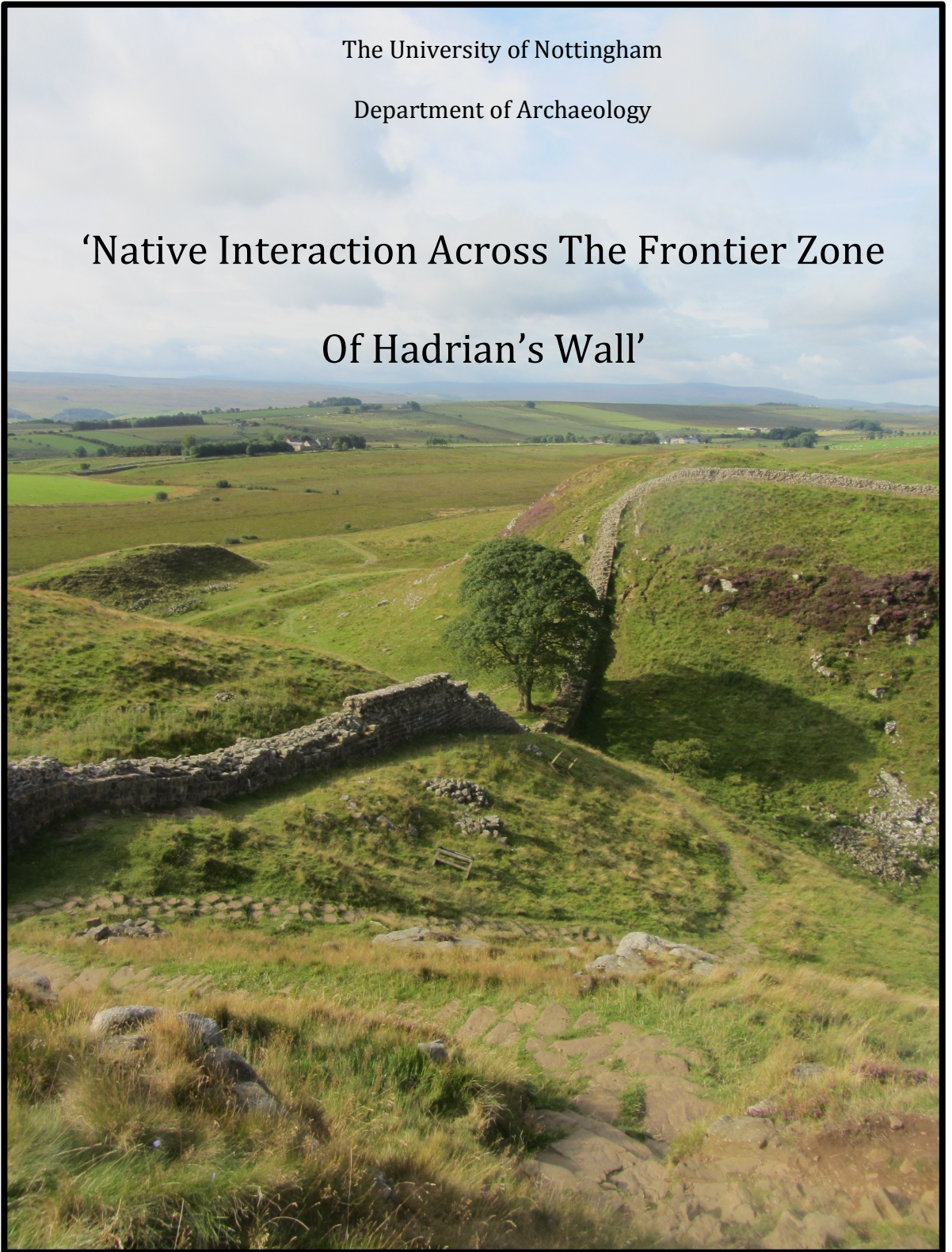The University of Nottingham

Department of Archaeology

'Native Interaction Across The Frontier Zone

Of Hadrian's Wall'

By
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I certify that:

a) The following dissertation is my own original work.

b) The source of all non-original material is clearly indicated.

c) All material presented by me for other modules is clearly indicated.

d) All assistance received has been acknowledged.

Signed: Penny Trichler   30/11/2015

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Abstract

This dissertation will look at the transition from the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age through to the Roman period in what is today's northern England and Scotland, specifically looking at the native communities and their interaction across and around the frontier of Hadrian's Wall. It will compare the engagement of native peoples on either side of the frontier zone with each other and with the Romans occupying the Wall.

This research expands the recent thinking that has been developing over the last few years in this area of study, the idea of a frontier zone with both native and military elements interacting, rather than a pure military barrier. It also looks to expand the knowledge of the native peoples engagement with each other across Hadrian's Wall frontier as well as with Roman culture on the boundaries of the Empire.

The archaeological evidence relating to the native populations either side of the Wall will be examined on the basis of mainstream published literature, journals of the topic, as well as Historic Environments Record Data from Northumberland, Cumbria and Scotland.

This project aims to achieve a more indepth understanding of these populations by studying interaction change in comparison with the Roman arrival; the construction of and impact of life with Hadrian's Wall.

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Introduction

The research that this dissertation will carry out is set in the context of a lack of understanding of the local peoples reaction to the arrival of the Roman army in today's north it highlights the changes made to their lifestyle because of this influx of people from a different culture into their familiar landscape. Although many have studied the Roman north such as D. J. Breeze and Dobson from the point of view of the military installations and the affect of the Roman Army on the area, only a few have studied the north in terms of the local communities that lived there and how the presence of the Wall and the Roman military specifically affected them such as Fraser Hunter who has a particular interest in the tribes north of the Wall and George Jobey whose main focus is on the native settlements at the east end of the Wall surrounding his base of Newcastle..

In particular this research aims to address the gap of looking at how the wall may have affected native groups living on either side of it differently and whether this was purposeful or not.

This research is important because not only will it give us insight into the lives of the natives on Hadrian's Wall but also the lives of the Romans and how and where they interacted with locals. These advances in our understanding of the natives will aid our understanding of Hadrian's Wall and the purpose for which it was built, as well as help to understand other heavily militarised areas of the Empire, and how the Roman army and locals may have lived together. In particular other frontiers and the way in which

the Roman army's presence would have affected those who had recently become included in the Empire and were on the fringes of Roman society.

The key authors in this field are scholars such as D. J. Breeze, F. Hunter and R. Birley, ideas and thoughts from all of these authors have been examined and incorporated into this research looking at the strengths and weaknesses of all of their points of view. Birley and Breeze have a main focus of the Wall and its forts looking at how and why it was built but also in some degree what affect this had on the local population with both favouring abandonment of homes and moving out of the area or being recruited into the army or as slaves. None of these outcomes favour the native people. Hunter has a main focus on the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age and early Roman period with a special interest in Scotland and Romans impact on the people there, studying sites such as the hillfort at Traprain Law and sites across Moray. Looking at these and other researchers in accordance to the school of thought within which they lie, Roman or Native, plays a role in showing the overlapping areas of study are marginalised by each group. This therefore means they are less well researched as each school views them as they others jurisdiction.

The aims for this dissertation are to discover if any changes or continuities can be seen in the nature and dispersal of settlement in the hinterland of Hadrian's Wall, to see if there is evidence for the interaction of native peoples across the Wall in settlement style and placement, and finally to find if there is support for interaction between the Roman Army and the settled natives who lived on either side of the Wall.

The wider objectives of this research project are to produce a strong groundwork for additional frontier studies and investigations across the whole of the Roman Empire to

help to compare the influence of increased military presence on the locals and their reaction to this. Also how the interaction of the native peoples was affected across the frontier region by the arrival of the Roman military and how this can be extrapolated and examined on other frontiers.

This dissertation will be divided into chapters each discussing a different phase of the investigation, starting with the context and background for the research looking at the key authors and trends in this area, what has and hasn't been studied and reveal the gap, which this research addresses. This leads onto a more detailed presentation of the aims of the dissertation and how these aims will be achieved, discussing the sources of information being used such as the Historic Environment Records and other published sources and the methods for the collation and analysis of the results. The next section will present the found results pointing out anomalous results and revealing patterns. The discussion of the results will look at what the data mean, what it shows us about the area and whether and to what extent the results answer the research questions and achieve the aims put forward at the beginning of the project. The final chapter will be a summary of all of the data presented and the interpretations reached, it will comment on any future work that might be considered in relation to the results gained here and will come to conclusions about what has been achieved by this research project. This method of presentation should follow as the research itself did giving a more rounded view of the process.

State of the Question

The Late Pre-Roman Iron Age

The Late Pre-Roman Iron Age was a time of great change and transformation (Armit 1997, 77). To begin with much of the changes we may now attribute to the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age were at first thought to have occurred when the Romans arrived in the north such as the widespread clearance of forests (Dumayne-Peaty 1998, 318). Other ideas, of feuding tribes with their hillforts and defences being tamed by the Romans, becoming more civilised and therefore not needing defences as well as improving farming and building techniques have also been have also shifted. This idea is problematic because is suggests that the only reason for technical advances and peaceful interaction between local tribes was the presence of the Romans. This clearly isn't the case now as forest clearance suggests more advanced agricultural tendencies. As well as this, although dating in this period is challenging, several scholars agree that new dating evidence shows many of the hillforts and defended settlements that seem to symbolise pre-Roman settlements had already begun to be abandoned (Dumayne-Peaty 1998; Kamm 2004; Hunter & Carruthers 2012). Instead there was an uptake of less defended or even undefended property suggesting a more peaceful era in the turbulent history of the native communities of the north (Symonds 2009, 5). This trend may have started in the Early Bronze Age, the nobility of this period found their status in their connections to the world outside of the local native area and their control of the trade, especially trade from further afield (Armit 1997). This would have given them the opportunity to possess items irregular from the ordinary and everyday, and helping them to stand out. In the Late Bronze Age, Early Iron Age we find that new ways to show your wealth and status were evolving, as society was becoming much more inward looking and community orientated so too did the ways of showing status (Armit 1997). Armit (1997,

79) suggests that status now came from communal projects particularly building projects such as forts or large roundhouses. However as we move into the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age we find a return to the more materialistic ways of showing wealth and desire of the elite to begin to distinguish themselves from the lower classes of a society that was just building its ranks. Armit (1997, 79) proposes evidence like finds of bronze mirrors, combs and tweezers shows a concern for the way they looked. Another way that the elite would have been able to set themselves apart would have been owning well-bred animals, this way of showing wealth may well have gained more respect from the lower classes of society so sites with larger enclosures may have been for higher status individuals (Armit 1997, 79).

Farming practices in the north were beginning to progress and continued to develop more intensively into the Late Iron Age, though still not quite as advanced as many southern areas of Britain. Armit (1997, 105) shows that in the uplands of Scotland a change from settlements being associated with cord rig strips to cultivated terraces means that the new technologies in farming, in this case used particularly to stop soil erosion, were spreading across the north. Not only are these ideas reaching the rural communities of the north but they are being put into action and a change like the terraces would have involved the whole community uniting to create them. This shows some kind of leadership and communications network, and although it is agreed that the north was far less politically and socially structured than the south, this may have been why the two areas had such seemingly different reactions to the arrival of the Romans (Millet 1990, 15-17).

There is a north-south divide not only across the whole of Britain but also within the tribes of Scotland. The tribes of today's southern Scotland and north England such as

the Brigantes, Votadani and the Selgovae were relatively peaceful towards the Romans, though not entirely. Many of the tribes north of the Forth-Clyde isthmus such as the Caledonii were less accommodating (Breeze 1993). The rift between these two areas existed before the Roman arrival but the lack of connections or communications with the more southerly tribes may have lead to less of a trust or more of a distrust of the Romans, as they would have had less contact and knowledge of them. This is contrasted by Kamm, (2004) who says the tribal settlements have mainly dispersed and are largely peaceful by the time that Romans arrive in the north.

Roman arrival in the north would not have come unexpectedly for the people living there. The Romans would probably have been around in stories from the first attempt to conquer Britain but maybe even before that through trade links with Gaul (Armit 1997). People living there would, have tracked the steady creep of the Romans across Britain towards the north, and the inevitability of Roman rule descending upon them would have been undeniable. This may have been why we see such little resistance to the Romans when they arrive in the North. The tribes there may have already decided how they wanted to meet with the Romans and the evidence from previous uprisings and Roman conquests might have made them think twice before going up against them especially if they also had tales of the prosperity of many Roman towns.

First Contact

The Romans would have probably first made contact with the natives in the north of England and southern Scotland during the late AD 60's, early 70's (Breeze 1980). Tacitus recorded Agricola's advance into Scotland in AD 80 so we know they were probably in the north of Britain before this (Tacitus & Mattingly 1948). Breeze suggests that after Agricola had conquered the lowland tribes of southern Scotland the

natives in the area were 'incorporated into the province' (Breeze 1980, 7). Breeze's opinion of a more peaceful operation and cooperation on the part of the communities of the area is backed up by evidence from the Vindolanda tablets, which have no mention of hostilities and so far only mention the Britons once. Tablet 164 goes into details about the native forces saying that '… the Britons are unprotected by armour (?). There are very many cavalry. The cavalry do not use swords nor do the wretched Britons mount in order to throw javelins.' (Tab. *Vindol*. II 164). The way this soldier has referred to the Britons especially the use of the more disparaging term 'Brittunculi' suggest that they were viewed as a much weaker force (Tab. *Vindol*. II 164). Thus another reason for a lack of resistance to the Roman arrival could be that the Roman army was simply a far superior force.

Johnson (1989, 16) however, proposes that the Roman's intention in their advancement north was to put more military pressure across the bottom of the highlands in order to allow for northern England to adapt and become more Romanised. This shows Johnson at least believes that the powers further north were not only still influencing people in the frontier zone (and causing them to be less Roman) but also that it was such a concern to the Roman occupiers that they had to take the drastic action of further occupation and military intimidation to the north. This seems to contradict with the information earlier of a more separated community in the area and of an already existent rift between the northern and southern tribes of Scotland (Breeze 1993). Johnson also uses the number of Roman forts scattered about in the area to suggest that, the Romans, thought that some of the natives could still prove hostile (Johnson 1989, 17). This could be explained in many ways such as the Romans being naturally prudent, merely practicing their fort and camp building, or just generally completing military activities in preparation of a move further into Scotland.

The archaeological evidence of this campaign into Scotland is visible today through the lines of temporary forts and marching camps that were left behind (Johnson 1989, 16). The organisation for a communication infrastructure within a frontier area usually follows the primary lines of the advance (Miller 1952, 205). In the case of this campaign the process of establishing communications with northern Britain began the same year as the campaign (Miller 1952, 205). The troops were constructing forts and roads as they travelled with both the eastern and western roads matching the positions of the marching camps traveling north (Miller 1952, 205). This early establishment of communications would have allowed not only the Romans better communications with the north of Britain but also many of the newly conquered and apparently more peaceful tribes of southern Scotland. It may have also given them an early glimpse of the benefits as well as the negatives of living close to and in relative harmony with the Roman Army. The evidence of substantial road and fort building programme also presents the image of a peaceable time as soldiers would only have been spared for these duties if they were not needed elsewhere, to keep the peace (Kamm 2004, 76). On the other hand communication routes and forts are key in being able to have a functioning military particularly on a frontier in order for supplies and orders to be received and for places for soldiers to practice and to make their presence known n the area.

