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Donald Atkinson, a neglected Roman Archaeologist

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Donald Atkinson, who died in 1963, is best known in Gloucestershire for his contributions to the early days of rescue archaeology in Cirencester, after his appointment as Honorary Curator of the Corinium Museum. Sometime Professor of Ancient History in the University of Manchester, he began as one of Haverfield's disciples, along with such as Bushe-Fox, Newbold, Cheesman and Collingwood. His period of greatest activity in the study of Roman Britain was in the 1920s and 30s. Atkinson received no *Festschrift* or any other kind of dedicatory volume while alive and no obituary and bibliography in any national journal after his death. Yet his work, in the field, published, on committees and for various museums was and still is important, useful and wide-ranging. This bibliography, which I began in the year of the centenary of his birth, is offered in appreciation of Donald Atkinson's contribution to the study and understanding of Roman Britain.

I have endeavoured to indicate something of the nature of each item in the bibliography and have used the footnotes to draw attention to any more recent work with a bearing on Atkinson's writings. Book reviews, interim reports and the like have not been included. The pages preceding the bibliography offer an outline of Donald Atkinson's career – for personal remembrances see M.V. Taylor and Richard Reece in the *Annual Report* of the Cirencester Archaeological and Historical Society for 1963.

Born in Birmingham in 1886,¹ Atkinson went up to Brasenose College, Oxford from King Edward's School. He graduated in Classics in 1909 and went as a classical master to Stamford Grammar School. While there, he supervised excavations, with H.G. Evelyn White, for Haverfield at North Leigh Roman villa, Oxfordshire in 1910 and 1911.² He took part in the excavations overseen by Haverfield on the Roman site at Corbridge, Northumberland, before the Great War³ and also assisted another of Haverfield's disciples, J.P. Bushe-Fox, at Wroxeter in the summers of 1912 to 1914.

By this time Atkinson had left Lincolnshire for the British School at Rome. He held a Pelham Studentship in 1912–13, endowed in memory of H.F. Pelham (Camden Professor of Ancient History, 1899–1907) for Oxford students pursuing higher studies at the School. While in Italy he was able to make a full study of the hoard of samian from Pompeii, the publication of which is always referred to when any first-century samian is discussed.⁴ In 1913 he was appointed Research Fellow in Roman Archaeology and Lecturer in Classics at University College Reading. Apart from his own excavations at Adel and Lowbury Hill and his participation at Corbridge, Slack and Wroxeter, Atkinson was visiting France and Germany at about this time to look at Continental collections of samian.⁵

As to military service during the First World War, in 1917 the letters R.G.A. (Royal Garrison Artillery) are appended to his name when mentioned along with Lieutenants Newbold and Bushe-Fox⁶ – Atkinson served in a heavy battery of the R.G.A. from 1916 to 1918, initially as a signaller and later as an officer.

In 1919 Atkinson was appointed to a new Readership in Ancient History at the then Victoria University, after the retirement of Professor James Tait, Professor of Ancient and Medieval

History from 1902 to 1919. From the days of Tait and T.F. Tout, the Manchester history school taught its undergraduates the outlines of both Ancient and European history – Atkinson's lectures ran from the Hittites through to the barbarian invasions of the mid third century A.D. While at Manchester, Atkinson excavated at several Romano-British sites from 1921–35, including Wroxeter, Ribchester fort and Caistor by Norwich, often putting his students to work for him alongside the paid labourers (although one former student, the late Professor Chaloner, told me that he much preferred the latter). Aside from archaeology, he published while at Manchester studies of the British fleet, the Roman governors of Britain and work in the early history of Christianity. From the early 1930s Atkinson had an Assistant Lecturer, Miss K.M. Chrimess, who specialised in ancient Greek History.

He became the first occupant of the chair of Ancient History in 1929, the same year that he was elected F.S.A. His Manchester M.A. was given him then, so that he could satisfy regulations and serve on Senate, impossible without a Manchester degree! Atkinson became the senior professor in the Department, one of three with E.F. Jacob (Medieval History, 1929–44) and L.B. Namier (Modern History, 1931–53). 'Roman Britain' and 'The Age of Augustus' were the courses Atkinson offered as special subjects. He retired to Oxfordshire in 1951, being succeeded by the late Professor R.E. Smith. By then there were two Lecturers in Ancient History, Cosmo Rodewald and the late Vincent Desborough, so that Atkinson had successfully built up his subject in step with the development of the University.

