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HADRIAN'S WALL:

SOME ASPECTS OF ITS POST-ROMAN INFLUENCE ON THE LANDSCAPE.

ALAN. M. WHITWORTH

ABSTRACT

Hadrian's Wall is the longest single stone built ancient monument in the United Kingdom and its influence on the man-made landscape has been greater than that of any other surviving structure. Over the last century and a half archaeological excavation and research have largely pieced together the history and function of the monument as it pertains to the Roman period. Little in-depth research has been undertaken regarding its function in and influence on the landscape from the end of the Roman period to the present day. This study has attempted to understand the role that various factors including: geology, topography, population distribution, building types, farming practices, local history and national politics have had on the survival or destruction of the Wall and the influence that the Wall has had on such things as the place-names of settlements, field names, land forms, and even in the naming of houses, streets and businesses. The Wall is referred to in early 8th century manuscripts, Norman charters as well as medieval documents, charters, maps and estate plans and is described in varying detail by antiquarian sources.

The present landscape along the Wall owes its existence to past generations and their close relationship to the Wall of Hadrian.

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M.A.

UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY

1994

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20 JUN 1995

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DECLARATION

Some of the material in this M.A. Thesis relating to Cumbria has been taken from my B.A. dissertation submitted to Durham University Archaeology Department in 1983 titled: 'The Hadrianic Frontier Systems between Bowness and Gilsland: an analysis of the Wall material and its re-use in later structures'.

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1994

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my grateful thanks for the help which numerous people have given me while I have carried out this research, especially my supervisor Dr. Martin Millett of Durham University who has encouraged me and pointed me in new and interesting directions. I am also indebted to all of the previous scholars, antiquarians, archaeologists and researchers who have been interested in the history of the region from the Roman, medieval and post-Medieval periods. Their work has been of enormous help in my research of this topic.

My thanks to the staff of the Cumbria and Northumberland Record Offices, Colin Richardson of Tullie House Museum, Dennis Perriam, Henry Summerson, John Casey of Durham University, Tony Wilmott and David Sherlock of English Heritage, James Crow of Newcastle University, Robin Birley of the Vindolanda Trust and Grace Simpson who have either given helpful advice or allowed me access to archive material or provided personal comments.

I would also like to thank all of the landowners and occupiers of the sites which I visited for their help and information. Lastly I warmly and deeply acknowledge the help and understanding that my wife Alison has provided during this time especially for her patience and enthusiasm without which this thesis would have been even more difficult.

All errors, omissions and mistakes are of my own doing.

(Hadrianus) murumque per octoginta milia passum primus duxit, qui barbaros Romanosque dividert.

(Hadrian) was the first to build a wall, eighty miles long to seperate the Romans from the barbarians.

Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Vita Hadriani 11, 2.

INTRODUCTION.

"As to the present condition of the Wall; by much of the greater part of it has been carried of to build houses, and Stone-walls about Inclosures, which are very common in some parts of the Wall: As to what remains and is not upon Wastes or Moors, it serves either as a hedge between Pasture or Corn, or Pasture and Meadow ground, or else to distinguish possessions; so that in these inclosed grounds, where it has been to much taken away, so as not to be a sufficient fence against Beasts, one may observe it to be rough cast up by the Husbandmen themselves for great spaces together upon the old foundations. I observed a great number of houses, and sometimes whole Towns themselves, to stand at this time upon the very foundation of the Wall" (Camden 1722, 1058).

In 1708 and 1709 Robert Smith of Durham made a tour of the Roman Wall in which he recorded his observations. These were printed in the 1722 Gibson's edition of Camden's Britannia. In those few lines he encapsulated what was then happening to the monument. For centuries it had been slowly been disappearing, robbed of its outer shell and stripped of its dignity, reduced to the lowly status of a stone quarry. He was neither the first nor the last to comment on its destruction but there has been a similarity in observation by numerous commentators throughout the ages.

The main aim of this work is to explore these words of Smith and other antiquarians to find out where the Wall has gone to, why was it taken down, by whom, when, and for what purpose. The study will try to establish if the Wall has had any influence on both the man made and natural landscape and if it is possible to discern any echoes of this influence in the present day.

To answer these questions it will be necessary to utilise a number of sources which may be of help to understand the forces which were at work in this process. Among the main aspects to be addressed in this work will be: the various types of



buildings and structures that have re-used the Wall stone in their fabric, at what periods these buildings were constructed and by whom; what information can be gleaned from place-name evidence, ancient maps, estate deeds and plans, antiquarian writers and travellers as well as modern archaeological research. Can these various sources combine to help give us a deeper understanding and appreciation of the role that the Roman Wall, and its association with past generations, played in influencing the landscape through which it passed.

As this research topic covers a wide geographical area and a chronological span of nearly fifteen hundred years it has not been possible to be as fully comprehensive regarding the various historical, economic and social factors which may have influenced the role of the Roman wall in the changing landscape. Instead the use of extensive examples of the various types of buildings which have utilised the Wall fabric have been used in the study to try and illuminate the patterns of change which have taken place through time in the area under discussion.

It should be possible to see that the Wall built by Hadrian has played a significant part in the development of the local landscape and did not become physically and psychologically redundant at the end of the Roman occupation, only to be 'discovered' again in the 16th and 17th centuries with the emergence of the 'antiquarian' interest and further developed with the growth of the tourism industry in the 20th century.

As the time period being considered in this work extends from the 5th century to the present day and covers a wide range of aspects it will not be possible to consider all of the evidence in detail. The main themes will be addressed and examples given to illustrate the aspects which the author considers are important. There will be a series of themes under discussion some of which will have a chronological dimension and may be common to several chapters or periods, and others which will have a spatial dimension and be of a limited duration.

AREA OF STUDY.

The Roman Wall is situated in the north of England and stretched in a continuous line for 117km between Wallsend in Newcastle (Tyne and Wear) westwards as far as Bowness-on-Solway (Cumbria). The study area (fig. 1) is largely confined to what is referred to as The Wall Corridor and the land on either side of this up to 3km in depth. Although a series of milefortlets and towers were erected along the Cumbrian coast from Bowness to Moresby these have not been included in the study area as there was no stone Curtain Wall linking these defences.

As far as I am aware no attempt has been made in the past to cover the aspects of the re-use of the stones from Hadrian's Wall in such depth and over such a wide timescale. It is to be hoped that this research will at least provide the basis for further study in this potentially rich area of landscape archaeology.

The research has been divided into seven separate but interlocking chapters, the contents of which are summarised below.

CHAPTER 1

A brief descriptive background of the Roman Wall will set the scene for its context in the wider chronological framework.

As the wall is such a linear feature in the landscape it crosses a number of physical boundaries which have influenced in various degrees the survival or destruction of this monument. This chapter will look at the underlying rock strata across the region through which the Wall passes and from which it was built, as well as the overlying soil types to see to what degree these have influenced such things as changing agricultural methods and practices. A brief background to the historical processes will be included to understand the main influences upon the region. This historical background will include a general review of the post-Roman period, the Norman and Medieval influences and the post-Medieval revival and development.

CHAPTER 2

Archaeological and historical evidence for the re-use of Roman Wall structures in the post-Roman and Anglo-Saxon period will be addressed in this section. Some of the forts along the wall were re-used or continued to be used in various degrees as places of habitation, safety and refuge especially in the post-Roman period, and the evidence for this will be set out. The Anglo-Saxons re-used Roman stone for the construction of their ecclesiastical buildings, and a number of known examples of these will be presented. Within this chapter the identification of Roman stone and its associated problems will be discussed.

CHAPTER 3

The Wall was used as a convenient source of ready-cut stone with which to build a variety of structural types. This section will concentrate on the types of buildings which utilised the Wall as a quarry and re-used these blocks within their structure, eg ecclesiastical buildings such as churches and monasteries, fortified structures such as castles and towers, as well as domestic structures, including farming and agricultural buildings. The chapter looks at the archaeological and literary evidence for the types of buildings being erected as well as providing an historical framework and background for why this was taking place. The effect of the Enclosure Acts upon the survival of the Wall will be discussed.

CHAPTER 4

The Roman Wall has had a marked influence not only on settlement place-names but also on field-names and even extending to street, house and business names in the 20th century. The evidence for such a variety of names will be described as well as setting out the numerous names that Hadrian's Wall has been referred to throughout history. The linguistic roots of place-names can provide evidence for when they were established and this is related to the survival of the Wall as a feature in the landscape.

CHAPTER 5

This section will look at early maps and plans as well as references to the Wall in early texts to understand how the Wall was seen in the landscape by previous generations and the relationship between the Wall and the development of the landscape. Maps which show the Wall as a feature in the landscape as well as a field or estate boundary together with ancient texts which describe land boundaries in reference to the Wall eg Lanercost Cartulary and the Hexham Black Book will be presented. The use of maps to locate deserted farms or buildings related to the Wall and the evidence for their existence, eg Horsley's map and Richardson's paintings of the Wall, will be discussed.

CHAPTER 6

This chapter will examine what antiquarians and travellers had to say regarding the state of the Wall at various periods, mainly from the 16th century onwards, especially in terms of its survival or destruction and the effects that stone robbing for building was having on the fabric of the monument. The controversy over the building of the Military Road will be shown together with how the line of the Wall has been used as a communication link between the east and west coast. The use to which the line of the Wall was put as a civil, ecclesiastical and property boundary will be examined.

Chapter 7

A short section regarding the history of the legislation for the protection of Hadrian's Wall and the current archaeological recording of it is included at the end.

CHAPTER 1

A MONUMENTAL HISTORY

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.

The construction of the Roman Wall was begun in AD 122, in the reign of Hadrian, during the Governorship of Platorius Nepos, soon after, or even during the visit to the Province by the Emperor.

Building inscriptions show that three legions were engaged in its construction: *Legio II Augusta*, *XX Valeria Victrix* and *VI Victrix*. When completed by about AD 130 it consisted of a linear curtain wall varying from 3.6m to 4.5m in height with a series of forts to house both infantry and cavalry troops. Between the forts were a series of milecastles, so called as they were built every Roman mile, and between each pair of these were two turrets or observation towers placed approximately every 1/3rd of a Roman mile. The Roman Wall extends from Bowness-on-Solway in the west to Wallsend in the east. Between Wallsend and milecastle 48 at the River Irthing it was constructed in stone with the westward extension to Bowness-on-Solway on the Cumberland coast being of turf although this was soon replaced in stone and the turf wall demolished. During the following three hundred years it was the northern most frontier of the Roman Empire, except for a short time when the Antonine Wall was constructed in Scotland between Forth and Clyde, and it was maintained and repaired as such with a major re-build carried out in the reign of Septimius Severus (AD 193-211), the evidence of which can be seen in the central sector especially, where the lime mortar used in the core and between the facing stone joints is still extremely hard.

TOPOGRAPHY, GEOLOGY, SOILS AND CLIMATE.

The Wall covers a distance of 117km or 80 Roman miles and includes a considerable range of altitude rising from sea level at either end to over 300m in the central

section. The extent of the monument means that it passes across a number of geographical and geological features. From west to east along the Solway-Tyne line, where relief is least pronounced and the watershed below 160m, precipitation rises from just under 30 inches at the head of the Solway to rather more than 35 inches in the Tyne gap west of Haltwhistle, and decreases again to 30 inches at Haydon Bridge and 25 inches at Tynemouth (Smailes 1960, 52). Snow scarcely lies at all on the west coast, however, and on the Northumberland coast may be expected to cover the ground only on 7 or 8 days in the year. Inland, the duration of snow cover increases to 10 days in Carlisle, and from 10 to 15 days in much of the Tyne valley (Smailes 1960, 55).

The main geological series through which it passes are: (fig. 2)

1 The Carboniferous Limestone Series

2 The Whin Sill

3 The New Red Sandstone Series

The Carboniferous Limestone and Whin Sill are mainly confined to Northumberland while Cumbria contains the New Red Sandstone.

The rocks of the Northumberland section are of two distinct types. The more ancient of the group are of the Old Red Sandstone (Devonian) age which are surrounded by the younger group, the layered or sedimentary strata of the Carboniferous period (Phillipson 1969, 2) which were formed in warm shallow seas 300 million years ago. The earliest of the Carboniferous rocks are of the limestone groups, a mixture of limestone, sandstone, thin coal seams and shales. Subsidence and deposition of sandy sediments to the thickness of 152-305m in different parts of the region have yielded rocks which today form some of the most characteristic features of the landscape in central Northumberland (Wright 1989, 24). Northumberland is the only English county in which these hard, yellow-grey sandstones of the Lower Carboniferous series have been extensively used for building (Snelling 1987, 8) and were fully utilised by the Roman Wall builders 1800

years ago. This Carboniferous limestone lends itself very well for shaping into suitable facing blocks required on the Wall as well as being of such a consistency as to be very little affected by weathering and moisture. In contrast to these are the St Bees and Kirklington sandstones of the New Red series in the areas to the west of the Red Rock Fault at Lanercost which tend to be much more affected by climatic erosion and break down into warm, light, fertile soils (Stamp 1943, 271) although the St Bees Sandstone has long been used as a high quality building stone (Young 1993, 3).

The soils of the survey area (fig. 3) have a wide range of characteristics.

In Northumberland the soil type through which the Wall passes is drift from Palaeozoic sandstone and shale as defined by the Soil Survey of England and Wales, Sheet 1, Northern England. The resultant soil is mainly a slowly permeable waterlogged fine loamy, fine loamy over clayey and clayey soil type (Legend for the above Soil map of England and Wales). On the Carboniferous limestone tracts old lime kilns are a reminder of the means by which sour, ill-drained soils were improved by the addition of locally produced lime. This type of land is suitable for stock rearing and some dairying on permanent grassland with grassland and winter cereals in drier lowlands.

The Whin Sill is an igneous rock which solidified between existing rocks in the Carboniferous strata (Wright 1989, 29). The resultant slow cooling provided a dark, coarse textured, crystalline dolerite which is quarried as 'whinstone' for road making. Averaging around 30m in thickness but in places over 60m it has formed a series of Sills across northern England and, being far more resistant to erosion than the surrounding sandstones and shales it has formed impressive vertical escarpments with the most dramatic sections to be seen west of Sewingshields (Wright 1989, 29). The Whin Sill is exposed from Barrasford on the Tyne to Tipalt Burn at Greenhead and it is upon this outcrop that the central

section of the Roman Wall was built. Southward from the Whin Sill the land falls away in green pasture land towards the South Tyne valley. Northwards from the basalt Whin Sill is a series of parallel sandstone ridges much given over to man made forest. The characteristic profiles of the Whin Sill have been greatly emphasised by the glacial action which scooped out the soft underlying shales before riding over the hard Whin stone. The deep basins so gouged out filled with lakes which on drying out left great deposits of peat (Wright 1989, 29). In some, the lakes survive as at Broomlee, Greenlee and Crag Lough. The quartz dolerite of the Whin Sill weathers to form an highly leached acid soil so that on outcrop dip-slopes nardus grassland has become established (Smailes 1960, 63). The igneous rock gives very shallow and very acid peaty-topped soils.

The limestone series continues westwards into Cumbria where it meets the Permian and Triassic rocks of the New Red Sandstone Series in the Brampton/Lanercost region. These New Red Sandstones consist of two main types:

1a The Kirklington Sandstone which is soft and weathers into characteristic rounded forms.

1b The St Bees Sandstone is a compact and micaceous stone widely used as a building material.

2 The Stanwix Shales.

The Kirklington and St Bees Sandstones extend from the Pennine or Red Rock Fault around Lanercost to Carlisle with the Stanwix Shales continuing to the Solway coast.

The features of both the St Bees and Carboniferous Sandstones are capable of only indicating their broad geological provenance (Young 1993, 20).

The soils of this region of Cumbria fall into two main classes:

1 Those derived directly from the parent rock like the sand from the Kirklington

and St Bees Sandstone.

2 Those from secondary origin derived from superficial deposits, such as boulder clay and river terraces.

Although a modern soil survey on the basis of the study of soil profiles has not been attempted in Cumberland, more information is available on soils than in some counties of Britain (Stamp 1943, 280). A preliminary study of the soils of Cumbria was undertaken in 1939 (Bainbridge 1939, 175-83). The soils overlying the laminated sandstones through Cumbria are stoneless, ranging from a deep coarse loam to deep stoneless silty and fine sandy soils. On the warp lands around the head of the Solway, the marine silts have developed deep, stoneless medium to heavy soils with clay subsoils. Their value and utilisation depend on drainage conditions (Smail 1960, 58). The Marine Alluvium or Warp soils occupy most of the flat area between the Solway Firth and the areas covered by drift. These are fine grained, deep fertile soils which when well drained afford some magnificent arable stretches (Stamp 1943, 282). Here large areas are under grassland cultivation. Most of the Solway Plain is covered with boulder clay mainly of local origin and of a reddish colour where it overlies the New Red Sandstone. The lighter soils over much of the Solway Plain are good ploughlands (Stamp 1943, 281). Where the boulder clay rests on Carboniferous rocks the soils range from medium textured loams to stiff clays. Everywhere expanses of solid rock are rare, confined to valleys where rivers have cut through the drift to solid rock. In this region the main land use is for cereals, stock and dairying and grassland. In the farm lands of the north country the physical characteristics of the soil, upon which its use for agriculture so largely depends, vary greatly with rapid variations in the depth of the drift, in its derivation and associated texture, and in the related conditions of sub soil drainage (Smalles 1960 56).

The climate of the north appears to have undergone fluctuations in the post-Norman period which have had an influence on agricultural production. After the

Norman Conquest the climate improved, with warmer seasons and longer growing seasons with cultivation possible higher up on the hills than it is possible today. After about 1300 the climate deteriorated and became colder and wetter and the margins of arable land contracted downhill. After 1550 there was a further decline as to what is known as the 'Little Ice Age' and only after 1700 did the climate improve (Hepple 1976, 17). The amount of influence that this exerted on the agricultural processes and its subsequent effect on the destruction of the Roman Wall is difficult to gauge although it must be acknowledged that there is a possible relationship.

From Wallsend to Wallbottle the Wall is now covered by the urban expansion of Newcastle, which has mainly taken place in the 19th and 20th centuries. Prior to this the flat terrain and the soil fertility had lent itself to cultivation and stock grazing. In the 18th century John Brand says that "an old woman, still living, remembers when the site of the present Wallsend was an empty field" (Bruce 1851, 112). The pressure to feed the growing population meant that extensive ploughing of the land up to and across the Wall and Vallum took place. Now there is now no sign of Wall facing stones until Denton (at Wall mile 7).

At Byker, land was being bought into cultivation as Bruce notes that "the facing stones having already being removed, and it being desirable to have the rocky remnant entirely cleared away, the ground was let to parties without rent for a short term of years, on condition of their clearing it, and bringing it into cultivation" (Bruce 1851, 117). The ruins of Rudchester fort were very well preserved until the 18th century but by the 1760's stone robbing was taking place and by 1783 the site was under the plough (fig. 6). The ridge and furrow now visible in the southern part of the fort probably dates from this period and stone clearance continued throughout the first half of the 19th century in and around the fort (Bowden and Blood 1991, 25). At Harlow Hill J. Hodgson says that "an old

man told Brand that to the west of the village 6d a yard was allowed for taking it up to enable the tenants to plough the land" (Hodgson 1840, 282). As late as the mid 20th century there was direct evidence that deep ploughing was reducing the height of the surviving fabric of the Wall which lay under the top soil. Evidence from turret 25b, St. Oswalds, shows that since 1930 deep ploughing has destroyed 2 courses of the turret's walls (Woodfield 1965, 119).

In the central sector from Sewingshields to Green Head the Wall is sitting astride the Whin Sill the soils of which are poor and used mainly for stock grazing although terraces in the landscape (eg outside the forts of Housesteads and Great Chesters) do indicate that cultivation was certainly taking place in the Roman past (Crow 1989, 37). Ridge and furrow cultivation terraces are also visible outside the bounds of Birdoswald (Wilmott, forthcoming) and south of milecastle 35 (fig. 11). However only minimal habitation was taking place in the central region compared with that around Newcastle or Carlisle which were major centres of population in comparison to the rest of area through which the Wall was constructed. As a consequence much of the Wall's survival in this central sector can be attributed in part to the poor soil type as well as low population density. The elevation of the topography also played a part in the survival of the Wall. Between Wallsend and Halton Chesters the combination of low altitude, 28 metres rising to 186 metres, with relatively fertile soils allowed for a combination of arable and pastoral farming which contrasts strongly with the central sector of the Wall where the altitude rises to 375 metres and the Wall rests on the Whin Sill which is totally unsuitable for arable farming. West of Carvoran the altitude drops from 213 metres to 16 metres above sea level at Bowness-on-Solway with a corresponding increase in the soil fertility and arable farming. At lower altitudes where the soil lent itself to arable farming, ploughing across the Wall as well as the Vallum, helped in the disappearance of the monument. At Burgh-by-Sands recent archaeological

excavations have shown that medieval plough marks cross the line of the Wall and only the line of the Wall footings survived and a ditch 25 metres south of the Wall had been filled by boulders from the Roman Wall which had been dragged there by repeated ploughing which had continued on the site up to the 19th century (Austen 1994, forthcoming). From Greenhead to Bowness the soil is more suitable for cereal and crop cultivation. This together with the poor quality of the Kirklington Sandstone and the lower altitude and higher population densities has helped in the almost total disappearance of the Wall in Cumbria. Of the section of Wall built of the New Red Sandstone the only exposed section was at Dovecote Bridge near Walton. This has now been protected by English Heritage who have reburied it to protect the soft facing stones from the elements. From Walton to Bowness the area has been extensively ploughed and any section of Wall which had survived stone robbing was pulled up and ploughed over especially in the 18th and 19th centuries. During the second half of the 18th century both Northumbria and Cumbria began to experience an agrarian transformation which had its beginnings in the mid 17th century with the Union of the Crowns. A new landscape was beginning to be constructed, including the enclosing and dividing of areas of land and methods of farming to make the land more productive. The construction of new, and replacement, houses and farmsteads was all part of this new found enthusiasm for improvement and increased productivity of the land. At Brampton Old Church MacLauchlan was told by Mr R. Bell that "when a boy of 12 years old, I assisted in carting away stones from the barrier or mound of the station, which was at that time so high that the station could not be cultivated along with the rest of the fields" (MacLauchlan 1853, 63). Cultivation was also taking place at Castlesteads fort where Richard Goodman in a letter to Roger Gale in November 1727 says the foundations of Wall and streets, were "removed for the sake of buildings and tillage" (Lukis 1883, 65).

The combination of altitude, soil type and fertility, topography, geology,

population growth and density and varying farming practices all played a part in determining which parts of the Wall suffered greater or lesser amounts of damage.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.

POST-ROMAN

After the end of Roman military and civil control in the early 5th century in the frontier areas the Wall stopped serving as an effective political and social barrier. Urban centres continued to be occupied as at Carlisle (McCarthy 1993, 28) and recent research and excavation shows that some Roman forts still continued to be occupied (Johnson 1989, 112). Evidence from South Shields and Birdoswald shows that these sites continued to be occupied even into the 6th century and beyond. Some of these occupied centres may well have become focal points for the emerging small sub-Roman and Celtic kingdoms (McCarthy 1993, 32). The presence of Christianity began to be felt and a number of small churches were erected. St Cuthbert visited Carlisle or *Lugubalia/Luel* in AD 685 (McCarthy 1993, 34) and the city may well have been an ecclesiastical centre within Cuthbert's sphere of influence. The Venerable Bede writing in AD 731 from his Jarrow monastery indicates in his Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum that even two and a half centuries after the effective end of Roman rule some form of urban organisation and systematic government continued. Carlisle may have been the centre of the Celtic kingdom of Rheged (McCarthy 1993, 32).

In the east the Angles and Saxons were establishing themselves mainly in the coastal regions north of the Wall and penetrating inland along the main waterways and along the old Roman road network. The economy of the early settlements became based on large open arable fields producing corn crops, hay meadows and associated common grazing on poorer hill land. Village and township boundaries frequently incorporated such physical features as rivers and hills as well as man made features such as the Roman road (Dere Street) as well as the Roman Wall

(White 1973, 84). It has been suggested (Morris 1977, 92) that the original Jarrow/Wearmouth land grant by King Ecgfrid, in the late 7th century, may have used the Roman road (Dere Street) as the western boundary. Certainly in c. AD 833 King Guthfrith, King of Northumbria, granted land to the church of St Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street in which *Deorestrete* (Dere Street) is used as a boundary (Hart 1975, 138, no. 155). Anglo-Saxon stonework is known from Chester-Le-Street (Cramp 1984, I, I, 53), the church of which, St Mary and St Cuthbert, is situated within the remains of the Roman fort.

South Shields fort is traditionally the birthplace of Oswin, king of Deira, one of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms which lay south of the Wall (Johnson 1989, 115). This suggests a royal family was within the fort confines in the late 6th century (Dore and Gillam 1973, 3). To the east of the Pennines the kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira formed Northumbria with the border now aligned north-south and the kingdom of Rheged lying to the west of the line. It has been claimed that the Roman Wall formed the southern boundary of the British kingdom of *Gododdin* (Sawyer 1978, 23). The Roman wall was never again to be a political border but it may well have formed the boundary of ecclesiastical estates in the 8th or 9th century (Cramp 1984, I, I, 5).

The political expansion of Northumbria westwards in the 7th century put an end to the independent kingdom of Rheged and started a wave of Anglian settlement with colonists using the Tyne gap as a line of communication.

The Danish and Norwegian invasions of the 8th-10th centuries led to the collapse of Northumbria and brought devastation to the region including the sacking of Carlisle in AD 876 (McCarthy 1993, 37) which perhaps remained desolate for about 200 years, although there is some evidence that this was not the case (McCarthy 1993, 37). Danish influence in Northumbria was mainly destructive and there is only a handful of Danish place-names such as Byker and Walker near Newcastle both close to the Roman Wall.

Viking control ended with the re-establishment of Anglo-Saxon control and the 10th and 11th centuries were ones of comparative peace in the region. By the end of the 10th century the border between England and Scotland began to form in its present position, largely ignoring the line taken by Hadrian's Wall (Johnson 1989, 116).

NORMAN AND EARLY MEDIEVAL.

The conquest of the North by the Normans in the 11th century heralded a change in prosperity. The small, powerful and efficient Norman military aristocracy were active in the foundation of new towns and settlements. Norman rule was consolidated in time for Northumbria and Cumbria to share in the economic development and colonisation of the waste which were features of European history as a whole during the 13th century (Newton 1972, 34). Leading barons granted land to the new religious houses with permission to build, dig and clear and to pasture their sheep. The growth of urban life was encouraged by a period of relative peace and agricultural expansion. The study of the landscape is hindered by the fact that Northumbria and Cumbria are not in the 1086 Domesday book and there are few surviving records earlier than the 12th century. "Anyone wishing to plot the pre-Domesday landholding of Northern Britain is confronted with a frustrating blank" (Cramp 1970, 223). Warfare was about to destroy many of the gains.

From the beginning of the 14th century and continuing for the next 300 years the border was in a constant state of turmoil and war accompanied by cross-border raiding. Settlements began to decline but the Wall was plundered for stone to build, and renew, castles and fortified farmhouses. The period from 1300 to 1650 was one of insecurity in the region and this is reflected strongly in the types of buildings being erected.

POST MEDIEVAL.

The Union of the Crowns in 1603 reduced the tension along the border areas although lawlessness continued for another century. The Jacobite Rebellion of 1745 caused consternation with the realisation of the inability of the army to move quickly from Newcastle to Carlisle except in good weather conditions.

Following a survey for the line of a new road (Spain 1937, 17), Parliament enacted a Bill allowing for its construction (Lawson 1973, 177). A new road was constructed between 1751-8 from Newcastle to Carlisle, in many places from the foundations and levelled remains of the Wall. This section of road from Newcastle to approximately Milecastle 33 has preserved some of the remaining Wall beneath it despite the damage caused by the road builders. The road opened up the countryside for further development, and agricultural advancement meant new land was being bought into production with subsequent Wall destruction especially on the lower lying areas. New farm buildings were being built to replace older ones and land enclosure were taking place along the Wall, all of which took their toll on Wall material. From the 16th century onwards antiquarians started to take a close interest in the history of the Wall and were also commenting on the various uses for which it was being used. By studying their comments and observations it is possible to gain some idea of the degree to which the 'peace' of the last 300 years has also meant a further onslaught on the monument. It was only by the activities and concerns of the antiquarians of the day that any substantial remains of the Roman Wall exist today to allow us to study its role in and impact on the landscape. From the late 19th century to the present day the growing awareness of the importance of 'The Past' and the expansion of the tourist industry has been at the forefront of the protection and preservation of Hadrian's Wall.

CHAPTER 2

ANGLO-SAXONS AND STRUCTURAL RE-CYCLING

As a background to the main body of the thesis it will be necessary to briefly outline the current available evidence relating to the continuity of occupation on a number of forts along the line of the Roman Wall after the 5th century. This starting point will hope to establish that there is now a growing body of evidence pointing to the conclusion that these sites were not abandoned as soon as the Roman military had left the Province. Up to the mid 20th century the lack of recognised structures from the post-Roman period can perhaps be related to the archaeological methodologies and techniques then practised. More recent developments in archaeological techniques, methodologies and analysis have allowed the ephemeral remains from this period to be recognised and better understood. Thus systematic excavation of the post-Roman layers on the sites concerned has allowed a fuller picture to begin to emerge. There has been a realisation that the abandonment of the Wall by the army did not necessarily mean that the sites fell into ruin (Johnson 1989, 112). It is now possible to see that some sites may well have been occupied until at least the early 7th century, eg South Shields, and provided the nucleus for the later emergence of larger political entities. Up until recently the main evidence for post-Roman activity on the Wall fort sites was a small amount of Anglo-Saxon metalwork found in association with these structures.

It is not within the design of this paper to analyse and review the evidence for post-Roman activity, merely to layout the archaeological and textual evidence as a backdrop to the main focus of the thesis which will be looking at the various post depositional processes which have had an affect on the form and function of the Roman Wall and its relationship to the surrounding countryside, mainly concentrating on the period from the Norman Conquest until the present day.

NUMBERING SYSTEM

The established numbering system relating to the forts, milecastles and turrets along the frontier was formalised by R. G. Collingwood in consultation with F. G. Simpson in 1929. Starting from Wallsend Fort in the east and ending with the Bowness Turret in the west the structures were numbered in sequence with the aim to facilitate references to all parts of the Wall and its associated structures (Collingwood 1930, 108). This system of site identification has been up-dated and revised (Birley, E. 1961, 71) and has been published by the Ordnance Survey map of Hadrian's Wall 1972. This format will be adhered to throughout the paper as much as possible and the site evidence will be discussed mainly within the linear numerical framework as the basis for presentation.

IDENTIFICATION OF ROMAN STONE

The majority of the stone contained in the fabric of the Roman Wall is known as Coursed rubble (Hill 1981, 14) in which the stones are squared up, more or less roughly according to the quality, to about the same height within each course, usually not above 250-300mm. The faces may be left rough or dressed with walling hammer or punch (Hill 1981, 3). An attempt has been made to identify Roman Wall stone which had been taken from its original context and re-used in later buildings (Whitworth 1984) by comparing the sizes of stone in the Wall and the size of assumed Roman Wall stone in its new context. Although there is some difficulty in this analysis, it is possible with a fair degree of confidence to visually recognize amounts of re-used Wall stone in their new setting. This is based on personal experience in the field rather than a check list of objective indicators regarding Roman Wall fabric which can be difficult to apply in every instance. If a building has evidence of re-used Roman material built within it in the form of altars, inscriptions, tombstones or stones with 'diamond broaching' on the face, it is a likely indicator that there will be a number of ordinary facing stones also

contained within the structure. There is a problem when Roman Wall fabric is re-dressed and put into a new building and in these cases one can only rely on any documentary references or personal comments to this being done, as at Chesterholm\Vindolanda (pers. com. Birley R.), Halton Red House (Bruce 1851, 158) and Upper Denton church (Daniels 1978, 206).

As the form and function of stonemason's tools have hardly changed from the Roman period to the present day it is, as a general rule, unsafe to date stonework by tool marks (Hill 1981, 7), although 'diamond broaching' is normally considered to be indicative of Roman work. Along the Wall large blocks with lewis or lifting slots as well as clamp holes are seen on forts, milecastles and bridges. These blocks are also sometimes noticed in buildings of a later period and it can be deduced that they have been moved from their original Roman site (Bidwell 1989, 32).

The facing stones in the Wall fabric are not all of a uniform size as can be seen in the difference between those of Denton Hall, West Denton and Heddon-on-the-Wall and those of the central Whin Sill sector of Peel Crag, Whinshields and Cawfields, where the former are, on the whole, larger than the latter.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The strategic importance of the Roman Wall as a political and social boundary was no longer an important factor with the withdrawal of the army back to the continent.

The normally accepted date for the ending of Roman Britain and the abandonment of the Frontier system is AD 410. The latest coin evidence from the Wall can be dated to AD 395-408 minted during the reign of Arcadius (Breeze & Dobson 1987, 232). With the lack of a constant money supply the role of the remaining soldiers along the Wall may well have changed but it is certainly becoming clearer that some forts continued to be occupied by the local inhabitants after the withdrawal

of the official military presence. Frere considers that whatever the type of garrisons that remained along the Wall in the 5th century they were either overwhelmed at a later date or migrated to less lonely localities (Frere 1978, 417). The evidence for this has been largely confined to a number of pieces of Anglo-Saxon metal work, however recent archaeological excavations at South Shields and at Birdoswald show a continuity of occupation well into the 5th and probably extending into the 6th or 7th century.

The forts in some areas may have formed the nucleus for a localised power base and also as an area of refuge once the stabilising factor of a military presence had been withdrawn, (C B A News February 1994, page 1). Recent research by J. Casey of Durham University regarding radio-carbon dates relating to land clearances suggest that the landscape was still in use until the mid 6th century when it reverted to its pre-Roman form (Casey J. pers. comm.). The strategic importance of the Roman Wall as a military and political boundary was no longer an important factor once the army had been withdrawn and although the evidence is patchy it is now possible to see that some forts may well have occupied perhaps into the 7th century. The evidence for post-Roman occupation is set out below from a number of Wall sites as a starting point for the main body of the text. Although South Shields fort is not included in the numbering sequence as set out for the wall sites it will be included in this paper as the site was obviously an integral part of the frontier system.

SOUTH SHIELDS (Arbeia).

This site situated on the south bank of the mouth of the Tyne was a former military fort and defended stores base. Excavations on this site show a re-building of the West gate and an associated re-cutting of ditches indicating that it remained an important defended site perhaps into the mid-late 5th century. A small inhumation cemetery perhaps of the later 5th or 6th century was found

above the ditches (Frere 1986, 376). Literary evidence indicates that the site was a local power base perhaps controlling a large area of surrounding countryside (Johnson 1989, 115). This former military base may well have provided the region with one of its early leaders as Leyland suggests that the post-Roman name of South Shields was *Caer Urfa* (Leyland 1715 ii, 290). Leyland twice says that *Caer Urfa*, which he places at the mouth of the Tyne opposite Tynemouth, was the birth place of king Oswin, a king of Deira in the 7th century and that it was sacked by the Danes. So there was evidently a sizable settlement there (Dore and Gillam 1979, 3).

Although no remains from this period have so far been located at South Shields this may be due to the fact that the site was newly ploughed around 1810 perhaps destroying any archaeological evidence. Excavations in 1980 showed that the fort wall had been largely robbed of its facing stones (Grew 1981, 321, no 1). New excavations may yet provide further details into this elusive period of the fort's history.

NEWCASTLE (Pons Aelius).

The Roman fort situated in Newcastle guarded the river crossing over the Tyne; *Aelius* being the family name of the Emperor Hadrian. The fort probably continued to be occupied to some extent until at least AD 700 when it began to be used as a Christian cemetery (Daniels 1989, 75). Possible post-Roman building within the fort may be represented by a foundation of massive stone blocks over the east-west road (Goodburn 1979, 280).

Recent excavations north and west of the Norman Keep have revealed a large Christian cemetery with at least 660 burials (Nenk *et al* 1993, 285, no 181). This began in the 8th century and continued in use until the 12th century and was located within the walls of the old fort. The cemetery provides the clearest indication of a major settlement at Newcastle since the 5th century as well as

showing that the site was inhabited from the 8th century up to the Norman conquest when it is mentioned by historians again (Winter *et al* 1989, 30). This cemetery may also be the result of the foundation of an early church within the confines of the fort as this period saw the beginnings of the local parish church. The pre-Norman name for Newcastle, as recorded by 12th century chroniclers such as Simeon of Durham, was *Munecacaestre* (Monkchester), the fort of the monks (Stevenson 1858, 145). Although Bede does not refer to Monkchester at all, let alone record the existence of a monastery there, this does not rule out the existence of a religious house at Newcastle. The church adjacent to the cemetery and the predecessor of the church of St Nicholas was probably built of Wall stones either from the fort walls and internal buildings which may have been in a ruinous state or from the Curtain Wall itself. The church may have been created by a local community with a cemetery as part of the process of establishing a local parish church. This process was more than likely under way by the 8th century when Bede mentions several instances of this being undertaken (Winter 1989, 31).

BENWELL (Condercum).

The fort at Benwell may well have continued to be occupied far into the post-Roman period as it is mentioned in an early charter of AD 901 and AD 915 relating to a grant to St Cuthbert's church at Chester le Street of the vill called Bynnewalle by Wulfheard, son of Hwaetred (Hart 1975, 140). There is also a 6th century brooch which was found between the fort and the Temple of Antenociticus (Brewis 1936, 117), and a second example which was apparently found close to it dated to the 7th century (Jobey and Maxwell 1957, 282) which suggests that this occupation of the fort continued from the post-Roman period to the arrival of the Normans and beyond.

CHESTERHOLM (Vindolanda).

Evidence from Chesterholm suggests that there was continuity of occupation within the fort. A penannular brooch, found at the south gate during excavations (Birley, R. 1970, 136), proved to be of an early Anglo-Saxon type with 6-7th century parallels (Miket R. 1978, 178). A tombstone found c. 1878 "a short distance to the north-east of the station" (Bruce 1889, 368) also provides evidence for a settled population. The lettering on it has been dated to the late fifth or quite early part of the sixth century; perhaps c. AD 500 (Jackson 1982, 62) and relates to one called Brigomaglos. How long occupation continued in the fort after this date has not been established by either excavation or historical documentation. During the early medieval period cultivation took place within the fort. Two areas of ploughing of c. 15 metres and 9 metres respectively were associated with 12-14th century pottery as well as a penny of Henry II. A post-Roman building within the fort wall and built south of the North gate may be associated with the 12-14th century cultivation. The building was of large, roughly-worked, unmortared blocks and would have blocked access to the north gateway (Bidwell 1985, 76). Although the author does not indicate whether the blocks used to construct this building were re-used Roman stones there is no reason to doubt that they must have been.

GREAT CHESTERS (Aesica).

The Roman name for the fort appears to have survived into the late 7th century, when a district between Hexham and Carlisle is referred to as *Ahse* in the Life of St Cuthbert (Crow 1989, 50). Although it is beyond the scope of this work it would be of interest to know whether the Wall formed a boundary for this district and if the district was a relic from the Roman administration or one created in the post-Roman period. The limited archaeological excavations on the site have not produced any evidence so far for occupation of this date but this may be

accounted for in that most work has been associated with the gates of the fort and not the major internal structures and was carried out in the late 19th and early 20th centuries when archaeological techniques were in the early stages of development.

BIRDOSWALD (Banna).

Recent excavations (Wilmott, forthcoming) inside the fort of Birdoswald show clearly that the fort was occupied in the post-Roman period, not only utilising the Roman buildings but also using the rubble of demolished or collapsed structures to provide a base for a large timber hall of 5-6th century date half built over the north granary and half over the adjacent *via principalis*. The north wall of the timber building was marked by stone pads on the old and disused *via principalis* (Frere 1988, 436 no. 9).

The West gate of the fort was certainly still in use when the latest timber building was erected. The north wall of the timber hall aligned exactly with the centre of the West gate and the unblocked north carriageway (Frere 1989, 274 no. 10). Some form of later occupation is attested in the 8th century as indicated by the Anglian pin found between the fort and milecastle 49 (Harrow's Scar) in 1956 by DOE workmen clearing the south face of Hadrian's Wall (Cramp 1964, 90-93).

CARLISLE (Luguvalium).

Although the Roman military abandoned the fort by AD 330-340, with perhaps some form of military presence in the adjacent fort of Stanwix, (*Petriana*), continuing into the latter half of the 4th century, occupation continued after the official withdrawal from Britain (McCarthy 1993, 27). Occupation is attested well into the 5th century with the excavation of a building in Scotch Street associated with a gold *solidus* of Valentinian II (Frere 1989, 254). Carlisle may still have enjoyed the status as *civitas capital* of the Carvetii and provided a central focal point for a

large section of the surrounding community (McCarthy 1993, 18). The fact that Carlisle continued as a relatively important centre of occupation into the 7th century is attested by the visit of St Cuthbert, Bishop of Lindisfarne, in AD 685. Bede says "The day after his arrival the citizens conducted him round the city walls to see a remarkable Roman fountain that was built into them" (Webb 1973, 105). Thomas (1968, 97), Cunliffe Shaw (1963, 24-26) and Chadwick (1963, 158-9) all suggest that Carlisle was a centre of power in the region during the post-Roman period. After the absorption of the region into the Anglian kingdom of Northumbria during the 7th century Carlisle became the centre of a royal estate, administered by a reeve (Summerson 1993, 10). It seems likely that Carlisle was also an ecclesiastical centre and came within Cuthbert's sphere of influence as part of the royal estate granted to him in AD 685 by King Egfrith (McCarthy 1993, 35). While St Cuthbert was in the city he visited a nunnery founded by the sister of the queen of Northumbria which he endowed with the estate lands given to him by the King (Summerson 1993, 10), and he founded a monastery (McCarthy 1993, 34) which is believed to lie within the area of the cathedral and the present St Cuthbert's church, whose dedication and unusual alignment suggest not only that it was of an early date (McCarthy 1993, 35) but also that it was respecting the line of a still functioning Roman road when the first church was built. The first nunnery and the monastery of St Cuthbert may well have initially utilised existing Roman buildings, many of which must have been standing at this period. Excavations at the Cathedral located a 9th century 'dark earth' layer containing artefactual material dating from the 5th-7th centuries. Underlying the layer was a building constructed of massive posts (McCarthy 1993, 35). This indicates that the region was not in a state of anarchy and that a stable form of civil administration was in position. The religious establishments appear to have been sacked and destroyed by the Viking attacks of the late 9th century (McCarthy 1993, 37). Some of the major roads in Carlisle continued in use through the post-Roman period into the

12th or 13th centuries (Rankov 1982, 343 no 4). These include the one major road so far known within the Annetwell Street fort, as well as the main road from the south represented today by Blackfriars Street, Botchergate and London Road. The important east-west road, the Roman predecessor to Scotch Street almost certainly continued in function into the medieval period and later (McCarthy 1991, 60).

BOWNESS (Maia).

On the Cumberland coast at Bowness on Solway it now appears fairly certain that the fort continued to be occupied after AD 407, perhaps continuously occupied up till the present day. The modern east-west road is known to pass through the west gate of the fort. Excavations in 1988 revealed the exact extent of the east defences of the fort making it likely that the present road passes through the Roman East gate as well. The forts of Housesteads and Bowness are of a very similar size and proportions, and a superimposed plan of the Housesteads fort on that of Bowness village (fig. 7) shows that the northward bend of the modern road around the cottages to the west of Bowderhead Farm coincided with the likely position of the Roman Principia. This suggests that the present road not only respected the Roman gates but also the major Roman buildings which must have still been standing and possibly were being occupied by local inhabitants. Because of this continual civilian occupation within the fort, the east-west road system probably became fossilised in the topography of the site (Austen 1991, 6-8).

Archaeological excavations carried out at Bowness have provided evidence for 13th century occupation including green-glaze pottery and a silver penny of Edward I. (Birley, E. 1931, 142).

SYNTHESIS

Accumulated archaeological and artifactual evidence show clearly that in the post-Roman period there was continuing occupation within a number of the forts on the

Wall. From South Shields, Wallsend, Newcastle and Benwell in the east to Vindolanda, Birdoswald and Carlisle in the west, Roman sites continued to function with a civilian or perhaps quasi military population. Some became strongholds for local warlords or even Kings. Anglo-Saxon activity is attested within and around the sites in the 6th and 7th centuries with stone robbing of the former military sites taking place to erect ecclesiastical buildings. Many of the Roman buildings must have remained upstanding as later road alignments appear to take into account their presence. Small settlements were being established along the Wall, some of which took account of the Wall into their place-names. There is no question of the Wall being abandoned, it was merely put to a different use as the local circumstances changed now that it no longer functioned as the northwest frontier of the Roman Empire.

RE-USE OF THE WALL

Having considered the evidence for the continuity of occupation in a number of the forts along the line of the Roman Wall during the centuries following the post-Roman period it will now be possible to put into context the re-use of Wall stone in buildings being constructed from this period up to the Norman Conquest. Despite the fact that the region was undergoing major political and cultural changes it will be seen that it was still possible to undertake major building construction programmes which had the backing of the regional hierarchy. The buildings which were being erected were of an ecclesiastical nature and as such must have had the blessing for their construction from both the religious and political authorities.

In the 5th and 6th centuries Cumbria may have formed part of the Kingdom of Urien of Rheged (O'Sullivan 1985, 22). Although there is some uncertainty over the date of the Northumbrian takeover of Cumbria it was probably completed between AD 590-685 and it was towards the end of the 7th century and early 8th century

that stone built churches began to make their first recognisable appearance in the old frontier zone, as at St Wilfreds, Hexham and St Andrews in Corbridge. Apart from such of the churches as were in stone, building throughout the period was in wood and archaeological techniques have only recently been applied to the problems of their identification and excavation (Clack 1976, 42).

Although there is a paucity of archaeological evidence of Anglo-Saxon vernacular buildings close to or along the line of the Roman Wall or its constituent parts, there is little doubt that the surrounding countryside was inhabited because of the physical evidence of the church buildings that they erected using stone taken from the by now defunct Roman Wall as well as adjacent forts. These churches are the earliest evidence that the Wall and forts were being systematically used as a stone quarry. The evidence from the Corbridge area implies either that the population from the Roman site had moved out to a new settlement to the east or, if the site was virtually uninhabited at this time, that new arrivals preferred not to settle within the confines of the ruins of the fort and civilian settlement. However, taking into account the reference regarding South Shields fort as the birth place of Oswin, a king of Deira, in the early 7th century (Dore 1979, 3) and the post-Roman activity at Birdoswald it would seem unlikely that Corbridge was totally abandoned. In the west at Carlisle is the well recorded visit of St Cuthbert in AD 685, indicating a community still functioning and with vestiges of its Roman heritage as seen by the fountain shown to St Cuthbert.

It is note worthy that apparently only ecclesiastical buildings were erected with stone in the period up to the Norman Conquest. Several of these have survived up to the present including St Paul's Church Jarrow, Hexham Abbey and St Peter's, Corbridge, together with possible evidence for a church at Heddon-on-the-Wall. The relationship between a tradition of building in stone and the influence from

the continent in church architecture should not be underestimated. There appears to be no evidence from along the Wall of stone buildings being erected between AD 450 and 650. The conversion of Northumbria to Christianity and the subsequent predominance of the Roman tradition thus suggests that the introduction of building in stone for new churches was inspired by continental models (Tweddle 1991, 147).

JARROW.

Jarrow monastery (fig. 8) was founded by Abbot Benedict Biscop (AD 628-89) in AD 681 and built after the Roman manner as Bede intimates "*juxta morem Romanorum*" (Bede H.E. V. 21) and was dedicated in AD 685.

The monastic site was damaged in Danish raids of AD 794 and the site seems to have been abandoned in the middle of the 9th century. The main church of the monastery (incorporated into the present nave) survived until AD 1782. The building erected in its place was demolished in AD 1866 and replaced by the present nave. Although the nave of the old church was pulled down in AD 1782 the re-use of Roman stone in St Paul's Church is unmistakable (Taylor 1980, 1, 339). A Roman inscription (RIB 1051) as well as a sculptured relief of an archer and a stag (CSIR 3290) were found in AD 1782 while restoration work was being carried out. (See CSIR and Appendices 5 and 6). The re-use of Roman sculpture by the Anglo-Saxons is seen at Jarrow dating mainly from the late 7th to early 8th century (Cramp 1984, I, I, 112, 16a-b; 115, 22; 121, 33). Roman coins, inscriptions and pottery have been gathered from the immediate environs in the past but recent excavation on the site did not reveal any Roman structures (Cramp 1976, 235). The remains of other Anglo Saxon buildings in the Jarrow complex had also utilised Roman stones in their construction (Cramp 1976, 239). The nearest known Roman site to Jarrow is at Wallsend and it presumably from here that the Benedict Biscop obtained his building materials. Wallsend formed part of the early

endowment of the monastery of Jarrow. In the confirmation given by King John in 1203-4 to the Prior and convent of Durham the lands are described thus "in Northumbria, Walesend with its chapel" (Hedley 1968, 270). King Ecgrith had donated 40 hides of land on which to build a foundation at Jarrow (Cramp 1976, 229) and it may well be that included in this endowment was land at Wallsend with which suitably cut Roman stone was readily available. Ecgrith had previously (AD 674) given 70 hides of land to Biscop at Monkwearmouth on which to found a monastery. It has been argued that it is an open question whether derelict Roman buildings ever formed part of the endowment of a church, providing the equivalent of a quarry (Morris and Roxan 1980, 185). The gift of land by a royal patron to build a church together with suitable building material has been noted elsewhere. In AD 669 King Egbert of Kent gave the ruins of the Roman fort of Reculver, Regulbium, to a priest called Bassa in which he could build a minster (Laing 1979, 88).

CORBRIDGE.

