial divide of the Roman conquest, as we know that communities in or near the area were exposed to Roman trade networks in later prehistory (i.e. Catcote, see Long 1988 and Vyner and Daniels 1989; or Stanwick, see Wheeler 1954 and Haselgrove forthcoming). Therefore omitting from this study material from later contexts on those sites which have definite Roman phases and ceramics would not only be placing too much trust in the accuracy of dating on many less recently excavated sites, but affect the dataset adversely, as those sites which may have a Roman phase but have no definite dating evidence, such as Dubby Sike (Coggins and Gidney 1988) would not be similarly affected. Thus, considering that one is working with a distinct ceramic tradition, there will be no attempt to 'weed out' late material from the indigenous sites discussed here. This chapter will discuss the

[14] Though the only example of this as yet noted comes from the large assemblage of material in indigenous fabrics (unfortunately not included in this analysis) from Faverdale near Darlington; see Proctor forthcoming.

ceramics from sites in the indigenous architectural tradition (i.e. roundhouse architecture) with definite pre-Roman occupation, whether or not they continue in part into the later period. In some cases it is possible to identify aspects of the tradition which may tentatively be suggested as Roman period, but this should not be considered set in stone.

Whilst not explicitly attempting to create a ceramic chronology, the approach taken here to considering the functionality and social relevance of the ceramic tradition does identify several broad chronological trends in line with others seen in the region, and these are discussed in the analysis.

Quantity of Material

'Numbers cover over complicated feelings and ambiguous situations.'- Ira Glass ('This American Life' episode 88, produced by Chicago Public Radio)

A common theme in discussions of material culture from the north-east is the seemingly minute quantity of material recovered by excavation (see Willis 1999; Haselgrove 1984a; 1999; Challis and Harding 1975, p. 99; Evans 1995). This has led to the view in many cases that further evidence is necessary before a serious study can commence (see Ferrell 1995, p. 129; 1992). This is in fact erroneous on several counts.

On the one hand, the idea of a paucity of material culture has spread more in the form of hearsay and 'common knowledge'. The certainty that there is little of this material and, as discussed above, little to be gained from it means that the countless small excavations which do reveal small quantities of pottery do not record it in any standardised way. This makes the collation of the now relatively large corpus of material exceedingly difficult.

Relative size of the assemblage is the key however. On the ceramic front, work by Steven Willis (1999 pp. 85-89, discussed further below) has shown that when properly quantified, using a variety of methods, the quantity of pottery excavated on northern sites is less than on sites in the South, but that this difference is not as dramatic as 'common knowledge' might have it. The fact remains however that we do now have a workable assemblage of pottery of the indigenous tradition in the region. The evidence points entirely to a rather different tradition in the use, production and distribution of pottery from many other parts of Europe at the time. To claim that there is 'not enough' material in the north to repay detailed study is to remain locked in the mould of traditional pottery research based in type quantification. This study will argue that we have the opportunity to usefully employ a different approach and to study vessels as individual artefacts and not as numbers.

Below I will explore Willis's work further, addressing other methods of quantification and propose that limited pottery reflects a conscious cultural choice which has consequences for our understanding of society in the pre-Roman Iron Age of the area, and represents a cultural tradition with implications for the understanding of northern Britannia as well.

Objectively Determining Quantity

Willis highlights the difficulty in answering the seemingly simple question of 'how much pottery is there?'. He suggests that the ideal method of establishing weight of pottery per cubic meter of material excavated is impossible to calculate given the data available; so the number of rim sherds *per annum* throughout a site's occupation and weight of pottery per structure are the next best ways to determine and compare the amounts of pottery.

Willis' measure of rim sherds *per annum* produced interesting results, but the requirement of using sites with reasonably fixed occupation periods restricts it to only two northern sites, Stanwick (unpublished) and Thorpe Thewles (Heslop 1987). Even in those cases, determining the length of occupation for a site is difficult in the best of circumstances, especially when a site has not been fully excavated. It must be noted that both these sites have undergone or are undergoing redating since Willis' publication (Haselgrove forthcoming and David Heslop, pers. comm.) and these figures can no longer be considered accurate, but a critique of the technique using the figures given by Willis is still of use for highlighting its weaknesses. The chief weakness of the technique is the degree to which the seemingly precise results given for rim sherds deposited *per annum* are affected by the extremely vague and variable estimates of length of occupation (as seen by the recent reworking of both northern sites used).

For example, Willis' result of 0.6 rim sherds deposited per annum for Stanwick is 'assuming an occupation of about 200 years (c. 120 BC to AD 80)' (Willis 1999, 87). If these numbers are mistaken by only 50 years on either end of the occupation suggested (thus 100 years in total), then the results change dramatically. An occupation of 100 years (70 BC to AD 30) result in 1.2 rims *per annum* (a difference of 50%) and occupation of 300 years (170 BC to AD 120) results in 0.4 rims *per annum* (a 33% difference)[15]. Therefore, though this analysis does seem to show a pattern, it should be borne in mind that the sample is restricted and the pri-

[15] These calculations figure on 120 rim sherds, if $x \div 200 = 0.6$, thus $x = 120$.

mary variable (the occupation of the site) is open to question. This is further complicated by the fact that the length of occupation sequence is often determined by the pottery assemblage, causing a certain circularity of argument and omission of any non-ceramic phases.

Calculating weight of pottery by structure can also leave a variable open to re-evaluation, since 'structure' cannot always be easily defined, particularly on many sites which show a bewildering overlap of apparent roundhouse structures (such as Pegswood (Proctor 2009) in Northumberland and Dalton Parlours (Wrathmell and Nicholson 1990) in North Yorkshire). However, this measurement is more commonly applicable than those based on occupation span; though as Willis says, calculations of total weight are infrequently published. Willis plots nine sites in northern England and southern Scotland and compares them against five examples from the midlands to show clear differences in the amount of pottery recovered from south-eastern Scotland, north-eastern England and the midlands. It is interesting to note that even within the example of northern sites, the pottery per structure decreases overall from south to north: the three sites which stand out as having the most pottery are all south of the Tees, and the two with the least are well north of the Tyne. Willis summarises that 'a marked divergence of cultural practice is thus identified.' (Willis 1999, 89).

Willis remarks on the total lack of pottery from the East Durham Plateau. It is entirely absent from the excavated site at Coxhoe West House (Haselgrove and Allon 1982; Haselgrove *et. al* 1980) as well as the presumed site at Strawberry Hill Shadforth (Haselgrove 1980), Durham Archaeological Survey's field-walking on the Plateau (Haselgrove *et. al.* 1988) and Willis' unpublished field-walking at Thornley Dene. Additionally his distribution map of pottery findspots north of Lincolnshire shows a notable absence in County Durham. The possibility that 'work to date is detecting a genuine sub-regional trend' (Willis 1999, 85) put forward, and it is interesting to note that with careful study it is possible to detect patterning in an area so recently considered essentially aceramic.

With Willis (1999) having reasonably established that the frequency of pottery finds does genuinely decrease as one moves north of the Trent, it is time to examine that trend more carefully within our study area. It is clear after a casual perusal of site reports that settlements which clearly extend into and flourish in the Roman period in this area are producing a great deal more pottery than indigenous ones, and that this must be indicative of a fairly major change in lifestyle and domestic practice. To study this effectively one must measure the amount of pottery from as many sites in the study area as possible, and thus the method must be more 'crude' than those used by Willis. Despite this, the inclusion of more sites to observe broader trends will make up for potential inaccuracies in the method and provide a picture that is more complete even if less refined.

The simplest measure which could be accurately applied to any site with a published plan and pottery report is number of sherds per square meter excavated. Unfortunately, even this is only applicable to a limited number of sites. Many excavation reports prior to the 1980s only include plans of structures and features excavated without providing the edges of trenches. Pottery records were also presented in a variety of ways, and it was not always possible to determine closely the total number of sherds excavated. Many sites which produced hundreds of sherds only chose a small diagnostic sample to publish and neglect to give any detailed information about unpublished weights and quantities. Conversely, many smaller indigenous tradition sites record with great detail every fragment of fired clay material, which might make it seem as though there is more pottery on indigenous sites and less on 'Roman' ones. Since the results produce usable patterns, even with this potential bias, the problem is remains, as it is felt that any attempt to address it would reduce the data set considerably.

Many sites contain pottery in both the 'Roman' and indigenous tradition. Though most reports separate these assemblages for publication, in this research the total pottery assemblage from the site is taken as one. This is because indigenous pottery in the region is not readily datable and was in use well into the Roman period. The amounts of ceramics recovered from many sites suggest that when the use of pottery became common, the habit of increased pottery use applied to both ceramic traditions. Likewise, many indigenous sites sites do contain some Roman pottery, most usually a few sherds of Samian ware. Thus, it is posited that if pottery was being used in a new, more 'Roman' fashion, there will simply be more ceramic material of either tradition present on a site.

On the recent larger commercial excavations, such as that at Ingleby Barwick (ASUD 2005), the full extent of the excavation is difficult to calculate since massive areas were stripped of topsoil for development and selected archaeological features were then excavated (Richard Annis, pers. comm.). These factors mean that often the larger, Roman period sites are not able to be fully represented by using this method, but as the primary goal in this exercise is to examine the relative frequency of ceramic use in the pre-Roman Iron Age, this is felt to be acceptable and that the Roman period sites which are analysed in this way provide a useful comparison to the main focus on the pre-Roman tradition.

The second point to be borne in mind is that pottery recording is more detailed on many sites of pre-Roman tradition, since the pottery is much rarer. A millimeter sized chip of

Samian generally goes unrecorded on a 'Roman' site where other Samian and Roman pottery has been found, but the very same chip on an 'Iron Age' site would perhaps be the only real evidence of occupation into the Roman period, and would thus be a significant find. This is the chief way in which a measurement simply of sherds per square meter rather than pottery by weight is inappropriate, but the necessity of obtaining data from a variety of sites overrides this.

Results

The measurements of all potsherds per square meter excavated for selected sites with containing indigenous tradition ceramic material are presented in Table 3.1.

Site	Sq. m excavated	No. of frags	Frags per sq m	Ref
Coxhoe	896.7	0	0	Haselgrove and Allon 1987
Dubby Sike	198.1	0	0	Coggins and Gidney 1989
West Brandon	1255.5	15	0.01	Jobey 1962
Forcegarth Pasture North	344.88	10	0.03	Fairless and Coggins 1989
Burradon	4500	170	0.03	Jobey 1970
Bonny Grove Farm	4800	204	0.04	Annis 1996
Faverdale East	apx. 60,000	apx. 4300	0.07	Glover 2006
Forcegarth Pasture South (b)	228	18	0.08	Fairless and Coggins 1986
Forcegarth Pasture South (a)	228	27	0.12	Fairless and Coggins 1986
Scotch Corner	1211.91	141	0.12	Abramason 1995
Ingleby Barwick 1979	625	105	0.17	Heslop 1984
Doubstead	746	130	0.17	Jobey 1982
Thorpe Thewles	6057.66	1596	0.26	Heslop 1987 (fiche 4)
Catcote 1964	1036.8	1039	1	Long 1988

Table 3.1: *Number of potsherds found per square meter excavated from sites across the study area.*

In Table 3.1 we can see that the numbers of potsherds recovered per square meter excavated are extremely low, averaging 0.15. It is difficult to directly compare this with Iron Age sites from other areas of Britain, as they are frequently excavated on such a scale and in so many sections that determining even roughly the extent of excavated material is not practicable from plans. Additionally, sites with even middling amounts of pottery recovered very rarely express anything about the assemblage in terms of sherd count, preferring total weight of sherds and then dealing with individual vessels. However, in the few cases this can be reconstructed, we see that the numbers in the table above being to appear dramatically lower than on some of the classic Iron Age type sites.

The 12000 square meters excavated at Gussage All-Saints in Dorset (Wainwright 1979) work out to a total of 6.4 sherds per square meter, more than six times the highest count in the study area, at Catcote 1964 (Long 1988). A more comparable number is the 1.2 sherds per square meter from the 12600 square meters excavated at Winnall Down in Hampshire (Fasham 1985); but, as discussed below, there are some potential explanations for the remarkably high rate of pottery deposition at Catcote. A slight variant of this method can be explored in the data published for the excavations at Little Waltham, Essex (Drury 1978), which posits 333 vessels across the more than 10000 square meters of excavated material, giving a rough figure of 0.03 vessels per square meter. This can be compared with Jobey's estimate of 11 vessels for the Burradon assemblage (Jobey 1970), which calculate to 0.002 vessels per square meter. Though these comparisons can rarely be directly made, when possible the results concur with Willlis' (1999) findings that there is a notably lesser amount of pottery entering the ground on the sites within the study area when compared to the frequently cited Iron Age 'type sites' of the southern chalk-lands and coast. Having established this, what can be deduced about sites in the study area from the figures given in Table 3.1?

One of the first things to note is that there is not a clear correlation between quantity of pot sherds and area excavated. Whilst this is at first somewhat surprising, it must be borne in mind that the differences between the quantity found on the smaller sites are so minute as to be essentially the result of a random sampling of sites with very little pottery– it would be foolish to suggest that Forcegarth Pasture North actually was depositing three times as much ceramic material as West Brandon. The primary interesting feature of this data lies in the uniformity of the numbers across varying sizes of excavation and site types either site of the Roman occupation: with the exception of Catcote (a site whose occupation continues strongly into the later Roman period [Robin Daniels pers. comm.]), none of the sites exceed 0.3

sherds per square meter, with most of them well below that figure, which clearly shows a striking difference in deposition from the comparable sites in the south, despite the small data-set available for sampling from that area.

Despite this caveat, there are a few interesting points which may be teased out of the small differences represented in the table. The upland, sub-circular enclosure site at Forcegarth Pasture South initially seems to have a quantity of recovered pottery more in the range of a lowland 'small town' type of site such as Faverdale or Scotch Corner. This is mitigated, however, when one counts seven small, closely associated sherds of Samian found there as a single sherd (these two values are seen on Table 3.1 as (a) with seven sherds counted and (b) with one sherd counted). Even then, the numbers significantly higher than at the site at Forcegarth Pasture North, only a few hundred yards away. The key difference here is most likely to be chronological; Forcegarth Pasture South dates to the late second or early third century (Fairless and Coggins 1986, 29), the tail end of the period covered in this study. This demonstrates that the influence or availability of Roman material culture probably did increase throughout the period. The presence of such distinctive items as late mortaria on the site are particularly telling in that respect.

Other circumstances may be at work concealing this trend however- the distinctly Romano-British site at Bonny Grove Farm (Annis 1996) appears to demonstrate a rate of recovery very much like the indigenous sites. This is most likely due to the fact that excavations were not possible in the centre of the area in which the pottery scatter was detected. As such, the trench was located in an area of poor preservation and heavy truncation which may very well have been on the outskirts of the settlement and not subject to dense occupation. The Ingleby Barwick excavations of 1979 (Heslop 1984) may suffer from a similar effect, as a villa was later excavated nearby (ASUD 2005). It is entirely possible that more central areas of these sites would demonstrate a rate of recovery more similar to that at Catcote or Winnall Down, suggestive of the trend hinted at at Forcegarth Pasture North that as Roman material become more widely available, habits changed and more pottery was deposited in a recoverable manner. Even this seeming boom in recoverable deposition is small by the standards of other Roman sites in Britain, as noted by Willis in the report on the villa later excavated at Quarry Farm: 'This pattern of low frequency of finds reflects a general regional pattern observed at rural sites of the Roman era across the north-east of England' (Willis 2005, 49)

The main anomaly, as mentioned above, is the figure of 1 pot sherd per square meter from Catcote in 1964**.** The best explanation here is that this probably represents the lower limit of the distinctly Roman sites which, for a variety of reasons discussed above, could not be calculated into this analysis. The settlement at Catcote received imported pottery and other materials before any others in the region and appears to have been one of the earliest and most enthusiastic adopters of Roman material culture in the area.

Thus we can see that use of ceramics was potentially a differentiating factor between communities in the study area during the first few centuries AD and that the local traditions had some influence upon the adoption of Roman lifestyles.

Implications and Alternatives

The implication here is clear that there is quantifiably less ceramic material recovered from northeastern sites in later prehistory. The obvious question concerns whether material might have been deposited off-site, as suggested by Haselgrove and Allon (1982, p. 46). Though this is by its nature a difficult assertion to refute, it can be shown that refuse *was* deposited on these sites. The acidic soils of the area, even in the lowlands, make organic preservation problematic, but most sites do produce *some* animal bone assemblage (though often extremely fragmentary) as well as some humic, organic material, such as from the ditches at Coxhoe (Haselgrove and Allon 1982, 43-4), at Murton High Crags (Jobey and Jobey 1987) and from recent excavations at Sedgefield. This suggests that if pottery were being deposited off site, it was being treated as a discrete class of materials compared to those being deposited on site and this would reinforce the idea that ceramic material was being conceptualized differently than in many areas at this time. The idea of off site deposition is also inconsistent with the scattered nature of the occasional finds of pottery on sites and with the lack of pottery from stray finds or organised survey such as the Durham Archaeological Survey (Haselgrove *et. al.* 1988)**.** Since it is safe to say that refuse *is* deposited on site and that no major off-site deposits of pottery have been located despite some intensive survey, the lack of pottery deposited on a site can probably be taken as a reflection of the amount of pottery used on site. People had the ability to produce this pottery, probably relatively easily from local sources, yet appear to have little of it. This suggests that limited use of ceramics was a clear, conscious cultural choice made by inhabitants of the area, and this is in accordance with seemingly less frequent appearances of other types of archaeological detectable material culture.

What are the social and cultural implications of this choice? It implies that communities had successful alternatives to ceramics for many of the functions with which we generally associate the material. What are the properties of ceramic vessels that make them such a significant item in human history? Resistance to fire is the primary characteristic, particularly as it relates to food preparation and industry. The plastic nature of the substance and the ability to form it easily into the required or desired shape is also significant, particularly as it relates to the artistic and cultural significance of the material. Permanence and durability is the characteristic which archaeologists find important about pottery, and this may have been an issue of more importance then we assume in the past.

Heat resistance is a key property of ceramics, which we see being exploited to some degree in all larger assemblages, such as in crucibles and possible tuyere fragments at Thorpe Thewles and in briquetage from a number of sites (see Willis 1999; Willis in Proctor 2009). In this case, ceramics are put to use for what they do best, if rather sparingly. This would accord well, however, with the apparent rarity of metalwork on many of these sites. Possibly this is an indication that metal, like ceramic production, was a locally sourced and occasional activity- there is certainly evidence for metalworking on sites which do not seem to be particularly large or 'high status', such as the rock cut furnace at West Brandon (Jobey 1962). Heat resistance is of course also useful in cookery, although cultures around the world have developed many aceramic methods of food preparation, from burying plants, small animals and breads in ash to using heated stones and leather bags. There are thus relatively few tasks in the kitchen for which pottery is likely to have afforded any great advantage to the user, but these are precisely the functions for which there exists some sort of evidence in the north-eastern material. The key aspect in ceramic use is likely to be the management of liquids. Muriel Morfin in 1978 undertook experiments with reconstructed Iron Age pottery from local clay and found that, after an initial seasoning period, the otherwise rather porous pottery becomes sufficiently calcified to hold and boil water effectively. This also accords well with the evidence for sooting and deposits around the rim, particularly the exterior rim, of many jar forms (see below), indicating that they have been partially buried in the ashes of a fire (i.e. up to the rim) in order to cook the contents.

Plasticity is another important aspect of ceramics in the creation stages. The freedom afforded the craftsperson in moulding the clays is unlike any other material in use at the time.

Fig. 2.2: *Wooden artefacts from the Glastonbury Lake Village (after Bullied 1926, pl. XVII)*

There was no reductive element of working within physical confines of the original piece of material, as with bone, antler, stone or wood and the clay did not have to be laboriously beat into shape like metalworking. This exceptional plasticity is then transformed by fire into exceptional endurance. It is this property which we may see to be most significant in the material.

Rather than the assumption that the lack of archaeologically recoverable material culture is an indication that the inhabitants of the north-east were living in material poverty, it has been argued above that there were in fact careful choices being in the use and deposition of archaeologically recoverable material and that it was less commonly in use than in other areas of the country. This may well indicate that the bulk of the material culture was of a perishable nature, of wood, bone, leather, antler, fabric, fiber, horn and earth (see fig. 2.2, above).

There seems little point in enumerating upon the countless examples of the rare survival of such perishables into the present day, and of the exceptionally high standard of their workmanship, particularly as none come particularly close to the time or place under discussion. Equally though, one must bear in mind the seemingly spectacular archaeological finds from the early levels at Vindolanda, upland bogs and crannogs, and riverine deposits and remember that though exceptional to us today these objects were the organic stuff of daily life and interaction and it is the permanence of special items of stone, metal and pottery which bring them to us today.

Main Methodology

Introduction

In order to reevaluate the ceramic evidence from the region, all available published and unpublished excavation reports with later Iron Age occupation were consulted (see Appendix 1), a total of 85. 49 of these sites (58%) produced ceramic material and 22 of these (26% of the total and 45% of those producing ceramics) produced sufficiently complete and recorded vessels for use in this chapter. As discussed above, the goal of this study is to consider vessels as objects and for this to be possible, only vessels whose size and form could be reconstructed to a reasonable level are be included in this analysis. This limited the sample to, at a minimum, rim sherds from which a rim diameter and form could be established. Though a dauntingly high standard to apply to this material, a total of 206 vessels were recorded (see Appendix 2).

The main foci of this recording system were form, size, use/wear traces, decoration and context. These will be detailed below, after addressing some notable absences from the recording method, namely chronology and fabric.

Recording System

Form

Below I present a new typological framework for discussing this regional style of coarse pottery. The key theme in its development has been a move away from more traditional typological systems which focus on rim minutiae and profiles and other key attributes of *sherds* which are not necessarily key attributes of *pots* (see Cleal 1992). This focus has been particularly heavy in the case of the north-eastern ceramics, as there is so much variability in the material that past typologies (i.e. Swain 1987) are more of a list of different attributes present in the assemblage than an analytical tool. By concentrating on the evidence which the sherds provide to reconstruct the use of the pot itself, we bring ceramic vessels back into the realm of material culture and away from being viewed as basic, quantifiable economic evidence. Especially in the case of a region where pottery is so scarce, it is important to bear in mind that pottery only stands out to the archaeologist because of its properties of preservation. In the 'life assemblage' these vessels would exist in a suite of material culture which was in everyday use and they are every bit as much of an artefact as a wooden bowl or metal spoon.

It is also important to be explicit in discussing how a typology has been conceived and how it is intended to be used (See Barrett 1980 for a discussion touching on this). Many typologies straddle the line between describing our own distinctions and attempting to reconstruct past distinctions. The blurring of this line creates a certain degree of ontological discomfort at the end of the typologizing process- we know this pot to be a type 4a, but what *is* a type 4a? This question can quickly become circular, and is rarely pursued as the results of this quantification usually move on to statistical and economic analysis and the final report focuses more on supply and trade than on use. But in naming the type 4a have we reconstructed past perceptions or imposed our own?

In response to this line of thinking, the goal of the present typology is not to 'order' or organize the pottery- as objects created and used by human ingenuity it seems folly to do so. The goal is to provide an expandable framework for discussing and comparing the attributes of particular artefacts (pots). Thus these abstract 'types' exist solely in the present and I offer no suggestion that the distinctions made below have any relevance to the past. They can however help us to examine the potential functionality and affordances of the objects and to reconstruct practice and the use by comparing this with archaeological context and evidence. In this way, this typology must be seen as an analytical tool, but not in itself a means of ordering or understanding this material in the past or present.

Presented below, and depicted in figures 2.3-2.5, is the typological scheme followed here. Rims and bodies are broken up by larger scale classes, such as everted rim or bowl. Each vessel is assigned a numbered rim-body-base type from within these categories. If only two numbers are given (e.g. xx-xx), as is usual, the base is missing from the vessel. Some subcategories of types are differentiated with small caps. Thusly, 2a-3-1 could be a description of a vessel.

Though there are specific types assigned to each example for descriptive purposes, the bulk of the analysis will take place by class, i.e. jar, elaborated rim, &c. The scheme is detailed below:

Rims

The rim is defined here as the physical lip of the vessel

Terminating Rims:
1. *Unembellished:* Simple, unfinished termination of wall of vessel
2. *Tapering:* The rim tapers to a point. If the point is angled strongly in a particular direction, subtype a) is angled away from the vessel interior whilst b) is angled towards the vessel interior
3. *Pointed:* The clean 'cut' at the lip of the vessel and incurve of the rim result in a upward facing pointed lip.
4. *Flattened:* Though the rim curves inwards, the rim has been cut to a surface parallel with that on which the vessel sits.

Emphasizing Rims:
5. *External Thickening*: The rim is emphasised by a thickening on the exterior of the vessel, usually to create a slight 'collar' effect.
6. *Internal Thickening*: The rim is emphasised by an internal thickening, usually effectively thickening the top of the rim.
7. *Flattening or Pinching to Produce Collar:* The wall of the vessel has been shaped into a distinct collar around the rim.
8. *Grooved:* The rim is emphasised by a groove running around the vessel just below the lip.

Elaborating Rims:
9. *Vertical Collar:* A small vertical collar has added to the body form of the vessel.
10. *'T' Shaped:* The rim has both an external and internal lip in the form of a flat 'T' shape.
11. *Inverted*: There is an internal lip in the vessel
12. *'Diamond':* There is both an internal thickening and an external, outstanding collar created, forming a 'diamond' shape. The face of the collar may be at any angle, from vertical to sharply angled.

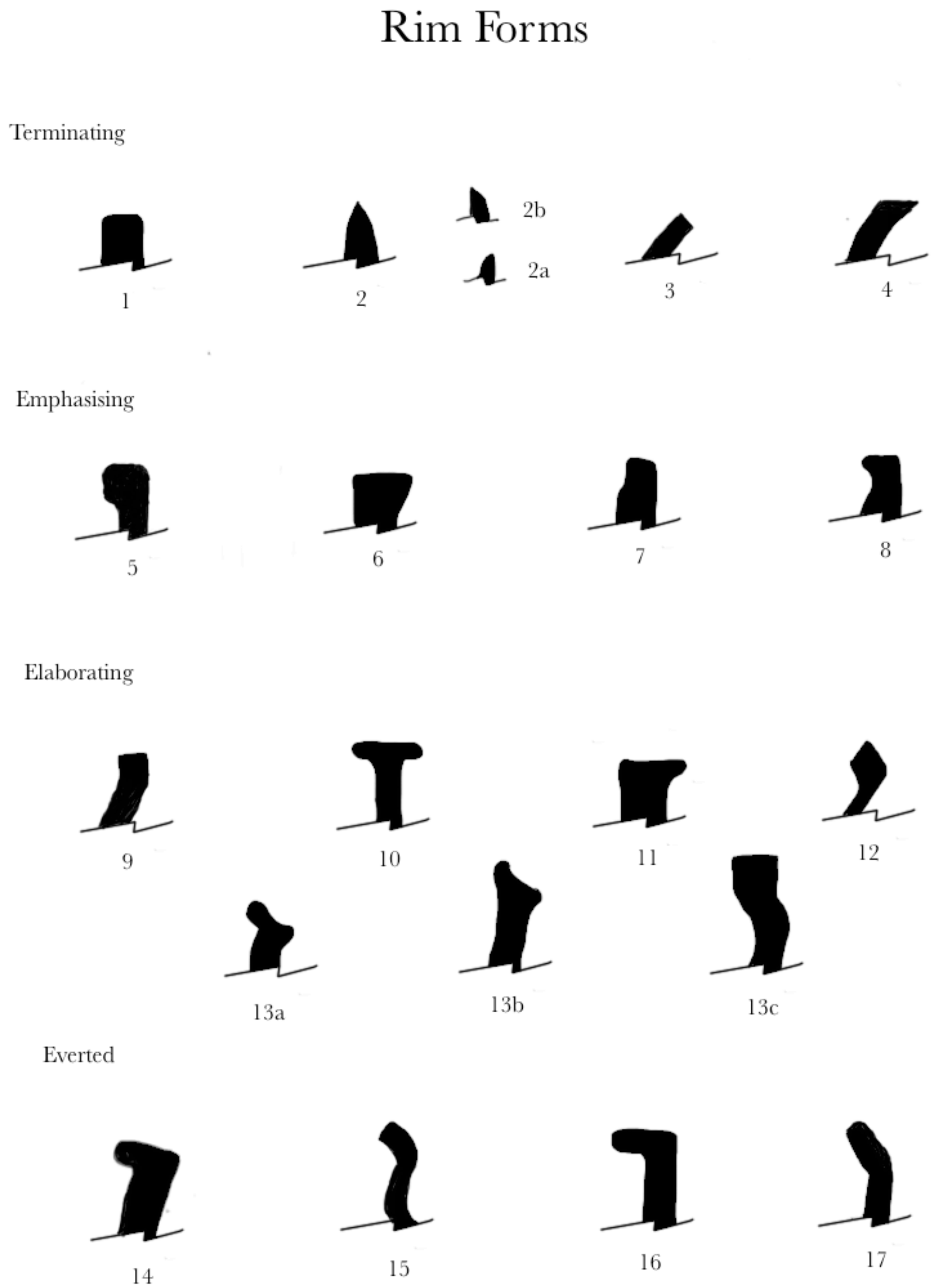


Figure 3.3: *Rim forms (see text for details).*

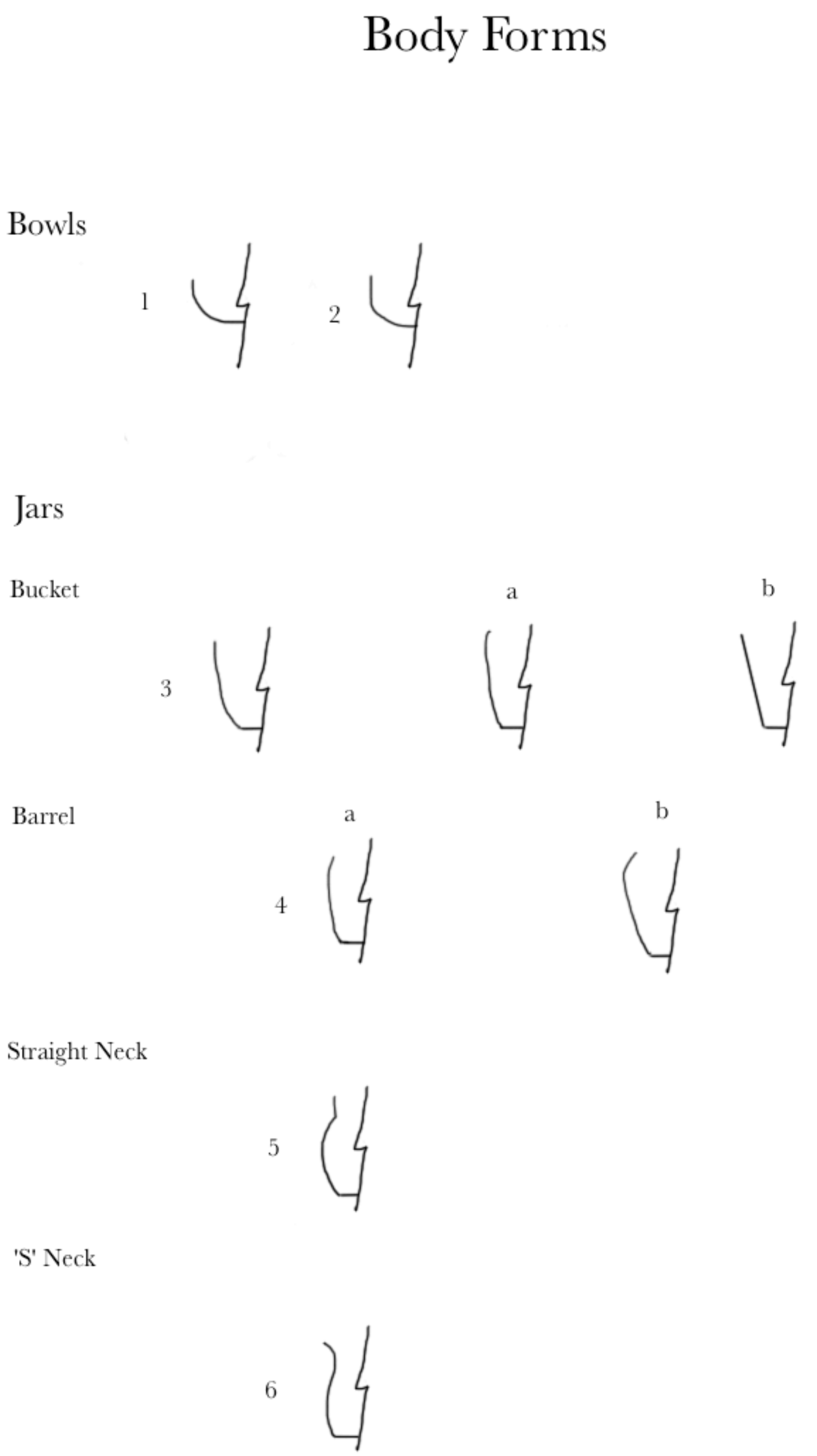


Figure 3.4: *Body forms (see text for details).*

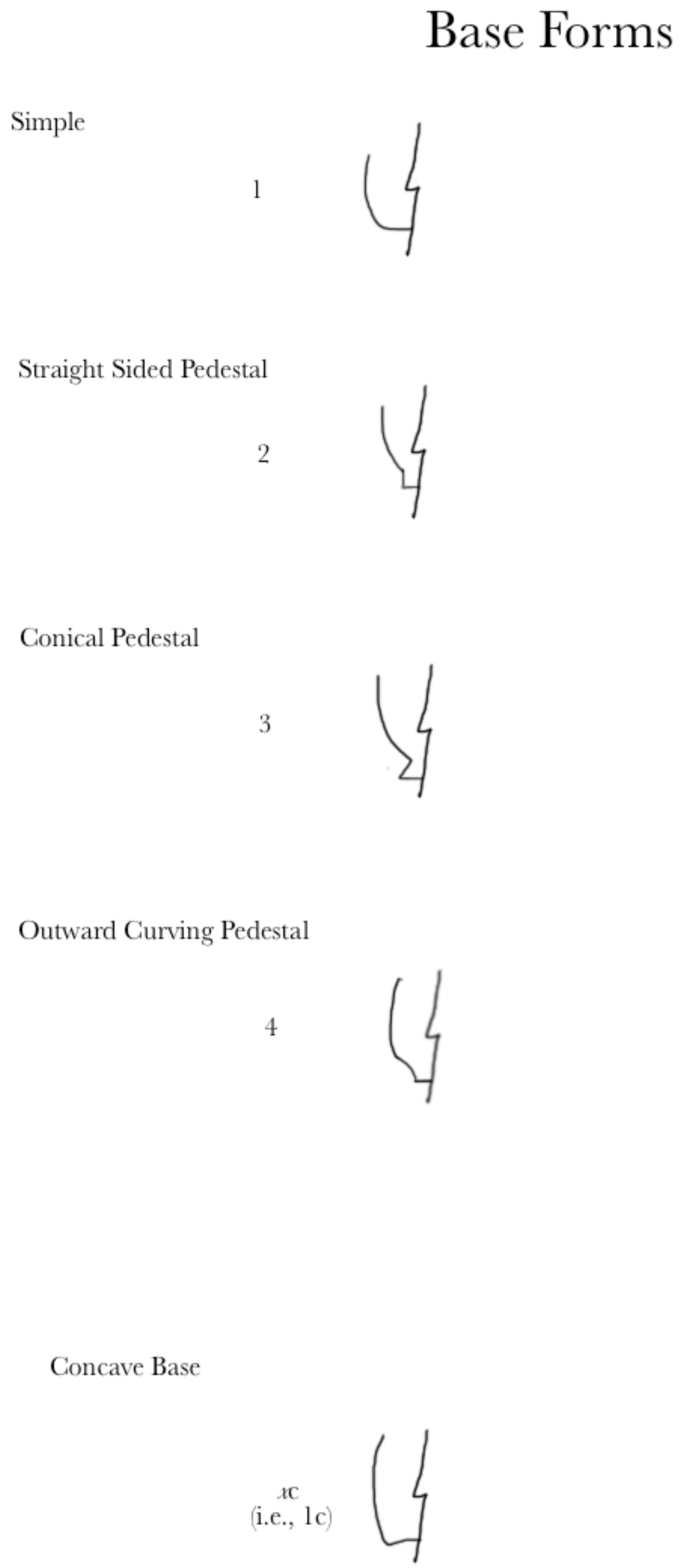


Figure 3.5: *Base forms (see text for details).*

13 *Lid Seat:* There is an internal 'lip' on the vessel which could potentially support a close fitting lid. Subtypes are a) grooved or everted, b) collared and c) 's' curved.

Everted Rims:
14. *Simple Everted:* Simple everted curl at lip of vessel. subtypes a) in which everted rim is not curled but extends from wall of vessel and b) where eversion seems to stem from the wall at a 90 degree angle.
15. *Angled and Everted*: Angled in before eversion, producing a reversed 's' curve.
16. *Right Angle*: The rim simply extends parallel with the surface on which the vessel rests. Often very wide.
17. *Flaring:* Similar to type 14, but with a wider rim and less dramatic eversion.

<u>Bodies</u>

Bowls (proportionately low, open forms with an accessible interior):
1. *Curved Sided Bowl:* A bowl with entirely curved sites. Most usually curving inward at rim, though subtype a) is an entirely open form with the widest point at the rim.
2. *Straight Sided Bowl*: A bowl with straight walls but a curved (usually with some form of pedestal base) bottom.

Jars (taller forms):
3. *Bucket Jar*: Maximum width at or near opening. Type a) has a distinct, slight incurving at the rim whilst type b) is straight sided.
4. *Barrel Jar:* Maximum width at shoulder or waist. Subtype a), where it can be recognized, is the 'classic' barrel jar shape with the maximum width in the waist whilst subtype b) is a more strongly shouldered form.

The fundamental difference between type 3 and 4 is the point of maximum width. The subtypes are used to indicate particular attributes if they can be identified.

5. *Straight Neck:* The straight neck, larger than rim type 9, must be a clear addition to body form.
6. *'S' Neck:* In this case the neck is a clear extension of the body and larger than a rim.

Both necked types must also have identifiable rim forms, i.e. the actual termination of the vessel walls.

Bases

1. *Simple:* No pedestal
2. *Straight sided pedestal.*
3. *Conical pedestal:* A pedestal which widens at the base
4. *Tapering pedestal*: A pedestal which is of smaller diameter at the base then at the join with the body.

It is obvious that this system is in part subjective, particularly given the rough and fragmentary nature of the material. However, the types have been designed to be based on key identifiable characteristics (i.e. maximum width of vessel) which has enabled a high degree of confidence in the identifications. The only potential concern is the underrepresentation of bowls, particularly in the issue of differentiating body type 1 from 4b; however these two types, as identified, fall into different size ranges[16], so the attribution is felt to be appropriate.

Some examples of this system are shown in fig. 2.6.

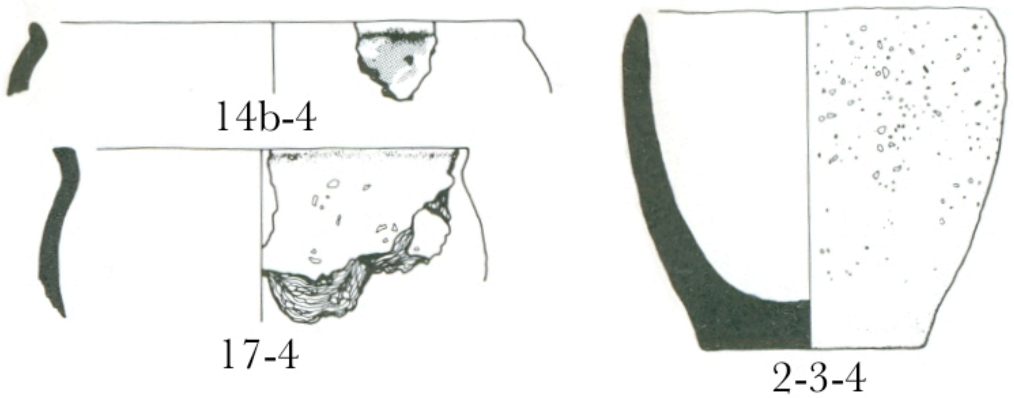


Fig. 2.6: *Examples of the form recording system (after Heslop 1987, fig. 45)*

Size

[16] Type 1 ranging from roughly 9-15 cm and type 4b ranging from 16-24 cm in diameter.

Vessel size is an aspect that is rarely directly recorded and analysed in ceramics, but in the present study, where the goal is to reconstruct the form and properties of the vessel itself, the issue becomes a tremendously important one. This section will begin with a general consideration of the importance of size in archaeological material culture and then describe how it is recorded in the present study.

Though the size of a vessel is amongst its most obvious and important properties, it is also one of the most rarely considered in archaeological analysis. Indeed, the issue of size and its impact on perception of an object is rarely considered in archaeology outside of an architectural context. Yet, as Sir Mortimer Wheeler writes in his discussion of consideration of the massive size of the Roman temples at Baalbek in Lebanon:

> '… Size is a matter of moment. Look at a Little Pyramid; a Big Pyramid has to fight hard enough for intelligent recognition, but those *little* pyramids that the Pharonic builders did not hesitate to scatter round and about are surely silly toys beyond belief. And imagine a *little* Empire State Building, bereft of the size and vista that give some sort of status, I suppose, to the actual pile; the thought horrifies. Imagine a *little* St. Peter's, such as can in fact be seen somewhere in Canada, lacking altogether that superhuman, super-personal, immensity that in Rome at once conditions the mind to all measure of other-worldly emotion. Size 'We shall realize that size', says the biologist, 'which we are so apt to take for granted is one of the most serious problems with which evolving life has had to cope…. *Simply magnify and object without changing its shape and, without meaning to, you have changed all its properties*[17]'
>
> (Wheeler 1962, p. 6, emphasis mine)

From here Sir Mortimer's musings veer more thoroughly towards discussion of Roman architecture, but there is a great deal of wisdom in his rather flowery lead in to that subject. Is size not the most fundamental property of an object, and at least one of the most fundamental potential restrictions on its uses? Additionally, as we will explore below, subtle cultural indicators are encoded in notions of size and the suitability of objects for tasks. The size of a vessel is one of the most fundamental and defining aspects of its being and is also one of the

[17] Wheeler credits his to Julian Huxley's 1947 *Man in the Modern World*

least discussed, archaeologically. It may be that this under-explored aspect of vessels can be of great importance in discussing problematic material which does not respond as many would like to established methods of ceramic analysis.

Many of the few commentaries on the size of vessels focus on groups of vessels whose size appears usual or unexpected. This sense of surprise can appear in two ways. The first is contextual, relating to the presumed function of the vessel. Cool (2006 pp. 147-151) discusses Roman-period beakers in this light. That the beakers in question are drinking vessels, specifically for intoxicating beverages, seems as unassailable as any archaeological deduction- they are decorated with Latin slogans such as 'don't be thirsty' and 'serve unmixed wine' (Cool 2006 p. 148). In this context it is their size that is surprising to the modern mind and contemporary concepts of social consumption of alcohol; that is to say that some seem enormous. The largest of those bearing the slogan 'serve unmixed wine' is the same rim diameter of a modern pint glass, but half again the height, whilst the largest of the less expressive examples is nearly twice the size (Cool 2006 fig. 15.5). Some of these beakers clearly held a great deal of alcoholic beverage.

This observation suggests that these items are not simply pint glasses as we know them, i.e. individual drinking vessels containing a 'serving'. This complicates the relatively simple interpretation of them as drinking vessels. This assignment initially appears to be an explanation of *social* function as well as practical function, i.e. the implication of individual association. What then are the potential social implications of these large vessels? The most straightforward may be that their users were, to our eyes, extremely heavy drinkers (and needless to say, this assumption may have other social ramifications). But this is presuming the vessels to be refilled regularly over the course of an occasion, as our modern pint glasses. Would a two pint beaker of beer or even wine indicate the sort of heavy drinking that the object might suggest in our modern eyes if it were not refilled over the course of a meal, social event or even day?

The next suggestion may be that these vessels were shared rather than individual. This then may be an important social fact[18], when considering the apparent shift from communal to individual dining wear over the course of the Roman involvement in the British Isles. This however is further complicated by the lower end of the spectrum of vessel size, including

[18] See Hawthorne 1997 for an example of a situation in which an investigation of changing vessel size was used to postulate that phenomena previously explained as a dramatic economic event in the eastern Mediterranean in the late Roman period could simply be the result of larger, communal eating vessels being adopted by many communities along with Christianity.

some 'unmixed wine' beakers which are well below the size of a modern half pint glass, and would not leave much to be shared around (Cool 2006 fig. 15.5). This is not the appropriate context to attempt to resolve these issues or even explore them further, but the point to emphasise is that when vessels deviate from modern assumptions of acceptable size for the presumed function it is noted as unusual and the implications of the size/practical function/ social function relationship are explored further. Since our modern concepts of acceptable size may have no relevance to the past, why can we not take these explorations further with all vessels?

This brings up the second basis for the exploration of vessel size, noticeably unusual size issues– vessels of such uncommon size that their basic practicality is called into question rather than their social function. This is mostly evident in explorations of miniaturization in material culture, for the simple reason that unusually small objects- traditionally thought of as trinkets, offerings, folk magic or toys- are more commonly noted than usually large ones. This is additionally relevant to vessels in the presumption that usually large vessels are simply there to hold more, whilst vessels with an extremely small capacity present more of a functional problem and are discussed in some detail.

The classic example of this is miniature pottery vessels which are found and variously explained across a number of times and places across British prehistory. In the north-eastern Iron Age they are crude 'thumb pots' that are suggested to be test firings (Swain 1987), but in earlier periods there can be found miniature pots which imitate quite precisely the forms of their larger relatives.

The 'pygmy cups', or more lately 'accessory vessels' of the late Neolithic and early Bronze Age are the best recorded examples of these apparent miniaturizations, both globally (Woodward 1995) and with detailed analysis of specific groups or individual vessels (Longworth 1983; Allen and Hopkins 2000). This group is made even more peculiar by the high number of vessels which, though imitating larger vessels in form, are slotted or pierced in their upper walls. Explanations such as dining accoutrements, trial firings, child potters and practice potting have been offered (see Woodward 1995; Allen and Hopkins 2000); but more recently, taking into account the perforated vessels first collated as a group by Longworth (1983) explanations have been more adventuresome. Alison Sheridan notes the evidence for burning on many of the vessels, as well as the context of the finds, and suggests that they are fire pots for carrying the flame to a funeral pyre (Allison Sheridan, pers. comm. 2009). In a similar vein, Allen and Hopkins (2000) ultimately conclude that the vessels may be best explained as censers or even as a form of pipe.

As explored above, certain sizes of vessel signal 'red flags' of unusualness to the modern observer. This is a clear example of size influencing attitudes towards the object and its assumed use. On a different level, even vessels which to not seem unusually large or small transmit functional information via their size. An example is shown in fig. 2.7. All three of the vessels portrayed are of the same form and material- glass vessels with a flat, plain rim tapering slightly to a thick flat bottom. The vessels do differ slightly in proportions and size, and this places them into different categories which we are familiar with today– tumbler, juice glass, and pint glass. The categories are clear to the modern viewer though the size differentiation is relatively little. It has been shown above that when the size of the vessel is considered an aspect unusual enough to be explored further it can carry a great deal of archaeological information, or at least questions. This study considers that the later prehistoric material in question, though not of unusual size to the modern eye, may have more in common with the modern example given in that a careful consideration of the vessel sizes and categories of vessel size can be key to establishing potential groups which *may* have had a significance in the past and a role in transmitting information about appropriate use of the vessel.

Fig. 2.7: *Different sized glasses of the same form representing modern mental categories of vessel. Photo: the author*

Recording Size

The main size measurements taken for each vessel are rim diameter and maximum thickness. Vessel height, base diameter and volume are also recorded where possible. The measurements presented have been either taken directly or scaled up from published drawings. Aside from the obvious margin of error introduced by scaling up illustrations, the material itself is highly variable and in many cases rough surfaces or edges make measurement difficult. Because of this, the measurements of heights and diameters have been rounded to the nearest centimetre and the measurements of thickness should be considered to have a+/- three millimetre margin of error.

Volume

The most all encompassing notion of size, the volume of a vessel, is unfortunately problematic. As Woodward (1997) discusses (drawing on methodology presented by Barrett 1980 for Late Bronze Age pottery), it is difficult to accurately measure the volume of an irregular, prehistoric pottery vessel. The most accurate way to calculate the volume of a vessel is measurement of a series of thin, regular cylinders within the vessel, the sum of which represents the vessel volume. Though Woodward (1997, p. 28) indicates that in the southern Iron Age assemblages, the simple calculation of the volume of a frustum of the same cross-section gives results that are within ten percent of the equivalent cylinders method, vessels will be measured in this study using equivalent cylinders due to the small and irregular sample of fully reconstructable vessels.

Another key difference in the north-eastern material is that it does not seem to be a regular enough assemblage that it would be prudent to take these calculations one step further, as Woodward does, and make the leap to assuming an actual estimate of vessel size based on rim diameter. This has been convincingly achieved (Woodward 1997, p. 28) in southern assemblages using three height categories of vessels each with a formula for determining volume based on rim diameter, i.e. for 'low vessels' the volume in litres=0.25r in centimetres with a broader average measurement of volume in litres= r in centimetres - 4.41. Such an approach, however, is impossible for the more irregular north-eastern ceramic assemblages. To this end, all complete or reconstructable vessels will be measured by their full volume using cylindrical sections and wider discussions of size will be based on rim diameter and sherd thickness. This is not a complete abandonment of consideration of volume, for it is likely to be true with the forms in use here that the larger rim diameters, i.e. larger ingress to the vessel, and thicker walls are indicative of larger vessel volumes. A lack of standardization makes precise estimations impossible in this context. Therefore, rim diameters will be measured precisely and the relationship to reconstructable vessels explored, but in the main the issue of vessel volume will be largely notional and relative.

Use/wear

The primary form of use/wear evidence in this assemblage is evidence of burning. It has been noted that many of these vessels, particularly around the rim area (Willis forthcoming; Swain 1987, p. 63), display sooting or some form of carbonized deposit. These have never been chemically analysed in detail however, and explanations range according to the location of the sooting. When on the exterior walls they are generally thought to be associated with simply being placed in a fire as a cooking pot. Residue around the rim is interpreted as food boiling over and burning. Interior residues, rather more puzzling, are generally interpreted as food burning to the vessel in cooking. To this list I would only add the idea that when thoroughly encased in ash and coals, exterior burning around the rim of the vessel could result from the fire itself and not from any careless cooks. Though all plausible, it seems that these have become automatic answers to the questions posed by carbonized deposits.

In considering that carbonized deposits are not universally recorded, not of a universal nature and many could have been acquired at several points in the vessels complex life and depositional history, they cannot be considered in great detail here. Record has been kept of whether deposits were noted and if they occurred on the interior or exterior of the vessel, but this can hardly be conclusive evidence unless found to be overwhelming

Decoration

Decoration has been noted and generally described in all cases. Decoration is sufficiently rare that there is no standardization of recording beyond narrative description.

Context and Deposition

Discussion of context of deposition will be significant in the following analysis, in part here but mainly in Chapter Four. The types of context used in recording this are giving in

Chapter One. Patterns of deposition relating to sherd type and form will be sought in the analysis below, but it is considered unlikely that substantial patterns can be found as few of the vessels recorded her are well contexted, and the reader is directed to a more all-encompassing discussion of ceramic deposition in Chapter Four.

Summary

In Appendix Four, the material has been recorded by the following categories:

- Serial Number
- Site
- Number in site inventory/original publication
- Sherd Type
- Body Type
- Body Class
- Rim Type
- Rim Class
- Base Type
- Rim Diameter
- Height
- Maximum Observed Thickness
- Sooting/Residue
- Primary Temper (Where Recorded)
- Decoration
- Context Type
- Context
- Reference

Analysis

Basics of the Assemblage

Having explained the main aspects of the recording process, this section will present an analysis of the assemblage structured by the aspects recorded in Appendix 2, discussing sherd types, forms and size, sooting and residues, tempers, decoration and deposition. As stated above, 85 indigenous settlement sites were recorded and. 49 of these sites (58%) produced ceramic material. 22 of these (26% of the total and 45% of those producing ceramics) produced sufficiently complete and recorded vessels for use in this chapter. In this chapter, only vessels whose size and form could be reconstructed to a reasonable level are included. This limited the sample to, at a minimum, rim sherds from which a rim diameter and form could be established. Though a dauntingly high standard to apply to this material, a total of 206 vessels were recorded (see Appendix 2)

Sherd Types

As can be seen in figure 2.8, the vast majority of the vessels recorded were represented by rim sherds, with occasional incomplete vessels and very rare complete vessels. Isolated bases were extremely rare and did not, on their own, allow comparison with other vessels so were not included.

Decoration, Sooting and Temper

These aspects will be explored in greater detail for certain forms below, but this section will provide the figures for the entire assemblage. Decoration is uncommon on the whole, with only 26 vessels, 13%, reporting it. This is shown in figure 2.9 In nearly all cases this is decoration made with the fingers (though the three exceptions on jars are detailed below). It is likely that this very literal personal decorative touch reflects the individuality of the vessels and makers and is indicative of the opportunistic nature of pottery production.

'Sooting' or similar residues are reported on roughly 30% of sherds, mostly external but with exceptions. This is shown in figure 2.10. As discussed above, 'fabric' as such is not considered in detail here but note of primary tempering has been made when the information is available. This shows that the most common temper by a significant margin is dolerite, with other category such as 'grit' or quartz are less common but clearly present, with very occasional organic temper or sand noted. This is shown in figure 2. 11.

Forms

The assemblage is overwhelmingly comprised of jar forms, as seen in figure 2.12. Though it is possible that bowls were somewhat under-represented by the recording system, being mainly based on rims which at at times had little remaining body, the prevalence of jar

Rim	190
Complete Vessel	6
Incomplete Vessel	10

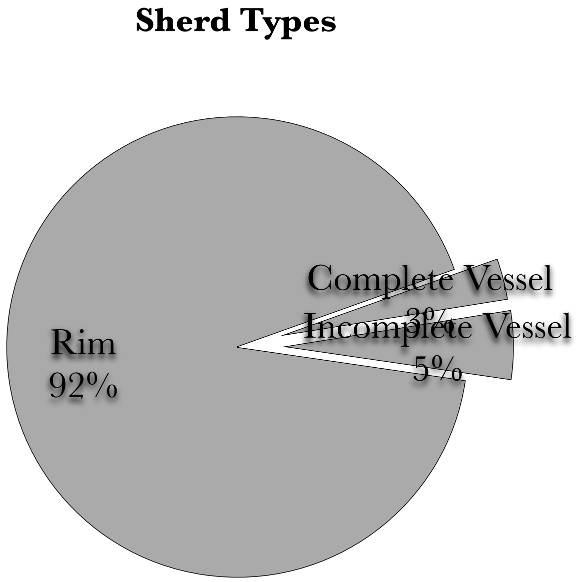


Figure 2.8: *Sherd types represented in the ceramic assemblage.*

forms is so thorough as to suggest that bowls are vastly in the minority, even if they are slightly under-represented.

It is presumed that bowls, designed primarily for easy visual and physical access to contents, are related to serving or perhaps display of items rather than that for cooking or storage, as Rachel Pope has suggested for more regular assemblages of Iron Age ceramics from Dorset (Pope 2003b). Thus it appears that the assemblage is primarily geared towards the storage and/or preparation of foods more than consumption and display, but this hypothesis will be tested throughout the following analysis.

Size

The main attribute used as an index of vessel size is rim diameter. Though the relationship between rim diameter and size differs slightly between forms, the basic tenet that larger vessels have larger rim diameters is shown to be appropriate by the few fully reconstructable vessels, and it is the best widely applicable index available. A comparison of maximum wall thickness and rim diameter (see figure. 2.13) shows a rough correlation between thickness and diameter which supports this. Though the trend shown in the chart is rudimentary, particu-

Decorated	26
Undecorated	180

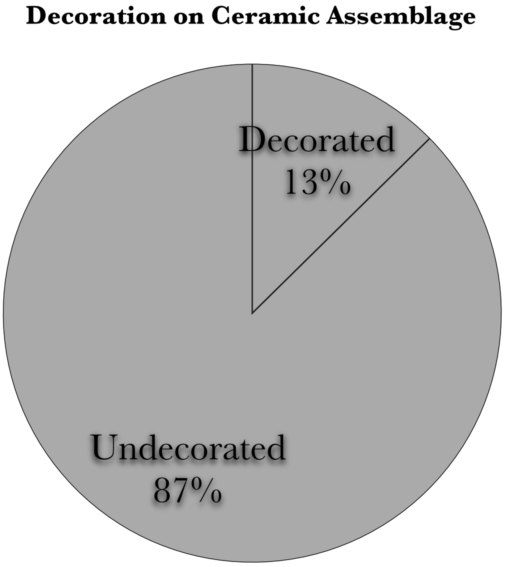


Figure 2.9: *Presence of decoration in the ceramic assemblage.*

No	139
Internal	3
External	56
Both	8

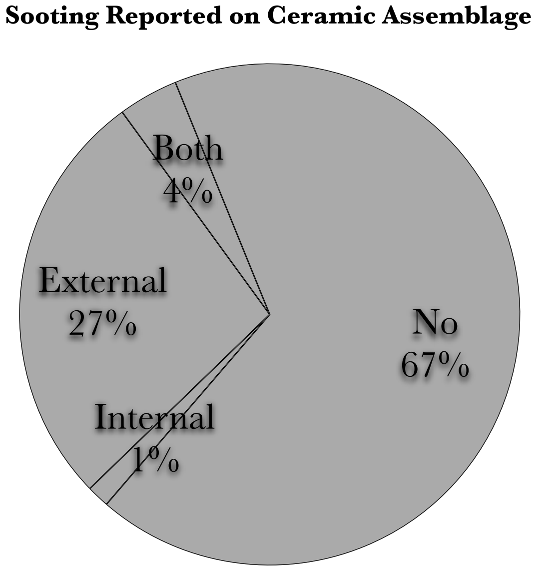
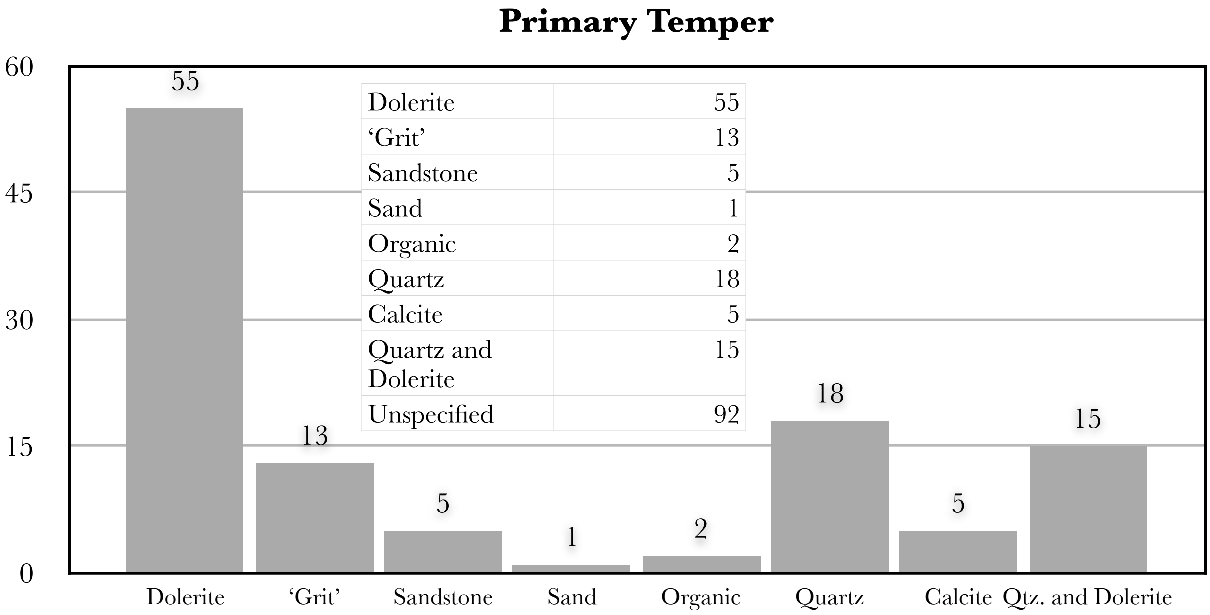


Figure 2.10: *Sooting reported on the ceramic assemblage.*



Dolerite	55
'Grit'	13
Sandstone	5
Sand	1
Organic	2
Quartz	18
Calcite	5
Quartz and Dolerite	15
Unspecified	92

Figure 2.11: *Primary tempers (where reported) in the ceramic assemblage.*

larly with the rarer, larger diameter vessels, it is felt that it is likely to be as strong a correlation as could be seen in this unstandardized, unique material. As seen in figure 2.8, only six complete vessels were able to be reconstructed. For that reason volume was not taken into account, as the sample size would have been prohibitively small for appropriate analysis. While volume cannot be directly quantified, it does appear that larger rim diameters and greater maximum wall thickness indicate larger vessels.

Based on figure 2.13 (primarily the *x* axis demonstrating diameter), it does not appear that there are clear size categories of vessels observable in the assemblage as a whole. It is apparent though that vessels with a rim diameter of 275mm or so are rarer.

Jar	186
Bowl	20

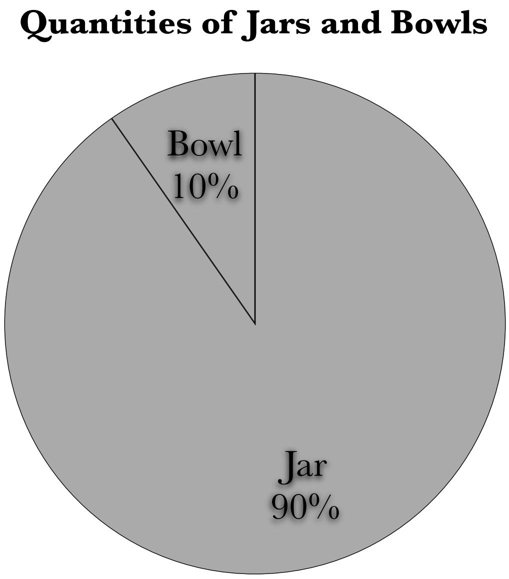


Figure 2.12: Quantities of jars and bowls.

Bowls

Form and size

As seen in figure 2.12, bowls make up only 10% of the assemblage, with 20 examples. Within this small sample, there do appear to be two size categories of bowls however, as seen in figure 2.14. These comprise bowls with a rim diameter of between about 100 and 150 mm and those with a rim diameter of 200mm and up. Though this pattern is not remarkably strong in such a small sample, it is notable that the 100-150 mm diameter category is, at least to the modern diner, seemingly a single-serving type of size whilst 200 mm or above begins to seem more like a serving or sharing portion. Admittedly, this is an assumption based on modern perceptions, but it is notable that these appear to coincide fairly neatly.

Within these size categories, there do not seem to be patterns of body type or rim type which reinforce the size categories. Body type is predominantly (90%) of type 1, curved sided bowls, with only 2 examples (10%) of type 2, straight sided bowls. These two examples are each in one of the suggested size categories, with vessel 152 at 90mm diameter and vessel 3 at 260mm diameter.

Only two examples have survived with recognizable bases, thus no conclusions can be drawn from these. Rim classes are spread evenly thought the sizes of vessel, with the proportions shown in figure 2.15. It is notable that only terminating, emphasising and everted rim classes are seen and elaborating rims, most or all of which appear to be designed for fitting

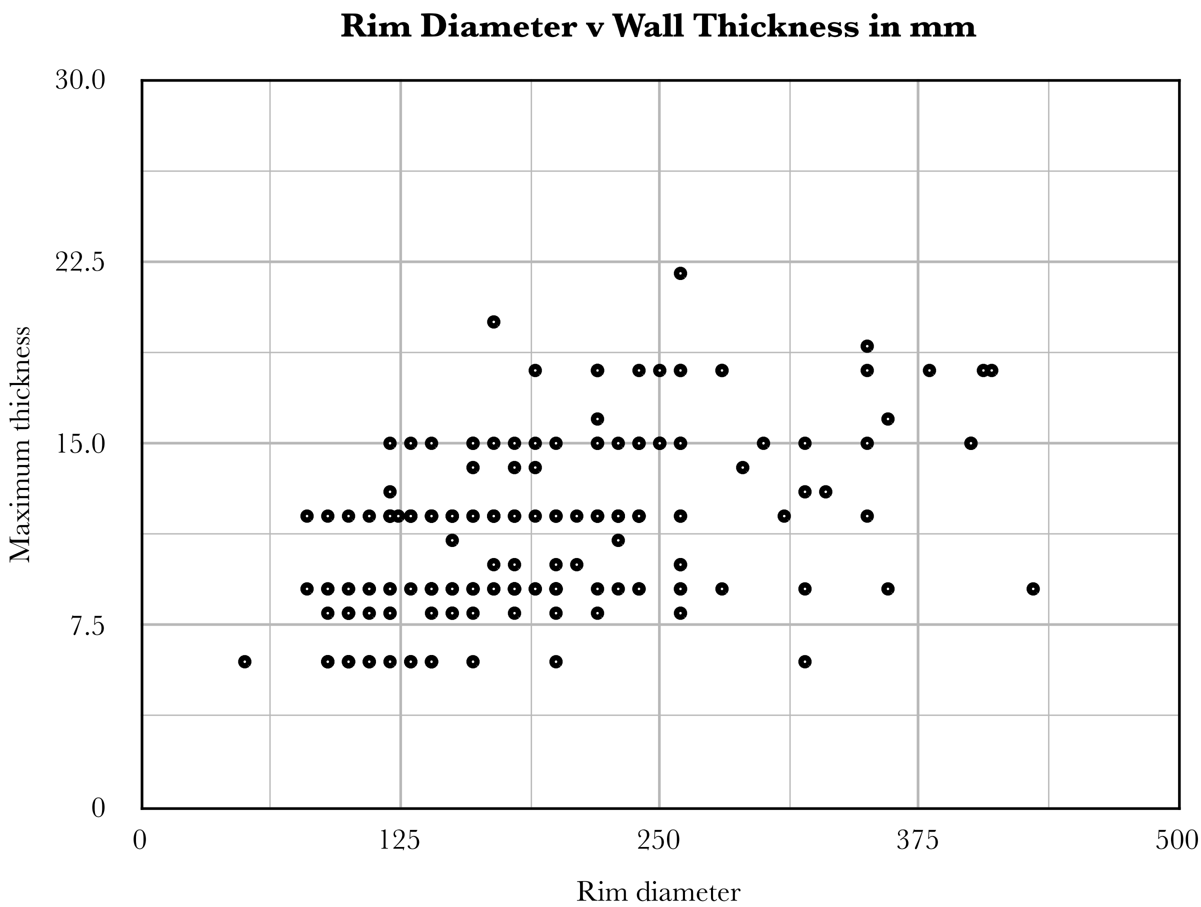


Figure 2.13: *Comparison of vessel wall thickness and rim diameter.*

lids, are entirely absent. This furthers the suggestion that these were not intended as cooking vessels.

Sooting, Decoration and Temper

That being said, sooting is noted on seven examples, 35% of the assemblage. This is predominantly (five examples or 72% of the sooted examples) external, though there are two examples (28% of the sooted examples) which demonstrate both internal and external sooting, suggesting that this may be post depositional phenomenon. Still, the sooting may indicate that the bowls, unlikely to be for cooking as no examples can be lidded and the shape encourages maximum loss of moisture, may have been kept warm in coals or used in industrial processes (for example, melting wax or fats). Sooting is shown in figure 2.16.

Decoration is noted on three of the examples, 15% of the assemblage. In all cases (vessels 200, 142 and 3) these are simple finger imprinted decorations. Though the sample is too

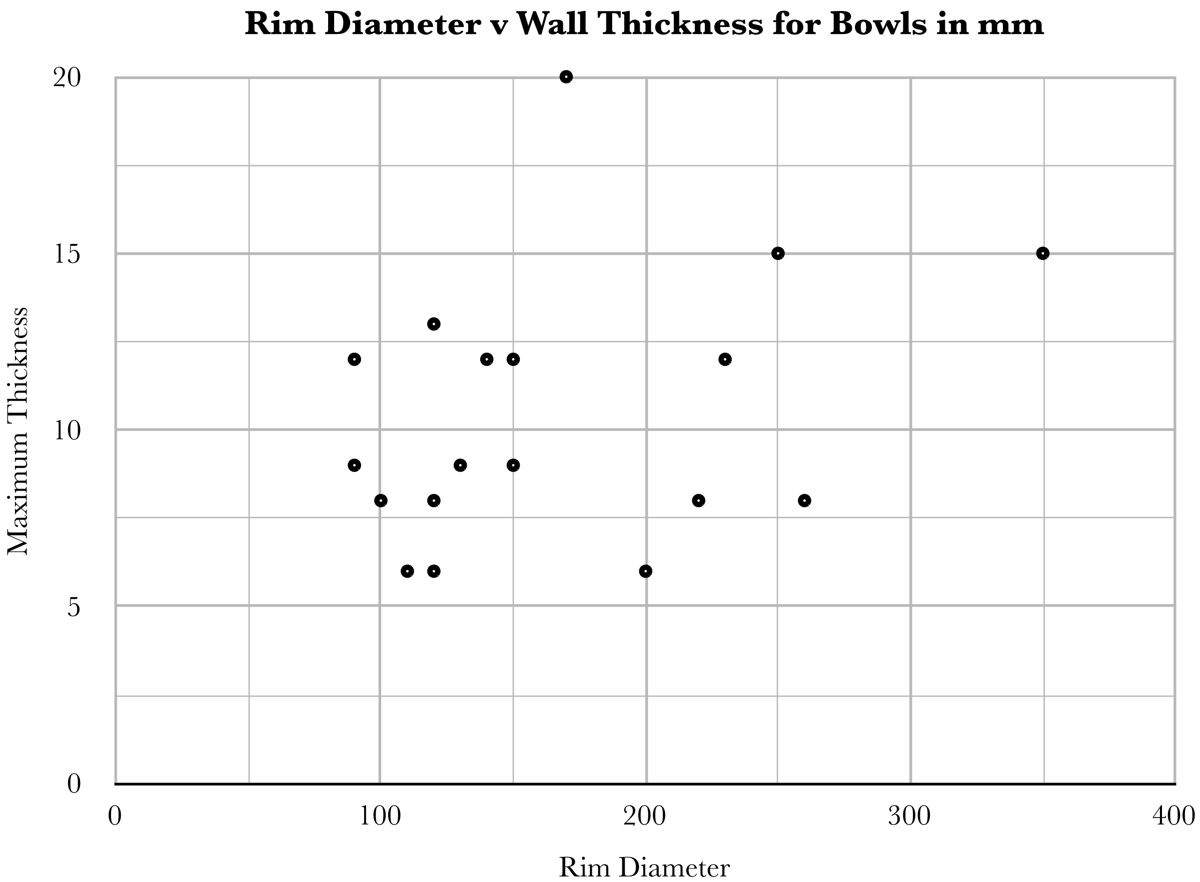


Figure 2.14: *Comparison of rim diameter and wall thickness for bowls.*

small to draw conclusions from this, it is notable that this number appears to be consistent with the average for the much larger sample.

The primary temper used in bowl forms is 'grit', as shown in figure 2.17. Aside from a preponderance of 'grit' (which may well be dolerite) over dolerite, the proportions of different tempering agents appear to be roughly the same, but on a smaller scale than the larger assemblage.

Dating

Whilst it has been noted that creating a detailed chronology is not amongst the goals of this work, chronological details do begin to emerge from this larger scale approach to the ceramic tradition. The bowl forms are an excellent case in point. This unusual form comes from only eight sites of the 22 which are a part of this chapter, about 36% of the sites[19]. All of the-

[19] Bowls are recorded from Thorpe Thewles, Stanwick St. John, Middle Gunnar Peak, West Gunnar Peak, Hetha Burn 1, Pegswood Moor, Catcote and Murton High Crags. See Appendix 1 for references and details.

Terminating	13
Emphasizing	1
Everted	6

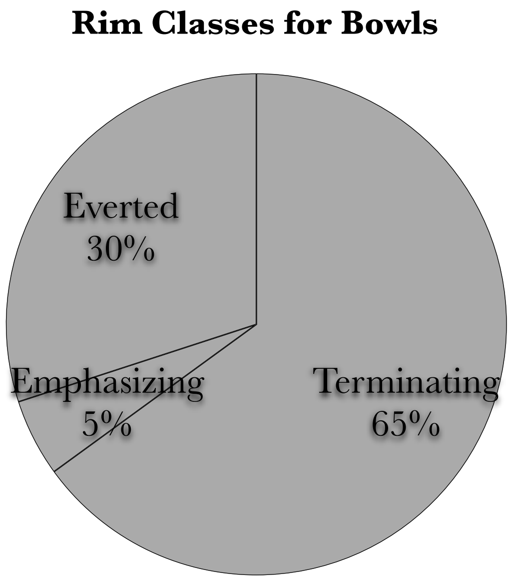


Figure 2.15: *Rim classes found on bowls*

Both	2
External	5
Internal	0
No	13

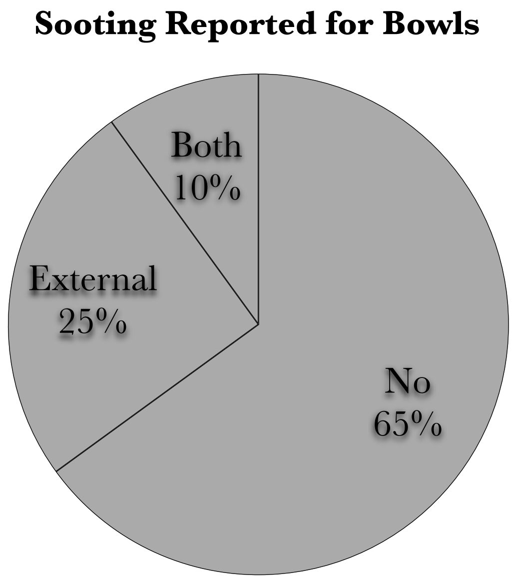


Figure 2.16: *Sooting reported on bowls.*

ses sites have extensive Roman period occupation and all produce 'Roman' material culture, thought not always ceramics.

Based on their rarity in such a long ceramic sequence and their association with Roman period settlements, it is tentatively suggested here that bowl forms are a later development, from a situation wherein ceramics appear to have been viewed as appropriate or desirable as vessels for serving or display.

Deposition

Since the sample size is so small and well under half of the bowls recorded have any contextual information, this has not been pursued and the reader is directed to the larger scale analysis of indigenous ceramic deposition in Chapter Four.

Summary

In summation, bowl forms appear to occur relatively late in the ceramic sequence and only occur on sites with significant Roman Iron Age activity. It is possible that their development may have been influenced by the influx of imported finewares and other ceramics in the

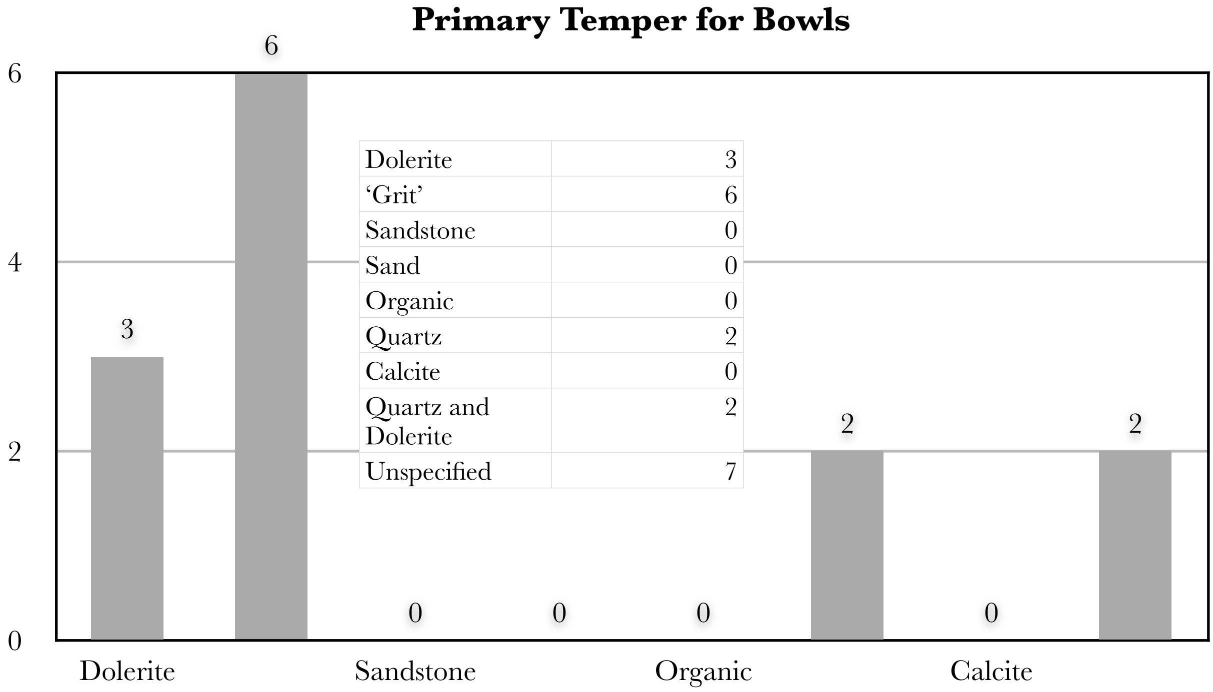


Figure 2.17: Primary tempering materials for bowls.

last centuries of the first millennium BC, changing habits and traditions and encouraging eating from ceramics where previously organics such as wood had been the norm. It also appears that there may be two size categories of bowls, one group with rim diameters between about 100-150mm and the other with rim diameters in excess of 200mm. The smaller bowls may represent an individual serving portion, whilst the larger may represent a communal dish or one used in food preparation or very short term, open storage.

Bowl forms appear to be tempered and decorated in much the same ways and quantities as the more common jar forms and share similar patterns of sooting and other deposits on their surfaces, but these may be post-depositional or related to other processes. It appears at present unlikely that these forms were used in cooking or storage, as their form in centred around access to the material inside and would enable greater moisture loss and spoilage in those circumstances. It is also notable in this context that none of the rim types, all of the elaborating class, which allow lidding or capping of any sort are present on bowls.

Jars

Form and Size

As seen in figure 2.12, jars make up 90% of the assemblage with 186 examples. Within this there do not appear to be discrete size categories, based on figure 2.18, and the major pattern seen is that, like the larger assemblage demonstrated in figure 2.13, jars with a rim diameter above 250mm are less common and there seems to be an upper end of sherd thickness at around 22mm..

When examining the assemblage further by size, it appears that both barrel and bucket body types and all rim classes are well mixed amongst the different sizes of jar. This lack of apparent size categories reaffirms the supposition that many of these objects were made opportunistically and to suit the task and community at hand.

The quantities of body types and rim classes are show in figures 2.19 and 2.20. This demonstrates similar quantities of barrel and bucket forms and very small quantities of the more elaborate straight and 's' necked forms, which may be later introductions (see below). All of the rim classes are well represented, with the simplest terminating and everted rims being slightly predominant.

Initial examination of the data does not reveal particular correlations between rim and body types, with rim classes distributed evenly amongst the major body forms. However, in an attempt to investigate this further with the main types of jar, figures 2.21 and 2.22 show the distribution of rim classes amongst definite barrel (figure 2.21) and bucket (figure 2.22) type jars, excluding the occasional indeterminate type 3/4.

This shows a striking pattern but a difficult one to interpret. Emphasizing rims, likely to be entirely decorative. are uncommon on both body types. Elaborating rims, which generally facilitate lidding, are present in both barrels and buckets, but almost twice as common in barrel jars. The major pattern of course is in the preponderance of simple terminating rim forms in bucket jars and everted forms in barrel jars.

It is difficult to make a functional determination from this, but it can be said that the concurrence of rim classes and body forms do serve to keep open forms, the bucket jars, open; and to allow closed forms, barrel jars, to be further closed by lidding (which, though less neatly than the lid-seat elaborating forms, allows), by tying waxed or oiled cloth or leather around the opening, securing it with the everted rim, or by filling the aperture with a layer of fat or wax.

It is most probably false to suggest that one of these forms was for cooking and another for storage or processing, though the evidence from sooting may cast more light on this. Different foods or styles of preparation may require the retention or expulsion of moisture in

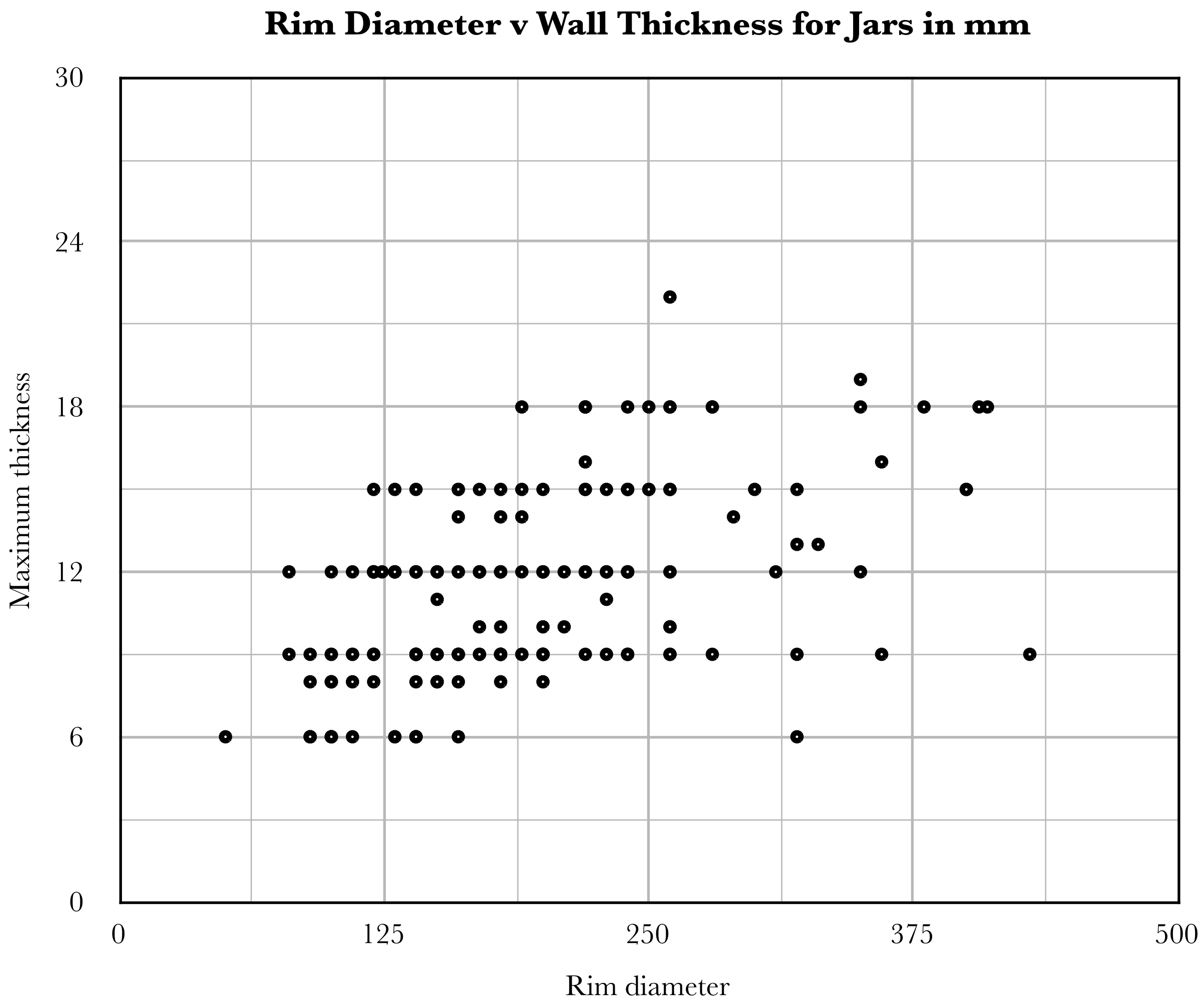


Figure 2.18: *Comparison of rim diameter and wall thickness for bowls.*

cooking, whilst some items may need to be sealed in storage and others may need to be accessed more readily in short term storage or sorting.

Once again this shows that vessels were made to serve the present needs of the communities which made them rather than adhering to a strict pattern or predetermined forms and that they likely had multiple uses across their lifespan.

Sooting, Decoration and Temper

The frequency and type of sooting on definite barrel and bucket forms (excluding the three indeterminate type 3/4 forms) is shown in figures 2.23 and 2.24 and can be compared with sooting on all jars in figure 2.25. Sooting for types 5 and 6, straight necked and 's' necked jars, is not quantified due to the small sample, but no examples of 's'necked jars have any sooting and two of the four straight necked jars have external sooting.

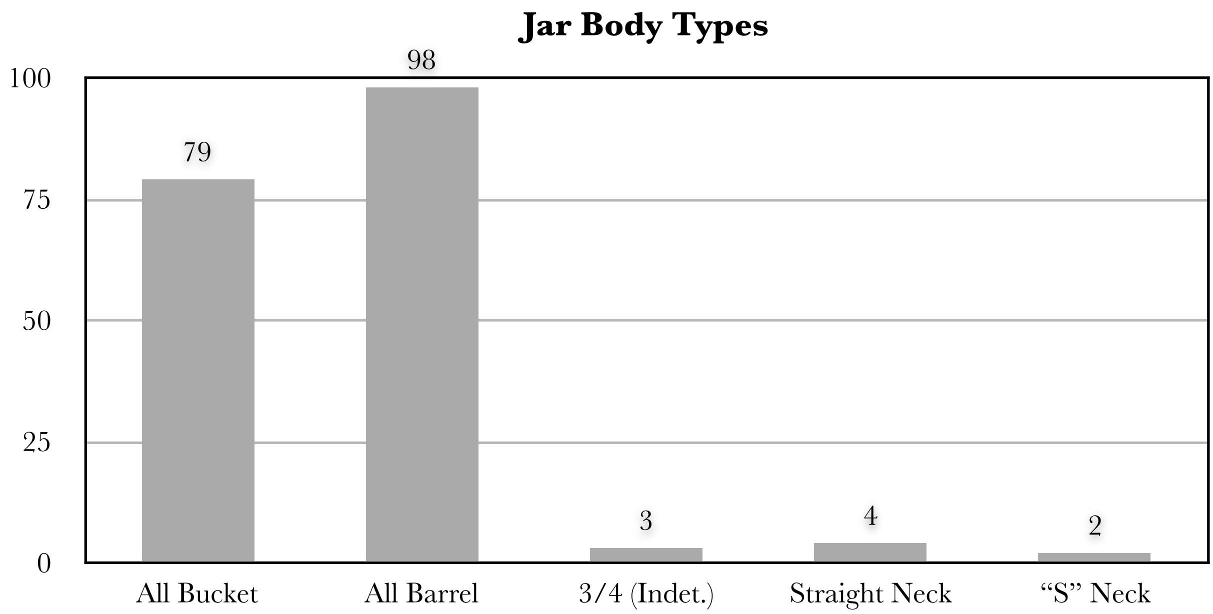


Figure 2.19: *Body types amongst the jar assemblage.*

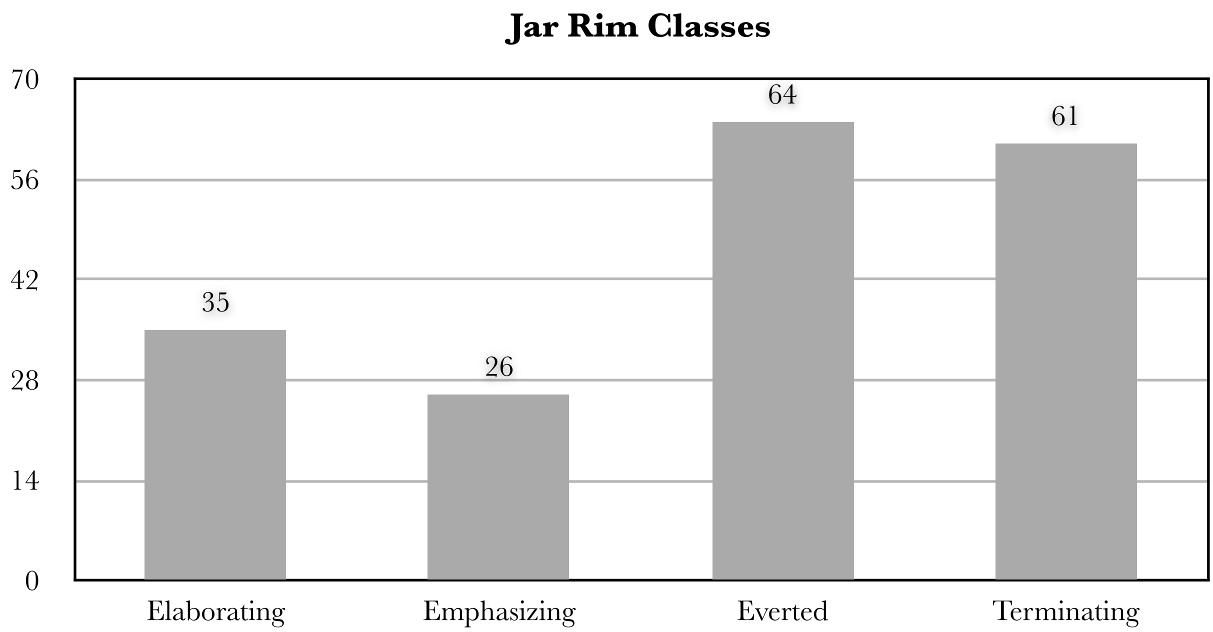


Figure 2.20: *Rim classes amongst the jar assemblage.*

Sooting itself is difficult to quantify, as extremely friable ceramics with a complex depositional history often do not clearly display evidence of use, so in recording sooting and residue, no attempt has been made to standardize the multiplicity of description given in the reports. Sooting has been adopted as a catchall term for burnt residue of some sort.

As figures 2.23-5 show, most fragments are not reported to be sooted but the vast majority of those which are report external sooting deposits. This suggests, as discussed above, that

Elaborating	24
Emphasizing	11
Everted	44
Terminating	19

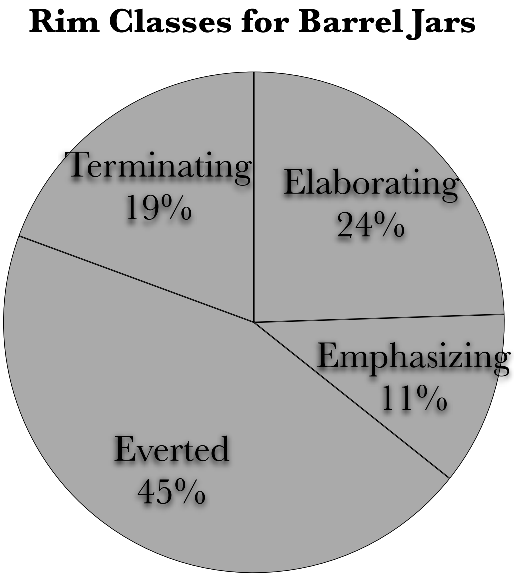


Figure 2.21: *Rim classes for barrel jars*

Elaborating	10
Emphasizing	15
Everted	16
Terminating	38

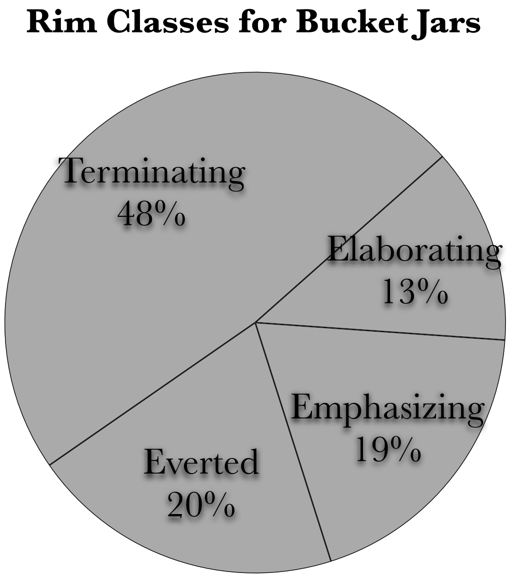


Figure 2.22: *Rim classes for bucket jars.*

both barrel and bucket type jars may have been used for cooking and there does not seem to be a clear functional divide between the types.

The lack of a divide between types is also demonstrated by patterns in decoration. Figures 2.26-8 show the decoration reported on jars. These results are extremely consistent across the assemblage and suggest that decoration on jars was quite unusual. Almost all cases this decoration was clearly accomplished with the fingers of the potter, aside from a handful of examples which may have employed a stick for incised decoration and a single example, vessel 68 in Appendix 2, with barbotine decoration. As suggested above for bowls, this pattern of simple decoration probably reflects the individuality of the potters and the fact that these vessels were opportunistically created to suit the needs of the community using them. It is possible that, as the decoration is extremely individual, decorated examples were being marked by one individual or community as their own or for a specific function, but as discussed below the depositional evidence is insufficient for the treatment of such a small subset of this specific ceramic assemblage to be considered in more detail at present.

The primary tempering material used in these vessels also appears to be a scaled down reflection of the pattern for the entire assemblage, as seen in figures 2.29-31. This shows again the predominance of dolerite, probably glacial erratics within the clay, as the main tempering material with some quartz and mixed tempers.

Both	3
External	26
Internal	2
No	67

Sooting Reported on Barrel Jars

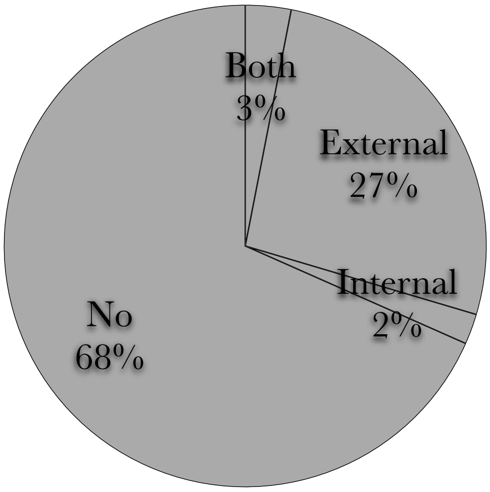


Figure 2.23: *Sooting reported on barrel jars.*

Both	3
External	23
Internal	1
No	52

Sooting Reported on Bucket Jars

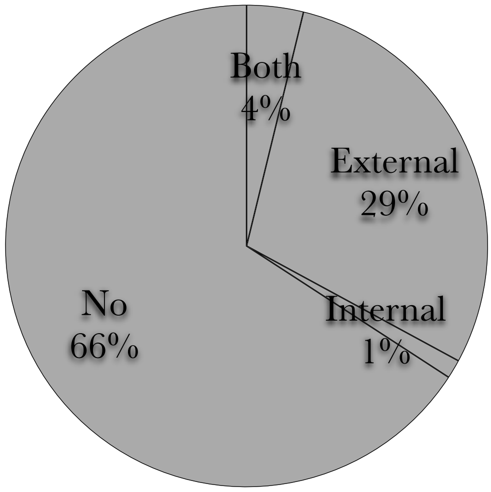


Figure 2.24: *Sooting reported on bucket jars.*

Both	6
External	51
Internal	3
No	126

Sooting Reported on All Jars

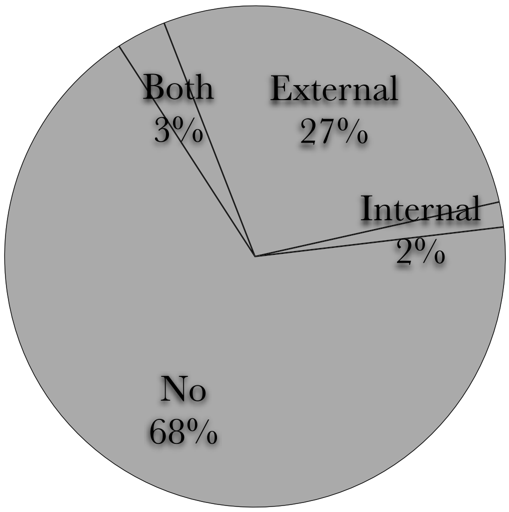


Figure 2.25: *Sooting reported on all jars.*

As noted above, Evans (1995) has suggested that there is a greater degree of sooting on dolerite tempered jars, and that this may be indicative of selecting dolerite as a temper for cooking vessels. The measure of sooting on dolerite tempered jars is difficult to directly test across the present assemblage as both primary temper and sooting are not recorded consis-

Decorated	12
Undecorated	86

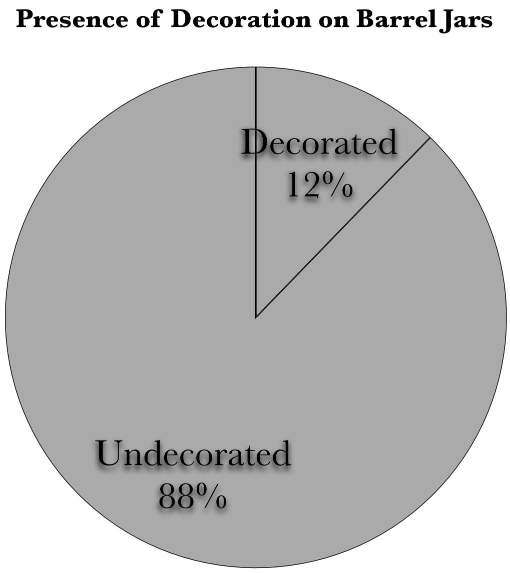


Figure 2.26: *Presence of decoration on barrel jars.*

Decorated	12
Undecorated	67

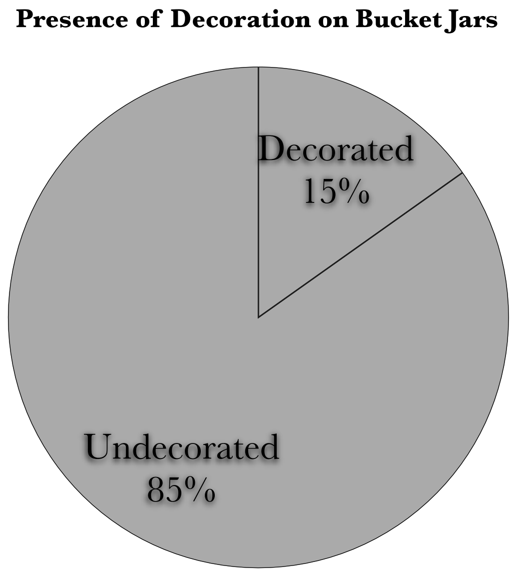


Figure 2.27: *Presence of decoration on bucket jars.*

Decorated	25
Undecorated	161

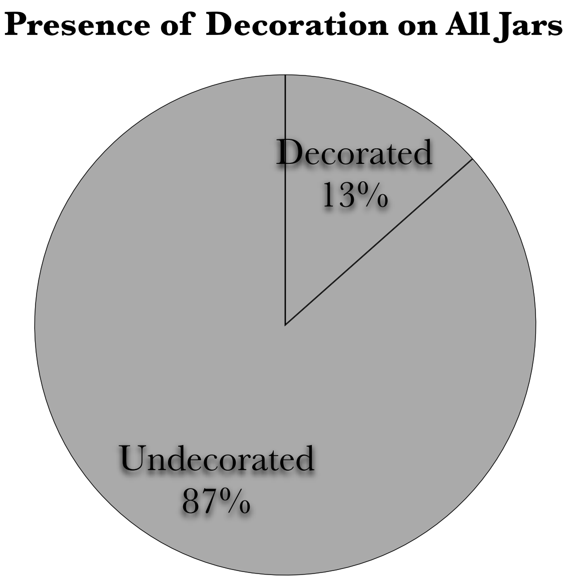


Figure 2.28: *Presence of decoration on all jars.*

tently in the original reports. It is possible however to examine the profile of reported tempers across those vessels which are reported as being sooted to test the general premise of a preference for dolerite temper for cooking vessels. This is shown in figure 2.32, which shows that the general profile for primary tempers in sooted vessels is broadly the same as for the assemblage as a whole. This suggests that the theory that dolerite was preferred in cooking vessels does not hold up across the wider assemblage. The only unusual aspect of the assemblage of sooted vessels is the greater incidence of recording of temper amongst jars reported as sooted, but this is likely to be due to the greater care in recording

Dating

Unlike the bowls discussed above, jars form the bulk of the assemblage over a period of many centuries and there appears to be little means for dating most of them specifically by form. The exception to this is the unusual straight necked and 'necked' examples[20], all of which come from sites in the Tees Valley with extensive Roman period occupation: Bonny Grove Farm, Stanwick St. John, and Thorpe Thewles. Like the bowls, it seems that these may be a later elaboration of the indigenous tradition, influenced by the arrival of imported ceramics.

Deposition

Unfortunately, only 50 of the 206 vessels recorded were able to provide even the barest of contextual information. Since attempting to assess different depositional patterns between different classes and types of material within this assemblage would necessarily involve comparisons within this small sample of 50 it was felt that this could not produce usable patterns

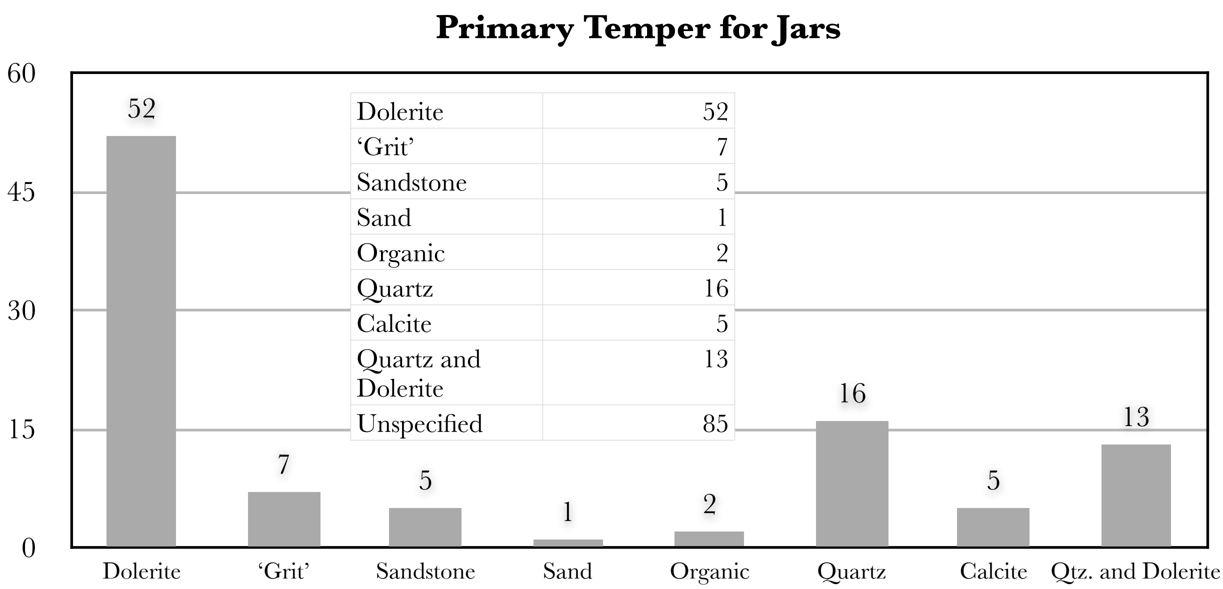


Figure 2.29: *Primary temper (where reported) for all jars.*

[20] Vessels 69, 10, 124, 110, 64 and 98 in Appendix 2

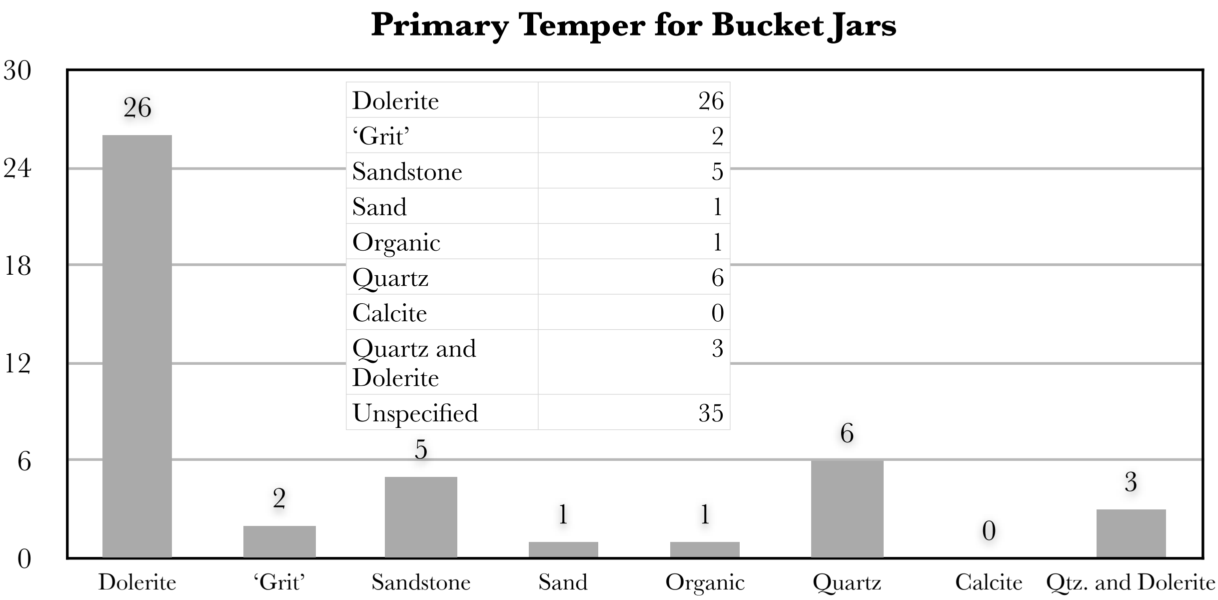


Figure 2.30: *Primary temper (where reported) for bucket jars.*

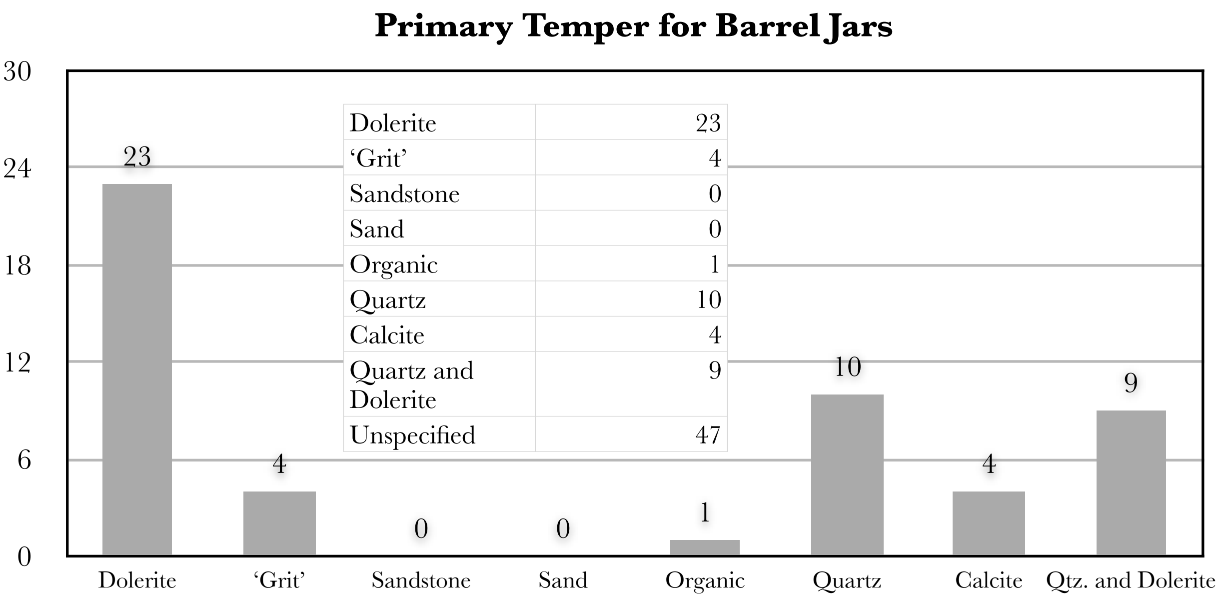


Figure 2.31: *Primary temper (where reported) for barrel jars.*

and was abandoned. The reader is directed to the larger examination of deposition of indigenous ceramics in the following chapter.

Summary

It appears from careful examination of the jar assemblage that the two main types recognized, bucket and barrel jars, were constructed and used in similar ways despite their differing properties. This suggests that in the apparently infrequent usage of pottery, these two multi-purpose forms were used for a multitude of tasks. Certainly there is evidence, from the

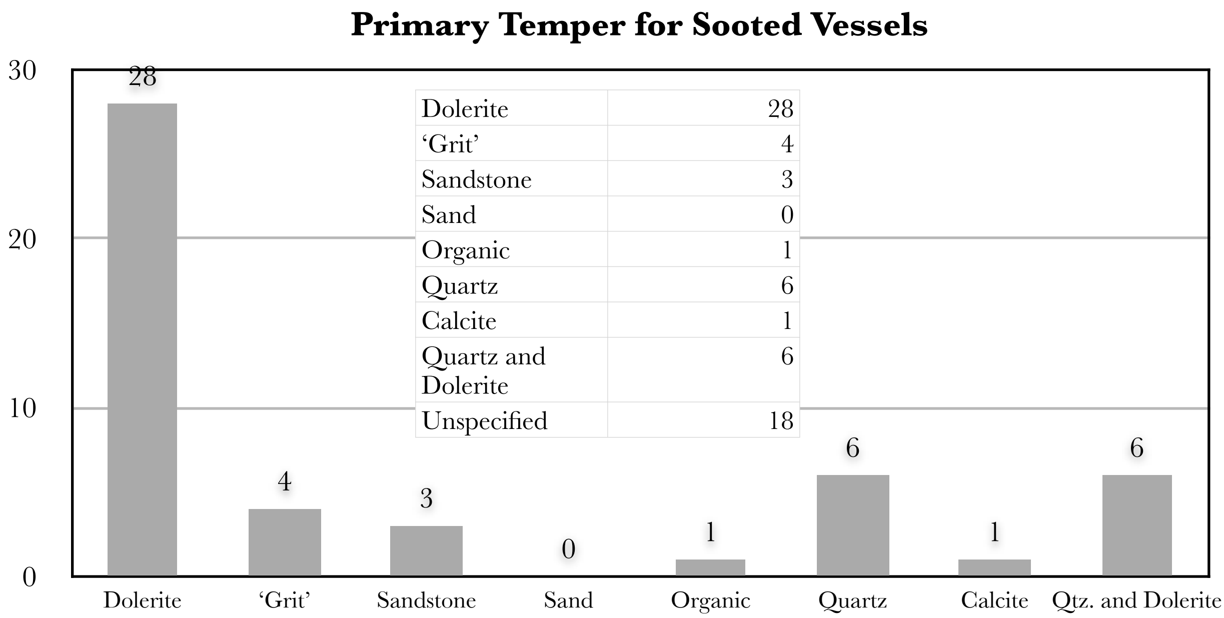


Figure 2.32: *Primary temper for sooted vessels.*

sooting, that these were cooking vessels, and as noted above this is essentially the one task in which ceramics outshine organic materials in usability. In terms of use as storage, there is no direct evidence. This issue will be discussed further later, after a summary of the available foodstuffs with which this ceramic assemblage would have been working.

The two categories of necked jars are very rare and potentially later additions to the indigenous ceramic vocabulary, perhaps influenced by Roman forms. The small size of the sample gives no reliable evidence for their usage.

Summary of Analysis

This analysis has demonstrated that there were two main classes of ceramic vessel, bowls and jars. In terms of 'fabric', there appear to be no clear differences in commonality of tempering materials between the two classes. Jars come in a wide range of sizes with no apparent categories, but bowls cluster in two size rangers, that between 100-150mm in diameter and that above 200mm in diameter.

Bucket and barrel type jars dominate the assemblage, but the appearance of bowls and necked jars later in the sequence suggests a dynamism to the indigenous tradition which is only beginning to be understood, with recent discoveries of indigenous ceramics specifically imitating Roman forms at the seemingly quite unique settlement at Faverdale near Darlington (see Proctor in press).

The bucket and barrel jars appear to be made and treated in similar ways despite the differences in form and properties, and these forms may have been used for different foods or styles of preparation.

The Edible Environment

Climate and Environment

Pollen coring and environmental reconstruction in the study area (see van der Veen 1992; Fenton-Thomas 1992; Heslop 1987; Turner 1979) have demonstrated that later prehistory was a time of adaption to the changing climate of the early and mid first millennium BC. During the later Bronze and early Iron Age the climate became wetter and upland peat growth probably caused the abandonment of significant numbers of upland settlements (though by no means all) and saw the land given over to pasture (Campbell, *et al.* 2002). By later prehistory, the introduction of crops such as spelt wheat, by about 300 BC (van der Veen 1992), which could thrive on the heavy, clay lowland soils of Durham and Cleveland enabled an apparent rise in population and intensity of agriculture in the lowland areas (see Haselgrove 1984, 1999, pp. 256-7). Fenton-Thomas (1992, p. 56), however, cautions that this does not appear as dramatically as Haselgrove might indicate and is perhaps more related to overall expansion than a change of agricultural regime, a caution supported by van der Veen (1992). This was in concert with the intensification of woodland clearance which was once associated with the Roman army and with the construction of Hadrian's Wall, but now appears to have begun somewhat earlier, though perhaps reaching a peak in the-Roman Iron Age in Northumberland (Tipping 1995; van der Veen 1992; Fenton-Thomas 1996; Turner 1979; Haselgrove 1984; 1999; Huntley 1999). As Fenton-Thomas (1992, p. 53) makes clear, pollen evidence is not of sufficient resolution to discuss specific events such as the Roman arrival. This woodland clearance is now supposed to extend throughout and beyond the traditional timeframe of the 'Roman period' (Fenton-Thomas 1992, p. 54).

In summary, the communities in question were likely living in a climate not unlike the current one, with settlement focusing either in the fertile lowlands or on the upland margins, around the 125m contour (Haselgrove 1982; Fenton-Thomas 1996), for exploitation of upland pasture as well. Some pasture-based settlements remained in the uplands, where there is little pollen or macrofossil evidence of serious agriculture (Fenton-Thomas 1996; see also the environmental reports for such sites as Dubby Sike [Coggins and Gidney 1988]). The lowland landscape would have been agricultural, lightly forested and potentially largely enclosed (or, one should say, with at least some large scale enclosure), as recent open area excavations at Pegswood Moor indicate (Proctor 2009) and excavations by Tyne and Wear Museum Services north of Newcastle suggest (Nick Hodgson pers. comm.).

Available Foods and Resources

In order to efficiently gain a picture of the broadly available edible environment of the Later Iron Age north-east, a selective sampling strategy has been adopted to give a broad picture of the major components of the edible environment. This takes into account three of the most comprehensive environmental reports available from the main counties in this study (Cleveland and Northumberland/Tyne and Wear), save for Durham for which only two reports are available and two from North Yorkshire, which is not entirely included in the study area.

The sites considered are Catcote, Bonny Grove Farm and Thorpe Thewles in Cleveland; Doubstead, Pegswood Moor and Murton High Crags in Northumberland/Tyne and Wear; Coxhoe West House, and Dubby Sike in Durham and Rock Castle and Scotch Corner in North Yorkshire (see Appendix 1 for references).

Any comparative quantitative study is, if even possible, beyond the bounds of this work as most or all organic remains are essentially preserved by chance in this area. There is little or no consistency of survival across sites, let alone between sites, and most reports on this material stress its fragmentary nature, frequently emphasizing that environmental and taphonomic factors such as soil acidity, heavy disturbance and truncation and recovery strategies make certain species over or under represented (see Rackham in Heslop 1987; Rackham in Haselgrove and Allon 1982; Jobey 1981; Gidney in Coggins and Gidney 1988; van der Veen and Haselgrove 1983, p. 23; Huntley and Stallibrass 1995, pp. 16-17).

The preservation is such that faunal and floral remains are nearly always only preserved in certain unusual contexts on a site (*cf.* the bone from the main enclosure ditch at Coxhoe West House [Haselgrove and Allon 1982] or the silts from context 5 in the ditch at Doubstead [Jobey 1982]). Both floral and faunal remains are not always present which makes them difficult to contextualize in a larger sense. Instead, this section deals with presence and absence of evidence for edible

Species	Common Name	Evidence	Sites	Number of Sites	Notes
	Cat	Bones	Thorpe Thewles	1	Inconclusive as to wild or domestic (Rackham 1987, p. 106-107)
	Cattle	Bones	Coxhoe West House, Doubstead, Pegswood Moor, Thorpe Thewles, Rock Castle	5	Catcote data in part from Hodgson 1968
	Dog	Bones	Coxhoe West House, Thorpe Thewles	2	
	Fish	Bone	Catcote	1	Single bone, very unusual, no specific mention in Gidney in Vyner and Daniels 1989
	Fowl	Bones	Thorpe Thewles, ?Catcote	1	Rackham in Heslop 1987 discussed unidentified bird bones from Catcote which may be fowl.
	Fox	Bones	Thorpe Thewles	1	Possibly a small dog
Erinaceus europaeus	Hedgehog	Bones	Thorpe Thewles	1	
	Horse	Bones	Coxhoe West House, Doubstead, Thorpe Thewles	3	Catcote data in part from Hodgson 1968
	Ovicaprid	Bones, horn cores	Coxhoe West House, Doubstead, Thorpe Thewles, Rock Castle	4	Catcote data in part from Hodgson 1968
	Pig	Bones	Coxhoe West House, Thorpe Thewles	2	Catcote data in part from Hodgson 1968
Cervus elaphus	Red Deer	Antler, Bone	Thorpe Thewles, Catcote	2	Catcote data in part from Hodgson 1968
	Wild Goose	Bones	Thorpe Thewles	1	

Table 3.3: *Fauna present on the sites consulted.*

flora and fauna on later prehistoric sites in order to demonstrate the range of available material which would have been interacting with the ceramic assemblage in order to explore connections between the assemblage and the environment it was designed to process.

Cattle	78.60%	47%
Ovicaprid	9.50%	32%
Horse	8.40%	17%
Pig	3.50%	4%

Table 3.2: *Relative quantities of major species from Catcote (Hodgson 1968) and Coxhoe West House (Rackham in Haselgrove and Allon 1982)*

Only examples which have been identified to genus or species level are included, as beyond this there is too much variation to determine the edibility or usefulness of many plants. 'Edible' is something of a subjective designation that means far more than 'safe to eat'. Where there is some question about the edibility or tradition of consuming a particular plant, the author has consulted Richard Mabey's guide *Food for Free*, originally published in 1972 (Maybe 2007), and the more recent *River Cottage Hedgerow Handbook* (Wright 2010). All animal species have been recorded, though the likelihood of consumption of each is assessed in the discussion.

Fauna

Table 3.3 shows the animal species present in the assemblage from the sites consulted. It is clear that cattle, ovicaprids, pigs and horses are the dominant domestic species. The few assemblages which have proved large enough to attempt a quantitative survey suggest that the most frequently encountered is cattle, followed by ovidcaprids and then either pigs or horses (Rackham in Heslop 1987; Hodgson 1968; Stallibrass and Huntley 1995; see also Haselgrove 1982). Relative quantities for the small assemblage from Coxhoe West House and the 1960s excavations at Catcote are given in table 3.2. The presence of pigs on sites varies significantly, and it is uncertain whether this is due to cultural or taphonomic factors (Huntley and Stallibrass 1995, p. 132).

It seems definite then that cattle, ovicaprids and pigs then are the main domestic species consumed. Amongst the ovicaprid assemblage, those noted as 'sheep sized' or definite sheep are fairly common, whilst definite goats are present but rare. Stallibrass speculates goats this may have been a relatively late prehistoric, though pre-Roman, introduction (Huntley and Stallibrass 1995, p. 132). Cattle are invariably of the Celtic shorthorn variety, whilst sheep are similar to modern Soays, as seen in figure 3.33 (Huntley and Stallibrass 1995). The fragmentary assemblage makes it difficult to determine the degree to which these herds were steered towards production of meat, milk or both. As Sue Stallibrass says:

> As yet, we have very little information regarding how domestic animals were exploited in terms of age distributions and body part representation. Although the collections from Thorpe Thewles were useful, the less than favourable preservation conditions mean that age distributions may be biased against the

survival and recovery of juvenile bones, or of elements susceptible to dissolution in acids.

(Huntley and Stallibrass 1995, p. 133)

Horse is present in quantities that may relate more to the size of the animal than its frequency, and given the relative expense of feeding horses (Huntley and Stallibrass 1995, p. 132) it is doubtful that they were primarily for consumption, though this may have been a secondary aspect. As Louisa Gidney observes (in Coggins and Gidney 1987), the degree of preservation encountered in most faunal assemblages precludes analysis or identification of butchery marks.

Figure 3.33: *A modern Soay sheep in Northumberland (photo: the author)*

Domestic dogs are also represented, and though it is certainly possible that they were eaten it is unlikely that this was their primary purpose (see Smith 2006). It is also possible that domestic cats are present- the single cat bone surviving is inconclusive as to whether from a wild or domestic species, but there is a precedent for domesticated cat in the British Iron Age (Rackham in Heslop 1987, p. 106).

Wild species are barely represented in the assemblage, with most of the incidences of their occurrence being in an unusual context and not more than a few bones, as in the case of the hedgehog and wild goose bones from Thorpe Thewles. The presence of fox is less unusual is it is like to have been hunted for its fur, and may in fact be a small type of dog. The exploitation of antler and skin may explain the deer remains as well. Most unusual is the fish bone from Catcote, as there is next to no evidence for fish consumption in Iron Age Britain (see Dobney and Ervynck 2007). It cannot be said whether this represents a chance preservation of an unusual item, intrusion or a genuine local preference.

This paucity of evidence for the exploitation of wild animals is not at all unusual. Previous studies of animal bones in the Iron Age have shown that wild species were rarely, if ever, actually consumed (Hill 1995a; Albarella 2007; Huntley 2002; Haselgrove 1984, table 1).

Whether through economic, spiritual or cultural tradition this is another way in which the relatively scant evidence for diet in the northern Iron Age matches up with evidence from other parts of the British archipelago – though the possibility of fish consumption does remind us that some local variance is possible within this.

Flora

The flora present on the sites consulted is shown in table 3.4.

Species	***Common Name***	***Type***	***Evidence***	***Sites***	***Number of Sites***	***Specific Uses***	***Notes***
?*Vicia* sp.	Vetch	Edible Plant		Murton High Crags	1		
Anthriscus caucalis	Burr chervil	Herb	-	Rock Castle	1		
Aphanes arvensis	Parsley-piert	Herb	Carbonized remains	Rock Castle	1		
Atriplex sp.	Orache	Leafy Green	Seeds	Doubstead, Rock Castle, Murton High Crags	3		
Avena fatua	Wild Oats	Cereal	-	Thorpe Thewles, Catcote	2		
Avena sp.	Oats	Cereal	-	Scotch Corner, Pegswood Moor, Rock Castle	3		
Brassica Campestris	Field mustard	Edible Plant	-	Rock Castle	1		
Calluna vulgaris	Heather	Herb	Carbonized remains	Dubby Sike, Doubstead, Pegswood Moor, Rock Castle, Murton High Crags	5	Flavouring, also bedding or thatching	
Chenopodium album	Fat Hen	Edible Plant	Seeds	Doubstead, Rock Castle, Catcote, Murton High Crags	4		
Chenopodium rubrum	Red Goosefoot	Edible Plant	Seeds	Doubstead	1	Very similar to fat hen	
Chenopodium sp.	Goosefoot	Edible Plant	-	Bonny Grove Farm, Murton High Crags	2		
Cirsium sp.	Thistle	Edible Plant	Seeds	Doubstead	1	Young shoots or stalks are eaten	
Corylus sp.	Hazelnut	Nut	-	Scotch Corner, Bonny Grove Farm, Thorpe Thewles, Rock Castle, Murton High Crags	5		

Species	***Common Name***	***Type***	***Evidence***	***Sites***	***Number of Sites***	***Specific Uses***	***Notes***
Crataegus monogyna	Hawthorne fruit	Fruit	Stones	Thorpe Thewles	1		
Empetrum nigrum	Crowberry	Fruit	-	Dubby Sike	1		
Erica tetralix	Heather	Herb	Carbonized remains	Doubstead	1	Flavouring, also bedding or thatching	
Hordeum sp.	Barley	Cereal	Carbonized grains, Chaff	Coxhoe West House, Scotch Corner, Bonny Grove Farm, Catcote, Murton High Crags	5		Coxhoe West House examples from van der Veen and Haselgrove 1985
Hordeum vulgare	Six-Row Barley	Cereal	Carbonized grains	Doubstead, Scotch Corner, Bonny Grove Farm, Pegswood Moor, Thorpe Thewles, Rock Castle, Murton High Crags	7		
Hyocyamus niger	Henbane	XXX	Seeds	Doubstead	1	Deadly	
Hypocheris radicata	Catsear	Leafy Green	-	Rock Castle	1		
Leguminosae indet.	Beans	Legume	-	Rock Castle, Murton High Crags	2		
Linum Usitatissimum	Common Flax	Edible Plant	seeds	Scotch Corner	1		
Malus sp.	Crabapple	Fruit	-	Scotch Corner	1		
Malva sp.	Mallow	Leafy Green	-	Rock Castle	1		
Plantago lanceolata	Ribwort plantain	Leafy Green	-	Dubby Sike, Scotch Corner, Rock Castle, Murton High Crags	4	Long history of herbal and medicinal use	
Polygonum convolvulus	Black Bindweed	Edible Plant	-	Scotch Corner, Rock Castle, Murton High Crags	3		
Potentilla sp.	Cinquefoil	Edible Plant		Murton High Crags	1		
Prunella vulgaris	Heal-all	Leafy Green	-	Rock Castle, Murton High Crags	2		
Prunus spinsoa	Sloe	Fruit	-	Rock Castle	1		
Raphanus raphanistrum	Wild Radish	Edible Plant	-	Scotch Corner, Rock Castle, Murton High Crags	3		
Rubus chamaemorus	Cloudberry	Fruit	-	Dubby Sike	1		

Table 3.4 : *Flora present on the sites consulted (continued below)*

Species	***Common Name***	***Type***	***Evidence***	***Sites***	***Number of Sites***	***Specific Uses***	***Notes***
Rubus fruticosus/idaeus	Blackberry/ Raspberry	Fruit	-	Pegswood Moor	1		
Rumex acetocella	Sheep sorrel	Leafy Green	Fruits	Dubby Sike, Doubstead, Rock Castle, Catcote, Murton High Crags	5	Also highly acidic	
Rumex spp.	Dock	Leafy Green	-	Dubby Sike, Murton High Crags	2	Leaves of various species used in a variety of ways	
Secale sp.	Rye	Cereal	-	Scotch Corner, Pegswood Moor	2		
Stellaria sp.	Chickweed	Leafy Green	Seeds	Dubby Sike, Doubstead, Thorpe Thewles, Rock Castle, Catcote, Murton High Crags	5		
Trifolium sp.	Clover	Edible Plant	-	Scotch Corner, Bonny Grove Farm, Catcote,	3	Though edible, not frequently directly eaten. Potentially important to beekeeping and grazing crops however	
Triticum aestivum	Bread Wheat	Cereal	Carbonized grains, carbonized chaff	Scotch Corner, Rock Castle, Catcote	3		
Triticum compactum	Club wheat	Grain	Chaff	Rock Castle	1		
Triticum dicoccon	Emmer Wheat	Cereal	Carbonized grains, carbonized chaff	Scotch Corner, Pegswood Moor, Thorpe Thewles, Murton High Crags	4		
Triticum sp.	Wheat	Cereal	Carbonized grains, carbonized chaff	Coxhoe West House, Scotch Corner, Bonny Grove Farm, Pegswood Moor, Rock Castle, Murton High Crags	6		Coxhoe West House examples from van der Veen and Haselgrove 1983

Species	***Common Name***	***Type***	***Evidence***	***Sites***	***Number of Sites***	***Specific Uses***	***Notes***
Triticum spelta	Spelt Wheat	Cereal	Carbonized grains, carbonized chaff	Coxhoe West House, Scotch Corner, Bonny Grove Farm, Pegswood Moor, Thorpe Thewles, Rock Castle, Catcote	7		Coxhoe West House examples from van der Veen and Haselgrove 1984
Urtica dioica	Nettle	Leafy Green	Seeds	Doubstead, Catcote	2		
Urtica sp.	Nettle	Leafy Green	Seeds	Rock Castle	1		
Urtica urens	Small Nettle	Leafy Green	Seeds	Doubstead, Rock Castle, Murton High Crags	3		
Vaccinium myrtillus	Bilberry	Fruit	-	Rock Castle	1		
	Tuber frags.	Tuber	-	Scotch Corner	1		
	Legume frags.	Legume	-	Bonny Grove Farm, Catcote	2		

Grains

The view that pre-Roman inhabitants of the north-east did not engage in agriculture (see above, Chapter Two, for a fuller discussion of the development of this idea) was challenged in the 1980s with repeated discoveries of ard and plough marks underlying Roman forts (Tolan-Smith 1997, p. 77) and Peter Topping's dating of cord rigg agriculture in the north to the first millennium BC (Topping 1989). This misconception was finally put to rest with the discovery of carbonised *Triticum spelta* (spelt wheat) and possibly *Triticum dicoccum* (emmer wheat) at the pre-Roman enclosure at Coxhoe West House, County Durham (van der Veen and Haselgrove 1983) and van der Veen's subsequent monograph on cultivation in north-east England (1992).