In 1917 Haverfield offered the following, rather back-handed tribute to Atkinson as a student of Roman pottery: 'He has probably a better knowledge of the dating of Samian ware as found in this country than any other scholar who is available, and I do not doubt that, so far as is reasonably possible, he has exhausted the matter.'⁷ Atkinson's standing resulted from his full publication of the Pompeii samian, still today a major reference-work for the dating of South Gaulish samian. However, he did not then produce a great many samian reports for other excavators, indeed he wrote on the material for no one other than himself until his time at the Corinium Museum.⁸ He did however publish a short general account of Arretine and samian in a journal, *The Vasculum*, largely devoted to natural history.

His experience with coarse pottery, especially the assemblages from Wroxeter⁹ and Caistor by Norwich, did lead to him reporting and commenting on material from other sites¹⁰ in the 1920s and 30s. For Caistor by Norwich (including the kilns) and, to a lesser extent, Wroxeter, the Roman pottery is organised into a good form-series, ahead of contemporary practice, although detailed work on chronology is eschewed and Atkinson often erred on the early side in his dating. Atkinson's other major pottery publication appeared in 1942, in the report on his Wroxeter excavations. Chapter XI dealt with the samian and mortaria dumped and sealed in the gutter outside the *Forum* after a fire in at least the front portion of that building, a dated group of the Antonine period. The original dating of the destruction to the decade A.D. 155–65 has been slightly modified by more recent work.¹¹

Aside from his participation in the Corbridge and Wroxeter excavations, Atkinson's first excavation was as a result of efforts by Professor Haverfield to remedy the overgrown and ruinous condition of North Leigh Roman villa. After an appeal for funds in 1908, new excavations on the north-west and south-west wings were carried out by Atkinson and H.G. Evelyn White in 1910 and 1911. Owing to the War, no further work ensued, and a report never appeared.¹² Next came some small-scale trenching in 1913 at Adel, West Yorkshire. More ambitious was his work for University College Reading at Lowbury Hill, Berkshire, in 1913–14 as part of 'a general scheme of work for investigation and study of local history'.¹³ The half-acre site was exhaustively trenched, and published in a detailed monograph, which included five distribution plans of the findspots of the pottery, coins, late Roman coins (after A.D. 360) and

small finds, as well as an introduction by Haverfield which dwells especially on the contribution of 'our newer university institutions' to the study of Roman Britain.¹⁴ In 1914, Atkinson with Professor W.B. Anderson of Manchester completed the work of Thomas May and G.L. Cheesman in the *principia* at Ribchester. After moving to Manchester, he did further work there throughout the 1920s for the Manchester branch of the Classical Association, examining the defences, central area and an extramural bath house. None of this was published in detail.¹⁵

For 1921 and 1922 Atkinson was also digging at Kinderton, Middlewich, Cheshire to test W.T. Watkin's conjecture that here was the site of the *Condate* of the Antonine Itinerary. The results from small-scale excavation were inconclusive and the sites were never published.¹⁶ Further trial excavations were carried out at Pentre, with M.V. Taylor, for the Classical Association and the Flintshire Historical Society, in 1923, finding the remains of lead smelting.

In the same year, Atkinson was completing the excavation of the Gayton Thorpe Roman villa for the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society and beginning work at Wroxeter, on the north-east defences. Atkinson then directed the excavation of the forum and basilica at Wroxeter from 1924–27 for the Birmingham and the Shropshire archaeological societies. This was in the northern part of the field excavated in 1912–14, and was planned as a continuation of that work. The long delay in publishing the Wroxeter report (it appeared in 1942) brought criticism, robust and direct, from the President of the Society of Antiquaries, Sir Frederic Kenyon, in an Anniversary Address¹⁷ and the low standards, even for the time, of recording technique also drew fire from another of the Kenyon family.¹⁸ Ian Richmond, while acknowledging the shortcomings of the sections, wrote a more balanced review.¹⁹

