

**ARCHITECTURE, ECONOMICS, AND IDENTITY
IN ROMANO-BRITISH 'SMALL TOWNS'**

Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
at the University of Leicester

by

Thomas C. Rust, M.A. (Denver)
School of Archaeological and Ancient History
University of Leicester

UMI Number: U219620

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



UMI U219620

Published by ProQuest LLC 2013. Copyright in the Dissertation held by the Author.
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

All rights reserved. This work is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.



ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

UNIVERSITY OF LEICESTER

ABSTRACT

ARCHITECTURE, ECONOMICS, AND IDENTITY IN
ROMANO-BRITISH 'SMALL TOWNS'

By Thomas C. Rust

In recent years the impact of Roman imperialism in Britain has garnered significant attention. An area overlooked in recent research is the meaning of architecture in the ill-defined category of sites known as 'small towns.' Using the social psychology approaches of identity theory, social identity theory, and operant conditioning, this study examines the impact of Roman imperialism and the socio-economic changes that occurred on the island as reflected in the choice of architecture.

Focusing on 'small towns' is problematic due to difficulties with definition and site categorization. However, as settlements that were more complex than simple villages but more organic than the larger cities, they provide an opportunity to measure the socio-economic impact of Roman imperialism in the rural countryside.

This thesis examines the meaning of architectural variation in small towns by investigating the shifting use of construction techniques and building types in comparison with personal artifacts. Data was collected from published site reports and entered into a simple geo-spatial database where broad trends were analyzed to reveal general patterns over space and time. Detailed case studies were then examined from sites that showed some shared characteristics in this initial analysis.

Different patterns became evident that were not solely attributable to site type, size, economics, or local geology and reveal the negotiation of personal identity in the context of Roman imperialism. As a supplementary example, architectural variation on the better documented American frontier provided a comparison for socio-economic change on the Roman frontier.

The choice of architecture styles by the inhabitants of Romano-British 'small towns' had different meanings given the unique set of economic and social forces they encountered. The inhabitants of these sites negotiated their personal identities in relation to the civic identities of the settlement in which they lived and were affected by economic, social, and imperial forces.

Word Count: 77,649

Table of Contents

List of Figures	iv
List of Tables	vi
List of Maps	vii
Chapter 1: Introduction	
I. The Problem	1
II. Justification for Studying Small Towns	2
III. Roman Urbanization in the North West Provinces: Small Towns in Context	4
IV. Socio-Economic Change Reflected in Architecture on the American Frontiers	9
Chapter 2: Theory and Methodology	
I. Introduction	21
II. Cultural Change and Identity	
A. Romanization: An Introduction and Critique	21
B. Identity and Material Culture	27
III. Methodology	
A. Defining “Small Towns”	31
B. Problems with the Data	42
C. Method of Analysis	50
D. Database Construction	52
Chapter 3: Provincial Patterns and the Development of Architectural Traditions	
I. Introduction	56
II. Building Patterns	56
A. Timber Buildings	57
B. Stone-Founded Timber Buildings and Buildings with Unknown Superstructures	67
C. Stone Buildings	71
III. Economics of Architectural Change	79
A. Origins	80
B. Governmental Influences	91
C. Economic Growth	95
D. Social Identity and Economic Demand	100

IV. Discussion	118
Chapter 4: Transitory Building Practices	
I. Introduction	123
II. Macro Analysis	124
III. Case Studies	
A. Iron Age Settlements and the Search for Identity	130
i) Baldock	130
ii) Dragonby	137
iii) Baldock and Dragonby Compared	143
B. Carlisle: A Cosmopolitan Small Town on the Frontier	144
C. Wanborough: A “New” Roman Town in Between Two Worlds	160
IV. Discussion	169
Chapter 5: Towns with Stone Building Traditions	
I. Introduction	177
II. Macro-Analysis	177
III. Case Studies	
A. Ilchester: An Integrated “New” Town	187
B. Nettleton: A Religious Center	193
C. Camerton: A Proto-Industrial Center	205
D. Catterick: Success and Limits in a Government Town	212
IV. Discussion	228
Chapter 6: Towns with Timber Building Traditions	
I. Introduction	234
II. Macro-Analysis	235
III. Case Studies	
A. Margidunum: An Administrative Site with a Civilian Settlement	242
B. Neatham: A Local Center with a Conservative Outlook	248
C. Alcester: A Local Center without Building Stone	255
D. Great Chesterford: A Rural Agricultural Settlement	264
IV. Discussion	272

Chapter 7: Discussion

I. Introduction 275

II. Economic Forces and Architecture 276

III. Identity saliency and architecture

 A. Interaction of Identity Saliency and Economic Growth282

 B. Interaction of Civic and Personal Identities 295

IV. Continental Comparisons299

V. Conclusions305

Appendix A: List of Small Town 309

**Appendix B: Building Number and Types
of Study Towns by Phase** 311

Appendix C: Gazetteer 320

Bibliography 421

List of Figures

1.1 Model of Economic Growth and Stone Building Feasibility.....	8
1.2 Log Saloon, Unionville, Montana, c. 1870s	16
1.3 Bannock, Montana	17
1.4 Ackerman Homestead, Garfield County, Montana	17
2.1 Type of Buildings in Romano-British Small Towns	43
2.2 Earthfast Construction	45
2.3 Sill Beam Construction	46
2.4 Masonry Construction.....	47
3.1: Percentages of provincial construction over time	57
3.2 Number and Type of Timber Constructed Buildings by Period.....	59
3.3 Number of Stone-Founded Buildings with Timber Superstructures.....	68
3.4 Number of Stone-Founded Buildings with Unknown Superstructures.....	69
3.5 Number of Composite Buildings with the Additions of Stone Founded Buildings with Unknown Super Structures.....	70
3.6 Number of Stone Buildings	71
3.7 Occurrence of "Romanized" Features	101
3.8 Occurrence of "Romanized" Features in Timber Buildings	108
3.9 Buildings of St Albans (<i>Verulamium</i>)	121
4.1 Baldock Buildings	125
4.2 Carlisle Buildings.....	125
4.3 Dragonby Buildings	126
4.4 Wanborough Buildings	126
4.5 Transitory Building Tradition Coin Loss per 1000 Coins	128
4.6 Stratified Pottery from Baldock	133
4.7 Samian Ware from Baldock	133
4.8 Ritual Objects from Baldock	134
4.9 Brooches from Baldock	134
4.10 Dragonby Pottery Sherd Total	140
4.11 Dragonby Brooches	141
4.12 Carlisle Pottery Sherd Total	151
4.13 Carlisle Amphorae Sherd Total	151
4.14 Carlisle Samian Ware Sherd Total	158
4.15 Carlisle Brooches	163
4.16 Wanborough Amphorae Sherd Total	164
4.17 Wanborough Amphorae Sherd Weight	164
4.18 Wanborough Samian Ware Sherd Total	165
4.19 Wanborough Mortaria Sherd Total	166
4.20 Wanborough Brooches	167
4.21 Wanborough Timber Building on Raised Stones	168
5.1 Bath Buildings	180
5.2 Camerton Buildings	180
5.3 Catterick Buildings	181
5.4 Corbridge Buildings	181
5.5 Ilchester Buildings	182
5.6 Nettleton Buildings	182
5.7 Richborough Buildings	183
5.8 Springhead Buildings	183
5.9 Water Newton Buildings	184

5.10 Stone Building Traditions Coin Loss per 1000 Coins	186
5.11 Ilchester Brooches	192
5.12 Ilchester Samian Sherd Count	193
5.13 Nettleton Brooches	199
5.14 Nettleton Samian Sherd Count	199
5.15. Camerton Spindlewhorls	208
5.16 Camerton Samian Sherd Count	210
5.17 Camerton Brooches	211
5.18 Catterick Samian Histogram	219
5.19 Catterick Brooches	220
5.20 Catterick Hairpins	224
6.1 Alcester Buildings	237
6.2 Alcester Buildings	237
6.3 Asthall Buildings	238
6.4 Great Chesterford Buildings	238
6.5 <i>Margidunum</i> Buildings	239
6.6 Neatham Buildings	239
6.7 Towcester Buildings	240
6.8 Timber Tradition Coin Loss per 1000 Coins	242
6.9 <i>Margidunum</i> Brooches	245
6.10 <i>Margidunum</i> Samian Sherd Count	247
6.11 Neatham Brooches	252
6.12 Neatham Samian Sherd Count	252
6.13 Alcester Samian Histogram	260
6.14 Alcester Brooches	261
6.15 Great Chesterford Mortaria Sherd Count	266
6.16 Great Chesterford Samian Sherd Count	267
6.17 Great Chesterford Brooches	268
7.1 Comparison of Feasibility Based on Availability of Local Stone	277
7.2 Comparison of Sites with Varying Degrees of Economic Growth	279
7.3 Mean Coin Loss Comparison Based on Building Traditions	281
7.4 Case Study Coin Loss Comparison with Provincial and St Albans Loss Patterns	282
7.5 Influence of Differing Degrees of Identity Saliency	284
7.6 Model of a Site with High Economic Growth, Strong Roman Identity, and Low Feasibility	285
7.7 Model of a Site with Low Economic Growth, Strong Roman Identity, and Low Feasibility	287
7.8 Model of a Site with High Economic Growth, Weak Roman Identity, and Low Feasibility	288
7.9 Model of a Site with Low Economic Growth, Weak Roman Identity, and High Feasibility	289
7.10 Model of a Site with Moderate Economic Growth, Strong Roman Identity, and High Feasibility	290
7.11 Model of a Site with High Economic Growth, Strong Roman Identity, and High Feasibility	292
7.12 Model of a Site with High Economic Growth, Weak Roman Identity, and High Feasibility	293
7.13 Model of a Site with Low Economic Growth, Weak Roman Identity, and High Feasibility	294
7.14 The Interaction of Civil and Personal Identity	298

List of Tables

2.1 Examples of Small Town Characteristics for Definition	34
2.2 Characteristics of Small Towns from Alexander (1975)	35
2.3 Small Town Classification by Burnham (1987)	36
2.4 Small Town Classification by Burnham (1993 and 1995)	37
2.5 Characteristics of <i>vici</i> by Rorison (2001)	38
3.1 Summary of Timber Constructed Buildings by Type	57
3.2 Towns with Timber Building Traditions	66
3.3 Buildings with Stone Foundations and Timber Superstructures.....	68
3.4 Summary of Stone Construction by Period	71
3.5 Wanborough's Change in Architecture	78
3.6 Use of Decorative Elements	101
3.7 Timber Buildings with Decorative Elements	107
3.8 Inscriptions by Town	116
4.1 Transitory Building Tradition Towns	124
4.2 Characteristics of Transitory Tradition Towns	127
4.3 Economic Activity in Towns with Transitory Building Traditions	128
4.4 Building Activity in Early Carlisle	146
5.1 Towns with Stone Building Traditions	179
5.2 Characteristics of Stone Tradition Towns	186
5.3 Economic Activity in Stone Tradition Towns	186
6.1 Towns with Timber Building Traditions	236
6.2 Characteristics of Towns with Timber Traditions	240
6.3 Economic Activity in Towns with Timber Traditions	241
6.4 Site Activity Comparison within Alcester	259
7.1 Case Study Mean Coin Loss Rate Compared with British Mean	282
7.2 Potential Impacts of Civic Identity on Individual Identity.....	296
7.3 Potential Impacts of Personal Identity on Civic Identity	297

List of Maps

2.1 Towns in Study	41
3.1 Timber Buildings AD 43-100	60
3.2 Timber Buildings AD 100-150.....	61
3.3 Timber Buildings AD 150-250	62
3.4 Timber Buildings AD 250-350	63
3.5 Timber Buildings AD 350-450	64
3.6 Economic Activity	65
3.7 Stone Buildings AD 43-100	73
3.8 Stone Buildings AD 100-150	74
3.9 Stone Buildings AD 150-250	75
3.10 Stone Buildings AD 250-350	76
3.11 Stone Buildings AD 350-450	77
3.12 Towns with Known Iron Age Sites	81
3.13 Towns with a Military Phases	82
3.14 Circular Buildings AD 43-100	85
3.15 Circular Buildings AD 100-150	86
3.16 Circular Buildings AD 150-250	87
3.17 Circular Buildings AD 250-350	88
3.18 Circular Buildings AD 350-450	89
3.19 Villa Density	90
3.20 <i>Cursus Publicus</i>	94
3.21 Building Construction Compared with Limestone Bedrock	98
3.22 Decorative Features AD 43-100	102
3.23 Decorative Features AD 100-150	103
3.24 Decorative Features AD 150-250	104
3.25 Decorative Features AD 250-350	105
3.26 Decorative Features AD 350-450	106
3.27 Number of Villas and "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	110
3.28 Inscriptions on Stone	113
3.29 <i>Instrumentum Domesticum</i>	114
3.30 Total Inscriptions	115
4.1 Baldock	131
4.2 Dragonby	138
4.3 Carlisle	147
4.4 Wanborough	161
5.1 Ilchester	188
5.2 Nettleton	195
5.3 Camerton	207
5.4 Catterick	217
6.1 <i>Margidunum</i>	244
6.2 Neatham	250
6.3 Alcester	257
6.4 Great Chesterford	265

Chapter 1:

Introduction

I. The Problem

After Rome conquered the western provinces, a major change in settlement patterns occurred. A network of chartered and unchartered settlements arose. In recent years study of one ill-defined group of settlements, often called “small towns,” has garnered significant attention. These settlements were important links between the urbanized parts of the north western provinces of the Roman Empire and the more rural inhabitants. Study of these settlements provides opportunities to examine the penetration of Roman culture into the indigenous countryside and how indigenous people responded to Rome’s presence. To date, scholars have somewhat neglected a remarkable phenomenon of small towns that has potentially significant implications, namely the change from predominantly timber construction to masonry. Surveys have noted this change on the continent in the mid-first century (Wells 1999, 156-7; Wightman 1985, 135; Greene 1986, 149; Woolf 1998, 113, 123-4; Carroll 2001, 67; Bloemers 1990, 75; Woolf 1998, 123-4; Rorison 2001, 93; King 1995, 186-7; Rosenheim 2000, 159) and in the mid-second century and early third century in Britain (Collingwood and Myres 1937, 190-91; Burnham and Wachter 1990, 322; Burnham 1995, 9; Condrón 1995, 111; Wachter 1995, 207).

Examining this change may greatly add to our understanding of the northwest provinces of the Roman Empire. Burnham and Wachter (1990, 322) hypothesized that the change was not just a shift in taste but rather accompanied significant social and economic change. Condrón (1995, 111) hinted at such change, for example, when she noted that the Normangate potting and metal working industries developed around the same time as masonry replaced timber as the most common construction material. In addition to economic development, the change might indicate

a symbolic development in the social structure of communities as seen on other frontiers (see examples from the American frontier below). Even if the change was one of simple taste or desire to be fashionable, that alone could indicate growing acceptance of Roman styles and reveal significant changes. Thus the change from predominantly timber to masonry construction could reflect not only the economic development of a town but also its social change. It may also provide a reflection of the identities of inhabitants on the island during the Roman era. Yet, despite the potential significance of this change, calls for examining the phenomenon have gone unanswered (Burnham and Wachter 1990, 322; Burnham 1995, 13; Wachter 1995, 207).

Given our lack of understanding about how indigenous people reacted to Roman values and ideals after conquest, it is disappointing that Burnham and Wachter's calls have been ignored. Studying "small towns" provides an opportunity to examine the cultural influence of Rome and the acceptance, rejection, and/or modification of their standards by the indigenous people. Because small towns were more organic in nature and less directly or intentionally administered by the central government than the larger chartered towns and *civitas* centers, the social and economic change within them provides a glimpse of Rome's cultural influence in the provinces. While a similar transition occurred in the villas of the empire, they presumably were owned by a more exclusive and elite population. The study of small towns allows for examination beyond the indigenous elite.

II. Justification for Studying Small Towns

"Small towns" were a vital link in our understanding of the rural population in the Empire. The exact nature of small towns and a definition of what exactly the term constitutes is a major point of contention (see below). In general terms, however, small towns occupy a position between the large *civitas* capitals and *colonia*, but were sufficiently integrated into the Roman economy to have acted beyond a solely agricultural based economy or parasitic existence such as

military *vici*. Common estimates for the population of Gaul range from 8-15 million people (King 1990, 107; Woolf 138). Woolf (1998, 138) noted that in the north western provinces averaged 6-10 percent of the population probably lived in urban centers as opposed to areas such as Italy or Egypt, where 20-30 percent of the population were urbanites. In addition, distribution of the population in urban areas was heavier in smaller settlements simply by the fact of the sheer number of such settlements. King (1990), using work by Christian Goudineau, estimates that in Gaul there were seven towns with a population in excess of 20,000, four towns with a population around 10,000, one hundred towns with a population of 5,000 or less, and five-hundred towns of a population of less than 1,000 (King 1990, 108). Accordingly, there would be approximately 140,000 people living in the largest towns, 40,000 people living in the next category, 500,000 people in towns of less than 5,000 people, and 500,000 in towns of less than 1,000 people. Thus, there are more people in the smaller two categories of towns than in the two highest categories combined.

The study of small towns therefore allows us to examine the link between the urban and rural inhabitants of the Empire and can be a barometer to measure cultural interaction between the indigenous population and the central imperial government. This does not mean there were no administrative functions carried out in small towns. Yet, due to this organic nature, investigating small towns will help us better understand the silent majority of the population in the provinces. In addition, a comparison between small towns in Roman Britain and on the continent is lacking (Burnham, *et al.* 1997). Examining the British examples alone provides a first step in this process. The 67 British sites in this study yielded over one thousand building samples, a substantial number for one study. A brief survey of continental comparisons at the conclusion of this study may provide directions for future research that could include a continental comparison.

III. Roman Urbanization in the North West Provinces: Small Towns in Context

It is useful to begin by briefly examining small towns in the context of the general process of urbanization in the Empire. The Roman administration relied heavily on having stable provinces with a docile population, preferably in towns or villa-type rural estates. Yet, they faced the antithesis of this ideal in the northwest (King 1990, 3). After the force of arms was decided in these provinces, Roman officials encouraged urbanization as a means of keeping the provinces peaceful by encouraging the inhabitants to enjoy the fruits of Roman civilization (Drinkwater 1987, 353). Tacitus claimed that Agricola encouraged town development of Roman Britain (*Agricola* XXI), and Wightman (1985, 100) has indicated that urbanization was directly dependent upon local connection to the central government in Gallia Belgica. Some scholars see urbanization as a central component of Roman imperial policy and often as a bench mark of “Romanization” (Wacher 1995; Greene 1986 120, 133-41; Drinkwater 1987, 353-61; Woolf 1998, 406;). Whether driven by the imperial government or not, settlement patterns did change to an increasingly urban presence, and the adoption of Roman architecture and urban lifestyle does provide a barometer of Roman influence. However, despite many popular misconceptions, these new urban centers did not resemble the Mediterranean cities except in the faintest of ways (Wacher 1995, 36; Wells 1999, 171).

While there was indisputable change in the settlement patterns in post-conquest Western Europe, some scholars debate whether Rome instigated the process of urbanization or simply accelerated an already existing process (Drinkwater 1987, 357; King 1990, 63; Wells 1999, 172). Prior to Roman conquest, the indigenous peoples had a type of proto-urban settlement, what Caesar termed *oppida*. These settlements had a concentration of population and served important economic functions, though the Romans themselves did not recognize them as towns *per se*

(Drinkwater 1987, 352; King 1990, 63; Wells 1999, 171). While it can be argued that these were really a form of early urbanization, Woolf (1998, 107) claims that the whole debate is largely a matter of precisely defining the concept and characteristics of urbanization.

Some of the post-conquest urban centers, primarily *coloniae* were directly created by Rome for specific military and political purposes, though they may also have been intended as a model for the indigenous peoples of the fruits of Roman civilization (Drinkwater 1987, 361; Wells 1999, 171-174). Yet most new settlements were founded by the indigenous elite with Roman encouragement (Drinkwater 1987, 353; King 1990, 60-64; Millett 1995, 33; Woolf 1998, 107; Wells 1999, 172). Rome urged the indigenous elite to develop what they considered the backward parts of the empire and in some areas achieved their goal with remarkable speed, resulting in a hybrid Romano-Celtic culture. Within one generation, in a process French archaeologists have termed "Romaine précoce," most of Gaul was neither truly Celtic nor was it clearly Roman, but rather a Gallo-Roman or Romano-Celtic hybrid culture (King 1990). This seems to agree with Tacitus' claims (*Agricola* XXI). However, it still remains to be seen if this change corresponds with an architectural shift in the towns of the provinces.

In a legal sense, there were different types of urban centers (Poulter 1987, 388-90; Rorison 2001, 1; Jones and Mattingly 1990, 153-66; Adkins and Adkins 1994, 132-134). *Coloniae* were planned cities settled by Roman veterans. *Civitas* capitals or *civitates* were created in existing tribal centers to further Roman administration by taking advantage of pre-conquest power structures. *Municipia* were towns that held official charters with certain rights and obligations. All had a certain amount of self-rule. Some settlements, commonly called military *vici*, grew out of settlements outside legionary or auxiliary fortresses. A few of these settlements survived after the army moved on. Other settlements arose without the direct stimulus of military money, sometimes also referred to as *vici*. These settlements were often without official charters,

though some may ultimately have been given some sort of official status and delegated select administrative powers (Mattingly 1994).

An important group of settlements in the latter category are the “small towns.” Given their predominantly organic nature, the development of these reflected changing socio-economic conditions in the provinces (Poulter 1987, 388). While some were larger than the administrative *civitas* capitals, most were rural and unplanned. The category “small town” does not contain a monolithic group of sites, nor is there a clear definition of what exactly constitutes a small town. These sites served as an important link between the rural landscape of villages and farms and the more urbanized areas of the province (Greene 1986, 120; King 1990, 89). The industrial capacity of some of these legally inferior towns may have been greater than other chartered towns (King 1990, 90). They also served as local social, economic, and political centers and may have some minor official administrative functions (Wacher 1995, 37; Mattingly 1994).

For all their promise in what they can tell us, small towns have been problematic to the modern researcher. Burnham (1993, 1995 and 2001) has recounted the history of the recent research in great detail and this need not be retold here. However, the fact that small towns were usually unplanned in nature and grew organically indicates that there were important changes occurring in the social and economic conditions in the province and suggests their continued importance in future research (Poulter 1987, 388; Burnham *et al.* 1997). Despite the popularity of small town research, excavation of sites is far from complete and thus hinders analysis (Burnham 1993).

One of the biggest problems in studying small towns is defining exactly what they were and how to classify them. It is clear that there was no archetypal “small town” for which a universal definition can be applied. Each site had its own unique origin, growth, and maturity based on its time and place in the landscape of the empire. Yet the shift from timber to masonry construction along Roman standards could reveal how the indigenous peoples responded to

Roman cultural imperialism. When looking at these small towns, a series of questions regarding the economic character of the towns must be postulated: How were these sites different economically and socially when construction was primarily wood as opposed to when construction favored masonry? How did the introduction of the Roman economic model impact the indigenous population and how did they respond to this as reflected by their architectural choices? Another series of questions arises regarding the social impact of Roman imperialism: to what extent did the shift in construction indicate an acceptance of Roman taste and culture or did it indicate a blending of indigenous and Roman culture in a process of creating a self-identity? How did the choice of architectural traditions reflect the identity of the inhabitants? What did the architectural choices made reveal about the identity of people in Roman Britain?

There were two required elements needed in a town for the change in construction techniques: first was a desire to change, and second was the ability to change. The first prerequisite, desire, in classic economic terms is the demand for a particular good or service. This is particularly difficult to ascertain from the archaeological record and is what this study is in part attempting to explain. There were several elements that might cause the people of the empire to want to change their construction techniques from timber to masonry. Perhaps it was for increasing the value of their real estate. Safety might have motivated them. Another reason might have been a general change in style or taste borrowed from the Romans to remain fashionable for the time. If so, what meaning is associated with the acceptance of Roman styles or tastes?

The second required element for this construction change to occur was the ability to construct buildings from stone, or supply of a good or service in a classic economic sense. Settlements must have had access to suitable raw materials or at the least the ability to import them. In the case of the latter, people would need to have had the economic resources to purchase them and the transportation infrastructure to import the stones. Once the raw materials

were present, it was necessary to have the technical skills to cut, hoist, join, and finish stones for buildings as well as their continued maintenance after construction. Using stone required significant financial investment in quarrying, transportation and preparation (Greene 1986, 149). Thus, there needed to be a theoretical point of feasibility where the town was economically developed enough to allow the inhabitants to make such an investment. Once this point was reached, there was the increased opportunity for stone construction (see Fig. 1.1). Hence, the ability to change was largely contingent upon the economic maturity of a community.

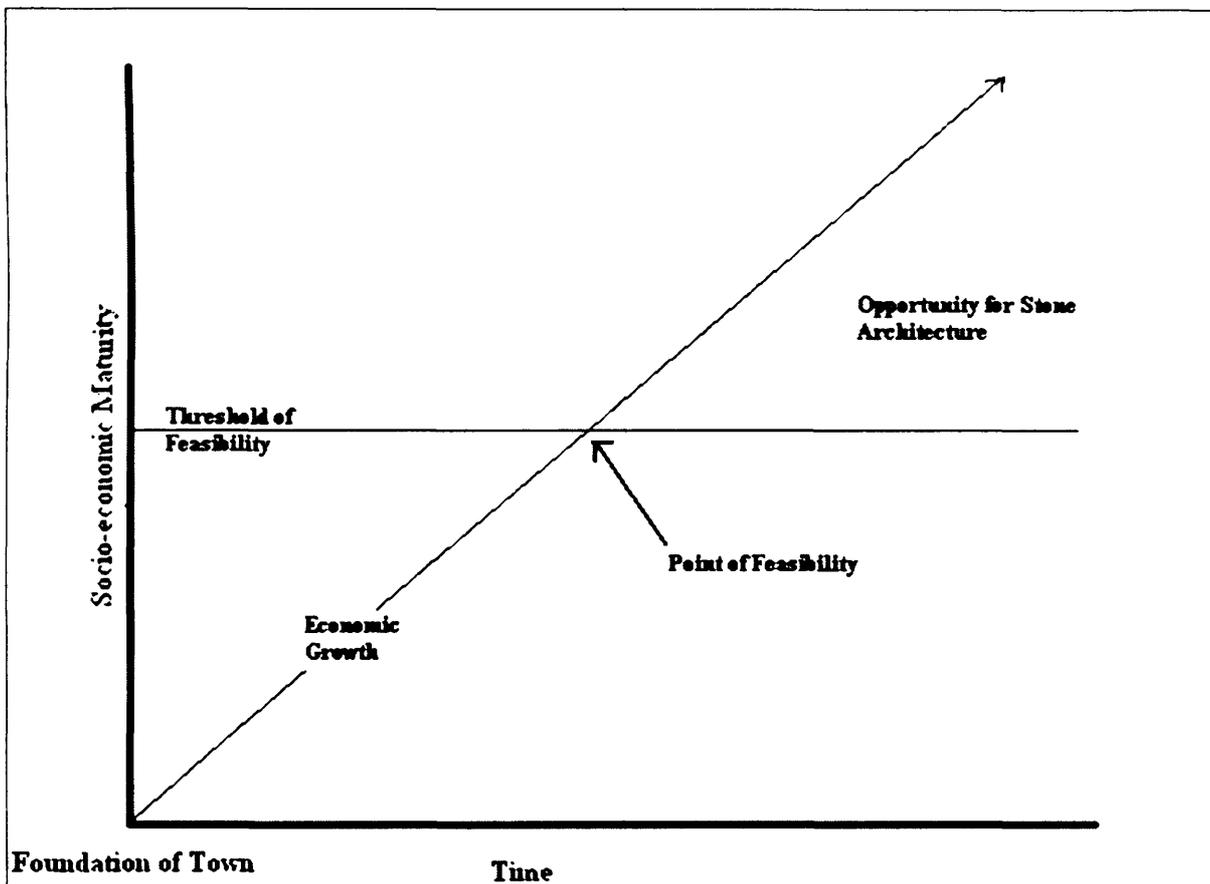


Fig. 1.1: For any town there would be a point in the economic development where constructing buildings in stone was feasible. When a town reached that point it would be the point of feasibility after which the opportunities for stone construction increased. However, this model does not account for the desire to construct stone buildings or direct state input to develop stone buildings such as at Bath.

This phenomenon has been examined in other contexts that support Burnam and Wachser's preliminary hypothesis that the shift reflected significant social and economic change and might prove a useful comparison. Any such comparison will be supplementary and not evidentiary since the time, place, economics, and even the evidence are all different and affected the process. Yet, perhaps such a comparison can bridge some gaps in appropriately similar situations. The well-documented American frontiers of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries in fact exhibit the same architectural changes that reflected deep socio-economic changes. On the American frontier, settlements went through three predictable phases during their development. Each of these was accompanied by significant social and economic change that was mirrored in architecture. A brief analysis of the process in the much better documented American frontier can help illustrate the point of how architecture reflects the social and economic change happening within a community. However, direct comparison is extraordinarily difficult since the nature of the data is in most cases very different.

IV. Socio-Economic Change Reflected in Architecture on the American Frontiers

Like the northwest provinces of the Roman Empire, the American frontiers center on a process of urbanization. From the first frontier on the eastern seaboard in the seventeenth century to the trans-Mississippi west of the nineteenth and early twentieth-century, a vital part of the settlement pattern was a form of "urban imperialism" (Wade 1959). Like the Roman provinces, towns and urban centers have generally been seen as a transmitter of American and European values in a region that lacked significant settlements (Smith 1967, 4). The progress of a region was marked by the development of its towns and cities. Yet the development of the cities can be marked by the change in their architecture. Building construction started with temporary materials such as sod, tents, or tarpaper, but changed to more durable but impermanent construction such as earthfast buildings or log cabins, then to more permanent framed buildings,

and finally to permanent brick or stone masonry. In regions where cities and towns started from nothing, a town's permanence was never a certainty, but architecture clearly reflected the socio-economic development (Wade 1959; Smith 1967; West 1979, 26).

The literature on the maturation of American frontier communities focuses on a three-step process (Wade 1959; Smith 1967, 23-100; West 1979, 28-40; Hine 1980; Carson, *et al.* 1981, 140; Rust 1995, 69-83). In the initial phase, primitive structures were erected with minimum investment in a basic or undeveloped economy. These include inexpensive and locally accessible materials such as logs, sod bricks, adobe, or tar-paper. During this phase the economic infrastructure was insufficient to accommodate building with more refined materials. It was necessary to overcome the weaknesses of the local economy before the architecture took on a more refined and permanent appearance. The second phase was a transitory phase where communities struggled to mature as the economy was becoming more complex and the population becoming more stable. People invested more in the settlement, but the future was still somewhat uncertain and inhabitants were reluctant to commit excessive resources into a community that still might ultimately fail. This second phase was characterized by a combination of psychological and economic barriers. People wanted their buildings to have a more refined appearance and modified their roughly constructed buildings to have a more developed facade. However, either the economic investment was too high to change architectural styles or the people were not yet psychologically ready to invest in such a change due to uncertainty about the town's future. Likely it was a combination of both. In the third phase permanence had been achieved with a complex economy and a stable social composition. During this phase the town reached a level of economic maturity where the use of masonry was not only feasible but also quite desirable for some inhabitants. The symbolic nature of having a brick building from which to operate a business would be a signal that the establishment was of quality. Having a brick house would indicate that the person was of some wealth and importance in the community. For

the community as a whole to have brick or stone public buildings was symbolic of the stability of the settlement as opposed to other settlements in the region. Thus, in this stage both the economic and psychological barriers had been overcome with masonry showing social differentiation.

The change in each of the phases was not linear but unique to both the place and time of individual settlements with great variation. While the same broad three-step process appears consistent across the expanding American frontier, each sub-region and micro-economy had unique forces driving the transformation of the community. Even contemporaneous settlements, such as the seventeenth century New England and Virginia, might have differing patterns of development based on the community's goals, economy, and aspirations.

The first American frontier was established in the early seventeenth century along the entire eastern seaboard up to the Appalachian Mountains. In the initial stage of settlement, inexpensive and temporary shelters served the colonists. From New England to the Carolinas settlements resembled shanty towns of huts, tents, hovels, and "English Wigwams," a temporary shelter that resembled the domestic structures of Native American Indians (Kimball 1922, 3-9; Cummings 1979, 18-22; Carson *et al.* 1981, 139). Captain John Smith, a leader of the Jamestown colony, recollected that the first church was "an old rotten tent, for we had few better . . . till we built a homely thing like a barn, set upon cratchets" (John Smith 1625 (repr. 1957), 957).

The "cratchets" referred to by Smith was a common construction of earthfast architecture that allowed simple and inexpensive, yet sturdy, buildings to be constructed with minimal investment. These buildings, common through the Chesapeake region, became known as "ordinary Virginia houses" as opposed to "substantial" or "great houses" that could be either English framed or brick houses (Carson *et al.* 1981, 156). These "cratchet" buildings were a wattle and daub or "mud and stud" technique that came from a medieval construction tradition

in England, particularly Lincolnshire where a number of buildings built by these means still stand today (J. E. Deetz 2001, 21-22). The fact that these types of buildings are still standing in Lincolnshire and that archaeological excavations in the Chesapeake region indicate that people continued to use these buildings well into the eighteenth century, indicate that while they may have been cheap investments and impermanent in nature, that does not mean they were merely temporary (J. E. Deetz 2001; Carson *et al.* 1981, 139). Buildings of this type generally lasted for at least 25 years, as at the Flowerdew Plantation on the James River (J. Deetz, 1993).

During the transitory stages in Virginia, the architecture began to change along with the social and economic maturation of the colony. Jamestown, the original settlement and capital until 1699, began to expand beyond the original settlement into what became known as “New Towne” by the 1620s. The architecture changed from cratchet buildings to framed buildings, whilst maintaining the earthfast construction (Carson, *et al.* 1981, 153). Brick began to be used in the 1630s when a building was constructed for the new colonial government, the House of Burgesses, and a brick church was constructed in 1638 and rebuilt after a fire in the 1650s (Hatch 1957, 26-30; Billings 1976, 55-64). The construction of a brick church indicated a strongly symbolic investment in the permanence of the community, as opposed to Smith’s “old rotten tent.”

In New England, the transitory second phase was much shorter. The transition from earthfast construction to properly framed houses on stone foundations happened within the first five or six decades of founding of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. By the turn of the eighteenth century, earthfast construction became a rarity in New England while it was still common in Virginia (Carson *et al.* 1981, 160). In addition, as the colony developed, the architecture also changed from a more vernacular style imported from England, to a distinctly American vernacular style, but by the mid-eighteenth century an academic Gregorian style of architecture imported from Europe became prevalent (J. Deetz 1996, 125-164).

Though both colonies were contemporaneous and settled by people from England, the settlements had significantly different characteristics that affected the maturation progress. The New England Puritans sought actively to create a community of families that lived by a common religious tradition (Schofield, 1938; Hine 1980, 12; Carson *et al.* 1981, 161; Wood 1991). In contrast, the Virginia colony was founded as a commercial venture by the Virginia Company of London to make a profit for investors, an endeavor that was initially unsuccessful but saved the tobacco boom between 1615 and 1630 (Carson *et al.* 1981, 168; Hatch 1957, 16-18; Billings 1976, 45). When labor-intensive tobacco became the basis of the economy, investment by money-hungry Virginians needed to be in the crop rather than the community (Carson *et al.* 1981, 160). Planters spread out across the land in a low population density pattern as compared to the New England town pattern. As individual wealth grew, investment in Virginia became important in a way to distinguish personal rather than submitting to community norms of egalitarian conformity, in essence creating a self-identity based on wealth (Carson *et al.* 1981, 161). Improvements in the construction of buildings, particularly for the plantation aristocracy, were a way of showing how successful they had become and to distinguish their social significance as well as to increase the value of their property. In New England, the wealth was more evenly distributed across the community amongst a people that frowned upon excessive displays of wealth (Carson *et al.* 1981, 161; Hine 1980, 45). Thus, the different circumstances, community outlook, and social composition between Virginia and Massachusetts directly affected the nature of architecture.

On the trans-Appalachian frontier similar changes occurred and are best described by Jack Faragher's *Sugar Creek: Life on the Illinois Prairie* (1986). In a small community just outside of modern Springfield, Illinois, settlers first arrived in 1817 and often settled on unclaimed land illegally, also known as "squatting." Initially settlers cooperated in building each other's cabins, each one taking about 80 felled trees to build. By 1821 the community gained formal

government, and by 1836 there was an economic boom. The community took great pride in the development of the region with improvements such as mills, roads, merchant stores, and schools. However, not all prospered equally. Like colonial Virginia, some people profited more and were able to invest more in their dwellings with architecture reflecting the beginning of a social hierarchy absent in the initial settlement phase. The rich elite began to create elaborate framed dwellings while tenant and poorer farmers remained in the rudimentary cabins. In 1848, Eddin Lewis went deep into debt to erect a framed house including the importation of cut limestone for the foundation and chimney. He clearly thought that there would be some economic or social pay-off on his investment. Still, the change was “giving architectural testimony to the difference between landlord and tenant” (Faragher 1986, 190).

The trans-Mississippi frontier provides a wealth of information on how architecture reflected changing socio-economic conditions, particularly with the advent of photography as well as many “ghost towns” still standing. During the first stage of settlement, buildings were rudimentary and utilitarian, built out of inexpensive materials found locally. In prairie regions where timber was scarce, pioneers built simple unadorned buildings made out of prairie sod, called “soddies,” small caves dug into hills or ravines called dug-outs or, after 1880, tarpaper shacks (Dick 1937, 78, 116; Nelson 1989, 28-31). The savings was substantial since in 1861, a Nebraska sod house could be constructed for \$2.78 while it cost \$531.37 to erect a frame house (Dick 1937, 78, 112). None of the buildings were particularly attractive, but there was a practical utilitarianism to them. In the more mountainous regions with an abundance of trees for suitable construction, tents and log cabins could easily be constructed, though soddies and dugouts also existed (Smith 1967, 44; West 1979, 28). The idea was to build a quick shelter with minimum investment. Investing in a brick building would be a much more expensive endeavor since making bricks was a costly process. In 1881, Ord, Nebraska had a brickyard but firing bricks required great quantities of weeds and hay to burn a batch since there were not enough

trees to fire the furnace. It took one full month to prepare for a burning by collecting fuel and then only 2/3 of the batch were good while a full 1/3 had to be discarded (Dick 1937, 260).

Even these simple structures reveal significant details regarding the inhabitants. Jordan *et al.* (1997, 11-33; 126-7) have found that log structures reveal ethnic and regional variation as well as displaying significant innovation given local circumstances. The conclusion is that there were “multiple wests” that were contemporary and that the landscape in the west was more complex than usually assumed (Jordan *et al.* 1997, 130-1). Construction patterns were equally diverse and revealing in the Romano-British small towns.

During this first stage of settlement, the emphasis was on minimal investment as the future of a town was uncertain at best (Smith 1967, 44; West 1979, 28). A person may have been uncertain about their own prospects since the homesteading laws that required a five-year tenure on the land before complete ownership would be transferred. The economy was generalized with one merchant providing many different services and there was no or only rudimentary municipal government (West 1979, 29). During this time a community searched for stability in the face of a limited economy and a largely transient population (Hine and Faragher, 2000, 363; White 1991, 303; West 1979, 26). In Grass Valley, California, for instance, for every 100 people accounted for in 1850, only five remained in 1856 (Hine 1980, 75).

Another problem was the disproportionate ratio of men to women creating social instability. In 1870, there were four males for every female in Bozeman, Montana (Rust 1995, 72-73). It was during the first phase that merchants took up the role of community leaders. Of all members of a community, merchants desired stability in order to profit (West 1979, 30). Merchants were unlikely to invest in a community without stability (Smith 1967, 60; West 1979, 30). These civic leaders had visions of what their town could or should be and tried to emulate the towns they knew from the east (Wade 1959, 314). This pattern might have strong parallels with the study of small towns on the Roman frontier. Millett (1990) argued that the

“Romanization” of Britain was led by the indigenous elite adopting Roman ideals. Like the merchants in the American West, they used architecture to distinguish themselves.

During the second stage of development, changes began to appear that indicated the desired stability and an air of permanence. Some changes were largely symbolic in nature to reinforce the idea of stability. Schools, banks, churches, newspapers, hotels, libraries, theaters, and other amenities could give the aura of Victorian respectability and refinement to a community. Other changes were more substantial such as more formal government, increasing economic complexity, and a more stable population base, usually including a greater proportion of women and families (Dick 1937, 43-44; Smith 1967, 100; Bryant 1994, 231). Architecture reflected this change as well. Some framed buildings arose, but log structures could be simply covered in planking, sometimes only on the street side, to give the impression of a framed building (Smith 1967, 8; West 1979, 36; see Fig. 1.2). There still seemed to be an implied doubt about the permanence of many settlements (West 1979, 36).



Fig. 1.2: A log saloon in Unionville, MT, 1870s. Note the simple long construction with a planking veneer added to give the impression of a timber framed building (from West 1979, 38)



Fig 1.3: Bannock, Montana. The evolution of frontier towns could be revealed by the diversity of architecture present. Bannock, at one point the territorial capital, had sufficient resources to build the Hotel Mead out of brick while the store front next to it was constructed out of logs with a planked veneer. Ultimately the town was abandoned before further development took place (author's personal collection).



Fig. 1.4: Ackerman Homestead, Garfield County, Montana. This homestead, built c. 1910, in some ways was an exception. Located in an area where timber was extremely scarce and the sandy soil made the production of sod brick difficult, the pioneers used readily available sandstone outcroppings to construct their buildings. Thus, while the final product was a stone building, the behavior pattern was consistent with the use of locally abundant natural resources with minimal financial investment (author's personal collection).

The transition to the third stage of development was gradual and mostly in attitude and belief that the community had some staying power (West 1979, 36; Nelson 1989, 89). The architecture changed to an increasing use of stone and brick masonry in addition to real framed structures. Masonry became the yard stick for development of a community and civic leaders were proud of their brick buildings, notably pointed out in their “booster”^{*} literature (Smith 1967, 8; West 1979, 41; Nelson 1989, 82). An example of a booster pamphlet from Bozeman, Montana, entitled *Bozeman: a guide to its places of recreation and a synopsis of its superior natural advantages, industries, and opportunities* (Anon. 1886, 34-7) took great pains to point out the many brick businesses in town as well as some brick houses owned by leading town merchants, including one referred to as “the Castle.” The town had become a permanent and stable settlement, but had gone through the three-stage growth starting from only a few log cabin structures in 1864 though admittedly aided by the input of government money from a nearby military fort (Putnam 1973; Rust 1995; Rust 2001). The bolstering of the local economy from the military has many parallels to the Roman Empire with the *vici* outside of military posts.

Noting the change to masonry construction from timber in Roman small towns in Britain, John Wachter (1995) asked “What social or economic changes are concealed here?” (207). Had he asked the same question of settlements on the American frontiers, he would have found that the answer would be unique to time, place, and circumstance of each settlement. Nonetheless, broad patterns developed and scholars agree on a general model indicating changes in economic and social constructions of settlements that were reflected in its architecture. While there is no simple formula that dictated exactly when a settlement would change its construction techniques, that does not mean there were not economic and social changes occurring with the shift to masonry. Even if such a formula existed, it is unlikely to prove readily applicable when examining the Roman frontiers, separated by almost 2000 years.

^{*} Booster literature was associated with the boosterism movement in the trans-Mississippi west. Civic leaders would

The examination of the patterns on the American frontier is supplementary not evidentiary largely due to the nature of the evidence. Much of the American model is derived from sources such as written pamphlets, personal accounts, census records, and other primary sources of the historian supplemented by archaeological evidence. In the case of the Roman provinces the opposite is true. The data is mostly archaeological supplemented with a small amount of literary sources. However, given the paucity of written records from the provinces of the Roman Empire, it is hoped that the American model can, within reason, complement the investigation of the Roman provinces. However, the primary focus of this study is the examination of small towns in Roman Britain. After an elucidation of the theory and method used to analyze the province, the patterns revealed will be examined in the subsequent chapters.

V. Stone in Roman Britain

The transition of architectural patterns on the American frontier reveals that there were complex meanings associated with the choice of a construction medium. The use of stone in Romano-British settlements reveals, as will be seen, significant details about the socio-economic development during the Roman period. The majority of stone buildings were built after the second century, even where stone was readily available and easily quarried (Perring 2002, 36; Bedoyere 2001, 24). This is significant given that the location to stone was an important factor in the future use of it as a construction medium. In most cases, the quarrying of stone occurred locally, and it was rare that individuals would use stone that was mined more than 32 km away from the site (Blagg 1990b, 48; Williams 1971a, 1971b; Buckland 1988; Bedoyere 2001, 24; Perring 2002, 106-7).

The reasons to use stone varied from site to site. A technomic use of stone for pragmatic and utilitarian reasons would include the fact that stone buildings were more durable in most

promote the advantages of a town to encourage people and businesses to locate in the area.

areas than timber that began to rot and shorten the life of a building if the moisture content of the wood rose above 20 percent (Hanson 1978, 295-296). In areas prone to flooding, like Wanborough, stone would have an obvious advantage. Likewise masonry buildings were more resistant to fires, particularly useful for industries that used furnaces such as the pewter production at Camerton. In addition, stone buildings were more energy efficient remaining cooler in summer and, once heated, warmer in winter.

Stone buildings could also be used in socio-technic ways where they conveyed social messages. This was evident in the above American example whereby towns were using masonry to express the development and wealth of individuals and the settlement as a whole. In Roman Britain stone was the most desirable medium for the construction of elaborate and complex buildings including public buildings (Bedoyere 2001, 24; Perring 2002, 39). Stone buildings and improvements upon a given property may have provided opportunities for individuals to accrue and display wealth (Gregson 1982; Perring 2002, 38). This type of conspicuous consumption would be one avenue to create and demonstrate one's personal and/or civic identity.

The final possible reason for the decision to use stone would be ideo-technic. Here stone building may have been used in religious and/or ideological ways. This would be a partial explanation for religious sites having a sooner and greater use of stone both in Roman Britain and on the continent (see Chap. 5; also Rorison 2001, 93; Rosenheim 2000, 237; King 1995, 187). There may be some overlap between ideo-technic and socio-technic uses, but as will be seen through this study, in some cases stone could also be used as a means to express an ideological saliency of Roman identity.

Chapter 2:

Theory and Methodology

I. Introduction

The execution of this study encountered many complex problems that needed to be addressed in order to create meaningful results. The main problems included not only defining the subject sample group of “small towns” but also normalizing variable archaeological data coming from the sample group. In addition, the conceptual meaning of cultural change found over time was also problematic as the traditional paradigm of “Romanization” was inappropriate. As a result, the use of social psychology theories, such as Identity Theory and Social Identity Theory, seemed more appropriate to elucidate the social change occurring in the region. The basic process of conditioning in a system of Roman conquest and administration created the atmosphere where identities were negotiated and reflected in the choice in architecture. The most prevalent type of associative learning is operant conditioning where behaviors are modified based on the positive and/or negative consequences in the system where individuals operate. Examining these social-psychology theories in the context of Roman imperialism in Britain elucidate the complex processes of socio-economic change in the province.

II. Cultural Change and Identity

A. Romanization: An Introduction and Critique

While the acquisition and administration of the Roman Empire has been seen as largely a political process, there were obviously economic and cultural ramifications as well. The study of cultural change in the Roman Empire has for some time been tied with the concept of

“Romanization” (for recent works and critiques see for example Mattingly 1997b, 2002, 2004; Freeman 1997; Barrett 1997; J. Webster 1996, 2001; Macmullen 2000) However, Romanization is beset by problems that result from the origination of the concept within a context of European and American imperialism (Freeman 1997). In addition, there are problems of definition. The term is one that is commonly used but rarely defined and misleading in what it implies (Downs 1996; J. Webster 1996). The scholarship on it is consequently clouded by the vagueness of the term itself, and some recent works have recommended its total abandonment (Webster 2001; Mattingly 2004). As Mattingly (1997b, 8) stated, the term has created a “great deal of heat, but not much light.”

The best place to start a discussion about Romanization is with the definitions used by scholars. As mentioned earlier, there is great discussion as to what exactly is meant by the term. Downs (1996, 39-40), who recognized the lack of a consistent definition, describes Romanization as the process of cultural change by which non-Romans adopted the social, political, and cultural life of Rome as reflected in changes in social, political and economic organization. She asserts that it is often identified by material attributes such as colonies and towns, political offices, villas, roads, and aqueducts. MacMullen (2000, x-xi) defined Romanization as the process in which new material goods, thoughts, and patterns of behaviors like those in Italy appeared in the provinces of the Roman Empire. Despite using the more generic term “acculturation,” Jones (1997, 195) defined it as the process by which social and contingent economic patterns were transferred from one cultural group to another, thus still implying a unilateral transfer of culture.

However, these definitions alone are misleading. They indicate that the process was unidirectional, something that Downs conceded but MacMullen did not. Because of this fact, the term itself is openly attacked by some scholars. As Syme (1988, 64) pointed out, “Romanization is a term ugly and vulgar, worse than that, anachronistic and misleading.” G.

Webster (1996a) agreed that the whole concept is misleading when it is clear that the cultural exchange was bi-directional, which is supported by other recent scholarship (see for example Wells, 1999).

The unilateral nature of the term itself, with its emphasis on the diffusion of Roman culture has much in common with the rhetoric of the late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century justifications for modern imperialism (Hingley 1997, 82-4). The idea of spreading civilization was used both in the historical scholarship on the Roman provinces and justification for some fairly brutal acts by the modern European and American imperial powers. This displays an ethnocentric bias that Western Civilization (whether it be ancient Rome or modern Europe and America) is naturally superior and has helped further civilization by spreading it to “backwards” and “uncivilized” peoples of the world. Even as late as the 1950s, Childe (1958, 70) described Romanization as “eradication of European barbarism by Oriental civilization.” Jones (1974, 6) claimed the people of the empire had a “natural desire to assimilate themselves to the superior civilization of Greece and Rome.” This bias continues in scholarship today as scholars have “an inherent sympathy (empathy) for Roman civilization in much writing on Roman material culture” (Mattingly 1997b, 9). Wells (1999, 127) points out that the bias of the researcher comes into play since “we have been trained to look for [elements of Roman culture].”

Recent post-colonial scholarship empowering the indigenous voice has created a new need to recognize that there was a power relationship that must be contended with in the process of Romanization (Mattingly 1997b). It is in this context that the process termed Romanization exists. The discrepancy in the power relationship has led some to look for resistance by the conquered against the influence of Roman culture. Reece (1988) claimed that the indigenous British population maintained significant amounts of their pre-conquest culture throughout the period of occupation and after Roman withdrawal. Alcock (1993; 1997) examined how Greeks

maintained their local loyalties and identities in the face of Roman influence. Indeed, she claimed that the early imperial period in Greece marked a “retrenchment” of Greek culture (Alcock 1997, 103). The depth to which Roman culture penetrated the indigenous cultures in Western Europe may have been equally as slight. Forcey (1997) alleged that the native population in the northwest provinces had only a superficial layer of Roman culture over their Celtic culture and that Europe remained almost wholly indigenous in character. However, as Webster (2001) has pointed out, this approach fails to explain the diverse and heterogeneous nature of evidence in some areas. MacMullen (2000) agreed and would argue, based on archaeological evidence, that the spread of Roman culture beyond Italy increased dramatically between BC 63 and AD 14.