St Andrew's church at Corbridge is of undoubted Saxon build with the Anglo-Saxon church and west porch being constructed some time prior to AD 786. The only documentary evidence available is the statement of the Northumbrian Annals, quoted by Simeon of Durham, that in AD 786 Adulf was consecrated bishop at the monastery of Corbridge (Stevenson 1858, 40). The earliest parts of the building, the West porch (fig. 25) which was later built up into the present tower, the nave, now pierced by later arcades, and a chancel, of which no trace is left, have therefore been assigned to a date previous to this event (Parsons 1962, 171). The ruins of *Corstopitum* provided Corbridge with much building stone; the early part of the church of St Andrew seems to have been built almost entirely with material from this source. The Anglo-Saxon remains are the nave walls and the west tower, which was originally only a porch of one or two storeys, but was raised in later

pre-Conquest times on the walls of the earlier porch to provide the present tall slender belfry. The whole of this structure is built of re-used Roman stone with fairly wide mortar joints, and with little regard to the original use of individual stones, so that lewis-holes and cramp-holes frequently appear in the outer faces (Taylor 1980, 173). Within the tower, between the baptistry and the nave, is a complete Roman archway (fig. 26), including jambs, voussoirs and the finely moulded imposts (Taylor 1980, 174) which had been reassembled here when the church was under construction. Several Roman inscriptions have also been located in the church fabric (RIB 1154b, 1157, 1711, 1178, 1187).

In 1993 a late Anglo-Saxon sculptural fragment of late 9th-mid 10th century date from Corbridge Roman site was identified (Richardson, C. forthcoming).

The Roman site, consisting of fort and civilian settlement (*vicus*) must have still been visible to the inhabitants of the Anglo-Saxon settlement now growing up outside to the east of its old defences.

In 1201, during the reign of King John, a search was made for treasure but the chronicler Roger of Hoveden recorded that "nothing was found except stones marked with bronze and iron and lead" (Dore 1989, 28).

HEXHAM.

Hexham is situated on the South Tyne river and south of the Roman Wall. Bishop Wilfrid (c. AD 633-709) who founded Hexham monastery had travelled to Rome with Benedict Biscop and both shared an enthusiasm for mediterranean and Roman monastic culture and St Wilfred had sought to make his monasteries at Ripon and Hexham visible symbols of Roman style in their great stone buildings of fine ashlar construction (Brooks 1991, 109).

The Anglo-Saxon church, built by St Wilfred and dedicated to St Andrew was constructed between AD 672-678, but only the crypt still survives. This is built largely of Roman building blocks, including some architectural fragments, which

are assumed to have been transported along the Tyne from Roman Corbridge (King 1988, 7) and perhaps from the Roman bridge at either Chesters or Corbridge. This bridge may also have been the source of stone for other phases of construction at Hexham Abbey (Bidwell 1989, 32). The biographer of Wilfred, Eddius, says no other church this side of the Alps compared with it and that it was "supported by various columns and many side aisles" and "surrounded by various winding passages with spiral stairs leading up and down" (Grundy *et al* 1992, 319). This indicates that a large quantity of Roman stone must have been used in the construction of the church. Recent archaeological investigations at Hexham Abbey have given the first clear evidence of the 7th century building (Bailey 1979, 154). The Anglo-Saxon foundations included Roman stones with their original foliate and chequer motifs still highly visible (Bailey 1979, 153). Other examples of Roman stonework in the crypt display feathered or basketwork tooling on their surfaces (Bidwell 1989, 105). There are at least eight inscribed Roman blocks (RIB 1120, 1122, 1125, 1142, 1151, 1161, 1172, 1193) as well as 13 pieces of Roman sculpture incorporated in the fabric of the Abbey (CSIR 1, 2, 12, 44, 68, 106, 108, 109, 110, 113, 127, 171, 180). A recent study of Anglo-Saxon sculpture suggests a number of pieces may be re-used Roman pieces probably brought from Corbridge (Cramp 1984, I, 185, 21a-c; 186, 22; 188, 29; 189, 31; 193, 42a-c). This indicates there was a systematic dismantling of Roman structures at the site of Corbridge, 3 miles to the east of Hexham. Comparison of Roman fragments at Hexham with material from Corbridge also indicates the Anglian use of the Roman site as a stone quarry (King 1988, 8). Bidwell (1989, 105) considers that much of the stonework in the crypt and the vanished superstructure of the church above came from the Roman bridge over the Tyne at Corbridge as this is the only known structure at the site to have been built in *opus quadratum* of this type. St Wilfred was enabled to found his splendid monastery at Hexham by a grant from Queen Aethelthryth's dower lands, arguably constituting an estate of approximately 3550 ha (Higham 1986, 289).

Presumably within this land grant lay Corbridge as well as the Roman Wall itself, giving a quarry source for stone. He is also known to have read out the royal charters that constituted his title deeds at the dedicatory ceremony at Ripon in North Yorkshire (Higham 1986, 289).

HEDDON-ON-THE-WALL.

The church at Heddon-on-the-Wall, also dedicated to St Andrew, has re-used Roman stone in its fabric as well as large Anglo-Saxon quoins in the south-east angle of the nave, and there are indications that it consisted of a nave, chancel and apse (Rowland 1991, 111). The quoins are said to be of Roman workmanship (Hodges 1923-4, 276) although Taylor (1980, 292) makes no mention of their provenance. Built into the window sill in the south aisle of the church is a Roman centurial stone (RIB 1387). As the church is built adjacent to the Wall it is unlikely that the source of stone would have been overlooked by the Anglo-Saxon builders. In AD 653 Finan Bishop of Lindisfarne baptised two Saxon princes at a place called *AD MURUM* close to the Roman Wall (Binnall 1942-6, 32). The location of *AD MURUM* is uncertain and may well have been located somewhere between Newcastle and Heddon-on-the-Wall as Bede states that the site was 12 miles from the sea (Bede HE III. 22). Given the fact that stone was being utilised as a building material for churches shortly after this date it is conceivable that an early church was built in stone close to the Wall at this point. It is equally possible that the original church was of timber construction and a replacement was built in stone at a time when the monasteries and their churches at Hexham and Jarrow were being built in stone between AD 671- 81. It has been suggested that *AD MURUM* may have been located in Newcastle - *Pons Aelius* (Winter 1989, 26) rather than at Heddon-on-the-Wall.

ST OSWALD IN LEE.

The church of St Oswald in Lee, Heavenfield (fig. 30), is situated 200m north of the Wall and slightly east of Hill Head farm. The church contains a Roman altar (CSIR 279) which had been used as the base for a cross in the Middle Ages and possibly as early as the victory of St Oswald nearby in AD 634 (Coulston 1988, 111, no 279; Cramp 1984, I, I, 222), and although it is stated that the first cross erected by Oswald was of wood, which may have had a stone base, it could have served as an inspiration for the later stone crosses. This became a focus for annual commemoration services and by Bede's time a church was also built there (Cramp 1984, I, I, I, note 5). Bede relates (III. 2) that "the brothers of the church of Hexham, which lies not far away, have long been accustomed to make a yearly pilgrimage here on the eve of the anniversary of Oswald's death". By a further development of this good custom, the brothers have recently built a church on the spot". Although the church was rebuilt in 1737 leaving no trace of the original it more than likely that the church mentioned by Bede was built of wall stone considering that both Hexham and Jarrow were utilising Roman stones.

There are also a number of Anglo-Saxon churches in the area including St Mary the Virgin's, Ovingham; St. Michael's Warden; Bywell St Andrew and Bywell St Peter; all situated in the Tyne valley south of the Wall (Taylor 1980, I). The tower of Bywell St Andrew appears to be partly made of re-used Roman stones with the lower stages of the structure dated to the 10th century. The lower part of a cross-shaft of the 10th century and an impost of possibly Roman origin were built into the west window of the second stage of the tower (Cramp 1984, I, I, 168). Some of the stones of Roman origin may have come from a Roman bridge over the Tyne at this point (Frere 1990, 318, no 2). Close by is Bywell Castle, part of which may have been erected as early as the 12th century (Jackson 1992, 37) in which it is said that a large number of Roman stones were used in the building of it (Long 1967, 77).

The church at Warden (fig. 27) contains material which might have come from the Roman bridge over the North Tyne at Chesters: a block with a lewis hole, set on its side to serve as a quoin in the eleventh century tower (Bidwell 1989, 32). The imposts of the tower-arch are moulded stone of apparently Roman origin and its round arch is built of very rough voussoirs (Taylor 1980, 633) which are also presumably Roman in origin. A re-used Roman altar and a column have also been identified at this church (Cramp 1984, I, I, 229) having been altered between the 8th and 11th centuries. This re-use of Roman materials in later buildings is not something confined to the frontier system and may be found in a number of locations throughout the former Roman province. The link between Roman building methods and church architecture was explicitly recognised by Bede (HEV. 21) in the early 8th century when Nechtan, king of the Picts requested Bede to send him architects to build a stone church for his people in the Roman style (Bede V. 21).

Churches of seventh century date in Kent and Essex survive in part at Canterbury, Sheppey, Reculver and Bradwell and were constructed in part of re-used Roman material (Gem 1991, 185). A 7th century Saxon chapel dedicated to St Cedd incorporates a great deal of Roman material in the walls, while at Reculver the fort is occupied by a Saxon chapel established around AD 605 (Johnson 1991, 94). Numerous Roman sites have been utilised by later generations as places of habitation or as a site in which to establish a church.

Roman stone re-used as recumbent grave slabs are found on a number of church sites in York including the Minster, St Denys, St Mary Bishophill Junior and All Saints Pavement (Lang 1991, 39-40) together with a Roman block re-used as a possible cross base (Lang 1991, 117). At Brixworth Anglo-Saxon church in Northamptonshire a recent petrological analysis of the stone work showed that re-used Roman stone was being obtained from a variety of sources including Roman Leicester and Towcester. The evidence from Brixworth suggested that

Anglo-Saxon masons relied heavily on *spolia* from Roman sites (Sutherland and Parsons 1984, 45-64)

There does seem to be a correlation between population and the establishment of a church in a given locality. In a missionary world, churches are not built where people do not come together. They are built in conjunction with centres of political power (Biddle 1976, 67). While this is true for the larger centres, churches were being established in smaller walled towns and previously occupied forts as at Portchester, Burgh Castle, Walton Castle and Richborough which formed part of the Saxon Shore Fort system. All but two of the fourteen or so Saxon Shore forts have a church inside and some of these are among the earliest churches known (Biddle 1976, 68). Caerleon, Caerwent and Chester all have churches inside them while medieval churches may be found within the walls of Caistor by Norwich, Ancaster, Great Casterton and Horncastle (Biddle 1976, 67).

Along the line of the Wall between Gilsland and the Solway coast there is only one church, Upper Denton, which has definite evidence of Anglo-Saxon work (Pevsner 1988, 121). Not far from the church is the reputed site of a Saxon village to which the early church no doubt belonged (Ferguson. C. 1877-8, 157). Possible Saxo-Norman pottery sherds associated with stone robbing from the bridge at Willowford may suggest that some of the blocks for the church at Upper Denton came from this source as seen by a block with three dovetail clamp sockets built into the north wall of the 11th or 12th century church (Bidwell 1989, 98). The church, built of Roman Wall stone, stands opposite the fort of Birdoswald and contains within it a chancel-arch, 1.83m wide, built of Roman voussoirs whose original tooling was unfortunately removed by recutting in 1881 (Daniels 1978, 206). This arch may have also come from the bridge remains at the Irthing crossing, or equally from the fort of Birdoswald itself, although not from one of the gateways as these are much wider (Wilmott, forthcoming). A drawing of this

church, probably added in the late 14th century, exists on one of the original charters of the Lanercost Cartulary (Todd 1991, II, 492), the church having been granted to the Priory c. AD 1174 (Todd 1991, II, no 4, 8). The Anglo-Saxon church was apparently re-built in the Norman period but pulled down by 1318 (Ferguson. C. 1877-8, 165).

The evidence from the fort at Brampton Old Church points to a church being erected within it during the post-Roman period (fig. 9). The church dedication to St Martin of Tours, a Roman soldier and Ninian's teacher, and local features traditionally associated with St Ninian, his well, called Ninewells, have suggested that the Celtic Church may have used the abandoned Roman earthworks as shelter (Simpson 1936, 180). However it is not known if it was built of wood or stone. Only excavation on the site would establish the presence of any earlier structures. A number of other Cumbrian forts have churches, of various foundation dates, erected within their confines including Nether Denton (St. Cuthbert's); Stanwix (St. Michael the Archangel); Burgh-by-Sands (St. Michael) and Bowness on Solway (St. Michael). Although there is no direct archaeological or documentary evidence to place the original foundation of these churches in the pre-Norman period there is no reason to dismiss out of hand the possibility that early Christian communities were establishing churches within the confines of these forts and that Roman stone may well have been used in that case for their construction. In the eastern half of the Wall it is claimed that none of the forts has a church inside the defences (Biddle 1976, 67). This overlooks the evidence from Newcastle (Winter 1989, 54) and the high probability that a number of the other eastern forts also contained churches of pre-Norman foundation date, but which have not been located to date, either from documentary sources or archaeological evidence. North of Hadrian's Wall at Bewcastle the evidence of early Christian activity can be seen in the 7th century Bewcastle Cross erected within the boundary of the Roman fort but this does not necessarily mean that there was continuity of

occupation within the fort, only that the site was used as a place in which to erect a cross.

Fragments of 8th century crosses have also been found in Carlisle in the vicinity of the Cathedral, probably associated with the Anglian monastery which is attested on documentary grounds (McCarthy 1993, 34). Although the earliest evidence for the Cathedral at Carlisle is c. AD 1100 during the reign of Henry I, archaeological evidence suggests the presence of an important church below the Cathedral in the 10th century (McCarthy 1990, 4), perhaps that of St Mary. St Cuthbert visited the city in AD 685 and there is a strong tradition that Cuthbert was given an estate here, known as 'the Patrimony of St Cuthbert', which has sometimes been identified with the later parish of St Cuthbert Without (Holtby 1972, 3). It has been plausibly suggested that the parish of St Cuthbert's Without represents the grant of Carlisle with fifteen miles round about it made to St Cuthbert by Ecgfrith the king of Northumbria in AD 685 (Summerson 1993, I, 31). Radio carbon dating of several graves in Castle Street to between the 7th and early 11th century suggests that there was another church nearby and the site of the medieval chapel of St Alban and St Cuthbert's church are other candidates for churches of this period (McCarthy 1993, 40). St Alban's church was also probably in existence by 1092 (Summerson 1993, I, 11). After the Danish invasions of Northumbria Cuthbert's body rested at Carlisle and the number of churches and holy well dedications in his memory give testimony to the affection in which he was held. There can be no doubt that any church or monastic building would have used at least some of the available Roman stone not only from the Wall, which runs through the north end of the city, but also from any surviving Roman building within the settlement.

It can be seen therefore that there was some form of occupational continuity along the line of the Wall, as elsewhere in the country, perhaps continuing into the 7th

century and in some cases beyond. Associated with this is the establishment of early Christian churches, some within the confines of the forts. This may have been a symbolic gesture by the missionaries or a practical decision to ensure a suitable supply of ready cut stone as suggested by Rigold (1977, 70) and also influenced by the presence of a suitable and sizeable population in the vicinity to begin with (Biddle 1976, 67). The sites of churches were determined by social, tenurial and economic forces. Recent research has shown that as early as the fourth century the Christian church was taking over the existing sites of pagan worship, especially in the Holy Lands (Taylor 1993) and the author here considers that this superimposition of one religion over another, the new over the old, was certainly one reason why post-Roman Christian churches are found in a number of deserted Roman forts and civil sites throughout Britain. However the occurrence of Anglo-Saxon churches on Roman forts has as yet only been partially treated and more work is needed to set them against the background of Roman forts which do not have an Anglo-Saxon church on top of them (Esmonde Cleary 1989, 199). Whether derelict Roman buildings ever formed part of the endowment of a church, providing the equivalent of a quarry, is an open question as no surviving document specifically stipulates this. However it is noteworthy that numerous early churches were being built of Roman stone either from the Wall itself or else from one of the forts along the line of the Wall. Grants of land were given by royalty to establish Christianity and it has been suggested that this included suitable materials with which to construct ecclesiastical buildings (Sutherland and Parsons 1984, 60). Archaeological and literary evidence show clearly that the ability to build in stone was one which the Anglo-Saxon settlers understood and could undertake. In Cumbria the tradition for Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture in the form of intricately carved crosses indicates that stone was seen as a suitable medium for religious ideas and the erection of small, simple stone built churches would not be beyond their capabilities. The Wall had clearly gone

out of use as an effective barrier and was being regarded as a source of ready cut stone from as early as the 7th century.

CHAPTER 3

GOD, KING AND COUNTRYSIDE

Introduction

The subjugation of the North by the Normans in the 11th century marked a major political change which brought with it a major impact on the landscape as regards types of building and their construction. The Norman overlordship introduced not only a further acceleration of church building but also the introduction of stone castles and fortifications which had a direct impact on the Roman Wall as this structure was a suitable stone quarry with ready cut facing stones readily accessible for the new administration. The combined effect of military and religious building construction along the line of the Wall was a rush for building material. This was easily satisfied by the rapid dismantling of large sections of the Roman Wall which were near at hand. The 12th-13th centuries saw an explosion of building activity as part of the consolidation of the region while the following centuries were a period of continuing conflict between the English and Scottish crowns in which the region became a virtual battleground and was heavily fortified with castles, peel towers, tower houses and bastle houses. The expansion of the church saw the building of numerous monastic houses and small churches many of which have defensive characteristics in their construction, all indicative of the uncertainty of a lasting peace in the area. Although it is the major buildings of a military and ecclesiastical nature that have tended to survive from this period, there is also archaeological evidence of domestic buildings in the medieval period utilising the Roman Wall as a source for construction material. These three building types will be looked at separately to see their role and function in the landscape and the combined effect they had on the survival of the Wall.

BUILDING TYPES

ECCLESIASTICAL BUILDINGS.

With the consolidation of Norman power in the North came a period of relative stability and peace during which some churches were restored (Wright 1989, 52) and in the course of the following years the Church was granted lands by a landowning aristocracy and gentry on which to establish religious houses and parish churches.

Parish churches required an endowment to maintain the buildings and their priests and as a consequence only the kings and greater landowners could afford to build and endow a church. Many of the churches which survive in the 20th century have their foundations in the 12th and 13th centuries. Some of these may be stone replacements for earlier wooden churches (Cramp 1984, I, I, 1) and a number of buildings have been much altered or even completely rebuilt in the 18th-19th centuries leaving little trace of their original fabric. However it is possible to see that many of the establishments along the line of the Roman Wall have had Roman stone incorporated in their fabric.

At Wallsend, The Holy Cross church (fig. 42) was built between the middle and end of the 12th century, and may well have been built on the site of an earlier Anglo-Saxon church also built of stone from the Roman Wall. Wallsend was included in the parish of Jarrow whose monastery and church originated in Saxon times. Wallsend was run by Benedictine monks from Durham between AD 1088 and AD 1540 and the priors were the lords of the manor and feudal owners of the lands (Richardson 1923, 24). As such it is assumed that the church was also the owner of the Wall where it ran through their land and as such would see the ready cut Roman blocks as an asset which could either utilised for their own purposes or sold to others. In the confirmation given by King John on 2.2.1203-4 the lands are described as "in Northumbria, Walesend with its chapel" (Hedley 1968, 270). In 1153 a priest,

Alun of 'Valeshead' is named as a witness to a charter (Richardson 1923, 24). The main walls were reused to build a barn at the new parsonage (Oswald 1883, 22).

Across the river Tyne the monastic site of Jarrow saw the beginnings of reconstruction in AD 1074, under the guidance of Bishop Walcher of Durham. Symeon of Durham says the structure was roofless and in a ruined state (Stevenson 1858, 145). New work carried out on the monastic buildings and the tower of the church must have utilised any available Roman stone, either re-used from earlier damaged buildings or from the nearby fort of Wallsend and the curtain Wall itself.

With Newcastle now under the control of the Norman kings it was a period of relative stability in which new churches could be built and others renewed. The lower courses of the church tower of St Andrew's in Newgate St are of 12th century build (Grundy *et al* 1992, 426), and suggest a rebuilding of an earlier smaller chapel which may have existed on the site. The Norman chancel arch survives and incorporated in the tower are numerous Roman stones.

At the church of St John The Baptist in Westgate Road is the head of a Norman window in the chancel above the vestry door, which suggests that a much older church existed on the site (Grundy *et al* 1992, 428). Some of the stone work on the exterior of the church appear by its shape and size to be of Roman origin. The present church is of 14-15th century build, with perhaps the earlier church having been dismantled and some of the surviving stones incorporated in the new structure.

The Cathedral church of St Nicholas, although belonging to the 14-15th century, has elements within its structure which are obviously earlier, including architectural fragments of the 12th century. Of uncertain date is the masonry of roughly shaped small blocks into which the taller 14th century arcades were inserted. These blocks which appear to be of Roman origin, may well have been re-

used from an earlier church on the site (Grundy *et al* 1992, 417), perhaps connected with the 8th century Christian cemetery nearby. Although there is no visible or documentary evidence to support the suggestion that the church was founded in the 11th century, there is the Henry I charter of c.AD 1120, which granted a church at Newcastle to the Cathedral priory of Carlisle, and a further reference, made in 1194 (in which the dedication of the church was first given), to a grant of the church's tithes (Grundy *et al* 1992, 418).

The present church of All Saints was the successor to a medieval church with a 12th century doorway according to an 18th century drawing (Grundy *et al* 1992, 425). It would be highly likely in that case that an even earlier church also utilised any available Roman stone which was in the vicinity of the line of the Wall. It is possible that the forerunners of St Andrew's and St Nicholas may even pre-date the Conquest but were totally rebuilt in the 12th century.

The earliest of the eight religious houses founded in Newcastle is the Benedictine nunnery of St Bartholomew founded in 1135 during the reign of King David 1 of Scotland, although an earlier date of 1086 is hinted at by the historian John Forde (Winter 1989, 54). An 11-12th century date would also point to the possibility of robbing any existing Wall stone for its construction although no visible remains of this building now exists.

West of Newcastle along the line of the Wall was the medieval Benwell Tower which belonged to the Tynemouth Priory as a summer residence until the Dissolution of the Monasteries (Rowland 1991b, 82). Although the term 'Tower' is normally associated with a fortified structure, which Benwell Tower may well have been, it is discussed here within the ecclesiastical framework as it belonged to a religious establishment. In 1590 a survey of Benwell recorded that Robert Shafto held the stone tower, being the manor house and three other edifices there belonging with garden and garth and close (Rowland 1991a, 122). Although demolished by 1831 the medieval tower would almost certainly have had stone taken from the Roman fort

of *Condercum* and the adjacent sections of Wall.

An Early Norman church is situated at Newburn on the banks of the Tyne, upstream from Newcastle. The quoins in the south-east angle of the nave may be pre-Conquest although the earliest documentation is after 1123 when it was bestowed on the Chapter of Carlisle by Henry I. In 1068 the Earl of Northumberland was murdered in his hall here (Grundy *et al* 1992, 405) which may have been of stone build and the church may well have been part of this complex of buildings. Several stones in the fabric of the church exhibit the diamond broaching associated with Roman masons (Bruce 1867, 121) as may well have done the long vanished hall.

Halton church is situated south of the Roman fort of Halton Chesters (*Hunnum*) and is originally of Norman build suggesting that the stones were robbed from the site for its construction. There is a suggestion that the north-west quoins in the nave may be of Saxon origin (Grundy *et al* 1992, 297). A number of Roman stones were incorporated in the church when it was largely rebuilt in 1706 (Mee 1964, 108). The Anglo-Saxon build of the church of St Andrew at Corbridge was almost entirely of Roman stone from the nearby fort of *Corstopitum* and it is from this source that the stone for the 11th century section of the West tower must have come as the masonry of the tower shows no distinct change from that of the porch (Taylor 1980, 1, 174).

Chollerton church is situated close to the North Tyne and north of the Roman fort of Chesters. Dedicated to St Giles and consecrated in 1097, the original church was probably built of wood (Nichols, 1990) being replaced c. AD 1150 when four monolithic Roman columns (fig. 28) were erected in the south arcade (Grundy *et al* 1992, 232). These columns were doubtless taken from the fort of Chesters and it is likely that other Roman material was taken at the same time for the

construction of the church. If the date of c. AD 1150 is accepted for the building of the stone church this would place it within the period when Odinel de Umframvil was Baron of Prudoe who also witnessed a charter, before 1158, of Henry II of England granting the churches of Newcastle and Newburn to the canons of St. Mary of Carlisle (Hedley 1968, 1, 209).

Situated on the Stanegate, south of Carrawbrough fort lies the fort of Newbrough within which is built the church of St Peter's Stonecroft of simple 13th century style (Grundy *et al* 1992, 404). It is possible that an earlier, pre-Norman, church existed on the site, built from stone robbed from the walls of the fort.

Slightly west of Carrawbrough Roman fort is the farm of Carraw, formerly a rural retreat of the priors of Hexham (Bruce 1863, 102). A 12th century deed granted land at Carraw to the prior and convent of Hexham (Raine 1864, II, no 46, 84) to which was added, about 1406, a stone house to an already existing tower (Hodgson 1840, 397). By 1541 both of these were in a state of decay and would have been suitable sources of stones for any other buildings being erected nearby.

At Hexham the Anglo-Saxon church built by St Wilfred was sacked by the Danes in AD 876, as no doubt were the two contemporary churches of St Peter and St Mary, and while its history is unknown until AD 1133 when it was refounded as the priory church of Augustinian canons (Grundy *et al* 1992, 319), it seems the monastery did not remain deserted, for from the beginning of the 11th century there were hereditary provosts of Hexham, and hereditary priests, who continued in office until AD 1113 (Taylor 1980, 1, 298). The rebuilt priory church would have utilised any suitable stone from the previous church as would the new 13th century rebuild of St Mary's, presumably recycling some of the Roman stone from St Wilfred's earlier church (Taylor 1980, 1, 298).

To the east of Gilsland is the possible site of a chapel, of unknown date, built within the ruins of milecastle 47 (Maclauchlan 1853, 51). Wall stone was obviously

used in the fabric of this building which was eventually pulled down to build the present farm house about 1800 (Skinner 1801, 46), although Horsley says that a house called the Chapel stood within the milecastle (Horsley 1732, 152). It may well be that an earlier chapel or church, perhaps of Norman origin, had been converted into a farm house in the 17th century and the name of the farm house reflected its earlier status.

In Cumbria, pre-Norman churches are not unknown, but it is with the Norman Conquest, completed in AD 1092 with the capture of Carlisle, that the Norman influence in the use of stone for church building is seen in surviving buildings. Some of the churches of Norman date may well be a re-building or re-modelling of earlier structures although there is not enough archaeological evidence at the present to confirm this.

Slightly west of Upper Denton is the Roman fort of Nether Denton within which was a church, dedicated to St Cuthbert, of at least mid 12th century date as it was granted to Lanercost Priory before 1177 (Todd 1991, II, no 45, 62). Perhaps this church, like Upper Denton and Brampton Old Church, had its foundation in the Anglo-Saxon or Saxo-Norman period. A drawing of this church is seen in the margin of the Lanercost Cartulary (Todd 1991, II, 497).

The field to the east of Birdoswald fort is known as Chapel field and although there is no documentary or archaeological evidence to date to suggest that there was a church here, a small building located in this field has been interpreted as a cottage (Haverfield 1899, 353), the fact that the name has survived suggests that perhaps some form of religious construction was probably here at some period in the past, although it is not mentioned in the Gilsland Survey of 1603 (Wilmott, forthcoming).

On the north bank of the River Irthing opposite Nether Denton is Lanerton, the

manor of which was granted permission to erect a chapel with a chantry by the Prior and canons of Lanercost in AD 1294 (Todd 1991, II, no 271, 367). This church, is likely to have been erected with Wall stone although there is no visible evidence to show where the church stood.

Until the annexation of Cumberland by William Rufus in AD 1092 the area was controlled by the Scottish Crown and was not included in the Domesday Book survey of the new lands conquered by the Normans. It is therefore not possible to gauge the density of population at this time. It is known that William II sent a large number of colonists from the south of England (Bradley 1976, 5) and presumably from the Norman lands across the Channel to Cumbria, with a view to increase the population as a bulwark against the Scots as well as to bring into production suitable agricultural land as a source of revenue. This increase in population, as well as the relationship between State and Church, meant that not only were any existing churches re-built but new ones were erected and the architectural detail within many church fabrics date from this period. Not only would abandoned settlement sites have been re-established but new settlements would be established for the expanding population.

The establishment of monastic houses required that a suitable endowment was provided in terms of land and tithes to enable them to survive. Villages and their churches were also given as part of the initial foundation charter.

The arcades of the St Kentigern's church at Irthington are c.AD 1170 (Pevsner 1988, 142) and numerous Roman stones are evident in the fabric. Whether this was a newly built church or a Norman re-build of an earlier one is not clear, but this is one of the churches endowed by Robert I de Vaux to the prior of Lanercost in AD 1169 (Todd 1991, II, no 1, 1). The chancel was restored in AD 1853 (Cox 1913, 95) using stones out of the old Roman Wall (Whellan 1860, 680). I assume this to mean that there was a re-use of the existing stone from the church rather than a

robbing of the Wall itself.

Three other churches which must have existed by the mid 12th century are Walton, Triermain and Brampton Old Church as they were also granted to Lanercost Priory at the same time as Irthington (Todd 1991, II, no 1, 1).

Nothing survives of the Norman church at Walton but as the vill was built adjacent to the Roman Wall and milecastle 56 it is safe to assume that the church must have been built close-by, perhaps even within the milecastle, of available Wall stone.

Triermain chapel was already in existence by the time Lanercost Priory was being built (Todd 1991 II, no 1, 1) and may have been initially a wooden construction and possibly have been re-built in stone as by AD 1234 Roland de Vaux granted 2 acres of land next to the chapel (Todd 1991 II, no 43, 58), which was confirmed by Hubert II de Vaux, as well as appurtenances for the upkeep of a chaplain and a clerk.

Brampton Old Church is situated within the walls of the Roman fort and Roman stones are built into the remaining chancel walls (fig. 32) (Robinson 1982, 80). That a church existed here in the 12th century is not in doubt (Todd 1991 II, no 1, 1). In 1787 a faculty was granted to take down the old church and its steeple in order to use its materials in altering the Almshouse Chapel in Brampton into a parish church (Robinson 1982, 75). This church was demolished and the foundation stone for the new church of St Martin's was laid in 1877. The architect, Philip Webb, favoured the use of the existing site where old materials from the previous church could be re-used (Penn 1972, 5), although no Roman material is visible in the present church, presumably having been incorporated in the corework. It can be seen that Roman stone was re-used on several occasions when older buildings were pulled down and the material recycled. The vicar's pele at Old Church Farm (fig. 49), adjacent to the church, was erected in AD 1335 (Robinson 1982, 75) and contains blocks of Roman origin.

Lanercost (fig. 31), lying slightly south of the Wall, contains an abundance of

Roman stone in the Priory church, monastic buildings, vicarage (fig. 46) and boundary wall as well as several inscribed stones: RIB 1968, 1969, 1971, 1973. Founded in AD 1169 by the Augustinian Canons, the Wall was a ready source of building material and the geological fault line through the site is reflected in the variety of colours of the stones used. The Priory walls contain a large proportion of stones with the characteristic square outline of much of the masonry of Hadrian's Wall. Carboniferous Sandstones, which closely resemble those in the Priory form the main constituents of the surviving portion of Wall to the north east of Lanercost. St Bees Sandstone is a major component of the ruinous stretches of Wall which remain to the north west of the Priory. It is therefore likely, and indeed probable, that Hadrian's Wall provided one local quarry for stone during one or more phases of construction of the Priory (Young 1993, 20). The Vicarage contains part of a 13th century pele tower (Pevsner 1988, 157), called King Edward's Tower, also containing Wall stone. This building is also said to be the 13th century Guest-House of the Canons (Moorman 1983, 15) built when Edward I stayed here with his entourage in AD 1306. The Queen's suite was partly built of stone, as were other buildings, by up to nineteen masons and their servants, the latter employed in "making mortar and carrying it and stones" (Summerson forthcoming). Summerson argues that the later vicarage (fig. 46), the building known today as the Guest-House is, at its lowest levels, the stone lodging built for Queen Margaret. This implies that even after the building of the Priory complex in the late 12th-early 13th century there was still enough Wall stone left to use in the 14th century Royal apartments. In AD 1542 the tower to the west of the monastic range, now part of the present vicarage, was called the "utter yate howse" and was the dwelling place of the curate or vicar of Lanercost (Summerson forthcoming). At the Dissolution of the Monasteries in AD 1536 the monastic buildings were granted to Sir Thomas Dacre who made some alterations to the western range of buildings in order to convert them into a private dwelling. The

adjacent farm buildings also contain Roman stone no doubt taken from the redundant monastic buildings such as the Chapter House and eastern dormitory and the rest of the boundary walls which survive only on the north side of the complex.

North of the Roman Wall lies the fort of Bewcastle within which stands a late 12th-early 13th century church dedicated to St Cuthbert, which has used available Roman stone from the fort.

No other extant Norman churches containing Wall stone are known at this stage between Brampton and Carlisle. However at Crosby-Upon-Eden the church of St John the Evangelist, rebuilt in 1855 and within which is a Norman font, was anciently known as St Mary's (Collingwood 1923 232). The manor or barony of Crosby was vested in the Bishop of Carlisle and a vicar is recorded in AD 1303 (Whellan 1860, 158) so there is a distinct possibility that there was a late 12th century church on the site, probably built of Wall stone as the Roman Wall lies only a short distance to the north. Excavations in 1981 (Britannia 1982, 343 no 3) across the Wall north of Crosby-on-Eden revealed that only one course of Wall face survived, that of the north side.

A priest is attested at Camboc, situated on the Roman Wall at milecastle 57 in AD 1178 (Graham 1922, 36), and a church is mentioned at the site which appears to have been totally destroyed in AD 1319 as it was not taxed (Prescott 1897, 184) although a fragment of the church was recorded as still standing in 1777 (Graham 1922, 39).

In AD 1122 the Augustinian Canons were introduced to Carlisle and 11 years later the Priory became Carlisle Cathedral, Henry 1 giving endowments of the church of St Nicholas in Newcastle, St Andrew at Corbridge (Holtby 1972, 4) and St Michael at Newburn (Grundy *et al* 1992, 405). The use of Roman stone is much in evidence

(Pevsner 1988, 88) in the south transept and nave (fig. 44) which date from 1100-1150, some of it appearing to have been re-tooled to suit its new surroundings. The west end of the Cathedral, with its small squared stonework of a similar nature to that seen in the Roman Wall, may well have been built of stone recycled from the earlier church or even the nunnery which had disappeared following the Viking attacks of the ninth century (Summerson 1993, 11). The base of a Roman sculptured relief was found in 1988 re-used in the foundations of the (demolished) western nave of the Norman cathedral (Hassall 1989, 331 no. 4).

The seven bays of the nave were already in a poor state of repair prior to the siege of 1644-5 and were dismantled in 1649 (Perriam 1987, 133), some of which was perhaps re-used to repair the north end of the east curtain wall of the city close to the present dual carriageway as well as to build part of the Main Guard in the City and guard houses at the City gates as well as general repairs of the fortifications (Perriam pers. comm) although Perriam states (1987, 133) that there is no documentary evidence to suggest that the stone from the nave was used to repair the city defences. It is possible that the Roman stone in the north-east length of the city wall is primary and been taken from either the Roman Wall or from standing Roman buildings in and around the city. The 12th century chronicler William of Malmesbury mentions a Roman building vaulted over with stone arches with an inscription to Mars and Victory which was clearly still standing in his day and was so strongly built that it could not be demolished "either by storms or by wood which had been deliberately brought to it and burned" (Gosling 1976, 167). The course of early medieval roads may have been partly influenced in their setting by the remains of Roman buildings, some of which were still showing above ground (Summerson 1993, 25). Stones taken from the old priory buildings made a substantial contribution to the restoration of the castle. However no Roman stone appears to have been used in these works. Works in the 1870s and in 1914 revealed that tons of 'church work' had been employed

to rebuild both batteries in the outer ward and to repair the dividing wall in the keep (McCarthy 1990, 199). The Roman inscription RIB 2032 is to be found in the inner north wall of the east dungeon in the keep and other Roman material is noticeable in parts of the castle. Stonework of Roman origin can be seen to have utilised several times since it was first robbed from its initial framework, either from the Wall or from the remains of Roman buildings which were still standing in the 11th century.

The Roman fort of Stanwix lies on the north bank of the River Eden opposite Carlisle. The church, dedicated to St Michael, is first mentioned in the mid 12th century when Walter the Prior of Carlisle annexed to the Convent (in Carlisle) the Rectory of Stanwix (Wood 1890-91, 286). This church certainly was built of Roman stone being as it was situated adjacent to the Wall and within the fort itself. The church was described by Bainbrigg in the 16th century (Collingwood 1911, 364) as being "a verie ancyeut church but ruinous". In the mid 18th century the church was described "gloomy, being only part of the original structure. This fabric has been built of the materials of the Roman Vallum" (Hutchinson 1794, 577). Several pieces of Roman material have been located within the church including a centurial stone (RIB 2030) and the tombstone of a cavalryman (CSIR 272). The church was re-built on the old site in 1841 (Pevsner 1988, 97).

Several miles to the west of Carlisle is the hamlet of Grinsdale, close to milecastle 69 on the bank of the River Eden. The presence of an early Norman church is recorded in AD 1180-90 when *dominus* Richard de Newton gave a mediety of the advowson of the "church of St Kentigern at Grinsdale" to Lanercost Priory (Graham 1932, 21). The present church is a re-building of the earlier structure, which had lain in ruins for many years, repaired in 1740 (Pevsner 1988, 134) and again in 1896 (Cox 1913, 90). A thick covering of white render has not made it possible to establish if any of the Roman material was used in the rebuilding of the church, although it is assumed by the author that any suitable stone from the

previous church was used in the re-building.

St Mary Beaumont church lies adjacent to turret 70a and is of 12th century build containing Roman stones in its walls (Cox 1913, 45), a number of which have the indicative Roman 'diamond broaching'. The church may have been erected by AD 1158 as Ranulf de Feritate, the elder, had land at Beaumont (Graham 1928, 167). The de Feritate family were sometime lords of Bownes and it would be entirely within keeping for them to have erected a church here as part of their consolidation of the area. Since 1692 it has served as parish church for Kirkandrews-upon-Eden, whose church had become quite ruinous (Cox 1913, 45).

The church at Kirkandrews-upon-Eden is now no longer visible although the 12th century Norman chancel arch was still standing in the early 19th century (Whellan 1860, 171). Much of the church appears to have been used in the construction of the Rector's house built c. 1762 by the Reverend George Bowness, for which the Bishop of Carlisle permitted him to take the stones that were the ruins of the old church there (Nicolson & Burn 1777, II, 224). As the Wall is known to have passed through the churchyard (Abbatt 1849, 51) it could well have used the Wall stones when it was constructed in the 12th century.

St Michael Burgh-by-Sands church occupies the middle portion of the Roman fort and is built almost wholly of Roman stones (Pevsner 1988, 81). The church (fig. 43) is of 12th century origin probably reconstructed on defensive lines in the late 13th century with a later mid 14th century tower built for further protection with walls 6-8 feet thick. The Barony of Burgh-by-Sands was founded by Ranulf Meschin, c. AD 1100 (Storey 1954, 119) and it probably not long after this that the church was constructed. In the late 12th century the church was granted by Sir Hugh de Morville, one of the lords of Burgh, to the Abbey of Holm Cultram (Whellan 1860, 155).

The church of St Michael is of Norman build and stands within the fort of Bowness-on-Solway containing re-used Wall and fort stone in its fabric (Pevsner 1988, 73). Bowness Rectory Tower, although no longer visible, stood at the southern end of the village and rectors have been recorded here since the 13th century (Grainger 1929, 9). Its defensive role suggests a late 14th or early 15th century date and its situation within the Roman fort and adjacent to the Wall ensured that it was built of this material (Perriam 1988, 193). In 1464 the rector of Bowness had permission from the Bishop of Carlisle to collect subscriptions to repair a house of defence there, probably referring to the tower. It appears to have been in a ruined condition by the late 15th or early 16th century as a bastle house had been erected by the rector beside the tower sometime in the 16th century. This also no doubt was built of Wall stone but by 1739 much of the tower had gone and what remained was mistakenly thought by Sir John Clerk who visited the site in the 18th century to be Roman (Perriam 1988, 196). The use of Roman stone in later buildings could certainly confuse a visitor especially if the building was itself in a ruinous state.

From the evidence presented so far and the number of churches which have been built from stone out of the Roman Wall it is clear that in the period up to AD 1300 there was an expansion in the number of churches being built under the influence of the Normans and that this had a major impact regarding robbing of the facing stones from the Wall. To date up to 36 ecclesiastical buildings have been identified as having Roman Wall stone incorporated into their fabric and no doubt there are others which may have been missed during this survey. The large majority have probably been identified although it is possible that there are other churches or chapels for which there is no surviving archaeological or documentary evidence. The research has shown that in some cases the Roman stone has been recycled several times either in the same building or between different sites. It is also

interesting to note that in the majority of cases the churches are built close to the source of the robbed material except in cases where new settlements were established in the post-Roman period as for example at Hexham or the isolated Anglo-Saxon churches along the Tyne valley to the south of the Wall line. It is evident that only the great land owners and nobility could afford to build and endow new churches and to rebuild earlier structures. Monastic foundations were only possible because of large land grants by the Norman nobility. The gifts of churches was in accordance with the climate of opinion in the 12th century where landowners were urged to give up property for sacred uses (Todd 1991, I, 41). No documentary evidence has been located to date from the Norman period which specifically relates to permission to take Roman facing stones from the Wall but it must be inferred that such permission was granted to save on the cost of the construction. The only reference to the dismantling of a structure for its stone work is at Kirkandrews in the 18th century.

The period up to the end of the 13th century was mainly one of stability and consolidation and this is reflected in the fact that vicars' peles and other defensive towers were generally not being built until the main period of Border conflict beginning in the reign of Edward I.

FORTIFIED BUILDINGS

Although there was a period of disorder after the Norman conquest of the north, their authority was consolidated in the region and Northumbria saw an increase in economic development and colonisation. The small, but powerful and efficient, Norman military aristocracy were active in the foundation of new towns and settlements (Newton 1972, 88). Early Norman castles consisted of a wooden tower on a flat-topped mound or motte surrounded at its base by a ditch and at its summit by a palisade. The building of stone castles generally does not start until the reign of Henry II, whose stone keep at Newcastle replaced an earlier Norman work, although Carlisle castle was re-built in stone probably during the period when it was under the control of the Scottish king David I (Jackson 1990, 39). The transition to stone was a natural one as the wooden structures were vulnerable to fire and the palisades were easily breached or surmounted. Why were some of the buildings erected where they are? Was it because that was the best physical position in the landscape and the line of the Roman Wall also happened to be in the same place or was it because they were built as close as possible to the source material? It seems that both factors played a part in the decision of where to build castles and churches especially. Examples of this away from the Wall can be seen down the Eden valley where the Norman castles of Brougham, Brough-under-Stainmore and Bowes castles were built within or adjacent to the remains of the Roman forts, as well as at Bewcastle, north of the Wall. Papcastle, reputedly of stone, just over 1km north-west of Cocker mouth was constructed within the Roman fort in the mid-12th century using the stones from the fort (Jackson 1990, 48). The Border castles not only served as centres for Norman feudal rule but they also played a major part in the struggle for power between England and Scotland. In this region military architecture ranges from the large castle to the tower-like stone house, peel tower and the bastle house as well as the vicar's peles, many of which were built along the line of the Roman Wall and have incorporated in their

fabric facing stones robbed from the structure. It was not until the Union of the Crowns in 1603 the any semblance of peace returned to the region leaving behind a Roman Wall heavily stripped of its stone work and much reduced in height. Although the 14th century was a century of almost permanent warfare, not only with the Scots but also between family clans along and across the border, and one that spawned much 'castle'-building (Ryder 1992a, 59), it is in the 11th century that major castle fortifications were first established. The construction of these buildings along the line of the Roman Wall much reduced the height of the monument as well as stripping it of much of its facing stones.

Symeon of Durham wrote that the New Castle was built by Robert, William the Conqueror's eldest son, in AD 1080 (Stevenson 1858, 152). Of the first Norman castle virtually nothing remains except a spread of clay with the lowest courses of a small rectangular stone building embedded in it (Grundy *et al* 1992, 436). It is likely that this first castle used either Wall or fort stone in its fabric and associated structures as it was built inside the confines of the former Roman fort. Some of the early stretches of the town wall contained Wall stone and it has been suggested that the Roman Wall was used as its northern boundary, and that a western wall was erected, mainly with stones from the Roman Wall which it joined somewhere in what is now Collingwood Street. Differences in stone work have been noted in the walls of Newcastle especially in the area from Newgate to the Ever tower (Brewis 1934, 2). The re-use of Roman stone in medieval town walls is also known from Carlisle where the author considers that it is to be seen in the surviving section of the city walls at the north-east end, adjacent to the castle although here it would appear that this stone work may also have come from the Cathedral when the west end of the nave was demolished after the civil war. Roman stonework with diamond broaching was recorded in West Tower Street when a section of the medieval city wall was excavated in 1974 (Charlesworth 1974, 211).

It has not been established yet whether the Roman stone seen in 1974 is part of the original Roman city walls or that the stone was robbed from elsewhere to build the Norman walls of the city, although it is considered (Perriam pers. comm) that this work is Roman and part of the Roman walls of the city.

In law, it has always been necessary to obtain the king's permission to build a castle but until the reign of Henry II (1154-89) little was done to enforce the law, but from c.AD 1200 those who wished to build a castle or to fortify an existing structure needed to obtain from the king a licence to crenellate (Jackson 1990, 16). Nafferton Castle, referred to as Lonkin's Hall, south of turret 16a and adjacent to the A69 where it crosses the Whittle Burn, was built c.AD 1218 without a licence and was demolished on the king's orders in AD 1221. Excavations indicate that a square tower at the south end of the site was late medieval. There were other stone structures of a later date than the early rampart but it seems the original builder, Philip of Olecotes, had set up some sort of walling, the stone of which may have come from the Roman Wall situated about 1km to the north. In 1809 masonry from the castle was used to build a bridge across the Whittle Dean (Jackson 1992, 94). Much of the tower was still standing in the early 20th century but little is visible today (Rowland 1987, 84).

Halton castle or Halton tower, lies half a mile to the south of Halton Chesters Roman fort. Although referred to as a castle it appears to fall into the category of a stone hall but has been included in the section on castles. The building contains large amounts of Roman masonry including RIB 1425 and 1436 as well as CSIR 260 and 261. A stone house appears from architectural evidence (Grundy *et al* 1992, 298) to have been built c.AD 1300, perhaps to replace an earlier house burnt by Scottish raids c.AD 1299, as there was a capital message at Halton in 1287 with two paddocks and a garden enclosed with a wall (Jackson 1992, 71). A stone tower, built of Roman stones, was added in the late 14th or early 15th century and the

first unequivocal reference to the tower of Halton is in 1415 (Borne 1978, 136). The construction phases of this castle suggest that stone from the Wall and fort was being robbed before AD 1287 and later on between AD 1390 and AD 1407.

Haughton castle, above the south bank of the North Tyne and upstream from Chesters, was in its original form a 13th century hall house (Grundy *et al* 1992, 307) and it is suggested (Rowland 1987, 44) that the building contains Roman stone. Some Roman material may well have been brought upstream by boat from the Roman fort to the site.

Within Hexham is the gaol erected in AD 1330 as the first purpose built prison in England which has used Roman stone in its fabric.

Adjacent to Corbridge church is the Vicar's Pele (fig. 29), a fortified tower house and by far the best preserved of its type dating from as late as the mid 14th century (Grundy *et al* 1992, 237). It is built of large sandstone blocks presumably taken from major Roman buildings as their size is larger than the normal facing stones associated with the Curtain Wall or the standard military buildings such as barrack blocks found in forts. Many of its stones show Roman cramp holes (Long 1967, 87).

Slightly north of Sewingshields Crag is the site of Sewingshields castle (fig. 11), which was probably a tower, first mentioned in 1415 but abandoned by 1541 (Grundy *et al* 1992, 566). This castle was certainly built of Wall stone, the walls of which were recorded as standing 5 feet high in 1807, and the last vestiges of the tower, a vaulted chamber were removed by the tenant farmer in the mid 19th century (Bruce 1867, 109).

Although Blenkinsopp is first mentioned in AD 1177 (Mawer 1920, 26), the first reference to a fortified building is in AD 1339 when Thomas de Blencansopp is granted a licence to crenellate his manor house. It may well be that an earlier stone building was erected on or near the site for which no archaeological or

documentary evidence remains. If so it may well have been a tower. In the list of Border Towers during the reign of Henry V it is regarded as a castle (Rowland 1991a, 68). Stones from the Roman Wall were extensively used in its construction and a number of Roman inscriptions have been found in the fabric including RIB 1818, 1837 and two tombstones 1828 and 1830. The castle seems to have consisted of a central tower or keep which was tightly enclosed by a tall curtain wall. The east wall of the original tower survives and some of the curtain at the north west corner, incorporated in the present house (Grundy *et al* 1992, 192).

Standing just north of the Roman Wall on the Tippalt Burn is Thirlwall castle (fig. 39) of early 14th century date (Grundy *et al* 1992, 583), although the place is mentioned in 1256. It is built almost entirely of Wall stone. The plan is more akin to the hall-house type of structure as seen at Haughton, consisting of a three storey block with walls 9 feet thick. In 1369 it appears as 'the castrum de Thirlwall'. The term 'Thirlwall' was used for the Wall itself and the family at the castle (Rowland 1987, 46). A visitor to the castle c 1813 wrote that it was "sadly ruined and the great part of it has of late years been applied to building cottages" (Jackson 1992, 117).

Cumberland, after the annexation of the area by William 11 in AD 1092, was parcelled out to eminent Norman lords who took on the process of political consolidation by building castles. Initially, in most cases, they were wooden structures which were later replaced in stone. Baronies at Burgh-by-Sands and Gilsland formed a defensive line along the line of the frontier, within which lay the remains of the Roman Wall. At Bewcastle and Brough the existing Roman fortifications were used just as William I had done at Pevensey while Beaumont is built over a Roman milecastle (Jackson 1990, 11). Other castles probably erected at this time included Aspatria, Burgh-by-Sands and Maryport.

