

**Beyond the Hinterland:
Understanding late Iron Age transitional rural
settlement and society in South Shropshire**

By

Michael John Greene

**A thesis re-submitted
to the
University of Birmingham
for the Degree of
Master of Arts by Research**

**Department of Classics, Ancient History and Archaeology
University of Birmingham
Edgbaston
Birmingham, B15 2TT
March 2015**

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

University of Birmingham Research Archive

e-theses repository

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

Declaration

I declare that no part of this thesis has been submitted for a degree or any qualification of The University of Birmingham or any other University or institution; and, this work submitted has been prepared by me.

Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to study the extent and effect Roman culture and economy had on rural Cornovian society from the perspective of the development of the new relationships determined by the Roman administration in terms of the provincial infrastructure, the establishment of urban centres and civil and military socio-economic relationships in order to identify and explain the processes that facilitated cultural and socio-economic changes in Cornovian society as indicative of Romanization.

The basic premise of the thesis is that Roman administration and the development of the region as a part of the developing province had little, if any, effect on the native Cornovian society, in the very marginal and relatively isolated area of the south Shropshire Hills; and that the rural native population lived in a state of indifferent cultural and social separation rather than a conscious communal rejection of Roman culture. On this, we must consider a separation of the elite from the general rural community, due to the foundation of the civitas capital of *Viroconium Cornoviorum*, and that it is this latter population, who must be assumed to be the majority, are the subject of this research. Therefore, implicit is the *Cornovii* as an identifiable regional grouping and specifically the population of the south Shropshire Hills.

Dedication

To Teri and the Muglies

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank all those who assisted in providing me with their time, support and advice in the research for this thesis with particular thanks to Teri, Dr. R.White, my supervisor, Prof. J. Gaffney, Dr. A. Wigley, Mr. I.Bapty, Prof. S. Ainsworth, the members of the Lydbury Field Group who made the excavations of the enclosures at Down Farm possible, the Stiperstones and Corndon Landscape Partnership Scheme for use of the LiDaR data in assisting the survey of the Linear Earthworks on Stapley Hill and the teaching staff at the University of Birmingham for the patience in teaching me the latest advances in GIS and GPS.

Beyond the Hinterland:
Understanding late Iron Age transitional rural settlement and society
in South Shropshire

Contents

i.	Declaration-----	ii
ii.	Abstract-----	iii
iii.	Dedication-----	iv
iv.	Acknowledgments--	v
v.	List of Figures-----	x
vi.	List of Tables-----	xiv
vii.	Abbreviations-----	xv
 Chapter 1 Introduction -----		1
1.1	Introduction of the Thesis-----	1
1.2	Aims-----	2
1.3	Geography-----	3
1.4	Methods-----	4
1.5	Methodologies: Theoretical Approaches to Rural Settlement -----	7
1.6	The Pattern and Form of Settlements-----	7
1.7	Settlements and their relationship to the landscape-----	9
1.8	The agricultural landscape; the use and exploitation of the land-----	10
1.9	Cognitive processes, the ritual landscape and the agrarian culture-----	12
1.10	The extent and limits of the research-----	12
1.11	Thesis-----	13
1.12	Structure of the thesis-----	16
 Chapter 2 Natural Environmental Determinants and Human Agency-----		21
2.1	Introduction-----	21
2.2	Landscape Characterization-----	22
2.3	Geology-----	24
2.4.	Palaeoclimatology and the evidence of Palynology-----	25
2.4.1	Introduction-----	25
2.4.2	Environmental Context-----	27
2.4.3	Analysis-----	29
2.5	Conclusion-----	32
 Chapter 3 Theoretical Approaches to Romanization-----		36
3.1	Introduction-----	36
3.2	Modelling Iron Age Communities-----	37
3.3	Anthropological and Archaeological Approaches to Imperialism and Colonialism-----	41

3.4	Romanization-----	47
3.5	The problems with current archaeological theory-----	55
3.6	Reception of the Colonial Culture-----	57
3.7	Colonialism and the Cornovii-----	58
3.8	Conclusion-----	62
Chapter 4 Transition and the Urban Effect-----		64
4.1	Introduction -----	64
4.2	Iron Age to Romano-British Transitional changes-----	65
4.3	The Urban Effect – <i>Viroconium Cornoviorum</i> -----	68
4.4	Conclusion-----	83
Chapter 5 Rural Settlement, Pattern, Form and Landscape-----		85
5.1	Introduction-----	85
5.2	The Development of the Settled Landscape in the First Millennium BC-----	88
5.3	Linear Earthworks and Cross Ridge Dykes, their significance in the development of the Iron Age Landscape -----	96
5.4	Pit Alignments-----	105
5.5	Typology of Settlements-----	108
5.6	Morphology of Enclosures and Lination-----	110
5.7	Area of Enclosures and Settlements-----	114
5.8	Locations and Spatial Distributions: Patterns in the Landscape-----	115
5.9	Conclusion-----	118
Chapter 6 Agriculture, The Purpose and Function of Enclosures, their Cultural and Social Significance-----		119
6.1	Introduction-----	119
6.2	Arable-----	121
6.3	Iron Age Pastoral and Husbandry Practice -----	127
6.4	Conclusion-----	136
Chapter 7 Material Culture and Identity-----		138
7.1	Introduction-----	138
7.2	Finds from the Cornovian Territory-----	144
7.2.1	Introduction-----	144
7.2.2	Coins-----	144
7.2.3	Metal artefacts-----	148
7.2.4	Pottery-----	151
7.2.5	Glass-----	156
7.2.6	Ritual-----	156
7.3	Conclusion-----	157

Chapter 8 The Characterization of Settlement: Case Studies	159
8.1 Introduction	159
8.2 A Cornovian Farm at Bromfield	160
8.2.1 Introduction	160
8.2.2 Phase 1b	161
8.2.3 Phase 1c	169
8.2.4 Conclusion	170
8.3 An Evaluation of a Cornovian Farm at Lower Down	172
8.3.1 Introduction	172
8.3.2 Location and Geographical Context	173
8.3.3 Site Survey	174
8.3.4 Aims	174
8.3.5 Excavations	174
i. Test Pit 01 (DFTP01/2011)	174
ii. Test Trench 01 (DFTT01/2011)	175
iii. Test Trench 02 (DFTT02/2011)	177
iv. Test Trench 03 (DFTT03/2012)	178
8.3.6 Conclusion	180
8.4 Black Knoll: An Iron Age and Romano-British Settlement	181
8.4.1 Introduction	181
8.4.2 Platforms and Enclosure	181
8.4.3 Tracks	184
8.4.4 Field Systems	185
8.4.5 Conclusion	186
8.5 The Civil Settlement associated with the Roman Fort at Pentrehyling, Brompton	187
8.5.1 Introduction	187
8.5.2 The Military, Native and Physical Context	188
8.5.3 Pottery	190
8.5.4 Industry	191
8.5.5 The Socio-Economic Basis	193
8.5.6 Conclusion	193
8.6 The Iron Age Road at Sharpstone Hill, Shrewsbury: The implications in the understanding of Iron Age Society and the Romanization of the Cornovii	194
8.6.1 Introduction	194
8.6.2 The Cornovian Context	195
8.6.3 Conclusion	196
8.7 Conclusion	196

Chapter 9 Transition: Change and Continuity	198
9.1 Introduction	198
9.2 The Implications of the Roman Conquest	200
9.3 The Cornovii: an indifferent people?	204
9.4 Summary	209
9.5 A Matter of Identity	215
Figures	223
Tables	270
Bibliography	275

List of Figures

- Fig.1 Shropshire Hills A.O.N.B., 2009, p.7
- Fig. 2.1 The Geology of Shropshire, Toghill 1990 p.1
- Fig. 2.2 The Topography of Britain
- Fig. 2.3 Locations from Pollen Diagrams (Pittam & Mighall 2007)
- Fig. 3.1 Shows the plans of two Atrebatian temple on Hayling Island, Hampshire. Although of the Roman period, the larger later temple preserved the basic plan of the earlier Late Iron Age temple. (King and Soffe 1994).
- Fig. 5.1 A distribution map of enclosures of < 1.2ha as graded by size. The map shows them within the context of his three zones. (Jackson 1999. 201, Fig 12.2)
- Fig. 5.2 Areas of settlement typology (Cunliffe 2005. p.74)
- Fig. 5.3 Pottery and transacts distribution in the Wroxeter Hinterland survey area in relation to known Villas and enclosures (Gaffney and White 2007 Fig. 6.2)
- Fig. 5.4 The morphology of smaller enclosures after Whimster (Wigley 2007)
- Fig. 5.5 Distribution of hillforts. (van der Veen and Jones 2006, 15: 217–228)
- Fig. 5.6 Long and Short Dykes of the Marches (after Feryok, 2001)
- Fig. 5.7 The distribution of Linear Earthwork Systems and Pit Alignments relative to the area of study (after Wigley 2002)
- Fig. 5.8 The Devil's Dyke Linear on the Long Mynd SO 440 943(after Wigley 2002)
- Fig. 5.9 The Stapeley Hill Group of Linear Earthworks as at 2002 (Wigley 2002)
- Fig. 5.10 The Stapeley Hill Group of Linear Earthworks from a LiDaR survey (S&CLPS) with field evaluation SO 3099 (Author 2014)
- Fig. 5.11 Profiles of linear earthworks 1 – 5 (source: Author)
- Fig. 5.12 The Cross Ridge Dykes, Stapley Hill, SO 3099. The linear shown in white is suggested by close examination of the LiDaR image. Stapley Hill 4 shown in figure 5.8 was found not to exist. (Linear Earthworks shown without the Longitudinal Linears) (Source Author)
- Fig.5.13 Linears 7, 12 & 13 SO 3005 9838 (Source: Author)

Fig. 5.14 Linear Earthworks near convergence looking west on Stapley Hill
12.50m separation SO330973 298930 (source: Author)

Fig. 5.15 Linears 8 & 9

Fig. 5.16 Pit Alignment identified near the eastern termination Linear 2, showing a
series of five pits just below the ridge (SO 3115 9888)

Fig. 5.17 A pit contiguous with Linear 2 (SO 31146 98869)

Fig. 5.18 Distribution of enclosures in South Shropshire (Excluding Hillforts)

Fig. 6.1 Comparatives maps of the distribution of four poster structures and storage pits
(after van der Veen and Jones 2006, p.224)

Fig. 7.1 Ceramic Traditions in late Iron Age Britain (after Cunliffe 2005 p.123)

Fig. 7.2 Decorated wooden bowl (Coles and Minnit 1995. p.154)

Fig. 7.3 *Dobunni* Stater (Gaffney and White et al. 2007, chpt. 5, p.3)

Fig. 7.4 Gold Stater, *Dobunni*, North Shropshire, HESH-A067C1 PAS

Fig. 7.5 Silver coin, *Dobunni*, Weston-under-Penyard, HESH 544227, PAS

Fig. 7.6 Gold Cori Stater, Herefordshire, HESH-E4B122 PAS

Fig. 7.7 Late pre-Roman Iron Age coin series (Millet 1990, p.14)

Fig. 7.8 1 & 2 Circular Linch Pin Head. 3 & 4 La Tène1bc Bow Brooches
(Gaffney and White et al. 2007, Chpt. 5, p.3)

Fig. 7.9 HESH 78A2E1 & HESH 951174 P.A.S.

Fig. 7.10 Linch pin, Staffordshire/Shropshire border WMID-94763 (Source P.A.S.)

Fig. 7.11 Colchester Derivative Brooch HESH-05A7C1 (Source P.A.S.)

Fig. 7.12 Polychrome enamelled terret WMID3867F2 (Source P.A.S.)

Fig. 7.13 Enamelled Dragon-esque brooch HESH 69B108 (Source P.A.S.)

Fig. 7.14 Distribution of Bovine bucket mounts (Source P.A.S.)

Fig. 7.15 Bovine mounts, Newport, Shropshire. (Source P.A.S.)

Fig. 7.16 The Telford Torc (Source P.A.S.)

- Fig. 7.17 A pair of spoons, Nescliffe (Source P.A.S)
- Fig. 7.18 A gold ingot, Rowton, Shropshire HESH-83D0F0 P.A.S.
- Fig. 7.19 WHP sites surveyed (Gaffney and White 2007, Chpt.4 p.3)
- Fig. 7.20 Samian production sites in Gaul, (Webster, 1995, p.2)
- Fig. 7.21 Roman Trumpet Brooch, Bayston Hill, Shreswsbury, HESH 53EAC7 P.A.S.
- Fig. 7.22 Stone figure from Alkmund Park. Scale 1:2
(Gaffney and White 2007 Fig. 5.18)
- Fig. 7.23 Silvered bronze Hercules from Lydbury North
(Source Shropshire Museum Service)
- Fig. 8.1 Location of Sites Discussed against the background of enclosures
- Fig. 8.2 Location of the enclosure E2 and Roman Marching Camp
(Stanford 1995, p.30)
- Fig. 8.3 Plan of E2 of Iron Age Features (Saxon graves and modern field ditch stippled)
(Stanford 1995, p.102)
- Fig. 8.4 Enclosure Ditch F1, Section S1 with cleaning slot (Stanford 1995, Pl. 1)
- Fig. 8.5 Sections of Enclosure Ditch F1(Stanford 1995, p.106)
- Fig. 8.6 Intercutting of E2 enclosure ditch by Roman Ditch (Standford 1995, p.106)
- Fig. 8.7 Distribution of Finds (Stanford 1995, p.108)
- Fig. 8.8 Pre-Hadranic Dupondius or As (Source Author)
- Fig. 8.9 Intersecting Enclosures, CPT 16322/1048
- Fig. 8.10 The Down SO 337 846
- Fig. 8.11 Trench Locations (after CPT 16322/1048 1995)
- Fig.8.12 DFTP01/2011 Solid Geology (Source Author)
- Fig.8.13 DFTP012011 South Section (Source Author)
- Fig.8.14 DFTT01/2011 East Section showing deep ploughing (Source Author)
- Fig. 8.15 DFTT01/2011 East Section
- Fig.8.16 DFTT01/2011 South-West Section (Source Author)

Fig.8.17 DFTT02/2011 South section showing the stratigraphy (Source Author)

Fig.8.18 DFTT03/2012 Looking South (Source Author)

Fig.8.19 DFTT06/2012 Ditch Slot (Source Author)

Fig.8.20 DFTT03/2012 Ditch Slot fully excavated (Source Author)

Fig. 8.21 (Source Author)

Fig. 8.22 Shows a photographic plan of the ditch aligned with the section profiles
above (Source Author)

Fig: 8.23 RCHME Earthwork survey: Superimposed on Black Knoll

Fig: 8.24 Settlement and Tracks (RCHME 1995)

Fig. 8.25 Field Systems (RCHME 1995)

Fig. 8.26 Enclosures (RCHME 1995)

Fig. 8.27 Holloways (RCHME 1995)

Fig: 8.28 The Location of Pentrehyling (Allen 2011, Ills and Plates un-paginated)

Fig. 8.29 Litharge Cake (Allen 2011, Ills and Plates un-paginated)

Fig. 8.30 Roman Lead Pig and Wooden Shovels (Brown 2001, p. 11)

Fig: 8.31 The Iron Age road in context to the Roman Road system
(Malim and Hayes 2010)

Fig. 9.1: The Conjectured Cornovian territory, hillforts and salt production
(after Barker & White 1998, Fig 13)

Fig. 9.2 Cunliffe Model diagram (Cunliffe 2005, p.)

List of Tables

Table 2.1 Herbs, and Fungi in the Kemp Valley (Pittam & Mighall 2007)

Table 2.2 Trees and Shrubs in the Kemp Valley (Pittam & Mighall 2007)

Table 5.1 Linear Earthworks on Stapley Hill, Shropshire (SO 3098)
(source Author)

Table 7.1 The material composition of coins found in Shropshire and Wroxeter
(source: P.A.S.)

Table 7.2 The proportions of Dobunnian (western series) and other series (source P.A.S.)

Table 7.3 Reece Period Analysis of the Data Phillipa Walton Ph.D. UCL from
www.slideshare.net/petereavill/iron-age-roman-transition-comp P.A.S.

Abbreviations

AONB Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty

CPAT Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust

EDM Electronic Distance Measurer

GPS Global Positioning System

GIS Geographic Information System

GSEW Geological Survey of England and Wales

HER Historic Environment Record

HLCP Hereford Landscape Characterization Project

LiDaR Light Detection and Ranging

NMP National Mapping Programme

PAS Portable Antiquity Scheme

SSEW Soil Survey of England and Wales

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Introduction of the Thesis

The purpose of the research, within its geographical and archaeological parameters in the context of Iron Age and Roman studies in Britain, is to study the changes that occurred from the late pre-Roman Iron Age to the early Roman period as one of transition and the extent to which the indigenous population experienced change and continuity within their culture, society and economy. To further these themes and to review the current thinking I will be discussing the current theoretical basis of recent and current research in Iron Age studies.

Recent advances in Global Positioning Systems (GIS), Geophysics and techniques in aerial photography and Light Detection and Ranging (LiDar), has created a substantial increase in data, expanding our knowledge of known sites and their environs as well as identifying many new sites. The Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) has significantly contributed to the artefactual evidence of the period, whilst the National Mapping Programme (NMP) has increased our knowledge of the number of sites through aerial photography. Palaeoenvironmental studies are increasingly adding to an understanding of the effects on the environment, especially in identifying changes in agricultural practice throughout the period being researched. The implication of these advances has allowed significant revision of the Iron Age, the Roman province and the period of transition. What has become apparent is that the society and culture of Iron Age Britain was not homogenous and that knowledge of one place or area cannot be indicative or representative of any other. This has also challenged the basic conceptual idea that commonality of behaviour, as represented in the construction of hillforts (Wigley 2002, p.1) must represent commonality and hence homogeneity of culture. It must also be

recognized that the traditional conceptualization of the British by the few classical sources had established a simplified and biased perception and perspective, imposing an ordered structure of convenience as a model for interpretation and comprehension.

1.2 Aims

The principal aim of the research is to study the changes that occurred in rural settlement in the south Shropshire hills and assumed to have been occupied and settled by the *Cornovii*. This thesis considers the changes that occurred from the late Iron Age to the establishment of the Roman province of *Britannia*, in the period defined between 100 BC – AD 200 by studying the evidence for the effects of the Roman provincial administration, infrastructure, urbanization and urban centres had on establishing social, cultural and economic relationships (civil and military), in order to identify, evaluate and explain the processes that facilitated cultural and socio-economic changes in Cornovian society. Further to this, and by implication, to identify the population specifically of the area of the Shropshire hills. The caveat here is whether we can speak of a Cornovian society or culture and that our perspective is informed by a convenient Roman construct must remain a point of issue. A systematic evaluation of the rural landscape and settlement in the area of research defined as that area south of and contiguous with the Wroxeter Hinterland Project in south Shropshire is necessary. Figure1 contextualizes the area of research in relation to the rest of Britain. To understand the processes of change in Cornovian society and to determine the extent of change through their changing material culture includes study of late Iron Age Cornovian material evidence as a datum in which to measure that change.

The primary principle of the research will be to explain the processes of change leading from a Cornovian identity to an increasing Roman influence informing that

identity through critical analysis, evaluation and interpretation. Indicative of these processes would be changes in settlement pattern, material culture, agricultural practice and the exploitation of the material resources. As Cornovian society did not exist in isolation; the regionality of their culture must be addressed by comparison to other tribal regions of Britain and their response to Roman culture. The response to Rome was informed by pre-Roman conquest cultural, social and economic regional contacts and influences.

The final aim of the thesis is to reach a synthesis of the data, and a conclusion with reference to the question: what can we conclude about the effect of Rome and Roman administration and its political, economic and material culture on Cornovian society and its culture, political structure and economy with reference to the relationship of rural settlement to the developing urban centres.

1.3 Geography

The geographical limits of the study will be based on the national grid of the Ordnance Survey, which is for the convenience of the research in order to provide limiting parameters. The regional geology and topographically of the landscape is diverse. 'Of the thirteen geological periods recognized, eleven are represented in Shropshire by different rocks and scenery' (Toghill 1990 p.10). This geology (Fig. 2.1) informs the topography and therefore the scenery (Fig. 2.2). It is this physical environment found within Shropshire that represents the tribal area of the *Cornovii* as far as the Wirral and the coast (Fig: 7.1). For the most of the tribal area, we are considering a terrestrial population with direct northern access to the sea. Generally, however, the terrain can be divided into the northern plain of the Midlands lowlands and the hills of the uplands to the south. It is primarily the population of the southern upland

region, the area contiguous with the Midlands plain and the Highlands of the Cambrian massif that this thesis considers.

1.4 Methods

The problem with any primary research is the quantity and quality of data available, both existing and recovered from fieldwork. This can only be limited and the locations for the recovery of data selective. Selectivity must be representative of the area of research if such a bias is to be avoided invalidating any conclusions drawn. The area of research, as described above, is largely within the Shropshire Hills Area of Outstanding Beauty (A.O.N.B.) (Fig. 1), although what is seen has been informed and modified by at least six thousand years of human exploitation and so may be perceived as archaeological. The area consists of glacial and river valleys with their surrounding hills rising to over 200 metres above the floors of the valleys.

The characterization of settlement within the rural landscape will be central to the research. This will be achieved through selected field studies from the geographical area of research in south Shropshire based on the location of settlement which can be determined by the solid and drift geology, especially pedology for an agrarian society, and hydrology.

Prior to any field work the collection and analysis of existing data sets is required as an informed base on which to proceed. These can be summarized as follows:

1. The database of the Historic Environment Record (HER) concerning identified Iron Age and Roman sites, although the lack of evaluation may mean other prehistoric sites may be included and will require deletion.
2. The database from the National Monuments Record (NMR).
3. Geological, for solid and drift geology from the Geological Survey of England and Wales (GSEW).

4. Soil surveys on the agricultural quality of soils from the Soil Survey of England and Wales (SSEW). In addition to this will be the records of the historic use of this land. Earlier, although not ancient, use of land may be indicated by toponymy.
5. Whimster R. (University of Cambridge) Wroxeter Hinterland Project enclosure plots outside the area.
6. The records of the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS).

A thorough review of the current data before any new fieldwork is essential with the production of maps and tables representing the evaluation of the data for analysis. This activity provides a resource as a basis for further primary data recovery. The aim here is to seek patterns in the distribution of sites against the natural landscape and their later relationship to the imposed Roman infrastructure as military and civil urban settlement, and the system of roads in the area and allowing for the degree of preservation of recorded sites in the landscape. The detail required will include the proportions of sites recorded as visible earthworks, which can be surveyed in the field as structures, against those only surviving as crop or soil marks. In addition to this, the distribution of finds previously recovered and recorded as surface finds, their relationship to both the late pre-Roman Iron Age and Roman landscape, the extent they reflect and represent changes in activity, and settlement pattern. Finds recovered from fieldwork on and in the proximity of sites will provide a record of changes or continuity in the material culture.

Since the research is to study the changes that occurred in the landscape over the period stated above, the site recorded and included will be both Iron Age and Roman thus all categories of typologies and morphologies. The terms enclosed, unenclosed or open, nuclear, linear and dispersed will be used, however, value judgements implicit in the terminologies of hillfort and villa will be avoided since it is important that the sites

and landscapes are evaluated on their own terms without such presumptuous impositions.

Within the settlement locations the architectural typologies, where recoverable, will be important indicators of cultural affiliation. The expected building forms of the *Cornovii* would consist of roundhouses but the forms of those sites demonstrating Roman characteristics would be rectilinear. Where identifiable a comparison of the distribution of round to rectilinear constructions and their coincidence is an indicator of continuity, whether the roundhouse continued or was replaced or was concomitant with rectilinear buildings, or change in the abandonment of a site.

The study will include the pattern of land enclosure and field patterns. Established field boundaries can be viewed as durable impositions in the landscape and directly attributable to settlement and land use. The mapping of these in the landscape against settlement will further the completion of the general picture in reconstructing a multi-phase landscape.

Modelling will be employed as a method of understanding the nature of rural settlement, change and continuity. Comparing models of regional rural settlement patterning and the prediction of settlement patterning in south Shropshire will emphasize the regional characteristics. The predictions can then be compared against the reality of field observations and the existing datasets (HER, PAS, NMP). This will be based on the natural resources in the landscape that determine locations and chosen according to agricultural practice and resource exploitation. Thus, changing priorities would inform settlement patterning, such changing priorities, should they have existed, would in themselves be indicative of changes in economic imperatives and social change.

1.5 Methodologies: Theoretical Approaches to Rural Settlement

The theoretical approach to the study of rural settlement is based on the recognition of certain criteria of settlement as a cultural and economically informed phenomenon. The criteria provide the basis of the archaeological resource for study. Jeremy Taylor in his survey *An Atlas of Roman rural settlement in England* (Taylor, 2007, passim) provides a series of criteria for the identification, evaluation and analysis of settlement in the landscape according to form, pattern, spatial arrangement, classification of typology whether dispersed or nucleated, and the significance of size and spatial relationships internally according to architecture and to other settlements. Fundamentally, the basic model to the study is that these settlements were primarily agricultural, which determined the use of the land and the morphology of the landscape, for example, field systems. In addition, the non-agricultural industries that would have been determined by the natural resources exploited and the economic demand for the products.

1.6 The Pattern and Form of Settlements

The typology and morphology of settlement and landscape is an area of study against the development of the Roman province and the infrastructure of the urban centres and the system of roads, along which minor urban settlements developed as an economic response to new material demands. These changes can be seen in terms of the form and pattern of settlement, as in the morphology of settlements, the patterns of arrangement and size of settlement, whether single farm complexes dispersed in the landscape or nucleated villages. Whimster has advanced a typology of nine variations of enclosure from his work in the West Midlands (Fig.5.3). The nine types of enclosure have sub-categories on the number of ditches. These enclosures are not considered in the category of hillforts, and, because of context, size and location will be classed as elite structures of the pre-Roman Iron Age. The size and internal arrangement of the settlements is

important to the function of them thus close attention to form is required. The research for the purpose of settlements, ignoring the urban forms of developed Roman landscape other than the smaller enclosures and open sites attributed to agricultural settlement, will be considered in terms of the architecture of the settlement, which would have been determined by the economic and social activities performed by the communities within their cultural context. The identification of industrial activities such as manufacturing and agricultural practice serves to identify the specific character of the settlement.

The area of the Shropshire hills in which settlement is better represented is found in the marginal soils and climate of the uplands. Here the tradition of pasturage and limited arable use has promoted the survival of earthworks. The mixed agricultural economy of the post-mediaeval landscape, although predominantly pasturage has had a greater concentration of cereal production on the fertile alluvia and sediments of the valleys, and as a result, the survival of earthworks has been poor other than as crop and soil marks. This situation can only serve to bias any study by suggesting a low population or avoided and deserted valleys. It is to compensate for this that palaeoenvironmental data is invaluable in determining the use of the land and to differentiate between pasturage and arable. However, the typological system of classification by Whimster provides a useful term of reference for the study and discussion of enclosures. Wigley (2007, p.178) contextualizes the smaller enclosures as representing 'one end of a "continuum" of enclosure size and form'. White implies a hierarchy of enclosure 'There seems to be evidence for a developing aristocratic hierarchy living in enclosed farmsteads, often with multiple ditches' (White, R, & Barker, P, 1998, p.38). From this, I would infer that social status is associated with function, morphology of settlement indicative of a stratified social structure in which status is expressed through settlement. The effect of the Roman transition could

conceivably be expressed in changes in the pattern of settlement with an increase of a diversity of settlement type. Therefore, continuity of the late Iron Age tradition would counter any argument on the acculturating effect of the Roman presence and control of resources including land.

1.7 Settlements and their relationship to the landscape

To understand the processes of change the relationship of settlement to landscape must be understood in the context of the people who constituted the rural communities and who had an intimate relationship with and within the landscape on which they were dependant. The dependence of the communities and their ability to exploit and produce would have supported the structural relationships within Cornovian society through a ritualization of the landscape. Therefore, the cognitive relationship at both a personal and social level informed the culture, traditions and conservatism that are suggested by the archaeological evidence (Vyner 1994 p.8).

The exploitation of the landscape on practical principles necessitated the division of the land, for purposes of possession and tenure, resulting in tangible field systems (Chadwick 1997, p.7). The survival of any ancient field systems is problematic in consideration of the subsequent interval of agricultural activity, yet, were they survive gives an important perspective on the *Cornovii* as an organized society. Indeed, Taylor (2007, p.61) refers to the conclusions drawn from the Hereford Landscape Characterization Project (HLCP) that the ‘orientation, if not, the exact form, of the modern field pattern is derived from the layout of the field systems dating to the later Iron Age’ (Taylor 2007, *ibid*). This should then be contrasted with the expected development of the infrastructure of the Roman province, land allotment for veterans or purchases and grants by and to private individuals who would impose field systems in accordance with the agricultural practice of their own culture. The arrangement of

settlements and their relationship to field systems with the degree of change and continuity would indicate the transition from an Iron Age to a Roman rural country. The extent of continuity and conservative practice in proportion to change questions the relationship to the new urban centres and the extent of their influence as socio-cultural agents (Bartel 1980, p.22).

Integral to the relationship of the agrarian communities to their landscape are the natural resources required for agriculture or rural industry. Therefore, there was a determinative dependency on the quality of the soil, drainage, water and the topographical ease of communication for the movement of produce, should this have been necessary in any large and regular amounts. This relationship would also have changed with the demands of local urban settlements with a non-agricultural population (Tipping 2002, p.21).

1.8 The agricultural landscape; the use and exploitation of the land

The agricultural landscape, the space between the settlements, must be perceived as integral to the study of settlement. The entire economic and social system was based firmly on the landscape and the organic and inorganic products. In this case, the landscape must be seen as informing human activity, which was in turn modified by exploitation into a productive agricultural landscape. In this context landscape is the informed and modified artificial environment subject to natural agencies in which the people of the *Cornovii* developed and changed through processes that were political, social, cultural, economic and ecological.

The influence of Roman urbanization did not change the fact that most settlements remained farms and that the people remained farmers, whether we classify them as *Cornovii* of a continuing Iron Age tradition or Romano-British. This may not have had any meaning beyond the material culture and its overt display informed by social and

economic status. The exploitation of the land would have continued with the additional possibility of the influence of command production of the agrarian economy taking production beyond the pre-Roman yields that maintained a dynamic equilibrium within the structure of Cornovian society. The diverse terrain provided a diversity of environments for pastoral and arable agriculture. The apparent paucity of material culture of the *Cornovii* and that they did not produce money means that the measure of wealth was determined symbolically and tangibly in possession of livestock in cattle, horses, sheep and pigs. Of these the two former provided animals for draught for ploughing and carting or as pack animals. They also provided raw materials such as leather, wool from the sheep, sinews, bone etc. There were also the by-products of livestock in milk for cheese and manure for fertilizer. The arable activity provided staples, cereals and vegetables, and fodder for livestock. Woodland management provided the resources for wood as a primary fuel or charcoal; the domestic hearth, as the focus of the domestic activity, would provide the heat for cooking, baking, food processing, and warmth and light. Charcoal would have been essential for metal working especially the smelting of iron. Their building technology required wood, not just for houses but also enclosures. Vehicles were also built using wood and metal, for haulage and warfare (Darvill 1987, p.153).

The exploitation of the land and resources can be seen in the creation of fields and boundaries, such as the extensive coaxial field systems that have been recorded in the Wroxeter hinterland (White forthcoming). The division of the land can be seen as a means of tenure and for the possessing, controlling and securing of activity within the landscape whether of animals or humans. Such control would have been a mechanism in reducing conflict and destabilizing activities. The existing evidence implies dynamic

social systems, inconstant negotiation through natural resources and the control of those resources.

1.9 Cognitive processes, the ritual landscape and the agrarian culture

‘All societies exist in a state of dynamic equilibrium with their environments: this relationship constitutes a system’ (Cunliffe, 2005 p.581). The culture and structures of societies change and the degree and rate of change is dependant on the prevailing political, social, economic and natural environment in which the society has to function. Whether internal or external, influences will determine a reciprocal response due to a resultant inequilibrium and this will continue until a state of equilibrium is achieved by which time a social and cultural change will have occurred. The agricultural economy of the late pre-Roman Iron Age society of the *Cornovii* would have informed the structure and organization of society especially to political and economic power and its control. Within this system, the cultural ideology in both ritual and belief would have given the population a means of, through received and established structures of power, comprehending their material world. Their relationships were subject to constant re-negotiation by virtue of a dynamic system.

An important aspect of Cornovian society is the apparent investment in the construction of hillforts. As indicative of a social hierarchical structure, one would expect that the centres of production would be the providers.

1.10 The extent and limits of the research

As the thesis must be limited geographically to impose a definition to the extent of the data that will be admitted, therefore it will be based on the area of the Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONB) in south Shropshire (Fig: 1) adjacent to and juxtaposed to the south of the area of study of the Wroxeter Hinterland Project. However, the data produced by this project on the rural effects and impositions of the

Roman conquest and subsequent urbanization cannot be ignored. The cultural influences on the rural communities of the lowland areas of the hinterland cannot be assumed to have been extensive and homogenous in the effect on the indigenous population. In respect of this, the admission of data must be flexible if it is to be relevant to the area of study.

1.11 Thesis

The basic hypothesis is that the development of Roman administration and the collaboration of the elite in creating the new *ordo* of local government in the region should have had an effect on the indigenous Cornovian society by the introduction of new markets and non-indigenous material culture; and for the purposes of the hypothesis and as a term of reference, the existence of a *Cornovii* will be assumed, although in general, the thesis is not unchallenged. The social hierarchical structure would have been subject to re-negotiation due to the processes indicative of the imposition of a dominant external political, social and cultural presence. Three general divisions of the transition period can be identified; first, the nature of late pre-Roman Iron Age society, second, the consequences of the Roman invasion, and third, the effect of Roman settlement on the structure of Iron Age society with the establishment of the *civitas* capitals. These three broad divisions are recognized by Martin Millet in *The Romanization of Britain* (Millet.1990, *passim*). A central theme to the argument will be that the rural population demonstrated a cultural conservatism that led to a general separation from the emergent Romano-Cornovian urban population, which although informed rural culture was received with a general disinterested indifference. The establishment of *Viroconium Cornoviorum* (Wroxeter) as the *civitas* capital of the *Cornovii* suggests that the elite were encouraged to assimilate into the local Roman administrative system. This in itself would have been significant in the preservation of

the authority, social status and wealth of the elite while presenting their participation through urbanization and being Roman. The development of the urban introduced a new element influencing the economic and social structure of the agrarian non-urban late Iron Age society of the mid west of Britain. Thus, providing new foci for the immediate rural agrarian environment through which Roman culture based primarily on and defined by urban civilization, in effect defining the Roman, would have been transmitted leading to a reception of acculturation, assimilation, separation, rejection or indifference. The assumption that the establishment of Roman agricultural and economic systems had a fundamental effect on the pattern of rural settlement in an established socio-economic agricultural system cannot be accepted without challenge.

The Wroxeter Hinterland Project (Gaffney and White 2007) demonstrated that Roman material culture diminished with distance from *Viroconium*. This is indicative of the relationship between the urban and rural population socially and economically. However, what this questions is the extent of the influence of Roman culture, as it was during the first two centuries B.C., without considering the cultural developments and changes of Roman culture and society in this period. Of the five acculturizing elements above, a complexed admixture of these may be effective, but the evidence of the hinterland suggests that there is a considerable degree of separation, rejection or indifference. The possibility that the development of an urban society dominated by an urban elite led to an urban rural separation reinforced by conservative social native indifference,

‘...the fact that the elite was now different because it was urban. The town itself separated the urban consumer from the rural producer’

(Gaffney and White 2007, Chpt 7, p.6).

This dichotomy, if true, should be represented in the physical evidence of rural settlement. That is; the greater the separation, indifference or both then the less the change during the three hundred years of the late pre-Roman Iron Age to the establishment and consolidation of the Roman province.

The thesis will concentrate on the rural with reference to the influences of the developing urban centres. In order to do this certain questions will be asked of it. These can be summarized as follows:

- i. What was the effect on Cornovian rural society caused by the dominance of the Roman state, its culture, military and civil systems and infrastructure in terms of rural settlement pattern?
- ii. Significant to any transition period in a society due to external influence is the rate and extent of change. How did this affect the *Cornovii*?
- iii. Socio-economic contact and engagement would have exposed Cornovian society to Roman material culture, however, homogenous cultural change cannot be assumed, due to the extent of acceptance or rejection of the Roman at a local level, which is too simplistic. Therefore, what extent was there a process of Romanization among the native rural population and did it have any meaning in a rural context?
- iv. How did process inform change or continuity? For example, can specific determinants be identified such as economic determinants, or were other determinants influential?

To understand any rural Cornovian response to the Roman conquest and the establishment of Roman administration it is important to understand the internal processes of change in late Cornovian society and what defined the *Cornovii* as a recognizable cultural identity. Implicit in this is can we regard the *Cornovii* as a distinct cultural entity? The derivation is clearly Latin from the word for horn (*Cornu*) and may

refer to the shape of the Wirral Peninsular (White and Barker 1998, p.32) in which the *Cornovii* were a Roman administrative construct or some cultural, conceivably ritualistic, attribute associated with the tribal grouping. Although here, the term *Cornovii* may be a convenience in addressing the question of social and cultural change of the Iron Age peoples of the area the Romans designated the term *Cornovii*.

1.12 Structure of the thesis

Chapter two; the geography, puts the research into its natural context in considering the natural determinates to human occupation and the resultant economy. The availability of natural resources must be considered a fundamental basis and reason for stable and permanent settlement. This chapter will consider the physical geography and the palaeoenvironmental factors affecting settlement with reference to the quality of agricultural land and the archaeological and palynological evidence for the agricultural use of the land.

Chapter three; the theoretical approach, is a review of current theoretical influences on Iron Age and Roman studies, and therefore putting the thesis into its theoretical context in which the approaches to the evaluation and interpretation of the data will be established.

Chapter four; on transition and the urban effect will consider the material effects on the population following the establishment of the *Civitas Capital* of *Viroconium Cornoviorum* and what it informs us about reception of Roman colonialism and culture.

Chapter five; rural settlement, pattern, form and landscape, will concentrate on the primary data of settlement typologies, lineation, morphology, the area of enclosures and the locations and spatial distributions. This is important in understanding the function of settlement, recognizing the socio-economic functions of rural settlements and their agrarian production base for subsistence at least and the trading of surplus in the locality

and region. These variable determinatives on location are altitude, aspect, inclination and facets and the soils associated with the settlements. Attention will be given to the economic models that would inform typologies, morphologies, locations and spatial distributions of settlements with the use of land and rural industry. What is important is the particular cultural and social structure of the *Cornovii* in that the pre-Roman elite invested in a concentration of hillforts, which display a tribe of many economic foci representing a decentralized social structure. The thesis cannot be based exclusively on economic theory and determinates but must consider the particular and peculiar social and cultural nature of the *Cornovii*, especially when contrasted with regional groups and the changes that occurred.

Chapter six; Agriculture, the Purpose and Function of Enclosures, their Cultural and Social Significance considers the agricultural production in terms of arable and pasturage, and non-agricultural production activities. These determine the purpose of enclosure settlements and the cultural significance of form and function. Hence, changes and continuity in the pattern of settlements their form and spatial arrangements in the context of the landscape are considered in the context of determinates affecting settlements in terms of the classification of the landscape: the variables in the nature of the topography, which determine the location of individual settlements.

Chapter seven; considers the material evidence in terms of material culture: artefactual finds, typologies, locations, origins, influences, and distributions. The apparent paucity of material culture of the *Cornovii*, an underdeveloped society, ‘decentralized and egalitarian’ (Millet 1990, p.100), means that from the material evidence they were largely aceramic and apecuniary. However, other materials were available that served as alternatives for vessels and their various means of measuring and perceiving wealth. Wood and leather serve well, while wealth, based on minerals and pasturage, would

have been a form of wealth familiar to even the Roman traditionalists for whom wealth in the earlier history of Rome and Latium was measured in cattle, sheep or both, a linguistic indication of which is that the Latin for money is *pecunia* while cattle or sheep is *pecus*, to be rich in these commodities is to be *pecorosus* (Cassell 1982). Ethnologically this is still a measured form of wealth. Accepting the hypothesis, that the cultural concept of wealth was not that of the Romans or of ours, the *Cornovii* must be judged on their own terms and cultural context. On this basis, any change in the material evidence that indicates acceptance of ceramics as an alternative material, the production of ceramic forms, coinage and Roman material forms would show that they were not beyond external influences.

Chapter eight; the characterization of settlement, evaluates the empirical evidence and the data collected from selected field studies from south Shropshire investigating certain and identifiable locations in the field for the characterization of settlements. As a landscape study, it will consist of the methods used in identifying the locations and the recovery of data with reference to the methodological basis supporting the data. The significance of this data is to reveal the change and continuity of rural settlement and provide evidence to the cultural nature of the settlements investigated. Geographical context and variation will be used as a basis for selecting sites. This context is important in terms of the solid and drift geology, sedimentation, colluvium, hydrology, pedological qualities and the palaeoenvironment. The palaeoenvironmental data will be from existing sources and new data studied in chapter two. This will provide evidence for a sequence of dating of anthropogenic activities indicating changes to the agricultural economy. These field studies will constitute an important contribution to the research in understanding the effect and responses of human agency in a changing political, social and economic environment that the development of the pre-Roman

society experienced, if any: and the effects of the Roman conquest and subsequent administration.

Chapter nine, is a review of the evidence. In identifying a *Cornovii*, the changes in the landscape, its use and changes in its use, is vital in understanding the complexed social relationships within and defining Cornovian pre-Roman Iron Age society and any mensural changes during the early Roman period, and the establishment of the province and the civitas capitals. Changes in social relationships, with reference to the abandonment of the culture of the 'hillforts' and the establishment of the civitas capitals, would have informed renegotiation of those relationships caused by the dichotomy of the urban and rural, and created new identities. These changing relationships and identities would have had an effect on the pattern and form of settlements and their relationship to the landscape, the agricultural landscape, the use and exploitation of the land and cognitive processes, i.e. the ritual landscape and the agrarian culture.

The changes in Cornovian society must be interpreted against a relative chronology within the regional and wider cultural and socio-economic geography. As I refer in section 1.2 above the *Cornovii* did not exist in isolation and so identity and changes to that identity must be seen from the perspective of referring to and recognizing regionality.

Here too, the thesis will be summarized and concluded in consideration of the evidence presented. It is intended that the degree of transition through mensural change will be considered within the geographical area of study of south Shropshire and within the context of the wider Cornovian territory and the regions. It is from this, that the four questions above, asked of the research, will be addressed bringing the argument to a final conclusion and identifying bases for further research.

The geographical area of research represents a very small area of what became the province of *Britannia*. As an area of research, beyond the southern boundary of the Wroxeter Hinterland Project, it presents its own local problems of data recovery in what seems to have been a culturally conservative society at the margins of the classical Roman world. The isolation and varied environments of the hills created a marginal people who may have been relatively marginal enough to treat the Roman imposition with indifference in their geographically imposed separation. However, by evaluating the evidence of this remote area in the context of the wider Iron Age and the subsequent Roman period it is hoped to bring further definition to the meaning of *Cornovii* and the communities that occupied the Shropshire hills.

Chapter Two

Natural Environmental Determinants and Human Agency

2.1 Introduction

Human society does not live in isolation from the natural environment. This is as true now as in the past. The physical world has been a determining factor in the development of humans as a species and as cultural, social beings with an acute and developed sense of identity informed by the environment and geography. The natural environment, and the resources that it affords, has informed the location, type and form of settlement in the exploitation of the environment for the purpose of survival as individuals, communities and societies. Thus, the natural environment is unavoidably the basis of an economy in its exploitation by any society. The *Cornovii* of the region and of the south Shropshire hills exploited a developed landscape, which had been developed by human agency since the Neolithic, which informed their perspective of their world.

The area of study consists of a rich and diverse landscape of pasture, arable, moorlands, heathlands and woodlands. The terrain varies from the midlands plain of the north, with low hills, to the uplands of the Shropshire Hills south and west of the river Severn, which bisects the modern county between the two topographies providing a boundary and a facilitator for human activity. This character of the landscape is the result of many natural influences. The area exhibits a considerable degree of geological diversity. The result of this diversity has caused a variety of soils and geomorphology, which is evident in the topography and ecology. The context of the Shropshire Hills is that the terrain bounds the highlands of the Cambrian massif and the fertile lowlands of the central midland plain.

Considered generally, the distinctiveness of the region is not apparent, however, it is the distinctiveness of the insular nature of the uplands that has informed the relationship

humans and human society have had with the natural environment that has been determinative to human settlement, subsistence and culture. Certainly, the more fertile soils have been cultivated since prehistory; in less favourable conditions such as altitude, poor fertility or both, cultivation has been less consistent.

The character of the Late Iron Age and Romano-British landscape was the result of an established history of cultivation. The development of agriculture was based on geological and geomorphological formation processes that created, through erosion and deposition, soils that conditioned agrarian economic activity. However, it must be considered that significant changes in the landscape were a consequence of human intervention that caused the modification and adaptation of the physical and, by consequence, the biological environment. These changes, which became established during the Neolithic, were a reflection of the social developments in the population resultant of agrarian cultures whose existence was firmly bound to the land. The observed changes may be seen as slow, on a generational basis, with periods of rapid change that had a modifying effect on society at a regional level. Therefore, the societies, and by implication their cultures, changed and this change is represented in and integral to the landscape.

2.2 Landscape Characterization

The landscape can be seen to consist of several constituents, each of which determined the viability of occupation, settlement and subsistence. These are the geology, topography, pedology, hydrology and palaeo-climatology. These natural factors must be considered as contributory determinants as to the nature of human settlement and responses to subsistence and social organization based on the control and possession of the available resources.

The geology is a fundamental determinant to the character of the landscape, which affects the pedology and hydrology. These two combined with the prevailing and ever changing climate constitute the agents of geomorphology creating the specific topography of the Shropshire Hills. The solid geology, therefore, determined the topographical division of the received Cornovian area. The resilient rocks to the south determine the hills whilst the plain to the north is determined by the softer rocks.

Through the agencies of weathering erosion, soils are created by the disintegration of the surface solid geology with deposits of alluvium and colluvium causing the accumulation of sediments. The physical nature, coarseness, depth and drainage, and crucially the chemical composition, acidity, alkalinity and thus fertility, of the soils determine the vegetation and therefore the cultivars the soils will support. Once subject to cultivation that very process in time itself changes the physical and chemical nature of the soils, and so, by anthropogenic reciprocation, the environment is gradually modified. The original environment therefore informs human responses to subsistence strategies and communities relationships with other communities, either locally, regionally and beyond due to topographical constraints. These natural constraints proved significant to Cornovian society and its relationship with the wider world and the introduction and influence of Roman material and social culture.

What we now lack in understanding Iron Age and Romano-British relationship with the landscape is the extent and distribution of the woodland. Since deforestation began in the Neolithic for the clearance of land for both pasturage and arable, humans have significantly altered the appearance of the landscape and thus their relationship with it. Deforestation opens the landscape, yet possession, settlement and agricultural enclosure informs and determines spatial perspectives and the relationship with other communities. Settlement within the constraints of the prevailing environment, in its

widest physical sense, contributed to the type of settlement found in the Shropshire Hills of the late Iron Age and early Romano-British period.

The above determinants ultimately inform the way the land was used as a source of food, materials and measures of wealth, which lead to questions of status and power within the social system. However, the use of the land can be considered a cultural characteristic revealed by the patterning of the land use: this patterning being dependant on the requirements of agriculture and quality of agricultural land available. This is evident in the analysis of palynological data.

2.3. Geology

The River Severn dominates the area of the upland of the South Shropshire Hills, which consist of Palaeozoic and much older Protozoic rocks of between 700 – 550 million years old (Toghill 1990). Characteristic of the centre of the hills are the ridges extending along an axis from the southwest to the northeast (Fig.2.1). The area therefore is dominated by the Wenlock Edge, the Stiperstones and the Long Mynd. Also significant are the hills, as a result of geological activity, in the range of Caer Caradoc, the Lawley, the Wrekin and Corndon Hill; the latter is now in Wales but is an integral part of the geology and topography of the area. The environment created by the varied topography consists of fertile river valleys to moorland. To the extreme south of the area, the narrow and meandering river valleys are within the uplands of the hills of the Kerry Ridgeway and Clun Forest. To the east, the valleys formed are the Ape Dale, Corve Dale, the Stretton Valley, and the Onny Valley, as far as the River Teme, the Clun Valley and the Kemp Valley. The Clee Hills to the southeast consist of Devonian Old Red Sandstone overlaid with a strata of coal of the Carboniferous period and limestones, which provide a contrast to the rest of the area. Topographically, the terrain becomes hillier towards the west and the region of the Cambrian Mountains (Fig. 2.2).

If the geology (Fig. 2.1) is seen as an important contributory determinant for human occupation of given environment then it is the drift geology that informs the possibility of agriculture and the development of settled agrarian societies with concepts of land tenure and lineage. The melting and retreating ice sheets of the late Pleistocene giving rise to the landscape of the Holocene provided the fertile soils of clays, silts and alluvium with the geomorphological effects of rivers creating the flood plains and river terraces ideal for agricultural exploitation.

2.4. Palaeoclimatology and the evidence of Palynology

2.4.1. Introduction

Although climate is not considered to have been a principal determinate for rural settlement, it must be recognized that it certainly had a deterministic influence on the agricultural viability of the land and the necessary subsistence strategies. Therefore, a palaeoenvironmental study of the study area is required to establish the nature of environmental changes that had given rise to the conditions found by the late Iron Age and early Roman period. The environmental changes that occurred can be seen as indicative of the changing climate and the eventual re-colonization of the area with the flora and fauna that provided the conditions for permanent human exploitation and habitation. Hence, human exploitation, in response to the environment began a process of environmental change through modification of the landscape.

In order to re-construct the environment of the later Iron Age to the early Roman period palynological studies are required to understand the processes of change and the effects of such change. The following case study from within the area of study which, due to the lack of such studies in the area, is significant in establishing the environment and changes that can be attributed to human activity, especially changes that can be associated with social, economic and political changes. Figure 2.3 shows the extent of

pollen samples by location in the West Midlands region, which extends beyond the Cornovian area but are indicative of environmental change.

A palynological study of the Kemp Valley (SO 36 86) was conducted as a part of a landscape research project that I conducted. The samples were taken by the department of Geography and Environmental Studies, University of Aberdeen (Greene. M. J. 2009, p.11). This study was based on a core sample of sediment taken near Brunslow (SO 36 86) using a Russian Corer. Although the pollen samples were intended to establish a palaeoenvironmental history of the Kemp Valley with earliest radio carbon date being zone LYN 1 at 105-135cms of 2,705 to 2,353yrs. B.P. the significant dates obtained came from LYN 3 (Table.2.1). This study also provides a vegetative history of the climatic and landscape development tracing human exploitation and development that led to, and informed, the Cornovian Iron Age communities of south Shropshire.

To extrapolate from the palynological study of the Kemp Valley demonstrates a concomitance with palynological records of the West Midlands and found throughout Britain. Throughout this period, the landscape demonstrates phases of alternating arboreal clearance and regeneration. However, the trend was one of gradual deforestation with variations. Concomitant with palynological records in Britain, the Kemp Valley samples show rapid deforestation between 95 and 86cms and from 76cms Iron Age and Roman transition. Post Roman clearance again continues from 56cms because of agrarian activities.

The analysis employed a standard of five hundred terrestrial pollen grains as the total land pollen count. From this were excluded aquatic pollen and selected spores; although they were recorded during the count. When the rate of recovery of pollen was poor, a total land pollen count of three hundred was used: this was less than ten percent of the count. Although levels of less than three hundred were not included for the purposes of

the pollen diagrams, it was considered that there was a sufficiency for the purpose of the study.

Specialist computer programmes were used for the production of pollen diagrams; i.e. Tilia and Tiliagraph. The taxa are represented, at each level, as a percentage of the total pollen count; these were then plotted against the depth of sediment as individual graphs. Using the CONISS programme, separate zones were used to represent the pollen diagrams. Where there is significant change in the pollen diagram a boundary zone is indicated. All species and taxa are shown alphabetically, as family groups, and as ecological groups, as trees, shrubs and dwarf shrubs, herbs, aquatics and fungal spores (Table 2.1). If representing less than one percent of lake pollen preservation, thus rare, crosses (+) representing 0.3% are used. From the cores taken, three samples were removed and sent to the Poznan Radiocarbon Laboratory in Poland for absolute dating. Table 2.1 shows the radiocarbon dates for each of the three samples (Pittam. N. J. and Mighall. T. M. 2007, p.9).

2.4.2. Environmental Context

The study consisted of pollen analysis, which concentrated on the vegetation changes during the Holocene. The morphology of pollen is peculiar to and therefore indicative of a given plant species. Therefore, by the study of the shape, size, surface structure and appearance the species may be identified. The durability of pollen, especially in anaerobic conditions, allows it to be recovered from sediments of silts and clay. The resultant process of sedimentation and stratigraphy provides, from palaeoenvironmental and archaeological perspectives, a sealed context. The changes in the environment have a relative chronological representation that can produce an absolute chronology by dating the organic material. The changes to the pollen record constitute not just a record of the natural post-glacial environmental changes, but the changes caused by human

intervention in the environment. These changes must also be contextualized in the changes that occurred throughout western upland Britain.

From the regional palaeoenvironmental studies, it is inferred that the periglacial was soon subject to colonization by pioneer grassland community. This was superseded at circa 10,300 yrs B.P. by dwarf shrubs such as Birch (*Betula*) and Juniper (*Juniperus*). The increasingly ameliorating climate, with the result of drift geology sedimentation, allowed a greater diversity of plants to colonize and become established. Indeed the basal stratigraphy of the Kemp Valley flood plain is a white-grey clay of fine grains. The arrival of Hazel (*Corylus avellana*), Pine (*Pinus*), Elm (*Ulmus*) and Oak (*Quercus*) represent significant arborisation of the landscape, forming a mixed deciduous forest from 9,500 to 7,000 yrs. B.P. (Table: 2.2). The wetlands of the flood plains were colonized by Alder at circa 6,200yrs. B.P. These are associated with major rivers, such as the Severn and its tributaries as the principle means of migration. This inevitably meant following the valleys thus from the Severn to Teme, Onny, Clun and eventually the Kemp. The establishment of lime within the forest environment by 5,600yrs B. P. is considered as indicative of the constantly warming and milder climate. It is interpreted that at this time the mean summer temperatures were two degrees higher than at present.

The situation by the late sixth millennium was a warm moist climate with well-established broad leaf forests and associated flora and fauna. At this point, there is little evidence for human occupation and intervention in the environment. Human effect on the environment becomes discernible and measurable at the Mesolithic-Neolithic transition, circa six thousand years BP, with the adoption of agrarian practices and the inevitable social changes that followed, especially those due to settlement behaviour. Evidence of human intervention is provided by the rapid changes to the arboreal environment. Coinciding with Western Europe was the decline of Elm possibly because

of clearings being produced for the introduction of agriculture.

The extent of deforestation increases with the development of the Neolithic with the establishment of agriculture and the demographic and social changes as an implication. The total land pollen indicators reveal few clear areas of land suggesting a dominantly arboreal landscape from 9,100 to 3,500yrs. B.P. The rate of change is marked during the Bronze Age through to the Iron Age and Roman period with fragmentation and permanently disappearing forestation. The plants indicative of these changes are Greater Plantain (*Plantago maior*) and Ribwort Plantain (*Plantago lanceolata*) associated with increased evidence of soil erosion.

The evidence for prehistoric human activity has been recorded within the Kemp valley on and around the location of Lower Gardens, Lydbury North (SO 3585). Here, the post-glacial conditions produced a flooded area with an island in the valley. This would have provided Mesolithic peoples with a dry area for seasonal camps for the exploitation of the wetland resources. Significantly, by 2,500yrs B.P. the clearance of floodplains and river terraces seems to have abated, which was a period of social change and the transition between the Bronze and Iron Ages. This is apparent in the clearance of Alder (*Alnus*). Although some arboreal regeneration occurred, increased agricultural exploitation during the Iron Age, indicative of population growth reverses this trend. Environmental evidence of human activity during the Roman and Mediaeval periods is limited due to a lack of studies in the region.

2.4.3. Analysis

The core sample was divided into three zones for analysis. Each zone represents a period of deposition, from LYN1 to LYN5, the former being the deeper and oldest of the samples. The palynographs, tables 1 and 2, present a pollen range that is indicative and characteristic of the deposition found in the Midlands accumulating during the late

Holocene. The basal sediments, as indicated by the radiocarbon dates, accumulated during the late Bronze Age. The latest radiocarbon date shows deposition by the end of the Roman and sub-Roman period. The pollen samples indicate mixed deciduous arborization. The dominant species were Birch, Alder, Oak and Hazel (Table. 2.2). However, evidence from the pollen of Grasses *Poaceae*), Sedges (*Cyperaceae*), and Ribwort Plantain indicate open ground (Table. 2.1). Evidence of agricultural activity is indicated by the presence of Rye (*Secale*) and Wheat (*Triticum*) (Table. 2.1).

Sample LYN1 (Table. 2.2) was taken at 105-135cms with a radiocarbon date of 2,705 to 2,353yrs. B.P. The results from this sample, with a thirty-five percent preservation of pollen, shows a consistency representing a significantly arboreated locality. Throughout this period, there was variation in the specific species. There was a decline in Oak by ten percent total land pollen at 127cms to five percent at 119cms. This may indicate either deliberate selection and clearing of trees or they were not able to compete in the arboreal environment. The increase in the climatic conditions may have a bearing on the proportion of species present in that the proportion of Alder increases during this period. This increase in the proportion suggests the establishment of wet woodland. This was observed at 116cms following a temporary increase in Pine.

The dominant non-arboreal species in LYN1 are Grasses at thirty five percent of the total pollen. However, through the zone this gradually diminishes. Other indicators of open ground are Ribwort Plantain, Buttercups (*Ranunculaceae*) and Goosefoot (*Chenopodiaceae*). Cereal pollen is regularly represented indicating a mixed agricultural economy consisting of pasturage and arable. Although the period, represented by this zone, indicates no significant variations to the composition of the vegetation, the increase in arboreal pollen would suggest a diminishment of grassland species. Yet the presence of fungal spores, specifically *Podospora*-type (T368) (Table. 2.1) is itself an

indicator of pasturage.

LYN2 (Table. 2.2) was the zone representing the depth from 88-105cms with an absolute date of 2,353 to 2078yrs. B.P. Initially Alder and Oak decrease and increase respectively at 99cms, while at 95cms all arboreal pollen reaches a maximum before declining gradually and permanently with little variation except in some arboreal species. This was seen with the greater percentage of Hazel in comparison with LYN1. The constituents of the arboreal environment remain diverse with an admixture of Pine and Elm; however, Oak, Alder and Birch decline.

Agricultural activity is the probable cause of the decline in arboreal species hence the persistent dominance of Grasses. These represent thirty to forty-five percent of total land pollen recorded. Species such as Ribwort Plantain increase while *Artemisia*-type, Goosefoot and Dandelion (*Taraxacum*) (Table. 2.1) have higher recorded values and support the hypothesis of woodland clearance due to human activity. The firm establishment of agriculture is strongly indicated by the consistent presence of cereal pollen, measuring between one and two percent of the total land pollen. Although at 98 - 95cms the increase in the pollen of Alder and Oak is concomitant with a decline in cereal pollen (Table. 2.2). The problem with interpretation is that this result may indicate the abandonment of arable land or that an increase in arborization physically inhibits the contamination of the sample site with pollen.

At 49-70cms representing c. 1,834 to 1,565 \pm 30 years, B. P. LYN4 is represented by a continuing decline in the pollen of trees and shrubs. Although the decline of the arboreal environment is at first gradual the rate of depletion increases to the later stages of the zone: particularly affected are Alder, Birch Hazels. Oak, however, becomes the dominant arboreal species by 63cms while Elm is low (Table.2.2).

The beginning of zone LYN4 (Table.2.1) is signified by an increase of non-arboreal

species. The increase in grasses indicates an increase in pasture. The indicative species are; Dandelion, Ribwort Plantain and an abundance of type 368 *Podospora*. During the Roman period arable activity is sufficiently common to increase the total land pollen count to over 1% and as much as 2% of cereal pollens. The increase in open country is indicated by low proportions of Common Sorrel (*Rumex acetosa*) and Sheeps Sorrel (*Rumex acetosella*). Sedges and Meadowsweet (*Filipendula*), Nettles (*Urtica*) and Ferns (e.g. *Dryopteris*) indicating that there were wet meadows, marshy ground or they were a part of wet Alder woods.

The final zone of the study (Table.2.2), LYN5: 0-49cms from 1,565 \pm 30 years B. P., is beyond the scope of this thesis, however the finds were as follows. It indicates that established trends from LYN4 continued to the middle of this zone with the proportion of tree and shrub pollen declining. Here the total land pollen count for arboreal pollen is less than 20%. The trend is reversed by the increase in the presence of Alder and Pine in the later stages.

Despite the end of the Roman administration, agricultural activity seems to have continued without any obvious decline. The evidence for this can be seen in the increase in non-arboreal taxa resulting in a predominantly open landscape: for example, Ribwort Plantain, Greater Plantain and Fat-Hen (*Chenopodiaceae*) indicate cereal cultivation or pasturage, while, Meadowsweet, *Apiaceae*, and Ferns (*Filicales*) indicate wetter environments (Table.2.1).

2.5 Conclusion

The problem with the evidence in the context of the Midlands region is that few sites have been sampled: this has led to an appreciable gap in the evidence of palynology for Britain. The analysis of the palynology of the Kemp Valley shows a gradual and

permanent decline in the arborization, although there were periods of increased decline followed by regeneration. This agrees with the analysis of pollen within the area of Shropshire. Human activity is interpreted to have been the main reason for the decline in arborization with the introduction of agriculture. During the Bronze and Iron Ages, arboreal clearance is variable.

In the context of other analysed sites in Shropshire and the West Midlands, at Crosmere (Fig. 2.3 no.3) clearance is observed in the early Bronze Age, while at Fenemere and Ribble Brook, clearance commenced in the later Bronze Age with sporadic cereal cultivation. At $2,086 \pm 75$ years B.P., during the late Iron Age, there was arboreal re-generation at Crosmere and Fenemere. The effect of deforestation at Ribble Brook resulted in soil erosion; most of the forests had been cleared by $2,570 \pm 50$ and $2,350 \pm 50$ years B.P. as a continuing effect of agricultural activity. This pattern has been recorded at Wilden Marsh on the River Stour in Worcestershire. Here the landscape experienced almost complete deforestation by the late Bronze Age at circa $2,640 \pm 50$ years B. P.

How does this relate to the Kemp Valley? There was arboreal regeneration, especially Alder and Birch during the Bronze to Iron Age transition followed by Oak by the later part of this period. However, the Kemp Valley environment did not suffer almost complete deforestation during this period, despite human activity, as indicated by studies in other parts of Shropshire. Alternatively, the deforestation may have occurred prior to the accumulation of the pollen sequence. The LYN1 samples, coinciding with the early Iron Age at 115cms, indicate a period of arboreal diminishment, which accelerates briefly at 98cms in zone LYN2. A brief period of regeneration occurs reaching a maximum at 94cms with the increase in Alder and Oak (Table.2.2). Cereal pollen (Table: 2.1) is not recorded with a decline in Ribwort Plantain; this may have

been caused by a decline in agricultural activity. In zone LYN2, agricultural activity is associated by an increased period of deforestation in the final part of it.

Although arboreal regeneration is a characteristic of zone LYN3 until the end of the Iron Age, it is interpreted that the clearance of land seems to have commenced again coinciding with the commencement of the Roman period; in which cereal pollen indicating arable cultivation was characteristic of the Roman period. The cause or stimulus for this may have been a response to the presence of a large Roman Army in the region. Following the conquest, ten percent of the Roman Army was stationed in Britain, consisting of *Legio II Augusta* at *Isca*, (Exeter) *Legio XIV* at *Viroconium* (Wroxeter) and *Legio XX* at *Glevum* (Gloucester) (Todd. M.1981, p.64). This, I would argue, necessitated the need for an economic return for what had been invested in the new province. In addition, intensive arable production may have been a response to losses caused by pests affecting the stores of grain (Pittam. N. J. and Mighall. T. M. 2007, p.17) supported by Buckland (1978, pp. 43-5). The production of cereal in the Kemp Valley seems to have been stable throughout the Roman period and to the end of Roman administration, represented in the transition from zones LYN 4 and 5. Arboreal regeneration is only noticed in the sub-Roman period.

The obvious question here is that of the nature of the stimulus to increased cereal production, visible in the palynological record. From which we may infer a corresponding increase in pasturage, due to an increase in the demand for wool, meat and other animal products. Therefore, was this a response by the native population increasing cereal production because they were compelled to by an authoritarian military presence, a command economy, or are we seeing the exploitation of a new market because of the presence of a large army providing an economic opportunity? Whatever the reason the agrarian population was able to respond even in the remoter

and seemingly less accessible south Shropshire Hills. This meant contact that must have had a material effect through unavoidable economic engagement.

In this chapter, I have demonstrated from the analysis of the palynological data how the post-glacial natural environment developed and that it was modified by human agency during the four thousand years prior to the late Iron Age society. Cornovian society was dependant on the physical conditions for the basis of their agricultural economy. The palynological record shows how the environment changed in response to, and as a result of, human intervention. Significantly, this indicates an intensification of cereal production in the mid to late first century A.D. possibly as a result of the Roman conquest and the development of an urban centre dependant on its hinterland and beyond.

Chapter 3

Theoretical Approaches to Romanization in Britain – Imperialism and Colonialism

3.1 Introduction

'His ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono; imperium sine fine dedi.'

Jupiter, in Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.278-9

The above quotation is the justification and motivation for the territorial expansion of the Roman State in creating an empire based and centred on the city-state of Rome, the metropole. Yet the material exploitation of the territories and peoples conquered and so subordinated, was conceived ideologically, as the quote states, imbuing superiority with the destiny and divine authority to rule.

The surviving literature may provide us with the ideological motivation, however, how did this manifest itself materially and how is it presented in the archaeological record? The material culture that defines a culture and allows us to identify and define it must be seen in its broadest sense. The materialism of Rome was invested in its towns and cities, roads and aqueducts, as well as the wealth of mobiliary material culture. The conquest of Britain and the creation of the province of *Britannia*, with the developed infrastructure and economic contacts with the Empire, as a whole, expose bringing in the material culture alien to the *Cornovii* as it would have been to the British people generally. A fundamental question must be that of does the presence of identifiably Roman material culture indicate a Romanization of the population, or, does it imply an incidental acquisition of Roman material but that the population did not change culture in terms of manners, customs and culturally informed behaviour.

The purpose of this chapter is to review the theoretical bases for the study of the Late Iron Age to Roman transition period and the application to the rural population, the central theme of this thesis. Establishing the theoretical basis of the thesis requires

understanding the social, cultural and economic motivations that informed the dynamic processes that maintained and defined Iron Age society through constant and complexed negotiation, informed change or a stable continuity. That change must be understood in the context of the survival of a society by maintaining a social, cultural and economic equilibrium thus avoiding catastrophe.