Atkinson assisted his old colleague Bushe-Fox in his excavations at Richborough in the late 1920s. At the same time he had returned to work on his own account in Norfolk. The famous aerial photograph taken in 1928 of the Roman town of Caistor by Norwich²⁰ prompted Atkinson's last major campaign of excavations, from 1929 to 1935 (except 1932) again for the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society. Six seasons of excavations uncovered the forum and basilica, the baths, one insula of the town²¹ (with two houses and two Romano-Celtic temples), a house and three pottery kilns in the northern part of the town and the South Gate. In addition, some work was done in the Anglo-Saxon cemetery to the east of the town.²² There was no generous private patron for the work at Caistor, as Sir Charles Hyde had supported the Wroxeter excavations, so publication of the excavations was not to be possible as a single report. The South Gate and the house in Insula VII remain unpublished in detail²³ and the report on the forum and baths only came out in 1971, with acerbic comments on the quality of the site records.²⁴ Atkinson's final excavations involved him searching in 1950 in the bomb-damaged area of Beaufort Street and Ivy Street, Manchester for the northern defences of the Roman fort. These were eventually found further north,²⁵ but Atkinson's work did uncover traces of buildings. Until very recently, this unpublished excavation had been the only work on the interior of the Manchester fort. Less easy to record now is Atkinson's assistance to others working in the field of Roman Britain. One example has been recently published: clearance in 1926 of a quarter of a mile of Roman road north of the site of Little Chester, Derby brought on a visit by Atkinson, whose letter of advice to the Borough Surveyor was printed in a local paper.²⁶

After his retirement from the Manchester chair, he became Honorary Curator of the Corinium Museum, succeeding Lady (Aileen) Fox.²⁷ Before the War, Atkinson had been honorary curator of Rowley's House Museum in Shrewsbury, supervising the new display of Roman antiquities from Wroxeter. The post-war rediscovery of the Cirencester collections having been completed by his predecessor, Atkinson (supported by a full-time custodian) was able to organise the reserve and samian collections of the Museum and to clean and catalogue the Roman coins, some 8,000 of

them. While at the museum, he was a founder committee-member, in 1955, of the still flourishing Cirencester and District Archaeological and Historical Society. Rescue archaeology in Cirencester became established during Atkinson's time at the museum, first of all through a series of government-funded excavations and then the inception in 1959 of the Cirencester Excavation Committee to organise a programme of annual excavations. Atkinson played a part in all these developments, from fund-raising to post-excavation, and served on the Excavation Committee from the start. He was succeeded after his death by Ian Richmond, at the same time as the custodian was upgraded to curator and the role of honorary curator scaled down.

Here it may be mentioned that he was a founder-member of the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies in 1910 and served four times on its Council, the last from 1952. He does not seem to have rendered similar service to the Classical Association, but his excavations at Ribchester and elsewhere in the North West saw him sitting on the Excavation Committee of the Manchester and District Branch of the Association. He was the representative of his university on the Chester Excavation Committee in the 1930s.

Atkinson was married in 1932 to Kathleen Chrimes, who went on to University College Leicester in the late 1940s after having been relegated, on her marriage, to an annually-renewable post of special lecturer, the University having a rule that a wife could not hold a regular appointment in her husband's department. She became Professor of Ancient History at Queen's University Belfast before her death in 1979.²⁸ A bequest from her formed the Donald Atkinson Fund of the Roman Society.²⁹

The bibliography in the pages following will indicate something of the range and detail of Atkinson's work. A few observations can be made beforehand. Publication of excavations seems to have been a difficult and time-consuming task for this lone worker – contrast the fates of the Caistor and the well-organised Wroxeter excavations – and the periods when no publications appeared can lead us to forgetting Atkinson's achievement in retaining a high place for Ancient History in the changing world of a modern university. The service he rendered by his detailed publication of the dated Flavian and Antonine groups of samian from Pompeii and Wroxeter cannot be underestimated and these publications will ensure that his name will be remembered. Perhaps part of the reason for the neglect of Atkinson is that the meticulous publication of his finds and the careful attention to parallels and comparison were never matched by a very high level of excavation technique. Though active in the 1920s and 1930s, he remained aloof from the subsequent developments in vertical recording and stratigraphic analysis.