Breeze brings to light a distinction in evidence found on various status sites in the early period of Roman occupation. Roman goods are mainly found in high status sites such as Traprain Law during the first century, moving into the second however, we find increasingly more Roman items on lower status sites (Breeze 1980, 81). Is this, as Breeze suggests, the filtering down of items through the social ranks as new ones are brought by the elite and the old thrown out or given away? Instead it might show the

Roman system of governance (Breeze 1980, 81). The use of existing tribal leaders to govern on their behalf would mean early contact and deals with the local elite, which would give us the pattern of early high status sites with Roman goods and then as the Roman army ingratiated themselves more within the area and the local community the items became more readily available to the lower grades of society. Kamm proposes that the presence of first century Roman commodities on local sites implies a friendly relationship between the two cultures one with a steady communication or trade (Kamm 2004, 95). This is also highlighted by the Scottish Archaeological Research Framework which says the extensive spread of Roman finds across native sites implies that they were desirable in some form to the local communities (Hunter & Carruthers 2012, 58).

The concentration and intensity of the Roman Military in this particular area is unlike anywhere else in the empire (Kamm 2004, 67). This intensive activity not only gives us little to compare it with elsewhere but also can block or destroy preceding archaeology making the job of deciphering events much more difficult. The simply massive size of the Roman army in this area may also be the reason for the native communities less resistive reaction the arrival of the army – because it just would have been a futile prospect to go up against. Many tribes may have been overwhelmed by the speed and size of the Romans advancement and submitted to the Roman demands such as handing over hostages rather than suffer the consequences (Kamm 2004, 67).

Changes

A key theme and struggle that the researchers faced when looking at this early period of contact between the Romans and the natives of the north of Britain is the lack of viable datable materials such as pottery or metalwork from sites especially material that is not Roman. It is very difficult to narrow down the range of dates within which sites from

this period, either to determine whether they were occupied or abandoned. This makes it very difficult identify whether changes or adaptions happened before the Romans arrived or during the early stages of their occupation or even late into the Romano-British period. This is a major obstacle, which has to be dealt with and has to be considered a limitation when looking at any conclusions that have been made.

Many researchers for example Armit and Breeze suggest that the 300 years of the Roman occupation of southern Scotland has very little effect on the country's history as a whole, it is viewed as more of a break or a pause in the normal running of things and as soon as the Roman's leave them to their own devices again, they are carrying on right where they left off in terms of development of technologies and social structure (Johnson 1989, 81; Breeze 1980: 7,9). This might suggest that there is very little evidence for the Roman occupation, however the occupation did at the very least scar the landscape of southern Scotland with a multitude of forts, camps and roads persistently leaving their mark upon the Scottish land and challenging this idea.

During this period we see many changes to the native settlement patterns. We see the abandonment of hill forts and the redistribution of settlements with less defences, in fact some of the settlements actually sit across the wall of old hillforts and defended settlements (Hunter & Carruthers 2012; Hodgson 2013). Johnson suggests that as this new style of settlement developed it meant that the native people were embracing the more peaceful times and becoming more confident that the peace would last. Breeze (1980) argues for a different cause for the lowering of defences, he suggests that the forts and settlements defences were abandoned on the insistence of the conquering army and that the peace Johnson says the locals are enjoying was a forced peace which was held due to the occupation of such a large military presence.

According to Breeze the change that would have had the most impact would have been the change to the structure of the native societies (Breeze 1993, 90). The leaders of each area the Romans conquered would have had to recognise leaders of their own now and also to begin to conform to the Roman way of life. The citizens of the area would also have to recognise new leaders and deal with the changes in how the old ones governed as well as the new style or look, which would symbolise the elite of society. Not only had the leadership changed but new taxes would have been introduced as well as changes to landownership as the army would have needed supplies to sustain it and the easiest way to attain these would be to get them from the local area if not the locals themselves (Breeze 1984). These taxes would have introduced a new pressure onto the native community living within the Roman Empire. They would have normally have been paid in cash but there are many examples on the frontier of tribes making deals to pay in kind, probably in the form of food supplies or recruits for the encamped army (Johnson 1989, 86). This may have resulted in an increase in the size of the agricultural population in the area as the army would have provided a good demand for the produce and would probably have brought along many of their own animals for their pastoral needs, though it is likely that this also would have been supplement by local supplies the most important product in a Roman soldiers diet was grain which would have been easier to transport from nearby (Breeze 1984).

The longer the Romans remained in the area the more the new styles of clothing, eating and generally living would have filtered down to the lower ranks of society and the more contact the lower ranks of society would have had with them (Millet 1990). This steady trickle of contact and the results of this contact with the native community can be seen in the changes in the settlement such as the lowering of defences but also in the

materials and design of the houses within these settlements (Breeze 1980, 9). Before the Romans arrived timber round houses were the most common form of settlement in the north of England and southern Scotland although stone was becoming more prevalent. As we move through the late first century and into the second we see a more major shift from building in wood to building in stone (Breeze 1980, 9). It has been suggested to be a result of a lack of good building timber being left, this may therefore not be a direct result of Roman arrival, however the Romans and their building would have placed added pressure on a potentially already strained resource (Breeze 1984). Johnson proposes that the switch from timber to stone actually began occurring earlier than this, before the Roman arrival in the north, using the archaeology from Roman structures to show that they actually were often not able to build in the best timber such as oak (Johnson 1989, 90).

The Roman style also seeped into the style of house that was built. Instead of the round houses there is a move towards a more rectangular and Roman shape. This change in the style of houses suggests that the ways in which the natives express their wealth or status has changed and that they are steadily accepting the rule of the Romans in the area. However the scarcity of Roman artefacts on native sites particularly in the first century means that the exact dates for many sites can be hard to identify (Johnson 1989). This makes the dates for these changes vague and our knowledge of the nature of the relationship between the natives and the Romans in the north and the chronology of how it unfolded very patchy and the conclusions drawn from the evidence imprecise and subject to change.

Frontiers

The study of Hadrian's Wall has from the beginning suffered with the problem of defining what a frontier is and therefore the limits of each investigation. The problem of definition has sparked many debates and the numerous scholars and researchers who begin books or articles by stating their definition of what a frontiers are, mirrors this challenge. Marcia Okun starts her dissertation with multiple pages of definitions and showing why and which she will be using for her studies (Okun 1989). While Owen Lattimore gives his definition of a frontier as a zone between communities which differentiates them from each other, which is one of the more ambiguous definitions and is clearly not a physical one (Lattimore 1962). Stephen Dyson in 'The Creation of the Roman Frontier' defines a frontier as a system that incorporates military, social, diplomatic and economic parts rather than a zone (Dyson 1985). He also agrees with Lattimore that frontiers should not be confined to or contained in only the physical barriers whether manmade or natural, such as Hadrian's or the Rhine, these only symbolise the frontier divide in a physical form (Dyson 1985). D J Breeze says that in many cases on the frontier we see the recruitment of locals to join the garrisons on the frontier, this would suggest either a very strong trust of the newly conquered people to defend against people who were potentially old allies and friends or that the frontier was not just for defence but for control of movement meaning that Breezes idea of a frontier is a more fluid one as well (Breeze, Dobson, Mackay, 1980).

Many scholars do however take a more physical view of frontiers, David Shotter for instance, takes the basic definition of a separating line distinguishing one area from another (Shotter 1996). Simon James sits in this same school of thought, suggesting that frontiers are boundary lines or barriers and made up of unit bases and policed lines (James 2011). Mattingly, Rushworth, Sterry and Leitch say that the Roman word for a

boundary path or road, Limes, has developed into the word that we now understand to mean Roman frontier as a means of showing the Romans may have thought this way too. They also cite Aelius Aristides writing in the Second Century A.D. as saying the frontiers enclosed the 'civilised world in a ring', which suggests more of a barrier (Mattingly 2013, 8).

This complicates the study of not only Hadrian's Wall but all of the Roman Empire's frontiers because if everyone's research is based on a different definition of what a frontier is it makes it difficult to compare results and theories, as one scholar may only look a particular area or a particular group of people and another may not even have included these into their research. This is, however, also reflected in the natural ebb and flow of the frontiers themselves, changing and moving physically as well as in their purpose as the people living in and around them use them for different purposes.

Military frontiers are often seen in the modern era as barriers, as the edge or boundary of a place or people. The tendency to look at the frontier from this perspective and to look at what that boundary is for is understandable. But our worldview is not the same as the Romans, which means they would probably have had a different idea on what their frontiers were for and why they were built. Mattingly points out that the idea of boundaries is a strange one for the Roman Empire to even conceive, as it doesn't really fall into their ideology of conquering the entire world, with the exception of the barbarians (Mattingly 2011). Making a big point out of not conquering something seems like an odd choice for the Romans which suggests that frontier would probably have had more meaning and purpose than just a boundary line.

The definition of frontiers that I will use therefore will incorporate all of these aspects of frontiers purposes, as a physical barrier as a boundary line, as a road of communication, as a distinguisher from one community to another but also the frontiers role as a zone of merging and intermingling with other cultures and exchanging of different understandings of the world. In addition taking into consideration that a frontiers purpose can change overtime as well as its physical position.

Purpose of the Wall

The availability of large numbers of troops that weren't engaged in fighting in Italy, during the end of Augustus' reign as Emperor might have lead to concerns about his leadership being a military dictatorship and he therefore needed to find something for the excess troops to do (Shotter 1996, 10). They were thus sent to the edges of the Empire and this was when the first signs of proper frontier policy began to develop (Shotter 1996, 10). This meant not only were the soldiers being kept occupied but that there was also a heavier concentration of Roman people on the edges of society adding to the dissemination of Roman ideas and culture (Shotter 1996, 10). However this heavy military presence could also suggest a military barrier to block out unwanted visitors to the Empire or as a precursor to expansion needing to both move forward into unknown territory and to retain control of that which has already been encompassed into the Empire.

Most scholars now tend to think of the wall as more than just a barrier to exclude those outside of its boundaries from experiencing the benefits of being within the Empire. Kamm uses an idea expounded by Breeze and Dobson in Hadrian's Wall, as evidence for this, as the Vallum restricted access to the Wall from the southern side to only those places where it could be easily defended and had a means of passing through to the

other side (Kamm 2004,101; Breeze & Dobson 2000). Instead he suggests the purpose of the Wall as being to limit contact between potentially dangerous tribes to the north and to only allow interaction between them when they could be watched by the Roman forces on the frontier so as to dissuade them from combining in order to resist (Kamm 2004, 102).

Breeze goes further stating that there is no evidence that the natives in southern Scotland ever gave Rome any serious problems as mentioned earlier the occupation seems to have settled quite quietly onto this area (Breeze 1980, 28). In this instance we then have to ask the question why build the Wall at all? If it were to be a defensive barrier it would not make sense to have constructed it, as there didn't seem to have been anything to defend against this suggests that this would not have been the sole purpose of the Wall. Breeze also shows that recruitment of natives into the army relatively recently after the arrival and occupation of the Romans in the late First Century A.D. would suggest a less defensive quality to the Wall's purpose (Breeze 1980, 10). The Romans might have even recruited them because it would have helped to have local knowledge and more familiar faces to deal with the local people who would have needed to pass through the Wall or work nearby.

Clare also thinks that the local knowledge would have been used when placing the forts, as many were placed close to or in areas that already housed well-known focal areas for the community of the region such as Corbridge (Clare 1982, 50). This might be the reason for the fast growth of the vicii suggests Clare (Clare 1982, 50). This would also mean that many of the passing points through the Wall where there were big forts and communities could already have been places of trade and contact for the locals but now there was a more rigid structure rigid structure of access to these places. In 'The Roman

Frontier in Britain' Shotter makes a similar statement saying that the forts of the local garrisons had social and economic pull for the natives of the area, the forts became places to hold markets and to meet with each other peacefully (Shotter 1996, 11). Both of these are backed up by the evidence of large civilian communities outside of the forts, where trade clearly happened as evidenced by the many items found within these areas, and suggests planning on the part of the Roman Army to make their forts hubs for the community. This may have been so they could keep an eye on them and possibly their trade partners across the Wall, but it also could have to been to help to increase the economic growth of this part of the Empire and the wall brings some stability to the area. Higham makes the point that the Wall would probably have not been very useful as a defensive structure although it makes a useful deterrent for smaller acts of theft or raiding (Higham 1989). The Rhine was persistently used as a defensive barrier with actual fighting but it was only made from timber palisade why was a wall not built here? Suggests it would have hindered the efforts rather than helped (Higham 1989). However the Wall does provide an advantage against raiding parties, especially those after cattle or sheep, even if the raiders were able to slip past the Wall it would be much harder to return with their cargo without being spotted (Higham 1989, 106). This then took away some of the unpredictability of farming from many of the communities which meant a steadier growth for the locals and more control for the farmer but also was advantageous for the army as they would need to have secure supplies and the locals would be needing to produce more than they were driven to before the Roman arrival (Higham 1989, 106).

Hingley and Hartis in 'Contextualizing Hadrian's Wall as 'Debatable Lands'' continue in the theme of local peoples familiarisation with the occupying army and they became a regular fixture in their lives. They say that the frontier of Hadrian's Wall was a

physical expression of Roman identity close to the edge of the Empire, its construction emphasises the might and stability of the Rome to the people on the fringes of its imperial reach (Hingley & Hartis, 2011). The Wall however was not a barrier in their eyes it was a permeable structure allowing movement, inclusive of those outside of it, to enter and benefit from being part of the Empire. All they had to do was to conform with the unified identify of Rome and the Roman ways (Hingley & Hartis, 2011). Johnson suggests that this is potentially why the Antonine Wall was built, the military created pressure further north in Scotland to allow northern England and southern Scotland more time to adapt and become Romanised without or with less influences from the tribes of northern Scotland who were more resistant to the idea of Roman occupation (Johnson 1989, 16). The same idea could have been why Hadrian's Wall was created, to form a barrier that was controlled by the Roman army so that they had power over what influences the native people living in the area close to the Wall were exposed to, and could exert some influences of their own, allowing them to acclimatise to Roman presence.

The purpose of Hadrian's Wall is still highly debated and it is something that makes studying this area so interesting, by looking at how the natives are affected by not only the arrival of the Romans but the building of the Wall it may shed some light onto why it was created and how it was used.

Limitations

There are two schools of academics that study this period in the north of Britain, as well as two groups to be studied there. Firstly the Roman Army and their Vicii and the second focus are the native settlements and their interactions with their new neighbours (Clack & Haselgrove 1982, 1). These schools have investigated separately and tend not

to work together but rather to study their own portions of the archaeology for this area. This makes the fringes and the merging points of each of these study areas a less well known and less studied because of a tendency by both sides for it to be viewed as part of the others study area. This lack of communication between schools as well as archaeologist can lead to sites being overlooked.