Triticum spelta and *Hordeum vulgare* (six row barley) were present in all 9 of the sites van der Veen studied in her 1992 work, and as one can see in the table below they can be considered the standard grains found on pre-Roman sites. Other species represented are *Triticum* *dicoccum* (emmer wheat), *Triticum aestivum* or *compactum* (bread wheat or club wheat), possible *Linum usitatissimum* (flax), various *Avena* (oat) species and *Secale cereale* (rye)[21].

Though spelt is a common crop and found on nearly all sites in the north-east, barley seems to be the chief grain (see van der Veen 1992 and more recently Huntley 2002 and table 2.2) and emmer seems to have remained current longer after the introduction of spelt in Northumberland (van der Veen 1992, p. 159). These trends are less dominant in the south of the region, where conditions allow the growing of more varied crops. However, the taphonomic processes which create these assemblages are not well understood and are continually being re-assessed (see van der Veen and Jones 2007) so the apparent relative quantities may be misleading. It is worth noting particularly Hilary Cool's suggestion (2006, p. 70) that bread wheat may be an underrepresented crop, as it is free-threshing and does not require parching, thus removing one opportunity for accidental carbonisation.

Though van der Veen's approach rests largely on potentially restrictive models, she concludes quite rightly that there is likely a broad division between the 'expansive' agricultural economies of the Tees lowlands and the surrounding subsistence economies, but she is quick to point out that 'the differences in scale of arable farming in this region cannot be explained by differences in environmental conditions between the two areas … but has pointed, instead, to socio-economic and cultural difference as underlying factors' (van der Veen 1992, p. 159).

The important aspect of this discussion in the context of this study is the variety of grains available and being grown to suit local circumstances and needs throughout the region, demonstrating a vibrant and varied agricultural economy which further points to a high degree of economic independence amongst sites in this region.

Other Plants

The evidence for edible plants other than grains is more varied and fragmentary, but the range represented is extensive, from small fragments of beans and root vegetables that were very likely cultivated through a wide range of wild or semi-wild leafy greens, herbs, edible seeds and roots and various fruits and nuts. Many of these plants may have had 'psedo-

[21] To the modern user of pre-bought, machine ground, enriched flour the array of different grains may seem odd, but baking without the addition of modern additives shows off the various qualities of the different grain for different purposes- emmer, for example, does not rise as well as spelt but makes a better porridge (Cool 2006, p. 70), whilst spelt itself makes a notably different, nuttier and denser loaf than bread wheat. The different varieties are also different in the growing- spelt is notable in its tenacity and ability to grow in heavy soils.

culinary' uses as well, as medicines, dyes or more specific uses. In particular the extremely acidic and relatively common sheep's sorrel (*Rumex acetocella)* may have had a number of culinary or industrial uses.

It must be admitted that many of these plants are classified as arable weeds in the literature, such as fat-hen (*Chenopodium album*), nettle (*Urtica* sp.) or chickweed (*Stellaria* sp.), but these are in fact readily edible plants that are even cultivated as greens in some parts of the world today. van der Veen (1992) explores the relationship between weed and cereal species in detail and demonstrates that there is a relationship between the quantities of many species, so it is beyond doubt that some of these plants were growing in arable fields. However, it is misleading to consider all of these plants a nuisance. The 'weed' population is likely to have been have been a resource as well, in a situation not unlike modern intercropping practices, and additionally these plants may have been cultivated in Iron Age gardens on some scale and/or harvested from the wild.

Whilst it is clear that wild animals did not form a major component of the diet, this situation, as discussed above, is explicable in terms of allocation of time and resources and consistency of return. The same does not apply to wild plants, however as there is plenty of evidence that wild or semi-wild (i.e. managed) plants were in frequent architectural or domestic use (timber, rushes, bark, heather &c. See Chapter Five.)

van der Veen is slightly skeptical of the exploitation of some of these wild foods such as *Vaccinium myrtillus* (bilberry) and *Empetrum nigrum* (crowberry) which are suggested to be 'brought in with the heather and bracken' (van der Veen 1992, p. 76), as they grow in similar environments. In fact these wild berries are similar to blueberries, and good source of vitamin C (Mabey 2007, pp. 98-101) in a landscape where this is potentially very rare[22]. It seems just as readily believable that few wild berries went uneaten as that they were accidentally acquired. On the whole, van der Veen's 1992 work, undoubtedly the authoritative work on agriculture in the period, does not explore the full value of wild plants. The main problem lies in analysing them within restrictive categories of of 'wild fruits and nuts', 'bedding and/or thatching material', 'water plants' and 'tree buds'. Quite beyond mixing categorical criteria ('bedding' alongside 'water plants'), by pigeonholing these resources she limits the scope of their potential. These plants can be used in a multitude of ways. Taking the example of

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[22] According to van der Veen *et al.* 2008, at least several of the vitamin C rich *Brassica* species such as cabbage and turnip were Roman period introductions. Other *Brassicas* such as kale are presumably native to the island, but there is no direct evidence for them in the north-eastern Iron Age as yet.

heather, there is potential usage as animal fodder, drink flavouring, thatch, bedding, and dye all together.

Summary

The plant foods listed here are are likely to be but the tip of the iceberg in terms of the range available– for examples, leafy vegetables, beans and root vegetables are likely to be woefully underrepresented by nature of the parts that are available to preserve.

Given the range of foods for which there is direct evidence and the environmental context, one can reconstruct a varied cuisine for our small scale, mixed agriculture farmers. A menu of beef, mutton, pork, potentially some fowl or horse alongside a variety of grains creating breads and porridges, legumes, wild greens, herbs and fruits and the potential for an enormous variety of dairy products is a far cry from the 1950s vision of the Celtic Cowboy (Piggot 1958). Wild, hunted meats would have relatively little impact on this diet, which is perhaps unsurprising as hunting would become an increasingly difficult and time-consuming task in a developing agricultural landscape, and there is no evidence for elite, prestige hunting to keep the tradition alive. The wild foods in question all fit with this environment though, as herbs and greens would be compatible with this increasingly open landscape and foraging from upland environments, whilst the fruit and nuts are perhaps 'semi-wild' and coming from managed woodlands left behind by the clearances. Haselgrove (1992) has suggested that a feature of the intensification of land use in the later centuries BC is specialisation of settlement in particular aspect of agriculture and this encouraged trade, but as it becomes clear that the resources of the late pre-Roman communities had available may have been more vast and varied than we have suspected, this argument is called into question. Whilst not by any means impossible, it would appear that economic interdependence is not necessary to sustain the larger population, as postulated. Fenton-Thomas (1992, p. 59) offers the argument that this very later prehistoric and Roman Iron Age economic interdependence could be the root of the apparent post-Roman economic and agricultural changes apparent in the pollen record, but it seems remarkable that a pre-Roman system which remained remarkably stable throughout the bulk of the Roman occupation (Fenton-Thomas 1996) should be so disrupted by the breakdown of Roman administration in the area.

Conclusions

It cannot but be significant that none of the species listed by van der Veen *et al.* (2008) as being Roman period introductions to Britain are present in the assemblage. Though it is true that these are very fragmentary assemblages, given that all but two of the sites in question (Dubby Sike and Coxhoe West House) have definite Roman period phases we can certainly conclude that these newly introduced foods were at the least not in common usage.

This absence cannot be attributed to regional unavailability, these new introductions were clearly present in the Roman north-east, and not only along the Hadrian's Wall corridor but at sites along Dere Street and other locales (see van der Veen *et al.* 2008, figure 2). It seems that, like much of the new material culture, these plants were potentially available but were not taken up. The only sites where large paleoenvironmental assemblages were well phased were Pegswood Moor (Schmidl in Proctor 2009) and Thorpe Thewles (van der Veen in Heslop 1987 but for clarity see van der Veen 1992). These do not show any significant changes or introductions in the latest, Roman period phases of these sites

This cannot be attributed to inherent cultural conservatism, if we agree that the evidence for fowl and goat represent potentially later arrivals in the pre-Roman diet. Thus the explanation we are left with is that it is more likely that the economies or traditions of these communities did not 'dovetail' effectively with accessing and exploiting these new food products in any significant quantity. It is possible that there is a deliberate rejection of new foods, a reactionary cultural conservatism in the second century AD, but this seems unlikely given the evidence discussed in Chapter Four below that Roman coarsewares which were functionally similar to indigenous ceramics were commonly used and deposited in much the same manner as indigenous vessels.

The isotopic evidence for diet of Iron Age people in the north-east is relatively rare, primarily due to the absence of human remains in the area. Mandy Jay (2005; Jay and Richards 2006) suggests that the nearby populations from the Iron Age cemeteries at Wetwang Slack in East Yorkshire and burials from East Lothian were eating a diet high in animal proteins and with very little marine contribution and that this diet was relatively consistent across all genders and ages. It is noted that the diet seems to remain the same across 'status' lines as well, but this is highly contestable, as it seems likely that in looking at the individuals who have received such an unusual burial rite were all in a relatively similar social situation compared to the remainder of the population. Though the social and economic circumstances of these populations are different from the communities under consideration here, it is worth noting that those isotopic results do reflect the range of food products recorded here.

On the whole this demonstrates a well-established culinary tradition in the region which was largely unaffected during the first centuries of Roman occupation. How this culinary tradition is shaped by and reflected in the indigenous ceramic tradition will be discussed below.

Discussion: Aspects of Use

The outline given above of the available floral and faunal resources shows that there was a wide range of food products available to communities around the turn of the millennium in the north-east. This most likely means that a wide range of techniques and objects were used to prepare, store and serve this variety. This section will discuss how ceramic vessels may have interacted with the environment and society around them. Though the ceramics do not display a wide range of forms, this is an important exercise to make the most of this assemblage, as J.D. Hill has expressed, 'closer attention to the roles of pots as tools in prehistoric foodways offers considerable potential for unlocking the social and cultural information pottery assemblages contain' (Hill 2002, p 79).

Suitability of forms for different tasks discussed usefully by Pope (2003b), but using a ceramic assemblage from Dorset with a higher degree of standardization that that presented here. The categories which she makes use of do not apply particularly well to the more free-formed assemblage here, and forms will be discussed more loosely in terms of bowls, bucket jars and barrel jars as outlined above.

Environment

It has been suggested above that the primary function of the multipurpose jar forms was cooking, a suggestion based on three main points. Firstly, the nature of the material; cooking is amongst the few tasks for which ceramics really are more easy and efficient to use than organic material. Secondly, there is evidence from external and occasionally internal sooting that the vessels were sat in fires. Whilst the majority of the vessels do not report sooting, this is unsurprising given the fragmentary nature of the assemblage. Thirdly, the storage of food must have been a high priority for communities and the rarity of ceramic vessels suggests that this was not key part of their role. It is more likely that wooden vessels, whether stave built or carved, as well as sacks of cloth or leather would have been the primary storage material for foodstuffs. The only exception to this is that some of the more closed forms of jar may have been suitable for long term preservation of meat in fat, in the manner of a *confit*, or jam-like preservations of fruit made by boiling fruit pulp with a natural source of pectin such as crab apples.

The food resources outlined above can be combined with these large cooking jars in many ways, creating a variety of stews or soups of either meat or vegetables and porridges. The height of some of the jars makes it possible that basketwork arrangements[23] could also be used to steam the leaves and greens which are well represented in the assemblage. Though it may seem that jars as a primary cooking vessel could be restrictive in terms of culinary capacity, when combined with the possibilities of roasting on an open fire and baking in ovens and hearths, there is a great deal of flexibility. Indeed, there is the possibility that a ceramic fragment from Bonny Grove Farm in Cleveland represents a griddle of some sort (Annis 1996, p. 54), which would have expanded the possibilities even further without taking into account the possibility of non-surviving metal cookware.

Society

Ceramics are social tools as well, and like much of the rest of Britain in the Later Iron Age (Fitzpatrick and Timby 2002), the north-east did see some changes in the ceramic assemblage which affected this. Hill (2002, pp. 78-9) discusses the importance of ceramics in the performance of consumption of meals, even suggesting that this is considered a primary reason for the adoption of ceramics in some areas, suggesting this was due to 'enhancing the social occasion of eating and feasting' (Hill 2002, p. 79).

Given that the indigenous tradition appear to only use pottery for cooking purposes, I would surmise that these are being used to enhance the 'social occasion' of cooking, and that the main performative aspect of the mealtime may have been in the preparation. Given the economic independence of the communities proposed here, the creation of meals from food grown and raised in the surrounding landscape in vessels derived from the very fabric of that landscape may have been powerfully symbolic. Additionally, the relatively open arrangement of the roundhouse, at least the central space where the hearth is often found, gives a natural focus to the cooking apparatus.

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[23] As noted in Chapter Four, there is evidence for basketry and woodwork as well as worked bark in the region.

Thus, the introduction of non-cookware into the indigenous repertoire, as well as the importation of Roman serving ware, may reflect an important shift towards a focus on consumption rather than preparation. This could indicate a new capacity for conspicuous consumption as well as a new focus on individuals within the community which came with these changes. It does appear that these changes are working alongside the established tradition, as the takeup of Roman ceramics is relatively small, as the next chapter will address, and the popularity of cooking jar forms does not seem to diminish.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that by considering an unusual, unstandardized and small ceramic assemblage more as artefacts than economic proxies, a great deal of information about the social function of the artefacts can be gained, even if they do not shed light on inter-community economic practice or social connections across regions.

This analysis of the pre-Roman ceramic tradition has demonstrated that the creation of ceramics appears to be on a very low level, largely unstandardized and locally produced. It appears that the majority, the jar forms, were made with available materials to suit the group or task and hand and were multi-purpose vessels in use in these small communities. These jars were likely primarily cooking vessels for porridges, stews and soups made from the meat, greens, grains and vegetables grown in the surrounding arable landscape, and would have provided a potentially rich and varied diet.

The evidence shows that this was not a static tradition however, and that there was dynamism in the indigenous ceramic practice. Potentially later in the period, new forms developed such as bowls and necked jars which appear to be influenced by the increase in trade and arrival of occasional imported material in the last centuries BC and the subsequent arrival of the Roman military in the area.

This change may highlight a change in the role of ceramics in social processes, with ceramics replacing organic utensils and serving apparatus. This may have signaled social changes, in which the performative aspect of the meal was not focused around the preparation, likely at a roundhouse hearth, but in the consumption. These changes may be indicative of a switch away from these smaller, relatively egalitarian community groups and an increase in social stratification.

On the whole, the ceramic record represents identity being expressed by small scale groups, and even on an individual scale with the finger based decoration on small number of the vessels. This is further indicated by the very rarity of ceramics, that most durable of archaeological materials. It would appear that the permanence of the material and the opportunity to express cultural affiliations or traditions in such a plastic and resilient form was not a priority for these communities, who may have been of such a size that the transmission of cultural information was accomplished orally or in organic artworks and motifs.

Far from being the result of poverty and lack of technology or care, these ceramics reflect the needs, priorities and decisions of the communities who used them and are one of the most valuable records of their society.

Chapter Four: Material Culture and Deposition

Introduction

Aims and Objectives

The primary purpose of this chapter is to explore the treatment and deposition of different types of material culture and how this reflects the ways in which it was socially manipulated, primarily in terms of defining group, community and sub-community identities. This will not be a detailed study of the physical distribution of artefacts in an attempt to establish activity patterns, but instead an exploration of how *depositional* context reflects differing attitudes towards types of artefact and materials. These attitudes reflect aspects of society and changes therein across the period of the Roman transition, during which the range of available and utilized material culture increased markedly.

This will serve to highlight the essential differences in scale of depositional regimes in the northern Iron Age. It will be argued here that this difference in deposition of material culture is one of the key factors which has created an impression of a materially and socially impoverished northern Iron Age, but that it is in fact the product of different socio-economic priorities.

Approach

As mentioned above, this study will explicitly avoid using the distribution of artefacts within structures or settlements to reconstruct activity patterns or task distribution within households. There are a number of reasons for this. Firstly and most simply, the variability of the archaeological record in the area, from largely extant upland stone structures to heavily plough damaged lowland sites, ensures that the spatial patterning of artefacts focusing on alleged floor surfaces would be nigh unto impossible to assess, as there would be very few comparable examples.

Secondarily, it is felt that this has been explored in many ways by other studies (see especially Pope 2003a and Hodgson *et al.* 2001; within the study area and Clarke 1972; Parker

Pearson 1999; Main *et al.* 1997 and Webley 2007 more widely). These studies have all been significant and extremely elucidating in identifying potential activity areas and spatial patternig, mostly within houses but in Clarke's case on the settlement scale. As promising as the potential patterns suggested are, the spatial dataset on that scale to the limits of interpretability. All have encountered the problem of assessing the formation of that record and the interplay between deliberate and casual deposition (see explicit discussion in Main *et al.* 1997). Though this work has been important, this uncertainty about the formation of the the record (except in very specific and thus more likely anomalous situations such as the burning of a roundhouse) is a stumbling block to taking this approach further.

The archaeological record can present to the researcher a set of potentials. We must deduce the actions of individual agents in the past by using our datasets to reconstruct the physical and cultural environments in which those actions were taken and to observe some of the results of those actions. This is in many ways a circular process, in which varying strengths of conclusion can be drawn from the data, thus informing how precisely we are able to determine those environments and results. This is in essence the manner in which high quality data begets high quality results. In the case of spatial distribution of artefacts in and around Iron Age structures, it is felt that the extent to which the context and results of the actions performed in the past can be reconstructed is often not adequate. In many studies, this issue is worked through with the consideration of ethnographic sources and social theory.

In most cases this is carefully and well done. In particular the reasoned discussion by Hodgson *et al.* (2001) stands out, by engaging fully with the ways in which the spatial patterning of artefacts in the South Shields house is similar to suggestions by Parker Pearson and others, but accepting the limits of the record and cautioning against extrapolating too much meaning from the material. However, as mentioned above, it can be difficult to test and to elaborate upon some of the conclusions made from these studies given the sometimes shaky foundation of the archaeological data used.

A particular issue within British Iron Age studies is the fact that the exact size of the useable floor area of a roundhouse is often extremely difficult to determine from the archaeological record, as the walls themselves may encompass a larger area and be far more ephemeral than the timber structure which supports the weight of the roof (see Pope 2003a, Main *et al.* 1997 and Guilbert 1981). Even seemingly well bounded, intact floor or abandonment deposits can raise problems– at the broch at Fairy Knowe in Stiringshire (Main *et al.* 1997), the issue was raised that if the structure was multi-story, the eventual ground assemblage, even assuming *in situ* artefacts, could be comprised of material from a number of floors as they decayed or were destroyed. Though this is an issue in particular with broch structures, there is no reason why it is not a potential issue to be considered with any other structure, particularly as it is increasingly considered likely that the loft areas of round houses were put to use (Pope 2003a; Reynolds 1978).

On the slightly larger scale of artefactual distribution on settlements, problems are similar, in that it is virtually impossible to identify an area or assemblage whose taphonomic history is clear and can be readily interpreted. There has been a tendency, discussed further in Chapter Five, to focus excavation upon houses and boundaries and other features readily visible on aerial photographs or geophysical surveys rather than investigating the 'blank' areas of enclosure interiors. This is in fact probably a very efficient way to maximize data collection in circumstances where resources are limited, and was the strategy employed by George Jobey on most of his excavations.

However, more recently when the seemingly empty areas of sites have been investigated or revealed in open area excavation, as at Pegswood Moor (Proctor 2009), they are often heavily plough damaged and preserve truncated houses and boundaries but little else. This highlights a contrast between the built areas, such as structures and boundaries, and open areas which were likely used for varying purposes but preserve little by way of material remains (see Chapter Five).

This study wishes to expressly acknowledge such problems with interpreting the spatial dataset and to explore the material with a different approach, observing broader patterns in the treatment of materials and their physical and cultural implications rather than analysis of micro-scale data designed to reconstruct actions and meaning in the past.

There is increasing precedent for such an approach. The scale of this work falls somewhere between more detailed spatial studies, such as those discussed above, and the detailed work by Hill (1995a) and larger scale, presence or absence based work across large regions such as undertaken by Fraser Hunter in Roman-period Scotland (Hunter 2001). The focus on materials and material categories has been popular recently as well. The 'Technologies of Enchantment' project based at the British Museum and the resulting Celtic Art Database has shed new light on conceptions of metals and the adoption of iron technologies in Britain (Garrow *et al.* 2008), whilst on a more social level the shifting conceptions of 'Roman' objects in indigenous contexts has been discussed by Fraser Hunter (2001; Hunter in Main 1997).

The Significance of Deposition

From early discoveries of metalwork hoards and grave goods to the recent, detailed work on individual deposits and contexts, the intentional deposition of material culture has been shown on countless occasions to be used by people in the past as a means to mark place and time (Bradley 1998; Hill 1995a; Fulford 2001). As an expression of shared concepts of space and time, deposition can be a action which helps to define social groups.

Space

In spatial terms, artefact deposition has been demonstrated to be a marker of significance on multiple scales, from landscape-wide (Bradley 1998; Hutcheson 2004) to the micro scale, as discussed above. Though the specific spatial patterning of artefacts within settlements and buildings is not a focus of this study, it is significant that all of the artefacts recorded here have been deposited on this scale, within the settlement and within the settled area. This implies that these objects have been seen as appropriate to be incorporated into the fabric of the settlement itself and mark and further differentiate that place within the landscape. As we shall also see below, there are differences in the types of places artefacts were deposited within settlements (i.e. 'indoors' or 'outdoors') and occasional pits marking entranceways. Taken together, these can demonstrate some aspects of the marking of places or transitions (see Chapter Five) within settlements through artefact placement even though the broad spatial distribution of artefacts to suggest activity areas cannot be relied upon.

Time

More abstractly but perhaps more importantly, rituals of deposition can also be a means of acknowledging time or events for a community. Evidence for depositional rituals relating to time, in both cyclical and linear fashions (see Isserlin 1994), is relatively widespread. In many cases this is difficult to determine precisely, but the Wessex pit deposits examined by J. D. Hill (1995) show evidence of repeated and organized depositions in the later Iron Age. In the Roman period, the situation potentially becomes more complex as there is potential evidence of multiple timekeeping systems in use, but Raphael Isserlin has demonstrated seasonal patterning in votive shaft deposits in Britannia and Gaul (Isserlin 1994). Though it is difficult to discuss prehistoric conceptions of time and the intended ritual function or meaning of these deposits, it is clear that marking time could be an aspect of at least some of these practices.

Willis' (1999) analysis of pottery deposition on certain sites, including the region under discussion, suggests that the deposition of pottery was infrequent. As detailed in other areas in the thesis, any estimates of the length of occupation on the sites discussed here and any suggestion of the direct relationship between the life assemblage and the excavated material culture must be speculative at best. However, Willis presents a convincing argument that the deposition and thus perhaps perhaps production (if we assume that equal amounts of material were going in and out of use) of pottery was a sufficiently infrequent[24] event that it cannot but have marked time, either the deposition activities being undertaken in order to mark a point in time or the need or desire to undertake these activities serving as a mark of the passage of time.

In both spatial and temporal senses then, depositional activity can be a means by which communities, or parts thereof, are able to reinforce the shared conceptions of time and space which define them.

Outline of data collection strategy

The data collection strategy for this section of the thesis is relatively straightforward. Categories of archaeological context for depositional analysis have been outlined in Chapter One, and categories of artefact, organized by material, have been established and will be discussed below. Each artefact from every excavated indigenous settlement for which a sufficiently detailed artefactual report is available has been recorded by context type, specific context, brokenness or completeness and artefact type. This comprises a total of 1051 artefacts from 32 sites, 38% of the settlements which have been excavated and confirmed as indigenous settlements of the later and Roman Iron Ages (see Appendix 1 for an indication of which settlements have been included).

[24] Willis' calculations suggest a *per annum* deposition of Rim sherds at 0.3 for Thorpe Thewles and 0.6 for Stanwick St. John, suggesting that ceramic deposition, whether accidental or deliberate, could not even be suggested to be an annual event. This is contrasted with sites further south, such as the classic site at Winnal Down, Hampshire which potentially reach 1.3 rim sherds *per annum* (Willis 1999, table 1).

The decision was made to cover excavated, contextualized material only for two reasons. Firstly, it was certain that the material, whatever its cultural origin (i.e. indigenous or 'Roman'), was in use on a site which was connected to the indigenous lifestyle of the region (see Chapter One for more on the definition of indigenous settlements). Secondly, limiting the recorded assemblage to stratified material meant that the circumstances of its deposition or loss could be examined.

Though the intention of this chapter was to record every artefact (see Chapter One for notes on the usage of 'artefact' and 'object') found on the sites in question, this can posed a particular challenge in the case of fragmented material. In particular, the indigenous ceramic material is extremely friable and in extreme cases can have been heavily fragmented during or after deposition by frost or worm action. In perhaps the most extreme example, in the recut of ditch [681] at Pegswood Moor, an individual vessel was found fragmented into 118 pieces in the same small area (Vessel 19; see Willis in Proctor 2009, p. 45 and artefact no. 218 in Appendix 3). There is a difficulty with indigenous ceramics given the extreme variability of fabrics and firing, making it difficult to be certain that sherds are from the same vessel, and it is not at all uncommon to have multiple sherds of definitely different, incomplete vessels in a context. In the case of ceramics fragments from the same context are considered to be different vessels unless specifically noted in the report.

In cases such as this a certain amount of discretion has been used, and closely related fragments definitely noted as being from of the same object are considered as one artefact for recording purposes, though the fragmentation is noted. This is not the case however if fragments from the same object are found in different contexts on a site, as these represent separate incidences of deposition. Unfortunately, it is rarely possible to comment on the potential chronological distance between the episodes of deposition for different fragments of the same artefact due to the rarity of direct contextual relationships for features on many of the sites under discussion.

In the database (Appendix 3), the specific context of each object is recorded as it is given in the original site report. The idea of a 'context' has clearly shifted over time, from the narrative descriptions which predominate from the nineteenth century into the 1970s (i.e. 'embedded the stone surface to the north of Hut One' or similar) to the specific numerical identifiers which are most common today, where different context numbers can represent different areas of the same context and considered equivalent to each other, or part of a 'group' or similar concept, depending on the recording system used. Thus, the excavators own designation has been preserved in the database to ensure that the database essentially provides contextual groupings of artefacts as precisely or imprecisely as possible given the original recording method. In a sense this is perhaps merely carrying forward the original margin of error in terms of artefact associations, but it is felt that this is preferable to adding another level of potential or different error to the dataset and improves the reproducibility and reassessability of the dataset.

Rather than an attempt to record a degree of completeness or fragmentation based on either narrative recording or illustration, it has been noted when objects are clearly specified to be complete. In this system, any degree of error will be under-representing complete objects, as this is not always specified by the original author with unillustrated artefacts. Additionally, with the stone objects in particular, it is at times difficult to determine the original extent of the artefact.

All objects except fire cracked/burnt stones and coal have been recorded. Coal occurs both naturally and archaeologically (see Jobey 1957; 1959), and it can be difficult to determine the origin of particular finds. Fire cracked stones are recorded inconsistently and can be difficult to positively identify and are thus not considered here.

Artefact Categories

Each artefact considered here has been defined by four categories. The broadest of these categories is the 'basic material'. Based on the assemblage available, the basic materials involved are ceramics, stone, exotic stone, metal, glass, bone/antler, industrial debris and organics. It is very much admitted that these are only the broadest of modern conceptions of material types, but they form a starting point for recording and analysis, and the further categories of recording are in part intended to mitigate against the overwhelming influence of these broadest forms of categorization.

The next level of categorization is 'specific material', operating slightly differently for each broader material category. For example, the specific material for stone is the type of stone (sandstone, flint &c.) whilst the specific material for ceramics is a cultural association (indigenous, Roman fineware &c.)

After the hierarchical categories of basic and specific material, artefacts are categorized by artefact type. These categories, though standardized, have been established reflexively during the data collection process in an attempt to be responsive to the dataset, but for the most part they are as straightforward as 'bead' or 'rim sherd'.

When assessing pottery, the designation of rim or body sherds is considered the most significant feature, so a stratified group of mixed body and wall sherds would be recorded as rim sherd/s to demonstrate the extent of the reconstructabililty and identification of the vessel. When the rim and base are both present, the group is listed as 'rim sherd/s and base sherd/s'

Artefact type is perhaps the last level of formal analysis, for next comes specific type. When applicable, this is a description of the item based on standardized typologies for its artefact type, i.e. a Kilbride-Jones type 3 glass ring, a flagon in Roman coarseware or an *As* of Faustina I. This is to facilitate more detailed analysis of certain artefact categories where possible. Details of the specific classification schemes used on this level will be given below in the discussion of the previous research on certain types of material.

A number of previous studies have created categories of artefact to be used in analysis. Niall Sharples, in the report for the excavations at Maiden Castle, Dorset, assigned each artefact a single category in order to swiftly compare large amounts of data (Sharples 1991b p. 243-9 based on Crummy 1983). The approach taken by Rachel Pope is more nuanced and with a more bounded dataset, in which it appears that an artefact can be counted in several categories, such as fineware counted as both 'subsistence' and 'display' (Pope 2003a, p. 70). However, there is not an organized division of material and functional properties for each artefact. It was considered here that this smaller assemblage, perhaps more nuanced given the probability of extremely selective deposition, would potentially respond very well to an attempt to use these multiple scales of category.

Though it may seem that the categorization scheme proceeds rather haphazardly from 'basic type', this in part intentional as it allows comparison between different scales of the conception of an object, i.e. the ability to compare the depositional context of Roman coins to that of stone artefacts or comparing all rim sherds to all types of ceramics. Also via this recording system, the data can be collected and analysed using both predetermined categories based on previous work and categories which emerged during data collection, ensuring recording that is both standardized and responsive.

This type of approach is particularly important for this dataset, which has not generally been considered synthetically (though Cool 1982 is an exception – see below) and thus certain ubiquitous artefacts (such as pots) are underrepresented in the conventional wisdom, whilst certain unique artefacts, such as the sword from Stanwick or the metal bracelet from Hartburn, receive undue attention. Thus, it is necessary to adopt an approach that is both flexible and structured in order to avoid biasing the dataset collected.

Background Work

Though specific work has been undertaken on certain types of objects found on indigenous sites in this area, there has been little synthetic work done on these assemblages as a suite of material culture – as a material expression of communities. This section will discuss what little synthetic work has been done and then give a brief introduction to and references for the categories of artefact considered in this work so that the quantification and analysis may be better understood.

The main consideration of north-eastern Iron Age material culture as a whole has been by Hilliary Cool in the preliminary report on the hillfort at Broxmouth in East Lothian (Cool 1982). Cools primary goal was to build a rough chronology through identifying 'groups' of material culture in Midlothian and the Borders. Even at the time she suggested that this was only roughly possible (Cool 1982, p. 100) noting that further comparison of large scale excavated evidence is needed, and the idea has been disproved by the ongoing work at at Bradford University on the Broxmouth material (Mhairi Maxwell, pers. comm.).

Rachel Pope, in her study of roundhouses (2003), discussed the contextual deposition of types of artefact within roundhouses as part of her larger study. Though this was an extremely important piece of work, it was limited in scale to deposition within the structure itself and not across the settlement area. Her conclusions are interesting to compare with the present undertaking, and are discussed in greater detail in the analysis section below.

Ceramics

Indigenous Ceramics

A history of work with indigenous ceramics and a reevaluation of the present state of knowledge has already appeared in Chapters Two and Three, and thus will not be reviewed here in detail here. Indigenous ceramics have been recorded by the specific material 'indigenous ceramics' and artefact types 'rim sherd', 'body sherd' and 'base sherd'. As more specific analysis of the depositional context of the types of pot outlined in Chapter Three has been given in Chapter Three (as far as it can be assessed), the 'specific type' category is not used here. There are several cases, and probably more which go unmentioned, in which small wall sherds are not described in detail or contextually, and thus this sample is likely to be weighted (heavily but, it is unknown how strongly) towards rim and base sherds.

Occasionally Beaker sherds are found on Iron Age settlements in the region. Unless stratified in Iron Age deposits, these are considered part of the background scatter and are not included here.

Roman Ceramics

Some work has been done on the adoption of Roman ceramics in central Britain. Cool (2006) has mostly focused on 'high status' Roman material and its adoption in later Iron Age southern Britain, though she has given a more expansive view of spoons and mortaria (Cool 2004). Willis (1996) has focused on the adoption of Roman ceramics in central Britain from the later Iron Age, but the majority of this has been focused on sites to the south of the study area which eventually produced a sufficient assemblage of Roman ceramics in a datable sequence such that this could be observed closely. Though he discusses Thorpe Thewles as an example of less a Romanized assemblage, his study does not extensively engage with the types of settlement under discussion here.

There has been almost no work on the nature of the presence of Roman ceramics on indigenous tradition settlements in this region. In older reports, its acquisition is most commonly implicitly taken as being motivated by the desire for a superior quality product. In more recent reports it is treated more as evidence for the nature and pace of Romanization, and it is not considered in light of indigenous culinary or social tradition. The analysis below will endeavor to shed light on these these aspects of the adoption of Roman ceramics.

Stone

Querns

Querns, due to both their importance and durability, are one of the more commonly recovered items on Iron Age sites in the region. Saddle and rotary querns are the two types to be found. Saddle querns have generally been considered to be earlier and replaced by rotary querns (similar to the situation posited in Atlantic Scotland) around 200 BC (Haselgrove and Allon 1982, p. 46). Recently though it has been suggested that saddle querns may have remained current in some parts of the Durham Pennines until well into the Roman period (Heslop and Gwilt 1995, p. 41), and dating sites entirely on the quern evidence should be avoided.

The basic terminology and classification for querns of this period in Britain was laid out in a series of articles by Curwen (1937; 1941), but these have relatively little currency with regard to pre-Roman querns of this area, for reasons discussed below. The only regional study conducted as yet was the Yorkshire Quern Survey, whose northern reaches covered the area of the Tees Valley and much of County Durham. The full publication of the survey was in 2008 (Heslop 2008) whilst a preliminary paper (Heslop and Gwilt 1995) discussed specifically the area of the Yorkshire Quern Survey which overlapped with the present work.

In much of the literature, when rotary quern types are specified it is either as 'beehive' or 'bun' querns depending on the height of the topstone but much of the time they are simply listed as rotary querns. In recording these, the classifications made by in the original report have been retained, as illustrations were not always provided and it was not possible to universally adopt the standardized Yorkshire Quern Survey recording systems.

Rather that the extensive typology found in Curwen's large-scale work, the Yorkshire Quern Survey limited descriptive typology to 'tall', 'hemispherical' and 'flat'. Even in this loose typology it was noted that in the Tees Valley and County Durham 'typological consideration between bun and beehive querns is neither chronologically nor spatially significant' (Heslop and Gwilt 1995, p. 41). In general querns found between the Tees and the Wear were noted to be extremely variable and unstandardized.

The Yorkshire Quern Survey study concludes that as a general rule, querns in the Wear-Tees area were locally made from available material, observing 'no specific or rigidly adhered to regional quern style that might point to a local quern factory serving this area' (Gwilt and Heslop 1995, p. 43). There are some examples from later layers of larger sites in the lower Tees valley, such as Thorpe Thewles, of querns traded locally (stone probably from Weardale in the case of Thorpe Thewles- see Heslop 1987, p. 88) but this is unusual.

Thus, where specific regional studies have been undertaken it has been found that the norm on indigenous tradition settlements is that querns were 'made and used locally by many individuals' (Gwilt and Heslop 1995, p. 43).

Other Stonework

For the most part, there has been no real work with the non-quern stonework of the region. This is in part because of the difficulty in telling genuine shaped or used artefacts from broken or damaged stones or cobbles, but a number of types of artefact stand out. Cup marked stones are relatively common, and it has been suggested that they have a culinary, medicinal or cosmetic use (Pope 2003a). Whetstones are also known, as well as stone 'pounders' and 'rubbers'. These are river cobbles marked by wear or damage from being used as a sort of pestle, presumably for a variety of purposes.

Small quantities of flint are regularly found on Iron Age sites but there is a great deal of difficulty identifying residual material from that actually in use in the Iron Age. There are some small stratified assemblages of flintworking waste and it is presumed that flint was used somewhat opportunistically and small, sharp flakes were the chief product. The wider picture of late prehistoric flint use has been discussed by Young and Humphrey (1999) and Humphrey (2003), and the report on the flint from Pegswood Moor is the most comprehensive in this region (Bishop in Proctor 2009). Flint has been included here in circumstances where it is suggested that the material may be of later prehistoric date, but artefacts which appear to be Mesolithic or Neolithic residue have been excluded unless found stratified and thus potentially representing intentional later redeposition.

Materials such as shale, jet and cannel coal are frequently used for spindle whorls, jewelry and other small items and are considered here as 'exotic stone'. Examples from the region have not been discussed specifically for the Iron Age but there is a strong Bronze Age (Shepherd 1981) and Roman (Allason-Jones 2003) tradition in the area.

Metal

Coins

Though Roman coins are occasionally found on indigenous sites in this region, there has been no work on the distribution of types and their deposition and potential usage. Though the assemblage is small and frequently very worn, it is hoped that this study may identify trends in types of coins or themes in the imagery represented.

Other Metalwork

The majority of the metalwork recovered from these sites consists of the remains of tools and fastenings for which there is little by way of established typology, and the preservation is very poor.

In terms of decorative, 'Celtic' metalwork, examples from the region from have been catalogued in small quantities in both national (Garrow and Gosden forthcoming; and a brief national overview in Hunter 2007, figure 2) and more regional (MacGregor 1976) corpuses. However, they remain relatively infrequent within the study area considered here. Morna MacGregor's 1976 study covering Yorkshire through to the Scottish Islands lists only 39 artefacts out of 353 (11%) from within the study area[25]. Of these 39 artefacts, only three (8%) were definitely found on indigenous tradition settlements [26].

Likewise, the database of the much more recent and comprehensive Technologies of Enchantment project based at the British Museum (available online) lists only 49 objects[27] from the four core counties of this study from a total of 2753 objects (1.7%). These four counties comprise about 4% of the entire area of Britain. It is notable as well that the majority of these items are either stray finds or come from non-indigenous settlements. Only three of the objects from the four main counties of this study area are from indigenous tradition sites[28]. The context of what is traditionally known as 'Celtic' metalwork in this region seems to be largely a Roman Iron Age one and does not seem to have been a normal means of ex-

[25] One from County Durham, four from Tyne and Wear 32 from Northumberland, two from the portion of North Yorkshire covered here and none from Cleveland (adjusted for modern county boundaries).

26 A terret from Huckhoe (object 709 in this study) and a terret and a sword from Carry House Camp (see appendix 1, not included in Chapter Four due to questionable contextual information). It is possible that the single sword fitting from Dunstanburgh Castle (MacGregors no. 144 see Bosanquet 1936) is from some manner of indigenous settlement, which was present on this heavily disturbed site, but the only associations with the artefact itself are distinctly second century and Roman.

[27] Six from County Durham, six from Tyne and Wear, 37 from Northumberland and none from Cleveland.

[28] The same objects as discussed above.

pressing identities within the communities under examination (see Manning 1981; Hunter 2007, pp 293-6; Jundi and Hill 1998; Hunter 2008).

Thus, other metalwork is generally unusual and infrequent enough that there has been no broad, guiding typology used here other than recording of artefact type (i.e. 'brooch' or 'nail/s') and recording typological specifics as given by the excavator. When necessary, 'Roman' brooches are discussed in the terms used by Snape (1993) in her study of brooches along the Stanegate.

Glass

Glass utilizes the specific material category only in the case of fragments from Roman vessels. Other than vessels, it is listed only be basic material and artefact type. There has been no satisfactory resolution of the issue of whether the non-vessel glass found on Iron Age sites is recycled Roman material (Stevenson 1956), imported, or locally produced and thus the basic material 'glass' is simply subdivided into artefact types such as vessel fragment, ring, bead, &c.

Beads

The glass beads of the Iron Age and Romano-British period were classified extensively by Margaret Guido (1978) and the terminology used by her has been considered standard in this study.

Glass Rings

As early as the work of George Tate (Tate 1862), glass rings, most often referred to as bangles, have been seen as a hallmark of indigenous material culture in central Britain. They were first categorized and sequenced by Kilbride-Jones (1939) based on both patterning and colour. His typology is still in wide use, though there has been further analysis of the increasing dataset by Stevenson (1956; 1976) and a regional study of the expanding assemblage from Easy Yorkshire by Price (1988).

These items certainly date from the Roman period – Kilbride-Jones gives the earliest Type 1 a mid first century AD date – though are most commonly found outside the sphere of

Roman influence at that time. Traprain Law in East Lothian (discussed most comprehensively by Haselgrove 2009) has been suggested as a centre of production from Kilbride-Jones onward but this has not been substantiated. Stevenson suggests 'Roman glass as a raw material' (Stevenson 1956, p. 208), and this seems a reasonable suggestion considering the remarkable concurrence between their earliest arrival and the Claudian invasion propelling masses of military associated material culture into the archipelago as well as the relatively uniform colour patterns.

The term glass ring is preferred here as the most neutral term to encompass the possibilities for the use of these objects. Though generally found in a very fragmentary state, the diameters of the items range from 60-40 mm (Stevenson 1976, p. 50). This is a difficult size for adorning limbs and perhaps the most sensible explanation for their primary use is as hair-rings (see Stevenson 1976, p. 50 for published and unpublished sources for this suggestion). Kilbride-Jones considered them to be decorative pendants, possibly hung from torcs (Kilbride-Jones 1939, pp. 379-80). Stevenson has even gone so far as to suggest that they may be jewelry for animals – 'literally for pony-tails' – based on written and ethnographic evidence (Stevenson 1976, p. 53).

One of the few things that is certain about these objects is that there is a fairly consistent pattern of reuse, in which the ends of the small fragments[29] which are found are very often the only remains. These demonstrate either a grinding down of the broken ends so as to flatten them (as observed at Broxmouth, East Lothian –Mhairi Maxwell, pers. comm.) or 'ground down so as to produce a neck' (Kilbride-Jones 1939, p. 370) from the core glass. Kilbride-Jones echoes the suggestion by Alexander Curle that this was for the purpose of remounting or rejoining the fragments. This is a particularly evocative suggestion if we consider the items hair-rings or some other form of jewelry, likely closely associated with an individual and perhaps retained as a relic or memento of them. It is possible that these were in fact deliberately fragmented upon the death of the individual, or upon their passage out of whatever stage of life these may have signified, and their fragments transmitted to loved ones as has been suggested for numerous artefact types by Chapman (2000a; Chapman and Gaydarska 2007).

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[29] The East Yorkshire examples given by Price (1988) are illustrated so as to show the diameter of the ring from which the fragment is derived and these never show more than about a quarter surviving, though Kilbride-Jones (1938) notes very occasional complete examples.

Though in many ways mysterious, these items can be dated solidly to the Roman period and appear on sites throughout the central Britain. The seeming curation of fragments lends some weight to the idea that they were in some way personal items.

Vessels

Fragments of Roman vessel glass are found on indigenous tradition sites, but rarely and never sufficiently to reconstruct the vessels themselves. These have been recorded as wall, base or body sheds as appropriate. The only consideration of Roman glass vessels on indigenous sites has been by Dorothy Charlesworth (1959), who mapped their distribution in Scotland (now superseded by Hunter 2001) and noted that the only example at all from Northumberland and Durham at the time was a third century fragment from Witchey Neuk (Charlesworth 1959, pp. 56-7), which was unfortunately recovered without context. Vessel glass continues to be recovered in small quantities from indigenous sites but there has been no synthetic look at this material.

Bone and Antler

Animal Remains

Due the predominance of acidic soils in the region, preservation of bone and antler is frequently very poor, so little survives and there has been no synthetic work on the subject. Recent work on the remarkable assemblage from the hillfort at Broxmouth, East Lothian has shown that there was a very complex tradition of working skillfully with bone and antler in that region (Mhairi Maxwell, pers. comm.), but the evidence within the present study area is very rare.

Some sites do produce unworked bone in sufficient quantity to be recorded however, but these are frequently gathered as bulk finds and analysed in the form of a faunal report in which context is not always given (see Chapter Three). Thus, whilst it is entirely likely that unworked bone and/or joints of meat containing bones we a part of the depositional practices outlined here (Morris 2008), the dataset at present does not support the recording of them as 'artefacts' in their own right in this chapter. There will, however, be anecdotal discussion below of certain instances where these can be identified as part of deposits and how this might fit in with the results gained from contextual analysis of other artefacts.

Human Remains

Similarly, human bone has a very poor survival in the soils of this region and it is rare to find burials or evidence for disposal of the dead in the British Iron Age as a whole (see Whimster 1981).This is noted across the British Iron Age, but even within this general lack of burial tradition the absence of human remains in the north-eastern Iron Age stands out. There are occasional finds of cist type burials which may date to the period in question (see Tait and Jobey 1971 for Beadnell; Waddington 2009 for Lanton Quarry and Proctor forthcoming for a discussion of possible Iron Age burials at Faverdale and mention of further examples from Greta Bridge), but these are unusual and not well dated and may relate to a Bronze Age tradition.

It would be this author's suggestion that, given the clear ritual focus on watery places and potentially related lack of fish in the diet (Dobney and Ervynck 2007; Jay 2005; Jay and Richards 2006 and Chapter Two), the extraordinary lack of remains recovered may indicated deposition in major water sources. There are however some instances in the region of human bone found on indigenous tradition sites and these are recorded here as artefacts accordingly.

A Note on Other Organics

Similar to bone, there is very little preserved organic material from this region. This evidence has been recorded in the structure of this chapter, but the significance of the glimpse which it gives of the now-invisible range of material culture in common usage is of greater significance than the quantitative analysis demonstrates, and these items are discussed in more detail in the discussion section below.

There is some incidence of burnt nut shells and cereal grains involved in deposits, but as discussed with animal bones above these are often not recorded, for for that matter found, in a manner which would allow them to be treated as 'artefacts' in the course of this study. These also will be anecdotally discussed below.

The Assemblage as a Whole

Due to patterns of excavation, discussed in Chapter Two, the assemblage considered here is largely derived from Northumberland, both north and south of Hadrian's Wall. Research in County Durham has been scattered, whilst the majority of the work in Cleveland and western Durham has taken place very recently and the post-excavation work has not yet been completed. Due to the need for well-understood contextual data for the artefacts included in this chapter, only published excavations have been consulted. As a result this section of the thesis is very much biased towards the work of George Jobey and contemporaries in Northumberland, who gave excellent and largely narrative accounts of artefact context in their excavation reports. Despite this limitation, it is felt that this study is the first to display in detail the patterns in contextual deposition in settlements of the indigenous tradition and that any further work on the subject which reveals contradictory patterns in regions which this study is unable to effectively cover will be adding to the understanding of the region.

The charts and tables illustrating the findings below have been gathered together at the rear of this chapter for easy reference.

Range of Items

In total, 1051 items artefacts from 32 sites were recorded (38% of the indigenous settlements considered in this thesis). In the collating of contextalized artefacts, one of the most striking things is the range of objects which are represented, even if it is on a low level and there are perhaps a higher than average number of objects without clear parallel.

Materials

Figure 4.1 shows the relative quantities of basic materials represented by the 1051 artefacts recorded. It should be noted that wood and compound items were present in the assemblage in minute quantities which work out to well under 1% of the assemblage and have been calculated as 0% in this large scale overview. The low incidence of these materials, as well as bone, is almost certainly a result of taphonomy given the acidic soils throughout most of the region. See the discussion below for more on the significance of the few organic remains recovered.

There are few surprises in this evidence. The preponderance of stone and ceramics is clear from most site reports, and as discussed above it is likely that stone is underrepresented due to the difficulty of determining whether or not various markings and wear on stones are anthropogenic. The most surprising aspect, given the expectations for material culture on indigenous northeastern sites as discussed in Chapter Two, is the quantity of metal artefacts recovered. When combined with the industrial debris, this shows that almost 10% of the artefacts recovered are of metal or related to metalworking. This is indicative of a universality of the use of metal artefacts. The evidence from industrial debris, coming from a range of different sites (10 of the 32 – 31%) further demonstrates that, as suggested by Jobey many decades ago (Jobey 1962) metalworking at the 'cottage industry' level was common in settlements. This argues further for a degree of economic independence for individual settlements and their populations.

Completeness

Throughout the recording process, note was made where items were specified by the author to be complete or show in illustration to be intact. 54 artefacts were noted as intact, about 5% of the assemblage as a whole. Given the wide range of materials and indeed conceptions of completeness, this is not a useful category by which to look at the entire assemblage but will occasionally be discussed with regard to specific material and object types.

Contexts

Figure 4.2 shows the quantities of artefacts of any material deposited in each context type. As is perhaps to be expected given the heavily truncated, damaged or reused nature, of and the sometimes haphazard excavation of many of the sites involved, by far most objects unstratified.

Setting aside the unstratified material, most context types have between a handful and fifty or so artefacts; a reasonable spread at this resolution. The only categories which stand out from this are floors, surfaces or pavements and ditch lengths, leading to several interesting inferences. The first is the surprising prevalence of artefacts from ditch lengths rather than ditch terminals (as best could be determined from the available information), which runs counter to the 'accepted wisdom' of increased deposition in the terminals of ditches in British prehistory. It is to be supposed also that this pattern may in fact be stronger than seen here, given the likelihood that ditch terminals may be preferentially excavated with the expectation of finds and the desire to clearly define the features under investigation.

The amount of material deposited on or in floors and surfaces is difficult to interpret, but has implications for the intentionality of deposition and may argue for more passive rituals of deposition (which will be discussed below).

It is difficult at this resolution to interpret the evidence from the other context types, but in an attempt to alleviate this figure 4.3 shows the quantities of artefacts by context categories, which are more useful in broadly comparing this data and will be used throughout this study. Table 4.2 shows the context types which comprise these categories.

As figure 4.3 presents, the most striking difference when grouping context types by category is that the prevalence of unstratified material and of deposition on or in surfaces, though still substantial, is minimized when compared to more inclusive, thematic categories of context. The most significant categories, leaving aside unstratified material, are boundaries and structures.

The focus on boundaries, whilst important, is unsurprising. It has been noted many times that boundaries are a focus for deposition, both in the north-east and the rest of the islands (Willis 1999; Proctor 2009; Hingley 2006a; 2006b; Bowden and McOmish 1987; Hingley 1984b) and this will be a theme which is discussed further both in the rest of this chapter and especially in Chapter Five. The high incidence of deposition in structures, within the construction itself rather than on the floor or in the hearth, is interesting. Given the nature of the contexts for these finds, they cannot be considered entirely the product of 'abandonment deposits' or similar, as 104 (about 10% of the total material and thus just over half of the 19% of the material which comes from the 'structure' context category) of the artefacts recorded come from within the walls or tumble from the walls of stone structures. For now this depositional focus is merely noted, but will be discussed in more detail in the individual analyses of material and when discussing the marking of boundaries and changing modes of perception in Chapter Five.

A less striking but extremely significant point is that the 'negative features' category receives the least deposited material except for hearths. This category is predominantly pits, as post holes are considered in the 'structure' category and there are only two examples of deposition features of the 'shallow feature' type. This stands out at this level of analysis as further evidence for the suggestion that the depositional regimes in this area focus on smaller scale, or even 'passive' (as discussed below) rituals of deposition undertaken by smaller social groupings rather than the large scale, potentially temporally cyclical depositional rituals observed or

Boundary		**Floor**	
	Boundary Wall		Floor
	Destruction Layer/ Tumble (Boundary)	**Hearth**	
	Ditch length		Hearth
	Ditch Terminal	**Negative Feature**	
	Gully/fence/hedgeline		Large Pit
	Palisade Trench		Shallow Feature
Structure			Small Pit
	Building Wall	**Surface**	
	Construction Trench		Surface or Pavement
	Destruction Layer/ Tumble (Building)	**Unstratified**	
	Post Hole		Unstrat
	Roundhouse Gully		Unstrat (Unspecified)
Layer			
	Destruction Layer/ Tumble		
	Indeterminate Layer		
	Makeup Layer		
	Subfloor		
	Subsoil		

Table 4.1: *Context types organized by category*

suggested elsewhere in the islands in the later Iron Age and Roman period (Hill 1995; Isserlin 1994).

Intentionality

It has been discussed above that I do not consider that the spatial or even depositional context of artefacts to reliably relate directly to their use life in the vast majority of indigenous tradition settlement sites. It is worth considering then, the intentionality necessary for artefacts to enter and remain in categories of context. In the categories discussed below, boundaries, structures, negative features and perhaps hearths and layers stand out as features which are very deliberately created, at times curated and eventually likely purposefully filled. In this context is is considered likely that the artefacts were knowingly deposited there, or at the very least not purposefully removed in what may be considered a passive ritual of deposition, marking the results of a communities activity with material remains. On the whole these categories represent 57% of the assemblage. The remaining categories, floors and surfaces (22% of the assemblage), are more difficult to interpret the intentionality behind and it is hoped that patterns in the types of artefact found there may shed more light on this. The unstratified material (21% of the assemblage) cannot be commented on with any degree of certainty, but suggests further than items were deposited more widely throughout settlements than in closed contexts such as pits.

This is a very rough division and in some ways a supposition. It is hoped that the presence or absence of patterns in the way which materials and artefact types are deposited will reveal more evidence of intentionality of lack thereof in deposition, but it is felt that these divisions between context types and the potential implications of that are worth noting here, prior to the more detailed analysis.

Analysis of Materials

Specific artefacts, when mentioned, will be referred to by their serial number in Appendix 3.

Ceramics

Overview

555 ceramic artefacts (53% of the whole) were recorded from 29 sites (91% of the sample). Figure 4.4 shows the quantities deposited in each context type. Unsurprisingly given that ceramics make up just over half of the total assemblage, the relative quantities are very similar to the assemblage as whole, with a notable preference towards ditch lengths, floors and surfaces as well as a large group of unstratified material.

When the context categories are applied to this group, in figure 4.5, it also very closely mirrors the assemblage as a whole, with the exception that there is an increase in deposition in boundaries and a decrease of deposition in structures.

The specific material categories used for ceramic material were indigenous tradition, Roman coarseware, Roman fineware, industrial ceramics and briquetage, the proportions of which are shown in figure 4.6. These will each be discussed in greater detail below. The artefact types recorded were wall sherd/s, base sherd/s, rim sherd/s and handles. Unfortunately, little can be said about the differences in deposition between rim, base and body sherds in this work, due the the vastly more detailed recording of rim sherds and the number of sites which gave notice of, but no contextual or quantitative information for, smaller, un-reconstructable wall sherds.

Briquetage and Industrial Ceramics

Together, briquetage and industrial ceramics make up only 2% of the ceramic material. Only three artefacts in the industrial ceramics category were recorded, from one site-– Burradon. Likewise, three examples of briquetage were recorded from a single site – Pegswood Moor. It is likely that this material was far more widely spread than recorded in context here. Briquetage in particular may be under-recognized, as it has only been recognized and recorded in the last decade or so by Steven Willis on sites such as Pegswood Moore, Scotch Corner and Stanwick, amongst which only Pegswood Moor is included in this chapter (see Willis 1999, p. 101). Given the very rough nature of the material and the fact that it is generally broken to release the salt cake within, it may be that older, small excavations either entirely missed the very fragmentary remains or that they did not survive. Briquetage is widely recognized in other areas however (Morris 2007), so it may be that this is a genuine reflection of rarity.

Thus, it seems that this briquetage represents a somewhat elusive item which was traded in the Tees Valley area and apparently up into the Northumberland coastal plain from it's likely source in the Tees estuary. There is no particular contextual pattern of deposition for the three fragments recorded here (198-200).

Industrial ceramics are equally vague. The evidence above shows that metalworking on some scale was common on these sites, and the associated crucibles and tuyeres, being reusable, roughly built and subjected to extreme conditions, should not be expected as common survivals. Even if they should survive, such rough and friable pottery is not as recognizable as vessels and may not be recognized, particularly in earlier or smaller excavations. The industrial ceramics represented here are one tuyere fragment from Burradon (957) and two fragments of what Jobey suspects are 'kiln furniture' or perhaps loom-weights, also from Burradon (958 and 959). Given the now universal acceptance that indigenous ceramics were fired in the most basic of kilns from local material and the lack of any evidence for the production of Roman style coarse pottery on indigenous sites, these are best seen as loom-weights or some other function. There is no contextual pattern for their deposition.

Roman Coarseware

This study recorded 172 artefacts in the Roman Coarseware category from 15 sites (47% of those included). This comprised a total of 31% of the ceramic assemblage. As figure 4.7. shows, their distribution by context type mirrors quite closely the total artefactual and general ceramic assemblage, but with a notable preference towards ditch lengths. This is even more clear when viewed by context category, figure 4.8. This shows that 41% of the Roman coarseware is deposited in a boundary context. The next most common context type remains structure, but this is a comparatively small 13%. The apparent focus on ditch length is mostly the product of the large, heavily fragmented beaker assemblage from Wheeler's excavations at Stanwick however.

When the beaker assemblage from Stanwick is removed from the calculations, the larger pattern becomes more apparent, as shown in figure 4.9. There remains a focus on boundary deposition to some degree, but not to the extent of the indigenous ceramic material. On the whole the Roman coarse material does not appear to be as focused on deposition associated specifically with structures as the Roman finewares discussed below. This may reflect the extent to which the acquisition of Roman coarseware was considered representative of the ability or desire of the community to acquire this material and it was thusly deposited in the main boundaries of the settlement.

Types

The vast majority of vessels (48%) are jars/cooking pots and occasional bowls in black burnished, orange or grey wares. In general, the array quite closely mirrors the types of vessels found in the indigenous repertoire (the barrel and bucket jars discussed in Chapter Three), suggesting that many Roman coarse vessels were being incorporated into the indigenous tradition of food preparation and/or storage in much the same way as the indigenous wares. Several other notable types are found however, as shown in figure 4.10

The large and carefully recorded assemblage of beakers from Stanwick accounts for all of the beakers recorded with the exception of one (1025) from West Whelpington and two (671 and 670) from Huckhoe. This is unsurprising, as it is clear that the inhabitants of Stanwick were receiving and using a far greater quantity of new objects in the first century AD and before (Wheeler 1954; Haselgrove forthcoming; Haselgrove, Fitts and Turnbull 1991; Haselgrove, Fitts and Lowther 1991; Welfare *et al.* 1991). The beakers from Stanwick mostly derive from the fills of the main ditches, echoing and contributing to the larger pattern of ditch length deposition, whilst the other three beakers are either unstratified or in a subsoil layer. On the whole, these beakers comprised 32% of the assemblage. This appears to represent a site specific pattern of deposition potentially related to conspicuous consumption of new forms of alcohol, in this case wine (Cool 2006, p. 148), not unlike the conspicuous deposition of amphora in parts of contemporary Gaul (Loughton 2009, p. 100-2)

Additionally, flagons, mortaria and amphora are present. The five mortaria which are 3% of the assemblage (621, 534, 408, 411 and 689), all broadly second century, come from a variety of different contexts on four sites from across the study area and are difficult to comment upon except for noting their presence. Given the seemingly few changes in indigenous food preparation traditions, with Roman coarseware jars of a similar type to those produced in the indigenous tradition apparently being adopted in much the same manner, it is difficult to determine how such a specialist item might be used. Hiliary Cool notes that on many early adopting, rural sites in other regions there is mixed evidence for mortaria use as a mortar and as a cooking pot and draws attention to suggestions from both herself (Cool and Baxter1999) and Willis (1996) that there was a preferential acquisition of large bowls in both ceramics and glass. Given this suggestion, the uses need not have been culinary at all (Cool 2004 p. 32), and given that the small assemblage of mortaria has no clear depositional patterning to relate it to culinary ceramics this is worth entertaining in future work.

Thirteen amphora from six sites comprise 8% of the coarseware assemblage. With the possible exception of the baldly described remains from Middle Gunnar Peak, these are all of the Dressel 20 type from Spain which at least originally contained olive oil and were provided to the Roman army in quantity; over 95% of the 63kg or so of amphorae sherds from the fort at Wallsend were of this type (Hodgson 2003, p. 195; see also Funari 1996 for a general look at Dressel 20s). Additionally, all the sites from which amphora are recovered are all to the north of Hadrian's Wall. There is no clear pattern in the contextual deposition of this small number of amphora, though a slight majority were on floors.

Sixteen flagons from six sites comprise 9% of the coarseware assemblage, eleven Stanwick and five in Northumberland. These fill a liquid serving niche in the indigenous artefactual record which was, as far as our evidence goes, not being filled with ceramic material. It is interesting to note that flagons and amphora were each present on six sites and that three of these sites (Murton High Crags, Belling Law and Huckhoe) had both flagons and amphora present, indicating a greater inclination to acquire and use Roman material on the part of those communities, and along with the changes in ceramic types suggested in Chapter Three demonstrate change in the indigenous dining tradition in some communities. Aside from a slight bias towards ditch lengths caused in part by the Stanwick assemblage, there is no clear patterning in the depositional context of flagons.

Summary

Though the forms of Roman coarseware suggest that the majority were chosen to fit in with the indigenous tradition of pottery use, their depositional patterns demonstrate that they were also treated separately and are more commonly deposited in boundaries. This may be an indication of greater value placed upon them, or it may stem from the offsite production of Roman coarsewares. As they were not produced by the communities themselves, they may have been considered more suitable for deposition in boundary contexts which defined that community and stood as a symbol of the ability or desire of the community to acquire new items.

The more specialist ceramic types do not appear to have clear patterns in their deposition. Though it is possible that this is due to their relative rarity, the presence of Roman coarsewares of various types across the region and even the spread of various specialist items seem to indicate that this material was available to communities who sought it out, and as discussed in Chapter Three there is some evidence that these new forms may be influencing the development of new forms such as bowls and necked jars in the indigenous tradition. The lack of depositional patterning for these items is likely to reflect the small assemblage, but it might also be borne in mind that these new items which have no analogues in the indigenous tradition may also have no distinct place in the indigenous practices of deposition.

Roman Fineware

This study recorded 58 artefacts from six sites (19% of those included) in the Roman Fineware category, 10% of the ceramic assemblage. The vast majority of these (95%) were Terra Sigillata (almost all south Gaulish where noted) with a very few (three) incidences of Castor Ware. Figure 4.11 shows their distribution by context type and figure 4.12 shows the relative quantities by context category.

The conspicuous tendency towards deposition in ditch lengths and terminals is entirely a product of the extensive and unusual assemblage at the anomalous site at Stanwick. The site itself is extremely unusual (see Chapter Five), and the extensive Terra Sigillata assemblage associated with it (only a part of which– that excavated by Wheeler – is represented in this portion of the study) has been noted to be unusual in the quantity and range of forms represented (Haselgrove forthcoming; Hartley and Fitts 1977).

Though the site at Stanwick is certainly an illuminating anomaly, the analysis here of the Roman finewares excludes this assemblage. It is so large and atypical that it skews the analysis dramatically towards a unique site which represents an expression of indigenous traditions in a unique circumstance.

When the Roman finewares are considered without the Stanwick assemblage a strong pattern emerges which is very different from the larger assemblage of ceramics and artefacts in general. Figure 4.13 shows the relative quantities of finds by context type[30], in which we see

30 This assemblage is sufficiently small that using context categories is not necessary as a summary.

that a combined total of 50% of the finds are from context types related to buildings (floors, building walls and construction trenches). Furthermore, on a case by case basis, the single sherd/s recovered from a small pit (803) is indoors and the single sherd/s recovered from a subfloor (802) relates to an indoor floor. Considering this, a combined total of nearly 60% of the assemblage is related to buildings. Given that 38% of the assemblage is unstratified, this leaves only a single artefact (4% of the assemblage) in a subsoil layer which is stratified and unrelated to a building.

Though the assemblage is extremely small (25 artefacts), the pattern is clear and spread across five of the six sites from which Roman fineware is recorded and should be considered to be genuine. The implications of this will be discussed below in relation to other patterns within the assemblage as a whole.

Types

The Castor Ware finds are all fragments of beaker, whilst the Terra Sigillata assemblage represents a wider range of material. Figure 4.14 shows the quantities of different forms present amongst all Terra Sigillata, whilst figure 4.15 shows the range of forms excluding the Stanwick assemblage. Figure 4.16 gives illustrations of the entire range of forms represented.

Even including the Stanwick assemblage, the majority of the forms represented are smaller bowls or cups, essentially vessels for individual servings. It is notable that, like the more specialised forms of coarseware such as flagons and mortaria, it is these objects which have no known ceramic parallels in the indigenous tradition which are deposited in such strikingly different ways from the rest of the assemblage. Though it must be admitted that in the case of the fineware there is a clear pattern in this differential deposition rather than an apparent lack of pattern as seen in the specialised coarsewares. It is likely that this is in large part be due to the larger assemblage of finewares.

Indigenous Tradition

319 ceramic artefacts in the Indigenous Tradition category were recorded in this study (30% of the entire assemblage and 57% of the ceramic assemblage) from 25 sites (78% of those included in this study). Figure 4.17 shows the quantities of finds by context type and figure 4.18 shows the relative quantities of finds by context category.

By and large, the depositional patterns of the indigenous ceramics are along the lines of the larger assemblage, with a distinct focus on boundaries, floors, surfaces and structures. This may seem an unremarkable correspondence, but this strengthening of this larger patten at several levels of analysis serves to highlight the significance of situations where the depositional pattern are different, such as with Roman finewares or specialist forms of coarseware.

Summary

In summary, the majority of ceramic deposition is similar to the broad pattern of the assemblage, though this is unsurprising as the ceramics make up 53% of that assemblage. The focus of this lies chiefly with boundaries, floors, surfaces and structures.

This indicates that the two foci of deposition for ceramics are boundaries, as noted above, and constructed, social, lived spaces such as buildings or yards and pavements. Whilst this may be initially unsurprising given that these are the areas we focus on archaeologically, it is worth remembering the amount of space within most settlements which is not an active boundary or a built social space. As discussed in Chapter Five, these areas should not be ignored and are likely to have been occupied by activity areas of various types and frequently contain ephemeral features but do not seem to have been a depositional focus. This further re-enforces the idea of either intentional deposition or at least passive rituals of deposition, in which artefact fragments were permitted to become incorporated into the physical fabric of social life on settlements but were 'tidied up' from activity areas within the settlement.

The exceptions to this pattern lie almost exclusively with objects which have no known ceramic parallel in the indigenous tradition (such as flagons, mortaria), and fineware vessels which seem suited to serving food to individuals. Though flagons, amphora and mortaria are so infrequent as to present almost no pattern to their deposition, the assemblage of Castor Ware and Terra Sigillata (excluding the anomalous Stanwick assemblage) are almost exclusively found in contexts related to structures. This could demonstrate that these new types of artefacts were being treated differently by different communities as they had not yet become sufficiently well established to have a clear place in the indigenous depositional tradition.

As discussed in Chapter Three, there is no compelling reason to *assume* the inevitability of change in the ceramic habits of communities just because there is access to new materials, and either change or lack of change must be accounted for. Overall, the pictures seen here and in Chapter Two for changing ceramic assemblages show that some new material is being integrated into existing traditions whilst other, novel items are tentatively being accessed. Some unparalleled objects, such as *mortaria* do not seem to have a consistent pattern of usage and deposition whilst finewares appear to be treated as personal possessions. On the whole this builds a pictures of small communities engaging tentatively with new materials without a consistent and universal attitude towards them.

It is notable that, unlike communities in the south who seem to earnestly be participating in civilian trade networks (see Fitzpatrick and Timby 2002) and accessing a wide range of finewares and different items, the bulk of the supply on indigenous sites in the north east could be supplied by trade with the military. Finewares other than *terra sigillata* are almost unknown, and majority of coareware jars un remarkable and the unusual items such as mortaria, flagons, beakers and oil amphorae are all well attested in a military setting. This builds a picture of small scale trade with the military community rather than access to wider networks for most communities. This may be a choice however, to tentatively explore the new locally available materials without a desire to engage with other socio-economic systems extensively.

Though the amount of material is small, the pattern of deposition of Roman finewares in and within structures is strong. This is not the most straightforward pattern to interpret, but the bias towards houses may suggest that the members of a certain household (if that can be considered an effective social unit – see Chapter Five) are considering their acquisition of new types of ceramic artefact to be more representative of the status and ability of their household to acquire such things than of the settlement as a whole to produce or acquire such objects as are more frequently found in outdoor surfaces or boundaries.

Stone

Overview

Overall, 343 artefacts of stone were recorded, about 33% of the total assemblage. These came from 29 sites (91% of those included). 22 different specific types of stone were recorded, and quantities of these are shown in figure 4.19.

Amongst these, flint, shale and sandstone types were the most significant with all other types represented by no more than six specimens. Almost all stone types recorded are locally available, with the exception of isolated imports from *Germania* and Scotland, a neolithic Greenstone axe and perhaps a fragment of chalk. These are discussed further below.

Figure 4.20 shows the quantities deposited in each context type. This demonstrates a superficial similarity to the larger patterns of increased deposition in boundaries, floors, surfaces and structures, with perhaps an increased focus on structural situations in which stone artefacts could be reused usefully. Figure 4.21 shows the relative quantities of all stone artefacts by context category. This demonstrates a pattern nearly identical to the assemblage as a whole, but with about 10% more unstratified artefacts and 10% fewer artefacts deposited within boundaries. This is probably accounted for by later disturbance of stone structures and stone robbing as well as a tendency for stone artefacts to be reused structurally rather than deposited in boundary ditches.

Excluding flints, which are discussed as a group below, the only types of stone represented in sufficient quantity for patterns to be statistically significant are sandstones (the broader sandstone category plus greywacke and gritstone/millstone) and shale, a more specific type discussed below. A total of 187 artefacts of sandstone were recorded (55% of the stone assemblage).

The depositional patterns of sandstone reflect the stone assemblage as a whole, as seen in figures 4.22 and 4.23. The correlation is suspicious given the extent to which sandstone dominates the assemblage, but it appears that that this pattern is entirely genuine across the majority of stone artefacts. Figures 4.24 shows the quantities of stone artefacts *excluding* sandstones and flints by context type and Figure 4.25 shows relative quantities of the same by context category. These demonstrate that this larger pattern is reflected in non-sandstone artefacts as well and is not merely the product of sandstone skewing the assemblage.

Shale

20 artefacts of shale (6% of the stone assemblage) were recorded. Shale seems to have a pronounced bias towards floor and structure deposits and to a lesser extent surfaces, built social spaces as discussed above. This is demonstrated in figures 4.26 and 4.27. This may be related to the personal nature of most of the artefacts of shale, items generally either for personal adornment or personal use such as spindle whorls which individual may have had a very direct relationship with.

The types of artefact represented in the shale assemblage are shown in figure 4.28.

Types

Quantities of the primary types of stone artefact recovered are show in figure 4.29. It is these categories by which the material will be discussed below.

Cup Marked Stones

Eight cup marked stones were recorded in this study from five sites. All were, where specified, of sandstone with the exception of one river cobble which displayed both a cup mark and evidence of use as a pounder. This not a large enough assemblage to draw concrete conclusions from the depositional patterns from, but half of the stratified assemblage of six examples were incorporated into outdoor surfaces or pavements, with the remainder in tumble, an indeterminate layer (a 'disturbed area' within a house) and a construction trench. It is perhaps notable these are focused on built social spaces are never found in boundary related contexts (which account for 25% of the total finds), but with such a small assemblage this cannot be seen as a solid conclusion.

The potential use of cup-marked stones is difficult to comment upon, and this assemblage does not give much of an indication of possible function. However, one stone (265) found in a pavement at Kennel Hall Knowe, is unusual in bearing a total of six cup marks, one on one face and five on the other. This may display more parallels with local rock art, and is potentially even a piece of reused rock art with another cup mark added to the opposing face after removal.

Moulds

Six stone moulds (about 2% of the stone assemblage) were recorded from five sites. Since two of these were unstratified and the remaining four each came from different context types. Given this it is impossible to comment constructively upon their deposition. All were of sandstone. One mould (864) would have produced a 50mm by 20mm disc and three were in the shape of finger sized bars. Of the remaining two, one from Hartburn had two working moulds on different faces (68), one bar shaped and the other a bar with a circular expansion in the middle. George Jobey, the excavator, suggested at the time that the circular expansion in the middle of the bar was the result of later damage but the sixth example from Gowanburn River Camp (592) is of the same shape.

There is little to be said about the moulds other than to reinforce the idea that metal-working and smelting were taking place on these sites with regularity. Given the difficulty of producing a stone mould it is unlikely that these were for wax, as wood could just as easily been used for that purpose.

Pounders and Rubbers

'Pounders' or 'rubbers' are some of the most commonly found stone artefacts, together comprising about 18% of the stone assemblage with 59 objects recorded from 14 sites, 44% of the sites recorded. In recording, any distinction made between pounders and rubbers in the original report is retained, but it is often difficult to determine the exact cause of the wear on these stone hand tools and in many cases multiple types of wear are noted. It is difficult to comment on the full extent of their possible uses, but countless uses are probable and apparent in both a culinary and industrial capacity.

The type of stone is not recorded for a surprising majority of these hand tools. As is usual, a majority of those recorded are sandstone but there are also a large number 'made' from unspecified types of river cobble. Figures 4.30 and 4.31 show the quantities of pounders and rubbers by context type and category. In depositional terms, the pounders and rubbers conform very neatly to the depositional patterns of stone as a whole.

Saddle Querns

23 saddle querns were recorded from 11 sites, 34% of those examined. This is merely 7% of the stone assemblage, but this is to be expected as saddle querns were passing out of currency during the earliest times covered by this study. 22 of these (92%) were of sandstones whilst the remaining two (8% of the assemblage) were of igneous rock, probably locally derived from the Cheviots. These both came from the same settlement, Murton High Crags.

The depositional patterns for this small assemblage of saddle querns do not reflect the general patterns as strongly as many other types of object. As figures 4.32 and 4.33 show, the saddle querns are predominantly found within structures (i.e. structures and floors) and are well under 50% as likely to be unstratified as general stone objects.

This cannot but be related to the fact that these artefacts come from very early in the site sequence and are not a part of active life and depositional regimes of the inhabitants for the majority of the timescale covered in this study. It makes sense then that as settlements are lived in, rebuilt, restructured and modified, these earlier objects are reincorporated into the architectural fabric, primarily structures, and are thus less likely to be either deposited in an unstratified situation or deposited within higher, later parts of the sequence which are subsequently easily disturbed.

The key question here then becomes the significance of the reincorporation of these items. The overwhelming majority are reused in the construction of built social spaces, and they are frequently noted to be packing stones. It is apparent that these particularly shaped stones or fragments of stone could be of great practical use given then difficulty of shaping stones (one of the unstratified examples is re-used in even later construction), but it is difficult to imagine that the builders were unaware of the past use of these objects and their role in providing for the community.

The overall picture of saddle quern reuse then is consistent with the idea that social reproduction and referencing of the past was taking place on a more small scale level, with small 'rituals' of deposition and reuse carried out by individuals or small settlement communities rather than used as means of larger scale social bonding.

Differential deposition of saddle querns also reinforces the strength of the broader pattern of deposition of indigenous material culture in the Later Iron Age, the intentionality of which is discussed below.

Rotary Querns

102 rotary querns (comprising those recorded as 'beehive' and as 'rotary' querns) were recorded from 20 sites, 62% of those examined. These comprise 30% of the entire stone assemblage. The overwhelming majority of these, 82%, were of sandstone types. Figure 4.34 shows the relative quantities of stone types in the assemblage.

As this shows, other than unspecified types, the majority of non-sandstone querns (12%) were of igneous rocks which were locally available, from Cheviot sources where specified. All six sites from which stone specified as being of Cheviot origin was recorded were located in or very near the Cheviots.

The only type of stone which was definitely of non-local origin was the two fragments of Andernach lava stone querns from *Germania* found at Huckhoe (748, 749; see Crawford and Röder 1955). These are particularly interesting, as this is almost certainly a product of interaction with the Roman military community. These were imported for military use until about the third century, and often comprise the majority of querns found on military sites – seven out of the eight querns from the fort at *Segedunum* were of this type (Hodgson 2003 p. 228). In County Durham and Cleveland examples of these querns are only found on Roman fort sites (Piercebridge, Catterick and Binchester; see Gwilt and Heslop 1995, fig. 4.1). As these occur in an indigenous context only at Huckhoe, it seems very likely that their presence is the result of decisions made by a small community who had access to this material. It is noted in Yorkshire that many local querns imitate the styles of the military lava querns (Gwilt and Heslop 1995, p. 44).

The most striking pattern to be found in the rotary querns which entered the archaeological record is in the proportions of top to bottom stones to be found in the assemblage, demonstrated in figure 4.35. This is difficult to directly explain, aside from noting that given that rotary quern bases were likely to be set into the ground and that they would have required little shaping other than a spindle setting and a grinding surface, reuse of them would more easily obfuscate the original function.

Figures 4.37, 4.37, 4.38 and 4.39 demonstrate the depositional contexts for top- and bottom-stones of rotary querns. Though these appear to be quite different at first, both represent a focus for deposition around and within structures and surfaces and the key difference lies in the greater likelihood that examples from the small assemblage of bottom stones will be stratified. This is probably related to the practice of settling them in to floors and surfaces and the fact that broken or unstratified examples are likely to be significantly more difficult to identify than the more carefully shaped top-stones. The depositional patterns for all types of rotary quernstone, shown in figures 4.40 and 4.41, reflect the general pattern for stone very closely.

Though this analysis has shown that the contextual deposition patterns of stone artefacts is nearly identical to the deposition of that of the larger artefactual assemblage and that the pattern is strong throughout almost all types of material (with slight exceptions for shale and spindle whorls), it may be surprising that rotary querns conform to this. It has been suggested that there is a tendency for rotary quernstones to be found in ditches (Willis 1999, p. 99; Proctor 2009, p. 89), while this analysis shows that only 15% of the recorded assemblage was found in any sort of boundary context, with no differentiation for top or bottom stones. Even when the study considered the relatively small number of unbroken quernstones, only two examples of the nine (22%) were found in boundaries, with a greater likelihood (33%) of being found in floors.

Overall, though the phenomenon of rotary quernstones in boundary contexts has been noted in the literature , it cannot be substantiated from this dataset.This study demonstrates that querns are more frequently found in structural contexts, similar to Moore's conclusions for the Severn Cotswold region (Moore 2006, p. 190-1). It may in fact be more widely noticed for it's rarity, as quernstones appear far more likely to be found in stony contexts such as structures or paved floors and surfaces. The impact of finding a quernstone in a ditch section may simply be greater and more direct to the archaeologist and cause the occasion to be more memorable than discovering a quern fragment amongst many other fragments of stone.

Spindle Whorls

13 spindle whorls were recorded from 10 sites, 32% of those examined. They comprise roughly 4% of the stone assemblage. The spindle whorls came in a variety of materials, as demonstrated in figure 4.42. The primary features sought seem to be ease for working and availability. Figures 4.43 and 4.44 show the deposition of spindle whorls by context type and category. These show that there is some deviation from the normal stone pattern that is very similar to the pattern seen in shale artefacts, in focusing more heavily on built, social spaces and particularly indoor spaces. This is most likely reflection of the day to day, close relationship and perhaps a sense of personal rather that corporate ownership which may not have applied to larger stone items such as querns.

There is one possible lead spindle whorl (718) recorded from a floor at Huckhoe, but this is discussed below under 'lead' as it's identification as a spindle whorl may be questionable. Additionally, it should be noted that the shale spindle whorls are also included in the specific analysis of the shale artefacts, above.

Stone Discs

11 stone discs were recorded from eight sites, comprising roughly 4% of the stone assemblage. These made from both shale (four examples) and sandstone (eight examples). Stone discs are an enigmatic feature of the north-eastern Iron Age. Most commentators suggest that they are pot lids of some sort (Smith 1990, p. 28).

Table 4.45 shows the diameters of the 11 stone discs recorded. These range from 3.8 cm, likely a counter of some sort, to 14.3 cm, with an average of about 8 cm. In the reconstructable ceramic assemblage detailed in Appendix 2 and discussed in Chapter 3, the average rim diameter of the ceramics is 19.1 cm. Given the maximum stone disc diameter of 14cm, only 69 of the recorded pots (33% of the total) could conceivably be lidded by the stone discs recorded here. These would be smaller vessels, by and large, and include many that would be suggested as individual drinking vessels which are less likely to require a covering. Also, since a stone lid would be less capable of sealing than a fat or wax covering for some form of long term storage, the most likely application of such a lid would be in cooking to prevent moisture loss. This seems at odds with the size of the potentially lidded vessels.

Figures 4.46 and 4.47 show the deposition of stone discs by context type and category. This data would also suggest that the pot lid hypothesis may be incorrect, as these demonstrate the same deviation from the wider pattern for stone that is found in personal items such as spindle whorls and shale jewelry rather than items such as quernstones or pounders which may be less associated with an individual.

Whetstones

26 whetstones were recorded from 12 sites, 37% of those examined. These comprised about 7% of the entire stone assemblage. These were predominantly of various sandstones, as figure 4.48 shows, with occasional examples in fine-grained schist. The only non-local stone in the collection is an example of 'Water of Ayr' stone (646), unstratified, from Gubeon Cottage.

This is a particularly finely grained stone from south-west Scotland which is famous for hones even today (see Moore 1978 pp. 63-64). This is one of the very few definite examples of material traded over very long distances prior to the Roman period in the region and again demonstrates that such contact was possible and occurring amongst some communities.

Figures 4.49 and 4.50 show the deposition of whetstones by context type and category. This demonstrates a slight deviation from the usual patterns for stone, similar to those for shale objects and spindle whorls. This may be taken to indicate that whetstones where considered more personal items than tools which were associated with the community.

Other

The assemblage had a huge variety of other stone artefact types, often enigmatic, for which there was not enough material to usefully record their depositional context. These included weights, pivot stones, potential mortars, and fragments of indeterminate worked stone. Particularly notable objects include the Neolithic Greenstone axehead incorporated into a pavement at Kennel Hall Knowe (266) and a possible stone ploughshare (346) from Dod Law West.

Flints

The flint artefacts recorded here are a mixed group. As discussed above, those assemblages which were suggested by the report author or expert to be entirely residual in character were not recorded and those presented here are largely simple flint tools or fragments from stratified or associated Later and Roman Iron Age contexts. The only exceptions to this are the axehead and plano-convex knife which were clearly recognizable earlier tools but which were found within Later or Roman Iron Age features. It is difficult to comment on the types present, particularly as the majority of the finds are recorded simply as a flake, but it is of note that the large quantity of scrapers in this presumably later assemblage echoes Young and Humphrey's statement that 'by the end of the Middle Bronze Age, it would appear that scrapers, awls and some knife forms had become the only recognizable, regularly produced, flint tool types' (Young and Humphreys 1999, p. 240).

These two examples are difficult to comment upon, but the plano-convex knife in question (from Huckhoe; 768) was found securely stratified in a post hole. The axehead (from Burradon, 963) was considered a 'stray' by the excavator, but was found in a ditch context.

Aside from these residual items which may have been deposited in the Iron Age, the majority of the assemblage consisted of flakes, with a few recognizable blades and scrapers and various types of debris. This is show in figure 4.51.

Figures 4.52 and 4.53 show the depositional patterns of flint artefacts by context type and context category. This shows that the majority of the material was unstratified, with no other context category clearly dominant and very little indeed found on surfaces. This may reflect the opportunistic, functional nature of flint and chert use suggested (Young and Humphrey 1999, p. 241).

Metal

63 metal objects were recorded, just 6% of the total assemblage. These came from 14 sites, 44% of those examined. The majority of the metal artefacts were of iron, though copper alloy and lead were also present. No gold or silver was recorded in any quantity. This is demonstrated in figure 4.54.

Figures 4.55 and 4.56 show the deposition of metal artefacts by context type and category. This demonstrates significant differences from the depositional pattern for the entire assemblage. Metal artefacts displaying – not unlike the shale discussed above – a marked tendency towards being incorporated into built social spaces. It will be seen below however that this trend is primarily the result of the predominance of iron objects in the larger assemblage and that different metals have very different depositional patterning.

The metal assemblage will be discussed below by type of metal, as there is little to no crossover of artefact type amongst metals.

Copper Alloy

19 copper alloy objects were recorded, comprising 30% of the metal assemblage. These came from nine sites, 28% of those examined. Copper alloy objects display an unusual pattern of deposition. The main foci of deposition, shown in figures 4.57 and 4.58, appears to be boundaries and layers and whilst surfaces are also represented, deposition relating to floors and structures is extremely low. Though the sample size is small, this shows a pattern of deposition almost opposite to the general pattern for metal objects and objects such as spindle whorls, beads or individual serving dishes in Roman fineware. Whilst these potentially very individualized items are overwhelmingly deposited in structure related contexts, these rare copper alloy objects are predominantly deposited externally from structures and often in boundaries. This could indicate that these items are functioning more as symbols of the community rather than the possessions of individuals.

The types of copper alloy objects represented are show in figure 4.59. It is clear that, as discussed above, the decorated 'Celtic' style metalwork so often associated with the later Iron Age is not present in quantity on indigenous tradition settlements, and indeed the terret from Huckhoe (709) is the only such object recorded here, though as discussed above there is another unstratified terret from Carry House Camp. The majority of the decorative metalwork- the two bracelets (175; 813) and the finger ring (177) are of more simple design

Coins

Roman coins are notable rarities, particularly given the high takeup of other new forms of material culture in the Roman period. The only two examples are copper alloy coins of low monetary value in the conventional Roman monetary system, a sestertius of Hadrian and an as of Faustina I. Both date to the early or middle second century AD, and the iconography on the reverse of each is the frequently encountered motif of a deity. Assumptions cannot be drawn from only two examples, but both were found in floor or makeup layers underlying floors, which is extremely unusual given the depositional pattern outlined above. These could conceivably be makeup deposits of rare items upon the foundation or renewal of a structure. Both of the sites on which they are found, Bridge House and Huckhoe, potentially extend into the early third century AD, and this may represent a late-developing practice.

It is also interesting to note the presence of a female figure on one of the two coins, a statistically unlikely occurrence in such a small 'assemblage'. The collection of 80 well recorded Roman coins from the fort at Wallsend (Hodgson 2003) shows that only three of the coins, roughly 4%, depicted female figures.

These low value copper alloy coins as rarities is a different situation from the assemblage of Roman finds known from Scotland and collated by Hunter (2001). Hunter's study is not based on contexted material and examines presence of finds on sites over a larger area, but it provides some valuable comparisons. His study of the whole of Scotland records almost equal numbers of sites producing silver and copper alloy coins, about 20 sites of his 200 for both types. This is compared to only copper alloy coins found in the present study at two (6%) of the sites recorded. This suggests that the takeup of Roman coinage in Scotland was more general, and Hunter has posited that hoards of more universally valuable silver coins such as that at Byrnie, Moray were paid the the communities beyond the Antonine Wall (Hunter 2007b). In light of such a supposition the small quantity of Roman copper alloy coinage in the study area (with both examples north of Hadrian's Wall) might suggest less 'official' involvement with the Roman administration and more independent acquisition of the low value coins, used a symbols outside of a monetary economy.

Brooches

Five brooches were recovered from three sites, Doubstead, Dod Law West and Stanwick. These display little patterning in contextual deposition or in type, all being bow type brooches of the first century AD, and all of Roman-era type save the late Nauheim derivative example from Thorpe Thewles which indicated a pre-Roman European influence

Iron

33 iron objects comprising 52% of the metal assemblage were recorded from 12 sites, 37% of those examined. Figures 4.60 and 4.61 show the depositional trends for iron objects by context type and context category. These demonstrate that iron objects are found predominantly associated with floors and structures, in the pattern perhaps associated with more personal objects such as Roman fineware or spindle whorls. This is a dramatic change from the patterning in copper alloy objects, and as such the overall patterns for metal deposition appear to reflect the dominance of iron in the assemblage

Though this may in part reflect structural metalwork, this pattern largely indicates that the iron objects recorded may have been more related to individuals or households, and their deposition reflected groups or communities within the settlement itself. Figure 4.62 shows the types of iron artefacts represented in the assemblage. Though many of these are of uncertain type due to poor preservation the majority appear to be either nails or tools of some sort. Such objects which may be related to individual craftspeople or perhaps serve as markers of those craftspersons position within the community.

Weapons are represented infrequently, with the sword from Stanwick St. John (896) and the spearhead from Murton High Crags (815) the only examples considered here. The sword from Stanwick came from a complex assemblage in a ditch terminal, whilst the Murton High Crags spearhead was in a potentially disturbed subsoil layer and may be a later intrusion. This demonstrates the presence of weaponry but cannot show any patterning in deposition unfortunately.

Lead

11 lead objects, comprising 1% of the total assemblage, were recorded from 6 sites, 9% of those examined. Aside from a fragment of sheet lead from Kennel Hall Knowe (285) and a possible spindle whorl from Huckhoe (718) there were no recognizable artefact types in the assemblage. This spindle whorl is without precedent and doubtful, though its deposition on a floor reflects the general trend for spindle whorls.

Figures 4.63 and 4.64 show the depositional trends for lead artefacts by context type and context category. The demonstrates that lead items appear to match the trend for iron artefacts and for other items which may have more associations with individuals or groups than the community as a whole.

Given the state of the assemblage and the lack of identifiable artefacts it is difficult to give meaning to this.

Conclusion

At just 6% of the total assemblage, metal is one of the least common finds on indigenous settlements. This appears unusual given the usefulness of the material and the amount of evidence for its manufacture (see below) Given the economically independent nature of many of these communities and the high reusability of metals, it is very likely that metal objects were re-used rather than deposited upon going out of use as they represent a valuable and reusable commodity, and one that appears from the episodes of deposition discussed here to have meaning across many scales of communities and perhaps individuals.

Industrial Debris

28 incidences of industrial debris were recorded, about 3% of the total assemblage, from 10 sites, 32% of those examined. The industrial debris recorded in this study consisted solely of metalworking waste where identifiable, and in all cases where a the specific source of the debris is suggested(15 examples or 54%) these were related to iron smelting.

Figures 4.65 and 4.66 show the depositional patterning of industrial debris by context type and category, and these show a unique pattern of deposition with a equal main focus on boundaries and structures. Hearth deposition is also unusually high, suggesting industrial uses for some of the hearths identified. Overall this pattern probably represents the industrial debris as genuine debris, scattered about the settlement by various processes and ending up in ditch fills and similar contexts, whilst sometimes remaining focused on the areas in which it was produced, within buildings and in hearths.

Glass

44 artefacts of glass, 4% of the total assemblage, were recorded from 17 sites, 53% of the sites examined. Figures 4.67 and 4.68 show the depositional trends for glass by context type and context category.

These show that the glass artefacts mimic the trend for artefacts potentially associated with individuals rather than objects which may be used by and be deposited by the greater community, as they are clustered within structures and floors rather than boundaries and outdoor spaces. This is not as clear as with many of the other artefact types which conform to this however. When Roman glass vessels are excluded from this count by context category though, as shown in figures 4.69, leaving only beads and glass rings, the pattern is more pronounced.

Unfortunately there are only seven examples of Roman vessel fragments, few but significantly more than Charlesworth identified in 1959, and they do not present a strong depositional pattern as they are equally distributed amongst the stratified contexts in which they are found. Figure 4.70 shows the quantities of types of glass artefact found. These are mostly items of personal adornment (though this is only presumed in the case of glass rings, see above) aside from the glass intaglio from Hartburn (77). This depicts Achilles dragging Hector around the walls of Troy, and it is interesting to note how thoroughly this scene is entrenched in classical mythology as opposed to the more universal depiction of animals on the carnelian intaglio from Gowanburn River Camp, discussed below.

Its seems then that by and large the glass assemblage of personal items conforms to the broad pattern of deposition for potentially personal items, whilst the vessel fragments are rare and do not form a depositional pattern, not unlike the unusual forms of Roman coarseware which may not yet have had an established place in indigenous depositional tradition.

Exotic Stone

Six artefacts of exotic stone, less than 1% of the total assemblage, were recorded from five sites, 16% of those examined. These were predominantly beads of amber or jet (1048;

995 and 996). A jet armlet fragment was also present (790) as well as an unworked fragment of haematite (981) but the most notable object was a carnelian intaglio from Gowanburn River Camp (593). This depicted a lion chasing a deer and a dog chasing another, indeterminate animal.

Depositional patterns cannot be clear with such a a small assemblage, but figure 4.72 shows the depositional trends by context category. This shows a slight trend towards floor and structure deposits, echoing the pattern of objects with possible individual associations.

Bone

Only seven items of worked animal bone or human bone were recorded in this study, from two sites, well under 1% of the entire assemblage and about 6% of the sites examined. Four examples from two sites were animal bone and three examples from one site, Stanwick, were human bone. There is great difficulty in interpreting these remains, particularly as nearly all the material is from boundary context types at Stanwick – a wounded human skull which was likely deposited in the ditch still fleshed (Wheeler 1954, p. 54), several fragments of skull, an animal bone pin and two possible knife handles. The only remaining bone artefact is a rough-out for an animal bone pin (924) from an indeterminate layer outside of the roundhouse at South Shields.

It is unsurprising that no real contextual information can be drawn from the bone assemblages, given the acid soil conditions and extremely poor preservation throughout the region (see the discussion of animal bones in Chapter Two). It is safe to say that there is virtually no evidence for deposition of human remains in an organized fashion on or even near settlements. The skull/s and related artefacts at Stanwick (see below) are apparently unique. Apart from them, the only evidence located for human remains on settlement sites are two teeth from Phase III at Thorpe Thewles (Heslop 1987, p. 107). Their condition is not remarked upon, but it may be noted that these need not indicate death, only toothache.

Compound

The only 'compound' object noted was the sword scabbard (897) from Wheeler's excavations at Stanwick (Wheeler 1954). This was deposited in a ditch terminal along with a number of other objects. Given this isolated incidence of compound material it is difficult to draw any conclusions from this.

Wood and Organics

Wood and other organic artefacts are not well represented in the assemblage. Only four artefacts, somewhere in the region of 0.4% of the assemblage, are represented. These are all from Mortimer Wheeler's excavations and Stanwick and side from an oaken bowl (911), all are artefacts in the loosest sense. Two are shaped wooden planks of birch and oak (913; 914), presumably forming part of a gate structure or support for the posited war trophy which adorned it and provided the skull and sword found in the same context (Wheeler 1954), whilst the other is a fragment or fragments of basketwork of mixed willow and hazel.

The bowl is an interesting deposit as it appears to have had an organic covering, secured by nails to at least one side of the vessel (Wheeler 1954) and this indication of a prepared offering might further the suggestion that the skull (see above) was a very deliberate placement in that ditch, making the only confirmed deliberate deposition of human remains in the region for this period.

Individually these tell us little we would not presume, that wood was used for vessels, structures and basketry. The quality of the work, with regards to the oaken bowl and the basketry, is notable and there are a few other examples in the region worth discussing more anecdotally below.

Hazel is shown to be a significant resource not only be the basketwork by by the hazelnut shells found (see Chapter Three) at six of sites discussed in Chapter Three, making it the most commonly found food remain which was not a cereal grain. Birch is relatively well represented in this fragmentary record as well. In addition to the timber at Stanwick, there is poorly contexted evidence from Forcegarth Pasture North for 'worked' birch bark, worked in the sense that it had been pierced in a regular fashion for sewing (Fairless and Coggins 1980, p. 37). Even more evocative is the unique impression of a birch leaf from a potsherd at Brough Law (Jobey 1971). Whilst this may not have been deliberate, it certainly cannot have gone unnoticed to the user.

Leather is entirely unrepresented in the pre-Roman assemblage from the region.

Other Aspects

Imports

It has been shown above that the new material culture of the first centuries AD, such as glass rings and imported ceramics and jewelry, are by and large not deposited or treated in special ways in and of themselves, and there is no overwhelming pattern amongst these new objects in depositional terms. They are incorporated into existing depositional regimes. This indicates that the practices of indigenous communities were both strong and fluid, adapting new materials and objects into pre-existing structures rather than rejecting new material culture or changing around it.

'Transitional Objects'

Several types of object and material have been noted to receive preferential deposition in boundary deposits both within the region under discussion and further afield. Hingley (1990; 2006) has noted the prevalence of Iron Age 'currency bars' in ditches in the south of Britain, whilst quernstones are frequently noted to be located in ditch deposits (Hingley 1992Willis 1999, p. 99; Proctor 2009, p. 89). One aspect which connects these types of items and boundaries is the idea of transitions, in both querns turning corn into flour, iron bars as a stage between smelting and initial forging and the creation of specific tools, and boundaries as transitions between places, territories and perhaps concepts of spatial awareness (see Chapter Five).

Material otherwise related to metalworking and such transformative processes also has no clear pattern. As discussed above, industrial debris appeared to be genuine debris. Industrial ceramics were so rarely found that a pattern is difficult to establish, but the tuyere fragments from Pit A at Burradon (placed at the northern side of the entrance to a disused roundhouse), discussed in more detail below, show that the suggestion of an association of transitional materials with entrances and boundaries is worth continued assessment even though it is not statistically supported by this dataset.

Somewhat surprisingly, the results of this study have been contrary to these suggestions. Neither type of quern is most commonly found within ditches or boundaries, particularly not ditches, gullies or other negative boundaries. Saddle querns are far more likely to come from structures, presumably reused as packing or building material. The more common rotary querns are more likely to be found within structures or floors than in boundary contexts, and nearly as likely to be found upon outdoor surfaces.

It is difficult to account for the prevalence in the literature of the idea of querns deposited in boundary contexts compared with the quantified evidence discussed here. It should be noted as well that Proctor's (2009) comments about the Pegswood Moor assemblage remain entirely true, the assemblage from that site does contain a higher than usual amount of querns from boundary contexts, but the conventional wisdom as referenced by Willis is not supported.

It may be that the most likely explanation is the 'impact' upon the excavator of uncovering a quernstone in a ditch feature rather than amongst a tumble, layer or wall of stones.

Special and Structured Deposits

Several commentators have noted (Willis 1999; Pope 2003a; Proctor 2009) that structured deposition as identified by Hill (1995) is beginning to be recognized as a feature of the Iron Age archaeology of Northern England. This is difficult to discern for two reasons. First is the small scale nature of all deposition as demonstrated here. Secondly is the tendency for deposition to occur in more 'open' contexts, such as floors or within walling rather than in pits (though see Willis 1999, p. 96, where it is noted that Haselgrove's excavations in Tofts Field Stanwick St. John are an exception to this general rule). This makes these small deposits themselves less bounded and more susceptible to disturbance or lack of recognition.

Despite these difficulties, there are still several contexts which appear to be the focus of ritual deposition in a significant location. These have been identified tentatively, examining closed deposits within features which are in a significant location within the settlement and appear to receive an unusual amount or type of material. This is a more specific definition than Pope's consideration of 'odd deposits' as 'those non-functional deposits — according to modern functionalist principles — those most readily identifiable as being involved in ritual deposition practices' (Pope 2003a, p. 73), but is more applicable to a settlement-wide investigation rather than her specific focus on structures.

There are two examples of apparently complex pit depositions. The most widely discussed occurred at Burradon (Jobey 1970) and consisted of two pits (referred to as A and B, northern and southern respectively, by Jobey) cut into the northern and southern termini of the gully surrounding an east facing house. Though the context is less than entirely secure – it appears that these were cut after the abandonment of the structure and at least Pit A was disturbed by medieval ploughing – Jobey's suggestion that they are much later pits filled with residual material and placed due to the easier digging within the old gully does not seem tenable given the extensive work on elaboration and marking of boundaries and transitions and I agree with Willis (1999, p. 96) that these represent perhaps the clearest example of structured pit deposition in the region.

Pit A contained an entirely ceramic assemblage, with 42 sherds of indigenous ceramics, three sherds of amphora, three sherds of Roman coarseware and six fragments of industrial ceramics. The assemblage from Pit B was less dramatic, with only five fragments of indigenous ceramics.

At Pegswood Moor near Morpeth, 'House 7' was unusual in apparently displaying dual west and east facing entrances and a central pit; large by local standards at about a meter in diameter. This contained a small potsherd and burnt material including bone, charcoal and heather remains. It was noted that the nature of the fills was 'indicative of repeated and episodic deposition' (Proctor 2009, p. 15).

Additionally, though the excavations from Melsonby remain in press Willis (1999, p. 97) notes another example of complex pit deposition, in this case also centred on the former gully surrounding a roundhouse, though diametrically opposite the entrance rather than associated with it. The pit contained ceramic remains including briquetage and amphora fragments.

Many of the pit contexts contain a single fragment of a ceramic vessel or a fragment of quern, but on the whole these are difficult to interpret and often not in notably significant locations, given the uncertainty surrounding settlement and structure layout at times. Hingley (2006) has identified incidents of structured deposition of single iron artefacts when patterns are extremely strong, but this patterning is difficult to positively identify in a region with so few closed deposits. There are two examples illustrated here however which demonstrate apparent single artefact deposition in significant locations which are perhaps the best, most definite examples of a structured deposit in a closed context.

One of these is the north entranceway posthole of Kennel Hall Knowe's timber built house 2. This contained three sherds of indigenous ceramics, possibly but not definitely from the same vessel and not refitting. As seen above, this is higher than usual for a pot or posthole and it's location at the entrance can be seen as marking a boundary, and no artefacts were recovered from this features' southern counterpart (see Chapter Five for more on the significance of boundaries and transitions)

The other standout example is the iron adze deposited in a post hole in the western area of the roundhouse at South Shields, the only example of an iron artefact other than nails deposited in a pit or post-hole in the material reviewed. This area of the roundhouse has been noted to contain the majority of the artefactual deposition and it appears this is a clear case of deliberate deposition within a house context, potentially at the end of its' use-life. This echoes the pit from Tofts Field discussed above in orientation relative to the entrance, but interestingly it is 'indoors' rather than in the surrounding gully.

Conclusion

This discussion has shown that specific 'ritual' deposition in closed features was at times a part of the depositional regime of the indigenous communities discussed here, though in a less elaborate form than many other parts of the country. Indeed, it is probable that the apparent lack of special or structured deposits relates more to the scale of those deposits; the deposition of a single artefact in a post hole may be an action with as much 'structure' it it as a complex series of pit fills, but this is not apparent to the excavator.

It is interesting that with the exception of the unusual deposit at South Shields, all the examples given here date to the Roman Iron Age. The detail in which older excavations were recorded may make these comparatively subtle deposits difficult to locate in the literature, but recent excavations such as at Pegswood Moor have been able to define potential examples more carefully, and it is hoped that this look at the depositional patterns in the north-east will assist in identifying these 'special' deposits in future.

Passive Rituals of Deposition

The introduction to this chapter discussed the importance of deposition as a ritual of community bonding and of marking time, but this study has shown that in most cases deposition in the north-eastern Iron Age is taking place on a small scale, generally item by item, and generally in more open contexts such as amongst floors. In examining the patterns above, the idea was introduced of passive depositional rituals; in other words, the cultural material may be accepted and included in and on these floors, particularly at the end of the useful life of the space, as opposed to a specific intentional, active, deposition such as in a negative feature which is filled or the packing of a post-hole. The *presence* of this material may be seen as significant in marking time, community and place; perhaps even more significant than the *act* of it's placement there.

There is some precedence for this suggestion. Chapman, discussing the Neo- and Chalcolithic Balkans, proposes as an alternative to the dichotomy of inactive rubbish and culturally active artefacts …'[o]ne alternative is that objects produced and utilized within the household not only during the 'life-spans' of those objects but also when they have been deposited' (Chapman 2000b, p. 63). This is the essential basis of my suggestion of passive deposition, though with the scale of the undertaking diminished significantly from the Balkan pit and tell deposits which Chapman is discussing, until it is simply a matter of objects or object fragments being incorporated into the fabric of structures or surfaces and continuing to be socially relevant to the community by their presence. The incorporation of these artefacts into the built fabric may be the result of active intent to do so or it may be the result of accepted accidents. By this I mean that loss or breakage was perhaps considered a fitting end to the useful life of some objects and a signal that it was an acceptable time for them or fragments of them to become trodden into floors or fall between hearthstones. Such a concept very much blurs the line between intention and accident, with intentional acceptance of the unpredictable, and whilst it seems unusual and difficult to define it is also an understandable human response and can explain some of the unusual depositional aspects of this assemblage more fully than a loss/discard dichotomy.

It has been suggested in Chapter Three that permanence was not a highly valued material or social quality in artefacts, specifically ceramics. In this practice of passive deposition, it may be the that the life cycle of artefacts has a greater symbolism and/or social purpose than the permanence of material objects to help transfer ideas across generations, arguing again for smaller groups who were able to confidently transmit traditions orally or through other means and were not seeking to demonstrate or express wider spatial or temporal connections through material culture.

Discussion

This investigation has reviewed and analysed the contexted material culture of the region in question on two levels, the presence and absence of material and the specific context of its deposition.

On the larger scale level of simple presence and absence of materials and objects assemblage, there are several key points to note which will become vital in the following chapter. The most important of these is the appearance of a high degree of economic independence, with extensive evidence for onsite metalworking, onsite pottery production (see chapter three) and localised quern production. On the whole it appears that little material on these settlements was imported from outside the community, either from within or without the region.

This pattern of economic independence is reinforced by the occasional presence of objects imported from outside the region or from distant parts of the region, such as the Water of Ayr whetstone or the briquetage found on sites throughout the Tees Valley and the Northumberland Coastal Plain and by the low level presence of Roman material on many of the settlements discussed. This demonstrates clearly that whilst loose social networks were widespread enough to make the trade of objects over long distances and across communities viable and possible, it was not frequently engaged in. This cannot but be seen as a deliberate decision on the part of the communities in question, showing that the the local community was of more significance and importance in terms of resource allocation that the reinforcing of larger group bonds.

This is one of the few areas in which chronological variation is observable. Some sites in the Tees Valley and to a lesser extend the Northumberland Coastal Plain grew more economically engaged with wider networks in the Later and Roman Iron Ages (see above and Chapter Five). This is in part evidenced by a more enthusiastic takeup of new, imported material culture, the contextual patterns of deposition observed do not appear to show such chronological changes, though this is exceedingly difficult to quantify. Certainly in the few examples of more clearly identifiable 'structured deposition' discussed above, there does not appear to be a chronological focus.

A secondary but notable point raised in simply cataloguing the material present is the predominance on sites other than Stanwick St. John of Roman coarse pottery forms closely resembling the jar forms used in the indigenous ceramic tradition, suggesting that these newly available ceramics were being incorporated into an existing tradition, unlike the fineware forms which have no apparent ceramic parallels in the pre-Roman period and have a different depositional signature, discussed further below.

It is clear that there are serious flaws with assessing the presence and absence of material– as J.D. Hill has said, 'what material is recovered is not a direct reflection of their original abundance.' (Hill 1995, p. 125). However, it is considered here that given the difficulty of identifying and recording a defined dataset of material culture within the vast and differentially recorded potential assemblage, the opportunity should be taken to explore the material culture assemblage at this scale whilst being aware of the potential difficulties in interpretation.

With regard to the trends in specific contextual deposition within the assemblage, the key finding was the confirmation of the lack of larger scale deposition of objects which can be taken as clear evidence of larger scale depositional ritual, which could be seen as bonding opportunities for larger groups. It has, however, been seen that forms of 'structured deposition' similar to Later Iron Age practice in other parts of the country can be demonstrated throughout the region. Indeed, it appears that some form of intentional deposition can be suspected for nearly all artefacts recovered, though in many cases this may be a question of deliberate incorporation of small amounts of material into built social spaces or boundaries. In these cases the continued presence of the artefacts was functioning to reinforce the presence of the community within the settlement rather than a more elaborate deposition within a feature serving to reenforce larger social ties.

In the main there were two distinct patterns in the deposition of material, discounting the unique pattern observed in industrial debris which is suggestive of genuine discard. The most common of these patterns shows a distinct trend (discounting unstratified material, discussed below) towards deposition in structures and boundaries, in other words within built features which define areas and presumably groups. This can be said to be the dominant pattern in the assemblage. In some areas this pattern is variable, as with Roman coarseware which broadly conforms, but is less focused on boundaries than indigenous ceramics but more than Roman finewares, perhaps reflecting a liminal status for imported objects being incorporated into existing traditions.

The second of these patterns applies to a more restricted set of objects and materials. Objects of shale and other exotic stones, lead, iron and glass as well as Roman finewares, potentially some specialist coarsewares, spindle whorls, stone discs and whetstones all appear to have deposition patterns that focus around floors, structures and outdoor pavements and activity areas rather than boundaries and structure fabric. It seems then that these items, which as a group may be more readily identified with individuals or sub-community groups such as families than with the larger community identity, are being deposited in such a manner to re-inforce those smaller ties and mark space on a more intimate scale.

Common to both these trends is the prevalence of deposition of material within the built environment rather than in special depositional features, which reinforces the importance of the examples given above of structured deposition within discrete cut features.

Unstratified material predominates in most categories. Though it is difficult to comment on most of this material, it is worth noting that these mostly come from disturbed areas of topsoil and it is unlikely that the artefacts in question were deposited in closed, cut contexts contexts and are unlikely to represent a group of artefacts which, if undisturbed, would have challenged the patterns seen here. Many of them may indeed not ever have been contexted and disturbed, but simply never entered secure contexts.

The idea of 'passive deposition' has been suggested as an explanation for some of the trends in deposition in insecure contexts, upon/within floors and surfaces, as well as perhaps within building or enclosure walls. It is likely that for the most part this depositional tradition was very individual and the boundary between what we might identify as passive, deliberate or accidental deposition was fluid and personal, both on individual and community scales

Summary

This chapter has investigated the social manipulation of material culture, the archaeological remains which Chapman (2000b, p. 62) quite succinctly summarizes Barrett's (1988) concept of as 'the surviving fragments of those recursive media through which most social practices were constructed.' Analysis of the types of artefacts recorded demonstrates a high degree of economic independence on these settlements, with much of the material locally sourced and artefacts locally produced. If we consider that there is a vastly different relationship between 'life assemblage' and the artefactual record in this region that in most other parts of the country, as has been proposed in Chapter Three, this reinforces the conclusion that many material aspects of everyday life were very similar for inhabitants of the north-east and that the main difference in the archaeological record lies in the social manipulation and deposition of this material. Once again, this reinforces the supposition that the differences in the archaeological record for this area are due mainly to differences of the scale and priorities of the communities involved rather than a vast difference in the nature of the lived environment or economic and social dynamism compared to other parts of the islands.

In the deposition of these artefacts, it has been shown that there are two main patterns in the deposition, the main one demonstrating depositional focus on boundaries and structures for the most part, whilst some other artefacts that may relate more to individuals or sub-community groups such as spindle whorls or fineware drinking vessels show a tendency towards deposition on or within structures, floors and pavements.

Structured deposition is also demonstrable in some cases, and it is likely that all deposition occurred somewhere on the spectrum of structure, but it seems that the rituals of deposition were on a small scale befitting the small communities in question and it is rare to find deposition so elaborate that its organizing principles can be queried.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated how the manipulation, in this case specifically deposition, of socially active material culture operated with a high degree of intentionality and in ways that were not dissimilar to the better known Iron Age depositional traditions in other regions of Britain. In the north-east however, these deposits appear to be occurring on smaller and less archaeological visible scale. I would suggest that this is indicative of the fact that the small communities occupying the settlements in question were expressing through deposition a localized community identity which had a day-to-day presence, rather than bringing together a larger group for larger depositional activities such as seen in pits in southern Britain. These depositional rituals were geared towards expressing and marking community identity on a different and smaller scale. This in turn created a different archaeological record which has been considered problematic to interpret due to the often ephemeral and rare nature of the material culture involved.

The artefact assemblage also demonstrates that the communities occupying these settlements had a high degree of economic independence– the ceramics, querns and stonework and potentially much of the metalwork (as evidenced by the amount of industrial debris) was created very locally, potentially on site (see Chapter Three for discussion of on-site pottery production). Newer forms of material culture such a Roman ceramics or glass rings appear to be the main objects which would have been traded through networks, indicating that the social links which enabled such trade were present but were not a system of economic dependance.

As suggested in the more detailed assessment of ceramics in Chapter 3, it is likely that the decentralized nature of society in the area meant that this economic independence reflected the need for the community to maintain the social bonds, the idea of mutual aid which enabled the community to remain self reliant and this is the social logic behind the choices made in selecting predominantly locally sourced material even though it appears that social networks potentially enabling trade were in place.

Thus, the Iron Age communities of the north-east of England were engaged with practices, presumably reflecting at least in part a worldview, which were shared across the entire archipelago, but these practices were modified, frequently scaled down, to be relevant to the scale of the social structures of the region.