Carlisle Castle Keep and city walls were begun to be re-built in stone in AD 1122

after a visit by Henry I. As the Roman Wall lay only a few metres to the north of the Castle and the fort of Stanwix (*Petriana*) was close at hand on the opposite bank of the Eden river, they were suitable sources for ready cut stone, although it has been argued that officials directing the work on the castle probably did not have to rely on such supplies of ready cut stone from the Roman Wall or Roman buildings still standing in the town (McCarthy 1990, 120). A Roman altar was found in 1987 re-used as a lintel of the door into the solar of de Ireby's medieval Tower (Hassall 1989, 331 no 5). While it is accepted that much of the stone would have been freshly quarried, it is argued here that any easily available Wall stone would have been utilised in the first instance in the construction of the stone castle as the Wall has been robbed almost to the footing course in the vicinity of the castle. Visible from Birdoswald and built north of the Roman Wall is Triermain castle (fig. 40), the only surviving portion of which is the south-east angle of the gatehouse (Jackson 1990, 90). Roland de Vaux was given a licence to crenellate his dwellings in AD 1340 although the castle may have been built before this time. The remains of the castle show that it was built from Roman Wall stone including two inscriptions RIB 1943, 1944. One of the surviving towers was removed c. 1688, and in 1832 a greater part of what remained collapsed, the materials being used in adjacent farm buildings (Jackson 1990, 90); another example of the secondary re-use of Wall stone.

Although referred to as castles; Scaleby, Drawdykes, Linstock and Drumburgh are more in the tradition of pele towers in their early life but will be placed here so as to avoid confusion.

Scaleby castle (fig. 41) is situated 1km north of the Roman Wall opposite milecastle 61. Richard de Tilliol acquired the manor between AD 1100-1135 but no mention of any sort of dwelling is mentioned until AD 1246 when 'a capital messuage with houses' was recorded. A licence to crenellate his house was granted to Robert de

Tilliol in AD 1307 and it was then that the pele or tower house was built with much of the lower masonry of the castle also dating from this period, although it was not called a 'castle' until AD 1367 (Jackson 1990, 86). A Roman inscription RIB 1872 was found here in 1694.

Drawdykes castle, opposite milecastle 64, is actually an enlarged pele tower and almost certainly built of Roman worked stone. Although little of its early history is known it is thought to have been built towards the end of the reign of Edward I at the beginning of the 14th century (Hugill 1977, 83). Hutchinson noted (1794, II, 581) "There was formerly a very old castle at Drawdykes, situate where the present mansion now stands ... the greatest part of which was taken down in the last century and rebuilt in its present form The remaining part of the castle was taken down about 30 years ago, when the present farmhouse was built".

Linstock castle (fig. 48), like Drawdykes, is not a castle in the usual sense of the word but a pele tower that has been enlarged by the addition of other buildings (Hugill 1977, 122). Built mainly of Wall stone it lies c. 1/2km south of the Wall near milecastle 64. Excavations between milecastles 63 and 64 showed that all traces of the Wall had been removed by earlier quarrying (Frere 1990, 316 no 10). The bishops of Carlisle acquired the manor c. AD 1219-23 and by AD 1230 had erected a dwelling, large enough to accommodate the Archbishop of York in AD 1294 and Edward I and his retinue in AD 1307. The 14th century red sandstone, two storey tower-house incorporating some earlier work was re-built and modernised c. 1768. It was sold by the Church Commissioners in 1863 and is now a private residence.

Burgh-by-Sands 'castle' is a late 12th century manor-house built with Roman stone and lying over the filling of the Wall ditch. Archaeological and documentary evidence shows that it was not a castle built as an integral part of the Border defence but a fortified manor-house designed for the protection of the lord of the

manor and his family (Hogg 1954, 108). The earliest buildings were timber which were replaced in the late 12th century by masonry buildings and a curtain wall presumably of Roman Wall stone. Most of the buildings were demolished in the mid 13th century and replaced by a fortified manor-house with a circular tower (fig. 18). The dying king Edward I was taken herein AD 1307. It is also interesting to note that the monument erected to Edward I on Burgh marsh by the Duke of Norfolk in 1685 contained Roman Wall stones, some with inscriptions on them (Hodgson 1840, II, iii, 301). The monument was built in place of the cairn that had marked the spot (Bosanquet 1929, 157) which definitely suggests that the original memorial erected at the beginning of the 14th century was built of stone taken from the Roman Wall as there are no stone quarry beds in the vicinity. Archaeological excavations of the castle in 1950 showed that not a great deal of first course masonry survived, but the little which did consisted for the most part of re-used ashlar from the Roman Wall. Apparently the medieval builders made the fullest use of the Roman Wall as their main source of dressed stone, and introduced material from a second source only when carved units were required which were too large to be cut from the stone provided by the Wall (Hogg 1954, 109). The Wall, exposed to the west of the castle excavation, had been robbed of stone down to the flag foundation level. The footings of the tower were faced on both sides by re-used Roman stones. Both house and tower appear to have been destroyed by the Scots, as it was described in 1362 as "a ruin worth nothing" (Jackson 1990, 37). Any remaining stones would have been utilised in nearby farm buildings and field walls. The ruins were visible until at least 1610, possibly until 1620, when 'Old Castle' was a field name here (Jackson 1990, 37). When the castle was destroyed, the great pele tower of the parish church seems to have become the local stronghold (Graham 1911, 244). It may possibly be argued that some of the stones from the manor house were again re-used to help build the church tower at Burgh which is of mid 14th century date.

Robert le Brun was given a licence to crenellate a dwelling at Drumburgh in AD 1307 which was the origin of Drumburgh castle (fig. 47). This may have been the 14th century pele which stood in the vicinity of the fort (Hogg 1953, 216). The ground floor of the present building incorporates part of a possible early 13th century hall, with windows and an elaborate door, all blocked (Jackson 1990, 54). Remains of a ditch to the north may be part of the 13th century defences. This early tower was in a ruined state by AD 1485 and was rebuilt by Lord Dacre early in the 16th century. It was noted by John Leyland c. 1538 that "the Lord Daker's father built upon old ruins a pretty pile for the defence of the country. The stones of the Pict Wall were pulled down to build Drumburgh for the wall is very near it" (Birley. E 1961, 1). The end wall of the house is the fine, if badly preserved, wall of the castle built of Roman stone (Pevsner 1988, 74). It was restored in 1678, with the use of more Roman worked stone (Hugill 1977, 85). The Roman fort of is immediately north of the castle and was certainly a source for much of the stone work. The remains of a 14-15th century medieval house have been located within the fort (Haverfield 1900-1, 84).

Benwell tower has already been referred but south of here at Newburn on the banks of the Tyne was another tower of 15th century date (Rowland 1987, 82) which may have been built either wholly or partly with Roman stone from the Wall or the fort at Benwell as a Roman building stone was found in 1887 built into the pele tower: RIB 2077.

Immediately adjacent to the Roman fort of Rudchester is Rudchester farm and manor (fig 6), where are the remains of a medieval tower with walls c. 1.5m thick. Although the present buildings are of Georgian date two Roman inscriptions, RIB 1400 and 1404 have been located within the fabric which indicate that stone robbing has been carried out on the site for building material and that the medieval tower incorporates much Roman stone. A domestic chapel, possibly of

medieval date, was pulled down in the late 18th century after being used as a cowhouse (Bosanquet 1929, 143, note 22). This building also must have used any suitable stone from the vicinity of the Wall and fort. The site is first mentioned in AD 1250 (Mawer 1920, 170) and it was possibly soon after this that the first tower was built. Rudchester Tower was the seat and manor of Robert de Rouchester during the first year of the reign of Edward I (Wallis 1769, 168).

A possible tower is noted at Harlow Hill where Alexander Gordon noted in Itinerarium Septentrionale that he met another watch tower the east wall of which was still standing, situated between the two walls, ie between the Wall of Hadrian and the Wall of Severus (Gordon 1726/7, 72). As no tower is recorded here in the Survey by Bowes and Elleker 1541 perhaps he is referring to the remains of a house or tower which was of no significance in terms of Border defence or he may have mis-interpreted the site of milecastle 16 for a tower. If his reference is to the milecastle it shows that at least one side of it was still standing in the early 18th century.

South of the Wall and opposite milecastle 17 is Welton Hall, a ruined 15th century tower constructed out of Wall stone. The tower was added to an already existing 13th or early 14th century house (Grundy *et al* 1992, 344). Welton was originally a member of the barony of Prudoe and was granted to the Priory of Tynemouth before 1189 (Fraser 1968, 256). Associated with the tower is the now deserted medieval village where eight taxpayers were recorded in AD 1296 (Grundy *et al* 1992, 344).

The Roman road, Dere Street, passed through Corbridge and crossed the Wall at Portgate, the gateway of which was located in 1966, on its way into Scotland. The earliest reference to buildings here is c. AD 1290 regarding a quitclaim by Nicholas son of Thomas de Redeley to William de Eachwyk, of tenements in Porteyatte and Quittington (Olivier 1929, 24). It is uncertain if any of these tenements were of

stone. However in 1708 Robert Smith noted that here "there is a square old tower still standing, now converted into a dwelling house" (Gibson 1772, 1054). The same tower was seen at the beginning of the 19th century by the Rev. J. Skinner as he recorded that "here had been a square tower like that at Halton, Welton and Rowchester (Rudchester) but it now forms the centre of an outhouse to the farm" (Skinner 1801, 34). If the tower referred to above is medieval, a date in the late 13th or early 14th century would be appropriate.

Although little is known of the supposed tower of Walwick, Gough's edition of Camden's Britannia mentions the remains of a "considerable tower" (Long 1967, 166).

The remains of a ruined pele tower (fig. 23) were found abutting the inner face of the Roman Wall, east of turret 39b, on Peel Crag in the early 20th century (Simpson 1976, 109). Initially thought to be a Roman turret, as it was built of Roman stone and was of a similar plan and size, pottery found during excavation proved it to be of medieval date. The nearby redundant farm building of Pele must be named after the tower and possibly used some of the stone from the ruined tower as well as from the Wall. This tower would have been of 14th century date and perhaps was still used as a watch tower in 1552 when a nightly watch was ordered in the area of Thorngrafton and the Bradley Beacons along the line of the Roman Wall from Sewingshield Crag along to the Haltwhistle Burn (Hodgson 1840, II, iii, 328). There is a distinct possibility that similar towers may have been built adjacent to the Wall but have been entirely robbed away in the 18th-19th centuries for later farm and domestic buildings.

Walltown tower lay close to the south side of the Wall near to the present farm of the same name. Walltown was a part of the manor of Henshaw in the liberty of Tynedale and is mentioned in 1279. Although there is only a single farm holding

here now, the Hearth Tax returns for 1666 indicated that 15 houses were in the township at that date which lay on the south slope nearby (Wrathmell 1975). 'John Rydley of the Walltowne' was resident in the tower in 1542 which was still visible in the early 18th century and the foundations were seen by MacLaughlan in 1858. On the door lintel is the date 1713 and part of the present farm has been built out of Roman stone which has come from the old tower of Walltown at a time before 1758 as George Marshall is recorded as employing part of the stone from the tower in enlarging the family mansion house (Hodgson 1840, II, iii, 324).

A now demolished pele tower which stood at the site of the present farmhouse of Willowford was finally pulled down in 1836 (Bidwell 1989, 98). The tower was certainly built of Roman stone as are parts of the present farm buildings of Willowford. Although no date can be assigned to the tower it should fall safely within the normal construction period of the 14th century. A number of Roman inscriptions have been found at Willowford Farm including RIB 1862, 1863, 1864, 1865 and 1866 all of which were found in 1732 at the Willowford farmhouse (Collingwood, R 1965, 574) indicating that there was an earlier building here, also built of Wall stone, before the present 1836 construction. When the antiquarian Reginald Bainbrigg passed through 'Welofoford' in 1599 (Haverfield 1911, 366) he would have seen the tower although he did not note its presence. A number of stones from the bridge at Willowford, some with lewis holes in them, were broken up and used in the building of the present farm (Jenkinson 1895, 199).

On the north-east corner of Upper Denton church yard stands the ruins of the vicar's pele built of Wall stone, and probably of 14th century date.

Irthington, c.500m south of the Wall, was situated within the Barony of Gilsland which Hubert de Vallibus obtained, formerly in the tenure of Gilles Bueth, from Henry II c. AD 1157 (Graham 1912, 181). That Irthington was the *Caput Baronae* is known from the Chronicle of Lanercost which mentions a Court Baron being held

there in AD 1280 (Ferguson, R. S. 1879-80, 484). A wooden motte is situated immediately east of the church, later to be replaced in stone probably before the mid 12th century. The farm adjacent to the motte reputedly stands on the site of a masonry building, 96ft x 75ft with a tower at the south angle and perhaps at the others also. The middle of the castle was about 50 yards from the mound and about 10 yards clear of the ditch which surrounded that elevation (Jackson 1990, 63). This castle, apparently stone built and probably taken from the Wall and associated milecastles 58 and 59, was likely to have been built by AD 1195. In AD 1317 the site was abandoned in favour of Naworth and it is said that this new site was enlarged and improved out of the ruins of the castles of Irthington and Kirkoswald (Jackson 1990, 63) although there is now no evidence of any surviving Roman stone built in the fabric of Naworth castle.

Bastles or fortified farmhouses were mainly built in the later 16th and early 17th century as a defence against border raiding and local unrest. The vast majority are rectangular buildings or about 10m x 5.5m with a ground floor byre below first floor accommodation. The upper door is usually in the side wall, and was originally gained by a removable ladder, often replaced by a stone external stair (Ryder 1992a, 65). About 200 bastle houses survive today throughout Northumberland and Cumberland; several of which were built close to the Wall and were constructed from robbed Roman stone.

On the east side of the south gate of Housesteads fort are the main walls of a bastle house (fig. 20) which has been built out of Roman stone from the fort and has included within its framework the guard chamber of the gateway (Whitworth 1990, 127). A later corn drying kiln had been inserted in the north end of the building when the building had gone out of use, again using the available Roman stone. A second possible bastle house has been identified in the south-east angle of the fort (Crow and Rushworth 1994, 9).

Bradley Hall is first recorded in 1279 and was obviously a place of importance as Edward 1 and his court halted here in AD 1306 and the place was referred to as "Braadeleye in Marchia Scotiae". The shell of the building may be that of Nicholas Carrow referred to in the 1541 survey; "at Braydley ys a stone house of the inherytance of Nycolas Carrow & lyeth waste & unplenysshed" (Long 1967, 39). A recent survey (Ryder 1992b, 8) shows massive quoin stones of Roman origin were used in the construction which must have come from one of the turret or milecastle gateways on the Wall. Although it is considered to be of a different class of building to the bastles in the area it has been included in this section as it does not appear to have been a tower or referred to as a castle.

On the south bank of the South Tyne river at Bellister, opposite Haltwhistle, is a bastle house which was recorded in the 1541 survey and is reputedly built out of Roman stone (Rowland 1987, 48). There also appear to be ruins of an earlier 13th century fortified hall house on the site (Grundy *et al* 1992, 166). Bellister lies c.2km south of the Wall and on the south bank of the South Tyne river. It may well be that any Roman stone was transported down from the Wall but the distance may also suggest that a Roman building once stood in the vicinity of the present castle.

Adjacent to Nether Denton church in Cumbria, but no longer visible, is the site of the ruined Old Vicarage which was a bastle house (Pevsner 1988, 121) and presumably must have used stone from the remains of the Roman fort.

In Cumbria there are only three surviving bastles that have been identified as having been built of Wall stone although no doubt there must have been more which have now been demolished and the stone re-used in other buildings or on field walls.

Beside the Roman Wall, west of milecastle-60 was the site of the tower of Bleatarn, known to have been the residence of the Hetherington family, a family returned as 'gentry' in the reign of Henry VI (Curwen 1913, 410) although Bleatarn was first

mentioned as early as c. AD 1240. This mid 15th century construction was called a stonehouse and could well have replaced an earlier stone building. A building stone RIB 2021 was found close by c. 1599 by Reginald Bainbrigg who recorded that "this stone was laitellie digged up and put in a house newlie buylded" (Haverfield 1911, 364). A bastle type house of late 16th-early 17th century date forms part of the farm of Bleatarn Park. This is perhaps the "Highstone house at Bletarne" referred to in Lord Howard's survey of 1603 and certainly has re-used Roman material in its fabric. It seems likely that there have been at least three stone buildings on or near the site which have either robbed the Wall for stones or have been built out of recycled stone from earlier buildings.

The other two bastles are situated on the Solway coast at Brackenrigg and Glasson between Wall miles 77 and 79 (Perriam 1988, 198).

Brackenrigg (fig. 45) was first mentioned in 1847 as "an old house that had been a place of defence" (Mannix 1847, 180) and is situated 1km south of the Wall. The building is basically unaltered and is now used as a barn.

Barracks House at Glasson was identified in 1833 by Hodgson in a tour along the Wall where he noted that "Mr Borrodaile, the oldest and ablest antiquary of the village, told us that the bastle house, at its entrance from the canal, was 1700 years old, and a veritable building of the Romans" (Hodgson 1840, II, iii, 302). The use of Roman stone in the construction of the bastle would give the impression that it was of an early date. That sufficient stone was still available to build such a house suggests an early or mid-16th century date, because by 1599 Camden and Bainbrigg reported that little of the Wall remained in the area (Perriam 1988, 199). The building has been renovated and is now occupied as a private residence.

From the mid-12th century the initial wooden castles of motte and bailey form were being re-built in stone, much of which can be seen to have been taken from the Roman Wall and associated structures.

This re-building can be seen in the light of Norman consolidation of the region

against an emerging growth of Scottish power in the border region.

The period from c. AD 1300 to 1650 was one of extreme insecurity in Cumberland and Northumberland and this is accurately reflected in the types of buildings being erected: strong, defended and built of stone many of which have survived in whole or in part to the present day. Political and national ambitions on both sides of the border set in train a rapid programme in erecting buildings of stone and as a consequence the fabric and core of the Roman Wall was quickly utilised as a source of ready quarried stone. Castles formed the front line defence of the English Crown in the north with local magnates and wealthy landowners building stone towers (peles). Bastles were erected by locals who could afford to do so to protect their livestock and supplies. The Wall was considerably reduced in height by this onslaught.

With the unification of the Crown on 1603 the troubled period slowly came to an end over the next fifty years and with it came peace, a new hope and new buildings.

DOMESTIC BUILDINGS

Along the line of the Roman Wall are scattered numerous small buildings many of which are or were farm houses or domestic dwellings which have built within some part of their fabric, remains from Roman structures which stand close by. Many of these date from the 18th-19th century when there was an increase in economic prosperity mainly due to the new agrarian advances taking place in the region. There is also archaeological and documentary evidence of earlier buildings and hamlets which are no longer visible but which also had an impact on the Wall. A number of domestic buildings were erected within the confines of a fort or milecastle, from the medieval period to the 18th-19th century, some of which still stand and are occupied to the present day.

The main sources of evidence for these domestic buildings ranges from

archaeological excavations and surveys within the Roman structures and along the line of the Wall, to plans, notes maps and observations made by antiquarians and Wall travellers and finally the physical evidence of the present structures. The combined effect of this mass of evidence can show that many small abodes have been built of Roman stone in the past and that from the medieval period local tenant farmers and small landowners were utilising the Wall fabric to construct humble, and not so humble, living quarters.

The earliest buildings built of Wall stone which would come loosely under the heading of domestic or farming buildings are 'shielings' which are associated with the pastoral practices of the region. The name 'shiels' is of Norse origin regarding grazing ground or summer pasture, and a shieling is a temporary building or hut used by a shepherd when transhumance was the common seasonal practice of moving animal flocks from winter grazing to summer pastures. The summer pastures were known as shielding grounds, and the custom was called summering or shielding. This practice was common in the area from the 14th century and earlier and survived in a few areas into the 16th and 17th centuries. In Europe it survives in upland areas where the summer pastures are inaccessible or unusable in winter (Ramm 1970, 1). A number of grants of the 12th and 13th centuries which specifically include the right to build shielings imply a demand for summer pasture, perhaps as a result of the expansion of permanent settlement and arable lands over areas suited to it (Ramm 1970, 3). The huts were usually stone built, comprising two small rooms, roofed with turf (Wright 1989, 58). Although they vary in length, the preponderant dimensions are from 20ft to 32ft (6m- 9.75m) long by 10ft to 16ft (3m-4.87m) in width (Ramm 1970, 9). During archaeological excavations along parts of the Roman Wall several of these building types have been identified. In the early-mid 1980s excavations at milecastle 39, Castle Nick, noted a number of small stone structures on and around the adjacent hillock *Mons Fabricius* (fig.

19). One such building was excavated in 1982-3. With internal measurements of 8.4m x 2.44m and with a stone annexe at the west end, it was partly built of sandstone rubble from the Roman Wall. The north wall of the shieling was built into the collapsed rubble of the Wall and the pottery associated with the building was of 14th-16th century date. The excavator considers that these buildings may be related to Bradely Hall attested in 1326 (Youngs, 1983, 200). Two levels of hearths found in the building gave paleomagnetic dates of the late 15th-early 16th century showing there were several phases of occupation on the site (Youngs, 1984, 234). Several similar buildings were located during the excavation along with small quantities of 15-16th century pottery including traces of medieval buildings south of the milecastle which suggested that there was a much denser occupation than that surface indications showed (Youngs 1986, 160).

Shielings are also recorded north of the Wall at Housesteads, along Greenlee Lough (Ramm 1970, 22). Although they do not appear to be built of Wall stone it does indicate that the practice of shielding was common along the line of the Wall and that further excavations may provide more examples of these types of buildings erected alongside or close by the Roman Wall. Shielings have been identified at Housesteads, east of the amphitheatre and another possible example uncovered during the excavation of barrack 14 within the fort (Crow and Rushworth 1994, 17). The location of now vanished shielings are preserved in some of the place-names in the Wall area such as Winshields, Sewingshields, Highshield and Shield on the Wall.

Numerous examples exist of farmsteads built not only adjacent to the Wall but also within the confines of forts and milecastles (figs. 12-17). Some of these have been located during archaeological excavations while others can be seen in drawings, sketches and maps as well as estate surveys of the 16th century onwards. Deeds, charters and correspondence are also a source of valuable information.

At Halton Chesters a small half ruined hut stood within the area of the fort (Bruce 1851, 159) which was identified in a recent survey (Blood 1990, 59). It was a rectangular building 8.4m long by 4.6m wide and is likely to be the remains of a farm house. No extensive excavations have been carried out on the site but it is highly probable that more medieval structures within the fort would be located as the site was a ready source of cut stone as nearby Halton castle testifies. In the 13th century the manor and lordship of Halton was held in thegnage tenure by the family of Halton and an Inquest Post Mortem of AD 1287 recorded a capital messuage, 10 bondages each containing 30 acres of arable land and a cottage (Craster 1914, 386). A garden enclosed by a wall is known to have been here in AD 128 (Jackson 1992, 71).

The name *House steads* is first recorded in the 16th century when it was held by Nicholas Crane of Bradley Hall (Crow 1989, 50) and reflects the fact that at this stage there was a building within the confines of the fort. A sketch by Stukeley in 1725 of Housesteads (Birley E. 1961, 184) shows a farm house built in the western half of the fort (fig. 16), probably on the site of the granaries and is associated with a kiln built into west end of the south granary. Another farm outside the south wall of the fort is illustrated in The Wallet Book to the Roman Wall (Bruce 1863, 126). This was removed by 1875 and a shepherd's house erected near the site (Jenkinson 1875, 204) while another farm is recorded down in the valley (Hutton 1813). There is also the bastle house at the south gate, incorporated in the east guard chamber which has also been used as a corn drying kiln (Whitworth 1990, 127). Another such kiln is to be seen built within the south granary. Also, on the inner side of the south gate, there is a building lying east-west across the gate entrance and assumed to be of medieval date (Crow 1989, 6) although it is also argued that the building, indicated on the plan of the site as a long house, is of 19th century build, erected after the excavations of Hodgson

in the 1830s (Birley E. 1937-8, 193). A reference to a building which had stood close to the south gate (Jenkinson 1875, 204) appears to back up this claim but it is more likely that Jenkinson saw the foundations of the Roman civil buildings outside the south gate entrance as these were visible in the mid 19th century and Bruce would have mentioned if a farm house was in this position in 1863 (Bruce 1863, 125). This longhouse building is possibly of 16-17th century date but also perhaps of 13th century construction (Crow and Rushworth 1994, 9). The present building used as an education centre is built of Roman stone taken from the station. It is apparent that a number of buildings have been erected in or close to the fort and as a result many of the Roman buildings within the fort have been severely robbed of their stonework. It is of note that much of the stone work in the fort walls remains indicating that they were not heavily robbed and had perhaps served a defensive function especially in the medieval period. A total of 6 farmhouses predating the current one have been identified at Housesteads (Crow and Rushworth 1994, 8).

Archaeological excavations and artefactual evidence at Vindolanda show that there was medieval occupation on the site and that ploughing was taking place within the fort. Pottery sherds and a coin of Henry II indicate that this activity was taking place in at least the 12th-14th centuries, and perhaps even earlier, and that a building, south of the north gate of the fort built of large roughly-worked blocks, was associated with this occupation (Bidwell 1985, 76). Agricultural ploughing was not carried out on the site after the beginning of the 18th century and no post-Medieval pottery was found during the excavations although there were a number of small holdings in the vicinity of the fort (Bidwell 1985, 76). This lack of post-Medieval material is somewhat surprising given that there are a number of buildings in the vicinity of the fort some of which date to the late medieval period or earlier and others which were known in the 20th century.

Codley Gate Farm has deeds as far back as the 16th century (Birley R. pers. comm.) which indicates there was a building here earlier than the present farm. A rectangular croft, called Smiths Chesters farm house, is indicated about 25m from the North-west angle of the fort (Bruce 1851, 239), probably the dwelling in which RIB 1691 was found in, or before 1757 (Hodgson 1840, 199), while to the west of the fort, on the Stanegate, was a building called Archies Flat which contained some Roman stone and is perhaps the cottage referred to by Brand in 1783 regarding a Roman stone seen in its western gable-end: RIB 1722. This inscription may also have come from a cottage or farm close by, now called Causeway House but referred to in 1757 as Causey (Raine 1885, III, 139). A building, built close to the Roman water well on the west side of the fort and close to the present admissions building, was inhabited until just before the First World War (Birley R. pers. com). Called Well-house it may have been the location of RIB 1691 and 1700 which were recorded as being built into a house about 120 yards from the west side of the fort. The present building of Chesterholm cottage was erected in 1831-2 by Mr A. Hedley out of squared Roman stone obtained from the fort wall tumble (Hodgson 1840, 333) and which were re-dressed to give a new face. The small foot bridge erected over the Chainley Burn between the fort and the Museum during 1976-79 was built out of fort wall tumble collected by Mr R. Birley in the course of excavation (Birley R. pers. comm.). The replica of the stone turret at Vindolanda was constructed from facing stones which had fallen from the Wall at Walltown Craggs while that section of Wall was being consolidated by the Department of the Environment stone masons (Birley R. pers. comm.). Low Foggerish (Low Foggrigg) 0.5km south of the fort contained a votive relief in a wall of the farm house which was seen in 1832 (C.S.I.R 108) and no doubt facing stones from the fort would have been incorporated into the fabric.

Recent excavations at Birdoswald show conclusively that occupation continued

there throughout the medieval period (Frere 1988, 436 no 9, b) and an earth work noted in the south-west angle of the fort may be associated with a long vanished farm possibly incorporating the south-west angle tower (Wilmott, forthcoming). This building may be associated with known medieval occupation on the site, as indicated on the 1603 Naworth estate map or perhaps even relating to the earliest named occupant of the post-Roman period, one Walter Bayvin or Baynin who c. 1200 gave 20 acres of land to the monks of Wetheral (Graham 1922, 25). The archaeological evidence from the fort shows that it was the lower parts of the standing walls that were being robbed, the same technique as was being used at Bewcastle (Wilmott, forthcoming). The present farmhouse (fig. 50) embodies a bastle or peel house, dated architecturally to the later 16th century, which was added to in the mid-18th and mid-19th century. This ended a structural sequence in the north-west angle of the former Roman fort which dates back to at least the late 13th century. A building whose surfaces included pottery of this date runs beneath the Gothic tower of the house. This building was succeeded, probably in the 14-15th century, by a new building which incorporated part of the west gate and the west curtain wall. The present farmhouse was the probable successor to that building. The south wall of the south granary had been used in the last century as a garden retaining wall and ha-ha. This wall was extended westwards, replicating the Roman wall course for course, using stone robbed from the northern wall of the same building (Daniels 1989, 35).

During the reign of Edward I, Robert, lord of Walton had a toft and croft called Chesterhouses, probably Great Chesters (Hodgson 1840, II, iii, 323). Although no visible medieval buildings remain on the site, the fact that there is an 18th century farm built within the fort (fig. 17) may suggest that there were earlier buildings here of a farming or domestic nature.

The same situation was also occurring in the remains of milecastles as can be seen

at a number sites.

In 1813 W. Hutton mentioned that a farm stood exactly upon the Roman Wall adjacent to the fort of Carrawburgh which may be the one shown on the Military Road map of 1749, just east of the fort and now demolished. Horsley's map of 1732, no. 6. (fig. 68) shows two farm houses slightly east of the fort in the area where milecastle 31 would be expected to be situated. It is assumed here that the buildings shown on the maps are not the present farm of Carrawburgh which appears to have been placed too far west from its correct position.

Recent excavation and documentary research of Sewingshields milecastle 35 (fig. 10) shows that it was re-occupied in the medieval period and a number of buildings erected inside utilising the available Roman stone robbed from the milecastle itself (Savage 1984, 38). The 'shields' element of the name indicates that it was initially seasonally occupied during the summer months perhaps as early as the 11th century (Savage 1984, 53) although it is not until 1279 that it is first mentioned in a surviving document (Bain 1887, II, 168-9) relating to a charge of cattle stealing that states "They had taken them to their home (domum) at Sewingshields" which shows that by this period the milecastle was providing building material for new occupants. At this date also the estate had a field attached to it called the Wall Field (Savage 1984, 53). The medieval pottery seems to confirm that the site was initially occupied during the 13th century and also confirm that it was abandoned by the early 15th century having had at least three building phases constructed in the milecastle.

Excavations at milecastle 39, Castle Nick, proved that the building on the internal west side of the site (fig. 14) was an 18th century milking house (Frere 1986, 378) while other post-Roman structures found in the north-east of the site were of similar construction and size to the other medieval shielings around castle Nick (Youngs 1986, 160).

A painting by H. B. Richardson, who was J. C. Bruce's artist along the Wall, shows

a farm house (fig. 51) situated on top of the Wall at a location referred to as Shield on the Wall. (This painting, no. 36, along with the others, is held in the Laing Art Gallery in Newcastle). The first edition of the Ordnance Survey map shows a farm called Shield on the Wall at a position close to the site of milecastle 41 (Melkridge), and the farm is marked on the map in the first edition of The Roman Wall (Bruce 1851, 257). During his survey of the Roman Wall Mac Lauchlan (1858, 44) says "arrive at Shield on the Wall, a small farm house which appears from traces about it, as well as comparative distances, to be the site of a milecastle". In 1851 Bruce (Bruce 1851, 244) refers to "a lonely cottage, upon an exposed part of the ridge, is called Shield on the Wall". Twelve years later in 1863 he refers to the same farm house "which is about to be removed" (Bruce 1863, 155). It is suggested here that the farm in the painting is built within the remains of milecastle 41. The present farm of Shield on the Wall is situated south of the Wall and on the east side of the modern road which crosses the Wall at Caw Gap.

In Cumbria a number of the milecastles have been excavated and evidence of later medieval buildings found within the walls as well as several milecastles which still have farms within their confines.

Overlooking the Irthing river at Harrow's Scar is milecastle 49 (fig. 14) within which are the remains of walls of a ruined farm house and enclosed yard of 17th century date (Richmond 1953, 212). This is the farm house mentioned in the 1603 Survey of the Barony of Gilsland, "Henry Tweddle a cottage and yarde at the easte ende of the former by the said Wall north: buttinge easte upon Irdinge" and indicated on the 1603 map at the boundary of the stone and turf Wall where the milecastle is now exposed and consolidated.

High House milecastle 50 is situated on the road between Birdoswald and Wall Bowers. Excavations in the early part of the 20th century revealed that a late medieval building had occupied the site; the finds ranging over a period from 1650

to 1750 including pottery, glass and clay tobacco pipes with the earliest vessel being a Bellarmine jug, first introduced into England during the reign of Elizabeth I (Simpson 1913, 312). The excavator considered that the stones from Appletree Turret 50b were used to build the house in the milecastle. The present High House farm lies several hundred metres south of the Wall and contains much Roman material including two inscriptions RIB 1936 and 1937. The next milecastle to the west, Wall Bowers 51, is shown on Horsley's map of 1732, no. 8 (fig. 70) and Haverfield says "a modern house had occupied the site, according to local tradition, about a hundred years ago" (Haverfield 1914, 190). This house appears then to have been built within the ruins of the milecastle between 1732 and 1800. At milecastle 52, (Bankshead), a late 18th-early 19th century farm house, largely built of Wall stone, is constructed over the remains of the site (fig. 12). The place is mentioned in 1346 and again in 1610 so it can be safely assumed that the present building is not the first to be erected here.

The farm house of Banks Burn was found to be wholly within the walls of milecastle 53 (fig. 13) when it was excavated in the early 1930s (Simpson 1933, 267). This farm house which had a thatched roof is now demolished. Horsley's map of 1732, no. 8 shows a dwelling called Harehill slightly north of the Wall ditch (fig. 70), and close to milecastle 53 which is also indicated. Horsley notes "A little west of the brook called Banks-burn, at a house called Hare-hill, is the highest part of the wall that is any where now to be met with; but the facing stones are removed. The foundations of the *castellum* may be discerned, tho' there has been a house within it, the end of which stood against the wall, and has probably been the occasion of its being preserved at such a height" (Horsley 1732, 153). Hodgson (1840, II, iii, 297) says "the castellum at Hare Hill had a dwelling house in it, the north wall of which was the murus; and, in 1729, still 9ft 6" high above ground. In 1833 we found its site a garden, and the bare core of the murus nearly 10 feet high". The

location of the milecastle was established by Simpson and was proved to be slightly east of the position previously believed. As previous observers believed this milecastle to have been situated nearer Hare Hill than Banks Burn, it was named Hare Hill in R.G. Collingwood's 'System of numerical references to Hadrian's Wall' (Simpson 1933, 267). It is clear that the surviving section of Wall face at Hare Hill was due to the fact that it had been utilised as the end wall of a medieval farmhouse.

At Cambeck, milecastle 57, the present farm covers the site and has been constructed partially out of Wall stone as have some of the out buildings (Charlesworth 1969, 346). Earlier buildings including a 12th century church may well have occupied the site as Gilbert, a priest of Camboc is mentioned about 1178 and a fragment of a church was still standing in 1777 (Graham 1922, 39).

Buildings within Roman structures are not confined to forts and milecastles as numerous turrets appear to have been used in the past to provide building materials for structures within them. Excavations at West Grindon turret 34a, produced green glazed pottery indicating that the turret was occupied when the nearby Sewingshields castle was inhabited by members of the Halton (1266), Ogle (1415) and the Heron families (Charlesworth 1973, 102). Adjacent walling appears to be for a garth or stockyard associated with the building in the turret. The building may well have been a shieling or small farm used in the summer period. The present day farm of Sewingshields covers the site of turret 34b and it is likely that the site was used in the medieval period for perhaps a shieling or small house as the turrets and milecastles close by were used for similar purposes. Great Chesters turret 42b was probably used as part of another building as the Military Road map of 1749 shows four buildings close to the site and Bruce in 1867 says "about midway between the water (Haltwhistle Burn) and the station of Aesica

are traces of a building about the size of the milecastles but unlike them, being partly within and partly without the Wall" (Bruce 1867, 232). These buildings are no longer visible. About half a mile to the west of Great Chesters fort is a small place, no longer visible, referred to by Hodgson as Ryeclose (Hodgson 1840, II, iii, 293). Three buildings are shown on the Military Road Map (Northumberland record office reference number ZAN MSM 5) and it is suggested here that these buildings cover the site of turret 43a. Excavation of the site may well show that it was used in the medieval period, with the stones being used in field walls when it finally fell out of use.

The present late 18th century farm at Holmhead close to the Tipalt Burn covers the site of turret 46a (Birley 1961, 75) and has built within it an inscription RIB 1844 as well a large amount of Roman material (fig. 33) while the adjacent buildings of Duffen Foot (fig. 34) also contain Roman stone, presumably from the ruins of Thirwall castle when it finally went out of use (Jackson 1992, 117). Turret 46b is below the modern farm of Wallend which must have replaced an earlier farm as the site is placed on the 1749 Military Road map. An inscription, RIB 1850, was found in the farm house in 1732.

Many of the other turrets along the Wall must have had a second life as small farm buildings in the medieval period to judge from the number that archaeological excavations and research have already indicated were re-used or robbed for buildings nearby.

Apart from the buildings mentioned above, there is much visible and documentary evidence for buildings erected outside the Roman structures but adjacent or close to the Wall. The section of Wall at Caw Gap, close to turret 41a, was painted by H.B. Richardson (Laing Art Gallery ref G 10344, painting no. 36) in the mid 19th century where he shows a ruined farmstead sitting alongside the Wall (fig. 52). This farm is shown on the map in The Roman Wall (Bruce 1851, 257) and he also refers to the

site as "a cattle shed formed out of a ruined cottage" (Bruce 1863, 156). The foundations of this demolished farm and its yard are still to be seen as outlines in the ground on the south side of the Wall a few yards west of where the road to Edges Green passes through Caw Gap.

Many of these are farm or domestic buildings although there are also some of an industrial nature which will be included here.

It will not be possible to mention every building or structure of this nature due to the number involved but it is worthwhile illustrating the fact that along the line of the Wall there is a wealth of evidence to show that Roman stone was used in abundance.

Two major sources of information are the Roman Inscriptions of Britain and the Corpus of Sculpture of the Roman World, Great Britain, vol 1, fascicules 1 and 6.

Both of these give the places in which Roman material has been found as well as the dates of discovery. Archaeological journals are a rich source of information as are maps such as Horsley 1732 (figs. 63-72), the Military Road Map of 1749, the various editions of the Ordnance Survey maps, and the notes and writings of antiquarian travellers and scholars.

In 1732 a number of inscribed Roman stones were found at Benwell built into houses including RIB 1342, 1344, 1345 and 1347. It is assumed here that these houses were also built wholly or partly of Roman stone robbed from the remains of buildings from within the fort or from the Wall itself. Seven inscriptions are recorded as coming from Walwick Grange east of Chesters fort and four have been located in the Sewingshields farm buildings. At Allolee farm, on the south side of the Wall close to Walltown, four inscriptions were noted in 1732 and the buildings themselves contain many facing stones from the Wall. The farm buildings at Carvoran contain at least nine inscribed stones as well as the normal facing blocks while Willowford farm has produced nine also. Many of the sites visited by the

author during the course of the research indicated that where inscribed blocks or Roman sculpture were found, there were also numerous facing stones built into the structure. An interesting insight into a possible reason that Roman sculpture and inscriptions are found in buildings and stone walls is provided by Robert Bell (1852) who records that "it was the custom of the superstitious on the line of the Wall, in our neighbourhood, either to pound the slabs or altars bearing inscriptions, into sand for their kitchens, or to place them in the foundations of houses, or stone walls, because they considered them unlucky; calling them witch stones, or stones of bad omen, and consequently took good care they should never again make their appearance".

A water colour drawing by Henry Richardson c. 1848 of Stott's House Farm, to the east of Newcastle, shows buildings on the north side of the Wall ditch apparently built of Wall stone. An inscribed stone RIB 1313 was found in the building in 1783, presumably the same farm as that shown in the painting. In the distance is Byker Hill Windmill, also on the line of the Wall and it is quite possible that this also was built, partly at least, of Wall stone. This windmill is shown on the 1732 map of Horsley, no. 2 (fig. 64) as is another windmill at Elswick on the west side of Newcastle. Many farms and small holdings have long since vanished but their presence may be discerned on the ground from survey work or by archaeological excavation.

Recent work by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England along the Wall corridor indicated the sites of several small farms adjacent to the Wall. At Cockmount Hill on the south side of the Wall and situated on top of the Military Way at NY 695668 are the stone footings of two buildings, possibly farm buildings, of medieval or post-medieval date (RCHME Hadrian's Wall Linear file, Site no 034) to the south of which are a series of five cultivation terraces with

evidence of narrow rig on some terraces (Site no. 033). These may well be associated with the farm buildings and would indicate that they are part of a permanent settlement. Cultivation terraces are noticed on the hillside to the west of Great Chesters fort and are medieval or later (Mee 1964, 101) and reflect the number of farms and cottages, many of which are no longer visible, which once stood along the line of the Wall. It is highly likely that similar buildings will be located along the line of the Wall in which the Royal Commission is working as the survey information is analysed. Cultivation terraces are visible in the vicinity of Housesteads fort, some of which are probably contemporary with the medieval farms erected within the fort (Crow and Rushworth 1994, 8-11).

A small building was discovered in 1905 on Burnhead Crag (fig. 24), before Cawfields quarry destroyed this section of Wall. Built of Wall stone, it was oblong in shape and contained two rooms, resting against the south face of the Roman Wall (Simpson 1976, 79). Although no dating evidence is available it is presumed that the building is a farmstead of the medieval or post-medieval period.

The now vanished farm of Steel Rigg was noted by Bruce (1851, 155) as being on the west side of the road that leads to Kielder, sheltered by a few trees. Twelve years later he describes it as deserted (Bruce 1863, 155). The farm is shown on the 1846 Tithe map of Melkridge (Northumberland Record Office. DT 316M). The farm must have been built close to, or even within, turret 39b which was located in 1911 on the west side of the same road. However the 1732 Horsley map, no. 7 (fig. 69) shows Steel Rigg on the north side of the Wall, east of Peel Farm, indicating that its position changed between the time Horsley passed this way and the journey of Bruce over a century later.

The site of many small farm buildings or hamlets which are no longer visible can be identified from a close scrutiny of maps, especially the one produced by Horsley and printed in the Britannia Romana of 1732 (figs. 63-72). Many of these

could have been of 17th century build or even much earlier, perhaps being rebuilt several times on the same site, and show dramatically the number of buildings that were erected along the Wall up until the mid 18th century. This aspect of maps will be dealt with more fully below.

Many of the existing farm buildings along the Wall are of this period as at Hotbank farm which is of mid 18th century date. This farm was built from stones taken from milecastle 38 as RIB 1638 was found between 1751-57, according to Wallis (1769, ii, 27), "in digging up the foundations of a *castellum*...in an opening of the precipice by Crag-Lake, called, Lough-End-Crag, or Milking-Gap, for stones, for building a farm-house". Many of the field walls adjacent to Hadrian's Wall (fig. 54) and built out of its core and facing stones were erected in the 18th and 19th centuries (Crow and Rushworth 1994, 19-20).

A date stone in Cawfields Farm house of 1847 gives the date of construction and as the farm is not shown on the 1732 Horsley map it is likely that this was the first farm built here. If any earlier building did exist prior to the present farm it was likely to have been pulled down for its stonework. The Cawfield farm buildings contain large amounts of Wall stone, some of it taken from the Wall structure itself, but some must also have been recovered from the base of the Walltown crags, where large amounts of facing stones and rubble core are still to be seen.

The present farm buildings at Carvoran date from the mid 18th century as indicated by a doorstone dated 1746. This new farm house may have replaced an earlier building on or near the site but certainly agricultural ploughing was destroying the fort by 1776 and the process seems to have been complete by 1837 (Daniels 1978, 187).

Chapelhouse farm in Cumbria, west of milecastle 47 was erected c. 1798, and built within the stable fabric is an inscribed Roman stone RIB 1852. This farm was built out of the stones taken from a building known as the Chapel which appears to

have had been built within the milecastle (Maclauchlan 1853, 51). The farmer informed Skinner that "on destroying this to build his farmhouse they discovered underground some wrought stones of a very large size which he blew up with gunpowder in order to employ his work" (Skinner 1801, 46). Excavations in the milecastle in 1935 make no mention of any medieval material from here (Simpson *et al.* 1936, 270).

In 1871 a report was read to the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society recommending that a farm, called Stonehouse (fig. 21) on the 1865 edition of the Ordnance map, on the line of the Wall at Pike Hill in Cumberland, should be taken down and rebuilt elsewhere and the road diverted so as to preserve the signal tower which had recently been found while lowering the hill to improve the road from Banks to Birdoswald (Ferguson 1874, 214). The cost to the Society to have it re-built elsewhere proved beyond their means and the building is no longer visible; the building being demolished and the stone used elsewhere.

At the Dissolution of Lanercost Priory Thomas Dacre acquired a messuage called 'Stonehouse', in the parish of Lanercost, with meadow, arable land and common of pasture in the moor called 'Banksfield', in Lanercost (Graham 1921, 132). If this is the same place it would seem that a building had been here at Pike Hill for at least two hundred years. It has also been claimed (Graham 1921, 130) that the Priory had a building at the eastern extremity of their land called 'Monks Hall' which, although not shown on Ogilby's 1675 Road-Map, is mentioned in 1695 by the female traveller Celia Fiennes and called Muncks Hall. By the mid 18th century the place had become an ale house and was called Mumps Hall. As this building would have lain close to the Wall, slightly north of milecastle 48 it is likely that it was constructed from Wall stone.

At the village of Banks, slightly west of turret 52b, where a number of the houses

contain Wall stone in their fabric including Bell's Cottage of mid 17th century date, two cottages were demolished within living memory which had stood upon the Wall. In 1974 some twenty sandstone blocks said to have been found near the Wall in Newburn, Northumberland, in c. 1930, were built into a brick plinth in front of Hadrian House, a newly-erected block of aged person's flatlets (Wright *et al* 1976, 381 no. 8).

The latest domestic building which was built of Roman stone taken from a specific source appears to be the bungalow called Burnstead, adjacent to the Milecastle Inn on the B6318 Military Road. A plaque outside the house reads:

BURNSTEAD

Built in 1970 by Albert Burns of Bardon Mill by using surplus stone from the Dorothy Charlesworth dig at Housesteads Roman Fort.

This small bungalow is important, not only to the theme of the survey but also for future investigators, in that it appears to be the only building along the length of the Wall which specifically states when it was built, by whom and from what source the Roman stone was obtained as well as the name of the person who gave permission that the stone could be taken away. The building is now used a private residence.

Lime was the universal remedy for sour or acid soil and was recognised as such as early as the 16th century. The 18th century agrarian reforms together with the increasing grain prices which resulted from the Napoleonic Wars, created an enormous demand for lime and the limestone outcrops in the Wall area were commercially exploited from the late 18th century onwards. Limestone is also used to provide a white or limewash to the interior and exterior of buildings. This would be especially true of the medieval ecclesiastical buildings as well as the interiors of the towers and other main stone houses along the Wall line. Sections of the Wall

may have been plundered to provide the material from which to extract the lime. However the 10% hydrochloric acid test carried out on some of the carboniferous sandstones at Lanercost indicated that the stones in this area of the Wall contained very little carbonate (Young 1993, 11). Although no medieval lime kilns have survived or been located close to the Wall as far as the author is aware, it is highly likely that some were constructed to provide limewash.

Early lime kilns were mainly temporary structures which were allowed to collapse after their initial use while later kilns of the late 18th and 19th century were more robust having been built out of good building stone, and it is these which have survived (Williams 1989, 7). Several of these post-Medieval lime kilns are still visible in the landscape in close proximity to the Wall and have been built with Roman stones. A lime kiln is situated in the vicinity of Rapishaw Gap close to milecastle 37, on the south side of the Wall. This has re-used Wall stone in its construction and a quoin stone, which must have come from the milecastle, was found close to the kiln and has now been re-placed in the south gate of the milecastle (J. Crow pers. comm.). Close to Allolee farm and south of the Wall is a kiln built of Roman stone, while another may be found on the north side of the Wall opposite Pike Hill signal tower in Cumbria. This last one was built after 1865 as it is not shown on the 1st edition of the Ordnance Survey Map although two lime kilns are shown lying south of Pike Hill. These examples are to be found on the poorer soils and it is hoped that examples of earlier abandoned and collapsed kilns may be located during further archaeological survey work.

Post-Roman and medieval kilns of an agricultural nature are in evidence close to the Wall or within Roman sites. Two post-Roman kilns are known at Housesteads (for corn drying), one in Great Chesters fort adjacent to the south gate, one built within the Wall at Heddon-on-the-Wall, another built into the east wall of Birdoswald fort (fig. 53) and another located in 1951 (Swinbank 1952, 46-54) close to milecastle 50 (Turf Wall) built into the south mound of the vallum. Two post-

Roman kilns are also known from Bewcastle (Sainsbury and Welfare 1990, 144).

The enclosure of the land was also a factor in the disappearance of stretches of the Wall. In Northumberland the period between 1550-1750 marked the main transition from a medieval to a modern landscape; the open field village was replaced by the enclosed farmhold and isolated steading (Wrathmel 1975, 164). Agreement for enclosure of the land could either be made in private among the landowners, which mainly happened in the 17th and early 18th century, or by an Award resulting from an Act of Parliament although in Northumberland, along the line of the Wall, enclosures came late. Henshaw and Melkridge Commons were enclosed in 1783, Thorngrafton in 1793 and Thirlwall in 1801. Literary references to the history of enclosure in Northumberland are scanty. Leyland in 1536 says little or nothing about enclosures in the county while a hundred and fifty years later Ogilby's map suggests that the countryside was generally open (Tate 1942-46, 42). However by 1825 the major portion of the open fields had been enclosed although the enclosure of barren waste land was still being carried out after 1845.

Many of the field walls running at right angles to the Roman Wall are built of facing stones and Wall core as noted by Hodgson regarding the Bath house at Housesteads: "a great part of its ruins were carted away nearly 60 years since to build stone walls with. Great quantities of tufaceous limestone were taken out of it and built up in the fences on the Moss-Kennel grounds" (Hodgson 1840, 188). Not only do these relate to property boundaries but also to the enclosure of tracts of land adjacent to the Wall. " Much of the Wall, which had been covered with earth and overgrown with hedges was laid open in the years 1807 and 1808, in consequence of the inclosure of Banks Fell, and the lower parts of several of the watch towers were discovered at Banks Head, but the whole was destroyed for the materials" (Lysons 1816, cxxxiii). Numerous Roman inscriptions, tombstones, altars and sculptural fragments have been found in field and boundary walls including

RIB 1940 in a field wall near Appletree, RIB 1808 in a field wall at Cavoran, RIB 1727 and 1746 in a wall close to Great Chesters, RIB 1510 in a stone wall south west of Tower Tye, RIB 1636 in a wall south of turret 37b and RIB 1708 in a wall near Vindolanda. Other sculptural fragments found close to Vindolanda in field walls include CSIR 394, 449, 450, 452 and 453.

