

On the Edge of Empire: A new narrative of society  
in the south-west of England during the first  
century BC to fifth century AD

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## Abstract

This thesis explores the relationship between people and material culture in the south-west of England from the first century BC to the fifth century AD. This area has often been ignored in the narratives of *Britannia* and the application of traditional theoretical models to the archaeology of the region, such as the Romanisation paradigm, has perpetuated the idea that the south-west peninsula was largely 'un-Romanised'. The lack of developed urban centres, villa estates, temple sites and the low level of engagement with imported ceramics and other materials from the Roman world has been interpreted through the Romanisation model to suggest that was never fully integrated into the province of Britannia.

In recent years the Romanisation paradigm has been heavily critiqued. New theoretical concepts such as discrepant identity theory have been developed which recognise that interactions in the provinces were far more complex than the simplistic dichotomy of Roman v Native. In line with this more emphasis is being placed on artefacts and their use in the creation of identity.

Building on this shift in theoretical frameworks this thesis explores the relationship between material culture and the creation of identity. This is achieved through the analysis of the ceramics, personal adornment items and coins found in the region, both through excavation and from data recorded through the Portable Antiquities Scheme. The analysis has shed new light on the role these objects played in the renegotiation of identity that resulted from the Roman conquest. The result of this analysis has shown that far from being one politically cohesive society the region was inhabited by a number of smaller social and political groupings, who reacted differently to the conquest. This has allowed the conclusion to be drawn that modern Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly lay beyond the bounds of the Roman Empire.

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It should be noted that the background mapping used throughout this thesis created through the use of Ordnance Survey Terrain 50 tiles downloaded from the Edina Digimap Service, along with a polygon of the United Kingdom coastline and line data for the rivers and Roman roads; copyright © Crown Copyright and Database Right 2018. Ordnance Survey (Digimap Licence).

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### 1.1 Aims and Objectives

The principal aim of this thesis is to resituate the Romano-British period in the south-west of England through an exploration of the relationship between the people who lived within the region and the material culture they used. In particular this thesis is concerned with ceramics, personal adornment items, and coins and the role these played in the (re)negotiation of identity that resulted from the Roman conquest. The main objective of the research will be to re-evaluate the material assemblages from the study region to shed new light on changing social practices, how material culture was used and how and if this reflected changing identities of the communities and individuals in the south-west between the Late Iron Age and the end of the Romano-British period (following Hunter, 2001).

Through analysis of these categories of material objects it will be possible to highlight variations in the way the population engaged with each other and how they responded to the coming of Rome and to offer a new approach to reading the archaeology. This re-evaluation and interpretation of material assemblages will be framed within the new contemporary theoretical models, such as Discrepant Identity and Globalisation (see Mattingly, 2006, 2011 and Hingley, 2005). A re-evaluation such as this should help build a clearer picture of the political and economic structures, which underpin social practices and identity, before and after the Roman annexation.

A further aim of this thesis is to open a critical discourse on the continual grouping of the peoples of the south-west peninsula into one tribal territory, Dumnonia. This has obscured the immense variability between the populations and it has hampered past attempts to understand how these communities engaged with the wider regional and provincial economic

and political administration of Roman Britain. The continued use of the term Dumnonia in describing this area during the Iron Age and Romano-British periods can be argued to have much the same effect. The reality of this perceived unity will be examined within this thesis and a critical dialogue begun on whether the archaeological record, the artefactual assemblages and settlement pattern, support one unified tribal entity or whether this unification has obscured a series of smaller political entities.

This chapter will discuss the context of this research beginning with the recent shift in theoretical models and the growing body of work examining identity through material culture. A brief introduction to the work conducted in the south-west and the current interpretations of the Roman south-west will be outlined, and the research parameters of this thesis, both geographical and chronological will be discussed. Following this an outline of the structure of the rest of the thesis will be given.

## **1.2 Research Context**

One of the defining characteristics of the Romano-British period is the sheer wealth of the material cultural record. Previously this material and resultant syntheses were confined to the back pages of excavation reports (Cool, 2006: 54). However, in recent years a shift has occurred in Roman archaeology, with a move away from the traditional interpretive model of Romanisation towards a more nuanced view of the Roman Empire. The frameworks of Discrepant Identity and Globalisation recognise that the Roman Empire was experienced in different ways by communities throughout the provinces. It is no longer thought that areas with little in the way of the material culture generally associated with the empire were resistant to Rome or beyond the empire. These models stress that individuals and communities actively chose to consume or in fact not to consume new material culture, and how it was incorporated into their daily lives (Mattingly 200, 2006; Hingley, 2005; Pitts and Versluys, 2015). Discussions surrounding the frameworks used to interpret and discuss the Roman Empire and its provinces have shifted debate to focus more on the concept of identity and how it was created and maintained by societies (Pitts, 2007). More emphasis is now being placed on artefacts and their role in the creation and negotiation of identity during the

Romano-British period rather than using the presence or absence of 'Roman' site types (Mattingly, 2006, 2011; Hingley, 2005; Swift, 2000, 2003; Millett, 1990; Hingley and Willis, 2007).

Objects are seen to help shape the social practices and beliefs of societies and changes to the circumstances in which these objects are consumed and the way they are used can lead to a renegotiation of their meaning (Eckardt, 2014: 9; Jervis, 2014: 25). The fact that relationships between people and objects are fluid and context dependant allows them to be used in the study of identity. The way these relationships changed through time can show how identity was renegotiated over time and why these changes occurred. The question of whether objects were really used to express identity in the Roman world has previously been raised (Eckardt, 2014: 19). The sheer volume of material may lead to the impact it had on society and identity being overstated. Patterns of production and the growth of the economy with numerous market centres across the empire meant a large number of objects were now readily available and a disconnection between objects and social beliefs may have occurred as a result (Eckardt, 2014: 19; Pitts, 2015: 92). As a result, attempts to assess changing identity through material culture must be done with care.

The shift in Roman theoretical debates has led to the recognition that rather than the Roman Empire being a homogenous cultural entity, there is a huge amount of variability between and within the provinces, as evidenced by artefact assemblages (Willis and Hingley, 2007: 2-17). Studies, such as that by Swift (2000), have highlighted the variability in distribution patterns of certain personal adornment artefact types as well as the differing meanings ascribed to these objects within different regions of the empire. Other studies have looked at the consumption of pottery and changes in the functionality of assemblages. Pitts's study of the Late Iron Age and Roman site at Heybridge in Essex highlighted a move away from drinking vessels with a subsequent increase in dining vessels during the Roman period. Pitts attributed this change in consumption practice to changes in the production and supply of ceramics rather than the conscious uptake of Roman dining habits (2003). Other studies have shown how Roman style pottery was used, even beyond the bounds of the empire, to reinforce already held cultural values (Hunter, 2001). Studies such as these highlight the relationship between the consumption of material culture and identity (Eckardt, 2007: 142). They also however, focus on one particular artefact category.

Identity is inherently multifaceted and analysis of one artefact category alone, while providing an insight into social change, can be too narrow. It must also be recognised that artefacts can have multiple meanings at any one time, which will impact upon more than one aspect of identity (Eckardt, 2014: 214). It is thought that an approach analysing multiple artefact categories will allow a more nuanced picture of changes that took place across the study region. Did changes to the political and social network of the region after the invasion in AD 43 lead to a renegotiation of identity and are these changes reflected across all the artefact categories being investigated? Focusing on a smaller research area such as the south-west, where the population was mainly rural in nature, can potentially offer a way to look beyond the dichotomy of 'Roman' and 'native' as in this instance all of the local population groups were superficially at least outside what could be regarded as the normative trappings of the upper echelons of urban Roman-British society. The analysis of the finds from the only known town, Exeter, will then allow comparisons of the way artefacts were consumed and utilised in the town and how this differed to the rural communities. The role of Exeter in the redistribution of goods across the landscape and its place within the political and social networks of the region can then be interpreted through such analysis. The assessment of a wider range of artefact groups will allow changes to social practice observed at the level of community to be compared across the study region. If artefact types were used to differentiate between 'native' and 'Roman' then the mechanisms of this dialogue can be identified through the expressions of identity that helped to separate and/or merge 'native' and 'Roman' (following Rosten, 2007).

The south-west peninsula, specifically the lands traditionally ascribed to the Dumnonii, has often been ignored in the grand narratives of *Britannia* as it displays few of the typical site types seen elsewhere in Roman Britain. This lack of Roman infrastructure has led many to question whether the south-west peninsula was ever fully integrated into the province of *Britannia* or whether it was, at least partially, outside the sphere of Roman control (Manning, 2002: 35; Mattingly, 2006: 402-408; Thorpe, 2007). There is also a distinct lack of Roman objects, especially personal adornment items, in comparison to other areas of *Britannia*. The data held by the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) illustrates this point with 310 items of adornment known from the study region, while there are 1659 from the neighbouring counties of Dorset and Gloucestershire (<https://finds.org.uk/database>).

In the last twenty years a large number of commercial excavations have taken place across the region, with their data now being supplemented by large research projects. This has led to a number of significant discoveries. Forts have been discovered in Cornwall at Calstock and Restormel, with field walking data suggesting the latter was occupied as late as the fourth century (Thorpe, 2007). Most recently Exeter University has begun a research project at the site at Ipplepen, in Devon, which appears on present evidence to be a small town inhabited from the middle Iron Age through to the Roman period. The new data being generated by such projects suggest that the traditional model of the Roman south-west as in some way isolated or culturally lacking *Romanitas*, is now out of date. There is a pressing need to draw all of this data, old and new, together and to synthesise it into a coherent picture, which will allow the area to be placed within the larger provincial picture. The long-term occupation of Restormel fort suggests that rather than forming part of the *civitas Dumnoniorum* areas of Cornwall and Devon may in fact have been a military zone (Mattingly, 2006; 407). It has been suggested previously that the imposition of a military zone around the northern frontier in Britain effectively helped to suppress development in the region with only a limited cross section of the native population having access to Roman cultural material (Higham, 1989: 153 – 169). If certain areas of the south-west peninsula were under military control for an extended period of time, this may go some way to explaining the lack of Roman style material culture. Identifying the responses of the communities within these areas to this form of administration, in all their circumstances, lies at the centre of this research.

The recent shift in theoretical perspectives has not been confined to the Romano-British circle of research, with similar discourse occurring between Iron Age researchers (see Hill, 1995; Haselgrove, 2004; Haselgrove *et al*, 2001; Haselgrove and Moore, 2007; Moore, 2006). These new debates and associated research are beginning to re-shape the understanding of the Later Iron Age in Britain, which in turn affects the interpretations of the archaeological record during the Romano-British period. In particular the debates surrounding social stratification, regionality and the existence of tribal entities in the Later Iron Age need to be considered when discussing the impact of the Roman invasion upon communities in Britain.

The existence of tribal groupings in the Late Iron Age and their geographical locations has been interpreted from classical sources, such as Ptolemy, who in his second century AD work, *The Geographia*, outlined the names and geographical positions of the tribes of Britain

(Mattingly, 2006: 30-31). Until recently this had been used in conjunction with the archaeological evidence, such as the distribution of coinage linked to the Iron Age 'Kings', to reinforce the existence and position of these tribal units. Whilst the move towards larger more politically cohesive groups in the Later Iron Age cannot be denied, this work was uncritical of both the historical and archaeological evidence, and little emphasis was placed on the agency of communities and individuals in driving these changes (Haselgrove and Moore, 2007: 10). New interpretations of social stratification are moving away from the old Wessex model and now suggest that there is little evidence for a well-defined social hierarchy with power being based perhaps on certain households within extended community groups (Moore, 2006: 217). Using these new theoretical perspectives, work has already begun on reinterpreting the Iron Age within south-west peninsula (Cripps, 2007), which will be used as a starting point for this thesis. Social stratification and changes that were occurring in society during the Late Iron Age will be assessed within the analysis chapters with as much Late Iron Age material as possible having been included within this study. It is hoped that this will compliment studies of the settlement evidence, such as that conducted by Cripps (2007), and allow the discussion to move forward.

### **1.3 Research Parameters**

This section will examine the limits of this thesis both geographical and chronological and explain the reasoning behind their choices.

#### **1.3.1 Geology and Topography**

The geological formations of the south-west are very diverse and include some of the oldest formations in the British Isles, with sedimentary formations created in the Devonian era, approximately 417-354 million years ago, underlying much of Cornwall, and south and central Devon. The formation of sediment rich mudstones, sandstones and siltstones characterise the preceding Carboniferous era, 354-290 million years ago. The largest of these formations is the Holsworthy Group, also known as the Culm measures due to the pockets of sooty coal that formed within the rocks. This formation stretches across most of central and north-western Devon and into north Cornwall. Like the other formations of these periods these

rocks formed in riverine or lacustrine environments (Webb, 2006: 17-18). At the eastern edge of the study area, beyond the Exe valley, younger formations of Jurassic and Triassic rocks predominate, with mudstone, siltstone and sandstone bedrock forming in desert environments and the Lias Group of mudstone, siltstone, sandstone and limestone forming in shallow seas (British Geological Survey, 2017).

The geology of the south-west peninsula differs from the adjacent areas of southern Britain in that plate movements and heating led to the intrusion of igneous rocks in the form of granites (Webb, 2006: 18). These intrusions are largely confined to the tip of the south-west peninsula, and form the massifs of Bodmin Moor, Hensbarrow, Carnmenellis and Penwith, (Penhallurick, 1986: 149) as well as Dartmoor. Further intrusions are evident along the coastline, although in these areas the magma was silica poor and the rock has been altered by low grade metamorphism (British Geological Survey, 2017). The intrusion of these granites is linked to the formation of metalliferous ore deposits, which are located throughout the south-west. Many of these deposits were formed through hydrothermal action, which was produced by the movement of hot aqueous fluids within the crust of the granite as it cooled. These metalliferous ores also occur in granite free areas however, and so the mineral formation was more complex and related to other factors, not just the cooling of the granite intrusions (Webb, 2006: 18). Tin is the most abundant ore found in the south-west, found in the granite beds of the upland areas, along the north coast of Cornwall and within the rocks that underlie the Tamar valley. Copper ore is also found around the upland granites, as well as on Exmoor, and within the Tamar valley where arsenic was also heavily exploited during the nineteenth century. Silver and lead bearing deposits are located in north and west Devon whilst iron ore is known from across Cornwall and from the uplands of Dartmoor and Exmoor

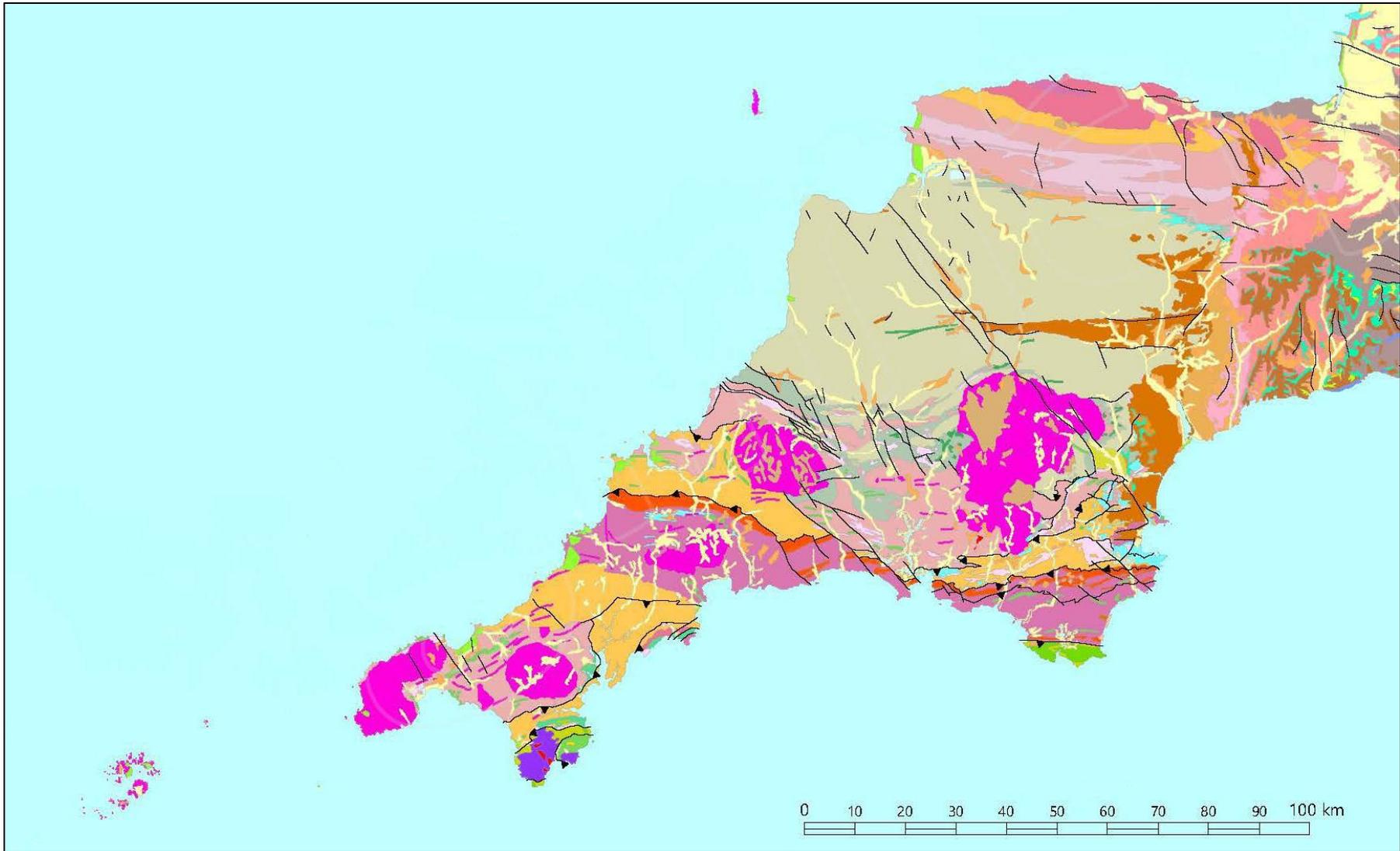


Figure 1.1: Map showing the primary geological formations of the study region. Legend on next page.

Geology 1:625 000				
<i>Bedrock</i>				
Millstone Grit Group [See Also Migr] - Mudstone, Siltstone And Sandstone(MG-MDSS)		Mudstone, Siltstone And Sandstone(PRID-MDSS)		Conglomerate, Interbedded(PUND-SCON)
Unnamed Igneous Intrusion, Carboniferous To Permian - Felsic-Rock(UIICP-FELSR)		Unnamed Igneous Intrusion, Devonian - Mafic Igneous-Rock(UIID-MFIR)		Unnamed Extrusive Rocks, Carboniferous - Mafic Lava And Mafic Tuff(UEXC-LATM)
Unnamed Igneous Intrusion, Devonian - Ultramafite(UIID-UMFT)		Inferior Oolite Group - Limestone, Sandstone, Siltstone And Mudstone(INO-LSSM)		Lower Devonian Rocks (Undifferentiated) - Sandstone And Conglomerate, Interbedded(LDEV-SCON)
Ludlow Rocks (Undifferentiated) - Mudstone, Siltstone And Sandstone(LUDL-MDSS)		Great Oolite Group - Sandstone, Limestone And Argillaceous Rocks(GOG-SLAR)		Permian Rocks (Undifferentiated) - Mudstone, Siltstone And Sandstone(PUND-MDSS)
Devonian Rocks (Undifferentiated) - Hornblende Schist(DEV-HBSCH)		Unnamed Extrusive Rocks, Neoproterozoic - Felsic Tuff(UEXAZ-FTUFF)		Triassic Rocks (Undifferentiated) - Mudstone, Siltstone And Sandstone(UNDIFF-MDSS)
Upper Devonian Rocks (Undifferentiated) - Sandstone And Conglomerate, Interbedded(UDEV-SCON)		Unnamed Igneous Intrusion, Devonian - Felsic-Rock(UIID-FELSR)		Middle Devonian (Undifferentiated) - Sandstone And Conglomerate, Interbedded(MDEV-SCON)
Unnamed Extrusive Rocks, Carboniferous - Mafic Lava(UEXC-MFLAVA)		Holsworthy Group - Mudstone, Siltstone And Sandstone(HOWY-MDSS)		Unnamed Igneous Intrusion, Carboniferous To Permian - Mafic Igneous-Rock(UIICP-MFIR)
Grey Chalk Subgroup - Chalk(GYCK-CHLK)		Devonian Rocks (Undifferentiated) - Limestone, Mudstone And Calcareous Mudstone(DEV-LMCM)		Upper Devonian Rocks (Undifferentiated) - Mudstone, Siltstone And Sandstone(UDEV-MDSS)
Middle Devonian (Undifferentiated) - Mudstone, Siltstone And Sandstone(MDEV-MDSS)		Unnamed Extrusive Rocks, Devonian - Mafic Lava(UEXD-MFLAVA)		Unnamed Igneous Intrusion, Palaeogene - Felsic-Rock(UIG-FELSR)
Unnamed Extrusive Rocks, Carboniferous - Mafic Tuff(UEXC-MFTUF)		Wenlock Rocks (Undifferentiated) - Mudstone, Siltstone And Sandstone(WEN-MDSS)		Unnamed Extrusive Rocks, Permian - Mafic Lava(UEXP-MFLAVA)
Upper Devonian Rocks (Undifferentiated) - Breccia And Metabreccia(UDEV-BRCMBR)		Dinantian Rocks (Undifferentiated) - Limestone With Subordinate Sandstone And Argillaceous Rocks(DINA-LSSA)		Unnamed Extrusive Rocks, Permian - Felsic Lava(UEXP-FLAVA)
Lias Group - Mudstone, Siltstone, Limestone And Sandstone(LI-MSLS)		Unnamed Extrusive Rocks, Devonian - Mafic Lava And Mafic Tuff(UEXD-LATM)		Devonian Rocks (Undifferentiated) - Mica Schist(DEV-SCHM)
Teign Valley Group - Mudstone, Siltstone And Sandstone(TEVY-MDSS)		Triassic Rocks (Undifferentiated) - Sandstone And Conglomerate, Interbedded(TRIA-SCON)		Eocene To Miocene Rocks (Undifferentiated) - Clay, Silt, Sand And Gravel(EOMIO-CLSSG)
South Wales Upper Coal Measures Formation - Mudstone, Siltstone, Sandstone, Coal, Ironstone And Ferr(SWUCM-MSCI)		Pennine Middle Coal Measures Formation And South Wales Middle Coal Measures Formation (Undifferentiated)(PSMCM-MSCI)		Gault Formation And Upper Greensand Formation (Undifferentiated) - Mudstone, Sandstone And Limestone(GUGS-MDSL)
Unnamed Extrusive Rocks, Devonian - Mafic Tuff(UEXD-MFTUF)		West Walton Formation, Amphill Clay Formation And Kimmeridge Clay Formation (Undifferentiated) - Mu(WWAK-MDSS)		Corallian Group - Limestone, Sandstone, Siltstone And Mudstone(CR-LSSM)
White Chalk Subgroup - Chalk(WHCK-CHLK)		Bracklesham Group And Barton Group (Undifferentiated) - Sand, Silt And Clay(BRBA-SSCL)		<i>Dykes</i>
Kellaways Formation And Oxford Clay Formation (Undifferentiated) - Mudstone, Siltstone And Sandstone(KLOX-MDSS)		Neogene Rocks (Undifferentiated) - Gravel, Sand, Silt And Clay(NEOG-GSSC)		Unnamed Igneous Intrusion, Carboniferous To Permian - Mafic Igneous-Rock(UIICP-MFIR)
Lower Devonian Rocks (Undifferentiated) - Mudstone, Siltstone And Sandstone(LDEV-MDSS)		Permian Rocks (Undifferentiated) - Sandstone And		Unnamed Igneous Intrusion, Devonian - Mafic Igneous-Rock(UIID-MFIR)
Pridoli Rocks (Undifferentiated) -				Unnamed Igneous Intrusion, Carboniferous To Permian - Felsic-Rock(UIICP-FELSR)

(Brayshay, 2006: 139-140, Todd, 1987: 5). Gold is also known from the peninsula, most notably from the southern edge of the upland of Carnmenellis and from the Teignbridge district of Devon, to the south east of Dartmoor (Todd, 1987: 2). These minerals have been exploited for millennia, although it was not until the Tudor period that larger scale industrial mining began, with copper and tin mining in particular, increasing substantially in the nineteenth century (Brayshay, 2006: 142, Todd, 1987: 4). The expansion of the Roman military into the south-west has historically been linked to the presence of these ores, and the excavated forts of Nanstallon and Calstock, in Cornwall, have produced evidence for small scale metal working (Fox and Ravenhill, 1972: 90-91; Smart, 2014: 108), although this is connected to everyday activities of the military rather than ore sources being prospected and worked by the soldiers as suggested by Thorpe (2007: 31-33). Little evidence survives for mining within the Iron Age and Romano-British periods, due to the extensive later mining activities. However, a number of ingots of Cornish tin have been found and classical accounts, such as that of Diodorus Siculus, suggests that mining of the ore deposits did occur during the Iron Age and this activity likely continued into the Romano-British period, although perhaps under Imperial control (Mattingly, 2006: 407).

The complexity of the geology is reflected in the topography of the south-west peninsula. It is a diverse landscape characterised by the three large upland areas of Exmoor (550mOD), Dartmoor (650mOD) and Bodmin Moor (430mOD) (Todd, 1987: 3-5), and its long coastline which is dominated by high cliffs that run from Minehead on the north coast of Somerset round to Dartmouth on the south coast of Devon. The north coast of Cornwall is characterised by vertical cliffs, whilst the north coast of Devon and Somerset and south coast of Cornwall and Devon are dominated by hog back cliffs, which have a steep face, with narrow summit. Deep river valleys cut through the landscape along the north coast but are most notable along the south coast. These river valleys are known as rias and were created by the flooding of the lower sections of river valley systems during the sea level rises in the Holocene period (Webb, 2006:22-28). This diversity of the landscape would have had a profound impact upon the communities living within the south-west peninsula, presenting challenges for large scale political cohesion and overland communication and trade networks. The presence of these river valleys, that cut far inland, and the proximity of all communities to the sea, would have presented opportunities for trade and communication systems to be based on these coastal

and riverine routes (Holbrook, 2001). However, the presence of a number of Prehistoric and Roman overland communication routes is documented in the south-west. The current trunk routes of the M5 and A30 are thought, in parts to follow, Iron Age and Roman routes (Margary, 1967; Todd, 1987).

In spite of these difficulties current scholarship has the south-west peninsula united as the tribal lands of the Dumnonii, whose territory ran westwards from the River Parrett/Axe in Somerset to the south-western most tip of Cornwall (Millett, 1990: 67; Mattingly, 2006; Todd, 1987: 205-234). As discussed above the validity of this tribal entity will be analysed with the aim of highlighting the complexity of the political landscape of the south-west peninsula. It has been suggested that the River Tamar in fact acted as a boundary, with modern day Cornwall forming the tribal territory of the Cornovii with the Dumnonii being situated in between this boundary and that of the Parrett/Axe (Mattingly, 2006: 140). It is possible this identification of the Cornovii is just satisfying the need to move on from the idea of one overarching tribal entity, and in doing so is just creating another. Critical analysis of both entities will be undertaken using the results from the examination of the artefact assemblages and settlement patterns.

### **1.3.2 Chronology**

The timescale chosen for study is the first century BC to the early fifth century AD, which includes the latter half of the Late Iron Age and continues through until the end of the Romano-British period. This time scale was chosen for study for a number of reasons. The first is that it takes in the Late Iron Age and Romano-British transition period so changes to Iron Age social practices can be examined, both in the immediate post conquest period and then the rest of the first and early second centuries AD after the consolidation of the region. This is a time of uncertainty for the population and one of great change, with traditional power networks being replaced by new systems with Rome and her legions at the top. Communities would have needed to adapt to this change, which will be visible in the relationships they formed with the material world.

The second reason this timescale was selected is that it will allow analysis of the rural landscape during the early to mid Romano-British period. The early Roman period in the

south-west has been the focus of most studies within the area, however it is the military sites that have received most attention. The *Legio II Augusta* arrived in Dumnonian territory in the AD 50s, with the legionary fortress at Exeter being established by AD 55 (Manning, 2002: 35). The presence of the army in the south-west is thought to be linked to the occurrence of metalliferous ores, although there is little evidence for extraction during this period (Todd, 1987; Quinnell, 2004). The legion had withdrawn from the south-west by the mid AD 80s, as the campaign turned towards Wales and the *Silures* (Fox *et al.*, 1972; Manning, 2002; Smart, 2013). After the military had withdrawn from the region the town at Exeter was established and is believed to have acted as the *civitas* capital (see Chapter 2). The urbanisation of Exeter and the establishment of a market there impacted on the wider landscape, which is clear in the number and diversity of the sites within the area around the town. The establishment of trade routes across the south-west, both road and riverine/coastal networks, the evidence for which is discussed throughout the analysis chapters, impacted on the material assemblages of the entire region, with new products being available for consumption. The differing levels of interaction with this new material shows the different ways communities had of engaging with the new provincial administration and economic system and their reactions to it.

The mid to late Romano-British period has little written about it for the south-west, with research turning to the post-Roman period instead. However, the material assemblages do change from the early to mid Romano-British period and show further changes were taking place in society that were not necessarily evident in the settlement evidence beyond the increase in settlements noted from the second century onwards (Quinnell, 2004; Gossip and Jones, 2007). The analysis of the material assemblages will shed light on changes to society at this period and how, after a period of consolidation, the communities of the south-west continued or discontinued to interact with Rome.

## **1.4 Structure**

This thesis is set out in the following manner; Chapter 2 reviews the Late Iron Age period within the south-west before moving on to discuss the evidence from the Romano-British

period. This review will include a discussion on the political, social and economic systems currently thought to have been in place within these periods in the south-west. The final section will discuss how excavations in the last twenty years have started to change the traditional picture of the south-west and will highlight the diverse range of evidence being generated by these excavations.

Chapter 3 will look at the relationship between material culture and identity. Past theoretical frameworks used in the analysis of material culture will be discussed and contemporary approaches to Roman Studies will be considered in detail. A discussion on the theoretical models that will be used throughout this study to interpret the evidence will close this chapter. Chapter 4 will then look at the material culture from excavated sites within the south-west, with the database created for the purposes of this research introduced. A discussion on the methodologies used to collate and interrogate the data collected will follow. This will include the difficulties encountered when entering data and the caveats in the methodologies designed to negate these difficulties.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 will utilise the database to analyse the quantities and distribution of ceramics, personal adornment items and the coins, respectively, within the study area. Detailed GIS mapping of these chosen artefact types will be undertaken. The distributional patterns will begin to differentiate and highlight likely changes in frequency and occurrence of certain finds types which can then be explored in relation to social practices and trade networks across the south-west. This in turn will help to inform a new interpretation on how identity was constructed and maintained in this part of Roman Britain.

The final chapter, Chapter 8, will comprehensively review the data and present a new picture of the Romano-British period within the south-west. The data will be interpreted using the theoretical models outlined in this chapter and Chapter 3, in order to provide new insights on how the communities of the south-west responded to the coming of Rome. This interpretation will then be explored further to develop and inform a critical discourse concerning the relevance of the continued use of the term 'Dumnonia'.

# Chapter 2

## The Dumnonii

*“In Britain the inhabitants of the promontory called Belerion are particularly friendly to strangers and have become civilised through contacts with merchants from foreign parts...” (Diodorus Siculus, v,22)*

Diodorus Siculus based his passages on the geography and inhabitants of Britain on the voyages of Pytheas, an explorer who sailed round the British Isles in the late fourth century B.C. The passage above goes on to describe how the native inhabitants quarried ore, smelted it down and cast it into pieces the size of knuckle bones. These ingots were then transported at low tide to an island called Ictis for trade with merchants from Gaul. The promontory of Belerion has traditionally been interpreted as Cornwall and Ictis as Mount Batten on Plymouth Sound (Cunliffe, 2005: 430). The presence of tin and other metalliferous ores is believed to have brought the Roman forces to the south-west. The lead mines in the Mendip Hills had been swiftly brought under Imperial control and by AD 49 ingots stamped with the titles of Emperor Claudius were being produced (Todd, 2001: 7). There is however, little evidence of large scale mining in the south-west peninsula and so the validity of this hypothesis has been challenged, although no other explanations, other than Imperial will, for the annexation of the region have been put forward.

This chapter will review all the evidence for the Late Iron Age and Romano-British periods in the south-west peninsula to demonstrate the current knowledge of the region at this time. Settlement patterns, subsistence, material culture, religion, and trade and exchange will be discussed, as will all evidence for the exploitation of minerals. The invasion and annexation of the region and subsequent administration, both civilian and military, will also be examined. These will then be discussed in relation to the new findings within the south-west and issues with past interpretations will be examined.

## **2.1 The Late Iron Age**

Several sites dating to the Iron Age have been excavated in recent years within the region, for example; Trenowah, the Higher Besore Farm complex, Tremough and Twinyeo Quarry (Johns, 2008; Nowakowski, 2011: 245–247; Gossip and Jones, 2007; Farnell, 2015). Coupled with recent research studies, The Mount Folly Enclosure Project (Wilkes, 2015) and Laura Cripps's Ph.D (2006) research on the Middle Iron Age to Early Roman period in the south-west, this has begun to move the discussion on the Iron Age in the region forward, resituating what is known within the larger regional and national research frameworks.

### **2.1.1 Late Iron Age Settlement Pattern**

There are a large number of sites within the south-west that have been dated to the Iron Age, although sites dating to the Later Iron Age are still relatively rare. It has been suggested that this lack of visibility in the Later Iron Age may be linked to environmental deterioration in the middle of the first millennium BC. This may have led to reduced occupation on the more inhospitable uplands (Cripps, 2007: 140-141). The lowlands of the south-west have been intensively farmed throughout history. This will have significantly impacted upon the survival of sites, damaging and even destroying lowland settlements of prehistoric and Roman date, which may account for the low visibility of settlements in the Late Iron Age record. The settlement types dating to the Late Iron Age are discussed briefly below.

#### **2.1.1.1 Promontory Forts**

The south-west peninsula is characterised by high cliffs and rocky promontories which are ideal for the construction of promontory forts, also known as cliff castles. Over 60 are known from the coastline of Cornwall alone, with a few examples on the north and south coasts of Devon (Wood, 2013: 82). They were constructed by the excavation of ramparts across the neck of the promontories. The majority in the south-west are of Late Iron Age date, with only a small number including, Mean Castle, Trevelgue Head and The Rumps, so far known to have begun in the Early Iron Age (Cripps, 2007: 146). Excavation at The Rumps discovered the

remains of several timber roundhouses and the associated ceramics indicated a period of occupation stretching from the fourth century BC into the first century AD (Brooks, 1974: 27–29). Many of these sites also appear to have been significant places during the Bronze Age: Trevelgue Head and Treryn Dinas both have barrows within their interiors. At Mean Castle the Iron Age community respected the alignment of an earlier field boundary when constructing the rampart (Miles and Cripps, 2012: 17).

The most extensively fortified, with seven ramparts, is Trevelgue Head. A recent synthesis of the data gathered from the site has shown that the promontory was first used during the Mesolithic, with evidence of activity stretching into the fifth century AD. The main period of occupation dates to the Middle Iron Age, when the occupants appear to have been heavily involved in iron smelting, with the iron coming from a lode along the line of the ditch of Rampart 6 (Nowakowski and Quinnell, 2011: pp xxi-xxii). Excavation has shown the presence of houses and other domestic features within the ramparts at The Rumps (Giles and Cripps, 2012: 14). Field survey of sites in Cornwall has resulted in many possible occupation phases at these sites, suggesting possible seasonal occupation. It is also thought possible that their construction was linked to a rise in the importance of iron working. This requires further research though, as only Trevelgue Head has revealed evidence of intensive iron working (Nowakowski and Quinnell, 2011: pp 369-379).

There are several interpretations of promontory forts' function and status, which have generally been interpreted as higher status settlements (Cunliffe, 2005: 259). Recent research suggests that these sites should not be viewed as coastal adaptations of traditional hillforts. Excavations have highlighted the variations between them and it is likely they resulted from local traditions and circumstance (Nowakowski and Quinnell, 2011: 371). This statement reflects recent discussion on the role of hillforts in society, which has begun to show that they were just as varied and cannot be viewed as solely defensive structures built to house the elite members of society, see below (Hill, 1995).

### 2.1.1.2 Hillforts

Most hillforts in the south-west are small enclosures, most commonly with only one outer rampart. The larger, multivallate examples are in the east of the study region, with a number known from east Devon and west Somerset (Todd, 1984; Todd, 1987: 162). The finds assemblages and radiocarbon dates appear to suggest hillforts were constructed in the fifth to fourth centuries BC, such as Hembury (Todd, 1984), although the dates for Raddon Hill suggest construction in the Early Iron Age (Gent and Quinnell, 1999: 68). The traditional interpretation of hillforts within the south-west is that they were not intensively occupied, perhaps acting as communal focal points for ceremonies or as refuges in times of trouble (Peters, 2005). However, very few have undergone excavation and excavations have focused on the defences rather than investigating their interiors.

At present the excavation evidence suggests that most hillforts were abandoned before the Roman conquest. The small univallate hillfort of St Mawgan-in-Pydar is currently the only extensively excavated example that continued to be occupied well into the Roman period (Threipland, 1956). Evidence from Hembury suggests that the site was abandoned during the first century BC. It was then utilised by the Roman military from approximately AD 55 into the late 60s. Excavations found evidence of at least three military timber buildings (Todd, 2011: 43, 2007: 107–123); however, no evidence of formal military fortifications were found (Todd, 2007: 117), suggesting the ramparts of the hillfort were re-used.

The material assemblage suggests that the local population had connections to long distance trade routes. At Castle Dore sherds of Dressel 1 and Dressel 2-4 amphorae and continental glass bracelets were found (Cunliffe, 2005: 255-256; Fitzpatrick, 1985: 133–140; Quinnell and Harris, 1985: 130). Sherds of Spanish amphora, possibly of Late Iron Age date, have also been found at Castle Gotha (Quinnell, 1985: 130; Saunders and Harris, 1982). The presence of these items suggests the communities participated in trade linked to the Continent, although the yellow glass bead from Castle Dore suggests links to trade routes within Britain, as the most likely origin for the bead is Meare village (Nowakowski and Quinnell, 2011: 351). The presence of amphorae is not limited to hillforts in the Late Iron Age, with sherds of Dressel 1 amphora now known from Carn Euny and two possible Dressel 2-4 sherds from The Rumps (Brooks, 1974; Quinnell, 1985: 130). This evidence shows that it was not only hillfort occupants who

had links to long distance trade routes and therefore these sites should not necessarily be viewed as being the top tier of society. This reflects the picture beginning to form from hillforts in other areas of Britain, with work suggesting little differentiation between hillforts and other smaller non-elite farmsteads and settlements (Hill, 1995).

#### 2.1.1.3 Multiple Enclosure Forts

These are characterised by concentric, widely spaced defences and were generally constructed on hill slopes (Fox, 1952). Multiple enclosure forts differ from hillforts, in that they are constructed beneath the crest of the hill, with their ramparts enclosing the upper reaches of hill-slopes rather than the highest point (Fox, 1952: 1). The hillforts of Wessex are not always located on hill tops, with many on the edges of escarpments rather than on distinctive hills. However, these locations, have been shown to have been carefully chosen in order to maximise visibility within the landscape, creating a visual dominance. The hillfort could clearly be seen and members of the community living and working outside their ramparts could be observed (Sharples, 2010: 60-61). This is not the case for multiple enclosure forts, which would only have been visible from certain locations within the landscape.

Multiple enclosure forts occur throughout the south-west and Wales. Within the south-west they appear to be concentrated in the lowland areas of east Cornwall and Devon. The inner enclosures vary in size from 0.2 to 1.6 hectares and formed the focus of occupation. Most examples have two or three enclosures; however, larger, more complex sites are recorded, such as Milber Down and Clovelly Dykes. Milber Down was originally thought to have been constructed in the first century BC, with occupation continuing into the early Roman period (Fox *et al.*, 1949-50). The date range for this site is unusual in that most other excavated examples were first occupied in the fourth or third centuries BC (Johnson and Rose, 1982; Henderson, 2007: 229). The report lists a quantity of South Western Decorated pottery in the assemblage and so the site may in fact have been constructed in the Middle Iron Age; this pottery style is known to have been fully developed by the third century BC (Quinnell, 1985: 125; 1986: 113). Recent reassessment of the ceramic assemblage that takes into consideration a new Late Iron Age ceramic style recognised in Devon, Late Iron Age Plain

Ware, has also led to the suggestion that the site was abandoned before the end of the first century BC (Quinnell, 2015: Pers Comm).

The best excavated example of a multiple enclosure fort is Killibury, and it has been suggested from the wide spacing of the ramparts that the outer enclosure was used to corral livestock (Johnson and Rose, 1982: 155). Excavation in the inner enclosure suggested the site was densely occupied between the fourth and first centuries BC. Evidence was also found of four-post structures, interpreted as grain storage structures (Henderson, 2007: 230; Miles, 1977; Quinnell, 1986: 115), which together with the evidence of livestock corralling may suggest the occupants of these sites had a controlling stake in the agricultural economy of the communities within the region.

#### 2.1.1.4 Rounds and Hillslope Enclosures

Rounds are small univallate enclosures, generally enclosing an area of one hectare. The term round is misleading as not all these enclosures were round, with sub-rectangular 'rounds' having been recorded (Quinnell, 1986: 115). These sites began to be constructed around the beginning of the fourth century BC, with radiocarbon dates from the probable round at Boden suggesting a construction date between 425-390 cal BC (Gossip and Jones, 2007: 45). Several excavated examples have their origins in the Later Iron Age, although it is not until the Romano-British period that these settlement types become more prolific. Several sites referred to as hillslope enclosures have a similar landscape distribution pattern as rounds. Excavation of these sites suggests that although in Devon they do tend to enclose a larger area, there is little distinction between construction methods, occupation dates and material assemblages, and so should be included within the round settlement category (Cripps, 2007: 147).

Excavation of the round at Threemilestone indicated that the site had been intensively occupied with the remains of nine wooden round houses. The ceramic evidence suggested a solely Iron Age date for the occupation. Much of the ceramic assemblage was South Western Decorated vessels, with only a few sherds from Cordoned Ware vessels, manufactured from the first century BC onwards (Schwieso, 1976: 64; Quinnell, 1986). The sparsity of Cordoned

Wares and the complete lack of Roman ceramics suggest that the site had been abandoned by the mid first century AD, making this one of the few excavated rounds not to have been occupied into the Roman period.

The only round to have been fully excavated is Trethurgy near St Austell, excavated during the 1970s. The excavation revealed several phases of occupation at the site, which began in the Late Iron Age, although the round itself was not constructed until approximately AD. 150 and was abandoned in the late sixth century (Quinnell, 2004: 164). Nine stages of occupation have been identified within the round between the second and sixth centuries AD, all of which are dominated by stone built oval houses, with a small structure interpreted as a shrine appearing in the late fourth century. A few ancillary buildings were also documented. All these structures were built around a central cobbled yard surface (Quinnell, 2004). The round has been interpreted as an enclosed agricultural village, occupied by an extended family group (Nowakowski, 2011: 251). Evidence from other rounds, Penhale for example, support the idea of these sites being agricultural, with evidence of field systems also having been recorded in the immediate landscape around Penhale (Nowakowski, 2011: 252).

It has been suggested that during the Later Iron Age rounds were settlements of some status and that the inhabitants controlled their own food resources, including livestock (Quinnell, 2004: 213-214). Their appearance is currently thought to be linked to socio-political change in the south-west. Although there is little evidence to suggest what this may have been, it is unlikely to have been a dramatic change as there is little evidence to support this from excavations on any other settlement types across the region.

#### 2.1.1.5 Unenclosed Settlements

Settlements formed of scattered huts within field systems are known across the study area, although few have been excavated. One of the best examples is Bodrifty near Penzance, where over 20 round houses have been recorded spread over an area of 0.4km. Nine of these were later enclosed, most likely in the second or first centuries B.C (Cunliffe, 1991: 251-252). A further open settlement at Higher Besore was excavated between 2004 and 2005 and consisted of 12 small buildings and several small enclosures, with a field system to the south-

west. Radiocarbon dates suggest a period of occupation from third to first centuries BC. The excavators believed this to be a planned settlement which was part of a wider community that included the group within Threemilestone round to the north-west of the settlement (Nowakowski, 2011: 245–246). A small open settlement has also been excavated on Dartmoor, at Gold Park. This consisted of a round house on a small terrace, with excavation showing several phases of construction, with the earliest phase being timber before the house was rebuilt in stone. The remains of a further four circular buildings were excavated around the platform, although it was not clear if these were domestic structures. Dating evidence suggests the site was occupied during the Late Iron Age. This site is unique on Dartmoor; climatic deterioration beginning in the Late Bronze Age had seen communities abandoning the moor for lower lying areas. Gold Park, though, lies on the fringe of the uplands and meant that although woodland and arable land was accessible on the lower slopes the moorland could also be able to be exploited for grazing (Gibson, 1992: 42-43).

### **2.1.2 Material Culture**

The material cultural assemblage for the Late Iron Age in the region is formed mainly of ceramic material. Distinctive regional traditions of ceramic production were first recognised by Peacock (1969a, 1969b), who conducted petrological analysis on pottery sherds classified as belonging to the South Western decorated tradition. He was able to show six regional production centres located throughout south-western Britain, including one in Cornwall and a further centre in Devon. As yet the location of the clay source(s) used by the potters within Devon has not been pinned down, although the clays of east Devon have been suggested. However, Peacock was able to conclude that the gabbro bedrock on the Lizard peninsula was the source of the clay used by the communities within Cornwall. The exploitation of this clay source dates as far back as the Neolithic and continues in use well into the medieval period (Peacock, 1969a, 1969b; see Wood, 2011 for a summary of petrological work conducted the Gabbro clays). Building on Peacock's analysis, researchers have been able to demonstrate that clay was extracted from several sources on the Lizard and it has been suggested that during certain periods distinct locations were exploited. During the Late Iron Age, the finer clays

found in fluvial deposits along the river valleys of the Lizard appear to have been deliberately targeted for use (Harrad, 2003: 13-14).

It was during the middle Iron Age that the distinctive forms of South Western Decorated Ware were introduced and were distributed from the Mendip Hills down to Cornwall. Well stratified sequences have been excavated from sites including Carn Euny and Castle Dore, and radiocarbon dates suggest this style of ceramics had its origin in the fourth century BC (Quinnell, 1986: 113; Todd, 1987: 180; Henderson, 2007: 206). During the first century BC this style slowly began to be replaced in Cornwall by Cordoned Wares (Henderson, 2007: 206; Todd, 1987: 181). The most complete assemblage of this material was excavated at St Mawgan-in-Pydar, with the type series being based on this material (Threipland, 1956). Cordoned wares display a very limited distribution pattern, being confined to Cornwall and a small area of south Devon; sherds have been found at Mount Batten. In Devon and western Somerset, the South Western Decorated wares appear to continue in production up to the Roman invasion, although parts of Devon display low ceramic profiles for the Early and Middle Iron Ages with ceramic use becoming more prevalent from the second century BC (Cunliffe, 2005: 108; Gent and Quinnell, 1999: 52–53; Quinnell, 1986: 119). In recent years a new ceramic fabric, Late Iron Age Plain Ware, has been recognised in East Devon, and radiocarbon dates suggest it was in use during the first century BC to the first century AD (Hughes, forthcoming). Small amounts of pottery from Dorset, the Durotrigian wares that became the South East Dorset Black Burnished wares, have been found on a handful of sites from southern and eastern Devon, including the Late Iron Age phase at Honeyditches (Silvester, 1981).

High status metalwork is better represented within the region than generally recognised, although it is comparatively rare in contrast to other areas of Iron Age Britain. The most iconic metalwork found in the south-west are the mirrors, of which six have been found. Work by scholars such as Joy (2008, 2010) has shown four distinctive regional groupings of mirrors, based on depositional contexts and dates, size and decorative motifs, with the four mirrors from Devon fitting into the 'Western' group, while the two from Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly form their own small group (Joy, 2008: 89–90; 2010: 73). The mirror found on the island of Bryher, Isles of Scilly, is thought to be one of the earliest decorated mirrors from Britain, having been deposited within a cist grave in the early first century BC (Johns, 2006: 27; Joy,

2010: 54). The mirror from Bryher is similar in size and shape and shares some decorative motifs with the mirror found at Trelan Bahow, St Keverne, which suggests that they date to the same period (Johns, 2006: 34; Joy, 2010: 54). It had been suggested that the mirror from St Keverne should be seen as an import from the south-east of Britain, where a number of mirrors have been found in association with cremation burials (Fox, 1958; Joy: 2010: 64). However, the finding of the Bryher mirror and the earlier date posited for both these mirrors, which were associated with Nauheim variant brooches dated to between 100 – 50 BC, indicates that these mirrors pre-date the south-eastern examples (Johns, 2006: 32; Joy, 2010: 56). It is likely that both mirrors were produced by local craftsmen, although the similarity of sections of the decorative motif on the St Keverne mirror with examples from south-eastern Britain does indicate that these mirrors were not produced in isolation (Johns, 2006: 36; Joy, 2008: 90).

Of the four mirrors found in Devon, three were excavated from cist graves within the cemetery of Stamford Hill, located on the Mount Batten promontory. Only one decorated mirror plate was found, with the two further mirrors being represented by handles only. The decoration on the mirror plate suggests that it dates to the early first century AD. The other small finds recorded from the cemetery suggest it was in use from early/mid to late first century AD (Cunliffe, 1988: 87-98). A similar date has been suggested for the mirror found at Holcombe, one of the few mirrors to have been found in a settlement rather than burial context. Here the mirror was found at the base of a heat reddened pit and appears to have been a deliberate deposit (Fox, 1972; Fox and Pollard, 1973). These mirrors fit within the 'Western' mirror tradition, which is dated to the first century AD and have similar decorative motifs to mirrors from Dorset and Gloucestershire, such as the Bridlip mirror (Fox, 1972; Joy, 2008: 90 and 2010: 56).

The role of mirrors in Iron Age society has been gendered, with them often being regarded as female items. Their reflective properties allowed individuals more control over their appearance and how they were perceived by others. Mirrors, like objects such as tweezers and cosmetic sets, allowed people to manipulate their appearance (Joy, 2010: 49 and 75; Hill, 1997). This is, however, open to debate, with the Bryher burial often being used as an example to show that mirrors may also be associated with males. Here the other artefacts have a distinctly male association, with remains of a shield and sword in its scabbard being among

the artefact suite recovered from the grave (Johns, 2006; Cunliffe, 2005: 557). The evolution of mirror handle design closely reflects that of horse bits (Joy, 2010: 46). The horse was a symbol of wealth and of the aristocratic and warrior elite in the later Iron Age (Green, 2011: 3; Creighton, 2000: 22). It is possible that this reflection of horse bit design was down to the craftsmen involved in the production of mirrors, but it may also be that mirrors were linked to the warrior culture and so have male connotations.

There is growing evidence within the region for an elite during the later Iron Age, in the form of shields, swords, scabbard mounts and chariot fittings. The Bryher shield was only represented by several fittings, the rest having decayed. The fittings show it would have been of a similar type to that found in the Deal warrior burial (Johns, 2002-3: 27). A decorated bronze strip excavated at St Mawgan-in-Pydar is thought to be a scabbard mount. The double coil decoration at the top of the strip has parallels in the metalwork from the Seven Sister hoard from South Wales, suggesting a late first century BC or early first century AD date (Threipland, 1956: 80-1; Tyacke, 2002-3: 147). A further small scabbard mount was found through metal detecting near Padstow, similar to other mounts of Late Iron Age date, such as those from Wetwang (PAS, CORN-AC1453; Tyacke, 2002-3: 146-147). Further chariot fittings and martial equipment from Cornwall include a cheekpiece (CORN-B50AA7) and linch pin head (NARC-37A496) of 'vase-headed' style (Tyacke, 2002-2003; 2011). Analysis on a copper alloy baldric ring inlaid with red enamel (CORN-B17A3) suggests that this item was locally made (Tyacke, 2011: 72). Two linch pins are known through excavation, one from Trevelgue Head (Tyacke, 2002-3: 146) and the other from Castle Gotha. This pin is a stylised human head, thought to be one of a pair, originally dated to the Late Iron Age although it was recovered from a context of Roman date. It has been suggested that the pin was curated before eventually being deposited (Saunders and Harris, 1982: 146), although recent reassessment suggests it may be of Roman date (Tyacke, 2002-3: 146). A small number of chariot fittings from Devon and Somerset have been recorded through the PAS, such as the linch pin terminal from Loddiswell (COOK-527973). This is a 'Kirkburn' type and dates to the late first century BC or early first century AD. A decorated terret ring is also recorded from Devon through the PAS (DEV-OCB6C6). A small fragment of another terret, of flat ring type, was located to the east of Minehead, Somerset. A wide date range was assigned to this terret and it is possible it dates to the post conquest period (PAS, SOM-7B4F14).

Brooches begin to appear in the archaeological record around the same time as the mirrors. The low numbers of these items suggest that only a certain section of society were concerned with bodily display, or it may be that adornment items were only accessible for a small percentage of the population. The largest collection of Late Iron Age brooches comes from a cemetery excavated at Trethellan Farm near Newquay. Analysis of mineralised textiles preserved on three of the brooch pins shows that they were most likely pinned to cloaks the deceased were wearing at the time of burial (Nowakowski, 1991). There is also evidence that brooches were being produced in the region, as the Atlantic type brooches found at Harlyn Bay and Mount Batten are now considered to be of local manufacture (Cunliffe, 1988). The growing use and manufacture of brooches and mirrors in the region during the later Iron Age suggests that certain elements of the population were beginning to put more emphasis on creating and displaying distinct personal identities. This is not an isolated trend and the increase in items related to the manipulation of appearance and personal adornment has been noted across Britain during this period (see Hill, 1997: 96–107; Jundi and Hill, 1998: 130) and supports a shift in the structure of political power networks with the development of an elite, as evidenced through the increase of items relating to chariots and martial equipment.

### **2.1.3 Trade**

The accounts of the voyage of Pytheas indicate that trading links with the Mediterranean world were well established by the end of the fourth century BC. Although links with Ireland may extend back into the Bronze Age, with an Irish origin or influence suggested for the late Bronze Age hoard from Towednack, which included two twisted gold torcs and four bracelets, two of which had not been finished. A further hoard of six gold bracelets from Morvah, of slightly later Bronze Age date, also shows Irish influence. Three of the bracelets are manufactured in an Irish tradition with cupped terminals, one of these is finely decorated with incised geometric patterns (Todd, 1987: 153). A recent study on the origins of gold artefacts in the Irish Bronze Age has shown that the gold used was most likely imported into Ireland from Cornwall, the chemical signature of the gold fitting most closely with the south-west of England. It is likely that the gold was mined as a secondary industry to tin, as it is known that gold deposits are present within the tin ore beds (Standish, 2012: 298). It is then

likely that these objects were in fact produced locally. It is possible that contact with communities in Ireland led to an exchange in artistic styles, with a small number of individuals beginning to produce metalwork in an Irish style.

The site at Mount Batten in Plymouth Sound also appears to have begun life in the Bronze Age, with the quantity and nature of the metalwork suggesting a high status community who had a controlling stake in the flow of metal along the English Channel. The exotic nature of some of the items also suggests that these people had contacts with Brittany and the Mediterranean (Cunliffe, 1988: 101). These links appear to have continued into the Iron Age, although trade links appear to have been concentrated on east – west trade along the Channel; even towards the end of the Iron Age there is little indication of direct links to Gaul or the wider Roman world. This continued into the Roman period and although trade seems to have flourished Mount Batten appears to have been just one of many stop off points along the east – west Channel route rather than a point of initial contact for foreign merchants (Cunliffe, 1988: 103-104).

#### **2.1.4 Religion and Ritual**

Iron Age religious tradition focused on the natural world and divine forces, with spirits thought to possess every aspect of the landscape. Natural features, such as springs, rivers and trees were venerated as well as larger topographical features such as mountains. During the Later Iron Age enclosures, *temenoi*, became more common. These were in effect sanctuaries and could contain sacred sites such as groves, pools or shrines (Green, 1986: 22 and 1996: 465). The *temenoi* at Harlow, Uley and Slonk Hill are some of the better known examples from Britain (Green, 1986; Jones and Mattingly, 2007). At Uley a Neolithic ditch was re-cut during the later Iron Age and used to support the substantial palisade that enclosed part of the sacred space. The enclosure was extended in the early part of the first century AD with the eastern section of this ditch being much deeper and containing many votive offerings. Two buildings were constructed within the *temenos*, the earliest of which was a small square structure erected around a pit. Votive pits such as this are present at other Iron Age shrines, such as Hayling Island, where a pit, bounded by a wooden palisade, was found to contain

numerous offerings and was interpreted as a having held a standing stone (King and Soffe, 2001, Jones and Mattingly, 2007: 291-292; Woodward and Leach, 1993).

The evidence for religious worship in the Iron Age from the south-west is limited, with only one possible shrine having been excavated at the cemetery at Harlyn Bay. Here a circular stone built structure, thought to be contemporary with the cemetery, has been interpreted as a shrine (Quinnell, 1986: 118). The excavator though favoured the interpretation of the structure as a mortuary building rather than a shrine. The lack of votive objects within the building were interpreted to suggest the building had a funerary function, although two foundation burials beneath the structure were recorded (Whimster, 1977: 69-70). The association of shrines with burials is documented elsewhere, Uley for example (King and Soffe, 2001; Woodward and Leach, 1993). The lack of enclosure ditch, *temenos*, surrounding the structure does point to it having a more practical rather than religious function.

Place name evidence suggests several religious sites may have existed. The Ravenna Cosmography records the place name *Nemetostatio*, which is suggested to have been the name of one of the forts constructed at North Tawton in mid Devon. The name includes part of the element *nemeton* and suggests that a sacred grove(s) may have existed around North Tawton during the Late Iron Age and perhaps survived into the Roman period (Griffith, 1985: 121). *Nemetons* are known to have existed within Britain and Gaul, being described by the ancient authors such as Pliny and Lucan. It has been suggested that trees were venerated for several reasons. Trees reflect the cycles of the earth and their roots penetrate deep underground but simultaneously they appear to touch the sky (Jones and Mattingly, 2007; Green, 1998: 2). The modern place names around North Tawton as well as in north-east Devon and south-west Exmoor also include elements of the word *nemeton*, such as Nymmentwood, Bishop's Nympton, Kings Nympton and Nymet Rowland which support this theory (Griffith, 1985; Todd, 2001: 53-4, Riley and Wilson-North, 2001: 82). It has also been suggested that such sites existed in Cornwall where the element *neved*, meaning 'sacred place' still survives in modern place names such as Lanivet (Griffith, 1985: 122). It is possible that these places held sacred meaning in the Neolithic and Bronze Age periods and that *nemetons* were a continuation of a long held religious tradition. In the southern group of Nymet place names in Devon, a henge monument and other associated monuments have

been recorded that have been interpreted as part of a large ceremonial complex and suggest that this area had held sacred meaning for many millennia (Griffith, 1985: 122).

Bodies of water were a feature of ritual activity throughout prehistory across Europe. Large numbers of metal objects have been recovered from lakes and marshes, such as the assemblage from Llyn Cerrig Bach on Anglesey (Fox, 1973: 156; Green, 1997: 64, 2011). This practice is again not well represented in the south-west but two bronze bowls from bog contexts are known from Rose Ash, Devon and Youlton, Cornwall. Both bowls were decorated, with the Rose Ash example having an animal head escutcheon and Youlton with an inverted human head (Fox, 1973: 156).

Three religious or votive figurines of Late Iron Age or Roman date are known from the south-west. The first is the cast head in bovine form discovered in Somerset near the River Tone just north of Wellington and is most likely part of a votive statue. It is not clear if the figurine depicted a bull or ox, both of which held different meanings within Iron Age ritual traditions. The bull was a symbol of fertility and beneficence while the ox was more docile and may have been venerated due to its agricultural importance (PAS, SOM-6E1A40; Green, 2011: 166–169). The ox was important for ploughing, and as a source of meat and milk and may have been viewed as a unit of wealth (Green, 1998: 14). The fact that it is damaged may suggest it was intended for ritual deposition within the River Tone, which flows just to the south of the findspot. The two other figurines are from Mount Batten and both depict human forms, with the first being an image of Mars dating to the mid first century BC and the other a nude male dating to the second century BC. It is likely that both were imported from Gaul (Cunliffe, 1988: 70–71). They are more classically Roman in style than the bovine head, with the presence of Mars suggesting at least one individual worshipping a deity from the Roman pantheon. It is possible these figurines belonged to traders from Gaul or elsewhere in the empire, but it also possible that they were imported for use by someone from the local or wider community.

The burial ritual practised in the south-west is better understood, with a small number of cemeteries and burials dating to the later Iron Age having been excavated. Whimster's survey of Iron Age burials in Britain showed a distinctive tradition within the region. Within Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly the dominant rite was that of crouched inhumation with the head placed at the northern end. Individuals were placed within cists, with stone slabs used to line and

cover the graves (Whimster, 1981; Quinnell, 1986: 118). The most extensive cemeteries within the region are Harlyn Bay, near Padstow, Trelan Bahow on the Lizard peninsula, Stamford Hill, Plymstock on the Tamar estuary and Hughtown on St Mary's, Isles of Scilly (Whimster, 1977; Johns, 2006: 62). Only one example of a cemetery with a divergent burial tradition is currently known, at Trethellan Farm near Newquay. Here a small cemetery of 21 graves was excavated, with none of these burials being in cists; rather they were all buried within sub-oval or sub-rectangular pit graves. These were aligned north-south, with the heads being placed at the northern end of each grave (Nowakowski, 1991: 213).

The burial tradition is seemingly isolated and confined to south-western Devon, Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly, with no cemeteries or isolated graves being recorded from the rest of Devon or within western Somerset.

### **2.1.5 Political and Social Structure**

In recent years there has been much discussion on the structure of Late Iron Age society in Britain, with the core-periphery model of the 1980s being heavily critiqued. The model had attempted to explain the changes in society that began to occur around 100 BC, when material imported from the continent began to appear in the material assemblages in south and east Britain, wine amphorae and new styles of eating and drinking vessels for example. Hillforts had begun to be abandoned by this time with smaller settlements, many in previously unsettled areas, beginning to emerge (Haselgrove, 2004: 24; Hill, 2007: 23–24). During this period coinage produced in Britain began to be inscribed with the names of individuals, who are thought to have been rulers, perhaps even client kings that had been recognised by Rome (Creighton, 2000; Haselgrove, 2004: 14). While in the south and eastern zone of Britain large oppida began to emerge, although these were not intensively occupied until the first century AD generally. The production of inscribed coinage and the emergence of oppida have been suggested to show that political power had become centralised in the Late Iron Age, with kings ruling tribes of people, the distribution of their coinage traditionally being used to map these tribal areas, although it has been noted that the oppida appear to be on the fringes of these distributions (Haselgrove, 2004: 24–24; Hill, 2007: 30; Moore, 2011: 350).

This picture of a highly stratified society, though, only works in south and eastern England, and even here it is now recognised that society was far more complex and that this picture has been over simplified (Haselgrove, 2004; Hill, 2007; Moore, 2007). Regional differences are now being highlighted and it is thought that the changes evident in the Late Iron Age stem from the Middle Iron Age and the appearance of imported material assemblages is in fact a result of these changes rather than a cause (Haselgrove, 2004; Hill, 2007: 37). In line with this the idea of tribal entities in the Late Iron Age has also begun to be challenged. It has been argued that the distribution of coinage cannot be relied upon to define so called tribal territories as many distributions overlap, the paired names on coins are not understood and the mechanisms by which these coins circulated is little understood (Haselgrove, 2004: 14; Moore, 2011: 350). It has been suggested that coins were in fact tokens used to strengthen relations and alliances and so do not represent tribal areas (Creighton: 2000; Moore, 2001: 350). The use of these tribes to describe the political stratification of Late Iron Age society is also used in the Romano-British period, with tribes having become the *civitates*, with the names of these groupings of people being given to us by Ptolemy (Moore, 2011: 349).

Moore's (2011) paper on detribalising Iron Age and Roman studies suggests that tribe is a loaded word and needs to be used more critically. For areas such as the south-west it is the lack of an obvious social hierarchy, coins and well-defined material culture that have meant it has continued to be discussed as the tribal area of the Dumnonii (see Cunliffe, 2005 for example). It is likely that this generalisation has masked differences across the region. The increase in high status metal work in the Late Iron Age and different ceramic traditions beginning to emerge by the end of the Iron Age suggest the area was made up of a number of smaller groupings rather than being one large politically cohesive area. The way these people reacted to the coming of Rome and how they utilised material culture within the preceding Romano-British period should hopefully illuminate differences, which will be discussed fully in Chapter 8.

## 2.2 The Roman Period

The Roman invasion of the south-west peninsula began shortly after the initial campaign of AD 43. Evidence from Cadbury Castle suggests the *Legio II Augusta* had penetrated as far as Yeovil, Somerset, by AD 44/45 (Tabor, 2008). At this date the Second Augusta were commanded by future emperor Vespasian, who according to Suetonius “fought thirty battles with the enemy... reduced to subjection two powerful nations, more than twenty towns and the island of Vectis”, (*Vespasian*, 4). It is unlikely that these “nations” included the Dumnonii, the archaeological record indicates a campaign in Durtorigian territory, in Dorset and South Somerset, and it is possible battles were fought with members of the Belgae, in Hampshire and Wiltshire or perhaps, although less likely, with factions of the Dobunni in South Gloucestershire (Todd, 1987: 189; Manning, 2002: 30).

Several forts have been recognised within the study region and based on current research it is likely that the campaign and subsequent consolidation of the south-west began under the Governorship of Ostorius Scapula AD 47-52, after Vespasian had left Britain (Manning, 2002: 35). Most of the material collected from excavated forts suggests Neronian and Flavian occupation, such as at Bury Barton near Lapford, Bolham Farm near Tiverton and Nanstallon, near Bodmin. Excavations at the Iron Age hillfort at Hembury revealed evidence of Roman military buildings which were occupied from AD 55, although Todd suggests that the presence of two Claudian denarii, in fresh condition, may indicate a construction date prior to this (2002: 116-117). The legionary fortress at Exeter, *Isca Dumnoniorum*, is known to have been constructed around AD 55 (Bidwell, 1980: 39; Manning, 2002: 35).

The evidence from these installations suggests that the military were present in the region until around AD 74, when the campaign turned towards the conquest of Wales and Northern England, with the Second Legion moving their base to Caerleon (Manning, 2002; 35). It is possible detachments remained within the region until AD 85, with the assemblage from Calstock indicating demolition of the fort at around this time (Smart, 2014: 107). The evidence gathered from field walking at another newly confirmed fort site at Restormel, Cornwall, suggests that this fort may have been occupied into the fourth century AD. The assemblage is similar in character to those from the other fort sites in Cornwall, with approximately 75% being made up of imported wares, with the rest sourced from local production centres.

However, in the third century the make-up of this assemblage changes, with far more of the local wares being consumed by the inhabitants of the fort (Thorpe, 2007). This change coincides with the drop off and eventual cessation of samian imports. The lack of access to this staple import may have forced the soldiers to supplement the needs of the fort by increasing trade with these local centres. It is, however, possible that the fort had been abandoned by this time and a local group had taken up residence of the site, which would explain the shift evident in the assemblage.

The scale and character of the invasion has been much debated. Prior to the discovery of the legionary fortress at Exeter it had been suggested that the region had been left in peace by the Roman military as the peoples were allied to the Romans or at least not openly resistive (Manning, 2002: 35). It is possible that the contact with the Greek and Roman worlds in the preceding centuries meant that the communities were less hostile towards the integration of their lands into the Roman Empire than perhaps other communities within the British Isles. However, the numbers and positions of the known forts, all situated on the main communication routes, in the region suggest that the military presence was more than a formality and the *II Augusta* had a role in policing the movements of people and goods within the south-west.

Recent work is beginning to show that the legionary fortress was not isolated, with several military complexes having now been recorded around the area of modern day Exeter. The port at Topsham was first occupied at the time the legionary fortress was being constructed. Excavation revealed evidence of civilian occupation of a high-status nature (Jarvis and Maxfield, 1975). It is not until very recently that military occupation was recorded at the site. Excavations in 2000 recorded part of the double ditched circuit of a small fort or fortlet contemporary with the occupation of the legionary fortress. The interior was unfortunately not excavated and so layout and function is uncertain but it was most likely a supply base that served the fortress upstream and the other surrounding military complexes (Sage and Allen, 2004; Holbrook, 2015: 96). A further fort was discovered 2.6km south-east of the fortress; on the road linking Exeter and Topsham a small fort was partially excavated in 2010 at St Loyes College. The excavators interpreted the site as a supply base or works depot due to the lack of barrack blocks and the presence of a *fabrica* and other workshops (Steinmetzer and Salvatore, 2011). Finds include a partial wooden writing tablet, currently thought to be the

earliest writing tablet from Britain and is an example of tablet being re-used. Only side A preserves any trace of text with two lines being visible. The partial script has been interpreted as an address:

“The most likely restoration is [Ve]ro, ‘to Verus’, although other names are possible such as Carus and Varus. In Line 2, he would have been described by his rank or occupation, which makes arm[...] an attractive reading, whether for arm[orum custodi], ‘armourer’, or a reference to armamentarium, ‘the armoury’” (Tomlin, forthcoming).

Reference to an armourer or to the armoury suggests at present that the interpretation of the site as a works depot is more likely. There is later civilian occupation of the site, which began in the second century and continued in use into the fourth century AD. It likely formed part of settlement along the road between Isca Dumnoniorum and Topsham (Salvatore *et al.*, forthcoming).

Excavations at Princesshay to the north-east of the fortress discovered a defended enclosure with interval towers. The lack of buildings within means no firm interpretation of the site can be offered but the towers suggest it is military in nature and so may either be an annex attached to the fortress or an auxiliary fort. It is likely the site was used for tile production as a number of clay pits and tile wasters were found during the excavation (Booth, 2007: 295–296; Holbrook, 2015: 98–99). Lastly, work conducted at Mount Dinham, which lies above the legionary fortress to the west, has added a further military site to this complex picture. Here, between 2007 and 2009 part of a substantial timber building was excavated, which comprised of a large aisled hall surrounded by corridors and other smaller rooms. The excavators suggest a provisional interpretation of the building as a praetorium based on its date of mid first century AD and its similarity to other excavated *praetorii* including the Augustan praetorium building at Haltern and one at Marktbreit, both in Germany (Passmore 2013: 9). Large numbers of amphorae were recovered during the excavation and suggest the building was linked to the supply of the fortress and associated forts, as well as perhaps the selling of imported goods to local populations (Passmore, 2013: 10; Holbrook, 2015: 99).

### 2.2.1 Settlement Pattern

There is little evidence of dramatic change in the settlement pattern of the region in the decades immediately after the invasion. However, change did occur throughout the Romano-British period, which will be discussed in the following section. There is only a brief discussion of individual settlements here as full detail is provided in Appendix 1.

#### 2.2.1.1 Rural Settlements

Excavation data shows that promontory and hillforts were systematically abandoned during the first century AD, although this is unlikely to be related to the conquest but rather to social and political change in the first century BC. Only two are currently known to have continued to be occupied past the end of the first century A.D: Trelvague Head and St Mawgan in Pydar (Nowakowski and Quinnell, 2011; Threipland, 1956). The rich assemblage from St Mawgan, discussed further in Chapters 5 and 6, included a large amount of imported ceramics as well as personal adornment items which suggest that community may have been of high status, with direct connections to the long-distance trade network (Threipland, 1956).

Another high status site at Carvossa had its origins in the early first century AD. The site again produced a large amount of imported ceramics and personal adornment items, many of which date to the very early occupation of the site (Carlyon, 1987). The presence of so much mid first century AD material and the fact the site is roughly rectilinear has been used to suggest it began life as a Roman fort. However, the poor excavation records make it nearly impossible to confirm Carvossa as a fort. It is also just as possible that the site was constructed and occupied by a high status local community. The imported ceramics span a range of dates, although the majority of the samian ware does have a first century AD date. It is possible that the samian was acquired from the military or traders supplying the military as part of negotiating the role the inhabitants were to play in the new power structures effected by the arrival of the Roman army.

Milber Down, although likely abandoned in the first century BC, appears to have held some significance in the early Roman period, as a structured deposit from the middle ditch

contained three bronze figurines, a stag, a duck with a cake in its mouth and a bird with detachable wings and a ball. All are thought to date to the first century AD due to their fine craftsmanship (Fox *et al.*, 1949-50: 41). It is possible that this act of deposition was linked to the final closing of the site and the opening of a new enclosed settlement to the south-east of the fort, thought to have been occupied in the mid to late first century AD (Fox *et al.*, 1949-50: 32).

In recent years large scale development projects have allowed archaeologists to study substantial tracts of the landscape. Several multi-period and long-lived landscapes have now been recorded within the region. One of the best studied areas is the Tremough Campus site at Penryn which overlooks the Fal estuary. Excavations have revealed a sequence of land exploitation and occupation that began in the early Neolithic period and continued, although with a couple of short hiatuses, into the early medieval period (Gossip and Jones, 2007). During the Late Iron Age, a brick shaped field system was constructed across part of the site. At the western edge of the field system a small C-shaped enclosure was constructed in the late second century AD, which had a small oval post-built structure in the centre, Structure 338. This structure had two phases of occupation before being abandoned in the early fourth century A.D (Gossip and Jones, 2007: 24). This enclosure is the only one of its type excavated within Cornwall, although parallels are known from elsewhere in the country (Gossip and Jones, 2007: 45). The oval house within the enclosure is also the only known oval timber built house from the Romano-British period within Cornwall.

Excavations have shown that change in the rural landscape began to occur during the second century AD, likely related to an increase in the population of the region. Sites such as Reawla and Shortlanesend, Par Lane, Kilhallon, Turnspit and Hayes Farm (Appleton-Fox, 1992; Carlyon, 1982; Harris, 1980; Simpson *et al.*, 1989; Sims and Valentin, 2011; Uglow, 2000) have foundation dates within this century. Population expansion during the second century AD has been postulated throughout Roman Britain (Salway, 1993).

### 2.2.1.2 Villa Landscape

A small number of villas are known from across the south-west. In Devon the villas are concentrated in the east of the county along the valleys of the rivers Exe, Otter and Axe, while in Cornwall only one has been recorded just north of Camborne. In west Somerset a small villa has been excavated at Yarford on the southern edge of the Quantock Hills (King, forthcoming). A bath-house building has also been excavated at Whitestaunton, close to the valley of the river Yarty. Although no villa building was found it is most likely that these remains were attached to a villa. The artefact assemblage from the bath-house suggests a construction date during the third century AD (Wessex Archaeology, 2004). A similar date is suggested for the bath-house at the villa of Honeyditches in Devon (Miles, 1977: 147), while the impressive octagonal bath at Holcombe was not constructed until the fourth century (Pollard, 1974).

Of the eight villas known within the region only four have been subject to extensive excavation programmes, Magor in Cornwall, Holcombe and Honeyditches in Devon and Yarford in Somerset (O'Neil, 1933; Pollard, 1974; Miles, 1977; Silvester, 1981; King, forthcoming). Magor is a small winged corridor type villa situated close to the North Cornish coast near Camborne. Remains of wall plaster, tessellated pavements and opus signinum floors were all recovered, suggesting it was a building of high status (O'Neil, 1933). The fact that this building is unique within Cornwall has led to suggestions that it was a mansio rather than a villa or that it was the home of a Roman Official (Peters, 2005: 101). However subsequent geophysical survey in the 1980s discovered that the villa sits within a round (David and Bartlett, 1985). It is unclear if the round defences still stood while the villa was occupied but the presence of the round does suggest that it is more likely that the villa was in fact the home of a local family who may have lived on the site for generations.

The villas at Honeyditches and Holcombe are situated on the south Devon coast close to the river Axe. Both sites have Late Iron Age origins and show similar stages of development, although the villa at Holcombe is better understood (Miles, 1977; Pollard, 1974; Silvester, 1981). A decorated mirror was recovered at Holcombe dating to the Late Iron Age, discussed above, suggesting the inhabitants of the site had political and economic status during the Late Iron Age. The later villa is of simple corridor type, although the large bath-suite with octagonal plunge pool (see Pollard, 1974) suggests a family of wealth. The type of villa building at

Honeyditches is unknown; three separate structures have been excavated across the site but their relationship to each other is unclear. It is possible that these all form part of one large winged corridor type villa, with a western range of 70m in length and a northern range 35m in length. This reconstruction has been questioned due to the considerable size of the building and a further interpretation of the remains representing two buildings has been put forward (Holbrook, 1987: 69). The fact that the bath-house was doubled in size with a further seven rooms being added in the late third century or early fourth century AD (Miles, 1977) and the fact that further building debris has been recorded to the south of the site (Holbrook, 1987: 71) indicates that the site is much larger than the current excavated extent. It is possible that the building debris is from out buildings or other domestic structures.

The villa at Yarford lies within a Late Iron Age double ditched D-shaped enclosure. The ditches appear to have been deliberately backfilled shortly after being constructed although there is evidence suggesting the site continued to be occupied into the second century AD. At this point the ditches were re-cut and a small rectangular stone structure was constructed on the site. This was replaced in the third century by a small corridor villa in the north-east corner of the enclosure. A bath-house was also built at this time just to the south of the villa, although it has been extensively robbed so its plan is not well understood (King, forthcoming).

### 2.2.1.3 Roadside Settlements

One major change in the pattern of settlement during the Romano-British period was the emergence of roadside settlements, although at present only a small number of these are known in Devon and Somerset. The site of Pomeroy Wood, situated on the Fosse Way, in Devon is perhaps the best understood. The full extent of the site is unknown but further evidence of the settlement was recorded at the site of Gittisham Forge, 200m to the north-east. The site began during the early second century AD and was constructed over the remains a small fort that sat adjacent to the road during the mid to late first century AD (Grove, 1999). The excavations recorded eight round houses along with evidence of grain driers, 4 post-structures, ovens and pits. During the third century AD the focus of the settlement shifted

away from this area of the site. Based on the ceramic evidence the site appears to have been abandoned by the early fifth century AD (Grove, 1999).

Another similar site has been partially excavated at Woodbury to the east. The site sits on high ground overlooking the Axe valley to the west and is at the junction of the Fosse Way and the road that connected Exeter and Dorchester. The site again began life in the second century AD, being abandoned in the late fourth century AD, and the excavated remains extend over 200m. The site is adjacent to another small fort which was occupied in the mid to late first century AD (Weddell *et al.*, 1993). The north-east corner of the fort has been subject to excavation and geophysical survey and the results have shown that the site was re-occupied during the third century AD, although it is possible it may have been earlier. The work has shown several stone buildings, which appear to be connected to the settlement outside the fort. One of these buildings has been interpreted as a mansio, which has led to suggestions that the site could be classified as a small town rather than a roadside settlement (Weddell *et al.*, 1993). More work is necessary though to be sure of this interpretation. However, if the site is indeed a small town it would be the first site of this type to be recognised within the study region.

The site of Hillyfields on the south-eastern edge of Taunton may also have been a small roadside settlement, although due to the small area excavated this is uncertain. The occupation of the site appears to have begun in the Late Iron Age and continued on into the Roman period. The excavation report suggests two phases of occupation, with the first covering the Late Iron Age through to the third century AD when the site was part of a field system. After a brief period of abandonment, the evidence suggests a number of small domestic enclosures were occupied across the site. It is suggested that these small plots were part of a larger settlement in the late Roman period, with the centre of the settlement focused to the north and north-east. Some of the small enclosures were presumed to contain houses or other buildings, while others are thought to have been paddocks or cultivation plots. Evidence was also found to suggest iron smithing occurred on site. Although no actual structures were recorded, fired clay daub and stone roof slates indicate their presence. At present there is no known Roman road within this area but mapping the site in relation to the fort network suggests it may have sat on the line of a road that potentially linked the forts at

Tiverton, Bury Barton, North Tawton and Okehampton before crossing the river Tamar into Cornwall.

#### 2.2.1.4 Towns

Only one town is currently known within the south-west, which is located at Exeter, *Isca Dumnoniorum*. The site of the town was first occupied by the Roman military, with a legionary fortress and other military complexes being constructed at the site, as discussed above. Excavations have produced no evidence of any occupation pre-dating the fortress, although excavation at the site of St Loye's College, see above, recorded two phases of Late Iron enclosure. The first phase related to a small enclosure with a central roundhouse. The evidence suggests that towards the very end of the Iron Age the enclosure ditch was backfilled, and a larger area enclosed, whilst keeping the roundhouse at its centre (Steinmetzer and Salvatore, 2011: 2–3).

Once the legion moved out of the fortress the site appears to have been given over to the civilian population, with excavation showing the military street plan was re-used by the early inhabitants. The military defences also appear to have been left upstanding and were not demolished until the late second century A.D when the town was enlarged with a new bank and ditch and a stone wall being constructed (Bidwell, 1980: 46). Construction of civilian administrative and domestic buildings appears to have begun quickly after the legion had moved on. The legionary bath-house was reduced in size and a forum and basilica complex was constructed to the west of this. This building programme also included the construction of an aqueduct, dated to AD 100/101 through dendrochronology (Bidwell, 1980: 46–53; Creighton, 2006: 121). A small number of simple rectilinear domestic buildings from within the town have also been recorded as dating to the first and second centuries AD, along with an area of cultivation soil recorded close to the centre of the town, suggesting some inhabitants of the town were growing their own produce (Bidwell, 1980: 53–55; Holbrook, 2015: 103). During the Antonine period the town was enlarged, with 37ha being enclosed by a new defensive circuit. This enlargement coincides with alterations to the forum and basilica complex as well as the baths and the domestic architecture also undergoing change, with

masonry buildings replacing earlier timber structures (Bidwell, 1980: 67). Only one complete house plan has been recorded from the Princesshay area of the town, with a simple row type building with veranda being found. This abutted a further building, only part of which was excavated. Two rooms of this building contained hypocausts, thought to form part of a bipartite heated winter dining room (Holbrook, 2015: 102–103). Remains of thirty other houses constructed in masonry have been recorded, with three known to have contained mosaics, while four others contained remains of tessellated pavements. Timber structures have also been found dating to the late Roman period and excavations indicate the town was densely built up.

The forum and basilica complex continued in use into the fourth century AD, with evidence of repairs dating to the late third or early fourth century. Considerable alterations were again made in the middle of the fourth century (Bidwell, 1980: 76). The complex appears to have eventually been demolished sometime between the late fourth and mid fifth century AD when a cemetery was established on the site (Bidwell, 1980: 86).

### **2.2.2 Administration**

The traditional view of the administration of the provinces within the Roman Empire is centred on the division of the provinces into *civitates*, formed in most cases from the Iron Age tribal territories (Millett, 2005: 47; Wachter, 1995: 20). At their heart were the towns, *civitas capitals*, which were governed by a council elected from the citizens. It is thought that there were at least sixteen self-governing *civitates* in Britain, including *Isca Dumnoniorum* (Wachter, 1995: 21). Cornwall, Devon, and west Somerset are traditionally thought to have formed the tribal territory of the Dumnonii, who were administered during the Romano-British period from *Isca Dumnoniorum* (Bidwell, 1980: 56; Quinnell, 2004: 217; Thomas, 1966). *Civitas capitals* were thought to have been modelled in a Roman fashion and as such Roman style public buildings were constructed within them, such as forum and basilica complexes as well as public bathhouses. These buildings would have been paid for by the town council and members of the local elite and would have been costly (Jones, 2004: 175). Past research into the towns of Roman Britain has presented these *civitas capitals* as sites of uniform nature,

constructed as part of a programme aimed at urbanising Britain (see for example Wachter, 1995; Millett, 2001: 60). This has in part been due to the often-quoted passage from Tacitus' *Agricola*, where he states that help was given to the Britons to aid building programmes (Tac. *Agr.* 21; Creighton, 2006: 72).

Several of the underlying tenets of these views have been questioned in recent years. The idea that large unified tribal societies existed in the Late Iron Age in Britain has already been discussed above and research in this area suggests that it is unlikely Roman administrative units were based on pre-existing tribal territories (Moore, 2011). The supposed *civitas* of the Dumnonii serves to highlight the difficulty with this idea, as briefly discussed above. The area ascribed to the *civitas* covers a topographically diverse and sizable area, covering approximately 11,681 km<sup>2</sup>. The lack of a formal road network would have made cohesive administration very challenging, if not impossible. It has been suggested more recently that the *Ordo* (council) based at Exeter only administered the area between Exeter and the river Parrett, with west Devon and Cornwall being administered directly by Imperial agents who would then have controlled the main mineral bearing areas (Mattingly, 2006: 407). The proposed longevity of military occupation at Restormel fort has been used to support this, with the personnel stationed here policing the region and carrying out administrative duties on behalf of the Imperial agents (Mattingly, 2006).

### **2.2.3 Manufacture and Trade**

There is growing evidence of both small scale specialised craft industries and larger production centres having developed throughout the Romano-British period. Several enclosures within Cornwall have produced evidence of small scale metal working, with iron smelting appearing to be the predominant focus at these sites. The round at Nancemere produced evidence of workshops, a sequence of hearths and evidence of at least one furnace (Gossip, 2005; Higgins, 2009; Nowakowski, 2011:253). The round at Little Quoit Farm produced evidence of a number of working hollows. An anvil base was recorded in situ and appears to show that iron was being blacksmithed on site (Lawson-Jones, 2003; Nowakowski, 2011: 254). An iron smelting furnace has also been recorded at the site of Killigrew. The

smelting activity here appears to have begun in the Late Iron Age, with activity during the Roman period beginning in the second century and continuing into the fourth century. A repaired tin dish from the site has been used to suggest other metals were being worked by the occupants (Nowakowski, 2011: 254). The sites of Par Lane and Harepath Road have also produced evidence of iron working. Evidence of a furnace at Par Lane dates to the second and early third centuries AD, while at Harepath Road a complex sequence of stratigraphy suggests long lived occupation with several phases from the first to fourth centuries AD (Sims and Valentin, 2011, 2012). Larger iron working industries have been recorded on Exmoor, such as Sherracombe Ford and Clatworthy Reservoir. The evidence from iron production sites on Exmoor indicates a increase in demand from the Iron Age, with Sherracombe Ford being able to produce up to 1.8 tonnes of iron bloom per year (Bray, 2006: 307-308).

Salt production is also attested in the region, with two small sites on the Lizard peninsula having produced evidence of briquetage associated with evaporation of sea water to produce salt. Trebarveth appears to have been occupied from the second to fourth centuries AD, while evidence from Carnoon Bank suggests occupation between the third to sixth centuries AD (Peacock, 1969c; McAvoy *et al.*, 1980). The manufacture and trade of purple dye has been suggested to have taken place at Duckpool on the north Cornish coast. Many dog whelk shells were recovered from the site, which are known to have been used to manufacture the dye. Evidence of possible hearths and a water trough was also recorded, with evidence of the production of lead, pewter and possibly copper alloy objects between the mid third century through to the early medieval period (Ratcliffe, 1995).

The manufacture of ceramics also increased during this period, particularly in Devon, with the Exeter Grey Ware industries beginning in the first century AD, with production continuing into the third century AD, and with the South Western Black Burnished Ware industry, located in west Somerset, having similar production dates (Holbrook and Bidwell, 1991). Other industries, such as the South Devon Ware industry, began sometime in the later first century AD and continued throughout the Romano-British period (Holbrook and Bidwell, 1991: 177). Products from the Exeter Grey Ware and the South Western Black Burnished Ware industries were distributed widely across the region (Holbrook and Bidwell, 1991). The presence of the military and their potters appear to have stimulated the ceramic industry in Devon, discussed further in Chapter 5. An expansion of the trade networks of these people is also visible

throughout this period, with ceramics produced on the Continent and in other areas of Britain also present in many site assemblages. Although these ceramics penetrated Cornwall, they never matched the distribution and quantity of the traditional Gabbroic wares.

#### **2.2.4 Religion and Ritual**

Little is known about worship and burial practices in the south-west after the Roman conquest. Temples constructed in a Romano-Celtic style, such as the examples at Maiden Castle, and the temple complex at Uley are unknown in the region (Sharples, 1991; Woodward and Leach, 1993). A small number of possible shrine sites have been excavated, such as the site at Nornour in the Isles of Scilly (Dudley, 1967; Fulford, 1989), but their interpretations as such have been debated. Nornour has produced a range of artefacts. Most notably over 300 brooches were found, many of which are thought to have been manufactured on the continent. The brooches were found deposited in a wheel house accompanied by clay figurines, coins and miniature pots. These finds led the excavators to interpret the site as a shrine, with the earliest votive depositions beginning in the Flavian period and continuing into the third century AD. at least (Dudley, 1967). Fulford has, though, suggested that the brooches could have originated from a ship wrecked off the coast. The dates of both the brooches and the coins does not support this theory however, see discussion in Chapters 5 and 7. Crummy also disputes this theory, suggesting that the shoe sole brooches found are associated with the worship of Mercury (Crummy, 2008: 227).

The hillfort of Cadbury Castle in Devon is thought to have acted as a ritual centre during the late Roman period. A shaft occupying a central location within the hillfort was excavated in 1848. It was recorded as being nearly 18 metres in depth and the central deposits of the shaft yielded numbers of bracelets and other personal adornment items, most of which dated to the fourth century AD (Wilkes *et al.*, 2012). A further ritual shaft is known in Cornwall at Bosence in the parish of St Erth. In 1756 William Borlase reported that a shaft approximately 11 metres deep by 0.8 metres wide had been excavated within a square enclosure at Bosence. Approximately 5.5 metres down a *patera* was discovered and approximately 2 metres below this a pewter jug, a two handled *patera*, a mill stone, numerous bones and leather fragments

were discovered (Borlase, 1758). The interpretation of this site as a ritual shaft is further supported by the fact that the first *patera* found had been dedicated to Mars. An inscription on the base of the *patera* reads '*Aelius Modestus Deo Marti*' which translates as 'Aelius Modestus [dedicates this] to the god Mars' (Haverfield, 1924: 8; Penhallurick, 2009: 6). The shaft itself sits in the north-west corner of a rectilinear enclosure, suggested by Borlase to be a fort and the site has recently been suggested to be a signal station (Borlase, 1758; Penhallurick, 2009: 6), although it is more likely to have been constructed by a local group for domestic or perhaps ritual purposes.

The excavation of the round at Trethurgy produced evidence of a small polygonal structure close to the centre of the round. The structure belongs to occupation Stage 6, which dates to AD 375 – 400. The stone flooring within showed considerable wear and it is thought the building was in use for an extended period. One interpretation is that the structure was a store, being built to replace one of the earlier buildings. However, it is also suggested that the structure may have been a small shrine, like household shrines known from many other sites across the Roman world (Quinnell, 2004). If it did function as a shrine it is the only known household shrine within the study area.

Several votive figurines have been found in the region, the majority coming from Exeter, with six being found together in the eighteenth century. A further two were found within the military cemetery at the Valiant Soldier site, a figurine of Victory was part of a grave assemblage while the Panther figurine was found in a disturbed context. The report suggests the Panther is more likely to be of a later date and be related to civilian occupation of the town of *Isca Dumnoniorum*. The Panther was associated with the cult of Cybele, the Great Mother goddess (*Magna Mater*) more commonly worshipped by women (Henig, 1984: 39; Salvatore, 2001: 135). All these figurines apart from two are rendered in a highly classical style, suggesting they were imported, perhaps from Italy. However, a Mars figurine from the possible hoard is less well executed, although rendered in a classical style, and the mouse figurine from the fortress ditch is in a La Tène style and so may have been manufactured in Gaul or (less likely) Britain (Durham, 2012). The number of figurines from Exeter is hardly surprising given its use of as a fortress, housing the Second Legion, and then as a *civitas capital*. No temple or shrine has been excavated within the walls of the fortress and later town of *Isca Dumnoniorum*, however it is likely that such a site did exist. Clay pipe statuettes

of Venus, *Dea Nutrix* and a cockerel and two phalli sculptures are known from the town and are all objects with religious associations (Bidwell, 1980: 81-2). These suggest that at least one temple existed or even small household shrines.

A figurine of Jupiter is known from near Totnes in South Devon, while a figurine of Mars has recently been found near Cullompton in west Devon. No firm dating for either figurine has been established but it has been suggested that the Jupiter figurine may be second or third century in date and is likely to have been manufactured in Britain or Gaul (Henig and Saunders, 2005: 206-208; PAS). The size of both objects indicates they were votive offerings destined for deposition at a temple or shrine, which suggests there are unrecorded rural shrine sites in Devon.

The burial tradition within the region alters dramatically, with burial in cist cemeteries ceasing. The recently excavated sites of Penlee and Scarcewater, both in Cornwall, have produced the only Roman period burial evidence for the county. A cremation burial, dating to the late first or early second century AD was excavated at the site at Penlee. The burial, of an elderly woman interred in a Gabbroic ware jug, was placed within a small square enclosure, thought to be a cremation cemetery, and pits of burnt grain are suggested to be food offerings for the deceased (Taylor, 2006: 18). Two inhumation burials were excavated at the site of Scarcewater. The first was interred within a cist and the second in an unlined grave. The burials are thought to date to the third or fourth centuries AD, as a bowl of late Roman date was found within the cist style grave. The second grave contained a pair of hobnailed shoes, T-shaped brooch and a globular glass bead (Jones and Taylor, 2010).

A small number of burials are known from Devon, although all the early Roman period burials are of individuals linked to the military. Three cremations are known from the Valiant Soldier site at Exeter, while a single cremation was excavated recently outside the fort at Cullompton (Salvatore, 2001; Morris, 2013). Excavations outside the fortress at Exeter also revealed the remains of a mausoleum, thought to date to the fourth century AD. It is likely that this formed part of a larger cemetery, but no other burials were evident within the area excavated (Passmore, 2013: 7). Recent excavations at the site of Ipplepen in south Devon have revealed part of a roadside cemetery. Several graves produced grave goods, including a belt plate and several fourth century AD coins. The finds suggest a later Roman date for the beginnings of

the cemetery. A radiocarbon date obtained for the only individual excavated on the western side of the road, whose grave cut through the road and silted up roadside ditch, show the cemetery continued in use into the seventh century AD at least (Davey and Wood, 2014: 12).

A small cemetery has also been excavated at Topsham, with 13 graves being recorded cutting through the backfilled ditches of the small fort discussed above (Sage and Allan, 2004: 11). No traces of bone survived but the shape and presence of coffin nails confirm them to be graves. The presence of these nails and the fact all graves were inhumations suggests a mid to late Roman date. The excavators also suggest the presence of family groupings as a number of graves formed discrete groups (Sage and Allan, 2004: 20–22), although the lack of bone means this is difficult to prove.

The largest cemetery within the study region is that of Cannington near Bridgwater in Somerset, where a minimum of 542 burials have been excavated (Rahtz *et al.*, 2000: 83). Radiocarbon dating indicates that burials began in the Late Roman period and continued into the eighth century AD (Rahtz *et al.*, 2000: 31). Very few grave goods were found and indicates this was not normal practice for these people. However, where they do occur they are generally small items such as coins or knives. There were two richly furnished graves, in the context of the cemetery, which were both burials of children. Grave 405 contained a highly decorated penannular brooch and a decorated glass bead. The brooch indicates though this child was buried in the post Roman period. The second burial, Grave 407, though was likely Late Roman in date and contained a bracelet, an amber bead and a perforated coin of Allectus, likely worn as a pendant (Rahtz *et al.*, 2000: 84-91).

The burial tradition practised on the Isles of Scilly is the only one that does not show a break from Late Iron Age practices evident on the islands, with burial in cists continuing to be the predominant tradition. The small cemetery at Porthcressa dates to the Romano-British period and contained 10 cist graves and one earth cut grave. Several grave goods were recovered during the excavation, which suggest the cemetery was used from the first or second centuries AD until at least the third century AD (Ashbee, 1954; Johns, 2012: 100).

## 2.3 Towards a New Perspective

Due to evidence from recent commercial and research excavations our knowledge of the Roman south-west is developing, and it is now clear that the image of the region as largely unreceptive to Rome is one that can now no longer be supported. These excavations suggest that this region is not too dissimilar to other areas of Roman Britain.

Roadside settlements have only been confirmed in the region in the last 15 years, with three proposed at Pomeroy Wood, Woodbury and Shortlands Lane, all only known due to such work (Fitzpatrick, *et al.*, 1999; Weddell, *et al.*, 1993; Morris, 2013). It should be noted that the interpretation of Shortlands Lane as a roadside settlement is one reached here and is largely based on the ceramic assemblage. Morris (2013) suggested the site was part of an enclosed settlement, however, the fact the land had been divided into plots and the presence of high quantities of samian vessels and amphora fits better with a roadside settlement than a small rural site. The fact that the site is also located in Cullompton, close to the Roman fort, and that other excavations have shown contemporary occupation only a few hundred metres away (Bray and Morris, 2010; Hughes and Firth, 2011) point to a larger settlement.

The Ipplepen Project is a collaborative research project being undertaken by the British Museum, the Portable Antiquities Scheme, the University of Exeter and Devon County Council. In 2010 metal detectorists uncovered over 100 Roman coins scattered across the site. The finds were reported to the PAS which then led to the County Archaeologist commissioning a geophysical survey and evaluation of the site. The results were staggering, and subsequent seasons of excavation have confirmed that occupation of the site began during the Middle Iron Age and continued into the post Roman period. Excavations in 2014 revealed part of a metalled road, with at least three phases and a small area of a roadside cemetery, thought have begun in use during the fourth century AD. Subsequent radiocarbon dating of the only skeleton to be found west of the road, and whose grave was cut through the silted up roadside ditch, provided a date of seventh century AD, suggesting that the cemetery and settlement continued in use into the post Roman and early Medieval periods. More work needs to be done on the site to confirm the nature of the settlement, as domestic structures of Romano-British date are yet to be located. However, the material assemblage from the site suggests it may well prove to be another roadside settlement.

The hinterland of Exeter is becoming better understood, with the road connecting the town to the port at Topsham appearing to have been densely settled, with a range of site types and buildings now known along it. The most recent discovery is a large aisled house, thought to be two storeys high, which was constructed in the second century AD although evidence suggests occupation from the Late Iron Age through to the late third or early fourth centuries AD (Farnell, 2016). The villas of Membury, Overland, Otterton Point and Whitestaunton are also recent discoveries of the last 20 years (Smart and Pearce, 2011; Brown and Holbrook, 1989; Uglow, 2000; Wessex Archaeology, 2004).

The rural landscape is also now far better understood, with several previously unknown settlements across the region having been recorded through commercial excavation. The multi-phase sites of Tremough, Nancemere, Shepard's Lane, Aller Cross, Harepath Road and Hayes Farm for example, have all provided rich evidence of both domestic and industrial activity within the landscape, the site of Aller Cross having produced the richest finds assemblage yet recovered from the region (Enright, 1996; Gossip, 2005; Gossip and Jones, 2007; Higgins, 2009; Haines, 2012; Sims and Valentin, 2012; Hughes, forthcoming). Nearly 5000 sherds of Roman pottery were recovered from the recent excavation at Aller Cross, the largest by far from the region to date (Bidwell and Croom, forthcoming).

This has been supplemented by a major research project examining a series of enclosures at Bigbury Bay in south Devon, The Mount Folly Enclosures Project run by Dr Eileen Wilkes from Bournemouth University. The project is exploring the landscape of the bay and is focusing on two enclosures, located a very short distance apart. Excavation has shown that both enclosures were in use at the same time, with ceramic evidence suggesting a Late Iron Age date for occupation. The larger of the enclosures has a terrace at its centre, which was the focus of occupation. This appears to have been abandoned in the very Late Iron Age or at the beginning of the Roman period. The fills of the terrace include colluvial material with ceramics dating between the first to third centuries AD contained within. This indicates a site of Romano-British date exists further up the hill, although the exact location is yet to be discovered. Geophysical survey of the hillside has revealed a neighbouring enclosure, roughly square in shape, and evidence of a network of tracks and field boundaries. The material excavated from the site suggests these communities had links to international trade networks

with a brooch of Iberian type, similar to those found at Mount Batten and Harlyn Bay, having been found (Wilkes, 2015).

These excavations are shedding new light on the south-west and have produced a huge assemblage of material that tells a different story to the traditional view of this region in the Late Iron Age and Romano-British periods. It is this material that forms the basis of the analysis conducted throughout the rest of this thesis, which strengthens our knowledge of these communities and shows how they reacted to the Roman invasion and annexation of Britain.

# Chapter 3

## Material Culture and Identity

The Roman Empire is often described as the first 'global' empire with communities, both within and outside the bounds of the Empire, being more interconnected than ever before (Hingley, 2005; Pitts and Versluys, 2014). The wars of conquest in the early Imperial period opened up new markets for trade and stimulated the growth of the imperial economy. Production centres with inter-provincial (as well as extra provincial) distribution networks began to appear, such as the Samian production centres in Gaul, supplementing and replacing earlier fine ware production centres. More localised industries also began to appear within the provinces which focused on smaller market centres. These extra provincial and provincial economies developed due to a number of stimuli, including as a response to the burden of taxation and the development of a free market economy. The development of these economies created both regional and local foci for trade and led to the increase in the production of commodities for trade (Mattingly, 2011: 139). This led to large quantities of material being more freely available to a wider audience, something that is well attested to archaeologically.

The last few decades have witnessed a paradigm shift within Roman studies with more emphasis now being placed on material culture and its use in social practice, in an attempt to gain new insights into the meanings ascribed to objects. It is now recognised that objects play an active role in the creation and expression of identity in both the present and the past (Appadurai, 1989; Gosden and Marshall, 1999; Gosden, 2005). Understanding the way in which material was consumed throughout the Roman provinces allows for a more nuanced view of the people who lived and died within this Empire through the use of material culture (Eckardt, 2014; Pitts, 2010: 125). The quantity of material is no longer as important as *how* these artefacts were used to renegotiate and express identities within the power structures of the provinces and the wider Empire and it is this aspect that this chapter will focus on. It

will begin with defining the terms identity and material culture as these are the central elements of this thesis, and it is important to properly define how these terms will be used and applied throughout. This will be followed by a review of the theoretical frameworks used to interpret identity within the Roman World as it is the recent shift in these frameworks that has led to the increasing emphasis on material culture. It will then move on to a discussion of materiality and how artefacts (specifically those chosen for study here) shaped the cultural experience of the communities within the south-west.

### **3.1 Theorising Roman Studies**

Since the late nineteenth century the model of Romanisation has dominated theoretical discussions of society within the provinces of the Empire (Woolf, 1998; Webster, 2001; Hingley, 2005; Mattingly 2006, 2011; Cahill Wilson, 2012, 2014). Haverfield was the first to use the term Romanisation, building on work by Mommsen, to describe the process by which the provinces of the Roman Empire were 'given' civilisation. In his model the inhabitants of Britain were passive recipients of Roman material culture and language. This model was one of homogenisation, with the peoples in each province utilising the same material culture, dressing in the same way, speaking in Latin and using the Roman form of government (Haverfield, 1923: 18; Webster, 2001: 211; Mattingly, 2004: 5-6, 2011: 206). This model has been revised through time, most recently by Millett and his book *The Romanization of Britain* (1990). The model proposed by Millett is still based on the top down approach of Haverfield, focusing on the elite members of society. However, within this model of Romanisation they have been given an active role in the social, political and cultural change that occurred in the provinces after their incorporation into the Empire (1990). It has been argued that the process of Romanisation was coercive, with Rome providing the native elite access to Roman symbols of power which would have been used to demonstrate and reinforce their standing within society. It followed that the development of this relationship between Rome and the elites of native society led to urban centres in the Roman style being constructed and administered using the Roman system of government, based around *civitas* capitals (Millett, 1990 and 2005; Webster 2011). Through emulation, the lower ranks within society modelled themselves on

their own elites embracing and utilising the so called 'Roman' cultural packages, thus the provinces became Romanised (Millett, 1990).

Ultimately this approach produced a Roman vs native dichotomy in archaeological interpretation, whereby communities and settlements that did not exhibit the predetermined indicators that might support a shift towards 'Romanisation' were regarded as being resistant to social and cultural changes following the Roman invasion and annexation (Mattingly 2006, 2011; Hingley, 2005; Cahill Wilson, 2012, 2014). Under the Romanisation paradigm the lands traditionally ascribed to the Dumnonii are considered as laying outside the sphere of Roman control. The famous passage by Hencken (1932: 194) describing the "rude stone dwellings" that persisted in Roman Cornwall from the Iron Age suggests an impoverished people who chose to continue with their backwards way of life rather than embracing the comfort of a Roman lifestyle. The lack of developed urban centres, villa estates, temple sites and the low level of engagement with imported ceramics and other materials from the Roman world has been interpreted through the Romanisation model to suggest that the south-west peninsula was never fully integrated into the province of Britannia. The lack of a well-defined social elite (see Todd, 1987: 167; Cripps, 2007: 153) to negotiate their place in the new power structures meant that the Roman style infrastructure seen elsewhere in the province failed to develop.

In recent years the Romanisation paradigm has been heavily critiqued. Roman culture is now recognised for its malleability and fluidity as an entity that was itself changed by contact with other cultures (Gosden and Lock, 2003). What is seen as 'Roman' elsewhere cannot be used as a benchmark for 'Romanisation' in Britain and it should be expected that different people had different relations with Rome and the cultural aspects associated with the Empire (Woolf, 1995, Hingley, 2005).

In tackling this issue Mattingly has proposed the theory of discrepant identity, which focuses on the heterogeneous nature of societies and the way they used material culture (2011: 208). This builds on the arguments made by Woolf (1998: 11), who stated that "becoming Roman was not a matter of acquiring a ready-made cultural package, then, so much as joining the insider's debate about what that package did or ought to consist of at that particular time". Discrepant identity theory shows that people interpreted and adapted aspects of the Roman cultural package to suit the needs of themselves and their communities and it was not

necessary to build rectilinear stone buildings or formal towns, or to exploit the full range of imported ceramics and other personal items in order to *be* Roman (Mattingly, 2004, 2006). At the core of this theoretical model is the idea that the creation of identities within the provinces of the Empire was closely linked to the power structures of the Imperial system. The conquest of new territories would have changed the political systems of the conquered peoples and implemented a new power dynamic. The negotiations between these peoples and the Roman state would have varied from region to region and would have differed in its impact depending on the social position of groups and individuals (Mattingly, 2004, 2006, and 2011). It is these power imbalances within society that created the differing levels of access groups had to material from the Roman world and so produced a 'discrepant' experience of empire.