The concept of Romanization also became embroiled with debates about Roman intentions and motivations in the process of cultural change. Salmon (1970) examined the colonial foundation in the Republic. He concluded that early in its expansion Rome consciously and deliberately devised a method of control whereby colonies were set up along specific guidelines that were intrinsically Roman and provided a model for emulation. The idea originated in the conquest of Italy but was soon exported to the provinces. This point was disputed by Saddington (1991), who argued that there is no evidence that the central government of Rome had any policy to spread Roman cultural traditions or beliefs in the provinces. Millett (1990a; 1990b) agreed that there was not any organized effort but that the native people, particularly the elite, spontaneously sought to emulate the Romans to distinguish themselves from the rest of society. Eventually the non-elite adopted selected elements of Roman culture. MacMullen (2000) also saw the adoption of Roman culture in the provinces as spontaneous on the part of the indigenous populations, who envisioned a better life if they adopted Roman culture.

One of the major shortcomings of early approaches to Romanization was the absence of the mass of the indigenous population in the process, what Eric Wolf (1982) has called the “people without history.” This is a current point of debate in the discourse but has a relatively long background. In an early departure from the diffusionistic and Roman-centered approach, R.G. Collingwood (1932) described the creation of hybrid culture in Roman Britain that was a mixture of Roman and Celtic but neither one nor the other. With this conclusion, Collingwood empowered the indigenous population in the historical examination of the Roman provinces. Studies have since progressed to include the native role in Romanization.

Empowering the indigenous voice in Romanization does not necessarily remove the tendency to look for homogenization. Millett (1990a; 1990b) claimed that the native population of Britain willingly emulated the Roman ideal. The adoption of Roman customs and lifestyles was driven by the political pragmatism of the elite who used the symbols of Rome to reinforce their social position in the new reality of living within the Empire. Eventually the non-elite copied the elite and Roman culture became more prevalent. MacMullen (2000) also held that the adoption of Roman culture was driven by a nativistic desire to live a better life if they adopted Roman customs, a process he compared to osmosis. The underlying assumption here and with Millett is that, while more native centered, the process resulted in a homogenized culture. However, this theory is contradicted by Alcock (1997) who contends that not only did the Greeks not emulate the Roman standard, the Romans did not push Greece to do so because they recognized the superiority of Greek history and culture. Thus, MacMullen’s attempt to describe Romanization in a universal way falls short of understanding the complexities of the heterogeneous Empire as a whole.

Some recent studies have begun to question the whole concept of Romanization (G.D.B. Jones 1997; Reece 1988; S. Jones 1997; J. Webster 1996, 2001; Mattingly 2002, 2004). Reece (1988, 11) claimed that what we call Romanization never existed. He held that under Roman

rule Britain became “more Gaulish, more Rhinelandish, more Spanish, a little more Italian, a very little more African, and a little more Danubian.” Wells (1999, 264) called for caution when using ill-defined terms such as Romanization. He argued that “categories such as ‘Roman,’ ‘Provincial Roman,’ ‘native,’ ‘Celt,’ and ‘German’ do not stand up to scrutiny.” Sian Jones (1997) furthered the attack on the concept of Romanization in her examination of the archaeology of ethnicity. She claimed that ethnicity is based on an individual’s self-identification with an ethnic group in a situational context (compare with Social Identity Theory below). Thus the meanings attached to material culture are not fixed but rather fluid and do not fit well within the current construct of Romanization. Examining Britain, she showed that there is greater variation in architectural forms than the standard approach to Romanization would predict.

More recently, Webster (1996a; 2001) has openly called for the complete abandonment of Romanization. She argued that the construct is too fundamentally flawed because of this linear implication. Rather, she favored the concept of creolization “which offers a new way to approach provincial material culture in all its forms” (Webster, 2001, 223). In an effort to effectively break free of the Romanization construct, she compared the cultural contact in the American Caribbean with cultural contact in the Roman Empire. In both places and eras cultural material (vocabulary) could be used in different ways (grammar) than that of the dominant culture. Thus, artifacts may appear Romanized, but “operate according to a different, indigenous, set of underlying rules” (2001, 219). As with Wells’ argument, she believes indigenous people selectively adopted Roman goods but used them for their own ends and the artifacts came to represent a new and unique culture. Like Jones, Webster showed that our evidence is relative to the time, place, and people who used it.

Indeed, there is convincing evidence that the exchange of culture was in fact bi- or even multi-directional. Burns (1994) has shown that Romans, elite Romans at that, had begun to

enter a religious cult of native origins. *Matronae* worship, though Celtic in origin, began to take on several Greco-Roman elements while maintaining its native symbolism. When local high officials, both Roman and native, began to offer votive offerings, it becomes clear that the cultural influence was at least bi-directional.

B. Identity and Material Culture

Recently a new approach has arisen that addresses the diversity found within the provinces of the Empire. Jones' (1997) approach to ethnicity promoted the idea that within Britain in the Roman era there were multiple identities that co-existed, undermining the uniformity of the Romanization paradigm and many of its explicit and implied assumptions. James (1999; 2001a) has shown that even some of the most basic categories used by archaeologists and historians had multidimensional aspects of self-identification. Looking at the Roman military, he found that the identities of the soldiers were affected by ethnic, situational, and relative factors. Mattingly recently developed the concept of "discrepant identity" which "combines elements of post-colonial theory on discrepant experience with aspects of creolization theory and work on identity in Iron-Age societies" (2004, 9). Other studies have begun to look at specific artifacts and what they can tell us about the identity of people in the Roman era (Allason-Jones 2001; Hill 2001; Eckardt 2002 and 2005).

The use of identity and the theories associated with how people create, maintain, and change their self-identity over time holds promise. The meanings associated with the use of material culture in self-definition and self-perception, especially in relation to other groups, has particular importance in examining the conquered regions of the Roman Empire. Architecture, both personal and public, can reveal much about an individual and a community. Few things are as personal as the buildings in which people choose to live. In relation to this study, the primary question becomes: did the choice in architecture reflect a desire by individuals to make

a statement about how they identify themselves within the heterogeneous society? If so, what can these tell us about the identities of the population of Britain during the Roman Era?

To understand how architecture can reflect the identity of individuals, it is important to understand current research in the field of individual and group identity. Two theories dominate social psychology's approach to the creation and maintenance of identity: Identity Theory and Social Identity Theory. Social Identity Theory relates to why people choose to associate with a particular group or groups of people. Identity Theory concerns how individuals distinguish themselves within the groups they choose to associate with. Both accept that personal identity is multifaceted, dynamic, and generally responsible for mediating the relationship between the individual and social structures in regard to an individual's behavior (Hogg, *et al.* 1995).

The concept of Social Identity originated in the 1950s based on Festinger's (1954) study of social comparison where he concluded that individuals will attach themselves to groups of people who they perceive as similar to or better than themselves. Membership within a group reinforces personal and collective identification as members strive to maintain and promote a positive social image through favorable comparisons with other groups and individuals (Tajfel and Turner 1986; Tajfel 1981; Alexander *et al.* 1999; Jetten *et al.* 1997). When examining motives of the elite in Roman Britain, Millett (1990) reinforces this theory. The indigenous elite, recognizing the new political and economic reality the Romans imposed after the conquest, strove to identify with them and used ostensibly Roman material culture as symbols to promote identification and a positive image.

Within any given group, however, individuals often strive to distinguish themselves. Here, Identity Theory enlightens us as to the motivation for the choices they made. Identity Theory is based on the importance of roles within a group which individuals will seek to create through formal and informal social relationships that reinforce these meanings (Petkus 1996). The subjective value and importance of these roles to the individual is directly proportional to

the relevance or saliency of the identity as a whole. The choices people make are reflective of the importance or saliency of that identity in a given situation and the desire to obtain or maintain roles within it (Borgatta and Borgatta 1992, 873). Therefore, the more important or salient that a Roman identity was for individuals in Britain during the Roman period, the more elements of *Romanitas* we would expect to find in the archaeological record. The power of a Roman identity could be relative to the expectations of a given situation. As James (1999; 2001a) shows, there were many different concurrent identities within the Roman legionnaires stationed in Britain, and in certain contexts the meaning of Roman identity was greater, and therefore more salient, than others. Millett's (1990) theory also supports this in his model that indigenous elites found meaning in roles they associated with the new Roman reality.

The increased value or saliency of any identity was dependent upon the importance each identity held for a group and the desire of the individual to conform to the expectations of that group. Therefore, identities in Britain after the Roman conquest were dependent upon the value of both Roman and indigenous identity and/or the ability of the population to negotiate a personal meaning between the two. In a synergistic fashion, this process was dependent upon the individual and the various groups with which that individual associated such as occupational, religious, gender, social, and geographic groups (see below). A specific subgroup of the latter worthy of mention for this study in particular is the community. Individuals within a settlement may have had greater or lesser affinity for a Roman identity. This group meaning would affect the choices that individuals made. As will be seen, however, specific elements of a community's identity affected individual identity as much as elements of individual identity affected a community's. Therefore, the saliency of a Roman identity was not just an internal decision but subject to external influences.

The way in which the value or importance of an identity was established is more difficult to elucidate. The basic psycho-social process of conditioning attempts to create a link

between experiencing certain events (in this case Roman conquest and administration) and personal behavior (the choice in architecture). The most prevalent type of associative learning is operant conditioning where actions are modified based on the positive and/or negative consequences of individual behavior. A system of explicit or implicit rewards and punishments is present in any given social context. The ability of an individual to cognitively recognize and respond to these outcomes directly shapes his or her actions (Rescorla and Holland, 1982; Carpenter, 1985). In the case of identity formation in Roman Britain, the saliency or resonance of a Roman identity was dependent upon the real or perceived rewards of operating within the guidelines of the new Roman reality. These did not have to be intentionally or directly imposed by Rome. Rather, they may be less intentional, such as simply being able to make a living within the new economic system. Being able to accept, negotiate, and exploit the new Roman economic scheme would be a process of operant conditioning as those who could not adapt would be excluded from positive rewards. As will be seen, the better integrated into the Roman economy, the more elements of *Romanitas* a site typically had.

As both Social Identity and Identity Theory are concerned about how individuals choose to identify with and distinguish themselves within a group, it is important to identify what groups existed within Britain during the Roman era. On one inscription (*RIB* 1065), Mattingly (2004, 11) identified eleven different indicators, each of which could be considered identities that created an overall composite identity. The “Identity Types” as identified by Mattingly were:

1. Status
2. Wealth
3. Location
4. Employment
5. Religion
6. Origin
7. Links to Roman State
8. Legal Jurisdiction
9. Language/literacy

10. Gender

11. Age

These broad categories are good places to start. Since the line of thought regarding identities is relatively new, there is potentially more that can be done. What has been done has yielded promising results. James (1999; 2001a) has exposed the complex and diverse identities of the “Roman” soldiers, once thought to be a monolithic group, as well as those who were tied officially and unofficially to the army. Eckardt (2002) found that choices Britons made regarding lighting equipment during the Roman era revealed significant variation over both space and time and may reveal expression's of identity. Millett (1995, 110) revealed a geographic division of identities with the examination of Romanized altars and those traditionally characterized as “Romano-Celtic.” The southeast, traditionally seen as the “Romanized” villa landscape, shows a concentration of the Romano-Celtic variety while the highland frontier zone had more Roman inscribed altars.

For the purposes of this study, it is hoped that architecture will help illuminate some aspects of the identities of Britons during the Roman era. The town, as a social organization, becomes an important group for the interplay of Identity Theory and Social Identity Theory. In fact, the town itself has its own identity created by the composite identities of its inhabitants. Thus, how its inhabitants view the town, and in a circular way themselves, was also dependant upon categories such as those identified by Mattingly.

III. Methodology

A. Defining “Small Towns”

To understand better and explain the timing and degree of change in architecture, it is important to have a clear understanding not only of what elements constitute a “small town,”

but also of the types of small towns. Unfortunately, scholars lack agreement about what a small town actually was in the continuum of settlements in the Roman provinces.

As we do not know the legal status of most sites we are left to determine what constituted a small town where no single characteristic can be the determinant for every settlement (Rorison 2001, 3-5). The result is that a large number of sites have been labeled “small towns” by various scholars, but there is little agreement on the exact sites included. In the case of Roman Britain, Rodwell and Rowley (1975) listed 78 sites. Burnham (1986) listed 97 sites while the next year the same author considered only 52 in his study on the morphology of small towns (Burnham 1987). Burnham and Wachter (1990) listed 54 possible sites and Jones and Mattingly (1990) show 54 “small towns” on map 5.12, but not exactly the same ones as Burnham and Wachter. Millett (1990) listed 82 and Smith (1987) counted 148 “roadside settlements” though admittedly not all of these were “small towns.” Hingley (1989) listed 92 “local centres,” a term he prefers to small towns. Thus there is little agreement about exactly which sites were small towns in Roman Britain. The combined results of many of these studies are presented in Appendix A. Taking all the authors’ lists, there are 127 potential small towns, of which there is universal agreement on only 18 sites or approximately 14 percent. Another 26 sites (16%) have at least five of the six scholars concurring. Thus, scholars substantially agree on only approximately one third of all debated small towns in Britain. This discrepancy, while frustrating, underscores our lack of understanding about the true dynamics of these settlements. The term is actually a construct of modern archaeologists more than an accurate representation of the towns themselves (Condrón 1995, 103).

Thus, we are left with Rivet’s (1975, 111) rhetorical question “when is a town a town?” and Condrón’s (1995, 103) question in the negative “when is a town not a town?”. Rivet proposed two possible answers: “when the inhabitants call it a town” or “when others in the Empire would recognize it as a town” (Rivet 1975, 111). Condrón (1995) answered her question

by claiming a town was not a town when it relied only on local networks rather than being integrated into a provincial network. Neither answer seems likely to satisfy all scholars. Burnham (1993, 101) admitted that the criteria for defining small towns have remained unclear since Todd's study in 1970. He claims that the term small town is a "catch-all category" of sites that do not fit into other better defined categories (Burnham 1993; 1995), a problem recognized by other scholars as well (Hingley 1989; Mattingly 1994a; Millett 1995; Rorison 2001). Hingley (1989, 26-27) voiced the frustration scholars have felt when he showed the contradictory criteria some use to define small towns: some include only walled settlements, others include only unwalled settlements; some insist that sites be on major Roman roads, others insist that they not be on Roman roads; some insist on internal grid networks, others insist that there be no internal grid networks; each have different size requirements. According to Burnham (1993, 101), this debate about what exactly was a small town had "wasted a lot of time . . . but did help focus attention on recognizing urban indicators."

Attempts to define the exact nature of a small town and what differentiates it from a town or a village have resulted in a variety of definitions that are unique to each scholar (see Table 1). Todd (1970, 15) admitted that small towns were not a homogenous group of sites that would allow us easily to define them. Consequently he chose to list elements that would be recognizable in other parts of the Empire (Burnham 1995, 7). Burnham and Wachter (1990, 1-6) in their seminal study of small towns in Britain purposefully avoided a "straight jacket" definition of what constituted a small town though they did specify some general criteria. Their decision to avoid a rigid definition did meet with some approval, even by those critical of their work overall (see for example Booth 1998). Millett (1990, 144-147) took several pages in his book to explain what he thought constituted a small town. For the more popular audience, Hanley's (2000, 9) book *Villages in Roman Britain* listed some characteristics that might be included, though it also attempted to avoid "straight jacket" definitions by claiming that small

towns “included a combination of” but not necessarily all of her suggested criteria for them (see Table 2.1).

Table 2.1: Examples of small town characteristics for definition.

TODD (1970, 15)	HINGLEY (1989, 26-27)	SMITH (1987, 1)	BURNHAM AND WACHER (1990, 6)	MILLETT (1990, 144-147)	HANLEY (2000, 9)
Civic Planning	Walled Settlements	Sizeable settlement	Internal Street Network	Concentration of Settlement	Specialized Industrial Activity
Public Buildings	Unwalled if:	Inhabitants concerned with commerce and manufacture	Central Core or Focus	Probable Nodes for Marketing or Production	Suggested Administrative Significance
Public Amenities	1. on major road with imperial post or taxation function		Diversity of Building Types	Lack Clear Evidence of Town Planning	Position on Important Roadway
Urban Characteristics	2. 10 ha or larger		Urban Core or Strong Point Defense	Some Major Public Buildings Possible	Market or Fair Function
Government	3. paved or metalled roads		Level of Specialization	Absence of Structures Indicative of Communal Display	Extensive Settlement Size
Corporate Life			Importance of Officially Inspired Functions	Strip Buildings	Internal Organization
				Economic Centers	Organic Growth Pattern
					Essentially Rural Character

Others have taken the approach to define a small town in the negative by saying what they are not (Rivet 1975; Gechter, 1995). Rivet (1975, 111) listed several things that small towns “are not.” They were not *coloniae*, *municipia*, or *civitates* that were all distinguished by forums or basilicas, nor were they farms, villages, or hamlets, all too remote from commerce. Thus Rivet’s definition for a small town centered on not being a city but yet an integrated part of the Roman economic system in Britain. Gechter (1995) defined small towns as neither *coloniae* nor *municipia*, undefined in legal terms and dependent upon higher towns economically. Here again, no distinction between the small town and village is attempted, an endemic problem when examining small towns (Burnham 1993, 1995).

The confusion in defining small towns led to several attempts at classifying small towns to help distinguish them from other categories of settlements (Condron 1996). Alexander

(1975) created criteria for two types of small towns (see Table 2.2). He used a case study of two towns, Cambridge and Great Chesterford, that specifically included walls. In the study he attempted to explore the development and function of the towns. He found that indigenous small towns did not have Roman urban characteristics. However, some scholars felt that the sample in his study was too small to answer his questions or provide a transferable model (Condron 1996, 3).

Table 2.2: Characteristics for classifying small towns from Alexander (1975, 3)

IMPOSED (URBAN)	INDIGENOUS (RURAL)
Regular Street Plans	Irregular Street Plan
Planned Roads Between Towns	-extensive sprawl of local house styles -little differentiation
Monumental Architecture, Imported Style	Cemeteries in Local Style
Public Services	Earthen Bank, Timber/Stone Wall, Ditched Defenses
Commercial and Industrial Zones	Local Style Shrines in/near Settlement
Range of House Plans in Imported Style	Local Industries Possibly Organized in Settlement
Numerous Non-local Objects	Few Large Buildings, Local Style
	Some Imported Goods for Conspicuous Consumption

Rivet (1975, 113-114) suggested creating nine categories for small towns:

1. Those by forts or fortlets
2. Road-stations (*mansiones* or *mutationes*)
3. Religious centers
4. Extractive industrial settlements
5. Ports
6. Roadside villages
7. Minor towns
8. Newly elevated cities
9. Late fortified posts (*burgus*)

Rivet's first two categories deal primarily with origins of settlement. Categories three through five deal with their specialized functions. Six and seven are the most vague and the criteria the least well defined. The last two categories were only present in the late empire. Burnham (1987) continued the idea of categorization and devised a system of categorizing towns into one

of five groupings (see Table 2.3). His system was based largely on morphological characteristics but neglected town functions or development.

Table 2.3: Classification of Towns by Burnham (1987)

TYPE I	TYPE II	TYPE III	TYPE IV	TYPE V
Nucleated settlement	Linear site	Developed linear road junction	Nucleated site independent of major sites	Larger site
Internal road network formed by junction of 2 or more through routes	Ribbon development along frontages of through route	Irregular network of internal streets and lanes	Irregular network of streets	Added element of organized planning

Burnham and Wachter's *Small Towns in Roman Britain* (1990) classified towns into six categories:

1. Minor Towns I
2. Minor Towns II
3. Industrial Sites
4. Religious Sites
5. Minor Defended and Undefined Sites
6. Potential Cities

This classification system met mostly with disappointment by reviewers (see Clarke 1991; Esmonde-Cleary 1992; Mattingly 1994a; Booth 1998). The main resistance to Burnham and Wachter's classifications was their lack of specific criteria or reasoning for including towns in a given category (Esmonde-Cleary 1992) and the vagueness of the categories in addition to the misplacement of some sites into categories where the data is inconclusive (Booth 1998).

By 1993 Burnham developed a more complex and useful system that, according to Condon (1996), has become the standard for studying small towns in Britain (see Table 3). Burnham now divided settlements into three categories using morphology, development, and economic and political function, as criteria for definition and classification.

Table 2.4: Classification of Small Towns by Burnham (1993, 103) and (1995, 10)

UPPER ORDER	MIDDLE ORDER	LOWER ORDER
Internal Street Network	Specialized Functions such as:	Absence of Defenses
Urban Core Defense	i) spas/religious centers	Absence of Specialized Functions
Distinctive Zones	ii) specialist extractive/ manufacturing	Buildings Lack Sophistication
Range of Building Types	iii) roadside settlements with imposed military/official functions	Ribbon Development Only
Range of Workshop and Craft Industry	Strong Point Defenses	Focus on Agriculture with only limited non- Agriculture elements
Large Organized Cemeteries	Large Scale Industrial Activities	
	Often with Street Networks	
	Increased Agricultural Emphasis	
	Absence of Zonation	

The lower order combines an element of defining the category in the negative along with some characteristics that are unique as opposed to the upper and middle orders. However, this does little to distinguish the lower order “small town” settlements from villages which remains a fundamental difficulty (Burnham 1987, 1993, and 1995; Burnham and Wachter 1990; Clarke 1991; Millett 1995).

Looking at the *vici* of Roman Gaul, Rorison (2001) developed a complex system that deconstructed towns into their basic elements and quantified them in order to determine if they should be considered a town, “small” or otherwise (see Table 2.5). She devised five categories, labeled A through E, which she identified as deterministic of an urban settlement. Within each of these categories she listed characteristics for each category. For categories C, D, and E, she “arbitrarily” determined a point value that would designate that category being fulfilled. If a settlement had the qualifications in at least four of the five categories it could be considered a small town. If a settlement has two or three categories fulfilled, it would be classified as an ill-

defined “intermediate settlement,” and settlements that had only one or no categories fulfilled were considered “not towns” (Rorison 2001, 4).

Table 2.5: Rorison (2001, 3-4). To be considered a town, each site must qualify in at least one of the five categories on the far left. Categories C, D, and E are assigned a point system explained in the column on the far right.

CATEGORY	CHARACTERISTIC ELEMENTS	EXPLANATION
A (Interior Organization)	Street Grid	Presence qualifies category
B (Focus of Settlement)	i) Forum ii) Public Square	One of the two qualifies category
C (Diversity and Range of Building Types)	i) Temple ii) Theater iii) Baths iv) Basilica v) Other Public Buildings vi) Zones vii) Porticos viii) Shops/Workshops ix) Aqueducts	Presence of 4 of the 9 characteristics indicates diversity and thus qualification
D (Range of Economic Activity)	i) Pottery ii) Metal Work iii) Other Industry iv) Other Commerce	Presence of 2 of the 4 characteristics indicates diversity and thus qualification
E (Evidence of Specialized and Official Functions)	i) Sea/River Port ii) Bridge iii) Status iv) Military Presence v) Itineraries vi) Inscriptions vii) Sculpture viii) Cemetery ix) Roman Coins	Presence of 4 of the 9 characteristics indicates diversity and thus qualification

Rorison’s system is a useful tool when examining sites by deconstructing their basic elements to determine if a site should be considered a small town. However, her system is also fraught with problems. Her “arbitrary” assignment of values for qualification is troublesome in addition to her requirement that at least four categories be fulfilled to be considered a small town (Rorison 2001, 4). Certainly not all the criteria she lists in categories C, D, and E should be considered equal. For example, having a theater would show higher site development and status than a simple workshop which is present in both small towns and villages, both treated equally in category C. In addition, having four categories as a necessity means that a settlement must have at least a forum/town square (category B) or a grid street network (category A) regardless of the other criteria. In a situation where a site did not have a grid network or

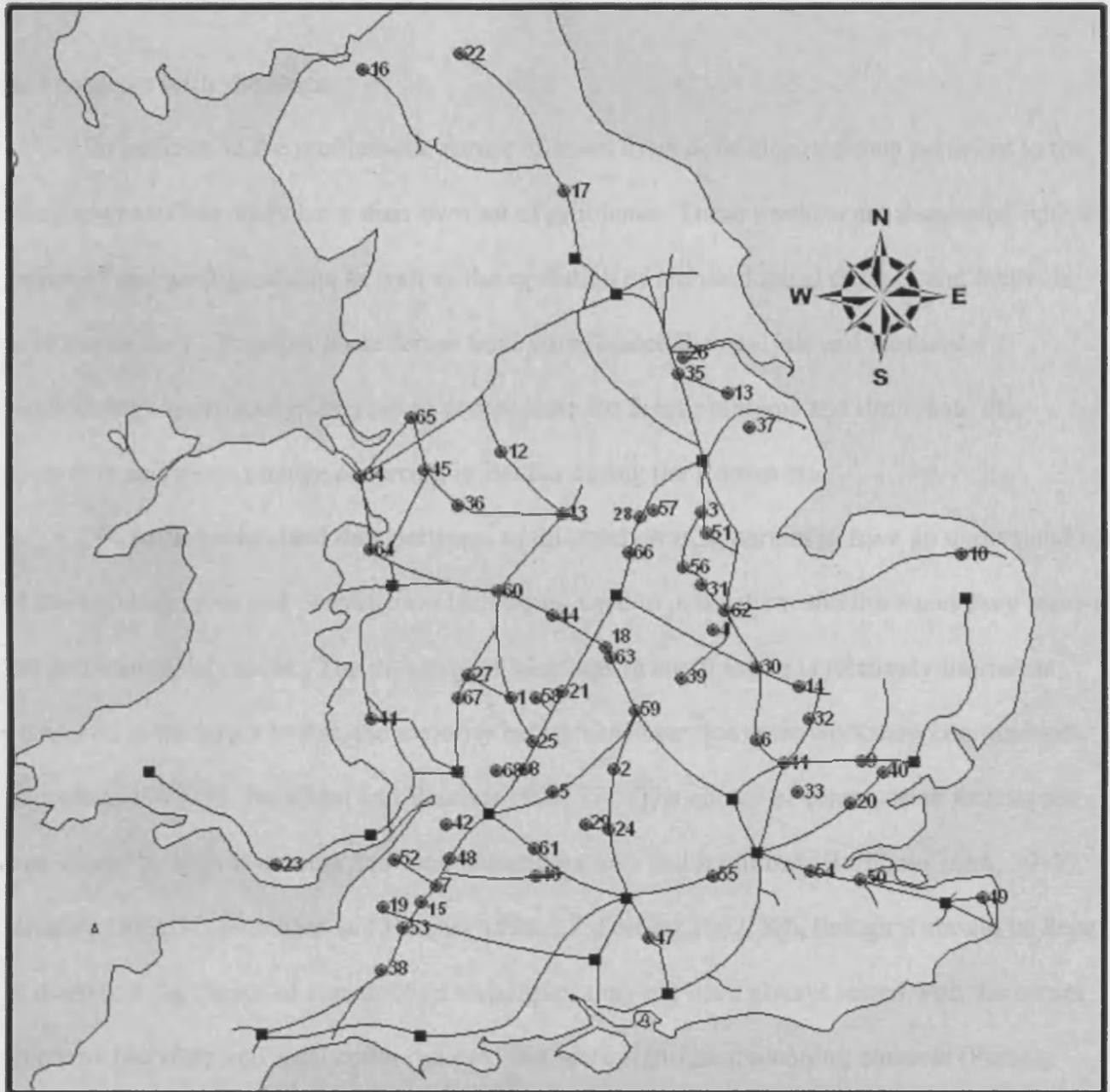
forum/town square but had other developed elements such as baths, theaters, zonation, listing on an itinerary, ports, etc. . . it still could not qualify as a small town by her criteria.

Using Rorison's method on the 34 sites where British scholars have almost universal agreement (i.e. - where at least 5 of 6 scholars agree listed in Appendix A), nearly half would be excluded. Rochester, Alcester, Godmanchester, Great Casterton, Great Chesterford, Irchester, Towcester, Frilford, Brampton, Droitwich, Holditch, Mancetter, Neatham, Wall, Bourton-on-the-Water, Cowbridge, and Sapperton would be excluded due to lack of an organized street grid and a public square or forum. Mildenhall and Wall would be excluded due to their failure to meet Rorison's "arbitrary" values set in categories C, D, and E. It would appear that British scholars are more willing to examine each site on its own merits and avoid the "straight jacket" definition of a small town that Burnham and Wachter (1990, 3) advised against. Despite all this, her schema is useful when examining sites, though her quantification is impractical as each town needs to be considered on an individual basis, leaving the ultimate decision up to each scholar.

It becomes clear that there are no clear answers about the definition of a small town (Brown 1995). Millett (1990, 29) feels that scholars are basically missing the forest by focusing on the trees since so many have been "over concerned" with determining which sites have urban characteristics, a "fruitless and semantic debate" in the opinion of Burnham and Wachter(1990, 6). Perhaps there is not one universally agreed upon definition of a small town, nor should there necessarily be one (Esmonde-Clearly 1992). However, it is important for each scholar to distinguish what a small town is to their research and why they chose the sites they have. Also overlooked in this debate is the evolutionary nature of settlements. Most definitions and categorizations of the towns rely on elements present at their height of economic development. This study will show that every site underwent transformations in the context of Roman

imperialism. This may not directly help in resolving definition issues; however it will deepen our understanding of these sites and the socio-economic consequences of Roman conquest.

The most obvious criticism of any study on small towns is the selection of sites. Every effort was made to be as inclusive as possible to see if the results would help better define exactly what a small town is. However, many sites are known only from aerial photographs or artifact debris scatters. As the focus of the study is architecture, sites that have no known buildings excavated naturally were excluded even though they would be considered by the author to be a small town. In the end, 68 sites were included and are represented on Map 2.1.



0 15 30 60 90 120
 Kilometers

Map 2.1: Towns in Study

- 1- Alcester; 2-Alchester; 3-Ancaster; 4-Ashton; 5-Asthall; 6-Baldock; 7-Bath; 8-Bourton-on-Water; 9- Braintree; 10-Brampton; 11-Braughing; 12-Buxton; 13-Caistor; 14-Cambridge; 15-Camerton; 16-Carlisle; 17-Catterick; 18-Cave's Inn; 19-Charterhouse; 20-Chelmsford; 21-Chesterton-on-Fosse; 22-Corbridge; 23- Cowbridge; 24-Dorchester-on-Thames; 25-Dorn; 26-Dragonby; 27-Droitwich; 28-East Bridgeford (*Margidunum*); 29-Frilford; 30-Godmanchester; 31- Great Casterton; 32-Great Chesterford; 33-Harlow; 34- Heronbridge; 35-Hilbaldstow; 36-Holditch; 37-Horncastle; 38-Ilchester; 39-Irchester; 40-Kelvedon; 41- Kenchester; 42-Kingscote; 43-Little Chester; 44-Mancetter; 45-Middlewich; 46-Mildenhall; 47-Neatham; 48-Nettleton; 49-Richborough; 50-Rochester; 51-Sapperton; 52-Sea Mills; 53-Shepton Mallet; 54- Springhead; 55-Staines; 56-Thistleton; 57-Thorpe; 58-Tiddington; 59-Towcester; 60-Wall; 61-Wanborough; 62-Water Newton; 63-Whilton Lodge; 64-Whitchurch; 65-Wilderspool; 66-Willoughby; 67-Worcester; 68- Wycomb

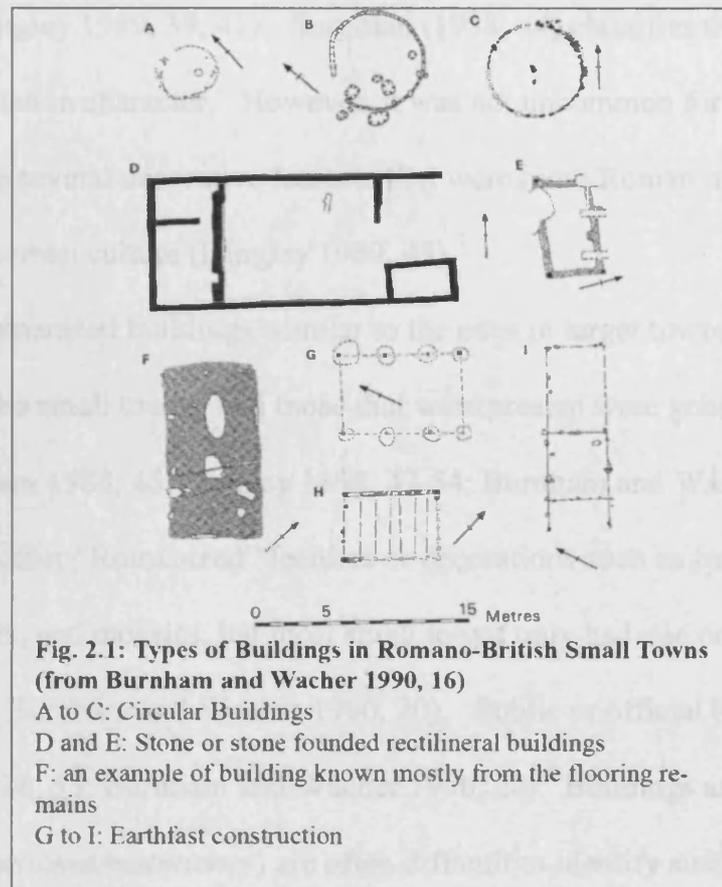
B. Problems with the Data

In addition to the problematic nature of small town definition, the data pertinent to the small towns in this study have their own set of problems. These troubles are associated with the nature of archaeological data as well as the evolution of archaeological thought and methods over the century. Together these forces have complicated the analysis and required a methodology specifically designed to compensate for these problems and illuminate the economic and social change occurring in Britain during the Roman era.

To better understand data pertinent to this study it is important to have an understanding of the building types and construction techniques used to make them and the traces they leave in the archaeological record. The diversity of buildings in small towns is relatively limited as compared to the larger towns, the majority being rectilinear domestic/workshop combinations (Burnham 1988, 54; Burnham and Wachter 1990, 17). The choice of construction techniques was driven by both economic and social considerations and traditions (Burnham 1988, 39-40; Hingley 1989, 31; Burnham and Wachter 1990, 17; Perring 2002, 80), though it should be kept in mind that the choice of construction techniques may not have always rested with the owner since the literature and legal codes indicate that there were significant planning controls (Perring 2002, 80). De la Bedoyere (1991, 21) postulates that the majority of buildings were constructed of timber, easily overlooked in the archaeological record. However, it does become clear that masonry was increasingly adopted in second-century (Buckland 1988; Blagg 1990, 48; Perring 2002, 106).

Circular buildings were an Iron Age tradition of vernacular domestic structures that has continuity into the second-century in the small towns and longer in the more rural countryside, continuing in use beyond Hadrian's Wall and also in Wales (Burnham 1988, 38; Hingley 1989, 31-35; Burnham and Wachter 1990, 17). The buildings are constructed by placing vertical

stakes or posts directly into the soil which is packed around it for support. With a few notable exceptions, most circular buildings have an absence of Romanized features (Burnham 1988, 38; Burnham and Wacher 1990, 17).



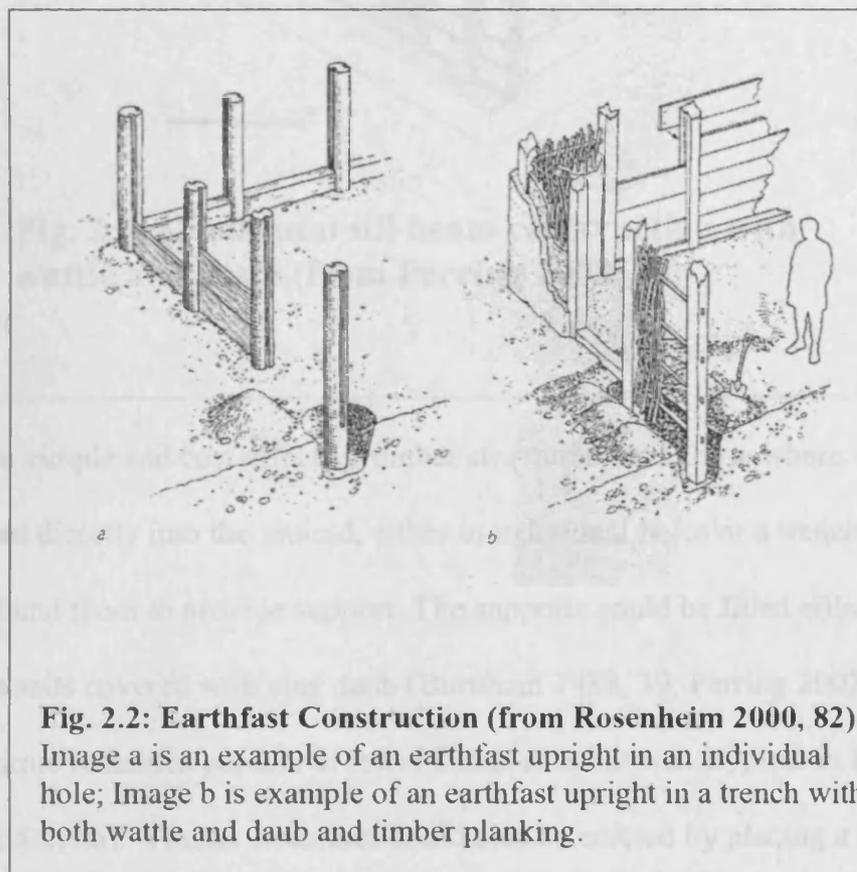
Rectilinear buildings are the most common building in small towns (Burnham 1988, 38). Domestic structures become larger over the Roman era and usually had spacious plots associated with them (Burnham and Wacher 1990, 18). Another type of rectilinear building, the “strip” building, is also very common. Strip buildings were placed with their end on the street, often with an open face. The spacing between buildings was minimal indicating that street frontage may have been at a premium. The general interpretation is that these buildings were workshops or stores with domestic quarters for its owners (Burnham and Wacher 1990, 18). A

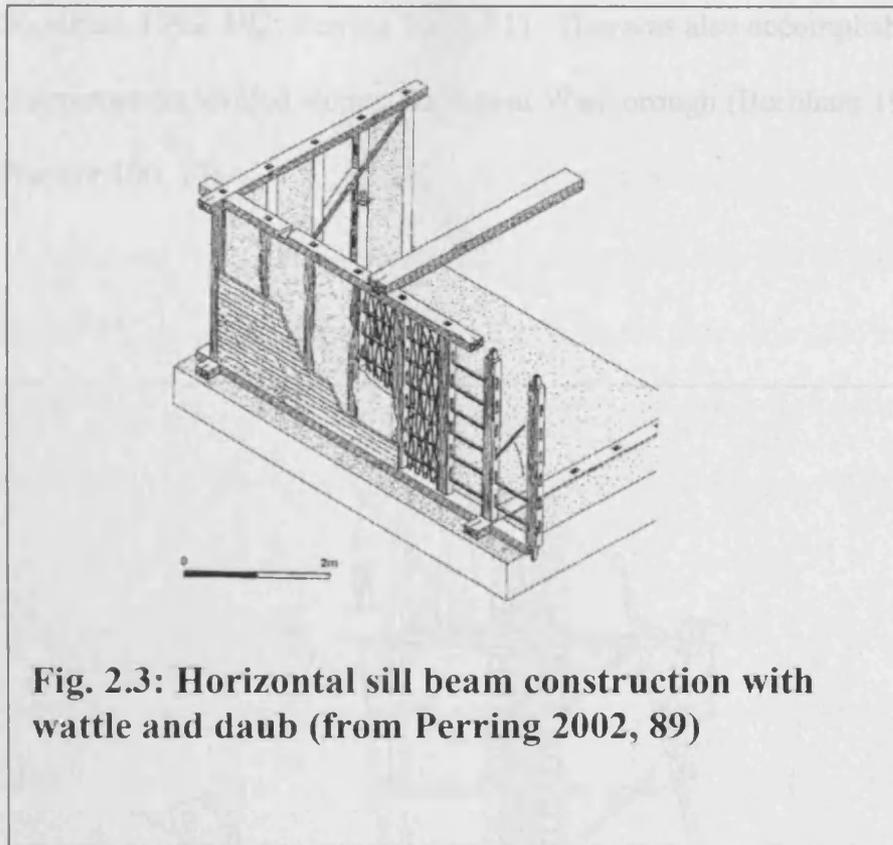
third type of rectilinear building, generally termed an aisled building, had twin rows of internal roof supports (Hingley 1989, 39-45). Interpretation is difficult and the internal rooms may have been used as quarters for family, servants, or travelers. Some structures were apparently barns for livestock. They were not common until the later second-century and may have housed the extended family (Hingley 1989, 39, 41). Burnham (1988, 44) classifies these as more vernacular than Roman in character. However, it was not uncommon for some rooms towards the entrances to have several decorative features that were more Roman in style, indicating some aspiration to Roman culture (Hingley 1989, 45).

The more Romanized buildings, similar to the ones in larger towns or on villas, were relatively scarce in the small towns, and those that were present were generally found in the later periods (Burnham 1988, 45; Hingley 1898, 47-54; Burnham and Wachter 1990, 20). Many had hypocausts and other “Romanized” features or decorations such as painted plaster, tessellated pavements, and mosaics, but most small towns only had one or two such buildings (Burnham 1988, 45; Burnham and Wachter 1990, 20). Public or official buildings were equally as rare (Burnham 1988, 55; Burnham and Wachter 1990, 20). Buildings associated with the *cursus publicus* (*mansiones/mutationes*) are often difficult to identify since there is little epigraphic evidence to support their identification (Black 1995, 1). Basilicas were all but non-existent, with only one possible example being found at Carlisle (see Chap. 4). Only two theaters have been identified, at Wycomb and Catterick. Two possible amphitheatres have been found at Charterhouse and Frilford (Burnham 1988, 55; Burnham and Wachter 1990, 20). Bathing complexes, ranging from small simple to larger complexes, were better represented than would be expected as were religious buildings, though few were of a typically classical style (Burnham 1988, 55; Burnham and Wachter 1990, 10).

The construction techniques used in Britain during the Roman era have been sufficiently covered in-depth elsewhere (see Burnham 1988; de la Bedoyere 1991, 15-39; Perring 2002, 80-

110; Burnham and Wachter 1990, 16-23), that only a brief discussion is necessary here. Each has left its own unique archaeological traces which directly affect the data as it has been collected by excavators. Timber structures in particular are problematic since wood is much less durable and the traces that remain for the modern archaeologist are more slight than stone, particularly before the mid-twentieth century when archaeological techniques became more advanced.





The most simple and cost effective timber structures were those where vertical stakes or posts were placed directly into the ground, either in individual holes or a trench, with stones or earth packed around them to provide support. The supports could be filled either by mud bricks or woven wattle sails covered with clay daub (Burnham 1988, 39; Perring 2002, 83-4; see Fig. 2.2). The technique remained popular at lower status sites but was atypical in larger towns and cities (Perring 2002, 86). Timber structures could also be erected by placing a horizontal timber in a trench or on the ground surface with vertical posts held in place by notches and framing techniques. The super-structure could be mud brick fill, wattle and daub, or planking (Burnham 1988, 39; Perring 2002 87; Burnham and Wachter 1990 17). This technique became more popular after the conquest when the Romans introduced better framing techniques and showed an increase in expenditure (Perring 2002, 91; see Fig. 2.3). Another improvement included the construction of timber buildings with a stone foundation that would minimize the ground moisture absorbed by the timber placed in or on the ground, dramatically extending the life of

the structure (Goodburn 1992, 192; Perring 2002, 91). This was also accomplished by raising the timber superstructure on leveled stones, such as at Wanborough (Burnham 1988, 39; Burnham and Wachter 190, 17).

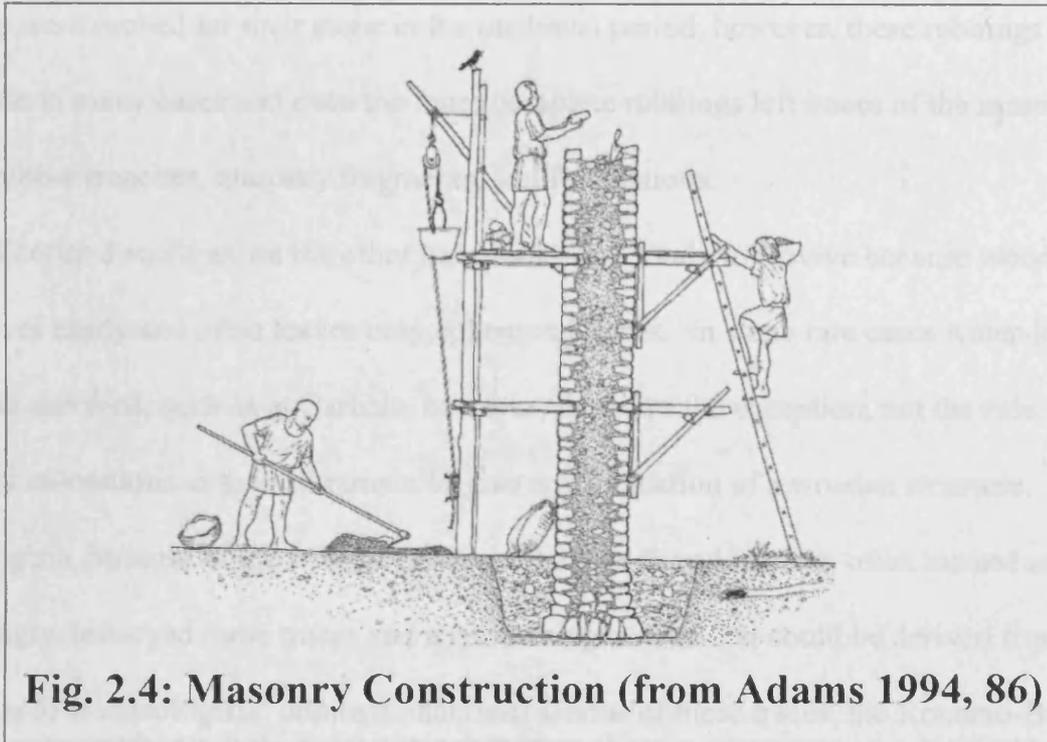


Fig. 2.4: Masonry Construction (from Adams 1994, 86)

Stone buildings indicate a higher level of investment and were particularly popular in public buildings and aristocratic houses (Perring 2002, 91). The most common technique consisted of a rubble concrete core with stone facing (Perring 2002, 108-9; De la Bedoyere 1991, 25-6; see Fig. 2.4). The use of larger blocks to create a solid stone wall, often referred to as ashlar masonry, was extraordinarily rare (de la Bedoyere 1991, 25). Stone was generally acquired locally to minimize the cost of construction (de la Bedoyere 1991, 24). However, many small towns imported stone, often great distances, to construct buildings. As we shall see, the level of investment would affect the meaning of each building.

The chosen construction techniques create certain problems for the archaeologist. In trying to quantify the transition from wood to stone over time it is important to gain as complete a picture as possible of construction techniques across space and time. However, buildings that used stone, or at least had stone foundations, were far more likely to survive and be recorded, since they incorporated more durable materials (hence a reason to build in that manner). Many structures were robbed for their stone in the medieval period, however, these robbings were incomplete in many cases and even the more complete robbings left traces of the masonry in the form of robber trenches, masonry fragments, and foundations.

Wooden structures, on the other hand, were less likely to survive because wood decomposes easily and often leaves only ephemeral traces. In some rare cases water-logged timber has survived, such as at Carlisle, however, these are the exception, not the rule. In most cases only colorations in the soil remain to give any indication of a wooden structure. Early archaeologists, because of the state of excavation methods and interest, often missed and unknowingly destroyed these traces and any meaningful data that could be derived from them. In addition to archaeologists' unintentional destructions of these traces, the Romano-Britons could also easily destroy traces of earlier timber structures when they built latter buildings, often stone as we shall see. Hence, we have a very incomplete picture of the wooden buildings at many sites. On the other hand, there is no doubt that across the ages that timber has been the main vernacular building tradition in many areas of Britain (de la Bedoyere 1991, 22; Ching 1995, 135; Potter and Johns, 2002, 100).

While the problems of the buildings themselves are problematic enough, they are further complicated by the fact that not a single "small town" from Roman Britain has been completely excavated, much less done so to modern scientific standards. Some are more excavated than others, giving a larger number of sample buildings than those that are less excavated. For example, the town of Alcester has 71 building samples excavated, and Middlewich, Mildenhall,

and Ancaster have only one. This creates problems with statistical comparisons of towns such as T-tests. It should, however, be noted that even sites with large numbers of building samples are not necessarily without problems. For example, the town of Corbridge has yielded 65 building samples. However, because of the accessibility of the site, it was subject to much excavation early in the twentieth-century when archaeological methods were more crude. While much of this evidence is still valid, it prevents a more complete picture from being obtained than a smaller site like Asthall, where excavation samples are smaller (20 building samples) but done with more modern methods employed over a smaller area.

Other factors create problems in the quantity of data from certain sites. Later medieval and modern developments on the site in addition to archaeological interest and methods have greatly affected the data available today. The crude methods of excavation, as mentioned above, have destroyed a significant amount of data. In addition, early archaeologists tended to focus on stone buildings. In other places, places like Corbridge, that had no later medieval or modern development directly over the Roman settlement, excavations could be more easily done than places like Bath where later medieval and modern towns disturbed and/or sealed the Roman layers and limit excavations. While we have over 20 statistical samples from Roman Bath, it is tantalizing to contemplate what is as yet unknown beneath the modern town. Excavations in living towns also create extreme variability in the methods employed to gather the sample data. Excavations often are limited in time and money, literally rushing to save what data is possible before modern construction destroys the site. Even in more academically driven excavations, methods vary, giving a complexity of data that makes it difficult to compare one site with another.

To summarize, the complexity of the data makes it difficult to carry out a purely statistical analysis. Reece (1995) has examined the problems of taking the varied data acquired by different methods at different times and evaluated their validity in “classical statistics.”

While the problems are very real and give true statisticians more problems than archaeologists, adjustments can be made in methodology to accommodate for these problems, though these adjustments are “not the stuff of simple classical statistics” (Reece 1995, 180).

C. Method of Analysis

In 1997, a working party group of the CBA set forth an agenda for analyzing urbanization in the early Roman era of Western Europe (Burnham, *et al.* 2001). The group recommended that some of the earliest stages of settlements be more closely examined, and that scholars seek a better understanding of urban morphology in a comparative manner with other provinces on the continent, and how indigenous construction norms survived in the presence in the transition to more Romanized architecture. The study undertaken examines some of the themes they suggest.

For the pre-Roman West, and its incorporation into the Roman Empire, the question of spatial and chronological variability in settlement patterns is of paramount importance; it is one of the central components in defining the variability in form and degree of the “Romanization” process. This theme is currently being addressed by archaeologists dissatisfied with the static image of the Roman Empire and of provincial landscapes dominated by imperial policy. In the western and northern provinces of the empire, surveys are making it increasingly evident that the impact of the Roman conquest on social and economic organization varied greatly, not only between provinces, but also between regions within provinces and change over time. What was once viewed as a unilateral process of homogenization is now coming to be seen as a bilateral process resulting in a highly heterogeneous cultural organization of the indigenous peoples and their landscape (see for example Haselgrove 1990; Millett 1990; Woolf 1992, Mattingly 1997, Wells 1999, Webster 1997; 2001). Measuring cultural change therefore needs to take into

account the uniqueness of different regions within the study area and any model therefore needs be designed for such a comparison.

Jones (1995) listed three things to investigate in regards to Roman Lincoln that should be adapted for this study. First, he proposed studying a town and its suburbs through time and the development of foci for that settlement. Second, he suggests that the study of spatial patterning within the town and its suburbs and the changes that occurred over time would show cultural, social and economic change. Third, Jones proposed examining the hinterland, examining trading contacts and their effect and relationships to the fortunes of settlements.