Bone	7
Ceramic	555
Compound	1
Exotic Stone	6
Glass	44
Industrial Debris	28
Metal	63
Stone	343
Wood	4

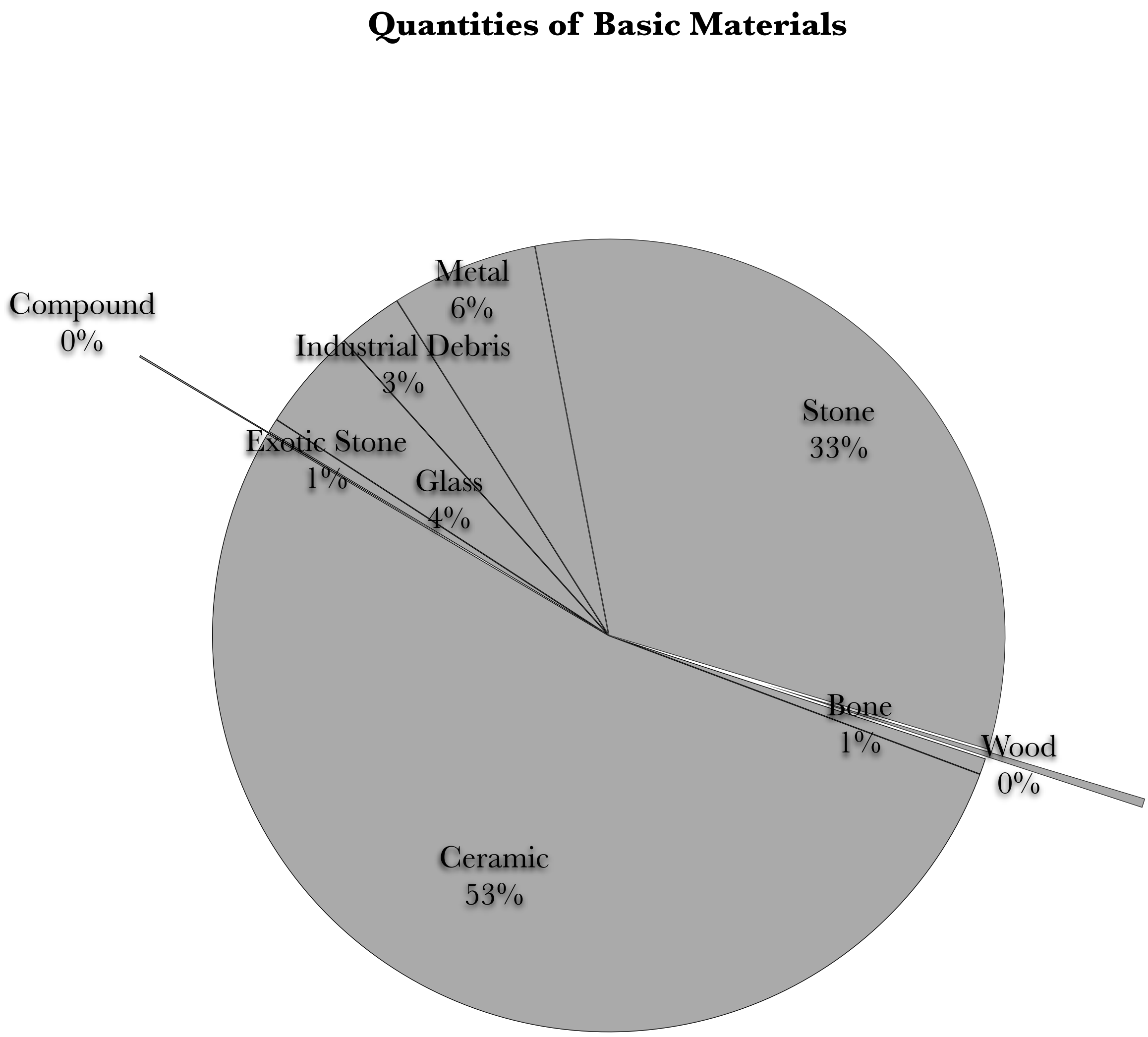

Figure 4.1: *Absolute and relative quantities of basic materials in the assemblage.*

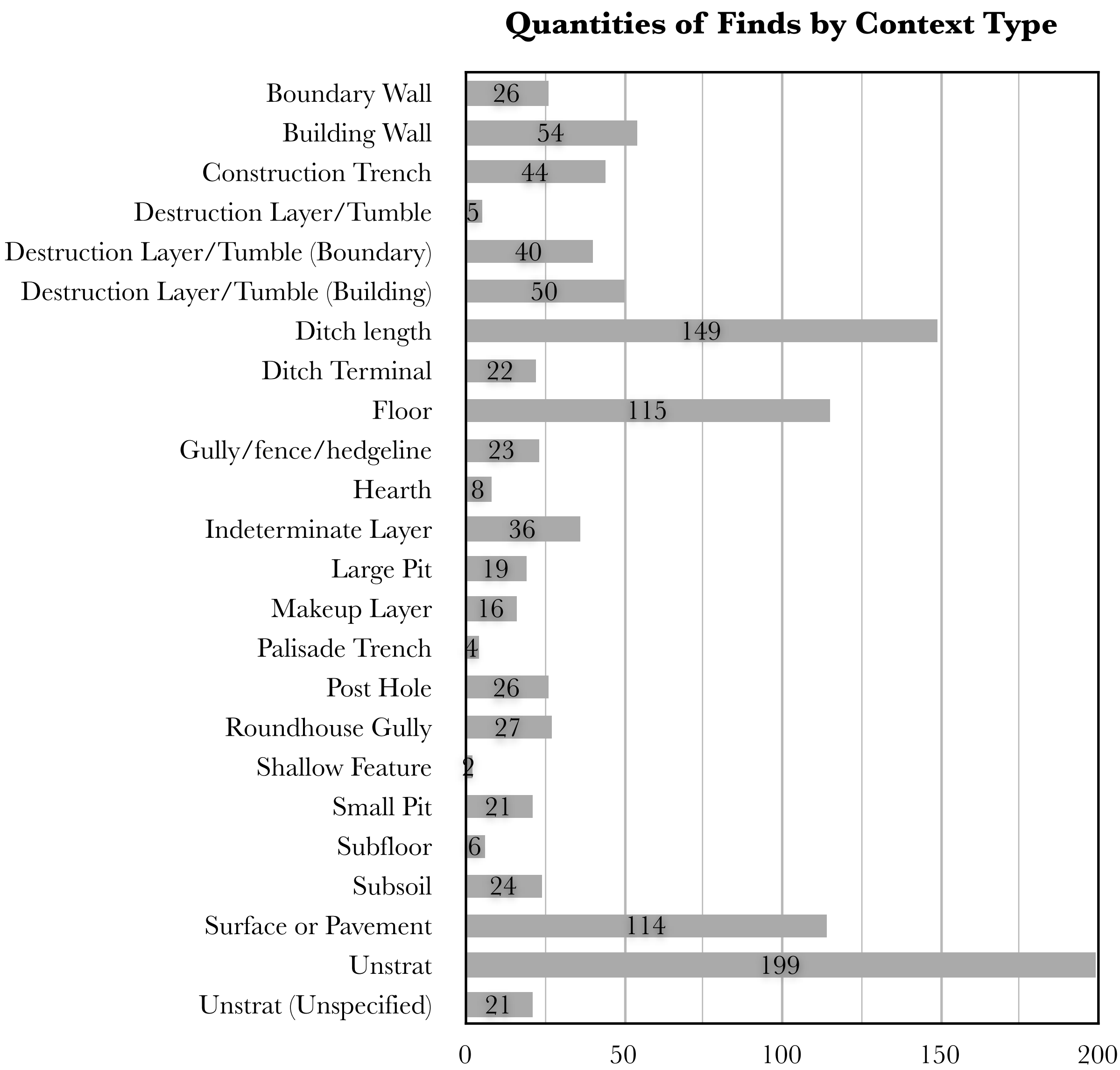

Figure 4.2: *Quantities of all finds by context type.*

Boundary	264
Floor	121
Hearth	8
Layer	81
Negative Feature	42
Structure	201
Surface	114
Unstratified	220

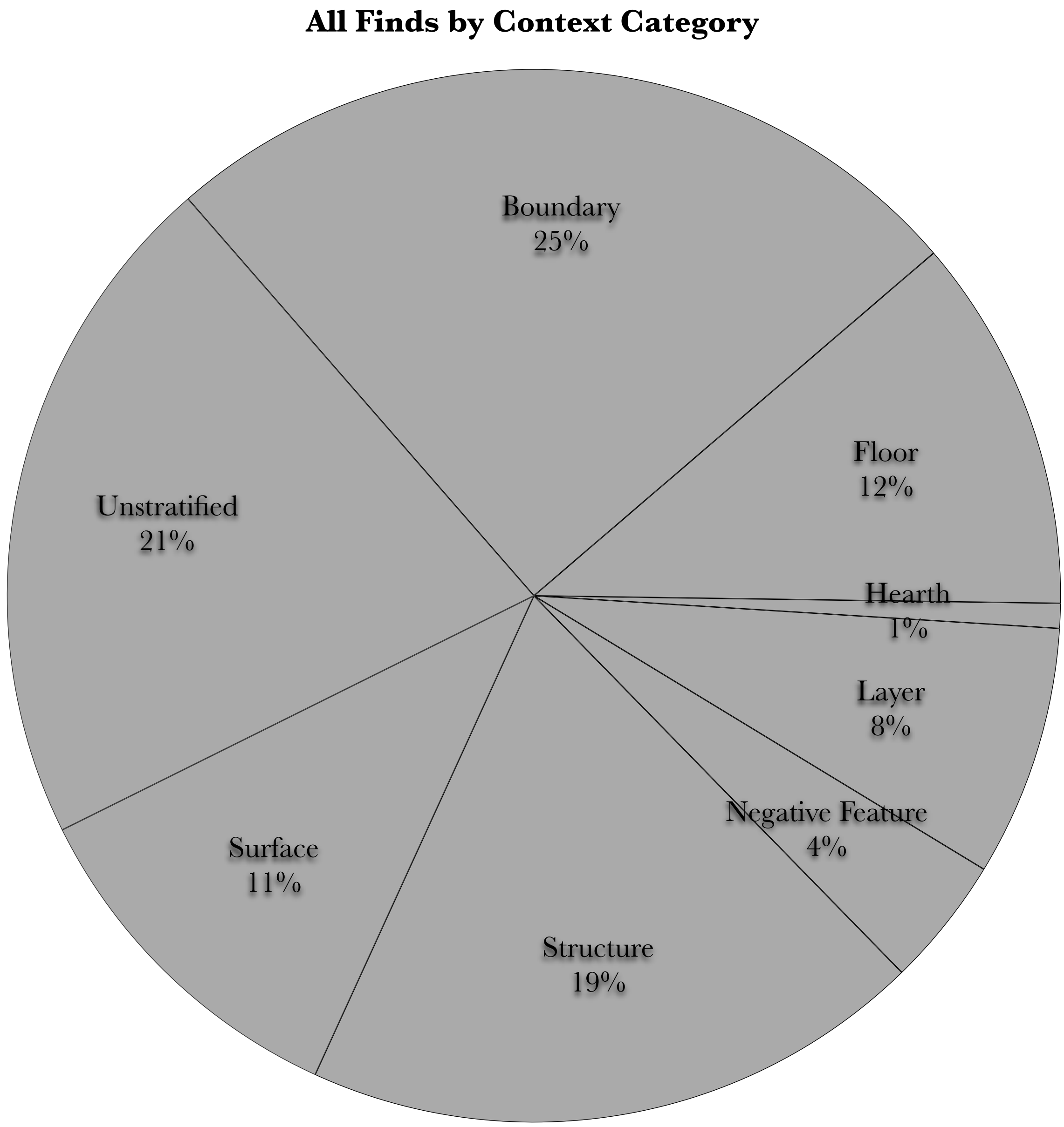

Figure 4.3: *Quantities of all finds by context category.*

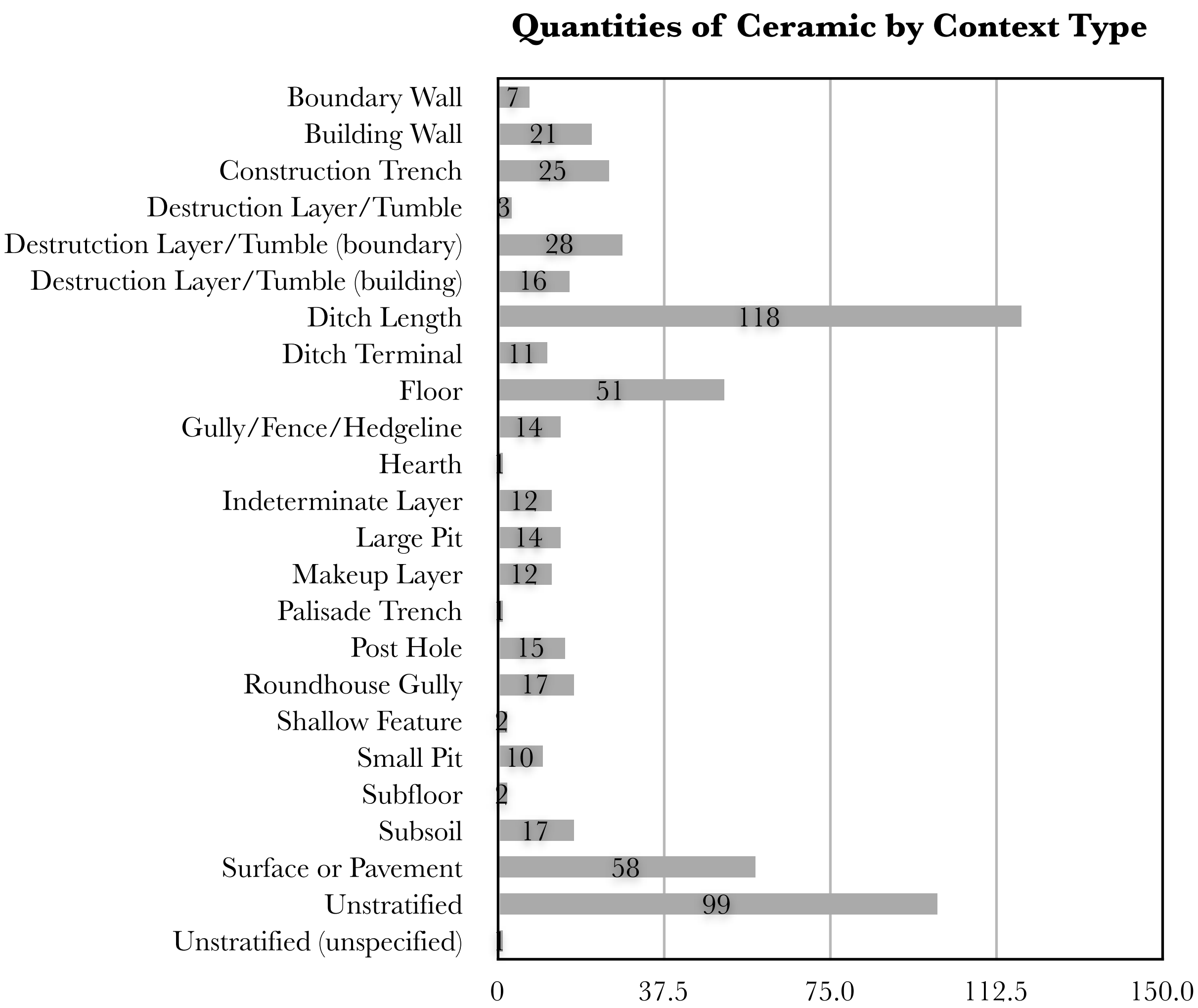

Figure 4.4: *Quantities of all ceramics by context type.*

Boundary	179
Structure	77
Layer	44
Floor	53
Hearth	1
Negative Feature	26
Construction	17
Surface	58
Unstrat	100

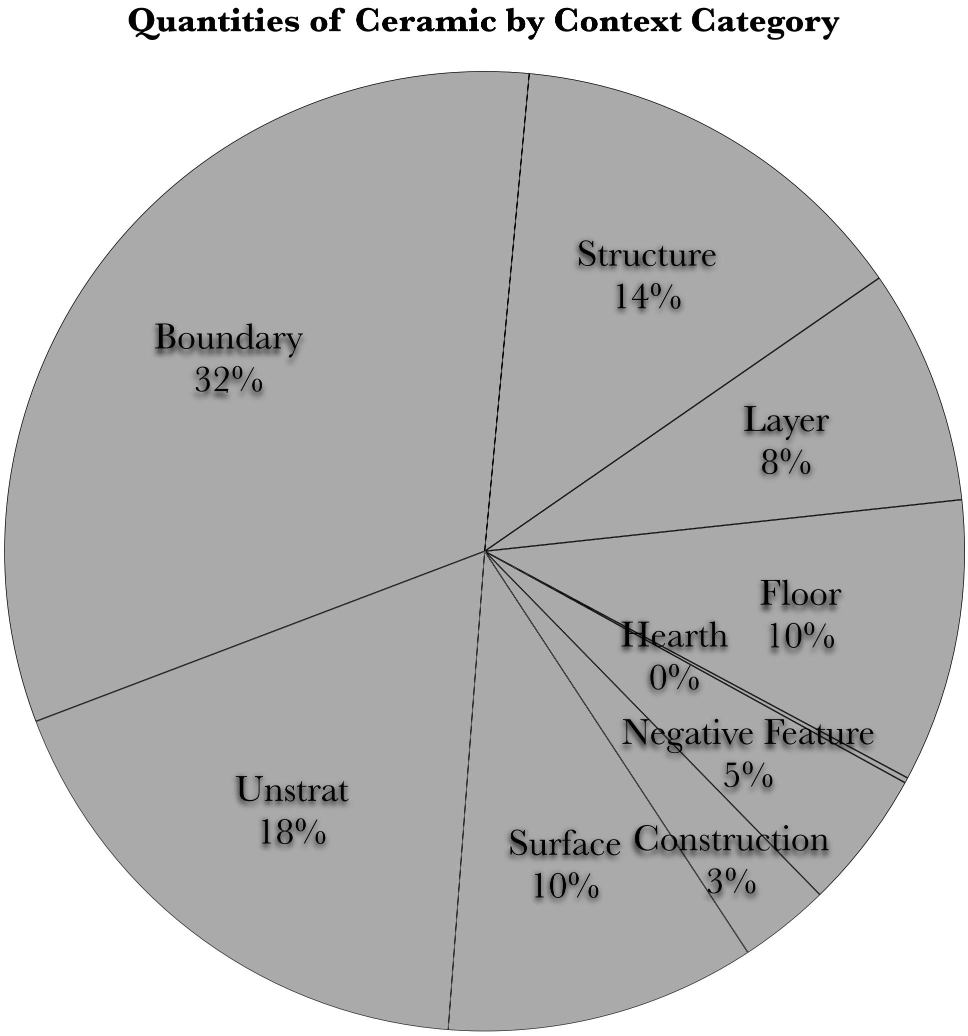

Figure 4.5: *Quantities of all ceramics by context category.*

Briquetage	3
Indigenous Tradition	319
Industrial Ceramics	3
Roman Coarseware	172
Roman Fineware	58

Relative Proportions of Specific Ceramic Materials

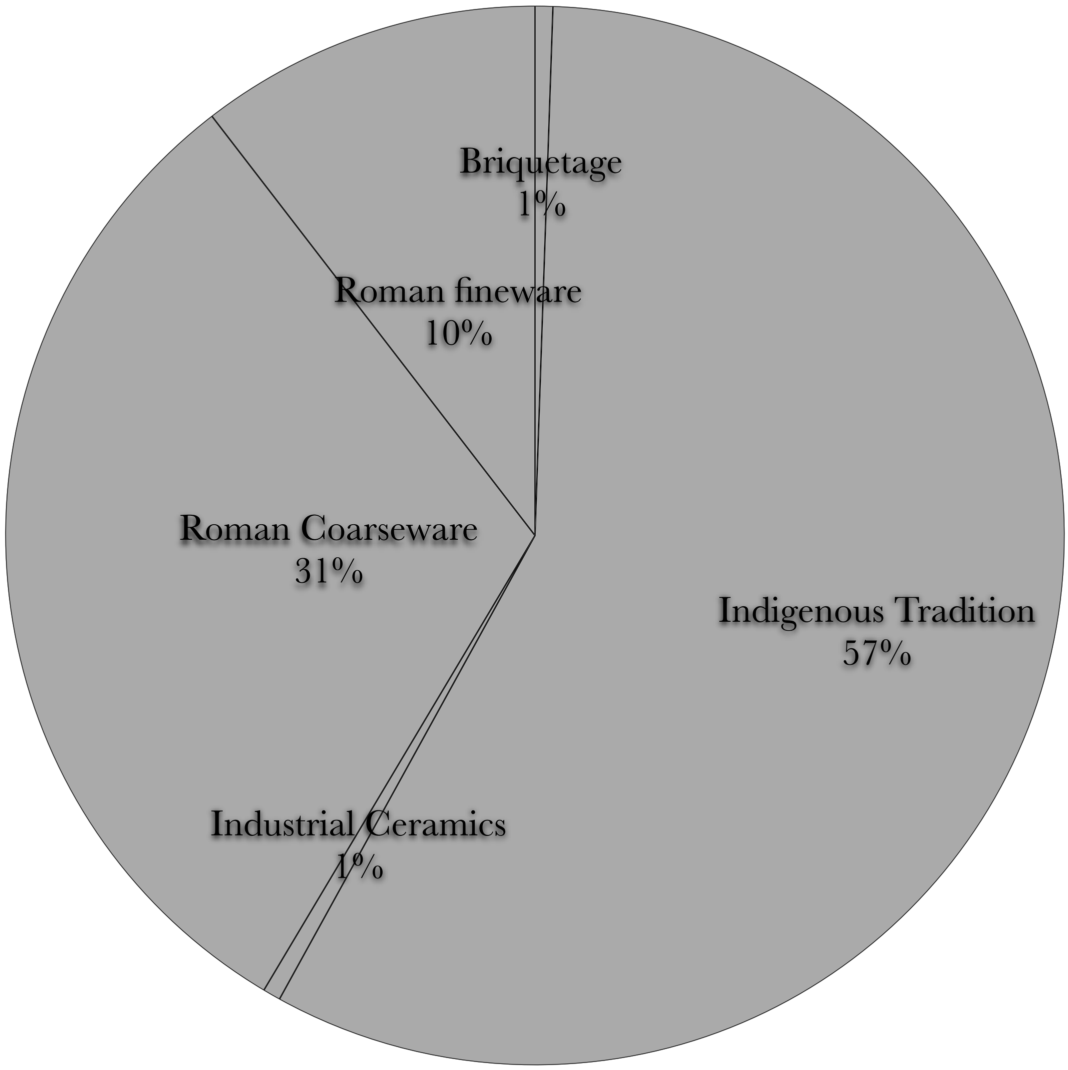

Figure 4.6: *Proportions of specific ceramic materials.*

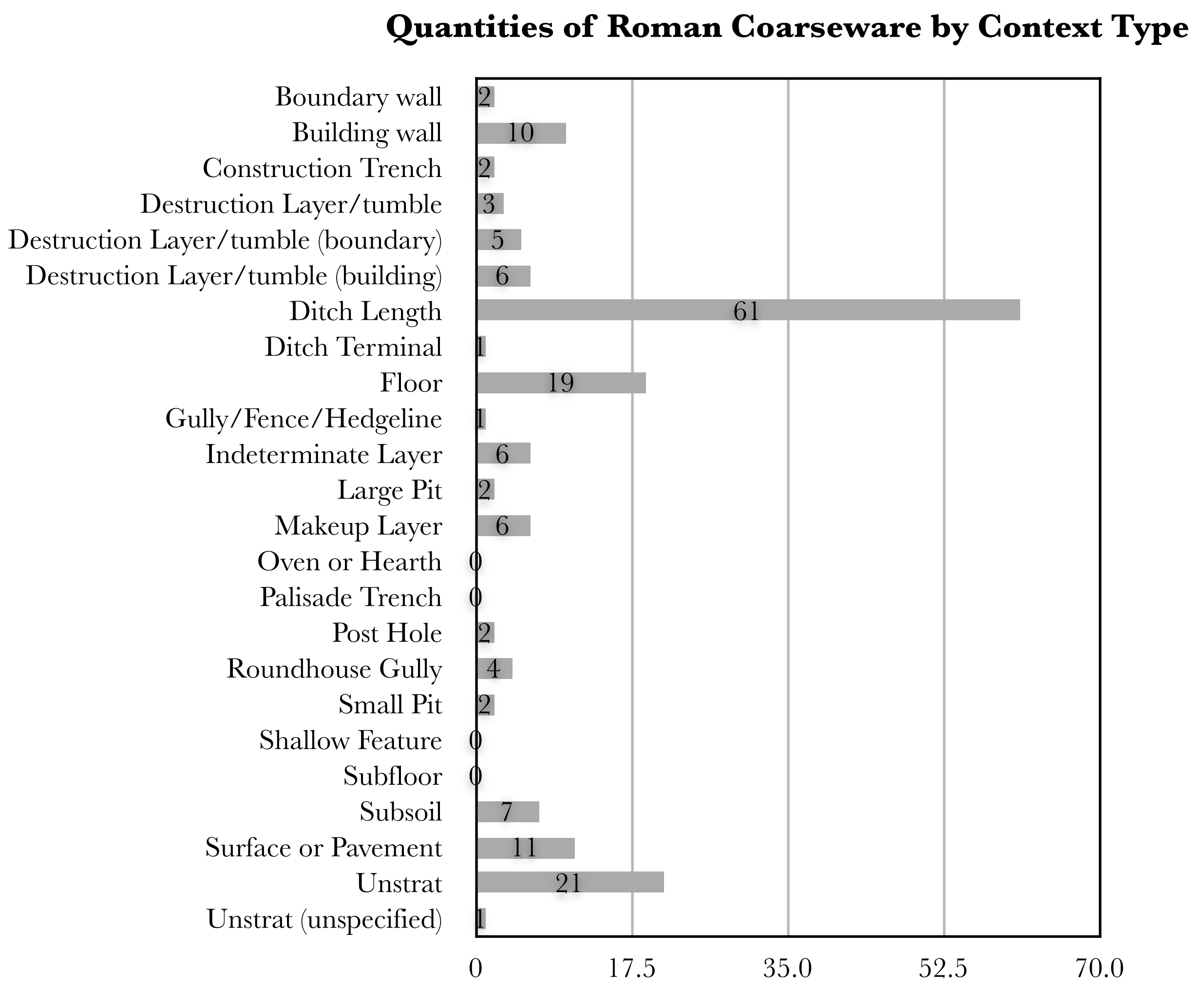

Figure 4.7: *Quantities of Roman coarseware by context type.*

Boundary	70
Structure	24
Layer	22
Floor	19
Negative Feature	4
Surface	11
Unstratified	22

Quantaties of Roman Coarseware by Context Category

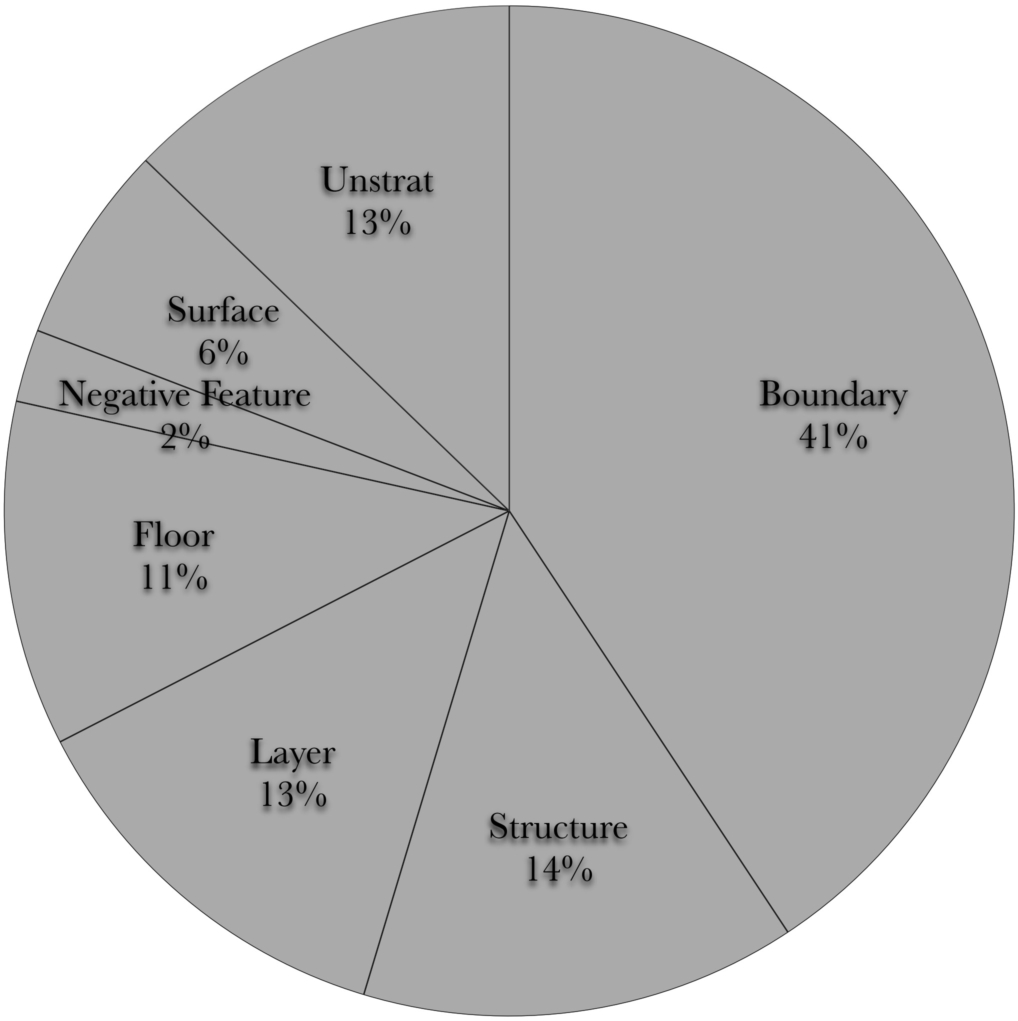

Figure 4.8: *Quantities of Roman coarseware by context category.*

Boundary	10
Structure	20
Layer	22
Floor	19
Negative Feature	4
Surface	11
Unstratified	20

Quantities of Roman Coarseware by Context Category Excluding the Stanwick Beaker Assemblage

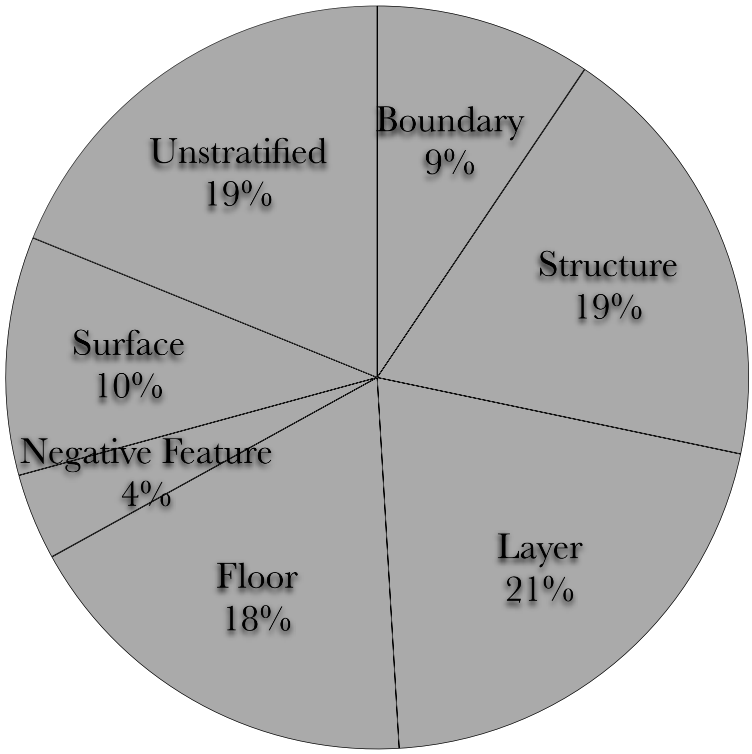

Figure 4.9: *Quantities of Roman coarseware by context category, excluding the Stanwick beaker assemblage.*

Flagon	16
Mortaria	5
Amphora	13
Beaker	55
Jar	83

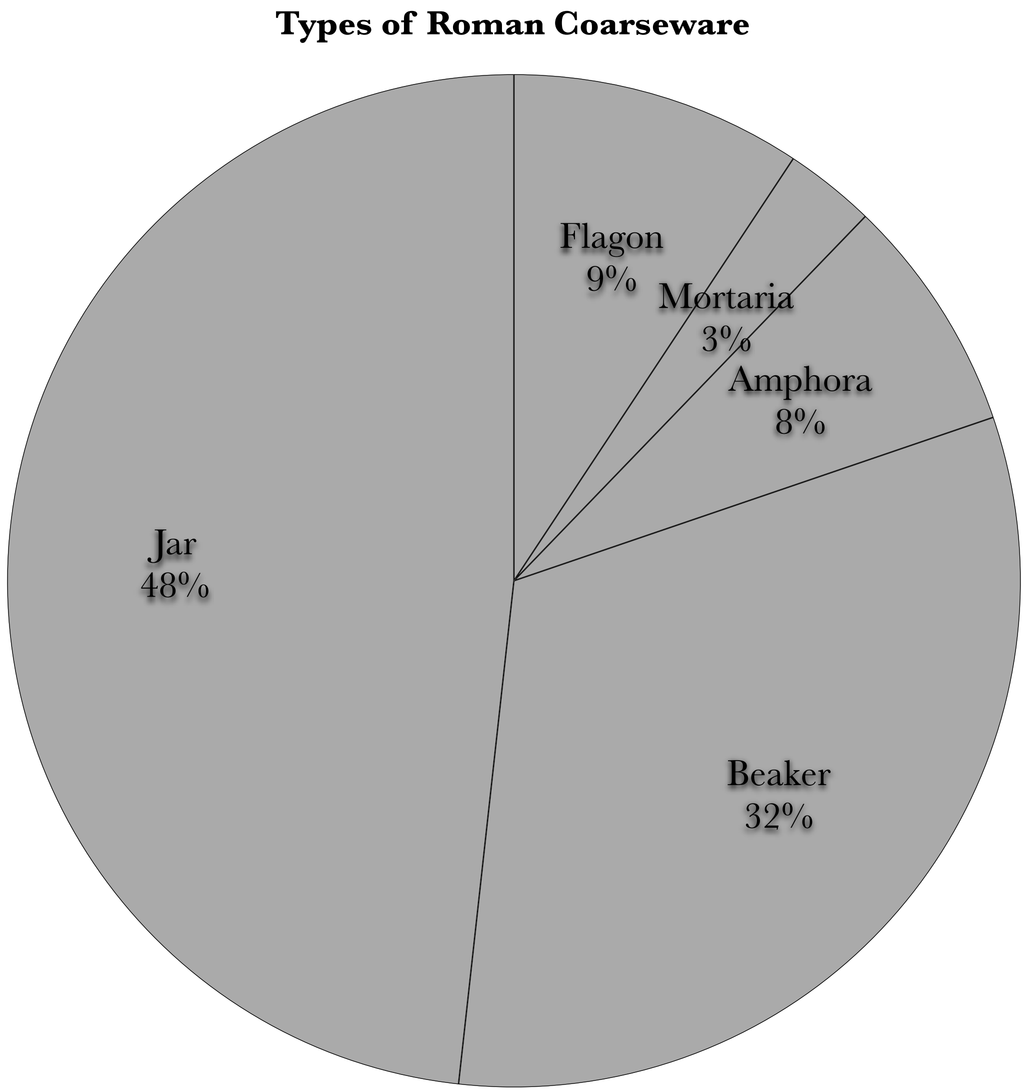

Figure 4.10: *Types of Roman coarseware*

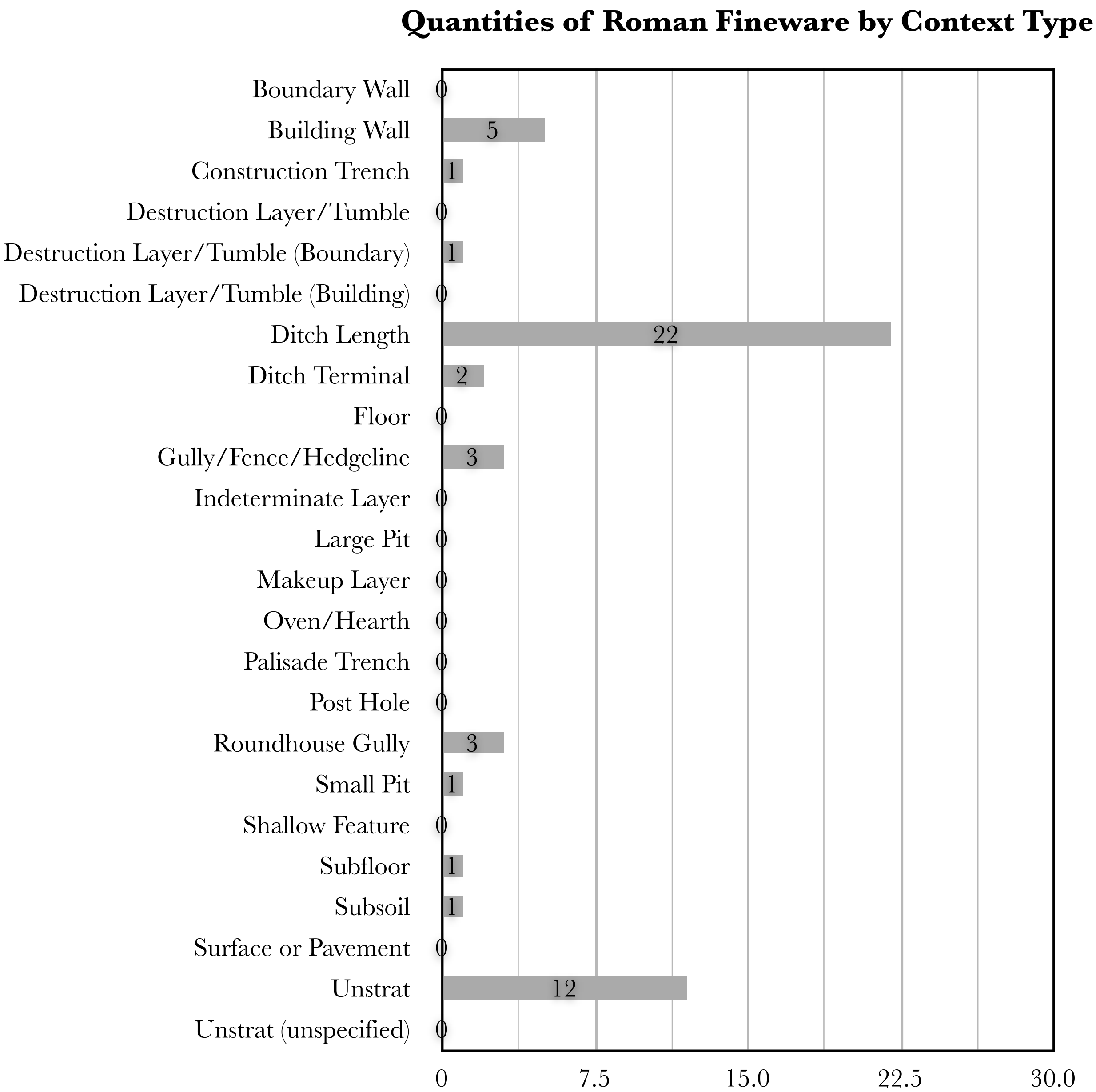

Figure 4.11: *Quantities of Roman fineware by context type..*

Structure	9
Boundary	28
Floor	7
Negative Feature	1
Layer	1
Unstratified	12

Quantities of Roman Fineware by Context Category

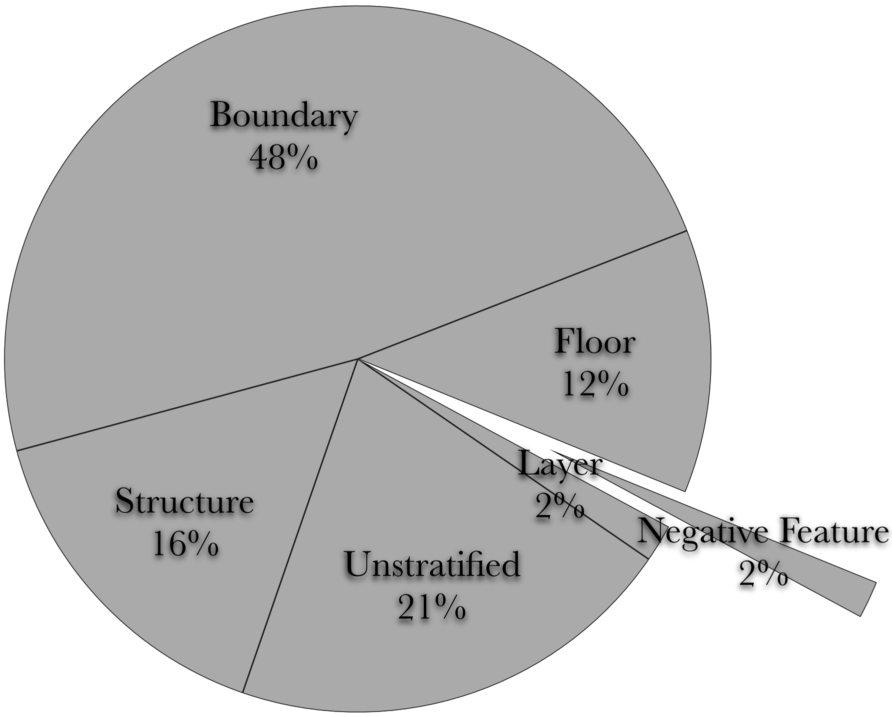

Figure 4.12: *Quantities of Roman fineware by context category..*

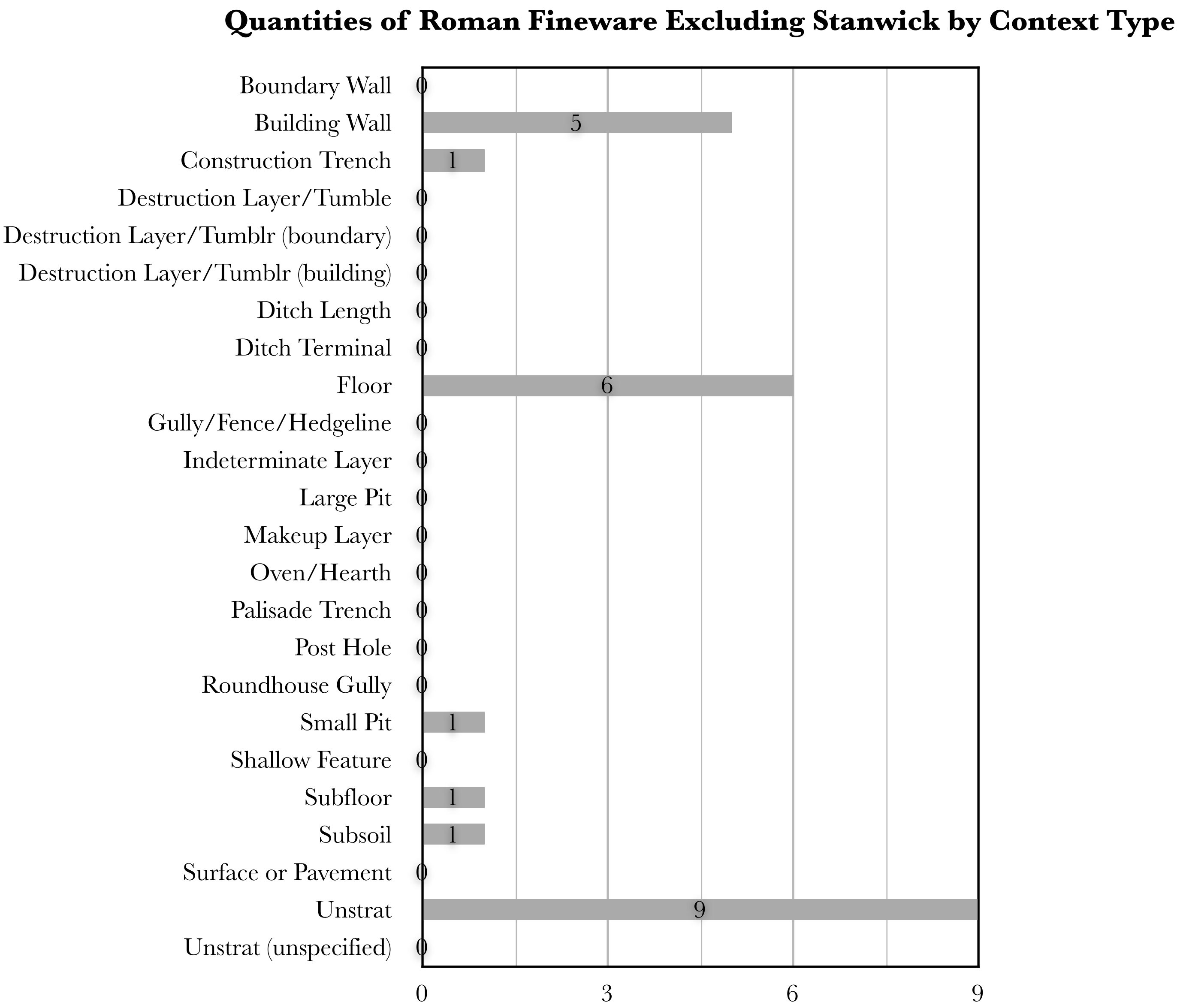

Figure 4.13: *Quantities of Roman fineware, excluding Stanwick, by context type..*

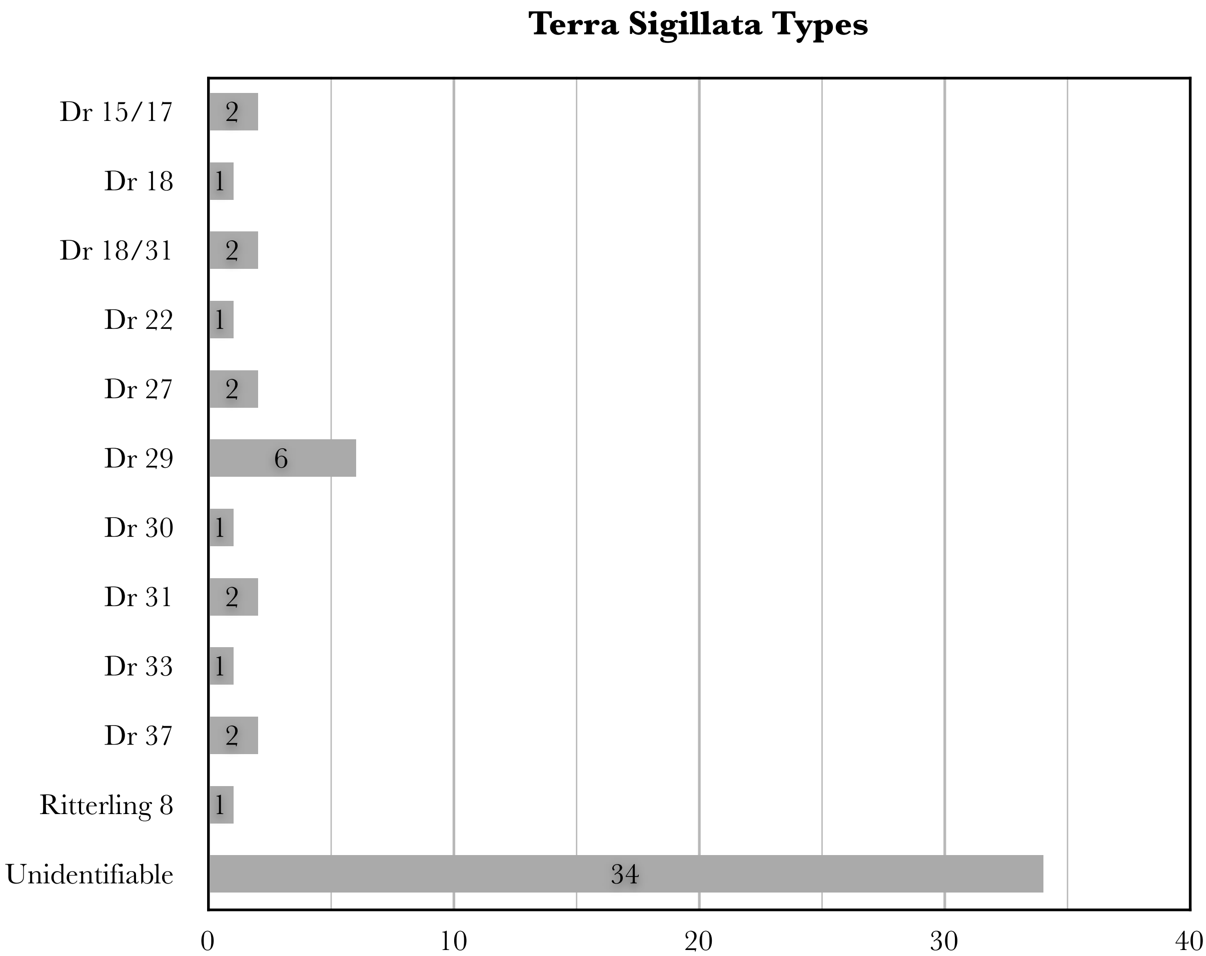

Figure 4.14: Terra Sigillata *forms present.*

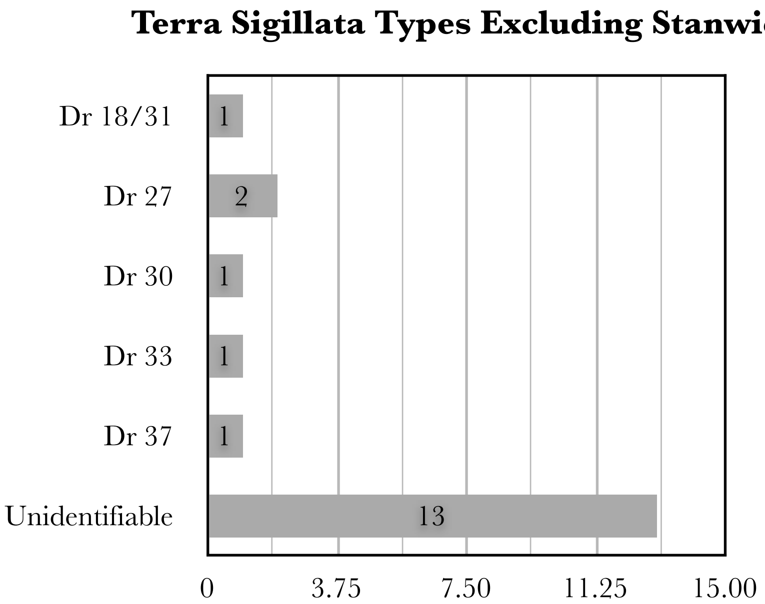

Figure 4.15: Terra Sigillata *forms present, excluding Stanwick.*

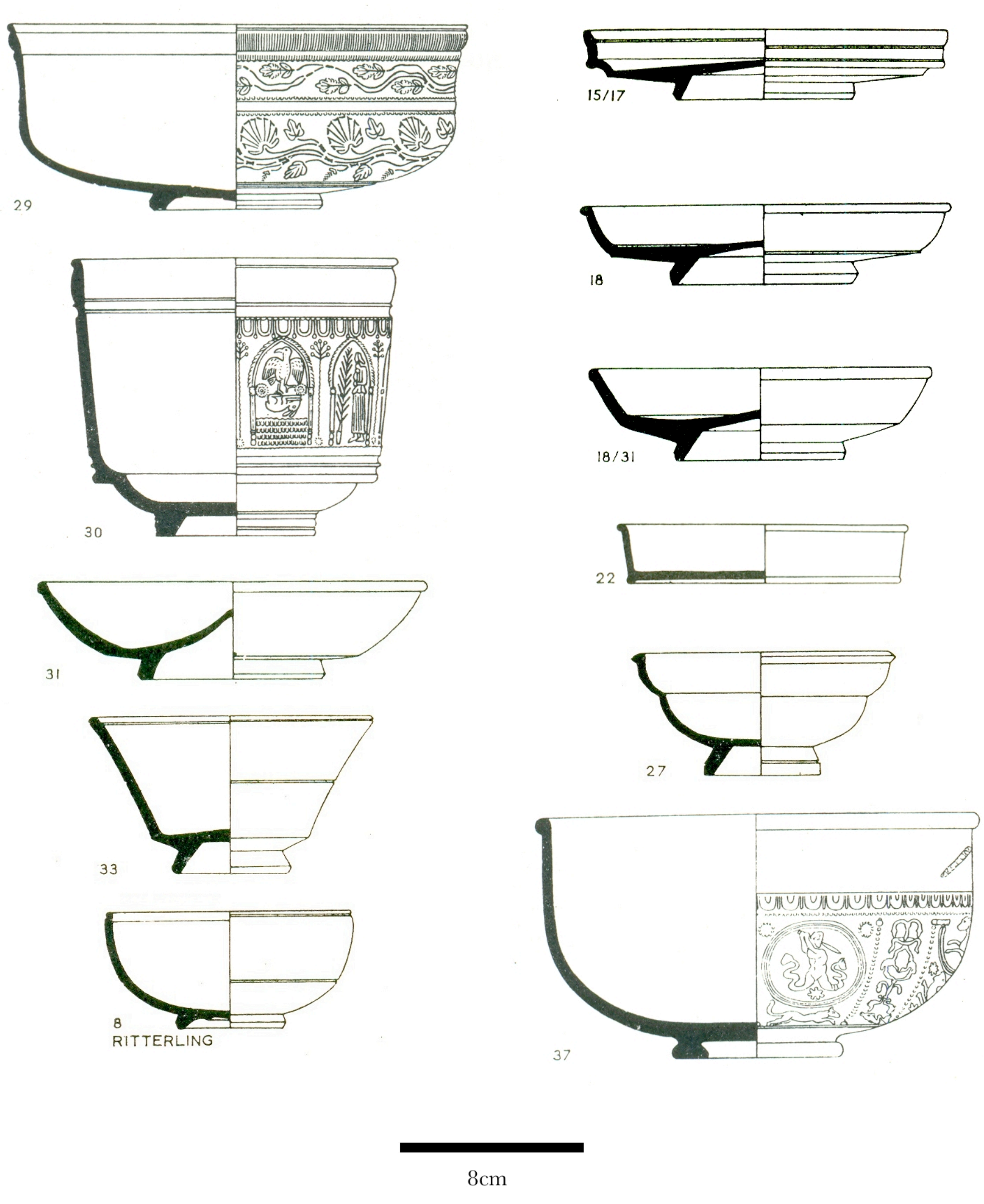

Figure 4.16: Terra Sigillata *forms mentioned (after Hartley 1970).*

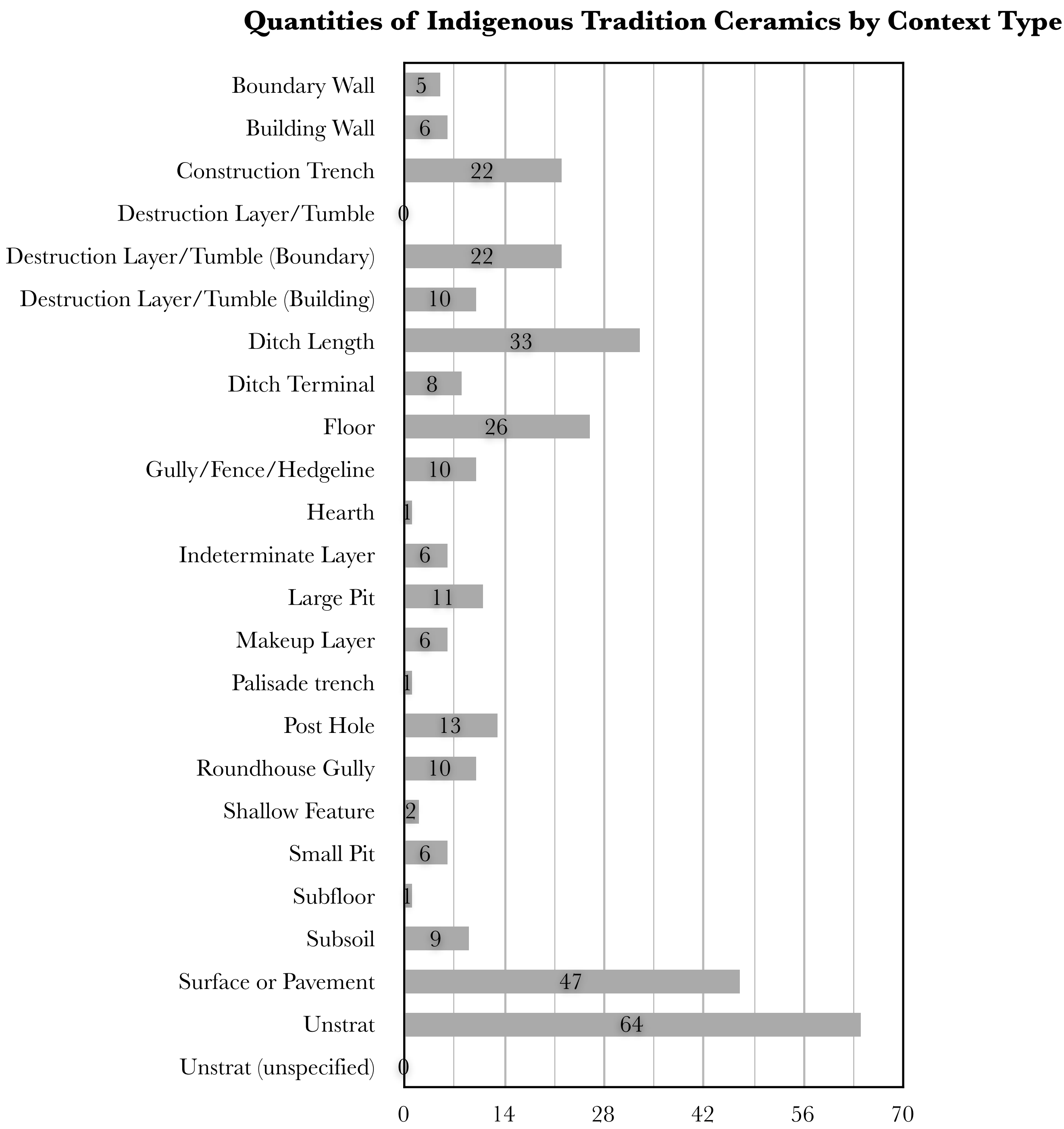

Figure 4.17: *Quantities of indigenous ceramics by context type..*

Boundary	79
Structure	48
Floor	27
Hearth	1
Layer	21
Negative Feature	32
Surface	47
Unstratified	64

Quantities of Indigenous Tradition Ceramics by Context Category

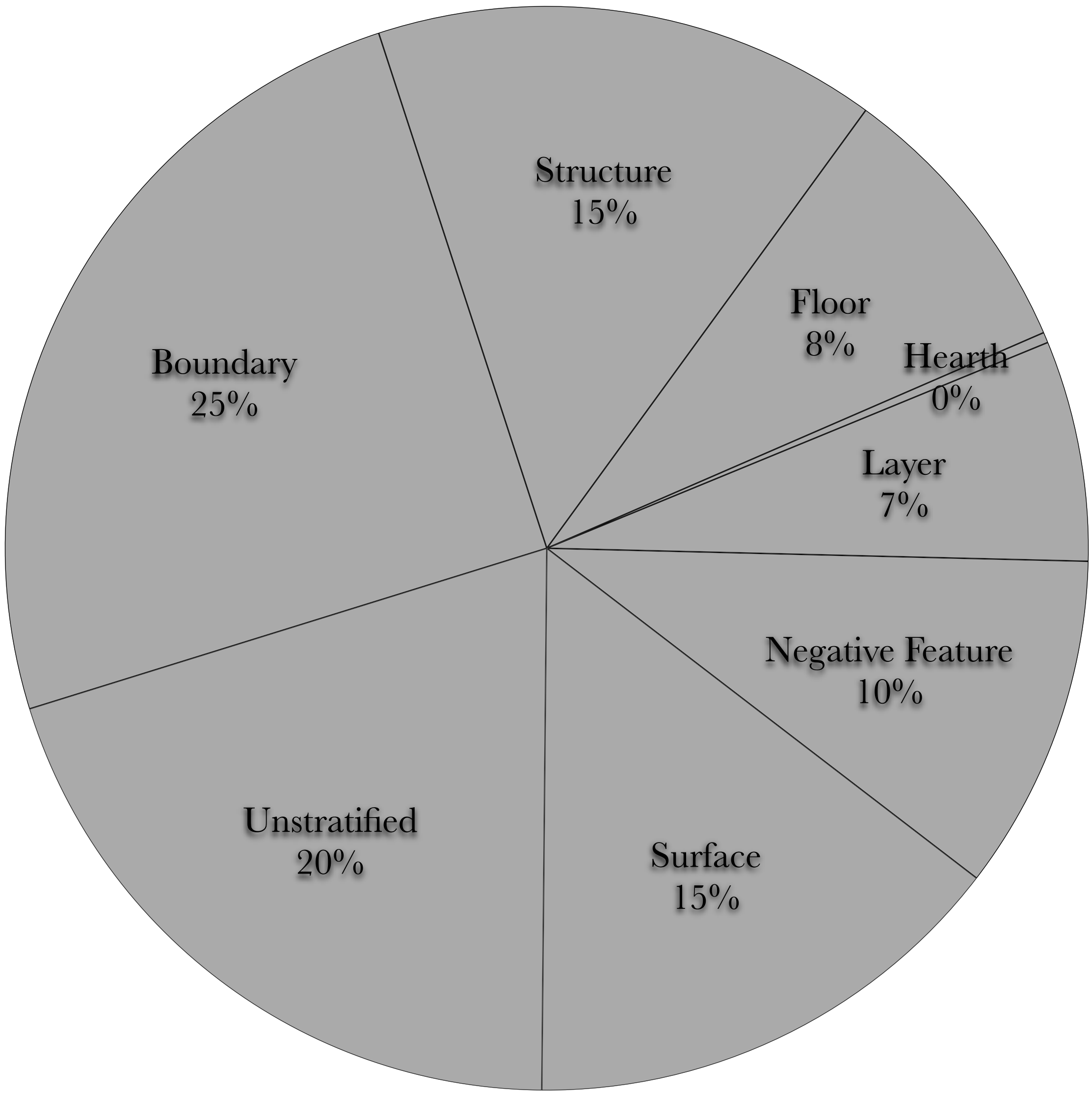

Figure 4.18: *Quantities of indigenous ceramics by context category..*

Figure 4.19: *Quantities of specific types of stone in the assemblage.*

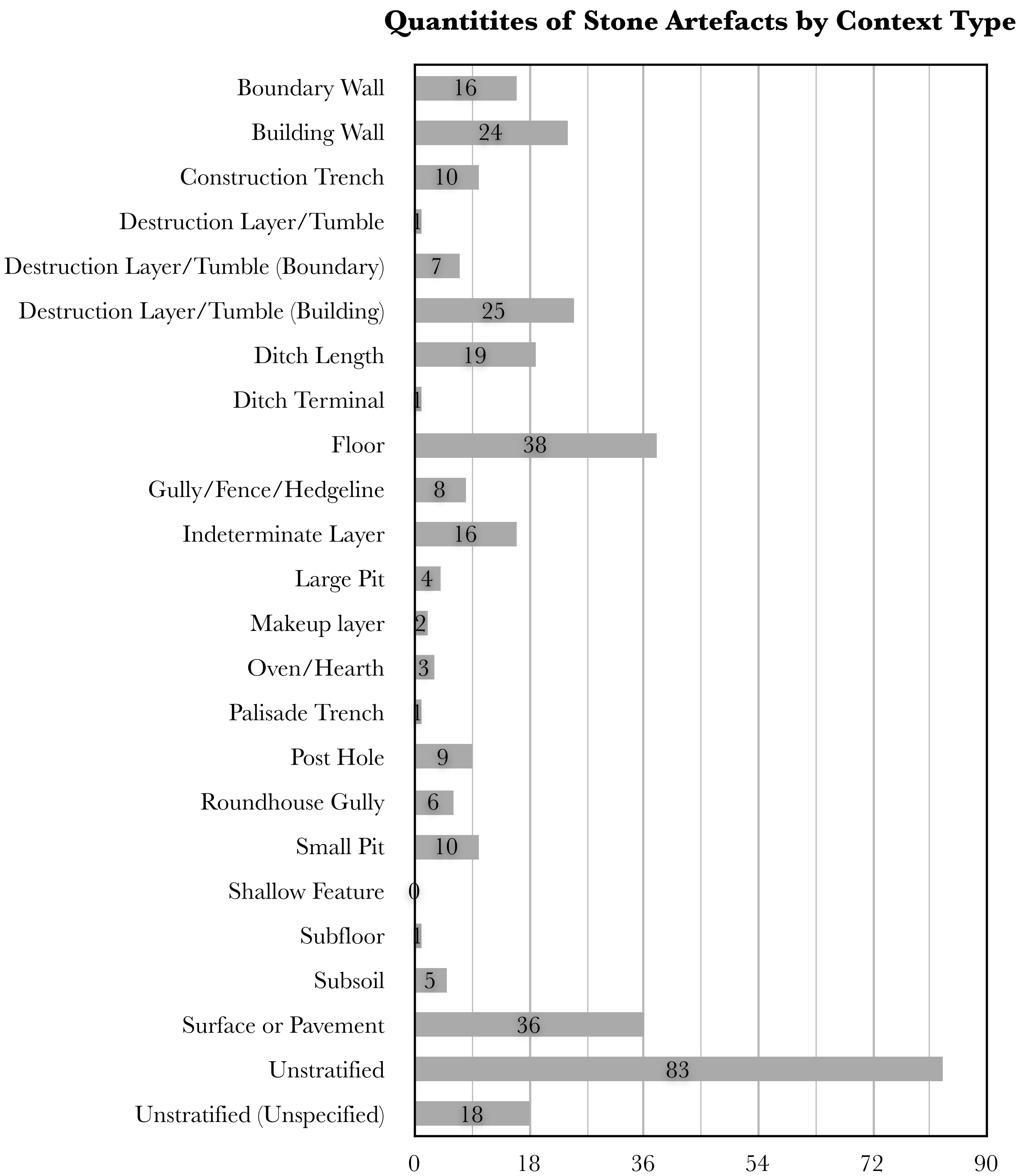

Figure 4.20: *Quantities of stone artefacts by context type.*

Boundary	52
Floor	39
Hearth	3
Layer	24
Negative Feature	14
Structure	74
Surface	36
Unstratified	101

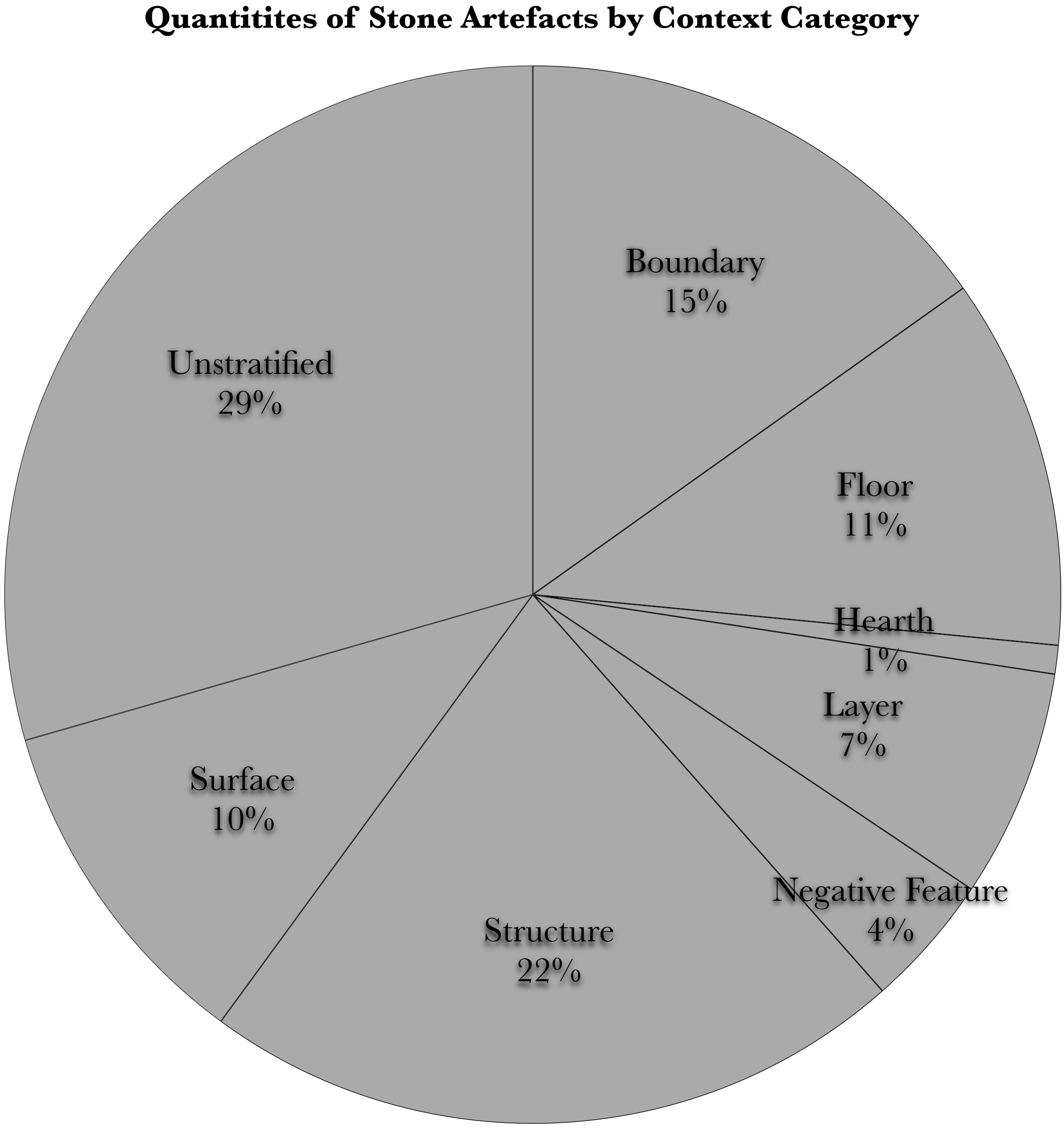

Figure 4.21: *Quantities of stone artefacts by context category.*

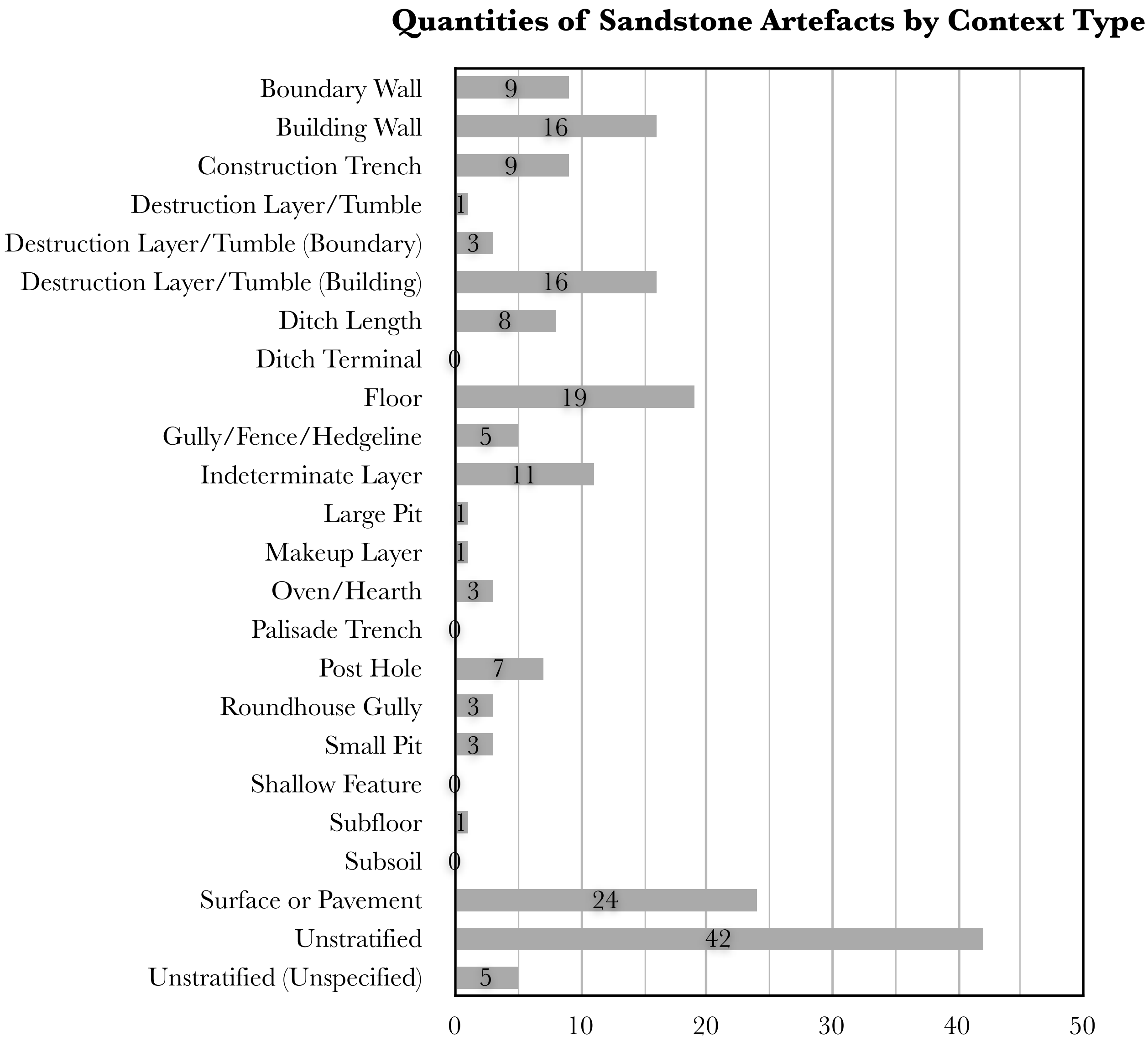

Figure 4.22: *Quantities of sandstone artefacts by context type.*

Boundary	25
Floor	20
Hearth	3
Layer	13
Negative Feature	4
Structure	51
Surface	24
Unstratified	47

Relative Quantities of Sandstone Artefacts by Context Category

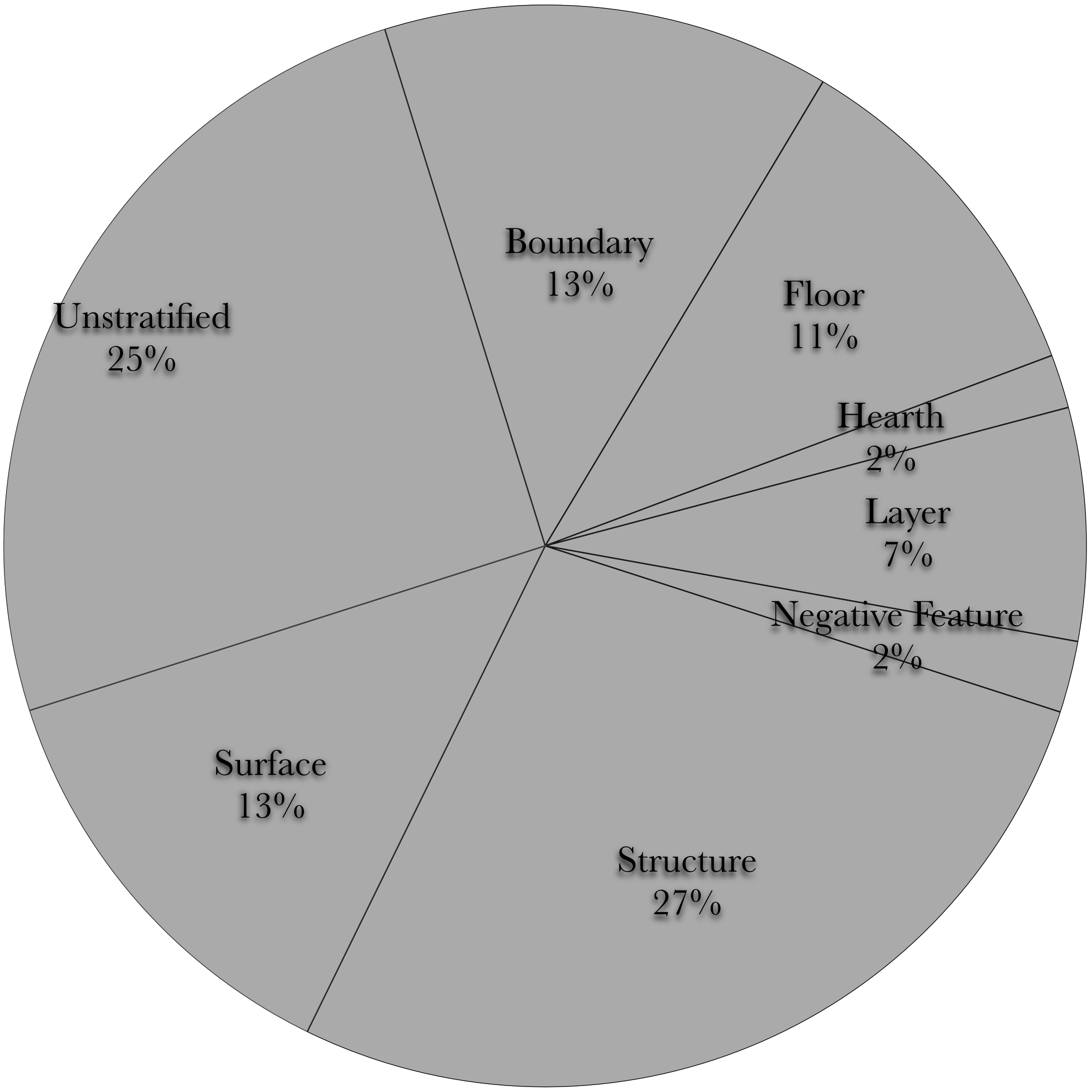

Figure 4.23: *Quantities of sandstone artefacts by context category*

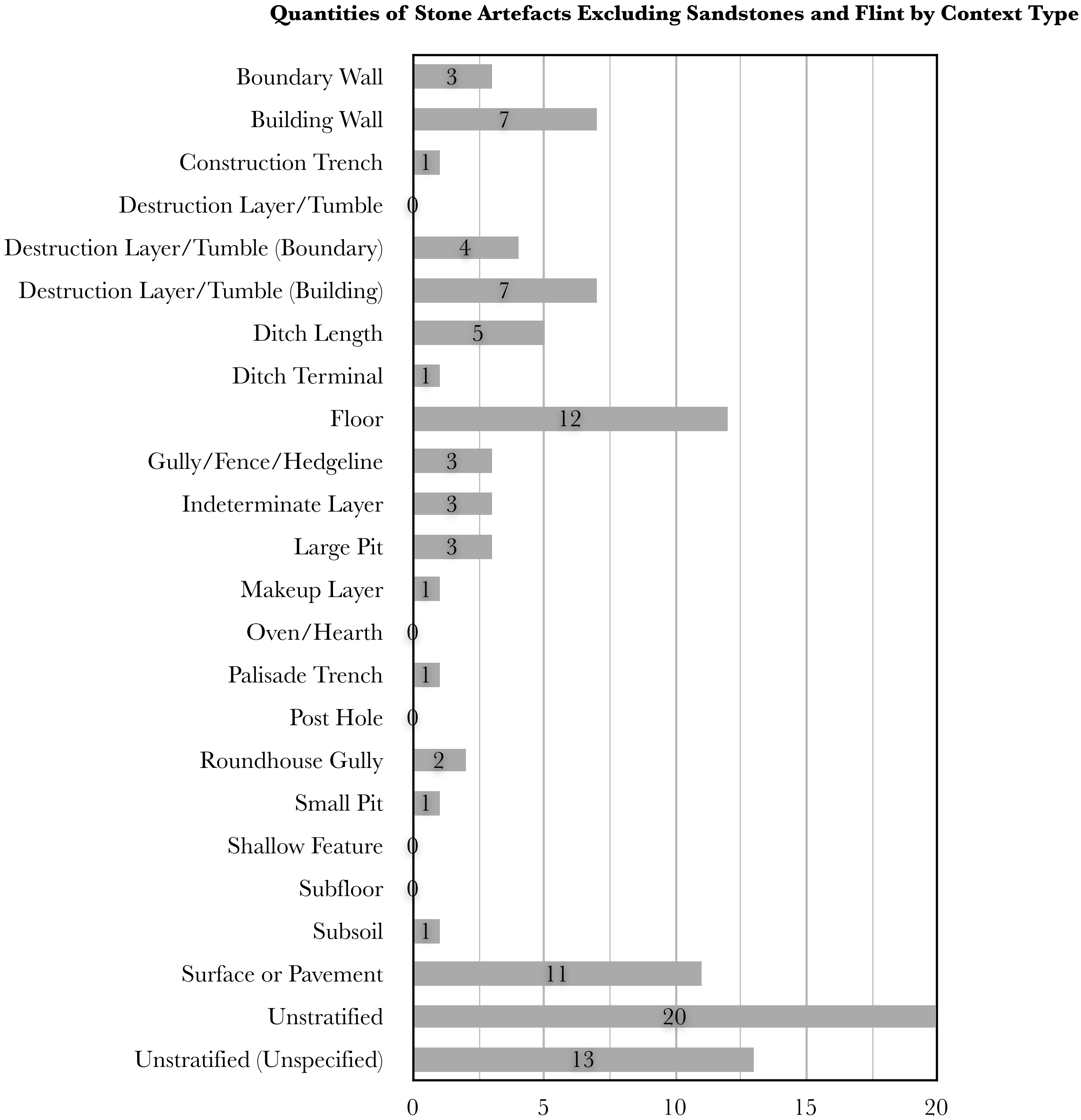

Figure 4.24: *Quantities of stone artefacts by context type, excluding sandstone and flint.*

Boundary	17
Floor	12
Layer	5
Negative Feature	4
Structure	17
Surface	11
Unstratified	33

Relative Quantities of Stone Artefacts Excluding Sandstones and Flint by Context Category

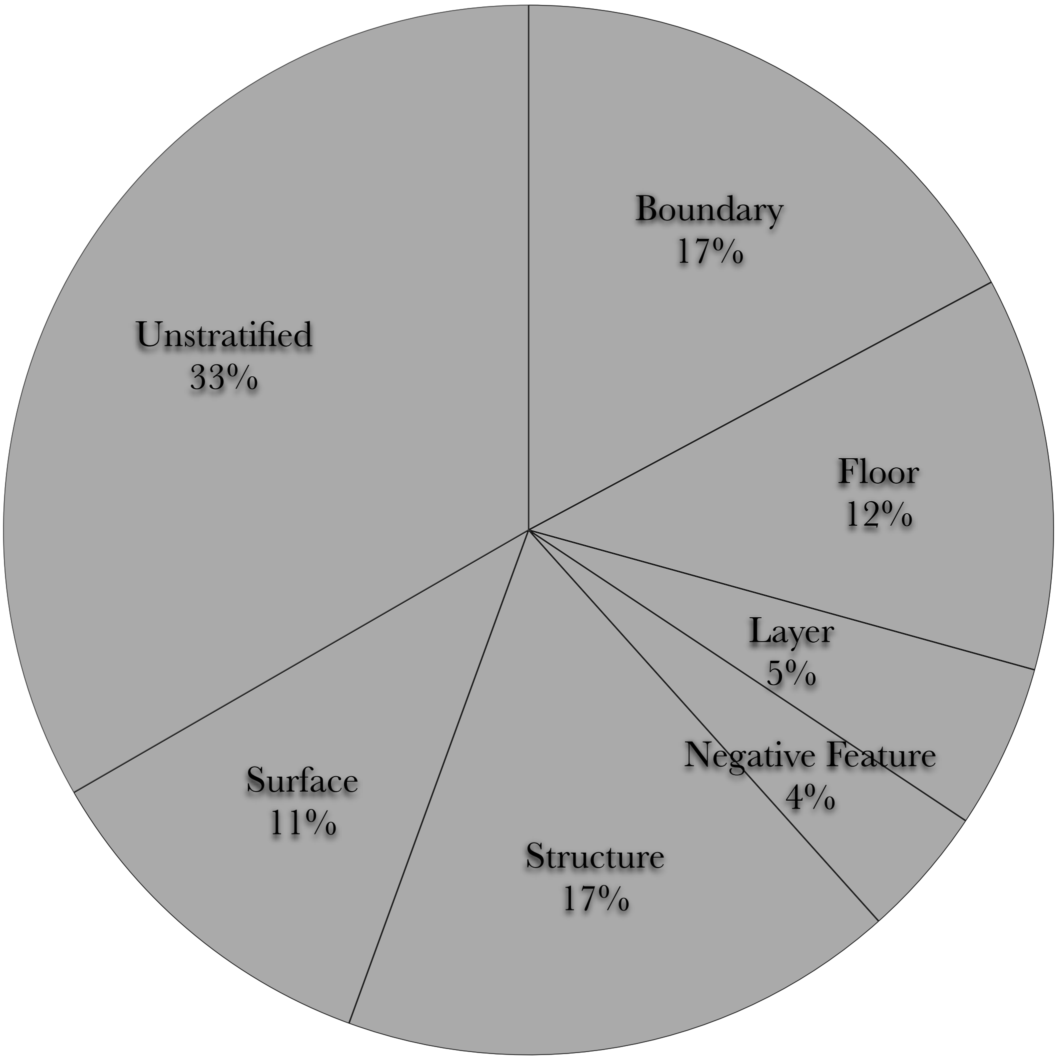

Figure 4.25: *Quantities of stone artefacts by context category, excluding sandstone and flint.*

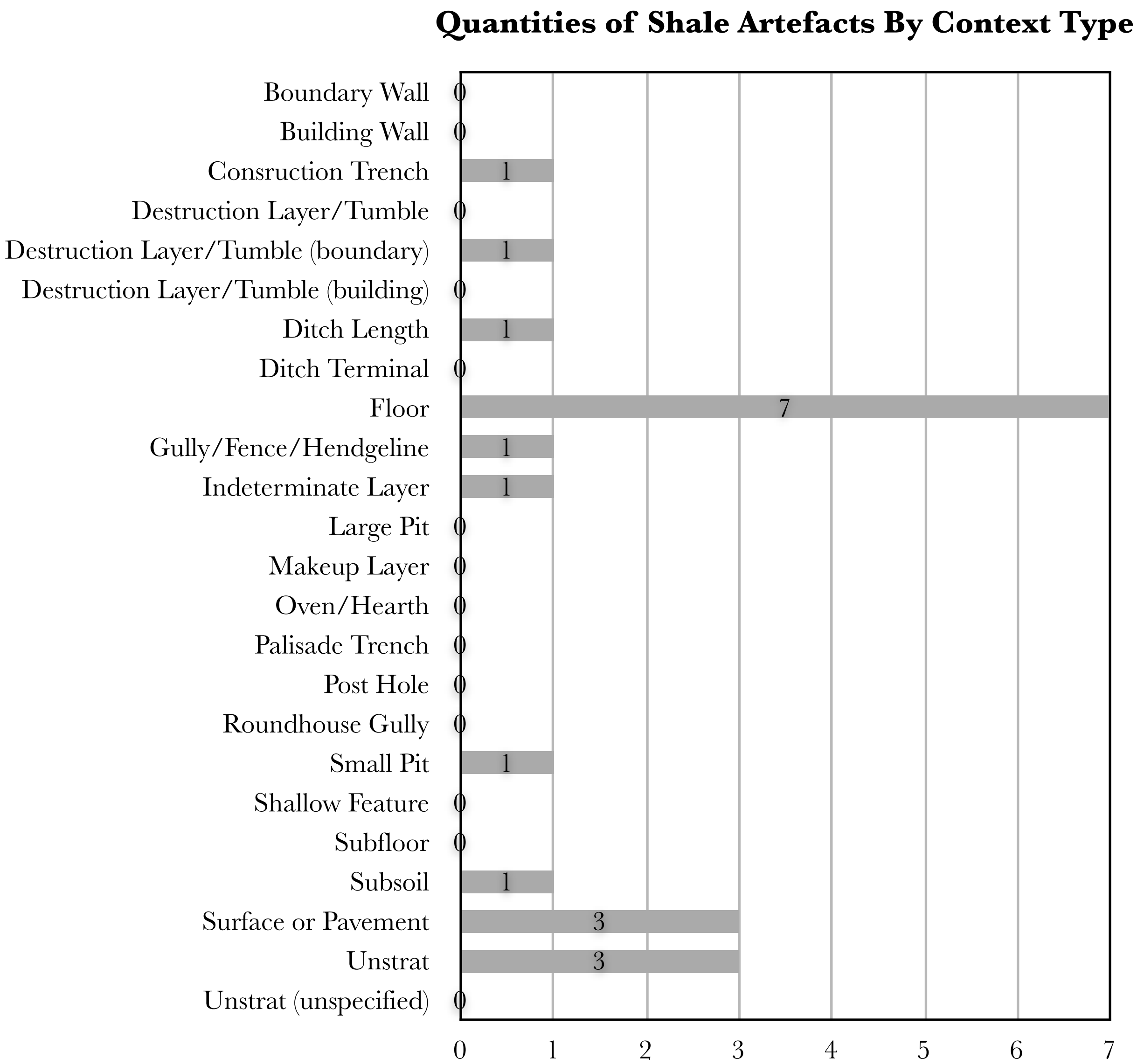

Figure 4.26: *Quantities of shale artefact by context type.*

Floor	7
Negative Feature	1
Layer	2
Boundary	3
Unstratified	3
Surface	3
Structure	1

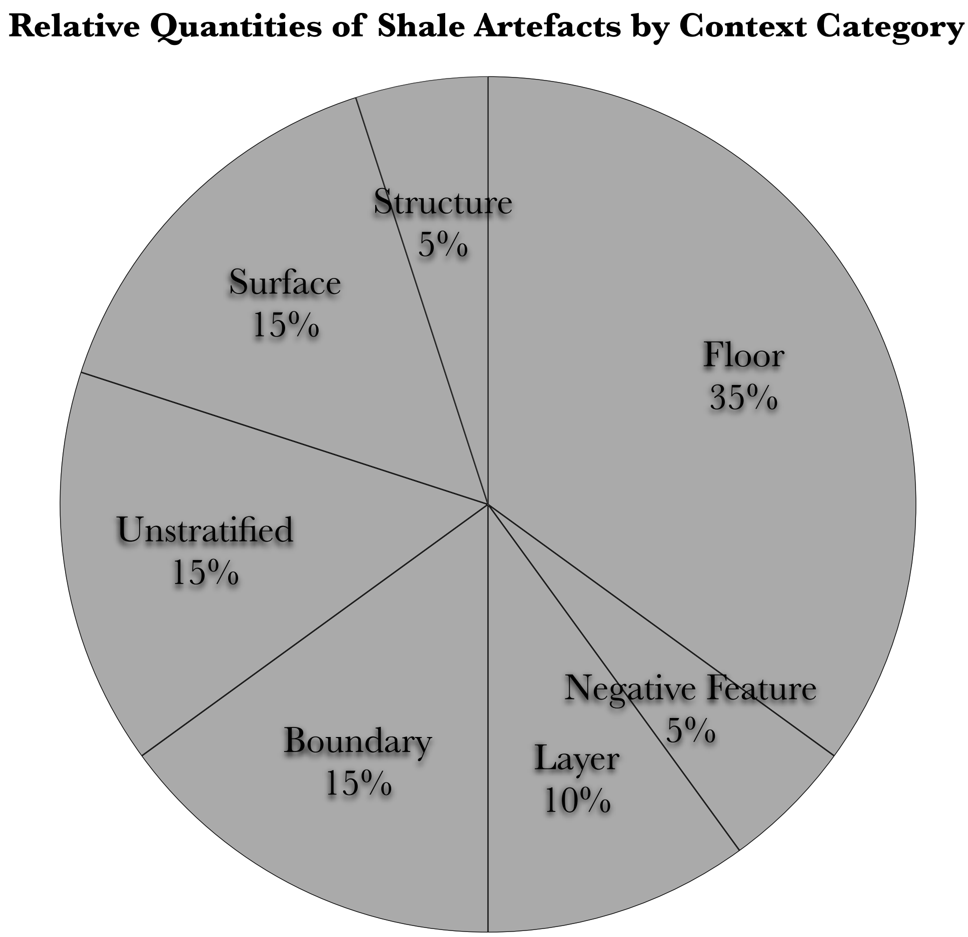

Figure 4.27: *Quantities of shale artefact by context category.*

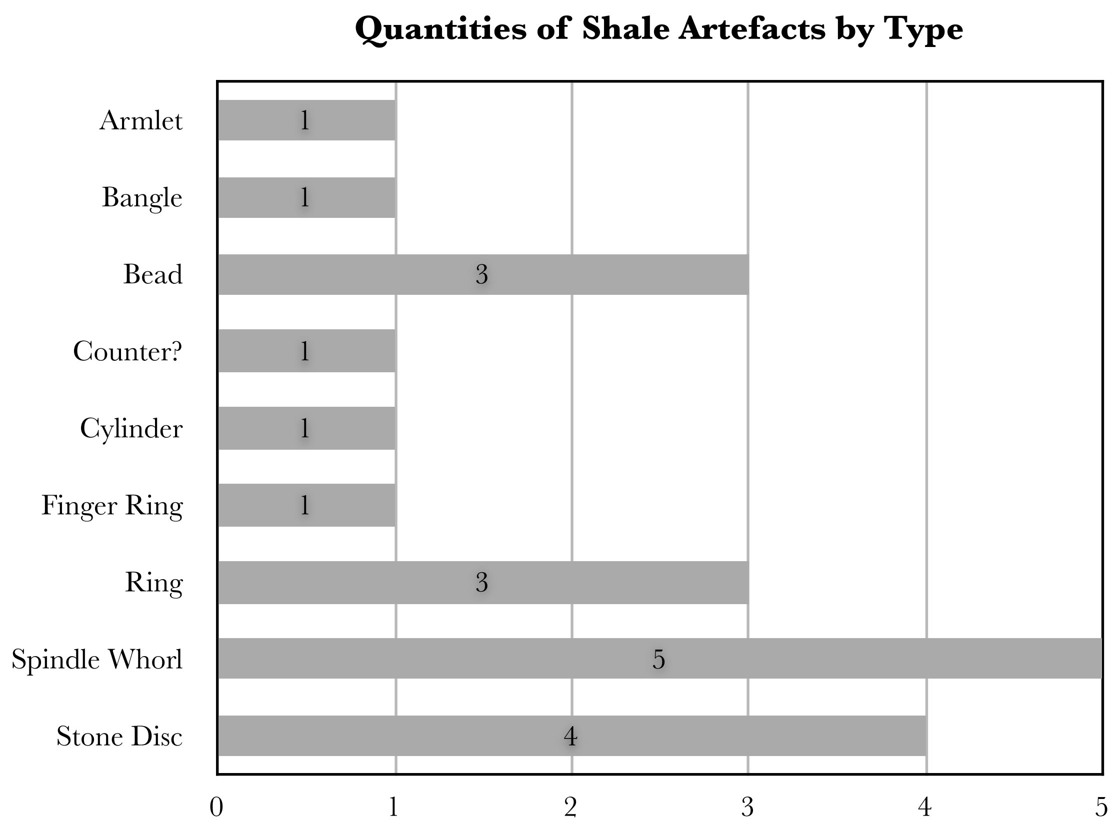

Figure 4.28: *Quantities of shale artefact by type.*

Cup-Marked Stone	8
Mould	6
Other	28
Pounder	39
Rotary Quern	105
Rubber	23
Saddle Quern	23
Spindle Whorl	14
Stone Disc	12
Whetstone	26
Worked Flints	57

Main Types of Stone Artefact

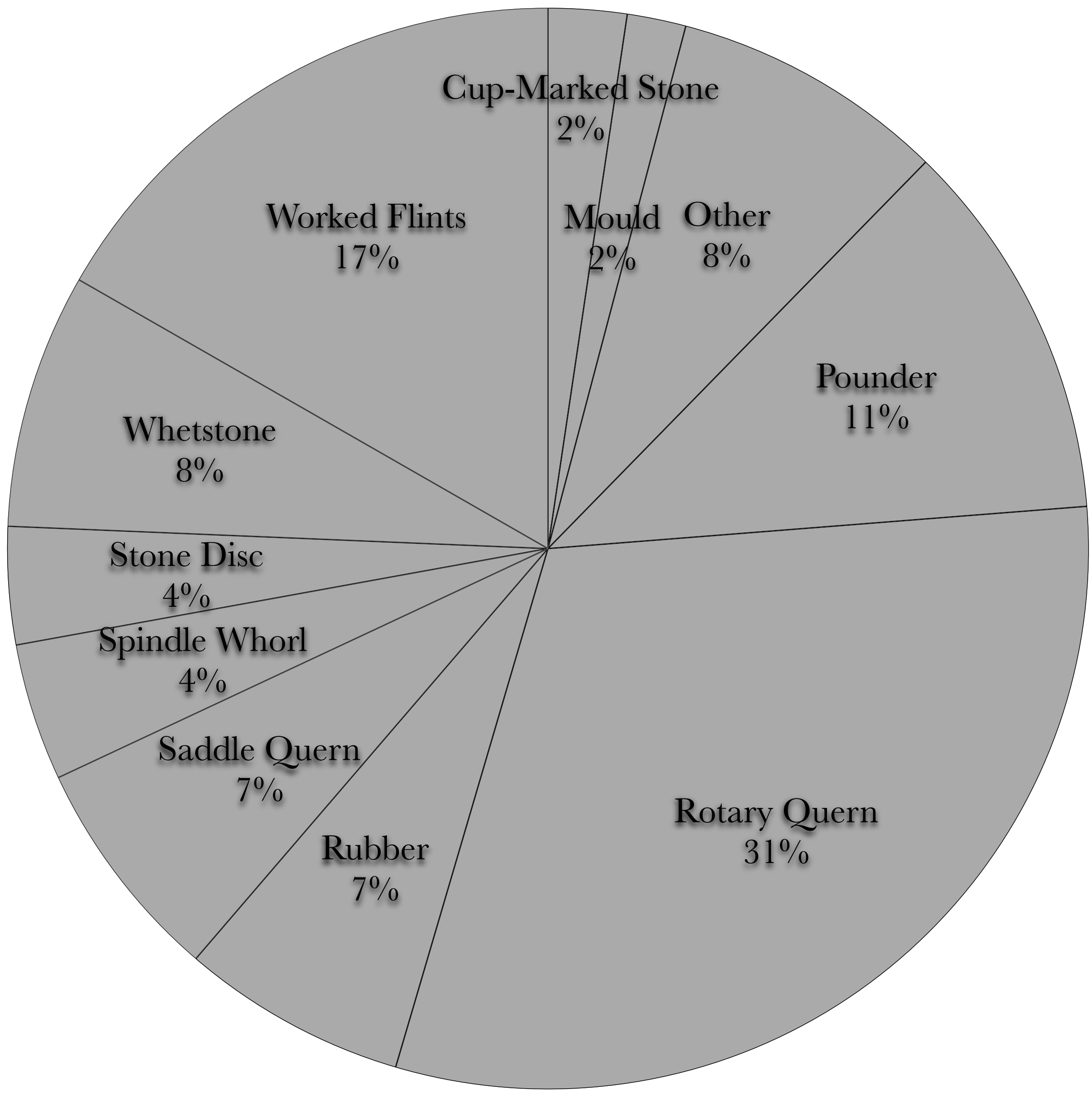

Figure 4.29: *Quantities of the primary types of stone artefact.*

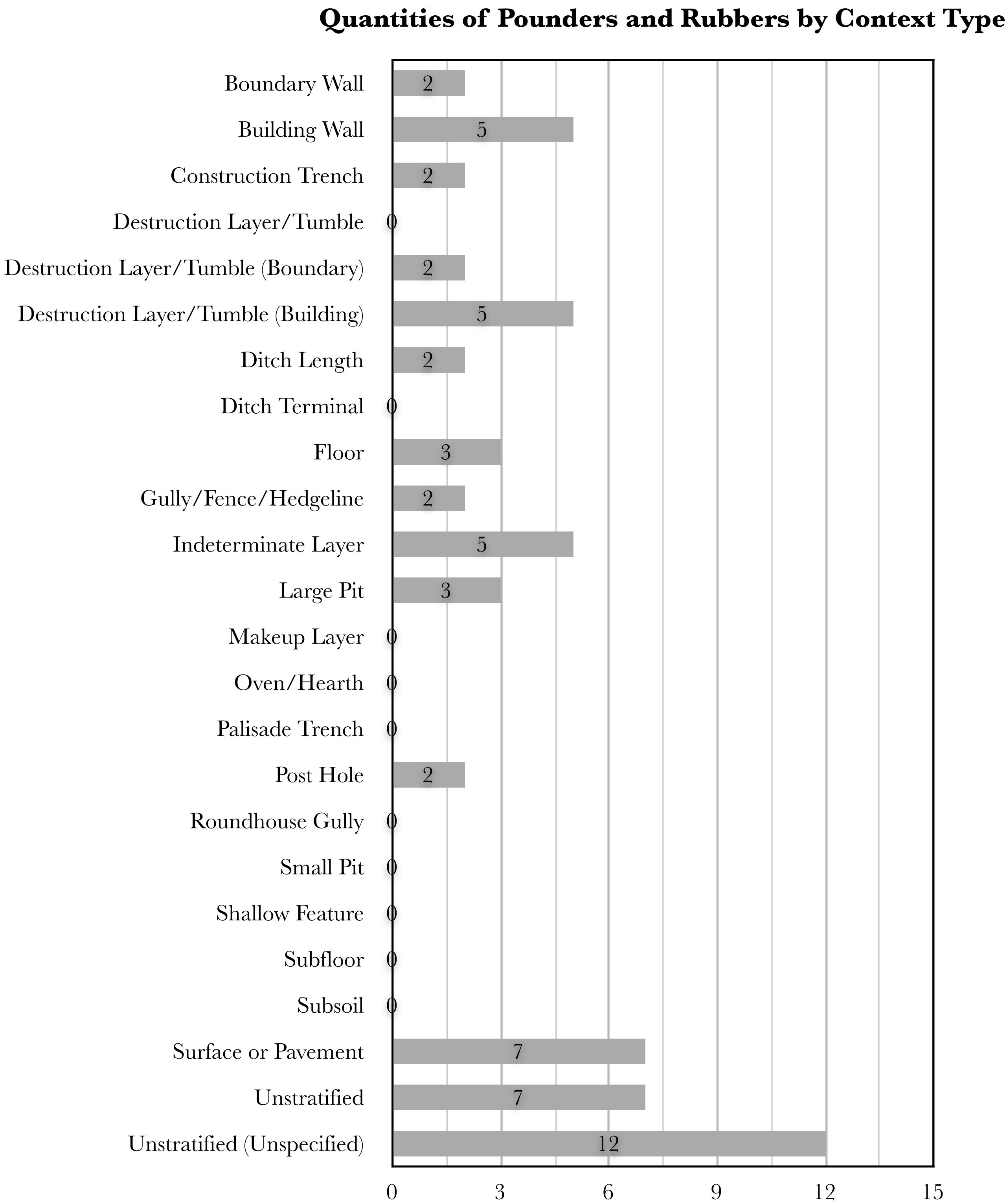

Figure 4.30: *Quantities of pounders and rubbers by context type.*

Structure	14
Unstratified	19
Surface	7
Boundary	8
Floor	3
Negative Feature	3
Layer	5

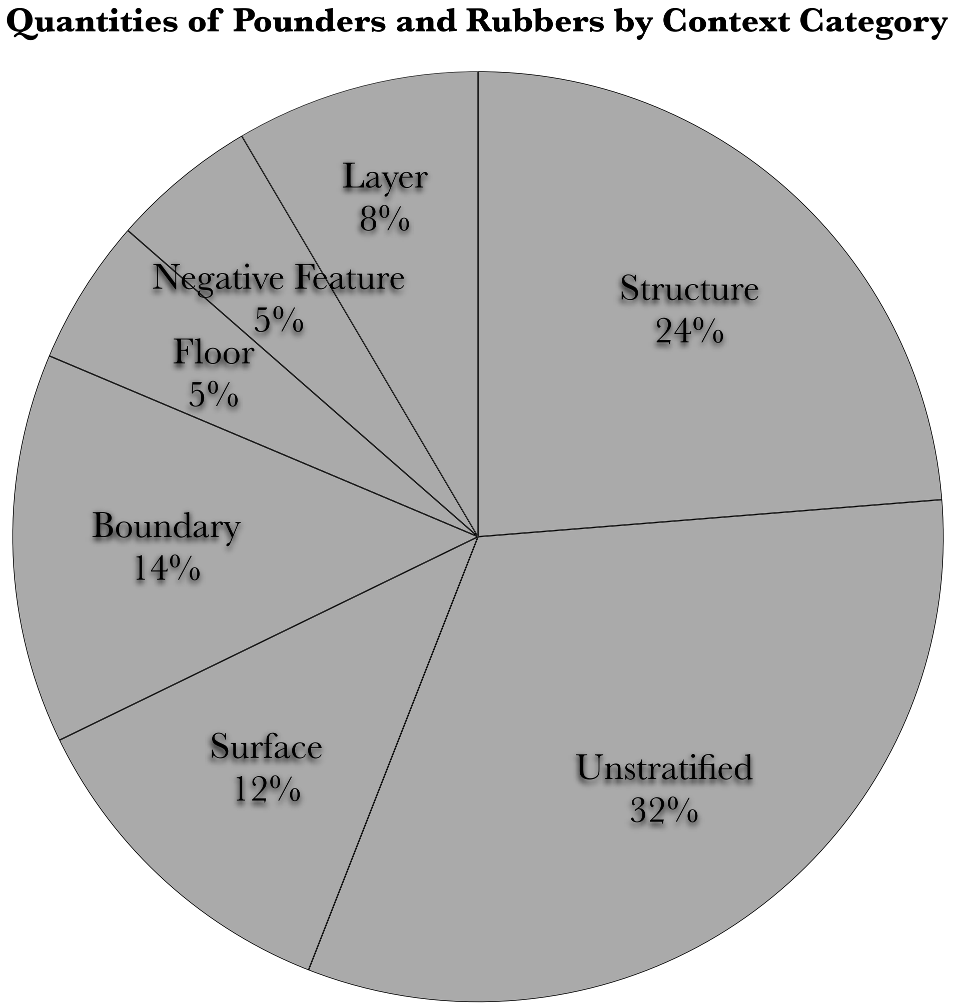

Figure 4.31: *Quantities of pounders and rubbers by context category.*

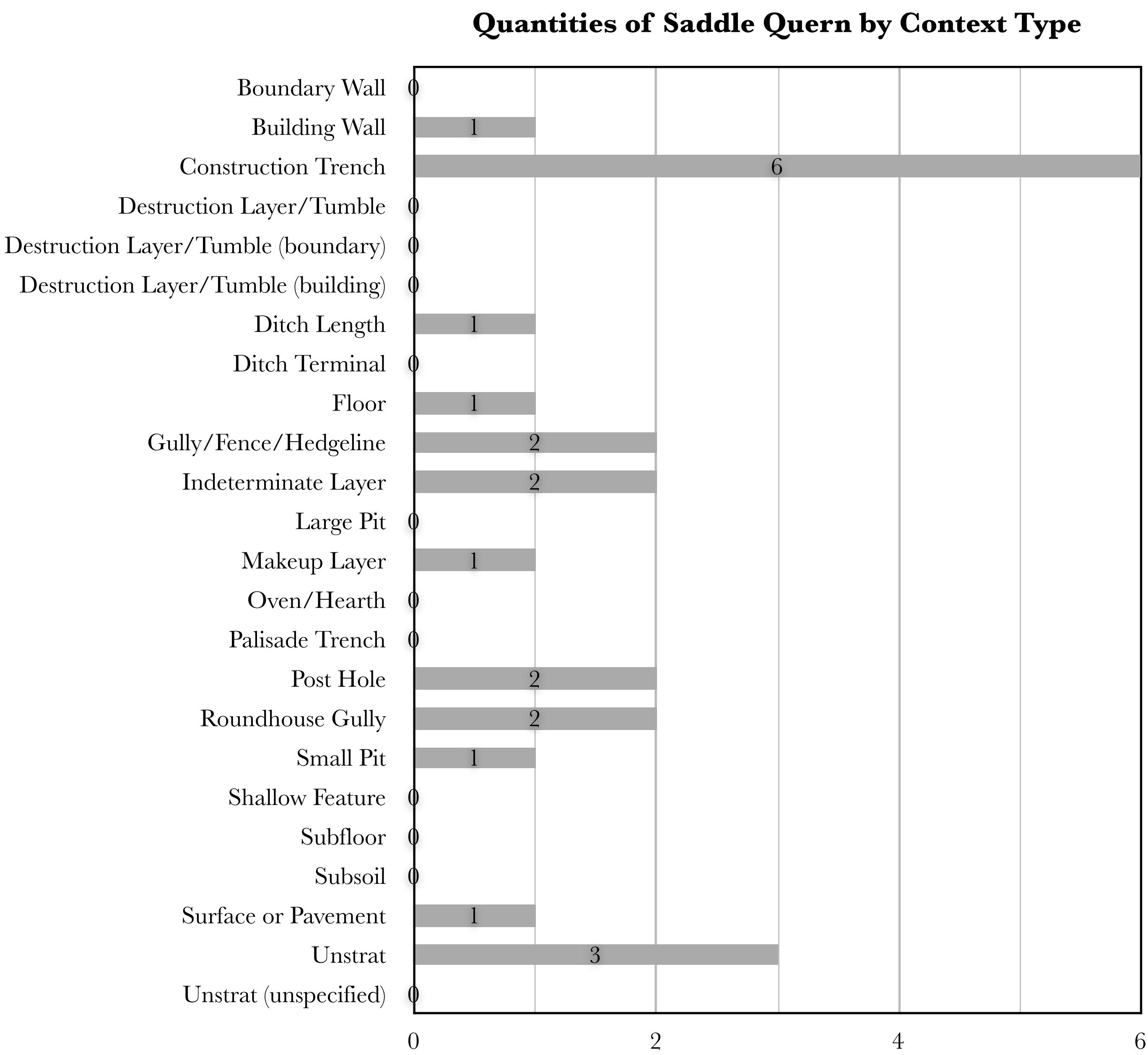

Figure 4.32: *Quantities of saddle querns by context type.*

Boundary	3
Floor	1
Layer	3
Negative Feature	1
Structure	11
Surface	1
Unstratified	3

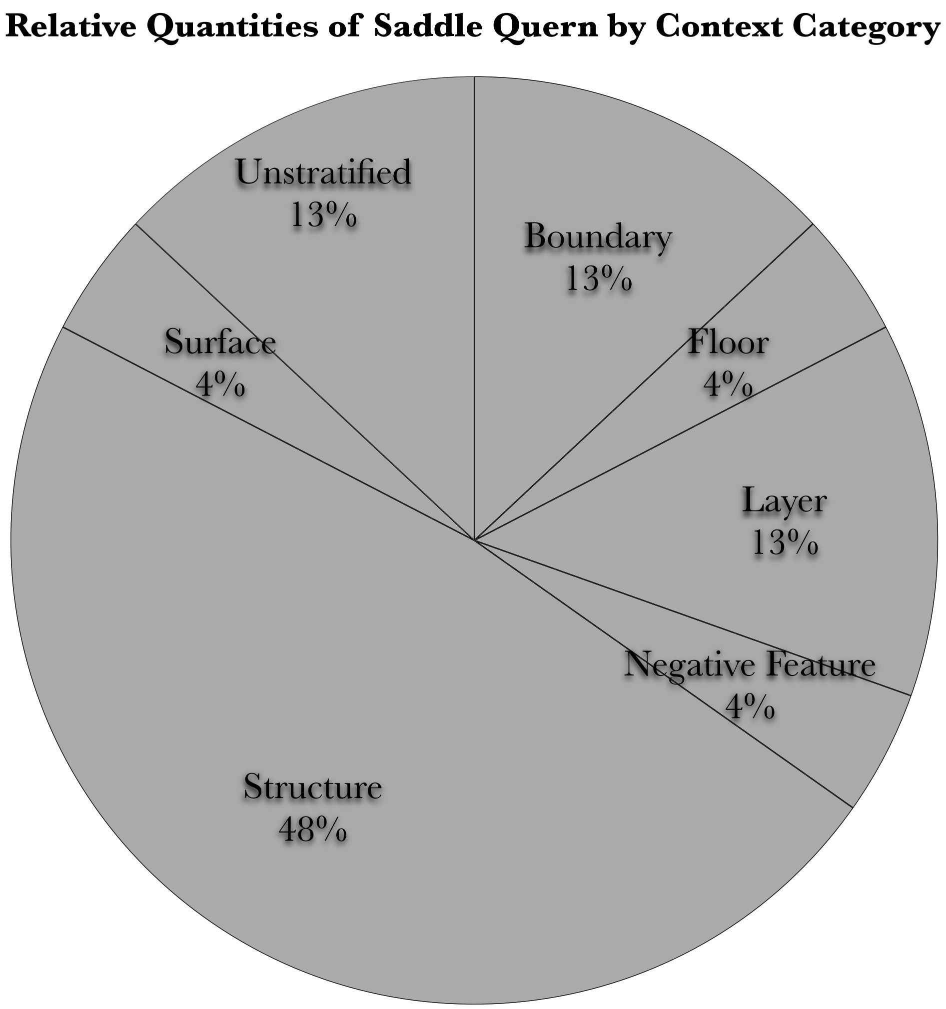

Figure 4.33: *Quantities of saddle querns by context category.*

Gritstone/ Whinstone	2
Sandstone	82
Unspecified	4
Granite	4
Unspecified Igneous	2
Andernach Stone	2
Igneous of Cheviot Origin	2
Cheviot Agglomerate	4

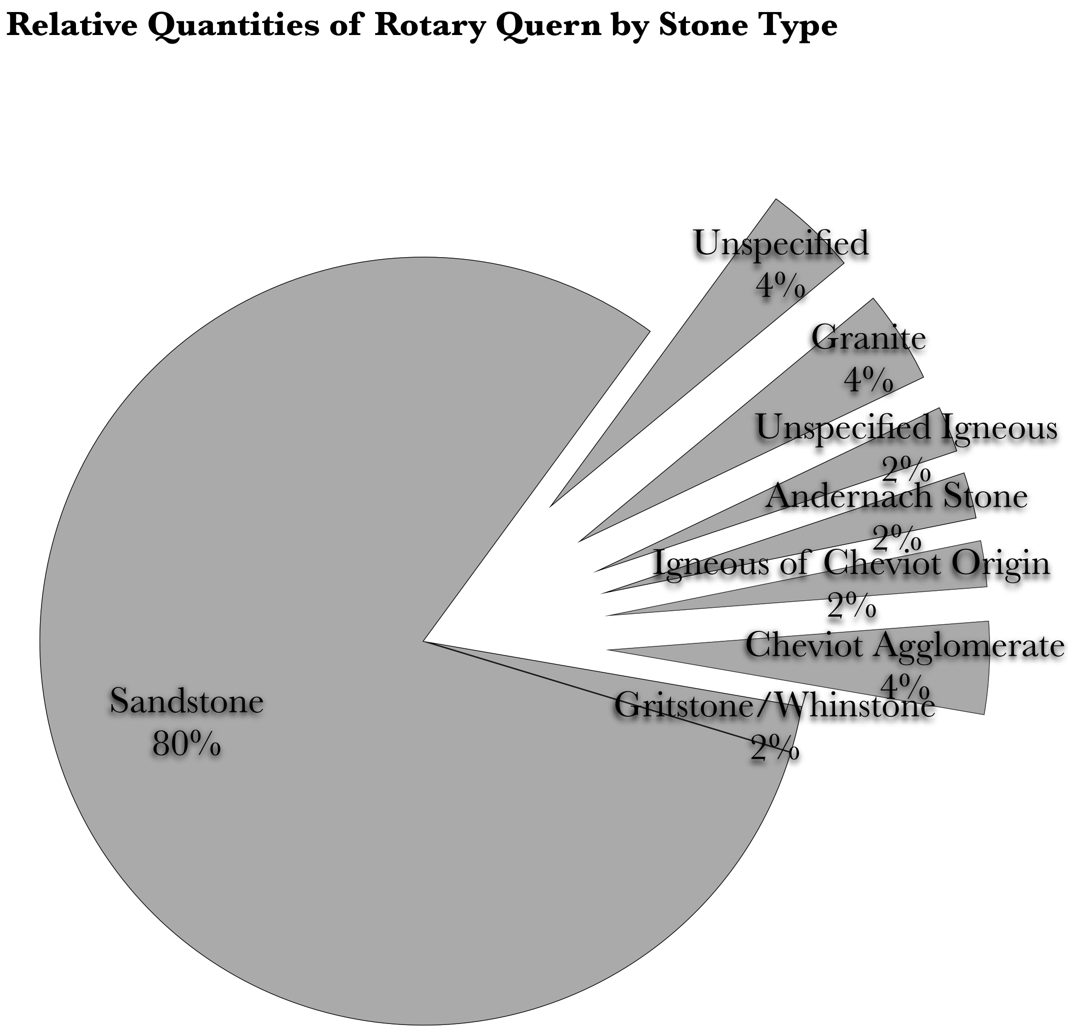

Figure 4.34: *Quantities of rotary quern by stone type*

Bottom	21
Top	73
Top and Bottom	1
Unspecified	7

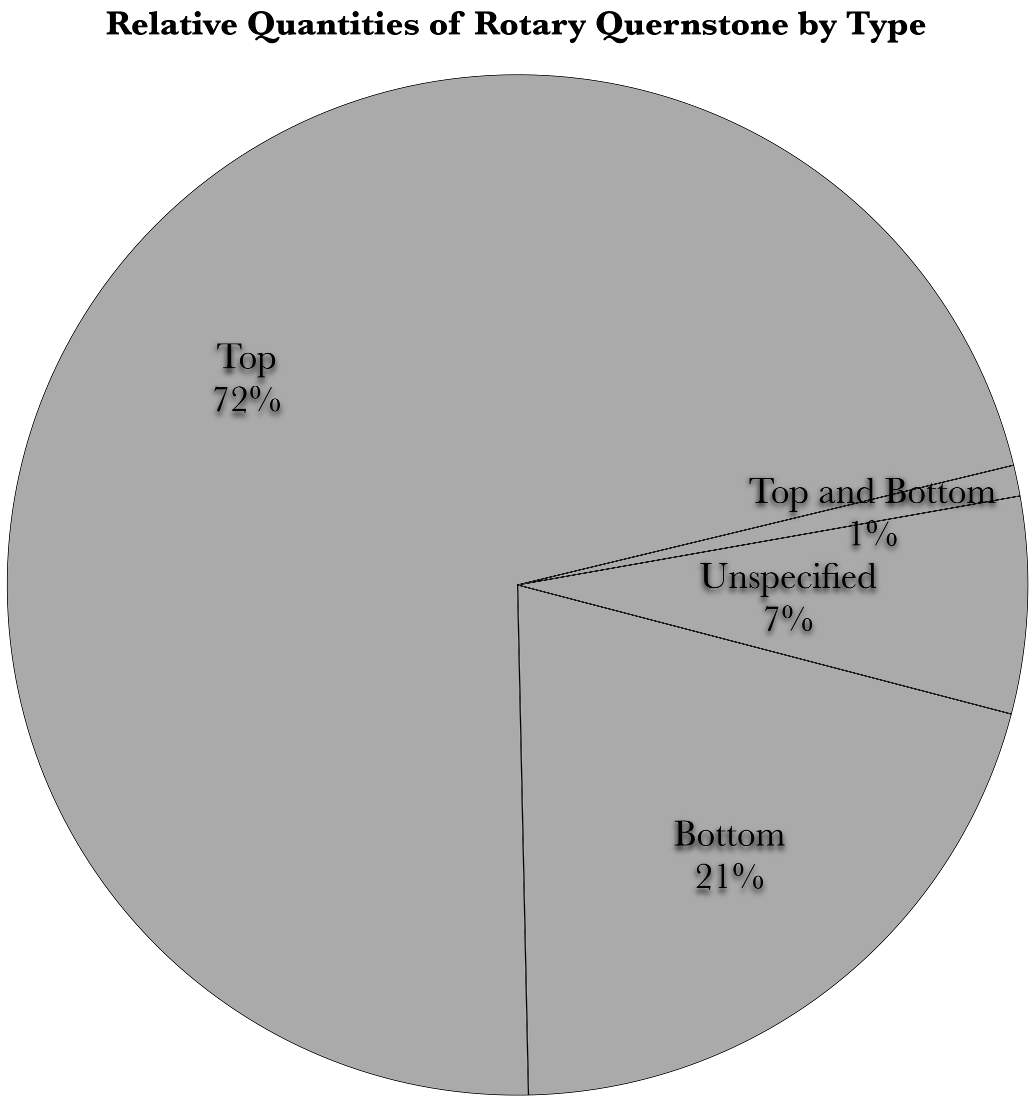

Figure 4.35: *Comparative quantities of top and bottom stones of rotary querns.*

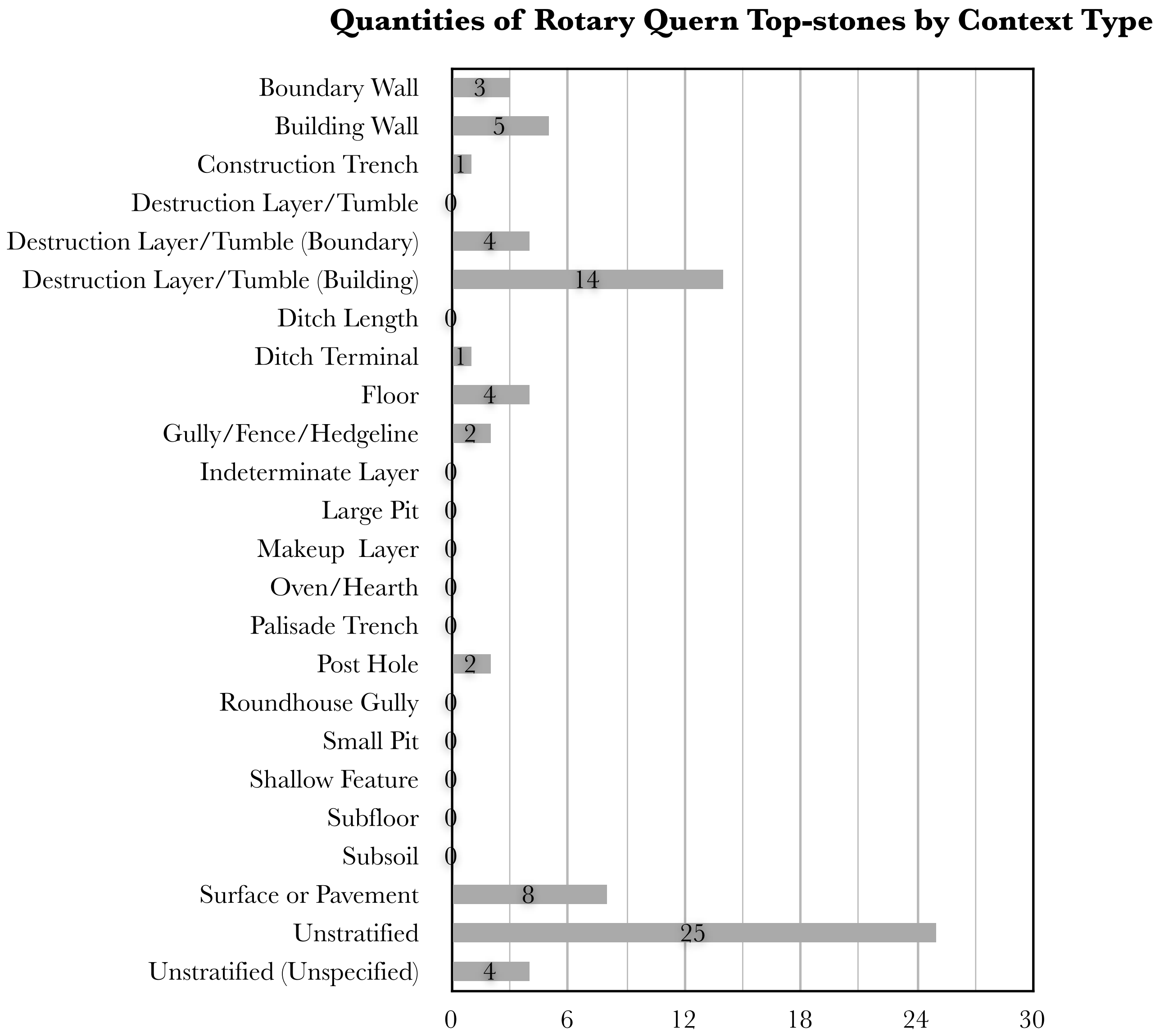

Figure 4.36: *Quantities of rotary quern top-stones by context type.*

Boundary	10
Floor	4
Structure	22
Surface	8
Unstratified	29

Relative Quantities of Rotary Quern Top-stones by Context Category

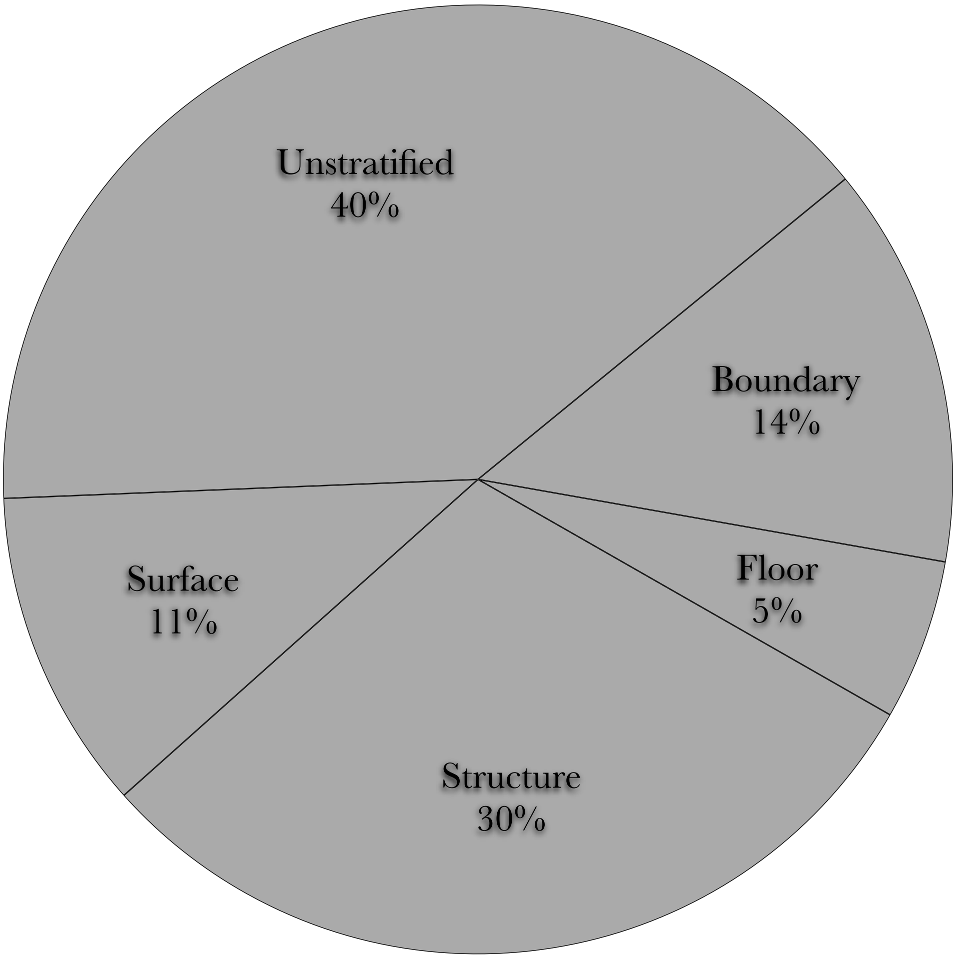

Figure 4.37: *Quantities of rotary quern top-stones by context category.*

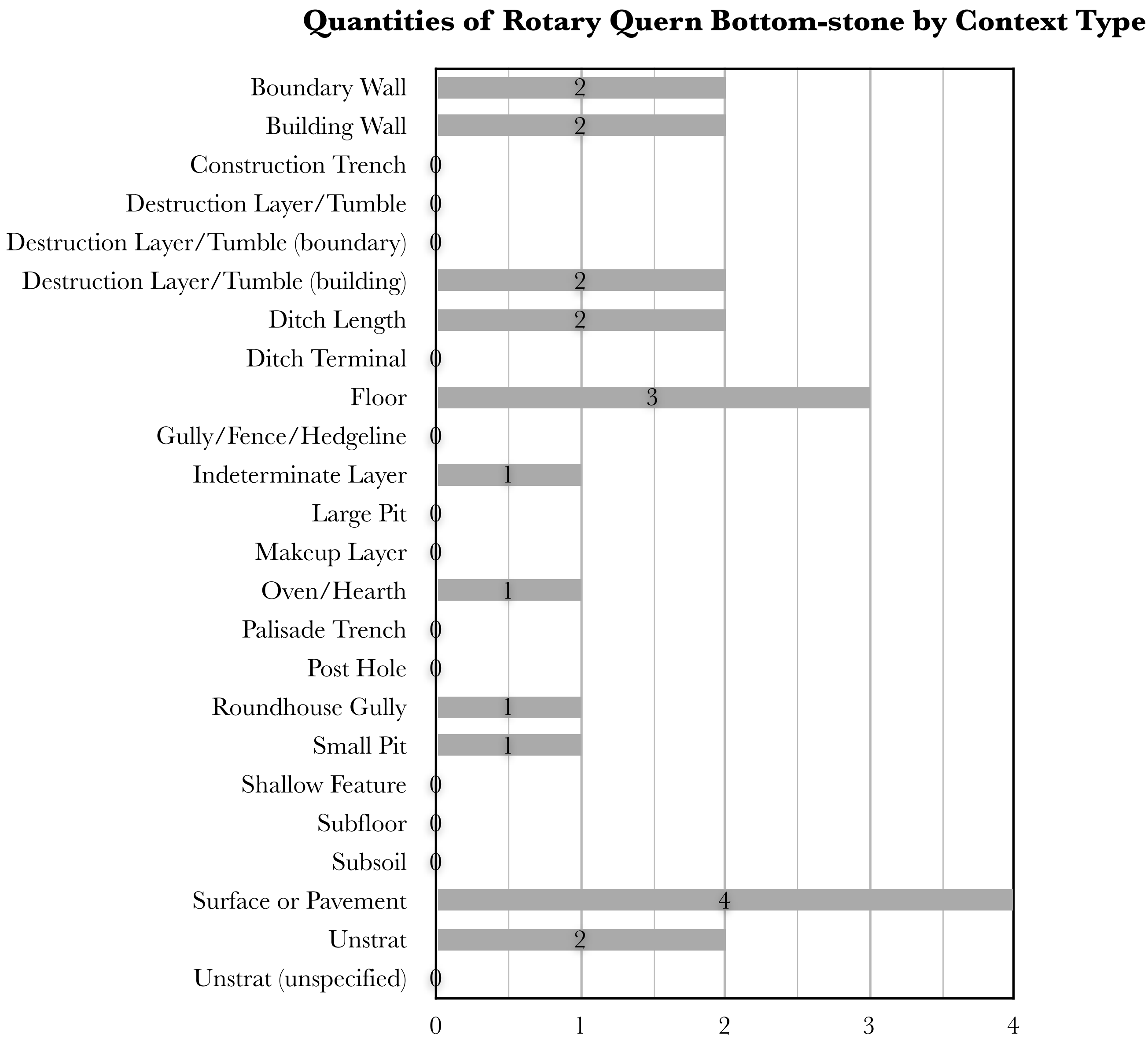

Figure 4.38: *Quantities of rotary quern bottom-stones by context type.*

Boundary	4
Floor	3
Hearth	1
Layer	1
Negative Feature	1
Structure	5
Surface	4
Unstratified	2

Relative Quantities of Rotary Quern Bottom-stone by Context Category

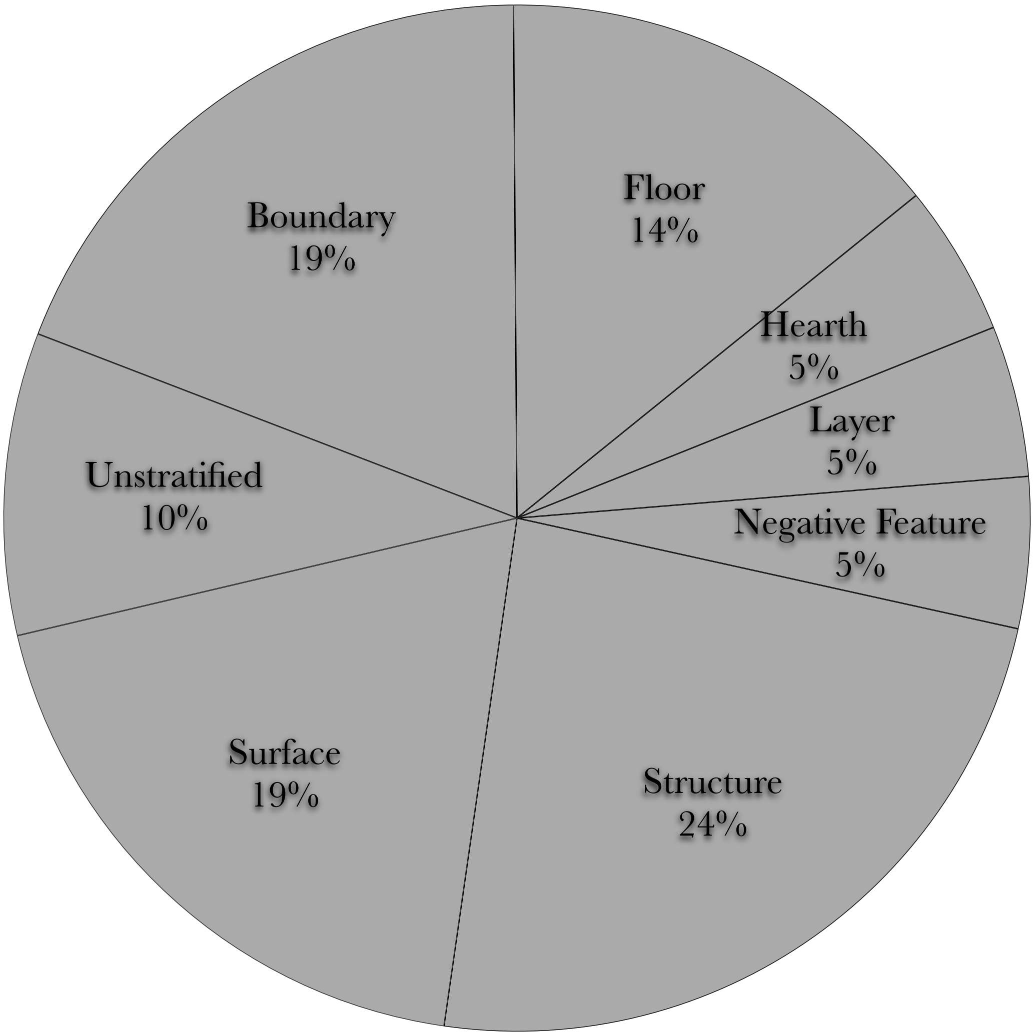

Figure 4.39: *Quantities of rotary quern bottom-stones by context category.*

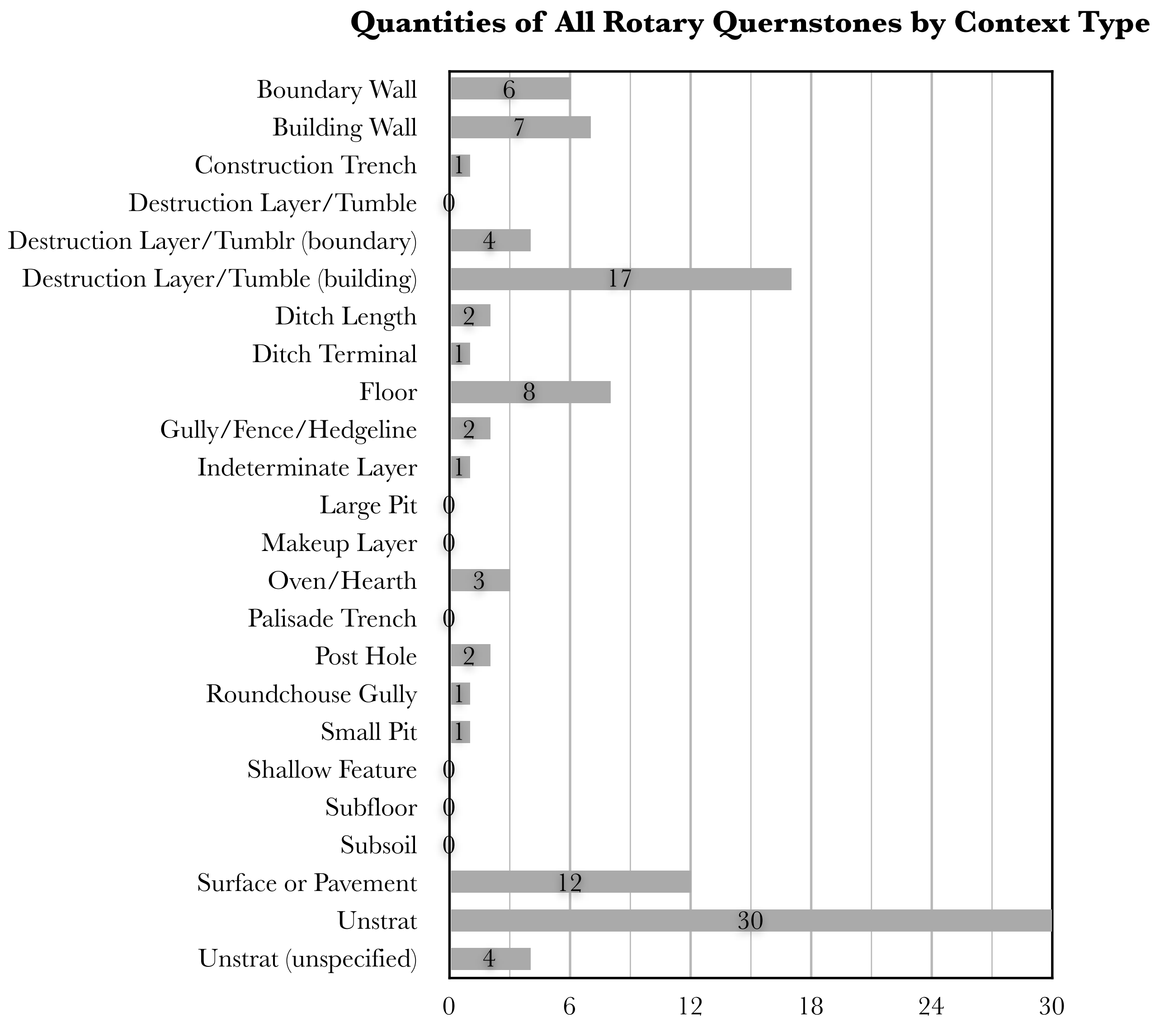

Figure 4.40: *Quantities of all types of rotary quernstone by context type.*

Boundary	15
Structure	28
Floor	8
Hearth	3
Layer	1
Negative Feature	1
Surface	12
Unstratified	34