The model of globalisation is also becoming popular within Roman studies, having already been in use for over two decades in the social sciences. The concept has been used to discuss the economic structures of the modern world, such as the recent global recession and the rise of capitalist consumer culture (Hingley, 2005: 1; Pitts and Versluys, 2014: 10). It has become increasingly apparent in the last decade that the concept may also be applicable to the ancient Roman world. Globalisation is hard to define in strict terms and has been interpreted differently by researchers, although its use in archaeology focuses on the increasing interconnectedness of communities and territories (Gardner, 2013: 6; Pitts and Versluys, 2014: 11; Hingley, 2005: 1-2). Globalisation is seen as an unequal process that helped to create social imbalance. A Roman elite culture was created through negotiation with the structures of empire while the majority of the population had a much more fragmentary experience, engaging with only certain aspects of material culture from the Roman world (Hingley, 2005: 118; Gardner, 2013: 8). Although the concept is perhaps slightly problematic it cannot be ignored when interpreting aspects of the Roman world. The mass production and consumption of goods, in some cases transported far across the empire and beyond, shows that the provinces of the empire were very much connected. The diversity of each province within this interconnected world and the differing levels of engagement with the Imperial system can be interpreted through globalisation.

In recent studies Pitts (2008, 2015) has suggested that globalisation theory is well suited to the study of mass consumption in the Roman world. Through globalisation different networks

of consumption that operated within local, regional and interprovincial scales can be identified and it allows communities who were connected to be examined by us at these levels, regardless of modern borders. This kind of study allows a more detailed picture of these communities and helps us to explore why they participated in or were excluded from certain aspects of culture (Pitts, 2015: 93). Unlike the Romanisation paradigm, globalisation considers the fact that change operated both ways: material change in the Roman period was not just driven by a desire to become Roman. Through analysis of pottery assemblages from his case study region in the south-east of England Pitts was able to highlight that even though communities began to use more standardised forms of pottery after the conquest, they were used on both high and low status settlements to re-form local identities, the process of 'glocalisation'. Broadly speaking global material culture was being used to renegotiate traditional forms of social practice (Pitts, 2008: 494-500).

### **3.2 Identity**

In the last twenty years identity has become a key concept in the study of the Roman Empire as theoretical dialogues have shifted to focus on the discrepancies evident in the archaeological record within and between the provinces and within communities in the provinces. The archaeology of the provinces shows that there was not a singular Roman identity and that communities and individuals each differed in their interpretations of what it was to become 'Roman' (Mattingly, 2006, 2011; Woolf, 1998).

Identity can be defined as a set of characteristics, both behavioural and/or personal, that both identify and differentiate individuals and groups from each other (Hodos, 2010: 3). These characteristics allow individuals to identify themselves with a broader group and in opposition to one another. Identity, although embedded in daily routines, is not static and is continually altered and (re)defined by day to day cultural and social interactions (Jones, 1997: 13-14, Jenkins, 2004). Identity is multifaceted and aspects that influence and define a person's or a group's identity are numerous and include status, wealth, age, gender, religion, literacy and origin. Although these are in many ways situational and vary greatly depending on individual circumstance, they would also have been embedded within the overarching social structure

of the group or community. The power dynamics of the social structure would have been a defining factor in the negotiation of identity in the ancient world, as they influenced who was included or excluded from social rituals (Pitts, 2007; Mattingly, 2011).

The term identity has come under increasing scrutiny, in particular Brubaker and Cooper (2000: 1) suggested that it may be time to move beyond identity as the term is so ambiguous. They suggest a number of other analytical expressions that have clearer meanings and so may be more helpful. One of these is the idea of groupness- “the sense of belonging to a distinctive, bounded, solidary group” (*ibid*: 19-20). Mattingly has recently suggested that this may be a better way of analysing identity in the archaeological record and how material culture was used by societies. He suggests that looking at identity on a group level, for example examining a settlement be that a town or simply a small rural settlement, will allow archaeologists to analyse the wider picture and highlight patterns in the spread, use and deposition of artefacts (Mattingly, 2014). It should be noted that these groups are not bounded by the use of a specific artefact assemblage, similar to the culture history model discussed below, a group is defined as a settlement or community of people who may or may not use similar material culture to any other group in the study region. Identity at a group level is governed by social rules and although it is not static and can evolve over time it does so at a slower pace than individual identity, which can in some cases alter daily depending on the circumstances (Meskell, 2001: 189; Mattingly, 2014; Roymans, 2004: 2).

Romanists have been slower than researchers within the social sciences to begin to unpick identity as a discrete term, although its ambiguity and the danger of applying it without strict definitions of how it is being used has been noted by some (Pitts, 2007: 693; Mattingly, 2014). Identity as a term, can though be used as an analytical tool if it is used properly and its meaning clearly defined, it can produce meaningful results. The dominant form of settlement within the study region investigated here is small enclosed settlements; each housing an extended family or small community and so the approach taken throughout this thesis is one of analysing identity through the idea of groupness. These settlements can be seen as small groups and through analysis of the distribution and deposition of certain artefact types it may be possible to suggest the existence of larger groups, made up of a number of these smaller groups. It may also be possible to discern patterning of artefacts within individual sites, which

may provide a window on personal identity, but this is constrained by the levels of recording undertaken by the excavators.

### **3.3 Material Culture**

Material culture is a very broad term as it encompasses everything that has been made or had its state altered by humans, this ranges from river pebbles used as ballast to houses and other man-made structures (Hurcombe, 2007: 3-7). Archaeology is inherently concerned with the study of objects and the material world, making sense of objects and understanding how they were produced and consumed helps to paint a picture of the past. Artefact studies have evolved through time, being influenced by shifting theoretical paradigms. Traditionally they have focused on producing corpora of artefact types, which classified objects into typologies that aided in object identification and dating, all of which are descriptive rather than analytical. The culture historical approach, which dominated archaeology in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, is another descriptive approach. It recognised that it may be possible to discern distinct ethnic groupings of people through the spatial and temporal distribution of bounded cultural packages (see Childe, 1935; Jones, 1997: 16, 25; Trigger, 2006: 233). This was based on the idea that the culture of each group was based on a set of shared ideals that were passed down through generations. Where change occurred, it was generally thought to be a slow internal process, whereas sudden change was due to external factors (Jones, 1997: 24-25).

Culture history as a paradigm has been largely debunked and by the 1980s the functionality of objects and their role within economic structures had become the focus once more, with the study of artefact meaning beginning to emerge (Eckardt, 2014: 7-8; Gosden and Marshall, 1999: 169). With the emergence of the post-processual movement the concept of agency began to gain purchase, through the idea that people were active agents in the construction of both their cultural and social worlds. Material culture was recognised to be intentionally shaped and used by “knowledgeable” human agents (Barrett, 2001: 141). It was also recognised that material culture was not merely a passive entity within agency but that artefacts played an active role in the shaping of social practice. As Eckardt (2014: 9) states

“artefacts are tangible manifestations of social relationships; objects reflect and shape the belief system of those who made and used them”. Artefacts are then socially constituted objects which are able to impact upon the actions of the societies who utilised them. It follows that changes in the relationships between people and objects indicates shifts in social contexts. These changes in turn lead to the renegotiation of the meaning of objects, bringing about new relationships between people and objects (Jervis, 2014: 25).

This idea that the agency of objects allows them to be transformed through time and that the meanings ascribed to them alters in differing social situations has led to the development of the study of object biographies. Objects have life histories that can be tracked from birth through to death. The meanings of objects throughout their lives are fluid and dependant on their situation (Kopytoff, 1986; Gosden and Marshall, 1999: 169-170). Objects then have multiple meanings throughout their lives, but they are also capable of having several meanings at any given point in time (Joy, 2009; Eckardt, 2014). Unpicking and understanding these relationships, how they formed and the impact they had, is the challenge faced by archaeologists. Object biographies do not just reflect the identities of the people they come into contact with, rather as shown by Jervis (2014: 103), it is the way objects form relationships with people, other objects and the spaces they act in that can show us how meaning was acquired and the effect that these meanings had on people and situations. The way objects interact with their surroundings can lead to the formation of multiple identities.

One or more of the relationships an object forms over the course of its life can lead to it being imbued with memory, although the study of the role objects played in the creation and maintenance of social memory is still in its infancy (Williams, 2006: 13). Social memory can be defined as the “selective remembering and active forgetting of the past” by societies (Williams, 2006: 2). It is not a fixed view of the past but is something that is constantly reproduced through acts of remembrance as well as the conscious forgetting of aspects of their past (Eckardt 2004; Forty 1999: 1–18; Van Dyke and Alcock, 2003: 3; Williams 2006: 2). Objects, people and places can all be imbued with memory, which allowed societies to actively recreate memories through performative acts (Williams, 2006: 20).

It is possible perhaps to take this a step further and suggest that the incorporation of new objects, new items of material culture, into traditional practices allowed people to adapt to

changing situations whilst still actively recreating memories of their social past. This would have allowed them to adjust to changes in their world view (in this instance the new power structures implemented after the Roman conquest) while keeping traditional practices alive and allowing their sense of belonging and community to be re-formed in the face of these changes. This can be seen in the way new ceramic forms were incorporated into everyday life, the ready consumption of new forms did not necessarily mean they were used in the way intended or that new customs had been universally accepted and incorporated into social practice (Pitts, 2008: 501).

### **3.4 Theoretical Perspectives**

There is no singular theoretical framework that would allow the multiple material datasets used in this research to be fully interpreted without obscuring the nuances of the data. It should be stated though that the Romanisation paradigm is not used at all here. As discussed above this paradigm reduces identity to binary opposites rather than allowing its multifaceted nature to be explored. It is likely using this framework would simply split the region in two, with the small area around Exeter and the Exe valley being Romanised and the rest unromanised. This was certainly not the case though, and the datasets show it was much subtler and fluid, changing over time and in different ways for each of the communities.

As will become clear, the dominant theme throughout this thesis is that of *memory*. The way new material culture was consumed by communities within the study region can be seen to have affected their social memory and equally this memory effected the way in which these objects were used and the relationships they formed with people and their surroundings. It is clear in the following analysis that in some cases material was incorporated into social practice and it altered these practices. In these cases, the change evident in the material assemblages utilised was sustained and became part of everyday life, ultimately leading to new social practices that once embedded undoubtedly led to the creation of new social memories. Elsewhere change, particularly in the production of local ceramics, was used to reinforce local and regional identities that had been forged in the Late Iron Age. The way new forms and fabrics were incorporated into daily life clearly shows some communities took

great care to keep traditional practices alive, by the use of certain clays in ceramic production or the careful use of new dining forms only in imported fabrics. In the case of adornment items some became linked to the conquest and the period of upheaval that followed. The new identities negotiated by communities around this time became bound up with these objects, which would have become outward symbols of their place within the new power structures. These identities were not sustained however and eventually the communities chose to actively forget this period of their past and so the objects associated with it.

These communities actively participated in the incorporation of these objects into their daily lives and then, in some cases, actively chose to forget this new identity. The theoretical overarching frameworks discussed earlier used for interpreting material and identity in the Roman world, discrepant identity and globalisation, are especially useful here if we focus on the element of memory within them. They suggest that new identities were consciously formed with people consuming material that suited their own ends thereby using it to re-form local identities (Mattingly, 2004, 2006, 2011; Pitts, 2008, 2015). How these communities then used and eventually deposited this material became actively framed as part of their social memory that was either purposefully re-enacted or deliberately forgotten. The concepts within both of these frameworks are used here alongside the idea of memory, to interpret the data collected for this research. It is though important to note that these theoretical models and ideas have not been imposed on the data. The trends evident and discussed in the following chapters, are not always evident or readily discernible across each community and it is only by allowing the data to speak for itself that the impact new material culture had on the communities of the south-west and the relationships forged between people and objects will become clear.

# Chapter 4

## Research Methodology

The main aim of this research is to enhance our understanding of the Romano-British period in the south-west and how society and the way identity was created and expressed was altered by the invasion and annexation of Britain. This will be achieved through analysis of the material cultural record of the region, in particular examination of the personal adornment items, ceramics and coins found within the area dating to the Late Iron Age through to the end of the Romano-British period. Looking at which objects were used, how they were used and where within the landscape they are found will allow insights into how social practices changed through time and if these changes were widespread or confined to particular areas. This will type of analysis will have a further impact, allowing the discussion of whether the peoples in the south-west were a single political group, or if their labelling as such has actually masked a number of smaller groupings who had subtly different social practices and beliefs.

In order to allow the interrogation and interpretation of the artefactual record each artefact fitting the chosen criteria (ceramic, personal adornment and coins) were collated into a database. This chapter introduces the database, discussing why this approach was chosen, data selection methods, the layout of the tables within, how it was interrogated and how the results were mapped through GIS. The discussion then moves on to look at the dataset itself. A number of different sources were used to provide material for the database and a number of problems were encountered, such as differing quantification methods used by the different specialists and the varying quality of the reports all of which has impacted upon the amount of usable data available to complete the study. These issues and their solutions will be discussed as will the effect this had on the end results.

## **4.1 Data Collation and Presentation**

This section will outline how the database has been structured and why. This will include details on the tables included within the database and the information stored in each. This will move on to look at how the data can be interrogated before finally introducing the GIS mapping.

### **4.1.1 The Database Structure**

The data on which this research is based was collated into a Microsoft Access database 2016, which includes information on the archaeological sequence of each site as well as the material assemblage. This approach was taken due to the sheer quantity of material to be assessed. The database was designed and structured so that all sites excavated within the south-west are detailed in a Site table, with each site having a unique site ID number. For each site the main information documented in the table is; the name, site type, site location, grid reference, comments, archaeological phasing and bibliographic references.

Linked to the Site table are the 3 artefact tables; Ceramics, Personal Item and Coins. These each have one or more sub-tables linked to them that contain type data, such as the fabric type names for the ceramics, or the personal adornment type categories, which are used to input some of the more standard data into the entries within each table, see Figure 4.1. Each of the material assemblage tables follows roughly the same format, with the site name, object type, material and quantity data entered, although this has been tailored for each category, see Appendix 2 for more detail. The design of the tables is based around the research questions designed for each material category, which are detailed in the introduction of each analysis chapter. Although it has not always been possible to fill each field, breaking the data down to this level of detail has allowed the interrogation of the data to be as in depth as possible to answer the research questions posed by this thesis. Linking these tables to the Site tables has also allowed distinctions between sites to be discerned through data patterning and anomalies. It has also made it possible to look at changes to assemblages over time.

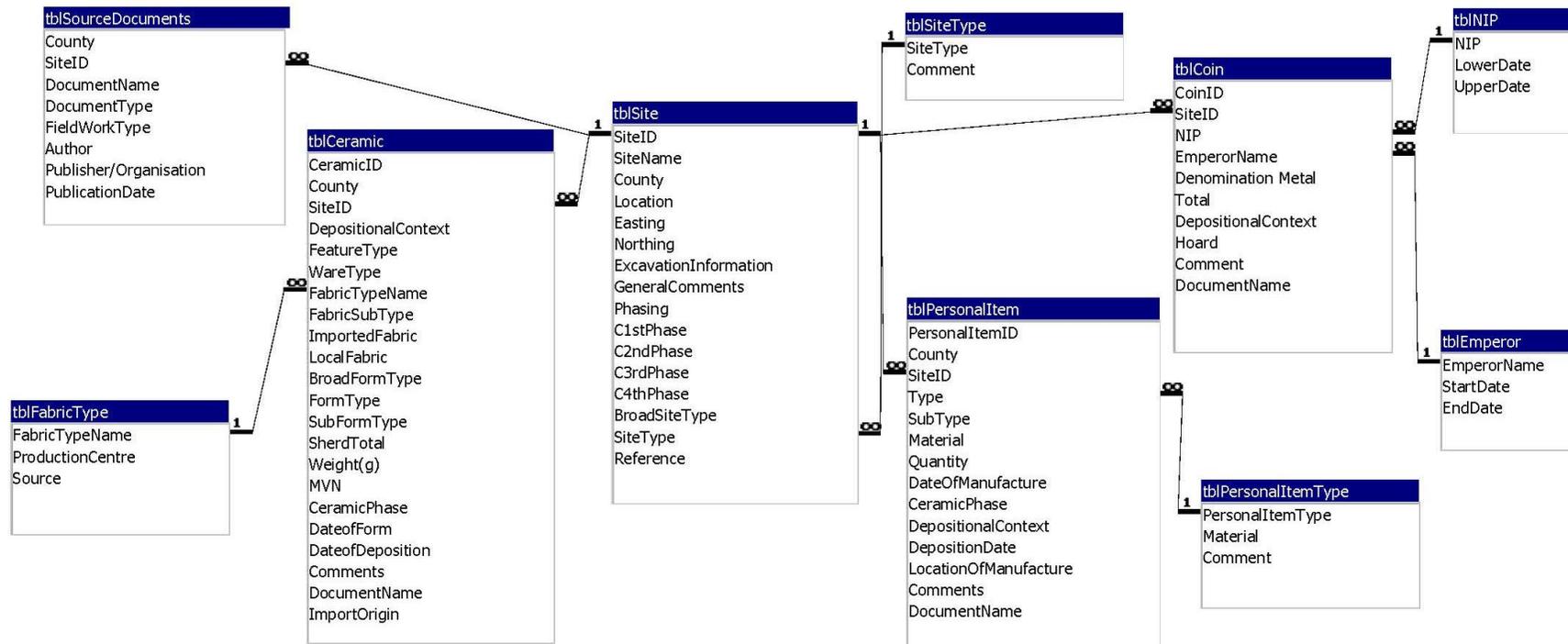


Figure 4.1: The tables held within the database created for this thesis are shown in the image, detailing the fields within each table. The relationships that link the tables are also shown.

As discussed below and in the personal adornment and coins analysis chapters, the small numbers of artefacts found through excavation for these two categories led to the decision to supplement the excavation data with that held by the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS). The PAS was set up in 1997, in response to the Treasure Act of 1996 and was designed to encourage reporting of detectorist finds. Since its inception over 1 million artefacts have been recorded (<https://finds.org.uk>). These are mainly metal detector finds and so coverage of a region is dependent upon there being active detectorists who record their finds. This can lead to a problem of under-representation and bias within the PAS database. The data gathered by the PAS was very easy to use and searches of the database can be downloaded as csv files, which can be imported into a database. The data captured for each find category was far more detailed than required for this study though and unnecessary fields were removed from the data. Even with these fields removed the data was still formatted differently to that held within the master database and so it was decided to create a separate database for the PAS data, see Appendix 2 for details on the tables and fields, with the csv files were then imported into this. Exported data from queries could be combined with the excavated data in Excel to produce charts and tables, as well as within GIS to map the distributions of both datasets.

As the PAS only began recording finds in 1997 it does not provide a fully comprehensive list of findspots, with few finds pre-1997 being recorded. This material has been collated in the past by the Historic Environment Records (HER) officers that operate within each county. To ensure that all artefacts were considered the HER databases were consulted and finds not recorded through the PAS were added to the data. The main issue faced was the different methods of entry and differing levels of data recorded by each HER. There are seven HERs within the study region; Cornwall and Scilly HER, Devon HER, Dartmoor National Park HER, Exmoor National Park HER, Exeter HER, Plymouth HER and Somerset HER. Each has a different way of recording, which meant that data gathered needed substantial cleaning and formatting before it could be used in any meaningful way. The data then had to be cross checked against the PAS data and to ensure no duplication of data had occurred before being added to the tables within the PAS database.

The main difference between the excavation and PAS/HER datasets was the lack of contextual data for PAS finds. Any interpretation of material culture relies on context for it to have any meaning. Context is described by Shanks and Tilley as “sets of relationships which bestow meaning” (1992; xix). In an archaeological sense this is usually thought of as the depositional context details of which are contained in the excavation database. Through analysis of context it is possible to begin to understand the meaning bestowed on these objects by the individuals and communities who possessed them. This lack of contextual data led to me excluding the PAS data from my some of the analysis conducted in the personal adornment chapter, the biographical analysis of these objects in particular, see Chapter 5, Section 5.2. However, it was used alongside the excavation data throughout the analysis of the coins without issue.

#### **4.1.2 Interrogation of the Dataset and GIS Mapping**

The interrogation of the data has been arranged around the overall aims and objectives as outlined in Chapter 1. The detailed information contained in each of the material assemblage has allowed the data to be queried in a number of ways, with both broad dataset questions being asked, the numbers of fine ware vessels versus the number of coarse ware vessels for example, and much narrower questions, such as the number of flagons in fine ware fabrics within in Cornwall. Microsoft Access has an in-built query function which allows you to run queries within each table. The fields contained in each table were specifically designed to allow these queries to pull out as much data as possible to answer each question. The queries are capable of extracting all samian vessels entered into the Ceramic table for example, while all copper alloy coins minted under Claudius can be pulled out of the Coin table and compared to the numbers of silver coins from the same period. The query function also allows you to link tables, so querying the material data will also then show you what site type this material is found on. For example, it is possible to ask the database to look for fine ware fabrics dating the Late Romano-British period and the site types these are found on. A search such as this will allow me to show whether these fabrics are confined to high status sites or whether they are found on a broad range of sites. This then allows me to interpret who was using this material and comparing by differences from the preceding period to show how the use of these vessels had changed and why.

The database also allows these queries and the tables to be exported into Microsoft Excel. These can then be turned into pivot charts so graphic representations of the data can be produced. Charts have been used extensively throughout the proceeding chapters to show how the total levels of material and how this has altered through time and between the different areas within the study region.

The database has also been linked to a geographic information systems package, ArcGIS v10.2. The background mapping was created through the use of Ordnance Survey Terrain 50 tiles downloaded from the Edina Digimap Service, along with a polygon of the United Kingdom coastline and line data for the rivers and Roman roads; copyright © Crown Copyright and Database Right 2018. Ordnance Survey (Digimap Licence). The tiles were then shaded using the colour ramps in built into ArcGIS v10.2 and standard symbology was used to show different elements of the data within each map.

Using ArcGIS has allowed me to map the distributions of artefacts across the landscape. Mapping the distribution of artefacts has allowed me to analyse how widespread changes within material assemblages were. It has also allowed me to see patterning within the data, how coins are largely found along the trade routes throughout the entire research period for example, discussed in Chapter 7. Mapping the results of queries in this way has allowed the nuances in the data to become clear and so a detailed picture of how society and the identity of the inhabitants of the study region changed over time has been able to be given in the analysis chapters.

An aim of this research is to critically assess the validity of continuing to think of these peoples as having belonged to one tribe, the Dumnonii. Mapping the material data in this way has allowed this discussion to move forward. The distribution of the material has shown that these communities are likely to have formed a number of groupings, discussed fully in Chapter 8.

## 4.2 The Data

In this section the material that has been entered into the database will be introduced and the methodology used to gather and process the data will be discussed. The issues faced during this process and the solutions to these problems will also be discussed. Lastly any biases that may be inherent in the data will also be highlighted. The methodologies detailed below will also be re-capped in each of the analysis chapters, which will include some discussion on the theoretical aspects of the methodology used to gather and quantify the data used during this study.

### 4.2.1 The Ceramics

All the ceramic data entered into the database was drawn from ceramic reports found within excavation reports. Of the three categories of artefacts chosen for this research, ceramics proved the most difficult to enter so that the data was capable of being used in a meaningful way. Ceramics have largely been ignored by studies looking at material culture and identity as the issues are well known (Smith *et al.*, 2016: 13-14). The issues are related to the fact that different specialists use different quantification methods, which makes collating data for large regional studies difficult.

Quantification provides researchers with numerical data enabling comparisons of assemblages. At a basic level this allows inter assemblage comparisons, so the percentage of cooking pots to plates can be analysed, for example. On a higher-level quantification allows analysis of social aspects within the site, different activities that took place and where within the site can be interpreted from the ceramic forms for example. Regional, national and international trade networks can also be assessed based on the fabric types. Proportions of local versus imported fabrics can suggest the mechanisms for local trade and exchange networks and provide insight into the local economy (Fulford and Huddleston, 1991: 6-7).

There are a number of different quantification methods used by specialists, each with their own advantages and disadvantages. The first is sherd count, which appears in every report contained within the database. This is a fast method, but it does not consider breakage rate, so finer wares with a higher breakage rate will over-estimated (Fulford and Huddleston, 1991:

7). If this is not considered it could lead to a disproportionate view of the percentage of fine wares, skewing the analysis.

The second popular method is sherd weight. This will have an opposite effect as the coarser wares are generally heavier and so will appear to make up the bulk of the assemblage (Fulford and Huddleston, 1991: 7). This of course may not be the case, with the true number of coarse ware vessels present on the site being less than the number of fine ware vessels. If not considered, then this again could skew the analysis and alter the interpretation of the site or sites.

The last method most commonly used is Estimated Vessel Equivalents (EVEs). This method uses part of the vessel that can be measured as a fraction of the whole pot to show how much of the pot survives. Rim sherds are generally used as they can be measured using a rim chart, allowing the percentage of the rim surviving to be obtained (Orton and Hughes, 1993: 210). This method allows specialists to work out how many surviving vessels of each type are contained within the assemblage. This allows statistical analysis on the different forms that make up the assemblage to be carried out (Baxter and Cool, 1995: 89–90). This method though relies on having these identifiable sherds present within an assemblage, and being able to identify a form type, which is not always the case. If not all specialists use this method then it also does not allow statistical analysis of large regional datasets such as this.

No single quantification method was used consistently through all the reports accessed and as one of the main aims of the ceramic analysis was to quantify which fabrics and forms were most common I decided to calculate a Minimum Number of Vessels (MNV) to try and overcome this issue. In a number of instances specialists had included MNV counts for the ceramic assemblage. Where this was not the case I followed the guidelines set out in the methodological paper by Voss and Allen (2010). There are a number of factors to consider when calculating MNV represented by the sherds in an assemblage. Sherds with similar attributes can be assigned to a group that represents a MNV, so all fine grey ware body sherds for example may have come from multiple vessels or one vessel. The MNV would be 1 as there is no way to be sure of multiple vessels. All sherds with unique attributes can be considered as 1 MNV, while there are sherds that may fit more than one MNV group, for

example undiagnostic Gabbroic sherds may have come from a bowl or a jar. These sherds need to be discounted (Voss and Allen, 2010: 1).

Using these guidelines calculating the MNV was relatively straight forward. Where sherds from unique forms had been described in the report and where sherds have been illustrated, they were input as 1 vessel, unless the discussion stated more of these vessels were present, then the figure given was used. If a figure hadn't been given the MNV was input as 2 in order not to grossly overestimate the number. This provided a MNV of 9663 vessels to use in the analysis. This method does underestimate the true number of vessels that were consumed in the study region, as highlighted by a test study conducted to ensure it worked. The method was tested against the report for the ceramics from Trethurgy, as the report provided a MNV for the fabrics identified, totalling 550 vessels. The methodology used for this study provided an MNV of 309 and it is thought the discrepancy was due to the way the Gabbroic wares had been discussed as the numbers of sherds/vessels and the depositional contexts were not as clear as those for the imported ceramics is. This highlights the issue of underestimation, although this is preferred here to overestimation. Both create, to some extent, a slightly misleading picture of the changes that were occurring in the region and will hamper interpretations of the ceramic data. Overestimation of vessel numbers will though go beyond what the data can support, while interpretations based on the results of my method will be supported although may fall slightly short of the bigger overall picture.

The aims of the research could only be met by analysing trends in ceramic use through time. The easiest way to achieve this was to analyse ceramics based on their dates of manufacture, which are known for many of the fabrics and forms thanks to previous work (see Holbrook and Bidwell, 1991; Quinnell, 2004; Tyers, 1996). For many of the local fabrics, the forms produced remained unaltered over long time periods, for example the Trethurgy Type 4 jars were produced for over two centuries (Quinnell, 2004). This meant that narrow date ranges, such as those possible to give to forms in fabrics such as Samian, were unable to be assigned to these fabrics and forms. In some cases, for fabrics not recognised before, the date is unknown and so had to be provided based on other known forms found in the same context. Where form was unknown the date ranges of the fabric were used, although again this has provided long date ranges in some cases. Assigning dates for the sherds this way produced a

list of over 30 dates and date ranges, which made patterning within the data when plotted into tables and charts extremely difficult to identify. It was decided that this was not a suitable way to analyse change through time.

To overcome this I devised a series of six Ceramic Phases (CPs) that encompass the entire date range spanned by the dates of manufacture for each fabric in the database. These are;

**Ceramic Phase 1:** Mid to Late Iron Age (C4th-C1st BC)

**Ceramic Phase 2:** Late Iron Age (C3rd BC- early C1st BC)

**Ceramic Phase 3:** Late Iron Age to Roman transition (mid C1st BC- early C1st AD)

**Ceramic Phase 4:** Early to Mid Romano-British period (mid C1st-mid C2nd AD)

**Ceramic Phase 5:** Mid to Late Romano-British period (late C2nd- mid C4th AD)

**Ceramic Phase 6:** Late Romano-British period to Post Roman period (late C4th- early C5th AD)

The use of CPs allows manufacture dates to be grouped and displayed together, so instead of displaying the 5 dates and date ranges that encompass the fabrics and forms produced during the mid to late Roman period separately, they are all grouped into CP5. Using these CPs the data becomes far more user friendly and changes in patterns of consumption through time are much easier to identify.

The ceramic phases were designed following the methodology used by the team who conducted a study of the consumption of artefacts in Late Iron Age and Roman Essex (Perring and Pitts, 2013). The team here created 11 CPs that covered much shorter periods of time. They used stratified groups of ceramics from sites and assigned them to a project CP, allowing them to show changes in consumption within relatively short time periods as well as changes over longer periods. Many of the sites used for my research were excavated before the advent of commercial archaeology and the stratigraphy of these sites is not reliable and in many cases, it is difficult to piece together from the discussion. Due to this it was not possible for me to follow this methodology exactly. Using my model periods of change should be visible in the data however, shorter term trends will not be as visible as longer-term trends. Changes over short periods within site assemblages will also be difficult to see although not impossible.

Due to the extended production of South Western Decorated Wares (SWD ware), which were produced for over 300 years and remained largely unchanged, a Middle Iron Age phase, CP1 has been included in the data. In most cases the reports did not provide a tight date for the SWD ware, stating only that it was produced between the fourth to first centuries BC, and so it has not been possible to exclude what may have been Middle Iron Age vessels. Although this is likely to increase the Minimum Number of Vessels count for the Late Iron Age it is unlikely to bias the data in a detrimental way as only 22 sites of Late Iron Age date are recorded in the data. The lack of Late Iron Age sites within the database has already served to artificially lower the number of ceramics of this date. This should reduce the Middle Iron Age bias, as the minimum number of vessels for CP1 and 2 is unlikely to be a true reflection of ceramic use in the region during the Middle and Late Iron Age.

Another objective of the ceramic analysis is the examination of the form types consumed. The form types for each database entry are standard form types for this period and they were taken from the reports consulted. I would like to assess changing eating and dining habits as these are important indicators of changing social practices. To enable this I grouped the forms into broader categories, with Tableware and Drinking Vessels being of particular interest for the purposes of the study. These forms included in these two broad categories are;

- Tableware – bowl, bowl/dish, dish, plate and platter. All of these forms were used to serve and consume food in individual portions.
- Drinking Vessels – beaker, cup, flagon, tankard.

One final issue has been where fabric and form types have not been assigned by the specialist, as these categories are central to the analysis conducted here. This has largely been due to sherds being too small and not exhibiting any diagnostic features or not the fabric type not having been encountered previously. In these instances, I was unable to assign a fabric or form to these sherds. They have been entered into the database as unclassified fabric types and unknown forms. From a total of 9663 vessels, 675 vessels have no form attributed and 1,264 vessels have no fabric type. There are 102 vessels that have neither. These vessels are not able to be used for the analysis of consumption patterns of specific forms and fabrics through time. This has meant they have been omitted from the discussion of change through

time, although they have been used in discussions of total numbers of vessels so as not to create any further bias.

#### **4.2.2 Personal Adornment Objects**

The data for the personal adornment items entered into the database was initially gathered from excavation reports. This though only provided 1133 objects for analysis, 370 of which come from a single site. As discussed above it was decided to use the data held by the PAS, which increased the data to 1423.

The incorporation of the PAS data does go some way to eliminating the bias inherent within the data gathered from excavation reports. Modern excavations are development led and so have tended to be focused in the areas around the modern towns and cities within the region. This means that few excavations have occurred in the more rural areas and so mapping the excavation data would show these areas as largely devoid of personal adornment objects. This though does not accurately reflect what was happening within the region during the Late Iron Age and Romano-British periods. The inclusion of the PAS data though does allow some of these gaps in the landscape to be filled, as detectorists tend to search locations within these rural areas.

The objects chosen for incorporation into the study were based on Crummy's items of personal adornment as discussed in the small finds from Colchester Volume (1983). Crummy listed nine categories of personal adornment items in this volume, most of which had sub-types assigned to them. These categories are (Crummy, 1983: 7-54);

- Brooch
- Hairpin
- Bead
- Armlet
- Finger Ring
- Earrings

- Miscellaneous Jewellery
- Buckle and Belt Plate
- Hobnail

The object types Crummy used have generally been used although a separate category of neck ring had to be created and the few instances of intaglios being found minus their rings led to me separating these from the finger ring category. Armlets have been termed bracelets and the only miscellaneous jewellery from the region was a pendant, which was entered as such. It was also decided at the outset to include toilet implements in this category. Although these are not adornment items they are used in the manipulation of the body, altering the way individuals looked and so the way they perceived themselves as well as the way they were viewed by others (Hill, 1997: 100). As adornment items were used in a comparable way (Jundi and Hill, 1997: 125; Olsen, 2008: 1) it was decided toilet implements and sets should not be excluded.

As with the ceramics, in order to aid discussion of these objects they were grouped into broader categories of Jewellery, Dress and Dress Fittings and Toilet Implements. These categories make changes in the composition of adornment assemblages easier to discuss in general terms. These categories include;

- Jewellery - beads, bracelets, brooches, earrings, finger rings, hairpins, intaglios, neck rings and pendants.
- Dress and Dress Fittings - belt plates, buckles strap ends and hobnails.
- Toilet implements - tweezers, nail cleaners, ear scoops, as well as chatelaines.

As with the other two artefact categories, analysis of changing consumption and use of these objects through time will form a major part of the examination of personal adornment objects. It was decided that the best way to achieve this was again through the date of manufacture of these objects, as a date or date range could be applied to all objects in the database. Using the date of deposition was ruled out as this is unknown for the PAS data and excluding it from this part of the analysis would risk skewing the results in an unfavourable

way. For ease of discussion and consistency, each object was assigned to a Ceramic Phase, the same as the ceramic data.

The issue with using these phases has been assigning a tight date of manufacture to each of the objects, which has unfortunately not been possible to do with all the beads, hobnails and bracelets. Beads were manufactured in Britain prior to the Roman conquest and many of the sub-types were manufactured without alteration for long periods which makes assigning tight dates of manufacture very difficult (Foulds, 2017). A similar issue has been encountered with the hobnails, although these were new to Britain in the Romano-British period, they do not alter through the 400 or so years of Roman rule and so most have only been assigned dates of first to fourth centuries AD in the reports. This means that all hobnails and approximately 75% of the beads held within the database span two or more ceramic phases, meaning they were not able to be used in the analysis of change through time. They were however, used in the discussion of total numbers of these objects across the region so as to limit the bias of the dating has created.

### **4.2.3 Coins**

As with the personal adornment items, the coin data was gathered from both excavation reports and the PAS database, to provide enough data for meaningful analysis. The nature of the coin evidence is discussed in detail in Chapter 7, however as stated above combining the two data sets provided a total of 2611 coins and 131 hoards for the analysis.

As there are different ways of analysing single coins and coin hoards the methodology below has been split into two parts. The first details how the single coins were dealt with and the second the hoards and coin groups.

#### **4.2.3.1 Single and Settlement Finds**

As the data for coins was collected from two sources, excavation reports and the PAS, it was decided in line with other studies to enter the coins under different headings so that

excavated finds could be differentiated from PAS finds. The excavated coins were grouped as Settlement Finds while the coins from the PAS database were grouped as Single Finds.

The difficulties encountered when inputting the coin data were few, with the coin reports held within excavation reports and the PAS database being generally very detailed. There were only a few instances where the metal or denomination were not specified. Where denomination was specified the metal type could be assigned as the metal types of different denominations are well documented. However, this did not work in reverse as a number of different denominations were struck in copper alloys and so if denominations were not specified for copper coins then it was not possible to assign one.

As with the other object types, one of the main aims was to analyse any change in coin distribution through time. Unlike ceramics and adornment items though, a standard methodology for doing so already exists, which was utilised for the purposes of this study. The methodology was developed by Richard Reece to allow comparisons of coins across different sites and began with the study of coin finds from Richborough and culminated with his seminal paper analysing coins from 140 sites in Britain (Reece, 1972, 1995). The methodology created allowed Reece to develop a chronological framework that split the Roman coins in Britain into 21 periods that covered Republican issues up to those minted in AD 402 (Reece, 1972: 271; 1995: 183; Moorhead, 2013: 5-6; Walton, 2011: 27). The periods allow a detailed chronological analysis of coin data, which can be applied to single sites as well as large regional analysis as shown in his *Britannia* article (Reece, 1995: 179–206).

For the purposes of this study Reece Periods have been used, although for reasons of neutrality and clarity the term has not, instead being replaced with Numismatic Issue Period (NIP). Not all of the coins have been able to be assigned to a NIP though, with particularly worn coins being unidentifiable and so preventing a mint date from being given, and so these coins are of unknown NIP. A number of fourth century coins were also not identifiable to an Emperor, rather only to a House, the House of Constantine for example, and so many of these coins span issue periods. These issues have meant 770 of the single and settlement find coins don't have an issue period.

The development of the chronological framework for the coins of Roman Britain then allowed Reece to establish a pattern of coin loss on sites across Britain based on his analysis of the

data from the 140 sites. He calculated what is known as the 'British Mean', an average coin loss profile for each of his 21 periods. The development of the British Mean was designed to allow the analysis of coins from any sites within Britain to be comparable, so coin assemblage from towns, villas, forts, temples and rural sites could be compared by measuring them against the mean dataset (Reece, 1995: 181-185; Walton, 2011: 12). Reece devised a simple calculation to work out the mean, which can be applied to all assemblages;

$$\frac{\text{Total number of coins for period}}{\text{Total number of coins in assemblage}} \quad \times 1000$$

As can be seen the calculation displays coins *per mill*, by the thousand. It is the use of these *per mill* values that allows fluctuations in coin loss profiles from individual sites, or larger regional studies to be displayed in a meaningful way. Calculating site and regional means from datasets will allow deviations against the British Mean to be displayed and then the reasons for this can then be analysed and interpreted. A mean of the combined single and settlement find data held within the databases created for this study was calculated to allow these coins to be compared to Reece's British mean. Where necessary within the analysis conducted in Chapter 7 further means have been created to aid interpretation and discussion, for example the mean of coins from Nornour was calculated to allow them to be discussed against the mean of single and settlement finds from the region.

One final comment before moving on is that as with the personal adornment items from the PAS database, there is no information on the context of the single find coins. This though should not create any issues with the data as context is not being examined as part of the analysis.

#### **4.2.3.2 Hoards**

Hoards and groups of coins have been dealt with differently to single and settlement finds. Hoards have been differentiated from groups here as groups are collections of coins who's the nature is uncertain, it is possible they were buried as hoards, but it is also possible that they were recovered from settlement sites.

Hoards and groups of coins are not assigned to numismatic issue periods as single and settlement find coins are, instead they are given a *Terminus Post Quem* (TPQ). This is determined using the mint date of the latest coin(s) contained within the hoard and means that the hoard had to be deposited sometime after this date. One issue with hoards is that the TPQ is not a date of deposition, as it could have been deposited very soon after the latest coin was minted but it could have been years or generations after (Abdy, 2002: 9; Guest, 2015: 110). Unless the context it is recovered from can be dated then the true deposition date of the hoard cannot be given. This has a detrimental impact on the interpretation of hoards as those buried soon after the final coins had been minted may have had different meanings to the individual(s) who buried them than those kept for extended periods prior to final deposition. Of the 126 hoards it has not been possible to assign a TPQ to 24 and 1 of the groups does not have a TPQ. For most of these it is due to the coins having been recovered in antiquity and not having undergone modern analysis and recording.

Most of the issues with the coin data stems from the antiquarian finds, although there are some issues with modern finds. The lack of information on the total number of coins, the denominations and the metals for some of the records means that only limited analysis of these hoards can take place. For example, 30% of the hoards in the database have no information on the total number of coins meaning that the total quantity of coins deposited within hoards is underrepresented. However, hoards are dealt with as events, so each hoard equates to one event and so the lack of total coins for some hoards will not impact on this analysis.

The lack of detail on the denominations and metal types in some of the hoards will though limit the analysis. The analysis of hoards has generally focused on the fact that coins are money and so hoards must represent a store of wealth. The reasoning behind the burial of these coins was that they were savings or had been buried at a time of crisis in order to protect them (Abdy, 2002: 9-10; Guest, 2015: 101-116). These kinds of analyses though limit the interpretation of the evidence. Coins need to be thought of as more than just money, they are items of material culture as well as money and the role of hoards in society needs to be discussed in wider terms. Material was buried for more reasons than to safeguard it (Haselgrove, 1987: 20; Millett, 1994: 99). Guest (2015; 110-111) outlined research into the

composition of hoards, with early hoards having a high number of older coins and recent hoards whose contents are mainly coins struck closer to the TPQ date. A study of the late fourth and early fifth century coin hoards from Britain showed that their contents differed, with some being early hoards, suggesting the traditional interpretation as having been buried in response to the turmoil within the Empire at this period was not necessarily the case. This research shows that examining the internal make up of hoards can provide a more nuanced picture of ancient hoarding, indicating potential social factors that influenced each hoard.

The geographical location chosen for deposition should also be studied as it may indicate further reasons as to why the hoard was buried in that particular location. Patterning in the distribution of hoards may indicate whether hoards were buried in response to crisis or perhaps if the deposition of these objects was linked to social practice. These types of analyses will only partially be possible given the quality of the data for the south-west. Very few of the accessible records for the hoards from the region contain the necessary detail to examine the internal make up of hoards beyond the metal type being hoarded. It is only in Cornwall that such records exist, which is thanks to the work of Roger Penhallurick, who carefully recorded the coins from Cornwall over his lifetime (Penhallurick, 2009). No such detail is though available for hoards from other areas within the region, bar the West Bagborough silver hoard from Somerset, discussed further in Chapter 7 (Minnitt and Ponting, 2013). Distribution mapping will though be used throughout the analysis conducted to allow any patterning in the deposition location of hoards to be recognised.

### **4.3 Data Interpretation Issues**

The discussion above has outlined the methods used to collate the data that will be analysed in the proceeding chapters. To finish I would like to briefly discuss the key issues that will affect the interpretation of the dataset, all of which have been touched upon in the sections above.

The analysis of the ceramics is potentially the most important aspect of this study. As stated regional analyses of ceramic material are rarely undertaken due to the problems inherent in

ceramic reports being prohibitive. Only one large regional study has been published in recent years, which again as stated above focuses on ceramic distribution in the south-east, namely the region around Colchester (Perring and Pitts, 2013). The issues they faced in their ceramic analysis are similar to those faced here, however, they had the funding and specialisms to be able to go back to the original archives and catalogue the ceramics using EVEs, their chosen method of quantification, and to reassess the fabrics to place them in the regional fabric series to allow all the assemblages to be comparable (Perring and Pitts, 2013). Unfortunately, this was not an option for this study, as the ceramic assemblage for the region came from 111 separate sites re-assessing and cataloguing all of these would have been too time consuming.

The methodology developed here to allow comparisons between the ceramics from different sites does work although it underestimates the number of vessels that were consumed in the region. It is believed that this will not create any major biases that will adversely affect interpretation as patterns in the data will still be visible. Changes to the types of ceramics consumed will be evident, so it will be possible to see how widely new forms, such as plates and flagons, were distributed and whether the new eating and drinking habits represented by these vessels became part of life for communities within the region. The true numbers of these forms will be under-represented, so it will not be possible to tell if these new dining habits became part of everyday life or whether dining in this way was reserved for important occasions where they would have been on display to the wider community. The fact that this level of detail is not obtainable will though not affect the over-arching interpretations of the data. More importantly as every site assemblage has form data attributed to (most) sherds and this can be mapped through ArcGIS it will be possible to determine with confidence how far these new practices spread, based on the available evidence, and which communities did not consume these new forms and so continued in their traditional way of life.

The collation of the personal adornment items and coins had very few methodological issues in comparison to the ceramics, and little that should affect the interpretation of this material. The only thing missing for the many is their depositional context due to them being recovered by metal detectorists and catalogued through the PAS rather than by archaeological excavation. As stated above the analysis of context is important to understanding the meanings these objects had. An important aspect of the analysis of the personal adornment data has been reconstructing their life histories, see Section 6.2, which can only be done

through looking at context. This has meant that the numerous adornment items recorded through the PAS could not be analysed in this way. Although the object types and dates of manufacture are broadly known it is impossible to say much more about them, other than that they were part of the new style of dress and adornment that began to emerge in the very late stages of the Iron Age, see Chapter 6 for full discussion.

As the vast majority of coins and hoards were recorded through the PAS it was decided not to attempt any contextual analysis. This has meant that analysis has relied on the NIP of coins and the TPQ of hoards. This though does not give the full picture, as it is known coins often circulated for many generations before being lost and hoards may have been kept for an extended period before being deposited. It is the circumstances leading to their eventual loss and burial that may influence the interpretations of the roles these objects played within society other than their role as money. Other large coin studies have faced similar issues yet the conclusions reached have shown how Roman coins entered the region, how they were used and even the different values placed on particular coin types by communities (see Guest, 2008a). It is thought that by using the methodology described and mapping the distributions of coins through time that similar results will be achieved through this study.

# Chapter 5

## The Ceramic Assemblage

Pottery is the most ubiquitous material from Late Iron Age and Roman period sites within the region, with every excavated site having produced a ceramic assemblage. Ceramic vessels have often been overlooked in studies of identity, especially in larger regional analyses as quantifying pottery on a large scale brings challenges (see Chapter 4 for further discussion). However, as with all other objects, the relationships formed between people and ceramic vessels gave meanings to them. The practice of cooking and eating with these vessels allowed a distinct identity to form, which was reinforced by the repetition of this practice (Jervis, 2014: 25). The continuation of traditional cooking practices in times of social change, such as during the aftermath of conquest, would have allowed these communities to keep a sense of their identity. Ceramics also played a role in social practice, through which power relations were re-formed and strengthened. Pitts (2005: 50) has suggested that practices such as feasting were a vital part of this during the Iron Age and Romano-British period and that certain ceramic forms would have allowed these practices to take place, something he calls 'consumption technology'. Using this model, any change in the preferences of ceramic forms by communities would then indicate a shift in social practice and consequently a change in power relations and the formation and maintenance of identities. Analysis of consumption patterns then has the potential to inform on changes in social practice and how identity was renegotiated through time.

It is not just the forms that give an insight into the way identity was shaped using ceramics, the choice of fabrics is also important. Moore (2007: 95) suggested that the exchange of materials sourced from certain prominent or important places within the landscape helped to reinforce social ties. The use of the objects produced from these materials would have helped reinforce a sense of regional identity, strengthening the place of these communities within the wider societal networks. There was more to the continued extraction and use of

specific clay types than simply the technological properties of the clay, and it can be suggested that the clay played a particular role within society (Wood, 2011: 321). Clay can be seen as an indicator of knowledge or of a belief system that is only evident through the use of particular types of clay, and so the continued use of these clays can be seen as fundamental to the maintenance of society (Wood, 2011: 322). Changes to the clays used by societies can then indicate changes in belief systems and social identities of these communities.

This chapter will present the results of the examination of the ceramics from excavated sites within the region. The main aims of the examination of the ceramic assemblages from the south-west are;

- To examine the clay sources utilised within the region and the reasons why these particular clays were used. In particular how these clay sources are exploited to strengthen ties between the communities within the region.
- To identify which forms and fabrics were most common within the study region, and how this changed from the Late Iron Age through the Romano-British period.
- To look at shifts in the consumption of forms through the Romano-British period, in order to look at whether eating and dining habits changed.
- To look at the fabrics being consumed in order to investigate the trade routes being utilised and analyse modes of trade, as well as suggesting if certain fabrics were more sought after and why.

I aim to achieve this by;

- Examining the social meanings of some of the local clay sources utilised within the region. These clays appear to have been chosen for their specific properties and through the use of two case studies I would like to examine the reasons behind the use of these clays and how this helped shape social practices and how it impacted upon the identity of the communities who utilised ceramics made from these clays.
- Collecting information on all the ceramics found through excavation within the study region that date to the Late Iron Age and Romano-British period. This will allow me to analyse the types of forms and fabrics present within the region, as well as those which are absent.

- Analysing the total numbers of each form and fabric type through time to show how preferences for certain types changed and why this change occurred. This will allow me to show if eating and dining habits changed or whether the communities continued to consume forms that reinforced traditional Iron Age practices.
- Mapping the distribution patterns of ceramics across the landscape. This will highlight any patterning in the data, such as clustering of certain forms within particular landscape zones or on particular sites. This will show how widely each ceramic form and different fabrics were consumed, or if only certain aspects of the population were consuming them.

It is hoped that this investigation will allow changes in patterns of consumption to be recognised through time. The following discussion is laid out five sections, with 5.1 providing a re-cap on the methodology I have used to quantify the ceramic assemblage in order to make analysis possible. I will also discuss the issues with using ceramic data and the ways I have overcome this. Any potential bias in the data will also be highlighted. This will then be followed by section 5.2 which will look at the clay sources utilised for the production of ceramics within the study region and examine why these sources were preferred. This will be done through the use of case studies, one focused on the use of gabbroic clay by communities in Cornwall and the second looking at the use of clays in Devon by potters during the later Romano-British period. In both case studies the clay sources were chosen for more than just the technological properties of the clay. Through these case studies I hope to gain a better understanding of why these clays were chosen and what bearing they had on social memory and the maintenance of identity across the region. Section 5.3 will then present the results and interpretation of my analysis through a regional overview. This will include a summary of the ceramics from Exeter to put the data from the rural settlements in to context. Section 5.4 will move on to give an in-depth analysis of changes to the ceramic assemblage of the region through time. This will highlight how widespread any changes in forms and fabrics were or whether they were confined to certain communities or areas within the landscape. Lastly section 5.5 will draw all this evidence together in a brief discussion of the analysis.

## 5.1 Methodology

The methodology designed in order to collate the ceramic data is discussed in full in Chapter 4. I wish to again outline some of the more relevant points and the potential biases present within the data due to the use of this methodology.

The aims and objectives outlined in the introduction to this chapter were used to form the collection strategy for the ceramic data. This allowed the data collection to focus on identifying the forms and fabrics present at sites within the region and the number of vessels represented. The fields within the database include the ware type, the fabric type name and sub type where appropriate, whether it is a local or imported fabric, the form type and sub type, again where appropriate, sherd count, minimum number of vessels, manufacture date and deposition date. This has allowed detailed information on each sherd or group of sherds to be collated, allowing both general and detailed analyses of the ceramics.

The first objective is to examine the choices behind the extraction and use of certain types of clay, the preference for these local clays may suggest social factors, such as inherent belief systems, played more of a role in the choice of fabrics than economic or technological concerns. The use of Gabbroic clays in Cornwall have also been linked to a strong sense of regional identity (Wood, 2011: 31). How and if this sense of identity altered after the invasion will be examined through the use of a case study.

One of the main objectives of this chapter is the analysis of the form types consumed within the region. The form types assigned to each entry within the database have been taken from the specialist reports consulted and are standard forms used by all specialists. In order to examine changes in the eating and dining practices of the communities within the study region I have grouped some of these forms into broader categories of Tableware and Drinking Vessels, which are used within the discussion. These categories include;

- Tableware – bowl, bowl/dish, dish, plate and platter. All of these forms were used to serve and consume food in individual portions. Bowls are discussed within the text as these appear in the Iron Age and many are of large size, which indicates communal eating from the same vessel as opposed to small, shallow bowls that are used to serve and individual.

- Drinking Vessels – beaker, cup, flagon, tankard, which are all linked to individual drinking from your own vessel.

These broad categories have only been used in the discussion and are not included in the database. It was thought that such categories would make discussion easier as the change in eating and dining practices across the region are important indicators in changing social practices. It is the repetition of these practices would have created and sustained new identities.

The other main objective of this study focuses on the consumption of different fabric types, in particular where they are sourced from. In order to examine this I have indicated whether the fabric types are local or imported. Local fabrics are those that have been produced within the bounds of the study region, while imported ceramics are those produced anywhere else. This means that British fabrics produced outside the region are included in this category along with all fabrics from the Continent. Grouping the fabrics in this way will aid with examining trade routes into the region but will also allow me to look at the local fabrics in more detail.

There have been a number of problems faced during the data collection and entry phase of this study. One of the main issues has been assigning a fabric and form type to each entry. Unfortunately, due to numerous factors, such as the small size of the sherds, the lack of diagnostic features or not being from a known fabric type, a number of the sherds were not able to have a form or fabric type assigned to them by the specialists reporting on them. This has meant they have been entered into the study database as having unclassified fabric types and unknown form types. From a total of 9663 vessels (20,379 sherds) held in the database, 675 vessels (11,149 sherds) have no form attributed to them and 1,264 vessels (5,216 sherds) have no known fabric type. There are 102 vessels, which equates to 4,071 sherds that have neither. This has meant that these vessels are not useful when trying to analyse changing consumption practices of specific forms and fabrics through time. These vessels have been left in the database so as not to bias the total number of vessels, although they have been left out of analysis conducted in section 5.4.

As stated elsewhere within this study, large regional analyses of ceramics such as this have not been undertaken frequently as comparing ceramic assemblages between sites poses certain challenges. This is due to the way ceramics have been reported on, with little

standardisation in the quantification methods used between different specialists, which has led them to be excluded from projects such as the recent 'The Rural Settlement of Roman Britain' (Smith *et al.*, 2016; 13-14). Overcoming the differing quantification methodologies used was the main challenge for this study. To allow the analysis of the numbers of each vessel form consumed within the region it was necessary to devise a methodology to calculate the Minimum Number of Vessels (MNV) for each vessel form represented on every site.

Calculating the MNV was achieved by following guidelines laid out by Voss and Allen (2010). Sherds with unique attributes, distinctive rim forms for example, not shared with others were given a MNV count of 1. In most cases the form type represented by such sherds had been detailed in the report and so calculating MNV for these was relatively straight forward. Where sherds have been illustrated, they have been input as 1 vessel. Where discussion of the illustrated forms indicates more than one vessel was present the figure given was used or if no figure was provided then the MNV was input as 2. Several reports did include information on the MNV for each fabric and form type represented and for these sites I have input the MNV provided. As stated above this has provided a MNV of 9663 vessels (20,379 sherds). This method was tested against the report for the ceramics excavated from Trethurgy Round in Cornwall. The report provided Estimated Vessel Equivalents as well as a Minimum Number of Vessels for all the fabrics identified, with them MNV totalling 550 vessels. In comparison, the methodology devised for this study provided an MNV of 309. The main issue with this site was the reporting of the forms in the local gabbroic fabric, which was not as clear with the numbers of sherds/vessels and the depositional contexts as the report on the imported ceramics is. The report states 450 vessels in gabbroic fabric were found, while using my methodology a total of 221 were entered into the database. It is clear that this method under-represents the number of vessels present within assemblages. However, it was felt this was preferable to over estimating, which would create a far more misleading view of vessel consumption and so it was used to collect the data from all ceramic reports within the excavation reports found for the study region.

The final issue, which may create a bias in the analysis of the data, was how to analyse change in vessel consumption through time. It was decided to base this analysis on the dates of manufacture of the vessel types, which are known for many of the fabrics and forms within

the assemblages thanks to previous work by ceramic specialists, (see Holbrook and Bidwell, 1991; Quinnell, 2004; Tyers, 1996), and so are provided in the reports used during this research. For fabrics such as Samian it is possible to provide very tight date ranges for manufacture. However, due to a number of forms continuing to be produced unaltered over a long period of time, such narrow date ranges are impossible to assign. Where dates are unknown a range could be provided based on other known forms found in the same context. Where form was unknown the date ranges of the fabric were used, although this often provided very long ranges encompassing 3 or more centuries. This methodology produced a list of over 30 dates and date ranges, which would make understanding the data when plotted into tables and charts extremely difficult and so not suitable for indicating change through time.

To overcome this I devised a series of six Ceramic Phases (CPs) that encompass the entire date range spanned by the dates of manufacture for each fabric encountered in my study area. These are;

**Ceramic Phase 1:** Mid to Late Iron Age (C4th-C1st BC)

**Ceramic Phase 2:** Late Iron Age (C3rd BC- early C1st BC)

**Ceramic Phase 3:** Late Iron Age to Roman transition (mid C1st BC- early C1st AD)

**Ceramic Phase 4:** Early to Mid Romano-British period (mid C1st-mid C2nd AD)

**Ceramic Phase 5:** Mid to Late Romano-British period (late C2nd- mid C4th AD)

**Ceramic Phase 6:** Late Romano-British period to Post Roman period (late C4th- early C5th AD)

The use of CPs allows manufacture dates to be grouped and displayed together. For example there are 5 dates and date ranges that encompass the fabrics and forms produced during the mid to late Roman period; 2nd century, 3rd century, 2nd - 3rd century, 3rd - 4th century and 2nd – 4th century. Instead of displaying all 5 date ranges any chart produced will now group all of these into CP5. There are 6 date ranges that span across two or more ceramic phases, for example the date range C1st-C3rd AD spans CPs 4-5 and C1st-4th AD spans CPs 4-6. The data can be plotted into bar graphs using just the main CPs alone or with the spanned CPs. Using these CPs the data becomes far more user friendly and changes in patterns of consumption through time are much easier to plot.

A consequence of using the dates of manufacture to create these phases has meant including a Middle Iron Age phase, CP1. This is due to the extended production of South Western Decorated Wares, which as discussed in section 5.3, was produced for over 300 years and remained largely unchanged. This means that assigning anything other than a broad date range requires large diagnostic sherds, which is unfortunately not often the case. The majority of the sherds of this ware type have been assigned a date range between the fourth to first centuries BC. This has meant that discussion of ceramics in the region prior to the Roman conquest have necessarily had to include vessels that may date to the Middle rather than Late Iron Age. Although this is likely to increase the Minimum Number of Vessels count for the Late Iron Age it is unlikely to bias the data due to the fact that only 22 sites of Late Iron Age date are recorded in the data. There are large numbers of potential Late Iron Age sites known in the study region, with over 60 promontory forts known along the coastline of Cornwall alone, see Chapter 2. The same applies to hillforts and settlements in upland locations. However, these areas are not part of modern development strategies and so these sites have not been subject to modern excavation as part of the planning process. This excavation bias has served to artificially lower the number of ceramics of this date recorded within the data, countering the Middle Iron Age bias, as the minimum number of vessels for CP1 and 2 is unlikely to be a true reflection of ceramic use during the Middle and Late Iron Age.

## **5.2 The Social Life of Clay**

The main focus of this chapter is the finished ceramic vessels, or what remains of them within the archaeological record. More specifically it is the different fabrics consumed, their origins and of course the form types that were used and how this informs on changes to eating and dining habits and the trade and exchange networks that operated within the region, all of which impact on the way identity was formed and expressed. The clay itself, used to form these vessels has little attention paid to it within the literature, it is not considered to be part of the material culture repertoire before it has been shaped and hardened in the kiln (Wood, 2011: 58).

For many past societies the landscape in which they played out their daily lives was shaped by spiritual powers. The geological elements that made up these landscapes, what we would term minerals, such as clay, held symbolic meanings that were deeply imbedded in all aspects of everyday life (Boivin, 2004: 2; Saunders, 2004: 123). The process of transforming these raw minerals into what we would recognise as artefacts is also heavily laden with symbolic meaning for such societies. The temper used in Neolithic pottery produced in Orkney has been suggested to have been deliberately chosen from certain stone sources to reinforce communal ties (Jones, 2002). Items produced with these minerals then embodied symbolic meanings and the beliefs of these societies and could be used to link communities together and strengthen ties to the landscape in which they lived.

There are a number of strands of research within the subject of the mineral world that focus on the importance of light and the luminosity of objects. Light is phototropic in nature and has the ability to affect thought and perception (Saunders, 2001: 17), and as such was an important element in the belief systems of many past societies. In Amerindian societies for example light was central to their conceptions of life and was thought to have a fertilising power, with the sheen and lustre of objects embodying this (Saunders, 2003: 19; 2004). Objects with these properties have been termed 'brilliant objects' by Saunders (2003: 21), who argues that they were used to reinforce the power of elite members of society as they "represented the accumulation of creative power that animated and regulated the universe, embodied a societies mythic identity".

Clays can also be processed into brilliant objects and in Mesoamerican societies it was regarded as a magical substance, which had spiritual significance. The clays and tempers used in ceramic manufacture were often chosen for their shininess, with the minerals responsible for this incorporating light and their supernatural properties into the vessel (Saunders, 2004). Brilliant objects such as this have also been suggested to have contained the light itself, with the light being an indicator of ancestral presence (Bille and Sørensen, 2007: 268-269). This would have reinforced the memory of ancestors and linked them to the present, as well as linking societies to their past and reinforcing social ties.

These differing strands of research indicate that the choices of clay and temper were driven by social practices and belief systems, with different fabrics holding a number of meanings.

Through the rest of this section I will examine the choice of clays used to produce ceramic vessels within the south-west, focusing on why these particular clay sources were used. I will analyse the social meanings they held and how this changed through contact with the Roman world. I will highlight how changes to ceramic fabrics produced and utilised within the region impacted upon the identity of these societies and the way in which identity was expressed. I am going to approach this through the use of two case studies. The first will focus on the social meaning of clay and its role in the creation and reinforcement of regional and local identities within Cornwall through the use of gabbroic clay and how this was impacted by the introduction of imported fabrics. The second case study will focus on the local clays utilised during the mid to late Romano-British period within eastern Devon, in particular South Devon ware and a recently identified variant South Devon Ipplepen ware (Wood, 2015). These vessels have a high percentage of mica within their fabrics, which sparkles when it catches the light. I will examine how this brilliant dimension to these vessels altered their meanings as well as the way people interacted with them.

### **5.2.1 Case Study 1: Regional and Local Identities: the use of gabbroic clay within Cornwall**

The gabbroic clay formations within Cornwall are limited to a small area on the Lizard peninsula, in the far south-west of the region. These clays were utilised from the Neolithic period until the eighth century AD for the production of ceramic vessels (Wood, 2011: 22). The longevity of use of gabbro clay indicates that it held special meaning to the communities who utilised it, which were widespread across Cornwall, with very little gabbroic fabrics moving eastwards beyond the River Tamar, see Figure 5.1. Analysis of ceramic fabrics containing gabbro clay dating to the Bronze and Iron Ages indicate a diachronic shift in the mineral content of the fabrics, with the clay sources utilised during the Bronze Age being different to those exploited by the Iron Age peoples of the area (Harrad, 2003: 13-14).

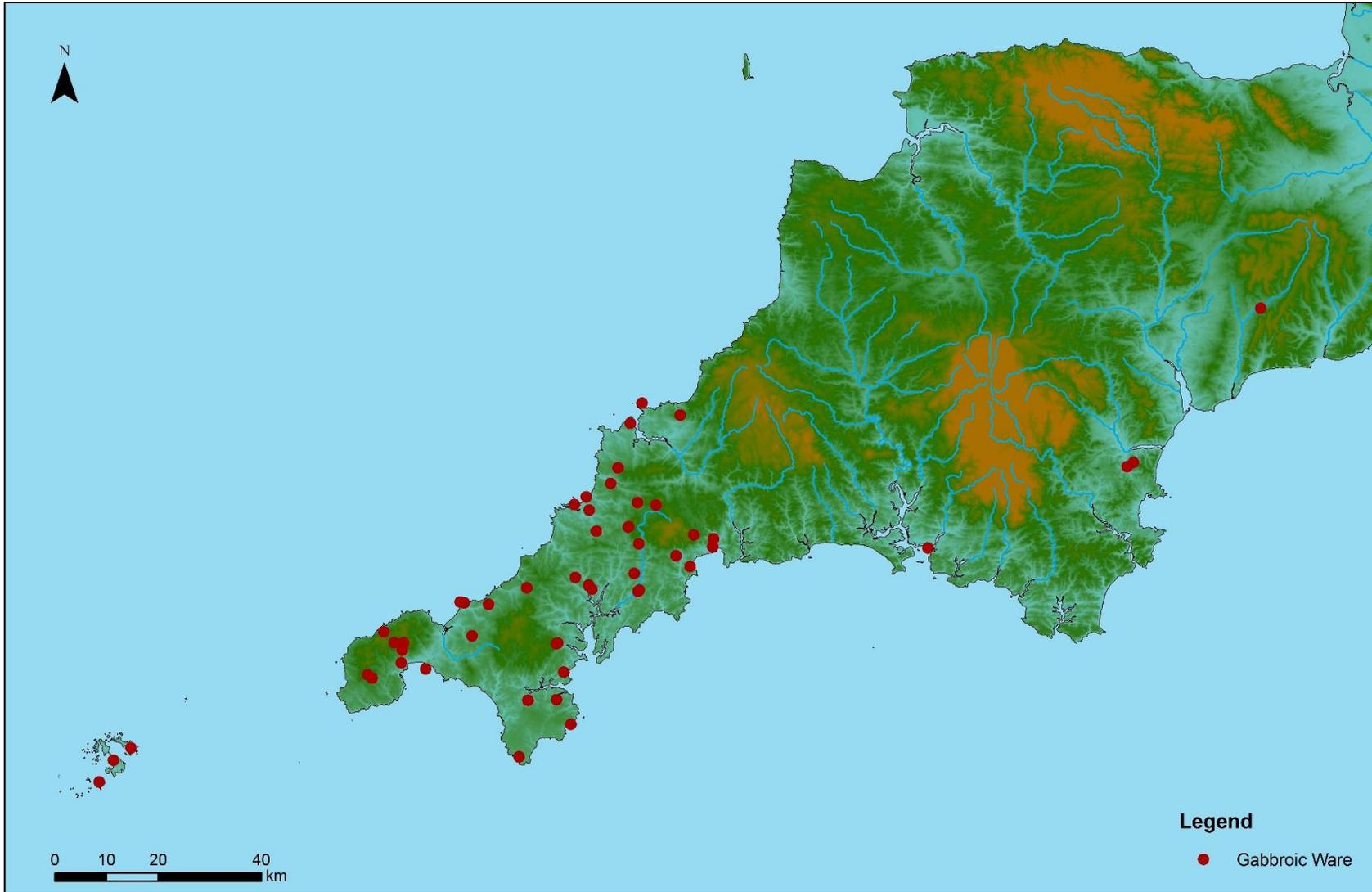


Figure 5.1: Distribution map of the Gabbroic vessels found in the study region.

The specific use of clays with certain mineral quantities indicates that it may have been the minerals within the clay that were imbued with different meanings, not just simply the clay itself. The fact that different clays were exploited through time indicates that social practice was not static but changed and adapted over time, with clays being picked to reflect these altering beliefs.

More recent analysis of gabbroic ceramics focused on the Late Roman and Early Medieval transition, with ceramics from three sites occupied within this period being subjected to petrographic testing. The results showed that the clay mixture was unique to each site, indicating that the gabbroic clays were mixed with clays local to each site and that the amount of gabbroic clay present changed over time. The ceramics from the Late Roman site of Trebarveth contained much higher amounts of gabbroic clay in comparison to those from the Early Medieval site of Winnianton (Wood, 2011; 2016: 33–34). Similar to the Neolithic ceramics from Orkney mentioned above, Wood suggested that the use of gabbroic clay was important to these communities as it reinforced a sense of regional identity, with the local clays used by each ceramic producing settlement linked to a more local identity (Wood, 2016: 31). The fact that the amount of gabbroic clay contained within the ceramics drops over time suggests that this regional identity became less important, with more focus on local groupings.

If gabbroic clay is indeed a marker of regional identity, then its continued dominance throughout the Romano-British period would suggest that the conquest had a negligible effect on the social and political networks of the area. At the time of the conquest, Gabbroic fabric accounted for 92% of the ceramic assemblage, with amphorae fabrics and Terra Nigra making up the rest. Of the 11 sites occupied during this period, only 3 produced imported ceramics. This altered during the early to mid Romano-British period (CP4) with this figure dropping to only 58%. This substantial drop is accounted for by the presence of a large number of imported ceramics at the site of Carvossa. This site has been debated since it was excavated in the late 1960s, with suggestions it was a Roman fort before becoming a native settlement once the military withdrew. The sheer quantity of imported ceramics on the site has been used to support this claim, as from 156 vessels found only 20 are in gabbroic fabric, with the rest having been imported from outside the south-west, see Table 5.1. The main

issue with Carvossa is that it was never written up by the excavators, with only pieces of the records put together for publication by Carlyon (1987). It was clear from her report that occupation began prior to the arrival of the military and appeared to continue into the third century AD at least. It is possible that the military utilised an abandoned site, which was then re-used after their withdrawal. During excavation, the defences were sectioned in a number of places and no evidence of the levelling of the banks, that is evident at other abandoned forts such as Nanstallon, was identified although a period of potential abandonment was detected (Fox and Ravenhill, 1972: 88, Carlyon, 1987: 105–106). If Carvossa was not occupied by the military, the range of fabrics consumed shows that the community here were of high status and likely linked in some way to the military supply networks, which gave them access to a wide range of continental fine ware fabrics.

<b>Fabric Name</b>	<b>Vessel Total</b>
Central Gaulish Black-Slipped Ware	1
Central Gaulish Glazed Ware	1
Fabric 403	1
Fabric 435	7
Fabric 440	6
Fabric 451	1
Fortress Ware A Fabric 100/371	2
Fortress Ware B Fabric 190	7
Gabbroic Ware	20
Samian Ware	107
SWBB1 Fabric 40	3
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>156</b>

Table 5.1: Fabric types dating to the Early to Mid Romano-British period found at Carvossa.

Leaving the assemblage from Carvossa out of the MNV consumed during that period, gabbroic then accounts for 83% of the assemblages, with imported material found on 8 of the 25 sites occupied (not including Carvossa). The percentage of gabbroic fabric drops further in the late Romano-British period (CP5), where it accounts for 78% of the assemblage, with imported ceramics found on 16 of the 36 sites occupied (again not including Carvossa, which continued to be occupied into this period).

Of the 41 sites that were occupied between the early to late Romano-British periods (CPs 3-5), 58% of them produced imported ceramics, however, only 17 sites had more than one imported fabric present in their assemblage, while only 6 produced more than 5 types. These

sites are all Rounds or Promontory Forts, thought to be of high status, Carvossa, Castle Gotha, Kilhallon, Reawla, Trethurgy and Trevelgue Head (Carlyon, 1982, 1987; Saunders and Harris, 1982; Appleton-Fox, 1992; Quinnell, 2004; Nowakowski and Quinnell, 2011).

In total 368 vessels in imported fabrics are present within Cornwall during the Romano-British period, with 162 of these being Samian ware (although 116 of these are from Carvossa as mentioned above). However, excluding the Samian, the most popular fabric is then South East Dorset Black Burnished Ware (SEDBB1), a utilitarian coarse ware fabric. The imported coarse wares represent just over 47% of the imported fabric assemblage into Cornwall. Looking at the consumption patterns of the imported fabrics through time shows that low levels of these fabrics began to be consumed during the Late Iron Age/early Romano-British period (CP3). However, it was only in the late Romano-British period (CP5) that imported fabrics became popular, with the number of fabric types and vessels consumed increasing during this period, see Figure 5.1. The exception to this is Samian ware, which declined from a MNV of 120 in the early to mid Romano-British period (CP4), to only 30 in CP5. This is due to the cessation of the Samian industry in the early third century AD (Tyres, 1996). The chart in Figure 5.1 also highlights the fact that most of the fabrics that were consumed during CP5 were coarse ware fabrics, such as SEDBB1 and South Devon Ware.

The increasing number of fabrics in use by the later Romano-British period, coupled with the fact many of these were coarse wares, indicates that there was a shift in socio-political networks at this time. The causes of this are likely varied but a population expansion has been postulated for Roman Britain, which is thought to have begun during the second century AD. This is also something that has been suggested for Cornwall at this time, with settlement numbers appearing to increase in the mid to late Romano-British period (Smith, *et al.*, 2016; Gossip and Jones, 2007: 45; Quinnell, 2004: 212). An increase in population certainly would have altered the dynamic of the area and impacted upon political networks. It is not necessarily the case that the strong regional identity that bound these communities together during the Late Iron Age and earlier Romano-British period became weakened by population expansion. Analysis of the form types consumed suggests that a sense of a strong regional identity continued throughout the study period.

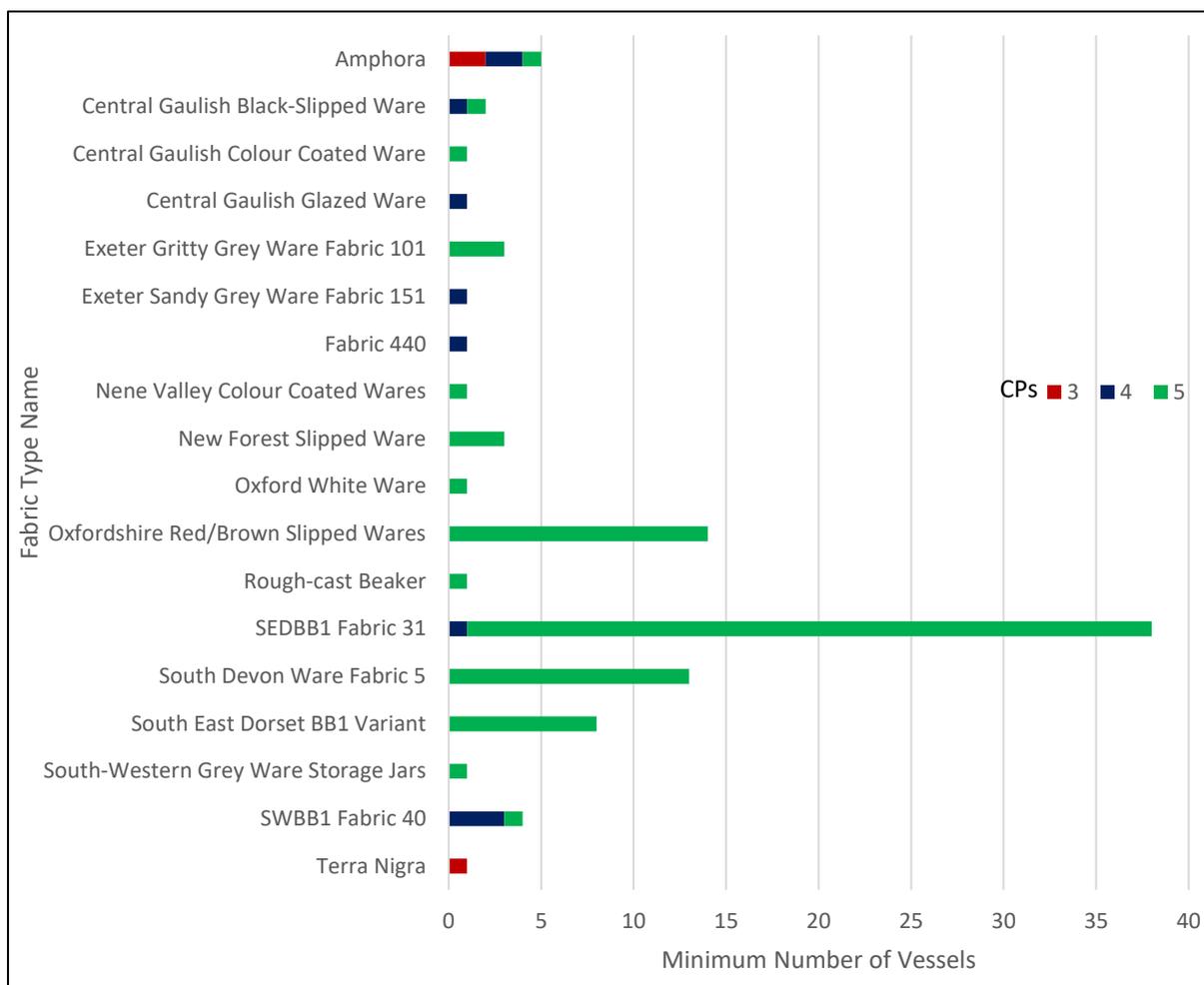


Figure 5.2: Table shows the imported fabrics consumed by communities in Cornwall from the Late Iron Age through to the Late Romano-British period, CPs 3-5. N.B. Samian ware is not shown.

It has been assumed in the past that a production centre with one or more kilns must have existed on the Lizard peninsula, with the clay being extracted close to these kilns, shaped and fired, before being transported for sale to the communities across Cornwall, similar to other regional ceramic production centres. This does not appear to be the case, with the clay being extracted, either by a small group of people and traded in its raw state or by individuals who made the trip to the Lizard to extract the clay themselves, who then worked the clay into vessels on their home sites. The mixing of gabbroic with local clays demonstrated by Wood (2011, 2016: 33–34), is not isolated to her case study sites, but is now becoming more widely recognised and is generally classed in reports as Gabbroic Variant fabric. Sites such as Atlantic Road and Penhale Round have produced ceramics in gabbroic variant fabrics (Reynolds, forthcoming; Nowakowski and Johns, 2015).

The forms produced across Cornwall by each settlement or group of settlements are standardised, which has allowed a regional typology for gabbroic fabrics to be constructed, both for the Late Iron Age, the St Mawgan-in-Pydar types, and the Romano-British period, the Trethurgy types (Threipland, 1956; Quinnell, 2004). This standardisation shows strong regional ties between the communities allowing them to produce such similar forms with little variation. There is some outside influence during the Romano-British period with the rim forms of vessels, particularly bowl forms, copying the rim types of South East Dorset Black Burnished wares (Quinnell, 2004: 110).

The standardisation of these forms, and the dominance of jars and large bowl forms in the Late Iron Age, indicate that these communities had similar social practices regarding eating and drinking. After the conquest new vessel forms, tablewares and drinking vessels, were introduced to the region. Very few of these new vessel types were ever produced in gabbroic fabric (with the exception of bowls) and make up less than 4% of the total gabbroic assemblage for Cornwall, see Table 5.2.

<b>Form Type</b>	<b>Cornwall</b>
Beaker	2.31%
Bowl	34.48%
Bowl/Dish	0.30%
Butt Beaker	0.52%
Cooking Pot	0.97%
Dish	0.37%
Flagon	0.45%
Jar	47.36%
Jar/Bowl	0.82%
Jug	0.07%
Lid	2.01%
Mortarium	0.07%
Patera	0.07%
Platter	0.07%
Small Jar	5.66%
Storage Jar	4.47%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

Table 5.2: Table shows the forms produced in gabbroic fabric by their percentage of the total assemblage for this fabric.

Looking specifically at the new forms introduced during the Romano-British period that relate to food preparation and the consumption of food and drink it is clear that the vast majority of these were consumed in imported fabrics. Only 1% of cups, flagons and dishes were produced in gabbroic clays, while only one mortarium is known in the fabric. The exception to this are bowl forms, with 472 bowls known in gabbroic fabric in comparison to 122 in imported fabrics, see Table 5.3. Unlike the earlier, larger Late Iron Age forms, the bowls produced after the conquest within Cornwall, Trethurgy Types 19-23, are considered to be part of the suite of tablewares, holding individual servings of food (Quinnell, 2004: 121-125). The exception are the Trethurgy Type 9 bowls of late third and fourth century AD date, which are very large and are unlikely to have been for individual servings (Quinnell, 2004: 117).

Form Type	Gabbroic		Imported Fabric		Total
	MNV	% of Assemblage	MNV	% of Assemblage	
Beaker	31	4%	31	4%	<b>62</b>
Bowl	472	57%	122	14%	<b>594</b>
Butt Beaker	7	1%			<b>7</b>
Cup	5	1%	23	3%	<b>28</b>
Dish	6	1%	25	3%	<b>31</b>
Flagon	6	1%	23	3%	<b>29</b>
Mortarium	1	0.20%	33	4%	<b>34</b>
Plate			29	3%	<b>29</b>
Platter	1	0.20%	4	0.40%	<b>5</b>
Tankard			1	0.20%	<b>1</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>65.4%</b>	<b>169</b>	<b>34.6%</b>	<b>821</b>

Table 5.3: Table shows the assemblage of forms associated with dining and drinking consumed within Cornwall during between the early Romano-British period to the late Romano-British period (CPs 3-6).

If the bowl forms were to be excluded from the figures shown in Table 5.2 then the percentage of imported fabrics increases dramatically to 75% of the assemblage. The fact that gabbroic was not heavily used to produce these new forms suggests that for these communities' gabbroic clay had a very specific meaning that was tied to their ancestral past, which continued to bind them together throughout the Romano-British period. As will be discussed further on in the chapter, the introduction of these forms does suggest that dining habits and so part of the identity of these communities altered, however, the underlying

socio-political structures do not appear to have altered dramatically. The consumption of these new forms in imported fabrics allowed these communities to separate their new dining habits from the more traditional practices bound up in the use of the gabbroic fabric.

The fact that imported fabrics were favoured for these new forms also shows that these vessels were not selected in order to reinforce traditional practices but that they were new and exotic items. Hunter (2001), was able to show in his review of Roman material in Scotland that forms in imported fabrics, Samian ware for example, had been picked to fit with pre-existing social traditions, such as feasting (Hunter, 1991: 303). This though is not the case in Cornwall where these communities actively highlighted their new dining habits by purposeful consumption of tablewares and drinking vessels in imported fabrics.

### **5.2.2 Case Study 2: Brilliant Vessels: the use of mica rich clays in Devon**

Unlike Cornwall, there was no dominant ceramic tradition in Devon, with South Western Decorated wares being the main fabric consumed during the Iron Age. This fabric was shown by petrographic analysis to have been produced in six different locations, with vessels found in Devon not coming from one main source, rather they were the products of a number of these sources (Peacock, 1969). It was not until the arrival of the Roman military that ceramic production in Devon appears to have taken off, with a number of industries springing up around Exeter and east Devon that initially supplied the military market but became civilian staples by the end of the first century AD, the Exeter Grey ware industries are the best example of these (Holbrook and Bidwell, 1991).

One such industry was South Devon Ware (SDW), with the clay source thought to be somewhere along the Dart or Erme valleys, both of which drain south from Dartmoor (Holbrook and Bidwell, 1991: 177). Production in this fabric began in the mid first century AD, with a number of sherds having been found in the construction levels of the legionary bath-house at Exeter, which dates to approximately AD 60-65. It was a long-lived fabric, continuing in production until the early fifth century AD (Holbrook and Bidwell, 1991: 178; Bidwell, 2016).

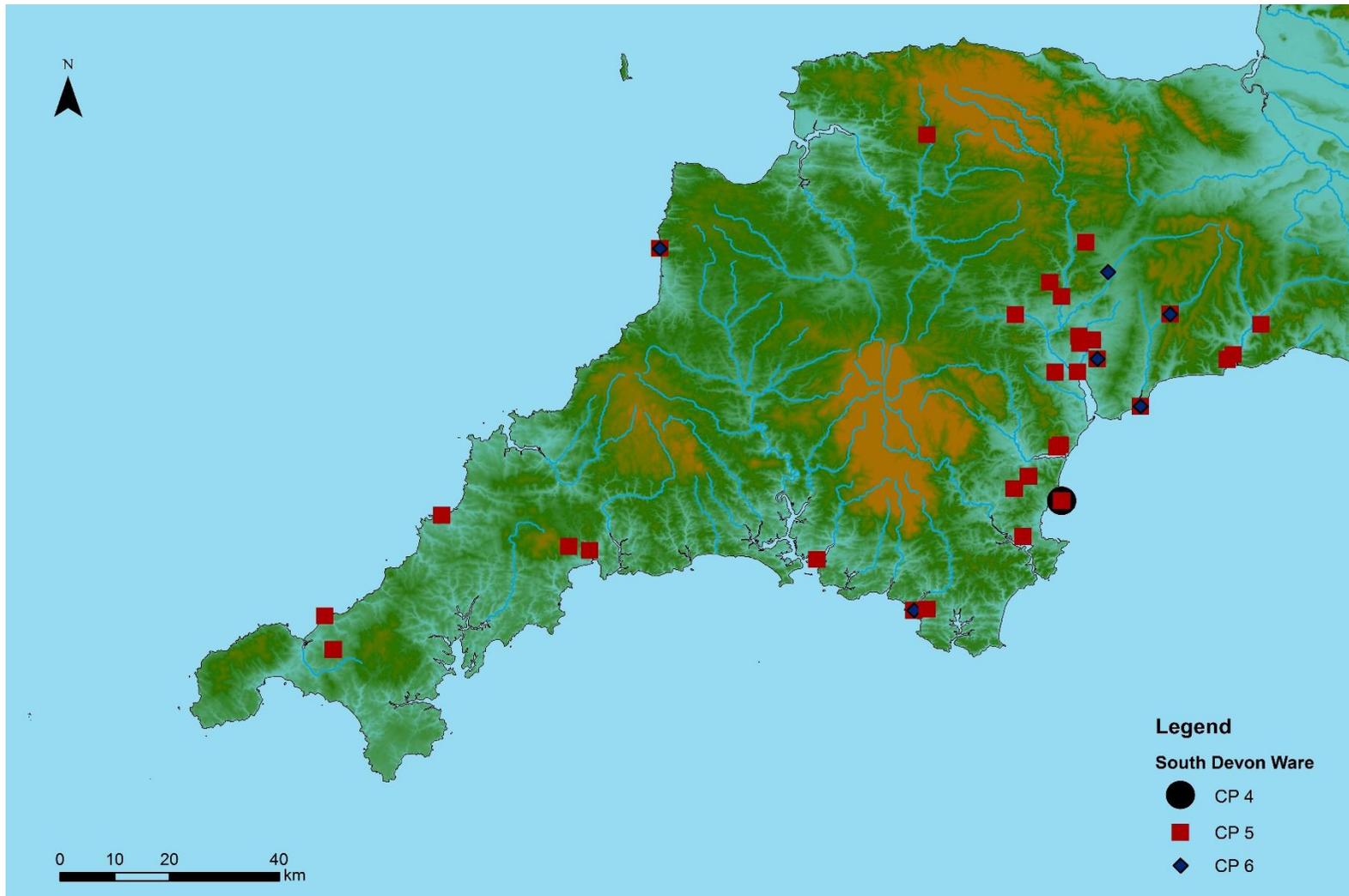


Figure 5.3: Distribution map showing the sites where South Devon Ware was consumed during the early to late Romano-British periods and in the Post Roman period (CPs 4-6).

Discussions on the consumption of SDW have focused on the economic success of it (Holbrook and Bidwell, 1991: 20-23; Bidwell, 2016). By the third century AD it had become one of predominate coarse ware fabrics consumed within the region, although it never overtook SEDBB1 and Gabbroic Ware, which remained the most dominate coarse ware fabrics consumed in Devon and Cornwall respectively. Mapping the distribution of the fabric through the early to mid Romano-British to the late Romano-British and Post Roman periods (CPs 4-6), shows that its peak consumption period was the mid to late Romano-British period (CP5), where it occurred at sites along the south coast of Devon and the Exe valley as well as at a number of sites in Cornwall, see Figure 5.3. The fact that it occurs on sites within Cornwall does highlight that there were trade routes linking the kilns in south Devon with communities in Cornwall, as well as suggesting that vessels in this fabric were sought after, possibly due to the technological properties of the clay.

The privileging of the economic aspects has meant little research has been done on the social meanings ascribed to SDW. As discussed, the distribution map does show that the fabric was widespread across the region. However, it also shows that there was a core distribution zone, with the fabric being concentrated on sites around the river Exe and in the South Hams to the south-west. The contraction in its distribution during the late Romano-British period to Post Roman period (CP6), highlights this with SDW being consumed almost solely by communities located within this area, with the exception of the high status site of Duckpool on the north Cornish coast (Ratcliffe, 1995). The presence of this core area of consumption indicates that there was a deeper meaning behind the use of this fabric for communities within this area.

South Devon Ware is a very distinctive fabric that has frequent biotite mica inclusions within its matrix (Holbrook and Bidwell, 1991: 177). Mica is a silicate mineral and naturally shines when it catches the light. In Mesoamerica, it was revered as a precious cosmic material, with the presence of mica plated buildings having been suggested at Teotihuacán, as one building contained deposits of mica debris above layers of mica plates, which were found below the floor (Saunders, 2004: 130). The presence of the mica within the clay sourced for the production of SDW may be why this particular source was chosen. Recent excavations at the sites of Aller Cross and Ipplepen, both within the South Hams area of Devon, have led to the identification of two further fabrics thought to be variants of SDW. Both the Aller Cross fabric

and Ipplepen ware (currently named as South Devon Ipplepen ware by the excavators), contain biotite mica within the clay matrix, with sources close to the South Devon ware clay extraction point suggested (Bidwell and Croom, forthcoming; Wood, 2014:3).

Both the Aller Cross fabric and the South Devon Ipplepen ware appear to have begun production during the second century AD, (Bidwell and Croom, forthcoming; Wood, 2015). At present they have only been identified on their two respective sites, Aller Cross and Ipplepen, although a fabric very similar to Aller Cross was noted at a site in Brixham, on the south Devon coast (Bidwell and Croom, forthcoming). That all three of these fabrics began production in the early Roman-British period and that all the fabrics contain biotite mica within the matrix indicates that there was a further meaning to their production beyond economic gains. The core distribution area in the south and south-east of Devon may indicate it became important during this period for these communities to forge new relationships, forming a new identity group, or just to reinforce ties that existed in the Late Iron Age. With no dominant ceramic traditions in the Late Iron Age, identifying groupings of people with strong social and political ties within Devon is difficult. This area was, based on current excavation data, heavily occupied during the Romano-British period, and included the town of Exeter and the roadside settlements of Shortlands Lane and Pomeroy Wood, as well as most of the villas identified within Devon (Bidwell, 1980; Morris, 2013; Fitzpatrick *et al.*, 1999). It may be that the expansion of the population and the establishment of market towns helped to stimulate the economy which introduced a high number of new ceramic fabrics and forms, as well as new items of personal adornment and styles of dress (see Chapter 6). This led to communities in this area of Devon trying to reinforce long held social ties. The use of these clays may then have been a way to reinforce and exhibit a group identity that had originated prior to the conquest of the region.

It has been suggested that brilliant objects, such as mica rich ceramic vessels, contained light, which was an indicator of ancestral presence (Bille and Sørensen, 2007: 268). The presence of their ancestors within daily life would provide a very real link to their past and it is likely that this may be one explanation for the use of mica rich clays. However, having excavated at Ipplepen and handled South Devon Ipplepen Ware, the mica within really does shine when it catches the light and it may also be that it was the sensory experience of using mica rich clays

that made South Devon Ware in particular so popular during the Later Roman period (CPs 5-6).

Although the light within the object itself is important, the lightscapes in which they perform is as important. The different types of light the object is used in, such as firelight, sunshine or electric, and whether this was bright or dim light would all have impacted upon the way the objects and the light was experienced (Bille and Sørensen, 2007: 269-270). The vessels produced in these three clays would have been primarily used within the kitchen area of houses during the preparation and cooking of food, with the data showing jars, cooking pots, storage jars and tableware forms were produced in these clays. The flickering firelight of the ovens and hearths would have reacted differently to the mica than sunlight does and likely would have made the light flicker and dance, rather than producing a constant glimmer. This would have added a new sensory dimension to the use of these vessels and the task of food preparation and consumption. Past societies lived in a sensorial world, as we do, which was created through social and cultural connections and objects with new sensorial qualities would have altered the relationships formed with them (Gosden, 2001: 165), turning the simple act of preparing and eating food into something more. The new sensorial element to the use of these ceramics may have deepened the connection with the ancestral light contained within and so strengthened the idea that these fabrics provided a link to their past. Tableware forms are known in these fabrics, bowls and dishes in particular (for example Hughes, forthcoming, Quinnell, 2004: 107). The serving of food in new vessel forms, that had strong links to the past through the light contained within may, have allowed these communities to recreate social memories in a new way.

### **5.2.3 Conclusion**

The two case studies have served to highlight the role the clay sourced to produce ceramic vessels played within society. It also highlights the fact that clay is just as important to consider in studies such as this alongside the finished product. Both the gabbroic clay and the mica clays held differing meanings, but all were embedded in the belief systems of the communities who utilised them and all were used to reinforce a sense of regional or group

identity. Contact with the Roman world altered the social and political structures of the communities in Cornwall as well as those within south and south-eastern Devon and their reactions to this are evident within the clay.

For the communities in Cornwall, the use of gabbroic clays continued throughout the Romano-British period, although imported material did become more popular through time. However, it is the forms produced in gabbroic that are most telling of the role it played within their belief system and how important it was to their sense of identity. The introduction of tablewares and drinking vessels does suggest a change in dining habits for some. These vessels were very rarely produced in gabbroic clay, instead being mainly consumed in imported fabrics. These communities were then able to keep this new facet of their identity separate from their traditional practices, indicating that gabbroic remained central to their traditional practices and allowed them to maintain their sense of regional identity in the face of conquest and incorporation into the Roman Empire. For those communities in Devon that lie in the core distribution area for South Devon ware, it is likely the conquest and incorporation into the empire that prompted the sourcing and use of the mica rich clays. The idea of ancestors and the sensory experience provided by the mica would have allowed them to reinforce their links to each other and their past identity.

### **5.3 Regional Overview**

The previous section focused on local fabric types and the relationship between these clays and the communities who utilised the ceramics produced from them. I will now move on and look at the regional pattern of pottery consumption from the Late Iron Age through to the Post Roman period. Analysis of material from the study region will allow any over-arching trends in consumption patterns to be recognised. The discussion will begin by looking at the assemblage from the rural settlements in order to highlight which forms and fabrics were favoured and to look at the potential trade routes for these items. I will then move on to discuss the ceramic material from the town of Exeter, in order to help put the ceramic profiles of the rural settlements into context.

### **5.3.1 The Rural Settlements**

The discussion below will focus on the ceramic profiles of the rural settlements within the study region. The discussion has been broken into two parts, the first will look at the Middle and Late Iron Age ceramics providing some background to the ceramic traditions of the region as well as analysis of the fabrics and forms utilised during this period. The second will then move on to look at the ceramics from the Romano-British period, noting changes in the fabrics and forms consumed and reasons for this change. Dividing the discussion of these periods is not intended to create a false sense of dichotomy between the Iron Age and Romano-British periods, the continued use of traditional ceramics between the two periods is evident and will be discussed further in section 5.4. However, there is a large amount of data to consider and splitting it has been done for ease of discussion.

#### **5.3.1.1 The Middle and Late Iron Age Period**

The South Western Decorated wares were the dominant ceramic tradition within the south-west, originating at the end of the fourth century BC (Quinnell, 2011: 237). Petrological analysis by Peacock showed that pottery produced in this tradition was made from clays sourced from six areas located throughout south-western Britain. This included one in Cornwall, two in Devon, two in Somerset and one that spanned both Devon and Somerset (Peacock, 1969a and 1969b). Peacock concluded that the gabbro bedrock on the Lizard peninsula was the source of the clay used by the communities within Cornwall. He also demonstrated that the Permian clays of east Devon were the source for his Groups 5 and 6, although the exact locations of the clay extraction sites remain unknown (Gent and Quinnell, 1999: 53; Peacock, 1969a and 1969b).

The ceramic tradition in Cornwall has been well studied, with petrographical studies showing that Gabbroic clay has been utilised since the Neolithic period (Peacock, 1969a, 1988; Quinnell, 1987). Towards the end of the Late Iron Age South Western Decorated wares ceased to be produced and a new ceramic tradition, Cordoned ware, was introduced (Quinnell, 204: 110). Cordoned ware was first recognised in the 1950s and a first century BC date suggested

for the beginning of production, with a full typology being created by Threipland (1956: 57–67), in her write up of excavations at St Mawgan-in-Pydar (Quinnell, 2004: 110). Radiocarbon dates from excavations at Higher Besore/Truro College have though shown that Cordoned ware was being produced by the late second century BC and continued in use throughout the Romano-British period. This radiocarbon date also shows that there was some overlap between the two styles (Quinnell, 2011: 239, forthcoming).

The ceramic use on the Isle of Scilly mirrors that on the Cornish mainland during the Late Iron Age, with South-Western Decorated sherds known from a number of sites. These appear to have been used from the fourth century BC and assessment has shown that some of these ceramics were produced from Gabbroic clays, and so would have been imported from the Cornish mainland (Johns, 2012: 98–99). Cordoned wares are also known from sites such as Nornour, again produced from Gabbroic clays (Johns, 2012: 99). Petrographic analysis has shown that the local granitic clays were also utilised for ceramic production. Analysis of the sherds from the site of Bryher showed three granitic fabrics thought to have been produced on the islands (Quinnell and Taylor, 2006: 47–49).

Ceramic production in Somerset at this time also followed a similar pattern. The clay sources for Peacocks South-Western Decorated Groups 2 and 3 are both located in Somerset, with Group 2 being based on the Old Red Sandstones found in the Bath area and Group 3 being Mendip Limestones (Peacock, 1969b: 43). Both of these sources are outside the study region but Peacock's study showed that wares in this fabric did circulate within the area of the study region (Peacock, 1969b: 42). Excavations at the hillfort of Norton Fitzwarren, near Taunton, have shown that South-Western Decorated wares were in use here during the Middle and Later Iron Ages (Woodward, 1989: 51). The analysis of the ceramics from the site has shown a number of locally produced ceramics were utilised by the community here during the Late Iron Age. Petrographic analysis has shown these consisted of quartz, limestone and grog tempered wares, thought to have been produced in the region around the hillfort (Williams, 1989: 52–53; Woodward, 1989: 41–52).

In contrast, it has been thought that the communities in Devon were largely aceramic until the Later Iron Age when South Western Decorated wares began to be used on sites in eastern Devon (Gent and Quinnell, 1999: 52–53). However, more recent excavations have shown that

this ware was in use on a small number of sites west of the Exe. To add to this growing picture of wider ceramic use in Devon a new fabric, Late Iron Age Plain ware, has recently been recognised at a handful of sites within Devon, including Aller Cross, west of the Exe (Hughes, forthcoming). Analysis of this fabric shows it is very similar to the South-Western Decorated wares. Radiocarbon dates have so far shown it to be used during the first century BC and into the first century AD (Hughes, forthcoming). Small amounts of pottery from Dorset, the Durotrigian wares, has also been found on a handful of sites from southern and eastern Devon, including the Late Iron Age phase at Honeyditches (Silvester, 1981).

Mapping the distribution of ceramics securely dated to the Middle and Later Iron Ages does show that ceramic use was more intensive by communities in the far south-west, see figure 5.4. There are also large gaps across the landscape with no evidence of Middle or Late Iron Age ceramics. On the face of it this could be interpreted as supporting an aceramic argument for these areas during the Middle and Later Iron Ages. There are though, no excavated sites within these areas and the lack of information is likely due to a development bias, with no excavations in advance of construction having taken place in these areas within recent years.

The data collected through excavation over the last 100 years shows that only coarse fabrics were produced and utilised during the Iron Age, see Table 5.4. The forms in use during this period were also very restricted, with jar forms dominating the assemblages, see Figure 5.5. Imported ceramics, in the form of amphorae, began to appear in the region in the Late Iron Age, although only two of these are present in the data, both from the site of Carn Euny (Christie, 1978).

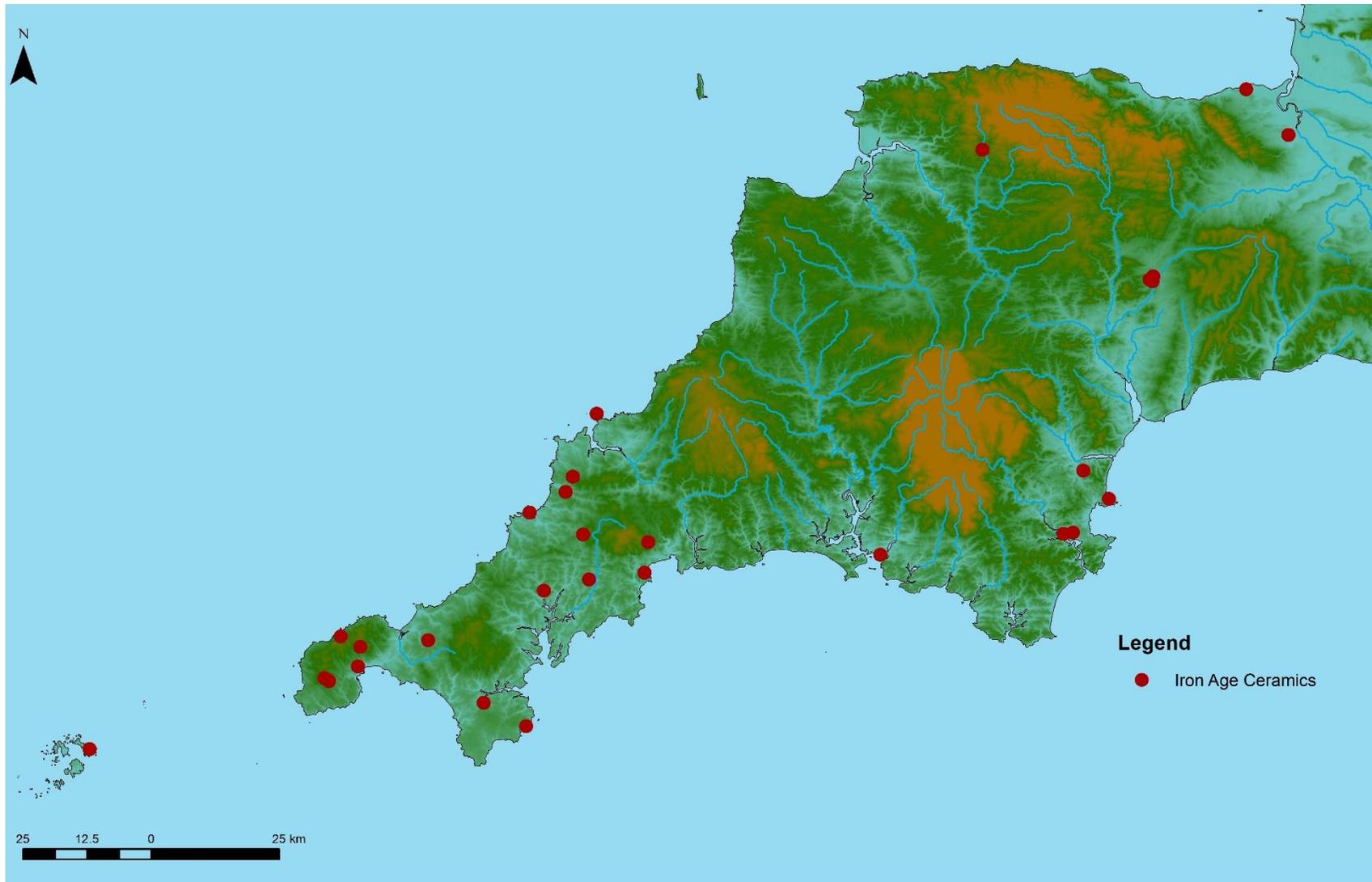


Figure 5.4: Map shows the sites within the study region that have produced a ceramic assemblage of Middle or Late Iron Age date.

Ware Type	Cornwall	Devon	Isles of Scilly	Somerset	Grand Total
Coarse Ware	183	89	5	3	280
Unknown	1	5			6
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>184</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>286</b>

Table 5.4: The fabric types by MNV in use during the Middle and Later Iron Ages within the study region. N.B. Specific fabric types have not been identified in all reports, or they are unclassified, which has led to them being entered as unknown.

The forms in use during the Iron Age show that communal eating from large pots, namely jars, was normal practice (Cool, 2006). The cooking pots are restricted to two sites within Devon, one being the high status multiple enclosure fort of Milber Down (Fox *et al.*, 1950). The bowls within the dataset are also restricted in their distribution, being recorded only at a small number of higher status sites, again such as Milber Down and Carn Euny (Fox *et al.*, 1950; Christie, 1978). Tablewares and drinking vessels are absent from the assemblage, as shown by the chart in Figure 5.5 (see Cool, 2006: 53 and 155–157).

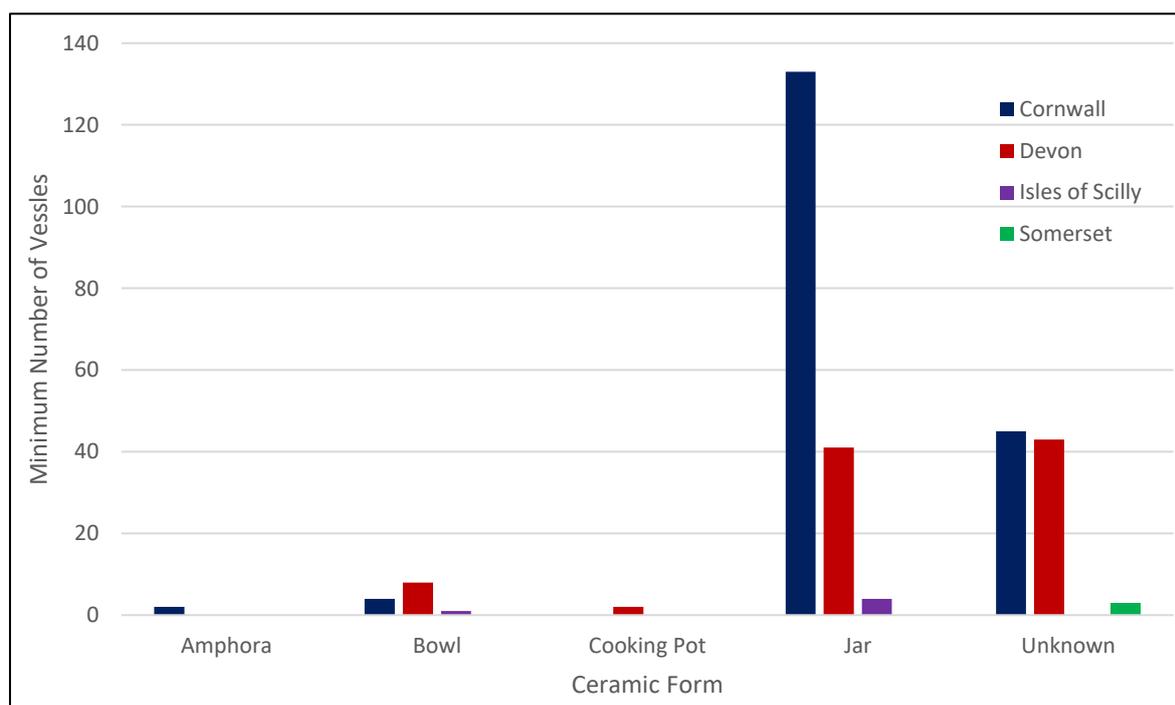


Figure 5.5: Chart shows the forms present in the study region during the Middle and Late Iron Age. Forms displayed by MNV.