Taking these issues into account, a four step process was designed for this study. This model, with its comparative nature, provides a generic starting point to understand the process of change in settlement patterns in Roman towns in Western Europe. The four steps are summarized as follows:

1. Settlement information and buildings were cataloged in a database that regularized varied information from sites in Roman Britain. Information was recorded and periodized in a common framework to facilitate analysis (see below). Information regarding settlement characteristics and economics were correlated with building information. Information was then entered into a GIS database to help analyze change over both space and time.
2. The second stage involved a macro-economic and social analysis of provincial patterns. Based on the information in the database, a provincial analysis provided patterns that were compared to individual sites studied in steps three and four. The provincial pattern was analyzed to determine the height of stone buildings in the Roman period, the height of wooden buildings in the Roman period, and correlations were made with the social and economic development of the province as a whole. The provincial patterns provided a baseline for comparing other sites. It was expected that some individual sites would peak their use of stone before the provincial pattern and other would peak after. These were identified for more detailed study in step three.
3. Initially, the intent was to analyze each site compared to the provincial pattern and to determine if the site's stone use was earlier, at the same time, or later than the provincial norm. As it turned out, a different set of patterns existed. Some sites reached and maintained an early dominance of stone use, others made the transition from timber to stone, and some sites never had more than 50 percent of their buildings constructed in stone for any of the designated phases. These patterns became more useful in analysis. Each pattern has a chapter devoted to summarizing those settlements that seem to match

the characteristic to examine factors such as economic activity, region, settlement type, and origins. For each pattern a case study was examined based on the best excavated site to test the analysis. In addition, artifacts were analyzed to determine the economic change of the sites over time as well. Coin loss patterns were analyzed using the following procedure to examine patterns vis-à-vis architectural change:

Coins were lumped into categories that were generally similar to the divisions used to quantify the site's buildings (see below). The periodization therefore combines periods set forth by Reece (1974, 1987, 1991) and this study. A formula devised by Brickstock (2002, 1) for analyzing the sites of Catterick was used:

$$\frac{\text{No. of coins per period}}{\text{No. of years in the period}} \times \frac{1000 \text{ [a notional multiplier]}}{\text{Total no. of coins at the site}}$$

The results were then plotted on a graph to analyze emerging patterns. While the over number of coins was relatively small and conclusions reached by them alone should be viewed with caution, each grouping of building traditions did reveal distinct patterns. Taken in conjunction with other artifacts and features, they provide valuable information regarding the economics of the examined sites.

4. For each building tradition, the sites with the largest number of building samples were analyzed on a macro-level, comparing geographic, economic, and cultural factors. The better known and best excavated towns were often used as case studies to examine the diverse processes that resulted in overall pattern. In many cases, towns with a similar pattern had very diverse processes that produced similar end results. In the case study analysis, artifacts were analyzed and compared to the building traditions over time to gain an understanding of how the inhabitants of a given site were using artifacts as a means of expressing self-identity and this was compared with the changes in architecture.

D. Database Construction

The data for this study was placed into a database that cataloged information from each settlement as well as each building in the settlement. Once completed, the database was converted into a spatial geo-database and loaded into the GIS (Geographic Information Systems) program *ArcView* for both spatial and temporal analysis. The database consisted of four basic areas of information. Each stored specific information across time periods devised for this study in order to trace change across time. The time periods devised were necessarily broad by nature of the archaeological evidence and to compensate for variations in excavation methods used at each individual site. The time periods were as follows:

Period 1: AD 43-100. This period represents the transition from the Iron Age to the Roman domination through conquest. It was during this time that the introduction of Roman material goods and building patterns occurred as well as military, political, and economic intrusion of Roman imperial policy (Frere 1987, 282-288).

Period 2: AD 100-150. This period showed a solidification of the province by imperial authorities. While there was undoubtedly some resistance to Rome's occupation, the material goods were increasingly in a Roman style and the influence of Rome on the economy was stabilizing (Frere 1987, 282-288).

Period 3: AD 150-250. This period and subsequent ones are longer than the previous two as the material goods and structures were harder to identify. Archaeologists often can do no more than state "late second or early third- century" for both material goods and features. In some cases coinage in buildings gives a more exact TPQ, but in order to accommodate a variety of data this longer time frame was more practical. During this period the economy became more localized with fewer imports from the continent and less heavy imperial control (Frere 1987, 282-288).

Period 4: AD 250-350. During this period a more equitable trade pattern developed province wide with increased production and exports. However, Britain suffered during the general economic malaise of the Western Empire despite being generally immune from the carnage of the continental invasions. (Frere 1987, 282-288).

Period 5: AD 350-450. This period represented the final stages of Roman Britain. During this period unrest in the empire disrupted the economy which had effects upon Britain. By AD 409 imperial ties were severed. While that marked the end of the direct political influence of Roman, culturally the change was less dramatic and continued beyond that date. It was therefore important to extend the time period in the database in order to measure the continuity that existed in the province despite the end of direct imperial control. The surviving material culture showed continuity but also a decline with an increasingly large amount of Anglo-Saxon goods (Frere 1987, 282-288).

The first part of the database cataloged general information about each town to be studied. The following items were identified and recorded if applicable:

1. Classification based on the Burnham (1993) system.
2. Geographic location for GIS mapping.
3. If the town had an Iron Age settlement preceding it.
4. If the town was mentioned on Roman itineraries.
5. If the town was on a major road that connected *civitas* capitals or other major towns.
6. If the town was at a junction of two such roads mentioned above.
7. If there was a military phase associated with the town.
8. If the town had defenses, and if so what type (earthen, timber, or stone) and what phase they were associated with.

-
9. Morphological characteristics were identified and recorded. These included road systems (i.e.- linear or simple ribbon systems, regular or irregular system), a centralized core with a forum or basilica, the presence of religious temples, presence of an aqueduct and the period of its construction, and if there was evidence of zonation that might indicate some sort of urban planning.
 10. Economic characteristics were also recorded including evidence of metallurgy (smelting and smithing), pottery production, glass production, mining, quarrying, salt production, tanning and bone working, minting, and whether or not the town was an identifiable market center.

The second part of the database recorded information about each town in the context of its surrounding landscape. Distances from the nearest *civitas* capital and settlements were recorded. The number of villas, temples/shrines, and “other substantial buildings” according to the *Historical map and guide: Roman Britain, 5th ed.* (Ordnance Survey 2001) from within a 5 km and 10 km radius were recorded. Finally, the number and types of extraction industry within 10 km were also recorded.

The third part of the database consisted of cataloging the inscriptions associated with each town. Using the *Roman Inscriptions of Britain* every inscription was recorded giving the reference number, whether the inscription was on stone or *Instrumentum Domesticum*, and if it were associated with a military, religious, official, or personal use (including graffiti). When it was useful, the entire text was recorded.

The fourth and largest part of the database was the cataloging of each building within the site. Here the data collected from different excavations, using different methods, from different times needed to be amalgamated into a common framework for comparison. It was important to have the data conform to the above mentioned periodization. A problem encountered was that some buildings were built in one period and existed into another period. In this case, the same building could be counted twice in the database. However, in order to have a representation of the construction techniques on any given period it was important to count each building actually standing in that period. A second problem was that on any given

site, more than one building may have existed as new buildings succeeded older ones that were destroyed or dismantled. Thus, in one building plot there may be multiple buildings during one period. The end result is that the database records “building samples” that are reflective of the building tradition for that period and not the actual number of buildings.

Information about each building was entered into the database. Each building’s primary use was identified though many remained unknown. The generalized categories included domestic use, public use, official use (including *mansiones* and *mutationes*), religious use, industrial and economic use, or if the building was a combined economic and domestic structure represented in the ubiquitous strip buildings. Many building uses remained uncertain and were categorized as “unknown.” The elements of the buildings recorded were the construction methods. First the foundations were recorded. Second the superstructure was recorded. Together these created combinations where the architecture could be measured over time. These provided four general categories for analysis: wooden structures, stone structures, wooden structures with stone foundations, and stone foundations with an unknown superstructure. In the case of wooden buildings with stone foundations, great deference was given to the excavators of each building. While many stone foundations provided clear evidence for a wooden superstructure based on slightness of construction and timber elements, others gave little evidence for their superstructure. If excavators found sufficient evidence to claim it had a wooden superstructure, their first hand familiarity with the site deserved the benefit of the doubt and therefore was classified accordingly. When there was clear doubt in the mind of the excavator, the building was categorized with an unknown superstructure.

Decorative elements of each building were also recorded. These included the presence of wall plaster (both painted and unpainted), carved stone, mosaics, tessellated flooring, *opus signinum*, and columns. In addition, advanced features such as hypocausts were also recorded.

Chapter 3:

Provincial Patterns and the Development of Architectural Traditions

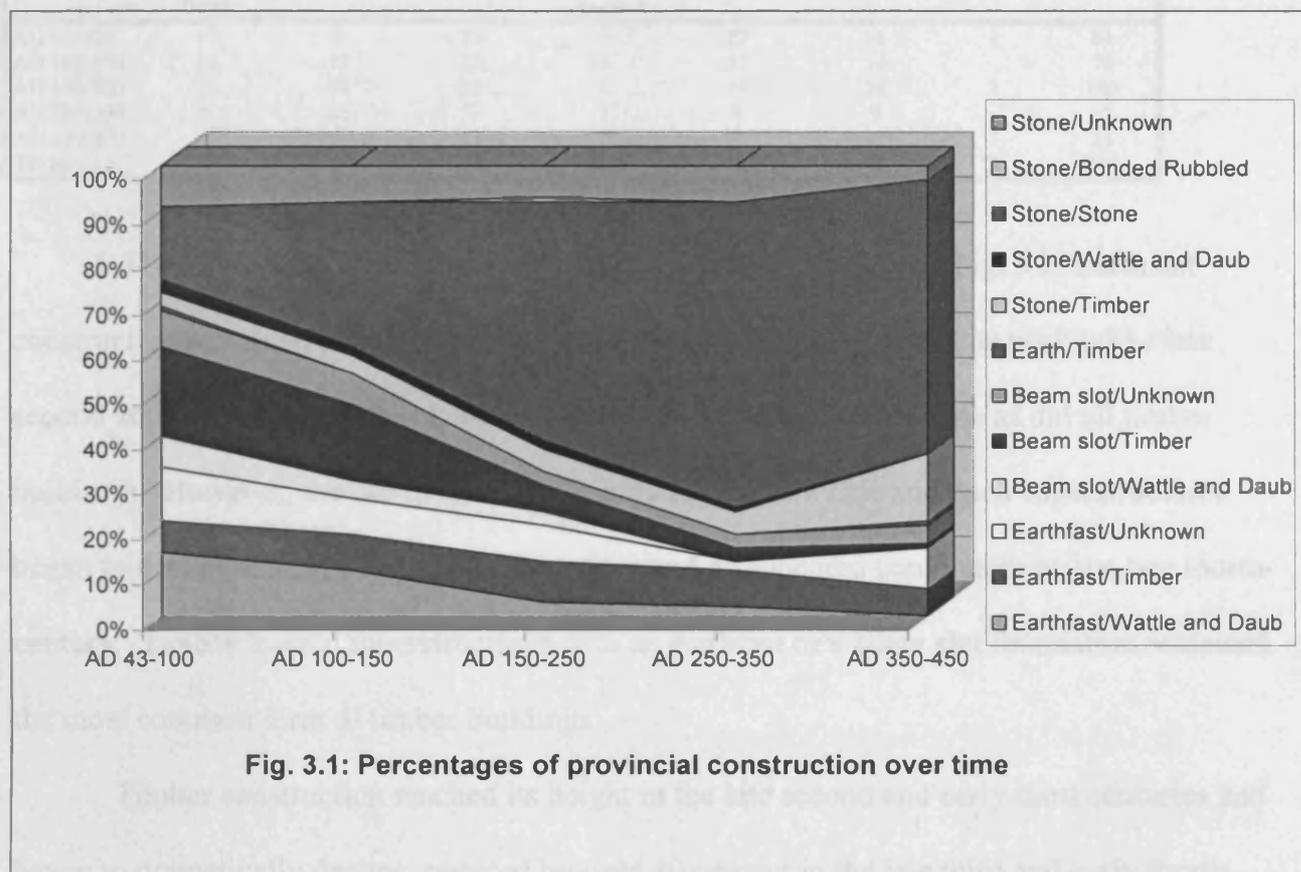
I. Introduction

The first step of analyzing the changing architectural patterns in small towns is consideration of the provincial patterns. The data show that the use of stone architecture was not uniform across the province. Some towns readily adopted masonry, creating a tradition of stone architecture that became strong enough to withstand the economic crises that preceded the end of Roman rule. Other towns maintained a strong timber tradition and never had a significant number of buildings made of stone during the Roman period. The majority of the rest progressed at various rates in their use of building techniques with stone reaching its maximum use in the late third and early fourth centuries before a rapid decline. Regional, imperial, geologic, and local economic forces all played a part in shaping these patterns.

II. Building Patterns

The small towns in this study yielded a total of 1040 datable building samples. Of these a total of 348 (33.46%) buildings were of completely timber construction; 77 (7.40%) had a timber superstructure with a stone foundation; 543 (52.21%) had a stone foundation and superstructure; and 72 (6.92%) had a stone foundation with an unknown superstructure (see Fig. 3.1). There was great variation in the distribution of these building types. Some sites never adopted masonry on a large scale, instead maintaining a timber tradition in their local architecture. Other sites developed a strong tradition of masonry architecture relatively soon after conquest. However, the vast majority of sites eventually adopted masonry construction

techniques along the same pattern as the province as a whole. No site developed a tradition of composite construction. The results are summarized by phase and town in Appendix B.



A. Timber Buildings

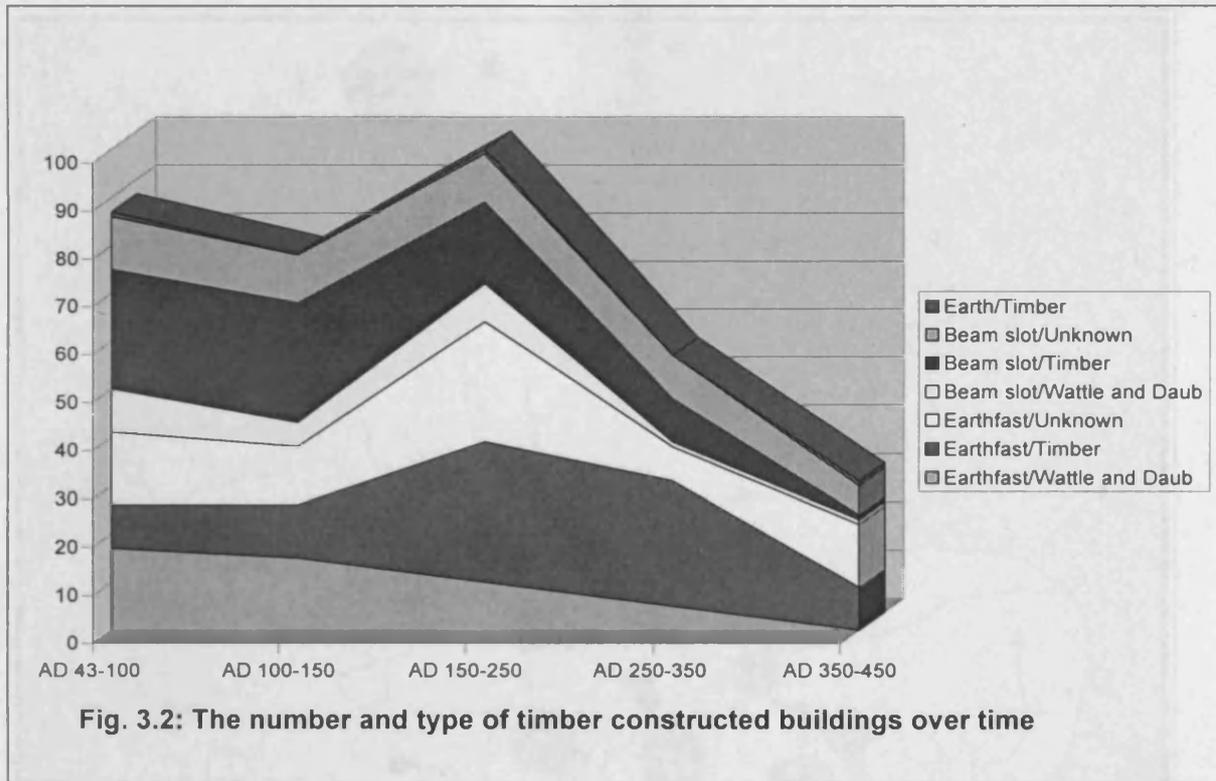
Of the total building sample, 348 buildings (33.46%) were entirely of timber construction. Included in this total are buildings with a known earthfast or beam slot foundation but unknown superstructure. Logically it can be assumed that these buildings had either a wattle and daub or timber framed superstructure. It should be remembered that the total number of timber-buildings excavated is probably much lower than the actual number present in the town at any given time. Replacement of timber buildings by stone, later land uses and development, and antiquarian and even early archaeological excavation techniques likely destroyed the ephemeral traces of many timber buildings. However, if we can assume the totals we have are a representative random sample, many patterns become clear.

Table 3.1: Summary of timber constructed buildings for the entire sample group with totals by both phase and type. In this and subsequent tables and charts, the first descriptor indicates the foundation and the second the superstructure.

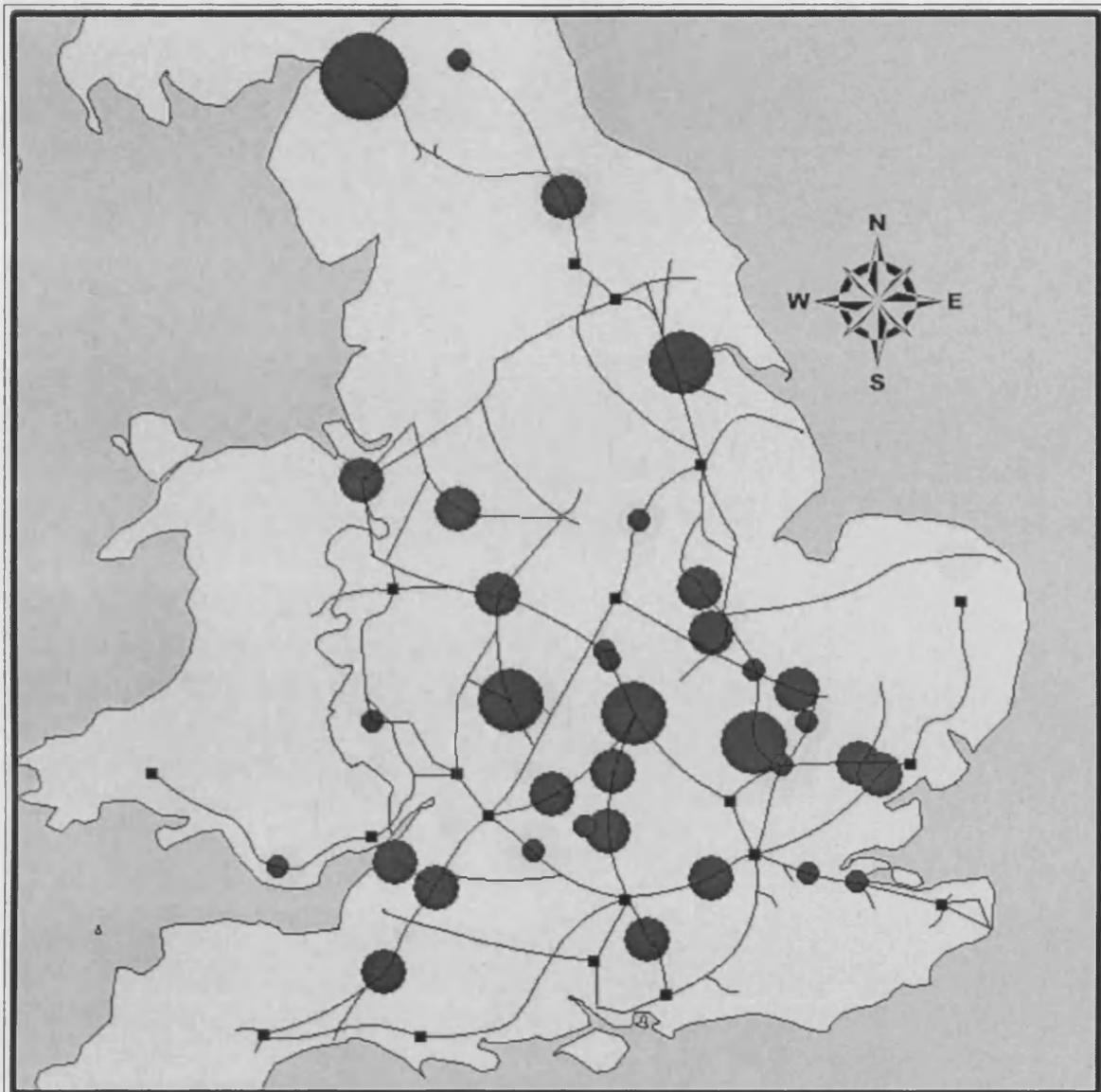
Period	Earthfast/ Wattle and Daub	Earthfast/ Timber	Earthfast/ Unknown	Beam slot/ Wattle and Daub	Beam slot/ Timber	Beam slot/ Unknown	Earth/ Timber	Totals
AD 43-100	17	9	15	9	22	11	1	84
AD 100-150	15	11	12	5	25	10		78
AD 150-250	10	29	25	8	17	10	1	100
AD 250-350	5	26	7	1	9	9		57
AD 350-450		9	13	1	1	6	1	31
Totals	47	84	72	24	77	46	3	348

The totals for timber construction are shown in Table 3.1 and Fig. 3.2. Earthfast construction remained popular throughout the Roman period, reaching its peak in the late second and early third centuries, after which it showed a marked decline as did all timber buildings. However, the use of earthfast foundations with wattle and daub superstructures began to decline after the early second-century and disappeared completely by the late fourth-century. Timber framed superstructures with an earthfast or a beam slot foundation remained the most common form of timber buildings.

Timber construction reached its height in the late second and early third centuries and began to dramatically decline, reduced by over 40 percent in the late third and early fourth centuries and again by 50 percent by the late fourth and early fifth centuries. The decrease in timber construction in the late third and early fourth centuries occurred at the same time that stone construction reached its height (see below). This seems to support the general observation that there was a general decline in the economic power and function of the major administrative centers and a growing importance of the settlements in the countryside (Millett 1990, 133; Hingley 1985, 85; Dark and Dark 1997, 70). It is likely that timber began to decline in response to these factors. However, both timber and stone construction dropped dramatically in the late fourth and early fifth centuries. It is interesting to note that the use of earthfast construction actually increased through the mid-third century, though the presence of wattle and daub superstructure declined.



Geographically there was great variation as to where timber buildings were predominantly used and how that use changed over time. From the conquest through the mid-second century timber construction was fairly equally distributed through the sites in the province (see Maps 3.1 and 3.2). However, from the mid-second century to the mid-third distinct local patterns develop (see Map 3.3). Some towns, primarily in the West Midlands, maintained a tradition of timber architecture. Alcester, Alchester, Asthall, Great Chesterford, Margidunum, Neatham, and Towcester all had a substantial number of building samples, but the proportion of timber to stone buildings remained quite high (see Table 3.2). It should be noted that Alcester, Alchester, and Towcester would be considered upper order settlements using Burnham's classification scheme. Thus, these were not just small isolated towns but rather small towns of some substance.

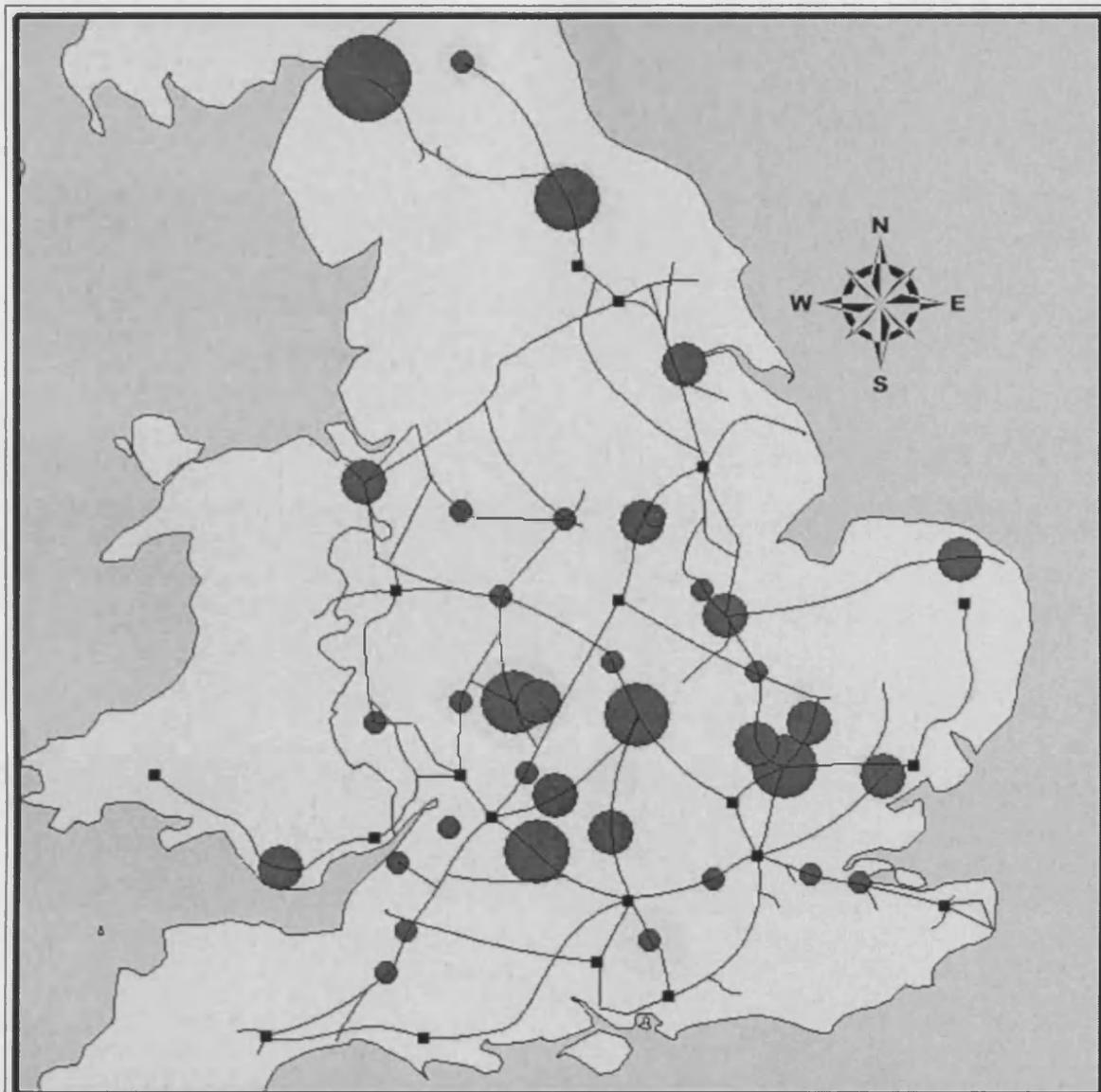


0 15 30 60 90 120
 Kilometers

**Map 3.1: Timber
 Buildings AD 43-100**

Legend

- 1 Building
- 2 - 4 Buildings
- 5 - 7 Buildings
- 8 - 16 Buildings

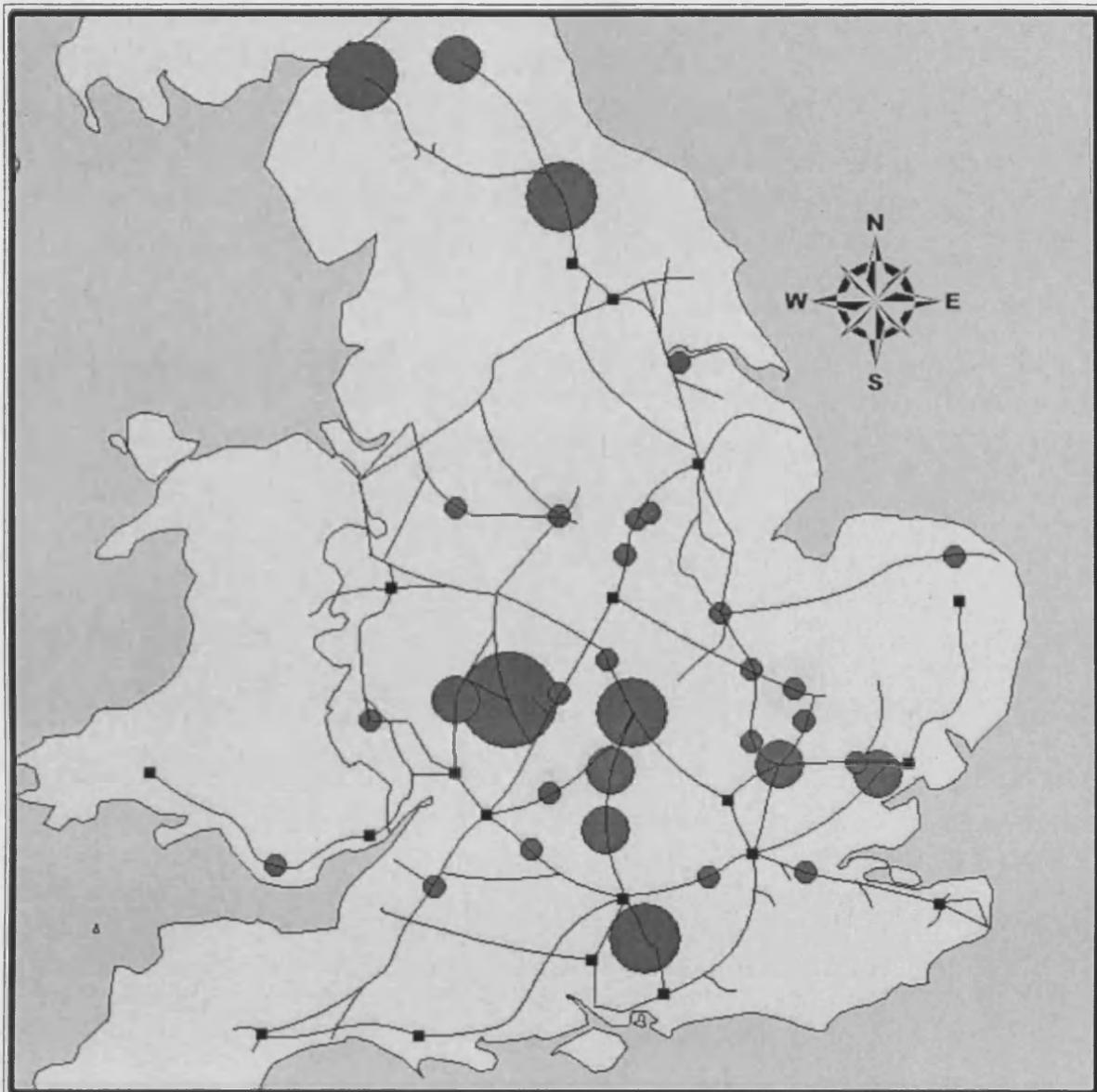


0 15 30 60 90 120
 Kilometers

Map 3.2: Timber Buildings AD 100-150

Legend

- 1 Building
- 2 - 3 Buildings
- 4 - 7 Buildings
- 8 - 11 Buildings

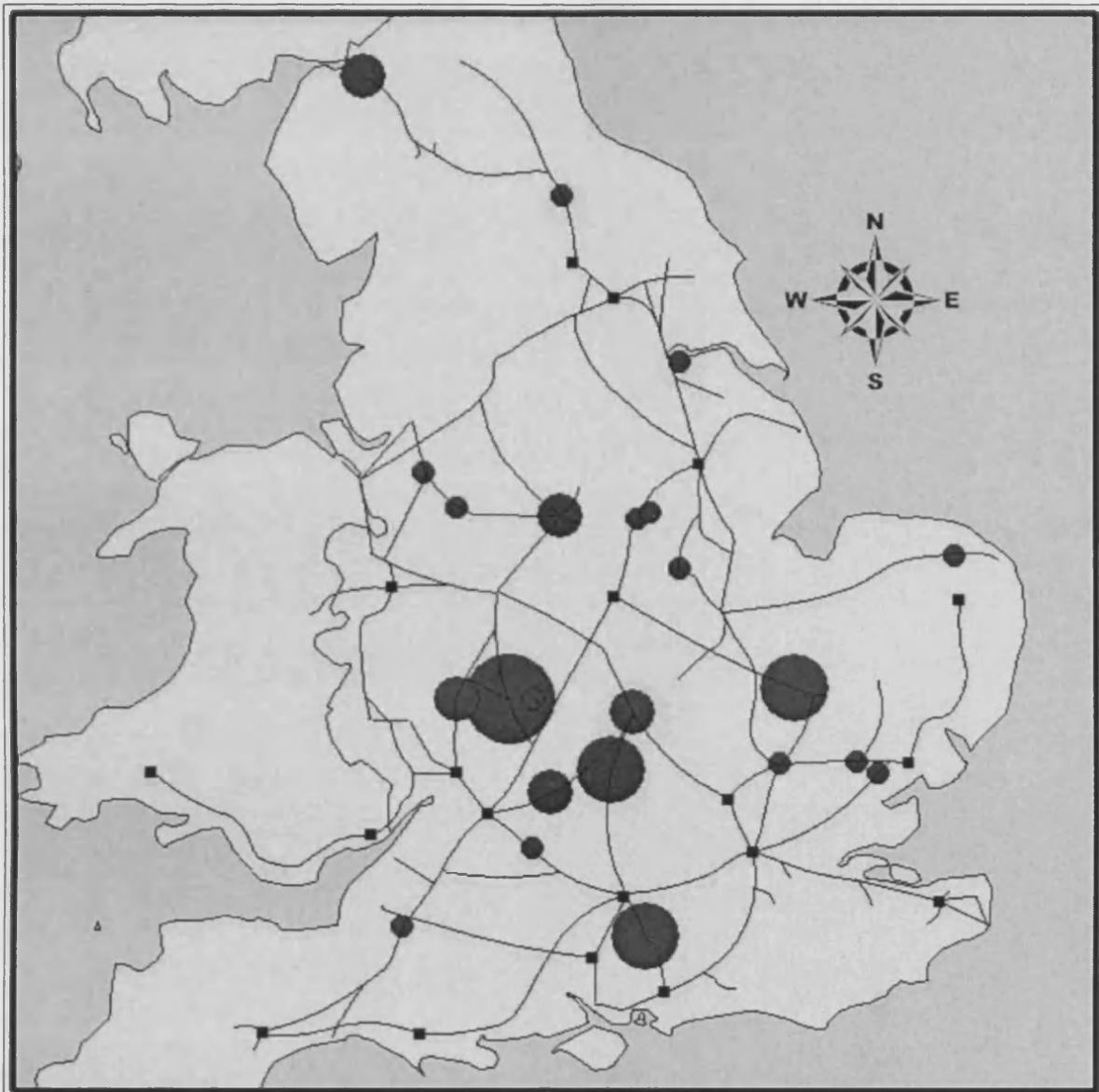


0 15 30 60 90 120
 Kilometers

**Map 3.3: Timber
 Buildings AD 150-250**

Legend

- 1 - 2 Buildings
- 3 - 4 Buildings
- 5 - 9 Buildings
- 10 - 19 Buildings

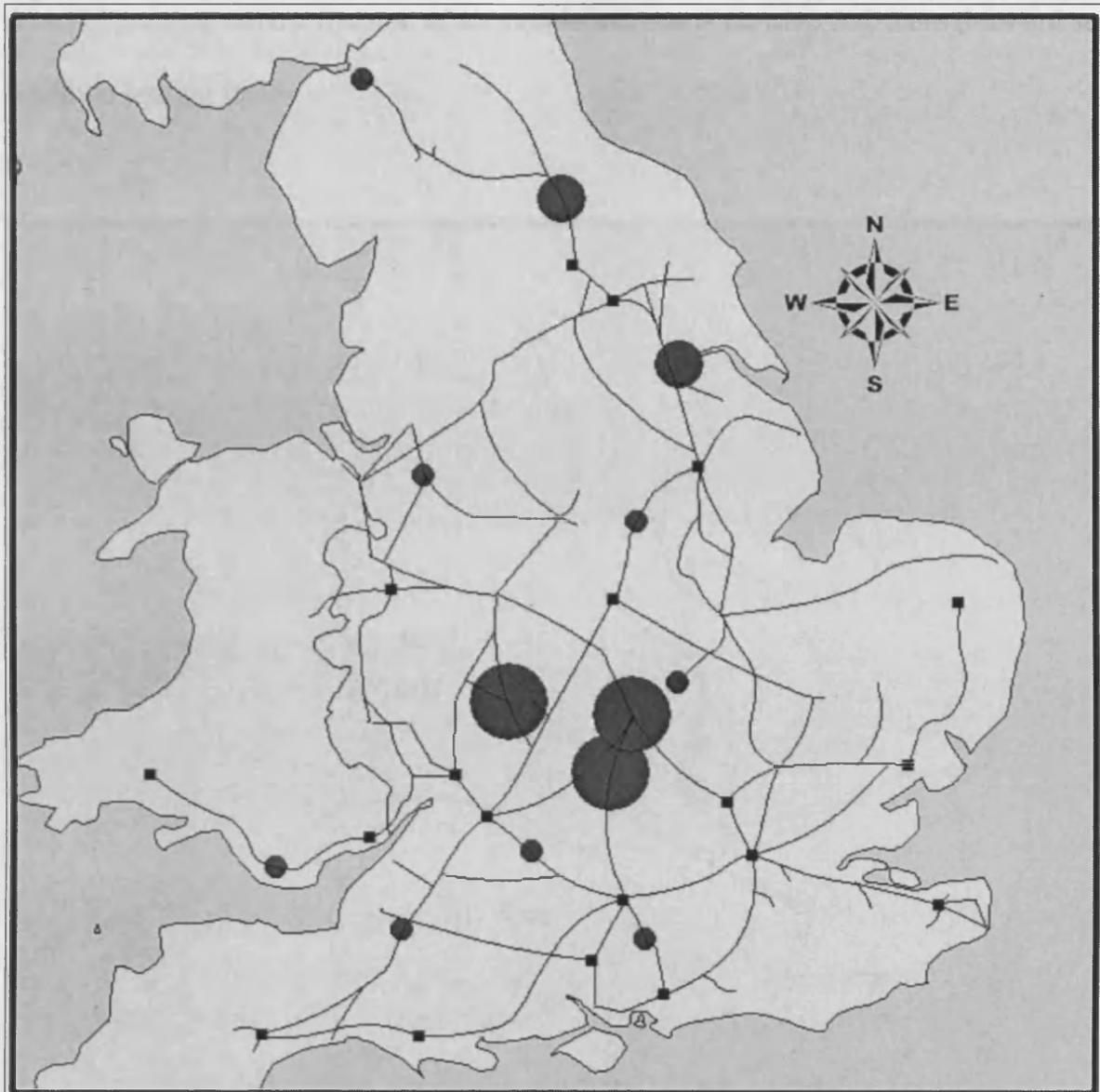


0 15 30 60 90 120
 Kilometers

Map 3.4: Timber Buildings AD 250-350

Legend

- 1 Building
- 2 - 3 Buildings
- 4 - 6 Buildings
- 7 - 16 Buildings



0 15 30 60 90 120
 Kilometers

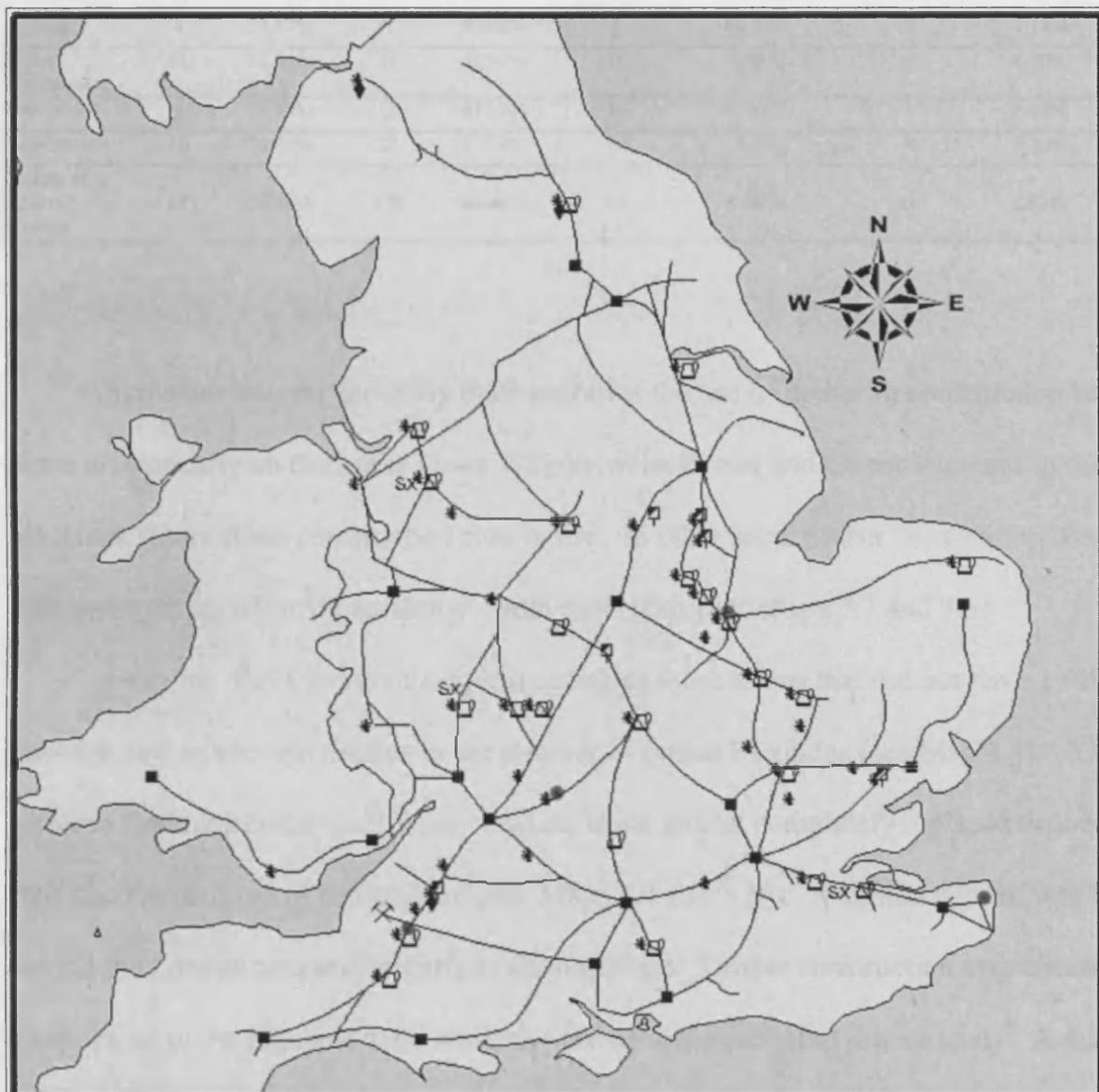
**Map 3.5: Timber
 Buildings AD 350-450**

Legend

- 1 Building
- 2 - 3 Buildings
- 4-6 Buildings

Four of the five towns were in close proximity to each other, but no firm geographic tie can be made. They are not in any one tribal *civitas* area, nor do they have any other geographic factor binding them together. It is possible that they are part of a regional economy, though

when examining the distribution of economic indicators on Map 3.6, there does not seem to be a common uniting factor.



0 15 30 60 90 120
Kilometers

Legend

- Market Center
- ◻ Stone Quarry Site
- ◆ Tanning
- sx Salt Production
- ◻ Pottery Production
- ◆ Metal Working
- ⊠ Mining

Map 3.6: Economic Activity

Table 3.2: Towns that maintained a strong timber tradition in architecture.

Town	Stone Count	% Stone buildings in town	Timber Count	% Timber	Composite Count	% Composite buildings in town	Count Stone/Unknown	% Stone/Unknown buildings in town	Total
Alcester	17	19.15%	69	73.41%	4	4.25%	3	3.19%	94
Alcester	16	29.63%	34	62.96%	3	5.56%	1	1.85%	54
Asthall	4	28.57%	7	50.00%	2	14.29%	1	7.14%	14
Great Chesterford	11	31.43%	24	68.57%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	35
Neatham	2	12.50%	13	81.25%	0	0.00%	1	6.25%	16
Towcester	10	23.26%	23	53.49%	6	13.95%	4	9.30%	43
Totals of Above Towns	61	23.83%	170	66.40%	15	5.86%	10	3.90%	256

In the late second and early third centuries the use of timber in construction began to abate dramatically on the lower Fosse Way between Exeter and Cirencester and in the East Midlands where stone construction rose in use. In other areas timber construction kept pace with stone construction on an almost equal basis (compare Maps 3.3 and 3.9).

From the mid-third to mid-fourth centuries those towns that did not have a strong timber tradition saw a dramatic decline in the number of timber buildings (see Map 3.4). On the road between Godmanchester and Water Newton, stone almost completely replaced timber as the construction medium of choice (compare Maps 3.4 and 3.10). A similar pattern was found around the London area and slightly to the northeast. Timber construction also almost disappeared in the highland zone while the use of stone increased dramatically. A drastic decline in the use of timber occurred from the mid-fourth century when the total number of buildings also declined. Timber remained in use where the tradition was most deeply rooted in the previous two centuries (see Map 3.5). While it might be assumed that this is due in part to regional tastes, there appears to be fairly significant economic influence that affected architecture as well (discussed below in Economic Influences).

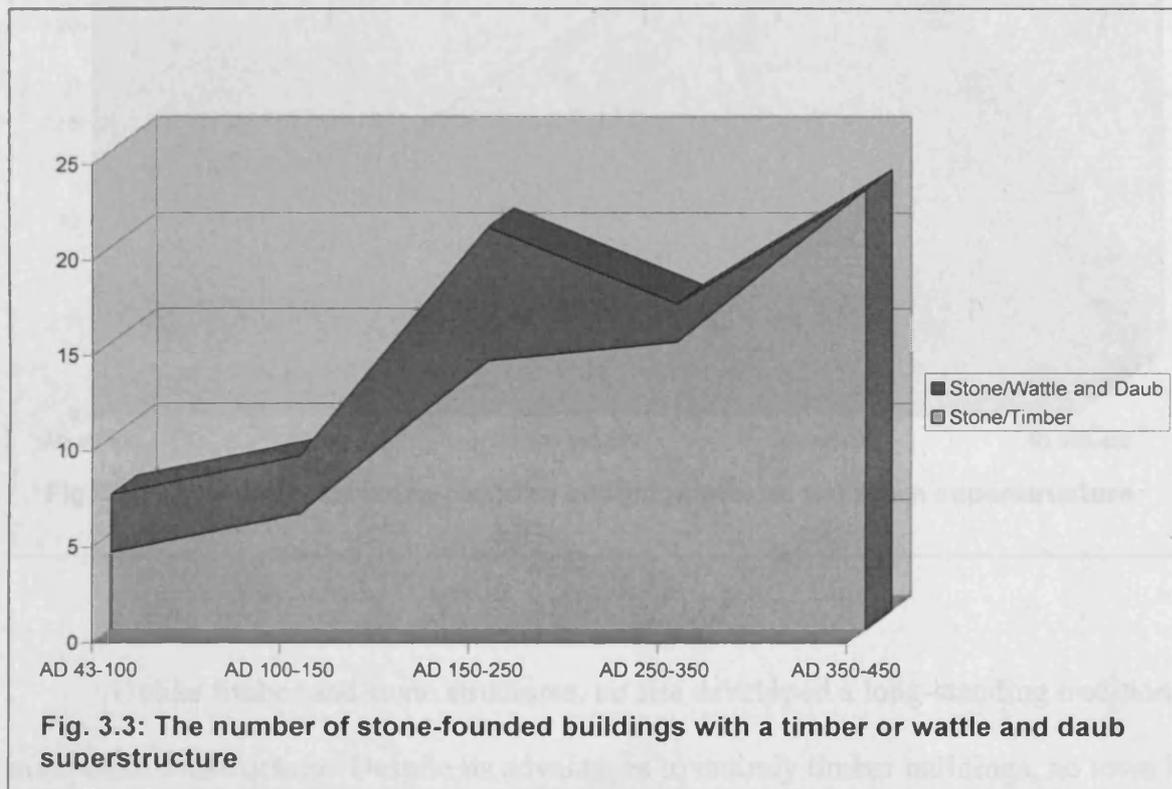
The decline in the number of timber buildings in the fourth century is evident in the total number of buildings. Faulker (2004, 169-73, 198-99) attributes this to a general system failure in the agricultural economy that resulted in the abandonment of towns for the countryside. However, even in the countryside the construction of villas waned by 70 percent between AD 325 to AD 400 (Faulkner 2004, 198). Since town life had become unappealing many structures had been allowed to deteriorate, including civic structures, and the demand for new structure would be reduced even more (*Ibid.* 169).

B. Stone-Founded Timber Buildings and Buildings with Unknown Superstructures

A series of buildings were constructed with stone foundations and wattle and daub or timber superstructures (see Table 3.2 and Fig. 3.3). For the purposes of this study such buildings will be referred to as composite buildings. Such buildings had the advantage of longer durability than buildings with wood foundations since the wood would be elevated above the damp ground and thus reduce rotting. To prevent rotting, the moisture content of the wood must remain below 20 percent. Those buildings with earthfast foundations would likely rise above that and rot within 10 to 40 years depending upon the wood (Hanson 1978, 295-296). Buildings with stone foundations and timber superstructures elevated above ground level would therefore have a significantly longer life span. Composite construction never accounted for a substantial number of the total buildings in the sample (only 77 out of the 1040 or 7.40%). However, the patterns found indicate a growing use of this technique over time.

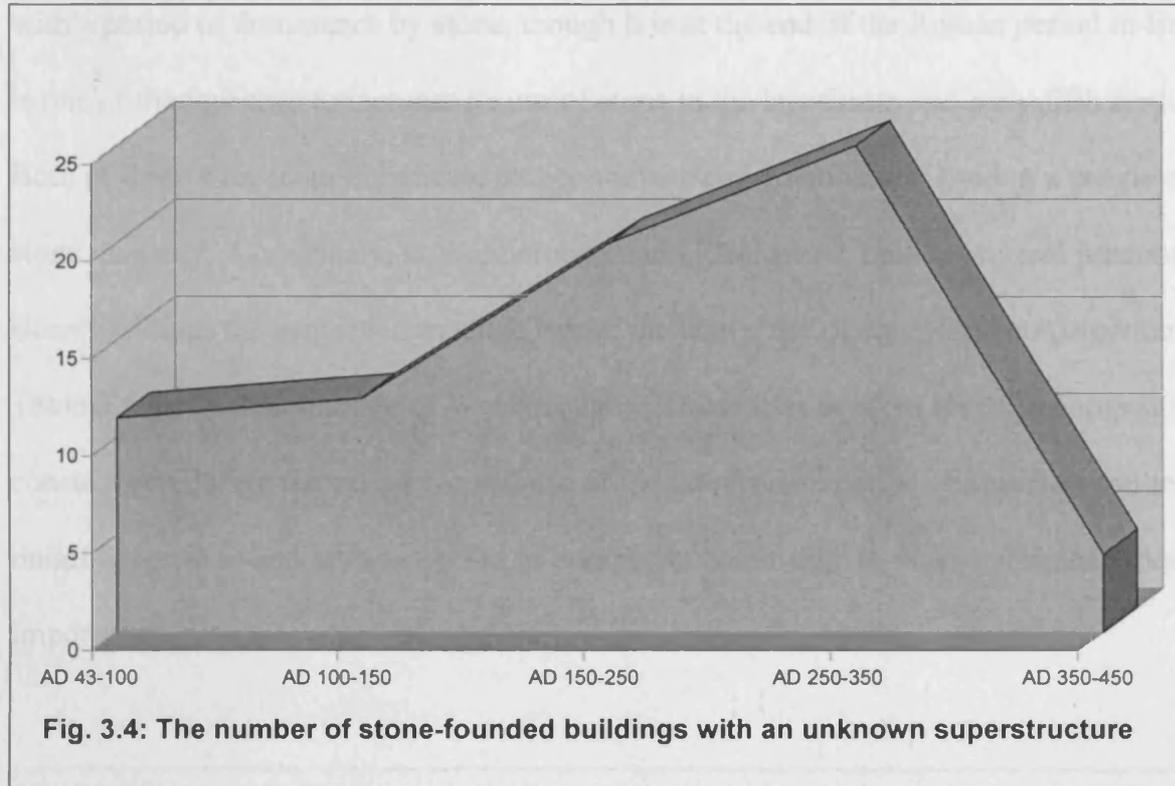
Table 3.2: Buildings with stone foundations and timber superstructures.