Relative Quantities of All Rotary Quernstones by Context Category

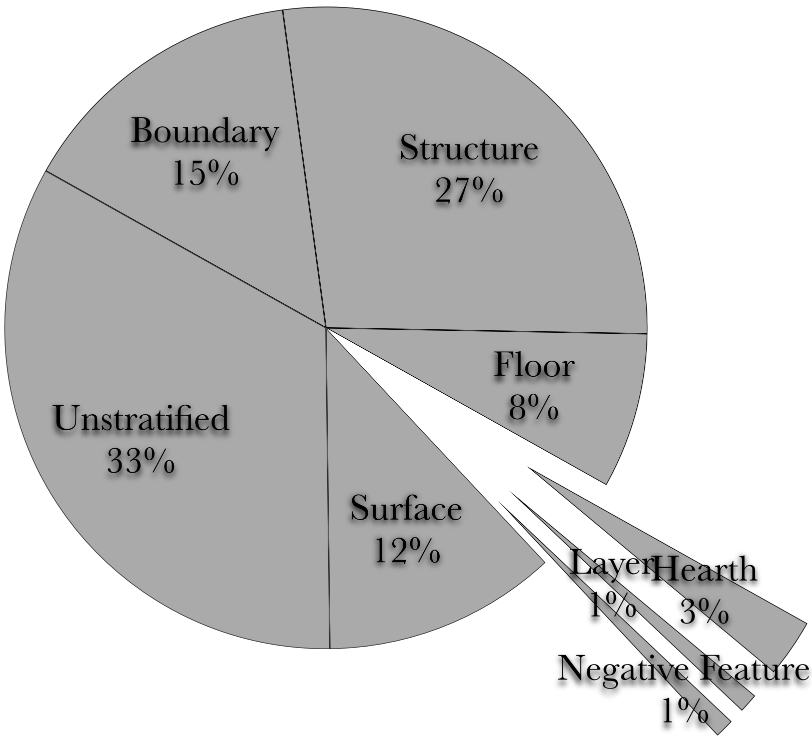

Figure 4.41: *Quantities of all types of rotary quernstone by context category.*

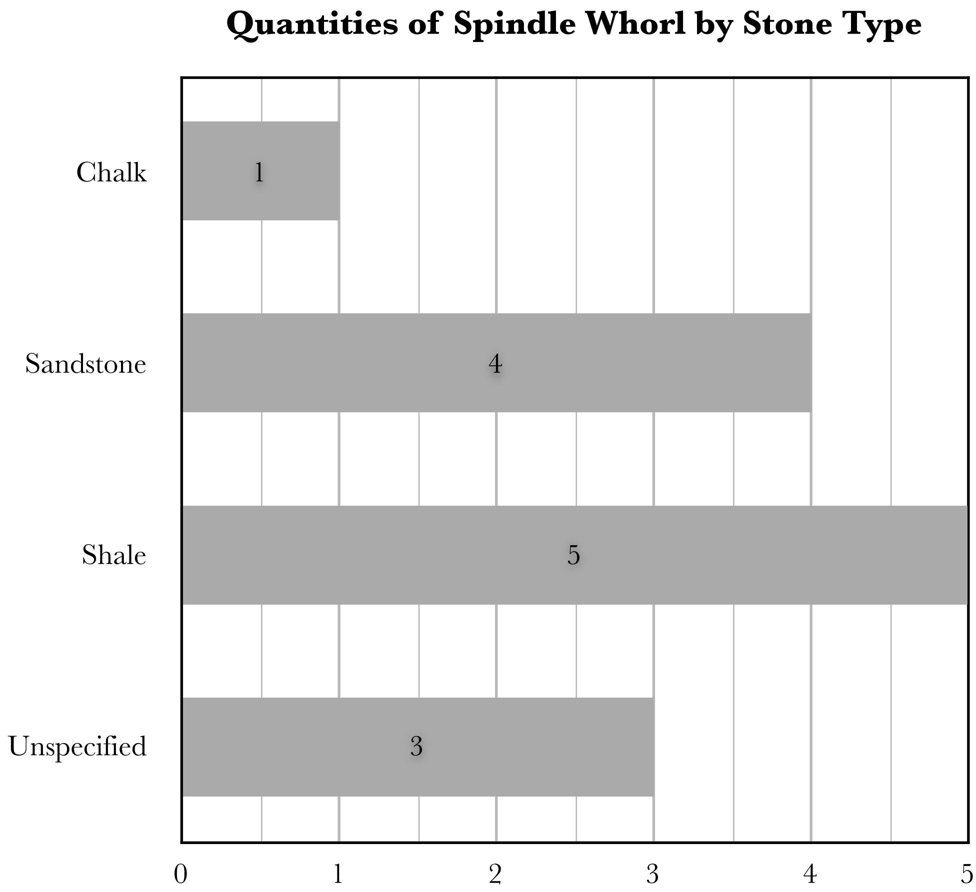

Figure 4.42: *Quantities of spindle whorl by stone type.*

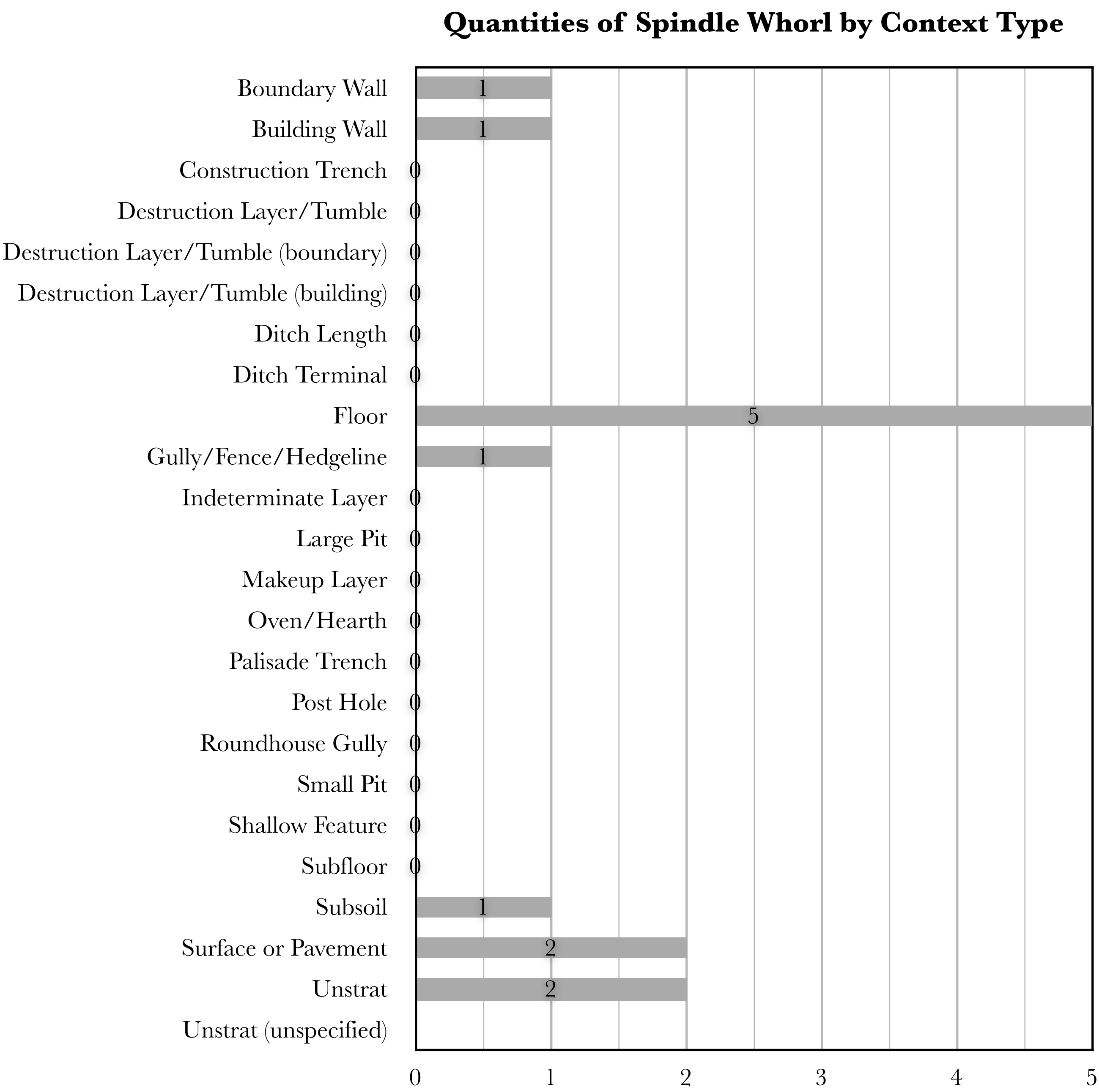

Figure 4.43: *Quantities of spindle whorl by context type.*

Boundary	2
Floor	5
Layer	1
Structure	1
Surface	2
Unstratified	2

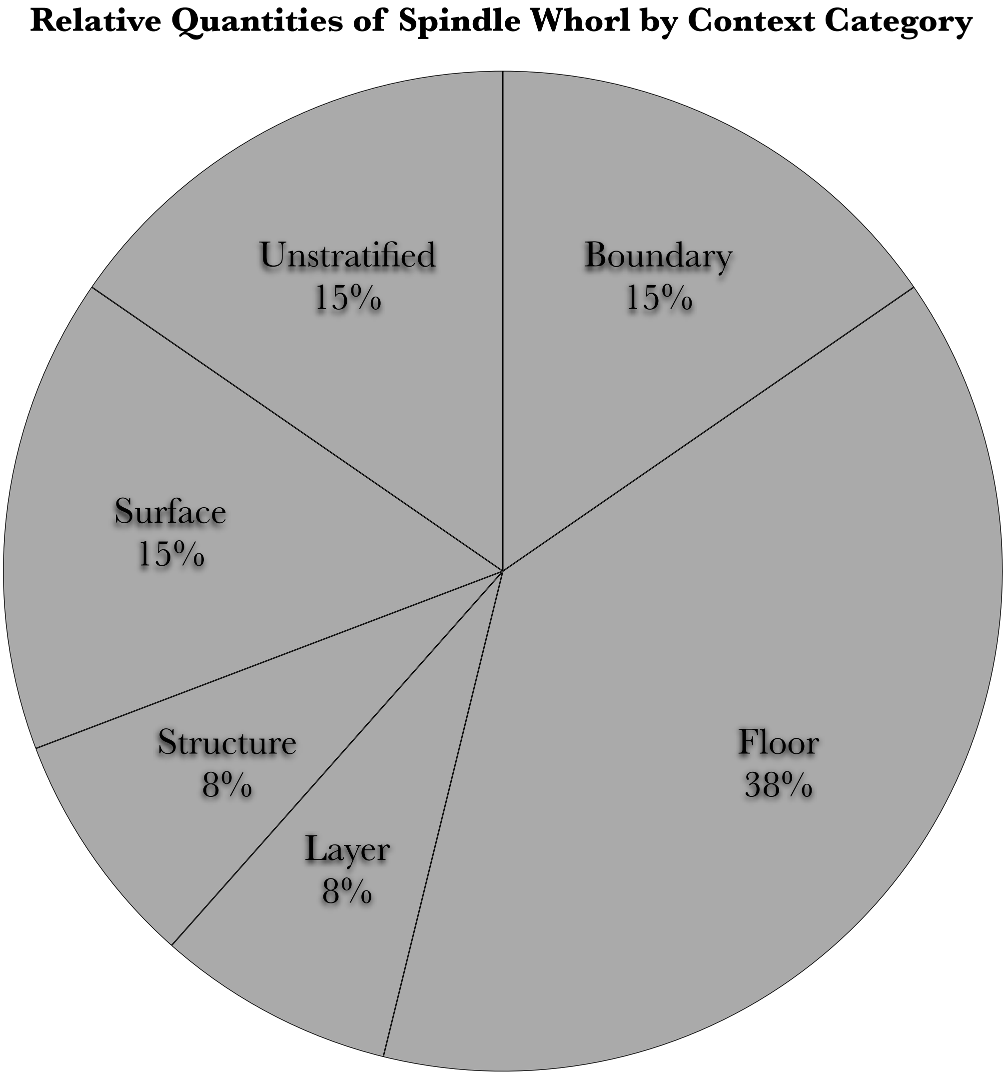

Figure 4.44: *Quantities of spindle whorl by context category.*

Serial No.	Diameter (cm.)
753	3.8
15	5
578	5.5
1000	7
145	7.3
841	7.5
842	8
168	10
579	10
577	10
352	14.3
Avg.	8.036363636364

Figure 4.45: *Diameters of stone discs*

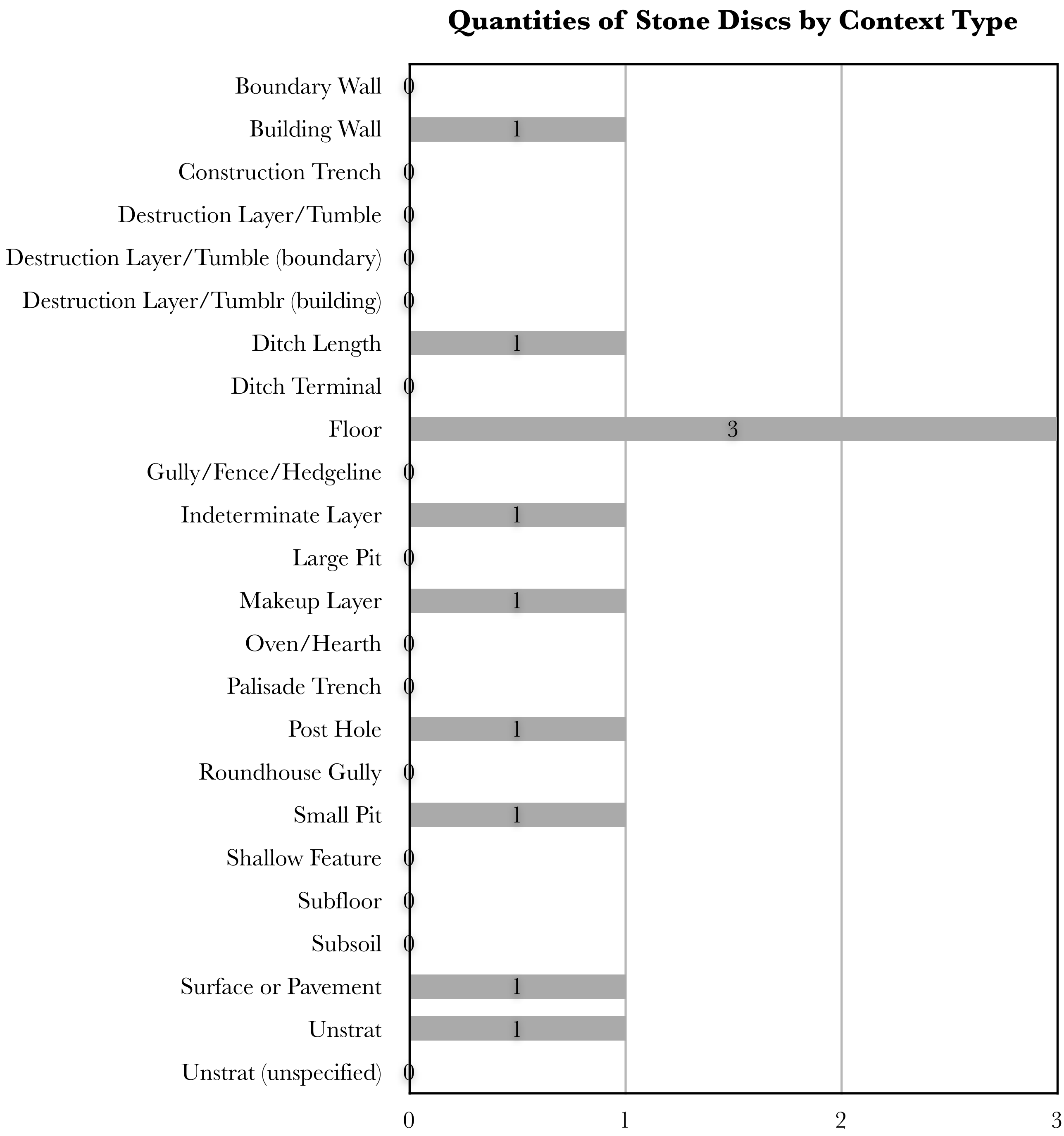

Figure 4.46: *Quantities of stone disc by context type.*

Boundary	1
Floor	3
Layer	2
Negative Feature	1
Structure	2
Surface	1
Unstratified	1

Relative Quantities of Stone Discs by Context Category

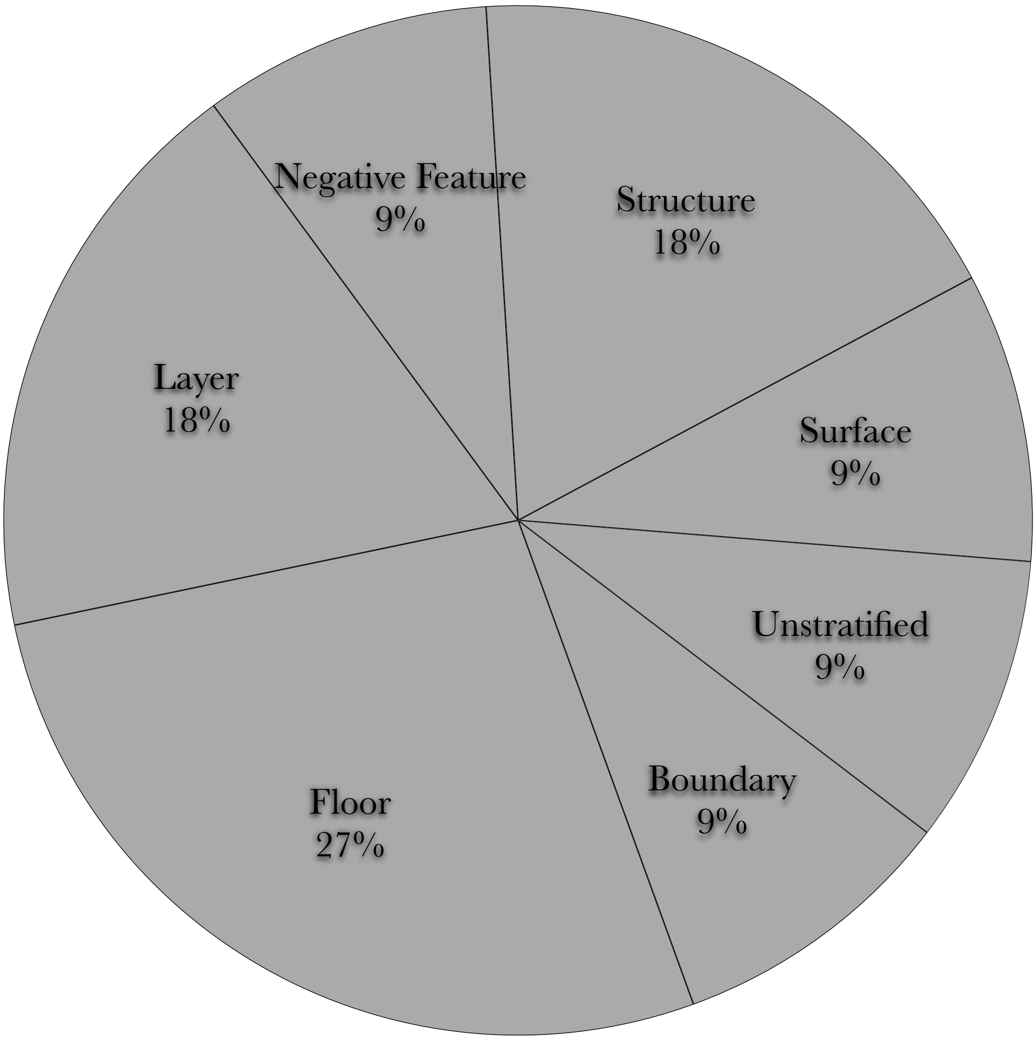

Figure 4.47: *Quantities of stone disc by context category.*

Gritstone/ Whinstone	2
Sandstone	14
Schist	2
Unspecified	5
Unspecified Sedimentary	2
‘Water of Ayr stone’	1

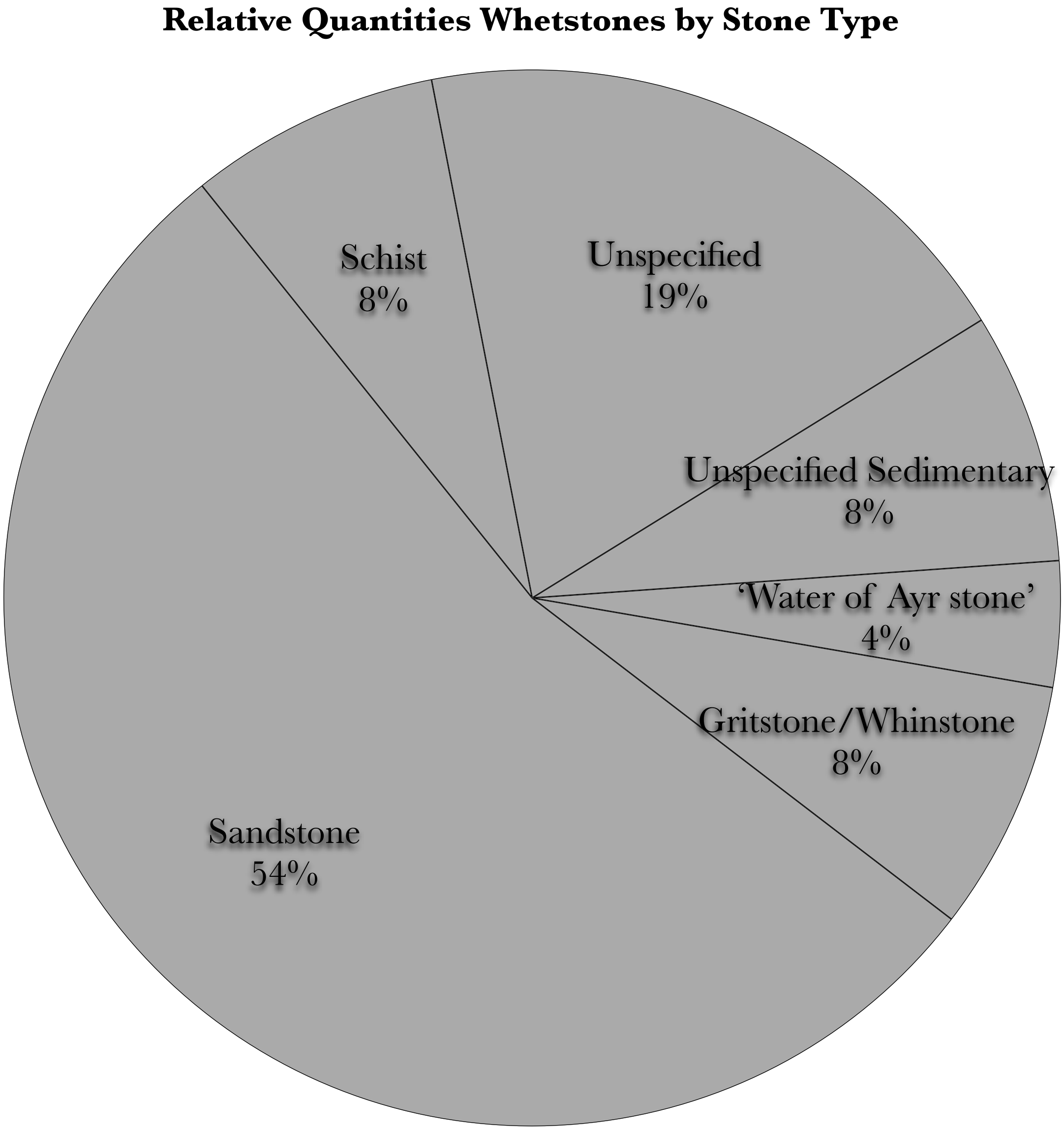

Figure 4.48: *Quantities of whetstone by stone type.*

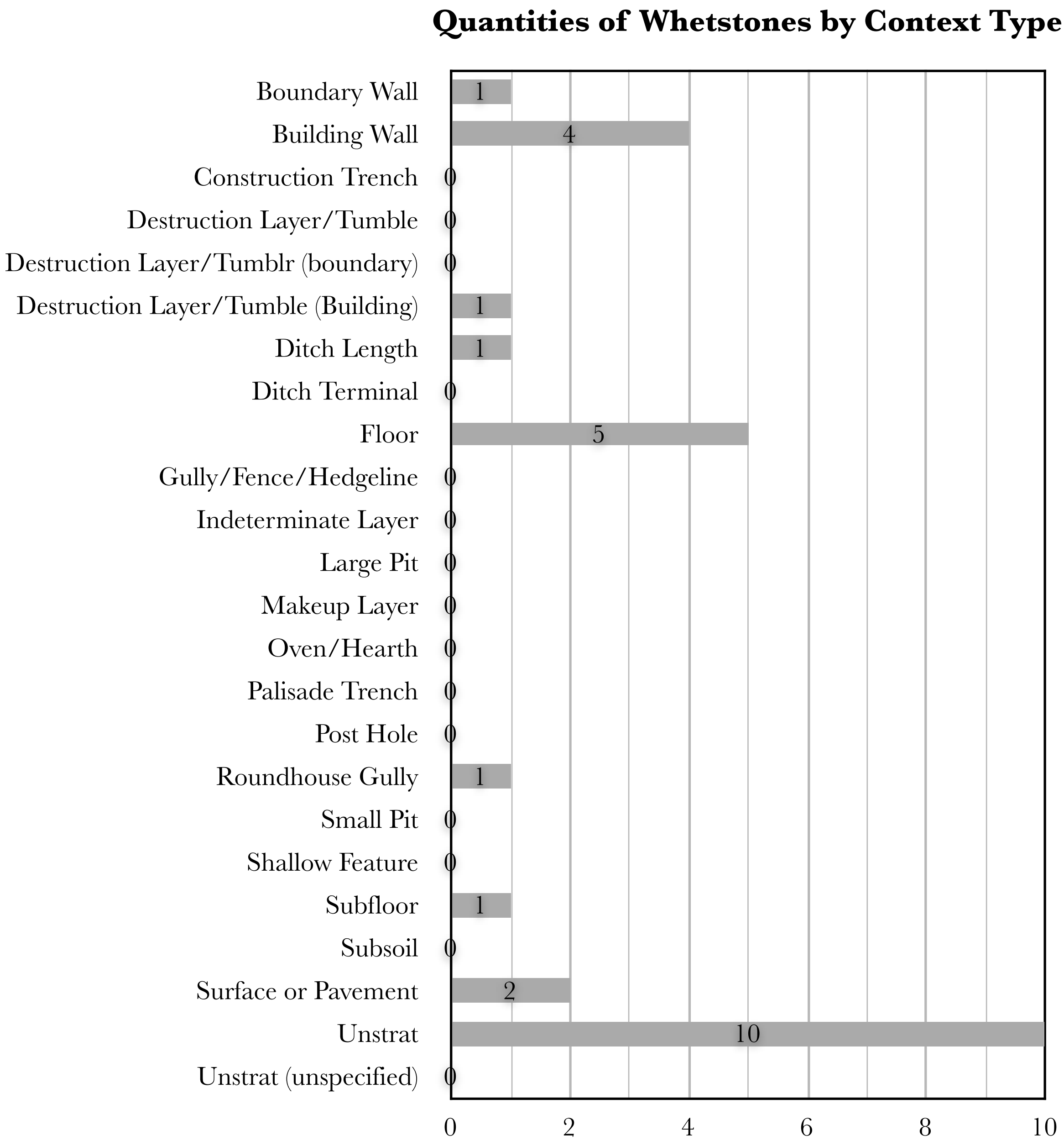

Figure 4.49: *Quantities of whetstone by context type.*

Boundary	2
Floor	6
Structure	6
Surface	2
Unstratified	10

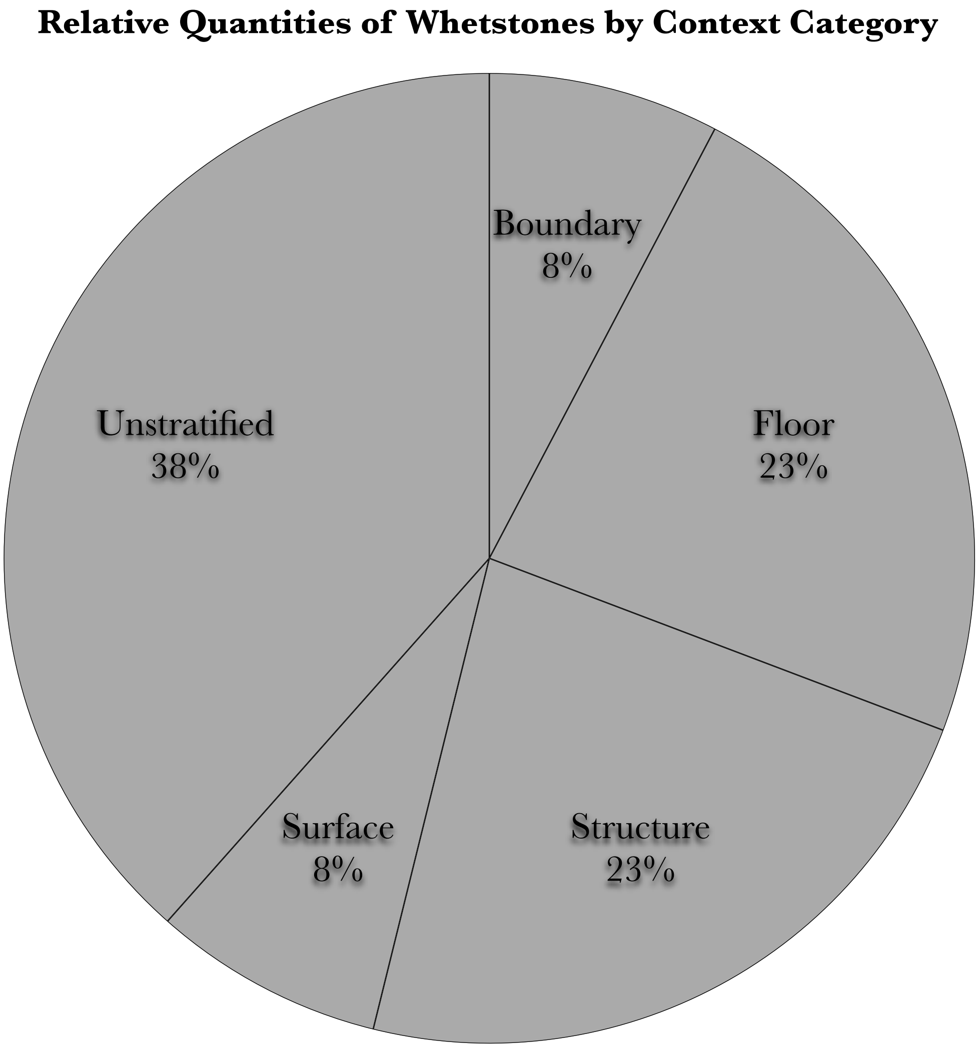

Figure 4.50: *Quantities of whetstone by context type.*

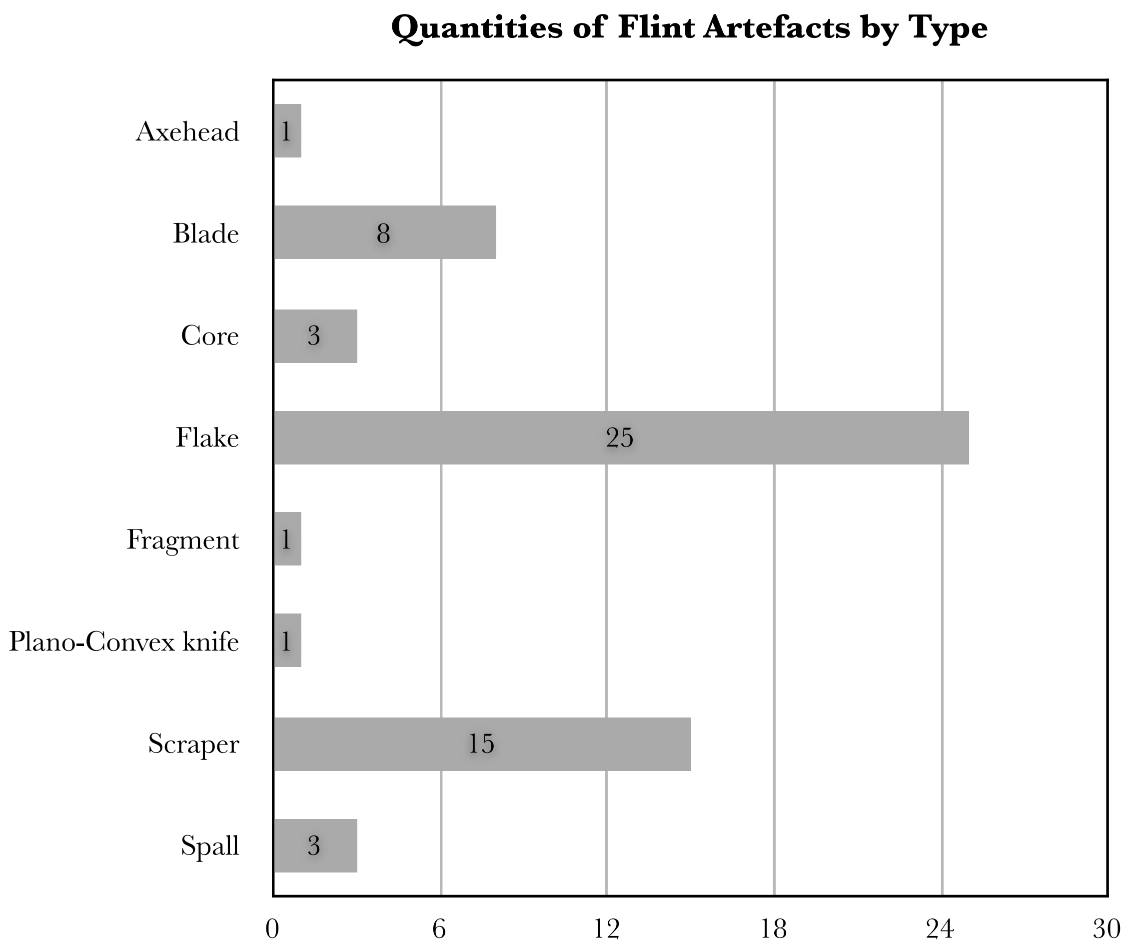

Figure 4.51: *Quantities of flint artefacts by type.*

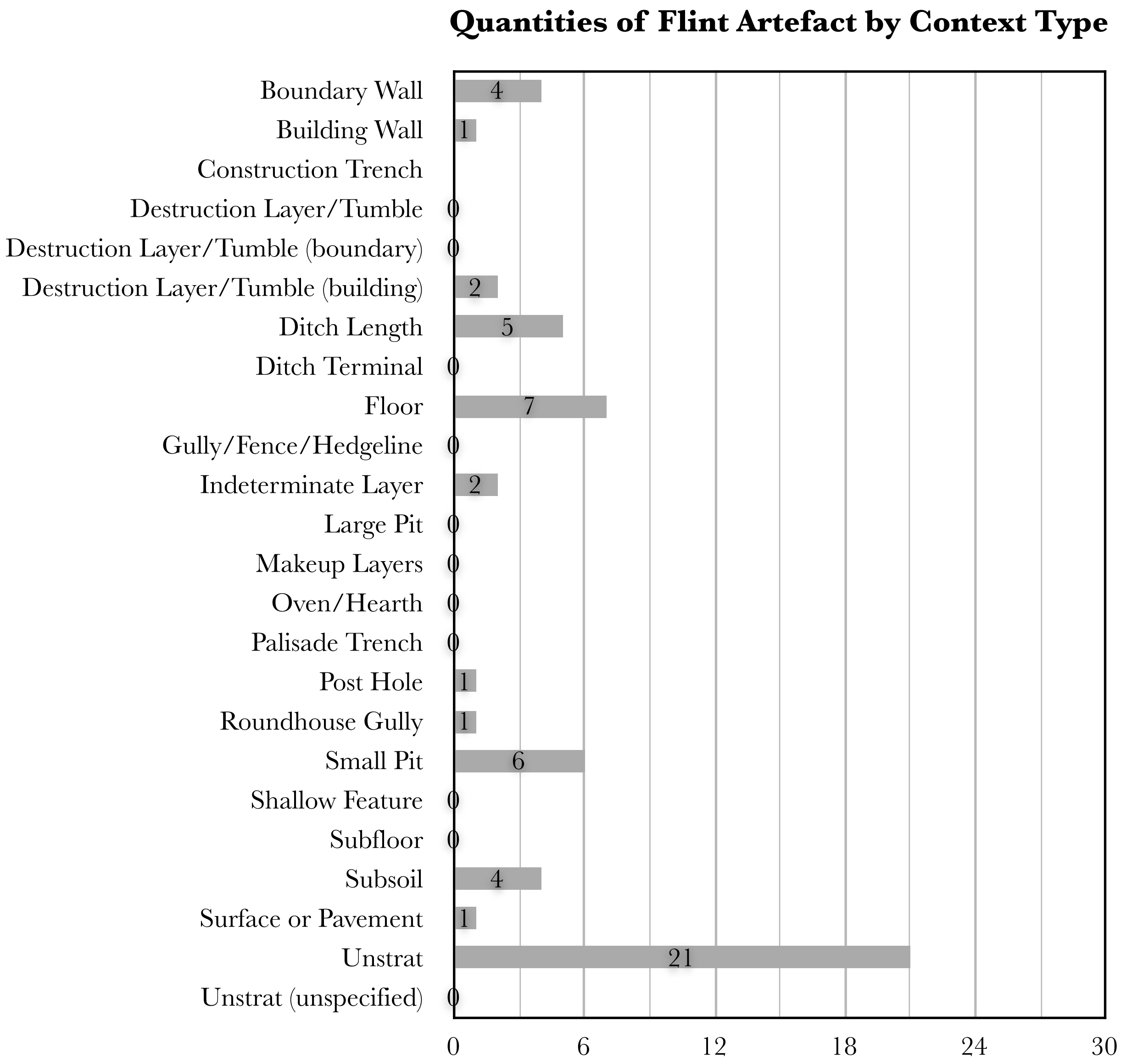

Figure 4.52: *Quantities of flint artefacts by context type.*

Boundary	9
Floor	7
Layer	6
Negative Feature	6
Structure	5
Surface	1
Unstratified	21

Quantities of Flint Artefacts by Context Category

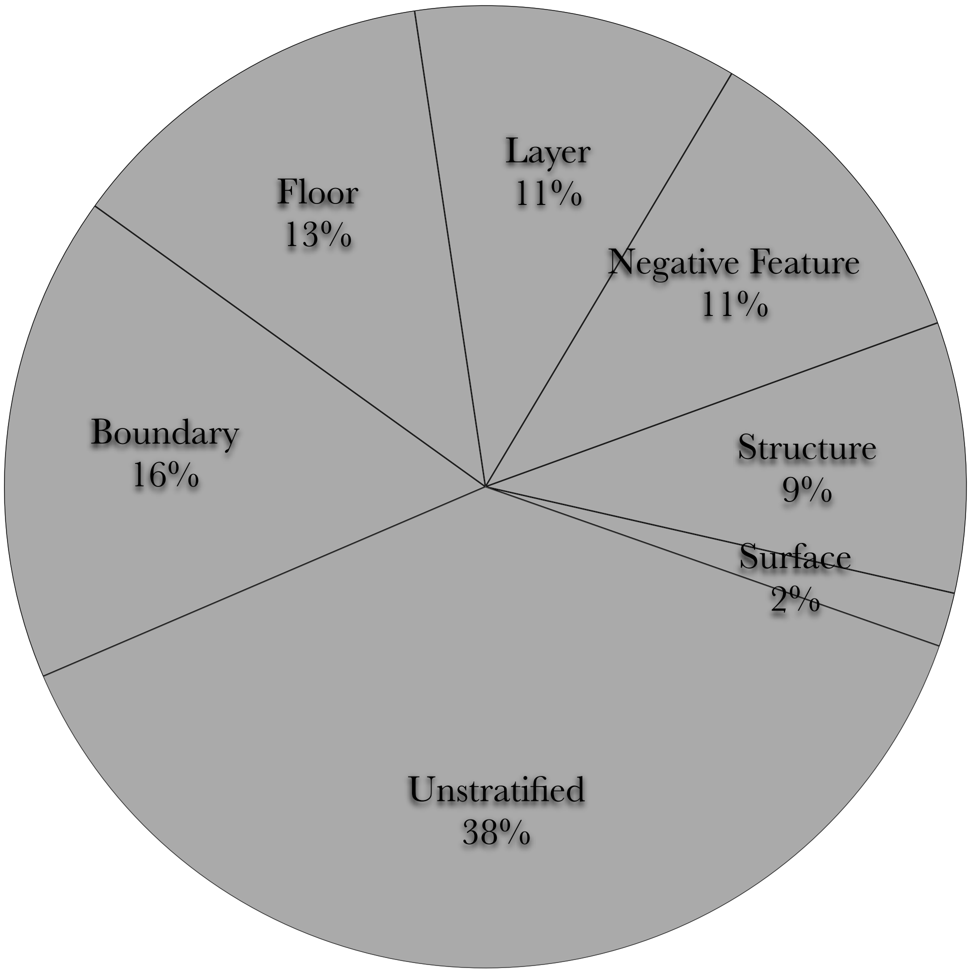

Figure 4.53: *Quantities of flint artefacts by context category..*

Cu Alloy	19
Iron	33
Lead	11

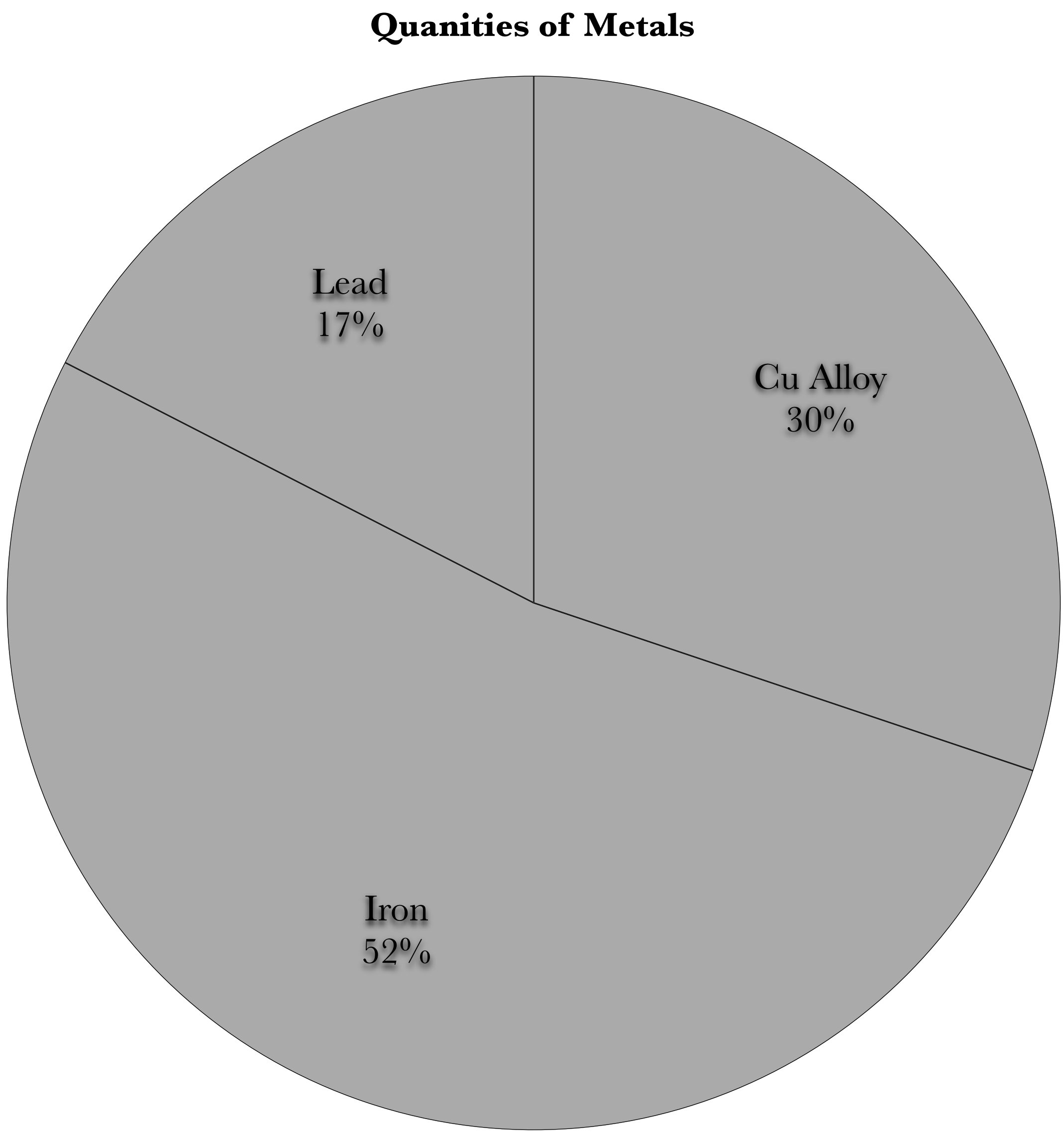

Figure 4.54: *Metal artefacts by specific material.*

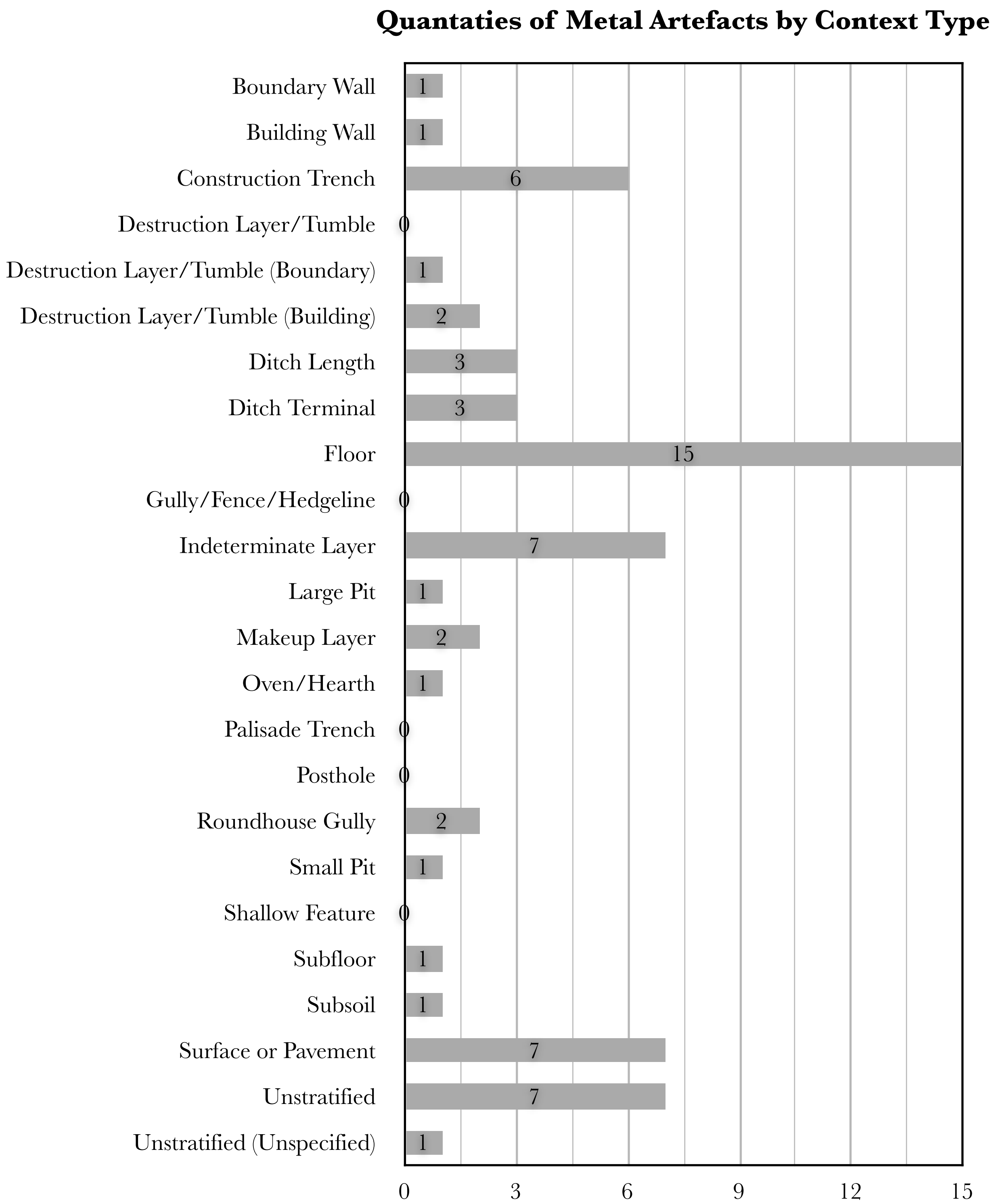

Figure 4.55: *Metal artefacts by context type.*

Boundary	8
Structure	11
Floor	16
Hearth	1
Layer	10
Negative Feature	2
Surface	7
Unstratified	8

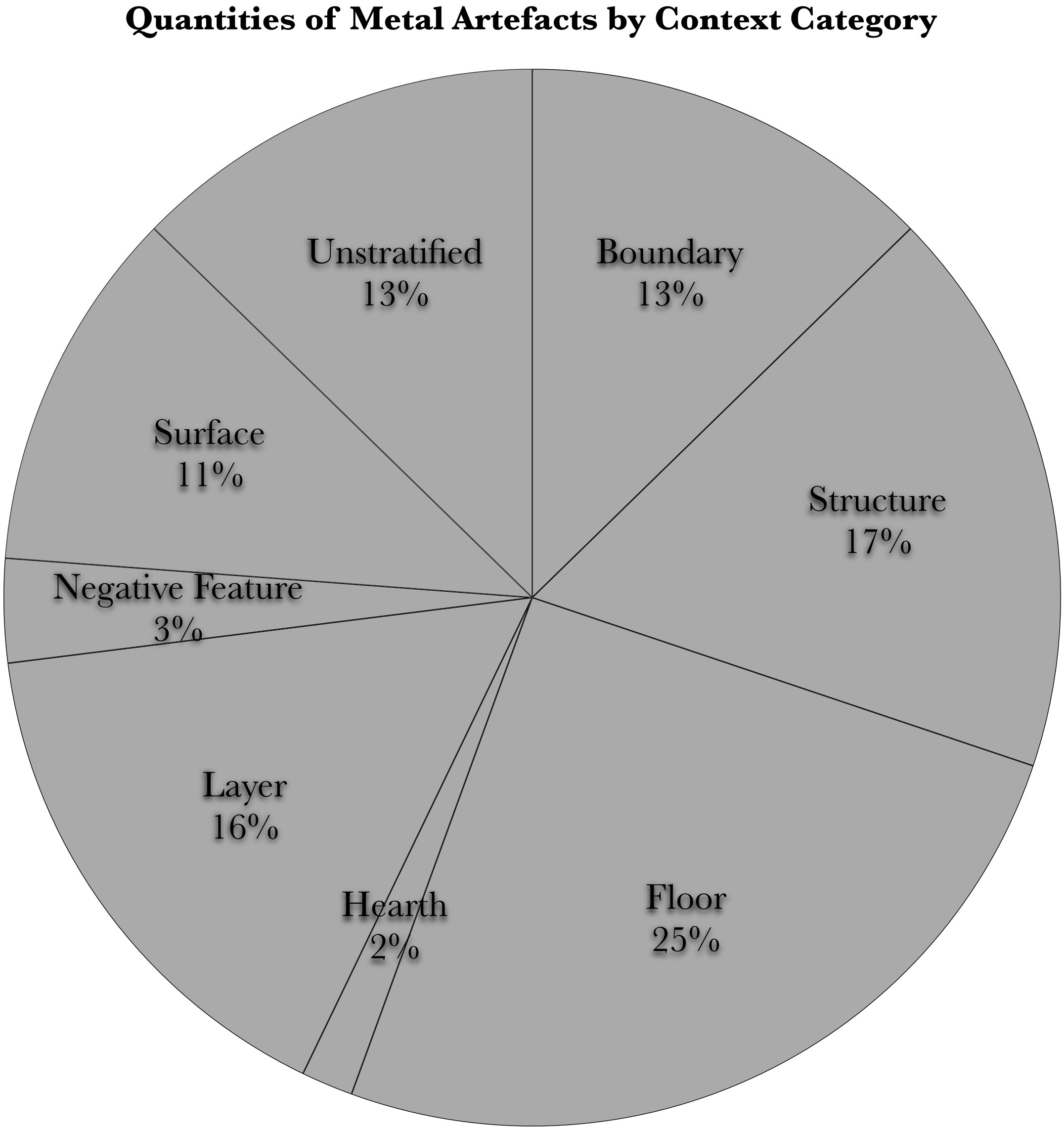

Figure 4.56: *Quantities of metal artefacts by context category.*

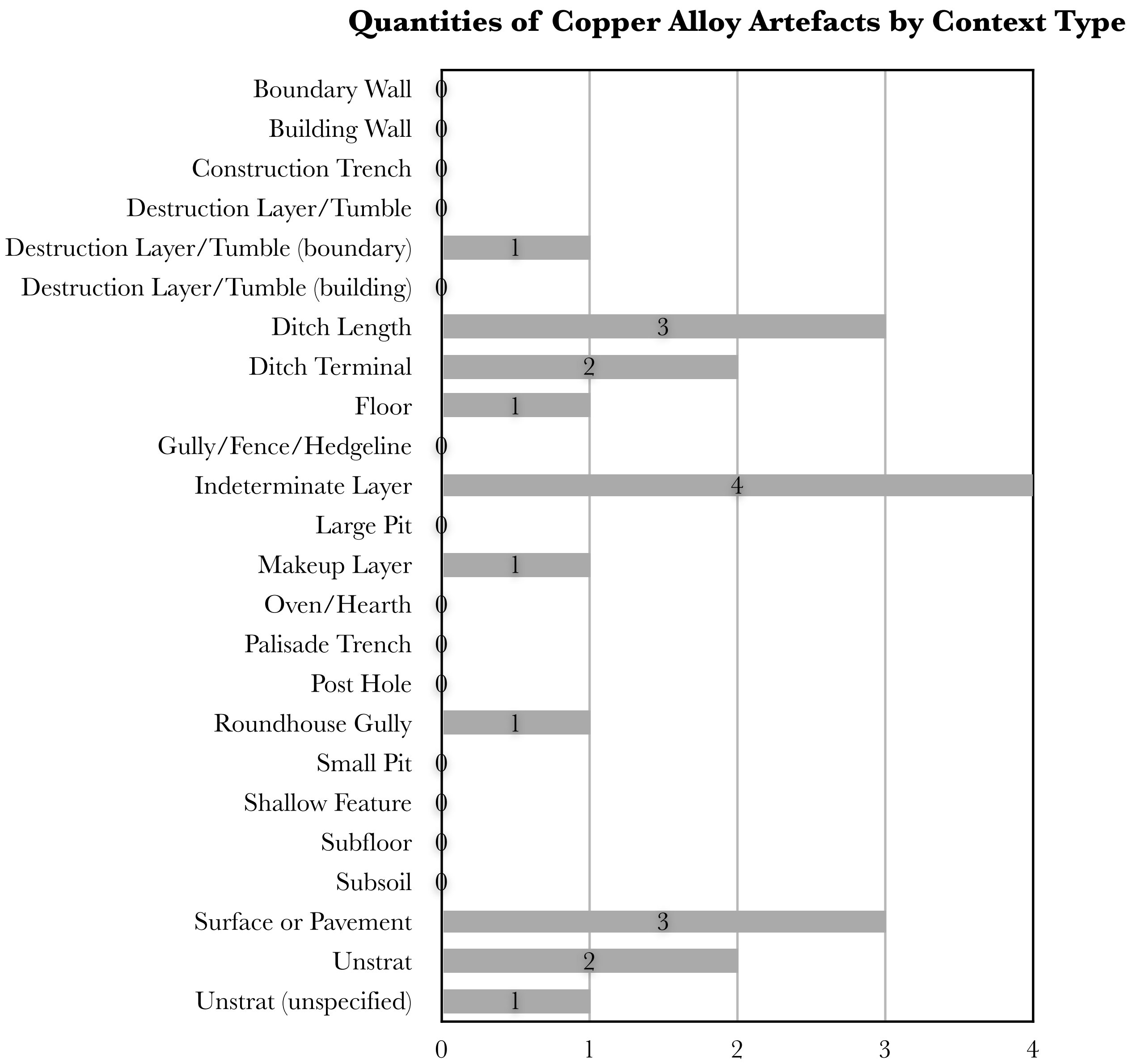

Figure 4.57: *Quantities of copper alloy artefacts by context type.*

Boundary	6
Floor	1
Layer	5
Structure	1
Surface	3
Unstratified	3

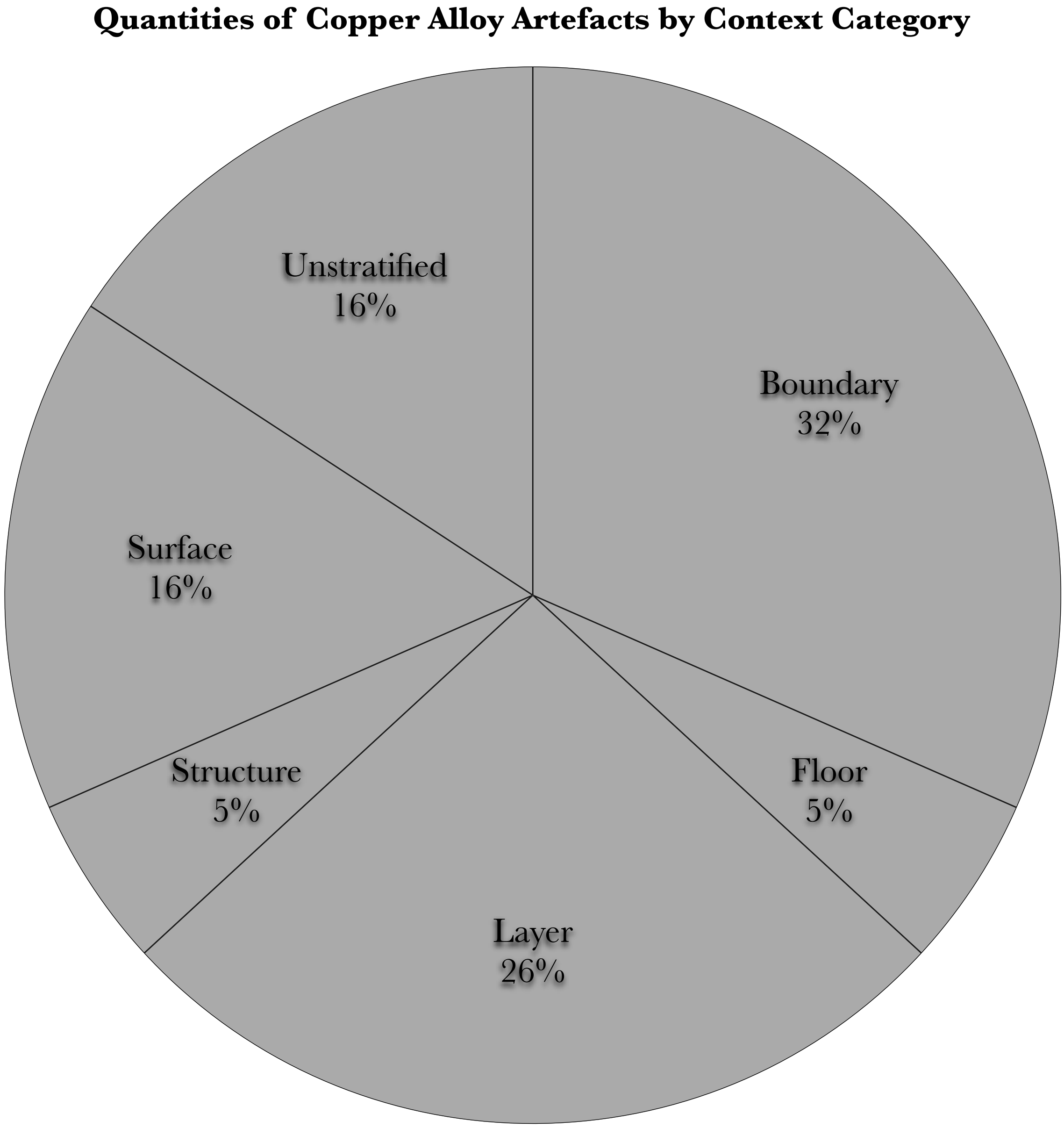

Figure 4.58: *Quantities of copper alloy artefacts by context category.*

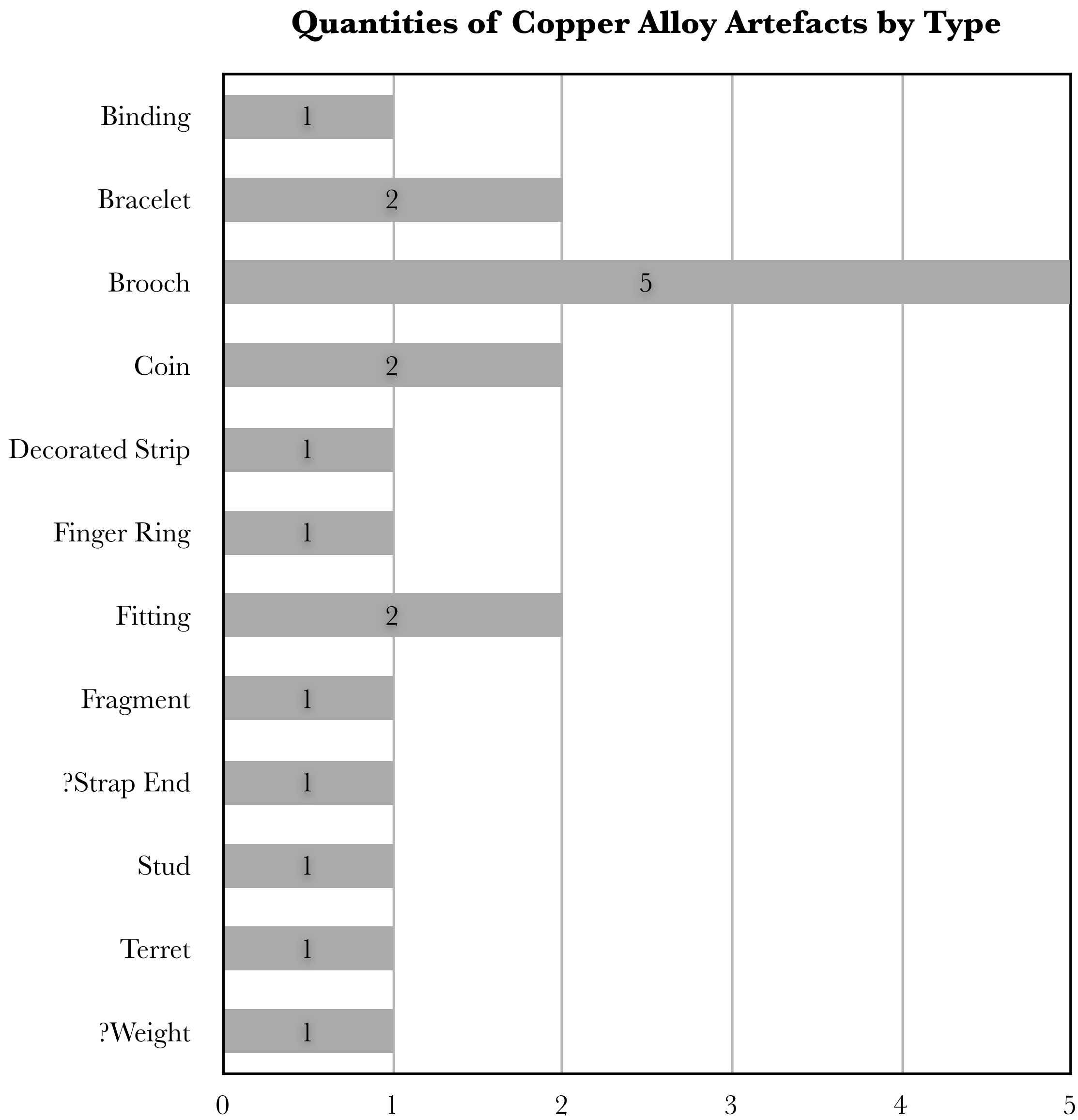

Figure 4.59: *Quantities of copper alloy artefacts by type.*

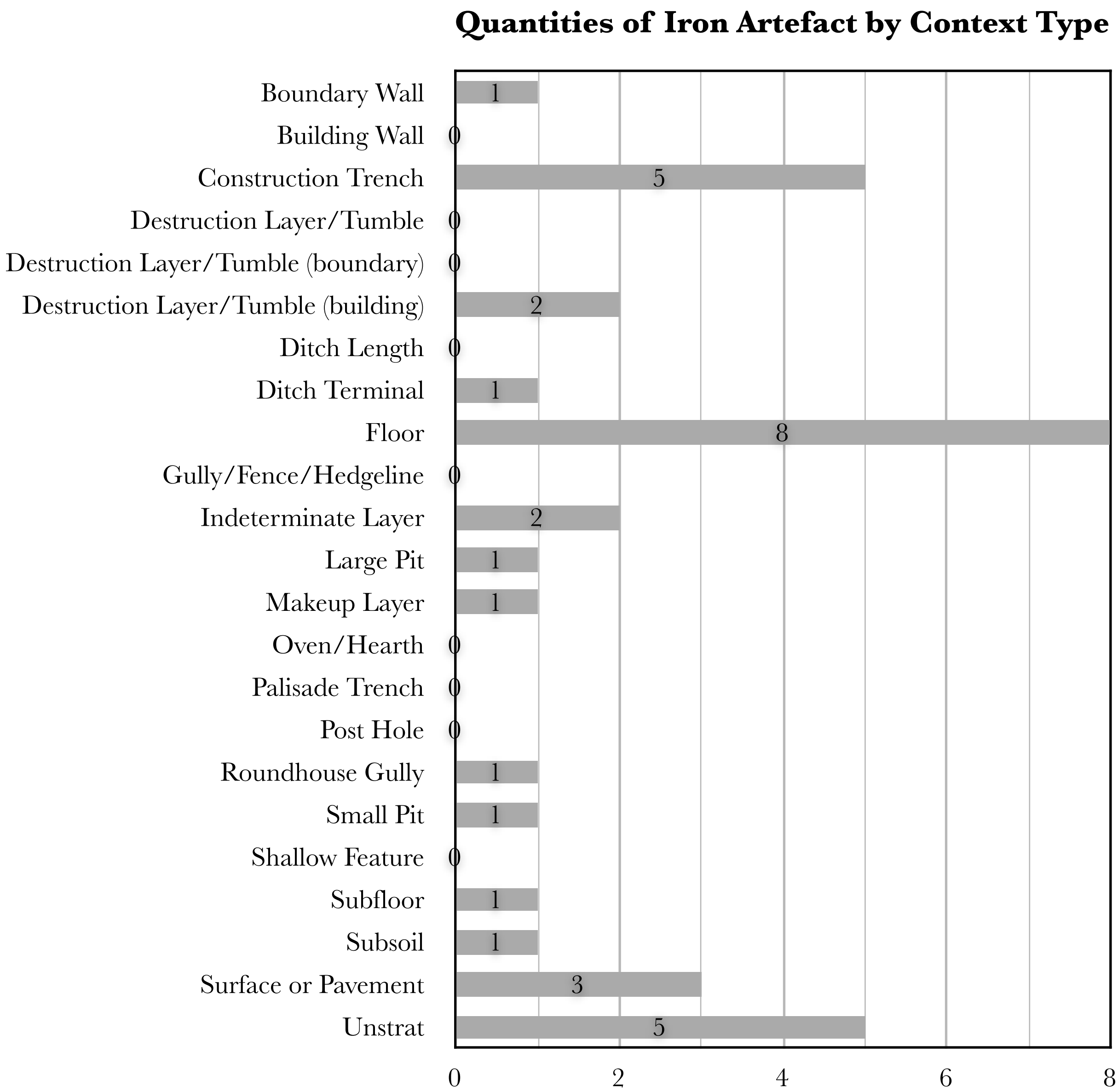

Figure 4.60: *Quantities of iron artefacts by context type.*

Boundary	2
Floor	9
Layer	4
Negative Feature	2
Structure	8
Surface	3
Unstratified	5

Relative Quantities of Iron Artefacts by Context Category

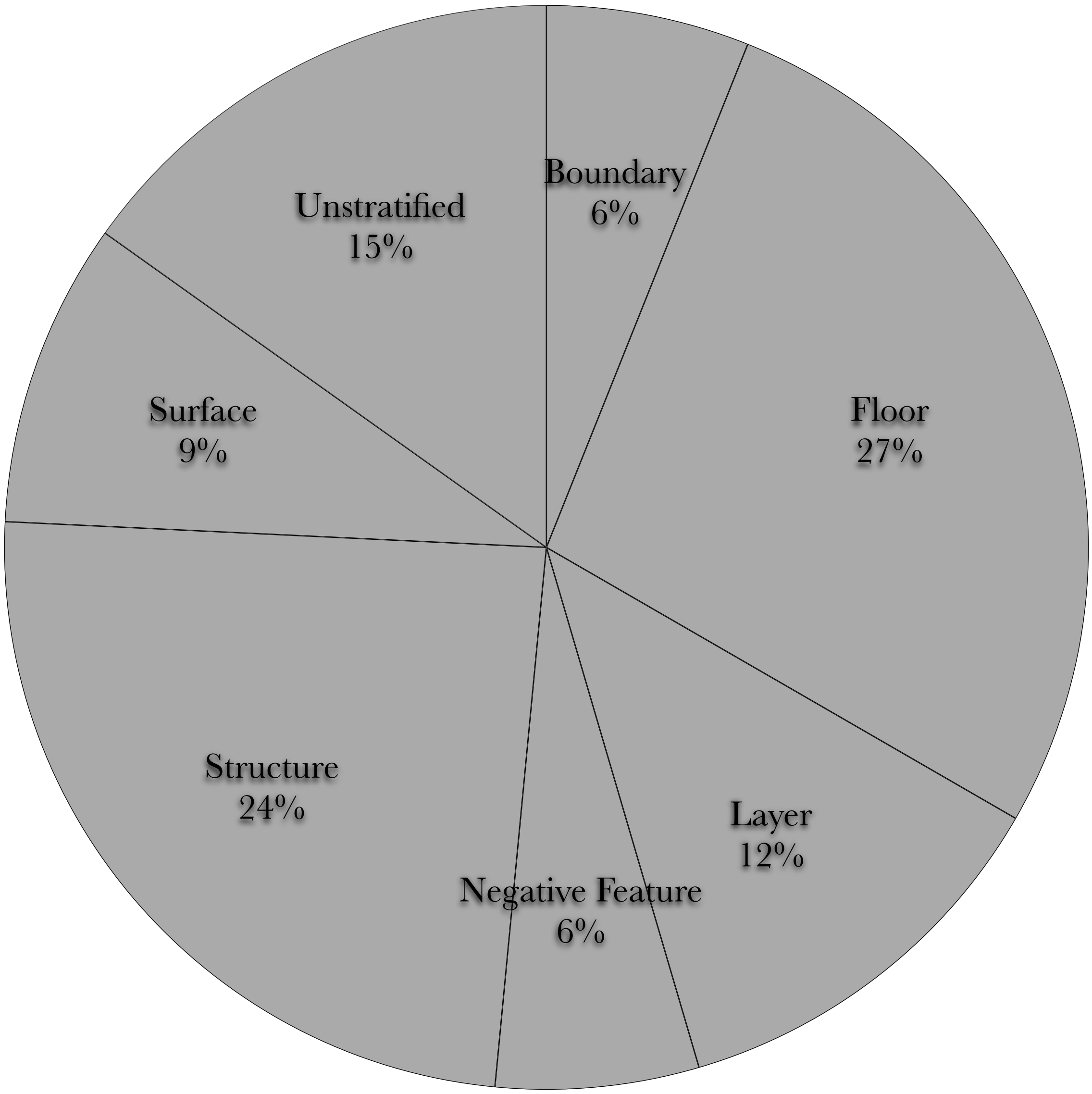

Figure 4.61: *Quantities of iron artefacts by context category.*

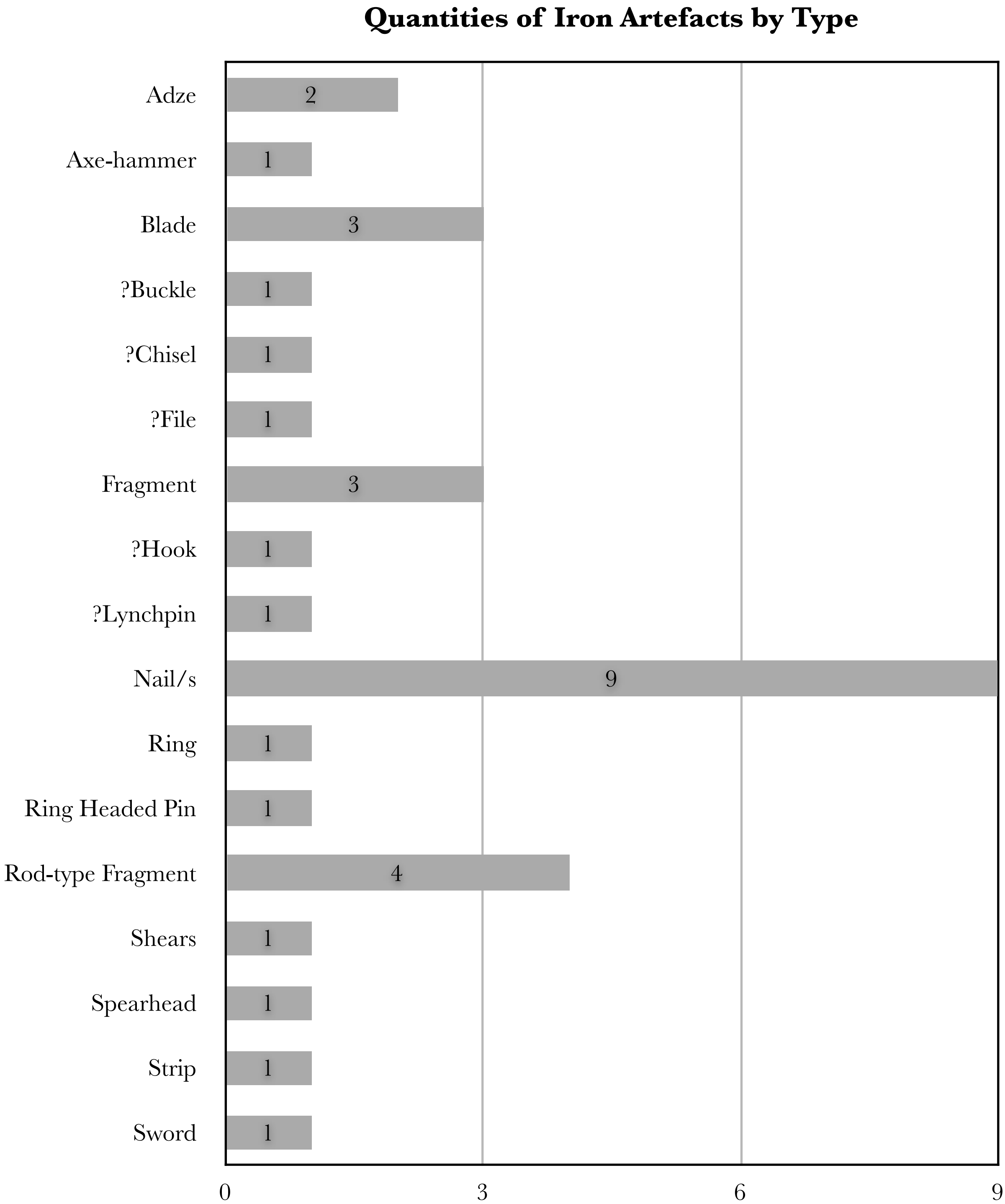

Figure 4.62: *Quantities of iron artefacts by type*

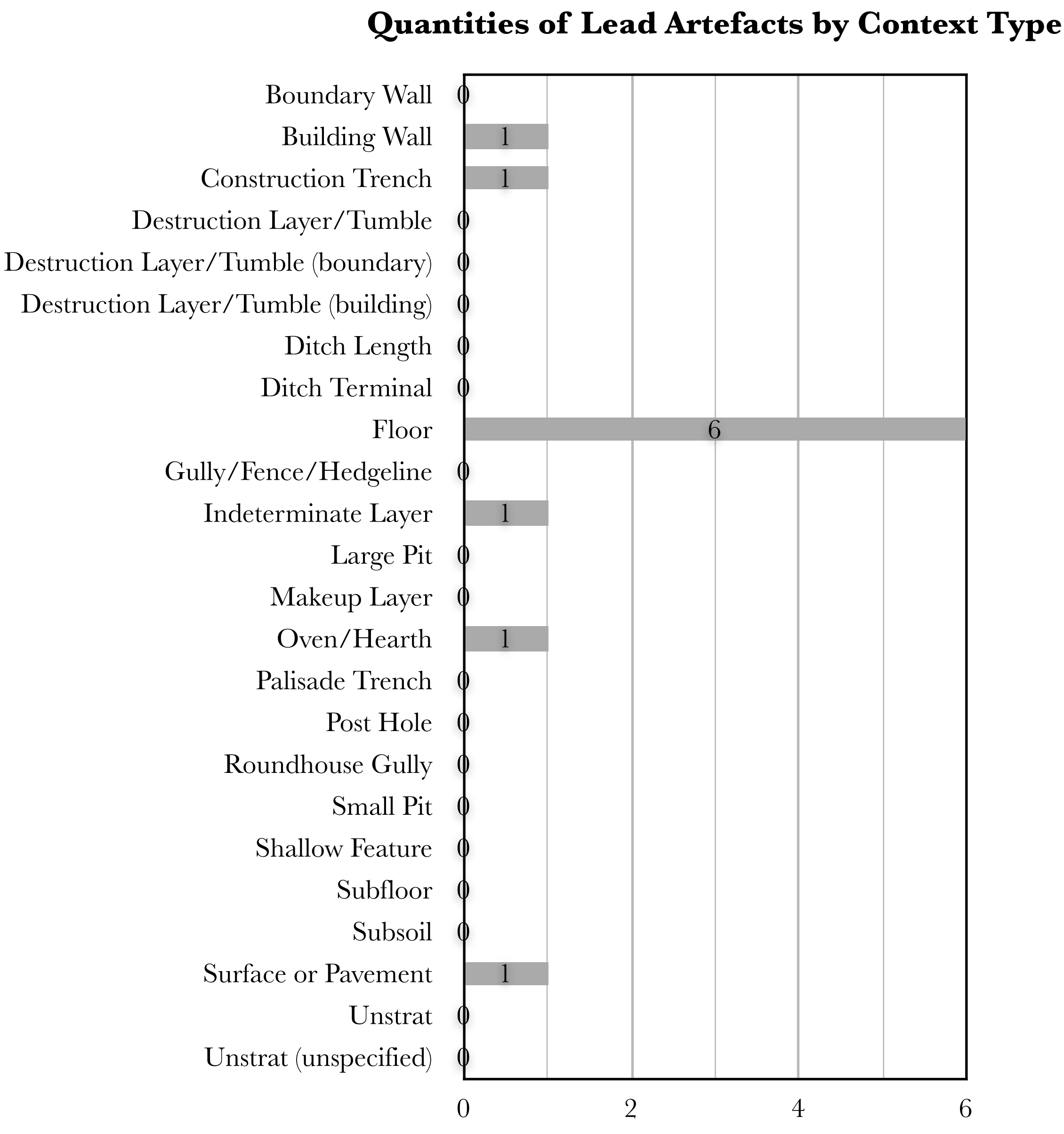

Figure 4.63: *Quantities of lead artefact by context type.*

Floor	6
Hearth	1
Layer	1
Structure	2
Surface	1

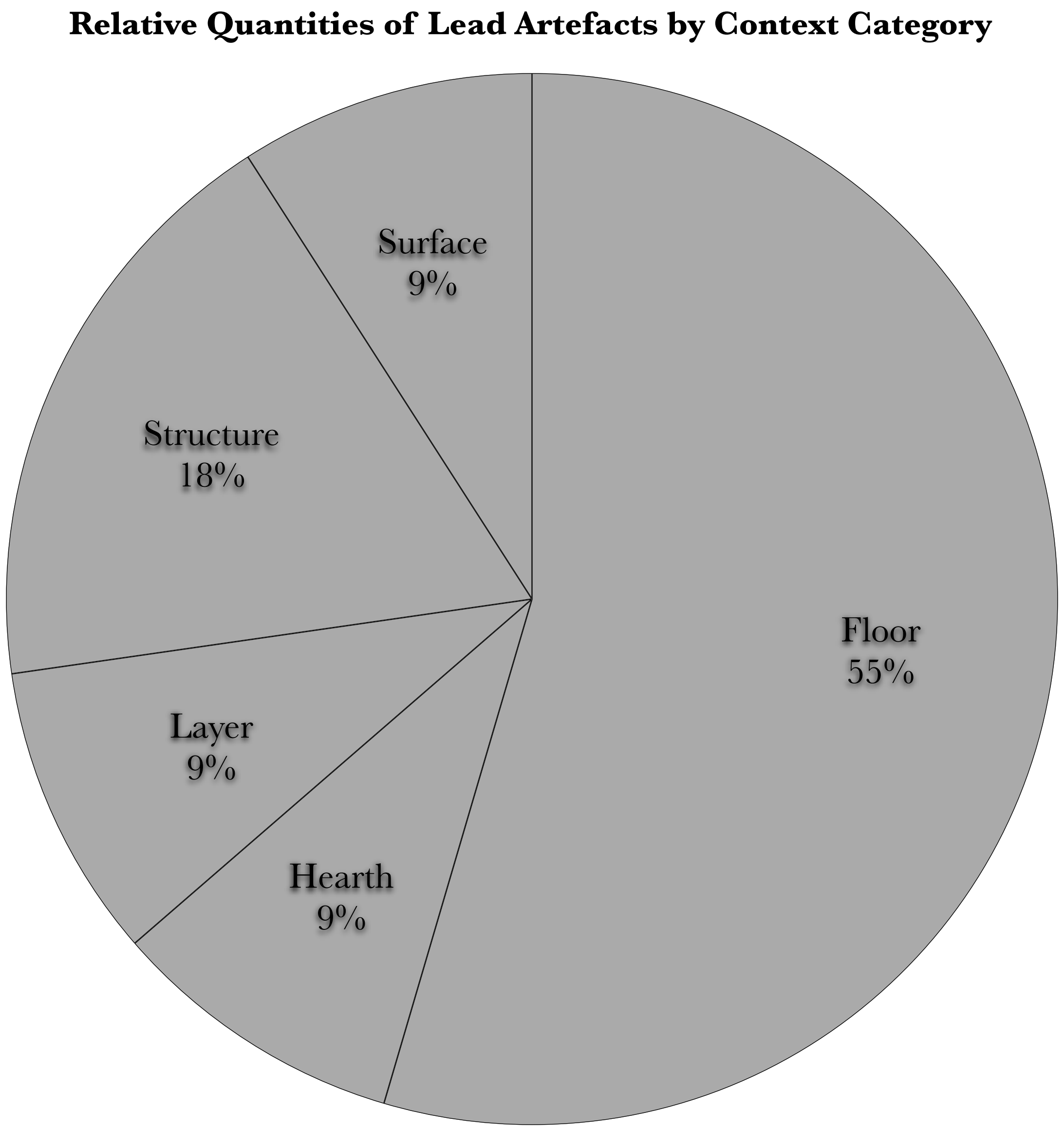

Figure 4.64: *Quantities of lead artefact by context category.*

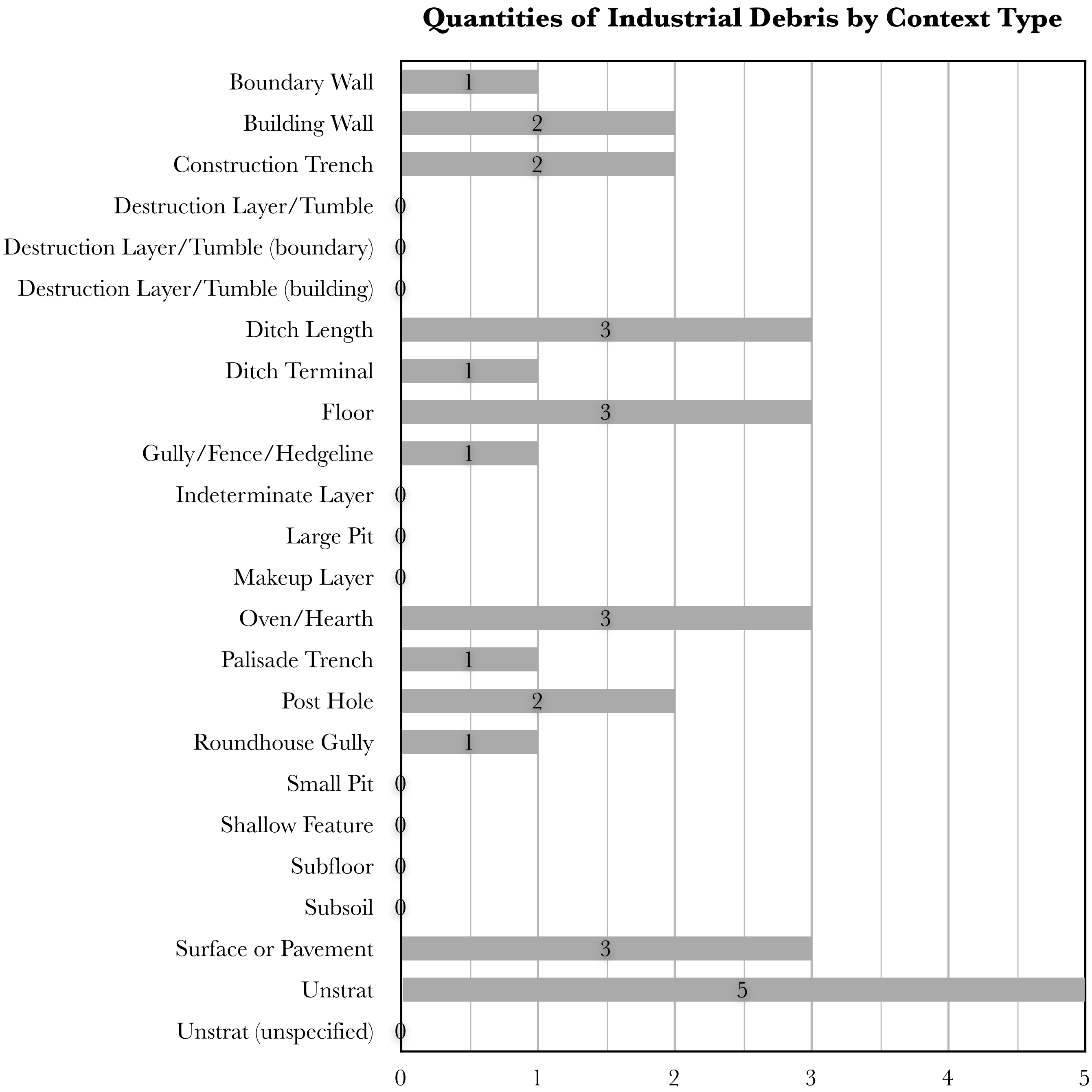

Figure 4.65: *Quantities of industrial debris by context type.*

Boundary	7
Floor	3
Hearth	3
Structure	7
Surface	3
Unstratified	5

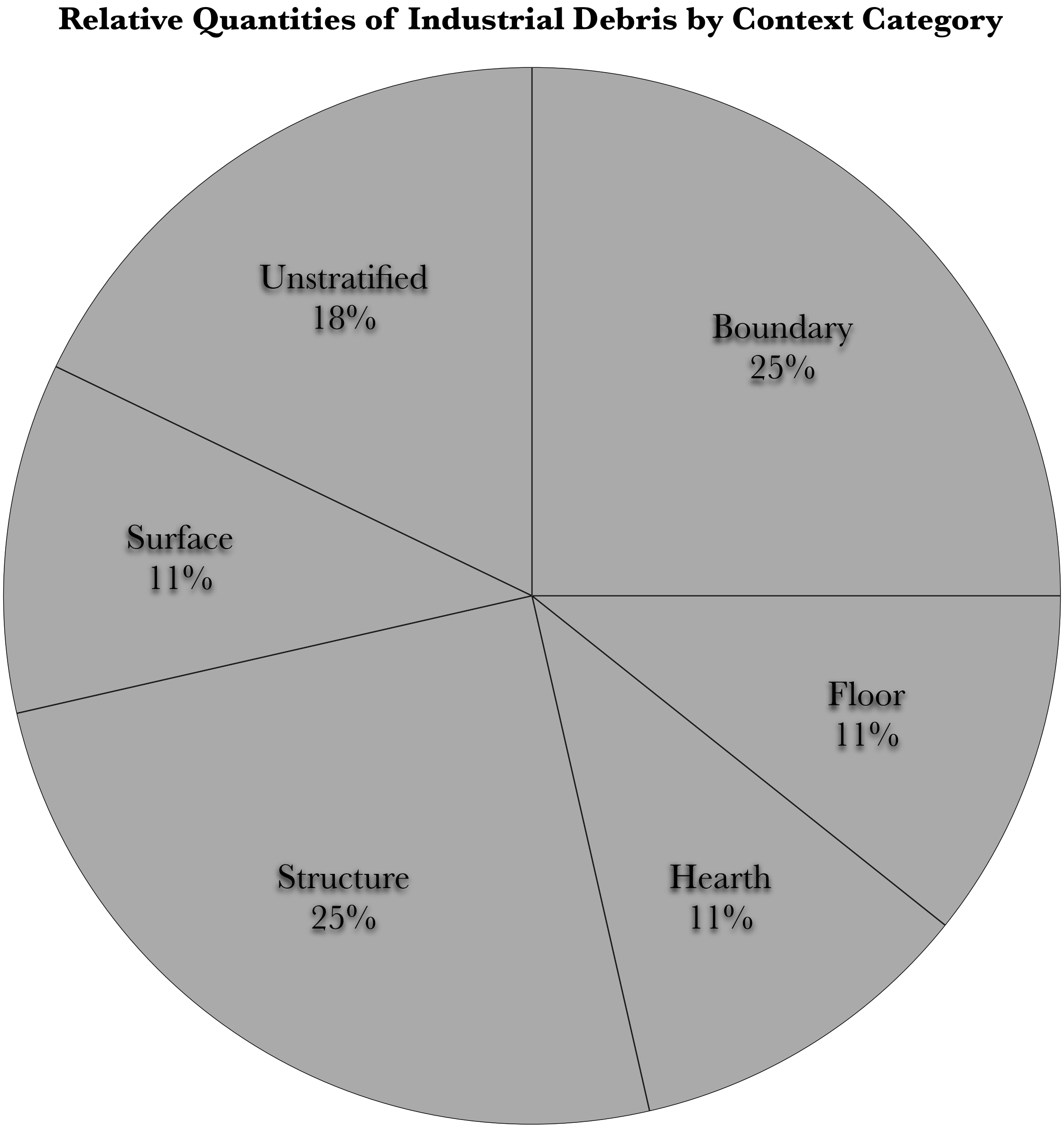

Figure 4.66: *Quantities of industrial debris by context category.*

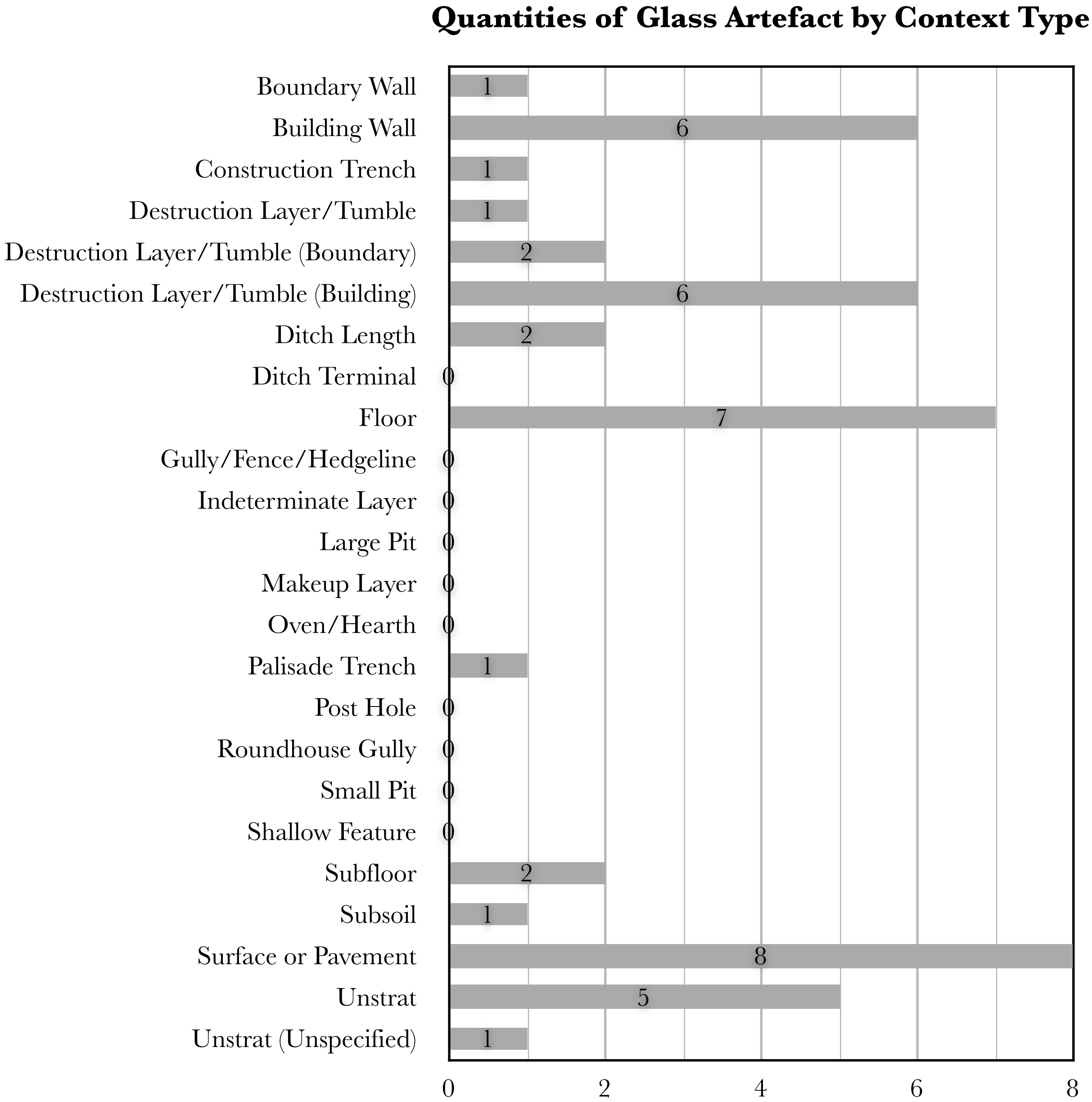

Figure 4.67: *Quantities of glass artefacts by context type.*

Boundary	6
Floor	9
Layer	2
Structure	13
Surface	8
Unstratified	6

Relative Quantities of Glass Artefacts by Context Category

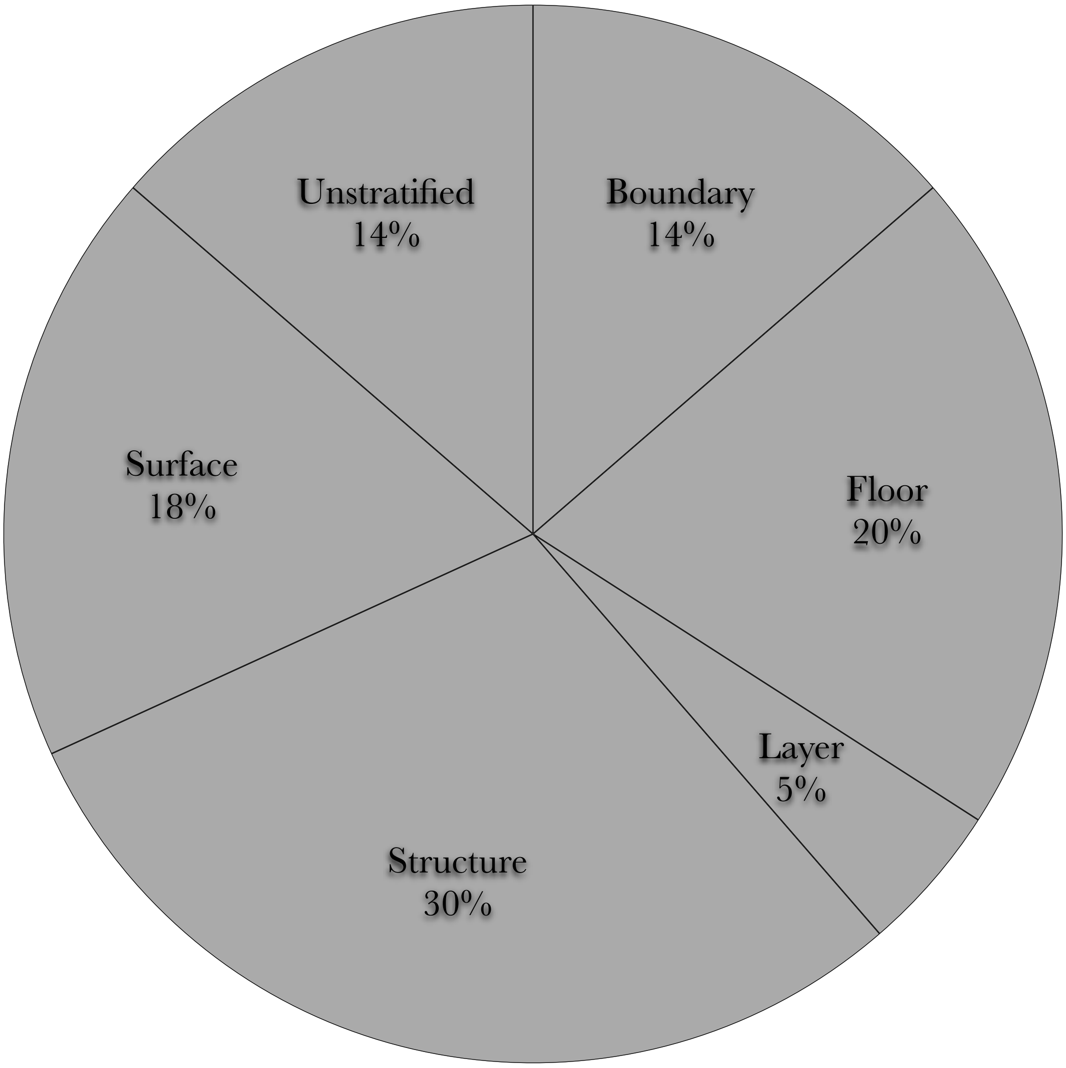

Figure 4.68: *Quantities of glass artefacts by context category.*

Boundary	1
Floor	7
Layer	2
Structure	12
Surface	7
Unstratified	4

Relative Quantities of Glass Artefacts Exluding Roman Vessels by Context Category

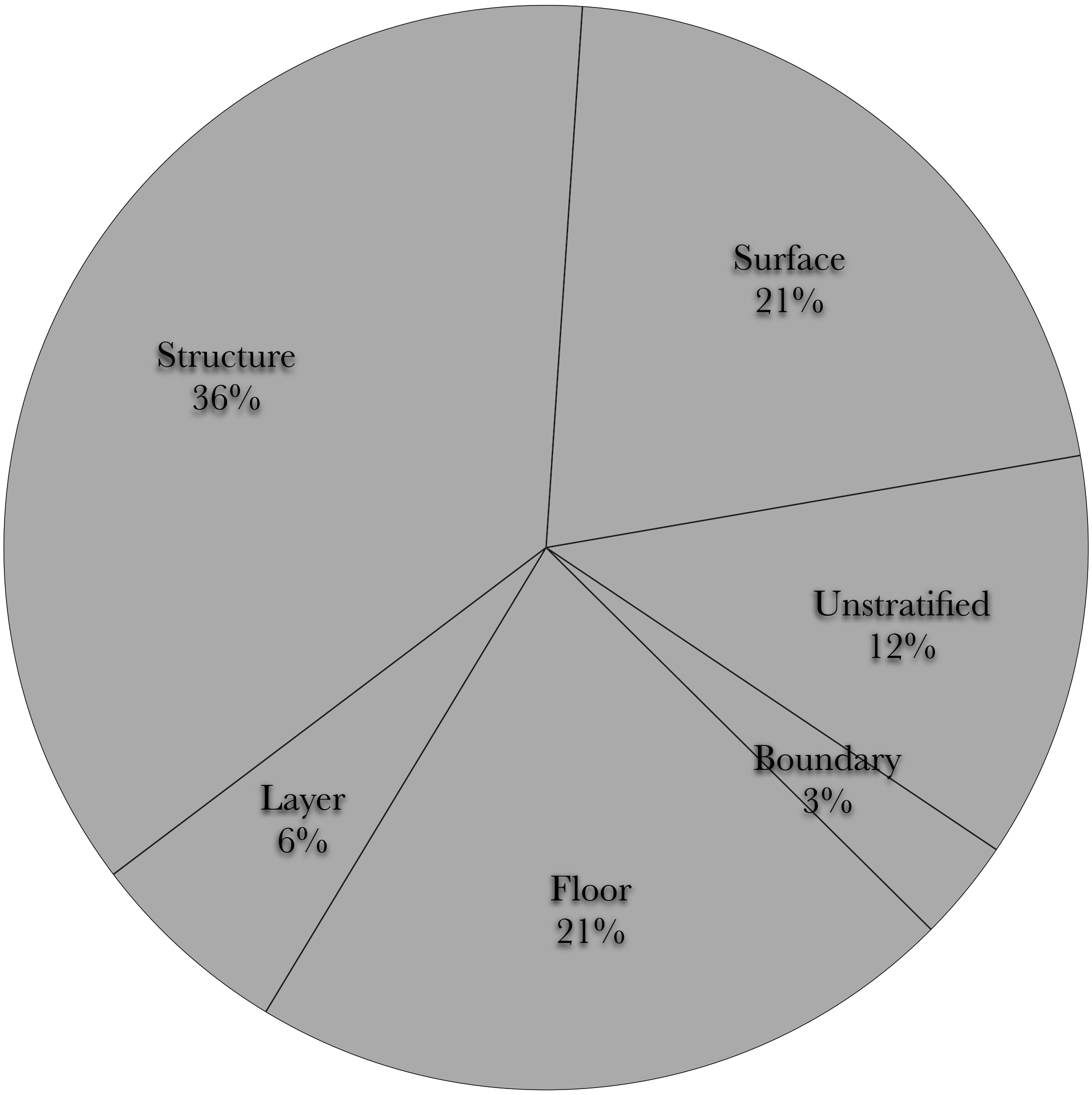

Figure 4.69: *Quantities of glass artefacts by context category, excluding vessel glass.*

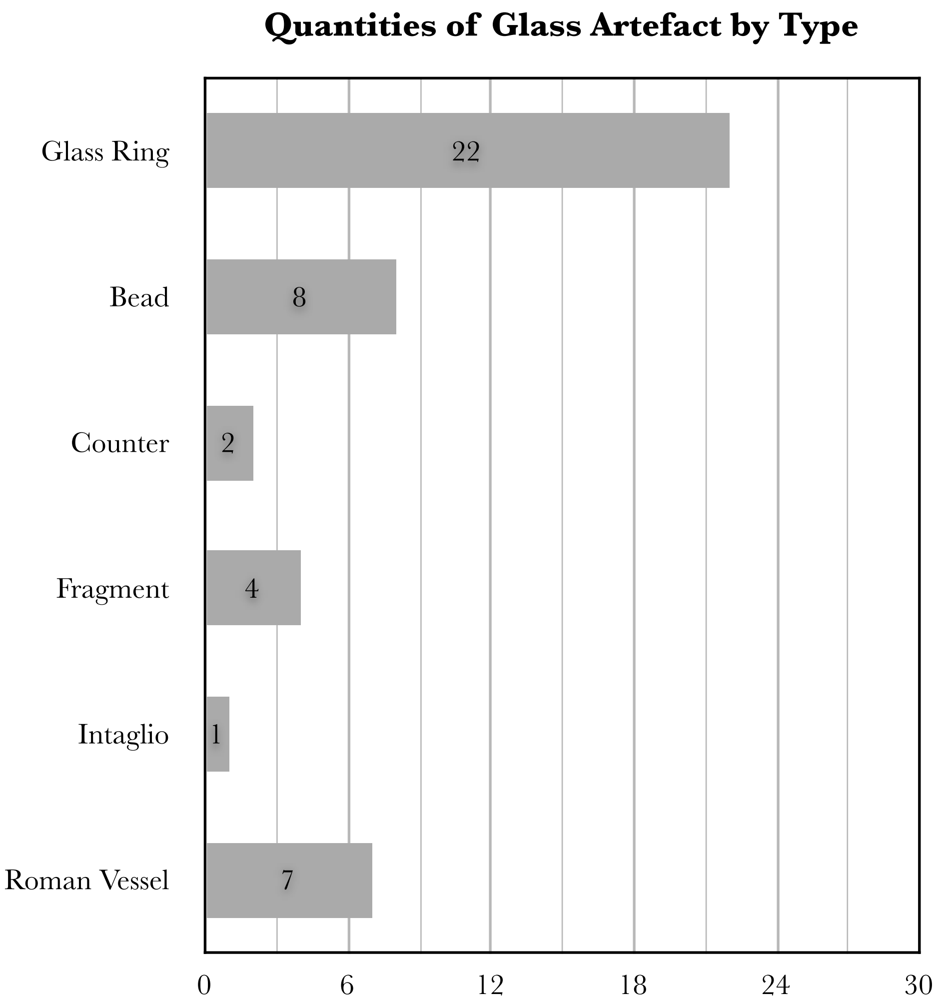

Figure 4.70: *Quantities of glass artefacts by type.*

Surface	2
Structure	2
Floor	1
Boundary	1

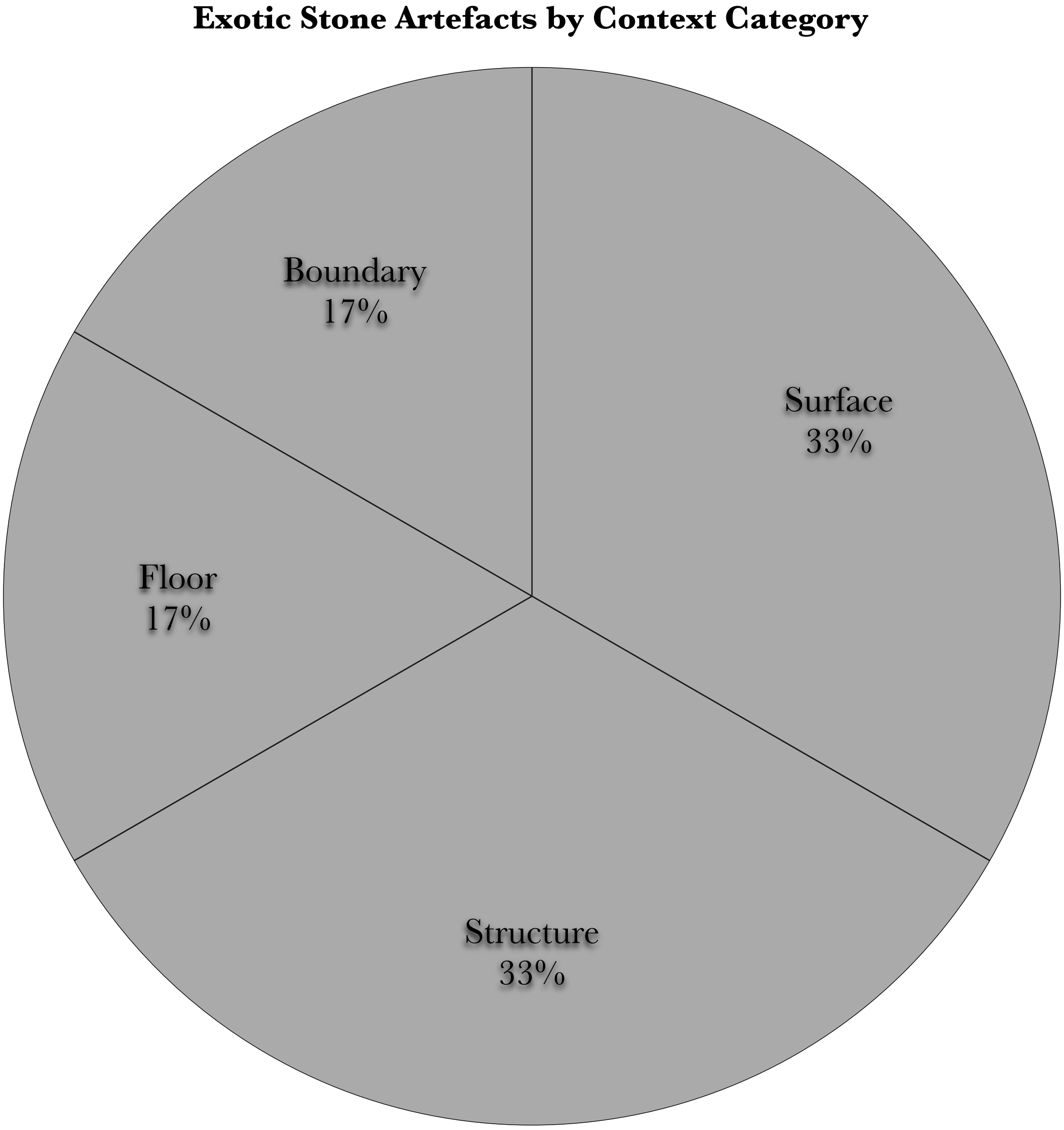

Figure 4.71: *Quantities of exotic stone artefacts by context category.*

Chapter Five: Settlement and Space

Introduction

The preceding chapters have discussed in detail the evidence for use of, deposition of and attitudes towards material culture in the north-eastern Iron Age. This has shown that the social manipulation of material culture was primarily geared towards small, relatively non-hierarchical, economically independent social units who shared a broadly similar economic basis, though on varying scales of production over time.

The first part of this chapter will carry on from Chapter Two and discuss in greater detail some previous work on settlement morphology and settlement distribution as well as offering a discussion of Iron Age architecture studies in the region and beyond. This will be followed by an explanation of the ways in which settlements have been classified in this study and a discussion of the physical, social and economic settings of these settlement types and the physical social and economic situations which they would have in turn created, illustrated with extensively excavated or well surveyed examples, to discuss the reasons behind these similarities or differences. The relevant distribution maps are collected together at the end of the chapter.

These settlements will be examined on the architectural, sub-landscape scale — Clarke's (1977) 'semi-micro scale' — focusing on the daily theatres of human practice and interaction in buildings and settlements as well as discussing the landscape distribution of settlements to the extent possible given the dataset used (see below).

This will conclude with a narrative overview of the settlement history of the region and a discussion of how this reflects potential changes in social organization over time and the interplay of regional and larger social networks and traditions.

Aims and Objectives

The present chapter will examine the varied settlement architecture of the region. The primary goal of this will be to ascertain whether the different settlement types represent distinct communities in the archaeological record, as has been suggested by Ferrell (1992) or whether the types represent adaptations to local circumstances by broadly similar communities with similar social structures. This will be accomplished through a categorization and examination of different forms of settlement and the ways in which space was constructed and used across them.

Theoretical background

When spatial analysis is considered, archaeologists may often think of the explicitly processual work of the 1970s, such as the work on Glastonbury Lake Village by Clarke (Clarke 1972; Clarke 1977) and the Thiessan polygon laden, central place focused studies of the 1970's (Cunliffe 1971; Hodder and Hassal 1971; Hodder 1974). Beyond the defined concept of a scientific 'spatial archaeology' however, the study of spatial patterning permeates all archaeological work. The most basic of plans or distribution maps, be they field sketches or elaborate GIS work, are a visual presentation of the results of human agency in the past which created recoverable spatial patterns. Recent work on architectural experiences (such as the 'Affective Properties of Architecture' session at TAG 2009) and even sound in archaeological contexts (Scarre and Lawson 2006) essentially rely on the results of past human manipulation of space for their data. In this thesis, spatial data will be defined as the archaeologically recoverable patterns left by past human manipulation of space.

Within the context of Iron Age studies, the idea of social reconstruction based on spatial patterning has been treated with some skepticism in the face of mounting criticism of David Clarke's influential but latterly controversial 1972 consideration of Glastonbury Lake Village. In this he proposed to identify groupings of buildings which he then related to traditional nuclear family units, and considered activity within the houses using the poorly phased artefact distribution evidence. This was subsequently challenged formally by John Barrett (Barrett 1987) and is now largely considered to be consigned to history as a processual experiment (see Coles and Minnet 1995), but also a study that had enormous significance. This work of Clarke's is undoubtedly an extreme example of processual, model-based analysis, but an important and necessary stepping stone in the realization of its limitations, and the influence of both the original project and the critique of it have been tremendously important (see Moore 2006, p. 82).

Though subsequently avoiding bold and specific modeling of social organization like Clarke's (1972), the consideration of spatial data has been key to recent understandings of the Iron Age, or indeed the 'different Iron Ages' (Hill and Cumberpatch 1995). Work on the distribution of finds across various scales continues to provide insight (Hutcheson 2004; Moore 2006; Hunter 2007a; Hingley 2006b; Bruhn 2008; Hodgson *et al.* 2001; and into the Roman period Fulford 2001; Hunter 2001; Clarke 1997; Hingley 2006a), and even J. D. Hill's pioneering work with structured deposition in the Iron Age is essentially working with the structured interaction of space and material (Hill 1995a).

Of more significance in this chapter is built space, specifically on the sub-landscape scale, or the 'semi-micro' scale as defined by Clarke (1977). There is a need to integrate work on settlement morphology (such as, for this area, Haselgrove 1982; Haselgrove 1984a; Jobey 1960; Jobey 1962b; Oswald *et al.* 2007; 2008; Ferrell 1992;1995; 1997) and boundaries (Bowden and McOmish 1987; Hingley 1990; Harding *et al.* 2006; Topping and Pearson 2009) with studies of architecture and buildings (Pope 2003a; 2007; Parker-Pearson 1999; Taylor 2001; Moore 2003; Webley 2003; Reid 1989; Guilbert 1981).

There can be a sense of disjointedness when discussing the spatial and physical aspects of Iron Age life, and while excellent work is being done on many aspects and scales of space there has been comparatively little discussion of the practical ways in which these aspects may work together to create the lived environment. As Colin Haselgrove has said, we must situate our narratives 'within the larger 'inhabited' zone in which the routines of everyday life were played out' (Haselgrove 1999, p. 266) An Iron Age individual going about their daily life — hypothetically, awaking in their bed in the loft of a roundhouse, descending, preparing a meal, exiting the roundhouse, tending to animals penned within their settlement, exiting the settlement to attend to the surrounding agriculture, venturing to another nearby settlement to trade or socialize, and returning home — would in effect cross through what are now numerous sub-fields of archaeological consideration (architecture, agriculture, boundaries, landscape studies, inter-site relationships, &c.).

Such an approach has been shown to be successful in recent years, perhaps most notably by Mel Giles (2007) in discussing the distinctive landscapes and material culture of the Yorkshire Wolds and discussing how communities, families and individuals created 'a sense of self and place within this landscape' (Giles 2007, p. 242). She suggested, through examination of the development of landscapes, the burial record and material culture, that the local communities were small and practicing intensive agriculture on this land curated by small groups, rather than a system involving 'a broader community who assume mutual responsibility for the care and condition of the landscape.' (Giles 2007, p. 248)

This sense of integration is also present in synthetic regional studies such as Moore (2006) studying the Severn-Cotswolds on scales ranging from the household to the landscape. Within the study area as well, the recent report on Pegswood Moor has used the dataset created by the large scale topsoil stripping and open area excavation to discuss in detail the interaction of the site with the local landscape (Proctor 2009).

The success of such an approach highlights the fact there is frequently a great conceptual and often physical gulf between the edges of a 'site' and its landscape consideration. Thus this study will focus, though not exclusively, on the sub-landscape level in an attempt to bring together work on social and agricultural spatial organization, architecture and boundaries to consider the full extent of the way in which individuals structured their environment in the past and how this reflected and enabled their actions and attitudes.

In attempting to do this one must recognize the potential limitations of such an approach. It is important construct reasonable arguments which do not stretch evidence beyond credibility in interpreting the *meaning* of actions and experiences to past peoples. Experiential aspects of archaeological sites are often approached with reference to the idea of materiality, perhaps most notably expressed by Christopher Tilley in 'The Materiality of Stone' (2004) and discussed in further detail in the first 2007 issue of *Archaeological Dialogues.* This idea of materiality has produced a wealth of literature but suffers from a lack of definition as an explicitly useful archaeological concept, as Knappett wryly describes it the 'seemingly immaterial materiality emergent in the material-culture literature' (Knappett 2005,p. 20). Even when pressed on the issue, Tilley himself rather broadly describes that:

> … to write about materiality is (i) to attempt to develop a general theoretical and conceptual perspective or a theory of material culture in a material world; (ii) to consider the manner in which the materiality or properties of things, always in flux, are differentially experienced in different places and landscapes and social and historical contexts; (iii) to concern ourselves with the recursive relationship between people and things and the material world in which they are both embedded; and (iv) to address the affordances and constraints that things in relation to media such as the weather offer people and why some properties of things rather than others come to have significance in their lives.
>
> (Tilley 2007, p. 20)

When considering the approach taken in this study, I see two main problems with using the idea of materiality in the present endeavor. First (and arguably least important) is the generally nebulous nature of the concept. This creates a practical frustration in its deployment. Many authors seem to be working from a very individual notion of the concept which is never explicitly defined and this leads to debates about the usefulness of a concept which each debater perceives differently (see the 2007 *Archaeological Dialogues*). This is not to say that it is not a concept which deserves further debate, definition and pursuit, but it has made it a struggle to usefully integrate into a work which does not itself focus in part on defining materiality.

The primary point which makes a materiality based approaches inappropriate for this study lies in the goals outlined in Tilley's discussion above. I would suggest that there is a limit to what we as archaeologists can usefully say about the past without entering the realm of speculation fueled by modern philosophy, which is a useful endeavor in its own way but is not the goal of the present work. I find it unlikely that I, as a researcher, am in a position to reconstruct in detail how individuals in the past felt about or experienced the world around them.

Instead, I wish to consider the ways in which people constrained and enabled themselves through the manipulation of physical space and how this reflected their actions and social interactions. By observing this changing across time and space it may also be possible to discuss patterns in social organization and worldview. This may seem like a hair splitting definition of lines between archaeological theory and social philosophy, but I see a strong line to be drawn at the idea of reconstructing meaning. To utilize, as this study does, Anthony Giddens' idea of structuration (Giddens 1984) as a theory of how human beings create and replicate their societies and how this affects potential for action is to have an explicit basis for understanding the human condition in the course of this research. I believe that going beyond this and employing ideas such materiality or phenomenology to attempt to assign explicit meaning to observable actions in the past is a step farther than the data can support and there is potential academic danger in acting upon conclusions drawn from such approaches as if they are solid conclusions (though it must be added that I am very happy see hypotheses generated from such approaches tested against the archaeological data).

My approach proceeds along similar lines to the idea of 'access analysis' (see Hillier and Hanson 1984). This is a technique of mapping the accessibility of areas of a structure, on the assumption that how access throughout a structure and to certain areas is controlled is illuminating with regards to social structure. Aspects of this technique, eliminating the extremely formulaic approach outlined by Hillier and Hanson (1984) to 'decode' various models of social structure (Foster 1989, pp. 43-44), have been used effectively with more elaborate and well-preserved examples of Iron Age architectures, such as the Middle Iron Age brochs analysed by Sally Foster (1989). She demonstrated that the nucleated settlements featuring a broch showed one major social division, between those living within the broch and those living in the rest of the settlement, rather than demonstrating a series of hierarchies within the broch itself or within the surrounding settlement.

A direct and full application of this approach – the creation of detailed access maps and so forth – is hampered by the nature of the architecture and architectural preservation within the study area (see the discussion of house layouts below), which makes points of access difficult to entirely reconstruct. This does not prevent creative thinking about how the various settlement types discussed control access, movement and vision for inhabitants and visitors. Cutting (2003) in her discussion of access analysis as applied to Chalcolithic Anatolian settlements, discusses this very issue and states that in her summary that

> "...access analysis as a quantitative technique is of limited use in studying prehistoric constructed space unless the archaeological record already provides information about the definition of individual spaces and unambiguous evidence as to how those spaces were accessed. On the other hand, if one limits the use of access analysis to a visually-rich 'tool to think with', it can provide useful insights into settlement life.'
>
> (Cutting 2003, p. 1)

Within this context this chapter seeks to consider the social implication of the organizing of space on the sub-landscape, architectural level and provide an example of how such a study can supplement existing datasets and inform future research.

Further History of Research

Settlement Distribution

As discussed in the consideration of the aerial and ground surveys of the 1980s and 90s in Chapter Two, the present picture of settlement in the region is dense across the region, compared to estimates of 50 years ago (Jobey 1962a, p. 1). These demonstrate intensive settlement in the Tees Valley and the Northumberland uplands, significant settlement on the Northumberland coastal plain and the Durham limestone and comparatively little settlement in the Durham Pennines.

Several recent projects have included small scale plotting of sites and potential sites from HER data and aerial photograph libraries, and these appear to show an extraordinarily densely populated landscape in certain areas studied in detail. Most notable among these is the English Heritage 'Discovering Our Hillfort Heritage' project (Oswald *et al.* 2007; 2008), and the report on Pegswood Moor which plotted HER data from the area of the site. These are notably focused on the northern, more rural part of the study area which is more suitable for such survey. In part the density of apparent settlement is due to the time depth shown in such data, but this more detailed reckoning on top of the larger scale survey work integrated by Haselgrove (1982; 1984a) and others (Gates 1982; 1983; Jobey 1960) demonstrates clearly that the landscape was entirely populated, and very densely in many areas.

Aerial Evidence

Without a doubt, aerial survey has been the most important archaeological technique used in the study of the Iron Age north-east. It is not going too far to say that the widespread use of aerial survey effectively 'repopulated' the area in the 1960s and onwards. George Jobey's excavations having connected certain site-types with the period, extensive work by Jobey, Haselgrove and others was able to survey the extent of these settlements and landscapes. By the 1980s it was clear that the region supported a pre-Roman population so robust as to challenge the Wheelerian view of the region by merely existing. Much of our knowledge of the extent of Iron Age archaeology in the region is due to the work of Anthony Hogg (1947), Norman McCord and George Jobey (McCord and Jobey 1960; Jobey 1968), Tim Gates (1983), and Leslie Still and Blaise Vyner (1986; 1989), whose aerial surveys shed new light on the quantity and distribution of sites from Bronze Age settlements to Roman fortifications.

Though fundamental to the development of study in the region, the use of aerial survey data can also be extremely problematic, especially when building social narratives. These limitations were clear from the very beginning of its currency as an archaeological technique and early work with air photography, such as by Jobey and Hogg, was clearly focused on the import of ground-checking and excavating the resultant sites to better interpret both the aerial evidence and the entire picture of the regional archaeology. George Jobey, in the early 1960s, investigated several alleged Roman fortlets which were in fact indigenous enclosures and stated that 'the settlement at Marden not only serves as a reminder of the the potentials of the coastal plain but, at the same time, illustrates the confusion that on occasions might arise when diagnosis is made from air photographs alone' (Jobey 1963, p. 35)

In many cases, aerial photographic survey of Iron Age settlements is hampered by the very simplicity of the settlement form sought. Enclosures were common in many time periods, and it is difficult to differentiate Bronze Age or post-Roman enclosures from Iron Age ones when discussing the settlement record. This has been well illustrated recently at Fox Covert, Dinnington where, according to recent reports on the Tyne-Wear Museums web site, rectilinear enclosure radiocarbon dated to the Saxon period was found in association with the Iron Age pit alignment.

Natural features can also replicate the cropmark of an enclosure, especially on the limestone plateau of eastern Durham. At both Shadforth and Coxhoe, the aerial photographs suggested rectilinear features, interpreted as possible field systems, which were the product of fissuring in the limestone bedrock (Haselgrove 1980; Haselgrove and Allon 1982). The continued debate over the dating and function of the extensive upland Cumbrian landscapes identified by aerial survey is another example of the difficulties of interpreting evidence from the air, with opinions ranging from Bronze Age to Medieval (see discussion in McCarthy 2002, p. 106).

Because of these potential issues, it is hoped that mapping the distribution of excavated and proven, or strongly suggested, Later Iron Age and Roman period indigenous settlements can provide a different and complimentary view of settlement in the region to that provided by large scale mapping programmes. Though this view may be more limited, and those limitations are discussed in greater detail below, it can provide greater chronological resolution and suggest patterns unseen in the larger dataset.

Aerial survey has always been a cornerstone of regional settlement archaeology, and particularly in the era of easy access to Google Earth and similar services it undoubtedly will continue to be. It is hoped that the review of excavated evidence provided in this thesis can aid interpretation of that ever-growing dataset.

Enclosure Pairings in the Landscape

Though the nature of this study prevents the certain identification of paired enclosures in most cases, as it is rare that adjacent enclosures have been excavated, the phenomenon has been well documented in the Iron Age in general (see Toase 2008; Davis 2008) and has been suggested as a feature of the recently excavated large scale settlements north of the Tyne such as East and West Brunton (Nick Hodgson, pers. comm). However, in the rare cases where overlapping (as at Fawdon Dene or West Whelpington) or very nearby sites (as at Forcegarth Pasture or High Knowes Alnham) have been excavated, it has been demonstrated that they are likely to be rebuilding of the same settlement, possibly by the same communities in situations where the dating range is quite tight, as at the Forcegarth Pasture enclosures (Fairless and Coggins 1980; 1986).

Thus, though the phenomenon is increasingly recognized in the wider Iron Age, there are no clear examples of paired enclosures in the region.

Settlement Morphology

The history of settlement morphology studies and suggested typologies in the region has been discussed in greater detail in Chapter Two, but this section will discuss more specifically the work of Gill Ferrell (1992; 1995; 1997) and other work in settlement morphology in the wider field. Ferrell investigated settlement in the north-eastern Iron Age in four distinct study areas: The Breamish Valley (100 square km), the area south of Rothbury (400 square km), the area around Yeavering Bell and the Millfield Basin (100 square km) and an area of north-east County Durham (100 square km). All of these lie within the present study area.

Across all of these study areas, Ferrell examined the settlement patterns and morphology through the technique of rank size analysis, a quantitative analysis predicated upon the rank size rule, namely that 'settlement size should be proportional to the settlement's rank and to the size of the largest settlement in the region' (Ferrell 1992 p 130). This rule is expressed as a formula, applicable 'when all sites are equally well integrated into a single settlement system' (Ferrell 199 p. 130). Given that this is not always the case, particularly in archaeological examples, Ferrell discusses deviations from this curve in terms of 'closure' of a settlement system and 'interdependence' between those units which comprise the settlement system. Simply put, a settlement system which is highly closed to outside influence and extremely interdependent within itself will demonstrate the expected pattern and fulfill the rank size rule. Deviation from this hypothesised norm can be explained by variation in the closure or interdependence of the settlement system.

Broadly speaking, her conclusions were that the Breamish Valley, the Yeavering area and the area around Rothbury demonstrate no appreciable settlement hierarchy[31] in the pre-Roman period, with a shift towards smaller and more interdependent settlements in the Roman Iron Age, at least in the Breamish Valley study area. The study area in north-east Durham demonstrated slightly more integrated settlement pattern with a potentially emergent hierarchy, which Ferrell attributes to the growing importance of the *oppidum*-like site at Stanwick St. John.

More selectively, as the data was appropriate, Ferrell calculated the ratio of built to unbuilt space within the enclosed area of 19 settlements in the study area. These ranged from 1:2 to 1:62, but there is always a greater amount of unbuilt than built space. Upland, curvilinear sites are more crowded, which Ferrell interprets as a lack of social order and a desire to express corporate identity. The lowland sites on the other hand have far more unbuilt space, which Ferrell interprets as a more integrated economic and social system and the need for farmyard space.

These patterns she interprets as two entirely different social systems, based on Durkhiem's (1933) principles of social cohesion, suggesting that the more hierarchical lowland social system demonstrated Durkhiem's mechanical solidarity; 'non-spatial solidarities which are integrated into a wider system by beliefs and a recognition of identity which crosscuts spatial divisions' (Ferrell 1997, p. 235). The upland settlements however demonstrated 'functional specialization and intra-site integration with mechanical solidarity at the regional level' (Ferrelll 1997, p. 235), or Durkhiem's organic solidarity. These two societies are associated geographically with the two agricultural regimes which van der Veen (1992) identifies in the region, with the lowland group practicing expansive agriculture whist the upland group remained stable, less labour intensive and more conservative in practices. From this pattern, Ferrell draws comparison with Hingely's (1984a) work on the Thames valley and his identification of separate agricultural regimes amongst the communities there and subsequently frames the division in terms of Marx's modes of production.

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[31] With the exception of the site at Yeavering Bell, discussed in greater detail below and not considered here to be an active part of a settlement hierarchy but instead a communal place.

Many of the potential statistical issues with Ferrell's work are fully acknowledged by her, and she clearly and candidly discusses the difficulty in forming a statistically comparable dataset from the archaeological record of the area. On the whole her approach to a statistically heavy piece of work has solid theoretical underpinnings, but the study is based on a highly model-driven view of human society which is almost diametrically opposed to that in which the present work is grounded. This study does not seek to invalidate her observations, many of which match well with those presented here but to begin to present an alternate approach to the settlement evidence of the region which strives to present a less model-driven view of human society and is more integrated with the artefactual evidence for the region. It is hoped that this can provide a more nuanced picture of social structures within the upland/lowland dichotomy set up by Ferrell and discussed further by van der Veen (1992) and Haselgrove (2002). Additionally, this study covers areas such as the Durham Pennines and the North Tyne Valley which are not covered in Ferrell's study and should be integrated into understandings of the period

Beyond Ferrell's large scale study, relatively little work has occurred on the social and practical functioning of these settlements on the 'semi-micro' scale discussed above (Clarke 1977). Jobey, in 1960, did devote several pages to discussion of the 'economy' of his Type A sites (Jobey 1960, pp. 26-27), which provide great scope for thinking about the workings of interior layouts due to the preservation of sunken yards, causeways and ranges of stone roundhouses.

Recently, Jenny Proctor has suggested functions for each of the enclosed areas at Pegswood Moor Phase 4, dating to the later centuries BC and first century AD (Proctor 2009 fig. 19; pp. 65-71). This analysis is excellent and informative in discussing the possible uses of the enclosed fields and identification and discussion of droveways and the landscapes/architecture of animal husbandry, but more problematic when identifying potential feasting areas such as Enclosure 7. These claims have been based on the recovery of burnt material, a mortar and food remains within certain well defined, smaller enclosures (Proctor 2009, p. 68). Based on this, the identification of feasting areas is likely to be a stretch of the evidence and imply social gathering and ritual which the evidence does not support. Though it is clear that food processing and various activities involving fire were taking place in these areas, the remains encountered could simply be that of day to day life, or associated with more ephemeral structures which did not survive the heavy truncation of the sites.

Boundaries

Though there is some evidence for potentially open settlement in this period (see below), it is clear that one of the major features of most, if not all, settlements were the boundaries dividing the enclosed area or areas from the rest of the landscape. Early studies of settlement morphology such as Hogg (1947) or Piggot's Hownam excavations (Piggot 1948) tacitly accepted these boundaries as functional defensive or organizational barriers, and this was the generally accepted unspoken view across the country with regard to enclosed settlement and boundaries (Collis 1996, p. 89; Hingley 1990, p. 96), but this view changed in the 1980s.

It was Richard Hingley who first discussed settlement space and boundaries, in what became a spirited discussion in the pages of the *Scottish Archaeological Review* (Hingley 1984b; Haselgrove 1984b; Hingley 1984c) about considering 'boundaries in the context of the social conventions of those who lived within and built the settlements' (Hingley 1990 p. 96). In his summary of these discussions (Hingley 1990a), Hingley lays out the three key functions which boundaries may have, these being (Hingley 1990a, p. 96):

- Status indicators
- Social exclusion (i.e. the definition of communities)
- Ritual significance

These roles are, of course, in addition to the very important practical roles which boundaries may fulfill in management of movement, access and vision for people and livestock. Though these more prosaic roles are important, they cannot fully explain the importance accorded to boundaries in this period (Collis 1996 p. 89). The practical nature of the boundaries constructed will be explored below in the discussion of individual settlement types, but the three key themes laid out by Hingley will be explored here as they pertain to the settlements under discussion.

The role of the boundaries as status indicators would seem to be minimal in this region given the general lack of settlement hierarchy, and in fact the most elaborate boundaries occur in regions where the lack of settlement hierarchy has been the most marked, such as the Cheviots. This, however, would be to see the archaeological implications of status in a simplistic and competitive light.

Like all aspects of individual identity, status is infinitely complex and negotiable. Díaz-Andreu *et al.* (2006, p. 75) state, 'Status is thus conceptualized as *socially constructed* in constant negotiation and interaction by individuals and groups, taking up *culturally specific* forms dependent upon the particular historical and geographical setting'. The bias towards a conception of competitive tribal societies in prehistory, and in the Iron Age in particular as outlined in Chapter One, creates an assumption that for an individual or community to define their status in society is for them to demonstrate this in relation to another individual or group as an expression of dominance. This need not be the case however. Demonstration of the success of the community which would have equal or perhaps greater meaning to those within than to those without, and in that context expressions of the status of a site in the context of these relatively independent communities functioning in a sometimes difficult landscape would be entirely appropriate.