The scholars that follow the native school of thought, widely acknowledge that the evidence from which they work, and therefore the basis of their hypothesises, has its very obvious limitations. The major limitation to this area of study being the lack of closely dated finds that could lead to a clearer chronology of the changes in the native settlements and people living in the North (Clack & Haselgrove 1982, 2). This limits the accuracy of any conclusions drawn from the evidence, never the less it is still an important issue to discuss and study.

There is also the added complication of this period being a time of great change for the native population of the north. The introduction of new farming techniques and their wider spread are one cause but because of the wide range of dates for sites in this period it is hard to confirm that the changes in these settlements are because of changes from within the native society of its own accord or whether they are the result of Roman arrival and its influence in native lives.

Scholars whose study interest lies with the Romans also tend to have different goals when looking at the evidence, such as looking at the wider reaching empire wide consequences or reasons for events and changes, while those in the native sector will clearly be looking for more localised consequences that relate to the people who are living in that particular area (Clack & Haselgrove 1982, 4). This leads to emphasis on

different aspects of sites and potentially conflicting ways of interpreting objects and sites.

Another problem lies in the comparison of the evidence, many of the sites that are used in studies have different levels of investigation to them. Some have been excavated fully, some only partially and several haven't been excavated at all but are merely interpreted by their morphology. Interpretations drawn from all of these sites with different styles of investigation while knowing more about some sites than others are limited by this too, there is no pool of data that can be looked at repeatedly on each site. This makes not only comparing native sites with each other difficult but also comparisons between native and Roman sites because of the number factors to take into consideration. Clare suggests that there are dangers for researchers comparing unexcavated and excavated sites based purely on their morphology because of reuse of sites and in terms of changes in function without necessarily changes in the morphology (Clack & Haselgrove 1982, 1).

Clack and Haselgrove suggest that another problem is that we are not looking in the right places for the evidence that we need (Clack & Haselgrove 1982, 4). They propose not only looking at native sites for clues of interaction with Rome but searching Roman sites for evidence of native material as well (Clack & Haselgrove 1982, 4). This idea of switching around of existing preconceptions, changing our views and looking at things in a new way is one that has proven useful in the past and could do so again. The Vindolanda ink tablets are a great example of this as it wasn't until the first few were found at Vindolanda and they had been established, once archaeologists knew what they were looking for, did they start to appear on other sites. Now that there was a specific description to follow and look for they could be found with more ease. This could

potentially be true to for evidence of Roman and native interaction and other archaeology but it just hasn't been found yet. Burgess agrees with this saying that 'the evidence is there, but we have not yet learnt to recognise it in terms of field monuments and artefacts' (Burgess 1984, 171).

The problem of relating the potential exaggerations of documentary evidence with the, often, minimal archaeological evidence is a big one (Clack & Haselgrove 1982). Often it is difficult to determine the places that writers are describing and frequently they are writing about events years, even centuries, after they supposedly took place. With most of the writings, inscriptions etc , from this period coming from Roman writers, and their bias may taint their descriptions of the natives. For the same reason we can not believe everything the Romans said about themselves either as clearly they would be inclined to exaggerate certain aspects of events or themselves. A key example of this would be the work of Tacitus' Agricola, Tacitus was writing about his father in law, he would have wanted gain favour and show Agricola in a good light he may have exaggerated, to make sure that his readers would be enticed into and epic tale which would not only show Agricola but himself in a good light.

Even as early as 1982 it was clear to Haselgrove and Clack that a severe problem in studying this area was the balance of excavated native sites in comparison with Roman and that without further excavations and therefore hopefully better dating evidence we cannot be certain whether a site was pre-Roman or Romano-British or had continuing occupation throughout the whole period (Clack & Haselgrove 1982).

Fraser Hunter brings to light another difficulty when studying this area particularly southern Scotland, the problem of identifying if the objects found were left behind by

the invading army or whether they were left behind by natives who had previously

traded with the Romans and then used the objects for themselves (Hunter 2013). The

function of an object may have changed from when it belonged to its original owner, it

can be hard to tell what the objects significance would therefore be.

Anthony Kamm suggests that the intense military presence and activity in the area also

contribute to the to increased confusion about the history of the natives (Kamm 2004).

The large amount of activity that an army creates such as building programmes, roads

and mining is destructive. The fact that the army occupied the same area for such an

extended period of time means that there is perhaps more damage and many clues to the

previous way of life will have been lost.

Most of the problems here stem from one major problem and that is not being able to or

at least having great difficulty in recognising native settlements and their chronology.

George Jobey in the early 1960's acknowledged this problem and began to research and

formulate a system for identification of native settlements. Jobey's research area was

mainly north of the wall in Tynedale and Redesdale moving into Scotland a little (Jobey

1982, 10). Jobey's description of the most common native settlements as having, a

rectilinear perimeter in either stone or earth, often with an exterior ditch and a single

entrance, with two to five round houses at the rear of the enclosure, is still accepted

today (Jobey 1960, 10).

However, Jobey's categorisations within this overall image have come into question.

Jobey reviewed many settlements along the border of Scotland that were originally

thought to have been medieval and showed that they actually belonged to the Late Iron

Age or the Romano-British period (Jobey 1962, 47). These he termed scooped

settlements, enclosures in non-defensive positions, containing several round hollowed floors partitioned by walls or edges that had been left unexcavated (Jobey 1962, 47). Jobey compared this style of settlement with the 'Cheviot' style enclosures of northern Northumberland (Jobey 1964, 63-64). These are enclosures with huts probably of stone and courtyards often grouped together with other similar enclosures or with additions to the original one (Jobey 1964, 42-44). Colin Burgess suggests that the distinction between the two types of settlements is redundant because they are in fact the same style of settlement just on different sides of the border with different names (Burgess 1984, 166). Burgess says sites like Haystack Hill and Coldberry Hill in Northumberland both described as Cheviot style settlements could easily on the other side of the border be classified as scooped settlements (Burgess 1984, 166).

These limitations all point to a need for more excavation of the native sites of the Roman north to begin to allow archaeologists more understanding and familiarity of and with the native settlements and sites that might tell us more about the local people and there interaction with and reaction to the Roman occupation of the north of Britain. All of these restrictions with our research and even gaps in our knowledge need to be taken into consideration when studying this area.

Methodology

The Problem

As has just been shown in the previous chapter our knowledge of this area, the native interactions in the north, with each other, and especially across Hadrian's Wall as well as with the Roman military of the area, are less well understood. This may be due to the many obstacles to studying this area such as a lack of dateable evidence, a shortage of scholarly interest in a broader range of sites and the overwhelming amount of Roman military installations, which obscure other evidence in the area. This is the problem that this research aims to address and to create a strong foundation for further study into this area. This chapter will look at the methods used throughout the research, the reasons behind each step and how this helped to achieve the research aims as well as how it compares to other scholars works. It will also look closely at what the research aims are and how these relate to the gaps that have been revealed by the literature review.

Scope of the Research

This dissertation focuses on a particular research area of Hadrian's Wall and its hinterland, looking at the local peoples interaction across the whole length of the Wall. As well as looking at the connections within the native societies across the barrier of the wall, the research also examines their interactions with the Romans, particularly the military occupying the Hadrian's Wall, and the extent from the Wall those influences travelled. To encompass this the research area covers all of what is now Scotland and the north of England down to north Yorkshire with a particular focus on the evidence that lies within the first few miles of the Wall.

This particular area was chosen because although it has been well studied, there are still gaps in our knowledge, which need to be addressed. The high military presence in the area is atypical for much of the rest of Britain and is therefore an interesting and complex study but does mean that when looking at the relationship between Roman and native in Britain much of the work done on southern Britain cannot be compared to the north as the types of Roman individuals that each areas would be engaging with, would be very different and very dissimilar atmospheres would have been created on the heavily militarised frontier, as opposed to the more civilian towns and villages of the south (Millet 1990).

The chronological scope of the research is from the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age to the early third century A.D. This range was chosen to allow a good comparison of native interaction in this area before the Romans arrived and how this changed as the Romans began to occupy the north and the impact of building Hadrian's Wall had on the connections between locals to the north and south of the Wall. This range also allows the research to see how the Romans interacted with natives on either side of Hadrian's Wall if in fact they did at all and whether either side was treated differently to the other.

Source Material

This dissertation will use both published and unpublished sources, for its research. The main sources to be examined and used for data collection are, the journal Britannia that records many of the Romano-British archaeological investigations carried out throughout the year as, the Historic Environment Record accessed by the archaeological data service and published literature from scholars of the area.

Using Britannia is useful because it covers the whole of the research area; it has specific areas for Scotland, Hadrian's Wall, and the north of Britain. This allows a consistent source, which can be compared and used to analysis all of the areas of study. It is also a published data source from a well respected society, which often means that not only is there more detail on each site and therefore a higher chance of accuracy but it means that the information that has gone into the journal has been vetted and agreed by more than one person. The drawback to using this as a source, is that it is definitely orientated more towards the Romans in Britain and so therefore doesn't include many of the native sites, unless they have clear connections to Romans or have become more Romanised. This source was useful for this project as it has sites across the whole of the study area but has its limitations when it comes to archaeological sites of the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age or native settlements during the Roman period.

On the other hand the Historic Environment Record (HER) is unpublished but covers a much wider range of sites in both time range, from Iron Age through to Roman and from native sites to Romano-British and Roman military. The HER is useful for looking at the site morphology and the dispersal of sites within the research area. Many of the sites are not excavated but merely recorded which means that we can't go into as much detail on them and the accuracy of their dates or date ranges is less than many of the published sites. However form and placement is still clear and this can be helpful when looking at the spread of building fashions and techniques as well as the spread of the local population before and after Roman arrival in the north. The other limitation of the HER is that it doesn't extend into Scotland so although it covers both sides of Hadrian's Wall to the north it doesn't encompass as much. Accessing this source through the Archaeological Data Service made it easy to search for only sites within the research parameters and made the transfer of information quick. The only limitation for using the

online database would be that not all of the data is stored online, however the data collected was still substantial for this project. This is a useful source as it fills in much of the information that Britannia doesn't have. It allows for less studied sites to be included which is important as this is a less well studied area so many sites may not have been included in the published literature.

The final source of information to be used in this dissertation is published literature the books and articles by the scholars of the field. This is an important source because it is not only well researched and examined, but it covers the whole of the focus area. The advantages of this source are that the sites covered are often excavated, and have therefore more accurate dates and information connected with them. This however has to be weighed with the authors focus, depending on which school they belong to there will probably be an emphasis on either the native or Roman aspects of sites which needs to be taken into consideration when looking at the interpretations of sites, no matter how small the bias might be. This can be limited when books and article are peer reviewed meaning that many other colleagues in the field find the interpretation they have reached to be well-founded or at least agree that the methods they have used to arrive at them are justifiable. This makes published literature, such as books and articles, a strong source to use as it goes into more depth than many of the other sources and it covers sites across both the native and Roman, study areas and across the time periods this project has focused on.

Collation of Data

To organise and present the data in a clear way the project will be using a Geographic Information System, named QGIS. This is a useful tool for the presentation of data because it allows the collection and use of multiple different types of information in one

area and it can all be presented in a clear way, in one forum. The system is easy to use and simple to add data to so there will be less unproductive time transferring data into the application and maps but still gives an effective output. GIS is also useful when analysing the data especially for this project as a lot of the interpretation will come from where specific sites are placed and how they spread across the research area. This helps to create an easy to read interactive map that different data sets can be viewed on all at once or individually or even in different combinations making it much easier to spot patterns and anomalies. This would be difficult to do using paper maps or even tools like Google earth as each site would have to be manually entered and there are less tools to help show different data sets. This makes GIS the correct tool not only for presentation but also collation of data and analysis, it saves using multiple or different tools for each aspect while creating a great result.

Reliability and Accuracy

To lend reliability to the results from this research project, there are a wide range of sources being used, this allows for many different opinions on each subject or site to be identified and taken into consideration whilst compiling data and presenting results. This study has also used many sources that are well accredited such as Britannia, which is from a respectable society specifically for learning more about the Roman world. Many of the scholars published works have been from reputable journals or have been peer reviewed as well which makes for much more reliable data and interpretations. The HER data has its limitations when it comes to the reliability of the data that was sourced from there because it is often very limited and without much research. The data does however have the backing and is often uploaded and collected by the local archaeological group from the area and therefore does have some reliability as many of these archaeologists will have specialist knowledge of their particular area.

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The accuracy of the data used in this research will be quite high, as multiple sources from multiple locations have been used. This builds the accuracy of the results as the more sources there are to compare the more likely that nothing has been missed and the results and conclusions that the project comes to will be a true representation of the archaeology on the ground. The larger the sample size the more significant the results will be and the easier it will be to apply the conclusions drawn here to the wider Empire and other frontiers. Overall the reliability and accuracy of the data and the conclusions drawn from them is of a high standard and can be transferred across the Roman Empire and compared with other frontier zones.

Comparison

This research is comparable to many other studies as many scholars study this area and this time period, what makes it different is that it does not only look at one particular aspect or view point but tries to encompass all of the different communities and groups of people that would have been living on or near by the Wall and how this affected their lives and what changes it brought to them. The usual boundaries adhered to by many researchers such as that between studying Roman and native, the Iron Age and the Roman period and even the borders between Scotland and England will not be observed in this study but rather it will examine the evidence presented comprehensively. Doing this will create a more complete picture of how the frontier zone and Hadrian's Wall affected the people living in the north and how they interacted with each other. This will hopefully give a more rounded view of the area and allow for a more accurate interpretation.

Research Questions and Aims

The three main research questions for this dissertation are:

1. What changes or continuities can be observed in the nature and distribution of settlement in the hinterland of Hadrian's Wall? What changes or continuities can be observed in non-military settlements in the area?

2. What, if any, evidence is there for the interaction of native peoples across the Wall in settlement style and placement? Many other frontiers are placed along physical or tribal boundaries, does the placement of Hadrian's Wall suggest a divide in the communities prior to Roman arrival in the area and how would that affect movement across the Wall?

3. Is there evidence for peaceable interaction between the Roman Army and the settled natives communities who lived on both sides of the Wall? And what differences, if any, are there in the Roman's response to the locals on either side of the Wall?

The aims of this research project are to create a strong foundation for further frontier studies across the Roman Empire, to compare the effect of a heightened military presence and the response of locals to Roman presence and how interaction of indigenous peoples continued, or not, across the frontier zones. Though the high number of samples taken and the large study area means that the interpretations can be applied to other frontier zones not only impacting the conclusions drawn for this area and achieving the goal of a broader impact for the research done here. It is also important to consider the more specific aims to identify the local response to the building of Hadrian's Wall and the impact it had on communications between communities on either side of the Wall, through settlement patterns and styles, to help grow our understanding of this area.