Period	Stone/Timber	Stone/ Wattle and Daub	Totals
AD 43-100	4	3	7
AD 100-150	6	3	9
AD 150-250	14	7	21
AD 250-350	15	2	17
AD 350-450	23	0	23
Totals	62	15	77



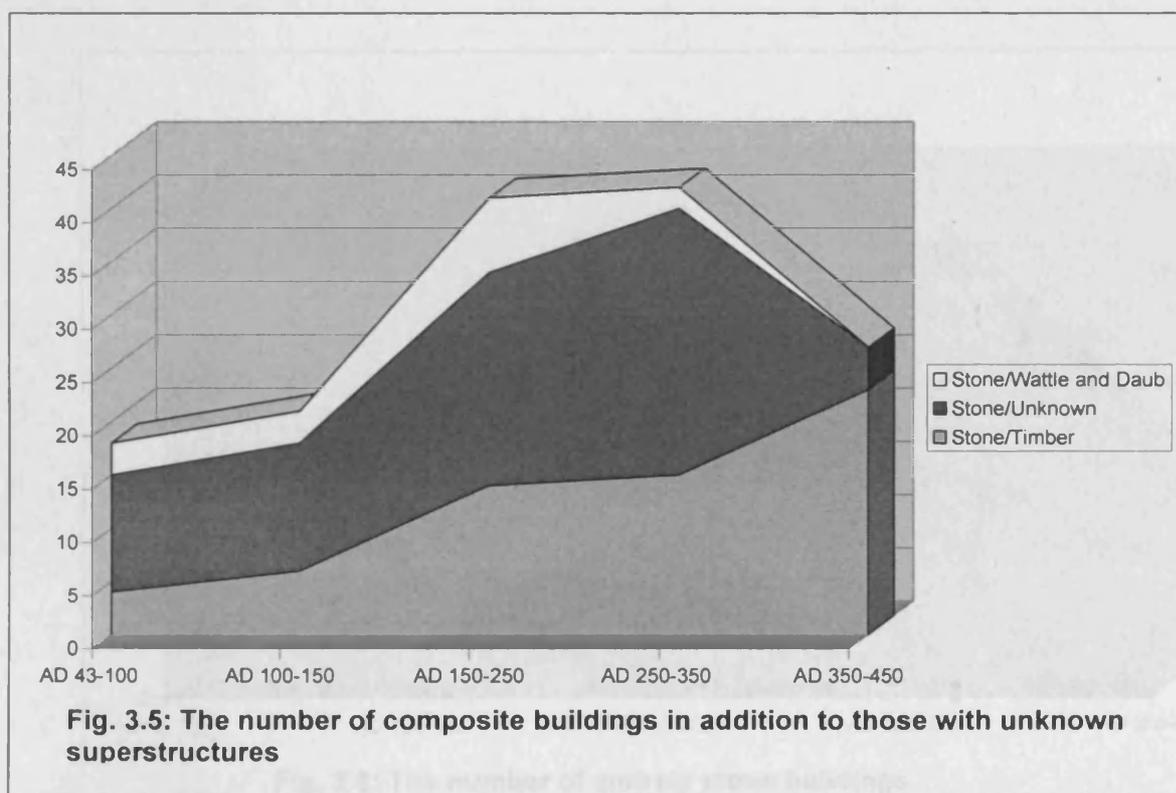
There were another 72 (6.92%) stone-founded buildings where excavators could not determine the superstructure (Table 3.3 and Fig. 3.4). Whereas the superstructure could be assumed in the timber-founded buildings with unknown superstructures, stone founded buildings present much more of a problem. Since many buildings had a stone foundation and a wooden superstructure, it would be wrong merely to assume that all stone foundations were indicative of stone superstructures. While the pattern reveals one similar to masonry buildings, it is worth considering what these would do to the pattern of composite buildings. Thus Figure

3.4 illustrates what these buildings with flimsy stone foundations would do to the overall pattern of composite structures if added together.



Unlike timber and stone structures, no site developed a long-standing tradition of composite construction. Despite its advantages to entirely timber buildings, no town had a dominant number of composite for more than one period. In the late first-century, Richborough had 75 percent of its buildings constructed in this fashion. In Sapperton and Bourton-on-the-Water over 60 percent of their total buildings were composite construction in the late third and early fourth centuries. Wanborough and Hilbaldstow both had over 75 percent of their buildings of composite construction in the late fourth and early fifth centuries (see Appendix B). These numbers should be taken with some caution since the total sample is relatively small. However, taken in comparison with other patterns, they have some correlation.

Even here patterns begin to emerge in the use of composite construction. The brief use of composite construction at Richborough led to a long standing tradition of stone masonry immediately thereafter. Bourton-on-the Water also followed its period of composite dominance with a period of dominance by stone, though it is at the end of the Roman period in Britain and is one of the few sites to increase its use of stone in the late fourth and early fifth centuries. Both of these sites seem to indicate that composite construction was used in a progression to stone masonry. Conversely, at Wanborough and Hilbaldstow, both towns had predominantly stone buildings the century immediate before the heavy use of composite construction (see Table 3.5 for an examination of Wanborough). These sites seem to revert to composite construction during the economic malaise of the late Roman period. Sapperton had too few buildings prior to and after its period of composite dominance to make a determination of its importance.



C. Stone Buildings

Of the 1040 building samples, 543 (52.21%) were of stone construction (see Table 3.4 and Fig. 3.6). Stone architecture made a marked jump in use during the late second and early third-century with over a three-fold increase from the previous period. However, this was relatively short lived as by the late fourth and early fifth-century the number of purely stone buildings was reduced by over 54 percent from the previous period.

Table 3.4: Summary of stone constructed buildings by time period.

PERIOD	STONE/STONE
AD 43-100	20
AD100-150	48
AD 150-250	165
AD 250-350	216
AD 350-450	94
Totals	543

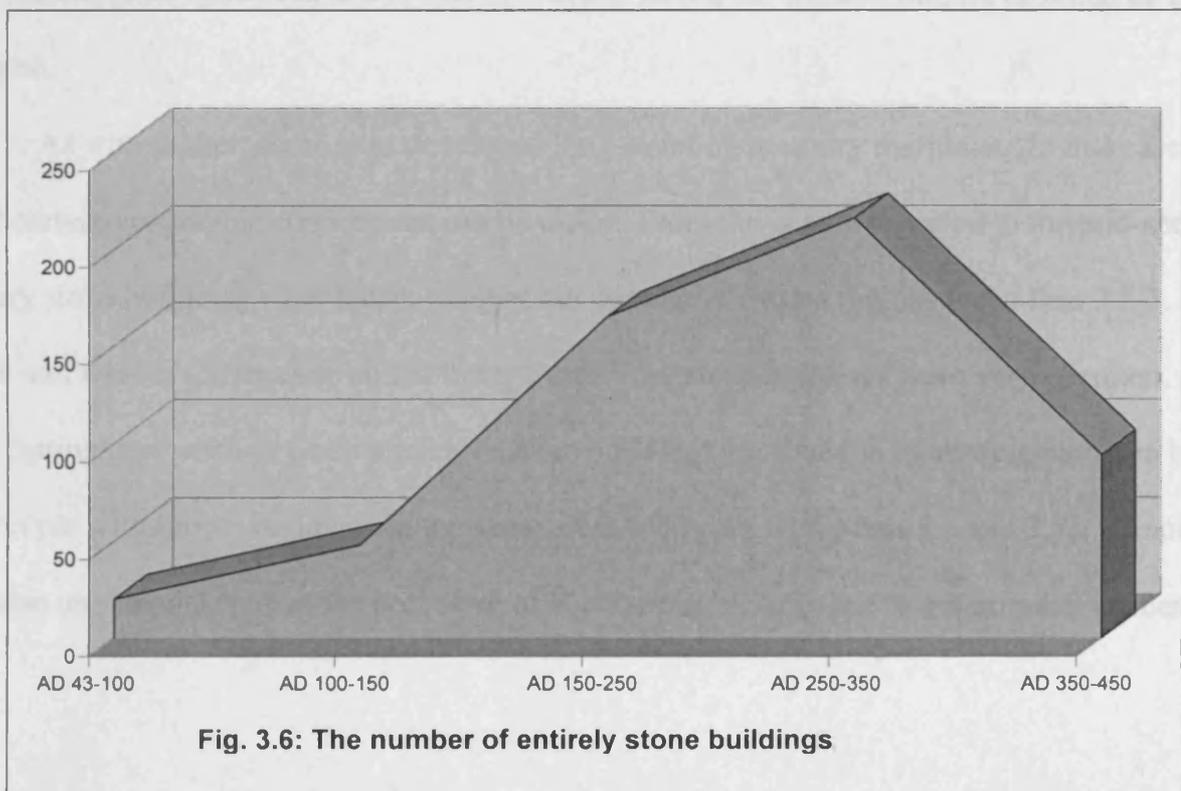
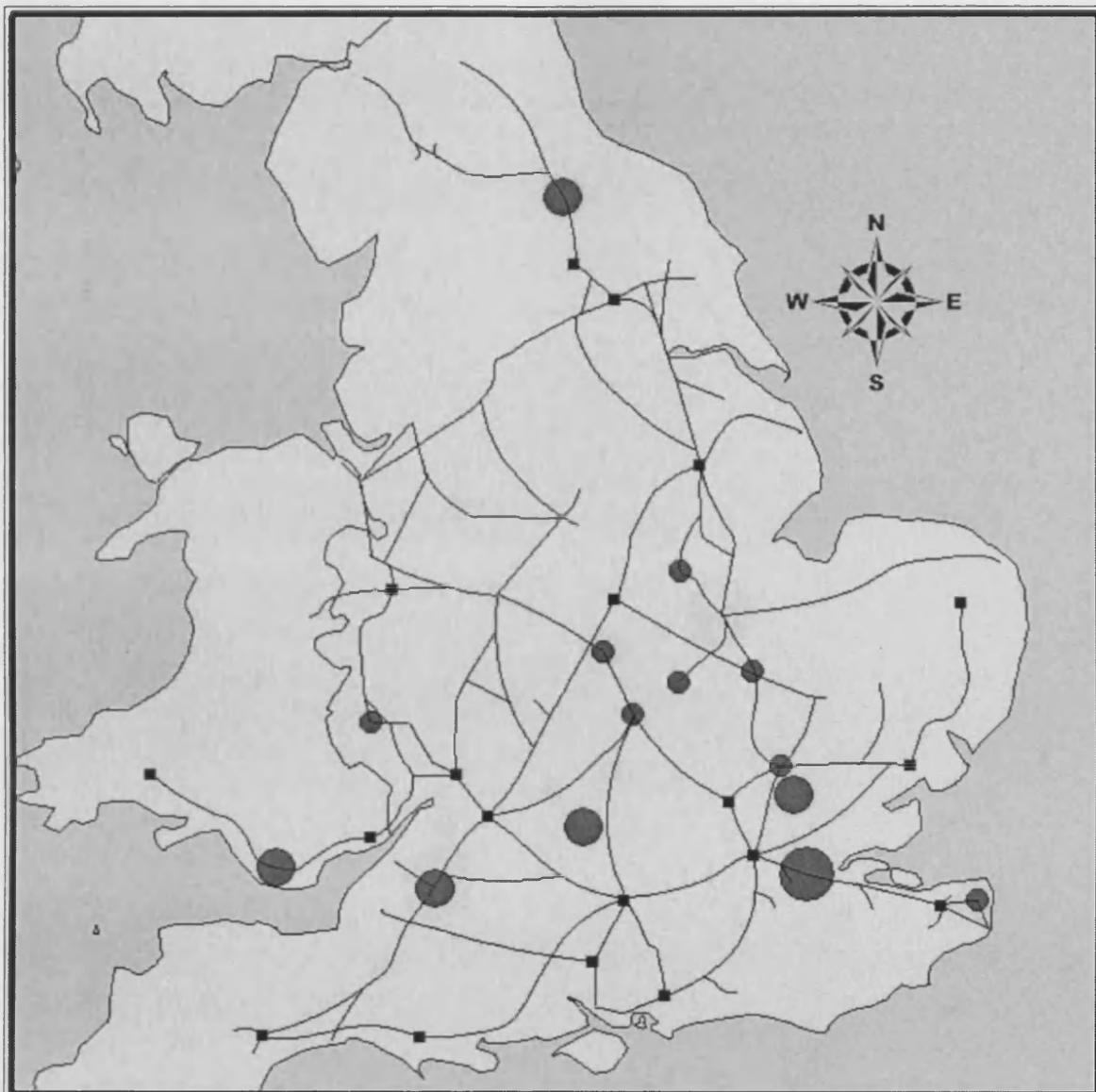


Fig. 3.6: The number of entirely stone buildings

Purely stone buildings reached their height when the timber buildings were declining in the late third and early fourth centuries (see above). However, in the period when timber buildings were at their height in the late second and early third centuries, there were still a greater number of stone buildings (99 timber to 165 stone buildings). This, as mentioned above, was possibly due to the destruction of ephemeral traces left by timber buildings. It is important therefore to remember the patterns that are revealed are more important than the actual numbers.

Again, this sudden jump in the use of the stone construction techniques corresponds with the general observation that the major population centers were undergoing a decline in economic importance as the smaller towns in the rural areas were increasing in their importance (Millett 1990, 133; Hingley 1985, 85; Dark and Dark 1997, 70). Like the timber constructed buildings, there is a marked decline in the late fourth and early fifth centuries that corresponded with the economic, political, and military problems facing the western Empire as it neared its collapse.

As with timber, some sites developed long-standing masonry traditions. In this case more certain geographic connections can be made. From the conquest period to the mid-second century stone buildings were few in number but popular in certain regions (see Maps 3.7-3.11). South and west of Cirencester on the lower Fosse Way stone buildings were very common, and from Springhead north to Godmanchester stone buildings are found in increasing numbers but still on par with timber buildings in the same areas (compare with Maps 3.1 and 3.7). Stone was also used exclusively at the port town of Richborough, likely due to government influences.

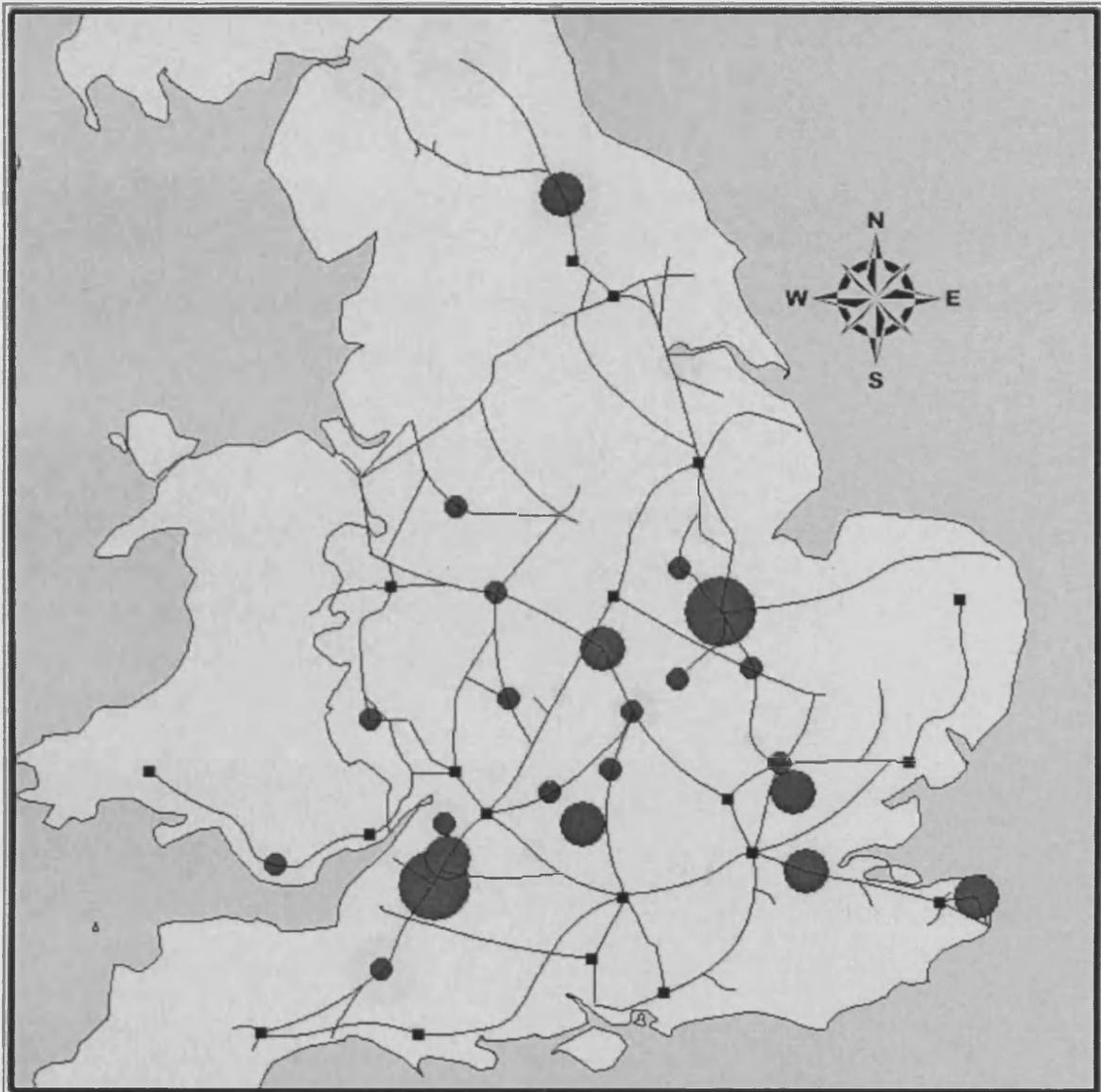


0 15 30 60 90 120
 Kilometers

Map 3.7: Stone Buildings AD 43-100

Legend

- 1 Building
- 2 Buildings
- 3 Buildings

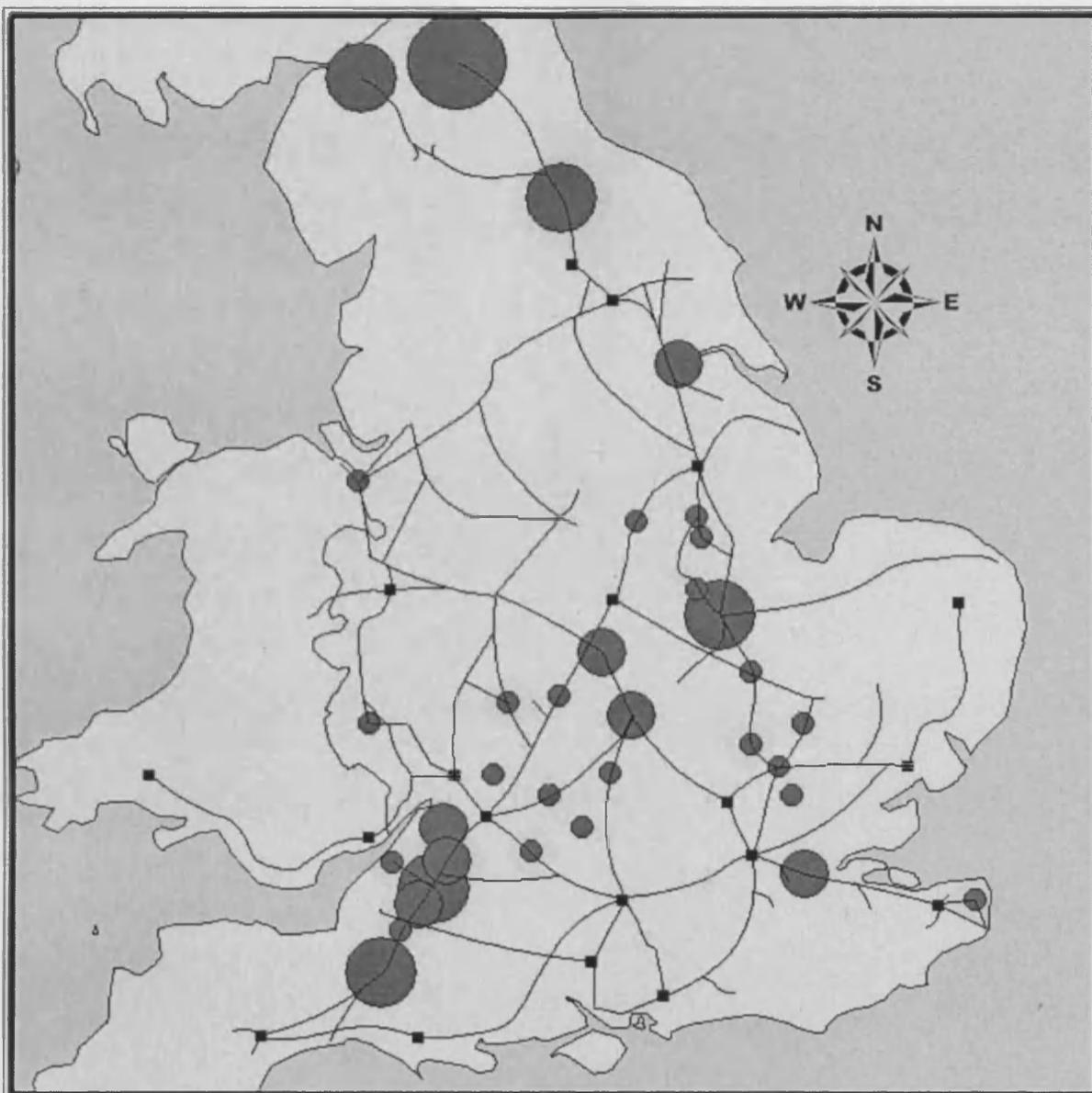


0 15 30 60 90 120
 Kilometers

**Map 3.8: Stone
 Buildings AD 100-150**

Legend

- 1 Building
- 2 - 3 Buildings
- 4 - 7 Buildings

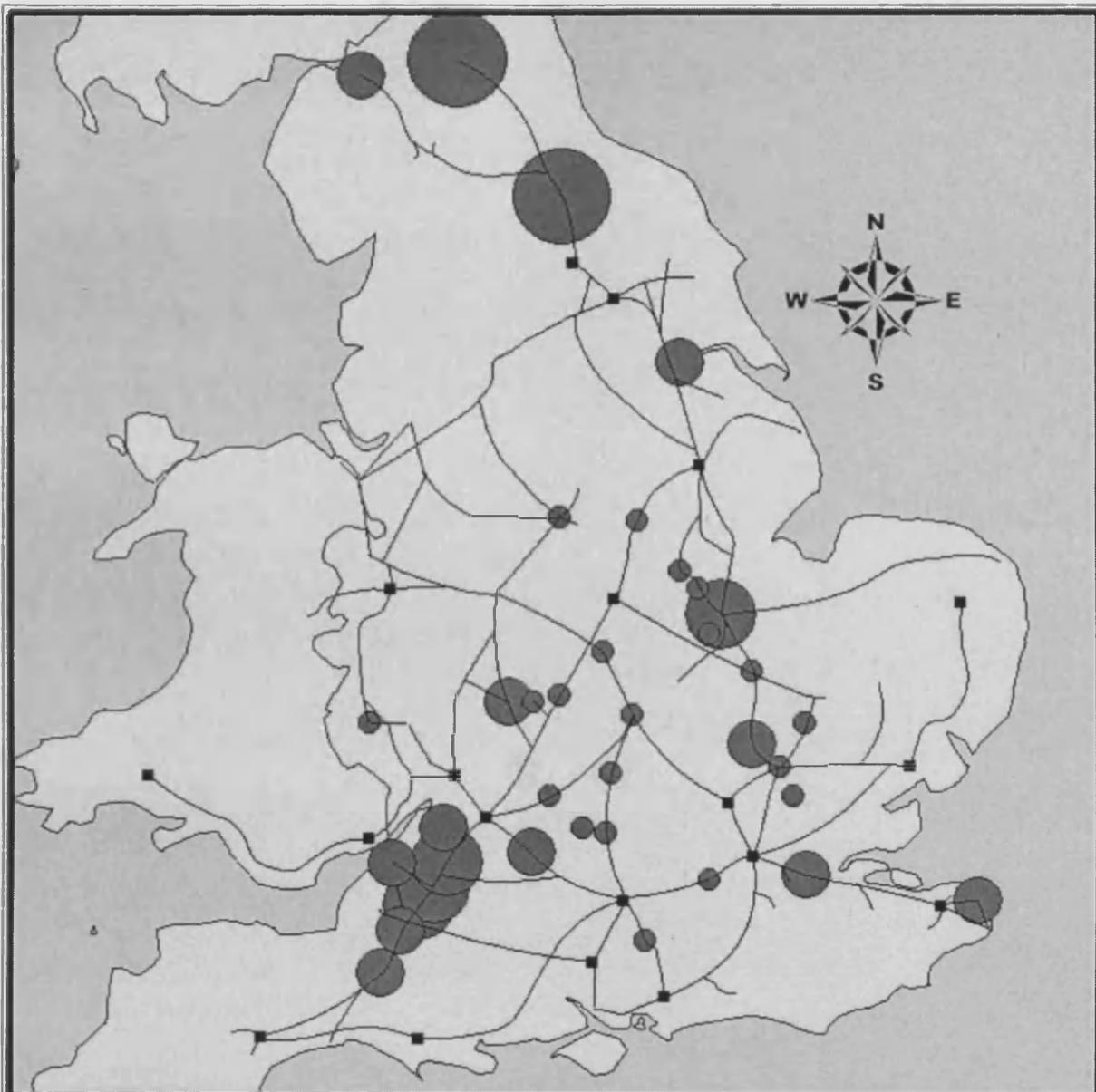


0 15 30 60 90 120
 Kilometers

Legend

- 1 - 3 Buildings
- 4 - 6 Buildings
- 7 - 14 Buildings
- 15 - 36 Buildings

Map 3.9: Stone Buildings AD 150-250

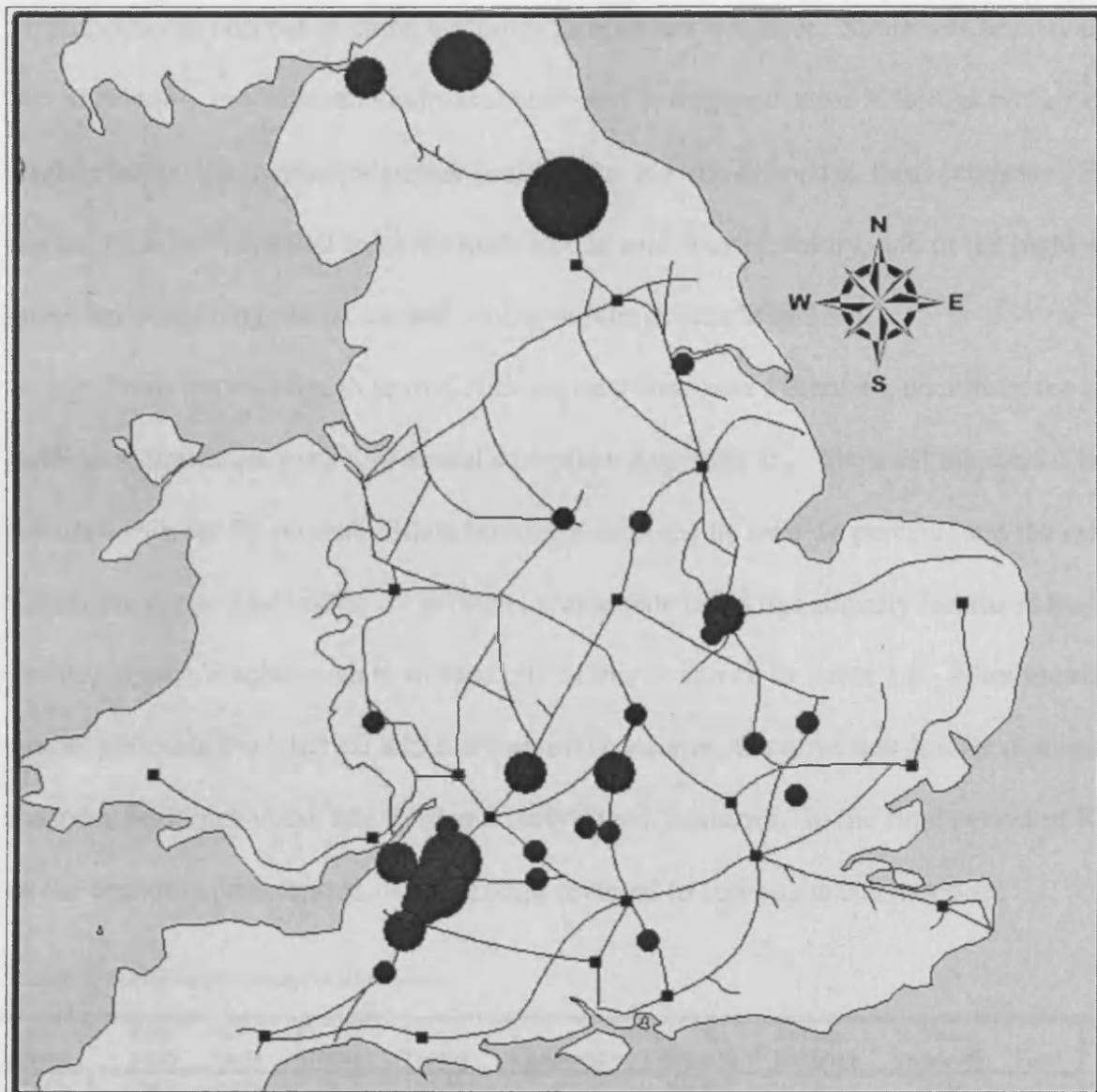


0 15 30 60 90 120
 Kilometers

Legend

- 1 - 3 Buildings
- 4 - 8 Buildings
- 9 - 14 Buildings
- 15 - 32 Buildings

Map 3.10: Stone Buildings AD 250-350



0 15 30 60 90 120
 Kilometers

Map 3.11: Stone Buildings AD 350-450

Legend

-  1 - 2 Buildings
-  3 - 5 Buildings
-  6 - 9 Buildings
-  10 - 20 Buildings

Stone construction underwent a massive expansion from the mid-second to the mid-fourth century (see Maps 3.7-3.10). Along the lower Fosse Way each settlement had a

disproportional number of stone buildings as opposed to timber. Stone was heavily used around Water Newton, but between Godmanchester and Springhead stone buildings remain equal or slightly below the number of timber buildings in the mid-second to third centuries. However, the use of stone increased from the mid-third to mid-fourth century, and in the highland zone stone buildings begin to far exceed timber buildings (see Map 3.3).

From the mid-fourth to mid-fifth century there was a dramatic decline in the total number of buildings, both timber and stone (see Appendix B). The total number of buildings declined by over 50 percent. Stone buildings declined by over 54 percent, and the number of timber buildings declined by 39 percent. Composite buildings actually increased by 35 percent in this period. Wanborough is an example of this as shown in Table 3.5. After moving from a timber period in the late first and early second centuries, the town was briefly dominated by masonry buildings in the late third and early fourth centuries. In the final period of Roman rule, as the economy deteriorated, Wanborough reverted to composite construction.

Table 3.5: Wanborough's change in architecture

Period	# of Stone	% Stone	# Timber	% Timber	# Composite	% Composite	# Stone/Unknown	% Stone/Unknown	Total
AD 43-100	0	0.00%	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
AD 100-150	0	0.00%	5	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	5
AD 150-250	2	50.00%	2	50.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4
AD 250-350	5	55.56%	1	11.11%	2	22.22%	1	11.11%	9
AD 350-450	2	15.38%	1	7.69%	10	76.92%	0	0.00%	13
Totals	9	28.13%	10	31.25%	12	37.50%	1	3.12%	32

However, like timber, stone still remained dominant in the regions where there was a long-standing stone tradition in the previous two centuries and all but disappeared at the sites where timber construction had always been favored. Clearly the economic distress of the late

Empire took a toll on the settlements regardless of their architectural heritage, but those with longer standing masonry traditions maintained a greater number of stone buildings. This may in part be due to the durability of stone masonry and that older buildings continued to be occupied. The buildings may not have even been used for what they were originally intended. At Nettleton, for example, many of the original religious buildings were converted for domestic or industrial purposes (see Chap.5). As was seen with timber buildings, this may be indicative of a general collapse in the economy during the late Roman period (Faulkner 2004, 169-73, 198-99).

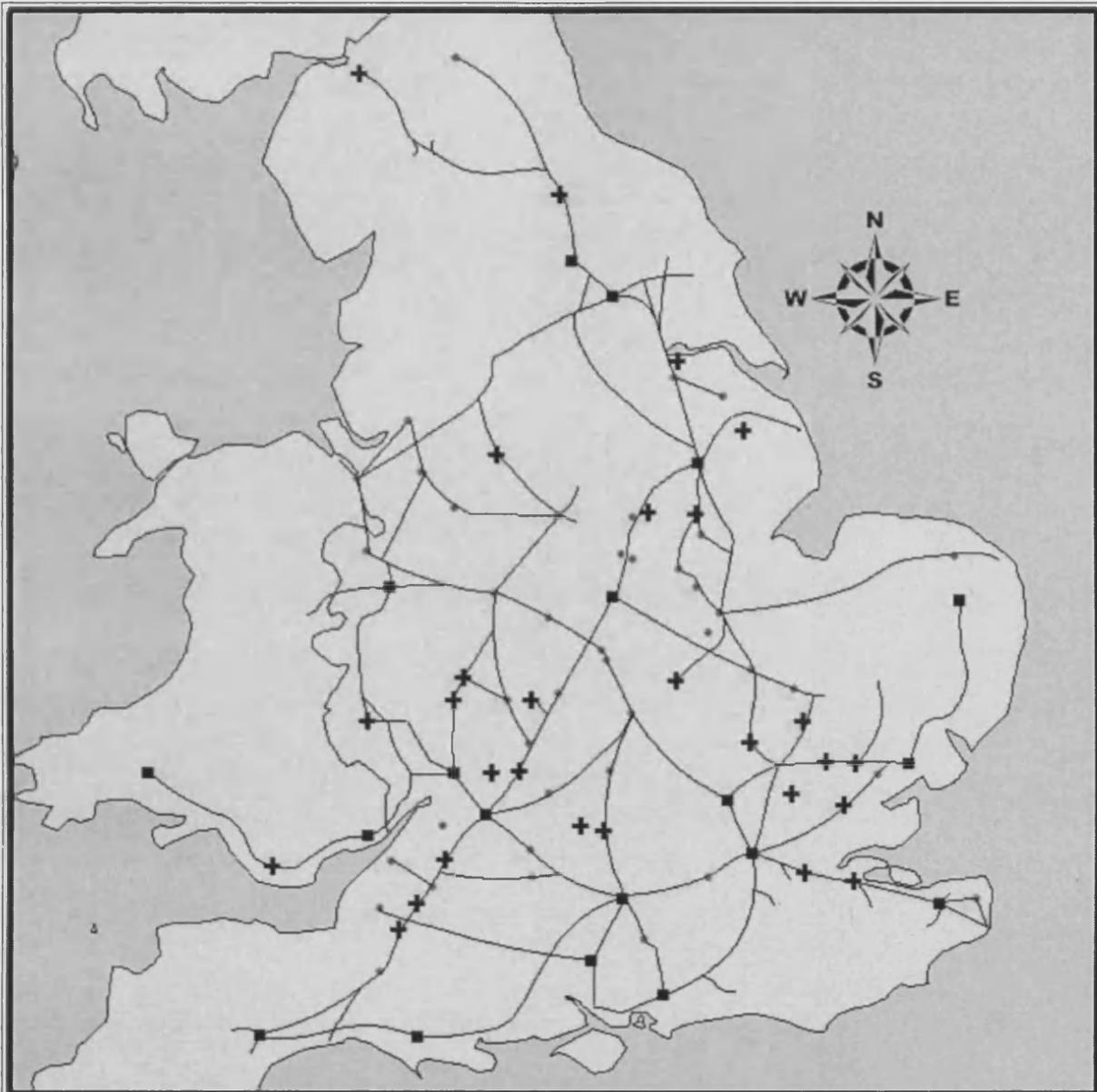
III. Economics of Architectural Change

The forces driving architectural change were complex and varied from town to town. The economic development of the province and regional economies within it were obviously important factors in determining the willingness and ability to invest in masonry buildings that would require substantially more capital to accommodate construction. As will be seen through the course of this study, integration into the new monetary economy may have brought with it a willingness to adopt a certain amount of *Romanitas*. If we accept the premise that adopting elements of Roman culture reflects some sort of self-identification with the Romans, then it appears that integration into the Roman economy helped promote a more Roman identity. However, it is far from clear whether the desire to adopt elements of Roman culture was a driving force behind architectural change. Other economic factors played an important role in architectural choice as well, not least the availability of local building stone. Yet, it is clear that the economic development of small towns greatly affected the introduction of *Romanitas* into the predominantly indigenous countryside. By examining the origins of these sites, governmental influences upon them, and their economic maturity, patterns in economic choices become clearer.

Several factors need to be examined. First, did the origins of a settlement impact its development? Were government influences important and an important economic and social force in the growth of a site? What economic and social factors were significant in the evolution of architecture? Each of these questions needs to be examined on its own.

A. Origins

The question of how town origins affected architectural development was not as important as first thought. It was originally hypothesized that towns which originated near an early military garrison might have an edge in the economic ability and technical skill to create stone buildings as well as greater exposure to Roman influences and a desire to imitate them. Likewise, it was also hypothesized that towns that evolved from or near known Iron Age sites would be more economically developed and be better able to afford stone buildings and be more desirous of them. However, these forces appear to have had little influence on the use of stone throughout the greater Roman period.



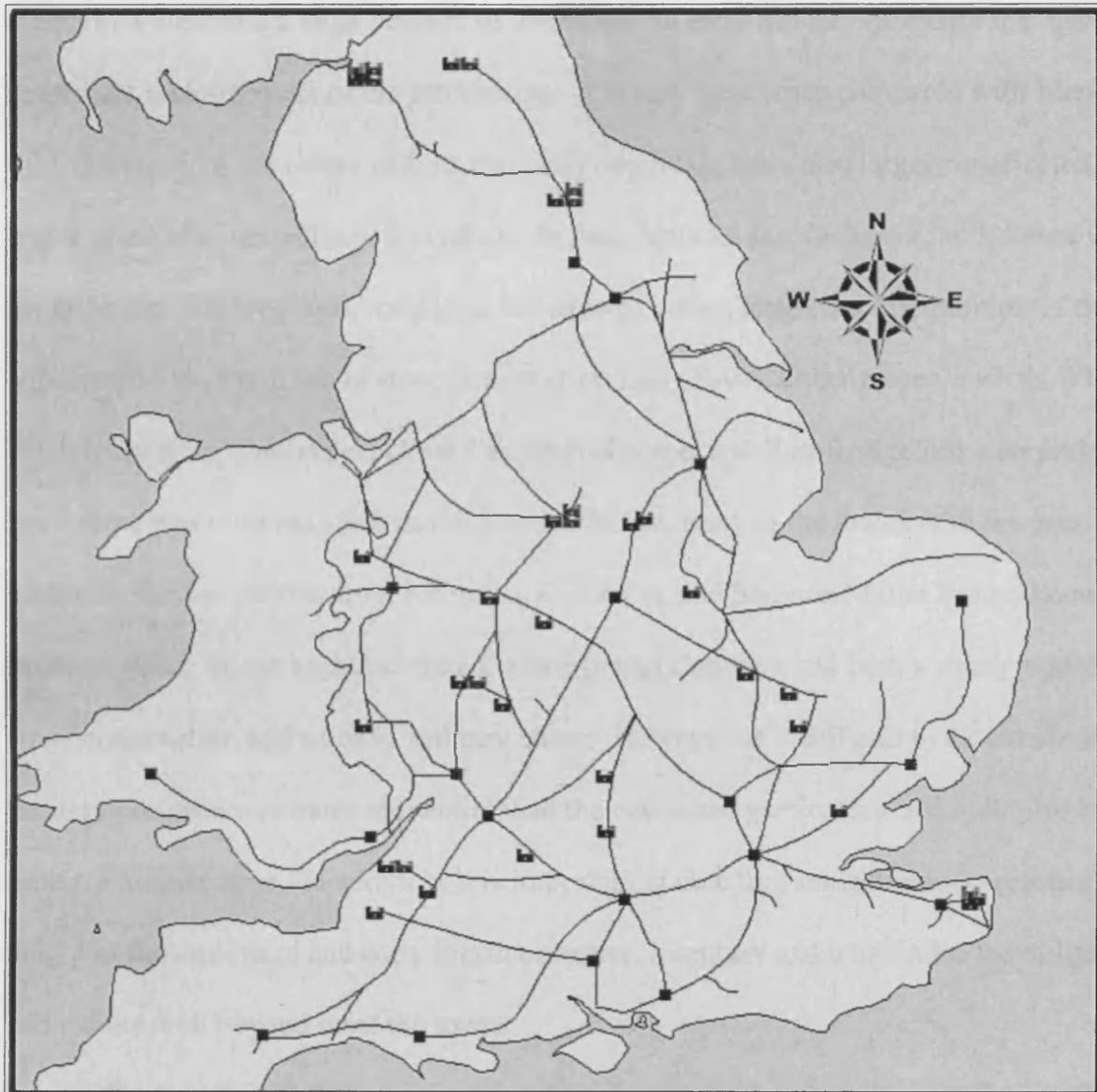
0 15 30 60 90 120
 Kilometers

Legend

- No Known Iron Age Site
- + Known Iron Age Site

Map 3.12: Towns with known Iron Age sites

occupations by phase



0 15 30 60 90 120
 Kilometers

Map 3.13: Towns with known military occupations by phase

Legend

-  Fort AD 350+
-  Fort AD 250-350
-  Fort AD 150-250
-  Fort AD 100-150
-  Fort AD 47-100

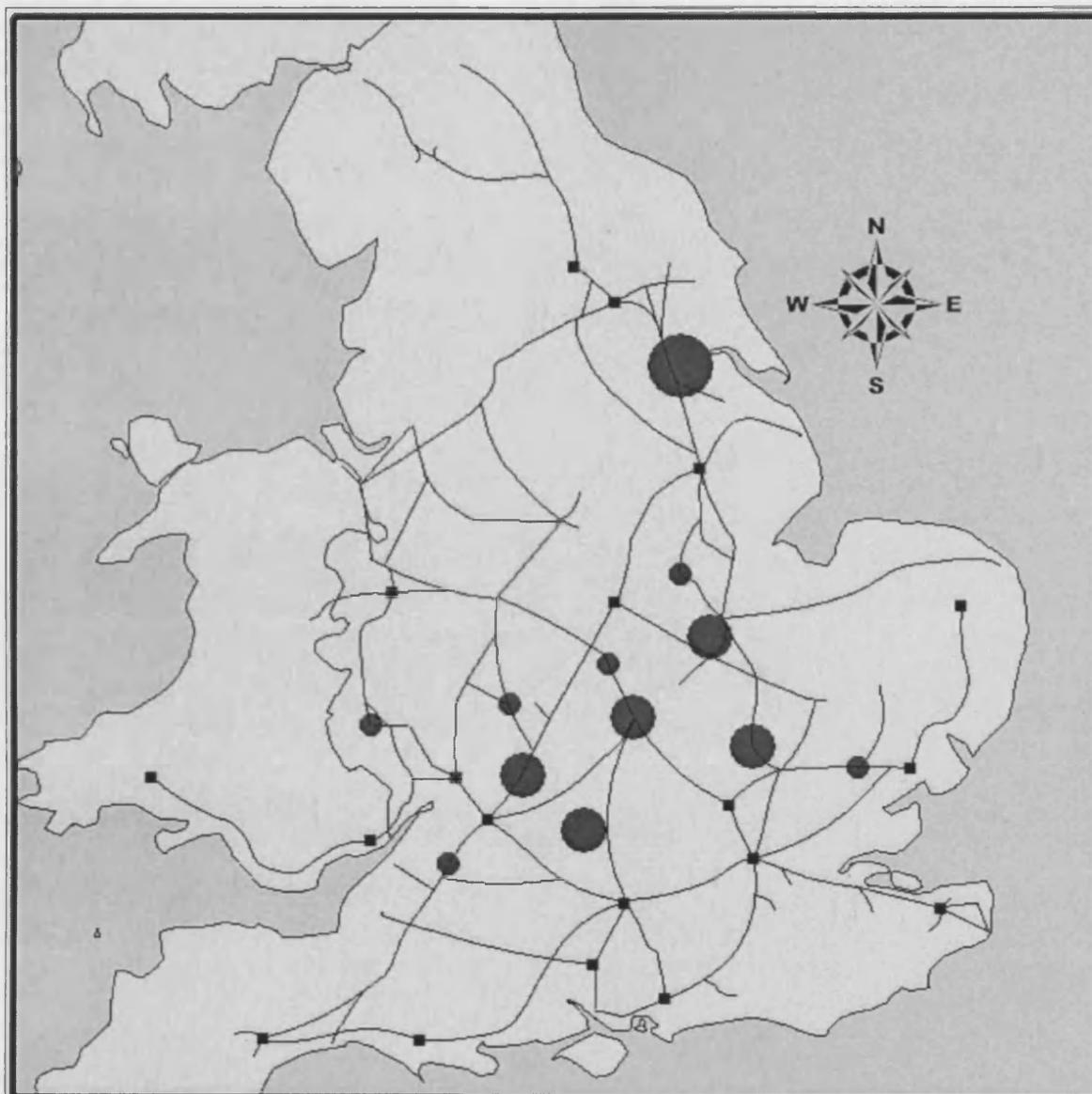
Map 3.12 shows the distribution of towns with known Iron Age sites, and Map 3.13 shows towns with known forts by phase. By the end of the first-century the military frontier had advanced out of the lowland region and west into Wales and north approaching Scotland.

It becomes clear that a large number of towns had an early military influence that undoubtedly helped the establishment of the settlements. It is also clear when compared with Maps 3.7 to 3.11 that many of the towns with an early military phase were also largely unaffected in their architecture after the military moved on. In fact, Alcester and Alchester, both towns with an invasion era military phase, were later to be towns with a long-standing tradition of timber construction in proportion to stone construction (see above). Other places, such as Whitchurch, Wall, Mancetter, Cambridge, Great Casterton, Thorpe, and East Bridgeford were little affected since there was minimal stone development. In fact many of the towns with the greatest tradition of stone construction, Nettleton, Camerton, and Shepton Mallet had no known direct military phase. In the highland zone Corbridge and Catterick had both a strong tradition of stone construction and an early military phase. However, it is difficult to determine if the early military presence was more influential than the continued garrisoning and their proximity to the military frontier zone. In addition, it is important to note that stone buildings reached their height in the mid- third and early fourth centuries, a century and a half after the military frontier had moved well beyond most the towns.

Those sites with Iron Age predecessors fared no better than the site with a military origin. Comparing Map 3.13 with Maps 3.7-3.11 some sites such as Nettleton, Shepton Mallet, Catterick, and Springhead had Iron Age precursors and developed a long-standing tradition of stone construction. However, other sites such as Harlow, Dragonby, Tiddington, Frilford, and Dorchester-on-Thames had only a moderate amount of masonry buildings. Even sites with the double influence of both an Iron Age site and an invasion era fort, such as Droitwich, Great Chesterford, Chelmsford, and Thorpe did not establish strong masonry traditions. The greatest influence may have been Iron Age sites that had a religious association before the Romans arrived. Bath, Camerton, and Springhead were Iron Age religious sites and became

predominantly stone towns. However, Wycomb and Bourton-on-the-Water had Iron Age religious sites without becoming towns with a strong stone tradition.

The survival of the circular hut building traditions does not appear to have been influenced by Iron Age predecessors either (compare Maps 3.7-3.11 with Maps 3.14-3.18). However, if we compare the survival of circular construction into the second-century we see a regional pattern located mostly south and east of the Fosse Way and north of the River Thames. Given that this area has generally been considered part of the “Romanized” villa landscape, this Iron Age tradition reveals a more complex social landscape than originally surmised, at least in the small towns. The predominance of circular buildings was also on the edge of the high density villa landscape (Hingley 1989, 134; compare with Map 3.19).