Though we may not be able to 'read' the culturally specific forms these expressions might take in expressing socially constructed statuses (to use the terms expressed above) we can see that the status and success of a community can be of importance both from the outside and the inside in a seemingly relatively egalitarian social setting.

Given the conception of status which I have outlined above, the line between the boundary as an expression of status and of Hingley's definition of social exclusion is blurry. The term social exclusion was first explored by Bowden and McOmish (1987) as a feature of 'the required boundary'. In this role, the boundary serves to define the community in question and in part functions as a symbol of it. I would suggest that the primary non-practical role of the settlement boundaries considered here is of community definition and status expression.

The idea of the boundary defining part of a settlement as a focus for symbolic action is a common one, and a new theory on the conceptual significance of boundaries is presented below. However, many of the commonly accepted ritual associations with boundaries do not seem to be present in the study area. Hingley has demonstrated a focus on boundaries as centres for potentially symbolic deposition, particularly of iron objects (Hingley 1990a; 1990b; 2006a; 2006b). As seen in Chapter Four however, boundaries do not seem to be a notable depositional focus in this period in quantitative terms (*contra* Willis 1999). This is likely to be a result of the markedly different depositional regimes in this region, and it is likely that there was a ritualistic aspect to the creation and elaboration of these expressions of communities, whether or not we can see this archaeologically in the usual ways. Giles (2007) suggest that subdivision of the landscape represent closed, highly organized and potentially family based communities on the Yorkshire Wolds. The population density and intensity of landscape occupation, i.e. the elaborate burials, may be very different from the situation in the present study area, but this shows boundaries as active in defining communities in ways other than as transitions and depositional foci. A major component of boundaries in this area seems to be a matter of community definition as outlined by Bevan for the larger landscapes of East Yorkshire (1999, pp. 129-30) as symbolism through definition of community.

It should be noted that this study does not consider any of the boundaries under discussion to be defensive in the literal sense of helping to repel an attack. This is not to say that there was not a potentially martial function at times to the presence of the boundaries as a demonstration of social power, but the evidence does not support the idea of any of the settlements of this region being fortresses in the more literal sense (Hill 1995b; Oswald *et al.* 2007; 2008; Frodsham *et al.* 2007). Many of the Northumberland elaborated curvilinear settlements do demonstrate a pattern, seen elsewhere in the country (Collis 1996), of elaboration of entrances whilst other boundaries are at times extremely insubstantial, and it is plausible that this could be related to a form of display-based ritual warfare or combat (Oswald *et al.* 2007 pp. 69-70; Sharples 1991a)

Buildings

As it is throughout prehistoric Britain, roundhouse architecture is essentially the universal type of building found on indigenous settlements, to the extent that his study used the presence of roundhouse architecture as the defining quality of an indigenous settlement.

Though it is difficult to accurately quantify the number of roundhouses which are present in the corpus of excavated material presented here for two reasons. Firstly, the often poor preservation and truncation can cause roundhouses to leave only partial and ephemeral traces at times, and secondly the structures are frequently partially rebuilt or entirely rebuild along almost the same plans, resulting in extensive palimpsests such as that depicted below in figure 5.4. Even without quantifying the number though, we can say that they are 100% of the buildings represented in the assemblage, as fragmentary remains of other structures with the open areas of indigenous settlements are unknown. The open areas of sites are known to contain post holes, but the closest that has been identified to a structural patterning is the note by Jobey that those from West Brandon displayed a tendency to be paired with others of a similar diameter at times (Jobey 1962a, p. 22) and suggested perhaps corn drying racks.

Given the universality of the roundhouse form it must be concluded that housing was at least part of the function of these structures, but that may only be a part of their function and the overwintering of animals must be considered as well (Haselgrove 1999, p. 259-60). At present there is not enough information on internal roundhouse layout to suggest a differentiation between those which may have housed animals, whether alongside humans or not, but this suggestion must be borne in mind. Since many sites appear to have had only one large roundhouse in use at a time, presumably providing all indoor space available, for people and livestock it is a near certainty that animals were at least occasionally a part of the household.

Roundhouse architecture is one of the most prominent and universal aspects of pre-Roman Britain. It was the primary architectural form in use for an estimated 150 generations (Pope 2003a p. 62) and survived in many places long into the Roman period (see Hingley 1989 for further examples from outside the region under discussion). Though the present work undertakes to examine certain aspects of roundhouse-occupying settlements in context and is not the place for a detailed consideration of the structural reconstruction of roundhouses, an outline of the basic principles and construction methods is important.

Roundhouses have their origin in the very earliest buildings in the British Isles, with the current oldest example coming from Star Carr in North Yorkshire (Ed Blinkhorn, pers. comm.). Many reasons have been advanced for the persistence of the form, which range through practical simplicity, architectural superiority and spiritual significance. Those arguments which relate to the Iron Age will be discussed below, but it should be stated that the roundhouse form has an importance across all of these categories.

Though stone roundhouses were recognized very early (see Pope 2003a), particularly on the northern moorlands by the likes of Tate and Rome Hall, the timber form was not widely recognized until surprisingly late. Though Pope (Pope 2003a pp. 46-7) states that the first recognition of a ring timber roof supports in a broch in Invernes-shire by A.O. Curle in 1920, credit for the recognition of timber architecture is most usually given to Gerhard Bersu (1938; 1940). Notable also was Harold Kilbride-Jones whose report on the excavation at Milking Gap in Northumberland in *Archaeologia Aeliana* (Kilbride-Jones 1938) identified the importance of timber posts represented by negative features in what was at least partly a stone structure – in fact, Pope states that 'many ideas later attributed to Bersu are present in the Milking Gap report' (Pope 2003a, p. 49). Pope notes a number of other early workers who approached the idea, but indeed it was (fairly or not) the work of Gerhard Bersu at Little Woodbury which firmly established the idea of the timber Iron Age roundhouse in the British archaeological mindset and consigned to history the idea of the pre-Roman pit-dwelling, a concept which was likely seen retrospectively as more widely believed than it actually was (see Pope 2003a, p. 2).

Construction

Architecturally, roundhouses come in a number of forms. The chief issue is the method of bearing the load of the roof. Roundhouse roofs were almost invariably thatched, as reconstructed evidence has found turf roofing to be inefficient (Reynolds 1993) and the necessary conditions and building proportions are not found in the archaeological record (Pope 2003a, p. 171). This thatch represents a superbly efficient roofing material but a significant load. According to Pope, the 9m diameter 'Balksbury house' at Butser Ancient Farm required 3 tonnes of water reed as a thatching material, but this can increase remarkably with changes in material and diameter; the 15m 'Longbridge-Deverill Cow Down house' required 10 tonnes of straw (Pope 2003a p. 171).

There are a number of construction options to bear this load. The most common option is a post-ring, a ring or square of large earthfast posts with a ring beam running around the top of them. This structure will support the majority of the weight of the roof but may not always form the outer wall of the structure. The rafters may extend to a wall represented by a beam slot, contiguous or closely-spaced post holes, turf or stone

If the example is small enough, load-bearing stone or turf walls are also a possibility, and it has also been posited in some places that the post-ring may sit on post pads rather than being earthfast. However, experimentation by Peter Reynolds has shown that central posts are not an efficient way to support a structure (Reynolds 1978).

Whilst smaller stone or turf roundhouses would create a simple round room (though this could of course be modified), the larger timber examples offer a number of activity areas in a number of dimensions, from a loft based on the post ring to a series of encircling zones created by each circle of posts, walling or potential eaves. This idea of zoning as well as some very genuine activity patterns which can be noted (for example Hodgson *et al.* 2001) and the dramatic tendency for roundhouse doorways to face somewhere on the spectrum of east to south (Oswald 1997; Parker Pearson 1996; Fitzpatrick 1997) has created a tendency to interpret roundhouse use along more mystical lines than may be appropriate. All of these aspects are discussed further below with regard to the study area.

The idea of roundhouse architecture reflecting a cosmological belief system and concept of time was first introduced by Oswald and then Fitzpatrick in the mid-1990s (Oswald 1997; Fitzpatrick 1994; 1997). Moving on from these suggestions, the most well known expression of these ideas was presented by Mike Parker Pearson in his engagingly titled article *Food, Sex and Death: Cosmologies in the British Iron Age with Particular Reference to East Yorkshire* (Parker Pearson 1999), in which he posits that the orientation of roundhouse doorways reveals the Iron Age conception of the progression of life. He suggests that the ordering of life and spatial patterning was based upon light entering the structure and the perception of the movement of time from left to right of the entrance around the circle of the house suggested sharp divisions between living/food preparation areas to the left (birth) side of the doorway and sleeping/storage areas to the right of the doorway, whilst the centre and hearth represented the eating area from which a figure of authority would dominate the view in or out of the east facing doorway.

This interesting but bold argument met with some controversy, not least in the 'comments' section of the article itself, but marked a sea change in our conception of the roundhouse. As Pope notes, a key and undeniable aspect of the theory was that it has increased greatly the degree to which meaning and cosmology are considered by archaeologists (Pope 2007, p. 224).

Though Parker Pearson's article spawned a great deal of thought and development in roundhouse studies, for a number of reasons the conception of the 'sunwise path' as Parker Pearson describes it (Parker Pearson 1999; Parker Pearson and Sharples 1999) has been essentially debunked. The most comprehensive critique comes from Pope's detailed study of northern roundhouses. She states 'This cosmological model … can be categorically rejected on a variety of levels … including its application of formal ethnographic analogy, reliance on a distorted orientation dataset, and a basic misunderstanding of how light works within a circular structure' (Pope 2003a, p. 258).

Though little more may need to be said after the quote above, I would add to this critique the broader observation that this model of the 'sunwise path', like many other models of prehistoric cosmologies, present to us an idea of prehistoric people with countless regimes and taboos that we attempt to determine from the archaeological record. Though strong religious or spiritual systems have always been a feature of human life for some, locking prehistoric people into these complex and unwieldly ideological systems may in fact be more for our own comfort– it is easier to imagine that we as archaeologists are right and conceive the primitive past as based in ritual and personal power into a regimented system which we are capable of perceiving and understanding the meaning of through the archaeological record than to accept the potent agency of past peoples and the unknowns that this must necessarily create. Extreme reliance on ritual and cosmology as explanation, and I by no means suggest that the sunwise path theory is so extreme, may be in danger of creating a fiction similar to that which Barrett suggested for the Roman empire in Chapter One, 'to give tangible form and coherency to historical processes, events and outcomes which would otherwise bewilder us with their complexity' (Barrett 1997, p. 52).

This is not to deny that there are bound to be spiritual associations with the house and household, as discussed further below, but there is a danger in over-interpretation and the assumption that meaning can be understood so straightforwardly. It is certainly true that the orientation of doorways presents a strong patterning, thought exceptions are not hard to find. Whether this patterning came about through practical or spiritual means is impossible and frankly fruitless to determine as it's unlikely that the motivations can be separated to that degree and many traditions, however they begin, are carried on even when the admixture of practical and spiritual reasons which gave birth to them have long ceased to be relevant. The mesolithic builders at Star Carr may have had entirely practical or spiritual reasons for the form of their structure but by the construction of the stone roundhouse at Holme House 9000 years later those reasons would certainly have changed and been reenforced through a variety of different means.

Geographical Trends

Pope (2003a) demonstrates that statistically the most common construction type in the later Iron Age within the present study area, her North Sea Region, is contiguous timber walling replaced by stone walled structures in the early centuries AD, perhaps due to pressure on timber resources. However, this may be a false division based on research strategies, given the number of upland stone roundhouse settlements excavated with Roman Iron Age phases and the number of lowland farmsteads excavated which produce little material culture of any sort. It is generally noted that the lowland settlements feature smaller numbers of larger timber roundhouses, up to 17m in diameter in the case of West Brandon House A, whilst upland sites tend to feature smaller houses more usually of stone and 5-8m in diameter (see Pope 2003a).

Whilst noting the apparent prevalence of contiguous timber walling, Pope (2003a, fig. 9.2) notes that her North Sea Region demonstrates the greatest variety in construction type and hearth placement and an increased deposition on surfaces (as also seen in Chapter Four). The variety of construction methods in use seemingly contemporarily is also noted by Haselgrove (1982). This is a further demonstration of the variability of settlement construction and the wide range of techniques available to prehistoric architects, and the degree to which techniques were chosen to fit the resources and needs of a community.

The tendency towards larger houses in the lowlands and smaller houses in the uplands has been quantified in a variety of ways. Gill Ferrell (1992), as discussed above, examined the ratio of built to unbuilt space, essentially indoor space, on settlements and found that as a rule the upland sites were more crowded with indoor space in the form of the smaller houses, sometimes as tightly as a 1:2 ratio of indoor to outdoor space. The lowland sites, predominantly rectilinear enclosures, possessed ratios of built to unbuilt space up to 1:62.

Additionally, table 5.1 and figure 5.1 show the sites included in Pope's (2003a) study which are within the present study area and graphs the number of structures recorded by Pope against the height above Ordinance Datum of the sites recorded here. It

Site	Number of Structures Recorded by Pope 2003a	mOD
Tynemouth Priory	4	20
South Shields	1	30
Chester House	3	35
Marden	1	35
Catcote	6	40
Burradon	3	65
Murton High Crags	25	80
Thorpe Thewles	21	80
Gubeon Cottage	5	100
Coxhoe	1	140
Hartburn	38	140
Riding Wood	2	140
Kennel Hall Knowe	5	150
Bridge House	5	160
Carry House Camp	4	160
Huckhoe	3	160
Middle Gunnar Peak	6	160
Belling Law	5	170
West Gunnar Peak	6	170
Tower Knowe	7	185
Hetha Burn 1	3	190
Witchy Neuk	2	190
West Whelpington	5	200
West Longlee	1	210
Woolaw	2	215
Milking Gap	5	230
West Brandon	3	260
Greaves Ash	4	270
Swint Law	2	290
Forcegarth Pasture North	4	350
Forcegarth Pasture South	3	350
High Knowes B	1	360
Yeavering Bell	4	360
High Knowes A	2	370
Dubby Sike	2	490

Table 5.1: *Number of circular structures and mOD for sites within this study also recorded by Pope 2003a.*

demonstrates that, aside from a few notable exceptions[32], there is a broad trend towards a greater number of roundhouses between about 100 and about 250 mOD, with a falloff after

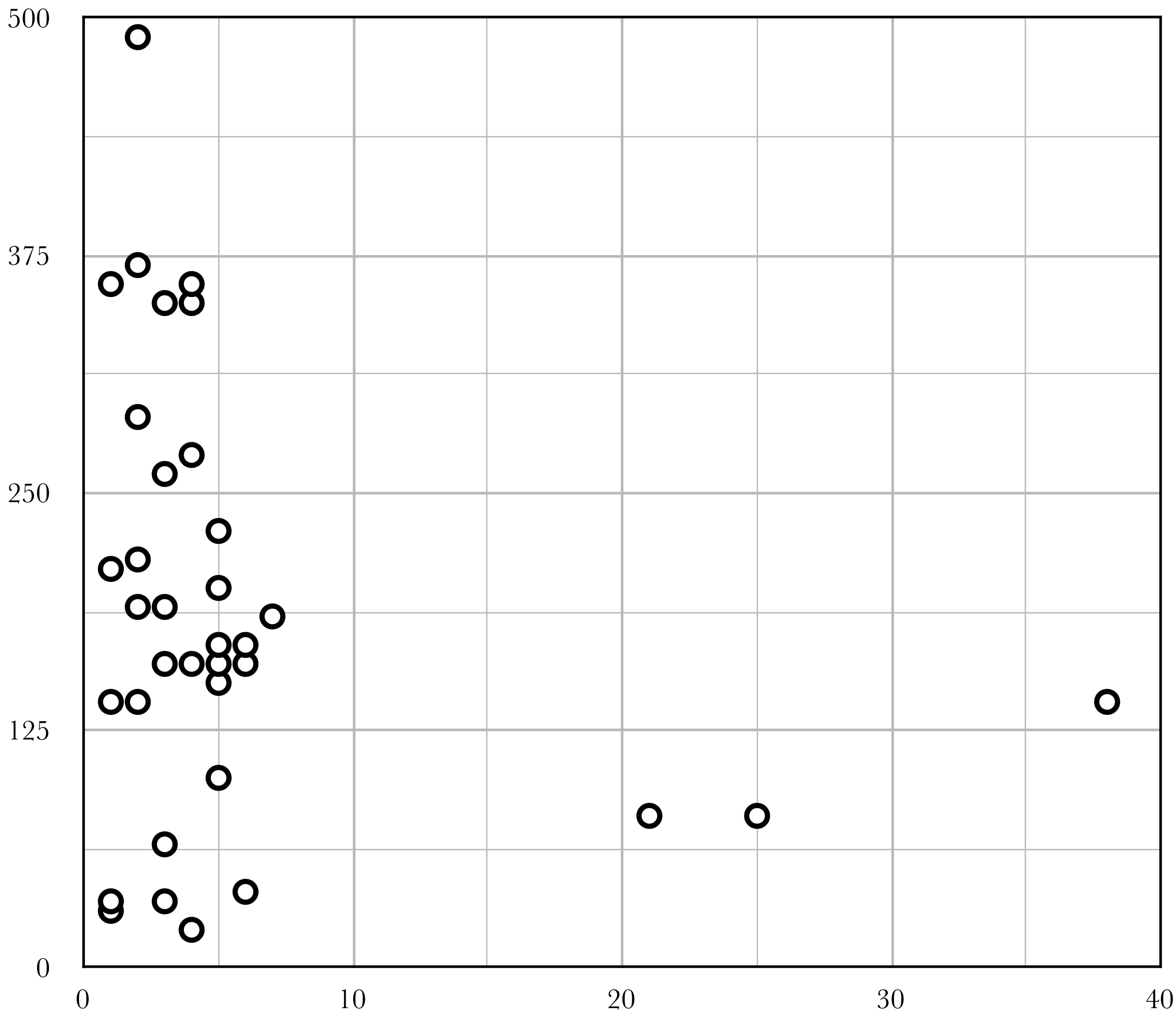

Figure 5.1: *Graph of number of houses recorded by Pope 2003a (x- axis) and mOD (y-axis).*

that which could be indicative of the small size of the these higher altitude settlements such as Dubby Sike, which may be seasonal (see discussion below). This is a very rough estimation working from combined datasets, but it does confirm in part the suggested pattern.

It is possible that the greater number of smaller structures implies a greater specialization of use on such structures. Where there is evidence for internal layout however, such as the benches, niches and troughs on some of the 'Type A' sites, there is a commonality amongst the houses which suggests that the community was living in smaller groups in smaller

[32] Catcote, Thorpe Thewles, Hartburn and Murton High Crags are the exceptions to this, and outliers on the right hand of the graph. This likely reflects the time depth and nature of open area excavation at Thorpe Thewles and Catcote. It is more puzzling at Hartburn but may suggest further that Hartburn in fact belongs to the class of rectilinear network settlements but this has not yet been revealed.

quarters in similar ways, but the majority of structures have little or no good evidence for internal layout so an increase in structures specialization cannot be discounted entirely.

Modes of Perception

Prior to the invention of the compass, there were only two immutable baselines of perception of relational space for the individual: the sky and the self. Simply put, this is the difference between concepts of north and south and concepts of left and right. We all, subconsciously, switch between expressing direction on these terms situationally; one does not say that the next town is left of this one or that the cloakroom is 'through that door and north', though circumstances in which we use each category are culturally specific. I will suggest here that the apparent focus on boundaries and thresholds may related to boundaries between these modes of perception, between areas conceptualized and communicated in such different terms.

Awareness of and reference to the fixed directions provided by the sky is well attested to by the patterns of architectural orientation discussed above. Whatever interpretation one might specifically favour of these tendencies, it is clear that these represent an awareness of fixed directions provided by bodies in the sky and reference to that made in everyday life. Though archaeoastronomy has a complex relationship with more conventional archaeology, numerous examples of monuments with some form of clear awareness of celestial patterns can be found (see Ruggles 1998 for a beginning)

Concepts of right and left have a long history in European spiritual and linguistic tradition. This is particularly notable in the association of the devil with the left and left-handedness, often interpreted as a rationale behind the common pre-industrial use of the left hand for hygienic purposes. This also finds expression in the concept of the right hand of God, the physical and spiritual interpretations of which are discussed by Thomas Aquinas in *Summa Theologica* Part three, Question 58. Part of his conclusion that the right hand of God represents a place of spiritual comfort and authority rather than a physical situation rests in part on the impropriety of the resultant social situation, namely the father sitting to the left of the son.

These early Christian attitudes towards these directions are reflected in language today in many ways. The English etymologies and polysemes of 'right' are all related to straightness and correctness, whilst 'lyft' was the Old English word for air. The Latin words are similar, with the word for right, *dexter*, giving us dexterity whilst the latin for left remains with us in the word 'sinister'. These brief examples are not presented as an analogy to the Iron Age but merely as a reminder of the potential power of these concepts.

Spatial relationships to the self are more difficult to identify in the Iron Age archaeological record, particularly on a regional level, than spatial relationships to the sky and landscape. The natural place to begin to explore this is with the body itself, but this can be difficult in an Iron Age context. However, Miranda Aldhouse-Green, in her study of Iron Age and Roman period bog bodies in Europe (Aldhouse-Green 2002) gives at least one striking example of differential treatment of different sides of the body in the case of 'Huldremose Woman' (Aldhouse-Green 2002, p. 51 and 117) from Denmark who, in the first century AD, had her left arm bound tightly to her body whilst her right arm was severed before being deposited in the bog. Her head was shaved and her hair deposited beside the body (though it is not noted which side). Though somewhat distant from the area under study, Huldremose woman is a more striking example of differential treatment of sides of the body than skeletal evidence would present because we are able to observe the organics binding her left arm and determine that this incident was more elaborate and planned and not an injury, as the skeletal evidence alone might have suggested.

Nearer to the study area in central and southern England, there are examples of differential treatment of human remains based on both the side of the body and the architectural experience of left and right. Work by Nicole Roth at the University of Sheffield is demonstrating that in the British Iron Age there is a preferential deposition of human bones from the right side of the body in the perimeter of the house which would be to the left side when considered from the perspective of an individual standing in the doorway (Nicole Roth, pers. comm.).

It is crucial now to apply this idea of personal spatial orientation to architecture. This has been explored most directly be Leo Webley (2007) in a discussion of the 'structured abandonment' (Webley 2007, p. 139) of an unusual group of exceptionally large earlier Iron Age roundhouses in southern England. In addition to his reasoned critique of the sunwise path model he demonstrates that the best explanation for the patterning of artefacts and on these large house sites is that they relate to a detailed set of abandonment practices potentialy involving feasting but certainly involving burning the structure, in many cases by halves. In these practices 'a distinction between the right- and left-hand sides of the building seems to have been an important principle' (Webley 2007, p. 141) regardless of the direction in which the house was facing (see in particular Webley 2007, p. 37).

These examples are outside of the present study area but the do offer the suggestion that the tradition of roundhouse architecture in which this region was participating possessed a fundamental awareness of the areas of a structure as they relate to the body and perspective of the occupants rather than to the heavens. Within and around the study area, there have been several examples of well-excavated, later Iron Age timber roundhouses which have demonstrated spatial patterning in architecture and/or remains, at South Shields (Hodgson *et al.* 2001) and Roxby in North Yorkshire (Inman *et al.* 1985). The settlement at Roxby demonstrates evidence for radial division of space in several of its houses. House 1 provides possible evidence of a circular internal screen in the form of a ring of stakeholes (Inman *et al.* p. 194), which may indicate a central area accessed by the doorway divided off from subsidiary parts of the house. This is illustrated more clearly in House 2, in which evidence survives for a 'room' in the south west portion of the building, or to the front left of an individual standing in the doorway of this east facing house.

Proponents of the sunwise path model would likely suggest that these internal divisions may be indicative of the circular flow of the building and the path of the sun, and do indeed take into account concentric patterning as well as hemispherical to some extent (Parker Pearson 1999, p. 49). I would suggest though that this is far more likely to be indicative of the fact that house interiors were organized in relationship to the individuals who were to be included within them rather than the patterns of the skies.

The roundhouse at South Shields provides no real evidence of internal divisions, and relatively few artefacts – though it is interesting to note that the main concentration of artefacts within negative features, and thus more likely intentionally deposited, are in the same area as the 'room' in House 2 at Roxby. Perhaps the most notable feature of the analysis of the South Shields roundhouses is the interesting patterning of plant remains. Given the almost microscopic nature of the plant remains and the fact that they are a byproduct of the processing or use of these plants, this is potentially much more reflective of the actual use-life of the structure than artefactual remains, which as seen above may relate to abandonment or post-abandonment practices or even be from other 'floors' of the structure.

The plant remains demonstrate several areas of activity. One is the bracken and heather remains dramatically concentrated at the rear of the structure, that is in the west or opposite the door, probably a good indication of a sleeping area farthest from what is pre-

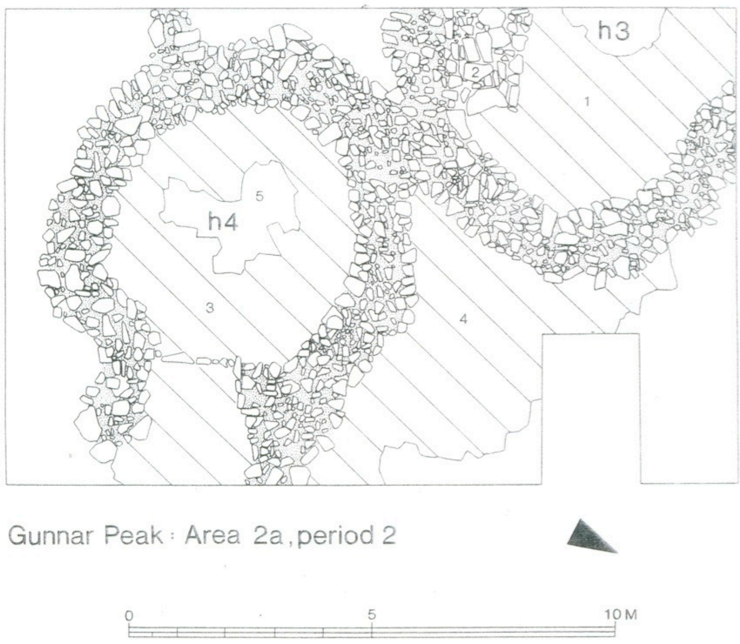

Figure 5.2: *House 3 at Middle Gunnar Peak (After Jobey and Jobey 1981).*

sumably the main light source in the house[33]. The other is the concentration of cereal remains around the doorway of the structure and on the southern (left-hand) side of the house. Again, the presence of a cereal processing related area near to the doorway does not require a cosmological explanation. As Pope has pointed out (2003; 2007) light is a significant factor, but we should also consider access and the movement of foodstuffs in and out of the house via the doorway.

The discussion of the South Shields house concludes that the strongest spatial pattern found is the focus on the area across from the doorway for sleeping and artefact deposition rather than a bilateral division of space. Without dismissing the sunwise path theory, the authors note that 'other explanations than the 'sunwise' theory… seem just as possible' (Hodgson *et al.* 2001, p. 151)

Examples of west-facing buildings are rare, but there are a number within the study area which can shed some light on this discussion of the relationship between house interiors and the heavens. House 3 at Middle Gunnar Peak near Barrasford, Northumberland (Jobey and Jobey 1971), dating to the second century AD, is suggested to have an unexcavated, west-facing entrance since no entrance was found on the east side of the house, even though the stone house survived to the level of floor paving and an internal bench. This is likely to relate to the fact that the structure shared portions of walling with the nearby House 4, with an east-facing entrance, and thus the more usual east-facing entrance would be placed in an awkward position with regards to House 4, more or less in the waist of the figure of eight formed by

[33] Pope (2003, p.262) considers it unlikely that roundhouses were provided with windows, as they are difficult to effectively place structurally and of little benefit considering the probability of heavily overhanging thatch.

the two houses. It is more likely that this structure faces to the west, accessing the shallow yard area which seems to occupy the northwest corner of the enclosure (see figure 5.2). This is an example of individual adaptations of space working off of the human experience and practical needs of the enclosure rather than a slavish attention to the convention of east facing entrances, even though these are encountered where they are feasible.

Structures 1, 4 and 7 at Pegswood Moor near Morpeth, Northumberland are examples of timber structures with unusual entrance configurations. Structures 1, belonging to the first, seemingly unenclosed phase, and 7, dating to the enclosure network of Phase 4, apparently have dual apertures, both west and east (Proctor 2009, p. 14 and 20-21; figure 5.3). The eastern opening of Structure 1 does not survive, but the terminal of the surrounding gully indicates its presence.

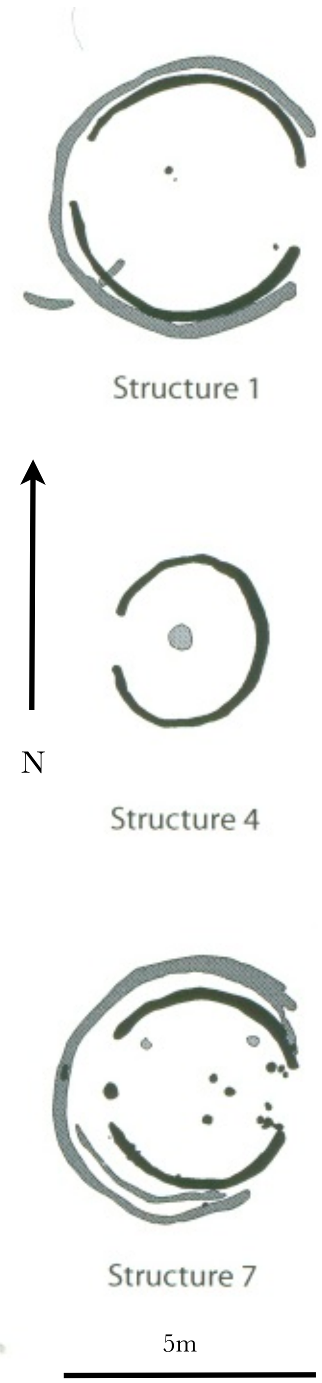

Figure 5.3: *Plans of houses from Pegswood Moor (after Proctor 2009, fig. 40)*

In both cases, there is no opening in the surrounding drip or drainage gully to provide direct access through the apparent opening on the western side of the structure. Proctor (2009) suggests generally that it is possible that the apparent openings are simply the result of disturbance to the construction trench by later activity and they are in fact false, but also that they may be the equivalent of windows. Considering Pope's arguments against the presence of more typical windows in roundhouses (Pope 2003a, p. 262), the easiest solution to inviting more light into the structure may have been the construction of a second door like opening. This would eliminate the potential structural problems in inserting windows and provide a means to ensure that the overhanging thatch did not obscure the sunlight. It is possible, and indeed probable, that these dual-entranced timber structures were more common on lowland sites than we are able to recognize, as many sites display a palimpsest of

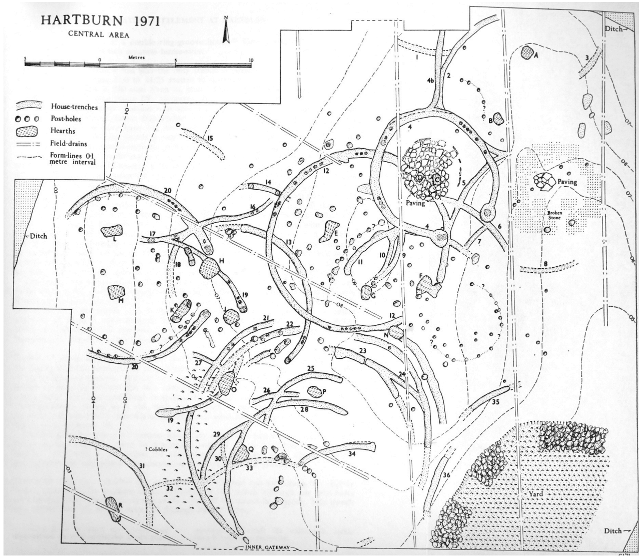

Figure 5.4: *A dense concentration of overlapping roundhouses at Hartburn (after Jobey 1973, figure 5)*

arc features which are difficult to resolve into a coherent pattern of entire roundhouses with noted entrances (see figure 5.4).

Structure 4 (Proctor 2009, p. 15 and 75; figure 5.3), dating from the fourth to early second centuries BC was somewhat separated from the other structures in the seemingly unenclosed Phase 3, and significantly smaller. It lacked a surrounding gully and featured a directly west-facing entrance and a central pit; large by local standards at about a meter in diameter. This contained a small potsherd and burnt material including bone, charcoal and heather remains. It was noted that the nature of the fills was 'indicative of repeated and episodic deposition' (Proctor 2009, p. 15). The architectural remains of the structure is relatively faint, and destroyed entirely on the eastern side. The pit must be associated with the structure given its centrality, but it is entirely possible that the structure, like 4 and 7 discussed below, had an east-facing opening as well as the west-facing one, though this is not the interpretation favoured by Proctor (2009).

The structure and its associations are sufficiently anomalous to make interpretation difficult. The unusual entrance orientation, apparent distance from other known structures of that phase, and extremely unusual central pit feature suggest a ritual function. Central pits and west-facing entrances are both noted as features of so-called 'shrines' of the later Iron Age (Proctor 2009, p. 16). If this is the case it is entirely unique in the area, but again demonstrates that episodic rituals of deposition, as discussed in Chapter Four, were on a smaller scale than seen in other parts of the country and it is likely that this relates to smaller acts of cohesion and temporal marking for smaller groups.

Whilst the other examples above suggest that celestial, absolute orientation was of less importance in structure, and in some cases enclosure, interiors, this serves as a reminder that absolute orientation of structures did likely have a spiritual aspect as well. However, the 'sunwise path' model provides no ready explanation for a west-facing 'shrine' other than the suggestion of the association of the west with sunset, sleep and death.

Like the dual-opening structures suggested above, it is possible that analogous structures have gone unrecognized in the archaeological record. Given sufficient later activity, even the large but shallow (less than 20cm deep) pit within Structure 4 at Pegswood Moor could be destroyed, or damaged and interpreted as a hearth.

On Yeavering Bell, a number of the house platforms survey display evidence of entrances which do not face the usual east to southeast direction[34]. As they are unexcavated this is difficult to interpret fully but it is interesting to note the presence of these six structures, (about 5% of the total if this is taken at Jobey (1965) and Pearson's (1998) admittedly conservative count of 125 structures) four of them clustered in the eastern portion of the hillfort and only two in the western area.

Summary

These examples demonstrate that structures, in this case houses, may be situated in the landscape according to cardinal directions provided by the sky but that the internal experience may relate to the body of the experiencer, both in a way which explicitly rely on the experience of personal left and right rather than cardinal directions and in more fluid ways. It is tempting to see this as a fairly clear division in roofed structures in which the sky is obscured from view, and perhaps the doorways, here as in other regions frequently elaborated with potential porch structures or massive timbers (see Pope 2003a), serve to connect the personal spatial orientation with that of the wider world.

In this model the world at large is conceptualized in absolute, cardinal directions provided by the sky or perhaps landscape, whilst indoor spaces are conceptualized in relation to the body, with doorways marking this important transition. What then of the spaces within the enclosure surrounding many buildings?

The importance of boundaries, physical or perhaps otherwise (see above) would suggest that this is the point of major transition between modes of perception and conceptualization of space and that the entirety of the settlement space relates to the body, but this division in itself may be overly simplistic and the settlement space may exist in both spheres of awareness or perhaps a different one entirely. At this point I hesitate to take the suggestion further and propose an answer to the question of which spatial conceptions changed at which

[34] These are (numbered according to Pearson 1998) Structure 90 (west facing), Structure 85 (northwest facing), Structures 76 and 77 (southwest facing), structure 14 (northwest facing) and Structure 36 (with entrances suggested as facing south, north and east).

boundaries. The evidence at present does not permit further speculation, but I would suggest that ideas such as this offer a more flexible interpretation of directional and spatial patterning in Iron Age architecture. This concept does not rely on a complex and rigid cosmology which does not fit well with the nature of creativity and variability which is seen in the archaeological record, particularly in the region under discussion here.

Lest this seem far-fetched, I wish to offer a brief ethnographic discussion of the potentially complex interactions of time, space and body in the ways in which people construct world views. It is commonly noted that time is frequently conceptualized spatially by humans (Boroditsky 2000)[35] and this has been noted in some of the discussions of roundhouses considered above (Parker Pearson 1999). Most generally, this conception of time is language based, Western English speakers tend to conceptualize time as left to right (Boroditsky and Gaby 2010).

The aboriginal community of Pormpuraaw, Australia has attracted notice from scholars for their unique spatial awareness, eschewing use of relative direction such as left and right for an extremely accurate set of absolute directions. Thus, in contrary to the example given above, the cloakroom would very normally be described as to the north-west. In this they are apparently unique (Boroditsky and Gaby 2010). They also have uniquely spatial view of time, rooted in the lack of relative direction in their language and culture, in which the direction of time is a constant flowing through the landscape, and thus changes relative direction as a person moves through the landscape. This was dramatically demonstrated by Boroditsky and Gaby, in a study asking both American and Pormpurawwan individuals to (among other tasks) place a series of photographs of an individual aging in chronological order. It was found that the direction in which the American test subjects placed the cards was consistent with regard t the self and the individual was represented as aging left to right. The Pormpurawwan subjects were found to automatically arrange the photographs with the perceived flow of time relative to the direction in which they were facing at the time, i.e. consistently representing time as flowing north-south regardless of personal orientation (Boroditsky and Gaby 2010).

Again, I do not offer this as any formal analogy and I by no means wish to suggest that this is the way in which Iron Age people conceptualized the world around them. I wish simply to illustrate the potential complexity of such alternate conceptions of time and space.

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[35] Though it should be borne in mind that this common practice is by no means invariable; Boroditsky states that there is 'no evidence that spatial schemas are necessary to think about time' (Boroditsky 2000, p. 26)

In a situation in which one is consistently spatially aware of any combination of objective direction, a relative or absolute directional conception of time and relative direction based in the self, the marking of various boundaries and the arrangement of space may take on an import which we cannot readily understand and certainly cannot explain by reconstructing a simplistic and rigid set of beliefs and taboos which are contained entirely within the house as a metaphor.

A New Typology

Below I will lay out a suggested typology of settlements based on the manipulation and definition spaces within settlements rather than specific physical features (such as boundary type or size). Though useful as methods of organizing data, the detailed typologies which were developed throughout the country in the 1960s (see discussion above for this region and also Perry (1969) and Hingley's (1984a) subsequent critique of this particularly arbitrary example) can serve as more of a hinderance to thinking about their social workings by focusing on the physical features most commonly observable in the archaeological record by the most common means of survey.

Using this I propose to consider the ways in which these different types of settlement arranged space to facilitate or restrict physical and visual access to spaces and how they may have interacted with their socio-economic landscape. Specific information about sites given here will be fully referenced, but general references for sites discussed can be found in Appendix 1.

Previous typologies of settlement sites in the region by Hedley (1923), Hogg (1943; 1947), Jobey (1960) and Ferrell (1992) have been discussed at length in Chapter Two. The typology presented here is less significantly concerned with an ordered arrangement by specific attributes as with an examination of different ways in which physical space was constructed and divided and in which it may have interacted with the landscape around it. Thus the major classifications have been by the presence and nature of the enclosure or enclosure system associated with the settlement and the effect which this has on the internal arrangement of space.

As discussed in Chapter One, the dataset for this thesis was complied exclusively from excavated settlement sites. For previous chapters discussing material culture this has been a necessity, but in discussion of settlement morphology this decision potentially has much greater consequences and the justification for this exclusion of non-excavated data must be discussed further.

The primary motivation behind the decision to restrict the dataset for this chapter in line with the rest of the thesis was the desire to work with high quality evidence which could potentially add resolution to the larger scale, survey based studies and typologies which have been discussed in Chapter Two. The extent to which this has been possible is discussed further below, but the ability to consider the excavated evidence for a settlement layout, architectural features, and interior divisions rather than relying primarily on the broad form of the enclosure (or lack thereof) is key to the admittedly somewhat experimental approach taken in this work.

Though this approach limits the scope and strength of the conclusions which can be drawn about the broad patterns of settlement in the region, it is hoped that the attempt to understand a restricted dataset more fully provides an interesting contrast and addition to past and future studies

Phasing

Though there is a sequence of phases at all of these settlements, the settlements themselves are typologized here rather than individual phases, as the broadest form of the enclosed portions of these settlements, as defined here, is not seen to change over time. The Jobey Type A settlements are often excellent examples of this, with the final phase often being essentially a rebuilt stone structure based on the previous timber phases, but there is evidence for this continuity on more complex lowland sites as well. The site at Pegswood Moor was examined by stripping a large area of topsoil, and though the settlement shifted in various ways over time, it remained broadly a network rectilinear enclosures (aside from the open phase discussed below). The excavators noted an axial, north-south arrangement, possibly related to the nearby burn, which was generally respected across phases (Proctor 2009 p. 65)

Open and Enclosed Settlement

Though enclosures remain consistent in broad type across phases, phases of allegedly open settlement, quite common in the Bronze Age (Gates 1983; Ferrell 1992 pp. 80-89), are difficult to identify positively in the later Iron Age and thus have not been considered a ‘type’ as such here. However, it has been noted in data collection whether or not an unenclosed phase has been suggested by the excavator. In this work it is presumed that the division between 'open' and 'enclosed' settlements is largely a product of archaeological preservation and visibility. It is widely accepted that a stark dichotomy between open and enclosed is untenable (Petts and Gerrard 2006, p. 36), but I would note that when discussing 'unenclosed' phases of settlements, the discussion is actually about settlements whose boundaries are not archaeologically visible. This may be for two reasons.

The first may be a question of the excavated area. For example, the settlement at South Shields is considered unenclosed in much of the literature (Hodgson *et al.* 2001; Petts and Gerrard 2006, p. 36) despite the fact that the roundhouse was a chance find beneath a Roman fort. Whilst an enclosure boundary such as a ditch or palisade has not been found associated with this house, a lack of one has not effectively been proved, and indeed a 'boundary gully' (F984; Hodgson *et al.* 2001) is noted though not considered to be an 'enclosure' as such. Given the near universality and clear importance of boundaries in this region in the later Iron Age, open settlement phases are very difficult to prove without extensive excavation and/or geophysical survey.

Secondly, the enclosure boundary may not have been in an archaeologically recognizable form. Stone boundaries, ditches and in some circumstances, palisade trenches, are durable compared to fences or hedgerows, particularly given the heavy truncation which much of the region's archaeology suffers from. It is entirely possible that there was an acknowledged but invisible boundary as well, and given the clear importance of boundaries (see above) this is considered more likely than the presumption that some settlements simply did not have them. As Colin Haselgrove notes, potential later open phases on enclosed later Iron Age sites such as Phase IV at Thorpe Thewles (Heslop 1987) are in essence 'aggregates of smaller enclosures and compounds, quite different in character from simple hut clusters like Roxby on the adjacent uplands' (Haselgrove 2002, p. 59). Ferrell (1992, p. 88) also differentiates settlements like Catcote and Thorpe Thewles which were enclosed and subsequently developed so-called open phases, noting that there was extensive 'partitioning' within excavated area. It is best then to see these settlements as expanding into a different system of enclosure, less focused on a single main area.

Richard Hingley considers, in his analysis of the Thames Valley, that many settlements can be considered 'open' but contained internal enclosures which did not bound the entirety of the settlement itself (Hingley 1984a, p. 79). This study takes a similar but opposite large-scale view in considering that that whilst few settlements can be considered entirely ‘open’ or ‘enclosed’, enclosure of social space on settlements does very definitely happen very frequently and in certain distinct ways which this study will consider. Hingley’s argument is a useful warning that we can almost never truly consider that we are aware of the full extent of a settlement area.

In summary, the idea of entirely unenclosed settlements in the north-eastern Iron Age is difficult to substantiate given the evidence available. Even without an explicit boundary like a ditch or fence, in the arable landscape in which these settlements were situated the surrounding fields, herds and crops would have effectively bounded a settlement. Additionally, the form of the identifiable enclosed area of a site can be an excellent means of comparison in a dataset where this can be difficult. As Ferrell notes when discussing her recognition that rank size analysis of enclosed sites does fail to take into account unenclosed settled area, ‘it provides a useful index of spatial character since all of the sites under consideration show comparable emphasis on the creation of enclosure boundaries.’ (Ferrelll 1992, p. 132). Thus, whilst noting the suggestion of phases where the bounds of the settlement cannot be determined, this study considers that parts of settlements were bounded in a significant (even when ephemeral) way and uses the archaeologically available evidence for those boundaries to discuss the use of space within settlements.

Chronology

As stated in the introduction, this study does not attempt to create a detailed chronological framework for the region for a variety of reasons. Though the dating of these sites is problematic, all sites considered demonstrate at least one phase which dates to within a range of roughly 300 BC- AD 200. This is both according to the dates proposed by excavators of the individual sites and the most recent general synthesis of the radiocarbon evidence available, given by Haselgrove (2002; see figure 5.5). More specific dating within this time frame is discussed in the description and discussion of the various site types and summarised in the conclusion below.

The strongest consistent aspect of the chronology is the end. Almost none of the indigenous settlements of the area demonstrate occupation lasting into the third century AD, and in the rare cases where this does appear to occur, such as at Huckhoe (Jobey 1959) and Catcote (Robin Daniels pers. comm.),the succeeding occupation is in an entirely different

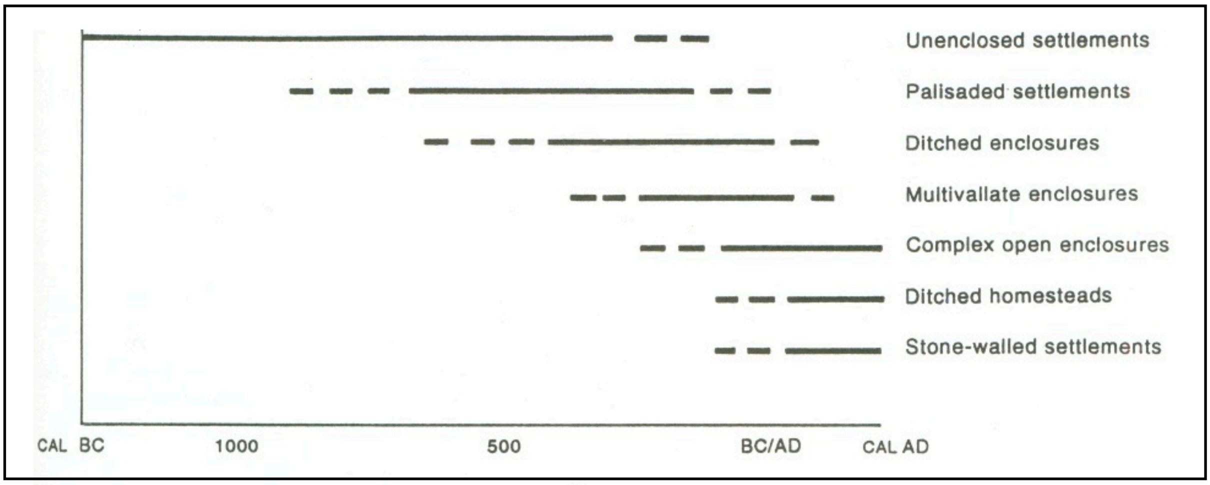

Figure 5.5: *Colin Haselgrove's suggested chronology for lowland settlement in the region (after Haselgrove 2002, figure 6.6)*

form with rectilinear buildings. Thoughts on this trend will be discussed in the conclusion of this chapter

Types

A. Jobey 'Type A'

Perhaps the most specific type reflected in this typology, these settlements are located chiefly around the North Tyne Valley. They were first discussed by Jobey in the early1960s (Jobey 1960; 1961), though many of the excavations of these sites date to the early 1970s and were conducted in advance of the flooding to create the Kielder Water reservoir. The most distinctive, final phase of such sites consists of stone-built settlements dating as late as the end of the second century AD. They are broadly rectilinear in form and often have smaller, less distinct field boundaries radiating from the central settlement itself.

The typical layout of these settlements includes a sunken 'yard' type feature, often traversed by stone pathways, leading to a central range of small stone roundhouses. In many cases these are connected so as to divide the enclosure in two, with additional space to the 'rear' of the houses.

Where earlier phases have been demonstrated they are often fragmentary due to the intensive nature of the later stone construction, and aside from predating the stone settlements, which appear to date to the first centuries AD they cannot be closely dated. However, many of these earlier settlements appear to have been palisaded enclosures of similar size and very similar layout, suggesting that the layout of space was broadly the same prior to the monumentalizing of the structures in the early first millennium. It is possible to see this as a monumentalizing of earlier practice in response to the Roman influence to the south of the area in which these enclosures are found, a process that will be discussed further below.

Though these are fundamentally rectilinear settlements, the remarkable constancy of surviving internal features make them worth analysing as a category of their own. It is likely that more extensive modern excavations of non-stone rectilinear settlements would produce similar locally-patterned groups.

B. Rectilinear

This is the broadest category of settlement site discussed here. For many years the isolated, rectilinear farmstead with a ditch and internal bank was taken to be the primary lowland settlement type in this region, with notable examples excavated by Jobey in Durham and Northumberland throughout the 1950s and 60s and further south by Haselgrove in the 1980s (Haselgrove and Allon 1982; Haselgrove 1980; Fitts *et al.* 1994).

These appear to have a somewhat varied internal layout of features and occasional evidence for timber gateways, seemingly outdoor hearth features and non-structural postholes that is difficult to interpret given the truncation encountered on many examples. Many, such as West Brandon (Jobey 1962), appear to have one larger or sole central house that is a focus and surrounded by other activity, but this is not always the case, as demonstrated dramatically by the dense arrangement of houses at Hartburn (Jobey 1973). Additionally, the construction style of the houses differs within and between settlements and different styles of roundhouse construction seem to be used as needed or when practical (Haselgrove 1982. p. 61). The ditched and sometimes banked phases, most usually identified on aerial photographs, often appear to be preceded by a palisaded phase on very much the same layout. Some are interpreted as having an unenclosed phase preceding this.

In summary studies of settlement, both Haselgrove (2002) and Ferrelll (1992) point out that there is a long and rough chronology for rectilinear enclosures, from the earliest suggestions of sixth century BC phases at some sites through the latest examples of the Jobey Type A settlements into the third century AD. Ferrell was correct, however, in noting that the majority of datable finds are most appropriate in a period from the first century BC to the mid second century AD (Ferrell 1992, p. 156), though this may simply be marking the changes in that period and not a marker of initial or even main occupation..

This remains true at the present time, though it must be added that with the Jobey A settlements considered on their own, the evidence for the currency of this form does not really extend to the third century AD except in the form of small samples of pottery from the larger settlement such as Hartburn (Jobey 1973). In this they are allied with the rectilinear network settlements, discussed below, which seem to have no evidence of occupation by the end of the second century AD (Nick Hodgson pers. comm.; Proctor 2009).

Haselgrove (1982; 1984a) suggests that the absence of Roman finds and beehive querns from West Brandon and Coxhoe West House indicates that these higher altitude rectilinear enclosures were abandoned by the second century BC, but on present evidence this cannot be considered definitive. Sites like Forcegarth Pasture South and particularly Pegswood Moor demonstrate that Roman period material culture may be present in extremely small quantities even on extensive excavations. Also, as discussed in Chapter Four, doubt has now been cast on the idea of a distinct 'quern horizon' in the second century BC (Heslop and Gwilt 1995 p. 41).

C. Elaborated Rectilinear

Elaborated rectilinear settlements are those which show elaboration of the boundaries, most commonly double boundaries surrounding a settlement. These have been somewhat contentious over the years, as the boundaries most often contain and overly an extensive palimpsest of roundhouse remains. At the best-excavated, currently published examples of Hartburn and Burradon, George Jobey (1970; 1973a) was of the opinion that a large enclosure followed by a smaller enclosure cut across the site of many of the earlier structures. Tim Gates has disagreed with this (Gates 1983) and considers that open phases were subsequently enclosed by double ditches. This study follows Ferrell (1992 p. 84) in considering these sites to have possible open phases, as it does not seem possible on the strength of current evidence to decide the issue one way or the other. Given the slim evidence for truly open settlement, as discussed above, it is possible that the large double ditches eradicated an earlier palisade or smaller ditch system. Examples have provided material evidence of Roman period and earlier occupation.

D. Rectilinear Network

Rectilinear network sites consist of groups of interlinked rectilinear enclosures of various sizes and presumably various purposes with or without buildings within them. Frequently, what appear to be droveways are associated with them, as at Pegswood Moor. These have come to light in the region relatively recently, with examples excavated by Tyne Wear Museum Services north of Newcastle (see details in Appendix 1) and the site excavated by PCA North at Pegswood Moor (Proctor 2009) giving perspective on work in the at Thorpe Thewles (Heslop 1987) and Catcote (Vyner and Daniels 1989; Daniels 2005) in the preceding decades. This type of site has not been discussed extensively in the literature as a distinct group as yet, but Proctor (2009) refers to them as 'extensive settlements'. Whilst the small farmsteads of the West Brandon type are seen as a distinct feature of the north-eastern Iron Age (see Millet 1990 figure 4), these extensive settlements have many more parallels with the rest of eastern England in the Later Iron Age (Bradley 2007 pp. 259-60) and the Roman period (Hingley 1989; Taylor 2007), and perhaps the increase in trade and communication is causing these settlement traditions to spread.

The broad pattern and dating of these settlements seems to be development in the later centuries BC from a more defined rectilinear enclosure, and often a final second century AD phase in which settlement has shifted outside of the excavated area but large scale landscape divisions are still present.

E. Curvilinear

Isolated curvilinear settlements are more rare than their rectilinear cousins, but occur occasionally in Northumberland. Like rectilinear enclosures, they are simple, enclosed sites usually with a number of buildings inside in various arrangements. They are found in upland areas, suggesting that they are not intended to fit into a rectilinear, agricultural landscape. Dating evidence for these settlements is not extensive but many, such as Huckhoe and Forcegarth Pasture South, provide solid later and Roman Iron Age evidence, whilst the palisaded examples such as at High Knowes A may date to the earliest part of the period covered here.

F. Elaborated Curvilinear

The term elaborated curvilinear settlement has been preferred here to the more usual 'hillfort', given that such settlements are but rarely on hilltops themselves and are no longer considered to be defensive in character (see above). This type includes various scales of curvilinear settlement enclosed in stone, timber or turf which have received elaboration either of the enclosure boundaries themselves and/or of the entrances. This is another type found almost exclusively in the Northumberland uplands such as the Cheviots.

These are the settlements associate with the Hownam Sequence (Piggott 1948), which suggests earlier Iron Age palisaded settlements which gain increasingly elaborate enclosure over time until the boundaries seem to fall out of significance in the Roman period. Though the extensive excavation since Mrs. Piggott's work in the 1940s has shown that this is not as rigid as expressed by her, this sequence is at least roughly correct in many cases (see Armit 1999 for a fuller discussion of the impact of the idea of the Hownam Sequence)

The centres of these sites are often densely occupied by houses, and later in the period, in the first and second centuries, these extend over (and into) the boundaries themselves. These later Roman Iron Age occupations were recognized by early excavators (such as Tate 1862) and have been more substantiated recently (Jobey 1965; Oswald *et al.* 2007; 2008). Jobey (1965) suggests that this later occupation, generally with smaller, stone-built roundhouses, dates to the second century AD, but this is primarily on analogy with the Type A settlements in the North Tyne valley. However, Oswald *et al.* (2008) point out that smaller stone roundhouses have been seen to appear as early as the first century BC at Fawdon Dene in the Breamish Valley.

Jobey (1964; 1965) considered occupation to be continuous, whilst Oswald *et al.* (2008) take the view that this is a later re-occupation of these sites after a potentially significant span of time (p. 35). This is certainly possible, but the present author is inclined to consider these phases to be continuations of occupation in a shifting form, with priorities diverted away from the boundaries of the settlements. Oswald *et al.* (2007; 2008) offer two key social themes in suggesting this, both of which are debatable. The first is the change in roundhouse architecture and size. Whilst this is striking, and made particularly striking in the archaeological record due to the obvious excellent survival of the later stone built structures, this does not need to represent a gap in occupation. Though it undoubtedly represents a change in many aspects of society, at some point a new house must be built and the change in material cannot come gradually. The evidence of the ramparts at many sites show that these communities were experienced drystone builders already so this does not represent a new skill set, merely an adaptation. The issue of size is interesting and must have caused and reflected changes in social structure, but as Pope (2003) makes clear there is a maximum practical size for stone roundhouses which is much smaller than their timber counterparts, so house size may be a secondary result of the factors which made timber roundhouse construction either impractical or undesirable.

There is also evidence of economic change in the layout of field systems surrounding the settlements. Whilst this is hard to refute, it is noted that there is significant time depth in many of the surveys of Iron Age field systems and periodic rearrangement need not by any means be connected with a gap in occupation by any means. Reorganization was perhaps a necessary response to the shifts in social structure coming about through Roman period exposure to larger networks and a change in community priorities which led to the lack of maintenance of the old, elaborate settlement boundaries. Oswald *et al.* (2007, p. 33) suggest that these houses were allowed to decay naturally and that in many cases this could have been a surprisingly swift process once the stone structures began to disintegrate. Even this is not evidence for a period of abandonment, as the deliberate removal of old boundaries – for which there is little or no evidence anywhere in the study area – would be a massive undertaking and unlikely to be considered unless there was a dramatic need to redefine the communities as open ones.

In physical terms it is suggested that there is evidence for significant decay of the original ramparts and the degradation of some timber structures before the later occupation. This would be entirely understandable in the case of the ramparts. Having lost the significance necessary for it to be steadily maintained, a boundary may well collapse before it is re-used. As for the decayed timber structures disturbed by the later occupation, sites with several hundred years of time depth are likely to have such structures, and it may be that the new, smaller stone buildings were built on the unoccupied sites of former houses rather than demolishing currently occupied timber structures and building over them in stone.

Given these arguments, it must be stressed that it is entirely possible that there was some gap in occupation and that new communities moved into the ruins of the older settlements, but the arguments in favour of this are not robust. Thus, given the poor chronological evidence and the difficulty of explaining an absence of population in many sites in the possible gap between settlement phases, it is considered here that this later occupation represents a change in the nature of occupation and of the priorities of the existing communities. This gives these settlements a potentially lengthly occupation, or at least the form a lengthly currency, from the middle of the first millennium BC to the late second century AD or later.

G. Cellular

These settlements are largely known from Pennine Durham. They are generally a range of small buildings connected by a series of walls into a roughly enclosed mass. Though the architectural styling is extremely variable, the key aspect considered here is that roundhouses are built into and a part of the enclosure boundaries.

Given the lack of artefactual evidence from them they are difficult to date and the evidence available presents a wide range, from possibly Late Bronze Age origins at Dubby Sike (Coggins and Gidney 1988) to definite Roman period occupation at Milking Gap (Kilbride-Jones 1938) and Bollihope Common (Rob Young, pers. comm.). The site at East Mellwater farm, which is unexcavated and so not considered in detail here, has also been suggested to be of the later and Roman Iron Age (Laurie 1984).

H. Scooped

The 'scooped' settlements of north Northumberland and the Scottish Borders are addressed in the most detail by Jobey (1962b). These enclosures, so-called because they are cut into hillsides to provide an enclosed terrace generally containing house platforms and 'yard' spaces, have traditionally been dated to the Roman Iron Age but this date is by no means secure. Only two examples have been partially excavated. Haystack Hill in the Breamish Valley (Frodsham and Waddington 2005) showed Romano-British activity alongside earlier and later evidence and a strong relation with surrounding field systems. Hetha Burn 1 in the College Valley (Burgess 1970) was similarly inconclusive, finding mainly Roman Iron Age but traces of earlier material. Of the seven enclosures surveyed by Jobey (1962b), almost all have several secondary roundhouse platforms.

Though the most intense phase of occupation may be in the Roman Iron Age, these settlements were potentially in use from the Bronze Age to the post-Medieval period. This is unsurprising considering that once constructed, they were useful platforms in a hilly landscape.

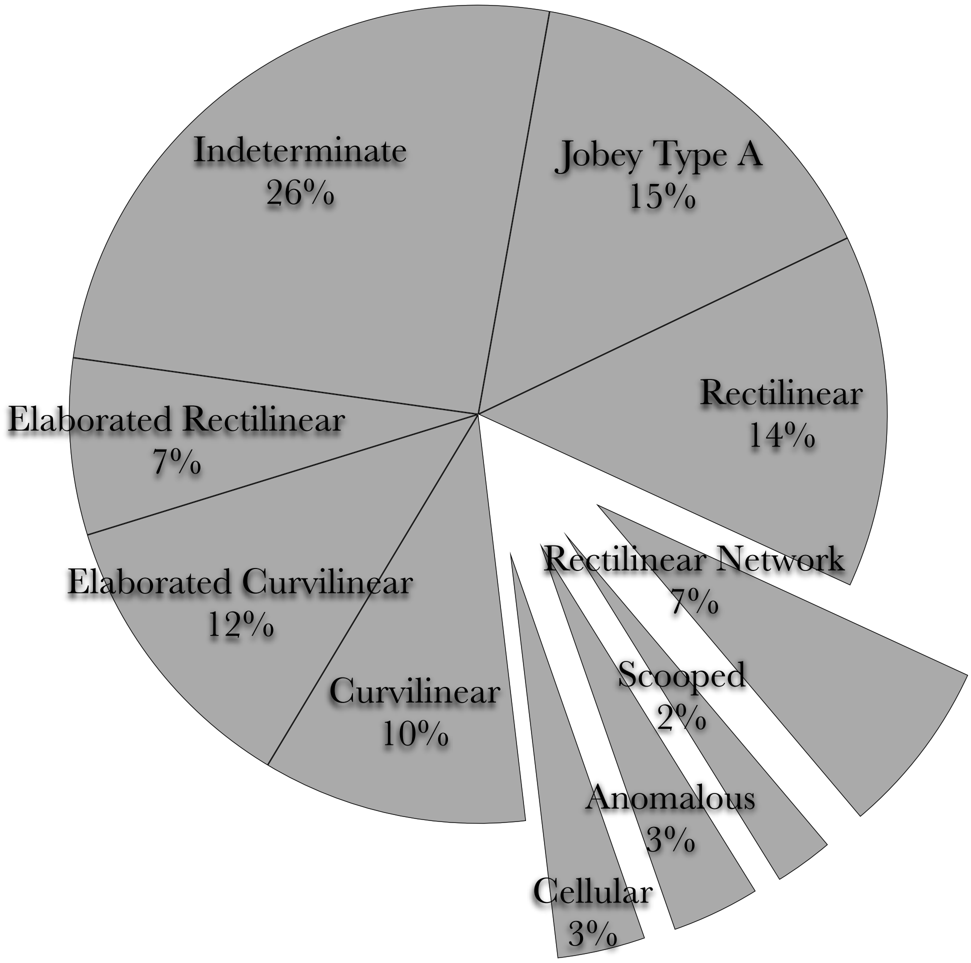

Figure 5.6: *Relative quantities of excavated indigenous settlements.*

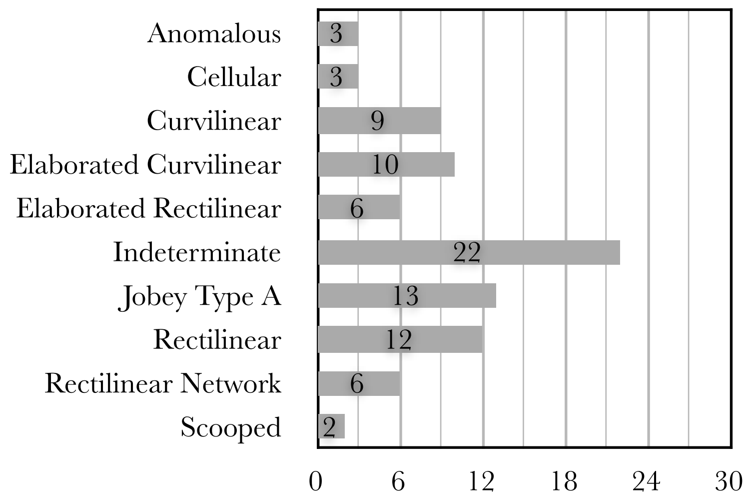

Figure 5.7: *Quantities of excavated indigenous settlements by type*

Settlement Type	Settlements With Confirmed Roman Period Material Culture	Settlements Without Confirmed Roman Period Material Culture	Total Number of Settlements	% With Roman Period Material Culture
All	50	36	86	58%
Anomalous	2	1	3	66%
Cellular	2	1	3	66%
Curvilinear	5	4	9	55%
Elaborated Curvilinear	4	6	10	40%
Elaborated Rectilinear	4	1	5	80%
Indeterminate	12	10	22	55%
Jobey Type A	11	2	13	85%
Rectilinear	3	9	12	25%
Rectilinear Network	7	0	7	100%
Scooped	2	0	2	100%

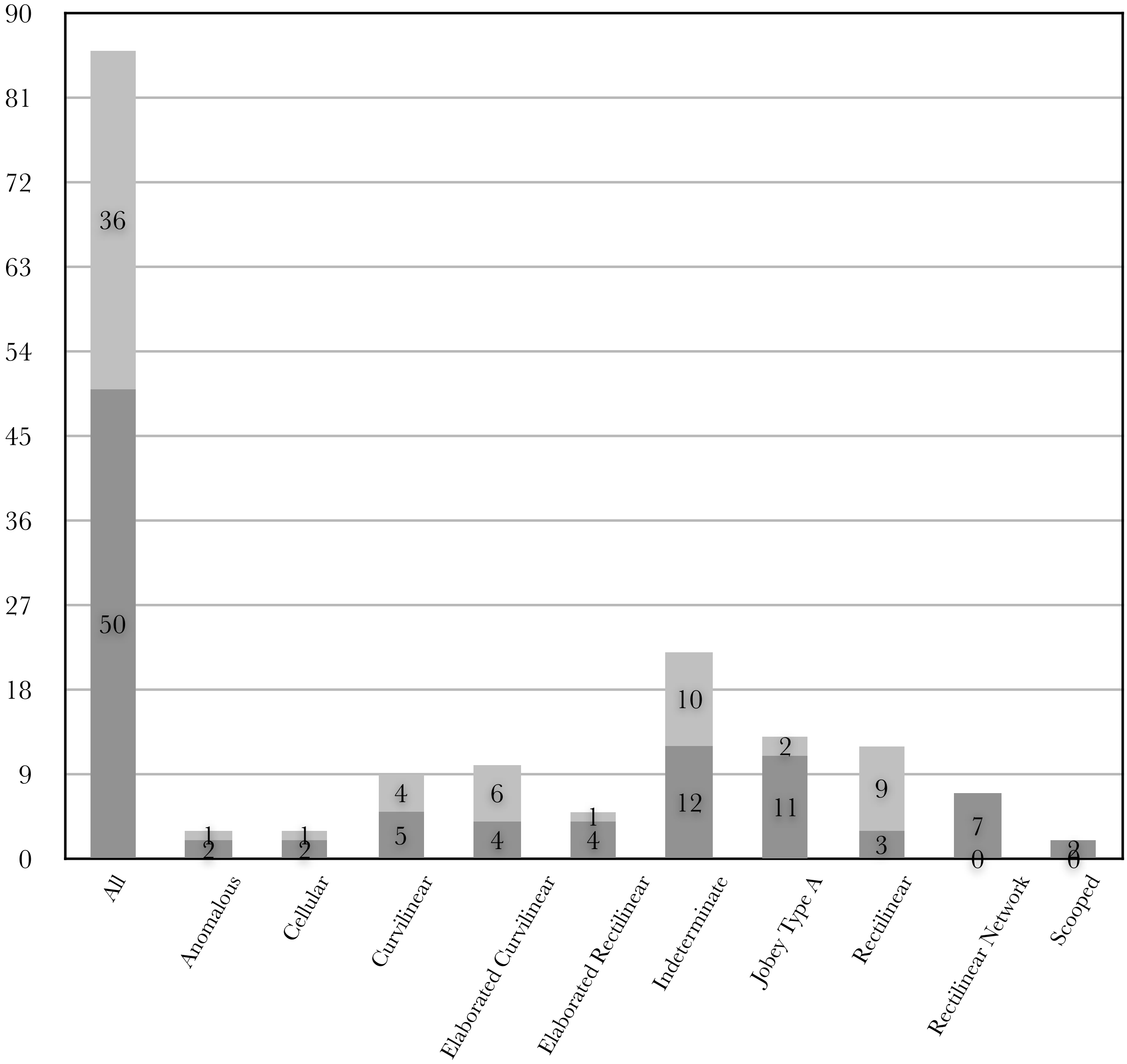

Table 5.2 and figure 5.8: *Presence and absence of Roman period material culture by settlement type*

I. Anomalous Sites

There are a number of sites which present total anomalies, either in their form or scale. It is difficult to provide a summary introduction to these. Stanwick, Yeavering Bell and Hamsterly Castles will be discussed individually in the following analysis.

J. Indeterminate

Settlement whose form cannot be determined closely have been classed here as 'indeterminate' and will be discussed in greater detail below

Analysis

Figure 5.6 and 5.7 show the relative and absolute quantities of excavated indigenous settlements within the study area by type. Though this clearly shows that many excavated settlements are of an indeterminate form, this is not as disheartening as it may at first be taken to be. Primarily, it is a reminder of the variability of the excavated record and the need for further extensive excavation to back up the more detailed and large scale typologies of settlement which are based on aerial evidence and field survey.

Next to this, the distinctive Jobey Type A settlements are the most common, followed closely by the long-recognized rectilinear enclosures and curvilinear and elaborated curvilinear enclosures. Other rectilinear types display only around five examples each and the remaining forms (anomalous, scooped and cellular) each have very few examples.

Accompanying maps are located at the end of the chapter. It should be noted that these maps show the locations of the excavated settlements considered here and do not represent comprehensive settlement distributions. They are included as a reference and to demonstrate situations where the distribution of certain excavated features is significant or the distribution of excavated settlements forms an interesting comparison to larger distribution patterns.

General Distribution

Map 1 shows the distribution of all settlements covered in this chapter. Though the excavated sites considered here are by nature a selected fraction of the sites more widely suggested to be of the period, their distribution overall shows a relatively even distribution across the study area. The only major interruptions are metropolitan areas and the most remote part of the Pennines.

The areas in which it is perhaps surprising that there is not more excavated material from are the Northumberland coastal plain and the Durham limestone plateau. However, this is largely arable land which creates time pressures for excavation, and is not extensively under threat from extractive industry or development which has fueled discoveries around the lower Tees Valley and north of Newcastle. Additionally, the land responds well to aerial photography (though issues on the Durham limestone have been discussed above) and this has perhaps caused an increase in aerial survey and decrease in ground checking by excavation.

Roman material

Map 2 shows the presence or absence of Roman period material culture on the sites in question. This shows that the spatial distribution of sites which demonstrate Roman period material culture does not appear to be dramatically different from the overall distribution of excavated sites, suggesting that Roman material culture was, when desired, available throughout the region and there is no large scale distinction in either geographical distribution or settlement morphology for settlements which engage in some part with Roman period material culture. Roman period material culture has here been taken to mean imported 'Roman' items such as glass vessels and jewelry, Roman ceramics and glass rings and certain types of bead.

Table 5.2 and figure 5.8 show the presence and absence of Roman period material culture by settlement type, and as a rough dating tool this confirms what is suggested by previous authors and outlined

Settlement Type	Minimum mOD	Maximum mOD	Average mOD
Anomalous	90	360	187
Cellular	230	490	357
Curvilinear	160	370	261
Elaborated Curvilinear	80	290	217
Elaborated Rectilinear	60	140	99
Indeterminate	20	290	92
Jobey Type A	130	215	172
Rectilinear	5	260	112
Rectilinear Network	20	95	61
Scoop	190	250	220

Table 5.3: *Minimum, maximum and average height above Ordnance Datum by settlement type.*

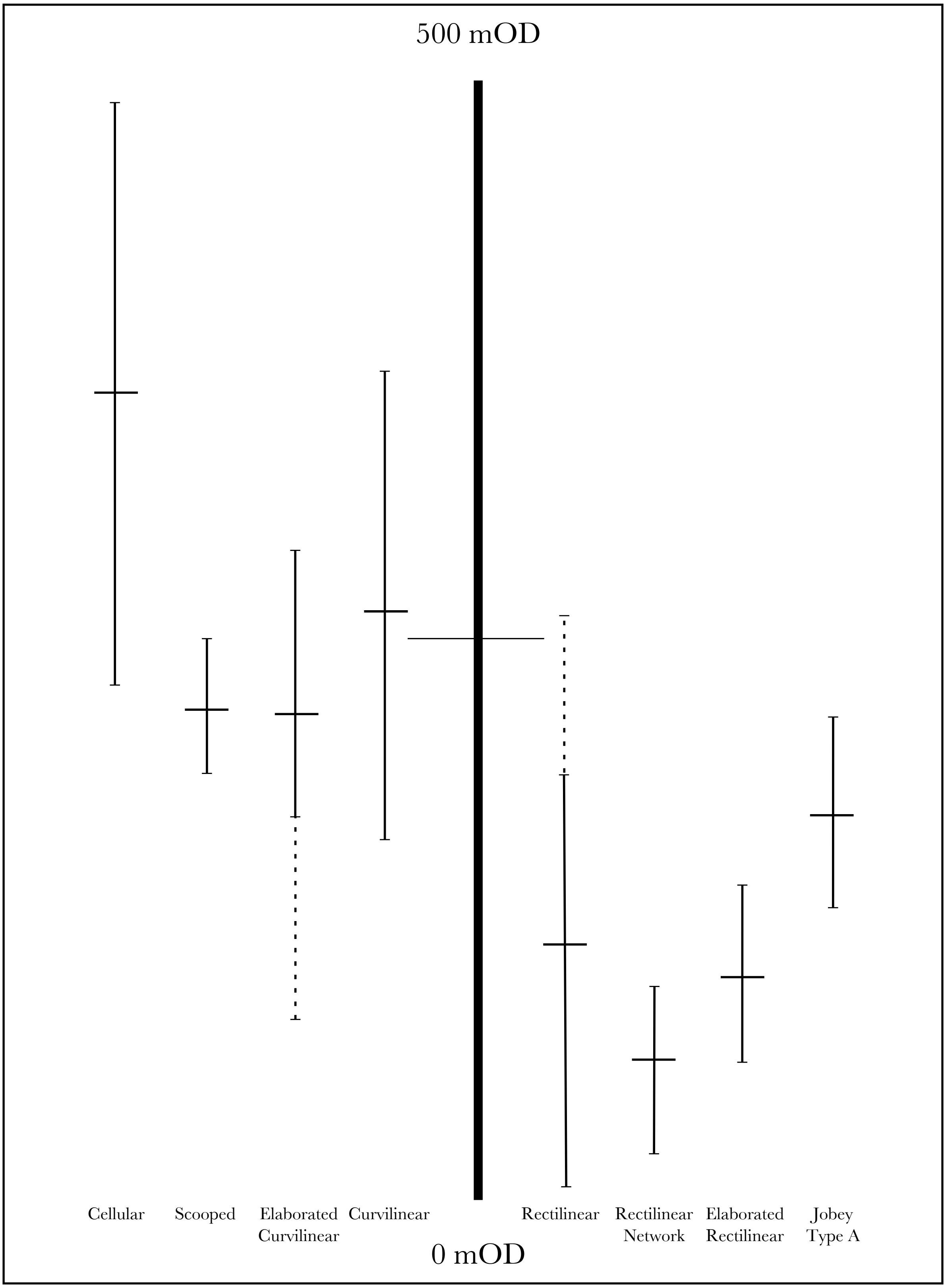

Figure 5.9: *Minimum, maximum and average heights above Ordnance Datum for determinate settlement types. Details of each range are discussed individually by settlement type, below.*

in the typology above.

This is a very rough measurement, more indicative of sites which are definitely active in the Roman Iron Age than those which are not, as the quantity of Roman material culture recovered from indigenous settlement is often very small and the excavations covered here are often less than extensive. Thus, it is very difficult to categorically state that there is a lack of Roman Iron Age activity on any of the sites which do not produce Roman period material culture.

Vertical Distribution

Figure 5.9 gives a visual representation of the maximum, minimum and average heights above Ordnance Datum for the determinate types of site discussed here based on the data from table 5.3. This demonstrates a clear difference in the vertical distribution of curvilinear and rectilinear settlement types at this period, and this will be discussed in greater detail below.

Rectilinear Types

Dividing a settlement with a rectilinear enclosure and right-angled boundaries produces a particular set of possibilities for the organization of space on a number of scales. Most basically, a rectilinear enclosure fits very effectively into a landscape of ploughed fields. A roughly rectilinear field is, where practicable, the most efficient use of arable land to minimize turning of the plough itself. Colin Haselgrove (1982) has even discussed the suggestion by Bradley and Barrett (1980) that rectilinear enclosures originated in disused arable fields.

Rectilinear settlement layouts also have a social implication in controlling vision, access and the potential division of public and private space. This will be discussed further when assessing individual types of settlement, but the trend towards centrally placed roundhouses with entrances facing the enclosure entrance in a rectilinear context has a clear effect on the visitor, creating a public area near the entrance leading to the structure/s within, and the structure(s) may serve as an effective 'screen' of sorts dividing off the rear and side areas of the enclosure, which may be work or storage space, or social spaces which are more private. Sadly, the evidence for ephemeral, non-building structures within enclosures are rarely particularly illuminating and often heavily damaged so it is difficult to say more with regards to the zoning of these areas.

Overall, the evidence suggests that rectilinear enclosures are found in a well-populated, heavily agricultural and social landscape. Map 3 shows the distribution of all rectilinear settlements. This conforms very closely with George Jobey's air photo-based distribution of rectilinear settlements in Northumberland (Jobey 1960) and Colin Haselgrove's similar mapping in Durham (Haselgrove 1982), suggesting that this excavated subset of the full settlement distribution dataset is a reasonably accurate sample.

A. Jobey Type A

The stone-built settlements which George Jobey characterized as 'Type A' (Jobey 1960) have a quite restricted distribution around the North Tyne Valley, shown in Map 4 (and see Jobey 1960 for the full distribution of identified settlements). Vertically, they are found between 130 and 215 mOD with an average height of 172 mOD. The landscape in which they are found is a steep one but not a particularly high one, as discussed above. As opposed to the fertile lowland locations of many of the less distinctive rectilinear settlements, the settlements of Type A demonstrate more specific modifications and zoning within the enclosed area, which suggest a more specifically locally adapted mixed economy based in a combination of sheep rearing and cultivation. Though this may in part be an artefact of better preservation on 'type A' sites, the fact that features such as sunken 'yards' are very occasionally found on lowland sites as well, such as Doubstead (Jobey 1982) does suggest that this is genuine.

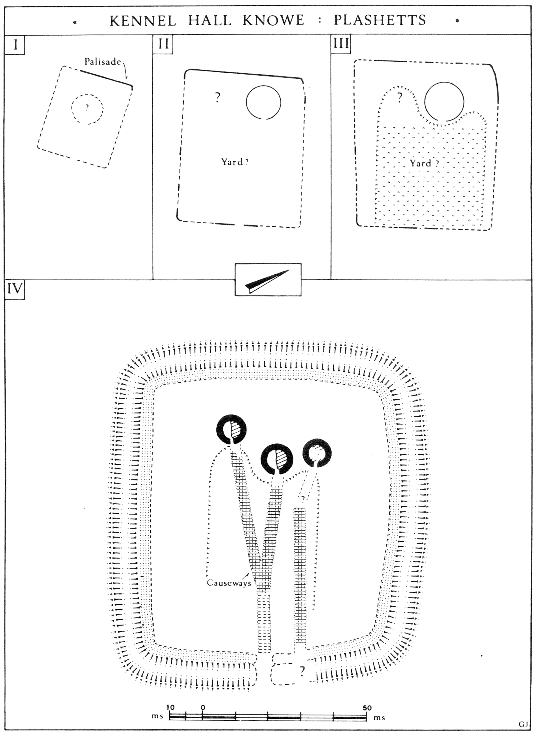

Figure 5.10: *The phasing at Kennel Hall Knowe, showing the retention of the broad form of the enclosure from palisaded to stone phases (after Jobey 1978, figure 9).*

The stone-built settlements of the final phases are, where investigated fully, preceded by earlier settlements on a very similar layout. Reflecting general trends, the roundhouses are frequently larger and of timber in the earlier phases. An example of this progression at Kennel Hall Knowe is shown in figure 5.10

The final and most distinctive phase of these sites consists of a roughly rectilinear, sometimes slightly trapezoidal, stone-built enclosure. This generally features a 'yard' type area in the front, sometimes subdivided, and often traversed by stone causeways leading to houses ranged roughly in a line on what is sometimes a small plateau overlooking the front yard area. The houses are frequently connected to form barriers and there is another yard area behind these.

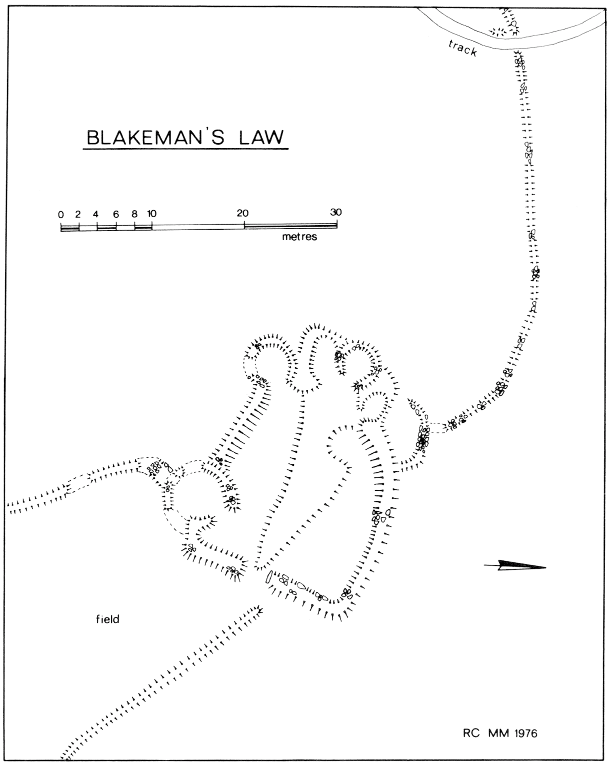

Figure 5.11: *The Jobey Type A settlement at Blakeman's Law, showing associated field systems (after Charlton and Day 1978 fig. 14).*

It is interesting to see these settlements, clearly the product of a local tradition, rebuilt in stone in the Roman period. It is entirely possible that this represents a monumentalizing response to the extensive stone military works in the region. This is difficult to substantiate however, and does not appear to have been an act of specific resistance to the Roman military as the sites appear to be engaging with that community and receiving significant amounts of material culture, as shown in table 5.2 and figure 5.8. Bruhn (2008) does point out however that new forms of material culture can be adopted as a form of resistance. There is evidence for small-scale field systems surrounding these sites, as

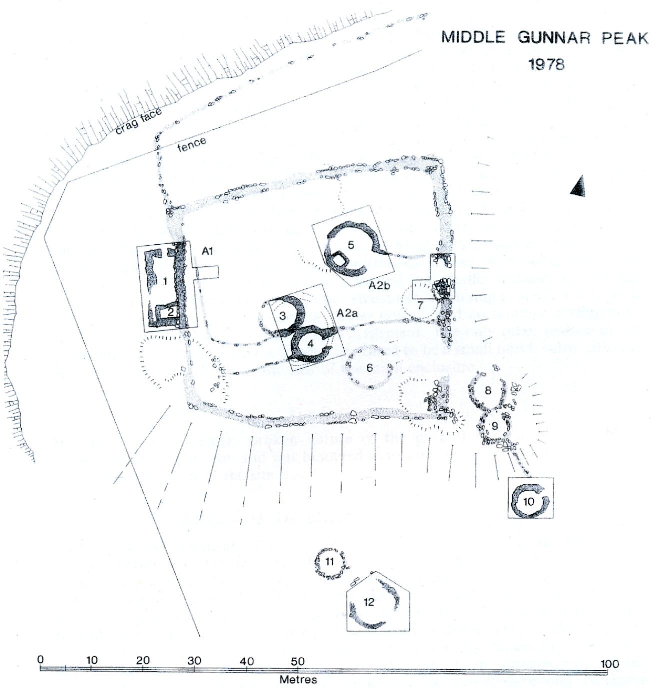

Figure 5.12: *The Jobey Type A settlement at Middle Gunnar Peak, showing variations on the form outside the core area of distribution (After Jobey and Jobey 1981 figure 1)*

shown in figure 5.11.

An interesting aspect of these sites is the variation of the strong, unusual and seemingly very localized form. There are modifications as one reaches the edges of the area in which they are distributed, with Carry House Camp and those at Gunnar Peak (Map 4; map numbers 15, 54 and 78) adhering less strictly to this layout, with more variation in house location and external structures. The example at Middle Gunnar Peak is shown in figure 5.12, and the more centralized layout of internal space from the examples of Kennel Hall Knowe and the unexcavated Blakeman's Law shown in figures 5.10 and 5.11 is notable Even the settlement at Milking Gap (see figure 5.18), about 10 km away and discussed below as an example of cellular architecture, shows potential influence of this architectural tradition. This once again shows the significant variation in individual settlements even within what must be said to be one of most coherent and distinct architectural traditions identified in the area.

These settlements seem to reflect groups of communities who are adapting their settlement form to the environment around them, specifically, an upland farming area which appears to be quite densely populated, at least based on excavated examples and those mapped by Jobey (1960). The many similarities between the settlements and the apparently careful structuring of space within and potential divisions of public and private space in the separate yards suggest a high degree of socialization and communication within the community or communities that occupied these settlements.

B. Rectilinear

Map 5 shows the distribution of excavated rectilinear settlements in the study area. These have a broad distribution within lowland areas across the eastern side of the study area, with some even reaching into the lower portions of Cheviot valleys, as is the case with the partially rectilinear enclosure at Worm Law (Tate 1862).

As seen in figure 5.9, rectilinear settlements occur in the range between 5 and 260 mOD with an average of 112 mOD. This gives a slightly misleading view of the range however, as the site at West Brandon, though on gently rolling farmland, is on the Durham limestone plateau at an altitude of 260 mOD, 70m higher than the next nearest site at Rock Castle. This demonstrates that the measurement of altitude is a shorthand indicator of the nature of the landscape rather than a strict measurement. The range in between West Brandon and Rock Castle has been indicated with a dashed line in figure 5.9. This accords well with the

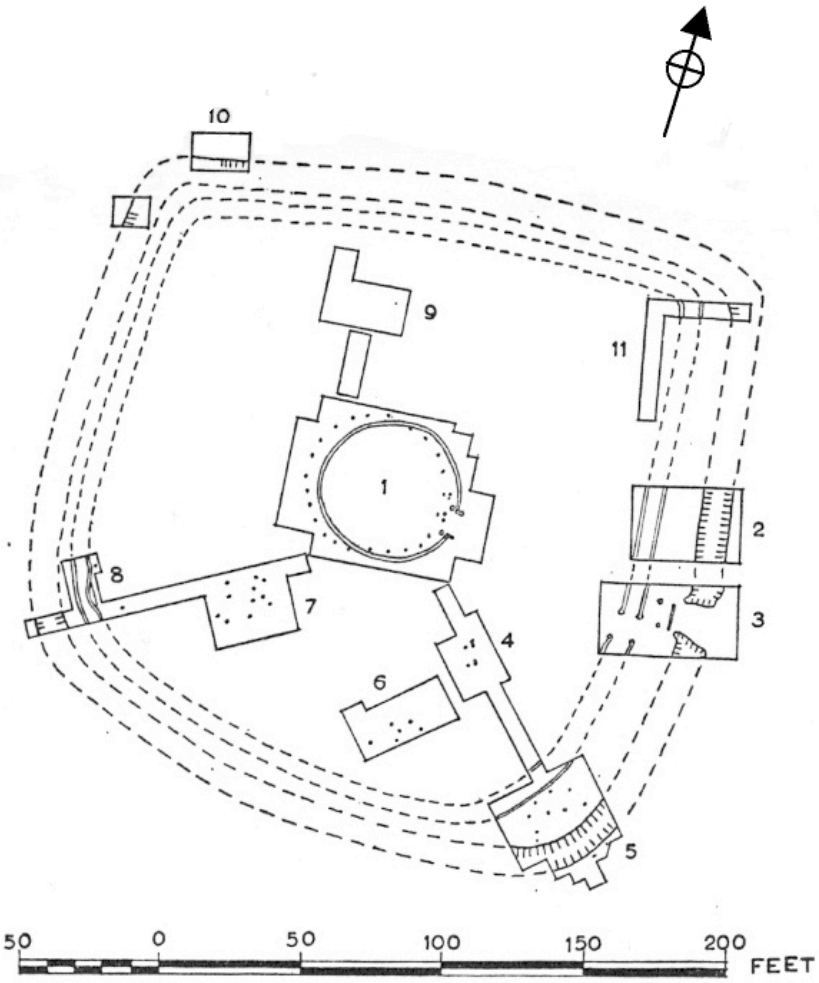

Figure 5.13: *A large central roundhouse in the centre of a rectilinear enclosure at West Brandon (after Jobey 1962 figure 1).*

observation by Haselgrove (1982, p. 65) that the 125 m contour was a focus for rectilinear settlements, which he suggests is evidence of the desire to exploit multiple landscapes in a mixed farming context.

Many of the rectilinear enclosures are posited or shown to have a large, central roundhouse as shown in figure 5.13, occasionally with an ancillary roundhouse (as possibly at Doubstead). 11 of the 12 rectilinear settlements recorded here certainly or likely conform to this, with the unusual lowland Cheviot rectilinear enclosure at Worm Law being the only exception. Worm Law is not entirely rectilinear however and is likely to represent an adaptation of the upland settlement tradition to a specific circumstance.

As discussed more briefly above, this central structure gives a particular social layout to the site, with direct communication between the structure entrance and the enclosure entrance. This means that access to other sections of the enclosure must pass through this area, which is visible from both the roundhouse doorway and enclosure entrance. In effect, a visitor is immediately under observation and directed towards the central structure, and would likely be observed diverting into other areas behind and around the structure. Steven Willis (1999 has called attention to the arrangement of 'lines' of often overlapping roundhouse remains on some settlements, such as Quarry House and Burradon and to which should now be added Pegswood Moor phase 4. This occasional pattern further indicates the idea of structures being sited on, creating or representing boundaries within an enclosure.

It is notable that these other areas of the enclosure, often large areas as Ferrell's calculations of built to unbuilt space demonstrate, are not visible from the presumably windowless central structures (see above; Pope 2003a, p. 262) and the roundhouse obscures visual access to many of the areas from the enclosure entrance. This may suggest that these were more private areas for the community that lived there, or working or storage spaces for agricultural equipment and produce. Given the evidence of an open farming landscape, lack of evidence for formal internal divisions such as on Jobey Type A settlements, and lack of visual contact with central structure(s), it is unlikely that these areas were for keeping animals or for small-scale cultivation such as gardens. There is also the possibility of industrial uses, as one of the few recognizable 'outdoor' features found in the record is the smelting furnace at West Brandon, which is beside and slightly behind the large central structure (see Jobey 1962).

Colin Haselgrove (1982) has suggested that these settlements were out of use by the Roman period on artefactual grounds, and it is certainly true that Roman material is rare. Of the 12 rectilinear enclosures recorded here, only three (25%) have produced Roman material culture. As discussed above, dating these sites on lack of artefactual evidence is problematic but the possibility must be borne in mind.

Overall these rectilinear settlements suggest a base for a community engaging with a wider social and agricultural landscape whilst at the same time sharply defining the bounds of their own community though marked enclosure boundaries.

C. Elaborated Rectilinear

Excavated examples of elaborated rectilinear enclosures have a more restricted distribution in the area, being focused on the southern area of the Northumberland Coastal Plain. Map 6 shows this distribution. As seen in figure 5.9 these occur between 60 and 140 mOD with an average height of 99 mOD, lower in general than the non-elaborated rectilinear settlements.

As discussed above, the majority of the sites (Burradon, Hartburn, Blagdon Hall, though notably not Gubeon Cottage) demonstrate an extensive palimpsest of roundhouse remains which are partially overlain by at least the inner ditch of the enclosures. This has given rise to two explanations, either an early 'unenclosed' followed by a smaller, double ditched enclosure or a larger single enclosure followed by a secondary, smaller single enclosure. George Jobey was inclined towards the latter explanation at Hartburn and Burradon, but a discussed above it is not considered possible to adequately resolve the question based on currently available evidence.

Despite the uncertainty of the structural sequence, these sites show several key differences from the rectilinear enclosures discussed above. The boundaries of the settlement seem to have a greater importance, whether this is shown through elaboration with a double ditch or through more frequent and emphatic reworking of them to enclose and represent the community. Additionally, the crowded interior behind those boundaries seems less orientated towards laying out a social setting and interacting with the wider world. We can perhaps conclude then that these settlements were more clearly defining their community in a less intensively agricultural and less populous and/or social landscape than the simple rectilinear enclosures discussed above.

The exception to all of these suggestions is the enclosure at Ingram South, a double ditched rectilinear enclosure in the Breamish Valley. It does not fit with the examples from the coastal plain and has little by way of parallel nearby, so it must be taken, like Worm Law above, as an adaptation of the upland settlement tradition to a particular circumstance

D. Rectilinear Network

Excavated examples of rectilinear network settlements are largely found in the area of the Tees Valley, but examples at Pegswood Moor and East and West Brunton on the Northumberland Coastal Plain have recently been excavated as well. This distribution in show in Map 7 As seen in figures 5.9 they occur between 20 and 95 mOD with an average height of 61 mOD, generally lower than all other settlement types in the region and probably indicative of fertile river valley locations.

Rectilinear network settlements are difficult to categorize, as each one presents some different features and develops differently. Some appear to be expansions of more discrete rectilinear enclosures during the third and second centuries BC, as at Thorpe Thewles, whilst others develop from settlements which do not demonstrate strongly defined enclosures, as at Pegswood Moor (see figure 5.14).

Whilst the elaborated rectilinear settlements appear to be less engaged with wider socio-economic landscapes and more concerned with definite communities, the rectilinear network settlements appear to occupy very extensive agricultural landscapes, as demonstrated most clearly at Pegswood Moor. Roundhouses are grouped within certain enclosures but the dominant centrality of the structures and the focus of structures on the entranceway seen in rectilinear enclosures is far less marked. It may be that initial social interactions with the wider world are less formalised and the community in general is less concerned with physically defining their settlement.

It seems that these represent communities in densely settled[36] and farmed landscapes who may, through more social interaction with surrounding communities, have developed means of expressing community identity beyond the more elaborate and defined boundaries found on other rectilinear-type settlements. It is clear that these communities are somehow maintaining identities and a degree of independence through the turn of the millennium, as their development through the Roman period is particularly varied.

Pegswood Moor continues, based on evidence from glass bangles and radiocarbon dates, into the second century AD before eventual abandonment following a phase in which the landscape appears to be dramatically reorganized. There are no Roman ceramics or explicitly Roman material on the site at all. On the other hand, Faverdale could be said to be nearly a small town, with Roman burials and a hypocausted building, and though prehistoric activity at Ingleby Barwick is not well understood, the site develops a villa in the Roman period. Thorpe Thewles and Catcote adopt aspects of Roman material culture but entirely retain the roundhouse tradition until the turn of the third century or somewhat before, when occupation at Thorpe Thewles ends. Activity at Catcote is somewhat unclear, but the site develops Roman style buildings in the fourth century AD which are currently being investigated (Robin Daniels, pers. comm.).

Many of the sites, Pegswood Moor and Thorpe Thewles most notably, demonstrate a latest phase with land boundaries but no occupation within the excavated area, suggesting some form of settlement remained relatively nearby.

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[36] Population estimates for prehistory are always problematic. However, Haselgrove's suggestion (1982, p. 20) of 10 +/-2.5 people per square kilometer for the lowland corridor of eastern England and 'much lower' in the uplands, based on Domesday figures, is plausible if impossible to prove and provides a figure with which to begin thinking about social interactions.

Summary

The recent large scale excavation of rectilinear network sites on the Northumberland coastal plain sheds interesting light on the apparent primacy and variability of isolated rectilinear enclosures, elaborated or otherwise. The primary method of identifying isolated rectilinear enclosures has generally been aerial photography, upon which boundary ditches and occasionally the remains of large houses can be very clear. Given the limited personnel available on many of these excavations, particularly in Jobey's heroic efforts with the Newcastle University Continuing Education Department, the larger ditches identified on the aerial photographs were often minimally excavated. Essentially, certain features were spotted from the air, the enclosure type determined and excavated accordingly with a focus on houses in the central area and on entrances.

Contrary to this, a number of the more recently excavated sites have been identified by geophysics and excavated by stripping large areas of topsoil in advance of development or mining and then a targeted strategy of excavating the features revealed and these have almost exclusively demonstrated rectilinear network type sites.

In essence, aerial identification followed by targeted trenching has produced isolated rectilinear enclosures whilst in the same areas aerial or geophysical survey followed by large open area excavation has produced a more nuanced view of networks of rectilinear enclosure across a larger area. When looking simply at the area excavated, those features confirmed in the ground by excavation, we see in figure 5.14 that the area excavated at, for example, West Brandon would comfortably fit in amongst the network of enclosures at Pegswood Moor without revealing any of the connections with the larger settlement. Likewise, the excavated area at South Shields would fit comfortably inside of an enclosure without this being identified in the excavation itself.

Thus, a focus on the excavated settlement evidence suggests that the apparent variability in rectilinear settlements within the area is more related to the archaeological techniques used to locate and explore them than to major differences in the archaeological record and we may tentatively assume that rectilinear settlements across the entire area formed a continuum of engagement with the wider landscape. The image of an entirely isolated farmstead no longer fits with the economic, social or environmental picture of the region. This study must conclude that what may have been recorded as isolated rectilinear or elaborated

Figure 5.14: *The excavated areas of Pegswood Moor, West Brandon and Coxhoe West House (after Proctor 2009 figure 4; Haselgrove and Allon 1982 figure3 and Jobey 1962 figure 1).*

rectilinear settlements and rectilinear network settlements are essentially a result of a differential archaeological recovery of elements of the same settlement continuum.

The more extensive end of this continuum would certainly appear to grow from around the first century BC however. An economic and agricultural expansion is envisaged in the lowland regions and this cannot be supposed to have happened in a total vacuum, and it has been demonstrated in the previous chapters that the indigenous communities were largely economically independent, participating in low-level, socially embedded trade for exotica and perhaps more organized trade for key but ephemeral items such as salt (Willis 1999, p. 101) and iron (Heslop 1987, p 119). It cannot be the case that these communities expanded because they became suddenly *able* to do so, as it has been made clear (van der Veen 1992; Huntley and Stallibrass 1995; Huntley 2002) that agricultural technology in the area prior to this expansion was not lacking. The impetus is more likely to come from the fact the communities now had a *reason* to do so.

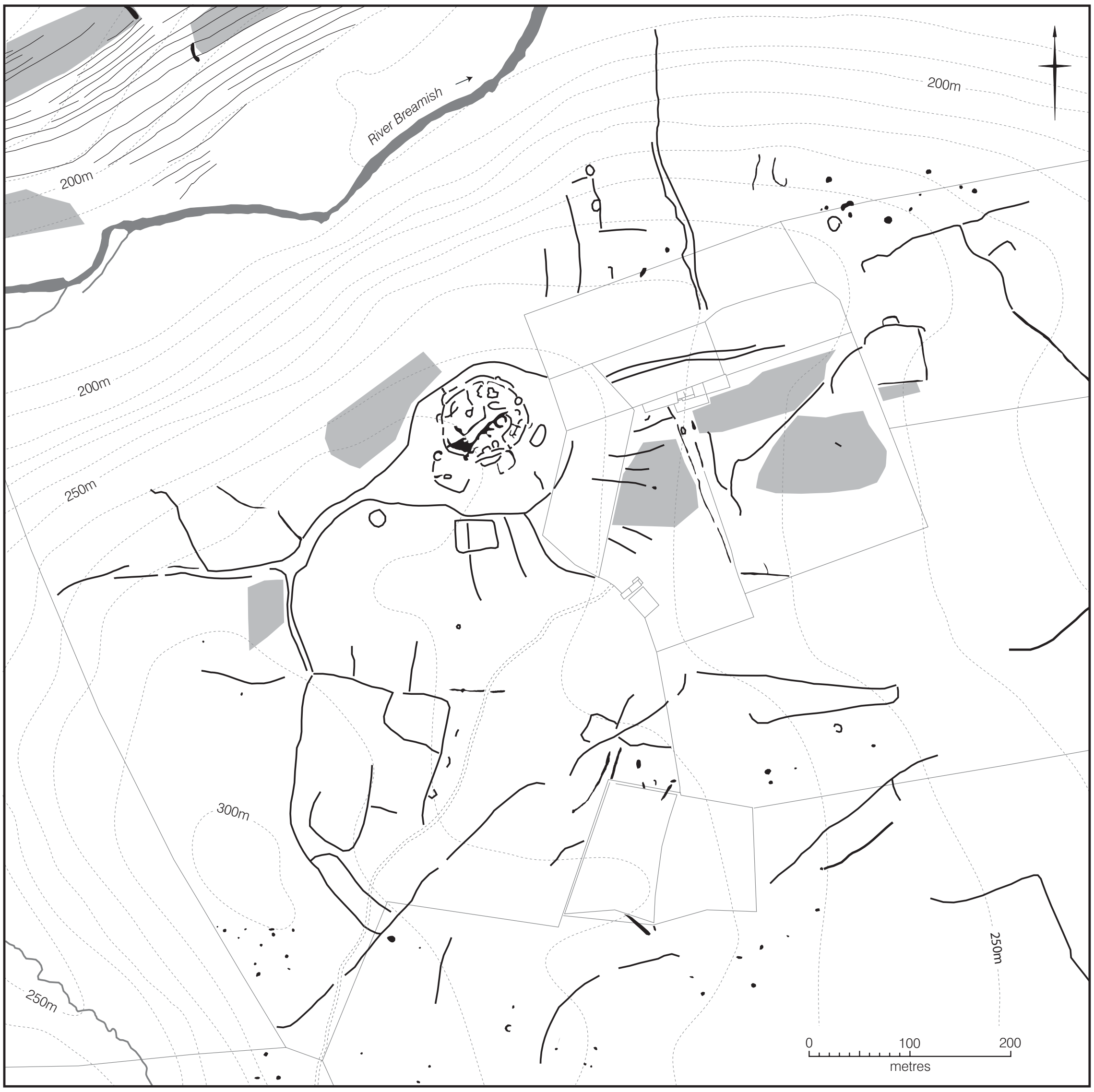


Figure 5.15: *The elaborated curvilinear settlement at Prendwick Chesters and it's surrounding field systems, as surveyed by the South East Cheviots Project (after Topping and Pearson 2009 figure 12).*

The social and economic situation described above for the pre-Roman period is not one in which there is an advantage in having a disposable surplus of material, but with wider social awareness and engagement there was a use for this. To expand in order to provide the community with surplus for trade gives communities a reason to change, and the growing influence of Rome in Britain and the continent-wide awareness that would have brought would have reverberated throughout the social networks of the later Iron Age. It has been shown that the communities of the north-east were certainly engaged with those networks in many ways and aware and a part of larger architectural and social traditions (see above and Willis 1999)

Curvilinear Types

Excavated examples of curvilinear type enclosures, as shown in figure 5.9, have a more upland distribution than rectilinear enclosures, and given their vertical and spatial distribution it seems that they are found in hillier, less agriculturally intensive areas and that rather than fitting into a landscape of rectilinear fields, they define an occupation area more fluidly. Their distribution is shown in Map 8. In general, though this is discussed more thoroughly below, the orientation of the houses appears less focused on the entrance way and more on inward areas.

This is likely to mean that they were located in more thinly populated areas and in landscapes in which there may have been less social interaction, causing communities to be more conscious of visual definition and expression of power in their boundaries, which are more frequently elaborated on rectilinear sites.

The upland distribution of sites has been a noted distribution of 'hillforts' for many years, but lowland curvilinear Iron Age sites have been postulated. Haselgrove (1982) shows a number of lowland curvilinear sites in his map of settlements detected by aerial photography and suggests that this may be an underrepresented later Iron Age settlement type. The present evidence would contradict this however, as no curvilinear enclosures with later Iron Age associations have been excavated, and the evidence suggests a clear vertical distribution in settlement types.

E. Curvilinear

Excavated examples of curvilinear settlements are found on the uplands and upland margins throughout the study area, as seen in figure 5.9 and Map 9, though they are almost exclusively found north of the Tyne, with the exception of Forcegarth Pastures North and South. This is likely to be a product of the limited fieldwork and lower past population density in the Durham Pennines. Curvilinear settlements are found between 160 and 370 mOD with an average of 261 mOD.

In general, simple curvilinear settlements are very similar to the elaborated curvilinear settlements in internal layout, rough sequence and dating, and relationships with wider landscapes, so the type will be discussed in more detail below. It should be noted here though that the simple curvilinear settlements do occur at higher altitudes than the elaborated examples.

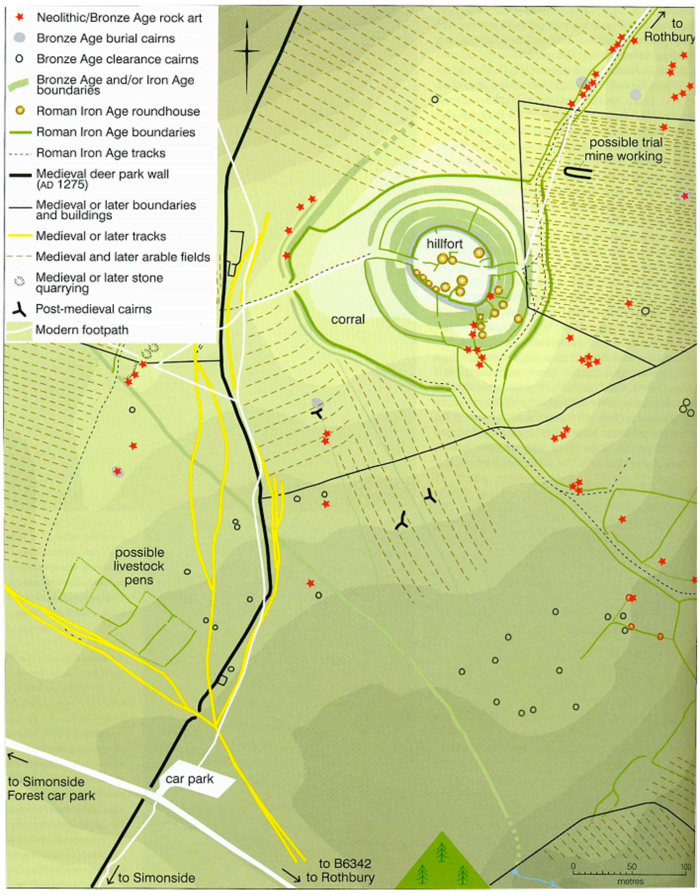


Figure 5.16: *The extensive curvilinear enclosure and surrounding fields at Lordenshaws, as surveyed by the Discovering our Hillfort Heritage Project (after Oswald et al. 2007, figure 3.6)*

It may be that the smaller settlements in higher areas, such as those at High Knowes, were more isolated and less concerned with elaborating boundaries.

F. Elaborated Curvilinear

Excavated examples of elaborated curvilinear settlements are found in upland regions of the north west of the study area, chiefly in the Cheviot Hills but also in some craggy areas to the east of them. This distribution is shown in Map 10. They are distributed vertically between 80 and 290 mOD with an average height of 217 mOD. The lower end of this range is somewhat artificial however, and the dotted line in figure 5.9 represents the two lowest sites, Murton High Crags and Fenton Hill, both at a low altitude but in steeply hilly areas. As with West Brandon amongst the rectilinear enclosures, this reminds us that the measurement of mOD is a shorthand for terrain more than an actual measurement

Where the surrounding landscape has not been built on, planted or quarried, elaborated curvilinear enclosures have been shown by recent surveys to be at the centres of extensive agricultural landscapes (Topping and Pearson 2009; Oswald *et al.* 2008), with networks of relatively small fields and droveways radiating out and often downslope from the central enclosure. Figures 5.15 and 5.16 shows examples of this from the South East Cheviots Project and the 'Discovering our Hillfort Heritage' project.

In the layout of buildings within the interior, the elaborated curvilinear settlements do not appear to have as much focus on the entrance and a potential 'social zone' in that location. Groups of houses appear to be more focused on areas within the enclosure, possible activity areas, subdivisions or animal pens. This, combined with the probability of a lower population density in the upland areas where these settlements are found (Haselgrove 1984a, p. 20) suggest a less social landscape with more strongly defined individual communities.

This may relate also to the strong visual aspect of elaborated rectilinear settlements. A profound visual statement is being made with these settlements, though they are considered emphatically non-military in nature. As discussed above, these provide definition and a status symbol for communities, symbols which resonate both within and without the community. There is evidence that visual impact was of great import in design in the frequent elaboration of entranceways such as at Brough Law. Additionally, Oswald *et al.* (2007, p. 87) suggest that at the site of West Hill the design utilized the slope to deliberately made the enclosure more visible from the valley bottom. It is interesting to note that the site at Yeavering Bell, discussed in detail below and considered to be a gathering point for different communities, lies in the heart of the region in which these strongly visually defined settlements are more common, and may suggest that socializing did not occur within the settlements of individual communities but in certain public places, built or unbuilt.

As has been noted, these settlements often appear to undergo a change in the early first millennium AD, with less focus on the boundaries of the settlement, smaller stone buildings and some degree of landscape reorganization. The discussion regarding whether these phases represent a crystallization of slower social changes or abandonment and reoccupation at a later

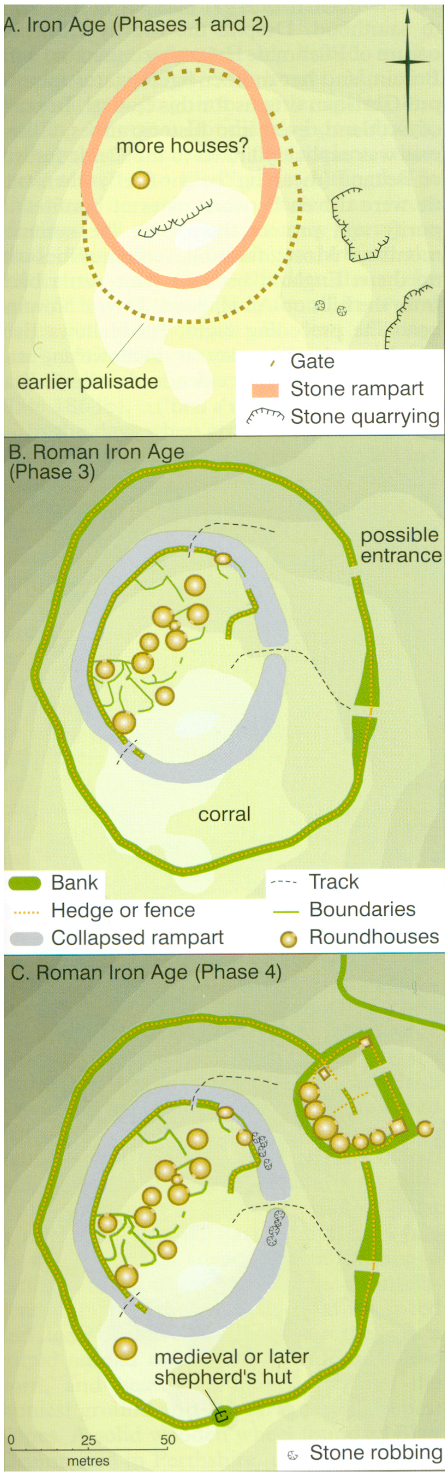


Figure 5.17: *West Hill, as surveyed by the Discovering Our Hillfort Heritage Project, showing new boundaries established in the Roman Iron Age as the old ramparts go out of use (after Oswald et al. 2007, figure 6.3)*

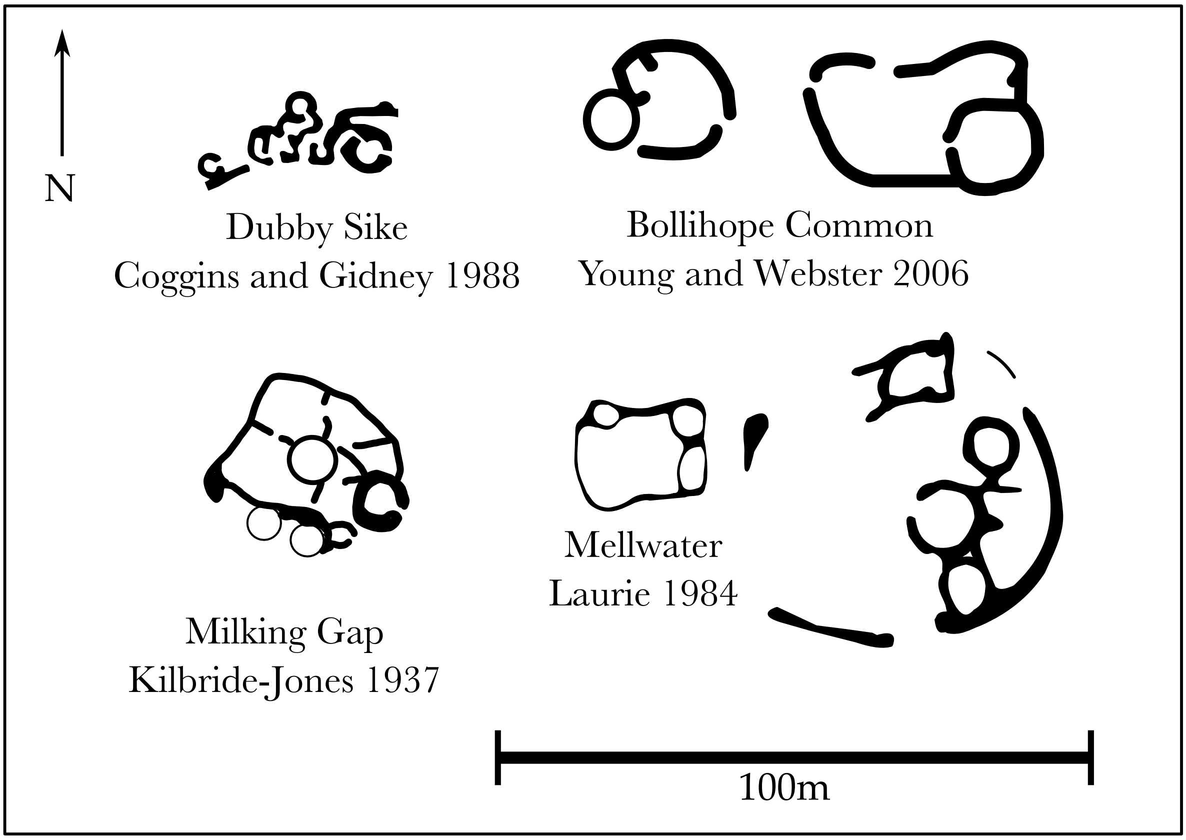


Figure 5.18: *Cellular settlements discussed in the text.*

date has been given above, but the social implications of these settlements can discussed regardless of this debate.

Whilst the major boundaries do fall out of use, it is frequently the case that new smaller boundaries within and around the settlement are established (see figure 5.17). This occurs in all of the well-surveyed examples published by the 'Discovering Our Hillfort Heritage' project within the Northumberland National Park (Oswald *et al.* 2008). Likewise, the general layout of the structures appears to be very similar, with the focus of groups of houses on particular areas within or relating to the enclosure rather than and entranceway or focal point. Though it is argued above that such an arrangement within the elaborated boundaries may represent limited social contact (at least within the enclosure), in the context of the abandonment of those boundaries this situation may reflect a much more social landscape with greater contact between communities, not unlike the rectilinear network settlements of the coastal lowlands in the same period.

Taken together, all this shows that, much like the rectilinear network settlements, these communities were engaging in mixed agriculture on a scale and in a form that fitted the physical and social landscape around them.

G. Cellular

The category of cellular settlements is somewhat of an amorphous one amongst the curvilinear enclosures. As discussed above, the key aspect considered here to mark this architectural tradition is the incorporation of the structures themselves into and enclosure boundaries. Three such sites have been excavated at between 230 and 490 mOD with a average height of 357 mOD, and their distribution is show in Map 11.

The two sites from eastern Durham, Bollihope Common and Dubby Sike, are shown in figure 5.18, along with the well-surveyed example from Mellwater Farm. The site at Bollihope Common is still being excavated, but finds of glass and pottery demonstrate clear later Iron Age and Roman presence (Rob Young, pers. comm.). The site at Mellwater Farm is dated less securely by analogy and architectural style. Dubby Sike is more problematic, with a small, rough pottery assemblage, no agricultural evidence and a unique plan but a range of radiocarbon dates cover the period in question, from the third century BC to potentially as late as the third century AD (Coggins and Gidney 1988, p. 6).

Given this, Dubby Sike is perhaps best explained as a seasonal or otherwise non-permanent site which saw various occupations and uses over many centuries. Its location is remarkable, lying a 490 mOD, making it the highest excavated settlement in the study area by a significant margin; according to the South East Cheviots Project the highest identified prehistoric settlement in Northumberland, at Blackhaggs Rigg in the College Valley, is at 373 mOD (Topping and Pearson 2009, p. 45). Coggins and Gidney consider the site 'close to or even above the practicable limit of permanent settlement.' (Coggins and Gidney 1988, p. 7)

Bollihope Common consists of two small enclosures (perhaps analogous with the unexcavated Mellwater Farm) which show some similarity to both Milking Gap (in their cellular nature) and to the small, curvilinear settlements at Forcegarth Pasture (in their more explicitly enclosed and curvilinear form). In practical layout they are also not dissimilar to the scooped settlements discussed below. Whilst not appearing to be directly of a particular architectural tradition, we can consider the settlement the adaptation of the inhabitants to their surroundings, previous knowledge and means.

Outside of eastern Durham, the well known site at Milking Gap (see figure 5.18) has been included in this category morphologically, though it is something of a hybrid and in fact, as discussed above, may be seen as having more in common with the Jobey Type A settlements to the north-east. This is another excellent example of how communities combined various aspects of tradition, circumstance and innovation to create their settlements.

Again these represent local adaptations of small farming communities, perhaps in these higher and less populated regions there was less need for groups to reinforce identity and cohesion within and outside their own community and thus the cellular structure rather than elaborate settlement boundary was adopted as a more efficient use of resources.

H. Scooped

As discussed above, only two examples of the so called 'scooped' settlements have been excavated, Hetha Burn 1 in the College Valley at 190 mOD and Little Haystacks in the Breamish Valley at 250 mOD. The location of these sites in the Border uplands is shown in Map 12. Little can be said about the distribution pattern of two sites, but they fit in well with the distribution given by Jobey in his 1962 summary of these types of site (Jobey 1962b).

Taking into account the excavated examples along with those surveyed by Jobey (1962b), there is significant variation in the specifics of the form but many broad similarities. These settlements, as the name suggests, are cut into or 'scooped' out of hillsides, and very steep ones in some cases – the large example surveyed by Jobey at Coldsmouth Hill I has about 30m of height separating its lowest terraces from the point where the hill resumes its natural course (Jobey 1962b, p. 56). The basic form scooped out of the hillside is of a flattened yard area overlooked by a terrace or terraces containing roundhouses and occasional smaller yard areas.

Not unlike the Jobey Type A enclosures, these seem to represent small scale mixed farming communities, with provision inside the settlement for a central stockyard to protect and observe animals and room for potential agricultural or industrial activity in some cases on other terraces. Jobey (1962b, p. 58) identifies cultivation terracing near some of the enclosures he surveyed, but cautions that in these dense and multi-period landscapes it is difficult to draw direct connections. The excavation at Little Haystacks attempted to investigate the precise relationship between the settlement and some of the surrounding field boundaries, but this aspect of the small excavation proved unsuccessful (Frodsham and Waddington 2004, pp. 177-8)

There is possible evidence at Little Haystacks for Bronze Age occupation in the form of a palisade trench, and perhaps indeed this site represents the reuse of a Bronze Age landscaping as at Kidlandlee Dene (a Bronze Age house cut into a steep hillside hear Alnham, recently excavated by Rachel Pope). Additionally, it is clear that settlements cut from steep hillsides were useful in various capacities in every era since, as the name 'Little Haystacks' probably indicates (Frodsham and Waddington 2004, p. 177). However, it seems clear from the size and architecture of the surveyed roundhouses and the finds from the limited excavations that the primary occupation which we are considering here dates to the Roman Iron Age and is likely to be contemporary with and in the same architectural tradition as the later occupation on the curvilinear sites discussed above. Jobey mentions examples from Kirkton Hill in Roxburghshire in which the scooped settlements were cut into the ramparts of the elaborated curvilinear enclosure (Jobey 1962b, pp. 57-8). These sites may represent communities establishing themselves independently of or expanding from the communities which were reworking the old curvilinear enclosures in the early centuries AD.

Summary

Like the rectilinear enclosures discussed above, when examined closely the majority of the curvilinear settlements excavated and recorded here appear to share many similarities of social affordances despite differences in the nature of the enclosure itself. The simple and elaborated curvilinear enclosures appear to be working in much the same way though perhaps on different scales. The scooped settlements appear to relate to a Roman Iron Age phase in which settlement within the enclosures is more loosely organized and less focused on community definition, whilst the cellular settlements are potentially unique construction such as Dubby Sike or localized variations on other architectural traditions. Thus the curvilinear sites are best seen as a continuum representing the adaptations of communities to their own needs and circumstances both socially and economically.

It is notable that seemingly the most significant change in the settlement pattern in the early centuries of the first millennium AD should come in the upland areas most distant from the Roman military infrastructure, but there is a potential explanation for this. Whether or not there is a significant break in occupation, the often elaborate enclosure boundaries created by communities in previous centuries cease to be maintained and a new form of settlement takes its place, with smaller-scale stone buildings often partially constructed within the former ramparts and outlying settlements scooped out of hillsides. It can be little more than speculation to discuss what caused this shift, in which communities appear to disperse and develop new ways of expressing corporate identity socially rather than in the form of their settlements themselves, but I will endeavor to offer some thoughts.

It is hard to avoid the conclusion that these changes must be brought about or at least influenced by growing socio-economic presence of Rome in Britain from the first century BC and the arrival of the Roman army in the area and subsequent changes to the entire fabric of society in the late first century AD. Arguments that the abandonment of the 'hillforts' is a direct Roman military policy are, however, misguided and without evidence (Oswald *et al.* 2007, p. 101).

I would suggest that these changes are at least in part related to the Roman presence in the archipelago, but in social terms rather than direct influence or action. It is clear that many of the upland communities who were only briefly a real part of the Roman Empire were enthusiastic about the new material culture of the Roman era, ceramics, glass bangles, &c. Of the 24 excavated curvilinear type sites discussed here, 13 (54%) produced definite Roman era material culture (as complied from table 5.2). This fits with the average for all sites recorded, but should be considered high in this situation as the area saw so little direct Roman involvement. Even before the 'official' Roman arrival in the area, information and material culture must have spread into these valleys, and with it connection to and knowledge of a wider world. In a social landscape based around sharply defined communities who may have had limited or very formalized social interaction (i.e. specific gatherings, ritual combat and so forth) the need to engage on a wider level affected inter-community relations and with the passage of time, the literal and figurative boundaries became less and less significant. This may seem a very loose explanation for the apparently major changes seen, but as the time scale is not well understood these new types of settlement could be result of several generations of individuals reacting to new difficulties and opportunities.

Other Types

I. Anomalous Sites

There are three excavated sites within the study area which are so unusual in morphology that they will be presented and discussed individually here, and later considered in light of the general pattern of settlement. Map 13 shows their location.

Stanwick St. John (Figure 5.19)

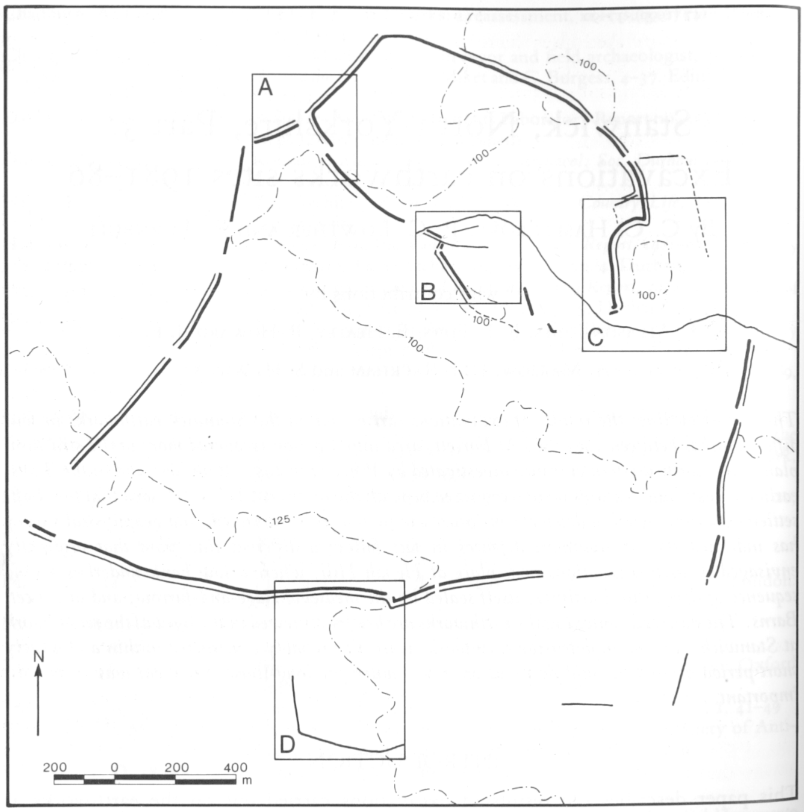


Figure 5.19: *Stanwick St. John earthworks (after Haselgrove, Turnbull and Lowther 1991, figure 1.)*

The site at Stanwick St. John has attracted more archaeological attention than any other Iron Age site in the north-east, being the focus of archaeological interest from John Leland's description of it in the mid 18th century as a 'camp of men of warre' (Leland quoted in Wheeler 1954, p. 1) onward. With the discovery of the Stanwick Hoard in 1861 (see Wheeler 1954; MacGregor 1962 and Haselgrove, Fitts and Turnbull 1991) the site gained prominence for producing material culture which could be interpreted in the country-wide context of Iron Age metalwork and further marked it as an anomalous site locally.

Sir Mortimer Wheeler set about excavating the site in the early 1950s and it became massively influential in forming his ideas of the indigenous population of the area, and thus in turn popular perceptions of the indigenous population of the area, as discussed in Chapter Two. Given the contrast between the relatively small and rough assemblage of indigenous ceramics, the large and unusual assemblage of imported Roman coarseware and fineware and the extensive and well constructed ramparts, Wheeler's interpretation was that this was only achievable by the indigenous population with Roman influence. Following on from this assumption, Wheeler interpreted the Stanwick complex as being very late in the Iron Age chronology and almost entirely the product of Roman contact and politics, essentially rejecting the idea that any impetus for the site's construction came from within the indigenous tradition and framing it within Tacitus' account of the struggles of Venutius against the Roman army

Wheeler's phasing of the site saw an expansion from the central area in Tofts Field out to the most extensive level of earthworks, which he suggested were unfinished in places in order to explain the anomalies which prevent it being seen as an entirely defensive network. Subsequently, this interpretation saw Stanwick considered amongst the *oppida* of southern England, though nearly always with the caveat that the site is an order of magnitude smaller and geographically distant from all other examples.

Aside from a reinterpretation of some of the *terra sigillata* (Hartley and Fitts 1977) and Percival Turnbull's assessment of the relationship of Stanwick to *oppida* (Turnbull 1984), this interpretation was not formally challenged until Colin Haselgrove and Leon Fitts undertook survey and excavation at Stanwick and in its environs between 1981-6 (Haselgrove forthcoming, Haselgrove, Fitts and Turnbull 1991; Haselgrove, Fitts and Lowther 1991; Welfare *et al.* 1991).

The interpretation put forward by Haselgrove and company essentially turned Wheeler's phasing on its head, positing earlier unenclosed settlement in the central area but suggesting that the widest circle of ramparts was the earliest. Whilst accepting pre-Roman occupation within the central area, Haselgrove still sees the most prominent parts of the earthwork complex as 'the centre of a pro-Roman client kingdom' (Haselgrove, Lowther and Turnbull 1991, p. 87).