SUMMARY

The use of Roman stone as a construction material in buildings and field walls is the overriding reason why there is so little of the Roman Wall surviving along most of its traverse across the landscape. Although some robbing of the Wall and associated structures took place in the pre-Norman period as can be seen at Corbridge, Hexham and Carlisle, it is the impact of the new Norman overlords on the landscape that had the first major effect on the destruction of the Wall.

The replacement of wooden motte and bailey castles by stone fortifications and the erection of stone halls, towers etc, together with the humble shielings meant the Wall was being stripped of its facing stones on a large scale. It was not only these buildings but also the erection of new, or replacement, churches which had an impact on the Wall. The combination of State and Church, both of which required stone buildings as a sense of power and permanence, utilised the Wall to full advantage.

From the late 13th-early 14th century until the late 16th early-17th century the area was in constant turmoil which is reflected in the fortified and defensive nature of the architecture of the buildings as well as the fact that the main building material to counter this threat was stone and as a consequence there are numerous medieval structures along the line of the Wall which have used the closest material to hand.

From the 18th century new agricultural methods were introduced by the

landowners to improve production and profits. New farm buildings were erected, some utilising stones from older, derelict buildings while others were being built with freshly robbed stone. All of this together with the use of Wall stone and Wall core to make field walls and boundaries ensured that large areas of the Roman Wall had been largely denuded of its facing stones by the beginning of the 19th century.

CHAPTER 4

MONUMENTAL ASSOCIATIONS

PLACE-NAMES RELATED TO THE ROMAN WALL

Although the Roman Wall has been robbed of much of its stone work, the material has been recycled into a variety of buildings and settlements, many of which have retained the name of their origin of source.

The study of place-names in any particular area needs to take into consideration the areas geographical features, its history and the languages that have been in use there. In the broadest sense these may be classified as names that describe the natural features of the countryside: rivers, valleys and hills, and habitation places; names describing the kind of settlement made by man (Wilkinson 1973, 10): The main immigrants into the region after the Roman withdrawal were the Anglo-Saxons (English), Norse and Normans, all of whom had an influence on place-names. The Wall itself has been called by a variety of names and titles throughout history, the progression of names some what reflecting the amount of academic study and understanding of the history of the Wall.

The Roman Wall has been called *murum quoromani Britanniam insulam praecinxere* (731 Bede, Historia Ecclesiastica iii, 22); *wid pone langan weall pe pa romaniscan worhtan* (c. 996-7 (1025-50) Aelfric's Lives of Saints ii, 128); *murum antiquum* (1169, *Laner*); *murus diuidens anglos et pictos olim* (c. 1250 Mathew Paris map), *the Pict wal* (c. 1540 Leyland); *the Wall* (1553 NB), *the picts wall* (1601 CW xi et freq to 1777 NB); *the Pight Wall* (1603 Gilsland, 1610 Denton). 'The Picts Wall has several names in several places, the Roman Wall, the Longwall, the Picts wall' (Machel 1), (Armstrong 1971, vol. xx, 39). The reference to the Longwall was recorded by the Rev. Thomas Machel c. 1690 in a six volume manuscript collection for a history of Cumberland and Westmorland, now in the library of the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle.

The relationship between the Roman Wall and the human environment can be traced through the fossilisation of the monument's name through time. This is especially true in the evidence of place-names but may also be seen in a variety of forms. By looking at place-names and the dates at which they first appear in the written record (appendix 1) it will be possible to show that the Wall was still able to make an impact upon the landscape after the 5th century. Old documents can give the earliest form of spelling and dictionaries of place-names can show any subsequent changes of the spelling (Beckensall 1975, 5). Ancient deeds and charters are an invaluable source of information for early place-name evidence.

The use of an element of the Roman Wall in a place-name is a useful indicator of material survival of the Wall structure in that area. The earliest reference dates to buildings, farms, hamlets etc along the line of the Roman Wall can give some idea of when these structures were being erected and also be used as a positive indicator of a population residing in the area. This will in turn have a bearing on the robbing of the Wall for suitable stone for building purposes. The survival of the Wall name throughout history may also be seen in field names, geographical areas and local geological land forms.

The following is an indication of the number and variety of places which have retained an element of the Roman Wall in the structure of their name. Some places, especially isolated farms or houses, are no longer visible.

NORTHUMBRIA: Benwell, Heddon on the Wall, Shield on the Wall, Thirlwall, Walbottle, Walker, Wall, Wallend, Wallhouse, Wall-knoll, Wall-Mill, Wallsend, Walltown, Walside, Walwick, Welton.

CUMBRIA: Low Wall, Old Wall, Walby, Wallbowers, Walldub, Wallfoot, Wallhead, Wallholme, Wall House, Walton.

Almost all Northumbrian place-names came into being with the Anglo-Saxon invaders (Beckensall 1975, 5) and have had the most marked influence on the place-names in this area. Examples of this include:

Benwell (OE) "*binnan wealle*" The place within the (Roman) wall. This aptly describes its position on the site of the Roman settlement of *Condercum*, on the Wall. (Mawer 1920, 18).

Heddon-on-the-Wall (OE) "*Haeth-dun*" Heather hill (on the wall) (Beckensall 1975, 35).

Shield on the Wall (ME) "*schele*" =(dialect sheel, shiel). It is used first of a temporary building, such as a shepherd's summer hut, then of a small house, cottage, hovel. The derivative *shieling* is used occasionally (Mawer 1920, 238). This name occurs in several locations along the Wall: Shiel a Wall arch, a bridge over a stream near Coesike Tu 33b is noted by McLaughlan (1858, 35 note 4).

Thirlwall (OE) "*Thyrell*" = perforated. A gap in the Roman Wall (Beckensall 1975, 46). John of Fordun (Skene 1872, 88) refers to the breaches in the Wall as being made by the Scottish, Pictish and Irish invaders. "From these breaches, therefore, did this structure take its present name, which in the English tongue is Thirlitwall", in Latin it would be *murus perforatus* (drilled wall). The name was certainly never applied to the Wall as a whole, but certain gaps, of which Thirlwall was one, may have been so called.

Walbottle (OE) "*botl*" (building) on the Roman Wall (Beckensall 1975, 48). Mawer (1920, 205) says that *Wallbotle* stands on the line of the Roman Wall, and is possibly identical with the royal abode of the Anglian kings, *vicus regis . . . qui vocatur "ad murum"* mentioned by Bede (III. 21). Heddon-on-the-Wall has also been associated with this site.

Walwick (OE) "*wic*" is a dwelling place, abode, residence, and is used as the equivalent of L. *villa* and *mansio* (Mawer 1920, 241).

In the West (Cumbria) the survival of the Roman Wall element in place-names is also found. As well as an Anglo-Saxon influence, along the line of the Wall through the Tyne Gap, there was a large influx of Scandinavian settlers which is reflected in the origin of some of the place-names in the area.

Walby, Walton, Wallhead, Wallfoot and Wallbowers among others derive their first element from Hadrian's Wall and are all situated adjacent to the Wall itself.

Walby (OE) "by" settlement (Old Norse *byr*) (Beckensall 1975, 10). After the Norman Conquest of Cumberland the occurrence of *by* associated with place-names increased with immigrants arriving from the South and settling around the Carlisle area (Armstrong 1952, XXII xxxi).

Walldub (uncertain origin, possibly Celtic) *dub* = a muddy or stagnant pool. A northern dialect word (Armstrong 1971, 470).

Walton (OE) "*tun*" by the (Roman) Wall. (Armstrong 1950, XX, 114). Originally a fence or enclosure, but it soon became a homestead, village or town. Its more general meaning is homestead or village, but it can also mean an outlying farm (Beckensall 1975, 17).

FIELD NAMES

Names were given to fields for ease of identification and location and can be associated to the points of the compass, agricultural and industrial practice, natural features in the landscape as well as well as earlier enclosures, fortifications and settlements.

A number of parcels of land or fields along the Wall line have retained an element of their physical proximity to the monument in their name.

At Wallsend the colliery which was sunk in the late 18th century was in a field named "*Wall Lawes*" (OE) *HLAW*, (rounded hill, barrow, tumulus), (Mawer 1920, 232) between the old Shields Turnpike and the river Tyne. In Northumberland, where *hlaw* is one of the commonest terms for a natural hill, it occurs frequently in

settlement names, mostly of minor status (Gelling 1984, 162).

In Corbridge during the latter part of the 18th century field maps still retain "*Standing Wall Sheath*" as the name of one part of the site. A MS field map of 1776 shows Standing Wall Sheath on the centre and north of the site. The name "*Standeinge Wall*" occurs on a Greenwich Hospital Deed (Bundle 118, 30) of Feb 1635 (Craster 1914, 467).

At Sewingshields it has been shown by a recent field survey that a field on the estate was called *Wall Field* in the late 13th century and that the manor and the field may originally have been part of a single unit of Saxon origin (Haigh 1984, 53).

At Howgill, close to turret 54b, the "*Wallfield*", no 185, is shown on the 25 inch OS map, 1865 1st ed, close to a cottage (now demolished) called The Wall, which stood on the actual line of the Wall (Haverfield 1901, 78).

Low Wall, opposite milecastle 55, contains two references to the Wall. Field 172 on the OS map is called "*Well Field*" and is likely to be related to local dialect rather than a mis-spelling. Also at Low Wall farm is "*Castle Field*" no. 173. The north hedge of this field stands on the ruins of the Wall and the name obviously relates to the remains of Milecastle 55 situated close by.

In the 18th century a parcel of land called "*Wall rein*" was sold at Kirkandrews upon Eden (Collingwood 1922, 272). *Reen, Rein* (ON) = *rienn*, land on a boundary (Beckensall 1977, 55).

Field names are also given on some Tithe maps of the 19th century located in the Cumbria Record Office at Carlisle Castle. These include field no. 23, (Wall Meadow) on the Stanwix map DRC\8 185 of 1839; field no. 118, (Wall Know) on the Stanwix map DRC\8\181 of 1839 and fields, no. 548 (Wall Rigg), no. 631 (Under Wall) and no. 632 (Upper Wall) on the Bowness map of 1839. A nineteenth century author noted

that a field "called Wallrigg, cannot be ploughed on account of the stones" (Abbatt 1849, 54).

Roman occupation has left hardly a trace in place-name nomenclature, except indirectly in the fairly numerous *CHESTERS*, so named from OE *CEASTER* (< L. *CASTR*), a term applied by the Anglo-Saxons to any Roman fort or the ruins of such (Mawer 1920, xvii). They also brought with them the word burgh, modern borough, brough or bury (Mawer 1921, 1). Examples include Rudchester, Whitchester, Halton Chesters, Chesters, Great Chesters, Burgh-by-Sands and Drumburgh along the Wall line and Binchester, Lanchester, Chester-le-Street and Ebchester in the Wall hinterland. Chesterholm is a 19th century invention for the fort of Vindolanda which was known in the 17th century as Iverton or Chesters-on-Caudley. Castlesteads situated on the site of the Roman fort of *VXELLODVMVN*, reflects the L *CASTR* element in its name. Whitchester, north of milecastle 15, is first recorded in 1221. Beckensall (1975, 49) maintains the name derives from OE *wyt-ceaster* meaning white Roman fort or castle and may be a reference to the outside of the Wall or milecastle being whitewashed. Crow (1991, 58) cites evidence for the use of a whitewash on a chamfered block from Peel Gap and at Denton Burn evidence for a plaster render was noted (Frere 1988, 433 no 3). Whether this place was so called from the colour of the stones or from its English owner Hwita, the white or fair one, is not entirely certain (Mawer 1921, 5) but may well be the only survival in place-name evidence for the colour of the Wall, if indeed the Wall was whitewashed.

Portgate furnishes another trace of Roman occupation. The name is difficult but the first element would appear to be the Latin *porta*, O.E. *port*, a gate, applied probably to some well-defended opening in the wall. Later when the old word *port*, was no longer in common use, the name was made more intelligible by the addition of the common Northumbrian *yet* or *yat*, a gate, for the earliest form of the name

(1269) is *Port-yate*, and *Port-gate*, is only a modern corruption (Mawer 1921, 5). The Old Norse word *gate* (road) has also influenced the place-name where the Roman road (Dere Street) crossed the Wall. Westgate in Newcastle is another example of this usage.

LANDSCAPE

The Roman Wall has also left its mark on some of the local land forms. In Northumbria and Cumbria the river names are mainly Celtic eg Eden, Irthing, Ouse and Tyne, and only one water course appears to contain the Wall element.

Wall Burn (OE) *burna* (*burne*) = stream or river, originally fountain spring (Mawer 1920, 224). This stream runs into the Irthing river past Appletree in Cumbria at NY 595655.

Several land forms contain the Wall element within their name.

Walker (ON) *kiarr* = marsh, swamp (Mawer 1920, 235) refers to the proximity of this area to the Roman Wall.

Wall Knoll (OE) *cnoll* = a small round hill (Beckensall 1975, 11).

In Newcastle the medieval layout of Pandon included two streets along the lower slopes of Wallknowle. The upper one, which was just called Wallknowle on 18-19th century maps and has now disappeared, was referred to in AD 1298-1300 as "the highway on le Wallnoll" (Clack 1976, 119). A plan of Newcastle by the map maker John Speed in the early 17th century shows the area referred to as The Wall Knoll (Wake 1937, 122) close to where the Roman Wall exited Newcastle on the east heading towards Wallsend.

Wall Fell (ON) *fiell* = mountain (Armstrong 1971, 472). In modern use it refers to high open pastures or a wild elevated waste land. This name is preserved in two areas: one situated in Wall miles 24-25 in Northumbria (OS map) and the other in Wall miles 54-55 in Cumbria (OS map 1st series, 1865).



The Roman Wall is also remembered in place-names at one step removed from the "Wall" element. The remains of two Roman stone forts in the west are known by their later names: north of Carlisle, on the line of the Wall, lies the Roman fort of *PETRIANA*. The visible remains of the fort and the Wall itself gave rise to its present name of Stanwix, (ON) *STEINN*=stone and *VEGGR*=walls (Armstrong 1971, 109). To the west of Carlisle is the fort of *ABALLAVA*, Burgh-by-Sands, which takes its name from the (OE) *burh*, *burg* meaning a fortified place (Beckensall 1975, 10).

Bowness on Solway is the site of the fort of *MAIA*. Field numbers 712, 713 and 677 on the 1775 manorial plan which have had the SW corner of the fort in their northern parts, are named *BORGANS*. Elsewhere in Cumbria the form is *BORRANS*, derived from the (OE) *burgaesn*, used in a general way to designate the mounds and heaps of stones of ancient remains (Bellhouse 1989, 42).

North of Brampton is the small village of Banks which would have taken its name from the ridge of the Roman Wall as *banke* is Middle English in origin meaning 'ridge, eminence or hill' or a 'raised ridge of ground' (Mawer 1920, 223).

It is interesting to note that the number of 'Wall' names is more numerous in Northumbria than in Cumbria which appears to reflect the wider Anglo-Saxon settlement of the eastern and central section of the Wall. Many of the names which are associated with the Wall are Anglo-Saxon in origin which suggests that the Wall at this time was still a major feature in the landscape. This also implies that at an early date the Wall was being robbed of its facing stones to provide material for building. Although the date that a place is first referred to is almost certainly much later than the origin of the place, the date ranges shown in the appendix 1 broadly reflect the main periods of population expansion across the region: namely the Anglo-Saxon expansion of the 6-7th centuries; the 12-13th century revival and expansion after the Norman consolidation of the north and the 16-17th centuries economic and agricultural growth following the ending of the Border wars after

the Union of the English and Scottish Crowns in 1603.

Hadrian's Wall has had more influence on the naming of places than any other monument in Britain. This is hardly surprising given the fact that it stretches from the mouth of the river Tyne close to the North Sea across to the Solway Firth at Bowness, a distance of 73 miles (117 km), crossing a variety of landscapes on the way. It has given part of its name to villages, settlements, individual farms and houses as well as the names of fields together with descriptions of some of the land forms with which it was associated. This plethora of name types is an indication of the impact that it had in the mind of post-Roman settlers in the region. Despite the fact that the monument is a shadow of its former glory, its importance in the development of the landscape can be seen in the number of places that have retained it in their name as well as numerous field names. Although the original function of the barrier has long been superseded, its legacy and importance has been celebrated down to the present day in the way in which local inhabitants have identified themselves and their surroundings through the monument. Even into the 20th century the echo of the Wall is still heard in such street names as Centurions Walk, Centurion Road, Romanway, Roman Avenue, Hadrians Gardens, Hadrians Place, Vallum Road, Vallum Way, Turret Road, Legion Road and The Ramparts (fig. 73). The Fosseway in Newcastle was originally called Double Dykes, no doubt reflecting the remains of the vallum (Richards 1993, 12). In the industrial sphere there is Hadrian Business Park in Wallsend and the Hadrian Works in Haltwhistle and a newly built travellers caravan park, on the site of the former army camp of the Border Regiment, close to the site of milecastle 64 is named Hadrian's Park. This army camp was in operation from 1939 to the mid 1950s and was known then as Hadrian's Camp. There is the Fosse public house in Newcastle while at Wall village there is The Centurion Hotel, with The Milecastle Inn at Cawfields, Hadrian Hotel at Hexham and the Vallum Hotel at Carlisle. Houses and

homes have also taken their names from the Wall as in the Vallum at Gilsland, Vallum Residential Home on Tyneside, Picts Rigg at Banks as well as Roman Way, Roman Wall Forge and Wallhouses along other parts of the Wall. The business community have also utilised the region's most famous landmark namesake varying from Hadrian Bakery and Catering, Hadrian Brewery, Hadrian Travel Agents, Hadrian Car Panels, Hadrian's Spares and the Hadrian Porkchop Sney House to Vallum Wools, Stanegate Garage and the Roman Way Restaurant. Adjacent to South Shields fort is Hadrian Junior School.

CHAPTER 5

MAPS, PLANS, CHARTERS AND DEEDS

Maps, plans, charters and deeds can all provide valuable information relating to the relationship between the Roman Wall and the development of the landscape. They can give clues to the number and location of buildings or hamlets which no longer exist in the landscape as well as indicating how the Wall provided a natural focal point for the establishment of property, estate and ecclesiastical boundaries. All of these sources of material, from the mid 13th century to the 20th century, indicate that the Wall was not a forgotten relic in the countryside but was fossilised as a permanent feature.

The sources range from the earliest surviving maps of the 13th century to estate maps and plans, tithe maps, ordnance survey maps, charters relating to the giving of land to establish a religious house or church as well as the deeds connected with the sale of property. In a number of cases, especially pertaining to charters and deeds, the original spelling has been retained.

MAPS AND PLANS

Until nearly the middle of the 16th century the only printed maps of England were those based on the maps of Ptolemy of Alexandria (Whitaker 1949, xi). The earliest extant maps which are available are those of the mid 13th century by Matthew Paris and those of the late 13th-early 14th century and referred to as Goughs Map. Both of these are valuable sources of information especially the fact that the Roman Wall is indicated on both which suggests that it was a major feature in the landscape and one that would be noted by travellers in the region.

What has been described as the earliest English School of cartography is represented by the maps of Matthew Paris, a Benedictine historian at St Alban's Abbey in the middle of the 13th century (Hindle 1988, 13). In his capacity as a

monastic chronicler, Mathew Paris had a wide circle of contacts all of whom were eager to put at his disposal useful information, letters and documents (Lewis 1987, 5). His maps represent a genuine attempt at making a map in the modern sense rather than a diagrammatic geographical illustration (Lewis 1987, 365). The Matthew Paris maps of interest for this survey include the Map of Britain, (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 16); the Map of Britain, (MS Cotton Claudius D. vi, folio 12) held by the British Library (fig. 57) and the Map of Britain (MS Cotton Julius D. VII) also held by the British Library (fig. 58). These documents rank among the finest and most innovative achievements in medieval cartography and are the earliest detailed maps of Britain in existence (Lewis 1987, 365). These maps, which use Latin for all the place-names instead of Anglo-Norman, are based fundamentally on the itinerary from Dover via London to Newcastle. The most complete Claudius Map has 252 names: 81 cathedrals and monasteries, 41 castles, 33 ports, 11 route towns, and 86 regional or topographical names (Lewis 1987, 367). In MS 16 the southern uplands of England are delimited between the Forth-Clyde and the Pict Wall. Stretching from Carlisle to Wallsend, the Roman Wall (*murus dividens anglos et pictos*) is placed in a nearly correct position, while the Antonine Wall (*murus scotorum*) is tentatively suggested as a simple curved line moving westwards from the east coast above Carlisle. Map Cotton Julius D. VII. shows the Roman Wall stretching only from Carlisle to a point close to Corbridge, with Wallsend? marked to the west of Corbridge which suggests that Mathew Paris himself never walked the line of the Wall and was obtaining his information at least second hand. This map refers to the Wall as *murus dividens scotos et pictos* and does not show the Antonine Wall whereas the Cotton Claudius map D. VI shows both Walls, the Antonine Wall as dividing the Scots from the Picts while the lower wall as dividing the Angles and Picts. The fact that a medieval chronicler, who perhaps never even saw the Wall yet was convinced that it was important enough to include in a major map of Great Britain suggests that the Wall must have dominated the

landscape and been a source of much comment and speculation. It is obvious that Paris was well aware of the origin and function of the Wall which he would have read in Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica Gentes Anglorum. In the mid 13th century, before the major Border wars took hold and numerous fortified towers and defended buildings were erected, the Roman Wall must have been standing in many parts almost to its full height except where it had already collapsed, or been robbed for building stone for ecclesiastical structures.

The so called Gough Map (fig. 56) is a medieval document by an anonymous hand, dating from between 1350 and 1370, named after the 18th century collector and antiquarian, Richard Gough, who first noticed its existence and bequeathed it in 1809 to the Bodleian Library Oxford (MS Gough Gen Top 16). This map appears to have been influenced by the earlier maps of Matthew Paris and it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that the compiler of the Gough Map was acquainted with a road map or itinerary in late Roman style, or at least contemporary conventions were based on such a source (Parsons 1958, 10). It appears to have been designed essentially for the traveller, perhaps on official business, and has a scale of approximately 1:1 million or approximately 16 miles to the inch (Parsons 1958, 5). The overall accuracy of the map, based on a careful study of road distances, and the positioning of towns, roads and rivers indicates that much thought had gone into what was desirable to represent on the map, so it is extremely interesting that the Roman Wall was considered important enough to be incorporated. He may have well taken the idea from the maps of Matthew Paris and included the Wall because they were considered important to the previous cartographer. The map shows the Roman Wall stretching from the Solway to Wallsend in the same style as that shown on the maps of Matthew Paris; ie a wall with crenellations and labelled with its popular name *murus pictorum*. Whether this is an accurate pictorial representation of the Wall top or merely a symbol for a wall is not known but it emphasises the fact that the Wall was a dominant feature in the landscape. A number of place-

names along the line of the Wall are indicated including Bowness, Burgh-by-Sands, Carlisle, Naworth castle, Thirwall Castle and Newcastle as well as the North and South Tyne rivers in Northumberland and the Eden and Irthing in Cumbria.

An early woodcut map of the British Isles by Martin Waldseemuller in 1522, derived from the Ptolemaic map published in 1478, appears to show the line of the Wall (Moreland 1993, 4). If this is the case it would be interesting to know how he knew of its existence as he was born on what is now the Swiss shore of Lake Constance and worked at the Court of the Duke of Lorraine (Moreland 1993, 78). Although the place-names associated with the presumed Wall line on the map are all wrong it is possible that Waldseemuller knew that the Wall existed somewhere in the north of England but had no clear idea where it was (Summerson H. pers comm).

The next representation of the Wall (fig. 55) appears on the 1546 map of the British Isles by George Lily titled 'Brittaniae Insulae, etc' (Moreland 1993, plate 1) showing the Wall stretching from coast to coast with what appears to be crenellations on top of the Wall. Few maps can approach it for clarity and elegance, and the compiler's use of conventional signs and symbols to show forests, hills, county towns, castles and episcopal sees was an innovation subsequently followed very closely by map makers for centuries (Moreland 1993, 141). The Wall is now represented in a partly ruined state which would reflect its real state.

In 1603 a Survey was undertaken for Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle of his lands in the Barony of Gilsland. The papers and original maps of Howard of Naworth are held in Durham University at the Department of Diplomatic and Paleography while the field book notes have been published in the Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, Extra Series, Vol XVI, 1934; The Barony of Gilsland. Lord William Howard's Survey taken in 1603, edited by T.H.B.Graham. This survey and the accompanying map provide not only valuable information regarding the numbers, positions and tenants of

buildings along the line of the Wall in the Naworth lands but also the boundaries of the parcels of land and the boundary of the Barony in relation to the Roman Wall, referred to as the Pight Wall. The Wall is seen to be visible to the west of Willowford Farm and to the east of turret 48a but not marked in between these points. The fact that various parcels of land had been set out in relation to the Wall show that the Wall, or rather the mound of rubble where the Wall once stood and where no doubt a line of trees had grown, had influenced the boundary lines even before this period and had become fossilised in the landscape. The map shows that a number of buildings no longer exist and that others must have been rebuilt after 1603. The foundations of a cottage (Haverfield 1898, 353), which lay to the east of the fort of Birdoswald measuring 43 x 21 feet (13m x 6.4m) with a 10 foot (3m) square annexe, may be one of the two cottages mentioned in the Field Book of the Naworth Survey.

The present disused farm building called Underheugh, containing Wall stone, situated between the Wall and the Irthing is referred to as Low Burdosell in 1603 and a further farm is shown adjacent to it, which is no longer standing. The southern boundary of Walton wood, adjacent to Lanercost, is referred to as lying at the Pight Wall while a cottage called the Walhouse in 1603 is possibly the same cottage called Wall on the 1807 map of Askerton (Cumbria Record Office reference number QRE/1/75) but which appears to have been demolished by 1865 as it is not shown on the 1st edition of the Ordnance Survey map. The 1807 map shows an unnamed cottage in the position where The Wall cottage is shown on the Ordnance Survey map.

The Field Book to the Naworth Survey is a valuable source of information for the names of buildings and cottages close to the Wall, most of which must have used Wall stone in their fabric. It is unfortunate that field names were not included as this would have given an insight into whether the Wall did have an influence in this aspect and whether they had been handed down from an earlier period

although one piece of land is referred to as The Walmoare, which was a parcel of common pasture on the south side of the Wall (Graham 1934, 28) and situated west of Oldwall in wall mile 60. The 1603 Naworth Survey map is instructive in that it shows there were many more cottages and buildings in the landscape than is now apparent and that the present ones are either a rebuilding of a replacement for former structures.

A map of 1607 by William Hole titled Englaland Anglia Anglosaxonum Heptarchia (Moreland 1993, 212) and printed in the sixth edition of Camden's Britannia shows the line of the Wall. Designed to illustrate the Anglo-Saxon Kingdom for the historical section of the Britannia, the names are given in a script which purports to be 'Anglo-Saxon'. The Wall is marked as Pelitter peal?.

In the 1610 edition of Camden's Britannia (ed. Holland) is a map of the British Isles including the Wall area showing the line of the Wall, but not the name, as well as various buildings (castles and churches) adjacent to it including a number of the villages or hamlets such as Walltown, Triermain, Birdoswald, Walton, Drumburgh and Bowness.

The cartographer John Speed was producing maps at the beginning of the 17th century. One of his many maps, Britain as it was devided in the tyme of the Englishe-Saxons especially during their Heptarchy was published in 1611 and shows a crenellated Wall which is called The Pictes Wal (Moreland 1993, 215). The fact that the Wall is shown as having crenellations may perhaps reflect some of the present archaeological research which indicates that merlon capstones were used, at least around milecastles and turrets, and some of these may still have been surviving in his day. However it is also likely that he was using the outline of the Wall from the maps of Mathew Paris which show the use of crenellations.

A major work on the Roman Wall, by John Horsley, was published in 1732 titled Britannia Romana. This treatise on the Roman antiquities of Britain included a map

showing the entire length of the Wall at a scale of approximately 1.25 inches to 1 mile. This extraordinary piece of cartography is the first attempt at a detailed survey of the entire length of the Wall plotting the known forts, milecastles and turrets in their correct positions, alongside many of the farms, buildings and cottages which had been built close to or on top of the Wall itself. A study of the maps shows, like the Naworth map, the number of small domestic buildings and churches in relation to the Wall as well as giving an insight into the numbers of buildings which have disappeared since the beginning of the 18th century. The Wall is referred to as Severus's Wall while the Vallum is attributed to Hadrian. A number of the maps have a scale drawing of the related forts which shows how much of their outline was still visible at that date before later housing and industrial development destroyed not only the Wall structures but also the Wall itself. Map number 2, (fig. 64) from Wallsend to Benwell, shows a grouping of houses around Benwell which Horsley must have had a close inspection of as a number of inscriptions were located here and seen by him including RIB 1342, 1344, 1345 and 1347. Map no. 3 shows two places close to the Wall called Castlesteads which must have taken their name from the adjacent Wall structures. The milecastle gate at Portgate, map 5, where the Roman road, Dere Street crosses the Wall is shown in outline which must have still been visible at the time, as well as a cottage called Wall house east of the Portgate built on the north side of the Wall and which has subsequently been demolished. The maps also indicate where the vallum was either not visible, partly visible or appears to be wholly intact. This map also shows that a number of farms were already built by this date including Portgate and St Oswald's Hill Head and that several have been demolished since then including Walside and Hillhead opposite St Oswald's chapel. Map 6 shows Tower Tye which had been built only a couple of years previously and included RIB 1506. The next building to the west is called Walwick new houses situated in the ditch on the north side of the wall. This may be a building which

no longer survives, or part of the present Black Carts or Rye Hill farm. At Carrawburgh fort on the east side, and built across the vallum, are two houses identified as Carrawbrugh houses. While these may possibly be identified with the present Carrawbrough Farm, no Roman inscription is recorded as coming from this farm whereas Hutton (1813) mentions that a piece of Roman sculptured stone graced the internal wall of the present farm and that the station joined the house suggesting that a farm, now demolished stood close to the east side of the fort and that the present farm of the same name is a later build. West of Carrawburgh on the Horsley map, no. 6 (fig. 68) are two cottages, one called Wallshiels which is no longer visible and one called Tipplehall which may be identified as the present deserted and ruinous building (fig. 35) called Shield on the Wall situated slightly west and south of milecastle 33. A building on the north side of the Wall is shown on map 7 (fig. 69) as Milking gap and may be identified as the predecessor of the present Hotbank farm which was built in the late 18th century. Also on this map are a number of cottages which are now gone or have changed their name. Melcrish? sheels which may be possibly the earlier farm of Shield on the Wall as painted by Richardson in the mid 19th century (fig 51), Green close to the east of Great Chesters fort referred to by Bruce (1867, 232), Ryeclose (no longer visible) referred to by Hodgson (1840, 293) as well as Olivers, Midlebank, Lowtown, Shopend and Dughamheads between Great Chesters and the Tippalt burn.

In Cumbria some of the farms or cottages which are shown on the Horsley map (fig. 70) but which are no longer visible include Foultown, west of Chapel House; Murray, north of Harrow's Scar; Midghamfoot, west of Birdoswald fort; Holdyad house, east of Leahill; Banks foot and Banks, west of Leahill; Birkshaw, west of Hare Hill; Wall, east of Howgill; Wagtail hall, west of Sandysike and Wallknow, west of Tarraby (fig. 71).

A coloured plan of the manor of Benwell in the year 1637 (fig. 59) shows the line

of the Wall calling it The Wall. Although none of the field names reflect the proximity of the Wall, the fort of Benwell appears to have been in what is described as the Mill Shanke Frehold on the south side of the road (Dodds 1930, 230). The Wall is also used as a boundary between fields on the north and south sides. The eastern defences of the fort probably corresponded with the eastern boundary of MillShanke; plots of land to the east were cultivated and a windmill stood one of them, immediately south of the Wall. Maps of 1780 and 1808 show that the field boundaries of 1637 had been largely retained although land use had changed (Bidwell 1991, 7). A map of Benwell in 1790-1808 shows two fields on the south of the Roman Wall called Low Wall Close and High Wall Close (Graham 1984).

A similar estate plan of 1677 of the area of Halton Shields (fig. 60), produced for the landowner William Carnabye, indicates not only the line of the Roman Wall but also that the Roman fort is within an area called The Chester Close, Silver hills and Thorney Close (Craster 1914, 388). A group of houses is shown on top of the Wall at the present day Halton Shields and many of the field walls on the map can be followed on a modern Ordnance Survey map. Clarewood Common lay on the north side of the Wall in the area of turret 19b and the Roman Wall formed the south side of the Common boundary in the 17th century (Craster 1914, 387).

A 1743 manorial map of Elswick, Newcastle, (fig. 61) of land belonging to a Mr. Hodgson, shows the line of the Wall used as a road and a boundary for the adjacent fields (Wake, 1935-6, 124). Three fields on the map are called (22) West Wall Close, (23) Middle Wall Close and (24) East Wall Close with a note reading "The west road leads along the ruins of the Roman Wall". This road is the present Westgate road. These fields apparently make use of the vallum as their southern boundary. Another field (10) called Wall Close lies slightly north of the Wall. Three fields (31) North Butts, (32) South Butts and (33) East Butts lie close to the Wall

and are mentioned in a charter of 1297 (Wake 1935-6, 127) and it is probable that at this time the Wall was already being used as their boundary. The manor of Elswick formed part of the Barony of Bolam and was given to Tynemouth Priory c. AD 1120 and remained in their possession until 1539. In the centre of the township is the old house, Elswick House, which probably contained within its walls remains of the Prior of Tynemouth's "*castellum*" at Elswick, which is mentioned as early as AD 1200 (Wake 1935-6, 126). In AD 1377 Richard Scot of Benwell besieged the Prior of Tynemouth and his monks at Elswick. The Priors buildings here were obviously built of Wall stone and it may be assumed that Richard Scot of Benwell must have had a secure stronghold built of stone from which to launch his attacks. The other building shown, Quarry House, appears to be built on top of the Wall and is shown on the 1732 Horsley map, no. 2 (fig. 64). It was built by Bertram Anderson, and was said in 1608 to be newly erected without licence on land where the tenants had intercommon. (Wake 1953-6, 126). In a deed dated 14 Febr 40 Eliz (1598) the boundaries of quarries in the territory of Elswick belonging to Eleynor Swynborne are set out which are described as "boudering upon an old wast quarrye theare in the east parte --- and upon an old wall theare called the Wall on the south parte" (Bouchier Richardson 1855, 89).

Another valuable primary source is the Military Road map of 1749 held in the Northumberland Record Office, (ZAN MSM 5) which also shows a number of farms, cottages and buildings which existed at the time, some of which are still standing and many of which have been demolished but which indicate the number of buildings that must have utilised the stonework from the Wall in their construction. This shows amongst other things that two farms called Old Carts and New Carts were located in the vicinity of the present Black Carts farm in Wall mile 29 (these were probably demolished by the end of the 18th century as Black Carts is mentioned in 1807 (Bosanquet 1929, 149) and a cottage or farm is indicated just

east of Carrawbrough fort, presumably not the present Carrawbrough farm as Hutton in his walk along the Wall in 1801 says the station, ie Carrwabrough fort, joins the house which would make the two adjacent. No early farm is shown at Sewingshields, the present buildings being erected at the beginning of the 19th century. A cottage called Peel Green is placed close to Milecastle 40 but is no longer visible. There are also a large number of place-names, and most of these seem to be spelt according to pronunciation, as if the map maker had asked the local inhabitants the names and done his best to record the result. The most valuable portions of the map appear to be details relating to fields and enclosures. These are shown as enclosed tillage or grass or open fields (Spain 1937, 20).

Tithe maps are another source of information useful for identifying earlier buildings as well where the Wall was used as a boundary between civil parishes, townships or districts, as well as the names of fields which reflect the proximity of the Wall. The 1839 tithe map for Stanwix (Cumbria) DRC/8/185 shows field number 23 as Wall meadow and field number 118, DRC/8/181 as Wall Know. The Bowness map DRC/8/24 has Wall Rigg (field 548), Wall Rigg (field 556), while fields 631 and 632 are called Under Wall and Upper Wall. In Northumbria the 1843 tithe map for Walltown (DT 475M) shows that Burnhead at Haltwhistle Burn was known as Wall Green and consisted of four buildings, and both Ryeclose and Green Close, which were indicated on the 1732 Horsley map, no. 7 (fig. 69) were no longer visible. The 1843 Henshaw tithe map (DT 233L) shows Steel Rigg farm where the present car park is now situated, whereas the Horsley map, no. 7 (fig. 69) puts it on the north side of the Wall and slightly east of Peel Farm building which may be merely a positional error or may also be showing that the farm of Steel Rigg moved location between 1732 and 1843. The boundaries of townships are marked and a number of these follow the line of the Wall which would indicate that these boundaries had been fossilised in the landscape for a very long time. In the north

of England, parishes often comprised several vills or townships, which became the later civil parishes (Todd 1991, I, 113). The 1846 tithe map of Melkridge (DT316M) shows that the Wall was the boundary between Melkridge township and Henshaw township and the 1839 map of Cocklaw (DT108M) shows the Wall and Military road as the boundary between Cocklaw township and Wall township. The 1857 Crosby on Eden (Cumbria) tithe map shows the Wall as the Stanwix parish boundary passing through Brunstock up towards Walby. To the present day the Wall has continued to function as a boundary line between parishes and townships as at Wall mile 60 where it serves as a parish boundary between Stanwix Rural and Irthington, at Banks turret where it forms the line between Burtholme and Waterhead parishes in Cumbria. In Northumbria the Wall line forms the Civil Parish boundary between, amongst other places, Bardon Mill and Henshaw as well as between Haydon and Bardon Mill while along Wall mile 30 it is used as the Civil Parish boundary between Simonburn, Newbrough and Warden. A study of the Ordnance Survey maps of the area show that sections of the Wall are used as a boundary between parishes and also individual farms (figs. 4 and 5).

Simonburn parish, before the Conquest an estate of the Earls of Northumberland, stretched from the English-Scottish border south to the Roman Wall (Newton 1972, 83) and it is likely that many of the present boundaries that have used part of the Wall as the administrative or ecclesiastical division have their beginnings in the Anglo-Saxon or Norman period and became fossilised in the landscape down to the present day. It has been argued that in parts of the British Isles the boundaries that formed medieval parish and township units were of some antiquity. Recent research suggests that parish or township units might not themselves pre-date the early medieval period (Williamson 1986, 241) although the areas within which they are located might have been continuously settled and exploited throughout the post-Roman period. It is apparent from evidence from South Norfolk that while parish boundaries often incorporate major or minor components from this early

landscape, they sometimes follow stratigraphically later features, such as footpaths and lanes. More important is the observation that persistent features of this ancient landscape are not continuously followed by parish boundaries. A parish boundary often runs along a sinuous lane for a short distance then leaves it, the lane continuing and being joined by another parish boundary further along its course. In short, the boundaries appear to have been imposed upon an earlier landscape (Williamson 1986, 245). This process can be followed in Cumberland and Northumberland where the Wall is used as a parish or township boundary for various lengths before the boundary turns away from the Wall to follow other features in the landscape. There are no specific references in the Viking period to the Wall being used as a land boundary or division which may be a result of the lack of surviving documentary evidence or, equally, that the Wall was not forming part of any major land division at this stage, although it may have been forming field boundaries, and it was only after this period, with the coming of the Normans that it was utilised as a boundary in land divisions, especially where land was being given for the establishment of churches or monastic establishments adjacent to the Wall.

Medieval charters and deeds which defined areas of land ownership often used the Wall as a focal point because of its dominant presence in the landscape.

CHARTERS AND DEEDS

Charters are known in England from the Anglo-Saxon period and are connected with the granting of land to an individual or religious house. They were originally intended to be evidence of a transaction which had already taken place, unlike a modern deed which effects the transfer (Todd 1991, I, 183). The transaction consisted of a ceremony before witnesses where the charter was drawn up and was of value after the witnesses were dead in case of any dispute over ownership of

the land in question. As the 13th century jurist Bracton put it: "Gifts are sometimes put in writings, that is in charters, for perpetual remembrance, because the life of man is but brief and in order that the gift may be more easily proved". The charters recorded the grants and confirmations of churches, lands and rights, 'quitclaims' of land and rights by tenants and settlement of legal disputes. Documentation of the 9-11th century period is sparse in the north as a consequence of Viking raids on monastic houses when many documents must have been destroyed and it not until after the Conquest that charters survive in any number. The earliest of these are relatively unspecific about the boundaries concerned and sometimes described as "ancient, and known by the natives", hinting at the continuity seen in the archaeological record (Jones 1986, 154). Later charters are more specific regarding boundaries in the landscape and in many cases it is possible to trace these in the present landscape. Where land was being demarcated from some larger unit, the boundaries were described by reference to other lands, natural features, or marked trees or stones (Todd 1991, I, 111). The earliest charter which is of interest to this study dates from the early 10th century where one Wulfheard gave to the church of St Cuthbert of Chester-le-Street the vill called *Bynnewalle* (Benwell) (Hart 1975, 140, no. 161). This shows that at this period there was a village at Benwell and also that enough of the Wall was standing to make it a notable feature in the landscape for a place to be named after it.

By the 12th century it had become normal to accompany the grant of land to a religious house with a written charter.

The Lanercost Priory Cartulary in Cumbria dates from AD 1169 and is one of the most informative documents in relating the Roman Wall to the landscape. The charters cover a period from c. 1165 to 1364 and relate to an area of the country for which other records are scanty. This appears to be the first charter which specifically refers to the Wall by name and also as a feature in the landscape which

is significantly prominent to be used as a property boundary. The cartulary is also the document in which a number of place-names first appear in the written record establishing the fact that in some areas along the line of the Wall settlements had already been established, probably having been in existence prior to the introduction of Norman rule. The Lanercost Cartulary is also helpful in that there are several small drawings in the margin, possibly of 14th century date, of some of the churches to which the charter refers to and which must have been built out of stones robbed from the Wall. The Priory canons copied the title deeds to their land into a book for ease of reference, and this cartulary is important as the records for this area are not as numerous as those from further south of the country. The charter, written in latin, refers to the Wall as *murus* and whether or not qualified by *antiquus* seems invariably to mean The Wall ie. Hadrian's Wall (Todd 1991, I, 101). The Wall is mentioned on at least 13 occasions from the second half of the 12th century to the second half of the 13th century and is used in the context as boundary marker. The first charter, dating from AD 1165, refers to the Wall as *murum antiquum* and *muro antiquo* as well as mentioning the vill of Walton, the churches of Walton and Irthington and some land called Apeltrethway (Todd 1991, II, 1, no 1). This is significant as it indicates that at this period there was a village built on top of or adjacent to the Wall at Walton and that it had a church probably built of stone, with another church also probably built of stone from the Wall at Irthington just south of the Wall, and some land through which the Wall must have passed if it is accepted that Apeltrethwayt and the modern Appeltree at turret 50b are one and the same place. The land granted to Lanercost was bounded by the Burtholm Beck and Banks Burn, the Irthing and the Roman Wall, and Walton vill is described as having a boundary running along the Wall from the King Water to Sandysike ie from slightly west of turret 55a to slightly east of turret 56b. In a charter dated 1234/7? by Roland de Vaux the land boundaries refer to not only the Wall but also the ditch and also states that the Wall is of

stone (Todd 1991, II, 58, no 43) while an earlier charter of Richard Newton in 1175 granted the church of Grinsdale, west of Carlisle, to the Priory (Todd 1991, II, 116, no 93). Accepting that the church was most likely to have been built from the available Roman stone, from the adjacent Roman Wall, it can be seen that at this time there appears to be an increase in the amount of stone being robbed from the face of the Wall.

Walter Beivin granted a furlong of land in Birdoswald to Lanercost in 1194 (Todd 1991, II, 168, no 144) suggesting that he lived within the confines of the fort at this time. The position of the land granted was set out in relation to the Wall and the boundaries given can be followed on a modern map and an ancient boundary dyke is still visible in the field at the south-east corner of the rectangular field. In 1603 Henry Dacre had a single tenement there "by the Pight Wall" of nearly 32 acres, which is possibly the same land (Todd 1991, I, 99). Thomas of Moulton and Matilda his wife granted all their land of Wathcoleman, which probably extended from the north bank of the Irthing to the Wall (Todd 1991, II, 5), to the Priory in 1256 with power to cultivate, build, improve and enclose. It may be that even though the Wall was used as a boundary it could be and was used as a source for building material. Several other known place-names are mentioned in the cartulary including Lanerton, Beaumont and Bleatarn as well as a place called Pridevaus which is thought to have been between Triermain and Gilsland (Todd 1991, II, 187, no 161). Three other 12th century churches mentioned are Upper Denton, Nether Denton and Burgh-by-Sands as well as a chapel at Triermain while a late 13th century charter refers to St Andrew's church in Newcastle. A charter of AD 1199 refers to no new shielings to be erected (Todd 1991, II, 177, no 153) which indicates they were already being built at this time and archaeological evidence from *Mons Fabricius* in Northumberland shows that those along the Wall were built of Wall stone.

The parish boundary of Irthington is set out in relation to the Roman Wall in AD

1275 and it may be inferred that this boundary dates from well before the Conquest period if the church was constructed prior to the this time. The charter also has a number of drawings in the margin which refer to specific buildings including Nether Denton, Upper Denton and Grinsdale churches, Lanercost Priory as well as that of a stone crenellated building on a document of AD 1240 regarding the manor of Prestour which was close to the north boundary of Walton parish. If this building was actually built of Wall stone it may well be the earliest known drawing of a non ecclesiastical structure which had robbed the Wall for its materials.

Most of the charters consist of deeds of gift to the Priory and the parcels of land are set out by reference to the then existing land-marks; the Roman Wall, the Pollard Oak, St Mary's Oak, the oak called Whiskerhutton, the Peter Gate, the Red Gate, the Maiden Cross on the Maiden Way, certain cairns of stones and various roads (Ferguson, 1866-73, 136).

In a deed recorded in the register of the Priory of Wetheral c. AD 1200 Walter Bayvin or Baynin gave to the monks there 20 acres in the field of Birdoswald "namely the land called 'Haythwait' as far as the great oak, which stood upon the ancient fosse; from that oak, as far as the breach in the wall, wherein lay the footpath leading from Treverman, from the said breach, as far as the oak standing upon the wall towards the east; and from the last mentioned oak, as far as the fosse leading to the watercourse of Irthing" (Prescott 1897, 225). In 1901 when the Birdoswald Estate was put up for sale (Walton and Lee 1901) the document containing the Particulars, Plans, Views and conditions of sale, included a field called Haithwood which lay to the west of the fort. The Wall originally formed the north boundary of this field. It is clear that the name of the field remained virtually unchanged for at least 700 years which has some implications for fields called, for instance, Castle fields and Wall field etc which may have been named at

a similar early date. The document is held at Tullie House Museum, Carlisle Acc no 1993-57.

In AD 1290 Richard Turpin of Houghton had a great lawsuit with the Prior of Tynemouth in order to settle the property boundary between them. The description of the boundary is interesting as it ran north from the 'thwertonerdyk' to the stream running between the 'strother' of Houghton and that of Rudchester (Bates 1886, 253). Thwertonerdyke was the name given to the Wall and is from the 'Placita de Banco Paschae anno 18 Edward 1' rotu 76 (Hodgson 1840, II, iii, 282, note v).

The Black Book of Hexham, or *Liber Niger*, is a carefully drawn up rental of the lands and possessions of Hexham Priory and convent dating from c. AD 1477 and was not completed until AD 1479 (Raine 1864, no 46, Vol II, vi). The bulk of the lands of the Priory were in Northumberland and the greater part of the benefactions seem to have been made in the 12th century or soon after (Raine 1864, no 46, Vol II, xv). A 12th century deed records the grant of Carraw from Richard Cumin to the Prior and Convent of Hexham which translates "Richard Cumin to all his men health. Known be it to you all that by the counceil and assent of my wife Hextilda and of my friends and men I have in perpetual aims granted and given, and by my present charter confirmed to the church of St Andrew of Hextoldes-ham and the canons serving God there of the fields of my ville of Stancroft that land which lies near the place called Charrau, and extends towards the west near the Wall of the Romans by boundariés to them pointed out" (Hodgson 1840, II, iii, 396). The original deed is from the Dodsworth Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. It is of note that the Wall is referred to as that of the Romans and not that of the Picts. Several objects are mentioned which served as landmarks. The Roman Wall is mentioned once or twice in the Black Book and the occasional use of the word 'chester' could imply the site of a milecastle or fort

connected to the Wall.

Robert de Ogle held the whole vill of Carraw, the bounds of which are related to the Wall which is called the *muri Romanorum*. Part of the deed reads in Latin "Also he holds the whole ville of Carraw, and it is several at all times of year through the whole field of the said ville on the south side of the Wall of the Romans within these metes and bounds ... beginning on the east side of the well flows from the said Wall into Thormentrother; and by the strand of the said well towards the west by a certain dyke between the Graysid and the field of Carraw; and so following the said dyke, towards the south-west between the moor of Stancroft and the Syde towards the Langstrother; and from thence by mere stones set up in the Langstrother to the dyke of Grensyde; and from thence by a rivulet westwardly towards the north by boundary stones set at intervals between the field of Carraw and the moor of Houden to the Wall aforesaid, and so by the said Wall towards the east to the said well first named" (Hodgson 1840, II, iii, 397).

At a place called Ryscheles it is referred to as *antiquum fossatum* and the Roman road is called the *stane-gate quae dicitur Karlel-gate*. West of Vindolanda (Chesterholm) the stane-gate formed the boundary of the estate belonging to the Priory of Hexham, called The Rishiels (Hodgson 1840, II, iii, 288). Not only was the Wall used as a boundary but also part of the Roman road from Corbridge to Carlisle.

Land at Benwell which the Priory owned is described in terms of the *antiquum fossatum*.

In AD 1430 a copy was made of an old roll containing a survey of the Fawdon lands in Byker on the east side of Newcastle. This was probably the name of the land which Nicholas of Byker bought from Robert of Fawdon in AD 1256. The date of the original survey is not given, but it was probably about the middle of the 14th century. Among the place-names the Wall '*le Walle*' is frequently mentioned, and

in one place it is called Peghtwalle (Dodds 1930, 268). The original document is held at the Tyne and Wear Archives Service, 574/95 labelled *Liber Cartarum* folios 96-97.