The bowls present should not be considered as part of the suite of tablewares, as these examples are not shallow forms but are often much deeper and so had the capacity to hold a large amount of food as evident with some of the St Mawgan Type G bowls (Threipland, 1956: 59). The Late Pre-Roman Iron Age saw a shift in dining practices on a number of sites within the south-east of England, with drinking and dining forms gaining in importance (Pitts, 2010).

These forms were produced in local fabrics but many were in Gallo-Belgic fabrics, highlighting the growing links the south-east was enjoying with the Roman world (Perring and Pitts, 2013: 128). The lack of such assemblages in the study region and the very low levels of imported ceramics show that contact with the Roman world was limited. This would have helped to preserve traditional practices, such as communal eating, with little outside influence to introduce new ideas and forms of ceramics.

### 5.3.1.2 The Romano-British Period

The number of ceramic vessels in use within the region increased during the Romano-British period, see Table 5.5. However, it is important to note that the increase may not have been as much as Tables 5.4 and 5.5 suggest. As discussed in section 5.1, only 22 sites of Iron Age date are reported on within the database, while there are 104 sites that have produced ceramics of Romano-British date.

Ware Type	Cornwall	Devon	Isles of Scilly	Somerset	Grand Total
Coarse Ware	1560	4155	88	63	5866
Fine Ware	211	805	12	12	1040
Unknown	40	139	1	23	203
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>1811</b>	<b>5099</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>7109</b>

Table 5.5: Table shows the fabric types by MNV in use during the Romano-British period within the study region. N.B. The unknown ware types are either undiagnostic or unclassified fabrics.

The minimum number of vessels in Table 5.4 is then unlikely to be a true reflection of ceramic use during the Middle and Late Iron Age. The increased use of ceramics during the Romano-British period is a real phenomenon, and not solely a data bias. Data held within the database suggests most excavated sites which were occupied from the Late Iron Age through the Romano-British period show greater numbers of vessels were used after the conquest of the region. Good examples of this are the sites of Atlantic Road, Castle Gotha and St Mawgan-in-Pydar see Figure 5.6 (Reynolds, forthcoming; Saunders and Harris, 1982; Threipland, 1956). The main exception to this is Carn Euny, where ceramic use drops off in the early Romano-British period before increasing again slightly in the mid to later period.

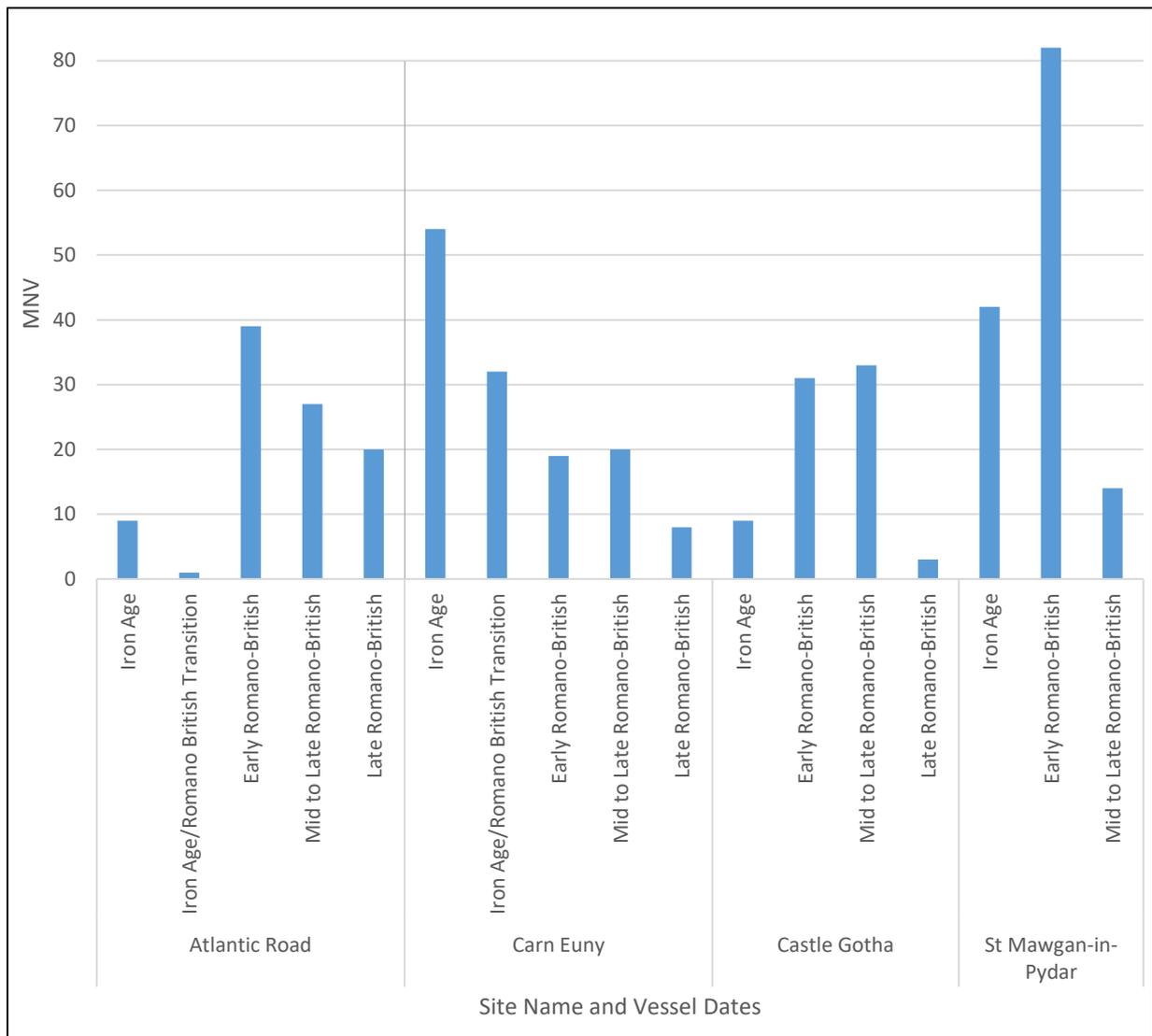


Figure 5.6: Chart shows the ceramic assemblages from four sites occupied from the Late Iron Age through the Romano-British period. The vessels present on each are displayed by their periods of manufacture, showing how ceramic use increased from the Late Iron Age through the early to mid Romano-British period on all except Carn Euny.

There are likely many contributing factors for the increase in ceramic use during the Romano-British period. The arrival of the military in the mid first century AD would have led to an increase in the trade of ceramic vessels. The garrisons of the small fort network would have required a supply of vessels. Much of this demand would have been met by ships controlled by the military but independent merchants may well have traded goods to cover shortfalls in military supply. The increase in ceramic use by local communities at this time indicates that these merchants took advantage of trade routes along the coast and river networks to trade

with these communities. A population expansion during the second century AD is also evident in the increase in settlement numbers, a change that is seen in other areas of Britain, as mentioned in the previous section (Smith, *et al.*, 2016; Gossip and Jones, 2007: 45; Quinnell, 2004: 212).

Ware Type	Local Fabric	Imported Fabric	Total
Fine Ware	68	960	<b>1028</b>
Coarse Ware	3085	2748	<b>5833</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>3153</b>	<b>3708</b>	<b>6861</b>

Table 5.6: Table shows the number of imported vessels in comparison to those produced locally, in both fine and coarse fabric types. N.B. The 12 fine ware vessels with unknown origins have been excluded.

Imported fabrics appear in the region during the Late Iron Age, however, the numbers of imported fabrics increases after the conquest of the region and account for 54% of the total ceramic assemblage of the region during the Romano-British period, see Table 5.6. Fine ware fabrics appear at the time of the conquest, the earliest example being a Terra Nigra cup from the round at Trevisker, which was believed by excavators to have arrived in the aftermath of the conquest (ApSimon and Greenfield, 1972). The amount of fine ware fabrics consumed in the region only accounts for 25% of the imported ceramics. Breaking this analysis down further into fabric types it is clear that the range of fine wares being consumed is very limited with only 17 types known from the region, see Figure 5.7. Of the fine ware fabrics produced in Britain, only one is definitely known to have been produced in Cornwall, the fine non-sandy Gabbroic ware, with the Fine Black Ware also likely to have been produced within Devon. Only four fine wares produced at other centres in Britain were imported into the region.

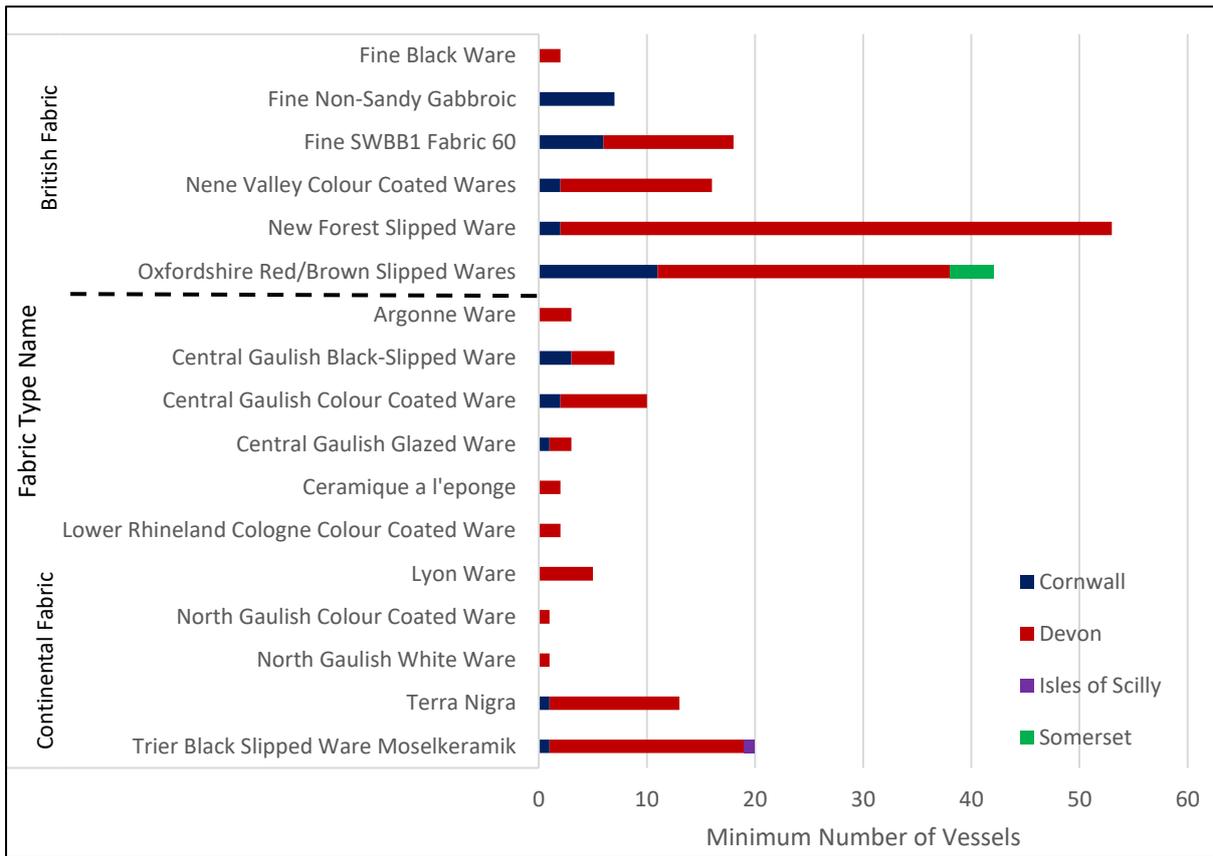


Figure 5.7: The chart shows the fine ware fabric types consumed within the study region during the Romano-British period. N.B. The Samian ware vessels are not shown here. The high quantity of these vessels makes it impossible to display fabric types with much lower quantities of vessels in comparison.

The chart in Figure 5.7 shows that a more diverse range of fabrics were imported from the continent from kilns across Gaul and the Rhineland. However, it is clear that British fine wares were being consumed in higher numbers than those from the continent with the exception of Samian ware, see Figure 5.8, which was consumed in far higher numbers than any of the other fine ware fabrics found in the region.

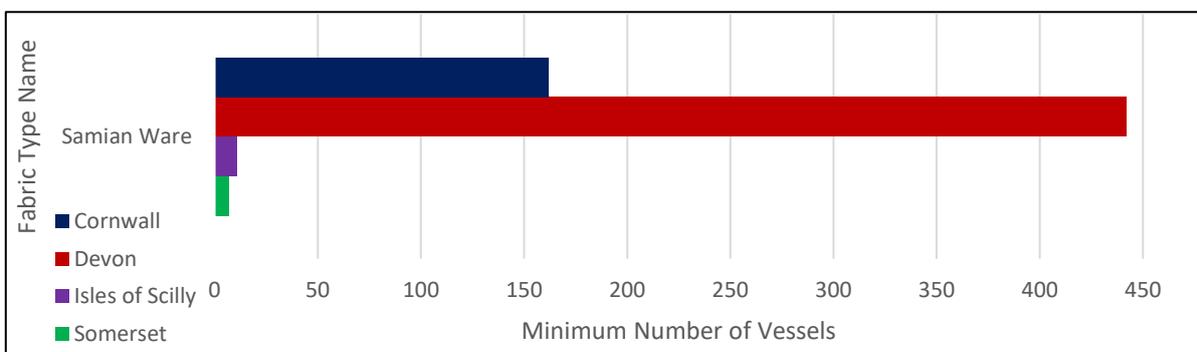


Figure 5.8: Chart shows the number of Samian ware vessels consumed within the region during the Romano-British period.

There are a number of possible reasons why British fine wares were consumed in higher numbers than the continental fabrics (excluding Samian ware). The fabrics being consumed varied between the counties with a far greater range being present at sites within Devon due to the different mechanisms of trade that operated across the region. The distribution of fine wares across the region shows that sites in Devon and Somerset enjoyed links to both the road network, which developed with the arrival of the military, as well as coastal and riverine trade networks, see Figure 5.9. The construction of the road network allowed central market places to develop, such as Pomeroy Wood and Woodbury (Fitzpatrick *et al.*, 1999; Weddell *et al.*, 1993), which in turn will have encouraged higher volumes of trade with greater numbers of forms and fabrics to be traded.

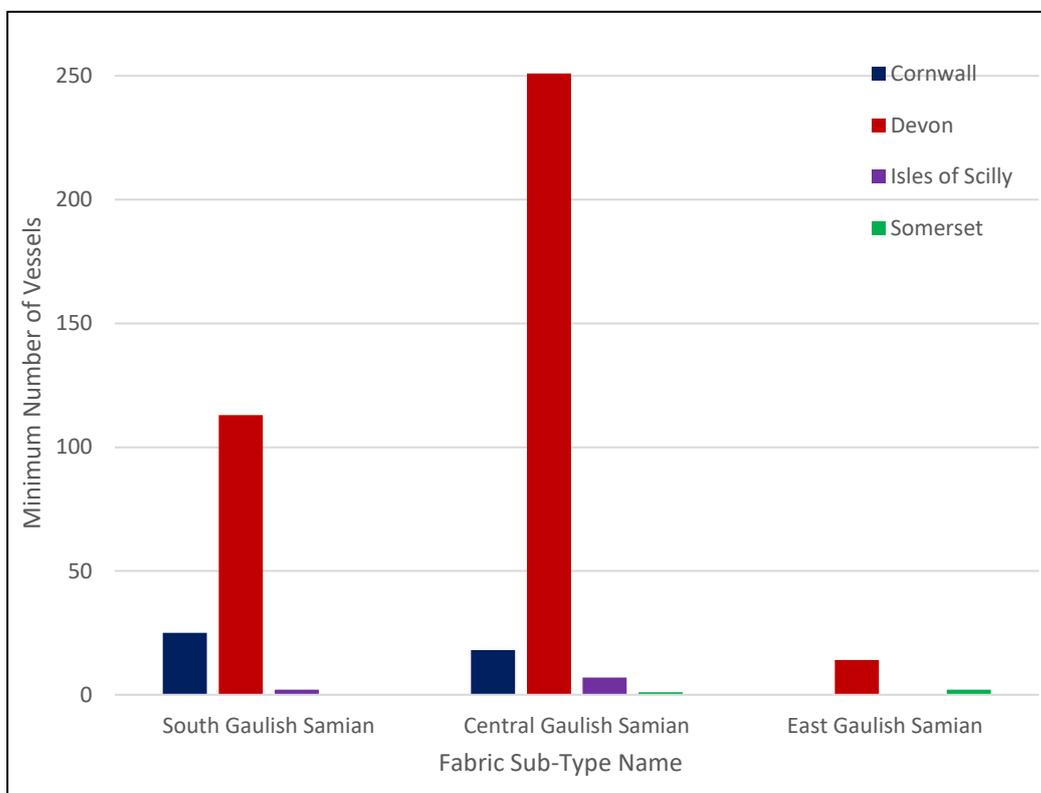


Figure 5.10: A breakdown of Samian Ware by fabric sub-types. The vessels that do not have a fabric sub-type have been excluded, which amounts to 189 vessels.

This did not happen in Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly, which continued to rely on coastal and riverine trade. The fine ware fabrics present in Cornwall also suggest that different trade routes operated in this area, with very little of the North Gaulish fabrics reaching this area. The presence of only one Terra Nigra vessel, in comparison to the slightly higher numbers of Central Gaulish fabrics indicates that trade may have occurred directly with traders from the

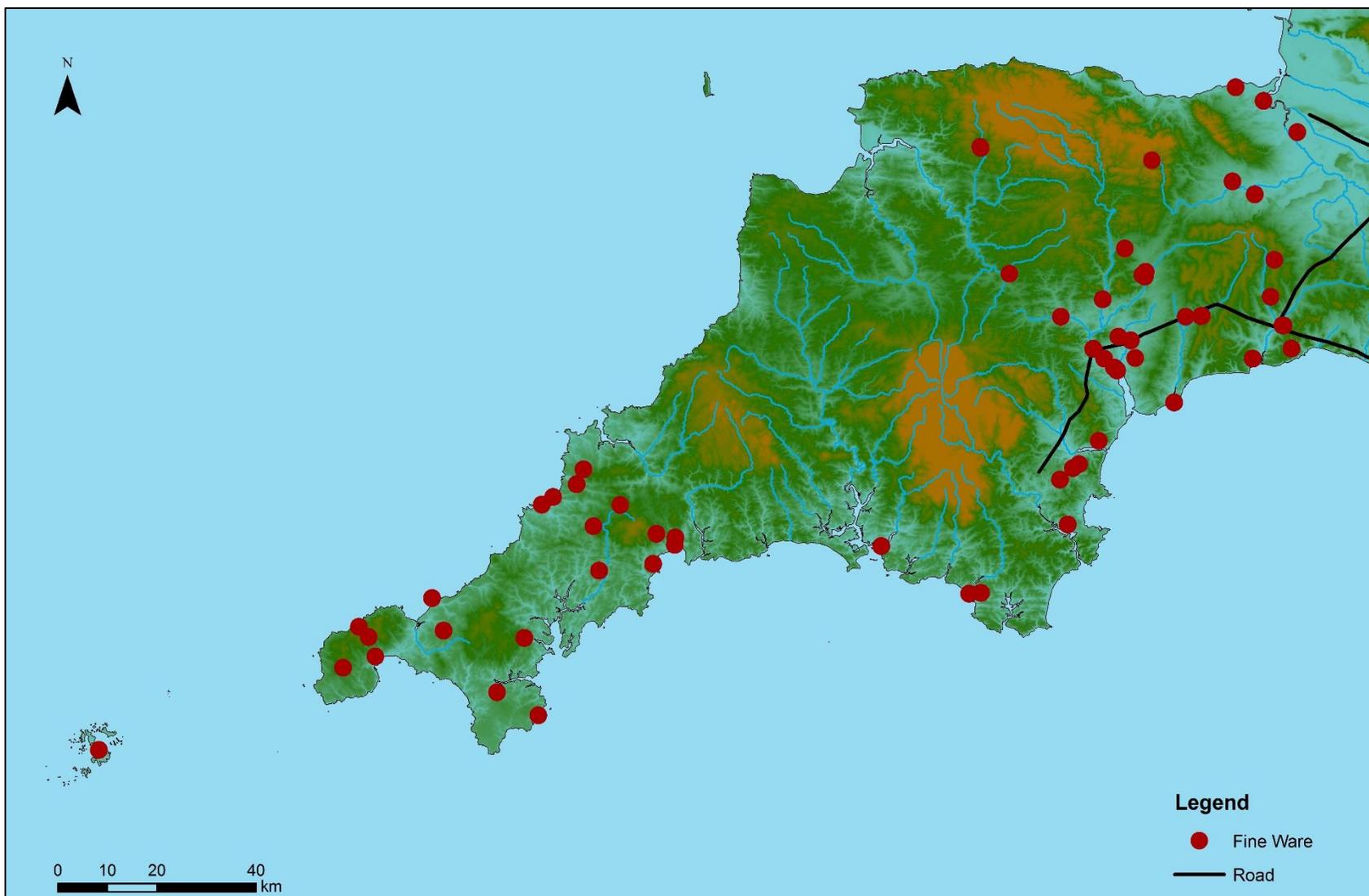


Figure 5.9: Distribution map of the fine ware fabrics consumed within the study region during the Romano-British period.

west or north-western coast of Gaul. This appears to be supported by the distribution of Samian ware fabrics across the region, see Figure 5.10. Vessels in Samian fabrics produced at the Central Gaulish kilns were by far the most popular in numerical terms, with 277 vessels represented, although 90% of these were excavated from sites within Devon. Only Samian from kilns in Southern and Central Gaul are represented on sites in Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly, with no vessels from the Eastern Gaulish kilns having been found. This may suggest that Eastern Gaulish Samian was traded along similar routes to fabrics from northern Gaul, which is why it is absent in the far south-west of the study region.

Imported Fabric Type	Cornwall	Devon	Isles of Scilly	Somerset	Total
Amphora	20	73		2	95
Fabric 401		1			1
Fabric 403	1				1
Ilchester CW Type				1	1
New Forest Parchment Ware		7		1	8
Norton Fitzwarran Ware Fabric 107		5			5
Oxford White Slipped Ware		2			2
Oxford White Ware	1	6		1	8
Oxfordshire Parchment Ware		4			4
Quartz Tempered Ware		1			1
Rough-cast Beaker	1				1
SEDBB1 Fabric 31	54	1913		28	1995
Severn Valley Ware	1	2		1	4
South East Dorset BB1 Variant	11				11
SWBB1 Fabric 40	29	581		1	611
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>118</b>	<b>2595</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>2748</b>

Table 5.7: The imported coarse ware fabrics in the study region dating to the Romano-British period.

The majority of the imported fabrics within the study region are coarse wares, with the majority of these being consumed by communities in Devon, see Table 5.7. What is most striking about the imported coarse wares is that none are found on sites in the Isles of Scilly, while less than half the fabric types are represented on sites in Somerset.

The only coarse ware fabric types imported from outside of Britain are the amphorae, with 95 of these vessels again having been found in Devon. The number of amphorae is quite high in comparison to other imported coarse wares, however, this number is very low when looked

at in the wider context of the rest of Britain. Amphorae are heavily distributed across central and southern England and large numbers are known from sites in Wales and along the roads leading north towards the frontier zone, including Watling Street and Dere Street, see Figure 5.11 (The Rural Settlement of Roman Britain: an online resource, 2016).



Figure 5.11: Map of the distribution of amphorae from across Britain. (Source: The Rural Settlement of Roman Britain: an online resource [data-set]. York: Archaeology Data Service [distributor] <https://doi.org/10.5284/1030449>)

The most common type found in the south-west is the Dressel 20 form, with a minimum of 55 known from the study region, see Figure 5.12. There are over 130 amphorae fabric types known from across the Roman world (Roman Amphorae: an online resource, 2014), however only eight forms types are known from the south-west. Of these all except the Dressel 30s, which originate in North Africa and the Gauloise 4 type, which was produced in Gaul, were imported from the province of Baetica in southern Spain. These amphorae are known to have

contained either olive oil, olives or wine, and it is the forms used to transport olive oil that are the most common, the Dressel 20 and 23 types (Roman Amphorae: an online resource, 2014).

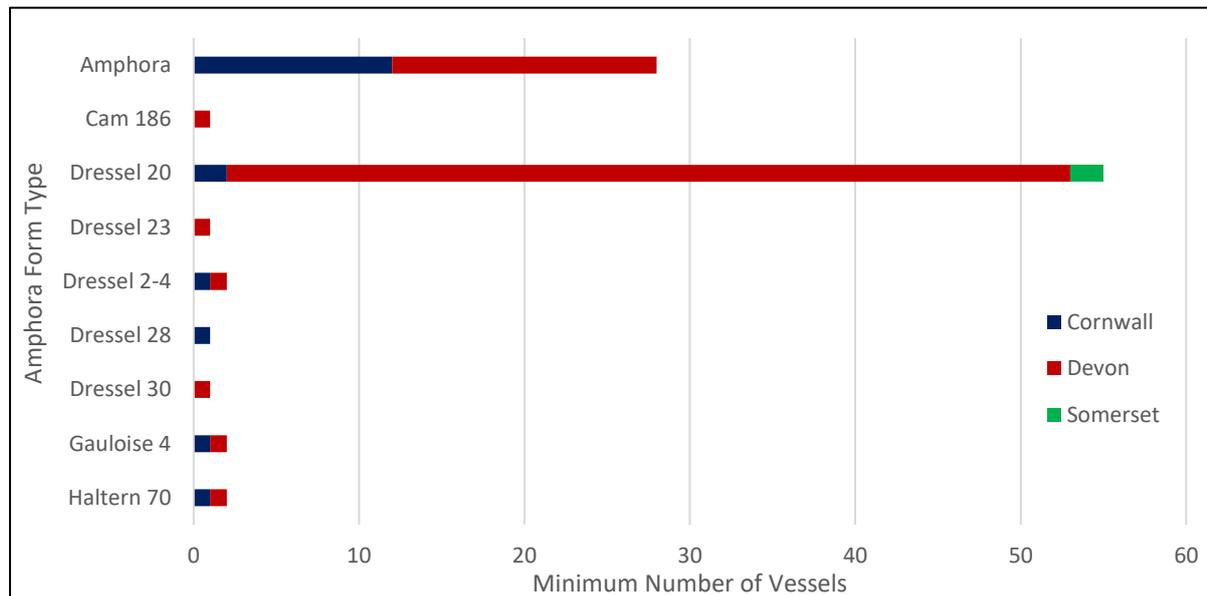


Figure 5.12: Chart shows the amphora present in the study region during the Romano-British period by form type. N.B. The type ‘Amphora’ includes vessels with no specific form type attributed to them.

Of the other imported coarse ware fabrics represented, all are present in very low numbers with the exception of South East Dorset Black Burnished ware (SEDBB1), which accounts for 72% of the imported coarse ware assemblage. The high levels of this fabric are not surprising; a previous study has shown this fabric to be the largest ceramic industry in Roman Britain, with a wide distribution that stretched up as far as the northern frontier, with vessels found along both the Antonine Wall and Hadrian’s Wall (Allen and Fulford, 1996: 223–281). Contemporary industries such as Severn Valley wares and the New Forest wares were shown by the study to have tighter distribution patterns, being concentrated most heavily in the areas around the kiln site (Allen and Fulford, 1996: 263). The Oxford ware industry is the most comparable of the British industries, with a wide distribution, again however, the vessels produced at the kiln sites are most densely distributed in central and southern England, with a much smaller number of findspots beyond this area (Tyres, 1996).

Of the local fabric types consumed within the region 97% of the vessels are coarse wares, with 49% of these being produced within Devon, see Table 5.8. The expansion of production of ceramic industries within Devon during the Romano-British period began during the occupation of the region by the Roman military. A small number of fabrics began to be

produced in the region around Exeter in order to supply the legionary base, such as Fortress wares and the Exeter Grey ware fabrics (Holbrook and Bidwell, 1991: 16–17; Bidwell, 2016). By far the most popular fabric type within Cornwall was Gabbroic, which far outweighs the second most numerous fabric, South Devon ware. The fabric types utilised within the Isles of Scilly and Somerset were heavily restricted in comparison to those consumed in Devon and Cornwall. Gabbroic fabric is the best represented fabric on the Isles of Scilly and indicates a strong trade link with mainland Cornwall, while in Somerset grey wares are the most popular, and indicate links to Devon and the grey ware industries around Exeter and east Devon.

Local Fabric Type	Cornwall	Devon	Isles of Scilly	Somerset	Total
Aller Cross*		14			14
Aller Cross Variant*		1			1
Exeter Gritty Grey Ware Fabric 101*	10	244			254
Exeter Micaceous Grey Ware Fab 125*	4	308			312
Exeter Sandy Grey Ware Fabric 151*	18	465		1	484
Fabric 105*		5			5
Fabric 406*		1			1
Fabric 435*	7	30			37
Fabric 440*	7				7
Fabric 451*	2	1			3
Fortress Ware A Fabric 100/371*	2	1			3
Fortress Ware B Fabric 190*	7	11			18
Fortress Ware C Fabric 191*		3			3
Gabbroic Variant	20				20
Gabbroic Ware	1309	13	117		1439
Granitic Ware	12		15		27
Grey Ware	3	45		20	68
Gritty Grey Ware		15		2	17
Hand-made Grey Burnished Ware*		1			1
Micaceous Sandy ware		1			1
South Devon Variant*		2			2
South Devon Ware Fabric 5*	61	247			308
South-Western Grey Ware Storage Jars*	2	57		1	60
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>1464</b>	<b>1465</b>	<b>132</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>3085</b>

Table 5.8: Table shows the local coarse ware fabric types in use in the study region during the Romano-British period. Fabrics are grouped by those produced in the region and those produced elsewhere in Britain. N.B. \* indicates fabrics produced in Devon. Tiles and Mortaria not included.

It was not only the fabric types being consumed that increased in number during the Romano-British period, the number of different form types in use also increased, see Figure 5.13. Cooking pots became the predominant form during this period, closely followed by bowls,

with jars now making up less than 15% of the total assemblage. However, it is the presence of tablewares, drinking vessels and mortaria that is notable. These forms appear very quickly after the invasion of the region, see Section 5.4, and indicate that drinking and dining practices, as well as the way food was being prepared changed for many communities within a few years of the conquest.

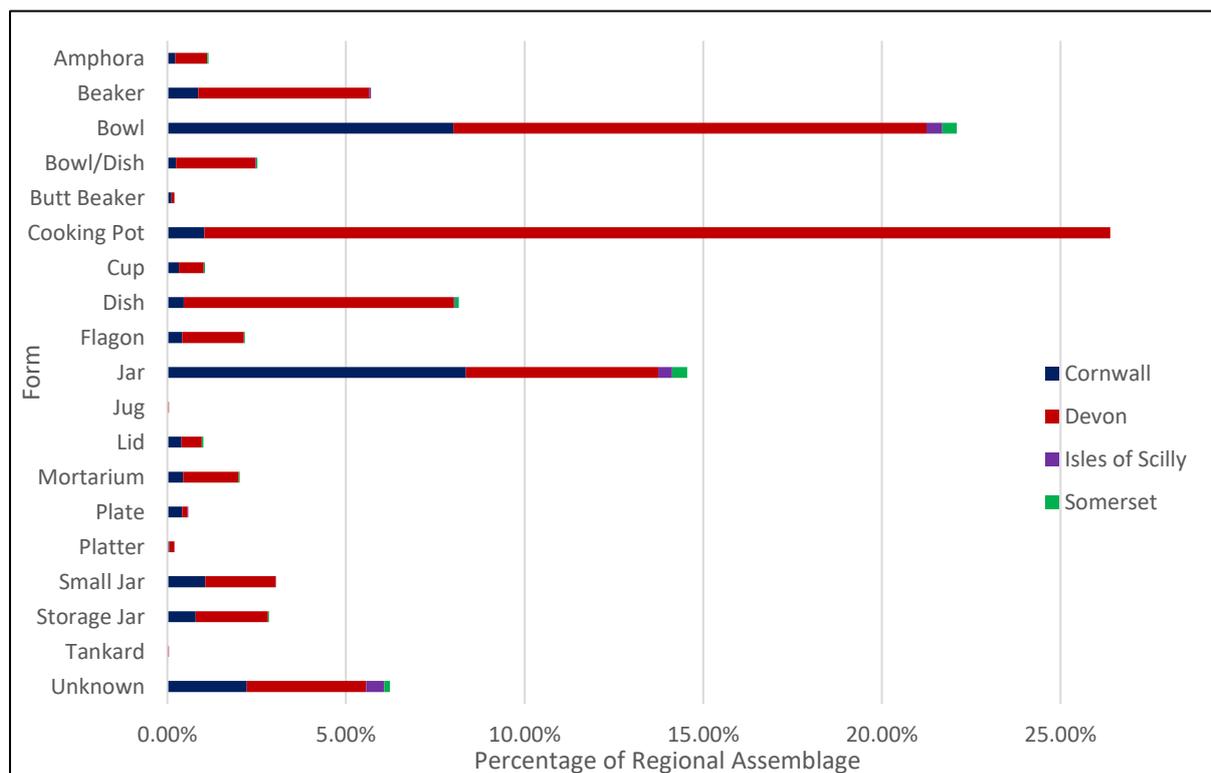


Figure 5.13: Chart shows the vessel types that make up the regional assemblage during the Romano-British period. They are shown as a percentage of the assemblage.

Of these new vessel forms, it is those associated with dining that were the most popular within the communities of the study region, with these making up just over 78% of the assemblage of dining and drinking vessels, see Table 5.9. Bowls are the most numerous vessel type of the dining forms and as discussed in Section 5.3.1.1, not all can be taken as evidence of a shift towards serving food in individual portion as opposed to communal eating from large vessels. Although a greater range of bowl forms are now present within the region, including small bowls suitable for serving individual portions, for example the Samian Dr 30 and 31 types, a number are still of larger size, the Trethurgy type 9 bowls for instance, and so were unlikely to have been used in this way (Quinnell, 2004: 116). It is the presence of dishes and plates that show a change towards individual servings. Plates only occur at sites within Devon and Cornwall, while dishes are a little more widespread. Mapping these two forms

shows that their distributions are restricted in comparison to the general distribution of tablewares within the region, which were utilised on a wide range of sites while dishes and plates tend to be located on higher status sites, see Figure 5.14. For example the roadside settlements of Pomeroy Wood, Shortlands Land and Woodbury have a total of 541 dishes within their assemblages, while the villa sites Holcombe and Honeyditches have 30 dishes (Seager Smith, 1999: 65–121; Bidwell, 2013: 115–159; Silvester and Bidwell, 1984: 39–47; Pollard, 1974; Silvester 1981).

Form	Cornwall	Devon	Isles of Scilly	Somerset	Grand Total	Percentage of Total
<b>Tableware</b>						
Bowl	565	935	31	29	<b>1560</b>	52%
Bowl/Dish	17	157	1	3	<b>178</b>	6%
Dish	32	534	2	8	<b>576</b>	19%
Plate	29	11	1		<b>41</b>	1%
Platter	4	10			<b>14</b>	< 1%
<b>Drinking Vessels</b>						
Beaker	61	338	3		<b>402</b>	<b>14%</b>
Cup	23	49		2	<b>74</b>	<b>2%</b>
Flagon	29	122		2	<b>153</b>	<b>5%</b>
Tankard	1	2			<b>3</b>	<b>&lt; 1%</b>
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>761</b>	<b>2158</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>3001</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 5.9: Table shows the vessels associated with dining and drinking, present in the study region during the Romano-British period. These are displayed both by MNV and by percentage of the total MNV.

The appearance of drinking vessels indicates that change in social practice during the Romano-British period was not solely linked to the way food was consumed. There was also a shift in the way drinks were consumed. It is likely that during the Late Iron Age jars were used for the consumption of drink, with them being passed around those present at the meal. The adoption of beakers and cups in particular, show this changed with some communities now favouring the use of individual drinking vessels. The numbers of these vessels are overall low and again mapping shows they are restricted, appearing on similar sites to the dishes and plates, see Figure 5.15. The map shows that more communities in Cornwall.

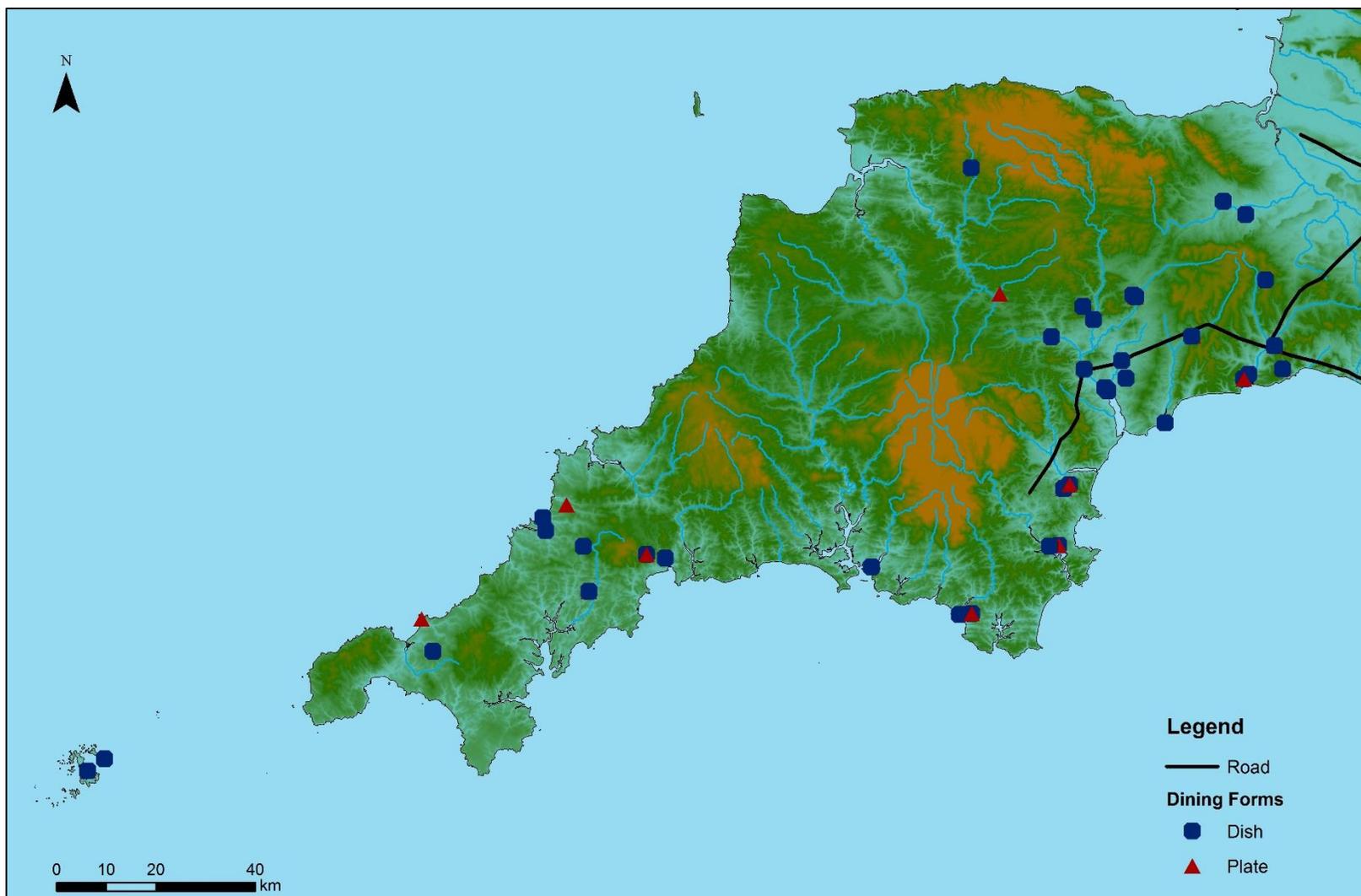


Figure 5.14: Map showing the distribution of plate and dish forms across the region during the Romano-British period.

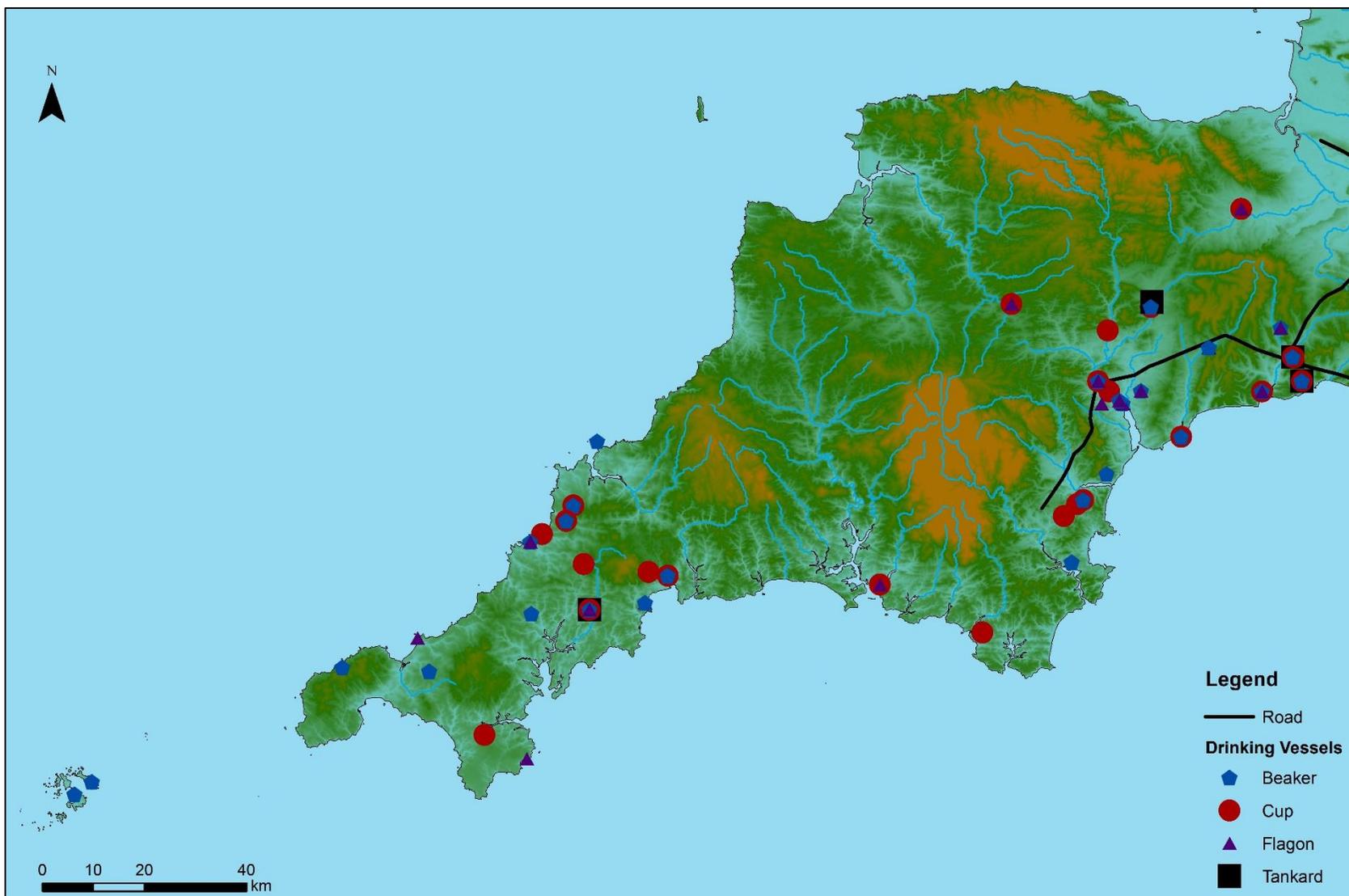


Figure 5.15: Map showing the distribution of drinking vessel forms across the region during the Romano-British period.

adopted new drinking practices in comparison to new ways of eating, with a greater number of sites in north and the far south-west of Cornwall having produced beakers and cups.

Mortaria appear in the region after the Roman conquest, with 153 examples from 30 sites. The majority of these are in unclassified fabrics, but where the fabric types are known they show that the mortaria were imported into the region from ceramic industries in both Gaul and elsewhere in Britannia, see Figure 5.16. The specialist reports on the mortaria, held within each site report, suggest that the vast majority of the unclassified fabrics were not of local origin and so it is likely that only a small handful were produced within the study region.

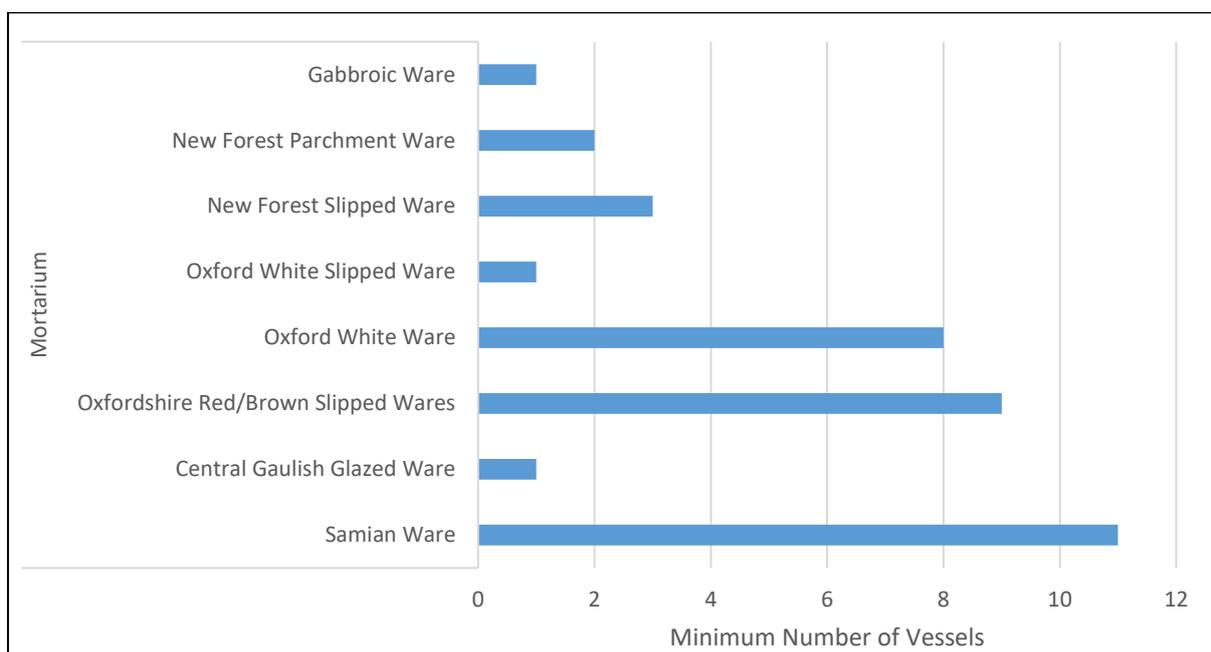


Figure 5.16: Chart showing the fabric types, where known, of mortaria within the study region.

The distribution map, see Figure 5.17, again shows a similar pattern of consumption to the tablewares and drinking vessels, with mortaria being more popular on sites in Devon. This could suggest that communities elsewhere within the study region did not adapt their methods of food preparation, even though the maps in Figures 5.14 and 5.15, show that greater numbers of sites exhibit changing eating and drinking practices.

The low numbers of ceramic mortaria within Cornwall does not necessarily mean that change in food preparation occurred only in the small number of communities that did utilise these vessels. Shortly after the arrival of the Roman military within the area, communities in Cornwall began to produce and use stone mortaria, the so called Cornish Mortars (Cool, 2005:

55; Quinnell, 1993, 2004: 129–139). The distribution of these is restricted, with only a handful of examples found outside Cornwall (Cool, 2005: 55; Quinnell, 1993). The map in Figure 5.17 shows the distribution of the modern excavated examples held within the database, which are all within the west of Cornwall. These mortaria are not used in isolation but occur on sites whose inhabitants have also begun to utilise new forms of tableware and the new drinking vessels. The earliest of these mortars is the example from Trevisker, which was found in ditch backfill, likely deposited during the second century AD (ApSimon and Greenfield, 1972). Five have been found at the site of Trethurgy, including an unfinished example, suggesting production on site (Quinnell, 2004: 133-134).

The fact that these new vessel forms were more popular with communities within Devon is linked to the trade routes discussed above. The distribution maps in Figures 5.14, 5.15 and 5.17, show that the majority of these vessels are found in close proximity to the road network, or on sites close to the coast of a major river. However, the discussion also serves to highlight that this change was not isolated to Devon. Although they appear in lower numbers elsewhere in the region, tablewares in particular were utilised by a number of other communities. The change in the make-up of these assemblages shows that social practice altered during the Romano-British period through contact with the military and the wider world. As such power relations within these communities would have altered and new relations formed with the military and with each other. These changes will have impacted upon the identities of these communities, with new identities being formed through the use of different ceramic forms.



Figure 5.17: Map shows the distribution of ceramic mortaria and Cornish stone bowls across the region during the Romano-British period.

### 5.3.2 Exeter

The data from excavations within the walled Roman town at Exeter has been excluded from the database built for this study. This is due to the fact that as a large town Exeter would have been connected to the administration of the province. As such the artefact assemblage profile is likely very different from that at rural sites and would therefore bias the data and analysis of the assemblages from these sites. However, to fully understand the context in which the ceramics discussed in this chapter were obtained and used within the study region, it is necessary to summarise the ceramic assemblage from Exeter.

The discussion is based on the finds from excavations that were undertaken by Exeter Museum in the 1970s, which were published by Holbrook and Bidwell (1991). Although the volume is primarily concerned with the museums excavations, reference is made to finds from excavations that took place between 1930 and 1969 within the city. There have been a number of recent excavations within the limits of the Roman city, however, few of these excavations have been satisfactorily published, or are awaiting publication, meaning the data was not available for use. This will bias the data somewhat, with potential under representation of certain ceramics, which will be discussed in the analysis below.

Another difficulty with using data from Exeter is that the Second Legion were garrisoned there during the third quarter of the first century AD. The legion would have been well supplied with ceramics, which would have included a high proportion of imported ceramics in both fine and coarse fabrics. The report on the ceramics is detailed, with discussions on the date ranges of each fabric, petrographic comments and a typology for many of the fabrics, the coarse fabrics in particular (Holbrook and Bidwell, 1991: 46–219). This has allowed ceramics from the military phase to be excluded. Where forms are dated to first century AD, they have only been included where it is specifically stated that they come from non-military contexts. Any ceramics which have uncertain dates have been excluded as well.

Due to the way that the mortaria and amphorae have been reported within the volume (Holbrook and Bidwell, 1991: 189-219), it has been difficult to incorporate them into this analysis in a meaningful way. The total number of mortaria for each phase has been given within the report, which is extremely helpful, however, assigning a fabric type to each one has not been attempted. A full fabric type series has been given within the report, which

consists of over 100 different fabric types (Hartley, 1991: 189-215). Assigning correct numbers to each type would be time consuming and unnecessary for this analysis. Instead I have classed them as unknown fabrics, this allowed me to include the number of mortaria consumed within the town in the overall count of minimum number of vessels and the assigning of a ceramic phase has allowed changing consumption patterns through time to be analysed. The report on the amphorae is again detailed and provides discussion on the forms and their origins. However, only the weights of sherds are given, with no sherd count of count of vessels for each type given. From the table detailing weights of each fabric it is clear that at least 28 vessels were found in civilian contexts (Peacock, 1991: 215-219). However, it is clear that this vastly underestimates the number of amphorae that were consumed by inhabitants of the town. In order to be able to include them within the discussion I have though had to use this number. The bias in this data will be discussed below in order that any conclusions take this into account.

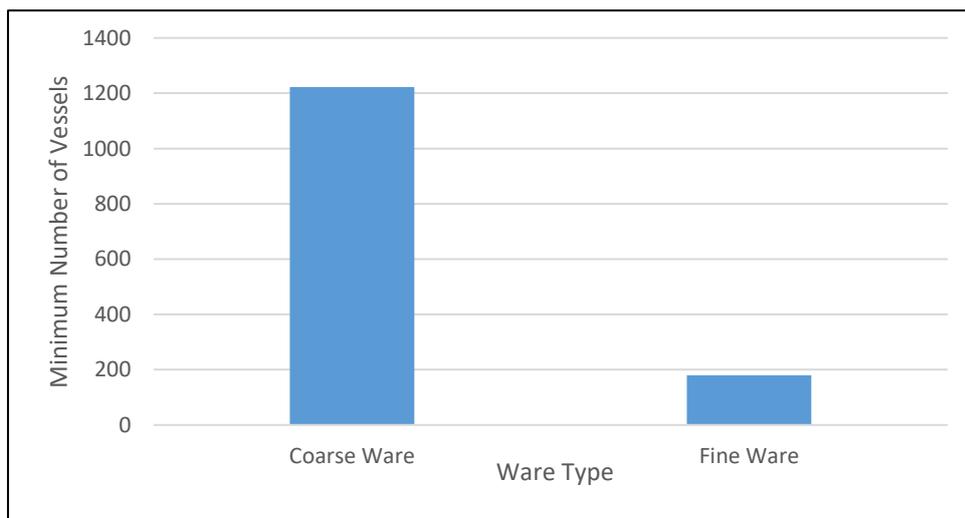


Figure 5.18: Chart shows the numbers of vessels in coarse and fine fabrics at Exeter.

Excavations have shown that the site chosen by the Second Legion for the fortress, which later became the town of Exeter, had no previous occupation. Iron Age settlements are known from the wider area, such as St Loyes on the outskirts of the modern city (Steinmetzer and Salvatore, 2011; Stead and Payne, 2013). As such there was no ceramic material of Iron Age date found during excavations, with the earliest ceramics having been brought in by the military. The ceramic data collected for Exeter consists of vessels that date to the very late

first century AD into fifth century AD. This has provided a minimum vessel count of 1402, with 91% of this assemblage being coarse ware fabrics, see Figure 5.18 and Table 5.10.

<b>Local Fabrics</b>			
<b>Coarse Ware</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Fine Ware</b>	<b>Total</b>
Exeter Gritty Grey Ware Fabric 101*	64	Fine SWBB1 Fabric 60	62
Exeter Micaceous Grey Ware Fabric 125*	86	TN Type Fabric 372*	1
Exeter Sandy Grey Ware Fabric 151*	129	TN Type Fabric 373*	3
Fabric 3	6	TN Type Fabric 376*	1
Fabric 435*	4		
Fabric 440*	8		
Fabric 451*	3		
Fortress Ware A Fabric 100/371*	26		
Fortress Ware B Fabric 190*	24		
Fortress Ware C Fabric 191*	6		
Fortress Ware D*	4		
Gabbroic Ware	7		
Hand-made Grey Burnished Ware Fabric 81*	32		
Norton Fitzwarran Ware Fabric 107	2		
South Devon Ware Fabric 5*	29		
South-Western Grey Ware Storage Jars*	19		
SWBB1 Fabric 40	436		
<b>Minimum Number of Vessels Total</b>	<b>885</b>	<b>Minimum Number of Vessels Total</b>	<b>67</b>
<b>Imported Fabrics</b>			
<b>Coarse Ware</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Fine Ware</b>	<b>Total</b>
Amphora	28	Argonne Ware	13
Mayen Ware	3	Late Imitation Terra Nigra	13
Miscellaneous	3	Lower Rhineland Cologne Colour Coated Ware	1
Oxford White Slipped Ware	1	New Forest Slipped Ware	2
SEDBB1 Fabric 31	121	Oxford White Slipped Ware	1
Severn Valley Ware	2	Pompeian Red Ware	1
		Samian Ware	76
<b>Minimum Number of Vessels Total</b>	<b>158</b>	<b>Minimum Number of Vessels Total</b>	<b>107</b>
<b>Unknown Fabrics</b>			
<b>Coarse Ware</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Fine Ware</b>	<b>Total</b>
Mortaria	157	Unclassified	6
Unclassified	22	Unknown	1
<b>Minimum Number of Vessels Total</b>	<b>179</b>	<b>Minimum Number of Vessels Total</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>1222</b>		<b>181</b>

Table 5.10: Table details the fabric types that were found within the town at Exeter, both coarse and fine ware fabric types. Fabrics shown with \* are known to have been produced in Devon.

The data in Table 5.10 clearly shows that the inhabitants of Exeter preferred fabrics produced within the local region, with 55% of the fabric types (both coarse and fine wares) having been produced from clays sourced within the study area. The table shows that there was a preference for ceramics produced within Devon, with these fabrics accounting for 42% of the overall assemblage. Only 34% of the fabrics represented come from outside the study region, which is a lower number than may have been expected. As a town Exeter was linked to the road and coastal trade networks, which should have allowed objects traded from across the Roman World to reach the site and its inhabitants. The preference for local fabrics may be linked to the supply networks established during the military phase, with the Fortress ware and Exeter Grey ware industry being linked to the legion and the supply of the fortress (Holbrook and Bidwell, 1991: 16-17). It is likely that as these supply chains were already in existence, local merchants continued to buy and sell these wares once the site became a town. This also accounts for the numbers of South East Dorset Black Burnished ware vessels, the amphorae and Samian vessels, all of which were supplied to the legion during its time in the region.

One discrepancy evident within the data is the low level of SEDBB1, in comparison to South Western Black Burnished wares (SWBB1). By the second century AD SWBB1 was the predominant coarse ware fabric in use within Exeter. It has been suggested that Exeter suffered a down turn in sea-bourne trade during this period with less SEDBB1 able to reach the town, or that the potters in Poole Harbour were sending most of their wares to the military markets in Wales and Northern England (Holbrook and Bidwell, 1991: 18-19). It is possible that the preference of SWBB1 over SEDBB1 may be linked to the location of its production centre, which is thought to be in south Somerset or west Dorset (Tyres, 1996), much closer to Exeter. The choice of local wares over imports from further afield may have stretched to SWBB1. Its dominance did not last and by the early third century it had ceased in production, with a corresponding upsurge in the consumption of SEDBB1 taking place (Holbrook and Bidwell, 1991: 19).

A further discrepancy is the low level of South Devon ware (SDW). In a recent publication on the late Roman pottery in Devon Bidwell (2016) discusses the fact that the supply of SDW never outstripped that of SEDBB1, which remained an important fabric in the region up until

the end of the Roman period. However, it was an important fabric in the supply of Exeter and more than the 29 vessels shown in the data would have reached the town. This discrepancy, along with the low levels of SEDBB1, suggests a flaw in the data, which is due to lack of access to the most recent excavation reports for Exeter. Bidwell discusses the assemblage from excavations at Princesshay within Exeter, which produced a large assemblage of late Roman ceramics that undoubtedly contained a high proportion of SDW. Work on this assemblage is still ongoing though and so currently inaccessible.

Of the forms consumed by the inhabitants of the town, see Figure 5.19, bowls and cooking pots are the most numerous. Dishes, beakers and flagons, as well as mortaria are also numerous and show that the inhabitants of the town embraced new ways of food preparation and dining.

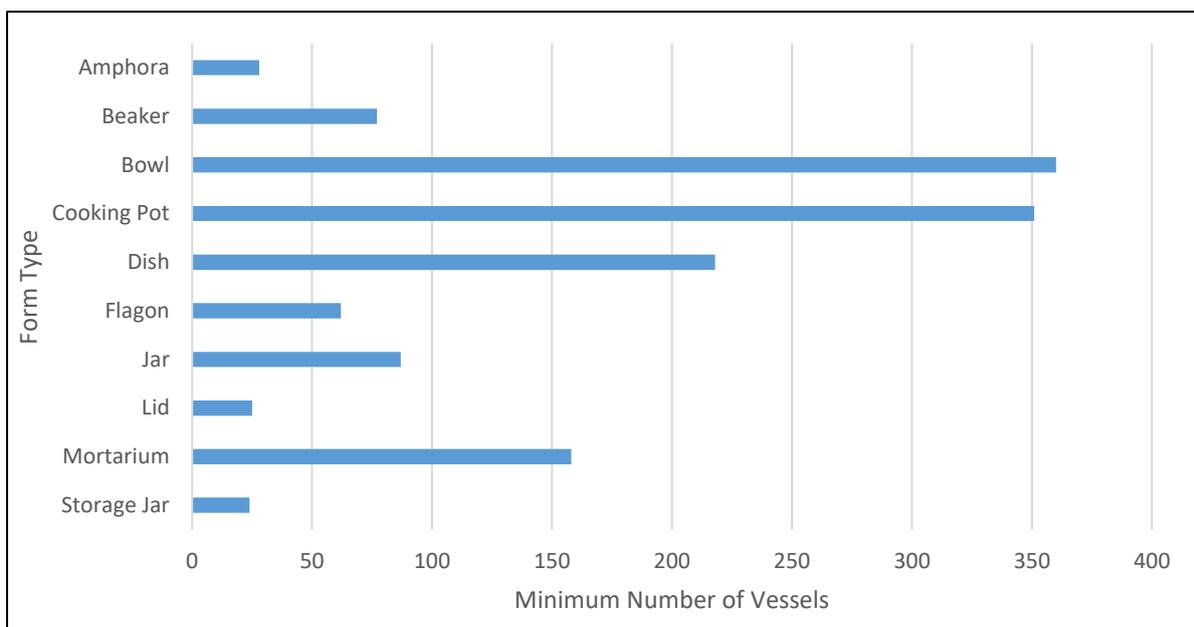


Figure 5.19: Chart shows the vessel forms from the Exeter assemblage, displayed by minimum number of vessels. The chart shows only those forms where the minimum number is greater than 10.

Cups are absent from the data, which is due to a data collection issue. It is probable that cups in Samian fabric as Dragendorff forms 27 and 33, both undecorated cup forms, were used within the town as they are mentioned in the Exeter volume (Holbrook and Bidwell, 1991), but the text is not easy to follow and it is uncertain how many of these types were present and if they belonged to the military or civilian phase. A large number relate to excavations at

Topsham and so are not connected to the inhabitants of the town. The only forms unique to the town are an inkwell and three tazze.

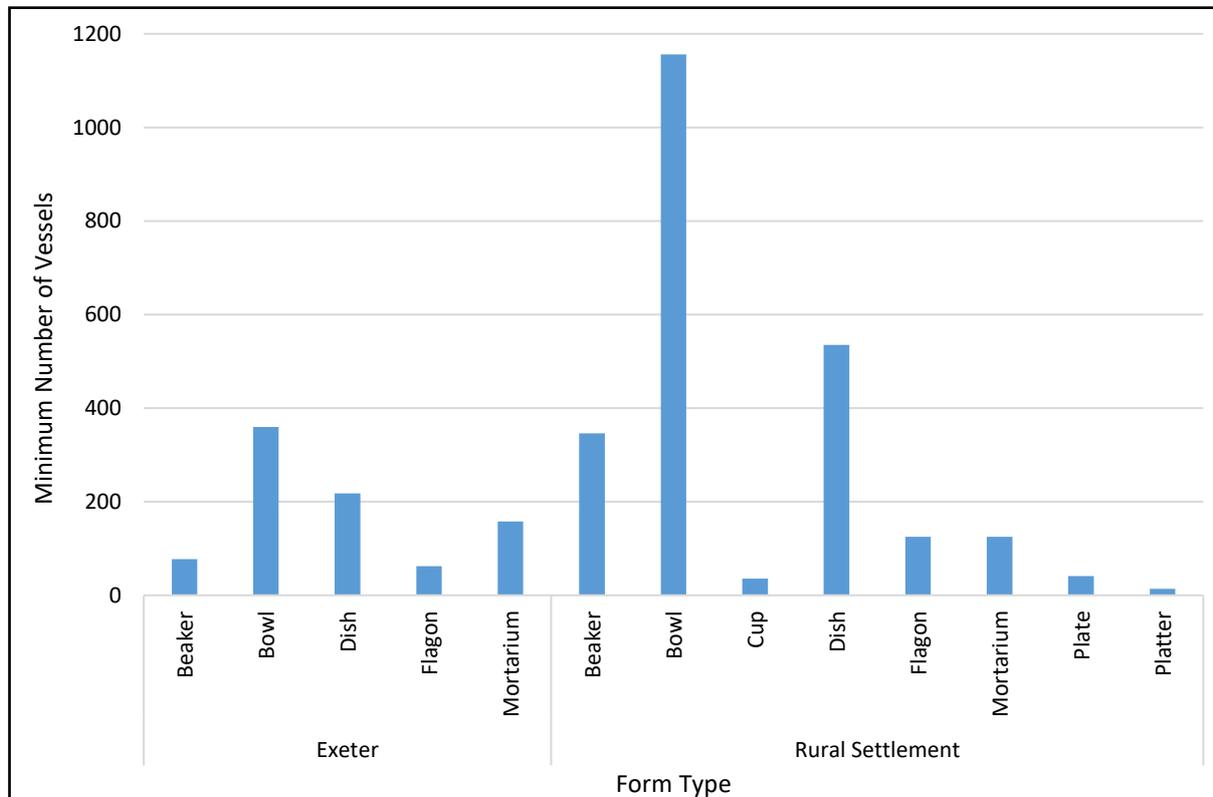


Figure 5.20: Chart shows the tableware and drinking vessels forms found at Exeter and from the rural settlements excavated across the region.

One striking thing about the Exeter assemblage is how similar it is to that from the rural settlements, in particular the consumption patterns of tablewares and drinking vessels, see Figure 5.20. Bowls are the most popular of these forms, followed by dishes and beakers. Breaking this down into percentages the correlation becomes even more apparent. In particular the percentages of bowls, dishes and flagons within the tableware and drinking vessels assemblage from Exeter and the rural settlements are very similar, see Table 5.11. The lack of cups within the Exeter assemblage is also given some context here. There are cups present at rural settlements, however, they only account for 1.51% of the tableware and drinking vessel assemblage. This shows that cups were quite rare across the region, generally only being consumed on the higher status sites and with only one or two present on each site. The exceptions are the sites of Carvossa and Shortlands Lane where 16 and 28 were found

respectively. As discussed, the lack of cups within the Exeter assemblage is likely an error in the data collection, although based on the patterns within the assemblages if they were consumed in Exeter, they likely were only purchased in small quantities.

<b>Rural Settlement Form</b>	<b>Percentage of Rural Settlement Assemblage</b>	<b>Exeter Form</b>	<b>Percentage of Exeter Assemblage</b>
Beaker	14.55%	Beaker	8.80%
Bowl	48.61%	Bowl	41.14%
Cup	1.51%	Cup	0%
Dish	22.50%	Dish	24.91%
Flagon	5.26%	Flagon	7.09%
Mortarium	5.26%	Mortarium	18.06%
Plate	1.72%	Plate	0%
Platter	0.59%	Platter	0%
<b>Rural Settlement Total</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>Exeter Total</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

Table 5.11: Forms associated with food preparation and consumption from the assemblages of Exeter and the Rural Settlements. Displayed as a percentage of the total number of vessels for each assemblage.

The similarity of the assemblages is likely due to the demography of the population. The inhabitants of Exeter were probably from a number of origins and likely included traders from other parts of the Roman world and possibly veterans from the Second Legion. However, it is likely the largest group of people originated from the local region and so had similar dining practices to those evident in the rural settlements. The use of dishes and flagons at meal times would then have been different to their previous practices.

### 5.3.3 Conclusion

The analysis above has shown that the pattern of consumption of ceramic vessels changed during the Romano-British period. The introduction of forms associated with dining, drinking and food preparation in particular are notable. This signifies a change in the way food was consumed by certain communities within the study region, with a shift from communal eating to being served individual portions.

This trend is also visible in the data from Exeter, the sole town within the region. Here the ratios of tablewares and drinking vessels broadly reflect that within the assemblage from the

rural settlements. The next section will look at these trends in more detail, analysing the consumption of these objects through time to gain a more nuanced view of change and to help with understanding the mechanisms behind this change.

## **5.4 Change Through Time**

The preceding discussion focused on the total number of ceramic fabrics and forms and change of power relations and social practice. This section will move on to provide a more detailed discussion on change through time. There were significant changes in the numbers of ceramics used throughout the study period, see Figure 5.21, as well as changes in the fabrics and forms consumed by communities through the Late Iron Age and Romano-British periods. In this section I will explore these changes and the reasons behind them. As discussed previously, I have assigned each object to a time period, a Ceramic Phase, which will allow change between periods and any trends within the data to be recognised. These are listed in Section 5.1.

To aid this discussion the distribution of the ceramics, the different forms and fabrics, during each phase will be examined. Mapping the distribution of new fabrics and forms consumed by communities within the south-west allows the visualisation of trends within the data. Visualising the data in this way should allow it to be better understood and allow questions such as whether changes are confined to a small number of sites or are they more widespread to be answered. Such questions are fundamental to this study as answering them will show whether change only occurred in small areas of the landscape, which were subject to greater influence from peoples considered fully integrated into the Roman empire, such as the area bordering the lands of the Durotriges and the Dobunni, or the area around Exeter, or if it was much more widespread.

As important is the analysis of changes in traditional social practices, mapping the changes in eating and drinking practices through time will allow those communities, or groups of communities, who embraced new practices to be identified. This will have an impact on the discussion of the validity of continuing to group these peoples into the tribe of the Dumnonii. Differing social practices suggest different power structures, which are unlikely to support the idea of one politically cohesive unit. Instead mapping communities with differing social

practices may show that a number of smaller political units existed within the region, a point that will be discussed further throughout the rest of this study.

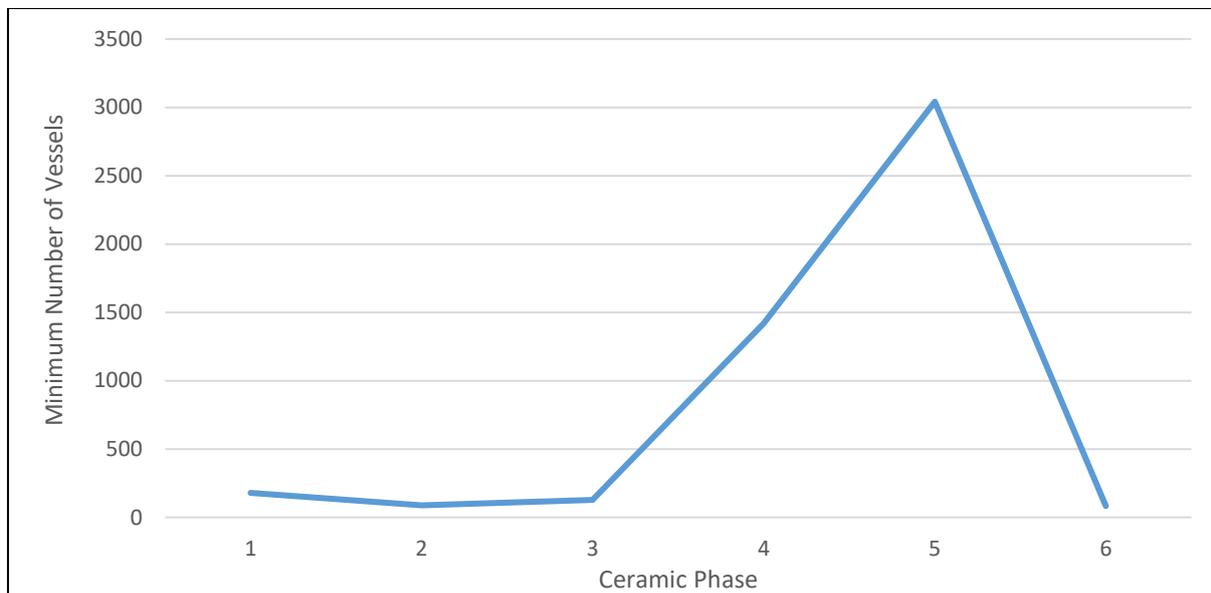


Figure 5.21: A frequency chart showing the total number of ceramic vessels in use during each Ceramic Phase.

#### 5.4.1 The Middle and Late Iron Ages, CP1 and CP2

Breaking the data down into time periods shows that during the Middle to Late Iron Ages only one fabric type was in use, South Western Decorated wares. It is not until the Late Iron Age that the fabric types utilised diversified, increasing to 11 different fabric types, see Table 5.12. Imported ceramics appear in the region during the Late Iron Age, with two amphorae represented in the data. Both are Dressel 1A types, dating to the second to first centuries BC and are known to have contained wine (Roman Amphorae: an online resource: 2014). Both came from the site of Carn Euny, which was established in the Middle Iron Age, with the construction of a fogou and turf and timber houses. By the first century BC though stone houses were replacing these earlier constructions (Christie, 1978). In the past the presence of amphorae in Late Iron Age assemblages has been interpreted as indicating the high social standing of the communities or individuals they were associated with. Access to the trade of prestige goods, such as wine, was thought to symbolise the social power of the individuals who consumed them (Haselgrove, 1982: 82). However, the low quantities of such goods entering Britain suggests that imports such as wine, were luxury items and so not necessarily

tied to the creation and maintenance of social hierarchies. The importance placed on such goods may have been the obvious connection to the Roman world and the long distance trade routes, rather than the power of the individual purchasing them (Haselgrove, 1996: 174–175; Pitts, 2005: 145). In this region, where imported ceramics are limited to the small number of amphorae, contact with the Mediterranean may well have been used to reinforce the social position of these communities within the wider region.

<b>Fabric Type</b>	<b>Cornwall</b>	<b>Devon</b>	<b>Isles of Scilly</b>	<b>Somerset</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>CP1</b>					
<b>Coarse Ware</b>					
South Western Decorated Ware	100	75	4		173
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>179</b>
<b>CP 2</b>					
<b>Coarse Ware</b>					
Amphora	2				2
Gabbroic Variant	1				1
Gabbroic Ware	42				42
Granitic Ware	1		1		2
Grog and Quartz Tempered Ware					
Grog-tempered Ware	1			1	2
Limestone Tempered Ware				1	1
Locally sourced		8			8
Quartz Tempered Ware				1	1
Sand-tempered Ware	1				1
South Western Decorated Ware	20				20
<b>Total</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>80</b>
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>168</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>259</b>

Table 5.12: Table shows the number of vessels and their fabric types consumed in the south-west during the Mid to Late Iron Age and the Late Iron Age periods.

Aside from the introduction of amphora, the forms consumed do not change between the Mid to Late Iron Age and the Late Iron Age periods, with jar forms continuing to dominate the assemblage. Bowl forms become more widespread in the Late Iron Age, being used on sites in Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly and disappearing from Devon, while jars disappear from the assemblage on the Isles of Scilly, see Figure 5.22.

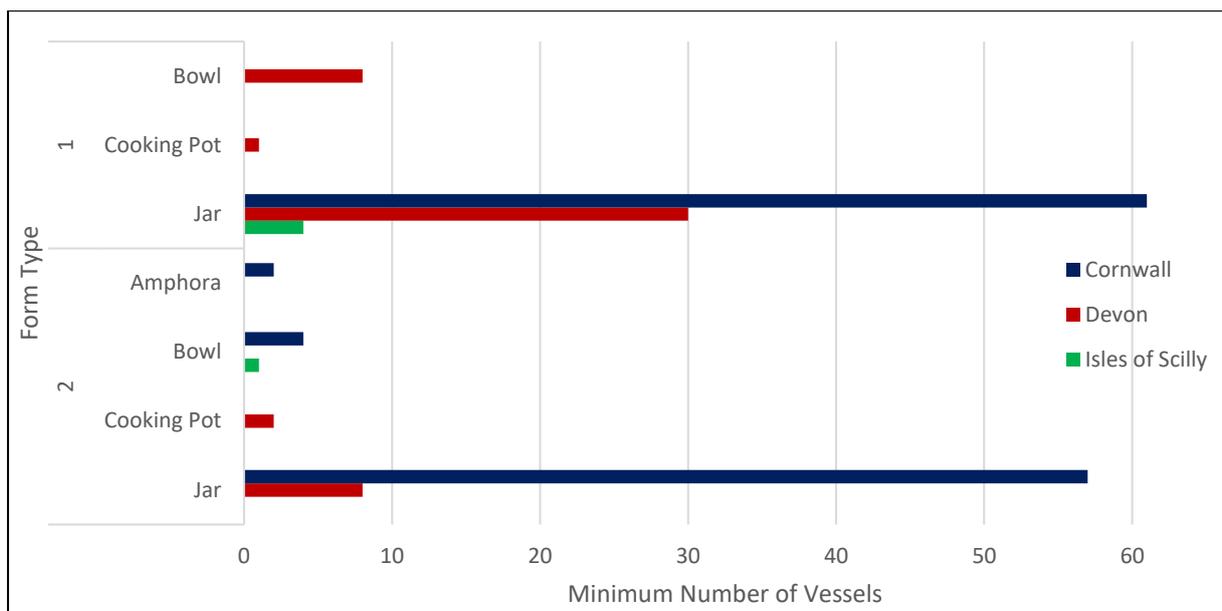


Figure 5.22: The chart shows the form types consumed during the Mid to Late Iron Age and the Late Aron Age periods.

The mapping of these vessels shows that the distribution of jars is widespread and there does not appear to be any clustering in the distribution of the other forms, although the low numbers of these forms does mean that they are limited to a few sites. During the Mid to Late Iron Age the only cooking pot form in the data was from the high status site of Milber Down, while this shifted in the Late Iron Age with cooking pots only being found on two sites in the area of Cullompton, which later became the roadside settlement of Shortlands Lane (Morris, 2013).

As discussed in section 5.3.1.1, these forms indicate that food was consumed communally, with individuals eating from jars, or from the bowls, which at this time were too large to be classed as part of the suite of tablewares. Jars were then utilised both for the preparation and serving of foods as well as the consumption of drinks. It is only the inhabitants of Carn Euny that stand out, with the two amphorae found at this site. The presence of these and the fact that they contained wine indicates that drinking habits at this site were beginning to change. As no cups or beakers were found in the assemblage for this period the wine was likely consumed from jars, indicating that although what the inhabitants of the site were drinking had altered, how it was being drunk fitted in with traditional practices.

#### 5.4.2 The Late Iron Age to Roman Transition period, CP3

The ceramic data for this period shows a drop in the number of vessels consumed in comparison to the Middle to Late Iron Age periods, see Table 5.13. The mapping of settlements with ceramics dating to these periods shows that there was a contraction in settlements at this time in Cornwall, with a number of sites being abandoned. This is also the case in Devon, although this period sees a number of new sites being founded in eastern Devon, see Figure 5.23. It is possible that one reason for this was the uncertainty caused by the Roman invasion, however, some of the new settlements that appear during this period, such as Holcombe, were founded prior to the conquest and so indicate that a restructuring of society began to occur during the late stages of the Iron Age. It is possible that a shift in power relations occurred at this time, with elites and a more hierarchical structure beginning to form.

Ceramic Phase	Cornwall	Devon	Isles of Scilly	Somerset	Grand Total
1 and 2	169	92	5	3	269
3	42	53	3	3	101
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>211</b>	<b>145</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>370</b>

Table 5.13: The minimum number of vessels consumed during the Middle to Late iron Ages in comparison to the Late Iron Age and Roman Transition period.

The increase in imported ceramics and the fact they occur mainly at sites founded during this period supports this. Amphorae are again represented as well as SEDBB1 and Terra Nigra, see Figure 5. Terra Nigra is only found at one site during this period, the round of Trevisker, where one Terra Nigra cup was found during excavations in the 1950s. The excavators believed that this vessel had reached the site after the arrival of the Roman military (ApSimon and Greenfield, 1972). It is, however, entirely possible it arrived in the years before the invasion and was a symbol of the status of the rounds inhabitants, showing their connection to long distance trade routes and the Roman world.

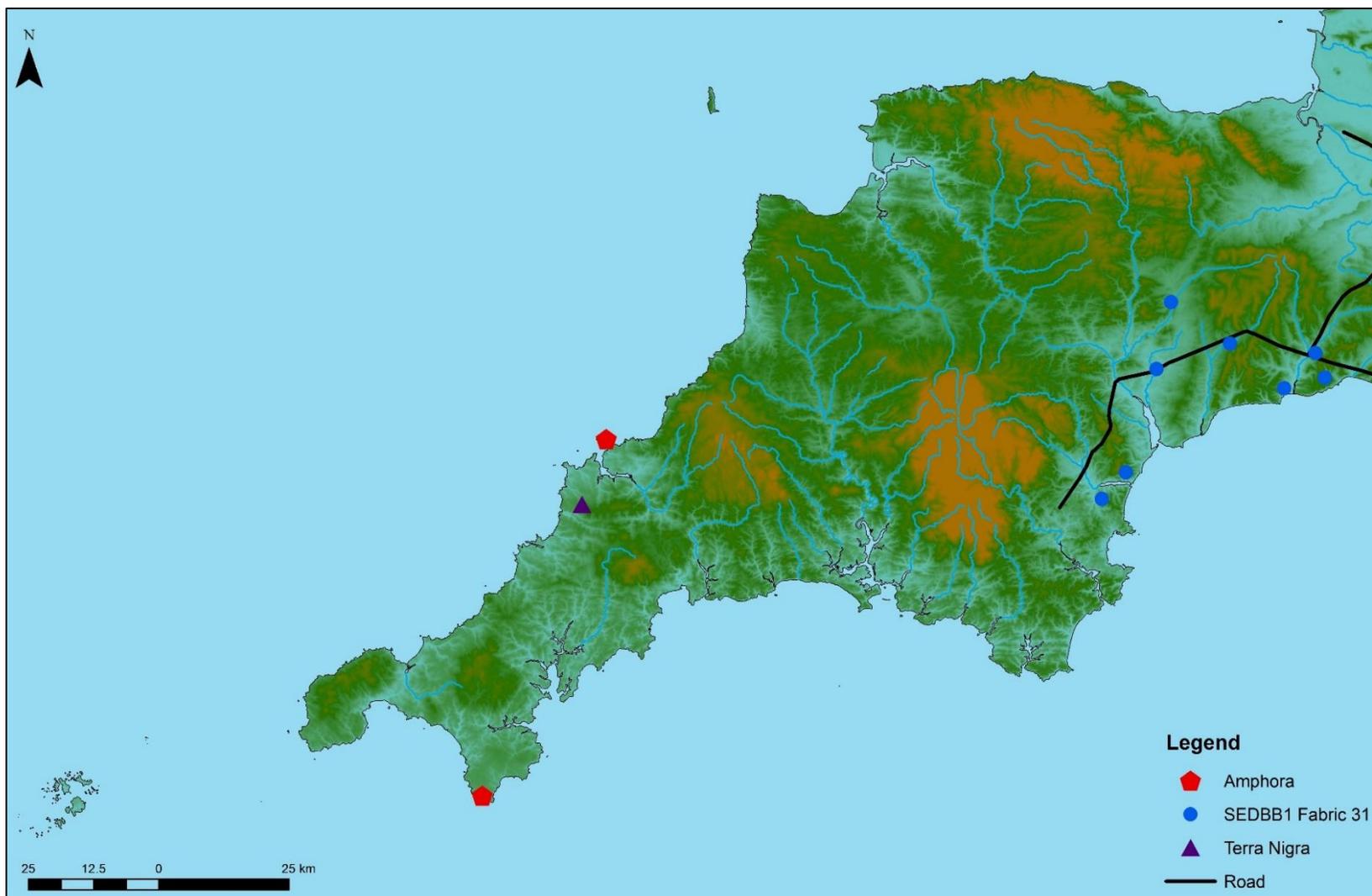


Figure 5.23: Distribution map of the imported ceramics consumed in the Late Iron Age to Roman Transition period, CP3.

This period also sees an expansion of the forms consumed, with tablewares and drinking vessels appearing in the record, although in very low numbers, see Figure 5.24. All of these new forms are confined to a handful of sites in Devon, with the cup from Trevisker representing the only new form utilised in Cornwall.

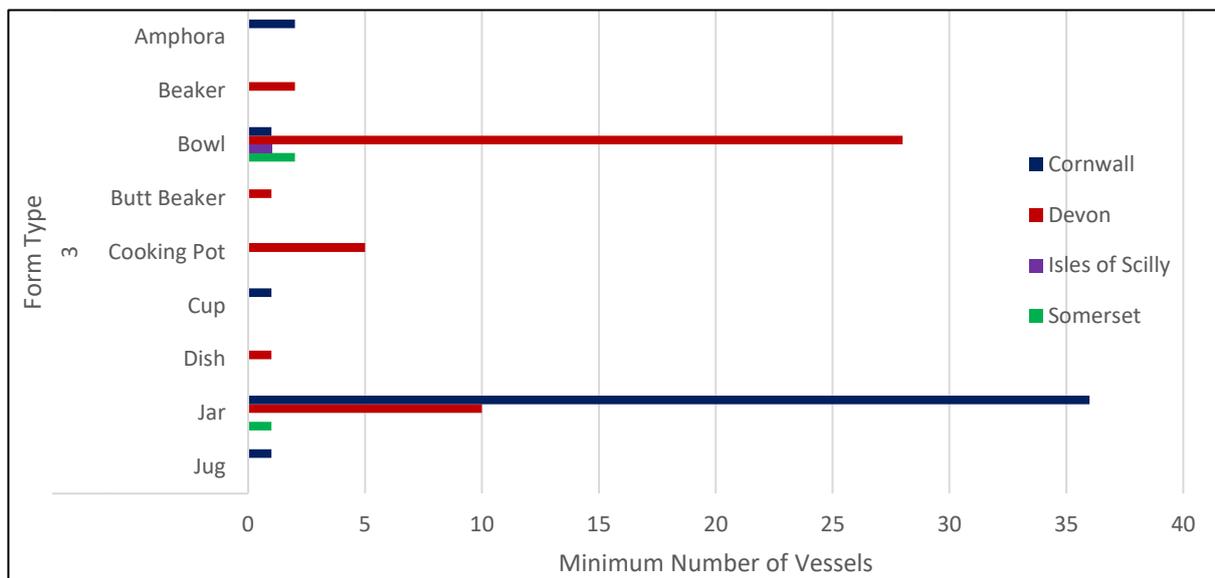


Figure 5.24: Chart shows the forms consumed during the Late Iron Age and Roman Transition, CP3.

Mapping the tableware and drinking vessel forms that appear in Devon during this period shows that these sites are all located close to the road network that comes into existence shortly after the arrival of the Roman military, see Figure 5.25. Occupation at Milber Down Small Camp is short lived and ends before the end of this period, however, the other three sites all become high status settlements during the Romano-British period. For the villa sites of Holcombe and Honeyditches in particular, this suggests that the elite status of their inhabitants formed during this period and was part of the restructuring of power within society prior to the conquest.

The restructuring of society during the very Late Iron Age is not only evident in the ceramic data but is seen across the archaeological record for this period in the study region. The use of personal adornment items drops off at this time, while there is an increase in the occurrence of high status metalwork, such as decorated mirrors and items of horse gear. At the same time the treatment of the dead changes with them becoming archaeologically invisible. These changes are all linked to this shift in power relations within wider society

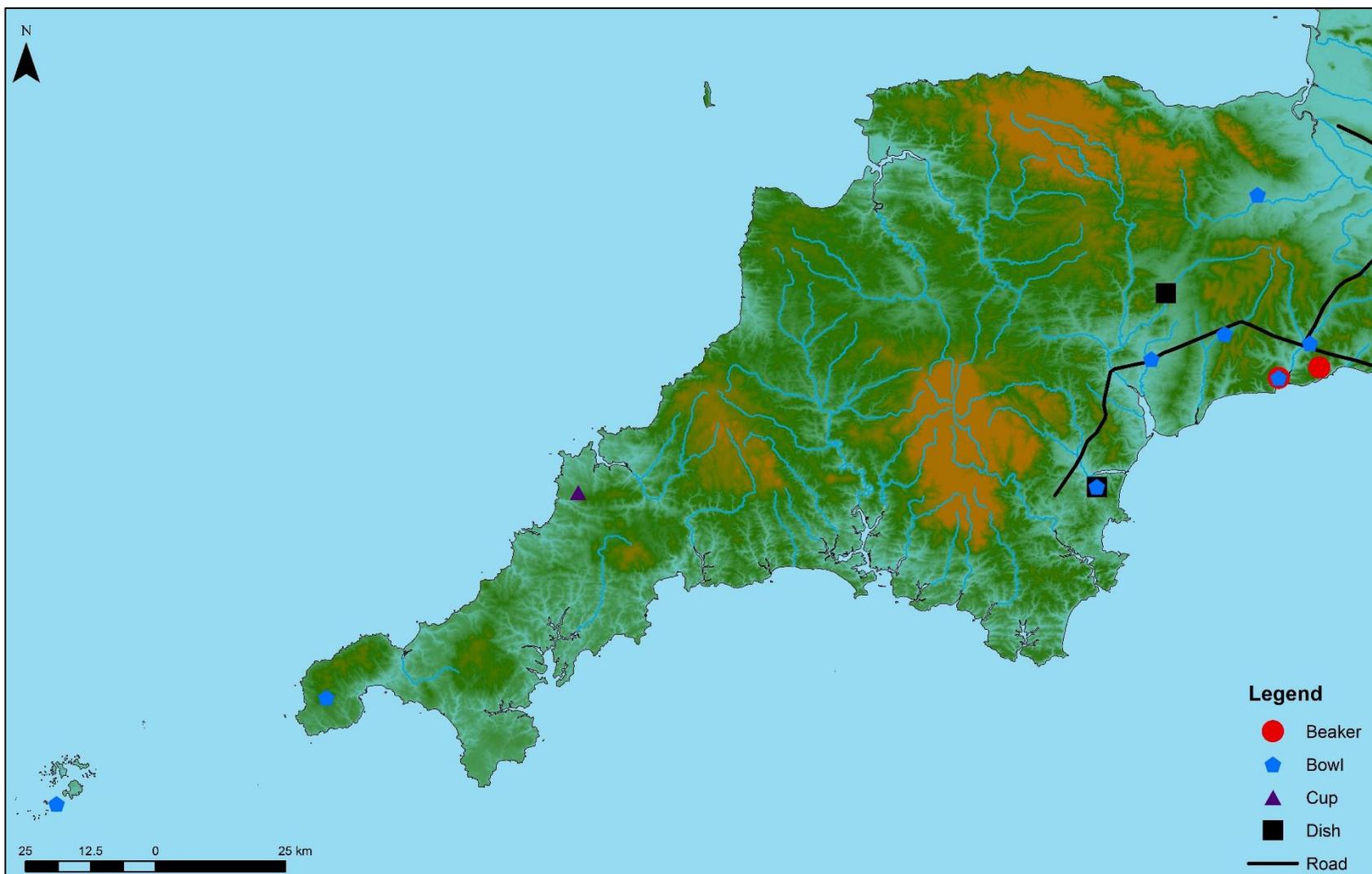


Figure 5.25: Distribution map of the tableware and drinking vessel forms consumed during the Late Iron Age to Roman Transition period, CP3.

across the south-west, which occurs at a time when links are being forged with areas and communities beyond the south-west as evident in the increase in imported ceramics. It is these links to the wider world that likely drove this change in society at this time. See Chapter 6, section 6.4.2, for further discussion.

### 5.4.3 The Early to Mid Romano-British period, CP4

The consumption of ceramics increased in this period, with 1420 vessels recorded in the database, see Table 5.14, with coarse wares continuing to form the bulk of the assemblage.

Ware Type	Cornwall	Devon	Isles of Scilly	Somerset	Grand Total
Coarse Ware	264	840	2		1106
Fine Ware	124	126	3	1	254
Unknown	23	37			60
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>411</b>	<b>1003</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1420</b>

Table 5.14: The minimum number of vessels consumed during the Early to Mid Romano-British period, CP4.

The number of coarse ware fabrics consumed within the region increases at this time, with a few industries springing up in Devon. As discussed in section 5.3.1.2, these industries are related to the presence of the legion at Exeter, with the Exeter Grey ware and the Fortress ware industries in particular being supplied to the military (Holbrook and Bidwell, 1991).

The Exeter Grey ware industry continued to grow after the military withdrew from the region, with the Sandy Grey ware being the most heavily consumed of these fabrics, see Figure 5.26. The chart in Figure 5.26, displays the coarse ware fabrics consumed within the region during this period (where the minimum number of vessels greater than 5) and shows that local fabrics were favoured over imported coarse wares. Only two imported coarse ware fabrics, SEDBB1 and SWBB1, were consumed, with these fabrics being largely confined to communities within Devon.

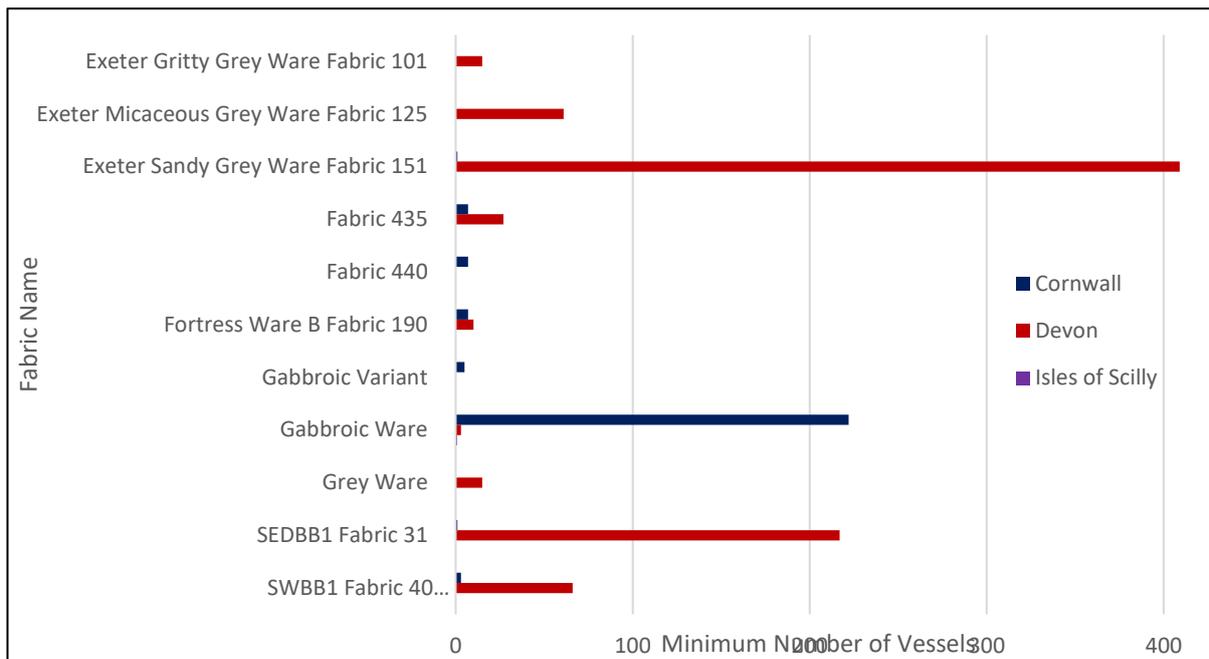


Figure 5.26: Chart shows the coarse ware fabrics consumed in the region, where the MNV is greater than 5.

This is not the case for fine ware fabrics however, with only two fine wares being produced and consumed within the region, Fine Black ware and Fine Gabbroic ware, see Table 5.15. The rest of the imported fine wares were produced on the continent, with no British fine wares being traded into the region at this time. A more diverse range of fabrics was consumed by communities within Devon, with only Samian ware being consumed across all areas of the south-west.

Fabric Name	Cornwall	Devon	Isles of Scilly	Somerset	Grand Total
<b>Local Fabrics</b>					
Fine Black Ware		2			2
Fine Non-Sandy Gabbroic	1				1
<b>Imported Fabrics</b>					
Central Gaulish Black-Slipped Ware	1				1
Central Gaulish Colour Coated Ware		3			3
Central Gaulish Glazed Ware	1	1			2
Lyon Ware		5			5
North Gaulish Colour Coated Ware		1			1
North Gaulish White Ware		1			1
Samian Ware	121	95	3	1	220
Terra Nigra		12			12
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>124</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>248</b>

Table 5.15: Fine ware consumed within the study region during the early to mid Romano-British period (CP4).

Of the 121 Samian vessels in Cornwall, all were consumed by inhabitants from 6 sites, with 116 of these coming from the site of Carvossa (Carlyon, 1987). The general lack of imported ceramics across communities in Cornwall and the continued consumption of gabbroic fabric shows that these communities did not feel the need to utilise vessels within these imported fabrics and as discussed in Section 5.2.1, the continued use of gabbroic reinforced a sense of regional identity. At the beginning of this period the region was being occupied by the Roman military and so the continued preference of gabbroic and the shunning of imported ceramics may have been a deliberate act in order to maintain a sense of identity during this period of reorganisation of power structures.

The number of forms consumed within this period continued to expand, with more forms of tableware and drinking vessels appearing within the region with 603 recorded within the database, see Figure 5.27. These forms are well represented across Cornwall and Devon, with only the tankard and the ten platters being confined to sites in Devon. There are very few of these forms at sites within the Isles of Scilly or Somerset however. It is possible this is due to the small number of sites sampled in these areas rather than being a true reflection of the consumption patterns of the communities.

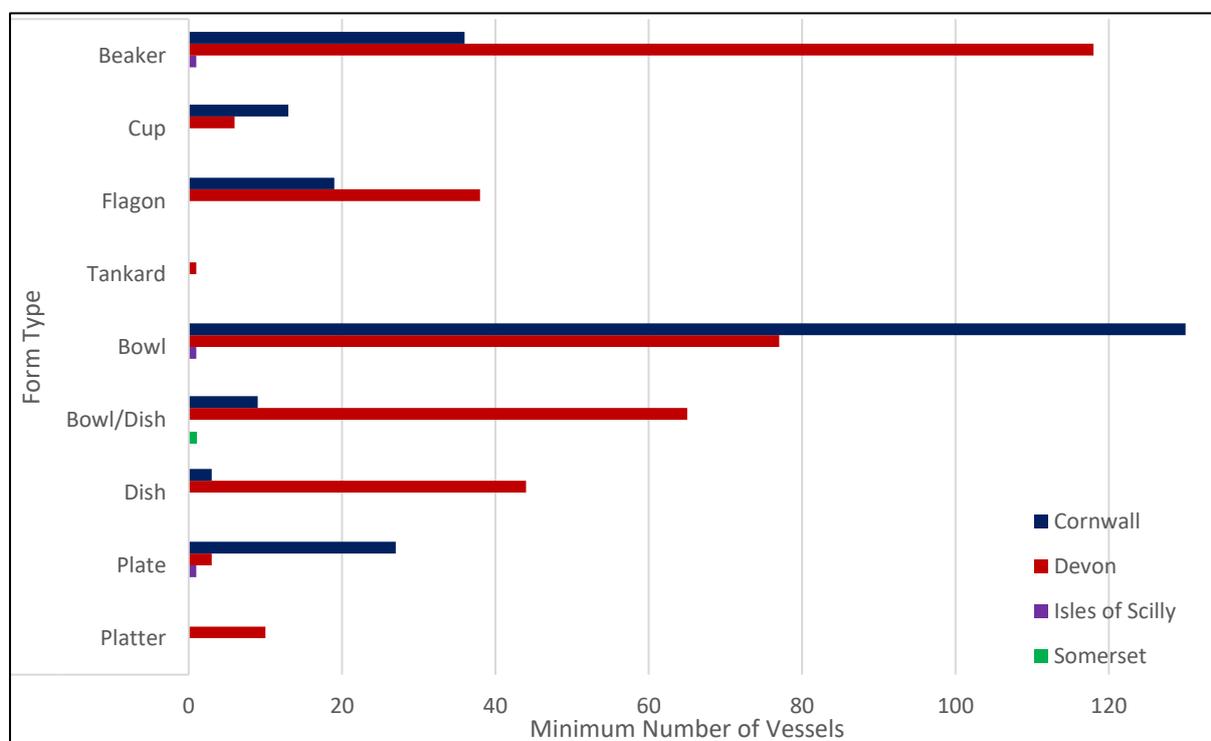


Figure 5.27: The tableware and drinking vessel forms consumed within the region during the early to mid Romano-British period (CP4).

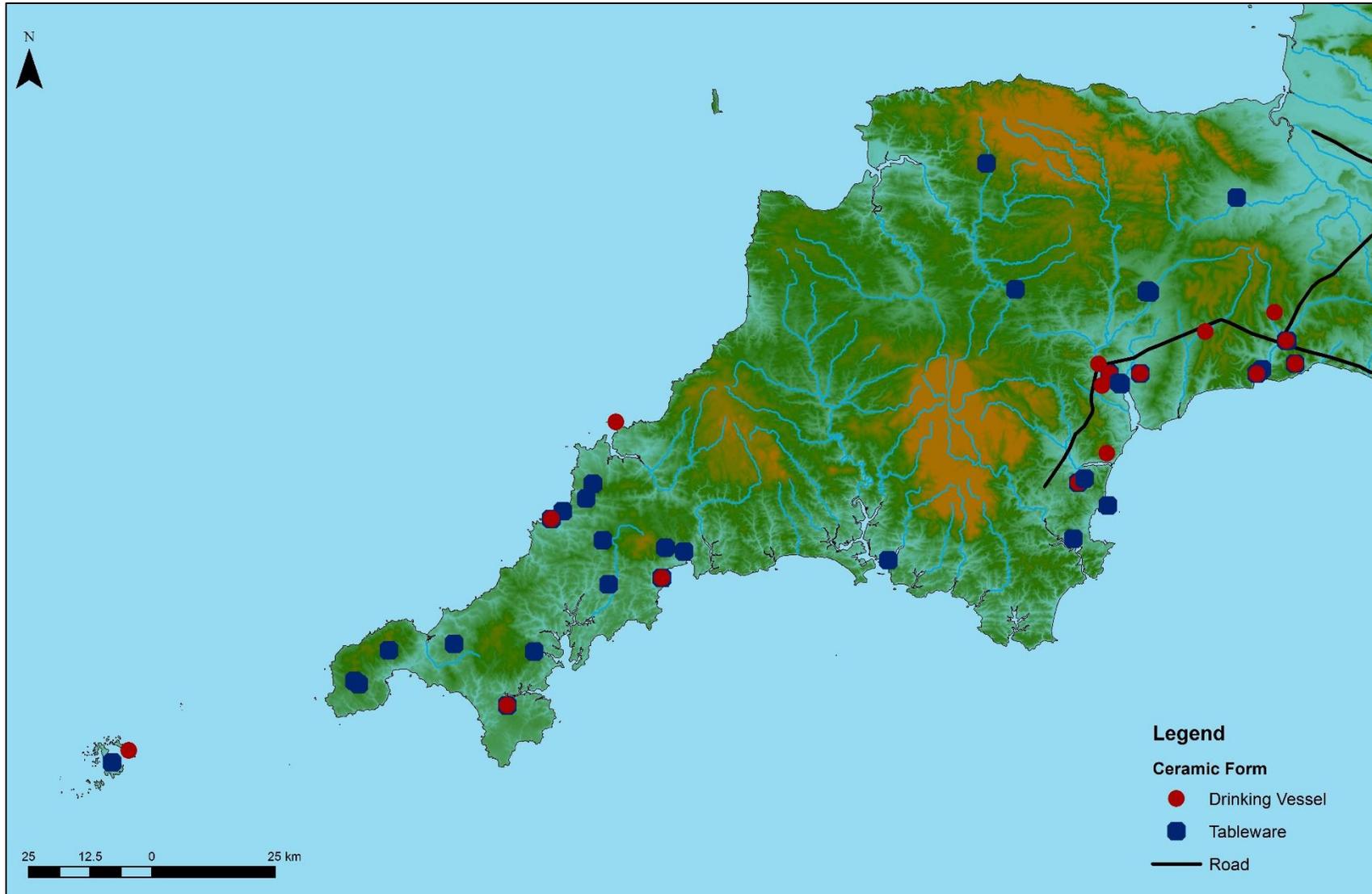


Figure 5.28: Distribution map of the drinking vessel and tableware forms consumed during the mid to early Romano-British period (CP4).

It is clear from the chart in Figure 5.27, and the distribution mapping, see Figure 5.28, that tablewares and drinking vessels were more popular with communities in Devon. The mapping shows a similar distribution of both tablewares and drinking vessels across Cornwall, although in terms of numbers drinking vessels are better represented. The data shows that 29 of the 47 sites occupied in this period produced tablewares or drinking vessels, with all of these sites being of high status. This includes the villa sites of Holcombe, Honeyditches and Membury, and the roadside settlements of Shortlands Lane, Pomeroy Wood and Woodbury in Devon, as well as the high status rounds of Carvossa and St Mawgan in Cornwall and the hillfort of Norton Fitzwarren in Somerset (Morris, 2013; Fitzpatrick *et al.*, 1999; Weddell, 1993; Carlyon, 1987; Threipland, 1956; Ellis, 1989).

It is possible that access to these vessel forms was socially controlled, with only elite members of society being permitted to consume them. Controlled access to such goods has been demonstrated in Scotland by Hunter (2001), where he was able to show that access to certain goods, Samian ware for example, was controlled by a small number of people. While Samian is not as common in Scotland, a number of lower status sites have produced a small number of Samian vessels while a small number of higher status sites had far more Samian present within their assemblages. Hunter (2001: 293), suggests that this indicates the control over such goods by the elite, with items passing down to lower status communities through the social ties that bound the society together. He also demonstrated that the items in these fabrics were chosen as they could be easily fitted in to pre-existing social traditions (Hunter, 1991: 303).

This final conclusion is where the patterns evident in the south-west differ to the evidence from Scotland as drinking vessels and tableware forms were not utilised in the study region during the Iron Age. The idea of serving and eating individual portions was new to the region and appears to have arrived shortly before the invasion, at a time when communities in other areas of Britain were already familiar with these concepts and had begun to produce these forms in local fabrics as well as utilising imported fabrics (Pitts, 2005, 2010). It would appear however, that access to these forms and the alteration in social practice was controlled by the elite, with only a few of the lower status communities having access to drinking vessels and tableware forms or imported ceramics.