Whilst it is clear that there was a floruit of activity on the site in the early Roman period and that site was receiving an unprecedented quantity and range of new, imported items, given the evidence for social and economic vibrancy in the closing centuries bc outlined here from a variety of sources, it is entirely possible that the impetus behind the earthworks and economic engagement at Stanwick are entirely chthonic in nature. Whilst the work undertaken by Haselgrove at Stanwick is excellent and as yet not fully published and I do not wish to disagree with any of his archaeological conclusions, I am skeptical of his consideration of the social and economic context of the site. In an earlier paper (Haselgrove 1982), Haselgrove suggests that Stanwick is the key site in the northern Iron Age, which I would guardedly disagree with.

Stanwick is so unusual that it cannot be the 'key' to understanding the settlement record in the Tees area, though it is undoubtedly important and related to the increase in trade and economic engagement in the later first millennium BC. Other than as a local centre facilitating wider economic and social links amongst the pre-Roman changes, the site did not necessarily have great deal of impact throughout the settlement record of the region as a whole and could have been the reaction of a community or group of communities who particularly wished to engage with and were successful within the new socio-economic paradigm at the turn of the millennium. This possibility is elaborated further with reference to Yeavering Bell in the conclusions section below.

Hamsterley Castles

The Hamsterly 'Castles' is a slightly trapezoidal drystone built enclosure of about 0.7 ha in the Forest of Hamsterley in western County Durham. Though a substantial monument, with walls nearly five meters thick in places and apparent chambers built into the gateways, the interior has produced no evidence from aerial photography, geophysics or excavation (Hodgkin 1936; Wessex Archaeology 2008).

The site bears a strong resemblance to a Roman fort with it's playing card shape and fortified gateways, and this has influenced its dating on morphological grounds. The County Durham SMR considers the site to be a post-Roman construction by local leader attempting to establish power using the trappings of the Roman military. Whilst an understandable hypothesis, it is unusual however in that the nearest Roman fort, Binchester, is some less than 10 miles distant, though knowledge of Roman forts is likely to have been widespread.

The site was investigated in 2007 for the 'Time Team' television programme (Wessex Archaeology 2008). The combined programme of survey, excavation and coring was largely inconclusive, but concluded that the structure was most likely to be Iron Age in date. This was, however, based largely on architectural comparisons with Scottish brochs of a similar drystone construction and is tenuous at best. Though the site may very well be Iron Age, the report produced by Wessex Archaeology does not convincingly make this case.

It is admittedly difficult to avoid the conclusion that the designers of 'Castles' were attempting to imitate a Roman fort whichever end of the Roman occupation they may have been at. Were it to be found to date to the Roman period or immediately before, it represents something entirely different on every scale and would be without precedent on a local, regional and national level. There is some support for this, in that the topstone of an indigenous tradition quern was apparently recovered from the site in 1912[37].

[37] PSANT (iii) vol. 5, p. 195.

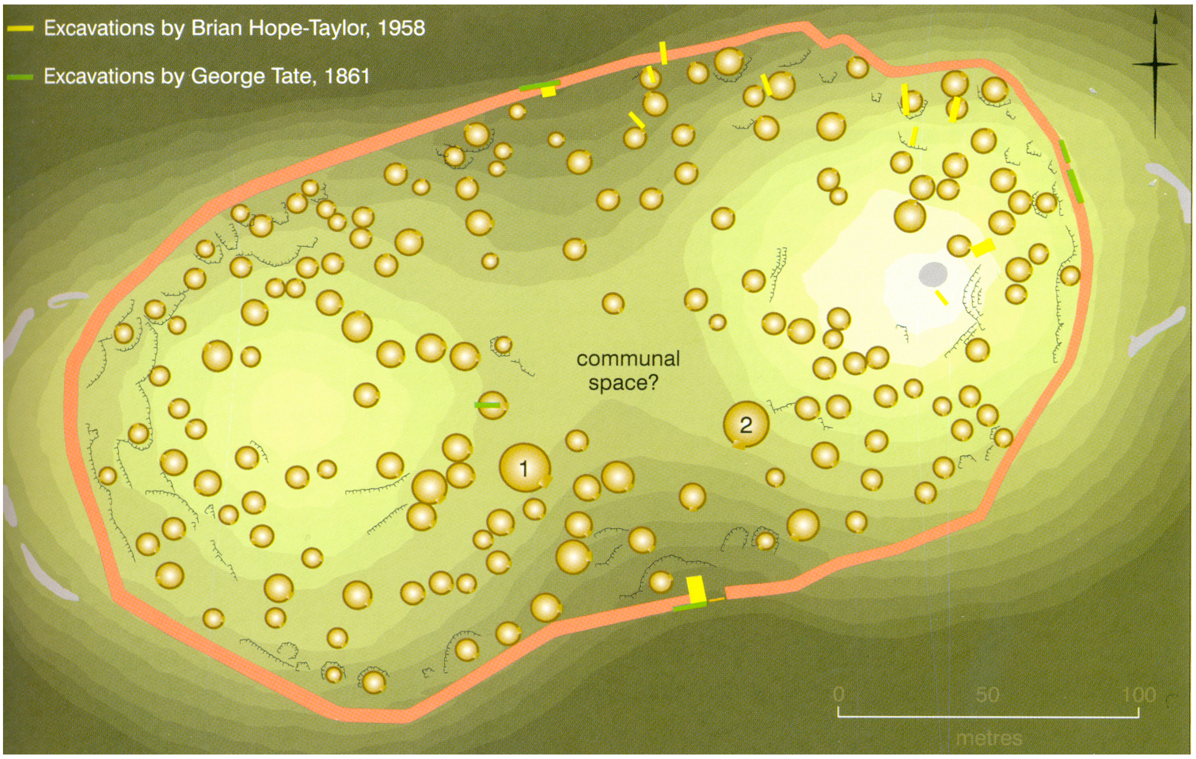


Figure 5.20: *A composite plan of excavations at Yeavering Bell (after Oswald et al. 2007, figure 6.18).*

Ultimately, such a unique site would not be entirely out of place in the settlement record as discussed here, as the unique reaction of a unique and largely independent community to engagement with the Roman military. However, the evidence is simply too sparse to consider the site to be definitely of the Iron Age

Yeavering Bell (figure 5.20)

Yeavering Bell (see Tate 1862; Pearson 1998; Frodsham and O'Brian 2005; Jobey 1965) is discussed individually as an anomalous site not so much because of its form, which fits well with the elaborated curvilinear enclosures discussed above, but for the scale of it. Occupying a dramatic hilltop in a landscape with clear significance both before and after the period in question, the site covers 5.6 ha ringed by 900m of ramparts and contains upwards of 125 roundhouses, making it several orders of magnitude larger than anything else in the study area or beyond. Visually, it is a dramatic construction occupying the entirety of the top of a remarkably steep hill, with ramparts constructed of andesite, a local volcanic stone which is a dull pink colour when freshly quarried. On of the most distinctive features of Yeavering Bell in plan are the 'annexes' situated at each end of the hillfort, which Pearson (1998 p. 25) has shown to be the full extent of the first phase of ramparts, whilst later ramparts were built to exclude these areas. In addition to the architecture suggesting a later and Roman Iron Age occupation, there are Roman period finds recorded by Tate (1862) and in poorly recorded excavations by Hope-Taylor (1977). Pearson additionally suggests that there might be evidence of earlier occupation in the form of the ring-ditch houses, which are commonly but not exclusively of late Bronze Age date (Pearson 1998, p. 30)

Though Yeavering Bell might seem to be the obvious top of a settlement hierarchy, the situation is actually likely to be much more complicated. As Gill Ferrell starkly quantified (Ferrelll 1997 p. 133), the site stands out to such a degree amongst the surrounding settled landscape that it begins to seem improbable that it was simply the home of a leader or leading family. If viewed as an integral part of any settlement hierarchy it does not fit well, especially since many other parts of the country nearby, such as the Breamish Valley, maintained very similar small scale settlement patterns without the presence of such a site.

A combination of factors would suggest then that the site was a communal one, perhaps a gathering point for the surrounding communities at set times within the year. In this way it is shows connections with other ‘hillfort’ structures of similar size in the rest of the country. As John Collis writes about the Wessex hillforts, the most likely explanation for their grandeur is as ‘a symbol for the whole of the society, of whom some live in the fort, others outside but unconnected with special status’ (Collis 1996, p. 91). The primary reasoning behind this argument is that, as far as surrounding society can be reconstructed, there were no socio-economic opportunities for an individual or group to amass the power to engage the labour and resources for such a labour intensive undertaking. The only way for such resources to be mobilized is in the form of a community undertaking[38]. Secondly, and lesserly, the clear importance of the site before and after the Iron Age (demonstrated by the nearby henge, Anglo-Saxon palace (Hope-Taylor 1977) and contemporary settlements) suggests the continued significance of this region and place to this relatively non-hierarchical social group.

Beyond this suggestion that the impetus behind the construction and maintenance of such a place must lie with the community surrounding it rather than an individual, it is difficult to assess exactly what it role may have played in social, economic and/or spiritual life. The symmetrical nature of the site, with each of the two hillocks on which it lies seeming to have its own cluster of roundhouses, central open area and larger roundhouse facing the entrance, suggests the potential for a meeting place for two groups. The two ‘annexes’ in the fi-

[38] It is perhaps relevant that Pearson (1998) does at times note the rough construction of the ramparts.This could be explained by the use of less skilled community labour in its construction.

nal phase of occupation, one on each end of the enclosure, have been suggested by Jobey as stock enclosures (1965 p. 43), perhaps one for each group present at the site. Though it is now suggested that the large circuit of ramparts is earlier, the smaller circle of ramparts could be deliberately creating such enclosures, and this point remains valid.

Given the inaccessibility of the hilltop due to the very steep slope it is somewhat difficult to envision it as a permanent settlement, at least of the extent possible, as water and supplies would be a difficulty. However, there is evidence for prehistoric cultivation on it's southern, more gentle, slope (Pearson 1998 p. 4). It is tempting to recall the tradition of shepherds meeting on fixed dates at fixed point around the Cheviots, described by David Dippie Dixon (1904), to exchange sheep and news.

Yeavering Bell stands out as an anomaly in the settlement record of the area which is most likely to represent one or more communities and serve as a gathering place for specific purposes throughout the year. This is a tantalizing hint of the level of larger scale social awareness and organization across these largely independent communities which could help to explain the apparent changes in relatively isolated Cheviot communities in the aftermath of the Roman arrival to the south of them. The desire to create this dramatic symbol of the larger networks and may also be indicative of a very high level of isolation amongst the communities who gathered there.

Conclusions

On the whole it is difficult to say anything conclusive about the socio-economic context of these anomalous sites, but the it seems that the presence of a relatively non-hierarchical settlement pattern with one larger scale, unusual enclosed site is continued further north in Midlothian with Traprain Law standing out as an anomalous site within a broadly similar settlement pattern (Haselgrove 2009). Given the disparity between the scale of these anomalous sites and nearly all settlements around them, I am inclined to see these as communal spaces, markets, gathering points and perhaps unifying symbols and places.

Given the mystery surrounding it, it is difficult to tell whether Hamsterly Castles fits in with this suggested pattern. Whilst the evidence for a communally built and used gathering space is strongest for Yeavering than for Stanwick (and indeed for Traprain Law), there are several points which suggest that Stanwick may fit a similar role, though apparently with much closer economic engagement with new, wider networks and apparent 'wealth'.

The very size of the site and the scale of the labour necessary would suggest the presence of large numbers of well organized labourers. It is not clear whether these individuals were willing or coerced, but the surrounding non-hierarchical settlement patterns do not indicate the networks of direct control exercised by one community required to coerce such labour. Thus, a system in which willing labour is provided by communities who will mutually benefit from the work is the answer suggested here. Given the presence of apparently blank spaces within the ramparts, the lowland location and the presence of such a quantity of exotic goods, it may be that the site at Stanwick functioned as a primarily cattle market not unlike the suggestion put forward for the Great Enclosure at the Saxon palace site near to Yeavering Bell by Hope-Taylor (1977)

J. Indeterminate Sites

Indeterminate sites, by nature, are unlikely to have a coherent pattern of distribution but this is shown in Map 14. In altitude they range across the scale of sites considered in the previous sections, from 20 to 290 mOD with an average of 92 mOD, demonstrating that the majority are lowland sites. These lowland locations add to the chance that there may be more organic or more ephemeral boundaries around and within settlements which may be erased by later agriculture or settlement.

The majority of the sites which are indeterminate are considered so due to small scale or chance excavation which was unable to consider the full form and extent of the settlement, often the product of developer-funded work, which has investigated a specific area. Some, however, are genuine candidates for unenclosed settlement, though as discussed above this may in essence be a false category based on what types of boundaries remain archaeologically visible.

The vast majority of these sites are in lowland areas and can readily be considered part of the settlement continuum found in these arable landscapes, and may either have had ditches or palisades which were not located or have been enclosed by more ephemeral features. It is even possible for a site to be effectively 'enclosed' by the fields which surround it and create definition that way.

There are three upland exceptions. One is at Swint Law, near Yeavering, excavated by Tate in the nineteenth century and mentioned as unenclosed hut platforms. This may be the case and the site earlier than the period we are considering here, or the enclosure may simply not have been specifically mentioned by Tate. The HER notes that this is part of a field system, so it is unlikely that the site is entirely unenclosed though the exact for is not known.

Another example is nearby at Yeavering itself, where Brian Hope Taylor suggests the remains of 'Romano-British' settlement on a map (Hope Taylor 1977, figure 73) but does not give more information. Gill Ferrell has made a record of some of the indigenous pottery which presumably came from this part of the site (Ferrell 1990).

The third example is at Knag Burn, excavated in the1960s by Anne Dornier (Unpublished MS held by Durham University). This appears from the documents to be an unenclosed roundhouse between the *Vallum* and Hadrian's Wall in the area of Knag Burn, near Housesteads fort, and these is evidence of industrial activity but little else is known.

Discussion

This examination, based on the excavated material for later Iron Age settlement in the north-east, has offered suggestions about the settlement record on several scales. In terms of broad distribution, it has been shown that curvilinear and rectilinear sites occur in different landscapes and broad areas. This is a facet in which the use of excavated evidence is able to provide clarity to the aerial photographic data. Colin Haselgrove suggested (1982, pp. 66-7) that curvilinear settlements may be an underrepresented later Iron Age site type in the area, but the excavated record, which is increasingly developer-funded rather than research based and thus not specifically targeting rectilinear settlements, has found no evidence of this and the curvilinear settlements suggested by Haselgrove in lowland Durham are likely to belong to another period. Comparing Map 15 showing the excavated rectilinear and curvilinear enclosures discussed here, with Haselgrove's map of rectilinear and curvilinear enclosures in the south-eastern portion of the present study area (shown in figure 5.21) is illuminating. Whilst there are a great deal more sites recorded via air photography and compelling patterns are to be found, such as the clustering of rectilinear enclosures around the 125m contour and a broadly lowland distribution, it is hard to make a coherent pattern out of them for a specific period.

In Map 15, showing a limited range of sites but all with demonstrable later and/or Roman Iron Age settlement, further details may emerge. Though the divisions are not iron clad, there appear be distinct distributions of curvilinear and rectilinear settlements according to altitude and landscape.

This brings us to a smaller scale of analysis on which it has been shown that the enclosure types may reflect trends in the social and physical landscape and economy of the sites. Excavated rectilinear settlements appear to be based in intensively arable landscapes and are often arranged in a manner that suggest social interaction with other groups is a part of the function of the enclosure, with apparent organization of public and private spaces and controlled visual and physical access.

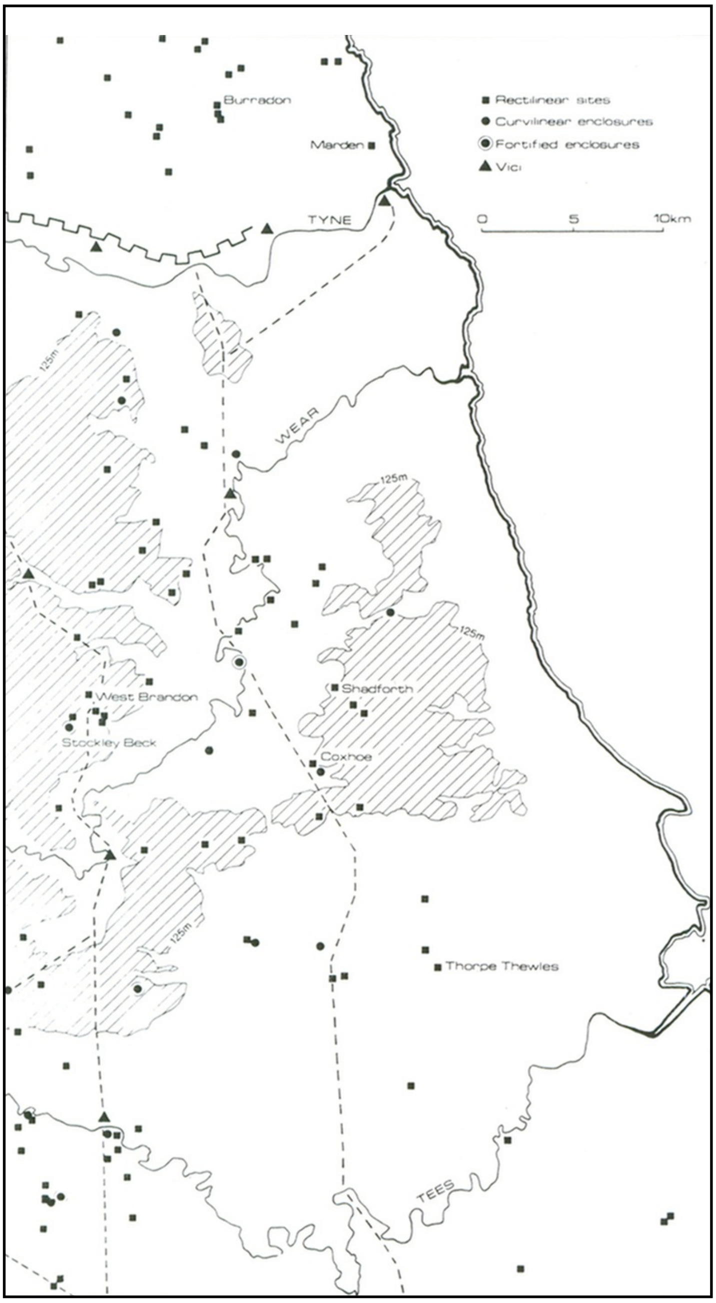


Figure 5.21: *Colin Haselgrove's map of curvilinear and rectilinear enclosures in the south-eastern portion of the study area (after Haselgrove 1982, fig. 9)*

Excavated examples of curvilinear settlements, on the other hand, appear to be the at the heart of smaller scale agricultural landscapes rather than fitting into larger scales ones, and they are often the focal point for surrounding field systems. The enclosures themselves are more frequently elaborated and there seems to be a strong emphasis on impressive physical boundaries as a means of community definition. It is suggested that these settlements are situated in a less intensely farmed landscape with more discrete social groups. The interior of the enclosures appear to focus more inwardly and this suggests that the interiors are not social spaces for interactions between communities and groups, and these may take place elsewhere.

From the first century BC or thereabouts, the excavated examples show changes in the settlement pattern which are likely to be related to the social reverberations of increasing Roman influence. Many of the lowland communities begin expanding and engaging with wider trade networks. In the Northumberland uplands the focus on boundaries and community definition appears notably diminished and settlement may become more open and spread out, with smaller settlements developing in the remains of the elaborate enclosures whose boundaries are no longer maintained. Though detailed survey can provide hints of such fluctuations in form and scale of settlement within sites which have such elaborate boundaries at certain phases, this is a particular facet of the settlement record where examination of excavated data is key to understanding the nature of the non-excavated record.

Most importantly perhaps, the examination of excavated detail has suggested that the curvilinear and rectilinear type settlements are both best seen along a continuum rather than as distinctly bounded site types. Both appear to represent communities with a relatively similar economic and social basis making the best possible use of the landscape in which they lived. This is not to suggest environmental determinism by any means. However, it has been shown in this and previous chapters that these communities are small, largely independent groups. This being the case, it is more likely that communities would adapt to make best use of the landscape around them to meet their needs rather than focusing on the ability to provide a surplus of a certain product or conforming to a more specific settlement form.

This suggested division into upland and lowland communities with curvilinear and rectilinear based forms of settlement is very similar to the model Hingley (1984a) developed for the Thames Valley which was in turn influential in forming Haseglrove (1984a). van der Veen (1992) and Ferrell's (1992; 1995; 1997) view of divisions in Iron Age society in the north-east, discussed in Chapter Two. The key aspect which I wish to challenge in their conceptions of Iron Age society is the idea of the division between two different types of society. This review of the excavated evidence has shown that there is significant variation and individuality in these settlements and also that the basic type of architecture, curvilinear or rectilinear, is largely dependent on the landscape encountered and how to make best use of it to provide for a community. It thus seems that settlement is on more of a spectrum and that these independent and broadly related communities were working in variations of the same way depending on their economic and environmental circumstance, and were engaged with some of the larger architectural traditions of the archipelago at the same time.

Roundhouses

A simple but significant factor to take into account when discussing the evidence provided by the settlement record is the extent to which communities in north-eastern England are engaging with the tradition of circular architecture. As discussed above, though various arguments can be pushed beyond what might seem reasonable, there is likely to be some degree of commonality of conception of the roundhouse and in discussions of similarities and 'different Iron Ages' it should not be overlooked that the communities of the north-east are engaging with this tradition, even if it is in a localized form as might be expected. Recent research in north-western France by Céline Goddard has suggested a trading population of British round-house dwellers in that region, or at least an exporting of the tradition, and this example shows for the first time the roundhouse tradition as an *active* tradition in the presence of other building forms even before the Roman period. Thus we should not underestimate the degree to which the simple presence of roundhouse architecture may indicate a connection with wider social networks and understandings.

A Settlement Narrative

Based on the evidence presented here, reduced in scope but increased in quality from the available cropmark and survey data, in the later Bronze Age and at the beginning of the Iron Age it seems that small settlements with no archaeologically obvious major boundaries such as ditches or palisades were the norm in the region (Gates 1983; Petts and Gerrard 2006). In the first millennium BC, the trend towards enclosure began, a pattern found in other regions across Britain (Bradley 2007; Harding 2006). Palisaded enclosures seem to be the earliest examples though their currency is lengthly, followed by extensive earthworks by the middle of the first millennium and stone ramparts around 400 BC at sites such as Brough Law in the Breamish Valley (see Topping and Pearson 2009, p. 5; Haselgrove 2002, p. 63). The climate had recovered from it's deterioration in the Bronze Age and was much the same as today, whilst pollen diagrams (discussed most thoroughly in Haselgrove 1982; 1982) show increasing clearance of a still heavily wooded landscape. It is at this period that our narrative begins in earnest.

For the next couple of centuries the landscape was dominated by mixed farming communities growing a variety of cereals and vegetables and apparently largely economically independent (See Chapter Four and Heslop 1987, p. 119). Cattle and sheep were raised, but the former may have been the more economically significant (Haselgrove 1984a) and perhaps the more socially significant as an indicator of wealth (Haselgrove 1999). Communities lived in enclosures amongst their fields, often with boundaries elaborated as a symbol of the success of the community, emphasizing this to themselves and others. It appears that sometimes these boundaries were quite ephemeral, and some open settlement may have existed which defined itself in ways we cannot now recognize

These enclosures were rectilinear and fitting in amongst field systems in flatter, lowland landscapes. In hillier, upland landscapes where arable fields may have been smaller and stock rearing (probably sheep) more significant economically, enclosures appear most commonly curvilinear and situated at the centre of field systems.

In the more populous lowland areas, these rectilinear enclosures are laid out so as to provide a social interface with the wider world near the entrance to the settlement, and private or work space situated in the rear. Curvilinear enclosures on the other hand were more commonly elaborated with extra ramparts or additions to the entrance way, whilst the interiors were laid out with greater reference to the interior spaces of the enclosure. There seems to be a much greater focus on visually defining the community externally and the enclosures are more inwardly focused.

Around the turn of the millennium, some major changes begin to occur. These have been identified in several ways and in several inter-related areas – an increase in woodland clearance is shown in pollen diagrams, there is an apparent intensification in agricultural activity (van der Veen 1992) and there are some significant shifts in the settlement record.

These developments have long been assumed to have been associated with the Roman arrival in the region, but are exceedingly difficult to date relative to such an apparently specific event, and recent commentators suggest that these at least begin to occur independently of Roman interaction within the indigenous communities in the first century BC. I would argue that whilst these changes are not directly connected with Roman involvement in the area, the best explanation for them is that they are related to the economic changes that come with the expansion of the Roman empire throughout Europe in the late first millennium BC.

In the lowlands, some of the rectilinear enclosures developed more extensively and became less focused on a particular enclosure boundary. These rectilinear network settlements spread with less focus on a particular location and appear to be more widely socially and economically engaged (Heslop 1987 pp. 119-20), and it is likely that these communities were expanding economically to participate in wider networks which were responding to the growing influence of the Roman empire.

There is little evidence for change in settlement form or economic basis in the few excavated Pennine sites, but there are large scale changes in Northumberland. The elaborated curvilinear settlements are reorganized, with the boundaries allowed to decay and new, smaller ones developing along with smaller stone roundhouses. It has been suggested that it was partly the beginnings of contact with the Roman world that brought about this change, as the necessity of engaging beyond the local area in the long term was disruptive to the established social systems which focused on separate and strongly defined communities.

In the Roman period many of the sites in the Pennines appear to carry on much as before, whilst the lowland rectilinear network sites adopt Roman material culture to varying, individual degrees. By and large the individual rectilinear settlements which do not develop into larger network settlements appear to be either out of use at this time or not engaging with Roman material culture in any significant way.

Some of the indigenous settlements, at Quarry Farm and Holme House, Piercebridge go on to develop villa structures in the Roman period, and there are two other villas in the region at which pre-Roman occupation has been posited but not proven, at Dalton-upon-Tees (Brown 1999; Stobbs 2001) and perhaps Old Durham (Richmond *et al.* 1944; Wright and Gillam 1951; 1953). Aside from these, after the turn of the second century AD, there is little or no evidence for occupation on these settlements and there effectively ceases to be 'indigenous' settlement in the region. There is Roman period reoccupation at Apperley Dene and some evidence for later Roman occupation at Huckhoe on the Northumberland coastal pain. Catcote also has late Roman occupation currently being investigated and in Brian Hope Taylor's very briefly described excavations on Yeavering Bell he notes late Roman coins. Major occupation and apparently the roundhouse tradition is no more however.

Larger Landscape Divisions

As the landscape fills with more complex settlements, the issue of larger landscape and territory divisions comes to the fore. These have not been extensively investigated, but the evidence is mounting for some form of larger-scale territorial division taking place in the more densely settled regions at least. Analysis of the excavations at East and West Brunton by

Tyne-Wear Museum Services in light of aerial survey in the area has led to the suggestion of larger landscape divisions in those areas (Nick Hodgson, pers. comm.).

Pit alignments are also becoming increasingly common finds when large areas of landscape are stripped in Northumberland in advance of extractive industry. Examples have been located at Delhi Extension by Northern Archaeological Associates, Fox Covert Dinnington by Tyne Wear Museum Services and Wooperton, near Powburn, by Headland Archaeology Ltd. (Ansell 2004). These are regarded to have their floruit in the later Bronze Age and earlier Iron Age in most cases in this region but these recently excavated examples begin to challenge that. The example at Wooperton was associated with Roman ceramics, whilst early results from the carbon dating at Fox Covert, Dinnington suggest that the feature was at least open into the Roman period (see TWMS web site). An unexcavated, upland example near Prendwick Chesters was also identified by the South East Cheviots Project (Topping and Pearson 2009, p. 22)

It seems then that in some lowland areas and densely settled upland valleys there were fairly large scale land divisions occurring in the later Iron Age and into the Roman period. It is interesting to note that the form of the pit-alignment, with British Bronze Age origin, remained current, and this may suggest that these divisions of space were autochthonous rather than a direct product of Roman administration of or involvement in the area.

In the Cheviots, the South East Cheviots Project has taken steps towards identifying the territories or 'hinterlands' of major settlements in their study area, centred around the Breamish Valley. These must be taken with a grain of salt however, as their identification appears predicated on the idea of central places necessarily controlling territories and thus the expectation that these divisions can be found if one examines contemporary land divisions. Whilst I would not argue against the idea of larger settlements curating an enclosed territory, and it is clear that large scale division of land was occurring, I do not think that the evidence presented by the South East Cheviot Project (Topping and Pearson 2009) effectively demonstrates the relationship of these boundaries to particular sites. In their own words 'The putative hinterlands surrounding the hillforts are often irregular in plan, and enhance or utilise geological features to create or extend the land divisions, generally relying on the natural topography to define the majority of the perimeter.' (Pearson and Topping 2009, p. 12)

Conclusion

This has been intended to be a creative review of the settlement pattern across a very large area (around 9,000 square kilometers) in light of the insight gained into social structures in the preceding chapters and recent excavations carried out the region. The goal has been to use the smaller, more detailed dataset provided by excavation to provide contrast with and nuance to larger understandings informed by cropmark and survey evidence.

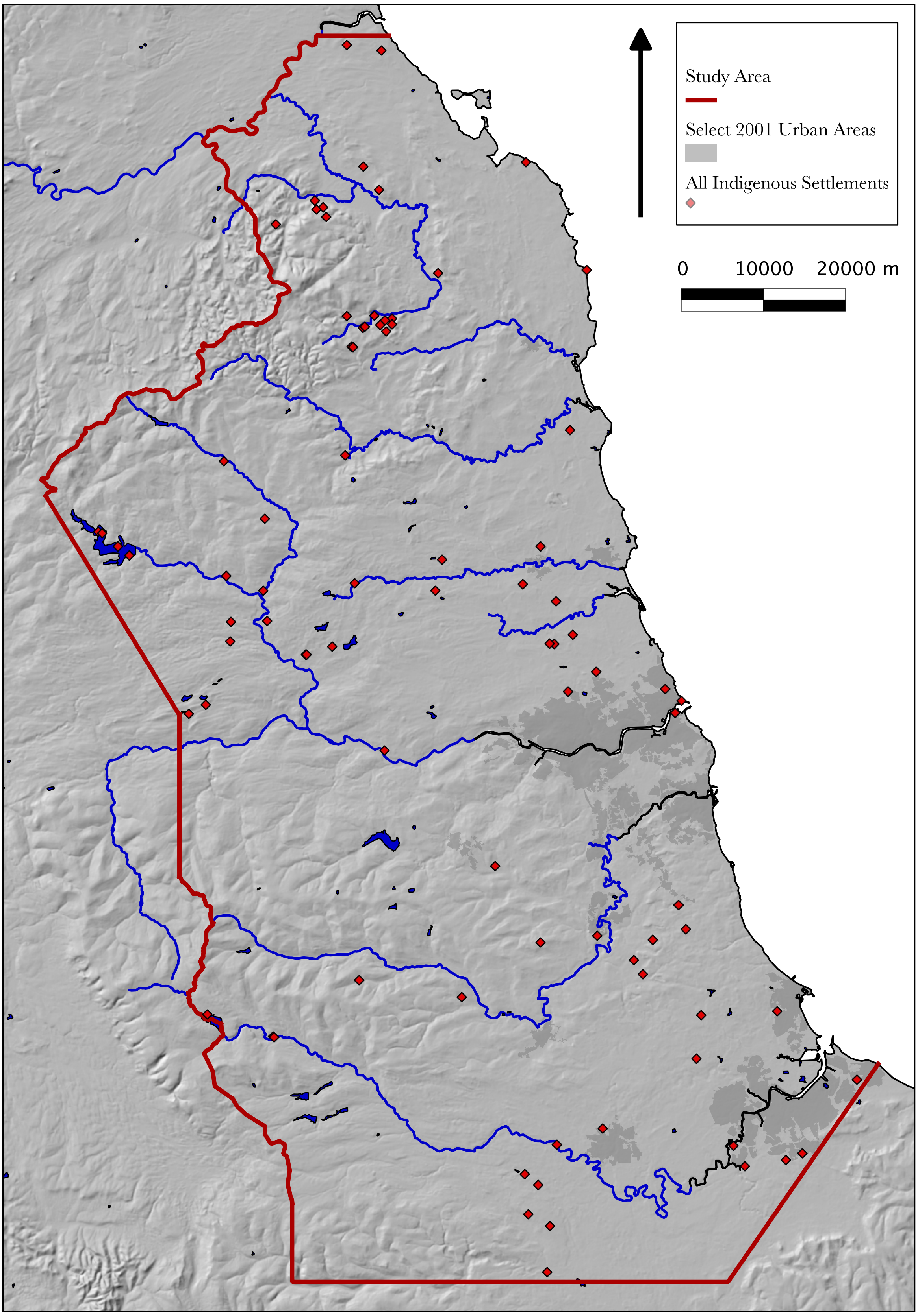
Previous commentators such as Jobey, Haselgrove, and Ferrell have discussed a range of discreet site types – hillforts, rectilinear enclosures, open settlements and so forth– and suggested a fairly sharp division between more conservative upland communities and economically expansive lowland communities. This analysis has shown that the settlement record is the result of a continuum of highly individualized, independent communities working from a similar cultural and economic background whilst engaging with sub-regional traditions of settlement, with wider architectural traditions common to all of Britain and with new ideas and communities. Additionally, it has been suggested that the focus on boundaries an transitions in the pre-historic settlement record may be related to changing perspectives on spatial orientation as individuals move through the landscape, settlements and buildings.

This chapter has also examined the changes in settlement record and agricultural regimes seen in the record around the turn of the millennium. These are undoubtedly related to the emergent power of the Roman empire in central Britain, but they are a dynamic indigenous response to this rather than the result of direct action on behalf of the Roman administration. It is these complex interactions negotiated differently by different communities, which have produced the variable but coherent record that we investigate today.

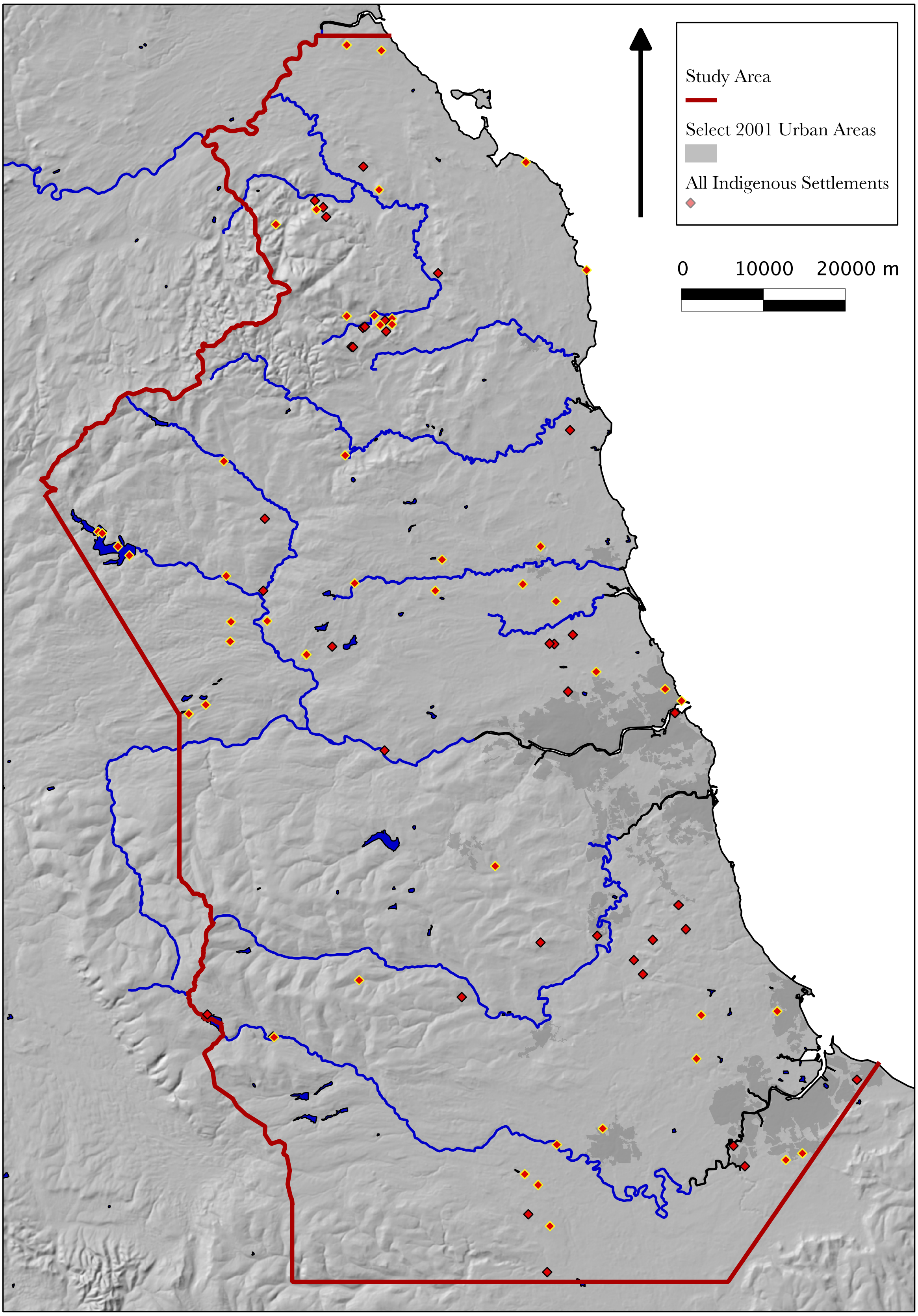
Overall, this chapter has demonstrated that though the dataset used was restricted to excavated data, this can establish patterns which are complimentary to larger scale survey, in this case primarily the distribution of curvilinear and rectilinear settlements of *definite* Later and Roman Iron Age date. Additionally, the use of the excavated dataset enables these distribution patterns to be paired with a detailed analysis of the sites involved and the social and economic landscapes they create and inhabit.

Key to Map Numbers:

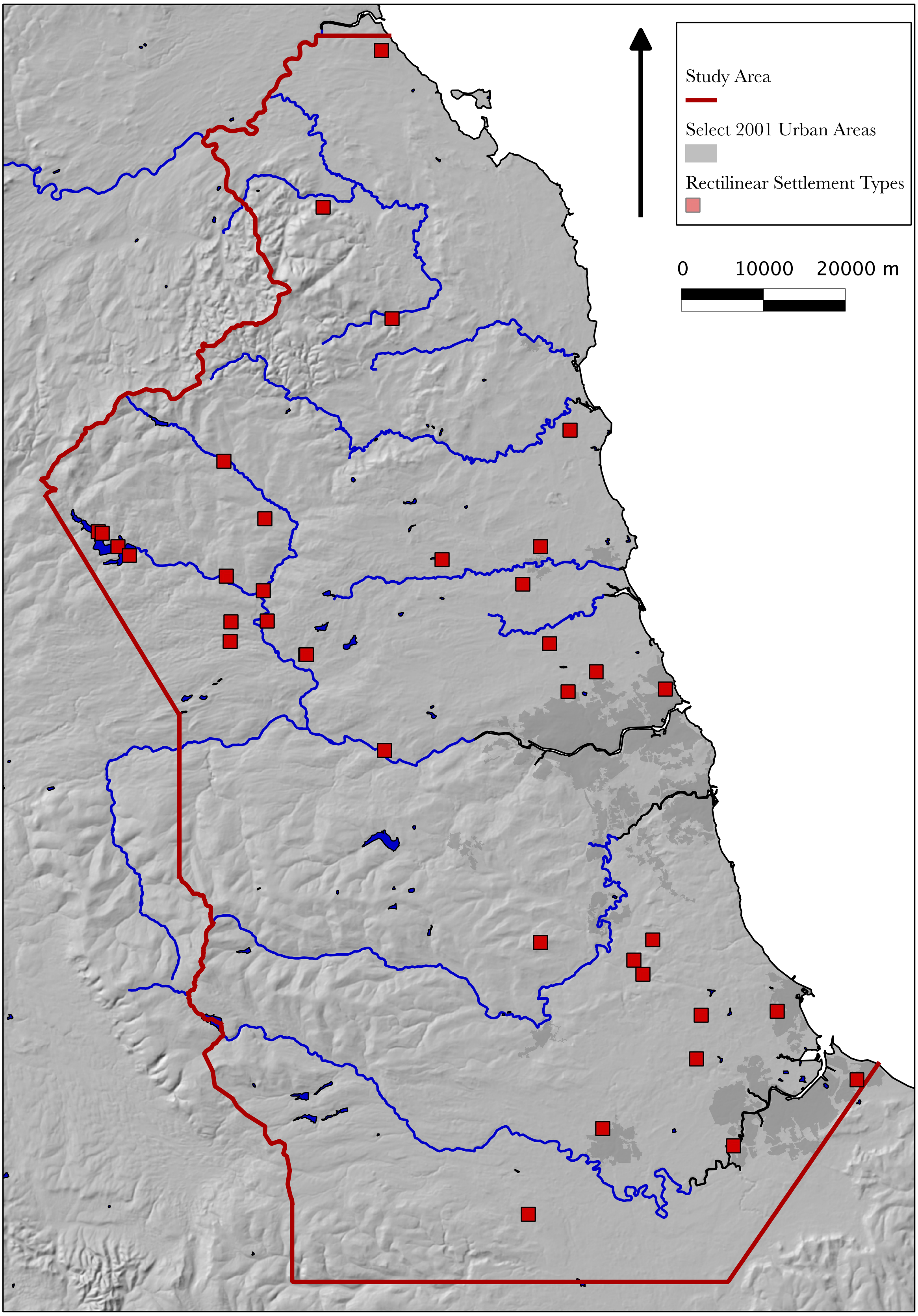
1: Apperley Dene; 2: Bamburgh Castle; 3: Belling Law; 4: Blagdon Hall, Delhi; 5: Blue Crag; 6. Bollihope; 7: Bonny Grove Farm; 8: Bowburn Link Road; 9: Bridge House; 10: Brompton Bridge; 11: Brough Law; 12: Burradon; 13: Butterwick Moor; 14: Carry House Camp; 15: Catcote; 16:Chester House; 17: Coxhoe West House; 18: Delhi Extension, Ponteland; 19: Dixon's Bank; 20: Dod Law West; 21: Doubstead; 22: Dubby Sike; 23: Dunstanburgh Castle; 24: East/West Brunton; 25: Esp Green, Greencroft; 26: Faverdale; 27: Fawdon Dene; 28: Fenton Hill; 29: Forcegarth Pasture North; 30: Forcegarth Pasture South; 31: Foxrush Farm; 32: Gowanburn River Camp; 33: Greave's Ash; 34: Gubeon Cottage; 35: Hamsterley Castles; 36: Hartburn; 37: Haswell Moor; 38: Hetha Burn 1; 39: High Knowes A; 40: High Knowes B; 41: Holme House, Piercebridge; 42: Howlands Farm; 43: Huckhoe; 44: Ingleby Barwick, Low Lane; 45: Ingleby Barwick, Quarry Farm; 46: Ingram Hil; 47: Ingram South; 48: Kennel Hall Knowe; 49: Knag Burn; 50: Larchfield Farm; 51: Little Haystacks; 52: Marden; 53: Melsonby; 54: Middle Gunnar Peak; 55: Milking Gap; 56: Murton High Crags; 57: Old Bewick; 58: Ollerchesters; 59: Pegswood Moor; 60: Pig Hill; 61: Prendwick Chesters; 62: Prickly Knowe; 63: Redeswood Law Fell; 64: Riding Wood; 65: Rock Castle; 66: Scotch Corner; 67: Shotton; 68: South Shields; 69: Stannington Station; 70: Stanwick; 71: Strawberry Hill, Shadforth; 72: Swint Law; 73: Thornborough Scar; 74: Thorpe Thewles; 75: Tower Knowe; 76: Tynemouth Priory; 77: West Brandon; 78: West Gunnar Peak; 79: West Longlee; 80: West Whelpington; 81: Wether Hill; 82: Witchy Neuk;, 83: Woolaw; 84: Worm Law; 85: Yeavering; 86: Yeavering Bell



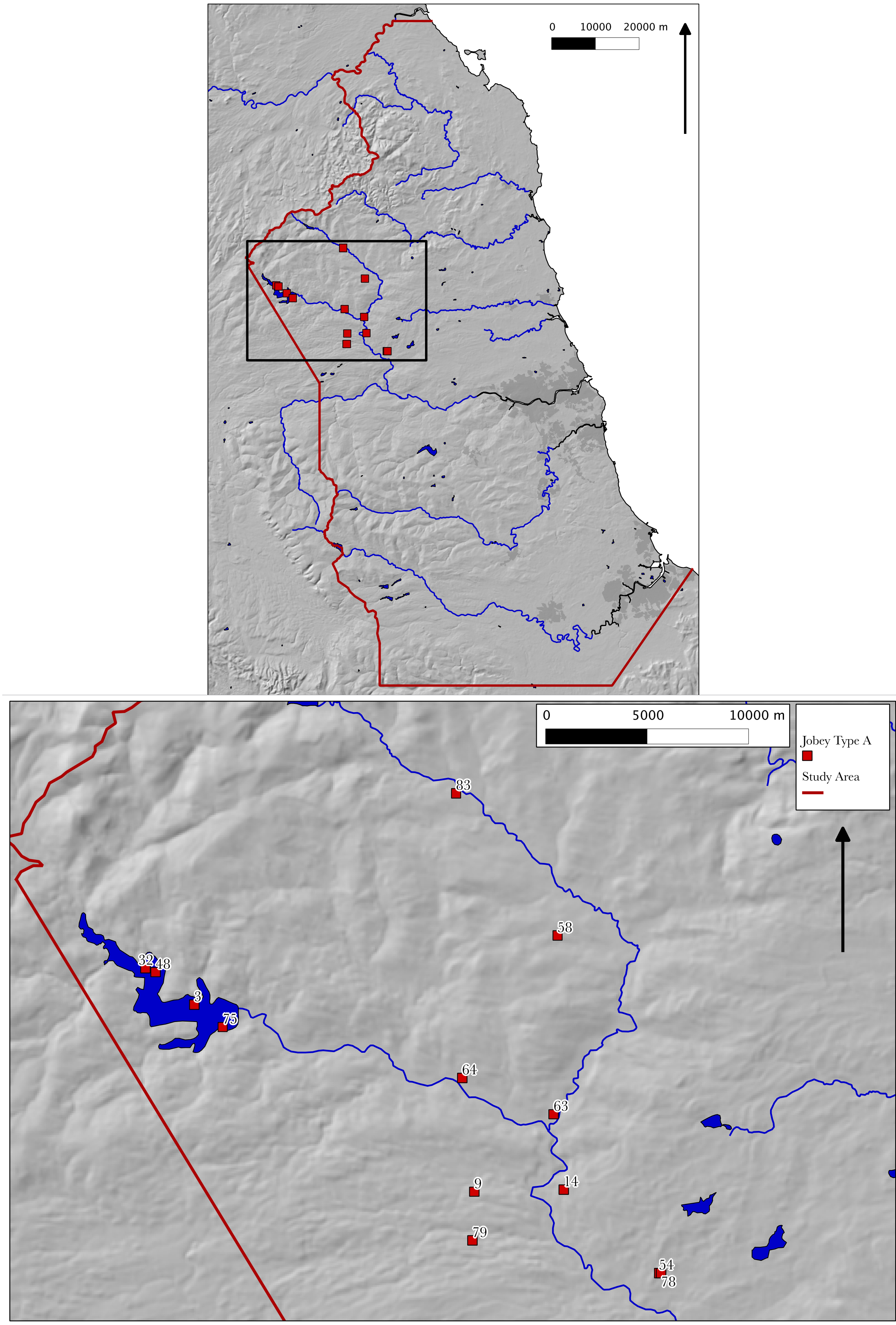
Map 1: *All excavated indigenous settlements discussed in Chapter Five.*



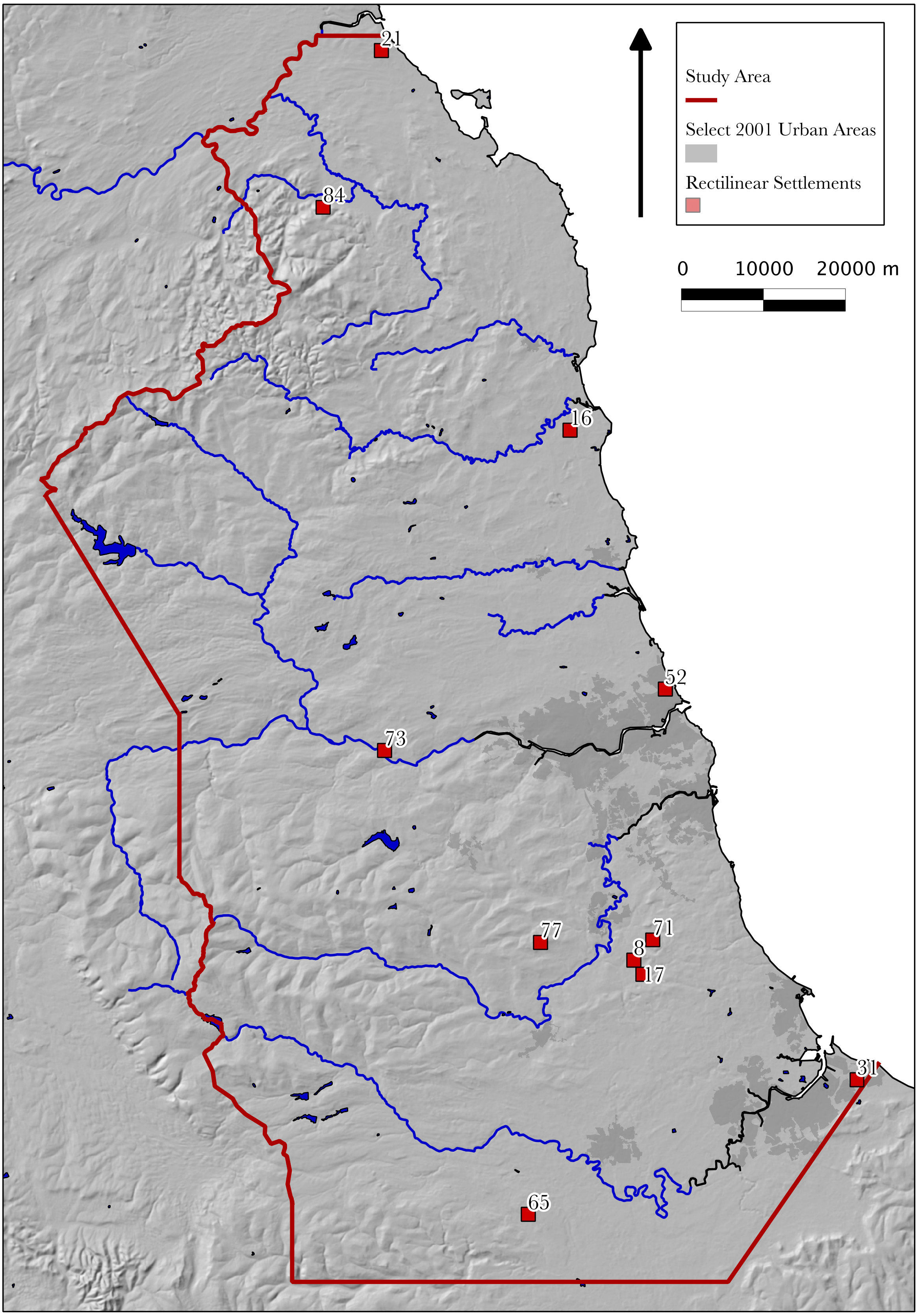
Map 2: *All excavated indigenous settlements discussed in Chapter Five, with those demonstrating Roman period material culture highlighted in yellow.*



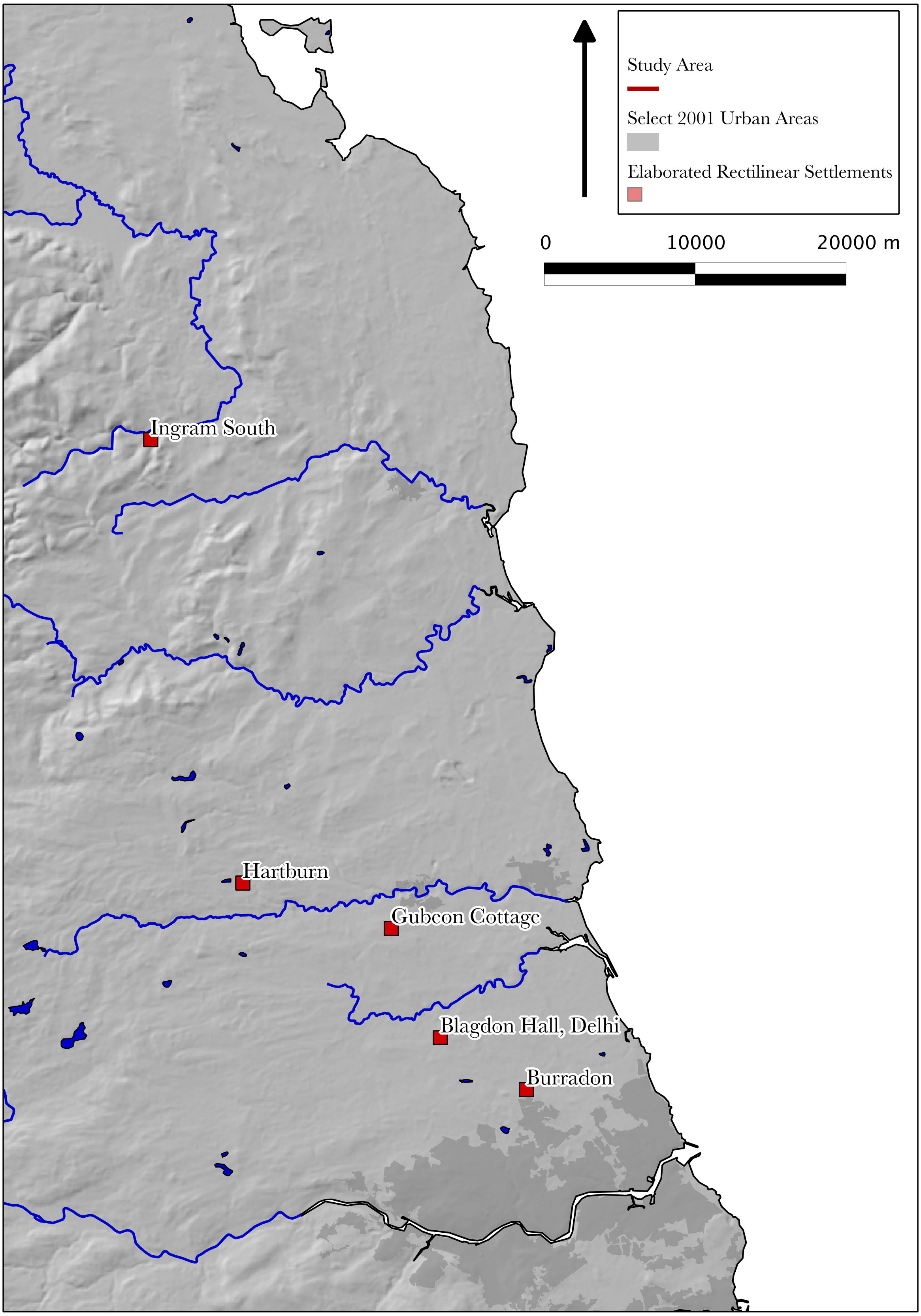
***Map 3:** All excavated rectilinear type settlements discussed in Chapter Five.*



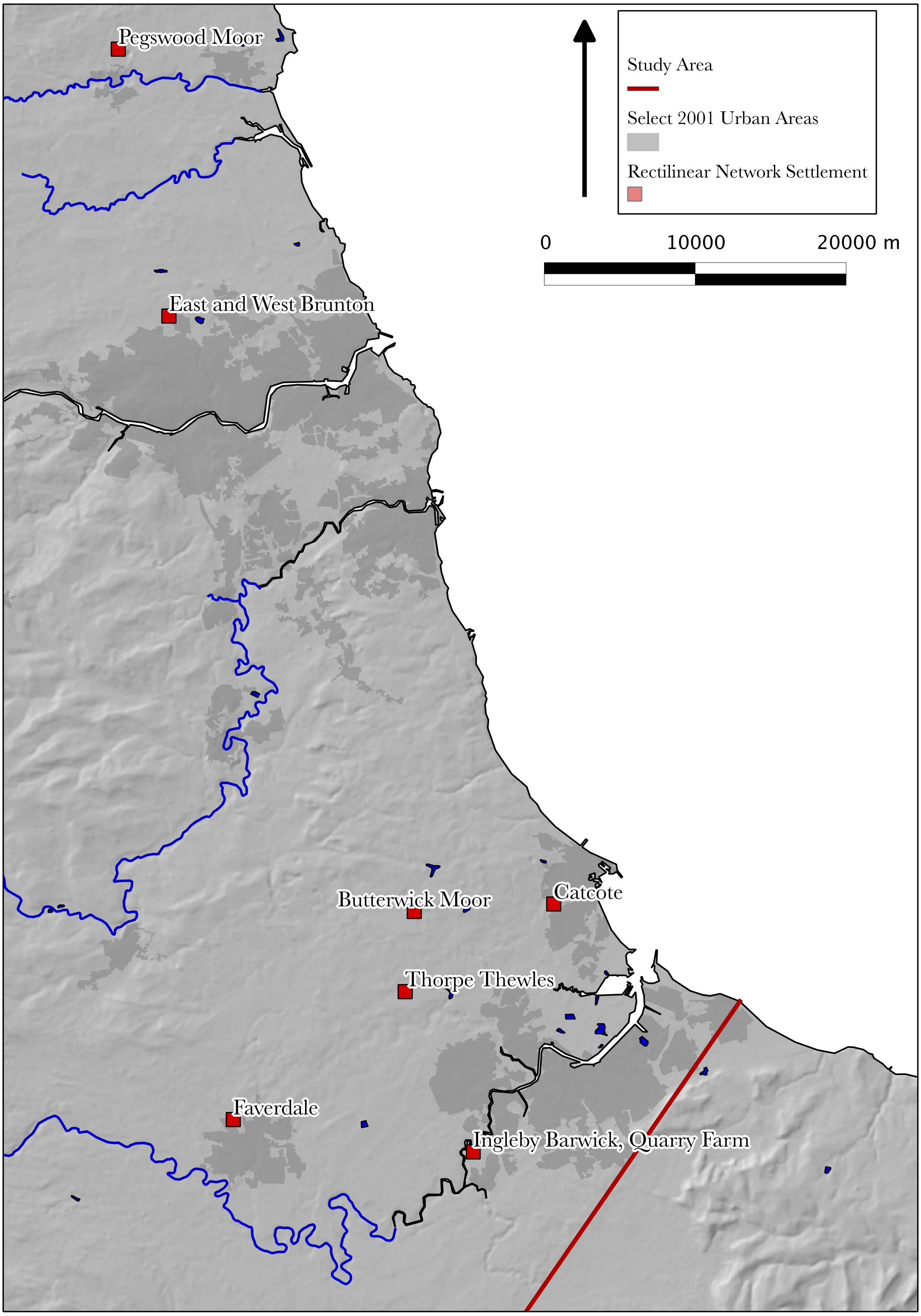
Map 4: *The distribution of excavated Jobey Type A settlements.*



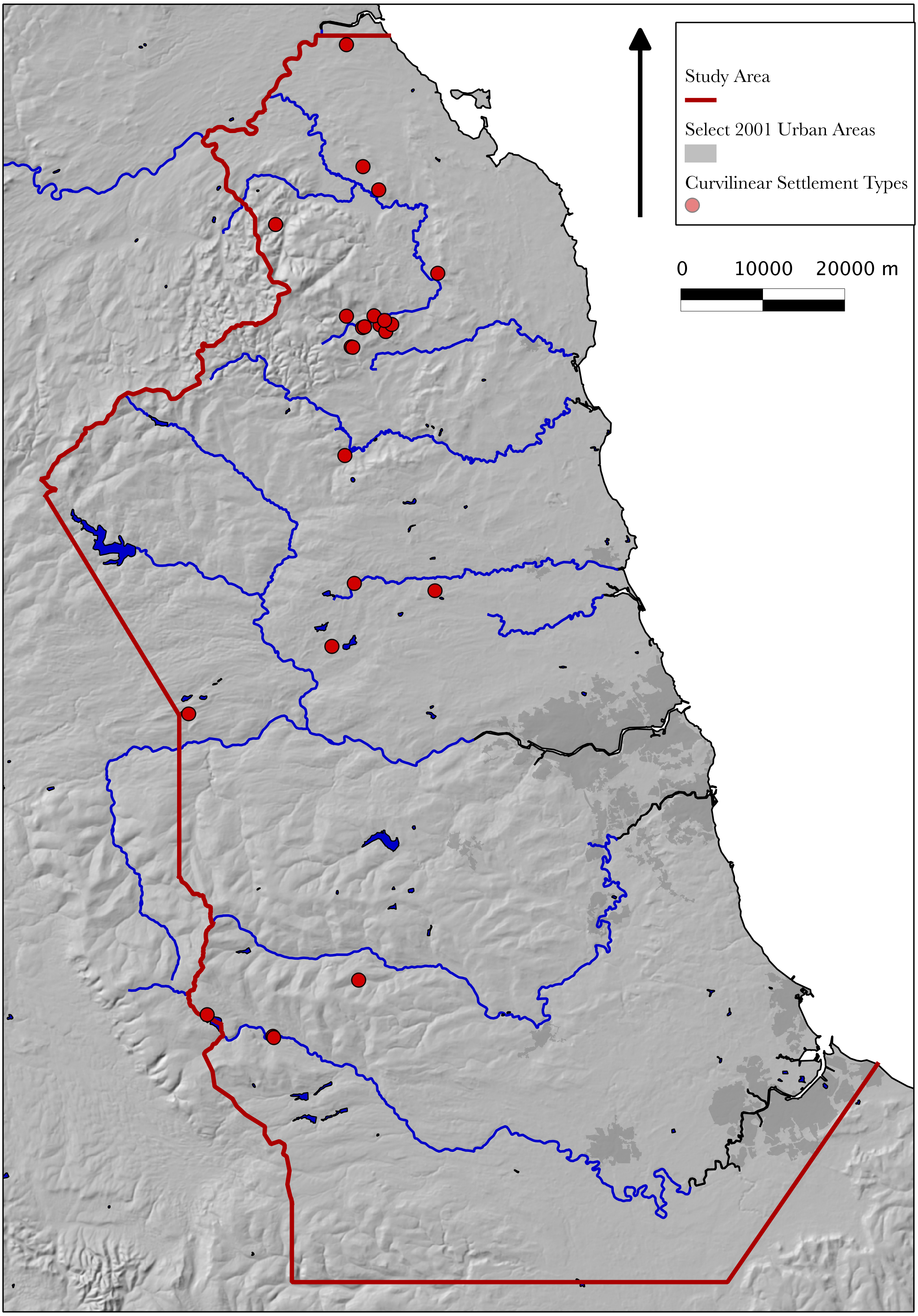
Map 5: *The distribution of excavated rectilinear settlements.*



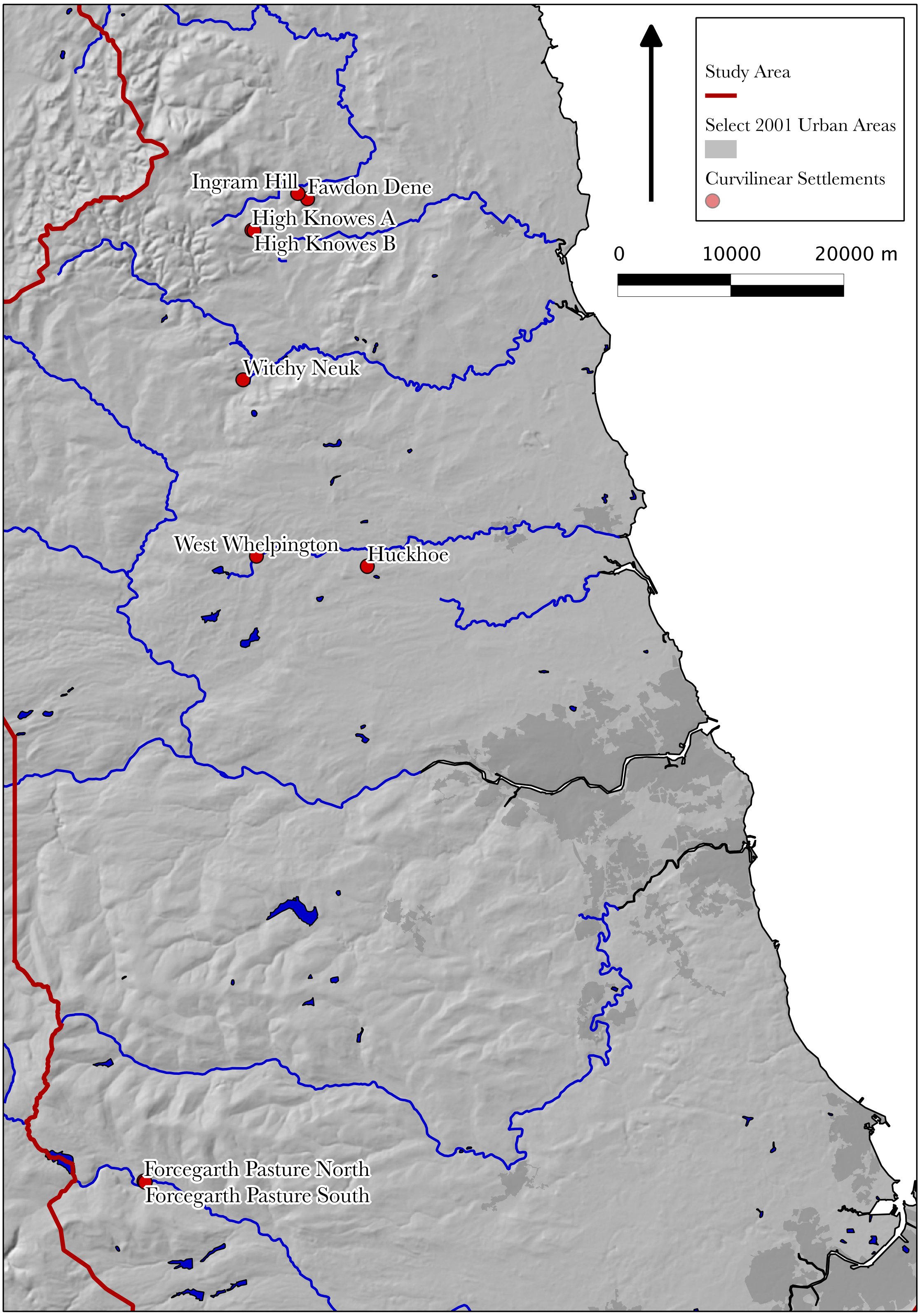
Map 6: *The distribution of excavated elaborated rectilinear settlements.*



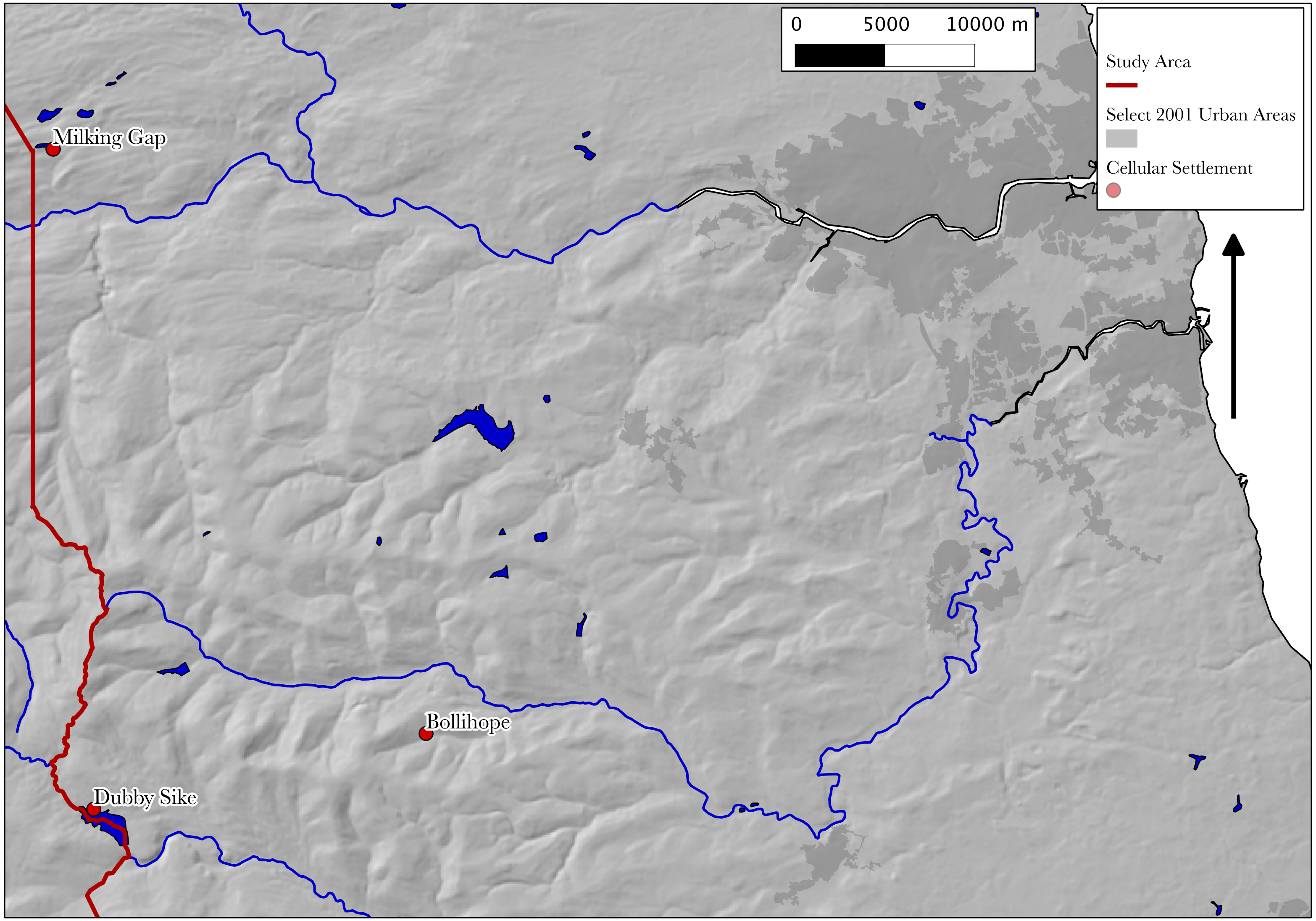
Map 7: *The distribution of excavated rectilinear network settlements.*



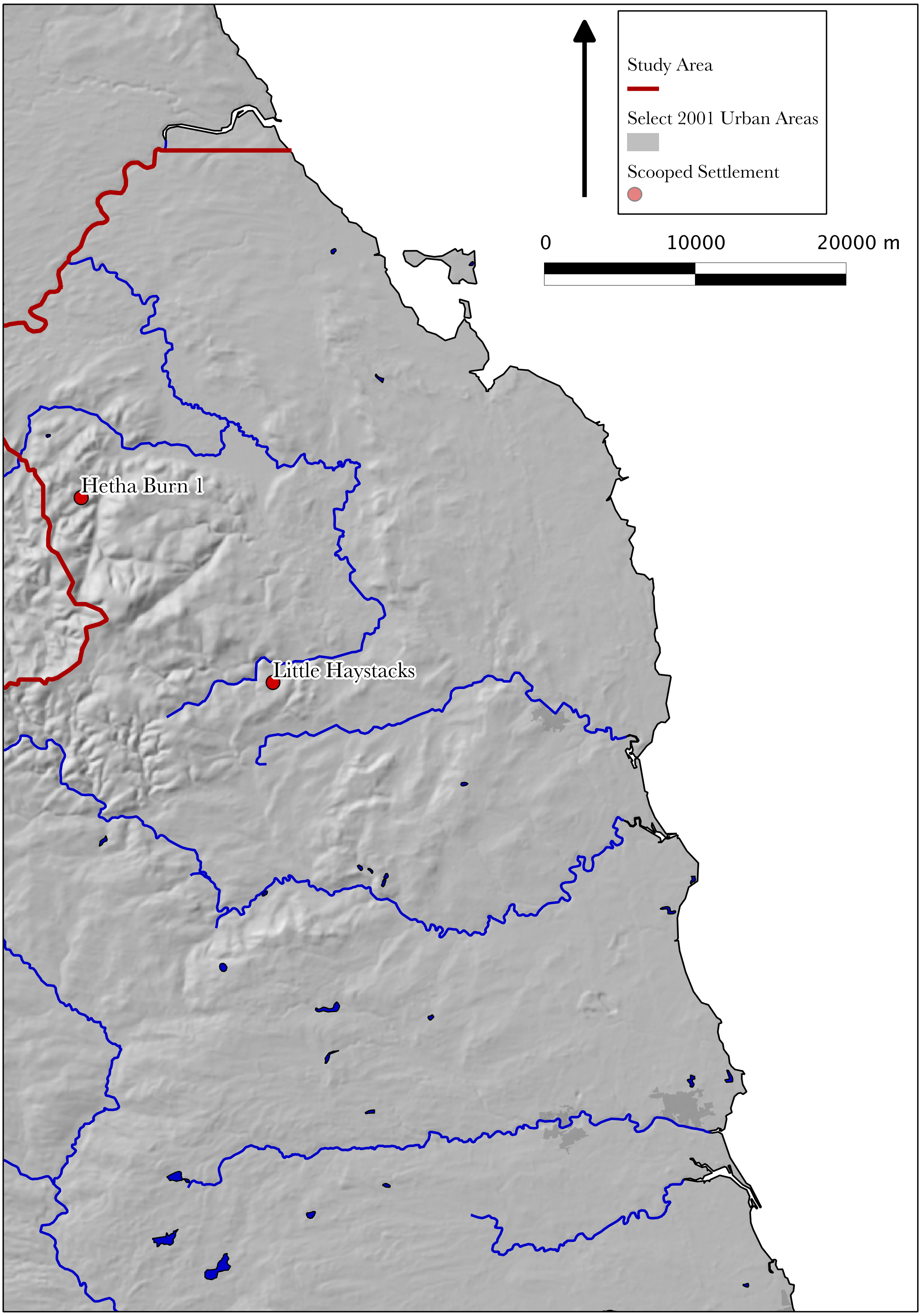
Map 8. *The distribution of excavated curvilinear type settlements.*



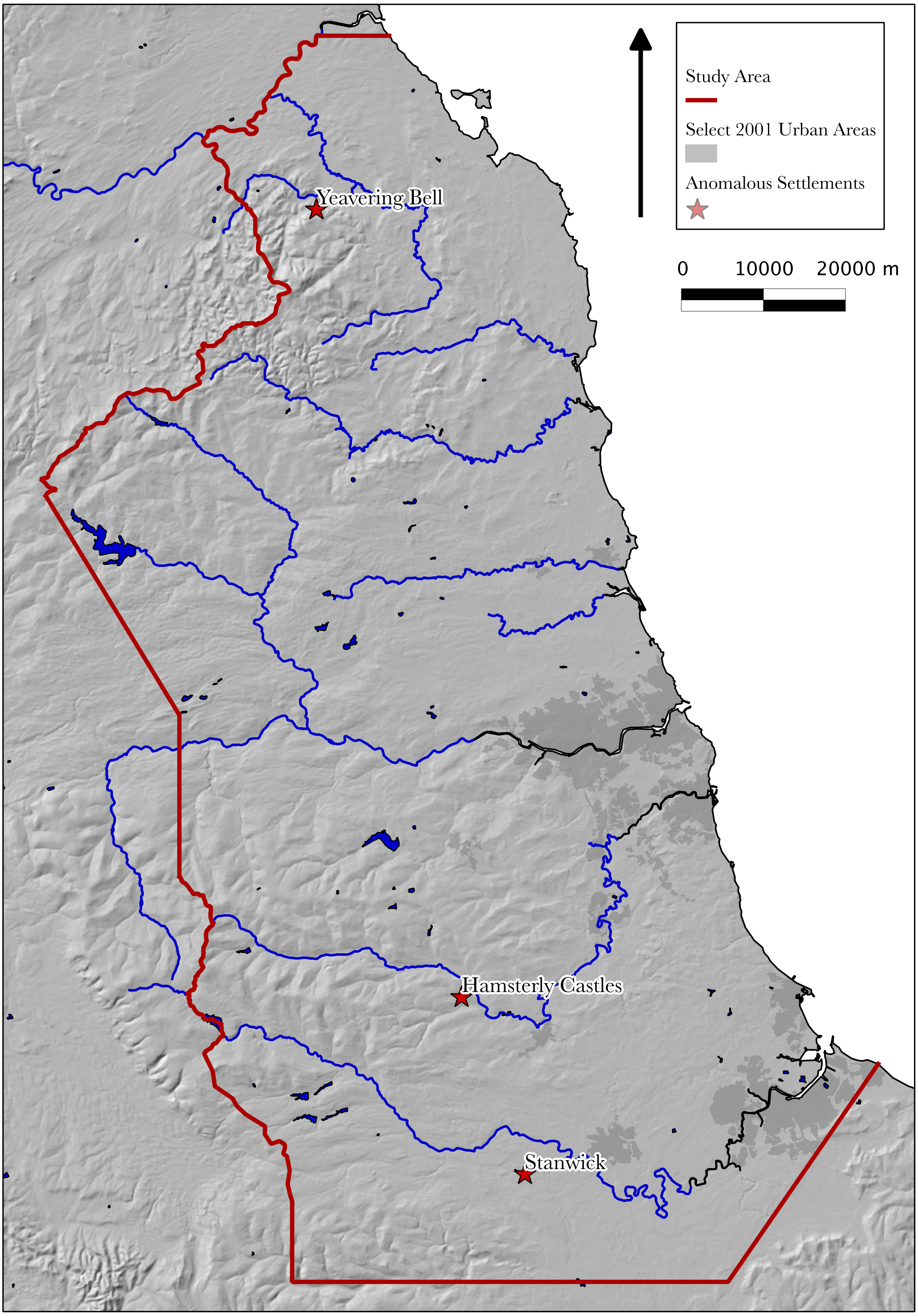
Map 9: *The distribution of excavated curvilinear settlements.*



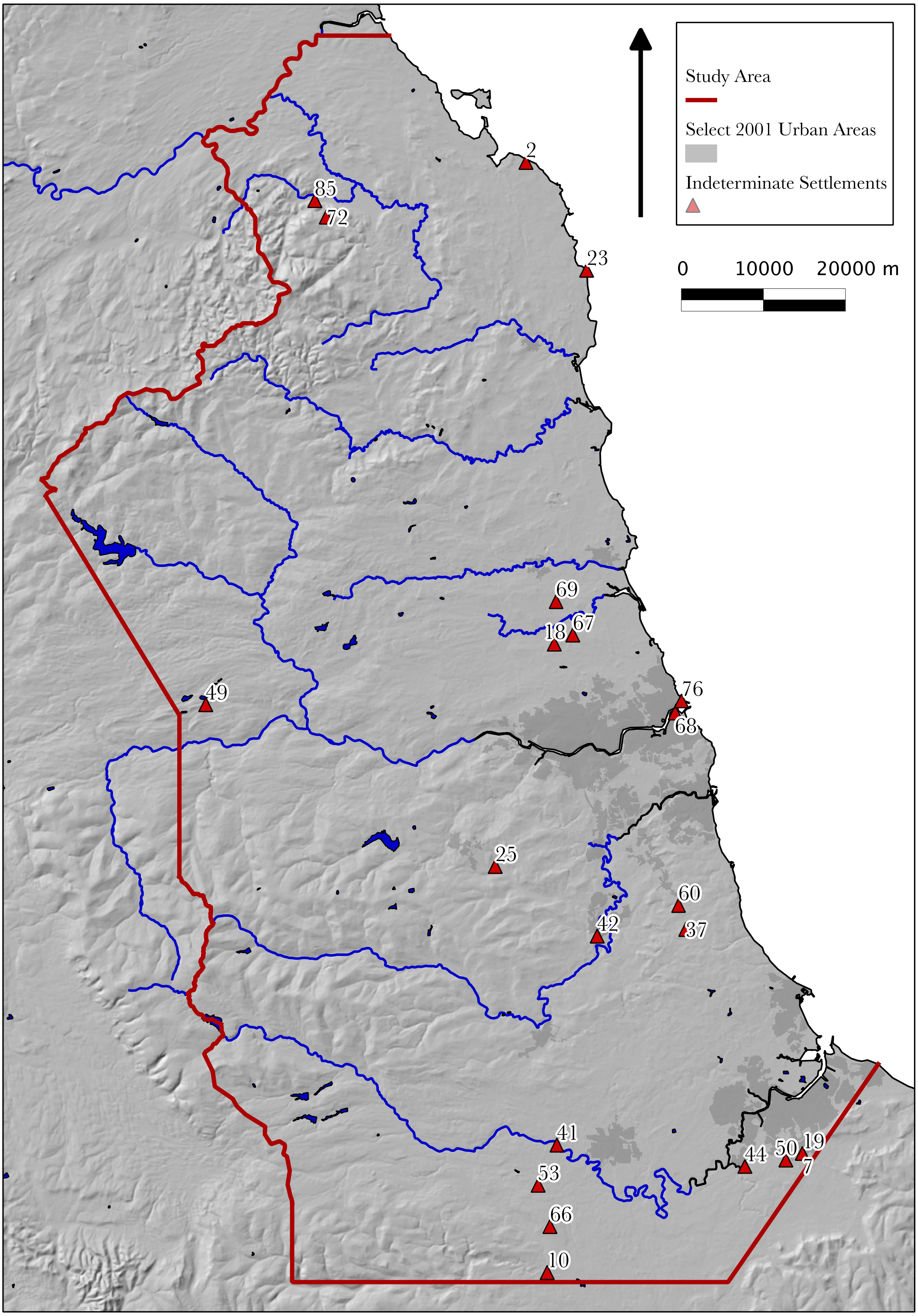
Map 11: *The distribution of excavated cellular settlements.*



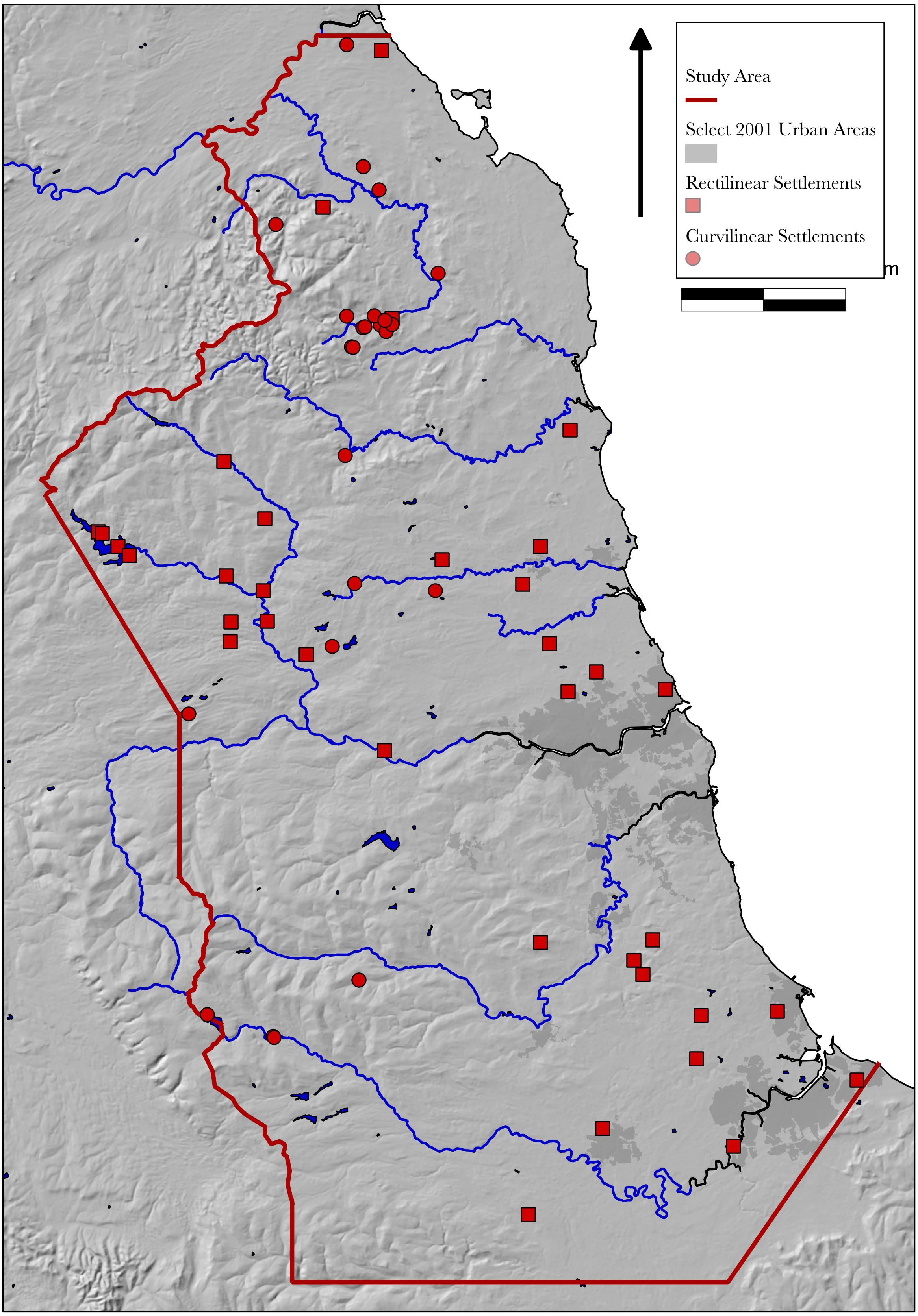
Map 12: *The distribution of excavated scooped settlements.*



Map 13: *The distribution of excavated anomalous settlements.*



Map 14: *The distribution of excavated indeterminate settlements.*



Map 15: *The distribution of excavated curvilinear type and rectilinear type sites.*

Chapter Six: Conclusion

Summary of Results

In this thesis I have demonstrated how the evidence for life in the Iron Age of north-eastern England can be reexamined profitably on a variety of scales and with a variety of methods. This has demonstrated that the region, when placed in the wider European and British context, demonstrates both significant regionality and implementation of wider traditions, showing that older ideas of the north-east as a backwards, materially and culturally impoverished region in later prehistory are inaccurate. Additionally, more recent, important conceptions of 'different Iron Ages' in Britain should be tempered with an awareness of the significant connectivity behind regional trends in many areas, whilst exploring how those trends are regionally expressed.

In doing so this work has endeavored to integrate conclusions from the highest quality datasets available for the area, the long tradition of high quality excavation of settlements, with conclusions based on novel analysis of the more problematic datasets of material culture. This has been accomplished by breaking down the available dataset and analysing each category of material in a manner well suited to maximizing the available quality information and integrating the conclusions.

Chapter One introduced the study area temporally and physically and discussed it's importance in wider debates. It also laid out the basic theoretical tenets of this thesis and discussed the data collection strategy and the associated challenges. Chapter Two introduced the area and associated debates further, giving a history of research and demonstrating the extent to which these research traditions have influenced how the period is studied, conceptualized and represented in wider discourses.

Chapter Three focused on the later prehistoric ceramics of the area, a subject that has never been fully synthesised across the region under discussion. This demonstrated that a multipurpose range of ceramic forms was handmade on sites, opportunistically using available tempers and materials. These were primarily cooking vessels, likely for stews and porridges making use of the grain, vegetable and meat resources of the surrounding agricultural landscape. Later in the period, it is suggested that the availability of new ceramic forms cause a change in this assemblage and the development of necked jar and bowl forms and this, along with the adoption of Roman ceramics as discussed in Chapter Four, signaled a change in dining habits. These changes in dining habit, with an increased focus on display and consumption rather than preparation, are indicative of the social changes caused by access to new networks and ideas.

This extremely specialised use of ceramics was a conscious choice on the part of the communities involved, as its widespread but low-level presence suggests that its production was easily undertaken but communities required only small amounts for a specific purpose. This may be indicative of the lack of need to express larger scale group identities using such expressive, plastic material as ceramics. It may also related to the lack of a need to transmit cultural information across time, as ceramics are stable and durable compared to other available organic materials, even if they are somewhat fragile. This, along with the scarcity of other pre-Roman period items of material culture which transmit specific motifs across the region, potentially indicates that communities were organized on such a scale that traditions were easily and reliably passed on orally, in stories and songs or more ephemeral organic artworks, without the need to be set 'in stone'– or ceramic.

Chapter Four was a contextual, rather than spatial, analysis of artefactual deposition on indigenous tradition sites. This contended that the vast majority of artefacts found on these sites are the result of intentional deposition and that the apparently genuine infrequency of deposition reflects a social tradition in which rituals of deposition, presumably in some sense also rituals of social bonding, were of less importance in this area than in others with comparatively complex depositional traditions. This reenforces the suggestion throughout this thesis that the social organization of this region was primarily a non-hierarchical series of small, independent groups. Other trends in contextual deposition demonstrate that there were two distinct patterns of deposition for objects, the more common of which relates to build boundaries and structures and may demonstrate that the objects being deposited have resonance to the entire community, whilst the secondary pattern is based in personal items such as jewelry, spindle whorls or imported finwares cups. These are deposited more often in indoor spaces and associated with floors, and the objects may have relationships with sub-community groups, families or individuals.

Chapter Five was an examination of spatial and architectural traditions across the study area, suggesting that communities who were broadly similar in their small scale social organization were adapting to the opportunities offered by the landscapes that they lived in. Broadly, this created a more open and social landscape and society in lowland areas, and in upland areas a situation where the social interaction between communities was likely to be highly structured and may have primarily taken place at meeting spots outside of the settlements themselves. It is these traits of the social landscape which affected the pace and trajectory of the changes which these communities negotiated in various ways as the growing social and economic influence of the Roman empire in indigenous societies grew in the last centuries bc, leading to an agricultural expansion and wider economic involvement in most areas, but a breakdown of the older, closed communities with highly structured interactions in the Cheviots. There is no noticeable decline in or absorption of these communities as they began to engage more with wider social and trade networks in the first and second centuries, as shown in Chapter Four, but by the beginning of the second century the indigenous settlement tradition is largely gone from the record of the area.

A Narrative of Communities

This section will present a narrative account of the later prehistoric communities of the north-east, bringing together evidence from the previous three chapters.

At the beginning of the period known as the Later Iron Age, about 400 BC, the study area was populated by small-scale mixed farming communities. In lowland areas, such as much of County Durham, the Tees Valley and the Northumberland Coastal Plain, rectilinear enclosures were the usual form of settlement, constructed with earthen banks and with wooden palisades. These were not entirely isolated but often connected to surrounding field systems used for the raising of sheep, cows and pigs, and the cultivation of barley and emmer wheat. In upland regions, such as much of Northumberland and the Durham Pennines, curvilinear forms of settlement dominate, in variety of materials such as earth banks or palisades, and stone ramparts on some sites. This is likely to be a reflection of the landscape itself and its uses, with field systems radiating out from settlements and with stock management a prime concern in settlement morphology.

Artefactual evidence shows little trade between settlements, with the majority of items being produced on or near site by the communities putting them to use. Evidence of metalworking, in the form of industrial debris (mostly from smelting, indicating localized production), is not uncommon and metal artefacts are unusual but spread throughout the study area. Querns appear (Heslop and Gwilt 1995) to have been primarily of local manufacture and not based around a particular workshop or industry.

Ceramics have been demonstrated as well to be of local, perhaps on-site, manufacture. The ceramic repertoire was relatively limited, being almost entirely forms of barrel and bucket jars, sometimes with simple finger tip or occasionally incised decoration. The scarcity of these vessels and the evidence for sooting would suggest that they had a specific purpose as cooking vessels and that the consumption of meals took place with equipment made from organic materials which do not survive. From the range of sizes present and patterns in tempering, vessels appear to have been created opportunistically from locally available material to suit the needs of the community at the time of making.

The presence of briquetage up and down the coastal area and occasional objects of non-local stone demonstrate that the social connections necessary for some degree of trade were present, and these may also have traded in organic materials and/or individuals, but despite the links suggested by these items it seems that communities were maintaining a high degree of economic, if not social, independence. It is suggested above that the elaborate boundaries created by upland communities, particularly in the Cheviots, may indicate an even higher degree of independence and the communities in upland landscapes were constructing settlements with less obvious transitional or social space which may indicated less interaction with other communities in this rather densely settled landscape. It is interesting that this is the area which also contains the enormous enclosure at Yeavering Bell, suggested here as a meeting place for communities outside of their own settlements. Combined with the suggestion of ritualized combat between communities, it appears that social interaction between upland communities was highly structured.

Contextual depositional patterns show objects were being deposited primarily in association with the built features or boundaries of settlements rather than open areas or pit features. There are two main patterns in depositional context.The first and most widespread appears to be artefacts deposited primarily in boundaries and building walls, essentially built divisions of space, which may be related to community based depositional ritual. The second category is objects deposited on indoor floors and surfaces, and this comprises mostly more personal material such as spindle whorls, shale jewelry, whetstones and metalwork. This may be indicative of material remaining relevant to families, individuals or other sub-community divisions.

The overall picture is of agricultural communities, adapting their settlement forms and economy to the landscapes in which they found themselves. These communities maintained a high degree of economic independence and appeared to be able largely to sustain themselves.

This independence must be an important factor in maintaining the bonds of support within these small communities who, in the apparent absence of a settlement or social hierarchy, had to be largely self-reliant. However, both the small scale presence of traded items and the evidence for spaces for social interaction (potentially within the enclosures in rectilinear lowland landscapes and on external sites such as Yeavering Bell in the uplands) suggest that some form of social ties were maintained across the large scale regional community. This is also demonstrated by the aspects of life which were common to the Iron Age across the country, such as roundhouse architecture, lack of a clear tradition of disposal of the dead and the significance of deposition.

Taken together this suggests that these communities were not directing resources towards defining themselves in larger scale ways using highly permanent and plastic material culture, such as pottery, or larger scale symbolic deposition to mark shared conceptions of time and space. This suggests that these small communities were on a scale which permitted the effective transmission of such cultural information and traditions as necessary either in organic artworks or orally, such as in stories or music. As expressed above, perhaps it is in part protection of the tradition of cultural transmission through these means on a small scale which was the reason why self-sufficiency seems to be an economic priority of many of these communities

Expansion and Engagement

In perhaps the later second and first centuries BC, though this is difficult to date with certainty, a number of changes begin to occur on these settlements. There is increased evidence for forest clearance and agricultural activity in the pollen records, and spelt is adopted across the area. It appears that what van der Veen (1992) describes as ‘expansive’ agricultural regimes take root in the growing settlements in the fertile Tees lowlands. With this agricultural intensification, and the surplus which can be inferred from it, there seems to be a greater interest in wider economic participation.

Many of the settlements in the Tees Valley and Northumberland Coastal Plain appear to expand at this period into the rectilinear network settlements discussed in Chapter Five, becoming in some cases quite large and less defined by major enclosure boundaries. At the smaller rectilinear enclosures in County Durham, though their apparent isolation is likely to be at least partially due to the excavation strategies used on them,there is no evidence for such an expansion and may even be in decline (Haselgrove 1984a). Meanwhile, there does not appear to be significant agricultural expansion in the upland communities.

Roman material begins to arrive in the early or mid first century AD, with Roman finewares making their way to some of the Tees Valley sites and to the highly unusual large scale enclosure at Stanwick St. John. From the first century, the presence of Roman material culture spreads throughout the region, again suggesting that indigenous social networks are being used to trade and move the material, and that it was available to communities which desired it. Alongside this, possibly as a result of these social networks being used for trade, glass rings begin to be found in indigenous communities from the first century. These appear to be items of indigenous manufacture in the Roman period, and are often a means of dating sites which do not adopt Roman material culture but were active in this period.

Figure 6.1: *Geophysical survey of East Park, Sedgefield (after ASUD 2010 [report 2331]).*

Though these changes have their roots entirely in the pre-Roman period and cannot be said to be a direct product of Roman involvement, it is suggested here that the growing economic impact of the Roman empire in indigenous populations likely provided at least some of the impetus for these expansions of agriculture and, seemingly, economic and social horizons.

Roman material culture spread throughout the lowland communities on a relatively small scale, but the new material culture, or perhaps the associated ideas, appear to have had

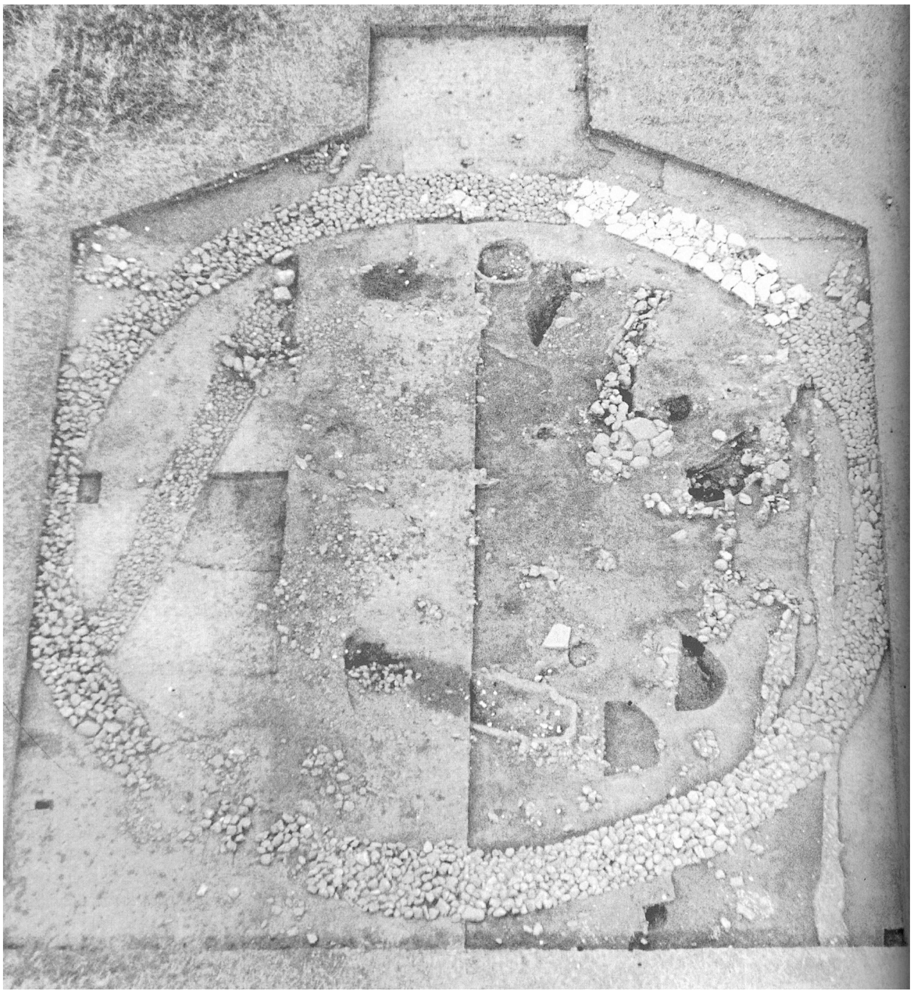


Figure 6.2: *The stone roundhouse from the villa at Holme House, Piercebridge (after Cool and Mason 2008 fig. 7.5)*

an impact. Ceramics are the most widely found of Roman items, and examination of the way that new and traditional ceramic materials interact shows a complex interplay between traditions, with the incoming material causing changes in the indigenous ceramic repertoire but also being selected to work with existing culinary traditions.

Roman fineware, when acquired, is generally of a size considered suitable for individual servings, which is not a feature of the indigenous ceramic assemblage up to that point. On the other hand, when Roman coarseware is acquired it is most frequently in jar forms which are very like the indigenous forms, suggesting that traditions of food preparation are carrying on, whilst the mechanisms and display of the meal itself may be beginning to change. Certain unusual types of coarseware for which there is no parallel in the indigenous assemblage also appear more rarely, such as flagons, mortaria and amphora. These may have been put to a variety of uses and the lack of a clear contextual pattern in the deposition of these items, small though the assemblage is, is indicative of the fact that these items may not have developed a firm a place in the indigenous tradition of use or deposition and were negotiated by communities on a case-by-case basis.

Though by and large these new items were selected to both work with (in the case of jars) and augment, (in the case of fineware) the indigenous tradition of ceramic use, there are also direct changes to that tradition that are likely to be the result of changes to attitudes towards ceramics. This is seen in the development of bowl forms, tentatively here suggested as coming in both individual and communal size ranges, and of various very rare types of necked jars. Both of these items make up a very small percentage of the total indigenous ceramic assemblage considered (about 10% in the case of bowls and about 2% in the case of necked jars) and are exclusively found on sites which were enthusiastic adopters of Roman material culture and appear to have flourished in the Roman period.

In the indigenous depositional tradition, the individual serving sized Roman finewares appear to be deposited in similar ways to jewelry and other personal items whilst the coarsewares are deposited in ways similar to the indigenous material. Other items which make their way onto indigenous sites include intaglios and gemstones, glass vessels and occasional coins, but these are on a very low level and display little depositional patterning.

The general pattern of acquisition of Roman material suggests that it was the result of active choices on the part of the communities in question, to acquire new both new material and material which could be incorporated into existing lifeways. It is by no means inevitable that Roman material would be welcomed on these sites, and this shows that it's use was being explored in a dynamic indigenous cultural context. It is also notable that the most striking and readily identifiable cases of structured and special deposition occur at this period, though as expressed above it is considered that there was a certain degree of structure and intention to most deposition in this period that is difficult to identify in single artefact deposits.

In the Cheviot Uplands during the Roman period, there was less takeup of explicitly Roman associated material culture, but occasional pieces, radiocarbon dating and items such as glass rings date some of the changes seen the in the record at this period. The large curvilinear enclosures commonly known as hillforts cease to be maintained as they have been for many years in the last centuries BC, and are frequently elaborated with small internal and external subdivisions. The larger timber houses associated with the earlier forms of these settlements are replaced by smaller stone ones, probably representing changes in both resource base and social arrangement, perhaps greater sub-community privacy in what has become a less socially formal landscape.

Debate continues as to whether these communities were adapting to new circumstances or whether these phases represent reoccupation after a period of abandonment. As discussed in previous chapters, this study considers that even continuity in a new circumstance is a form of change and that communities certainly would have had to respond to the changes of the early centuries AD, whether that be by recontextualizing and continuing their traditional practices or changing with the times. In this light, such dramatic changes do not require a new community occupying the old settlement to be plausible, and the chronological arguments for abandonment of these settlements are not wholly convincing. Additionally, there is no convincing explanation of where the communities who abandoned the hillforts may have gone to. That being said, there is no reason that there may not be abandonment and reoccupation on some sites, but the evidence does not demand such dramatic explanations for this seemingly dramatic change.

Though their roots are potentially older, the 'scooped' settlements of the Cheviot and Border hillsides had their most notable occupation at this period. These sites may represent communities establishing themselves independently of or expanding from the communities which were reworking the old curvilinear enclosures in the early centuries AD, and demonstrate the expanding variability of the settlement record.

What prompted these changes then? If, as is argued, the upland landscape was populated with independent communities with highly formalized social and/or martial interactions with each other (perhaps as a result of resource pressure in upland areas), it may be that the influence of external trade networks, new items, individuals and and routes of communication made the old social systems untenable and the communities of the upland areas became more open and engaged. Though geographically isolated in some ways, these communities could not have been unaffected by being adjacent to regions seeing such profound changes (and even being within the bounds of the Roman state for some time in the second century). The scale of changes in upland communities 'beyond the wall' may reflect the strength of the loose social networks posited to connect these communities on a regional scale, which are rarely directly visible to us as they are often not trade based.

During this period, one of the region's most distinct settlement types developed, called by George Jobey the 'type A' settlements (Jobey 1960). These are the only stone built rectilinear settlements known, though they usual developed from a palisaded forerunner, and have a tight distribution around the North Tyne Valley. They represent perhaps the latest known expression of the indigenous architectural tradition, with some potentially extending by radiocarbon dating into the late second century with roundhouse traditions. Though Roman material culture is found on these sites, it is suggested there that the monumentalizing in stone of the ebbing indigenous architectural tradition may be a form of resistance to the spread of Roman lifeways.

Though all types of indigenous settlement appear to be active in the beginning of the second century, by the end of the second century the indigenous traditions of settlement and architecture is effectively gone from the north-east, with the possible exception of the later phases of 'Type A' settlements.

A Part of Britannia

There is no ready explanation for the apparent decline in indigenous settlement forms by the end of the second century, and there does not appear to be a gradual decline in fortunes or a gradual 'becoming Roman' on these settlements. However, as discussed many times, the chronology can be extremely vague for these sites and a gradual abandonment would be by no means clearly identifiable. It is extremely unlikely that this is monocausal however, having already demonstrated both the resilience of indigenous tradition and the enormous impact of the Roman arrival.

It is notable however that there is an increasing recognition of new types of site appearing in the Roman period north-east, separate from the military installations and their attendant *vici* or larger settlements, such as at Corbridge.

This is where this work returns to the critique of conceptions of Roman Britain laid out in the introduction, through which I seek to connect this material to the larger study of social organization and networks across Europe at the time when communities were coming under the influence of the Roman empire.

Establishing a coherent synthetic account of the social structure and traditions of the indigenous population of the north-east is of vital importance to understanding the often abrupt changes in the first century of the first millennium. As discussed in Chapter One, 'Roman-Britain' springs into being with an air of familiarity. However, the archaeological record in the north-east is become in increasingly complex and difficult to explain convincingly in the terms and frameworks most commonly in use in recent years. This increasing complexity is primarily in the massive increase in recognition of a range of non-military settlements in the past 20 years or so. I believe that the key to addressing the increasing complexity of both the archaeological record and our understanding of the discrepant experiences had by individuals and groups during the Roman Iron Age is recognizing the active role of the preexisting population. As seen in Chapter Two, this population was effectively 'written out of' the record in the 1950s.

New(ly Recognized) Forms of Settlement

From the conception of this region as 'military zone' during the Roman occupation (critiqued throughout James and Millet 2001), there has been a dramatic increase in the number and types of non-mililtary or *vicus* settlement in the Roman period that is not a part of the indigenous roundhouse tradition, and there are increasing calls for this emerging picture of society and landscape to be explained both in relation to the Roman military community and the indigenous community and it's influence and tradition (Hingley 2004).

Villas have been recognized in the region for some time, but the earliest known example at Old Durham was quarried away in the 1950s after hasty emergency excavation (Richmond, Romans and Wright 1944; Wright and Gillam 1951; 1953). Subsequent to this the villa complex at Holme House, Piercebridge was investigated by Dennis Harding in the 1980s (Harding 1985; Cool and Mason 2008), a villa was identified and excavated by Yorkshire Archaeological Society volunteers at Dalton-on-Tees in in 1990s (Brown 1999; Stobbs 2001) and survey and excavation in advance of housing at Quarry Farm, Ingleby Barwick (ASUD 2005) identified another such structure, near to a great deal of later prehistoric activity. The study area then, at least as far north as Durham City, is fairly well populated with villa type settlements

Several very unusual settlements have also recently been recognized in the southern part of the study area from the second century. The site at Sedgefield (figure 6.1), initially suggested as a Roman roadside settlement was discovered by aerial photography and investigated by Time Team in 2002 (Gallagher 2002), who located significant Roman period occupation and a pottery kiln. Sedgefield subsequently was the focus of a community archaeology project and training excavation conducted by the Durham County Council and Durham University (Carne and Mason 2006; Annis 2007; Clayton 2008; Carne 2009, ASUD 2010 [report 2331]), which revealed an extensive settlement composed largely of enclosures containing the truncated remains of industrial workings. Another unusual site as been found nearby this at Butterwick Moor (Platell 2007; ASUD 2010 [report 2442]) in advance of a wind farm project. No structural remains have been found but an enclosure system produced numerous artefacts, including a ceramic assemblage ranging from the indigenous tradition to third and fourth century wares.

Though Butterwick Moore has not been investigated fully, the site at Sedgefield has been excavated extensively but by no means completely and has yet to produce evidence of pre-Roman activity. In contrast to this, the settlement at Faverdale East, excavated by PCA North in advance of a shopping centre, clearly shows development from an rectilinear network settlement (as it is classified in the analysis of the indigenous settlement in Chapter Five) to something unique by the late second century, with possible burials, a hypocausted building and apparent imitations of Roman ceramic forms in indigenous wares (Proctor forthcoming).

In short it seems the civilian settlement trajectory, from the late Iron Age to the opening of the third century, is that there is a continuation of indigenous lifeways into the early second century in many places and around the time of the abandonment of these settlements we see an expansion in *vici*, the appearance of these extensive 'small town' like settlements and the transition to or establishment of villa type complexes south of the wall and, though the chronology is less certain, the establishment of complex stone built settlements in upland Northumberland (the change in settlement types in the Cheviots and 'Type A' settlements)

The transitions in Northumberland have been discussed above, but the rise of these more unusual and newly recognized settlement types in the south of the study area requires explanation. This is by no means proposed to be as simple a transition as a population moving from one sort of settlement to another over a number of years, and it is hoped that further detailed examination of these new types of Roman site in light of perspectives on indigenous society like that offered here will be able to shed light on these complex processed

These shifts may well be associated with the building of Hadrian's Wall and some major Roman administrative reorganization but, given the poor chronology, it may also be a product of the building of the wall, or even a product of the several generations which had passed since the Roman arrival in the area and the younger population taking up new ways of life with more enthusiasm.

There is also some speculative evidence of traditions continuing. There are a number of circular structures found on villa sites, such as the well known example at Holme House which appears to have began life as an Iron Age roundhouse and by the second century been a stone roundhouse in use as part of the villa complex (Harding in Cool and Mason 2008, pp 127-155; figure 6.2). There are also two examples from Old Durham which were interpreted as threshing floors at the time but bear a great similarity to the Holme House examples. There is also an enigmatic, seemingly octagonal feature located by geophysical survey at the villa complex at Dalton-upon-Tees. As it is near the road, it is suggested to be related to the logistics of farm produce (Brown 1999, p. 27), but the examples from other villas, Piercebridge in particular, suggest that there may be more to this.

This look at how emergent settlement patterns in the Roman Iron Age relate to transitions in the indigenous community may raise more questions than it answers at this stage, but the main point is that the Roman military and provincial lifestyle did not arrive in an empty area by any means and we have increasing evidence of the existing populations engaging with and making choices about the adoption of Roman lifeways and it is important to bear them in mind as we deal with the questions of the social archaeology of the Roman period.

Conclusion

This study has demonstrated that the pre-Roman, indigenous communities in the north-east of England operated on a small scale, being economically largely independent but also engaged loosely with region- and country-wide social networks, participating in variation on larger traditions suited to their own circumstances. It has been possible to explore this by adopting theoretical view derived from Giddens, Kropotkin and post-colonial theory which accepts the variability of both agents and structures and the recursive nature of that relationship and is aware of the potential importance of mutual assistance amongst small communities and how this can function effectively enough that dynamic systems can emerge without a regional hierarchy of groups or individuals.

The viability of Kropotkin's idea of mutual aid in this context is perhaps seen most clearly in the exceptions to the norms that demonstrate the ways in which these independent communities interacted to their mutual benefit. The clear existence of trade networks of some sort, shown by the low level spread of exotic goods and incoming Roman pottery in Chapter 4 demonstrates that networks were maintained to the benefit of all, even if they were not a part of day to day life.

Likewise, the existence of certain anomalous settlements discussed in Chapter Five, primarily Stanwick St. John and Yeavering Bell, can be seen as a demonstration of cohesiveness across a regional community in making and maintaining a space that was not a standard settlement. These sites are on a scale so far removed from the larger settlement pattern that I find it very difficult to see them as the top levels of networks of control, power or domination in the landscape and instead suggest that they are the products of communities coming together to create a place of significance and use.

It is important to reiterate that the ideas which I present here should no be interpreted as a naïve and idealistic view of a non-hierarchical, non-violent society, but simply to suggest that these interactions are as much a part of human society as conflict and strife, and (as discussed below) are less archaeologically visible in many ways. They cannot, however, be ignored and this is an excellent example of a situation in which they can provide compelling explanations in the archaeological record. To return to Kropotkin, 'sociability is as much a law of nature as mutual struggle' (Kropotkin 1902, p. 5), a balance which social archaeology often overlooks.

It is hoped that this presentation of the evidence from the northeastern Iron Age helps it to be considered alongside other regional studies exploring direct assessment of how the non-hierarchical communities which have recently become the vogue in iron age studies actually functioned, reproduced and changed. Smaller and less hierarchical communities can be difficult to examine in the archaeological record, as the individual choices made by communities may not produce the strong patterning which is often sought in archaeological data, but by creatively examining the evidence and bearing in mind the unique nature and needs of small communities, and the interaction between scales of community, conclusions can usefully be reached.

Previous synthetic accounts of the region have been highly model based, either explicitly (i.e. van der Veen 1992; Ferrell 1992) or implicitly (Haselgrove 1982, 1984a) and even some of the most recent have discussed the region in terms of monolithic cultural groups and outmoded progressivist models of social change (Harding 2004). All of these works, particularly the corpus of work produced in the 1980s and 90s by Colin Haselgrove, Marijke van der Veen and Gill Ferrell, haven been invaluable in gathering data and recognizing trends in the dataset and region, but it is hoped that by considering standardized datasets across a the entire region and embracing the variability of the record and the social implications of this. This account builds on that work and offers a more nuanced and workable approach which integrates well with developing narratives of the Roman Iron Age in the region. Many of the patterns found here are also echoed aspects of other regional studies, such as that of Mel

Giles working on the apparently similarly small-scale but deeply structured societies on the Yorkshire Wolds (Giles 2007).

This work has integrated the upland and lowland communities into a coherent narrative. Though they develop and respond differently across time, the communities appear to be on similar scales and working in similar ways for much of the period. Whilst work in the 1980s saw a significant upland/lowland divide (Haselgrove, 1982; 1984a; van der Veen 1992), it is important to explore the similarities and difference and relationships between upland and lowland communities just as we explore the similarities, difference and relationships between the north-eastern indigenous communities other geographically or socially distinct communities. Colin Haselgrove has himself remarked recently that the upland/lowland dichotomy is 'outmoded' (Haselgrove 1999, p. 256).

An important theme of archaeological writing in the last twenty years has been the refutation of the conception that the archaeological record as a text to be read; a one-to-one representation (albeit a shadowy one) of the human past (Hill 1995, p. 125). It is clear that attempts must be made to consider *why* the archaeological record which we have has been created, both by human action and taphonomy.

This thesis has show that careful assessment on a regional level of how and why the record is created, and analysis which gives primacy to these aspects, can give a fresh and nuanced view even of times and places often considered to have problematic archaeological records by the wider archaeological community.