In 1541 a survey was carried out by Sir Robert Bowes and Sir Raufe Elleker regarding the condition of the border between England and Scotland (Hodgson 1828, 171-242) and was published on 2 December 1541 (British Library, Cotton MS. Caligula B. viii). Part of this document reads "Apon the west syde of the riv' of North Tyne there be many waste groundes aswell wythin an olde mansion or devysion goynge through the said countrey called peighte wall stretchinge from the Est unto the west as without the same wall. And fyrst wythin the said wall endlonge the same from a place called Wallwyke westwarde unto a place called the wall towne there bene div'se towneshippes & hamlettes that were in tymes past Inhabyted nowe lyinge dyssolate & waste" (Hodgson 1828, 228). The same document suggests that watchmen are stationed along the Wall to guard the countryside against thieves and robbers, notably between "Cawe gap and Knagburne head, Sewynge shealles cragge, besye gap, Carrowe bogge and the Wall near Teppermore yate" (Hodgson 1828, 239). This suggests that small huts may have been erected in these places to provide shelter for those concerned and these would probably have used either sheilings which may have been abandoned by this stage or re-used the milecastles and turrets in which to build small stone shelters.

In a Inquisition carried out in 1558/9 the boundaries of the Manors of Triermain and Laversdale in Cumbria are described in terms of their relationship to the Roman Wall (Hutchinson 1794, Vol 1, 100, 119). The southern boundary of the Manor of Triermain is given as from Birdoswald to Wall Bowers, which follows the line of the Wall, while the boundary of the Manor of Laversdale uses the Wall from Cumrenton to Bleatarn.

In the mid 17th century the Lordship of Haltwhistle was forfeited by Sir Charles Howard to the Commonwealth for treason and the sale document of 1653 set out the

bounds of the land. Part of the boundary reads " And so to the Wall Town Mosse; and then east through the said Mosse to the Mear Poole and so along the Mear Steand to the Cawburn and from thence north east to the Roman Wall, and north beyond the said Wall up the Cawburn by the Summer Yards to an old Double Dyke and so along the said dyke to the Caw Gap and so south over the Roman Wall to the Staving stone" (Adamson 1894, 168).

An examination of the title deeds to lands in East Matfen has produced records of depositions taken by an arbitrator for a dispute of land boundary between Welton and East Matfen manors in 1687 (Hedley 1946-50, 50). John Cutter of Sandhoe, yeoman, aged 60 years, stated that part of the boundaries of East Matfen were "then flat south upon ye dyke of Weltden Fogg Closes to ye Roman Wall nigh to ye loaning that comes from Weltden town and so up ye Roman Wall near a place called ye Seggy syke to a place in ye north dyke of ye westmost close of Weltden grounds where he hath generally heard reported there stood a cross called ye Stobby Cross and from hence further westward to Weltden cowpool on ye west corner of Weltden grounds nigh which place there is ye ruins of an old castle or tower and from thence along ye Roman Wall westward". Other depositions refer to an old castle or tower on the Wall which must be milecastle 18 near East Wallhouses and it is evident that it survived in AD 1687 to a fair height above ground (Hedley 1946-50, 53).

The 1613 Survey of Newburn manor, west of Newcastle, gives the boundaries as follows "to a place commonly called Hatchester hill and descending towards the south by the said dyke unto an ould wall called the Pightes Wall, and so going over the said Wall" (Dodds 1930, 136).

In an Award for dividing the wastes on the north side of the Wall in the manor of Henshaw and Melkridge in the parish of Haltwhistle, dated 1787 and 1793, the bounds of the area are described in part by the Roman Wall (Northumberland

Record Office reference no. 2219/55). John Hodgson says (1840, II, iii, 325 h) that "from Lodom Slack, on the west, to the east end of Snailsgill, the Roman Wall owes its great preservation to its being the boundary between the townships of Melkridge on the north and Henshaw on the south".

During the later half of the 19th century John Clayton, owner of the Chester estate purchased a number of properties along the Wall including Housesteads, Hot Bank, Steel Rigg and Shield-on-the-Wall. At Hot Bank the Roman Wall is named as one of the boundary points for the land purchased as the Wall had by now become long established as a boundary for a fixed unit of land. The deeds relating to the Clayton purchases are held at the Northumberland Record Office with the reference ZHA 22 1-7.

The use of maps, plans and estate surveys from the medieval period to the twentieth century as well as charters and deeds gives a wide and varied amount of information ranging from the Wall being used as a boundary either for a parcel of land or field to that of a township or ecclesiastical area; either a parish boundary or a monastic holding. Field names and the names of farms and cottages, many of which have now been lost or forgotten, can be discovered from these sources as well as the timespan that the Wall has been recognised as a major feature in the landscape and has influenced their identity. Drawings of the Wall on early maps suggest that it was standing to perhaps something approaching its full height in parts, although these may possibly have been copies of maps from late antiquity. The variety of different names given to the Wall tend to reflect people's changing knowledge of the past and place-names can show not only the continuity of occupation but also the density of land settlement along the Wall line in various periods in the past. It is obvious that the Wall has played a significant role in the landscape and has been used as a focal point in the description of the

topography; verbally, pictorially, legally and in the written word. This close human relationship with the Wall over a long time period has ensured its place-name survival in greater variety and depth than any other monument in the British Isles.

CHAPTER 6

ANTIQUARIANS, TRAVELLERS, LETTERS AND DIARIES.

Although the first post-Roman references to the Wall occur as early as the mid 6th century (Gildas 'On the Ruin of Britain') and AD 731 (Bede HE I, 12) it is not until the 16th century that the Wall was studied or described with a view to learning more of its history and layout, as well as informing those interested in antiquarian study, of the areas through which the Wall passed. Some antiquarians made a special trip to the north to follow the line of the Wall as best they could and to publish their findings in regards to new inscriptions and pieces of sculpture. Others made notes of their journey with only a view to a private correspondence some of which is still only in manuscript form. Some travelled the Wall for the pleasure and interest which it aroused, in some cases publishing an account of their journey while others corresponded quietly with antiquarians of the day passing on any new information regarding discoveries of inscriptions etc which may be of help to those who were making an academic study of the Roman remains in Britain and along the line of the Wall. A study of these publications and writings, both public and private, can yield helpful information regarding a number of categories of this study. It is possible therefore to obtain an idea of the height and condition of the Wall and structures in various places over time as well as references to the robbing or destruction of the Wall in different places and to what purpose the stone was being used. References to place-names and buildings or cottages which may no longer survive help give an idea of what is no longer to be seen in the landscape as well as the original location of inscriptions and sculpture. These writings and letters also reveal something of the movement of stone as well as the erection of buildings and cottages in the vicinity of the Wall.

It is to Bede at the Monastery of Jarrow that the first detailed reference of the

Roman Wall in the post-Roman period is usually attributed where he gives the dimensions of the Wall. "This famous and still conspicuous wall was built from public and private resources, with the Britons lending assistance. It is eight feet in breadth, and twelve feet in height; and, as can be clearly be seen to this day, ran straight from east to west" (HE I, 12). As the Wall was situated close to Jarrow on the opposite side of the river Tyne Bede may have measured the height and breadth for himself. The height that Bede mentions shows that a substantial part of the Wall was still standing and it is likely that further to the West perhaps even higher sections of the Wall were still remaining. Bede also mentions the Antonine Wall in Scotland with which he appears to be familiar. The text says that the stone Wall was built after but adjacent to the earthwork built by the Emperor Severus (HE I. 5). It is obvious that the local knowledge of the history of the Wall had already become muddled by this time. The text also implies that no one had translated or understood the latin inscriptions which must still have been visible in places. Bede also records the building of a church by the monks of Hexham by A.D.634 at *Hefenfelth* on the Roman Wall (Bede III, 2) which implies that the Abbey owned the land and that the Wall was being stripped of its stone for the building materials with their permission.

Apart from charters, deeds and maps which mention or show the Wall as a boundary or landmark, no documents appear to survive giving an account or history of the Wall from before the 16th century when antiquarian interest began to make itself known although there is a 13th century reference to the Wall from Carlisle to Tynemouth in the Chronicle of Lanercost in the form of a jingling rhyme (Lukis 1883, no.76, 62) reading:

Hic de Karliolo murum fossam faciebat

Tendentem Tynemouth, Bellum quid forte timebat.

"Here from Carlisle he made a ditch and wall

Stretching to Tynemouth because he greatly feared war".

Extensive use of research of the Antiquarian sources of the Roman Wall (Birley E. 1961 1-24) together with the register of Former Antiquarians and the Select Bibliography by the same author has provided much valuable information without which this chapter would have proved difficult to produce. Many of the descriptions and quotations have been kept in their original spelling and syntax. The earliest surviving description of the Wall, appears to be printed in Camden's Britannia, derived from the Itinerary of John Leyland who visited the area in 1539, remarking that at Bowness "ys part of the Pict Wal evidently remaying", and at Drumburgh "the Lord Dakers Father builded upon old Ruines a prety Pyle for Defens of the Contery --- The Stones of the Pict Wal wer pulled down to build Dumbuygh. For the Wal ys very nere yt". Leyland obtained much valuable information of the Wall from a local clergyman living in Newcastle: "Doctor Davell told me that S. Nicolas chirch in Newcastel stondith on the Picth Waulle. Bytwyxt Thyrwal and North Tyne yn wast Ground stondest yet notable Peaces of the Wall, the which was made *ex lapide quadrato*, as yt there appereth yet. Looke wher as the Grownd ys best enhabited thorowg the Walle, so there yt lest appereth by reason of Buildinges made of the stones of the Waule" (Birley E. 1961, 2). Davell goes on to describe the line of the Wall and recognises the fact that robbing of the Wall for building stone was taking place, especially on the lower, more fertile soil areas which were more populated than in the central sector. It is apparent that an interest was being taken in the remains of the Wall by local antiquarians by the early part of the 16th century. The information from Leyland makes it clear that in the Bowness-Drumburgh area the Wall was still standing visible in parts although he does not say how high the remains were. Over the next centuries a number of antiquarians and travellers commented on the state of remains of the Wall.

In a note written by an unknown author (Harleian MSS., no. 473) from information

received in 1574 from archbishop Threkeld of Hereford, who had been born at Burgh-by-Sands, and used by Camden in Britannia, the information regarding the state of the Wall is as follows: "As towching Hadrian's wall, begyning abowt a town called Bonus ---. The forsaid wall begynning there, and there yet standing of the heyth of 16 fote, for almost a quarter of a myle together". This appears to be the first time that the Wall is said to have been built in the reign of Hadrian and if the height can be accepted as accurate, suggests that in this sector parts of the Wall stood to a substantial height even at this period. It also strongly suggests that the archbishop had seen an inscription with Hadrian's name, perhaps similar to the one found at Hotbank milecastle recording its construction by the Second Legion Augusta during the reign of Hadrian (RIB 1638). Christopher Hunter of Durham who travelled along the Wall as far west as Housesteads and Chesterholm at the beginning of the 18th century also referred to the Wall as that of Hadrian. His reports were published in Philosophical Transactions in 1702 by way of a series of letters (Rogan 1954, 121). Perhaps the reason this point was not picked up was that the accepted thinking at the time was that Hadrian built the Turf Wall and Vallum with the Stone Wall being assigned to Severus.

Reginald Bainbrigg, the master of Appleby Grammer School in Westmorland who provided source material for Camden, made notes during two trips he made along the Wall; one in 1599 and the other in 1601 (Haverfield 1911, 343), the manuscripts of which are in the British Museum (Cotton Iulius F. VI). On Bowness he notes "The fundacions of the pict's wall may be sene, upon the west skar at a lowe water, covered with sand, a mile or more within the sea" (folio 318). In a letter dated 1739, Sir John Clerk who had earlier made two journeys along parts of the Wall, wrote to Roger Gale saying "The wall of Severus is very conspicuous here for a mile or two, though sometimes levelled to the ground. Nothing remains but the middle of the building, and indeed this appears in some places where I measured it 8, 9, and

10 feet high, the outside and inside have been of squared stones. Thousands of cartloads remain and twice the quantity is visible in all the houses and inclosures hereabout. Nothing is to be seen, half a mile from this wall, but small inclosures of two or three acres fenced with these stones" (Lukis 1883, no.76, 93). William Hutton who travelled the Wall in 1801 said of Bowness "Here I saw the Wall recently stocked up, and the stones laid in heaps for further use. One mile prior to the extremity of our journey ---Severus's Wall, being five or six hundred yards long, and three feet high. In two places it is six feet high --- but has no facing stones" (Hutton 1813). The Wall face was still being robbed in the mid 19th century with some of the lowest courses being used to build the Solway Hotel (Hodgson 1840, 303) and a letter published in the Cumberland Pacquet newspaper in 1791 records the digging for stone "in the ruins of the ancient wall, which is said formerly to have surrounded the whole village" (Watkin 1879-80, 530).

It is obvious that large sections of the Wall were still visible in the vicinity of Bowness in the early 18th century and that it was still being robbed of its fabric just over one hundred years ago.

A letter written by the unlicensed curate of Haltwhistle Christopher Ridley, dated c.1572 (British Library, Harleian Manuscript no. 374), details of which were incorporated in the original edition of the Britannia (1586), describes the line of the Wall and refers to it as the Kepe Wall, which is the only time that the Wall has been called by this name that has been noted so far in this research. He states that "the hyght remainith in sum placis yet vij yardis" and "at every mylis end theyr hath been a great bildyng or castle having thre curtyngis" while "at every half myles end is theyr a tower". Although Ridley does not say where the Wall is six yards high it is more likely to have been in the central sector, perhaps in the area of Walltown Craggs although Bainbrigg says the height here was 9 feet in 1599 (Haverfield 1911, 367). For a full transcription of the Ridley letter refer to

Research on Hadrian's Wall (Birley E. 1961, 2). Ridley also refers to a fort called Overton which is to be associated with the Iverton mentioned by Camden in his trip of 1599 along the Wall with his friend Sir Robert Cotton and printed in the 5th edition (1600) of Britannia. This site can be identified as Chesterholm/ Vindolanda (Birley E. 1951, 181) as it is referred to as "Chesters-Iverton or Chesters-on-Caudley" in 1691 by Thomas Machell, an antiquarian of Kirkby Thore, who was in correspondence with Dr. Mill, Principal of St Edmund Hall, Oxford and had obviously visited not only this site but also Great Chesters. In the 1600 edition of Britannia, Camden also mentions a place which he did not visit called Forsten but which must have been demolished by 1732 as it is not shown on the Horsley map of that year.

In c.AD 1587 a Proposal to Fortify the English Border was presented to Queen Elizabeth 1 (Bain 1894, 300) in which the idea of the Roman Wall was used as the ideal model (fig. 62). "Such a worke, with bulwarkes flancked but close, for that they ar to be dwelte in, is humbly hearin propounded to your Majestie, the same to be drawen alonge the whole Scottyshe Border, by a contynewall trenche dystended from the easterne to the westerne sea, and strechinge to 80 myles in lengthe or thereabouts". After discussing several other Walls on the Continent, the Roman Wall is mentioned: "The same is Pightes wall in Northomberlande, which was made by the Romaynes, beinge a massyve wall at the least 16 foote in thicknes, with many square towers upon yt, and passinge thoroughe parte of Newcastell, dyd streche from the one sea unto the other, aboute 80 myles" (Bain 1894, 301). This document is interesting in that it is a serious proposal to erect a frontier barrier based on the format of the Roman Wall which had perhaps had not visited by the anonymous writer as the thickness of the Wall is given incorrectly as 16 feet rather than as the possible surviving height.

The Elizabethan antiquary William Camden visited the Wall in 1599, the notes of which he incorporated in the 1600 edition of his Britannia. He noted that the Wall, which he refers to as the Pict Wall, is to be seen at the village of Stanwix and that traces of the Wall were still visible in the bed of the river Eden; also that at Birdoswald the Wall crossed the Irthing by an arched bridge which implies that part of it was still standing at the time. However Bainbrigg who also travelled the Wall in the same year makes no mention of an arched bridge at the Irthing (Haverfield 1911, 366). He mentions "great mounds of earth piled up within the Wall, as though for watching over the district". He may have been referring to the fort of Throp before ploughing began to wear away the ramparts (Birley E. 1961, 6). At the fort of Carvoran Camden says an old woman in a small cottage showed him an altar and that the ruins of the fort were still plainly visible. The farmhouse erected in 1745 (Bruce 1851, 268) was a replacement for the one seen by Camden and ploughing between 1776 and 1837 demolished the ruins observed by him in 1599. The owner of the fort purposely destroyed the Roman remains to stop the 'curiosity-mongers' trespassing in his fields (Bruce 1851, 267).

Reginald Bainbrigg, in a note which he sent to Camden mentions "a howse newlie buylded" at Blaytarne (Haverfield 1911, 364) where he saw an inscription RIB 2021. There appears to have been buildings here since the mid 16th century (Collingwood 1923, 210), robbing the Wall for their fabric. The inhabitants of Birdoswald showed him where the church stood, implying that within the fort there was still part of a standing structure large enough to resemble such a building. It is suggested by the excavator that this building was a basilica, the remains of which were located partly beneath the modern farmhouse (Wilmott, forthcoming). The house of Thomas Tweddle, at Birdoswald, where Bainbrigg saw an altar RIB 1885, is shown on the 1603 map of the Naworth estate which are held at the Department of Paleography in Durham. At Walltown Crags he measured the height of the Wall as 11 feet whereas Ridley in 1572 and Threkeld in 1574 give the

height as 16 feet which suggests that the top courses had been robbed of 4 feet if all of the measurements are accepted as accurate. In 1708 the height is measured at 9 feet (Gibson 1722, 1051). At Throp, situated on the Stanegate south of the river Irthing, Bainbrigg found an inscription which he said had been taken from Birdoswald fort. Wall stone for the farmhouse and perhaps some of the drystone fences had presumably come from the section of Wall between Willowford and Gilsland. Included in the Papers of Howard of Naworth in the Department of Diplomatic and Paleography, Durham University, is a letter (Cumberland 1-72. C172.254) reading "I return you thanks for your consent for me to take away stones that have fallen from that part of the Roman Wall belonging to Mumps Hall, into the Throp and [the ?] Myford grounds, they are in general near to the Wall [that?] man Winter has had the impudence to lead away a great many of the very finest stones and many of them taken up very close to the Wall, indeed none of them are much distant and [instead?] of the ground being injured it is better they are taken away from the ground". This letter is the only document seen so far during this survey which specifically states that someone has been given permission to take Roman Wall stone for another use, albeit only ones which have fallen from the Wall.

On his second trip 2 years later in 1601 Bainbrigg notes that at Castlesteads fort a countryman had built a square house nearby with stones dug up from the place (Haverfield 1911, 354) and no doubt from the nearby Wall itself. In a letter dated 1727 from Richard Goodman of Carlisle to Roger Gale regarding Castlesteads, he informs him that "on which ground there are yet visible the foundations of walls, and streets, but removed for the sake of buildings and tillage" (Lukis 1883, no.76, 65) while sixty-four years later the remains of the Wall were dug up for nearly a mile, near Castlesteads (Lysons 1816, 133). This would be to the east and west of Milecastle 57 where no remains of the Wall are now visible.

In 1708 Robert Smith travelled along the Wall from Newcastle to Carlisle and in 1709

from Newcastle to Wallsend, the observations of which were printed in Britannia (Gibson 1722, 1051-1060). He noted that east of Chesters two to four courses of ashlar were visible in places with stones above that appearing to have been recently been set up, and at Wallsend "the old inhabitants thereabouts still tell you of vast quantities of stones that have in their remembrance been dug out of it and carried away to build houses" (Gibson 1722, 1057). When Horsley visited the site the ruins of Wallsend were clearly visible. Its ramparts could be traced out, and though the interior had been ploughed and levelled "there were evident remains of two turrets at the western and eastern enteries to the station, and another at the south-west corner" (Bruce 1867, 89). Horsley also noted that the area within which the fort stood was called Well-lawes and that "perhaps it had been called Wall-lawes, there being other instances wherein the names well and wall have been changed the one for the other" (Horsley 1732, 136). Running parallel to the east wall of Stanwix fort is Well Lane which may be a similar instance (Frere 1985, 272 fig 13). In 1783 the spur Wall from Wallsend fort to the edge of the Tyne was traced and many squared stones, bedded in lime, were dug out in several parts of it (Brand 1789, I, 603). This section of Wall was removed in 1903, firstly to the garden of one of the directors of Swan Hunter and later re-erected in Wallsend Public Park, when a new slipway was being built for the ocean liner 'Mauretania'. W.S.Corder (PSAN 1903-4, 42) reports that at the eastern end of the Wall by Swan and Hunter's shipyard "the navvies had been engaged in cutting away and removing portions of the Wall". This stone has recently been re-used to restore the section of Wall at the south-east corner of the fort (Richards 1993, 6). Also re-erected in the Park were the remains of the east gate (Daniels 1978, 58) which have now been returned (1985) to their original position on the site. The colliery which was in operation from 1770 to 1853, utilised some of the Roman stone in the erection of the colliery buildings (Bruce 1867, 89) while in the 1820s the Wall to the west of Wallsend fort was standing between three and four

feet high, covered with brushwood (Bruce 1851, 117) and the tenant of the farm told Bruce that he had got a great quantity of stones from it.

In 1724 Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, Scotland, took a journey to the north of England to see the Roman Wall which he described in a manuscript now deposited, along with all of his other papers, in the Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh under the reference number GD18. Also on this trip was Alexander Gordon who made a journey of his own in 1725 and published his Itinerarium Septentrionale in 1726. While in Newcastle he says of the walls of the city: "I judged they were built out of the ruins of the Roman Wall. The Pandon gate is manifestly Roman on the east side" (Birley. E 1962, 227). Birley considers that the gate may well have contained a higher proportion of stones from the Roman Wall than the rest of the town's fortifications. The author of a pamphlet called A Corographical Survey of Newcastle published in 1649 says of the turrets upon the Roman Wall: "one of these towers remains whole on the town wall of Pampden, older than the rest of the towers, and after another fashion, standing out of the Wall,... this Roman tower in Pampden was lately decayed" (Warburton 1753, 28). It is apparent that in the mid 16th century there was a tower in the city walls of Newcastle which was different to the others and which contained a large element of Roman stones. If the tower was decayed in 1645 it is possible that it was repaired with Roman Wall stone after this date, giving it the appearance of it being of Roman origin. Sir John observed the remains of the stone Wall at Byker and this must have remained in view as Bruce notes that "The Wall in this vicinity must have remained in an encouraging state of preservation until the year 1800 for in the Monthly Magazine of that year we read "At this period a portion of the foundation of the Roman Wall was taken up at Byker Hill, for the purpose of repairing the highways" (Bruce 1863, 43). The ground was certainly being dug for stones in 1801 as reported by Skinner (1801, 26) and here Bruce also records that by 1851 "The facing stones having already

been removed, and it being desirable to have the rocky remnant entirely cleared away, the ground was let to parties without rent for a short term of years, on condition of their clearing it, and bringing it into cultivation" (Bruce 1851, 117). West of Newcastle at Walbottle, Sir John says that he knew of few places where the "stone wall and that Ditch called Hadrian's appears more distinctly than between the village of Wallbottle and a deep Gell to the westward of it" (Birley E. 1962, 234). In 1864 a long stretch of the Wall was removed here and more of the Wall was removed in 1926 when the road was re-made (Daniels 1978, 73-4). Slightly west of Halton Shields Clerk observed that "The stone wall hereabouts appears with four or five courses of hewen work" (Birley E. 1962, 237) and some of this, was as well as the fort of Halton Chesters, was probably robbed out in the early part of the 19th century to build Halton Red House which is built out of stones from the Roman Wall and freshly dressed (Bruce 1851, 158). Continuing westwards Sir John records that "Between Portgate and North Tyne ... the praentura in all its parts is very entire for the soil being very moorish and barren, few inclosures and thinly peopled there is scarce any thing carried away that belonged to the stone wall". This observation is important in that it confirms and re-enforces other antiquarian notes that in some of the less fertile, steeply sloping and rocky areas through which the Wall passed, where pastoral farming was predominant, ploughing had not destroyed the Wall to the same extent that had occurred in the eastern and western sectors where the richer and more easily worked soils lent themselves to arable farming and a higher population density. These two factors: population and farming practices have a direct bearing on the survival or otherwise of the Roman Wall.

In 1741 Sir John made another journey along part of the Wall from the North Tyne to Thirlwall. He related that close to milecastle 30 the facing stones were all removed. "I observed some of them near Simonburn and took notice that all the

neighbouring farms and inclosures are built out of them, but the middle part of the Wall is almost entire" (Prevost 1962, 255).

In a letter dated 10/4/1735, the vicar of Simonburn wrote to Roger Gale regarding a recently discovered inscription (RIB 1563) in the kitchen wall of the Rectory at Simonburn (Lukis 1885, no. 80, 123). At Thirlwall Clerk considers that the Wall had been reduced in height since he was there seventeen years previously, "I thought that the last time I visited this place the stone wall ... appeared almost at its full height ... 12 feet as Bede makes it above the ground, but now I think most of it is thrown down and the stones removed,... for the building of country houses and enclosures" (Prevost 1962, 256). If this recollection is correct it confirms that in the second quarter of the 18th century this section of the Wall was subject to extensive robbing in a time when the enclosure of the countryside was under way.

In 1725 William Stukeley and Roger Gale travelled along the Wall although the account of the journey, Stukeley's Iter Boreale was not published until 1776. Travelling east from Newcastle he noted that Benwell fort "had a stone wall, the vestiges whereof are sufficiently distinguishable. The village of Benwell subjacent was built out of the ruins of this place, and great quantity of stone is still left" (Stukeley 1776, 66-67). The village consisted of over 200 houses and 951 people in 1801 (Hutton 1813, 143). Alexander Gordon says that in the same year, 1725, Roman stones and inscriptions remain built up within the houses on the roadside (Gordon 1726, 71), while Horsley (1732, 138) says "the ramparts are large and distinct", and refers to Roman inscriptions built up in various houses in Benwell village, including RIB 1342 in William Pattison's house; RIB 1344 in the house of Joseph Willis; RIB 1345 in Mathew Garret's house and RIB 1347 in that of William Gill. A coal shaft had been sunk within the confines of the fort prior to the visit of William Hutton in 1801 who noted that the shaft was lined for a few yards down with stones borrowed from the Roman Wall. Bruce was recording (1851, 138) that the

north area of the fort was now under tillage and had previously been covered by a plantation of trees. Two years earlier Abbatt (1849, 18) reported that in the northern half of the fort were situated farm houses and buildings erected with station stones. These buildings must have been pulled down not long after as by 1858 a water reservoir had been installed in this area on the north side of the fort. Bruce continues "that the larger portion of the station ... is enclosed within the walls of Benwell park ... the enquiring traveller will do well to examine the stones of the park wall. He will soon detect many of Roman mould, ... the larger ones having being derived from the Wall ... the smaller from the curtain wall of the station, or the dwellings erected within it" (Bruce 1851, 138).

In a journey along the Wall in 1920 Jessie Mothersole visited the site. She states that the gardener of Pendower House showed her "what was evidently a fine piece of the southern wall of the fort still standing, some thirty feet long, covered with London Pride and bluebells" (Mothersole 1922, 44). She also says that at Condercum House, on the east side of the fort, "The eastern wall of the fort runs through these grounds. I was told that some of the Roman masonry had been knocked down by soldiers who occupied the house during the recent war, and that it had been very unsatisfactorily replaced by masons". It is evident that she was looking at the wall of the park at Benwell, which Bruce had noted had been built out of stones from the Wall and fort material. This site is now covered by a housing estate built in 1937.

John Horsley visited the Wall sometime in the first quarter of the 18th century, probably around 1725. His book, Britannia Romana, was published posthumously in 1732. Both Alexander Gordon and John Warburton made extensive use of the notes taken by Horsley for their own publications. Horsley's book, which contained a set of plans of the Wall from coast to coast (figs. 63-72), produced by his surveyor George Mark, was considered to be the definitive analysis of the Wall and its

history and was not superseded for over a hundred years.

Hare Hill, which gets its name from the Wall being the Har or boundary between the manors of Lanercost and Walton Wood is situated adjacent to milecastle 53 in Cumbria. Horsley says the height of the Wall measured 3 and a half yards high and possibly half a yard was covered at the bottom. "The foundations of the castellum may be discerned, though there has been a house within it, the end of which has stood against the Wall, and possibly been the occasion of its being preserved at such a height" (Horsley 1732, 153). In 1801 William Hutton passed here noting that "the Wall is ten feet high, and five yards long but the front stones are gone. Near this place the Wall is five feet high. Over the valley, for the space of two hundred yards, the Wall is four feet high, and a boundary hedge grows upon its top". The reason for this survival is perhaps not hard to find as Jenkinson notes: "A resident, with whom we had a chat, seemed very concerned that the Earl of Carlisle should think so much of this old wall as to let it remain, when the stones could have been used, instead of bricks, in building a house which was then being erected not many yards distant" (Jenkinson 1875, 198). Archaeological evidence from excavations at Hare Hill turret 53a show that a medieval wall was erected on top of the, by now demolished, Roman Wall whose stone had been used in the building of Lanercost Priory. As the medieval boundary wall does not cross the interior of the turret, it has been suggested that the turret may well have survived into the medieval period perhaps being used as a watch tower or beacon (Simpson 1933, 266).

The year 1801 saw two antiquarians walking the Wall and making useful observations: The Birmingham septuagenarian William Hutton travelled in July and the Reverend John Skinner from Somerset in September. Skinner walked the Wall from east to west while Hutton walked the Wall in both directions. At Planetrees, close to the east bank of the North Tyne, a section of the Wall 14 metres long and up to six courses high above the offset is exposed and consolidated. Hutton

described in detail the sight before him on 22nd July 1801, which contrasts markedly with the situation today; "Had I been some weeks sooner, I should have been favoured with a noble treat, but now that treat is miserably soured. At the twentieth milestone, I should have seen a piece of Severus's Wall seven feet and a half high and two hundred and twenty four yards long: a site not to be found on the whole line. But the proprietor, Henry Tulip, Esq, is now taking it down, to erect a farmhouse with the materials. Ninety five yards are already destroyed, and the stones fit for building removed. Then we come to thirteen yards which are standing, and overgrown on the top with brambles. The next forty yards were just demolished; and the stones of all sizes, from one pound to two hundredweight, lying in one continued heap, none removed. The next forty yards are standing, seven feet high. Then follows the last division, consisting of thirty six yards, which is sacrificed by the mattock, the largest stones selected, the small left. The facing stones remain on both sides. This great exhibition must be seen no more". The farm house being built referred to by Hutton is the present farm of Planetrees. Skinner who passed this way about three weeks later remarks "I was much gratified by seeing the original structure about 100 feet in length above the ground in a grass field to the left. This is nearly four feet high and the same breadth as before noted, 8ft. The facing stones are wrought, and in some places the cement is quite solid on the outside. This part is, I understand to remain, but Mr Clayton the proprietor has been sometime employed and is still employed in taking up the foundations on each side of it" (Coombs 1978, 34). Skinner also noted that near Chesters fort he found an inscription built into a newly erected wall and says that the masons had used many more in building the wall but had not left the inscriptions facing outwards (Coombs 1978, 36).

Among books and papers presented to the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries are the manuscripts of Dr. John Lingard, one of which describes a Mural Tourification from

Wallsend to Gilsland in August 1807 (Bosanquet 1929, 130). Lingard says that the Wall is standing 5 feet high at Sewingshields. He was one of the last travellers who saw this section of Wall as it was pulled down in 1811 to erect the buildings of Sewingshields farm (Bosanquet 1929, 151). The last remnants of Sewingshields castle which was built at least partly out of Roman Wall stone were pulled down in the mid 19th century by the tenant farmer Mr Errington (Bruce 1867, 175).

MILITARY ROAD

One event in the second half of the 18th century produced a flurry of letters and correspondence in regards to the destruction of the Roman Wall which is worth noting. In the medieval period the road west of Newcastle towards Carlisle consisted of a trackway along the north side of the Wall ditch (Spain 1934, 228). The inability of the English army in 1745 to intercept Charles Edward Stuart, 'Bonnie Prince Charlie', at Carlisle owing to the poor state of the existing road resulted in the decision by Parliament to pass a Bill known as 'An Act for Laying Out, Making, and Keeping in Repair, a Road proper for the Passage of Troops and Carriages from the City of Carlisle to the town of Newcastle upon Tyne'. The original survey for the military road was carried out sometime between 1746-1750, a map of which, 10 ft 6ins long by 2ft wide, is in the Northumberland Record Office, reference no. ZAN MSM5. The route, intended for military not civilian travel, uses the Roman Wall as its foundation (fig. 21) from Newcastle westwards to a point close to Sewingshields. The Act lays down the route as from the West Gate by way of East Denton, Chapel Houses, Heddon-on-the-Wall, Harlow Hill, Portgate, Chollerford Bridge, Walwick, Carrawburgh etc to Carlisle (Lawson 1973, 178), construction of which began in July 1751. The remains of the Wall from Newcastle to the central sector provided a cheap and convenient source of material, followed a fairly straight line and, since it often formed a boundary between farms or estates, would cause the least upset to landowners (Lawson 1979, 110). As the road was being constructed several people mentioned to the antiquarian William Stukeley that the Wall was being destroyed. Stukeley, in a bid to get the work stopped, or the line of the road changed away from the Wall, spoke and wrote to the Princess of Wales expressing his concern "at the havoc now making of this most noble antiquity by the surveyors of the new road carrying on by the act of Parliament, who pull the cut and squared stones of the wall down, and beat 'em in pieces with sledge hammers to lay the foundation of the road with 'em, and in a

country abounding with stone, and where the Roman road still remains, if they take the pains to seek for it" (Lawson 1973, 188). Stuckeley had ridden along the Roman Military Way with Roger Gale in 1725 and realised that this would have provided an alternative to the destruction of the Wall. Writing to the princess he hoped "to engage your powerful patronage to protect this most noble, most magnificent work, from further ruin, not from enemys, but from more than Gothic work men, quite thoughtless and regardless of this greatest wonder, not of Brittain only, but of Europe" (Lukis 1885, 141). He continued "How carefully do the Popes support and repair the ruins of Roman magnificence, well aware of the benefit accruing from thee resort of travellers to see them" (Lukis 1885, 143). His entreaties were of no avail and the construction of the road and the Wall's destruction continued. In a scathing paper read to the Antiquarian Society in 1759 when he declared:

"This grand work, the glory of the Roman Power, the glory of Britain, the greatest work the Romans ever did, this stupendous work ... is thus demolished by these senseless animals, under the sanction of government; and in a country where there can be no want of materials, being entirely stone and gravel" (Lawson 1973, 189).

In the eastern half of the Wall it is apparent from the previous antiquarian accounts that there were large lengths of the Wall surviving to various heights. In a series of letters from the Denton Estate (Lawson 1973, 180) during 1752, negotiations were taking place regarding the construction of the road on the line of the Wall as well as to what was to happen to the stones taken from the Wall. In the vicinity of Rudchester it was proposed "to keep upon the Roman Wall as much as possible" (Honeyman 1933-4, 33). In July of that year a letter from Wm. Newton to Edward Montague says "there is likewise a bad Stone Wall upon it that Divides the Closes, that must be taken away also; but the Stones of that and other stones that may be easily be got out of the Ruins of the Old Roman Wall on each side of the

Road must be reserved to make a Stone Wall on each side of the Road. As the Road is to be upon the Old Roman Wall, I think the Damage of Ground will not exceed Four pounds a year" (Lawson 1973, 181). Honeyman (1933-4, 340) says that the landowners were not willing to offer land free on condition that the road was made beside instead of upon the Wall. However Lord Northumberland, Greenwich Hospital and Lord Carlisle gave property on their ground provided that their tenants be paid the damage during their leases and have their ground fenced off on both sides. These lands included Chapel House, Newburn, Throckley and part of Heddon (Lawson 1973, 182).

Wall stones were used to construct a bridge for a small stream under the Military Road close to turret 14b (Goodburn 1978, 419, no 3) as well as to construct field walls on the side of the new road. A century later traces of the Wall were still to be seen in various parts of the road. In Wall mile 9 Bruce noted that "on the slope of this hill, and the ascent of the next, traces of the Wall are to be seen in the middle of the road" (Bruce 1867, 123).

Although it has been suggested that the construction of the Military road on top of the Wall preserved it from casual stone robbing (Dodds 1926, 18), which maybe partly true in that the facing stones which were buried at a depth underground seem to have survived to some extent, it is plain that any visible remains of the Wall at ground level were pulled down and broken into suitable road building material, including parts of the milecastles and turrets which happened to be in the path of the contractors. Many pieces of sculpture and countless inscriptions which had not been collected or saved by previous antiquarians or collectors ended up as road material. In 1926 at Great Hill close to Heddon-on-the-Wall, 60 yards of the Wall were removed, which had survived under the Military Road, when Northumberland County Council made improvements to the road (Brewis 1927, 113). Before the construction of the Military Road through Cumberland, which does not follow the line of the Roman Wall, there was an old pack-horse road which closely

followed the line of the Roman Wall and much of it was still used as a cartway, bridleway or footpath in the 19th century. The line of this track was identified by Hodgson: "From Birdoswald to Banks it is a cart road for much of the way on the foundation of the Wall; from Banks to Walldub it is represented by a footpath, and from here to Walton either road or footpath closely follows the Wall. At Walton, however, the road diverges from the Wall, though a footpath follows it; and from Newton-of-Irthington either footpath or bridle road is found as far as the hamlet of Old Wall. Hence to Bleatarn the road makes a considerable detour to the south, but a footpath is said to exist along the Wall; and from Bleatarn as far as the east side of Brunswick Park either cart road or bridle road occupies the site of the Wall" (Hodgson 1902, 255). From Tarraby the road still exists as a footpath or bridleway as far as Stanwix. In the late 18th century the Wall at Stanwix was visible and upstanding and was still being robbed in the mid 19th century as noted by Abbatt "We saw a quantity of stones lying in Mr Watt's field which had been taken from the footpath. We spoke to the old Clerk, Mr John Hill, who informed us that he remembered the Wall standing 60 years ago, four feet high upon the path" (Abbatt 1849, 48).

Although, as Stukeley suggests (Lukis 1885, 141), the line of the Roman Military Way was still visible in the 18th century in parts of Northumberland and was probably still used as a thoroughfare, in Cumberland it is the line of the Wall itself or sometimes the area of berm between the Wall and the north ditch that was used as the cartway to the east. Scrutiny of the Ordnance Survey maps of the line of the Wall will show a number of areas where footpaths and rights of way exist which have become fossilised in the landscape and reflect the fact that the line of the Roman Wall was a major communication route from east to west.

CHAPTER 7

LEGISLATION AND RECORDING

The interest of the antiquarians and the later archaeologists in the research and excavation of Hadrian's Wall eventually resulted in a halt to the digging for, and robbing of, the remaining facing stones of the Roman Wall although it was not until 1925 that some of the Wall was added to the Fifth List of Ancient Monuments. In 1929 the bulk of the Wall was scheduled under a joint entry for Cumberland and Northumberland and in 1931 the best known parts of the Roman Wall were under legal protection with the enactment of the Roman Wall and Vallum Preservation Order which had been brought about by the threat to the monument of quarrying at Cawfields.

The current legislation in force is the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act of 1979.

During the 20th century many of the sites in private ownership were given into the guardianship of the nation and are currently administered by English Heritage. The scheduling of the monument is currently undergoing a detailed revision under English Heritage's Monument Protection Programme. English Heritage maintains an 'estate' of guardianship Wall sites which includes approximately 8.2km of curtain wall, 7 milecastles, 18 turrets, 5 forts, 2 temples, 3 short lengths of vallum, 2 bridge abutments and some of the Military Way.

In 1889 a proposal to record the Wall by way of a series of photographs was suggested (PSAN 1891, 4, 29) but was taken no further and it was not until 1985 that the first stone by stone record of the Roman Wall was undertaken by English Heritage and is currently being carried out by the author (Whitworth 1994, 67-77).

When the project is completed it is envisaged that all of the visible sections of the Wall will have been recorded to a scale of either 1:20 or 1:50 together with a set of

rectified photographs. To date only 8.8km of the total original length of 117km of Roman Wall remains visible of which 5.7km is consolidated and 3.1km is unconsolidated.

CONCLUSIONS

The Roman Wall has played a significant role in shaping the present day look to the physical landscape along the frontier corridor. The survival, and destruction, of the Wall is a result of an interplay between geology, geography, soil types, population densities, climate, farming practices, national politics, antiquarian interest and, last but not least, tourism.

The areas where the Wall survives are those where the soils are generally not suitable for the cultivation of crops, the climate is less favourable and where the topography did not allow for the establishment of large settlements with a high population density. In the lower lying, better drained and more fertile areas of the east and west the Wall suffered from the effects of ploughing as well as stone robbing to clear the land and to build small farm houses. West of the Red Rock Fault at Lanercost little or no Wall survives, partly due to the nature of the sandstone but mainly as a result population growth, arable farming and consequent building in this section. In the central sector the soil types, topography and less favourable climate did not allow for such a destructive population density. Many of the buildings along the Whin Sill were related to transhumance farming and the soils did not allow for deep ploughing. The steep terrain on the north side of the Wall in this sector also meant that the Wall also served a function to stop flocks and herds straying to close to the steep and dangerous escarpment. In the 18th century farming practices began to change with the establishment of a lasting peace along the border. Land enclosures began to make their mark, the use of fertilisers meant more land could be brought into profitable production and new farmhouses were being built to replace older, smaller buildings.

It is the medieval period that the main destruction of the Wall has taken place with much of the height and length of the Wall being reduced in the last three hundred

years.

The re-use of Roman stone in later buildings is not confined to the frontier system but can be seen in many instances in Anglo-Saxon, Norman and medieval work throughout the Roman province of Britannia, especially in those areas which had been military or urban centres which continued to be occupied or were re-occupied after the Roman withdrawal. However it is along the line of the Wall that the greatest number of buildings have survived that have utilised stone work taken from one single Roman monument. No other ancient monument in the British Isles has had such an impact on the adjacent landscape or has been utilised in so many ways as to ensure its survival in such a diversity of forms.

Archaeological excavation of sites together with environmental data analysis has shown that in the immediate post-Roman period there was continuity of occupation within a number of the forts on the Wall well into the 6th or early 7th centuries although the Wall as a political or military frontier no longer existed. In this period, the so called Dark Ages, the building medium appears to have been mainly in timber. Whether this was due to the loss of knowledge of how to make mortar and to build in stone or because timber was seen as a more suitable material is not known as yet.

The art of stone building construction can be seen to begin in the Anglo-Saxon period with the erection of churches and other ecclesiastical buildings in such places as Newcastle, Jarrow, Corbridge, Hexham and Carlisle all of which were using in part stone robbed from the Wall and forts. During this period the evidence so far indicates that only religious buildings were being built of stone although further research and archaeological excavation may prove this not to be the case. The robbing of the fabric of the Wall and of the forts was not taking place on a large scale in the pre-Norman period so apart from those areas where collapse had already occurred, the Wall must have been standing to almost its full

height along the entire length of its course from Wallsend to Bowness-on-Solway. The only indication of its height at this period is recorded by Bede as being 12 foot. He may well have measured the height of the Wall himself, living so close to it as he did. The height he gives is possibly the south face as the indications from Milecastle 48 (Poltross Burn) suggest that the parapet on the north face would have been somewhat higher. Measurements taken in the medieval and post-medieval period suggest that sections of the Wall were still extant to a considerable height to within the last two hundred years.

With the completion of the Norman conquest of the north a period of serious stone robbing began on the Wall with the building or re-building of churches and the establishment of major monastic foundations together with the erection of castles and towers as well as pastoral farming buildings related to transhumance. Many of these were erected within the remains of forts and milecastles while others were built adjacent to it, taking advantage of the terrain and the supply of ready cut stone. This rapid expansion of State and Church control resulted in large areas of Wall face being lost both in terms of length and height. The research to date suggests that many of the sites along the Wall were occupied in the medieval period when political and social instability were rife. Archaeological techniques and recording methods have improved in the last half of the 20th century and have been able to identify the elusive occupation evidence of the post-Roman and Medieval periods. In the region of 36 buildings with an ecclesiastical nature have been shown to have had Roman stone built into their fabric. Some of these still survive while others have been re-built on the former site. Other churches have been totally demolished and it is only the fact that they were built close to the Wall that suggests that in all likelihood that they were built from Wall stone.

Fortified buildings became an identifiable feature in the landscape after the Norman ascendancy took hold in Cumberland and Northumberland. Castles were

built or re-built in stone some of which came from the Wall as is evidenced by the location of inscriptions and altars found re-used as well as obvious Wall material itself. As tension mounted between the English and Scottish Crowns and conflict broke out in the 14th century and the resultant Border Wars there was a flurry of activity to built small defensive stone towers or peles, many of which were built close to the Wall and further reduced the height of the monument. The 16th and 17th centuries saw the building of fortified farmhouses or bastles close to the Wall or even within forts; as at Housesteads. There is evidence for over 30 fortified buildings having Roman stone in their fabric along the line of the Wall. The unification of the Crowns in 1603 slowly saw the establishment of a more peaceful situation, one in which it was possible for a more settled and confident population to begin to make a new life.

There is very little structural evidence remaining for post-Norman or medieval domestic buildings surviving along the Wall line and it is mainly from archaeological excavations, plans, maps and notes by antiquarians that a picture can be obtained. The earliest structures for which there is evidence are the 12-15th century shielings along the Whin Sill which were used by herdsman when sheep and cattle were brought to the summer feeding grounds for grazing. Although there is little surviving structural evidence for these buildings some place-names have retained their name such as Winshields, Sewingshields and Shield on the Wall. Twelfth to fourteenth century occupation is known from Vindolanda and Birdoswald fort has produced similar evidence.

The earliest surviving map, by Mathew Paris, which shows the Wall dates from the mid 13th century just before the conflicts in the border region broke out. The importance of this map as far as the Wall is concerned is that it shows conclusively that it was still such a prominent feature in the landscape as to be recorded on a national map. Later maps were also to include the line of the Wall and perhaps if

it had not been for this fact modern scholars and researchers may have assumed that the Wall did not survive to any extent by the early medieval period.

A number of manorial and estate plans survive as well as early charters and deeds which show that the Wall was used as a focal point in the landscape. Documents such as the Lanercost Cartulary and the Hexham Black Book, Lord William Howard's Survey of the Barony of Gilsland, the manorial plans of Benwell and Elswick and the estate plan of Halton Shields all show that the line of the Wall had become fossilised in the landscape by the Norman period and was being used as the legal boundary for properties as well as the boundary between fields and also as the boundary between parishes and civil administration units. These as well as other plans and documents can supply a vast amount of information regarding the number of buildings which were erected close to the Wall but which now no longer exist, as well giving some indication of population densities and the distribution of buildings along the line of the Wall. These documents also show that the Wall was called by a variety of names in different periods ranging from the Picts Wall, Roman Wall, the Longwall, Kepe Wall, Severus' Wall and Hadrian's Wall.

The Wall has left its imprint on the landscape by the number of place-names which exist related to the Wall, ranging from settlement sites, topography and streams to field names. The study of place-names has shown that in Northumberland many are of Anglo-Saxon origin while in Cumberland there is a Scandinavian influence. There are approximately 30 place-names with a 'Wall' element in their makeup, and a study of the other settlements or places along the Wall shows that many were established in the Norman or post-Norman period. The Wall must have been a more than significant feature in the landscape for so many sites to be named after it. The 'chester' element of various places on the Wall also reflects the influence of the Roman remains. Numerous fields next to the Wall also have that element in their identification as do a number of landforms such as Wall Fell.

Although antiquarian interest begins in the mid-16th century, and it is from this time that increasing documentary evidence begins to emerge regarding the height of the Wall in various places, Bede is regarded as the earliest English author to deal with the Wall by giving precise figures for its height and thickness. From these sources it is possible to gauge the effect that stone robbing was having on the height of the Wall as well as providing contemporary evidence of this robbing and the various buildings that were using the stone work. In the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries keen interest was being taken in the uncovering of sections of Wall and interested parties were recording how high these sections of Wall were before they disappeared under road building such as the Military Way as it was being constructed in the 1750's. By comparing some of the antiquarian notes and diaries regarding heights in various sites along the Wall with the present situation it becomes clear that the Wall height was still surviving until the 18th century to a much higher degree than is generally recognised.

The late 19th and 20th century concepts of what constituted the 'national heritage' resulted in the preservation and consolidation of the monument so that now Hadrian's frontier is recognised by UNESCO as a World Heritage site.

APPENDIX 1

The place-names listed below are ones that have included in their makeup some form of reference to the Roman Wall.

Abbreviations:

- A: Armstrong. *Place Names of Cumberland.*
B: Beckensall. *Northumberland Place-Names.*
BR: Bruce. *The Roman Wall.*
C: Camden. *Britannia.*
CR: Crow. *Housesteads Roman Fort.*
H: Hart. *The Early Charters of Northern England.*
HD: Hodgson. *History of Northumberland.*
HO: Horsleys Map.
M: Mawer. *Place Names of Northumberland.*
MC: McLaughlan. *Memoir*

The date relates to when the place-name is first indicated. Some places mentioned no longer exist and the same place-name can be used in several different localities.

C refers to Cumbria; N refers to Northumberland.

Place-Name	Date	Spelling	Source
Benwell.(N)	901	Bynnewalle	H 1975, 140.
Chesterholm.(N)	1600	Iverton	C 1600, 718
Chesters.(N)	1104	Scytlescester	B 1975, 26.
Great Chesters.(N)	7th c	Ahse	CR 1989, 50.
Heddon-on-the-Wall.(N)	1175	Hedun	B 1975, 35.
Low Wall.(C)	1684	Low Wall	A 1971, 72.
Old Wall.(C)	1603	Oulewale	A 1971, 93.
Portgate.(N)	1269	Portyate	B 1975, 42.