Conclusion

The problem that is being addressed with this research project is that of the gap in our knowledge caused by a lack of closely datable evidence and the overpowering amount of Roman military archaeology and a shortage of scholarly interest, surrounding the native communities interactions in the north and how these change and adapt after Roman occupation and particularly the building of Hadrian's Wall. The identified problem has been shaped into research questions and aims for the outcome of this project: to find evidence for changes or continuities of settlement pattern and nature, to see if there is evidence of native interaction across Hadrian's Wall and discover what evidence there is for Roman interaction with local communities either side of the Wall. These questions all go towards the aims, which are to identify the impact that the Roman army had on the native communities and the response of the locals to the building of Hadrian's Wall and how this can be expanded and related to other frontier zones in the Roman Empire.

Presentation of data

Introduction

This chapter will look at and present the results from the data sets, in the outlined study area. Each of these will be examined as and compared with the other sets of data so as to gain a complete picture of the strengths and weaknesses of the combined data set and we can learn from this representation. It will begin by studying the information collected from the mainstream literature; and contrasting this with evidence from lesser-developed sites highlighting significant findings that result from the evidence.

Published Literature Data

The sites that commonly appear in the mainstream literature for the area surrounding Hadrian's Wall are either Roman military sites or they are very well established native centres such as Traprain Law which has been extensively researched by Fraser Hunter.

Most scholars tend to focus on either the Roman or the native there is rarely a cross over point or a combination effort when studying the Wall and its hinterland. Perhaps this is because so close to the edge of the Empire it is felt that there was a much more clear cut distinction between the local people and the Roman occupiers that it is not needed. This is however, not as clear-cut so the case warrants further investigation.

Unpublished Data

The results from Britannia are quite sparse and widely spread and they tend to cluster around roadways or large population hubs where there has been a substantial amount of subsequent development as is expected. Similarly the results from the HER also tend to group around these areas of development. However there is also a much denser population of sites around Hadrian's Wall, as many of the sites have been discovered by aerial photography since this is such an intensively studied area. The idea that many of these sites are discovered due to being either close to or in the way of development, or from aerial photographs leads to the impression that they are not as well documented. The main focus being on the developer's activities, which may take precedence over the archaeology. The sites close to the Wall in Britannia tend to be focused on Roman military, as the Roman sites are the main focus for the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies understandably. Therefore this does not reflect a lack of sites but rather a shortage of representation in this journal, as its main focus is elsewhere on the Roman and particularly in the north the Roman military aspects of Britain.

Scotland shows a notable absence of sites in the data but the terrain of the landscape, rather than a gap in the research may partially explain this. The native sites in Scotland seem to stay close to the edge of the highlands confined to the lower lying areas. This could have been for the agricultural reasons such as improved soil for the growth of crops in the lowlands. Equally easier trade routes could have been achieved. On the other hand, archaeological reasons could be the cause, in that the sites may not have been so well preserved in the highlands and there is comparatively less development there too. Other than this there are sites of Romano-British dates that would probably

have had interactions with the Romans scattered as far north as Elgin and Inverness although, as with many of the sites in this study, the available information about them is not extensive they many have not been fully excavated or surveyed.

The fact that we can see that there have been quite a few native sites identified towards the south *and* north of the Wall and some have been excavated such as Traprain Law and Clarkly Hill to the north, and an enclosure complex at Pickering, SE795 857 to the south. This shows we know they can be useful, and indicates that the sites close to the frontier zone in the north may have been overlooked in favour of studying other sites in the area.

This map clearly shows the limitation of the HER, in that although there are many sites within the research area they are confined by the Scottish-English border. However, many sites run along the edge of this boundary, which does suggest that there will be some continuation of sites across the border but the data could not be obtained for this investigation. Nevertheless even with this limitation much of the unstudied data gathered has already filled in some of the gaps left by the mainstream published data that focuses on the Hadrian's Wall area.
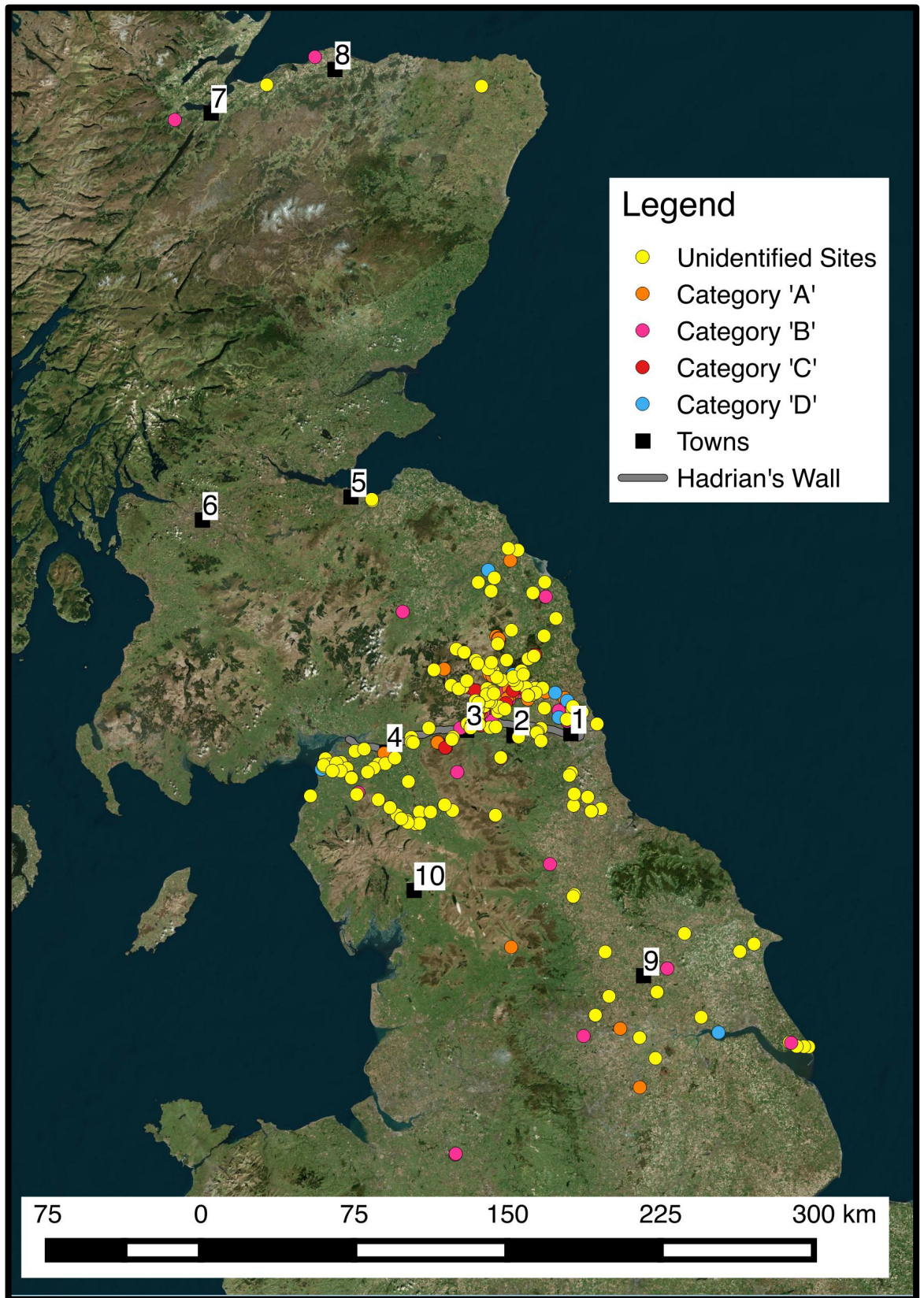
Figure 2: Map of all the data collected with major towns marked as reference points. Towns – 1:

Newcastle 2: Corbridge 3: Vindolanda 4: Carlisle 5: Edinburgh 6: Glasgow 7:Inverness 8: Elgin 9: York

10: Kendall

We see a huge collection of sites within the hinterland of Hadrian's Wall particularly to the north of the eastern section of the Wall and to the western end of the Wall, where the sites cluster to the south. There appears to be no sites to the north of the western section of Wall, although there seems no obvious reason for this anomaly as the terrain is similar to much of the surrounding occupied areas. In addition there was a Roman route to the north on this side of the Wall, so it would seem reasonable to assume that as in other areas people may have gathered along the road. This may be the result of it being a less studied area or might be caused by gaps in the research of the area as well. However as this whole area has been extensively surveyed by aerial photography it would be expected that at least a few sites in this area would have appeared by now.

Sites congregating along the south of the Wall may be explained by the proximity to the Stanegate, this would be a useful means of communication and trade for anyone in the area and although it may have been created by the Roman arrivals it would have been used by any locals living in the area as well.

The data has been indexed using George Jobey's categorisation system, Category 'A' being scooped settlements, generally with an east facing entrance with a raised causeway running from it between two excavated courtyards to a flat area at the back where huts would sit and represented by orange points on the maps. Category 'B' sites symbolised by pink markers are enclosures that are rectangular or sub-rectangular in shape and made of stone sometimes collected together with an irregular outlines with an origin in the Roman period. Category 'C' is characterised by sites that have only one or two stone huts and would only have been occupied by one family group and are housed in a rectangular enclosure. Category 'D' sites are very rare and are made up of sites that are rectangular have multiple ditches such as the Manside Cross settlement in Northumberland.

Category 'A' sites or scooped settlements fall mainly to the northeast of the Wall with a few sporadically further south and only a couple to the west half of the Wall in Cumbria. The sites further south may be considered as anomalies as they are so far away from other sites of the same type. The sites of this type in the northeast area of the Wall do collect around one of the main Roman routes north into Scotland and seem to follow it north. This might suggest a use of the Roman roads and even perhaps trade with the passing Roman military.
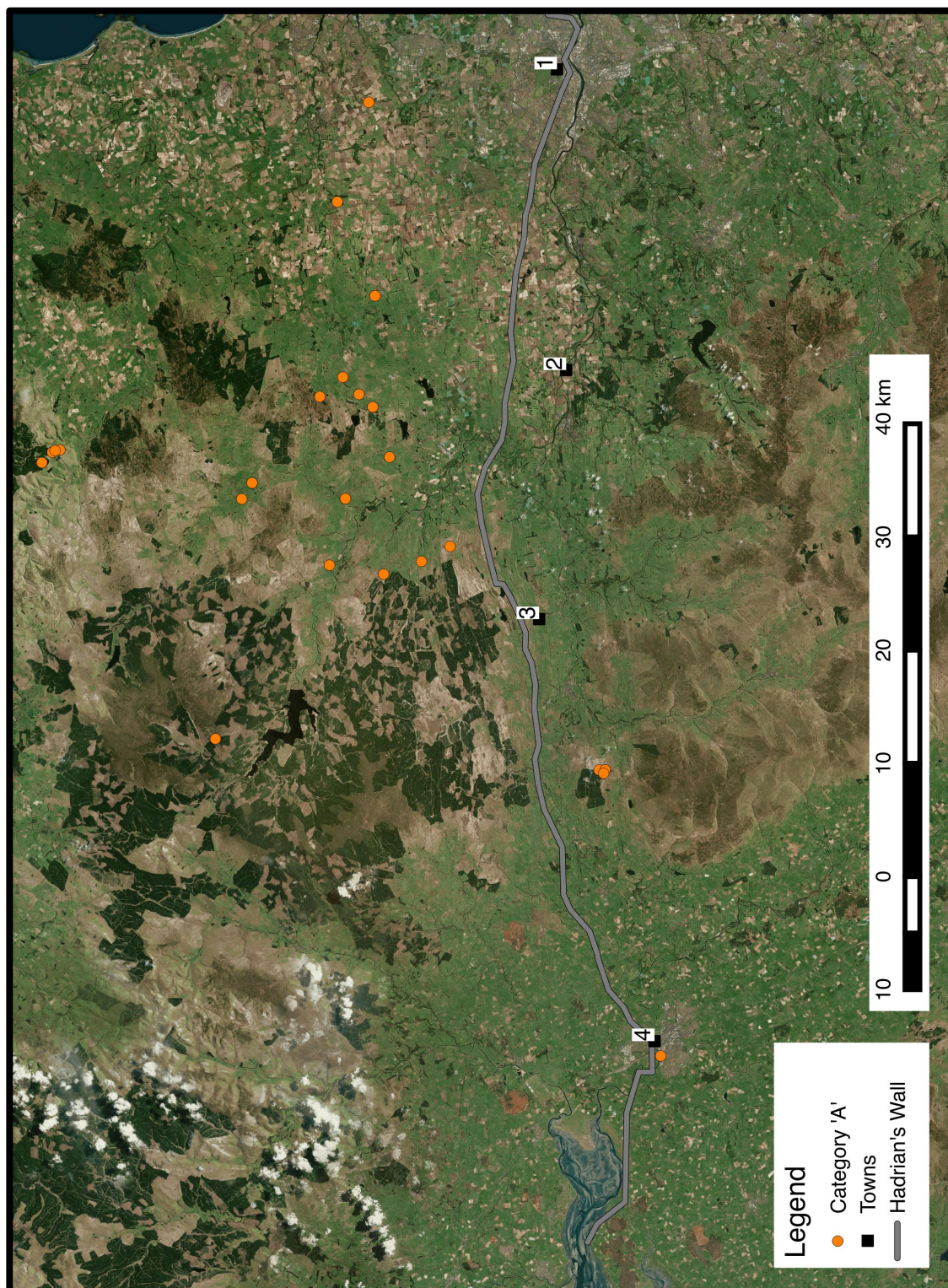
Figure 3: Map representing the evidence for scooped or Category 'A' settlements in the immediate area of