The data shows that only ten lower status sites had access to this material during this period, eight of which produced tableware and drinking vessels forms, see Figure 5.29. Further to this only five of these sites produced fabrics imported from the continent, which was limited to either Samian ware or Terra Nigra. All of the other continental fabrics are restricted to higher status sites.

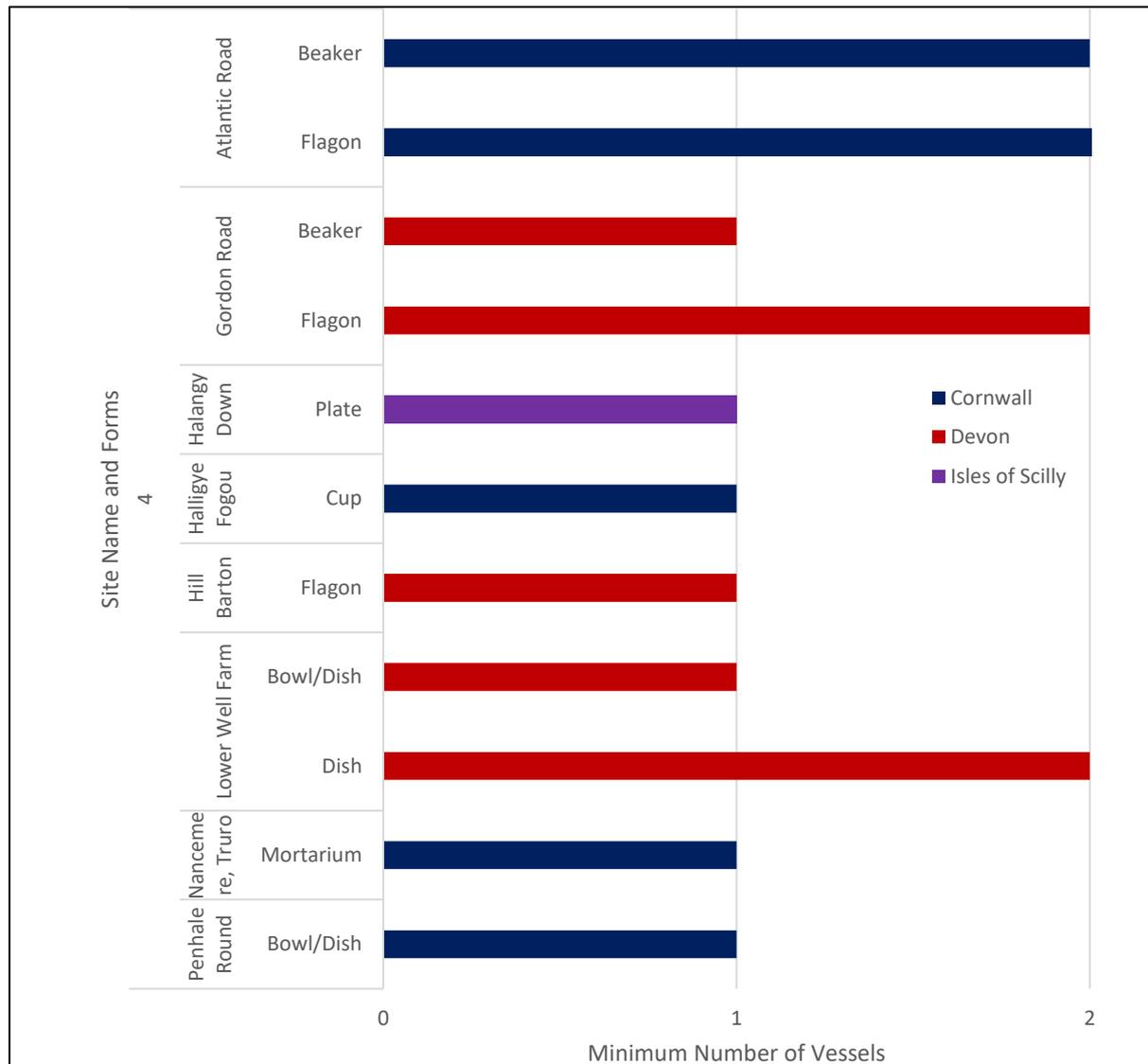


Figure 5.29: Chart shows the lower status sites in the region that have produced tableware or drinking vessel forms.

The change in forms and fabrics consumed is a continuation of the change that began at the end of the Iron Age. However, it is likely the occupation of the region increased the pace of change. The conquest would have affected a shift in the power structures of the region, with the military now becoming the most powerful group. This shift in society would likely have had far reaching effects, which would have manifested itself in a number of ways, one of

which would have been an adaptation of identity. The change in ceramic profiles is then evidence of a change in food preparation and consumption, both of which are central elements of an individual and community's identity. Contact with members of the military, who would have been very familiar with these new dining vessels would also have helped to stimulate the change seen in the use of these vessels within the region during this period.

#### 5.4.4 The Mid to Late Romano-British period, CP5

The number of vessels consumed during the mid to late Romano-British period increased quite dramatically, with 3068 vessels present in the data for this period, see Table 5.16. The largest increase occurs in Devon, where the consumption of coarse wares in particular grows significantly.

Ware Type	Cornwall	Devon	Isles of Scilly	Somerset	Grand Total
Coarse Ware	478	2045	15	38	2576
Fine Ware	67	376	9	4	456
Unknown	6	21		9	36
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>551</b>	<b>2442</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>3068</b>

Table 5.16: Table shows the minimum number of vessels in use within the study region during the mid to late Romano-British period (CP5).

The increase in coarse wares during this period is linked to the growth of the local ceramic industries within Devon, see Table 5.17. The decline of the fortress ware and grey ware industries in the late second and early third centuries appears to have opened up the market to other coarse wares produced within Devon, with South Devon ware in particular becoming more widely distributed (Bidwell, 2016). By the middle of the third century it was being produced in far greater quantities and it continued in production in to the fifth century (Holbrook and Bidwell, 1991: 177–181). Other smaller, local industries also appeared during this period with the Aller Cross and South Devon Ipplepen ware industries having been recognised recently (Bidwell and Croom, forthcoming; Wood, 2015). The products of these two industries have yet to be recognised beyond their respective settlements.

The fact that a number of ceramic industries appeared in Devon during the Romano-British period, see Tables 5.8 and 5.17, implies that something different was happening here. The data suggests that a market economy developed within Devon, which centred on Exeter and

the small number of roadside settlements that had developed along the Fosse Way, such as Pomeroy Wood and Woodbury (Grove, 1990; Silvester and Bidwell, 1984; Weddell *et al.*, 1993). The road network that developed across Devon during the phase of military occupation meant markets and communities were far more easily accessible to merchants, with increasing trade leading to an upsurge in demand of such goods, which peaked during the mid to late Romano-British period. In comparison, the continued dominance of Gabbroic ware in Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly suggests trade with communities in these areas continued to be conducted along coastal and riverine routes, with no central market places or road networks developing in these areas.

Table 5.17 also shows that coarse ware fabrics from some of the major Romano-British kilns, aside from SEDBB1, were utilised for the first time during this period. All of the vessels present within the region in these fabrics were consumed by communities within eastern Devon apart from one singular Oxford White ware vessel from Cornwall. This vessel is a mortaria found in the upper levels of a midden within the round at Reawla (Appleton-Fox, 1992). The presence of these fabrics almost solely in eastern Devon, on the villa sites of Honeyditches and Holcombe and the roadside settlement sites of Pomeroy Wood and Woodbury (Silvester, 1981; Pollard, 1974; Fitzpatrick *et al.*, 1999; Weddell, 1993), further supports the idea that a market economy had developed within this region of the study area by the mid to late Romano-British period. The lack of these fabric types within the rest of the study region appears to have been a conscious choice by communities rather than a lack of access to them as fine ware fabrics from these kilns were consumed by communities within Cornwall and Somerset, albeit in small numbers, see Figure 5.30. In the case of Cornwall, the lack of coarse ware vessels in imported fabrics links in to the discussion of the role of Gabbroic clays in society in Section 5.2 above. As with the coarse wares the fine ware fabrics are again overwhelmingly found on higher status sites, such as the rounds of Carvossa, Trethurgy, villas Whitestaunton Manor and Holcombe as well as the roadside settlement of Pomeroy Wood (Carlyon, 1987; Quinnell, 2004; Wessex Archaeology, 2004; Pollard, 1974; Fitzpatrick *et al.*, 1999).

<b>Fabric Type</b>	<b>Cornwall</b>	<b>Devon</b>	<b>Isles of Scilly</b>	<b>Somerset</b>	<b>Total</b>
Aller Cross*		14			14
Aller Cross Variant*		1			1
Exeter Gritty Grey Ware Fabric 101*	9	226			235
Exeter Micaceous Grey Ware Fabric 125*		116			116
Exeter Sandy Grey Ware Fabric 151*		35			35
Fabric 105*		2			2
Fortress Ware B Fabric 190*		1			1
Gabbroic Variant	3				3
Gabbroic Ware	378		12		390
Granitic Ware	1		3		4
Grey Ware		10		15	25
Gritty Grey Ware		3		2	5
Mortarium	1	60			61
New Forest Parchment Ware		6			6
Norton Fitzwarran Ware Fabric 107		5			5
Oxford White Slipped Ware		2			2
Oxford White Ware	1	6			7
Oxfordshire Parchment Ware		3			3
Rough-cast Beaker	1				1
SEDBB1 Fabric 31	37	1106		20	1163
Severn Valley Ware		1			1
South Devon Variant*		1			1
South Devon Ware Fabric 5*	30	134			164
South East Dorset BB1 Variant	9				9
South-Western Grey Ware Storage Jars*	2	57		1	60
SWBB1 Fabric 40	5	253			258
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>478</b>	<b>2044</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>2575</b>

Table 5.17: Table shows the number of coarse ware vessels in their respective fabrics consumed within the study region during the mid to late Romano-British period.

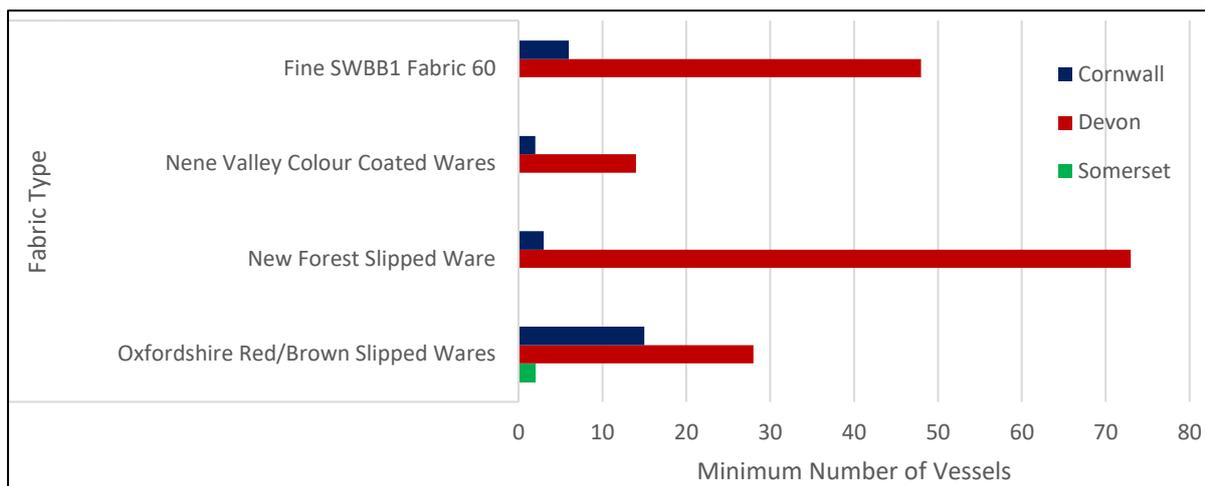


Figure 5.30: Chart shows the minimum number of vessels in British fine ware fabrics consumed in the study region during the mid to late Romano-British period, CP5.

Fine wares imported from Continental kilns also increased in numbers during this period, but the number of fabric types consumed did drop. The production of Lyon ware, the North Gaulish fabrics and Terra Nigra had ceased by this period (Tyres, 1996), explaining why these fabrics were no longer utilised. Argonne ware beakers and Ceramique a l'eponge flagons begin to be consumed during this period. What is again clear from the chart is that majority of the vessels in Continental fabrics were consumed by communities within Devon, with very few being consumed elsewhere within the region. Although the numbers in the Isles of Scilly and Somerset are very small, they are an increase on the number of vessels present in these areas from the preceding phase, CP4. The numbers consumed within Cornwall have dropped from this phase, from 123 to only 38. This is due to a drop in the consumption of Samian ware, which also ceased to be produced during this period (Tyers, 1996), and the fact that only three other continental fabrics, totalling 8 vessels, were consumed by communities in Cornwall at this time.

<b>Fabric type</b>	<b>Cornwall</b>	<b>Devon</b>	<b>Isles of Scilly</b>	<b>Somerset</b>	<b>Total</b>
Argonne Ware		32			32
Central Gaulish Black-Slipped Ware	2	4			6
Central Gaulish Colour Coated Ware	2	5			7
Central Gaulish Glazed Ware		1			1
Ceramique a l'eponge		59			59
Samian Ware	30	85	8	2	125
Trier Black Slipped Ware Moselkeramik	4	23	1		28
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>209</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>258</b>

Table 5.18: Table shows the minimum number of vessels in Continental fabrics consumed in the region during the mid to late Romano-British period.

The vessels consumed in these fabrics are all either tablewares or drinking vessels, with the exception of 12 mortaria, one in Central Gaulish Glazed ware fabric and the rest being Samian ware forms. The data shows that table ware forms increased in number during this period, while drinking vessel numbers dropped in comparison to the early to mid Romano-British period, see Table 5.19. The increase in the number of bowls and dishes that were consumed during this period is responsible for the significant increase in the amount of tablewares within the data at this time. Whereas in previous periods, discussed above, a large number of the bowls in use during this period can be shown to be of smaller size, and so could have been used to serve individual portions of food. Although there are a number of larger bowls within the data, including 19 of the Trethurgy Type 9 bowls, there are 188 Trethurgy Type 21 and 23 bowls within the data for this period, which are smaller in size than the Type 9 examples, as well as 33 Samian ware bowls of small size. Unfortunately, diameter data is not available for the majority of the bowls in the data for this period so it is impossible to tell if there was a shift in bowl size, from large communal serving bowls to smaller individual portion sized vessels. The change in the number of dishes utilised between the early and later periods is quite dramatic, with 480 consumed during the mid to late period, with 94% of these being found in Devon.

Form Type	Cornwall	Devon	Isles of Scilly	Somerset	Grand Total
<b>CP4</b>					
Beaker	36	118	1		155
Cup	13	6			19
Flagon	19	38			57
Bowl	130	77	1		208
Bowl/Dish	9	65		1	75
Butt Beaker	7	1			8
Dish	3	44			47
Plate	27	3	1		31
Platter		10			10
<b>CP4 Total</b>	<b>244</b>	<b>362</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>610</b>
<b>CP5</b>					
Beaker	21	160	2		183
Cup	8	8			16
Flagon		67		1	68
Bowl	281	562	15	16	874
Bowl/Dish	3	52	1	1	57
Dish	21	453	2	4	480
Plate	2	8			10
Platter	4				4
<b>CP5 Total</b>	<b>340</b>	<b>1310</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>1692</b>
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>584</b>	<b>1672</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>2302</b>

Table 5.19: Table shows the number of drinking vessels and tablewares consumed during the early to mid and the mid to late Romano-British periods.

Mapping the tablewares and drinking vessels shows that their distribution pattern altered during this period, see Figure 5.31. The number of sites consuming tablewares is shown to have increased, particularly in Cornwall, where the number of sites using these forms more than doubles. At the same time, although overall the numbers of drinking vessels drops, the distribution patterns of these vessels changes with a number of communities utilising these vessels for the first time, while others who consumed these vessels in the preceding phase no longer utilised them. Again, this change is most apparent in Cornwall, with only 2 out of 9 sites where drinking vessels were found during the early to mid Romano-British period, continuing to consume them into the mid to late period. This change is also reflected in the

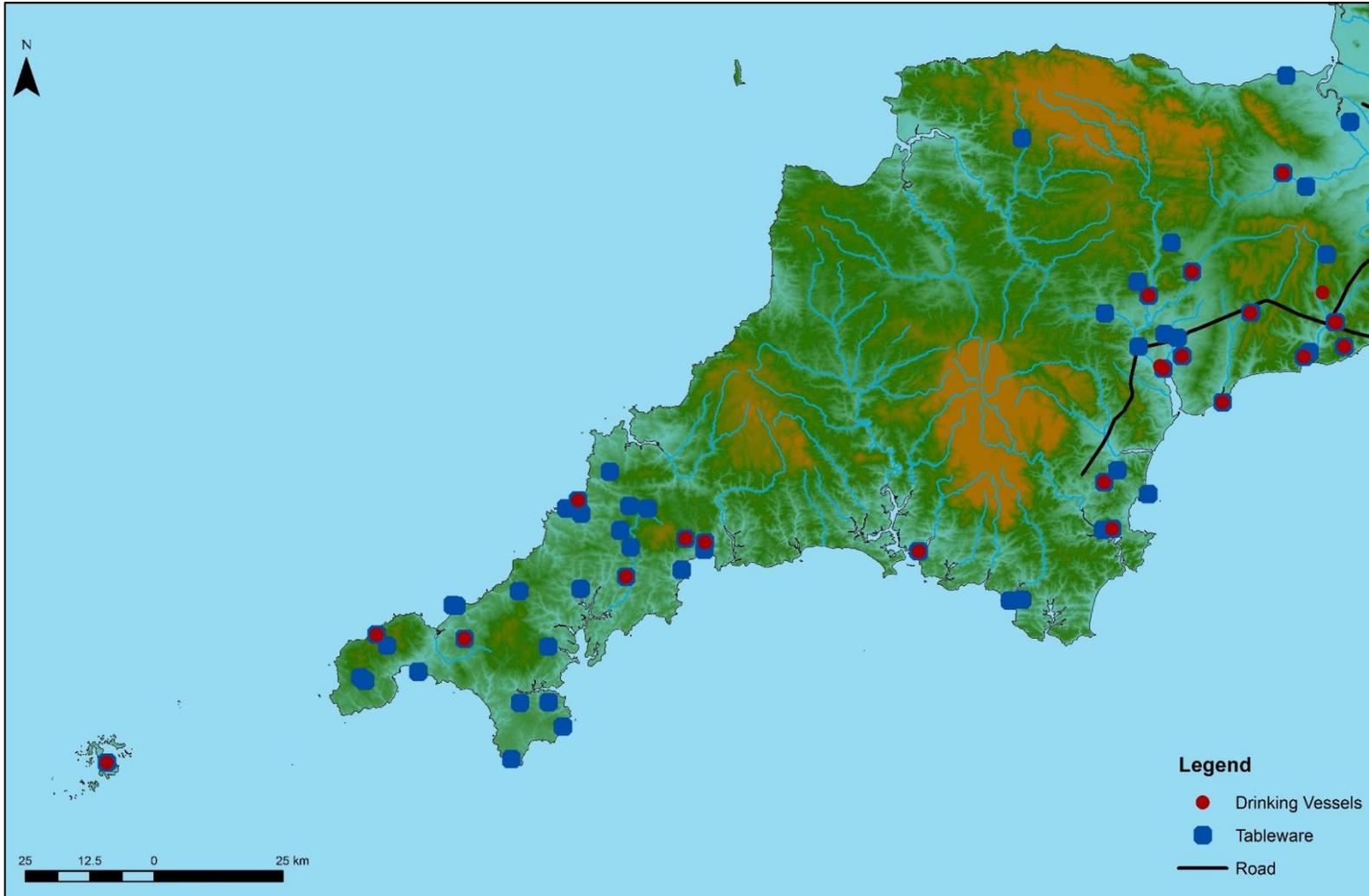


Figure 5.31: Map showing the distribution of tablewares and drinking vessels across the study region during the mid to late Romano-British period, CP5.

number of mortaria consumed, with an increase in overall numbers between the early to mid and mid to late Romano-British periods, see Figure 5.32. Again, the majority of mortaria consumed in the mid to late period have been found on sites in Devon, while numbers in Cornwall at this time drop slightly.

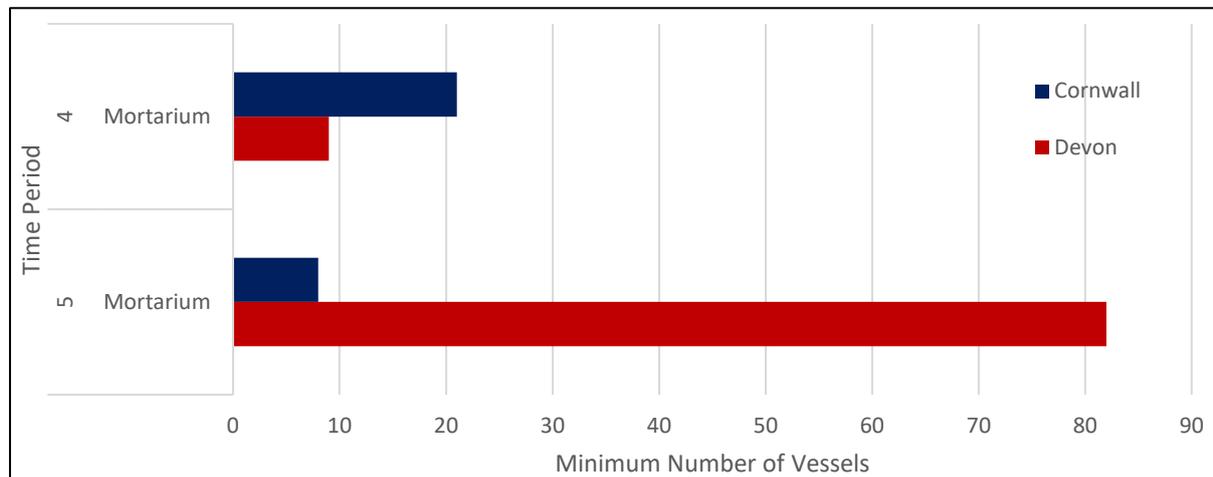


Figure 5.32: Chart shows the minimum number of mortaria consumed during the early to mid Romano-British period, CP4, and the mid to late Romano-British period, CP5.

The increase in the number of tableware forms and mortaria consumed during this period suggests that the change in eating habits that began in the aftermath of the Roman invasion had become a normal part of everyday life for many communities within the region. Looking at the site types that produced these vessels it is now clear that tablewares and mortaria were no longer socially controlled and have been found on sites of higher status as well as those that would be considered low status. It is unlikely that many thought of these forms and the way of eating as new or alien by this time, with the exception of the Cornish communities who continued to consume these forms in imported fabrics, suggested in Section 5.2 to be a conscious way of showing these practices were exotic.

The drop in drinking vessels during this period though, suggests that drinking from cups or beakers had fallen out of fashion and it is likely that communities returned to consuming drink from jars as they had likely done during the Iron Age. The distribution mapping in Figure 5.19, shows that drinking vessels were only found on higher status sites during this period. Drinking from cups and beakers was then something only higher status member of society continued

to do during this period. It is likely that the lack of these vessels on lower status sites was a conscious choice rather than due to restricted access to these forms.

#### 5.4.5 The Late Romano-British period to Post Roman period, CP6

The high point of ceramic use in the second to fourth centuries AD was followed by a dramatic fall in the number of vessels consumed during the Late Roman and Post Roman period, from the late fourth to fifth centuries AD. The number of vessels dropped from 3068 to just 83, see Table 5.20. The table shows that the majority of these vessels were found at sites within Devon, with no ceramics at all from this period having been found on the Isles of Scilly. All of these vessels were recovered from just 18 sites, see Figure 5.33, which suggests a sharp downturn in settlement at this time as 86 sites are recorded within the database for the preceding phase (not including Exeter). It is possible more than just these 18 sites continued to be occupied through into the Post Roman period, however, as identifying artefacts of fifth century date is difficult, although advances have been made in this area (Gerrard, 2010: 293).

Ware Type	Cornwall	Devon	Somerset	Grand Total
Coarse Ware	14	35	2	51
Fine Ware	1	29	2	32
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>83</b>

Table 5.20: Table shows the minimum number of vessels in use during the late Romano-British to Post Roman period, CP6.

Most of the vessels consumed during this period were coarse ware vessels, with most being imported in to the region, only the Exeter Gritty Grey wares and South Devon wares being of local origin, see Figure 5.34. The Exeter Grey ware industry declined at the beginning of the third century AD, so it is likely that these vessels had either been well cared for and repaired to allow them to stay in circulation for another 100 years or so, or they are residual within the contexts they were found and so had been originally deposited prior to this phase. The vessel comes from Trethurgy and so may be residual. One noticeable absence in the Table is Gabbroic ware, which is known to have continued to be produced into the medieval period, with forms in the Romano-British style being produced into the fifth century, as evidenced from stratified finds of the ware at Bantham (Bidwell *et al.*, 2011, 113; Bidwell, 2016).

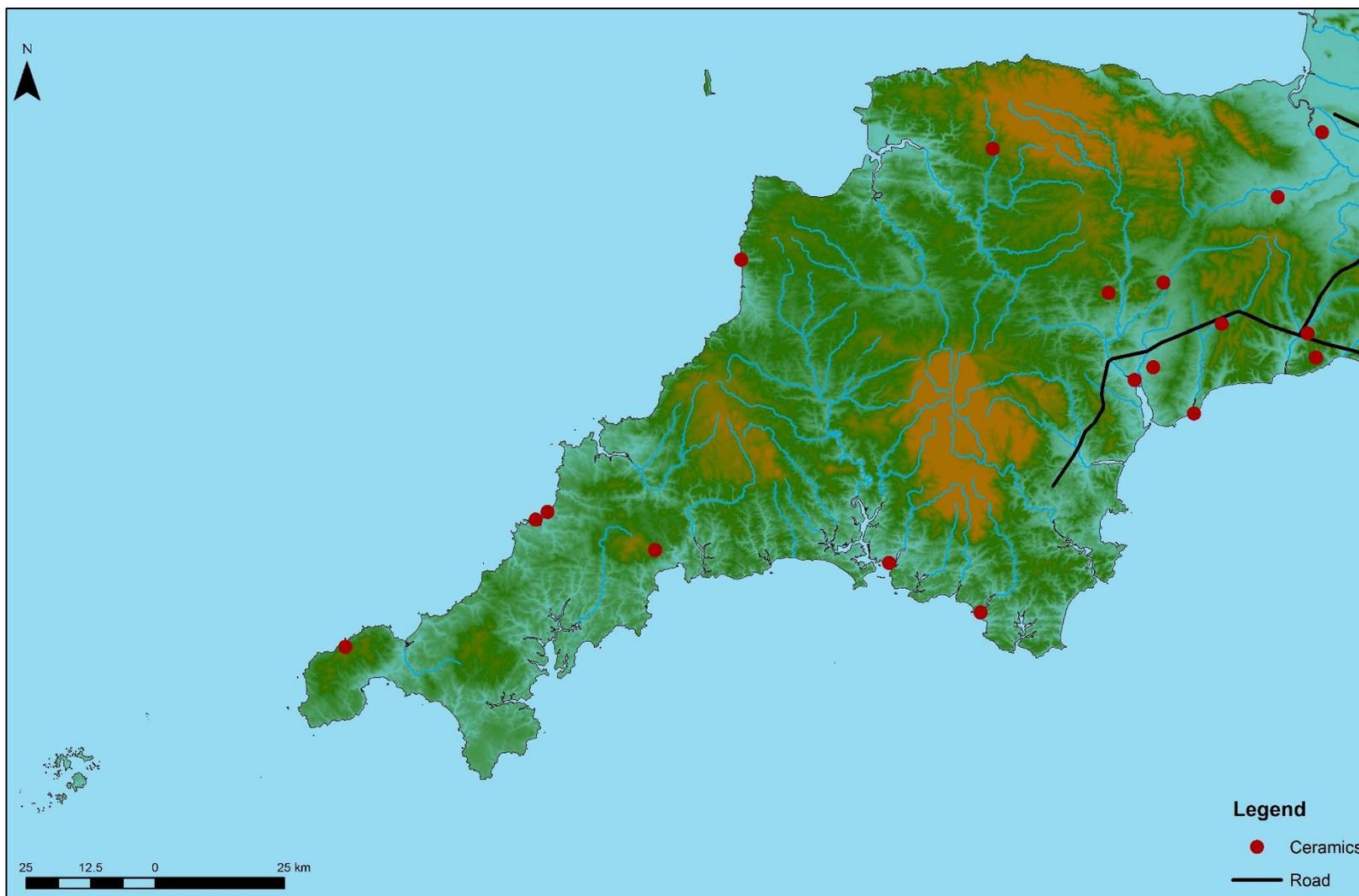


Figure 5.33: Distribution map showing all of the sites that have produced ceramics of late Romano-British or Post Roman date.

From the work of Wood (2011: 33-34), discussed above, Gabbroic fabrics produced at this time were increasingly being admixed with more local clays, in effect watering down the sense of regional identity embodied within Gabbroic clay.

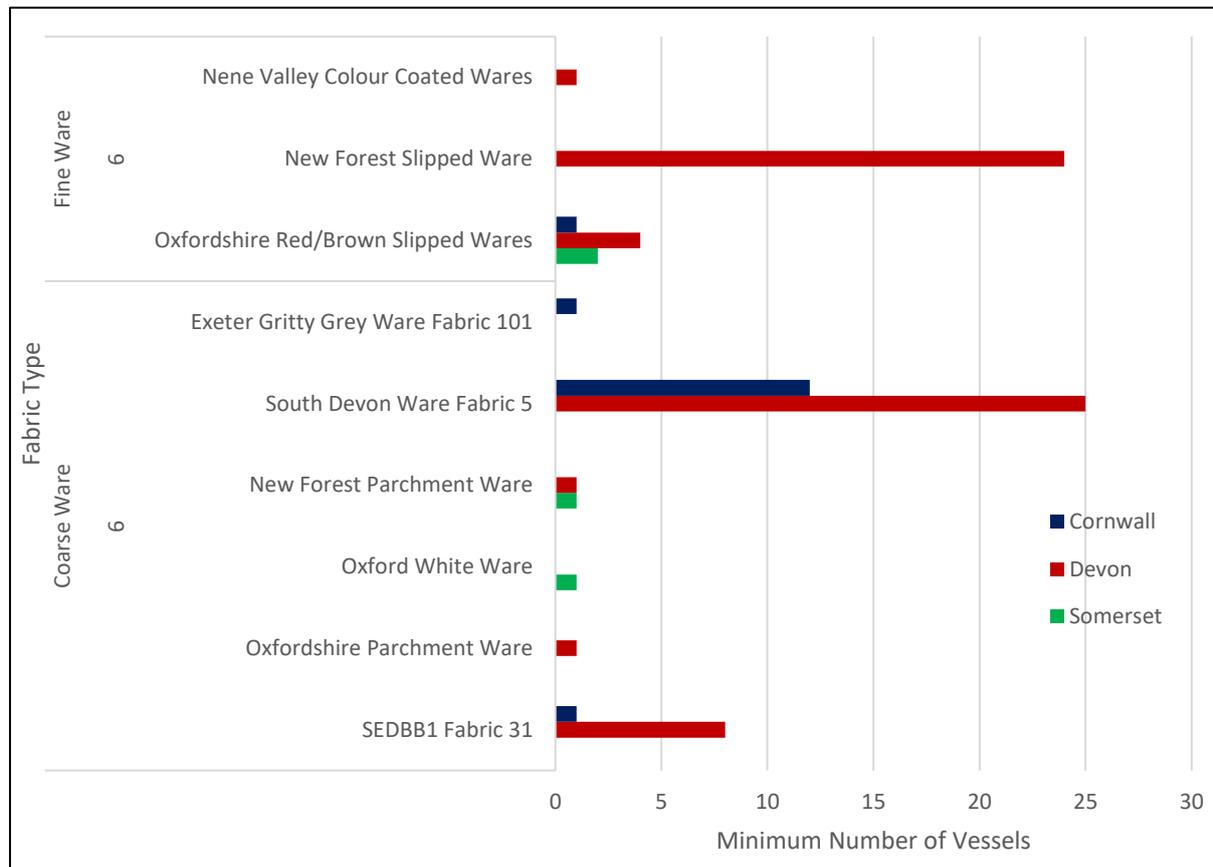


Figure 5.34: Chart shows the fabric types and minimum numbers of vessels consumed within the study region during the Late Romano-British and Post Roman period, CP6.

The lack of Gabbroic vessels in the data here is likely due to the difficulty with dating ceramics from this period. The Trethurgy type vessels produced in the mid to late Romano-British period likely continue in use into the late and Post Roman period, however, as the forms do not alter assigning a later date is very difficult (Quinnell, 2004: 109-111).

Most of the imported ceramics at this time were sourced from the Oxford and New Forest kilns, with the products of the New Forest being the most popular. For the first time the number of vessels from these sources is greater within Somerset than in Cornwall, but as with all other periods, the majority are found at sites within Devon. The other imported fabric shown on the chart is SEDBB1, which has now been overtaken by South Devon ware as the

most numerous coarse ware fabric within the region. This ties in well with the results of a survey of late Roman pottery in Devon and Cornwall conducted by Bidwell (2016), who was able to show that during the late fourth century and into the fifth century AD, South Devon ware became the dominant coarse ware fabric, with only the inhabitants of Exeter continuing to favour SEDBB1 over it.

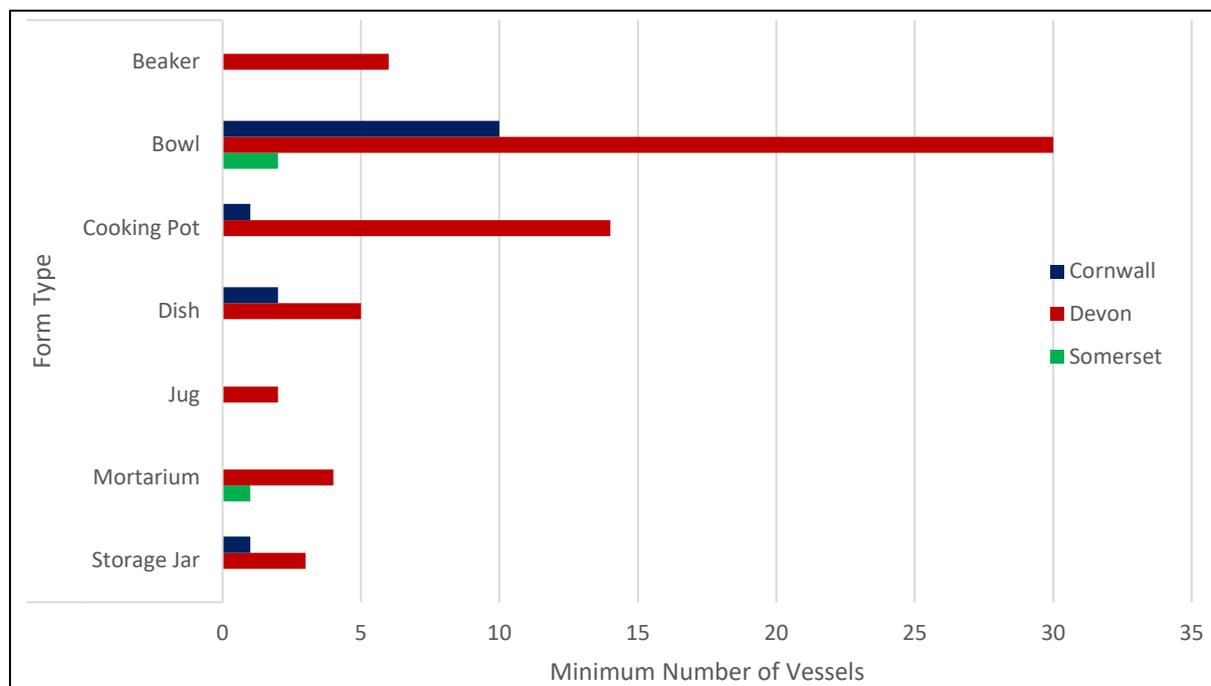


Figure 5.35: Chart shows the forms consumed during the late Romano-British and Post Roman periods and the minimum number of vessels of each of these.

The number of forms consumed also declined during this period, with bowls and cooking pots being the most dominant. As part of this trend the use of tablewares and drinking vessels declined, with only beakers, bowls and dishes continuing to be consumed. Mapping the sites where these forms have been recorded shows just how restricted their distribution became during this period, with the majority being found at sites along the Fosse Way or in eastern Devon, see Figure 5.36. The beakers, the only drinking vessels still in use are all found at the high status sites of Pomeroy Wood, Holcombe and Woodbury (Fitzpatrick *et al.*, 1999; Pollard, 1974; Silvester and Bidwell, 1984; Weddell, 1993), all situated along the Fosse Way.

As noted above there is some bias within the data for this period and it is likely, particularly in the case of Gabbroic wares, that a higher number of vessels were consumed. However, the downturn in ceramic consumption is thought to be a real trend, likely caused by a decline in

the economy, with trade being more focused along the Fosse Way and the coastline of Cornwall, as evident in the mapping, Figure 5.36. Looking at the ceramics consumed in Exeter gives a clearer picture of economic decline, as the minimum number of vessels declined markedly between the mid to late Romano-British period, CP5 and the late Romano-British and Post Roman periods, CP6. During CP5 a minimum of 763 vessels were consumed in Exeter, which drops to only 164 vessels during CP6, see Figure 5.37.

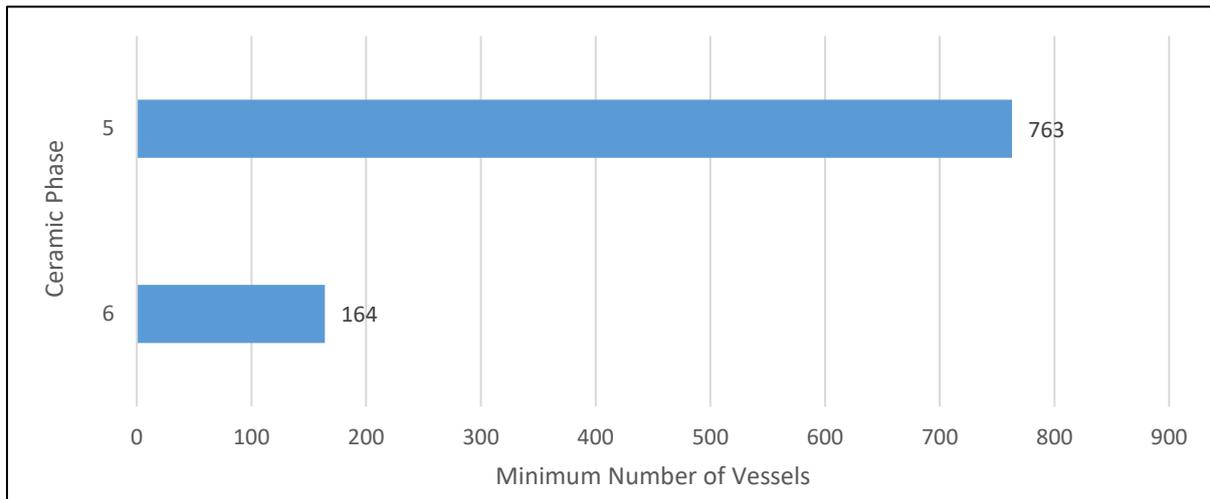


Figure 5.37: Chart showing the levels of ceramics present in Exeter during the mid to late Romano-British period, CP5 and the late Romano-British and Post Roman periods, CP6.

This decline is mirrored in the origins of vessels reaching Exeter in the late Romano-British and Post Roman periods, with only 11 fabric types, excluding the mortaria which come from a number of sources, being present in the data see Table 5.21. The most numerous fabrics are SEDBB1 and the SWBB1, which were produced in Poole Harbour and west Somerset respectively. These kilns are located close to the eastern edge of the region and so trade in these goods could continue with relative ease. Products from kilns further afield are relatively low in number with only two Oxford products being recorded in the data and only three vessels from the Continent being present, coupled with the overall drop in vessel numbers for this period the picture is one of decline. The archaeology indicates that the inhabited area of Exeter was restricted to the centre of the town by the end of the fourth century with very little evidence of fifth century or later activity (Bidwell, 2016).

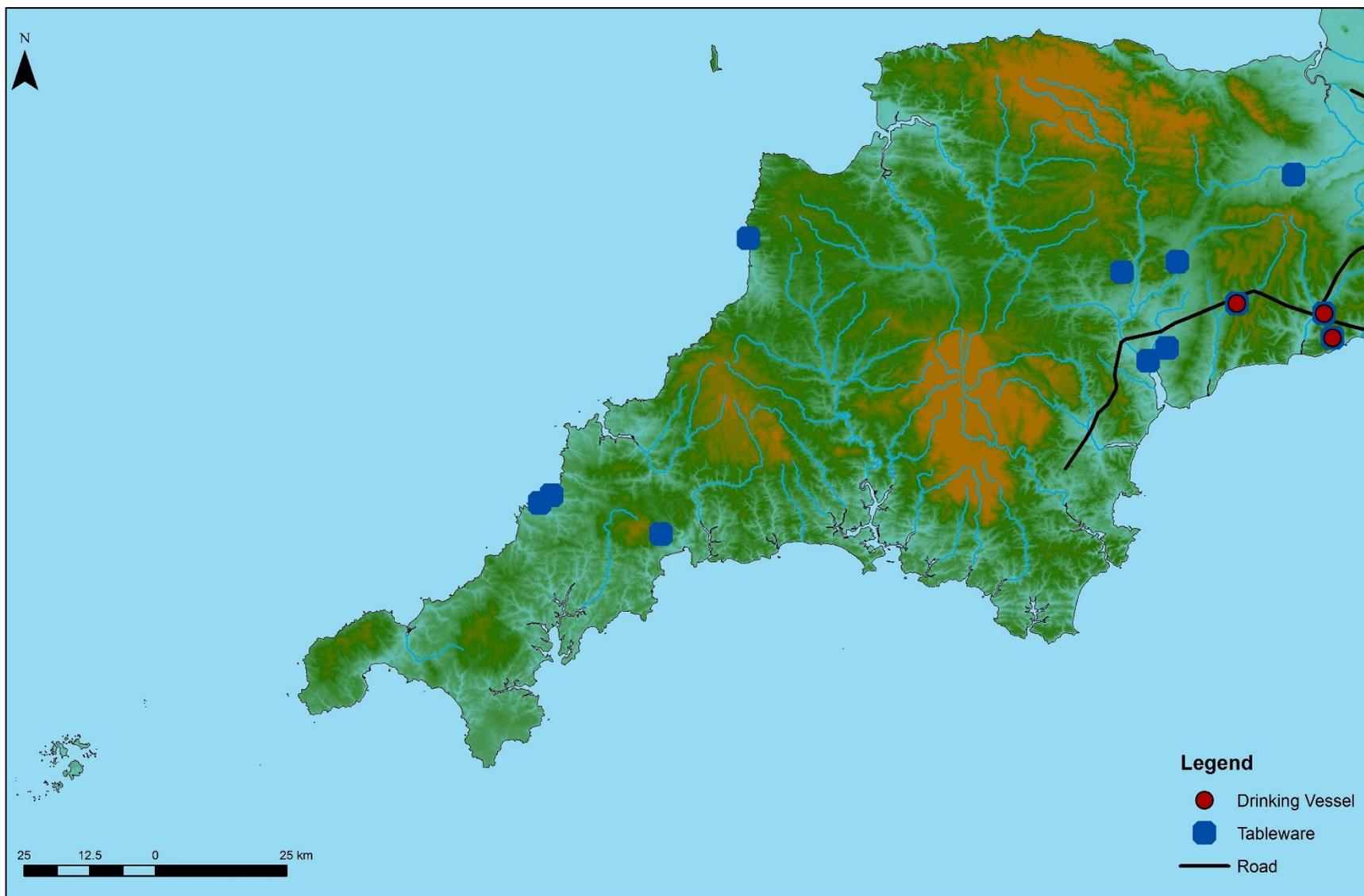


Figure 5.36: Map showing the distribution of tablewares and drinking vessels during the late Romano-British or Post Roman period, CP6.

<b>Fabric Type</b>	<b>Grand Total</b>
<b>Local Fabrics</b>	
Exeter Sandy Grey Ware Fabric 151	1
Fabric 435	1
South-Western Grey Ware Storage Jars	5
South Devon Ware Fabric 5	17
<b>British Imported Fabrics</b>	
Fine SWBB1 Fabric 60	6
Oxford White Slipped Ware	2
SEDBB1 Fabric 31	29
Severn Valley Ware	1
SWBB1 Fabric 40	27
<b>Continental Fabrics</b>	
Mayen Ware	2
Pompeian Red Ware	1
<b>Mortaria (Miscellaneous Sources)</b>	
Mortarium	67
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>159</b>

Table 5.21: The different fabric types and vessel numbers found at Exeter during the Late Romano-British and Post Roman period, (CP 6).

The data presented supports the idea that the economy of the region had declined sharply by the end of the fourth century, which led to the collapse of the market economy and a drop off in trade within the region. The ceramic data and evidence of declining inhabitation within Exeter suggests that it become unviable as a town, which will have led to people abandoning it. Although the use of ceramics did decline during this period, the data does show that fabrics continued to be imported into the area, albeit in diminished numbers. This shows that contacts with the wider world were maintained after the decline of the fourth century, with communities continuing to look outwards.

## 5.5 Discussion

The analysis conducted above has been based on the 20,379 sherds of pottery, which equates to a minimum of 9663 vessels, held within the database created for this study. Although this number is low for such a large region, 9500 sherds were recently found on a single Romano-

British site in South Wales (Thomas, forthcoming), the analysis of the vessels consumed in the study region has been able to shed light on the changing use of ceramics through the Late Iron Age to the Post Roman period. This has allowed an insight into how society and social practices in turn changed throughout this period in response to the arrival of the Roman military and the incorporation of the area into the Roman Empire.

The strong ceramic tradition in Cornwall was linked to the use of Gabbroic clays, a practice that began in the Neolithic. It has been clear for some time that the choice of Gabbroic clays over other sources within Cornwall meant it held a special meaning to the inhabitants of the area. The clay can be shown to embody a sense of identity that linked all the communities within Cornwall together and this continued on throughout the Iron Age and Romano-British period. The fact that very few of the new vessel forms introduced after the conquest were ever produced in Gabbroic, but instead were consumed in imported fabrics, indicates that Gabbroic clay retained its meaning. It allowed the communities to retain a sense of their traditional identity in the face of change after the conquest.

What has been less clear before now is the presence of a regional grouping within south and east Devon. The use of mica rich clays that began in the late first century AD, is thought to be a response to the presence of the Roman military in this area, with these communities trying to strengthen their traditional ties after the conquest. Mica rich clays have been suggested to have contained light, which was an indicator of the presence of their ancestors. Utilising these brilliant clays would have allowed them to bring this light into their homes and helped to keep their connection to their ancestors strong. As discussed, there is a sensorial element to the use of these clays, the phototropic nature of the glittering light from the mica within the clay matrix would have allowed these people to experience this connection on multiple levels.

Although the choice of clays for some of the communities across the south-west linked them to their past and allowed them to keep hold of their sense of identity, change did occur across the entire region. The expression of this change can be seen in new the new forms that were introduced into the region at the time of the conquest. These vessels were the tableware and drinking vessel assemblages, plates, dishes, platters, beakers, cups and flagons in particular as well as mortaria. The appearance of these vessel forms indicates that the new ways of

eating and drinking were introduced that now focused on the individual and their dining experience, rather than communal dining practices dominant in the Iron Age.

These new food preparation techniques and eating practices may indicate that new foods were introduced into the region along with these new vessel forms, which may have further impacted upon the relationship people had with these vessels as well as on their own sense of identity. Jervis (2014: 94-95), has shown that the French incomers to Southampton after the Norman Conquest brought a new repertoire of cooking instruments and vessels with them, which allowed them to continue to cook and eat in a traditional manner. This allowed them to re-form existing relationships with this material and gain back a sense of their previous identity. It is possible that communities in the south-west continued to eat traditional foods, although served in a different manner, which allowed them to continue to replicate previous sensory experiences (Jervis, 2014: 95). This continued consumption of traditional foods would have served as a link to their past and helped keep a sense of traditional identity. However, the use of mortaria and the stone mortars may indicate that new and exotic foods were traded into the region. If so then it is not just the way food was eaten that changed but the whole sensory experience of food would have altered, with new smells, tastes and textures being introduced into mealtimes. This would have helped re-form identities, with new social memories being constructed around these new food types and the new way of consuming them.

For these communities then, this would have been a big shift in the way they and others viewed them. Eating in this way was a break with traditional practice and would have altered relations with other communities. The continued use of traditional fabrics however, such as Gabbroic, would have provided an anchor to the past, allowing them to re-form social ties with wider society and negotiate their new place within the world. The vast majority of these new vessel forms were confined to higher status sites and indicate that access to these vessels was, at least initially, socially controlled.

During the later Romano-British period these vessel types were consumed in far greater numbers, increasing from 362 during the early to mid Romano-British period to 1310 in the mid to late period in Devon alone. Access to the road network as well as the riverine and coastal networks allowed a market economy to develop in Devon and west Somerset by the

mid to late Romano-British period, which would have meant these vessels were more readily available to the communities in these areas. The fact that tablewares and drinking vessels were more popular in Devon though is only partly due to these trade routes. The data does show a differing level of engagement with these vessel forms across the entire region and it is likely that the lower numbers within Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly represents the active choice of these communities not to use them as part of day to day cooking and eating practices. As discussed above, the fact that in Cornwall these forms are mainly utilised in imported fabrics highlights their exotic nature and so the idea that they were never incorporated into daily life, most likely only used for certain occasions, perhaps when the status of the particular community needed to be emphasised.

The differing levels of engagement between Cornwall, and the Isles of Scilly and Devon, and Somerset with new ideas and practices after the conquest is also reflected in the diverse range of ceramic fabrics that began to enter the region. There are a far greater range of fabrics that were utilised by communities in Devon and Somerset in comparison to those found on sites within Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly. The mapping of these fabrics as well as the new vessel forms all seem to suggest that the River Tamar may have acted as a boundary, with only limited engagement by the elite with the new ceramic forms and fabrics occurring to the west of the Tamar, while a deeper and more long-lived change took place to the east. It is possible to begin to suggest that the boundary of the Roman Empire then followed the river Tamar, with everything west beyond the frontier. As previously stated in Chapter 2 this region has always been suggested to represent one tribal grouping, the Dumnonii, based on the ancient sources. However, this data suggests that the area was far more complex, with multiple groupings of people who all reacted differently to the coming of Rome. This discussion will be developed further throughout the rest of this thesis as the other artefact categories are analysed in the proceeding chapters.

# Chapter 6

## Personal Adornment Items

Personal adornment items are part of the visual language of identity, which could be read and understood by others. These items are a symbol that form part of the wearer's identity. They can be used to explore how an individual or a group perceived themselves and how they wished to be perceived by others during the Late Iron Age and Roman periods (Jundi and Hill, 1997: 125; Olsen, 2008: 1). The choice of particular items and decorative styles can provide insights into shifting attitudes towards bodily adornment and how the identity of individuals or groups evolved over time. Adornment items are not static but are subject to change over time due to changes in fashion (Olson, 2008). Adornment items played an active role in the creation of appearance and their manipulation could be used to alter the identity expressed by individuals (Rosten, 2007: 12). Many of these items have been shown by previous research to have been embedded within social practice as dress plays a part in the learning of social roles (Sørensen, 1997: 95), and as discussed in Chapter 3, items are also now seen as having their own agency and so could play an active role in the shaping of social practice (Eckardt, 2014: 9).

This chapter will present the results of an examination of the personal adornment items present within the study region. The main objectives of this chapter are threefold;

- To identify which types of personal adornment items are most common within the study region, and how this changed through time.
- To assess whether the relationships formed between people and objects of adornment changed over time and what this can tell us about changes in identity and how this was expressed through adornment items.
- To examine the reasons that drove the change evident in the use of adornment objects from the Late Iron Age, through the Romano-British period within the study region.

I aim to achieve this by;

- Collating all the personal adornment objects found within the study region that date to the Late Iron Age and Romano-British period. This will highlight which object types were favoured by individuals and communities within the region as well as the object types that were not used.
- Analysing the total numbers of each object type through time to show how preferences for objects changed and why this change occurred.
- Mapping the distribution patterns of these items across the landscape. This will highlight any patterning in the data, such as clustering within certain landscape zones or on particular site types, showing how widely these objects were used, or whether only certain aspects of the population were consuming these items.
- A further aim is to reconstruct the biographies of certain objects, which will be done through the use of case studies. This will allow the meanings ascribed on these objects and the identities expressed through their use to be investigated more thoroughly. One particular strand of this investigation will be the analysis of the deposition strategies employed by the communities within the study region. Were certain items curated or deposited in particular ways and how did this add to or alter their meanings?

As discussed in Chapter 4 only items specifically linked to adornment of the body have been chosen for study above other portable objects, following the classifications for personal adornment items set out by Nina Crummy (1983). The only addition to her categories has been the inclusion of toilet implements. It was decided that these should be included as they are widely accepted as “part of a ‘technology of the body’ “ (Hill, 1997: 100). They were used in a number of aspects of bodily grooming and their appearance in the archaeological record during the Late Iron Age reflects a change in attitude towards how some individuals presented themselves (*ibid*: 100). As such they are tied to the process of grooming and adorning the body and the creation and expression of personal identity, which is why they have been included within the data collated.

In the past researchers have commented on the lack of personal adornment items found on sites within the south-west peninsula, that local people were not interested in adorning themselves and perhaps took little interest in fashion (Hingley and Willis, 2007: 9). This is somewhat misleading as a growing number of these objects are being recovered from sites in the region. A total of 1133 objects from 45 sites (although this number does include the 370 personal adornment objects from Nornour) are included within the database. Although higher than perhaps expected, this number is still relatively small in comparison to other areas of Roman Britain. To gain a better understanding of the true numbers of personal adornment items and the different types in use within the study region, it was decided to incorporate the data collected by the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS), taking the total number of objects to 1423 (again this includes the items from Nornour). The main problem in using data from the PAS is that these objects are recovered by metal detectorists and so we lack detailed contextual information which is important for forming interpretations. To overcome this PAS data will only be incorporated into the over-arching regional analysis discussed in sections 6.3 and 6.4. At this macro level of analysis, the lack of contextual data should not create any biases within the analysis and interpretation. Instead it should allow a more complete picture of the true numbers of these items in circulation to be gained and from which it is possible to begin to understand the meaning bestowed on these objects by the individuals and communities who possessed them. The lack of contextual information will however, mean they must be excluded from discussions of object biographies and deposition strategies in section 6.2.

The following discussion will be split into five sections, the first, section 6.1 will provide a recap of the methodology used to collect the data and detail the methodological issues encountered during the collection and how these were overcome. It will also highlight any potential biases in the data caused through its collection and the lack of data from certain areas of the study region. Section 6.2 will focus on object biographies and reconstructing these where possible to show the longevity in use of some of these items. This discussion will present case studies, one focused on decorated brooches in Cornwall and the other looking at the exceptional assemblage from Nornour. Both case studies will look at the origins of the objects through to their deposition to gain a better understanding of any changes in how the social meaning of these objects may have altered or not and how these differ between the

objects being considered. Section 6.3 will present the results and interpretation of my analysis through a regional overview. This will include a summary of the personal adornment objects from Exeter as well as looking at the types and number of objects used by communities in the region around the south-west to put my data in to context. Section 6.4 will look at change in personal adornment objects across the study area through time. This will highlight how widespread any changes were or whether they were confined to certain communities or areas within the landscape. Lastly section 6.5 will draw all this evidence together in a brief discussion of the analysis.

## **6.1 Methodology**

The methodology used to collect and collate the data presented in this chapter is fully discussed in Chapter 4, however, I wish to briefly outline this before moving on to look at some of the issues with the data collection, including the potential for bias.

The objectives outlined above have driven the data collection as well as being used to design the database into which these objects were collated. This allowed all the information necessary to achieve these objectives to be input into the database and for queries to be designed to extract the relevant information. The database fields include the object classification, sub-classification, material, quantity, deposition context, dates of both manufacture and deposition as well as the place of manufacture. Combining these categories allows very detailed information to be gathered on each individual item and where each category has been populated this can be used to reconstruct the biography of that object.

Although all efforts have been made to minimise any biases within the data it became clear during the collection stage that certain biases would be difficult to eliminate entirely. These biases revolve around the nature of excavations that have taken place in the study region within the last 100 years. Excavations in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century generally took place on sites of higher status, such as the villa at Magor (O’Neil, 1933), or at cemetery sites (Whimster, 1977). These excavations were generally aimed at showing Roman influence in Britain with little interest in excavating poorer native sites (Smith, *et al.*, 2016: 4-8). Modern excavations are development led and so are focused on areas of the landscape that are generally already built

up. This means that large areas of the region do not have any excavation data, such as Dartmoor and the area of north-west Devon, as little to no development has taken place in these areas in recent years. The dataset collected then is restricted to areas where development and research excavations have occurred and so does not accurately reflect what was happening within the region during the Late Iron Age and Romano-British periods. It should though be possible to highlight trends in adornment with the data that has been collected due the detailed information that I have been able to obtain for most of the objects. Testing this against trends evident in adornment from the wider region surrounding the south-west should help to mitigate against any bias and show whether this lack of information from certain areas will adversely affect my interpretations.

As discussed above and in Chapter 4 the object types analysed in this chapter are based upon Crummy's items of personal adornment as laid out in the small finds from Colchester Volume (1983), with the inclusion of toilet implements. The object types Crummy used have for the most part been adhered to, although armlets have been input as bracelets and there are few small additions such as neck rings and I have separated intaglios from the finger rings so instances where just the intaglio has been found rather than the ring itself can be distinguished. I have grouped these objects into broader categories of Jewellery, Dress and Dress Fittings and Toilet Implements, which are used within the discussion. These categories include;

- Jewellery - beads, bracelets, brooches, earrings, finger rings, hairpins, intaglios, neck rings and pendants. Hairpins are not strictly items of jewellery but similar the other items within the category they are used for adornment and display as the heads of most have some form of decoration (see Cool, 1983 and 1990).
- Dress and Dress Fittings - belt plates, buckles strap ends and hobnails, which are all linked to styles of dress.
- Toilet implements - tweezers, nail cleaners, ear scoops, as well as chatelaines, all of which are linked to grooming and manipulation of the appearance of the body itself.

The use of these broader categories has been limited to the discussion, rather than having been included as a field in the dataset. It was thought that such categories would make changes in the adornment and display of the body easier to discuss in more general terms.

For instance, do the changes evident in the data only relate to changing styles and use of jewellery items or do dress styles and the types of clothing worn change, which can be seen through changes in buckles and belt plates for example. Changes to the style of clothing worn suggests deeper change in traditional practices in comparison to new ways of adorning and augmenting the body and clothing with jewellery. If change is evident across all categories, it will show a much wider change in adornment which would indicate a much more profound shift in the identities being expressed.

There have been a number of difficulties with data collection and entry, one of the main issues has been assigning a date of manufacture for many of these objects. Beads, hobnails and bracelets in particular have been difficult to incorporate into the database in a meaningful way. Hobnails are generally only assigned a broad date, which encompasses the entire Romano-British period. Beads are known to be produced in Britain prior to the arrival of the Roman military and the forms have longevity of use making them difficult to date (Foulds, 2017: 12). Most have been assigned a Romano-British date. This is useful in terms of overall numbers and in showing change between the Late Iron Age and the Romano-British period, although it is less helpful for showing changing attitudes to personal adornment throughout the Romano-British period. This has led to many of these items not being included in the mapping of discrete ceramic phases, section 6.4. As hobnails are not found prior to the Roman invasion of the south-west the exclusion of these from mapping through time is also unlikely to affect overall interpretation. This will, however, create some bias in the data for other object types, as for example only twenty percent of beads have been attributed to a discrete ceramic phase. This will mean that beads will be under represented in the discussion in section 6.4, as will also be the case for bracelets. It is hoped though that this will not adversely affect the overall picture and interpretation of the data.

A further difficulty has been assigning a sub-classification for many of the objects, with 160, approximately 16 percent (not including hobnails) only being assigned to a broad object type. In many cases this is due to the fact the objects are not well preserved, with only small fragments remaining, or due to heavy corrosion. Assigning sub-categories to brooches, for example where only the pin survives, has been impossible. This has also been true for several the beads, where small globular sections remain. It is possible these are simply small beads but there is also a possibility they were part of a larger segmented bead. As many of the

excavations took place prior to the creation of the current typologies a few objects, again mainly brooches, have assigned sub-classifications that are no longer in general use. Where this is the case, these have been altered on entry into the database. Where no sub-classification has been given one has been assigned if the object has been illustrated and it is clearly of a distinguishable type. Where this has not been possible they have been entered with a sub-classification of unknown.

## **6. 2 Biographical Objects**

Exploring the relationship between people and objects is fundamental not just to this study, but to all archaeological research. Although in the past objects were treated as static things with little power to shape the world around them, it has become increasingly evident that this is not the case. Objects are now seen to have life histories, biographies, with their meaning at any given time dependant on the situation. As the individual it is tied to and its surroundings change so an object gathers history (Kopytoff, 1986; Gosden and Marshall, 1999). Reading the biography of an object should then allow us to reveal the relationship between it and the people it encountered (Joy, 2009). However, objects can have multiple meanings at any one time. An example of this are the four bucket pendants found at the cemetery at Brougham. These objects are not common finds in Roman Britain, although they are well known from other areas of the North-Western provinces. These pendants are thought to have had many meanings and symbolised a number of different aspects of the wearer's identity. They have strong ethnic associations, belonging to a Germanic adornment tradition, and are thought to have been part of a specific cultural-religious practice, helping to protect the wearer's spiritual welfare and health as well as perhaps being used to store scented fats that would have released a sweet smell (Joy, 2009; Eckardt, 2014, 35–45).

Where objects can be shown to have held multiple meanings their biographies should not be considered as linear historical narratives. Instead the object has several coexisting lives, which are relational and dependant on the situation. As relationships between peoples and objects change so does the meaning ascribed to the object, as it is the relationship established between an individual and an object that gives it an individual identity (Hoskins, 1998: 8). As

such objects are not necessarily always active but may die and so have periods of inactivity (Joy, 2009: 543–544). This is the case for objects that become heirlooms, whose meaning would have been constructed around their association to a specific person or point in the past (Haug 2001: 111). It is this that lead to them becoming heirlooms, or objects of remembrance, which are unlikely to have been displayed often, making them inactive for periods of time. Such objects have been recognised in burial assemblages, for example a complete fantail brooch, among others, from the cemetery in Ipplepen, Devon. Here a small number of first and second century AD brooches were found associated with graves of the late Roman and Post Roman period, meaning that some of these brooches may have been curated for 500 years before final deposition within grave contexts (Davey and Wood, 2014). Such an extended period of curation suggests that these brooches maintained a strong relationship with this community before they were chosen for burial.

Not all curated objects were heirlooms though, but instead were in active use for their entire life. This is true of the composite disc brooch found in a grave at the Anglo-Saxon cemetery of Harford Farm in Norfolk. This brooch was only just over fifty years old when buried, and a runic inscription on it showed it had been repaired during its life time (Williams, 2006: 67–69). It is unlikely that the person it was buried with was its original owner as these brooches are found predominantly at sites in Kent and so is likely to have been acquired by the Harford community through exchange networks. Its rarity within the area of Norfolk may suggest it had a greater importance to the community rather than simply being used as a dress ornament, and so had more than one meaning, being linked to more than the individual it was buried with (Williams, 2006: 77). If this is the case then it must have been on display, or accessible to the community and not stored away only to be brought out for important social events.

Through the rest of this section I will examine the relationship between some of the objects of personal adornment found within the study region and their owners, focusing on the life histories of some of these objects. I would like to highlight the fact that they had multiple meanings and show how these meanings affected the life of the object and the way in which it was finally deposited. I will approach this through two case studies, the first focusing on the use of decorated brooches in Cornwall and the second looking at the exceptional assemblage from the shrine site at Nornour.

### **6.2.1 Case Study 1: Identity, Power and Memory: Decorated Brooches in Roman Cornwall**

The use of brooches by individuals and communities within Cornwall began during the Late Iron Age, although in very low numbers, with only 10 known. This increased markedly after the invasion of the Roman military, with 137 having been found that date to the early Romano-British period. There are a number of different classifications of brooches present within this assemblage and it is clear from the excavation and PAS data that decorated brooches were preferred over plain forms, with 93 of the 137 brooches displaying decorative elements. This number may in fact be higher but the preservation of the remaining brooches does not allow this to be determined. In most cases the decorative elements are raised mouldings along the wings and the bow of the brooches, although a number have recesses that would have been filled with enamel. A small number were highly decorated, for example the brooch found at the site of Shortlanesend near Truro, see Figure 6.1. The brooch is an Aesica variant, whose bow is decorated with lozenge shaped cells containing enamel and has a flat fantailed foot that is separated from the bow by a loop. The enamel in the outer cells on the bow was originally olive in colour while the central lozenges contained turquoise enamel (Harris, 1980: 75). Until recently it was the only known example of this type, although a parallel from Cornwall is now listed on the PAS database.

The use of these decorative brooches is linked to the invasion of the south-west and the short period of occupation. This acted as a stimulus for change in the wearing of brooches, as well as other items of adornment discussed in sections 4.3 and 4.4, which were now utilised by a far wider range of people and communities than in the Late Iron Age. The arrival of the military would have disrupted the power networks of the region, with the units garrisoned in the area replacing the new elite that had emerged in the final decades of the Late Iron Age, see section 4.4. It has been suggested that times of social change may have led to people becoming more concerned with their appearance and how they presented themselves (Jundi and Hill, 1998: 126). The dramatic increase in number of brooches during the early Romano-British period supports this and shows that for some of the population these items played an important role in the renegotiation of their identity. The new power structures effected by the military would have provided individuals and communities with the opportunity to actively reconstruct aspects of their identity, which manifested itself in the adoption of different types of personal adornment items (Eckardt 2014: 5).



Figure 6.1: Brooch from Shortlanesend (left) and from the PAS database (right). Harris, 1980: 74. © Cornwall Archaeological Society, D. Honour. PAS: CORN A1A469.

The fact that all of the brooches in use were of British manufacture, except 3 continental examples discussed in section 4.4, and retained La Tène style decorative traditions, as well as the unique nature of some of these brooches, the one from Shortlanesend for example, Figure 6.1, shows that individuals and communities were beginning to express a new identity, one which integrated them into the Roman world and the administrative system of the province of *Britannia*, but one that also linked them to the past. This has been suggested for the recently recognised Cornish Hull Type 31 brooch (Tyacke et al. 2011), which is a decorative variant of the Aesica type. The predominately Cornish distribution of these brooches, see Figure 6.2, has been used to suggest they were manufactured within Cornwall. No two brooches are exactly the same and metal analysis has shown different alloys were used for all those analysed. Tyacke has suggested this may be due to them being made from scrap metal. The only example that was recovered through excavation came from the site of St Mawgan-in-Pydar and it was found in association with metalworking evidence, which may support this theory (Threipland 1956: 72; Tyacke et al. 2011).

The initial use of these brooches took place in a period of uncertainty and change when the existing power structures were completely disrupted. The use of these decorative brooches would have allowed individuals and/or communities to express their social standing to other members of the community, as well as outsiders. The fact these brooches were decorated would have made them highly visible so the message could not go unnoticed. The meanings of these brooches then became altered after the military had moved on from the region. The depositional contexts of many of the excavated brooches shows they circulated for several generations after manufacture, and so would have formed relationships with a number of

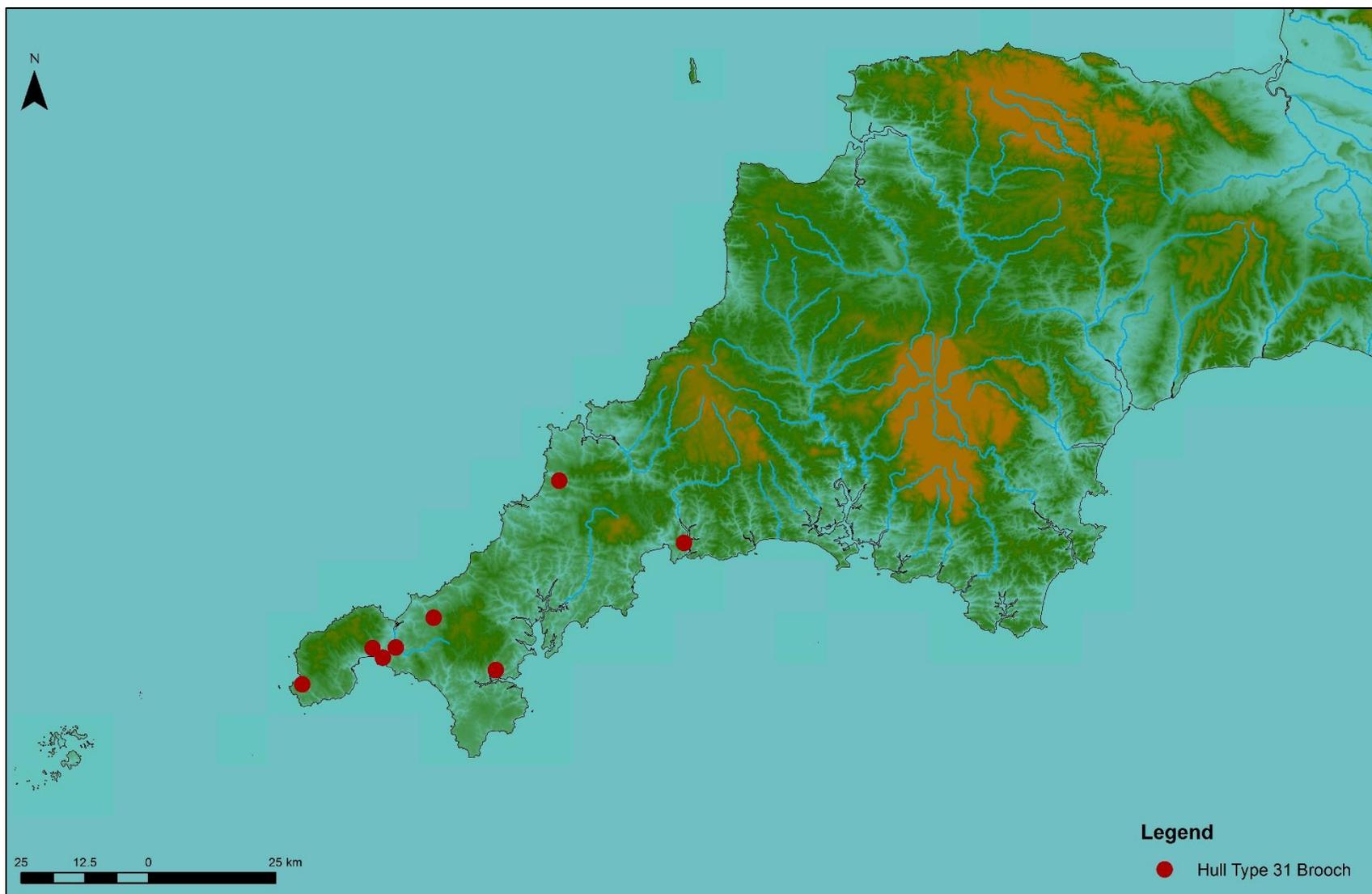


Figure 6.2: Map showing the distribution of Hull Type 31 brooches within Cornwall.

different individuals during this time. In some exceptional cases, the brooches were in use for nearly 300 years, such as the two examples from Trethurgy (Butcher 2004: 70–72).

The fact that these brooches continued in circulation for over a hundred years or more before final deposition indicates they became heirloom objects. Such objects were bound up in the creation and management of both personal and social memory (Lillios 1999: 243). Social memory is not fixed and is constantly reproduced by societies through remembrance as well as forgetting of aspects of their past (Eckardt 2004; Forty 1999: 1–18; Williams 2006: 2). This can be accomplished using material culture, with objects being imbued with memory, such as with heirlooms. Objects can also though be used to forget, and their deliberate burial can erase memories from the social conscious (e.g. Eckardt 2004: 37; Williams 2006: 20). The original meaning ascribed to these decorated brooches was, as discussed, constructed around their association with political and social change during and after the conquest, and it is this that led to them becoming objects of remembrance.

As with all curated objects, their continued circulation lead to their initial social meanings becoming altered as they came into contact with different generations, who would have conserved and transformed their meanings (Bradley, 2003: 221). The altering of the meanings ascribed to them eventually led to their deposition and removal from society. Many of these brooches were deposited during times of settlement restructuring or during total settlement abandonment and as such can be classed as structured deposits. These types of deposit were structured according to symbolic rationales and the social practices of communities and not as random acts (Hill, 1995: 126). The deposition of the brooches as part of the act of settlement reconstruction or abandonment may then have been symbolic act by the community as part of their need to sever their links to the past, achieved by the burying of a visual reminder of that past.

This is a common practice on several sites that were occupied during the early to mid Romano-British period in Cornwall. Examples include Castle Gotha, Trethurgy, Par Lane, Porth Godrevy, Shortlanesend and Goldherring (Saunders and Harris, 1982; Quinnell 2004; Sims and Valentin 2011; Fowler 1962; Harris 1980; Guthrie 1969).

One of the best examples is a shoe sole brooch found at the site of Kilhallon, near Par in Cornwall, which was excavated from one of the upper fills of what was thought to be an

enclosure ditch. The fill was a secondary midden deposit, which had been deliberately dumped to backfill and seal the ditch (Carlyon, 1982). The ceramics suggest that the site had been occupied from at least the second century, although ceramics of first century date were also found, and had been abandoned during the third century AD (Carlyon, 1982: 158-162). The shoe sole brooch was manufactured during the first century AD. This brooch type is not common in Britain and has been linked to the worship of the messenger god Mercury (Crummy, 2007). The attached plate on the face of the brooch was decorated with applied repoussé of raised dots, which represent the hobnails on the soles of shoes, see Figure 6.3 (Butcher, 1982: 162).

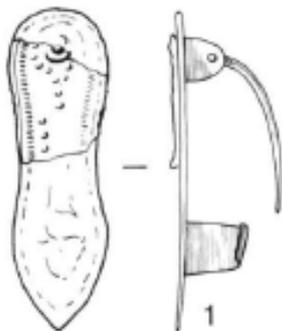


Figure 6.3: The shoe sole brooch found during excavations at Kilhallon (Carlyon, 1982: 162).

The brooch is very early in date and is likely to have been acquired around the time, or in the immediate aftermath of the conquest. The fact it is of unusual form and was decorated indicate that it would have been quite noticeable on the wearer's body. This brooch though has a dual meaning and may have marked its wearer out as a worshipper of Mercury. The gods of the Roman pantheon were not unknown in Britain and it may be that the owner of the brooch did worship the god, although it is also possible the brooch was chosen to aid their integration into the new administrative structure, marking them out as non-resistive to change.

It is possible that the link to the worship of Mercury was a factor in its curation, but like the other examples it is more likely its link to the period of upheaval after the conquest was the overriding factor. The total abandonment of the settlement and the backfilling of the enclosure ditch would have erased the settlement from the landscape and was a decision that would not have been taken lightly. It would have had wider political and psychological implications and may be a consequence of the need for the community to sever their links to

the past. The deposition of the shoe sole brooch can be seen as a symbolic part of this process, the burying of a visual reminder of that past.

### **6.2.2 Personal Adornment Items as Votives and the Shrine at Nornour**

The islet of Nornour is one of the uninhabited islands within the Scilly archipelago, which lies 28 miles to the south-west of Land's End, see Figure 6.4. Excavation of the site showed that a small settlement had been established during the middle Bronze Age, which was continuously occupied until the Late Iron Age when it was largely abandoned. Buildings 1 and 2, however, continued in use, and it is here where the majority of the Roman period finds were recovered. Along with a small collection of ceramics, 30 miniature pots, 13 fragments of pseudo-Venus and Dea Nutrix figurines, 93 coins and other miscellaneous metal objects, a large collection of personal adornment items was recovered. This included over 300 brooches, at least 35 finger rings, a small number of bracelets and 24 glass beads (Dudley, 1967; Butcher, 2001). This assemblage is in serious contrast to the other known material of Romano-British date from the Isles of Scilly, of which there is very little. The sheer number of brooches led to Buildings 1 and 2 being interpreted as a shrine, with the original excavator noting that many of the brooches found in Building 1 appeared to have been deliberately placed on ledges in the wall as well as around the table (Dudley, 1967; Butcher, 2001).

The brooches found at Nornour form the second largest collection of brooches from Roman Britain. A variety of types are represented, which span the late first century to the mid to late third century AD. The majority of the brooches present are bow brooches of south-western origin, the T-shapes. However, there is also an exceptional assemblage of plate brooches, including the largest collection of equal-ended brooches in Britain (Butcher, 2001). Although a few of the plate brooches are thought to be of British manufacture, such as the horse and rider brooch, numbers of which have been found at other shrines and temples in Britain, and the eagle brooch. The rest are thought to be of continental manufacture, something supported by recent analysis of the alloys used to manufacture them (Butcher, 2014). The equal-ended brooches are thought to have been produced somewhere in the Rhineland, the exact location of the workshops remains unknown, and are not generally well represented in Britain (Butcher, 2001). One striking thing about the assemblage from Nornour is the high

occurrence of enamelled brooches, although the plate brooches account for most of this, a number of the bow brooches are also decorated with enamel. Many of the non-enamelled bow brooches have decorated mouldings, with very few plain examples having been deposited at the site (Dudley, 1967; Butcher, 2001).

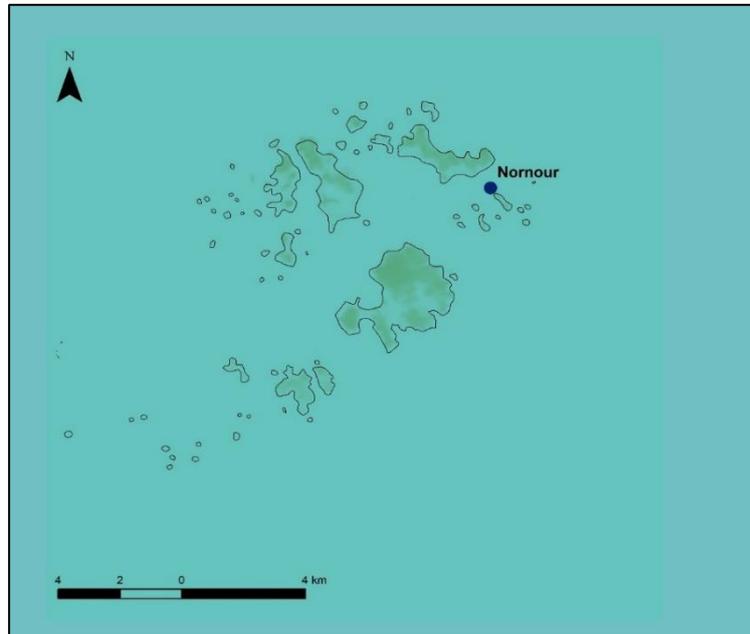


Figure 6.4: Map shows the location of the islet of Nornour within the Isles of Scilly archipelago.

Nornour also has the highest concentration of shoe sole brooches known from Britain, with 8 documented (Crummy, 2007). These brooches have been linked to travel and pilgrims and Crummy (2007), has suggested they are linked to the worship of Mercury, as discussed above. Mercury was the patron of travellers and these brooches are then perhaps fitting as votives for safe passage onwards from the site.

The finger rings found number around 35 and at least half have central bezels for enamel or paste settings. In the original report, Dudley (1967), suggested 8 of these rings had parallels in the Rhineland, although in fact they were all likely to have been produced in Britain during the third century. They are so called trinket rings and may have been made specifically for deposition as votives at shrines and temples (Butcher, 2001).

The small number of bracelets were mainly of fourth century type, made with strands of wire twisted around each other, although the strip bracelets in the assemblage may be earlier than

this. There is also a bracelet made from shale, as well as a glass bangle decorated with yellow trails, dated to the late first century AD (Dudley, 1967; Butcher, 2001). Bracelets are found in Britain across the Roman period although their popularity greatly increases during the later Roman period (Crummy, 1983). They are represented at other temple sites, where they are interpreted as votive offerings, such as the collection from Cadbury Castle discussed above (Quinnell, 2012).

None of these objects appear to have been curated in the way the decorated brooches from the previous case study were, although it is hard to be completely certain due to the nature of the published materials. However, it is clear that the personal adornment items deposited at the shrine had multiple meanings. They were all items that would have been visible on the wearer's body. In particular, the enamelled decoration of the brooches and their prominent display on the chest would have made them difficult to miss. Their link to bodily adornment and display of identity was for some complemented by links to a deity such as the shoe sole brooches, and items like the horse and rider brooch, which also had religious connotations. The majority though cannot be linked to a particular god. Whoever the intended deity, the objects appear to have been carefully chosen for their use as votives. Their use as votives shows that they had very personal connections to the individuals depositing them. The deposition of these objects was an act directed at communicating with a higher being and the personal connection may have strengthened this act (Osborne, 2004: 2-3). They were portable parts of an individual that encapsulated personal meaning and memories.

### **6.2.3 Conclusion**

The two case studies presented have served to highlight the fact that the objects discussed all had common meanings ascribed to them. All of them were originally used as items of adornment that manipulated the appearance of their wearer and conveyed messages about how these individuals viewed themselves. However, the case studies also show that none of these objects were simply items of adornment. They all had multiple meanings throughout their lives and were used in political, social and religious practices that their manufacturers may never have intended them for.

The discussion has shown that it was the meanings ascribed to them at the beginning of their lives, meanings aside from their role in adorning the body that had a strong and lasting influence. These meanings dictated the course of their lives and their eventual deposition. The case studies have also emphasised the complicated relationships people formed with these objects and how they impacted upon the identity of these people and communities. These objects were not just passive items but helped to shape the world around them and the actions of those that possessed them. This adds to the picture of social practice in the study region, presenting a more nuanced image of daily life.

### **6.3 Regional Overview**

The previous section discussed only a narrow range of personal adornment items from the region. I would now like to turn to look at all the personal adornment objects from the area to provide a comprehensive picture of the use of these items within the south-west. The analysis detailed in this section will discuss the results of the wider regional analysis, which will begin with a look at the finds from the town at Exeter in order to put the results from the rural sites into context. I will then move on to discuss the finds from the rural sites across the region. The aim is to highlight which, if any, of these objects were favoured and what this may suggest about the relationships between the individuals and communities and items of adornment. I will finish this section with a discussion of the data from the surrounding region, Gloucestershire, Dorset and Somerset (the area outside the study region), to show whether the trends evident in my data are just phenomena confined to the region, or whether they are trends that are visible in other areas of Roman Britain.

#### **6.3.1 Exeter**

It is necessary to briefly discuss the personal adornment items from the excavations at Exeter. As mentioned in previous chapters, the data from Exeter has been excluded from the database built for this study. As a large town, connected to the administration of the province, the artefact assemblage profile (including the ceramics and coins, as well as the personal adornment items) is likely very different from that at smaller rural sites and would therefore

bias the data and analysis of the assemblages from these sites. However, to fully understand the context in which these items were obtained and used within the study region, it is necessary to summarise the objects from Exeter.

The discussion will focus on the finds from excavations that were undertaken by Exeter Museum in the 1970s, which were published by Holbrook and Bidwell (1991). Although the volume is primarily concerned with the museums excavations, reference is made to finds from excavations that took place between 1930 and 1969 within the city. There have been a number of recent excavations within the limits of the Roman city. However, few of these excavations have been satisfactorily published, or are awaiting publication, meaning the data was not available for use. This will bias the data somewhat, with potential under representation of these objects. However, the museum excavations were wide ranging across the city and so the sample of finds discussed should be an accurate representation of the personal adornment profile for the Roman town.

A further difficulty with using data from excavations in Exeter is the presence of the Second Legion during the third quarter of the first century AD. The men of the legions are known to have worn brooches, finger rings and other adornment items so many the personal adornment objects recovered through excavation are likely to have belonged to legionaries and officers. This has been mitigated against for this discussion, with any objects certainly from the military phase, or any with uncertain dates that may belong to the military phase having been excluded.

The exclusion of these objects leaves 81 in total that span second to fourth centuries AD, see Figure 6.5. As with the rest of the study region most artefacts are items of jewellery, with brooches being the most numerous. However, in contrast to the rest of the region hairpins are the second most popular item, with 23 represented. The pins are manufactured from both bone and copper alloy, with a number of types present, including a hand hairpin (Allason-Jones, 1991: 270).

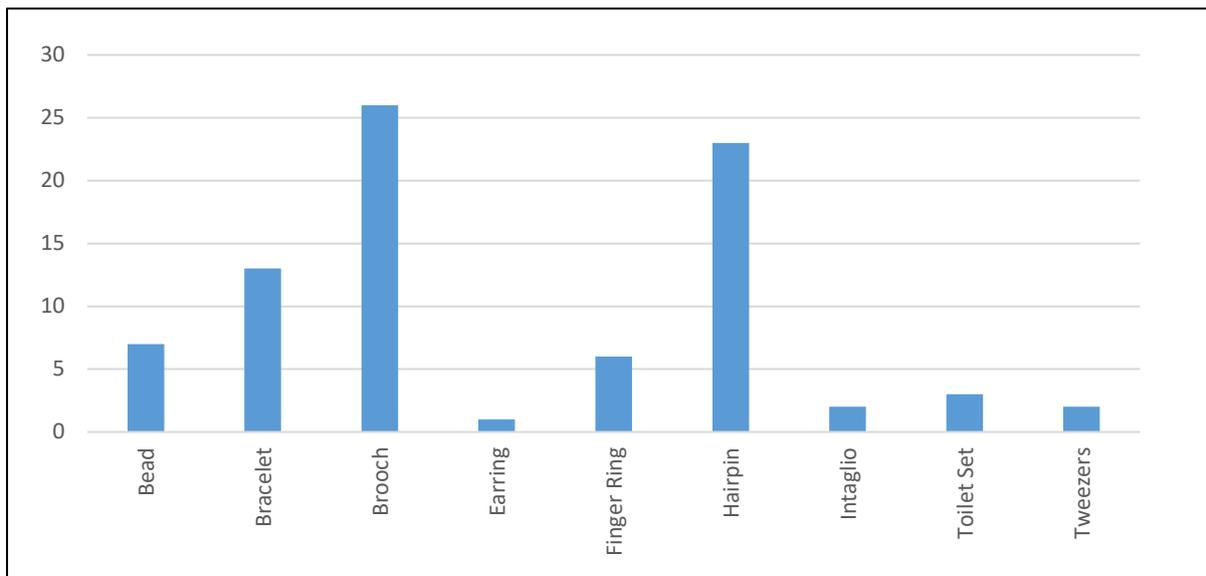


Figure 6.5: The personal adornment items from Exeter.

Breaking the data down into ceramic phases, see Figure 6.6, shows that the hairpins begin to be utilised during the early to mid Romano-British period, CP4, suggesting that by the late first century women were adopting new hairstyles that required the use of these pins. Figure 6.6, also shows that items of adornment became more numerous into the mid to later Romano-British period, CP5, with the exception of brooches, a trend evident across the province once bow brooches cease to be produced, and hairpins, although their numbers do not decline as markedly. The only brooch in use during the mid to later Romano-British period is a lozenge shaped plate brooch with an enamelled centre (Mackreth, 1991: 239).

The 3 toilet sets from Exeter are preserved on their suspension loops and all are suggested to be of fourth century AD date (Allason-Jones, 1991: 260). One of the sets contained two pairs of tweezers while another has what is thought to be a *ligula*, still on the loop. The toilet implements from the rest of the study region begin to appear in the early Roman period and although still present in the data for the later period, they are less popular, see section 6.3.2, while in Exeter they do not appear until the late Roman period. There are 2 singular sets of tweezers, (*ibid*: 260), the first being dated to the late third century AD. The second were dated to the military phase of occupation, although they have similarities with a sword shaped pair recently published from Silchester (Crummy, 2016).

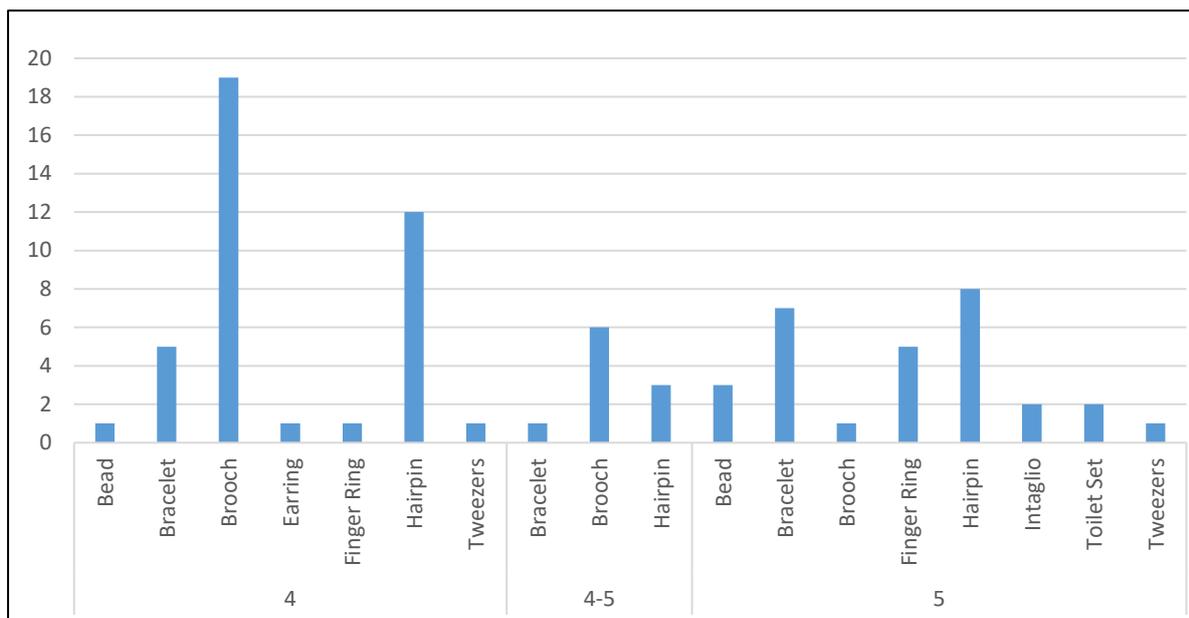


Figure 6.6: Personal adornment items found at Exeter broken down into Ceramic Phases.

Crummy (2016) has suggested that sword shaped tweezers were a metaphor for the disaffection of the native population in the tribal area of the Atrebatas and their close neighbours in the south and east of England. She has linked the appearance of sword shaped tweezers and spear shaped nail cleaners to the disarmament of these tribes and the suppression that followed the Boudican revolt. It is unknown if the peoples of the south-west actively resisted the Roman military, although disarmament may well have occurred. The shape and similarities to other such tweezers suggest it is more likely they date to the very beginnings of the civilian settlement, rather than the fortress phase.

The items from excavations at Exeter show that a number of individuals living within the town embraced new grooming and adornment practices that broke with traditional customs. These practices likely reflect an evolution of identity in response to their new situation, in particular urban living, and the fact they were ruled by the *Ordo*, a council of elected members. This was unlike anything these individuals would have experienced during the preceding Late Iron Age. The fact that items of adornment continued to be used in similar numbers during the mid to late Romano-British period, shows that this new identity formed during the early years of the town continued, with these items becoming ingrained in daily life and social practice.

However, as will become clear in the discussion below, section 6.3.2 and throughout section 6.4, the profile of the personal adornment assemblage from Exeter is very similar to that found across the rural settlements during the Romano-British period. The main exceptions

are that beads are less well represented at Exeter, while hairpins are much better represented in comparison to the rural settlements. This is a little surprising, as a town linked to the provincial administration it may have been expected that people embraced new adornment and grooming habits more fully. This though is not the case and suggests that for many individuals and families, the traditional way of adorning themselves continued to be preferred.

### **6.3.2 The Rural Settlements**

During the Late Iron Age control over bodily image and personal display appears to have become a growing concern for a small portion of society across the study region. Of the 1423 objects or personal adornment currently known within the study area only 39 of these date to the Late Iron Age, see Table 6.1 and Figure 6.7. As discussed in Chapter 2, other items connected to bodily display and manipulation, aside from adornment objects, are known, such as the decorated mirrors that have been found on sites across Devon, Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly (Joy: 2008, 2010). These mirrors allowed people to view their image and perhaps aided in control over how this was manipulated.

The PAS data records a cosmetic mortar, dating to the Late Iron Age, found near the hill fort of Blackdown Rings in south Devon (PAS: COOK-5C2081). Cosmetic sets comprise a mortar and pestle, generally crescent shaped and with loops for suspension. Wear analysis shows that these objects were used to grind small amounts of substances. What these were exactly is unknown but current thought suggests it is likely to have been powders for use as make-up. A small number of cosmetic sets have been recovered from grave contexts where they were found in direct association with toilet implements, strengthening the argument that these were part of the 'technologies of the body', being used in the manipulation of the owner's appearance (Hill, 1997; Jackson, 2010).

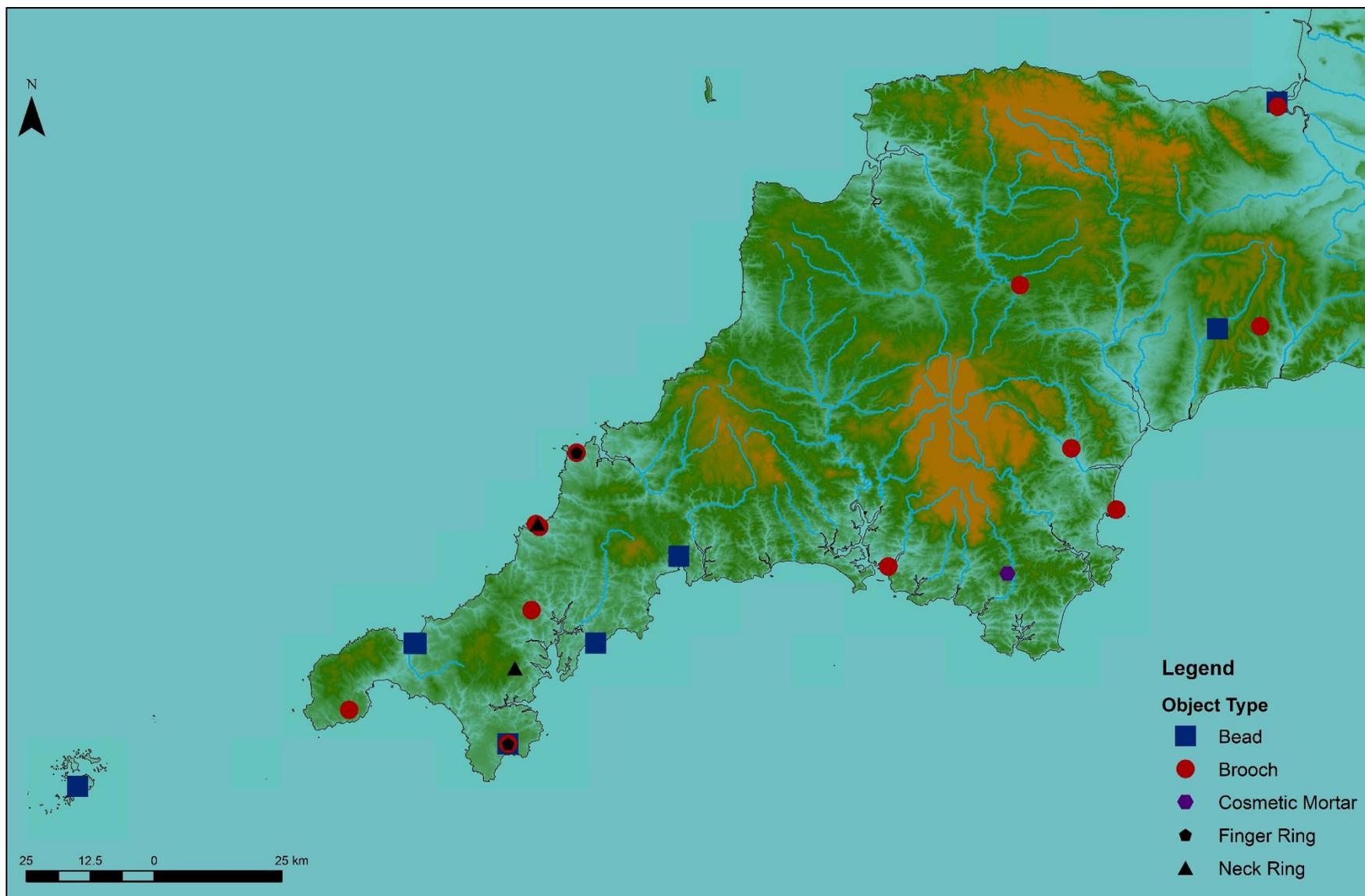


Figure 6.7: Map shows the distribution of finds dating to the Late Iron Age across the study region.

A small number of brooches have also been recorded across the region both through the PAS and excavation. These consist mainly of La Tène II and III types, but as discussed in Chapter 2, a small number appear to have been made within the region. The Atlantic type brooches, found in the cemeteries at Harlyn Bay and Stamford Hill (Boudet, 1988; Whimster, 1977), are highly decorative, with an upturned foot which has an elaborate knob with concentric circle decoration. This type has a bar at the head of the bow with the arms having bulbous terminals. These were originally thought to be Iberian types, but the bow and arms are cast as one piece, differing from the continental examples. The unfinished state of one example from the Stamford Hill cemetery at Mount Batten suggests that they were of local manufacture (Boudet, 1988: 62; Adams, 2013: 71-72).

Object Type	Cornwall	Devon	Isles of Scilly	Somerset	Grand Total
Bead	6	1	1	1	8
Brooch	13	13		1	23
Finger Ring	3				3
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>40</b>

Table 6.1: Table shows the numbers of personal adornment items and objects dated to the Late Iron Age, recorded both through excavation and with the PAS.

A very small number of beads have also been recorded through the PAS, with four recorded from Cornwall and one from Somerset. An issue with beads though is that they are very difficult to date closely and none of the beads attributed to the Iron Age on the PAS database are certainly of this date, with three likely being Romano-British in date or perhaps even later. This has led to their exclusion from the count of overall numbers discussed below.

The small number of items linked to bodily display and manipulation present in the later Iron Age suggest that control over appearance and the social display of the body was only important to a very small element of society. However, it is important to keep in mind the fact that most these items were found in grave assemblages and so may not necessarily reflect the evolution of individual identity but rather may reflect an idealised perception of the deceased's identity. It is possible that during the Late Iron Age adornment items were only worn in life by very few individuals, if at all. Instead it can be suggested they were used to

show status and power in death, where the living have control to adorn individuals according to what they felt was appropriate (Parker Pearson, 1999: 84; Williams, 2006: 77).

The social rules regarding adornment appear, though, to change around the time of conquest with numbers of personal adornment items in use increasing markedly during the Romano-British period. The reasons for this change in attitude to adornment items from the Late Iron Age through to the Romano-British period will be explored further in Section 6.4.

Object Type	Cornwall	Devon	Isles of Scilly	Somerset	Grand Total
Bead	30	32	30	1	93
Belt Plate	3				3
Bracelet	11	42	11	1	65
Brooch	148	90	329	45	612
Buckle		1		2	3
Earring	1	3			4
Finger Ring	16	12	20	5	53
Hairpin		17		1	18
Hobnail	258	257	4		519
Intaglio	1	3	1		5
Neck Ring	2				2
Pendant	1				1
Toilet Implement	1	5			6
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>472</b>	<b>462</b>	<b>395</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>1385</b>

Table 6.2: Table shows the total numbers of each type of personal adornment item, by county, from the study region. The totals include objects dated only to the Romano-British period and includes data from the database and PAS data.

It is clear from Table 6.2 that the most popular objects during the Romano-British period belong in the category of Jewellery, with beads, bracelets, brooches and finger rings being the most numerous of these. The table also highlights that although no object type is wholly absent, some are not well represented and are only present in certain areas of the study region. This is true of the most of the items belonging to the category of Dress and Dress Fittings, buckles and belt plates. The absence of these items in parts of the study region may reflect the fact that such items did not become popular until the later third and fourth centuries AD. The two belt buckles from Somerset were recorded through the PAS and so no contextual information is available. However, three belt plates are known from Cornwall,

from Kilhallon and Carvossa. The presence of these items may suggest that some individuals were dressing in different ways that required the use of belts, or that clothing did not alter but new ways of fastening and wearing clothes became fashionable for a few individuals.

In his study of Roman material used at Scottish sites, Hunter (2001) found that the absence of certain artefact types was directly linked to Iron Age traditions in the region. He demonstrated selectivity on the part of the communities who adopted Roman material to fit their pre-existing customs. Combining the near absence of Dress Fittings from the south-west with the low levels of hairpins, pendants and toilet implements and the fact that these items are not found during the Late Iron Age may suggest that these communities were also very selective in the items of adornment they chose to adopt. All but a few communities adopted items that only complimented previous traditions, rather than altering them.

Hobnails though, which belong to the Dress and Dress Fittings category, are well represented within the data and indicates that a few individuals were wearing shoes designed in a Roman style. The number of hobnails could though be potentially misleading and it would be easy to suggest that perhaps more than a small handful of individuals were wearing nailed footwear. The preserved soles of Roman nailed shoes found at Billingsgate Buildings, London, contained around 56 nails per sole (for adult sized shoes), making on average a total of 112 nails per pair (Bray, 2006: 240). The total of 519 nails from the region then equates to less than five individual shoes. Although looking at the distribution of the hobnails recovered 10 sites have produced more than 2, with only 3 sites having produced over 100 each, see Figure 6.8. Of these sites the hobnails from Scarcewater are known to have come from three separate shoes as they were recovered from grave contexts (Jones and Taylor, 2010). Pomeroy Wood has produced just over 200 hobnails and Trethurgy just over 100 (Grove, 1999; Quinnell, 2004).

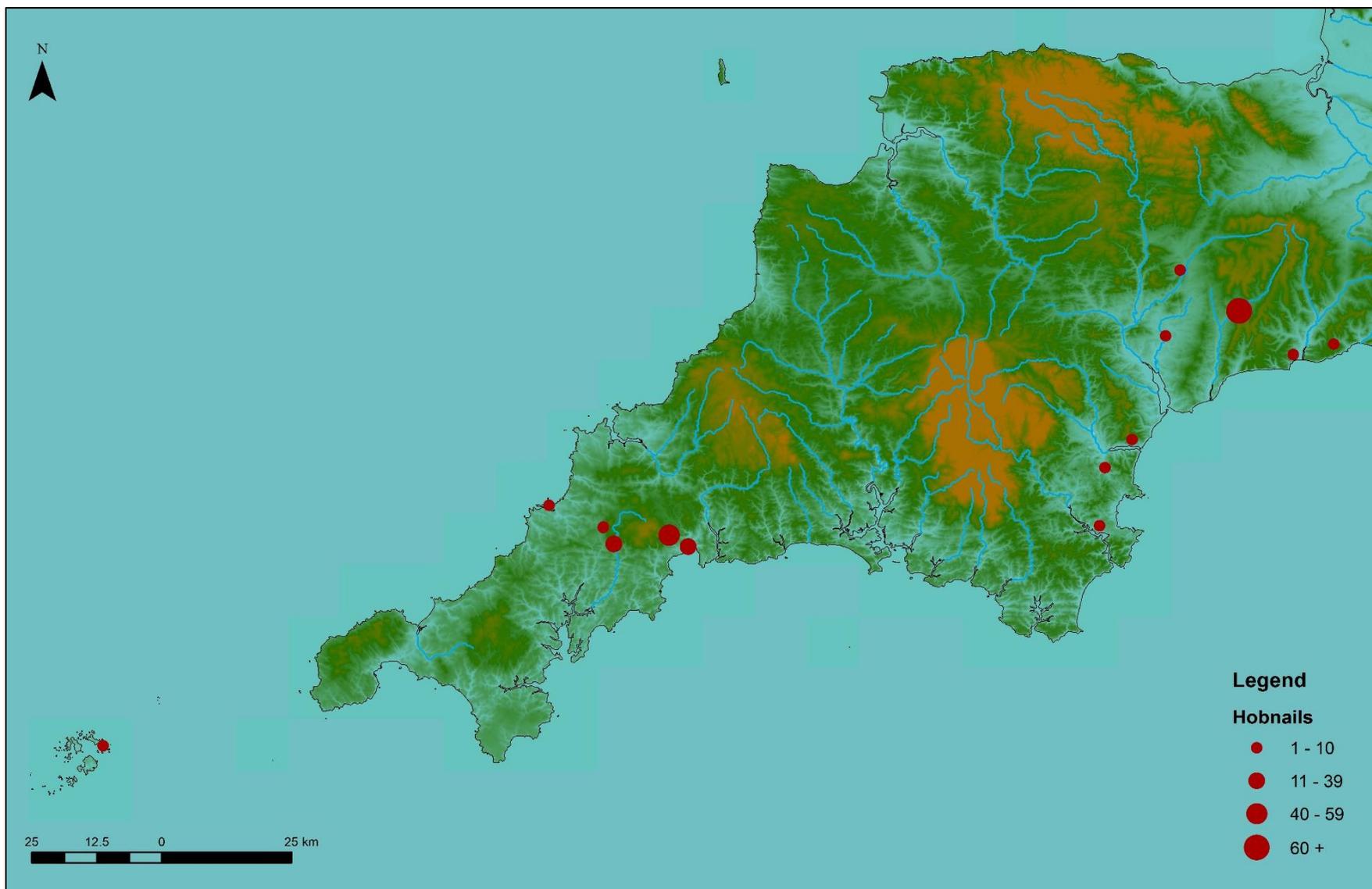


Figure 6:8: Distribution map showing the findspots of hobnails across the study region.

Breaking the data down further to look at the numbers of items it is clear that, in line with the ceramic data, the majority of these items were used by communities within Cornwall and Devon. The area of south and west Somerset has produced very few personal adornment items in comparison, although a much smaller area is represented. Most the finds from this area have been recorded through the PAS rather than through excavation reports and highlights the lack of excavation in the area in the last 25 years. The most numerous items are brooches, with only three objects recorded that are not items of jewellery.

Table 6.2 shows that certain object types found in the region only occur on sites within Cornwall and Devon. For example, only 6 toilet implements have been found within the study region, all of which were recovered from sites within these counties. Of the 14 adornment object types, only two are not represented in Cornwall, buckles and hairpins, whilst only neck rings, belt plates and pendants are absent from Devon.