Rudchester.(N)	1251	Rodecastra	B 1975, 43.
Shield on the Wall.(N)1	1858	---	M 1858, 36.
Shield on the Wall.(N)2	1851	---	BR 1851, 244.
Stanwix.(C)	1160	Steynweuga	A 1971, 108.
Thirlwall.(N)	1256	Thurlewall	B 1975, 46.
Walby.(C)	1292	Walleby	A 1971, 76.
Walker.(N)	1242	Waucre	B 1975, 48.
Wall.(N)	1165	Wal	B 1975, 48.
Wallbottle.(N)	1176	Walbotle	B 1975, 48.
Wallbowers.(C)	1589	Walle Bowers	A 1971, 117.
Walldub.(C)	1774	Whadubb	A 1971, 111.
Wallfoot.(C)	1611	le Walfoote	A 1971, 111.
Wallhead.(C)	1735	Wallhead	A 1971, 111.
Wallholme.(C)	1543	Walholme	A 1971, 117.
Wall House.(N)	1732	---	H0 map 5.
Wallhouses.(N)	1732	---	H0 map 4.
Wall-Knoll.(N)	---	---	BR 1863, 44.
Wallsend.(N)	1085	Wallesende	B 1975, 48.
Wallshiels.(N)	1732	---	H0 map 6.
Walltown.(N)	1279	Watona	B 1975, 48.
Walside.(N)	1732	---	H0 map 5.
Walton.(C)	1169	Walton	A 1971, 114.
Walwick.(N)	1262	Wallewik	B 1975, 48.
Welton.(N)	1203	Waltenden	M 1920, 210.
Whitchester.(N)	1221	Witcestre	M 1920, 213.

APPENDIX 2

The following places are associated with the Roman Wall by either their proximity to it, references in documents, plans and texts or Wall stone, inscriptions, altars or sculpture found incorporated in their fabric.

ABBREVIATIONS USED FOR REFERENCES:

A: ARMSTRONG, *PLACE-NAMES OF CUMBERLAND* VOL XX.

B: *BLACK BOOK OF HEXHAM*.

CASS: CRAMP, *CORPUS OF ANGLO-SAXON SCULPTURE AND STONEWORK*.

CSIR: PHILLIPS, *CORPUS OF SCULPTURE OF ROMAN WORLD*. 2 vols.

H: HART, *EARLY CHARTERS OF NORTHERN ENGLAND*.

HD: HODGSON, *HISTORY OF NORTHUMBERLAND*. II. iii.

M: MAWER, *PLACE NAMES OF NORTHUMBERLAND & DURHAM*.

P: PEVSNER, *THE BUILDINGS OF ENGLAND. NORTHUMBERLAND*.

RIB: COLLINGWOOD AND WRIGHT, *ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS IN BRITAIN*.

V: *VICTORIA COUNTY HISTORY*.

ALLOLEE:

A Farm at NY 687668 with re-used Wall stone. RIB 1756, 1759, 1760, 1761.

APPLETREE:

NY 595658. First mentioned in 1169 as Apeltrethwayt possibly as a field name (A 116). Two farm buildings on the north side of the Wall contain re-used stone. RIB 1940 found in field wall east of here.

BANKS:

NY 565646. Referred to as Bankys in 1256 in the Lanercost Cartulary (A 70). A

number of the buildings in this village contain re-used Wall stone. (Lysons 1816, cxxxiii).

BANKS:

Built adjacent to the Wall east of milecastle 52. Marked on Horsley's map. No longer visible.

BANKSFOOT:

Situated on north side of Wall west of Leahill. Marked on Horsley's map. No longer visible.

BANKSBURN:

NY 565647. A Farm house built within milecastle 53 (Simpson and McIntyre 1933, 267). Now demolished.

BANKSHEAD:

NY 579649. Referred to as les Bankes iuxta Lanerton in 1346 (A 116). Farm buildings contain re-used Wall stone and is built within milecastle 52. (Simpson, F.G. *et al*, CW2 1935, 247-256).

BEAUMONT:

NY 349595. In 1232 it was known as Bello Monte (A 121). RIB 2036, 2037, 2042 found in village. (Ferguson R. 1890, 85).

BENWELL:

NZ 217646. Referred to as Bynnewalle in 901 and 915 (H 140). Name relates to association with Wall ie 'within wall'. RIB 1342, 1344, 1345, 1347 and CSIR 252, 317, 318. (Abbatt 1849, 18).

BIRDOSWALD:

NY 615663. Named as Bodoswald and Borddosewald c AD 1200 (A 153). Post-Roman and medieval occupation inside fort utilised Roman stone: RIB 1873, 1884, 1885, 1918, 1919, 1927, 1928 1934. (Wilmott, forthcoming).

BIRCKSHAW:

Built across ditch on north side of Wall west of Hare Hill. Shown on Horsley's map. No longer visible.

BLACK CARTS:

A Farm at NY 886714 containing re-used Wall stone inc. RIB 1514. Possibly marked as Old Carts? on 1749 Military Road Map. (authors observation).

BLEATARN:

Called Blaterne c AD 1240 (A 92). A small group of farm houses located at NY 466612. RIB 2021. (Bainbrigg 1911, 364).

BOWNESS:

NY 225628. Bouness in c AD 1225 (A 123). Re-used Roman stone in Church. Village lies within the fort. RIB 2054, 2057, 2058, 2061. CSIR 233, 324. (Lukis 1883, 93).

BRADLEY:

A Farm at NY 775679. In 1279 referred to as Bradeley (M 29). Contains re-used Roman stone inc. RIB 1637. (Hodgson 1840, 289).

BRUNSTOCK PARK:

NY 423 592. Adjacent to north side of Wall. Contained cottages which were demolished in early 19th century (Haverfield 1894-5, 456).

BURGH-BY-SANDS:

NY 329591. Called (parochia de) Burgo c AD 1160 (A 126). Church inside fort built of Roman stone (Ferguson R. 1890, 85). RIB 2038, 2040, 2044, 2045 found in village.

BURNHEAD CRAG:

Medieval cottage adjacent to Cawfield Quarry, using Wall stone (Simpson 1976, 79).

BURNSTEAD:

NY 717660. A private dwelling adjacent to the Milecastle Inn on the B6318. Plaque on lawn says built of re-used Roman stone from the D. Charlesworth excavations at Housesteads in 1970. (authors observation).

BURTHOLME:

Situated at NY 545637. Burtholm in 1256 (A 70).

BYKER:

Wall stone used in the walls of Heaton Park (Bruce 1851, 117).

CALEES :

A Farm at NY 567648 partly built of Wall stone. Referred to as Caleys in 1589 (A 70).

CAMBECKHILL:

A Farm at NY 507637 built within Milecastle 57 using Wall stone (Daniels 1978, 233). Referred to as Camboc c AD 1178 in relation to Lanercost Cartulary.

CARLISLE:

Roman stone seen in City wall, Cathedral and Castle. RIB 2032

CARRAW:

Referred to as Charrau in 1279 (B 84). A Farm at NY 849 711. RIB 1566, 1567.

CARRAWBROUGH:

Farm at NY 866714. RIB 1557. Re-used Wall stone.

CARVORAN:

A Farmhouse at NY 666658. Re-used Wall stone in buildings (Abbatt 1849, 37). RIB 1785, 1788, 1804, 1813, 1814, 1823, 1825, 1827, 1829, 1835, 1840.

CASTLE NICK:

NY 761678. Milecastle 39 had an 18th century building inside, now demolished (*Britannia* 1985, 378 note 5).

CASTLESTEADS:

Buildings at NY 512633 incorporating Wall stone (Hutchinson 1974, 109). RIB 1983, 1992.

CAW GAP:

Farm buildings at NY 727679 built of Wall stone, now demolished (Bruce 1851, 246).

CHAPLEHOUSE:

A Farm at NY 646661 containing Wall stone (MacLauchlan 1853, 51). RIB 1852.

CHESTERHOLM:

Referred to as Iverton by Camden (*Britannia* 1600) and Chesters-Iverton and Chesters on Caudley by Machel in the late 17th century (Birley 1951, 180). Re-dressed Roman stone used in the 19th century buildings.

CHESTERS:

NY 912702. Referred to as *Scytlecester iuxta murum* in 1104-08 (M 44).

CHOLLERTON CHURCH:

Church at NY 931729 with re-used Roman columns (Nichols 1990, 3). Mentioned in 1154 as Choluerton (M 46).

COCKMOUNTHILL:

Marked on Horsley's map adjacent to the Wall. Wall stone visible in buildings.

CORBRIDGE:

NY 984649. Corebriog in 1050 (M 52).

CROOKS:

NY 637662. Farm buildings with Wall stone on south side of Wall shown on 1732 map of Horsley.

CUMRENTON:

NY 491623. Known as Cumrenton in 1589 (A 92).

DOEHOUSE:

Built on north side of Wall opposite Sewingshields. Shown on Horsley's map. No longer visible.

DOVECOTE:

NY 531643. Dufecote in 1537 (A 114).

DRUMBURGH:

NY 265599. Referred to as Drumbogh 1171 (A 124). RIB 2051, 2052 and CSIR 323 found in village.

DUGHAMSTEADS:

A Farm west of Milecastle 46 shown on Horsley's 1732 map, no longer visible.

DYKESFIELD:

NY 308593. Dykesfeld in 1485 (A 128). Built close to the Wall. Possibly refers to the Vallum. Shown on Horsley's map.

FALLOWFIELD:

NY 930685. Medieval village deserted 1595. South of Milecastle 26.

FORSTEN:

Referred to by Camden during his 1599 tour along sections of the Wall (Birley E. 1961, 6). Location of site unknown but was east of Carvoran.

FOULTOWN:

A group of houses built on the Wall indicated on Horsley's 1732 map close to Turret 47a.

GARTHSIDE:

NY 544645. In 1589 referred to as Garthsyde (A 72). Farm buildings contain Wall stone (authors observation).

GLASSON:

NY 252605. Referred to as Glassan in 1259 (A 125).

GREAT CHESTERS:

NY 705668. Farm buildings within fort contain re-used Wall stone. RIB 1727, 1738, 1746. CSIR 359.

GREEN CLOSE:

Approx NY 708668. Buildings shown on 1749 Military Road map east of Great Chesters, no longer visible (Bruce 1867, 232).

GREENHEAD:

NY 661654. Ie Greneheued in 1289 (M 96). RIB 1844, 1848, 1849. Some buildings have re-used Wall stone.

GREEN SLACK:

A sheltered place west of Winshields summit (Mac Lauchlan 1858, 44).

GRINDON:

NY 821695. Grendon in 1279 (M 96). Deserted by 1604.

GRINSDALE:

NY 369581. Called Grennesdal(e) c AD 1180 (M 140). Church referred to in Lanercost Cartulary (Todd 1991, II, No 39, 53). Rebuilt in 1743.

GROTTINGTON:

Grottendun in 1160 (M 96). A Farm at NY 976700.

HALTON CHESTERS:

NY 996679. First reference c AD 1159 (V vol X, 389). Buildings within fort now demolished. Halton Castle built of Wall stone (Bruce 1851, 159). RIB 1346, 1425, 1428,

1436. CSIR 259, 260, 261, 306, 307.

HALTON RED HOUSE:

A Farm at NZ 005685 partly built of re-dressed Wall stone (Bruce 1851, 158).

HARE HILL:

NY 564646. Hare Hill in 1626 (A 72). Farm house within Milecastle 53, now demolished (Simpson and McIntyre 1933, 267).

HARLOW HILL:

NZ 078684. Hirlawe in 1244 (M 102). Re-use of Wall stone in buildings.

HAYTONGATE:

Ayketongate in 1589 (A 71). A Farm at NY 555645.

HEADS WOOD:

A Farm built across line of Wall at NY 503632. Shown on Horsley's map.

HEDDON-ON-THE-WALL:

NZ 135665. Hedun in 1175 (M 109). RIB 1385, 1386, 1387, 1418 found built into Vicarage.

HIGH HOUSE:

NY 605655. So called in 1672 (A 116). Farm buildings contain Wall stone. RIB 1936, 1937.

HIGH SEAT:

A Farm at NZ 102676. Shown on Horsley's map of 1732. RIB 1411, 1412, 1413.

HILLHEAD:

A building adjacent to the Wall west of St Oswald's church shown on Horsley's map. No longer visible.

HOLDYAD HOUSE:

Built across ditch east of Leahill. Marked on Horsley's map. No longer visible.

HOLMHEAD:

A Farm at NY 659661 containing Wall stone (Birley 1961, 75). RIB 1844.

HOTBANK FARM:

A Farm at NY 773682 containing Wall stone (Simpson *et al* 1936, 266-7). Possibly called Milking gap (Horsley 1732) which Hotbank replaced.

HOUSESTEADS:

NY 789688. Several Farm buildings past and present have re-used the Wall and fort material. RIB 1586.

HOWGILL:

NY 539643. Farm buildings contain Wall stone (Bruce 1863, 195). RIB 1961, 1962. Called Howgill in 1668 (A 72).

HURTLETON:

NY 491615. Hurtletonne in 1568 (A 93).

IRON SIGN:

A Farm at NZ 104676. A former public house of the same name existed here until 1965, now demolished. RIB 1408, 1409, 1410.

JARROW:

NZ 339652. In Gyruum c AD 750 (M 123). RIB 1051.

KILNHILL:

A Farm at NY 615669 referred to in 1589 as Killnehill (A 116) containing Wall stone.

KIRKANDREWS:

NY 353584. Kirkandres in c AD 1200 (A 141). Norman church now demolished. Other buildings incorporated Wall stone (Abbatt 1849, 51).

KIRKLANDS:

A building adjacent to the Wall west of Drumburgh. Shown on Horsley's map.

KNOCKUPWARD:

A building adjacent to the vallum west of Carlisle. Shown on Horsley's map.

LANERTON:

A Farm at NY 599649. Called Lanerton in c. AD 1235 (A 115). RIB 1941, 1942.

LEAHILL:

A Farm at NY 583652 with re-used Wall stone. Called Leehill in 1702 (A 116).

LOW FOGGERISH:

A Farm south of Vindolanda with sculptured Roman stone in fabric (Hodgson 1840, 200). CSIR 108.

LOW SHIEL:

Shown on Military Road map of 1749 between Allolee Farm and Cockmount Hill. No

longer visible.

LOW WALL:

A Farm at NY 535643. Called Low Wall in 1684 (A 72).

MELCRISLE SHIELDS?:

A building adjacent to the Wall between milecastle 41 and the present road to Edges Green. Shown on Horsley's map. No longer visible. Perhaps replaced by Shield on the Wall noted by Mc Lauchlan (1858, 44).

MIDGHAMFOOT:

A Farm west of Birdoswald on north side of ditch, now demolished. Shown on Horsley's 1732 map.

MIDLEBANK:

A Farm west of Cockmount Hill shown on Horsley's 1732 map.

MURRAY:

A cottage north-east of Birdoswald marked on Horsley's map. Now demolished. Murres in 1346. (A 116). RIB 1869.

NEWCASTLE:

Several ecclesiastical buildings have Roman stone in their fabric (Winter *et al* 1989, 54). Probable Wall stone used in town walls (Brewis 1934, 2).

NEWTOWN:

Situated at NY 501628 and first mentioned in AD 1278 as Neuton (A 92). Wall stone used in some buildings (Bell 1852).

OLD WALKER:

A Farmhouse situated between Wallsend and Newcastle with Roman stone in fabric (Bruce 1863, 43).

OLD WALL:

Called Oulewale in 1603 (A 93). Situated at NY 482617. Wall stones used in Farm buildings (Bruce 1851, 296). RIB 2016, 2017, 2018.

OLIVERS:

A Farm house west of Cockmount Hill shown on Horsley's 1732 map. now demolished.

OVER DENTON:

NY 615655. Referred to in AD 1169 as Denton (A 81). Roman arch built into Norman church (Daniels 1978, 206).

PLANETREES:

NY 931695. Farm house built with Wall stone (Hutton 1813).

PORTGATE:

Situated at NY 986687 and referred to as Portyate in AD 1278 (M 159). Farm of the same name at NY 980685 is shown on the 1732 Horsley map.

RAMSHAWFIELD:

NY 754649. Called Ramschawes in AD 1312 (M 162). Wall stone used in Farm house (Hodgson 1840, 201). RIB 1707.

RANDYLANDS:

Built close to milecastle 54. Marked on Horsley's map. No longer visible.

RUDCHESTER:

A Farm at NZ 114674 called Rucestre c. AD 1250 (M 170). Re-used Wall stone in buildings (Bruce 1851, 152). RIB 1400, 1404.

RYECLOSE:

Farm house half a mile west of Great Chesters fort (Hodgson 1840, 293). No longer visible.

SANDYSIKE:

A Farm at NY 516641 with re-used Wall stone (Bruce 1851, 288). Referred to as Sandye sykes in 1592 (A 114).

SEWINGSHIELDS:

A Farm at NY 809703 called Swyinscheles in AD 1279 (M 174). Contains re-used Wall stone (Bosanquet 1929, 151 note 40). RIB 1569, 1570, 1571, 1572.

SHIELD ON THE WALL: 1

NY 828706. Referred to by MacLauchlan (1858, 36, note 6) as Shiel a Wall, which had lately been rebuilt. Now ruinous. Shown on Horsley's map as Tipple Hall.

SHIELD ON THE WALL: 2

A Farm house now demolished, probably on the site of milecastle 41 (MacLauchlan 1858, 44).

SHOPEND:

A building or hamlet near Carvoran shown on Horsley's 1732 map, no longer visible.

SOUTH SHIELDS:

NZ 365679. Referred to as Scheles in AD 1235 (M 176).

STANWIX:

NY 402573. Referred to as Steynweuga c. AD 1160 (A 108). Built within Roman fort.

RIB 2030.

STEEL RIGG:

A Farm house seen by Bruce on the west side of the road leading to the present car park. Deserted by 1863 (Bruce 1863, 155). Shown on Horsley's map on the north side of the Wall east of the above road. No longer visible.

STONEHOUSE:

NY 578648. Farm house probably built of Wall stone adjacent to Pike Hill signal tower (Ferguson C. 1874, 214).

ST OSWALD'S HILL HEAD:

A Farm at NY 939694 with Wall stone in fabric. Shown on Horsley's map as St Oswald. RIB 1440.

TARRABY:

NY 409582. Referred to as Terrebi in AD 1177 (A 110).

THE BECK FARM:

A Farm at NY 505635 east of turret 57a built on line of Wall. Shown on Horsley's map.

THE GAP:

A group of 4 buildings adjacent to the south side of the Wall shown on Horsley's map.

THE WALL:

A building east of Howgill shown on OS map of Cumberland 1st series (1865) sheet XII. 13. No longer visible. Name related to Roman Wall.

THROP:

A Farm at NY 628656. Throphouse in 1553 (A 81).

TIPPLEHALL:

Built across vallum west of milecastle 33. Shown on Horsley's map. No longer visible.

TOWER TYE:

NY 891710. Built of Wall stone (Daniels 1978, 122). RIB 1502, 1503, 1506.

TRIERMAIN:

NY 595668. Farm buildings contain Wall stone. RIB 1943, 1944. Treverman in AD 1169 (A 116).

UNDERHEUGH:

A Farm at NY 619662 with re-used Wall stone. Is so named in 1678 (A 117). RIB 1923.

WAGTAIL HALL:

A building on the north side of the Wall east of the Cambeck river. Shown on Horsley's map.

WALLBOTTLE:

NZ 170665. Walbotle in AD 1176 (M 205). Name derived from Roman Wall. RIB 1379.

WALBY:

NY 436604. Walleby in AD 1292 (A 76). Name associated with Roman Wall. Associated buildings close by include Walby Hall, Walby Grange, Walby Croft and Walby Cottage.

WALKER:

NZ 290660. Referred to as Walkyr in AD 1267 (M 205). RIB 1313. Name associated with Roman Wall.

WALL:

NY 917690. Wal in AD 1165 (M 205). Name associated with Roman Wall.

WALLBOWERS:

A Farm at NY 592655. Walle Bowers in 1589 (A 117). Name associated with Roman Wall.

WALL BURN:

NY 595655. A stream running via Appletree to the River Irthing.

WALLDUB:

NY 425608. Whadubb in 1774 (A 111). Name associated with Roman Wall.

WALLDUB:

A building on the south side of the Wall east of Howgill. Shown on Cumberland OS map 1st series (1865) sheet XII.13.

WALLEND:

A farm at NY 655660. Name associated with Roman Wall.

WALLFOOT:

NY 431593. Ie Walfoote in 1611 (A 111). Name associated with Roman Wall.

WALLHEAD:

A Farm at NY 455609 referred to as Wallhead in 1735 (A 111). Name associated with Roman Wall.

WALLHOLME:

A Farm at NY 585644. Referred to as Walholme in 1543 (A 117). Name associated with Roman Wall.

WALLHOUSE:

A house built across the north ditch of the Wall west of Portgate. Shown on Horsley's map. No longer visible.

WALLHOUSE:

A building on the north side of the Wall west of Walby. Shown on Horsley's map.

WALLHOUSES:

NZ 039685. Name associated with Roman Wall. 18th century toll house built across part of the turret (Woodfield 1965, 92).

WALLKNOW:

A building adjacent to the Wall east of Stanwix. Shown on Horsley's map. No longer visible.

WALLSEND:

NZ 300660. Walesende c. AD 1085 (Breckensall 1975, 48)). Name associated with Roman Wall.

WALLSHIELDS:

Built adjacent to the Wall close to milecastle 33. Shown on Horsley's map. No longer visible.

WALLTOWN:

A Farm at NY 679665, referred to as Waltona in AD 1279 (M 205). Partly built of Wall stone. RIB 1731. Name associated with Roman Wall.

WALSIDE:

A building adjacent to the Wall opposite St. Oswald's church. Shown on Horsley's map. No longer visible.

WALTON:

NY 523645. Referred to as Walton in AD 1169 (A 114). RIB 2006. Name associated with Roman Wall. Wall stone in cottages (Bruce 1851, 287).

WALWICK:

NY 903705. Referred to as Wallewik in AD 1262 (M 205). RIB 1451, 1459, 1475, 1476, 1480, 1485. Name refers to Roman Wall.

WALWICK NEW HOUSES:

A building erected across the ditch west of Tower Tye. Shown on Horsley's map. No longer visible.

WARDEN:

NY 913664. Waredun in c. AD 1175 (M 206).

WELTON:

NZ063674. Waltenden in AD 1203 (M 210). Re-use of Roman Wall stone in Walton Hall (Bruce 1863, 64).

WHITCHESTER:

NZ097677. Witcestre in AD 1221 (M 213). Name related to a Roman milecastle or fort.

WHITEFLAT:

A Farm at NY 495625 first referred to as Whiteflat in 1589 (A 94). Shown on Horsley's map built on the vallum.

WILLOWFORD:

A Farm at NY 625665 with re-used Wall stone (Jenkinson 1875, 199). Mentioned in 1599 as Weloford (A 81). RIB 1862, 1863, 1864, 1865, 1866.

APPENDIX 3

MILECASTLES AND TURRETS AND THEIR RE-USE

The following sites have evidence of either being re-used or covered in the post-Roman period by buildings. This re-use of Roman sites indicates that much of the Wall fabric, including the forts, milecastles and turrets was still available in the medieval and post-Medieval periods. Many of the forts along the Wall have evidence for post-Roman activity within them.

TURRETS

TURRET 7B DENTON HALL:

18th century pottery found within the Turret (Birley E. 1930, 148).

TURRET 18B WALLHOUSES WEST:

18th century built over the south-east part of turret with the doorway just over the turret's eastern wall (Woodfield 1965, 92).

TURRET 34A WEST GRINDON:

Archaeological evidence includes medieval pottery and walling adjacent to the turret (Charlesworth 1973, 102).

TURRET 34B SEWINGSHIELDS:

Sewingshields farm buildings cover the site of the turret (Daniels 1978, 136).

TURRET 42B GREAT CHESTERS:

Appears to be shown on Horsley's map of 1732, no. 7 as a farm called Green Close. Recorded by J.C. Bruce (1867, 232).

TURRET 43A COCKMOUNT HILL:

This turret appears to be under the site of Ryeclose farm as shown on Horsley's map in 1732, no 7. Hodgson (1840, 293, note u) places Ryeclose about 1/2 mile west of the fort of Great Chesters.

TURRET 46A HOLMHEAD:

This turret is covered by the present farm house of Holmhead. (Birley E. 1961, 75).

TURRET 46B WALLEND:

The farmhouse of Wallend covers the turret. (Birley E. 1961, 75).

MILECASTLES

MILECASTLE 16 HARLOW HILL:

A Milecastle is shown on the 1732 Horsley map, no. 4. A plan made in 1620 suggests that earlier occupation at Harlow Hill may have covered the Milecastle (Dodds 1926, 182-5).

MILECASTLE 31 CARRAWBURGH:

The milecastle is approx 120m east of the fort. Horsley's 1732 map, no. 6 shows two buildings in this position and the Military Road map of 1749 shows a building here as well.

MILECASTLE 35 SEWINGSHIELDS:

Archaeological excavations have produced medieval pottery and buildings within the Milecastle (Haigh and Savage, 1985).

MILECASTLE 39 CASTLE NICK:

Excavations have revealed an 18th century building within the Milecastle (Frere 1986, 378 note 5).

MILECASTLE 41 SHIELD ON THE WALL:

Horsley's map of 1732, no. 6 shows a Castle in approx this position and a Richardson painting (Laing Art Gallery rec. No 36. G. 10344) shows a farmhouse at Shield on the Wall. Mac Lauchlan (1858, 44) refers to traces of a milecastle adjacent to the farm.

MILECASTLE 49 HARROW'S SCAR:

Excavations here have revealed a 17th century farmhouse within the Milecastle

(Richmond 1953, 212).

MILECASTLE 50 HIGH HOUSE:

Medieval building foundations, pottery, glass and clay tobacco pipes dating from 1650-1750 found within the Milecastle (Simpson 1913, 312). High house Farm shown south of Turf Wall on Horsley's 1732 map, no. 8.

MILECASTLE 51 WALL BOWERS:

Shown on Horsley's 1732 map, no. 8 on north side of Wall. Excavations indicate a 18-19th century farmhouse built within the site of the milecastle (Haverfield 1914, 190).

MILECASTLE 52 BANKSHEAD:

Shown on Horsley's 1732 map, no 8. Modern Bankshead farm lies within the Milecastle (Simpson *et al* 1935, 249).

MILECASTLE 53 BANKSBURN:

Banksburn farmhouse built within Milecastle (Simpson and McIntyre 1933, 267). Farm no longer visible.

MILECASTLE 57 CAMBECKHILL:

Cambeckhill indicated on Horsley's 1732 map, no. 8 and the present farmhouse covers the site of the Milecastle (Daniels 1978, 233).

APPENDIX 4.

MAJOR BUILDING TYPES CONTAINING ROMAN STONE

The following is a list of buildings, both extant and demolished, for which there is evidence that they contained Roman stone within their fabric.

A: ECCLESIASTICAL:

BEAUMONT CHURCH. NY 349595

Wall stone in 12th century Norman church fabric. (Richards 1993, 185).

BENWELL TOWER.

Recorded in a survey as belonging to Tynemouth Priory in 1590 and demolished in 1831 (Rowland 1991, 82).

BOWNESS CHURCH. NY 223624

12th century church built within fort mainly of Roman stone (Pevsner 1988, 73).

BOWNESS RECTORY TOWER. NY 223623

Late 14th-early 15th century tower now demolished, presumably built of Wall stone (Perriam 1988, 193).

BRAMPTON OLD CHURCH. NY 510615

Built within the Roman fort is a 12th century church containing Wall stone. Adjacent is the 14th century vicar's peel (Robinson 1982, 73).

BURGH-BY-SANDS CHURCH. NY 328591

Built within Roman fort is a 12th century church with Wall stone in the fabric (Ferguson. R 1890, 85).

BYWELL ST. ANDREW. NZ 048615

10-11th century Anglo-Saxon west tower contains some re-used Roman stone (Cramp 1984, 168, no 2). Approx 3.5 km south of Wall.

BYWELL ST. PETER. NZ 049614

Nave north wall and west part of chancel are part of 8th century Anglo-Saxon church (Pevsner 1992, 205) with probable re-used Roman stone in part of fabric (authors observation).

CARRAW. NY 850711

A 12th century? tower presumably of Wall stone, to which the Prior of Hexham added a stone house in 1406 (Hodgson 1840, 397).

CARLISLE CATHEDRAL. NY 395559

12th century Augustinian Priory and parish church of St. Mary. Re-used Roman stone in south transept and truncated west end (Pevsner 1988, 88).

CHAPELHOUSE. NY 646661

An 17th century, or earlier, chapel possibly erected within the visible remains of milecastle 47 (Maclauchlan 1853, 51).

CHOLLERTON CHURCH. NY 931719

13th century church with Roman pillars in south arcade of nave (Pevsner 1992, 232). Called Choluerton in 1154 (M 46). Approx 1km north of Wall.

CORBRIDGE. ST ANDREWS CHURCH. NY 988644

7-8th century west porch and nave walls and 10th-11th century west tower built of Roman stone including internal arch (Pevsner 1992, 236).

CORBRIDGE. VICAR'S PEEL. NY 988644

Built c AD 1300 with Roman stone from the fort of *Corstopitum* (Pevsner 1992, 237).

CROSBY CHURCH. NY 448596.

Late 13th? century church probably built of Wall stone 9Whellan 1860, 158).

GRINSDALE CHURCH. NY 372580

12th century church probably built of Wall stone, rebuilt in 1743. A 14th century drawing of the church is on the Lanercost Cartulary (Todd 1991, 116).

HALTON CHURCH. NY 997678

Originally Norman, though the north west nave quoins may be Saxon (Pevsner 1992, 297). Built south of the nearby Roman fort and Wall probably with stone from site.

HEDDON-ON-THE-WALL CHURCH. NZ 135669

7-8th century Anglo-Saxon church with Roman stone in fabric (Hodges 1923-4, 276).

HEXHAM ABBEY. NY 937642

7th century church and crypt of St. Wilfred built of Roman stone.

Two other churches, no longer surviving, built at the same time; one dedicated to St. Peter and one to St. Mary both presumably utilising Roman stone (Pevsner 1992, 323).

IRTHINGTON. NY 499617

12th century church built of Roman stone (Bruce 1851, 295).

JARROW. NZ 339652

7th century Monastic church built with Roman stone (Hodgson 1812, 132).

KIRKANDREWS UPON EDEN. NY 354584

12th century church now demolished but probably built of Roman stone. Present church built 1776 (Collingwood W.G. 1923, 235).

LANERCOST PRIORY. NY 556637

12th century Augustinian priory and monastic buildings incorporating much Roman stone in the fabric (Bruce 1863, 189).

LANERTON. NY 599649

Lanercost Priory grants permission to erect a church in Lanerton manor in AD 1294. Probably used Wall stone (Todd 1991, II, no. 271, 367).

NETHER DENTON. NY 595645

12th century, or earlier, church built within Roman fort (Frere 1977, 374) probably built of Roman stone. Granted to Lanercost c. AD 1174. Re-built in mid 19th century.

NEWBURN. NZ 166654

12th? century church. Roman stones with diamond brooching. Partly rebuilt in 19th c. (Bruce 1863, 56).

NEWCASTLE.

St. Andrews church of mid 12th century, possibly a rebuilding of an earlier 10-11th century chapel. Part of tower is 12th century and contains re-used Roman Wall stone. Other religious buildings in which it is highly likely that Roman stone was used include St. Johns, All Saints and St. Nicholas (Winter *et al* 1989, 54).

OVER DENTON. NY 615655

The 11-12th century church contains a chancel arch built from a dis-used Roman arch, possibly from Birdoswald, whose original tooling was removed in 1881 (Daniels 1978, 206).

OVINGHAM. NZ 085637

The Anglo-Saxon church of St. Mary the Virgin is of mid 10th-end 11th century date and appears to incorporate Roman stone in the tower (Goodacre 1990, 5).

STANWIX. NY 401573

Built within Roman fort, the church is known to have used Roman stone in its fabric (Hutchinson 1794, 577).

St. OSWALDS CHURCH, HEAVENFIELD. NY 936696

Although rebuilt in 1737 the church contains some Roman stone in its fabric and a Roman altar is used as a cross base within the church. First mentioned by Bede in the 7th century (Daniels 1978, 104).

WALLSEND. NZ 305673

11-12th century church of the Holy Cross appears to have been partly built of Roman stone (Oswald 1883, 23).

WARDEN. NY 913664

Church with a pre-Conquest tower of early 12th century date. Internal imposts of tower are of Roman origin and probably some of the church fabric (Taylor 1980, 633).

B: DEFENSIVE:

BELLISTER. NY 701630

A ruined 13th century fortified hall house with a later 13th or 14th century tower built of Wall stone (Rowland 1987, 48).

BIRDOSWALD. NY 615664

Medieval tower, no longer visible utilised the Roman stone from the fort and the Wall (Wilmott, forthcoming).

BLENKINSOPP CASTLE. NY 665645

Name first recorded in the 12th century. Roman stone used in construction (Rowland 1987, 48).

BRACKENRIGG. NY 232614

A medieval (16th c.) bastle house incorporating wall stone in its fabric (Periam 1988, 198). Breckenrigge in 1589.

BRADLEY HALL. NY 777675

First recorded in 1306 as the 'Braadeleye in Marchia Scotia' (Hodgson 1840 II, iii, 326). A bastle or type of fortified farm house re-using large Roman stones as quoins (Ryder 1991-2, 8).

BURGH-BY-SANDS. NY 333592

A late 12th century Manor house/tower built over the Wall ditch using Roman facing stones (Hogg 1954, 109).

CARLISLE CASTLE. NY 398563

The 12th century Keep contains re-used Roman stone as do some sections of the towns north wall (Watson and Bradley 1976, 14).

DRAWDYKES CASTLE. NY 419586

Formerly a 14th century tower house partly built of Roman stone (Hugill 1977, 83).

DRUMBURGH CASTLE. NY 268598

Early 14th century tower house rebuilt as a large bastle house in the 16th century. Extensive use of Roman stone (Graham 1911, 242).

GLASSON. NY 254605

Barracks House is a medieval (16th c.) bastle house built with facing stones from the Wall (Periam 1988, 199).

HALTON CASTLE. NY 998678

A late 13th, early 14th century stone house with a late 14th, early 15th century tower incorporating Roman Wall stones (Bruce 1851, 159).

HAUGHTON CASTLE. NY 919729

A 13th hall house with 14th century tower with possible re-used Wall stone. 1.5km north of Chesters fort (Rowland 1987, 44).

HEXHAM GAOL. NY 936643

Built in 1330 almost entirely of Roman stone presumably from Corbridge Roman fort (Rowland 1987, 90).

HOUSESTEADS. NY 790688

A 16th century bastle house built of Roman stone incorporates the east guard chamber of the south gate (Whitworth 1990, 127).

LINSTOCK CASTLE. NY 428585

A 12th century building once belonging to the Bishops of Carlisle. Only a square tower or pele tower remains. Wall stones visible (Jenkinson 1875, 195).

NAFFERTON CASTLE. NZ 074657

13th century castle probably using Wall stone. Now ruinous 1.2km south of Wall (Rowland 1987, 84).

NEWCASTLE. NZ 638250

First Norman castle no longer visible but presumably utilised the Wall and fort for building material (Brewis 1934, 2).

PEEL CRAG PELE TOWER. NY 753676

A medieval pele tower built of Roman stone, on the south face of the Wall, east of turret 39b. No longer visible (Simpson 1976, 109).

PORTGATE. NY 986686

Possibly the site of a medieval pele or tower house visible in 1708 being used as a dwelling. Probable re-use of Wall stone (Camden 1722, 1054).

RUDCHESTER. NZ 113675

Part of a 13th century medieval tower house utilising Roman stone incorporated within the present buildings (Bruce 1851, 152).

SCALEBY CASTLE. NY 449624

Late 13th early 14th century castle with Wall stone evident in its construction (authors pers. observation).

SEWINGSHIELDS CASTLE. NY 812705

A stone tower north of the Wall first mentioned in 1415. No longer visible but certainly built of Roman stone (Jackson 1992, 108).

THIRLWALL CASTLE. NY 660663

Late 13th-early 14th century stronghold built of Roman stone (Jackson 1992, 115). Thurlwall in 1255.

TRIERMAIN CASTLE. NY 595668

Early 14th century castle. Surviving masonry is of re-used Wall stone (McIntire 1925, 253).

WALLTOWN. NY 679665

A medieval tower built of Wall stone . No longer visible. Stone used in present farmhouse (Hodgson 1840, 324).

WELTON. NZ 063674

A ruined 15th century tower built of Roman stone with a 13th or early 14th century predecessor (Bruce 1863, 64). Waitenden in 1203.

WILLOWFORD. NY 625665

A medieval pele tower built of wall stone. No longer visible (Jenkinson 1875, 199).

APPENDIX 5

The following is a list of Roman sculpture which has been re-used in post-Roman structures as recorded in the *Corpus of Sculpture of the Roman World. Great Britain. Volume I Fascicule I. Corbridge Hadrian's Wall East of the North Tyne.*

The variety of types of buildings that the sculpture is found in indicates that Roman buildings associated with the Wall were being robbed over a long time period, and that the type of building that it was put into bore no relationship to the importance of the piece. The sculptural pieces do not appear to have played any part in the decoration of the building, being used only as part of the fabric.

CSIR	YEAR FOUND	LOCATED
1	1907	Hexham Abbey nave.
2	19th Century	Near Hexham Abbey.
12	1907	North wall of Hexham Abbey.
27	1725	Over a doorway in Corbridge.
44	Before 1888	Hexham Abbey.
47	Before 1754	On vicar's glebe, Corbridge.
49	1702	Used in Middle Ages as holy-water stoup in church.
60	1725	Used as base for market cross.
68	1881	South transept foundations of Hexham Abbey.
70	1907	Vicar's Pele Tower, Corbridge.
74	1854	Built into wall in Corbridge market place,

77	1810	Built into courtyard wall of Dilston Hall. Now in east wall of chapel.
79	1958	Built into enclosure wall of mausoleum west of Corbridge.
80	1958	Built into enclosure wall of mausoleum west of Corbridge.
81	Before 1732	At door of house in Corbridge.
83	Before 1914	In wall of vicarage bothy, Corbridge.
95	1720	In front of house at Corbridge.
106	1887	Hexham Abbey newel stair in tower.
108	1906-8?	Hexham Abbey.
109	1906	Hexham Abbey.
110	Before 1907	Hexham Abbey.
113	1906-8?	Hexham Abbey.
114	Before 1881	Vicarage bothy, Corbridge.
127	1906-8?	Hexham Abbey.
134	1755	In an old causeway, Corbridge.
136	Before 1914	Vicar's Pele, Corbridge.
170	?	Vicar's Pele Tower, Corbridge.
171	1906	Hexham Abbey.
180	Before 1888	Hexham Abbey.
193	1783	Tynemouth Priory foundations.
200	Before 1716	In ruined house, Risingham.
234	1753	In old house at Risingham, demolished before 1753.
236	1858	Built into a wall at Mitchell's printing works, Newcastle.

252	Before 1732	Built into wall of house at Benwell.
260	1600	In garden wall, Halton castle.
261	Before 1852	In an external rear wall of Halton castle.
265	1826	Used as gatepost, Townfoot Farm, Risingham.
281	Before 1732	In a house wall at Benwell.
282	Before 1732	In a house wall at Benwell.
285	1716	In a house wall at East Denton.
286	1725	In a stable wall, Denton.
287	1887	In Pele Tower, Newburn, near Benwell.
290	1932	In a garden wall, Heddon.
303	1832	North Gosforth chapel.
329	1782	Jarrow church.

APPENDIX 6

A list of Roman sculpture found re-used in later structures as recorded in the *Corpus of Sculpture of the Roman World. Great Britain. Vol I, Fascicule 6. Hadrian's Wall west of the North Tyne, and Carlisle.*

<u>CSIR</u>	<u>YEAR FOUND</u>	<u>LOCATED</u>
3	Before 1891	Crow Hall Farm, s-e of Chesterholm.
6	1887	Crow Hall Farm.
37	1827	Chollerton churchyard.
44	1885	Medieval gateway in Staward Peel.
49	1907\8	Field wall south of Great Chesters.
52	Before 1732	Willowford courtyard wall.
57	c. 1680	Used in a weir.
60	Before 1851	Garden wall, Sunnyside Farm, Walton.
80	Before 1867	Cottage wall, Chesterholm.
85	1838	Old wall on north side of Carrawburgh fort.
88	Before 1769	Cottage wall, Carrawburgh.
108	1832	Wall of Low Foggerish Farm, south of Chesterholm.
133	Before 1694	Stone wall, Castlesteads.
175	1976	Field wall, Chesterholm.
178	c 1729	Wall of farm building, Carvoran.
206	c 1911	In field wall south of turret 37b.

218	Before 1732	Used as steps in a house at Carvoran.
227	Before 1792	In stable wall, Castlesteads.
230	1599	Wall of Drawdykes Castle.
231	1787	Wall of the church at Stanwix.
249	Before 1732	In a door jamb at Ramshawfield.
250	1835	In a field wall near Chesterholm.
261	Before 1725	Used as a mounting-block Great Chesters Farmhouse.
263	1825	Blenkinsopp Castle.
265	1807	Associated with a medieval motte at Gilsland.
270	Before 1725	In 17th century house wall at Scaleby Castle.
271	1939	Carlisle Castle Keep.
272	1841	Old church at Stanwix.
273	Before 1867	Garden wall of house at Beaumont.
274	1870	Kirkbampton church.
279	Middle Ages	St. Oswald-in-Lee church nave.
303	Before 1830-5	Passage wall of house at Chesterholm.
304	1769	Used as a cattle rubbing post in a field near Chesterholm.

315	1599	Built into internal wall of Corby Castle.
320	20th Century	Wall of barn at Irthington.
321	20th Century	In wall of pigsty, Sandysike Farm, Walton.
324	1927	Cottage wall, Bowness-on-Solway.
338	1801	Carrawburgh Farmhouse.
359	1807	On stone wall near Chesterholm.
366	20th Century	Lanercost Priory cloister.
394	20th Century	In a field wall at Chesterholm.
449	Before 1830	Kitchen pasage of a house on the Chesterholm estate.
450	1981	In field wall at Chesterholm.
452	1981	In field wall at Chesterholm.
453	1981	In field wall at Chesterholm.
494	1828	City West Walls of Carlisle.

APPENDIX. 7

A list of re-used inscribed Wall stones, altars and tombstones taken from the *Roman Inscriptions Of Britain* Vol. I, (Collingwood & Wright, Oxford, 1965) giving their RIB no, the year found and their location when found.

RIB. YEAR FOUND. WHERE FOUND.

WALLSEND

1300 1783 Tynemouth Priory.

1305 1783 Tynemouth Priory.

WALLSEND TO NEWCASTLE

1313 1783 Bees Houses, now Stotts House Farm,
Walker.

1315 1807 Garden wall, Heaton Flint Mill, west of the Ouseburn, near
Byker Bridge.

NEWCASTLE

1318 1858 Mitchell's printing premises, St Nicholas Rd, Newcastle.

1321 1843 Whitefriars Tower.

NEWCASTLE TO BENWELL

1323 1864 In area formerly occupied by White
Friars Monastery.

1324 1826 North Gosforth Chapel, in grounds of Low Gosforth House.

1325 1932 Outhouse of Express Hotel, Westgate, Rd.

BENWELL

1342 1732 In wall of house.

1344 1732 In wall of house.

1345 1732 In wall of house.

1347 1732 In wall of house.

BENWELL TO RUDCHESTER

1353	1807	In a house wall on Benwell Hill.
1359	1716	In side wall of house at East Denton.
1360	1725	In a stable wall.
1369	1851	In a garden wall, West Denton.
1373	1794	In a stable wall at Walbottle.
1377	1732	Built into a Walbottle cow-shed.
1379	1732	In field walls at Walbottle.
1385	1807	Coach house of Vicarage at Heddon-on-the Wall.
1386	1807	In Vicarage stable at Heddon-on-the-Wall.
1394	1932	In a garden wall, Heddon North Lodge.

RUDCHESTER

1399	1875	In an old wall, Rudchester.
1400	1875	In the wall of the stackyard.
1402	1875	In an old wall, Rudchester.
1404	1810	In wall of coachhouse, Rudchester Hall farmyard.

RUDCHESTER TO HALTON CHESTERS

1408	1851	In north face of farm house once called Iron Sign Inn, west of Milecastle 14.
1409	1851	"" ""
1410	1851	"" ""
1413	1807	Gable end of cottage at High Seat, west of Milecastle 14.
1418	1817	In the stairs of Heddon-on-the-Wall Vicarage.

HALTON CHESTERS TO CHESTERS

1439	1725	In enclosure wall near Milecastle 24.
1440	1863	Farmhouse at St Oswald's Hill Head.
1441	1789	In a wall of loose stones near St Oswald's chapel.
1447	1873	Stable wall, Chollerton Vicarage.

CHESTERS

1459	1760	In barn wall, Walwick Grange.
1476	1812	Built in wall, Walwick Grange.
1478	1807	Built into a wall at Chesters.
1487	1873	In the coach-house of Chesters mansion.
1494	1807	Built into a wall at Chesters.
1495	1807	" " "
1496	1807	" " "

CHESTERS TO CARRAWBURGH

1500	1778	In a wall at Walwick Grange.
1501	1779	Hatheridge (now Halkridge) north-west of Chesters.
1506	1702	In the inner wall of Tower Tye cottage.
1510	1732	In a stone wall south west of Tower Tye.
1519	1932	Built into wall of coalhouse, Sharpley Farm 1/2 north of Limestone Corner.
2085	1910	In boundary wall on Newcastle-Carlisle road (B6318).

CARRAWBURGH

1520	1941	Byre wall, West Upperton Farm 1 mile north of Limestone Corner.
1557	1732	Garden wall, Carrawburgh Farm.
1563	1735	Kitchen wall, Simonburn Rectory.

CARRAWBURGH TO HOUSESTEADS

- | | | |
|------|------|---|
| 1568 | 1892 | In wall of Newcastle-Carlisle Rd near Grindon School-house. |
| 1572 | 1811 | Gig-house, Sewingshields Farmhouse. |
| 1573 | 1892 | In wall of Newcastle-Carlisle Rd near Grindon School-house. |

HOUSESTEADS

- | | | |
|------|------|-------------------------------------|
| 1586 | 1702 | Chimney-piece support in Farmhouse. |
|------|------|-------------------------------------|

HOUSESTEADS TO GREAT CHESTERS

- | | | |
|------|------|---|
| 1636 | 1911 | In field wall between Housesteads and Bradley. |
| 1637 | 1829 | In doorway, Bradley Farmhouse. |
| 1640 | 1873 | In building nr. Peel, between Milecastle 39 and 40. |
| 1664 | 1929 | Garden wall East Cawfields Farmhouse. |
| 1676 | 1937 | Sheep pen near Cawfields quarry. |
| 1681 | 1861 | Built into outhouse at Haltwhistle Burn Head. |
| 1682 | 1732 | Cawfields Farmhouse. |

CHESTERHOLM

- | | | |
|------|------|--|
| 1683 | 1838 | Cottage foundations at Hardriding south-west of fort. |
| 1688 | 1885 | Medieval gateway at Staward Pele 4 miles south-east of fort. |
| 1691 | 1757 | House on west side of Vindolanda Fort. |
| 1695 | 1835 | Beltingham Churchyard. |
| 1696 | 1927 | Passage wall from house to burn at Fort. |
| 1698 | 1830 | West wall of house at Vindolanda. |
| 1701 | 1831 | Built into passage wall. |

1707	1732	In door jamb at Ramshawfield 1 mile south-west of fort.
1708	1835	In field wall near fort.
1711	1830	Built into wall of house at Vindolanda.
1714	1810	Outhouse wall at Vindolanda.
1722	1783	Cottage gable west of fort.

GREAT CHESTERS

1727	1907	In field wall south of Fort.
1746	1875	Used in field wall south of fort.

GREAT CHESTERS TO CARVORAN

1756	1732	Cow house at Allolee Farmhouse.
1759	1732	"" ""
1760	1873	Allolee Farmhouse.
1761	1873	"" ""
1764	1873	Built into wall at Low Town.

CARVORAN

1782	1732	Used as trough in stable at Thirwall.
1785	1886	Farmhouse at Carvoran.
1788	1887	Demolished farm buildings at Carvoran.
1789	1696	Blenkinsopp Castle.
1804	1886	Built into Farmhouse at Carvoran.
1808	1930	Field wall on north side of Fort.
1813	1766	Farm building at Carvoran.
1814	1887	Farmhouse at Carvoran.
1818	1825	Blenkinsopp Castle.
1823	1766	Stable gable at Carvoran.
1828	1825	Blenkinsopp Castle.

1829	1732	Stairs of a house at Carvoran.
1830	1880	Blenkinsopp Castle.
1835	1810	Stable gable at Carvoran.
1837	1880	Blemkinsopp Castle.
1840	1887	Dismantled farm buildings at Carvoran.

CARVORAN TO BIRDOSWALD

1844	1828	House at Greenhead, now built into Holm- head Farmhouse.
1845	1873	Cottage doorstep near Thirlwall Castle.
1848	1698	House at Glenwhelt, Greenhead.
1849	1732	Barn wall, Greenfoot, near Greenhead.
1850	1732	Wall-end Farmhouse.
1852	1849	Stable at Chapel House.
1854	1884	Field wall between Chapel House and Gap.
1855	1875	Stable at Gap Farmhouse.
1862	1884	Garden wall at Willowford Farmhouse.
1863	1732	Willowford Farmhouse.
1864	1732	Door jamb at Willowford Farmhouse.
1865	1732	" "
1866	1732	Courtyard wall at Willowford Farm.
1869	1732	Built into house at Murray hamlet, (now deserted), east of Birdoswald.

BIRDOSWALD

1873	1849	Built into Birdoswald Farmhouse.
1876	1599	" " "
1879	1861	Chancel wall, Scafeby Church.
1881	1744	Clerestory wall, Lanercost Priory.
1884	1896	Birdoswald Farm building.

1885	1599	Birdoswald Farm building.
1890	1732	Outhouse at Willowford Farm.
1891	1867	Used as pig trough at Underheugh Farm.
1895	1881	Altar steps, Upper Denton Church.
1896	1732	Courtyard wall at Willowford Farm.
1911	1599	In lobby, Corby Castle.
1918	1899	Birdoswald Farmhouse.
1919	1783	Milk-house at Birdoswald.
1923	1732	Jamb of doorway, Underheugh Farm.
1927	1732	Farm building at Birdoswald.
1928	1783	Milk-house at Birdoswald.
1929	1783	Part of fire-place at Underheugh Farm.

BIRDOSWALD TO CASTLESTEADS

1931	1857	In field dyke.
1934	1849	Garden wall at Birdoswald Farm.
1936	1896	Byre at High house Farm.
1937	1941	Stable at High House Farm.
1940	1934	Field wall on Birdoswald-Banks Road.
1941	1732	Lanerton Farmhouse.
1942	1732	" "
1943	1604	Triermain Castle.
1944	1604	Vault of Triermain Castle.
1961	1808	Cottage garden at Howgill.
1962	1717	Byre at Howgill Farm.
1966	1744	Wall of house at Naworth.
1967	1840	Probably built into Lanercost Priory.
1968	1941	Tower at Lanercost Vicarage.