Quite some time has elapsed between the years when Atkinson was active and the writing of this account. Most of those who knew my subject then are now dead and as a consequence this account does not pretend to be exhaustive, especially for his Oxford and Reading years.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY³⁰

1913

'An Excavation at Adel', *Yorkshire Archaeol J* 22, 1913, 287–93 (inconclusive trenching at a site now seen as Iron Age, but with a Roman fort somewhere nearby).³¹

1914

'A hoard of samian ware from Pompeii', *JRS* 4, 1914, 26–44 (a study of ninety South Gaulish bowls, forms 29 and 37, found in 1881 in a house in Insula VIII and taken to be a consignment received just before the destruction of the town in A.D. 79. The secure dating and detailed descriptions make this a key group for the study of first century samian).

1916

The Romano-British site on Lowbury Hill in Berkshire, University College Reading Studies in History & Archaeology (the report of his excavations at an Iron Age–Roman rural site on the Berkshire downs (with a Saxon burial). Most of it is taken up by the finds reports, especially the well-referenced discussions of the 873 coins, the brooches and the pottery. Atkinson does not have much to say on the nature of the site – the current interpretation makes it a religious site, noting the profuse and varied small-finds and the evidence of the very large coin list.³² There is an introduction by Haverfield, and a note on the Icknield Way is by Professor F.M. Stenton).

1917

'The First Days of Carlisle', (F. Haverfield and D. Atkinson), *Trans Cumberland Westmorland Antiq Archaeol Soc* n.s. 17, 1917, 235–50 (in response to J.P. Bushe-Fox's suggestion, from the decorated samian, of a date in the early A.D. 70s for the occupation of Carlisle,³³ Haverfield introduces a 'note on the potter's stamps found in Carlisle' in which Atkinson inclines to an Agricola date.³⁴ Atkinson also contributes comments on the samian to Thomas May's catalogue of the Roman pottery in Tullie House Museum, Carlisle, earlier in the same volume).

1922

'The governors of Britain from Claudius to Diocletian', *JRS* 12, 1922, 60–73 ('a complete list easily accessible to English students', replacing one by Hübner and itself only superseded in 1951 by Eric Birley).³⁵

1922–23

'Samian ware', *The Vasculum* 8 (1922), 136–42

'Samian ware', *The Vasculum* 9 (1923), 2–9 (a general introduction, without references, concentrating especially on Arretine and South Gaulish samian and the value of pottery as dating evidence. The end is corrupted).

1924

'Flint Excavation Report, being an account of some trial trenches dug at Pentre, 1923' (D. Atkinson and M.V. Taylor), *Publications Flintshire Hist Soc* 10.1 (1924), 1–22. (An excavation arising from Miss Taylor's research on Roman Flintshire, looking for the traces of lead-smelting. Further excavations in the 1920s, 1930s and 1970s have shown that here was a settlement involved with lead-processing under official (imperial) control.)³⁶

'An imperial estate in Germania Superior', *Classical Review* 38 (1924), 55–58. (Atkinson follows the development of an estate situated between the Rhine and the Domitianic *Limes*, through to a rare instance of a *Civitas* being based on a town not a tribe.)

'Civitas Cornoviorum', *Classical Review* 38 (1924), 146–48. (The first publication of *RIB* 288, the great commemorative slab from the Wroxeter forum, found in 1924.)

1925

'Appendix II: Campaigns, Revolts and unrest in Gaul after the withdrawal of Caesar/Invasion of the Cimbri and Teutones', in J.P. Bushe-Fox, *Excavation of the Late-Celtic Urn-field at Swarling, Kent*, Rep Res

Comm Soc Antiq London 5 (1925), 46–48. (A. contributes two compilations of historical references from the later first century B.C. as background to Bushe-Fox's discussion of tribal movements from Gaul to Britain.)