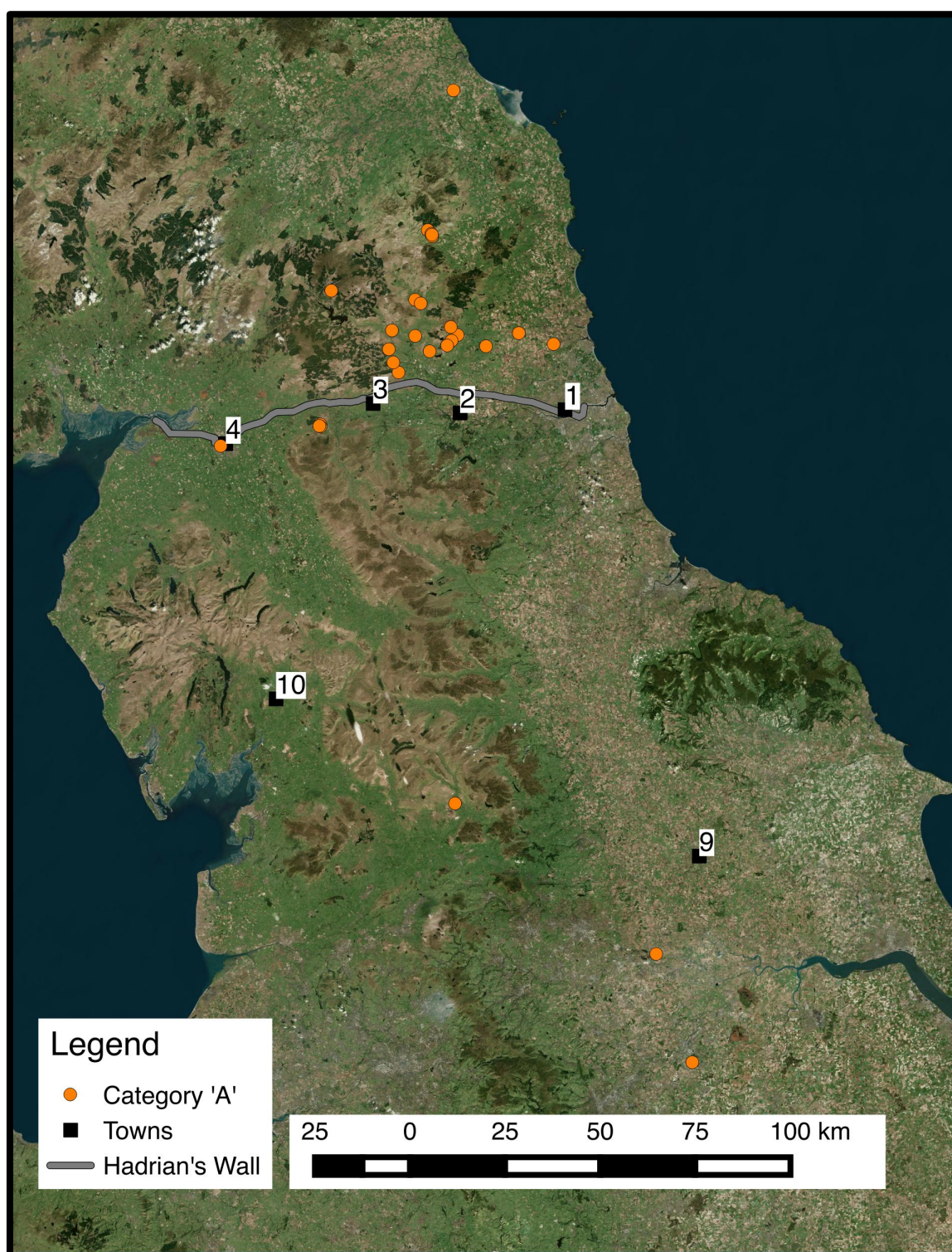Hadrian's Wall, created in QGIS

Figure 4: Map showing the wider spread of Category 'A' sites across the north, created in QGIS

The Category 'B' sites collected are slightly more spread out than the scooped

settlements but still have a high concentration to the north east of the Wall along the
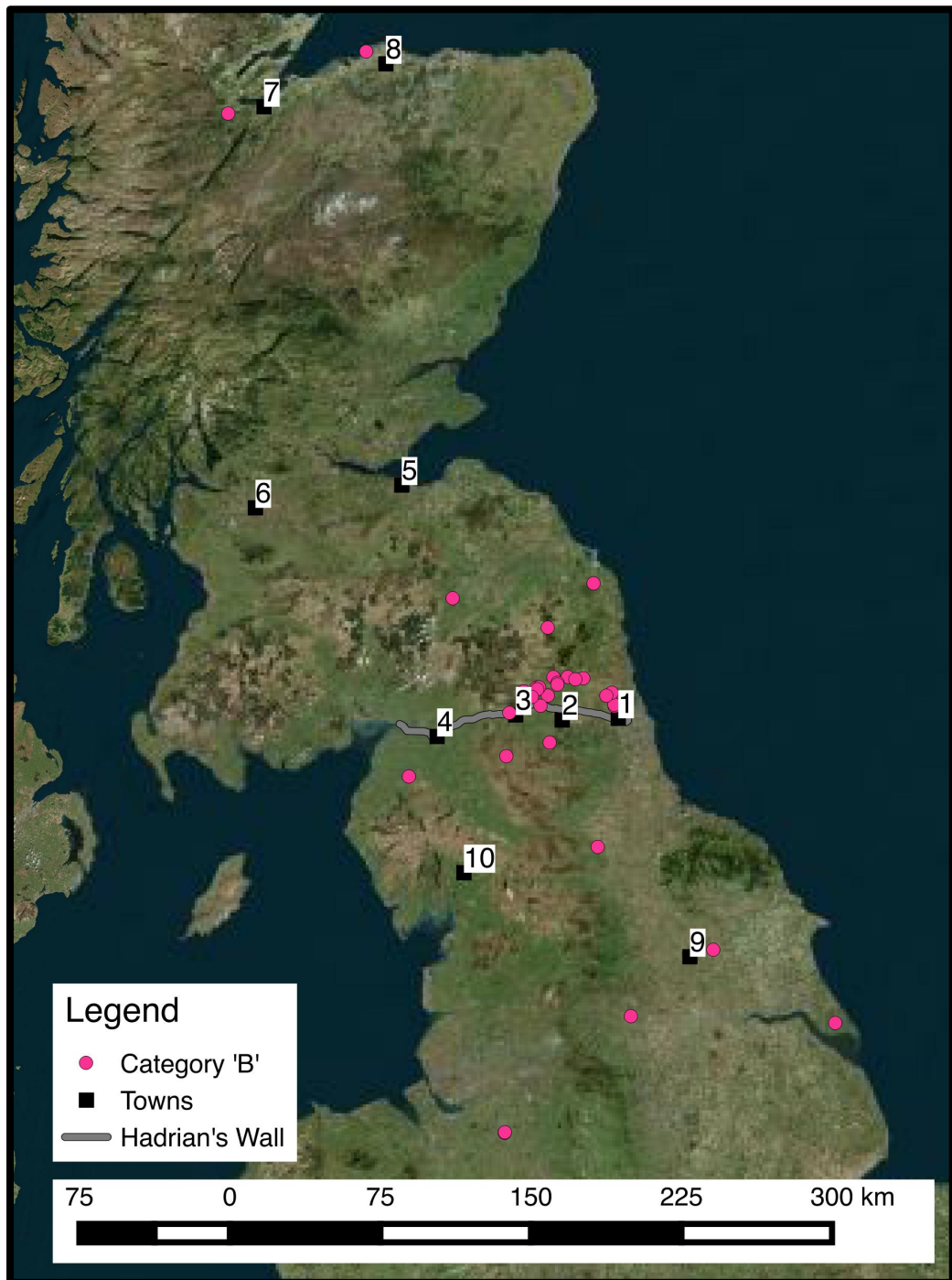
military course into Scotland.

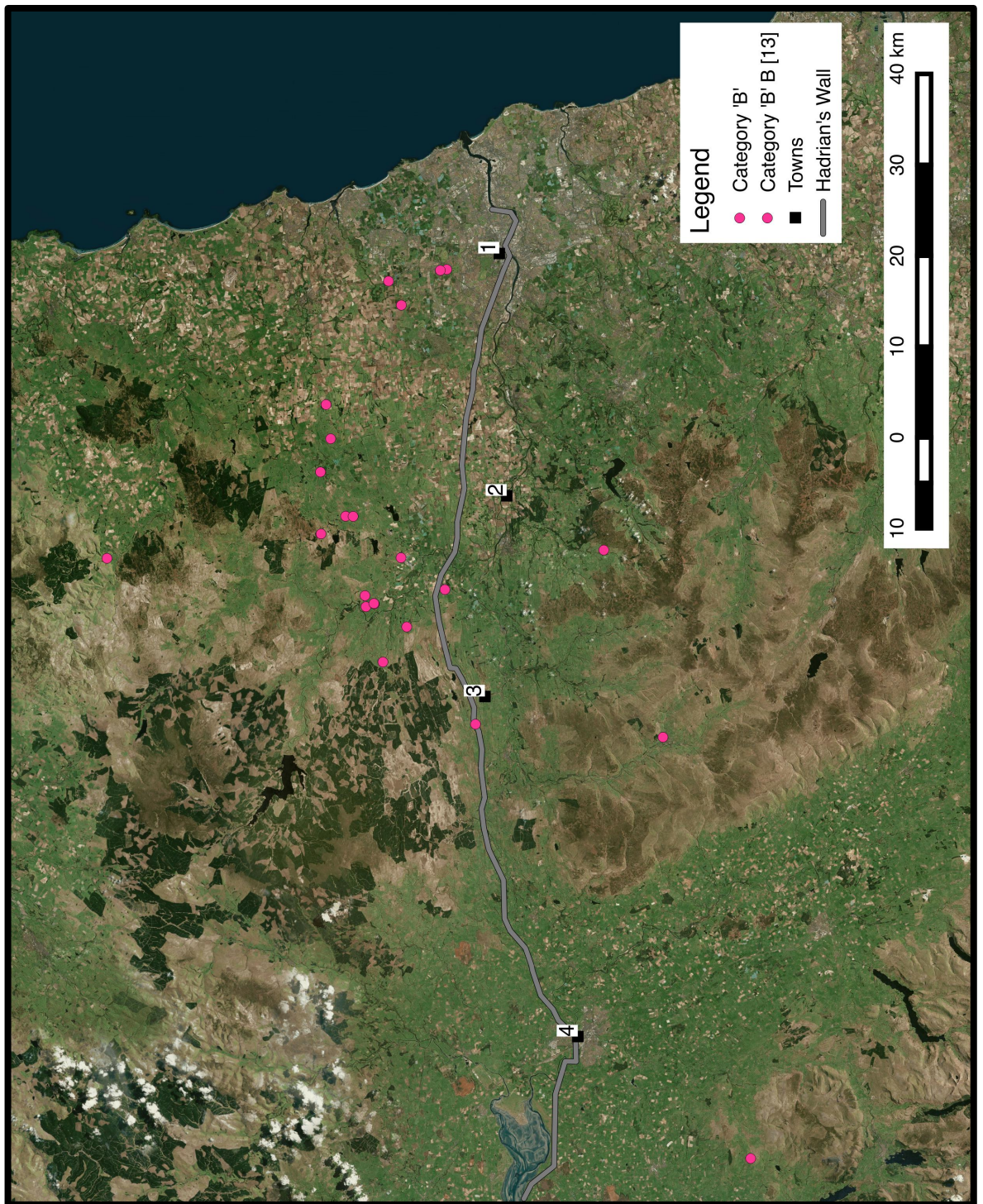Figure 5: Map representing Category 'B' sites, created in QGIS

Figure 6: Map show a closer view of the category 'B' sites that lie within the frontier zone, created in QGIS

Category 'C' homestead sites are confined to the this area to the north east of the Wall that is already populated with the many of the other types of site several sit very close to the central sector of the Wall with only a few spreading out into the wider countryside.
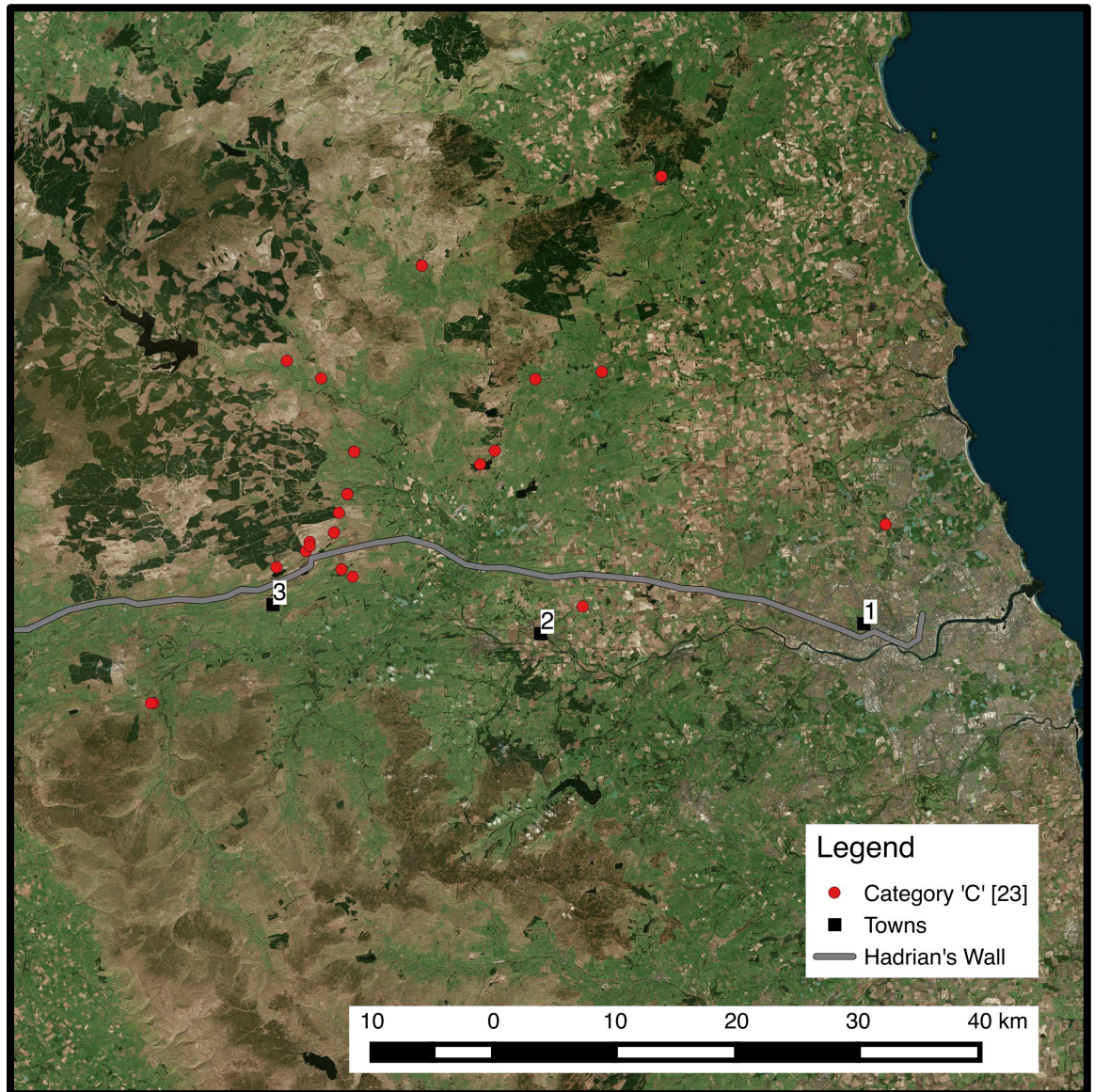

Figure 7: Map showing the Category 'C' sites clustered to the eastern half of the Wall, created in QGIS