1969	1938	Boundary wall of Lanercost Priory church yard.
1970	1607	Naworth Castle garden wall.
1971	1857	Wall of crypt at Lanercost Priory.
1972	1732	Naworth Castle.
1973	1833	Probably built into Lanercost Priory.
1974	1607	Naworth Castle.
1875	1833	Probably built into Lanercost Priory.

CASTLESTEADS

1983	1660	Built into weir in the Cambeck.
1992	1694	In stone wall at Castlesteads.
2006	1599	In a pavement at Walton.

CASTLESTEADS TO STANWIX

2016	1732	In wall of coachhouse at Old Wall.
2017	1894	In ruined house at Old Wall.
2018	1732	In a wall belonging to Thomas Graham at Old Wall.
2021	1599	Built into a house at Bleatarn.
2023	1732	Above a garden door at Drawdikes Castle.

STANWIX

2029	1599	Drawdikes Castle.
2030	1787	In a wall of Stanwix Church.

STANWIX TO BURGH-BY-SANDS

2032	1939	Carlisle Castle Keep.
2035	1820	In garden wall at Kirkandrews and Monkhill road junction.
2036	1886	In house at Beaumont.
2037	1886	" " "

BURGH-BY-SANDS

- | | | |
|------|------|------------------------------|
| 2040 | 1801 | Stable wall at Cross Farm. |
| 2042 | 1934 | In cottage wall at Beaumont. |
| 2044 | 1881 | Burgh-by-Sands Church. |
| 2045 | 1749 | In house of John Hodgson. |

DRUMBURGH

- | | | |
|------|------|----------------------------------|
| 2051 | 1873 | Gable of stable opposite Castle. |
| 2052 | 1783 | In a house in village. |

DRUMBURGH TO BOWNESS-ON-SOLWAY

- | | | |
|------|------|--|
| 2054 | 1783 | In lane leading to Bowness Church. |
| 2055 | 1834 | Over door of Hesketh House, Port Carlisle. |

BOWNESS-ON-SOLWAY

- | | | |
|------|------|--|
| 2057 | 1739 | Over barn door at Bowness House Farm. |
| 2058 | 1871 | In cattle shed at Herd Hill, 1 mile west of Bowness. |

JARROW

- | | | |
|------|------|----------------|
| 1051 | 1782 | Jarrow Church. |
|------|------|----------------|

CORBRIDGE

- | | | |
|------|------|--|
| 1120 | 1866 | Hexham Abbey. |
| 1121 | 1724 | Base for Corbridge market cross. |
| 1122 | 1732 | Arch-head, Saxon crypt in Hexham Abbey. |
| 1125 | 1907 | Nave aisle, Hexham Abbey. |
| 1128 | 1800 | Medieval tower at Hexham. |
| 1130 | 1886 | In demolished cottage at Corbridge. |
| 1136 | 1865 | Orchard (or Hole) Farm, Corbridge. |
| 1138 | 1732 | In wall of cottage near the Hermitage opposite Hexham. |
| 1142 | 1725 | In Anglo-Saxon crypt, Hexham Abbey. |

1149	1702	Low Hall adjoining Pele Tower, Corbridge
1151	1725	Roofing slab in Anglo-Saxon crypt at Hexham Abbey.
1154b	1907	Corbridge Church.
1157	1711	Chancel wall Corbridge Church.
1158	1854	Built into shop on west side of Corbridge market-place .
1161	1841	In ruined Chapter House of Hexham Abbey.
1169	1885	In 17th century house at Hexham.
1172	1881	Foundations of south transept porch Hexham Abbey.
1173	1929	Vicarage stable.
1176	1907	Vicar's Pele Tower.
1177	----	In a wall in Corbridge market-place.
1178	1886	Corbridge Church.
1179	1860	In house at Hexham.
1187	1886	Part of window arch in west tower of Church.
1188	1730	House in Corbridge.
1193	1887	Crypt of Hexham Abbey.

NEWBURN

2077	1887	Built into Newburn Pele Tower.
2088	1725	Built over stable door next to the Boat Inn, Newburn.

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The following abbreviations have been used:

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- CBA. *Council for British Archaeology.*
- CSIR. *Corpus of Sculpture in the Roman World.*
- HBMC. *Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission (English Heritage).*
- MED. A. *Medieval Archaeology.*
- PSAN. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne.*
- RIB. *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain.*
- SPRS. *Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.*
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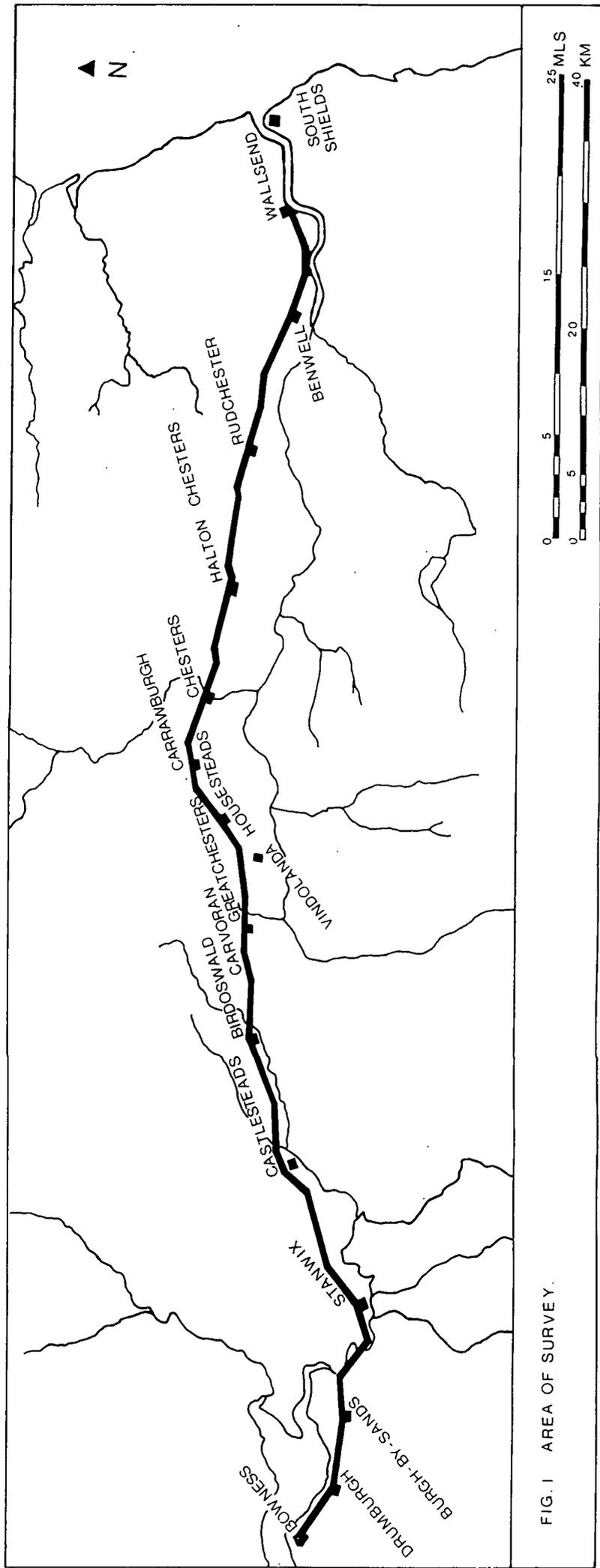
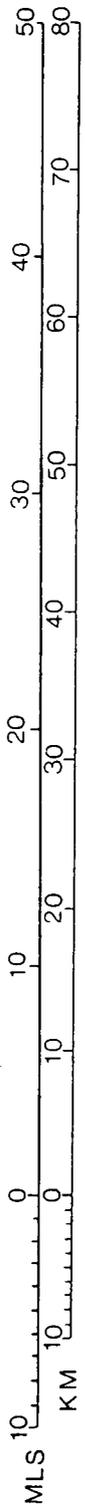
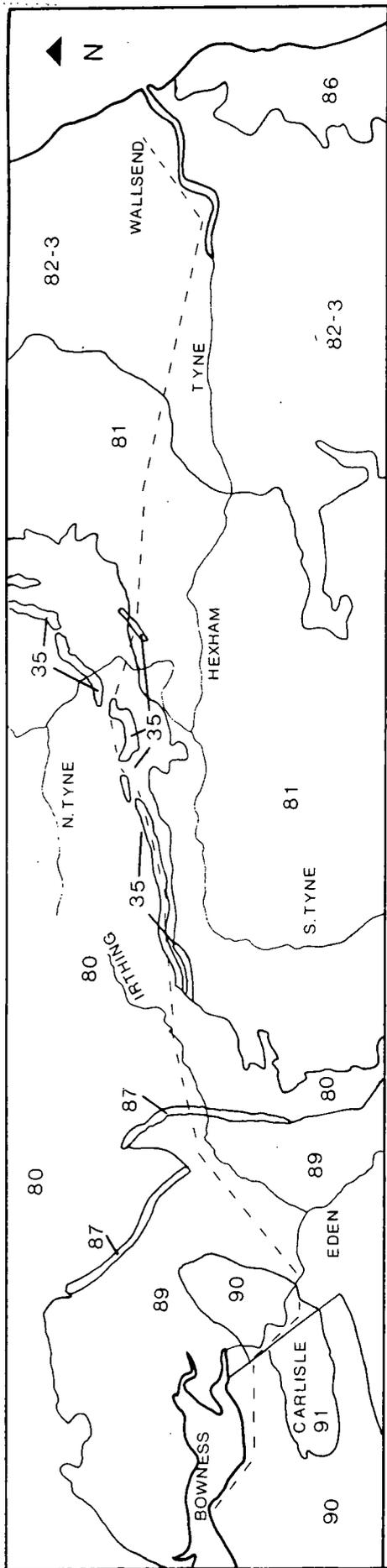


FIG. 1 AREA OF SURVEY.



-- LINE OF ROMAN WALL

GEOLOGICAL INDEX

- 35 BASALT, DOLERITE (WHIN SILL)
- 80 CARBONIFEROUS LIMESTONE
- 81 MILLSTONE GRIT
- 82-3 COAL MEASURES
- 86 MAGNESIAN LIMESTONE
- 89 PERMIAN & TRIASSIC SANDSTONES (ST. BEES & KIRKLINTON)
- 90 TRIASSIC MUDSTONE
- 91 LOWER LIAS (STANWIX SHALES)

FIG. 2

SOIL INDEX

MAP SYMBOL	GEOLOGY	SOIL CHARACTERISTICS
311e	ACIDIC IGNEOUS ROCK.	VERY SHALLOW VERY ACID PEATY-TOPPED UPLAND SOIL ON STEEP SLOPES. STOCK REARING.
541a	DEVONIAN SANDSTONE, SILTSTONE, HUDSTONE & SLATE.	WELL DRAINED FINE LOAMY REDDISH SOILS OVER ROCK. SOME STEEP SLOPES.
541r	GLACIOFLUVIAL OR RIVER TERRACE DRIFT.	DEEP WELL DRAINED COARSE LOAMY AND SANDY SOILS. LOCALLY OVER GRAVEL. STOCK REARING AND DAIRYING IN CUMBRIA.
541u	GLACIOFLUVIAL DRIFT.	VERY STONY WELL DRAINED LOAMY SOILS LOCALLY ON HUMMOCKY GROUND STOCK REARING ON PERMANENT GRASS LAND.
542	TILL FROM PALAEOZOIC AND MESOZOIC SANDSTONE & SHALE	DEEP FINE LOAMY SOILS WITH SLOWLY PERMEABLE SUBSOILS AND SLIGHT SEASONAL WATERLOGGING. STOCK REARING & DAIRYING. SOME CEREALS.
551d	GLACIOFLUVIAL DRIFT.	DEEP WELL DRAINED SANDY & COARSE LOAMY SOILS. CEREALS, SUGAR BEET & POTATOES.
561a	RIVER ALLUVIUM.	DEEP STONELESS PERMEABLE FINE LOAMY SOILS. FLAT LAND. RISK OF FLOODING. ARABLE WHERE FLOOD RISK LOW; STOCK REARING ON PERMANENT GRASSLAND.
572m	REDDISH TILL & GLACIOFLUVIAL DRIFT.	DEEP REDDISH & FINE LOAMY SOILS WITH SLOWLY PERMEABLE SUBSOILS & SLIGHT SEASONAL WATERLOGGING. ARABLE & SOME SHORT TERM GRASSLAND.
631a	PALAEOZOIC & MESOZOIC SANDSTONE.	WELL DRAINED VERY ACID COARSE LOAMY SOILS OVER SANDSTONE. WITH A BLEACHED SUBSURFACE HORIZON. POOR GRAZING VALUE.
651a	CARBONIFEROUS & JURASSIC SANDSTONE.	COARSE LOAMY VERY ACID UPLAND SOILS OVER ROCK WITH A WET PEATY SURFACE HORIZON. BARE ROCK & CRAG LOCALLY. POOR GRAZING VALUE.
711a	PALAEOZOIC SILTSTONE, SHALE & HUDSTONE.	SLOWLY PERMEABLE SEASONALLY WATER-LOGGED OFTEN STONELESS FINE SILTY OR FINE SILTY OVER CLAYEY SOILS ON ROCK. PERMANENT GRASSLAND WITH DAIRYING & STOCK RAISING; SOME WINTER CEREALS.
711m	REDDISH TILL.	SLOWLY PERMEABLE SEASONALLY WATER-LOGGED REDDISH FINE LOAMY OVER CLAYEY SOILS. DAIRYING ON SHORT TERM & PERMANENT GRASSLAND.
711n	REDDISH TILL.	SLOWLY PERMEABLE SEASONALLY WATER-LOGGED REDDISH FINE & COARSE LOAMY SOILS. CEREALS & GRASSLAND.
711p	TILL FROM PALAEOZOIC & MESOZOIC SANDSTONE & SHALE.	SLOWLY PERMEABLE SEASONALLY WATER-LOGGED FINE LOAMY & FINE LOAMY OVER CLAYEY SOILS. GRASSLAND IN MOIST LOWLANDS.
712f	REDDISH GLACIO-LACUSTINE DRIFT & TILL.	SLOWLY PERMEABLE SEASONALLY WATER-LOGGED REDDISH CLAYEY & FINE LOAMY OVER CLAYEY SOILS. OFTEN STONELESS. DAIRYING ON PERMANENT GRASSLAND.
713g	DRIFT FROM PALAEOZOIC SANDSTONE & SHALE.	SLOWLY PERMEABLE SEASONALLY WATER-LOGGED FINE LOAMY, FINE LOAMY OVER CLAYEY & CLAYEY SOILS. STOCK REARING & SOME DAIRYING ON PERMANENT GRASSLAND.
721c	DRIFT FROM PALAEOZOIC SANDSTONE, HUDSTONE & SHALE.	SLOWLY PERMEABLE SEASONALLY WATER-LOGGED FINE LOAMY & FINE LOAMY OVER CLAYEY UPLAND SOILS WITH A PEATY SURFACE HORIZON. MODERATE - POOR GRAZING VALUE.
811a	RIVER ALLUVIUM.	DEEP STONELESS FINE LOAMY & CLAYEY SOILS VARIABLY AFFECTED BY GROUND-WATER. FLAT LAND. RISK OF FLOODING. PERMANENT GRASSLAND WITH STOCK REARING & DAIRYING.
811d	MARINE ALLUVIUM.	DEEP STONELESS SILTY & FINE SANDY SOILS VARIABLY AFFECTED BY GROUND-WATER DEPENDING ON ARTIFICIAL DRAINAGE. FLAT LAND. CEREALS & PERMANENT & SHORT TERM GRASSLAND IN CUMBRIA.
821b	GLACIOFLUVIAL DRIFT.	DEEP PERMEABLE SANDY & COARSE LOAMY SOILS. CEREALS, ARABLE, SOME GRASSLAND
1011a	RAISED BOG PEAT.	THICK VERY ACID PEAT SOILS. LARGELY UNDRAINED & PERENNIALY WET. LOW GRAZING VALUE.
1011b	BLANKET PEAT.	THICK VERY ACID RAW PEAT SOILS. PERENNIALY WET. POOR GRAZING VALUE.

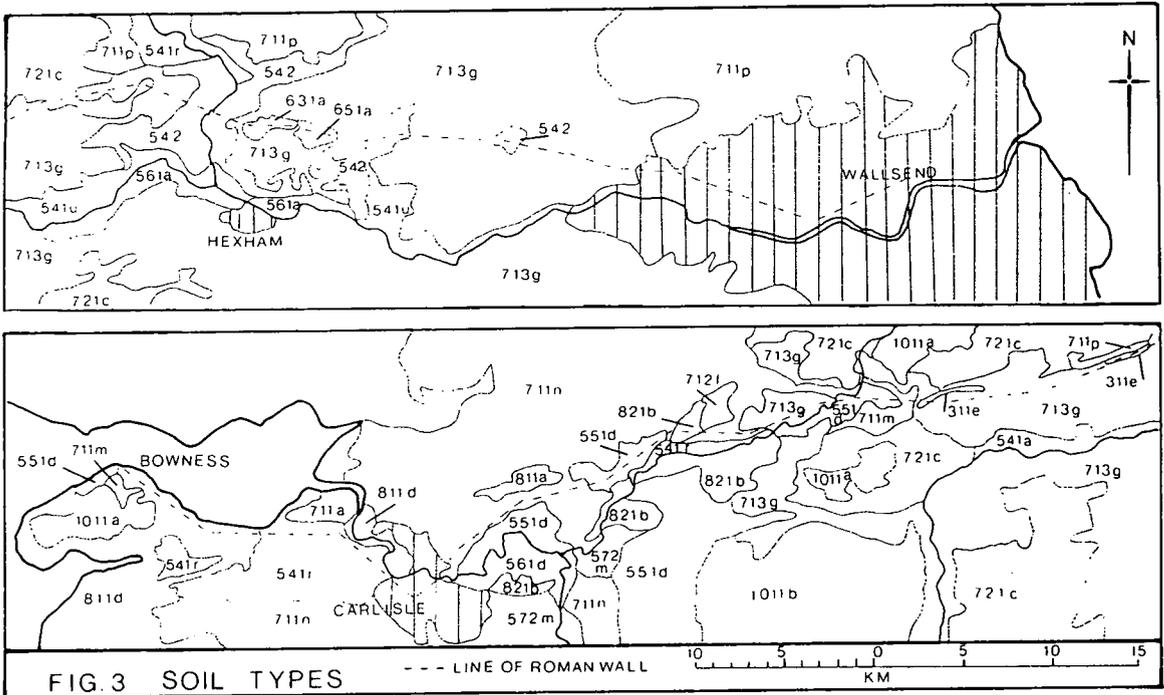


FIG. 3 SOIL TYPES

--- LINE OF ROMAN WALL

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KM

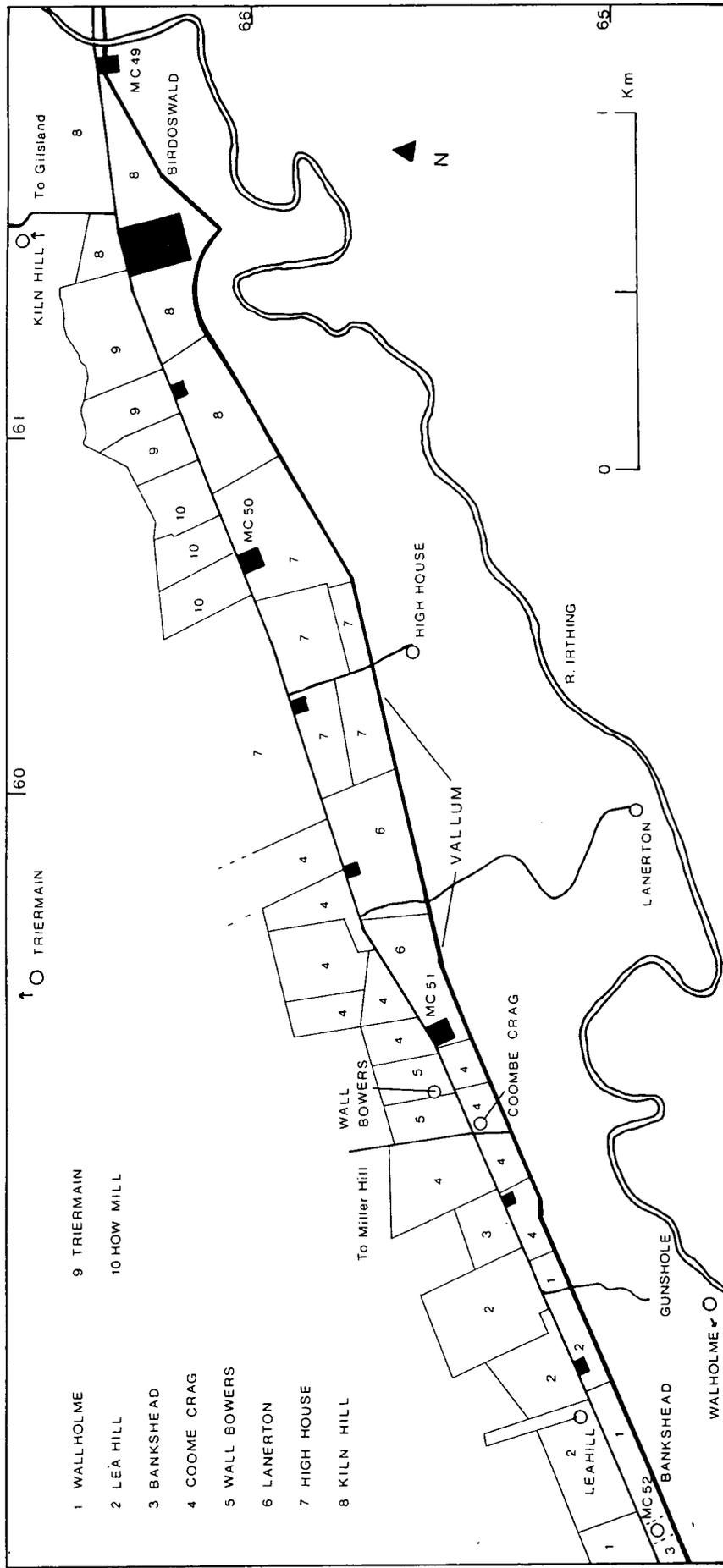


FIG. 4 ROMAN WALL USED AS FARM BOUNDARY: CUMBRIA 1992

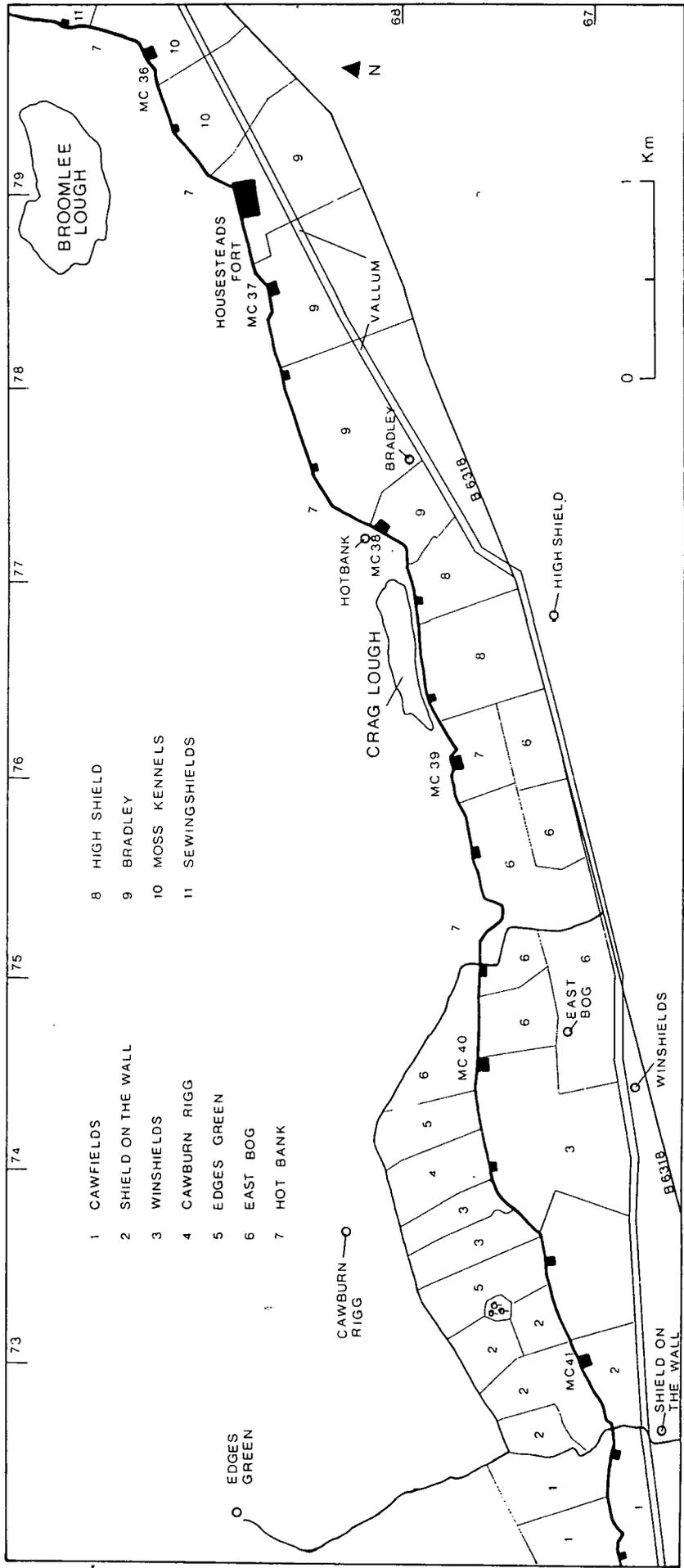


FIG. 5 ROMAN WALL USED AS FARM BOUNDARY: NORTHUMBRIA 1992

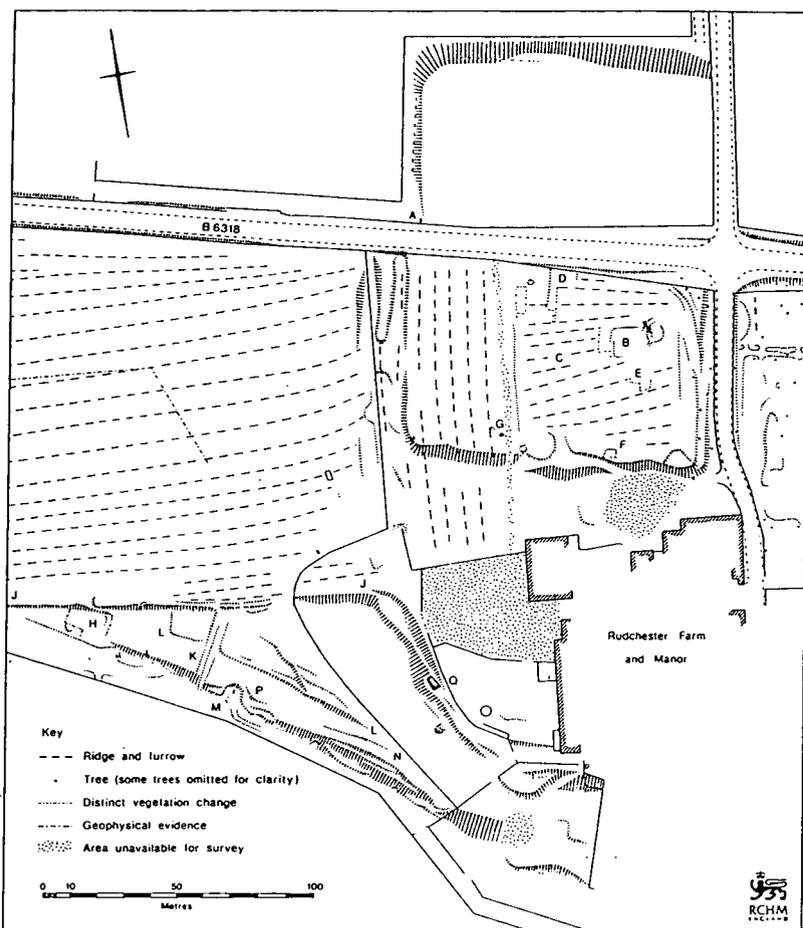


FIG 6 Rudchester Fort showing medieval ploughing and line of Military Road.

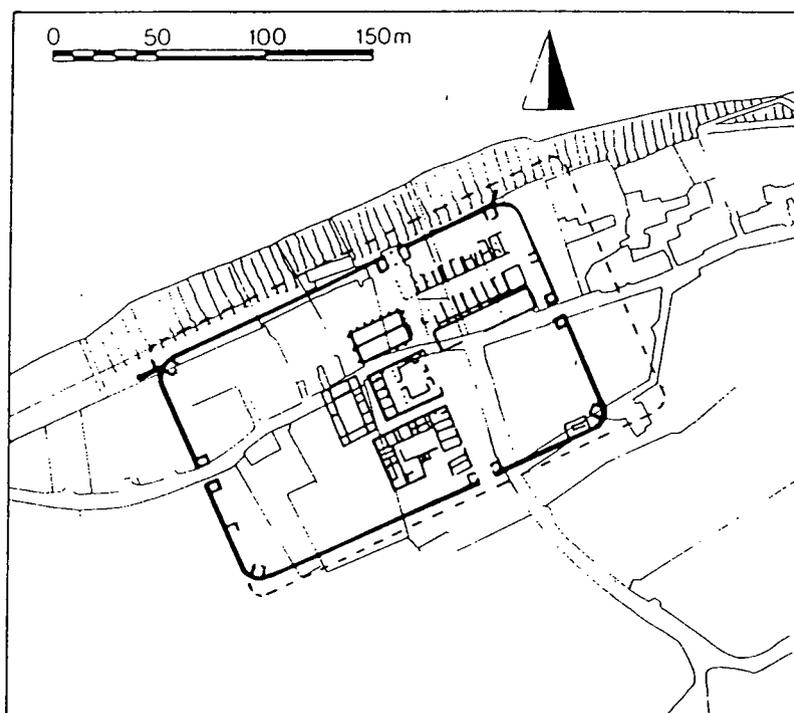


FIG 7 The visible buildings and defences of the fort at Housesteads superimposed over the village of Bowness-on-Solway (solid lines). The 7-acre outline of the fort at Bowness, based on MacLaughlan with revision by Birley, is shown as a dotted line.

FIG 8

st paul's monastery

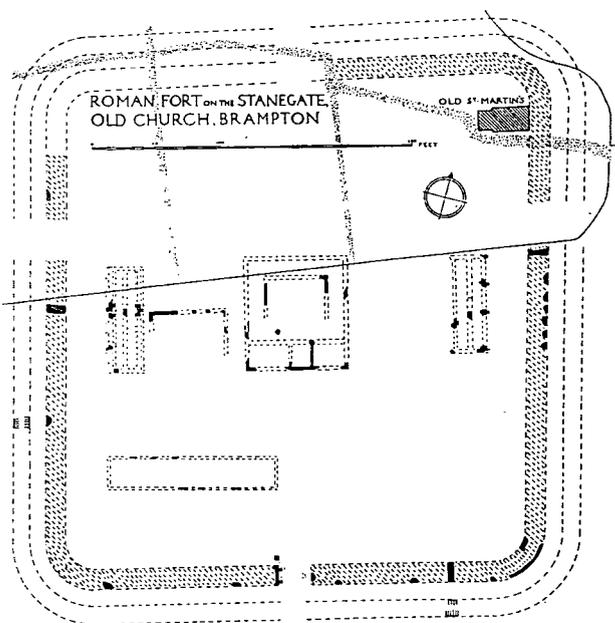
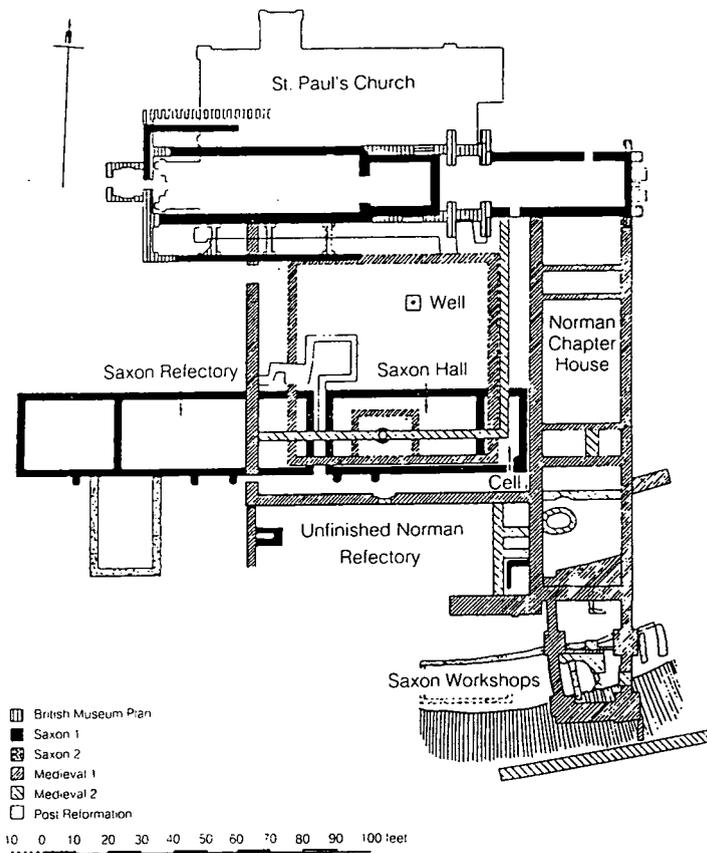


FIG 9 Brampton Old church Fort and St Martins church

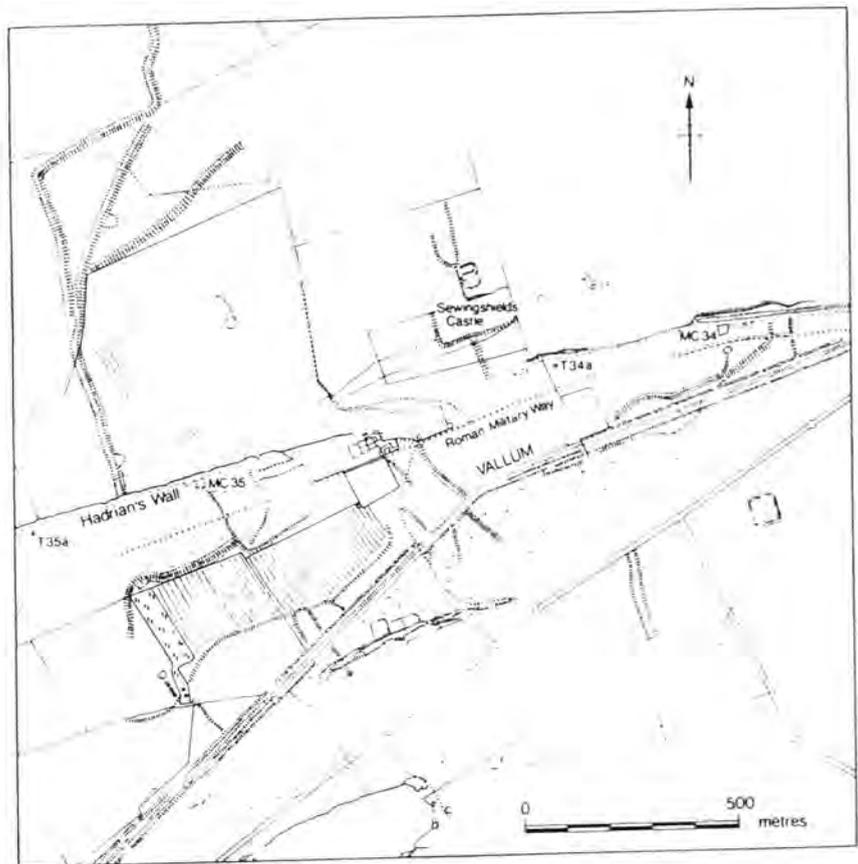
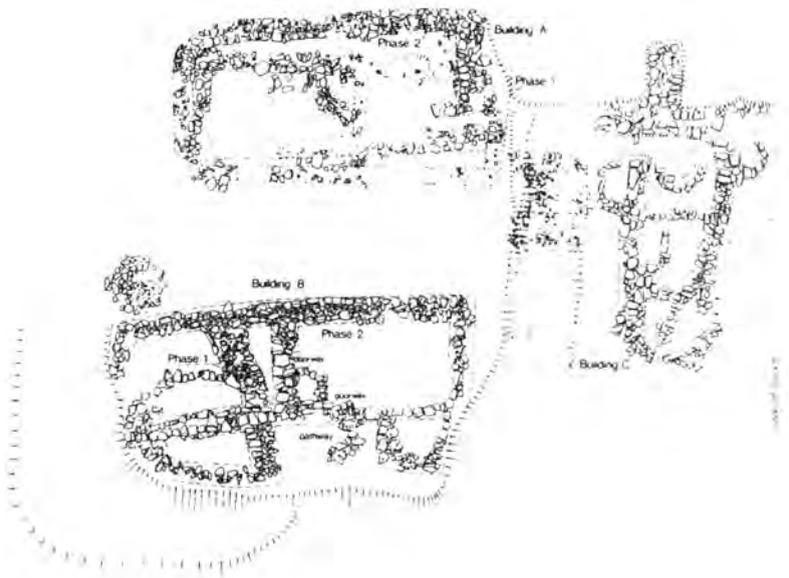


FIG 11 Medieval fields and earthworks at Sewingshields. The site of the milecastle and of Sewingshields Castle at the foot of the crags, the centre of the estate in this area, are both marked. Most of the other earthworks are boundaries, the evidence of other enclosures or traces of agriculture.

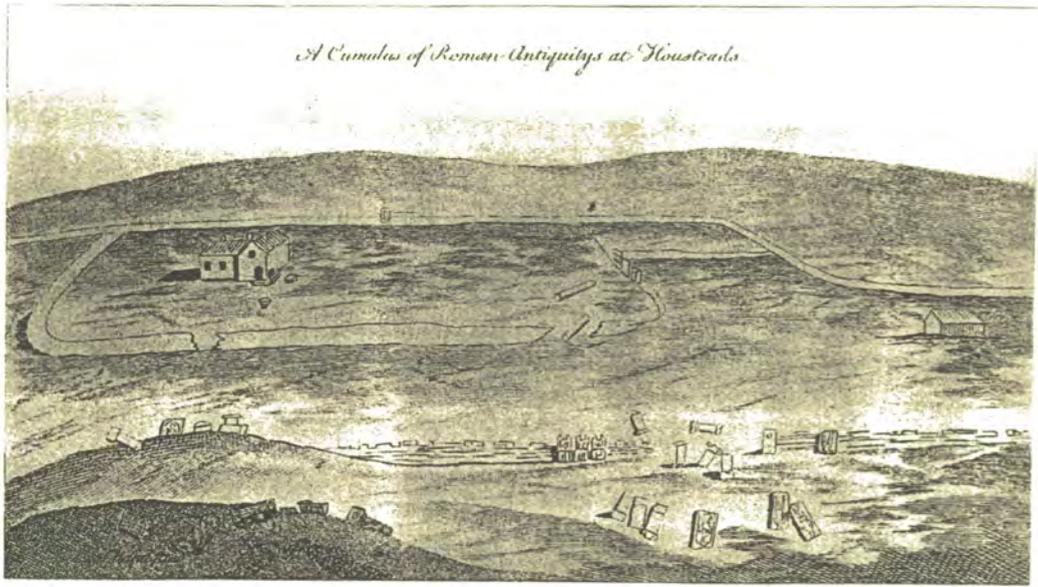


FIG 16 HOUSESTEADS. STUKELEY'S SKETCH, 1725.

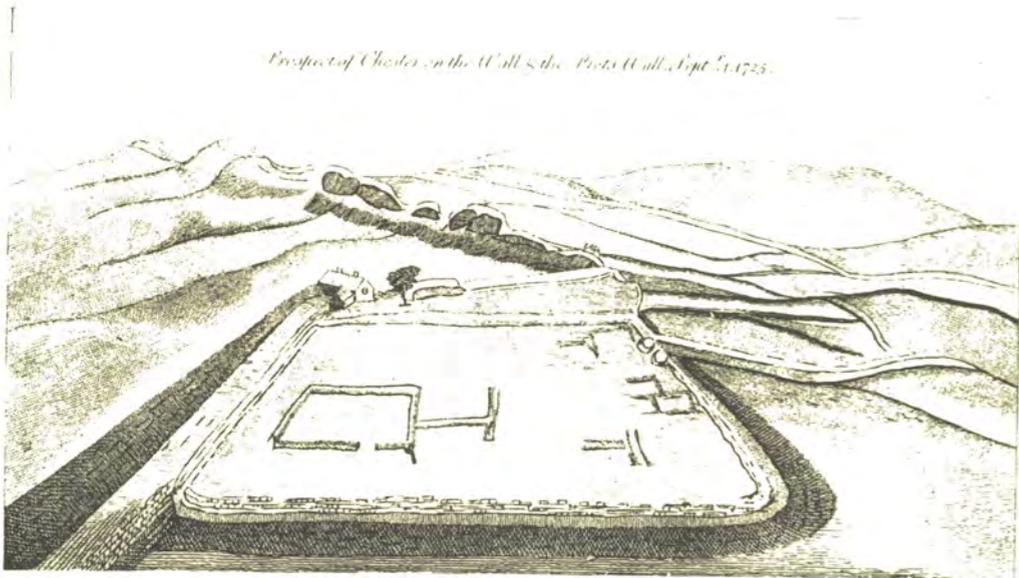


FIG 17 GREATCHESTERS, FROM THE W. : STUKELEY'S DRAWING.

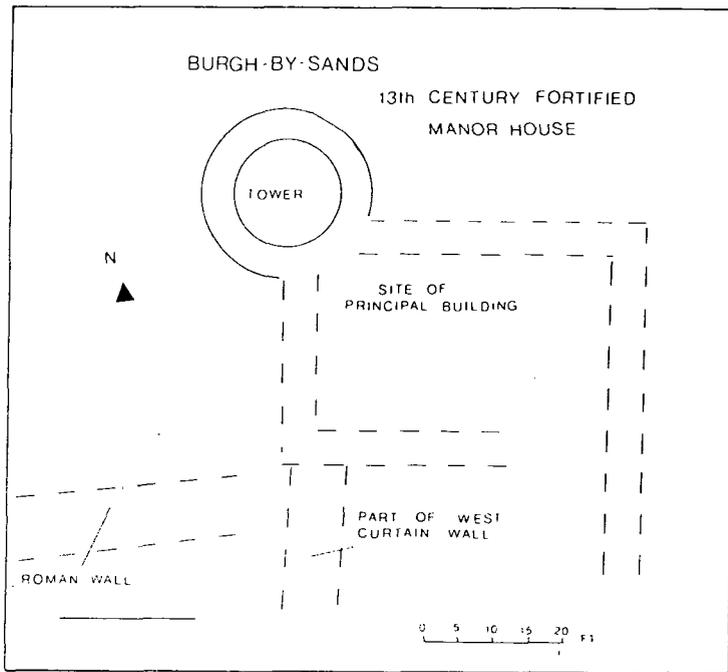


FIG 18

FIG 20 HOUSESTEADS BASTLE

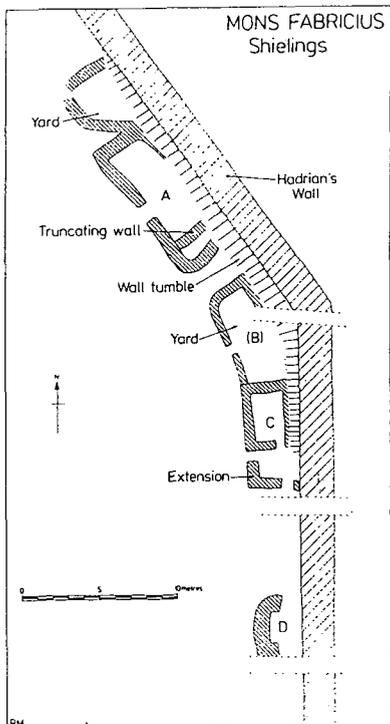
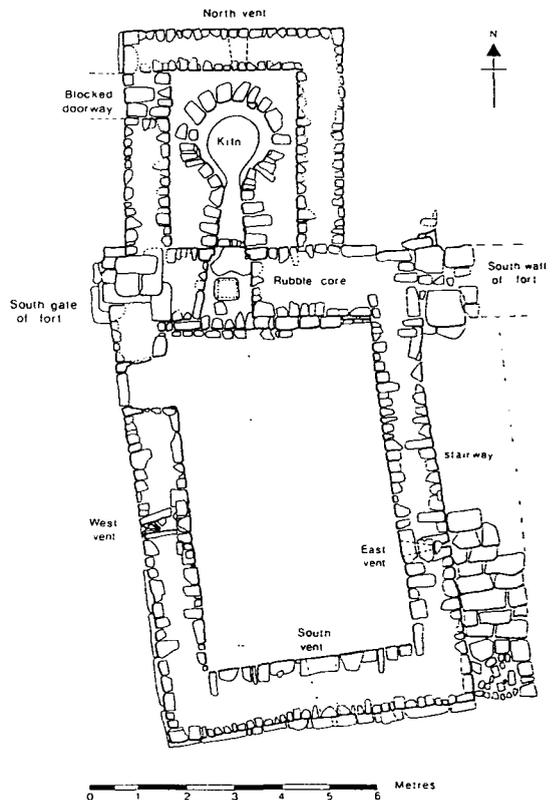


FIG 19 CASTLE NICK, NORTHUMBERLAND
Shielings constructed against Hadrian's Wall



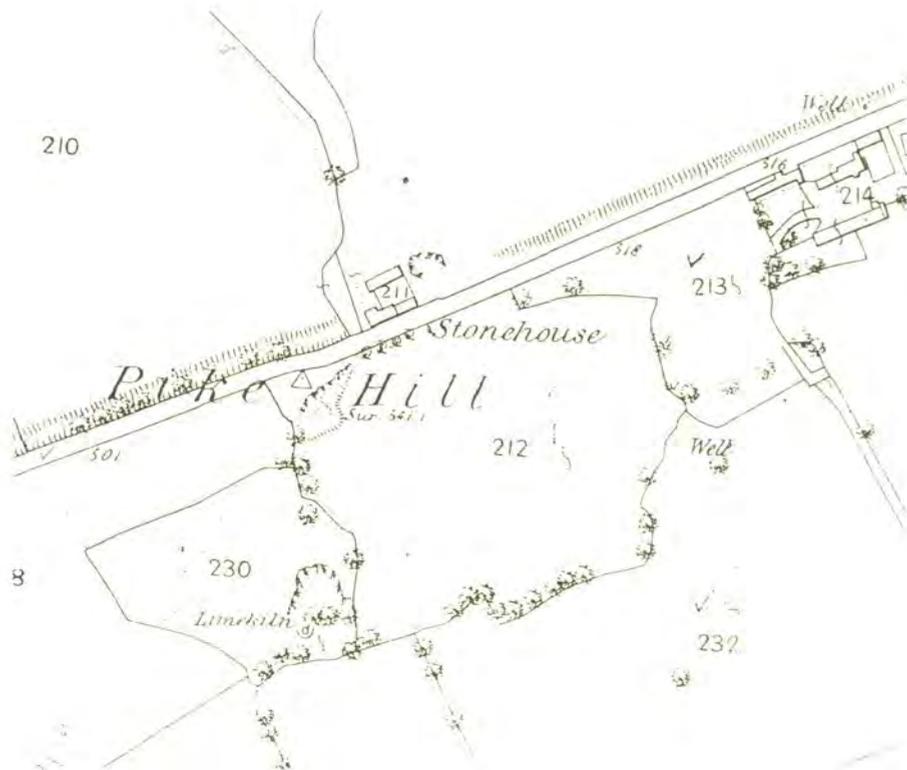


FIG 21 Stonehouse farm, Pike hill, before demolition.