1926

'The pottery', in R.C. Shaw, 'Excavations at Willowford', *Trans Cumberland Westmorland Antiq Archaeol Soc* n.s. 26 (1926), 429–506. (Roman pottery from the bridge abutment,³⁷ plus notes on a coin from there and a samian bowl from Turret 48a, Willowford East.)

1928

J.M. Hopkinson, *The Roman Fort at Ribchester*, Third edition (Manchester, 1928). (A revised and enlarged version of the 1911 original, for the Manchester and District branch of the Classical Association. This is the only publication of A's excavations here between 1914 and 1928.)³⁸

'A new Roman governor of Provincia Britannia', *Classical Review* 42 (1928), 11–14. (The first publication of the military citizenship diploma RIB 2401.8, found at Wroxeter in 1927, naming the governor P. Mummius Sisenna.)³⁹

1929

'The Roman villa at Gayton Thorpe', *Norfolk Archaeol* 23 (1929), 166–209. (A report on excavations at a site near Kings Lynn, with an exceptional plan – two winged corridor houses linked to each other, perhaps indicating joint proprietorship of an estate.)⁴⁰

1931

'Caistor Excavations, 1929', *Norfolk Archaeol* 24 (1931), 93–139. (A report on the first season of excavations, in Insula IX at *Venta Icenorum*, revealing two Romano-Celtic temples, two houses and evidence for late Roman glass-manufacture. At the time, the work was the subject of a caustic comment by Wheeler, in view of the real threats to parts of Caerleon, *Camulodunum* and *Verulamium*.)⁴¹

E.M. Clifford, 'A Prehistoric and Roman Site at Barnwood near Gloucester', *TBGAS*, 52 (1931), 201–254. (Includes a note by Atkinson on the Roman pottery associated with the burials, mainly cremations, now seen to be largely late first to early second century local products.)⁴²

1932

'Three Caistor Pottery Kilns', *JRS* 22 (1932), 33–46. (In a collection of essays celebrating Sir George Macdonald's seventieth birthday, a good report on three pottery kilns excavated in 1930. A case has recently been made for them being somewhat earlier than a Trajanic–early Antonine date.)⁴³

1933

'Classis Britannica', in J.E. Edwards, V.H. Galbraith and E.F. Jacobs (eds.), *Historical Essays in honour of James Tait* (Manchester, 1933), 1–11. (A review of the history of the fleet, A.D. 40s to the fourth century, among essays presented to Professor Tait (1863–1944) on his seventieth birthday. Atkinson's account is not bettered by that of Chester Starr.)⁴⁴

1938

'The Sator-formula and the beginnings of Christianity', *Bull John Rylands Univ Library* 22 (1938), 419–34. (Writing in a journal which covered the early history of Christianity, Atkinson reviews recent discoveries from Dura Europos and Pompeii and the implications of the suggestion that the formula originates in a Latin reference to the Lord's Prayer.)

'Roman Pottery from Caistor-next-Norwich', *Norfolk Archaeol* 26 (1938), 197–230 and ten plates. (The pottery from nineteen pits excavated 1929–30, including some published before,⁴⁵ plus notes on eight stratified groups and a detailed form-series which includes 1931 material.)

1942

Report on Excavations at Wroxeter (the Roman City of Viroconium) in the County of Salop 1923–1927, (Oxford, 1942). (A full report on the structures of all periods⁴⁶ revealed in the forum excavations is followed by detailed publication of the 'Wroxeter Gutter' samian and mortaria deposits, and all the other finds large and small – the finds chapters accounting for almost two-thirds of the book. Two appendices carry discussions of the plan of the early baths and 'The Forum – Parallels and Analogies'. In the latter, A. groups the British fora and some Continental examples into a 'Principia Type', 'the offspring of the military headquarters' (p. 353).)⁴⁷

1951

'The Origin and date of the "Sator" Word-Square', *J Ecclesiastical Hist* 2 (1951), 1–18. (Atkinson writes to counter recent arguments against the formula being in origin Early Christian and of the first century A.D., which stem from difficulties in accepting the presence of Christians at Pompeii before A.D. 79. In discussing a recent find from Manchester, of all places, Hassall concludes however that it was a secular palindrome and that 'it is unlikely that [Christians] devised it or were its exclusive users'.)⁴⁸