The Category 'D' defended multi-ditched settlements provide an interesting data set, as there are only seven examples of this style of settlement that have been dated to this period of time of the transition between the late Iron Age and the Roman periods. These sites fall mainly on the east of the country with five sites fairly close together to the north of Hadrian's Wall and one much further to the south and one right across beyond the western end of the Wall.
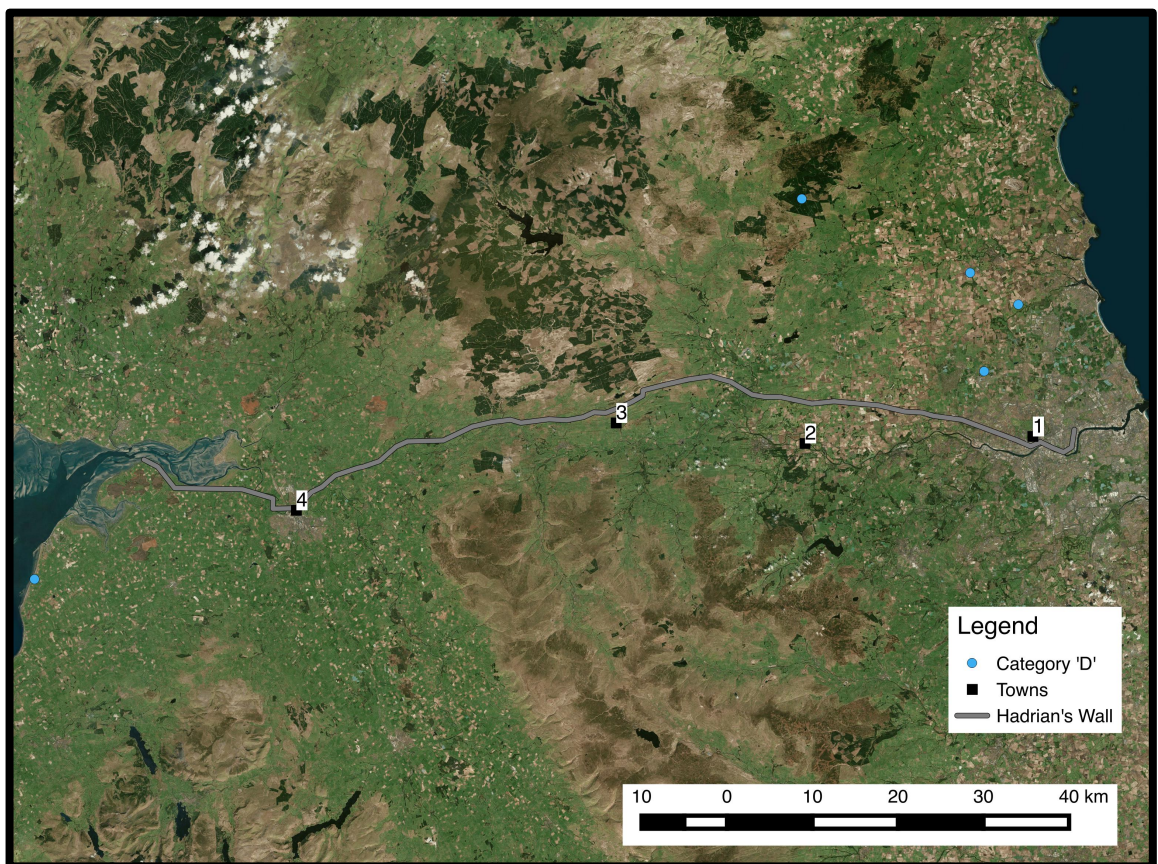

Figure 8: Map indicating all of the Category 'D' sites that are within the frontier zone, showing the scarcity of Category 'D' sites within this area, created in QGIS.
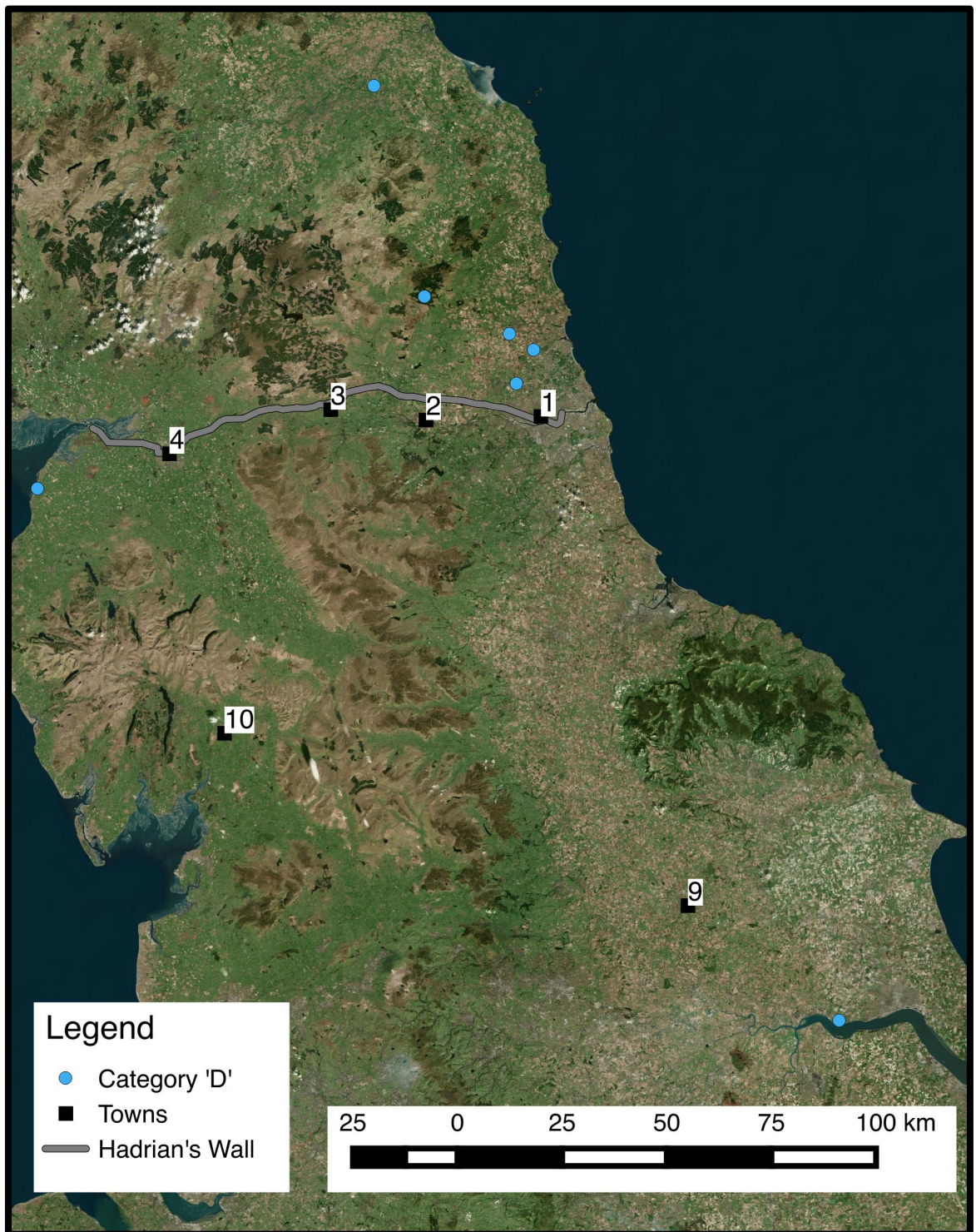
Figure 9: Map showing the wider spread of Category 'D' sites across the north, created in QGIS

The sites represented by yellow points are categorised as settlements of the Romano-British period but do not have enough information attached to them to have a more in-depth classification. Many of these are only identified as Romano-British by the style of enclosure within which they sit, although some like the sites at Tynemouth, NZ37296937 and at Mitford, NZ17848362 have had finds of pottery dating to this period. This gives evidence to and enhances the view that not many of the sites in this area have been utilised to their full potential if they have been used at all. Looking at the main density of sites it is clear to see that they do follow the line of the Wall and spread out to both the north and the south along the routes that the Roman army used to advance north. This raises the question of whether the settlements are there because of the roadways, for easy travel and trade or if the roadways are there because that is where the settlements are, which means its easy terrain and they have tradable goods or food. The difficulty of narrowing down the date range for these settlements is exacerbated by the fact that they are infrequently referenced and studied in the published literature.
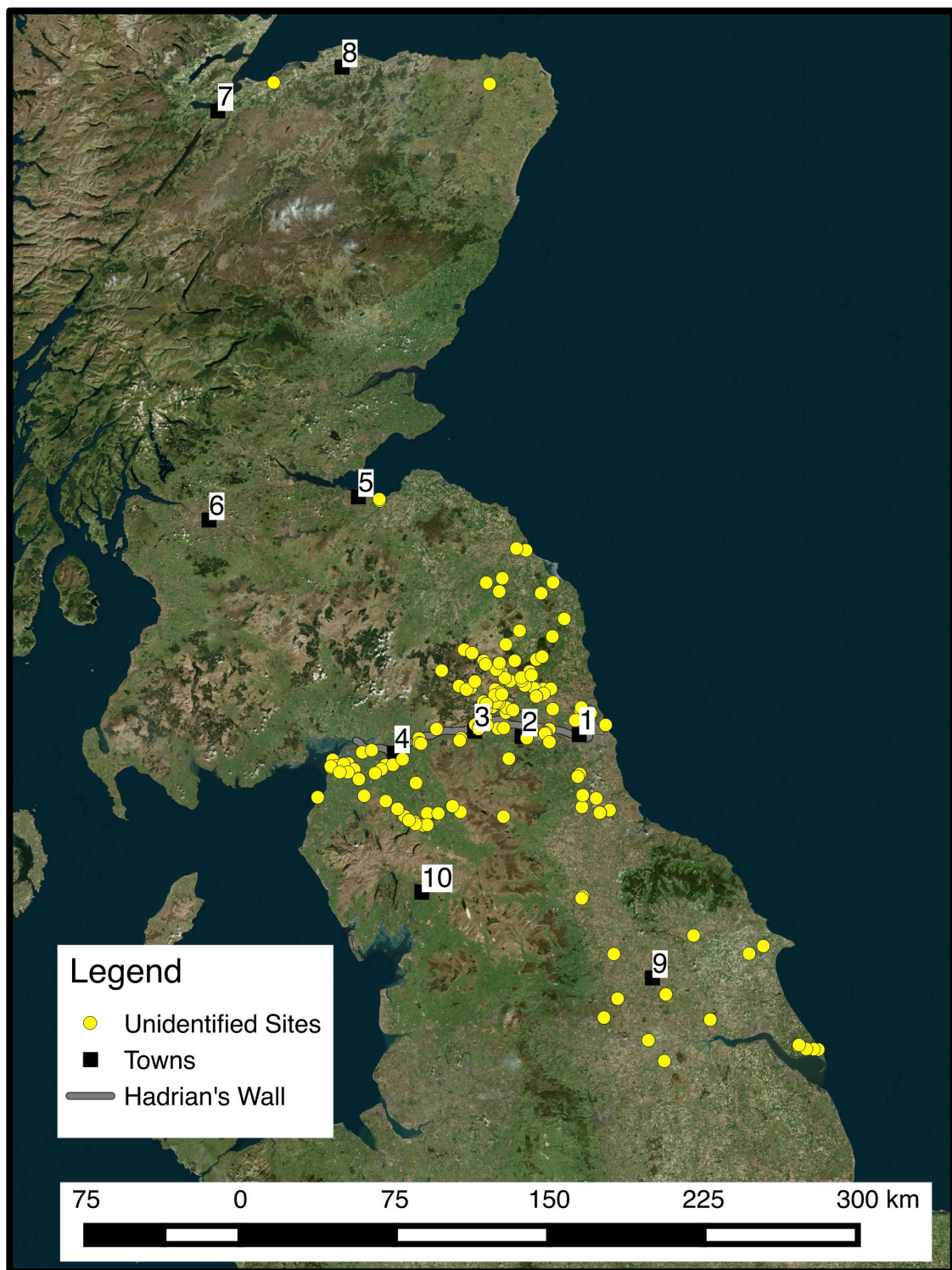
Figure 10: Map showing the sites that have been left uncategorised as they have too little information attached to them to be defined into a specific category, created in QGIS

Looking at the map of the all the combined data we can see that the HER data fits into the area surrounding Hadrian's Wall that is less well covered by the published literature, filling in another layer of information for this area. That has as yet not been fully utilised by many scholars. The large quantity of sites that are unpublished in the close vicinity of Hadrian's Wall suggests that the focus of published literature is elsewhere. Potentially this is where we see the focus on the Roman military sites of the area rather than the Romano-British or civilian sites.