All except one of the hairpins present in the data were found on sites within Devon. Single finds came from the port at Mount Batten (Cunliffe, 1988) and the settlement at Willand Road (Hood, 2010), while 2 were found in the shaft at Cadbury Castle (Wilkes and Griffith, 2012). The remaining 13 come from the villa at Holcombe (Pollard, 1974). The single find from Somerset was found near Combswich, a site thought to have been a large port during the Romano-British period (Brigers, 2003). The majority belong to Cool's Group 1 or 2 types, which were in use throughout the Romano-British period, meaning they are not closely datable (Cool, 1983, 1990). The low numbers of hairpins suggest that trends in women's hairstyles altered very little, with no great demand for the complicated hairstyles fashionable in Rome and other areas of the Empire, which required a number of pins to keep in place (Carr, 2000: 113). Although it is difficult to be sure that hairpins were in fact being used in a way that women from Rome would recognise (*ibid*). The singular finds, although they may have been lost accidentally with the owner having more than one in their possession, may suggest that some of these were being worn in the hair, but as singular decorative objects rather than in any functional capacity. The larger number from Holcombe may suggest that one of the inhabitants, at least, tried to replicate these more complicated hairstyles of Roman women.

There are 2 neck-rings from the region, both found in Cornwall, which belong to the 'Wraxall' class (Megaw, 1971: 145; Nowakowski *et al.*, 2009). The Pentire neck ring is complete with beaded, decorated D-shaped terminals. Little is known about the use of neck-rings within Britain with most examples being isolated finds, however, finds from burial contexts on the continent suggest they were worn by both men and women and they are thought to be a status symbol (Nowakowski *et al.*, 2009: 35-52). Analysis of this neck-ring suggests it was a product of the western metal working tradition, although it is later in date than the decorated mirrors, having likely been manufactured after the Roman invasion (Nowakowski *et al.*, 2009: 49). These objects have their origins in the Iron Age and the fact that at least one was produced after the conquest suggests a desire by at least one individual to link themselves back to that time, perhaps trying to preserve part of their pre-Roman identity.

The Isles of Scilly have produced a greater number of personal adornment objects, although the majority of these were found at the shrine at Nornour, as discussed in section 6.2.2 above. Outside this assemblage only 26 other items of personal adornment have been recovered from 4 separate sites, two of which are burial sites. The first is the cist cemetery at Porthcressa, where 9 brooches and a bead were recovered from the graves. The bead is interesting. It was found in cist 5 (Ashbee, 1954: 16), and due to the undisturbed nature of the grave and the fact the soils do not appear to have adversely affected survival of artefacts, it does appear that just a single bead rather than a necklace of many beads was buried within this grave. It dates to the Late Iron Age, although it was buried in a grave dating to the early Romano-British period and so was curated before final deposition, indicating it held a special meaning to the deceased or more likely to the individual who buried it with the deceased.

The second is a single cist on the island of Tean, from which two brooches were recovered. The remaining objects were found at the settlement site of Higher Town on St Agnes, which produced a single brooch and the courtyard house at Halangy Down on St Mary's where 8 brooches, 5 beads and a bracelet were found. All of these objects are items of jewellery and similar to the rest of the study region it appears that individuals and communities were more concerned with augmenting pre-existing traditions of dress and adornment with new items of jewellery rather than completely altering the way they dressed and presented themselves.

It is only on the Isles of Scilly that the dead are archaeologically visible during the early to mid Romano-British period. The burial within cist graves, evident at Porthcressa, is a continuation of that practiced during the Late Iron Age on both the Isles of Scilly and on the mainland, with some individuals being buried with adornment items. The social rules surrounding these objects do not then appear to have changed within funerary practice. However, as on the mainland the meanings ascribed to them change around the time of the conquest, with them now also being used to adorn the living. The fact that so few items have been found indicates that strong social rules still governed the use of these items both in death and life, even though their meanings altered. The small number of individuals living on the islands will also have been a factor in the low numbers of these items that have been found.

### **6.3.3 Personal Adornment in the Wider Region**

The discussion above shows a clear trend in the increase in numbers of personal adornment items during the Romano-British period within the study region. This trend is though not unique to the south-west and is evident in the wider surrounding region. The PAS database records a total of 2,428 objects of personal adornment for the counties of Dorset, Gloucestershire and Somerset (the area outside the study region). Of these 166 date to the Late Iron Age while 2,262 are of Romano-British date.

Similar to the south-west, the type objects that were in use during the Late Iron Age, see Table 6.3, were quite restricted, although the records for Gloucestershire include 3 torcs, which are not found within the study region. The numbers of these objects though are overall greater, with 152 brooches recorded in comparison to the 23 from the south-west. Bracelets are also present in the data from the wider area, whereas these objects do not appear in the south-west until after the conquest.

The PAS data then clearly shows a dramatic increase in both the types of objects in use and their total numbers during the Romano-British period, see Table 6.3. This trend is similar to that evident in the study region, with dress fittings, such as buckles now present, as well as hairpins and toilet implements, none of which are present in either region prior to the conquest of Britain. The number of jewellery items dramatically increases in the wider region,

again similar to the trend in within the study region. However, in the area of Dorset, Gloucestershire and the rest of Somerset the numbers of these objects are far greater than those present in the study region. This is clear in the brooch data, with only 612 present in the study region, while there are 1839 in the surrounding region.

Period	Object Type	Dorset	Gloucestershire	Somerset	Grand Total
<b>Late Iron Age</b>					
	Bead	1	1	3	5
	Bracelet	5		1	6
	Brooch	45	78	40	163
	Pendant			1	1
	Torc		3		3
<b>Roman</b>					
	Bead	2	5	5	12
	Bracelet	23	38	33	94
	Brooch	401	859	579	1839
	Buckle		26	9	35
	Earring		3	2	5
	Finger Ring	44	70	64	178
	Hairpin		18	11	29
	Hobnail			5	5
	Intaglio	3	1		4
	Pendant	1	4		5
	Strap End		5		5
	Toilet Implement	13	22	16	51
	<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>538</b>	<b>1121</b>	<b>769</b>	<b>2428</b>

Table 6.3: Table shows the quantity of personal adornment objects dating to the Late Iron Age and Romano-British period found in the wider region surrounding the south-west. The totals only include data taken from the PAS database.

There are likely a number of reasons for the greater number of objects within the wider region, and in depth discussion of these is outside the scope of this thesis. However, it is necessary to briefly consider these reasons. The area is similar in size to the study region it was densely inhabited in the Romano-British period, with 5 towns around 30 roadside settlements, approximately 50 villas in Gloucestershire alone, and over 150 rural farming settlements, as well as approximately 15 shrine and temple sites known from the region (Fulford and Holbrook, 2015; Mattingly, 2006: 397; Smith *et al.*, 2016). These are in contrast

to the numbers of such sites within the south-west, which only has 1 town, less than 10 villas, 3 roadside settlements and less than 100 excavated rural settlements. The greater number of individuals living within the area may go some way to accounting for the higher numbers of adornment items, although on its own this is likely to be too simplistic a reading of the archaeology.

However, whatever the deeper reasons for this shift, one key similarity is the fact that the invasion and incorporation of Britain into the Roman Empire acted as a stimulus for change in both reasons. The disruption of the political and social networks that accompanied this led to a greater number of individuals changing their traditional methods of adornment and dress, using new objects to manipulate and express a different identity to that expressed through Iron Age adornment styles.

#### **6.3.4 Conclusion**

The discussion highlights the fact that within the study region adornment and manipulation of the body began to occur in the Late Iron Age, although it is most visible as part of funerary rituals. The numbers of adornment items increased dramatically in the Romano-British period, which appears to signify a change in the meaning of these objects to the communities living within the study region. Items of jewellery, objects easily visible on the wearer's body, were preferred over items of dress and dress accessories. The trend suggested by the analysis above is for a change in bodily adornment practices rather than a change in the styles of clothing worn.

This trend is also visible in the data from Exeter, the sole town within the region. Here the ratios of each adornment object within the assemblage broadly reflects those within the assemblage from the rural settlements, although beads are less popular at Exeter, while hairpins are better represented. This shows that the reasons for the change in the adornment within the rural settlements was likely similar to those which drove change in Exeter, and indicates that living within the town, which is believed to have administered the region (Bidwell, 1980; Quinnell, 2004: 216), had little effect on the way people adorned themselves.

The increase of adornment items consumed during the Romano-British period is evident in the wider surrounding region and shows that this trend is not unique to the south-west. Although the higher numbers of these items within this area are due to differing factors, which influenced the way people dressed and presented themselves. This shows that these people formed different relationships with these objects and embraced their use more fully to highlight their changing identities from the Late Iron Age and through the Romano-British period.

The next section will look at these trends in more detail, analysing consumption of these objects through time to gain a more nuanced view of change and to help with understanding the mechanisms behind this change.

## **6.4 Change Through Time**

The preceding discussion focused on the total number of artefacts relating to adornment and the manipulation of appearance within the study region, with discussion focusing around each modern county. This section will move on to focus on change through time. As will be discussed, there were significant changes in the number of adornment items in use through the Late Iron Age and Romano-British periods, see Figure 6.9. In this section I would like to explore these changes and the reasons behind them. To do this I have assigned each object to a time period, a Ceramic Phase, which will allow change between each time period and any trends within the data to be recognised. These Ceramic Phases are based upon those used within Chapter 5 to analyse changing patterns of ceramic consumption through time. These are;

**Ceramic Phase 1:** Mid to Late Iron Age (C4th-C1st BC)

**Ceramic Phase 2:** Late Iron Age (C3rd BC- early C1st BC)

**Ceramic Phase 3:** Late Iron Age to Roman transition (mid C1st BC- early C1st AD)

**Ceramic Phase 4:** Early to Mid Romano-British period (mid C1st-mid C2nd AD)

**Ceramic Phase 5:** Mid to Late Romano-British period (late C2nd- mid C4th AD)

**Ceramic Phase 6:** Late Romano-British period to Post Roman period (late C4th- early C5th AD)

To further enhance this discussion, the spatial distribution of the objects in use during each phase will also be analysed. It is hoped that any geographic clustering of objects will become clear by conducting such an analysis. This should allow any communities or groups of communities who altered and adapted their adornment practices to be highlighted against communities who continued to adorn themselves in a more traditional style, or not at all. Mapping the distribution of these objects means any trends in the data can be visualised, allowing these changes to be better understood. For example, are changes only taking place on a small number of sites, closely linked to one and other, suggesting change only occurred in small areas of the landscape or are they more widespread and so suggest change on a much greater scale? In order to achieve this the entire study region is discussed as one landscape, although it is clear from the mapping that a number of different zones exist, with a large number of sites located on the lower lying ground and very few up on the moorland zones.

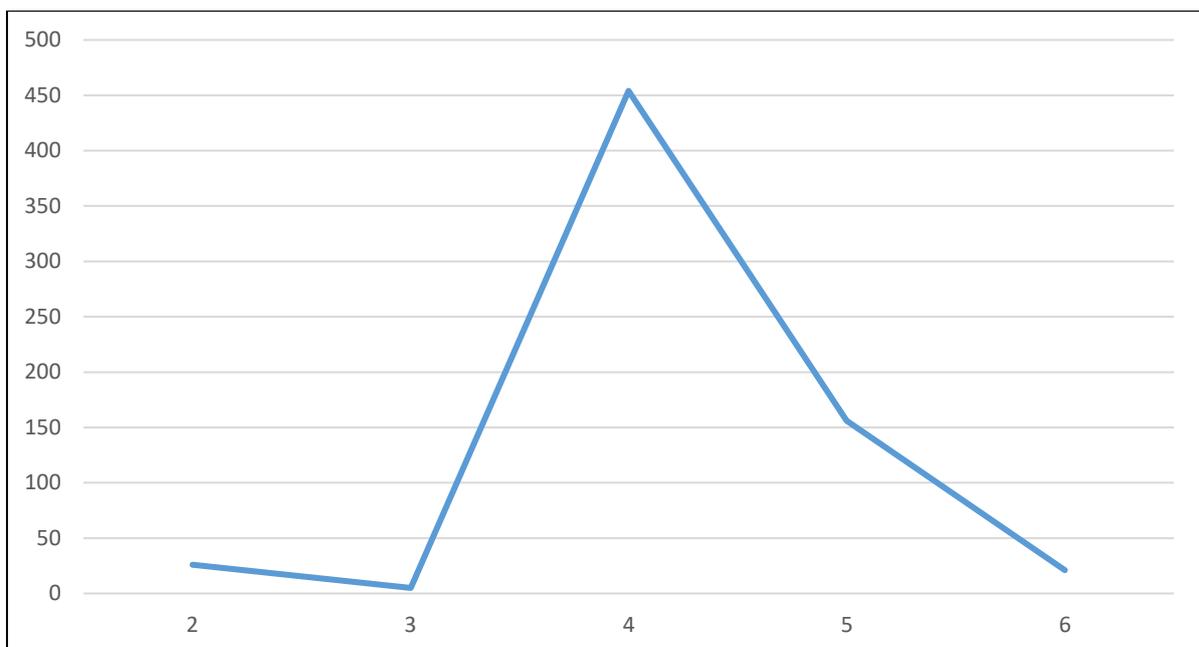


Figure 6.9: A frequency chart showing the total number of personal adornment items in use during each Ceramic Phase.

#### 6.4.1 The Late Iron Age, CP2

Breaking the data down into time periods shows that it is not until the Late Iron Age (CP2), that personal adornment appears to first be practised in the region, with no objects of Mid to

Late Iron date having been found through excavation or recorded with the PAS. Of the twenty six objects recorded for the Late Iron Age, three are finger rings, three are beads and the rest are brooches, see Table 6.4. These were recovered from six sites, see Figure 6.11, one of which is the burial mound at Trelan Bahow, and two other are the cemetery sites of Harlyn Bay and Stamford Hill at Mount Batten. The remaining sites are all occupation sites, however, at Trethellan Farm and Twinyeo Quarry, the objects are grave goods from associated burials and cremations. The final site is that of Pomeroy Wood, with a bead dated to the Late Iron Age was found in a feature of late Roman date. It is possible the bead is residual or even perhaps an heirloom. As the type of bead was produced into the Roman period it is not certain that it was in use during the Late Iron Age and so will not be discussed further here.

<b>Object Type</b>	<b>Cornwall</b>	<b>Devon</b>	<b>Grand Total</b>
Bead	2	1	3
Brooch	10	10	20
Finger Ring	3		3
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>26</b>

Table 6.4: Table shows the personal adornment objects from the region used during the Late Iron Age, CP2.

A small number of the brooches in use during the Late Iron Age appear to have had a decorative as well as functional role. As described above, the Atlantic type brooches from Mount Batten and Harlyn Bay are highly decorative (Adams 2013: 71–72; Boudet 1988: 62) and two of the brooches found in the cemetery at Trethellan Farm also display a number of decorative elements, see Figure 6.10. The Hawkes and Hull type 6 is thought to have had a coral inlay in the circular setting on the foot (Nowakowski 1991: 224) and the stylised terminals of the penannular brooch recovered appear to be purely decorative elements, as they served no functional purpose.

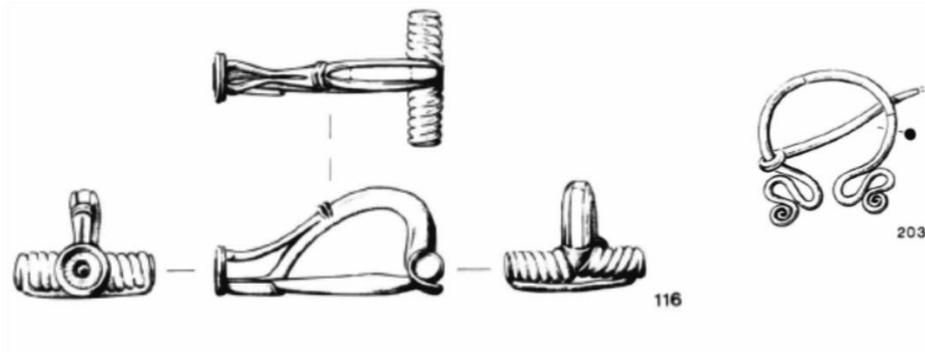


Figure 6.10: The Hawkes and Hull Type 6 and the Penannular brooch from Trethellan Farm. (Nowakowski, 1991: 223–225 © Cornwall Archaeological Society and J. Nowakowski.)

#### 6.4.2 The Late Iron Age to Roman Transition period, CP3

By the end of the Iron Age the practice of adornment becomes less archaeologically visible, with only five objects recorded for this period, see Table 6.5. Of the sites where these were discovered only one is a cemetery site, the cist cemetery at Porthcressa in the Isles of Scilly (Ashbee, 1954). Although the bead from Porthcressa was manufactured during this period it is unlikely to have been deposited before the end of the first century AD, during the early to mid Romano-British period, when the cemetery was in use. It is possible that the bead was again an heirloom object, which had been curated before being buried. Of the other objects two are the neck rings discussed in Section 6.3, which are chance finds with no site information other than their findspots. The final two objects are both brooches, one a La Tène III deposited in the cave at Kent’s Cavern. The use of the site at this time is unclear but it may well have been ritual in nature, although in the earlier to middle Iron Age the site appears to have been connected to wool processing (Silvester, 1986). The final site is the hillslope enclosure of Rudge, which produced a Nauheim type brooch, see Figure 6.11 (Todd, 1988).

Object Types	Cornwall	Devon	Isles of Scilly	Grand Total
Bead			1	1
Brooch		2		2
Neck Ring	2			2
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>

Table 6.5: Table shows the total numbers of the object types that were in use during the Late Iron Age, CP3.

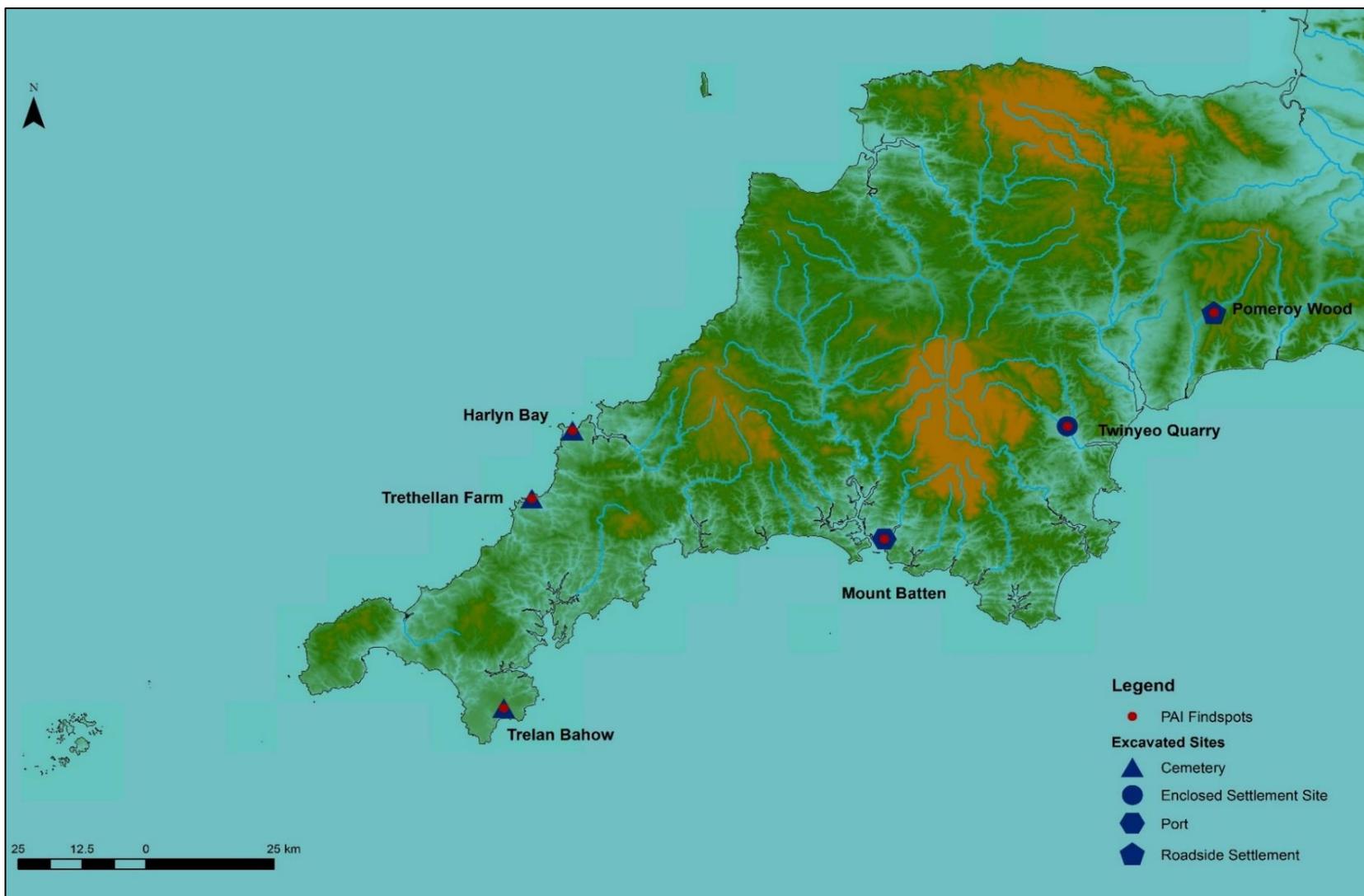


Figure 6.11: Map shows the distribution of personal adornment objects in use during the Late Iron Age and the site types from which they were recovered.

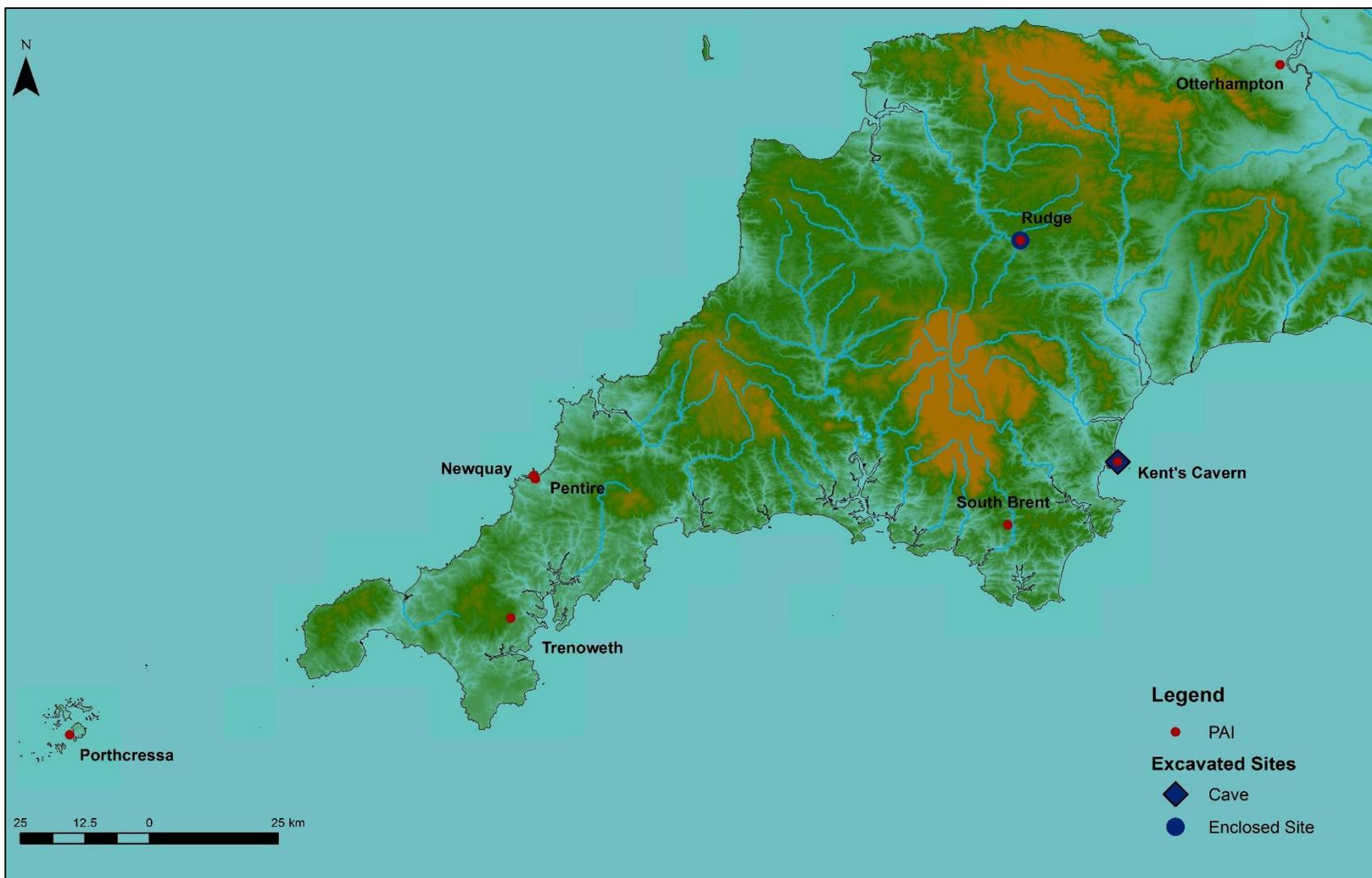


Figure 6.12: Distribution map showing the locations of personal adornment items dating to the Late Iron Age and Romano-British transition, CP3. Where these have been found through excavation, the site types are indicated.

The reduction in number of personal adornment items in use at this time coincides with a number of other changes apparent in the archaeological record. At the beginning of this period high status metal work began to be utilised by some communities, with some of these objects being manufactured in the region. Items of high status metal work, see Chapter 2, include decorated mirrors, chariot fittings and weaponry fittings, such as the scabbard mount from St Mawgan-in-Pydar (Thriepland, 1956). The metal work, and in particular an increase in items relating to horses suggests change in the political structures of the region. Horses are thought to have been symbols of the elite in the Later Iron Age, in particular of a warrior class, as well as being obvious symbols of wealth (Creighton, 2000). The appearance of such items may indicate that the structure of the social hierarchy altered, with a small elite class having developed in the early part of the Late Iron Age.

This development coincides with a change in the treatment of the dead. The large managed cist cemeteries evident in the Later Iron Age disappear from the archaeological record, along with smaller inhumation cemeteries associated with settlements. The items of adornment from the Late Iron Age were all linked to the treatment of the dead, being deposited as grave goods with both inhumations and cremations in a variety of burial types. The lack of these items within the very Late Iron Age suggests the social rules regarding the wearing of adornment objects in life may have been undergoing a period of transformation, with it now being acceptable to wear these objects in life. The fact that very few appear to have been utilised may indicate that only the elite members of society were allowed to wear these objects. The presence of the neck rings and the Nauheim brooch from Rudge may support this. As discussed in Section 6.3, the neck rings are thought to have been high status objects worn by elite members of society, although who these people were and where they lived is unknown due to the nature of their discoveries. The site of Rudge could be suggested to have been inhabited by an elite community. The hillslope enclosure was formed of two ditches, the inner of which contained a palisade, which appears at present to be unique in the region. The ceramic assemblage from the site contains imported wares, such as Samian and amphora, which reached the site around the conquest period along with the brooch, suggesting the inhabitants had quickly established contact with the long-distance trade networks (Todd, 1998). The brooch from Kent's Cavern is thought to have been deposited as a votive offering and so it is unknown what role it played in life (Silvester, 1986).

The causes of this change are likely many and varied, although the ceramic evidence also shows change during this period, with imports now appearing in the record, albeit in low numbers, see Chapter 5 for more detail and discussion. This suggests that contact with the wider world increased at this time and it is likely this contact influenced the political structures and social practices of the communities in the study region. As a consequence, individuals began to adapt the way they expressed their identity, with emphasis now shifting to manipulating the living body rather than the dead.

#### **6.4.3 The Early to Mid Romano-British period, CP4**

Change accelerates during the early and mid Romano-British period with the number of personal adornment objects recovered from this period rising substantially. This change is widespread and is evident across the entire region. Mapping the locations of these items, see Figure 6.13, against excavated sites known to have been occupied during this phase shows that all of these sites produced items of personal adornment. This signifies a further considerable change in the social meaning of these objects, with them now appearing at a large number of domestic sites. This shows that attitudes towards socio-corporeality, the social display of the body, had altered again from the end of Late Iron Age, with these objects no longer being items of elite material culture. They were now being utilised by many more individuals as outward expressions of identity. It is likely this change was effected by the arrival of the Roman military into the region, although this will be discussed further after a look at the adornment items in use during this period.

It is clear from Table 6.6 that similar to the Mid to Late Iron Age and the Late Iron Age, the range of adornment objects in use was restricted, with all except the toilet implements being items of jewellery. All of the items found at Nornour have been excluded from the analysis from both this period and the following mid to late Romano-British period (section 6.4.4) in order to eliminate any biases that may be caused by such a large and exceptional assemblage.

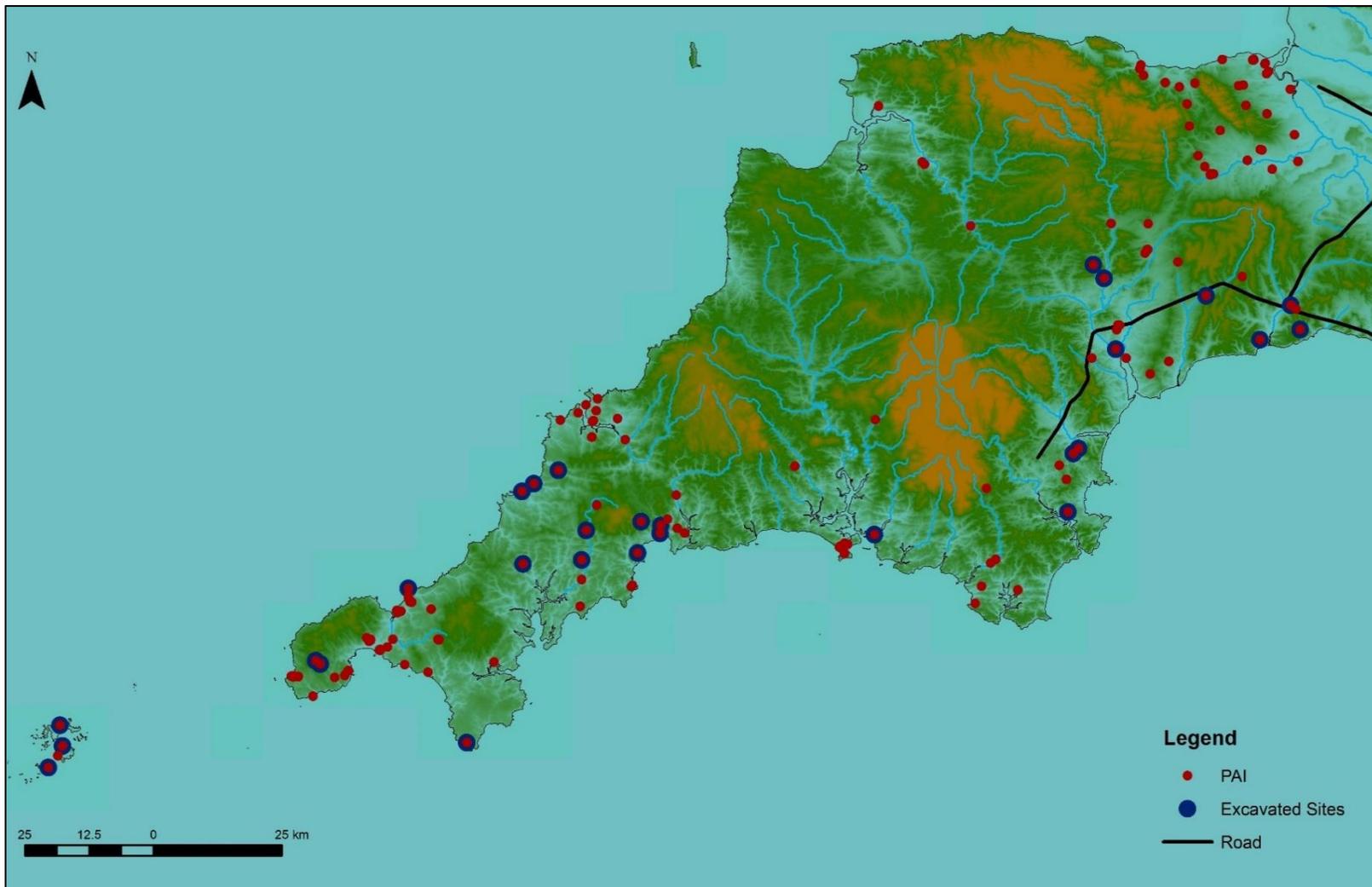


Figure 6.13: Distribution map showing the locations of personal adornment objects recorded for the early to mid Romano-British period. Map also shows the locations of excavated sites for this period that have produced these objects.

Object Type	Cornwall	Devon	Isles of Scilly	Somerset	Grand Total
Bead	3	4			7
Bracelet	1				1
Brooch	137	52	16	40	245
Finger Ring	2	2		1	5
Hairpin		1			1
Toilet Implement		3			3
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>143</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>262</b>

Table 6.6: Adornment items and their total numbers for the early to mid Romano-British period, CP4.

The total numbers do not include the assemblage from Nornour.

Breaking these objects down into their sub-types shows that the types of beads, bracelets and finger rings in use were also heavily restricted, see Figure 6.14. This however, is not the case for brooches with 245 represented for this period, with 30 different types present, see Figure 6.15. The most common type is the T-shape, which occurs across the entire region and is known to have been produced in Somerset. Moulds were found during excavations at Compton Dando. The fact that other forms of personal adornment items, other than brooches, are known from this period indicates that these objects were available to the population, who actively chose brooches over these other objects. The reason for this will be discussed further below.

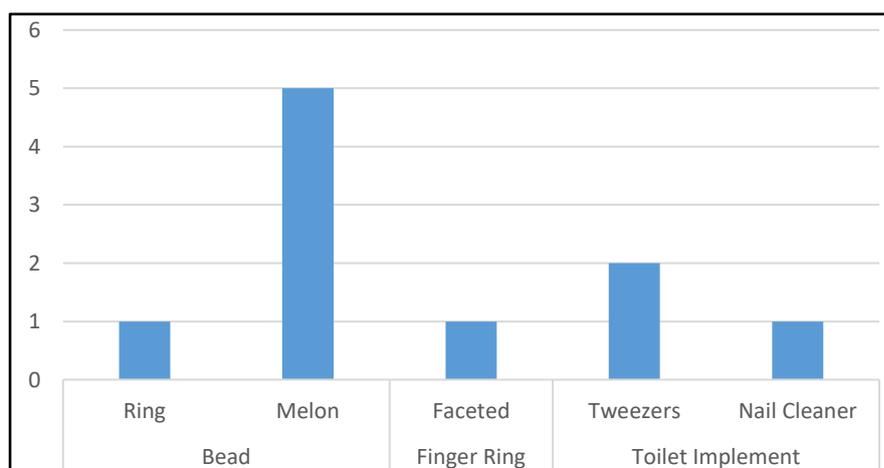


Figure 6.14: A breakdown of the sub-types of objects in use in the study region during the early to mid Romano-British period. (Brooch sub-types shown in a separate table).

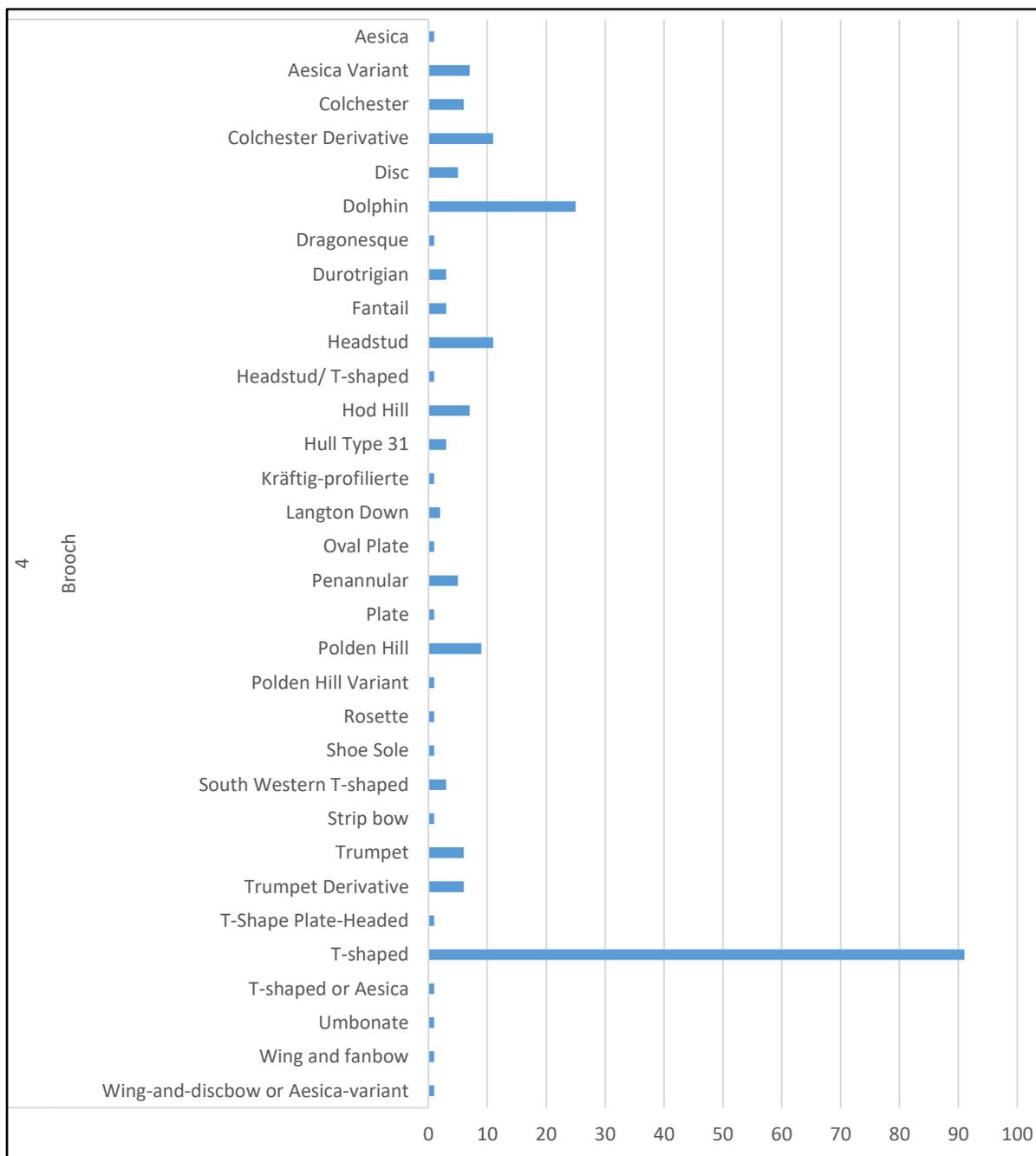


Figure 6.15: A breakdown of the brooch sub-types from the study region, dating to the early to mid Romano-British period.

Also, present in the early to mid Roman period are toilet implements, with a pair of tweezers from a high status building in Topsham and a pair of tweezers and a nail cleaner from the villa at Holcombe. Toilet implements first begin to be used in the Late Iron Age and become more widely popular during the Roman period (Hill, 1997; Eckardt and Crummy, 2008), although as shown in the table, they are not well represented in the study region. A full toilet set, as yet

unpublished, is known from a site in Penryn, Cornwall and is thought to date between AD 40 and AD 80, which would place it within the very Late Iron Age and conquest period (CP3). The set is unusual in that it contains two nail cleaners and it appears to have been kept for some time before being deliberately broken and deposited before the site was abandoned in the second century AD (Crummy, forthcoming). The small number of these implements in the region suggest that only a handful of individuals were concerned with grooming. It appears that adornment with jewellery was favoured over manipulation of the body itself.

Mapping the density of personal adornment items across the landscape for the early to mid Romano-British period, Figure 6.16, shows three areas, which have a higher density of items. The first of these, which has the highest density of objects, is centred on West Penwith in the far west of Cornwall. The second area is just to the north-east of this and is centred between the river Fal and the line of the rivers Camel and Fowey. The third area is the Quantock Hills in Somerset, although all of the objects are located on the low-lying ground surrounding the hills.

Although areas of higher density do exist within the landscape, the use of personal adornment items was more widespread during this period. The density plot, see Figure 6.16, also shows areas of lower density surrounding these areas, one of which extends along the coast, around the Plymouth Sound and the other encompasses the area of eastern Devon, which includes the landscape around Exeter. The Isles of Scilly are also highlighted as having a low density of personal adornment objects. There are also several sites, which lie outside any of the clusters plotted on the map that have produced adornment items. This shows that although there are small clusters of dense distribution, the use of these objects was not limited to only a few communities, but that they were adopted by a wide range of people.

It is interesting to note that these clusters consist almost solely of brooches. Mapping the non-brooch items shows that only five of the adornment items within the dense clusters are items other than brooches, see Figure 6.17, It is then likely that brooches, more so than other items of adornment, played a significant role in the renegotiation of identity during this period, with these items used perhaps as a symbol of status and power. The dense clusters are located away from the areas where the military established garrisons, with all but three of the forts being in the low density areas of landscape. These clusters then, represent areas

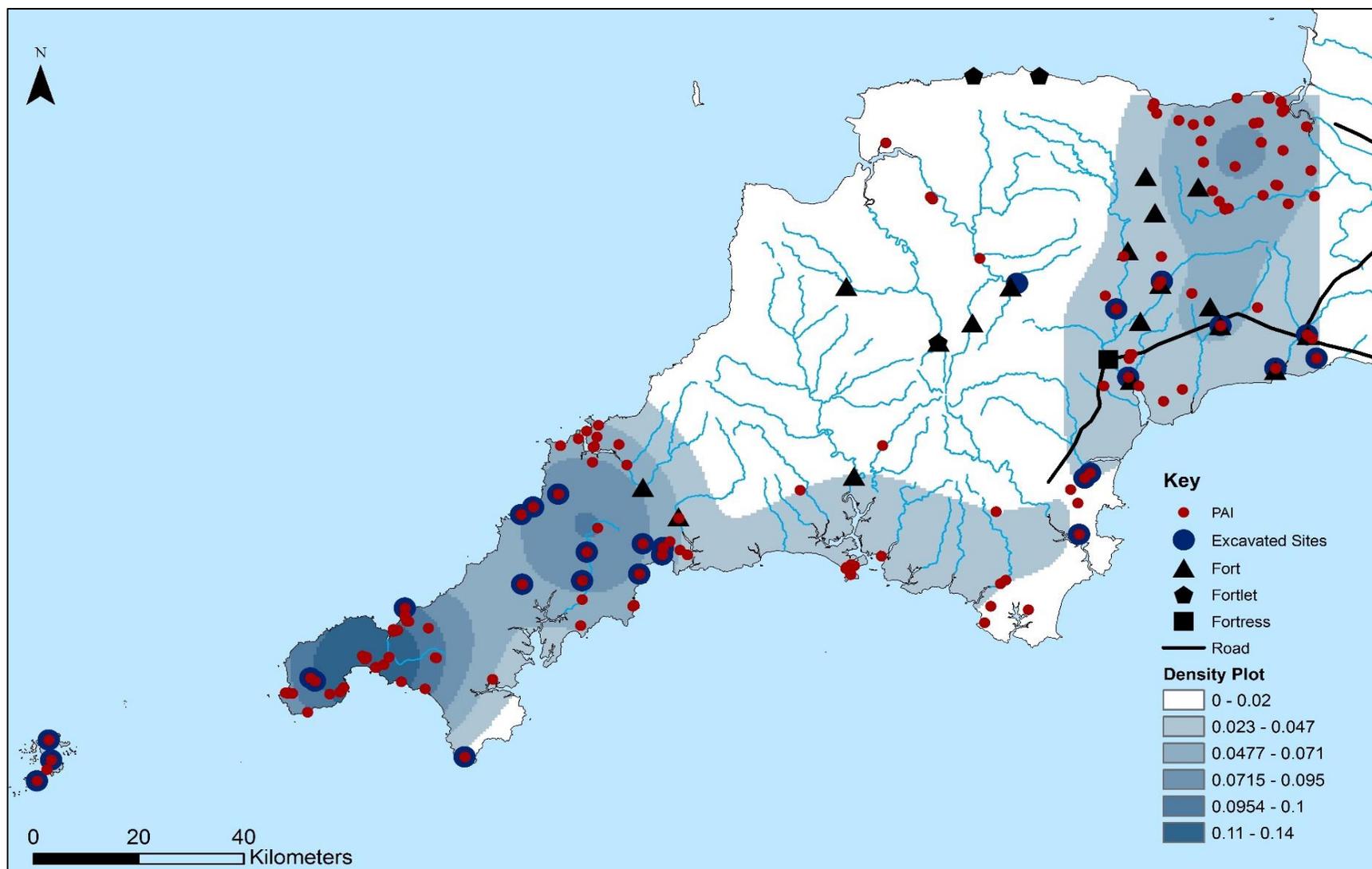


Figure 6.16: Density plot map showing the concentration of personal adornment items within the landscape (based on quantity of objects within 20 mile radius units). The density plot is overlain by personal adornment findspots, the positions of excavated sites for the early to mid Roman period, the locations of known Roman military sites within the region and the known roads.

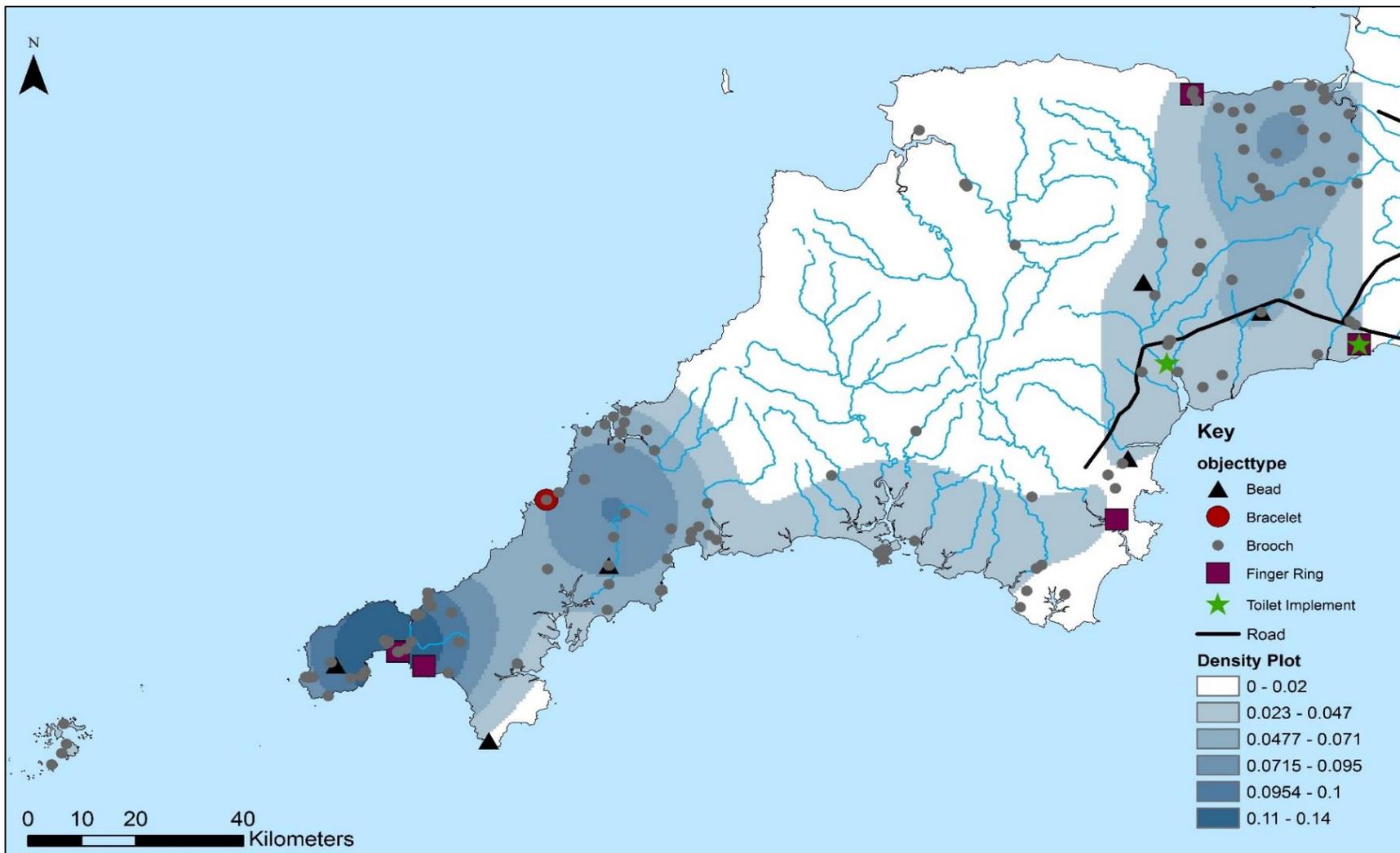


Figure 6.17: Density plot map showing the concentration of personal adornment items within the landscape (based on quantity of objects within 20 mile radius units). The density plot is overlain by findspots of all personal items from the early to mid Romano-British period that are not brooches.

where the social practices of the native population continued to be observed in a more traditional way, with communities adapting only certain aspects of their lives and identities to find their place in this new world, evident in the high use of brooches within these clusters. The decorated brooches discussed in section 6.2.1, are all from sites located within these clusters.

The use of brooches, as discussed in section 6.2.1, shows that they were more than merely functional objects and were used to express the status of the individual. All of the brooches in use during this time were of British manufacture and retain Late Iron Age decorative styles, except the two Langton Down types and the Kräftig-profilierete type, which are continental imports. The Kräftig-profilierete and one of the Langton Down types were found on land to the west of Plymouth Sound, and both suggest direct contact with members of the Roman military. The Kräftig-profilierete is thought to have been brought into Britain with the military, as the type was produced in Pannonia (PAS: CORN-COCDD6). The second of the Langton Down types was found near Sennen Cove in the far south-west of Cornwall. It is possible this brooch was acquired through direct contact with the military or perhaps through trade with merchants from the continent.

The data for the early to mid Romano-British period shows that 17 of the 32 types of brooches are only represented in certain areas of the study region. Mapping the distribution of these types shows that they are confined to small areas within the wider study region, see Figure 6.18. The Aesica and Aesica variant brooches, as well as the only Umbonate plate brooch and the only Wing and Fanbow type are all confined to communities within the far south and west of Cornwall, while the single Dragonisque type in the region is unique to Devon, having been found at Pinhoe, to the north-east of Exeter (PAS: DEV-429305). The fact that these types are confined to such small areas suggests that small numbers of individuals and communities created distinct identities of their own using these objects, the singular Dragonisque, the Wing and Fanbow and the umbonate plate brooch in particular. The small numbers of Aesica and Aesica variants in the far south and west of Cornwall suggests a number of linked communities who shared a joint identity. This may suggest that these communities were linked together during the Late Iron Age and the use of these particular brooch types was an effort on the part of these communities to retain these ties after the conquest.

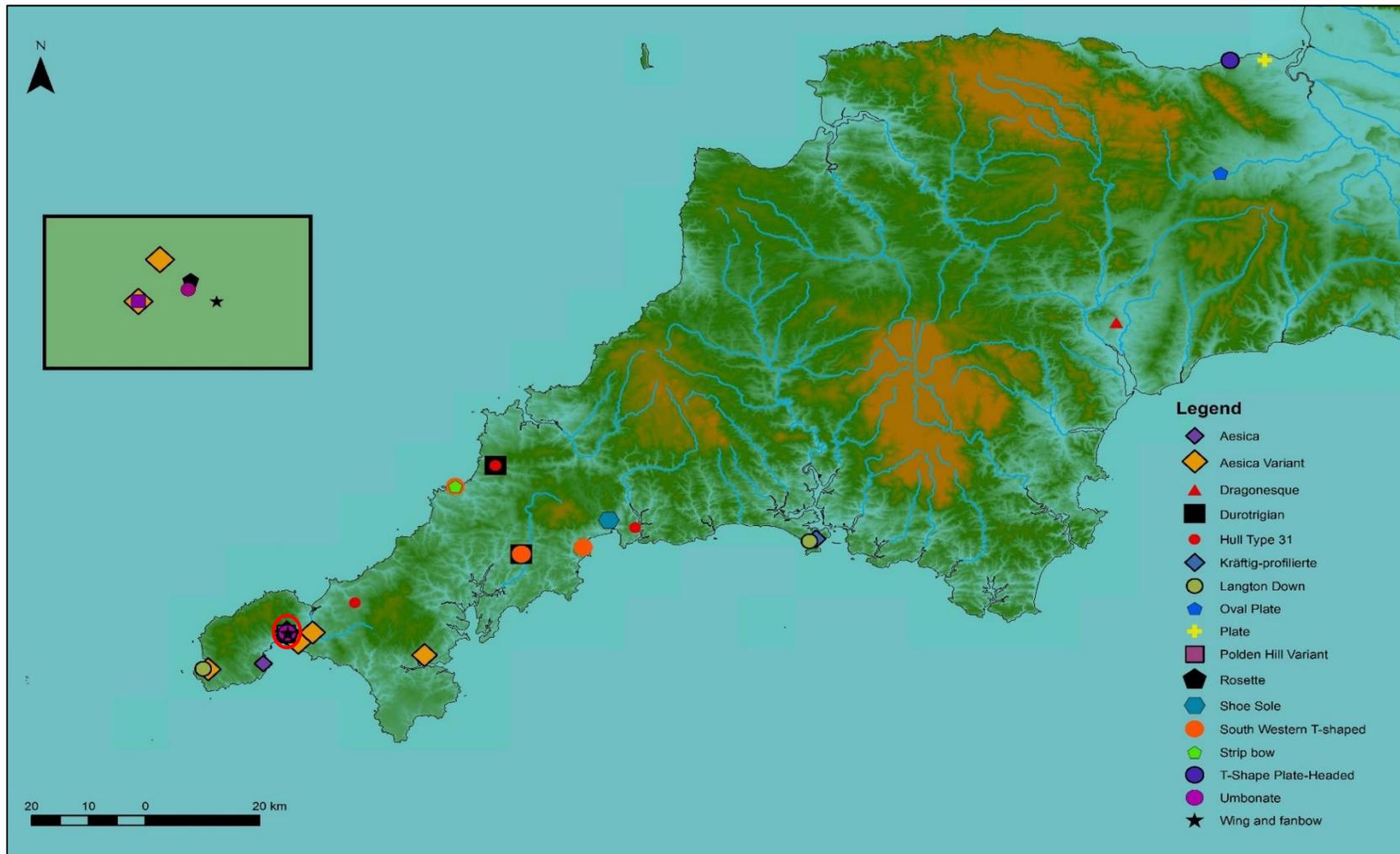


Figure 6.18: Distribution map of the brooch types that are found only in certain areas of the study region within the early to mid Romano-British period. Inset is a detailed image showing the cluster of brooches at Ludgvan in Cornwall, circled in red on the main map.

Sites in the lower density areas, those in east Devon for example, have produced a wider range of objects, the hairpin and toilet implements for example. Seven sites in this area have produced ten non-brooch objects, see Figure 6.19, with three of these sites being of higher status, the villa at Holcombe, the building with its veranda at Topsham and the multiple enclosure fort of Milber Down, with Holcombe producing multiple items. There are two exceptional sites in Cornwall, Carvossa and St Mawgan-in-Pydar, that produced 25 brooches and a bead between them for this period. All of these sites lie close to military garrisons and the number and range of objects, albeit low in comparison to other areas, may suggest that some of these sites emerged as new centres of power after the conquest and as such their inhabitants had a different relationship with adornment items, with a small number of individuals embracing a new way of styling themselves and their bodies, in a way that differed to Late Iron Age practices.



Figure 6.19: Chart shows the sites in east Devon that have produced non-brooch objects dated to the early to mid Romano-British period.

The presence of the clusters show there were differing mechanisms for the change in the spread of personal adornment items in the early to mid Romano-British period. This period covers approximately 150 years, with the Roman military only being present in the region for roughly only the first 30 years. Although their arrival was likely responsible for the initial change in the use of these objects, away from the change that had begun at the very end of the Late Iron Age, their continued use in higher numbers than in the preceding Late Iron Age indicates that there were other reasons behind this sustained change.

#### 6.4.4 The Mid to Late Romano-British period, CP5

The mid to late Romano-British period sees a dramatic decline in the number of personal adornment items in use. That only 8 of the 34 objects are recorded through the PAS suggests that this phenomenon is real and not due to any data bias. Table 6.7 again shows that the object types are very restricted, with jewellery items again being the most popular. Mapping these objects does not show any clustering within their distribution, unlike the early to mid Romano-British period, see Figure 6.20.

Object Type	Cornwall	Devon	Isles of Scilly	Somerset	Grand Total
Armlet	1	1			2
Bead	1	7			8
Bracelet		2			2
Brooch	6	4	2	1	13
Finger Ring	2	1		2	5
Hairpin				1	1
Intaglio	1	1			2
Toilet Implement	1				1
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>34</b>

Table 6.7: Table shows the types of personal adornment items and their numbers in use during the mid to late Romano-British period, CP5.

Most noticeable is the decline in use of brooches manufactured during this period, with numbers dropping from 245 to 13. It is notable that 8 of the brooches came from sites that are of higher status; the villa sites of Magor, Holcombe and Honeyditches, and the higher status rounds of Carvossa and St Mawgan-in-Pydar, or directly linked to trade and transport networks; the roadside settlement of Woodbury Farm and the port site of Old Ship Inn (O'Neil, 1933; Pollard, 1974; Silvester, 1981; Carlyon, 1987. Threipland, 1956; Silvester and Bidwell, 1984; Brigers, 2003). In line with this is a drop in the sub-types being consumed, with only 10 now represented, see Figure 6.21. The manufacture of bow brooches declines into the third century before ceasing, with plate brooches becoming more fashionable, although these never circulate in the same numbers (Bayley and Butcher, 2004). Of the plate brooches, the Equal-Ended example from Carvossa is of most note. This type of brooch is rare within Britain during the entire Roman period, with the largest collection, numbering 24, from Nornour. These are generally highly decorated brooches, with several decorative styles all utilising enamel. The example from Carvossa is no different with millefiori pieces forming a chequer

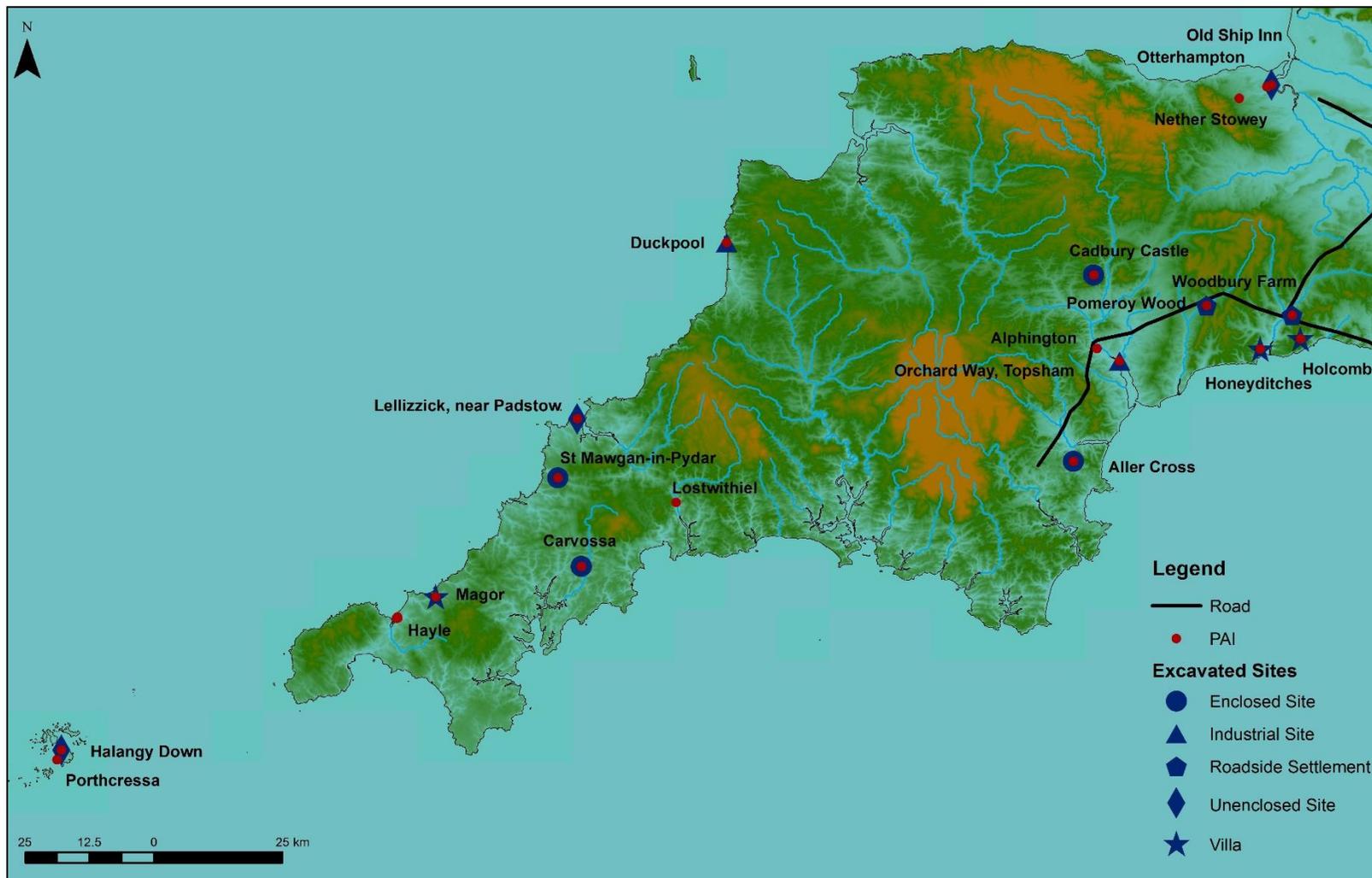


Figure 6.20: Distribution map showing the personal adornment objects dated to the mid to late Romano-British period, CP5. The site types for the objects recovered through excavation are also shown on the map.

of black and white squares and red squares forming a central rectangle. In the centre of the brooch a blue-green enamel lozenge was preserved (Carlyon, 1987: 126–127).

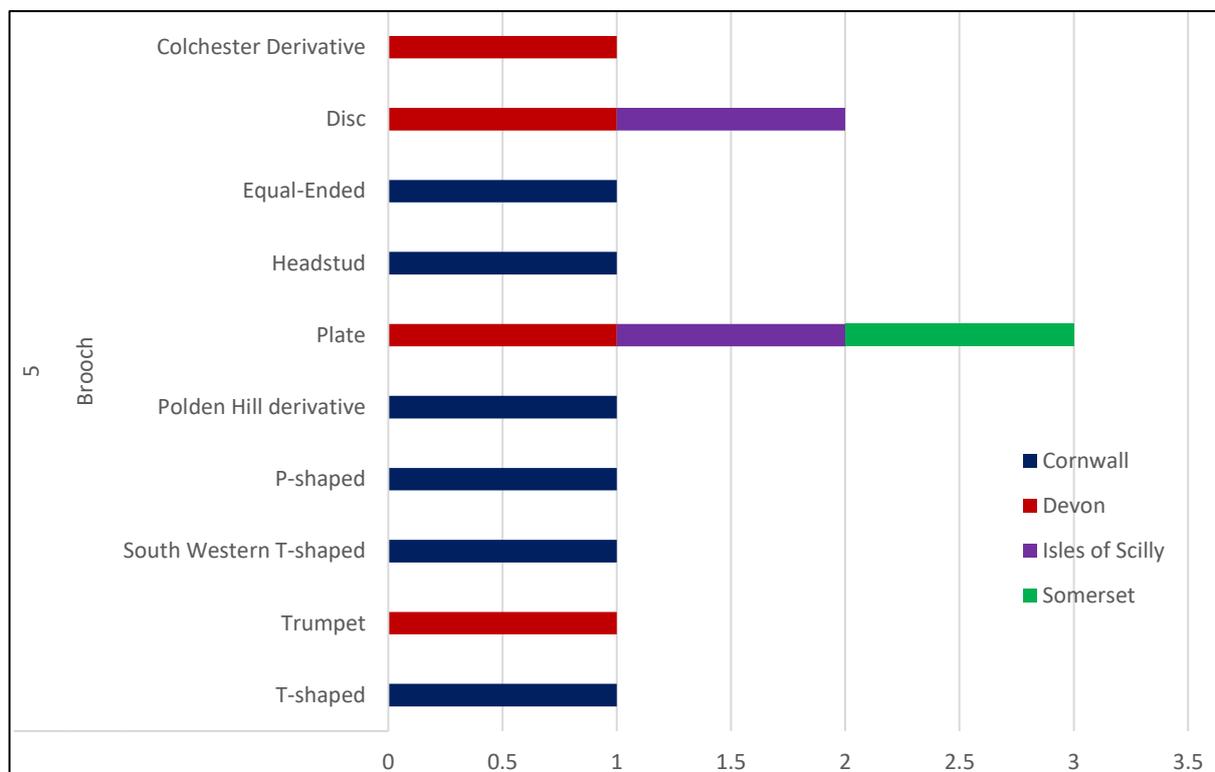


Figure 6.21: Chart shows the sub-types of brooches consumed during the later Romano-British period.

Of the other object types in use during the mid to late Romano-British period beads and finger rings are the most numerous. Although the overall numbers differ little to the early to mid Romano-British period, the types consumed altered and the number of types in use increased, see Figure 6.22. Fashion appears to have altered with biconical and cylinder beads now in use, instead of melon or ring beads. The site types the beads are found on also appears to change, with 5 of the 7 being found at higher status sites, the villa at Holcombe and the roadside settlement at Pomeroy Wood (Pollard, 1974; Fitzpatrick *et al.*, 1999). The types of finger rings favoured also increased, with gem rings and intaglios now represented. The finger ring represented within Devon, as well as 2 of the beads, were found at the site of Cadbury Castle, discussed more fully below (Wilkes *et al.*, 2012). This site is classified as a ritual site and although the finger ring was manufactured within the later Romano-British period, it was not deposited until the very end of the Romano-British period, CP6).

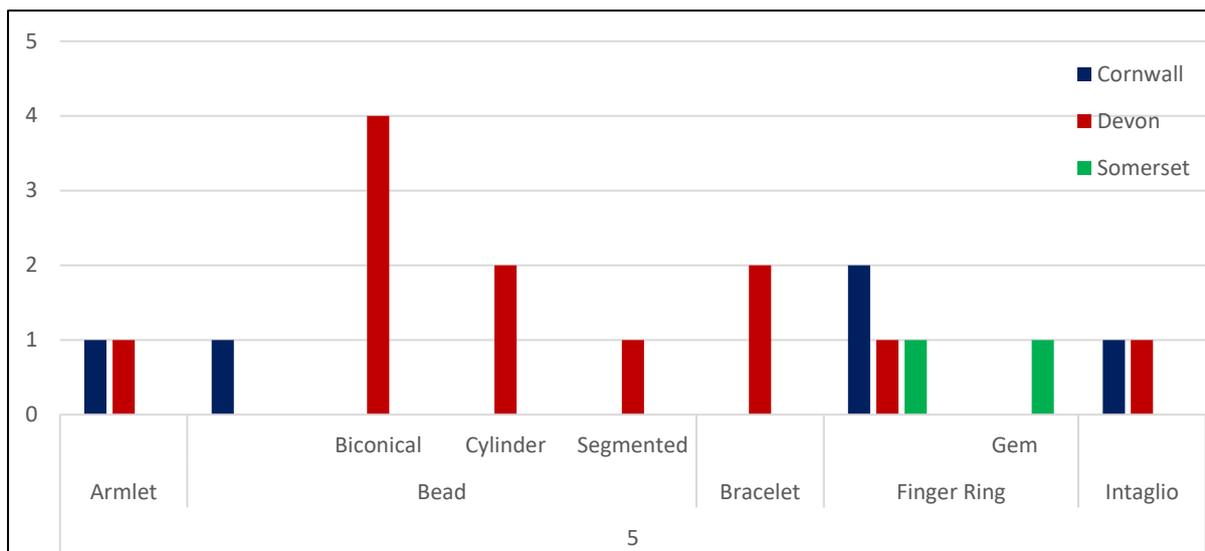


Figure 6.22: Chart shows the sub-types of adornment objects in use during the later Romano-British period. Where no sub-types labels are given the exact type is unknown.

#### 6.4.5 The Late Romano-British period to Post Roman period, CP6

The decrease in numbers continues into the final stages of the Romano-British period (CP6), see Table 6.8, and the distribution of these objects across the landscape shrinks, with them now confined to eastern and south-eastern Devon and the northern part of Somerset, see Figure 6.23. This decrease is again reflected in the PAS data, suggesting it is not a bias in the excavation data.

Object Type	Cornwall	Devon	Somerset	Isles of Scilly	Grand Total
Bead		3			3
Bracelet		12			12
Brooch		2	1		3
Buckle			1		1
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>19</b>

Table 6.8: The number of personal adornment items in use during the Late Romano-British period.

Of these objects, 15 come from excavations, although 11 of these are the bracelets found at the site of Cadbury Castle. Here a shaft excavated during 1848, and recently reinterpreted, is thought to have been a ritual shaft in use during the fourth century AD, due to the structured nature of the artefacts found within the shaft. The bracelets along with several other

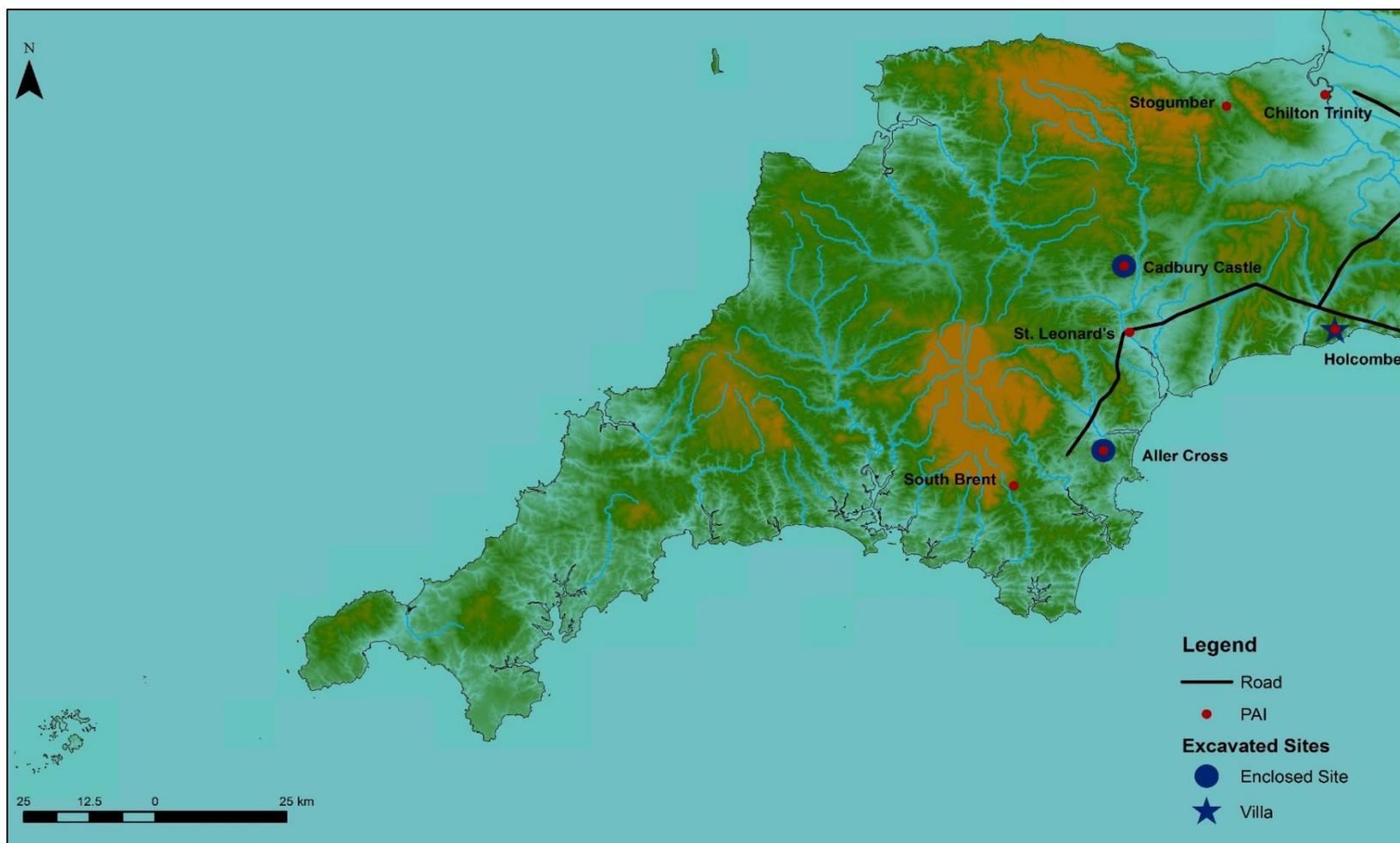


Figure 6.23: Distribution map showing the personal adornment objects dated to the late Romano-British period, CP6. The site types for the objects recovered through excavation are also shown on the map.

adornment items, including beads and earrings, as well as ceramics were recovered from the fills of the shaft and are thought to have been votive offerings, rather than simply having been discarded into the open shaft as rubbish (Wilkes *et al.*, 2012). It should also be noted that in total 33 bracelets were recovered from the shaft, although only 12 could be assigned a date of manufacture and so placed in a ceramic phase (one is represented in the data for CP5). A small number of the other items found within the shaft were produced in the first to third centuries AD, meaning they have been included within earlier phases, the early to mid and the mid to late Romano-British periods. These include 2 melon beads and the finger ring mentioned above, which had been curated prior to final deposition in the shaft and so were perhaps heirloom objects (Wilkes *et al.*, 2012). As votive offerings, they have differing meanings ascribed to them in contrast to the other objects represented within the study region during the late Romano-British period.

Of the other items represented in this period, 3 come from the villa site at Holcombe, 2 beads and a bracelet, while the remaining bead was found at the site of Aller Cross (Pollard, 1974; Hughes, forthcoming). The rest of the objects were found through metal detecting. The buckle is of zoomorphic form, with two moulded dolphin heads, which face each other. The jaws of the dolphins are open and they hold a pellet between them (PAS: SOM-AEECE5), see Figure 6.24. The two brooches from Devon are both Crossbow types (PAS: LEIC-EEE688 and DEV-E1A6A8), see Figure 6.24. The first was found in Exeter, just outside the area of the Roman town, while the second was found just to the north-east of South Brent, close to the route of a proposed Roman road that skirted around the southern side of Dartmoor, linking Exeter with Plymouth. These brooches are recognised as markers of official rank that were worn by both civilian and military officials (Swift, 2000: 3–4). Both brooches date to the end of the Romano-British period and the findspot of brooch LEIC-EEE688, in close proximity to the walls of Roman Exeter, may suggest it belonged to a member of the *Ordo*. It is possible though that both belonged to military officials or members of the Provincial administration.

Adornment of the body by members of society within the study region appears to cease during the late Romano-British period as no objects of adornment are known from the Post Roman period. This appears to support the ceramic data, with very little evidence of consumption within the Post Roman period.



Figure 6.24: The belt buckle (PAS: SOM-AEECE5), and the Crossbow brooches (PAS: DEV-E1A6A8 and LEIC-EEE688).

The substantial decrease in personal adornment object numbers through the later Romano-British period and their eventual disappearance from the archaeological record in the Post Roman period indicates that further change in the social meaning of these objects occurred. This change appears to have begun at some point during the second century AD, around the time of transition from the early to mid Romano-British period to the mid to late Romano-British period. This coincides with a period of change that has been noted across the country (Smith, *et al.*, 2016). The construction of new Rounds in Cornwall increases during this century, perhaps suggesting a period of population expansion (Gossip and Jones, 2007: 45; Quinnell, 2004: 212). Change is also evident in the landscape of Devon during this period, with the first phases of occupation at the roadside settlements of Pomeroy Wood, Shortlands Lane and Woodbury Great Close (also known as Woodbury Farm) dating to the second century (Grove, 1999; Morris, 2013; Weddell, 1993). By this time the military had moved on from the region, with their forts having been dismantled. The expansion of settlement and the appearance of a new type of settlement indicates a period of peace and stability, with the population beginning to take advantage of merchants and supplies that entered the region along the road network established by the military, as well as through coastal and riverine shipping routes.

The dramatic drop in the use of brooches coincides with a decline in the manufacture of bow brooches meaning that these objects were no longer readily available. However, a further reason for their decline may also be that these objects had lost the meanings ascribed to them by communities during the earlier Romano-British period. These objects were no longer needed as markers of the new identity that had evolved at the time of the conquest. The generations that followed the individuals who had used brooches to integrate themselves into the power structures of the Roman world had found their place within these structures. As discussed in Section 6.2, many of these brooches were deposited by these people to sever links with the conquest period and its immediate aftermath. The fact that this also coincides with a return to pre-Roman pottery consumption patterns, see Chapter 5, shows that these communities returned to more traditional practices during this time of stability.

The excavated sites that produced adornment objects during the mid to later Romano-British period, CP5, can all be classed as either high status sites or else as having direct access to the trade network, see Figure 20. This is again true of the objects that were recovered from excavated sites dating to the late Romano-British period (CP6). For these communities adornment objects had not lost their meanings and individuals living on these sites continued to practice bodily adornment and grooming in non-traditional fashion, which would likely have marked them out as being of higher status. The postulated collapse of the market economy at the end of the Romano-British period, see Chapter 5, is likely what brought an end to the wearing of adornment items, as they were no longer available to purchase.

## **6.5 Discussion**

The analysis discussed in this chapter was based on meeting the objectives laid out in the introduction. These briefly, were to examine whether the relationships between people and objects of personal adornment changed from the Late Iron Age through the Romano-British period, the reasons behind such change and what this tells us about the identities being expressed through the use of these objects. The dataset analysed throughout this chapter is relatively small, consisting of only 1423 objects, however it is clear that changes in the way

these objects were used did occur within the Late Iron Age and Romano-British period, with the number of these items increasingly significantly after the early first century AD.

The types of objects used increases alongside this, with a focus on items within the category of Jewellery rather than Dress and Dress Fittings and Toilet Implements, although toilet implements did appear in low numbers after the conquest of the region. In particular beads, brooches, bracelets and finger rings increase in use, all items (except bracelets) that were in use in the region during the Late Iron Age. New items such as hairpins and earrings also appeared after the Roman conquest, although in very small numbers. The low numbers of items that belong to the Dress and Dress Fittings category suggest that although individuals and communities began to manipulate their appearance in new and different ways through the use of jewellery, traditional styles of dress and clothing altered very little. Within this category it is only hobnails that appear to be widely used. Although as discussed the numbers of hobnails and their distribution do indicate that only a small number of people began to wear nailed footwear after the conquest.

The change in numbers and types of objects in use within the study region during the Romano-British period suggests there was a change in social attitudes towards adornment items. The lack of obvious change in clothing styles from the Late Iron Age and the increase in the use of removable jewellery items suggests that although the identities expressed by individuals and communities through dress and adornment did alter, this change was not wholesale. Instead the increase in jewellery items and the appearance of toilet implements and nailed foot wear indicates that these identities were supplemented rather than replaced.

The reasons for this change have been shown in the discussion of change through time to be varied, with change actually beginning to occur in the late stages of the Iron Age, rather than as a result of the conquest. The end of the Iron Age saw major changes in society. The large managed cist cemeteries in use within Devon and Cornwall disappear with the dead now becoming invisible archaeologically. This is caused by changes in social traditions and hierarchy with a small elite becoming visible through the high status metalwork and imported ceramics that appear at this time. Items of adornment were no longer confined to the realm of the dead but instead moved into the world of the living, being utilised by the elite, although in very small numbers.

The changes underway in the closing stages of the Iron Age were though disrupted by the invasion of the region and the development of the short lived fort network. The arrival of the military and their disruption of these newly formed power networks stimulated further change, evident in the dramatic increase in the use of adornment objects, decorated brooches in particular. For many people and their communities the wearing of these brooches symbolised their status and power, allowing them to identify with the Roman administration as well as keep links to their past, reinforced by the continuation of La Tène decorative styles. This is supported by the fact that the use of certain brooch types was confined to small areas of the landscape, with the individuals expressing distinct identities through the wearing of these brooches. Links between communities and common identities are also visible. The concentration of Aesica and Aesica type brooches in the far west of Cornwall for example indicates these communities had shared social practices and traditions which were reinforced after the conquest by the use of these brooch types.

The continued use of these objects after the departure of the garrisons shows the impact the military had on the new power networks of the Late Iron Age was great enough to alter social practice so that this change was sustained. The clustering of a large number of these items away from the locations of forts suggests that these communities created new social and political networks in response to the military that were evident through the use of these items. The relationships people formed with these objects altered during this time, with them having meanings outside their role in adornment and the expression of identity.

This was not the case for all communities though, as those in close proximity to fort sites, those in east Devon in particular, utilised these objects in different ways, with a wider range of objects and in lower numbers being present in these areas. These communities altered their traditional way of grooming and adorning their bodies and embraced these items to express new identities that integrated them more into the Roman province than can be seen with the use of the decorated brooches elsewhere. The continuation of the use of such objects by communities in east Devon into the mid to late Romano-British period supports this. A wider range of these objects, although again in low numbers, continued to be used and are found on higher status sites such as villas and roadside settlements. Access to trade through their direct links to the road network is likely what reinforced these new identities and allowed them to continue to be expressed in this way. The number of objects in use in

other areas of the landscape drops off substantially during this period though, with them now being confined again to high status sites or to sites with access to the trade network.

The decorated brooches seen in the early to mid Romano-British period disappear at this time, which indicates that these communities had returned to more traditional adornment methods. The identities that were expressed through the use of these brooches in the aftermath of the conquest were situational and fleeting, developing only in response to the arrival of the military. The stability evident in the archaeological record during the mid Romano-British period (the transition period between ceramic phases 4 and 5) through the increase in settlements and population expansion, meant a return to more traditional social practices, which did not include the use of these adornment items. This is clear through the deposition of the decorated brooches, which were buried as part of either settlement restructuring or complete abandonment. Relationships with these objects had again altered, they had now lost their initial meanings, which allowed them to be buried as part of an act of communal forgetting.

The continued decline in the use of adornment objects and their eventual disappearance in the Post Roman period is likely due to a number of reasons. The manufacture of bow brooches had begun to decline in the third century, which accounts for their decrease in numbers through the late Roman period. However, the eventual disappearance of all adornment items is tied to the collapse of the economy at the end of the Roman period. The lack of trade entering the region would have meant that these objects were not available to purchase. The contraction of settlement, with a number of them being abandoned in the late Romano-British period, as discussed in Chapter 5, also indicates further social upheaval which impacted identity further and so how it was expressed through the use of these dwindling items.

# Chapter 7

## Coinage in the South-West

Coinage began to be produced in north-western Europe during the Middle Iron Age and was linked to the staters produced under Philip II of Macedon, which depicted the head of Apollo and a two-horse chariot on the obverse and reverse respectively (Creighton, 2000: 26). The first coins imported into Britain were the gold Gallo-Belgic A and Gallo-Belgic B types that date to the mid to late second century BC and were concentrated within the south-east of England (Creighton, 2000: 26-31). It is possible that some of the Gallo Belgic A and B type coins were produced in Britain, as during this period cast brass potins were being manufactured by communities in south-east England. The Gallo-Belgic C type appeared in Britain at the beginning of the first century BC, at which time indigenous gold coins, the British A were being manufactured, with the origins of the British B type being of a similar date. The distribution of these British types extended further south and west than the Gallo-Belgic types with British B types being known from east Dorset (Van Arsdell, 1989; Creighton, 2000:28-31; Sharples, 2010: 147-148). By the end of the first century BC distinctive regional coin series had begun to develop, with the south-western, Durotrigian series, and the western, Dubonnic series appearing at around this time (Cunliffe, 2003; Sharples, 2010: 148). The peoples of the south-west never minted their own coin series, however, coins from both of the south-western and western series have been found in the study area, along with coins from the south-eastern and southern series (PAS), with the majority of find spots in the far south-west of Cornwall, around Hayle and West Penwith, see Figure 7.1. A number of these coin series adopted the practice of inscribing the coins, along with the use of Roman designs, which was a move away from the imagery of Apollo and the two-horse chariot. The legends included the name of the ruler who issued them and often details of their descent from a previous ruler. These legends served to reinforce the power of these individuals and the lineage claims showed their right to rule (Creighton, 2000: 165). Rulers known from these legends include Verica and

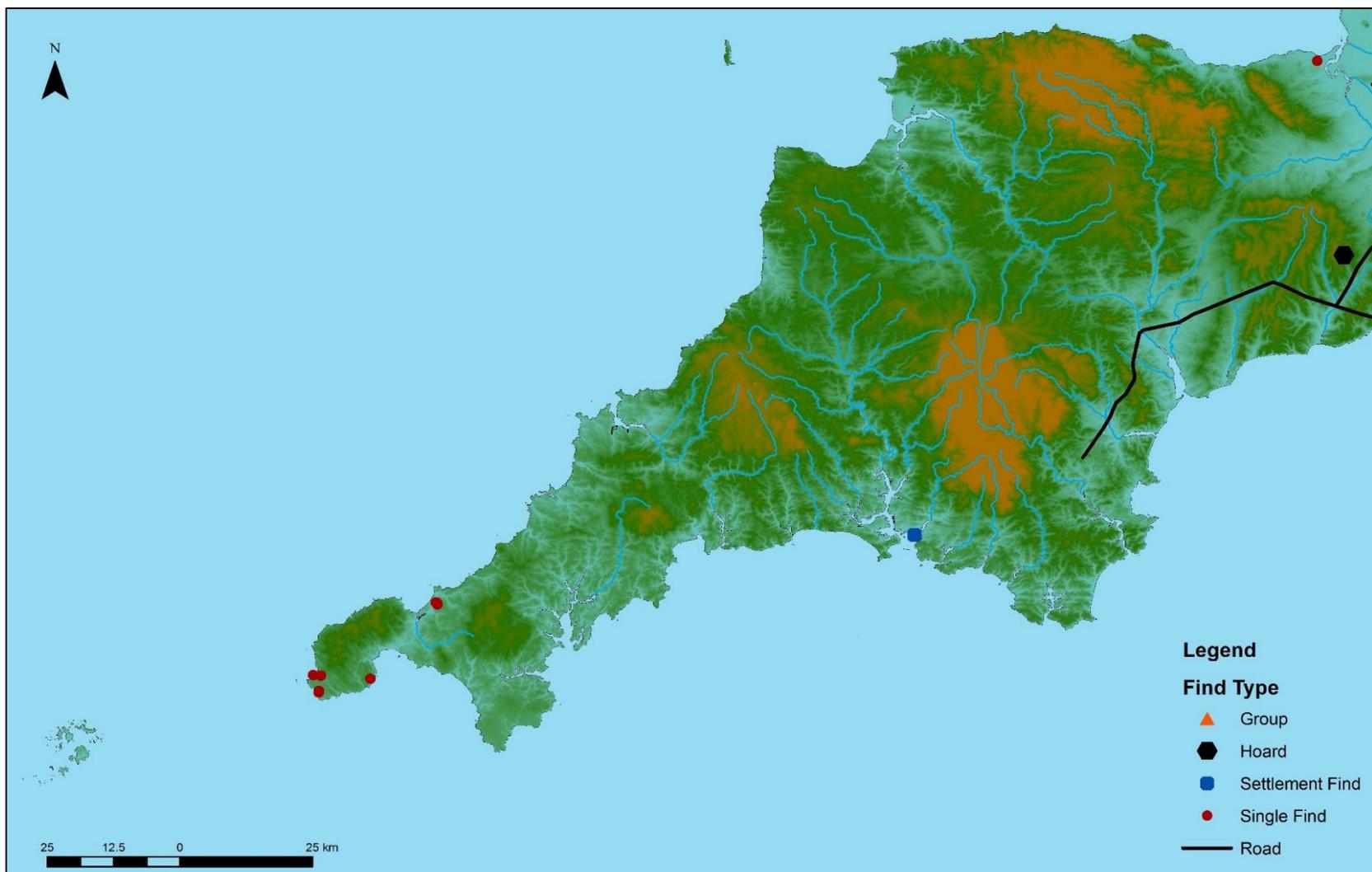


Figure 7.1: Map showing the distribution of Iron Age coins by their finds type across the south-west.

Cunobelinus, known from ancient sources and thought to be client kings (Haselgrove, 2004: 14; Sharples, 2010: 149).

The south-western, Durotrigian series, is the most common Iron Age coin type found in the south-west according to the data recorded through the PAS. This coin series is generally distributed throughout Dorset and parts of Somerset and was one of the series that did not adopt Latin inscriptions or Roman imagery. The images struck onto the coins of this series continued to develop from the Apollo and two horse chariot designs used on the earlier coinage. Throughout the first century BC and into the first century AD the designs became more abstract, eventually being comprised of a series of lines and pellets (Sharples, 2010: 149). Creighton (2000: 36) has discussed the fact that the dies used to strike coins were larger than the final coin and so these images were only ever partial views of the whole, with a number of coins having to be viewed together to see the picture. He suggests that some of this imagery can be seen as metaphors for altered states of consciousness, with the trance world being used to legitimise the power of individuals named in the legends on coins (Creighton, 2000: 54). By around 30 BC the western, Dubonnic series, had adopted the practice of adding inscriptions to the dies, with two inscribed issues known from this time, with coins bearing the names of *Bodvoc* and *Corio*. A number of coin issues are known from this series throughout the Late Iron Age, bearing the names of four other rulers, whose reigns appear to have overlapped (Cunliffe, 2003: 14).

The use of coins is not thought to be linked necessarily to the development of a monetary economy. Haselgrove suggested four different uses for coinage for the south-east of England: a means of paying for services; a means of exchange; a standardised unit of value; storage of wealth (Haselgrove, 1987: 20; Sharples, 2010: 156). However, the peoples of Late Iron Age Britain had complex systems of gift and exchange networks which had been used for centuries, the importation of coinage from Gallo-Belgica by the peoples of south-east England is instead suggested to be linked to the development of regional identities that began to appear in the Later Iron Age (Hill, 2007: 24-25). Hill instead suggested that coinage was used in the development of different kinds of relationships between groups in coin using areas. Instead of more traditional, and formal, networks of exchange coins could have been used as tokens and may have helped convey new ties between peoples (Hill, 2007: 25; Walton and Moorhead, 2016: 838).

The denarius system implemented by Augustus comprised of a number of other coins, in both silver and bronze, whose value was marked against that of the bronze as. These were the silver Denarius worth 10 asses: Quinarius worth 5 asses: Sestertius worth  $2\frac{1}{2}$  asses: and the bronze As: Semis worth half an as: Triens worth quarter of an as: Quadrans worth a third of an as: Sextans worth a sixth of an as: Unica worth a twelfth of an as (Burnett, 1987: 49; Shotter, 2011: 3).

A gold coin, an aureus, also formed part of this system but was rarely minted during the second and early first centuries BC. It was not until the reign of Julius Caesar that the aureus was regularly issued (Burnett, 1987: 49). The system was reformed by Augustus after the establishment of the *Principate*, with his system being based on gold, silver, copper and orichalcum coins (orichalcum is an alloy of copper, lead and zinc). The denarius and the quinarius remained in silver, however, the sestertius became an orichalcum coin along with the newly introduced dupondius. The as and the semis remained in copper with the triens, quadrans, sextans and unica being removed from the system (Shotter, 2011: 4).

This system survived into the third century AD, although it underwent a number of reforms during that period, with fluctuations in the fineness of the denarius and the weight of the aureus being the main focus. The general trend for these coins was the lowering of the metal content and size in relation to the Augustan standard, although the size of the aureus and the silver content of the denarius were increased under Domitian (Casey, 1994: 10; Reece, 1987: 7; Shotter, 2001: 6). The metal content of the base metal coins was similarly reduced to match the decline in fineness of the denarius. The drop-in value of coinage led to an increase in its circulation with the base metal coinage dropping off, so by the end of the second century AD, the denarius and sestertius were the principal coins in use. The reforms of Septimius Severus had lowered the silver content of the denarius to approximately 48% (Casey, 1994: 10; Reece, 1987: 8; Shotter, 2011: 6). During the reign of Caracalla, a new silver coin was introduced, commonly known as the antoninianus, which was nominally worth two denarii, but its silver content also dropped throughout the third century AD, before it became no more than a copper coin with a silver wash in the later third century. The introduction of this new coin was to lead to the removal of the denarius from the coinage system by the mid third century AD (Casey, 1994: 9-11; Shotter, 2011: 6). The dwindling supplies of the denarius led to the

production of copies, with moulds having been found in Britain indicating worn denarii were used for this (Reece, 2002: 45).

The debasing of silver coinage throughout this century is thought to be due to the military activity along the borders of the Empire, which stretched the Imperial treasury. During this period Imperial power tended to be short lived with a number of usurper Emperors, who would have paid donatives to their supporters, further draining the imperial bullion reserves (Casey, 1994: 11). The breakaway Gallic Empire was formed during this period, lasting for 14 years between AD 260 and 274. The Gallic Emperors produced their own coinage, which circulated in Gaul and Britain and are often referred to as the barbarous radiates (Shotter, 2011: 8). Aurelian reunited the Empire in AD 274 and during his reign reformed the coinage, part of which included the introduction of a new silver coin which is thought to have been worth two denarii (Casey, 1994: 12; Shotter, 2011: 8).

The ending of the Gallic Empire by Aurelian led to the cessation of coin supplies into Britain from Gaul. This led to the production of large numbers of barbarous radiates in Britain itself to fulfil the needs of the population (Moorhead, 2013: 144; Walton and Moorhead, 2016: 842). In AD 286 the usurper Carausius declared himself emperor of an area of Gaul and Britain and began minting his own coinage, which included high quality silver denarii (Moorhead, 2013; 147-149). The minting of these coins in Britain continued under his successor Allectus, only ceasing when his reign was ended in AD 296, which brought Britain back into the Empire (Moorhead, 2013: 155). During this time Diocletian set about reforming the administration of the Empire, which included reforms to the coinage system to try and curb inflation. He stabilised the gold coinage and introduced a new silver coin, the argenteus, as well as a large silver washed coin known as the nummus (Reece, 1987: 10; Moorhead, 2013: 10; Shotter, 2011: 9). Under the Emperor Constantine the Great two new coins began to be minted. The first was a new gold coin of lesser value than that of the coins minted after Diocletian's reforms. The solidus was worth 72 coins to the libra (Roman pound) than those of Diocletian which were 60 coins to the libra. Constantine also introduced a new silver coin, the siliqua, which was very common in the later fourth century AD (Reece, 1987: 10, Moorhead, 2013: 11). It is the bronze coins from this period that are the most common finds in Britain, with high levels of both the official nummus and local copies, which has been suggested to be due to high levels of inflation (Moorhead, 2013: 181; Shotter, 2011: 10). The use of coins in Britain

appears to have begun to drop off by the end of the fourth century, with the distribution of bronze coinage reducing to major sites along the road network, with very few having been found at rural settlements at this time. Some use of coins continued into the fifth century, with coins minted under Constantine III between AD 407-8, having been found, however, by approximately AD 430 coinage appears to no longer have been used within Britain (Moorhead and Walton, 2014: 104-114).

As with the Iron Age coins, Roman coins served more than one function. The initial supply of coins across the Empire would have formed part of the Imperial economy as silver coinage was needed to pay the soldiers stationed across the provinces, with the soldiers themselves helping to spread coinage across the provinces when spending their pay (Duncan-Jones, 1994: 106). Surviving written evidence, such as the Vindolanda Tablets, show that the military supply also relied on cash transactions. Tablet 343 discusses the fact 300 denarii have been paid for a deposit on a grain shipment (Mattingly, 2007: 497; Vindolanda Tablets Online, web resource). Soldiers were paid with coinage partly raised through taxation, with each province of the Empire being subject to taxation, which although could be collected in kind, and this is thought to have more often been the case during the later period, was primarily collected in coin (Mattingly, 2007: 496).

The Roman Empire was a coin using society, with coins of differing denominations and metals forming the monetary economy. Coins were used in shops and market places, where coins of appropriate value were exchanged for goods. The use of coinage in transactions increased over time as markets began to be established. The traditional views of coinage in Britain highlight the use and production of coin copies, in particular the barbarous radiates, to suggest that a considerable part of the population had integrated themselves into the monetary economy of the Empire. The copies of radiate coins increased substantially during the instability in the third century which is taken to indicate that the supply of small change used to purchase goods in the market was not enough to meet the demand of the public in Britain (Mattingly, 2007: 497; Walton and Moorhead, 2016).

The spread of coin use across Britain appears to have been a slow process, with coinage not really evident in rural areas until the Antonine period. The dramatic increase in coins at rural sites in the Radiate period has been suggested to show that these sites had finally integrated

into the monetary economy of the province. However, coins were still far more common at urban centres in this period and it is likely that their principal role was connected to the market places at these centres, with the rural communities never fully embracing the idea of a monetary economy (Walton and Moorhead, 2016: 840-842).

Coins were also used as votive deposits, with numbers being found at temple sites across Roman Britain. A considerable number were found at the shrine of Nettleton in Wiltshire and the Sacred Spring at Bath for example (Reece, 1982: 112-118; Walker, 1988). Walton and Moorhead (2016: 841) have suggested that coins deposited as votive offerings represent “economic transactions with the gods”. Roman coins could then have religious functions as well as economic ones, similar to the coins of the Iron Age.

This chapter will present the results of an examination of the coinage found within the study region dating to the Late Iron Age through to the end of the Romano-British period. The two main aims of this chapter are;

- To look at how Roman coins arrived in to the south-west. Were they brought in through military channels or were they connected to the development of a monetary economy?
- To look at how coins were used and whether this changed through time.

This will be achieved by;

- Examining the issue periods of the coins within the region and looking at whether early or late coins better represented, as well as how many Iron Age coins are present in the region. This will allow me to show whether the amount of coinage in use increased dramatically after the conquest and any fluctuations in coinage use throughout the Romano-British period.
- Examining the metals and denominations favoured by the peoples of the south-west. This will help to answer the questions of how the coinage arrived as well as how it was used.
- Mapping the distribution pattern of coinage within the region, which will allow any patterning in the data to be seen. Concentrations on particular site types or within

certain areas of the landscape will allow discussion on how are they being used. Was there an integration into coin using economy or did coins have another role within society?

- I would also like to examine the role of hoards within society. In particular I would like to look at the coins within the hoards, where possible, to assess the time periods over which they accumulated and if particular denominations or rulers were favoured. I would also like to look at the places within the landscape where they were discovered, were these special places to the individual or community responsible for burying the hoard?

The examination of coins in this way has only been done in a small number of areas across Britain, namely Wales, the north-west of England and Norfolk (Guest, 2008a; Shotter, 2000, 2011; Davies and Gregory, 1991). Rather than conducting more traditional statistical analysis looking at coin loss profiles from settlements, these studies focused on the distribution of coins across the landscape in order to answer questions on how coins were used by native communities, their meaning and what the coins can tell us about how society adapted to Roman rule. Guest was able to show that coins were used rarely in Iron Age Wales and that the stimulus for the monetisation of Wales was the arrival of the Roman military in the late first century AD. Coins appear to have been strongly linked to the military throughout the early period, with the number found on civilian settlements increasing slowly during the second century AD. Guest was also able to determine that different community groups responded in differing ways to coinage, with some opting not to use coins while others placed greater significance on certain metals and denominations (Guest, 2008a: 33-58).

A similar study conducted in 1989 was able to show how coin use developed over time across sites in Norfolk. The authors concluded that Roman coinage did not circulate beyond military sites until after AD 60 and that it was during the Flavian period that the region began to develop with coin use increasing and being seen beyond the military sites in the region (Davies and Gregory, 1991: 90). The authors were able to show that the county retained a rural character throughout the Roman period, with low levels of coin use and a distinct lack of urban assemblages, which was noted to be like other areas of Roman Britain. Coin hoards as well as hoards of other materials were shown to have been found more frequently in the

south of the county, leading to the suggestion that this area was more intensively settled than the north (Davies and Gregory, 1991: 90-91).

It is hoped that examining the coin data for the south-west in this way will produce comparable results to that of these studies and allow changes in the amount of coins in circulation at any one time and the way in which they were used to be recognised. The following discussion has four sections, 7.1 will provide a re-cap on the methodology I employed to gather and quantify the coin data used in my analysis. I will also discuss issues I have faced and how I overcame these. Section 7.2 will provide a regional overview of the coin data, which will provide a summary of all the coins dating to the Late Iron Age and Romano-British period found within the study region. This will include a discussion on the total numbers, find types and the denominations and metal types favoured. This will be followed by Section 7.3, which will provide an in-depth breakdown of this data into smaller time periods, allowing changes in the types of coinage and the way in which it was used through time to be discussed in finer detail. The last section, 7.4, will draw all the evidence presented together in a brief discussion.

## **7.1 Methodology**

The methodology designed to collate the coin data is discussed fully in Chapter 4, however, I want to outline the more relevant points again briefly here. As discussed in Chapter 4 there are different methods to the study of hoards in comparison to single and settlement finds. As such the methodology presented here has been split in to two parts, with the first being a re-cap on single and settlement coin finds. Both sections will also include a quick re-cap on the potential biases present within the data due to this methodology.

### **7.1.1 Single and Settlement Finds**

The data for these two coin type categories were gathered from both excavation and PAS data in order to collect enough data to allow analysis to take place. The coins entered from excavation reports were grouped under the heading of settlement finds as they come from a

known site and have contextual data assigned to them. The coins from the PAS database were grouped under the Single Find heading as these are overwhelmingly coins found through metal detecting and so have no contextual information.

#### **7.1.1.1 Nature of the Evidence**

The number of coins found through excavation was very low, with a total of 344 coins, with only 29 of the 130 sites within the database having produced coins. Including the coins found during excavations within Exeter the total number of settlement finds increases to 478. In the previous data chapters Exeter has been discussed separately to provide some context for the finds from the rural settlements within the region. However, in the case of ceramics and personal adornment items, it has been relatively easy to separate the military objects from the civilian. This is not the case with coins as they can remain in circulation for an extended length of time and, so it is not necessarily the case that all Claudian coins from Exeter can be ascribed to the military occupation of the town, making it almost impossible to separate them out unless detailed contextual information is provided. As one of the aims of the analysis is to look at how the coins were introduced, whether by military or other channels, it has not been necessary to exclude coins thought to be connected to the military use of Exeter and so all coin data for Exeter has been included within the database.

However, the total number of coins recorded through excavation was too low to provide any meaningful analysis and, so it was decided to include the single find coin (and hoard) data from the PAS database as well as data from the Historic Environment Record (HER). Cleaning of this data, which meant removing any duplicate data and any records without location data, provided a further 2133 coins to add to the database. Amalgamating it with the excavation data gave a total of 2611 single and settlement find coins for the study region. These coins span the entire chronological period of this study, with coins of gold, silver and copper alloy and of a range of denominations for analysis

### 7.1.1.2 Methodology

The aims and objectives outlined above were used to form the collection strategy for the single and settlement finds. The questions allowed the data collection to focus collecting very specific information about each coin, the numismatic issue period, denomination, metal type, quantity and find spot of each coin found within the region. These form the core fields within the database, which also includes find type (hoard, single find, settlement find or group) and a brief description of the coin and the context (if found through excavation). The information gathered on each coin will allow both a general analysis to take place as well as very detailed analysis. This methodology has meant that the very detailed information gathered by other researchers, Finds Liaison Officers for the PAS for example, to be excluded from the database. Information of coin size, weight, mint, obverse and reverse types is very time consuming to gather and input and was not necessary for this type of analysis and so was left out of the database.

As discussed, one of the main aims of this chapter is to analyse the change in coin distribution through time. This has been done by following the method devised by Richard Reece (1972; 1987; 1995). Reece's study of coin finds from 140 sites in Britain allowed him to develop a chronological framework of 21 periods that covered the entire Romano-British period, see Table 7.1. The periods were designed to allow a more detailed chronological analysis of coin data to be undertaken and can be applied to site level analysis through to large regional area investigations (Reece, 1972: 271; 1995: 183; Moorhead, 2013: 5-6; Walton, 2011: 27).

1	Pre - AD 41	8	161 – 180	15	296 – 317
2	41 – 54	9	180 – 193	16	317 – 330
3	54 – 68	10	193 – 222	17	330 – 348
4	69 – 96	11	222 – 238	18	346 – 364
5	96 – 117	12	238 – 260	19	364 – 378
6	117 – 138	13	260 – 275	20	378 – 388
7	138 - 161	14	275 - 296	21	388 - 402

Table 7.1: The Numismatic Issue Periods (Reece Periods).

Where possible, all the coins entered into the database were all assigned to a Reece period, although these have been termed numismatic issue periods (NIP). Unfortunately, due to wear it has not always been possible to assign a coin to an issue period. This has left a total of 770 coins without an issue period, from a total of 2611 single and settlement finds.

Through his work Reece was also able to establish a pattern for coin loss on sites across Britain, with low levels of coin loss in Britain up until the radiate period, AD 260 – 294, when coin loss increased significantly. The rate of loss then slowed until AD 330, after which coin loss increased through to the end of the fourth century (Reece, 1995: 179). Through the analysis of 140 sites, which included forts, towns, villas, temple and rural settlements, he was able to calculate the ‘British Mean’, an average coin loss profile for each of his 21 periods, see Table 7.2. This was designed to allow the analysis of coins from any sites within Britain to be comparable, with all coin assemblages being able to be measured against his mean dataset (Reece, 1995: 181-185; Walton, 2011: 12).

<b>NIP</b>	<b>Dates</b>	<b>British Mean</b>
1	> AD41	6.5
2	41-54	11.7
3	54-68	5.9
4	69-96	30.9
5	96-117	19.8
6	117-38	15.8
7	138-61	18.7
8	161-80	11.5
9	180-92	4.7
10	193-222	15.2
11	222-38	7.3
12	238-60	8
13	260-75	144.3
14	275-96	121.3
15	296-318	17.5
16	318-30	44.1
17	330-48	245.5
18	348-64	98.3
19	364-78	118.1
20	378-88	4.8
21	388-402	50.2

Table 7.2: The British Mean as calculated by Reece (1995: 183).