1957

'The Verulamium forum inscription', *Antiq J* 37 (1957), 216–17. (Atkinson presents modifications to R.P. Wright's reading (*Antiq J* 36 (1956), 8–10) of a fragmentary Purbeck marble inscription, now replaced by the alternatives given by Frere.)⁴⁹

'A Fragment of a Diploma from Cirencester', *JRS* 47 (1957), 196–97. (Recognised after lettering was read on a small bronze disc, believed at first to be a mirror, in the Corinium Museum collections. This is *RIB* 2401.11, dated to A.D. 140/148.⁵⁰ After G. Lloyd-Morgan's comments,⁵¹ it is not seen as a mirror nor has it a secure Cirencester provenance.)

1958

'The Cirencester Word-Square', *TBGAS* 76 (1958), 21–34. (An article based on his 1938 and 1951 papers, above.)

1960

'Decorated Samian', in G. Webster, 'Cirencester: Dyer Court Excavation 1957', *TBGAS* 78 (1960), 44–85.

1962

'Coins', in K.M. Richardson, 'Excavations in Parsonage Field, Watermoor Road, Cirencester, 1959', *Antiq J* 42 (1962), 160–82.

'Samian ware', in E.M. Clifford, 'The Hucclecote Roman Villa', *TBGAS* 80 (1962), 42–49.

1969

'Cirencester Coin Collections', *TBGAS* 87 (1969), 65–70. (A listing of some 6700 coins from a number of collections given to the Corinium Museum. Edited for publication by John Real, custodian under Atkinson.)

1972

'Coins' and 'The Samian Ware', in D.M. Rennie, 'Excavations in the Parsonage Field, Cirencester, 1958', *TBGAS* 90 (1972), 64–94.

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Notes & References

1. *Who Was Who, 1961–1970* (1972), 39.
2. M.V. Taylor, *VCH Oxfordshire I* (1939), 317–18.
3. M.C. Bishop, *Corstopitum An Edwardian Excavation* (1994), 12 – where he is incorrectly referred to as 'R.L. Atkinson'.
4. Although it did not have any impact on the major work of Robert Knorr (*Töpfer und Fabriken verzierter Terra-Sigillata des ersten Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart 1919), despite a personal communication by A.: cf. G.T. Mary, *Novaesium I: Die südgalische Terra Sigillata aus Neuss*, *Limesforschungen* 6 (1967), 32.
5. See bibliography 1916, 57. Records of stamps and pencil rubbings of decorated pieces from Britain, Rome, Ostia, Vindonissa and Mainz survive in notebooks of A.'s, given to Mr. B.R. Hartley by the late Professor K. Atkinson, along with a letter to A. from Haverfield of April 1919, which requests 'anything you can tell me now, about whether pre-Flavian stamps occur on Samian at Caerwent. The annual accounts contain next to no reference to the stamps', and gives advice on recording stamps. Perhaps other collaborations, like the one on Carlisle (bibliography 1917) were planned, only to be cut short by Haverfield's death later in 1919. Mr. Hartley tells me that A.'s records of the samian from Mainz are still useful, because of the subsequent destruction wrought during the Second World War.
6. By Haverfield, see bibliography 1917. 237. I am grateful to Dr. Grace Simpson for information on A.'s war service.
7. 1917, 238.
8. See bibliography 1960, 1962 and 1972. The only exception seems to be his many comments in A.M. Woodward's Ilkley fort samian report (*Yorkshire Archaeol J* 28, 1926, 199–255). See also Atkinson's reviews of May's Silchester volume, Oswald and Pryce 1920 and *Central Gaulish Pottery* (*JRS* 8, 1918, 199–202; 11, 1921, 113–16; *Antiq J* 38, 1958, 115–16).
9. One of his assistants there in 1926 was the late Christopher Hawkes, sent to Atkinson by Miss M.V. Taylor while an undergraduate at New College Oxford. He remembered Atkinson's instructions in pottery-description as 'indispensably useful preparation for my own directly-following excavation at