Traditions and Transitions:

Later and Roman Iron Age Communities in the North-East of England

Volume 2 of 2

by Arthur William Anderson

Submitted for the Qualification of Ph.D in Archaeology
Durham University
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Table of Contents

Volume 2

Appendix 1a:
Excavated Indigenous Sites

Site	*County*	*Type*	*Indigenous settlement Type*	*Roman period material culture recorded*	*Open phase posited*	*Included in Ch. 3*	*Included in Ch. 4*	*Flora and Fauna Recorded*	*Notes*	*Refs*	*GR*	*E*	*N*	*mOD*	*Map No.*
Apperley Dene	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Rectilinear	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Originally suggested as 'fortlet' but reinterpreted by Greene to have one pre- AD 200 phase (phase 1) with a roundhouse in a rectilinear, timber gated enclosure and one phase from about AD 300. The earlier phase is, in my opinion, tenuous but real. Greene suggests that the farmstead was built in the second century, but given the patchy evidence, there is no reason not to assume that it is in fact earlier. "No native pottery was found to suggest any kind of earlier occupation" (p. 40), but it would not be unusual to find none in an excavation of that size, particularly on a truncated and reused site.	Greene 1978; Hildyard 1952	NZ 056 581	405600	558100	125	1
Bamburgh Castle	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Indet.	Yes	No	No	No	No	Heavily disturbed material on Castle Rock from Hope-Taylor excavations, but none published fully and probably lost. Number of RIA finds in 2010 (ballista bolt, chainmail?, beads) mentioned on Bamburgh Research Project blog, but not in any clear context as far as I'm aware. No material really available for study.	Hope-Taylor 1960; see also Bamburgh Research Project Blog	NU 1832 3508	418320	635080	50	2
Belling Law	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Jobey Type A	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Classic Jobey type A preceded by a couple of palisaded enclosures. Lots of later activity on the site, material from that not recorded. Some earlier activity in the form of a flint assemblage also not included.	Jobey 1977	NY 686 882	368600	588200	170	3

Site	County	Type	Indigenous settlement Type	Roman period material culture recorded	Open phase posited	Included in Ch. 3	Included in Ch. 4	Flora and Fauna Recorded	Notes	Refs	GR	E	N	mOD	Map No.
Blagdon Hall, Delhi	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Elaborated Rectilinear	No	Yes	No	No	No	Report pending from TWMS. Heavily plough-damaged so phasing is difficult. 2 concentric rectilinear enclosures with about 40 roundhouses, many underlying and one outside of the enclosure boundaries. Possible palisaded phase between open and ditched settlement. No Roman finds.		NZ 211 763	421199	576351	60	4
Blue Crag	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Elaborated Curvilinear	No	No	No	No	No	"Promontory fort" with the interior of some of the houses partially cleared Old report. No good discussion of material culture, questionable plans.	PSANT ser 4 vol ii pp. 23-34; 138-43	NY 947 760	394700	576000	170	5
Bollihope	D.	Indigenous Settlement	Cellular	Yes	No	No	No	No	Stone built Romano-British and earlier settlement in Weardale. Interim reports only at the moment.	Young and Webster 2006; Young et al. 2008; Young and Webster 2010; Rob Young pers. comm.	NY 980 353	398000	535300	350	6
Bonny Grove Farm	Cl.	Indigenous Settlement	Indet.	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No buildings, just assorted features and finds. Not included in deposition chapter as there is a mix of finds from fieldwalking, evaluation trenches and excavation with poor descriptions and contextual information. Rims/wall sherds unspecified.	Annis 1996	NZ 5204 1417	452040	514170	60	7
Bowburn Link Road	D.	Indigenous Settlement	Rectilinear	No	No	No	No	No	Morphologically dated enclosure with no buildings found, no finds other than flint. Partially dug.	Graham 2009; Graham 2008	NZ 31468 37736	431468	537736	100	8

Site	County	Type	Indigenous settlement Type	Roman period material culture recorded	Open phase posited	Included in Ch. 3	Included in Ch. 4	Flora and Fauna Recorded	Notes	Refs	GR	E	N	mOD	Map No.
Bridge House	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Jobey Type A	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Jobey A type briefly investigated by Jobey 1960 as part of his survey of such sites, re-excavated in places by Charlton and Day after recognition of timber phases at Tower Knowe, et al. which were located. Pottery not discussed in detail by Jobey, it is reported to all be small body sherds of similar form and fabric to that at Huckhoe (Jobey 1960 p. 28)	Jobey 1960; Charlton and Day 1974	NY 824 790	382400	579000	160	9
Brompton Bridge	NY	Indigenous Settlement	Indet.	No	No	No	Yes	No	Good context info for finds, but excluded from ceramic chapter as pottery was very fragmentary with no rims from which diameter could be determined.	Cardwell and Speed 1996	SE 2093 9966	420930	499660	65	10
Brough Law	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Elaborated Curvilinear	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Very little pottery, Richmond in Hogg 1942 describes some un-measurable rims from old excavations and a ?Roman vessel (p. 124). Contextual information for other artefacts poor in early excavations, but limited work by Jobey in the 1970's has a much better record of the very few finds. Interestingly, one potsherd has an impression of a birch leaf upon it.	Jobey 1971 (excavation and some carbon dating); Richmond in Hogg 1942 (some pottery); Tate 1861 (small, early excavations)	NT 9985 1635	399850	616350	280	11
Burradon	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Elaborated Rectilinear	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Rectilinear, double ditched enclosure with a large number of roundhouses. Preceded by unenclosed phase. Largeish ceramic assemblage, but noted that most are poorly stratified, tiny frags.	Jobey 1970	NZ 269 729	426900	572900	65	12

Site	County	Type	Indigenous settlement Type	Roman period material culture recorded	Open phase posited	Included in Ch. 3	Included in Ch. 4	Flora and Fauna Recorded	Notes	Refs	GR	E	N	mOD	Map No.
Butterwick Moor	D.	Indigenous Settlement	Rectilinear Network	Yes	No	No	No	No	Enclosure network with native and Roman pottery excavated in advance of a wind farm. Still in early phases of post-excavation. No roundhouses but intensive palimpsest of largely rectilinear features and assemblage of indigenous tradition ceramics as well as some Roman material up to the second century. Only a couple post second century sherds.	Platell 2008 for geophysics, Archaeological Services 2010 (ASUD report no. 2442-postex assessment)	NZ 397 310	439700	531000	95	13
Carry House Camp	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Jobey Type A	Yes	No	No	No	No	Excavation record not particularly well organized, but plans excellent for the time.	Rome Hall 1880; Jobey 1960	NY 868 791	386800	579100	160	14
Catcote	Cl.	Indigenous Settlement	Rectilinear Network	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Extensive site with occupation from the Later Iron Age through the 5th century AD at least. Early rescue digs followed by an ongoing research excavation. Catcote 1964 pottery recorded as published by Long. In Challis and Harding fig. some is clearly also in Long 1988, so Long 1988 used as primary reference for pottery. Grid reference given is for 1986 excavation.	Long 1988; Vyner and Daniels 1989; Daniels 2005 (brief)	NZ 4894 3150	448940	531500	40	15
Chester House	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Rectilinear	No	Yes	No	No	No	An enclosure with large timber houses predating it. No finds	Holbrook 1988	NU 237 024	423700	602400	35	16
Coxhoe West House	D.	Indigenous Settlement	Rectilinear	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Central roundhouse rectilinear enclosure. Very little of interior investigated. No ceramics found.	Haselgrove and Allon 1982; see also van der Veen and Haselgrove 1983	NZ 326 360	432600	536000	140	17

Site	County	Type	Indigenous settlement Type	Roman period material culture recorded	Open phase posited	Included in Ch. 3	Included in Ch. 4	Flora and Fauna Recorded	Notes	Refs	GR	E	N	mOD	Map No.
Delhi Extension, Ponteland	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement ?	Indet.	No	No	No	No	No	Report Pending. Excavated by NAA, who are not returning emails. Large area stripped revealing an early pit alignment and nearby roundhouses and enclosures.	Jenkins 2006	NZ 218 763	421800	576300	70	18
Dixon's Bank	Cl.	Indigenous Settlement	Indet.	Yes	No	No	No	No	A series of trial trenches and very small assemblage without good context. Further work has been done by Brigantia Archaeological Practice, but emails have not been returned.	Annis 1996	NZ 5204 1417	452040	514170	60	19
Dod Law West	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Elaborated Curvilinear	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Well excavated hill-fort type site. Publication not well illustrated but most artefact contexts can be reconstructed, but physical layout of the site as a whole is difficult. There are a number of tiny pottery scraps which are not given full contextual information unfortunately.	Smith 1990	NU 0041 3171	400410	631710	185	20
Doubstead	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Rectilinear	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes	Rectilinear enclosed settlement with numerous roundhouses. Potential sling stones not recorded, as I think they are just stones.	Jobey, 1982	NU 007 487	400700	648700	60	21
Dubby Sike	D.	Indigenous Settlement	Cellular	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Stone built settlement site. Very little material culture. May be quite early with long occupation of some sort.	Coggins and Gidney 1988	NY 795 311	379500	531100	490	22
Dunstanbu rgh Castle	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Indet.	Yes	No	No	No	No	Mostly disturbed indigenous pottery, except for in situ heath with some indigenous tradition sherds which are mentioned but not illustrated.	Bosanquet 1936	NU 2574 2192	425740	621920	25	23

Site	County	Type	Indigenous settlement Type	Roman period material culture recorded	Open phase posited	Included in Ch. 3	Included in Ch. 4	Flora and Fauna Recorded	Notes	Refs	GR	E	N	mOD	Map No.
East and West Brunton	TW	Indigenous Settlement	Rectilinear Network	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Large settlement site/s extending into 2nd century. open area excavation excellently integrated into AP survey of surrounding area. Report pending from TWMS. 'Trace' amounts of Roman ceramics (N. Hodgson pers. comm.)	HER no. 4838	NZ 2345 7049	423450	570490	60	24
Esp Green Greencroft	D.	Indigenous Settlement	Indet.	Yes	No	No	No	No	Very basic publication, but evidence for house with quern and some Roman pottery.	Clack 1980; Clack 1981	NZ 146 492	414600	549200	165	25
Faverdale	D.	Indigenous Settlement	Rectilinear Network	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Possible open phase followed by increasingly extensive closed phases into major settlement of the second century AD. Interesting hypocausted building and enormous assemblage of indigenous pottery alongside Roman material. Possible early cist burials, a couple of Roman burials.	Glover 2006, Proctor in press	NZ 277 172	427700	517200	70	26
Fawdon Dene	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Curvilinear	Yes	No	No	No	No	Interim reports only at the moment. Enclosure one, dated to the last few centuries BC is curvlinear whilst Enclosure 2, dated to the first few centuries AD is somewhat rectilinear. Only example of such a dramatic change. Recorded here as curvlinear as the majority of the features appear curvlinear on the geophyiscs, but notable as being an unusual transition that lies at the mOD boundary of each site type.	See Breamish Valley Archaeology interim reports: ASUD reports 756 (2001); 953 (2003); 1180 (2005); Frodsham and Waddington 2004	NU 020 153	402000	615300	210	27
Fenton Hill	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Elaborated Curvilinear	No	No	No	No	No	Multivallate settlement beginning as a palisaded settlement sometime around 1000 BC with subsequent univallate and multivallate phases.	Excavated by Burgess but unpublished. Discussed in Haselgrove 2002. SMR no. 1953.	NT 9850 3455	398500	634550	90	28

Site	County	Type	Indigenous settlement Type	Roman period material culture recorded	Open phase posited	Included in Ch. 3	Included in Ch. 4	Flora and Fauna Recorded	Notes	Refs	GR	E	N	mOD	Map No.
Forcegarth Pasture North	D.	Indigenous Settlement	Curvilinear	No	No	No	Yes	No	Small, enclosed stone built settlement. Radio-carbon dated to 1st century. No Roman material, though there is Roman material from very nearby Forcegarth South which has a bit of samian. Suggested to be a later shift in occupation from Forcegarth North. 'worked' birch bark is an interesting find (p. 37).	Fairless and Coggins 1980	NY 8753 2843	387530	528430	350	29
Forcegarth Pasture South	D.	Indigenous Settlement	Curvilinear	Yes	No	No	No	No	Similar to Forcegarth Pasture North, but with a timber house phase below. Roman material found here, included samian scraps- Dr 18/31 and there's some BB1. Unfortunately, the report does not give good context info for most of the finds.	Fairless and Coggins 1986	NY 8764 2832	387640	528320	350	30
Foxrush Farm	Cl.	Indigenous Settlement	Rectilinear	No	No	No	No	No	Enclosed roundhouse site. Only notes in TAS Bulletin 2003; 2004; 2006; 2007 and brief interim from 2005 available at the moment.	See Tees Arch web site; Sherlock 2004; Parker 2005; 2006; 2007	NZ 5867 2314	458670	523140	5	31
Gowanburn River Camp	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Jobey Type A	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Palisaded and then ditched settlement in the North Tyne Valley, parts destroyed by later farming. Rescue excavation in advance of Kielder reservoir.	Jobey and Jobey 1988; Roman Britain in 1977 p. 421	NY 662 900	366200	590000	175	32
Greaves Ash	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Elaborated Curvilinear	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Interesting early excavations demonstrate dating evidence into the Roman period (glass bangle) and are excellently published for the time but difficult to use for most parts of this study.	Tate 1861 (excavation); Richmond in Hogg 1942 (the pottery)	NT 965 163	396500	616300	270	33

Site	*County*	*Type*	*Indigenous settlement Type*	*Roman period material culture recorded*	*Open phase posited*	*Included in Ch. 3*	*Included in Ch. 4*	*Flora and Fauna Recorded*	*Notes*	*Refs*	*GR*	*E*	*N*	*mOD*	*Map No.*
Gubeon Cottage	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Elaborated rectilinear	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Bivallate enclosure with some first/second century Roman pottery as well as indigenous material. A further 150 sherds of pottery found with no contextual information, said to be tiny formless fragments scattered across the site. The first of Jobey's excavations with the Continuing Studies Dept. at Newcastle.	Jobey 1957	NZ 17945 83596	417945	583596	100	34
Hamsterly Castles	D.	Indigenous Settlement	Anomalous	No	No	No	No	No	Very puzzling site, a Roman fort shaped drystone enclosure. Dating unknown but assumed to be pre- or post-Roman. The 'Time Team' excavation decided it was Late Iron Age. Whilst this is tentative, it is certainly possible. An upper stone from a rotary quern was uncovered here in 1912 however.	Wessex Archaeology 2008; Hodgkin 1936; Ball 1921, PSANT ser. 3 vol. 5 p. 195 (Quern)	NZ 105 332	410500	533200	170	35
Hartburn	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Elaborated rectilinear	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Originally thought to be a Roman fortlet but, like Apperley Dene, excavated and found to be an indigenous settlement of rectilinear ? banked? and ditched form with an underlying unenclosed phase. Good material culture record. Extensive palimpsest of roundhouses in interior which is very difficult to phase usefully- most probably the result of constant rebuilding and reworking.	Jobey 1973a	NZ 081 866	408100	586600	140	36

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Haswell Moor	D.	Indigenous Settlement	Indet.	No	No	No	No	No	Pipeline trench across several ?unenclosed roundhouses. Dug by NAA who have been very uncommunicative, so final report unavailable, though it appears (R.Daniels, pers. comm.) that with the project split between several companies post-excavation has been chaotic. It seems from interims that a very narrow area was stripped and there may be little contextual information. Considered contemporary with Pig Hill. No Roman material noted in brief reports.	NAA 2004	NZ 378 415	437800	541500	150	37
Hetha Burn 1	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Scooped	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Multiphase scooped settlement of the Romano-British period. Much of the material essentially unstratified in overlying deposits. Not all worked stone fully contextualized, but interesting suggestion that they come from the beach c. 15 miles away rather than the burn itself.	Burgess 1970	NT 8787 2748	387870	627480	190	38
High Knowes A	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Curvilinear	No	No	No	No	No	Palisaded settlement, possibly earlier than period but HER records as Iron Age. No finds recorded at all.	Jobey 1966	NT 9707 1244	397070	612550	370	39
High Knowes B	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Curvilinear	No	No	No	Yes	No	Curvilinear enclosure with numerous roundhouses. Small excavation of what is probably a secondary Romano-British phase over a palisaded enclosure Pottery only finds.	Jobey 1966	NT 9725 1250	397250	612500	360	40

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Holme House, Piercebridge	D.	Indigenous Settlement /Villa	Indet.	Yes	No	No	No	No	Villa site within rectilinear enclosure featuring large stone roundhouse with possible timber predecessors. The site is heavily truncated, and as the report states, there are 'problems relating the material culture to the structural record' (Cool and Mason 2008 p. 295) and aside from indigenous pottery– which is scattered pretty liberally across the site as a whole– there's not a great deal of solid LAter Iron Age evidence and no way to identify areas of features of earlier occupation and analyse the depositional trends.	Harding 1983, Mason and Cool 2008	NZ 221 152	422100	515200	50	41
Howlands Farm	D.	Indigenous Settlement	Indet.	No	Yes	No	No	No	?Unenclosed roundhouse but no finds	Taylor-Wilson 2006; SMR no. D9102;	NZ 270 407	427000	540700	80	42
Huckhoe	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Curvilinear	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Very roughly curvilinear and heavily damaged by later activity. Enclosed settlement on a promontory with a number of stone roundhouses. Stone bank preceded by timber palisade. Substantial material culture assemblage with quite a lot of Roman coarse pottery. Late Roman rectilinear buildings on site and pottery sequence definitely goes on into 4th century Huntcliff/calcite gritted wares. Large group (24) of wall sherds unrecorded here as only rough contextual info and no numbers were given. Equally, poor recording of non-rim indigenous sherds as well unfortunately.	Jobey, 1959a	NZ 0728 8281	407280	582810	160	43

Site	*County*	*Type*	*Indigenous settlement Type*	*Roman period material culture recorded*	*Open phase posited*	*Included in Ch. 3*	*Included in Ch. 4*	*Flora and Fauna Recorded*	*Notes*	*Refs*	*GR*	*E*	*N*	*mOD*	*Map No.*
Ingleby Barwick, Low Lane	Cl.	Indigenous Settlement	Indet.	No	No	No	No	No	Roundhouse underlying A-S cemetery. Only have prelim report from ASUD (rep no. 1200).	ASUD report 1200 (2005)	NZ 4500 1258	445000	512580	30	44
Ingleby Barwick, Quarry Farm	Cl.	Indigenous Settlement /Villa	Rectilinear Network	Yes	No	No	No	No	Site P excavations (Adams 1995) unused, as they are really trial trenches with some prehistoric features and medieval/post-med pottery. Helsop 1984 provides a good account of the excavation of a network of linear features (not wholly unlike Butterwick Moor) which he suggests have an Iron Age phase (earlier, curvilinear sections) and a Romano-British phase (much larger, rectilinear enclosure network). There is significant variation in the precision of the finds recording however, so that the early pottery is not recorded contextually whilst the later material relating to the villa phase is.	ASUD report 1174 (preliminary; 2005), Heslop 1984; Adams and Carne 1985	NZ 4361 1507	443610	515070	20	45
Ingram Hill	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Curvilinear	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	Unusual circular enclosed site with rectilinear buildings, which I take to be medieval and the site is heavily disturbed. Unusual pot with parallels at Hownam. Jobey 1971 doesn't give much information on the few finds, Hogg's accounts only give anecdotal evidence.	Jobey 1971, Hogg 1956; Hogg 1942	NU 0114 1577	401140	615770	160	46
Ingram South	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Elaborated Rectilinear	Yes	No	No	No	No	Enclosed settlement, compared to Fawdon Dene but not yet fully analysed. Initial settlement (palisaded?) followed by a single ditch and then elaborated with another ditch. Rather different sequence to the other elaborated rectilinears.	ASUD report 1180 (2005); Frodsham 2004	NU 020 160	402000	616000	130	47

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Kennel Hall Knowe	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Jobey Type A	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Couple of timber phases prior to a Jobey Type A settlement with solid continuity of roundhouse locations. Beaker and flint assemblage not included in this work.	Jobey 1978	NY 667 898	366700	589800	150	48
Knag Burn	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Indet.	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Unenclosed roundhouse between Vallum and Wall, trial trenched by Ann Dornier 1967-8. Some Roman ceramics recorded. No apparent enclosure though building survives as earthworks. Industrial activity posited.	NMR no 15284; Unpublished MSS by Anne Dornier at Durham University	NY 793 689	379300	568900	250	49
Larchfield Farm	Cl.	Indigenous Settlement	Indet.	Yes	No	No	No	No	Fieldwalking and trial trenching in the 1980s, As usual, quite a lot of pottery from a Tees Valley sites but not much context information or pottery reporting.	SMR no. 882 NMR no. 874083; Sherlock and Vyner 1987	NZ 5002 1335	450020	513350	70	50
Little Haystacks	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Scooped	Yes	No	No	No	No	Partially excavated as part of the Breamish Valley Archaeology Project in 1998. Heavily disturbed, but worked stone and a Romano-British bead date occupation of scooped settlement nicely, whilst the palisade underneath was only partially investigated but is a tantalizing clue.	Frodsham and Waddington 2005	NU 0059 1523	400590	615230	250	51
Marden	TW	Indigenous Settlement	Rectilinear	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Large rectilinear enclosure discovered by aerial photograph but largely covered by housing when excavated by Jobey.	Jobey 1963a	NZ 353 708	435300	570800	35	52
Melsonby	NY	Indigenous Settlement	Indet.	Yes	No	No	No	No	Some brief accounts given, but awaiting full publication (Haselgrove forthcoming?)	Fitts, *et al.* 1999; Fitts *et al.* 1995	NZ 198 103	419800	510300	100	53

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Middle Gunnar Peak	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Jobey Type A	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Well preserved stone built site with some later intrusions. Remarkable amount of Roman pottery for the region, active into second century but no evidence beyond this, though Jobey cautions that this may be more of a falloff in datable material culture than a lack of occupation. Unusual as many of the Jobey A's do in fact extend a bit later than this. Also unusually for the class, it has no apparent timber predecessor. It does, however, fit in well with the pattern of surrounding settlements not extending past the second century in any real way.	Jobey, 1981	NY 9150 7500	391500	575000	160	54
Milking Gap	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Cellular	Yes	No	No	No	No	Stone built settlement very near to Housesteads fort. Lots of early/mid first century AD material. No contextual information given for finds beyond 'hut 2' and such.	Kilbride-Jones 1938	NY 7724 6779	377240	567790	230	55

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Murton High Crags	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Elaborated Curvilinear	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Stone built Romano-British settlement preceded by palisaded and open phases of settlement radiocarbon dated back to about 1000BC. As with many of these sites, a large number of small heavily damaged sherds produced (over five hundred!) and the pottery report is a summation of the reconstructable vessels with relatively little attention paid to context of sherds, but what is available has been used in the deposition chapter. Pygmy cup, whetstone and flint assemblage which are clearly earlier not included.	Jobey and Jobey 1987	NT 965 494	396500	649400	80	56
Old Bewick	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Elaborated Curvilinear	No	No	No	No	No	Excavations along ramparts only, no houses explored and one potsherd (now lost) was the only find.	Description of excavation in NCH XIV but slightly more detailed report in Charlton 1934	NU 07646 21528	407646	621528	240	57
Ollerchesters	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Jobey Type A	No	No	No	No	No	Small excavation in 1936 but never published. History of Northumberland says excavated by W Percy Hedley who suggests it is 'Dark Age' but Jobey includes in it his records and NMR suggests IA date as there is a roundhouse or two. Not really enough info to use in anything.	Jobey 1960 (mentioned), Northumberland County History vol. XV, NMR no. 17396	NY 865 916	386500	591600	210	58
Pegswood Moor	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Rectilinear Network	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Excellently excavated and published extensive multiphase site. Extends into Roman period but with relatively little new material culture in use.	Proctor 2009	NZ 201 882	420100	588200	70	59

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Pig Hill	D.	Indigenous Settlement	Indet.	No	No	No	No	No	Settlement site. Looks very large but excavation is just a c. 10m strip as it is on a pipeline. Report pending? Dug by NAA who have been very uncommunicative, so final report unavailable, though I have heard (R.Daniels, pers. comm.) that with the project split between several companies postexcavation has been chaotic. No roman material noted in brief reports.	SMR no. 402; NMR 26112; NAA 2004	NZ 3693 4444	436930	544440	135	60
Prendwick Chesters	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Elaborated Curvilinear	No	No	No	No	No	Tates excavations recorded in passing in his discussion of Greave's Ash, but excellent surveys available.	Tate 1862; see also Topping and Pearson 2008 and Oswald and Pearson for surveys	NT 9847 1489	398470	614890	280	61
Prickly Knowe	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Elaborated Curvilinear	No	No	Yes	No	No	described as 'Chesters', southwest of Brough Law. Best match is Prickly Knowe (SMR no. n1332).	Tate 1861; Richmond in Hogg 1942	NT 987 150	398700	615000	280	62
Redeswood Law Fell	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Jobey Type A	No	No	No	No	No	Barely excavated Jobey Type A- NMR suggests just turf stripped in small area.	Jobey 1960a; NMR no. 17077	NY 8631 8281	386310	582810	130	63
Riding Wood	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Jobey Type A	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Jobey says the ceramic assemblage is just like Huckhoe so not worth recording, so difficult to record fully, but other material culture from small excavation recorded.	Jobey 1960a	NY 818 846	381800	584600	140	64

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Rock Castle	NY	Indigenous Settlement	Rectilinear	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Enclosed settlement with successive central roundhouses. Large ceramic assemblage with very few reconstructable sherds or vessels. Flint assemblage present but mostly unstratified or in large ditches and technologically considered to be Meso/Neo, so this has not been recorded	Fitts *et al.* 1994	NZ 186 067	418600	506700	190	65
Scotch Corner	NY	Indigenous Settlement	Indet.	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Not all pottery illustrated. NAA doesn't return emails. LIA through to 1st century AD, both enclosed and unenclosed phases. Lots of first century roman pottery. Seems very much the same chronology of Melsonby, Stanwick, Rock Castle, whilst more northern stuff goes on until c2AD. Most contexts given for artefacts are fills which cannot be assigned to a feature using the published report.	Abramson 1995	NZ 2127 0527	421270	505270	150	66
Shotton	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Indet.	No	Yes	No	No	No	Unenclosed settlement site. Report pending from TWMS.	See TWMS web site	NZ 2406 7742	424060	577420	60	67
South Shields	TW	Indigenous Settlement	Indet.	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	A few small body sherds of IA tradition and one unusual rim sherd from not particularly good context, diameter unclear. See Waddington in Hodgson et al. 2001- he claims it has an orange slip. Splendid environmental report. Allegedly unenclosed	Hodgson *et al.* 2001	NZ 365 679	436500	567900	30	68

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Stannington Station	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Indet.	Yes	Rectilinear	No	No	No	'...at Stannington Station, has produced some "native" pottery, a bun-shaped quern, and at least one sherd of Romano-British coarse pottery...it was trenched by Mr. J Clarke with the aid of boys from Netherton School during the summer of 1961. I am indebted to him for allowing me to examine and make reference to the material.' Jobey 1963 p. 32	Jobey 1963a p. 32	NZ 220 815	422000	581500	50	69
Stanwick	NY	Indigenous Settlement	Anomalous	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Wheeler's material included in both deposition and ceramics analysis, excepting ? tile/brick fragments from Area A which are noted to be extremely small (p. 34) and I would consider more or less unstratified. Some 'selected finds' included in mircofiche for reports in *Arch J* but the lack of a full report as yet makes it difficult to fully determine context. Pottery from Haselgrove (forthcoming) is included in ceramic analysis however.	Wheeler 1954, Haselgrove forthcoming; Welfare *et al.* 1991; Haselgrove, Turnbull and Lowther 1991; Haselgrove, Fitts and Lowther 1991	NZ 182 116	418200	511600	90	70
Strawberry Hill, Shadforth	D.	Indigenous Settlement	Rectilinear	No	No	No	No	No	Rectilinear enclosure located by aerial photograph and excavated, but no conclusive dating evidence. Morphologically most likely to be Iron Age, though this is not definite.	Haselgrove 1980	NZ 338 402	433800	540200	170	71
Swint Law	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Indet.	No	No	No	No	No	'Hut circles' trial excavated by Tate. Apparently unenclosed. Potentially early.	Tate 1862, pp442-3	NT 940 284	394000	628400	290	72
Thornborough Scar	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Rectilinear	No	No	No	No	No	Very basic, roughly illustrated report.	Clack 1984	NZ 011 633	401100	563300	60	73

Site	***County***	***Type***	***Indigenous settlement Type***	***Roman period material culture recorded***	***Open phase posited***	***Included in Ch. 3***	***Included in Ch. 4***	***Flora and Fauna Recorded***	***Notes***	***Refs***	***GR***	***E***	***N***	***mOD***	***Map No.***
Thorpe Thewles	Cl.	Indigenous Settlement	Rectilinear Network	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Extensive site, well excavated with large ceramic assemblage. Recording pretty old school though and the individual context of items is extremely difficult to determine, except (ironically) when noted as unstrat	Heslop 1987	NZ 391 257	439100	525700	80	74
Tower Knowe	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Jobey Type A	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No measurable rims, very few small frags. Associated field system probably the best example of small scale, enclosed field systems often seen with Jobey Type A settlements in area. Jobey notes that "Tower Knowe is the last of the established stone-built Romano-British settlements in this particular valley since beyond this point, on the steeper riverine slopes, the curvilinear or egg-shaped form of the Cheviot type of settlement prevails (refs himself 1964)". Very tight dating, all activity (both phases!) apparently second century from pretty good pottery evidence (i.e. end of timber phase has TS) and nothing beyond Antonine.	Jobey 1973b	NY 700 871	370000	587100	185	75
Tynemouth Priory	TW	Indigenous Settlement	Indet.	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Heavily disturbed Iron Age roundhouse beneath priory. Material not recorded as contexts were nearly all highly disturbed and had a mixture of material from all periods.	Jobey 1967	NZ 3729 6937	437290	569370	20	76

Site	*County*	*Type*	*Indigenous settlement Type*	*Roman period material culture recorded*	*Open phase posited*	*Included in Ch. 3*	*Included in Ch. 4*	*Flora and Fauna Recorded*	*Notes*	*Refs*	*GR*	*E*	*N*	*mOD*	*Map No.*
West Brandon	D.	Indigenous Settlement	Rectilinear	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Classic Jobey rectilinear enclosure with a central roundhouse. Useful material culture record, but no rims from which diameter can be determined.	Jobey 1962a	NZ 201 399	420100	539900	260	77
West Gunnar Peak	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Jobey Type A	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Hall has some artefacts on plans, but not really good enough to use. Hogg re-presents good, scale illustrations from GRH's pottery, but contextual info just isn't there. Classified as a Type A by Jobey (1960) but perhaps a looser definition than the those around Kielder.	Hogg 1942 (Gunnar Peak), Rome Hall 1885; Jobey 1960a	NY 916 750	391600	575000	170	78
West Longlee	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Jobey Type A	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Jobey says the ceramic assemblage is just like Huckhoe so not worth recording, so difficult to record fully, but other material culture from small excavation recorded.	Jobey 1960a	NY 823 766	382300	576600	210	79
West Whelpington	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Curvilinear	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Two (western and eastern) related palisaded enclosures overlapping. Rather confusingly published as a series of reports covering different periods, but this makes some of the basic information difficult to collate. The stonework, other than querns, has not been recorded here as the excavators chose to document all worked stone together in a subsequent report without attempting to divide it up by period and thus the worked stone assemblage ranges from pre-Roman to nearly modern.	Jarrett and Evans 1989; Jarrett 1962	NY 9747 8370	397470	583700	200	80

Site	County	Type	Indigenous settlement Type	Roman period material culture recorded	Open phase posited	Included in Ch. 3	Included in Ch. 4	Flora and Fauna Recorded	Notes	Refs	GR	E	N	mOD	Map No.
Wether Hill	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Elaborated Curvilinear	No	Yes	No	No	No	Hilltop site with enclosed and unenclosed phases excavated by Northern Archaeological Group.	Topping 2004	NU 0130 1443	401300	614430	290	81
Witchy Neuk	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Curvilinear	Yes	No	No	No	No	Enclosed settlement excavated in 1930s. Small excavations of a roundhouse and pavement as well as trenching in the interior with few finds and poor context.	Wake 1939	NY 983 993	396300	599300	190	82
Woolaw	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Jobey Type A	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Jobey Type A excavated by Charlton and Day. Early phase ephemeral, latest phase classic Jobey A with twin central yards and range of roundhouses in centre. Rather good reconstruction painting in Frodsham 2004. Small unstratified flint assemblage not recorded.	Charlton and Day 1978	NY 815 986	381500	598600	215	83
Worm Law	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Rectilinear	No	No	No	No	No	Passing mention of excavations and some engravings of pottery in Tate's Yeavering Bell report	Tate 1862 ('Fortlet C'); NMR no. 3099	NT 9363 2958	393630	629580	160	84
Yeavering	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement ?	Indet.	No	No	Yes	No	No	Hard to say if this counts really as a settlement, but Hope Taylor (1977) mentions an area of 'Romano-British' settlement and doesn't really record it. Ferrel records the large corpus of prehistoric pottery, a great deal of it Iron Age.	Hope-Taylor 1977 (fig. 73); Ferrell 1990	NT 926 304	392600	630400	70	85
Yeavering Bell	Nl.	Indigenous Settlement	Anomalous	Yes	No	No	No	No	Tate's excavations quite roughly recorded in terms of context. Excavations by BHT are unpublished. Excavated dataset poor, but excellent recent surveys.	Tate 1862; See also account in Oswald and Pearson 2005 for better account of surface surveys &c.	NT 9280 2931	392800	629310	360	86

Appendix 1b:
Other Excavated Roman and Later Prehistoric Sites

Site	*County*	*Type*	*Notes*	*Refs*	*GR*	*E*	*N*
Barcombe B	Northumberland	Signaling?	Tower separate from Barcombe Hill signal station.	Wooliscroft, Swain and Lockett 1992	NY 7745 6590	377450	565900
Barcombe Hill	Northumberland	Signaling?	NMR no. 15186 suggests that the signal station built in corner of a native settlement but that is only from surface survey and analogy- may be similar situation to Apperly Dene.	Woodfield 1966; SMR no. N6569; , NMR no 15186; See also Jobey1965	NY 7830 6682	378300	566820
Beadnell Cemetery	Northumberland	Indigenous Burial	Possible secondary cist burial in a BA cairn, not unlike Waddington's potential IA burial at Lanton Quarry.	Tait and Jobey 1971	NU 230 299	423000	629900
Benwell	Tyne and Wear	Fort		Petch 1927;1928; Simpson and Richmond 1941	NZ 2158 6477	421580	564770
Benwell Cemetery	Tyne and Wear	Cemetery	Listed in NMR as being based on 'oral information' but this is likely to be the result of some diggings or observations rather than surface remains. Tyne and Wear HER notes suggestion was by Eric Birley but gives no evidence.	NMR no. 25121; HER no.1505	NZ 220 646	422000	564600
Benwell Temple	Tyne and Wear	Shrine		NMR no. 1156397	NZ 21711 64672	421711	564672
Benwell Vallum Crossing	Tyne and Wear	Other		Swinbank 1955, Birley 1947 (Samian from 1938 consolidation)	NZ 21563 64635	421563	564635
Benwell Vicus	Tyne and Wear	Vicus	Very little found in 'watching briefs' discussed on NMR (no. 25174) but excavations in 1920's found a good sized building interpreted by Salway later as a mansio (NMR no. 1156389)	Petch 1927; 1928 and NMR nos. 25174 and 1156389	NZ 216 646	421600	564600
Binchester	Durham	Fort	Ongoing work by the University of Durham, the University of Stanford and the Durham and Northumberland Archaeological and Architectural Society underway.	Dobson and Jarrett 1958; Hooppell 1883; Graham 2006; Time Team report; Ferris 2010	NZ 2093 3132	420930	531320
Blakehope Farm	Northumberland	Fortlet		Charlton and Day 1978 (surface survey); Williams 2006; Birley 1961 pp. 240-2; Roman Britain in 2004 p 408	NY 8588 9453	385880	594530
Bottle Bank Gateshead	Tyne and Wear	Roman Settlement	Scattered evidence for a non-military settlement near south site of Roman bridge	Mostly from interim or antiquarian reports, best summed up in HER no. 5633	NZ 253 636	425300	563600
Bowes	Durham	Fort		Wooler 1913; Roman Britain in 1967 pp. 179-180 Roman Britain in 1970 p. 251; Roman Britain in 1988 p. 277	NY 9930 1337	399300	513370
Bowes Vicus	Durham	Vicus		Cardwell 2009; Roman Britain in 1980 p. 327	NY 994 135	399400	513500

Site	*County*	*Type*	*Notes*	*Refs*	*GR*	*E*	*N*
Carrawburgh	Northumberland	Fort		Breeze 1972; Clayton 1880a and 1880b	NY 8591 7117	385910	571170
Carrawburgh Mithraeum	Northumberland	Shrine		Richmond and Gillam 1951	NY 8587 7106	385870	571060
Carrawburgh Vicus	Northumberland	Vicus		Charlesworth 1967	NY 858 711	385800	571100
Carrawburgh, Shrine of the Nymphs	Northumberland	Shrine		Smith, 1962	NY 859 710	385900	571000
Chester-le-Street	Durham	Fort		Wright 1994, Evans et. al 1991; Bishop 1993; Rainbird 1971; Gillam and Tait 1968; Todd 2006; Proctor 2007; Taylor-Wilson 2006b; Carne 2006; Claydon and Armstrong 2006, SMR no. D9617. Also mention of earlier finds of smelting works in AA1 vol. 4 p. 263 (see NMR no. 24687)	NZ 2758 5131	427580	551310
Chester-le-Street Vicus	Durham	Vicus		Clack 1983; Clack and Nicholson 1984	NZ 274 510	427400	551000
Chesters	Northumberland	Fort		Harper, 1961 (Commander's House) Haverfield 1902, Clayton 1876; Holmes 1887; MacDonald 1931 (Bathhouse)	NY 9115 7015	391150	570150
Chesters Bridge	Northumberland	Other		NMR no. 19107; Roman Britain in 1990 p, 234	NY 9136 7007	391360	570070
Chew Green	Northumberland	Temporary Camp		Richmond and Keeney 1937	NT 7880 0843	378800	608430

Site	County	Type	Notes	Refs	GR	E	N
Corbridge	Northumberland	Fort/Roman Settlement		Simpson 1972 (Samian from 1952 excavations); Gillam and Tait 1971 (Commanders House at Site XI); Birley 1959 (1906-58 excavated); Gillam and Richmond 1959 (2nd c defences); Richmond and Gillam 1955 (1952-1954 incl. pre-Roman but that is prob BA); Richmond and Gillam 1953 (buildings N of granaries); Richmond and Gillam 1952 (Antonine fort); Richmond and Gillam 1950 (granaries, aqueduct, fountain); Richmond and Birley 1940 (site 40 et al.); Birley and Richmond 1938 (site 39 et al.). From 1907-1915 there were anecdotal reports on the Corstopitum in Arch Aeliana which cannot really be used for analysis. Bishop and Dore 1989 is the main source.	NY 98222 64842	398222	564842
Corbridge Bridge	Northumberland	Other	Report on excavation and re-consolidation.	Hodgson 2009 pp 101-107	NY 9795 6457	397950	564570
Corbridge Bypass	Northumberland	Cemetery	Cremation area and assorted ditches and other features. Little stratigraphy, contexts uncertain.	Casey and Hoffman 1995	NY 984 653	398400	565300
Corbridge Red House	Northumberland	Fort	Large, early fort in the vicinity of Corbridge. Two unrecorded 'native' sherds from a pre-fort ditch.	Daniels 1959 (Bath house); Hanson et. al. 1979	NY 969 651	396900	565100
Corbridge, Bishop Rigg	Northumberland	Other	Roman gravel quarries, evidence of presumably pre-roman palisade, Roman quarrying and 'temporary camp' and 'stockade'. Rotary querns, bangles and brooches present indicative of some form of occupation.	Jobey 1979	NY 9770 6517	397700	565170
Coventina's Well	Northumberland	Shrine		Clayton 1880a; b; Allason-Jones and McKay 1985; Other remarks in AA for 1880 (ser 2 VIII)	NY 8576 7115	385760	571150

Site	*County*	*Type*	*Notes*	*Refs*	*GR*	*E*	*N*
Dalton-On-Tees	Cleveland	Villa	Report on villa excavations contains mentions very small quantities of indigenous pottery in 'campfire' type deposits in very late levels of Roman buildings, which suggests that this is actually Saxon material. Other than that suggestion, no pre-second century material.	Brown 1999; Stobbs 2001	NZ 3008 0822	430080	508220
Ebchester	Durham	Fort		Maxfield and Reed 1975; Reed et. al 1964; Jarret 1960	NZ 1035 5550	410350	555500
Greta Bridge	Durham	Fort		Roman Britain in 1929, p. 190; NMR no. 19926	NZ 0845 1318	408450	513180
Greta Bridge Vicus	North Yorkshire	Vicus		Casey et al. 1998	NZ 085 134	408500	513400
Halton Chesters	Northumberland	Fort	Excavated 1955-58 apparently, but in 1960 noted as unlikely to be a full account of the pottery and only some key bits and stamps published. Jarrett 1959 doesn't really list the pottery, only by 'group' and for dating. No pottery listed for the 1936 rescue excavations	Jarrett 1960; Jarrett 1959; Simpson and Richmond 1937. TS from 1909/1910 *vallum* excavated listed in Simpson 1976; Hodgson 2009 pp. 95-97	NY 997 684	399700	568400
High Rochester	Northumberland	Fort		Richmond 1936; Bruce 1857	NY 832 986	383200	598600
High Rochester Cemetery (Petty Knowes)	Northumberland	Cemetery		Charlton and Micheson 1984; NMR no. 17294 and 17363	NY 8383 9817	383830	598170
Housesteads Vicus	Northumberland	Vicus		Birey 1962, Birley 1961; notes in Birley and Keeney 1935 and Birley and Charlton 1934; Birley et al. 1933 (vicus, ditches); Birley et al. 1931 (vallum, vicus), Birley 1937 (fort gates and Knag Burn); Roman Britain in 1988 p. 273 (Knag Burn); Rushworth 2009	NY 790 687	379000	568700

Site	*County*	*Type*	*Notes*	*Refs*	*GR*	*E*	*N*
Housteads	Northumberland	Fort		Crow, 1988 (Curtain wall), Charlesworth 1976 (Hospital); Charlesworth 1975 (Commandant's House); Tait 1963 (South curtain wall); Leach and Wilkes 1962 (Granary); Wilkes 1961 (Barrack xiv); Wilkes 1960 (barrack xiv); Birley 1937 (Gateways, Knag Burn); Birley and Keeney 1935 (summary); Birley and Charlton 1934 (vicus); Birley et al. 1933 (vicus, ditches); Birley et al. 1931 (vallum, vicus); Bosanquet 1904 (vicus, mithraeum, walls, barracks). Simplson 1976; Rushworth 2009;	NY 78975 68799	379875	568799
Lanchester	Durham	Fort		Steer and Wright 1937; Steer 1939. 1938 *vicus* excavations in CBA Group 3 bulletin, Clack and Gosling 1976 p. 214	NZ 159 468	415900	546800
Lanchester Cemetery	Durham	Cemetery		Turner 1990	NZ 156 466	415600	546600
Lanton Quarry	Northumberland	Indigenous Burial?		Waddington 2009	NT 9550 3110	395500	631100
Learchild	Northumberland	Fortlet		Roman Britain in 1956 p. 206; Roman Britain in 1946 p. 167; Geophysics in DNAR 1992;	NU 1015 1133	410150	611330
Limestone Corner	Northumberland	Temporary Camp	May, like Apperly Dene, be native?	Newbold 1913; NMR no. 16716 (reassessment for Roman Camps project)	NY 8767 7136	387670	571360
Low Dam Lanchester	Durham	Other	Section excavated by Steer in 1937	Steer 1938 pp. 210-24. NMR no. 1032614	NZ 1071 4738	410710	547380
Milecastle 10	Tyne and Wear	Milecastle		Tyne and Wear HER 217	NZ 1647 6675	416470	566750
Milecastle 13	Northumberland	Milecastle		Simpson 1931	NZ 1210 6732	412100	567320
Milecastle 14	Northumberland	Milecastle	Excavated in 1947 by C E Stevens for DUEC along with 36 and 41, T36a and 40 a and b. also excavated in 2000- no ref location of finds unknown. 1947 finds examined in OFM 14 Aug 08. JRS indicates that 'publication is being held over pending further work in 1947'	Roman Britain in 1946	NZ 1067 6769	410670	567690
Milecastle 17	Northumberland	Milecastle		Birley et al. 1932	NZ 0630 6822	406300	568220
Milecastle 18	Northumberland	Milecastle		Birley et al. 1932	NZ 0481 6836	404810	568360
Milecastle 19	Northumberland	Milecastle		Simpson et al. 1936; Birley et al. 1932	NZ 0334 6853	403340	568530

Site	County	Type	Notes	Refs	GR	E	N
Milecastle 20	Northumberland	Milecastle		Simpson et al. 1936	NZ 0188 6868	401880	568680
Milecastle 22	Northumberland	Milecastle		Simpson 1931	NY 9896 6861	398960	568610
Milecastle 23 (Stanley Plantation)	Northumberland	Milecastle		Heywood and Breeze 2008	NY 9751 6893	397510	568930
Milecastle 26	Northumberland	Milecastle		SMR/ RHW say excavated by CE Stevens in 46	NY 9309 6953	393090	569530
Milecastle 27 (Low Brunton)	Northumberland	Milecastle		Gillam 1953	NY 9167 6998	391670	569980
Milecastle 30	Northumberland	Milecastle		Heywood and Breeze 2008	NY 8753 7158	387530	571580
Milecastle 32	Northumberland	Milecastle		CBA group 3 bulletin 1972- excavated by DUEC 1972	NY 8456 7100	384560	571000
Milecastle 33	Northumberland	Milecastle		Simpson et al. 1936	NY 8308 7073	383080	570730
Milecastle 35 (Sewingshields)	Northumberland	Milecastle		Haigh and Savage 1984; JRS 1948, p 84	NY 8049 7018	380490	570180
Milecastle 37	Northumberland	Milecastle	SMR also mentions excavations in 1988, 1989	Blair 1934	NY 7850 6869	378500	568690
Milecastle 38	Northumberland	Milecastle		Simpson et al. 1936	NY 7727 6813	377270	568130
Milecastle 9	Tyne and Wear	Milecastle		Birley 1930, HER no. 214	NZ 1786 6627	417860	566270
Newbrough	Northumberland	Fortlet		NMR no. 16253; Birley 1961 pp 147-9; Simpson 1929	NY 8680 6799	386800	567990
Newcastle	Tyne and Wear	Fort		Bidwell and Snape 2002	NZ 2506 6387	425060	563870
Newcastle Vicus	Tyne and Wear	Vicus		Bidwell and Snape 2002; Passmore, O'Brien and Dore 1991; Harbottle 1974; Harbottle 1966; See perhaps also the notes in Harbottle 1968 on pottery and faint features beneath the Carmelite Priory	NZ 2506 6387	425060	563870
Old Durham	Durham	Villa		Richmond, Romans and Wright 1944; Wright and Gillam 1951; Wright and Gillam 1953	NZ 290 415	429000	541500
Piercebridge	Durham	Fort/Vicus		Harper 1968; Keeney 1949; Richardson 1934; Richardson 1962; Wooler 1917; Scott 1978; Keeney 1939; Mason and Cool 2008 for final publication	NZ 2100 1575	421000	515750
Piercebridge/ Carlbury Cemetery	Durham	Cemetery	Victorian discovery of Roman burials discovered in railway works	NMR record 23660; See notes by M. A. Denham in Arch J 1856 p 96 and 101 and 1857 pp 78-9 for accounts of the discovery	NZ 2122 1618	421220	516180
Rey Cross	Durham	Temporary Camp		Vyner 2001; NMR no. 17590	NY 9002 1240	390020	512400

Site	County	Type	Notes	Refs	GR	E	N
Risingham	Northumberland	Fort		Richmond 1936	NY 8903 8621	380300	586210
Rudchester	Northumberland	Fort		Brewis 1925; Gillam, Harrison and Newman 1973 (tiny trial excavation in 72)	NZ 1127 6755	411270	567550
Rudchester Mithraeum	Northumberland	Shrine		Gillam, MacIvor and Birley 1954	NZ 1106 6745	411060	567450
Scargill Shrines	Durham	Shrine		Wright 1947; Richmond and Wright 1950	NY 998 104	399800	510400
Sedgefield	Durham	Roman Settlement		Claydon 2008; Gallhager 2002; ASUD reports; Annis 2007	NZ 350 289	435000	528900
Shorden Brae Mausoleum	Northumberland	Cemetery		Gillam and Daniels 1961	NY 976 649	397600	564900
South Shields Cemetery	Tyne and Wear	Cemetery		Snape 1994	NZ 3649 6755	436490	567550
South Shields Fort	Tyne and Wear	Fort		Bidwell and Speak 1994; Miket 1983	NZ 365 679	436500	567900
South Shields Vicus	Tyne and Wear	Vicus		Roman Britain in 1973 p.407, 464; Hodgson 2009 pp. 61-73	NZ 365 677	436500	567700
The Portgate	Northumberland	Other	Only recorded excavations during roadworks in 1960s' found trace of tower	Roman Britain in 1966 p. 177	NY 9872 6868	398720	568680
Turret 10a	Tyne and Wear	Turret		Bennett 1983	NZ 1601 6683	416010	566830
Turret 12a	Northumberland	Turret		Simpson 1931	NZ 1304 6708	413040	567080
Turret 12b	Northumberland	Turret		Simpson 1931	NZ 1256 6721	412560	567210
Turret 13a	Northumberland	Turret		Simpson 1931	NZ 1163 6745	411630	567450
Turret 17a	Northumberland	Turret		Birley et al. 1932	NZ 0579 6824	405790	568240
Turret 17b	Northumberland	Turret		Birley et al. 1932	NZ 0531 6830	405310	568300
Turret 18a	Northumberland	Turret		Birley et al. 1932	NZ 0433 6842	404330	568420
Turret 18b	Northumberland	Turret	Excavated by DUEC	Woodfield 1965, mentioned in Birley et al. 1932	NZ 0383 5848	403830	558480
Turret 19b	Northumberland	Turret		Welfare and Hill 1975	NZ 0237 6864	402370	568640
Turret 25b	Northumberland	Turret	Excavated by DUEC	Woodfield 1965	NY 9358 6944	393580	569440
Turret 26a	Northumberland	Turret	Excavated by DUEC	Woodfield 1965	NY 9263 6968	392630	569680
Turret 26b	Northumberland	Turret		Simplson 1931 p. 308; Bruce 1883	NY 9215 6983	392150	569830
Turret 27a	Northumberland	Turret		Allason-Jones, Gillam and Bennett 1982	NY 9119 7016	391190	570160
Turret 33b	Northumberland	Turret		Miket and Maxfield 1972	NY 8213 7054	382130	570540
Turret 34a	Northumberland	Turret		Charlesworth 1973	NY 8127 7043	381270	570430
Turret 35a	Northumberland	Turret		Woodfield 1965	NY 8008 7008	380080	570080
Turret 7b	Tyne and Wear	Turret		Birley 1930	NZ 1985 6555	419850	565550
Turret 8b	Tyne and Wear	Turret		NCH 13 p. 531; HER no. 213	NZ 1834 6611	418340	566110
Turret 9b	Tyne and Wear	Turret		HER no. 216	NZ 1694 6659	416940	566590

Site	*County*	*Type*	*Notes*	*Refs*	*GR*	*E*	*N*
Wallsend	Tyne and Wear	Fort		Hodgson 2003	NZ 3002 6602	430020	566020
Wallsend Vicus	Tyne and Wear	Vicus		Hodgson 2009	NZ 299 658	429900	565800
Westgate Road Milecastle	Tyne and Wear	Milecastle	Possibly Milecastle no 4.	Harbottle et al. 1988	NZ 2452 6401	424520	564010
Wooperton Quarry	Northumberland	Other	Pit alignment with Roman pottery associated	Ansell 2004	NU 049 204	404900	620400

Appendix 2:
Reconstructable Indigenous Ceramics

Serial No.	Site	No. in Site Inventory/ Publication (not always fig number!)	Sherd Type	Body Type	Body Class	Rim Type	Rim Class	Base Type	Rim diameter (mm) (measured from drawings, highest point, rounded to nearest cm)	Base Diameter at lowest point (mm)	Height (mm)	Maximum Observed Thickness (mm)	Sooting/ Residue Noted?	Primary Tempers (if recorded)	Decoration	Context Type	Context	Reference	Notes
1	Thorpe Thewles	**12**	Rim	4	Jar	14a	Everted	n/a	140			6	No	Quartz	Impressed dots on top of rim			Swain 1987	Report intro suggests that this vessel is an import but doesn't really say why
2	Thorpe Thewles	**21**	Complete	3	Jar	2	Terminating	4	130	84	128	15	No	Dolerite				Swain 1987	
3	Thorpe Thewles	**23**	Incomplete Vessel	2	Bowl	16	Everted	4	260	80	160	8	No	Dolerite	band of finger-print dots (spaced unevenly) below rim, nail impressions around top of everted rim			Swain 1987	
4	Thorpe Thewles	**25**	Rim	3	Jar	11	Elaborating	n/a	240			15	External	Quartz and Dolerite				Swain 1987	
5	Thorpe Thewles	**26**	Rim	4	Jar	15	Everted	n/a	260			15	No	Quartz and Dolerite				Swain 1987	
6	Thorpe Thewles	**28**	Rim	4	Jar	14	Everted	n/a	180			9	External	Quartz				Swain 1987	
7	Thorpe Thewles	**36**	Rim	1	Bowl	15	Everted	n/a	150			9	External	Quartz and Dolerite				Swain 1987	
8	Thorpe Thewles	**39**	Rim	4	Jar	17	Everted	n/a	140			12	No	Dolerite				Swain 1987	
9	Thorpe Thewles	**40**	Rim	3	Jar	8	Emphasizing	n/a	160			9	No	Dolerite	Report notes finger imprint, but none seen in drawing...			Swain 1987	
10	Thorpe Thewles	**42**	Rim	5	Jar	1	Terminating	n/a	180			9	External	Dolerite	Finger imprint noted on rim but not convincing in drawing. More likely an artefact of potting			Swain 1987	
11	Thorpe Thewles	**43**	Rim	3a	Jar	3	Terminating	n/a	240			15	No	Dolerite	Also noted finer imprint in rim, but none identified in drawing			Swain 1987	
12	Thorpe Thewles	**49**	Rim	3	Jar	13	Elaborating	n/a	140			9	No	Dolerite				Swain 1987	
13	Thorpe Thewles	**51**	Rim	4	Jar	14b	Everted	n/a	180			12	No	Dolerite				Swain 1987	
14	Thorpe Thewles	**53**	Rim	3b	Jar	8	Emphasizing	n/a	110			9	No	Quartz				Swain 1987	
15	Thorpe Thewles	**54**	Rim	1	Bowl	14	Everted	n/a	100			8	No	Quartz and Dolerite				Swain 1987	
16	Thorpe Thewles	**60**	Rim	3b	Jar	14a	Everted	n/a	100			9	No	Dolerite				Swain 1987	
17	Thorpe Thewles	**62**	Rim	4	Jar	14b	Everted	n/a	220			18	External	Dolerite				Swain 1987	
18	Thorpe Thewles	**63**	Rim	3a	Jar	14	Everted	n/a	120			12	No	Quartz and Dolerite				Swain 1987	another poss bowl
19	Thorpe Thewles	**64**	Rim	3	Jar	14	Everted	n/a	140			12	External	Dolerite				Swain 1987	
20	Thorpe Thewles	**66**	Rim	4	Jar	9?	Emphasizing	n/a	80			12	No	Dolerite				Swain 1987	
21	Thorpe Thewles	**69**	Rim	4	Jar	9	Elaborating	n/a	160			12	External	Dolerite				Swain 1987	
22	Thorpe Thewles	**72**	Rim	4	Jar	9	Elaborating	n/a	150			9	No	Quartz and Dolerite				Swain 1987	
23	Thorpe Thewles	**74**	Rim	4	Jar	14	Everted	n/a	400			15	No	Quartz and Dolerite				Swain 1987	

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24	Thorpe Thewles	**82**	Incomplete	3a	Jar	1	Terminating	3	170	116	196	15	External	Dolerite				Swain 1987	
25	Thorpe Thewles	**83**	Rim	3b	Jar	2	Terminating	n/a	100			6	No	Dolerite				Swain 1987	
26	Thorpe Thewles	**84**	Rim	4	Jar	9	Elaborating	n/a	220			12	No	Quartz				Swain 1987	
27	Thorpe Thewles	**85**	Rim	4	Jar	17	Everted	n/a	130			12	No	Quartz and Dolerite				Swain 1987	
28	Thorpe Thewles	**89**	Rim	4	Jar	15b	Everted	n/a	150			12	External	Dolerite				Swain 1987	very slight rim
29	Thorpe Thewles	**93**	Rim	4b	Jar	4	Terminating	n/a	200			15	External	Dolerite				Swain 1987	
30	Thorpe Thewles	**100**	Rim	3	Jar	15	Everted	n/a	120			9	External	Dolerite				Swain 1987	
31	Thorpe Thewles	**101**	Rim	3a	Jar	2b	Terminating	n/a	100			9	No	Dolerite				Swain 1987	
32	Thorpe Thewles	**102**	Rim	3a	Jar	15	Everted	n/a	250			18	External	Quartz				Swain 1987	
33	Thorpe Thewles	**103**	Rim	4	Jar	17	Everted	n/a	110			12	No	Dolerite				Swain 1987	
34	Thorpe Thewles	**106**	Rim	4	Jar	17	Everted	n/a	100			6	No	Quartz				Swain 1987	
35	Thorpe Thewles	**112**	Rim	4	Jar	9	Elaborating	n/a	50			6	No	Organic				Swain 1987	
36	Thorpe Thewles	**113**	Rim	3b	Jar	17	Everted	n/a	220			18	External	Dolerite				Swain 1987	
37	Thorpe Thewles	**114**	Complete	3a	Jar	2	Terminating	4	120	92	144	12	External	Dolerite				Swain 1987	
38	Thorpe Thewles	**116**	Rim	3b	Jar	7	Emphasizing	n/a	90			6	External	Quartz and Dolerite				Swain 1987	
39	Thorpe Thewles	**120**	Rim	4	Jar	14b	Everted	n/a	120			15	External	Dolerite				Swain 1987	
40	Thorpe Thewles	**126**	Rim	1	Bowl	2a	Terminating	n/a	90			9	No	Quartz				Swain 1987	
41	Thorpe Thewles	**129**	Rim	3	Jar	1	Terminating	n/a	160			12	External	Dolerite				Swain 1987	
42	Thorpe Thewles	**133**	Rim	4	Jar	3	Terminating	n/a	220			15	External	Dolerite				Swain 1987	
43	Thorpe Thewles	**135**	Rim	3a	Jar	1	Terminating	n/a	180			15	No	Dolerite				Swain 1987	
44	Thorpe Thewles	**137**	Rim	1	Bowl	1	Terminating	n/a	140			12	External	Dolerite				Swain 1987	
45	Thorpe Thewles	**138**	Rim	3a	Jar	2b	Terminating	n/a	140			15	External	Dolerite				Swain 1987	
46	Thorpe Thewles	**144**	Rim	3a	Jar	13a	Elaborating	n/a	320			9	External	Quartz				Swain 1987	very slight groove
47	Thorpe Thewles	**149**	Rim	4	Jar	14a	Everted	n/a	240			15	External	Quartz and Dolerite				Swain 1987	
48	Thorpe Thewles	**150**	Rim	3	Jar	1	Terminating	n/a	150			12	External	Dolerite				Swain 1987	
49	Thorpe Thewles	**156**	Rim	4	Jar	12	Elaborating	n/a	160			9	No	Quartz				Swain 1987	rim almost in miniature
50	Thorpe Thewles	**162**	Rim	4	Jar	14a	Everted	n/a	120			12	No	Quartz				Swain 1987	
51	Thorpe Thewles	**167**	Rim	4	Jar	12?	Elaborating	n/a	150			12	No	Dolerite				Swain 1987	
52	Thorpe Thewles	**169**	Rim	3a	Jar	1	Terminating	n/a	110			6	No	Quartz				Swain 1987	
53	Thorpe Thewles	**170**	Complete	4a	Jar	17	Everted	?3?	100	112	120	6	No	Dolerite				Swain 1987	
54	Thorpe Thewles	**172**	Rim	4	Jar	9	Elaborating	n/a	110			9	Internal and external	Dolerite				Swain 1987	
55	Thorpe Thewles	**177**	Rim	4	Jar	14	Everted	n/a	160			6	External	Dolerite				Swain 1987	
56	Thorpe Thewles	**178**	Rim	1a	Bowl	1	Terminating	n/a	150			12	External	Dolerite				Swain 1987	
57	Thorpe Thewles	**182**	Rim	4	Jar	1	Terminating	n/a	160			15	External	Quartz and Dolerite				Swain 1987	
58	Thorpe Thewles	**187**	Rim	3	Jar	17	Everted	n/a	120			9	No	Dolerite				Swain 1987	
59	Thorpe Thewles	**195**	Rim	4	Jar	7	Emphasizing	n/a	360			9	External	Dolerite				Swain 1987	
60	Thorpe Thewles	**196**	Rim	4	Jar	9	Elaborating	n/a	120			12	External	Quartz and Dolerite				Swain 1987	
61	Thorpe Thewles	**197**	Rim	4	Jar	13	Elaborating	n/a	200			9	External	Dolerite				Swain 1987	
62	Thorpe Thewles	**198**	Rim	3	Jar	13a	Elaborating	n/a	180			9	No	Quartz				Swain 1987	

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63	Thorpe Thewles	**209**	Rim	3	Jar	8	Emphasizing	n/a	240			12	External	Dolerite				Swain 1987	very slight groove
64	Thorpe Thewles	**215**	Rim	6	Jar	1	Terminating	n/a	260			12	No	Quartz and Dolerite				Swain 1987	
65	Thorpe Thewles	**218**	Rim	4	Jar	1	Terminating	n/a	100			6	No	Quartz and Dolerite				Swain 1987	
66	Thorpe Thewles	**220**	Rim	3b	Jar	14a	Everted	n/a	90			9	No	Dolerite				Swain 1987	
67	Thorpe Thewles	**222**	Rim	4	Jar	14	Everted	n/a	170			12	No	Dolerite				Swain 1987	
68	Thorpe Thewles	**224**	Rim	4	Jar	14	Everted	n/a	140			9	No	Quartz	At least 2 rows of circular barbotine 'lumps' encircling pot			Swain 1987	
69	Thorpe Thewles	**227**	Rim	5	Jar	14	Everted	n/a	140			6	External	Dolerite				Swain 1987	small neck and slight eversion
70	Thorpe Thewles	**236**	Rim	3	Jar	1	Terminating	n/a	180			9	No	Quartz				Swain 1987	
71	Thorpe Thewles	**240**	Rim	4	Jar	9	Elaborating	n/a	120			12	External	Dolerite				Swain 1987	
72	Thorpe Thewles	**246**	Rim	4	Jar	14	Everted	n/a	80			9	Internal	Quartz				Swain 1987	very slight eversion, little more than rolling
73	Thorpe Thewles	**255**	Rim	4	Jar	2b	Terminating	n/a	150			9	No	Dolerite				Swain 1987	
74	Thorpe Thewles	**267**	Rim	3	Jar	7	Emphasizing	n/a	190			15	External	Dolerite				Swain 1987	
75	Thorpe Thewles	**272**	Rim	4	Jar	14	Everted	n/a	140			6	No	Quartz		US	US	Swain 1987	
76	Thorpe Thewles	**274**	Rim	1	Bowl	2b	Terminating	n/a	110			6	Internal and external	Quartz		US	US	Swain 1987	
77	Thorpe Thewles	**276**	Rim	3a	Jar	1	Terminating	n/a	380			18	External	Dolerite		US	US	Swain 1987	
78	Thorpe Thewles	**280**	Rim	4	Jar	9a	Emphasizing	n/a	400			15	External	Dolerite		US	US	Swain 1987	
79	Thorpe Thewles	**284**	Rim	4	Jar	17	Everted	n/a	120			9	External	Quartz		US	US	Swain 1987	
80	Thorpe Thewles	**285**	Rim	3	Jar	7	Emphasizing	n/a	190			18	No	Dolerite		US	US	Swain 1987	
81	Thorpe Thewles	**286**	Rim	3	Jar	13c	Elaborating	n/a	240			18	No	Dolerite		US	US	Swain 1987	
82	Thorpe Thewles	**287**	Rim	3	Jar	12	Elaborating	n/a	180			12	No	Dolerite		US	US	Swain 1987	
83	Thorpe Thewles	**288**	Rim	3	Jar	13a	Elaborating	n/a	170			12	No		Cordoned rim slashes and fingerprints around pot	US	US	Swain 1987	
84	Stanwick (Wheeler)	**1**	Complete Vessel	3a	Jar	14b	Everted	3	140			9	No					Wheeler 1954	
85	Stanwick (Wheeler)	**2**	Rim	4	Jar	15	Everted	n/a	140			6	External					Wheeler 1954	
86	Stanwick (Wheeler)	**5**	Rim	4	Jar	*everted	Everted	n/a	240			9	No					Wheeler 1954	Really rather unique rim form- very formalized, angled everted and beaded. Roman influence? Does not seem in step with indig tradition
87	Stanwick (Wheeler)	**6**	Rim	4	Jar	14b	Everted	n/a	230			12	External					Wheeler 1954	

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88	Stanwick (Wheeler)	**13**	Rim	4	Jar	9	Elaborating	n/a	240			9	No		Thumbing round the neck and vertical brushing on the body'			Wheeler 1954	
89	Stanwick (Wheeler)	**31**	Rim	1	Bowl	15	Everted	n/a	200			6	No					Wheeler 1954	
90	Stanwick (Wheeler)	**8**	Rim	4	Jar	14a	Everted	n/a	130			6	External					Wheeler 1954	
91	Stanwick (Wheeler)	**17**	Rim	4	Jar	17	Everted	n/a	190			9	No					Wheeler 1954	
92	Stanwick (Wheeler)	**29**	Rim	4	Jar	2	Terminating	n/a	120			12	External					Wheeler 1954	
93	Stanwick (Wheeler)	**23**	Rim	4	Jar	15	Everted	n/a	170			9	No					Wheeler 1954	
94	Bonny Grove Farm	**c**	Rim	4	Jar	7	Emphasizing	n/a	90			6	No	Quartz and Dolerite				Annis 1996	
95	Bonny Grove Farm	**e**	Rim	3a	Jar	15	Everted	n/a	130			6	No	Dolerite				Annis 1996	
96	Bonny Grove Farm	**g**	Rim	4	Jar	9	Elaborating	n/a	180			8	No	Dolerite				Annis 1996	
97	Bonny Grove Farm	**i**	Rim	6	Jar	1	Terminating	n/a	260			10	No	Dolerite				Annis 1996	
98	Doubstead	**1**	Rim	3a	Jar	1	Terminating	n/a	190			9	Internal and external			Ditch terminal		Jobey 1982	
99	Doubstead	**3**	Rim	3	Jar	2	Terminating	n/a	190			14	No			Surface or pavement		Jobey 1982	
100	Doubstead	**10**	Rim	4	Jar	16	Everted	n/a	190			12	External			Surface or pavement		Jobey 1982	Lip is very slight
101	Belling Law	**1**	Incomplete Vessel	3	Jar	2b	Terminating	2	200	186	n/a	12	No	Grit		Subsoil		Jobey 1977	
102	Burradon	**1**	Rim	3a	Jar	8	Emphasizing	n/a	260			18	External	sandstone	"a series of regularly spaced finger impressions lies below the shoulder"	Large Pit	"Pit A"	Jobey 1970	Very unusual, urn-like shoulder/collar situation....in section it is rather like a groove, but GJ notes that the 'sharpness' of the shoulder varies considerably. Rather unusual
103	Burradon	**4**	Rim	3a	Jar	4	Terminating	n/a	200			9	No	sandstone	diagonal finger-nail impressions along top of rim	Large Pit	"Pit A"	Jobey 1970	
104	Burradon	**7**	Rim	3	Jar	1	Terminating	n/a	260			15	Internal and external	sandstone	Long, vertical finger impressions evenly spaced around vessel stopping just short of rim	Large Pit	"Pit A"	Jobey 1970	
105	Burradon	**10**	Rim	3	Jar	1	Terminating	n/a	280			18	External	sandstone		Large Pit	"Pit A"	Jobey 1970	

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106	Stanwick (Haselgrove)	**1**	Rim	4	Jar	15	Everted	n/a	140			12	No					Willis in press	
107	Stanwick (Haselgrove)	**2**	Rim	4	Jar	12	Elaborating	n/a	260			9	No	calcite				Willis in press	
108	Stanwick (Haselgrove)	**3**	Rim	4	Jar	7	Emphasizing	n/a	280			9	No					Willis in press	
109	Stanwick (Haselgrove)	**6**	Rim	3a	Jar	13a	Elaborating	n/a	240			9	No					Willis in press	
110	Stanwick (Haselgrove)	**7**	Rim	5	Jar	12	Elaborating	n/a	180			9	No	Calcite				Willis in press	
111	Stanwick (Haselgrove)	**8**	Rim	3	Jar	1	Terminating	n/a	220			18	No					Willis in press	
112	Stanwick (Haselgrove)	**9**	Rim	3a	Jar	7	Emphasizing	n/a	180			9	No					Willis in press	
113	Stanwick (Haselgrove)	**10**	Rim	3a	Jar	10	Elaborating	n/a	320			6	No					Willis in press	
114	Stanwick (Haselgrove)	**11**	Rim	4	Jar	14a	Everted	n/a	170			9	No					Willis in press	
115	Stanwick (Haselgrove)	**12**	Rim	3a	Jar	15	Everted	n/a	260			12	No					Willis in press	
116	Stanwick (Haselgrove)	**13**	Rim	3/4	Jar	15	Everted	n/a	210			12	No					Willis in press	
117	Stanwick (Haselgrove)	**17**	Rim	4b	Jar	12	Elaborating	n/a	240			12	No					Willis in press	
118	Stanwick (Haselgrove)	**18**	Rim	4a	Jar	15	Everted	n/a	170			12	No		Some roughly vertical incisions			Willis in press	
119	Stanwick (Haselgrove)	**25**	Rim	3a	Jar	14	Everted	n/a	140			9	No					Willis in press	
120	Stanwick (Haselgrove)	**31**	Rim	4	Jar	12	Elaborating	n/a	200			9	No		Finger impressions around rim			Willis in press	
121	Stanwick (Haselgrove)	**32**	Rim	3a	Jar	14	Everted	n/a	230			9	No					Willis in press	
122	Stanwick (Haselgrove)	**34**	Rim	4	Jar	9	Elaborating	n/a	160			9	No					Willis in press	
123	Stanwick (Haselgrove)	**35**	Rim	4	Jar	14a	Everted	n/a	350			12	No					Willis in press	
124	Stanwick (Haselgrove)	**36**	Rim	5	Jar	17	Everted	n/a	130			12	No					Willis in press	Unusually thick walls and angular form
125	Stanwick (Haselgrove)	**37**	Rim	1	Bowl	17	Everted	n/a	120			6	No					Willis in press	Unusually rounded, globular form.
126	Stanwick (Haselgrove)	**38**	Rim	4	Jar	17	Everted	n/a	140			9	No					Willis in press	
127	Stanwick (Haselgrove)	**39**	Rim	4	Jar	12	Elaborating	n/a	240			12	No					Willis in press	
128	Stanwick (Haselgrove)	**40**	Rim	4	Jar	14a	Everted	n/a	200			9	No					Willis in press	
129	Stanwick (Haselgrove)	**41**	Rim	4	Jar	13a	Elaborating	n/a	140			9	No					Willis in press	
130	Stanwick (Haselgrove)	**42**	Rim	4	Jar	9	Elaborating	n/a	200			9	No					Willis in press	

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131	Stanwick (Haselgrove)	**43**	Rim	4	Jar	7	Emphasizing	n/a	320			15	No					Willis in press	Unusual rim rolled inwards as well as pinched
132	Stanwick (Haselgrove)	**44**	Rim	4	Jar	14a?	Everted	n/a	260			9	No					Willis in press	Again, rolling on inside of rim with slight eversion
133	Stanwick (Haselgrove)	**46**	Complete vessel	3a	Jar	1	Terminating	3	130	87	159	12	No					Willis in press	
134	Stanwick (Haselgrove)	**47**	Rim	3	Jar	6	Emphasizing	n/a	140			12	No		Finger impressions along top of rim and around rim			Willis in press	5b instead of 8 because of finger impressions on flat rim causing appearance of 'lid seat' in section
135	Stanwick (Haselgrove)	**48**	Rim	3a	Jar	14a?	Everted	n/a	160			9	No		roughly vertical incisions			Willis in press	Slight eversion, rim rolled on inside
136	Stanwick (Haselgrove)	**56**	Rim	3/4	Jar	15	Everted	n/a	200			9	No					Willis in press	
137	Stanwick (Haselgrove)	**75**	Rim	3a	Jar	15	Everted	n/a	430			9	No					Willis in press	
138	Catcote 1987	**8**	Rim	4	Jar	7	Emphasizing	n/a	120			12	No	Dolerite			F87. 121.	Vyner and Daniels 1989	
139	Catcote 1987	**9**	Rim	4	Jar	9	Elaborating	n/a	150			8	No	Dolerite			F17. 96.	Vyner and Daniels 1989	
140	Greave's Ash	**3**	Rim	3	Jar	2b	Terminating	n/a	280			18	External	Grit				Richmond in Hogg 1942	
141	Prickly Knowe	**5**	Rim	3	Jar	2	Terminating	n/a	240			12	External	Organic				Richmond in Hogg 1942	
142	West Gunnar Peak	**2**	Rim	1a	Bowl	4	Terminating	n/a	170			20	External	Grit	Finger impressions around top of rim			Hogg 1942a	
143	Middle Gunnar Peak	**1**	Rim	4	Jar	1	Terminating	n/a	160			8	No	Grits		US	GP64	Jobey 1981	
144	Middle Gunnar Peak	**2**	Rim	1	Bowl	3	Terminating	n/a	220			8	No	White Grits		Destruction later/ tumble (structure)	GP84	Jobey 1981	
145	Middle Gunnar Peak	**3**	Rim	4	Jar	1	Terminating	n/a	140			8	No	White Grits		Floor	GP95	Jobey 1981	
146	Hartburn	**3**	Rim	3a	Jar	1	Terminating	n/a	200			8	No	Sandstone		Surface or pavement		Jobey 1973	
147	Hartburn	**8**	Rim	4	Jar	5	Emphasizing	n/a	100			8	No	Grits		Surface or pavement		Jobey 1973	
148	Ingram Hill	**-**	Rim	4x	Jar	2	Terminating	n/a	406			18	No	Grits				Hogg 1956	Very large, unusual, high shouldered form. Hogg suggests similarities with one found by Mrs. Piggot at Hownam?

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149	Hetha Burn 1	**1**	Rim	1	Bowl	4	Terminating	n/a	350			15	External	Grits		Small Pit	CIII stone pit	Burgess 1970	
150	Hetha Burn 1	**3**	Rim	1	Bowl	2a	Terminating	n/a	350			15	No	Grits		Destruction later/ tumble (structure)	CI outside house	Burgess 1970	
151	Hetha Burn 1	**4**	Rim	1	Bowl	2a	Terminating	n/a	250			15	Internal and External	Grits		Destruction layer/ tumble (boundary)	Rubble layer 2 outside phase II wall	Burgess 1970	
152	Hetha Burn 1	**7**	Incomplete Vessel	2	Bowl	2a	Terminating	1	90	36	57	12	No	Grits		Destruction layer/ tumble (structure)	CI	Burgess 1970	
153	Gubeon Cottage	**4**	Rim	3	Jar	1	Terminating	n/a	200			12	No	Sand		Surface or pavement	Area II	Jobey 1957	
154	Gubeon Cottage	**8**	Rim	4	Jar	7	Emphasizing	n/a	300			15	External		Finger impressions 'at regular intervals around rim'	Surface or pavement	Area II	Jobey 1957	
155	Gubeon Cottage	**1**	Rim	3	Jar	2b	Terminating	n/a	250			15	No			Floor	Area 1	Jobey 1957	
156	Rock Castle	**2**	Rim	3	Jar	7	Emphasizing	n/a	250			15	External	Dolerite		Ditch length	Ring ditch 30, context 12 (upper fill)	Willis in Fitts et al 1994	
157	Dod Law West	**A**	Incomplete Vessel	4x	Jar	2	Terminating	1	330	233	260	13	External			Surface or pavement	[36] and [53]	Vaughn and Smith in Smith 1990	very similar to that from ingram hill and poss Hownam (note 4 nov: def hownam! poss new type)
158	Dod Law West	**B**	Incomplete Vessel	3	Jar	1	Terminating	4	230	123	197	11	No			Surface or pavement	[36] and [53]	Vaughn and Smith in Smith 1990	
159	Dod Law West	**C**	Rim	3	Jar	1	Terminating	n/a	320			13	No			Surface or pavement	[36] and [53]	Vaughn and Smith in Smith 1990	
160	Dod Law West	**D**	Rim	3	Jar	1	Terminating	n/a	180			14	No			Destruction layer/ tumble (boundary)	[43]	Vaughn and Smith in Smith 1990	
161	Dod Law West	**E**	Incomplete Vessel	4	Jar	2b	Terminating	2	150	93	163	11	No			US		Vaughn and Smith in Smith 1990	
162	Dod Law West	**F**	Incomplete Vessel	3b	Jar	1	Terminating	1	260	183	n/a	22	No			Surface or pavement	[36]	Vaughn and Smith in Smith 1990	Don't buy reconstruction in report- looks very much like it could be a less complete version of A (see pot 156 for paralells)

Serial No.	Site	No. in Site Inventory/ Publication (not always fig number!)	Sherd Type	Body Type	Body Class	Rim Type	Rim Class	Base Type	Rim diameter (mm) (measured from drawings, highest point, rounded to nearest cm)	Base Diameter at lowest point (mm)	Height (mm)	Maximum Observed Thickness (mm)	Sooting/ Residue Noted?	Primary Tempers (if recorded)	Decoration	Context Type	Context	Reference	Notes
163	Dod Law West	**L**	Rim	3a	Jar	1	Terminating	n/a	290			14	No			Indeterminate layer	[20], layer of soil immediately outside of rampart	Vaughn and Smith in Smith 1990	
164	Pegswood Moor	**4**	Rim	3a	Jar	7	Emphasizing	n/a	160			15	No			Ditch length	fill [214] of ditch [340]	Proctor in press	
165	Pegswood Moor	**13**	Rim	3a	Jar	2b	Terminating	n/a	230			15	External			Ditch length	fill [521] of ditch [511]	Proctor in press	
166	Pegswood Moor	**15**	Rim	4b	Jar	4	Terminating	n/a	160			14	External			Ditch length	fill [612] of ditch [613]	Proctor in press	Rim tapering but squared off
167	Pegswood Moor	**17**	Rim	4	Jar	13b	Elaborating	n/a	350			19	External		finger impressions around 'lid seat' of rim	Gully/ fence/ hedgeline	fill [657] of fenceline [658]	Proctor in press	
168	Pegswood Moor	**19**	Rim	3	Jar	2b	Terminating	n/a	410			18	External			Ditch length	fille [680] of ditch [681]	Proctor in press	
169	Pegswood Moor	**21**	Rim	4	Jar	13b	Elaborating	n/a	220			16	Internal and External			Ditch length	fill [722] of ditch [182]	Proctor in press	
170	Pegswood Moor	**22**	Rim	3a	Jar	7	Emphasizing	n/a	250			15	Internal and External			Post hole	fill [1060] of ph [1205]	Proctor in press	
171	Pegswood Moor	**14**	Rim	4	Jar	7	Emphasizing	n/a	350			18	Internal and External			Gully/ fence/ hedgeline	fill [360] from fenceline [368]	Proctor in press	
172	Pegswood Moor	**29**	Rim	4a	Jar	2b	Terminating	n/a	170			10	No			Ditch length	fill [582] of ditch [614]	Proctor in press	
173	Pegswood Moor	**30**	Rim	1a	Bowl	2	Terminating	n/a	120			13	No			Gully/ fence/ hedgeline	fill [820] of gully [819]	Proctor in press	
174	Catcote (1964)	**1**	Complete Vessel	3a	Jar	1a	Terminating	3	140	88	152	12	No					Long 1988	
175	Catcote (1964)	**2**	Rim	1	Bowl	2	Terminating	n/a	120			8	No					Long 1988	
176	Catcote (1964)	**7**	Rim	4	Jar	1	Terminating	n/a	124			12	No					Long 1988	
177	Catcote (1964)	**20**	Rim	4	Jar	14a	Everted	n/a	120			8	No					Long 1988	
178	Catcote (1964)	**23**	Rim	4	Jar	8	Emphasizing	n/a	210			10	No					Long 1988	
179	Catcote (1964)	**30**	Rim	4a	Jar	14	Everted	n/a	90			8	No					Long 1988	
180	Catcote (1964)	**29**	Rim	4	Jar	14	Everted	n/a	100			8	No					Long 1988	
181	Catcote (1964)	**50**	Rim	4	Jar	15	Everted	n/a	220			12	No					Long 1988	
182	Catcote (1964)	**57**	Rim	4	Jar	14	Everted	n/a	260			10	No					Long 1988	
183	Catcote (1964)	**60**	Rim	4	Jar	16	Everted	n/a	130			12	No					Long 1988	
184	Catcote (1964)	**59**	Rim	4	Jar	16	Everted	n/a	170			12	No					Long 1988	
185	Catcote (1964)	**91**	Rim	3a	Jar	5	Emphasizing	n/a	360			16	No					Long 1988	
186	Catcote (1964)	**102**	Rim	3	Jar	5	Emphasizing	n/a	180			12	No					Long 1988	
187	Catcote (1964)	**106**	Rim	1a	Bowl	5	Emphasizing	n/a	230			12	No					Long 1988	

Serial No.	Site	No. in Site Inventory/ Publication (not always fig number!)	Sherd Type	Body Type	Body Class	Rim Type	Rim Class	Base Type	Rim diameter (mm) (measured from drawings, highest point, rounded to nearest cm)	Base Diameter at lowest point (mm)	Height (mm)	Maximum Observed Thickness (mm)	Sooting/ Residue Noted?	Primary Tempers (if recorded)	Decoration	Context Type	Context	Reference	Notes
188	Catcote (1964)	**118**	Rim	4	Jar	16a	Everted	n/a	310			12	No		Finger indents around outside of flaring rim and fingernail impressions on interior of rim			Long 1988	
189	Catcote (1964)	**109**	Rim	3	Jar	6	Emphasizing	n/a	150			8	No					Long 1988	
190	Catcote (1964)	**122**	Rim	4	Jar	12b	Elaborating	n/a	230			12	No					Long 1988	
191	Catcote (1964)	**129**	Rim	1a	Bowl	17	Everted	n/a	230			12	No					Long 1988	
192	Catcote (1964)	**131**	Rim	3	Jar	14	Everted	n/a	220			12	No		"wavy" rim			Long 1988	
193	Tynemouth Priory	**1**	Rim	4b	Jar	2b	Terminating	n/a	230			12	No			Hearth		Jobey 1967	
194	Murton High Crags	**1**	Rim	3	Jar	2	Terminating	n/a	260			18	External					Jobey and Jobey 1987	
195	Murton High Crags	**3**	Incomplete Vessel	4a	Jar	2	Terminating	1	240	210	n/a	12	External		vertical(ish) finger marks			Jobey and Jobey 1987	
196	Murton High Crags	**4**	Incomplete Vessel	3	Jar	2b	Terminating	3	220	120	n/a	12	No					Jobey and Jobey 1987	
197	Murton High Crags	**5**	Rim	4b	Jar	2b	Terminating	n/a	220			15	No					Jobey and Jobey 1987	
198	Murton High Crags	**7**	Rim	3	Jar	2b	Terminating	n/a	220			9	No		Finger dots, no clear pattern			Jobey and Jobey 1987	
199	Murton High Crags	**9**	Rim	3	Jar	4	Terminating	n/a	200			12	No		vertical(ish) finger marks	Small Pit	F268	Jobey and Jobey 1987	
200	Murton High Crags	**8**	Rim	1	Bowl	2b	Terminating	n/a	130			9	No		finger dots, hard to discern a pattern though	Floor	S7 (340550)	Jobey and Jobey 1987	
201	Murton High Crags	**12**	Rim	4	Jar	17	Everted	n/a	90			6	No					Jobey and Jobey 1987	
202	Yeavering	**59**	Rim	3/4	Jar	1	Terminating	n/a	100			8	No	Grit				Ferrell 1990	
203	Yeavering	**62**	Rim	4b	Jar	3	Terminating	n/a	100			12	Internal	Calcite	Fingernail marks around rim			Ferrell 1990	
204	Yeavering	**65**	Rim	4	Jar	12	Elaborating	n/a	110			8	No	Calcite				Ferrell 1990	
205	Yeavering	**66**	Rim	4	Jar	2	Terminating	n/a	180			10	No	Calcite	Rough finger marks around rim			Ferrell 1990	
206	Yeavering	**68**	Rim	3	Jar	13	Elaborating	n/a	200			10	Internal					Ferrell 1990	

Appendix 3: Contexted Material Culture from Indigenous Settlements

Serial No.	Site	Basic Material	Specific Material	Artefact Type	Specific Type	Notes	Context Type	Context	Ref in publication	Specified as intact?
1	West Brandon	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim Sherd/s			Small Pit	"small unrelated hole near to B2 in area 1"	Pottery 1	☐
2	West Brandon	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Post Hole	Posthole B29	Pottery 2	☐
3	West Brandon	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Construction Trench	House B wall trench	Pottery 3	☐
4	West Brandon	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Post Hole	Posthole 12, area 5	Pottery 4	☐
5	West Brandon	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Post Hole	Posthole 11, area 5	Pottery 5	☐
6	West Brandon	Stone	Sandstone	Saddle Quern			Construction Trench	House B wall trench	Saddle Quern 1	☐
7	West Brandon	Stone	Sandstone	Saddle Quern			Construction Trench	House B wall trench	Saddle Quern 2	☐
8	West Brandon	Stone	Sandstone	Saddle Quern			Construction Trench	House B wall trench	Saddle Quern 3	☐
9	West Brandon	Stone	Sandstone	Saddle Quern			Small Pit	"Small pit in house A"	Saddle Quern 4	☐
10	West Brandon	Stone	Conglomerate	Rubber			Unstratified	House subsoil area 1	Rubbing Stone 1	☑
11	West Brandon	Stone	Sandstone	Rubber			Post Hole	"Post-hole, area 4"	Rubbing Stone 2	☑
12	West Brandon	Stone	Sandstone	Rubber			Construction Trench	House B wall trench	Rubbing Stone 3	☐
13	West Brandon	Stone	Sandstone	Pounder			Unstratified	House subsoil area 1	Pounder 1	☑
14	West Brandon	Stone	Sandstone	Pounder			Unstratified	Rock surface area 5	Pounder 2	☑
15	West Brandon	Stone	Sandstone	Stone Disc		5cm diameter, 1cm thick	Post Hole	Posthole A60	Stone Disc	☑
16	West Brandon	Stone	Unspecified	Cup Marked Stone			Palisade Trench	Palisade trench, area 2	Cup Marked Stone	☐
17	Hartburn	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim Sherd/s		Same vessel as 18	Post Hole	"postholes seen as an inner ring for the roof supports of 20"	Native Pottery 1	☐

Serial No.	Site	Basic Material	Specific Material	Artefact Type	Specific Type	Notes	Context Type	Context	Ref in publication	Specified as intact?
18	Hartburn	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim Sherd/s		Same vessel as 17	Surface or Pavement	“clay surface within the circles formed by trenches 19 and 20”	Native Pottery 1	☐
19	Hartburn	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim Sherd/s		non-conjoining wall and body sherd	Surface or Pavement	“clay surface just within the northern arc of 21”	Native Pottery 2	☐
20	Hartburn	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim Sherd/s			Surface or Pavement	“amongst scattered broken stone on the clay surface between the entrance to the inner enclosure and the yard”	Native Pottery 3	☐
21	Hartburn	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim Sherd/s			Surface or Pavement	“clay surface to the side of 21”	Mentioned under Native Pottery 3	☐
22	Hartburn	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim Sherd/s			Construction Trench	“top fill of house trench 25”	Mentioned under Native Pottery 3	☐
23	Hartburn	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Base Sherd/s			Surface or Pavement	“clay surface just within the northern arc of 21”	Native Pottery 4	☐
24	Hartburn	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim Sherd/s		non-conjoining wall and body sherd	Surface or Pavement	“Near the isolated paving to the east of house 4, together with some Roman sherds”	Native Pottery 5	☐
25	Hartburn	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim Sherd/s			Surface or Pavement	“clay surface just within the northern arc of 21”	Native Pottery 6	☐
26	Hartburn	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Base Sherd/s			Unstratified		Native Pottery 7	☐
27	Hartburn	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim Sherd/s			Surface or Pavement	“Clay surface near to the east side of the the excavated area and north of the yard”	Native Pottery 8	☐
28	Hartburn	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Surface or Pavement	“Clay surface near to the east side of the the excavated area and north of the yard”	Mentioned under Native Pottery 8	☐

Serial No.	Site	Basic Material	Specific Material	Artefact Type	Specific Type	Notes	Context Type	Context	Ref in publication	Specified as intact?
29	Hartburn	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Rim Sherd/s		Calcite gritted, Jobey mentinions it's very like one from Vinotonus Shrine. "Most probably Roman in general context" non-local- sounds like Huntcliffe to me maybe?	Unstratified	"the clay surface at the bottom of the plough-soil near to the isolated paving to the east of house 4"	Native Pottery 9	
30	Hartburn	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Base Sherd/s			Unstratified	"found at the bottom of the plough-soil on the clay surface near to the remains of paving east of house 3"	Native Pottery 10	
31	Hartburn	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim Sherd/s			Unstratified		Native Pottery 10	
32	Hartburn	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Surface or Pavement	"beneath stone tumble in yard"	Mentioned in list of unillustrated sherds.	
33	Hartburn	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Ditch Length	"bottom silt of the enclosure ditch east of the entrance"	Mentioned in list of unillustrated sherds.	
34	Hartburn	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Construction Trench	"bottom fill of trench 4"	Mentioned in list of unillustrated sherds.	
35	Hartburn	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Construction Trench	"bottom fill of trench 4"	Mentioned in list of unillustrated sherds.	
36	Hartburn	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Construction Trench	"fill of trench 6"	Mentioned in list of unillustrated sherds.	
37	Hartburn	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Construction Trench	"fill of trench 6"	Mentioned in list of unillustrated sherds.	
38	Hartburn	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Construction Trench	"fill of trench 6"	Mentioned in list of unillustrated sherds.	
39	Hartburn	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Construction Trench	"lower fill of trench 20"	Mentioned in list of unillustrated sherds.	
40	Hartburn	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Construction Trench	"lower fill of trench 20"	Mentioned in list of unillustrated sherds.	
41	Hartburn	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Construction Trench	"lower fill of trench 20"	Mentioned in list of unillustrated sherds.	

Serial No.	Site	Basic Material	Specific Material	Artefact Type	Specific Type	Notes	Context Type	Context	Ref in publication	Specified as intact?
42	Hartburn	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Construction Trench	"fill of trench 24"	Mentioned in list of unillustrated sherds.	☐
43	Hartburn	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Construction Trench	"fill of trench 24"	Mentioned in list of unillustrated sherds.	☐
44	Hartburn	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Construction Trench	"fill of trench 25"	Mentioned in list of unillustrated sherds.	☐
45	Hartburn	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Construction Trench	"fill of trench 25"	Mentioned in list of unillustrated sherds.	☐
46	Hartburn	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Rim Sherd/s	Greyware ('Roman B') cooking pot		Surface or Pavement	"clay surface between the post-holes of the gateway to the inner enclosure"	Romano-British Coarse Pottery 1	☐
47	Hartburn	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Rim Sherd/s	?BB bowl, Gillam 306		Subsoil	NE of gateway	Romano-British Coarse Pottery 2	☐
48	Hartburn	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Rim Sherd/s	Jar	"The type is difficult to parallel exactly – ? third century." Top fill	Gully/Fence/ Hedgeline	Gully 4b	Romano-British Coarse Pottery 3	☐
49	Hartburn	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Base Sherd/s	Flagon		Floor	"Paving stones in house 4"	Romano-British Coarse Pottery 4	☐
50	Hartburn	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall Sherd/s	Flagon	Top fill	Construction Trench	House 4	Romano-British Coarse Pottery 5	☐
51	Hartburn	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Base Sherd/s	Flagon		Surface or Pavement	"clay surface in the immediate vicinity of the isolated paving to the east of house 4"	Romano-British Coarse Pottery 6	☐
52	Hartburn	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall Sherd/s	Flagon		Indeterminate Layer	"Found amongst a scatter of broken stone in the area of trench 31"	Romano-British Coarse Pottery 7	☐
53	Hartburn	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Base Sherd/s	Greyware jar	Top Fill	Construction Trench	House 4	Romano-British Coarse Pottery 8	☐
54	Hartburn	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall Sherd/s	cooking pot		Surface or Pavement	"Found beneath the tumbled stone and amongst the cobbles of the hollowed yard"	Romano-British Coarse Pottery 9	☐

Serial No.	Site	Basic Material	Specific Material	Artefact Type	Specific Type	Notes	Context Type	Context	Ref in publication	Specified as intact?
55	Hartburn	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall Sherd/s	Greyware, slipped jar/cooking pot ? Gillam 96?		Unstratified		Romano-British Coarse Pottery 10	
56	Hartburn	Stone	Sandstone	Saddle Quern			Construction Trench	House 4	Saddle-querns 1	
57	Hartburn	Stone	Sandstone	Saddle Quern			Construction Trench	House 12	Saddle-querns 2	
58	Hartburn	Stone	Sandstone	Saddle Quern		Only very slightly damaged, re-used in paving	Surface or Pavement	House 4	Saddle-querns 3	
59	Hartburn	Stone	Sandstone	Saddle Quern		Small, poss. rubber	Indeterminate Layer	“within the area of house 31”	Saddle-querns 4	
60	Hartburn	Stone	Unspecified	Pounder		Poss reused as whetstone	Indeterminate Layer	“within the circle of house 8”	Pounders 1	
61	Hartburn	Stone	Unspecified igneous	Pounder			Indeterminate Layer	“in the area of house 31”	Pounders 2	
62	Hartburn	Stone	Sandstone	Beehive Quern	Top	Part of grinding surface broken off. “Found inverted in the top o trench 28, clearly not in position and probably dragged by the plough”	Construction Trench	House 28	Beehive Querns 1	
63	Hartburn	Stone	Sandstone	Beehive Quern	Bottom	about a quarter of original	Surface or Pavement	“amongst the remains of the isolated paving to the east of house 4 into which it could have been set at some time in the Roman period.”	Beehive Querns 2	
64	Hartburn	Stone	Sandstone	Beehive Quern	Top	Very small frag of spindle-hole and surface	Surface or Pavement	“found amongst scattered stone on the clay surface in the area of trench 30”	Beehive Querns 3	

Serial No.	Site	Basic Material	Specific Material	Artefact Type	Specific Type	Notes	Context Type	Context	Ref in publication	Specified as intact?
65	Hartburn	Stone	Sandstone	Beehive Quern	Bottom	Parts of grinding surface removed but fairly intact	Surface or Pavement	"amongst the remains of the isolated paving to the east of house 4 into which it could have been set at some time in the Roman period."	Beehive Querns 4	☐
66	Hartburn	Stone	Sandstone	Beehive Quern	Bottom	frag with bit of spindle hole	Indeterminate Layer	"amongst scattered broken stone between trenches 28 and 33	Beehive Querns 5	☐
67	Hartburn	Stone	Sandstone	Pivot Block		"rotary striations" within hole.	Indeterminate Layer	Found on the clay surface within the area of house 20 but not necessarily associated	Pivot Stone 1	☐
68	Hartburn	Stone	Sandstone	Mould		Sandstone block with opposing smoothed faces, each with a bar mould in it. One has an expansion about the middle (thus: –0–) which GJ thinks is damage as there is a fault in the stone there and that face was facing upwards (i.e. to the plough). Bars would have been 134x14mm and 125x12mm.	Indeterminate Layer	"amongst a scatter of broken stone just north of trench 31"	Bar-Mould	☐
69	Hartburn	Stone	Schist	Whetstone			Unstratified		Whetstones	☑
70	Hartburn	Stone	Schist	Whetstone			Unstratified		Whetstones	☑
71	Hartburn	Stone	Flint	Scraper			Subsoil	Bottom of the ploughsoil	Miscellaneous 1	☐
72	Hartburn	Stone	Flint	Scraper			Subsoil	Bottom of the ploughsoil	Miscellaneous 1	☐

Serial No.	Site	Basic Material	Specific Material	Artefact Type	Specific Type	Notes	Context Type	Context	Ref in publication	Specified as intact?
73	Hartburn	Stone	Shale	Bead		c. 17mm diameter, about half present. Found near some of the glass.	Surface or Pavement	"Found close to the paving to the east of house 4, lying on the clay surface near to the glass pendant and a fragment of glass	Miscellaneous 2	☐
74	Hartburn	Stone	Sandstone	Uncertain		Pierced sandstone block. GJ suggests thatch-weight	Unstratified		Miscellaneous 3	☐
75	Hartburn	Glass	Roman Vessel	Wall sherd		very small, colourless. Engraved with lines.	Surface or Pavement	"Found on clay surface close to the glass pendant"	Glass 1	☐
76	Hartburn	Glass		Bangle	Kilbride Jones ?3D	Khaki-green glass with yellow trails. Frag. 50mm est. dia.	Surface or Pavement	"Found on clay surface close to the glass pendant"	Glass 2	☐
77	Hartburn	Glass		Intaglio		Depicting Achilles dragging Hector around the walls of Troy. Yellow-orange.	Surface or Pavement	"Found on the clay surface to the east of house 31 and to the west of the hollowed yard"	Glass 3	☑
78	Hartburn	Metal	Lead	Sheet		Tiny frag.	Hearth	Hearth A	Lead 1	☐
79	Hartburn	Metal	Lead	Runnel			Surface or Pavement	"near to the isolated paving east of house 4"	Lead 2	☐
80	Hartburn	Metal	Cu Alloy	Fragment		Part of fastener? Evidence of iron pin	Surface or Pavement	"near to the pvaving east of house 4 on the clay surface"	Bronze 1	☐
81	Bridge House	Metal	Fe	Fragment		"A flat, open ended iron ring...recovered in two pieces"	Boundary Wall	"wall fill Cutting e"	Charlton and Day 1978, 'metal'	☐
82	Bridge House	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Boundary Wall	"wall fill Cutting e"	Charlton and Day 1978, 'native pottery'	☐
83	Bridge House	Glass		Counter		"Half a circular, translucent bottle green counter"	Building Wall	"from beneath the wall of house 4"	Charlton and Day 1978, 'Glass"	☐

Serial No.	Site	Basic Material	Specific Material	Artefact Type	Specific Type	Notes	Context Type	Context	Ref in publication	Specified as intact?
84	Bridge House	Stone	Sandstone	Beehive Quern	Top	Half of stone. Two socket holes, spindle and hopper	Boundary Wall	"Found in wall fill Cutting l"	Charlton and Day 1978, Stone: a	☐
85	Bridge House	Stone	Sandstone	Beehive Quern	Top	Half of stone. Hopper and one socket.	Boundary Wall	"Found in wall fill Cutting o"	Charlton and Day 1978, Stone: b	☐
86	Bridge House	Stone	Sandstone	Beehive Quern	Bottom	Third of stone	Boundary Wall	"Found in wall fill Cutting p	Charlton and Day 1978, Stone: c	☐
87	Bridge House	Stone	Sandstone	Beehive Quern	Top	small frag	Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	"Found in wall rubble Hut 4"	Charlton and Day 1978, Stone: d	☐
88	Bridge House	Stone	Sandstone	Beehive Quern	Top	small frag	Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	"Found in wall rubble Hut 4"	Charlton and Day 1978, Stone: e	☐
89	Bridge House	Stone	Sandstone	Beehive Quern	Top	3 socket holes	Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	"Found in wall rubble Hut 4"	Charlton and Day 1978, Stone: f	☑
90	Bridge House	Stone	Sandstone	Beehive Quern	Bottom	Broken spindle in situ	Floor	"Found inset in paving of Hut 4"	Charlton and Day 1978, Stone: g	☐
91	Bridge House	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Building Wall	"from inside the core of the wall of hut 2 at Bridge House	Jobey 1960 p. 28	☐
92	Bridge House	Metal	Cu Alloy	Coin	As of Faustina I, not identifiable beyond that. Vague draped figure on rev.		Floor	'by inner face of wall of hut 2'	Jobey 1960, 'coin'	☑
93	Bridge House	Metal	Fe	Nail/s			Floor	"Small number, rectangular in section and head, on floors of huts at Bridge House and West Longlee"	Jobey 1960, 'Metal: nails"	☐
94	Bridge House	Metal	Lead	Disc		thin disc, 1 inch diameter	Floor	Floor of hut 1	Jobey 1960, "Metal: lead"	☐
95	Bridge House	Glass		Bangle	Killbride-Jones type 2	Ice-green glass with opaque white cable, Frag, est. 6.3 cm diameter	Floor	Hut 3	Jobey 1960 "Glass pendants 1"	☐

Serial No.	Site	Basic Material	Specific Material	Artefact Type	Specific Type	Notes	Context Type	Context	Ref in publication	Specified as intact?
96	Bridge House	Glass		Bangle	Kilbride-Jones type 3a	Opaque white, Freg est. 5 cm diameter	Floor	Hut 2	Jobey 1960 "Glass pendants 3"	☐
97	Bridge House	Glass		Bead	Melon bead	Grey paste, blue surface. Two frags, incomplete.	Building Wall	"found between paving and front bench, hut 1"	Jobey 1960 "Melon Bead"	☐
98	Bridge House	Stone	Sandstone	Beehive quern	Bottom		Small Pit	"Found in pit in floor of hut 2"	Jobey 1960 Fig 11 no. 6	☑
99	Bridge House	Stone	Sandstone	Beehive quern	Bottom	Broken	Unstratified		Jobey 1960 p. 32	☐
100	Tower Knowe	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim Sherd/s			Construction Trench	"beneath packing stones in the construction trench of house 2"	Pottery: Fig 6 no 1	☐
101	Tower Knowe	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim Sherd/s			Unstratified		Pottery: Fig 6 no 2	☐
102	Tower Knowe	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim Sherd/s			Building Wall	"beneath stone wall of house b"	Pottery: Fig 6 no 3	☐
103	Tower Knowe	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim Sherd/s			Construction Trench	"from high in the construction trench of house 1"	Pottery: Fig 6 no 4	☐
104	Tower Knowe	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim Sherd/s			Building Wall	"beneath stone wall of house b"	Pottery: Fig 6 no 5	☐
105	Tower Knowe	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	Wall sherd/s	Terra sigilata	heavily worn, two small chips. Central Gaulish, second century	Construction Trench	"the bottom of the wall trench of house 2 at it's deepest point"	Roman Pottery (1)	☐
106	Tower Knowe	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall sherd/s	Greyware, ?Gillam 105 ad 80-120		Destruction Layer/Tumble	"beneath the stone tumble lying within the enclosure in Cutting A"	Roman Pottery (3)	☐
106	Tower Knowe	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall sherd/s	BB Jar		Building Wall	"sealed beneath the wall of House A"	Roman Pottery (2)	☐
108	Tower Knowe	Stone	Sandstone	Beehive Quern	Top		Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	"From stone tumble within House A and possibly originally incorporated into the wall structure"	Rotary Quernstones: Fig 7 no 1	☐

Serial No.	Site	Basic Material	Specific Material	Artefact Type	Specific Type	Notes	Context Type	Context	Ref in publication	Specified as intact?
109	Tower Knowe	Stone	Sandstone	Beehive Quern	Top		Boundary Wall	"Incorporated into the core of the enclosure wall of the north yard.	Rotary Quernstones: Fig 7 no 2	☐
110	Tower Knowe	Stone	Sandstone	Beehive Quern	Top		Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	"From the stone tumble outside of house B and possibly originally built into the wall itself"	Rotary Quernstones: Fig 7 no 3	☐
111	Tower Knowe	Stone	Cheviot Agglomerate	Beehive quern	Bottom	Part of iron spindle remaining	Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	"Found in tumble outside the wall of house A	Rotary Quernstones: Fig 7 no 4	☐
112	Tower Knowe	Stone	Sandstone	Beehive Quern	Bottom		Unstratified		Rotary Quernstones: Fig 7 no 5	☑
113	Tower Knowe	Stone	Sandstone	Beehive Quern	?		Unstratified		Rotary Quernstones: Fig 7 no 6	☐
114	Tower Knowe	Stone	Unspecified	Beehive quern	Bottom		Boundary Wall	"from the tumble within the line of the main enclosure-wall, cutting A, and possibly originally from the wall itself"	Rotary Quernstones: Not illustrated (i)	☐
115	Tower Knowe	Stone	Cheviot Agglomerate	Beehive Quern	Top		Boundary Wall	"Many fragments from a top stone... found in the core of the wall of house B and the enclosure-wall of the north yard. There are conjoining pieces from different provenances in both walls"	Rotary Quernstones: Not illustrated (ii)	☐

Serial No.	Site	Basic Material	Specific Material	Artefact Type	Specific Type	Notes	Context Type	Context	Ref in publication	Specified as intact?
116	Tower Knowe	Stone	Cheviot Agglomerate	Beehive Quern	Top		Building Wall	"Many fragments from a top stone... found in the core of the wall of house B and the enclosure-wall of the north yard. There are conjoining pieces from different provenances in both walls"	Rotary Quernstones: Not illustrated (ii)	☐
117	Tower Knowe	Stone	Sandstone	Pivot block			Floor	"Found on the floor of house A and possibly displaced from the doorway"	Pivot and "Cup-marked" Stones: Fig 7 no 7	☐
118	Tower Knowe	Stone	Sandstone	Cup marked stone			Destruction Layer/Tumble	"tumble on the west side of house B"	Pivot and "Cup-marked" Stones: Not illustrated	☐
119	Tower Knowe	Stone	Sandstone	Cup marked stone			Indeterminate Layer	"a disturbed area within house A"	Pivot and "Cup-marked" Stones: Not illustrated	☐
120	Tower Knowe	Stone	Unspecified	Cup marked stone		"a small water-worn stone such as could be conveniently held in the hand. The cup has been pecked out but is not smooth with abrasion, as if it had been used as a small mortar or palette"	Unstratified		Pivot and "Cup-marked" Stones: Fig 7 no 8	☐
121	Tower Knowe	Stone	Unspecified	Spindle Whorl			Surface or Pavement	"embedded in the surface of the cobbles to the north of house J"	Spindle Whorl: fig 7 no 9	☑
122	Tower Knowe	Stone	Sandstone	Mould	bar mould		Unstratified		Bar Mould: fig 7 no 10	☐
123	Tower Knowe	Stone	Unspecified pebble/cobble	Pounder			Building Wall	"Two came from the wall of house B"	Pounders and Whetstones: not illustrated (i)	☑

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124	Tower Knowe	Stone	Unspecified pebble/cobble	Pounder			Building Wall	"Two came from the wall of house B"	Pounders and Whetstones: not illustrated (i)	☑
125	Tower Knowe	Stone	Unspecified pebble/cobble	Pounder			Floor	"two from the disturbed floor-level of house A"	Pounders and Whetstones: not illustrated (i)	☑
126	Tower Knowe	Stone	Unspecified pebble/cobble	Pounder			Floor	"two from the disturbed floor-level of house A"	Pounders and Whetstones: not illustrated (i)	☑
127	Tower Knowe	Stone	Unspecified pebble/cobble	Pounder			Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	"two from the tumble of house c"	Pounders and Whetstones: not illustrated (i)	☑
128	Tower Knowe	Stone	Unspecified pebble/cobble	Pounder			Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	"two from the tumble of house c"	Pounders and Whetstones: not illustrated (i)	☑
129	Tower Knowe	Stone	Unspecified pebble/cobble	Pounder			Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	"two from the tumble of house c"	Pounders and Whetstones: not illustrated (i)	☑
130	Tower Knowe	Stone	Unspecified	Whetstone			Building Wall	"incorporated into the core of the wall of house B"	Pounders and Whetstones: not illustrated (ii)	☐
131	Tower Knowe	Stone	Unspecified	Whetstone			Unstratified		Pounders and Whetstones: not illustrated (ii)	☐
132	Tower Knowe	Stone	Unspecified	Whetstone			Unstratified		Pounders and Whetstones: not illustrated (ii)	☐
133	Tower Knowe	Stone	Unspecified	Whetstone			Unstratified		Pounders and Whetstones: not illustrated (ii)	☐
134	Tower Knowe	Stone	Unspecified	Whetstone			Unstratified		Pounders and Whetstones: not illustrated (ii)	☐
135	Tower Knowe	Glass		Counter		"the same opaque white glass used for pendants or bangles". Quite cleanly ?cut in half	Surface or Pavement	"found on the rock surface in the entrance to the main enclosure."	Glass: fig 6 no 6	☐

Serial No.	Site	Basic Material	Specific Material	Artefact Type	Specific Type	Notes	Context Type	Context	Ref in publication	Specified as intact?
136	Tower Knowe	Industrial Debris	Metalworking debris	Iron Slag		"appear to be from smithing rather than smelting"	Surface or Pavement	"two from the surface of the cobbles to the north of house I"	Iron-Slag	☐
137	Tower Knowe	Industrial Debris	Metalworking debris	Iron Slag		"appear to be from smithing rather than smelting"	Surface or Pavement	"two from the surface of the cobbles to the north of house I"	Iron-Slag	☐
138	Tower Knowe	Industrial Debris	Metalworking debris	Iron Slag		"appear to be from smithing rather than smelting"	Palisade Trench	"one from the bottom of the enclosure palisade trench in cutting A"	Iron-Slag	☐
139	Tower Knowe	Industrial Debris	Metalworking debris	Iron Slag		"appear to be from smithing rather than smelting"	Building Wall	"One from the core of the wall of house A"	Iron-Slag	☐
140	Tower Knowe	Industrial Debris	Metalworking debris	Iron Slag		0.5kg, rounded bottom suggests from base of hearth- but then GJ suggests it is smithing debris?	Boundary Wall	"incorporated into the core of the wall of the north yard"	Iron-Slag	☐
141	Coxhoe	Stone	Gritstone/ Whinstone	Saddle Quern			Gully/Fence/ Hedgeline	506	Objects of Stone: Querns: Fig 6.1	☐
142	Coxhoe	Stone	Gritstone/ Whinstone	Saddle Quern		Possible re-use as whetstone	Gully/Fence/ Hedgeline	506	Objects of Stone: Querns: Fig 6.3	☐
143	Coxhoe	Stone	Gritstone/ Whinstone	Rotary Quern	Top	roughly quartered	Post Hole	526	Objects of Stone: Querns: Fig 6.3	☐
144	Coxhoe	Stone	Sandstone	Worked stone		"a piece of worked sandstone or fine grained grit, which is slightly rounded on the tope face. On this side, there are three parallel tooled grooves spread roughly 1cm apart, close to the broken edge."	Ditch Length	"recovered from the enclosure ditch to the north of the entrance"	Objects of Stone: Worked stone object	☐
145	Coxhoe	Stone	Sandstone	Stone Disc		7.3 cm diameter, 1.6 cm thick. Poss. traces of burning	Ditch Length	"enclosure ditch to the south of the entrance"	Objects of Stone: Stone disc	☐

Serial No.	Site	Basic Material	Specific Material	Artefact Type	Specific Type	Notes	Context Type	Context	Ref in publication	Specified as intact?
146	Coxhoe	Stone	Sandstone	Worked stone	?Weight	"A shaped piece of sandstone with a hole bored through it. The hole is complete on one face only, owing to a break. The flattened face may have been a base. This object may have been some sort of weight. 4.2 x 4.4 (to broken edge) x 3.5 cm (max. thickness)"	Unstratified	"recovered from furrow soil over the house space"	Objects of Stone: Pierced stone object	☐
147	Coxhoe	Glass		Bead		Opaque white glass, 9mm x 6mm 4mm perforation. Irregular conical oval. White is super unusual, not of typical prehist/Roman composition of silica lime glass and unlikely to be medieval. Slim poss that it's modern	Unstratified	"recovered from furrow soil over the house space"	Glass: Glass Bead	☑
148	Coxhoe	Stone	Flint	Blade		27x9x3 mm. Retouched.	Ditch Length	"from the enclosure ditch to the south of entrance"		☑
149	Coxhoe	Stone	Flint	Flake			Roundhouse Gully	"in the main house gully"		☐
150	Coxhoe	Stone	Shale	Bangle		"fragment of shale bracelet or armlet, diameter 7cm"	Unstratified		Objects of Shale: Fig 7.5	☐
151	Coxhoe	Stone	Shale	Spindle Whorl		2.6 cm diameter, 6mm thick	Gully/Fence/ Hedgeline	506	Objects of Shale: Fig 7.6	☑
152	Doubstead	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Ditch Terminal	"primary silt, south terminal of dich, Area 1"	Pottery: 1	☐
153	Doubstead	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Surface or Pavement	"Clay surface between ditch terminals, Are 1	Pottery: 2	☐
154	Doubstead	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Surface or Pavement	"silt in 'yard', Area 2	Pottery: 3	☐

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155	Doubstead	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Surface or Pavement	“silt in ‘yard’, Area 2	Pottery: 4	☐
156	Doubstead	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Surface or Pavement	“silt in ‘yard’, Area 2	Pottery: 5	☐
157	Doubstead	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Surface or Pavement	“silt in ‘yard’, Area 2	Pottery: 6	☐
158	Doubstead	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Surface or Pavement	“silt in ‘yard’, Area 2	Pottery: 7	☐
159	Doubstead	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Surface or Pavement	“silt in ‘yard’, Area 2	Pottery: 8	☐
160	Doubstead	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Surface or Pavement	“scattered through the silt and stones in the ‘yard’, Area 2”	Pottery: 9	☐
161	Doubstead	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Surface or Pavement	“scattered through the silt and stones in the ‘yard’, Area 2”	Pottery: 10	☐
162	Doubstead	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Base sherd/s			Surface or Pavement	“scattered through the silt and stones in the ‘yard’, Area 2”	Pottery: 11	☐
163	Doubstead	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Base sherd/s			Ditch Terminal	“Top fill of ditch, Area 1, but probably ploughed off the interior of the site”	Pottery: 12	☐
164	Doubstead	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Base sherd/s			Surface or Pavement	“scattered through the silt and stones in the ‘yard’, Area 2”	Pottery: 13	☐
165	Doubstead	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Base sherd/s			Surface or Pavement	“scattered through the silt and stones in the ‘yard’, Area 2”	Pottery: 14	☐
166	Doubstead	Stone	Igneous of Cheviot origin	Rotary Quern	Top		Ditch Terminal	“Primary silt in N ditch terminal”	Stone: 1	☐
167	Doubstead	Stone	Unspecified pebble/cobble	Pounder/cup marked stone			Surface or Pavement	“embedded in the clay surface near to pit 1, Area 3”	Stone: 2	☑

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168	Doubstead	Stone	Shale	Stone Disc		10cm diameter, cut marks from shaping. Jobey considers that this pit may not be contemp with site, but I don't really see a reason it wouldn't be. Possible setting for gatepost	Small Pit	"pit F1, Area 1"	Stone: 3	☑
169	Doubstead	Stone	Sandstone	Rubber		three working surfaces	Surface or Pavement	"silt and stone filling of the 'yard' in Area 2"	Stone: 4	☐
170	Doubstead	Stone	Sandstone	Rubber			Surface or Pavement	"silt and stone filling of the 'yard' in Area 2"	Stone: 4	☐
171	Doubstead	Stone	Sandstone	Rubber			Surface or Pavement	"silt and stone filling of the 'yard' in Area 2"	Stone: 4	☐
172	Doubstead	Stone	Sandstone	Rubber			Surface or Pavement	"silt and stone filling of the 'yard' in Area 2"	Stone: 4	☐
173	Doubstead	Stone	Sandstone	Pounder			Surface or Pavement	"silt and stone filling of the 'yard' in Area 2"	Stone: 4	☐
174	Doubstead	Stone	Sandstone	Pounder			Surface or Pavement	"silt and stone filling of the 'yard' in Area 2"	Stone: 4	☐
175	Doubstead	Metal	Cu Alloy	Bracelet	Hinged strap bracelet	60x48mm internally, hoop 29mm deep. Largely intact, but broken pin and some decorative places missing. Discussion of parallels suggests c. AD 100	Ditch Terminal	"The upper reaches of the primary silting in the N. terminal of the ditch	Metal: Hinged bracelet	☐
176	Doubstead	Metal	Cu Alloy	Brooch	LaTene III Nauheim derivative	C 1 AD	Surface or Pavement	"thick silt and rubble filling the 'yard' area, Area 2"	Metal: Brooch	☐
177	Doubstead	Metal	Cu Alloy	Finger Ring	Spiral with notched decoration	c. AD 100	Ditch Terminal	"silt in the N terminal of the ditch"	Metal: Spiral Finger-Ring	☑

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178	Doubstead	Glass		Bangle	Stevenson 3A	white	Floor	“from the clay surface within the area of house B, Area 3”	Glass: 4	
179	Doubstead	Glass		Bangle	Stevenson 2	cable moulding broken off	Surface or Pavement	“From beneath the silt and stone filling in the ‘yard’, Area 2	Glass: 5	
180	Doubstead	Industrial Debris	Metalworking debris	Iron Slag/ cinder		several frags	Surface or Pavement	“the silt in the ‘yard’, Area 3”	Iron Slag and Cinder	
181	Doubstead	Industrial Debris	Metalworking debris	Iron Slag/ cinder		several frags	Ditch Terminal	“the primary silt in the N terminal of the ditch, Area 1”		
182	Pegswood Moor	Stone	Flint	Flake			Unstratified		Described in ‘lithics’ section	
183	Pegswood Moor	Stone	Flint	Flake			Unstratified		Described in ‘lithics’ section	
184	Pegswood Moor	Stone	Flint	Flake			Unstratified		Described in ‘lithics’ section	
185	Pegswood Moor	Stone	Flint	Flake			Unstratified		Described in ‘lithics’ section	
186	Pegswood Moor	Stone	Flint	Flake			Unstratified		Described in ‘lithics’ section	
187	Pegswood Moor	Stone	Flint	Flake			Unstratified		Described in ‘lithics’ section	
188	Pegswood Moor	Stone	Flint	Flake			Unstratified		Described in ‘lithics’ section	
189	Pegswood Moor	Stone	Flint	Flake			Small Pit	“Phase 2 small pit”	Described in ‘lithics’ section	
190	Pegswood Moor	Stone	Flint	Flake			Small Pit	“Phase 2 small pit”	Described in ‘lithics’ section	
191	Pegswood Moor	Stone	Flint	Flake			Small Pit	“Phase 2 small pit”	Described in ‘lithics’ section	
192	Pegswood Moor	Stone	Flint	Flake			Small Pit	“Phase 2 small pit”	Described in ‘lithics’ section	
193	Pegswood Moor	Stone	Flint	Flake			Small Pit	“Phase 2 small pit”	Described in ‘lithics’ section	
194	Pegswood Moor	Stone	Flint	Flake			Small Pit	“Phase 2 small pit”	Described in ‘lithics’ section	

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195	Pegswood Moor	Stone	Flint	Flake		Considered residual in IA features, so specific context not given.	Unstratified		Described in 'lithics' section	
196	Pegswood Moor	Stone	Flint	Flake		Considered residual in IA features, so specific context not given.	Unstratified		Described in 'lithics' section	
197	Pegswood Moor	Stone	Flint	Flake		Considered residual in IA features, so specific context not given.	Unstratified		Described in 'lithics' section	
198	Pegswood Moor	Ceramic	Briquetage	Fragment			Ditch Length	Enclosure 9 ditch (612)/[613]	Described in 'Briquetage' section	
199	Pegswood Moor	Ceramic	Briquetage	Fragment			Ditch Length	Enclosure 9 ditch (612)/[613]	Described in 'Briquetage' section	
200	Pegswood Moor	Ceramic	Briquetage	?base			Small Pit	"Votive pit inside structure 7" (821)/[822]	Described in 'Briquetage' section	
201	Pegswood Moor	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s			Roundhouse Gully	"Structure 1 drainage gully" (133)/[149]	Vessel no. 1	
202	Pegswood Moor	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s			Small Pit	"Structure 4 pit" (1108)/[1111]	Vessel no. 2	
203	Pegswood Moor	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s			Gully/Fence/ Hedgeline	"Internal division enclosure 8" (211)/[212]	Vessel no. 3	
204	Pegswood Moor	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s		19 frags	Gully/Fence/ Hedgeline	"Internal division enclosure 1" (214)/[340]	Vessel no. 4	
205	Pegswood Moor	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Gully/Fence/ Hedgeline	"Internal division enclosure 1" (214)/[340]	Vessel no. 5	
206	Pegswood Moor	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s		19 frags	Roundhouse Gully	"Structure 7 drainage gully" (332)/[333]	Vessel no. 6	
207	Pegswood Moor	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s			Roundhouse Gully	"Structure 7 drainage gully" (332)/[333]	Vessel no. 7	
208	Pegswood Moor	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s		7 frags	Roundhouse Gully	"Structure 7 drainage gully" (332)/[333]	Vessel no. 8	

Serial No.	Site	Basic Material	Specific Material	Artefact Type	Specific Type	Notes	Context Type	Context	Ref in publication	Specified as intact?
209	Pegswood Moor	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s		3 frags	Roundhouse Gully	"Structure 7 drainage gully" (350)/[351]	Vessel no. 9	
210	Pegswood Moor	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s		5 frags	Ditch Length	"Enclosure 7 ditch" (395)/[182]	Vessel no. 10	
211	Pegswood Moor	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s			Ditch Length	"Enclosure 7 ditch" (482)/[182]	Vessel no. 11	
212	Pegswood Moor	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Ditch Terminal	"Enclosure 6 ditch recut" (521)/[511]	Vessel no. 12	
213	Pegswood Moor	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Ditch Terminal	"Enclosure 6 ditch recut" (521)/[511]	Vessel no. 13	
214	Pegswood Moor	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s		7 frags	Ditch Length	"Enclosure 10 ditch" (612)/[613]	Vessel no. 15	
215	Pegswood Moor	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s		2 frags	Ditch Length	"Enclosure 1 ditch recut" (636)/[1102]	Vessel no. 16	
216	Pegswood Moor	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Gully/Fence/ Hedgeline	"Enclosure 8 fenceline" (657)/ [658]	Vessel no. 17	
217	Pegswood Moor	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s		3 frags	Gully/Fence/ Hedgeline	"Enclosure 8 fenceline" (659)/ [660]	Vessel no. 18	
218	Pegswood Moor	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s		118(!) frags	Ditch Terminal	"Enclosure 6 ditch recut" (680)/[681]	Vessel no. 19	
219	Pegswood Moor	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s			Gully/Fence/ Hedgeline	"Enclosure 8 fenceline" (695)/ [660]	Vessel no. 20	
220	Pegswood Moor	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s		2 frags	Ditch Length	"Enclosure 7 ditch" (722)/[182]	Vessel no. 21	
221	Pegswood Moor	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s		19 frags	Post Hole	"Enclosure 2 posthole" (1060)/ [1205]	Vessel no. 22	
222	Pegswood Moor	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s		2 frags	Post Hole	"Enclosure 2 posthole" (1060)/ [1205]	Vessel no. 23	
223	Pegswood Moor	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s		4 frags	Post Hole	"Enclosure 2 posthole trench" (1067)/ [1167]	Vessel no. 24	

Serial No.	Site	Basic Material	Specific Material	Artefact Type	Specific Type	Notes	Context Type	Context	Ref in publication	Specified as intact?
224	Pegswood Moor	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s		2 frags	Ditch Length	"Enclosure 7 ditch" (1150)/[182]	Vessel no. 25	
225	Pegswood Moor	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s			Post Hole	"Structure 7 entrance posthole"	Vessel no. 26	
226	Pegswood Moor	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s			Ditch Length	"Enclosure 7 ditch" (1278)/[182]	Vessel no. 27	
227	Pegswood Moor	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherds			Ditch Length	"Enclosure 1 ditch recut" (1405)/[1415]	Vessel no. 28	
228	Pegswood Moor	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Gully/Fence/ Hedgeline	"Enclosure 11 fenceline" (360)/[368]	Vessel no. 29	
229	Pegswood Moor	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s		5 frags	Ditch Length	"Backfill of phase 4 enclosure 5 ditch" (582)/[614]	Vessel no. 14	
230	Pegswood Moor	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s		5 frags	Roundhouse Gully	"Structure 16 gully" (820)/[819]	Vessel no. 30	
231	Pegswood Moor	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s			Gully/Fence/ Hedgeline	"posthole in enclosure 11 fenceline" (864)/[927]	Vessel no. 31	
232	Pegswood Moor	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s			Gully/Fence/ Hedgeline	"posthole in enclosure 11 fenceline" (870)/[858]	Vessel no. 33	
233	Pegswood Moor	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s		3 frags	Unstratified		Vessel no. 34	
234	Pegswood Moor	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s			Unstratified		Vessel no. 35	
235	Pegswood Moor	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s			Unstratified		Vessel no. 36	
236	Pegswood Moor	Industrial Debris	Unknown	Unknown			Gully/Fence/ Hedgeline	"Fill of posthole trench...enclosure 2 fenceline"(1067)/[1167]	Discussed in 'Residues from Activities Involving Heat"	
237	Pegswood Moor	Industrial Debris	Unknown	Cinder		3 frags	Ditch Length	"Ditch fill...enclosure 7" (722)/[182]	Discussed in 'Residues from Activities Involving Heat"	

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238	Pegswood Moor	Industrial Debris	Unknown	“fuel ash slag”		Potentially just the result of a long burning domestic fire. 3 frags.	Ditch Length	“Context (1133), fill of ditch[1135], northwest side of enclosure 3	Discussed in ‘Residues from Activities Involving Heat”	☐
239	Pegswood Moor	Industrial Debris	Unknown	vitrified kiln/ oven lining?			Unstratified	“topsoil slumping into upper part of backfilled phase 4 enclosure 9 ditches”	Discussed in ‘Residues from Activities Involving Heat”	☐
240	Pegswood Moor	Stone	Sandstone	Beehive quern	bottom	Iron staining	Ditch Length	“fill (671) of ditch [1452], enclosure 6, phase 4”	Quernstones and other stone objects: <7> fig. 32.1	☑
241	Pegswood Moor	Stone	Sandstone	Beehive quern	top	Some ‘facets’ removed after initial shaping	Gully/Fence/ Hedgeline	“Fill (1000) of fence line [1013], leading into entrance through enclosure 11, phase 5”	Quernstones and other stone objects: <16> fig. 32.2	☐
242	Pegswood Moor	Stone	Sandstone	Beehive quern	top	about 1/6 complete, some burning	Gully/Fence/ Hedgeline	“Fill (1000) of fence line [1013], leading into entrance through enclosure 11, phase 5”	Quernstones and other stone objects: <17> fig. 32.3	☐
243	Pegswood Moor	Stone	Sandstone	Beehive quern	bottom		Ditch Length	“Fill (1041), backfill of phase 4 enclosure 5 ditch [1042], phase 5”	Quernstones and other stone objects: <18> fig. 32.4	☑
244	Pegswood Moor	Stone	Sandstone	Rubber		broken in half	Gully/Fence/ Hedgeline	“Fill (659) of fence line [660], internal division within enclosure 8, phase 4	Saddle quernstones and rubbers: <8> fig. 33.1	☐
245	Pegswood Moor	Stone	Sandstone	Rubber		broken in half	Ditch Length	“Fill (641) of ditch [1452], enclosure 6, phase 4”	Saddle quernstones and rubbers: <10> fig. 33.2	☐
246	Pegswood Moor	Stone	Sandstone	Saddle Quern		small fragment	Roundhouse Gully	“fill of (1087) of drainage gully [1088] structure 6 phase 4”	Saddle quernstones and rubbers: <19> fig. 33.3	☐
247	Pegswood Moor	Stone	Unspecified igneous	Rubber			Large Pit	“fill of (1280) of pit [1282], enclosure 4, phase 4”	Saddle quernstones and rubbers: <22>	☐

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248	Pegswood Moor	Stone	Sandstone	Rubber			Construction Trench	"Fill (1075) of wall construction trence [1081], structure 8, phase 4"	Saddle quernstones and rubbers: <27>	☐
249	Pegswood Moor	Stone	Sandstone	Saddle Quern		burnt	Construction Trench	"Fill (1075) of wall construction trence [1081], structure 8, phase 4"	Saddle quernstones and rubbers: <28>	☐
250	Pegswood Moor	Stone	Gritstone/ Whinstone	Mortar		found complete, subsequently broken	Ditch Length	"fill (464) of ditch [182], enclosure 7, phase 4"	Mortars: <5> fig. 34.1	☑
251	Pegswood Moor	Stone	Igneous of Cheviot origin	Mortar			Ditch Length	"fill (1411) of ditch [1086], enclosure 1, phase 4"	Mortars: <33>	☐
252	Pegswood Moor	Stone	Sandstone	Pounder			Ditch Length	"fill (146) of ditch [199], re-cut of enclosure 7 ditch [182]	Pebble tools and hand stones: <3> 34.2	☑
253	Pegswood Moor	Stone	Unspecified pebble/cobble	Pounder			Gully/Fence/ Hedgeline	"Fill (659) of fence line [660], internal division within Enclosure 8, Phase 4"	Pebble tools and hand stones: <9> fig 34.3	☑
254	Pegswood Moor	Stone	Unspecified sedimentary	Whetstone			Ditch Length	"fill (327) of ditch [385], Enclosure 9, Phase 4"	Hone Stones: <4> fig. 35.1	☐
255	Pegswood Moor	Stone	Unspecified sedimentary	Whetstone			Roundhouse Gully	"Fill (464) of drainage gully [477], Structure 12, Phase 4	Hone Stones: <25> fig. 35.2	☐
256	Pegswood Moor	Stone	Pitchstone Andesite	Sling stone			Ditch Length	"fill (146) of ditch [199], recut of enclosure 7 ditch [182], phase 4"	Slingshots: <1> Fig. 35.3	☑
257	Pegswood Moor	Stone	Pitchstone Andesite	Sling stone			Ditch Length	"fill (146) of ditch [199], recut of enclosure 7 ditch [182], phase 4"	Slingshots: <2> Fig. 35.4	☑

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258	Pegswood Moor	Stone	Pitchstone Andesite	Sling stone			Gully/Fence/ Hedgeline	"Fill (214) of ditch [340], internal subdivision, enclosure 1, phase 4"	Slingshots: <24> Fig. 35.5	☑
259	Pegswood Moor	Stone	Limestone	Worked stone		small shaped fragment	Roundhouse Gully	"fill (19) of roundhouse drainage gully [149], Structure 1, Phase 3"	Miscellaneous: <14>	☐
260	Pegswood Moor	Stone	Sandstone	?weight		burnt	Large Pit	"Fill (540) of pit [541], Structure 11, Phase 4	Miscellaneous: <26>	☐
261	Pegswood Moor	Glass		Bangle	Kilbride-Jones 3B		Ditch Length	"fill (582), backfill of Phase 4 enclosure 5 ditch [614], deliberately backfilled prior to the construction of Enclosure 12"	Glass Objects: <13> Fig. 36.1	☐
262	Pegswood Moor	Glass		Bangle	Kilbride Jones 2, Price 2Ai		Ditch Length	"fill (360) of Enclosure 11 boundary [368]	Glass Objects: <11> Fig. 36.2	☐
263	Apperley Dene	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Rim sherd/s	Greyware, Gillam 116/117		Post Hole	AF/ Post-hole no. 3	13	☐
264	Apperley Dene	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall sherd/s	Unmentioned		Post Hole	DF, posthole in gate structure	?	☐
265	Kennel Hall Knowe	Stone	Unspecified	Cup Marked stone		Unusual- one cup mark on one side and five on the other.	Surface or Pavement	"partly embedded in clay surface to south of house complex, Area B"	Small Finds: A. Stone: 1	☐
266	Kennel Hall Knowe	Stone	Greenstone	Polished Stone Axehead	?Langdale	"bears no evidence of reuse for other purposes". Neolithic.	Surface or Pavement	"On the clay surface to the north of the house-complex, Area B"	Small Finds: A. Stone: 2	☑
267	Kennel Hall Knowe	Stone	Unspecified pebble/cobble	Pounder		Different intensity percussion marks on each end	Large Pit	"From the fill of Pit D, Area B"	Small Finds: A. Stone: 3	☑

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268	Kennel Hall Knowe	Stone	Sandstone	Pounder		roughly triangular in cross section, two small cup marks/finger grips. Percussion marks on both ends	Surface or Pavement	"on the surface of the cobbles, hollowed yard, Area B"	Small Finds: A. Stone: 4	☐
269	Kennel Hall Knowe	Stone	Igneous of Cheviot origin	Rotary Quernstone	Top	about half of stone. Decorative groove below hopper.	Surface or Pavement	"found loose on the surface of the yard in Cutting 7"	Small Finds: A. Stone: 5	☐
270	Kennel Hall Knowe	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary quern	Top	Small fragment	Post Hole	"reused as a packing stone in post-hole 17, house complex"	Small Finds: A. Stone: 6	☐
271	Kennel Hall Knowe	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary Quernstone	Bottom		Surface or Pavement	"incorporated into the paving of the phase IV pathway, Cutting 9"	Small Finds: A. Stone: 7	☐
272	Kennel Hall Knowe	Stone	Unspecified	Spindle Whorl		Grooved surface. Half survived.	Unstratified		Small Finds: A. Stone: 8	☐
273	Kennel Hall Knowe	Stone	Igneous of Cheviot origin	Rubber			Large Pit	"from the fill of pit D"	Small Finds: A. Stone: 9	☐
274	Kennel Hall Knowe	Stone	Sandstone	Whetstone		square cross section, two working surfaces	Surface or Pavement	"on the clay surface in Area A"	Small Finds: A. Stone: 10	☐
275	Kennel Hall Knowe	Stone	Sandstone	Whetstone		square cross section, two working surfaces	Surface or Pavement	"on the clay surface in Area A"	Small Finds: A. Stone: 10	☐
276	Kennel Hall Knowe	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Surface or Pavement	"interstices between the paving stones of the circular paved floor, Area A"	Small Finds: C. Pottery: b. Native Hand built pottery	☐
277	Kennel Hall Knowe	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Surface or Pavement	"interstices between the paving stones of the circular paved floor, Area A"	Small Finds: C. Pottery: b. Native Hand built pottery	☐
278	Kennel Hall Knowe	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Surface or Pavement	"interstices between the paving stones of the circular paved floor, Area A"	Small Finds: C. Pottery: b. Native Hand built pottery	☐
279	Kennel Hall Knowe	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Post Hole	"fill of the terminal post-hole at the doorway of timber built house 2"	Small Finds: C. Pottery: b. Native Hand built pottery	☐

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280	Kennel Hall Knowe	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Post Hole	“fill of the terminal post-hole at the doorway of timber built house 2”	Small Finds: C. Pottery: b. Native Hand built pottery	☐
281	Kennel Hall Knowe	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Post Hole	“fill of the terminal post-hole at the doorway of timber built house 2”	Small Finds: C. Pottery: b. Native Hand built pottery	☐
282	Kennel Hall Knowe	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Base sherd/s			Construction Trench	“fill of the wall-trench of timber-built house 3, Area B”	Small Finds: C. Pottery: b. Native Hand built pottery	☐
283	Kennel Hall Knowe	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall Sherd/s	Greyware, 2nd century		Surface or Pavement	“interstices between the paving stones of the circular paved floor, Area A”	Small Finds: C. Pottery: c. Roman coarse pottery	☐
284	Kennel Hall Knowe	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall Sherd/s	Greyware, 2nd century		Surface or Pavement	“interstices between the paving stones of the circular paved floor, Area B”	Small Finds: C. Pottery: c. Roman coarse pottery	☐
285	Kennel Hall Knowe	Metal	Lead	Sheet		Irregular, 40x30mm 1.5mm thick	Construction Trench	“the wall-trench of House 4, Area C”	Small Finds: D. Metal: 1	☐
286	Kennel Hall Knowe	Metal	Fe	Ring		38mm diameter	Construction Trench	“the wall-trench of House 4, Area C”	Small Finds: D. Metal: 2	☐
287	Kennel Hall Knowe	Metal	Fe	Nail/s			Surface or Pavement	“surface of the paved floor, area A”	Small Finds: D. Metal: 3	☐
288	Kennel Hall Knowe	Industrial Debris	Metalworking debris	Iron Slag			Unstratified		Small Finds: D. Metal: 4	☐
289	Kennel Hall Knowe	Industrial Debris	Metalworking debris	Iron Slag			Unstratified		Small Finds: D. Metal: 4	☐
290	St. Giles by Brompton Bridge	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim Sherd/s			Shallow Feature	fill (1551) of ‘hollow’ [1550]	Iron Age Pottery: Fine Ware: 1	☐
291	St. Giles by Brompton Bridge	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim Sherd/s			Shallow Feature	fill (1551) of ‘hollow’ [1550]	Iron Age Pottery: Medium Ware: 2	☐
292	St. Giles by Brompton Bridge	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim Sherd/s			Unstratified	Mixed up in medieval and post-med Layers	Iron Age Pottery: Medium Ware: 3	☐

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293	St. Giles by Brompton Bridge	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim Sherd/s			Unstratified	Mixed up in medieval and post-med Layers	Iron Age Pottery: Coarse Ware: 4	☐
294	St. Giles by Brompton Bridge	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim Sherd/s			Unstratified	Mixed up in medieval and post-med Layers	Iron Age Pottery: Coarse Ware: 5	☐
295	St. Giles by Brompton Bridge	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim Sherd/s			Unstratified	Mixed up in medieval and post-med Layers	Iron Age Pottery: Coarse Ware: 6	☐
296	St. Giles by Brompton Bridge	Stone	Chalk	Spindle Whorl		"cushion-shaped with groove around girth"	Unstratified	Mixed up in medieval and post-med Layers?	The Spindle Whorl	☐
297	Dubby Sike	Stone	Flint	Core			Building Wall	"from the walling of building GH in Area A"	The finds: 2	☐
298	Dubby Sike	Stone	Flint	flake			Unstratified		The finds: 3	☐
299	Dubby Sike	Stone	Flint	Blade			Unstratified		The finds: 3	☐
300	Dubby Sike	Stone	Flint	scraper			Unstratified		The finds: 3	☐
301	Dubby Sike	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Unstratified		The finds: 4	☐
302	Dubby Sike	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Unstratified		The finds: 4	☐
303	Dubby Sike	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Unstratified		The finds: 4	☐
304	Dubby Sike	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Unstratified		The finds: 4	☐
305	Dubby Sike	Stone	Flint	Blade			Floor	"from the floor of the building GH, Area A"	The finds: 5	☐
306	Dubby Sike	Stone	Flint	Blade			Floor	"from the floor of the building GH, Area A"	The finds: 6	☐
307	Dubby Sike	Stone	Flint	Spall			Floor	"from the floor of the building GH, Area A"	The finds: 7	☐
308	Dubby Sike	Stone	Flint	Blade			Floor	"from the floor of the building GH, Area A"	The finds: 8	☐

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309	Dubby Sike	Stone	Flint	Blade			Floor	"from the floor of the building GH, Area A"	The finds: 9	☐
310	Dubby Sike	Stone	Flint	Blade			Unstratified		The finds: 10	☐
311	Dubby Sike	Stone	Flint	Blade			Floor	"From the cobbled floor of L1, area A"	The finds: 11	☐
312	Dubby Sike	Stone	Flint	Fragment		Burnt	Floor	"From the cobbled floor of L1, area A"	The finds: 12	☐
313	Dubby Sike	Stone	Shale	?Spindle Whorl		"A roughly semi-circular flat piece of shale 70mm x 42mm x 5mm. The diameter has half of a pecked hole of c. 20mm diameter"	Surface or Pavement	"From cobbling outside L2, Area A"	The finds: 13	☐
314	Dubby Sike	Stone	Sandstone	Whetstone			Floor	"from the floor of the building GH, Area A"	The finds: 14	☐
315	Brough Law	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Surface or Pavement	"beneath the tumble and on the surface of the entrance-passage through the main rampart"	Finds: (a) Pottery (Jobey 1971)	☐
316	Brough Law	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Surface or Pavement	"beneath the tumble and on the surface of the entrance-passage through the main rampart"	Finds: (a) Pottery (Jobey 1971)	☐
317	Brough Law	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Surface or Pavement	"beneath the tumble and on the surface of the entrance-passage through the main rampart"	Finds: (a) Pottery (Jobey 1971)	☐
318	Brough Law	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Surface or Pavement	"beneath the tumble and on the surface of the entrance-passage through the main rampart"	Finds: (a) Pottery (Jobey 1971)	☐

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319	Brough Law	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Makeup Layer	“from amongst the rubble used to level up the uneven rock surface beneath the rear face of the inner rampart”	Finds: (a) Pottery (Jobey 1971)	☐
320	Brough Law	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Makeup Layer	“from amongst the rubble used to level up the uneven rock surface beneath the rear face of the inner rampart”	Finds: (a) Pottery (Jobey 1971)	☐
321	Brough Law	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Makeup Layer	“from amongst the rubble used to level up the uneven rock surface beneath the rear face of the inner rampart”	Finds: (a) Pottery (Jobey 1971)	☐
322	Brough Law	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Makeup Layer	“from amongst the rubble used to level up the uneven rock surface beneath the rear face of the inner rampart”	Finds: (a) Pottery (Jobey 1971)	☐
323	Brough Law	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Unstratified		Finds: (a) Pottery (Jobey 1971)	☐
324	Brough Law	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Unstratified		Finds: (a) Pottery (Jobey 1971)	☐
325	Brough Law	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Unstratified		Finds: (a) Pottery (Jobey 1971)	☐
326	Brough Law	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Unstratified		Finds: (a) Pottery (Jobey 1971)	☐
327	Brough Law	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Unstratified		Finds: (a) Pottery (Jobey 1971)	☐
328	Brough Law	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Unstratified		Finds: (a) Pottery (Jobey 1971)	☐
329	Brough Law	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Unstratified		Finds: (a) Pottery (Jobey 1971)	☐