The dynamic equilibrium achieved and the maintenance of the social structure is essential in characterizing how an agrarian Iron Age society was structured and how that is revealed in the pattern of settlement. Between 100 BC and AD 200, the process was influenced by regional developments of late pre-Roman Iron Age society and the subsequent effects of the Roman conquest and integration into the state of Rome and its Empire, as a political, economic and cultural entity. In identifying the processes of change over a long period, that were of fundamental importance to those that were internal as differentiated from external, is a primary problem (Millet 1990, p.9).

To proceed with the investigation a coherent analytical and interpretive methodology needs to be established. Thus, the significance of the theme of the thesis is the transformation of regional cultural identities from the late pre-Roman Iron Age to the early Roman period. Central to this is cultural identity at the regional, and specifically, for the *Cornovii*, local context. Cultural identity with ethnicity must be perceived as being informed by the prevailing socio-political systems within the cultural and political geographies of the period.

3.2 Modelling Iron Age Communities

In his introduction on modelling Iron Age communities, Moore makes the point that a ‘focus on regionality suggested that generalized ‘Celtic’ social models could not be sustained by the diverse nature of Iron Age settlement and material culture patterns, which instead suggested potentially varied forms of social organization.’ (Moore. T.

2007, p. 79) Indeed comparison with the regions of Iron Age Britain reveals that one cannot consider a single and homogenous Iron Age community. Regional variations suggest divergent courses of development as a response to the survival strategies adopted that informed both society and culture.

To understand a regional society, such as the *Cornovii*, one must understand how they related to their landscape through their organization and structure and how these were informed by that landscape. Internal processes inform change, yet we must admit that internal change may be as a result to external agencies driving that internal change.

The theoretical progression from culture-history, processualism, post-processualism to cognitive processualism and the details within each theory has provided a wide variety of ideas on which to create models of society. This has meant an ever-changing critical analysis and evaluation of data but also the need to challenge and re-assess, from the data, received interpretations and explanations (Cunliffe, 2005, p. 606ff). I think that the theoretical basis must therefore be able to explain how Iron Age societies worked in order to understand them. The greatest impediment must be the fragmentary and imperfectly understood archaeological record in which the most important active agency is missing; the people i.e. families, households and larger communities.

In a dynamic society, emphasis must be given to the individuals constituting the society as ‘agents and prime instigators in the process of social and landscape change’ (Moore, 2007 p. 2). The individual then is active engaging in the social systems and relationships both internally and externally informing the constant renegotiation in maintaining a dynamic society and yet social equilibrium. To explain change and the processes of change a model must incorporate a fluidity of the constituents of society. Such fluidity has implications in revising how the *Cornovii* related to their neighbours, who can be identified archaeologically from the material record: and internally, the

effects within a settled and ordered landscape. This, too, will be significant when considering the internal structure as rigidly hierarchical, egalitarian or somewhere between the two. Certainly, a conclusion of the Wroxeter Hinterland Project is that the *Cornovii* had a pre-Roman existing stratified social and economic structure ‘to generate wealth’ that allowed for the investment in building a *Civitas*. (White et al, 2007 p.5). When defining what we mean by community or society, whether before, during or after the establishment of Roman authority, a hierarchical structure cannot be dismissed. However, at a communal level, for the majority of the population, there might have been patterns of behaviour and settlement that indicate a degree of egalitarianism existed.

To understand the British late pre-Roman Iron Age all aspects and constituents of a society must be integrated and include the material culture, the evidence of settlement and the landscape in which they engaged. In order to explain the processes that define a society, we need to understand the relationships with, and its perception of, the landscape. This entails systems of social organization and relationships, the role of production, economic and social exchange, and belief systems, and how these elements reinforced cultural and social affinity.

The observation of the material culture of the *Cornovii* is that compared to the late pre-Roman cultures of southeast Britain they seemed materially poor. Economically it seems that their wealth was determined in terms of agricultural produce, of which the surplus was both traded and submitted to the controlling elite. The lack of a Cornovian pottery tradition and coinage (White and Barker 1998, p.35, Millett 1990, p.12) must indicate economic activity in archaeologically less visible forms. That there was trade and exchange is apparent from finds of the *Coriosolites* and *Carthaginian* coins from the Wirral, (Chapter 7), indicating an external exchange mechanism suggesting produce

or resources of value (White & Barker, 1998 p.34ff). Whether these were salt, mineral resources and livestock being among the possibilities, they seemed not to engage with the neighbouring tribes to the extent of obtaining prestige objects. The difficulty is that an economic model of production and exchange is difficult to formulate that explains the economic position of the *Cornovii* and why as a result they failed to acquire ceramics or through contact with other tribes develop their own ceramic tradition. The Severn Valley, Clee Hills and the Malverns were centres of pottery production in the proximity of the *Cornovii* (Cunliffe, B. 2005 p. 189ff; Moore, T. 2007 pp. 3, 4 & 10). The control of, for example, salt production from the brine springs in the north of the territory and its trade would indicate a centralized *Cornovii* controlled by the economic elite. However, the concentration of hillforts indicates a system of semi-autonomous communities under local 'chieftains'. The lack of a discernable and characteristic material culture prevents the *Cornovii* definition in positive terms. The evidence for a people is the numerable enclosures observed throughout the postulated territory, and for this study, the south Shropshire Hills.

The economy cannot be interpreted from a purely capitalist economic theory. That there was production is indicated by the observed settlements and field systems, and that produce was agricultural for the purpose of subsistence, with the exchange of the surplus. (van der Veen and O'Connor 1998, p. 129) That there is little evidence of external exchange, suggests the communities must have been to a greater extent self-sufficient and the system of demand and supply was based on mutual exchange mechanisms operating internally. This gives weight to the apparent isolation of the *Cornovii* and dynamic conservatism as a result of relative isolation and distance from the aggressive developing states of the southeast (Cunliffe, B. 2005 p. 2010). This material paucity and economic isolation may be a form of ethnicity in which they define

themselves within their own internal systems of material distribution and means of material production expressing political, cultural and social affiliations. Moore, reflecting on Dobunnic ethnicity observes ‘...ethnic terms such as ‘Dobunnic’ probably had little meaning to later Iron Age societies’ (Moore, T. 2007 p.8). The caveat here is that one should not make simplistic ascriptions when associating material culture and ethnic identity. In the case of the *Cornovii*, we cannot be sure of the soundness of that classification of the communities occupying the designated area, in which their landscape was created by the actions of both human and natural agency through a long history and in a constant state of change physically and cognitively (Head 2010, p.433; Ingold 2010, p.164). In the case of identity, historical familiarity with the landscape and the identification of it through naming physical features within it, socialises it through the collective memory creating an economic area but one that is marginalized from the other regions and made sacred to the inhabitants in a shared historical landscape (Tilley 1994, p. 67). Therefore, the interpretation cannot be based on a purely economic explanation of the processes of production, exchange, social structure and community relations that define the *Cornovii*. A complexed society has many elements engaged in a constant dialogue. The symbolic relevance of an intangible belief system gives another stratum of significance to the process of exchange. The symbolic value on material and the form of that material will have meaning in the intercommunity relationships in marriage, interfamilial alliances and land settlement and enclosure (Creighton 1995, p.286).

3.3 Anthropological and Archaeological Approaches to Imperialism and Colonialism

In his work ‘*Empires*’ Doyle (1986, p.30) gives a definition of empire in which the dominant power exercises both an asymmetric and effective control over a subjugated and subordinate society through formal, informal or a combination of both systems.

Here an important distinction of the differences between formal and informal forms of imperialism is made. The exercise of formal control is one where the imperial power, Rome, subordinates the population by means of the Army, commerce, the imperial and provincial administration and the effect of non-native settlement; who could have been any one of the former including manumitted slaves and economic migrants. What, I believe, is significant in the study of the *Cornovii* during this period, is the process of informal control. This form of control relies upon the subjugated elite of the conquered territories and people to collaborate with the imperial authority in forming autonomous yet legally dependent administrations at the periphery (Doyle 1986, p.37). This can be seen in the creation of the client kingdoms of the *Atrebates*, *Icenii* and *Brigantes* of the early province and can be considered to continue through the institution of the *civitas* capitals, such as *Viroconium Cornoviorum*.

Within the ‘mechanisms’ for imperialism consisting of metrocentric, systematic and pericentric theories (Doyle 1986, p.123) it is the latter that is applicable to the study of the late Iron Age transitional period because the theory applies to the periphery furthering an understanding of the idiosyncratic nature of marginal societies and how they inform the central imperialism and imperial expansion. The three possible systems mentioned here are not necessarily mutually exclusive but can operate simultaneously at different levels according to the nature of the subjugated societies and the motives of the imperialist representing a theoretical means of explanation when applied critically to the evidence. This can be viewed within Britain as to the treatment of the more developed societies of south and southeast Britain, the core and those marginal to them, the periphery, and beyond (Cunliffe 1991, p.123, Darvill 1987, pp.166-172, Salway 1993, p. 29).

Gosden (2004, p.26, Table 3.1) proposes another system for explaining empire within

the concept of colonialism. First, the form of colonialism found within a common cultural environment. This situation recognises the commonality of culture in which the dominant and subservient participate is in mutual recognition. This would be demonstrated in the commonality of the elites through mutual socio-economic interaction prior to conquest. Second, an elite of the periphery could develop a 'middle ground colonialism' based on a complexed system of political, social, economic and cultural associations which become manifest in a hybrid culture. Morley, (2010, p.55) suggests that this last system may be appropriate for south Britain, and I further, may be applicable to the governance of the peripheral tribes, including the *Cornovii*, through the participation of the elite and their subsequent settlement in the Civitas Capitals. I should also further that the reality consisted of a complexed interplay of the suggested theories dependant upon the prevailing situations and circumstances applicable at any given time informed by the economic motives of the conqueror and the reception of them by the conquered, especially the elite.

The subsequent imposition of Roman authority and the integral engagement of British Iron Age Society in the Roman economy can be further described by the process of 'Settler colonization' in which the immigrants, following the conquest, impose their own changes on the landscape in which the native population is dispossessed. In addition, 'Extractive colonization' can be defined as the transformation of the landscape through the exploitation of the native and non-native forced labour (Sluyter, 2002, p.13). However, this requires the conditions imposed by a formal imperialism enforced by compulsion through military force or the very real threat of it. The reality, I think, would have been an application of both. Further, the development of the province beyond the southeast and the subsequent colonization was not homogenous, territorial expansion being theoretically based on pericentric and Middle Ground colonialism in

which geography, economics and politics were determinants.

Contact with the Roman Empire for the tribes of the southeast, through their elites and merchants had had a long history. Supporting this is the archaeological evidence represented in Roman goods in Iron Age contexts, for example, the silver wine cups found at Hockwold, Norfolk, status items which seem to have been intended for recycling for their silver. The question is whether they were acquired through trade or diplomacy, but certainly represent elite contact with the Empire, also the Roman grave goods found at Welwyn, Hertfordshire consisting of amphorae and fine tableware. The amphorae would have contained exotic foods, for Britain, such as olives, wine and sauces (Salway, 1993, pp. 30 & 32). The theoretical bases for this prior to and following the conquest can be seen as elite contacts through shared ideologies and the diplomatic exchange of gifts, in which they engaged in trade but also developed relationships of clientage and patronage. The material aspect of the relationships in the subsequent dominant and subservient societies is predicated on material culture (Gosden, 2004, p.3). This would imply that compulsion and force would have been minimized, if not eliminated, from certain tribes, as a patron-client relationship would have been established.

How then was imperial authority made effective through the availability of the material culture of the colonizer; which has an influence on the native elite prior to and following subjugation? One could say that the introduction and adoption of non-indigenous material culture is an indicator of colonialism and symbolic of imperial domination. Then it would mean, at a higher social and political level, applying new or different values to artefacts. The acquisition of material culture could have been perceived as exotic and therefore having a status value that it may not have had by the producing society. In the case of this thesis, the tribal Iron Age societies of Britain,

initially the southern tribes and peripheral to the Empire who were exposed to political and social contact through trade with the Roman State. The exposure to material culture, as said above, can be interpreted as a form of colonisation, the effect of which can be the cause of political and social instability and inter-tribal conflict (Doyle 1986, 132ff). Consequently, changes in the socio-tribal structure can be seen in the emergence of apparently new tribal identities and kingdoms found between the Caesarean expeditionary invasions of 55 and 54 BC and the Claudian invasion of AD 43 (White, R. et al. 2007, p.7) with developing hierarchical political and social structures of patrimonial nature. The internal stresses that arise within the elites through competition lead to endemic conflict supported by classical sources reporting the fleeing of members of the ruling elite from Britain (Millet 1990, p.21). Doyle (1986, p.198) asserts that due to the extent of social and political differentiation the tribal societies were unable to establish stable and strong governance with any durability; and as a result, were incapable of resisting the imperial and colonial forces to which they ultimately succumbed. Therefore, with the collaboration of the elite of the southern tribes and the establishment of dependant client kingdoms, they were eventually replaced with formal colonial government i.e. Cogidubnus, Iceni and Atrebates (Salway 1993, pp. 65-69).

The cultural need to control exotic colonial material cultural imports may have been a primary cause of changes in the social structure and relationships within the core Iron Age tribal societies. The result was that leaders arose who exercised that control and provided the imperial authorities with a medium of negotiation and collaboration. This may have allowed the resources to be commodified in that they changed from being qualitative to being quantitative (Gosden 2004, p.37). Thus, contact with an imperial authority changed the patterns of consumption and trade, in terms of exchange in which the informed elite became directly involved, vital to imperial advancement yet

reciprocating on the eventual colonizers (Doyle 1986, p.372).

Sequens hiems saluberrimis consiliis absumpta: namque, ut homines dispersi ac rudes, eoque in bella faciles, quieti et otio per voluptates assuescerent, hortari privatim, adiuuvare publice, ut templa, fora, domus exstruerent, laudando promptos et castigando segnes: ita honoris aemulatio pro necessitate erat. Iam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut, qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent. Inde etiam habitus nostri honor et frequens toga: paulatimque discessum ad delenimenta vitiorum, porticus et balnea et conviviorum elegantiam: idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset.

Tacitus, *The Agricola*, XXI

Auferre, trucidare, rapere, falsis nominibus imperium; atque, ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant."

Tacitus, *The Agricola*, XXX

In the *Agricola* of Tacitus on and dedicated to his father-in-law of his governorship of Britain, c. A.D. 77/78-83/4 (Salway 1993, p.540) he is presented as a paradigm of Roman republican values incorruptible in a corrupted Imperial system. However, what he provides is a rare literary insight to the effect, as an agency, that material culture had on the native elite in the early years of the provinces establishment (Tacitus XXI). This is the collaboration in the imperial system that facilitated the colonial advancement. The quote (Tacitus XXX) is that of Calgacus, as given by Tacitus, the final leader of British resistance of the northern tribes prior to the battle of Mons Graupius AD 83 or 84 (Salway 1993, p.540). The speech has more to do with Tacitus' own political motives; however, it is an indication of resistance to the imperial and colonial power forty years following the invasion. At this point, he informs us that:

Perdomita Britannia et statim omissa

Tacitus, *Historiae*, I.II

Despite the expeditionary incursion of Caesar and the abortive invasion by Gaius, Rome as an economic power as much as an imperial one, was aware of the resources available through trade and the political conditions that had been developing since the mid first century BC. The economic and political power of the Roman state based on the

resources of the Empire was such that Britain was not of great significance and isolated across the sea. In the Geography of Strabo, (Bk IV, Chpt, 5.2) he lists the resources produced and exported as 'grain, cattle, gold, silver, and iron. These things, accordingly, are exported from the island, as also hides, slaves, and dogs'. However, uncertainty was in the mind of Cicero during the expeditionary invasion of 54 BC. Here in his letter to Atticus (IV, 16, 7) he indicates that there is no silver or anything else, except slaves, and he had reservations about the natives' literary and musical accomplishments. These concerns were also reflected by Strabo and that direct exploitation following conquest would not yield any greater gain from that by taxing imports from Britain (Bk IV.5.3). This was also a point indicated by Appian (Introduction. 5).

3.4 Romanization?

The study of Romanization has been greatly influenced by the advancement in the development of theoretical archaeology. The influence has informed the analysis, evaluation and interpretation of the effect and implications of the conquest of Britain and becoming an integral part of the Roman Empire, in this also the part that Roman material culture played in the process of Romanization as symbolic of colonization.

The study of the effect the Roman Conquest had on native British society and communities has had a long history of development. The prevailing opinion during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was a dichotomous Roman and Briton in a state of general separation, the civilized and the barbarian. This can be understood from the contemporary perspective of the English elite of the British Empire and analogy of the elite and the native populations (Gardner 2013, p. 4, Hingley 2000, p.22). However, as a model one must recognize that within Iron Age society the relationship between the native elite and the non-elite with the Roman authorities, and the threats and incentives offered by Rome would have been different. Huskinson, (2000 p. 95ff), argues the

importance of a commonality of the elite within the Roman Empire in sympathy with a dominant cultural and political power in sharing the advantages of the socio-economic system of empire. This applies to the development of late pre-Roman Iron Age society of the south east of Britain and the subsequent implications of conquest where the influence can be described as the adoption of an 'official culture' (Huskinson, J. 2000 p.107).

An important aspect of Roman rule in Britain is that government was effected by engaging the elites in its participation. The result was a decentralized administration in which the compliant Iron Age elite effectively governed on the behalf of Rome. However, the implication meant that material returns to Rome where not great. This system permitted the retention of the wealth, status and authority of the elite within their designated tribal areas within the context of the province, which was under a militarized administration led by a governor. Hence, the preservation of prestige for the elite, as individuals and a class, rather than the primary purpose being purely economic rewards, which effectively created an Empire that functioned as a federation instead of a centralized imperial power (Millett 1990, p. 8). Of course, the establishment of the province can be interpreted as a reciprocal process of acculturation (Slofstra 1983, p. 278).

The interaction of cultures based on acculturation would produce hybridizational properties visible in the resultant material culture, which resulted in, and I would further, a provincial variation of Roman culture. An example of such a material variation would be the physical appearance of the Romano-British temple (Fig. 3.1), with the square or round building surrounded by an ambulatory yet still within a *temenos* enclosure as with the traditional classical temple precinct, which are found in Britain (Bédoyère 2001, p. 176, King and Soffe 1994 *passim*). Previously, the theory of

Romanization has held that the process of the dominant colonizer led the development of a homogenous acculturation. However, this fails to appreciate that the process is dynamic, causing changes in the colonized culture. The initiation of the process, which affected the elite, who were a minority, began with the late pre-Roman Iron Age interaction, as mentioned above, that began the process of Romanization at a cognitive level through the receiving of material culture as symbols of status.

The concept of Romanization has been the subject of criticism in that the measure of Roman culture was based on a comparative of received standards of what constituted a pure Roman culture. In this, the resultant provincial culture could be perceived as retaining vestiges of native culture and dismissed. Romanization was not homogenous which resulted in a diversity of Romano-provincial cultures due to many complex processes; effectively the term Romanization is a succinct means of referencing the changes that occurred as a result of contact with, or conquest by, Rome (Woolf 1998,7).

Woolf, furthered that a more subtle theory of Romanization was required which accounted for the native elite as active agents, emphasizing acculturation and euergetism as important concepts. Bartel (1980, 11ff) observes that colonialism, when it occurs with acculturation of the elite and therefore dominant stratum of society is ethnographically more common. In the application of archaeological theory, he asserts the requirement of a diachronic perspective in a given region in detecting colonizers by their material culture and the eventual adoption of that material culture by the native population. He furthers that this may be the introduction of better technology in, for example agriculture, which diffused to the agrarian society generally. From a cognitive perspective, the psychology of acculturation, those processes that facilitate the acceptance of the foreign or different, may not be archaeologically detectable. The acceptance and use of Roman material culture does not mean any communality of

meaning attached to any object acquired. The cultural value that an object may have to the Romans may not be that of the native; resulting in different functions within the cultural context.

Studies in acculturation have been of benefit to the discipline even though there has been a concentration on the development of cultural homogenization. The consensus reached by Millet (1990), Woolf (1998) and Webster (2001) is that by exercising political power, via the collaboration of the elites as a unified political ruling class, the metropolitan imperial centre was able to delegate authority for government at a local level to imperial officials and the native elite. Thus minimizing the number of Roman officials required (Millet 1990, pp.6-8, Morley 2010, p.49). The result of this would be the cultures of the provinces developing hybrid cultures in which Roman and native cultural traditions combine, creating a Romano-provincial culture. This is supported by Webster (1997) in her study of religious syncretism in the Roman Provinces, in the combination of Roman and native deities, a reciprocal '*interpretatio*'. However, she calls on the creation of a set of conceptual tools so it may be evaluated and in the analysis understood. The caveat raised by Webster is that what seems to be acculturation can be a response based on 'a complex mix of fear and desire, resistance and adaptation' (Webster 1997, p.327).

The political situation, as it developed in Gaul, is, I think, important to the approach taken by the Roman authorities as conquerors, imperialists and eventual colonists, in understanding the function of the British elite prior to and following the conquest. In consideration to Webster's caveat above, the collaboration and participation in the Roman administration at a local level meant that they retained their social, economic and political status in which they mediated between the imperial power and the majority of the non-elite population. The employment of euergetism, as a Roman political

tradition both strengthened and consolidated their position. This would accord with the observation of Tacitus' above (*Agricola XXI*) in that with the establishment of the new urban settlements they were encouraged to emulate the Roman traditions and imperial ideology in financing public building and social facilities which furthered their pre-eminence as social and political leaders of their own people. However, if we accept the acculturation of the elite within the imperial system, it does not inform us of the extent of acceptance or resistance among the general population, which were largely rural with their established culture and traditions inherent in material culture and embedded in landscape. As Woolf (1998, p.22) indicates the terms resistance and Romanization should not be considered as purely oppositional. The relationships between the Roman, native elite and the non-elite native population are complexed and subtle which does not result in homogeny transcending the social strata.

The problem with Romanization as a theoretical concept has been challenged by Mattingly (2007, p. 526). The problems identified are those of its progressive nature, that it denies local agency, the need for the local elite to emulate Roman culture and as a consequence of the elite acculturation Roman culture will be transmitted by diffusion into the native population. The alternative concept offered by Mattingly is that of 'discrepant experience', an anthropological approach, applied to modern imperialism, as a concept, is methodologically based on the identification of discrepant or perceptible differences in the pre-conquest material culture that continues as an expression of a separate cultural identity. Both Mattingly (2007) and Webster (1996, pp.11-12) further critique of the meaning of Romanization is that we cannot infer that the appropriation, adoption and use of Roman material culture meant the acceptance and adoption of the meanings and values that the Romans attached to those things (compare with Bartel 1980 above).

The availability of Roman material culture and other provincial material culture arriving in Britain, and as identified or attributed as Roman, seem to indicate an economic system that was homogenous. However, there is nothing to suggest that the lower levels of the rural native population would have identified acquired goods as Roman; and that the presence of Roman material culture could indicate a pragmatic use of available material acquired. This hypothesis equally may not apply to the elite, whom the Romans could identify with as land owning families, engaging and participating in the imperial system and intermediating with the tribal communities. The complexity of this situation must be recognized and contextualized in the fact that active armed resistance and rebellions to the imperial system and colonization, which the Romans had to suppress violently, caused dispossession and enslavement (Mattingly 2007, p. 526).

The application of post-colonial theory and perspective must allow for a perspective that accounts and acknowledges that Roman rule could result in violence and that the divisive imposition of taxation and its means of collecting it by the *publicani* also resulted in resistance to its collection (Mattingly 2007 *passim*, Gosden 2006 p. 26, Given 2004 *passim*). Accordingly, Mattingly, suggests that as a colonizing power control, oppression by force, would be for the direct exploitation of the landscape and the population in terms of raw materials and slaves and ruling indirectly through the direct collaboration of the elite. Within Britain, these systems could be applied concurrently in different parts of the island subject to regional conditions and circumstances. The aspect of resistance is as significant as the submission and collaboration of some parts of the population. On the point of dissent Webster (1999), in her paper on the Druids makes the following comment,

‘...we do not always acknowledge the alternative histories of dissent against Rome which lie below the surface of Rome's own narratives of the pax Romana. Alternatively, where these histories are acknowledged, we frequently marginalize them to the point of insignificance. It would seem (with some honourable exceptions) that the study of resistance to Rome still does not fall within the mainstream of Roman studies...’

Webster 1999, p.17

In the understanding of the process of Romanization, within the meaning of the term as discussed, how Roman imperialism and colonization was received at all social levels and groups is vital to our understanding of that process. Physical resistance at any level would conceivably have resulted in slavery, if not death, and Britain, as recorded by Strabo and Cicero, above, was a supply of slaves. This trade could have been facilitated by the cross Channel merchants returning from Britain. Slavery, then, would have constituted a trade exchange to be redeemed in the slave markets. The effect of the extent of imperial slavery on the native population may have been extensive in the initial establishment and development of the province. As a slave based economy, the proportion of the population of the Empire may have been as much as 25%, especially in Italy. The demand was satisfied by drawing on the human resources of the periphery of the Empire and the regions beyond, within the sphere of Roman influence (Scheidel 2007, p.13). This situation is in itself a possible cause of resistance, considering that the majority of those enslaved would have been male. This resistance would have been, as revolts have shown, against those colonizing Britain and the elite who chose to adopt the Roman way, live in the new towns and govern the *civitas* on behalf of Rome. The non-indigenous population as a proportion of the whole would have been quite small. The number of Romans of senior civil and military rank may only have been three hundred at any given time, whereas the army is calculated to be in the order of 55,000 citizen legionaries and non-citizen auxiliaries, with a civilian population estimated at 5,000, consisting of veterans, *liberti*, merchants, and others, gives an estimated non-

indigenous population in the order of 60,000. This equates to a mere 3% of an estimated population of two million circa AD 150 (Mattingly 2007, p.93, Morley 2010, p.48). To this, the collaborating native urban-based elite may have been around 3,600 in total. Therefore, the ability to control the subject population by force was a very real aspect of Roman domination and colonization. The period of conquest may have been represented by the deaths or enslavement of a large number of males, the part of the population that physically resisted. Caesar's Gallic war resulted, in the ten years of conquest, the death of an estimated one million men and the enslavement of a further million (Plutarch, Caesar, 15). Therefore, in the civitas of the *Cornovii*, following the conquest and pacification of the area, the Roman presence in Viroconium and Deva in the north of the civitas have been experienced as the arrival of senior Roman officials with their administrative entourage, a relatively small number of merchants, from within the province and the wider Empire, veterans of the Army seeking wives and a place to settle and significantly, the arrival of the provincial governor on his progress of assizes to the major urban centres; added to this an extremely rare visit by an Emperor, Hadrian being an example (Todd 1981, pp.138ff).

From a theoretical perspective, the concept of Romanization and the processes that facilitate it must not be evaluated from our modern perspective of acculturation through colonization and cultural contact with the dominant culture. Our perspective, generally, and a failure of the debate on Romanization, as already mentioned by Gardner (2013) and Hingley (2000) above, has been informed by the ideologies of imperialism of modern western empires of recent history. Hingley's emphasises, as a caveat, the reconstruction of the Roman as informed by the self-perception of the elite of the British Empire. This perception has influenced previous interpretations of the nature of Romanization as a non-reciprocating process, which the evidence of the material culture

refutes. The culture of the Roman Empire at a provincial level was a reciprocating process within the context of the dominance of Roman culture creating the overarching Romanitas, which encompassed diverse cultures that were modified and expressed through the influence of Roman material culture. Indeed the heterogeneity of the administration is indicated by Bartel (1980, p.18).

3.5 The problems with current archaeological theory

Within archaeological theory, there are limits to the theoretical applications. Here anthropological theory of material culture may contribute to archaeological theory. From the distant perspective of time, material culture can be perceived as indirect and inanimate. The artefacts are representative of a culture or a category within that culture in that the artefacts had meaning and were symbolic of a category of people with common interests. The meaning therefore of the material culture is predicated on the relationship the producing group or consumer had with it. Here, I think, is the discrepancy and weakness in the evaluation of such material culture in revealing cultural, social, political, religious and ethnic identity. The complexity is that identity was morphic, subject to both internal and external tension that inform identity. Within late pre-Roman and Roman Britain, values attributed to objects, from a phenomenological perspective, attempts to understand the conscious human experience of the physical and material environment (Johnson 1999, p.114). Therefore the reception of material culture by the colonizer and the native in the changes that occurred prior to and after the Roman conquest may not have been the same resulting in discrepant identities, not merely within the native population but between social groups. The new and differing values and symbolism attributed to objects is supported below.

‘Goods and ideas moving among societies had variable significance in the groups to which they were introduced...what may have been a utilitarian item near its source could serve as a badge of office within a more distant locale...’

(Schortman and Urban 1992, p.237)

However, through the material culture we study past cultures and the influences that informed and caused cultural and social change creating a dynamic and changeable entity. Thus, the relationship with any given object cannot only change but that change becomes indicative of changing relations and structures to the social space and the individual within a society. This has been demonstrated by Tilley (1994 *passim*) from a phenomenological application suggesting reciprocity of influence between individuals and communities and the material environment both natural and cultural. Miller (1994) has presented the argument favouring material culture as agency and its use symbolically by differing social categories. To this, the availability, to varying degrees dependant on status, of commodities of types and forms beyond the experience of the native population engaged their mentality (Gosden 2004, p.3)

The problem with the archaeological record is the ability to distinguish the heterogeneity of a society. In terms of the Late Iron Age the social categories of chief, warrior, druid, artisan, farmer and merchant, as examples. For the Roman colonizers we have the categories of the army, consisting not only of Roman citizens but also auxiliaries composed of peoples of different nations within the Empire, in addition we also have the imperial administrators, local administrators, merchants, ex-slaves (*liberti* & *clientis*) and slaves. Of these categories, and in considering the meaning of the term Romanization, the question is of how these variant categories interacted and when and in what circumstances did they interact. What we do not have, which can be difficult to resolve, are two amorphous and homogenous populations.

The colonizers here were very much in the minority, as discussed above, which would have informed how the native population received the material culture of the Empire in terms of meaning and symbolism in which they could have found expression of their own cultural values transmitted and displayed through the acquisition, whether directly or indirectly, of that material culture. Mattingly, (2007 *passim*), makes an attempt to distinguish the cultural, social and ethnic composition of the colonizers: the failing of many is to resolve the native population into proportionate and meaningful groups that can be evaluated within the wider population. Thus on resolving the detail of cultures in relationship to material culture the following point is made.

Treating them as the undifferentiated products of monolithic, homogenous cultures will not only obscure the socio-political significance of ancient transactions...Determining the behavioural significance of objects and styles invariably depends on the careful analysis of their contexts of recovery.

(Schortman and Urban 1992, p. 237)

The caveat must be that the heterogeneity of both the colonizer and the colonized must be recognized, not just socio-politically but also geographically in the heterogeneous environments that inform behaviour and survival strategies, given rise to regional variation.

3.6 Reception of the Colonial Culture

How the native population of Britain were receptive to Roman material culture, in its widest sense, is problematic in not only the incompleteness of the archaeological evidence but also how the archaeological record is evaluated and interpreted. Any given tribe or community within Iron Age Britain had to some extent the ability to reject or accept the material culture and the associated culturally transmitted ideas and behaviours of the colonizer. In addition, where such things were acquired they could be modified and transformed in accordance with receiving culture. For the non-elite rural population whether they engaged in Roman material culture or not one aspect of

imperial presence and authority was taxation. Since the native British population at the agrarian level were apecuniary, even for the southern tribes that had coinage, revenue had to be collected in kind (Given 2004, p.3). This is mentioned by Tacitus on Agricola's attempts at curtailing corruption (Agricola, 19). However, this also addresses the attempt to impose the use of money and engagement in a monetary economy as a result of corruption and the resentment created. The collection of revenue must also imply an assessment of the expected agricultural production of the land and the material resources that were produced. Other sources of revenue would also involve taxing the movement of goods and people at various logistical points, the use of bridges and harbours, and the fees for entering the urban markets (Given 2004, p.40). For the Roman administration, this represents a bureaucratic system of control, while for the native represents the very real meaning of colonization and imperialism.

3.7 Colonialism and the Cornovii

Drawing on the above theoretical perspectives, how can we apply theory to the *Cornovii*? The process of cultural change, as discussed above, can be seen from the mid first century BC with increasing economic and social contact with Roman Gaul (Pitts 2008, *passim*). The behavioural and material cultural acculturation, in terms of the elite of the south and southeast, would have required a re-orientation resulting in a cultural affiliation with continental Europe to the south and the Mediterranean. Such a re-orientation and changed perspective of their world through a degree of Romano-Gallicization facilitated the eventual conquest of Briton on a defensive pretext. Already in situ would have been the basis of an administrative elite required for the future enfranchisement in participating in a provincial administration.

A major problem with any study of the transition from the late pre-Roman Iron Age to the Roman period is one of the definitions of the term 'Romanization'. Wigley draws

attention to this as a ‘major shift in thinking’ (Wigley, A. 2002, p.292). In the *The Romanization of Roman Britain* by Francis Haverfield (1905) the term and concept of Romanization was introduced in rejection of occupation theory: instead he proposed the term Romanization to describe the process. This would accord with the quote from Tacitus (XXI above) that cultural traditions were replaced by, at least, the material symbols of Roman culture.

The geography of Britain can be divided in accordance with three topographical zones: lowland, upland and highland. Each of these presents their own challenges with survival strategies for agrarian societies, which from an economic perspective inform their social and material development. The lowlands of the southeast and east, as has been noted, had been subject to Romanization since the expeditionary invasions of Caesar, in 55 and 54 BC, and the Claudian invasion, of AD 43, (White, R. et al. 2007, p.7). The territory of the *Cornovii*, as received, consists of a northern lowland area and the southern uplands of the Shropshire Hills extending to the west into the eastern part of the county of Powys. This presents a regional society that was first, beyond the core of initial Romanization and second, geographically divided. I would argue that a society develops a relationship with its landscape on the primary basis of survival by the exploitation of it, which reciprocates by informing the development of the society’s culture both materially and cognitively, in the formulized behaviour of that society and its relationship with the larger society perceived to be beyond its territory (Head 2010, Ingold 2010 above). In the case of the *Cornovii* of the southern Shropshire uplands that could necessarily inform its relationship and particular development to the *Cornovii* of the lowlands and its subsequent relationship to the establishment of urban centres, in this case *Viroconium Cornoviorum*.

The location of *Viroconium Cornoviorum*, on the west midlands plain, makes it a part of lowland Britain yet beyond the core of romanization of the southeast; representing a marginal and intermediate position. Originally, a military foundation in a region of a decentralized society, one may argue that a significant proportion of the native occupants had accepted Roman culture, in its broadest sense, which is demonstrated in the material, by the artefactual evidence of *Viroconium* and its immediate hinterland. However, the upland terrain of the west soon develops into the highland region of the Cambrians in which romanization seemed not to extend beyond the *vici* of the forts (Wigley, A. 2002, p.293). As a model, the effects of Roman culture was limited to the immediate influence of overt Roman settlement, initially the military presence, and later, and by encouragement (White, R. et al 2007, p.21) the Roman modelled *civitas* of the *Cornovii*. The implication is that, and in accordance with the conclusions of the Wroxeter Hinterland Project, the closer the population is to a Roman urban settlement the greater the influence that urban settlement has on that population. The population is likely to have consisted of veterans of the Roman army, civilian economic settlers and natives engaging economically with the urban centre. The decline of material culture that occurs with distance from the urban settlement, when followed into the south Shropshire hills, suggests minimal Roman influence in the rural population; expressing a degree of conservatism that one could attribute to indifference by a largely self-sufficient agrarian society.

Does the procession of Roman material culture constitute evidence for Romanization or merely indicative of a progression to acculturation? Here the problem is that possession of the identifiably Roman, whether mobiliary or structural, material culture cannot be said to indicate or provide evidence for cognitive aspects of a culture that informs the mentality of the individuals who constitute that society, the indigenous

population, and therefore the received culture. The difficulty here is that the cultural diversity of the Empire challenged Roman identity, if one measures Roman by the culture prevalent in Latium of the late Republic. Essentially, a point is that the Romans were generally inclusive (Huskinson, 2000, p. 12). The implication is that identity was therefore constantly re-negotiated with the peripheral societies of the Empire, as its peoples engaged it through law, trade and the administration. Thus, the limits of what was Roman became idiomized within the culture of each society. The most obvious being the urban centres, in themselves defining the Roman as essentially an urban society with a diffuse effect into the rural hinterland.

Archaeological theory in Iron Age studies is one of constant development. The ever growing data on non-urban settlements, especially aerial photography and the findings of the Wroxeter Hinterland Project has provided the opportunity to ask new questions on rural settlement and the nature of Cornovian society, its structure, relationships and economic values of wealth, thus how we perceive its identity and re-negotiation of that identity with the influence of Roman culture.

The process of Romanization, by engaging the native elite in the process of governance on a tribal level allowed the Cornovian elite to retain their social status, wealth and to an extent power. Their new urban positions would assume that they adopted an urban life administrating within the Roman system of law and imperial principles. Submitting to the external agency of Rome, the Cornovian elite, as a strategy of survival, adopted Roman material culture which 'reinforced and legitimated their position because of its identification with ...the external power and force of Rome' (Wigley. A. 2002, p.296). An important incentive to 'Self-Romanization' as Woolf observes of the Gaulish elite 'was likewise regarded as a strategy employed by local elites in order to win a share of the proceeds of empire' (Woolf 1997, p.3). However,

such material status symbols would have emphasized the elite within the social hierarchy as socially separate from the non-elite. The symbols of Roman culture should not be confused with Romanization from the perspective of the personal perspective of either individuals or the social group as a whole. This point is argued from the observed non-Roman organization of space and features within Wroxeter, especially the cities rampart, which was more reminiscent of a hillfort and was not replaced in stone (White and Barker 1998, pp. 98-9). The rural community, beyond the territory of the city, in the hills may therefore not have actively engaged as conscience agents in Roman material culture rather than be subject to a form of acculturating diffusion. The model that Millet (1990) forwards is culturally diffusionist based on the assumption of the effect that Roman material culture of the elite had on the social, economic and political relations of the general Cornovian population in reinforcing dominance and authority: although, as with the urban model, each indigenous culture adapts and adopts Roman material culture within its own value systems.

3.8 Conclusion

The theoretical approach to studying the effects of contact with and eventual conquest and annexation by Rome is facilitated by the identification of themes and the rich potential of the archaeological evidence to be realized. The effect of colonization affected British natives differently on a regional basis, where variations in culture and traditions informed how they received the availability of Roman material culture and the influences of the wider societies of the Empire. The effect of the native cultures both material and behavioural must also be recognized as having a reciprocal effect on those who colonized and settled in Britain. By integrating theoretical approaches, a finer nuance of the structure, culture and dynamism of British society can be obtained.

The theoretical models that can be brought to bear on any sphere of research is an

attempt to apply the ideal on the real in which reality produces many variables, eccentricities and idiosyncratic behaviours based on unpredictabilities.

Archaeologically, human society presents difficulties because we are attempting to reconstruct dynamic and constantly evolving cultures and societies, which were in a state of constant negotiation and re-evaluation of internal and external relationships.

These relationships involve the inhabitants of the numerous farming enclosures between themselves and the wider community and society, informed by status and authority and conditioned by their commonality of culture through common behaviour, language and ritual, and symbolic meaning. Their social structure bound them and imbued meaning to their existence in the context of a culture based on the landscape on which they depended.

The *Cornovii* cannot be assumed to be a simple agrarian society beyond the Late Iron Age periphery. In order to apply a theoretical model we must assume that we are studying a culture and society that was internally complex, with a multiplicity of internal identities giving rise to internal tensions which required constant negotiation and adjustment to maintain social stability, and that required attention on its own terms.

Chapter Four:

Transition and the Urban Effect

4.1 Introduction

This chapter considers the processes of social and economic change that informed identity as recognized in the archaeological record. The political and social changes that had occurred in the south-east of Britain during the period following the Roman conquest of Gaul and Caesar's two expeditionary invasions and the Claudian invasion of AD 43 were as a consequence of intensifying contact with the Roman Empire and the wider access to the Mediterranean economy, discussed in chapter 3. A significant phenomenon in the conquest and colonization of Britain was the foundation of towns and cities, especially those as tribal capitals. For the tribes that lived beyond the periphery there can be no discussion of the effect of the Roman presence on the *Cornovii* without reference to the Wroxeter Hinterland Project, which is contiguous to the area of research of the south Shropshire Hills and which this chapter draws on. This project is significant for the application of theory and the resultant methodology.

'The Wroxeter Hinterland Project represents one attempt to study the processes of Romanization through an investigation of the development of the Cornovian *Civitas* Capital of *Viroconium Cornoviorum* at Wroxeter and its impact on the surrounding countryside.'

(Gaffney and White 2007, chpt 1, p.3)

The significance of this project is that it demonstrated the degree of concentration of Roman material culture to the city, with a marked diminishment of artefacts with the distance from the city. That 1% of the area of study was sampled along three transects (Fig. 5) cannot be without statistical significance (Gaffney and White 2007, chpt. 4, p.2). The concentration of finds is indicative of the urban nature of Romanization and that the rural population can remain marginal to it. I assert that established cultures do

not necessarily respond and change due to external agencies unless it is to some social or economic advantage or existing social systems become untenable due to tensions that de-stabilize those social systems. Those who participated in the urban development and administration of the tribal territory, as determined by the provincial government, were the tribal elite through whom Rome ruled by received consensus and acquiescence. The implication is that by doing so they retained their wealth, status and authority, although modified through urban settlement and recognition of a higher authority. Therefore, from a theoretical perspective the processes of change can be observed by the response to external agencies at the higher centre of a hierarchical Cornovian society whilst causing little observable change for the lower and marginal majority of the rural population, especially in the remoter territorial reaches of that society.

4.2 Iron Age to Romano-British Transitional changes

The period of transition, with the introduction of Roman administration and subsequent settlement from the mid first century AD witnessed a change in the husbandry practice revealed in the faunal assemblages. However, changes are seldom rapid and change tends to occur gradually dependant on social and economic determinates acting upon the Iron Age society and communities. The rate of change from favouring any species over another would, I further, depend on the degree of interaction with Roman economic requirements and demands as they occurred. Modifications to agrarian practice, therefore, would not have been homogenous varying from the south and south-east lowland areas to the remoter west, north and northwest uplands and the less accessible highland areas of Britain.

The zooarchaeological record shows that the period of transition does show a change in the proportion of species. Sheep show a decline in the proportions found while cattle increase, and pigs remain problematic in showing any change. Literary indications on

the popularity of bacon come from *Historiae Augustae*, and refer to the diet of the soldiers in the early second century AD under Hadrian and the second is a particular recipe:

'...triclinia de castris et porticus et cryptas et topia dirueret.'

(Scriptores Historiae Augustae X)

'Inter cibos unice amavit tetrafarmacum, quod erat de fasiano, sumine, perna et crustulo'.

(Scriptores Historiae Augustae XXI)

Both of these quotes mention pig products, i.e. bacon fat, sow's udders and ham, and the consumption of bacon is associated with the diet of the Roman army (Alcock 2001, p. 36) as is wheat, as a basic staple. A military account for wheat lists apportionments and quantities of commodities including at line 27 pig '*Lucconi ad porcos*' (Bowman 1994 p.108). Yet pig production does not seem to have increased during and beyond the transition (Albarelo 2007, p. 397, Hambleton 1999, p. 44).

A determinative for agrarian change is evident in faunal assemblages of cattle, found on Roman military sites with the animals slaughtered at three to four years old, which is the optimum age for meat production. The increase in cattle is also reflected in the decline in the importance of sheep production. The change in these proportions is attested to late Iron Age sites of the south-east, already culturally influenced by Gallo-Belgic settlement and continental trade, and sites from East Anglia and the Midlands. What is significant is that the proportions are different; however, this is not reflected in frequency. Thus, production on British sites is similar to Roman sites, both military and urban (Albarella 2007, p. 396, Cool 2006, pp. 82-84, Dobney 2001, p. 37). This raises questions of diet and identity and the meaning of Romanization; in that as the new urban native population adapted to non-British aspects of food culture so the Romans, many of whom will have been non-Roman provincials in the auxiliary army and others

from the Roman northern provinces, would have imported aspects of their own food culture along with Roman elements. The initial effect certainly on the southern and midland Iron Age agricultural economy would have been in response to the arrival of a Roman army providing its own provisions from the new territories. The question to this, as addressed in chapter 2, is the extent to which native farmers responded to a new market whether directly or in accordance with the elite, indirectly, as a redistributive economy, or the dominance of Roman military administration requiring a direct clientage to service the requirements of the Army.

Whatever the answer, the effect was to change the agrarian practices of late Iron Age communities. This can be seen in the introduction of new varieties of cattle affecting the size and importance of the cattle bred, mean astragalus sizes increase from the late Iron Age into the Roman period, which is not found in the sizes of sheep tibia distal widths suggesting that they did not increase in size during the transition period. In addition, it seems that longevity increased among cattle indicating they were being slaughtered as older adults, which a lack of juvenile remains in assemblages would seem to support (Albarella 2007, Fig; 3, p. 396, King 1991, p. 17) This might suggest an intensification of arable production in which heavy draught animals were required for ploughing heavy soils, especially after the introduction of the heavy Roman plough (Dark 2000, p. 84) and is supported by palynological data (Chapter 2).

With the introduction of the Roman army and the establishment of military bases, temporary and permanent demands on the agrarian practices would have involved the transportation of produce to these new centres of consumption, which would have had an effect on the relationship farming settlements, represented by the many enclosures, might have had with their local central place, if at this point the hillforts of the south-west Shropshire hills were still functioning as political, social and economic centres

until the Roman conquest of the Cornovian territory by AD 47 (Cunliffe 2005, p. 405, White & Barker 1998, pp. 36-38), and further discussed in chapter 8. The abandonment of hillforts would have meant a re-adjustment of distribution of economic resources dependant upon the exact function of any given hillfort, as a large hill enclosure, to other enclosure settlements of the elite as central places of a redistributive economic system (Cunliffe 2005, p. 444) to the new imposed central places on which agricultural products would have been drawn for consumption outside the established social structures defining Iron Age and Cornovian societies.

4.3 The Urban Effect – *Viroconium Cornoviorum*

Considering the reality of the situation of the incorporation area into the Roman Empire, the population as a whole had to accept and adapt to it. For most people and their communities the daily and annual round must have continued. The continuation of agricultural production would have been essential to the military authorities for their own needs, and as can be seen from Bromfield, Shropshire and Collfryn, Powys as examples, and the hillforts (White and Barker 1998, p.51, Cunliff 2005, passim, van der Veen and Jones 2007, p.426) grain storage facilities suggest a surplus and so an agriculturally affluent economy, and such continuation of the norm would have been less intimidating to the population; a *status quo* whether of the *Cornovii* or the other conquered tribes was preferable in ensuring stability and minimizing dissent.

In adapting to circumstances the communities, whether lowlanders or uplanders, have been a geographically determined. Differentiation in identity within the *Cornovii*, who would have been presented with new trading opportunities, not just with the military presence, but also the private economic venturers and merchants following the army in the wake of conquest and pacification. An indication of engagement in the Roman presence is the establishment of *Vici* and *Canabae* at Wroxeter and Pentrehyling; there

are also examples at the forts of *Uxacona*, *Rutunium* and *Mediolanum* within Cornovian territory. Significantly, findings of the Wroxeter Hinterland Project (White et al 2007) have indicated, from pottery finds, that the civilian occupants of the *Viroconium vicus* might have been *Dobunni* from the south of the Cornovian territory and connected to the area by the River Severn, which was a major means of communication. That explains the establishment of pottery production along the Severn Valley. Pottery finds within the City consist of Black Burnished Ware from Dorset, Nene Valley colour-coated vessels, Mancetter-Hartshill wares, vessels from Oxfordshire, *Verulamium* and amphorae from Baetica. The reason for *Dobunni* activity and possible settlement is that of trade and supply, but also that they already had a monetary economy for trading and that Dobunnic coins are attested in the area. Otherwise, why should this have been the case?

The initial apparent failure of the *Cornovii* to engage in trade with the Romans is; I further, evidence of their particular cultural character. As discussed, their value systems seem to have been different from the materially developed tribes of the south-east to the extent of seeming culturally introspective and isolationist due to the circumstances of their geography. That they are not known to have had coinage the only medium of exchange must have been the bartering of their produce, i.e. salt. The *Dobunni* had controlled the Severn south of Cornovian territory as the *Cornovii* would have controlled the river to the north. With the Roman annexation of their respective territories, navigation of the river would have been open to any traders seeking to fulfil a market, especially in a newly opened and developing territory. Hence, the *Dobunni* would have been free to trade their products. If their elite were used to monetary exchange at a major trading level then using smaller denominations for lesser transactions could have been readily assimilated and quickly adopted by lower orders of

their society. Whereas, culturally the conservative *Cornovii* during the transition period and beyond rejected this economic system resulting in a degree of separation for the majority, who were the agriculturalists away from the developing urban areas and forts.

Not engaging in a monetary system of exchange does not mean that they abstained from trade and exchange. Wholesale products that had not come under direct Roman control, such as mineral extraction or requisition, were probably traded from any surplus. Grain, wool, cattle and pigs could have been traded directly to the military or civilian dealers at the new urban markets and traded to the general population for goods not produced by them, rather than coinage.

The period of conquest, pacification and consolidation by the Roman authorities, before the military zone was able to advance away from the area, involved the creation of a road infrastructure vital for the movement of the army and logistics. What the Romans found was a landscape that had a road system, discussed in chapter 8, which attests to the organizational ability of a central authority consisting of an able elite (Malim & Hayes. 2010, p.76) The acquiescence of the elite to Roman authority and collaboration with it would have been necessary to allow the area to become demilitarized and for the founding of the early town at Wroxeter. The acceptance of Roman urban practice was a basic principal by which Rome could rule an empire through the native elite by providing the incentive of authority, thus retaining their wealth and status. This might have created a real dichotomy in Cornovian society during the transition in that the value systems and concept of value of the elite changed through the need for assimilation to Roman values so as to engage in the administration and economy. Ironically, the epithet *Cornoviorum* of *Viroconium* might only have had significance to the few who considered they had an inclusive interest in the new order while the rural communities were marginalized. As the *civitas* capital of the *Cornovii*, it

was meant to have a unifying effect based on pre-existing socio-political structures that could be adapted on behalf of Roman authority.

The difference between Wroxeter and Pentrehyling is that the *vicus* of the latter did not survive the decommissioning of the fort. The inhabitants of it had no economic base from which to maintain or develop the settlement as Wroxeter was initially developed from the legionary fortress. Whether, there was official encouragement to urbanization of the local élite cannot be known. Lying as it did between the Caebitre and Camlad valleys on the route to the fort at Caersws, Powys, the settlement seems only to have serviced the fort and was unsustainable otherwise (chapter 8). The rural population then had little economic use for it and the established socio-economic system persisted, in which they could be seen as self-sufficient on a community level. This contrasts strongly with the development of *Viroconium*. When the fort was decommissioned, there followed a period of further urbanization based around the fort from the established *vicus* and *canabae*.

The early development of *Viroconium* is of fundamental importance in inferring an understanding of late Iron Age Cornovian society, its systems, structures and relationships as it does in understanding the changes that occurred during the period of transition. It represents the focus of a large territory in which the attention of the ruling or dominant class was attracted to new interests, which accelerated the development of the town. As the intended administrative capital of the *Cornovii*, the occupants must have been drawn from the members of the elite forming the new *ordo*. In addition, specialist members of the tribe, whose skills would be readily transferable to an urban market environment, such as metalworkers. They would have received the patronage of the elite in the production of useful and status goods and so to move into the new city would seem a natural thing to do in following the patronage and finding access to a

wider market. Although the city would have drawn its needs from its hinterland, it would have attracted members of other tribes i.e. the *Dobunni* for trade and also traders from the continent. The increase in the availability of the regional Malvernian and Severn Valley wares as well as imported Samian ware attests to this. Whether veterans of the army settled is debatable, although *diplomatae* associated with discharged auxiliaries have been found including one in *Viroconium*, the others are from the hinterland (Gaffney and White et al 2007, p.42). The majority population of the city was probably *Cornovii*, but not representing all *Cornovii*, as produce brought to the markets during the day would have swelled the population with farmers from the hinterland, some perhaps bringing cattle, sheep and pigs from the uplands, the produce to be consumed in the city. That may have been their only point of contact with the wider world, its people and products and provided an opportunity to trade for goods that they did not produce. Yet even these might have been a minority of the southern tribal population.

The major change in Cornovian society based on the findings of the excavation at Wroxeter and the hinterland project, strongly indicates that it was the relationship of the elite to the national and cultural identity of the tribe that changed fundamentally, in that their concepts of material value and wealth were now convertible into the forms understood by the elite of the Empire, in which a commonality of values and behaviour created an adhesion that reached beyond the traditional tribal boundaries in which the urban settlement was a fundamental element. Still drawing their wealth from the immediate hinterland and beyond their relationship with the communities of the tribe might have been that of landowner and tenant farmers, maintaining and reinforcing a distinct stratification of Cornovian society. With stratification and the creation of an urban elite comes the conspicuous public consumption through municipal beneficence

and the development of a public urban infrastructure (Huskinson 2000, *passim*). Millett's hypothesis (Millett 1990, pp.75 and 100) is challenged in the light of the evidence to date. To encourage the elite to adopt an urban existence and participate in the regional administration of their tribe, for and on behalf of Rome, cannot have been through passive but active encouragement. I argue that the political stability of the conquered people was an imperative to the functioning of the Roman administration. As Tacitus' remarked on Agricola's policy (*Agricola* XXI see chapter 3), and, that they were willing to adopt the material and behavioural culture of the urban Roman, which he scathingly refers to as a 'feature of their enslavement'. Establishing a relationship with the elite in order to exploit and use existing political and social structures was vital. The importance of the urban process in the establishment of imperial power, followed by colonialism, is that it was possible to effect order through the changes of behaviour inherent in Roman urban life and that those influences and encouragements were there, concentrated and available. These controlling influences would be the material culture of the colonizer, food and drink, including the how and in what circumstances they were consumed, the introduction of coinage as a form of portable wealth, emphasizing and declaring status, and inclusion to the behavioural modification of the experience of urban life (Revell 2009, 36ff).

Generally, the models that Millett (1990, p.49), advances that is probably applicable is the second model with modification, as he says the models represent two extremes of alternative responses. This model requires a pre-existing stratified society, whose elite acquiesced to the new order but have incentives to do so. Interestingly, the active encouragement given by the Roman authorities, which is one of the effects of the review of the Empire by Hadrian in the AD120's , is that where no encourage or incentive is provided the *vicus* does not survive to become a town. This is what seems to

have happened to Pentrehyling, the political and economic incentives were not forthcoming, possibly because of its marginal location. Such ephemeral yet active settlement implies that it was a small Roman economic island, predicated on the fort and servicing the garrison in an essentially late Iron Age conservative landscape, which had negligible effect on the native communities. However, what was happening in the rural landscape of the transition?

Viroconium was established at about AD 87 (White et al forthcoming p.158), and had by this stage a viable *vicus* from which the city could develop. The period of the foundation of the legionary fort, c. AD 57, to its de-commissioning was an important period, not only of establishing a firm control of the territory but engaging the elite in the economic function and activities of the *vicus*, which would have introduced them into Roman urban culture, to make the development of the *civitas* capital possible. The elite would have then become the intermediaries through whom the higher Roman authorities could govern. Regardless of what development there might have been to proto-urbanization, *Viroconium* became the central place of the *Cornovii* without any apparent loss of status or prestige yet an overt expression of acceptance of the new political conditions.

The artefacts recovered during the excavations at Wroxeter (Ellis and White 2006) revealed that *Viroconium* had a rich Roman material culture and that the elite had, within the provincial context, Romanized and that this was more assimilation rather acculturation. The Wroxeter Hinterland Project has demonstrated the apparent lack of Romanization in the hinterland from the paucity of structures and artefacts. This suggests a real dichotomy of the urban and rural with the concentration of pottery, for example, because of its expected ubiquitous use, within the proximity of *Viroconium* (Fig 4.1). The landscape on this basis is summarized as:

‘Lack of evidence is better interpreted here as rarity. The landscape of Roman Shropshire was apparently dominated by small farmsteads with little evidence for central sites, large agricultural holdings, estates or estate centres. It appears to have been a very British, i.e. pre-Roman, landscape.’

(Gaffney and White 2007, Chpt 6, p.3)

The situation contrasts with the landscapes of south-east Britain and seems characteristic of the *Cornovii* to have continued with little discernable difference from the late Iron Age population.

If the *Cornovii* had been readily receptive to Roman material culture then the evidence in the hinterland would have been indicative of that and beyond the hinterland, in the uplands to the south, evidence would be more forthcoming from the accumulative field evidence. Field evidence would not only include the artefactual distribution but also evidence of Roman structures would be expected of the native population as they adopted Roman agricultural practice and abandoned enclosures. Allowing for the small settlements, such as Meole Brace, Upton Cressett, Chilton Farm and Craven Arms, in Shropshire, that either developed in proximity to *Viroconium* or along the primary routes i.e. Watling Street South to Craven Arms, the evidence shows that 90% of ceramic building material was found within four kilometres of *Viroconium*. For pottery, where it is found in any quantity, it is concentrated at certain sites but generally, it is not found in any significant amount, which is in itself possibly significant. The evaluation of field walking finds for the Kemp valley area, in addition to test pitting at Lydbury North Shropshire, have produced six sherds of Severn Valley ware (Chapter 8). This shows a low level of background activity in a populated rural environment.

An important function of the administrative duties of the *civitas* as a centre of regional government would have been taxation; presumably, for the majority of the *Cornovii*, this would have meant a submission of agricultural produce either directly to or via the elite as the traditional recipients of surplus or tribute in the pre-Roman Iron Age system.

Having to take goods to the primary or secondary urban places would have brought them into contact with the markets, as discussed, yet there seems to have been little desire to obtain even basic useful items such as pottery. Where Romanization seems to be is in small site related concentrations and these associated with the road system or high status and specialized sites i.e. Whitley Grange (Barker and White 1998, *passim*)

Although the elite may have succumbed to the Romanitas, the evidence of ceramic assemblages and other materials, concentrated as it is in and around the urban environments, the hinterland and the rural landscape, seemingly represents a material cultural conservative continuum, the interpretation of which has been interpreted as and strongly indicates a cultural continuum. The impoverished pattern of ceramic finds is supported by excavations on specific sites, for example; Sharpstones Hill Site E, Shropshire, only 100 sherds from 1,600m² at 0.06/ m², Ellesmere Road at 224 sherds from 1,360m² at 0.16/ m² and the high status hillslope enclosure site at Collfryn, Powys, produced significantly fewer sherds of Roman pottery than expected for the site at 0.24/m². The previous late Iron Age phase shows no ceramic horizon excepting briquetage with 3,000 sherds recovered associated with the consumption of salt (Gaffney and White 2007, Chapter 6, p.5).

The evidence of the Wroxeter Hinterland Project demonstrates the rarity of Roman material culture in the rural environment away from any Roman urban settlement. Although the scope for field research was limited for this thesis the investigation into the Lower Down enclosure in the southwest Shropshire hills and the field survey work tentatively shows Roman pottery at the enclosure site only with one sherd being recovered from a field 200 metres to the west. The only other pottery was associated with the Kempton enclosure, which has not been excavated, two kilometres to the east situated within the Kemp valley (Chapter 8). This does suggest an eventual penetration

of Roman material into the remoter parts of the southern Cornovian territory and well beyond the hinterland of the lowland Shropshire plain. The situation can only become clearer with the accumulation and integration of data from surface field surveys and enclosure excavations. The Wroxeter Hinterland Projects extensive yet still limited surface survey clearly demonstrates the necessity of such projects but also the problems in interpolating and evaluating the data for the *Cornovii* as a whole.

A conservative reluctance to use Roman or any foreign material culture does not mean an aversion to it and finding, no matter how little, Roman artefacts on or around a settlement enclosure should not be surprising but expected. That they did not wholly adopt Roman culture attests to the cultural and social stability of the *Cornovii* in which change only occurred as an effect of a major external imposition subsuming the ruling elite changing internal social relationships. The territory of the *Cornovii* was the basis and source of the new urban Cornovian elite. That they had been supported by the control of resources, allowing for those resources relinquished under direct Roman control such as the lead reserves of the Stiperestones area (Shaw 2009, p.13) continued, which must have been essential for the maintenance of their social status and providing for *Viroconium*, which was a Roman expectation and responsibility. The general effect then was the development of a wealthy, vibrant city with all the attributes associated with Romanization juxtaposed with a continuation of a late Iron Age rural society whose communities made some use of Roman material, as it was available and useful to them, acquired through direct or indirect economic activities. This demonstrates that interplay and interaction of political, social, cultural and economic systems internally and externally informed is complexed and made complicated by the elapse of time separating them, and us, in which the evidence has mostly perished.

The evidence for industry within *Viroconium* and markets is indicative of the produce that the urban economy could exploit and draw upon. The excavations of the city has provided evidence for areas of specialized function such as the possible *forum boarium* of *insula III* and tanning processes in *insulae XXXIX-XLII* (Barker *et al.* 1997, pp.122-129). The elite and landowners of the city, most of whom were probably *Cornovii*, were able to use the raw produce as exchange, and if they avoided industry since the Roman elite where meant to live off the agricultural and mineral income from their estates, the sale of the produce becomes their revenue and not the sale of finished products. What we may infer from this is that they had a managerial system that allowed them to administer their private business in the country while residing in the city. The palynological record, as discussed in chapter 2, indicates intensification of production of cereals, which might have extended to cattle due to the new economic demands and opportunities for trade.

The Wroxeter hinterland project has demonstrated an active and dynamic landscape of rich agricultural production with no evidence of non-native agricultural settlement, although *Villae Rusticae* are the centres of agricultural estates and have been shown to have existed in the hinterland survey area (Gaffney and White chapter 6, p.2, fig. 6.1) it seems that the farming community was to a greater degree unaffected by Romanization. Certainly, *Viroconium* was a major economic stimulus to the region, yet one of exploitation, but the wealth generated was not being reciprocated in that the rural communities did not seem to have had the surplus wealth to engage in the material aspects of Romanization to any significant extent. Clearly, in the early city of the late first and early second centuries there was the aggrandizement of the public space in the building of the forum and basilica, baths complex, the temple of Jupiter, the aqueduct, water supply and drainage infrastructures (Barker and White 1998 *passim*). This

demonstrated a familiar degree of Romanization of the urban elite through their behaviour of municipal beneficence based on pre-existing tribal relationships, re-negotiated and modified culturally. The elite were, as is the case for elites, a small minority in society and that this, in accordance with Roman society, did not change with the greater majority of the population continuing as farmers in a rural environment and conceivably few having any substantial contact with the new urban elite, most of whom where *Cornovii*. In many respects, considering the observed relationship between city and country, the Cornovian elite had become seduced and corrupted by their relationship with Rome, which reflected in the social and economic systems and relationships creating an urban-rural dichotomy.

Beyond *Viroconium*, the evidence for the extent and reception of Romanization is predicated on the ubiquity of pottery, familiar on most archaeological sites for the Iron Age and Roman periods, providing a means of identifying or defining cultures and cultural change when so much produced by any given culture does not survive. The survey of the lowland around the city by the Wroxeter Hinterland Project has recovered metal artefacts that show that the rural population were using Roman style brooches for cloth fastening (Gaffney and White, 2007, p.6). This evidence over the paucity of pottery seems confusing in that the rural population should be acquiring brooches but little pottery. Yet this need not be the case. Pottery, as above, is heavy and not readily portable over any distances, also if the *Cornovii* had adequate alternative material for pots, bowls, cups etc. there would have been little incentive to change. However, metal fastenings for clothing, such as brooches, are small and easily transportable as a part of the clothing worn. This does not necessitate adoption of Roman style clothing, although the extent to which native or Roman clothing was favoured or a combination of both cannot be known. Romanization cannot be assumed on the use of certain material items

that would have been available in the urban markets or exchanged in the countryside. To become Roman, even in a provincial context, requires changes to the intangible aspects of culture, behaviour, language, beliefs and mentality that inform changes in society that is distinctive to that previously.

In order to engage and participate politically and socially with the Romanitas would require an acceptance of Roman culture, especially Latin. However, this may have been true of the emergent urban elite who had to engage with the Roman authorities on Roman terms, yet there are examples from around the Empire that this was not wholly the case. The commonality of the elite, as a minority, acted as the social and political adhesion to a culturally diverse state. This adhesion was true of the eastern part of the Empire where Greek remained the dominant language for administration and commerce. In addition, aspects of material culture that were not Roman or modifications of it can be seen in North Africa in nominally Roman house structures (Huskinson 2000, Ellis 2000, *passim*). From this I further, as in the hinterland, which displays a level of Roman material culture, the territory beyond it has also demonstrated a low level of Roman material culture, including pottery. The level is lower than the hinterland but not absent. None of this means that any significant proportion of the rural population became Roman or had any cultural affiliation, and that long developed culturally determined native traditions in the rural environment maintained a conservative attitude. The implication of this was the creation of social resistance to external influences, but not wholly unreceptive to minor aspects of external material cultural. The economic circumstances of perceived exploitation by the emergent urban elite might have also played a determining role by creating tension between the two unequal groups, as discussed in chapter 6, concerning the visibility of a population from economically determinatives based on the 'Long Wave' hypothesis (Going, C. 1992,

p.93ff). If the function of *Viroconium* had a certain impoverishing effect on the rural population which maintained the socio-economic equilibrium of the pre-Roman late Iron Age culture, despite agricultural intensification, then, I consider, there would have been no economic incentive or benefit to change and adopt Roman material culture.

Conservative cultural traditions of a society can be resistant to change, whether from within, due to internal tensions that cause social instability, these are eventually reconciled by change and a new stable system, or alternatively, from without. In this situation, stresses and tensions are exerted by external influences and forces resulting in social change affecting a part of that society, which in the case of the *Cornovii* was the emergence the Romanized urban elite (White et al. 2013, p.162). Identifying the *Cornovii* as a distinct cultural society has been difficult because of the apparent lack of characteristic material culture, which has meant that the internal structures and processes have been difficult to discern. The creation the Cornovian urban elite, as discussed above, created social tensions. However, the settlement of the elite in *Viroconium* did not necessarily mean they abandoned their native language and culture and those aspects of behaviour that defined them; and within a provincial context this would not, within limits, have been necessary in accordance with Roman practice of allowing the native population a degree of autonomy within the Empire.