The methodology designed by Reece to create his mean data displays coins *per mill*, by the thousand. The calculation to achieve this is;

$$\frac{\text{Total number of coins for period}}{\text{Total number of coins in assemblage}} \times 1000$$

The use of these *per mill* values allows fluctuations in coin loss profiles from individual sites, or larger regional studies to be displayed in a meaningful way. It also allows deviations against the British Mean to be displayed and reasons for this can then be analysed. The data presented here is displayed both by *per mil*, Section 7.2, and as percentages of the period or total assemblage rather than the actual number of coins, as this can be misleading.

As with the previous data chapters there is some element of bias within the data. The coin data held within the database is unlikely to be fully representative of the coin use within the study region due to the limited nature of the excavation data. However, as excavation, PAS and HER data has been included in analysis the data search has been exhaustive and so should provide as accurate a picture of coin use and distribution as possible. As with the Personal Adornment Items from the PAS database, there is no information on the context of the coins reported through the scheme. However, as context is not being examined as part of the analysis it is not thought this should create any issues with interpretation of the data in this chapter.

## **7.1.2 Hoards**

As with Single and Settlement finds, the hoard data used in this study came from excavation reports, the PAS database and the HER entries for the region.

### **7.1.2.1 Nature of the Evidence**

Only two hoards, from two separate sites, are recorded within the database from excavation reports, which total only 16 coins. With the Exeter included this only rises to three hoards, with 301 coins in this hoard bringing the total to 317.

The hoard data gathered by the PAS and HERs is more substantial for the region with 123 recorded, totalling 49629 coins. This then provides a total of 49946 coins contained within 126 hoards. In addition, there are five groups of coins totalling 50 coins, which takes to total coin number up to 49996, from 131 hoards or groups, see Table 7.3. Groups are collections of coins where the nature of their recovery is uncertain, it is possible they were buried as hoards, but it is also possible that they were recovered from settlement sites. Two of these groups are thought to represent finds from dispersed hoards.

<b>TQP</b>	<b>Hoard</b>	<b>Group</b>
Iron Age	1	
1	2	
2	2	
4	3	
5	1	
6	2	
7	1	1
8	5	
9	4	1
10	5	
11	6	
12	2	
13	22	
14	13	2
15	2	
16	1	
17	13	
18	4	
19	3	
20	3	
21	7	
Unknown	24	1
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>126</b>	<b>5</b>

Table 7.3: The number of coin hoards and groups contained within the database for his study.

### 7.1.2.2 Hoard Methodology

The hoards and groups have been entered into the database in a very similar way to the settlement and single find coins, with the metal type, quantity of coins, denomination and

location of the hoard all recorded. It has not been possible to enter as much detail regarding each hoard as has been recorded for single and settlement finds. Many the hoards are mixed denominations and metals and very limited information on the exact make up of these hoards is provided on the PAS database. Many of the hoards were found in antiquity and so the only record of these are reports written at the time, which provide little information. This unfortunately this includes the exact quantity of coins within these hoards, with a total of 39 hoards not having the total quantity of coins recorded. The *Terminus Post Quem* (TPQ) assigned to hoards is often referred to as the closing date, as it is determined using the mint date of the latest coin(s) contained within the hoard, with the hoard being deposited sometime after the latest coins had been added to it (Abdy, 2002: 9; Guest, 2015: 110). Of the 126 hoards it has not been possible to assign a TPQ to 24 and of the groups only 1 does not have a TPQ, which equates to 434 coins in total. This is overwhelmingly due to the records being antiquarian rather than modern.

The lack of detail on the denominations and metal types contained within the hoards will limit the analysis possible. Traditional hoard analyses have focused on the idea that they represent a store of wealth and were either buried as saving hoards or as emergency hoards in times of crisis (Abdy, 2002: 9-10; Guest, 2015: 101-116). As discussed by Guest (2015; 106-112), this type of analysis limits the potential of hoards. Examining the TPQ of all coins within the hoard as well as the metals and denominations within can provide a more nuanced picture of ancient hoarding, indicating potential social factors that influenced each hoard. The deposition locations of each hoard can also be studied and may indicate reasons beyond savings or emergencies as to why the hoard was buried in that particular location. This type of analysis will only partially be possible given the quality of the data for the south-west. Very few hoards have been recorded in such detail as necessary, of these most were found in Cornwall. It is largely thanks to the work of Roger Penhallurick, who carefully recorded the coins from Cornwall, that so much detail is available for the hoards from this area (Penhallurick, 2009). No such detail is though available for hoards from other areas within the region. Distribution mapping will allow patterning in the deposition of hoards to be recognised and analysed.

## 7.2 Regional Overview

This section will look at all the coin data for the south-west from the Late Iron Age through to the end of the Romano-British period to provide a comprehensive picture of the use of coins within the region. The analysis detailed in this section will include the coins found at Exeter to provide a full chronological and spatial assessment of coin use. The aim is to highlight the total number of coins, their denominations and metals and whether they come from settlements, single finds, groups or hoards. This will include a breakdown by county as well as an over-arching summary. I will finish this section with a discussion of the data from other areas of Britain to provide some context for my coin data and to show whether the trends evident are phenomena confined to the region, or whether they are trends that are visible elsewhere.

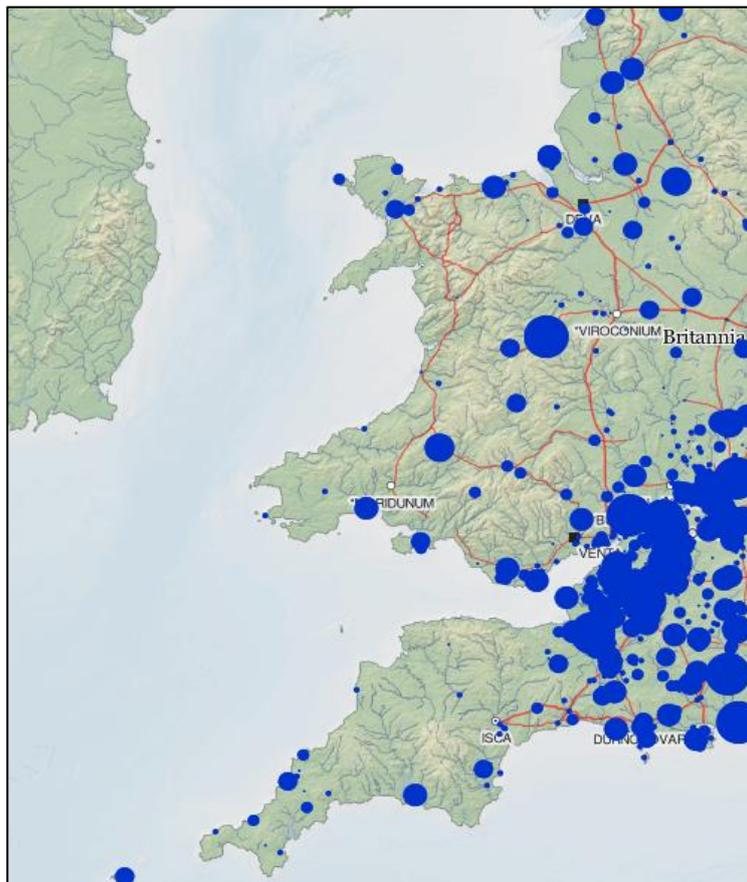


Figure 7.2: Distribution map of Roman coins across the south-west, Wales and north-west England showing the similarity in number of coin finds from these areas. (Source: The Rural Settlement of Roman Britain: an online resource [data-set]. York: Archaeology Data Service [distributor] <https://doi.org/10.5284/1030449>)

The map in Figure 7.2 is taken from the recent Rural Settlement of Roman Britain Project website, and shows the number of coin finds from excavations of Romano-British period rural settlements undertaken in the last 25 years (see Smith *et al.*, 2016). One caveat with the distributions evident on this map is that they reflect modern development and so are not true reflections of ancient coin use. However, the number of find spots for the south-west on the map does reflect the number of settlement finds contained within the database compiled for this study. The map shows a far denser concentration of finds from excavations within eastern Somerset, Dorset, Gloucestershire and Wiltshire. The map shows large numbers of coins have been found in a corridor along the route of the Fosse Way, the current line of the M5 motorway, with a very dense concentration from the Quantocks along the Bristol Channel and across the Cotswolds. This area is known to have been densely settled during this period with a high proportion of villas and temple sites, as well as the towns of Glevum (Gloucester) and Corinium (Cirencester) (Mattingly, 2007). As well as these larger towns many smaller centres are known to have existed along the road system within this area (Mattingly, 2007: 396), all which would likely have functioned as market centres where goods could be bought and sold. If the population were fully integrated into the monetary economy of the Empire than is not unexpected that higher numbers of coins circulated within this area.

The map shows that within Wales and the north-west of England far fewer coins are known from excavation. Just over 52,000 coins are known from Wales, not all excavated finds however, this total includes PAS data (Guest, 2008a: 38), while in north-western England a total of 296 hoards and 1333 single finds have been recorded (Shotter, 2011: 131 and 195). The coins found in Wales do suggest the monetisation of the area, lowland Wales, after the arrival of the army, with coinage being strongly linked to the army even in the late second century (Guest, 2008a: 53-55). As mentioned above the military would have paid for goods with coinage and so the link to the army in Wales is not surprising.

As is clear from the histogram in Figure 7.3 that the number of coins in use between the Late Iron Age and the Late Romano-British period fluctuated across the NIPs. The histogram shows that there is a general similarity in increases of coin use evident in the single find data and the numbers of coins from settlements, with divergences across only a four of the NIPs, 3, 6, 10 and 15.

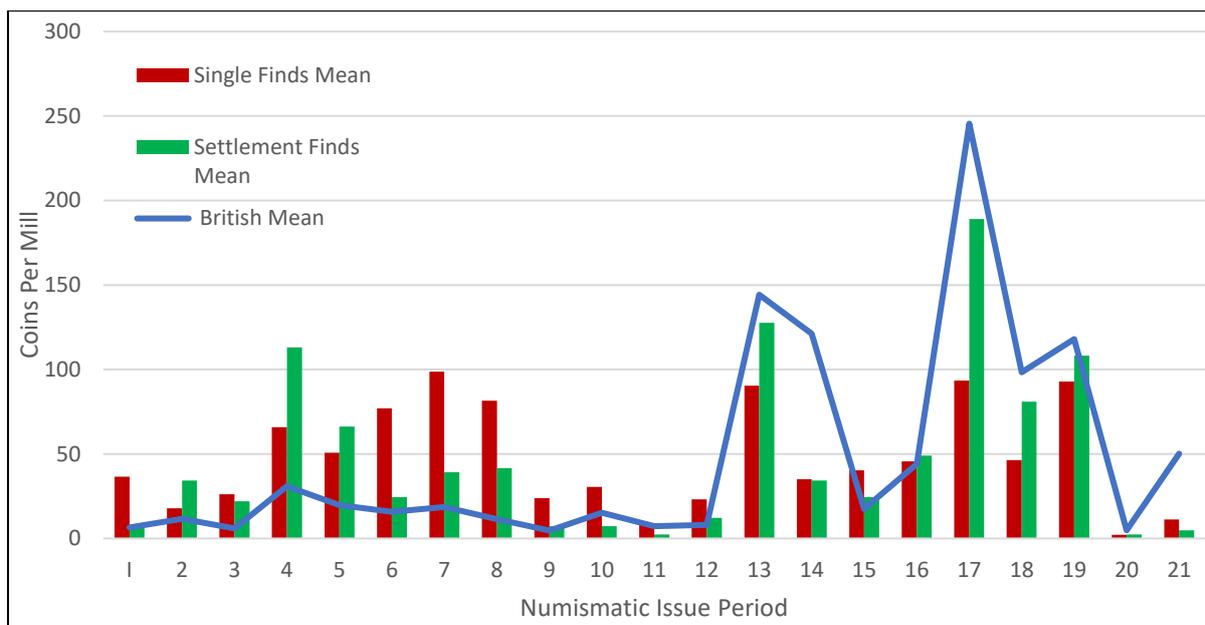


Figure 7.3: Histogram showing the coin loss profile of all single and settlement finds from the study period. These are plotted against Reece's British Mean (Reece, 1995: 183).

Although the fluctuations within the data for the south-west are broadly similar to the British Mean in terms of increases and decreases in coin loss across most NIPs, the rate of loss in the south-west is very different. The rate of coin loss in the early period (NIPs 1-12) is overall far higher than the British Mean, indicating that more coins were being lost within the study area at this time than average for the rest of Britain. It is possible that more coins were circulating in the south-west at this time than in other areas of Britain or it may suggest that these communities had a different relationship with coins, placing little value on them in terms of their use as monetary objects.

The hoard data for the south-west also shows fluctuations through time, and again although broadly similar in terms of periods of increased and decreased levels of hoarding, there are differences to the pattern evident in the rest of Britain as compiled by Prof. Robertson, see Figure 7.4 (Guest, 2015: 103). One of the variations evident within the data for the south-west is that the peak Robertson identified for hoards closing during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, period 8, does not appear to occur within the study region as equal numbers of hoards are known for periods 9 and 10. Her two further peaks in periods 13 and 21, do appear within the data for the south-west.

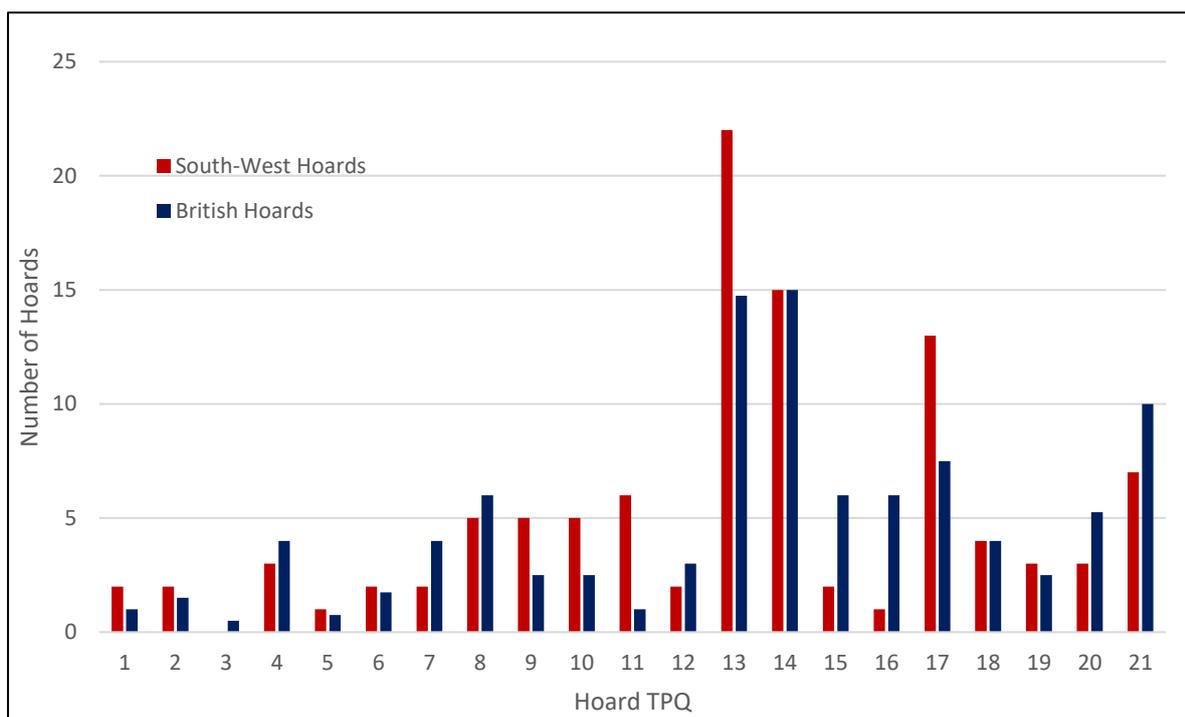


Figure 7.4: The sequence of coin hoards from the south-west shown against the sequence from Roman Britain (based on Guest, 2015: 103).

The pattern of hoarding shows consistent low levels until the later periods, with spikes during the radiate period, 13 and 14, and period 17, a period of change that saw the death of Constantine the Great and infighting amongst his sons for the succession, as well as the dedication of Constantinople (Reece, 2002: 28-29). The increase in hoarding during periods 13 and 17 correspond to an increase in single finds during these periods, however, the spike during period 14 is different occurring at a time when settlement and single finds had declined substantially, with only 47 single finds from period 14 in comparison to 121 during period 13.

Find Type	Cornwall	Devon	Isles of Scilly	Somerset	Grand Total
Group	4	1			5
Hoard	59	43	3	21	126
Settlement Find	140	251	90	4	485
Single Find	830	975	5	316	2126

Table 7.3: Table shows the total coins, both Iron Age and Roman for each find type from the study region. Groups and Hoards are displayed by the number of events, while Settlement Finds and Single Finds are displayed as the total number of coins.

As evident in Table 7.3, the overall number of coins that circulated in the south-west from the Late Iron Age until the beginning of the fifth century AD was low, with only 52607 coins known

from 2536 separate finds. This number is low in comparison to areas such as central and south-east Britain where large numbers of coins have been recovered. The number of coins from the study region is similar to those known from Roman Wales as discussed above.

Hoards account for most of coins from the south-west, with 49,946 coins found in hoards. Hoards are known from all periods except 3, with the number of coins hoarded peaking during the mid third to mid fourth centuries AD. Single finds only account for 2608 coins in total, with only 485 of those having been recovered through excavation. The highest levels of coin loss for the single finds is slightly different to the hoard profile, with higher levels of loss occurring between the late first to late second centuries AD (periods 4-8), and again between the late third and late fourth centuries AD (periods 13 to 18).

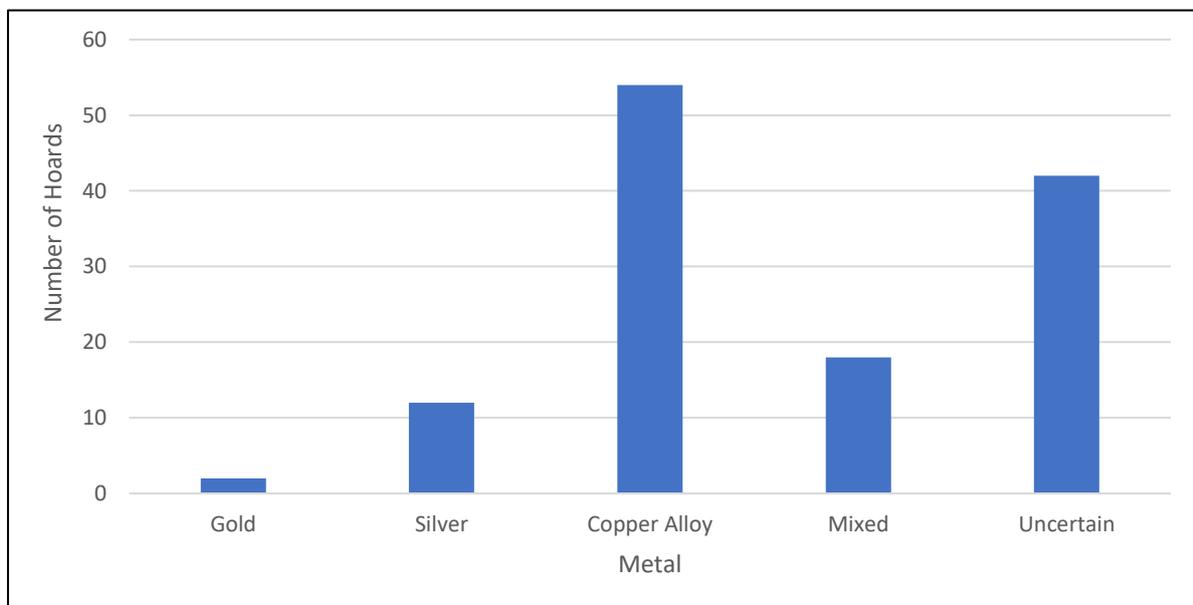


Figure 7.5: Chart shows the number of hoards by metal type.

Mapping of the hoards shows that most appear to have been found in low lying areas of the landscape along river valleys or the coast line, with only a handful having been found on the higher ground of Dartmoor and Exmoor. However, on closer inspection very few are truly in low lying areas, with most being on the edge of higher ground, the space in between low lying and high ground. Mapping these against the single and settlement finds, shows a similar distribution, although a number of the hoards are more isolated, being located away from areas of single and settlement coin findspots, see Figure 7.6. A cluster of hoards is known

from the south-eastern edge of Exmoor, three are located around the northern edge of Dartmoor while a further three are located on the coast between the Helford and Fal rivers in Cornwall. There are a small number of isolated hoards evident in the Cornish landscape also. While it is not necessarily the case that all single finds suggest settlement, and some may be dispersed hoards, the fact that most hoards are in similar landscape zones to each other, on the edge of higher ground, may help to suggest why these coins were buried. If they are in isolated spots on the edge of higher ground, then it is likely they were buried in line with social beliefs rather than as saving deposits, something that will be discussed further in the following section.

Excluding the hoard and group data from the total number of coins from each area, shows that the majority of coinage circulated in Devon, although the levels are comparable to that in Cornwall through a number of periods, particularly 6-10. All but the Isles of Scilly have similar levels of coinage during the later periods, see Table 7.4. The levels of coinage that circulated in Devon, in particular, are surprisingly low considering the presence of the town at Exeter and the roadside settlements of Pomeroy Wood, Shortlands Lane and Woodbury. The level of coinage for the Isles of Scilly is consistently low. Separating out the hoards means that only 95 coins remain for the Isles of Scilly, 90 of which come from the site of Nornour, a shrine site in use from the first to fourth centuries AD (Dudley, 1967). These coins would have been deposited as votives rather than circulating as coinage, discussed further in section 7.3.4. Combined with the 9 coins from the hoards known from the islands means that only 11 other coins are known from the islands. It is possible that the 9 coins found in hoards circulated prior to being hoarded but even if this were the case 11 coins is an incredibly small number and it is unlikely they would have circulated as part of a monetary economy.

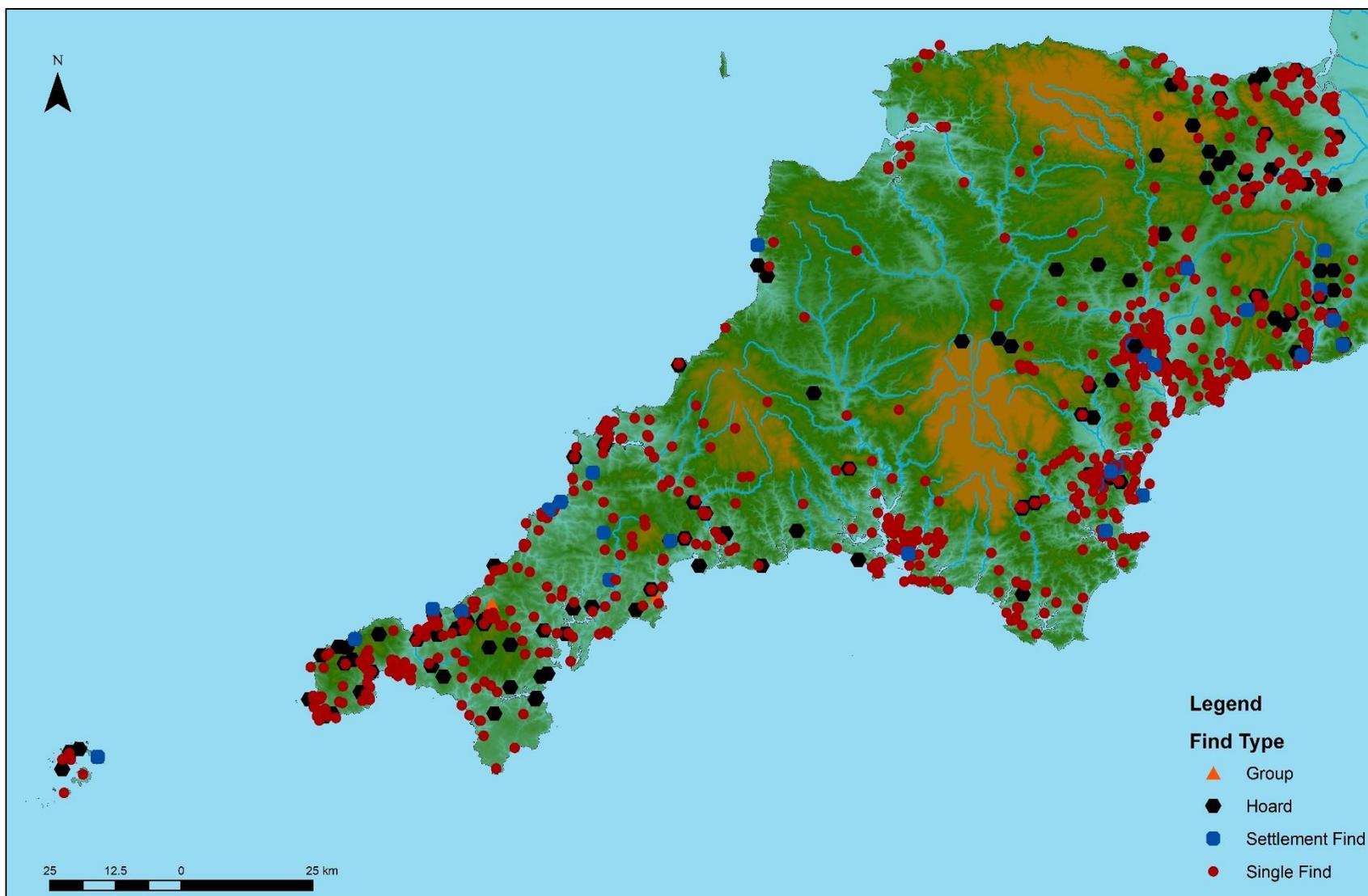


Figure 7.6: Map showing the distribution of all the groups, hoards, single finds and settlement finds from the south-west.

Row Labels	Cornwall	Devon	Isles of Scilly	Somerset	Grand Total
Iron Age	0.74%	0.40%	0.00%	0.06%	1.19%
1	1.47%	1.30%	0.00%	0.17%	2.95%
2	0.17%	1.87%	0.00%	0.11%	2.15%
3	0.57%	1.87%	0.00%	0.06%	2.49%
4	2.95%	3.68%	0.68%	0.28%	7.59%
5	1.59%	2.83%	0.74%	0.23%	5.38%
6	2.61%	3.00%	0.23%	0.57%	6.40%
7	3.97%	3.57%	0.51%	0.45%	8.50%
8	2.49%	3.74%	0.34%	0.57%	7.14%
9	0.79%	1.02%	0.11%	0.06%	1.98%
10	0.85%	1.08%	0.06%	0.51%	2.49%
11	0.57%	0.11%	0.00%	0.06%	0.74%
12	0.68%	1.08%	0.00%	0.28%	2.04%
13	3.74%	4.25%	0.45%	1.30%	9.75%
14	0.68%	2.10%	0.00%	0.68%	3.46%
15	0.57%	2.04%	0.11%	0.91%	3.63%
16	1.19%	2.04%	0.34%	1.02%	4.59%
17	3.23%	4.08%	1.19%	2.95%	11.44%
18	2.38%	1.76%	0.17%	1.08%	5.38%
19	2.44%	4.59%	0.11%	2.38%	9.52%
20	0.06%	0.06%	0.00%	0.11%	0.23%
21	0.34%	0.34%	0.00%	0.28%	0.96%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>34.05%</b>	<b>46.80%</b>	<b>5.04%</b>	<b>14.11%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

Table 7.4: Total number of combined settlement and single find coins and coins from within the study region by Numismatic Issue period. Coin numbers are displayed as percentages of the single find and settlement find assemblage total.

Mapping the distribution of single find and settlement find coins across the landscape shows that they are widely distributed, although few have been found across the higher grounds of Dartmoor, Bodmin Moor or Exmoor, with few findspots also known from north Devon, see Figure 7.6. It is possible this is due to the lack of excavation data for this area rather than indicating communities in these areas did not engage with the use of coins. The majority of the findspots are along the coastline, rivers and lower lying ground within the region. There appear dense distributions around south Devon, particularly in the area around Exeter, along the Fosse Way and in the South Hams to the south-east of Dartmoor. Further clustering is evident around Plymouth Sound and in West Penwith. This mapping only considers spatial distribution, excluding the chronological distribution of these coins and so it may be that

these clusters do not represent areas where coin use, and so coin loss, was high throughout all periods. This is something that will be discussed further in the proceeding section.

The denser distributions within south and eastern Devon are of little surprise based on the results of analysis in Chapters 5 and 6. This area contains Exeter, all the roadside settlements within the region and most of the villa sites. The ceramic evidence, Chapter 5, indicates a market economy developed within Devon during the later Romano-British. The expansion in different forms and fabrics consumed across the region, particularly in Devon during the mid to later Romano-British period, coupled with the increase in production of local fabrics, again within Devon, indicates a flourishing trade network had been established in the region. Several market places, the town at Exeter and roadside settlements of Pomeroy Wood, Shortlands Lane and Woodbury, were also identified and are all located in eastern Devon and so higher concentrations of coins within this area should be expected.

The clustering around Plymouth Sound is likely due to the presence of the port at Mount Batten. This site has only been briefly discussed so far, however, the density of the coins within the area indicate that it was likely a thriving port throughout the study period, with the inhabitants of the settlements in the surrounding landscape being involved in trade of goods that were entering the port. Another interesting feature clear on the distribution map is the line of coin find spots between the river Camel and the river Fowey in Cornwall. The forts of Nanstallon and Restormel were constructed along this line and the distribution pattern could be indicative of a road that existed between the two, which would have lined the estuary of the Fowey with that of the Camel on the north coast, although there is little physical evidence to support this. A further potential route way is evident on the north-eastern edge of Exeter, leading to the Exe valley towards the south-eastern edge of Exmoor. The roadside settlement at Shortlands Lane and its preceding Roman fort lie along this route, so it is entirely possible a road did exist along the base of the valley during the Romano-British period.

Breaking this down and mapping the distribution of coins by metal shows that these dense areas of distribution are also evident in the copper alloy coinage, see Figure 7.7. If a monetary economy did truly exist within the region, as postulated in Chapter 5, then this should be reflected in the distribution of the copper alloy coins, which formed the small change of the Roman world (Walton and Moorhead, 2016: 839). What is interesting is that concentrations

of these coins exist along the north Cornish coast, West Penwith and the area of modern day Truro. It has been suggested in the other analysis chapters that a monetary economy never developed within Cornwall, however, it appears that at least some goods were traded in exchange for money, although the development of a full monetary economy in this area is not supported by the other data analysed.

The distribution of silver coins is far more restricted, with only 368 known from the south-west, see Figure 7.7. They are all found on lower lying ground around the coast, along river valleys or along the Fosse Way. These coins are all located along trade routes, which suggest a very similar function to the copper alloy coins, or at the very least indicates they entered the region through trade rather than military channels, although this will be looked at further in the next section.

In total 32 gold coins are known from the south-west, of which 26 are Iron Age staters or quarter staters, see Figure 7.7. Little information is held regarding these coins on the PAS database, but 20 are listed as having the same findspot in West Penwith. It is possible these represent a hoard, although no information is provided about this. The rest of the gold coins all follow a similar pattern to the copper alloy and silver coinage, being located on lower lying ground along river systems or close to the coast. It is unlikely these were used in commercial activities, but it does suggest a similar mechanism to silver and copper alloy coins as to how these coins entered the region.

The Roman military must have stimulated the use of coinage within the region as only a handful of Iron Age coins are known, none of which were minted by the peoples living within the south-west. However, there is little obvious clustering around military sites within the region, other than that around Exeter and sites along the Fosse Way. The distribution mapping of settlement finds and single finds instead shows coins being found along the trade routes suggested to have existed in the previous chapters, namely along the road network and along river valleys and the coast line. The location of these coins then suggest that the clear majority were related to civilian commerce rather than military activity.

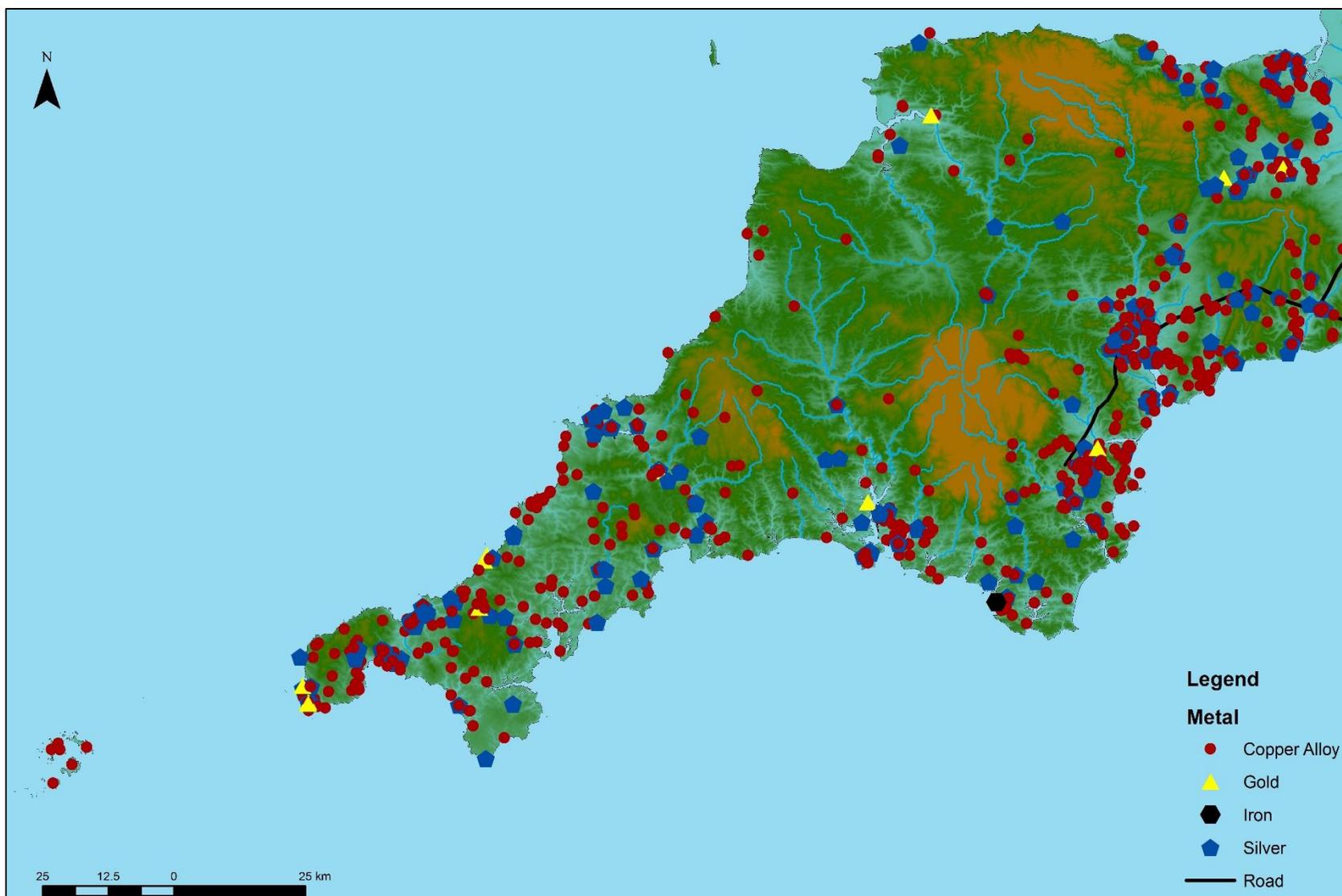


Figure 7.7: Distribution map of all the single and settlement find Roman coins from across the south-west by metals.

## 7.3 Change Through Time

The discussion above focused on the total number of coins and coin hoards that have been discovered within the study region. The data shows that the amount of coinage circulating within the region did fluctuate through time. In this section I would like to take a closer look at how coin use altered through time across the region. To do this I have broken the coin data down into four main time periods;

- The Iron Age
- The Early Period, NIPs 1 to 12
- The Radiate Period, NIPs 13 and 14
- The Late Period, NIPs 15 to 21

Both the Early Period and the Fourth century will be further sub-divided into smaller time periods to get a more detailed picture of coin circulation and loss throughout the study area. This discussion will focus primarily on the distribution of coins with only brief discussion of the numerical data, and will include analysis of coins by metal and denomination. For the purposes of the analysis in this section single and settlement find data has been amalgamated into a single category to ease discussion. The hoard data will be discussed along with the combined single and settlement find data and will not be treated as a separate entity.

### 7.3.1 The Iron Age

The peoples of the south-west did not mint their own coinage during the Iron Age, with most coins found having been minted as part of the south-western and western series, as discussed above. In total only 98 single coins of this date are known, with a further 66 having been recovered from a hoard, see Figure 7.8. Most of the coins have been found in the far west of Cornwall and it is possible a large proportion of these originate from two separate hoards, one containing 20 gold staters and quarters and another of 43 silver units. The PAS data for these coins gives the same coordinates for the gold coins and for the silver coins although no further information is given so it is difficult to be certain, and other explanations besides hoards are possible.

Mapping these coins by their metal, see Figure 7.9, shows that all the gold coins are confined to the west of Cornwall, and that all except 6 silver coins are also found along the west and north Cornish coastline. The remaining 6 silver coins were found at the port site of Mount Batten, although unlikely they were exchanged as money for goods they were possibly used as tokens or perhaps as gifts to strengthen ties between trading communities. All the single finds coins are located along the coast of the region. The coastal location of these coins reinforces the point made throughout this study that the river systems and coastline were vital to these communities for contact with other groups of people.

Conversely, the possible hoard of gold coins is located on the edge of higher ground in the west of Cornwall. As the circumstances of recovery of these coins is uncertain then any interpretation of their meaning is unfortunately not possible. However, the only documented hoard from the region was also located on slightly higher ground, away from the coast and river systems, see Figure 7.8.

### **7.3.2 The Early Period**

This time period covers coins minted during the Republican period all the way through until AD 260, NIPs 1 to 12. This is an extended length of time and it is thought that discussing the coins of this period as one assemblage will mask subtle changes in the pattern of use throughout this period and so will not be overly useful for determining how coinage entered the region or how it was subsequently used. As such the discussion has been sub-divided into four smaller time periods;

- Republican to Flavian, NIPs 1-4
- Flavian to mid second century, NIPs 5-7
- Mid second century to the death of Caracalla, NIPs 8-10
- The final years of the Early Period, NIPs 11-12

Sub-dividing the Early Period into these smaller units of time will allow more detailed analysis of the coin data. This is intended to complement and enhance the general overview of this period. However, a brief overview of all of the coins is necessary to introduce this period and to highlight features that are not as clear when analysing the coins by the sub-periods.

In total 878 coins, both single and settlement finds, are known from the region for this period as well as 33 hoards, see Table 7.5. The table shows that coin loss peaks during NIP 7 which corresponds to the reign of Antoninus Pius, although there is only one hoard known with a TPQ during this period. The greatest number of hoards occur in period 11, as discussed above just because the last coins within the hoards date to issue period 11, it is possible the hoards were deposited much later.

NIP/Hoard TPQ	Single and Settlement Find Coins	Hoard Total
1	2.98%	2
2	2.18%	2
3	2.52%	0
4	7.69%	3
5	5.45%	1
6	6.48%	1
7	8.49%	1
8	7.23%	5
9	2.01%	4
10	2.52%	5
11	0.75%	6
12	2.07%	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>50.37% (878 Coins)</b>	<b>32</b>

Table 7.5: Table shows the coins from the region that date to the Early Period. Single and Settlement coins have been combined and are displayed by issue period as a percentage of the total number of coins from the region across all issue periods. The total number of coins hoards found within the study region dating to the Early Period are displayed by TPQ.

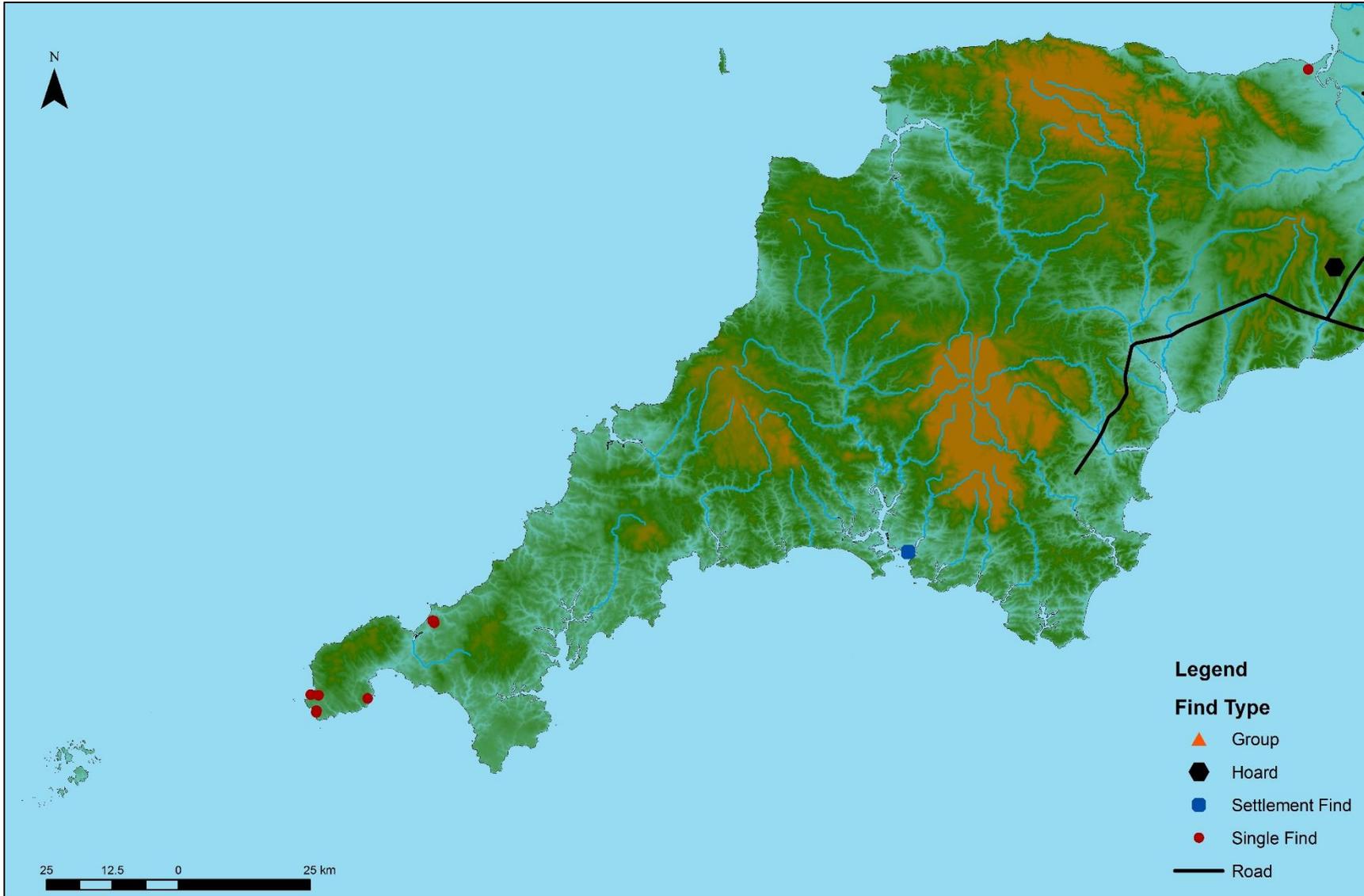


Figure 7.8: Map shows the distribution of Iron Age coins within the south-west by find type.

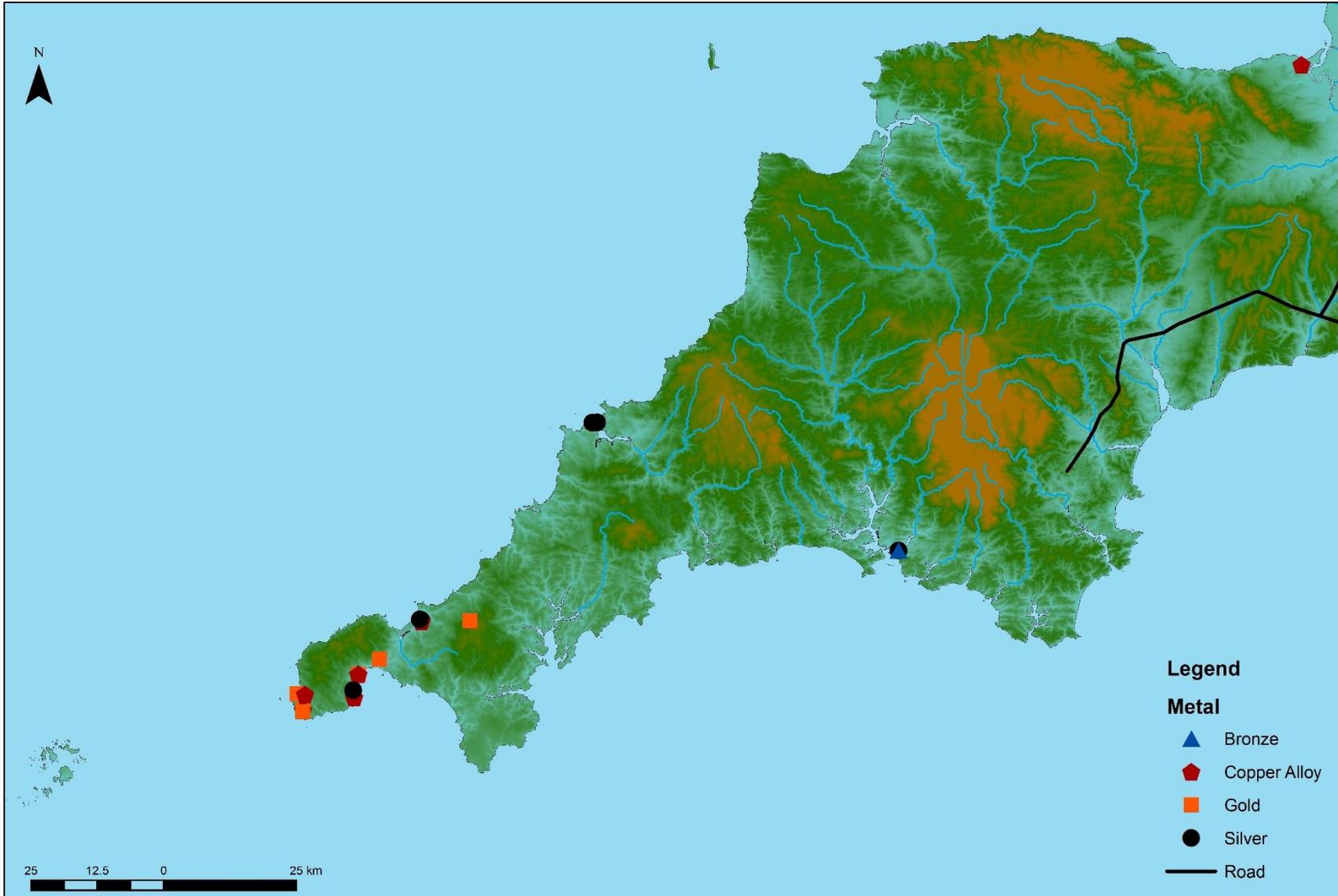


Figure 7.9: Map shows the distribution of Iron Age coins by metal type.

Mapping the distribution of the Early Period coins across the landscape produced an unexpected result. The pattern of the distribution indicates the presence of a small number of roads that are yet to be documented through excavation. It has been postulated that other road systems must have existed within the region, but these have not been as clearly visible in the other datasets. The first runs north-east from Exeter, through modern Cullompton, Taunton and Bridgwater. This road is suggested by the distribution of ceramics, but the coin evidence confirms its existence. The second is possibly a continuation of the Fosse Way around the southern end of Dartmoor, towards Plymouth, with several coins concentrated at certain points along its route. The third connects the estuaries of the rivers Fowey and Camel, running south-east to north-west across central Cornwall, with the forts of Restormel and Nanstallon located along it, see Figure 7.10.

The fact that these roads are present in the data and the fact that coins are located along the roadways and along riverine and coastal routes appears to reinforce the conclusions of the preceding section, in that trade was the main driver behind the use and distribution of coins in the region. A fourth road has also been added to the map, which links the fortress at Exeter to the forts at North Tawton and Okehampton on the northern edge of Dartmoor. These forts are known to have been occupied at the same time as the fortress at Exeter and must have been connected by road to allow the soldiers and goods to move between the forts (Maxwell and Wilson, 1987: 2). Margary suggested a road ran from Exeter, across the northern edge of Dartmoor and down to the river Tamar before crossing into Cornwall, where it is suggested that the road then down through the centre of the county towards modern Redruth. It is unlikely that this road was of Roman origins and is more likely to have been an ancient track way (Margary, 1967: 121). The lack of coins along this route suggest it was not heavily used and may only have served to facilitate the movements of the army after the conquest.

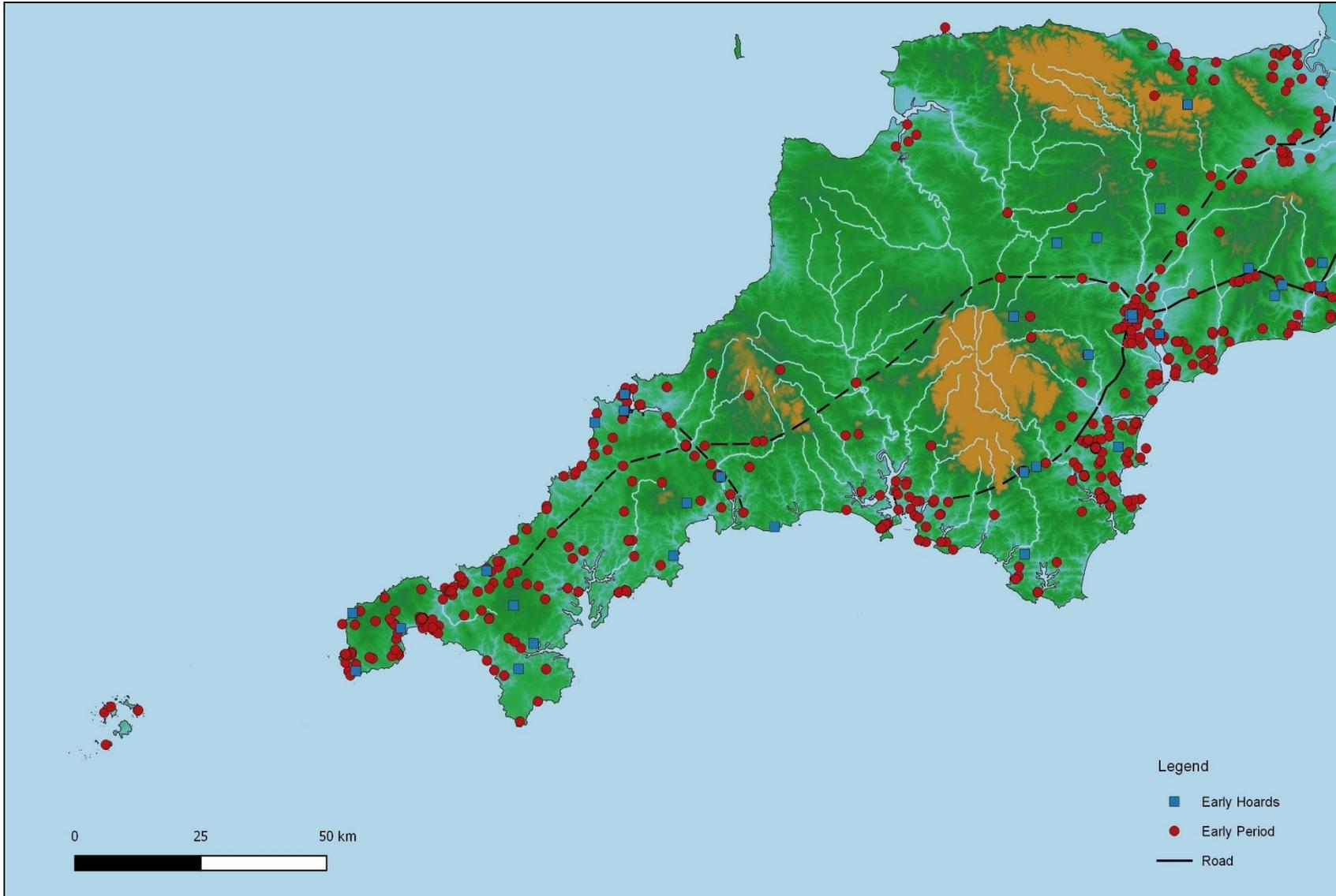


Figure 7.10: Map showing the location of the three new roads thought to have existed across the south-west based on the coinage distribution.

### 7.3.2.1 The Republican to Flavian Period

The coin assemblage for this sub-period equates to 30.52% of the total single and settlement find assemblage for the Early Period, which is 268 coins, along with 7 hoards. Mapping the distribution of these coins, Figure 7.11, shows that they are primarily found along the coastline, river systems and the road network, with the roads postulated above clear within the data during this sub-period. It is evident that most of the single coins as well as the hoards are located away from the Roman military sites shown on the map, with only a small number of coins and hoards in close proximity to these sites. Exeter is the exception to this but as the legionary fortress became a town after the removal of the second legion then this is not unsurprising.

This analysis can be broken down further to look at the distribution of coins from each issue period within this sub-period, specifically coins of the Roman Republic, the pre Claudian coins, coins of Claudius and then coins minted under Nero, and finally the Flavians, see Figure 7.12. The distribution of these coins should provide an insight into how the monetisation of this region occurred, whether it was the military who were the impetus or if it was trade that led to coinage being utilised during the Romano-British period. The distribution of copies of Claudian bronze coins and the coins of NIP 1 will be of interest. The Claudian copies are heavily linked to the military, with these coins likely having been issued by the military itself to keep up with the demand for bronze coins (Guest, 2008a: 43). It is almost certain that the military also brought coins minted under Augustus, Tiberius and Caligula with them, as these coins were likely still circulating within the Empire.

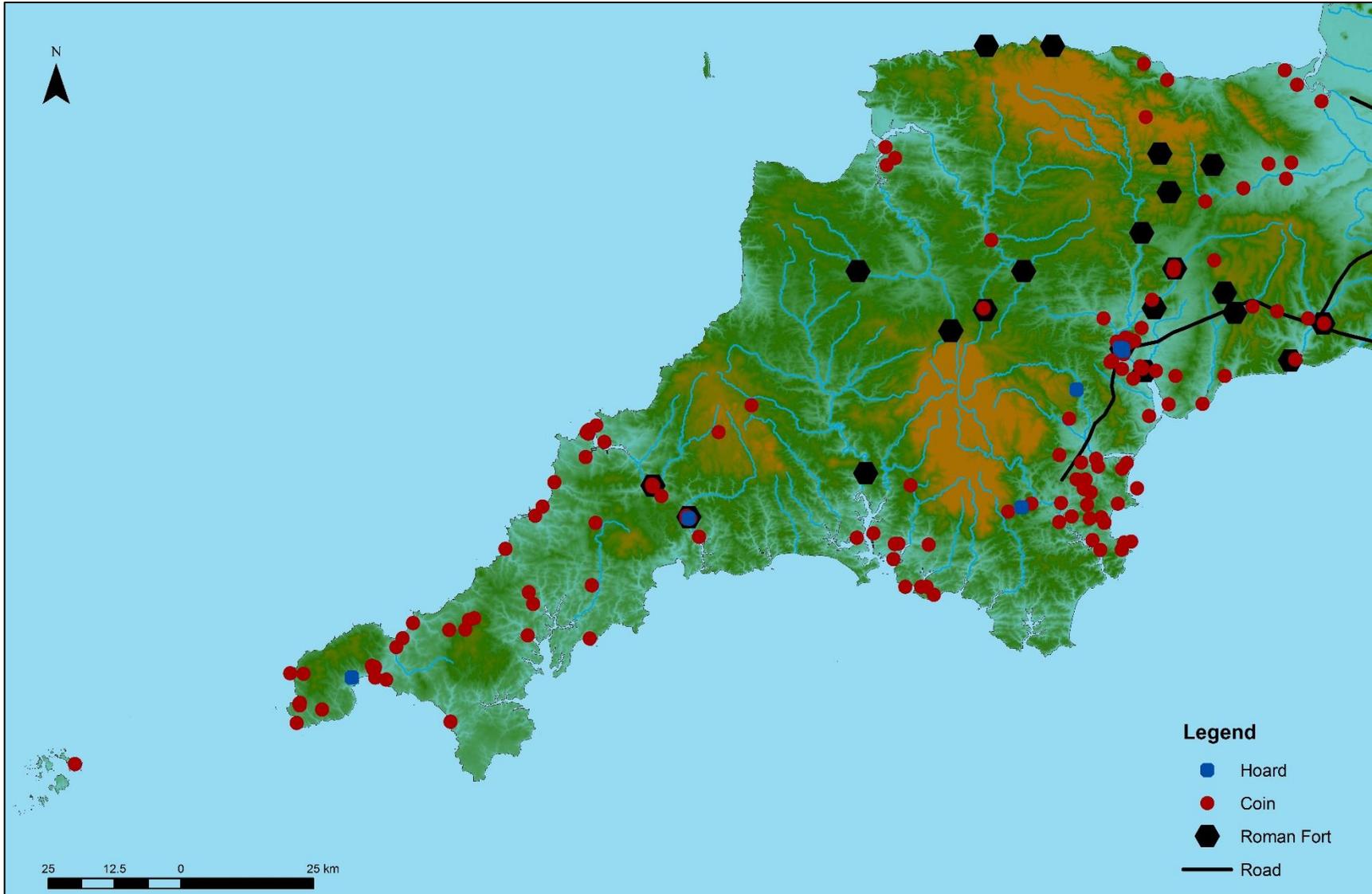


Figure 7.11: Map shows the distribution of coins and hoards during the Republican to Flavian period.

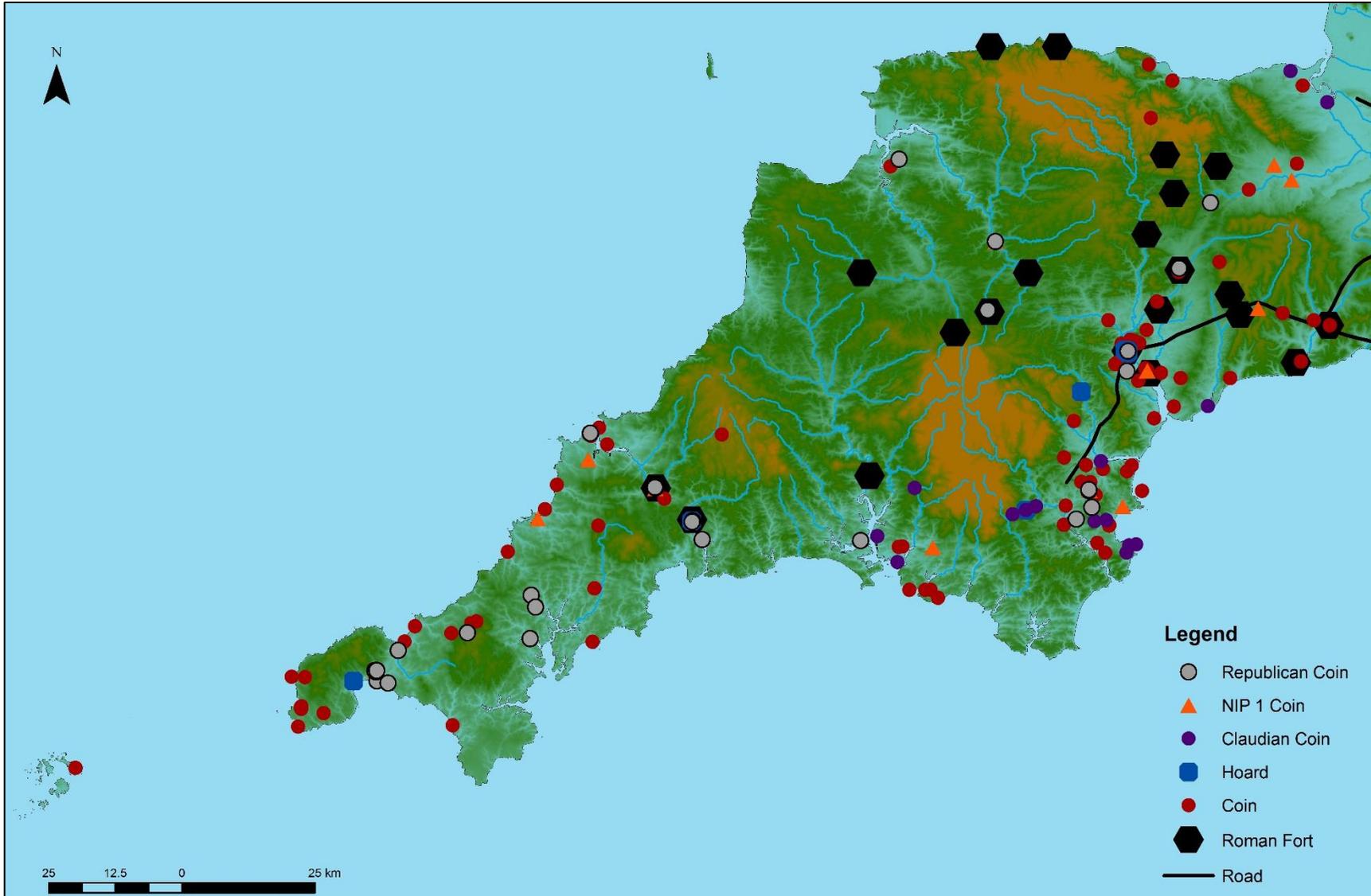


Figure 7.12: Distribution map of coins minted between issue periods 1 to 4. Map also shows the locations of hoards from this period.

The mapping of the 31 Claudian coins shows that they have a very limited distribution, being largely confined to south Devon, see Figure 7.13. The map shows that the 18 copies are even more limited, with 10 known from Exeter and 1 each respectively from Nanstallon and Restormel. The locations of the rest indicate that these coins may have been exchanged with local communities for goods. The coins minted in the names of the preceding Emperors appear to have little correlation to the military with only 6 of the 18 having been found at the sites associated with the military, 5 from the port at Topsham and a copy of a denarius of Tiberius from the fort at Nanstallon, see Figure 7.12. Adding in the 33 coins minted during the time of the Republic found within the study region to this map shows that only 7 have been found near military sites, with 5 of these coming from the forts of Nanstallon and Restormel in Cornwall. The majority are in the far south and west of Cornwall, with a small number of these actually being minted by Greek City States.

The coins minted during NIPs 3 and 4, under Nero and the Flavian emperors, have a wider distribution than the earlier coins, see Figure 7.12. They are again primarily found along the road network and the coast and river systems, which would suggest that trade was the main driving force behind the monetarisation of the region. However, the map does show a concentration of coins from all these separate periods in the area around Exeter and Topsham, as well as within the South Hams area of Devon. The density of coins around Exeter and Topsham is to be expected due to the presence of the legionary fortress and the major re-supply base, which existed until the middle years of Flavian rule, and these coins are then connected to the soldiers of the second legion. The concentration within the South Hams area is likely the result of trade, with the presence of Claudian coins and the copies indicating that these communities were trading directly with the military or merchants who dealt with the military. This is supported by the distribution of the different coin denominations throughout the region, see Figure 7.14. The lower denomination coins have a wider distribution than the silver denarii, with most of these coins being in the area around Exeter and the South Hams, but the pattern of distribution is indicative of trade.

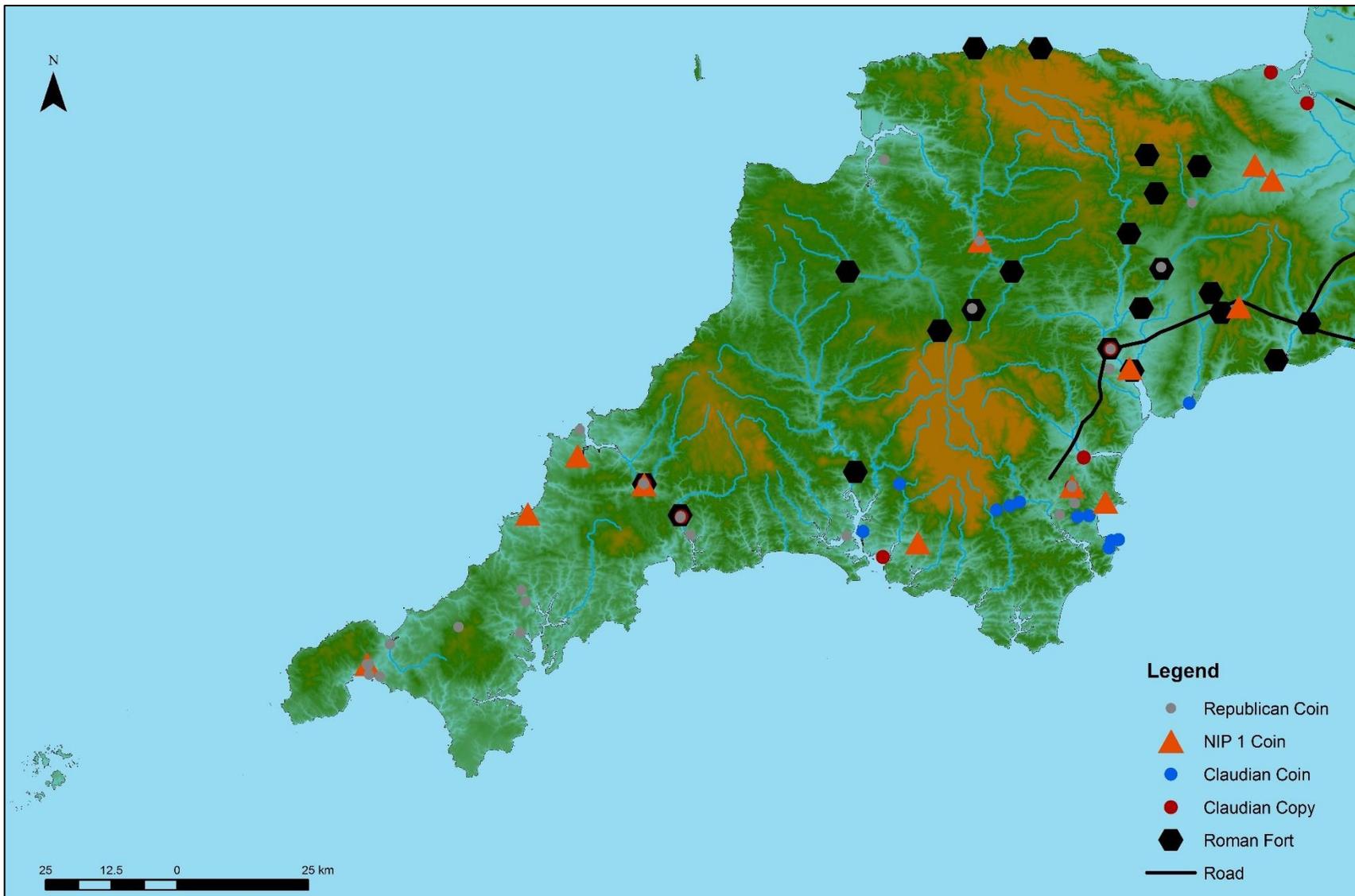


Figure 7.13: Distribution of the Claudian coins, the Claudian copies and coins from issue period 1 in the south-west.

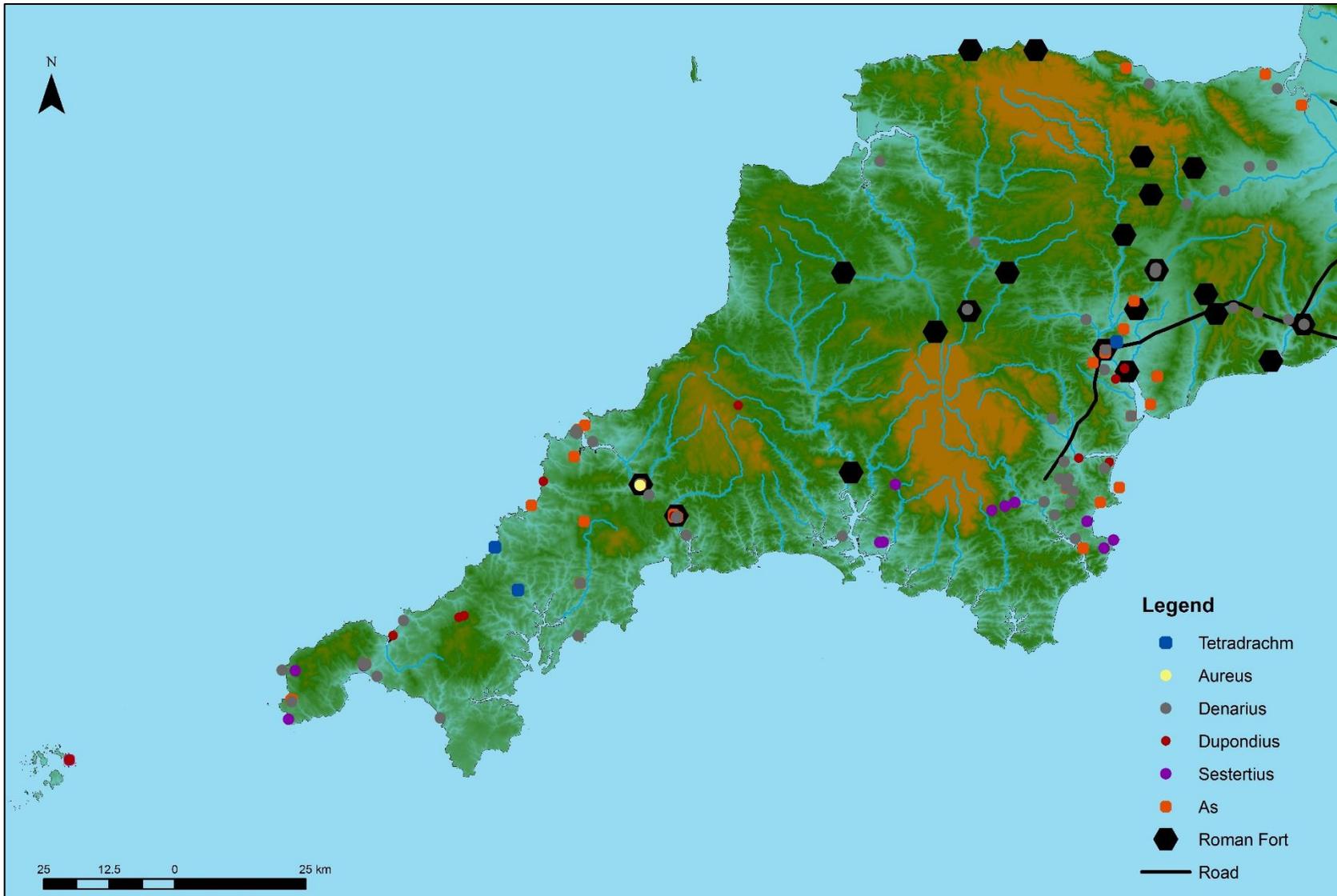


Figure 7.14: Distribution of the denominations struck between issue periods 1 to 4.

One final point for this period is the presence of a singular gold aureus. The coin was minted during the reign of Nero and was found just to the south-west of the fort at Nanstallon PAS: CORN-DE6541). The lack of other gold coins shows that these did not circulate amongst the population of the south-west, contra to the iron Age pattern, and its find location strongly indicates that this coin was brought in and lost by a soldier stationed at Nanstallon.

### **7.3.2.2 The Flavian to Mid Second Century Period**

During this period the number of single coins increased to 356, which is 40.55% of the assemblage for the Early Period. The number of hoards drops, with only 3 and 1 group having been recorded.

Mapping the distribution of coins minted during this period against those of NIPs 1 to 4 shows that the distribution of hoards has altered slightly. Although two have been buried on higher ground, there is one on the southern Cornish coast that is on lower lying ground and the one at Exeter is also on lower lying ground. Other than the hoard at Exeter, these are buried in isolated spots in the landscape, with no other coin findspots in proximity. However, the distribution pattern of the single coins appears to have remained the same, with coins mainly distributed along the coast and river systems, as well as along the road network, see Figure 7.15. By this period the military had withdrawn from the region and so the fact that the distribution of coinage had changed little indicates that although the military may have been responsible for the introduction of the idea of paying for good with coins, it was the increase in trade entering the area that drove the monetisation of the south-west.

This is evident in the fact that the number of silver coins in circulation dropped slightly, down to 60, while the number of sestertii had increased dramatically to 166. The increase in copper alloy coins, up to a total of 267 (including all small denomination coins) indicates that the region had become monetised with coinage having become an integral part of trade for some individuals and communities. That only 11 of the 64 settlement sites occupied during this period produced coins does indicate the coin using proportion of the population was small. The distribution of the silver denarii known from this period has not altered from the preceding period, see Figure 7.16, with them still being clustered along the trade routes.

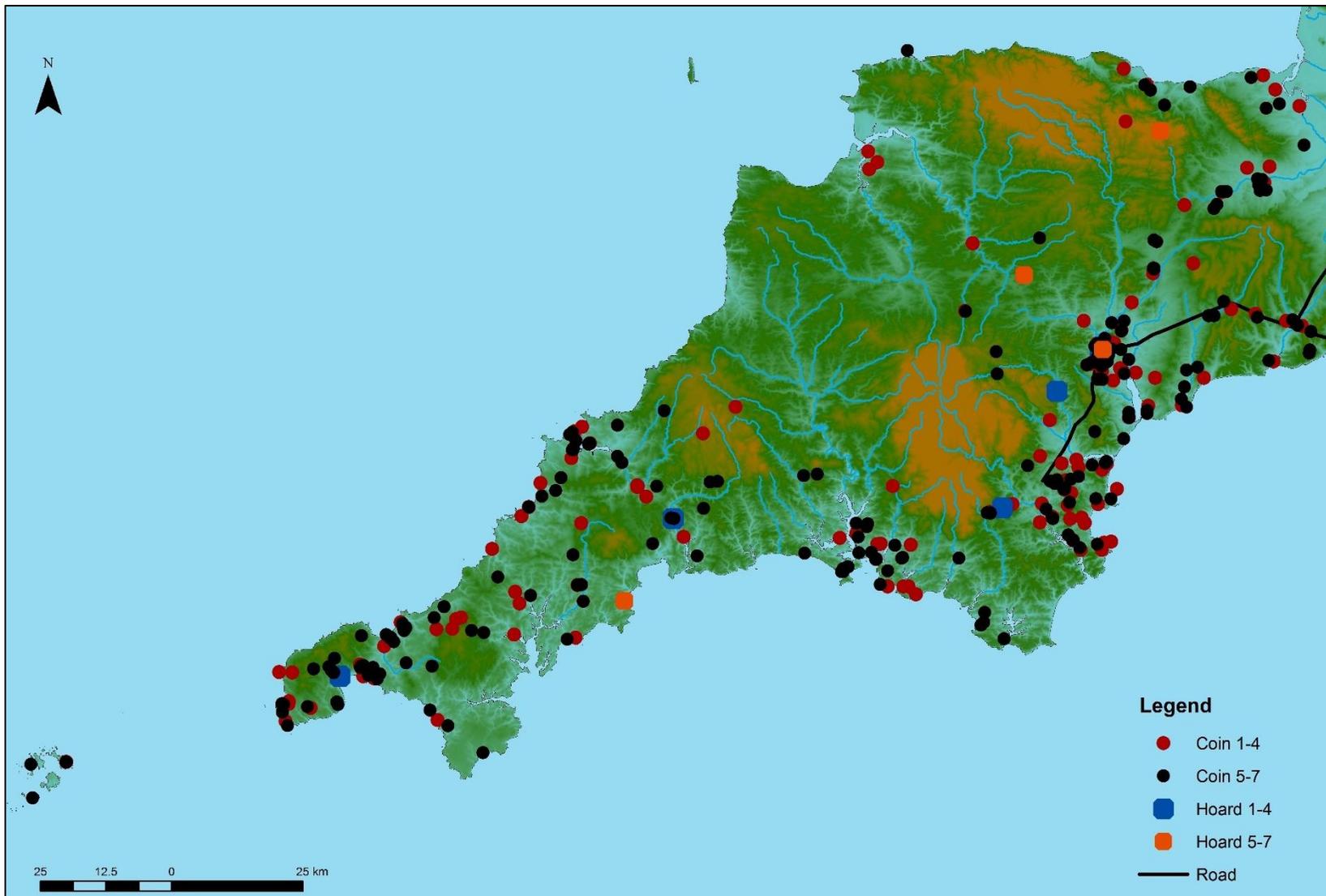


Figure 7.15: Map shows the distribution of coinage and hoards from the Flavian to mid second century against the distribution of coins and hoards from the preceding period.

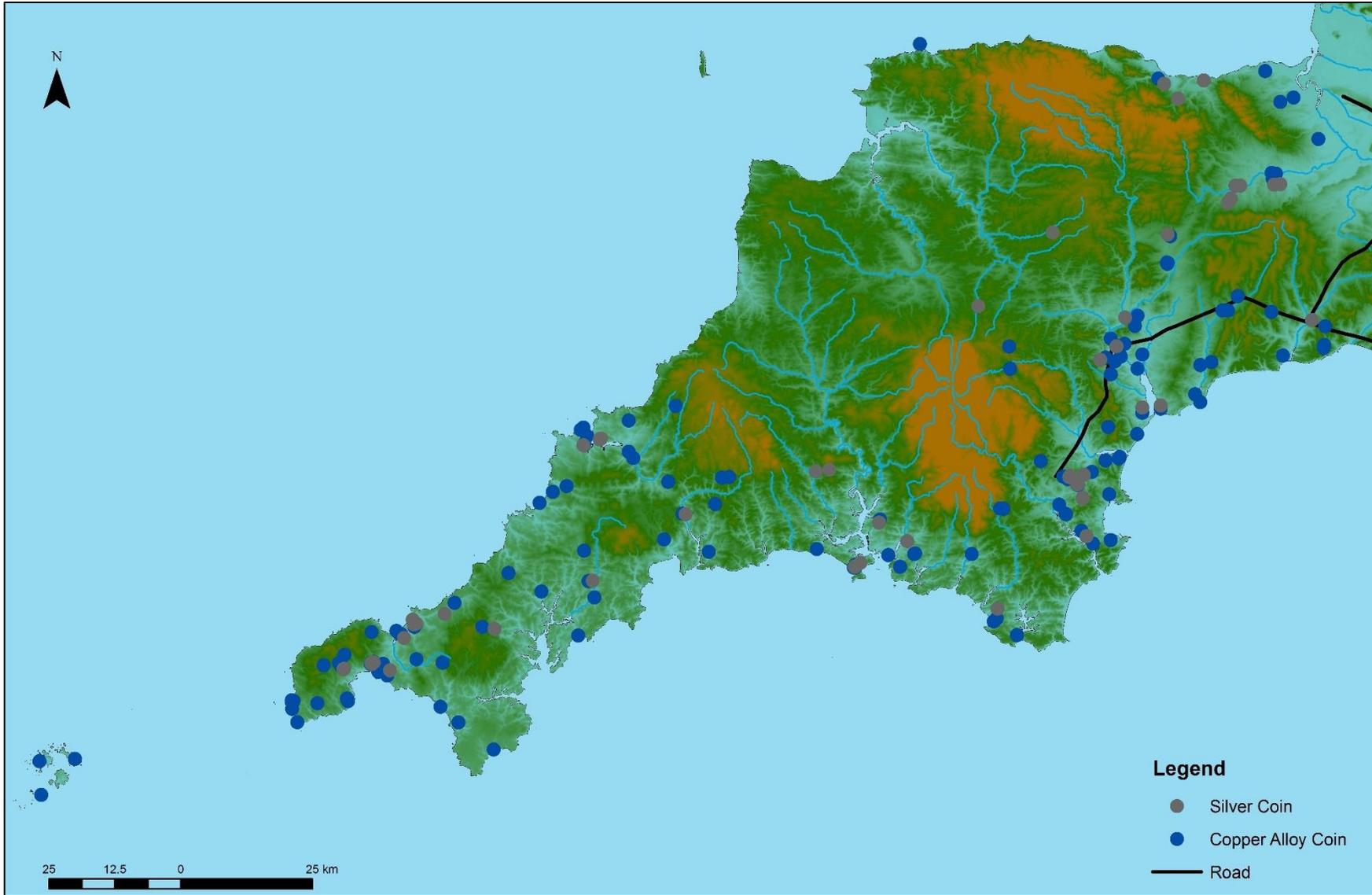


Figure 7.16: Distribution of coinage by metal type during the Flavian to mid second century period.

### 7.3.2.3 The Mid Second Century to Caracalla

This period runs from AD 161 to 222, and the data shows a downturn in the number of coins in this phase, with only 205 single coins although the number of hoards with closing dates in this period increased with 14 recorded. This is unsurprising though, as the British Mean calculated by Reece shows a drop in the number of coins circulating during these issue periods. The mapping shows no change in the location of single coin findspots within the landscape, although a change is evident in the location of hoards, with 9 of the 14 having been buried close to the trade routes across the region, see Figure 7.17. Four of these are close to the Fosse Way. This could be suggested to indicate that the motivations behind hoarding for some may have altered. However, when analysed in more detail most of the hoards, even those that appear to be close to trade routes are still isolated and on higher ground. The exceptions to this are the 3 located close to modern Padstow and 2 which are on river systems in Devon, one near Topsham on the river Clyst and the other on the river Axe. The deposition of hoards near water does not appear to have been common practice, with only one other hoard, which has a closing date of the Flavian period, having been discovered in proximity to a source of water. The continuation of the practice of burying hoards on higher ground in isolated positions indicates that this was linked to the belief systems of the communities or individuals who buried them. The hoard from the west of Cornwall was discovered in a barrow alongside an urn. The description suggests they were scattered around the urn (Penhallurick, 2009: 24). The barrow likely dates to the Bronze Age and so the coins were not part of the burial ritual. There are many examples of Roman coins being found in prehistoric burial monuments from across Britain and it is likely that these were deposited as votive items in monuments that were the linked to their ancestors (Aitchison, 1988: 276). It is likely that this hoard was not then truly a hoard, but a series of offerings made to honour or help remember the ancestors of the individuals or communities who made the offerings.

The drop in the number of denarii circulating is clear from mapping the distribution of the metals, see Figure 7.18, although the drop-in copper alloy coins is also clear, with only 159 represented for this period. As with the preceding sub-periods, there is no differentiation between the locations of silver and copper alloy coinage, indicating both were used for the same purpose, carrying similar meanings. One thing clear in the distribution of these coins is the higher number of coins found within Devon in comparison to the other areas of

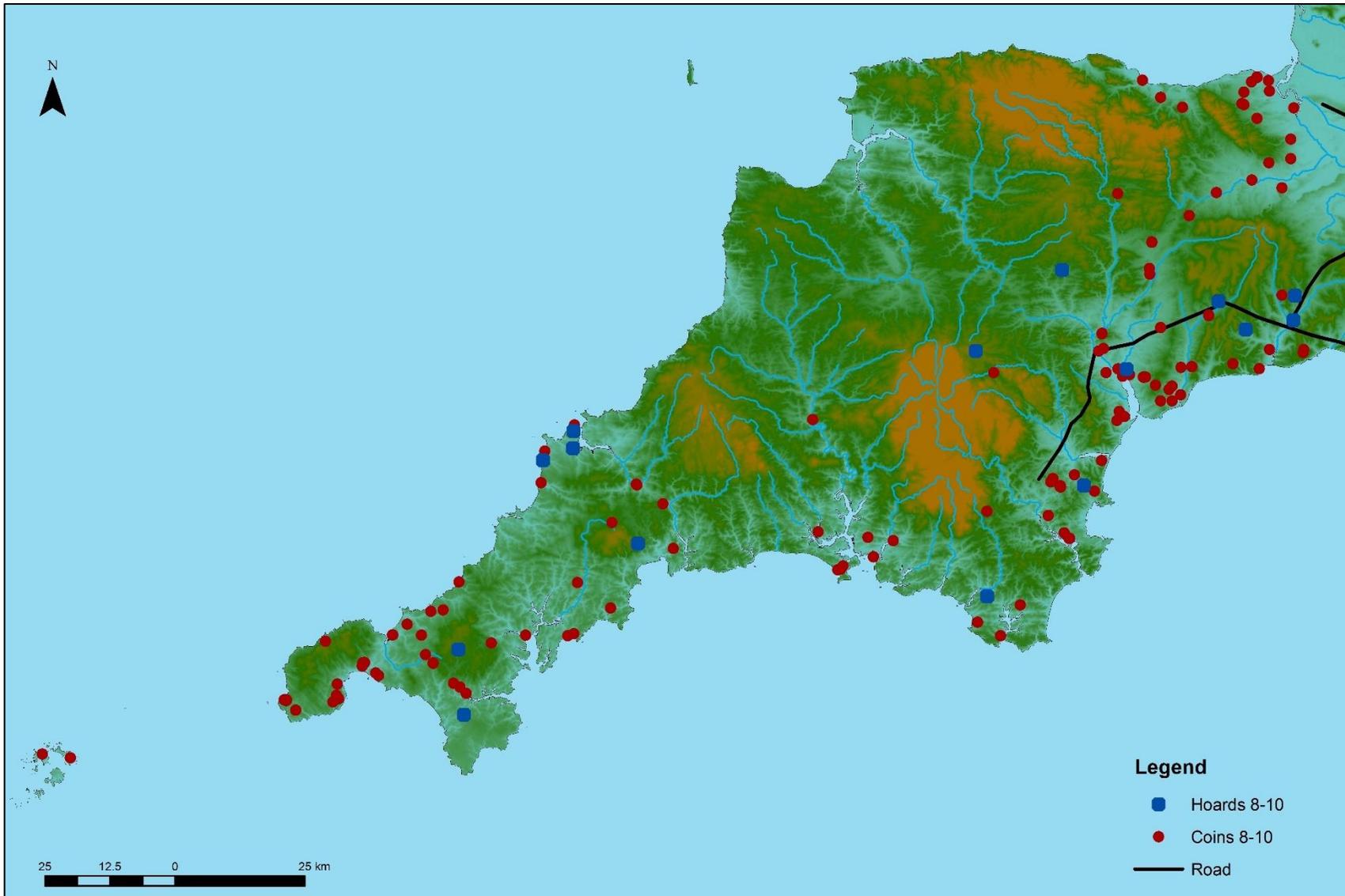


Figure 7.17: Map shows the distributions of coins and hoards through the mid second century to the reign of Caracalla.

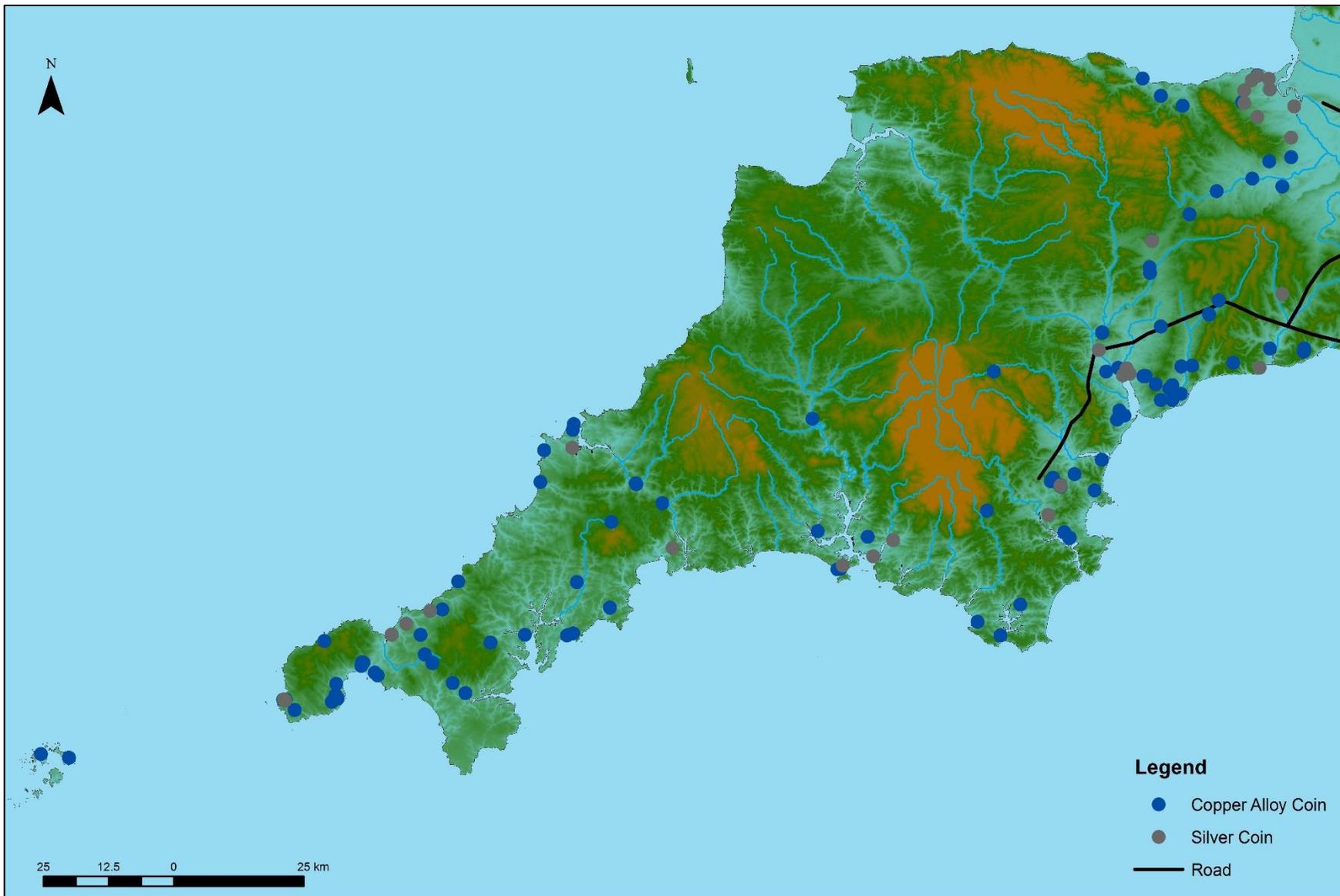


Figure 7.18: Distribution of coins by metal type between the mid second century and the reign of Caracalla.

the region, although the number of denarii found in Devon and Cornwall are equal, with 15 in each county.

#### **7.3.2.4 The final years of the Early Period**

During this period the number of coins drops dramatically, with only 5.58% of the Early Period assemblage dating to these two issue periods. Of these coins 13 were minted in NIP 11 while 36 were struck in NIP 12. The decrease in coin numbers during NIP 11 is in line with the British mean, which drops at this point, however, the increase in NIP 12 goes against it, with the mean for the region being 20.6 in comparison to the British mean of 8.08. This is a period of crisis within the Empire, there were a number of short lived Emperors who reigned after the assassination of Caracalla, which combined with economic issues, rising inflation, led to instability across the Empire and this period culminated in the breakaway of the Gallic Empire. The drop in the total number of coins during these final years of the Early Period is then not surprising, yet the rise during NIP 12 is. The increase in coins in NIP 12 is due to the numbers of the silver antoninianus, introduced by Caracalla during NIP 10, that were circulating. Although heavily debased in comparison with the early denarius there was a lack of copper alloy coins being produced during this issue period caused by inflation (Reece, 202: 20). This would have meant these silver coins were utilised in trade deals, which shows that trade in the region continued.

This is evident in the distribution of these coins, which did not alter from the preceding periods, although the lower number of coins means distribution has shrunk, see Figure 7.19. The road network evident in the earlier distributions of coinage has all but disappeared by this period, with only the road between Exeter and Bridgwater still clear, although coin loss along this road has dropped off. The fact that the route from Exeter, through Cornwall and the road connecting the rivers Camel and Fowey, are both no longer evident suggests that these routes had gone out of use. It may be that these routes were primarily used by the military, as suggested above, to help facilitate troop and supply movements, with few local communities and merchants utilising them. The distribution, particularly in Cornwall shows that movement of goods and people continued to be along the water routes.

Looking at the spread of the coin denominations, and so metals, across the region the preference for silver coins is clear, see Figure 7.20. The new antoninianus, notionally worth 2 denarii, is the favoured coin in this period, although this is likely due to the debasement and eventual cessation in minting of the denarii. A singular tetradrachm of Severus Alexander, minted in Alexandria, has been found on the Lizard peninsula. Reece notes that these coins are not common find types in Britain and are likely evidence of British soldiers who served in the East (Reece, 2002: 25). This is an unlikely explanation for the presence of this coin and it is far more likely this is evidence of long distance trade routes.

The burial of hoards also drops off in this period, with only 8 known. Again, there is little change in the landscape settings in which they were buried. The only obvious change to hoarding practice is that in Cornwall all are now located along the coastline. All but one of these 5 hoards are in isolated positions along the coast however, with no other coin findspots in proximity.

### **7.3.3 The Radiate Period**

The Radiate Period covers the years AD 260-296, numismatic issues periods 13 and 14. This is a period of crisis within the Empire, the Western frontier defences had collapsed during AD 259-259 and the Emperor Valerian was defeated and captured during his campaigns in Mesopotamia in AD 260. Postumus, the governor of Lower Germany at this time seized the opportunity to revolt. This led to the creation of the Gallic empire ruled by a succession of 5 emperors between AD 260 – 274, when the Emperor Aurelian conquered the Gallic army to reunite the area with the rest of the Empire (Faulkner, 2008: 254-255; Scarre, 1995: 176-177). The Gallic emperors minted their own coinage and there was a huge increase in the number of coins produced during this period. This coinage is very common in Britain as are the so called barbarous radiates, which are copies of these radiate coins produced after the demise of the Gallic Empire to meet coin demand (Walton and Moorhead, 2016: 841-842). Coins of the Gallic emperors circulated widely with 49% of coins (116 coins) in the south-west from this period being minted within the Gallic empire.

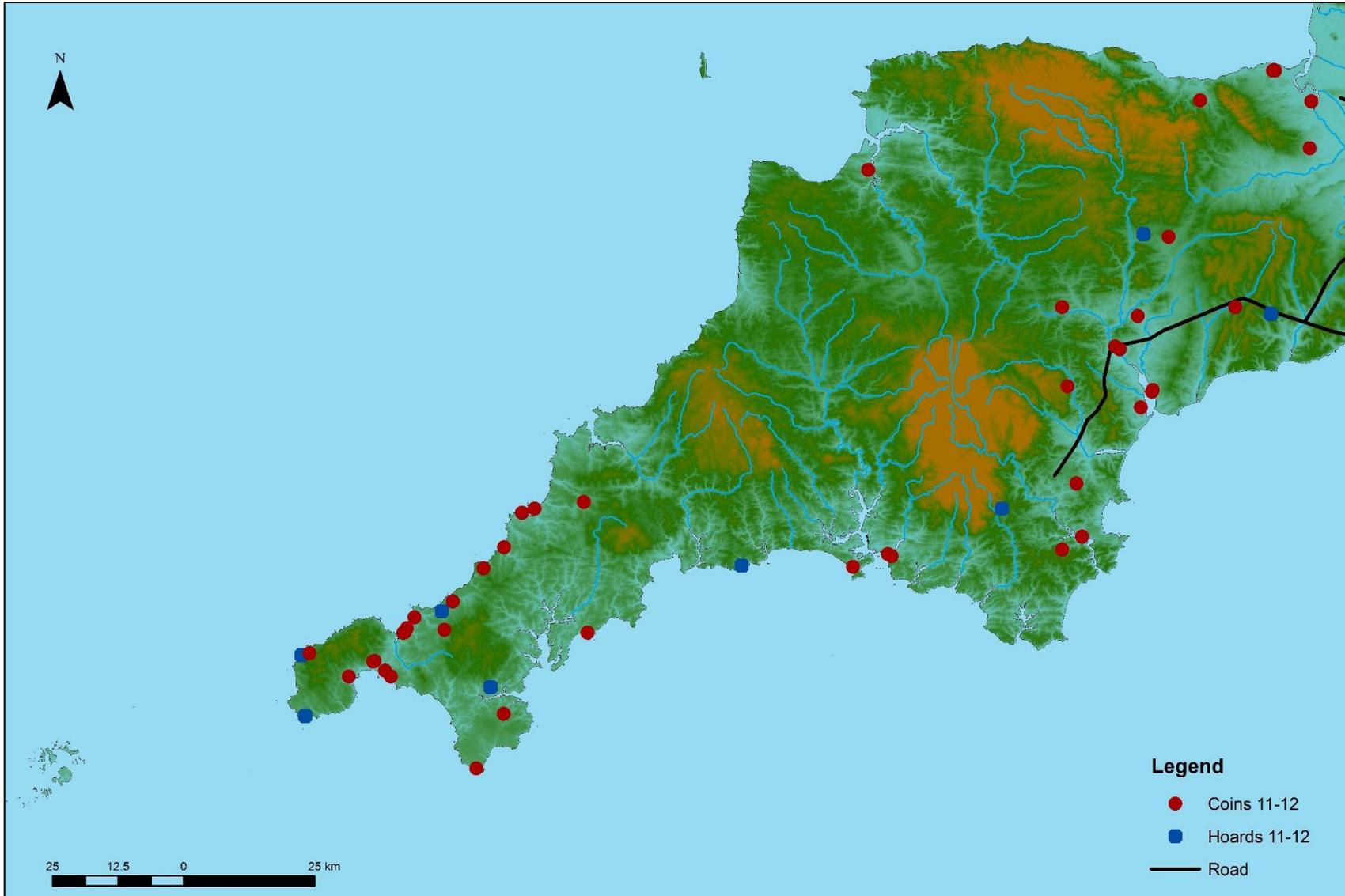


Figure 7.19: Distribution of coins and hoards during the final years of the Early Roman Period.

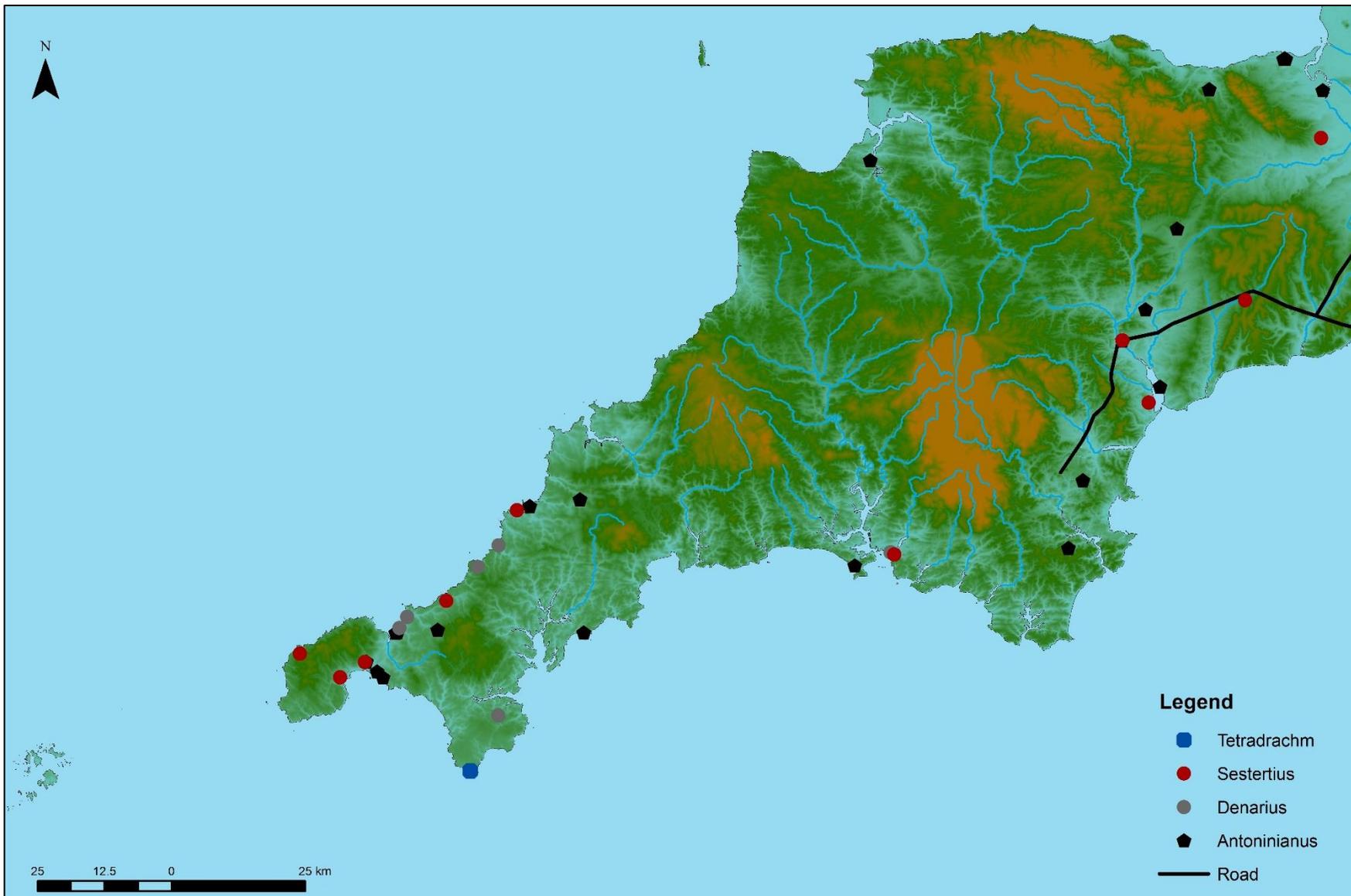


Figure 7.20: Distribution of the different denominations dating to the final years of the Early Roman Period.

This period also saw Britain breakaway from the Empire between AD 286 – 296, ruled by the usurper emperor Carausius who was succeeded by Allectus. During this period the mint at London was established, with the coins struck in London being of higher standard than those from the main Empire (Reece, 2002: 23), although only 7 appear in the data for the south-west.

The total number of coins for this period within the south-west decreases from the Early period, down to 234, see Table 7.6, although there is a substantial rise from issue period 12, at the end of the Early period, to issue period 13, at the start of the Radiate Period. There are only 36 coins struck during NIP 12, which rises to 173 for NIP 13. There is an increase in the number of hoards with closing dates during the Radiate period, with 37 in total. Although this is only 5 more than the Early period, this does not consider the fact that the Radiate period only spans 36 years in comparison to more than 260 years of the Early period. The deposition of 37 hoards in the Radiate period then shows a dramatic rise in hoard deposition practice during this period, which is in line with practice across Britain as hoarding peaks during this period, see Figure 7.4.

NIP/Hoard TPQ	Single and Settlement Find Coins	Hoard Total
13	9.93%	22
14	3.50%	15
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>13.43% (234 Coins)</b>	<b>37</b>

Table 7.6: Table shows the number of single coins and hoards found in the study region by issue period for the Radiate period. Single coins are shown as a percentage of the total assemblage.

As discussed above, the traditional interpretations of hoards are of stores of wealth that were buried to keep them safe, whether buried at a time of crisis or not (Aitchison, 1988: 271). The fact that hoards are classed as having a monetary value means interpretation has rarely moved beyond this (Millett, 1994: 99). Analysis of the landscape zones hoards are found within is one way of moving beyond the traditional interpretations (Guest, 2015: 112). Mapping the hoards from the south-west with TPQs of the Radiate period shows little change in their distribution from the Early period, see Figure 7.21. The data shows an increase in hoarding in both Cornwall and Somerset, while it decreases in Devon. The map shows that most hoards within Cornwall are in the far south and west, which is slightly different to the preceding period. In Somerset hoards are mainly concentrated along the northern coastline

and around the fringes of Exmoor and the Quantock Hills, while in Devon there is very little change to the position of hoards.

What is clear on the map is a change in the positions within the landscape selected for the deposition of these hoards. Over half of the hoards from this period have been buried on the edge of or overlooking water sources, either streams, rivers or the sea. This change is particularly evident in Cornwall with 12 of the 22 hoards close to a source of water. Their proximity to water is not necessarily surprising as looking at the single coin finds shown on the map, all are found in proximity to rivers, except for a handful in central Devon and Somerset that are along the line of the postulated road from Exeter to Bridgwater. However, the key change is the move, for some, from burying hoards in isolated spots on higher ground to choosing watery locations. Deposition of objects in watery contexts is a feature of ritual practice across Europe from through prehistory and many of the Iron Age coin hoards in southern England are thought to be votive offerings based on their locations close to water (Hill, 2007) There is little in the way of votive deposition within the south-west during the Iron Age, with only the bowls from Rose Ash, Devon and Youlton, Cornwall known, both of which were buried in bog contexts (Fox, 1973: 156), and so it is difficult to know whether the move to depositing coins near water is linked to a resurgence of pre-conquest traditions, or whether this a new form of practice developed during this period.

The detail recorded for these hoards shows that most of the coins were accumulated over only a few generations, with most coins having been struck between AD 260 and AD 296. Only one hoard, found in Cornwall, contains coins from the Early period, with coins from the reign of Titus through to Victorinus present, AD 79 - 271. A total of 1215 coins were found within this hoard. The long date range of these coins may indicate accumulation or deposition over time, however, the record for this hoard indicates that it was buried in an organic container which would have meant them all being deposited at the same time (PAS: IARCH-F5CBBF). It is possible the coins were collected over a long period by a community who then buried them at what was possibly a significant time for them. The keeping of objects, which were then buried generations after their manufacture is similar to the treatment of brooches by many of the communities in Cornwall, see Chapter 6. The brooches were buried as an act of forgetting, when settlements underwent major reorganisation or total abandonment.