A final way of categorising and reviewing the data collected was to split up the data into sites that had clear and definitive evidence of habitation during the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age and that this occupation had continued after the Roman arrival and into the Roman period. Looking at the spread of the data one thing is clearly noticeable that although there is a large group of these sites that sit much further south, this is expected as many more civilian sites are found further south during the Roman period in Britain, there are also continually occupied sites spread across the whole of the data set. The continued occupation of Late Iron Age sites or roundhouses is not confined to one particular area and does not only happen away from the Roman military presence. This might suggest that there was not only one factor for the abandonment or continued occupation of an area such as the Roman arrival but rather a number of factors affecting either individual areas, communities or family groups.
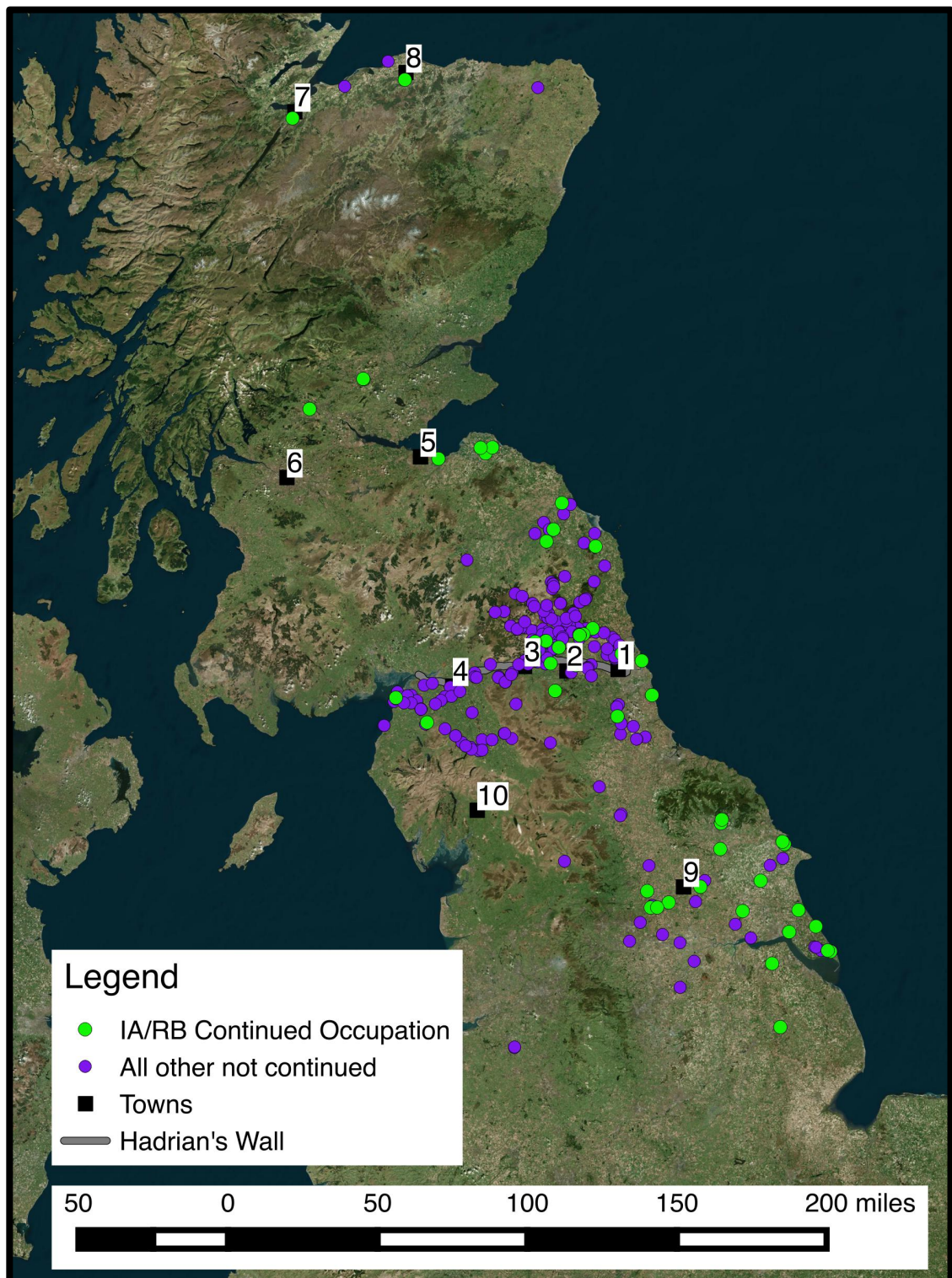
Figure 11: Map showing all of the data collected and categorised into sites that show clearly a pattern of habitation from the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age and into and through part of the Roman period and those which don't or don't have enough information to confirm the dates of their habitation, created in QGIS
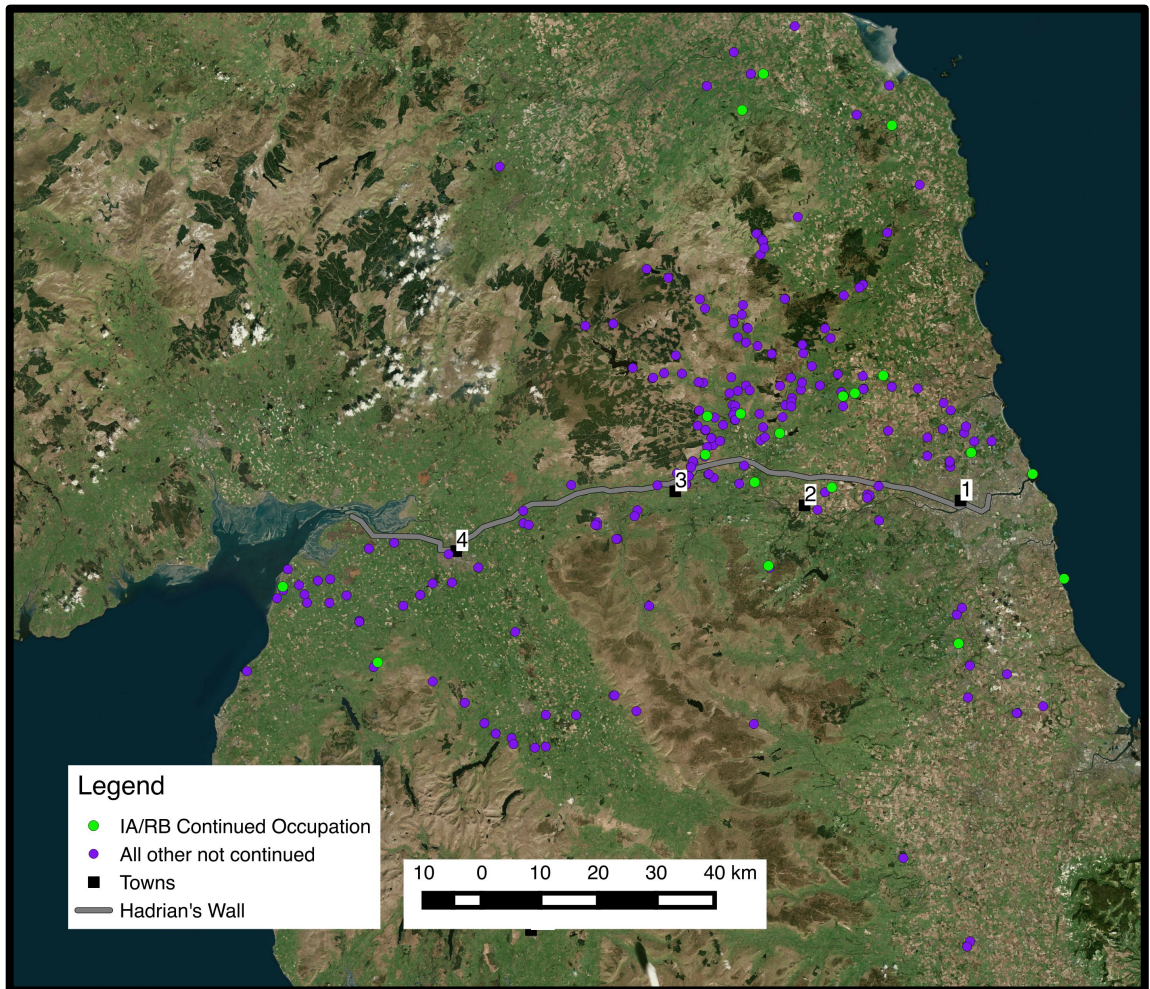
Figure 12: Map showing in more detail the sites in the hinterland of Hadrian's Wall that were continuously inhabited through the Later Iron Age and into the Roman period, created in QGIS

Overall the data shows that although the north of Britain was settled during the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age there wasn't a mass exodus when the Romans arrived. The process seems to have been more organic than forced, with a range of different sites being abandoned at different times. Another thing the data shows clearly is the shear amount of sites that there are to be studied in the Hadrian's Wall area that just haven't been incorporated into the mainstream publications.

Conclusion

Through the presentation of the collected data as maps the patterns and anomalies can easily be spotted it also highlights the limitations and extent of the sources used in the research. The HER has its weakness in that it only extends to the Scottish border but hints at a continuation of sites. Britannia reveals that its limitation for this study is that, it is overwhelmed by Roman sites in the immediate hinterland of Hadrian's Wall. Thus the mainstream published literature struggles to look at many of the everyday sites or overlap studies between the native and the Roman schools of thought. What this section shows most is that there are a large number of sites that have not yet been included in the published literature and that show up as either partially excavated or surveyed but that warrant further research. Still, these sites fill in many of the gaps left by the published literature geographically and help to fill in some missing knowledge and indicate topics and areas where it might be limited. The next section will look at each of these areas in more detail to discover why the sites are situated where they are and what interpretations can be drawn from the distribution pattern and style of the settlements.

Discussion

Introduction

Following on from the presentation of the the raw data, this chapter begins the discussion of its interpretation and how it is helpful to the study of this region and the people who lived here during the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age and Roman period. The data collected represents different forms of settlement across the area. Larger settlements, which would have housed multiple families or even whole communities, such as the settlement near to Carry House at NY868792 which has a sizeable enclosure holding up to nine roundhouses. The small homestead style settlements that would only have accommodated a single-family unit, such as the Folly Moss settlement at NY93997772, which is smaller in size and only includes two possible hut circles. The intention of the research was to, discover any changes or continuities in the nature and distribution of settlement in the hinterland of Hadrian's Wall. To examine if there is any evidence supporting interaction between local communities across the frontier zone, and how this was influenced by the building of the Wall. Finally to see what evidence there is for interaction between the Romans and the native populations on either side of the Wall within the dispersal of settlements. As this chapter continues it will attempt to address each of the research questions aim-by-aim and endeavour to answer them using all the evidence that has been gathered. It will also examine the techniques used to gather and present the data reviewing any weaknesses or strengths, and how this was helpful or impractical to the research suggesting improvements that could be made when conducting future research.

Method Analysis

GIS

The methods used in this investigation aimed to increase the reliability and accuracy of the results and to decrease any misleading data that might have appeared. The use of QGIS for this was advantageous, as it allowed for the easy gathering and storage of all the collected data in one area and application so that it could be viewed all at once or in whatever way was most helpful. This was useful as it allowed different perspectives of the data, which aided analysis of the results, particularly comparison of data from different sources as well as data that had been defined in different categories. Having all the data in one area was really beneficial and increased the speed of the process but it did mean that all the data that was collected had to be transformed into the same form so that it could all be viewed accurately within QGIS and be placed in the correct geographical location. After the initial effort to convert the data into a compatible form it was more easily organised. Enabling the maps created to be easily exported as images for presentation and the use of the tools to expose certain patterns within the data on a macro and micro scale where more in depth interpretation or explanation is required.

Sample Sites

This investigation used over 250 sites to build up the database and obtained these sites from a number of different sources: whether published or unpublished, from archaeologists research, or development work, accidental discovery in the field or by aerial photography. This array of sites means that it is less likely that any significant sites will have been missed out from the discussions included here.

The fact that the sites examined come from many different sources does also have its drawbacks as it means that many of the sites are at different stages of investigation. While others have been excavated and researched more thoroughly, some of the sites referenced from the HER have not been assessed fully and have only rough measurements and outlines for descriptions. Being a heavily relied on source it does weaken the some of the conclusions that can be drawn. This gives the researched locations a more stable base line with which to work as more is known about them and so more detailed and informed ideas and theories can be made. This difference in the level of investigation of each site is highlighted in the presentation of the data in figure 13 and figure 14. In the former these are all sites that have too little information connected with them to be able to categorise them further. The latter shows these sites in the context of the rest of the data collected. This reveals that an overwhelming amount of the data is too poorly understood to allow for proper comparison. Geographically, this made little difference to the dispersal maps. It did however impact the comparison of the style and form of the settlements since the more in depth information required for the comparison wasn't always available.
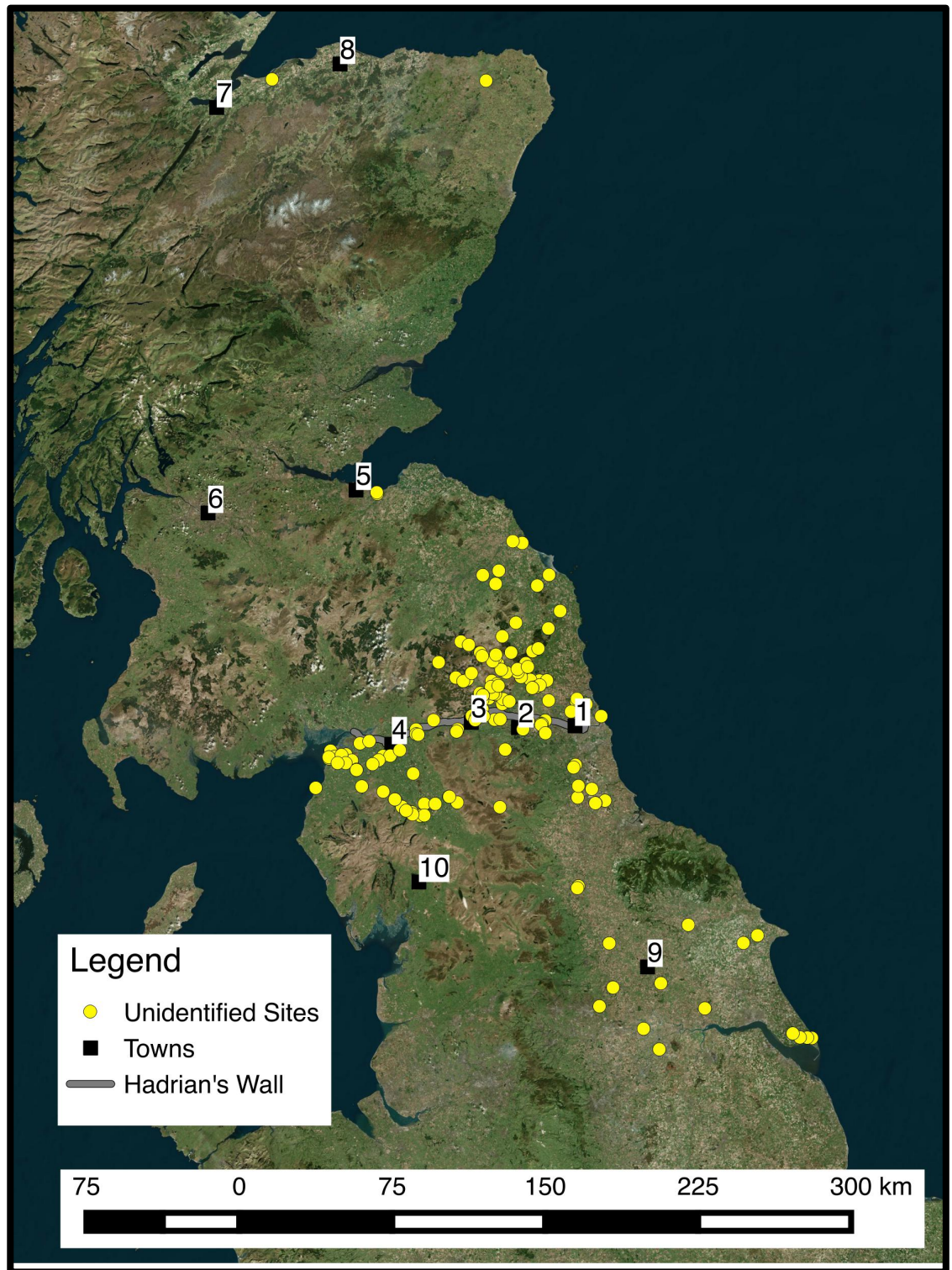
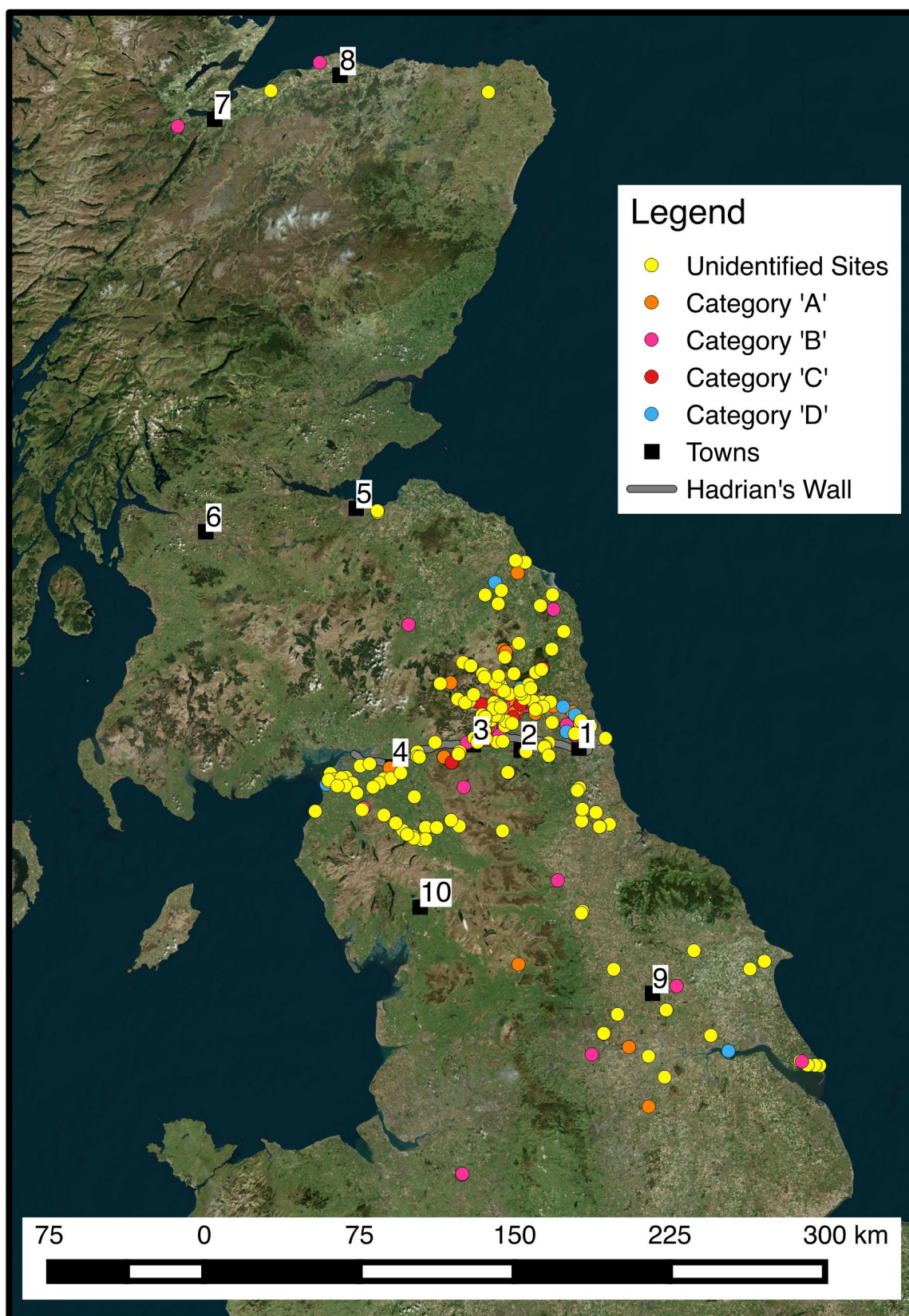Figure 13: Map showing uncategorised sites, created in QGIS