A significant discovery of the Wroxeter hinterland project is the realization that the defences of the city do not accord with the defences of other Roman cities in Britain whether *civitatis*, *municipiae* or *coloniae*. The defences of earthen bank and ditch surround an irregular topographical interior encompassing the area beyond the Bell Brook, which makes the area indefensible. The bank was not replaced by a stone wall from which the conclusion has been made, that it was a structure of prestige in defining the city but has the distinct appearance of being like a hillfort (White and Barker 1998,

pp. 98-88, Gaffney and White 2007, chapter.7 p. 8) or perhaps *oppida* as a development of the larger enclosures may be a possibility. The latter has been postulated by Fulford on the study of Silchester in Berkshire, the Atrebates' civitas capital of *Calleva Atrebatum*. Here the Roman settlement was preceded by an *oppida* indicating proto-urbanization (Fulford and Timby 2000, p. 383). Could this be an indication of development that was already happening in Cornovian society of the late Iron Age at Old Oswestry and Bury Walls, already significant Cornovian sites reminiscent of the larger hillforts of the south of Britain, as suggested by Barker and White (1998, p.36). In which case, the Roman conquest might have been the final stimulus for the elite of a stratified society to create an urban settlement sooner than later, which might have been an eventuality. Such a process would be based on established cultural traditions subject to change through internal stresses in which external pressure was brought to bear. This result may be summarized as:

‘...the contradictory desire to be Romanized but not necessarily to be perceived as Roman. The importance of being Cornovian should not be under-emphasized, even during the rush to be Romanized.’

(Gaffney and White 2007 chpt 7, p.8)

The Cornovian elite might have adopted an outwardly Roman urban life culturally modified and informed by strong cultural traditions. However, did any become Roman citizens and admitted to the full benefits of the Roman franchise? An inscription found at *Calleva Atrebatum* records a *collegium peregrinorum*, which has been suggested that the *Atrebates* elite were not Roman citizens (Salway 1993, p.401) because it, like *Viroconium* was a Civitas Capital, a rank of municipal settlement too low for citizen status. *Viroconium* as far as the inscriptional evidence reveals was not raised to the status of *municipium* or *colonia*. This might be a reflection of the failure to Romanize beyond a native idiom, the outward urban appearance of Romanization with the

necessary urban institutions concealing a culturally Cornovian population. The Romanization of the urban elite and the influence on the rural population may be summarized:

‘Romanization cannot be seen simply as becoming Roman as opposed to resisting cultural imperialism. Individual households made specific decisions about what elements of Roman culture they wished to adopt’

(Ellis 2000, p.112)

The Cornovian elite, who probably consisted of a number of leading families, which is an element of society that the Roman elite would have been in sympathy with, would have assumed their modified positions as leaders of their tribe by identifying themselves as Roman political and social institutions, as would have been expected by the Roman authorities (Chapter 3). However, being seen to participate on a political and social level could have left sufficient opportunity and tolerance in the system for their Romanness to be selective. If this were the case with the urban elite then the majority rural population would have had no compulsion to follow, since they would not have had the imperial incentive for the preservation of status and survival. Once the political and social environment, in the post conquest period, had gained equilibrium as a result of transition, the Cornovian territory could have been economically self-supporting while providing a source of provincial revenue rather than a burden of expenditure. Roman material culture diffused the hinterland and beyond not because of Romanization but because of general trade and acquisition. In this respect, the rural *Cornovii* continued largely along their native cultural trajectory with a non-contentious indifference.

4.4 Conclusion

The material symbolism of imperial authority and colonization were manifest in the physical reality of *Viroconium*. The situation was not one of imposition of an alien culture by a dominant society where the ideology was to ‘Romanize’, indeed Bartel in

his evaluation of the Gallic situation questions whether the Romans Romanized or whether the Gauls, at the elite level, Romanized themselves as a pragmatic response to the situation (Bartel 1980, p.347). The evidence of the Wroxeter Hinterland Project would suggest an adoption of Roman materialism by a part of the population, and that mainly involved the elite who willingly participated and collaborated in local government. Outwardly, in a provincial and regional idiom emulating the Roman with the status attributed to it. Without the status of Roman citizen, they remained *peregrini* creating a possible dichotomy of identity of being British yet displaying the aspects of the Roman in appearance and behaviour, living in an urban environment, engaging in the consumption of material culture and demonstrating, to some extent, Roman behaviour. This situation would create a new social identity within the provincial context (see Ellis above). This insularity of the elite and urban is contrasted by the paucity of the Roman material declining with distance from the *Civitas*, with the exception of Roman foci in small towns and villas. The rural population had its own social trajectory in which engagement with the Roman and the acquisition of Roman material was incidental to the continuation of their traditional economic activities facilitated by new and different availability to Roman markets.

Chapter Five:

Rural Settlement, Pattern, Form and Landscape

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I shall consider and review rural settlement in the context of its pattern, form and relationship to the landscape with reference to the primary data and recent archaeological work on rural settlement in the area of study and the Marches with regional comparisons. The area of the Marches has been subject to extensive aerial photographic surveys over the previous thirty years by Whimster 1989, Musson 1991 and most recently Wigley in 2011 and the Marches Uplands Mapping Project. Further to these, specific areas of the Marches have been subject to detailed and impressive academic study; i.e. Whimster 1989, Gaffney and White 2007, and Wigley 2002, which have contributed greatly to the archaeological data and knowledge of the Marches generally, the Severn Valley and Shropshire specifically in which there has been a comparative paucity of research. However, what these studies have shown is that there are still gaps in the evidence and gaps in our knowledge of transitional rural society and the processes that informed transition. This thesis, in the study of transitional rural society and settlement in South Shropshire, concerns itself with an agrarian society that would have constituted the majority of the population. These would have been the occupants of the smaller enclosures rather than the hillforts (White & Barket 1998, p.36). This population informed the landscape in which they lived, as a continuum of a social process that began in the Neolithic period (Darvill 1995, p.20, Hamilton, J., Hedges, R. E. M., & Robinson, M. 2009, p.1008, Thomas, J. 1999, p.157) through the material exploitation of the landscape, agricultural activity, land division and the physical remains of their settlements.

The term settlement is one that is rarely defined but used with the presumption of

meaning, whether referring to the Neolithic through to Mediaeval society. For the purpose of this thesis, the term settlement will be defined as follows: settlement is used here to mean any place of residence in which people base themselves in the landscape for the purpose of its exploitation or setting. A settlement can be identified as having consisted of structures that give shelter to the inhabitants, their animals, material culture, produce and production in a domestic or manufactory environment. The settlement may consist of one habitable building or many, of which some may have specialised or designated functions. The settlement may also consist of one or many separate dwellings in which an extended family or community shares an area forming a residential site of activity, village, town or city, depending on status, meeting the requirements of the individual, family, community and specialist activities. A settlement may be permanent, temporary, and occasional or seasonal in its occupancy. Generally, settlement is defined indirectly through the analysis and evaluation of its functions and activities (compare, Whittle 1996, *passim*, Harding 2000, *passim*, Darvill 1987, *passim*, Audouze and Buchenschutz 1991, *passim*).

Generally and spatially, the later Iron Age consisted of a densely settled landscape, as can be seen in the map of settlement distribution in south Shropshire (Fig. 5.1). The density of settlement suggests the extent of landscape exploitation, which necessitated the clearance of the land by deforestation, thus the landscape would have been substantially open with an extensive system of fields and boundaries, symbolic or functional linear earthworks apparent as linear ditches or dykes and pit alignments (Dark 2000, p.52; Moore 2007, p.92 and White forthcoming). The survival of field systems is problematic, which biases the available evidence, as does the survival of visible settlements, especially in lowland areas. The good quality of agricultural land has meant subsequent agrarian activity and methods, especially in the open field

systems of the mediaeval period, where the evidence has been obliterated by ploughing, and whereby modern deep ploughing has made a significant contribution, is indicated by the poor survival of the mediaeval field system (Bowden 1999, p.80). Environmental evidence, presented in chapter two (Dark 2000, p.34), shows that land clearance was a process determined by the introduction of agricultural, as above, which, consequently, informed the interaction of human and social agency on the landscape.

Associated with the field systems is the evidence of settlements, that we must assume were predominantly concerned with agriculture, whose survival has depended on their, as with the field systems, location in the landscape, where earthwork survival has been relegated to the marginal land, suitable for pasturage. Recognized as enclosures, these settlements' enclosures must be distinguished from the larger dominant enclosures or hillforts. Although the Marches is dominated by hillforts and is well within the hillfort zone as identified by Cunliffe (Fig: 5.2) (Cunliffe 2005, p. 74), the settlement enclosures, defined by having an internal area of no greater than a hectare (Wigley 2007, p. 177), can be seen as existing within the landscape between the topographically dominant hillforts. As earthworks they survive on the uplands while on lowland locations, due to ploughing, are detected as cropmarks, parchmarks and soilmarks (Aston 1985, p. 28).

A major problem with understanding Iron Age communities is distinguishing the significance of enclosures, in their topographical context, and the social relationship between them. The relationship between these enclosures is a product of the nature of Iron Age society and indicative of its structure. The basis of social relationships, based on the interaction of people settled in and exploiting the landscape, I assert, must have been essentially economic. This does not negate models based on the symbolic meanings imbued in landscape, culturally informed depositions and the, often,

intangible ritual.

‘The intermittent nature of the stone and pit alignments implies that the boundaries were not concerned with practicalities of agriculture or domestic settlement, thus it seems legitimate... to describe the cross-ridge boundaries as being primarily concerned with the definition of a territory of ritual.’

(Vyner 1994, p.7)

That these concepts are not a part of the interpretation of the development of Iron Age Society suggests the problem is where to place the evaluative emphasis (see 5.2 below).

This is dependant on the theoretical perspective employed, which determines the historiography of the period. Therefore, evidence based economic modelling is required to understand the settled environment and the processes that informed the functioning of society, and from this to gain an understanding of the communities (Redfern and DeWitte 2011, p. 271) that constituted the *Cornovii* in south Shropshire. Further to this, we must consider the observable change and continuity with the development of the subsequent province, the abandonment of hillforts (Hamilton and Manley 2001, p.25) and the socio-economic relationships informed by the implications of the Roman conquest.

5.2 The Development of the Settled Landscape in the First Millennium BC

This section is a general survey of the development of the socially informed landscape during the first millennium BC. During this time, there was the establishment of settlement patterns that were to inform the later transition period. A consequence of the use of the land in the pre-transition period led to delineation and demarcation.

The landscape of the period of transition had had a long developmental history, which had recognisably begun in the Neolithic (Dumayne-Peaty 1998, p. 205ff; Earle 2000, p.43) This development reflects, and records in that which is recoverable, the cultural, social and economic development of the population. Central to this is the relationship the population had with their landscape and environment informed by their need to

control it for the production of food and materials. From the individual, extending to the family and wider community, functioning relationships within a system of cultural communality was vital to the successful control of the agrarian environment and reciprocally facilitating those social relationships, historically based yet under constant revision (Dark 2006, *passim*, Darvill 1987, p.133ff, Harding 2006, *passim*).

A settled agrarian society requires not only the site of a settlement, i.e. farm or village, but also the land required to support the members of the community and enable it to participate and interact economically amongst its neighbours. Considering the broader landscape of the Marches, within and contiguous with the area of study allows the study of land tenure. The problem here is what should provide the archaeologist with an opportunity to study how tenure was transmitted, and crucially dating has been generally ignored. Yet, understanding the division and tenure of land is vital to understanding the functioning of the landscape in a social and economic context. I think here that the meaning of tenure should be addressed critically in the context of Iron Age studies. The use of terms as tenure: territory, land allotment, land division and land use are used with a degree of interchange (cf. Cunliffe 2005, p. 589; Dark and Dark 1997; Earle 2000, p.40; Fleming 1998, *passim*; Fowler 2002, *passim*). If people, who constitute the community, are considered to be productive agents then tenure must be seen as an attribute of the relationship they have with the landscape through which it informs and directs them. Compared with territoriality as an attribute, by which means and by virtue of the prevailing environmental conditions of the landscape, it informs and directs change (Ingold 1986, pp.130-131). Therefore, tenure must be integral to social relations and engagement with the landscape. So, on tenure we must be clear that we are not discussing property or ownership in terms of exclusivity to possession and the received right to dispose or claim land and all therein, such as water, grazing and other

materials. Associated with the concept of property, by extension, is that of territoriality. The consequence of this concept is that a claim of right of possession is made to areas of lands by individuals, communities or certain status groups. In the context of the development of the Iron Age landscape, it is the form through which tenure is manifested that concerns us here. Within the area of study (Fig. 1), as distinct from the whole of the Roman defined area of the *Cornovii*, land tenure and subsequent territoriality are fundamental constituents to cultural and social identity within the given area, which may be apparent in common behaviours, strategies in food production and material expressions of commonality. The tangible aspect of common identity must therefore be manifest in the use of the landscape indicated by the more enduring structures as representative of common and culturally determined strategies of landscape exploitation.

The tenure and use of land as stated must be evident in the infrastructure by which exploitation functioned. Thus, the physical structures may take many forms. In a functioning agrarian environment, the manner in which the inhabitants divide the land may consist of hedges, fences, walls, banks and ditches or a combination of the latter two. However, none of these may be present in which social memory reproduced as an oral history and established communal behaviour functioned on an individual, familial and community level dividing the landscape and so intangible being based on mutual recognition (Cohen 2000, pp. 6-7; Ingold 2000, pp.193). A principle, informing the manner in which the communities chose to demarcate and delineate the landscape, I think, was not for the exclusion of others of the community; it regulated and informed the conduct of activities for the functioning of the landscape. On the communities of the south Downs Hamilton and Manley (2001, p. 32) conclude 'Monumentalizing'... hills may have had a key role in uniting dispersed communities, through creating a

sense of topographic identity.’ The apparent use of banks, ditches or pits to isolate, demarcate and control areas of land, may from our perspective, seem a culturally evolved system of controlling access to and from an area of land, for purely practical agrarian reasons. However, the meaning is culturally constructed and received in that:

‘...it is important to note that no feature of the landscape is, of itself, a boundary. It can only become a boundary, or the indicator of a boundary, in relation to the activities of the people (or animals) for whom it is recognized or experienced as such.’

(Ingold 1993, p.156)

Outside the immediate enclosure of the farming settlements land division may not be seen in terms of rigid boundaries but areas of interest in which tenure was seen on a wider communal basis with controlled and culturally agreed rights of access (Barth 2000, p. 28; Cohen 2000, p.7). From an agricultural perspective, the use of land is inclusive of diverse arable and pasturage activities. The maintenance of livestock would have ranged from breeding, grazing on unenclosed land and harvesting hay. This would have been essential for those animals preserved through the winter. Other crops would have been subject to improved land regimes through ploughing and manuring. The exploitation of the environment for materials such as woodland management would have provided timber for construction and fuel. Pollarding and coppicing provided a constant source of wood. Other organic material may have included broom, gorse, bracken and reeds for fodder and bedding (Hedeager 1992, p.209ff, Rippon, Fyfe and Brown 2006 *passim*, Ralston 1999, p.504ff)

Construction of the boundaries would have included the extraction of stone, earth and clay; interestingly however, within the area of study for the later Iron Age, clay was not used in the production of pottery. Pottery is uncommon, despite the relatively nearby Cleve Hill and Malvern production (Moore 2007, p.82 on distribution) as discussed in chapter seven. The extent and viability of exploitation of the environment by an agrarian

community was considerably determined by the geology, topography and altitude; this is significant in the south Shropshire Hills upland areas compared with the lowland Midland plain. The uplands were subject to poor soil quality and challenging conditions including drainage and the general prevailing climate, which had been becoming cooler and wetter since the Neolithic. The Roman historian Tacitus records in the *Agricola* that:-

'Caelum crebris imbribus ac nebulis foedum; asperitas frigoribus abest'

(Tacitus, *Agricola* XII)

This is affirmed by Dark on the early first millennium A.D.:-

'Climate during the first millennium AD began rather wetter and cooler than of today'
(Dark 2000, p. 171)

This was the culmination of a long process of climate change commencing from the climatic optimum at circa 5,000 yrs B.P. (Bell and Walker 1992). The effect of these environmental factors informed and affected social responses to the prevailing environment. The accumulative effects of anthropogenic influences must also be considered to be significant when understanding settlement patterns, land tenureship and land use. The social response to the land informed communal relationships and local identity by shared and received cultural behaviour, which distinguishes the upland hill communities from their lowland and highland neighbours.

Godelier (1978, p.407) postulated that within a given community, and in a given area, that multiple claims to tenure and access by certain groups was possible. From a social perspective, this would require that there would have been no conflict of interest and that tenureship and access would be for specific purposes and use. In this case, we must consider tenureship as being, within the community and as stated intercommunal, a form of common land utilized by groups or settlements for specific use at different

times of the year or for communal activities at times when the maximum labour was required. This behaviour would have had a reinforcing effect on kin and community bonds and a geographical sense of social identity. From this, we may propose that the concept of tenure might have been notional and subject to constant negotiating and revision subject to land use and tradition of access to land (Earle 2000, p.41ff). We must consider and recognize that agrarian societies might have quite different concepts and notions of what constituted tenure, the apportionment of land and the idea of property. In addition, factors such as social status, age and sex affected social attitudes to land, its division and familial and communal inheritance.

However, the mid to late Bronze Age communities experienced sufficient change in the economy that led to significant changes in the landscape in that it was fundamentally reorganized. This reorganization was manifested in the redistribution of land in the form of linear earthworks and the development from a relatively open landscape to one of field enclosures (Darvill 1987, p.127, Harding 2000, p.161ff, Brück 2007, p.29). Linear boundaries and pit alignments are two types of structure indicative of land use apparent in southwest Shropshire and seen throughout the Marches. These structures must therefore be indicative of the relationship the communities had with the landscape and with other communities. Within the area of study, however, these are not common, seemingly surviving on higher, now marginal land and moor, which has been subject to little arable farming; whereas, the intense cultivation of lowland and valleys has largely destroyed most prehistoric monuments, which is true not only for the area of study.

Consideration of the evidence of land division and demarcation is a means of investigating tenure and the relationship those communities had to the land over which they may have had an ancestral claim, a claim that would have to be maintained and transmitted over generations. Although there have been regional studies of land

divisions i.e. the Peak District (Rylatt. J. & Bevan. B. 2007, p.218ff) and Wessex (Cunliffe. B. 2000, p.589) linear earthwork systems in the form of banks and ditches (dykes) and pit alignments are ubiquitous; however, they have not been subject to any extensive research in southwest Shropshire thus the importance of regional studies of these structures. The problem here has been reliable dating which to an extent has been inhibited by the great linear features of the Marches: Offa's Dyke and Watt's Dyke thus leading to the assumption that linear features were of a mediaeval origin. As Feryok (2001) states:

'Earthwork dykes have been used in Europe since prehistory, becoming a common type of boundary marker in the post-Roman period'

(Feryok 2001, p.181)

Hence, the difficulty in the evaluation of these structures without absolute dates since those of a mediaeval date tend not to have been recorded although, as in the Tidenham Charter of King Edwy of Mercia (Feryok 2001, p.170) with reference to Offa's Dyke, they may have been recorded in determining the territorial limits of the charter. A caveat here is that pre-existing ancient dykes or linear earthworks may have been re-employed where convenient. Although Fox (1955) considered the short dykes to have been precursors of the greater earthworks of Offa's and Watt's dykes. Figure 5.5, shows the extent of long and short dykes along the Marches. Fox considered that the short dykes were statements of territoriality, however, as Feryok indicates, the flaw in his hypothesis was that the ditch and bank should be orientated with the ditch facing a westerly direction i.e. ostensibly towards Wales. Feryok draws attention to the fact that in many examples this is not the case. Although it must be recognized that not all may have an ancient origin they represent the continuation of a complexed social, cultural and political landscape. Vyner (1994) observes that other early monuments that can be directly associated with a linear earthwork or dyke may be indicative of an early date.

The regional studies have shown the contemporaneous relationship of linear ditch systems to smaller enclosure settlements and hillforts such as Danbury in Hampshire, Staple Howe and Devil's Hill in Yorkshire (Cunliffe 2005, p. 308,) or Eston Hills, Cleveland (Vyner 1994, p. 5). Within the area of study, we have Stitt Hill, Ratlinghope, Stapley Hill and the Long Mynd (Fig. 5.6). Comparison of the linear structures with those of other regions indicates that these are prehistoric (Guilbert 1975, *passim*, Vyner 1994, p.5). On the pattern of land use indicative of the type of agricultural regime it has been observed that:

'The archaeological patterns of a pastoral area should be different from those produced by much more mixed farming. In the latter case, the need to separate crops and animals produces more complicated and nucleated patterns with stock enclosures around central huts from which droveways lead through an area of fields to pastures beyond. In a pastoral area we can expect not only sparser settlement but simpler patterns; one or two huts in a simple enclosure, isolated stock enclosures, and ranch boundaries.'

(Ramm 1980, p. 31).

Due to the remote, marginal and elevated conditions, the landscape of Stapley Hill preserves an impressive prehistoric landscape. From my own inspection, from the ridge of the hill, clear structures can be observed which resemble reaves on Shaugh Moor on Saddlesborough Hill on Dartmoor (Harding 2000, p.151). These have been dated to the late second to early first millennia BC dividing the land into long and narrow fields. On Stapley Hill they descend perpendicular to the ridge of the hill and intercepting the encircling and well-defined banks and ditches of linear and curvilinear structures. Aerial photographic surveys of the landscape reveal the linear banks that remain significant in their preservation, which can be followed for 'considerable distances across the hilltop' (Watson and Musson 1993, p. 24). The effect is the sub-division of the land, which suggests a highly organized social structure and communal co-ordination for the deployment of labour. These seem therefore, structures of considerable antiquity. However, in the context of the communities relationship to and

perception of the land, do they represent the true enclosure of the land, as seen with the parliamentary enclosures of the nineteenth century, or are we observing a delineation of the land for the purposes and convenience of cultivation, pasturage or both, as a consequence of tenure? To understand settlement patterns and therefore the communities, as can be seen in figure 5.9, understanding how they functioned and were located in a socially informed landscape context is fundamental.

‘no feature of the landscape is, in itself, a boundary. It can only become a boundary or indicator of a boundary, in relationship to the activities of the people (or animals) for whom it is recognized or experienced as such’

(Ingold 1993, p.156)

5.3 Linear Earthworks and Cross Ridge Dykes, their significance in the development of the Iron Age Landscape.

To put cross ridge dykes into context and dismissing the long dykes of Offa’s and Watt’s as early mediaeval, then along the Marches there are at least, twenty-one examples of short dykes. That these are deemed short is relative to the two long dykes. The length of cross ridge dykes ranges from less than 100 metres at Shepherds Well Dyke in the Radnorshire Forest to almost two miles near Pembridge in northwest Herefordshire (Feryok 2001, p.186). Their survival, as with the survival of settlement enclosures, has been dependant on the later use of land and as a result, they are rare. The upland area that has been predominantly pasturage or moor has favoured preservation. Wigley (2002, p.151) identifies three groups of cross ridge dykes, two of which lie within the area of study. These are the Long Mynd group (SO 49) (Fig. 5.7) and the Stapley Hill group (SO 3198) (Fig. 5.9). The third group is on the Kerry Ridgeway (SO89), which lies adjacent to the west of the area; however, it may be considered an integral part of the same landscape, consisting of two linears. Also within the northern limit of the area is one at Earle’s Hill (SJ 4204). This gives a total of twelve for the area of study (Fig. 5.7). Here Wigley demonstrates that they are found at an

altitude of over 201m OD, the linears on Stapley Hill are in excess of 330m OD. The exposure to attrition, both natural and human, on the lower altitudes of river valleys and the plain to the east, north and south must bias the record as to the extent of land division. In addition, agricultural activity on the uplands such as forestry activity and land improvement, as can be seen at Black Knoll (Chapter 8), has further denuded the record. Stapley Common has clear signs of ploughing in the mediaeval period, thus, the surviving dykes have been reduced. Vyner notes:

‘Their survival has not always contributed to an understanding of their purpose and nature...’

Vyner (1994, p.1)

However, this does not detract from the fact that such divisions were employed. At the time of writing a section of Offa’s Dyke near Chirk, Wrexham, which is situated on lowland off the Cheshire plain, was demolished. Those that have not been identified must therefore be at risk of destruction (Offa’s Dyke Association 2014).

A problem of dykes and any linear earthwork boundary system of ditches and banks is that of absolute dating. What we must consider, within the area of study and the region of the Marches and west Midlands is that the surviving systems of linear earthworks are not of a late Iron Age origin and therefore are a part of a continuing system of land division representing tenureship within the socially informed concepts of territoriality. For example, Grim’s ditch, which follows the edge of the Cotswolds in Oxfordshire, was considered to be the course of a Roman road. It was only established to be a linear earthwork through excavation and the recovery of dating evidence. The dating from this excavation has shown an Iron Age date (Ford 2006, p.1). thus within its landscape context a date of the late Iron Age now seems the most likely for the whole, although the actual function remains problematic (Cunliffe 2005, p.192).

The opportunity to date Grim’s Ditch and those of South Dyke and Becca Banks in

Yorkshire, which yielded later dates for the Iron Age and evidence for continuation into the Roman period (Wheelhouse and Burgess 2001, p.123, Weldrake 2011, p.1), was as a result of development funded research for the M1-A1 link road. The problem with the Marches and in particular the area of study is that such opportunities of obtaining dating evidence are rare.

The dating of any structure is fundamental in understanding the chronological development of the historic environment, which allows structures to be contextualized and to understand and recognize the changes and continuity that informed the later Iron Age landscape. Although dating of linear earthwork systems is problematic, evidence of the wider and general landscape has shown that where dating has been possible dates relating, mainly, to the middle to later Bronze Age are established (Hedeager 1992, p. 20, Harding 2000, p.161, Cunliffe 2005, p.420, Vyner 1994, p.1). An important caveat is that linear earthworks cannot be presumed to date from the Bronze Age or Iron Age. Wigley (2002, p.152) has made the point that there is a difficulty in the dating of linear earthwork system boundaries and that this applies generally to the British Isles. Thus, context and the relationship of linear earthwork systems to other structures allow, at least, a relative chronology.

The problem with reliable dating evidence is that little datable evidence survives. The most reliable evidence comes from the survival of original buried soil beneath the banks of linear earthworks. Access to such surfaces is rare due to their scheduled status; however, dating was achieved of the Devil's Mouth dyke (Fig. 5.8). This linear is one of the Long Mynd group which was subject to dating in 1994 (Fig. 5.7) and was investigated due to damage caused by the preparation of a car park. Dating was only possible because of charcoal introduced during the preparation of the surface prior to the bank being deposited.

Two radiocarbon dates were obtained from a piece of charcoal showing the bank to be of a Bronze Age construction. These were 3155 ± 45 BP (OxA-5082) and 3105 ± 45 BP (OxA-5083), providing calibrated calendrical dates of 1530-1310 cal BC and 1500-1210 cal BC and a *terminus post quem* was achieved for its construction (Wigley 2002, p.152). However, work on the Kerry Ridgeway, by the Offa's Dyke Association, has provided a post Roman date of the seventh century for one of the short dykes, although whether the construction or re-construction was by indigenous British people or migrant Angles, during the early formation of Mercia, is not known (I. Bapty pers. comm.). If we consider a conservative aspect to the native rural population, in which pre-Roman behaviour has been perpetuated as an expression of identity, then considering the long history of linear earthworks we must consider that the Kerry linear is a British construction at this time.

For further evidence of age and functional persistence, we may consider the findings from linear earthwork systems in Yorkshire. Here, although identified as dating from the later Bronze Age, and in that they respect barrows, the advantage of pottery has allowed some dating. For example, Manby (1980, p.323) and Rylatt and Bevan (2007, p. 220) attest to Bronze Age pottery and debris from the moulds for bronze casting and charcoal deposits. What is significant is the continued creation of these structures and evidence attesting to their maintenance of these structures into the Iron Age from pottery recovered from the banks. At Cat Babbleton, Ganton, North Yorkshire Rylatt and Bevan (2007, p. 221) have noted that P. Cardwell has suggested that the pits of a pit alignment (see 5.4 below) have been connected to make a continuous ditch in the Roman period, which, if true, shows modification of existing structures that have previously been established as boundaries and indicates continuity of the division of land (Manby 1980, p 307ff).

Attention is drawn to the problem of the general evidence for the dating of this class of monument (Wigley 2002, p.154, Giles 2007, p.106, Vyner 1994, p. 3, see Rylatt and Bevan 2007, p.220 for a similar problem with pit alignments, see below). With reference to the extensive common on Stapley Hill (Fig. 5.9), Wigley argues from the perspective of landscape stratigraphy in which later structures such as mediaeval pillow-mounds, tracks, earthworks and squatters' enclosures some connected with the mining activities of the nineteenth century would strongly suggest a pre-mediaeval date for the linear earthworks. Such analysis gives only a relative chronology; this may also apply to the other groups too. Although the Devil's Mouth dating is conclusive, it does not mean that such dating can be assumed of the others especially in the light of the post-Roman Kerry Ridgeway, above. This emphasises the need for a thorough study to provide absolute dates for these monuments where possible. As stated above the dating of any structure is fundamental in understanding the chronological development of the historic environment. Therefore, the topographical context of these structures, and indeed any class of structure, needs to be understood. As the local community constructed these structures for a purpose, it is the function of the linear earthwork systems that determined their locations, which must be indicative of the relationship the communities had with the landscape; also, the internal relationships that bound a community to organize itself for the division and apportionment of land and the external relationships within the regional Iron Age society. The imposition of landscape control accords with Tilley in that:

'Such architectural and spatial reconfigurations provide a means of maintaining or extending social power through creating new settings for its articulation'
(Tilley 1994, p. 27)

This suggests that the control of access to the land may introduce exclusivity in rather than:

‘Co-ordinating periodic gatherings or successive inhabitations, movements, and encounters’

(Giles 2007, p.109-110)

The positional maps (Figs 5.8 & 5.9) reveal the course of the cross ridge dykes relative to the topography on the uplands of the study area. As can be seen these traverse the land on a varilinear course transecting the uplands between ravines within which streams take the water draining off the moorland. The varilinear morphology of these earthworks may have been determined by the topography and this probably had an influence. Figure 5.10, however, shows the fuller extent of the linears following a recent field survey I conducted using the results of a recent LiDaR survey (S & C LPS 2014). The survey revealed that linear 4 (Fig. 5.9) (Wigley 2002, p. 403) does not exist. This was initially apparent from the LiDaR image, which failed to resolve any relief; and was followed by a survey of ‘ground truthing’ in which no feature could be discerned. The course of the linears, as cross ridge dykes, was observed to be between natural features, consisting of small valleys and wet places, at the heads of these valleys. What is noticeable about these linear earthworks is that they are not located for visibility at any distance, which would indicate that their function was not one of display but one of land division, based on local interests. Unlike the later Offa’s Dyke which seemed ‘...designed to deliberately enhance the visibility of the monument in the landscape’ (Bapty 2012 p.50). The purpose therefore, I think, based on the assumption that they were not made for visibility, must have been one of land division and control in which the land was apportioned into agricultural blocks, which have survived on the later marginal higher land.

Cross ridge dykes, or any similar linear structures, did not exist in geographical isolation. Understanding their function must be predicated on their topographical position. Therefore, to understand the formation of the later Iron Age to Romano-British

landscape is fundamental for understanding this landscape resulting from the processes represented in a long history of change and continuity. The continuity can be seen as one of cultural respect for the past in an isolated agrarian society where there was little external pressure to change and internally the community maintained a degree of dynamic equilibrium reinforcing their common identity.

As has been noted, the linear earthworks demonstrate a boundary function in that they are located isolating promontories and projection of land also between the rising of streams and moors exploiting natural features to incorporate within the structures. The function of these structures has been suggested to control the transhumance and containment of stock for pasturing (Giles 2007, p. 109, Pryor 1982, p.32 Cunliffe 2005, p.212). Figure 5.10, shows the extent of the linear earthworks specifically as cross ridge dyke. Table 5.1 gives the measurements for those observed on Stapley Hill.

The summer and winter survey of 2014 permitted a fuller evaluation of the extent of the linears on Stapley Hill. In this LiDaR image, produced at a resolution of 1m² the linears have been surveyed from the field survey to the image using the QGIS Valmiera programme. This allowed the linears to be traced on the ground, which was densely covered with bracken, with the aid of an integrated GPS. The winter survey allowed the further extent of the linears to be appreciated and recorded, as can be seen in figure 5.10 (compare with 5.9). Figure 5.12, is of the cross ridge dykes and demonstrate their function in isolating the higher area of Stapley Common. They begin and end at steep places crossing the heads of the small valleys, which are marshes where the small valley streams rise. The positioning of the linears, especially as an example linears 7, 12 and 13, seem to have an associated function and therefore synchronic. Figure 5.13 shows this in greater detail. The arrangement of linears 12 and 13 is that of a funnel, opening to a series of holloways and directing a course to the east on to the higher ground.

Linear 7 isolates the valley immediately to the south as it also isolates the entire southern end of the high ground. Linear 13 intersects 7 preventing any movement to the west. Figure 5.14 is a photograph taken during the winter while the dense bracket overgrowth was low. It had the effect of defining and emphasizing the linears quite clearly as the photograph shows. The distance seen between linears 12 and 13 is 12.50 metres, the narrowest place. The divergence of linears 12 and 13 towards the valley and receiving the holloways suggests that they might have continued further. Vyner (2007, p.107) refers to the synchronicity of linears in that they present an 'illusion of order', which emphasizes the need for absolute dating.

The breach in linear 2 (fig. 5.12) is where a prehistoric track (UOV pp. 30-31) traverses the high ground at a perpendicular to the cross ridge dykes. It follows the course of linear 1 and after crossing linear 2 follows linears 3 and 1. Linear 3 has a direct association with linear 2 as it clearly abuts and respects it as a curving spur. These two linears almost meet near linear 2, and have a maximum separation of five metres. However, linear 1, as can be seen from figure 5.11, is a double bank with a single ditch while linear 3 is a low bank. Their possible function may have been to prevent movement to the steep bank into wetland valley to the north. Although the dates of construction are not known, linear 3 is of the same morphology as linear 2 and may be contemporaneous forming an enclosure to a smaller area of high ground while linear 1, being the earlier, was a boundary to a larger area that included the whole of Stapley Hill and possibly associated with reaves perpendicular to it and transversely crossing the ridge of the hill. Unfortunately, they do not abut linear 1 or are seen to extent beyond it.

Linears 8 and 9 (fig. 5.15) are curious, in that they are two banks approximately a metre high, although this varies considerably, and five metres across at their base. Damage to the surface of linear 8 indicates that they are of a stone construction,

although whether regular set blocks or irregular rubble could not be ascertained. They meander down a slope to an area of marsh, again at the head of a valley, they do not have any obvious association with the other linear earthworks and are clearly not cross ridge dykes; however, they reflect each other with an average separation of 86m. Linear 8 may have been longer, although the solid geology may be the cause of this impression. The nature of these has proved elusive and that they seem to exist in isolation is perhaps that they were components of a lost landscape (Prof. S. Ainsworth, pers. comm.). That they seem to direct movement to or from a wet place is, I think, significant, and that the northern bank prevents access to a steep slope suggests containment.

Evidence for the function in support of the study area comes from Yorkshire and the Salisbury Plain (Giles 2007, p.107, Vyner 1994, p.3). The placing of these structures across passable tracks of land terminating at places, are by their nature, difficult to traverse yet, as has been said, not defensive, suggesting a need to control movement to and from these areas for agrarian purposes. Although regional studies are useful in determining function and chronology; socially and economically informed functional differences, that must have influenced the function of the linear earthworks, from the available evidence, reveal a diachronic landscape in a state of continued development based on the tenureship of land of relatively stable communities within their area in which dynamic equilibrium facilitated the transmission of tenureship over long periods of time. This represents the complexity of relationships constantly renegotiated resulting in a gradual transformation of the landscape, the division and apportionment of which indicates an accepted and formalization of long and firmly established tenures accommodating the cultural development of the society on an economic basis. That basis being the need to establish right of transhumance, arable and material exploitation

on which the relationships between people, families and communities were founded (Gile 2007 p. 107ff, Vyner 1994 p.6, Wigley 2002 p.155).

5.4 Pit Alignments

Pit alignments as a classification of landscape structure seem not to have been a significant development in the upland areas of the area of study. The concentrations that exist within received Cornovian territory are found along the Severn Valley and its tributaries, of which 87 are known, of which all except one (1.14%) at less than 150m OD (Wigley 2002). Although we must be cautious as to the conclusions drawn, the existence within the Cornovian area, even though absent in the southwestern uplands in which there is an isolated example (fig. 5.7) may prove that they may not have played any significant role in the landscape of the later Iron Age and Romano-Cornovian periods. 'Relatively few pit alignments seem to have been created after the early Iron Age' (Oswald 2011, p.4). Although the above example of connecting pits as a single linear may conceal the reality of the true number that existed due to such modification. Figure 5.7 shows the relative isolation of the southwest uplands at the southern extremity of the Cornovian territory. The distribution map also shows the bias of pit alignments to the north against the cross ridge dykes or linears of the southwest uplands. This bias is enigmatic since survival on the upland areas of traditionally pasturage, and generally land that is more marginal, would be expected. The problem here is one of interpretation as to the exact function of this monument type (Rylatt and Bevan 2007, p.221, Thomas 1991, p.77); and, since this a type of structure that seems to have been built since the late Neolithic, would suggest a continuity of function or the possibility of different functions which evolved converging on an adaptable structure which serves these functions equally. Spratt notes that:

‘pit alignments are often associated with linear earthworks, and seem to have been constructed within about the same time-span.’

(Spratt 1993, p.141)

This is a significant point for the area of study. The linear earthwork survey of cross ridge dykes, discussed above, also revealed a series of five pits at the eastern termination of linear 2 (SO 3115 9888) (Fig. 5.16). On examination, pit1 seems to be slightly truncated by linear 2, suggesting that the pits are earlier. Pit 1 was measured to be 310cms E-W, 350cms N-S with a maximum depth of 80cms (Fig. 5.17). The pits are located just off the ridge to the east where the underlying solid geology is close to the surface, indicating that they were possibly dug at a point of lesser resistance close to the natural ridge.

Pit alignments are found in much of the British Isles, where they survive as cropmarks, subject to favourable conditions and occasionally as visible earthworks. The working hypothesis on the function of pit alignments is that they constitute a classification of boundary predicated on function (Barber 1985, p. Pickering 1992, Cunliffe 2005, p. 308). Function itself may be multifaceted in that their function may have been predicated on symbolic as much as economic and social purposes raising the cultural phenomenon of ritual (Rylatt, J. & Bevan, B. 2007, p.222, Vyner 1994, p. 7). The symbolic meaning of pit alignments is addressed by Thomas (1999, p.77) as they first appeared and were employed in the landscape of the later Neolithic, in which he considers them to have been:

‘...a symbolic resource which could be manipulated in a number of ways...’
and ‘...orienting and imposing a pattern on a landscape...’

(Thomas 1999, p.77).

That they represent a ritual landscape is also forwarded by Bradley (1991, p.168) and that they do not represent practical agricultural needs (Spratt 1993, p.115ff). I think the latter is significant in informing and establishing a structure upon the landscape, which

remained strongly influential throughout later prehistory. Rylatt and Bevan (2007, p.221ff) consider the significance that water played in the form and function of pit alignments. At 1-2 metres in width, readily identifiable from linear banks and ditches and filled with water for most of the year, dependant on proximity to the water table and hydrology of the land, they assert that these imply a

‘distinctive physical appearance...’ signifying ‘a particular class of landscape division’
(Rylatt and Bevan 2007, p.221)

the latter supported by Taylor (2007, pp. 61-64). From this, inference may be drawn on the imbued social and cultural meaning through which common communal interests were expressed and negotiated. Therefore, the separation of the functions of pit alignments may not be possible. These structures, whose function was culturally based on a complex of economic, social and political determinatives, must be considered as a holistic whole in those contexts. Therefore, their continuity in the landscape into the later Iron Age suggests that, ‘In the absence of definitive evidence...’ (Thomas 1999, p. 221), the Neolithic and Iron Age economies were comparable, and I would add certain social and locally communal interests had a continuity maintaining the relevance of this class of structure into the Iron Age. On this argument, they must be considered indicative of a complexed society and not simply as just agricultural boundaries.

The dating of pit alignments from the examining of their fills does indicate a difference in function from the Neolithic and from the Bronze Age to the end of the Iron Age. The fills show that the earlier pits were used to support posts while the later seemed to have been open, which identifies two distinct, although similar, structures at the level of survival; post alignments and pit alignments (Rylatt & Bevan 2007, p.220). Although, as stated, largely absent from the area of study, analysis of them (Rylatt & Bevan 2007, p. 219ff, Thomas 1999, p. 64, Wigley 2002, p. 158ff, Barber 1985, p.

149ff, Pickering 1992, p.137ff) demonstrates that they are considered in the context of a settled agrarian landscape as important structural elements. However, unlike linear earthworks they can be seen as permeable in that they demarcate land but do not constitute barriers to movement and as such may have as much to do with the ritual landscape. As pits, stated above, they would have retained water for much if not all of the year. The importance of water cannot be underestimated in a ritual landscape, as it is as important in a pragmatic economic landscape. The absence, therefore, on the uplands may indicate a fundamental difference in communal culture and agrarian practices in which pit alignments had little meaning or relevance, which seems to have applied to the valleys within the upland area. The implications of which, are that the communal interests show a divergence from the lowlands reflected in the divisions and delineation of the land. This, however, could be accountable to differences in practical agrarian practice based on local environmental differences. Yet such differences given in isolation could be based on cultural variations reflected in symbolism, belief and ritual Vyner 1994, p.6, Giles 2007, p.111, Rylatt and Bevan 2007, 222).

Primary cropmark and earthwork records held at the Historic Environments Record in Shrewsbury (Fig. 5.18) research data show a full and settled landscape, yet cultural differences, I further, can be detected in their relationship to the landscape that is to the south and west of the Severn valley the area in which the aceramic community is located. On this point, of the lack of Iron Age use of pottery and the significance of the River Severn are discussed in chapter seven.

5.5 Typology of Settlements

When considering the transition period as a whole, three types of rural settlement can be identified, enclosed, unenclosed or open and linear (Cunliffe 2005, p.275ff, Wigley 2007, p. 220ff, p.Taylor 2007, p.19). Of these the open and linear type can be identified

as Romano-British. However, the dominant form for the study area and in the Marches generally remains enclosed, although few have been subject to excavation. The material and artefactual evidence recovered shows that during the Roman period there is demonstrably a significant diminishment of finds recovered from rural settlements away from the urban settlement (White 2007, p.25). This has a profound significance in understanding the process of cultural, social and economic transition in not only the extent of Roman material culture away from the urban, and therefore, new market centres but also the typology of settlements as indicative of this process in which established social relationships functioned in a landscape as a process of reciprocal negotiation. Taylor notes, in his survey of Roman rural settlement, that linear system settlements are ‘...clear and distinct...’ in the landscape, (Taylor 2007, p.48), they are, however, absent in Shropshire. He also notes that this is true of Herefordshire and Staffordshire. The rarity of linear settlements and the ubiquity of enclosed settlements here, I assert, must be evidential of the pattern of settlement and indicative of the late Iron Age and Romano-British landscape (Fig.5.18)

The predominance of enclosed settlement pattern of the late Iron Age persisting into the Roman period is evidence for continuity: despite the political and administrative changes that defined the new province and determined the relationship with the indigenous population. That the favoured type of settlement was enclosed may not necessarily imply an isolated and introvert society or as ‘independent corporate social groups’ as categorized by Hingley (1984, p. 72ff), in contrast to his interpretation of open settlements as being encompassed by and structured on larger corporate groups suggesting a greater social integration and coherence as a defined tribal identity. The use of enclosed settlements must be interpreted from both the practical and symbolic perspective. An agrarian population must have had a direct relationship with its

landscape, which was an integral part of the culture of enclosure and the mentality that informed that relationship. Therefore, we have a typology of settlement, in the context of the informed landscape, received by the rural society that imbued it with cultural meaning and 'symbolic potential' (Davies 1988, p. 41).

The significance of cultural meaning of an enclosed settlement, in a rural context, coexisting in a landscape of many such enclosures and that the enclosures define domestic farms, allowing for enclosures with non-domestic functions, is that we have a fundamental element of, in our case, Cornovian society. If we therefore assume that as farms they were family based in which the members may be of an extended family, then we must consider that it possessed a social cohesiveness of affiliation through which the cultural and economic relationships were regulated. The effect of this would be a landscape of apparently isolated enclosures yet bonded settlement to settlement in a complexed kin system of familial, personal and social relationships, informing and reinforcing social and cultural identity by internal negotiation through a system of symbolic, personal obligation and material exchange, through which the economy functioned. Therefore, this system determined the structural relationship of the population within which the elite and hierarchical structures functioned in Cornovian society. The typology of enclosure, we must assume, was indicative on the degree and meaning of social cohesion, integration and identity.

5.6 Morphology of Enclosures and Lineation

In establishing the principle type of settlement in the area of study and the Marches from the late Iron age into the Roman period was enclosed we must consider the form of enclosures. The morphology of the enclosures was the product of an organized and complexed society functioning at a communal level and that the variation on morphology is indicative of social significance. Further to this, the connection between

the morphology of enclosures and the lineation is itself imbued with cultural meaning.

Whimster (1989) recognized nine basic forms of rural enclosure based on his aerial survey of the Marches (Fig. 5.3) (Wigley 2007). The nine basic forms are predicated on univallate enclosures from which he developed three categories; curvilinear, hybrid and quadrilateral, in which in the latter he includes polygonal. Establishing these three categories they are subjected to sub-classification based on vallation or varying degrees of lineation, whether bivallated and multivallated: which is not necessarily related to the internal area. Observation of the topographical context suggests that the morphology is a combination of topographical and social determination and function, although without extensive internal evaluation this is not possible to demonstrate or prove.

The Whimster (1989, Fig. 19) survey consisted of 449 sites of which 335(74.6%) are univallate; of these 201(60%) are quadrilateral. The bivallated accounted for 83(18.48%) enclosures of which 43(51.8%) are quadrilateral. The numerically smallest category is the multivallated of which there are 31(6.9%). A departure here from the dominant quadrilateral form is that 23(74.2%) are either curvilinear or hybrid. The quadrilateral form accounts for 25.8% of the sample. These figures correspond with the sample of enclosures of 98 for the area of study the national grid reference NGR SO. These are 78 (79.50%) for univallate, 14 (14.28%) for bivallated and 6, (6.12%) for multivallate. However, the system of enclosure classification devised and applied by Whimster holds true for his area of study. Wigley draws attention to an unpublished study of the adjacent Montgomery area, Montgomeryshire Small Enclosure Project, by Silvester and Britnell of the Clwyd – Powys Archaeological Trust (Wigley 2007, 178).

Although not in the category of ‘hillfort’, the majority are univallate while 25.38% of recorded enclosures are either bivallated or multivallated. The multilineation of enclosures suggests a function other than, or as well as, delineating or securing a farm

or a stock enclosure. Lineation represents considerable expenditure in time, effort, resources, and dependency on the availability of labour. The use of such labour suggests that at a time during the agricultural cycle time was available for this work. The agricultural cycle would have been a predominant demand on the Iron Age community (Grant 1989: 145-146, Parker Pearson 1996: 128).

...the agricultural cycle is seen to dominate and its concerns are displayed to the surrounding community...

(Williams 2003, p.20)

The time in constructing any given enclosure vallations would be presumed to depend on time and the number of physical labour available, and so any calculated estimate would not be valid without specific data, which is unavailable. However, as argued in 5.1 above, the enclosure of settlements can be seen as a socially bonding activity in which, through the development of familial, kin and hierarchical relationships, labour would have been available in a culturally symbolic display.

‘These enclosures represented individual farmsteads or similar groups of buildings forming ‘compounds’

(Hingley 1989, p. 55)

On the assumption that multivallate enclosures represent social status through structural display, the possibility must be considered that an obligation of labour may have been due based on perceived status. However if we consider that status based on received concepts of wealth will in time vary then this may be detected in the neglect or contraction of what are interpreted as high status sites. An example of this is the phases of the hill-slope enclosure at Collfryn, Powys that shows such a contraction (Wigley 2007 fig. 6).

Considering that three quarters of the enclosures are univallate, this can be interpreted as indicative of the social and economic status of the majority of the population and evidence of the general social structure. Multivallation, therefore, must be seen as an

example of localized demonstrations of wealth and status visually symbolized in the number of vallations and through familial and communal bonds and obligations (Barrett 1989, p.114). This system would provide the labour required, and in the process of construction, be a clear signal of status. However, the functional aspect of enclosures on security and the possibility of local conflict or incursions from beyond the local community must not be dismissed.

The validation of the latter hypothesis would only be possible from explicit evidence of conflict in context. Even if this were, wealth and status on this scale would then have been a significant in determining the number of lineations and that only 6.9% of enclosures are multivallated is, I believe, significant in identifying the elite families within the population. As a cultural process, the symbolic nature of lineation would be dependant on the maintenance of the vallations as a display of continuing status. The majority of enclosures suggest that this was not the case and the relationship between a secure agricultural enclosure for defence and security and symbolic communal bonding through kinship and obligations is problematic (Tilley 1994, p.16ff). An addition to this problem is synchronicity. Without detailed chronological evaluation of the enclosures, the extent of concomitance and the extent of settlement cannot be known. In consideration of this the significance, therefore, of lineation must be perceived as having a multiplicity of levels of meaning within Cornovian culture. A significant matter in the study and investigation of the rural environment and farming settlements are the social relationships and functional differences between the small enclosures and the large dominant hill enclosures. The connection here may be in the relationship between the minority of multivallate settlement hillforts and the majority of univallate settlements.

5.7 Area of Enclosures and Settlements

The excavation of enclosures in the West Midlands, and therefore the area of this study, has been very much dependant on developer funded work. This has had the effect of biasing the data to the river valleys and the roads while largely ignoring the agricultural hinterland, especially the uplands. This has also had the effect of biasing the evidence to Romano-British urban development, which is not the subject of this thesis, while research based on academic agendas has concentrated largely on the *Canabae*, *Vici* and *Villae*. Thus, evidence for the social and economic function of settlements is survey based. The problem here is that any study of transition; due to external influences on the culture and social structure of a community, at a material level, is inhibited by a poor knowledge of internal structures and material culture from finds that would indicate change. Chapter eight examines this as a series of case studies. The majority of enclosures have internal areas of between 0.2 to 0.4 hectares (Jones 1994, p. 15) while those of less than 1.2 hectares are classified by Jackson (Jackson 1999, p.197) as smaller hillforts.

The reclassification of the smaller hillforts as rural enclosures can only be achieved by giving an upper limit to settlement size, while allowing for topographical context, which I suggest is problematic without certain knowledge of the hierarchical structure and symbolic expressions of the society's culture. Therefore, from a social, cultural and political context, knowing and understanding the context is central to understanding rural enclosures as distinct from hillforts. This does not mean that we can safely assume that such variation for the internal areas of small enclosures defines agrarian settlements. The 0.8 hectares between 0.4 and 1.2 hectares provides a great scope for variability, which Jones notes; and that on social status alone size may not be indicative of status if one considers the possible significance of the large dominant hill enclosures

as central places of political and economic importance, which may have not been in permanent occupation due to their specific functions.

5.8 Locations and Spatial Distributions: Patterns in the Landscape

The location and spatial distribution of settlements in the landscape is essential to understanding how they exploited the landscape and related to each other. Therefore, topographical context in relation to altitude, aspect, slope, availability of water and the extent of exploitable land around each settlement in terms of soils and drainage determines the patterns of settlement in the landscape. The distribution of settlements and the distance between them is then determined by the topography, the productive agricultural quality of the land, access to water and the wealth of each settlement in terms of land tenure and land held as status indicator. The analysis of nearest neighbour distribution as an explanation for patterning can be calculated by the following:

Observed mean nearest neighbour analysis: $d = \frac{\sum d}{n}$

where $\sum d$ is the measured distance between two sites and n is the number of observed sites; therefore, the mean nearest neighbour distance for a random arrangement is:

$$d_{\text{ran}} = \frac{1}{\sqrt{p}}$$

where p is the number of sites N_s divided by the area A is: $p = \frac{N_s}{A}$

Thus the mean nearest neighbour distribution is $\therefore d_{\text{ran}} = \frac{1}{\sqrt{\frac{N_s}{A}}}$

The major caveat here is that without absolute dating for each site the synchronicity of settlement cannot be known and that a proportion of sites may be Neolithic or Bronze Age. Further to this without internal investigation, the continuity of a settlement remains unknown. For example, an abandoned settlement may become resettled later in the Iron

Age or Roman period. As the settlements at Bromfield and Lower Down in the Kemp Valley, demonstrate (Chapter 8). However, a population that is exploiting the agricultural potential of the environment to the limits of population can be one in a state of tension in which the social equilibrium is in constant negotiation. Therefore, in considering settlement patterns in the landscape and so the spatial distribution, the topographical characteristics of settlement location must be considered.

There are several topographical elements that must determine the location of settlement under ideal circumstances. The ideal circumstances are those that do not necessitate the use of marginal land in conditions of social and economic stress based on population pressure and the availability of suitable land available. The principal topographical elements are the situation, altitude, aspect, slope and facet (Collens 1988, p.63). Soil classification is an important element of an environmental nature rather than topographical. The situation of any settlement may be determined by its topographical location. These can be classified as valley floors, which will include the rich and fertile alluvium flood plains and colluvium from the valley slopes. In addition, the availability of water will determine the type of agricultural practice, especially arable suitability and the population that such an environment can support. Here, also the proximity of a river provides valuable fishery resources and the possibility of navigation. Navigational suitability of a river could provide an exploitable means of communication beyond the locale and region for the purposes of trade. However, the proximity of a river with a settlement on a flood plain can be problematic when the river is in flood, with the risk of losing crops, stock and the flooding of the settlement itself. Cropmark evidence of flood plain settlement shows that elevated sites were chosen, which would minimize, although not prevent, the flooding of the settlement. Confinement of settlement activity to the flood plains of river valleys cannot be assumed within the tenure of land by

families or communities. However, the archaeological visibility of valley settlement will be, to an extent, concealed by the processes of sedimentation and colluviation (Noort 1996, p.18). The practice of transhumance must be considered a seasonal activity, the practice of which would have been predicated on the non-flood plain communities and the principle of commonality of tenure with agreed access to areas of the uplands (see Chapter 6.3).

Flood plain valley locations in many respects can be seen as places of low eminence and not necessarily prominent in the landscape. In contrast to these locations are those of high eminence. These can be seen to varying extents as prominent in the landscape to the extent that this was deliberate for purposes of the display of status and prestige. Within their topographical context the larger enclosures are known for their locations on the tops of hills, even if that may be a low hill on a plain; for example Hen Dinas, near Oswestry, which is located on the Cheshire-Midlands plain. Prominent enclosures of high eminence have therefore been interpreted as settlement of high status and prestige (Cunliffe 2005, p. 251, Darvill 1987, p.133 Stanford 1971, p.48). However, places of high eminence include hilltops, promontories, ridges and plateaus. The prevailing opinion has been to classify the small enclosures in such contexts as small hillforts (Stanford 1971 p. 47ff, Hogg 1965, p.109ff). The implication of this was to relegate rural settlement to the low lands, plains and valley floors, which ignored the viability of upland soils and hydrology for both arable and pasture. Such a hypothesis also presumes that the socio-cultural elite assumed a state of separation from the general population. The understandable bias and predilection to identify elevated enclosures as hillforts regardless of their size can be seen in figure 5.2, which demonstrates the extent of the hillfort dominated zone in the context of enclosed settlements, unenclosed settlements and villages and strongly defended settlements (Millet 1990 p.16).

The definition of what hillforts were, in accordance with their function and relationship with other enclosures, may be better understood if all enclosures by the late Iron Age were seen as socio-economic settlements of varying degrees of area which may not be indicative of status in which the larger prominent enclosures may not have been permanently occupied according to their function.

5.9 Conclusion

This chapter has considered the complexed development of the landscape informed by the primary socio-economic needs of society in the context of established communities that by the late first century had a developed re-distributive economic system for exchange that coincides with the developed hillfort zone which persisted in the Cornovian region until at least the end of the late Iron Age. The period of the first millennium B.C. was a time of the establishment of land tenure defined by linear earthworks as dykes and pit alignments tracing a development that began during the Bronze Age. Within this structured landscape, social structures were too developed and reinforced by the constant interplay of the re-negotiation of relationships that defined the culture in a state of socio-economic dynamic equilibrium. In this environment, the communities of the *Cornovii* worked the land in a mixed agricultural economy producing the necessities of life and engaging in systems of exchange through the social structure related to elite settlement and communal activities, especially the construction of major structures. How their relationship with the landscape was informed was as significant in its symbolism expressed through ritual and control of access as it was a practical agricultural landscape.

Chapter Six:

Agriculture: The Purpose and Function of Enclosures, their Cultural and Social Significance

6.1 Introduction

The dominant aspect for Iron Age communities would have been the relentless demands of the agricultural cycle which would have imposed an order and structure to the activities of the individual members of the community through which bonded relationships would have been based and reinforced by the necessity of co-operation encompassed by a commonality of language and culture in which there would have been shared social values. The surviving structural evidence, as we have seen, consists of the settlement enclosures, boundaries represented by linear earthworks and pit alignments imposing an order upon the landscape and the paths that facilitated trade and communication. Within this anthropogenic environment imposed on the natural was the production of the food, materials and artefacts necessary for the functioning of a complexed agrarian society (Chadwick 1997, p.7 Dark 2000, p.79, Hedeager 1992, p.206ff).

The palaeoenvironmental record, discussed in chapter two, demonstrated the production of cereal produced in the valleys within the upland region and that continued into the Roman period (Dark 1999, p.266), representing a continuity of population in which there seems to have been no significant or detectable disruption to the social order at the level of the agrarian settlements. Along with the palaeoenvironmental record (chapter 2) is the evidence from aerial photography (Horne 2009, p.1 ff), which suggests a populated landscape of farms and, presumably, agricultural enclosures in addition to the concentration of hillforts that dominate the region. There have been limited excavations of these enclosures, including my own contribution (chapter 8), yet

for an understanding of the material basis of the Iron Age communities within the area of study I will consider the conditions that facilitated a settled landscape.

To write a history of the period of transition from the late Iron Age into the Roman an archaeological approach still, I believe, remains the only means of understanding the culture and communities of Britain. Even though it is at this time, that Britain emerges from prehistory in historical texts these are not true Geographies or Ethnographies seeking to explore and explain the peoples on the margins of the Roman world and at best merely hint at what was not recorded (Millet 1991, pp. 17-18). The principal texts that have survived, we must accept the probability that many have not, come from Julius Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* V. 14, Tacitus, *Agricola* 12 and Strabo, *Geographica*, , i.e. 55 BC to AD 100 , of which Caesar and Tacitus were not writing ethnographies. However, these sources, relating to the late Iron Age and early Roman period, give little of any substantive aid in Iron Age studies since that was not the authors' intention and what we are reading are descriptions of the other, non-Roman for an educated Roman male reader. Caesar's account informs us that the:

'Ex his omnibus longe sunt humanissimi qui Cantium incolunt, quae regio est maritima omnis, neque multum a Gallica differunt consuetudine. Interiores plerique frumenta non serunt, sed lacte et carne vivunt pellibusque sunt vestiti.'

(Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* V. 14)

I cannot doubt that people of the late Iron Age interior consumed milk and meat, (Copleya Berstana, Dudda, Strakerb, Payne, Evershed 2005, pp.485-503) and some wore skins, and in this Caesar was not wrong, however, it is far from the whole picture revealed by the archaeological record. Tacitus gives a little on the agricultural qualities of Britain in general, and a reference to the climate and why certain Mediterranean crops will not grow:

‘Solum, praetor oleam vitemque et cetera calidioribus terris oriri sueta, patiens frugum, fecundum. Tarde mitescunt, cito proveniunt: eadem utriusque rei causa, multus humor terrarum coelique.’

(Tacitus, *Agricola* XII)

Here I am in agreement with Albarella (2007 p. 390) in that he gave the German people an ethnographic description in the *Germania* that he wholly fails to do with Britain, although he does mention some of the material resources such as gold and silver. The Germanic situation, however, cannot simply be translated into a British culture of cultures. Tacitus, one must consider, was writing about his father-in-law, Gaius Iulius Agricola, *Legatus Praetorius* in Britain from A. D. 78 to 84 (Mattingly 1970 p. 16). On natural resources the Greek Geographer Strabo (IV.5.2), in the late first century B. C., thus prior to the conquest of Britain, refers to exports of grain, hides, cattle, gold, silver, thoroughbred hunting dogs and slaves expanding a little on Caesar’s information (Salway 1993 p. 8). What little can be gleaned from these sources is the social and economic significance of domesticates for Iron Age communities. Therefore, ultimately it is to the archaeological record we must rely and which we must acknowledge is far from complete. Research on the societies of northwest Europe, as a source of regional study, provide important evidence on Iron Age societies, processes of change and continuity, and the effect of Roman hegemony, even for those societies who did not come under direct Roman governance i.e. Hedeagar (1992, p.180ff) and Audouze and Buchsenschutz (1991, pp. 152ff).

6.2 Arable

The soils, often found in the upland regions of Britain, can be of limited quality thus marginalizing the land. This marginality then tends to make the communities to be dependant on pastoralism as the basis of the economy (Piggott 1958 passim; Rivet 1958 passim). However, when considering the effects of climatic change through the first

millennium BC (Dark 2000 p.79), the propositions of a general abandonment of many areas of upland (Baillie 1995, Burgess 1985, p.145), based on the evidence discussed above, must be considered as a period of agrarian adjustment according the changing conditions. Challenges to the abandonment hypothesis have been made by Tipping (2002, p.16), Young and Simmonds (1995, pp.5ff) and supported by the conclusion of Dark (2006, p.1391). Arable practices have been shown to have a greater consideration from an arable perspective. More detailed considerations of the evidence have concluded that arable agriculture was much more significant in upland regions than had been previously thought (Haselgrove 1984, p. 9ff van der Veen 1992, p.127ff). Palaeoenvironmental evidence (Dark 2000, p.52ff) and the results of excavation of Iron Age settlements, including hillforts, (Cunliffe 2005, p. 407ff, Coles & Minnitt 1995, 193ff) and experimental research on yields (Reynolds 1979, p.5) have shown the potentiality of the extent and diversity of food available to the Iron Age population.

In the pre-historic British context, cereals, which were fundamental to the establishment of a settled and ordered agrarian environment leading to the complexed social structures associated with social identity, prevalent was the cultivation of wheat, specifically *Triticum monococcum* (Einkorn) with the initial development of the Neolithic and later *Triticum dicoccum* (Emma) becoming the dominant cereal. By the first millennium BC, these were being replaced by *Triticum spelta* (Spelt). The reason for this change can be attributed to spelt being an autumn sown seed and resilient to damp and the harsher conditions of winter, obviating the need for long storage from mid summer to spring, whether in standing granaries especially pits (Alcock 2001, p.17, Reynolds 1979, p.63 van de Veen & Jones 2006, p. 224) which to an extent may have been attributed to progressive climate change since the second millennium BC climatic optimum (Gearey, Charman & Kent 2000, p.504). Recognition of a more resilient and

hardy strain of wheat in a changing climate with the establishment of tenureship, growing population and a more rigid social structure based on the relationship with landscape would have allowed previously uncultivated land being put into production.

Expansion, whether by necessity or opportunity, would have itself raised problems of land management in terms of fertility. In addition, cultivation further from the settlements in the development of an outfield system becomes increasingly more physically demanding in moving labour, sufficient labour and the means of moving materials, produce and manure. The difference here may be distinguished in the palynology by the nature of weeds indicative of intensive and non-intensive cultivation; the non-intensive cultivation caused by the problems encountered by extensive use of previously uncultivated land.

Abandonment of uplands in many areas during the Iron Age may have been due to a consequence of further climate deterioration and subsequent soil deterioration because of the difficulties of soil management on increasingly marginal land (Gearey, Charman & Kent 2000, *ibid*, van der Veen and O'Connor 1998, p.127ff). On a wider geographical perspective local and regional variations of production patterns influenced by the pedology, based on the solid geology, drift, alluvium and colluvium, altitude and precipitation, and cultural diversities would have led to preferences as to the choice of cereal. This meant that Spelt was not necessarily the only cereal. In the assemblages of southwest and north of Britain Emmer continued to be significant (Jones 1996, p. 29, van der Veen, M. and Jones, G. 2007, p. 426).

Significant to the late Iron Age and the subsequent transition into the Roman period can be seen the general adoption of *Triticum aestivum*, *Triticum durum* and *Triticum compactum* (Bread and Club Wheats). The advantage of these two varieties is that they are easier to thresh and so reduce the transportable weight by separating the grain from

the chaff (van der Veen & Jones 2007, p.422). However, this general adoption is geographically heterogeneous with variations observed at different sites. As shown in chapter 2, the palynological record reveals a wider diversity of cereals and other cultivars. Reynolds has shown; through the Butser Iron Age farm experiment in Hampshire, that the methods used in the Iron Age for the cultivation of crops, specifically *Triticum dicoccum* and *Triticum spelta*, yields can be comparable with current yields without the use of chemical pesticides and fertilizers, in excess of 2.5 tonnes and able to average 2 tonnes per hectare (Reynolds 1979, p.61)

Hordeum vulgare (Six Row Barley) and *Hordeum distichum* (Two Row Barley) a spring or autumn crop, was common by the transition period. Again, it is easily threshed thus ergonomically more efficient to produce, capable of being cultivated on uplands and on a variety of soils (Dark 2000, p.36). The uses of chaff from threshing and *Hordeum distichum*, it is postulated, were for fodder and chaff for fuel (van der Veen & Jones 2006, p.220). *Avena* (Oats) remains problematic in the study of cereal production. The evidence on Iron Age sites is specifically of the wild variety *Avena fatua* and may not represent a cultivated crop having been a weed at this time, unlike *Avena sativa*, which with *Secala cereale* (Rye), is represented in the Roman period. These two are tolerant of a variety of soil conditions and suitable for areas of land depleted of nutrients required for other cereal cultivation although *Avena* favours moister and milder conditions than other cereals while *Secale* grows in acidic and drier soils (Dark 2000, p.85).

Within any agricultural system the realisation of eventual soil depletion, particularly nitrogen depletion, can be obviated through the cultivation of nitrogen fixing food plants. Evidence for the cultivation of the legumes *Pisum Sativum* and *Vicia faba minor* (Peas and the Celtic bean respectively) has been identified from Iron Age and Roman

sites, which (Reynolds 1979, p.65, Jones 1996, *ibid*) would have been vital to maintain the fertility of the soil. Evidence of crop rotation and the cultivation of non-cereal crops from organic remains recovered from sites such as Barton Court Farm, Oxfordshire of *Vicia* and *Linum usitatissimum* (Flax) have been found, which, in the context of a corn drier seem an unlikely coincidence unless they were cultivated together (Dark 2000, p.85) The problem with the survival of plant evidence preserved as charred remains is poorly represented in the Cornovian area and therefore the area of study (Rouffignac, de, 1995, p.58ff).