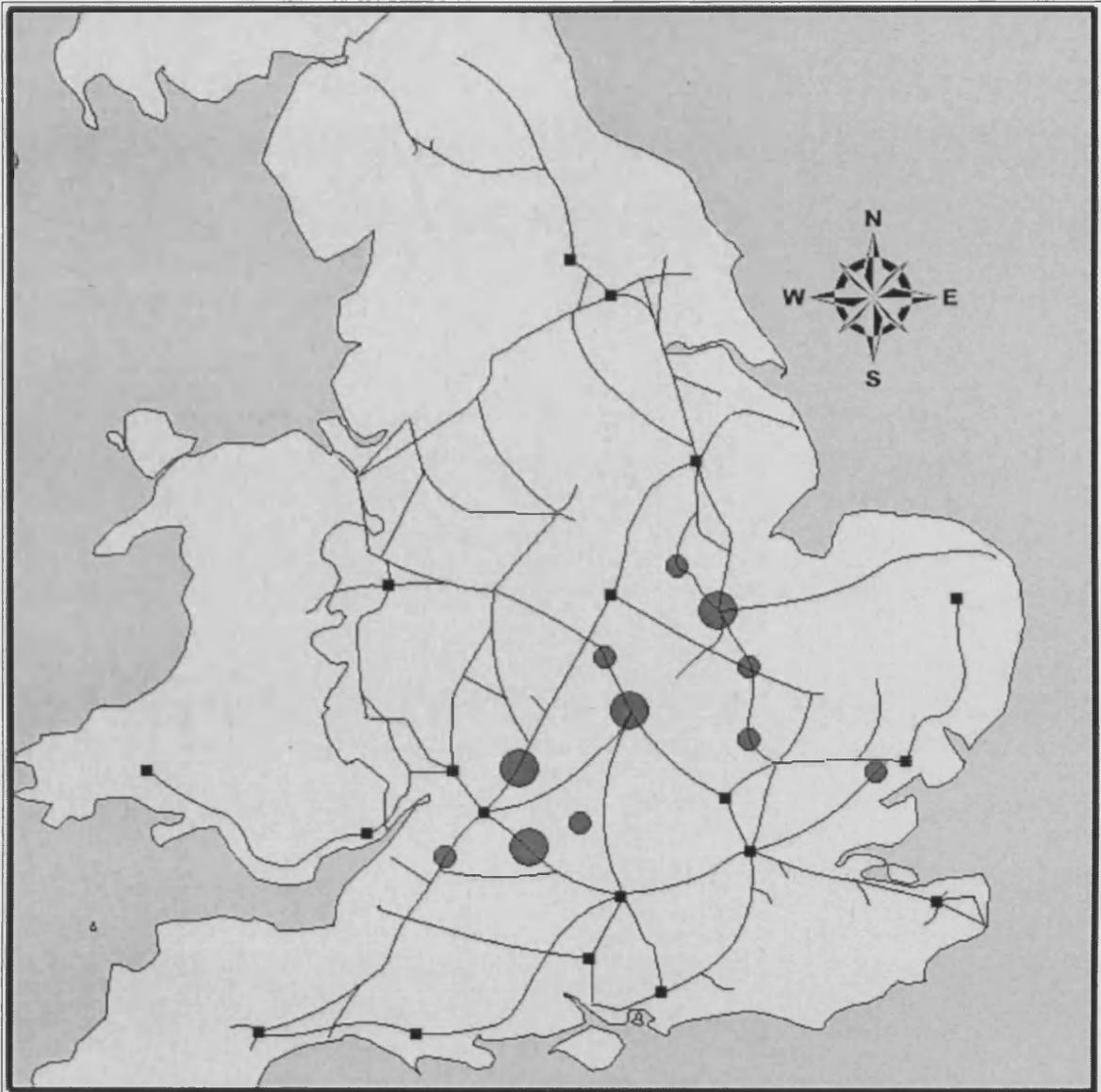


0 15 30 60 90 120
 Kilometers

Map 3.14: Circular Buildings AD 43-100

Legend

- 1 Circular Building
- 2 Circular Buildings
- 3 - 5 Circular Buildings

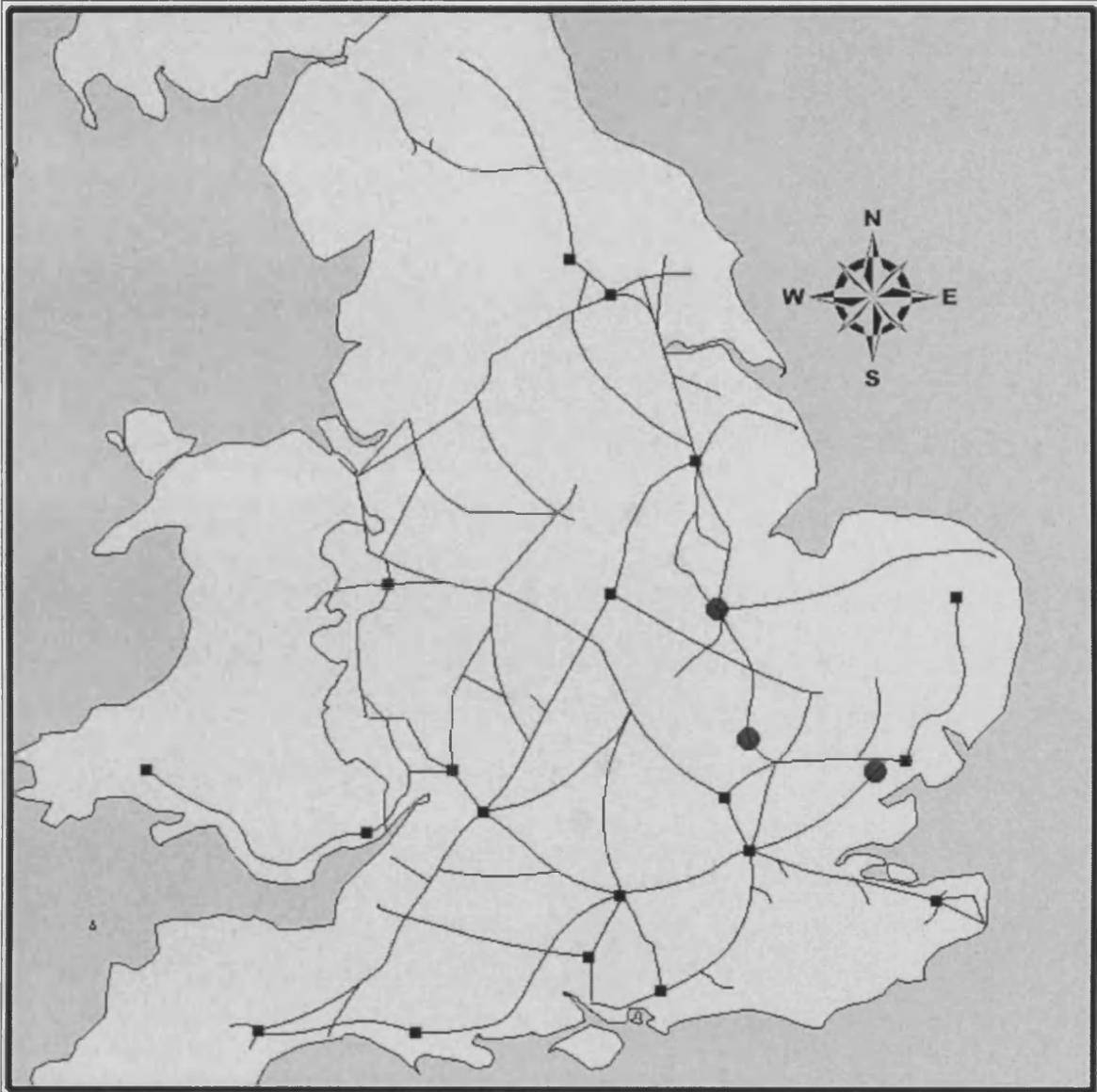


0 15 30 60 90 120
 Kilometers

Legend

- 1 Circular Building
- 2 Circular Buildings

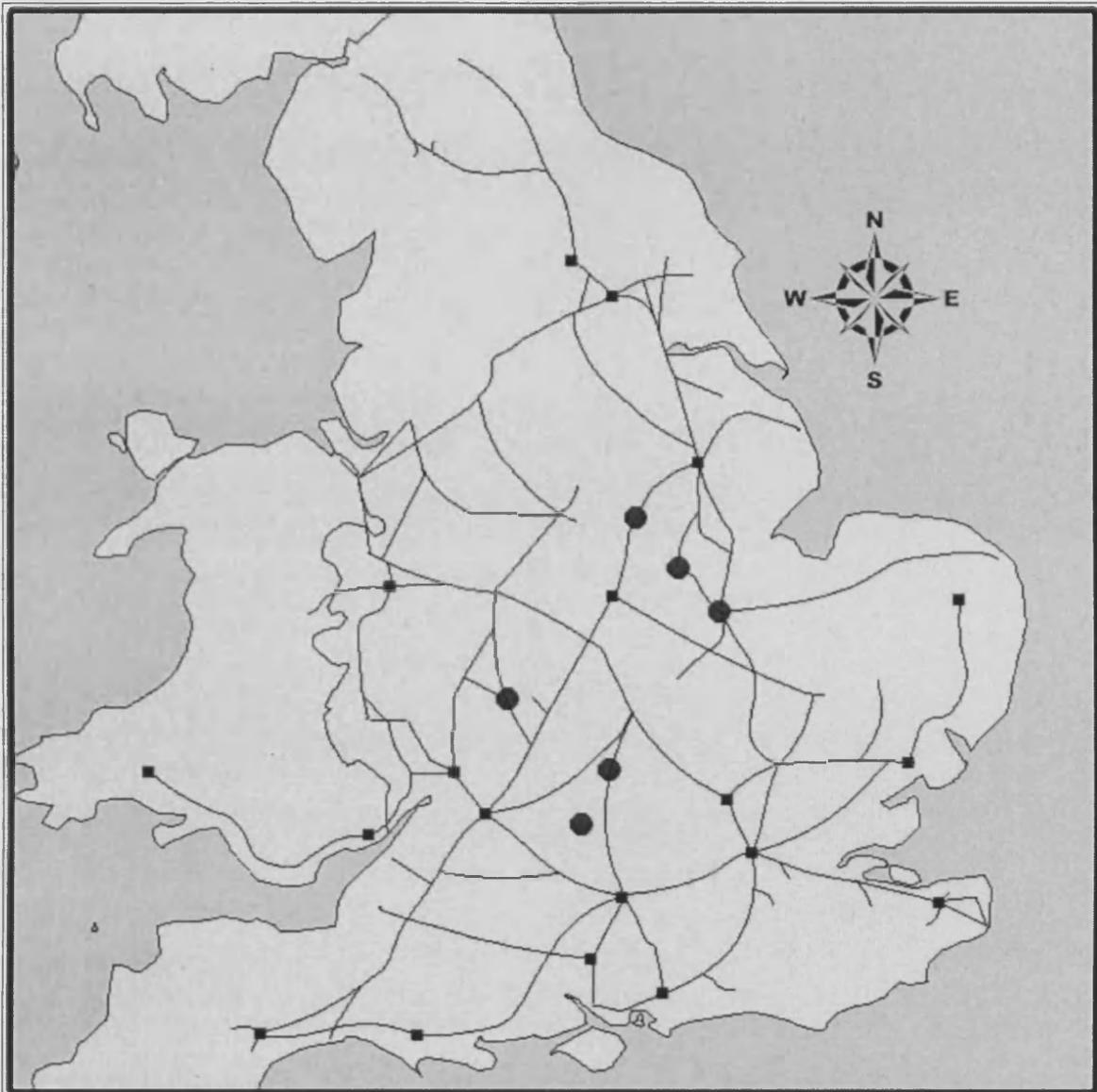
Map 3.15: Circular Buildings AD 100-150



0 15 30 60 90 120
Kilometers

**Map 3.16: Circular
Buildings AD 150-250**

Legend
● 1 Circular Building

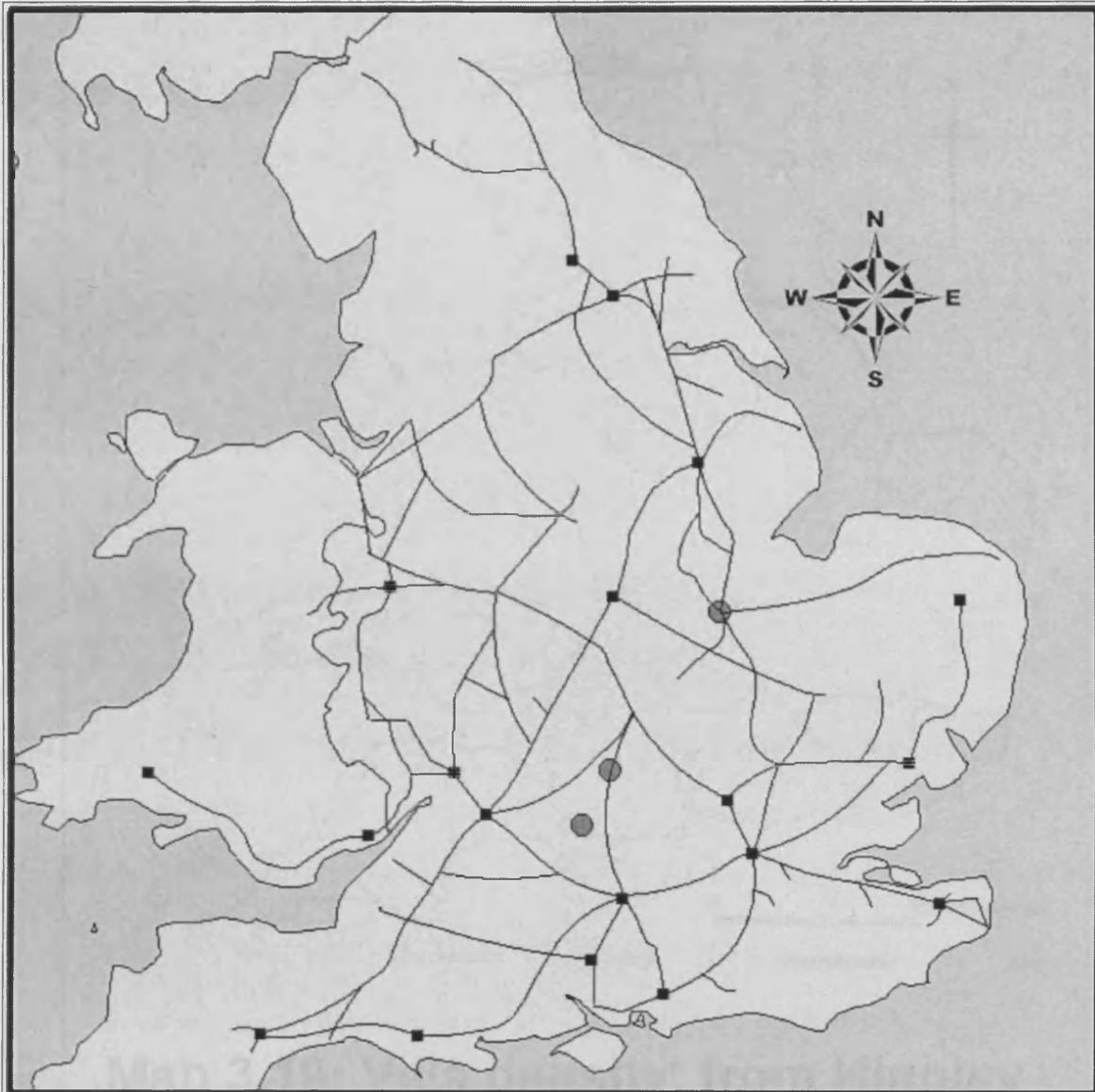


0 15 30 60 90 120
Kilometers

Legend

● 1 Circular Building

Map 3.17: Circular Buildings AD 250-350

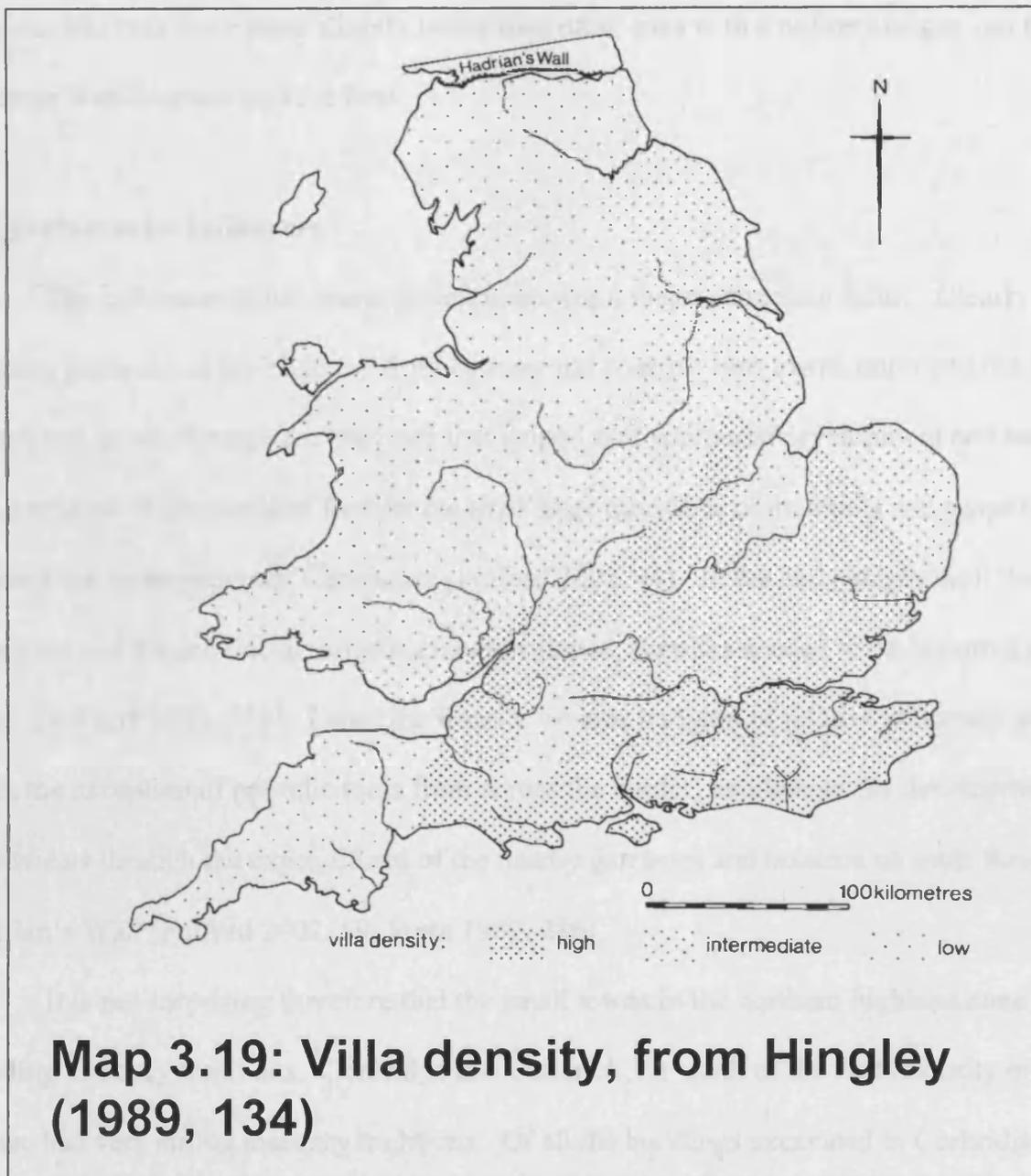


0 15 30 60 90 120
 Kilometers

Legend

● 1 Circular Building

Map 3.18: Circular Buildings AD 350-450



Clearly it appears that the origins of a settlement were not a determining factor in the development of a stone tradition or the continuation of timber. This should not be terribly surprising since stone buildings did not surpass timber in the percentage of buildings constructed until the late second and early third centuries. During that time the economy of the province transformed significantly and within the province regional sub-economies developed for which origins may have been but one of many factors. Those sites with an Iron Age

religious site may have fared slightly better than other sites with a military origin, but the evidence is still inconclusive at best.

B. Governmental Influences

The influence of the central government was a major economic factor. Clearly the long-standing garrisons of the highland frontier zone and possibly port towns improved the flow of money and goods through the province that helped spur economic development and stability. The garrisons of the northern frontier required large quantities of materials and supplies and affected the entire province's economy (Fulford 2002, 44). In the early stages until the frontier stabilized and the provincial infrastructure developed, supplies needed to be imported (Fulford 2002, 53; Frere 1989, 281). Later, the frontier became a region of relative economic stability (with the exception of periodic raids from across the border) and helped the development of settlements through the expenditures of the nearby garrisons and taxation on trade through Hadrian's Wall (Fulford 2002, 59; Frere 1989, 286).

It is not surprising therefore that the small towns in the northern highland zone had long standing masonry traditions. Corbridge and Catterick, far north of the vast majority of small towns, had very strong masonry traditions. Of all the buildings excavated in Corbridge, 96 percent were stone. For Catterick, stone buildings comprise 76 percent of all buildings excavated to date. However, it is important to note that it was not until late second-century that these sites became fully developed. Only seven of Catterick's building samples were built before the mid-second century, and none of Corbridge's civilian buildings were constructed before that time (see Appendix B). However, at Catterick there was also great variety between buildings built near the military fort, which were predominantly timber, and those built farther away, which were predominantly stone (see Chap. 5). Thus, while the area to the south of these settlements developed economically, stone was only slowly becoming more common.

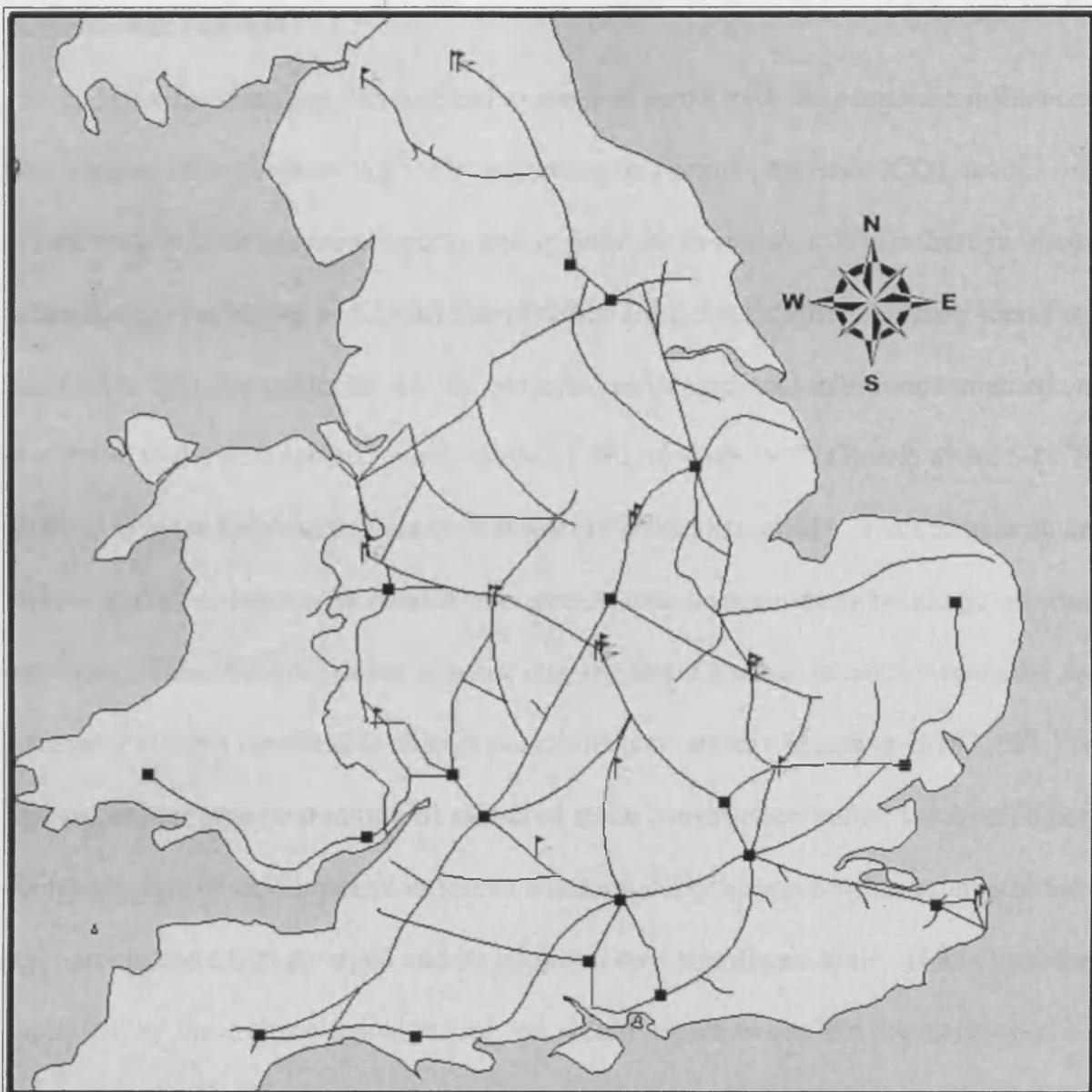
These northern towns, however, grew slower economically but stone reached their height sooner. The importance of the proximity of permanent military garrisons and the networks to supply them greatly influenced the development of towns in the north. It would seem likely that the physical proximity to the Roman military would have affected both the ability to construct stone buildings given the input of military spending as well as the identities of the inhabitants of the towns since they had personal and economic relationships with the soldiers. Therefore, it is not surprising that they adopted some elements of *Romanitas*.

Carlisle, however, remains more enigmatic among settlements near garrisons. The town had many more building samples datable before the mid-second century (14 samples), but stone dominated (7 of the 10 building samples) after that date (see Appendix B). It appears that Carlisle had a development starkly contrasting to that of Corbridge and Catterick. Only Carlisle has produced any building samples in the invasion period, though they were of timber construction. This might suggest Carlisle's early importance, or simply that the wooden structures have been better preserved than other sites. Once the frontier stabilized after the completion of Hadrian's Wall, Carlisle followed a similar pattern to Catterick with almost 70 percent of the buildings after the mid-second century being constructed in stone. However, it must be kept in mind that Carlisle has less than half as many samples from which to elicit a pattern as that of either Catterick or Corbridge.

In the southeastern part of Britain the government was similarly influential at the port town of Richborough. During the invasion period composite buildings were prominent (3 of 4 samples or 75%. See Appendix 1). After the beginning of the second-century and lasting until the mid-fourth century, stone masonry became predominant and remains so through the mid-fourth century (12 of 15 or 80%). The influence of the military supply base may have influenced Richborough in a similar way that the military compounds at Corbridge or the garrisons at Catterick did. Sea Mills may have had a similar base (Frere 1987, 69). If so, it

could have been a factor in the evolution of that town's architecture. At Sea Mills, 12 of the 15 (80%) building samples were constructed of stone. However, all twelve were built after the mid- second century. The fact that Richborough remained the major port until London superseded it might account for Richborough's earlier adaptation of masonry construction.

The government outposts of the *cursus publicus* do not alone seem to have had much of an impact on the adaptation of masonry construction (compare Maps 3.6-3.10 with 3.19). It is possible that these were of minor economic influence in and of themselves and should be taken as part of the overall economic development of a town (see "Economic Growth" below).



0 15 30 60 90 120
 Kilometers

Map 3.20: Identified stations of the *Cursus Publicus*

Legend

- ▣ Station AD 350-450
- ▢ Station AD 250-350
- ▧ Station AD 150-250
- ▥ Station AD 100-150
- ▦ Station AD 43-100

C. Economic Growth

After the conquest, Britons had to come to terms with the economic influence of their new masters. The governor Agricola, according to Tacitus (*Agricola* XXI), made concerted efforts both to integrate the economy and to promote *Romanitas*. While there is some archaeological evidence to support this (Fulford 2002, 54-5), other evidence seems to suggest that for the first two centuries AD the old tribal economies and traditions remained very strong in relation to the new cash economy (Reece 1980; Hodder 1979; Greene 1986, 50). Fulford (2002, 55) notes resistance to the cash economy would have had a direct impact on architectural styles. Skilled artisans were needed to construct and decorate stone buildings, as was money to pay them. Thus, the integration of a site into the larger Roman monetary economy would be necessary to see a measurable change in architectural styles. Manning (1987, 589) contends that since there was no tradition of mortared stone construction before the Roman period, the economic pace of development enforced a natural delay between when a demand for Roman style architecture first emerged and its adoption on a significant scale. If this hypothesis is supported by the archaeological record, we would expect to see that towns that had a higher rate of economic growth became more involved in the masonry tradition and at earlier dates than those with a lower rate. While masonry could also be seen as an indicator of economic growth, it is imperative to examine masonry in the context of other economic factors to prevent circular reasoning.

Measuring economic growth is difficult, particularly when looking at the ancient world. The physical record rarely provides explicit information regarding whether a given site is producing more than it is consuming and whether or not the surplus is tied to a larger export market. However, it can logically be assumed that towns with diverse of industries were exhibiting clear signs of growth. While agriculture may have remained a dominant activity,

expansion into other forms of production would provide a more stable economic base and increase surplus wealth.

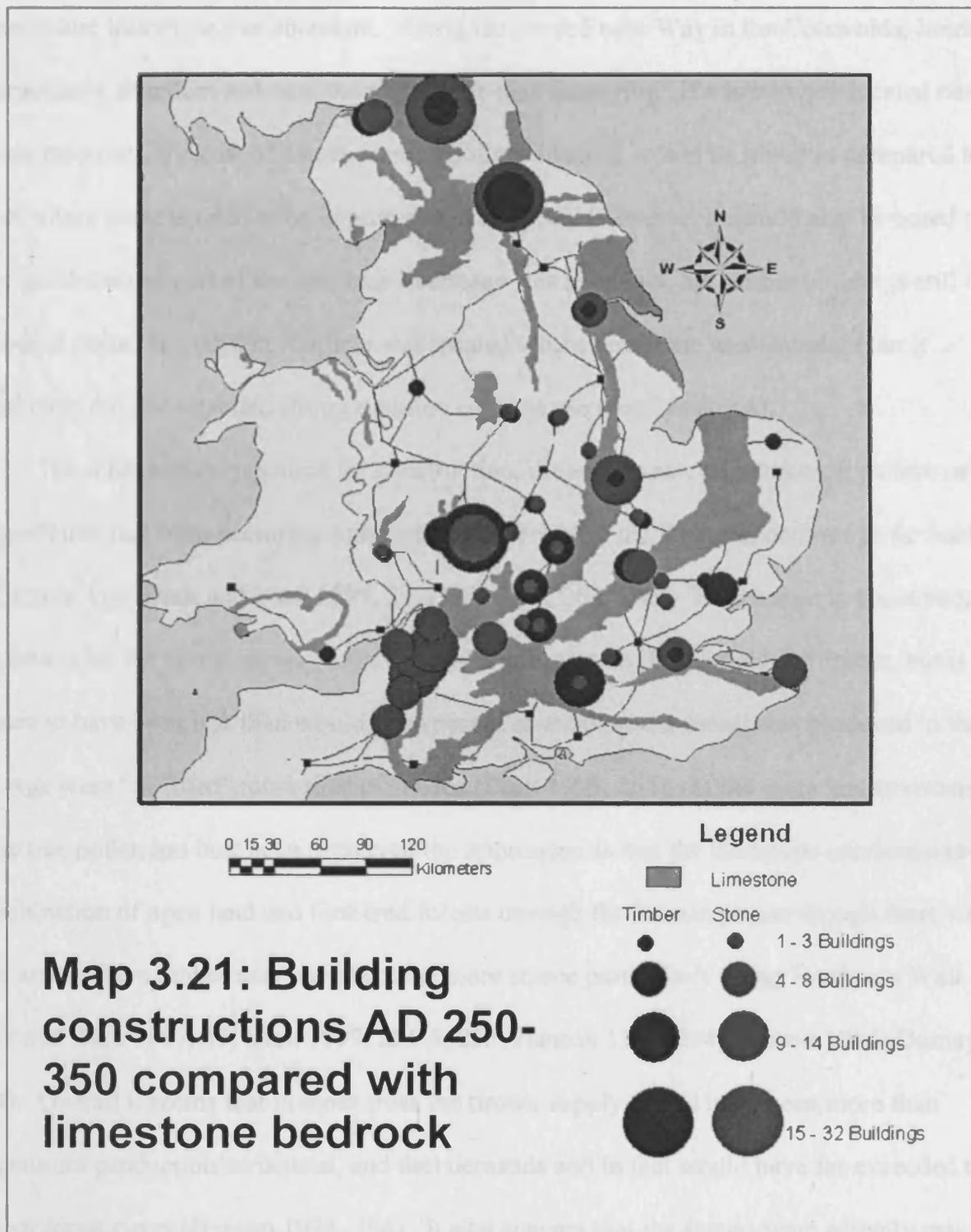
Comparing Maps 3.6 with Maps 3.7-3.11, it is noteworthy that the towns and regions with a greater diversity of industries had an earlier and longer-standing masonry building tradition than those that did not. The diversity of economic indicators along the Exter to Cirencester road corresponds with the large number of stone buildings starting in the second century and continuing until the end of the Roman period. Along this road the towns had a base of at least two economic influences directly in the town in addition to the ubiquitous presence of agriculture. These towns had a more stable economy than those with a less diverse economic base. In addition, the close proximity of these towns to each other and their relation to Fosse Way helped create a sub-regional economy that was even more balanced than more isolated settlements such as Middlewich or Wall.

Some small towns did not have as strong a regional economic support but still developed a masonry tradition. Water Newton and Catterick each had three economic indicators and developed a strong tradition of masonry construction on a par with or exceeding those towns of the lower Fosse Way. Since there were fewer small towns in and around Catterick, it is likely that it became a regional economic center. Water Newton, with the strongest masonry tradition south of the highland zone and away from the Fosse Way, had the advantage of a major regional pottery industry, a religious complex, and acted as a regional market center. With the addition of agriculture and minor economic activities such as metal working and the nearby quarrying industry along the Jurassic Ridge, the economy was more balanced than those that had fewer economic indicators and thus could weather the fluctuations in the markets.

The transportation networks may also have played a factor. Along the lower Fosse Way where masonry construction dominated, the road was a main influence uniting the settlements.

However, to the east one would expect Braughing, located at the junction of several roads, to be well integrated into the regional economies, even with London and *Verulamium*. Braughing also had a religious center. The roads alone were not enough to produce a strong masonry tradition. Wanborough, with two economic indicators and on a road between two major settlements, only developed a late tradition of masonry construction in the late third and early fourth centuries. However, when the economic malaise of the late fourth and early fifth-century hit the province, Wanborough reverted to composite construction.

Economic stability partially explains why some areas had a strong masonry tradition but changes in the provincial economy more fully explain why it became most popular in the later third and early fourth centuries. Mackreth (1987) noted that construction of public buildings in major towns declined in the later second and early third centuries. Millett (1990, 133-7, 168; Dark and Dark 1997, 69-70; Faulkner 2004, 169) attributes this to a decline in the major administrative centers that corresponded with the economic development of more rural settlements, including small towns. Drinkwater (1985, 85) believes that the minor local aristocracy also began to search for their own niche in society and moved to small towns to maintain or improve their status. Province-wide trade became more balanced as imports from Gaul and Germany declined (Millett 1990, 160; Frere 1989, 285). Largely spared from the continental upheavals of the mid-third century, Britain remained an intact economy that had become more self-sufficient and relatively prosperous (Dark and Dark, 1997, 70). The internal shift in economic emphasis from major towns to smaller towns undoubtedly helped the economies of some small towns significantly, though it was uneven at best.



The availability of raw materials for stone construction appears to have played a major role in the choice of constructions as well. Map 3.21 combines limestone bedrock in Great Britain with that of building construction between AD 250 and 350, when stone was at its maximum use. In lowland Britain, the greatest use of stone was follows the Jurassic Ridge

where oolitic limestone was abundant. Along the lower Fosse Way in the Cotswolds, limestone is particularly abundant and near the surface for easy quarrying. If a town were located next to the raw materials, the cost of constructing buildings in stone would be lower as compared to places where stone needed to be imported (see Chap. 6). However, it should also be noted that in the south central part of the province limestone was abundant, but timber buildings still outnumbered stone. In addition, Carlisle was located where limestone was abundant but it nonetheless did not establish strong tradition of stone use (see Chapter 4).

The other natural resource for construction, timber, reveals an interesting pattern as well. Deforestation had been occurring long before the arrival of the Romans, perhaps as far back as the Bronze Age (Dark and Dark 1997, 39; Dark 1999, 263, 366). The change in the economy of the island after the conquest may have had a slight impact on the demand for timber, but it appears to have been less than would be expected as areas where cereal was produced in the Iron Age were “in-filled” more than expanded (Dark 1999, 263). In the more wet environments where tree pollen has best been preserved the impression is that the landscape continued to have a combination of open land and timbered forests through the Roman period though there were some areas where timber may have become more scarce particularly along Hadrian’s Wall (Dark and Dark 1997, 39; Dark 1999, 251-3, 255; Hanson 1978, 294; Hanson 1996; Dumayne 1994). Overall it seems that in most areas the timber supply would have been more than adequate for production, structural, and fuel demands and in fact would have far exceeded the modern forest cover (Hanson 1978, 294). It also appears that the forests were actively managed as well (Dark and Dark 1997, 38-40).

Thus, it appears that many economic factors influenced the development of masonry traditions. If a town had a more internally diverse economy, it was more likely to have a larger number of stone buildings. Likewise, the more integrated a town was into a sub-regional economy, the more stone buildings were constructed. Moderately balanced but relatively

isolated settlements like Wanborough eventually enjoyed a brief period where stone buildings dominated, but this came relatively late in the town's history. It should also be noted that not all economic forces were equal. Places with sustained military and government presence, such as the area north of York, had a long-standing masonry tradition over some more balanced economies to the south. The Nene Valley pottery group centered at Water Newton was a major regional industry that outlasted the smaller kiln groups such as those at Shepton Mallet (Jones and Mattingly 1990, 206-208). A major industry certainly helped the economy and thus likely the construction of stone buildings. However, economic balance would help maintain economic stability with the fluctuation of markets.

D. Social Identity and Economic Demand

The ability to create stone buildings would mean nothing if there were not a demand to do so. It is here that economic theories of demand side forces overlap with the social psychology theories of Identity and Social Identity. The desire of the inhabitants to adopt new architecture styles and forms of decoration reveal an outward social statement of identity to a group or groups. However, it must be born in mind that the choices they made were in an imperial context where the Romans had more political and economic power than the indigenous population. Measuring demand is not without some difficulty.

Examining the buildings in the towns themselves, it becomes clear that decorative elements of a Roman style such as painted plaster, mosaics, columns, tessellated and concrete flooring, and statuary relief carving were distributed in similar patterns to stone buildings (see Maps 3.20-3.25). This would seem to suggest that in the regions where stone was dominant, the architecture was reflecting some saliency of the Roman identity. What is more intriguing is that the use of "Romanized" decorative features reached its height before stone masonry did (see

Table 3.6 and Fig. 3.7). While there were more stone buildings in the later third and early fourth centuries, there were 13 percent fewer “Romanized” features than the century before.

Table 3.6: Use of Roman decorative elements in buildings of all types (hypocausts included).

Period	Mosaics	Tesselated Flooring	<i>Opus Signinum</i>	Painted Plaster	Un-painted plaster	Statuary/ Relief Carving	Decorative Stonework	Stone Columns	Timber Columns	Hypocausts	Totals
AD 43-100	0	6	6	2	9	1	1	1	0	5	31
AD 100-150	4	10	7	2	14	2	1	3	1	7	51
AD 150-250	6	16	11		36	3	3	13	0	19	107
AD 250-350	3	15	9	4	29	3	2	9	0	19	93
AD 350-450	0	5	5	1	12	2	1	5	0	9	40
Totals	13	52	38	9	100	11	8	31	1	59	322

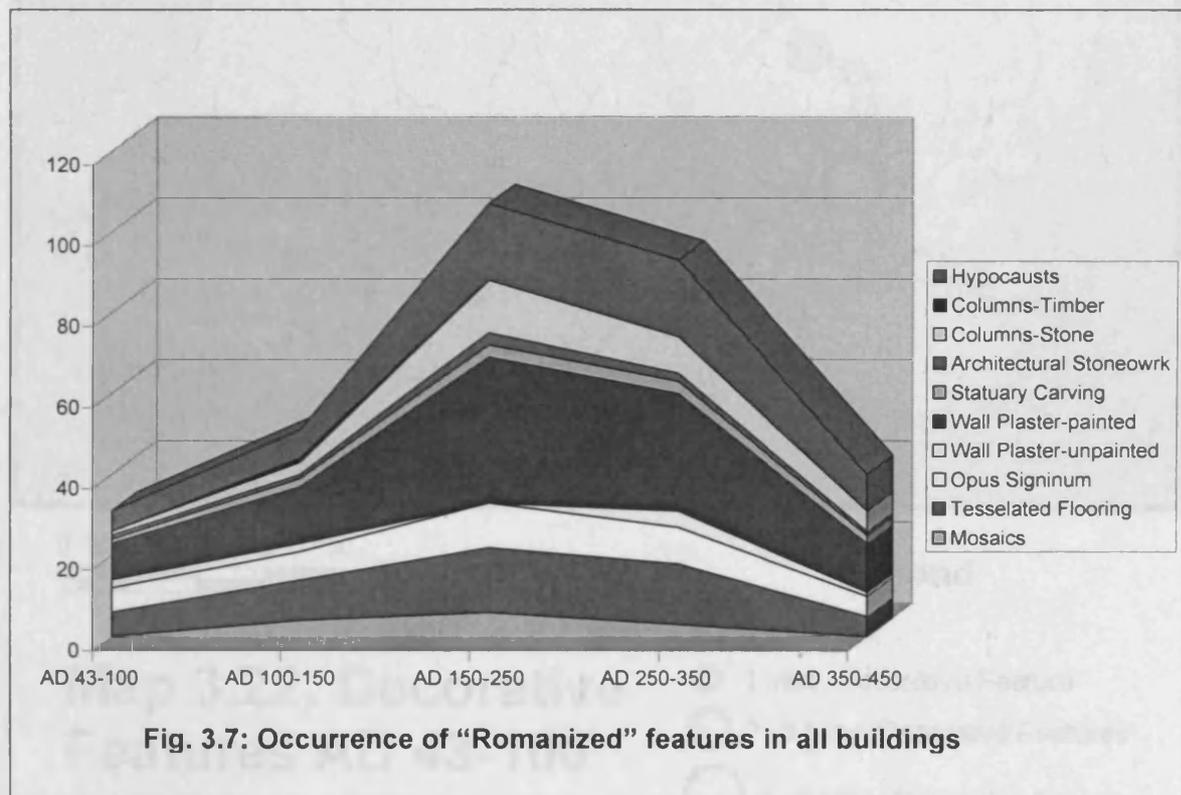
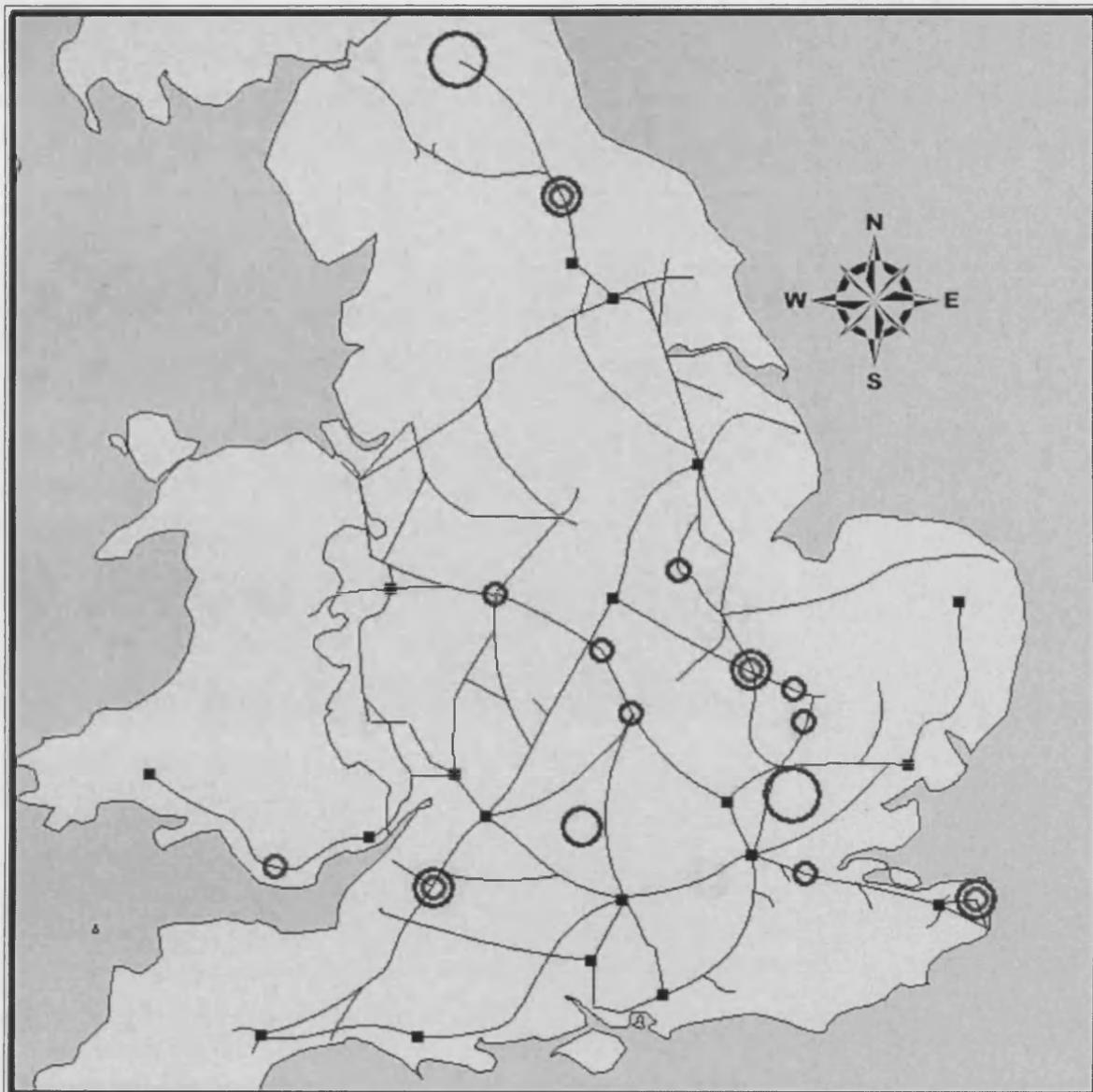
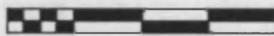


Fig. 3.7: Occurrence of “Romanized” features in all buildings

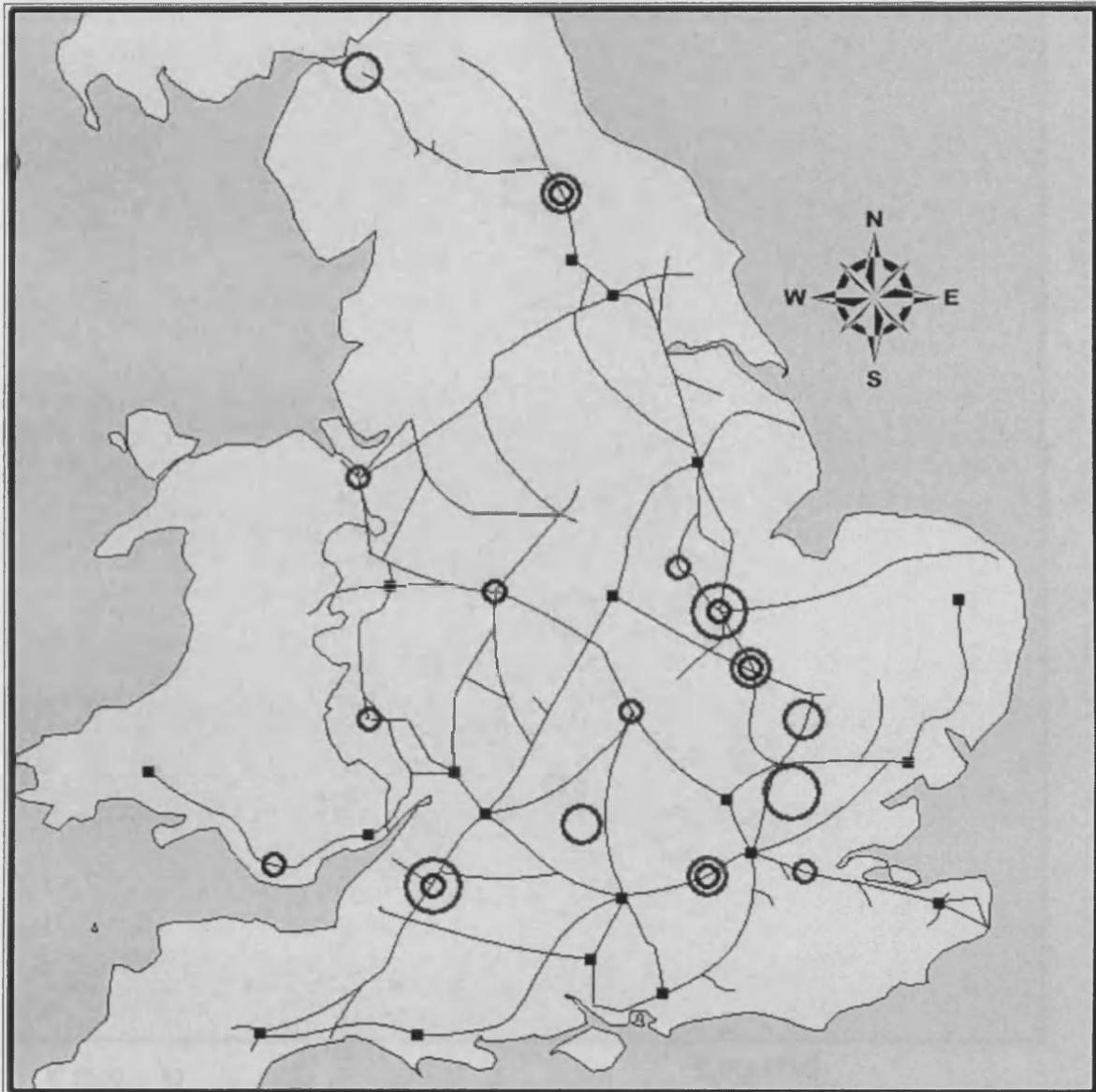


0 15 30 60 90 120
 Kilometers

Map 3.22: Decorative Features AD 43-100

Legend

- 1 Hypocaust
- 1 Misc. Decorative Feature
- 2 - 3 Misc. Decorative Features
- 4 - 5 Misc. Decorative Features

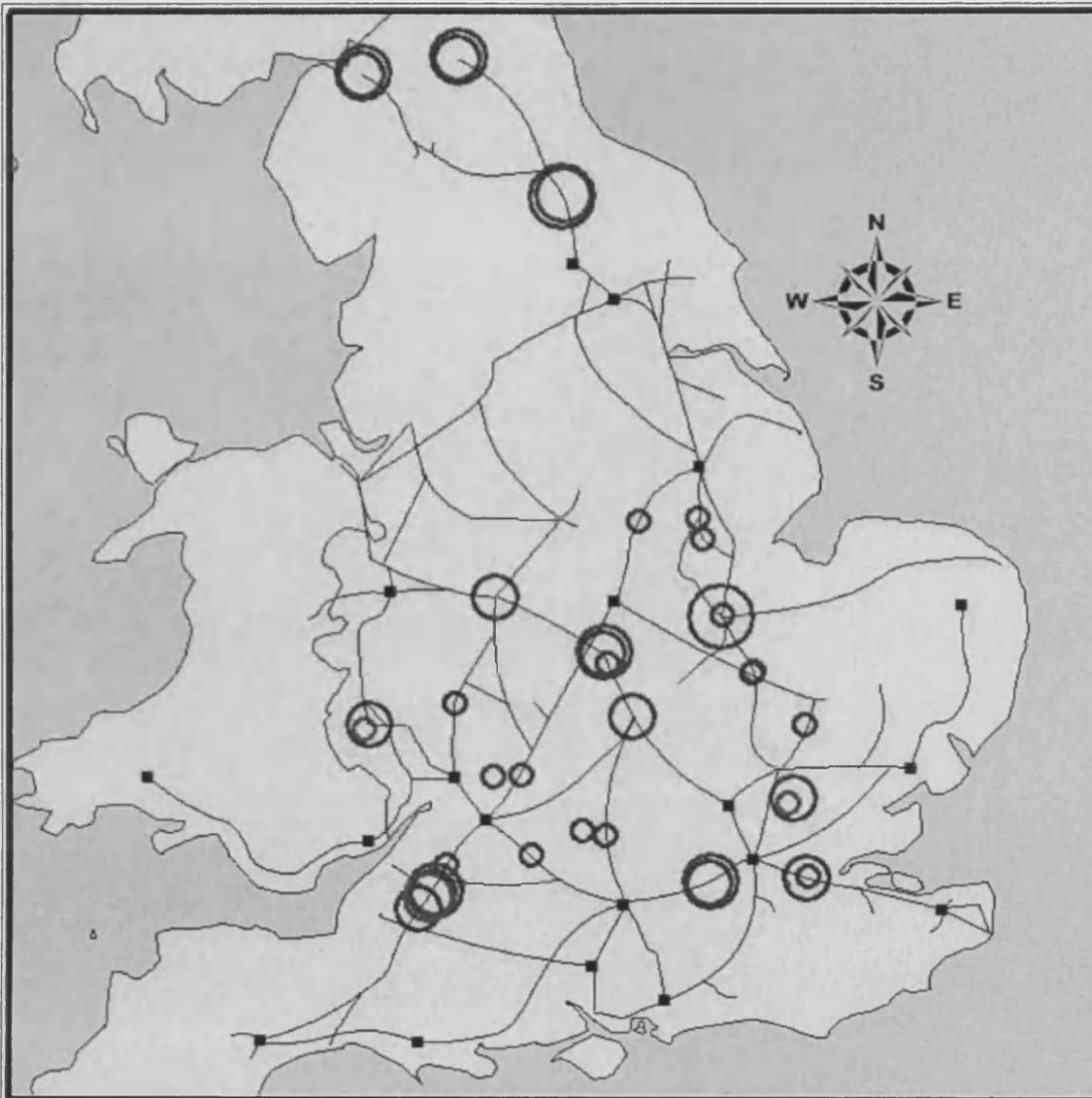


0 15 30 60 90 120
 Kilometers

Map 3.23: Decorative Features AD 100-150

Legend

- 1 Hypocaust
- 1 Misc. Decorative Feature
- 2 - 3 Misc. Decorative Features
- 4 - 5 Misc. Decorative Features