Figure 14: Map showing the contrast of the uncategorised data represented by yellow and the rest of the categorised data, created in QGIS

Research Area

The physical reaches of the project were quite extensive, looking at the entire length of Hadrian's Wall and its hinterland of several miles each side as well as edging further out with the published sources to include many sites to the north and south that would have been affected by the arrival of the Romans and the formation of a new frontier across the area. This was helpful to the investigation as it meant that we could compare the effects of the Romans on the frontier area and that we could see how different areas were affected differently, particularly differences either side of the Wall. The wide study area means also that many more sites were included than would have otherwise been which gave more information to the research than focusing in on only one area of the Wall. The large research area was less obliging in terms of collecting the data particularly the HER data as there was a large number sites and collecting the data took a lot of time as did the organisation of the data so it could be easily transferred to the GIS. Overall the wide survey area was a advantage for this research as it meant that the results could be backed up by more data and the implications could be wider reaching, having looked at the whole of the frontier zone of Hadrian's Wall. The results shown here cannot only be compared to other frontiers but also the interpretations explored within those other frontiers as well.

Chronological Scope of the Research

The chronological scope of the research, from the Late Pre-Roman Iron age through the transitional period and into the Roman era within the north of Britain, was a problematic period to investigation because of the limitations of closely dated research within the Iron Age. It has the added complication of occurring in a transitional phase of new technology and new culture in this area's history, which makes it difficult to attribute changes to one cause in particular. This being so the wide chronological range meant

that the changes to behaviour and settlement could be observed into the Roman period and the changes to the lives of the locals that happened as a result of the building of Hadrian's Wall.

Data Discussion

In the published literature there was the suggestion by Breeze (1993) that the Wall had been placed were it is because of a rift in the communities already living in the area as many other frontiers across the Empire utilise natural boundaries or tribal limits. This seems to be unsupported by the evidence that has been compiled as the Wall has closely settled communities on either side of it as well as the finding of sites underneath the foundations of the Wall which suggests people living spread throughout this landscape. Even the construction of the Wall aids in the opposition of this point as there are many passages through it allowing people to get to the other side which in itself suggests a clear need even to the Romans for people to stay in contact or trade with people on each side of the Wall.

Many scholars suggest that Roman arrival in the north was peaceful and that the native communities of the north complied with the Roman demands. This is backed up by the dispersal of native sites around the Wall that are undefended or at least very have only small defences, possibly to keep out wild animals. This suggests that not only are they comfortable living close to the Romans but also they are happy to do so with only minimal protection, despite the high military presence.

This heavy concentration of the army in this area, which did a lot of building, is thought to have not only drawn away some scholars' interests but actually to have destroyed some of the evidence left behind by previous settlements. This may be the case but there

are many sites to be investigated. The evidence left behind by the local people and the finding of native settlements under the foundations of the Wall, as well as the many layers of fort upon fort at Vindolanda suggest that many native settlements might survive underneath Roman foundations (Hodgson 2013, Birley 2015).

The dispersal of settlement and the abandonment of hill forts in favour of less defended settlements seem to be clear not only in the published literature but also in the dispersal of the unpublished sites. There do not seem to be any big clusters of groups but a more even spread of groupings following roads and trade routes and actually hugging the Wall rather than gathering around a central power base or tribal hub. This spread of sites across the area of the Wall seen in the figure below.
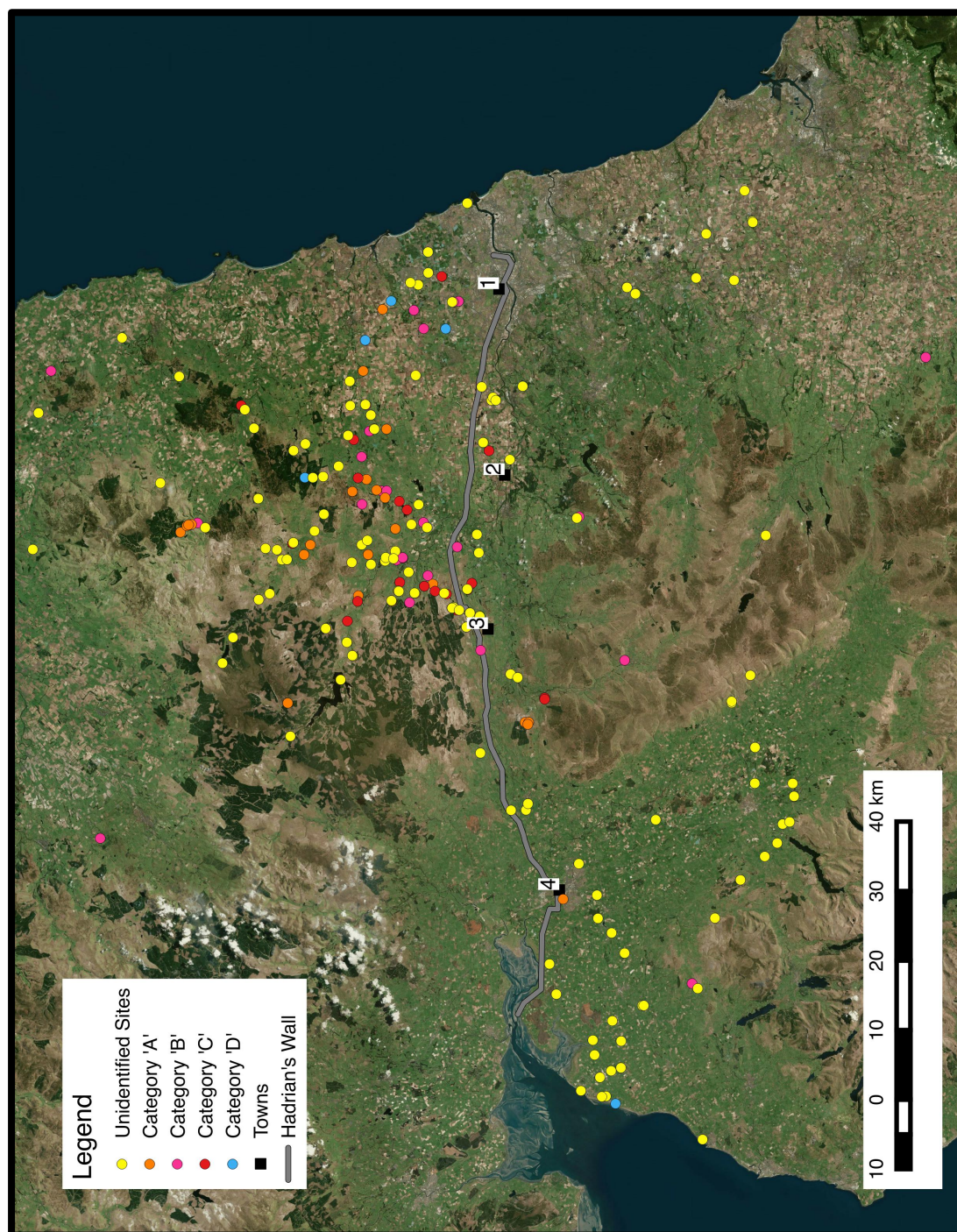
Figure 15: Map showing all of the data collected close to Hadrian's Wall and within the frontier zone, created in QGIS

Distribution of the sites

The results are skewed to sites where development took place. This is seen by their proximity to roads and near towns and cities that the main reason for these sites being excavated, or even discovered, is because of their positions in the direct way of development. Meaning that there was a *need* to look at these areas rather than a clear research aim. This might suggest that there are more sites to be discovered if the excavation and research wanted to be done, in non-developed areas. Also that with varied focus and specific research aims there is even more to discover about the sites that have already been looked at. This reveals that there is a large amount of information in the area, which hasn't been the priority research of scholars. Meaning that research into these particular sites is often based on rudimental examinations done through development activity and these often remain unpublished and so none of the research on these sites has been taken further to enhance our knowledge of this area and the people.

Limits of Scottish Boundary

The most obvious outcome that can be seen when looking at the data is the limitation of the boundary of the Anglo-Scottish border as the sites further north across the boundary were not available through the ADS when this research took place or there are no Romano-British settlement sites discovered in this area as yet. The fact that there were so many sites found in the study area from this data source and especially many close to the border however means that there is huge potential for sites in southern Scotland that have not yet been published, fully explored or discovered. This reiterates the results from the research in to the previous studies of the area that there is a need for more excavation and for more exploration of this area and the different aspects of life within it during the Late Iron Age and Roman Period. This is important because it means that

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there is more information out there and this information may be the key to learning what exactly life was like for those native living close to the military frontier and the edge of the Empire at Hadrian's Wall as well as the potential to help understand other frontiers in the Empire more thoroughly. The fact that the results from Scotland were difficult to access lends itself to the argument for a more intermingled approach to archaeology in that boundaries of geography, period or style of site should not hinder archaeologists from sharing results and data.

Interaction along the Wall

The density of sites represented tells us that the north was not a barren and sparsely occupied area, and we can see clearly from figures 11 and 12 that not all of the local communities who had lived there moved away as soon as the Romans arrived. It shows that there was quite a large population in the immediate area, not just on the south side of the Wall but also to the north of the Wall. This suggests that there was something to be gained by being close to the Wall or at least nothing to be lost. This backs up the idea of peaceful interactions with the Romans in this area. The forts and fortresses along the Wall were a draw for trade and especially in the Vicii many markets and shops were set up (Birley 2015). These could have been a lure for the local people, and they may have piggy backed off, if not completely joined in with the trade happening at these places. It would have been an opportunity to trade their goods and to get the essentials but also to obtain new and exciting goods for their own as the trade routes were widened by the expanding Roman road network (demand and supply). This high density of sites close to the Wall suggests some interaction with the Romans living in the forts and this may have come in the form of trade at the markets.

The other reason for living so close to the Wall may have been for protection particularly for those to the north. If tribes or communities had shown loyalty to the Romans and were peaceable towards them this may have left them vulnerable to retaliatory attacks from other tribes that did not share a love for the Roman presence in the North. Settling in close proximity to the Wall may have afforded some security to these communities or even perceived security, that they would be less likely to be attacked with the Roman military so near and with the Wall being so dominating it would have been obvious to anyone in the area of the Roman presence.

However in both of these cases it might be expected to see more finds of Roman items in the settlements. If they were allying themselves with the Romans they would probably be more open to changes and trade for exotic Roman objects so it would be expected to leave at least a trace, but this isn't really evident. Very few sites seem to have direct connections to the Romans that live so close. Some sites do have a few Roman finds for example Roman bottle glass, Samian ware and Roman coins such as the Carry House site on which was found a coin of Victorinus and Roman pottery sherds some of which were Samian. There are many more that do not such as the Orchard House settlement at NY87698329. This may however be due to the fact that many of the sites have not been excavated or even field walked and therefore any finds that they might be concealing have not been uncovered.

Another interesting thing to note when looking at the results for the HER is the absence of sites to the north at the west end of Hadrian's Wall. There seems to be a complete lack of sites in this area, which is highly unlikely to actually have occurred naturally. Either there was a reason that nobody was settled in the area, such as weather or terrain, or people were actually settled there and the archaeological evidence for it hasn't been

found yet. Looking at the today's terrain in the region there doesn't seem to be any major reasons for not settling in this area however this may have changed over the centuries. Accounts of the time do not mention anything about a particularly harsh landscape in this area and the Romans according to Tacitus would have gone through this area and created roads and forts suggesting that the terrain wasn't that severe and that there was a need for forts in the area meaning that there were people in the region (Tacitus & Mattingly 1948).

Conclusion

The initial research plan for this project was drawn from the lack of in depth knowledge about the interactions of native communities along the frontier zone of Hadrian's Wall. This project aimed to address the areas of limited knowledge such as whether the communities on either side of the Wall would have interacted before the Wall was built and how their interaction changed and morphed once the Roman army had arrived. It also aimed for a clearer view of whether the reactions to the Roman army were different according to which side of Hadrian's Wall you ended up on. By looking at the settlement pattern and the type and style of settlements the project aimed to collect answers to these questions and to begin to close the gaps in the knowledge of this area.

To do this project, data was collected from mainstream published literature, as well as specialist journals such as Britannia and finally the Historic Environment Records. This data was combined, compared and analysed within the forum of a Geographical Information System, QGIS. This helped to present the data all in one space where patterns and anomalies could be observed as well as analysed. The aim was to use the results collected to help answer the research questions posed at the beginning and using

these as a guide see if any of the outcomes of Roman arrival could be spotted within the results.

The aims of looking at settlement patterns to discover more about native interaction across the frontier region of Hadrian's Wall, have been met. The extent to which these questions can be answered is obviously limited by the evidence and the quality of the evidence that is available but this research is a great starting point for further research into frontier zone communities and more specifically for the natives and this transitional period around Hadrian's Wall.

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