Although there are many edible plants, identified from the pollen record, associating them with human cultivation and use remains problematic. The presence of pollen, in itself, cannot necessarily constitute evidence, even the presence of charred remains may be argued to have been incidental, yet they remain common on sites from the Iron Age through the Roman period. Many plants would have been present as weeds within the crops of cereal and many would have been gathered on seasonal basis such as herbs, which could be dried and kept throughout the year (Reynolds 1979, p.67)

Plant species such as *Vicia sativa* (Vetch), *Chenopodium album* (Fat Hen), *Convolvulus arvensis* (Black Bindweed), *Sinapis arvensis* (Pernicious Charlock) and *Bromus secalinus* (Chess or Broome) have been identified all of which exist as weeds, but also the possibility of wild cabbage, turnip, black mustard, pignuts, salad burnet, nettles, dandelions, turnips, wild lettuces, parsnips and carrots, nuts, berries and wild fruits also having being used (Jones 1996, p.31, Reynolds 1979, *ibid*, Jones 1981, p. 95ff,). Watercress is a potentially hazardous plant due to the presence of liver fluke '*Fasciola sp*' (Pichler, Pümpin, Brönnimann, Rentzel 2014, p.63) but as a soft tissue disease it is not represented in the archaeological record; see below on pasturage and sheep. The potentially rich sources of nutrition would have provided an alternative to

the primary cereal crops. Buck Wheat ‘*Fagopyrum esculentum*’ for example could have been used for bread or an animal fodder and as an insurance against primary crop failure (Reynolds 1979, p.67).

Food storage is a problematic and vital technology for the preservation of food, the need of which can be seen to reflect the social relationships at the level of the household or family and communal. Figure 6.1 shows the distribution of the two types of grain storage, four- poster structures and pits. In the area of study, it is the four-poster structure that has been identified to date. They are dominant in the southeast and the Marches, showing a correspondence to the distribution of hillforts, although storage pits are incidental with a proportion of the area (Reynolds 1979, p.71 ff on pits). Four-poster examples are known in Yorkshire such as at Staple Howe (Cunliffe 2005, p.308). To store grain in this way requires it to be dry and threshed before storage, thus it is afforded protection against heat, moisture and vermin, although it will not be immune to the saw-toothed beetle and weevils, which have been identified (Dark 2000, p.125). An example of this type of storage is probably Hut 2 recorded at the excavation of the enclosure at Bromfield, Shropshire (Stanford 1995, p. 110) as discussed in chapter 8. The advantage of raised structures, if that is what they were, allows the free flow of air around and especially under the structure keeping the grain dry and isolated from animals.

In addition to the above many plants would have been exploited from natural sources and managed as such to provide materials for technological purposes. Within the area of study and recognized of the *Cornovii* is the apparent lack of pottery, except for the briquetage pots for salt production (White and Barker 1998, p. 34-35) (see chapter seven). If this were largely the case then alternative materials would have been required. This situation is found in other parts of upland mid to southern Britain, for example the

central uplands of the Pennines.

6.3 Iron Age Pastoral and Husbandry Practice

‘The archaeological patterns of a pastoral area should be different from those produced by much more mixed farming. In the latter case, the need to separate crops and animals produces more complicated and nucleated patterns with stock enclosures around central huts from which droveways lead through an area of fields to pastures beyond. In a pastoral area we can expect not only sparser settlement but simpler patterns; one or two huts in a simple enclosure, isolated stock enclosures, and ranch boundaries.’

(Ramm 1980, p 31).

Unlike the evidence for arable agriculture, coming from the palynological record and a study of known exploitable plants, animal husbandry and the evidence for pasturage and the products of animal rearing become problematic without the evidence of excavated remains from identified Iron Age and Romano-British settlement sites.

Although arable practices were a part of the mixed agricultural economy the unusual material status of the *Cornovii* west of the Severn and occupying the uplands suggests that horses, cattle, pigs and sheep, for example, could have represent a very tangible form of wealth (Chapter 1). Spratt makes a significant observation on the holloways as evidence for pastoralism, which was evident on Stapley Hill with reference to linears 12 and 13, (Chapter 5):

‘Pastoral activity is indicated by the deep hollow-ways which are found almost invariably linking the cairnfields to the neighbouring valleys, and occasionally by pastoral enclosures.’

(Spratt 1993, p.111)

The area Stapley Hill and the adjacent Cordon Hill is known for the existence of cairns (CPAT Undated p. 2). Cattle also represent the means of heavy draught for ploughing and the transportation of produce. The symbolic meaning of animals can be seen to have had a strong cultural and social influence as attested in the zoomorphic expressions in La Tène Art (Megew 1990, *passim*, Green *et al* 1995, p.366ff) and a tangible survival of the intangible.

The conditions for preservation of bone in the soil of the area of study is generally favourable, as was attested in my excavation of test trench 3 at Down Farm (DFTT03/2012, Chapter 8) as part of the field research for this thesis, with bone associated with the early farmhouse being recovered, suggesting a 17th century date. However, as with the recovery of pollen, which was generally well preserved, the problem with the direct evidence is that few sites have been evaluated by excavation and so there is a significant gap in the evidence. Where there has been excavation, for example, the excavation at Bromfield, discussed in chapter 8, it was noted that the valley soil conditions are acidic and that animal bone had not survived. The evidence from this site indicates the slaughtering and butchering of animals and the processing of the carcasses with respect to the evidence of salt for the preservation of skins and meat. Here the abundance of boiling stones which Stanford notes (Stanford 1995, p.129) contrasts with the hillforts such as Croft Ambrey, Herefordshire. With such scant evidence suggestive of the pastoral practices supported by the evidence and interpretation of the linear structures, surviving in the landscape, a regional comparative here may advance our understanding of the south Shropshire hills. Although much work has been done examining Iron Age society in the south and southeast of Britain, especially by Cunliffe on Danebury hillfort and the lowland Wessex environment, attention has also been given to the Thames Valley regions. The results of these surveys cannot be assumed to translate to the north and west upland areas of Britain, which are considered marginal based on the core-periphery model.

Examination of similar upland regions away from the south of Britain, such as the southern Pennines uplands may offer an understanding to the food production and subsistence strategies for the communities. Wherever research is conducted, the representation of faunal remains is determined by the formation processes of any given

site and the state of organic preservation. This means that the smaller skeletal remains of neonates, juveniles and small animals such as chicken and fish tend to be preserved poorly; and when they are recovered, the sampling is too small for meaningful statistical purposes (Hambleton 1999, p.227). The faunal assemblages of central and southern Britain have been reviewed by Albarella (2007, p. 389ff). Again the problem here is that the western uplands are not included thus resulting in a dearth of data on this area.

As he says:

‘It is often pointed out that our view of the Iron Age is strongly biased towards central and southern Britain... This bias also applies to the study of animal bones.’
(Albarella 2007, p. 290)

As a result, the concentration of studies decreases from the north and northwest towards the south. Where studies away from the south have occurred they have been Roman urban centres of population and military sites, especially along Hadrian’s wall (Dobney 2001, p. 69). This situation also reveals biases in the different faunal assemblages distinguishing civilian and military sites. Here Dobney raises the matter that the species identified on Roman military sites in Britain show a frequency of cattle, which is a native characteristic rather than the porcine evidence expected of military sites. This variation in diet shows an adoption of a northwestern European diet in that the usual consumption of bacon is not frequent. Thus, the problem with identifying and understanding Iron Age husbandry and the particular practices, which would have had an influence on informing identities, remains problematic. The problem then is the viability of regional studies, in which the significant assemblages have come from the Wessex area and where significant quantities have been recovered to allow meaningful evaluation: then applying the data (Albarella 2008, p.1829), with reservations to areas, such as the south Shropshire Hills; in an attempt to reconcile the observed human landscape of the Iron Age. Without extensive investigations into the settlement sites,

this remains the only method of applying faunal evidence to the area in order to interpret and understand its function in the context of how the communities inhabited the landscape on which environmental and economic factors inevitably exerted an influence on their responses both socially and culturally. The caveat here is that generalizations are made about the Iron Age and subsequent Romano-British rural economy based on extrapolated regional studies or, in the case of the area of study, to interpolate the data on a largely poorly researched area. However, the general consensus is that a pastoralism may have predominated within a mixed agrarian economy. Therefore, to complement the available evidence with interpolated data must assist our understanding of seemingly insular localities.

From the evaluated Iron Age and early Romano-British faunal assemblages we can be certain that cattle, sheep and pigs constituted the primary animals for production in Britain (Albarella 2007, pp. 392-393, Reynolds 1979, p. 47, Dobney 2001, p.74). On a comparative study of faunal assemblages over central and southern Britain, Albarella has produced statistically significant data on sheep, cattle and pigs. His samples of identified species (number of identified species, NISP) taken as a whole for the Iron Age amount to: sheep 29,602, cattle 34,339 and pigs 12,477. The quantity for the late Iron Age for these three groups is sheep 13,904 (49.95%), cattle 9,134 (32.81%) and pigs 4,799 (17.24%), a total of 27,837 identified specimens. These are then compared with the early Roman period, thus crossing the period of transition: sheep 13,862 (32.25%), cattle 21,882 (50.90%) and pigs 7,241 (16.84%) a total of 42,985 identified specimens. From this, it can be seen that there was a decrease in sheep by 17.7% an increase in cattle by 18.09% while pigs decreased by a marginal amount of 0.40%. Albarella (2007, p. 392ff, Table 1) shows the sample sources by location, date, settlement type from which they were recovered and the absolute sample quantities

recovered with the percentage analysis.

Compared with the late Iron Age it can be seen that there was a marked increase in cattle production during the early Roman period. Albarella (2007 p. 397) also notes, not reproduced here, that the production of cattle was even greater during the early to mid Iron Age and enters the caveat that the samples for the early to mid and late Iron Age are therefore from two chronological sample sets from different locations and that none were from multi-phase sites and so there is no direct comparability. However, he concludes that the evidence provides a clear indication for the importance of sheep by the late Iron Age. Yet, in the upper Thames valley, cattle seem to have remained the predominant domesticate species, which is considered to be due to the dryer conditions. This last point may prove to be significant in a study of settlement enclosures of the south Shropshire Hills. The altitude and geographical context with the Cambrian massif has created a wetter climate than that found in the central Midlands, and East Anglia, while the precipitation of the south and Wessex area, although comparable with the Marches area, must be seen from the effects of the geology where the higher and drier chalk landscape affects water retention and drainage, hence the suitability of sheep in the downlands of Wessex as discussed in chapter 2.

Studies on faunal assemblages have been conducted, however, these show that based on the number of identified species sheep and cattle are comparable. Within this analysis, there are regional variations, which, as already stated, can be attributed to the geology, pedology and hydrology. For example, the sites producing samples in the Wessex area demonstrated a greater proportion of sheep with percentages ranging from 40% to 70% thus a mean of 55%, while cattle were measured at between 20% and 50% with a mean of 35%; representing a lower figure for cattle as can be predicted from the pasturage conditions. From this analysis, pigs represented only 0% to 20%, a mean of

10%. The sampling results, when analysed regionally, produced statistically larger ranges for each domesticated from which was concluded that there are no geological or topographical correlates (Hambleton 1999, p.44). Cunliffe's analysis (2005, 415ff) shows that in the same area, for the later Iron Age sheep represented 43%, cattle 27% and pig 16% of identifiable species. The variance here emphasises the problems of sampling methodology and the statistical significance of the number of samples recovered. This conclusion seems to be affirmed by the analysis of other regions including the upper Thames Valley and East Anglia that intra-regional variations representing micro-environmental conditions were significant, for example, in the Wessex region, the lowland and river valley locations, cattle representations were greater while sheep predominated on the downs. Albarella (2007 p.394) also notes that during the late Iron Age sheep as a proportion of domesticates increases for both the Midlands and East Anglia. For the former sheep and cattle ranged from 30% to 60% , the latter showed that sheep ranged from 10% to 50% (mean 30%) while cattle were from 40% to 80% (mean 60%) (Hambleton 1999, p. 47). The determinants affecting the proportions of domesticates may be predicated on more social and cultural factors. Within the social structure of any Iron Age community and on a higher tribal or intercommunal level, matters of prestige, status and wealth may have been significant. Thus, cattle, although relatively expensive to maintain (Albarella 2007 p. 395), as mentioned above, may have been measures of wealth and of greater importance than sheep and pigs thus complicating the archaeological interpretation without understanding the contextual status of any given settlement . This is an intriguing hypothesis when considering a region such as the *Cornovii* and the upland areas, which lack the representative studies to address the problem.

As can be seen the pig represents a relatively low proportion of domesticates, which

had declined further by the early Roman period. This is notable since the pig is only kept as a source of food, unlike sheep where wool and milk are important components of their production and cattle, which provide hide and substantial bones. As a natural forager and woodland animal, pigs are relatively easy to keep and as such have diversity in their diet and can occupy a general environment, which makes them very adaptable. This allows their diet to include carrion, invertebrates, tubers, fungi and seeds, for example acorns. The indirect exploitation of these natural resources results in a source of both meat and manure (Hamilton, J., Hedges, R. E. M., & Robinson, M. 2009, p. 999). Yet their lower numbers could be indicative of their meat being considered a food of status, which has been noted on sites interpreted as of a higher status. Although the symbolic and ritual status of pigs may have played an important part in the affirmation of status through conspicuous consumption, the local environment may have also determined the numbers that could be raised. For example, at Eldon's Seat, Dorset they represented 4% as the upper number and on three sites on Cranbourne Chase, Wiltshire varied with a range of 1%, 0% and 9%. The highest proportions found were at Hawk's Hill, Surrey at 22% and at Highfield near Salisbury, Wiltshire, 33%. The variation on these sites may have been due to the availability of pannage and the proximity to woodland on clay soils in river valleys (Cunliff 2005 p. 417). These last two compare well with 20% of recovered bone deposits proved to be pig at Stanwick, Yorkshire dating to the late Iron Age (Haselgrove 1984, p.18)

The imperative to produce certain domesticates, as a cultural phenomenon, can be associated with ritual and communal activities on auspicious occasions, within the ritualized agricultural cycle (Vyner 1994, p.7). In this context, sacrifice and feasting can be interpreted as a communal bonding activity in which the community also re-establishes and reinforces its sense and possession of place within the landscape. In

addition, the consumption of particular domesticates such as cattle, because of their expense and value as draught animals, may have been practiced by certain peer groups within Iron Age society for reasons of establishing inclusion while excluding those who were deemed not to belong to that peer group. The animal of choice for such reasons seems to vary on a regional basis probably reflecting cultural preference, environmental and economic influences (Albarella 2007, p.394, 2008, p. 1829).

Under representations of species are the non-domesticates such as boar, deer and hare. The reasons for this situation are not established, however, there could have been culturally determined proscriptions on hunting certain animals, that hunting was a reserve of the élite, similar to the hunting practices of the mediaeval nobility, or that certain animals were held sacred which resulted in a complete prohibition on them as game or that hunting was restricted to certain significant times in the year (Albarella, 2008, p. 1829).

Farming practices may be deduced by analysing the age of death of the identified specimens. There are several reasons for why and when animals were slaughtered at certain ages. First, is that they may have been bred principally for their meat by which hides and bones are a secondary product (Maltby 1996, p. 20). Second, if they have been individuals kept for breeding and have reached a non-viable breeding and milk producing age or in the case of cattle can no longer be used for draught and therefore not worth maintaining. Third, slaughtering of excess stock at the end of the agricultural cycle, before winter, when it may not be possible to maintain too many. This could produce an excess of meat, which would have to be processed for preservation. This could involve cooking in large pits, as found at Bromfield, discussed in chapter 8, and salting as a preservative. Salt would also have been used in the fellmongering of hides, an important commodity found within the Cornovian region. The analysis of the wear

on teeth has indicated that pre-winter slaughtering for the late Iron Age was performed for a given year's lambs. Generally, bone assemblages account for the majority of deaths occurring between 6 months to a year old (Albarella 2007, p. 394, Hambleton 1999, p.70). A proportion of these might have been due to natural deaths of those perishing in their first winter. This initially seems contradictory for the production of meat, which requires a slaughtering age of sheep from between 1.5 to 3 years (Grant 1984, p. 106), beyond this they would be kept for wool, milk and as with all domesticates a valuable source of manure. Although as with suckling pigs, lamb might have been seen in terms of a delicacy as a display of affluence or conspicuous consumption.

There is unfortunately a great variation from different sites, which subjects the data to both a preservation and limited investigative site bias. This has been introduced through, as yet, the general sampling being too small and that the samples are revealing differences in site function and status. Following the seasonal slaughter, the remaining sheep, in smaller and more manageable flocks, especially the pregnant ewes, were likely to have been folded within proximity to, or in settlement enclosures. Significant sites such as Danebury reflect, from the bone assemblages, of whom sheep were the highest proportion identified at 60%, the neighbouring enclosure settlements that show from the neonatal assemblages for sheep and cattle, that births occurred in proximity to it (Cunliff 2005, p. 427, Grant 1984, p.107). This is contradicted by Hambleton (1999, p.70) who concludes that lambing was not in proximity due to the small proportion of infant mandibles.

Mortality data is revealing in the indications of husbandry practice in terms of death and slaughtering. The production of milk, wool, meat at its optimal quantity and quality, hide for leather, traction and maintaining stock for breeding would have necessitated a

viable survival rate beyond the first three years. As an indicator of production priorities comparisons of sites such as Market Deeping, Barrington and Ashville compared with West Cotton, a mediaeval site, it can be seen that wool production was not a significant priority (Albarella 2007, p. 395 Fig. 2). This is in contrast with the slaughtering of pigs, which ranges from 6 to 30 months, certainly for the majority excepting those kept for breeding (Grant 1984, p.112, Hambleton 1999, p. 69, Maltby 1996, p. 23).

Ritual sacrificing is the slaughter of chosen individuals because of their age, especially at times of social and ritual feasting, where a display of status through conspicuous consumption becomes an important aspect of maintaining and reinforcing social and communal hierarchical relationships. On this, the complex interplay of social status based on cultural conceptions of wealth of which domesticates may have been a primary standard for the *Cornovii* facilitated socio-economic transactions in which the community created bonds of kinship through systems of marriage and births, with an emphasis on the importance of fertility and genealogical transmission and death. All these aspects of family and communal life are seen as reflected in the natural and agricultural cycle. However, as Albarella (2007, p. 395) indicates, husbandry practices seemed to have varied greatly on different sites, which I think, is based on specialized site functions and that we have yet to understand the functions of these different sites sufficiently to determine the social and economic conditions determining rearing and slaughtering regimes. He also notes that there seems to have been a decrease in the number of cattle in the later Iron Age, which may have been due to or a cause of social changes.

6.4 Conclusion

The typology and distribution patterns of the settlements are indicative of social and

economic development based on and informing communal relationships where people were bound by a communality of interests and culture vested in the land. Within the culture and expressed through behaviour of agricultural practice, diet, symbolism and ritual the community relationship within the landscape was maintained and reinforced through common interests of genealogy and inheritance of that landscape.

The problem with any study of a given area, considering the problems with the availability of evidence, is that Iron Age society was not homogenous, even at regional level, and that the heterogeneous distinctions are, at best, only vaguely resolved in the detected agricultural management and relationship to the land through which identity would have been expressed. The expression of identity would, before, during and after the transition period, if the transition period merely a part of a continuum of constant change, have been important whether the individual's or communities identity was, whether Briton, Roman, Romano-British, Romano-Provincial or non-Roman world.

Chapter Seven

Material Culture and Identity

7.1 Introduction

On the study of Iron Age material culture in Britain the identification of cultures and the extent of their influence, especially economic, can be seen in the geographical distribution of their products. Ceramics usually possess distinctiveness in fabric, form and decoration that allows them to be identified and in particular, to identify the culture that produced them, including the geographical range of their economic influence. However, although not devoid of material culture the *Cornovii* are considered unusual in their general lack of a ceramic aspect of their culture, which applies to the whole of the tribal territory. This has made the identification of settlement as being of the Iron Age problematic. Problematic still is the realization that this phenomenon seemed to have persisted until the end of the mediaeval period. On the apparent continuity of the aceramic tradition, prevalent west of the River Severn, which persisted into the post-Roman period can be summarized as follows:

‘To sum up, it is possible to see a reluctance to use pottery along the Welsh Marches from the end of the Roman period right up to the 12th century. When it was used it was often imported, even if only from the other side of the Severn, and its introduction can be seen to be linked to alien institutions...if no pottery, then what were these people using instead?’

(Vince 1988, pp.54-55)

Of course, the problem here again is a relative lack of extensive field surveys and excavations of settlement sites beyond the area covered by the Wroxeter Hinterland Project due to the geographically extensive rural nature of the area. However, this peculiarity need not be due to simply a lack of data but a real cultural trait due to the particular conditions and traditions of the rural communities whether upland or lowland dwellers.

The aceramic phenomenon seems to have been prevalent in the north and west of Britain creating a north-west to south-east dichotomy. This dichotomy seems to agree with the core-periphery socio-economic model (e.g. Cunliffe 1991p.123, Darvill 1987, pp.166-172), as applied to late Iron Age British societies, which has been based on the interpretation of the archaeological evidence to conclude that the tribes of the south and south-east of Britain were culturally and technologically more sophisticated than those beyond the periphery (Fig.7.1). This condition of apparent advancement might be attributed to their proximity to the near continent in which they came under Gallo-Belgic cultural influence through trade and possibly limited immigration demonstrated by the distribution of, for example, Gallo-Belgic C and E coins (Cunliffe 2005 p.127 and 131). Beyond the core-periphery, even where pottery was made and used, it might have been limited and utilitarian not being subject to trade or exchange. In the north of Britain pottery, where it occurred, is of a coarseware, or absent. The ceramic tradition of the *Cornovii*, in this respect, seems to have extended to briquetage, coarse salt containers produced in proximity to the salt production area of the salterns of the Cheshire plain, now, Northwich, Middlewich and Nantwich and traded mainly along the rivers. Briquetage has had a distribution as far as 80kms from their source into *Dobunni* territory, despite their own salt source at Droitwich, and into the east along the Trent valley (Moore 2007, p. 84, Knight 2007, p.196). Here the significance of salt in terms of cultural identity must not be underestimated. As a commodity it was a medium of exchange, vital to a non-monetary society engaging in trade beyond their territory, important for the processing and preservation of hides and food, for themselves and for livestock, but also of culturally symbolic significance as a tangible representation of their society, in which they could identify (Lane and Morris 2001, *passim*).

Within the area of study and of the *Cornovii*, in general such limited use of pottery

must have necessitated the use of alternative materials for the practicalities of cooking, storing and the consumption of food and drink. Whatever alternative material they were using by the late Iron Age, they were perishable which suggests wood, leather and basketry. Unless waterlogged such organic materials do not survive, an example of what might have been used comes from the excavations at the Glastonbury lake village on the Somerset levels. Due to the favourable conditions for preservation a wide range of wooden artefacts were recovered. Identified for domestic, craft and economic use, they consist of containers, ladles, baskets, a variety of handles, presumably for containers, bowls and cups, mallets, wheel components, a ladder and what have been interpreted as traps, also spoons and a bowl. The wooden bowl and containers recovered show intricate carvings of La Tène III style (Fig.7.2), which reflect the pottery equivalents. The survival of decorated material indicates that artefacts, other than pottery and metal, were decorated (Coles and Minnit 1995, pp.154-167).

Much of the literature cited here refers to the aceramic nature of Cornovian society as the indicator of culture by the lack of a certain materiality prevalent and an integral part of the cultural expression of other societies in Iron Age Britain. Of course, if the production of artefacts is an expression of identity other materials are, and must be, available for certain functional activities. The objects made from other materials as an alternative to ceramics, in the case of the *Cornovii*, might not have been a measure of impoverishment but a collective communal decision to express and reinforce their identity as a people who did not use ceramics. However, identity is a complicated cultural phenomena partly expressed through material culture but also by behavioural means. The Roman conquest and the imposition of urban centres in the landscape brought with them exposure to non-Cornovian and non-British material culture, which as we have seen seems to have been treated with an indifference by the mass of the

Cornovian population. The peculiarity of the *Cornovii* as seen from their material culture, which has informed the archaeological record, presents a society that was different. The archaeological record is then complicated by the arrival and introduction of aspects of an external culture. 'Cross-cultural regularities do not begin to exhaust the patterned behaviour that shapes the archaeological record. Many archaeological manifestations are idiosyncratic to a particular culture or to historically related ones.' (Trigger, 1995, p.452)

Thus, the processes of response and reciprocation are varied and produce apparent eccentricities in a society: when compared to other societies. The situation is confused when an attempt is made to isolate the cultural reasons from the economic as determinatives to certain behaviour, for example on the interpretation of material culture and society based on the Wroxeter Hinterland Project:

'it is self-evident that how pottery and glass were used in a household depended to a degree upon that household's status and geographical location. Those living in a town would find it much easier to buy pottery than those in the countryside.'
(White 2007, p.25)

Availability and the ability to transport relatively fragile and heavy material might have been a determining factor and since the *Cornovii* had not developed the use of pottery and glass objects, because of a tradition of using alternative materials, there was little or no incentive to adopt it. The acquisition of non-Cornovian material culture, where it is found, can be explained through incidental possession because the exchange or purchase was for the contents of the container. Thus, when the supply of the contents ceases, the containers are no longer acquired. White (2007) makes this point clearly on the cultural and economic reasons for acquisition and refers to the economic model suggested by Going, on the visibility of a society or community on its ability to acquire goods not produced by them-selves. The example for the application of this model came

about when requested to examine assemblages from the farming settlement of Bryn Eryr in the county of Gwynedd, North Wales. The conclusion, based on the dating of fine wares including Samian pottery indicated intermittent occupation, which was contradicted by the other archaeological and pollen evidence demonstrating continuous occupation, beginning prior to the Roman period and extending into the sixth century A.D. His conclusion was an example of economic variation explained by “a startling example of an economic phenomenon known as ‘Long Waves’”. The ‘Long Wave’ theory which is predicated on the economic availability to acquire goods, which during periods of impoverishment or any factors such as social and political changes that disrupt the supply and availability of those goods, causes the community to become effectively invisible (White 2007, pp. 26 and 139).

Within any dynamic economic system, equilibrium will be in a state of flux thus varying the availability, diversity and quantity of goods. Internal, as well as external determinants will affect the level of economic activity above the, or at the, basic sufficer economy. When measured as a wave against the base line of a graph the periods of active economic processes of exchange and acquisition appear above the base line, indicating the material visibility of any given society or community. On this principle, applied to pottery, acquisitions occur at the peak and then are used and conserved when availability and therefore replacement becomes problematic. (White 2007, pp. 26).

The determinants of material cultural production and exchange can be considered from the perspective of demographic theory (Cunliffe 2005 p.583, Dark 1995 p.178) which affects the economic activity of a society that will determine its ability to acquire goods. A society may seem stable over long periods to a point of conservatism. However, it is subject to environmental conditions, climate, weather, soil depletion and disease affecting agricultural production and material prosperity, as measured by that

society. Social stresses can begin to accumulate over time resulting in political, social and cultural change. The effect of the complexed interplay of these can affect the stability of the population, fluctuations of which informs its relationships with land, tenureship, economic productivity, and internal and external relationships causing renegotiation of social structures and stratification, and the general wealth of the society and communities. Demography is then a significant factor in the economic success and prosperity of a society, which, I suggest, imparts on the cultural visibility of the rural population of the *Cornovii*.

The most extensive landscape survey yet to be done in the southern territory of the *Cornovii* is that of the Wroxeter hinterland project, which has revealed a hitherto relative wealth of data on the material culture of the *Cornovii* relating to the period of transition and the further Roman period. This, with the records of the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS), which has been greatly enhanced due to the activities of the few metal detectorists who work with the archaeological community, cannot be underestimated in the contribution to our knowledge and understanding of an important period of political, social and economic change in late British pre-history. In addition to the related research of the project, the quantitative and qualitative evidence recovered was significant. What the project has emphasized is the contrast of material culture between the western north Marches region to the materially rich south eastern tribes of the late pre-Roman Iron Age (Millet 1990, Cunliff 2005). The significance of the survey, I think, has been to emphasize the continuation of a late Iron Age Cornovian landscape, which if true of the hinterland and the proximity of the settlements and population to *Viroconium*, must hold for an even more pre-Roman landscape continuing beyond the hinterland in the south Shropshire hills.

‘The landscape of Roman Shropshire was apparently dominated by small farmsteads with little evidence for central sites, large agricultural holdings, estates or estate centres. It appears to have been a very British, i.e. pre-Roman, landscape.’

(Gaffney and White et al 2007, Chpt.6, p.3)

The caveat here is made clear that we are presented with a lack of evidence because of rarity, which brings into question the social and cultural effect *Viroconium* had on the *Cornovii* even close to the city in which interaction would presumably have been at its greatest. Figure 5.3, shows the relationship of pottery finds with the enclosures of the area. As can be seen the concentrations do not coincide with the majority, indicating a lack of acceptance of pottery within the native traditional culture.

7.2 Finds from the Cornovian Territory

7.2.1 Introduction

It is not the aim of this thesis to reproduce a report on the surface surveys of the Wroxeter Hinterland Project (Gaffney and White 2007) but to draw on the findings, which follow, in an evaluation the extent to which Roman material culture entered into the rural landscape, its influence and the extent to which Cornovian culture continued. In addition, to draw upon the database of the Portable Antiquities Scheme in Shropshire and Cheshire. The principal materials that have survived in the archaeological record are ceramic and metal objects, including coins, but not at the levels that might be expected of south eastern sites. The rarity of metal objects associated with the *Cornovii* has been a significant factor in the conclusion that the tribe was materially impoverished. All weights, measures and references here, unless stated, are derived from *Wroxeter, The Cornovii, and the Urban Process, Vol. 1. Researching the Hinterland* (Gaffney and White 2007)

7.2.2 Coins

The *Cornovii* did not produce their own coinage although the region is not without

coinage. What is interesting in this is that the majority of Iron Age coins found have come from *Viroconium* or its proximity. The fact that Dobunnic coins have been found in *Viroconium* indicates that they were still in circulation following the foundation of the city and possibly still used as a means of exchange along with the introduction of Roman currency. The value must have been assessed on trading and used as a medium of material exchange for both gold and silver coins based on quantity and purity of the coins. The distribution of coins during the early Roman period can be interpreted as evidence of external trade and immigration of the *Dobunni* (Fig.7.3) in the wake of the conquest and exploiting the military establishments through their *canabae* and *vici*. The importance of coinage in the late Iron Age, as a product of a particular tribe is an indication and expression of political, cultural and social identity and cohesion. The legends on coins from the coin issuing tribes of the late Iron Age bear the names of the *oppida*, for example *Callev[a]*, *Verlamio[n]*, *Duno[vernum]* and *Camuloduno[n?]* (Millet 1990, p. 23). The possibility of the currency being used by Roman soldiers cannot be dismissed; whether legionary or auxiliary the coins would have had an exchange value and supplemented their own Roman issues.

White (2007, p.3) considers the early presence of *Dobunni* in *Cornovii* territory as ‘unusual but possible’ A consequence of the Roman conquest, in imposing a new order on the various tribes, would have been to weaken the internal relationships and bonds that adhered the strata, communities and individuals constituting the tribal society. This weakening would have released individuals perhaps formally specializing in a trade to leave their own tribal areas to trade independently. The new urban élite of other tribes would have had an interest in inter-urban trade with the previously martial inter-tribal competitive element removed because of Roman authority supported by a strong military based administration. That they might have had military protection would only

have been necessary if the *Cornovii* showed any hostility to the military presence, which might have been short lived since there is little evidence of serious armed resistance.

One of the fundamental aspects of Roman law that would have applied from the submission of the *Cornovii* and other tribes is '*Lex Iulia de rei publica*' making the bearing of arms a capital offence (Birley 1964, p. 12).

Evidence of trade from the *Dobunni* is indicated by Malvernian pottery found at *Viroconium*. Malvernian ware was also recovered at Down Farm, Lower Down indicating that by its re-establishment the occupants were acquiring pottery, of Malvernian and Severn Valley wares. This is also supported by an excavation at Tycoch Farm, near Llanymynech in Shropshire. The enclosure ditch was sectioned producing a single sherd of Malvernian ware with briquetage fragments and charcoal. However, Romano-British pottery such as Severn Valley ware was absent. The conclusion is that it was abandoned before the first century, yet if this is so the inhabitants were acquiring *Dobunnii* goods. Tentative the evidence may be, requiring caution, however, trade with the *Dobunnii* would be indicative of a willingness to engage with the near tribes and under certain circumstances to acquire non-Cornovian goods including pottery perhaps incidental with the contents as with the briquetage (Wigley 2002, Chpt 6, p. 242).

The British coins found at *Viroconium* or its hinterland are predominantly *Dobunni* of the western series; figures 7.4 and 7.5 show a *Dobunni* Stater found in north Shropshire and an issue of silver denomination from Weston-under-Penyard, Shropshire respectively, there has been an isolated find of a stater of the *Corieltavi* with the legend CORIO found at Pontesbury, and figure 7.6 is an example of a Herefordshire find recorded on the Portable Antiquities Scheme database, which is situated just on the plain at the northern edge of the south Shropshire hills. This coin is an example of the north eastern series from the area west of the Wash.

The origin of the late Iron Age coin issues is shown in figure 7.7. This indicates the geographical contexts of coins and the tribal spheres of control and social divisions. The production of coins can be seen as indicative of social organization, the range of the respective series defining their distribution might have been determined by the geography (Millet 1990, p. 15). The table 7.1 shows the proportions of gold, silver and copper alloy Iron Age coins found at Wroxeter and in the Shropshire landscape. The quantity of gold coins found outside Wroxeter is significantly greater. The majority of the gold coins were deposited before the foundation of the *vicus* and later city, which then created a focus for trade and settlement resulting in a concentration of coin deposits. Compared to the silver deposits, copper alloy coins seemed to have had a circulation similar to the gold series. This I further, would be indicative of minor trading transactions in which small sums were required. However, the numbers involved does not suggest any development of a true monetary economy and probably represents traders operating in *Viroconium* and its hinterland.

Table 7.3 shows considerable monetary activity prior to the Claudian invasion of A.D.43. This activity might not have been associated necessarily with coins being used by the *Cornovii*: by which I include mainly the elite, but the use of pre-Roman coins still in circulation during the early post Roman period. The graph shows a significant influx of coinage compared to the British mean in the late first century, early second century A.D. This suggests an initial rapid economic expansion in Shropshire, in southern Cornovian territory. Finds of Roman coins are found in and around known Roman / Romano-British settlements, and along the roads. Figure 8.8 shows a pre-Hadrianic Dupondius or As. This example was found at Down Farm, Lower Down (Chapter 8) within the enclosure, which also produced Malvernian and Severn Valley ware indicating a Romano-British site whose occupants, of unknown origin were

engaged in Romano-British material culture including the use of money of low value for minor transactions. The distance to *Viroconium* from Down Farm, using the known ancient routes, such as the Portway along the Long Mynd and known Roman roads, such as Watling Street South is approximately 40kms, Leintwardine, north Herefordshire is 25kms and Pentrehyling, west Shropshire is 19kms. In the southwest Shropshire hills at circa.240 metres, the settlement was in an isolated rural environment.

The Portable Antiquities Scheme has recorded coin hoards dating from the first century including a hoard of silver coins from Albrighton in Shropshire with a depositional date of circa A.D. 37, thus pre-conquest. The significance of this hoard is that it consists of Greek and Roman issues suggesting acquisition through land distance trade. This could have come via the port at Meols on the Wirral, which was the only access to the sea and the wider markets without having to negotiate access and transport through the territories of the other tribes. Unless the *Cornovii* had a non-élite mercantile class, for which there is no evidence, this hoard must represent the activities of the élite trading in the commodities that were representative of Cornovian wealth, for which they were prepared to receive an exchange in silver. The fact that they were coins is of little importance if internally the *Cornovii* were non-monetary, the transaction or transactions were completed for a recognizable and accepted form of wealth. The circumstances of the deposition of the hoard are not known and could represent conflict within the *Cornovii* or with one of their neighbours; necessitating the concealment of portable forms of wealth. This could also have been a means of storing and protecting it from theft until it was required.

7.2.3 Metal artefacts

From the existence of the quality of metalwork, requiring the means to support a skilled artisan, the existence of an élite can be inferred. The use of chariots is known

from the Yorkshire chariot burials (Darvill 1987, p. 159, Green 1996, *passim*, Richie 1985, *passim*) and Caesar refers to their martial use during his expeditionary incursions of 55 and 54 B.C. in the *Gallic War* (Caesar IV.33). He was impressed by the proficiency of the drivers and warriors and their effectiveness in combining the advantages of cavalry and infantry. Used in the first century B.C., they were still in use at the time of Agricola's campaign against the Caledonian tribes in A.D. 84. (Tacitus 35). As viable machines of war the tribes of the conquered areas, and in particular the military zone, could not have been permitted to continue with their use as they would not have been permitted to bear arms. Further evidence from the Portable Antiquities Scheme is shown in figures 7.9 and 7.10 showing a cast copper alloy terret ring and a lynch pin with cast head decoration and enamelling. These items are indicative of skilled and valuable craftsmanship, clearly employed by the élite.

The commonality of the elite, even allowing for internecine warfare, is evident through the diffusion of artistic styles as a result of economic contact, trade and exchange. Found at two sites Albright Hussey and the Cound brook near Shrewsbury, on opposite sides of the River Severn, two leaf shaped brooches, identified as La Tène1bc, having a date ranging from the fourth to the first centuries B.C. (Fig.7.8) and lynch pins dating to the fourth century B.C. indicate the existence of élite occupation sites on the lowlands. As examples of insular styles they are a simple example of the practical and decorative. The art of La Tène material culture is to have 'encompass elements of decoration beyond those necessary for functional utility' (Macdonald 2007, p. 335). The Albright Hussey brooch is considered to be of significance, especially of the transition period, since a find of a 'silver Colchester derivative brooch' indicates a date of the late first century A.D (Fig: 7.11). On the stratification of pre-conquest *Cornovii* society, this puts stratification into the middle Iron Age.

The casual findings recorded by the Portable Antiquities Scheme present a selection of fine metalworking from the *Cornovii* territory showing the investment in fine personal display and adornment but also a conspicuous form of portable consumption of wealth. The wealth expressed by the elite can be seen in the detailed polychrome enamel working on a skirted terret from the territory (Fig: 7.12). Figure 7.13, is a further example of polychrome enamelling. The dragonesque brooch has blue enamelling suggesting the acquiring of Roman enamelling techniques, which I would interpret as an example of transitional influence in fine craft production.

Other indications of Roman material culture include metalwork with native influence, for example Romano-Celtic and military artefacts. The influence here is the auxiliary cavalry units consisting of provincial Celtic people from outside Britain whose harness fittings are a synthesis of Roman and Celtic design, i.e. a conservative continuation of their home culture manifest in an overtly Roman context. Cloth fastenings were an important form of practical adornment, figure 7.21 is an example of a Roman trumpet brooch from Bayston Hill, Shrewsbury at 11kms west of *Viroconium*.

A class of object attributed to Iron Age societies is the decorative bovine vessel mounts. Figure 7.14 is of the distribution of bovine vessel mounts, which shows the concentration being within the periphery and beyond on Cunliffe's model. Although relatively few in number the distribution pattern suggests the rivers Severn-Trent to Humber seem to be influential in their distribution with the Cornovian territory producing two out of forty-three examples. This distribution indicates that they might not have been produced by the *Cornovii* but acquired through trade and exchange. The fitting of an ornament such as these to, for example, a bucket does not compromise its function, especially in a domestic environment. What is not known is that if these mounts attributable to elite residences would have had a greater social distribution.

Unfortunately, too few have been recovered from provenanced contexts to answer this question. The example in figure 7.15 is a cast copper alloy from Shropshire with simple incised decoration. As domestic objects to have been kept and used within the house, they may have been quite common among the settlement enclosures of the lowland if not the uplands.

Exceptional Iron Age finds from Shropshire which I think shows the wealth, and a form of wealth recognized by the Iron Age elite, is the Telford Torc (Fig: 7.16) common in the Iron Age as a means of using and displaying wealth publicly and the pair of bronze spoons found at Nescliffe (Fig: 7.17) central Shropshire which are two of a total of fourteen distributed throughout the British Isles.

Evidence for the acquisition of coins in external trading prior to the Roman period for non-monetary uses may explain the two small gold ingots found at Rowton, Shropshire (Fig: 7.18). The explanation, I suggest, is that coins, especially gold and silver, were accumulated as scrap metal for manufacturing prestige items. In this, we see the conversion of wealth from one form, exchanged goods or surplus, to another, precious metal and elite products, enhancing the economic value of the material.

7.2.4 Pottery

The largest collection of all ceramics collected and studied has been from the hinterland of *Viroconium* due to the systematic study of the area. The study involved surface surveys by field walking and selective excavations of certain sites. The aim was to discover the extent of Roman material culture in what had been an Iron Age landscape and to what depth the rural society demonstrated a Romanitas or a native continuum. The excavated sites were Chilton Farm, Berwick Alkmund Park, Whitley Grange, Duncote Fort and Cross Houses (Fig: 7.19). From this research, analysis of the ceramic assemblages and including those from beyond the postulated *territorium*

emphasises that the ceramic assemblages from the city are an anomaly in respect to the hinterland and beyond. The analysis of the material recovered from both surface surveying and excavation creates a context for *Viroconium* in the region. Thus, the city presents a contrast with poor ceramic consumption of the rural hinterland, which reveals that the lack of a general ceramic tradition among the *Cornovii* has required the migration of external ceramic traditions or the importation of ceramic goods into the area to supply the occupants of the new urban developments. The work of the Wroxeter Hinterland Project has shown the anomalous position of *Viroconium* in terms of the Romanization of the native population.

The non-existence of a pottery tradition other than briquetage meant that as the landscape became pacified and settled in the aftermath of the Roman conquest pottery industries along the Severn valley developed to satisfy the demand along with the pre-existing Cleve Hill course ware, Malvernian ware and imports from other production centres in Britain and, with the opening of Britain, to longer distant trade imports from the Empire. The legions of the Roman Army had had a tradition of producing its own pottery including ceramic building materials; this meant that pottery had been established at *Viriconium* since the establishment of the legionary fortress, allowing the city to have a level of self-sufficiency in pottery. The introduction of ceramics as an indicator of material cultural change does not inform us of the effect on the culture of the indigenous population and their response to it.

An important element in the data collected in determining the status and cultural identity of sites as well as dating was the recovery of samian pottery (*terra sigillata*). Not surprisingly the greatest concentration came from close proximity to *Viroconium* with a gross weight of 897grms while the amount collected from the further hinterland including sites and clusters came to 240grms, most of which came from Upton Cressett,

Shropshire. Because of the ubiquity of samian pottery in Roman Britain and found on most sites it becomes a good diagnostic medium due to its variations to allow inter-site comparisons. Thus, the type of samian in qualitative terms of form, fabric and decoration permits it to be interrogated in understanding the cultural identity and status of a site.

In producing the report on samian pottery within the hinterland Willis (Gaffney and White 2007 Chpt 5, p.29) provides a caveat on the interpretation of samian ware recovered from surface surveys because of the problems with deposition and formation and understanding how the material came to be in the archaeological record and that biases as such are created indicating a bias to later than earlier samian, the 'background noise'..... offering limited instruction as to past human activities'. The distinctive appearance of samian also makes its recovery easier at the expense of other fabrics biasing the quantity towards samian causing a misrepresentation of the ceramic record. Therefore the context of recovery, whether it comes from the topsoil, ploughsoil or from stratified sealed contexts influences the interpretation and conclusions inferred from it.

The ubiquitous yet variable distribution of samian pottery is represented by a variety of forms from a variety of sources with a wide chronology. The analysis of samian has indicated a maximum presence of the Hadrianic to Antonine periods being supplied by the Lezoux potteries in Gaul (Fig: 7.20). As an indicator of Romanization, as with other material evidence, the hiatus of the second century with the initial urban expansion and development of status sites in the landscape was as a result of élite families acculturating to present a display of things Roman but not themselves becoming Roman.

The importance of samian pottery is that it is the first of Roman ceramic to find its way to native settlements at an early mid first century date. The range of samian found

includes La Graufesenque, Montans, Les Martres-de-Veyre, Lezoux, Blickweiler/La Madeleine, Argonne, Rheinzabern and Trier. The army would have exploited the local production as well as producing their own. Imports would have soon followed as the requirement and demand for fine wares, such as samian and specialized products, for example, *mortaria* grew (Millet 1990, p.56). The significance on the status of a site is determined not so much by the presence of samian or any fine ware, but the proportion of it to other ceramics. Thus the Hinterland Project noted that four in five vessels at Brompton Grotto Coppice, situated on the west of the Severn at 1.5kms from *Viroconium* (Fig: 7.19), were first century samian indicating a potential villa site. Samian from other sites and individual finds from field surveys of first century samian is indicative of the ready adoption of Roman material culture by the élite already established in the landscape engaging with the urban and economic development of the mid first century onwards.

To put the samian ware finds into context of the transition period of the Cornovian area with reference to other regions, this pottery although common and ubiquitous is not found in large assemblages, especially among the tribes that had a developed ceramic tradition and seemed reluctant to acquire imported fine wares. Thus in the first century, among the Cornovian élite, the availability and possibility of the novelty of Roman fine ware might have been sort and acquired presenting, whether intentional or not, an overt expression of Romanization through their possession. However, pottery production was established in Alborough in Yorkshire and York by the late first century AD. The evidence here suggests the work of potters from Germany and North Africa due to form. What is significant is that the pottery seems to have had a limited distribution. Although initially produced for military use they did not disseminate into the population of the *vicii* or, through trade, the wider rural population (Swan 2002, p.35ff). As a case in the

acquisition of Roman material culture as an indicator of Romanization, in Shropshire the population had their own established late Iron Age pottery tradition resulting in a disinterest in Roman goods.

The context of samian ware finds suggests élite rural sites of a higher status and commercial centres, than the agrarian rural settlements of the indigenous population. This apparent dichotomy again returns the argument to the nature and extent of Romanization as indicated by the associated material culture. Tradition can exert a strong predilection as an expression of identity not to accept alternatives when available unless there are advantages for doing so. Thus, sites cited such as the settlements at Meole Brace or at Ellesmere Road in Shrewsbury produce evidence of fine wares and other status indicators, because of their engagement in the regional economy in which Roman goods were available. Considering the apparent conservative cultural nature of the *Cornovii*, I would broadly agree that the evidence in context does not predicate Romanization or élite status of any degree.

The material evidence recovered from the hinterland of *Viroconium* has produced a variety of ceramic fabrics consisting of local and regional production but also imports from beyond the region. The local material consists of Severn Valley ware with organic and reduced variants, sandy oxidized and reduced ware, Wroxeter wares, Malvernian ware, South east Dorset Blackburnished¹, Oxford red ware, Cream ware, Verulamium white ware and Lower Nene Valley colour coated ware. Overseas importation is evidenced in finds of Moselkeramic, Lower Rhineland (Cologne), and Central Gaulish. The range of the pottery types is extensive and shows economic connections over the western Empire from the established sites of pottery production. The furthest examples are *amphorae* of Baetican Dressel 20 and Italian Dressel 2-4. The concentrations of finds came from sites indicating status through Roman material culture. The evidence in

the field from the surface surveys producing significantly less.

7.2.5 Glass

Glass finds from the aforementioned sites and surface surveys have produced a range of Roman glassware, which would be associated with status. The evidence of the hinterland consists of examples of quality domestic fragmentary artefacts dating from the first century A.D. including bottles and window glass. Window glass implies windows and rebates have been identified in stonework for windows (Bédoyère, De La, 2001). The evidence for windows is a significant indication of displaying Romanness in that, presumably, the roundhouses of the late Iron Age did not have windows in which case the introduction of buildings deviated from the accepted norm in being rectilinear with windows. If the settlements of the late first century in the hinterland were occupied by members of the Iron Age elite then they had adopted Roman architecture soon after the conquest, providing dating is sound. Much of the glass was dated to the fourth century; however, first century glass has been identified indicating the apparent Romanization of the landscape.

7.2.6 Ritual

The excavation at Alkmund Park provides evidence into the continuation of native beliefs in from possibly the late first or early second centuries A.D. and deposition in the third century. As can be seen in figure 7.22 an adapted natural form of a stone has been crudely worked to suggest a face and thought to be a religious item functioning in a similar manner as a Roman *Lares* as the protecting deity of the house and household. Damage to the sides has been interpreted as a result of being fitted tightly into a niche in a wall, which would have been effectively a *Lararium*. The object had been deliberately placed in a ditch in a prone position and covered with broken roof tiles and pottery. If this object had represented the deity of the house then the demolition of the house might

have necessitated the ritualistic deposition. The manner of its placing being face down suggests chthonic associations or in the practice of depositing human sacrifices in bogs (Stead, Bourke and Brothwell 1986, p. 162-169) practiced in the Iron Age where the victim was placed in the prone position. This case might represent a degenerate and obfuse tradition, symbolising the death of the house in spirit. This find as with others of a similar deposition came from sealed contexts.

The evidence for ritual and religion can be fragmentary and vague in a domestic context. If the eventual demolition of a house resulted in ritual deposition of the *Lares* of that house then it might be disturbed by later activity. The silvered bronze Hercules figure found in Lydbury North, SO 353 861 (Fig. 7.23) situated 2kms from the enclosure at Lower Down and 4kms from the settlement of Black Knoll (Chapter 8), was recovered in the bank of the same field that has produced a sherd of Malvernian ware and Severn Valley ware. The figurine is of a type that might have been placed in a *lararium*. No Romano-British buildings are known in the Kemp Valley within the south Shropshire hills and surface surveys of the area have produced Severn Valley ware associated with a known enclosure near Kempton, 3kms south along the valley. The location of the Hercules with the pottery is tentatively suggestive of settlement in the vicinity, unfortunately, the settlement of Lydbury North is an eighth century foundation and with subsequent development, earlier structures have been destroyed. However, the possibility of a more overtly Romano-British settlement there is intriguing in determining the extent and nature of Romanization in the area and beyond the hinterland.

7.3 Conclusion

The first century material culture within the hinterland of *Viroconium* shows that there

was an adoption of Roman material culture and building forms on certain sites in what still must have been a late Iron Age Cornovian landscape, in which the material culture and building forms persisted through what we may call the transition period. The level of finds in the hinterland does not indicate a significant Romanization of the landscape or the population, which is supported by the rate at which material dissipates with distance from *Viroconium*. Beyond this locality, the evidence for adoption and acquisition of Roman material culture is tenuous with the eventual acquisition of Roman or Romano-British goods a consequence of economic interaction through exchange. The initial introduction of Roman material and stimulus to the élite and those attracted due to their proximity to engage in the market was the army foundation and *vicus*, which opened the way to the wider economy. The opening of the region exposes the indigenous culture to external influences, which demand negotiation and with time can modify beliefs and ritual practices, which can be intangible without material evidence. The Alkmund ‘*Lares*’, which is not unique, and the Lydbury North Hercules may indicate the extent and form of regional Romano-British culture and identity.

Chapter Eight

The Characterization of Settlement

8.1 Introduction

This selection concentrates on specific field studies from South Shropshire (Fig. 8.1), representing geographically diverse locations within the area of research. The sites chosen represent both Iron Age and Roman activity at the same localities. Lower Down seems to have been rural and domestic, while at Bromfield the activity was agricultural and military activity (Stanford et al 1995, *passim*). At Pentrehyling, on the Shropshire border, there was the development of a civil settlement within a rural area associated with a Roman fort (John 2011, *passim*). A recent and surprising development in Iron Age studies has been the discovery of a road at Sharpstone Hill, Shrewsbury that had had a long history before the Iron Age road was developed and subsequently overlaid by a Roman road. This discovery hints at a degree of social organization and sophistication that was assumed to have been a result of Roman influence during the development of the province (Malim and Hayes 2010 *passim*).

The juxtaposed relationship of these sites is essential to understanding the complex social economic and political interactions that occurred because of the Roman invasion and the development of the provincial administration, infrastructure and the role played by the British elite in Romano-British affairs. At the level of specific site evaluation, the intention of the study is to discover the consequences on the local population and the dynamics and processes of change or continuity.

I must stress that the purpose here is not to reproduce the excavation reports but to examine their findings and evaluate their contributions to our knowledge and understanding of late Iron Age rural settlement in the early stages of transition. That we are studying a people we designate the *Cornovii* must also be remembered in our

identification of them, if such a designation ever existed other than a Roman construct, of a distinct regional cultural social group distinguishable from the other group designations that we have constituting the late British Iron Age.

8.2. A Cornovian Farm at Bromfield (SO 483 776)

8.2.1. Introduction

At Bromfield, near Ludlow, (Fig. 8.2), an Iron Age farm was excavated by the Birmingham University Field Unit as a rescue excavation at the Bromfield Sand and Gravel Quarry from 1978 to 1980. The site consists of a fluvio-glacial gravel terrace with strata of sand and clay located 3kms northwest of Ludlow and bounded by the rivers Onny, Teme and Corve, and to the west the 92m contour rising to the margins of the Welsh Hills (Stanford, 1995 p. 29). The excavation produced three distinct periods of activity of which periods I. and II. concern us here; the third period being a Saxon cemetery, not discussed here. Period I revealed three phases of occupation before final abandonment. This was followed by the building of a Roman marching camp, Period II. The Iron Age enclosure subject to the investigation was designated E2 (Fig.8.2).

The basis on which Period I was sub-divided into three phases was due to certain features. The first phase is seen as an open settlement and so lacking evidence of defensive structures. Evidence of the undefended settlement was found in three ditches predating the later enclosure. Labelled F22, F32 and F142, on the enclosure plan, they did not respect the later enclosure with F32 being truncated by the enclosure ditch F1. The evidence for structures prior to enclosure is provided by features F10 and F64. Their proximity to the enclosure ditch F1 suggests that these predate the enclosure ditch. A further feature, such as Hut 2, was considered to have been pre-enclosure because the clearance with F1 was 2.8 metres. Other post-hole features were interpreted as possible hay trees. Features, such as F25, F27 and F118, as position for a succession of posts

may present continuity between phases I and II with the possibility that eight were contemporaneous. Paired post-holes, interpreted as racks, are additional features and ubiquitous on the site were numerous boiling stones.

The dating of this phase proved to be problematic. Although the duration is not known radio carbon dating for wood recovered from F10 and in conjunction with the pottery finds a date of the fourth century BC is accepted with the calibrated BC dates having the range of 790 – 290 (Stanford 1995, p.103).

8.2.2 Phase 1b

The following phase of the site is defined by the construction of the enclosure ditch E2. (Fig. 8.3) The ditch has suffered erosion causing a widening while later machine activity has compensated by narrowing it and so maintaining it close to its original width. The ditch enclosed an area of 0.11 hectares with dimensions 32 metres by 34 metres. However, an internal bank reduces this to 0.08 hectares. The only entrance identified to the enclosure was measured at 6.3m in width, which Stanford describes as ‘equal to double –portal hillfort gates’ (Stanford 1995, p.103). The position and nature of the gate proved problematic due to the later field ditch cut across the relevant position and any central gate-stop evidence, too, being destroyed. That the enclosure was not gated would seem improbable for such investment of a substantial enclosure ditch. The possible position of a gatepost at F108 at 0.33m has been interpreted as not of the standard of a defensive gate, such as a hillfort gate posthole at a depth greater than 0.6m, but that of an agricultural gate.

The social status of the enclosure may be indicated by the irregularity of the enclosure ditch, which can be described as roughly square and not executed with any great precision yet serving a practical function. This irregularity may be attributed to several labouring teams yet one team working to a particular purpose may serve equally as well.

The time of its construction cannot be determined because of cleaning during the early phase. Evidence of cleaning can be seen from the narrow slot at the bottom of the ditch (Fig.8.4). This type of slot was also observed in the enclosure ditch of enclosure two of Test Trench 03 (DFTT03/2012) at Lower Down (see 8.5 below). Although resembling the slot seen at the bottom of Roman military ditches Stanford attributes it to regular cleaning eroding a slot. The slot in test trench 03 at Down Farm, Lower Down (see 8.3 below) would support this since its width accommodates a foot comfortably without any risk of twisting it let alone breaking it. Therefore, the structural evidence of the ditch supports the hypothesis that it was of a non-defensive military function. The question to ask of the hypothesis is that of what was the function of the enclosure, and how did that change indicated by phasing? The evidence then had to come from two primary sources; first, the fill of the enclosure ditch and second the evidence of internal features.

An important point made here by Stanford (1995, *ibid*) is that of the post cleaning formation process and its influence on interpreting the internal structure of the ditch as to whether we are observing an artificial or natural finish. This matter arose over the apparent fine silt coating on the ditch sides, which, on consideration can have a natural explanation in why frost erosion dislodges stones in the side of the ditch leaving the finer material behind. Post cleaning evidence was seen in the fine gravelly fill of the slot which was also observed in test trench 03 at Lower Down in context 4 (Fig. 8.19) below. The accumulation of deposits in this case at Bromfield, preserved evidence of the internal activity and indications of structures. The eventual filling of the ditch certainly preceded the demise of the internal bank, which seems to have been a determinate in the siting of the later Saxon cemetery. However, for the Iron Age inhabitants the maintenance of the ditch was not of a priority over the internal activities of the enclosure.

The fill of the ditch, as with any archaeological context, should be indicative of its history and so an indirect indication of the human activities in the vicinity. What is apparent of this ditch is that exacting precision in its construction was not a priority and that those responsible were creating a pragmatic structure in order to demarcate an internal area and provide an obstacle to entry of that area in the interest of control and security. I think in the case of most small to medium enclosures to designate them as defensive would be to suggest a too military or elitist interpretation. The quality of the ditch and the evidence of internal activity support this hypothesis and so emphasize the necessity and importance of excavation if we are to improve our resolution of Iron Age society especially at a local and community level.

The ditch here reveals an irregular square with eight changes in alignment identified from the excavated sections suggesting, in total, possibly eleven work parties. However, as Stanford suggests, the solution may be in the digging being completed by perhaps three groups working on one side at a time. This would allow the work to be completed by local labour rather than the organization of a large labour force of levies as may be expected of the construction of elite enclosures, especially the larger hill enclosures. This interpretation not only avoids the need for every enclosure to have elitist associations but also explains the apparent neglect of the ditch soon after completion due to the shallow slot and the lack of evidence for re-cutting (Stanford 1995 p.105). The failure to maintain the ditch by cleaning and re-cutting provided the evidence of internal activities preserved in the gradual silting of the ditch. Figure 8.5 shows one of the thirteen sections of the ditch in which section 11 (S11) shows the inter-cutting of it by the later ditch of the Roman marching camp, F3 (Fig. 8.6). The ditch demonstrates natural filling with material being eroded from the sides and bank. Within the fill boiling stones, charcoal and few artefacts were recovered. The quantity of boiling stones

that were recovered was 1,917 litres from the ditch sections (Stanford 1995 p.107), suggesting boiling activity, requiring containment greater than a typical domestic cauldron or pot would have allowed. This is argued by the identifying of pits that were lined with clay in association with the distribution of boiling stones, which characteristically showed signs of burning. The concentration of boiling stones along the ditch from the causeway as far as S10 and S12, which contained five times as many as any other sector, indicated that dumping here originated from within the enclosure, the location of activity. The poor representation in all other sectors can be attributed to the effects of internal structures presenting physical barriers to deposition and so indicating which structures were contemporaneous with the boiling activities in Period Ib. The presence of boiling stones from the enclosure ditch and within the enclosure was ubiquitous.

The ubiquity of the boiling stones was matched by the charcoal in association with them. However, layer 3, located between S1 and S3, was grey with flecks of charcoal and has been interpreted as domestic hearth ash from Hut 1. If so, then this hut may have been a dwelling, if not, evidence of no more than an occasional shelter, serving a similar function as a workers hut, for those employed in the activities and not a permanent domestic accommodation, which must be considered due to the square plan rather than round. Formation processes can affect interpretation of the activities on the site. In the proximity of section S2 and above 96.54m, a grey staining associated with the outer silt of layer 3 was observed. The grey staining may represent processing activity from the interior to the exterior, or, this may be the result of natural erosion processes on the fine ash such as the wind.

The fill of the ditches on the enclosure yielded few finds. Stanford here concludes that the material culture of the inhabitants was predominantly of organic material, which has

not survived. However, finds were present which were revealing as to the interior activities. The material of these consisted of stone, pot and slag and in order to give them a chronological order were recorded three dimensionally which allowed for an absolute chronology to be determined from the charcoal found in association with them. The concentration of the finds indicated find shadows that can be explained by the presence of physical internal barriers, such as building and other structures that would have prevented dumping into the ditch at any given point. Figure: 8.7 shows the finds distribution modified to present emphasizing finds concentrations relative to structures. These concentrations can be seen at S2 behind Hut 1, S6 that is strongly indicative of internal structures determining the path from Hut 1 to the ditch and the area of the southeastern terminus of the ditch from S12 to S13, which yielded a rich location of dumping with deposits consisting of sherds, iron, iron slag, briquetage and stone. Stone was identified for three functions; possible fragments of working boards of sandstone slabs showing wear and chipped edges, finds 31 and 32, from between sections S9 and S10, a needle hone from section S8 and a hammerstone, find 30, from S9. Hut 2 lacked domestic deposits further supporting the probability that it was a storage or utility building for the non-domestic activity. What was noted was the increase in deposits towards the termini of the ditch. This fill was substantially iron slag and burnt clay, to which slag had adhered, which Stanton designates 'pot-slag' (Stanford 1995. p.107).

The evidence from the ditch of E2 was the direct result of the internal activities, domestic and industrial and determined by the internal structural arrangements. The internal evidence of two phases in the Iron Age is indicated by feature 38A cutting the posthole of feature 38B of Hut 1. The clay-lined pit of 38A is accompanied by eighteen further pits found between Hut 1 and the entrance. The quantity of boiling stones found in the pits, and that they obstruct access directly to the entrance, indicates that they post

date Hut 1. The finds within the enclosure were few, apart from the numerous and ubiquitous boiling stones. Therefore, rubbish was cleared from the interior and dumped into the enclosure ditch.

The huts are undoubtedly a part of phase 1b, and, accompany the activities within the enclosure, however, that the enclosure was built in order to protect the huts is not necessary, as Stanford asserts (1995, p. 109ff). As buildings and domestic accommodation, for Hut 1, they are small, 2.8m x 3.0m and 2.4m x 2.9m respectively and not round, as discussed above. Analysis and comparison of the huts shows that they were not substantial in their construction. The posts diameters of 0.20m to 0.24m must be compared with measurements from Croft Ambrey, Credenhill and Midsummer Hill in Herefordshire (Cunliffe 2005, p.399), hillforts of 0.25m to 0.30m. As the only identified building structures, their existence would have been limited, perhaps 60 to 72 years (Stanford.1995, p.110); and no evidence was recovered of repair or replacement. However, the interior, as noted by Stanton, has many postholes and pits, which, from the radiocarbon dating date from no later than 200 BC. The concentration of postholes in the western quadrant of the enclosure would indicate a possible multi-phase roundhouse (Wigley. 2002, p.241). The purpose of the enclosure for what seems to be unritualistic was the industry. The enclosure existed to control access to an interior in which the activities were worth controlling and protecting. Those things worth protecting would have been skilled artisans, materials and the finished products which would have had an economic value as did the raw materials and so a representation of wealth. That the smallest hut dimensions enclosing an area of 7.2m² was located on the Wrekin hillfort in Shropshire and that at 6.96m², the dimensions of Hut 2, then I should argue that this strengthens the interpretation that these were not domestic in the familial occupational meaning and that their function was strictly determined by the industrial

activity of the site.

The development of the site during this period clearly involved more than heating stones and working iron. The internal evidence in the form of postholes, pits and a quarry all considered indicates a materially diverse site. The interpretation of the postholes suggests four two post racks. Stanford suggests that with the estimated duration of the Huts, based on their post sizes, and the post sizes of the racks at 0.125m with an estimated duration of 9-12 years for the first and 16-21 years for rack 4 (Stanford 1995, *ibid*). However, if the racks had been consecutive they would have been in use for a similar period as Hut 1. A function of the racks could have been for the hanging, drying and processing of skins in leather production. The quarry measuring 7m x 3m with a depth of 0.5m was dug into the alluvium consisting of fine sand and gravel. The purpose of this was possibly to have provided material to create floor surfaces for the huts. The quarry pit produced 135 litres of unburnt boiling stones. This mound of stones was surrounded by dark grey fill consisting of charcoal and a further 180 litres of burnt boiling stones. The quarry may have been further utilized for activities indicated by finds due to its sheltered position.

The enclosure produced many pits of various dimensions and characteristic of the site, notably as features F26, 28,29,48,65,127 and 134. These seemed by their positions, in the south-west part of the enclosure, to have been contemporary with the huts and racks; however, of a different phase from the pits located at the front of Hut 1. The western quadrant produced thirty postholes. These were significantly deeper to have survived the degradation of the surface due to modern agricultural activity.

The agricultural nature of the site here is emphasized by the interpretation of these postholes as holding individual posts used as hay-trees, and that contemporaneous posts may have numbered no more than ten due to the perishability of the wooden posts. This

limited contemporaneousness was indicated by the observed triple cuts to the postholes (Stanford 1995, p. 110). Although dating and phasing between phases 1b and 1c proved difficult, only eight were remaining unphased with the posthole finds consisting of charcoal, boiling stones and carbonized wheat.

The middle Iron Age phase 1b is of significance in that it demonstrates the establishment of an enclosure, informed by the prevailing social and economic conditions, for the processing of agricultural products both arable and pastoral with some iron working industry, which would have been important for the repair and manufacture of tools, domestic and agricultural. That the salt containers of briquetage came from the northern brine springs of Cheshire rather than the nearer area of production at Droitwich suggests commonality of population with a developed sense of cultural and social identity. This hypothesis of commonality can be supported in terms of social exchange: and how that exchange informs the development and cohesion of larger social groups (Moore 2007, p. 84). Discussing larger social groupings Moore makes the point, in the context of Malvernian ceramics, that:

‘The existence of material exchange networks of material, ..., allowed communities to form both localized and more distant sets of social relations,...’

(Moore 2007 p.95)

Briquetage, in this theoretical model, may have played such a role through symbolism of the importance of salt, within an ethnic grouping, due to its sacred meaning as much as its economic meaning. This may have a greater significance in Cornovian society, if we accept an aceramic and apecuniary culture indicated by the paucity of pottery and lack of coins of which none are distinctively Cornovian. What we cannot ignore is the social status of the site: and how that determines the material culture of the settlement. The sherds recovered at four locations, of middle Iron Age date were of local manufacture from the Clee Hills and the Malverns, discussed in chapter 7, as to the

significance of local sources of pot.

The internal activities in the use of salt, iron and pot represent participation in a regional economy of exchange; that in all other needs the settlement was self-sufficient cannot necessarily be disputed, yet it did not exist in isolation in a well-settled area. The enclosure represents an Iron Age farm with a square plan hut (Hut 1) and slightly smaller hut (Hut 2) interpreted as a storage building. The recovery of a saddle quern rider further indicates and supports a domestic settlement, or a settlement in which domestic activities occurred. Typical domestic activity seems to indicate sewing, possibly leather, cloth or both due to the discovery of a needle hone (Stanford 1995, p. 116). The ubiquitous and large quantity of boiling stones may have been used for cooking meat in boiling pits. The copious quantity of charcoal supports the use of fire as an important requirement for activities. The location of the finds also shows designated areas of activity; hence with the location of the huts and other structures providing important evidence as to the use of space and patterns of circulation of the inhabitants. This, with data from other settlements, may indicate the demarcation of the inhabitants according to sex, age and social status in the context of identifiable activities and specializations.