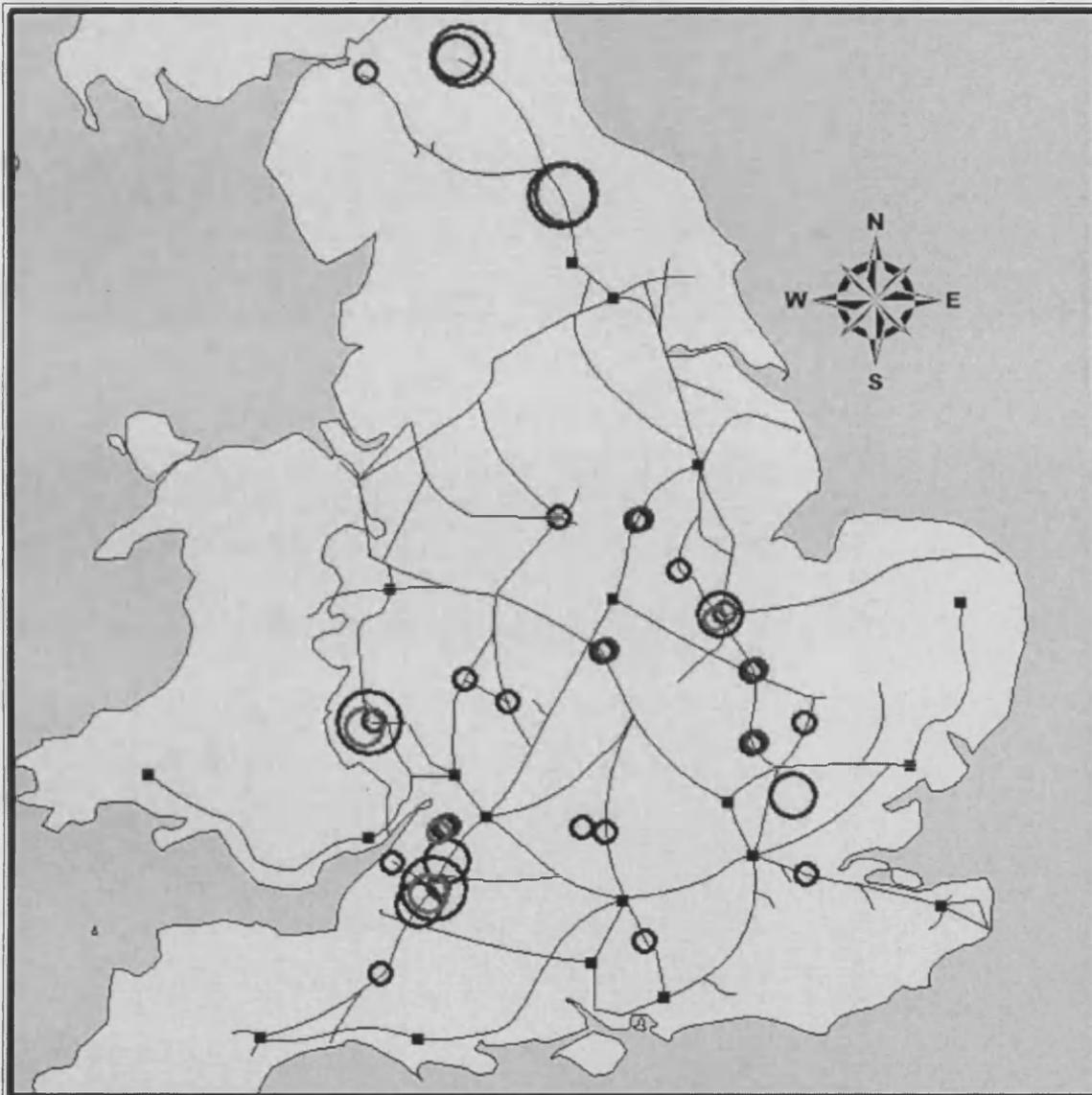


0 15 30 60 90 120
 Kilometers

Map 3.24: Decorative Features AD 150-250

Legend

- 1 Mosaic
- 2 Mosaics
- 1 Hypocaust
- 2 - 3 Hypocausts
- 1 - 2 Misc. Decorative Features
- 3 - 5 Misc. Decorative Features
- 6 - 8 Misc. Decorative Features

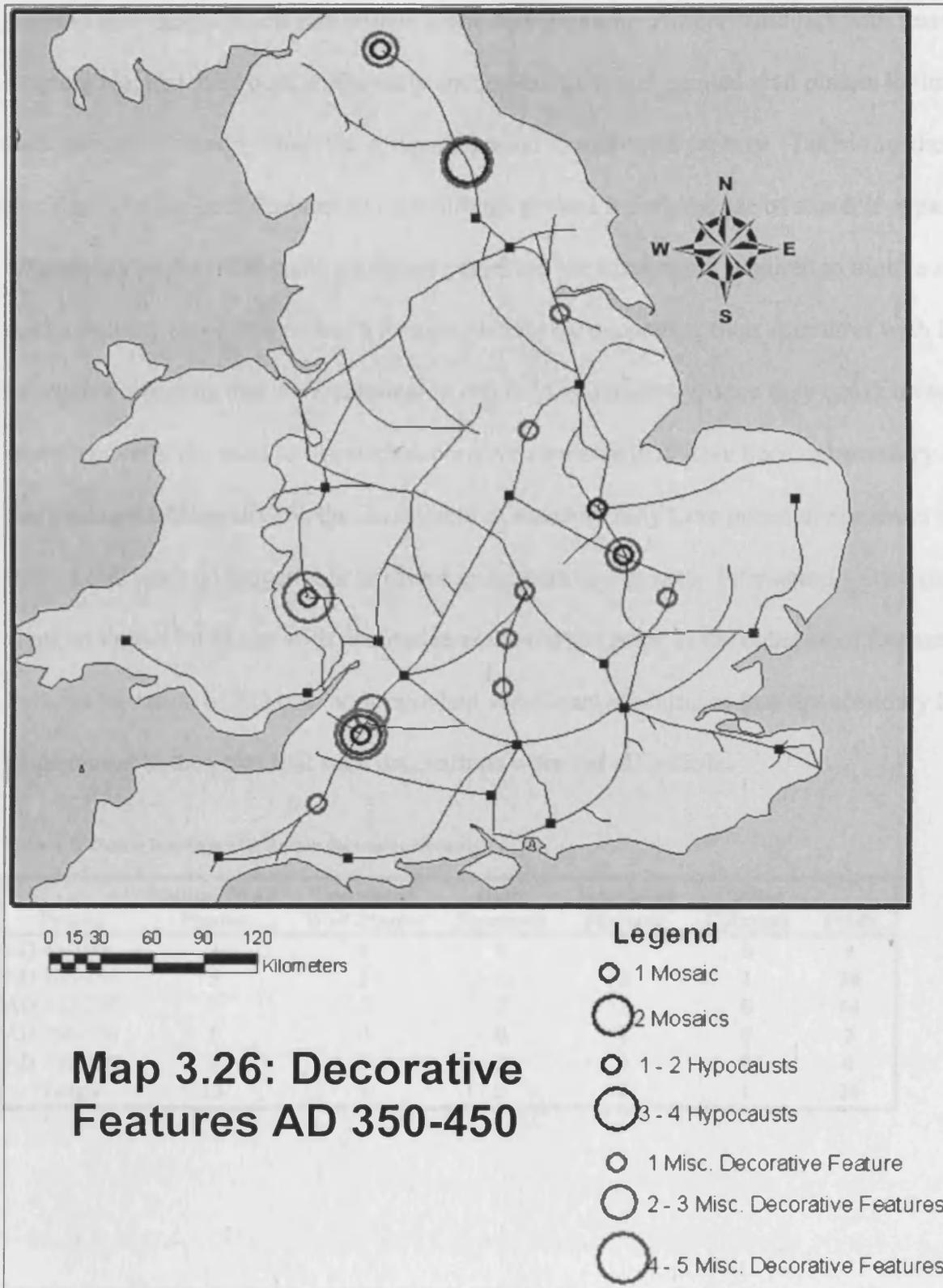


0 15 30 60 90 120
 Kilometers

Map 3.25: Decorative Features AD 250-350

Legend

- 1 Mosaic
- 2 Mosaiscs
- 1 - 2 Hypocausts
- 3 - 5 Hypocausts
- 1 - 2 Misc. Decroative Features
- 3 - 5 Misc. Decroative Features
- 6 - 8 Misc. Decroative Features

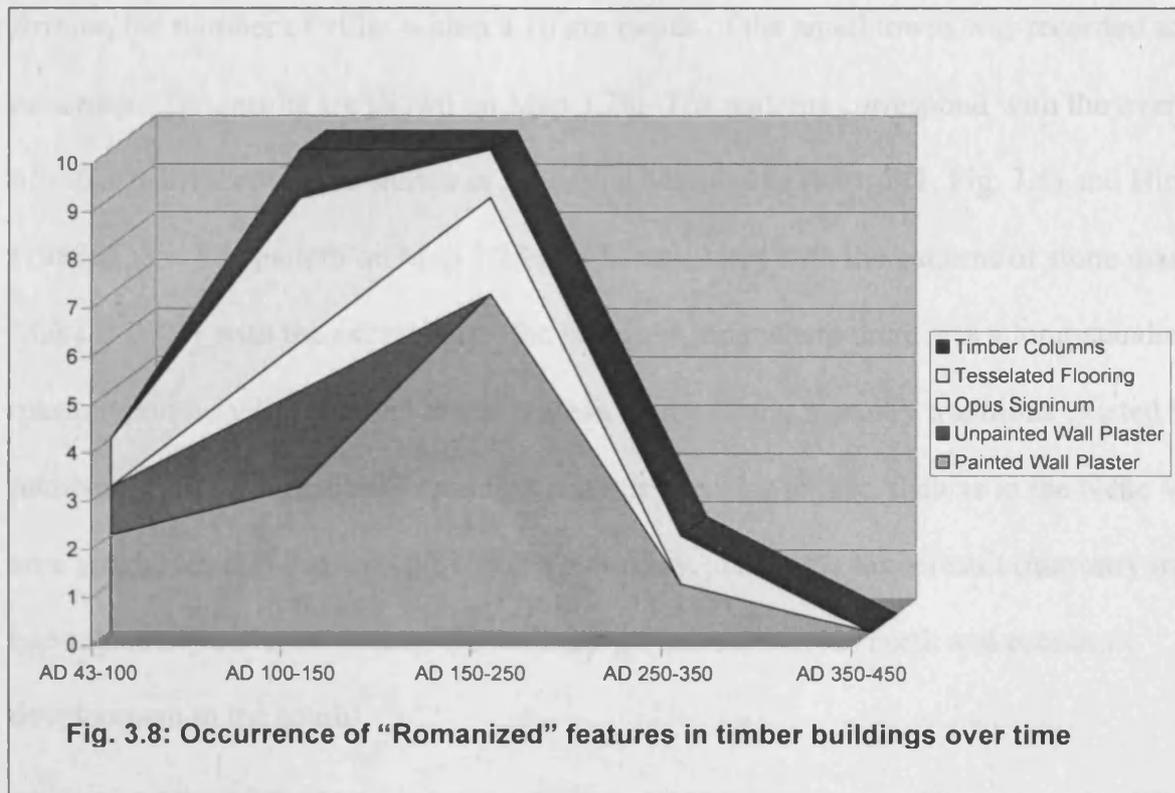


Another interesting pattern concerns the number of timber structures with Romanized elements (see Table 3.7 and Fig. 3.8). While few in number with only 26 total examples, they

reached their height much earlier than stone construction. Timber buildings with tessellated flooring reached their peak in the early second-century, and painted wall plaster in timber buildings grew steadily from the conquest period to mid-third century. Taken together with the fact that “Romanized” features in all buildings peaked before the use of stone, it appears that when many of the inhabitants could not yet afford the investment required to build a stone structure, they could still reflect a Roman identity by decorating their structures with less expensive elements that were classical in origin. Consequently, once they could invest in a stone structure, the need to use such decorative elements may have been unnecessary and their use declined. Alternatively, the investment in masonry may have personal resources that individuals were no longer able to invest in decorative elements. Interestingly enough, there were no timber buildings with decorative elements just prior to the collapse of Roman rule. Perhaps imitation of Romans no longer had significant meaning or that the economy had deteriorated to the point that such decorations were not affordable.

Table 3.7: Timber buildings with Roman decorative elements.

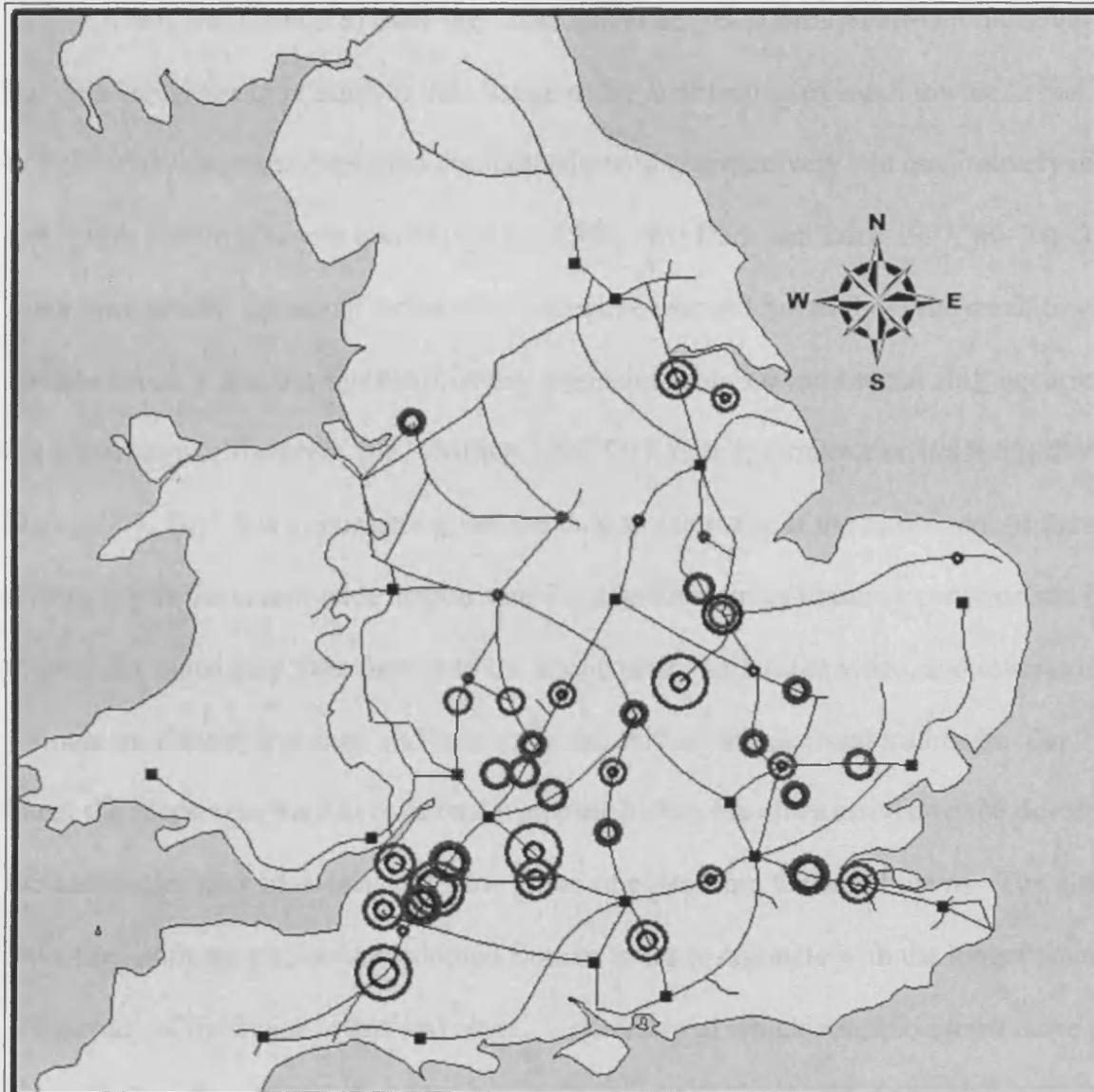
Period	Painted Wall Plaster	Unpainted Wall Plaster	<i>Opus Signinum</i>	Tesselated Flooring	Timber Columns	Totals
AD 43-100	2	1	0	1	0	4
AD 100-150	3	2	1	3	1	10
AD 150-250	7	0	2	1	0	14
AD 250-350	1	0	0	1	0	2
AD 350-450	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	13	3	3	6	1	26



Taken together, these patterns seem to indicate there was indeed an effort by some to adopt a more Romanized lifestyle and identity that may have ultimately led to the increase of masonry construction. It is hard to argue that other traditional indicators of *Romanitas*, such as inscriptions and villas (see below), were more indicative of forces driving the adaptation of a more Roman lifestyle rather than a result of other forces (the typical cause and effect relationship). However, the adoption of more Roman decorative features in buildings prior to the height of masonry construction seems to indicate more clearly the mentality behind the architectural shift. On the whole, therefore, the saliency of Roman identity appears to have had taken hold before people in these sites had the economic ability to construct stone buildings. However, as will be seen, this general conclusion belies the complexity present in a heterogeneous group of settlements, including some where Roman identity had little meaning.

The villa landscape could be another indicator of both economic development and possibly a self-identification with the Romans. Using the *Ordnance Survey Map of Roman*

Britain, the number of villas within a 10 km radius of the small towns was recorded and plotted on a map. The results are shown on Map 3.26. The patterns correspond with the overall pattern of villas province-wide as shown in Jones and Mattingly (1990, 241, Fig. 7.6) and Hingley (1989, 135). The pattern on Map 3.25 also is consistent with the patterns of stone masonry on Maps 3.7-3.11 with the exception of the highland zone where there was a long-standing use of masonry but no villas. In the lowland areas where strong masonry traditions existed the number of villas immediately around the towns was also higher, such as in the Nene Valley, the area around Springhead, and the lower Fosse Way. Thus, the same result (masonry traditions) had regionally different causes (the military/government in the north and economic development in the south).



0 15 30 60 90 120
 Kilometers

**Map 3.27: Villas and
 "Other Substantial
 Buildings within
 10 km**

Legend

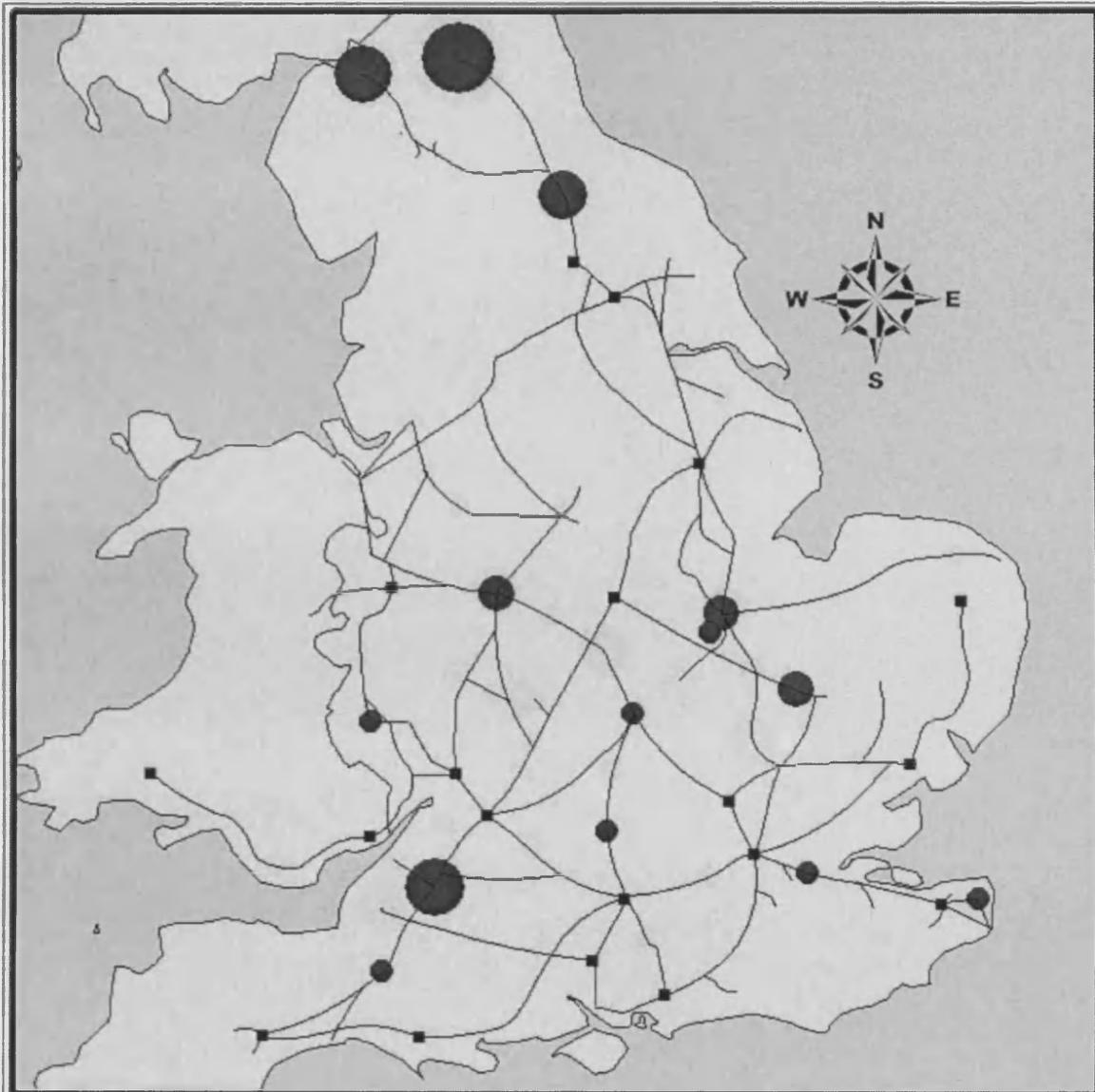
- 1 "Other Substantial Building"
- 2 - 5 "Other Substantial Buildings"
- 6 - 8 "Other Substantial Buildings"
- 9 - 17 "Other Substantial Buildings"
- 1-2 Villas
- 3 - 5 Villas
- 6 - 9 Villas
- 10 - 13 Villas

It is more difficult to trace the cause and effect relationship between the development of the villa landscape in relation to the change in the architecture of small towns. It has been noted that the villa landscape expanded dramatically both quantitatively and qualitatively in the third and fourth centuries (Jones and Mattingly, 1990, 241; Dark and Dark 1997, 69-70). During the same time period, the use of masonry construction reached its height in the small towns. As already noted, it was during that time that a general economic and social shift occurred toward the small towns (Mackreth 1987; Millett 1990, 133-7, 168; Drinkwater 1985, 85; Dark and Dark, 1997, 70). It is impossible given the data to determine if the movement of the minor aristocracy to the countryside helped spur the development of masonry construction in the small towns. The elites may have moved to the countryside, built large villas, and invested in local economies, developing them and helping in the shift of architectural traditions. On the other hand, the economies may have been developing before the elites arrived or the development of the economies may have created a new group of elites from the small towns. The elite might have then built their villas and adopted Roman tastes to compete with the longer standing aristocracy of the major towns and cities. Regardless of which scenario seems more plausible, it seems clear that all three would at least be part of the same general process where the countryside was becoming more economically developed, and along with that development there was an integration of some Roman tastes in their social identity.

Inscriptions have been another traditional indicator of "Romanization." The use of Latin had advantages in certain situations, particularly in government and commerce, two forces that tied Britain to the rest of the Empire (Jones and Mattingly 1990, 153). However, it is very debatable about how much of the province was literate in Latin or how many people used it as their primary language. Few villas have yielded Latin inscriptions, which Jones and Mattingly (1990, 153) attribute to the fact that while literate, many villa owners did not have incentive enough or the desire to erect inscriptions. This remains true for stone particularly, where

inscription would take considerable effort. Jones and Mattingly also note that inscriptions fall into two general patterns: those near military bases and those in urban settlements. The rest of the population likely remained mostly Celtic in language.

In relation to small towns it would be expected that inscriptions on stone would be most prevalent in areas where there were long masonry traditions or where raw stone was readily available. Map 3.26 showing only inscriptions on stone, supports this hypothesis. It is notable that the number of inscriptions on stone is relatively small. It is not surprising that Bath had a significant number of stone inscriptions, but the fact that the towns near Bath were almost completely devoid of stone inscriptions is surprising given their long standing masonry traditions. In the highland zone, where the military influence was very pronounced, it is also not unexpected that the number of inscriptions on stone is quite high. Overall, inscriptions on stone were found where limestone bedrock was located (compare with Map 3.21).

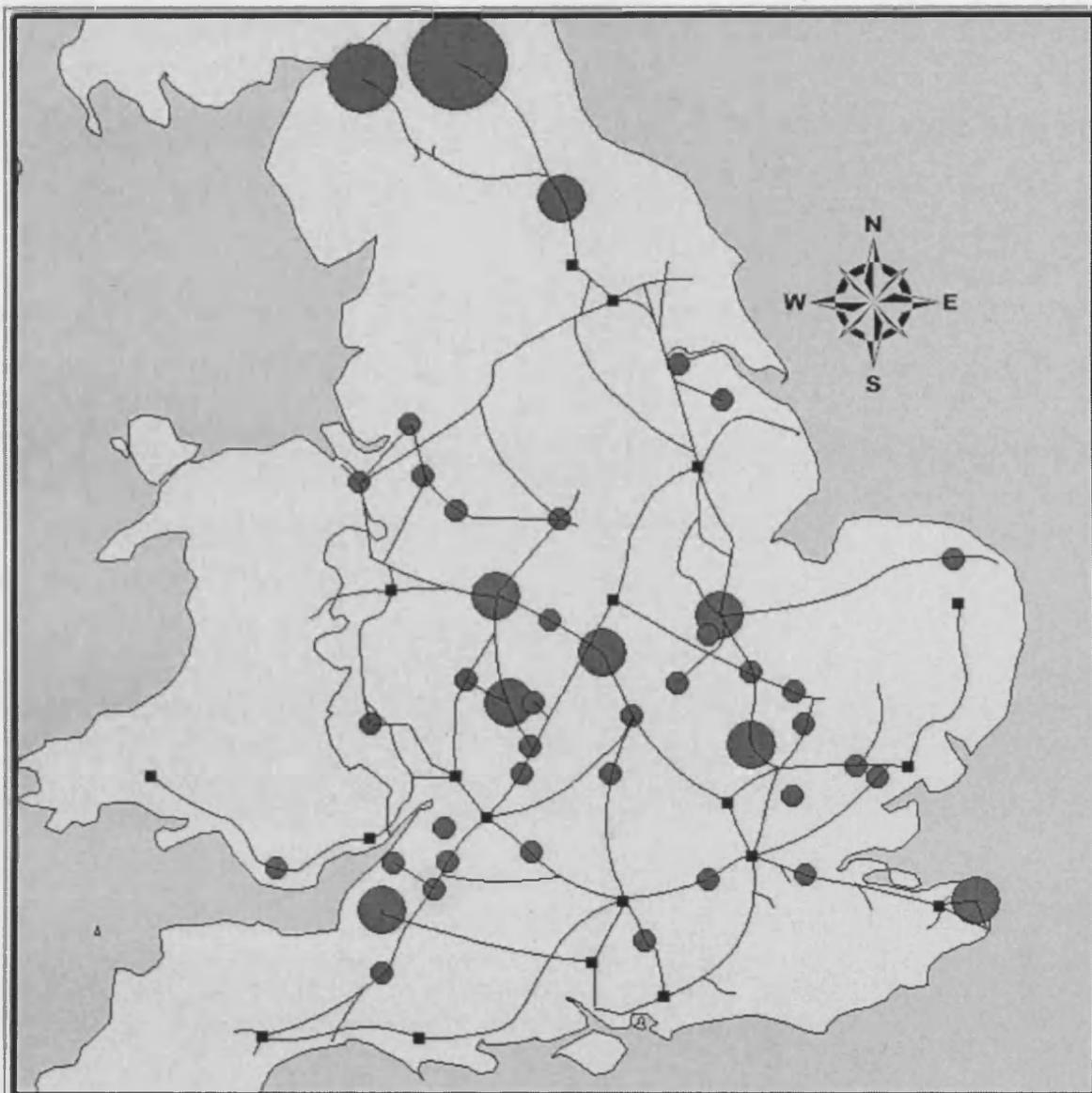


0 15 30 60 90 120
 Kilometers

**Map 3.28: Inscriptions
 on Stone**

Legend

- 1 Inscription
- 2 - 3 Inscriptions
- 4 - 5 Inscriptions
- 6 - 40 Inscriptions
- 41 - 80 Inscriptions

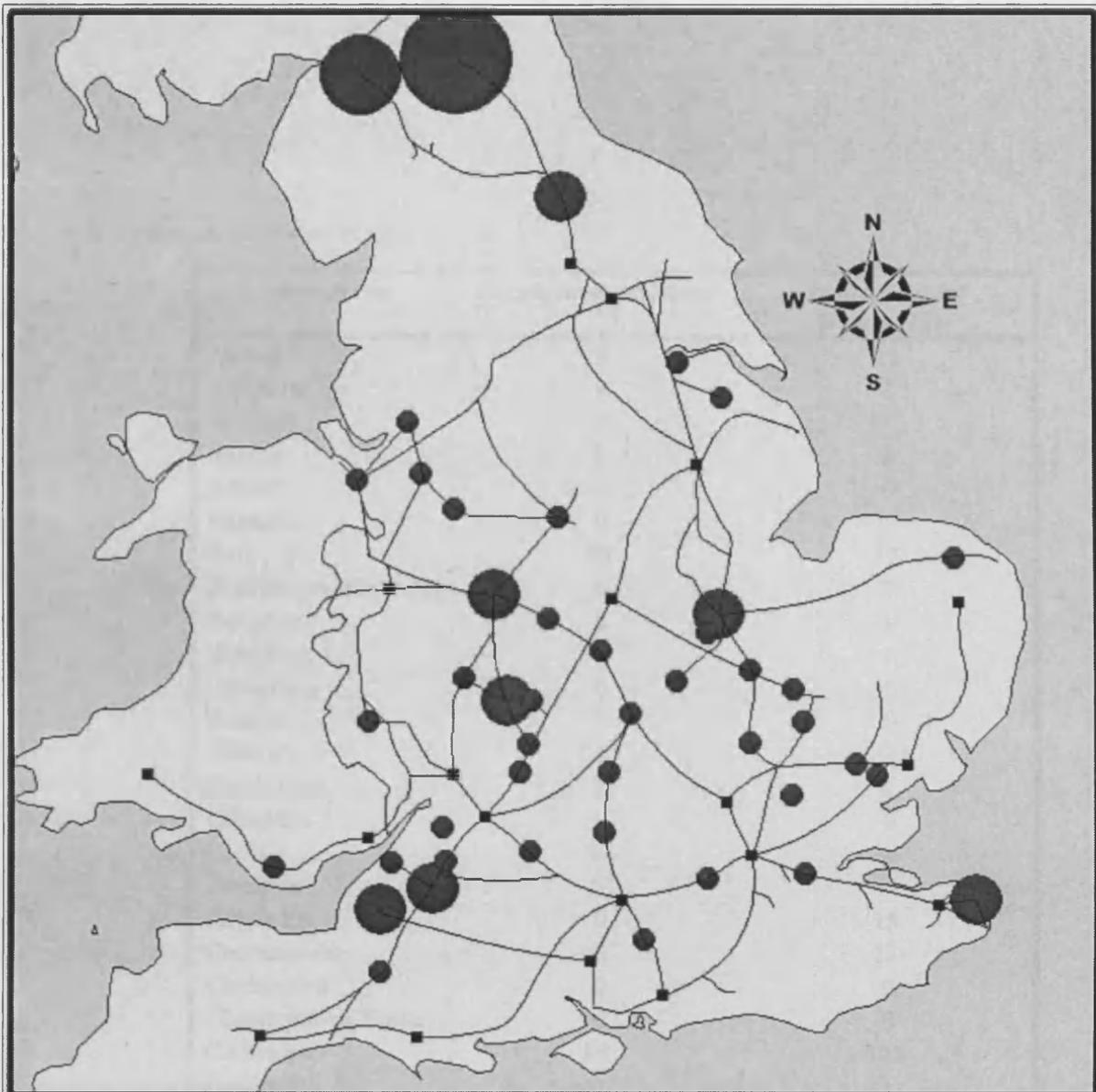


0 15 30 60 90 120
 Kilometers

Map 3.29:
Instrumentum
Domesticum

Legend

-  1 - 13 Inscriptions
-  14 - 47 Inscriptions
-  48 - 84 Inscriptions
-  85 - 146 Inscriptions



0 15 30 60 90 120
 Kilometers

Map 3.30: Total Inscriptions

Legend

- 1 - 17 Inscriptions
- 18 - 53 Inscriptions
- 54 - 116 Inscriptions
- 117 - 226 Inscriptions

Table 3.8: Inscriptions by town.

Town Name	Inscriptions on Stone	<i>Instrumentum Domesticum</i>
Alcester	0	26
Alchester	0	2
Ancaster	0	0
Ashton	1	2
Asthall	0	0
Baldock	0	17
Bath	40	13
Bourton-on-the-Water	0	2
Braintree	0	1
Brampton	0	1
Braughing	0	0
Buxton	0	0
Caistor	0	2
Cambridge	2	8
Camerton	0	0
Carlisle	30	84
Catterick	5	47
Cave's Inn	0	15
Charterhouse	0	22
Chelmsford	0	0
Chesterton-on-Fosse	0	0
Corbridge	80	146
Cowbridge	0	3
Dorchester-on-Thames	1	0
Dorn	0	1
Dragonby	0	1
Droitwich	0	3
East Bridgeford	0	0
Frilford	0	0
Godmanchester	0	5
Great Casterton	0	0
Great Chesterford	0	5
Harlow	0	5
Heronbridge	0	4
Hibaldstow	0	0
Holditch	0	4
Horncastle	0	0
Ilchester	1	2
Irchester	0	1
Kelvedon	0	3
Kenchester	1	5

Kingscote	0	3
Little Chester	0	3
Mancetter	0	1
Middlewich	0	1
Mildenhall	0	0
Neatham	0	4
Nettleton	0	5
Richborough	1	39
Rochester	0	0
Sapperton	0	0
Sea Mills	0	3
Shepton Mallet	0	0
Springhead	1	9
Staines	0	7
Thistleton	0	0
Thorpe	0	0
Tiddington	0	2
Towcester	1	3
Wall	3	16
Wanborough	0	5
Water Newton	3	16
Whilton Lodge	0	0
Whitchurch	0	0
Wilderspool	0	8
Willoughby	0	0
Worcester	0	0
Wycomb	0	0

Inscriptions on everyday artifacts, commonly known as *Instrumentum Domesticum*, reveal broader patterns. Since these objects were less expensive and much easier to inscribe, they may be a greater indication of *Romanitas* and the social identity of the people. The pattern as revealed on Map 3.27, indicates that the quantity of these inscriptions corresponds closely, though not exactly, with masonry traditions. Taking all inscriptions, both stone and *instrumentum domesticum*, as represented on Map 3.28, it becomes clear that areas of masonry traditions had a greater likelihood of inscriptions. A notable exception is Alcester where the *instrumentum domesticum* inscriptions are quite high though the town remained largely timber. This, however, may be explained by the fact that suitable building stone had to be imported to

the site as none was available locally (see Chap. 6). The lack of quality building stone may also account for the site's lack of stone inscriptions.

Some patterns become clear. As the economy of Britain grew and became more stable, those areas that were better developed and more integrated show a desire to adopt Roman tastes. While impossible to extricate the exact cause and effect relationship, the overall process indicates that with economic integration there was both the ability to build stone buildings and the desire to have them built. While this does not mean that more indigenous tastes disappeared, it shows one vehicle for the introduction and adaptation of select elements of *Romanitas* and the creation of identity in the imperial landscape. Yet, at the same time, the places that had easy access to suitable building stone were the ones that created the strongest stone building traditions. Thus, the saliency of the Roman identity need no have been equally as strong in every settlement for stone to become the dominant construction material.

IV. Discussion

When examining the factors that influenced the creation of the patterns described above in classic economic terms, I have suggested the concepts of supply and demand influenced the construction of buildings. Supply side forces are summarized as the ability to construct buildings of different types. As stone architecture was usually more complex vis-à-vis timber and required greater economic and psychological investment, it would naturally be later in development, as already described. However, the ability to construct stone buildings was useless without a demand for such buildings. While demand side forces are more difficult to quantify based on the archaeological record it seems clear that the adoption of masonry was more common in areas that displayed other "Romanized" features. Since masonry construction was a technique introduced by the Romans, the adoption of it in conjunction with other

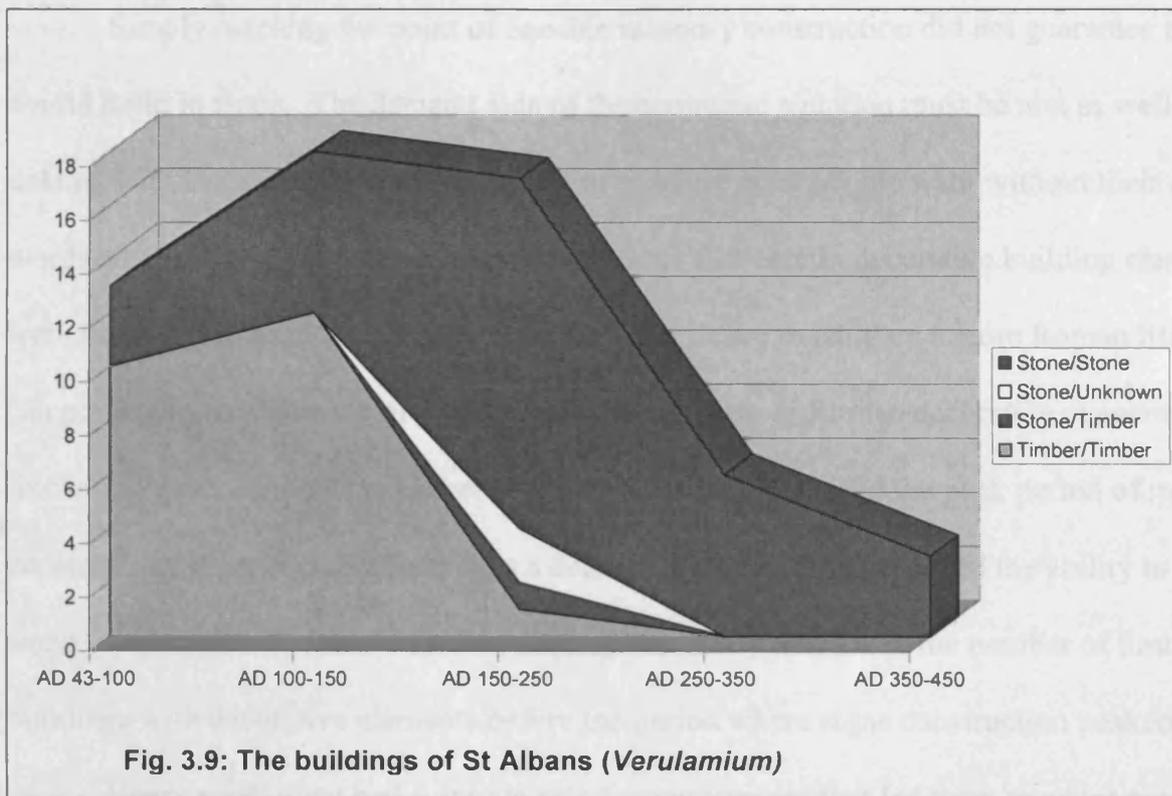
Romanized indicators shows that in some areas there was great impetus to adapt to the cultural imperialism of Rome.

The supply side forces affecting small towns included the development of the Imperial economy, the regional economy, and the many local economies. On the imperial level the conquest of Britain resulted in the unification of a vast region with diverse economic levels of development. However, the *pax Romana* allowed trade goods to flow more freely than ever before in European history to that date and even the most undeveloped economies began to mature (Scullard and Cary 1975, 453). The frontiers of this vast empire needed protection, and it was here that the largest numbers of military troops were centered. Taxation throughout the Empire went to support these garrisons in regions where the economies were significantly less developed, thus redistributing wealth from the core to the periphery (Jones 1973, 841-2; Hopkins 1980; Millett 1990, 127-8). The desire of the central government would be to make these regions as self-sufficient as possible through the development of their economies and thus limit the outflow of wealth from the core of the empire (Greene 1986, 62). Britain was just such a province.

After the initial conquest, revolutionary change occurred on the island. Economically Britain suffered from an imbalance of trade initially, where more goods were being imported than exported, partially due to the high profit potential recognized by new merchants (Frere 1989, 282-283; Fulford 2002, 53). To be fully integrated into the Roman economy, Britons needed to adapt to the Roman system where towns and cities played a key role; thus a significant urbanization process occurred (Scullard and Cary, 1975, 458; Fulford 2002, 45, 50-52). Along with this came a revolution in architecture that included a change in both the form of buildings and the meaning associated with them (Rodwell 1978; Reynolds 1979; Manning 1987, 589; Blagg 1990, 1995; Perring 2002, 30-34, 36-38). While the first ostensibly

Romanized structures were built in the late first-century (Perring 2002, 32), the buildings in most small towns lagged far behind the major administrative centers of the province.

It was not until the mid-third century that most small towns witnessed the architectural revolution seen by their larger counterparts. This was more than just a delayed “trickle down” effect, but rather because substantive economic changes were occurring at the localized level. The province as a whole had a far more developed economy and a better balance of trade with fewer imports, more exports, an economy that was better able to serve its own needs, and larger sums of money in the hands of the Romano-Britons after taxes (Millett 1990, 162; Frere 1989, 283, 285). However, the greatest benefit for these small towns was the fact that the larger *civitas* centers were declining in their economic importance (Drinkwater 1985, 85; Millett 1990, 132; Dark and Dark 1997, 70). Millett (1990, 132-137) has detailed how the major towns saw a cessation in the construction of large buildings and how the small towns increased in importance as the native elites possibly fled to the countryside. If St Albans (*Verulamium*) is any indication, Millett’s conclusions are justified. Figure 3.9 shows the change in architecture at St Albans over the Roman period. It is important to note the dramatic decline in the mid-third to early fourth-century, the time when stone architecture reached its peak in the small towns.



However, it is clear that the development in the countryside was not uniform. Some places reached a higher level of economic maturity sooner than others. Thus, when the economic crisis of the late fourth century occurred, those sites that had a longer tradition were able to cope better with the decay than those, like Wanborough, who had only recently reached the point of feasibility for masonry construction. This suggests that some small towns like Bath, Camerton, or Water Newton in the lowland areas were well integrated in the new economic order by this date. The use of timber construction had diminished more quickly at these sites as the inhabitants had reached the level of economic growth where constructing buildings out of stone was possible. In addition, the other indicators of *Romanitas*, inscriptions and villas, show how entrenched these settlements became in the local Roman economy. The influence of the central government in the highland zone achieved the same ends through different means.

Simply reaching the point of feasible masonry construction did not guarantee that people would build in stone. The demand side of the economic equation must be met as well. When dealing with this force it is more complex to measure what people want without their actual words written down. However, if we can assume that certain decorative building elements were distinctly Roman and thus an indication of a desire to emulate a more Roman life style, we can perhaps gain a glimpse of this desire. Since the use of Roman decorative elements (including those elements in timber structures) actually preceded the peak period of masonry construction, it appears that there was a demand that may have preceded the ability to build in stone (see Figures 3.6 and 3.7). This seems particularly true given the number of timber buildings with decorative elements before the period where stone construction peaked.

Every small town had a unique set of circumstances that led them to adopt masonry construction at varying levels at different times. Some reached the junction of supply and demand forces earlier than others. Some, like those along the lower Fosse Way and in the East Midlands, adopted masonry early and created a tradition in stone building lasting throughout the Roman period. Others never fully embraced the masonry tradition. Places such as Neatham kept a long-standing tradition of timber construction alive through the Roman period. Most, like Wanborough, went along a progression that led to the adaptation of masonry just before the economic situation collapsed prior to the end of Roman rule. These patterns become the subject of focused attention in the subsequent chapters.

Chapter 4:

Transitory Building Practices

I. Introduction

Within the total sample group, four towns with a statistically viable number of buildings, Baldock, Carlisle, Dragonby, and Wanborough, displayed no constant or dominant building tradition and significant evidence for shifting patterns. That is, the building tradition in the towns was usually architecturally different from earlier times in regards to predominant type of construction. None of the four had over 50 percent of the buildings constructed in stone before the later second-century. A summary of the architectural choices over time is summarized in Table 4.1 and the corresponding graphs of Figures 4.1-4.4. These four towns, Baldock, Dragonby, Carlisle, and Wanborough had a sufficient number of building samples to provide case studies in the process of architectural change. An examination of the data demonstrates that each town exhibited a unique pattern of architectural diversity over time. In addition, common threads uniting the towns were hard to find, as each exhibited unique origins, economic activities, and places within the larger landscape. The heterogeneity only emphasizes how the forces driving architectural change were relative to the time and place for each settlement. As Haselgrove (1990, 46) pointed out, one of the limitations of the “Romanization” paradigm is that it emphasizes the homogeneity of outcomes rather than examining the cumulative processes driving the outcome. It becomes clear with these towns that a myriad of complex factors drove people to choose certain architectural choices.

II. Macro Analysis

Of the four towns Baldock and Dragonby had certain Iron Age predecessors and Carlisle may have had Iron Age activity if not an actual settlement (see Table 4.2). What is interesting to note about these sites is that each suffered a brief decline in the total number of buildings at the beginning of the second century before a recovery (see Figures 4.1-4.3). This is reinforced by the coin loss patterns as well (see Fig. 4.5). Two of the towns (Carlisle and Wanborough) had a military presence during the conquest period. However, Carlisle continued to have a long presence with two forts nearby.