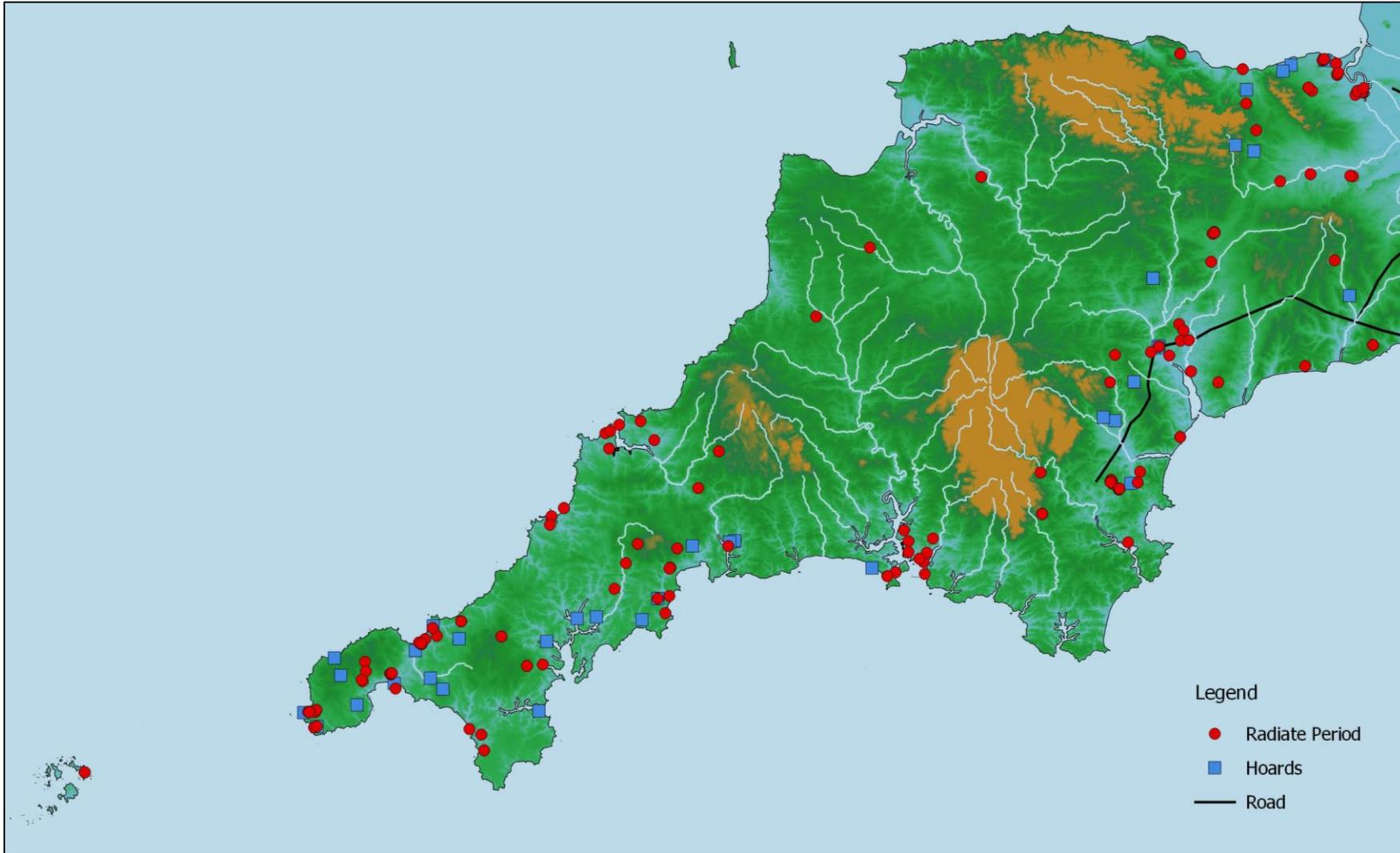


Figure 7.21: Distribution of coins and hoards during the Radiate Period.

The lack of single coins in the region struck during the Radiate period, and their locations on the trade network, see Figure 7.21, supports the theory suggested for the previous period, that only a small part of the population were utilising coins as money. As such it is possible to suggest that coins had other meanings for the communities in the south-west and so hoards should not be seen as the burial of money to be retrieved at a later date. It is more likely that these were votive offerings, deposited as part of a social practice that had its origins in prehistory.

The findspots for the single finds from this period have not altered from the Early Period and distributions along the trade network is still clear. The ceramic evidence from this period indicates that by this point Devon and west Somerset had been integrated into a market economy. The copper alloy based coins from Devon account for 41% of the assemblage for this period, with 31% being minted in issue period 13. Reece (2002: 48) suggests that the low standard of coinage and the high supply at this point was perfect for market economy conditions.

Communities in Cornwall appear to have placed equal emphasis on both silver and copper alloy, with silver equating to 17.5% of the period total and copper alloy 15.8%. Most of the silver coins are located along the coast or around river estuaries with only a small number found inland. The PAS data for the silver coins shows that all these coins were heavily debased and so the purchasing power would have been significantly reduced. Although the monetary value of these coins may have been similar to those of copper alloy, the lack of them in other parts of the region does suggest that they held a different meaning for those communities and individuals using them within Cornwall and it is likely that trade was conducted in a different way by communities in Cornwall.

#### **7.3.4 The Late Period**

This period begins at the end of the breakaway British Empire in AD 296 and continues through until AD 402. The total number of single coins from this period increases with a total of 631, with peaks in issue periods 17 and 19, while the number of hoards decreases, see Table 7.7.

NIP/Hoard TPQ	Single and Settlement Find Coins	Hoard Total
15	3.67%	2
16	4.65%	1
17	11.59%	13
18	5.45%	4
19	9.64%	3
20	0.23%	3
21	0.98%	7
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>36.20% (631 Coins)</b>	<b>33</b>

Table 7.7: Table shows the number of single coins and hoards found in the study region by issue period for the Late Roman Period. Single coins are shown as a percentage of the total assemblage.

The distribution map of the coins dating to this period, shows no change in the location of these coins within the landscape, other than that there was an expansion of coin using communities or individuals during the Late Roman Period, see Figure 7.22. Several findspots along the north Cornish coast, in central Devon and along the south Devon coast, areas where Early Roman coins are found, suggest that communities begin to utilise coins again after a hiatus during the Radiate Period. However, not all communities who used coins prior to the Radiate Period continued to use them after this hiatus. It is difficult to be completely certain the hiatus suggested in the data occurred as coins could remain in circulation for many years and so coins minted during the Early Period may have remained in circulation until the Late Period, with this type of analysis not being able to recognise their continued use through the Radiate and Late Period. This is unfortunately one of the major caveats with using data from the PAS which has no contextual data to allow more detailed analysis

Mapping the coins by metal types shows a clear preference for copper alloy coins across the region, see Figure 7.24. There are a small number of gold coins, discussed further below, that appear in the region for the first time since the aureus of Nero. All the silver single coins of this period are siliquae, which was produced in significant numbers in the Late Period within the empire, particularly after the reforms in AD 355 where the weight of silver coinage was reduced. The high number of siliquae struck have meant that is a common site find in Britain

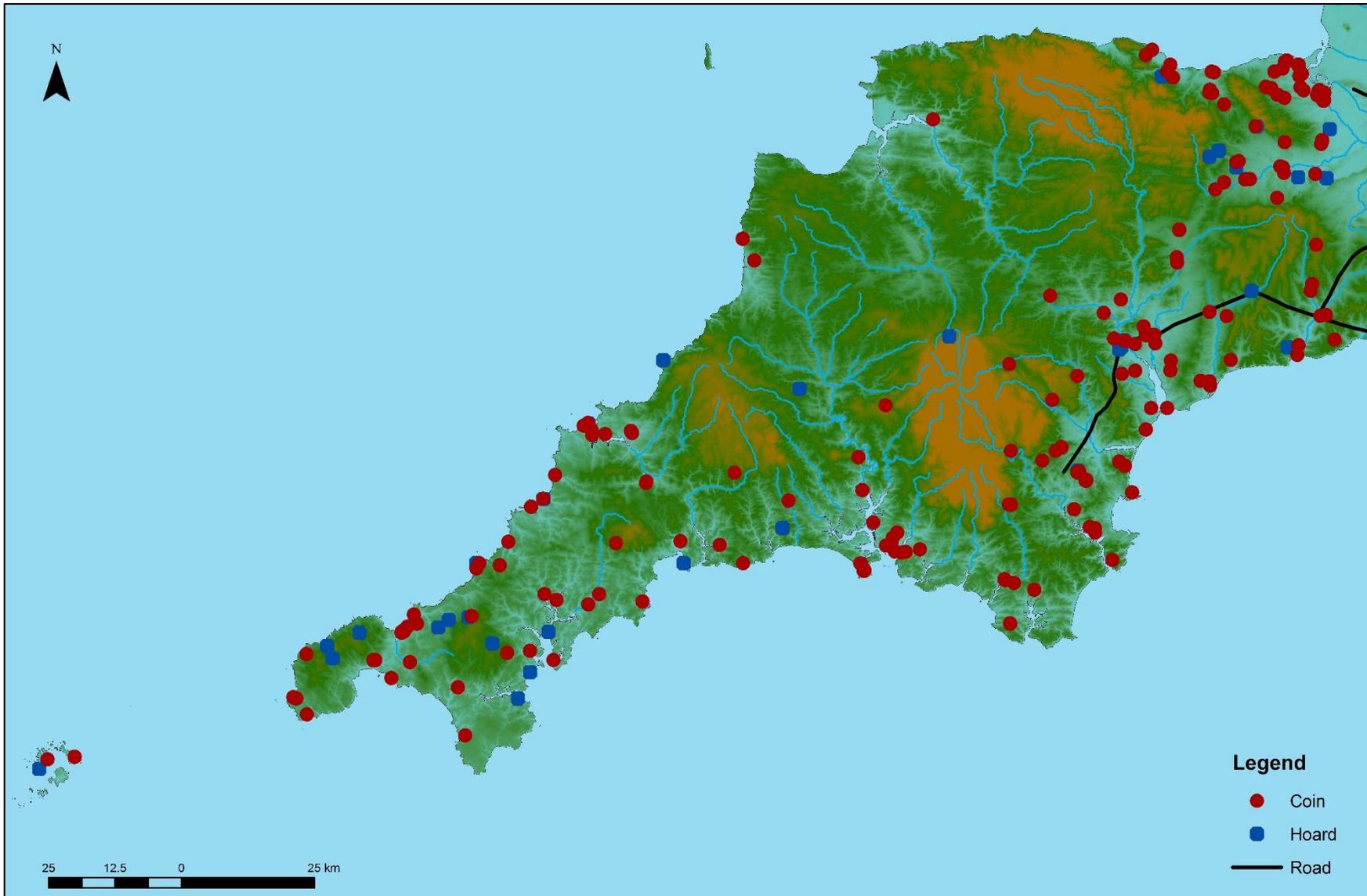


Figure 7.22: Distribution of coins and hoards during the Late Roman Period.

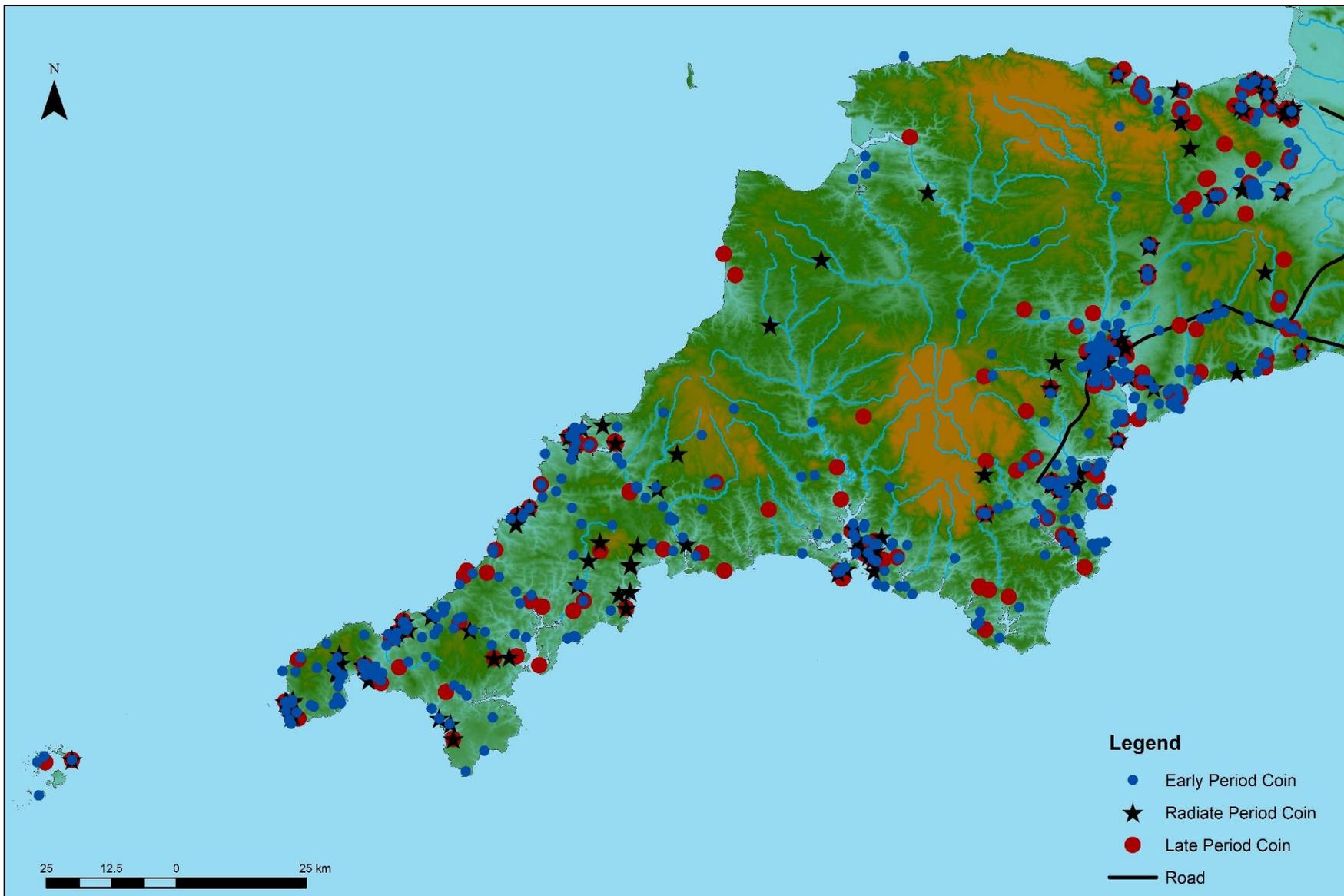


Figure 7.23: Distribution map of the single find coins from the Early, Radiate and Late Roman periods in the south-west.

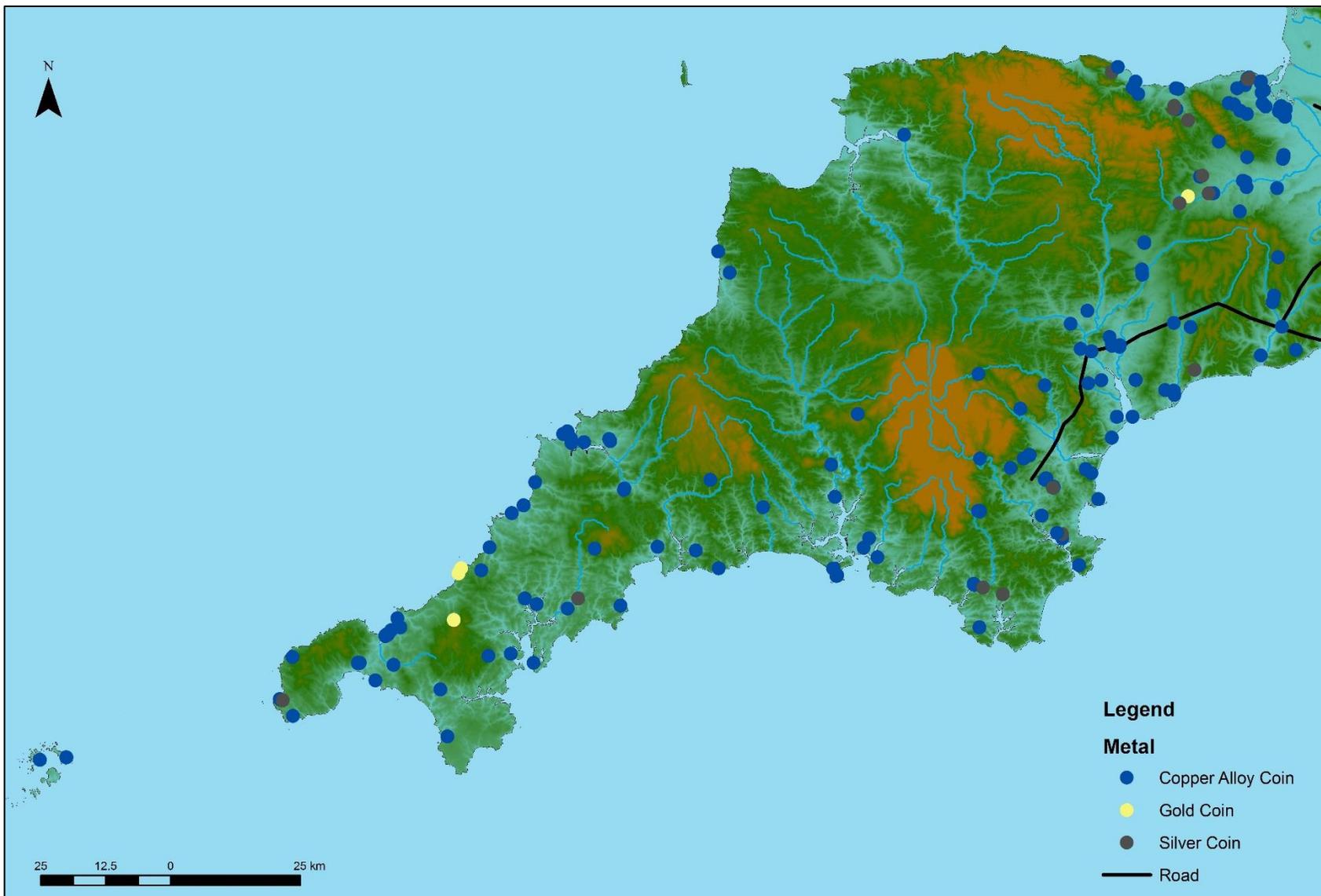


Figure 7.24: Distribution map showing single coins of the Late Roman period by metal type.

(Guest, 2005: 90, 2013: 93). Most siliquae in the south-west are found in Somerset, along the line of the proposed road between Exeter and Bridgwater as well as along the north Somerset coast and in the low-lying ground between Exmoor and the Quantocks. Within Devon and Cornwall, the siliquae are distributed along the coast or close to river systems

The purchasing power of these coins is not fully understood (Guest, 2005: 90, 2013: 93), but that fact they are distributed alongside the copper alloy coinage and are located primarily on trade routes indicates they were mainly used for trade transactions rather than holding any significance.

The locations chosen for the deposition of hoards also alters between the Radiate and Late Periods, with later hoards having been found along the north Cornish coast and in more inland locations across the region. There is a move away from depositing on river systems in the Late Period, with only those close to the coastline in watery locations. The locations chosen again seems to have shifted back to areas of higher ground, aside from those on the coast. The distribution map, see Figure 7.22, shows that very few are now in truly isolated areas of the landscape, with only a small number on their own in the landscape. The shift in locations of hoard deposits may indicate a return to previous traditions and so belief systems that are evident in the Early Period.

Mapping the hoards by metal type, see Figure 7.25, does not show any difference in treatment of hoards based on metal types being deposited. The only clear differentiation across the landscape of the south-west is that both gold hoards, the only hoards of gold coins from the entire study period, are in Cornwall, while two of the five silver hoards are from Somerset. The gold coin hoards both only consist of 2 coins, the hoard in the far west of Cornwall is isolated, while the hoard from the north coast has findspots of two further single gold coins close by. The hoard has a closing date in issue period 19, while the two single finds are from issue period 18. The fact these are coins are so close together suggest that they relate to each other. The hoard and one of the single findspots are only 500m apart, however, the final coin is nearly 1.5km down the coast, suggesting it is unlikely these all form part of a dispersed hoard. Instead the fact that all but one gold coin from this period is located in the far south and west of Cornwall indicates that communities within this area placed a value on these gold coins, which is clear based on the fact that only one gold coin from the fort at

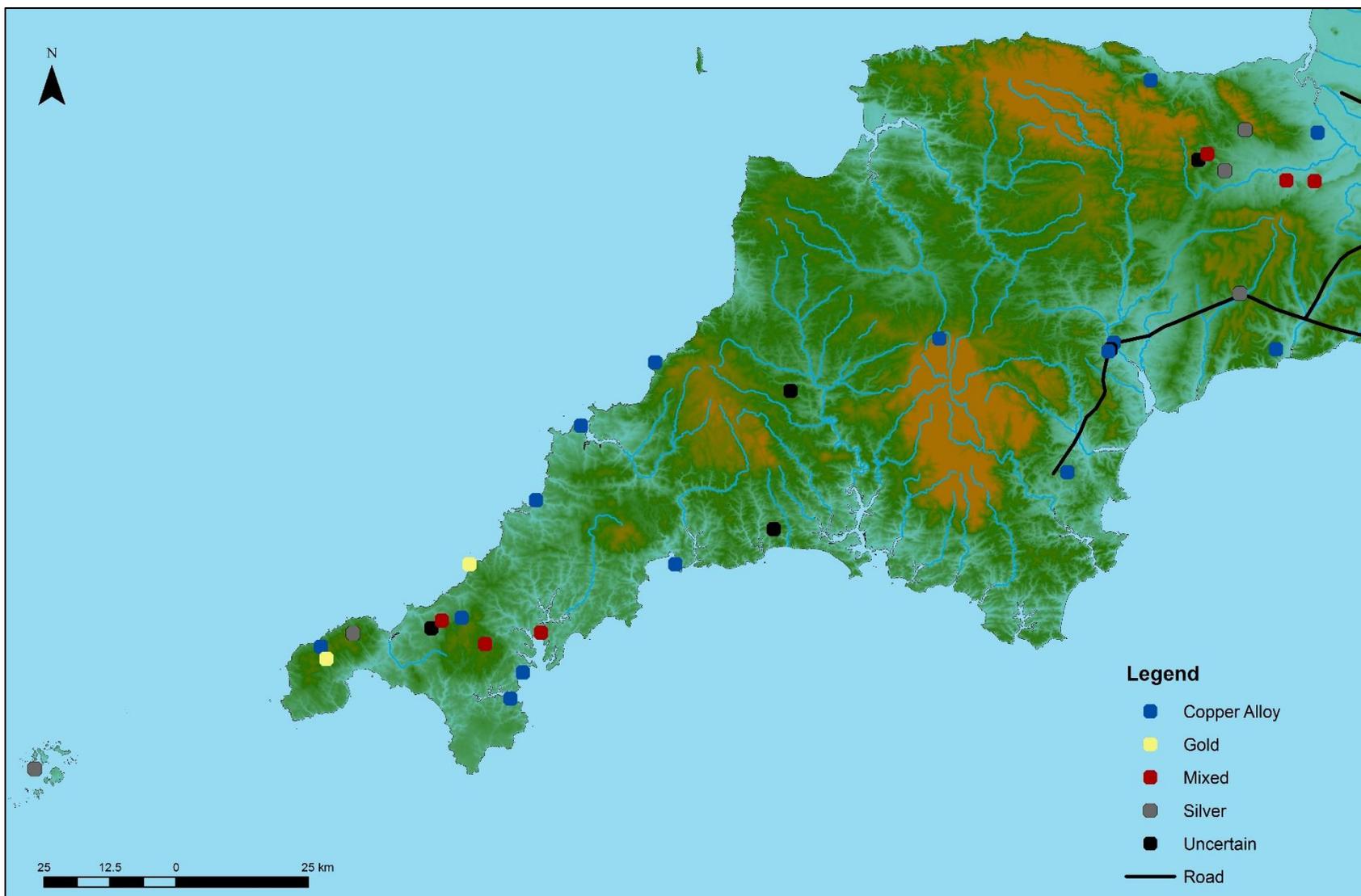


Figure 7.25: Map showing the distribution of hoards in the Late Roman Period by metal type

Nanstallon is known prior to this period. It is unlikely again that these coins were used as money and it is possible they were portable wealth, with a meaning beyond that of money.

By the Late Period, gold had become a rare commodity with the production and distribution of gold coins tightly regulated by the Emperor and Imperial treasury. Gold solidi distributed around the empire were returned through the taxation system, however, some coins were used as tribute payments to peoples beyond the border of the Empire (Guest, 2005: 23, 2008b: 299-300). It is possible that the coins in the region from this period were part of such a payment with the coins then being redistributed through the communities, although the lack of contextual data makes this difficult to discern.

Looking at the data for the hoards shows that it was no longer just coins buried, with other artefacts now included in the hoards. The largest coin hoard known from the region, the Seaton Down hoard which consisted on nearly 23,000 copper alloy coins, also contained 3 iron ingots (PAS: IARCH-F95723). A hoard of copper alloy coins from near Carn Brae contained 3 copper alloy objects, one of which was thought to be the head of a ram (PAS: IARCH-AB9F58). A hoard of silver coins from West Bagborough, Somerset contained 2 denarii, 8 miliarenses and 659 siliquae as well as 73 pieces of hacksilber (PAS: IARCH-39DCDF). Of the siliquae, 53 have been classed as irregular coins, these are imitation coins and not official issues. They make up 7.9% of the total siliquae in the hoard, which is relatively high in comparison to other hoards containing siliquae (Minnitt and Ponting: 2013: 276). The irregular siliquae are thought to have been produced with silver clipped from other siliquae in circulation and were meant to supplement the coinage pool as there was such high demand for these coins rather than defraud the people using them (Guest, 2013: 98).

The inclusion of hacksilber in this hoard is particularly interesting. Hoards of hacksilber are known from elsewhere including Ireland and Scotland where they, like the gold coins, have been interpreted as tribute payments or payments for *foederati* (Cahill-Wilson *et al.*, 2014: 43). However, hacksilber of this date is rare in Britain further, hoards of silver of mid fourth century date are rare in south Britain. Of the pieces of hacksilber, 63 had been melted down and then broken up once cooled and it is thought that as the pieces do not fit together, not all the melted down silver was deposited in the hoard (Minnitt and Ponting: 2013: 276–280).

The location of this hoard on the edge of the Quantock hills is within the bounds of the empire and so this hoard is unlikely to have been the result of such a payment and was more likely accumulated and buried by a community or group of communities. The two denarii are of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, as Caesar, and so had been in circulation since AD 101 and 153 respectively. The rest of the coins were minted between AD 337 and 367. It is possible these later coins were gathered slowly, just because the hoards TPQ is AD 367 it does not mean the hoard was buried in that year, it may have been buried generations after the last coin had been added. This hoard fits a pattern of hoarding late gold and silver coins and items evident in Britain in the final decades of Roman rule, which are not thought to have been a response to threats against and within the empire (Guest, 2005: 28-30). It is unique within the study region, in terms of the number of siliquae and the inclusion of hacksilber, however, it should not be viewed as anomalous. Several hoards from this period contain objects other than coins and it is by far no means the largest hoard in the region. The location on the edge of the Quantocks suggests it fits the pattern of isolated hoards on higher ground seen throughout the Romano-British period within the study region.

One final comment about the hoard data for this period is the presence of a silver hoard on the island of Samson in the Isles of Scilly. This is a hoard of 6 silver siliquae, dating to the second half of the fourth century, that were found in antiquity and the coins have since disappeared. Very few coins are known from the Isles of Scilly outside of those from the site at Nornour. The 90 coins from Nornour coins were suggested by Fulford to have derived from two dispersed hoards, one culminating with coins of Commodus and the second consisting of coins of the fourth century. He suggested that all the artefacts from the site derived from two shipwrecks (Fulford, 1989: 249). This interpretation has widely been dismissed, see the case study of personal adornment items from Nornour in Chapter 6, and the accepted interpretation of the site is that it functioned as a shrine from the mid first to fourth centuries (Dudley, 1967; Butcher, 2001). The reasoning behind Fulford's interpretation of the coins as two dispersed hoards is because of the lack of radiate coinage and the large proportion of coins from the House of Constantine, which is not the norm for British sites (Fulford, 1989: 247).

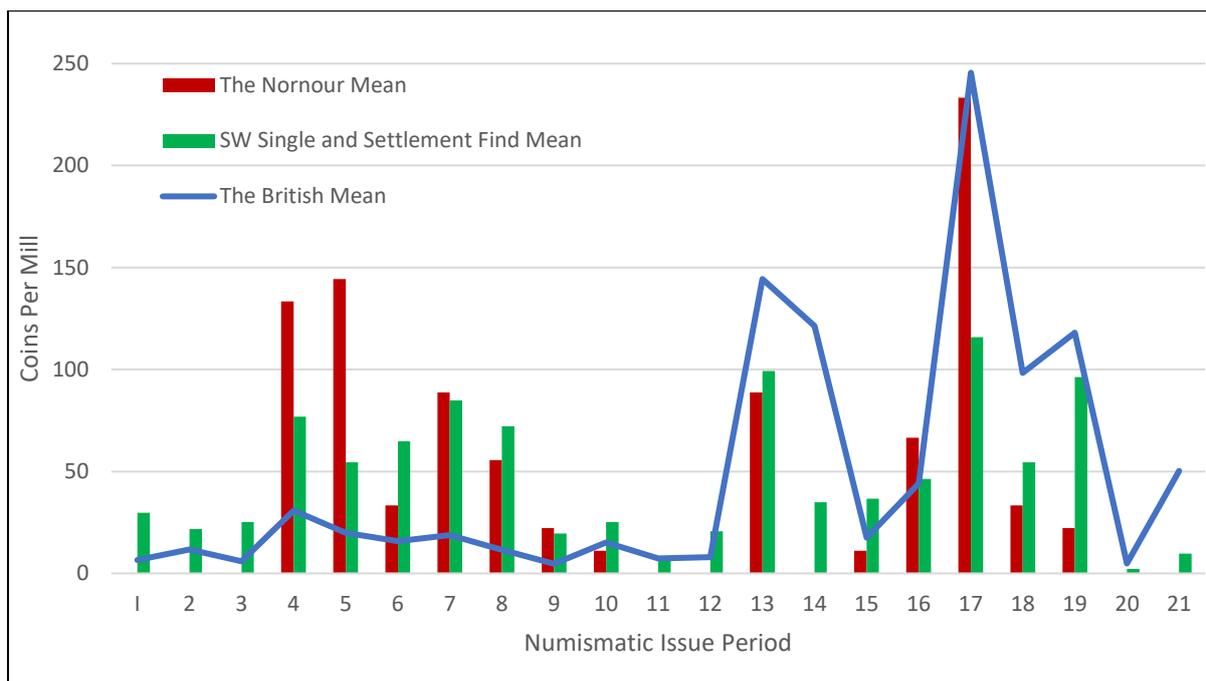


Figure 7.26: Chart shows the mean of coins found at Nornour against Reece’s British mean and that of the combined single and settlement finds from the south-west.

However, plotting the mean of the coins from Nornour against the British mean and the mean for the south-west shows that while Nornour is very different from the British mean the pattern of coin loss is not too dissimilar to that from the rest of the south-west, see Figure 7.26. Many the items deposited at Nornour originated in the south-west and in the modern areas of eastern Somerset and Dorset (the wider south-western area). For example, of the 309 brooches, 105 are T-shaped brooches with a large proportion of these thought to have been produced in Somerset, while the Gabbroic clay used to produce the ceramics was imported from Cornwall (Dudley, 1967; Butcher, 2001, 2014). The provenance of these items suggests that many of the individuals who deposited votive offerings at the shrine had travelled from the study region and the wider area of the south-west. The similarity then between the coin loss profiles of Nornour and the south-west suggest these coins may primarily have come from the coins circulating within the south-west and were indeed offered to a deity as votives rather than representing dispersed hoards from shipwrecks.

As with those coins deposited in hoards across the study region, the coins from Nornour show that these objects were more than just money to the peoples living within the south-west and had multiple meanings. There is little patterning within the coin data from Nornour to suggest

that things such as particular reverse designs, weights, states of wear or even denominations played a role in why these coins were deposited at the shrine. However, all the coins are of copper alloy, which does indicate that only certain coins were considered acceptable to offer. Copper alloy coins are the most common in the south-west, but coins of silver are known throughout and so the individuals visiting Nornour would have had access to silver coins, but they opted to deposit low value copper alloy coins. As discussed in Case Study 2 in Chapter 5, the choice to bury the adornment items was linked to the individual's connection to that object, perhaps something similar led to the offering of low denomination coinage, it was not the value of the object but what it represented to that person that mattered.

## **7.4 Discussion**

The analysis in this chapter is based on the 2611 single and settlement Roman coin finds, 131 hoards and groups of Roman coins and the 98 single Iron Age coins and 1 Iron Age hoard that are held within a coin database created for this research. The number of coins available for this study are low in comparison to other areas of Britain, however, studies of Roman coins from Wales and Norfolk utilising similar numbers of coins were able to show how coins were introduced and subsequently spread throughout these areas. The lack of coinage in these areas was not seen as an issue and did not suggest that communities in these areas engaged any less with the Roman Empire than communities who utilised more coinage. In Wales the study was able to show that coins had different meanings to different groupings of peoples and so coins should not just be seen as money but rather they could have multiple meanings.

The data analysis shows that monetisation of the region occurred quickly after the conquest. The number and distribution of Republican and Claudian coins, as well as the Claudian copies, although relatively low, shows that the military acted as a stimulus for the arrival and use of coinage. The spread of Claudian coins and the copies suggests soldiers used these in transactions with local and probably foreign merchants. The rapid increase of coins in the Neronian and Flavian periods and their distribution along the trade routes shows that it was the merchants who drove the spread of coinage across the region. The military conquest of the area would have opened it up to merchants who would have taken advantage of the

conquest to establish new trade routes. Merchants from other areas of the Empire would have been accustomed to selling their goods for money and it is likely this that led to the spread of coinage beyond the military sites in the south-west.

The spread of coinage in such a short space of time suggests that merchants moved into the area to trade with the local communities very quickly after the establishment of the fort network across the region. The expansion of coinage and its continued adoption by local groups persisted into the mid second century, although by this time the number of silver coins in circulation had dropped, which may be linked to the departure of the military from the region.

Coins continued to circulate within the region after the departure of the military, right up until the end of Roman Britain, with the data showing that the single coins were used in cash transactions with merchants. There was a drop off in coinage from the mid second century until the Radiate Period, with a hiatus in coin use seen in some parts of the landscape. The reason for this proposed hiatus may be connected to the ebb and flow of trade, with perhaps a downturn in trade during the Radiate Period. As suggested above, it is unlikely coins ever became part of day to day life for the communities in the south-west. They are not common settlement finds, with only 23% (of the total assemblage) having come from excavations on domestic sites. The distribution pattern of coins from all the periods shows a concentration over time in certain locations. The Early Period coins are distributed far more widely than those of the following periods. During the Radiate and Late Periods, although not solely confined to only certain areas of the landscape, coins do appear to begin to cluster at locations along the coastline and along the road network. There are concentrations around Hayle, Padstow, Bridgwater, Exeter, Plymouth, Ludgvan and Sennen Cove. The concentration around Exeter is expected as it was the only town in the region, while the concentrations at Bridgwater and Plymouth are around the locations of two known port sites, that at Combrich and Mount Batten. The concentrations at locations around the coast of Cornwall indicate that after an initial period of trade taking place all along the coast and the river networks, merchants began to stop at specific locations with trade becoming more centralised throughout the Romano-British period. Although there is no archaeological evidence of formal market places in these locations, such as the small towns known along the road

network in Devon, the coin data does suggest markets or perhaps rather quasi-market places existed at these locations.

The concentration of coinage in these areas, particularly in Cornwall, becomes more interesting when it is noted that there is a distinct lack of coins both from and within the areas surrounding the three roadside settlements known in Devon. Pomeroy Wood has only coins of the Early Period, while Woodbury has Early and Late Period coins, with only Shortlands Lane having a coin of the Radiate Period. The pattern of coinage does not suggest an economy heavily reliant on cash transactions yet the ceramic data for Devon indicated the area had developed a market economy.

There was an expansion in coin use during the Late Roman Period, with the distribution of these coins showing that trade had become more centralised by this period. The greater density of coins in certain locations along the Cornish coast and road network through the region suggests trade only took place in certain locations. The most interesting feature about the Late Roman coinage is the lack of it at roadside settlements through Devon. As market places it should be expected to find higher levels of coinage in these places, which isn't the case. It is likely then that coinage was only used for trading with merchants from outside the area, with trade between communities continuing to be based on pre-Roman and pre-coinage traditions, such as gift or commodity exchange. This would mean that a fully monetised economy was never established in the south-west, with few groups utilising coinage in day to day life. The ceramic evidence shows a market economy had been established in Devon by the Late Roman period, the lack of coinage at roadside settlements shows that this was not a fully developed market economy, with money only being exchanged for goods being offered by outside merchants.

The hoard data shows that hoarding events took place throughout the Romano-British period. However, a change again occurred during the Radiate Period with hoards, which had been so far located primarily in isolated spots on the edge of higher ground, shifting to more watery locations. This change is short lived and by the Late Roman Period hoards were again primarily located on the edge of higher ground. The reason why hoards were deposited in more watery locations during this period is unclear. There is very little evidence of items being deposited in these locations in the Iron Age or indeed prior to this as there is in other areas of Britain

and Europe, so it is uncertain whether this a brief return to more traditional practice. The choice of more isolated locations on the edge of higher ground, is the predominate landscape zone chosen for hoard deposition throughout the Romano-British period. Settlement in the period is predominately in lower lying areas, along river valleys and the coast, which allowed easy movement of people and goods across the landscape. The locations where hoards have been found would have been outside the settled zone, on the fringes of society. It is possible these areas, the space in between low and high ground, were considered liminal zones. These areas were cut off from the day to day activities of settlements and so may have been chosen for these reasons, which means that hoards were buried as dictated by social practice and do not represent the buried wealth on an individual or group who intended to come back and retrieve it at some point in the future. This is also the case with the precious metal hoards of the Late Roman Period.

It has been postulated elsewhere in this study that Cornwall was beyond the bounds of the empire. There is little in the coinage evidence that either confirms or disproves this theory. The distribution patterns of the coins from the region is very similar to that in the rest of the south-west and there are similar hoarding practices. The only thing that may support the theory is the presence of gold coins and the distinct lack of silver siliquae in the area during the Late Roman Period. Siliquae are very common in Roman Britain, although they are less so outside the borders of the Empire. The fact that there are only 2 in comparison to a higher number of copper alloy coins may support the idea that the communities in Cornwall were beyond the Empire, however, this is very tentative. This idea will be looked at more in depth, along with all others raised throughout this study in the next chapter.

# Chapter 8

## Narratives of Change in the South-West

The south-west and its Romano-British past has received relatively little attention from scholars. Excavations and research has tended to focus on the military remains in the region, with one of the main questions being why the Roman military invaded and annexed the region. The answer has always centred on the presence of metalliferous ores, in particular the presence of iron and tin, although there is very little evidence for any large-scale mining industries during the Romano-British period (Todd, 1987: 202; Mattingly, 2006: 509; Smart, 2014: 108). The other focus of excavations has been Exeter as the only known town and the villa buildings at Magor, Honeyditches and Holcombe and the enigmatic site of Chysauster (O'Neil, 1933; Hencken, 1933; Bidwell, 1980; Bidwell, 1979; Holbrook and Bidwell, 1991; Miles, 1977; Silvester, 1981). It is only in the last 25 years, thanks to the development of commercial archaeology, that more excavations have been conducted on rural settlements of this date and it is the material cultural assemblages from such excavations as well as the artefacts recorded through the Portable Antiquities Scheme that have shown the traditional view of the region as largely unengaged with the Roman world, can no longer be sustained.

As such the central aim of this thesis has been to resituate the Romano-British period in the south-west through an examination of this material. The analysis of the material assemblages, in particular the relationships formed between people and objects across the region, can tell us how communities reacted to the annexation of the province of *Britannia* and how this altered through time. Unlike previous studies of material culture this thesis has analysed three separate categories of material evidence, the ceramics, personal adornment items and coins, with the results of those analyses detailed in Chapters 5 to 7. One of the reasons behind using three categories of material is that it will allow patterns evident in one dataset to be tested against the rest to provide a much broader and more nuanced picture of changes in society, social practices and the identity of the communities living within the south-west during the Romano-British period.

The second aim of this thesis was to examine whether the peoples of the south-west were part of one large politically cohesive tribe, the Dumnonii. The idea that the peoples of Britain were part of tribal groupings in the Late Iron Age stems largely from classical sources, particularly Ptolemy, who lists the tribes of Britain in his *Geographia*, although by this time the tribes had become the *civitates* around which provincial rule was structured (Mattingly, 2006: 59; Moore, 2011: 349). Over the last 20 years or so there has been a shift in the theoretical frameworks used for the Iron Age and a move away from the idea of bounded tribal entities existing (Haselgrove and Moore, 2007). It is recognised now that the discussion of tribal entities needs more critical assessment (Moore, 2011). The analysis of the artefact categories under study here and the mapping of their distribution across the landscape, will allow regional or local groupings of peoples to be identified and so contribute further to the discussion on whether Dumnonia truly existed or whether the term has obscured a patchwork of smaller groups who coexisted in the landscape of the south-west. This will form the second section of this discussion.

This chapter will draw all of the evidence discussed throughout this thesis together and present a new narrative of the region from the Late Iron Age through to the end of the Romano-British period. The discussion will be formed of two sections, the first reviewing the material analysed and the theoretical frameworks used to interpret this data before presenting a picture of the changes that took place within society across this time period. The second section will then move on to discuss the idea of the region being one tribal entity. The results of the first section will be used to inform this discussion, with the discrete groupings of communities evident in the material cultural record discussed and what this means for the continued use of the term Dumnonia.

## **8.1 People, Material and Identity in the South-West**

At the centre of this research has been the idea of identity and that rather than being static, fixed in time, it is fluid and situational (Hodos, 2010: 3; Jones, 1997: 13-14). Identity can be evidenced through the use of material objects, in particular the relationships formed between people and objects. It is the way these relationships formed and developed over time that

helps us reveal any shifts in how identity was represented and perceived at the level of both the individual and the group or community. The social practices of communities are created through the repetition of actions involving objects and it is the changes in these actions, and the implied shift in the relationships between objects and people, that has been the focus of the analysis conducted here.

Identity has been approached through the idea of groupness, with settlements being thought of and analysed as communities, which in this case includes what may well have been extended families in small farmsteads to the level of the urban population of Exeter (following Mattingly, 2014). This approach is well suited to large regional analyses as it allows the relationships communities formed with the objects under study to be placed at its core. Patterns recognised in the spread and use of material can then be easily compared across the landscape, with similarities and discrepancies between communities highlighted and investigated further. Analysis of the patterns through the Romano-British period has allowed changes to the material assemblages from the Late Iron Age to be discussed through the analysis presented in each chapter, along with the consequences of these changes.

The three artefact categories chosen for study were ceramics, personal adornment items and coins. The specific research questions for each of these categories were designed to analyse the meanings these artefacts acquired within society and how these altered social practices and it follows, the sense of identity held within these communities. The main focus and questions raised throughout were:

- Ceramics;
  - To examine the clay sources utilised within the region and see how these clay sources might have been exploited to strengthen ties between the communities.
  - To identify which forms and fabrics were most common and how this changed through time. To look at shifts in the consumption of forms in order to look at whether eating and dining habits changed.
- Personal Adornment Items;
  - To identify which types of personal adornment items were most common within the study region, and how this changed through time.

- To assess whether the relationships formed between people and objects of adornment changed over time and what this can tell us about changes in identity, as well as examining the reasons behind this change.
- Coins;
  - To look at how coins arrived in to the south-west. Were they brought in through military channels or were they connected to the development of a monetary economy?
  - To look at how coins were used and whether this changed through time.

The subsequent analysis and the combination of these three datasets has produced a detailed picture of society in the south-west. It shows how identity was expressed through the careful selection of artefacts and how and why this changed through time. The analysis has shown that there was a discrepant experience of the Roman Empire across the region, with communities reacting differently to Rome and the subsequent establishment of the province of *Britannia*. This new picture of the south-west and its people is presented in the next section.

### **8.1.1 The South-West and Rome: People and Material**

The Late Iron Age is a period of great change across most of Britain, with societies becoming more highly stratified. An elite class became archaeologically visible, particularly in the south-east of England where social changes that began in the Middle Iron Age, manifested themselves in the importation of goods from the Roman world, the production and circulation of inscribed coinages and the construction of huge territorial oppida (Haselgrove, 2004; Hill, 2007; Moore, 2007). This change is not something that was previously thought to have occurred within the south-west. Given the peoples of this region did not mint their own coins and settlement patterns did not vary, with communities continuing to construct small enclosed sites, with few hillforts or larger central sites known the material record has been read as showing little contact with the wider world despite the supposed connection with the Mediterranean world, based on the accounts of Pytheas (Cunliffe, 2005; Todd, 1987).

By the first century BC change within society had begun to occur and the ceramic evidence shows a small number of amphorae entered the region, all of which were forms that are known to have carried wine (Roman Amphorae: an online resource: 2014). These are found at the site of Carn Brae and indicate a connection to the Roman world. By this time personal adornment items had also begun to be used within the region although all of the known examples have been found within graves suggesting that these objects were only used to adorn the dead and were not objects meant for the living. The cemetery sites of Harlyn Bay and Stamford Hill both produced personal adornment objects, including a number of Atlantic type brooches which are known to have been made in the region (Adams 2013: 71–72; Boudet 1988: 62). This also appears to be the case for the decorated mirrors known to have been produced within the region. Mirrors would have allowed the manipulation of the body but all but one was found in a burial context and it would appear this was also the preserve of the dead. It may have been that the living were excluded from manipulating their appearance in this way, with it only becoming socially acceptable after death.

Along with the adornment items and decorated mirrors, chariot fittings, shields, swords and scabbard mounts also appear in the archaeological record at the very end of the Iron Age. As with the Atlantic type brooches, much of this metalwork is thought to have been produced within the region (Joy, 2008, 2010; Tyacke, 2002-3). These martial objects, along with the wine amphorae, were though used by the living to display status, with the exception of the shield which was found along with a decorated mirror in the Bryher cist grave (Johns, 2002-3). There is very limited evidence of coinage at this time but as none of the communities in the south-west struck their own coins they were brought in from other areas of the country, most are either from Dorset or Gloucestershire/Wiltshire, the south-western and southern coins series. It is likely the use of coins at this time was linked to the development of a small elite class as gold coins are confined to the far west of Cornwall correlating alongside the vast majority of silver coins also found in this area and along the north Cornish coast with only a handful from Mount Batten in Devon (Cunliffe, 1988). These coins may well have been used as tokens to strengthen the ties between elite communities in the south-west and those in the areas where the coins originate. It is possible these coins were then distributed to help strengthen ties to other local communities, although the low number of coins means their exact nature is difficult to determine.

There is then an abrupt change in society at the very end of the Late Iron Age. The dead become archaeologically invisible across the region, with the exception of a small number of graves on the Isles of Scilly. This elite group all but disappear from the record at this time, with power seeming to shift, evident in the way items of adornment were now used. Although very few in number, these are now found on settlement sites and the role these objects played appears to have shifted with the rules surrounding the wearing of them having altered. It now became socially acceptable to adorn and manipulate the living body, although the low number of these objects suggests that only certain perhaps leading or elite individuals were allowed to do so. The cause of this power shift is not apparent, but it does coincide with an interesting change in settlement patterns as the few hillforts and most of the promontory forts that are known to us are abandoned at this time.

Unsurprisingly the arrival of the Roman military appears to have accelerated this change, with huge increases in ceramics, adornment items and coins visible within the archaeological record. This is a period of great change across the region, which appears to happen very quickly in the aftermath of the conquest. The installation of the small fort network and the legionary base at Exeter would have altered the course of the changes in society that began in the decades prior, with the military now at the top of the social hierarchy. Elite communities remain visible however throughout the early to mid Romano-British period, the sites of St Mawgan-in-Pydar, Holcombe and Honeyditches for example (Threipland 1956; Pollard, 1974; Silvester, 1981). It is at this time that a number of tableware and drinking vessel forms begin to appear in the archaeological record dating to around the time of the conquest. The presence of these forms indicates that the communities who used them were beginning to serve food and drink in individual portions, something not evidenced in the region during the Late Iron Age, although it should be said that the adoption of these practices had begun to in other parts of the country prior to the invasion (Cool, 2006; Pitts, 2005). Both of these broad form types are largely confined to sites we regard as of high status, such as St Mawgan-in-Pydar, Carvossa, Woodbury and Holcombe, with only a very small number being found outside these sites (Threipland, 1956; Carlyon, 1987; Silvester and Bidwell, 1984; Pollard, 1974).

The fact that these vessels are confined to these type of sites indicates that access to these forms was socially controlled at this time and given all of the research to date, it is likely that

the associated changes in dining habits were not replicated outside these sites. As this shift in eating habits occurred at the time of the conquest it suggests that change had in fact already begun, but was accelerated by direct contact with the military and those involved with the administration of the new Roman province. Access to imported fine ware fabrics was also socially controlled at this time, with only imported coarse wares having been found on sites of lower status. These communities then had a monopoly over the consumption of new forms and fine ware fabrics and appear to have had the power to restrict access or consciously exclude those of lower status from participating in this change in social practice.

The impact of the military on the power structures of the region also brought about changes society that clearly did not have their roots in the local Late Iron Age, but rather were a direct consequence of the invasion. The existence of a hierarchy of communities is evident through the ceramic data, and this quickly became visible in the archaeological record, within the period of uncertainty that must have followed the invasion and the consolidation of the region. My analysis of the data suggests that this led to some communities actively trying to reform their identities in order to find their place in this new world, and for some this was through the conspicuous consumption of decorated brooches. The decorative nature of these brooches would have made them highly visible and would have been recognised as an outward sign of the identity of the wearer signalling to those in the wider community. The fact that many of these brooches retained La Tène decorative elements, such as the Cornish Hull type 31 brooches (Tyacke *et al.*, 2011), would have allowed these people to anchor themselves to their traditional practices whilst displaying an outwardly different identity that integrated them into the new administrative system. The fact that the majority of lower status sites have only produced a single example, is in direct opposition to the high numbers of these objects found at the sites of St Mawgan-in-Pydar and Carvossa (Threipland, 1956; Carlyon, 1987). The elite communities then formed different relationships with these objects, with more emphasis being placed on the manipulation of the body rather than expressing social or political allegiance or power between themselves and other communities. Given that some areas within the study region are lacking in excavated objects (not including Nornour) the analysis has been limited but it remains possible that presence and absence of adornment items is of itself meaningful or that these were imbued with multiple meanings elsewhere.

During the later second century further changes in society began to occur, with the spread of tablewares and drinking vessels beyond the limitations of the higher status sites becoming evident. The meanings around new styles of food preparation and consumption appear to have become normalised within wider society, which led to the spread of these practices across all levels of society within the region. It is though still possible to see differences in the way these eating styles were practised across the region, which suggests that this was not the case for all. My research indicates that the number of drinking vessels actually dropped at this time, and it is likely this signals a return for many to traditional ways of consuming liquids, perhaps in bowls or jars. One caveat here is that it is possible organic containers in similar style to beakers and flagons were used and that we just can't see these as yet in the archaeological record.

In Cornwall, although the access to these forms was widened, all of the drinking vessels and tablewares used were consumed in imported fabrics, with only bowl forms being produced in the local Gabbroic clay. Bowls begin to be used in the Late Iron Age and until the mid to late Romano-British period, are larger in size suggesting these forms were linked to traditional communal eating styles rather than serving individual portions. The consumption of drinking vessels and other table wares in imported fabrics shows a desire on the part of these communities to highlight that these practices are different or perhaps exotic. This conspicuous consumption of these forms in imported fabrics continues throughout the study period and suggests eating and drinking in this way always remained exotic and it is questionable how often food and drink was served in these forms. In contrast, for communities in Devon and the area of Somerset within the study region, these practices became normalised by the later period and so part of new social practices that had formed in the post conquest period.

The practice of bodily adornment also shows changes during the later Romano-British period, with the numbers of these items declining. It should be noted that the dramatic decline of bow brooch production across Britain at this time, may suggest this drop in numbers in the study region reflects a lack of access to what had been readily available. One discernible difference is that we now see a shift in emphasis towards jewellery items being consumed rather than items of dress and dress fittings or toilet implements. There are a number of hobnails known from the region which show that some individuals were wearing hobnailed

shoes or boots but this does not appear to have become common practice. Most of the jewellery items from the later period are from sites in Devon and the data shows that the vast majority come from high status sites in particular the villas of Honeyditches and Holcombe (Miles, 1977; Silvester, 1981; Pollard, 1974). Although not solely restricted to the upper class, adorning the body does seem to be something that few outside such sites are concerned with. In fact the presence of a number of jewellery items in the shaft at Cadbury Castle suggests that these objects may have been ascribed an entirely new meaning and had now become linked to ritual practice being used as votive offerings rather than necessarily being worn. The evidence points to less emphasis being placed on outwardly visible signs of identity deliberately reflecting a person's status in society and that instead these status roles had become embedded in society and there was no longer any need for such symbols.

This period also sees the consolidation of the role of coins within society in the south-west. The monetisation of the region had occurred quite quickly after the arrival of the military. The association of Republican coins and the copies of Claudian issues with military sites, particularly in Devon, suggests these coins were brought in and used by the soldiers. The rapid increase and spread of coins through the Neronian and Flavian periods though shows that trade was the driving force behind this spread. The numbers of copper alloy coins, the small change of the Roman world, indicates that coins were used as money to purchase goods. The drop in trade throughout the Radiate period is noticeable by the drop in coin loss, with certain communities ceasing to use coins completely and is in complete contrast to the evidence of a marked increase in coin loss at this time in the rest of Roman Britain. By the third century a consolidation of coins in certain locations across the region is noticeable, with clusters at anchorage points around the Cornish coast now appearing. It is thought that trade with merchants from outside the region now took place at these sites, with communities travelling to these sites at certain times to purchase or sell goods. Combined with the lack of coins at the proposed roadside settlements in Devon at this time, this shows that traditional exchange networks may have continued in use throughout the entire period, or at least had been re-established by the third century. The exchange mechanisms did not involve the use of coins, which was reserved only for trading with merchants from beyond the region who would have utilised the road and coastal networks to reach these communities.

The assemblage at Exeter, is perhaps surprisingly, little different to that evident at rural sites, although obviously much larger. As with rural communities across the region, locally produced fabrics were preferred, although as it is thought the Exeter Grey Ware industry was established to help supply military demand, the continued demand for these products is not surprising. The forms consumed have a similar profile to those of the higher status rural settlements, although the low numbers may suggest not all within the town adopted these new dining habits. That said, as outlined earlier in Chapter 5, there were issues with the data here with a potential bias, and the results of the assessment on Exeter may not reveal an accurate picture as yet.

Nevertheless we can be more confident elsewhere and there is a high concentration of wealthy sites around Exeter, with the roadside settlement of Pomeroy Wood, the port at Topsham and the villas of Holcombe, Honeyditches and Otterton Point close by (Fitzpatrick *et al.*, 1999; Salvatore *et al.*, forthcoming; Pollard, 1974; Silvester, 1981; Brown and Holbrook, 1989). It is possible that the proximity to Exeter is what encouraged the growth of these sites, although it is equally likely this was due to them having direct access to the trade network, before it reached Exeter. If Exeter did play a role in the redistribution of goods across its hinterland, this was likely confined to lower status sites who consumed the locally produced fabrics.

### **8.1.2 Memory and Identity in the South-West**

The changes that took place in the south-west show that different communities in the region had different experiences of the province of *Britannia*. Differing relationships with material objects are clearly evident in the data analysis and from this we can infer that identities formed through the creation of these relationships were diverse and no singular identity for this area existed. A number of discussion points can be picked upon to highlight the discrepant way communities interacted with their material culture. All of the factors however indicate that memory of their traditional past remained strong within daily life and it is this that guided and shaped their response to change.

Within Cornwall the use of decorative brooches by some communities to navigate their way through the political upheaval caused by the invasion has been discussed previously. The retention of La Tène decorative elements in many of the brooches indicates a strong desire by these communities to retain past traditions in the face of this uncertainty. The meaning placed on these brooches though appears to alter over time and becomes centred on their association with events following the conquest, with communities curating these brooches as memories of a known past (Haug 2001: 111). The curation periods vary between communities from a few generations to even centuries, but all were eventually buried as structured deposits during times of change within their respective communities. The contextual evidence indicates that this change ranged from large scale re-building of settlements to complete abandonment, with brooches being actively and deliberately buried as closing deposits. It is suggested here that this simple but pointed act was a way for these communities to forget a part of their past as symbolised by these brooches, actively forgetting in order to create new identities, that were linked to their own pre-invasion period identities.

The active recreation of social memory can also be seen in south and east Devon. New ceramic fabrics were being produced in this area by the end of the first century AD, the South Devon wares, Aller Cross wares and South Devon Ipplepen wares (Holbrook and Bidwell, 1991: 177; Bidwell and Croom, forthcoming; Wood, 2014:3). All of these clays contain high levels of biotite mica in their matrix, which causes the clay to sparkle when it catches the light. The core distribution area of these wares indicates that these communities considered themselves as part of a wider social grouping which existed within this area of Devon. Such a group is not visible in the Iron Age and may have formed in response to the invasion, although it is impossible to be certain of this. In whatever way this grouping came into existence, the use of these particular clays may suggest that these were used to reinforce social ties between these communities.

The brilliant element to these vessels may have been taken as a symbol of ancestral presence, (Bille and Sørensen, 2007: 268). The vessels produced in these clays would have been primarily used for food preparation and the firelight would have reacted with the mica making these vessels appear to gleam. This added a new sensory dimension to the task of food preparation and consumption, which is likely to have created a deeper connection to the

ancestral light contained within. The serving of food in new tableware forms (Hughes, forthcoming, Quinnell, 2004: 107) would have allowed these communities to recreate social memories in a new way.

The ceramic evidence discussed within this thesis clearly indicates differences in the way communities responded to the coming of Rome. Change began in the Late Iron Age was accelerated in the post conquest period, with the emergence of new social groupings and a hierarchy that involved elite communities consuming new vessel forms seemingly linked to the serving of food and drink in a new way, in individual portions. The associated evidence of mortaria shows that this change included the way food was prepared, with a more Mediterranean style of food possibly being consumed by some of those who had access to them (Pitts, 2005: 58). The almost rapid adoption of these practices indicates that they were used by these communities to assert their position in society, linking themselves to the Roman world. This change was however not sustained in Cornwall and by the mid to late Romano-British period the numbers of these vessel forms had halved, while in Devon and Somerset they had more than tripled. What this indicates is that communities in the area of Cornwall appear to have reverted back to more traditional practices, whether this was due to lack of access, or a confident rejection is less easy to discern but to the east this new style of food consumption in the Roman manner became the norm and social practice had clearly changed for these communities.

For the communities in the west of the study region the memory of their past played an active role in the creation and maintenance of their identities. The links to their past allowed them to negotiate new relationships during the post conquest period and adapt to the new power structures affected by the arrival of the military. The change in identity was though a temporary one and by the end of the second century AD these communities had reverted back to their Late Iron Age traditions, even though new forms and fabric types continued to be used elsewhere until the end of the Romano-British period.

## 8.2 The Dumnonii: A New Perspective for the South-West

The final aim of this thesis was to further the discussion on the idea that this region formed one politically cohesive tribal entity in the Late Iron Age that was preserved as the *civitas Dumnoniorum* through the Romano-British period. The fact that there are discrepant experiences evident in the archaeological record for the region indicates that describing this region as Dumnonia can no longer be sustained and only masks the discrete identities these people expressed.

It is clear that the only shared belief across all communities of the south-west related to hoarding practices, with all from the Early and Late Roman periods being located on the edge of higher ground. These areas are liminal zones in between low and high ground, the settled and non-settled areas. They would have been cut off from the day to day activities which may have been the reason why these spaces were used for hoard deposition. This shared belief though does not support the idea of a single tribe, rather than these communities shared ties to each other, most likely through long established exchange networks. Although a regional identity that encompassed all of the communities within the study area did not exist, a regional identity within the area of Cornwall is evident. This identity was created and reinforced through the continual use of Gabbroic clay across the Cornish landscape. The clay was extracted from clay beds on the Lizard peninsula (Peacock, 1969a, 1969b) and the raw clay was then processed on settlement sites across Cornwall, with amounts of local clay being added during the processing phase (Wood, 2011, 2016: 33–34; Nowakowski and Johns, 2015). The use of local clays in the process of ceramic production was linked to the need to reinforce a more local identity (Wood, 2016: 31), as well as the regional social ties. The fact that each producing community made standardised vessels indicates how strong these regional ties were, with the act of producing vessels continually strengthening these social bonds. As mentioned in the previous section, the new vessel forms utilised by elite communities in Cornwall were never produced in Gabbroic clay. This I believe was deliberate and highlighted the fact that these dining practices were exotic and not part of everyday life. The continued use of Gabbroic clay throughout the Romano-British period shows that these regional ties continued to exist, with change only occurring in the early medieval period (see Wood, 2011 for discussion).

The smaller local groupings within Cornwall are not only evident through the use of local clays within Gabbroic vessels. During the early to mid Romano-British period, a number of groupings in the far west are evident through the link to the brooches they chose to wear. The mapping of brooch types conducted in Chapter 6, shows that particular brooch types only occur in certain landscape areas, for example the Aesica and Aesica variant brooches are only found on a small number of sites in the far south and west of Cornwall. The fact that particular types are confined to such small areas suggests that these communities created distinct and held shared identities through the use of these objects. It is likely that this link stems back to the earlier Iron Age and the use of these brooches was an effort to retain these ties after the conquest.

There are different relationships with material culture evident on either side of the river Tamar, with changes that occur in the early Romano-British period becoming embedded in social practice to the east, while to the west these changes are temporary and memory of the past remains a major part of tradition. I would even go so far as to suggest that what we can see here is the river Tamar forming a discrete boundary of the Roman Empire, with the communities to the west being essentially beyond the Empire. The lack of data for the area between the river Tamar and the line of the rivers Fowey and Camel may indicate that this area formed a frontier/buffer zone along which were the forts of Nanstallon and Restormel.

The peoples on either side of this boundary can still not be thought of in terms of tribes however. There was a strong regional identity to the west evidenced in the use of Gabbroic clays but smaller distinctive groups are also visible and it is likely that these small groups formed the basis of society. Although postulated here that the peoples to the east of the River Tamar were within the Roman Empire and so administered as part of the provincial system, it should be recognised that smaller groupings of people are also visible here. The use of the mica rich clays in south and east Devon shows the presence of one such grouping and it is possible that more existed. Again the lack of excavation and PAS data for the north and west of Devon means any discrete groupings of peoples in this area are not visible to us as yet although more focused work in this area may reveal more to us. Given all of my research and all that has presented here one thing that stands out most clearly is the sheer difference between these peoples, the generalisation of them into one homogenous tribe, Dumnonia, is no longer relevant or valid. It is clear, that these peoples would unlikely have thought of

themselves as the Dumnonii and so it is now time for modern scholarship to move beyond this idea of the Dumnonii and recognise these smaller social and political grouping who lived in the south-west during the Later Iron Age and Romano-British periods.

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# **Appendix 1**

## **The Sites**

**1.1 Introduction**

**1.2 Notes on the sites**

**1.3 Map of the sites**

**1.4 Gazetteer**

## **1.1 Introduction**

This appendix provides more detail on the information on each of the sites entered into the master database. It begins with some notes on how the sites were chosen for study as not all excavated sites within region have been entered into the database. The information taken from each report and how site types were assigned is also discussed. This is followed by a map of all the sites and the gazetteer, which gives the Site ID Number, Site Name, Location, General Comments, Broad Site Type and Reference for each of the sites. The General Comments field provides information on the results of the excavation and phasing of the site as suggested by the excavators.

## **1.2 Notes on the Sites**

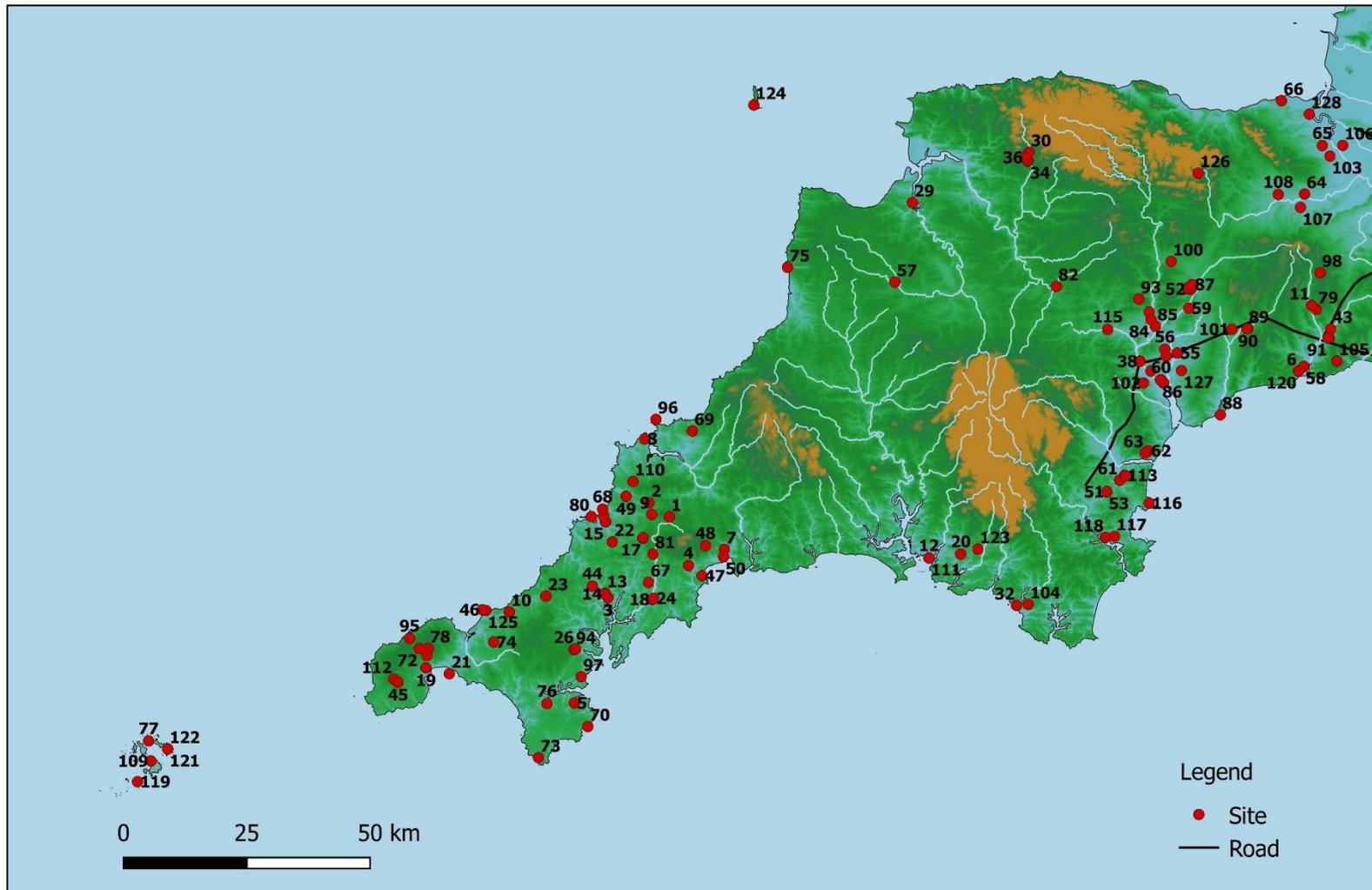
The excavation reports for each excavated site within the region were gathered during the initial stages of this research, which included all grey literature reports, journal articles and monographs. The commercial grey literature reports for the region were provided by Tom Brindle, a researcher on the Rural Settlement of Roman Britain project. The team had spent time gathering all these reports for their study and so kindly to send the relevant reports on so I didn't have to spend as much time gathering data. I supplemented their reports with articles from the regional journal titles and monograph reports where they had been produced. Cornwall Archaeological Unit, AC Archaeology, Southwest Archaeology, Imogen Wood, John Davey, John Salvatore and Paul Bidwell were also kind enough to send me information on sites awaiting publication.

As the aims and objectives of this research centre on material culture it was decided that sites without accompanying finds reports would not be entered into the database, which totalled 51 reports. Of the sites represented by these reports, five had been written up in further reports that did contain finds information, with these reports being entered into the database. This though leaves 46 sites that had to left out of the database. Contrary to this a number of sites had undergone more than one excavation, in some cases by different companies and so two or more reports existed for these sites. Honeyditches, Nancemere, Penhale Round, Pomeroy Wood, Woodbury and Nornour all have multiple reports. Reference

is made to the other entries for these sites in the gazetteer. Other sites are in close proximity to each other and reference to this has again been made in the general comments.

Finally the broad site type for each site is given based on the information provided in the report, and often these were assigned by the excavators themselves. Using the reports, a list of broad types was compiled; Burial, Cave, Cemetery, Enclosed Settlement, Filled System, Industrial Site, Port, Roadside Settlement, Shrine, Undetermined, Unenclosed Site, Villa. The enclosed settlement type encompasses a number of narrower types provided in the report, although most of these are in fact rounds. In the database there is another field which provides the narrower site type, Round for example, but a broad category was preferred for the gazetteer. A number of smaller sites where the nature of the archaeology could not be conclusively proven are listed as undetermined.

### 1.3 Map of the sites



Sites are labelled by their Site ID Numbers.

## 1.4 Gazetteer

Site ID	Site Name	County	Location	General Comments	Broad Site Type	Reference
1	A30 Bodmin to Indian Queens	Cornwall	Roche	The excavation took place along the route of the A30 from Bodmin to Indian Queens during works to widen the road to create a dual carriageway. Only one site of potential Romano-British date was located approximately 570m to the south-west of the village of Belowda, Site A - Lower Trenoweth roundhouse. A pair of concentric ring ditches were recorded with internal posthole features. Two sets of double postholes appear to have formed a porch structure, whilst a ring of post holes in the centre of the house would have supported the roof. Pottery evidence suggests occupation between C1st BC and C2nd AD. 800m to the east a similar structure was found, although radiocarbon dates put the occupation of this structure in the Late Iron Age. A piece of abraded samian was found in a possible field boundary ditch close to this second site (Site B).	Unenclosed Site	A30 Bodmin to Indian Queens, Road Improvement, Scheme (Clark, P.) Oxford Archaeology 2007

2	Bear's Down to Ruthvoes	Cornwall	St Columb Major	<p>The watching brief monitored a 9km route for a water pipeline, from Bear's Down reservoir to Ruthvoes, in the landscape around St Columb Major. Little of Romano-British period was located along the pipeline route, with only two sites recorded. Little Quoit Farm is documented in another report. The only Romano-British site mentioned in this report is a round located in Field 26 in the Lanhainsworth section of the report. The round is located on a brow of a hill just to the north-east of St Columb Major and is close to the river Menalhyl, which is to the south at the base of the hill. Only a small section of ditch was excavated within the pipe trench and no artefacts were recovered. It could therefore be possible that the foundation date was Iron Age and it is not clear how long the site was occupied for, or the nature of its occupation. Part of the round was also picked up on the preceding geophysical survey, although not all of the round was surveyed. A stone feature around the inside of the ditch may represent revetment of the bank or a defensive feature but again no artefacts were found so it may be unrelated to the round. The report shows that Iron Age/Romano-British pottery was found in the northern sector of the pipe trench but it is unstratified. A further sherd was found in Field 23 in ditch [242].</p>	Enclosed Site	Bear's Down to Ruthvoes SWW Pipeline (Lawson Jones, A.) CAU 2001
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3	Beechwood Parc	Cornwall	Truro	<p>The site is located on the north-eastern edge of Truro, on ground sloping towards the south-east. A number of features were recorded during the works, although little artefactual material was recovered so firm dates were not achievable for most of the features. A timber rectangular structure was identified at the southern end of the site, with an internal hearth and stake holes suggesting internal walls. It is thought that this is most likely to be of Late Iron Age/Romano-British date although it is possible it could be Bronze Age. Excavators prefer a Late Iron Age/Romano-British date though. A number of pits appear to be contemporary with this structure. Ditches sampled during the excavation were also thought to be of Late Iron Age/Romano-British date, although not necessarily contemporary with Structure 1 and associated pits. A number of other pits were excavated and thought to be of Bronze Age date, a number of modern features were also noted.</p>	Undetermined	BEECHWOOD PARC, TRURO, CORNWALL (Chadwick, A) John Moore Heritage Services
4	Coyte Farm, St. Austell	Cornwall	St Austell	<p>Site lies on the south-west edge of St Austell. Excavated to investigate geophysical anomalies. Dating of the 'round' feature uncertain as very little diagnostic pottery recovered. General dates for the feature are Late Iron Age-Romano-British. A large possible quarry pit of Late Iron Age/Romano-British/Medieval date was found but most of the ditch features correspond to post medieval field boundaries shown on C19th maps of the area.</p>	Enclosed Site	Coyte Farm, St. Austell (Thacker, G.) Oxford Arch. South

5	Fogou at Boden Vean	Cornwall	St Anthony-in-Meneage	<p>The site is located 2 km south-east of Helford, with Boden Vean being located approximately 300m to the east. The site was trial trenched in order to learn more about the fogou and associated features in order to help future conservation. The trenches were based on geophysical survey data produced by English Heritage. During excavation a Bronze Age structure was found, as well as a rectilinear round of Iron Age/Romano-British date. Features within the round were sampled including a curvilinear ditch and an alignment of stones. The fogou itself was also partially excavated and recorded, with undisturbed deposits being sampled. It appears to be most likely that the fogou itself was constructed in the Iron Age and was deliberately backfilled at a later date. The enclosure ditch of the round contained Late Iron Age pottery in the lower fills and Romano-British material in the upper fills. It is thought that the round was constructed in the early Late Iron Age along with the fogou and it appears to continue in use through the early Romano-British period at least. Fogou may have been backfilled by the early Romano-British period. Ceramic evidence suggests occupation of the site until C3rd/C3th and then there is then a period of abandonment until C6th AD.</p>	Enclosed Site	<p>The evaluation of a multi-period prehistoric site and fogou at Boden Vean, St Anthony-in-Meneage, Cornwall, (Gossip, J) Cornwall CC</p>
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6	Honeyditches	Devon	Seaton	Site lies on the western slopes above the Axe estuary, 1km from the sea. Excavations in 1868 and 1921 found remains of a Roman Villa with a L shaped wing. Further excavations in 1969 found timber buildings a barn with stone foundations and a bath-house. During 1978 evidence of occupation from Neolithic to Later Iron Age was recorded. A number of Roman period gullies were excavated along with three semi-circular building terraces and three stone-built rooms, which likely represent the end of the main villa range. See also Site ID 120.	Villa	Excavations at Honeyditches Roman Villa, Seaton, in 1978 (Silvester, R.J.) 1981
7	Kilhallon	Cornwall	St Blazey	The site is located at Kilhallon on the north-eastern edge of St Blazey, Par. Site sits on a narrow promontory with the land falling away steeply to the north, south and west. To river Par runs to the north and west of the site. During 1975 during the levelling of an area for construction of a tennis court a number of shells and artefacts were found. A small excavation took place and revealed a length of ditch, 1.75m wide and 1.30m deep. A large number of shells had been dumped into the ditch over the primary and secondary silts that had begun to form. It was impossible to determine what type of site the ditch relates to as no other archaeological features were found and no earthworks stand at the site. It does not appear that the site relating to the ditch had been abandoned before the shells and rubbish were dumped however, as only a primary silt had accumulated, with the secondary silts only just beginning to form. The ceramics mainly date from MC2nd to C3rd AD and suggest occupation began sometime in C2nd AD.	Enclosed Site	A Romano-British Site at Kilhallon, Tywardreath: Excavation in 1975

8	Lellizzick, near Padstow	Cornwall	Lellizzick	Site is located on the tidal inlet of the R. Camel, between Hawker's Cove and Harbour Cove. Material from the Bronze Age was recovered during field walking, suggesting that the settlement originated then. A cremation urn and cist burial were found. A possible shift in occupation towards Harbour Cove appears to have occurred in the Late Iron Age and pottery of this date was found during excavation. Material excavated from the two roundhouses suggest a construction date during the Romano-British period. Evidence of industrial activity from this period was also found, slag suggests metal working. Occupation appears to continue into C7th AD.	Unenclosed Site	Lellizzick, near Padstow, Cornwall (Thompson, S) Wessex Archaeology
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9	Little Quoit Farm	Cornwall	St Columb Major	<p>The site lies in a field directly to the east of Little Quoit Farm, which is itself around 1.5km to the south-east of St Columb Major. The earliest phase of activity is a Neolithic flint scatter. The next phase is represented by an Iron Age (?) field system. An industrial feature of early Iron Age date (radiocarbon date) was also recorded beneath a later Romano-British feature. Phase 3 is represented by the construction of a palisade and enclosure ditch/gully, which encircled 5 hollows thought to relate to industrial activity. The 2 northernmost hollows are likely to have been used for industrial purposes while the other 3 were used for storage. Pottery suggests a date in the C2nd or early C3rd AD. No domestic structures were associated with this activity and the hollows were small, suggesting small scale smithing. Phase 4 saw major remodelling of the round, with a large enclosure ditch and rampart being erected. The two northern most hollows continued to be used for metal working and a furnace, anvil block and slag filled pit were recorded in the southernmost of these 2 hollows. Smithing, secondary smithing and smelting appear to have taken place during this phase (it appears iron was the metal being worked). radiocarbon dates and pottery suggest this phase was predominantly C3rd perhaps continuing into C4th. The site was then abandoned during the late C3rd or early C4th AD.</p>	Industrial Site	Little Quoit farm, St Columb Major, Cornwall (Lawson Jones, A) CAU 2003
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10	Magor	Cornwall	Illogan	<p>Magor is situated in the valley of the Red river, approximately 2 miles north of Camborne and one mile south of the coastline. The villa is situated just below the brow of a hill, on land that slopes gently down to the west. The building is a small winged corridor villa built around the mid second century AD. Two phases of occupation were recorded, with the villa being enlarged during the second phase. In the mid third century (c. AD 240) the villa appears to have been abandoned for around 30 years, with a subsequent phase of squatter occupation dated to AD 270-80 recorded. A small number of fires had been lit over the original floors in a couple of the rooms and artefacts dating to this period were detected, suggesting a short-term reoccupation of at least parts of the building. Tessellated pavements, opus signinum floors and wall plaster were found within the villa, suggesting a fairly high-status building. A later geophysical survey revealed that the villa had been constructed within the remains of a round.</p>	Villa	Journal of The Royal Institution of Cornwall, 1933
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11	MEMBURY COURT	Devon	Membury	<p>The site is located on land at Membury Court, approximately 1.5km to the north-west of the village of Membury itself and is just over 6km north-west of Axminster. The site is on gently sloping land, overlooking the Yarty Valley to the west. Evaluation on the site after geophysical survey confirmed the presence of a stone villa complex. The results show at least two Romano-British stone buildings and a number of rectilinear enclosures. It is possible that one of the enclosures is of Iron Age date, with the two more rectilinear enclosures being Romano-British in date. The small area of building 1 evaluated suggests more than one phase of building and the finds indicate a high-status complex, painted wall plaster was found and the tiles suggest a hypocaust system. Building 1 is thought to have been a bath-house or ancillary building, with the main villa complex being a winged corridor type, Building 2. The evaluation only really investigated the destruction of the building and no occupation or construction phases were tested so no real dating evidence was recovered. Lack of medieval material suggests the building was confined to the Romano-British period.</p>	Villa	<p>ARCHAEOLOGICAL TRENCH EVALUATION AND RESISTIVITY SURVEY AT MEMBURY COURT, MEMBURY, EAST DEVON (Smart, C) Chris Smart and Paul Pearce 2011</p>
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12	Mount Batten, Zone D	Devon	Plymouth	Zone D is located on the eastern side of the promontory, on land sloping down to the south-east. Eight trenches were dug to evaluate the nature of the midden and C17th graveyard previously located in the area. The midden covers a fairly large area and Romano-British pottery and metalwork was recovered from the top. The deposit was not dug into and so no refinement on dating of the midden was possible. Cunliffe in the 1980s suggests it began in the Bronze Age, with an Iron Age layer also visible beneath the Romano-British deposits. Likely associated with the port of trade and possible settlement on the promontory.	Port	Mount Batten, Plymouth, Archaeological Field Evaluation Zone D (Hawkes, J) AC Arch, 1995
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13	Nancemere Fields	Cornwall	Truro	<p>The excavation centred on the same area of land at Nancemere as the Cornwall CC excavation in 2003 (Site ID 14), however, a slightly larger area, extending further south was excavated as part of this project. Late Iron Age material was recovered from pits in the northern area of the site (Area E), along with a possible Late Iron Age ditch. Hearth pits were recorded, suggesting low intensity occupation in the Late Iron Age. The remaining areas of the round were also excavated. The ditch was approx. 55m in diameter. Evidence for food processing, cultivation and industrial activity was recorded, although no evidence of any substantial domestic structures was found. Only one possible domestic structure was found but its true nature could not be established. Two other potential industrial structures were identified. Along with iron working it is possible that malting and beer brewing took place on the site. Evidence for the production of elvan mortars was also found. The round appears to have been constructed in the mid C2nd AD with the majority of the ceramic assemblage and radiocarbon dates suggesting occupation through the C3rd and C4th AD.</p>	Enclosed Site	Nancemere Fields, Truro, Cornwall: Archaeological Excavations (Higgins, J) Southwest Archaeology
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14	Nancemere, Truro	Cornwall	Truro	<p>Nancemere is situated at the north end of Truro, the site excavated is immediately to the east of the medieval settlement, over the railway line. Site slopes to the south and west towards the River Allan. The excavation revealed occupation from the Bronze Age through to the medieval period. Part of a round was excavated during the project, with trenches located across the entrance and the middle of the interior. Little evidence of domestic occupation of the round was recorded, instead site appears to have been used predominantly for metal working. A number of hearths were recorded with related structures. Slag and furnace lining was recorded in a number of these features. Remodelling of the entrance way was also noted. Suggests around 3 to 4 phases of occupation/use. The final phase relates to the silting up of the enclosure ditch. A ditch was also recorded outside the round, which may be an associated field system. A further part of the round was excavated by Southwest Archaeology (Site ID 13).</p>	Enclosed Site	<p>Nancemere, Truro, Cornwall, Stage II: Archaeological Excavation (Gossip, J) Cornwall CC</p>
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15	Newquay Growth Area	Cornwall	Newquay	<p>Geophysical survey revealed a number of anomalies in the south-western corner of the Growth Area, on the south-eastern edge of Newquay, which were tested by evaluation. Features of Late Iron Age/Romano-British date were found within most of the 10 trenches dug. These show a picture of settlement activity across this area of the site. An enclosure was located in Tr7 with 3 possible round houses or internal divisions being recorded within. A further possible roundhouse or small enclosure was recorded in Tr8. Pits and post holes were also recorded across the site as were further ditches/gullies that most likely represent a contemporary field system. It is unlikely that the enclosure is a round, the ditch was only just over 0.60m in depth, too shallow for a round and the geophysics does not indicate the ditch fully encloses an area, rather demarcates a small area. Only a small amount of pottery was recovered, and the dates proposed cover the Late Iron Age and Romano-British period. It is possible that it began as an Iron Age unenclosed settlement which was later partially enclosed and continued on into C3rd to C4th AD. A further enclosure was recorded immediately to the east during a watching brief on the Newquay Strategic Route road scheme.</p>	Enclosed Site	<p>Newquay Growth Area, Newquay, Cornwall (Sheldon, S.) Cotswold Archaeology 2011</p>
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16	Newquay Strategic Route	Cornwall	Newquay	<p>During 2011 a watching brief was undertaken along the route of a proposed relief road that would run through the Newquay Growth Area, along the south-eastern edge of Newquay. Activity dating to Late Iron Age/Romano-British period was focused at the southern end of the route with a partial enclosure, 30 by 45m, and a number of possible roundhouse features being recorded. The geophysical survey also indicated possible trackways and a number of field boundaries, also picked up during the evaluation. This seems to be part of settlement that may have originated in the Late Iron Age, but the majority of the finds indicate a height of occupation during C1st to C2nd AD. An enclosure immediately to the west was evaluated during this watching brief and was broadly similar, suggesting these two sites formed a large partially enclosed settlement. Intercutting of the possible roundhouse ditches suggest a longevity of occupation and the large field system indicates the economy of the settlement was based upon agriculture.</p>	Enclosed Site	Newquay Strategic Route, Newquay, Cornwall (Joyce, s.) Cotswold Archaeology 2011
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17	Penhale Round Excavation	Cornwall	Fraddon	<p>The site was excavated in advance of the construction of the Indian Queens to Fraddon bypass. The site had been surveyed in 1982 and again in 1991 by English Heritage, with the results showing a multivallate enclosure, related field system and other features of potential archaeological value. The results of the excavation show a number of phases of occupation in the area studied, which began in the Bronze Age, although there was a gap in occupation from the Late Bronze Age to the Late Iron Age. The round itself appears to have been constructed in the C1st BC over a Late Iron Age field system. A segmented ditched structure was also found and may belong to this phase, although it is likely it belongs to the early round phase. There are a number of sub-phases of occupation of the round, with a number of periods of remodelling of the entranceway recorded. Towards the end of its life a second ditch and bank were constructed turning the originally univallate enclosure into a multivallate enclosure. Much like Trethurgy the entrance was paved, with the paving appearing to continue into the centre, with a central courtyard surface. The round was then abandoned during the C3rd to C4th AD. It was not deliberately dismantled but neglected and then abandoned. See Site ID 129 for more detailed and up to date information. All finds entered in under Site ID 129 as well. A later excavation has also been carried out on the site by the Babbie Group (Site ID 27).</p>	Enclosed Site	Penhale Round Excavation - PR93 - Archive Report Vol I (Davis, E. et al) Cornwall Archaeological Unit, 1991
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18	Penlee House, Tregony	Cornwall	Tregony	<p>The site lies on the south-eastern edge of the village of Tregony, 10.5km east of Truro. The site lies on a headland that would have overlooked the Fal inlet during prehistory and the Romano-British period. Trench 3 revealed the eastern section of a rectilinear enclosure seen on geophysical data, measuring c.16m by 13m. The ditches enclosing the site were shallow and have been interpreted as enclosing a small shrine or cemetery. The discovery of a cremation burial in a pit within the enclosure suggests it was a cemetery rather than a shrine. A pot contained the remains of an elderly woman and a jug found with the pot also contained fragments of her cremated remains. The pots date to C1st to C2nd AD. One large pit excavated within the enclosure, and two outside contained quantities of burnt grain. These have been interpreted as containing food offerings for the dead buried within the enclosure.</p>	Cemetery	<p>Penlee House, Tregony, Cornwall, Archaeological Mitigation, Archive (Taylor, S.) Cornwall CC 2006</p>
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19	Penwith College	Cornwall	Penzance	<p>The sites excavated/recorded are all located within the grounds of Penwith College, close to the northern edge of Penzance. Site was previously excavated by AC Archaeology in 1995. Work focused on two areas, Porthcurno and West Car Parks, along the western edge of the college grounds. Both these sites revealed evidence for Iron Age and Romano-British occupation. In the Porthcurno area evidence of an Iron Age/Romano-British field system and water management system was recorded, along with a possible settlement activity in the form of curvilinear ditches, which is later than the field system foundation date but is likely contemporary. Work in the West Car Park area revealed evidence for a Late Iron Age/Romano-British curvilinear enclosure, gullies, pits and post holes, all of which relate to settlement activity. A possible gravel pit was also identified, although it's nature was not fully established. A large hollow, with 4 pits and 1 post hole also excavated within this area. Report does not suggest a function for the hollow. It overlay several other pits which contained Romano-British material. Report does suggest that the enclosure within this area is a round, supported by place name evidence.</p>	Enclosed Site	Penwith College, Penzance, Cornwall (Gossip, J and Thorpe, C) Cornwall CC
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20	SHERFORD NEW COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT	Devon	Brixton	<p>The overall evaluation area covered a large tract of land in between Plymstock and Plympton, although the potential Late Iron Age and Romano-British site was located within the south-west of this zone, just on the north-eastern edge of Plymstock. Trench 2 recorded a number of possible settlement features, including a hearth, post holes, ditches and a possible quarry pit. The hearth contained what appeared to be Middle Iron Age pot, but the feature was not excavated, so this could have been residual. A number of fills from linear features contained a small amount of Romano-British pottery. Pottery was also found in Tr3 and Tr6. No phasing has been given and the nature of the occupation was not identified. The finds don't suggest industrial activity so most likely it is a settlement site, but form is not given although geophysical survey was conducted.</p>	Undetermined	<p>ARCHAEOLOGICAL FIELDWALKING AND TRIAL TRENCHING FOR THE PROPOSED SHERFORD NEW COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, SOUTH HAMS, DEVON (Best, J) Exeter Archaeology</p>
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21	St Michael's Mount	Cornwall	St Michael's Mount	<p>St Michael's Mount is a tidal island that is situated in Mount's Bay. At low tide it is connected to the town of Marazion by a stone causeway. In the early 1990s a series of watching briefs were carried out in advance of works on the island which lead to the discovery of a previously unknown prehistoric settlement, with a house platform and section of wall being recorded in the sewer pipe trench. A subsequent survey then identified a number of other house platforms surrounding this, beneath the cliff castle. The pottery suggests an Iron Age date although some Bronze Age pottery was also recovered. Mesolithic flints were found which suggest the site was first used by hunter gatherers, when it would have formed part of the mainland. Post Roman amphora sherds found as part of the watching brief in the castle grounds suggest that Mediterranean trade was still reaching the island after the collapse of the Roman Empire in the west. It has been argued that the island is Ictis as mentioned by Ptolemy and Diodorus Siculus but only a small number of sherds of Roman period were found during the works.</p>	Undetermined	<p>St Michael's Mount, Cornwall, Reports on archaeological works, 1995-1998 (Herring, P) Cornwall Archaeological Unit</p>
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22	St Newlyn East & Mitchell	Cornwall	St Newlyn East	<p>The round at Pollamounter was excavated during a watching brief on a pipeline corridor between Mitchell and St Newlyn East. The site lay in Field 14 and consisted of a very large enclosure ditch, 4.7m wide and 2.26m deep. Only a small section of ditch was recorded within the trench, but aerial photographs show the continuation of the ditch, which forms a rectilinear round. Within the enclosure, sections of two structures were recorded, these 'boat-shaped' structures are thought to be timber houses with the ditches recorded being beam slots. Radiocarbon dates from the fill suggest an abandonment date from 120 cal BC to cal AD 130, although the pottery suggests these structures were abandoned in the C2nd AD. A small number of pits were recorded close to the boundary ditch. One of these returned a radiocarbon date of cal AD 130- 430. Pottery within this pit again provided a C2nd AD date. A number of post holes were recorded cutting through the abandoned structures and it is likely these belong to a later building although the exact date of this was undetermined. It is possible the round had been abandoned by that stage. The round enclosure ditch appeared to have been deliberately backfilled, again date unknown, but it appears the round was not left to deteriorate but deliberately deconstructed. A pre-enclosure phase was also recorded and consisted of linear ditches/gullies which were thought to be a field system, most likely of Late Iron Age date. This field system is likely related to other Late Iron Age/Romano-British field systems recorded along the pipeline corridor.</p>	Enclosed Site	<p>WHAT LIES BENEATH... St Newlyn East and Mitchell, Archaeological Investigations 2001 (Jones, A. and Taylor, S.) Cornwall CC 2004</p>
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23	Stencoose	Cornwall	St Agnes	The site is situated 11km to the west of Truro and just to the east of Carn Brea. Geophysical survey in advance of a water pipeline led to the excavation of a structure on an artificial terrace. The building was open ended and constructed of earth and stone walling. It dates to between 600 BC and 400 AD.	Undetermined	An Archaeological Investigation at Stencoose, Cornwall 1996 (Jones. A) Cornwall Archaeological Unit
24	The Glebe, Tregony	Cornwall	Tregony	Site is on the north-eastern edge of Tregony village, 10.5km east of Truro. Three trenches were dug to investigate geophysical anomalies which appeared to be potential pit and ditch features. Previous archaeological investigations around Tregony have uncovered evidence of Bronze Age, Iron Age and Romano-British field systems as well as part of a Romano-British cemetery/shrine enclosure.	Undetermined	The Glebe, Tregony, Cornwall (Wall, S) South West Archaeology
25	Treherras School	Cornwall	Newquay	The site is located immediately to the south of Treherras School, on the eastern edge of Newquay. Geophysical survey identified a large sub circular enclosure, interpreted as a round. Excavation showed the ditch was substantial, over 1.3m deep and over 2m wide at the top. A number of small pits were excavated inside the ditch and relate to activity within. No date was established, although the presence of Iron Age pottery suggests an Iron Age construction date. Two further enclosures are known from geophysics in the immediate vicinity. No excavation of these has taken place but suggests intense occupation and longevity.	Enclosed Site	Treherras School, Newquay, Cornwall, Archaeological evaluation (Craze, N. and Gossip, J.) CAU 2002

26	Tremough, 'Fort'	Cornwall	Penryn	The site is located within the campus on the northern edge of Penryn. The site has been subject to geophysical survey and excavation prior to this evaluation. A rectangular enclosure, discovered through geophysics, was the focus of this evaluation. The two trenches revealed a large enclosure ditch 1.95m deep and measuring 3.6m wide at the top. The enclosure is most likely a rectilinear round dating to the Late Iron Age/Romano-British periods although no clear dates could be established. Three phases of occupation were tentatively proposed based on the features. The first structural phase is thought to be represented by shallow gullies, which was superseded by post-built structures. These were then followed by stone-built structures. The nature of the occupation was undetermined. It was possibly domestic but could have had an industrial nature. Only a very small area of the enclosure was evaluated. No firm dating sequence for the phases was determined either.	Enclosed Site	Tremough, 'Fort', Penryn, Cornwall (Gossip, J.) Cornwall CC 2006
27	Whitbread Travel Inn	Cornwall	Fraddon	Pehale Round is located just south-west of Fraddon. The round was discovered on aerial photographs in the 1950s and subsequent geophysical surveys showed it was a multivallate enclosure. Previous excavations of the round took place in 1993 by CAU in advance of the A30 bypass scheme (Site IDs 17 and 129). Bronze Age activity was recorded in the vicinity, but the main phase of activity was the round, which appears to have been constructed in C1st BC.	Enclosed Site	Whitbread Travel Inn, Archaeological Excavations, at Penhale Round, Cornwall 1996 (Anon) Babtie Group