- Alchester . . . still more so afterwards at Colchester' (pers. comm., 1991). See also D. Bonakis Webster, *Hawkeseye: The Early Life of Christopher Hawkes* (1991), 141–42.
10. See bibliography 1926, 1931 and, e.g., p. 176 of the 1929 Birdoswald report, E.B. Birley, *Trans. Cumberland Westmorland Antiq Archaeol Soc n.s.* 30 (1930), 175–98.
 11. B.R. Hartley, *Britannia* 3 (1972), 27 – where dated to the period A.D. 160–200 and probably A.D. 165–75.
 12. See note 2 (above), 318.
 13. 1916, iii. The University of Reading has carried out a new excavation at Lowbury Hill (*Britannia* 24, 1993, 299; due to appear in *Arch. Journ.*).
 14. 1916, iv–viii.
 15. See bibliography 1928 and *JRS* 19 (1929), 191–92. A future volume in the monograph series *Ribchester Excavations* (general editors B.J.N. Edwards and P.V. Webster) will include a synthesis of all the modern work on the site.
 16. See *JRS* 11 (1921), 205–6 and D. Petch, *VCH Cheshire* I (1987), 202–8.
 17. *Antiq J* 17 (1937), 250.
 18. *Antiq J* 23 (1943), 66–67, review by K.M. Kenyon.
 19. *JRS* 33 (1943), 113–15.
 20. 1931, plate I.
 21. J. Wachter, *The Towns of Roman Britain* (1974), fig. 54 – Insula IX. The walled town itself is now in the protective ownership of the Norfolk Archaeological Trust and there have been renewed excavations on the defences (J.A. Davies, *Norfolk Archaeology* 41, 1992, 325–37).
 22. J.N.L. Myres and B. Green, *The Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries of Caistor-by-Norwich and Markhall, Norfolk*, Rep Res Comm Soc Antiq London 30 (1973), publishing the 1932–37 work supervised by Surgeon-Commander F.R. Mann and done by Atkinson's Manchester students.
 23. See *JRS* 21 (1931), 232 and 25 (1935), 213. A plan of the house appears as fig. 1 of bibliography 1932. The bodies found in the house in Insula VII are not now regarded as relating to the violent destruction of that house but rather as unarticulated bones used for some unknown reason to fill a ruined hypocaust: Wachter, 238; Myres and Green, 33–34 and M.J. Darling, *Britannia* 18 (1987), 263–72. This last paper includes unpublished material from the 1930s excavations.
 24. S.S. Frere, *Britannia* 2 (1971), 1–26. See also R.P. Wright and M.W.C. Hassall, *Britannia* 2 (1971), 300 for eight items of *instrumentum domesticum* from the excavations.
 25. J.A. Petch, *Trans Lancashire Cheshire Antiq Soc* 62 (1951), 177–95.
 26. M. Brassington, *Derbyshire Archaeol J* 113 (1993), 27.
 27. J. Real, *Ann Rep Cirencester Hist Soc* 15 (1972–73), 15–17.
 28. Her obituary is in *Antiq J* 60 (1980), 463.
 29. She herself is commemorated by the K.M.T. Atkinson Research Fellowship of St. Hilda's College, Oxford.
 30. Aside from the unpublished excavations mentioned above, a promised account of the 1926 Wigan *denarii* hoard was also not forthcoming. Atkinson had identified the 137 coins and was to publish them in *JRS*, according to Francis Cheetham in his summary account, *Antiq J* 6 (1926), 318–19. The only *JRS* mention of the hoard is a note of its discovery (in 'Roman Britain in 1926', 16 (1926), 220). In his Lowbury Hill report (1916, 75) Atkinson refers to a catalogue of 846 coins collected from a site in Oxfordshire, again never published.
 31. M.L. Faull and S.A. Moorhouse (eds.), *West Yorkshire: an Archaeological Survey to A.D. 1500* (1981), 122 and 144.
 32. See J.A. Davies, *Oxoniensia* 50 (1986), 1–13, when republishing the coins in accordance with *RIC* and research since 1916.
 33. J.P. Bushe-Fox, *Archaeologia* 64 (1913), 311.
 34. The evidence from recent excavations (mentioned in M.R. McCarthy, *The Roman waterlogged remains and later features at Castle Street, Carlisle: Excavations 1981–2*, Cumberland Westmorland Antiq Archaeol Soc Res Ser 5 (1991), 53) now suggests that the fort was established in the early A.D. 70s. A recent study of the coin evidence found no conclusive proof for an early Flavian foundation-date: D.C.A. Shotton, *Trans Cumberland Westmorland Antiq Archaeol Soc n.s.* 80 (1980), 6.