8.2.3. Phase 1c.

This period represents the internal abandonment of the enclosure as a settlement with any domestic activity, as interpreted, although the processing activities continued. The separation of the phases 1b and 1c seems to have been brief with the huts inside not being replaced. However, two new huts were built (Huts 3 & 4 not shown). The evidence from the postholes of the gate show that in this phase, there was no gate and so with the filling of the ditch with rubbish generated by the activities and lack of maintenance the site was effectively open and unsecured.

Within phase 1c, the activities of phase 1b resumed with evidence of iron working, which had been located outside the enclosure at the northeast part of the ditch, being extended inside. Clay lined pits of this phase and further deposits of boiling stones indicate that the processing of meat was continuing with the use of salt for curing or preserving. Two forms of pit were identified for this phase; rectilinear clay lined and basins. The rectilinear pits were flat bottomed and lined with clay; as an example F134 was 1.1m x 0.7m and was estimated to have been originally 0.45m deep. The survival of these would suggest watertight cisterns for boiling. With the survival of organic material because of the acidic nature of the soil, the use of the pits as Stanton states could have been for tanning animal hides, dying as well as cooking. The evidence of material culture, especially the comparative petrological analysis of the ceramics gives a later Iron Age date of occupation (Morris. 1995, p.119). The analysis of the excavation data of Hut 3 lends itself to a construction date of the mid first century BC. Phase 1c represents an open settlement phase, due to huts 3 and 4 replacing huts 1 and 2 with similar functions, in which the need for enclosure became, or was perceived to be unnecessary. The enclosure continued to be the location of processing activity since no evidence of the racks or hay-trees post holes were found external to the enclosure. Stanford notes (Stanford 1995, p.128) that Hut 3 may have been replaced and if so the site may have been in use well into the first century AD. Continuity is supported by the continuous working of iron outside the enclosure.

8.2.4. Conclusion

The transition from effectively enclosed to unenclosed settlement suggests fundamental changes in the socio-economic conditions, which no longer necessitated a defensive or secured and controlled enclosure. Such behaviour contradicts the trend to enclosure in, for example, the Trent Valley (Knight 2007, p.190): discussed in chapters

four and seven. The development to openness must raise the question of what was happening to the hillfort settlements and the extent of abandonment prior to the Roman conquest. Enclosures, of course, cannot be interpreted as purely functionally defensive or excluding structures. The organization of labour for its construction can be seen as a display of status through economic wealth and social authority, and for the population legitimacy. That a trend towards unenclosed settlement and abandonment or partial abandonment may have been symptomatic of declining status or the inability to display status through economic decline, which the Bromfield settlement does not seem to support. An alternative conclusion is that a strong, possibly centralized, regional authority with the ability to defy predatory tribes, aggressive competition and suppress internal conflict and rivalry made small farm enclosures unnecessary (Wigley 2007, p.223). I think we are witnessing the consequences of change in the dynamics of social development predicated on the complexed internal structure and relationships within Cornovian society informed also by external factors.

The abandonment of the settlement prior to the construction of the Roman marching camp seems certain (Stanford 1995, p130). However, the probability that the settlement was re-sited so that the successors continued into the Romano-British period is not known. The reason for the eventual abandonment, if not re-location, can be attributed to the changes in the social, economic conditions or both. That a suitable site for settlement tends to remain so makes abandonment, unless some catastrophe occurs, enigmatic. However, no evidence of a successive settlement has been located. Considering the long extent of industrial activity in materials that certainly remained in demand in the post-Iron Age, such as iron working and the finishing of articles, the presence of needle hones would indicate a finishing process, working boards, hammer stones and the large quantity of boiling stones all attest to this. A possible answer may

be in changing economic and political conditions of the first century AD.

8.3 An Evaluation of Enclosures at Lower Down (SO 337 846)

8.3.1 Introduction

My chance finding of a badly corroded pre-Hadrianic Roman Dupondius or As, in 2009, confirmed Mr P. Reavill, PAS, (Fig. 8.8), led to the re-evaluation of data from the Historic Environment Record for Shropshire and two aerial photographs of Lower Down by the Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust (CPT 16322/1048) located at the National Monuments Record. Because of this re-evaluation one test pit and three test trenches were excavated. The opportunity to excavate previously an un-investigated site meant that new data could be recovered from a location recorded by the Historic Environment Record for Shropshire as late pre-historic. However, the record only records one polygon and so a single enclosure (HERPREFREF: 04881, MONUID: MSA 16618, OBJID: 4702). The aerial survey of Dr. Rowen Whimster in 1983 did not record this enclosure, which must be attributed to the environmental conditions at the time of the survey. The photographic evidence recorded by the Clwyd-Powis Archaeological Trust in 1995 (Ref: SO 3384/13 SO 337846 09-Aug-95 CPT 16322/1048) (Fig. 8.9), during a very dry summer, revealed quite clearly two intersecting enclosures. Further visual examination suggested that the second of these enclosures might have been the southeastern corner of a Roman encampment, indicated by the curvilinearity of the corner. Their archaeological typological and morphological attributes may be described as for enclosure one a parchmark in its form, typologically enclosed, univallate and morphologically rectilinear. The second enclosure although it survives as a parchmark in its form still demonstrated a slight visible earthwork. Indeed both enclosures were revealed by the parching of the surrounding grass leaving green delineations indicative of filled ditches. Typologically it is enclosed and univallate;

morphologically it is rectilinear of a square form with pronounced curvilinear corners. The Whimster classification for the first enclosure would be a long quadrilateral i.e. single-ditch 7 (chapter 4). The second enclosure, I suggest, seemed to be either of a partial survival of a form of hybrid type or a non-British enclosure and so the working hypothesis of a Roman encampment.

8.3.2 Location and Geographical Context

The two enclosures are centred on location SO 3375 8467 (Fig. 8.2) at an altitude of 241 metres on a relatively level area of a high eminence on, in effect a promontory, on the Down at Lower Down. The enclosures transcend land belonging to the adjacent farms of Lower Down Farm and Down Farm, which for the purpose of the project was designated Down Farm (DF) (Fig. 8.10) at the base and north-east of Sunny Hill, on which is located the substantial multivallated hillfort of Bury Ditches. The extrapolated area of enclosure two encompassed an area on which is a Norman motte and bailey castle, this area of the enclosure was therefore unavailable for excavation due to its ancient schedule monument status. The aspect of the site is open and exposed excepting the dominance of Sunny Hill rising to an altitude of 395 metres. The prevailing weather comes predominantly from a westerly direction. The land use capability (Bibby and Mackney 1969 *passim*) suggests land of a moderate limitation in that the diversity of crops may be limited requiring careful management. The land is well drained with the solid geology as little as 30cms deep consisting of Silurian Marine Mudstone. This is facilitated by the slope of the land to the east, north and south of the site. The land today is of a mixed economy of cattle and sheep pasture with crops of barley, oats and root crops for animal fodder being grown. This probably represents a similar situation that would have been found in the late Iron Age, based on our palynological record (Chapter 2.4).

8.3.3 Site Survey

The location was subject to a topographical survey to establish the dimensions of the enclosures, their internal areas, surviving and extrapolated and their relationship to the topography in particular the slopes, hydrology and sources of water. The caveat here is that post-mediaeval land management must be assumed to have affected drainage. Leats and ponds are still evident. However, intrusion into the solid geology has been minimal i.e. the motte ditch and bailey ditch of which only a terminus survives. The total area according to the HER record is 10,679.79m² or 1.068 Hectares. This comes between the areas of definition of Jones (1994) and Jackson (1999) respectively for small enclosures and small hillforts (see chapter 5.7 above).

8.3.4 Aims

The aims of the excavations were to determine, first, the relative ages of two enclosures, second, their chronological relationship and third, their cultural associations indicating continuity or periods of abandonment and re-occupation and by whom. The purpose of the test pit was to assess the common interior of the two enclosures for internal structures and artefactual evidence. Figure 8.11, shows the location of the test pit and test trenches. The Global Positioning System (GPS) used to locate the test-pit and test trenches positions was a 'Thales Mobile Mapper'. The Electronic Distance Measurer was a 'DISTO PLUS'

8.3.5 Excavations

i. Test Pit 01 Down Farm (DFTP01/2011)

Location of the trial pit was at SO 33750 84671 in the garden of Down Farm. The position relative to the Farm House measured with a DISTO PLUS EDM and triangulated with distances right of the front door at 40.78m, left of the front door at

40.64m and the right of the extreme right window at 47.29m. These were the only solid and permanent reference points visible from the test pit. The orientation of the test pit was north-south magnetic north as at 27-08-2011. The excavation revealed three stratigraphic contexts at 0cm – 8cms, 8cm – 20cms and 20cm – 30cms.

The test pit measured 1m² was excavated to the solid geology, which here consists of Silurian Marine mudstone. The subsoil consists of gravely/ loamy material. The area of the garden had been an integral part of the function of Down Farm since at least the early 17th century (circa 1620 for the building of the original farm house and had only relatively recently become a private garden of the current owners and occupants Mr. & Mrs. Williams). The test pit failed to reveal any structural activity while the material finds consisted of late and mainly post mediaeval pottery. No Roman, Romano-British or British finds were encountered. At thirty centimetres, the solid geology was reached (Fig. 8.12). Figure 8.6 shows the south section, the contexts being determined by the distinction between the topsoil, subsoil that was gravely with an ashy stratum and the gravely soil to the solid geology.

ii. Test Trench 01 (DFTT01/2011)

This was located at SO 33908 84737, the paddock south of Down Farm. Triangulating its position with the EDM proved unsatisfactory and so its position was triangulated with tapes and recorded with GPS. Its position, as can be seen in the plan below, was 35.50 and 39.30m, 23.70m and 20.15m, and the perpendicular measurement to the southern field boundary was 9.50m. The orientation was based on magnetic north as at 29-07-11.

This was a initially a 1m x 3m trench later extended to 4m orientated west – east along its major axis, see figure 8.15. The aim was to locate the cut of the ditch into the solid geology and to excavate across it to reveal a complete section. However, time and

resources due to the apparent size of the enclosure ditch prevented this.

The solid geology was reached at 14cms from which, as with the test pit, was recovered late mediaeval to post-mediaeval and modern material in the form of pot, brick, glass and metalwork such as nails. The section (Fig. 8.14) shows the result of deep ploughing cutting furrows into the solid geology. The eastern square metre of the trench revealed the solid geology at 14cms, while the western square metre showed a mass of broken mudstone mixed with dark loamy earth. Excavation of this showed it to be the fill of the enclosure and Severn Valley sherds were recovered. As the excavation proceeded, numerous substantial pieces of charcoal were found and three sherds of Malvern ware with trellis decoration. The fill of the ditch as far as it was excavated showed two contexts suggesting two phases of deposition. The excavation showed five stratigraphic contexts with one to three being of the solid geology and four and five the fill of the ditch. Figure: 8.16, shows the contrasts in the ditch fill.

Context 1 was 0 – 6cms that was the topsoil, context two was at 6 - 18cms subsoil of humic gravel and context three was at 18 – 35cms of loamy gravel. The solid geology was reached at this depth and the trench was recorded and backfilled at the eastern end of the trench. The stratigraphy of the western end reflected the eastern end to context four. Here was the fill of the enclosure ditch with context four at 38 – 98cms. This fill consisted of broken rock with pottery. Context five at 98 – 160cms was represented by a change to a mix of clay and gravel with few stones, generally small, and charcoal.

The excavation revealed the ditch to be wide and deep. Unfortunately, as stated above, time and resources would not allow the complete profile to be recorded.

However, this excavation was a success in that as an evaluation exercise the enclosure has been established to be late Iron Age surviving as an occupied site into the Roman period.

iii. Test Trench 02 (DFTT02/2011)

Located at SO 3382 8465 (Fig. 8.17), the specific purpose of this excavation was to determine the chronological relationship between the two enclosures at their intersections and to discover the source and chronology of enclosure two. The trench was placed diagonally across the intersection of the enclosure ditches with dimensions of 1m x 4ms. The turf was manually removed and the area trowelled. The top soil showed a depth of 8cms of loamy-humic material upon loamy clay. At 23cms, a clear distinction could be resolved indicating the cut and fill of a ditch, which was recorded and excavated. The area of the trench outside this fill was excavated to the bedrock while the fill of the ditch was excavated initially as context 3. The excavation surprisingly failed to produce any Iron Age or Roman material although material was found associated with Down Farm from the 17th century. As can be seen in figure 8.17 a stratification can be seen of at least three distinct contexts. However, at 67cms a ceramic pipe was revealed to be in its primary context and still aligned with a linear arrangement of similar pipes. These have been identified as 19th century drainage pipes leading to a former cess pool 30 metres away. It seems that the then farmer re-used the ditch rather than digging a new ditch through bedrock. This action has unfortunately destroyed the relationship of the two original ditches preventing further evaluation.

Among the finds, which were post mediaeval, flint fragments were recovered which seem to have been the result of fine flint knapping expected of touching or re-touching tools. These were found in a small area from context one to context two. Although these had been incidentally removed and replaced by the cutting of the original ditch and the subsequent re-digging of it for the waterpipe; they represent an earlier phase of occupation of the site as indicated for the area by the palynological study (Chapter 2.6) and field walking finds (Greene 2009, p.95).

iv. Test Trench 03 (DFTT03/2012)

This third trench, location SO 338 846, was to investigate the second enclosure independently of enclosure one: because of the disruption at the intersection. A position was chosen away from possible agricultural disturbance on the south side. Initially a trench of 1m x 3m was opened. Excavation at the south side came to the solid geology at 14cms, which was found to be the extreme end of a rock cut ditch. The cut quickly sloped to the north and continued to a depth of 78cms. At the lowest point, the trench was extended north in order to discover its full extent and profile. The trench was extended to 5 metres although reduced to 0.5 metres in width due to the available time. This, however, allowed the profile of the ditch to be fully revealed and recorded. The ditch was entirely dug into the bedrock which must have presented a considerable task (Fig.8.18) as with the ditch of enclosure one.

Because the working hypothesis considered the ditch to constitute a part of a Roman marching camp, a certain profile was expected in accordance with standard military practice. If this were the case then it would be one of two forms demonstrating whether the encampment was in hostile territory or not. Typically, a 'V' shaped ditch in the order of one by one metres with a narrow slot at the bottom. This would be expected of a marching camp not in hostile territory while a campaign camp or one in hostile territory would typically be in the order of three metres deep and four metres wide, again with a narrow slot or 'ankle breaker', (Connelly 1975, p.13) as discussed in 8.2 above. Examples of this narrow slot can be seen in the section drawing of the northern fort ditch S106 (Allen 2011, fig.8) and in section three of trench 'D' of the eastern defences of the inner fort ditch at Wroxeter (Ellis and White 2003 p.19). However, if this ditch was a Roman marching camp it seems to have been between the two descriptions above. The profile of the ditch was measured at five metres wide and

seventy-eight metres at the deepest point above a wide slot. The slot as seen in figure 8.19 constitutes context four, which was filled with dark silty gritty earth, which can be attributed to the initial period of neglect of cleaning. To the north side the cut was clearly into bedrock; the bedrock was identifiable by the inclined plane of the geological strata; the south side consisted of irregular densely compacted broken stone and earth, yet formed the southern edge of the slot. This was recorded and the broken stone removed revealing a wider and more irregular slot (Fig. 8.20).

Figure 8.21, is a diagram showing the east five metres section with the recorded five contexts. The slot is shown as relatively wide and shallow at the bottom of the cut of the ditch from the south; from this point, the slope does not begin for 1.1metres (Fig. 8.22 plan). What is apparent is that the ditch was not backfilled as a single event and may have been re-dug due to the amount of post-mediaeval material throughout the fill. Except for one small and eroded fragment of Severn Valley ware, located in context one, the finds from this trench proved to be post mediaeval and again attributed to the seventeenth century farm of Down Farm. Ceramic, stone and slate roofing tiles were recovered and may be due to phases of the farm, their location within contexts one and two suggest that this enclosure may have survived as a visible earthwork for a considerable time being subsequently filled with a general spread of dumped material relating to Down Farm, remains of earlier buildings or both. The records for Walcot Estate, of which this area was a part of the Estate, held at Shropshire Archives show an actively managed and modified landscape, especially during the eighteenth century under John Walcot and Lord Robert Clive (Greene 2009, p.33ff). Three small pieces of flint were found each, by colour, of a different mineralogy and probably riverine in origin (Greene 2009, p.95)

No Iron Age or Roman material was found, which was expected for a marching camp due to the ephemeral function of such encampments and the limited area of excavation. However, the suggested survival of an earthwork, as discussed above, suggests that this enclosure is not military in origin. Several samples of charcoal were recovered from all contexts including the cut of the ditch at context 5.

8.3.6. Conclusion

The evidence recovered and recorded from trenches one and three indicate that enclosure one is probably the later. The finds clearly show that it was active in the late Iron Age and certainly the early Roman period. The fill of trench one suggests that it was subject to dumping and that the enclosure, if of a later Iron Age origin, may have been obsolete at the time of transition creating an unenclosed settlement. The relative chronology of enclosure two may be indicated by the lack of any incidental Iron Age or Roman material which could have been associated and attributed with enclosure one providing weight to the suggestion that enclosure two is the earlier and that it had ceased to have been occupied for a period before the establishment of enclosure one. The only fragment of Severn Valley ware could be associated with the general surface material from enclosure one since it was found in context one. The absence of Iron Age ceramic material again is indicative of an aceramic society in which pottery was a late introduction. The slot of the ditch of enclosure two is probably explained by cleaning or re-cutting of the ditch in which the removal of subsequent deposits led to its creation and later partial filling, hence the observed narrowness and soil and rock partial fill. The exact chronological phasing of the two enclosures may only be possible by the radiocarbon dating of the samples. The evidence, limited as it is, is that there are two Iron Age settlements one of which represents the late Iron Age to Roman periods.

8.4 Black Knoll: An Iron Age and Romano-British Settlement (SO 389 878)

8.4.1. Introduction

This case study is drawn from the surface survey conducted by the Royal Commission for Historic Monuments in England in 1995 constituting the only investigation conducted on the site. The settlement of Black Knoll is located at the southern terminus of the Long Mynd (Fig. 8.23) at SO 3890 8780. The site occupies a thirty-two hectare area with a southern aspect; elevated approximately 120metres above the Onny Valley, 220m at the southernmost point 330m at the northernmost point, and bounded by precipitous slopes. The topography of this promontory plateau had informed the resultant field system which consisted of levels and sloping platforms. The north of the site leads onto the massif of the Long Mynd along which runs the ancient track of the Portway. The land consists of well-drained soil, which is stony brown and reddish loam (RCHME. 1995 p.4). Significantly, despite the elevated position above the River Onny, the site is supplied with several springs, which are, and presumably were then, reliable.

The area can be itemized into three types of feature, the settlement enclosure, the tracks and the field systems with their associated enclosure banks. However, it was observed that there is evidence of unenclosed settlement. This area centred on the enclosure is situated on a platform of 120 metres by 90 metres, within which at least ten house platforms can be discerned.

8.4.2 Platforms and Enclosure

These platforms are either sub-circular or rectilinear. Platforms P1 to P5 are sub-circular with diameters from 7 metres to 10 metres, and comfortably able to contain roundhouses whether domestic or utility in function. The associated banks form what seem to have been courtyards or enclosed areas, perhaps as paddocks (Fig. 8.24). The other platforms, P6 to P10, are generally larger, ranging from 20 metres by 10 metres to

12 metres by 6 metres; each would allow for a substantial building and it was noted that P8, 15 metres by 10 metres is of a more substantial form in that it seems to consist of stony banks which may be the remains of footings or walls. This platform may also be indicative of phasing of the settlement since it does not respect a lynchet. Further evidence of phasing may be indicated by the extra-enclosure platforms. These exist as two indications of possible buildings, and in consideration of the Bromfield and Lower Down enclosures discussed above, may be evidence of enclosure abandonment and development to unenclosed settlement. These too are associated with enclosures. The topography of the site seems to have been modified by exploiting the natural topography by virtue of the underlying geology. Thus, artificial banks and lynchets were created by using existing slopes. The steep slopes that surround the whole site on three sides effectively enclose it, except from the north, which means a change from enclosed to unenclosed, would not have necessarily been a major change.

The principle enclosure is itself defined by banks and lynchets rather than a bank and ditch and so nucleation rather than enclosed may be a preferable term in which to describe the settlement. The exploitation of the natural topography can be seen in the area of the enclosure immediately west of the platform. Certainly clear of buildings during this period it covers an area of approximately 5-600 square metres forming a funnel of banks to the east into the rest of the enclosure via an entrance. This has been interpreted (RCHME. 1995) as a paddock or livestock enclosure with the ingress and egress through the nucleated settlement, E2, which can be explained in providing greater security and control. Field, F1, to the east of the enclosure and to the north of the track, TR2, may have been an animal enclosure since it too has ingress and egress through the settlement only.

Evidence of Iron Age to Romano-British occupation phasing may be evident in the

possible unenclosed phase, discussed above; identified as two distinct nucleations in platforms P12 to P15 and P16 to P19. Here P12 and P15 show circularity while the remainder are rectilinear, as generally seen within the enclosure, the significance of which will be discussed. The platforms of the features were cut into the slopes except the platforms of P13 and P14, which were artificial and separated by a ramp. The location of platforms P12 to P15 is their relationship with the field-system (Fig. 8.25) due to their siting to the southern and adjacent precipitous land, unsuitable for cultivation or grazing. This is problematic when attempting to resolve the phasing with respect to the nucleated enclosure.

The problem with phasing and function is presented with platforms P16 to P19, of which contemporaneity cannot be attested. They are however rectilinear which may suggest a later phase. What is apparent is that their topographical locations present a more open settlement structure within the site as a whole. As can be seen from figure 8.24 they present the same orientation as P12 to P15. Although this may be determined by the aspect of the slope of the site and prevailing weather, which, is predominantly from west to south-west. Excepting that, the site is in the southern lea of the Long Mynd and so protected from the north, the site is very much exposed in all other directions. The extent to which climate has informed the siting of the buildings can only be determined by excavation.

The need for excavation, I think, is emphasized by the uncertainty as to the relationship of some of the platforms to the field system exacerbated by the multi-phase nature of the site culminating in the building of golf bunkers in the early twentieth century. The building of these bunkers included modification to some of the platforms, which cannot be ignored. The 1950's agricultural soil improvement ploughing has reduced the earthworks causing greater uncertainty. However, the comparable

dimensions of the platforms identifiable with the Iron Age to Romano-British settlement are certain.

8.4.3. Tracks

As can be seen from figure 8.24 is the system of tracks, which are an integral part of the enclosure. The relationship of the three principle tracks demonstrated the duration of the enclosure and the primary settlement in that they were able to develop within the context of the arrangement of fields associated with the settlement. The certainty of the assertion is that TR1, TR2 and TR3 converge on the enclosure. TR4 has undoubtedly suffered from later modification of the site; its orientation and axis strongly indicates a convergence on the enclosure E1. Overlaying enclosure E14 (Fig. 8.26), interpreted as a mediaeval fold, its continuation is suggested within that enclosure, although clearly they do not respect each other.

The development of the tracks must have facilitated access to and from the field system and therefore are integral with the arrangement of fields and agricultural function of the settlement. Track TR, for example, follows a south-west curvilinear course from the enclosure and ultimately leading to a series of holloways (Fig 8.27), which would have led to the valley floor and the narrow alluvial flood plain of the river Onny. The track passes through a lynchet, which curves in to meet it attesting to their contemporaneousness. It is bounded by double banks, which vary, between two to four metres in separation and are generally stoney, which may be a result of field preparation where material is marginalized. The duration of the settlement with possible evidence for mediaeval use has led to the survival of discernable holloways (Fig. 8.27). Holloway HW5, can be seen to lead to the circular enclosure E14, discussed above.

That there was a degree of construction of the tracks, at least when their courses had developed in conjunction with the field system; can be seen in the double lynchet

structure of track 2, TR2. This leads the way to the eastern scarp where it follows a lynchets to the system of fields on a natural shelf to the south. As with track one, breaks in the sides provide access to the adjacent fields.

Tracks 3 and 3a, although adjoining, seem to be distinct structures. Track 3 leads to the northern fields averaging 3 metres in width and although contemporary with the lynchets at its terminal, where track 3a meets it, it seems to have continued, possibly on a different course from here. However, while investigating the site I should suggest that any discontinuity between tracks 3 and 3a might have been the result of use in which the upper part of track 3a was not used as extensively since it is by this course one would leave or enter the settlement entirely. To the north of the settlement and passing it, if not actually at this time passing through it, is the pre-historic track of the Portway. That, as postulated (RCHME 1995 p.10), track 3a is a consequence of the formation of the lynchets, then, I think, in consideration of the Portway, this seems unlikely and coincidental. To the north of the termination of track 3a, the terracing shown leads to a clear break at the end of the west inturn of the northern lynchets. Ultimately, I should argue, this is the way from the settlement on to the Long Mynd.

8.4.4. Field Systems

The arrangement of the field system (Fig. 8.25) demonstrates the physical limits of the location by the topography determined by the solid geology and bounding systems of geological faults. However, the inhabitants clearly exploited this topography in creating the lynchets by using the natural terracing. This allowed the development of a relatively level area to be enclosed to form fields accessed by the system of tracks, which integrate the settlement as a whole. The outcrop of rocks were either incorporated into the lynchets boundaries or marginalized within the fields, as they would have imposed physical limits to cultivation. The fields, therefore, were irregular because of these physical

determinants with the sizes varying from 70 metres by 30 metres to 220 metres by 110 metres. Associated with the boundaries and lynchets are fifteen stone cairns which are respected by them; i.e. CA1, or close to the boundaries and lynchets which, therefore, seem contemporaneous and the result of clearing the fields of stones.

Once established the boundaries and therefore the fields did not remain unchanging and a second phase of boundaries can be discerned. Such change may be associated with changes in the settlement pattern, as discussed, resulting in a necessary adjustment in the field boundaries. Boundaries B1, B5, B6, B8 and with the possibility of B7 reveal this second phase in which there is a degree of disagreement to the existing boundaries.

Without some intervention in order to recover artefactual or environmental data, dating to the settlement must rely upon typological comparison of dated sites.

Comparison of the field system shows morphological similarities with Iron Age sites on the Breidden, Powys (RCHME, 1995, Myton 1982. p.327 fig.7, Musson 1991. p.191).

Also noted at the Sharpstones Hill site on the Shropshire Plain (Barker et al. 1991).

Further comparison can also be made with the crop-mark complex at Asloham in Nottinghamshire and the Iron Age farm with associated field system at Fishwick in Staffordshire, where in both examples are demonstrable enclosure settlements with surrounding fields although topographically subject to different conditions (Knight 2007, p.199ff)

8.4.5. Conclusion

The Black Knoll site strongly suggests, on topographical and morphological grounds, a developed Iron Age settlement, nucleated and enclosed developing into an unenclosed settlement and continuing and functioning as a farm into the Roman period. Without further investigation, it will prove difficult to ascertain accurately the development and modification of the settlement. However, the rectilinear platforms may have resulted

from a change in the architectural form to the rectilinear Romano-British house. Yet circular platforms were recorded which indicate possible surviving roundhouse platforms or roundhouses surviving into the Roman period as a cultural continuity. The possibility must be considered that the Iron Age farm with field system continued and persisted for a considerable time, due to its isolated and remote location, in which Roman cultural influence to material change was not felt or desired. The rectilinear platforms of the enclosed phase could belong to the mid to later Roman period. That 'roundhouse architecture form the overwhelming majority of examples in the Roman Period and reflect the long noted traditions in ... Iron Age architectural forms' (Taylor, J. 2007). Beyond the south-east of Britain in the late first century BC and the early Roman period cultural traditions were strongly influenced from a culturally conservative rather than a rejectionist perspective.

Black Knoll is an example of a nucleated and enclosed settlement, which may be termed a village, and considering the number of platforms within the enclosure this seems to support the interpretation.

8.5 The Civil Settlement associated with the Roman Fort at Pentrehyling Brompton (SO 2493)

8.5.1. Introduction

The series of three Roman marching camps and subsequent permanent fort provides, within the south Shropshire hills, an example of an overt Roman military presence during the period of Roman conquest and consolidation of the Cornovian-Ordovician March (Fig. 8.28). This must be seen in the context of the question of late Iron Age transition and the effect on rural settlement, the influence of the Roman presence and the native response to it.

8.5.2. The Military, Native and Physical Context

The military presence; as with the legionary fort at Wroxeter which persisted from about A.D. 52/7 to Circa A. D. 90(White. R. 1998, p.41ff), was a temporary episode during the process of conquest and consolidation as the territorial advance proceeded. The dating evidence that this phase belongs to, the Flavian period from A.D. 69 to A.D.96, is based on the pottery evidence from the *Vicus*. The previous marching camps successively precede this permanent presence and must belong to the strategic advance toward the Cambrian interior of the West. The strategic importance of the forts location can be seen (Fig. 8.28). It was located at the eastern entrance of the Caebitra valley along which flows the Caebitra river, which is in confluence with the Camlad. The Camlad river and valley lead to the river Severn and valley to the north, itself an important corridor from the Midlands plain to the west and the Cambrian highlands from the legionary fortress at Wroxeter. To the east the Camlad valley connects to the river valleys of the Onny, Kemp and Clun with their respective rivers, and so to the Stretton Gap along which the Watling Street South runs from Wroxeter. Thus the strategic importance should not be underestimated; since west from Pentrehyling was the Roman fort of Caersws, in Powys. So we have an interconnected series of valleys providing a means of access and communication from the regional command at Wroxeter, augmented with a system of telecommunications by signals and riders(Woolliscroft 2001 passim).

The initial Roman presence seems not to have facilitated or caused any form of market settlement due to the brevity of the military activity. It was the establishment of the permanent fort that provided the conditions for the establishment of the civil *Vicus*, immediately to the east of the fort and contiguous with it. Prior to and during the Roman advance the area would have been populated by an agrarian society in which a

mixed agricultural economy flourished. As has been said in chapter 3, the uplands provided a rich diversity within the fertile flood plains of the river valleys and hill pasturage. However, the arrival of a strong military presence following conquest and in an environment of pacification, must have informed the rural economy in the patterns of production and exchange. Relationships and establishing conditions for material exploitation, such as the local lead deposits, led to economic interaction. I argue that requisition, as mere confiscation, would have been unlikely. The process of pacification, initially, must have been through diplomacy with the elite and so to minimize the need for unnecessary military action.

‘The institutional norms of elite behaviour were transformative of the people participating in them, but also locally negotiated within existing power structures.’
(Gardner 2013, p. 14)

The Flavian period, especially in respect of the *Iceni* revolt, would have been significant in the social consolidation of the provincial territory (Gambash 2012, p.12) I also argue that the *vicus* attests to this period of at least mutual acceptance in which an economic working relationship could have been developed. The extent to which the native elite engaged with the Roman establishment cannot be known except that, as was Roman policy and practice, to elicit the elite and engage them in the Roman economic and, at a local level, political system. The events of AD 47-8, in which the Roman governor Ostorius Scapula moved to bring the West Midlands under Roman military control and within the military zone, in defence of the *Dobunni* and possibly the *Cornovii*; with whom Rome may have already negotiated a treaty, would have been fresh in social memory (Cunliffe 2005. p.224 fig. 10.2). Thus by the Flavian period we can envisage that the conditions had been created for the development of the *vicus* in which natives participated.

How and to what extent the natives participated can be seen from the excavation of

the *vicus* (Allen. J. 2011, p.25). The interaction of the Romans and Britons, which may have seen *Cornovii*, *Dobunni* and *Ordovici* involvement can be seen from the finds, especially the pottery.

8.5.3 Pottery

As well as providing dating evidence from phase two of the fort and *vicus*, to the Flavian/ Trajanic periods (Allen. 2011, *ibid*) and so demonstrating the relatively short duration of the settlement abandoned by the, or during, the Hadrianic period; which shows contemporaneity with military to civil transition at Wroxeter.

The range of imported wares demonstrates the extent to which engagement in the wider production economy of the Western Empire extended. The primary stimulation to this would have been the army and soon became a part of the local economy. The Samian ware dated from A.D. 70 to the mid 80's while central Gaulish ware attests to traded pots from A.D. 100-120. These are also supported by the central Gaulish colour coated ware A.D. 65-100 and Dressel 20 amphorae from the late first to mid second centuries. With these examples of long distance trade and supply systems, regional and locally produced pottery was recovered in Severn Valley ware of the late first and early second centuries and Malvernian ware in the form of 'tubby cooking pots' (Evans 2011, Discussion un-paginated), more common were vertical sided forms. Although the latter are associated with Hadrianic or Antonine periods their earlier presence here coincides.

Evidence for the relative brevity of the *vicus* comes from the absence of expected ceramic types or poor representations. Thus the little Black-burnish ware I represented in the jars found in Dorchester, Dorset came from contexts dating to A.D. 75-120. The evidence shows that much of the ceramic material was imported from beyond the region, probably indicating the military system of procurement. The courseware may have been a product of the military potters and Roman or Romanized potters in the

vicus. What was noticeable is that no pottery was identified as being produced in the Cornovian hinterland of the fort and *vicus*. The Malvernian and Severn valley wares being beyond Cornovian influence. The development of the *vicus* as a provider of civilian services to the fort and as a local focus for trade and exchange would have had, at any given time, a small population in which would have had a limited incentive for distant trade. The proportion of Roman veteran and native residents of the *vicus* cannot be known; and so denies us any means of estimating the extent of cultural influences. What is apparent is that the pottery assemblages support the hypothesis that for this area there was no culturally specific ceramic forms.

8.5.4 Industry

Industrial activities identified within the *vicus* reflect the industrial activities within the fort. These activities seem to have been associated with metallurgical and metalworking activities. The evidence, observed in trenches I, II, III, IV, 31 and 32 (Allen. J. 2011 p.25) consists of hearths, pits and gullies. These features yielded examples of litharge, lead and bronze working, miscellaneous iron objects and nails. The working of bronze and iron would have required the acquisition of wood for the charcoal, the presence of which was found to be rich and ubiquitous. Clamp kilns, therefore, would have been a significant presence in the hinterland of the fort and *vicus*. Although the metals identified all exist in mineral veins within south Shropshire and southern Cornovian territory and that the lead deposits are within 7 kms of the settlement the exploitation of metals other than lead and iron is not attested. The exploitation of metals in this area other than iron may be Roman introductions, despite metal exploitation throughout Britain during the Iron Age (vid. Chpts 3, 5 & 7).

The litharge found at Pentrehyling is significant in terms of 1st and 2nd centuries exploitation of the mineral reserves found in the Shropshire Hills. Lead bearing geology

is located around the Stiperstones and Shelve Hill area and has been extensively exploited from the AD 1163, earliest reference, to the early 20th centuries (Shaw 2009, p.16ff). Although most of the archaeological evidence has been destroyed by subsequent mining, Roman artefacts have been recovered. In Britain eighty lead pigs have been discovered, three from the lead mining area of Shropshire have been found, although five have been claimed, though if true, two have now been lost. Two of the others are in museums while the third is in private ownership (Shaw 2009, p.14). As can be seen in figure, the pig has the legend 'IMP HADRIANI AUG' that dates it between AD 117- 132. From this, we can infer that the state had an official interest in the exploitation of minerals from the area mainly lead with copper; however, the ore in some of the seams consists of argentiferous lead, which had direct control by the military as a lost pig is recorded to have had the legend 'IMP.HADRIANI.AUG.LEG XX', which, if true, confirms the states involvement, in this case the twentieth legion. This legion, which had been garrisoning the legionary fort at Wroxeter, was relocated to Chester (Deva) by the late AD 70's (White and Barker 1998, p. 50). The report the legion recorded on a pig would indicate that in the mining area of the South Shropshire hills vexillations were stationed, possibly at Pentrehyling.

As stated above the evidence for industrial activity at the *Vicus* at Pentrehyling produced evidence for lead processing. As this process is not conducted in the fort, we must infer a civilian activity yet under military supervision. The litharge found in a hearth is indicative of silver recovery from the cupellation process (Bayley and Eckstei in Allen 2011, un-paginated). For this to occur the silver content of the lead must have been high enough to be economically viable, this in the 19th century was 0.015% or 3 ounces per ton (Shaw 2009, p.27). What we do not know is the effect the mining had, limited in comparison to the post mediaeval period, on the local native population and

to what extent did slavery effect the local population in the mines?

8.5.5 The Socio-Economic Basis

The interpretation of the pottery, above, suggests that the occupants of the *vicus* were, in part, natives maintaining their own material culture with adoption of Roman provincial forms through trade and exchange. However, the *vicus* could conceivably have been occupied by veterans; forty years duration would allow for this, in which they practiced the same crafts they would have practiced as soldiers, which the material evidence supports.

The evidence that the *vicus* probably did not survive the abandonment of the fort is supported by the argument that it was essentially a Roman settlement predicated on the fort in providing services augmenting the requirements while offering a degree of security to the inhabitants, probably veterans and their families. The Roman exploitation of the mineral resources then provided the means of economic support through the industrial processing and manufacturing. The problem here, then, is to what extent was there any interaction between the Roman, who themselves may have been of the native nations of the Empire, and the *Cornovii*. The structure of Cornovian society would have been informed by such interaction and any degree of integration; especially in terms of marriage. The material culture, discussed in chapter 7, of the *vicus* indicates the Roman rather than Cornovian or any other British identity in which native artefacts could be explained as traded goods. The quantity of Roman material supports Roman food preparation and consumption in a civil and military context in which the *vicus* was a focus of industry and trade.

8.5.6 Conclusion

The settlement, with the abandoned fort, as in the case of Wroxeter, did not become the foundation of an urban development based on a hinterland, which encompassed a

local economy by engaging the native population, providing access to a geographically wider system of trade and exchange. That the settlement lay away from the principle system of roads and that the system of communication remained undeveloped, by virtue of its remoteness, suggests a failure in terms of economic engagement and social negotiation. This raises the question of the relationship between the rural *Cornovii* and the Roman settlement and the social and cultural effects of Rome. The geographical context in a fertile and productive landscape on the convergence of three river valleys would seem beneficial for stimulating the urban process and engagement of the population. This was certainly not the case suggesting, not necessarily, an irrelevance of the *vicus* to the population, but that structural changes of the Cornovian economy may have been focused on Wroxeter as the *Civitas Capital*.

8.6 The Iron Age Road at Sharpstone Hill, Shrewsbury: The implications in the understanding of Iron Age Society and the Romanization of the Cornovii. (SJ 496 092)

8.6.1. Introduction

That the pre-Roman landscape had a system of paths, tracks and causeways is undisputed; for example, in Shropshire following a north-south orientation over the Long Mynd is the Portway (Fig. 8.24), and as with the Icknield and Ridgeway paths, in the south east of Britain, provided a means of moving through the landscape and so facilitated trade, exchange and the imposition of authority. The construction of engineered roads had until recently been considered to have been the result of Roman military activity. Thus, Roman military and civilian settlements were efficiently connected by a built and maintained system of roads. The discovery of a datable pre-Roman multi-phase engineered road to the west of Wroxeter and to the southern area of the Wroxeter hinterland project (White. R. 2007 *passim*) and lying just to the northeast of the area of this study has provided further evidence of a structured and informed

landscape in which a system of communications had been conceived and developed.

8.6.2. The Cornovian Context

The significance of the Roman engineers surveying a route for a new road yet incorporating existing structures, even though the course may not have been the preferred, must be recognized as making sense and addresses the problem of anomalous changes of direction of road alignments. Figure 8.31, shows the road relationship to the Roman road system. The construction of a road system to connect the foci of power and commerce makes sense. The road has been shown as a development over two thousand years, and providing an example of social organization in its development, maintenance and improvement. A road system connecting such foci would facilitate the movement and control of resources, agricultural and material while consolidating the tribal territory through constant negotiation by the elite. The hypothesis advanced by Malin and Laurence (Malin and Hayes 2010, p.56) on the latter is that a principle chief would be able to progress to centres of power in a similar manner to a mediaeval king.

The reasons discussed above are, I think, credible and would justify the expenditure of labour and resources required. A developed system of roads would be of course advantageous to the control of the movement of goods and material within the territory but also exports and imports to the territory. Such a system of communication by controlled routes could have permitted a system of taxation through tolls and tariffs. However, an implication of a road system would have been to bond the centres of power in defining tribal territory and so in a period of transition the Roman road system would not have seemed an imposition with the establishment of *Viroconium* as the principle tribal capital and centre of political, economic and social administration, of the Roman model. Further, the tribal territory would have been further reinforced by the integrating effects of the Roman road system while extending communications beyond the territory.

The development of the linear settlement at Meole Brace near Shrewsbury: in which the timber buildings reflected the ‘local vernacular styles’ (Malin and Hayes 2010, p. 4) may be an example of the native population responding to the pre-existing road system due to its facilitating the economy which failed at Pentrehyling. The excavation of the settlement revealed a service based economy with the trade in pottery but also baking and metalworking. Thus, the road system as developed into the Roman period provided the conditions for it to flourish into the fourth century.

8.6.3. Conclusion

The full extent of the road system within Cornovian territory is not known. Potentially a developed road system, which would have informed the structure of social relationships within Cornovian society, also acted on the settlement structure. The adoption and further development of the roads in the early Roman period introduced no new significant influence to act on rural settlement structure and thus the state of the dynamic equilibrium.

8.7 Conclusion

The problem with the analysis of rural settlement within the area of study is the lack of fully evaluated sites and evidence of continuity and change in the social, cultural and economic nature of the *Cornovii*. The case studies, above, indicate that there was change in the nature of settlements and that these changes seem to have been internally driven. This is seen in the change from enclosed settlement of the mid Iron Age to unenclosed settlement of the late Iron Age continuing into the early Roman period. In this context settlements can be discerned as being of two types; the first is one of change and development, for example, Black Knoll and Lower Down, while others are of abandonment, such as Bromfield. These examples, to me, suggest economic reasons rather than social and that the former two are examples of continuity of settlement

demonstrating cultural change seen in the settlement typology. Although Black Knoll has not been excavated and therefore no cultural artefacts have been recovered, the Lower Down settlement, enclosure one, shows that the use of pottery was adopted, probably in the first century A.D., and that this was a native settlement in contact with , if not engaging in the regional economy.

On the influence of the economy, the *vicus* settlement at Pentrehyling was the result of the economic requirements of the fort that also provided the condition of security for a specialist settlement. The extent to which it attracted and engaged the native population cannot be known, its economic influence seems to have been limited, and as has been said, probably provided a settlement for veterans who play a continuing part in the military economy of the fort being abandoned at or soon after the fort was decommissioned. Unlike Wroxeter, the fort did not become the basis of a continuing urban process in which the *Cornovii* would have been encouraged to settle, especially the elite.

The evidence here suggests, and especially in the light of the Sharpstone road, that the Romans found a well-organized developed culture, both politically and economically whose concept of wealth and the display of wealth differed from the developed tribes of the SouthEast, in which the social response was both mixed and complexed. The rural settlements seemed to have continued without necessarily a change of population. This population adapted to and engaged with the wider economy, a process that may have been in progress prior to the Roman annexation of the region, an engagement based on the political confidence of the elite and the general population in that there was a trend toward unenclosed settlement through a sense of security.

Chapter Nine

Transition: Change and Continuity

*Claudia caeruleis cum sit Rufina Britannis
edita, quam Latiae pectora gentis habet!*

Martialis de Claudiae, Epigrammaton Liber XI. LIII

9.1 Introduction

The main themes explored in this thesis have been rural settlement, its patterns and forms and how the landscape was modified, reflecting the needs and development of an agrarian society through which the nature and changes of settlement were investigated by the characterization of those settlements through the period of transition. As an agrarian society, Iron Age communities were influenced by the prevailing natural environment, which determined the nature of the agriculture possible, and the extent to which arable or pasturage was favoured, the predominance of either informing behaviour at a communal and settlement level. The underlying geology and climatic processes that gave rise to the soils, drainage and availability of water also determined the nature of communications and trade beyond the south Shropshire Hills and so the external cultural influences that exerted influences of change on a society existing in relative isolation. In the study of Iron Age society and the subsequent communities of the south Shropshire Hills, we must accept them on their own terms within the context of the prevailing political, social, economical and cultural forces of their time. As Aitchison provides the caveat:

‘The late Iron Age and Roman periods suit interpretation from a late twentieth Century perspective to an extent which no other periods do. We see, for instance, the origins and development of urbanism in temperate Europe, the introduction of coinage, the use of linear frontiers, road networks and other phenomena which all lend themselves to naive interpretations arising from our own social experience.’

(Aitchison 1987, p. 96).

The coming of Roman conquest and eventual incorporation into the Empire would

have had, to some extent, a profound effect upon the communities of the south Shropshire hills, as it would have had upon the *Cornovii* of the lowlands of the West Midlands plain. The effect of Roman rule is better understood from the settlements of the West Midlands plain due to archaeological research on a major settlement as Wroxeter and smaller enclosures such as Sharpstone Hill, Meole Brace, Calcott Farm and Duncott Farm enclosures in central Shropshire (White and Barker 1998, *passim*). In addition to these has been the data contributed to our knowledge of the late Iron Age by studies of the hillforts, which dominate the region. In many ways the south Shropshire hills, which constitute the area of study, present a gap in our knowledge of the understanding of the effect internal and external determinants of change had on the social, economic and cultural continuity and of the upland population. To a greater extent, we must rely upon the studies conducted in the Marches coinciding with Cornovian territory and Iron Age communities subject to similar conditions.

Following the Roman invasion of AD 43 and the eventual imposition of Roman authority on the Cornovian territory enforced by the Roman Army it established its main legionary fortress and centre of power at the site of Wroxeter (*Viroconium Cornoviorum*) by the fourteenth Gemina legion (*legio XIV Gemina*) and succeeded by the twentieth Valerian legion (*legio XX Valeria*) (Millet 1990, p.64, Todd, 1981, p.64, White and Barker 1998, p.49). In the hinterland of the newly established legionary fortresses of Wroxeter and Chester (*Deva*) and in the Cornovian territory twelve auxiliary and vexillation forts were established during and following the immediate conquest (Millet 1990, pp. 61-64) for example, Forden Gaer (*Lavobrinta*), Powys and Pentrehyling (see chapter 8) and Leintwardine, Herefordshire in the very south: the latter two having associated settlements, which does not include the numerous temporary marching camps that would have been built during the conquest i.e.

Bromfield (Stanford 1995, p. 129, Allen et al. 2011) (also discussed in chapter 8). The initial effect of the military presence would have been to dissuade armed resistance to the new order and to establish and confirm a relationship of understanding and acquiescence from the ruling elite (Gardner 2013, p. 14). The latter would have been important to the Roman conquest on the basis that diplomatic settlement prevents unnecessary warfare and a drain on military resources. Tentative evidence for this comes from the apparent lack of evidence for military action, excepting the Wrekin hillfort, which evidence, interpreted as military action, has been found (White and Barker 1998, p.38). If, as recorded on a triumphal arch in Rome erected about A.D. 51-52, Claudius ‘received the surrender of eleven kings of Britain’ (Lewis and Reinhold 1990, pp. 35-36), one might have been of the *Cornovii*. If this were the case, dependant upon the integrity of the tribal structure, the Roman army that arrived might have met with local dissenting resistance from some chiefs whose power base were the hillforts of which the Wrekin, considering its altitude and prominence in the landscape, suffered burning as a warning to the rest.

9.2 The Implications of the Roman Conquest

Whatever the exact circumstances and situations that occurred in the eventual conquest of the region, the arrival of a formidable professional army that was technically and technologically advanced for the time was beyond the experience of the warrior elite. This must have had a profound effect politically and socially.

Accepting that we do not know the true political nature of the *Cornovii*, they seemed to have accepted Roman authority with little conflict. The evidence of military action on the Wrekin, as said above, might have been a token warning to an elite already resigned to submission through diplomacy in the knowledge of the extent of conquest, submission and acquiescence of the tribes led by the tribal elite in the southeast (Salway

1993 p.54). However, the pacification of the southern tribes of the core and those of the periphery may be interpreted as ‘Roman’ culture as an élite phenomenon’ (Gardner 2013, p.8) as discussed in chapter 3, with the commonality of the elite, they had little to lose by pragmatic engagement. Thus, the Cornovian elite might not have confronted the Roman forces, not because they were incapable of either mustering sufficient numbers to create a credible army of resistance, but that they had too much to lose if they did, in terms of wealth, status and regional authority. Annexation, I argue, is that by negotiating from a position of weakness might have been their only reasonable resort under the circumstances, which would have included the relinquishment of land for military and eventual civil requirements, although the positioning of marching camps and temporary forts would probably have ignored local sensibilities for operational purposes.

The establishment of a Roman military power based at Wroxeter with other forts established in the region along with the infrastructure, communications and logistics would have put an economic demand upon the rural communities in matters of agricultural production, now to supply an army, and the possible loss of land with the establishment of mineral exploitation and in the hinterland of the permanent forts and veteran land allotments. The establishment of the Wroxeter fort was on a pre-existing Iron Age enclosure settlement, later the site of the *marcellum*, on prime agricultural land (White and Barker 1998, p.42).

When considering the effect of the Roman conquest and its aftermath, we must consider the effect on Cornovian society caused by the introduction of Roman material culture, military and civil systems of trade and administration in addition to the developing infrastructure had on the population in terms of rural settlement pattern and material culture. From this, we must consider the meaning of Romanization as a process

in a remote provincial context. The effect cannot have been homogenous; the socio-economic relationships established would have exposed Cornovian society to Roman material culture through the accessibility to a wider market, which does not necessarily mean that the general population became Roman in any behavioural sense. The effect of the influence we must consider is the extent of assimilation or acculturation and the extent that the rural population accepted or rejected any aspect of perceived Roman culture, whether material or behavioural, the latter being the least tangible in identifying. McCarthy (2006, p.4) makes the point that the majority of the population would have been farmers engaged in the established behaviour of exploitation limited by the available technology and, I would add, their knowledge. The agrarian practices would have been the result of many generations of cultural development and social evolution. The effect would not have made the agrarian native population resist Roman culture, in its broadest terms, but made them resistant through well-established conservative practices in a relatively isolated environment. Introduction of Roman material culture would have been a slow process of acquisition through economic engagement. Engagement informing ‘...provincial cultures as composites of fragmentary, fluid and hybrid identities...’ (Gardner 2013, p.6).

Historically Roman Britain can be seen from the archaeological remains such as at Wroxeter, Caerleon and Leicester, as examples of remains still visible, and of villas, for example Chedworth (Goodburn 1979 plate. 2) or Great Witcombe (de la Bédoyère 2001 p. 159) that give an impression of a thoroughly developed Roman landscape in Britain. To consider the Roman is to think of the *luxuria* implicit of the Roman elite and the facilities the urban poor had access to as the beneficence of the urban ruling elite. The daily lives of the urban were to be found amongst the *fora*, *thermae*, *palaestrae* and *basilicae* (Tacitus, *Agricola* XXI) of the cities and towns presenting to the native

population, who visited or resided in them, things that had been beyond their experience, exotic and alien. The development of places such as Wroxeter had an effect on the social structure of the *Cornovii* in causing a renegotiation of power and wealth of the tribal elite in the maintenance of status in a Roman dominated world where the culture and conventions informing power and economic relations had changed. For the rural agrarian population of essentially late Iron Age British people and their communities the established relationships with their elite and landscape in the context of Roman administration and dominance must have effected socially and economically a re-adjustment. Although Bartel (2010, p.12) makes the point that to interpret the relationship, between the Roman and the native in terms of status, raises archaeological problems and that it should be perceived as a client-patron relationship based on facilitating a 'colonial flexibility in societal management'.

To understand the effect the events of the mid first century AD had on Cornovian society is to understand the processes of change acting on the communities, their experience of those events and reception of those subsequent changes. For those communities the pre-Roman *Cornovii* would have become a part of their folk culture, oral traditions preserving their history through story telling. The effect on those living in the farming enclosures of the West Midlands plain in the hinterlands of Wroxeter in the south and Chester (*Deva*) in the north of the territory might have been different to those living an essentially pastoral dominated mixed economy of the upland areas. The *Cornovii* are considered to have been an introspective society and 'different from those known from the south and southeast of Britain' (White and Barker 1998 p.38). There is also the possibility that for most of the population living in relative isolation that their communities continued very much as before with little or no change to their culture and that their response was one of neither acceptance or rejection but a pragmatic

indifference to the new order. Thus, the veracity of the conditions are very much dependant upon the increasing body of data and the interpretations drawn from continual re-evaluation of that data.

9.3 The Cornovii – an indifferent people?

‘... the significance of the names... (tribal)...better reflect the emergence of new social and political entities at the end of the Iron Age...’

(Moore 2011, p.335)

The above reminds us that we are studying a people for whom the name *Cornovii* is a designation of a term of reference that is Roman. The name however may reflect a distinctiveness of nominally definable groupings in the late Iron Age.

The study of the hillforts of the *Cornovii*, particularly in the Marches has not been the subject of this thesis, which has been addressed by Wigley (2002, passim). Even so, the existence of so many in the territory cannot be ignored as to their significance in what can be said about the social structure of the late Iron Age *Cornovii*. White and Barker (1998, p. 34-35) assert that the numerous hillforts should be indicative of a power base of local sub-chiefs affiliated to a chief or king, but essentially autonomous with local loyalties. However, this does not hold with the development of the salt trade, the salterns being based in the north of the territory (Fig. 8.1) at Northwich, Middlewich and Nantwich, in which a more centralized elite would be required to control it, which would suggest a development toward a more centralized society with a more complicated rigid internal structure of affinities and local loyalties (White and Barker 1998, p. 34). This interpretation is in disagreement with the opinion of Millet in which he postulates a ‘decentralized and egalitarian’ society in which the effect of Roman rule was ‘reinforcing i.e. stimulating to a nascent elite’ (Millet 1990, p. 100, Table. 4.3). This argument is based on the idea that the seemingly underdeveloped *Cornovii*, when compared to the tribes of the southeast, who had been long influenced by their

proximity to Gaul and by the mid first century B.C. the Roman world, had a poor material culture. Whereas Redfern and Dewitte (2011, p. 2) argue that society in the Roman Empire was not uniform, the heterogeny allowed different cultural and ethnic identities to be expressed through culturally informed behaviour.

The value system inherent in Cornovian culture in which wealth was expressed differently from the southeastern tribes meant that they must be evaluated on their own terms. The trade in salt would have been an important form of wealth for exchange for the centralized controlling elite. The need for the transportation of salt also necessitated the production of briquetage containers, which were traded widely into the tribal territories, which had developed, at least at a major level of trade and exchange, and monetary system.

At family and communal level, the majority of the population would have had an effective self-sufficiency, particularly in food, livestock in particular, which might have applied, even though the three-model system Cunliffe applies (2005 p. 606ff). The area of hillfort domination also coincides with the clientage economic model between low, the majority, and high, the minority, status settlements. Yet he concedes the actual situation was complicated and that all these three systems may have worked together, which I suggest were dependant on level of scale (Cunliff 2005, p. 444). On the scale of the Cornovian economy as a whole was a centralized control of commodities by the elite, especially salt, which would have been the main source of external trade and importation of commodities that they regarded in terms of wealth. As discussed in chapter five, the non-monetary economy of the *Cornovii* did not seem to result in any exchange of coins, gold or silver, thus the apparent absence of imported coins, although there are isolated finds of Dobunnic coins. However, exchange might have been in precious metals as the raw material for the production of status goods within the society,

consider the gold pellet found at Rowton (see Chapter 7). Could these be the result of melted gold from coins for goldsmithing?

The geographical isolation of the *Cornovii* allowed two principal routes of communication, the river Severn, through Dobunni territory or the north coast and the Wirral, with the evidence of an entrepôt port or emporium at Meols. About 12km south of this site is that of Irby, which has produced evidence of late Iron Age and Romano-British occupation and possible trade and manufacturing. There was evidence of smithing due to iron-working waste and textile production from loom-weights and spindle-whorls, along with evidence of carpentry, and traded pottery was recovered for the Iron Age and Romano-British period. The tentative evidence from this in considering its position on the northsouth access into Cornovian territory may suggest, apart from salt, the material that might have been available for trade (www.english.gov.uk/ArchRev/rev95_6/irby.htm). Foreign currency has been found as stray finds in the area include Coriosolites silver coins and Carthaginian coins. The effect of coastal erosion has severely compromised Meols of which much evidence has now been lost (White and Barker 1998 p.32, Mason 2001 p.26). The evidence is that at a higher level the *Cornovii* engaged in external trade, which must have been for those commodities, unidentified, that some stratum of the population needed or wanted.

To return to Vince's quote in chapter seven '...if no pottery, then what were these people using instead?' (Vince 1988, pp.54-55) suggests to me not an inability of the *Cornovii* to produce pottery, which they clearly could in the production of briquetage, even though coarse, but that they had an alternative solution to the problem. The lack of pottery production, considering that pottery was produced in the Clee Hills, (Moore 2007, p.82) which, I think, brings into doubt that it was within Cornovian territory, in consideration that the pottery there was exchanged as far as 30km from its source, while

the Malvern Hills pottery is found as far as 70km ranging into Herefordshire, the Thames valley, the Severn Valley and the Cotwold Ridge (Moore 2007, *ibid*), indicates an established cultural phenomenon peculiar to the *Cornovii* and intrinsic to their identity. The alternatives to pottery must have been wood, leather and metal. Wood and leather would have been the common materials used because of availability and the lesser levels of skill required to work the material unlike metal, which must have had a greater exchange value and traded. The problem with organic material is that it rarely survives to be archaeologically recovered. There have been finds of both wooden and leather vessels found (Britnell and Earwood 1991, *passim*). The condition of the material culture of the *Cornovii*, as with the intangible cognitive behavioural aspects of their culture and relationship systems informing the structure of their society and relationship with their developed landscape, would have established the conditions that would have determined their predilection or susceptibility to cultural change from external influences, whether active or passive.

The *Cornovii* undoubtedly had an economy based on arable and pasturage agriculture, pasturage being the predominant form in the south Shropshire Hills, with a significant internal and external trade of their own products in salt, iron and copper. This with the possession of land is what constituted the basis of the wealth of the people. However, the possession of material wealth, unless equally distributed by an egalitarian system not apparent in the archaeological record, must give rise to a socially stratified society in which commodities were controlled through systems of control and command possibly focused on a single site as the seat of ultimate authority. On this point, the advance of hillfort development in the lowland Cornovian territory suggests that that substantial hillforts such as Old Oswestry, Bury Walls and the Berth at Baschurch, in Shropshire (Fig. 9.1) might have been developing as proto-towns similar to the oppida

of the southeast and that one of these might have been effectively, if not actually, the tribal capital (White and Barker 1998 p.36).

A possible socio-economic model (Fig. 9.2 Cunliffe Model diagram) for the *Cornovii* might have been one in which local dominant elite families, represented in some but not all the hillforts or residing in the multivallate enclosures, were the centre of local economies in which the farms of the small enclosures, and as the specialized enclosure of Bromfield shows, not all enclosures, provided for themselves and the elite. The major sites, as mentioned, would have had their own hinterlands for provisions. From this, we see the movement of products emanating from the base to local dominant settlements. The function, then, of the major settlements is to control the tribal resources, production and wealth such as mineral resources including the salt. Through a system of elite patronage-clientage centrally and locally, wealth is redistributed in Cornovian terms. The socio-economic structure created then functions on the maintenance of a conservative system of tenure and production resulting in the apparent material poverty and introspection of their society. Thus as White and Barker (1998, p.36) forwarded 'Cornovian society was more centralized than first appears'. However, did this system fail as a result of the establishment of Roman authority? None of this suggests that the *Cornovii* were in some degree less advanced or sophisticated. This suggests a central representative authority based on a stratified society. Such a structured society therefore would have been manageable to the Roman authorities: which may explain why the civitas capital was eventually founded in the first century A.D., itself indicative of social stratification (Gaffney and White et al 2007, chpt.7 p.3) and an imperative to stability.

The general paucity of material culture of the *Cornovii*, as discussed, is not necessarily indicative of general poverty and we must look for indicators of wealth elsewhere. However, where examples of attested Cornovian metalwork have been

recovered it is of good quality in terms of craftsmanship. The contexts of these artefacts tend to be from the areas between the hillforts associated with multivallate enclosures. This presumably indicates that the elite resided at these sites and hillforts were special places with few permanently occupied as settlements. Yet as discussed in chapter 4, there has been a lack of investigation of enclosures with a bias being within the lowlands of the Wroxeter hinterland, i.e. Sharpstones A (White and Wigley 2010, p.4) and E (White et al 2007, 4.1.2,) and Collfryn hill-slope enclosure (Musson 1991, 164) and although a typology has been determined, the chronological context and sequence of most sites remains unknown. This evidence should strengthen the evidence that the *Cornovii* had a politically and economically stratified or even hierarchical society. The evidence to date provides little indication to what was happening in the apparent isolation of the hills. On this, my excavation of the two intersecting enclosures at Lower Down, chapter 8, shows discontinuity of settlement of two univallate enclosures in which the one, DFTT03, seems to be possibly of a mid to late Iron Age date while the other, DFTT01, provided evidence of Romano-British occupation yielding Malvernian ware and Severn Valley ware. This site had either been re-occupied or possibly remodelled, but whichever the case regional pottery was being used in a locale that is considered to be aceramic with access to the products of a wider market, which had become available as an effect of Roman urbanization within the tribal territory.

9.4 Summary

This thesis has been concerned with the change and continuity in Cornovian society as it would have affected the rural population by considering the effects of the establishment of urban settlements following the Roman conquest and its implications. The *Cornovii* may have been different when compared to the tribal societies of the south and southeast of Britain and that the influence of the continent had minimal influence

due to their relative geographical isolation and internal economic systems where exports of resources were controlled by an elite. The social basis of the *Cornovii* was not egalitarian, inferred by the ability of the Roman authorities to establish a Civitas Capital of the *Cornovii* enrolling, as they would have perceived, the leading families of the elite to form the new urban ruling class or *ordo*. Because of the establishment of *Viriconium Cornoviorum* and its effect on its hinterland the largely invisible and enigmatic Iron Age population, who had been seen as materially impoverished, have been made visible because of the relationship and interaction with the city. The Wroxeter Hinterland Project has made advances in revealing the material effects of Romanization on the population and the degree in which it was accepted or rejected. However, rather than a simple dichotomy of the urban Roman and the rural *Cornovii* a more complicated picture has emerged of adaptable identity but not rejection, which an outward display of Romanness concealed a successful Cornovian urban elite who were able to exploit the rural landscape through the native communities with Roman authority.

The effect has been a concentration of Roman material culture and structures in the immediate hinterland of *Viroconium*, rapidly declining with distance to a very low level of material and structures away from the city, especially in the south Shropshire Hills with increases in concentrations around a few specific sites which have been attested by field surveys in the hills, which produced negligible material. The material found at Down Farm, Lower Down, I think, demonstrates an acquisition of Severn Valley ware and Malvernian ware as a reflection of the availability of the wares and not a desire on the part of the occupants to become Roman or to express themselves as Roman.

The *Cornovii* were subject to, and the inheritors of, a landscape that had had a long history of human agency. The complexed relationship developed on dependency in a landscape that informed their socio-economic responses in an agrarian environment. By

the late Iron Age, the society had established an economy, which had a developed re-distributive system although at the local communal level this might have been effectively a sufficer based economy of hill farmers. The landscape was dominated by hillforts of the developed hillfort zone, although exact function and contemporaneity is not fully understood, they seemed to have continued to the end of the late Iron Age. This was also a period of the development of multiple enclosure settlements, which were probably symbols of hierarchy through prominent display and the ability to control and use labour. The relationship between these settlements and the majority of single enclosure settlements is not known although the hierarchical model proposed by Cunliffe (2005, fig. 9.2) is based on work from the south and cannot be assumed to apply easily to the *Cornovii*. The system of linear earthworks and pit alignments and the establishment of land tenure and land divisions demonstrate landscape history beginning in the Bronze Age and persisting into the late Iron Age, even into the Roman period. This structured landscape reflected their social structures, formalized and ritualized, dynamic yet in a state of equilibrium informed by tradition that permitted re-negotiation of their internal and external relationships. Their culture was defined by the constant interplay of relationships at many levels, individual, communal and with the elite systems that operated as an integral part of the socio-political structure. An environment was created in which the rural communities engaged in the annual cycle of agriculture, the basis of their economy. Here, the evidence is that of a rich mixed agricultural economy with a strong bias to pasturage on the uplands producing a mainly self-sufficient economy.

There was a strong association between exchange systems and social structure, which related to elite settlement and communal activities. The system allowed for the execution of the construction of major earthwork structures in hillforts and smaller

enclosures. This also extended to the maintenance and further construction of land divisions, which must have relied upon communal help based on commonality or bonds of obligation, probably dependant on the status of those engaging and the engaged. Thus, the society and economy were intricately integrated and informed by the necessity of communality in which, regardless of status, there existed an interdependentness enforcing a social structure. This socio-economic structure must be reflected in the pattern and typology of settlement determining location and form with agreed access and use of land, particularly for transhumance. The majority of the population would have lived within this social structure in relative geographical insularity. The elite who had wider economic interests engaged in the production and trade in certain resources e.g. salt, within and beyond their territory. However, the Cornovian society, as a whole, identified with themselves through a common culture and inheritance of a landscape imbued with symbolic meaning in which they formed their identity.

The Cornovii were not socially homogenous and the stratified structure inferred would have been a source of tension that was conditioned by the Roman conquest. The effect on the heterogeny would have exploited interest groups with their own purposes allowing the quick submission of the elite on behalf of the *Cornovii*. This early resolution and it seems a passive acceptance, created the conditions for the establishment of *Viroconium*.

The characterization of settlement has shown that the rural settlements and landscape have contributed little to our knowledge of Cornovian culture and society and the extent to which it was subject to continuity and change. In this thesis, I have examined certain sites that demonstrate diversity in terms of settlement from *Cornovii* and Roman perspectives revealed in the social, cultural and economic functions of the sites. The case studies discussed in Chapter 8 indicate that changes occurred in the nature of

settlements, which in the late Iron Age were internally driven by socio-economic processes creating the dynamic equilibrium of the society. Change and continuity can be seen in the continuation of the settlement enclosure at Black Knoll, which as discussed, is considered to have had an occupation spanning the period of transition, while the settlement enclosures of Down Farm demonstrate two distinct intersecting enclosure ditches of which one, enclosure 2, yielded Malvernian and Severn Valley wares. Enclosure 1, tentatively interpreted as middle to late Iron Age, produced no material evidence from the enclosure ditch: later replaced by enclosure 2. Here there was a discontinuity of settlement in which the later provided evidence of Romano-British material culture. Discontinuity is shown by abandonment, such as at Bromfield, which seemed to have been an example of a specialized meat processing site and not a permanent residence. This variety of enclosure site adds little to our understanding of the function and processes determining settlement location and duration without the accumulative data of more field evaluations. It is only then with a wider dataset of evaluated enclosures within the uplands of the south Shropshire Hills can we reconcile the settlements with those of the lowlands on the Shropshire Plain and the hinterland of *Viroconium*. The Down Farm enclosures show distinct changes of typology from short quadrilateral to long quadrilateral: so what caused this change in typology? Perhaps changes in economic conditions led to the abandonment of the earlier to be replaced later. There is no reason to suppose that the new occupants of the site were the same members of Cornovian society, the material culture present cannot be said to be indicative of cultural change. Black Knoll has not been excavated and therefore no cultural artefacts have been recovered, although it shows phases of development based on the topographical. For both these sites, we do not know whether we are seeing what had been active native settlements engaging in the local and regional economy. Until

more work is done, we do not know whether these represent the norm or the exception in settlement pattern.