Table 4.1: Transitory building traditions

Town Name	Stone Total	% Stone	Timber Total	% Timber	Composite Total	% Composite	Stone/Unknown	% Stone/Unknown	Total
Baldock									
AD 43-100	0	0.00%	5	71.42%	1	14.29%	1	14.29%	7
AD 100-150	0	0.00%	2	50.00%	2	50.00%	0	0.00%	4
AD 150-250	2	50.00%	1	25.00%	0	0.00%	1	25.00%	4
AD 250-350	4	66.67%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	33.33%	6
AD 350-450	2	100%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
Carlisle									
AD 43-100	0	0.00%	16	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	16
AD 100-150	0	0.00%	11	91.67%	0	0.00%	1	8.33%	12
AD 150-250	9	56.25%	7	43.75%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	16
AD 250-350	8	80.00%	2	20.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	10
AD 350-450	4	80.00%	1	20.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	5
Dragonby									
AD 43-100	0	0.00%	7	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	7
AD 100-150	0	0.00%	2	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
AD 150-250	5	50.00%	2	20.00%	0	0.00%	3	30.00%	10
AD 250-350	4	40.00%	1	10.00%	0	0.00%	5	50.00%	10
AD 350-450	1	14.28%	3	42.86%	0	0.00%	3	42.86%	7
Wanborough									
AD 43-100	0	0.00%	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
AD 100-150	0	0.00%	4	80.00%	1	20.00%	0	0.00%	5
AD 150-250	3	60.00%	2	40.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	5
AD 250-350	5	55.56%	1	10.00%	2	20.00%	2	20.00%	10
AD 350-450	2	15.38%	1	7.69%	10	76.92%	0	0.00%	13

Fig. 4.1: Baldock Buildings

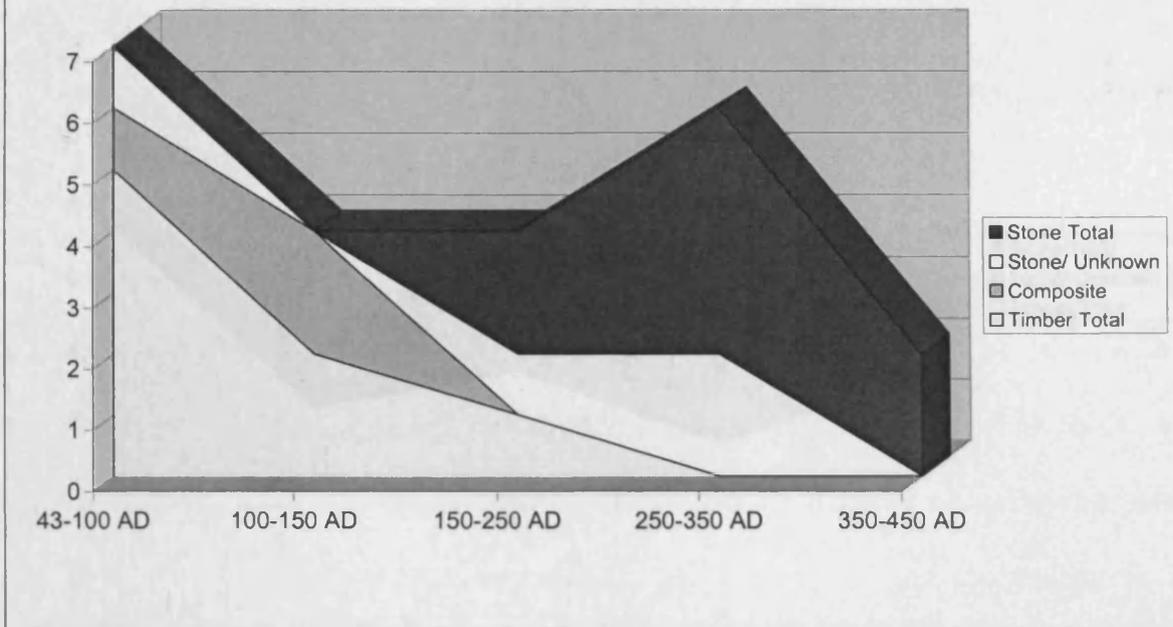


Fig. 4.2: Carlisle Buildings

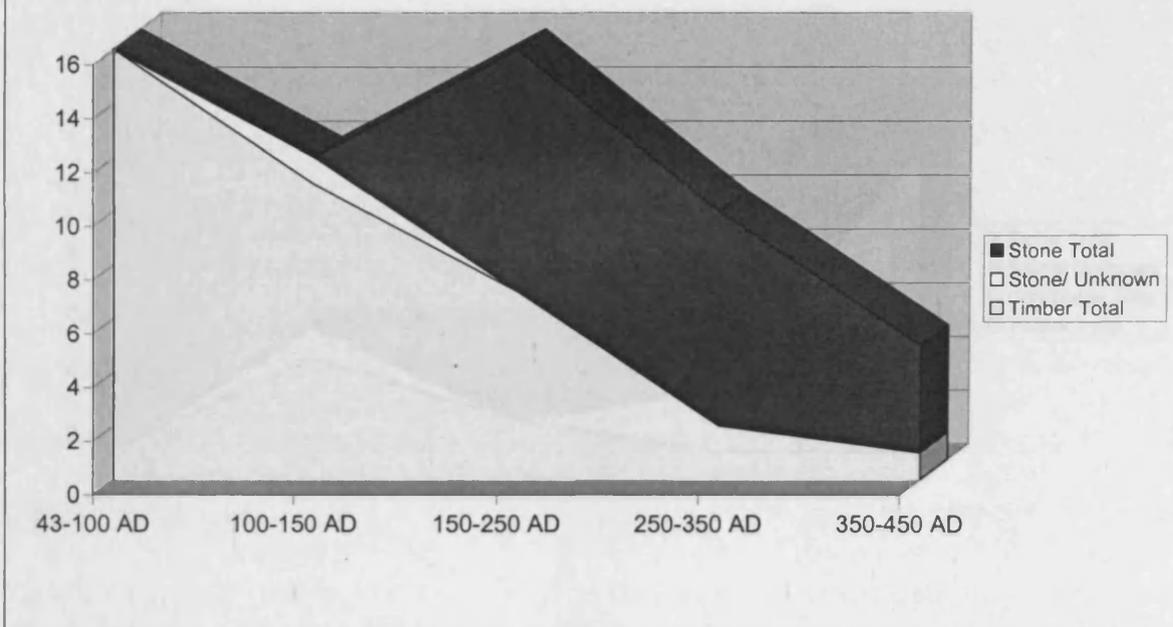


Fig. 4.3: Dragonby Buildings

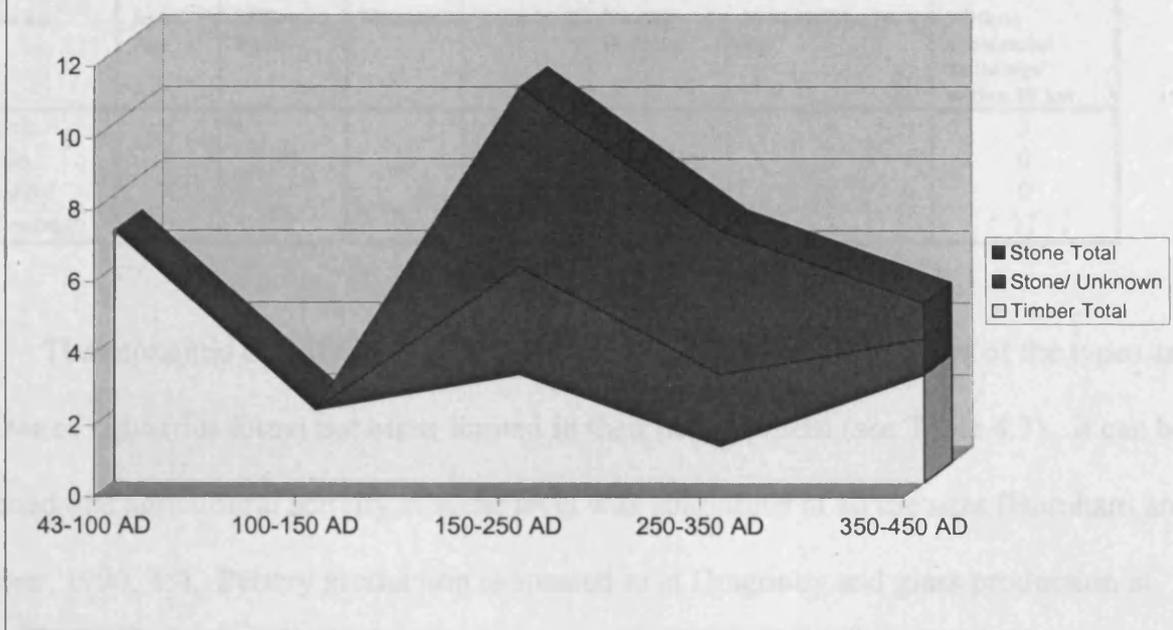


Fig. 4.4: Wanborough Building Types

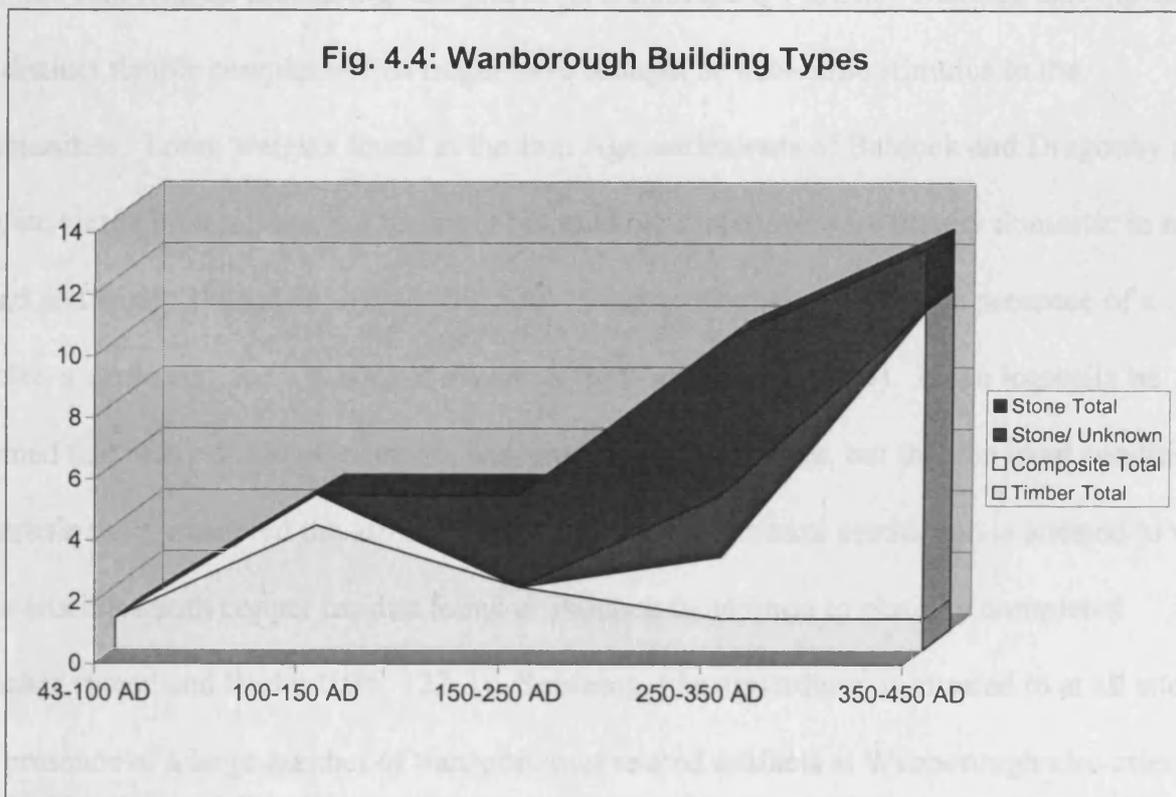


Table 4.2: Characteristics of Towns with Transitory Architecture

Town	Iron Age	Military Phase	Mansio	Temple	Town Defenses	Villas within 10 km	“Other substantial Buildings” within 10 km
Baldock	X			X		4	3
Carlisle	?	1-5	X	X	possible	0	0
Dragonby	X					2	0
Wanborough		1?	X	X	3?	3	11

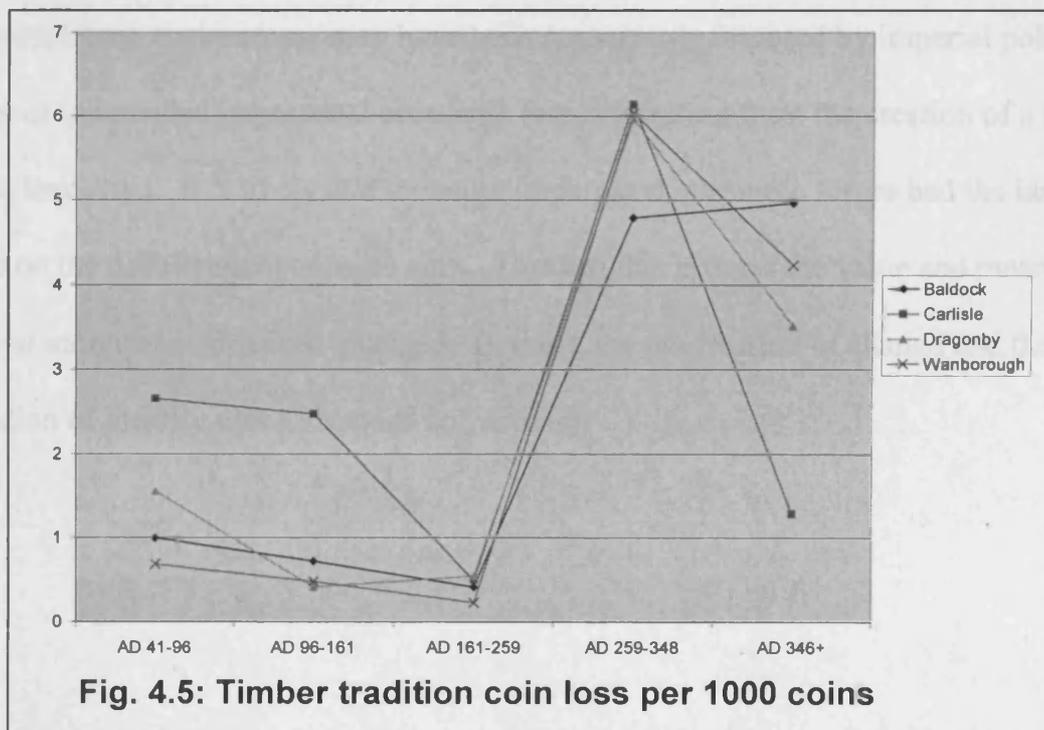
The economic activity in these towns was also quite diverse in terms of the types and number of industries found but often limited in their development (see Table 4.3). It can be assumed that agricultural activity at some level was ubiquitous at all the sites (Burnham and Wachter, 1990, 45). Pottery production is attested to at Dragonby and glass production at Wanborough. Animal processing was present at Baldock and Carlisle. Baldock and Carlisle had distinct temple complexes that might have brought an economic stimulus to the communities. Loom weights found at the Iron Age settlements of Baldock and Dragonby may indicate textile productions, but it cannot be ruled out that these were merely domestic in nature (Stead and Rigby 1986, 168; May 1996, 330). Finds at Carlisle suggest the presence of a cobbler, a carpenter, and a school of sculptors (McCarthy 2000, 28-9). It can logically be assumed that many of the other towns had similar craft industries, but that the ideal conditions at Carlisle have preserved the artifacts better. Small scale bronze production is attested to with some crucibles with copper residue found at Baldock in addition to partially completed brooches (Stead and Rigby 1986, 122-3). Smithing, like agriculture, is attested to at all sites. The presence of a large number of transportation related artifacts at Wanborough also attests to its roadside service industry along Erimin Street. Carlisle, with the presence of two nearby forts, likely had a wide range of services available to the military as well as off-duty soldiers.

Carlisle, if it is correct to assume that it became a *civitas* capital of the Carvetii, would have provided services for administration (McCarthy 2003, 151).

Table 4.3: Economic Activity in Towns with Transitory Architecture

Town Name	Pottery	Glass	Textile Production	Tanning/ Animal Processing	Bronze Working	Metal Smithing	Post Conquest Military	Admin. Functions
Baldock			X?	X	X	X		
Carlisle				X	X	X	X	X?
Dragonby	X		X?			X		
Wanborough		X				X		

The coin loss patterns also suggest that each of these towns went through a period of decline in the later second-century (see Fig. 4.5). This corresponds with the decline in the number of buildings at each site. The reasons for this were unique to each town and discussed in greater detail below. During the third-century three of the four towns had nearly identical coin loss patterns. Baldock was the exception, with a lower coin loss rate in the third-century but with a higher loss rate in the late fourth and early fifth-century. This is similar to the pattern observed at Nettleton (Chapter 5).



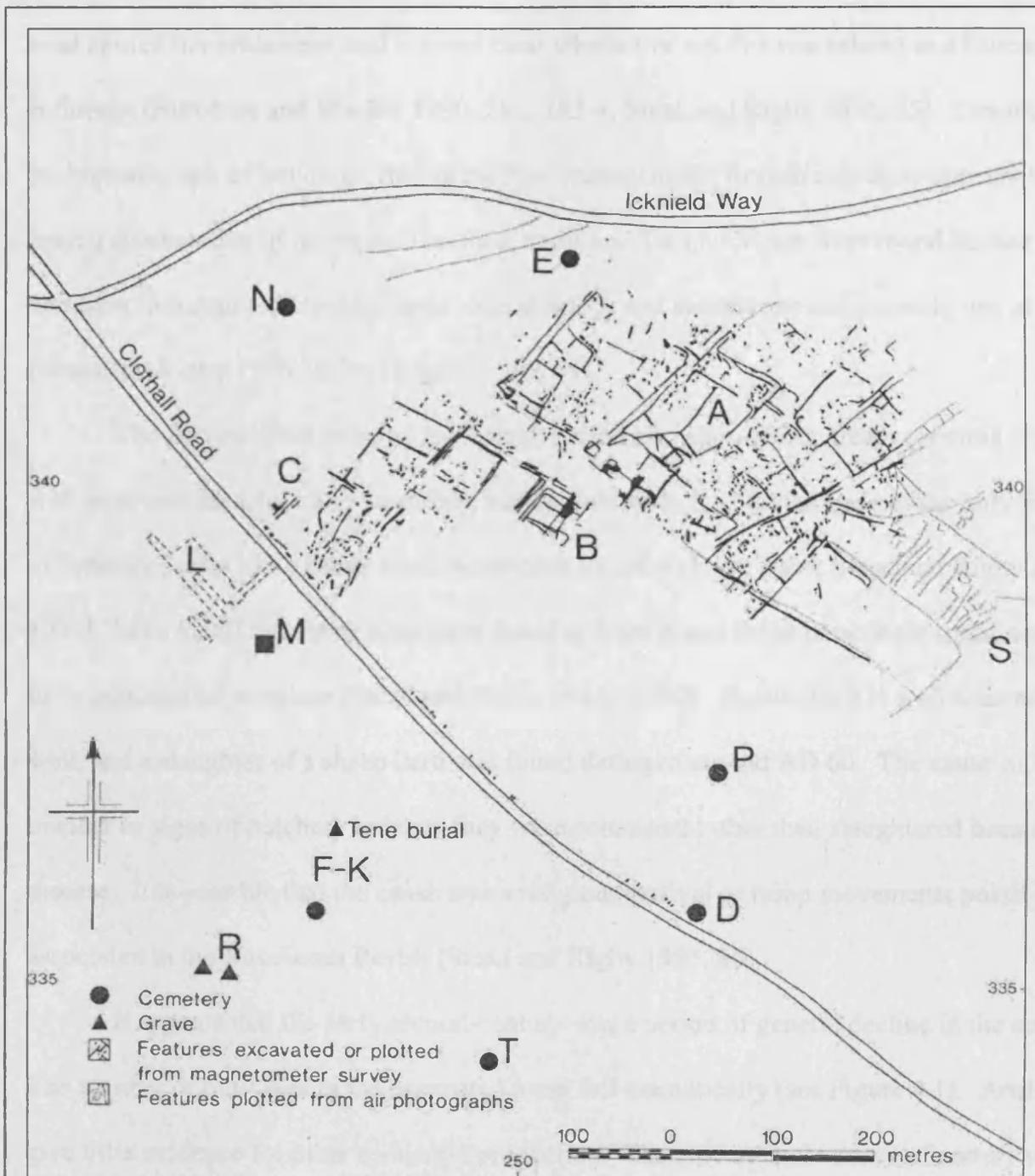
While it is clear there was no archetypal settlement in this category, broad similarities exist when both inter- and intra-site comparisons are made. Baldock and Dragonby offer examples of Iron Age settlements searching for their identity after the conquest by Rome. Carlisle exemplifies a frontier settlement with an intimate relationship with the Roman military and a cosmopolitan character. Wanborough is an example of a “new” town that originated after Roman conquest that was between a rural Celtic and larger imperial worlds. Together this heterogeneous group shows the complexity of economic and social forces in the choice of architecture. All four were affected by a type of social and economic conditioning that shaped the identities of the inhabitants and formed a type of civic identity. As each settlement changed to adjust to the new realities that Rome imposed, people (as individuals and collectively as communities) altered their behaviors and their identities in a type of operant conditioning (see Chapter 2). Each adapted based on the outcomes within the environment they “operated” as they sought either to gain positive outcomes or desired to avoid negative ones. The forces which formed their environment may have been consciously imposed by imperial policy or elite patronage or unintended impersonal economic forces resulting from the creation of a new economic landscape. It is likely that the more impersonal economic forces had the largest influence on the development of these sites. Through this process the value and meanings of Roman and indigenous identities changed. In short, the progression of change and the continual renegotiation of identity was a “bottom-up” activity.

III. Case Studies

A. Iron Age Settlements and the Search for Identity

i) Baldock

Baldock was located in modern day Herfordshire in a prime location for human settlement as it was located by several springs and an Iron Age communication route (Burnham and Wacher 1990, 282). There is evidence of Neolithic and Bronze Age sites, but the settlement's origins date from the mid-first century BC (Stead and Rigby, 1986, 83-4). Italian imports and pre-Roman coins indicate that the Iron Age settlement appears to have been relatively wealthy (Stead and Rigby 1986, 127; Burleigh 1982, 8-9). However, no buildings have been found that pre-date the Roman era, which limits our understanding of pre-conquest Baldock (Burnham and Wacher 1990, 282).



Map 4.1: Baldock, from Stead and Rigby (1986). Sites A-K excavated 1968-1972; Site L (Brewery Field) excavated 1968; M (Romano-Celtic temple) seen on aerial photographs; N-S Roman burials and cemeteries; T (South Road and Convent site)

The Roman era began as enigmatically as the late Iron Age period. There is no evidence of a military presence, but in the later first-century new roads were laid out. The major Roman

road skirted the settlement, and it is not clear whether or not this was related to a Roman influence (Burnham and Wachter 1990, 282; 283-4; Stead and Rigby 1986, 85). Despite a problematic lack of buildings, during the first century under Roman rule there appears to have been a continuation of native architectural tradition. Two buildings were round houses, a common Iron Age architectural style; one at Site A and at least one and possibly two at Site B (Stead and Rigby 1986 38-39; Hingley 1989, 31).

The first hundred years of the Roman period also shows both great economic vitality as well as severe hardship. The wealthiest burials date from the Flavian Era but the only indication of industry seems like a rather small-scale craft industry (Frere 1989; Stead and Rigby 1986, 86, 122-3, 143). Small quarrying sites were found at Sites A and B but these were small not likely to be commercial in nature (Stead and Rigby 1986, 47-50). Horticulture is well attested to as well, and a slaughter of a sheep herd was found dating to around AD 60. The cause of this is unclear as signs of butchery indicate they were consumed rather than slaughtered because of disease. It is possible that the cause was a religious festival or troop movements possibly associated in the Boudiccan Revolt (Stead and Rigby 1986, 86).

It appears that the early second-century was a period of general decline in the settlement. The number of buildings in the excavated areas fell dramatically (see Figure 4.1). Artifact finds give little evidence for other economic production. The amount and variety of pottery was also dramatically reduced, including British and continental imports and samian ware (See Figures 4.6 and 4.7). However, starting around AD 70 the pottery style changed dramatically with more hand-made wares and less wheel thrown wares present (Stead and Rigby 1986, 85). Ditches were allowed to silt (Stead and Rigby 1986, 85). There was also a corresponding decline in the number of votive artifacts (see Figure 4.8) and brooches (see Figure 4.9) found at the settlement.

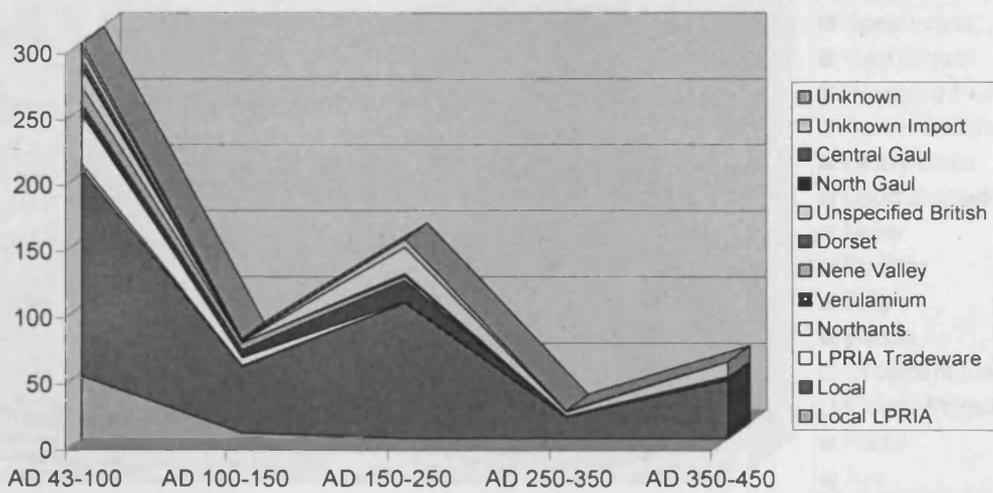


Fig. 4.6: Stratified pottery from Baldock

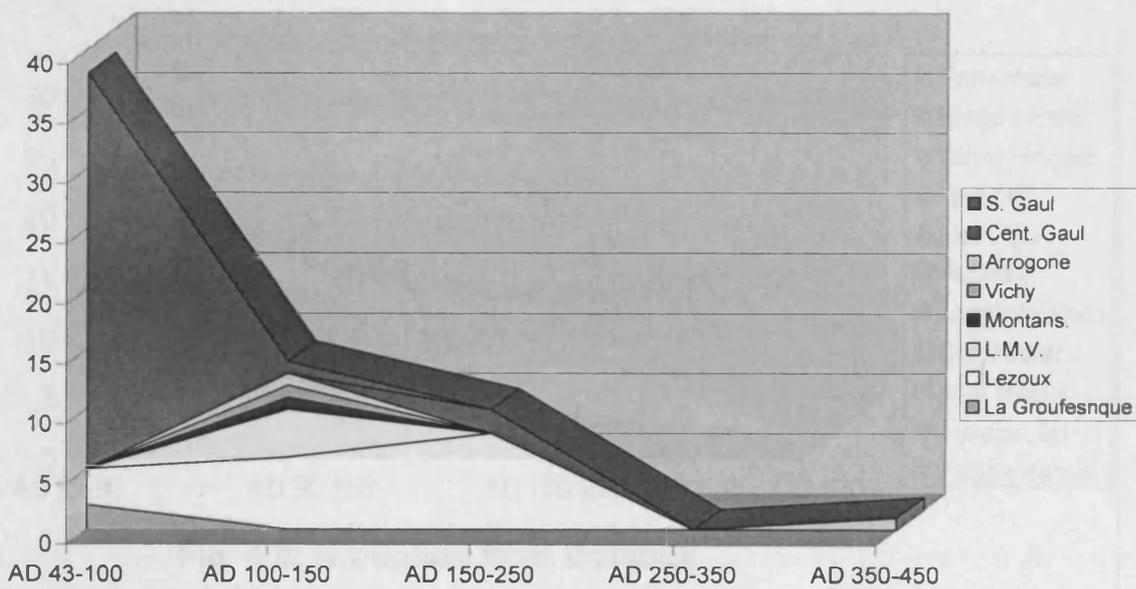
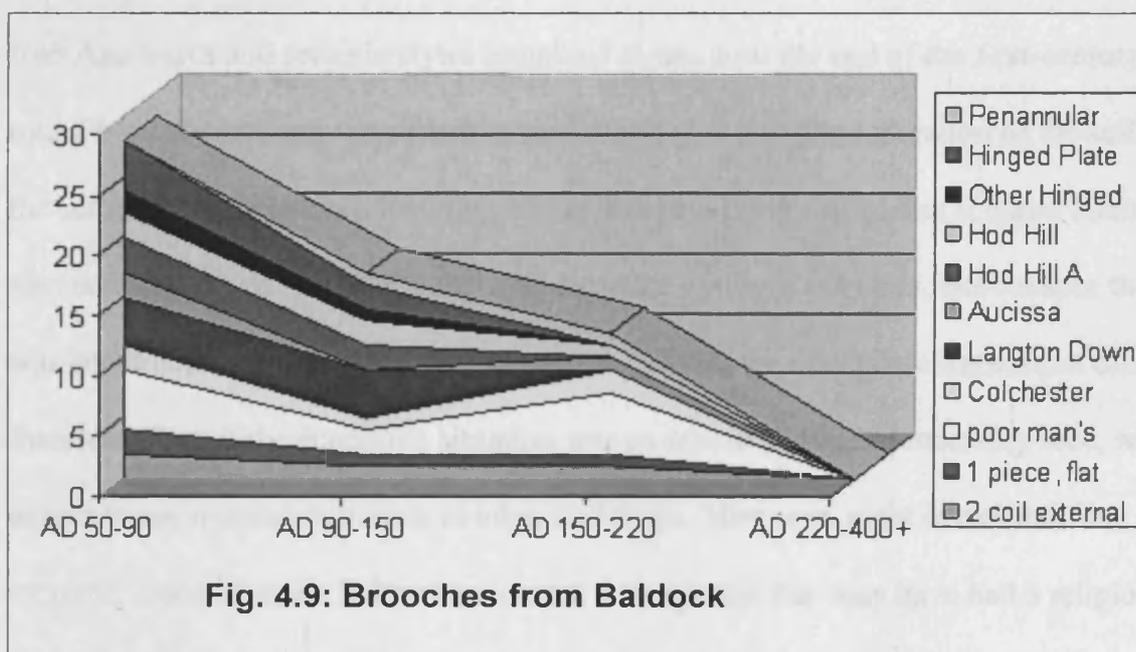
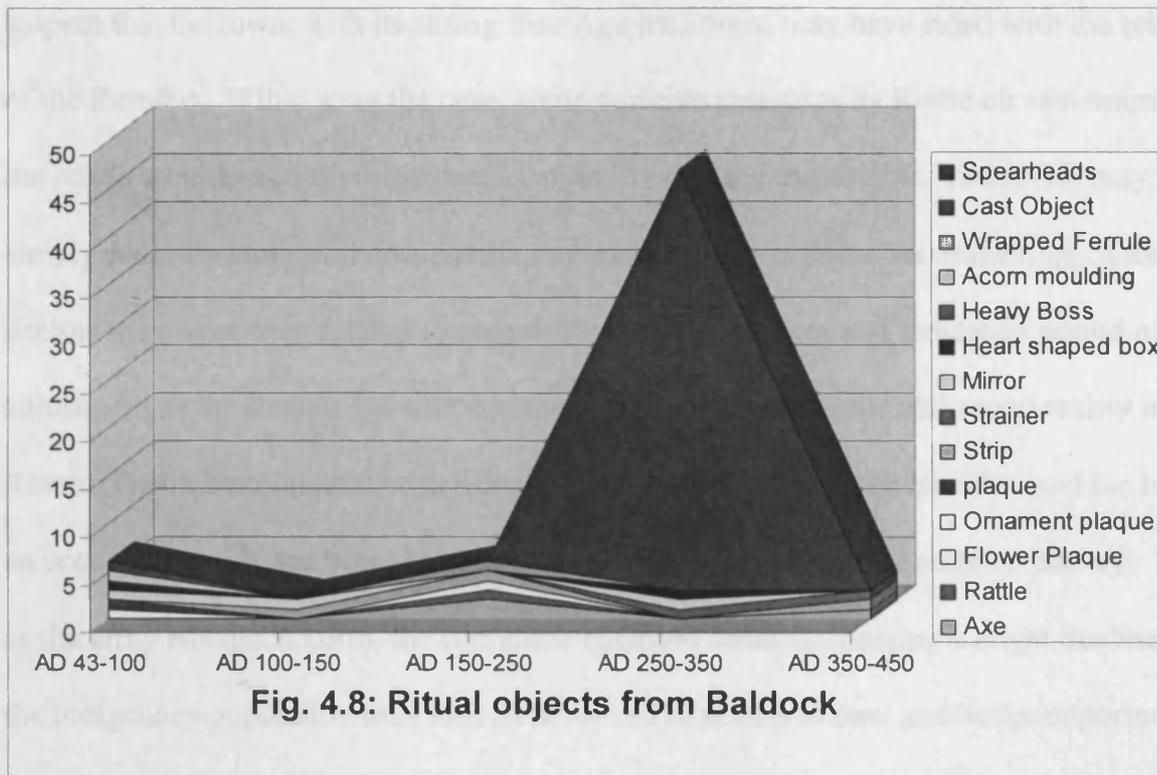


Fig. 4.7: Samain Ware from Baldock



Overall, in the first-century of the Roman period we see prosperity after the initial Roman conquest followed by economic decline. If the slaughter of the sheep herd was in fact due to the Bodiccan Revolt (see above), Baldock's role is uncertain. It is not unreasonable to

suspect that the town, with its strong Iron Age traditions, may have sided with the rebels instead of the Romans. If that were the case, some punitive measures by Rome on settlements loyal to the rebels would naturally be expected, possibly causing the decline. The revolt may have simply caused widespread devastation in the region that required recovery time. Lastly, the decline may have been related to completely unrelated forces and indicate a period of adjustment as the Britons became accustomed to a new economic and social reality imposed by Rome. The initial conquest with troops in the southern part of the island would have produced an economic boom and brought in new imported goods such as the attested pottery. However, as the army advanced north, the economic situation changed, causing a slight decline. Some of the indigenous population may also have moved in search of new and better opportunities elsewhere.

Regardless, indigenous traditions remained strong. Pottery assemblages indicate that Iron Age wares and ceramic styles remained in use until the end of the first-century, and the round houses, obviously important to this study, give a strong indication of the self-identity of the settlement (see below). Building VII at Site B is intriguing in that it was a circular hut that also contained eight infant burials. The meaning of this is not clear, but because the building was constructed during a period of economic decline, we may postulate several different theories. First, if the economic situation was so severe that infant mortality rose, we might expect to see more such burials in other buildings. However, eight in one building seems extreme. Second, since Baldock is located near springs that may have had a religious connotation, the building may have had a religious function similar to the temples at Springhead where votive infant burials were found in abundance (Harker 1980, 288). A third hypothesis would be that this was a continuation of Iron Age traditions or perhaps a small local “nativistic” revival like the one postulated by Scott (1989, 1990) that occurred in fourth-century villas. There seem some strong parallels with Scott’s hypothesis. She described the revival in

foundation burials, possibly even involving infanticide, occurring at a time when there was great economic and social stress on the society in Roman Britain as the empire struggled with severe systemic and external problems (Scott 1990, 120). Since Baldock, by many different measures, was suffering an economic decline in the early second-century, it is not unreasonable to expect some of its inhabitants to turn to traditional ways to help them. If this is correct, it would be indicative of the saliency of pre-Roman identities into the second-century.

Starting in the mid-second century, the town saw an economic recovery and a shift in personal and civic identity. Whatever the cause of the economic decline of the early second-century, the rebound was substantial. The number of buildings increased and the character of them changed. Indigenous traditions continued with at least one round house, but the other buildings took on new and more complex characteristics. At mid-century, half of the buildings were constructed in stone, and by the later third and early fourth-century stone buildings made up two-thirds of the settlement. Pottery from around Britain and the continent increased, though “local wares” still remained the dominant form for the period (see Figure 4.5). Yet it should be noted that the pottery was less diverse than before the decline of the early second-century. The occurrence of Samian ware continued a general decline, to negligible amounts by the mid-third century (see Figure 4.7), a trend common across Britain (Millett 1990, 160, 166). The pottery not only shows the changing economics of the settlement but also indicates that the self-identity of the town’s inhabitants was also changing.

The town also seems to have found a strong identity with the god Mars or at least a Romano-Celtic manifestation of him. Aerial photographs indicate at least one Romano-Celtic temple (Site M) at Baldock, and associated finds indicate a later second-century origin (Stead and Rigby 1986, 86). The votive objects found had a distinctly martial flavor including 44 third-century spearheads. An intaglio at the site also bears a likeness of the god (Stead and Rigby 1986, 190). A partial pipe-clay figurine of Venus and a larger than usual clay theater

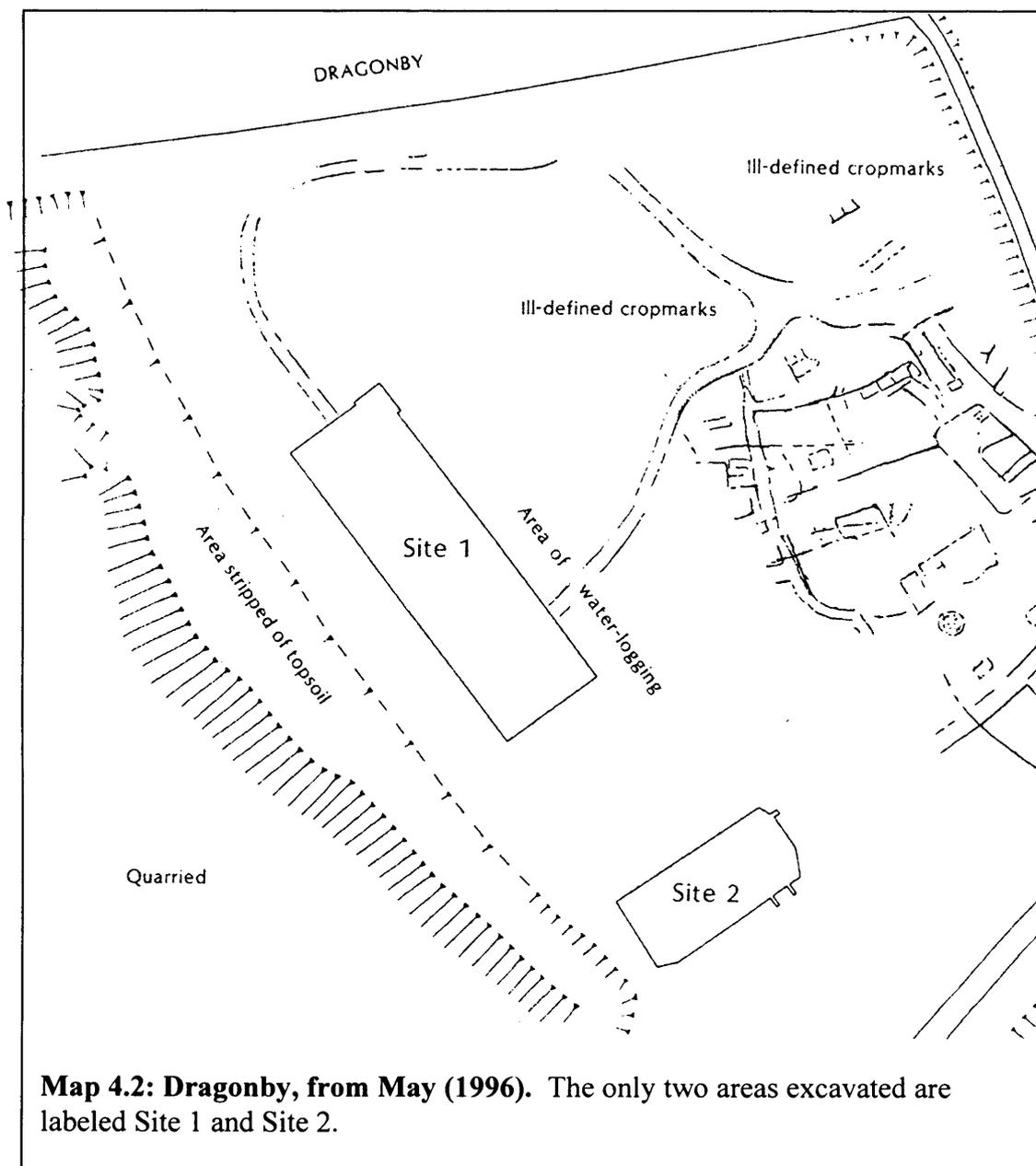
mask, though enigmatic, further indicate toleration of or least a reconciliation with classical culture (Stead and Rigby 1986, 167-9). A recent discovery of a gold and silver hoard revealed a previously unknown goddess *Senua* interpreted with the Roman Minvera (Jackson 2003, 7). Taken with the decline in the variety and use of brooches, Baldock's character and identity was changing. No longer were there strong Iron Age traditions displayed as they had been. We should generalize only with caution on how they identified themselves based on the individual choices they made. However, these choices compounded each other, and the settlements took on a distinctly different appearance which in turn would undoubtedly have affected how the inhabitants viewed the settlement, and in turn their neighbors and themselves.

Baldock was always a town in transition, and starting in the fourth-century, a decline took place that led to the abandonment of the town. Sites A and B were all but abandoned. Some wells in these areas were filled with unceremonious human burials, and wildlife became trapped in the unused well (Stead and Rigby 1986, 86-7). The ultimate decline was, however, not that straightforward. It was during the fourth-century that two substantial masonry buildings on Site A and G, the earlier with painted wall plaster, also appeared (Stead and Rigby 1986, 34-6, 42, 86-7). However, the site was abandoned by the fifth century and only reoccupied in the Middle Ages by the Knights Templar.

ii) Dragonby

Dragonby, Lincolnshire, shows similar but also different influences. Dragonby was located on a sharp westward bend in the Jurassic Ridge. Our knowledge of the settlement is based on two areas excavated on the western edge of the settlement (see Map 4.2). A well-established Iron Age settlement pre-dated the Roman settlement with 11 ceramic horizons before the definitive Roman era (May 1996, 624). The economic life of the Iron Age settlement centered on the growing use of agriculture which radically altered the landscape in the fourth-

century BC (May 1996, 627). The settlement may also have had metal working, textile production, and possibly a small scale pottery industry (May 1996, 422; 637; 330-7). Imports were modest but indicate connections to the continent (May 1996, 629). Within the site there was at least one area that exhibited a higher quality and quantity of Iron Age artifacts suggesting status differentiation (May 1996, 68-9). No defenses, either Iron Age or Roman, have been found creating some debate as to whether it should be considered an *oppidum* (Millett 1990, 25; May 1996, 630-1).

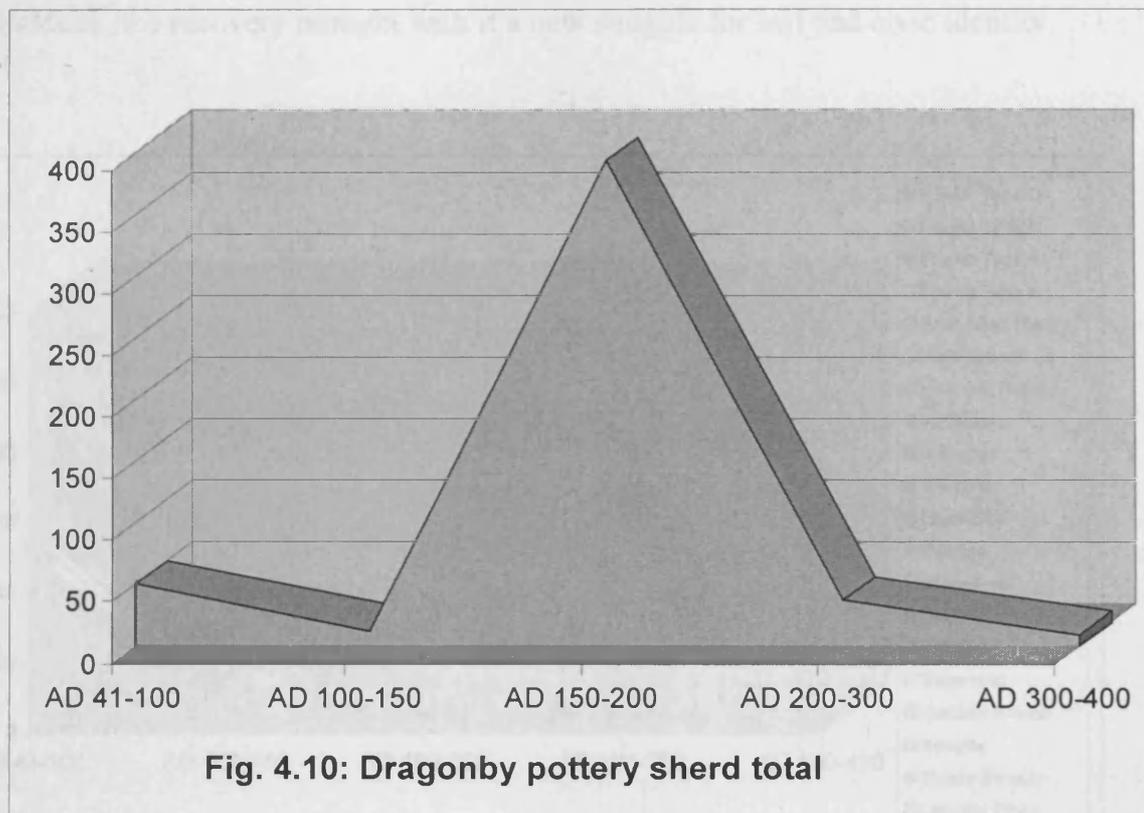


Map 4.2: Dragonby, from May (1996). The only two areas excavated are labeled Site 1 and Site 2.

Exactly how and when the Romans established direct or indirect control over Dragonby is unclear. A number of spearheads and two ballista bolts found just outside of the settlement provides very slight circumstantial evidence for some military action against the town (May 1996, 630; 637). If indeed the Romans were forced to take action against Dragonby, it could explain the economic decline visible in the material record in the later first-century and early second centuries (see below). Regardless of the actual circumstances, the advent of the Roman period seemingly brought a period of great distress on the settlement as it struggled to find its place in the new Roman reality.

Shortly after the establishment of Roman rule in the region, the character of Dragonby underwent a transformation. Occupation became much less intensive as reflected in both features and artifacts. Part of the site appears to have been all but abandoned until the third century (May 1996, 68-9). In other places, even drips of Iron Age round houses began to silt-up, indicating possible abandonment of the structures, and the amount of pottery declined dramatically (May 1996, 631). Beetle remains further reinforce evidence of population decline (May 1996, 165-171). This decline continued into the second-century as indicated by structural evidence, coin loss (Figures 4.2 and 4.5) and pottery evidence (Figure 4.10). The variety of pottery also changed with the introduction of a few Romano-British wares, though most of the pottery remained indigenous in style. This contrasts with nearby Lincoln which had almost completely abandoned Iron Age styles by that time in favor of Romano-British fashions (May 1996, 515). During the Claudio-Neronian period, samian wares were present but suddenly declined in the Flavian period and continue to be virtually absent until the Antonine period (May 1996, 517). By all accounts, artifacts indicate a mostly subsistence existence by the people of Dragonby that lasted for at least three decades (May 1996, 633). However, curiously enough, a pottery kiln entered into production during this time, though none of its

wares found their way into the town itself. This kiln may have been producing wares exclusively for the military market, though the production does not appear to have had an immediate economic impact on the settlement (May 1996, 575).



Like Baldock, the post-conquest period brought economic and social distress, possibly reinforcing Iron Age traditions and identities. Of the ten excavated structures from the mid-first to the mid-second century, fully half (Round Gullies 1-5) were round houses in the Iron Age tradition (May 1996, 101-103). One of the rectilinear buildings (Building 2), despite being in a more “Romanized” fashion, had foundation burials of two infants and a small piglet (May 1996, 80-1). There was a dramatic decline in the number of brooches in the second century (see Figure 4.11). The variety of brooches also declined from the immediate post conquest period and all but disappeared by third-century. All this would seem to indicate that either there was a general population decline or that the Iron Age style of dress was waning and a Romanized

style becoming more common. In all, in the early phase of the Roman era, Dragonby was faced with an economic down turn and struggled with its own identity. Indigenous traditions continued to figure prominently in the personal and civic perceptions of the town. However, like Baldock, the recovery brought with it a new struggle for self and civic identity.

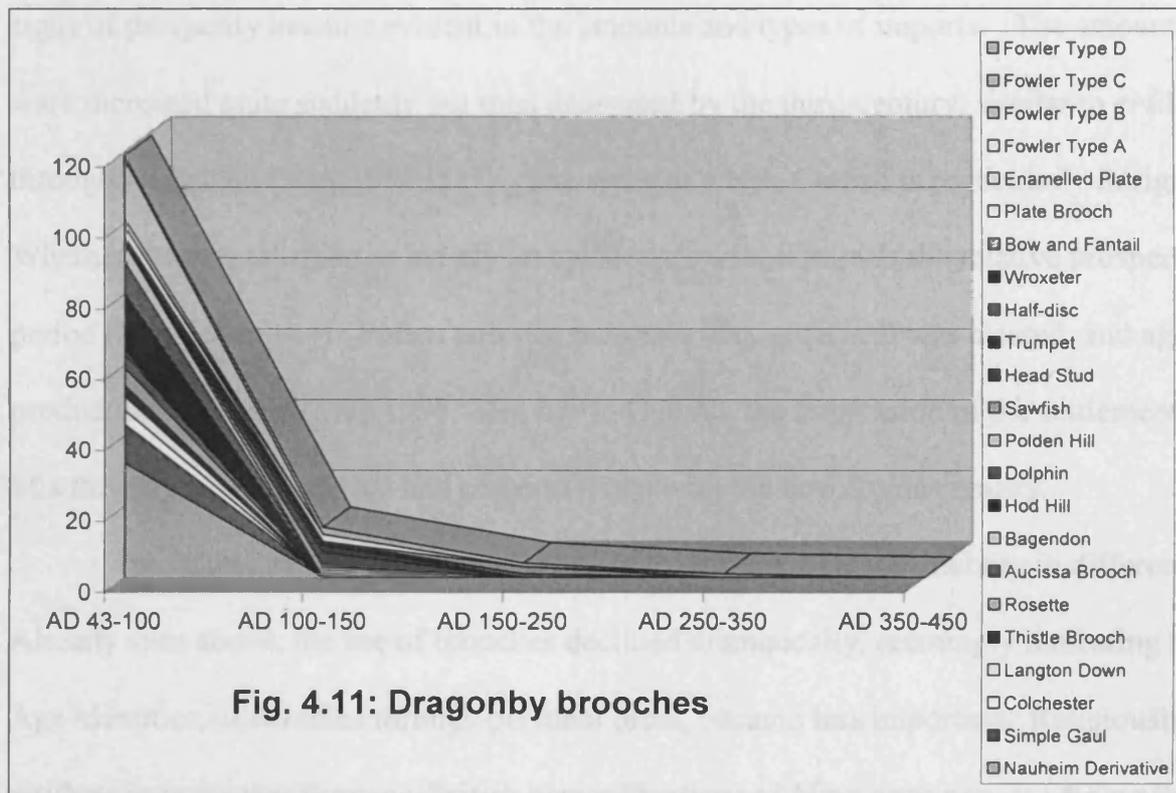


Fig. 4.11: Dragonby brooches

Starting in the mid-second century, the fortunes of Dragonby began to turn around. There was renewed activity with a new property alignment on part of the site, however the buildings built over the old round houses were more humble. During this phase, the choice of architecture was stone or at least stone-founded structures (see Figure 4.3). That is not to say that Iron Age traditions were completely absent. Building 1 had a significant amount of Iron Age pottery but very few Romano-British examples (May 1996, 77-80). Building 2 was rectilinear with the corners substantially rounded (May 1996, 80-83), a possible hybridization of styles.

The economic life of the town changed dramatically. Three more pottery kilns entered production, apparently producing strictly military wares (May 1996, 576). Buildings 5, 6, and 8 may also have had economic activity (May 1996, 518). A fair amount of metal working tools, conspicuously absent from earlier phases, is datable to this period as well (May 1996, 293). The town appears to have begun to fill an “industrial” niche in the Roman-British economy and signs of prosperity become evident in the amounts and types of imports. The amount of samian ware increased quite suddenly but then decreased by the third-century, similar to civilian sites throughout Britain (May 1996, 517). The spine of a Nile Catfish is particularly intriguing. Whether it was a talisman or simply an epicurean curio, it reveals the relative prosperity of the period (May 1996, 164). Pollen analysis indicates that more land was cleared, and agricultural production increased (May 1996, 210; 627). Overall, the impression of the settlement was one of a thriving small town that had come to terms with the new Roman reality.

The inhabitants of the town also began to express their self-identity in different ways. Already seen above, the use of brooches declined dramatically, seemingly indicating that Iron Age identities, as revealed through personal dress, became less important. Religiously a few artifacts indicate that Romano-British personifications of Mars were popular during the height of the Roman era. Two figurines, one of Mars Gradius and the other Mars Ultor, were found as were two miniature votive shields (May 1996, 264-5; 270-1). These interpretations of classical deities would also seem to indicate that some level of reconciliation with classical culture was occurring.

The end of Roman Dragonby, like that of Baldock, is far from understood. The number of buildings declined and most of those that remained were built in the early fourth-century or before. The only new construction of a later date was a potential timber building (May 1996, 114). The buildings show clear signs that their usage had changed (May 1996, 127). Pollen analysis indicates that agricultural production dropped with weeds and brush taking over the

cleared land in the late second and third centuries. By the fifth century, the site was all but abandoned.

iii) Baldock and Dragonby Compared

Taken together, Baldock and Dragonby show how at least some Iron Age settlements struggled with their identity in the post conquest period. The second-century decline suffered by both settlements is enigmatic at best. While there is some slight evidence for possible military action against them that surely would have been followed by punitive imperial measures, the real answers are likely more mundane. As the Roman presence redrew the political and economic landscape of the island, existing settlements like Baldock and Dragonby would surely have been affected. With the new realities brought by Rome, we see shifting population. New settlements, such as the *vici*, *civitas* capitals, or even small towns such as Ilchester or Wanborough (discussed below) arose for largely economic or administrative reasons. The people inhabiting them came from somewhere, and it would seem that some may in fact have come from existing Iron Age settlements such as these. In the period of adjusting to the new economy and imperial administration, both pull and push factors would lead to a population shift. The introduced monetary economy eventually provided new opportunities in larger towns and perhaps even some of the smaller “new” towns, effectively pulling population away from existing settlements. Economic distress caused by the Romans putting new demands on production forced many to look for better opportunities elsewhere and pushed some of the population out of the existing settlements. Thus, while there was some homogenization of identities that included a significant amount of Roman elements, the degree to which they were adopted depended upon integration into the Roman economic system. All of these would be classical factors in operant conditioning.

Ultimately, as the economy developed and the people in settlements like Baldock and Dragonby became accustomed to these realities, they found their place in the new economies and adjusted their identities accordingly. It was only after Baldock discovered its place as a religious center and Dragonby expanded its production role that the prosperity of the settlements recovered. It was with this recovery that we see a change in the identity of the inhabitants. The established Iron Age patterns remained strong from the conquest through the post-conquest decline at both settlements. Yet when the recovery materialized, the acceptance of Roman-style goods and techniques became clear. In terms of architecture, only after the economic recovery occurred were most inhabitants able to construct buildings in stone. This corresponds with the decline of many Iron Age symbols of identity. The use of brooches and Iron Age pottery styles waned and the inhabitants were willing to use more Roman styles, including architecture. It appears, therefore, that the strengths and meaning of a Roman identity increased as the settlements became integrated into the Romano-British economy.