35. E. Birley, 'The Roman governors of Britain', in G. Askew, *The Coinage of Roman Britain* (1951), 81–82 (and see now A.R. Birley, *The Fasti of Roman Britain* (1981)).
36. T.J. O'Leary, with K. Blockley and C. Musson, *Pentre Farm, Flint 1976–81. An official building in the Roman lead-mining district*, *Brit Archaeol Rep* 207 (1989).
37. The site was re-excavated in 1984–85 and the earlier finds re-assessed: see now P.T. Bidwell and N. Holbrook, *Hadrian's Wall Bridges*, *English Heritage Archaeol Rep* 9 (1989), 144–48.
38. See note 15, above.
39. From notes of Atkinson's shown to me by Dr. Graham Webster, it can be seen that at one time he had planned more research on the subject of Roman military diplomas.
40. Atkinson himself did not speculate on this – see J.T. Smith, 'Villas as a key to social structure', in M. Todd (ed.), *Studies in the Romano-British Villa* (1978), 149–85. For recent aerial reconnaissance of the site, see D. Edwards, *East Anglian Archaeol* 5 (1977), 235–36 and pl. XXVIII.
41. 'The excavation of this remote Norfolk cornfield is a luxury that could well have been deferred', R.E.M. Wheeler, *Antiquity* 3 (1929), 182–87.
42. C.M. Heighway, *TBGAS* 98 (1981), 63.
43. V.G. Swan, 'Caistor by Norwich reconsidered and the dating of Romano-British pottery in East Anglia', in A.C. Anderson and A.S. Anderson (eds.), *Roman Pottery Research in Britain and North-West Europe*, *Brit Archaeol Rep* S123 (1981), 123–55. She suggests that the kilns were working in the late Neronian/early Flavian period to supply a fort there.
44. C. Starr, *The Roman Imperial Navy 31 B.C.–A.D. 324* (1941), 152–56.
45. See in 1931 (above). Dr. Grace Simpson, *Acta Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautores xxxi/xxxii* (1982), 17–20, has drawn attention to some Claudian samian missed by Atkinson amongst his excavated material.
46. A preliminary re-assessment of the early development of the forum-site is made by D.F. Mackreth, in J. Schofield and R. Leech (eds.), *Urban Archaeology in Britain*, *CBA Res Rep* 61 (1987), 141.
47. The military influence adduced by Atkinson still remains in contention, despite the criticisms of R. Goodchild, *Antiquity* 20 (1946), 70–77, who looked instead to a modification of the plans of the fora of Gaulish civitas-capitals. Atkinson's argument is mistakenly assigned to Goodchild in the most recent discussion of Romano-British basilicas (T. Brigham, 'Basilica studies', in G. Milne (ed.), *From Roman Basilica to Medieval Market Archaeology in Action in the City of London* (1992), 106–13).
48. M.W.C. Hassall, *Britannia* 10 (1979), 353 (no. 34).
49. S.S. Frere, *Verulamium Excavations* vol ii, *Rep Res Comm Soc Antiq London* 41 (1983), 69–72 and fig. 28.
50. M. Roxan, *Roman Military Diplomas: New Finds 1954–1977*, *Inst Archaeol Occ Pub* 2 (1978), 68 (no. 45). See also M. Roxan in G. Webster, 'Gazetteer of military objects from Cirencester', in J. Wachter and A. McWhirr, *Early Roman Occupation at Cirencester* (1982), 117 and fig. 40.136.
51. G. Lloyd-Morgan, *Britannia* 14 (1983), 266–67. Accepted by M. Roxan, *Roman Military Diplomas: New Finds 1978–1984*, *Inst Archaeol Occ Pub* 9 (1985), 131 (note 60).