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330	Brough Law	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Unstratified		Finds: (a) Pottery (Jobey 1971)	
331	Brough Law	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Unstratified		Finds: (a) Pottery (Jobey 1971)	
332	Brough Law	Stone	Unspecified	Rubber			Destruction Layer/Tumble (Boundary)		Finds: (b) stone (Jobey 1971)	
333	Dod Law West	Glass		Bangle	Kilbride-Jones 1	Some discussion of exactly which type, settled on I but "when worn, however, must have looked like type 3A" (Allason-Jones in Smith 1990 p. 23)	Unstratified	topsoil	Small Finds of Glass and Metal: Small find 2	
334	Dod Law West	Glass		Bead	Melon bead	"cobalt blue translucent glass" (Allason-Jones in Smith 1990 p. 23). Flavian/Antonine	Destruction Layer/Tumble (Boundary)	Area A, context 6	Small Finds of Glass and Metal: Small find 10	
335	Dod Law West	Metal	Cu Alloy	Brooch	Bow brooch	Early-mid first c. AD?	Indeterminate Layer	Area A, context 20	Small Finds of Glass and Metal: Small find 20	
336	Dod Law West	Metal	Cu Alloy	Brooch	Hod Hill type	pre- AD 70	Indeterminate Layer	Area A, context 21	Small Finds of Glass and Metal: Small find 21	
337	Dod Law West	Metal	Cu Alloy	Binding		"Several small fragments of U-sectioned copper alloy binding. Such binding was used by the Roman military to edge shields and scabbards and is commonly found in the Hadrian's Wall area"	Indeterminate layer	Area A, context 25	Small Finds of Glass and Metal: Small find 23	
338	Dod Law West	Metal	Fe	Nail/s			Indeterminate Layer	Area A, context 25	Small Finds of Glass and Metal: Small find 24	
339	Dod Law West	Metal	Cu Alloy	Stud			Indeterminate Layer	Area A, context 38	Small Finds of Glass and Metal: Small find 30	

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340	Dod Law West	Metal	Fe	?Buckle			Indeterminate Layer	Area A, context 30	Small Finds of Glass and Metal: Small find 37	
341	Dod Law West	Stone	Sandstone	Saddle Quern			Indeterminate Layer	Area C, Context 19	The Millingstones: Section A. Saddlemillstones: Small find 3	
342	Dod Law West	Stone	Sandstone	Saddle Quern			Unstratified		The Millingstones: Section A. Saddlemillstones: Small find 9	
343	Dod Law West	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary Quern	top		Unstratified		The Millingstones: Section B. Rotary Quernstones: Small find 7	
344	Dod Law West	Stone	Granite	Rotary Quern	top		Destruction Layer/Tumble (Boundary)	Area A, context 6	The Millingstones: Section B. Rotary Quernstones: Small find 15	
345	Dod Law West	Stone	Sandstone	Whetstone			Unstratified		Stone Tools: Small find 5	
346	Dod Law West	Stone	Sandstone	Ploughshare?		(or whetstone...)	Indeterminate Layer	Area C, context 19	Stone Tools: Small find 11	
347	Dod Law West	Stone	Sandstone	Rubber			Boundary Wall	Area C, context 14	Stone Tools: Small find 17	
348	Dod Law West	Stone	Unspecified	Pounder			Destruction Layer/Tumble (Boundary)	Area C, context 43	Stone Tools: Small find 27	
349	Dod Law West	Stone	Sandstone	Rubber			Unstratified		Stone Tools: Small find 34	
350	Dod Law West	Stone	Sandstone	Rubber			Boundary Wall	Area C, context 14	Stone Tools: Small find 35	
351	Dod Law West	Stone	Sandstone	Rubber/ Pounder			Indeterminate Layer	Area C, Context 43	Stone Tools: Small find 36	

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352	Dod Law West	Stone	Sandstone	?Stone Disc		"A hexagonal pallet or lid of sandstone, 143mm across and 40mm thick. The surfaces are smooth, exhibiting no decorative dressing. Although it can be grasped in the palm of the hand it exhibits no clear traces of abrasion consistent with it being used as a tool, and there is no evidence of staining" (Smith 1990 p 28)	Indeterminate Layer	Area A, context 49	Stone Tools: Small find 37	
353	Dod Law West	Stone	Flint	Flake		traces of use	Unstratified		20	
354	Dod Law West	Stone	Flint	Flake			Unstratified		23	
355	Dod Law West	Stone	Flint	Flake		traces of use	Unstratified		25	
356	Dod Law West	Stone	Flint	Flake			Unstratified	[13] (within clearance cairn so considering unstrat)	4	
357	Dod Law West	Stone	Flint	Spall			Unstratified	[13] (within clearance cairn so considering unstrat)	8	
358	Dod Law West	Stone	Flint	Core			Indeterminate Layer	Area A, [25]	19	
359	Dod Law West	Stone	Flint	flake			Indeterminate Layer	Area A, [30]	5	
360	Dod Law West	Stone	Flint	Core			Surface or Pavement	Area C(i), [36]	1	
361	Dod Law West	Stone	Flint	spall			Boundary Wall	[8]	8	
362	Dod Law West	Stone	Flint	flake		gloss	Unstratified	unspecified (no details given)	37	

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363	Dod Law West	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s		spread over quite a large area	Surface or Pavement	Area C(i) [36] and [53]	Vessel A	
364	Dod Law West	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s		spread over quite a large area	Surface or Pavement	Area C(i) [36] and [53]	Vessel B	
365	Dod Law West	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim Sherd/s			Surface or Pavement	Area C(i) [36]	Vessel C	
366	Dod Law West	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim Sherd/s			Destruction Layer/Tumble (Boundary)	Area C(i) [43]	Vessel D	
367	Dod Law West	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim Sherd/s		six frags	Unstratified	Area C(i)	Vessel E	
368	Dod Law West	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim Sherd/s			Surface or Pavement	Area C(i) [36]	Vessel F	
369	Dod Law West	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Base sherd/s			Surface or Pavement	Area C(i) [36]	Vessel G	
370	Dod Law West	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Body sherd/s			Surface or Pavement	Area C(i) [36]	Vessel H	
371	Dod Law West	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s		spread over quite a large area	Surface or Pavement	Area C(i) [36] and [53]	Vessel J	
372	Dod Law West	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Destruction Layer/Tumble (Boundary)	Area A [16]	Vessel K	
373	Dod Law West	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Indeterminate Layer	Area A, [20]- old ground surface?	Vessel L	
374	Middle Gunnar Peak	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	wall sherd/s			Unstratified		Finds: Romano-british settlement: a. Native hand-build pottery: 1	
375	Middle Gunnar Peak	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	'deep in tumble from phase 1 house [GP84]	Finds: Romano-british settlement: a. Native hand-build pottery: 2	
376	Middle Gunnar Peak	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	rim sherd/s			Floor	'from occupation earth associated with phase 1 house, sealed by floor of house 3 [GP95]'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: a. Native hand-build pottery: 3	

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377	Middle Gunnar Peak	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	base sherd/s			Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	'from tumble inside wall of house 4 [GP41]'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: a. Native hand-build pottery: 4	☐
378	Middle Gunnar Peak	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	wall sherd/s			Floor	'from floor of 'longhouse [GP16]'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: a. Native hand-build pottery: 5	☐
379	Middle Gunnar Peak	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	wall sherd/s			Floor	'sealed by tumble on floor of house 10 [GP64]'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: a. Native hand-build pottery: 6	☐
380	Middle Gunnar Peak	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s			Building Wall	'from core of wall of phase 1 house [GP81]'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: a. Native hand-build pottery: 7	☐
381	Middle Gunnar Peak	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s			Building Wall	'from core of wall of phase 1 house [GP81]'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: a. Native hand-build pottery: 8	☐
382	Middle Gunnar Peak	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s			Unstratified		Finds: Romano-british settlement: a. Native hand-build pottery: 9	☐
383	Middle Gunnar Peak	Ceramic	Roman fineware	rim sherd/s	Dr 18/31 bowl	'pierced for repair'	Floor	'from the floor of house 4, sealed by wall tumble'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: b. Roman Pottery: Samian ware	☐
384	Middle Gunnar Peak	Ceramic	Roman fineware	rim sherd/s	Castor ware beaker		Building Wall	'beneath the stone bench in southern quadrant of house 3 [GP46]'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: b. Roman Pottery: Fine ware: 1	☐
385	Middle Gunnar Peak	Ceramic	Roman fineware	base sherd/s	Castor ware beaker		Floor	'from floor of house 4, sealed by wall tumble [GP46]'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: b. Roman Pottery: Fine ware: 2	☐
386	Middle Gunnar Peak	Ceramic	Roman fineware	base sherd/s	Castor ware cup	complete base	Floor	'from beneath flagged floor of house 4 [GP70(i)]	Finds: Romano-british settlement: b. Roman Pottery: Fine ware: 3	☐

Serial No.	Site	Basic Material	Specific Material	Artefact Type	Specific Type	Notes	Context Type	Context	Ref in publication	Specified as intact?
387	Middle Gunnar Peak	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Rim sherd/s	Gillam 105 AD 80-120		Makeup Layer	'From brashey Layer sealed by houses 3 and 4, overlying phase 1 house [GP70]'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: b. Roman Pottery: Coarse ware: 1	☐
388	Middle Gunnar Peak	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Rim sherd/s	Gillam 105? AD 80-120		Makeup Layer	'From brashey Layer sealed by houses 3 and 4, overlying phase 1 house [GP70]'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: b. Roman Pottery: Coarse ware: 2	☐
389	Middle Gunnar Peak	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Rim sherd/s	Gillam 105? AD 80-120		Makeup Layer	'From brashey Layer sealed by houses 3 and 4, overlying phase 1 house [GP70]'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: b. Roman Pottery: Coarse ware: 3	☐
390	Middle Gunnar Peak	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Rim sherd/s	BB1 cooking pot-early mid C2		Makeup Layer	'From brashey Layer sealed by houses 3 and 4, overlying phase 1 house [GP70]'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: b. Roman Pottery: Coarse ware: 4	☐
391	Middle Gunnar Peak	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Rim sherd/s	BB1 imitation		indeterminate Layer	'Old land surface south of house 1 sealed by the building of house 4 [GP84]	Finds: Romano-british settlement: b. Roman Pottery: Coarse ware: 5	☐
392	Middle Gunnar Peak	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	wall sherd/s	BB1. Early mid C2		Floor	'From occupation earth of phase 1 house, sealed by house 3 [GP82]'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: b. Roman Pottery: Coarse ware: 6	☐
393	Middle Gunnar Peak	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	base sherd/s	BB1. Early mid C2		Floor	'From occupation earth of phase 1 house, sealed by house 3 [GP82]'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: b. Roman Pottery: Coarse ware: 6	☐
394	Middle Gunnar Peak	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	base sherd/s	BB1.		Makeup Layer	'From brashey Layer sealed by houses 3 and 4, overlying phase 1 house [GP70]'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: b. Roman Pottery: Coarse ware: 7	☐

Serial No.	Site	Basic Material	Specific Material	Artefact Type	Specific Type	Notes	Context Type	Context	Ref in publication	Specified as intact?
395	Middle Gunnar Peak	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	rim sherd/s	small jar		Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	'from amongst tumble of wall of house 3 [GP44]'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: b. Roman Pottery: Coarse ware: 8	☐
396	Middle Gunnar Peak	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Rim sherd/s	BB1 cooking pot		Floor	'floor of house 4 sealed by wall tumble [GP42]'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: b. Roman Pottery: Coarse ware: 9	☐
397	Middle Gunnar Peak	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	base sherd/s	base of a stem-footed vessel in smooth orange fabric'		Floor	'floor of house 4 sealed by wall tumble [GP42]'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: b. Roman Pottery: Coarse ware: 9	☐
398	Middle Gunnar Peak	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	wall sherd/s	gritty, orange coloured ware'		Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	'from tumble of wall of house 4 [GP55]'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: b. Roman Pottery: Coarse ware: 10	☐
399	Middle Gunnar Peak	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	wall sherd/s	BB1 cooking pot	2 frags	Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	'from tumble of wall of house 4'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: b. Roman Pottery: Coarse ware: 10	☐
400	Middle Gunnar Peak	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	wall sherd/s		'thin walled vessel in dark grey fabric'	Floor	'from floor of house 4 sealed by wall tumble [GP38]'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: b. Roman Pottery: Coarse ware: 11	☐
401	Middle Gunnar Peak	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	base sherd/s		one base fragment in very coarse grey black fabric'	Floor	'from floor of house 4 sealed by wall tumble [GP38]'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: b. Roman Pottery: Coarse ware: 11	☐
402	Middle Gunnar Peak	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	wall sherd/s		one fragment of medium-grey ware'	Floor	'from floor of house 4 sealed by wall tumble [GP38]'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: b. Roman Pottery: Coarse ware: 11	☐
403	Middle Gunnar Peak	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	wall sherd/s	Amphora	'three sherds of pinksh-buff amphora'	Floor	'from floor of house 4 sealed by wall tumble [GP38]'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: b. Roman Pottery: Coarse ware: 11	☐
404	Middle Gunnar Peak	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	wall sherd/s	BB1 cooking pot		Building Wall	'from within the rubble core of wall of house 4 [GP31]	Finds: Romano-british settlement: b. Roman Pottery: Coarse ware: 12	☐

Serial No.	Site	Basic Material	Specific Material	Artefact Type	Specific Type	Notes	Context Type	Context	Ref in publication	Specified as intact?
405	Middle Gunnar Peak	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	wall sherds	greyware cooking pot	three frags	Unstratified		Finds: Romano-british settlement: b. Roman Pottery: Coarse ware: 13	
406	Middle Gunnar Peak	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	wall sherd/s	Amphora	'thirteen sherds of pinkish-buff amphora'	Floor	'from floor of house 3, sealed by wall tumble [GP27]'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: b. Roman Pottery: Coarse ware: 14	
407	Middle Gunnar Peak	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	wall sherd/s	BB1 cooking pot	2 frags	Floor	'from floor of house 3, sealed by wall tumble [GP27]'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: b. Roman Pottery: Coarse ware: 14	
408	Middle Gunnar Peak	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	base sherd/s	Mortaria	17 frags	indeterminate Layer	'from leached soil above flood of house 3 [GP32]'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: b. Roman Pottery: Coarse ware: 15	
409	Middle Gunnar Peak	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	wall sherd/s	greyware jar	4 frags	indeterminate Layer	'from leached soil above flood of house 5 [GP59]'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: b. Roman Pottery: Coarse ware: 16	
410	Middle Gunnar Peak	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	wall sherd/s	greyware		indeterminate Layer	'from leached soil above flood of house 5 [GP59]'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: b. Roman Pottery: Coarse ware: 16	
411	Middle Gunnar Peak	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	wall sherd/s	mortaria		indeterminate Layer	'from leached soil above flood of house 5 [GP59]'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: b. Roman Pottery: Coarse ware: 16	
412	Middle Gunnar Peak	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	wall sherd/s	Amphora		Floor	'occupation material on floor of house 10'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: b. Roman Pottery: Coarse ware: 17	
413	Middle Gunnar Peak	Glass		Bangle	Kilbride-Jones Type 2	Late first/early second century	Subfloor	'from beneath paving of house 3 [GP79]	Finds: Romano-british settlement: C. Glass: 1	
414	Middle Gunnar Peak	Glass		Bangle	Kilbride-Jones Type 3A	second century	Surface or Pavement	'from paving to east of houses 3 and 4 [GP45]	Finds: Romano-british settlement: C. Glass: 2	

Serial No.	Site	Basic Material	Specific Material	Artefact Type	Specific Type	Notes	Context Type	Context	Ref in publication	Specified as intact?
415	Middle Gunnar Peak	Glass		Bangle	Kilbride-Jones Type 3A	second century	Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	'from the tumble of the wall of house 5 [GP57]'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: C. Glass: 3	☐
416	Middle Gunnar Peak	Glass		Bangle	Type 3F/G?		Building Wall	'from a disturbed area of the wall core of house 5 [GP53]'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: C. Glass: 4	☐
417	Middle Gunnar Peak	Glass		Fragment		'small fragment of bluish green glass'	Building Wall	'from beneath the wall of house 4 [GP89]	Finds: Romano-british settlement: C. Glass: 5	☐
418	Middle Gunnar Peak	Glass		Fragment		'small rounded lump of bluish green glass'	Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	'from beneath the wall tumble in house 4 [GP47]'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: C. Glass: 6	☐
419	Middle Gunnar Peak	Glass		Fragment		'very small fragment of blue glass'	Floor	'from floor of house 3 [GP27]'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: C. Glass: 7	☐
420	Middle Gunnar Peak	Glass	Roman Vessel	wall sherd/s		'two fragments of blue tinted glass'	Destruction Layer/Tumble (Boundary)	'from beneath tumble of west enclosure wall'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: C. Glass: 8	☐
421	Middle Gunnar Peak	Glass		fragment		'cylindrical lump of pale green glass, 15mm in diameter and 23mm long.	Building Wall	'from disturbed area of the west wall of the 'longhouse' [GP12]	Finds: Romano-british settlement: C. Glass: 9	☐
422	Middle Gunnar Peak	Stone	Sandstone	rotary quern	top		Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	'from tumble of house 4 wall [GP91]	Finds: Romano-british settlement: D. Stone: 1	☐
423	Middle Gunnar Peak	Stone	Sandstone	rotary quern	top		Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	'from rubble covering the floor of house 5 [GP92]'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: D. Stone: 2	☐
424	Middle Gunnar Peak	Stone	Sandstone	rotary quern	top		Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	'from the tumble of the walls of houses 3 and 4 [GP93]'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: D. Stone: 3	☐
425	Middle Gunnar Peak	Stone	Sandstone	rotary quern	top		Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	'from the tumble of the walls of houses 3 and 4 [GP93]'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: D. Stone: 3	☐
426	Middle Gunnar Peak	Stone	Limestone	pivot stone			Floor	'set into the floor of house 4 and probably re-used as a paving stone [GP94]'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: D. Stone: 4	☐

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427	Middle Gunnar Peak	Stone	Gritstone/ Whinstone	whetstone			Subfloor	'from beneath paved floor of house 4 [GP80]'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: D. Stone: 5	
428	Middle Gunnar Peak	Stone	Gritstone/ Whinstone	whetstone			Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	'from the tumble of the west wall of the "longhouse" [GP10]'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: D. Stone: 6	
429	Middle Gunnar Peak	Stone	Unspecified	Spindle Whorl			Building Wall	'from the top of the rubble core of the wall of house 5 [GP60]'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: D. Stone: 7	
430	Middle Gunnar Peak	Metal	Fe	?'bootsole'		'two fragments of ? worn bootsole with shallow groove in the centre of one side, and the remains of nails *in situ.*'. I suspect this may be modern.	Unstratified	'from tumbled stone in the area of house 5'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: E. Metal: 1	
431	Middle Gunnar Peak	Metal	Fe	T-shaped rod			Subfloor	'from beneath the paved floor of house 4 [GP77]	Finds: Romano-british settlement: E. Metal: 2	
432	Middle Gunnar Peak	Metal	Fe	?'heelplate'		'fragment of boot-heel plate'. Again, I think this may be modern.	Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	from amongst the tumble of the north wall of the 'longhouse'	Finds: Romano-british settlement: E. Metal: 3	
433	Middle Gunnar Peak	Metal	Fe	Blade			Unstratified		Finds: Romano-british settlement: E. Metal: 4	
434	Middle Gunnar Peak	Metal	Fe	?Lynchpin			Unstratified		Finds: Romano-british settlement: E. Metal: 5	
435	Middle Gunnar Peak	Metal	Fe	square, hooked rod			Unstratified		Finds: Romano-british settlement: E. Metal: 6	
436	Middle Gunnar Peak	Metal	Fe	?Chisel		Modern, I suspect	Unstratified		Finds: Romano-british settlement: E. Metal: 7	
437	Middle Gunnar Peak	Metal	Lead	frag			Building Wall	'from beneath the wall of house 4 [GP75]	Finds: Romano-british settlement: E. Metal: 8	

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438	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	wall sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*, Dr 29		Ditch Length	Site F, 'Ditch A', Layer 3a	Pottery: (i) Samian (*terra sigillata*): 1	
439	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	rim sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*, ?Dr 29	High in sequence, but will still count as ditch fill.	Ditch Length	Site F, 'Ditch A', Layer 2a	Pottery: (i) Samian (*terra sigillata*): 2	
440	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	wall sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*, ?Dr 29	High in sequence, but will still count as ditch fill.	Ditch Length	Site F, 'Ditch A', Layer 2a	Pottery: (i) Samian (*terra sigillata*): 3	
441	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	wall sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*, ?Dr 29	High in sequence, but will still count as ditch fill.	Ditch Length	Site F, 'Ditch A', Layer 2b	Pottery: (i) Samian (*terra sigillata*): 4	
442	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	wall sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*, Dr 29	In rock-cut ditch primary silting, under collapsed wall.	Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 7	Pottery: (i) Samian (*terra sigillata*): 5	
443	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	rim sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*, Dr 29	Rock cut ditch, post collapse fill	Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 4b	Pottery: (i) Samian (*terra sigillata*): 6	
444	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	rim sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*, Dr 15	Rock cut ditch, post collapse fill	Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 2	Pottery: (i) Samian (*terra sigillata*): 7	
445	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	rim sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*, Dr 18	In rock cut ditch, wall collapse	Destruction Layer/Tumble (Boundary)	Site A, Layer 6	Pottery: (i) Samian (*terra sigillata*): 8	
446	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	rim sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*, Ritterling 8	Rock cut ditch, post collapse fill	Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 5	Pottery: (i) Samian (*terra sigillata*): 9	
447	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	base sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*, ?Dr 22	Rock cut ditch, post collapse fill	Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 4a	Pottery: (i) Samian (*terra sigillata*): 10	
448	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	base sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*, Dr 31		Ditch Terminal	Site B, later 3b	Pottery: (i) Samian (*terra sigillata*): 11	
449	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	wall sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*, indeterminate	Rock cut ditch, post collapse fill	Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 2	Pottery: (i) Samian (*terra sigillata*): not illustrated	
450	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	wall sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*, indeterminate	Rock cut ditch, post collapse fill	Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 2	Pottery: (i) Samian (*terra sigillata*): not illustrated	
451	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	wall sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*, indeterminate	Rock cut ditch, post collapse fill	Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 2	Pottery: (i) Samian (*terra sigillata*): not illustrated	
452	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	wall sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*, indeterminate	Rock cut ditch, post collapse fill	Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 4a	Pottery: (i) Samian (*terra sigillata*): not illustrated	

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453	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	wall sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*, indeterminate		Unstratified	Site A	Pottery: (i) Samian (*terra sigillata)*: not illustrated	☐
454	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	base sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*, Dr 18 or 15/17		Ditch Terminal	Site B, Layer 3b	Pottery: (i) Samian (*terra sigillata)*: not illustrated	☐
455	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	base sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*, ?Dr 31		Ditch Length	Site D, Layer 9	Pottery: (i) Samian (*terra sigillata)*: not illustrated	☐
456	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	wall sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*, indeterminate		Unstratified	Site E	Pottery: (i) Samian (*terra sigillata)*: not illustrated	☐
457	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	wall sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*, indeterminate		Unstratified	Site E	Pottery: (i) Samian (*terra sigillata)*: not illustrated	☐
458	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	wall sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*, indeterminate		Ditch Length	Site F, Layer 2a	Pottery: (i) Samian (*terra sigillata)*: not illustrated	☐
459	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	wall sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*, indeterminate		Ditch Length	Site F, Layer 2a	Pottery: (i) Samian (*terra sigillata)*: not illustrated	☐
460	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	wall sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*, indeterminate		Ditch Length	Site F, Layer 2a	Pottery: (i) Samian (*terra sigillata)*: not illustrated	☐
461	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	wall sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*, indeterminate	High in sequence, but will still count as ditch fill.	Ditch Length	Site F, Layer 2b	Pottery: (i) Samian (*terra sigillata)*: not illustrated	☐
462	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	wall sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*, indeterminate	High in sequence, but will still count as ditch fill.	Ditch Length	Site F, Layer 2b	Pottery: (i) Samian (*terra sigillata)*: not illustrated	☐
463	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	wall sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*, indeterminate	High in sequence, but will still count as ditch fill.	Ditch Length	Site F, Layer 2b	Pottery: (i) Samian (*terra sigillata)*: not illustrated	☐
464	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	wall sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*, indeterminate	High in sequence, but will still count as ditch fill.	Ditch Length	Site F, Layer 2b	Pottery: (i) Samian (*terra sigillata)*: not illustrated	☐
465	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	wall sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*, indeterminate		Roundhouse Gully	Site F, Gully 1	Pottery: (i) Samian (*terra sigillata)*: not illustrated	☐

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466	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	wall sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*, indeterminate		Roundhouse Gully	Site F, Gully 1	Pottery: (i) Samian (*terra sigillata*): not illustrated	
467	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	wall sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*, indeterminate		Roundhouse Gully	Site F, Gully 1	Pottery: (i) Samian (*terra sigillata*): not illustrated	
468	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	wall sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*, indeterminate		Gully/Fence/ Hedgeline	Site F, Gully 5	Pottery: (i) Samian (*terra sigillata*): not illustrated	
469	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	wall sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*, indeterminate		Gully/Fence/ Hedgeline	Site F, Gully 5	Pottery: (i) Samian (*terra sigillata*): not illustrated	
470	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	wall sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*, indeterminate		Gully/Fence/ Hedgeline	Site F, Gully 5	Pottery: (i) Samian (*terra sigillata*): not illustrated	
471	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	wall sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*, indeterminate		Ditch Length	Site F, Ditch A	Pottery: (i) Samian (*terra sigillata*): not illustrated	
472	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	rim sherd/s	Butt beaker	probably British made	Ditch Length	Site F, Ditch A, Layers 3a and b	Pottery: (ii) Other Non-native wares: Phase 1, Site F: 1	
473	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	rim sherd/s	Butt beaker	Same vessel as below (no. 457), found in 25 frags between two contexts. High in sequence, but will still count as ditch fill.	Ditch Length	Site F, Ditch A, Layer 2b	Pottery: (ii) Other Non-native wares: Phase 1, Site F: 2	
474	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	rim sherd/s	Butt beaker	Same vessel as above (no. 456), found in 25 frags between two contexts	Roundhouse Gully	Site F, Gully 1	Pottery: (ii) Other Non-native wares: Phase 1, Site F: 2	
475	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Rim sherd/s	butt beaker		Roundhouse Gully	Site F, Gully 1	Pottery: (ii) Other Non-native wares: Phase 1, Site F: 3	
476	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Rim sherd/s	butt beaker	High in sequence, but will still count as ditch fill.	Ditch Length	Site F, Ditch A, Layer 2b	Pottery: (ii) Other Non-native wares: Phase 1, Site F: 4	

Serial No.	Site	Basic Material	Specific Material	Artefact Type	Specific Type	Notes	Context Type	Context	Ref in publication	Specified as intact?
477	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Rim sherd/s	butt beaker		Ditch Length	Site F, Ditch A, Layer 2a	Pottery: (ii) Other Non-native wares: Phase 1, Site F: 3 and 4	
478	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Rim sherd/s	butt beaker		Ditch Length	Site F, Ditch A, Layer 2a	Pottery: (ii) Other Non-native wares: Phase 1, Site F: 3 and 4	
479	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall sherd/s	Beaker		Roundhouse Gully	Site F, Gully 1	Plate XXIV: 1	
480	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall sherd/s	Beaker		Ditch Length	Site F, Ditch A, Layer 3	Plate XXIV: 2	
481	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall sherd/s	Beaker		Unstratified	Site F	Plate XXIV: 3	
482	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall sherd/s	Beaker		Ditch Length	Site F, Ditch A, Layer 3	Plate XXIV: 4	
483	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall sherd/s	Beaker	High in sequence, but will still count as ditch fill.	Ditch Length	Site F, Ditch A, Layer 2b	Plate XXIV: 5	
484	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall sherd/s	Beaker	High in sequence, but will still count as ditch fill.	Ditch Length	Site F, Site F, Ditch A, Layer 2b	Plate XXIV: 6	
485	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall sherd/s	Beaker		Ditch Length	Site F, Ditch A, Layer 2a	Plate XXIV: 7	
486	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall sherd/s	Beaker		Roundhouse Gully	Site F, Gully 1	Plate XXIV: 8	
487	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall sherd/s	Beaker	High in sequence, but will still count as ditch fill.	Ditch Length	Site F, Ditch A, Layer 2b	Plate XXIV: 9	
488	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall sherd/s	Beaker		Ditch Length	Site F, Ditch A, Layer 2a	Plate XXIV: 10	
489	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall sherd/s	Beaker		Ditch Length	Site F, Ditch A, Layer 2a	Plate XXIV: 11	
490	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall sherd/s	Beaker	High in sequence, but will still count as ditch fill.	Ditch Length	Site F, Ditch A, Layer 2b	Plate XXIV: 12	
491	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall sherd/s	Beaker	High in sequence, but will still count as ditch fill.	Ditch Length	Site F, Ditch A, Layer 2b	Plate XXIV: 13	

Serial No.	Site	Basic Material	Specific Material	Artefact Type	Specific Type	Notes	Context Type	Context	Ref in publication	Specified as intact?
492	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall sherd/s	Beaker		Ditch Length	Site F, Ditch A, Layer 2a	Plate XXIV: 14	
493	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall sherd/s	Beaker		Ditch Length	Site F, Ditch A, Layer 2a	Plate XXIV: 15	
494	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall sherd/s	Beaker	High in sequence, but will still count as ditch fill.	Ditch Length	Site F, Site F, Ditch A, Layer 2b	Plate XXIV: 16	
495	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall sherd/s	Beaker		Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 4c	Plate XXIV: 17	
496	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall sherd/s	Beaker		Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 4b	Plate XXIV: 18	
497	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall sherd/s	Beaker		Ditch Length	Site A, Site A, Layer 4c	Plate XXIV: 19	
498	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall sherd/s	Beaker		Ditch Length	Site A, Site A, Layer 4c	Plate XXIV: 20	
499	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall sherd/s	Beaker		Ditch Length	Site A, Site A, Layer 4c	Plate XXIV: 21	
500	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall sherd/s	Beaker	In rock cut ditch, wall collapse	Destruction Layer/Tumble (Boundary)	Site A, Layer 6	Plate XXIV: 22	
501	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall sherd/s	Beaker		Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 4a	Plate XXIV: 23	
502	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall sherd/s	Beaker		Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 4c	Plate XXIV: 24	
503	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall sherd/s	Beaker		Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 3	Plate XXIV: 25	
504	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall sherd/s	Beaker		Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 4c	Plate XXIV: 26	
505	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall sherd/s	Beaker	In rock cut ditch, wall collapse	Destruction Layer/Tumble (Boundary)	Site A, Layer 6	Plate XXIV: 27	
506	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall sherd/s	Beaker		Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 4b	Plate XXIV: 28	
507	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall sherd/s	Beaker		Ditch Length	Site A, Site A, Layer 4c	Plate XXIV: 29	
508	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall sherd/s	Beaker	In rock-cut ditch primary silting, under collapsed wall.	Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 7	Plate XXIV: 30	

Serial No.	Site	Basic Material	Specific Material	Artefact Type	Specific Type	Notes	Context Type	Context	Ref in publication	Specified as intact?
509	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall sherd/s	Beaker		Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 4c	Plate XXIV: 31	☐
510	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall sherd/s	Beaker		Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 4a	Plate XXIV: 32	☐
511	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall sherd/s	Beaker		Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 4b	Plate XXIV: 33	☐
512	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall sherd/s	Beaker		Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 4b	Plate XXIV: 34	☐
513	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall sherd/s	Beaker		Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 4a	Plate XXIV: 35	☐
514	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Rim sherd/s	Greyware cup	with slip- imitation *Terra rubra?* High in sequence, but will still count as ditch fill.	Ditch Length	Site F, ditch A, Layer 2b	Pottery: (ii) Other Non-native wares: Phase 1, Site F: 5	☐
515	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Base sherd/s	Greyware platter	with slip- imitation *Terra rubra?* High in sequence, but will still count as ditch fill.	Ditch Length	Site F, ditch A, Layer 2b	Pottery: (ii) Other Non-native wares: Phase 1, Site F: 5a	☐
516	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Rim sherd/s	'small vessel in rather soft, creamy ware with dark brown slipped surface'	High in sequence, but will still count as ditch fill.	Ditch Length	Site F, ditch A, Layer 2b	Pottery: (ii) Other Non-native wares: Phase 1, Site F: 6	☐
517	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Rim sherd/s	Jar	High in sequence, but will still count as ditch fill.	Ditch Length	Site F, ditch A, Layer 2b	Pottery: (ii) Other Non-native wares: Phase 1, Site F: 7	☐
518	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Rim sherd/s	Flagon	High in sequence, but will still count as ditch fill.	Ditch Length	Site F, ditch A, Layer 2a	Pottery: (ii) Other Non-native wares: Phase 1, Site F: 8	☐
519	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Handle	Flagon	High in sequence, but will still count as ditch fill.	Ditch Length	Site F, ditch A, Layer 2b	Pottery: (ii) Other Non-native wares: Phase 1, Site F: 9	☐
520	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Rim sherd/s	Flagon	High in sequence, but will still count as ditch fill.	Ditch Length	Site F, ditch A, Layer 2a	Pottery: (ii) Other Non-native wares: Phase 1, Site F: 10	☐
521	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Rim sherd/s	Jar	Large storage jar. High in sequence, but will still count as ditch fill.	Ditch Length	Site F, ditch A, Layer 2b	Pottery: (ii) Other Non-native wares: Phase 1, Site F: 11	☐

Serial No.	Site	Basic Material	Specific Material	Artefact Type	Specific Type	Notes	Context Type	Context	Ref in publication	Specified as intact?
522	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Rim sherd/s	Jar	High in sequence, but will still count as ditch fill.	Ditch Length	Site F, ditch A, Layer 2a	Pottery: (ii) Other Non-native wares: Phase 1, Site F: 12	☐
523	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Rim sherd/s		High in sequence, but will still count as ditch fill.	Ditch Length	Site F, ditch A, Layer 2a	Pottery: (ii) Other Non-native wares: Phase 1, Site F: 13	☐
524	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Base sherd/s	Butt beaker		Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 7	Pottery: (ii) Other Non-native wares: Phase II, Site A: 14	☐
525	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Rim Sherd/s	Butt beaker		Destruction Layer/Tumble (Boundary)	Site A, Layer 6	Pottery: (ii) Other Non-native wares: Phase II, Site A: 15	☐
526	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Rim sherd/s	Butt beaker		Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 4a	Pottery: (ii) Other Non-native wares: Phase II, Site A: 16	☐
527	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Rim sherd/s	Butt beaker		Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 4b	Pottery: (ii) Other Non-native wares: Phase II, Site A: 17	☐
528	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Rim sherd/s	Butt beaker		Unstratified	Site A, Layer 1 (topsoil above ditch)	Pottery: (ii) Other Non-native wares: Phase II, Site A: 18	☐
529	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Rim sherd/s	"olla"		Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 4c	Pottery: (ii) Other Non-native wares: Phase II, Site A: 19	☐
530	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Rim sherd/s and base sherd/s			Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 4c	Pottery: (ii) Other Non-native wares: Phase II, Site A: 20 and 21	☐
531	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Unspecified			Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 5	Pottery: (ii) Other Non-native wares: Phase II, Site A: 21	☐
532	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Rim sherd/s	?beaker		Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 5	Pottery: (ii) Other Non-native wares: Phase II, Site A: 22	☐
533	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Rim sherd/s	Jar		Destruction Layer/Tumble (Boundary)	Site A, Layer 6	Pottery: (ii) Other Non-native wares: Phase II, Site A: 23	☐

Serial No.	Site	Basic Material	Specific Material	Artefact Type	Specific Type	Notes	Context Type	Context	Ref in publication	Specified as intact?
534	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Rim sherd/s	Mortaria		Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 4b	Pottery: (ii) Other Non-native wares: Phase II, Site A: 24	☐
535	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Rim sherd/s	colour coated beaker		Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 4c	Pottery: (ii) Other Non-native wares: Phase II, Site A: 25	☐
536	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Rim sherd/s			Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 4c	Pottery: (ii) Other Non-native wares: Phase II, Site A: 26	☐
537	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Handle	flagon		Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 4	Pottery: (ii) Other Non-native wares: Phase II, Site A: 27	☐
538	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Rim sherd	flagon		Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 4a	Pottery: (ii) Other Non-native wares: Phase II, Site A: 28	☐
539	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Rim sherd/s	Jar		Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 4c	Pottery: (ii) Other Non-native wares: Phase II, Site A: 29	☐
540	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Rim sherd/s	Jar		Destruction Layer/Tumble (Boundary)	Site A, Layer 6	Pottery: (ii) Other Non-native wares: Phase II, Site A: 29	☐
541	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Rim Sherd/s	?bowl	Late roman flanged rim- rather out of place with the rest of this assemblage.	Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 5	Pottery: (ii) Other Non-native wares: Phase II, Site A: 30	☐
542	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Rim sherd/s	butt beaker		Ditch Terminal	Site B, Later 3b	Pottery: (ii) Other Non-native wares: Phase II, Site B: 31	☐
543	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Rim sherd/s	"goblet"	Also quite late. Imitation samian.	Ditch Length	Site D, Layer 7	Pottery: (ii) Other Non-native wares: Phase III, Site D: 32	☐
544	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s and base sherd/s			Ditch Terminal	Site B, Layer 8	Pottery: (iii) Native ('Brigantian') Wares: 1	☐
545	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Ditch Terminal	Site B, Layer 9	Pottery: (iii) Native ('Brigantian') Wares: 2	☐

Serial No.	Site	Basic Material	Specific Material	Artefact Type	Specific Type	Notes	Context Type	Context	Ref in publication	Specified as intact?
546	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 4c	Pottery: (iii) Native ('Brigantian') Wares: 3	
547	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Ditch Length	Site F, ditch A, Layer 2b	Pottery: (iii) Native ('Brigantian') Wares: 4	
548	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 6	Pottery: (iii) Native ('Brigantian') Wares: 5	
549	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Destruction Layer/Tumble (Boundary)	Site A, Layer 7	Pottery: (iii) Native ('Brigantian') Wares: 6	
550	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 8	Pottery: (iii) Native ('Brigantian') Wares: 7	
551	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 9	Pottery: (iii) Native ('Brigantian') Wares: 8	
552	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 2	Pottery: (iii) Native ('Brigantian') Wares: 9	
553	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 9	Pottery: (iii) Native ('Brigantian') Wares: 10	
554	Forcegarth Pasture North	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Base sherd/s		Noted as having an interior pale grey slip, reminiscent of the note that there was an orange slip on a sherd from South Shields. This is worth noting, but I suspect that this is in fact firing variability rather than a slip.	Surface or Pavement	'between paving stones outside entrance of east room of house complex'	FN 74.25	
555	Forcegarth Pasture North	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Floor	'cobble floor of south-eastern room of house complex'	FN 73.27	

Serial No.	Site	Basic Material	Specific Material	Artefact Type	Specific Type	Notes	Context Type	Context	Ref in publication	Specified as intact?
556	Forcegarth Pasture North	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	'among stone tumble of south-eastern room of house complex'	FN 73.26	☐
557	Forcegarth Pasture North	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Surface or Pavement	'paving outside entrance to north room of complex'	FN 73.32	☐
558	Forcegarth Pasture North	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Floor	'between paving stones in east room of house complex'	FN 74.1	☐
559	Forcegarth Pasture North	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s		two frags	Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	'among wall tumble of east room of house complex'	FN 74.2	☐
560	Forcegarth Pasture North	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Floor	'floor of north room of house complex'	FN 72.22	☐
561	Forcegarth Pasture North	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s			Floor	'between paving stones at entrance to east room of house complex'	FN 74.30	☐
562	Forcegarth Pasture North	Stone	Sandstone	Whetstone			Boundary Wall	'within the make-up of the perimeter mound'	FN 72.7	☐
563	Forcegarth Pasture North	Stone	Sandstone	Whetstone			Building Wall	'walling of separate hut'	FN 72.29	☐
564	Forcegarth Pasture North	Stone	Sandstone	Whetstone			Building Wall	'walling between the north and south-west rooms of house complex'	FN 73.10	☐
565	Forcegarth Pasture North	Stone	Sandstone	Whetstone			Building Wall	'wall of east room of house complex'	FN 74.16	☐
566	Forcegarth Pasture North	Stone	Sandstone	Whetstone			Floor	'floor of south-east room of house complex'	FN 73.29	☐
567	Forcegarth Pasture North	Stone	Quartzite	Burnishing Stone		highly polished areas	Building Wall	'Wall between north and south-west rooms of house complex'	FN 73.14	☐

Serial No.	Site	Basic Material	Specific Material	Artefact Type	Specific Type	Notes	Context Type	Context	Ref in publication	Specified as intact?
568	Forcegarth Pasture North	Stone	Gritstone/ Whinstone	Burnishing Stone		highly polished areas	Building Wall	'Wall of southeast room of house complex'	FN 73.20	☐
569	Forcegarth Pasture North	Stone	Gritstone/ Whinstone	Burnishing Stone		highly polished areas	Building Wall	'Wall of separate hut'	FN 73.1	☐
570	Forcegarth Pasture North	Stone	Gritstone/ Whinstone	Burnishing Stone		highly polished areas	Building Wall	'Wall of separate hut'	FN 73.2	☐
571	Forcegarth Pasture North	Stone	Sandstone	Saddle Quern		'at the narrower end two patches on the sites are worn smooth presumably by friction of the users' knees'	Building Wall	'inner facing of wall of separate hut'	FN 73.7	☑
572	Forcegarth Pasture North	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary Quern	Unspecified		Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	'Wall tumble of inner face of north room of house complex'	FN 72.17	☐
573	Forcegarth Pasture North	Stone	Sandstone	Rubber			Building Wall	'Walling between north and southeast rooms of house complex'	FN 73.9	☐
574	Forcegarth Pasture North	Stone	Sandstone	Rubber			Building Wall	'Walling of east room of house complex'	FN 74.19	☐
575	Forcegarth Pasture North	Stone	Shale	Spindle Whorl			Floor	'Floor of northwest corner of north room of house complex'	FN 72.16	☐
576	Forcegarth Pasture North	Stone	Shale	Spindle Whorl			Floor	'paved floor of east room of house complex'	FN 74.22	☐
577	Forcegarth Pasture North	Stone	Gritstone/ Whinstone	Stone Disc		10cm diameter, 5cm thick. Hemispherical.	Building Wall	'walling between north and S.W. rooms of house complex'	FN 73.11	☐
578	Forcegarth Pasture North	Stone	Shale	?Stone disc		Oval, 6cm x 5cm x 0.5cm	Floor	'floor of E. room of house complex'	FN 74.8	☐
579	Forcegarth Pasture North	Stone	Shale	?Stone disc		10cm diameter, 0.5cm thick	Floor	'Floor of separate hut'	FN 74.27	☐

Serial No.	Site	Basic Material	Specific Material	Artefact Type	Specific Type	Notes	Context Type	Context	Ref in publication	Specified as intact?
580	Forcegarth Pasture North	Metal	Fe	Blade		8cm long	Floor	'cobble floor of S.E. room at house complex'	FN 73.25	☐
581	Forcegarth Pasture North	Industrial Debris	Metalworking debris	Slag		purple	Floor	'From the black soil covering the floor...'		☐
582	Forcegarth Pasture North	Industrial Debris	Metalworking debris	Slag			Hearth		Fairless and Coggins 1980 p. 33	☐
583	Forcegarth Pasture North	Industrial Debris	Metalworking debris	Cinder			Hearth		Fairless and Coggins 1980 p. 33	☐
584	Forcegarth Pasture North	Industrial Debris	Metalworking debris	Cinder			Floor	'mixed soil and stones lying upon the floor of this room'	Fairless and Coggins 1980 p. 34	☐
585	Gowanburn River Camp	Stone	Unspecified	Rotary quern	top	roughly halved	Floor	'incorporated into the paving in the interior of house 3'	Jobey and Jobey 1988 p. 16	☐
586	Gowanburn River Camp	Glass		Bangle	Kilbride Jones 3A	white	Floor	'...the floor area of this house, though sealed by no more than topsoil.'	Jobey and Jobey 1988 p. 16	☐
587	Gowanburn River Camp	Glass		Bead	Melon bead	Blue. Halved.	Floor	'...the floor area of this house, though sealed by no more than topsoil.'	Jobey and Jobey 1988 p. 16	☐
588	Gowanburn River Camp	Stone	Igneous of Cheviot origin	Rotary Quern	Top		Surface or Pavement		Jobey and Jobey 1988 p. 16-17	☐
589	Gowanburn River Camp	Stone	sandstone	Rotary Quern	Top		Surface or Pavement		Jobey and Jobey 1988 p. 16-17	☐
590	Gowanburn River Camp	Stone	sandstone	Rotary Quern	Top		Surface or Pavement		Jobey and Jobey 1988 p. 16-17	☐
591	Gowanburn River Camp	Stone	sandstone	Rotary Quern	Top		Surface or Pavement		Jobey and Jobey 1988 p. 16-17	☐
592	Gowanburn River Camp	Stone	sandstone	mould		Odd shape, a bar with a circle in the middle i.e. =o=. Similar to one at Hartburn.	Surface or Pavement		Jobey and Jobey 1988 p. 17	☐

Serial No.	Site	Basic Material	Specific Material	Artefact Type	Specific Type	Notes	Context Type	Context	Ref in publication	Specified as intact?
593	Gowanburn River Camp	Exotic Stone	Cornelian	Intaglio		Depicts a lion chasing a red deer and a dog pursuing another unknown animal. Chipped slightly but largely intact.	Surface or Pavement	'lodged in the top of an interstice between two of the paving slabs'	Jobey and Jobey 1988 p. 17	☑
594	High Knowes B	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s			Floor	'an extremely thin and intermittent occupation level...near to the hearth on the floor of the stone-built hut.'	Jobey 1966 p. 18	☐
595	High Knowes B	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s			Floor	'an extremely thin and intermittent occupation level...near to the hearth on the floor of the stone-built hut.'	Jobey 1966 p. 18	☐
596	High Knowes B	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s			Floor	'an extremely thin and intermittent occupation level...near to the hearth on the floor of the stone-built hut.'	Jobey 1966 p. 18	☐
597	High Knowes B	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s			Floor	'an extremely thin and intermittent occupation level...near to the hearth on the floor of the stone-built hut.'	Jobey 1966 p. 18	☐
598	High Knowes B	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherds			Floor	'an extremely thin and intermittent occupation level...near to the hearth on the floor of the stone-built hut.'	Jobey 1966 p. 18	☐

Serial No.	Site	Basic Material	Specific Material	Artefact Type	Specific Type	Notes	Context Type	Context	Ref in publication	Specified as intact?
599	High Knowes B	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Unstratified		Fig. 7, 2	
600	High Knowes B	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Unstratified	'amongst the robbed stonework of the hut wall'	Fig. 7, 1	
601	High Knowes B	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Base sherd/s			Unstratified	'amongst the robbed stonework of the hut wall'	Fig. 7, 3	
602	High Knowes B	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s			Unstratified	'amongst the robbed stonework of the hut wall'	Jobey 1966 p. 18-19	
603	High Knowes B	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s			Unstratified	'amongst the robbed stonework of the hut wall'	Jobey 1966 p. 18-19	
604	High Knowes B	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s			Unstratified	'amongst the robbed stonework of the hut wall'	Jobey 1966 p. 18-19	
605	High Knowes B	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s			Unstratified	'amongst the robbed stonework of the hut wall'	Jobey 1966 p. 18-19	
606	High Knowes B	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s			Unstratified	'amongst the robbed stonework of the hut wall'	Jobey 1966 p. 18-19	
607	High Knowes B	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s			Unstratified	'amongst the robbed stonework of the hut wall'	Jobey 1966 p. 18-19	
608	High Knowes B	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s			Unstratified	'amongst the robbed stonework of the hut wall'	Jobey 1966 p. 18-19	
609	High Knowes B	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s			Unstratified	'amongst the robbed stonework of the hut wall'	Jobey 1966 p. 18-19	
610	High Knowes B	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s			Unstratified	'amongst the robbed stonework of the hut wall'	Jobey 1966 p. 18-19	
611	High Knowes B	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s			Unstratified	'amongst the robbed stonework of the hut wall'	Jobey 1966 p. 18-19	

Serial No.	Site	Basic Material	Specific Material	Artefact Type	Specific Type	Notes	Context Type	Context	Ref in publication	Specified as intact?
612	High Knowes B	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s			Unstratified	'amongst the robbed stonework of the hut wall'	Jobey 1966 p. 18-19	☐
613	High Knowes B	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s			Unstratified	'amongst the robbed stonework of the hut wall'	Jobey 1966 p. 18-19	☐
614	High Knowes B	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s			Unstratified	'amongst the robbed stonework of the hut wall'	Jobey 1966 p. 18-19	☐
615	High Knowes B	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s			Unstratified	'amongst the robbed stonework of the hut wall'	Jobey 1966 p. 18-19	☐
616	High Knowes B	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s			Unstratified	'amongst the robbed stonework of the hut wall'	Jobey 1966 p. 18-19	☐
617	High Knowes B	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s			Unstratified	'amongst the robbed stonework of the hut wall'	Jobey 1966 p. 18-19	☐
618	High Knowes B	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s			Unstratified	'amongst the robbed stonework of the hut wall'	Jobey 1966 p. 18-19	☐
619	High Knowes B	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s			Unstratified	'amongst the robbed stonework of the hut wall'	Jobey 1966 p. 18-19	☐
620	High Knowes B	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s			Unstratified	'amongst the robbed stonework of the hut wall'	Jobey 1966 p. 18-19	☐
621	Gubeon Cottage	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Rim sherd/s and base sherd/s	Mortaria	'Hadrianic date'. Found between two houses, alone and complete in a 'small depression in the clay'	Small Pit	'resting in a small depression in the clay'	Jobey 1957 p. 172	☑
622	Gubeon Cottage	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	wall sherd/s		'late first or early second century'	Floor	'occupation earth'	Jobey 1957 p. 167	☐
623	Gubeon Cottage	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	wall sherd/s	*Terra sigillata*	'scrap'	Floor	'occupation earth'	Jobey 1957 p. 167	☐
624	Gubeon Cottage	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Floor	'occupation spread'	Native Pottery: Fig. 6 no. 1	☐

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625	Gubeon Cottage	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Floor	'occupation spread'	Native Pottery: Fig. 6 no. 2	
626	Gubeon Cottage	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Indeterminate Layer	'silt overlying the cobbles in Area II, but not sealed by the paving'	Native Pottery: Fig. 6 no. 3	
627	Gubeon Cottage	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Surface or Pavement	'on the cobbles to the south of the paving in Area II'	Native Pottery: Fig. 6 no. 4	
628	Gubeon Cottage	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Subsoil	'embedded in the undisturbed boulder clay to the west of the pits in Area I'	Native Pottery: Fig. 6 no. 5	
629	Gubeon Cottage	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Floor	'occupation level in hut circle in Area I'	Native Pottery: Fig. 6 no. 6	
630	Gubeon Cottage	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Floor	'occupation level in hut circle in Area I'	Native Pottery: Fig. 6 no. 7	
631	Gubeon Cottage	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Surface or Pavement	'amongst the cobbles set in the boulder clay in Area II'	Native Pottery: Fig. 6 no. 8	
632	Gubeon Cottage	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Floor	'occupation earth in the area of the pits'	Native Pottery: Fig. 6 no. 9a	
633	Gubeon Cottage	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Floor	'occupation earth in the area of the pits'	Native Pottery: Fig. 6 no. 9b	
634	Gubeon Cottage	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Floor	'occupation earth in the area of the pits'	Native Pottery: Fig. 6 no. 9c	
635	Gubeon Cottage	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Floor	'occupation earth'	Native Pottery: Fig. 6 no. 10	
636	Gubeon Cottage	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Base sherd/s			Subsoil	'embedded in the undisturbed boulder clay to the west of the pits in Area I'	Native Pottery: Fig. 6 no. 11	
637	Gubeon Cottage	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Base sherd/s			Subsoil	'embedded in the undisturbed boulder clay to the west of the pits in Area I'	Native Pottery: Fig. 6 no. 12	

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638	Gubeon Cottage	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Base sherd/s			Subsoil	'embedded in the undisturbed boulder clay to the west of the pits in Area I'	Native Pottery: Fig. 6 no. 13	☐
639	Gubeon Cottage	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Base sherd/s			Subsoil	'embedded in the undisturbed boulder clay to the west of the pits in Area I'	Native Pottery: Fig. 6 no. 14	☐
640	Gubeon Cottage	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Base sherd/s			Subsoil	'embedded in the undisturbed boulder clay to the west of the pits in Area I'	Native Pottery: Fig. 6 no. 15	☐
641	Gubeon Cottage	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s		finger impressions	Surface or Pavement	'amongst the cobbles in the southern part of area II'	Native Pottery: not illustrated	☐
642	Gubeon Cottage	Stone	Sandstone	rotary quern	top; 'bun shaped'		Floor	'occupation spread in the hut circle Area I'	Stone: (a) Querns: 1	☑
643	Gubeon Cottage	Stone	unspecified	rotary quern	base	small frag	Surface or Pavement	're-used in the later paving in Area II'	Stone: (a) Querns: 2	☐
644	Gubeon Cottage	Stone	Greywacke	pounder			Indeterminate layer	'close to the pits in Area II'	Stone: (b) Pounding stones or pestles	☐
645	Gubeon Cottage	Stone	Greywacke	pounder			Indeterminate layer	'close to the pits in Area II'	Stone: (b) Pounding stones or pestles	☐
646	Gubeon Cottage	Stone	'Water of Ayr stone'	Whetstone		unusual triangular cross-section	Unstratified		Stone: (c) Whetstone	☐
647	Gubeon Cottage	Glass	Roman Vessel	wall sherd/s			Unstratified		Glass	☐
648	Gubeon Cottage	Glass	Roman Vessel	wall sherd/s			Floor	'occupation spread in the hut circle in Area I'	Glass	☐
649	Marden	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Rim sherd/s	similar to Gillam 150		Unstratified		Small Finds: Pottery	☐
650	Marden	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary Quern	top	roughly halved	Unstratified (Unspecified)		Small Finds: Quernstones: 1	☐
651	Marden	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary Quern	top		Unstratified (Unspecified)		Small Finds: Quernstones: 2	☐

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652	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	Wall sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*, Dr 37	Same vessel as 653; 654. Decorated. "Small 's' potter".	Subsoil	'on bedrock near to the oven...'	Finds: Pottery: Samian Ware: Fig. 11, no. 1a	
653	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	Rim sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*, Dr 37	Same vessel as 652; 654. Decorated. "Small 's' potter".	Floor	'occupation earth sealed by the central wall'	Finds: Pottery: Samian Ware: Fig. 11, no. 1b and 1c	
654	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	Wall sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*, Dr 18/31	8 frags	Floor	'occupation earth from beneath the central wall, area 5'	Finds: Pottery: Samian Ware	
655	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	Wall sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*, Dr 33	5 frags, degraded and several pierced for repair	Unstratified	'from within and below walls of later roman rectangular building'	Finds: Pottery: Samian Ware	
656	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	Wall Sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*		Unstratified	'beneath the tumble and central wall, area 5'- i.e. amongst late roman buildings, thus residual	Finds: Pottery: Samian Ware	
657	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	Wall Sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*		Unstratified	'beneath the tumble and central wall, area 5'- i.e. amongst late roman buildings, thus residual	Finds: Pottery: Samian Ware	
658	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	Wall Sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*		Unstratified	'beneath the tumble and central wall, area 5'- i.e. amongst late roman buildings, thus residual	Finds: Pottery: Samian Ware	
659	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	Wall Sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*		Unstratified	'beneath the tumble and central wall, area 5'- i.e. amongst late roman buildings, thus residual	Finds: Pottery: Samian Ware	

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660	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	Wall Sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*		Unstratified	'beneath the tumble and central wall, area 5'- i.e. amongst late roman buildings, thus residual	Finds: Pottery: Samian Ware	
661	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	Wall Sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*		Unstratified	'beneath the tumble and central wall, area 5'- i.e. amongst late roman buildings, thus residual	Finds: Pottery: Samian Ware	
662	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	Wall Sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*		Building Wall	'beneath the south wall of the hut in area 4'	Finds: Pottery: Samian Ware	
663	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	Wall Sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*		Building Wall	'beneath the south wall of the hut in area 4'	Finds: Pottery: Samian Ware	
664	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	Wall Sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*		Building Wall	'beneath the wall of hut 2'	Finds: Pottery: Samian Ware	
665	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Fineware	Wall Sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*		Building Wall	'beneath the wall of hut 2'	Finds: Pottery: Samian Ware	
666	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall sherd/s	flagon		subsoil	'found on bed rock'	Finds: Pottery: The Roman Coarse Pottery: 1	
667	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	base sherd/s	flagon		Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	'found in the tumble from the wall of hut 1'	Finds: Pottery: The Roman Coarse Pottery: 2	
668	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Wall sherd/s	Jar, Gillam 28		Building Wall	'found in the rubble and earth core of the west wall of the hut in area 4'	Finds: Pottery: The Roman Coarse Pottery: 3	
669	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	wall sherd/s		'Upchurch Ware', 2 frags	Building Wall	'the rubble and earth core of north wall of east building area, 5'	Finds: Pottery: The Roman Coarse Pottery: 4	
670	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	wall sherd/s	Beaker	Castor Ware, 2 frags. Same vessel as 671.	Unstratified	'loose on transverse wall, cutting D'	Finds: Pottery: The Roman Coarse Pottery: 5	

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671	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	wall sherd/s	Beaker	Castor Ware. Same vessel as 670.	Subsoil	'on the rock between the two enclosure walls, cutting C'	Finds: Pottery: The Roman Coarse Pottery: 5	☐
672	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	wall sherd/s		'rustic ware'	Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	'amongst the outside tumble from the north wall of the hut in Area 4'	Finds: Pottery: The Roman Coarse Pottery: 6	☐
673	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	wall sherd/s	Jar	Gillam 101	Subsoil	'rock fissure, Area 2'	Finds: Pottery: The Roman Coarse Pottery: 7	☐
674	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	base sherd/s	greyware Jar	Gillam 101-114 types	Subsoil	'bedrock from beyond the spill from the inner enclosure wall and beneath the north-west wall of the rectangular building, area 3'	Finds: Pottery: The Roman Coarse Pottery: 8	☐
675	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	rim sherd/s	Greyware Jar	Gillam 115	Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	'amongst outside tumble from the north wall of the west building, Area 5'	Finds: Pottery: The Roman Coarse Pottery: 9	☐
676	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	base sherd/s	whiteware		subsoil	'found on bed rock clear of the tumble from the inner enclosure wall, cutting B'	Finds: Pottery: The Roman Coarse Pottery: 10	☐
677	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	base sherd/s	Cooking pot	Ten frags, Gillam 118-131.	Boundary Wall	'found in the earth and rubble core in the wall between huts 1 and 2'	Finds: Pottery: The Roman Coarse Pottery: 11	☐
678	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	base sherd/s	BB cooking pot	Twelve frags, Gillam 141	Unstratified	'in occupation earth beneath central wall of rectangular buildings, area 5	Finds: Pottery: The Roman Coarse Pottery: 12	☐
679	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	rim sherd/s			Unstratified	disturbed by later rectangular buildings	Finds: Pottery: The Roman Coarse Pottery: 13	☐

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680	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	rim sherd/s		Gillam 160, late roman calcite gritted ware	Destruction Layer/Tumble	'found on bed rock beneath tumble from enclosure wall, area 4'	Finds: Pottery: The Roman Coarse Pottery: 14	☐
681	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	rim sherd/s		Gillam 189 or 190? Same vessel as 682 and 683	Destruction Layer/Tumble	'outside the hut in area 4, beneath the tumble of the same'	Finds: Pottery: The Roman Coarse Pottery: 15	☐
682	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	rim sherd/s		Gillam 189 or 190? Same vessel as 681 and 683	Building Wall	'beneath the west wall'	Finds: Pottery: The Roman Coarse Pottery: 15	☐
683	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	rim sherd/s		Gillam 189 or 190? Fourteen frags. Same vessel as 681 and 682	Floor	'Occupation earth' in house in area 4	Finds: Pottery: The Roman Coarse Pottery: 15	☐
684	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	wall sherd/s		calcite gritted	Unstratified	disturbed in floor of rectangular, late Roman buildings	Finds: Pottery: The Roman Coarse Pottery: 15	☐
685	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	base sherd/s		4th century imitation samian?	Unstratified	'beneath topsoil on top of tangental wall...'	Finds: Pottery: The Roman Coarse Pottery: 16	☐
686	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	rim sherd/s		2 sherds, one burnt. Gillam 218.	Makeup Layer	'incorporated into the leveling -up material above smithing hearth, area 5'	Finds: Pottery: The Roman Coarse Pottery: 17	☐
687	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	rim sherd/s	Bowl	BB, Gillam 222. 2 Frags.	Boundary Wall	'found in the earth and rubble core of the wall between huts 1 and 2'	Finds: Pottery: The Roman Coarse Pottery: 18	☐
688	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	rim sherd/s	flanged bowl	3 frags, BB, Gillam 232.	Unstratified	mixed up in floor of late roman rectilinear buildings	Finds: Pottery: The Roman Coarse Pottery: 19	☐
689	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	rim sherd/s	Mortaria	Gillam 245	Building Wall	'on bed rock beneath south wall of hut, area 4 (inner compound wall)'	Finds: Pottery: The Roman Coarse Pottery: 20	☐
690	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	wall sherd/s	Amphora	southern Spanish globular amphora. 4 frags.	Floor	'...near to the smithing hearth and beneath the make-up for the later floor.	Finds: Pottery: The Roman Coarse Pottery: 22	☐

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691	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	wall sherd/s	Amphora	southern Spanish globular amphora. 7 frags.	Building Wall	'earth and rubble core of the north wall of the hut and in the tumble from the same'	Finds: Pottery: The Roman Coarse Pottery: 22	☐
692	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	wall sherd/s	Amphora	southern Spanish globular amphora.	Building Wall	'beneath the wall of hut 2'	Finds: Pottery: The Roman Coarse Pottery: 22	☐
693	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	wall sherd/s	Amphora	southern Spanish globular amphora.	Building Wall	'in the earth and rubble core of the wall between huts 1 and 2'	Finds: Pottery: The Roman Coarse Pottery: 22	☐
694	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	wall sherd/s	Amphora	southern Spanish globular amphora.	Unstratified	'beneath the central wall, near to the oven, area 5...'. Probably quite disturbed.	Finds: Pottery: The Roman Coarse Pottery: 22	☐
695	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	wall sherd/s	Amphora	southern Spanish globular amphora.	Unstratified	'in the occupation earth beneath the southern stretch of this wall...'. I am considering a vague 'occupation layer' beneath later disturbance to be unstrat.	Finds: Pottery: The Roman Coarse Pottery: 22	☐
696	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	wall sherd/s	Amphora	southern Spanish globular amphora.	subsoil	'on rock bottom in the main entrance'	Finds: Pottery: The Roman Coarse Pottery: 22	☐
697	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	rim sherd/s			Building Wall	'core of south wall of hut in area 4 (inner compound wall).'	Finds: Pottery: Native pottery: 1	☐
698	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	rim sherd/s			Makeup Layer	'make-up material of the floor of the circular hut, area 5'	Finds: Pottery: Native pottery: 1	☐
699	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	rim sherd/s			Destruction Layer/Tumble (Boundary)	'on rock surface beneath tumble from enclosure wall'	Finds: Pottery: Native pottery: 2	☐

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700	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	rim sherd/s			Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	‘found beneath tumble from walls, hut 2’	Finds: Pottery: Native pottery: 3	
701	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	rim sherd/s			Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	‘found beneath tumble from walls, hut 2’	Finds: Pottery: Native pottery: 4	
702	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Unstratified	‘occupation earth beneath central wall of rectangular buildings…’ I am considering a vague ‘occupation layer’ beneath later disturbance to be unstrat.	Finds: Pottery: Native pottery: 5	
703	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Unstratified	‘found beneath central wall, area 5’	Finds: Pottery: Native pottery: 6	
704	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Boundary Wall	‘beneath inner enclosure wall, cutting C’	Finds: Pottery: Native pottery: 7	
705	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Base sherd/s			Boundary Wall	‘found beneath ‘backyard’ wall, area 2’	Finds: Pottery: Native pottery: 8	
706	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Base sherd/s			Boundary Wall	‘found beneath inner compound wall, area 4’	Finds: Pottery: Native pottery: 9	
707	Huckhoe	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Base sherd/s			Boundary Wall	‘found beneath tumble from inner enclosure wall, area 3’	Finds: Pottery: Native pottery: 9	
708	Huckhoe	Metal	Cu Alloy	Coin	Sestertius of Hadrian. Jupiter seated holding victory. AD 119. Mattingly Vol. III 406.		Makeup Layer	‘found beneath the made-up floor of the circular hut, area 5’	Finds: Metal: Coin	
709	Huckhoe	Metal	Cu Alloy	Terret	Leeds’ type 7 (Leeds 1933)		Destruction Layer/Tumble (Boundary)	‘rock floor beneath the tumble from the north wall, area 5’	Finds: Metal: Bronze Terret	

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710	Huckhoe	Metal	Cu Alloy	Decorated Strip		Fragment of decorated strip of bronze with traces of red enamel. Traces of leather on back. Decoration is simple grooves.	Unstratified	‘occupation earth beneath the central wall, area 5’. I am considering a vague ‘occupation layer’ beneath later disturbance to be unstrat.	Finds: Metal: Decorative Strip	☐
711	Huckhoe	Metal	Fe	blade		5.5 inch	Makeup Layer	‘the make-up material for later floor near to smithing hearth, area 5’	Finds: Metal: Knife	☐
712	Huckhoe	Metal	Fe	Nail/s			Floor	‘the floors of huts 1 and 2’	Finds: Metal: Nails	☐
713	Huckhoe	Metal	Fe	Nail/s			Floor	‘the floors of huts 1 and 2’	Finds: Metal: Nails	☐
714	Huckhoe	Metal	Fe	Nail/s			Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)		Finds: Metal: Nails	☐
715	Huckhoe	Metal	Fe	Nail/s			Floor	‘near to the smithing hearth, area 5’	Finds: Metal: Nails	☐
716	Huckhoe	Metal	Fe	?Hook		Found in association with other fe scraps	Floor	‘near to the smithing hearth, beneath the makeup layer for the floor of the east building, area 5’	Finds: Metal: Hook (?)	☐
717	Huckhoe	Industrial Debris	Metalworking debris	Iron Cinder			Hearth	‘hearth, area 5’	Finds: Metal: Iron Cinder	☐
718	Huckhoe	Metal	Lead	Spindle whorl		still has some silver, but could be Roman in origin	Floor	‘occupation earth of the circular hut and close to the smithing hearth, area 5’	Finds: Metal: Lead	☐
719	Huckhoe	Metal	Lead	smelting drippings		still has some silver, but could be Roman in origin	Floor	‘occupation earth of the circular hut and close to the smithing hearth, area 5’	Finds: Metal: Lead	☐

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720	Huckhoe	Metal	Lead	smelting drippings		still has some silver, but could be Roman in origin	Floor	'occupation earth of the circular hut and close to the smithing hearth, area 5'	Finds: Metal: Lead	☐
721	Huckhoe	Metal	Lead	Fragment		still has some silver, but could be Roman in origin	Floor	'occupation earth of the circular hut and close to the smithing hearth, area 5'	Finds: Metal: Lead	☐
722	Huckhoe	Metal	Lead	Fragment		still has some silver, but could be Roman in origin	Floor	'occupation earth of the circular hut and close to the smithing hearth, area 5'	Finds: Metal: Lead	☐
723	Huckhoe	Glass		Bead	Annular, 'facetted'	Yellow	Building Wall	'earth and rubble core of the wall of hut 2'	Finds: Glass: Bead	☑
724	Huckhoe	Glass		Bangle	3A	1 5/8" diameter	Destruction Layer/Tumble	'amongst the tumble from the wall of hut 2'	Finds: Glass: Pendants	☐
725	Huckhoe	Glass		Bangle	3A	2" diameter	Unstratified	'lying on top of the remains of the outer enclosure wall in area 6'	Finds: Glass: Pendants	☐
726	Huckhoe	Stone	Sandstone	Rubber		roughly halved	Floor	'leveled floor of the circular hut'	Finds: Quernstones and Rubbers: Rubbers	☐
727	Huckhoe	Stone	Sandstone	Rubber		roughly halved	Building Wall	'the core of the west wall of the west building, area 5'	Finds: Quernstones and Rubbers: Rubbers	☐
728	Huckhoe	Stone	Sandstone	Saddle Quern			Post Hole	'the stone was reused as a packing stone in p.h. 18, area 2; in the filling of the same hole was a broken plano-convex flint knife'	Finds: Quernstones and Rubbers: Saddle Quern	☐

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729	Huckhoe	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary quern	top		Building Wall	‘built into west wall of west building, area 5’	Finds: Quernstones and Rubbers: Flat Beehive Rotary Querns: (a) “Conical” Upper Stones: Fig. 14 no. 2	☐
730	Huckhoe	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary quern	top	decorated with radial grooves	Unstratified	‘found in rubble core of south wall of west building, area 5’ in wall of later Roman building.	Finds: Quernstones and Rubbers: Flat Beehive Rotary Querns: (a) “Conical” Upper Stones: Fig. 14 no. 3	☐
731	Huckhoe	Stone	Unspecified igneous	Rotary quern	top		Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	‘found amongst the tumble from the north wall of the hut, area 4’	Finds: Quernstones and Rubbers: Flat Beehive Rotary Querns: (a) “Conical” Upper Stones	☐
732	Huckhoe	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary quern	top	roughly half	Unstratified	makeup for floor of later Roman rectilinear buildings	Finds: Quernstones and Rubbers: Flat Beehive Rotary Querns: (a) “Conical” Upper Stones	☐
733	Huckhoe	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary quern	top	Other half of 734	Building Wall	‘built into the wall of hut 2’	Finds: Quernstones and Rubbers: Flat Beehive Rotary Querns: (b) Bun-shaped Upper Stones: fig. 14, no. 4	☐
734	Huckhoe	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary quern	top	Other half of 733	Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	‘tumble from the wall of the hut in area 3’	Finds: Quernstones and Rubbers: Flat Beehive Rotary Querns: (b) Bun-shaped Upper Stones: fig. 14, no. 4	☐

Serial No.	Site	Basic Material	Specific Material	Artefact Type	Specific Type	Notes	Context Type	Context	Ref in publication	Specified as intact?
735	Huckhoe	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary quern	top		Building Wall	'found the the core of the wall of hut 2'	Finds: Quernstones and Rubbers: Flat Beehive Rotary Querns: (b) Bun-shaped Upper Stones	☐
736	Huckhoe	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary quern	top		Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	'tumble from the wall of hut 1'	Finds: Quernstones and Rubbers: Flat Beehive Rotary Querns: (b) Bun-shaped Upper Stones	☐
737	Huckhoe	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary quern	top		Building Wall	'built into the wall of hut 1'	Finds: Quernstones and Rubbers: Flat Beehive Rotary Querns: (b) Bun-shaped Upper Stones: Fig 14, no. 6	☐
738	Huckhoe	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary quern	top		Unstratified	built into later Roman rectilinear buildings	Finds: Quernstones and Rubbers: Flat Beehive Rotary Querns: (b) Bun-shaped Upper Stones	☐
739	Huckhoe	Stone	Unspecified igneous	Rotary quern	top		Unstratified	built into later Roman rectilinear buildings	Finds: Quernstones and Rubbers: Flat Beehive Rotary Querns: (b) Bun-shaped Upper Stones: Fig 14, no. 7	☐
740	Huckhoe	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary quern	top	Reused as whetstone	Unstratified	built into later Roman rectilinear buildings	Finds: Quernstones and Rubbers: Flat Beehive Rotary Querns: (b) Bun-shaped Upper Stones	☐

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741	Huckhoe	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary quern	top		Destruction Layer/Tumble (Boundary)	'found amongst the tumble from the inner compound wall, area 3'	Finds: Quernstones and Rubbers: Flat Beehive Rotary Querns: (b) Bun-shaped Upper Stones	☐
742	Huckhoe	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary quern	top	A few radial grooves	Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	'found amongst the tumble from the north wall of the hut in area 4'	Finds: Quernstones and Rubbers: Flat Beehive Rotary Querns: (b) Bun-shaped Upper Stones	☐
743	Huckhoe	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary quern	top	quite flat, later than other querns	Unstratified	built into later Roman rectilinear buildings	Finds: Quernstones and Rubbers: fig 14 no. 8	☐
744	Huckhoe	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary quern	top	quite flat, later than other querns	Unstratified	'outside the entrance to hut 1'	Finds: Quernstones and Rubbers: fig 14 no. 9	☐
745	Huckhoe	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary quern	top		Unstratified	Topsoil	Finds: Quernstones and Rubbers: Flat Beehive Rotary Querns: (b) Bun-shaped Upper Stones: Romano-British Querns with Collars or Projecting Hoppers	☐
746	Huckhoe	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary quern	top		Unstratified	Tumble from later Roman rectilinear buildings	Finds: Quernstones and Rubbers: Flat Beehive Rotary Querns: (b) Bun-shaped Upper Stones: Romano-British Querns with Collars or Projecting Hoppers	☐

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747	Huckhoe	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary quern	top		Unstratified	from floor of later Roman rectilinear buildings	Finds: Quernstones and Rubbers: Flat Beehive Rotary Querns: (b) Bun-shaped Upper Stones: Romano-British Querns with Collars or Projecting Hoppers	
748	Huckhoe	Stone	Andernach Stone	Rotary Quern	unknown	from Germania	Boundary Wall	‘the rubble and earth core of the wall between huts 1 and 2’	Finds: Quernstones and Rubbers: Flat Beehive Rotary Querns: (b) Bun-shaped Upper Stones: Andernach Stone	
749	Huckhoe	Stone	Andernach Stone	Rotary Quern	unknown	from Germania	Unstratified	from wall of later Roman rectilinear buildings	Finds: Quernstones and Rubbers: Flat Beehive Rotary Querns: (b) Bun-shaped Upper Stones: Andernach Stone	
750	Huckhoe	Stone	Sandstone	Grindstone		Probably later, like at Belling Law	Unstratified	‘found on top of the rubble core of the transverse wall, cutting D’	Finds: Miscellaneous Objects of Stone: Grindstone	
751	Huckhoe	Stone	Sandstone	Whetstone			Unstratified	from wall of later Roman rectilinear buildings	Finds: Miscellaneous Objects of Stone: Whetstones	
752	Huckhoe	Stone	Sandstone	Whetstone			Unstratified	from wall of later Roman rectilinear buildings	Finds: Miscellaneous Objects of Stone: Whetstones	
753	Huckhoe	Stone	Sandstone	Stone Disc		1.5 inch diameter, 0.5 inches thick	Makeup Layer	‘found in the make-up material for the floor of the circular hut, area 5’	Finds: Miscellaneous Objects of Stone: Stone Disc or Stopper	

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754	Huckhoe	Stone	Sandstone	Pounder		use marks on both ends	Unstratified	from wall of later Roman rectilinear buildings	Finds: Miscellaneous Objects of Stone: Pounders	
755	Huckhoe	Stone	Sandstone	Pounder		use marks on both ends	Unstratified	from wall of later Roman rectilinear buildings	Finds: Miscellaneous Objects of Stone: Pounders	
756	Huckhoe	Stone	Sandstone	Pounder		use marks on both ends	Unstratified	from wall of later Roman rectilinear buildings	Finds: Miscellaneous Objects of Stone: Pounders	
757	Huckhoe	Stone	Shale	Spindle Whorl			subsoil	'on bed rock within the hut, area 3'	Finds: Miscellaneous Objects of Stone: Spindle Whorls	
758	Huckhoe	Stone	Sandstone	Spindle Whorl			Boundary Wall	'rubble and earth core of the cross all between huts 1 and 2'	Finds: Miscellaneous Objects of Stone: Spindle Whorls	
759	Huckhoe	Stone	Sandstone	Worked Stone		rectangular sandstone block, 10x7x4 inches. Grooved on one edge.	Boundary Wall	'found amongst the rubble remains of the outer enclosure wall in area 6'	Finds: Miscellaneous Objects of Stone: Grooved stone	
760	Huckhoe	Stone	Flint	Scraper	end-scraper	definitely residual	Boundary Wall	'from beneath the inner enclosure wall, in the upcast from the stockade trenches, area'	Finds: Flints: 1	
761	Huckhoe	Stone	Flint	Scraper			Unstratified	from wall of later Roman rectilinear buildings	Finds: Flints: 2	
762	Huckhoe	Stone	Flint	Flake			Boundary Wall	'from the core of the wall between huts 1 and 2'	Finds: Flints: 3	
763	Huckhoe	Stone	Flint	Scraper	end-scraper		Post Hole	'from filling of hole on north side of entrance to hut 2'	Finds: Flints: 4	
764	Huckhoe	Stone	Flint	Scraper			Subsoil	'rock fissures, area 5'	Finds: Flints: 5	

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765	Huckhoe	Stone	Flint	Scraper			Subsoil	'rock fissures, area 5'	Finds: Flints: 6	☐
766	Huckhoe	Stone	Flint	Scraper	button scraper	definitely residual	Boundary Wall	'top of upcast from stockade trench, beneath inner enclosure wall'	Finds: Flints: 7	☐
767	Huckhoe	Stone	Flint	Scraper	end-scraper		Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	'from amongst the tumble from the north wall of the hut in area 4'	Finds: Flints: 8	☐
768	Huckhoe	Stone	Flint	Plano-Convex knife		definitely Neolithic-EBA	Post Hole	'from the filling of p.h. 18, area 2	Finds: Flints: 9	☐
769	Hetha Burn 1	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Small Pit	'stone lined pit CIII'	Small Finds: Pottery: Group A: 1	☐
770	Hetha Burn 1	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Base sherd/s			subsoil	'on natural in the entrance of the site c stone house'	Small Finds: Pottery: Group A: 2	☐
771	Hetha Burn 1	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s		five frags	Makeup Layer	'terrace buildup underneath the site c house'	Small Finds: Pottery: Group A: i	☐
772	Hetha Burn 1	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s		'three with red or pink surfaces'	indeterminate layer	'layer 3'	Small Finds: Pottery: Group A: ii	☐
773	Hetha Burn 1	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s		'one with pale buff outer surface and black core and inner surface'	indeterminate layer	'layer 3'	Small Finds: Pottery: Group A: ii	☐
774	Hetha Burn 1	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	'in rubble outside the stone house C1'	Small Finds: Pottery: Group B: 3	☐
775	Hetha Burn 1	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Destruction Layer/Tumble (Boundary)	'rubble layer 2, outside the phase II stone wall, site D'	Small Finds: Pottery: Group B: 4	☐
776	Hetha Burn 1	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Destruction Layer/Tumble (Boundary)	'from site BI, well down in the rubble layer 2, outside the phase II stone wall'	Small Finds: Pottery: Group B: 5	☐
777	Hetha Burn 1	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Base sherd/s			subsoil	'from the natural just outside the entrance to the stone house, CII'	Small Finds: Pottery: Group B: 6	☐

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778	Hetha Burn 1	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s		?crucible	Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	'from the rubble inside the stone house CI, roughly at the level of the stone wall'	Small Finds: Pottery: Group B: 7	☐
779	Hetha Burn 1	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Base sherd/s			Unstratified	'from the rubble layer 2 inside the stone house, Site CIII...impossible to be certain whether from the pre-stone house levelling material or the identical rubble above'	Small Finds: Pottery: Group B: 8	☐
780	Hetha Burn 1	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Unstratified		Small Finds: Pottery: Group C: 9	☐
781	Hetha Burn 1	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s		2 frags	Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	'rubble fill within the stone house'	Small Finds: Pottery: Group C: i	☐
782	Hetha Burn 1	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s			Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	'rubble filling the entrance passage'	Small Finds: Pottery: Group C: ii	☐
783	Hetha Burn 1	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Unstratified		Small Finds: Pottery: Not classified: 10	☐
784	Hetha Burn 1	Stone	Unspecified pebble/cobble	Pounder		Pounding damage on both ends, black patches, potentially from burnishing pottery?	Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	'from the rubble layer 2, immediately outside the stone house wall, CI'	Small Finds: Stone and Flint: 1	☐
785	Hetha Burn 1	Stone	Unspecified pebble/cobble	Pounder		wear from pounding and burnishing	Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	'from the rubble layer 2, inside the stone house, Site CII'	Small Finds: Stone and Flint: 2	☐
786	Hetha Burn 1	Stone	Unspecified pebble/cobble	Unspecified		Not sure why this was recorded in report	Surface or Pavement	'from the dark layer 4 overlying the pavement at the south-east end of site D'	Small Finds: Stone and Flint: 3	☐

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787	Hetha Burn 1	Stone	Flint	Scraper		fragment	Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	'from the rubble layer 2, inside the stone house, Site CII'	Small Finds: Stone and Flint: Flint	☐
788	Hetha Burn 1	Glass	Roman Vessel	Rim sherd/s		2 frags (1 rim, 1 body). Line decoration.	Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	'low down within the rubble fill directly over bedrock within the site A house, box AIII'	Small Finds: Glass:1	☐
789	Hetha Burn 1	Glass		Bangle		blue glass with white trailing. CHECK TYPE	Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	'from the rubble fill inside the Site C stone house, CIII'	Small Finds: Glass:3	☐
790	Hetha Burn 1	Exotic Stone	Jet	?Armlet		'either from a vessel or broad armlet' 85mm diameter.	Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	'from well down in the rubble inside the Site A house, A III'	Small Finds: Other Materials: 4	☐
791	Hetha Burn 1	Glass		Bead	Melon bead	reddish brown past and dark blue surface	Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	'from inside the site C stone house, in the rubble fill at the rear of the house, hard up against the base of the wall'	Small Finds: Other Materials: 5: i	☐
792	Hetha Burn 1	Glass		Bead	Melon bead	reddish brown past and dark blue surface	Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	'from inside the site C stone house, in the rubble fill at the rear of the house, hard up against the base of the wall'	Small Finds: Other Materials: 5: ii	☐
793	Murton High Crags	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s		3 frags	Floor	'beneath rubble on the paved floor of stone built house S7'	Small Finds: Pottery: Native hand-built pottery: 2	
794	Murton High Crags	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Small Pit	'top fill of pit F268'	Small Finds: Pottery: Native hand-built pottery: 3	☐
795	Murton High Crags	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Floor	'beneath the tumble on the paved floor of the stone-built house S4'	Small Finds: Pottery: Native hand-built pottery: 4	☐

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796	Murton High Crags	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Unstratified		Small Finds: Pottery: Native hand-built pottery: 5	
797	Murton High Crags	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s		2 frags	Floor	'paved floor of house s5'	Small Finds: Pottery: Native hand-built pottery: Vessel no.12	
798	Murton High Crags	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Floor	'paved floor of house 6'	Small Finds: Pottery: Native hand-built pottery: Vessel no.13	
799	Murton High Crags	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Surface or Pavement	'undisturbed paving to the west of S1-3'	Small Finds: Pottery: Native hand-built pottery: Vessel no.14	
800	Murton High Crags	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Surface or Pavement	'undisturbed paving to the south of S5'	Small Finds: Pottery: Native hand-built pottery: Vessel no.15	
801	Murton High Crags	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	base sherd/s			Floor	'found in the occupation earth on the paved floor associated with house S2 and sealed by the paved floor of S3'	Small Finds: Pottery: Native hand-built pottery: 7	
802	Murton High Crags	Ceramic	Roman fineware	Wall sherd/s	?Dr 30	South Gaulish- first or very early second century AD.	Subfloor	'immediately below the paved floor of stone-built house S9'	Small Finds: Pottery: Roman Pottery: Samian Ware: 1	
803	Murton High Crags	Ceramic	Roman fineware	Base sherd/s	Dr 27	South Gaulish- first or very early second century AD. 'military origin' suggested based on graffito of A with elongated cross stroke.	Small Pit	'found in top fill of the clay lined pit F46'	Small Finds: Pottery: Roman Pottery: Samian Ware: 2	

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804	Murton High Crags	Ceramic	Roman fineware	Rim sherd/s	Dr 27	South Gaulish- first or very early second century AD.	Unstratified	plough disturbed	Small Finds: Pottery: Roman Pottery: Samian Ware: 3	☐
805	Murton High Crags	Ceramic	Roman fineware	Wall sherd/s	*Terra Sigillata*	South Gaulish- first or very early second century AD.	Unstratified	'amongst disturbed paving and rubble'	Small Finds: Pottery: Roman Pottery: Samian Ware: 4	☐
806	Murton High Crags	Ceramic	Roman coarseware	Rim sherd/s	flagon, Gillam 17		Unstratified	ploughsoil	Small Finds: Pottery: Roman Pottery: Coarse Ware: 1	☐
807	Murton High Crags	Ceramic	Roman coarseware	Rim sherd/s	BB, Gillam 118		Floor	'from the paved floor of stone-built house S2'	Small Finds: Pottery: Roman Pottery: Coarse Ware: 2	☐
808	Murton High Crags	Ceramic	Roman coarseware	Wall Sherd/s	Amphora, south spanish globular	I believe these 'south spanish globular' amphorae are Dressel 20's (oil)	Floor	'from the paved floor of stone-built house S9'	Small Finds: Pottery: Roman Pottery: Coarse Ware: 3	☐
809	Murton High Crags	Ceramic	Roman coarseware	Wall sherd/s	?flagon		Unstratified	ploughsoil	Small Finds: Pottery: Roman Pottery: Coarse Ware: 4	☐
810	Murton High Crags	Ceramic	Roman coarseware	Wall sherd/s	?flagon		Unstratified	ploughsoil	Small Finds: Pottery: Roman Pottery: Coarse Ware: 5	☐
811	Murton High Crags	Glass		Bangle	Kilbride-Jones 3A		Unstratified	'disturbed rubble and paving of the putative stone-built house S10'	Small Finds: Glass: 1	☐
812	Murton High Crags	Glass		Bead	globular; Guido group 7?	cobalt blue	Surface or Pavement	'from the paved surface beneath plough soil to the northeast of house S8'	Small Finds: Glass: 2	☐

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813	Murton High Crags	Metal	Cu alloy	Bracelet	twisted-bar bracelet	64mm diameter. A common Roman military and civilian type.	Surface or Pavement	‘recovered from the paving associated with houses S1 to 3’	Small Finds: Metal: 1	☐
814	Murton High Crags	Metal	Cu alloy	?Strap End			Unstratified	base of plough soil	Small Finds: Metal: 3	☐
815	Murton High Crags	Metal	Fe	Spearhead			Subsoil	‘subsoil, but recently disturbed’	Small Finds: Metal: 4	☐
816	Murton High Crags	Industrial Debris	Metalworking debris	Iron Slag	likely from smithing		Floor	‘paved floor of S2, sealed by S3	Small Finds: Metal: 5	☐
817	Murton High Crags	Industrial Debris	Metalworking debris	Iron Slag	likely from smithing		Building Wall	‘the core of the wall of house S7’	Small Finds: Metal: 5	☐
818	Murton High Crags	Stone	Unspecified igneous	Saddle Quern			Makeup Layer	‘recovered from beneath the undisturbed paving to the east of S8’	Small Finds: Stone: Saddle Querns: 1	☑
819	Murton High Crags	Stone	Unspecified igneous	Saddle Quern			Floor	‘beneath the paved floor of the stone built houses S1 and S2 and on the floor area of the timber-built house T3’	Small Finds: Stone: Saddle Querns: 2	☐
820	Murton High Crags	Stone	Sandstone	Saddle Quern			Unstratified		Small Finds: Stone: Saddle Querns: 3	☐
821	Murton High Crags	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary Quern	Top and Bottom		Floor	‘both set amongst the paving stones in the floor associated with stone-built house S2 and sealed beneath the floor of S3’	Small Finds: Stone: Rotary Querns: 1	☑
822	Murton High Crags	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary Quern	top	about a third	Floor	‘paving of the floor of house 7’	Small Finds: Stone: Rotary Querns: 2	☐
823	Murton High Crags	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary Quern	top	about a third	Destruction Layer/Tumble (Boundary)	‘amongst the disturbed forward tumble from the stone enclosure wall’	Small Finds: Stone: Rotary Querns: 3	☐

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824	Murton High Crags	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary Quern	top	about half	Destruction Layer/Tumble (Boundary)	'amongst the disturbed forward tumble from the stone enclosure wall'	Small Finds: Stone: Rotary Querns: 4	☐
825	Murton High Crags	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary Quern	top	about a third	Surface or Pavement	'undisturbed paving to the north-east of house S8'	Small Finds: Stone: Rotary Querns: 5	☐
826	Murton High Crags	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary Quern	top	2 frags	Surface or Pavement	'paved floor of house S5'	Small Finds: Stone: Rotary Querns: 6	☐
827	Murton High Crags	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary Quern	bottom		Surface or Pavement	'paved floor of house S5'	Small Finds: Stone: Rotary Querns: 6	☐
828	Murton High Crags	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary Quern	top	about a third	Surface or Pavement	'undisturbed paving in 1040'	Small Finds: Stone: Rotary Querns: 7	☐
829	Murton High Crags	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary Quern	top		Unstratified	'disturbed rubble'	Small Finds: Stone: Rotary Querns: 8	☐
830	Murton High Crags	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary Quern	top		Unstratified	'disturbed rubble'	Small Finds: Stone: Rotary Querns: 8	☐
831	Murton High Crags	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary Quern	top	half	Unstratified		Small Finds: Stone: Rotary Querns: 9	☐
832	Murton High Crags	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary Quern	bottom		Hearth	'beneath hearth stones of stone-built house S9 and on top of the filled inner ditch...'	Small Finds: Stone: Rotary Querns: 10	☐
833	Murton High Crags	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary Quern	bottom	re-used as pivot	Floor	'paved floor of stone-built house S4'	Small Finds: Stone: Rotary Querns: 11	☐
834	Murton High Crags	Stone	Sandstone	Whetstone			Floor	'from the occupation earth beneath rubble on the floor of house S8'	Small Finds: Stone: Whetstones: 1	☑
835	Murton High Crags	Stone	Sandstone	Whetstone			Floor	'paved floor of S2, sealed by the floor of S3'	Small Finds: Stone: Whetstones: 2	☑
836	Murton High Crags	Stone	Sandstone	mould	bar mould		Floor	'from the paved floor, beneath the rubble, in house S7'	Small Finds: Stone: Bar-Mould	☐

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837	Murton High Crags	Stone	Sandstone	cup marked stone	slab with a single pecked cup		Surface or Pavement	'paving to the east of house S8'	Small Finds: Stone: Cup marked stones	☐
838	Murton High Crags	Stone	Sandstone	cup marked stone	block with a single pecked cup		Unstratified		Small Finds: Stone: Cup marked stones	☐
839	Murton High Crags	Stone	Sandstone	Counter		Described as a 'counter', but basically is a tiny stone disc. 2.2 cm diameter	Floor	'on the paved floor of house S7'	Small Finds: Stone: Counter	☑
840	Murton High Crags	Stone	Sandstone	Spindle Whorl		heavy-duty for a whorl	Floor	'in occupation earth on the paved floor of house S3'	Small Finds: Stone: Spindle Whorl	☑
841	Murton High Crags	Stone	Sandstone	Stone Disc		Roughly 7.5cm diameter and 1cm thick.	Surface or Pavement	'paved surface at the base of the topsoil'	Small Finds: Stone: Disc	☐
842	Murton High Crags	Stone	Shale	Stone Disc		Roughly 8cm diameter and 1cm thick. Suggestion that this could be waste from making shale rings, or a blank.	Floor	'paved floor of house S8'	Small Finds: Shale: 1. Disc	☐
843	Murton High Crags	Stone	Shale	Finger Ring		c. 25mm diameter. Halved.	Floor	'from a small area of tightly packed cobbles within the floor area of the timber-built house T12...'	Small Finds: Shale: 2. Finger ring	☐
844	Murton High Crags	Stone	Shale	Bead	disc bead		Unstratified	disturbed rubble	Small Finds: Shale: 3. Disc Bead	☐
845	Murton High Crags	Stone	Shale	Bead	disc bead		Ditch Length	'top of the fill of the inner ditch'	Small Finds: Shale: 4. Disc Bead	☐
846	Murton High Crags	Stone	Shale	Ring		38mm diameter. Diamond cross section.	Unstratified	disturbed rubble	Small Finds: Shale: 5. ? Pendant	☐
847	Murton High Crags	Stone	Shale	Ring		125mm external and 75mm internal diameter. D shaped cross section.	Destruction Layer/Tumble (Boundary)	'found beneath tumble from stone wall'	Small Finds: Shale: 6. Bracelet or pendant	☐

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848	Murton High Crags	Stone	Shale	Ring		Small frag, up to 80mm internal diameter. Flat cross section.	Floor	'recovered from occupation earth on the paved floor of house S2, sealed by paved floor of S3'	Small Finds: Shale: 6. Bracelet or pendant	☐
849	Belling Law	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s		8 frags	Subsoil	'natural clay surface beneath the floor level of the rectangular building in the NW corner of Area A'	Small Finds: A. Pottery: Native Pottery: 1	☐
850	Belling Law	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Construction Trench	the edge of construction trench of house no.4...'	Small Finds: A. Pottery: Native Pottery: 2	☐
851	Belling Law	Glass		bangle	Kilbride-Jones 3A		Subsoil	'natural clay surface beneath the floor level of the rectangular building in the NW corner of Area A'	Small Finds: Glass: 1	☐
852	Belling Law	Glass		bangle	Kilbride-Jones 3A		Construction Trench	'shallow trench supporting the kerbstones of the causeway in Area C'	Small Finds: Glass: 1	☐
853	Belling Law	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	wall sherd/s	Amphora	?Dressel 20, 10 sherds.	Surface or Pavement	'cobbled area associated with the Romano-British homestead'	Small Finds: Pottery: Roman Pottery: 1	☐
854	Belling Law	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	base sherd/s	jar		Building Wall	'beneath the centre of the remains of the southern wall of the stone-built roundhouse A'	Small Finds: Pottery: Roman Pottery: 2	☐
855	Belling Law	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	base sherd/s	BB1 cooking pot		Unstratified		Small Finds: Pottery: Roman Pottery: 3	☐
856	Belling Law	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	base sherd/s	Flagon		Surface or Pavement	'cobbled area associated with the Romano-British homestead'	Small Finds: Pottery: Roman Pottery: 4	☐

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857	Belling Law	Ceramic	Roman coarseware	wall sherds	jar	4 sherds	Surface or Pavement	‘clay surface within the perimeter of the phase II palisade trench, Cutting 2, sealed only by topsoil’	Small Finds: Pottery: Roman Pottery: 5	
858	Belling Law	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	wall sherd/s			Surface or Pavement	‘cobbled area associated with the Romano-British homestead’	Small Finds: Pottery: Roman Pottery: 5	
859	Belling Law	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	wall sherd/s			Surface or Pavement	‘from between the paving stones of the stone-built causeway’	Small Finds: Pottery: Roman Pottery: 5	
860	Belling Law	Stone	Unspecified	Rotary quern	top	two frags	Unstratified	built into later house	Small Finds: G. Stone: Querns and Rubbers: 1	
861	Belling Law	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary quern	bottom		Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	‘rubble spread of the stone-built, round house A’	Small Finds: G. Stone: Querns and Rubbers: 3	
862	Belling Law	Stone	Sandstone	Rubber			Post Hole	‘re-used as packing stone in post hole no. 22 within the complex of timber built, round houses	Small Finds: G. Stone: Querns and Rubbers: 4	
863	Belling Law	Stone	Sandstone	Mould	bar mould		Small Pit	‘shallow pit no. 27 within the round house complex’	Small Finds: G. Stone: Moulds: 1	
864	Belling Law	Stone	Sandstone	Mould	slab with mould for 50mm x 20mm disc.	No traces of wear as with pivot, so likely to be mould	Unstratified (Unspecified)		Small Finds: G. Stone: Moulds: 2	
865	Belling Law	Industrial Debris	Metalworking debris	Iron cinder		from smithing?	Unstratified	nearly on causeway but still in topsoil	Small Finds: J. Iron Slag and Cinder	
866	Belling Law	Industrial Debris	Metalworking debris	Iron Slag	smelting slag- in shape of bottom of bowl furnace		Unstratified	reused in later farm buildings	Small Finds: J. Iron Slag and Cinder	
867	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 9	Pottery: (iii) Native (‘Brigantian’) Wares: 11	

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868	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 4b	Pottery: (iii) Native ('Brigantian') Wares: 12	
869	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Destruction Layer/Tumble (Boundary)	Site A, Layer 6	Pottery: (iii) Native ('Brigantian') Wares: 13	
870	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 7	Pottery: (iii) Native ('Brigantian') Wares: 14	
871	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Roundhouse Gully	Site F, gully 17	Pottery: (iii) Native ('Brigantian') Wares: 15	
872	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 4c	Pottery: (iii) Native ('Brigantian') Wares: 16	
873	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Destruction Layer/Tumble (Boundary)	Site A, Layer 6	Pottery: (iii) Native ('Brigantian') Wares: 17	
874	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Ditch Length	Site F, layer 2b	Pottery: (iii) Native ('Brigantian') Wares: 18	
875	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Destruction Layer/Tumble (Boundary)	Site A, Layer 6	Pottery: (iii) Native ('Brigantian') Wares: 19	
876	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Destruction Layer/Tumble (Boundary)	Site A, Layer 6	Pottery: (iii) Native ('Brigantian') Wares: 20	
877	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Destruction Layer/Tumble (Boundary)	Site A, Layer 6	Pottery: (iii) Native ('Brigantian') Wares: 21	
878	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Ditch Length	Site F, Layer 2b	Pottery: (iii) Native ('Brigantian') Wares: 22	
879	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 4b	Pottery: (iii) Native ('Brigantian') Wares: 23	
880	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Destruction Layer/Tumble (Boundary)	Site A, Layer 6	Pottery: (iii) Native ('Brigantian') Wares: 24	

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881	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 4b	Pottery: (iii) Native ('Brigantian') Wares: 25	
882	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 4b	Pottery: (iii) Native ('Brigantian') Wares: 26	
883	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Destruction Layer/Tumble (Boundary)	Site A, Layer 6	Pottery: (iii) Native ('Brigantian') Wares: 27	
884	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 4c	Pottery: (iii) Native ('Brigantian') Wares: 28	
885	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Destruction Layer/Tumble (Boundary)	Site A, Layer 6	Pottery: (iii) Native ('Brigantian') Wares: 29	
886	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 4c	Pottery: (iii) Native ('Brigantian') Wares: 30	
887	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Destruction Layer/Tumble (Boundary)	Site A, Layer 6	Pottery: (iii) Native ('Brigantian') Wares: 31	
888	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Base sherd/s			Destruction Layer/Tumble (Boundary)	Site A, layers 4a and 6	Pottery: (iii) Native ('Brigantian') Wares: 32	
889	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Base sherd/s			Destruction Layer/Tumble (Boundary)	Site A, layers 4a and 6	Pottery: (iii) Native ('Brigantian') Wares: 33	
890	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Base sherd/s			Destruction Layer/Tumble (Boundary)	Site A, layer 6	Pottery: (iii) Native ('Brigantian') Wares: 34	
891	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Base sherd/s			Destruction Layer/Tumble (Boundary)	Site A, layers 4a and 6	Pottery: (iii) Native ('Brigantian') Wares: 35	
892	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Base sherd/s			Destruction Layer/Tumble (Boundary)	Site A, layer 6	Pottery: (iii) Native ('Brigantian') Wares: 36	
893	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Base sherd/s			Ditch Terminal	Site B, layer 6	Pottery: (iii) Native ('Brigantian') Wares: 37	

Serial No.	Site	Basic Material	Specific Material	Artefact Type	Specific Type	Notes	Context Type	Context	Ref in publication	Specified as intact?
894	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Base sherd/s			Destruction Layer/Tumble (Boundary)	Site A, layer 6	Pottery: (iii) Native ('Brigantian') Wares: 38	☐
895	Stanwick (REMW)	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Base sherd/s			Destruction Layer/Tumble (Boundary)	Site A, layer 6	Pottery: (iii) Native ('Brigantian') Wares: 39	☐
896	Stanwick (REMW)	Metal	Fe	Sword			Ditch Terminal	Site B ditch	The Sword and Scabbard	☑
897	Stanwick (REMW)	Compound	Wood and Cu Alloy	Scabbard			Ditch Terminal	Site B ditch	The Sword and Scabbard	☑
898	Stanwick (REMW)	Metal	Cu Alloy	Brooch	Bow brooch		Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 4c	Metal and Bone: 1	☐
899	Stanwick (REMW)	Metal	Cu Alloy	Brooch	Trumpet brooch	Collingwood Ri	Unstratified (Unspecified)	Unspecified	Metal and Bone: 2	☐
900	Stanwick (REMW)	Metal	Cu Alloy	Fitting		Small rectangular plate, pierced at either end as if for attachment to a belt or similar	Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 4b	Metal and Bone: 3	☐
901	Stanwick (REMW)	Metal	Cu Alloy	Fitting		Small plate pierced at either end as if for attachment to a belt or similar. Pointed oval.	Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 4b	Metal and Bone: 4	☐
902	Stanwick (REMW)	Bone	Animal Bone	Pin		Very roughly shaped	Destruction Layer/Tumble (Boundary)	Site A, Layer 6	Metal and Bone: 5	☐
903	Stanwick (REMW)	Bone	Animal Bone	Knife handle			Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 4c	Metal and Bone: 6	☐
904	Stanwick (REMW)	Bone	Animal Bone	Knife handle			Ditch Length	Site A, Layer 4c	Metal and Bone: 7	☐
905	Stanwick (REMW)	Metal	Fe	Shears		'would be suitable for sheep-shearing.'	Roundhouse Gully	Site F, Gully 1	Metal and Bone: 8	☐
906	Stanwick (REMW)	Stone	Flint	Scraper			Ditch Length	Site F, layer 2b	Flint and Stone: Fig. 1	☐
907	Stanwick (REMW)	Stone	Flint	Scraper			Ditch Length	Site F, layer 2b	Flint and Stone: Fig. 2	☐
908	Stanwick (REMW)	Stone	Flint	Scraper			Ditch Length	Site F, layer 2b	Flint and Stone: Fig. 3	☐
909	Stanwick (REMW)	Stone	Flint	Scraper			Ditch Length	Site F, layer 2a	Flint and Stone: Fig. 4	☐

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910	Stanwick (REMW)	Stone	Gritstone/ Whinstone	Beehive quern	top	Roughly quartered	Unstratified	'surface of Site H'	Flint and Stone: Fig. 17	☐
911	Stanwick (REMW)	Wood	Oak	Dish			Ditch Terminal	Site B ditch	Woodwork and Basketwork	☐
912	Stanwick (REMW)	Wood	Willow and Hazel	Basketry fragment			Ditch Terminal	Site B ditch	Woodwork and Basketwork	☐
913	Stanwick (REMW)	Wood	Oak	Board or stake		pointed end	Ditch Terminal	Site B ditch	Woodwork and Basketwork	☐
914	Stanwick (REMW)	Wood	Birch	Board or stake		Pointed end	Ditch Terminal	Site B ditch	Woodwork and Basketwork	☐
915	Stanwick (REMW)	Bone	Human Bone	Skull		Heavily injured, placed in ditch when still fleshed.	Ditch Terminal	Site B ditch	Human Skull Showing Wounds	☐
916	Stanwick (REMW)	Bone	Human Bone	Skull Fragment/s		3 frags	Destruction Layer/Tumble (Boundary)	Site A, layers 4b and 6	Human Skull Showing Wounds: Other Fragments of Human Skulls	☐
917	Stanwick (REMW)	Bone	Human Bone	Skull Fragment/s		1 frag	Ditch Length	Site H, lowest silt of ditch	Human Skull Showing Wounds: Other Fragments of Human Skulls	☐
918	South Shields	Metal	Fe	Adze		possible hoe, but more likely adze	Small Pit	'Pit inside roundhouse, 9759, I522'	The Iron Age Finds: Catalogue: Finds from the Prehistoric Levels in the East Quadrant Area: Iron: 1	☑
919	South Shields	Metal	Fe	Ring headed pin			Floor	'Floor of roundhouse, 9730, I519'	The Iron Age Finds: Catalogue: Finds from the Prehistoric Levels in the East Quadrant Area: Iron: 2	☐
920	South Shields	Metal	Fe	Rod fragment			Construction Trench	'Fill of roundhouse wall trench, 9782, I531'	The Iron Age Finds: Catalogue: Finds from the Prehistoric Levels in the East Quadrant Area: Iron: 3	☐

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921	South Shields	Metal	Fe	Rod fragment			Construction Trench	'Fill of roundhouse wall trench, 9782, I531'	The Iron Age Finds: Catalogue: Finds from the Prehistoric Levels in the East Quadrant Area: Iron: 4	☐
922	South Shields	Metal	Fe	Strip		Small rectangular slip of iron pierced at one end	Construction Trench	'Fill of roundhouse wall trench, 9782, I531'	The Iron Age Finds: Catalogue: Finds from the Prehistoric Levels in the East Quadrant Area: Iron: 5	☐
923	South Shields	Metal	Lead	Lump			Indeterminate layer	'burnt area north-west of house, 9740, L75'	The Iron Age Finds: Catalogue: Finds from the Prehistoric Levels in the East Quadrant Area: Lead: 6	☐
924	South Shields	Bone	Animal Bone	rough-out for needle or pin			Indeterminate layer	'ground surface outside house, 21270, B386'	The Iron Age Finds: Catalogue: Finds from the Prehistoric Levels in the East Quadrant Area: Bone: 7	☐
925	South Shields	Stone	Shale	cylinder		?ring fragment	Indeterminate layer	'ground surface outside house, 21270, B386'	The Iron Age Finds: Catalogue: Finds from the Prehistoric Levels in the East Quadrant Area: Jet and Shale: 8	☐
926	South Shields	Stone	Shale	counter?		25mm diameter, 9mm thick	Construction Trench	'Fill of roundhouse wall trench, 9782, I531'	The Iron Age Finds: Catalogue: Finds from the Prehistoric Levels in the East Quadrant Area: Jet and Shale: 9	☐

Serial No.	Site	Basic Material	Specific Material	Artefact Type	Specific Type	Notes	Context Type	Context	Ref in publication	Specified as intact?
927	South Shields	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary Quern	unspecified		Hearth	'fill of probably hearth, inside roundhouse, 9757, S441'	The Iron Age Finds: Catalogue: Finds from the Prehistoric Levels in the East Quadrant Area: Quern 10	☐
928	South Shields	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary Quern	unspecified	burnt	Hearth	'pit, possible hearth, inside roundhouse 9757, S441'	The Iron Age Finds: Catalogue: Finds from the Prehistoric Levels in the East Quadrant Area: Quern 11	☐
929	South Shields	Stone	Shale	Armlet		Roughly half. Possibly residual as found in Roman levels.	Surface or Pavement	'metalled surface leading off parade ground 26741, J40'	The Iron Age Finds: Catalogue: Prehistoric Finds From North-West of the Main Area: 12	☐
930	South Shields	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall Sherd/s		2 frags	indeterminate layer	'ground north-west of roundhouse, 9773'	The Iron Age Finds: Catalogue: Pottery: 1	☐
931	South Shields	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim Sherd/s		said to be covered in orange slip- unusual	indeterminate layer	'ground north-west of roundhouse, 9785 (equivalent to 9773)'	The Iron Age Finds: Catalogue: Pottery: 2	☐
932	Burradon	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim Sherd/s		6 frags	Large Pit	'different levels within the fill of pit A in the ditch terminal of the homestead house'	Small Finds: Hand-built pottery: 1	☐
933	Burradon	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	wall sherd/s		2 frags	Roundhouse Gully	'bottom of gully 1'	Small Finds: Hand-built pottery: 2	☐
934	Burradon	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	wall sherd/s		3 frags	Hearth	'the pit hearth to the north of ditch 4b'	Small Finds: Hand-built pottery: 3	☐
935	Burradon	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	rim sherd/s		21 frags	Large Pit	'lower reaches of pit A'	Small Finds: Hand-built pottery: 4	☐
936	Burradon	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	rim sherd/s			Ditch Length	'bottom silt in the enclosure ditch of the homestead'	Small Finds: Hand-built pottery: 5	☐

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937	Burradon	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	rim sherd/s		4 frags. Same vessel as 938.	Large Pit	Pit A	Small Finds: Hand-built pottery: 6	
938	Burradon	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	rim sherd/s		1 frag. Same vessel as 937.	Large Pit	Pit B	Small Finds: Hand-build pottery: 6	
939	Burradon	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	rim sherd/s		4 frags. Same vessel as 940.	Large Pit	Pit A	Small Finds: Hand-built pottery: 7	
940	Burradon	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	rim sherd/s		3 frags. Same vessel as 939.	Large Pit	Pit B	Small Finds: Hand-built pottery: 7	
941	Burradon	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	rim sherd/s			Unstratified		Small Finds: Hand-built pottery: 8	
942	Burradon	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	rim sherd/s			Unstratified		Small Finds: Hand-built pottery: 9	
943	Burradon	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s		4 frags	Large Pit	Pit A	Small Finds: Hand-built pottery: 10	
944	Burradon	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Large Pit	Pit A	Small Finds: Hand-built pottery: 11	
945	Burradon	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s		Same vessel as 946; 947; 948.	Large Pit	Pit A	Small Finds: Hand-built pottery: 12	
946	Burradon	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s		Same vessel as 945; 947; 948.	Large Pit	Pit A	Small Finds: Hand-built pottery: 12	
947	Burradon	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s		Same vessel as 945; 946; 948.	Gully/Fence/ Hedgeline	'bottom of the fence line at it's intersection with gully 1'	Small Finds: Hand-built pottery: 12	
948	Burradon	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Wall sherd/s		Same vessel as 945; 946; 947.	Surface or Pavement	'clay surface to the west of the homestead house'	Small Finds: Hand-built pottery: 12	
949	Burradon	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Ditch Length	'found in the bottom of the ditch of the homestead house'	Small Finds: Hand-built pottery: 13	
950	Burradon	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	base sherd/s			Large Pit	Pit B	Small Finds: Hand-built pottery: 14	

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951	Burradon	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	base sherd/s			Ditch Length	'bottom of and below the silt filling of the east to west ditch on the north side of the approach of the homestead house'	Small Finds: Hand-built pottery: 15	
952	Burradon	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	base sherd/s			Surface or Pavement	'clay surface east of the entrance to the homestead house'	Small Finds: Hand-built pottery: 16	
953	Burradon	Ceramic	Roman coarseware	Wall sherd/s	'spanish amphorae' probably Dressel 20.	3 Frags	Large Pit	Pit A	Small Finds: Roman Pottery: 1	
954	Burradon	Ceramic	Roman coarseware	Rim sherd/s		3 frags. Same vessel as 955. Gillam 214-217.	Large Pit	Pit A	Small Finds: Roman Pottery: 2	
955	Burradon	Ceramic	Roman coarseware	wall sherd/s		1 frag. Same vessel as 954. Gillam 214-217.	Floor	'embedded in the clay surface within the homestead house'	Small Finds: Roman Pottery: 2	
956	Burradon	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	rim sherd/s		2 frags. Gillam 316-319.	Ditch Length	'top of the silt filling of ditch 4b of the settlement.'	Small Finds: Roman Pottery: 3	
957	Burradon	Ceramic	Industrial Ceramics	Tuyere		Residues and evidence of heat consistent with iron smelting or smithing.	Unstratified		Small Finds: Objects of Clay: (a)	
958	Burradon	Ceramic	Industrial Ceramics	Kiln furniture?		Or possibly loomweights. 9 frags.	Unstratified		Small Finds: Objects of Clay: (b)	
959	Burradon	Ceramic	Industrial Ceramics	Kiln furniture?		Or possibly loomweights. 6 Frags.	Large Pit	Pit A	Small Finds: Objects of Clay: (b)	
960	Burradon	Stone	Sandstone	Saddle Quern			Ditch Length	'ditch 4b of the settlement'	Small Finds: Stone Objects: 1	
961	Burradon	Stone	Sandstone	Saddle Quern			Post Hole	'reused as a packing stone in the post-hole complex at the entrance to hut 4 of the settlement'	Small Finds: Stone Objects: 2	

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962	Burradon	Stone	Sandstone	rotary quern	top		Floor	'clay surface of the floor of the homestead house'	Small Finds: Stone Objects: 3	
963	Burradon	Stone	Flint	Axehead		Broken in antiquity. Neolithic. 'presumably a stray'	Ditch Length	'bottom silt in the enclosure ditch'	Small Finds: Stone Objects: 4	
964	Burradon	Stone	Unspecified	pounder			Unstratified (Unspecified)		Small Finds: Stone Objects: 5	
965	Burradon	Stone	Unspecified	Rubber/ Pounder			Unstratified (Unspecified)		Small Finds: Stone Objects: 5	
966	Burradon	Stone	Unspecified	Pounder			Unstratified (Unspecified)		Small Finds: Stone Objects: 5	
967	Burradon	Stone	Unspecified	Pounder			Unstratified (Unspecified)		Small Finds: Stone Objects: 5	
968	Burradon	Stone	Unspecified	Pounder			Unstratified (Unspecified)		Small Finds: Stone Objects: 5	
969	Burradon	Stone	Unspecified	Pounder			Unstratified (Unspecified)		Small Finds: Stone Objects: 5	
970	Burradon	Stone	Unspecified	Pounder			Unstratified (Unspecified)		Small Finds: Stone Objects: 5	
971	Burradon	Stone	Unspecified	Pounder			Unstratified (Unspecified)		Small Finds: Stone Objects: 5	
972	Burradon	Stone	Unspecified	Pounder			Unstratified (Unspecified)		Small Finds: Stone Objects: 5	
973	Burradon	Stone	Unspecified	Pounder			Unstratified (Unspecified)		Small Finds: Stone Objects: 5	
974	Burradon	Stone	Unspecified	Pounder			Unstratified (Unspecified)		Small Finds: Stone Objects: 5	
975	Burradon	Stone	Unspecified	Pounder			Unstratified (Unspecified)		Small Finds: Stone Objects: 5	
976	West Longlee	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	base sherd/s	flagon		Floor	'found between paving stones of hut floor, West Longlee'	Jobey 1960. Appendix A: Small Finds from Bridge House, West Longlee and Riding Wood: Roman Coarse Pottery: 1	

Serial No.	Site	Basic Material	Specific Material	Artefact Type	Specific Type	Notes	Context Type	Context	Ref in publication	Specified as intact?
977	West Longlee	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	base sherd/s	cooking pot		Surface or Pavement	'found between paving stones outside of hut, West Longlee'	Jobey 1960. Appendix A: Small Finds from Bridge House, West Longlee and Riding Wood: Roman Coarse Pottery: 2	☐
978	Riding Wood	Ceramic	Roman Coarseware	Base sherd/s	jar	possibly reused as drinking cup, as breaks in walls are smoothed	Small Pit	'found in pit in floor of circular hut, Riding Wood'	Jobey 1960. Appendix A: Small Finds from Bridge House, West Longlee and Riding Wood: Roman Coarse Pottery: 3	☐
979	Riding Wood	Metal	Fe	Adze			Surface or Pavement	'found on cobbles of southern yard, Riding Wood'	Jobey 1960. Appendix A: Small Finds from Bridge House, West Longlee and Riding Wood: Metal: Iron Adze	☐
980	Riding Wood	Metal	Fe	Axe-hammer			Surface or Pavement	'found on cobbles of southern yard, Riding Wood'	Jobey 1960. Appendix A: Small Finds from Bridge House, West Longlee and Riding Wood: Metal: Iron Axe-hammer	☐
981	West Longlee	Exotic Stone	Haematite	fragment			Floor	'hut floor, West Longlee'	Jobey 1960. Appendix A: Small Finds from Bridge House, West Longlee and Riding Wood: Metal: Haematite	☐
982	West Longlee	Metal	Fe	Nail/s		several	Floor	'floors of huts'	Jobey 1960. Appendix A: Small Finds from Bridge House, West Longlee and Riding Wood: Metal: Nails	☐

Serial No.	Site	Basic Material	Specific Material	Artefact Type	Specific Type	Notes	Context Type	Context	Ref in publication	Specified as intact?
983	West Longlee	Glass	Roman Vessel	Wall sherd/s			Subfloor	'sealed beneath paving of hut floor'	Jobey 1960. Appendix A: Small Finds from Bridge House, West Longlee and Riding Wood: Glass	
984	West Longlee	Glass		Bangle		Kilbride-Jones 3A. 2" diameter'	Surface or Pavement	'found between paving outside hut at West Longlee'	Jobey 1960. Appendix A: Small Finds from Bridge House, West Longlee and Riding Wood: Glass pendants	
985	West Longlee	Stone	Sandstone	Spindle Whorl			Floor	'hut floors'	Jobey 1960. Appendix A: Small Finds from Bridge House, West Longlee and Riding Wood: Stone: Spindle whorls	
986	Riding Wood	Stone	Sandstone	Spindle Whorl			Floor	'hut floors'	Jobey 1960. Appendix A: Small Finds from Bridge House, West Longlee and Riding Wood: Stone: Spindle whorls	
987	Riding Wood	Stone	Sandstone	whetstone			Floor	'between paving stones of floor of hut, Riding Wood'	Jobey 1960. Appendix A: Small Finds from Bridge House, West Longlee and Riding Wood: Stone: Hone	
988	Riding Wood	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary Quern	top	roughly half	Unstratified	from core of later building wall	Jobey 1960. Appendix A: Small Finds from Bridge House, West Longlee and Riding Wood: Stone: Quernstones: Fig 11 no. 3	

Serial No.	Site	Basic Material	Specific Material	Artefact Type	Specific Type	Notes	Context Type	Context	Ref in publication	Specified as intact?
989	West Longlee	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary Quern	top		Destruction Layer/Tumble (Building)	'found beneath outside tumble from south side of hut wall, West Longlee'	Jobey 1960. Appendix A: Small Finds from Bridge House, West Longlee and Riding Wood: Stone: Quernstones: Fig 11 no. 4	☑
990	Riding Wood	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary quern	bottom	roughly halved	Building Wall	'against outside of hut 2 wall'	Jobey 1960. Appendix A: Small Finds from Bridge House, West Longlee and Riding Wood: Stone: Quernstones: Fig 11 no. 6	☐
991	Riding Wood	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary quern	top		Unstratified		Jobey 1960. Appendix A: Small Finds from Bridge House, West Longlee and Riding Wood: Stone: Quernstones	☐
992	Riding Wood	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary quern	top		Unstratified		Jobey 1960. Appendix A: Small Finds from Bridge House, West Longlee and Riding Wood: Stone: Quernstones	☐
993	West Longlee	Stone	Sandstone	Rotary quern	top		Unstratified		Jobey 1960. Appendix A: Small Finds from Bridge House, West Longlee and Riding Wood: Stone: Quernstones	☐

Serial No.	Site	Basic Material	Specific Material	Artefact Type	Specific Type	Notes	Context Type	Context	Ref in publication	Specified as intact?
994	West Longlee	Stone	Sandstone	rotary quern	bottom		Floor	'*in situ* in floor of hut'	Jobey 1960. Appendix A: Small Finds from Bridge House, West Longlee and Riding Wood: Stone: Quernstones	☑
995	Rock Castle	Exotic Stone	Amber	Bead			Ditch Length	'context 2, fill of ditch 25'	The Finds: The small finds	☐
996	Rock Castle	Exotic Stone	Jet	bead	drum bead		Roundhouse Gully	'Context 14, fill of gully 34'	The Finds: The small finds	☑
997	Rock Castle	Metal	Cu Alloy	?Weight			Roundhouse Gully	'context 41, fill of gully 42'	The Finds: The small finds	☐
998	Rock Castle	Metal	Fe	?File			Construction Trench	'context 48, surface of slot 46 and adjacent horseshoe gully'	The Finds: The small finds	☐
999	Rock Castle	Metal	Fe	Nail/s		head and part of shank	Large Pit	'Context 52, fill of slot 51'	The Finds: The small finds	☐
1000	Rock Castle	Stone	Sandstone	Stone Disc		69mm diameter, 18mm thick	Unstratified		The Finds: The small finds	☐
1001	Rock Castle	Stone	Sandstone	Saddle Quern			Roundhouse Gully	'Context 12, upper fill of ring ditch 30'	The Finds: The saddle quern	☑
1002	Rock Castle	Industrial Debris	Metalworking debris	plano-convex hearth base and cinder		Likely related to iron smithing.	Ditch Length	'fill 2 of ditch 25'	The Finds: Metalworking Evidence	☐
1003	Rock Castle	Industrial Debris	Metalworking debris	Cinder		described as 'fuel ash'- basically cinder I think.	Construction Trench	'surface of slot 46'	The Finds: Metalworking Evidence	☐
1004	Rock Castle	Industrial Debris	Metalworking debris	Cinder		described as 'fuel ash'- basically cinder I think.	Construction Trench	47 in slot 46	The Finds: Metalworking Evidence	☐
1005	Rock Castle	Industrial Debris	Metalworking debris	Cinder		described as 'fuel ash'- basically cinder I think.	Roundhouse Gully	The horse shoe gully	The Finds: Metalworking Evidence	☐
1006	Rock Castle	Industrial Debris	Metalworking debris	Cinder		described as 'fuel ash'- basically cinder I think.	Post Hole	Entrance post hole (59) of CS1	The Finds: Metalworking Evidence	☐

Serial No.	Site	Basic Material	Specific Material	Artefact Type	Specific Type	Notes	Context Type	Context	Ref in publication	Specified as intact?
1007	Rock Castle	Ceramic	Indigenous tradition	Rim sherd/s		277 frags. Same vessel as 1008	Roundhouse Gully	'fill (61) of the horseshoe gully'	The Finds: The ceramic assemblage: Fabric A	☐
1008	Rock Castle	Ceramic	Indigenous tradition	wall sherd/s		3 frags. Same vessel as 1007.	Post Hole	'post hole 59'	The Finds: The ceramic assemblage: Fabric A	☐
1009	Rock Castle	Ceramic	Indigenous tradition	Wall sherd/s		2 frags	Ditch Length	ditch 25	The Finds: The ceramic assemblage: Fabric B	☐
1010	Rock Castle	Ceramic	Indigenous tradition	Wall sherd/s		12 frags	Ditch Length	Ring ditch 30	The Finds: The ceramic assemblage: Fabric B	☐
1011	Rock Castle	Ceramic	Indigenous tradition	Wall sherd/s		47 frags	Construction Trench	Gully 46	The Finds: The ceramic assemblage: Fabric B	☐
1012	Rock Castle	Ceramic	Indigenous tradition	Wall sherd/s		50 frags	Small Pit	Pit 49	The Finds: The ceramic assemblage: Fabric B	☐
1013	Rock Castle	Ceramic	Indigenous tradition	Wall sherd/s		? frags	Unstratified	Unstrat	The Finds: The ceramic assemblage: Fabric B	☐
1014	Rock Castle	Ceramic	Indigenous tradition	Wall sherd/s			Unstratified	Unstrat	The Finds: The ceramic assemblage: Fabric C	☐
1015	Rock Castle	Ceramic	Indigenous tradition	Wall sherd/s		5 frags	Unstratified	Unstrat	The Finds: The ceramic assemblage: Fabric D	☐
1016	Rock Castle	Ceramic	Indigenous tradition	Wall sherd/s		3 frags	Construction Trench	Gully 46	The Finds: The ceramic assemblage: Fabric D	☐
1017	Rock Castle	Ceramic	Indigenous tradition	Wall sherd/s		1 frag	Construction Trench	Gully 46	The Finds: The ceramic assemblage: Fabric E	☐
1018	Rock Castle	Ceramic	Indigenous tradition	Wall sherd/s		5 sherds	Construction Trench	Gully 46	The Finds: The ceramic assemblage: Fabric F	☐
1019	Rock Castle	Ceramic	Indigenous tradition	Wall sherd/s		16 frags	Small Pit	Pit 49	The Finds: The ceramic assemblage: Fabric G	☐

Serial No.	Site	Basic Material	Specific Material	Artefact Type	Specific Type	Notes	Context Type	Context	Ref in publication	Specified as intact?
1020	Rock Castle	Ceramic	Indigenous tradition	wall sherds		2 frags	Roundhouse Gully	(64) gully [63]	The Finds: The ceramic assemblage: Fabric H	
1021	West Whelpington	Ceramic	Roman coarseware	wall sherd/s	colour coated ware		Unstratified		4. The Finds: Pottery	
1022	West Whelpington	Ceramic	Roman coarseware	wall sherd/s	bowl/tazza		Unstratified		4. The Finds: Pottery	
1023	West Whelpington	Ceramic	Indigenous tradition	Rim and base sherd/s			Post Hole	'in the packing of post 343, inside house IIb'	4. The Finds: Pottery: a1 and a2	
1024	West Whelpington	Ceramic	Indigenous tradition	Rim sherd/s			Unstratified	beneath later building	4. The Finds: Pottery: a3	
1025	West Whelpington	Ceramic	Roman coarseware	base sherd/s	colour coated beaker		Unstratified (Unspecified)		4. The Finds: Pottery: not illustrated	
1026	West Whelpington	Ceramic	Indigenous tradition	wall sherd/s			Unstratified	mixed up in later material	4. The Finds: Pottery: not illustrated	
1027	West Whelpington	Ceramic	Indigenous tradition	wall sherd/s			Unstratified	mixed up in later material	4. The Finds: Pottery: not illustrated	
1028	West Whelpington	Ceramic	Indigenous tradition	wall sherd/s			Unstratified	mixed up in later material	4. The Finds: Pottery: not illustrated	
1029	West Whelpington	Ceramic	Indigenous tradition	wall sherds			Palisade Trench	slot 93	4. The Finds: Pottery: not illustrated	
1030	West Whelpington	Ceramic	Roman coarseware	Rim sherd/s			Unstratified	Mixed up in later material	4. The Finds: Pottery: not illustrated	
1031	West Whelpington	Glass		Bangle	Kilbride Jones 3B		Palisade Trench	slot 93	4. The Finds: Glass	
1032	West Whelpington	Glass	Roman Vessel	wall sherd/s	pillar moulded bowl		Unstratified (Unspecified)		See Jarrett 1962	
1033	West Whelpington	Stone	Sandstone	Saddle Quern			Unstratified	built into later forge	4. The Finds: Querns: 22	
1034	West Whelpington	Stone	Granite	rotary quern	top		Unstratified	reused in later wall	4. The Finds: Querns: 23	

Serial No.	Site	Basic Material	Specific Material	Artefact Type	Specific Type	Notes	Context Type	Context	Ref in publication	Specified as intact?
1035	West Whelpington	Stone	Granite	beehive quern	top		Unstratified	reused in later wall	4. The Finds: Querns: 24	
1036	West Whelpington	Stone	sandstone	rotary quern	top		Unstratified	reused in later wall	4. The Finds: Querns: 25	
1037	West Whelpington	Stone	sandstone	rotary quern	bottom		Roundhouse Gully	'in fill of trench 335 in roundhouse IIa'	4. The Finds: Querns: 26	
1038	West Whelpington	Stone	Sandstone	rotary quern	top		Unstratified	reused in later paving	4. The Finds: Querns: 27	
1039	West Whelpington	Stone	sandstone	rotary quern	top		Unstratified (Unspecified)		4. The Finds: Querns: 28	
1040	West Whelpington	Stone	sandstone	rotary quern	top		Unstratified (Unspecified)		4. The Finds: Querns: 29	
1041	West Whelpington	Stone	Granite	rotary quern	top		Unstratified	reused in later wall	4. The Finds: Querns: 30	
1042	West Whelpington	Stone	Sandstone	rotary quern	unspecified		Unstratified	reused in later paving	4. The Finds: Querns: 31	
1043	Woolaw	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	Rim sherd/s			Subfloor	'bottom of the slot in the doorway of house 2'	Small Finds: A. Native Pottery: 1	
1044	Woolaw	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	rim sherd/s			Surface or Pavement	'the natural clay surface in the extension between the rear of house 2 and the perimeter wall'	Small Finds: A. Native Pottery: 2	
1045	Woolaw	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	wall sherd/s			Surface or Pavement	'the natural clay surface in the extension between the rear of house 2 and the perimeter wall'	Small Finds: A. Native Pottery: 2	
1046	Woolaw	Ceramic	Indigenous Tradition	wall sherd/s		3 frags	Floor	'paving inside the doorway of house 2'	Small Finds: A. Native Pottery: 3	
1047	Woolaw	Glass		Bangle	Kilbride Jones 3A	'opaque white'	Boundary Wall	'wall fill immediately behind the facing stones on the south site of the gateway in Area B'	Small Finds: B. Glass	

Serial No.	Site	Basic Material	Specific Material	Artefact Type	Specific Type	Notes	Context Type	Context	Ref in publication	Specified as intact?
1048	Woolaw	Exotic Stone	Jet	Bead			Surface or Pavement	'cobbles between house 2 and the central dividing wall'	Small Finds: C. Jet	
1049	Woolaw	Stone	Cheviot agglomerate	rotary quern	bottom		Building Wall	'wall fill of house 2'	Small Finds: D. Stone: 1	
1050	Woolaw	Stone	Andesite	Fragment		leaf shaped, heavily polished red stone, 'cheviot pophyry'	Unstratified (Unspecified)		Small Finds: D. Stone: 2	
1051	Woolaw	Industrial debris	Metalworking debris	Cinder			Post Hole	'on the edge of the post-hole at the east end of the shallow trench in the extension of Area C to the rear of house 2'	Small Finds: F. Ironstone cinder	

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