FIG 22 *Hadrian's Wall exposed in the road surface at Walwick Bank, near Chesters; the construction of General Wade's military road in the years following 1745 made use of the broad foundation of the Wall for about the first 30 miles (50 km) or so out of Newcastle. In places, as this engraving shows, the foundations of the Wall were still visible within the road surface, and doubtless still survive beneath the modern tarmac.*





FIG 23 Medieval Tower near Peel Crag adjacent to the Roman Wall



FIG 24 Building on Burnhead Crag adjacent to the Roman Wall



FIG 25 St Peter's church Corbridge, west tower



FIG 26 St Peter's church Corbridge, Roman arch



FIG 27 Warden Anglo-Saxon church tower



FIG 28 Chollerton church Roman columns



FIG 29 Corbridge Vicar's Pele



FIG 30 St Oswald in Lee church, Heavenfield



FIG 31 Lanercost Priory



FIG 32 Brampton Old Church



FIG 33 Wall width built into farm at Holmhead



FIG 34 Duffen Foot with Thirlwall castle behind

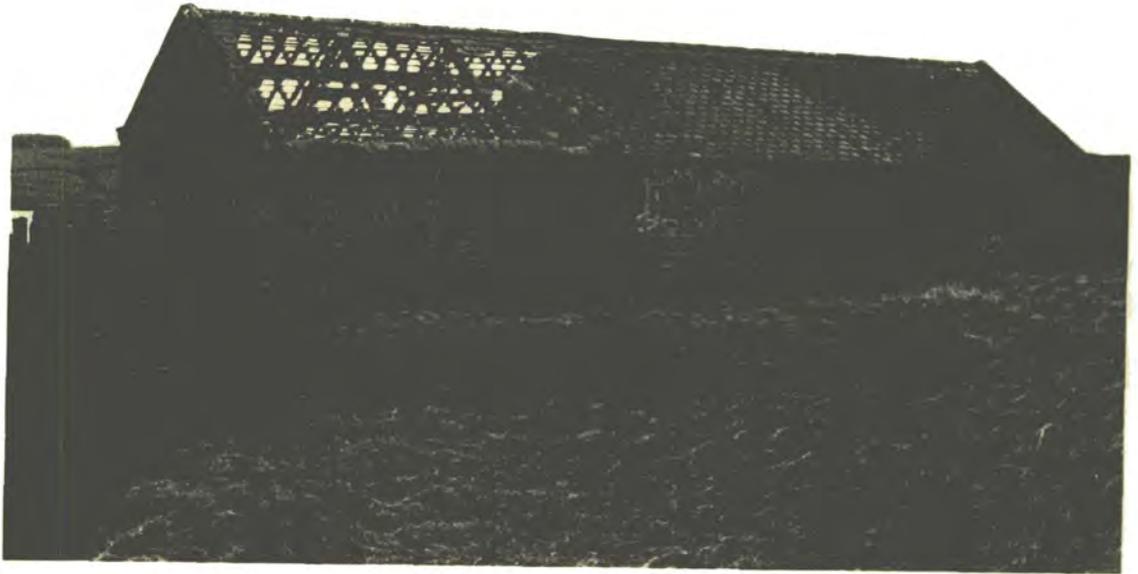


FIG 35 Tipple Hall (Shield on the Wall)

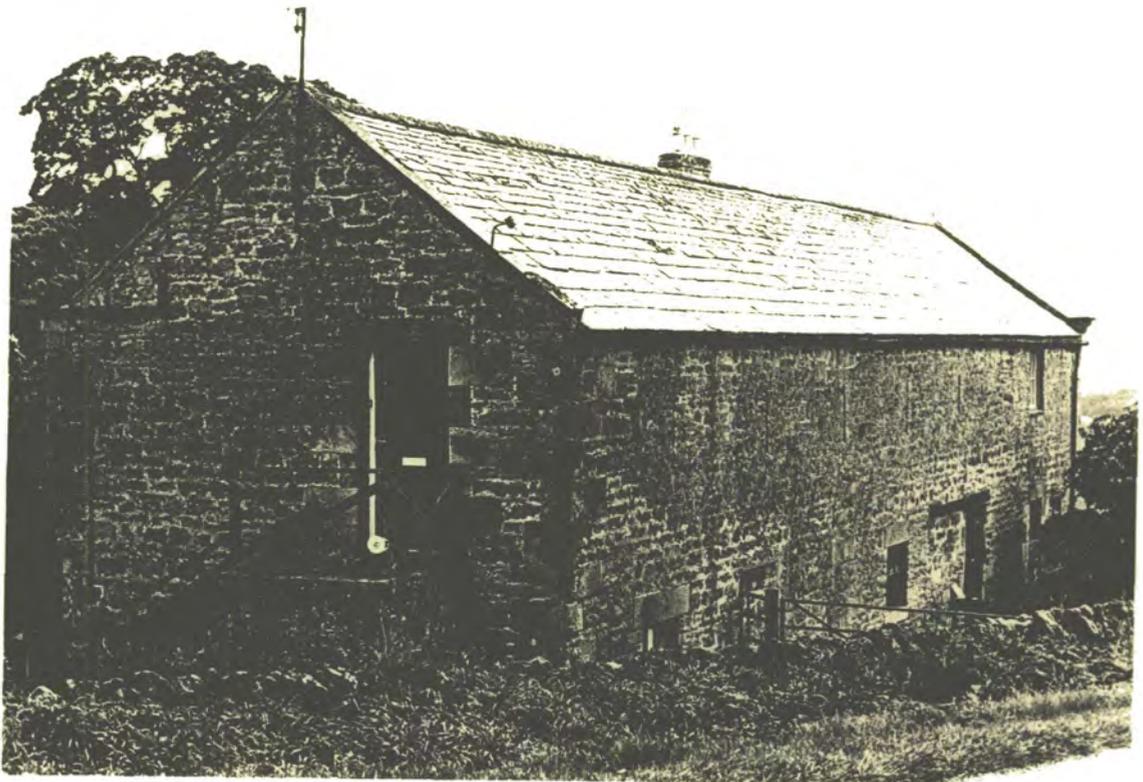


FIG 36 Planetrees Farm



FIG 37 Chesterholme cottage (Vindolanda) built of re-dressed Roman stone



FIG 38 Burnstead cottage

FIG 39 Thirlwall Castle

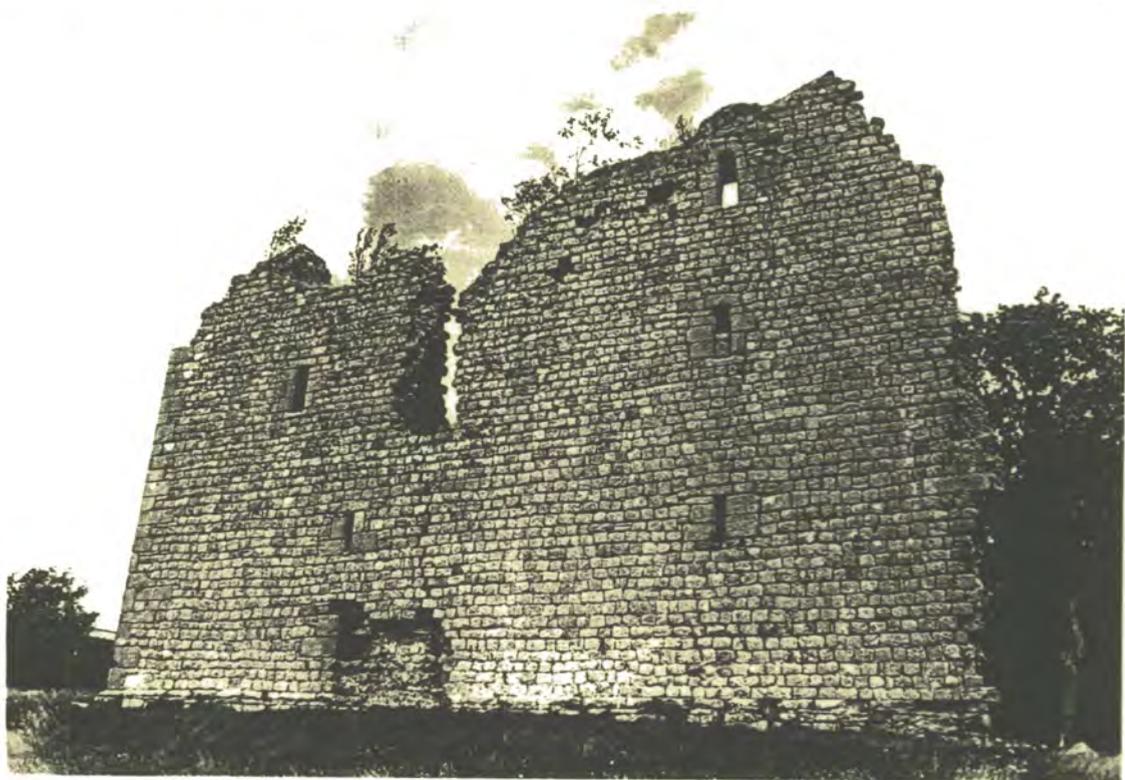


FIG 40 Triermain Castle

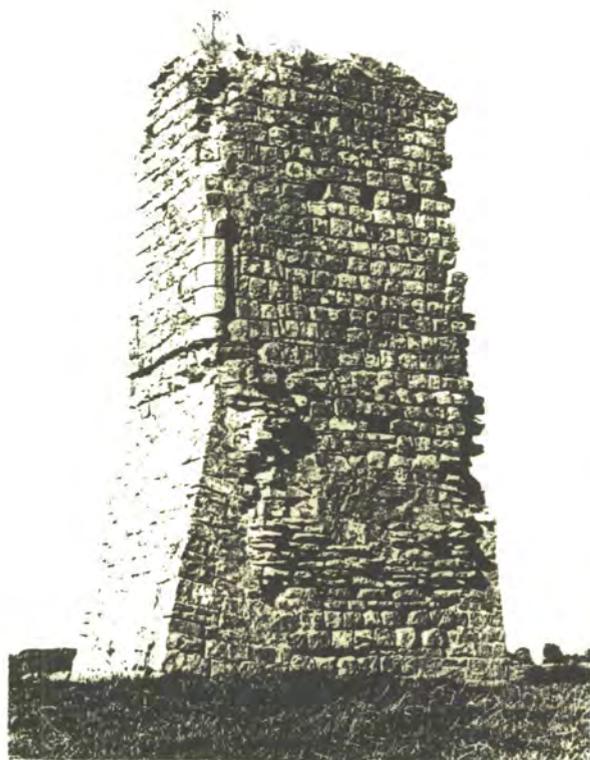


FIG 41 Scaleby Castle





FIG 42 Holy Cross Church, Wallsend

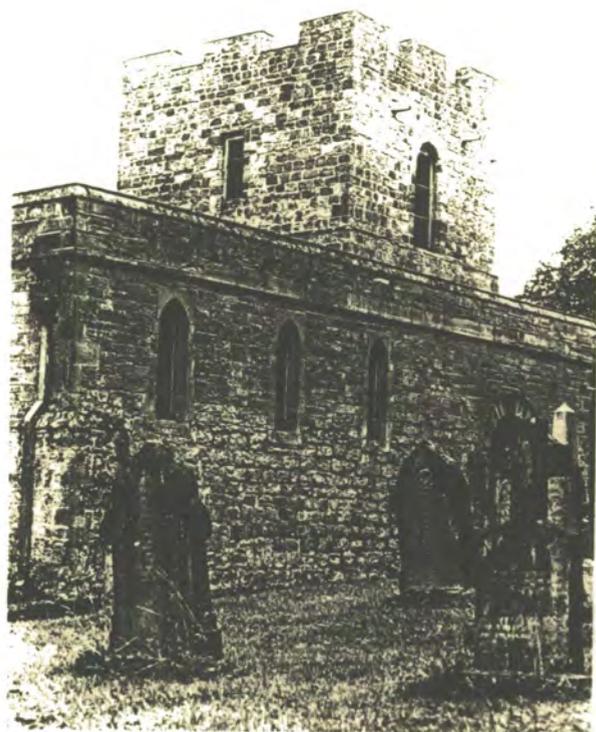


FIG 43 Burgh by Sands Church

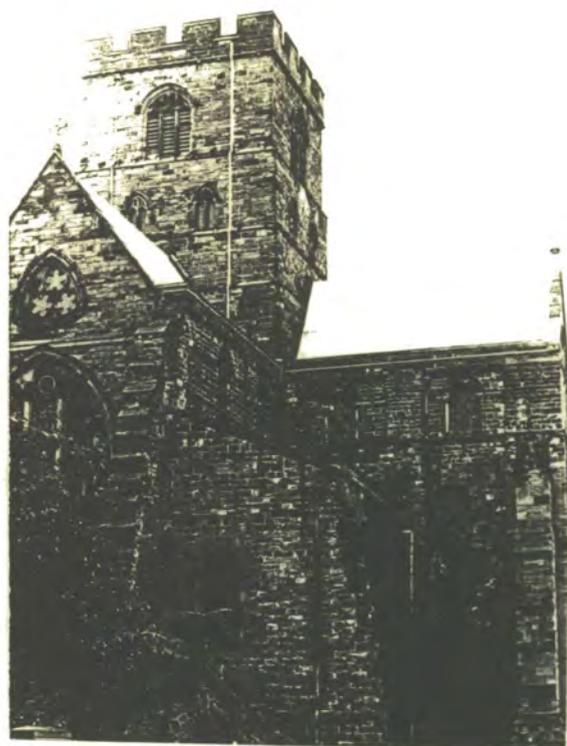


FIG 44 Carlisle Cathedral



FIG 45 Brackenrigg Bastle

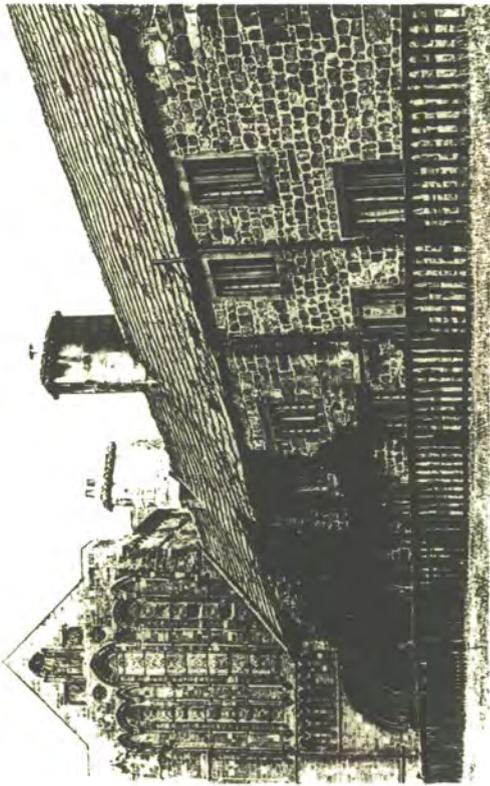


FIG 46 Lanercost Vicar's Cottage

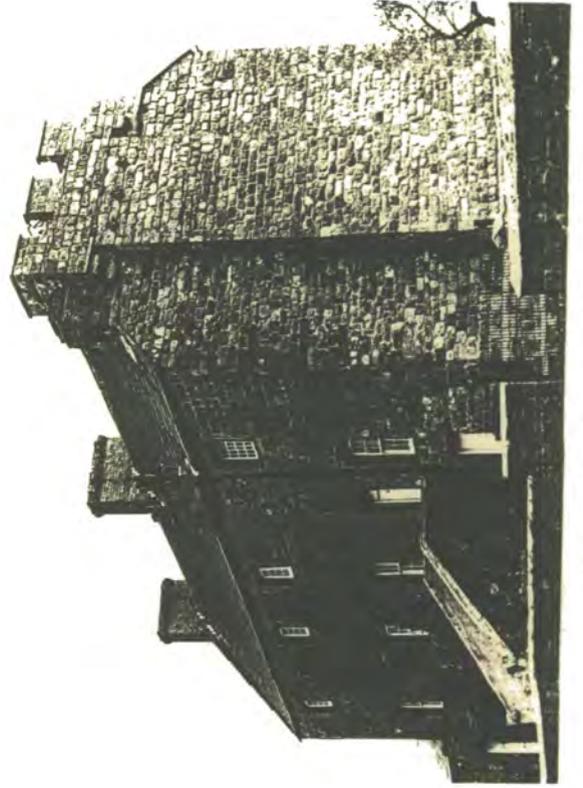


FIG 47 Drumburgh Castle



FIG 48 Linstock Castle

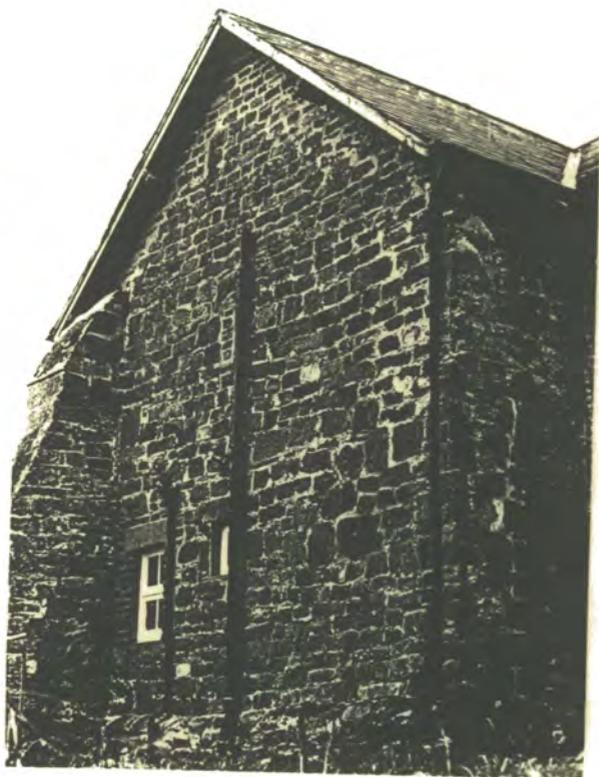


FIG 49 Brampton Vicar's Pele



FIG 50 Birdoswald Farmhouse



FIG 51 Richardson painting of Shield on the Wall



FIG 52 Richardson painting of Caw Gap



FIG 53 Post-Roman kiln in east wall of Birdoswald fort.



FIG 54 Field wall adjacent to Roman Wall using Wall stone, Birdoswald

FIG 55 Map by George Lily, 1546 (detail showing Roman Wall)

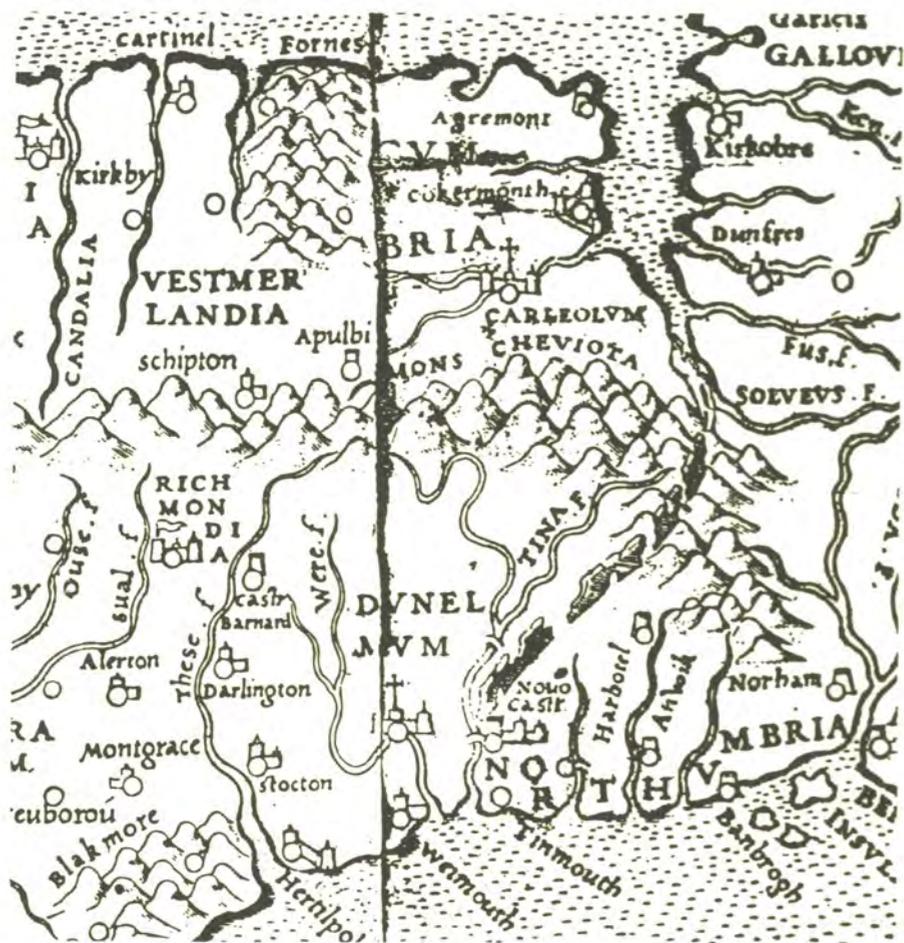


FIG 56 The Gough Map of Great Britain, mid 14th century (detail showing Roman Wall)

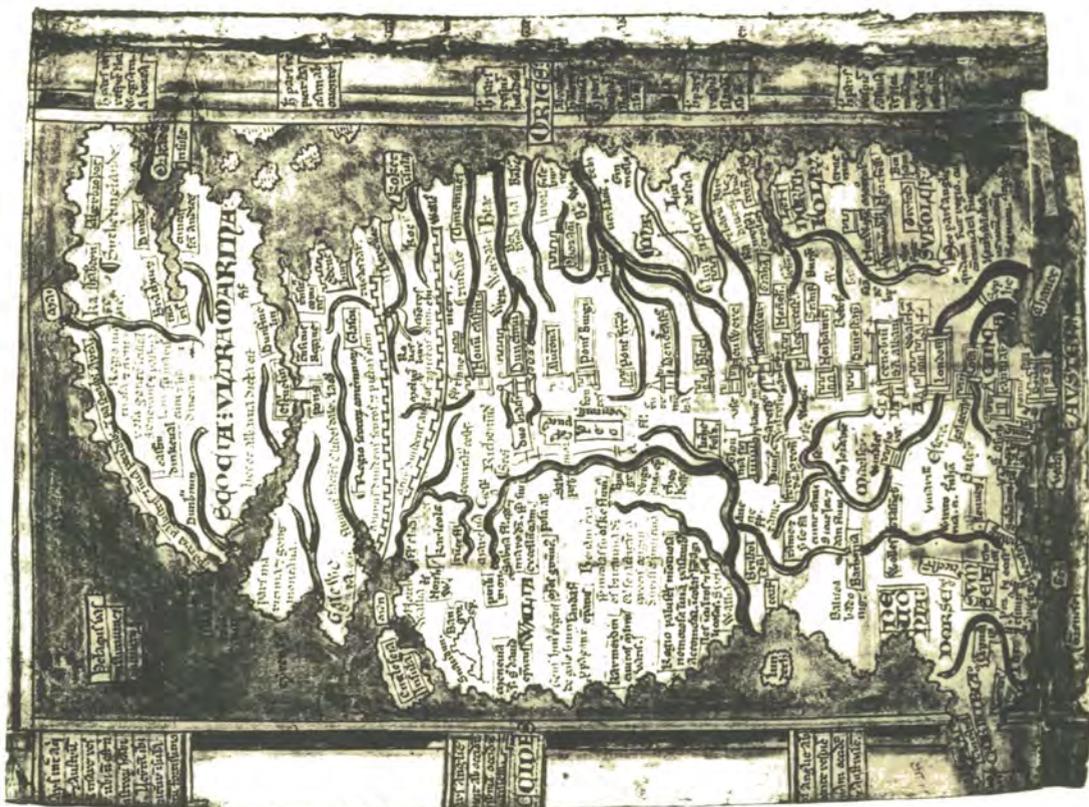


FIG 57 Mathew Paris Map. Cotton Claudius D VI folio 12

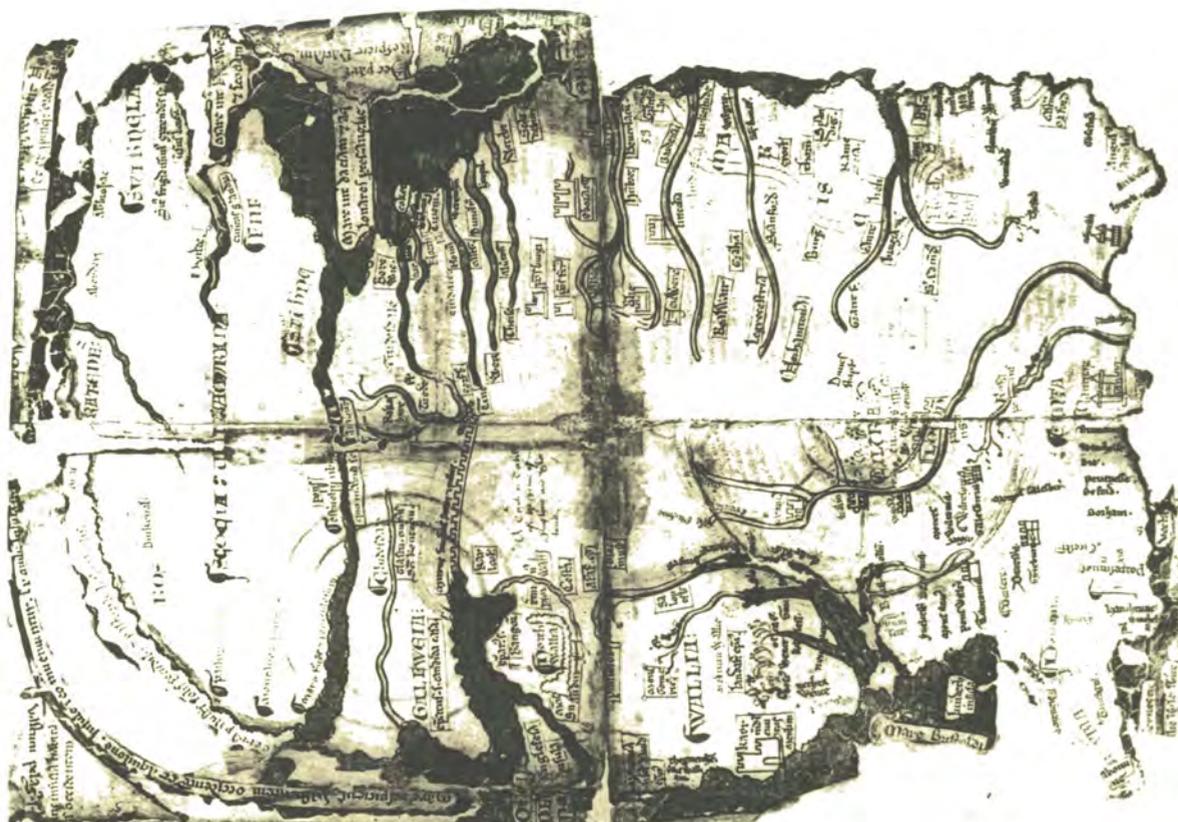


FIG 58 Mathew Paris Map. Cotton Julius D VII

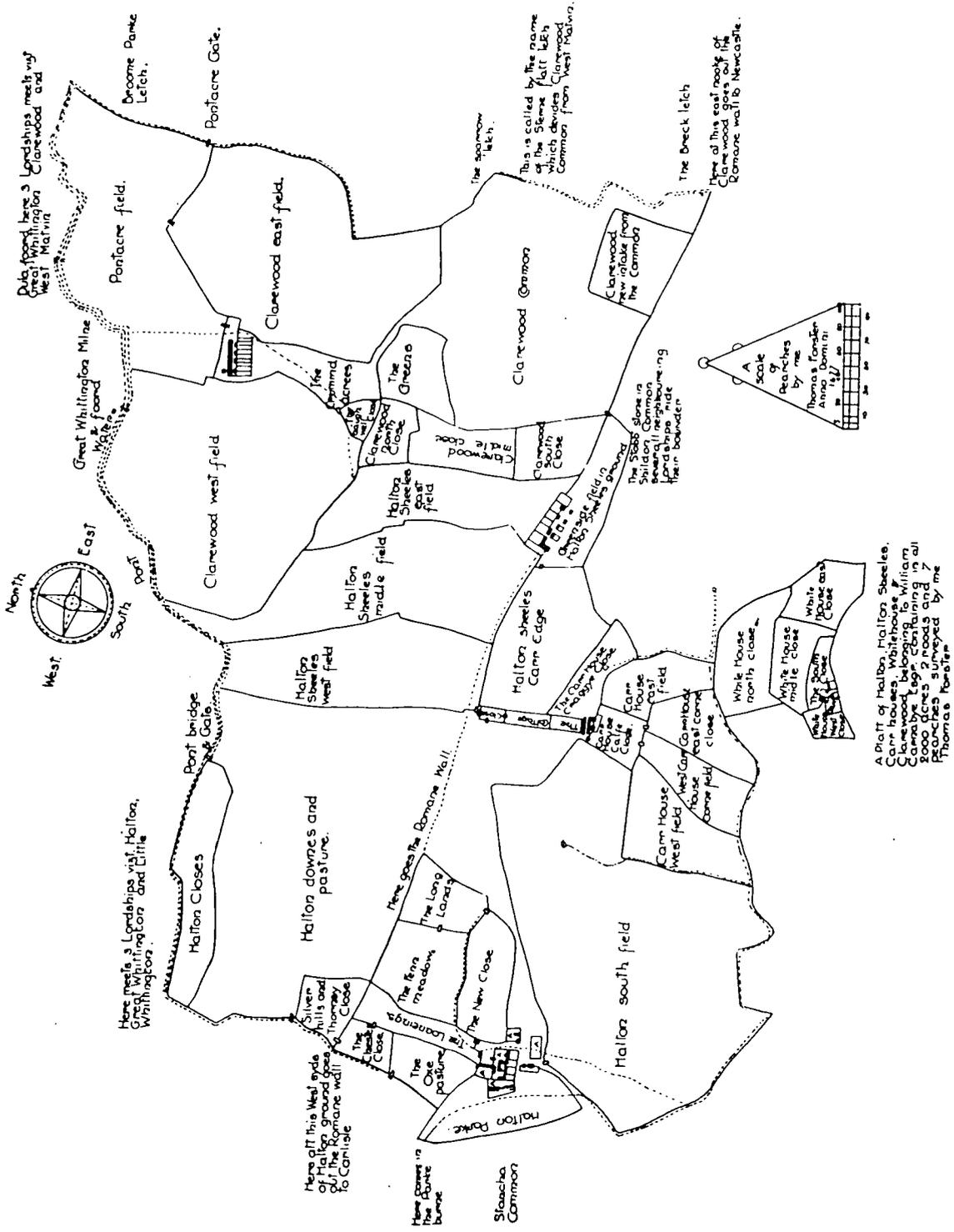


FIG 60 Halton Shields estate plan 1677

FIG 61 Manorial plan of Elswick 1743



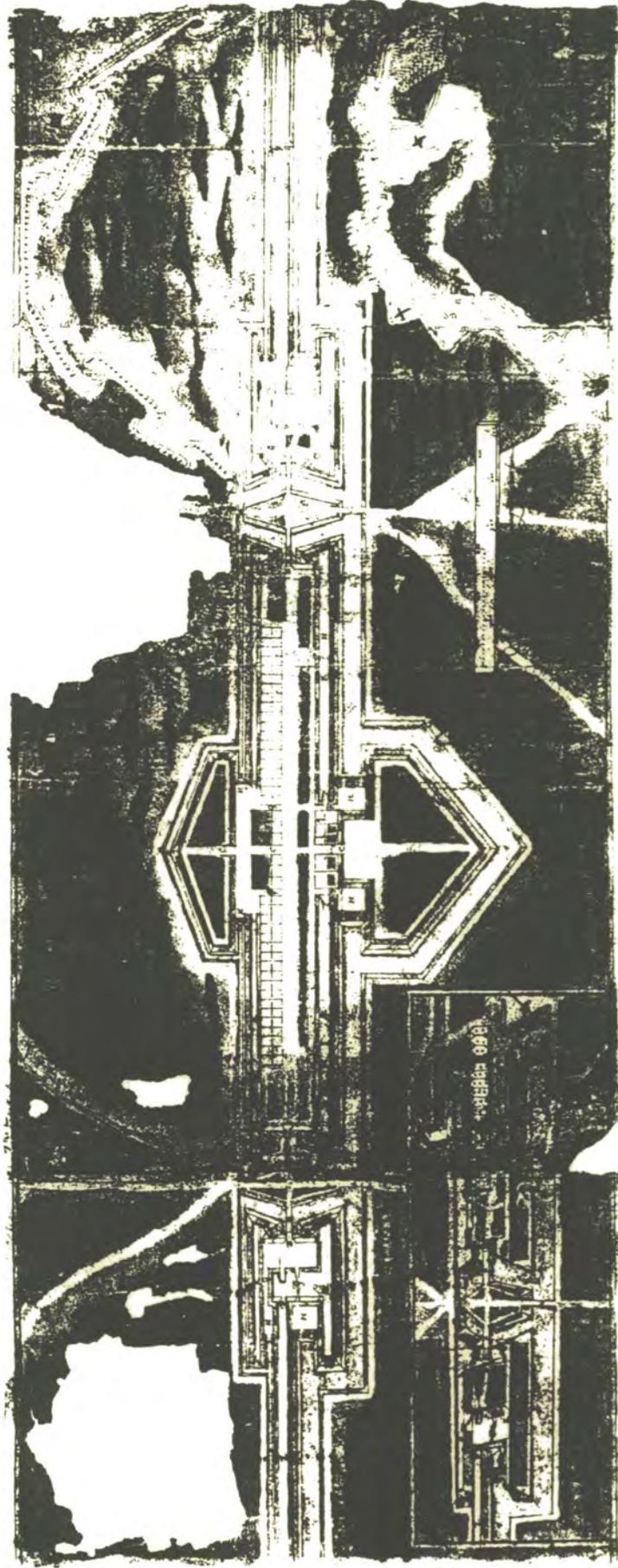


FIG 62 A proposal to Fortify the English Border

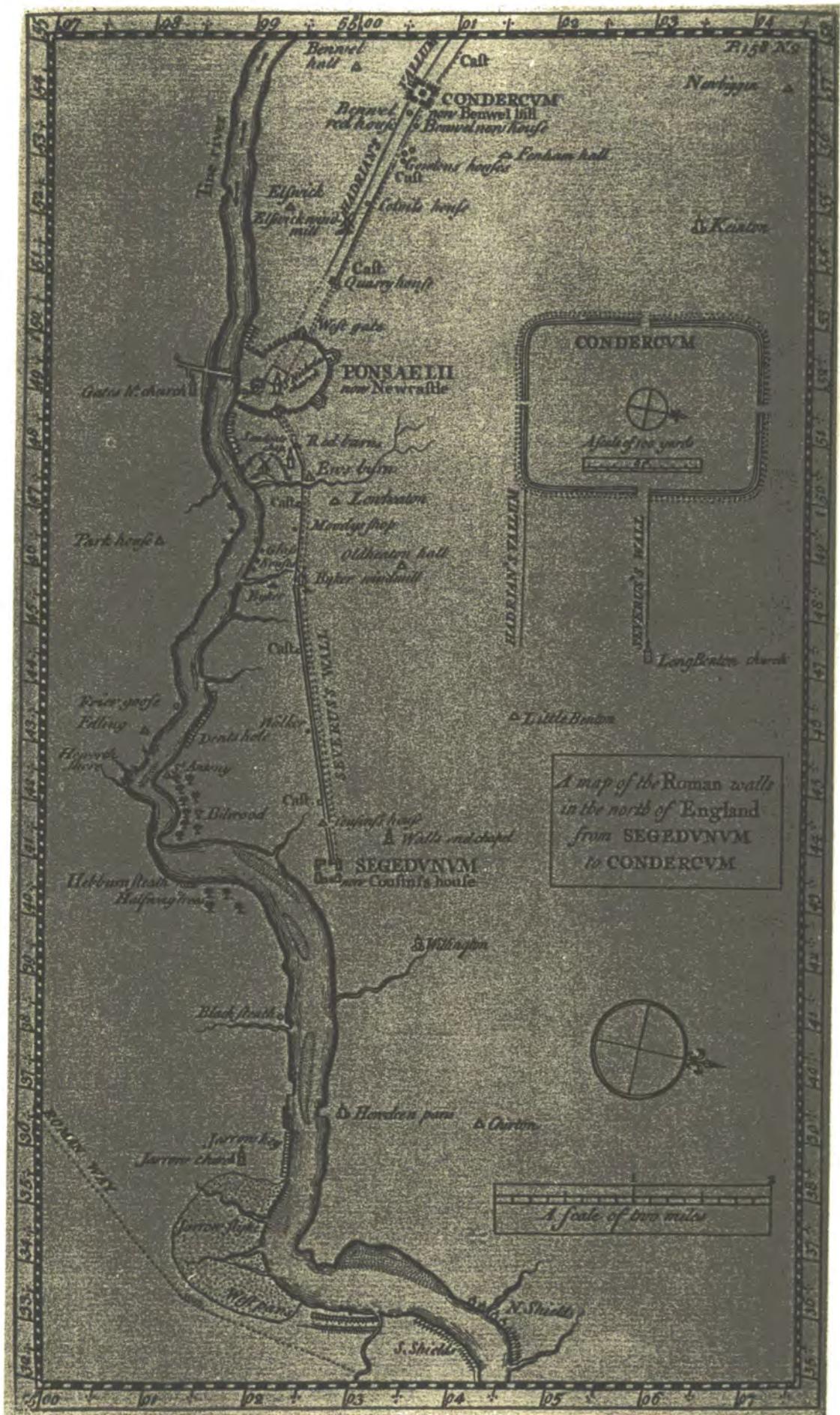


FIG 64 Horsley's Map no. 2

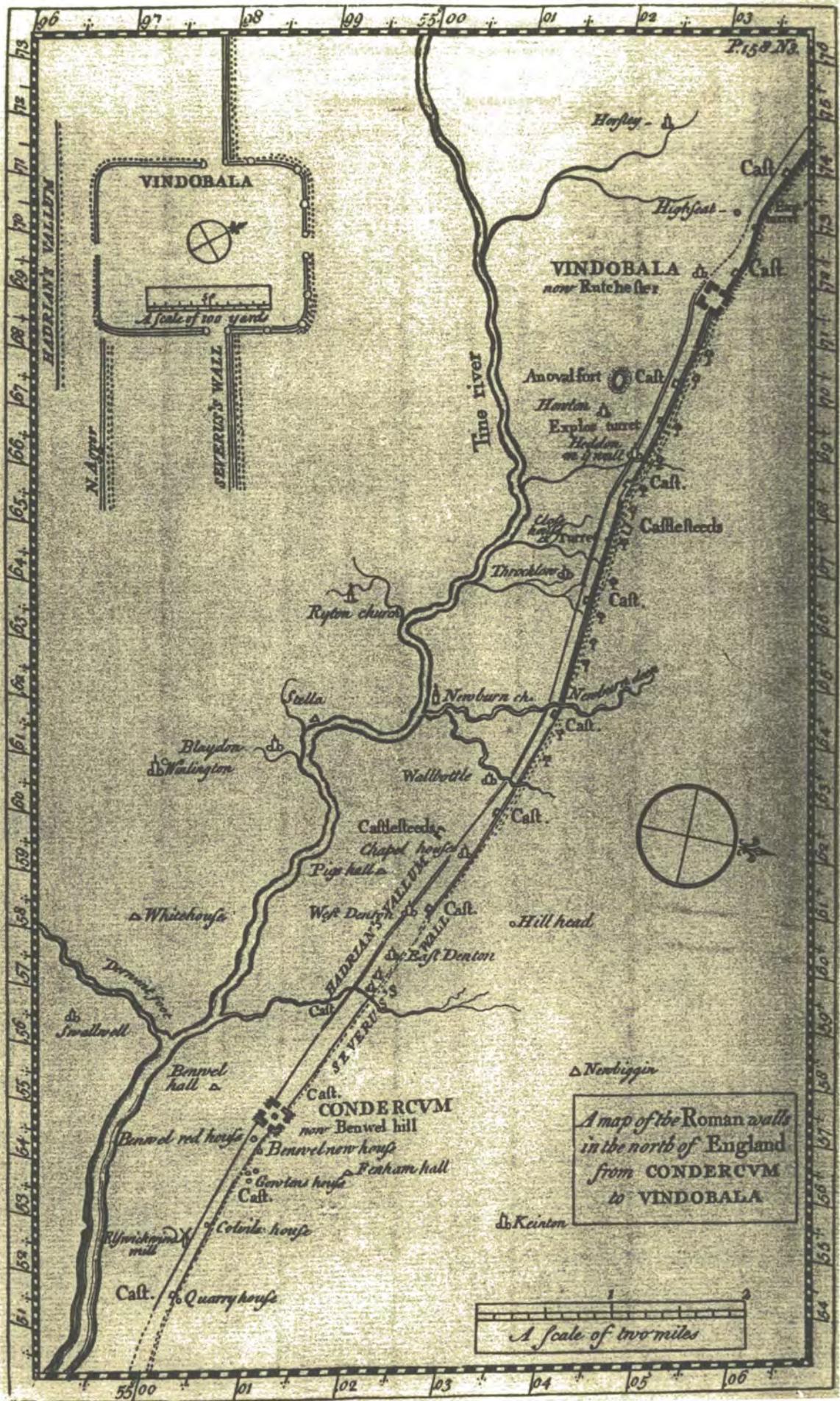


FIG 65 Horsley's Map no. 3

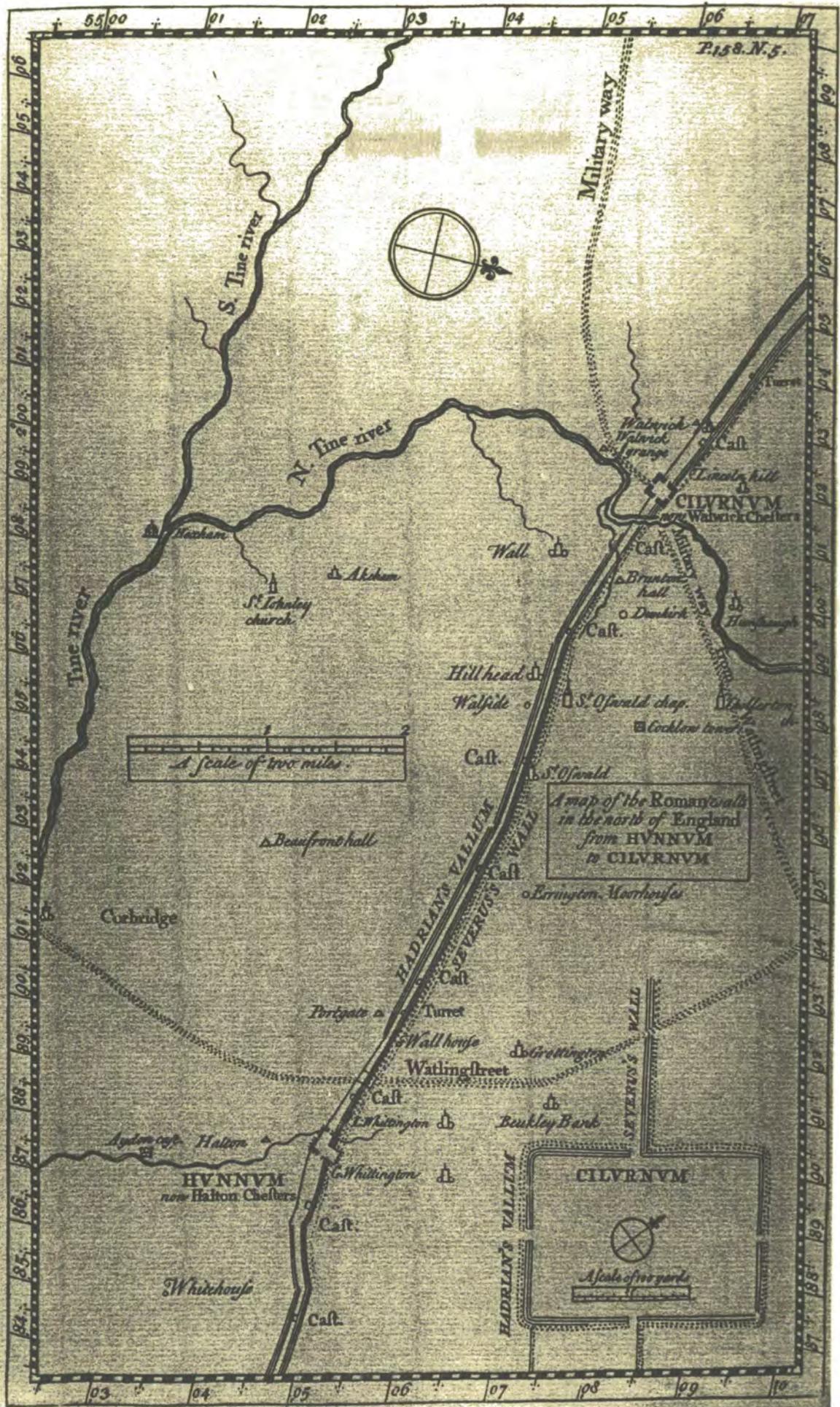


FIG 67 Horsley's Map no. 5

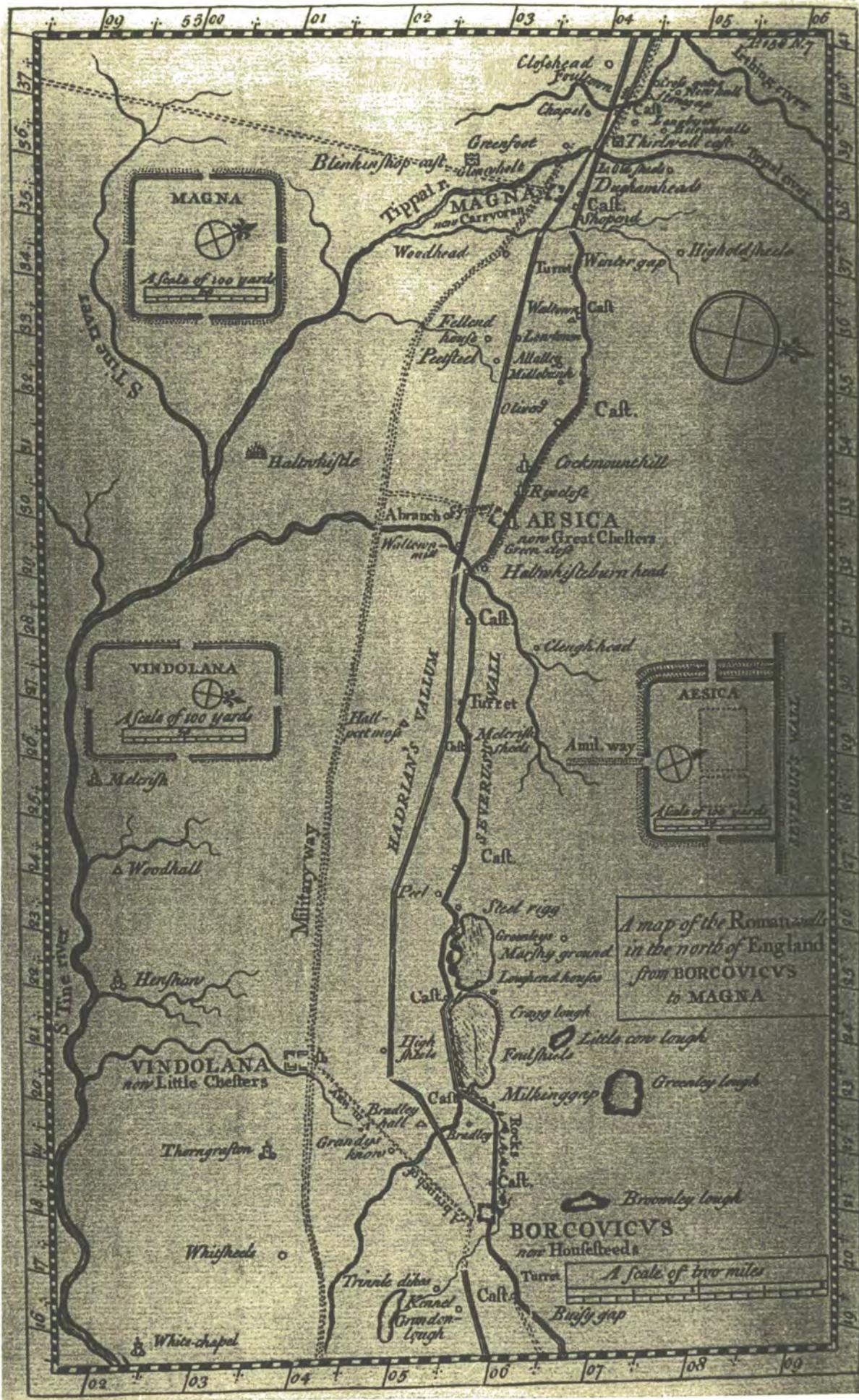


FIG 69 Horsley's Map no. 7

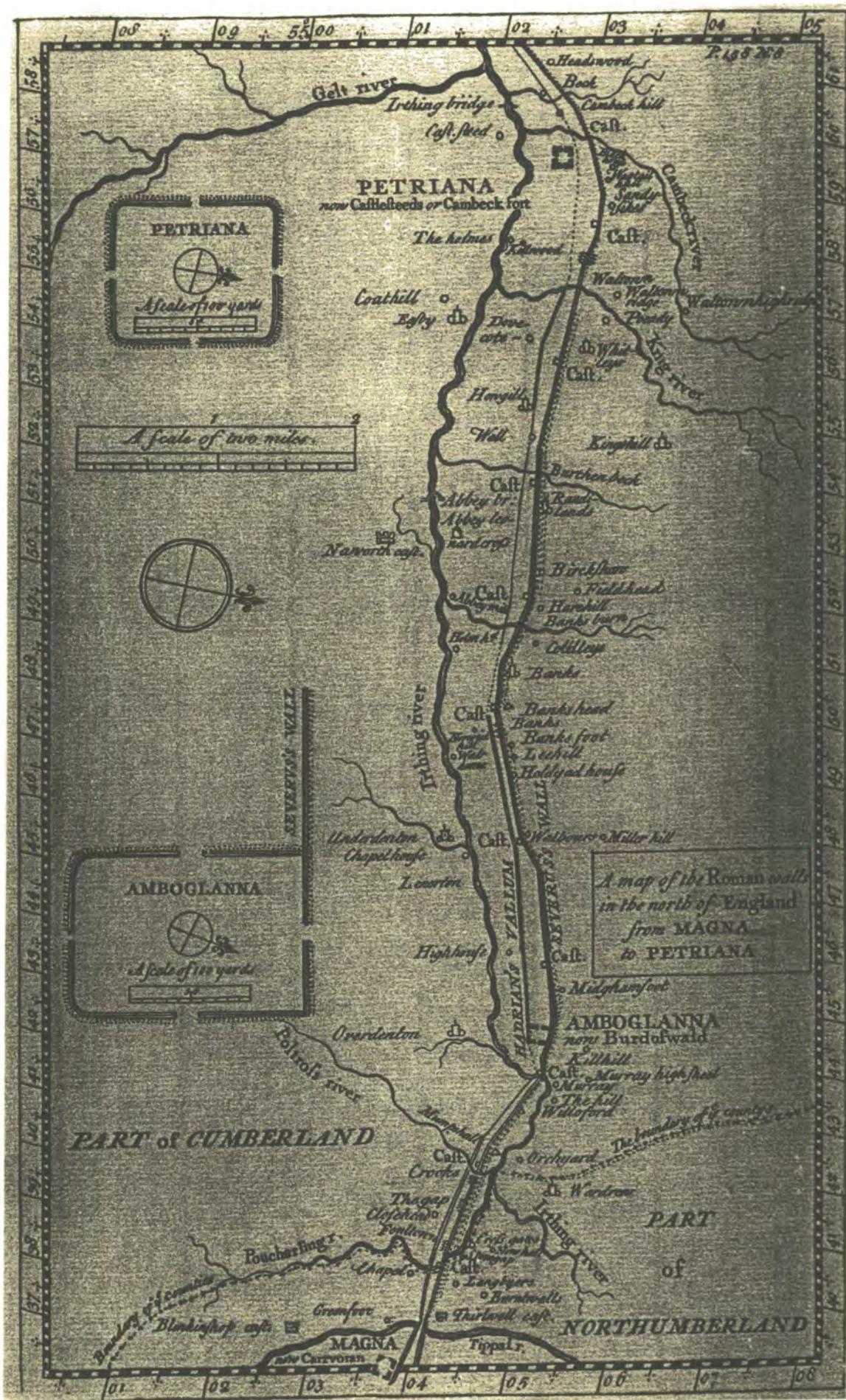


FIG 70 Horsley's Map no. 8



FIG 73 Roads to the Past