28	Shortlands Lane	Devon	Cullompton	<p>The site is located within the town of Cullompton, at the confluence of the River Culm and a stream. The excavation revealed a late C1st AD cremation burial of military character, most likely a soldier from the garrison of the small fort at Cullompton. In the mid C2nd AD a small civilian settlement is established, which had five phases of occupation that lasted into the C4th AD. Only a very small part of what must have been a larger, rural, settlement was excavated. The excavator thinks it was most likely an enclosed rural settlement, possibly a round but not enough of the site was excavated to be certain. The first phase saw a building(s) within a ditched yard, which were replaced by two narrow plots. Phase 3 replaced these plots with a structure, enclosed by its own ditch. This was then backfilled in Phase 4 and a new ditch dug, most of which lay outside the excavation area. The last phase is only represented by a small number of features. The most notable find was an 'ox goad' which are generally interpreted as nibs for styli, suggesting someone within the population was literate. It wasn't possible to suggest what the Phase 3 structure was used for and little was found in the way of manufacturing and processing artefacts, querns for example. It is possible these activities took place on another part of the site.</p>	Roadside Settlement	Land at Shortlands Lane Cullompton Devon (B. Morris) Southwest Archaeology, 2013
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29	Atlantic Array	Devon	Bideford	<p>The evaluation took place in 2011 along the 14km route of a new cable. The route stretched from the coast 3.35 km (approx) to the north-west of Bideford, to just over 3 km to the east of Bideford. A total of 36 trenches were excavated in total with 4 producing Late Iron Age/early Romano-British sherds of pottery. The sherds all came from shallow linear features interpreted as boundaries belonging to a field system. The first two trenches with this material are located on the western banks of the River Torridge, immediately south of Bideford, whilst the other two trenches are located 1.7km to the east on the opposite side of the river. The eastings and northings recorded here relate to Tr 23 and 24 on the west side of the river. The rest of the Late Iron Age/Early Romano-British material comes from Tr 29 and 32. Material dating to other periods was also recovered and related mainly to the post-med agricultural use of the area.</p>	Field system	<p>Atlantic Array Onshore Cable Route and Substation, Bideford, Devon (V. Hughes) Oxford Archaeology, 2012</p>
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30	Brayford School	Devon	Brayford	<p>The site is located in the grounds of Brayford School, near Charles, not far from the south-western edge of Dartmoor. The school is located at the base of the steep sided Bray valley on the eastern side of the village. The excavation was carried out in 2012 in advance of building work. The excavation revealed a spread of iron smelting debris which sealed a posthole, an ovoid pit, two gullies and a large ditch, possibly part of an enclosure ditch. The smelting waste within the upper ditch fills suggests that smelting was carried out in the near vicinity, but not actually within the area of excavation. A sherd of Exeter Sandy Grey ware of C2nd AD date was found in the upper ditch fill and then the area was sealed with a spread of slag and furnace lining, suggesting a reorganisation of the industry on site. This fits with the picture from other sites in the area. All features are of Romano-British date.</p>	Industrial Site	<p>Brayford School, High Bray, Devon (Bampton, J) Southwest Archaeology, 2013</p>
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31	Nelson Close	Devon	Topsham	<p>The site is located just above the banks of the river Exe, above the floodplain in Topsham which is just to the south of Exeter. A small area was evaluated in advance of construction. Substantial Romano-British remains have been found in previous archaeological work in Topsham. Of 13 trenches excavated only two Tr 6 and Tr 3 revealed features dating to the Romano-British period. Trenches 5 and 7 were in close proximity to Tr 6 (all 3 were located in the south-west corner of the site) and both contained features, but these weren't datable to the Romano-British period. All 3 did contain post-med features though, relating to the use of the area for agricultural purposes during this period. The Romano-British features found are a small gully with post holes in the base, most likely forming a palisade, a pit, two possible post holes and a possible post trench. Trench 3 in the north-west corner contained a possible Romano-British ditch. Tr 4 (in close proximity to Tr 3) also contained a ditch which produced Romano-British pottery. All indicate structural features and may represent a building within a palisaded enclosure. Most likely this is on the edge of the settlement site, not within the core. Tr 3 and 4 ditches may relate to field boundaries. Pottery gives a date range of C1st to C3rd AD.</p>	Enclosed Site	<p>Archaeological Evaluation of Land Adjoining Nelson Close, Topsham (Sage, A.) Exeter Archaeology, 1997</p>
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32	Bantham Ham	Devon	Thurlestone	<p>The site is situated at the base of Bantham Ham promontory on the River Avon estuary in Bigbury Bay. An ancient camp is thought to lie in the centre of the promontory, among the sand dunes although this has never been excavated and is based on antiquarian accounts. The area thought to contain the camp is scheduled. The area excavated lies to the south-west of this, in the current car park. Five trenches were dug in continuous form, zigzagging along the slope, with archaeology being recorded in trenches 2-5. The most significant find was two sections of rampart in Tr 2 and 4 which comprised parts of 2 sides of a possibly square enclosure. The banks of the enclosure were revetted with stone walls, one stone thick in general. Due to the nature of the job it was not possible to determine whether a ditch surrounded the outside of the enclosure. The pottery recovered all came from windblown deposits that had accumulated against the external face of the revetment in Tr 2. These were all C2nd AD to C4th AD in date but as they were found outside the enclosure they don't provide dating evidence for the occupation/use of the enclosure but do provide a general date for activity around the outside of the enclosure.</p>	Enclosed Site	<p>Rescue Recording at Bantham Hall, South Devon (Griffith, F. M. &amp; Reed, S.) 2000</p>
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33	Tiverton Road	Devon	Cullompton	<p>The site sits on the western edge of Cullompton on Tiverton Road. It is 200m to the west of the known Roman fortification on St Andrew's Hill. The Shortlands Lane site is approximately 600m to the south. A total of 16 trenches were dug across the site with a number of intercutting linear features and shallow pits/postholes being recorded. The stratigraphy was challenging to interpret but the excavators were able to recognise four phases of activity. Phase 1 consisted of a trackway running across the site, which through use became slightly hollowed. A boundary ditch along its south-western edge is likely roughly contemporary. The ditch was open for a long time as it silted up and was re-cut, silting up again. Phase 2 saw a stoney layer develop along the track and spread across the silted up ditch. A further ditch was cut along the north-western edge of the track. Phase 3 saw the silting up of the trackway suggesting it went out of use. Phase 4 is likely to be post-med in date. Phase 2 dates to C1st to C2nd AD with pottery being recovered from a few features. This suggests an early Roman or Late Iron Age date for the origins of the trackway and south-western ditch. The abandonment of the trackway is undated but is likely to be mid-late or post Roman. The ditches along the trackway are interpreted as field boundaries, although the restrictive nature of the excavation means settlement can't be ruled out entirely.</p>	Field system	Tiverton Road, Cullompton (Bray, L. & Morris, B) 2010
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34	Bray Valley Quarries Tipping Site	Devon	Brayford	<p>The site is located on the western edge of the quarry, to the north-east of the village of Charles. All three fields fall away to the east, towards the river Bray. A geophysical survey showed two substantial overlapping enclosures within the site, enclosure A measured 70m by 75m. The dimensions of enclosure B were not fully established. Pit features and an area of burning were also detected through the survey. Ten trenches were then dug to target these features. Sections through the ditch of enclosure A and subsequent radiocarbon dates show that the enclosure was deliberately backfilled not long after it had been constructed, which is likely to have occurred between 20 - 230 AD. It is possible the enclosure originated in the Late Iron Age although no ceramics were found within the primary silts. Enclosure B was then constructed partially over the top. The majority of the pottery recovered from this enclosure is C3rd to C4th AD in date. Evidence of iron smelting, likely contemporary with enclosure B was also found, a layer over 11m long was recorded with a large amount of furnace lining and furnace slags. Suggests a furnace that was repaired frequently. Part of an annex was also excavated. Enclosure B is located on a break of slope, not at the top of the slope which is unusual. It may be associated with a larger enclosure on the top of slope although this is out of the area surveyed. Possible this was an industrial site associated with a domestic settlement on the hill top although no evidence to prove this is the case. No real evidence of domestic occupation of enclosure A or B found.</p>	Industrial Site	<p>Archaeological Evaluation of a Proposed Tipping Site at Bray Valley Quarries, Brayford, Devon (S.J. Reed) 1999</p>
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35	Bray Valley Quarry Extension	Devon	Brayford	<p>Site is located approx 250m north of the tipping site excavated previously. The site again lies on the western edge of the quarry with the river Bray to the east. Close to the south-western edge of the site a ring ditch was found, and excavation confirmed it was most likely the ditch of a Bronze Age barrow. Along the south-eastern edge of the site a terrace was recorded which had been cut into the slope of the hill. At the southern edge a shallow pit was recorded and close to the centre of the terrace two postholes were recorded. Large sandstone slabs were recorded close to the eastern edge which may have been part of a structure -wall or post pads? A natural silt at the base of the terrace was overlain by a deposit containing burnt material and two inverted quern stones. This was sealed by a further layer containing high proportions of burnt stone with some charcoal. It is suggested that the terrace was in use during C2nd AD with a small ephemeral structure which was either domestic or industrial. The burnt material suggests the presence of a hearth nearby. The activity here is thought to pre-date the iron smelting activity found just to the south and definitely pre-dates enclosure B but may perhaps be contemporary with the last phases of enclosure A, if it was still in use during this century (the radiocarbon dates for the ending of the enclosure were very broad). To the north-west of the terrace two truncated pits and a pottery spread were recorded. The pottery sherds in the pits and in the spread, were Late Iron Age in date.</p>	Undetermined	Archaeological recording and excavation at Bray Valley Quarries, Brayford, Devon (Best, J.E) 2005
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36	Welcombe Farm	Devon	Brayford	<p>The site is located within the fields immediately north and east of Welcombe Farm, 1100m north-west of the village of Charles at the north-western edge of Bray Valley Quarry. A geophysical survey was conducted over the site which located a large ditched enclosure, with one full circuit of ditches indicated and at least three other partial circuits indicated. A ditched trackway leading into the site is also visible on the geophys as well as an area of burning just outside the northern edge of the enclosure. A number of other anomalies were also shown on the data plot. Three trenches were then excavated by a community group although only one is included within the report. Three ditches were located, two of which were shown on the geophys plot and are thought to be part of the enclosure circuit. The third ditch was only partially excavated as the majority was outside the area of excavation. It was not shown on the geophys plot but most likely is part of the third circuit (fourth being the inner most). The ceramics and a radiocarbon date suggest a period of occupation from C1st to C3rd AD although another radiocarbon date returned a date of Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age (all finds, and radiocarbon dates came from fills of the outer ditch). Possible that the enclosure had a very long life or that the ditches cut through earlier deposits. The fill this radiocarbon date came from looks to be in-wash from the bank material and contains mid C3rd AD pot. C1st-C2nd AD ceramics in the upper fill of this ditch might suggest an earlier midden deposit was used to seal up this ditch after it had partially naturally silted.</p>	Enclosed Site	<p>Geophysical Survey and Archaeological excavation at Welcombe Farm, Charles, Devon (Cunningham, P.) 2009</p>
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37	Fairfield House, St Loyes	Devon	Exeter	<p>The site is located on the south-eastern edge of Exeter along Topsham Road. The excavation took place adjacent to the former Falfield House but is within a larger site excavated by Exeter Archaeology in 2010. A small area of this larger site was reinvestigated by AC Archaeology in 2013. The site is within a known Roman military re-supply depot, discovered by EA during the 2010 excavation. During this excavation all or parts of four timber military buildings were excavated, along with late military or civilian postholes and pits. A small segment of Iron Age ditch was also excavated as was a large ditched post-medieval feature. The fort is likely to have gone out of use at roughly the same time as the legionary fortress, from which is approx 2.3km.</p>	Undetermined	<p>Land at and adjacent to Fairfield House, St Loyes, Topsham Road, Exeter, Devon (Stead, P. and Payne, N.) 2013</p>
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38	St David's School, Dinham Road	Devon	Exeter	<p>The site is located within the grounds of St David's First School on Dinham Road, Exeter overlooking the River Exe and the Longbrook valley, and is 300m north-west of the limit of the Roman town (570m north-west of the current city centre). It is part of a much larger site evaluated by Exeter Archaeology in 2005 and again between 2007 and 2009, with AC Archaeology writing up the latter of these two interventions. This intervention was over the footprint of a new school building and two Roman features were recorded during the work. The largest, [128], was part of a steep sided ditch, thought to relate to a possible enclosure ditch found approx 30m to the north-east during 2005. However subsequent excavation immediately to the north-east in 2010 picked up a similar profile ditch running at right angles and so this may actually form part of a much smaller enclosure within a larger compound. A smaller ditch, [126], was located just to the south of [128] and although no datable material was recovered the excavators believe it to be roughly contemporary with [128]. The 2005 report suggests that the features they recorded are agricultural with possible settlement activity dating to mid C2nd (see entry for Dinham Road, Site ID 39) although the later report for the site (Discovery Quarter Site ID 40) shows the ditch in trench 15 is actually a beam slot and is part of a possible C1st AD praetorium.</p>	Undetermined	St David's Church of England First School, Dinham Road, Exeter, Devon (Place, C.) 2008
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39	Dinham Road, Exeter	Devon	Exeter	<p>The site covers a large area and is bounded to the south-east by Dinham Road and to the north-east by St David's Hill. It was split into 4 areas, with Area 1 covering St David's School, Area 2 the playing field behind the school, Area 3 the community centre and buildings to the north of the school and Area 4 the Church and Exeter College at the south and south-western end of the site. The excavation carried out by Context One (Site ID 38) is located with Area 1. In total 17 trenches were excavated across the site with 3 of these producing features of Romano-British date. These were trenches 1 and 4 in Area 1 and trench 15 in Area 4. Trench 1 a section of ditch, a square pit and a small post hole were excavated, with the ditch and pit containing Romano-British material. A further pit and posthole were unexcavated. Trench 15 a small boundary/drainage ditch containing Romano-British pottery was recorded. In trench 4 a large ditch was located, which was not fully excavated. It was interpreted as the south-eastern corner of a large enclosure ditch as it was nearly 1.5m wide. It was suggested that the two ditches from trenches 1 and 15 may represent field boundaries associated with the community living within the enclosure. However, there was a distinct lack of finds from both this and the St David's School site (Site ID 38) may indicate the (possible) enclosure was used for industrial/manufacturing purposes or perhaps for livestock rather than domestic settlement. The report for Discovery Quarter site (Site ID 40) actually shows however that the ditch in trench 15 is actually a beam slot and is part of a possible C1st AD praetorium.</p>	Unenclosed Site	Archaeological Evaluation at Dinham Road, St David's, Exeter (Leverett, M. and Valentin, J.) 2005
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40	Discovery Quarter, Mount Dinham	Devon	Exeter	<p>The site is located within the Dinham Road site (ID 39) and covers most of Areas 3 and 4 and the eastern end of Area 2. Five areas were excavated or subject to watching brief conditions between 2007 and 2009. A large number of features were found relating to use of the site by the Roman military, subsequent civilian use, and medieval and post-medieval use. The military use of the site related to a large two storey timber building, part of which took the form of an aisled hall. AC Archaeology believe this to be very similar to a praetorium, although these are usually within fortresses/forts rather than outside the defences. A large proportion of amphorae dating to this phase may suggest the building was connected to a market or was part of a larger re-supply/storage depot. Very limited evidence of C2nd to C3rd AD occupation of the site was found. Rubbish pits in Block B close to the northern edge of the site were found and a ditch in the centre of the site may be a return associated with the ditch found by Context One (site ID 38). These are likely related to the enclosure ditch found by EA in 2005 (Site ID 39). A square structure with central grave cut (no bone survived) was located in the Car Park, to the south-east of the praetorium. Quantities of tile, mortar and plaster - painted and plain- suggest the structure was a timber mausoleum probably of late Roman date. So far this is a unique find within Devon. It is most likely part of a larger cemetery situated just off the road leading into the North gate of the walled town.</p>	Unenclosed Site	Discovery Quarter, Mount Dinham, Exeter (Passmore, A.) 2013
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41	Orchard Way, Topsham	Devon	Topsham	<p>The site was located to the rear of houses along High Street and now fronts on to the newly extended Orchard Way, in Topsham. A small boundary ditch, [505], was recorded at the north-western end of the site, possibly a field system or it could have been demarcating an industrial zone, although it pre-dates the industrial use of the site. A further ditch, [515], was recorded at the southern/south-western end of the site. This was cut by a possible drying oven, [512]. The fill was dark and contained charcoal and burnt clay lumps and burnt stone fragments. At the western end of this depression a stone lined flue, heavily burnt was recorded. The burnt clay and stone most likely relates to the superstructure. The feature is most likely a corn drier, but the lack of grain recovered lead the excavators to also suggest it may have been part of an evaporation tank used in the process of salt making. Part of a further depression feature, [517], was investigated to the east of this. It was suggested that it could be part of curvilinear depression, or a gully with flattened profile. The fill was very similar to the oven [512] and it may well have been a further drying oven. The two features are roughly contemporary as they contain pottery of a similar date, C3rd or later. These are very unlikely to be either corn driers or evaporation tanks, much more likely to be kilns or ovens used as part of another industrial process. Tile found indicates a higher status building in the vicinity.</p>	Industrial Site	<p>Archaeological observation and recording of a residential development between Peel Close and Orchard Way, Topsham, Exeter, 1999 (Dymer, M.J.)</p>
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42	Gordon Road	Devon	Topsham	<p>The site is located at the north-western edge of Topsham, with Exeter Road to the north-east and the River Exe to the south-west. A number of features were observed during the watching brief, including a wall foundation which is most likely of Romano-British date although it is possible it is later and the Romano-British pottery in the fill is derived from the subsoil. A well and large pit were also observed, the well is the only one recorded for the period in the surrounding area. The pit appears to have been infilled with successive dumps of domestic material and a smaller pit also appears to have been backfilled with domestic waste. The well and larger pit are thought to date to late C1st AD although the large pit may extend into C2nd while the small pit is C2nd in date. A possible boundary ditch was also observed although no firm date could be given other than C1st to C3rd AD. Ditch had infilled gradually by natural processes. These features indicate that the site was on the periphery of settlement activity which from other excavations in the area was likely located to the south-east. The tile found indicates a higher status building in the vicinity. It is possible some of the assemblage is derived from the military, perhaps the site was occupied by military rather than civilians or perhaps from trade with the supply depot and/or fortress nearby. The later forms do suggest that there was trading between the military and civilian populations.</p>	Unenclosed Site	Archaeological recording at 38 Gordon Road, Topsham, Exeter (Best, J. and Farnell, A.) 2007
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43	Cloakham Lawns	Devon	Axminster	<p>The site lies at the northern edge of the town of Axminster, on the eastern side of the River Axe. The site was 10 hectares in total and is bounded by the Fosse Way on its eastern side and Axminster to the south. Out of 12 trenches excavated across the site only Tr 6 produced features of Romano-British date in the form of two ditches. Trenches 4 and 5 to the south and west also produced ditches on different alignments to the later features and so are also most likely to be of Romano-British date. These trenches were located close to the Fosse Way and iron slag was found in the ditches in Tr 6 which suggests that iron working was taking place on a small scale in the vicinity. The ditches appear to be a different alignment to the Fosse Way suggesting they are not divisions between domestic plots and may instead be field boundaries and associated with agriculture rather than domestic occupation. The lack of finds supports this idea. The pottery recovered in Tr 6 dates to the C1st to C2nd AD.</p>	Undetermined	Cloakham Lawns, Axminster, Devon (Hart, J.) 2010
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44	Shortlanesend	Cornwall	Truro	<p>The site now forms the south-west side of the village of Shortlanesend, 2 miles north-west of Truro. The round was approximately 50m across and slightly more recliner in shape than circular. A trench was excavated across the bank and ditch and into the interior to identify the nature of the occupation and the date. The enclosing ditch was over 3m wide although on 1.40m deep. Possible revetment stones were found within the ditch. Within the round a partial structure was excavated, with the rest falling outside the area of excavation. A curving area of clay was interpreted as evidence of the base of a cob/stone wall and was bounded on its outer face by a drip gully. An internal drain was recorded as were a number of small pits in the centre of the structure. Three of these had evidence of in situ burning with two containing charcoal. The lack of intensity in the burning suggests a domestic rather than industrial function. At least one post hole with packing stones was recorded. The artefactual evidence suggests occupation in the late C2nd and early C3rd AD. The very limited nature of the excavation may have impacted upon this date range and it is possible that a longer range would have been indicated if more of the site had been dug.</p>	Enclosed Site	Excavation of a Romano-British Round at Shortlanesend, Kenwyn, Truro (Harris, D.) 1980
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45	Goldherring	Cornwall	Sancreed	<p>Goldherring lies approximately 1.5km to the south-west of Sancreed and approximately 5km to the south-west of Penzance. The site has four phases of occupation. The first relates to the construction and occupation of a round. Hut L was the only structure found that dated to this first phase although there were indications (kaolin floors) that other structures had been built during this phase. A number of pits and post holes to the south-east of Hut L were also considered to date to this period and may have been grain storage or other structures. Three pits and associated gullies in the centre of the round are from this phase and were interpreted as being associated with processing clay for pottery manufacture. These were sealed by an occupation layer full of cordoned ware sherds. A well was also cut and the sealed during this time. The site then appears to have been abandoned, long enough for turf to cover the site, before a courtyard house was constructed within the round (likely that other structures are located within the immediate area), a terraced field system may also belong to this phase. There are three phases of occupation associated with the courtyard structure, beginning in C3rd AD. A working enclosure (F) was constructed later and most likely used for cereal processing. One of the rooms (D/R) was used for iron smithing. This room was then remodelled in the C5th to C6th AD and used as a small workshop. Hut B is likely to have been associated with the courtyard house phase and is again an industrial structure. This was remodelled in the medieval period and used for tin smelting.</p>	Enclosed Site	Excavation of a Settlement at Goldherring, Sancreed, 1958-1961 (Guthrie, A.) 1969
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46	Porth Godrevy	Cornwall	Gwithian	<p>The site lies on a low cliff top on the western edge of Godrevy Point, which forms the eastern side of St Ives Bay. The mouth of the Red river is just to the south of the site, the main Gwithian excavations conducted by Charles Thomas were located on the south bank of the river mouth. The village of Gwithian is just over a mile to the south-east of the site. The site was excavated between 1956 and 1962, with the trenches revealing the site consisted of a single structure within a small enclosure. The structure was built into the enclosure bank, which was revetted with stone and was oval in shape. Four phases of occupation were noted, Mesolithic, Romano-British, Medieval and Post-medieval although this report only deals with the Romano-British occupation. There were four phases of use dated to the Late Iron Age and Romano-British periods. Phase 1 is most likely very Late Iron Age and is only represented by a few very small pot sherds, mainly within the bank material. Phase 2 is represented by the construction of the enclosure and structure. Most likely dates to C2nd to C3rd AD. The structure was remodelled in Phase 3 with a central hearth replacing the central post and new post holes being constructed. This is most likely C3rd to C4th AD. It is possible Phase 3 is solely C4th in date with Phase 2 being very LC2nd AD onwards.</p>	Enclosed Site	<p>A Native Homestead of the Roman Period at Porth Godrevy, Gwithian (Fowler, P.J.) 1962</p>
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47	Castle Gotha	Cornwall	St Austell	<p>Castle Gotha is half a mile to the south-west of Porthpean, and 1.6 miles south of St Austell. It sits approximately 500m from the cliff edge overlooking St Austell Bay to the east. The earthworks of the round enclose an area of approximately 0.5 hectares. A number of trenches were dug across the central, southern, north eastern and north-western areas of the round. The excavators suggested at least three phases of activity within the round beginning in the late C2nd or early C1st BC due to the presence of South Western Decorated Ware (Glastonbury) and Cordoned Wares. This occupation continued on into C2nd AD and possibly into the early C3rd AD. In the southern area a number of overlapping floor surfaces were found, although no structures were identified (a rectangular structure found was thought to be medieval in date). Numerous post holes and pits were recorded but only a few were able to be phased so no obvious structures were visible. An oval structure was recorded in the north-eastern area, which overlay two earlier phases of activity. The structure appears to have had a domestic purpose. The entrance to the round was located in the north-eastern section of the circuit, although this appears to have been added later and the original entrance was not found. Some industrial activity was indicated in the early phases of activity within the round and a mould for a penannular brooch was found suggesting cooper alloy working occurring on site. An anthropomorphic lynch pin for a chariot was also found.</p>	Enclosed Site	Excavation at Castle Gotha, St Austell (Saunders, A. and Harris, D.) 1982
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48	Trethurgy	Cornwall	St Austell	<p>The site lies approximately 2km to the north-east of St Austell, on the north-western edge of the village of Trethurgy. A large china clay quarry lies immediately to the west and south-west. The site is the only fully excavated round in Cornwall and Devon and was constructed in the middle of the C2nd AD. It was built over an earlier enclosure thought to date to C1st BC, although it was never completed. This was then used as a livestock enclosure prior to the round being constructed. There were 9 phases of occupation within the round between 150 AD and its abandonment (Stage 9) in approx 500-550 AD. A number of structures were built/remodelled and demolished during these 9 stages, with major alterations occurring in the late C3rd and throughout C4th AD. Three of these have been interpreted as houses while the rest are likely to have been linked to agricultural and storage structures, all built around a central paved area. The houses are all oval in shape. In Stage 6 (AD 375-400) a small shrine (Structure G) was built, although it may have had a storage function.</p>	Enclosed Site	Excavations at Trethurgy Round, St Austell (Quinnell, H.) 2004
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49	St Mawgan-in-Pydar	Cornwall	Newquay	<p>The site now lies within the village of St Mawgan-in-Pydar, which is 5km to the north-east of Newquay and approx 4km to the north-west of St Columb Major. It lies just off the south-western bank of the River Menalhyl. The site has been described as a univallate hillslope fort but is in essence a round. The round was constructed in the early C1st BC and there were 5 phases of occupation, evident in the reconfiguring of the entrance into the round. The gateway is impressive and elaborate for a round. Threipland noted at least two phases of hut occupation, an earlier and later phase, these were timber, with some stone revetment. The earlier phase was thought to correspond to the second phase of fortifications while the later phase occurred with the fourth phase. The final abandonment of the site occurred sometime in the mid to late C2nd AD. The assemblage is incredibly rich for Romano-British Cornwall and has been used to suggest the site was occupied by a local chief.</p>	Enclosed Site	<p>An Excavation at St Mawgan-in-Pydar, North Cornwall (Threipland, M.) 1956</p>
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50	Par Lane	Cornwall	Par	<p>The site lies at the south-eastern edge of Par, just to the south of Par Lane, approximately 600m north-west of the coast line. Excavation at the northern edge of site revealed post-med field boundaries or drainage channels, while at the southern end of the site, on slightly higher ground, an area of Romano-British occupation was located. The first phase dates most likely to the early C2nd AD when a large enclosure was dug and a round house constructed within. A separate structure enclosing two ovens was also recorded and thought to belong to this phase. The occupation is most likely domestic. The enclosure was remodelled in the later C2nd AD and was decreased in size and an oval house constructed. The two rings of post holes indicate an axis of c.12m. Stone in the abandonment/destruction layers suggests some stone walling. A hollow was located outside the entrance to this structure. A square furnace was recorded within the structure and tap slag suggests some iron smelting/working was taking place in this second phase. This enclosure was backfilled at the end of C3rd AD. Another enclosure was then constructed immediately to the north-east, again an oval building was constructed within. Erosion of this area of the site led to bad preservation which hampered interpretation so unsure if this had a domestic or industrial function. Appears to have been short lived though.</p>	Industrial Site	<p>Archaeological investigations on land of Par Lane, Par, Cornwall (Sims, R and Valentin, J) 2011</p>
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51	Crosslands, Dainton	Devon	Ipplepen	The site lies just over 500m to the east of Ipplepen village and immediately east of the site currently being researched by the University of Exeter and the British Museum. The site was evaluated before construction of a potato shed. In total 6 trenches were dug with a very small number of features were recorded with only one being of certain Romano-British date. This was large pit [607] interpreted as a quarry pit. It was over 7m in diameter and over 0.90m deep. It was not excavated in its entirety, but 4 fills were recorded. Most likely Lc3rd or C4th in date. The site lies over mid Devonian slate which was used for roofing material in Exeter from C2nd AD onwards.	Industrial Site	Archaeological Investigations on Land at Crosslands, Dainton, Elms Cross, Near Ipplepen, Devon (Farnell, A) 2007
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52	Knowle Lane	Devon	Cullompton	The site lies on the north-west edge of Cullompton between Tiverton Road to the north of Knowle Lane to the south. The Roman fort at St Andrews lies approximately 400m to the north-east of the site. The site covers approximately 7 hectares and slopes towards a stream that runs through west-east in the centre of the site. In total 26 trenches were excavated and Roman features were found concentrated in the south-western quadrant of the site. Ditches (4), postholes and pits (8) were excavated that appear to date to the C1st AD. Industrial as well as domestic waste was recovered and suggests that small scale iron working occurred on the site. The site of Shortlands Lane, excavated by South West Archaeology, lies 400m to the east of this site. It is possible that the two form part of the same larger settlement located to the south of the fort. The Shortlands Lane site though dates to C2nd and C3rd AD and so it is possible that Knowle Lane represents the earlier settlement and the focus shifted east after this area had gone out of use. It is unlikely that either site was enclosed.	Unenclosed Site	Land Between Knowle Lane and Tiverton Road, Cullompton, Devon (Hughes, S and Firth, E) 2011
53	Crosslands, Dainton Elms, Ipplepen	Devon	Ipplepen	This is the journal article that was published after the commercial report on the site was completed. The amount of Romano-British pottery increases from 26 to 29 sherds in this report and more detail is given on forms present so entries for the site in the ceramic and coin tables are based on this report rather than the commercial report above.	Industrial Site	A Pit at Crosslands, Ipplepen: Probable Evidence for Late Roman Roof Slate Quarrying (Farnell, A) 2010

54	Hayes Farm	Devon	Clyst Honiton	<p>The site lies to the north-east of Clyst Honiton village. A number of cropmarks were identified, these consisted of one square enclosure, parts of another possible square enclosure, a large irregular enclosure with entrance that bisects/is bisected by the square enclosure and three ring ditches. The strongest ring ditch anomaly was partially excavated while one of the smaller ones was fully excavated. Three further trenches were excavated over the irregular and square enclosure. The ring ditches produced Bronze Age dates and are likely to be barrows. The square enclosure was found to cut through a further ring ditch, which was located in the south-west corner of the enclosure. Only a few internal features were found, including the remains of a gate across the entrance and a couple of small pits. Pottery from the midden deposits dumped in the ditch terminals suggests occupation began in MC2nd AD and pottery from the silting of the ditches provided a LC3rd or C4th AD date for the abandonment of the site. Excavators suggest the occupation began before the enclosure was dug but more likely the ditch was cleaned regularly and the pottery in the gully was mixed in later. The recovery of roof tiles suggests a building within the enclosure although this was not found. In the early post-Roman period the irregular enclosure was constructed partially across the square enclosure. The radiocarbon dates suggest this took place sometime between C4th and C7th AD.</p>	Enclosed Site	<p>The Prehistoric, Roman and Early Post-Roman Site at Hayes Farm, Clyst Honiton (Simpson, S.J., Griffith, F.M. and Holbrook, N.) 1989</p>
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55	Hayes Farm, Clyst Honiton	Devon	Clyst Honiton	This site lies immediately to the south-east of the site excavated in 1987. A number of features were found during the evaluation dating from the Neolithic to Romano-British periods. Only a gully at the eastern end of the site produced Romano-British pottery but gully/ditch features found to the north-west may be part of field system linked to the square enclosure.	Field System	Hayes Farm, Clyst Honiton, nr Exeter, Devon
56	Old Park Farm	Devon	Pinhoe	The site is located just to the north of the village of Pinhoe which is on the north-eastern edge of Exeter. A total of 63 trenches were excavated with evidence of activity from the Bronze Age to modern day being recorded. A number of ditches were excavated within Area 7 that relate to field boundaries. A number of slots were excavated through what amounts to approximately 7 north-west to south-east aligned ditches. Pottery dating to C3rd to C4th AD was found in a few of these slots. The cultural material was concentrated to the south-east and became sparser to the north and west, suggesting a settlement may have existed to the south-east of the site. It is possible the site began in use earlier than the C3rd AD, but this cannot be confirmed on current evidence.	Field System	Old Park Farm, Pinhoe, Devon (Joyce, S.) 2010
57	Henscott	Devon	Bradford	The site lies 9km to the north-east of Holsworthy, in between the rivers Torridge and Waldon on the south facing slopes of a small hill. Most of the features encountered during the work were of Bronze Age or Medieval date. radiocarbon dates on a small oven or remains of a kiln though returned a date of LC4th to C6th AD. No Romano-British artefactual material was found during the course of the excavation.	Industrial Site	Archaeological Recording at Henscott, Bradford, Devon (Gent, T.H.) 2005

58	Harepath Road	Devon	Seaton	The site lies on the northern edge of Seaton, with the northern limit of the site thought to lay alongside a section of the Fosse Way. A possible villa or mansio is located approximately 800m to the south-west at Honeyditches. The excavations confirmed the presence of a Romano-British enclosure with associated iron working just to the south-east. The ceramic evidence suggests the site was occupied from C1st to C4th AD and postholes and pits within an area of the enclosure suggest at least one building was constructed within. Tegula found during the course of the excavation point to a higher status building although it's location is unknown at present. The complex stratigraphic record in Tr7 (around the industrial area of the site) suggests a number of different phases of occupation and activity across the site. The nature of the evaluation meant this could not be explored further.	Industrial Site	Land Between Harepath Road and Colyford Road, Seaton, Devon (Sims, R and Valentin, J) 2012
59	Winham Farm	Devon	Cullompton	The site lies on land approximately 1.5km to the east of the village of Bradninch and 2.3km to the south of Cullompton. The river Culm is located to the west on the opposite side of the M5 and the land rises gently eastwards, away from the river. Six evaluation trenches were excavated with three ditches dated to the Romano-British period being recorded in two of these. The trenches are thought to be part of a coaxial field system. A sub-rectangular pit is also likely to be of Romano-British date and is thought to be part of a corn drier, but it had been truncated so this could not be confirmed.	Field System	Winham Farm, Cullompton, Devon (Riley, R) 2014

60	Exeter Road, Topsham	Devon	Topsham	<p>The site is located towards the north-western end of Topsham, on the north-eastern side of Exeter Road. The site is bounded to the south-west by Exeter Road and to the north-west by the M5 motorway. The evaluation was designed to test the nature of the archaeological features shown on geophysical survey data. In the south-west corner of the site an enclosure of Romano-British date was recorded, with pottery from the upper fills indicating a date of mid C2nd to mid C3rd for the abandonment of the site. There was a lack of pottery in the lower fills, but the depth of silt suggests they ditches of the enclosure were open for a long period of time. A gully within the enclosure provided a sherd dating between mid C1st and LC2nd AD which suggests the occupation may have begun very early in the Romano-British period. The site is 100m to the north-east of the site excavated in 1974 by Maxfield and it is possible both sites are contemporary and form part of the same settlement.</p>	Enclosed Site	<p>Archaeological Evaluation at Exeter Road, Topsham, 1999 (Sage, A.J.) 1999</p>
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61	Aller Cross	Devon	Newton Abbot	<p>The site lies on the north-western edge of Kingskerswell. It was partially excavated by Wessex Archaeology in the early 90s and 2000s. There was evidence of mid to late Bronze Age field systems and a cremation radiocarbon dated to the Middle Iron Age was recovered and had been cut into one of the Iron Age enclosure ditches. There is some Late Iron Age pottery but the next substantial phase dates to C1st-C2nd AD, Phase 3a, when a roughly square enclosure was dug. This was remodelled before being levelled. Phase 3b dates to C2nd-C3rd AD, the enclosure ditch was completely remodelled and enlarged. An outer enclosure was added which was then remodelled into a more coherent enclosure. Structure 2 was constructed to the south-east of the main enclosure. This was originally a square building built in sill beam fashion, with internal divisions. This was then remodelled, and two stone foundations were added and a new floor. A working enclosure was also established to the west of the main enclosure. Both this enclosure and Structure 2 are likely to have been the focus of low levels of industrial activity. Phase 3c dates to C3rd-C4th AD and comprises the final stage of enclosure, which was built on a levelled site. The site was then finally abandoned with deliberate dumping into the enclosure ditch. The material from this dumping included earlier material as well as stone building material and tile and possible chimney fragments. This suggests a stone building with possible hypocaust stood within the enclosure, most likely built during the final phase of occupation.</p>	Enclosed Site	A Prehistoric and Romano-British Settlement at Aller Cross, Kingskerswell (Hughes, S) forthcoming
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62	Higher Exeter Road	Devon	Teignmouth	<p>The site is located on the northern edge of Teignmouth, on the western side of Higher Exeter Road. The south-western extent of the site is bounded by the Britton Brook, which runs through the bottom of the coombe. The site slopes gently towards the brook. Geophysical survey of the site indicated the presence of a triple ditched enclosure, which was originally thought may have been the remains of a Roman military site. Four evaluation trenches were sites across the enclosure and the ceramic evidence recovered suggests that the site was first occupied during the Late Iron Age period, with postholes from a possible structure within the enclosure containing Late Iron Age pottery. Terraces were also recorded within the enclosure, most likely dug to create flat building platforms. The one from the centre of the site again returned a Late Iron Age date. Late Romano-British pottery was found within the backfilled enclosure ditches, each of which had an internal bank. The ceramics show occupation from C2nd to C4th and one form suggests activity during C1st to C2nd AD, but it is unclear if occupation continued uninterrupted from Late Iron Age, or if the site was abandoned for a couple of generations. A recent evaluation on a multiphase site 300m to the SW by Cotswold Archaeology (Site ID 63) also provided an occupation date of C2nd-C4th AD and suggests a high density of settlement around the area of modern Teignmouth. The Late Iron Age pottery is a newly recognised fabric type - Late Iron Age Plain Ware which is now being recognised in other areas of Devon.</p>	Enclosed Site	Land Adjacent to Higher Exeter Road, Teignmouth, Devon (Pears, B. and Valentin, J.) 2013
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63	Shepherd's Lane	Devon	Teignmouth	<p>The site is located on the north-western edge of Teignmouth, 300m to the south-west of the Higher Exeter Road site (Site ID 62). The site lies at the top of a coombe, with the land falling away to the east and west. A large multi-phase enclosure of Romano-British date was recorded by the excavation, although it was already known through aerial photographic evidence. The enclosure consisted of a large outer ditch, with two successively smaller internal ditched enclosures within. Further small enclosures were recorded to the north and south-west of this main enclosure. The main enclosure ditches were not fully bottomed during the course of the work as they were too deep and so it is possible that the enclosure pre-dates the C2nd AD date suggested by the pottery. One of the ditches of the smallest inner enclosure also showed evidence of having been re-cut in C2nd so it is possible it was originally dug in C1st AD or even in C1st BC. This might just be local clearance though if the bank detected had slumped into the ditch. There was little evidence for large stone buildings, so it is likely any structures were timber. A terrace was recorded within the centre of the middle enclosure and an occupation layer was recorded in the eastern area of the outer enclosure. The terrace appears to have begun silting up/being backfilled by LC3rd AD and the occupation layer dates to MC3rd to C4th AD. More detailed phasing is possible from the ceramics but needs work.</p>	Enclosed Site	Shepherd's Lane, Teignmouth, Devon (Haines, C.) 2012
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64	Maidenbrook Farm	Somerset	Taunton	<p>The site lies on land to the east of Maidenbrook Farm which is on the north-eastern edge of Taunton. An evaluation on land immediately to the south-west in 1990 recorded the remains of a Late Iron Age enclosure, an early Romano-British rectilinear enclosure and a late Romano-British rectilinear enclosure. As the site extended into the present site area a geophysical survey was undertaken in advance of panning (early 2011) which led to the excavation of 27 evaluation trenches. A possible rectilinear enclosure and ditched trackway were recorded, thought to be of late Romano-British date and an undated sub-circular enclosure was also recorded. Only a small handful of pottery was found but suggests a C3rd or 4th AD date for the Romano-British occupation. It is likely that this represents either a neighbouring farmstead to the late Romano-British enclosure found in 1990 or it is part of the field system belonging to this enclosure. Low levels of domestic rubbish may support the latter interpretation.</p>	Enclosed Site	Land to the East of Maidenbrook Farm, Taunton, Somerset (Saunders, K.) 2011
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65	Haygrove Farm	Somerset	Bridgwater	The site is located to the west of the centre of Bridgwater, along the north-western edge of the town. To the north of the site lies Durleigh Road. The site was excavated in 2010 after a geophysical survey suggested the presence of buried archaeology. Of the sixteen trenches excavated only 6 contained archaeological deposits. A possible Late Iron Age enclosure was recorded. The fills of the ditches all contained Iron Age pottery. Within the enclosure area two Romano-British features were identified. The first was a roughly cobbled area and the second was a V shaped posthole(?). The pottery from these was not closely datable.	Enclosed Site	Land at Haygrove Farm, Bridgwater, Somerset (Saunders, K.) 2010
66	Hinkley Point	Somerset	Shurton	The site is located to the south-west of the existing nuclear power station, which is approximately 8km north-west of Bridgwater. The village of Shurton is approximately 700m to the south of the site. The site was comprised of two parts, the North Site and the South Site. A small valley runs east/west across the centre of the site. A geophysical survey was conducted that suggested buried archaeology and 114 evaluation trenches were excavated to target anomalies. A number of trenches (60-70) recorded Romano-British activity, in particular at the centre of the site where a number of enclosures ran along the valley bottom. They appear to run alongside, and respect, an earlier ditch (possibly a boundary ditch) which had Late Iron Age pottery within its fills. The ceramic evidence suggests that the Romano-British activity began in C1st and continued into C3rd AD.	Enclosed Site	Land at Hinkley Point, Somerset (Saunders, K) 2010

67	Carvossa	Cornwall	Probus	<p>The site of Carvossa is located about 1 mile west of the river Fal between Truro and St Austell. The bank on the northern and eastern sides of the site is still visible and it is thought that the western and southern hedge lines respect the alignments of the banks on those sides. This encloses an area of 2ha although geophys has shown that occupation extended beyond the banks and ditches to the south and east. The material recovered site suggests it was occupied from C1st-C4th AD, likely prior to the conquest. The entrance to the site was located in the middle of the eastern bank and a well-made road was discovered, postholes indicate a gate and a walkway above. In total 5 phases of occupation were recorded. The first is undated but is of Late Iron Age date. The second phase is when the main defences were built, the road running through the entrance appeared to bend south and split into a Y junction with a circular building in the split, thought to be LC1st AD in date. This building was then altered and had an industrial function with a large hearth, iron working is most likely as iron slag was recovered. It was demolished in phase 4 which is of MC2nd date. Trench A was excavated through the outer ditch, which was found to be 11m wide and up to 4m deep. It contained the remains of a hut which had 3 phases. Ceramics associated with the hut suggest a date from MC1st to C3rd AD. In another area a foundation trench and associated postholes were found, suggested to be evidence of a Roman military building. No other definite buildings were found although postholes and gullies were recorded.</p>	Enclosed Site	<p>Finds from the earthwork at Carvossa, Probus (Carlyon, P.) 1987</p>
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68	Trevelgue Head	Cornwall	Newquay	<p>The site of Trevelgue Head is located on a promontory jutting out into the Atlantic Ocean on the northern edge of Newquay. The promontory is an east-west headland 700m long by up to 200m wide, which protects the excellent beaching place of St Columb Porth to its south. The defence comprises seven or eight ramparts, within which are the traces of a large settlement, and a field system. Iron mining and metal working is associated with the site. Middens containing metallic ores and slags had also been noticed by 1939, when the RIC began an excavation under the direction of CK Croft Andrew. The excavation was curtailed by the outbreak of war. Excavation established that occupation extended from the third century BC through the Romano-British period to the C5th or C6th AD. The third century BC was the main period of the defences, but they were strengthened in the Roman period. Four types of buildings were found, and two round houses were fully excavated. The earliest were timber framed with wattle and daub walls, the latter were substantial stone built circular houses. Finds in or within the hut walls were plentiful and of high quality. Evidence for metal working throughout the period of occupation was found and iron may have been obtained from an outcrop on the island.</p>	Enclosed Site	<p>Trevelgue Head, Cornwall (Nowakowski, J. and Quinnell, H.) 2011</p>
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69	Trevinnick	Cornwall	St Kew	<p>The site lies at the head of a steep sided valley that runs down to the sea at Port Issac approximately 1.5 miles to the north. It overlooks a ridgeway that follows the watershed between small streams flowing south and west and those flowing north. The rectilinear nature of the site meant it was thought to be a fort and as such was dug by Lady Fox and W. Ravenhill in 1968 to test this. It actually appears to be a rectilinear round and evidence was found in the interior of two stock pens. The ditch was excavated in two places and was just under 5m wide by 1.5m deep. Only 28 sherds of pottery were found but they suggest an occupation date of C1st to C2nd AD.</p>	Enclosed Site	<p>Trevinnick, St Kew (Fox, A. and Ravenhill, W.L.D.) 1969</p>
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70	Trebarveth	Cornwall	St Keverne	<p>The site is located on a small headland on the south-eastern edge of the Lizard peninsula. A building had been noticed prior to excavation with its associated long axial field system. It was excavated prior to WW2 but was not published and the finds are now missing. It was again investigated in 1952 but again unpublished. It was then excavated by Peacock in 1969. He noted three phases of occupation of the structure, which he determined was not domestic but in fact was used for the production of salt from sea water. The building is of stone construction with an oven located centrally. This was partially destroyed, and a further oven built partially over it. In phase 3 oven 2 appears to have been partially infilled and a gully constructed through the building. A large amount of briquetage was recovered with just under 450 sherds found, all handmade local fabric. The vessels are all evaporating vessels and suggests that the method of salt production was direct evaporation. Peacock suggests the site was in use in C2nd AD, but ceramic evidence actually pushes the occupation of the site into LC3rd AD and most likely it continued in use until C4th AD. A piece of residual South Western Decorated Ware suggests some Late Iron Age activity in the area. It is possible the field system is Late Iron Age in date as the building does appear to cut through a boundary.</p>	Industrial Site	A Romano-British Salt Working Site at Trebarveth, St Keverne (Peacock) 1969
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71	Boscreege	Cornwall	Penzance	<p>The site is located on a steep north-east facing slope overlooking the Rosemorrán valley. It is approx 2.5km north of Penzance. The building consists of granite walls which are just over 1m thick. The paved entrance was located on the west side and was remodelled at some point to make it narrower. A drain ran across the building from the entrance, curving around the hearth and out through a channel in the wall opposite the entrance. A smaller drain runs around the northern half of the floor, close to the wall. No postholes were found so the roofing method is uncertain. Very little pottery was found. Excavators suggest a date in C3rd AD. Date fits if Trethurgy Type 4 identification stands as the form dates from C2nd AD onwards.</p>	Unenclosed Site	Excavation of a Romano-British Hut at Boscreege in Gulval (Russel, V. and Pool, P.A.S.) 1962
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72	Mulfra Vean	Cornwall	Madron	<p>The site lies in the parish of Madron and it is in between Bodrifty to the north-west and Chysauster to the north-east. Penzance lays to the south-east approx 4.3km away. The excavation was conducted on one house although remains of others were noted in the immediate vicinity. The site was written up by Charles Thomas as the original excavator Lt Col Hirst died shortly after finishing the site. One large courtyard house was excavated, which consisted of an outer wall, with a round room at the western edge and an oval room at the south-eastern edge. The entrance into the courtyard was at the east. The western half of the round room was excavated, and a small trench put through the eastern half. A further trench was dug through the oval room and a fourth trench was dug across the outer wall at the north end and across the courtyard inside this. Thomas suggests a date of C1st for the construction of the site although this cannot be correct. Quinnell (1986) suggests that most of the pottery is in fact of C3rd AD date so a LC2nd AD date fits better.</p>	Unenclosed Site	Trial Excavations at Mulfra Vean, 1954 (Thomas, C.) 1962
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73	Carngoon Bank	Cornwall	Lizard	<p>The site is located near the southern tip of the Lizard peninsula, with the coastline - the cliffs of Pentreath Beach - just 350m to the south-west/ Caerthillian Cove is 600m to the south. The excavations revealed that activity began on the site during the Mesolithic period, with Bronze Age and Middle Iron Age activity also recorded. The Romano-British period activity appeared to be centred around the production of salt. An oval cut feature was interpreted as a pond used to help drain the site and to provide a ready supply of water. Two small square pits were excavated in the base of this and were interpreted as extra sumps. Upslope of this pond a working area was recorded, the western end of this was roughly metallated. Over the top of this four mounds of briquetage had formed. The working area and pond were separated from a structure by a small gully. The structure was defined on three sides by a gully although it appeared that the structure was open on its eastern and southern sides, no evidence of a bank or other walling material was detected on these sides. Internal features included ovens and clay lined pits which suggests this structure was used to evaporate the water for salt production. The ceramic assemblage may indicate occupation from C1st AD but the majority of the activity on the site was between C3rd and C6th AD and it is most likely salt production began in C3rd AD. A quern and spindle whorl were found and suggest some form of domestic activity was taking place on site at some point in the Romano-British period.</p>	Industrial Site	<p>The Excavation of a multi-period site at Carngoon Bank, Lizard, Cornwall, 1979 (McAvoy, Morris and Smith) 1980</p>
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74	Reawla	Cornwall	Gwinear	<p>The site is approximately 4km to the south-east of Hayle in the village of Reawla. Work at the site showed that the round had two phases. A smaller 0.4ha site had been constructed during the C2nd AD, although it is possible this may have its origins in C1st AD. A ring gully thought to be from a house (house D) was interpreted as part of the Phase 1 enclosure. The round was then replaced by the end of C2nd AD by a larger round enclosing 1.1ha. During this phase house D was replaced by a working area with three successive hearths recorded with associated pits, postholes and smaller hearths. This is thought to date to C2nd to C3rd AD and was used for smithing iron. A lead ingot was found but this is thought to have been acquired through trade rather than being produced on the site. Adjoining this area were three houses, all within hollows. House A is thought to be C2nd AD and midden deposits show it had begun to be filled by the end of C2nd AD, while Houses B and C are thought to be C3rd ADA. By the LC3rd or EC4th AD this area had gone out of use and was used for the dumping of rubbish with a midden accumulating. It appears the site was abandoned in C4th AD. Midden deposits may indicate closing of the site. None of the features are closely datable as the site appears to have been kept very clean whilst in use. The ditch of the smaller enclosure appears to have been regularly cleaned out prior to deliberate backfilling in C2nd AD. This is why a Late Iron Age date cannot be ruled out for the construction of the original round.</p>	Enclosed Site	Excavations at a Romano-British round: Reawla, Gwinear, Cornwall (Appleton-Fox) 1992
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75	Duckpool	Cornwall	Morwenstow	<p>Duckpool is a small cove at the mouth of Coombe Valley which is steep sided and aligned east-west with a stream running along its base. The stream runs through a shingle bank that forms the top of the beach and flows out to the Atlantic. The site was first recorded in 1983 by Richard Heard. He recorded various features between 1983 and 1990 which divided into Area A, on the beach/bank, and Area B on higher ground, separated by the shingle bank. In Area A he recorded a large square hearth with flue, a smaller rectangular heart pit and a possible wall. He collected a large number of artefacts including a partial storage jar that had been re-used most likely as a water trough. Due to erosion a small excavation was conducted in 1992 to evaluate the features still preserved in Area B in the surface of a car park. The excavation revealed the site had been in use from around MC3rd through to the early medieval period. The features relating to the Romano-British period were a hearth [21], an unidentified stone structure [57] and a possible hearth/pit [60]. These dated to C3rd or EC4th AD. These were overlain by a small number of layers which appeared to be secondary midden deposits dating to MC4th. The finds suggest domestic activity in the vicinity with the hearths being used to produce lead, pewter and possibly copper alloy objects. It is thought that this may have been done using old objects and melting them down. The number of dog whelk shells suggests that purple dye was also being manufactured on the site.</p>	Industrial Site	<p>Duckpool, Morwenstow: A Romano-British and early Medieval industrial site and harbour (Ratcliffe, J.) 1995</p>
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76	Halligye Fogou	Cornwall	Mawgan-in-Meneage	<p>The fogou is located approximately 2km to the south of Helford river and 3km to the south-east of Gweek, which lies at the top of the Helford estuary. The site was investigated/written about a number of times by antiquarians but was subject to a more substantial investigation in the early 1980s as a precursor to carrying out repair works. A number of trenches were excavated to try and understand the full extent of the fogou, when it was built, how many passages it had, when it went out of use etc. The fogou was built within a rock-cut trench and then covered. It consists of a curved passage and south creep with a straight passage and northern creep. The fogou was built within an enclosure although very little is known about the enclosure. The ceramic sequence begins in c. 600 BC and runs through until 1100 AD or later. The fogou appears to have been built in either sixth or fifth centuries B.C with the curved passage being extended and the southern creep added shortly after. The northern entrance was remodelled sometime between 100 B.C and 50 A.D. After this the enclosure ditch was enlarged and the northern exit blocked. It is not certain whether occupation continued in the second and third centuries A.D but the site was reoccupied as the enclosure ditch had been backfilled by C5th AD and the fogou was sealed at roughly the same time. Occupation within the vicinity continues up til the present.</p>	Enclosed Site	Halligye fogou: excavations 1980-82 (Startin, B.) 2009-2010
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77	Old Man	Isles of Scilly	Isles of Scilly	A cist was noticed on the beach on the west edge of Tean and excavated. No bone was recovered but parts of brooches were. Most likely C1st or C2nd AD in date.	Burial	A cist in the Isles of Scilly (Tebbutt) 1934
78	Chysauster	Cornwall	Gulval	Chysauster was a settlement mainly occupied between the second and third centuries AD. However, there is evidence for Iron Age settlement and earlier exploitation of the landscape since at least the middle Bronze Age. It is situated on the Lands End peninsula one mile west of the hillfort of Castle-an-Dinas. Chysauster has been excavated several times and reconstruction work has been carried out on multiple occasions. The settlement consists of the remains of at least 10 courtyard houses (each approx 30 metres in diameter), a fogou and a surrounding field system. Eight of the round houses form two distinct rows. The houses each have the same kind of basic layout. This consists of an entrance leading into an open courtyard (approx 8 metres in diameter) from which branched out a number of rooms, usually three. There was a round room opposite the entrance, a long narrow room to the right of the entrance and, in some houses, an additional smaller round room. The fogou was situated 91 metres to the south of the houses and was originally recorded as running well over 16 metres in length. The field system surrounding the settlement included terraces up to a metre in height, field banks and walls and trackways. A second 'fogou', recorded in the mid-19th century, has been identified as a sunken approach road to the settlement. Finds from the site have included pottery, fragments of slate,	Unenclosed Site	An Excavation by H.M Office of Works at Chysauster, Cornwall, 1931 (Hencken)

				water-worn pebbles of cream-coloured quartz and (in 2003) a copper alloy spoon.		
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79	Membury	Devon	Membury	<p>The site is located on the edge of the Blackdown Hills and is situated near the end of a hill top spur. It overlooks the village of Membury to the east and the Yarty valley to the west. The river Yarty flows into the Axe, entering the sea at Seaton 14kms to the south. The site was discovered in 1986 when Neolithic pottery was found on the surface leading to excavations in the same year and subsequently in 1994, 1998 and 2000. A possible causewayed enclosure was found but a few Romano-British features were also excavated including a corn drier. The drying oven was the characteristic T shape and roughly 5m in length. Two small truncated pits were found in close proximity, all of which were excavated in the 1998 season. During the 2000 season two further pits were recorded and the corn drier was re-excavated with in situ fill being removed from the flue. The evidence suggests a low status agricultural site with pottery from C1st AD and C3rd-C4th AD. Whether that is one phase, or two phases is unclear. It is also unclear how the Romano-British features relate to the stone villa building at Membury Court 1km to the north-west.</p>	Undetermined	Excavations of a Possible Causewayed Enclosure and Roman Site at Membury 1986 and 1994-2000 (Tingle, M)
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80	Atlantic Road	Cornwall	Newquay	<p>The site is located in the south-west corner of what is now the Newquay golf course. To the north-west lies Fistral Bay and to the south is the River Gannel. The site lies close to the top of a ridge running east to west. The excavation showed the site was occupied between the C2nd BC and the C4th AD, with a break in occupation sometime between C1st BC and C1st AD. The exact nature of the Late Iron Age occupation is unclear as only a small number of pits and a potential ditch terminal were excavated. The site was abandoned for a time with a soil deposit sealing the Late Iron Age features. The re-use of the site appears to date to the C2nd AD, with occupation/use continuing into C4th AD, although by the end of the C3rd AD the area was used for arable agriculture as the deliberate formation of a cultivation soil was evident. A small number of stone structures were recorded, all of which were small suggesting they were not domestic but rather had an agricultural function. A large amount of midden material was recorded which dated to the main phase of occupation and has led to the suggestion that it was only occupied seasonally. A wool comb suggests fleeces were being processed. The site appears to have been abandoned due to problems with windblown sand. Two of the structures appear to be wind breaks suggesting this was a problem for the entire length of occupation. It is likely the site is on the periphery of a much larger settlement and that it was a work area for specialist craft activities such as cereal processing. A spoon was also found but was unstrat and the possible handle of the spoon/ a further spoon was also found.</p>	Unenclosed Site	Atlantic Road, Newquay: excavations on a Late Iron Age and Romano-British coastal site (Reynolds, forthcoming)
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81	Scarcewater	Cornwall	Pennance	<p>The site is located immediately north of the farm of Pennance on a ridge between the valleys of the Tresillian River to the west and the River Fal to the east. The site covers approximately 16ha and investigations took place over 4 years. The majority of the evidence related to Bronze Age and Early-Middle Iron Age settlement and land use. However, a small amount of evidence for Romano-British occupation was recorded. The evidence relates to a field system which may have an Iron Age origin and continued in use throughout at least the Early Romano-British period. A number of small ditches, a number of which cut the field system suggest a series of small enclosures. Finds from these suggest occupation between C2nd-C4th AD. Two graves were excavated along with a possible third. The first was a stone lined cist most likely dating to C3rd or C4th AD. The second was an earth cut grave although the body had decomposed. A brooch and hobnails were found. The hobnails suggest the boots were buried face up which has led to the suggestion that the body was buried face down. More likely that boots were placed in the grave and were not being worn at the time of burial. A timber post-built structure was recorded towards the centre of the site, roughly rectangular and 7.8x5.6m. No datable finds were recovered but it was adjacent to a land surface that produced Romano-British pottery so assigned to this period.</p>	Enclosed Site	<p>Scarcewater, Pennance, Cornwall: Archaeological excavation of a Bronze Age and Roman landscape (Jones and Taylor) 2010</p>
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82	Rudge	Devon	Morchard Bishop	<p>The site lies in between Lapford and Morchard Bishop and approximately 10km to the north-east of North Tawton. The Roman Fort at Bury Barton is approximately 2km to the south-west. It lies on the western side of Colt's Hill within the land of Rudge Farm. It overlooks the river Yeo to the west and the river Dalch to the north-west. The site is enclosed by two circular ditches, the outer was recorded as being more uniform than the inner, roughly 1m deep and up to 1.3m wide at the top. The inner ditch was a maximum of 1.17m deep but this depended on the width which varied. It appeared that timber uprights had been set within this ditch making it a palisaded enclosure. Two entrances were located through it. In Area 1 in the north-west of the enclosure postholes of a slightly oval building were recorded. In Area 2 a possible rack or more likely loom structure was recorded, consisting of two large postholes. In total around 60 pits were recorded although exact functions are unclear. Todd suggests a date of AD55-80 for the occupation of the site. Pottery appears to have been made to fit the theory of the date range provided. Most of the ceramics are shouldered jars which have Late Iron Age origins. There is also the possibility that these continue well into the Roman period, and a date between C1st BC and C3rd AD would fit better.</p>	Enclosed Site	A Hillslope Enclosure at Rudge, Morchard Bishop (Todd, M.) 1998
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83	Overland	Devon	Thorverton	The site is located 10km to the north of Exeter and 10km to the south of Tiverton. It lies on a south facing spur on the west side of the River Exe. Aerial photographs in 1984 showed a square ditched enclosure as well as other ditches and field walking evidence suggested a high-status building on site. Five trial trenches were excavated in 1986 to test the nature of the site. The excavation proved the presence of ditches and activity of Romano-British date with pila being recovered. The site is tentatively interpreted as a villa. The ceramics suggest occupation began during the C2nd AD and continued into the late C3rd AD.	Villa	Three Romano-British Sites in the Lower Exe Valley (Ugnow, J.) 2000
84	Turnspit	Devon	Rewe	The site lies approximately 1.6km to the south east of Overland on the flat alluvial plain of the Exe Valley. Aerial photographs of the site showed a square ditched enclosure with a remnant of a possible outer ditch and a possible associated field system. To the north a second possible enclosure was recorded although only one corner was visible. A further feature to the north east was also noted. Three trenches were excavated, one over each feature. The trench over the main enclosure ditch provided a profile, the majority of the pottery from the ditch came from context (3), which to me actually looks like a pit cut through the ditch rather than ditch fill. The second enclosure to the north provided no dating evidence and may well be a drainage ditch rather than enclosure and the last feature was medieval in date. Pottery dates are in the C2nd-C3rd AD range for the main enclosure and are similar to the villa at Overland. The presence of tegula suggests a stone roofed building stood in the enclosure although the exact location was not found.	Undetermined	Three Romano-British Sites in the Lower Exe Valley (Ugnow, J.) 2000

85	Rewe Cross	Devon	Rewe	The site is located to the south east of Turnspit and just to the north-east of Exeter, with the Exe Valley to the west. Aerial photographs showed a section of ditch, which is thought to be part of a further enclosure. The excavation showed the ditch to be 1.4m in depth and it was suggested that it was the enclosure ditch of a small farmstead. Pottery evidence again suggests an occupation date between C2nd and C3rd AD.	Enclosed Site	Three Romano-British Sites in the Lower Exe Valley (Ugnow, J.) 2000
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86	Topsham, M5	Devon	Topsham	<p>The site was excavated in advance of construction of the M5 motorway. Several other excavated sites have been recorded from the general area distributed over several hundred metres and it is not clear that they certainly formed part of the same settlement, though it does seem possible that at least some represent part of an extended roadside settlement (particularly site IDs 41 and 42). The M5 excavation revealed timber buildings dated to AD 50/55-70/75, including a timber, possibly thatched, three-roomed domestic building (10.2m x 3.8m) with a veranda. The building appears to have been the focus of an enclosed area, which also included other timber structures, including a possible barn. Two wells and eight pits contained occupation debris from the settlement and produced a relatively high proportion of fine wares. The area of occupation was bounded by the River Exe flood plain, natural slopes and a non-defensive boundary ditch. A probably second century boundary and a late third or fourth century cremation inside a small rectangular tomb indicated use of the site later in the Roman period. Whilst part of the site was clearly enclosed by ditches not enough of the settlement was excavated to establish whether this was an individual enclosed house or part of a complex group of enclosures. Given the relative density of sites in the general area, and the proximity of the supposed route of the Roman road (running SE out of Exeter), this site is suggested here to be part of a roadside settlement along with sites ID 41 and 42, at least during the mid-to-late 1st century AD.</p>	Unenclosed Site	<p>The Excavation of a First-Century Roman Farmstead and a Late Neolithic Settlement, Topsham, Devon (Jarvis, K. and Maxfield, V.) 1975</p>
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87	Willand Road	Devon	Cullompton	<p>The site is approximately 1km to the north of the centre of Cullompton and is situated on high ground overlooking the Culm Valley. The land slopes gently down from the north-west to south-east. The River Culm is 500m to the east and there is a spring 80m to the south. The fort at St Andrew's Hill is approximately 500m to the south-west. The sites of Shortlands Lane and Tiverton Road lie beyond the fort within the town. The evaluation found evidence of Neolithic activity as well as a number of penannular ditches which are thought to be the remains of a Late Iron Age settlement, although no evidence of postholes or other structural features was seen. Three agricultural enclosures were also recorded which is thought to be the remains of a Romano-British settlement as the ceramic material returned a date of C1st to C2nd AD. The ditches appear to have been re-cut and altered over time suggesting a long occupation sequence. The site appears to have been abandoned by C3rd AD, perhaps linked to a shift in settlement focus. The site of Shortlands Lane is suggestive of a roadside settlement with Knowle Lane and Tiverton Road being the precursor to this.</p>	Unenclosed Site	Later Iron Age and Early Roman Settlement at Willand Road, Cullompton (Hood, A) 2010
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88	Otterton Point	Devon	Budleigh Salterton	<p>The site is on the east side of the Otter, opposite the town of Budleigh Salterton. A field walking exercise over the ploughed field to the north of the path found a quantity of Roman artefacts including pot, tile and glass. In 1989 trial excavations were conducted to investigate the nature of the site. Evidence of at least two buildings was recorded, although the exact location of building two was not pin-pointed but demolition material suggests an approximate location. Building 1 had a slate roof and earth beaten floor and is likely an ancillary building as the demolition rubble for building 2 included evidence of a hypocaust and tiled roof. The remains of an oven were excavated. There were signs of burning around its outer edge and flue. Drainage gullies had been dug along the upper slopes of the combe, in order to carry away surface water. These had infilled with dark, charcoal-rich loam with sea shells, animal bone and pot sherds which may indicate dumping of domestic refuse or the manuring of adjacent fields. Terraces, with drystone revetting walls, were also cut along the lower slopes of the combe, though much of the revetting had been robbed. These walls were out of use before the final collapse of the first stone building. The pottery suggests an occupation date of LC2nd but mainly C3rd AD. It is possible that an earlier, timber, structure underlay the first stone building, but this was only represented by a compacted surface containing fragments of pot, slate and sea shells, but this may equally well have been an old ground surface.</p>	Villa	A Roman Site at Otterton Point (Brown, S and Holbrook, N) 1989
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89	Pomeroy Wood	Devon	Honiton	<p>The site of Pomeroy Wood is located to the west of Honiton, on the south side of the A30. It sits on a spur of land to the west of a stream that feeds into the River Otter which is to the north. The site overlooks the floodplain of the Otter and has commanding views to the west and east. Site most likely sits on the road that connected Exeter to Honiton and possibly up to Illminster. Some Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age activity. Phase 2 relates to the small fort known to have occupied the site in the mid-late C1st AD. Two ditch circuits at the southern end of the site, internal buildings and an annex to the west were recorded. This had been levelled by the LC1st AD with a short period of abandonment. During C2nd AD a civilian settlement began to grow on the site (Phase 4i). The buildings were mainly built in the round house style with posts set in an internal ring gully. Approximately 8 buildings were identified along with evidence of grain driers, 4 post-structures, ovens, pits and 3 wells as well as internal hearths and pits. At some point in C3rd AD the focus of the settlement shifted away from this area with only pits, ditches and 3 corn driers found. The unabraded pottery suggests that the debris was occupational and not manuring. Evidence of metal working was also recorded. By the end of C4th AD the site appears to have been abandoned, although this is based on pottery so could have continued into C5th AD. An extension of the site has also been excavated at Gittisham Forge (Site ID 90).</p>	Roadside Settlement	<p>Prehistoric and Roman Sites in East Devon: The A30 Honiton to Exeter Improvement DBFO, 1996-9 (Grove, J.C.) 1999</p>
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90	Gittisham Forge	Devon	Honiton	<p>The site lies on the eastern bank of the Nag's Head Culvert, immediately north-east of the site of Pomeroy Wood (Site ID 89). The features indicate two phases of activity. The first phase dates to C1st-2nd AD and comprises a very small number of cut features, a pit, a gully and a couple of hollows. The second phase comprised a number of small enclosures, the alignment of which suggest they were perpendicular to a road. These are thought to date to between the C2nd and C4th AD. These enclosures may mark the edge of the roadside settlement, with the site of Pomeroy Wood being the centre of the settlement with the more defined enclosures at the end. The report later states that no pottery between EC2nd and LC3rd AD date is identifiable suggesting a break in occupation. This is when the first civilian phase at Pomeroy Wood dates to suggesting that the later phase of this site relates to the shifting of the focus of settlement evident later in the sequence at Pomeroy Wood.</p>	Roadside Settlement	<p>Prehistoric and Roman Sites in East Devon: The A30 Honiton to Exeter Improvement DBFO, 1996-9 (Grove, J.C.) 1999</p>
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91	Woodbury Farm	Devon	Axminster	<p>The site is a roughly rectangular earthwork that sits on the eastern side of the river Axe. The site is on the very south-eastern extent of Axminster. The enclosure itself is just under 2ha with the banks still surviving in some form around most of the site. Two trenches were excavated, just to the south of the out-buildings along the eastern side of the site. A few small pits were located and a gully, a large ditch was found running through the trenches, most likely part of the fort defences (?), this gave way to a pond though at the northern end of Trench 2, the full extent of the pond was not recorded as it ran out of the trench. The date of the pond is unsure, the material dumped within contained the majority of the Romano-British period finds but this does not mean it is of Romano-British date. A stone track was found to overlay the ditch although again this may be much later. A scoop cut into the subsoil and just clipping the infilled ditch appeared to be related to metal working. The majority of the artefactual material relates to occupation in the C3rd and later. At least one stone building with a hypocaust and opus signinum floors stood on the site but its location was not found. It is suggested that this building may be a villa but its proximity to the road network may mean it was a mansio. Hints of military occupation were found and appear to confirm the site began life as a small fort. A stretch of Romano-British road was found nearby and the projected line of it would bring it very close to the site. Coins include a copy of a Claudian as, but this is likely to be contemporary with the military occupation. A further excavation took place to the west and north-west (Site ID 92).</p>	Roadside Settlement	<p>A Roman Site at Woodbury, Axminster (Silvester, R.J. and Bidwell, P.T.) 1984</p>
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92	Woodbury Great Close	Devon	Axminster	<p>The site is located adjacent to Woodbury Farm (Site ID 91), west and north-west of the fort. The excavations along the course of pipe trenches showed that settlement existed, extending over 200m to the west of the fort, dating from the late C2nd to C4th AD. The site is approximately 90m south of the Exeter to Dorchester road. Evidence of at least 3 structures was identified. Subsequent field walking suggests the site may have extended for up to 600m and been 200m wide, covering an area of around 12ha. It appears to be confined to the south side of Woodbury Lane. New aerial photograph data and geophysical survey data also showed the locations of buildings within the fort defences. These are slightly off alignment with the defences and suggest they are part of the later settlement and relate to the finds from Silvester's excavations (Site ID 91). The investigators again suggest that the site is a mansio and so with the associated settlement the site may have ranked as a small town. The evidence suggests that smithing was occurring on site and that storage jars were being manufactured here. Styli were recovered along with evidence of wood and leather working tools. Suggests a specialised craft function for the site.</p>	Roadside Settlement	Excavation of the Exeter-Dorchester Roman Road at the River Yarty and the Roman Fort Ditch and Settlement Site at Woodbury, near Axminster
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93	Cadbury Castle	Devon	Cadbury	<p>The site lies within central Devon, approximately 8km south-west of Tiverton, just to the north-east of the village of Cadbury. The site is classified as a Hillfort of presumed Iron Age date. It covers an area of c.1.4ha and sits on the summit of Cadbury Hill which is c.253. AOD. It has a single bank and ditch enclosing it, although this appears to have been altered at some stage as an earthwork suggests the original circuit enclosed a smaller area. In 1848 George Fursdon, the then owner of the site, carried out an excavation on a shaft/well within the hillfort. In 2009-10 Natural England commissioned a geophysical survey of the site and in conjunction with this the archive and finds from the 1848 excavation were re-assessed. The geophysical survey confirmed the presence of two phases of enclosure, as well as suggesting some use of the site during the Romano-British period (outside the use of the shaft/well) although as there is no dating evidence this is hard to confirm. The shaft was recorded as being 17.70m deep and the majority of the finds appear to have come from the central deposits. Based on the ceramic finds and number of bracelets it was suggested that the shaft/well was being used for deposition during the C4th AD.</p>	Enclosed Site	<p>Cadbury Castle, Devon, Reconsidered (Wilkes, E.M and Griffith, F.M.) 2012</p>
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94	Tremough	Cornwall	Penryn	<p>The site lies on a spur looking over the Fal estuary to the south-east and on the north-western edge of Penryn. Excavations and evaluations were undertaken over a number of years, 2000-04. These include the 'Fort' excavations, Site ID 26. The excavations revealed evidence for a Late Iron Age brick field system. No associated settlement was found but this may be located up near the 'Fort' at the eastern end of the plateau. During the Romano-British period a 'C' shaped enclosure and a complex post-built structure were built to the west of the Late Iron Age field system. The post-built Structure 338 was oval in shape and appeared to have an entrance on its southern side. Internal features include large postholes, two linear scatters of stakeholes (between the two large postholes), a pit that cut through the stakeholes, a post-pad and a complex of intercutting hearth pits in the central and south-western quadrants. A possible flue connected two of these hearth pits. Radiocarbon dates from two hearth pits suggest occupation between C1st and C3rd AD. Three phases are evident, and the ceramic data suggests an initial occupation of LC2nd AD, then a second phase in EC3rd which continued in LC3rd AD with the structure going out of use in EC4th AD. The structure was within a curvilinear enclosure, open on its southern side. Ceramics from the fills indicates it was initially opened at a similar time to the construction of 338 but quickly replaced with a smaller curvilinear ditch which was then backfilled during LC3rd or EC4th AD.</p>	Enclosed Site	<p>Archaeological Investigations of a Later Prehistoric and a Romano-British Landscape at Tremough, Penryn, Cornwall (Gossip, J. and Jones, A.M.)</p>
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95	Porthmeor	Cornwall	Zennor	<p>The site was excavated in the 1930s and is thought originally to have been an open village, but was later enclosed by a sub-circular enclosure, possibly in the C2nd AD. Occupation is thought to have continued until the end of the C4th AD. The presence of a fogou and traces of a field system adjacent to the enclosure are suggestive of Iron Age settlement. However, little evidence for pre-Roman occupation was recovered during the excavations, although an amount of South Western Decorated Ware was found which do indicate Iron Age occupation. Within the enclosure there are a group of stone-built courtyard houses and other buildings, only two were excavated. There appear to have been at least eleven houses in total. The courtyard houses may have been contemporary with the enclosure, but at least one roundhouse was apparently already occupied when the enclosure was built. It is more likely that the enclosure is an earlier round with the huts associated with this phase. The courtyard houses then replaced the huts. The majority of pottery dates to C3rd to C4th AD which is most likely the dates of courtyard occupation with round being C2nd AD (Quinnell's 1986 paper). The fogou associated with the settlement consists of a narrow curving roofless passage with sides of dry stone walling 1.7 metres high. There are traces of a field system visible in the fields adjacent to the enclosed area on the north, west and south sides and extending a considerable distance to the south. Two furnaces were excavated, though their function is uncertain. It is possible that they were associated with metalworking.</p>	Unenclosed Site	Excavations at Porthmeor, Cornwall (F.C. Hirst) 1936
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96	The Rumps	Cornwall	Polzeath	<p>The Rumps cliff castle encloses a promontory of approx 25ha which projects from Pentire Head at Polzeath. To the south-west is Padstow Bay while Port Issac bay is to the east. Three lines of ramparts and one other slight defensive line cut off the promontory at its narrowest point. On all other sides of the headland are steep natural slopes and cliffs running down to the sea. There is a single original entrance through the ramparts. The site was excavated by Cornwall Archaeological Society (directed by R T Brooks) between 1963 and 1967. Excavation revealed that the defensive lines may not be contemporary as the outer rampart provided no dating evidence. The excavators also noted that the entrances through the ramparts show some evidence for superstructures above gateways. Occupation areas were found behind the middle and inner rampart and on levelled platforms within the interior. Six of these were investigated and produced evidence of large post-built roundhouses. Pottery and other artefacts suggest the site was used between the C2nd BC and mid C1st AD. Sherds of amphorae from the site are likely to be prehistoric but may possibly be of Post Roman date.</p>	Enclosed Site	The Excavation of The Rumps Cliff Castle, St Minver, Cornwall (Brooks, R.T) 1974
97	Carlidnack	Cornwall	Mawnan	<p>The site lies on a south-easterly slope overlooking Mean Porth and Falmouth Bay. The round is enclosed by a single bank and ditch circuit, with an interior area of approximately 2 acres. The trenches excavated during construction provided evidence of a couple of shallow ditches and one pit. 70 sherds of pottery were found, the majority of which came from two jars that were found crushed, one on top of the other. The jars suggest an occupation date of C1st to C2nd AD at least.</p>	Enclosed Site	Carlidnack Round, Mawnan (Harris, D. and Johnson, N.) 1976

98	Whitestaunton Manor	Somerset	Whitestaunton	<p>The site is within the grounds of Whitestaunton Manor, which lies in the hamlet of Whitestaunton on the edge of the Blackdown Hills. The site is approximately 16km south of Taunton and 8km north-west of Chard. The remains of a small building were first excavated in 1845, thought to be related to a spring. These remains were the focus of the Time Team evaluation, to confirm they were of Romano-British date and to suggest a building function. The excavation revealed areas of what appears to be a bath house of Romano-British date. The pottery found suggests a C3rd AD plus date. However, the wider context of the building is unclear as no other structures were located either by geophys or excavation. It is possible that this was because other buildings were post-built, they were outside the survey area or that they had been truncated. Some post-med disturbance was detected that may indicate areas of the site were landscaped during this period and so may have destroyed evidence of other buildings.</p>	Villa	<p>Whitestaunton Manor House, Whitestaunton, Somerset (Wessex Archaeology) 2004</p>
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99	Monkerton	Devon	Monkerton	The site lies to the east of Monkerton on the north-eastern edge of Exeter. The evaluation trenches recorded early prehistoric, Romano-British, medieval and post-medieval activity, with eh Romano-British activity concentrated on the eastern edge of the site (grid ref focuses on this area). Only two ditches and a pit of Romano-British date were located but suggest settlement in the vicinity, most likely to the east. Tile was recovered suggesting a high-status building. The pottery returned a wide date, but it is possible that activity was around C2nd AD although could extend a century either way.	Undetermined	Tithe Barn Green, Monkerton, Devon: Archaeological Evaluation (Holt, R)
100	Blundell's Road	Devon	Tiverton	The site lies on the eastern edge of Tiverton, approximately 2.5km from the centre. The Romano-British features encountered (eastings/northings centred on this area) lie 400m south of Blundell Road and are bounded to the west and south by West Manley Lane. The first exploitation of the area around the site dates to the Lower Palaeolithic and the evaluation picked up evidence of landscape use dating from the Neolithic through to the Romano-British period. The Romano-British features were concentrated within Tr11 and consisted of two broadly north-south ditches and one possible pit/ditch terminal. The majority of the pottery was of C3rd to C4th AD date. The features align with geophysical anomalies and appear to form part of enclosures/field boundaries. The fired clay and slag from the pit/ditch terminal suggests there was occupation in the vicinity and if this is a ditch terminal it may have been one side of an entrance into a domestic enclosure. The evidence is minimal though.	Undetermined	Land North and South of Blundell's Road, Tiverton, Devon (Whelan, J.) 2015

101	Station Road	Devon	Feniton	The site lies on the eastern edge of the village of Feniton which is located approximately 5km to the south-west of Honiton. The River Otter is situated to the south-east of the site. Ditches in trenches 1 and 5 were dated to the Romano-British period and thought to be part of a system of field boundaries or enclosures. The majority of the pottery dates from midC3rd to early C5th AD although a sherd of South Gaulish Samian and a few other earlier sherds were located and give a broad date range for use of the site.	Undetermined	Land Off Station Road, Feniton, Devon (Woodley, K. and Thacker, G.) 2013
102	Pond Farm	Devon	Exeter	The site lies to the south of Exeter, 1.3km to the north-west of Exminster. It lies on the north-west side of a valley that runs north. The valley now has the A30 running along its base. The north-west corner of the enclosure was destroyed when the A30 was put in during the summer of 1974. A machine trench was excavated from close to the south-west corner to just below the north-east corner, with a further small trench dug being dug slightly closer to the north-east corner. The ditches were 0.5-0.6m in depth and between 1.66 and 2.09m wide. No evidence of occupation was encountered within the interior but that does not mean there was none. Only a handful of pottery was found, and it is thought to date to C2nd suggesting occupation on the site was C1st to C2nd AD. A small number of roof tile fragments were found, suggesting the possibility of a higher status building either in the enclosure or within the vicinity.	Enclosed Site	Pond Farm Roman-British Site, Exminster (Jarvis, K.) 1976

103	Huntworth	Somerset	Huntworth	The site is situated at Junction 24 on the M5, just to the north of North Petherton and west of Huntworth. The ground is fairly flat and low lying as it is on the edge of the river Parrett floodplain, with the river being 1.5km to the north-east. The evaluation found a large Middle Iron Age-Late Iron Age open settlement. This was later enclosed by a ditch and then during the Romano-British period a field system was constructed over the area. Only a small number of largely unidentifiable sherds were recovered and although they indicate occupation nearby a close date range cannot be provided.	Field System	Investigation of Later Prehistoric and Romano-British Settlement at Huntworth, 2006 (Powell et al) 2008
104	Clanacombe	Devon	Thurlestone	The site lies on the northern slope of a ridge running east-west, there is a stream at the base of the ridge. The small town of Thurlestone is approximately 1.5 miles to the south-west. The river Avon is to the north-west and west and runs into the English Channel. The site was identified as a linear feature on aerial photographs which also indicated that there may be several roundhouses associated with the linear. A trench was then excavated over the linear and it was found to be a ditch 3m wide and 0.7m deep. The site was interpreted as a square/rectangular ditched enclosure with the pottery evidence suggesting that the ditch was backfilled/silted up during LC2nd AD. No evidence of structures was found although the semi-circular features were not excavated. It is unclear how long the settlement existed.	Enclosed Site	A Trial Excavation on a Romano-British Site at Clanacombe, Thurlestone, 1969 (Greene and Greene) 1970

105	Holcombe	Devon	Uplyme	<p>The site is on land at Higher Holcombe Farm a mile north of the coastline on the spur of a hill. The site was known previously through two antiquarian excavations. The site was first occupied in the Iron Age with the construction of two circular huts. These were succeeded by a roughly rectangular ditched enclosure. Two circular huts were recorded in the centre of the enclosure. A further outer enclosure was recorded to the east bounded by a shallow ditch, which may in fact have been a palisade trench rather than ditch. In one of two pits identified a bronze mirror was found. The mirror dates to the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age. The site was thought to have been abandoned for a short while after the conquest with occupation occurring again at around AD 70. Four post-built rectangular structures were built (two of which succeeded each other) within the enclosure although the ditch was allowed to silt up. At the end of C2nd AD an aisled house was constructed, it had stone foundations and a single partitioned room. This was later extended to the south out of the Iron Age enclosure, with three rooms and a linking corridor being constructed. In the LC3rd AD more extensions were added at the north end, with four rooms and flanking corridors/verandas on both the east and west sides. The C4th was the greatest time of prosperity with major re-building which included the construction of an octagonal bath house. Evidence of iron working was found on the site throughout the occupation. There was considerable evidence of post-villa activity with small cooking hearths and iron-working furnaces built among the debris from the villa.</p>	Villa	<p>A Late Iron Age Settlement and a Romano-British Villa at Holcombe, near Uplyme, Devon (Pollard, S.) 1974</p>
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106	Summerway Drove	Somerset	Bridgwater	The site is situated on land to the south-east of Bridgwater on the eastern side of the M5 and is located on a low lying but well-defined promontory. Of 11 evaluation trenches only one produced archaeology, with three ditches being recorded, two of which may actually be part of one larger feature. The pottery from the ditch fills suggest occupation during the C3rd to C4th AD and it is thought the site was most likely a small enclosed farmstead.	Enclosed Site	Summerway Drove, Bridgwater, Somerset (Good, O. and Crockett, A.D.) 2011
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107	Hillyfields	Somerset	Taunton	<p>The site is located close to the south-eastern edge of Taunton and has Upper Holway road to the east and Black Brook to the west, with the ground sloping gently down to the brook. The site faces south-west and has views over the Blackdown Hills. The site is on a low ridge with streams on the western and eastern sides which originate in the Blackdown Hills and flow north to the River Tone. The occupation of the site appears to have begun in the Late Iron Age and continued on into the Romano-British period. The report suggests two phases, with the first covering the Late Iron Age through to the C3rd AD and then a reorganisation of land use, perhaps with a short period of abandonment, with occupation continuing to the end of the Romano-British period. The first phase consists of a series of small rectilinear enclosure, thought to be fields due to the lack of cultural items. The second phase is again evidenced through shallow ditches which seem to form small enclosures which are thought to be domestic in nature. It is suggested that these small plots are part of a larger settlement in the late Romano-British period, focused to the north and north-east. Some were presumed to contain houses or other buildings, while others are suggested as being paddocks or cultivation plots. Evidence was also found to suggest iron smithing occurred on site. Although no actual structures were recorded fired clay daub and stone roof slates indicate their presence. A deposit of an iron anvil, spindle whorl, vessel glass and charred grain in a ditch is suggested as a possible special deposit.</p>	Unenclosed Site	Excavations at Hillyfields, Upper Holway, Taunton (Leach, P.) 2003
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108	Norton Fitzwarren	Somerset	Taunton	<p>The hillfort lies just on the north-western edge of Taunton in Norton Fitzwarren. It overlooks the River Tone to the south and is on the junction of the Tone and Doniford valleys. To the west are the Brendon Hills, the Quantock Hills are to the north and the Blackdown Hills are to the south. The surviving earthworks are from a univallate hillfort, although excavations have proven earlier Bronze Age earthworks survive in places below the Iron Age enclosure. The ceramic evidence suggests Iron Age settlement began in around 200 BC and continued up until around the conquest period. The site was then abandoned until C3rd AD when it was re-occupied. There is some evidence that part (at Least) of the Iron Age ditch was re-cut suggesting the site was at least partially enclosed. A possible kiln flue was excavated, and yard surfaces were encountered, although these may have been misinterpreted. The large amount of ceramics suggests domestic occupation of some form.</p>	Enclosed Site	<p>Norton Fitzwarren Hillfort: a report on the excavations by Nancy and Philip Langmaid between 1968 and 1971 (Ellis, P.) 1989</p>
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109	Halangy Down	Isles of Scilly	St Mary's	<p>Halangy Down is located on the island of St Mary's and lies on a steep west facing slope in the north-east of the island just off the coastline. It was excavated during the 1950s, 60s and 70s. The site is an extensive, complex cluster of stone-built structures. The main period of occupation was the 2nd to 4th centuries AD. The site appears to have shifted in the mid-Iron Age with a site on a lower terrace, at Halangy Porth, abandoned as a result of sanding. The earlier settlement, which included circular buildings on masonry foundations, appears to have been deliberately demolished, presumably to provide materials for the relocated site. Here, a group of buildings utilised massive retaining walls as foundations and there was a clear succession of building construction, modification and dismantlement upon a lower terrace. Between AD 150 and 250 an oval house was constructed higher up the hillside which developed into a 'courtyard house' through modification and reconstruction. A further massive oval building stood separately to the north of the series. A 'near rectangular' building was also represented. The individual buildings were generally of similar form, with living quarters made up by sanded floors and stone-slab hearths, whilst other areas may have housed livestock or industrial activity. Grass-marked pieces of pottery show that occupation may have continued to AD 600-700, albeit upon a reduced scale. The remains of several stone cists thought likely to be part of a cemetery associated with the settlement, and similar cist burials were in use from the late first to fourth centuries at Porth Cressa.</p>	Unenclosed Site	Halangy Down, St Mary's, Isles of Scilly, Excavations 1964-1977 (Ashbee, P.) 1996
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110	Trevisker	Cornwall	St. Eval	<p>The site is located on the north-eastern edge of the village of St Eval, which is approximately 1.8m north-east of St Mawgan. Just beyond St Mawgan is the river Menalhyl. The ground of the site slopes gently from east to west and continues down to the coast, just under 3 miles to the west. The site was first occupied in the Bronze Age with evidence of a small agricultural hut circle settlement with two circular timber-built houses, ancillary structures and ditches. radiocarbon dates indicate occupation between 1700 - 1300 BC. The site was then abandoned for just over a thousand years with occupation being re-established in around the 2nd century BC when a small enclosure ditch was excavated, and a single farmstead being built within. This was the replaced by a larger enclosure with a V-shaped inner and outer ditches and a rampart with an entrance defined by drystone walling and gateposts. Within the enclosure were up to three circular houses. At least one of the houses (House 1) was re-occupied during the early Romano-British-British period, with occupation ceasing finally sometime in the C2nd AD.</p>	Enclosed Site	<p>The Excavation of Bronze Age and Iron Age Settlements at Trevisker, St Eval, Cornwall (ApSimon, A.M. and Greenfield, E.) 1972</p>
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111	Mount Batten	Devon	Plymouth	<p>Mount Batten is a promontory that juts out into Plymouth Sound and has been used by the military throughout recent history due to its defensive nature. In the early 1980s two trenches were excavated at the upper end of the narrow neck of land that connects Mount Batten to the mainland. This was done as part of Cunliffe's work on the Hengistbury Head project as Mount Batten was thought to be a good parallel of the site. The excavations suggested some occupation during the Iron Age and a sequence of soil accumulation during the Romano-British period. These were only small trenches however, so the exact nature of occupation/use is hard to fully understand. Many finds have been made over the last few hundred years as fortifications/buildings have been constructed on the site, these are included within this report.</p>	Port	<p>Mount Batten, Plymouth: A Prehistoric and Roman Port (Cunliffe, B.) 1988</p>
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112	Carn Euny	Cornwall	Sancreed	<p>The site is located 1.8km to the south-west of the village of Sancreed. Excavations revealed 4 main phases of occupation (Phase 2 has two sub-phases) which began in fifth century BC (Phase 1), when the fogou round chamber and low entrance passage were constructed. In roughly second century BC (Phase 2A) the chamber was linked to a long-curved stone passage orientated roughly east-west, with a short side passage or "creep" leading to the surface near the north-west end. At some time later, a sloping entrance was created at the eastern end. There is no trace of settlement associated with Phase 1 but by Phase 2 (C3rd-MC1st BC) houses had been constructed in turf and timber, A1 dates to this period. Traces of two similar buildings were also detected. The construction of the stone-built settlement appears to have started during the 1st century BC. There are remains of 9/10 buildings within the site and platforms outside suggest more once stood. There are five round or oval houses, the rounds houses most likely represent the C1st BC to C1st AD (Phase 3) with the oval houses belonging to Phase 4 (C2nd AD onwards). The 4 (possibly 5) courtyard houses are most likely the last stage of development, although they may have existed side by side with the oval houses. The site was occupied until C4th AD. A cottage was built on the site in the post-med period and has disturbed some of the archaeology.</p>	Unenclosed Site	<p>The Excavation of an Iron Age Souterrain and Settlement at Carn Euny, Sancreed, Cornwall (Christie, P.M.L.) 1978</p>
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113	Milber Down	Devon	Newton Abbot	<p>The site of a multiple enclosure fort situated on the northern slope of Milber Down on the south-eastern edge of Newton Abbot, at the mouth of the River Teign, occupying a ridge leading from the mouth of the Aller Brook up to the highest point of the upland. Its location is considered unusual in that it offers no natural advantage. The site consists of a main Late Iron Age fort comprising four concentric enclosures, each defined by a bank and ditch. A notable group of bronze figurines were recovered from the middle ditch of the hillfort, including a stag, a duck with a cake in its mouth, a bird with detachable wings and a ball. Approx. 70% of all pottery recovered from the main site came from this ditch, and it is a likely structured deposit (though not considered as such in the report). These were thought to have been deposited no earlier than the C1st AD, and it is possible that they are associated in some way with the adjacent early Romano-British site (Site ID 114) and were probably deposited after the fort went out of use. Pottery from the site suggests occupation of the fort in the first century BC and not later than the first quarter of the first century AD.</p>	Enclosed Site	<p>Report on the Excavations at Milber Down, 1937-8 (Fox, A. et al) 1949-50</p>
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114	Milber Down Small Camp	Devon	Newton Abbot	The site lies just to the south-east of the multiple enclosure fort (Site ID 113) on the northern slope of Milber Down on the south-eastern edge of Newton Abbot, at the mouth of the River Teign. It is just below a ridge leading from the mouth of the Aller Brook up to the highest point of the upland. The site is described as a 'fortified homestead', which appears to be of Romano-British date and lies partly within and partly outside the outermost enclosure of the fort. This second site is thought to have been of early Romano-British date (c. AD 50-80).	Enclosed Site	Report on the Excavations at Milber Down, 1937-8 (Fox, A. et al) 1949-50
115	Downes Villa	Devon	Crediton	During the summer of 1984 a parchmark of a building within a rectilinear enclosure was observed beside the river Yeo. The building is just over 1km to the south-east of Crediton and overlies the alluvial soils of the Yeo floodplain. It appeared to be a simple small winged corridor villa, measuring 40m by 18m. To confirm it was a villa a small trench was excavated on the southern side of the building in 1985. A robbed wall with some surviving stone was found and finds indicate a Romano-British date.	Villa	A Romano-British Villa Near Crediton (Griffith, F.) 1988

116	Kent's Cavern	Devon	Torquay	<p>Kent's Cavern, Torquay, produced important collections of late prehistoric and Romano-British material as well as the more well-known Palaeolithic assemblages. The caves were excavated by William Pengelly in the late C19th. Late prehistoric and Romano-British finds from the cavern include spindle whorls, amber beads, bone combs, smelted copper and shale objects, though many may be earlier than late Iron Age. Pottery included South Western Decorated Ware wares, a small amount of which originated in Cornwall and suggest trading links over the Tamar, and a small number of Romano-British wares. There is scant evidence for permanent occupation, and the cave may have been used intermittently, though for what purpose is unclear. There is no suggestion in the report that the cave acted as a shrine in the Late Iron Age or Romano-British periods, though caves do sometimes appear to have been the focus for ritual activity. The small finds assemblage is not sufficiently large or unusual enough to confidently argue for ritual activity, though this must remain a possibility. The report suggests that during the Bronze Age/Iron Age the cave may have been associated with pastoralism and the processing of wool products based on the finds associated with textile production, though there is no clear evidence that this continued into the late Iron Age or Romano-British periods.</p>	Cave	<p>The Later Prehistoric and Roman Material from Kent's Cavern, Torquay (Silvester, R.J.) 1986</p>
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117	Lower Well Farm	Devon	Stoke Gabriel	<p>The site lies just over 1km to the east of the village of Stoke Gabriel which sits on the north bank of the river Dart. The site itself sits on higher ground, just over 1km north of the river. The site is comprised of earthworks, still visible today, with a sub-rectangular enclosure, associated field system and small oval structure, within the field system, having been recorded. The enclosure is comprised of two banks with a wide deep ditch between, which was backfilled soon after construction and did not extend around the north-western side of the enclosure. A metalled area was also recognised within the enclosure. Structural evidence from inside the enclosure was limited to two or three isolated postholes, but there was a uniform scattering of pottery sherds throughout the interior. The low banks associated with the enclosure were constructed of earth and rubble and there was an approach road or trackway to the entrance through these enclosures. The ceramics from the enclosure suggest a C1st to C4th AD date for occupation. Only half of the oval structure within the field system survived and one suggestion was that it was an open structure, although this is thought unlikely. Oval structures in Cornwall date from C2nd AD onwards although the ceramics and the coins are C4th AD in date.</p>	Enclosed Site	Excavation of a Romano-British Site at Lower Well Farm, Stoke Gabriel, Devon (Masson Phillips, E.N.) 1966
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118	Borough	Devon	Stoke Gabriel	<p>In 1959 pottery and other items of Late Iron Age and Romano-British date were found while terracing the garden of a house on the south-western edge of Stoke Gabriel village. The village lies on the north bank of the river Dart above the creek in the Dart estuary that has been converted into a mill-pool. The village is situated on a limestone headland which rises up steeply. The workmen appear to have disturbed a midden deposit that had accumulated within a natural fissure in the limestone bedrock. It contained material of Late Iron Age and Roman date. Unstratified material from the garden was also collected and an iron object may possibly have been the bow of a brooch, but it is not detailed further in the report. The majority of the pottery is South Western Decorated Ware and suggests a C2nd or C1st BC date for the origins of the site the midden was associated with. Some C2nd to C3rd AD pottery was found in the garden as well suggesting long lived settlement or a second phase after a period of abandonment. No trace of structures or earthworks were recorded. The midden lies just below the summit of the headland and so any site is most likely to have been located on the hilltop or just below the summit.</p>	Undetermined	<p>A Midden at Borough, Stoke Gabriel, Devon (Woolner, D. and Woolner, A.) 1966</p>
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119	Higher Town	Isles of Scilly	St Agnes	<p>The site lies towards the north-east of the island of St Agnes, just to the north of Old Lane that runs west-east across the centre of the island. The site is situated at the bottom of a south-western facing slope below Higher Town. The site was excavated as a planning application had been put forward to develop the land, which lies between two scheduled ancient monuments. To the south and adjacent is a Prehistoric and Romano-British settlement and field system, while 200m to the south-east is a Prehistoric settlement and field system of Porth Killier. Just to the north-east two Bronze Age vessels were found during an earlier phase of this work. The majority of the occupation evidence found suggests a Bronze Age date although there was some activity in the very Late Iron Age, with two structured deposits, one brooch and another whole pot in a wet area of the site, possibly associated with clay extraction during the Bronze Age. It appears that the site form part of the settlement to the south and adjacent.</p>	Unenclosed Site	St Agnes Affordable Housing Site, Higher Town, St Agnes, Isles of Scilly (Taylor, S. and Johns, C.) 2010
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120	Honeyditches Villa	Devon	Seaton	<p>The site lies north-west of Seaton on an east facing slope overlooking the Axe valley and the English Channel. Excavations in 1978 are also recorded here, see Site ID 6. This entry relates to the excavations in 1969 conducted by H. Miles. Five trenches were excavated across the field close to where previous excavations had revealed parts of a villa building. The features recorded dated from C1st through to C4th AD. The C1st AD phase was represented by two irregular enclosures which were backfilled towards the end of the century. To the north of these enclosures, two large rectilinear buildings, of sill beam construction, were excavated. One was 31mx9m and the other 31mx10m. These were interpreted as domestic structures rather than barns as a barn complex was previously excavated to the west end of the site. They are thought to be LC1st to C2nd AD in date. They had certainly gone out of use by C3rd AD. They appear to have been deliberately demolished. A free-standing bath-house was excavated, the original structure consisted of five rooms although it was substantially altered with six further rooms being added and room F split into two smaller rooms. It appears to have been left abandoned for a while before being demolished. The bath-house likely dates to C3rd AD as a large enclosure ditch, dating to this period, was dug around it, although enclosed a much larger area than just the bath-house. See also Site ID 6.</p>	Villa	The Honeyditches Roman Villa, Seaton, Devon (Miles, H.) 1977
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121	Nornour	Isles of Scilly	Nornour	<p>The site is located on the remote islet of Nornour, one of the uninhabited Eastern Islands of Scilly, lying between St Mary's and St Martin's. The site has produced considerable evidence for prehistoric occupation in the form of multiple stone buildings dating from the Bronze Age, though there is much less evidence for domestic occupation during the Romano-British period, and it is unclear whether the settlement was occupied continuously from the Bronze Age into the Romano-British period. All Romano-British activity appears to have occurred in features at the west of the site. The original excavation report interpreted the site as a brooch production site, but this interpretation has been challenged and the site is instead regarded as a shrine during the Romano-British period rather than a domestic settlement, and some internal structures within one of the buildings may have been added in the Romano-British period, associated with ritual activity. These included a large circular 'table' in the centre of one of the buildings and a triangular stone 'box' nearby, and finds were associated with these features. As well as the coins, brooches and figurines, artefacts with a likely ritual significance include miniature pots. As at least three of the buildings appear to have seen some reuse in the Romano-British period they have been included here under circular buildings, but they are likely to have had a much earlier construction date. The date of ritual activity suggested by the artefacts ranges from the C1st to C4th AD. A second excavation campaign has also taken place at Nornour (Site ID 122).</p>	Shrine	Excavations on Nor'nour in the Isles of Scilly, 1962-6 (Dudley, D.) 1967
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122	Nornour Shrine	Isles of Scilly	Nornour	A second excavation campaign took place at Nornour to investigate a few small areas further. Most of the finds came from disturbed deposits, having most likely washed out of a spoil bank created during the last excavations to protect the site from the sea. A number of coins, beads and brooch came from the fill of a later wall at the junction between Buildings 1 and 2. The paper reconsiders all the evidence suggesting the site is not domestic during the Romano-British period but acted rather as a shrine. A number of the entries within this report are artefacts from the original excavation and it includes a full detailed report on the coins which is missing from Dudley's write up (Site ID 121).	Shrine	Roman Nornour, Isles of Scilly: a reconsideration (Butcher, S.) 2000-1
123	Choakford	Devon	South Hams	A watching brief and excavation in advance of a gas pipeline between Choakford and Langage Science Park. Majority of the sites along the pipeline were of Bronze Age date but close to the Above Ground Installation unit at Choakford (NGR) a Romano-British ditch was excavated. The site is located just to the east of Plymouth, on the edge of Plympton. The site is in close proximity to Mount Batten and Sherford. The ditch was exposed for 9m of its length before it curved to the south and out of the trench. It was 1m wide and between 0.33 and 0.60m in depth. A further trench was excavated to the west to pick up more of the ditch, which did continue. A further, undated, ditch and Romano-British pit were also discovered. Late Iron Age and R-B pottery were excavated from the primary fill of the ditch and R-B pottery came from the fills of the pit.	Undetermined	Excavation of ... the Choakford-Langage pipeline, Sparkwell, South Hams (Salvatore, J.P and Quinnell, H.) 2011

124	Lundy	Devon	Lundy	<p>Lundy island is 20km off the coast of North Devon and is 5km in length and 1km in width. The island has a number of Bronze Age sites across it and excavations revealed possible Early Neolithic pottery as well as a very small amount of Middle Iron Age material and Romano-British material. The Romano-British material came from excavations around the church on the south-western side of the island where a Bronze Age hut was also found below the current churchyard. The ceramics all point to a date of C3rd to C4th AD and suggest a small settlement on the island although perhaps seasonal occupation/stop off points for trading ships in bad weather. Some of the ceramics are of clays from the Taw/Torridge area which is the first indication of pottery production in this area during the Romano-British period.</p>	Undetermined	Prehistoric and Roman Material from Lundy (Quinnell, H.) 2010
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125	Crane Godrevy	Cornwall	Gwithian	<p>The site of Crane Godrevy is located approximately 1km to the north of Gwithian village in the middle of the headland at the northern end of St Ives bay. The site is now in scrubland and contains the ruins of a medieval and later farmstead. Trial cuttings were excavated during 1952, 1953 and between 1956 and 1958. During the 1956 excavations an enclosure ditch was discovered which led to the realisation the site was a Romano-British round which had been re-used during the medieval period. The ditch was dug into bedrock, generally V shaped in profile with an ankle breaker at the bottom. The dimensions varied but it was up to 3.66m wide and 2.13m deep. The ditch sections showed that all the fills were dumped deposits of Romano-British date. The full extent of the enclosure and its shape is still undetermined, but it is likely to be sub-rectangular rather than round. The identifiable pottery suggests the site was occupied from the C3rd AD, although the presence of Type 4 jars may push this back into C2nd AD, but a later date is more likely. There is possibly some post-Roman use but whether this is continuous is difficult to tell as the ditch only produced pottery of Romano-British date although Type 4 jars are likely to extend in C5th AD.</p>	Enclosed Site	Excavations of a Bronze Age landscape and a post-Roman industrial settlement 1953-1961, Gwithian, Cornwall (Nowakowski, J.) 2007
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126	Clatworthy Reservoir	Somerset	Clatworthy	<p>The site of Clatworthy Reservoir is on the head waters of the river Tone in West Somerset. The reservoir is 3km south of the Brendon Hills and approximately 20km west of Taunton. Archaeological remains are known from at least a 500m zone of the southern shore. The assessment revealed a number of discrete deposits of iron-smelting waste below the normal water level, which appeared to be heavily disturbed or even secondary deposits and so these were not investigated further. Six deposits of smelting waste that are in situ were also revealed above the water line. A number of small test pits were excavated over these deposits. The excavations confirmed the iron smelting waste was of Romano-British date with smelting commencing at the turn of the C1st to C2nd AD and continuing into the late C2nd AD. The finds suggest a building in Roman style nearby as window glass, tegula and possible tessera were found. The artefactual evidence supports the dates above, although it is possible occupation continued into C3rd AD. No trace of the building itself was found though.</p>	Industrial Site	<p>Preliminary Report on Phases 2 and 3 of the Site Assessment of Clatworthy Reservoir, West Somerset (Bray, L) 2005</p>
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127	Hill Barton	Devon	Clyst St Mary	<p>The site lies approximately 4km to the east of the edge of Exeter close to Clyst St Mary and just to the north of the A3052 which is known to be the line of the Roman road between Charmouth and Exeter. Trenches in fields 1 and 2 picked up 11 Romano-British period features thought to be 7 separate ditches belonging to a farmstead, with the ditches being boundaries and divisions. The volume of domestic pottery suggests that this is a farmstead or small rural settlement and roof tile suggests at a substantial building. The ceramic evidence suggests occupation began in C2nd AD although a few sherds of LC1st AD material was found. There was complete lack of samian which has been suggested to indicate occupation was LC2nd AD and then continued into C4th AD. Lack of samian may mean something other than just the settlement was constructed at the end of the samian industry though.</p>	Unenclosed Site	<p>An Archaeological Trench Evaluation on Land Between Hill Barton Industrial Estate and The A3052 Exeter to Sidmouth Road (Farnell, A.J.) 2009</p>
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128	Old Ship Inn	Somerset	Combwich	<p>The Old Ship Inn is situated on gently rising land at the northern fringe of the village of Combwich on the western bank of the river Parrett. The site is 2.5km south of the Bristol Channel. The remains of an extensive Romano-British settlement were excavated on the southern edge of the village in the late 1930s. The excavations suggested an occupation date of C1st to C4th AD and Rhaz believed that this was the ford point of the Parrett. Cannington cemetery is 1.5km south-west. The remains in the pub car park are highly disturbed with only a few features recorded. A prehistoric ditch most likely Middle Iron Age was recorded and had backfilled over time. A final levelling deposit over the ditch was found to be of C2nd AD date as it contained a cruciform plate brooch. This was then cut by a second linear feature which contained pottery of C3rd and C4th AD. Finds of post-medieval date were also recorded.</p>	Unenclosed Site	Report on an Archaeological Evaluation, The Old Ship Inn, Combwich (Brigers, J.L.) 2003
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129	Penhale Round	Cornwall	Fraddon	<p>See Site ID 17 for more information on pre-round landscape. The Late Iron Age and Romano-British period of the round is Phase 7 of the site occupation and itself contains 10 different episodes of remodelling. The round began as a single ditched enclosure with a south facing entrance. radiocarbon dates indicate the round may have been constructed as early as 400 BC and it is possible the fogou discovered by Foundations Archaeology in 2006 was also constructed at this time but no dating evidence for the structure was found. An oval building was recorded cut into the inner face of the ramparts and the first phase was dated to Phase 7.4 - C1st AD. The building has three phases of re-building, each time getting smaller until it is abandoned and covered by a midden later on. The building is unlikely to have been in use in C3rd. Hammerscale and iron slag and the presence of a possible working area adjacent suggests this could be an industrial zone in the round. Phase 7.5 and 7.6 saw remodelling of the entrance making it narrower and then wider again in LC3rd AD. Phase 7.8 LC3rd to C4th AD saw a large outer ditch being dug and then by the end of the C4th the inner ditch had been backfilled. Last phase 7.10 is marked by the creation of a midden thought to be a structured deposit. The round seems to be neglected before being finally abandoned by end of C4th.</p>	Enclosed Site	<p>Bypassing Indian Queens: Archaeological Excavations 1992-1994 (Nowakowski, J. and Johns, C.) 2015</p>
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## **Appendix 2**

### **The Data**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

#### **2.2 Notes on the data**

#### **2.3 Database Tables**

## **2.1 Introduction**

This Appendix includes the data gathered on all the artefacts used for the analysis within this thesis. It begins with some notes on the structure of the database and the differences between the master database and the separate database for the PAS and HER data used. All of this was discussed briefly in Chapter 4, however more detail is provided here. Finally, tables providing examples from each of the artefact tables in the database are provided so the detail entered can be viewed. This will include examples from both the master database and the database created for PAS and HER data.

## **2.2 Notes on the Data**

As discussed in Chapter 4 the quantity of data available for study led to the decision to collate it all into a Microsoft Access database 2016. In total two databases were created, a master database for all the data collected from excavation reports and a second for the data from the PAS database and the HERs in the region.

The master database was structured so that all excavated sites were detailed in a Site table. Each site was given a unique site ID number, generated by the database. For each site the information documented in the table is; the name, site type, county, site location, grid reference, excavation information, comments, archaeological phasing, broad site type, site type and bibliographic references.

Linked to the Site table are 5 further tables, which are all linked by a one to many relationship, see. This type of relationship is created by linking a primary key within the Site table that relates to none, one or many records in the linked table. Four of the tables, Source Documents, Ceramics, Personal Item and Coins are linked through the Site ID, which is the site name, and the last one, Site Type, through site type. The Site Type table is minor and just allows the main Site table to draw a site type from a pre-determined list within the Site Type table. The Source Documents table is a bibliography, which documents all of the sources consulted when inputting the site and material assemblage data. This table is necessary as for a number of sites more than one source has been used. The remaining three tables are the material assemblage tables, which each have one or more sub-tables linked to them by a one to many relationship. These sub-tables contain type data, such as the fabric type names

for the ceramics, or the personal adornment type categories, which are used to input some of the more standard data into the entries within each table.

Each of the material assemblage tables follows roughly the same format with the site name, object type, material and quantity data entered, although this has been tailored for each category to allow maximum data capture from each find. For example, the Ceramic table has 22 fields; Ceramic ID, County, Site ID, Depositional Context, Feature Type, Ware Type, Fabric Type Name, Fabric Sub Type, Imported Fabric, Local Fabric, Broad Form Type, Form Type, Sub Form Type, Sherd Total, Weight, MNV, Ceramic Phase, Date of Form, Date of Deposition, Comments, Document Name and Import Origin. The design of the tables and the data captured is based around the research questions designed for each material category, all of which will inform the discussion of the overall research aim. These questions are detailed in the introduction of each analysis chapter. Although it has not always been possible to fill each field, breaking the data down to this level of detail has allowed the interrogation of the data to be as in depth as possible so as to answer the research questions posed by this thesis. Linking these tables to the Site tables has also allowed distinctions between sites to be discerned through data patterning and anomalies. It has also made it possible to look at changes to assemblages over time.

The small numbers of excavated finds would have meant that any interpretations drawn from the analysis of these finds would have been heavily caveated and would have added little to our knowledge of the region. For example, data for only 2 hoards was held within the database, which would not have allowed any form of analysis on hoarding patterns, while adding the PAS data increased this to 131 hoards and groups, see Chapter 7.

## 2.3 The Data Tables

Ceramic ID	Site ID	Ware Type	Fabric Type Name	Imported Fabric	Local Fabric	Broad Form Type	Form Type	Sub Form Type	Sherd Total	Weight (g)	MVN	Ceramic Phase	Date of Form
1	Kilhallon	Fine Ware	Samian Ware	TRUE	FALSE	Tableware	Bowl	Dr 31	3		1	5	C2nd AD
2	Kilhallon	Fine Ware	Samian Ware	TRUE	FALSE	Drinking Vessel	Cup	Dr 27	2		1	5	C2nd AD
3	Kilhallon	Fine Ware	Central Gaulish Black-Slipped Ware	TRUE	FALSE	Drinking Vessel	Beaker	Beaker	1		1	5	C2nd AD
4	Kilhallon	Fine Ware	Central Gaulish Colour Coated Ware	TRUE	FALSE	Drinking Vessel	Beaker	Beaker	1		1	5	C2nd AD
5	Kilhallon	Coarse Ware	Mortarium	TRUE	FALSE		Mortarium	Mortarium	1		1	4-5	C2nd-C3rd AD
6	Kilhallon	Coarse Ware	SEDBB1 Fabric 31	TRUE	FALSE		Cooking Pot	Cooking Pot	1		1	4-6	C1st-4th AD
7	Kilhallon	Coarse Ware	SWBB1 Fabric 40	TRUE	FALSE	Tableware	Bowl	Bowl	1		1	4-5	C1st-C3rd AD
8	Kilhallon	Coarse Ware	SWBB1 Fabric 40	TRUE	FALSE	Tableware	Dish	Dish	1		1	4-5	C2nd-C3rd AD

Figure 1: Extract from the ceramic table in the master database.

Personal Item ID	Site ID	Type	Sub Type	Material	Quantity	Date Of Manufacture	Ceramic Phase	Deposition Date	Comments	Document Name
1	Honeyditches	Brooch	T shaped	Bronze	1	Late C1st/early C2nd	4	C1st-C2nd AD	Was brooch ever used? If so may only have been for a very short period.	Excavations at Honeyditches Roman Villa, Seaton, in 1978
2	Honeyditches	Brooch	T shaped	Bronze	1	Late C1st/early C2nd	4	C1st-C2nd AD	Found in deposits over gully [54] which was backfilled by 120 AD.	Excavations at Honeyditches Roman Villa, Seaton, in 1978
3	Honeyditches	Brooch	Plate	Bronze	1	Late C2nd	5	C2nd-C3rd AD	These brooches are common throughout the Roman world.	Excavations at Honeyditches Roman Villa, Seaton, in 1978
5	Kilhallon	Brooch	Shoe-sole	Bronze	1	C 1st AD	4	C3rd AD	These brooch types are thought to have magical or religious significance.	A Romano-British Site at Kilhallon, Tywardreath: Excavation in 1975
6	Magor	Brooch	Polden Hill derivative	Bronze	1	C2nd AD?	5	Unknown	From the Western Group of Colchester Derivatives - Collingwood type H.	Journal of The Royal Institution of Cornwall
7	Fogou at Boden Vean	Bead		Glass	1	Roman	4-6	Unknown	Blue glass bead.	The evaluation of a multi-period prehistoric site and fogou at Boden Vean, St Anthony-in-Meneage, Cornwall
8	Honeyditches	Bead	Long Biconical	Glass	1	Roman	4-6	Unknown	Reddish brown bead.	Excavations at Honeyditches Roman Villa, Seaton, in 1978

Figure 2: Extract from the personal adornment table in the master database.

Coin ID	Site ID	NIP	Emperor Name	Denomination	Metal	Total	Depositional Context	Hoard	Comment	Document Name
1	Honeyditches	Unknown		As	Bronze	1	Overburden on S5	FALSE	Only a fragment of the coin recovered so no emperor given.	Excavations at Honeyditches Roman Villa, Seaton, in 1978
2	Magor	7	Faustina I	Denarius	Silver	1	Room 4 wall recess	TRUE	No 1. Quite worn.	Journal of The Royal Institution of Cornwall
3	Magor	8	Lucius Verus	Denarius	Silver	1	Room 4 wall recess	TRUE	No 2. Minted in AD 162.	Journal of The Royal Institution of Cornwall
4	Magor	10	Septimius Severus	Denarius	Silver	1	Room 4 wall recess	TRUE	No 3. Worn, minted AD 197-8.	Journal of The Royal Institution of Cornwall
5	Magor	10	Julia Domna	Denarius	Silver	2	Room 4 wall recess	TRUE	No 4-5. First coin is worn, AD 196-211. Second AD 196-211.	Journal of The Royal Institution of Cornwall
6	Magor	10	Caracalla	Denarius	Silver	1	Room 4 wall recess	TRUE	No 6. AD 207.	Journal of The Royal Institution of Cornwall
19	Mount Batten, Zone D	Unknown	Unknown	Undetermined	Bronze	1	(327) Upper midden layer.	FALSE	Coin is described as AE1 but too corroded for an emperor. Size might suggest a dupondius.	Mount Batten, Plymouth, Archaeological Field Evaluation Zone D
20	Honeyditches	7	Faustina II	Sestertius	Bronze	1	Overburden on S5	FALSE		Excavations at Honeyditches Roman Villa, Seaton, in 1978
21	Shortlands Lane	Unknown	Unknown	Undetermined	Not Specified	1	(176) medieval soil layer	FALSE	SF1 too corroded to get any detail.	Land at Shortlands Lane Cullompton Devon
22	Shortlands Lane	Unknown	Unknown	Undetermined	Not Specified	1	(215) RB soil layer	FALSE	SF4 too corroded to get any detail.	Land at Shortlands Lane Cullompton Devon
23	Shortlands Lane	8	Faustina II	Sestertius	Copper Alloy	1	(264) fill of ditch [263]	FALSE	SF5. Minted in Rome under Marcus Aurelius, AD 161-175. Quite worn, may have been circulating for a long time.	Land at Shortlands Lane Cullompton Devon

Figure 3: An extract from the coin table in the master database.

ID	Object Type	Classification	Material	Quantity	Description	CP	County	Easting	Parish	Nnorthing
132	Bead		Stone	1	From Phase 2 entrance. Greisen bead, C2nd or later.		Cornwall	158200	Porth Godrevy	42800
168	Brooch		Bronze	1	9. Very corroded curved bow, possibly with transverse marking.		Cornwall	187350	St Mawgan-in-Pydar	65620
191	Brooch		Not Specified	1	Curved flat strip. No 29.		Cornwall	191900	Carvossa	48300
142	Finger Ring		Glass	1	Gl18. Dark yellowish-green, appearing black. Internal diameter 14mm.		Cornwall	203453	Trethurgy	55690

Figure 4: Extract from the PAS and HER database for personal adornment items.

ID	Find Type	Source	Metal	Quantity	Quantity Coins	Description	Denomination	Ruler Name	NIP	County	Easting	Northing
168	Single Find	PAS	Bronze	1	1	Found during back-filling of an excavated sump. Micipsa and his brothers. Probably minted in Numidia.	Unknown	Micipsa	1	Cornwall	168000	40000
170	Single Find	PAS	Bronze	1	1	A coin of Ptolemy VI Philometor of Egypt. A few are known to have reached Britain, one found in Winchester along with C2nd BC pottery.	Unknown	Ptolemy VI	1	Cornwall	180800	44800
194	Single Find	HER	Bronze	1	1	A provincial roman bronze coin of Tiberius	Unknown	Tiberius	1	Devon	255400	55900
2302	Settlement Find	Exeter	Copper Alloy	1	1	M. Agrippa RIC 32	As	Agrippa	1	Devon	292076	92527

Figure 5: Extract from the database of PAS and HER coin data.