Further to the evaluation of settlement sites and their effect on the rural community and economy, is the *vicus* settlement at Pentrehyling (Chapter 8). This, unlike *Viroconium*, failed to survive the abandonment of the fort. The settlement failed to establish itself in the rural environment as a market for economic trade and exchange, which indicates that its presence had little or no meaning to the rural population for whom their economy did not seem to require a local central market. The conclusion is that it existed to provide services for the fort within which specialist crafts and industrial processes occurred including the local lead. The *vicus* as a settlement seems anomalous in the cultural landscape, its meaning to exist predicated entirely on the fort. To compare it with *Viroconium*, it did not create an economically dependant hinterland of its own and seems to have failed in engaging with the local communities to any measurable meaningful extent. This site is, I further, important in understanding the processes of Romanization from the perspective of failure.

That the *Cornovii* possessed a strong social structure is evidenced by the discovery of their ability to produce a structured road at Sharpstone. What can be inferred from this is that the *Cornovii* were a stratified society with developed internal political and economic systems that facilitated the organisation of labour for major constructions. The construction of roads, the number and extent is not known or the significance fully understood, must have advanced internal communications for economic purposes and possibly ceremonial processions by the elite to sites of political or cultural significance. The *Cornovii* present an organized society with an advanced level of development although at variance to the tribes of the south and southeast. In this their terms of wealth and display was an indigenous development integrating the culture with their political

structures and economy. Thus with the Roman conquest their responses were various and complexed determining the extent of change and continuity experienced by the communities. There was no great disruption to rural settlements, which the evidence of the continuation of the pre-Roman land division, indicates continuity without any significant displacement or change of population. The majority of the population continued its agrarian existence with modified relationships to the elite. The initial response to the Roman period must have been one of adaptation and with the opportunity to engage and participate with a wider economy for a minority, as a continuation of a process of change Roman annexation merely changed the developmental trajectory of the *Cornovii* particularly the elite. To summarize:

‘This was not a society that was simply waiting to be stimulated by Roman influence. Rather the evidence asserts that Cornovian society possessed a powerful underlying structure that appears to be demonstrated in a rigid uniformity of material culture and also dictated how other contemporary societies interacted with it.’

(Gaffney and White 2007, Chpt 7, p.3)

9.5 A Matter of Identity

In conclusion: the distinguishing characteristic of the *Cornovii* is that they appeared to have been a traditionalist conservative culture, which informed their receptiveness to the material culture of others. As a result, the one aspect of their culture used as a cultural indicator has been the paucity of a ceramic traditional. This has meant that during the transition period Roman or Roman based pottery is not usually found on rural settlements, although there are demonstrable exceptions. The process of Romanization, which I argue here, was one of passive encouragement intended to engage the élite in the regional Roman administration. The appearance of pottery in the settlements of the hinterland of *Viroconium*, even with regional wares from the Clee Hills and Malverns, is only seen from the later first and early second centuries A.D. outside of a military context. Even then, it remained limited in any significant quantity to sites of a higher

status, among the general agrarian rural communities it shows a limited range when it is located i.e. Down Farm (Chapter 7). The acquisition of pottery is a matter of debate on the meaning of Romanization and the possession or non-possession of certain material culture. Thus, the *Cornovii* in such terms must have used alternatives to pottery of satisfying practical tasks. As seen from the Glastonbury Lake Village (Chapter 7) materials that are usually perishable survive under favourable circumstances, for example water logging. With the lack of pottery, wooden and leather vessels and utensils were attestable alternatives. These have not survived or have yet to be found, since there are environmental conditions in which examples could survive, especially in the alluvium and silt of valley floors in the proximity of settlements.

The new economic opportunities presented as a result of the Roman conquest and the effective removal of tribal boundaries to the movement of people led to an influx of people and goods. This is represented in the range of pottery recovered from the hinterland such as, Black Burnished Ware from Dorset, Nene Valley colour-coated vessels, Mancetter-Hartshill wares, vessels from Oxfordshire, *Verulamium* and amphorae from Baetica, all imported into the new Civitas of the *Cornovii*. However, these fabrics are missing from most rural settlements, especially beyond the hinterland.

The problem with the extent to which the indigenous population in the rural settlements used Roman or hitherto other British material is a question of insufficient data. The background evidence from the surface surveys indicate the material was in limited use by some settlements within the hinterland, the evidence declining with distance. The conclusion that I would draw from this evidence is that the rural *Cornovii* continued using their own material in their domestic environment for the preparation and processing of food. Where ceramic items were acquired, was likely to have been through incidental acquisition, through exchange or incidental in using what were

containers for food.

The use of a particular material culture is seen as indicative of cultural identity, which can be reinforced by the continued use of that material culture, insisting on the use of certain received traditional forms and fabrics. The poor adoption of Roman material culture outside of *Viroconium*, as a major urban and central place, except for certain sites of a high status, despite availability, indicates a degree of indifference. Where the material is found, on sites such as Whitley Grange or Upton Cressage for example, and if the occupants were of native origin, the material presentation of Romanness cannot be interpreted as an abstract concept of a specific Roman identity (Freeman 1993. P. 444, Hingley 1997. P. 85). This is because the external material culture came from a diversity of places within the Empire reflecting the diversity of forms and fabrics that have their origin in non-Roman cultures evident in the pottery from Baetica, Gaul and the Mosel area of Germany. This might have made such goods acceptable if they were not seen as overtly Roman but a consequence of the conquest.

The evidence that some auxiliary soldiers settled in the area meant that aspects of provincial cultures were introduced in a Romano-provincial context of settlement. The perceived identity of the veterans and their families would have been furthered by an overt Roman appearance from the perspective of material culture informed by acculturation and ethnicity. Their ethnically based social behaviours, in terms of their consumption of material culture and food, would have emphasized the dichotomy between the urban and the suburban hinterland to the indigenous population (Swan 1992, 2002: 52).

The social relationships during the period of transition experienced fundamental changes, first in terms of the urban and rural and second the polarization that might have occurred between the elite and the majority of the farming communities in the rural

territory of the *Cornovii*. As communities reinforced their sense of community within their culture so the elite engaged in social activities that imbued an exclusive group, who controlled the wealth and resources of their society with authority, by creating social and political bonds and alliances through for example feasting, traditionally attributed to Celtic Society (Cunliffe 1995, *passim*) and the possessing and wearing of status symbols in fine metal work and the occupation of high status settlements, perhaps occupied solely for ritualized purposes. The move of the elite into a Roman initiated context merely served to enhance the differences of stratification because of the access they had to exotic goods, that were not necessary for hierarchical display prior to the Roman conquest, through which they could express their social commonality and in the process present a Roman appearance, which might have been incidental to the continuation of their own cultural values of display and conspicuous consumption. These practices were already established by the southeast tribes of the late Iron Age with goods imported from the continent used in feasting (Haselgrove 1982, p. 78, Darvill 1987, p.171). This behaviour would have contrasted if the rural population continued to use and produce their own material culture, which initially was a way of displaying resistance not only to Roman dominion but also in opposition to their elite, who were participating in the regional administration and securing their previous status and authority in the new Civitas.

The evidence for significant elite hillfort enclosures of the *Cornovii*, discussed in Chapter 8, and the possible emergence of proto-urban centres, as had happened in the southeast, provides evidence that Cornovian society was constantly developing in which the period of transition following the Roman conquest was already occurring. The effect of the conquest was to provide a different trajectory to the development, which would partly explain why the defences of *Viroconium* are reminiscent of an Iron Age hillfort

and not replaced in stone by the third century AD.

Major changes in the landscape are archaeologically visible providing evidence of social change at a hierarchical level. The problem, as we have seen, has been the invisibility of the rural community, which has made it difficult to identify and understand. This is because of its cultural values informing the choice and use of certain native material culture while seemingly rejecting non-native material. The socio-economic effect of the Roman administration was slow to have had an effect on the remoter native communities, eventually resulting in some regional material being used, for example the Malvernian and Severn Valley ware found at Down Farm (Chapter 7) reflecting economic stability. Because of the problems of dating through surface surveys, it is possible that more than a generation passed before such material was accepted. Certainly, the urban effect would have had its greatest economic effect in the second century AD with investment in public aggrandizement of *Viroconium* and the development of the hinterland, yet excepting certain sites the effect waned with distance. The introduction of fine wares, coinage and glass would have had a transforming effect on a small proportion of households, but rurally these are uncommon. The effect even in the hinterland does not suggest any depth of Romanization with evidence of native practices continuing in a symbiosis of Romano-Celtic culture and belief systems as indicated by the stone figure found at Alkmund Park (Chapter 7).

What is evident is that Roman material culture was not ubiquitous among the *Cornovii*, which has parallels to the northern tribes. This suggests that the rural communities were impoverished with a poor integration into the Romanized economy of the region and province. The problem with this is that of assessing a society from the perspective of Roman material culture and culturally informed values and not

recognizing and understanding the indigenous concept of wealth. As discussed in Chapter 5, on rural settlement, their relationship with the landscape and the production from it only had meaning in terms of wealth within their communities and the wider society of the *Cornovii*. Thus to understand the *Cornovii* is to understand their culture in the context of place. The dichotomy of the urban, commanding and informing a hinterland, and the wider rural landscape can then be applied to understanding how and why Roman and Romanized material culture was used and appropriated by some of the *Cornovii*, in terms of becoming Roman or not. Ultimately, the conception of the individual and community identity is predicated on their culture and perception of place.

In this thesis, I have attempted to demonstrate the complex effect of the Roman invasion and establishment of the province as an administrative part of the Empire had on the late Iron Age society, culture and communities of the *Cornovii*. The overall effect of the Roman period was not to significantly affect the continuation of rural life, in that the agrarian based communities do not show any major disruption to the annual cycle of subsistence or changes in settlement form and pattern. The Romanizing urban presence of *Viroconium* must have had its effect, as did the minor settlements at Pentrehyling, Leitwardine or other settlements, many associated with the army and the developing system of roads. Some of the communities must have suffered losses of land or access to it, especially with the exploitation of minerals. Generally, however, there seems to have been continuity in which a pragmatic acceptance can be mistaken for rejection or even resistance in the assertion of identity of a threatened culture.

The processes of assimilation and acculturation are complexed affecting individuals, households and communities in a variety of ways dependent on reception. For those who fully engaged in the Romanization by acquiring Roman material culture, even practices and behaviour does not mean that the meaning they attributed to those things

Roman had the same meaning they had in a purely Roman context. Native reception would have been conditional to the receiving culture to be interpreted and practiced in the indigenous idiom. Thus, identity becomes a complexed multi-faceted concept dependant on social context. The Cornovians of *Viroconium* regardless of status would have behaved and practiced their culture in the context of an overtly Romano-British urban environment. At an individual level, culture and identity would have been personal and varied. Being a part of the broader urban community, even in the proximity of the city, gave the *Cornovii* access to and incorporation of a system of social and economic exchange, resulting in the potential enrichment of material culture and exposure to aspects of non-British cultural practices and beliefs: a cosmopolitan effect.

The extent to which these social and economic systems reached the rural inhabitants is problematic. However, the effect no matter how small meant that to some extent the rural communities had to reconcile themselves to changes and acceptance of a new political and socio-economic equilibrium. How they responded to the condition would have informed the Roman response and at the same time reciprocated on their condition informing their indigenous identity.

The area of study has presented some difficulties on the quantity and quality of data on which any research is dependant. The area south of and contiguous to the Wroxeter hinterland project is geographically significantly different in which identities can vary dependant on whether the community is on the upland or the lowland because the environmental conditions demand different farming regimes.

‘However, what we may legitimately derive from this overwhelming absence of evidence is that the *Cornovii* may well have considered themselves rich in their own terms.’

(Gaffney and White 2007, Chpt 7, p.2)

If there is such an absence of evidence from the hinterland of what nominally was the fourth largest urban settlement in the province of Britannia, then the evidence from the south Shropshire hills by comparison is scant indeed. This leaves the *Cornovii* of the late Iron Age vague and enigmatic. When they emerge into the historical record, we see them from the perspective of a conqueror and through the archaeological record of how they responded. From the little, yet growing evidence, we can reinterpret it in an attempt to get closer to the reality of the Cornovian society. However, our understanding of their identity cannot be theirs, presented as they were with a dynamic and changing world.

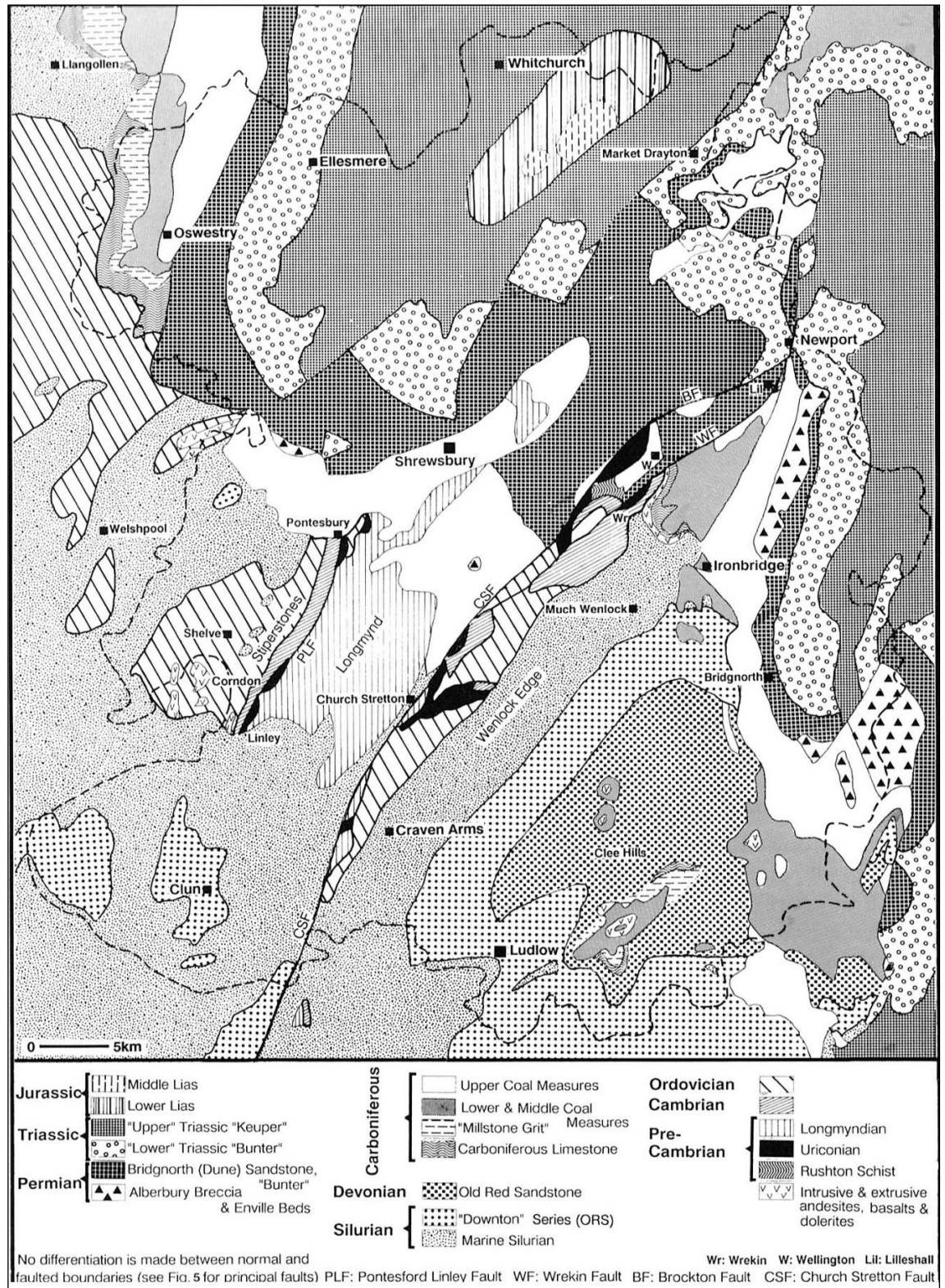


Fig. 2.1 The Geology of Shropshire, Toghill 1990 p.12

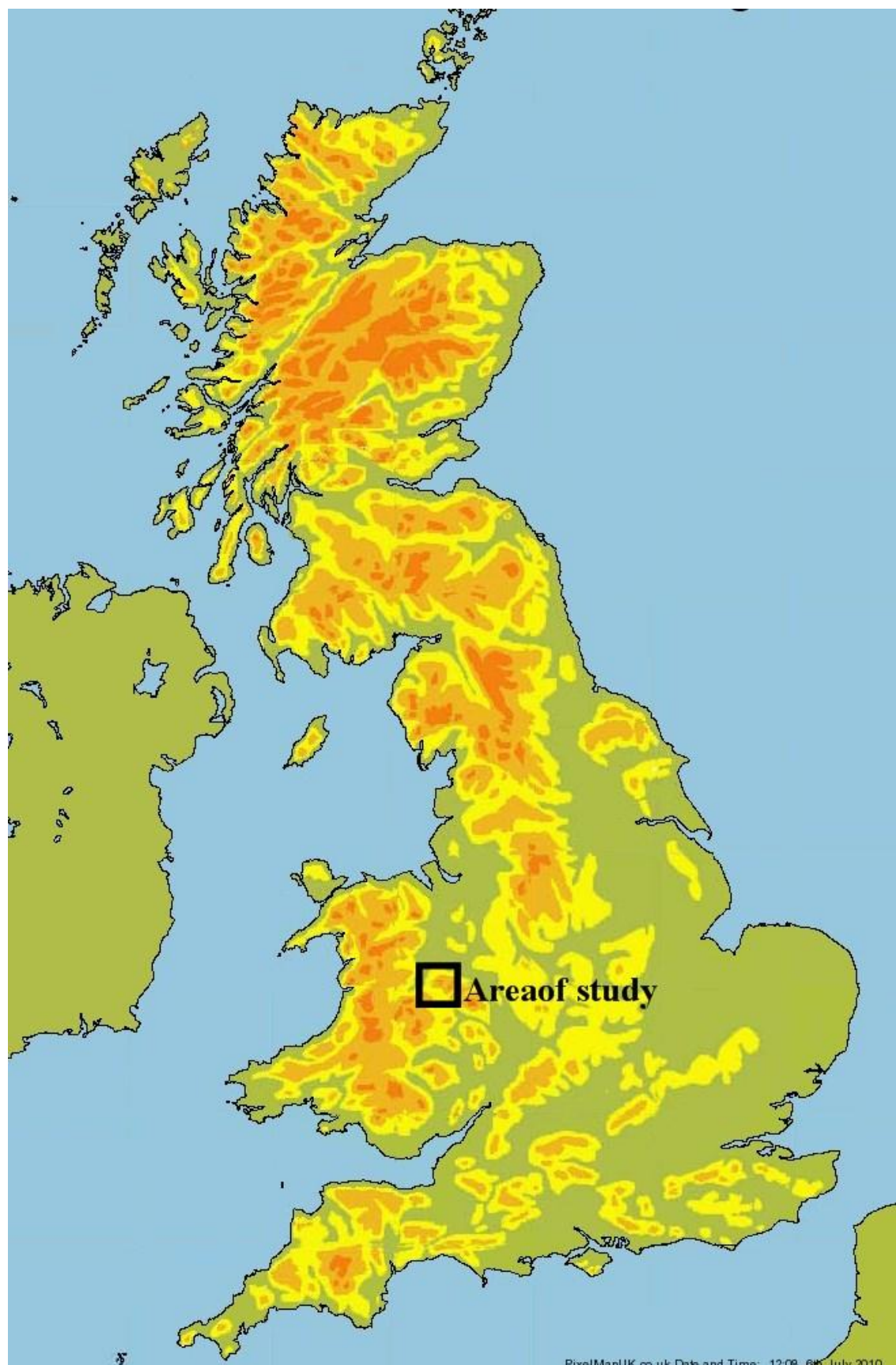


Fig. 2.2 The Topography of Britain

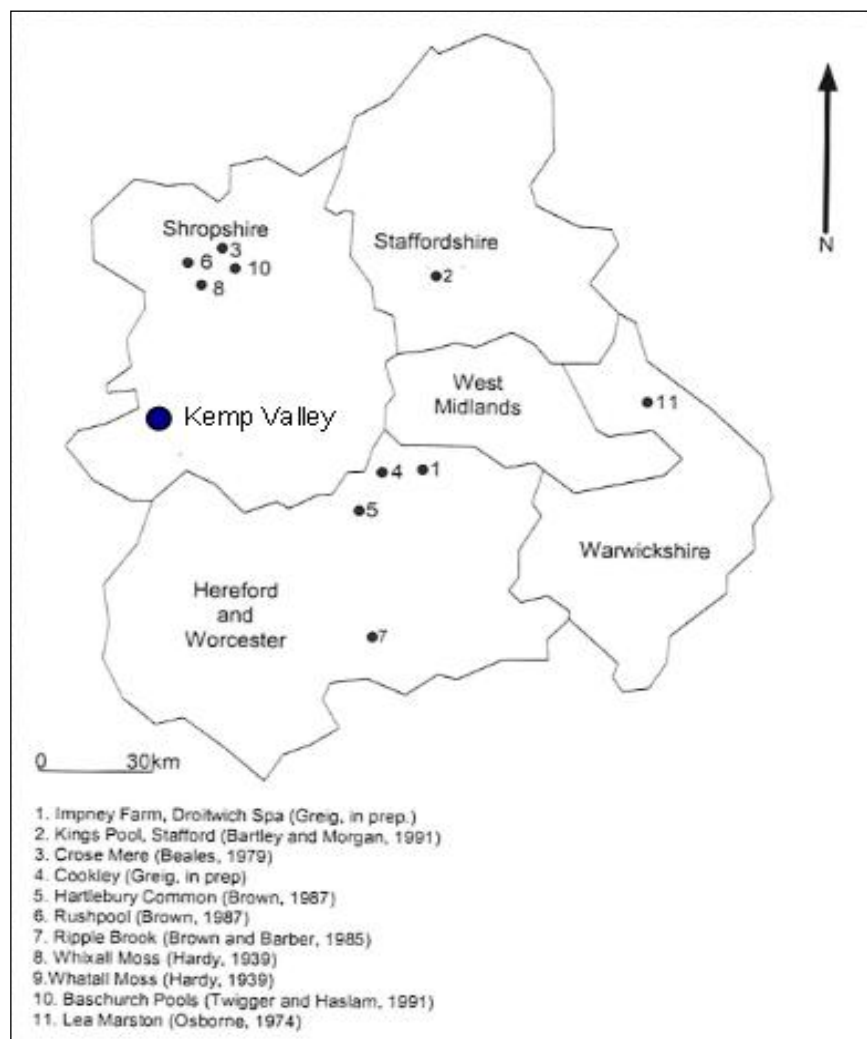


Fig. 2.3 Locations from Pollen Diagrams (Pittam & Mighall 2007)

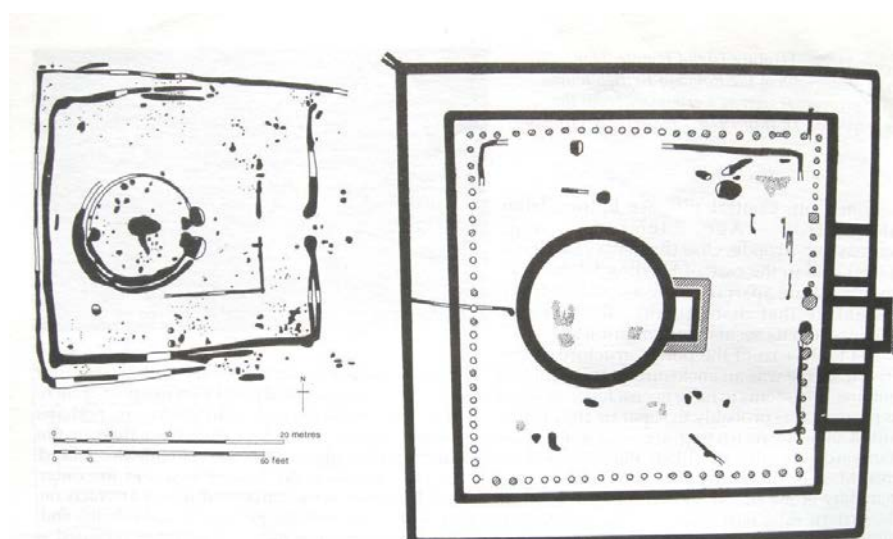


Fig. 3.1 Shows the plans of two Atræbatic temple on Hayling Island, Hampshire. Although of the Roman period, the larger later temple preserved the basic plan of the earlier Late Iron Age temple. (King and Soffe 1994).

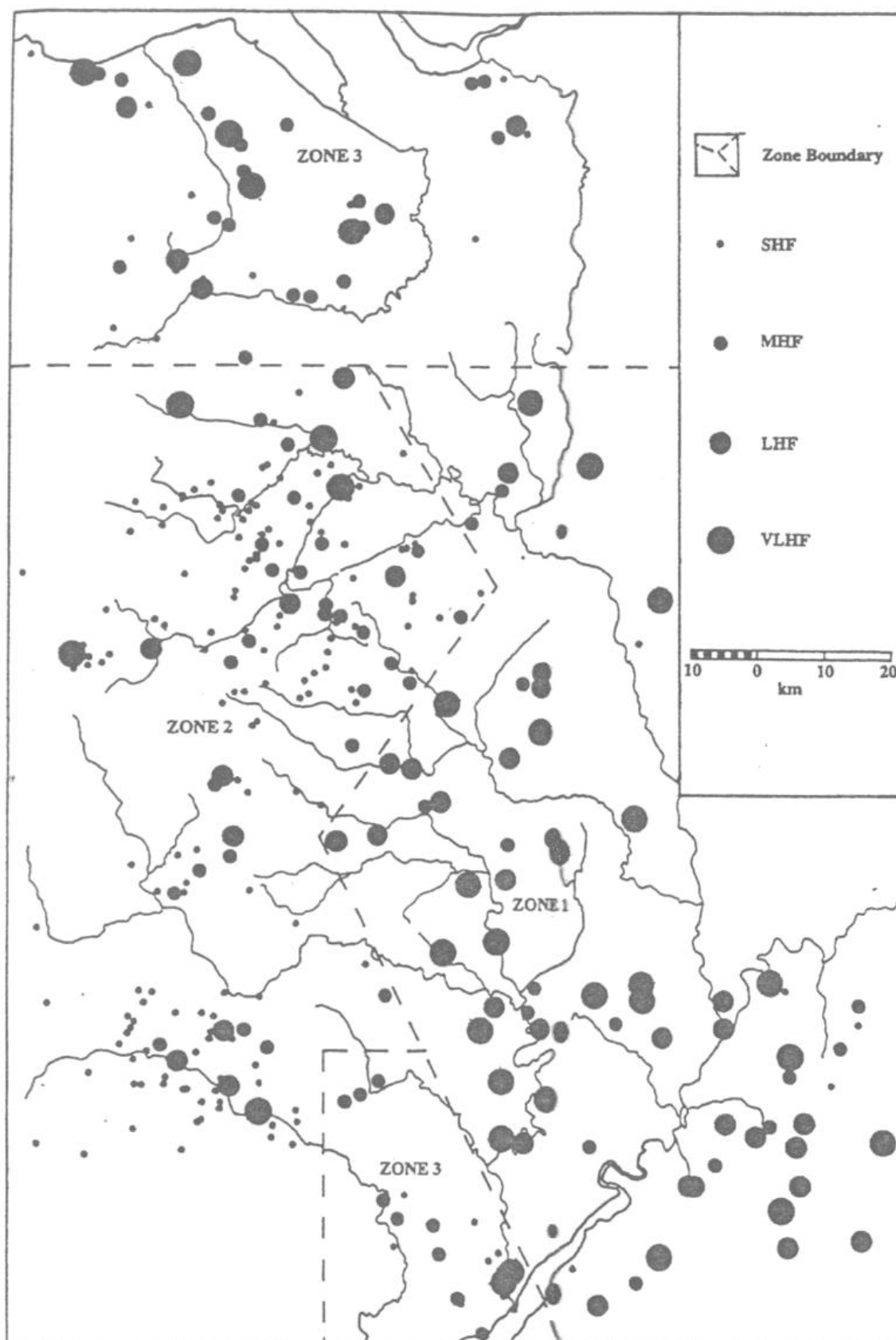


Fig. 5.1 A distribution map of enclosures of < 1.2ha as graded by size. The map shows them within the context of his three zones. (Jackson 1999. 201, Fig 12.2)

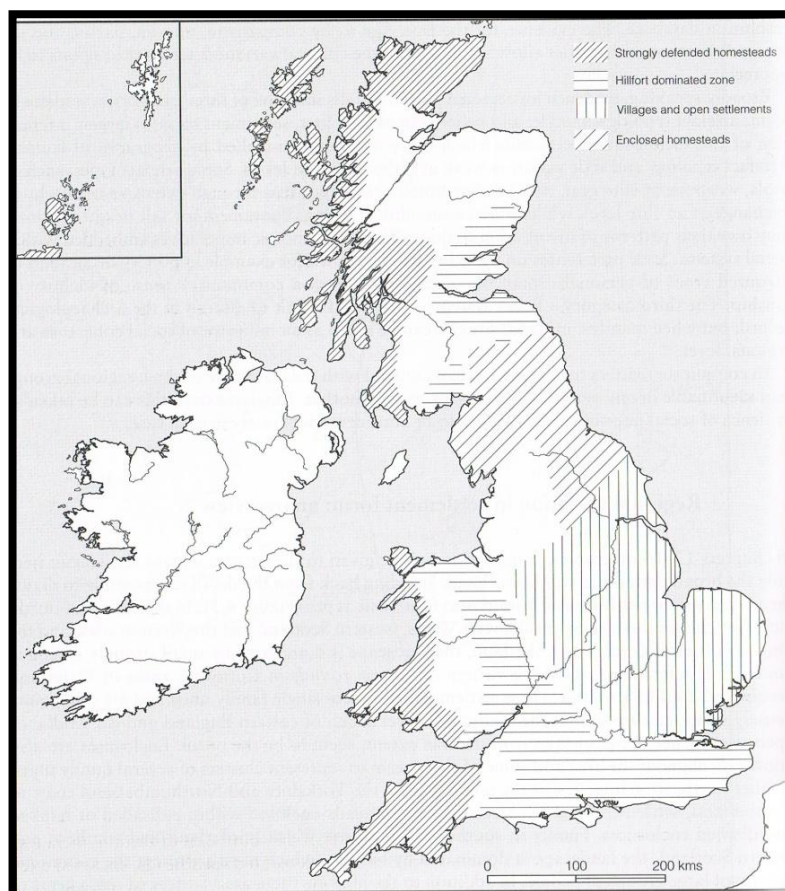


Fig. 5.2 Areas of settlement typology (Cunliffe 2005. p.74)

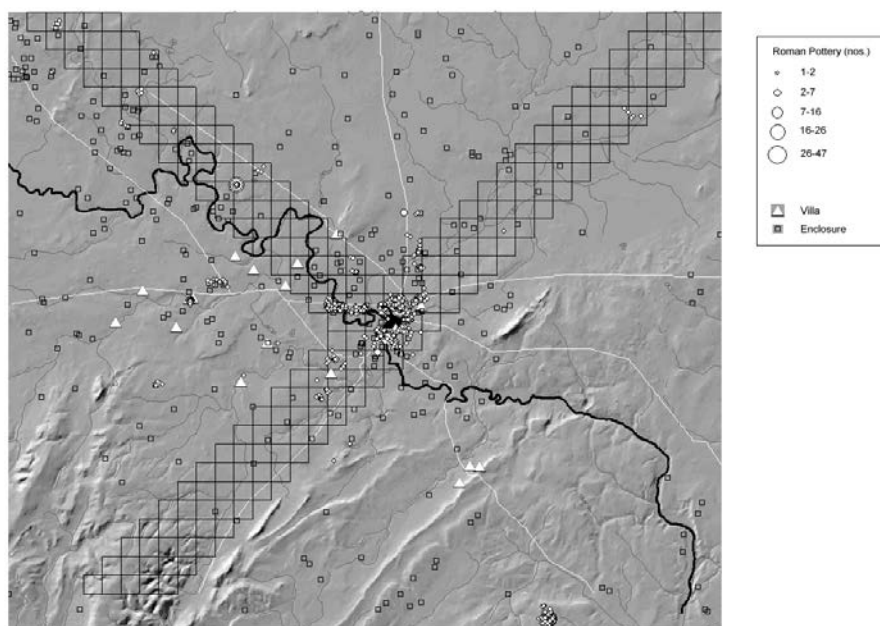


Fig. 5.3 Pottery and transacts distribution in the Wroxeter Hinterland survey area in relation to known Villas and enclosures (Gaffney and White 2007 Fig. 6.2)

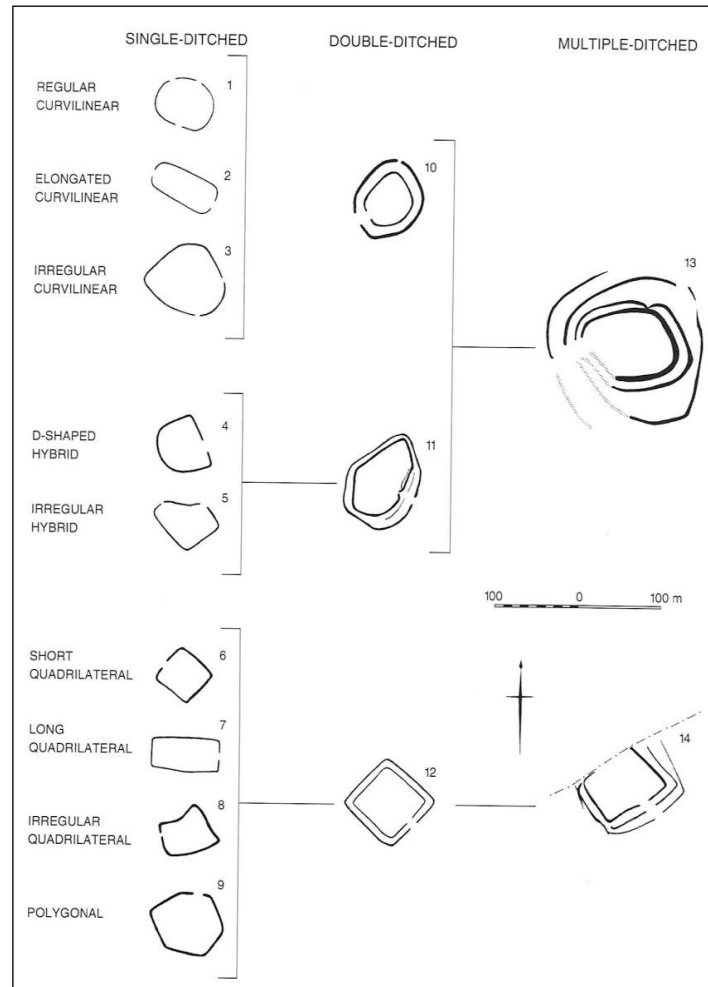


Fig. 5.4 The morphology of smaller enclosures after Whimster (Wigley 2007)

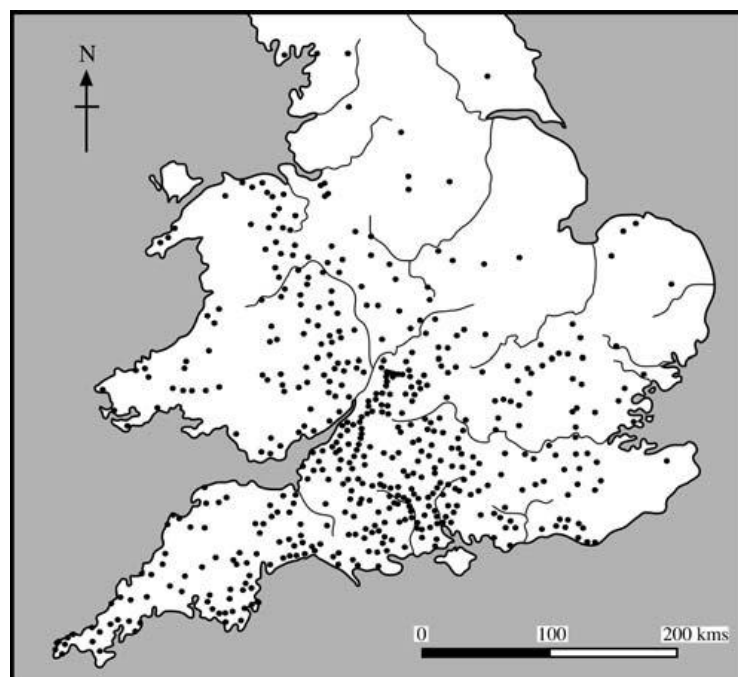


Fig. 5.5 Distribution of hillforts. (van der Veen and Jones 2006, 15: 217–228)

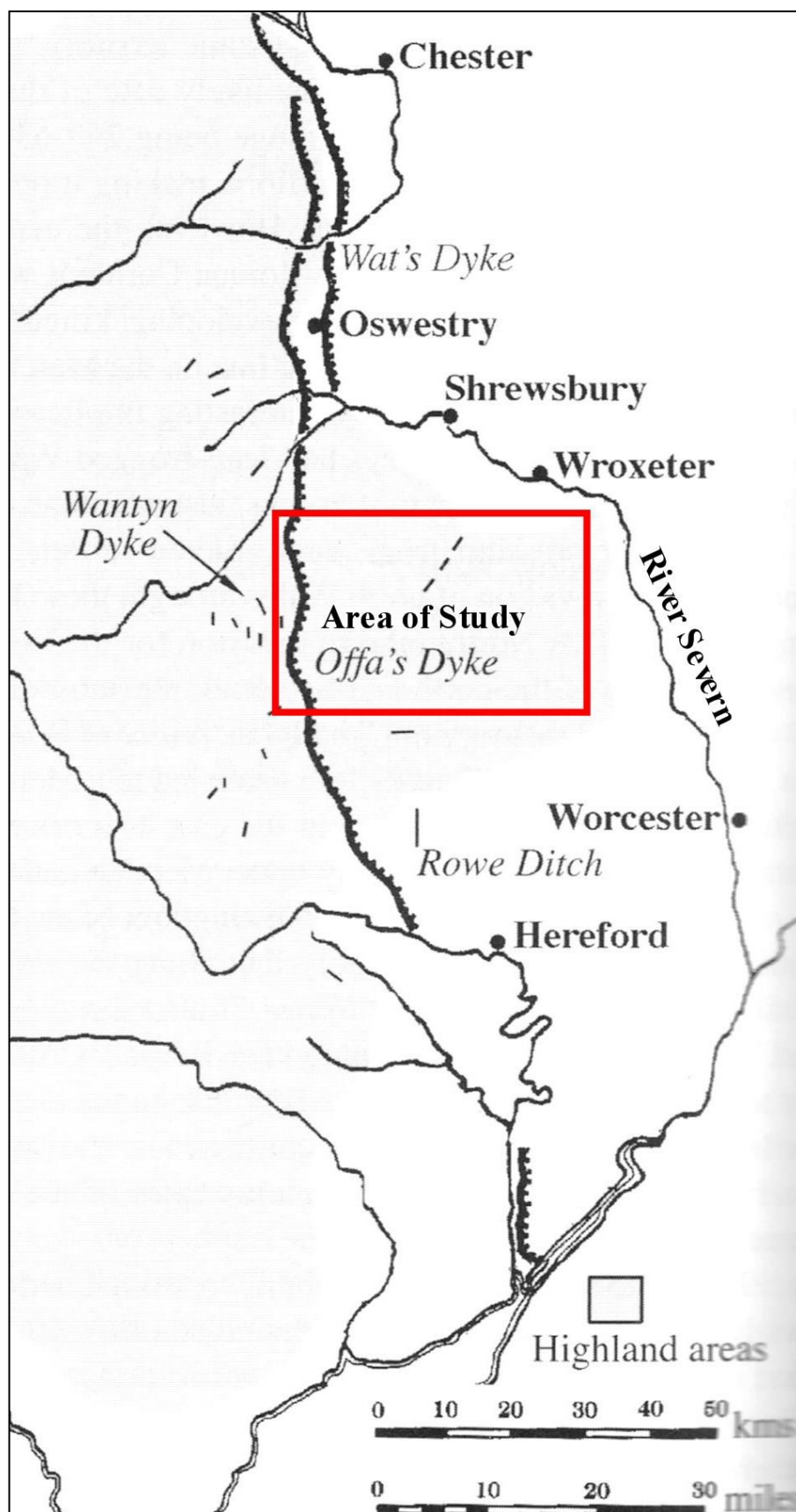


Fig. 5.6 Long and Short Dykes of the Marches (after Feryok, 2001)

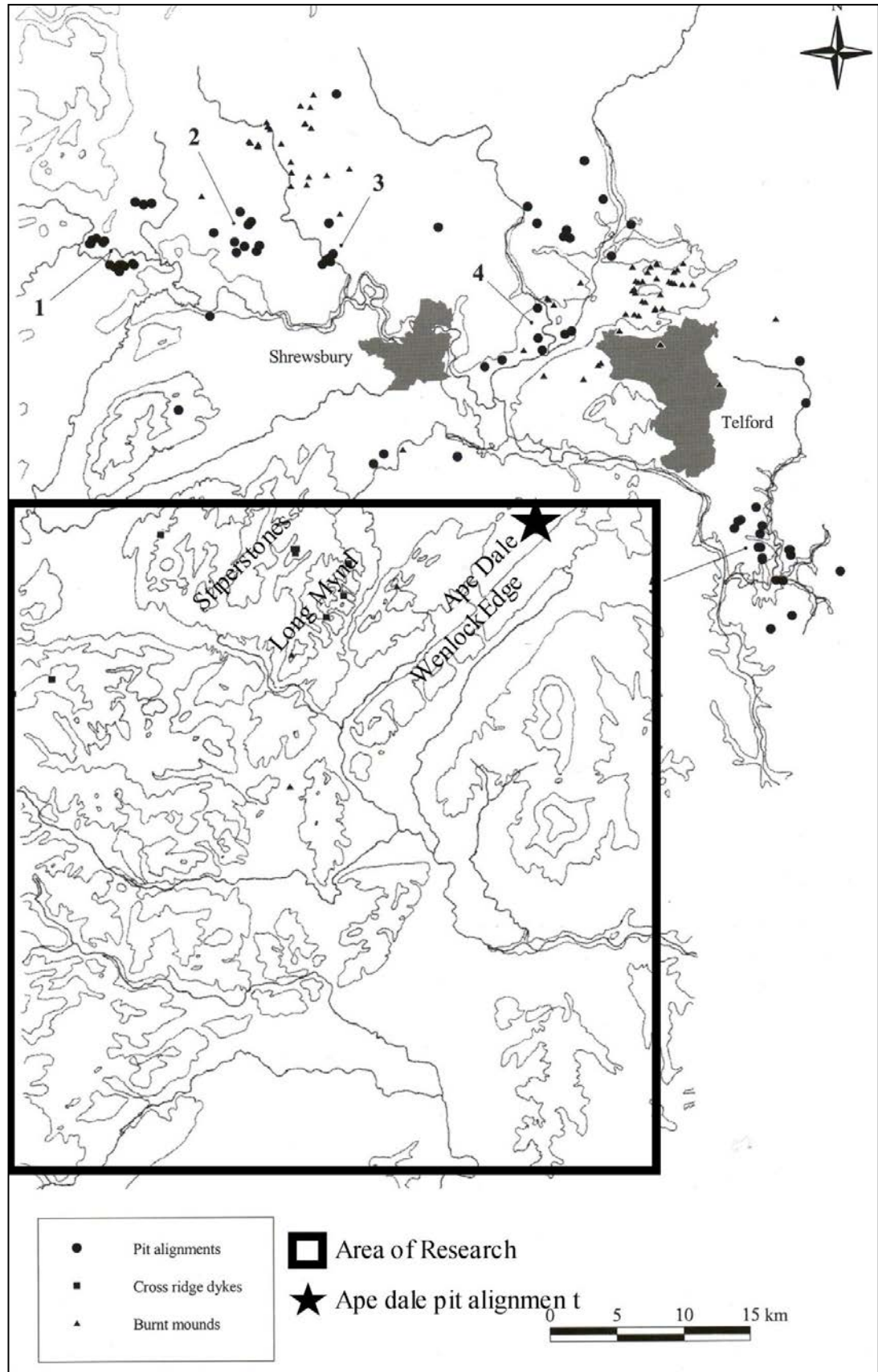


Fig. 5.7 The distribution of Linear Earthwork Systems and Pit Alignments relative to the area of study (after Wigley 2002)

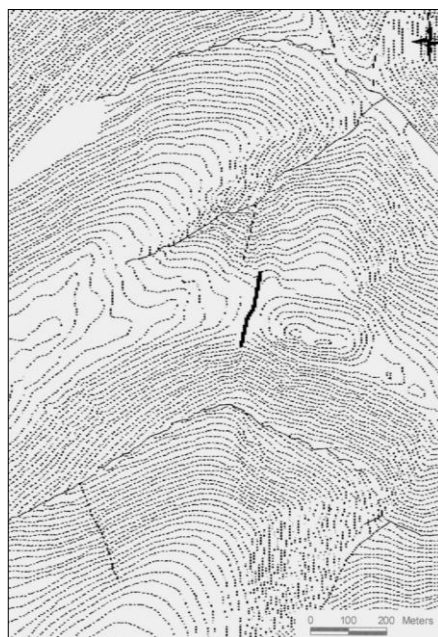


Fig. 5.8 The Devil's Dyke Linear on the Long Mynd SO 440 943(after Wigley 2002)

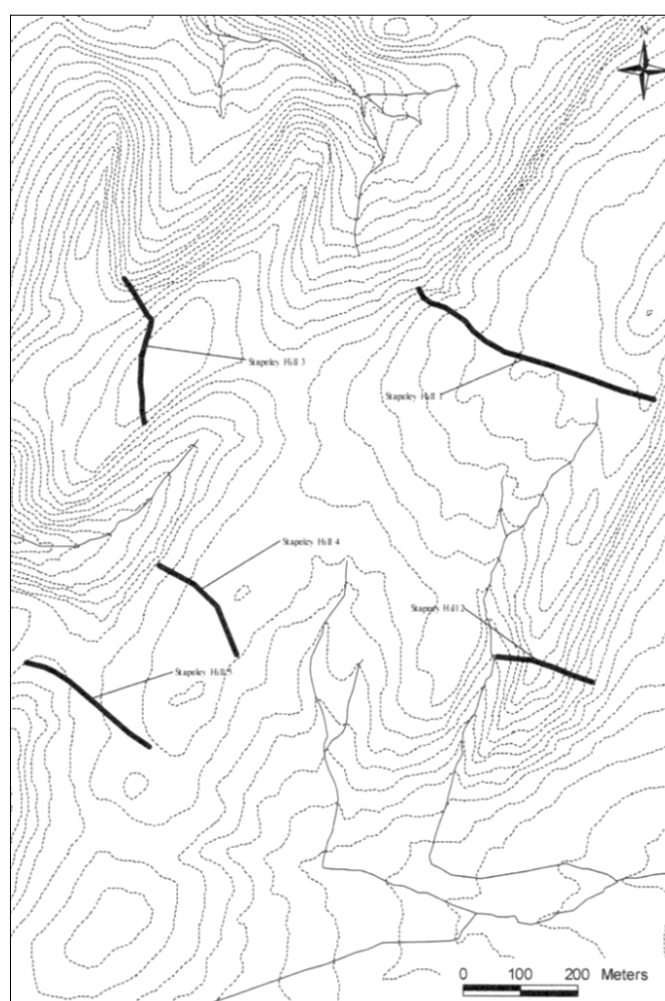


Fig. 5.9 The Stapeley Hill Group of Linear Earthworks as at 2002 (Wigley 2002)

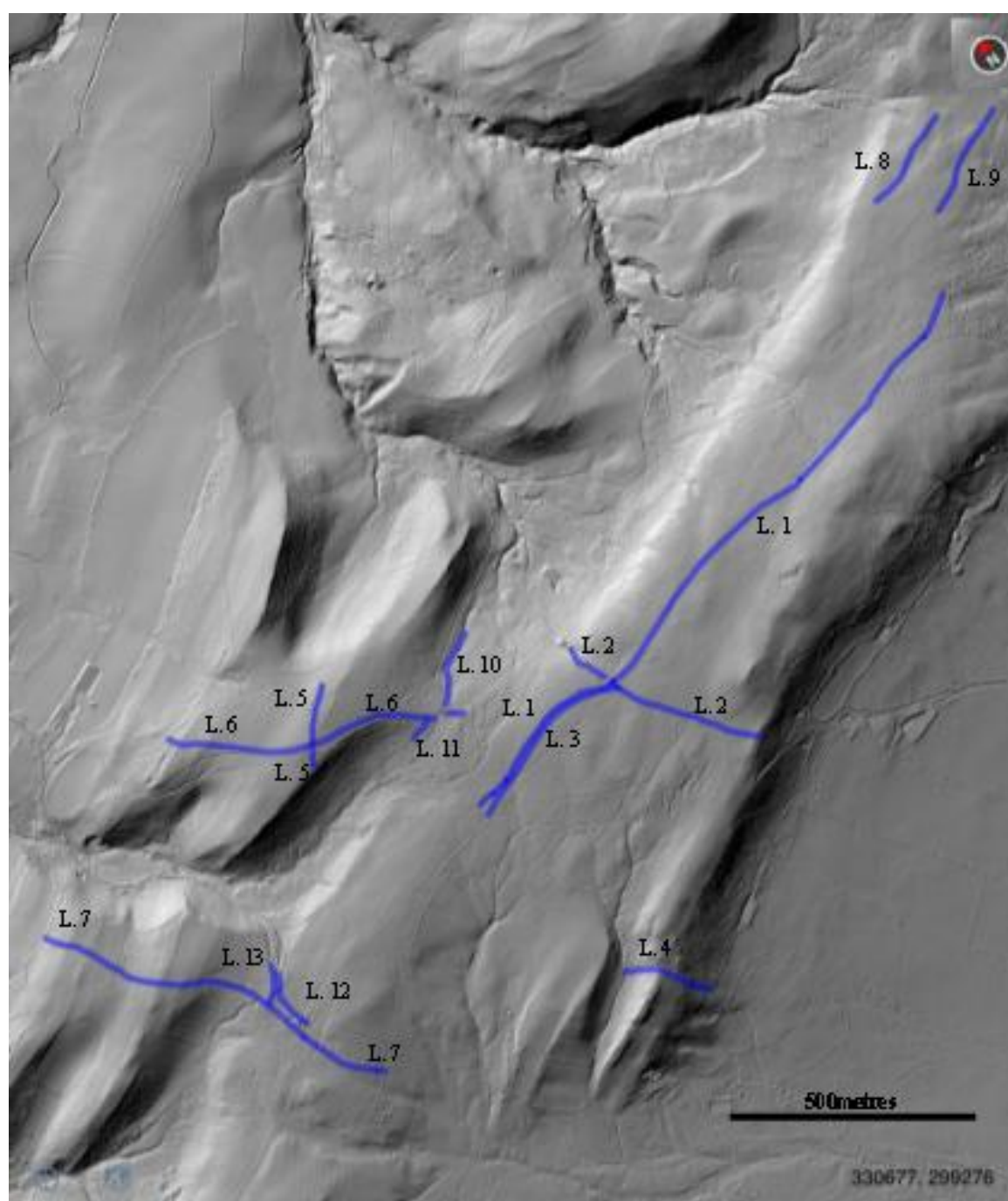


Fig. 5.10 The Stapeley Hill Group of Linear Earthworks from a LiDaR survey (S&CLPS) with field evaluation SO 3099 (Author 2014)

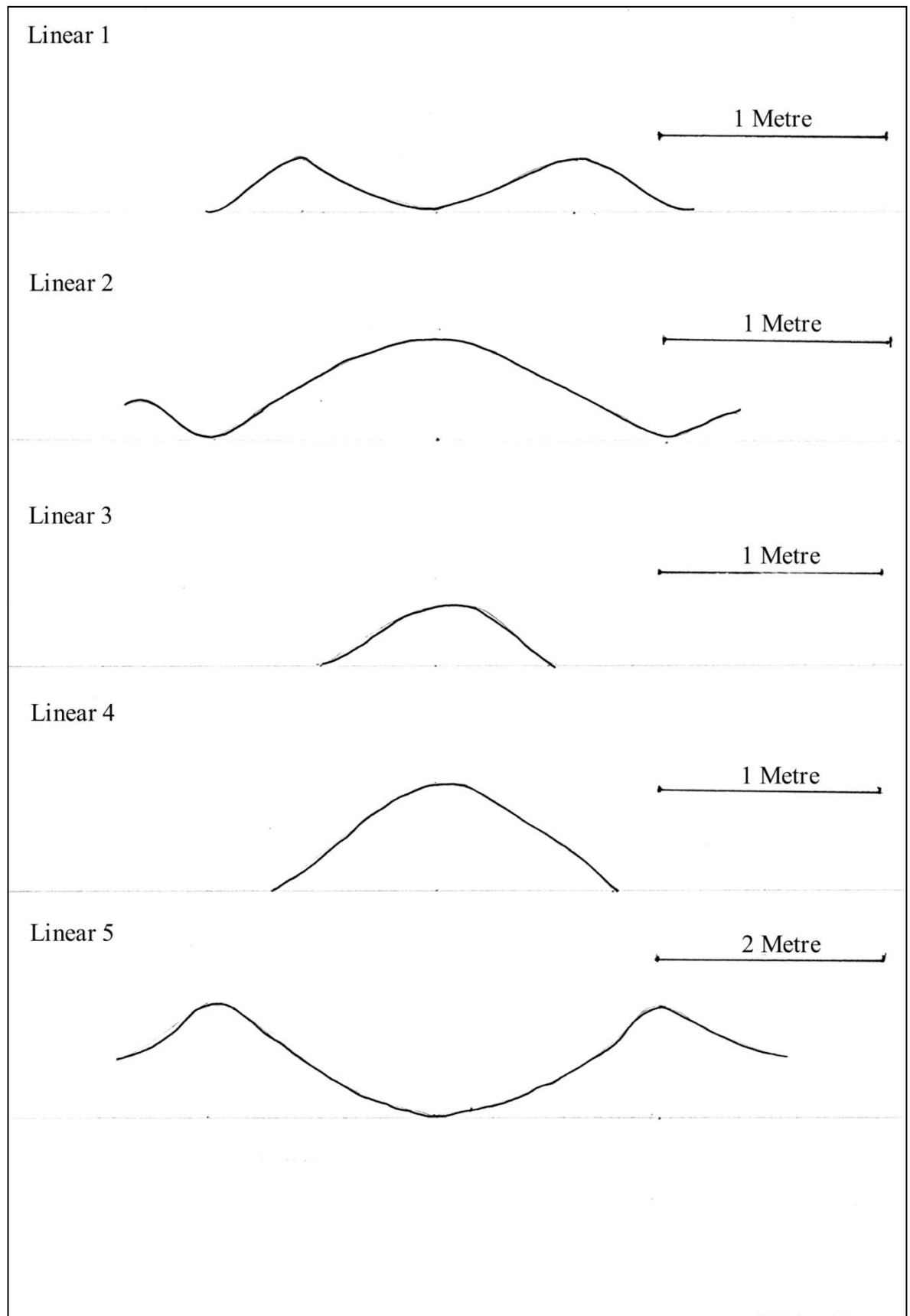


Fig. 5.11 Profiles of linear earthworks 1 – 5 (source: Author)

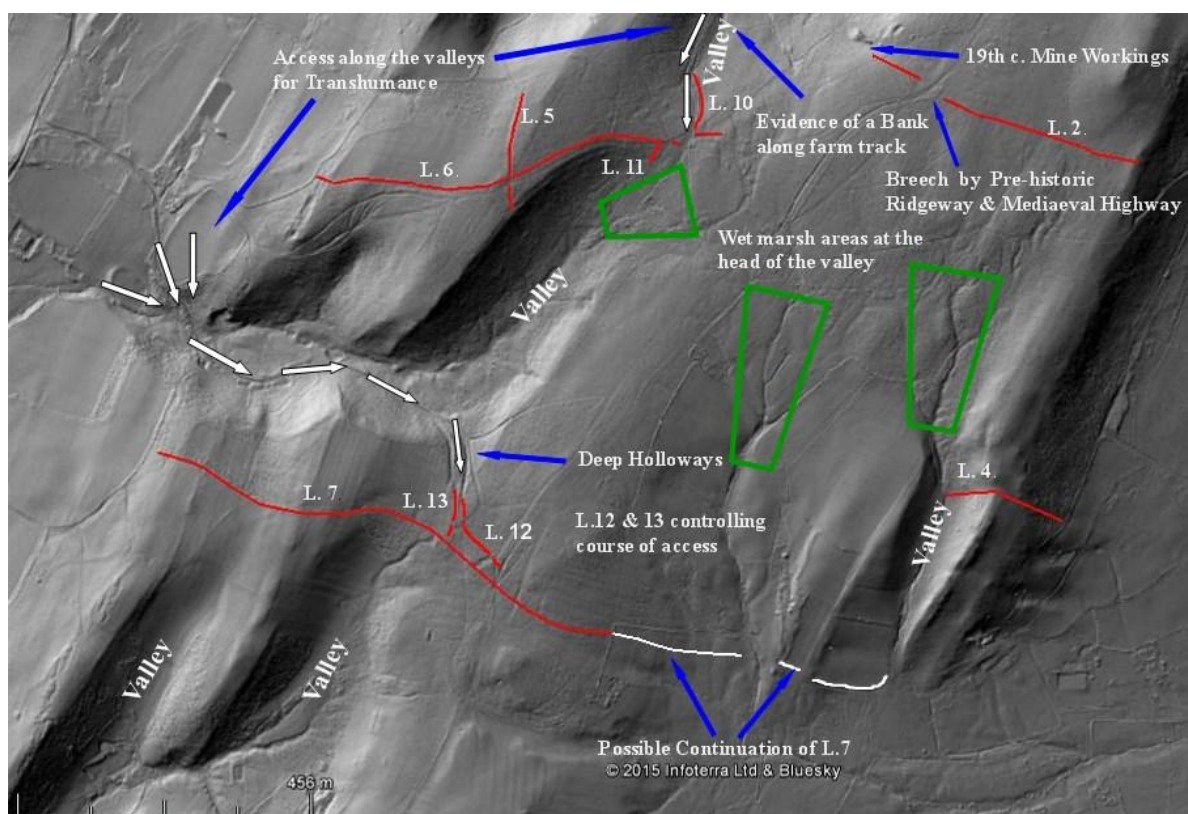
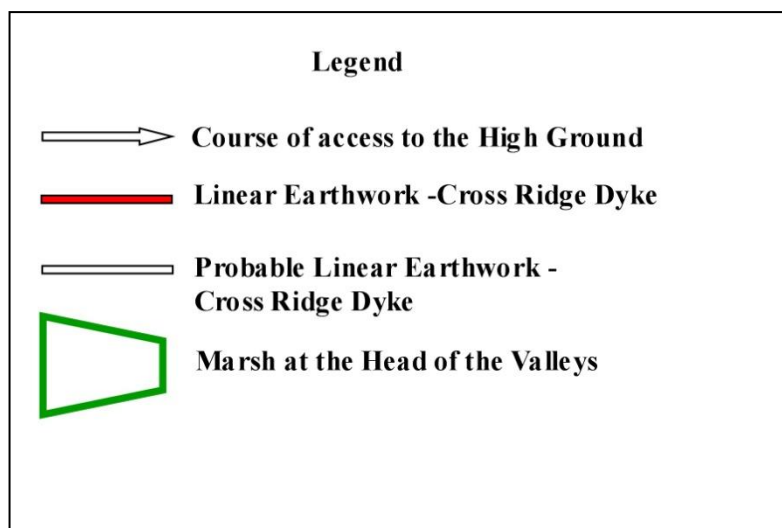


Fig. 5.12 The Cross Ridge Dykes, Stapley Hill, SO 3099. The linear shown in white is suggested by close examination of the LiDaR image. Stapley Hill 4 shown in figure 5.8 was found not to exist. (Linear Earthworks shown without the Longitudinal Linears)
(Source Author)



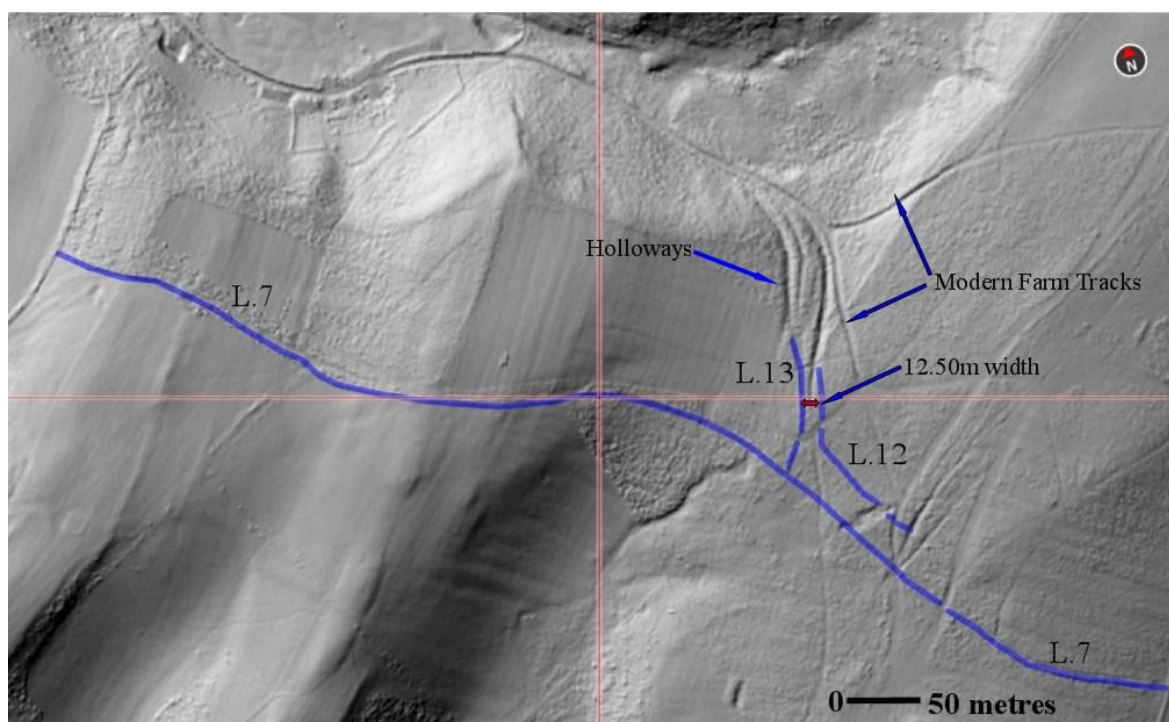


Fig.5.13 Linears 7, 12 & 13 SO 3005 9838 (Source: Author)

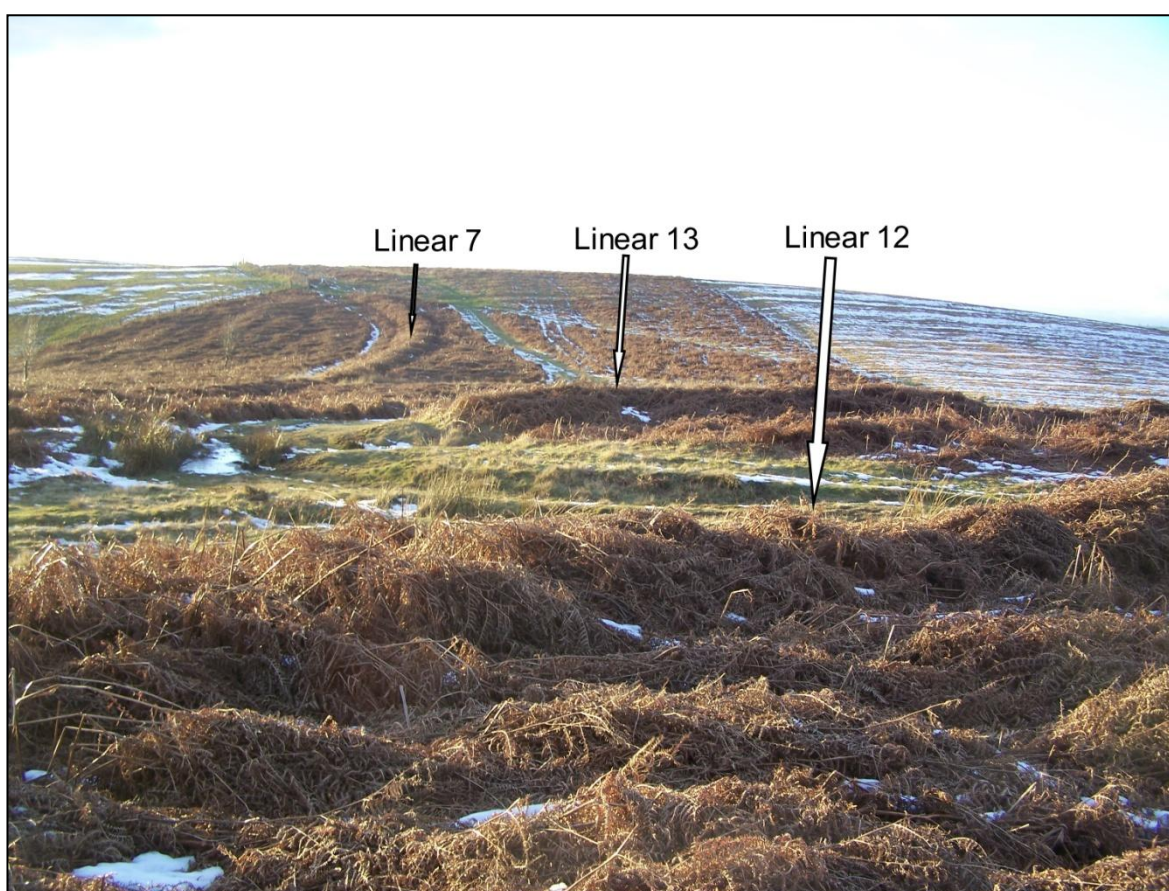


Fig. 5.14 Linear Earthworks near convergence looking west on Stapley Hill
12.50m separation SO330973 298930 (source: Author)

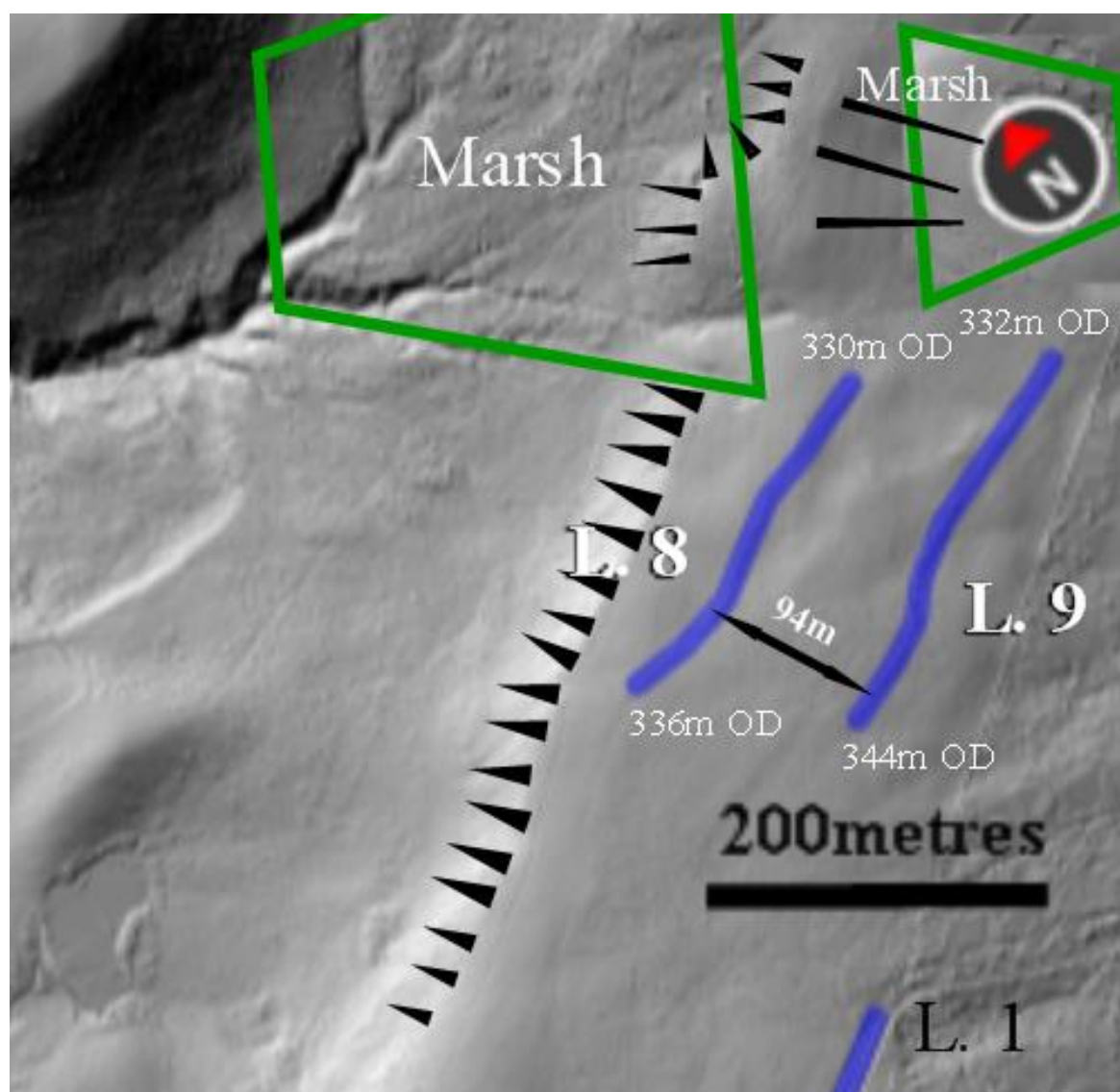


Fig. 5.15 Linears 8 & 9

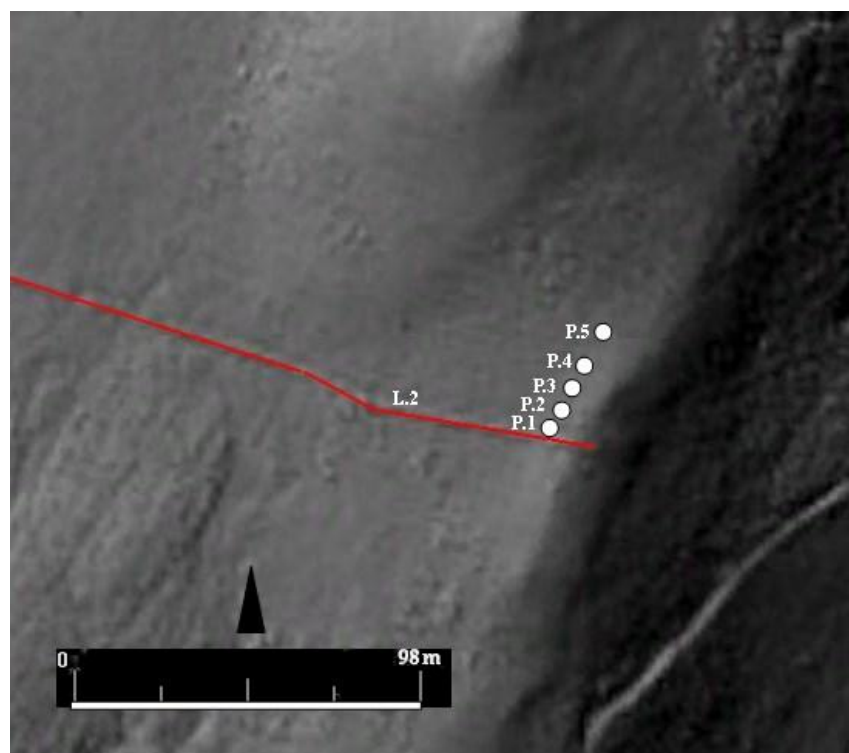


Fig. 5.16 Pit Alignment identified near the eastern termination Linear 2, showing a series of five pits just below the ridge (SO 3115 9888)



Fig. 5.17 A pit contiguous with Linear 2 (SO 31146 98869)

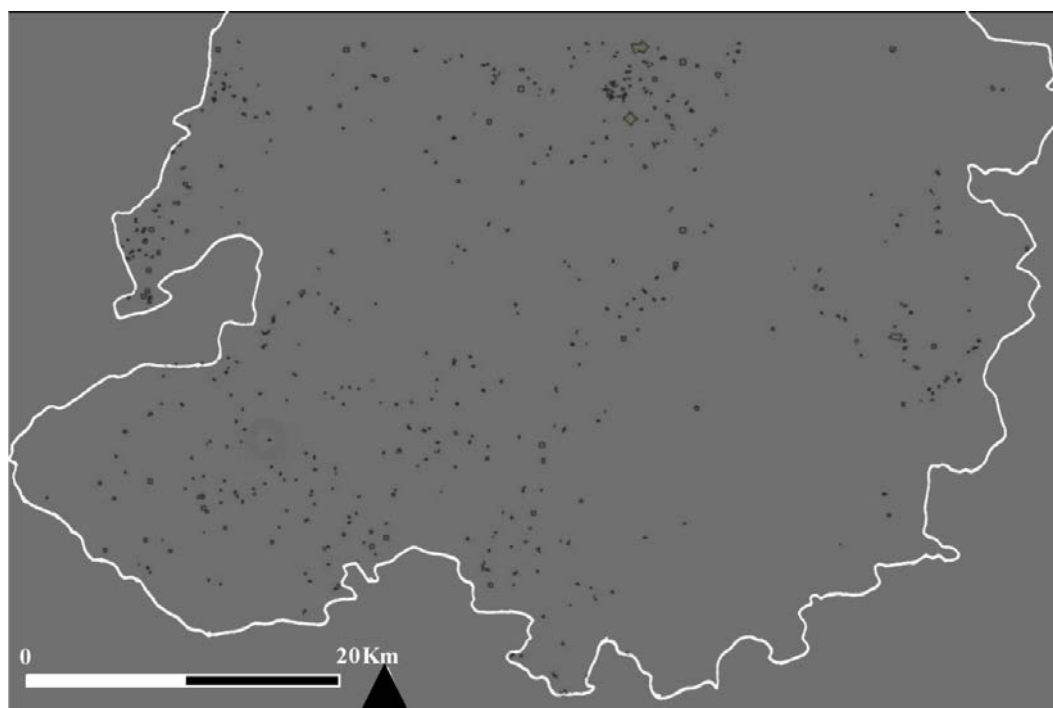


Fig. 5.18 Distribution of enclosures in South Shropshire (Excluding Hillforts)



Fig. 6.1 Comparatives maps of the distribution of four poster structures and storage pits
 □ Area of Study (after van der Veen and Jones 2006, p.224)

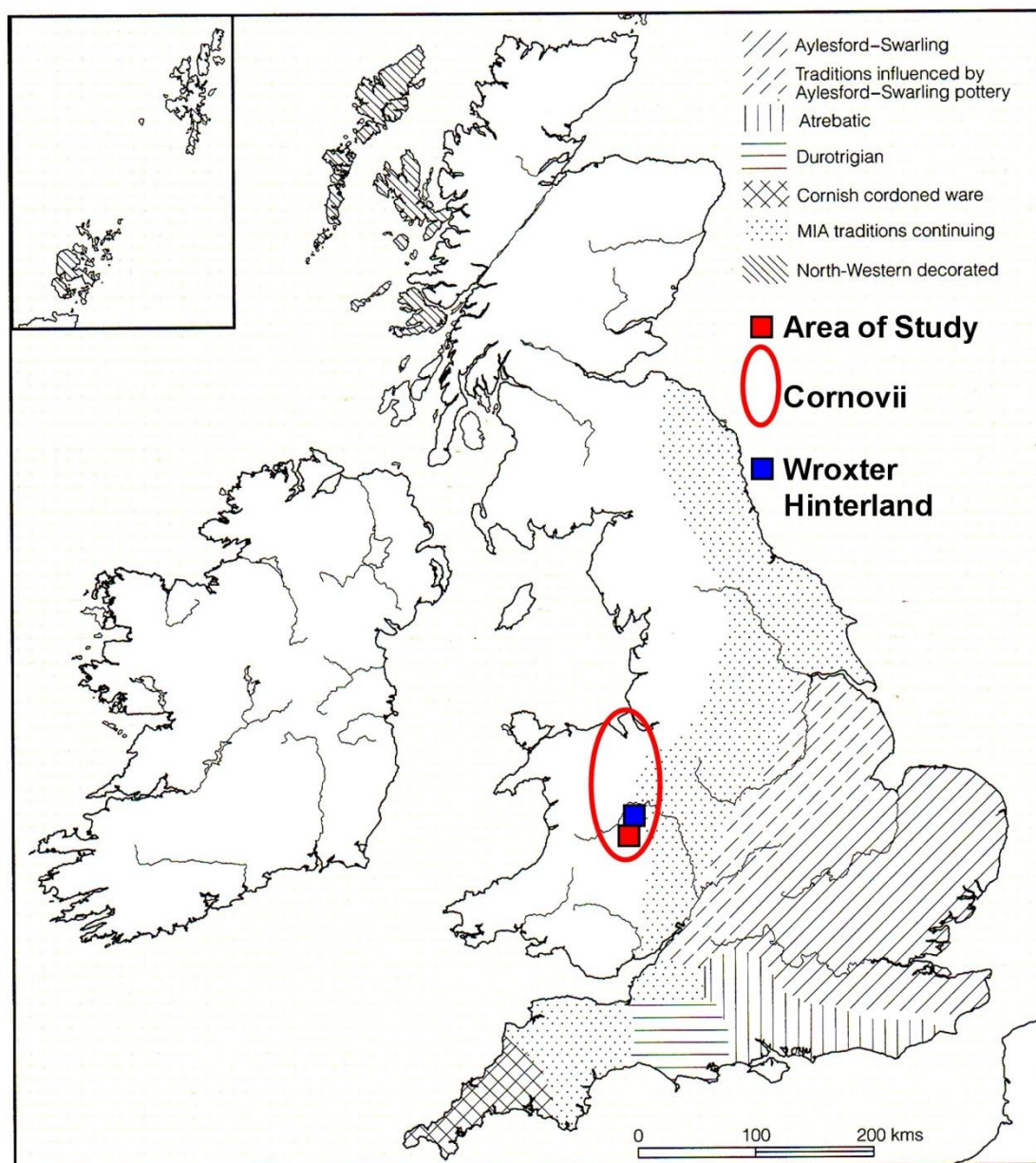


Fig. 7.1 Ceramic Traditions in late Iron Age Britain (after Cunliffe 2005 p.123)

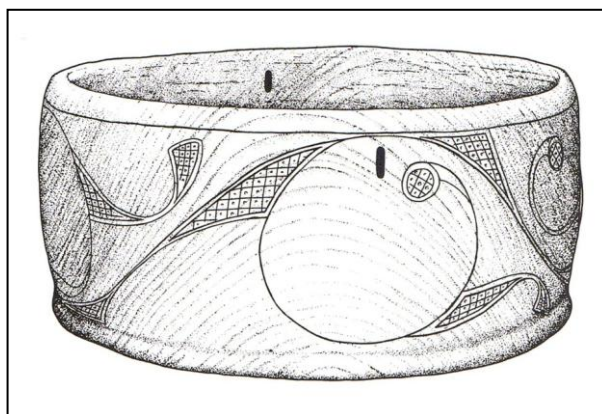


Fig. 7.2 Decorated wooden bowl (Coles and Minnit 1995. p.154)



Fig. 7.3 *Dobunni* Stater (Gaffney and White et al. 2007, chpt. 5, p.3)

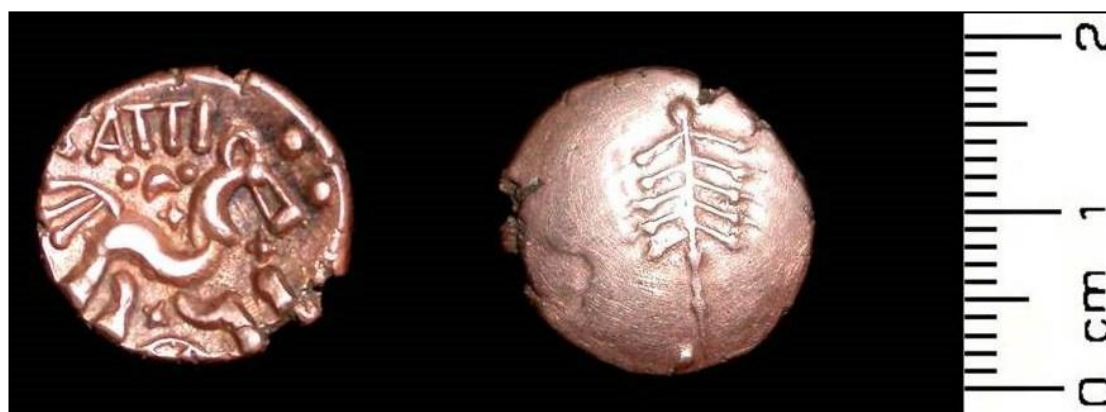


Fig. 7.4 Gold Stater, *Dobunni*, North Shropshire, HESH-A067C1 PAS



Fig. 7.5 Silver coin, *Dobunni*, Weston-under-Penyard, HESH 544227, PAS



Fig. 7.6 Gold Cori Stater, Herefordshire, HESH-E4B122 PAS

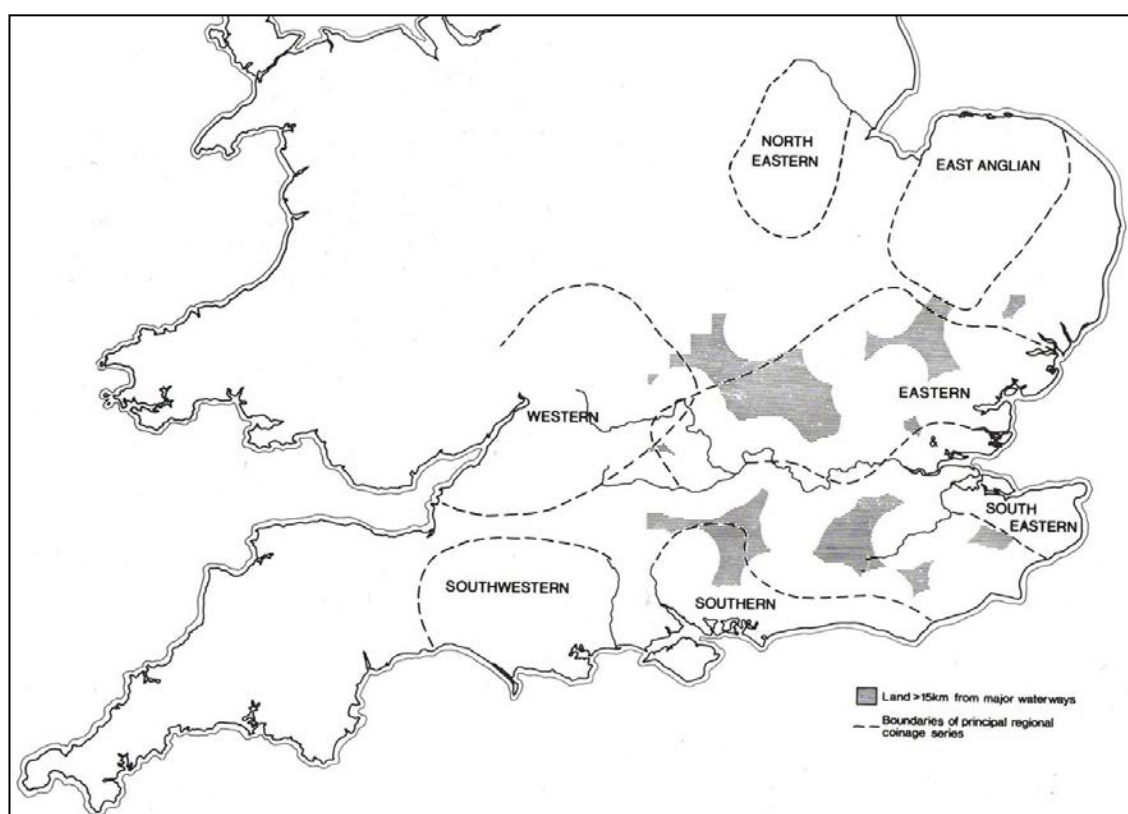


Fig. 7.7 Late pre-Roman Iron Age coin series (Millet 1990, p.14)

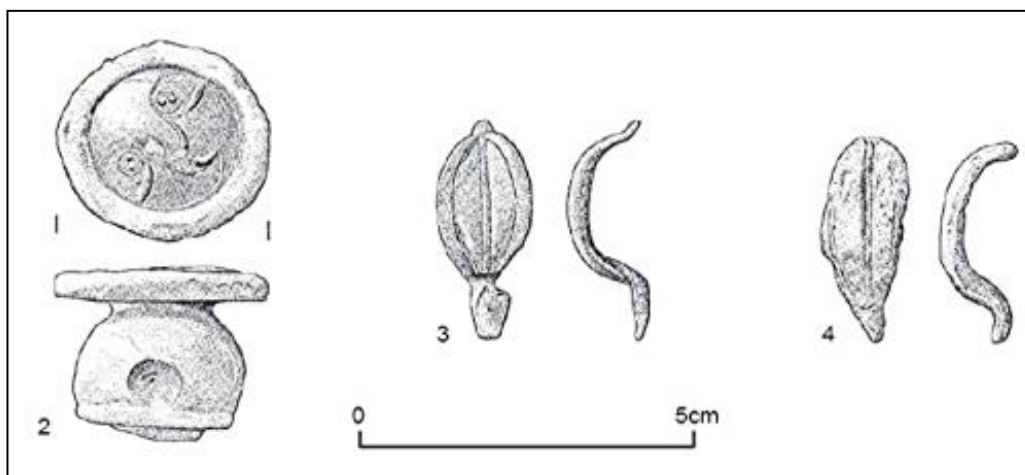


Fig. 7.8 1 & 2 Circular Linch Pin Head. 3 & 4 La Tène1bc Bow Brooches
(Gaffney and White et al. 2007, Chpt. 5, p.3)



Fig. 7.9 (Source P.A.S.)



Fig. 7.10 Linch pin, Staffordshire/Shropshire border WMID-94763 (Source P.A.S.)



Fig. 7.11 Colchester Derivative Brooch HESH-05A7C1 (Source P.A.S.)

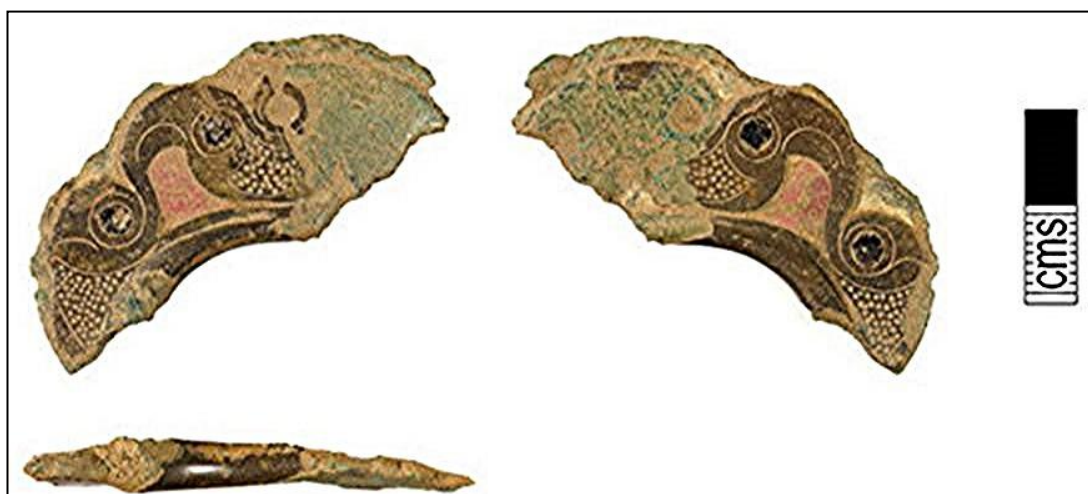


Fig. 7.12 Polychrome enamelled terret WMID3867F2 (Source P.A.S.)



Fig. 7.13 Enamelled Dragonesque brooch HESH 69B108 (Source P.A.S.)



Fig. 7.14 Distribution of Bovine bucket mounts (Source P.A.S.)



Fig. 7.15 Bovine mounts, Newport, Shropshire. (Source P.A.S.)



Fig. 7.16 The Telford Torc (Source P.A.S.)



Fig. 7.17 A pair of spoons, Nescliffe (Source P.A.S.)

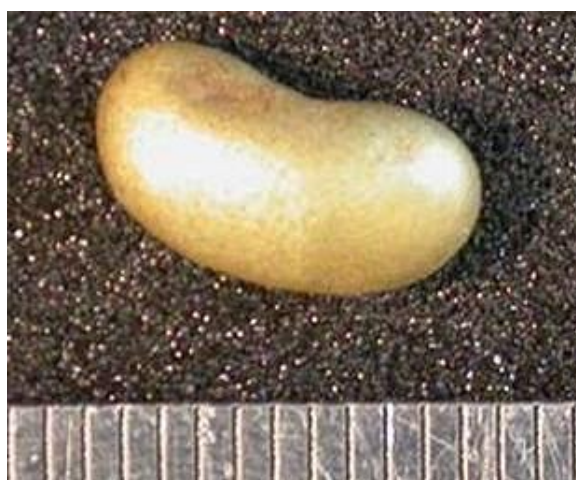


Fig. 7.18 A gold ingot, Rowton, Shropshire HESH-83D0F0 (Source P.A.S.)

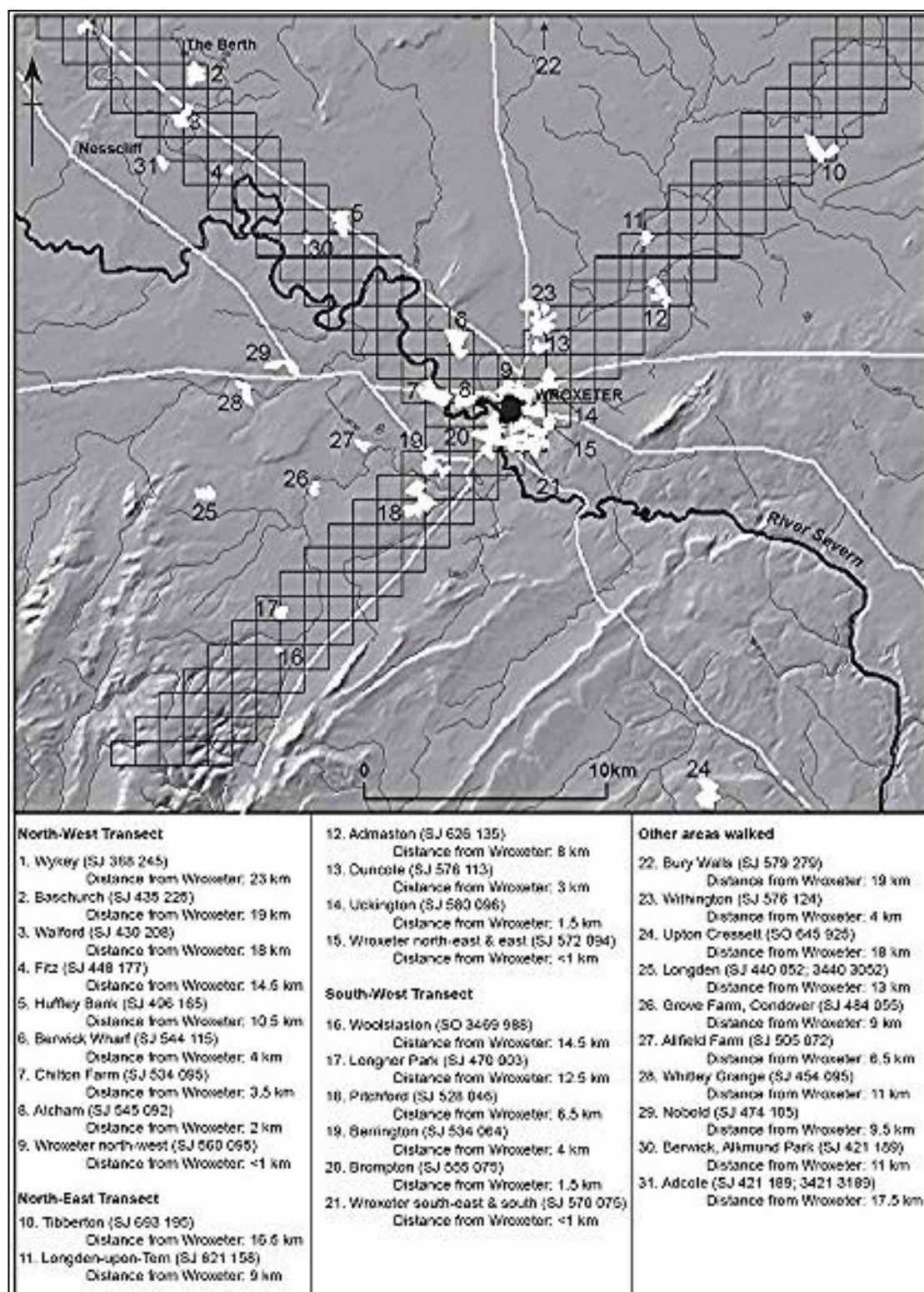


Fig. 7.19 WHP sites surveyed (Gaffney and White 2007, Chpt.4 p.3)

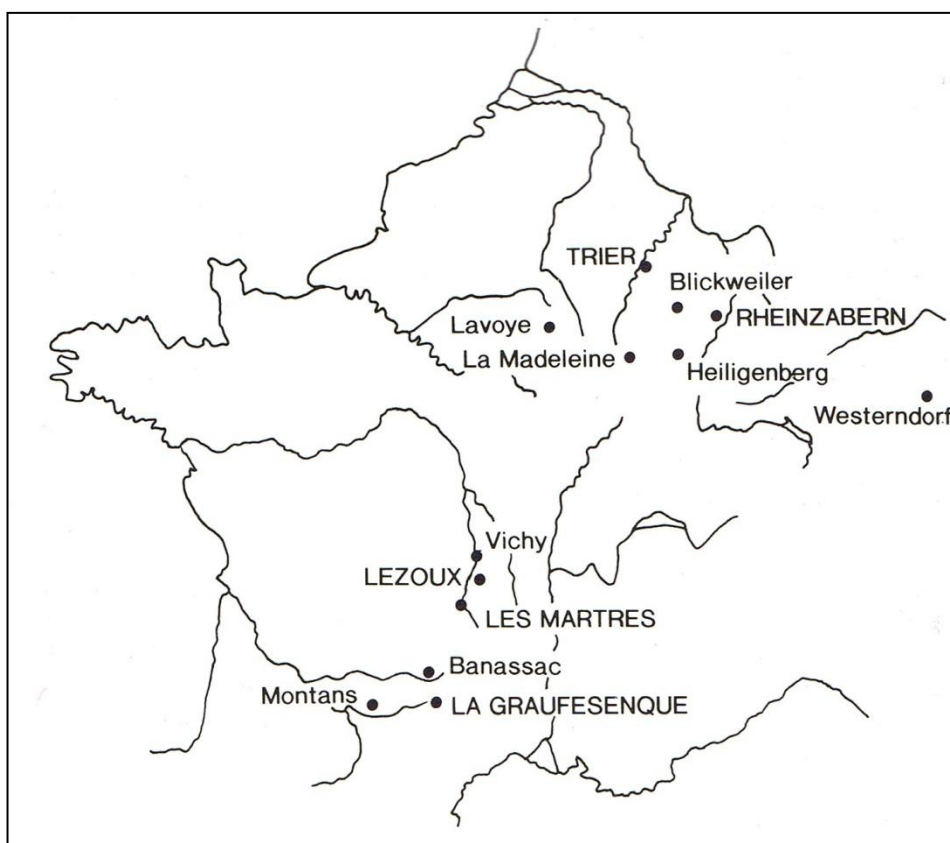


Fig. 7.20 Samian production sites in Gaul, (Webster, 1995, p.2)



Fig. 7.21 Roman Trumpet Brooch, Bayston Hill, Shreswsbury, HESH 53EAC7 (Source P.A.S.)

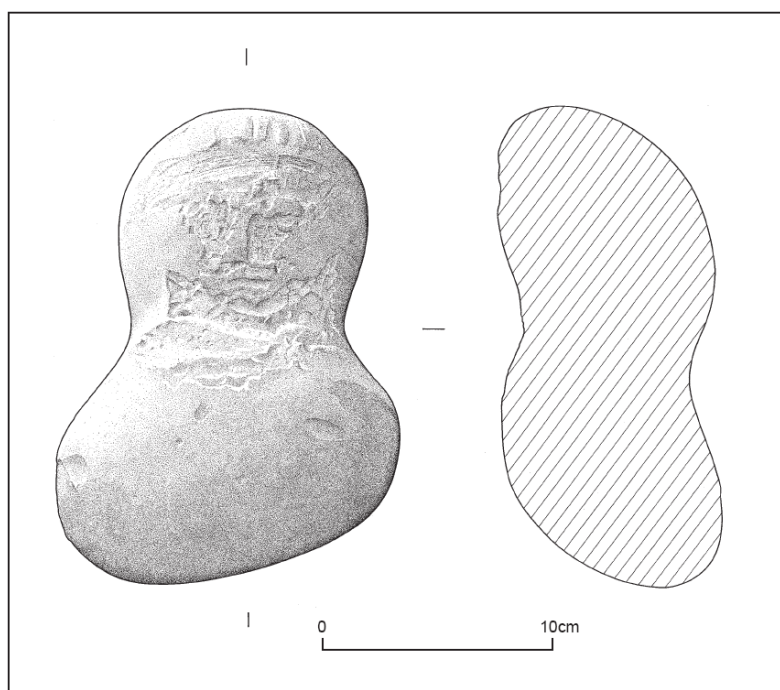


Fig. 7.22 Stone figure from Alkmund Park. Scale 1:2
(Gaffney and White 2007 Fig. 5.18)



Fig. 7.23 Silvered bronze Hercules from Lydbury North
(Source Shropshire Museum Service)

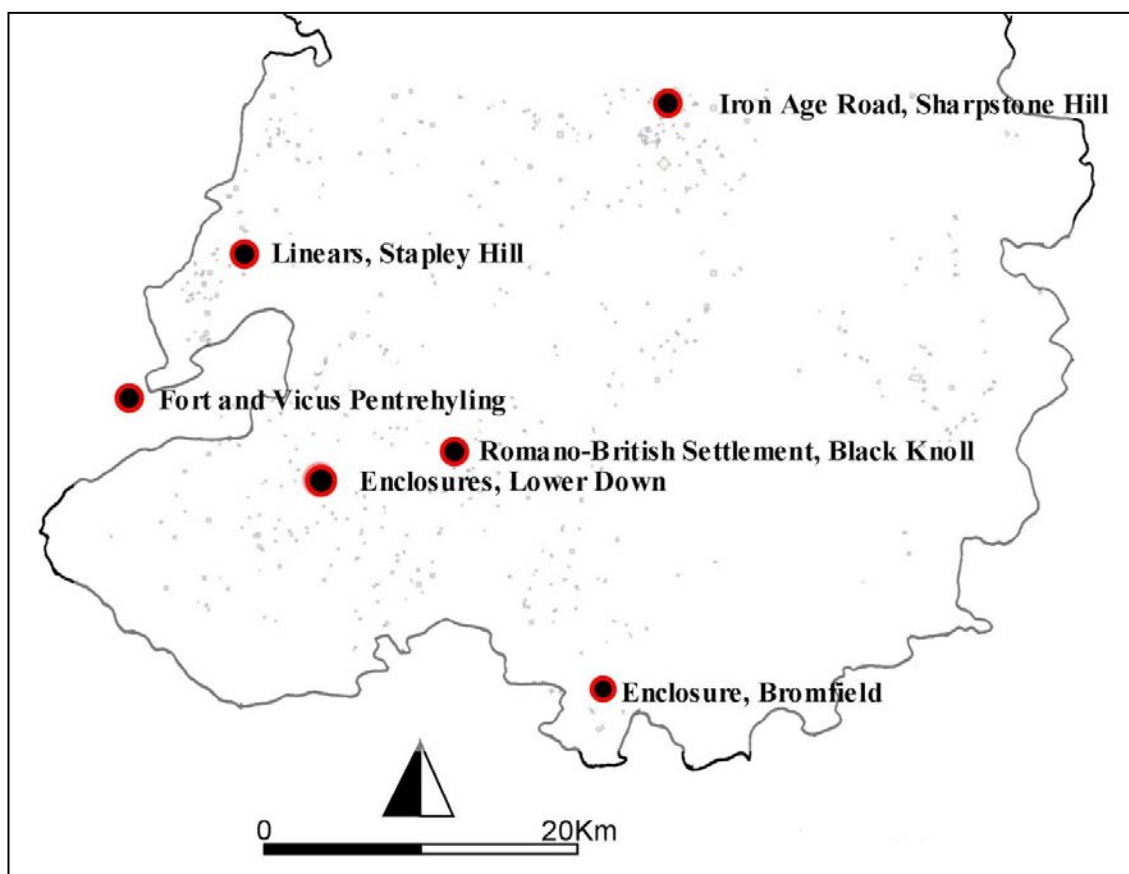


Fig. 8.1 Location of Sites Discussed against the background of enclosures

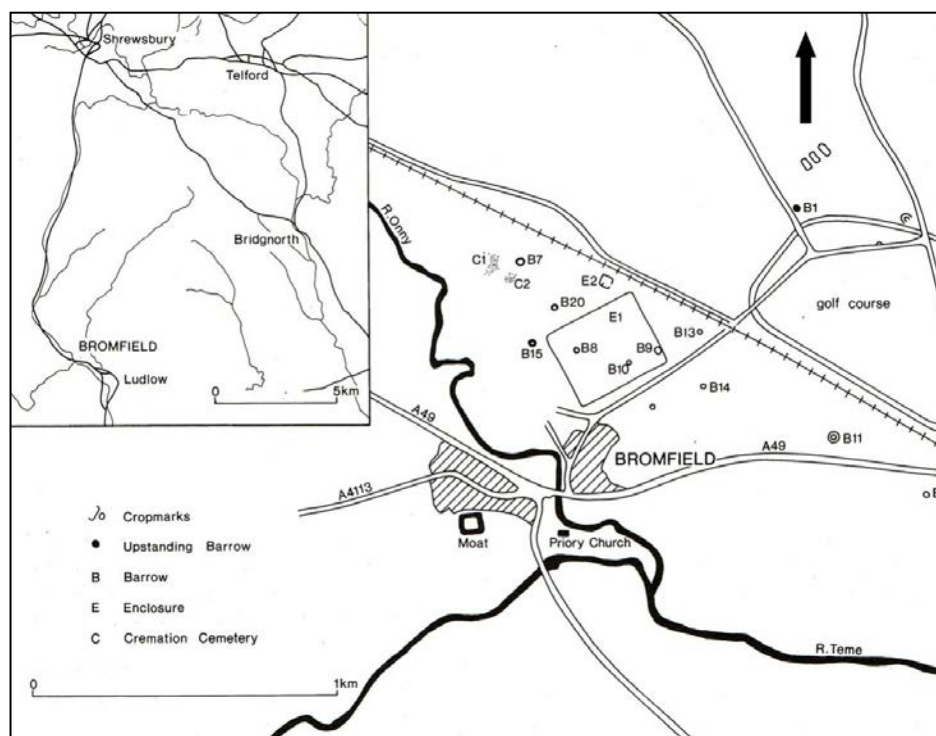


Fig. 8.2 Location of the enclosure E2 and Roman Marching Camp (Stanford 1995, p.30)

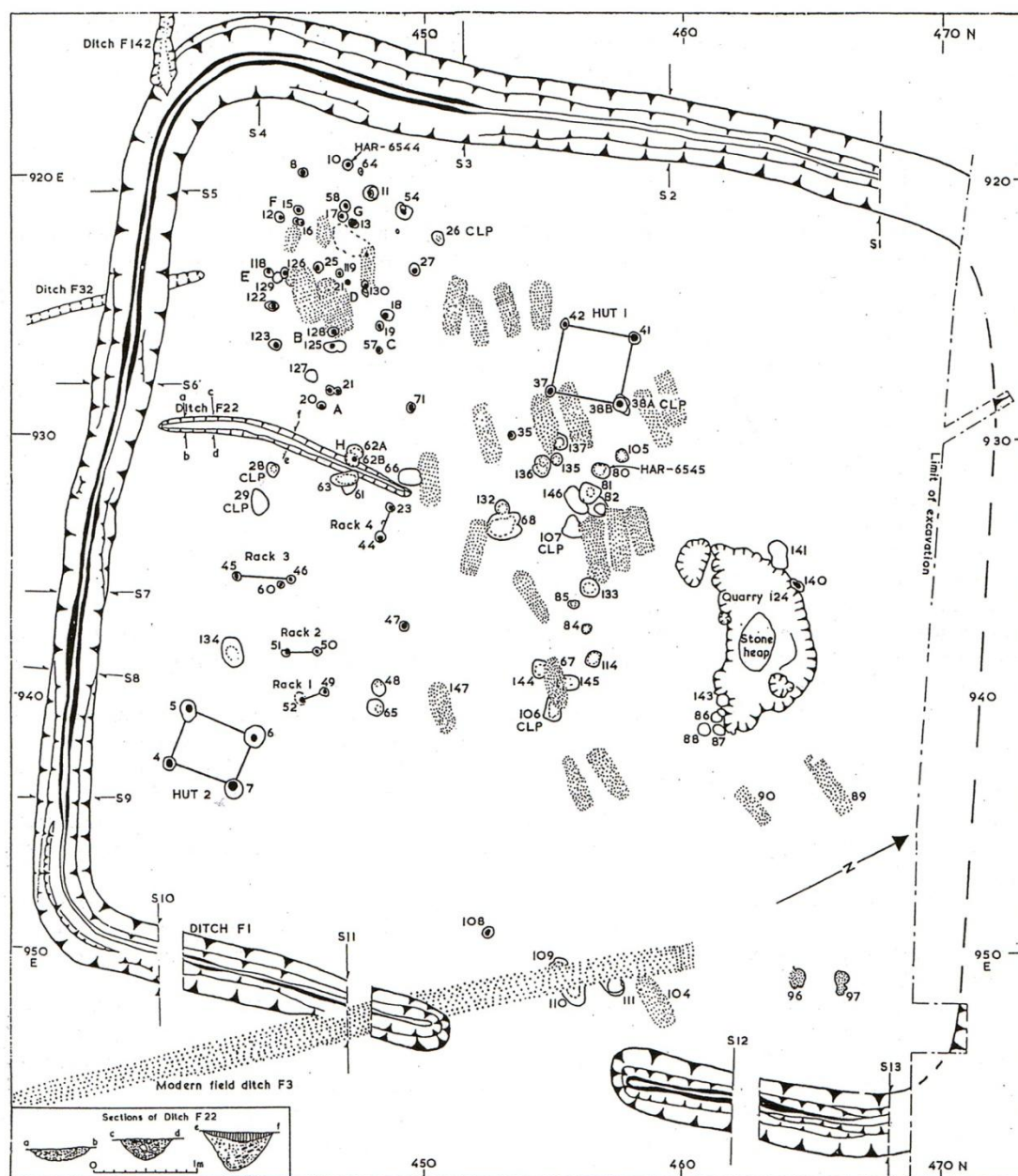


Fig. 8.3 Plan of E2 of Iron Age Features (Saxon graves and modern field ditch stippled) (Stanford 1995, p.102)



Fig. 8.4 Enclosure Ditch F1, Section S1 with cleaning slot (Stanford 1995, Pl. 1)

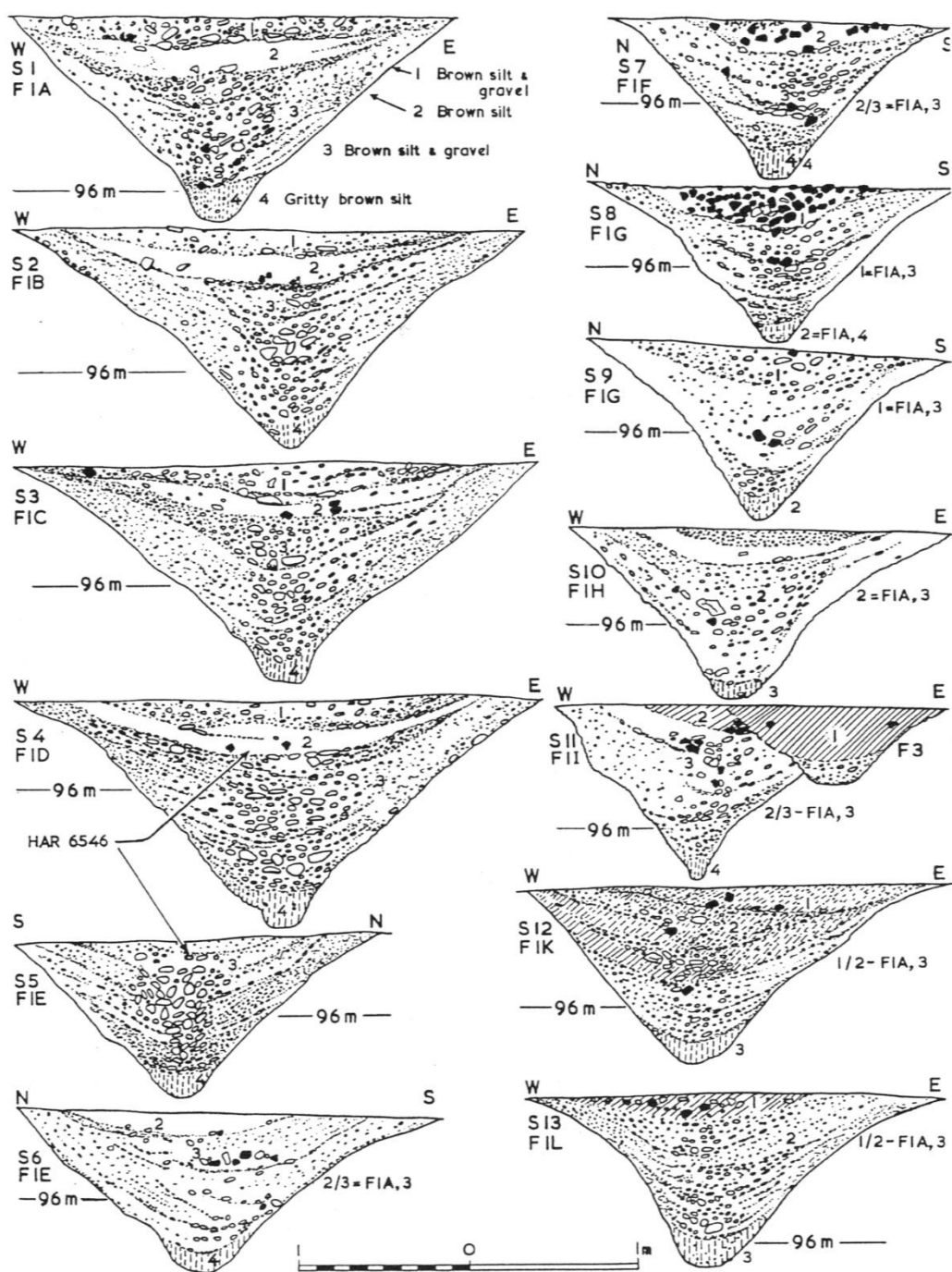


Fig. 8.5 Sections of Enclosure Ditch F1(Stanford 1995, p.106)

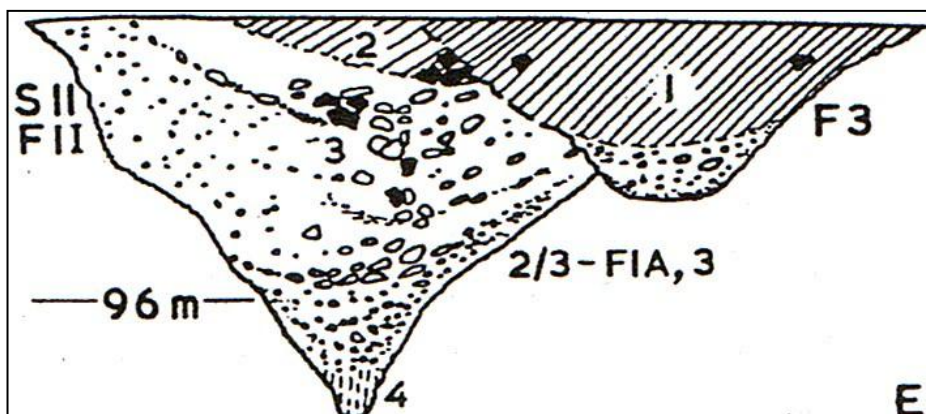


Fig. 8.6 Intercutting of E2 enclosure ditch by Roman Ditch (Stanford 1995, p.106)

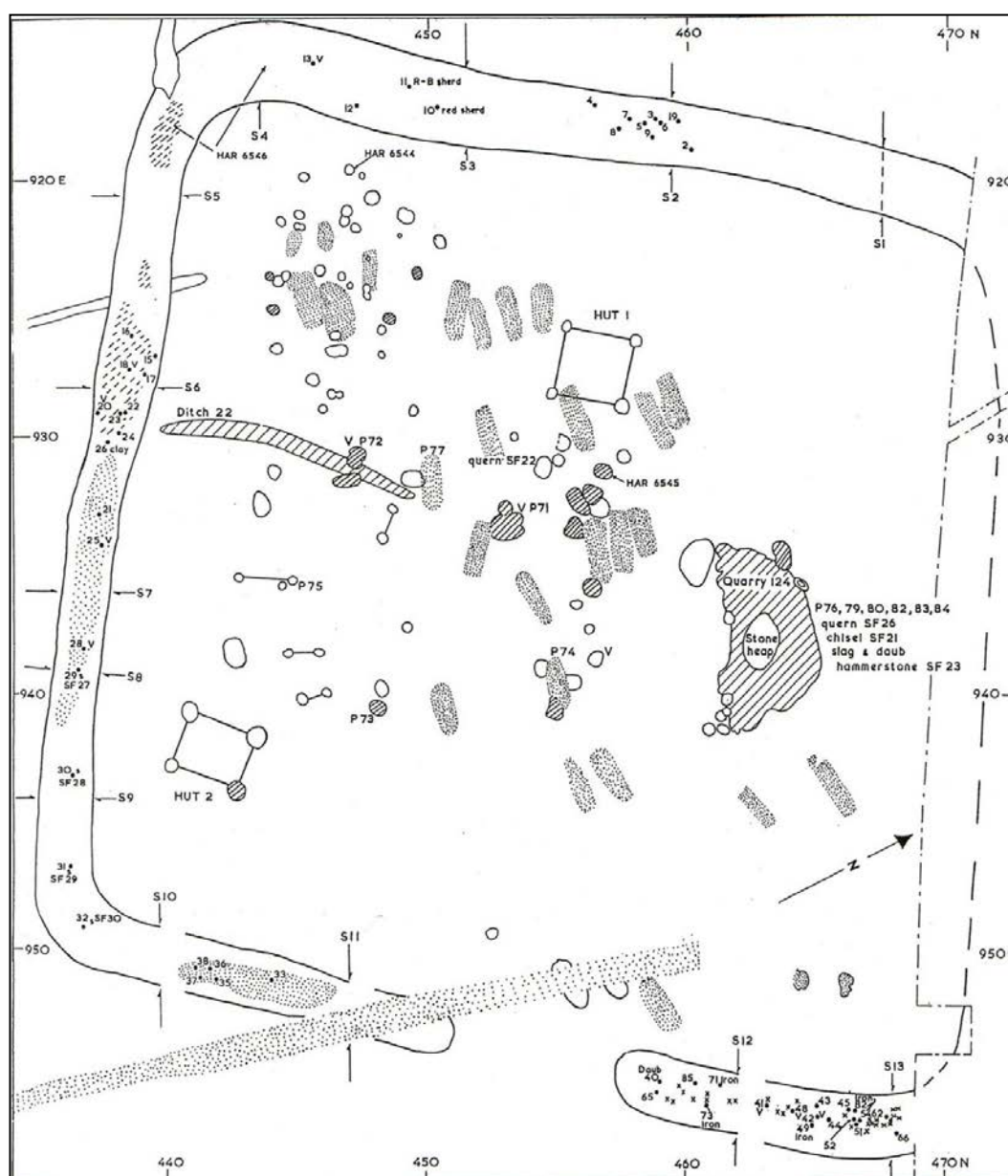


Fig. 8.7 Distribution of Finds (Stanford 1995, p.108)

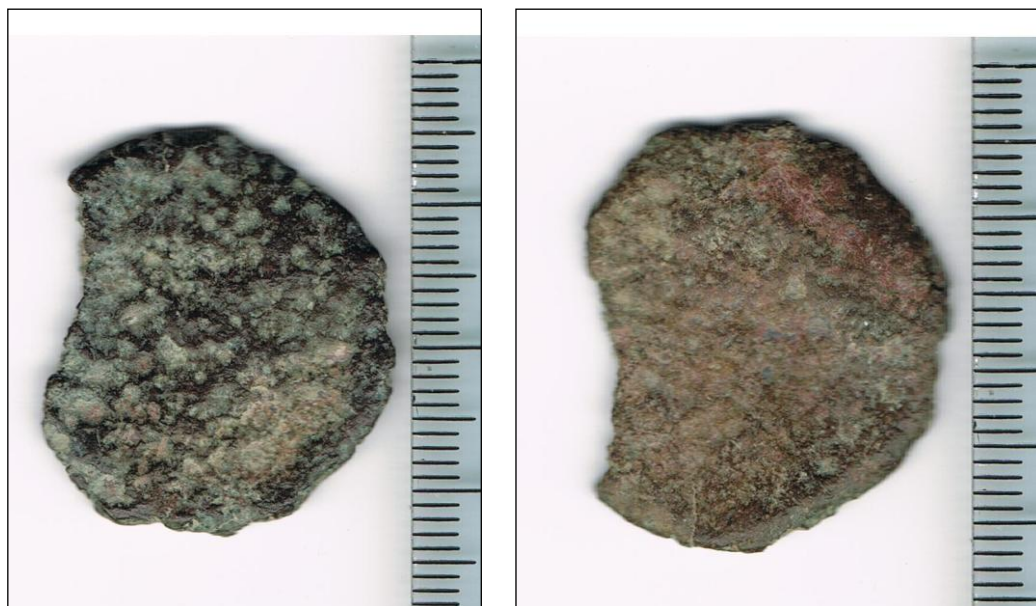


Fig. 8.8 Pre-Hadranic Dupondius or As (Source Author)



Fig. 8.9 Intersecting Enclosures, CPT 16322/1048

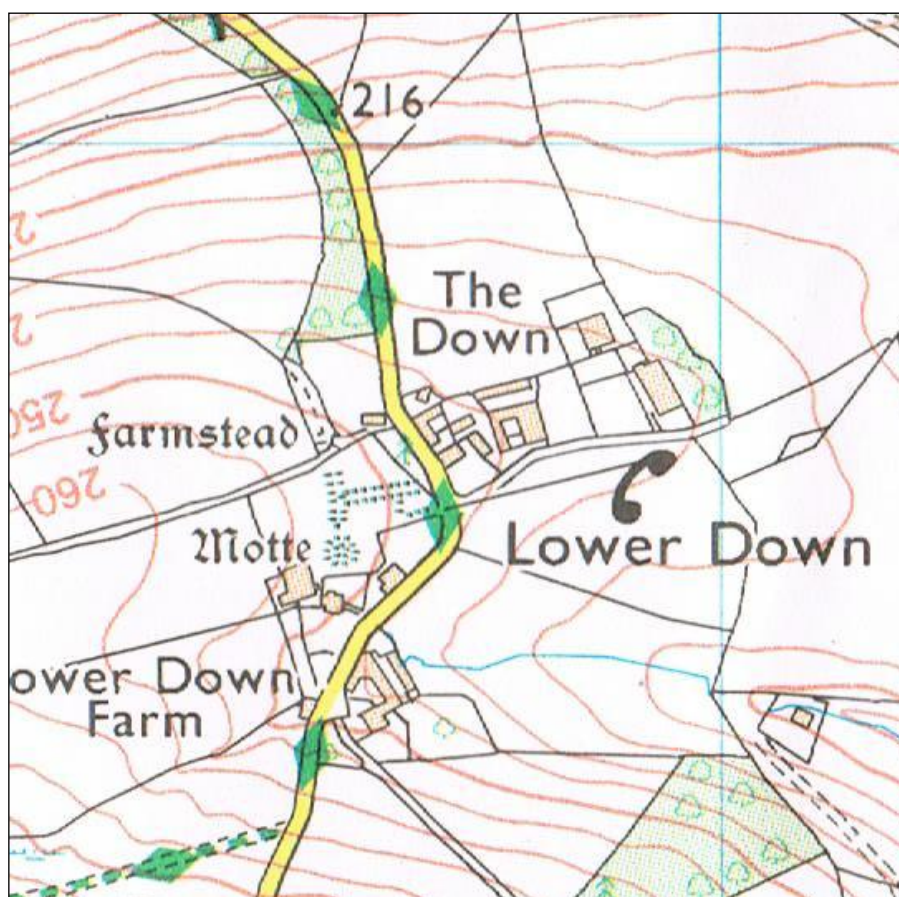


Fig. 8.10 The Down SO 337 846

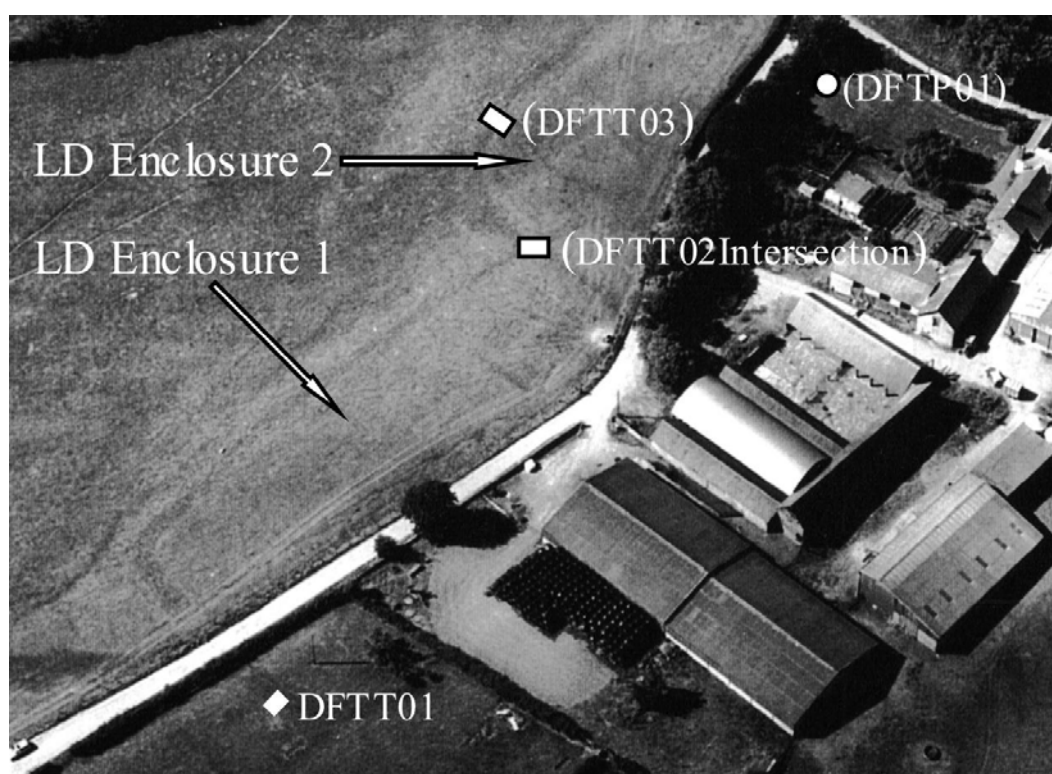


Fig. 8.11 Trench Locations (after CPT 16322/1048 1995)



Fig.8.12 DFTP01/2011 Solid Geology (Source Author)



Fig.8.13 DFTP012011 South Section (Source Author)



Fig.8.14 DFTT01/2011 East Section showing deep ploughing (Source Author)



Fig. 8.15 DFTT01/2011 East Section



Fig.8.16 DFTT01/2011 South-West Section (Source Author)



Fig.8.17 DFTT02/2011 South section showing the stratigraphy (Source Author)



Fig.8.18 DFTT03/2012 Looking South
(Source Author)



Fig.8.19 DFTT06/2012 Ditch Slot
(Source Author)



Fig.8.20 DFTT03/2012 Ditch Slot fully excavated (Source Author)

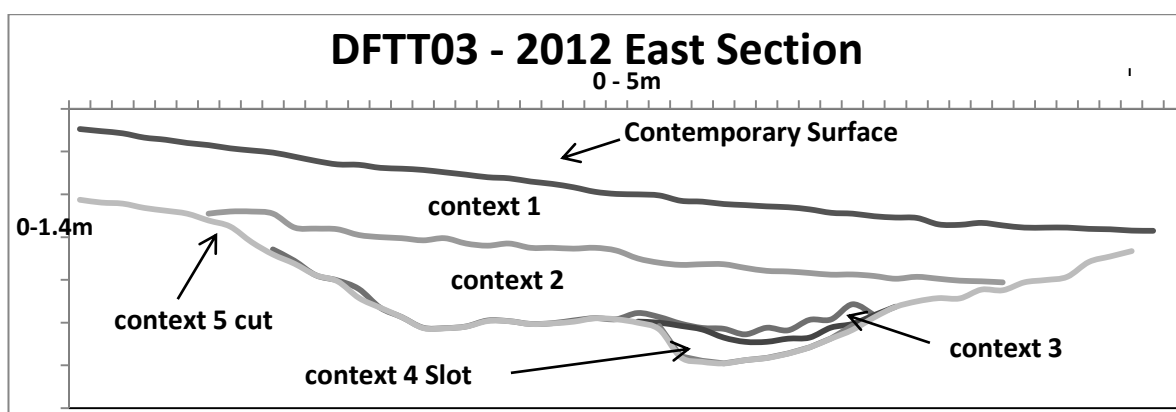


Fig. 8.21 (Source Author)



Fig. 8.22 Shows a photographic plan of the ditch aligned with the section profiles above (Source Author)



Fig: 8.23 RCHME Earthwork survey: Superimposed on Black Knoll



Fig; 8.24 Settlement and Tracks (RCHME 1995)

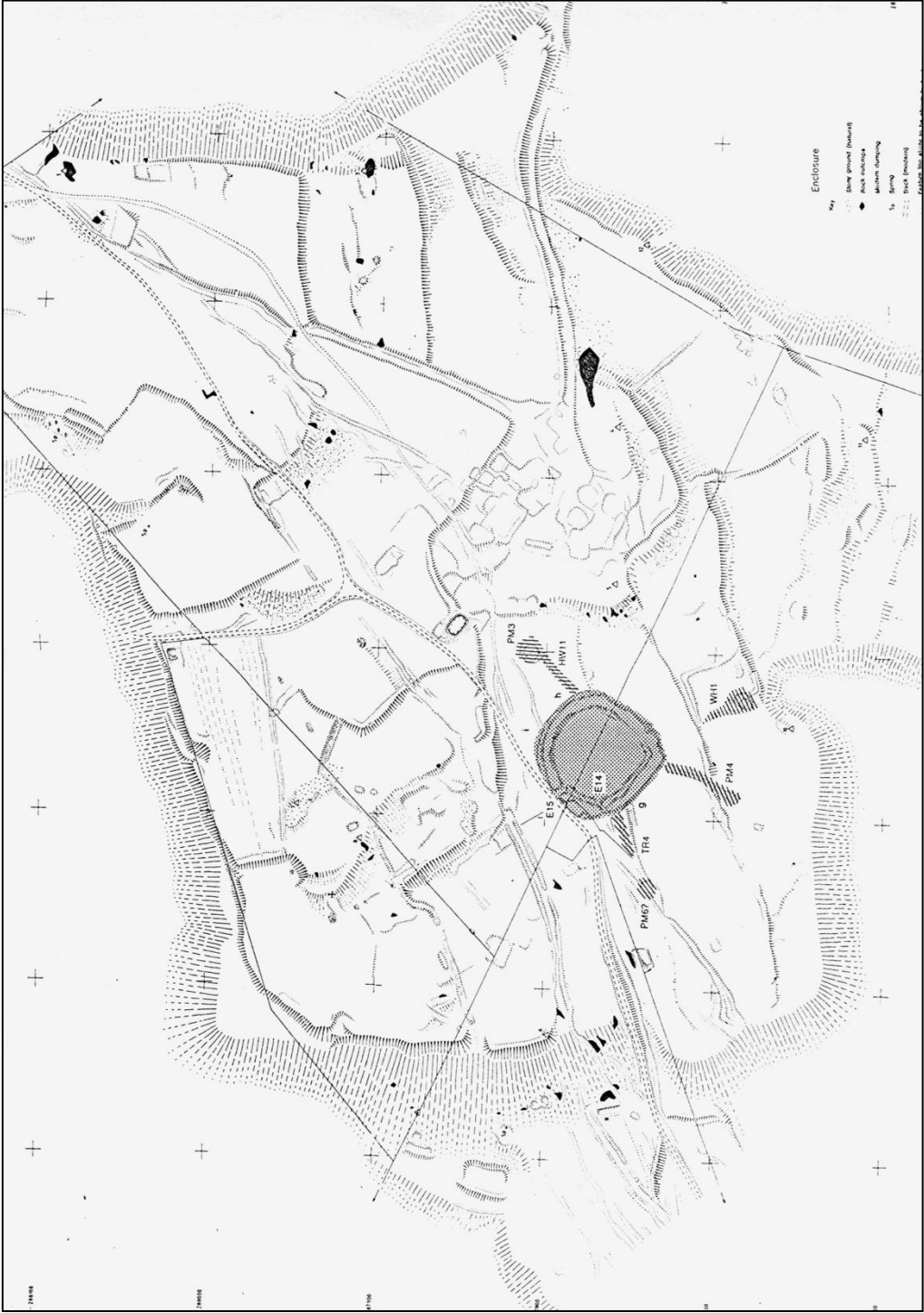


Fig. 8.26 Enclosures (RCHME 1995)

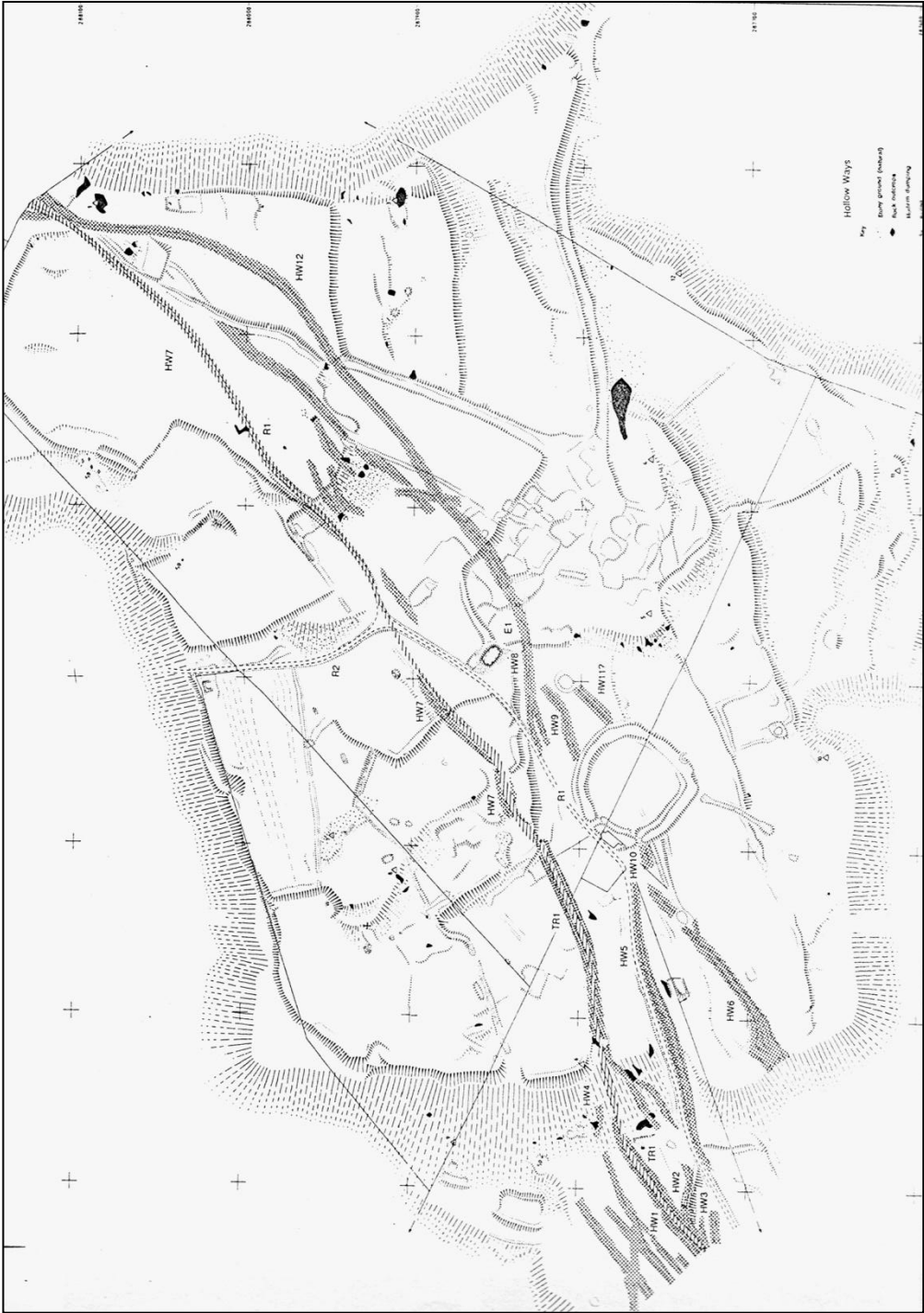


Fig. 8.27 Holloways (RCHME 1995)

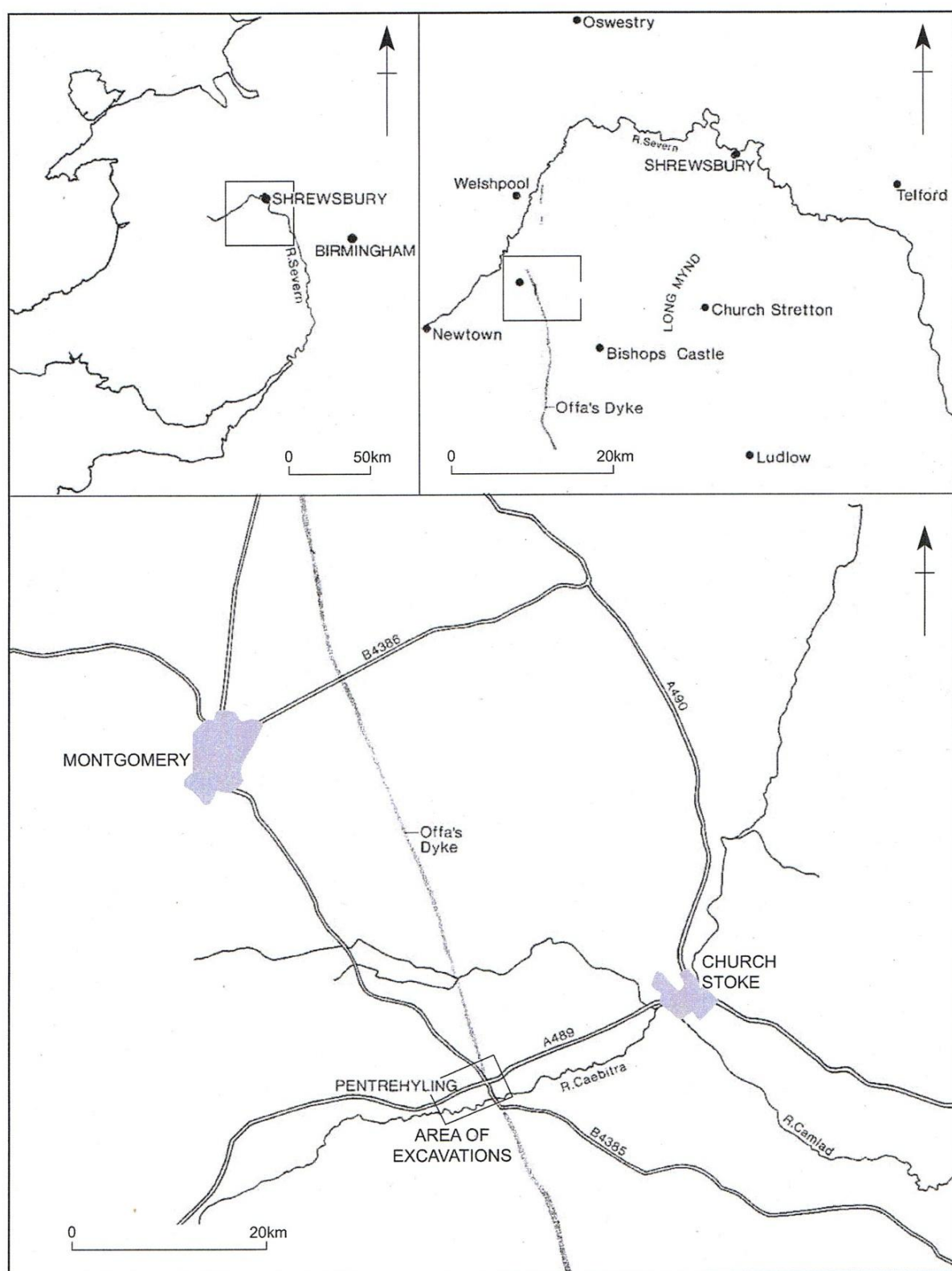


Fig: 8.28 The Location of Pentrehyling (Allen 2011, Ills and Plates un-paginated)

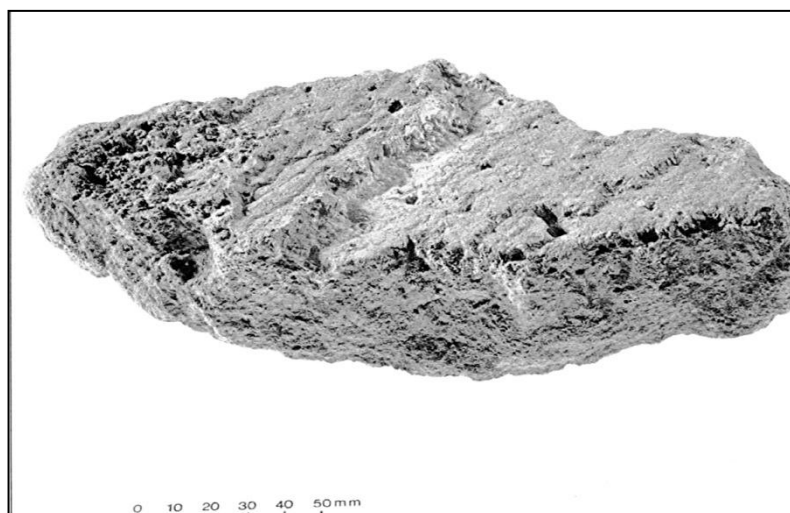


Fig. 8.29 Litharge Cake (Allen 2011, Ills and Plates un-paginated)

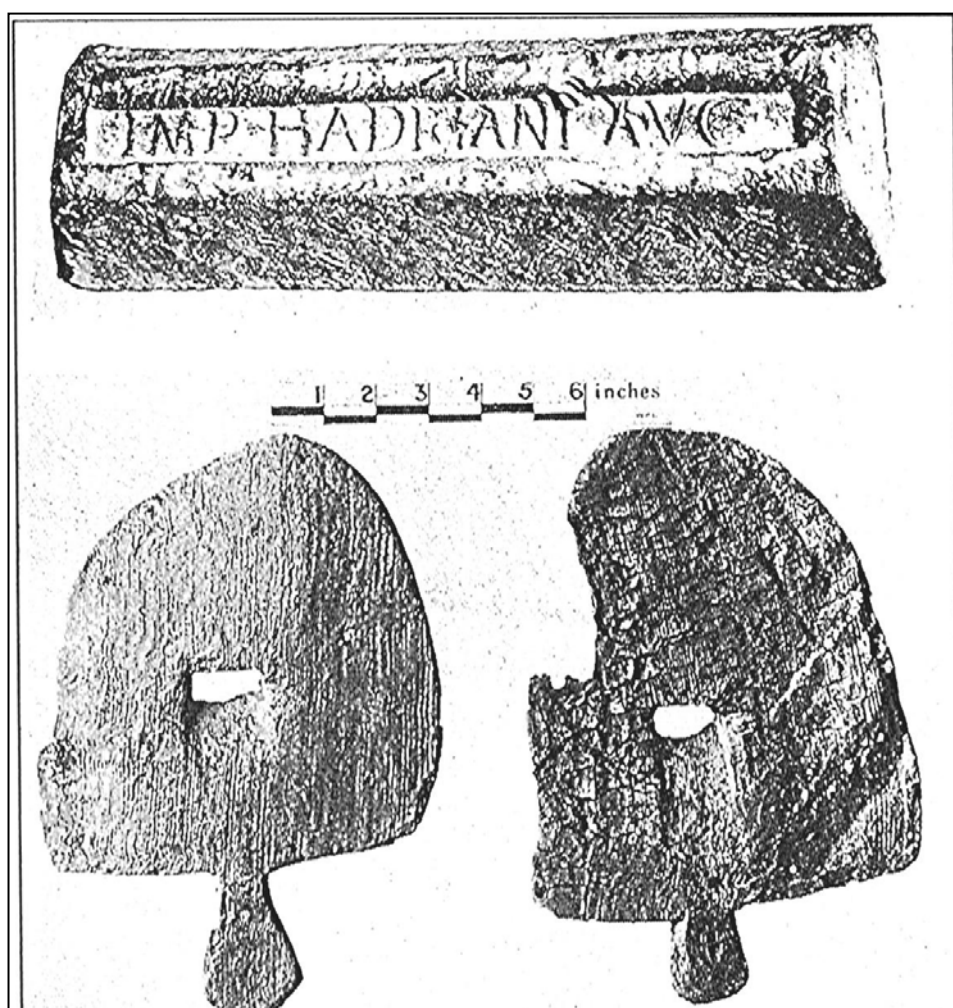


Fig. 8.30 Roman Lead Pig and Wooden Shovels (Brown 2001, p. 11)

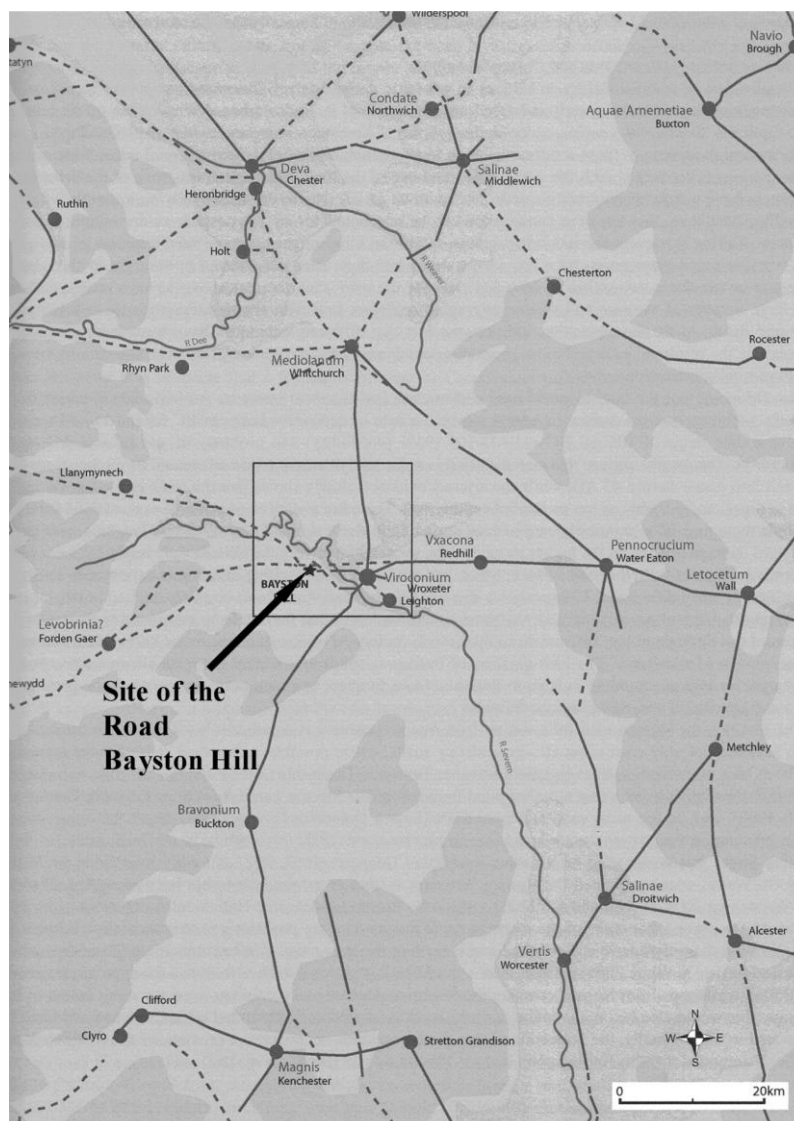


Fig: 8.31 The Iron Age road in context to the Roman Road system (Malim and Hayes 2010)

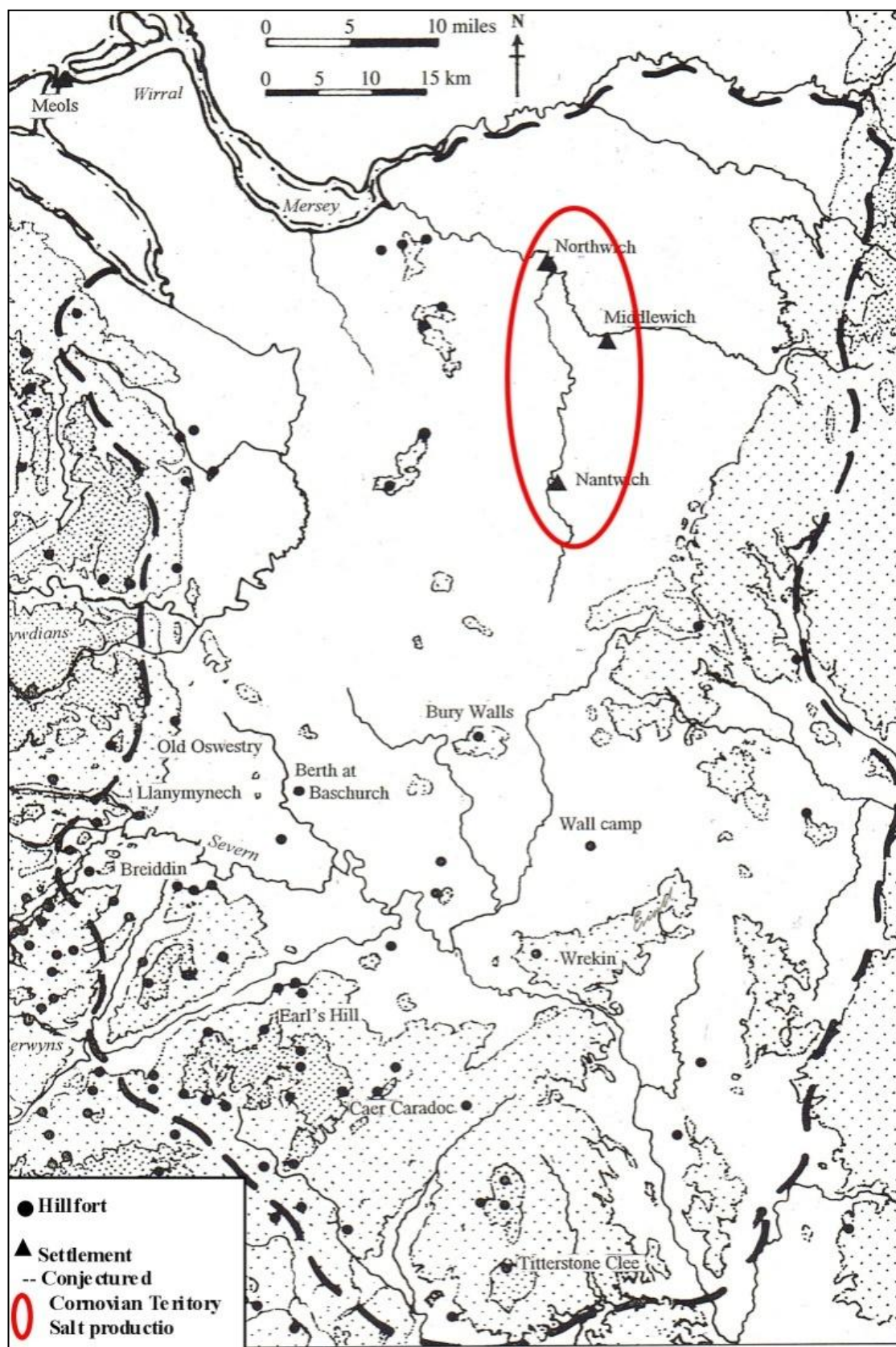


Fig. 9.1: The Conjectured Cornovian territory, hillforts and salt production (after Barker & White 1998, Fig 13)

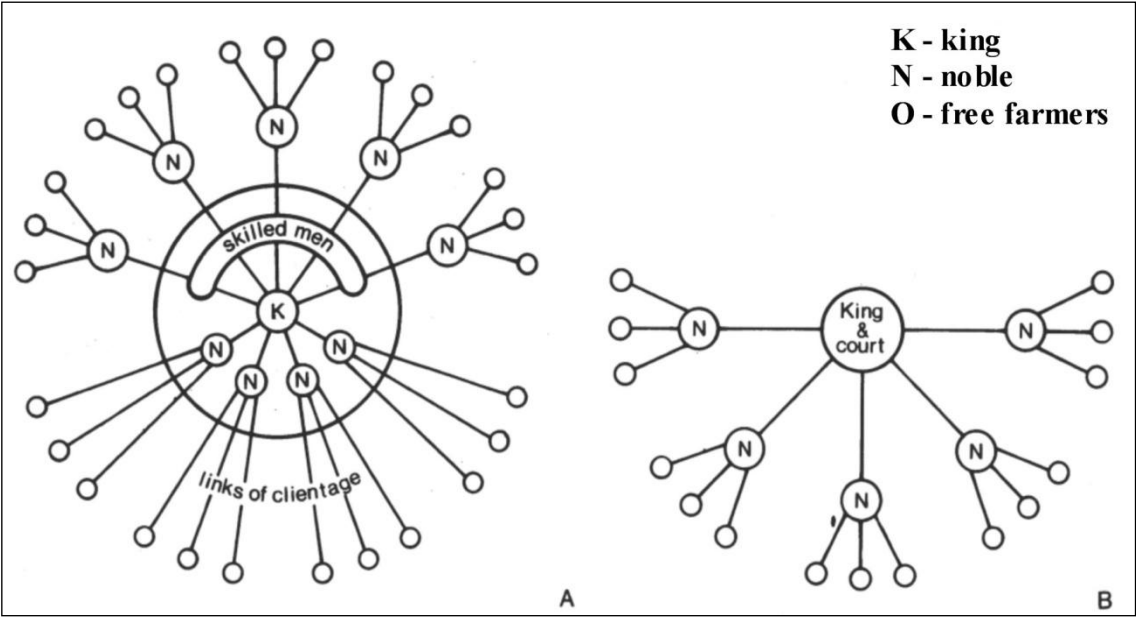


Fig. 9.2 Cunliffe Model diagram (Cunliffe 2005, p.)

Tables

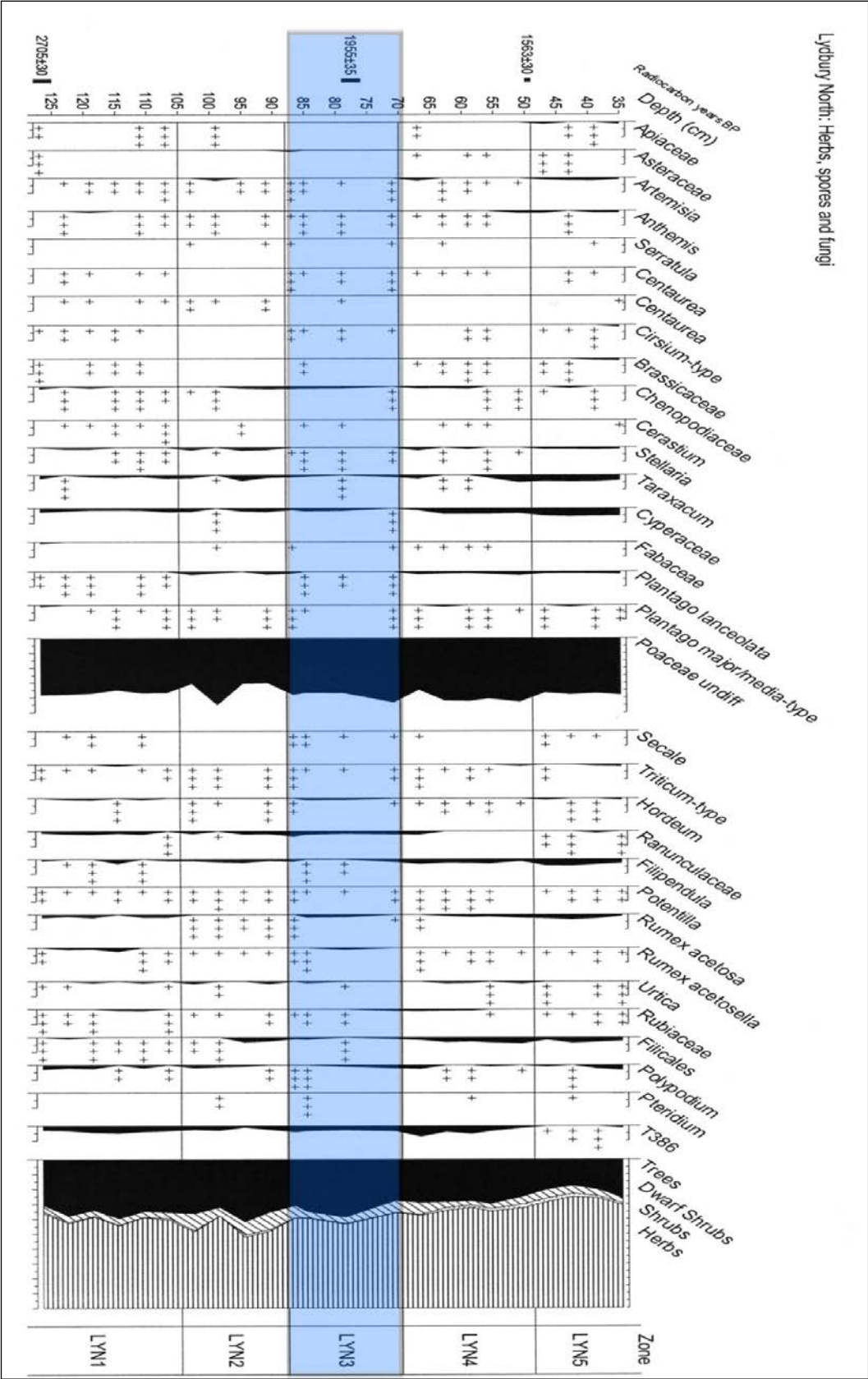


Table 2.1 Herbs, and Fungi in the Kemp Valley (Pittam & Mighall 2007)

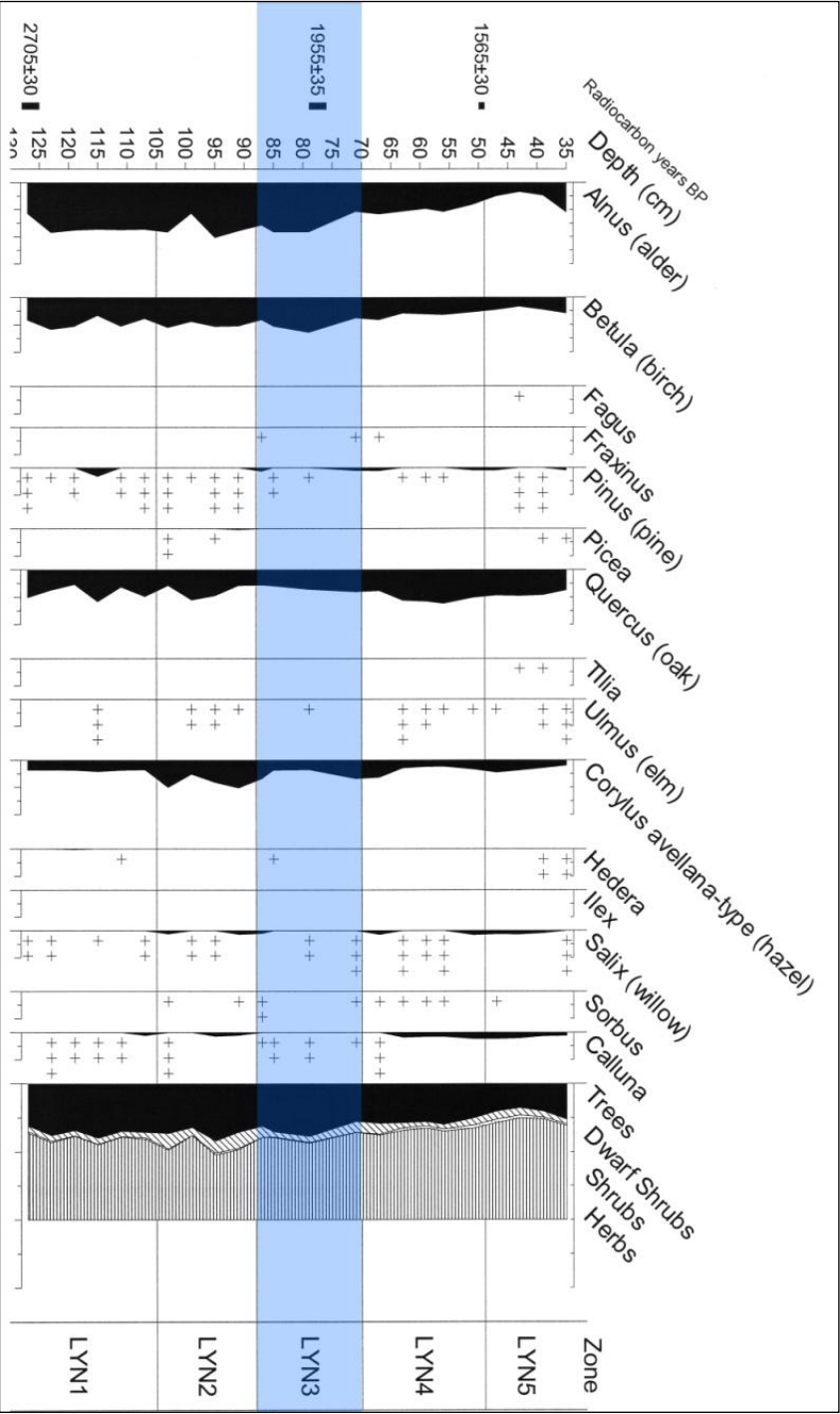


Table 2.2 Trees and Shrubs in the Kemp Valley (Pittam & Mighall 2007)

Linear Earthworks on Stapley Hill, Shropshire (SO 3098)

(Figures in brackets refer to Wigley's designations)

Linear	Measured existing Length (m) (metres)	Missing Length(m)	Total Length (m)	Morphology (Fig. 5.10)
1	1,394	Not Known	1,394	Ditch with Banks
2 (1)	378	39	417	Bank with Ditches
3	374	Not Known	374	Bank
4 (2)	182	None	182	Bank
5 (3)	164	None?	164	Ditch with Banks
6	556	43	599	Bank
7 (5)	736	384	1,120	Bank
8	228	Not Known	228	Bank
9	241	Not Known	241	Bank
10	174	Not Known	174	Bank
11	35	Not Known	35	Bank
12	101	Not Known	101	Bank
13	84	Not Known	84	Bank
Sub-totals	4,647	466	5,113	
Ditch with Banks	1,558		1,558	2 (15%)
Bank with Ditches	378	39	417	1 (8%)
Banks	2,711	427	3,138	10 (77%)
Totals	4,647	466	5,113	13 (100%)

Total measured (m)	4,647
Total missing (m)	466
Total postulated (m)	5,113

Table 5.1 Total Linear Measurements on Stapley Hill (source Author)

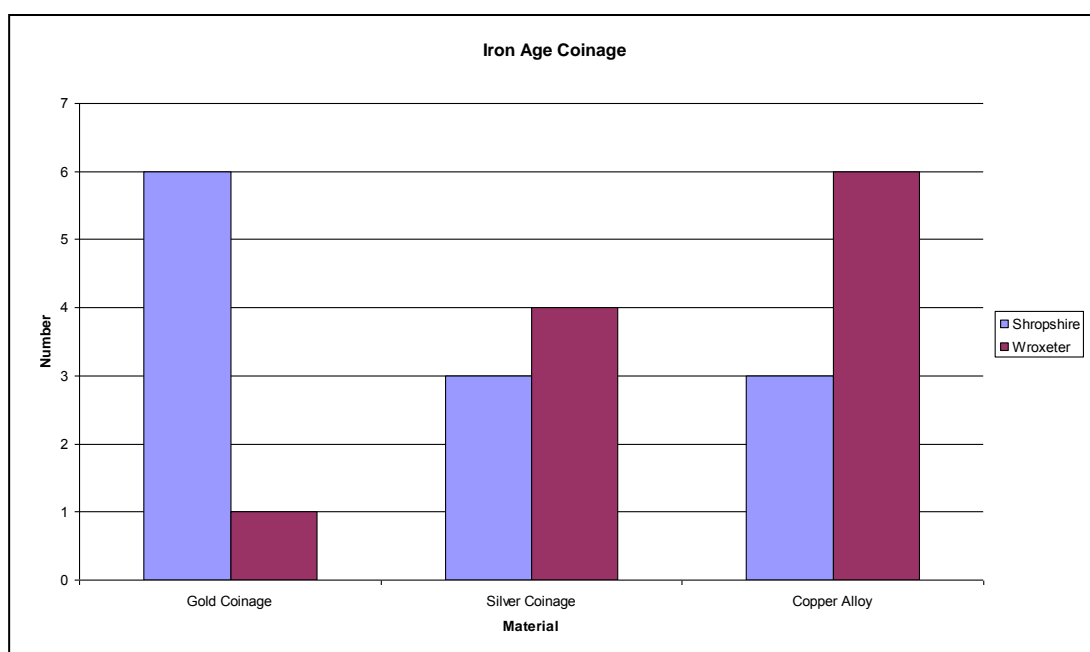


Table 7.1 The material composition of coins found in Shropshire and Wroxeter
(source: P.A.S.)

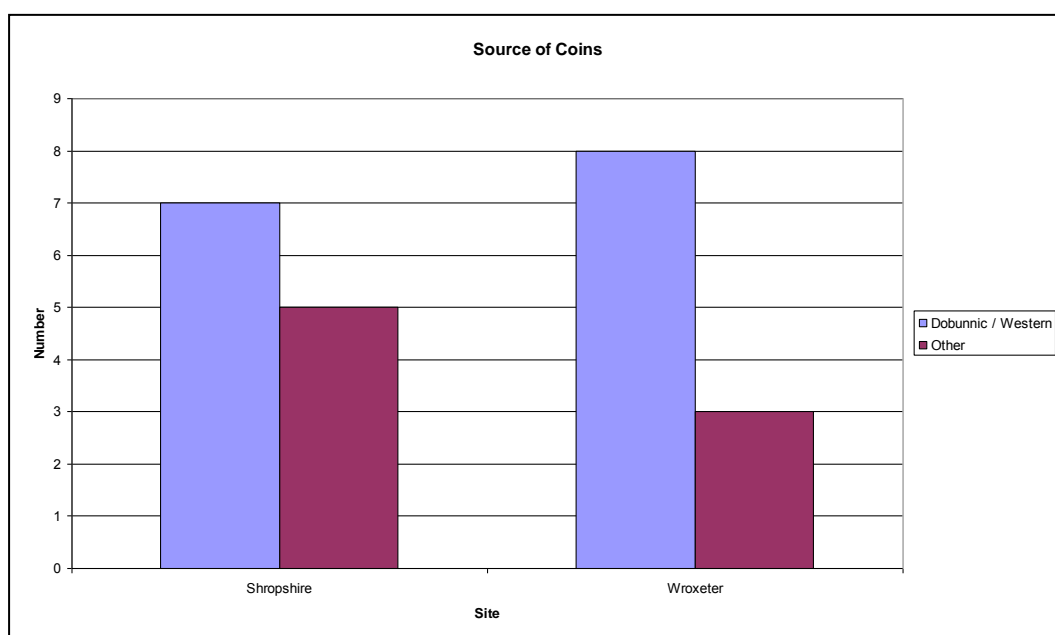
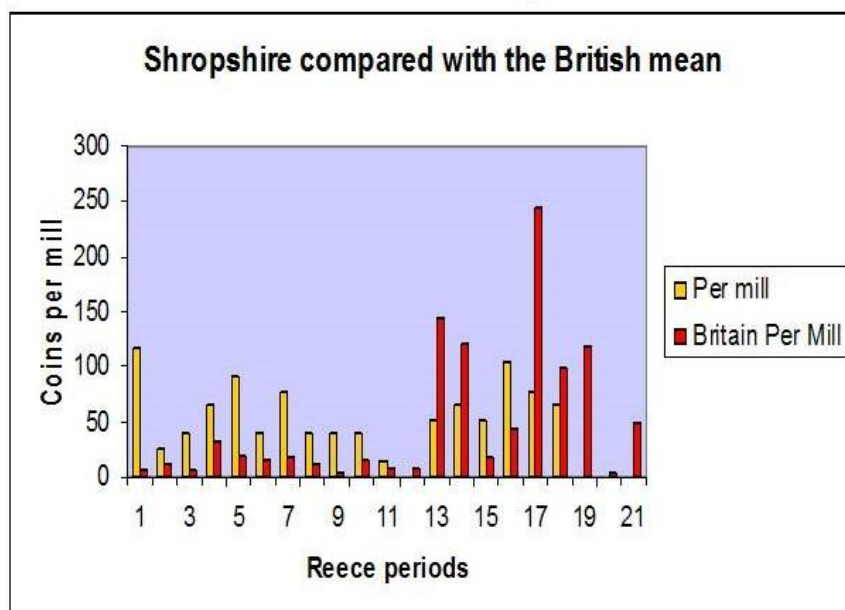


Table 7.2 The proportions of Dobunnica (western series) and other series (source P.A.S.)

Reece Period Analysis of the Data



This analysis shows considerable activity in the period R1 pre Claudian / Iron Age (pre 41 AD) - R10 Severus (238 AD) specifically R1 (pre 41) –R7 (138 AD)

Table 7.3 (source P.A.S. from Phillipa Walton PhD, UCL)

Bibliography

- Aitchison, N.B. 1987. Roman wealth, native ritual. *Scottish Archaeological Review* 4 (2): pp. 95-96.
- Albarella, U. 2007. The end of the Sheep Age: people and animals in the late Iron Age. In C. Haselgrove and T. Moore (eds.) *The Later Iron Age in Britain and Beyond*. Oxford, Oxbow, pp. 389-402.
- Albarella, U. Et al. 2008. The development of animal husbandry from the Late Iron Age to the end of the Roman period: a case study from South-East Britain, *Journal of Archaeological Science* 35, pp. 1828-1848
- Alcock, J. P. 2001. *Food in Roman Britain*, Stroud, Tempus
- Allen, J. et al. 2011. *Pentrehyling Fort, Brompton, Shropshire* (Unpublished Final Report).
- Aston, M. 1985. *Interpreting the Landscape*, London, Routledge
- Audouze, F. and Buchsenschutz, O. 1991. *Towns, Villages and Countryside of Celtic Europe*, London, Batsford
- Baillie, M.G. 1995. *A Slice Through Time. Dendrochronology and Precision Dating*. London, Batsford.
- Bapty, I. 2001. *Wat's and Offa's Dykes: The Long Term Legacy of the Cornovii?* Paper presented at the Council for British Archaeology, West Midlands Group Day School, 3rd November 2001.
- Bapty, I. 2012. Developing New Perspectives on Offa's Dyke, *Ruling and Dividing, Offa's legacy in the Northern Marches*. Report of the 6th Seminar of the Old Oswestry Landscape and Archaeology Project, Oswestry, The Old Oswestry Landscape and Archaeology Project, pp. 48-52.
- Barber, J. 1985. The Pit Alignment at Eskbank Nurseries, *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 51, 149-166
- Barker, P. A., R. H. White, K. B. Pretty, H. Bird and M. J. Corbishley 1997. *The Baths Basilica Wroxeter. Excavations 1966-90*. English Heritage Archaeological Report 8. London, English Heritage.
- Bartel, B. 1980. *Colonialism and Cultural Responses: Problems Related to Roman Provincial Analysis*, *World Archaeology*, Vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 11-26
- Barth, F. 2000. Boundaries and connections. In A.P. Cohen (ed.) *Signifying Identities. Anthropological Perspectives on Boundaries and Contested Values*. London, Routledge, pp. 17-36.

- Barrett, J.C. 1989. Time and tradition: The rituals of everyday life. In H.A. Nordstrom and A. Knappe (eds.) *Bronze Age Studies* Stockholm: Statens Historiska Museum, pp. 113-126.
- Bédoyère, de la, G. 2001. *The Buildings of Roman Britain*, Stroud Tempus
- Bell, M. and Walker, M. J. C., 1992. *The Quaternary Environmental Change, - Physical and Human Perspectives*. Harlow, Longman
- Bibby, J. S. and D. Mackney (Eds.) 1969. *Land Use Capability Classification*. Soil Survey Technical Monograph 1. Harpenden, Rothamsted Experimental Station.
- Birley, A. 1964. *Life in Roman Britain*, London, BCA-Batsford
- Bowden, M. 1999. *Unravelling the Landscape: An Inquisitive Approach to Archaeology*, Stroud, Tempus
- Bradley, R. 1991. Turning the world: rock carvings and the archaeology of death, in N. Sharples & A. Sheridan (ed.), *Vessels for the Ancestors* pp. 168-76. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Britnell, W. J. and C. Earwood 1991. "Wooden Artefacts and other worked wood from Buckbean Pond". In C. R. Musson (Ed) *The Breiddin Hillfort: A later prehistoric settlement in the Welsh Marches*. CBA Research Report 76. London, Council for British Archaeology, 161-72.
- Brown, I. J. 2001. *West Shropshire Mining Fields*, Stroud, Tempus
- Brück, J. 2007. The character of Late Bronze Age settlement in southern Britain. in C. Haselgrove and R. Pope, *The Earlier Iron Age in Britain and the near Continent*. Oxford, Oxbow
- Bucknal, P. 1978. Cereal production, storage and population: a caveat. In S. Limbrey and J. G. Evans (eds). *The Effect of Man on the Landscape: The Lowland Zone*. CBA Research Report 21, London, 43-5
- Burgess, C.B. 1985. Population, climate and upland settlement. In D. Spratt and C. Burgess (eds.) *Upland Settlement in Britain: the Second Millennium BC and After*. Oxford: BAR 143. pp.195-230.
- Chadwick, A. 1997. *Towards a Social Archaeology of Later Prehistoric and Romano-British Field Systems in South Yorkshire, West Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire*, Research School of Archaeology and Archaeological Science, University of Sheffield
- Challis, A. J. and Harding, D. W. 1975. *Later Pre-history from the Trent to the Tyne*. Oxford, British Archaeological Reports British Series 20.

- CPAT (Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust), Undated, *Corndon Hill burial cairns and Mitchell's Fold stone circle*
- Cohen, A.P. 2000. Discriminating relations: identity, boundary and authenticity. In A.P. Cohen (ed.) *Signifying Identities. Anthropological Perspectives on Boundaries and Contested Values*. London, Routledge, pp. 1-13.
- Coles, J. and Minnett, S.1995. *Industrious and Fairly Civilized: The Glastonbury Lake Village*. Somerset Levels Project and Somerset County Council
- Collens, J. 1988. *Iron Age and Romano-British Settlement in the Upper Severn Valley*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Birmingham
- Copleya, M. S, Berstana, R, Dudda, S. N, Strakerb, V, Paynec, S, Evershed, R.P, 2005. Dairying in Antiquity. I. Evidence from absorbed lipid residues dating to the British Iron Age, *Journal of Archaeological Science* 32 pp. 485–503
- Connelly. P. 1975. *The Roman Army*, Macdonald Educational, London
- Creighton, J. 1995. Visions of Power: Imagery and Symbols in Late Iron Age Britain, *Britannia*, Vol. 26, pp. 285-301
- Cunliffe, B. 1986. *Danebury: Anatomy of an Iron Age Hillfort*. London, Batsford
- Cunliffe B. 1995. *The Iron Age*. London, Batsford/English Heritage.
- Cunliffe, B. 2000. The Danebury Environs Programme: *The Prehistory of a Wessex Landscape. Vol. 1: Introduction*, English Heritage and Oxford University Community Archaeology, Monograph 48, Oxford
- Cunliffe, B. 2005, *Iron Age Communities in Britain*, (4th Edition) Abington, Routledge
- Dark, K. R. 1995. *Theoretical Archaeology*, London, Duckworth
- Dark, K. and Dark, P. 1997. *The Landscape of Roman Britain*, Stroud, Alan Sutton
- Dark, P. 1999. Pollen Evidence for the Environment of Roman Britain, *Britannia*, Vol.30 pp. 247-272
- Dark, P. 2000. *The Environment of Britain in the First Millennium A.D.*, London, Duckworth
- Dark, P. 2006. Climate deterioration and land-use change in the first millennium BC: perspectives from the British palynological record. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 33 pp.1381-1395
- Darvill, T.1987. *Prehistoric Britain*, London, Batsford.

- Davies, D. 1988. The evocative symbolism of trees, in Cosgrove & Daniels (eds) *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments* pp.32-41, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press
- Dobney, K. 2001. A place at the table: the role of vertebrate zooarchaeology within a Roman research agenda for Britain. In S. James and M. Millett (eds.) *Britons and Romans: Advancing an Archaeological Agenda*. CBA Research Report 125. London, CBA
- Doyle, M. W. 1986. *Empires*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.
- Dumayne-Peaty, L. 1998. Human Impact on the Environment during the Iron Age and Romano-British Times: Palynological Evidence from Three Sites near the Antonine Wall, Great Britain, *Journal of Archaeological Science*, **25**, 203–214
- Earle, T.K. 2000. Archaeology, Property, and Prehistory, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 29: 39-60.
- Ellis, P. & White, R. (eds) 2006. *Wroxeter Archaeology: excavations and Research on the Defences and in the Town, 1968-1992*, Shropshire Archaeological and Historical Society, Vol: LXXVIII, Shrewsbury, Shropshire Archaeological and Historical Society
- Ellis, S.P. 2000. *Roman Housing*, London, Duckworth
- Evans, C. J. 2011. The Early Vicus and Fort, in J. Allen (ed), *Pentrehyling Fort, Brompton, Shropshire*, Final Report
- Feryok, M. 2001. Offa's Dyke, in S. Zaluckyj, (ed), Mercia, *the Anglo-Saxon Kingdom of Central England*, Little Logaston, Logaston Press
- Fleming, A. 1998. Prehistoric landscapes and the quest for territorial pattern. In P. Everson and T. Williamson (eds.) *The Archaeology of Landscape: Studies Presented to Christopher Taylor*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 42-66.
- Ford, S. 2006. *Grim's Ditch, Starveall Farm, Wootton, Woodstock, Oxfordshire An Archaeological Recording Action For Empire Homes*, Thames Valley Archaeological Services Ltd
- Fowler, P.J. 2002. *Farming in the First Millennium AD. British Agriculture between Julius Caesar and William the Conqueror*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fox, Sir C. 1955. *Offa's Dyke: A Field Survey of the Western Frontier works of Mercia in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries A.D.*, London, The British Academy

- Freeman, P.W.M. 1993. 'Romanization' and Roman material culture. Review of M. Millett's *The Romanization of Roman Britain. An Essay in Archaeological Interpretation*. Cambridge 1990. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 6, pp.438-445.
- Fulford, M and Timby, J. 2000. Late Iron Age and Roman Silchester, London, Britannia Monograph 15
- Full Application Guidance Notes, Guidance-RDPE-GN-26 Issue 1*, 2009, Shropshire Hills LEADER Programme A.O.N.B., Craven Arms, Shropshire A.O.N.B. Partnership
- Gaffney, V. L., White, R. H., Goodchild, H. 2007. *Wroxeter, The Cornovii, and the Urban Process, Vol. 1. Researching the Hinterland*, Portsmouth, Rhode Island, *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, Supplementary Series No. 68
- Gambash, G. 2012. To Rule a Ferocious Province: Roman Policy and the Aftermath of the Boudican Revolt, *Britannia*, 43, pp 1 - 15
- Gardner, A. 2013. Thinking about Roman Imperialism: Postcolonialism, Globalisation and Beyond? *Britannia*, 44, pp. 1-25
- Gearey, B. R., Charman, D. J., & Kent, M., 2000. Palaeoecological Evidence for the Prehistoric Settlement of Bodmin Moor, Cornwall, southwest England. Part II: Land Use Changes from the Neolithic to the Present. *Journal of Archaeological Science* (2000) 27, 493–508
- Giles, M. 2007. Refiguring rights in the Early Iron Age landscape of East Yorkshire. in C. Haselgrove and R. Pope (eds), *The Earlier Iron Age in Britain and the near Continent*, Oxford, Oxbow
- Given, M. 2004. *The archaeology of the colonized*. London: Routledge.
- Godelier, M. 1978. Territory and property in primitive society, *Social Science Information* 17 (3): 399-426.
- Going, C. 1992. 'Economic "Long Waves" in the Roman period? , *Oxford J Archaeol* 11,93-117)
- Goodburn, R. 1979. *Chedworth Roman Villa*, London, The National Trust
- Gosden, C. 2004. *Archaeology and colonialism*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Grant, A. 1984. Animal husbandry in Wessex and the Thames Valley. In B.W. Cunliffe and D. Miles (eds.) *Aspects of the Iron Age in Central Southern Britain*. Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph 2. pp. 102-119 Oxford, Oxford

- Grant, A. 1989. Animals in Roman Britain. In M. Todd (ed.) *Research on Roman Britain 1960-1989* Britannia Monograph Series 11. London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, pp. 135-146.
- Green, M. J. (ed), 1995. *The Celtic World*. London, Routledge
- Greene, M. J. 2009. *The Making of the Lydbury Landscape - six thousand years of human intervention*, Lydbury North, The Lydbury Field Group
- Guilbert, G. 1975 Ratlinghope/ Stitt Hill, Shropshire: earthwork enclosures and cross-dykes, *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 26: 363-373.
- Halden, R. and Jenks, N. E. 1991. Excavations on Sharpstone Hill 1965-71, in Carver, M.O. H. (ed). *Prehistory in Lowland Shropshire*, Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society, 67, 15-57
- Hambleton, E. 1999. *Animal Husbandry Regimes in Iron Age Britain. A Comparative Study of Faunal Assemblages from British Iron Age Sites*. British Archaeological Reports p. 227. Oxford, Archaeopress.
- Hamilton, J., Hedges, R. E. M., & Robinson, M. 2009. *Rooting for pigfruit: pig feeding in Neolithic and Iron Age Britain compared*, *Antiquity* 83, 998–1011
- Sue Hamilton, S., Manley, J. 2001. Hillforts, Monumentality and Place: A Chronological and Topographic Review of First Millennium BC Hillforts of South-East England, *European Journal of Archaeology* 4: 7
- Harding, A. F. 2000. *European Societies in the Bronze Age*, Cambridge, The Cambridge University Press
- Harding, D. W. 2006. *Redefining the Northern British Iron Age*, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 25(1) 61–82, Oxford, Blackwell
- Haselgrove, C.C. 1982. Wealth, prestige and power: the dynamics of late Iron Age political centralisation in south-east England. In C. Renfrew and S. Shennan (eds.) *Ranking, Resource and Exchange*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 79-88.
- Haselgrove, C.C. 1984. The later pre-Roman Iron Age between the Humber and the Tyne. In P.R. Wilson, R.F.J. Jones and D.M. Evans (eds.) *Settlement and Society in the Roman North*. Bradford, School of Archaeological Sciences, pp. 9-25.
- Head, L. 2010. Cultural Landscapes. In: D. Hicks and M.C. Beaudry, M C, eds. 427-439. *The Oxford handbook of material culture studies* (pp. 428-439). Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hedeager, L. 1992. *Iron-Age Societies*, Oxford, Blackwell

- Hingley, R. 1984. Towards a social analysis in archaeology: Celtic society in the Iron Age of the Upper Thames valley, in B. Cunliffe and D. Miles (eds), *Aspects of the Iron Age in Central Southern Britain*, 72-88. Oxford, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph 2.
- Hingley, R. 1989. *Rural Settlement in Roman Britain*. London. Seaby
- Hingley, R. 1997. Resistance and domination: social change in Roman Britain. In D. Mattingly (ed.). *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism. Power, Discourse, and Discrepant Experience in the Roman Empire*. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplement 23. Portsmouth, RI, Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, pp. 81-100.
- Hingley, R. 2000. *Roman Officers and English Gentlemen*. London: Routledge.
- Huskinson, J. 2000. Elite culture and the identity of empire in J. Huskinson (Ed.) *Experiencing Rome: culture, identity and power in the Roman Empire*, London, Routledge
- Huskinson, J. 2000. Looking for culture, identity and power. in J. Huskinson (Ed.) *Experiencing Rome: culture, identity and power in the Roman Empire*. London, Routledge.
- Hogg, A.H.A. 1965. The Early Iron Age in Wales, in I. L. Foster and G. Daniel (eds), *Prehistoric and Early Wales*, 109-150. London, Routledge and Keegan Paul.
- Horne, P. D. 2009. *A Strategy for the National Mapping Programme*, York, English Heritage
- Ingold, T. 1986. Territoriality and tenure: the appropriation of space in hunting and gathering societies. In T. Ingold (ed.) *The Appropriation of Nature: Essays on Human Ecology and Social Relations*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 130-164.
- Ingold, T. 1993. The Temporality of the Landscape. *World Archaeology* 25, pp.152-174.
- Ingold, T. 2000. *The Perception of the Environment. Essays in Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill*. London, Routledge.
- Irby, Wirral, Merseyside, a late prehistoric and Romano-British site*
www.eng-h.gov.uk/ArchRev/rev95_6/irby.htm accessed 08.10.10
- Jackson, D. 1999. Variation in the size distribution of hillforts in the Welsh Marches and its Implication for Social Organisation. In B. Bevan (ed.) *Northern Exposures: Interpretative Devolution and the Iron Age in Britain*. Leicester. University of Leicester. pp. 197-216.
- Johnson, M. 1999. *Archaeological Theory*. Oxford, Blackwell

- Jones, A. 1994. The Landscape of the Wroxeter Hinterland: the cropmark evidence, *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Historical Society* 69, 15-31.
- Jones, M.K. 1981. The development of crop husbandry. In M.K. Jones and G.W. Dimbleby(eds.) *The Environment of Man: the Iron Age to Anglo-Saxon Periods*. Oxford, British Archaeological Reports 87. pp. 95-127.
- Jones, M.K. 1996. Plant exploitation. In T.C. Champion and J.R. Collis (eds.) *The Iron Age in Britain and Ireland: Recent Trends*. Sheffield, Department of Archaeology and Prehistory, pp 29-40.
- King, A.C. 1991. Food production and consumption – meat. In R.F.J. Jones (ed.) *Roman Britain: Recent Trends*. Sheffield, Department of Archaeology and Prehistory, pp. 15-20.
- King, A. and Soffe, G. 1994. The Iron Age and Roman Temple on Hayling Island. In: A.P. Fitzpatrick and E.L.Morris, E. L. eds. *The Iron Age in Wessex: recent work*, Salisbury: Trust for Wessex Archaeology, pp. 114-116.
- Knight, D. 2007. From open to enclosed: Iron Age landscapes in the Trent Valley, in Haselgrove. C. & Moore. T(eds). 2007. *The Later Iron Age in Britain and Beyond*, Oxford, Oxbow.
- Lane, T. and Morris, E.L. 2001. *A Millennium of Saltmaking, Prehistoric and Romano-British Salt Production in the Fenland*. Heckington, Heritage Trust for Lincolnshire.
- Lewis, N. and Reinhold, M. (eds) 1990. *Roman Civilization, Selected Readings, The Empire*, Vol.II, New York, Columbia
- Macdonald, P. 2007. Perspectives on insular La Tène Art, in Haselgrove. C. & Moore. T (eds). *The Later Iron Age in Britain and Beyond*, Oxford, Oxbow.
- Maltby, J.M. 1996. The exploitation of animals in the Iron Age: the archaeozoological evidence. In T.C. Champion and J.R. Collis (eds.) *The Iron Age in Britain and Ireland: Recent Trends*. Sheffield, Department of Archaeology and Prehistory, pp.17-27.
- Manby, T. 1980. Bronze Age Settlement in Eastern Yorkshire, in J. Barrett and R. Bradley(eds), *Settlement and Society in the British Later Bronze Age*, 307-370, Oxford, British Archaeological Reports British Series 83.
- Malim, T. & Laurence. Hayes. 2010. An Engineered Iron Age Road, Associated Roman Use (Margary Route 64), and Bronze Age Activity Recorded at Sharpstone Hill, 2009, in Price. D. T. W. (ed). *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Historical Society*, Shrewsbury, Shropshire History and Archaeology.
- Margary, I.D. 1973. *Roman Roads in Britain* (3rd edition). John Baker Publishing
- Mason, D. J. 2001. *Roman Chester: City of the Eagle*, Stroud, Tempus

- Mattingly, D. 2007. *An Imperial Possession: Britain in the Roman Empire*. London, Penguin.
- Mattingly, H. 1970. Introduction in, Tacitus, *The Agricola and The Germania*, (Trans) H. Mattingly, London, Penguin
- McCarthy, M. 2006, Romano-British People and the Language of Sociology, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 25(2) pp. 201–212
- Megaw, R. and V. 1990. *Celtic Art: From its beginning to the Book of Kells*. London, Thames and Huson
- Millett, M. 1990. *The Romanization of Britain, An Essay in Archaeological Interpretation*, Cambridge, University of Cambridge Press.
- Moore, T. 2007. Perceiving Communities: Exchange, Landscapes and Social Networks in the Later Iron Age of Western Britain, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 26(1) 79-107. Oxford, Blackwell
- Moore, T. 2011. Detribalizing the later prehistoric past: Concepts of tribes in Iron Age and Roman studies, *Journal of Social Archaeology* 11(3) pp. 334–360
- Morley, N. 2010. *The Roman Empire: Roots of Imperialism*. London: Pluto Press.
- Morris, E. 1995. The Iron Age Pottery, Petrological Report in S. C. Stanford (ed), A Cornovian Farm and Saxon Cemetery at Bromfield, Shropshire, in *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Historical Society*, Volume LXX 1995, Stroud, Alan Sutton Publishing
- Musson, C. R. 1991. *The Breidden Hillfort: a Late Prehistoric Settlement in the Welsh Marches*, CBA Research Report 76, York, CBA
- Mytum, H. C. 1982. Rural Settlement of the Roman Period on North and East Wales, in Miles, D.(ed.) *The Romano-British Countryside, Studies in Rural Settlement and Economy*, BAR British Series 103(11), 313-335
- Noort, van de, R. 1996. The earliest inhabitants; early agriculturalists: agrarian society of the Metal Ages in S. Neave and S. Ellis (eds) *An Historical Atlas of East Yorkshire*, Hull: University of Hull Press, pp.18–27
- Offa's Dyke Association, 2014. *Dyke Dates in Doubt*, <http://www.offasdyke.demon.co.uk/dykedoubts.htm> [Accessed 10-05-2015]
- Oswald, A. 2011. *Prehistoric Linear Boundary Earthworks*, English Heritage
- Parker Pearson, M. (1996). Food, fertility and front doors. In T.C. Champion and J.R. Collis (eds.) *The Iron Age In Britain And Ireland: Recent Trends* Sheffield: Department of Archaeology and Prehistory, pp 117-132.

- Pickering, J. 1992. Pit Alignments, *Current Archaeology* 130, 137-146
- Piggott, S. 1958. Native economies and the Roman occupation of the north. In I.A. Richmond (ed.) *Roman and Native in North Britain*. London: Nelson, pp. 1-27
- Pichler, S, Pümpin, C, Brönnimann, D, Rentzel, P. 2014. Life in the proto-urban style: the identification of parasite eggs in micromorphological thin sections from the Basel-Gasfabrik Late Iron Age settlement, Switzerland, *Journal of Archaeological Science* 43, pp. 55-65
- Pittam, N. J. and Mighall, T. M. 2007. (unpublished) *Vegetation History of Lydbury North, Shropshire - Final Report*, Aberdeen, University of Aberdeen
- Pitts, M. 2008. Globalizing the local in Roman Britain: An anthropological approach to social change. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 27, 493–506
- UOV, D. Preshous, H. Jackson, A. Oake-Jones and J. Preshous (eds). Undated. *The Upper Onney Valley in the Hills of West Shropshire*, Much Wenlock, RJL Smith & Associates.
- Pryor, F. 1982. *Fengate*. Princes Risborough, Shire Archaeology.
- Ralston, I. B. M. 2006. The Iron Age: Aspects of Human Communities and their Environments, *Quaternary Proceedings*, No. 7, 501- 512
- Ramm, H. 1980. Native settlements east of the Pennines. In K. Branigan (ed.) *Rome And The Brigantes. The Impact Of Rome On Northern England*, Sheffield, Department of Prehistory and Archaeology, pp. 28-40.
- Redfern, R. C. and DeWitte, S. N. 2011. A New Approach to the Study of Romanization in Britain: A Regional Perspective of Cultural Change in Late Iron Age and Roman Dorset Using the Siler and Gompertz–Makeham Models of Mortality, *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 144:269–285
- RCHME. 1995. *Black Knoll, Shropshire – Request Survey, July 1995 – October 1995*, Newcastle, University of Keele
- Revell, L. 2009. *Roman Imperialism and Local Identities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Reynolds, P. J. 1979. *Iron Age Farm: the Butser Experiment*. London, British Museum Press.
- Reynolds, P. J. 1995. The food of the prehistoric Celts. In J. Wilkins, D. Harvey and M. Dobson (eds.) *Food in Antiquity*. Exeter, Exeter University Press, pp. 303-315.

- Reynolds, P. J. 1995. Rural life and farming. In M. J. Green (ed) *The Celtic World*, 176-209, London, Routledge
- Rippon, S. J., Fyfe, R. M. and Brown A. G. 2006. Beyond Villages and Open Fields: The Origins and Development of a Historic Landscape Characterised by Dispersed Settlement in South-West England, *Medieval Archaeology*, 50
- Ritchie, W.F and J.N.G. 1985. Celtic Warriors, Princes Risborough, Shire Archaeology
- Rivet, A.L.F. 1958. *Town and Country in Roman Britain*. London: Hutchinson.
- Rouffignac, de, C. 1995. Excavations at Meole Brace and at Bromfield: Part 2. Shropshire, in *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Historical Society*, Volume LXX 1995, Alan Sutton Publishing, Stroud
- Rylatt, J. & Bevan, B. 2007. Realigning the world: pit alignments and their landscape context. C. Haselgrove and T. Moore (eds) *The Later Iron Age in Britain and Beyond*. Oxford, Oxbow.
- Salway, P. 1993. *The Oxford Illustrated History of Roman Britain*. London, BCA/Oxford University Press
- Scheidel, W. 2007. *The Roman Slave Supply*. Princeton/Stanford Working Papers in Classics. California: Stanford University.
- Schortman, E. M. and Urbans, P. A. (eds) 1992. *Resources, Power, and Regional Interaction*. New York, Plenum.
- Shaw, M. 2009. The Lead, Copper and Barytes Mines of Shropshire, Little Logaston, Logaston
- Shropshire Hills Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty, Management Plan 2009-2014*, 2009, Craven Arms, Shropshire A.O.N.B. Partnership
- Simpson, D. P. (comp) 1982, *Cassell's Latin Dictionary – Concise Edition*, London, Macmillan
- Slofstra, J. 1983. An anthropological approach to the study of Romanization processes. In: R. Brandt and J. Slofstra eds. 71-104. 278
- Sluyter, A. 2002. *Colonialism and Landscape: Postcolonial Theory and Applications*. Maryland, Rowman and Littlefield Inc.
- Spratt, D.A. 1993. *Prehistoric and Roman archaeology of northeast Yorkshire*. 2nd edition. London: Council for British Archaeology. Research report 87.

- Stanford, S. C. 1971. Invention, Adoption and Imposition – The Evidence of the Hill-forts, in M. Jesson, and D. Hill, (eds), *The Iron Age and its Hill-forts*, University of Southampton, Monograph Series 1, Southampton, Southampton University Archaeological Society.
- Stanford, S. C. 1995. A Cornovian Farm and Saxon Cemetery at Bromfield, Shropshire, in *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Historical Society*, Volume LXX 1995, Alan Sutton Publishing, Stroud
- Stead, I.M., Bourke, J.B., Brothwell, D. 1986. *Lindow Man: The Body in the Bog*, London, British Museum Publications
- Swan, V.G. 2002. The Roman pottery of Yorkshire in its wider historical context. In P. Wilson and J. Price (eds.) *Aspects of Industry in Roman Yorkshire and the North*. Oxford, Oxbow, pp. 35-79.
- Taylor, J. 2007, *An Atlas of Roman rural settlement in England*. Research Report 151, York, The Council for British Archaeology
- Thomas, J. 1999. *Understanding the Neolithic*. London, Routledge
- Tipping, R. 2002. Climatic variability and ‘marginal’ settlement in upland British landscapes: a re-evaluation. *Landscapes* 3 (2): 10-29.
- Tilley, C. 1994. *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments*. Oxford Berg.
- Todd, M. 1981. *Roman Britain 55 BC – AD 400*, London, Fontana Press
- Toghill, P. 1990, *Geology in Shropshire*, Shrewsbury, Swan Hill Press
- Trigger, B. 1995. Expanding middle-range theory, *Antiquity* 69 pp. 449-58
- van der Veen, M. 1992. *Crop Husbandry Regimes: An Archaeobotanical Study of Farming in Northern England 1000 BC - AD 500*. Sheffield: Department of Archaeology and Prehistory.
- van der Veen, M. and O'Connor, T. 1998. The expansion of agricultural production in late Iron Age and Roman Britain. In J. Bayley (ed.) *Science in Archaeology: an Agenda for the Future*. London, English Heritage, pp. 127-144.
- van der Veen, M., and Jones, G. 2006. A re-analysis of agricultural production and consumption: implications for understanding the British Iron Age, in *Vegetation Historical Archaeobotany 2006*. 15: 217–228
- van der Veen, M. and Jones, G. 2007. The production and consumption of cereals: a question of scale. In C. Haselgrove and T. Moore (eds.) *The Later Iron Age in Britain and Beyond*. Oxford: Oxbow, pp. 419-429.

- Vince, A. 1988. From Roman Town to Norman Castle, A. Burl (ed), *Papers in Honour of Philip Barker*. Birmingham, University of Birmingham.
- Vyner, B.E. 1994. *The territory of ritual: cross-ridge boundaries and the prehistoric landscape of the Cleveland Hills, northeast England*. *Antiquity*, 68, pp 27-38. doi:10.1017/S0003598X00046160.
- Watson, M. and Musson, C. 1993. *Shropshire From The Air*, Shrewsbury, Shropshire Books
- Webster, J. 1996. Roman Imperialism and the Post Imperial Age. In: J. Webster and N.J. Cooper eds. *Roman Imperialism: post-colonial perspectives*. Leicester: School of Archaeological Studies, University of Leicester, pp 1-17.
- Webster, J. 1997. Necessary Comparisons: A Post-Colonial Approach to Religious Syncretism in the Roman Provinces, *World Archaeology*, Vol. 28, No. 3, Culture, Contact and Colonialism, pp.324-338
- Webster, J. 2001. Creolizing the Roman Provinces, *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 105, No. 2, pp. 209-225
- Webster, P. 1995. *Roman Samian Pottery in Britain: Practical Handbook in Archaeology* 13, York, Council for British Archaeology
- Weldrake, D. 2011. *Grim's Dyke*, www.archaeology.wyjs.org.uk/documents/archaeologyprehistoricGrimsDitch.pdf [Accessed 26-02-2013]
- Wheelhouse, P. and Burgess, A. 2001. The linear earthworks. In I. Roberts, A. Burgess and D. Berg (eds.) *A New Link to the Past. The Archaeological Landscape of the M1-A1 Link Road*. Yorkshire Archaeology 7. Leeds: West Yorkshire Archaeology Service, pp. 123-148.
- Whimster, R. 1989. *The Emerging Past*. London. The Royal Commission on the Historic Monuments of England.
- White, R. and Barker, P. 1998. *Wroxeter Life and Death of a Roman City*, Stroud, Tempus
- White, R. 2007. *Britannia Prima: Britain's Last Roman Province*. Stroud, Tempus, pp. 25-26
- White, R. et al. 2013. *Wroxeter, The Cornovii, and the Urban Process*, Final Report on The Wroxeter Hinterland Project 1994-1999, Volume 2
- White, R and Wigley, A. 2010. Sharpstone Hill and Meole Brace in the Iron Age and Roman Periods, in Price. D. T. W. (ed). *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Historical Society*, Shrewsbury, Shropshire History and Archaeology

- Whittle, A. 1996. *Europe in the Neolithic*, Cambridge, Cambridge UP
- Wigley, A. 2002. *Building Monuments, Constructing Communities: Landscapes of the first millennium BC in the central Welsh Marches*, University of Sheffield. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis
- Wigley, A. 2006. *The Shropshire Landscape Typology*, Shrewsbury, Shropshire County Council
- Wigley, A. 2007. Rooted to the Spot: the 'smaller enclosures' of the later first millennium BC in the central Welsh Marches. C. Haselgrove and T. Moore (eds) *The Later Iron Age in Britain and Beyond*. Oxford, Oxbow.
- Williams, M. 2003. Prehistoric Period of Britain and North-Western Europe, *Journal of Social Archaeology* Vol 3, p. 223
- Wise, M. J. 1982. Introduction. in *The Ordnance Survey Atlas of Great Britain*. Hamlyn/BCA
- Woolf, G. 1997. *Beyond Romans and Natives*. World Archaeology, Vol. 28, No. 3, pp. 339-350
- Woolf, G. 1998. *Becoming Roman: the origins of provincial civilization in Gaul*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Woolliscroft, D.J. 2001. *Roman Military Signalling*, Stroud, Tempus
- Young, R. and Simmonds, T. 1995. Marginality and the nature of later prehistoric upland settlement in the north of England. *Landscape History* 17: 5-16.

Classical Sources.

- Appian. *Roman History*,
<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext> [Accessed 12-12-2011]
- Caesar. 1982. De Bello Gallico. <http://thelatinlibrary.com/caesar/gall5.shtml>
 [Accessed 12-12-2011]
- Cicero, *Letters to Atticus*. Books 3-4. <http://www.gutenberg.org/> [Accessed 01-11-2012]
- Martialis. *Epigrammaton Liber XI.LIII*,
<http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/martial/mart11.shtml> [Accessed 12-01-2014]
- Plutarch, *The Fall of the Roman Republic*. Trans. R. Warner, Harmondsworth, Penguin 1972
- Scriptores Historiae Augustae* X <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com> [Accessed 26-06-2010]

Strabo. *Geographica*, <http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Strabo/>
[Accessed 23-08-2011]

Tacitus. 2005. *Agricola et Germania*, <http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/9090>
[Accessed 26-06-2010]

Tacitus. *Historiae*, <http://thelatinlibrary.com/tacitus/tac.hist1.shtml>
[Accessed 26-06-2010]

Vergilius. 2008. *Aenaidos*, <http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/227/pg227.txt>
[Accessed 01-11-2012]

Virgil, *Aeneid*. <http://www.gutenberg.org/> [Accessed 01-11-2012]

Data Sources

Historic Environments Record, Shrewsbury

Dr. R. Whimster Wroxeter Hinterland Project, Aerial Plots Outside.

ironageromantransitioncomp-100923161840-phpapp01 (Portable Antiquities Scheme for Herefordshire and Shropshire. P.A.S.)

LiDaR survey base mapping. Stiperstones and Cordon Hill Landscape Partnership Scheme produced by AOC Archaeology