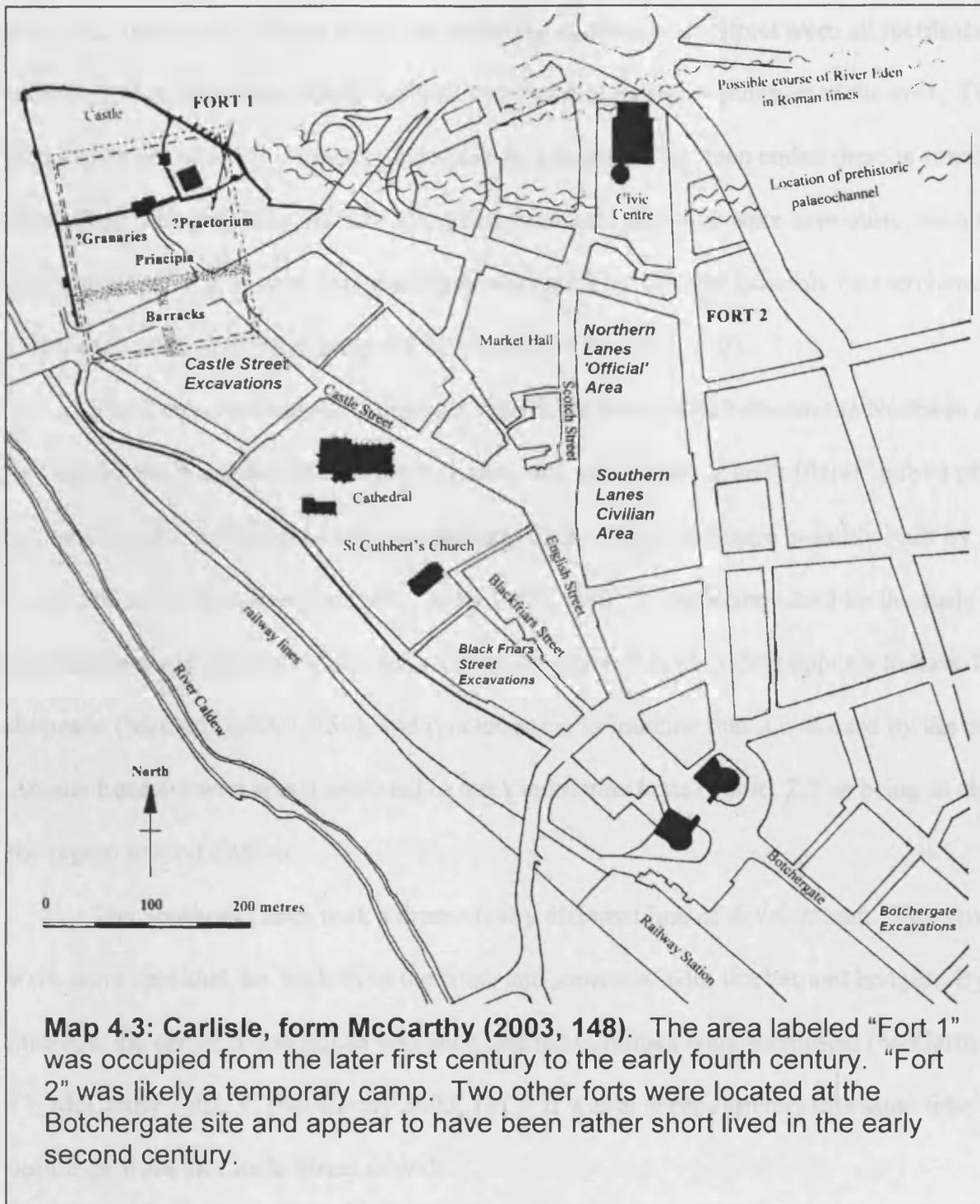
B. Carlisle: A Cosmopolitan Small Town on the Frontier

Our knowledge of the Roman town of Carlisle has increased dramatically in recent years. In fact, in terms of this study, it provides an excellent case study of both intra-site complexity as well as a point of comparison with other sites. Roman Carlisle was located between the Rivers Caldew and Petteril where they enter the River Eden. There is some evidence of Bronze and Iron Age activity but no buildings have been found, emphasizing our limited knowledge of the pre-Roman period. The Roman name of Carlisle, *Luguvalium*, translates as “strong in the god of Lug,” a pan-Celtic god which may also indicate that the area was of some importance to the pre-Conquest inhabitants (McCarthy 2003, 146; McCarthy 2002, 56).

The Roman occupation began around AD 72 when the governor Q. Petillius Cerialis invaded the area, ostensibly against a Brigantian uprising lead by Venutius (McCarthy 2002, 57). The result, in relation to the region, amounted to almost a migration of a vast number of Roman troops, animals, and camp followers profoundly transforming the local economy (*Ibid.*). A series of forts were constructed at Carlisle, with a more or less permanent fort located at Annetwell Street on a commanding rise over the junction of the Rivers Caldew and Eden (McCarthy 2000, 56). Almost immediately after conquest, the economic appeal of the Roman presence began to attract people. Excavations at Old Grapes Lane found an early Roman period round house, an Iron Age architectural tradition (McCarthy 2000, 55). The economic power of the garrison spurred the development of a large *vicus* that grew rapidly, perhaps reaching over 80 acres (McCarthy 2003, 147). At exactly what point this *vicus* should be considered a town is a matter of debate, though Burnham and Wachter (1990, 54) suggest the post-Hadrianic era. Between the conquest and the mid-second century, Carlisle developed a complex patchwork of zones that shows how varied settlements could be. However, the heterogeneity of the settlement was part of the character that determined both individual and civic identity.

Table 4.4: Building Activity in Early Carlisle, adapted from McCarthy (2000, 58) and Zant and Giecco (1999).

DATE	ANNETWELL STREET	NORTH LANES	SOUTH LANES	CASTLE STREET	BLACKFRIARS STREET	BOTCHERGATE
AD 70s	Fort Built/ modifications		Round House		First Buildings	First Buildings
Mid 80s	Demolitions and Reconstruction	Road Laid out "Official" zone	Road laid out Large Agriculture type property boundaries with rectilinear buildings	First buildings	Dense arrangement of buildings	Reorganized boundaries and road laid out
Late 80s					New Buildings	Some abandonment and pit burials
90s	Modifications	Large residence built		Modifications		
AD 100-110	Entire fort demolished and new fort constructed			Brief abandonment and new layout	Abandonment	Temporary Fort
110-130ish					New Buildings	Civilian reoccupation
130s-140s		Abandonment	Abandonment	Unclear	Abandonment	Rebuilding



Map 4.3: Carlisle, form McCarthy (2003, 148). The area labeled “Fort 1” was occupied from the later first century to the early fourth century. “Fort 2” was likely a temporary camp. Two other forts were located at the Botchergate site and appear to have been rather short lived in the early second century.

The Blackfriars Street excavations revealed a densely packed series of buildings with gabled ends that faced the street during the early years of the settlement, indicating that street frontage was at a premium. The buildings were continually modified and changed in use before destruction (McCarthy 1991, 359; McCarthy 2003, 149). Compared to the round house at

southern civilian Old Grapes Lane, the buildings at Blackfriars Street were all rectilinear, indicating that inhabitants identified less with the indigenous population of the area. The buildings were possibly domestic, but since they appear to be open ended there is some question about that. The generally scarcity of artifacts indicates that they were kept quite clean, and it is also possible that at least at one point they were used for storage, possibly by merchants (McCarthy 1990, 359; McCarthy 2002, 75; McCarthy 2003, 147).

The Lanes excavations revealed a significant dichotomy between the Northern Lanes and the Southern Lanes. The Northern Lanes took on an aura of an “official” public place within the town including a large and sophisticated wooden structure possibly built by military engineers for civilian functions (McCarthy 2003, 150). It was demolished by the early AD 90s and replaced with another elaborate wooden structure. This building appears to have been domestic (McCarthy 2003, 150), and it is tempting to imagine that it was used by the centurion Annus Equester who was mentioned in the Vindolanda texts (Tablet 22) as being in charge of the region around Carlisle.

The Southern Lanes took a dramatically different line of development. The properties were more spacious, set back from the road, and separated with ditches and hedges. By the mid-80s, the earlier round house was gone and the buildings were rectilinear (McCarthy 2000, 51; McCarthy 2002, 77; McCarthy 2003, 151). It was at approximately this same time that buildings arose on Castle Street as well.

At Botchergate, a series of buildings were constructed on what possibly could have been an organized layout scheme over a series of previous forts from the early second century. The buildings were used intensively and modified more than once. Some of the buildings may have had industrial uses (Zant and Giocco 1999, 307; McCarthy 2002, 78; McCarthy 2003, 15). Similar to Blackfriars Street, this appears to have been an economic sector of the town, while

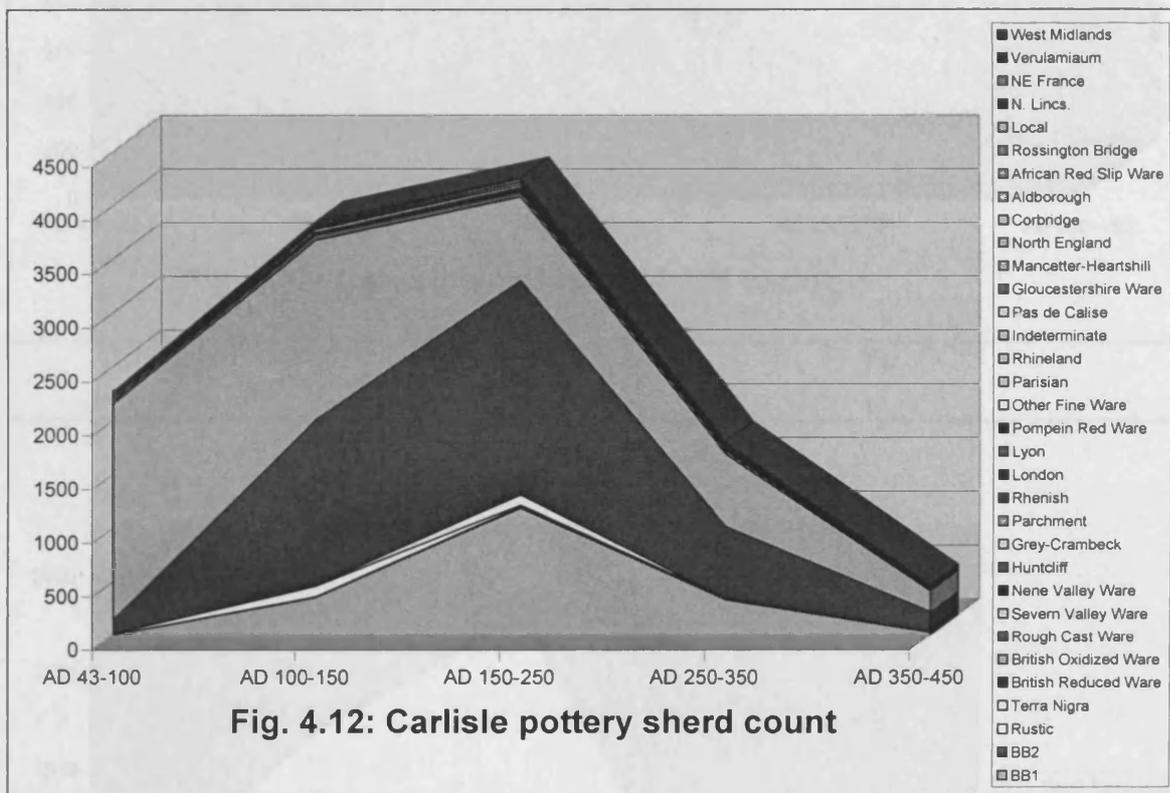
the Southern Lanes area remained agricultural in nature. These sites bring to light the complex nature of the socio-economic make-up of the early town.

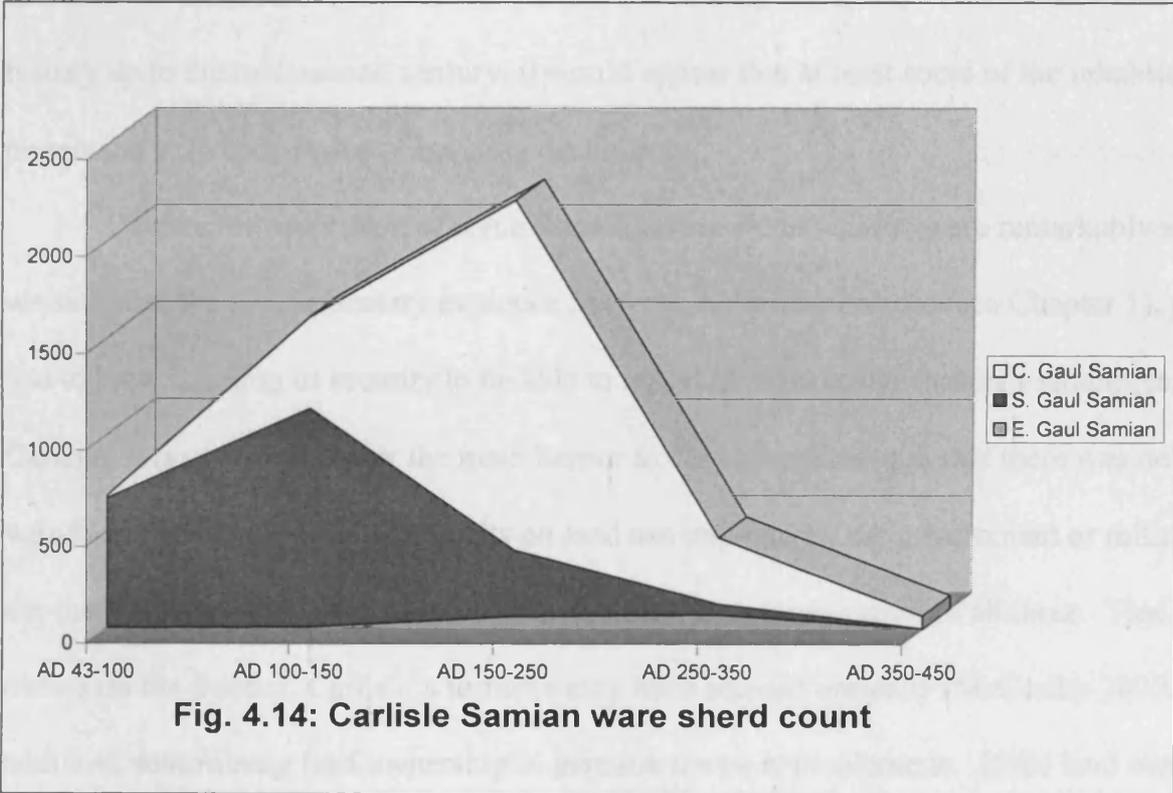
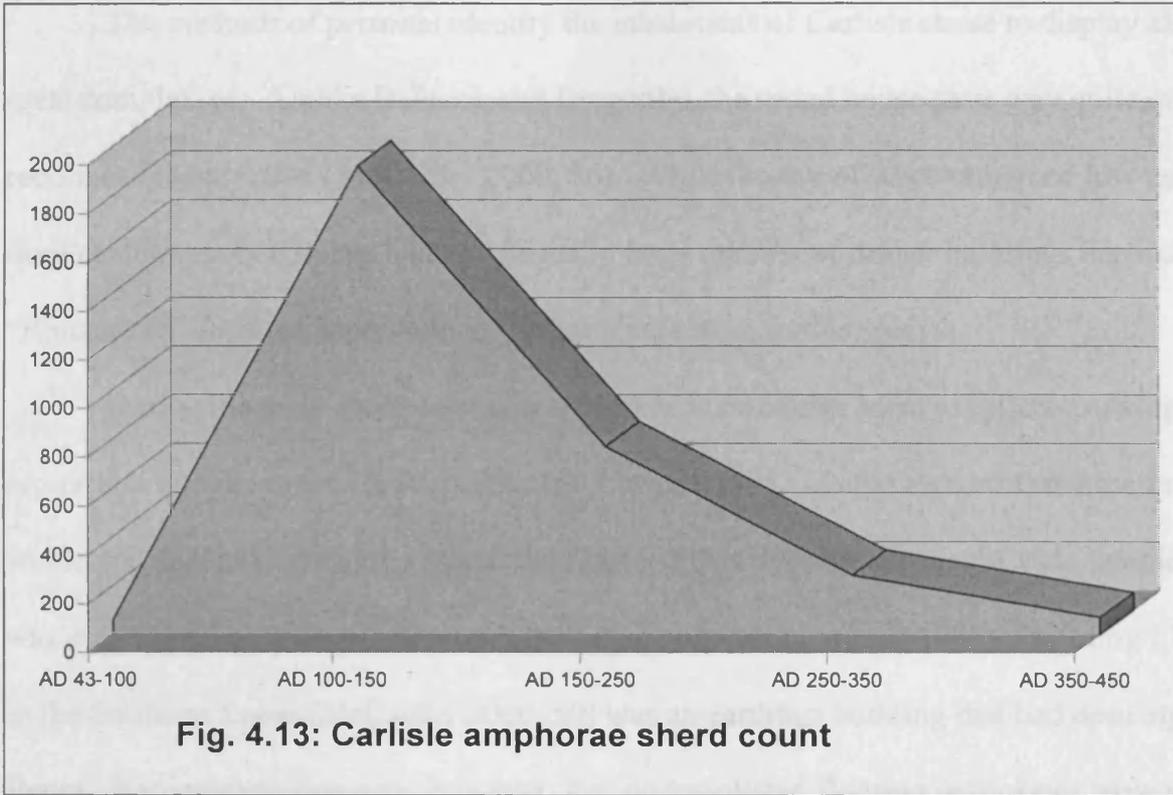
The primary economic activity undoubtedly was supplying the garrison of the fort. The theoretical strength of the garrison would be about 1500 troops between the fort at Annetwell Street and the Stanwix garrison just across the Eden (McCarthy 2003, 147). While there is substantial evidence for small industries in the early period, such as bronze working (McCarthy 2003, 165-9), leather working (McCarthy 1983), and wood working (McCarthy 2000, 151), it is almost certain that these were tied closely to the official demands levied by the forts or for consumption by the soldiers.

There is no evidence of large scale pottery production in the town. However, the pottery, like the building sequences at each site, shows a tremendous amount of heterogeneity. In the Lanes area, most of the early samian ware dated to around AD 85, and like the other sites there was a dramatic decline in the early second-century (McCarthy 1990, 211; Hird and Brooks, unpublished). The Blackfriars Street area was kept remarkably clear of pottery and other artifacts, though the few samian sherds found were Trajanic. The *mortaria* were remarkable for northern England in that there was an unusually high number of examples from Gaul and Germany and suggestive of a military supply contract (Hartley 1990, 239; Willis 1997; Willis 1998, 87; Willis 2004, 6.6.6, 7.2.2, 13.1.1). If the buildings were used for storage by traders as McCarthy (2003, 150-2) has postulated, this would seem to support the idea that those who used the buildings had access to distant markets. Looking at the major sites as a whole, the picture seen is a diverse town on the rise (see Figures 4.12 to 4.14; data from McCarthy 1990, 197-237; McCarthy 2000, 124-43; Taylor 1991, 344-69; Hird and Brooks, unpublished).

It is interesting to note that despite the presence of numerous types of pottery, only three dominate: British oxidized wares, British reduced wares, and black burnished wares. The

presence of such a large number of British wares at Carlisle, particularly in comparison with civilian sites, seems to reinforce the idea of a military supply network that may have had a major role in the development of local production. What is also interesting when comparing Figs. 4.12-4.14 is that all pottery sherds seem to peak in the second century. This appears to be indicative of the stability of the garrison after the abortive attempts to occupy Scotland in the mid-second century.





The methods of personal identity the inhabitants of Carlisle chose to display also reveal great complexity. Unlike Baldock and Dragonby, the round house gave way quite quickly to rectilinear construction (McCarthy 2000, 56). While the use of stone remained low until the third century, early Carlisle had an unusually large number of timber buildings decorated with “Romanized” features, more than any other single town in this study.

During the early second century a number of buildings seem to reflect growing aspirations and identity with Roman tastes. Caruana (1983) found an earthfast structure with wattle and daub walls covered in painted plaster. This possible classical-Celtic temple hybrid was constructed entirely out of wood, including columns (Caruana 1983). Building LEL A 663 in the Southern Lanes (McCarthy 2000, 59) was an earthfast building that had *opus signinum* floors. It is interesting to note, however, that no tessellated flooring or mosaics have yet been found in the entire history of Roman Carlisle (McCarthy 2002, 89). That aside, in the early history up to the mid-second century, it would appear that at least some of the inhabitants had a pretension to Roman styles of building decoration.

Despite the adaptation of some Roman tastes, stone buildings are remarkably absent. As we saw with the supplementary evidence from the American frontier (see Chapter 1), people had to have a feeling of security to be able to invest in more costly masonry structures. In Carlisle, it is unclear whether the main barrier to choosing stone was that there was not enough wealth available to individuals, limits on land use imposed by the government or military, or if the town seemed too unstable for such investment, or a combination of all three. Tied with events on the frontier, Carlisle’s fortunes may have seemed unsteady (McCarthy 2000, 56). In addition, determining land ownership in garrison towns is problematic. If the land was owned or heavily administered by the military, the personal investment might either be explicitly limited or people might have been less willing to make substantial improvement. This

possibility is examined more closely at Catterick and also has continental comparisons (see Chapter 5; Poulter 1987, 389-90).

The religion of early Carlisle shows a mixing of the Iron Age traditions and new Roman ideas. Like Baldock and Dragonby, Carlisle had at least one example of an ox skull foundation burial in its early history (McCarthy 1991, 80-1). Hogg (1964) described one of the few small stone buildings in Carlisle's early history as an unknown shrine. Caruana (1983, 77-81) interpreted a large wooden building as a temple that was stylistically a cross between a Roman and Celtic, though Burnham and Wachter (1990, 55) disagree and postulate that it was more likely a forum or a market. We should also not forget that the Roman name for Carlisle, *Lugavalium*, makes direct reference to the Celtic god Lug (McCarthy 2003, 146).

The identity of the inhabitants, therefore, seems to have been one of a cosmopolitan population in flux over time. Strong Iron Age traditions remained, but it should be remembered that presence of a large military garrison, itself relatively cosmopolitan, would place a type of imposed identity on the people. McCarthy (2000, 56) envisions a town that was complex in its ethnic composition including foreign and perhaps local traders; a strong native influence recently drawn to the town by new opportunities; discharged veterans and their families; active duty enlisted men and officers and their families; the typical retinue of camp followers; and slaves, all inhabiting a relatively small area and interacting with each other. In the presence of such diversity, a person's own identity, both self-created and imposed by the perceptions of others, must have seemed quite acute. In fact, this heterogeneous population, though arising early in Carlisle's history, must have remained fairly similar throughout its history.

The first phase of Carlisle's existence came to an end with a general but short decline in the early second-century. Unlike the declines at Baldock and Dragonby, we have a better idea of what might have caused the short-lived down turn. The movement of the garrisons forward briefly into Scotland reinforces how the fortune of Carlisle was directly tied to imperial policy.

The buildings in the Lanes area were deliberately demolished and covered with soil (McCarthy 2000, 56). Buildings at Blackfriars Street were abandoned and vacated long enough for a tree or bushes to take root and flourish (McCarthy 1990, 364). Only at Botchergate is there any indication of vitality as the buildings were remodeled (Zant and Giecco, 1999, 307).

Regrettably the Castle Street sequence is not as clear. At this time there was almost a complete hiatus in the use of samian ware as well (McCarthy 2002, 81). Almost certainly this indicates that the town was directly dependant upon the military as the settlement expanded and contracted with frontier developments.

Yet, the garrisons returned and Carlisle's fortunes rose, bringing it to the height of its prosperity. From the later second-century into the fourth, both personal and civic investment rose dramatically, giving rise to a more prosperous, stable, and perhaps even desirable community. The cosmopolitan nature of the town likely continued. The identities of the inhabitants remained diverse, though they continued to exist alongside each other. New identities were formed, particularly a wealthy elite which found new ways to exhibit their status. The town itself is generally believed to have been granted self-government sometime in the third-century, perhaps even elevated to that of a *civitas* capital, affecting civic identity.

The construction sequence reveals a greater sense of permanence. At Botchergate stone buildings were possibly laid out on an organized grid in the post-Hadrianic period, different from that of the earlier era (Zant and Giecco 1999, 307). They also include what might have been a public bakery. However, most appear domestic in nature with metalled yards (McCarthy 2002, 78). At Blackfriars Street, domestic structures were constructed on the abandoned site. One large stone building had *opus signinum* floors. Another building may have had small scale industrial activity (McCarthy 1990, 364). In the Lanes, the "official" northern zone blended with the civilian southern zone and shows evidence of continued domestic use. There were suggestions that wealth was growing and the buildings went through several rebuilding phases

(McCarthy 2000, 59). Private buildings with hypocausts have been reported by antiquarians from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (McCarthy 2003, 152). Shaw (1924, 109) reported in the 1920s the discovery of “many” stone buildings with hypocausts. At Scotch Street, a large stone building with a hypocaust also yielded a gold solidus of Valentinian II, indicating the wealth and pretension of the inhabitants (Keevil and Shotter, 1989). Another building was found covered in white plaster, something quite rare (McCarthy 2002, 83).

Other isolated finds also give a picture of a maturing town that perhaps was budding into a small city, including a number of large public buildings. A large bath complex with 11 rooms and a hypocaust was found under the modern market (Frere 1991, 235; McCarthy 2003, 159). A possible forum or market place was discovered at Abby Street and Tullie House (McCarthy 2000, 59). New roads were laid out to accommodate growth (McCarthy 2003, 152). An aqueduct was constructed on the east side of the River Caldew (Zant and Giocco 1999, 106). Near the bridgehead over the River Eden, a massive civic reclamation project shored up the low lying land and made it suitable for construction (Cleary 1989, 333; McCarthy 2002, 86). Another possible sign of community organization and planning was the apparent organized collection and disposal of waste (McCarthy 2002, 86). As a whole, Carlisle was exhibiting significant prosperity. It was around this time, perhaps as early as the mid-third-century, that the town was probably elevated to *civitas* status (Burnham and Wachter 1990, 54). Even assuming this administrative role, the character of the settlement likely remained tied first and foremost to the garrisons.

These civic investments, if that is indeed what they were, surely had a profound economic impact. Skilled workers were needed to build both these public and private projects. The diversity of crafts is difficult to determine. However, there is clear evidence that a school of sculptors was centered at Carlisle and serviced the immediate countryside, serving civilians in addition to the soldiers and discharged veterans (Phillips 1976). Some smaller industries were

also present including a small gem cutter workshop, leather workshop, and a gold smith (McCarthy 2002, 120-21). The military garrisons, present until at least the later fourth-century, continued to have their needs fulfilled, providing a firm economic base for the town. Trading continued to flourish with significant amphoras for wine, fish paste, olive and palm oil having been found (McCarthy 2002, 121). Merchants even set up a dedication slab (*RIB* 712). Many merchants likely went beyond the garrisons and profited from trans-frontier trade (Burnham and Wachter 1990, 55). The town became even more tied to the imperial bureaucracy, if indeed the town was elevated to a *civitas* capital. The function of the town within the region would shift dramatically, and its primary duty to the state would be the collection of taxes (McCarthy 2003, 153). The civic identity, therefore, likely changed not only with its inhabitants but also with the people in the region.

The personal identities of the inhabitants continued to show great diversity. The religious practices spread across classical, Celtic, and Romano-British traditions. Buildings 1775 and 1981 on Castle Street had foundation burials including one infant (McCarthy 1991). The inscriptions, for which Carlisle is particularly rich as far as small towns go, also show great diversity. The classical deities Mercury (*RIB* 952), Jupiter *Optimus Maximus* (*RIB* 896), and Hercules (*RIB* 946) were all attested to. There was also a dedication to the Emperor Alexander Augustus (*RIB* 944) indicating some identification with the Roman state. Romano-Celtic variations of Mars were also found (*Mars Belatucadrus*, *RIB* 948 and *Mars Ocelus*, *RIB* 949). Other Romano-Celtic deities represented included the Mother Goddesses (*RIB* 951) and *Genii cucullati*, *genii locii* (*RIB* 944 and 945). Not surprising with a large military garrison, *Cautes* (*RIB* 943) is attested to and thus reflects the strength of the military identity in the town (Wedlake 1958, 82-4).

Brooches, a very visible sign of self-adornment and identity, reveal an interesting pattern. In comparison to other settlements in this study, the use of brooches continued

relatively late, only beginning their decline in the late third century. However, their use increased in the later years of the settlement (see Figure 4.15). Some people in the town clearly were maintaining old traditions and therefore must have maintained some Iron Age identity. Being so close to the frontier, where old traditions may in fact have been influenced by the non-conquered people with whom trans-frontier trade occurred, some people in Carlisle may have kept closer identification with Iron Age traditions. Generally this could be interpreted as indicative of a large number of military brooches or a conservative civilian dress and possibly world view (Bohme 1985; Garbasch 1985; Wild 1985, 393-9; Wild 2004, 305; Bayley and Butcher 2004, 207). An alternative explanation could be the “re-invention” of old ways, similar to the explanation Scott (1989, 1990) postulated for the resurgence of infant burials at fourth-century villas. A third possibility regards the theory that brooches were worn largely in a time of anxiety (Jundi and Hill 1998, 126-31). If we accept that hypothesis, the relatively prolonged use of brooches may indicate that even though things seemed stable to the inhabitants, the inhabitants of Carlisle may have had a continued sense of anxiety in their frontier situation. Regardless, there appears to be some continued identity with indigenous traditions.

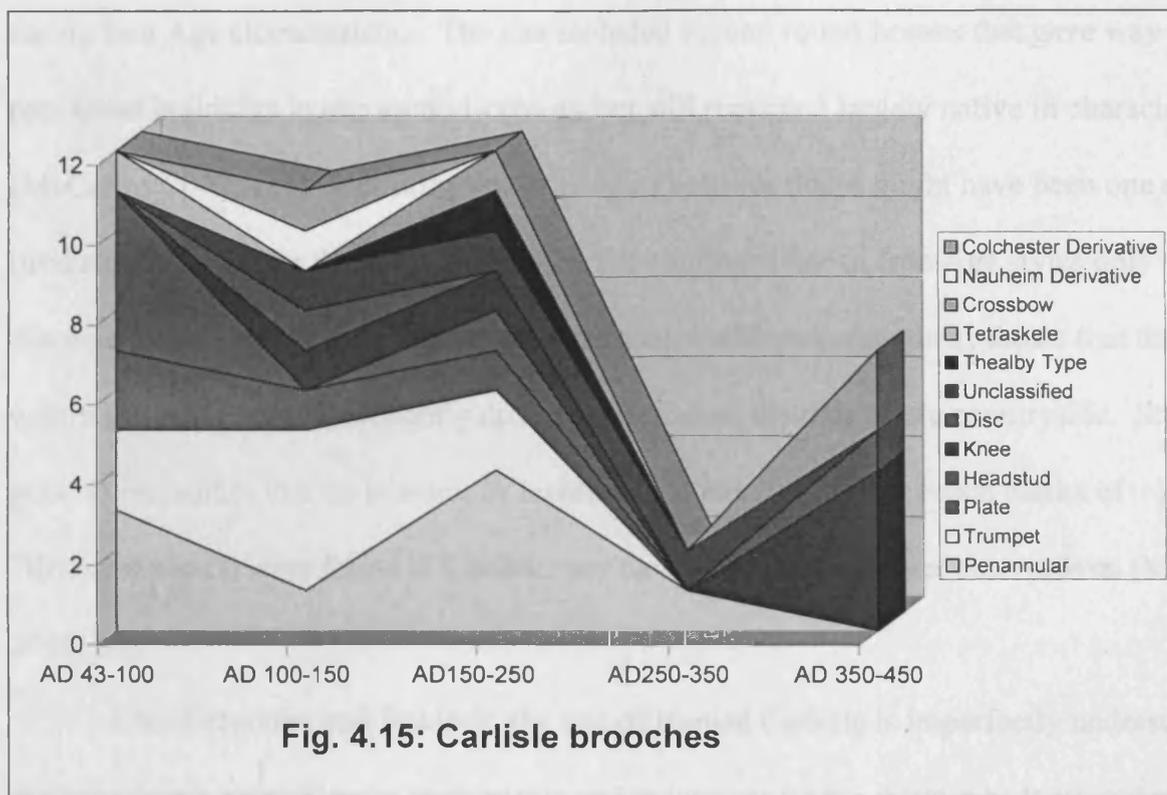


Fig. 4.15: Carlisle brooches

The wealth of many of the inhabitants is also attested to in the archaeological record, including the number of exotic plants present, including figs, grapes, walnuts, and olives (McCarthy 2000, 62). Perhaps the best gauge of wealth in Carlisle was the sudden rise in stone grave markers, one way to demonstrate a family's wealth and position in society (McCarthy 2002, 107-9). This is typical of civilian settlement tied closely to the military and is very rare among strictly civilian settlements (Millett 1990a, 81-3; Hope 1997, 250). One grave stone, dedicated to a Greek named Antigonus Papias (RIB 955), attests to the continued cosmopolitan character of the town.

The diverse nature of the settlement, ripe with at least some trappings of Roman style, likely did not go very far into the countryside and perhaps even with the inhabitants themselves. An intaglio that was found at Blackfriars Street depicts a countryman with a reaping hook (McCarthy 1990, 144). Some elements in the town apparently still had rural sympathies. In addition, excavations at the Cumberland Infirmary, a mere 1 km away from Carlisle, show

strong Iron Age characteristics. The site included several round houses that gave way to rectilinear buildings in late second-century but still remained largely native in character (McCarthy 2002, 121). McCarthy (*pers. comm.*) believes that it might have been one of the rural supply nodes for the town. However, the continued use of Iron Age styles only a short distance from Carlisle when the larger settlement was abandoning them shows that the identities within the town were significantly different from even the immediate countryside. Still, it is good to remember that no mosaics or tessellated floors (traditional bench marks of “Romanization”) were found in Carlisle, nor have any city walls ever been proven (McCarthy 2002, 88).

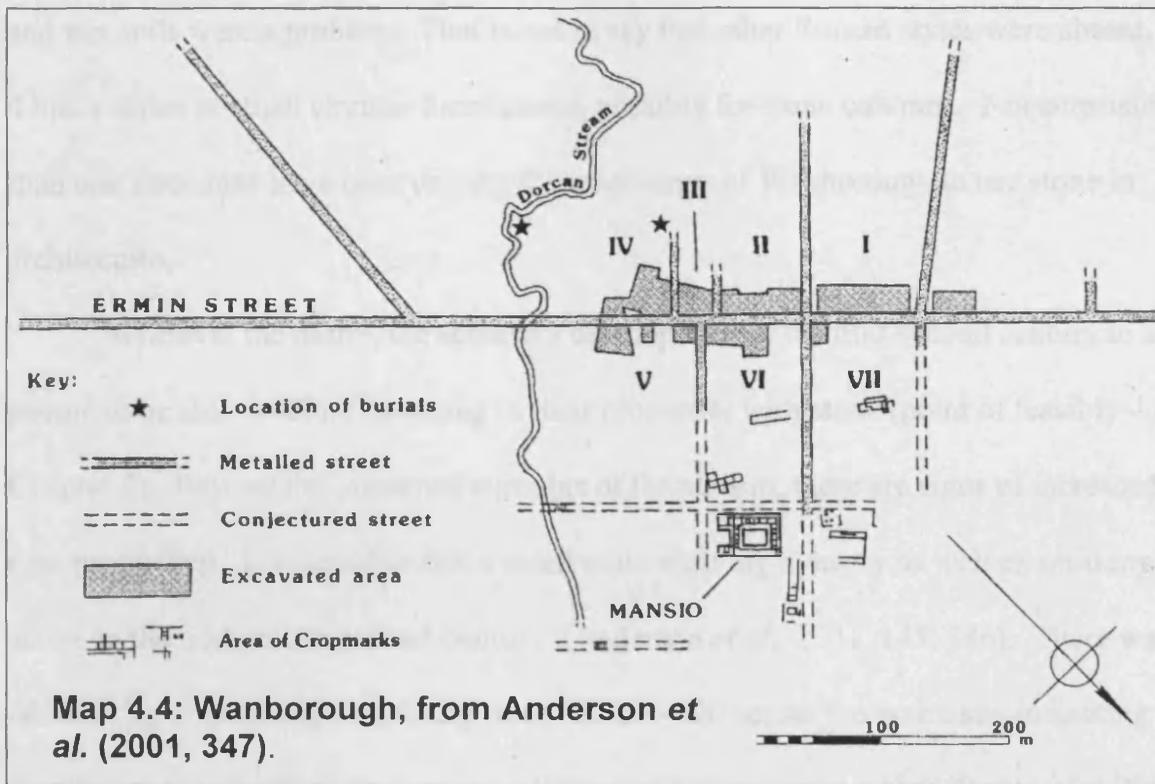
Like Dragonby and Baldock, the end of Roman Carlisle is imperfectly understood. In the later fourth-century troop movements and reductions on the frontier became endemic with the unrest, both from contenders for the throne and external movements of people into the empire. At the fort there is evidence for troop reductions as some of the eastern barracks were abandoned, long enough for the roofing to collapse. Yet, in the central part of the fort maintenance and rebuilding continued (McCarthy 2003, 153). However, the economy of the empire had radically changed, and in its role as an administrative center, the collection of taxes, one of its prime functions, would surely have suffered as payments were changed to *annona* and ultimately ceased all together (McCarthy 2003, 153). Yet, the town was resilient. Some buildings continued to be occupied well into the fifth century (Keville and Shotter 1989), and the biographies of St. Cuthbert describe a fountain still in working order in the sixth century. However, the same biographies also described Carlisle as a walled settlement. McCarthy (2002, 87) believes that the descriptions are that of the fort, not the town as a whole. Burnham and Wachter (1990, 55) speculate that if there were no walls around the town and the biographies must be relating to a possible military compound similar to that at Corbridge. Whatever the case, Carlisle persisted, albeit in a different form. However, the town, like all the

towns in this study, was a dynamic entity that was always changing, and the early medieval phase was only the next incarnation (McCarthy 2003, 154).

C. Wanborough: A “New” Roman Town in Between Two Worlds

Wanborough is 20 km southeast of Cirencester on Ermine Street on a low lying area prone to flooding from the Dorcan Stream. Some Neolithic and Bronze Age artifacts were found at the site. However, there is no known Iron Age settlement below the Roman occupations, though a hillfort was located approximately 5 km away (Anderson *et al.*, 2001, 345; Burnham and Wachter 1990, 162). The site, given its high water table and tendency to flood, would not seem to be a particularly obvious place for human occupation.

The earliest and most dominating feature in and around what became the Roman town was Ermin Street. The street was laid out in the conquest era with large side ditches over 20 m apart (Anderson *et al.*, 2001, 345; Burnham and Wachter 1990, 162). Very few buildings were associated with the early history of the site; the most prominent being Building 23, an earthfast building which had a significant amount of iron smelting slag dating from AD 50-80 (Anderson *et al.*, 2001, 145, 345). There is some speculation of military activity but a fort has never been found. Indeed, many artifacts indicate a possible military presence or at least a settlement with great affinity for Mediterranean style (Anderson *et al.*, 2001, 76, 97, 176, 177-8). If there was a fort in the area, this occupation would likely be more indicative of a *vicus* (Anderson *et al.*, 345). A clear break in occupation occurred around AD 70-80, and the site remained abandoned for some twenty years. It is not clear what prompted resettlement, but Burnham and Wachter (1990, 162) hypothesize that a *mansio* known from aerial photographs may have stimulated a revival in the old settlement set out on a street grid at right angles to Ermin Street (Anderson *et al.*, 2001, 346). If indeed this stimulated a new phase in the settlement, the appearance of organized planning is remarkable.



A renewed interest in building occurred around the beginning of the second-century. Several timber buildings, mostly in trench foundations but with some placed directly on the ground, were constructed but give little information regarding their usage. A building reported by Greenfield (1967) was notable as it had a stone foundation and a possible veranda. Building 24 was also remarkable as it was a round house approximately 8 m in diameter. The foundation was on limestone rubble with horizontal timber laid across. This was likely done to compensate for the poor drainage of the soil. It also shows the persistence of indigenous building traditions. Greenfield (1967) also reported a semi-circular building of third-century date, but its use was not clear nor if its construction was an evolution of Iron Age customs.

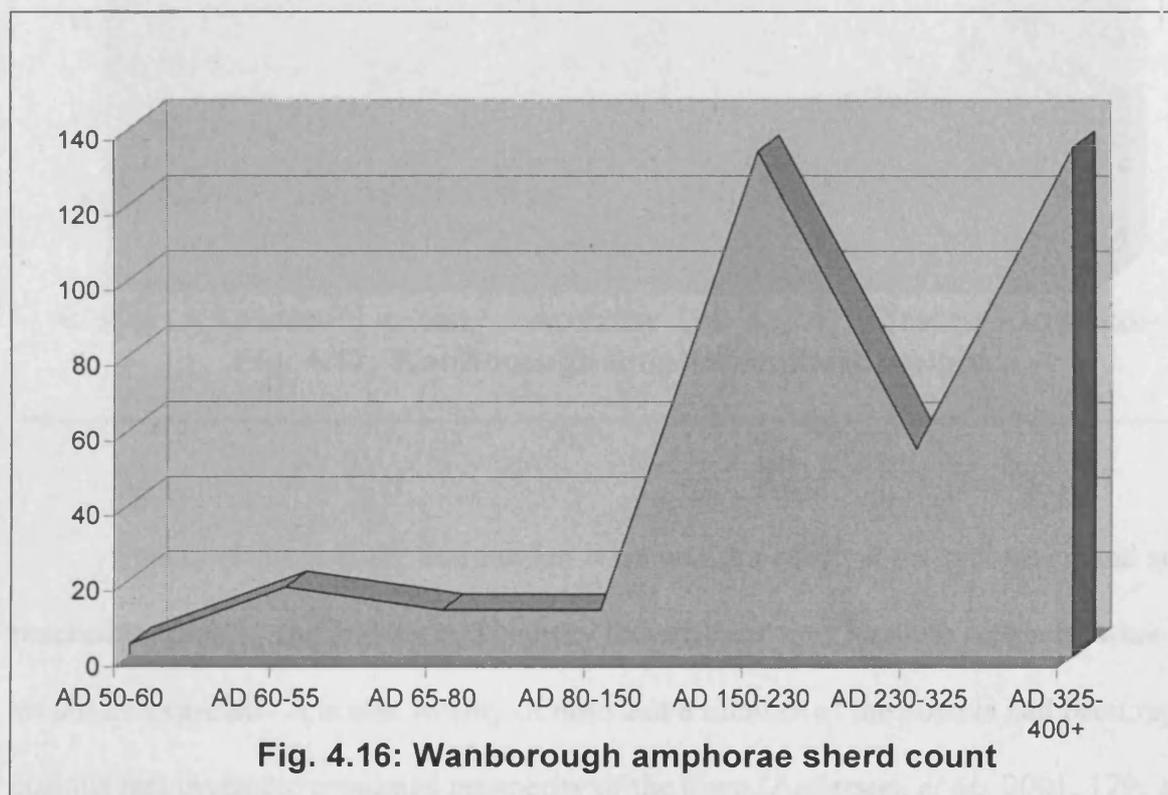
By the mid-second century the number of timber buildings began to decline. Given the water logged soil, the advantage of stone would be apparent for those who could afford it. Building 5, possibly of industrial or commercial usage, was founded on large sarsen limestone blocks. The desire for stone may have been more driven by practical concerns where flooding

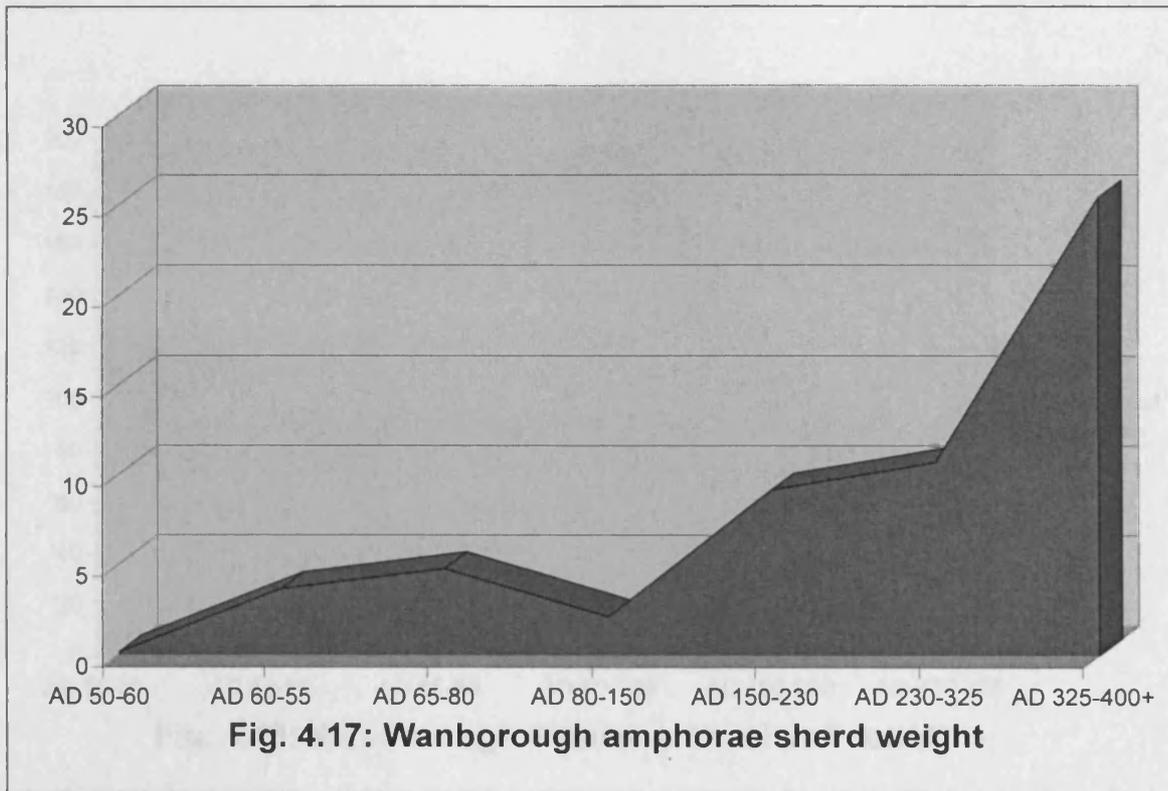
and wet soils were a problem. That is not to say that other Roman styles were absent. Building 4 had a series of small circular foundations, possibly for stone columns. Not surprisingly, more than one force may have been driving the inhabitants of Wanborough to use stone in architecture.

Whatever the desire, the economy developed after the mid-second century to allow more people to be able to afford investing in their properties with stone (point of feasibility – see Chapter 2). Beyond the presumed stimulus of the *mansio*, there are signs of increased industrial type production. It is possible that a small scale weaving industry as well as smithing was active in the mid- to late second-century (Anderson *et al.*, 2001, 145, 346). There was a total of 31.09 kg of smithing slag dating from AD 230-400 across the entire site indicating that smithing was a significant economic activity and demonstrated a high degree of skill (Anderson *et al.*, 2001, 121, 144, 145). Two furnaces were found on Isula IV and V that may have been used for possible lime or lead production. Since they were used contemporaneously with the use of stone building materials, it is possible that the need for lime and lead fittings may have increased (Anderson, *et al.*, 2001, 19-21; 346). Interestingly, here we possibly see that change in architecture may have stimulated economic development rather than the other way around. However, since the use of ovens is far from clear, this is at best conjectural.

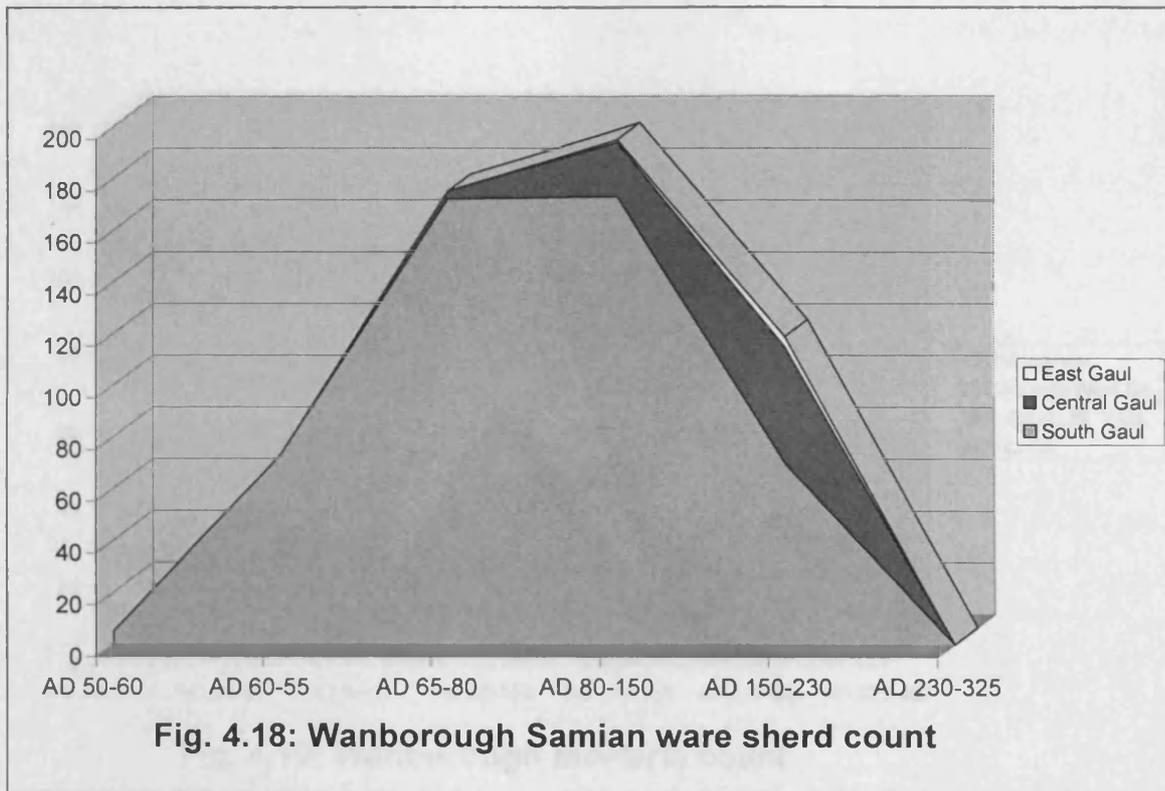
A number of stone querns have been found but few were datable. The most prominent is an unusually large animal powered quern that was repaired but still usable, found in Building 6A (Anderson, *et al.*, 2001, 16, 347). Building 1 may also have been a commercial bakery (Anderson, *et al.*, 2001, 349). Welfare (1981, 275) suggests that population centers of importance would be natural centers of food production, which may indicate that Wanborough played an important function in the surrounding economy. The fact that Wanborough was on a major Roman road may also have increased its importance in this regard. Both Roman and indigenous steelyards and weights were found indicating possible trade with both the native

countryside and the greater imperial economy (Anderson, *et al.*, 2001, 117). It is easy to imagine Wanborough filling an important intermediary role between the larger Roman trading networks and the indigenous countryside. Both amphora sherd count and weight suggests growth in trade after the mid-second century (see Figures 4.16 and 4.17).





Pottery styles indicate that samian ware was important at the settlement and supply reached its peak by the mid-second century though there was less late Antonine ware than would be expected. It is also worthy of note that a number of the vessels had been repaired, a curious fact given the presumed prosperity of the town (Anderson, *et al.*, 2001, 179; see Figure 4.18). This may suggest that supplies of Samian ware may have been disrupted in the later history of the site even though the desirability of the style had not declined.



The coarse wares came mostly from the relatively nearby North Wiltshire region and by the Hadrianic era were challenging local production in the immediate area (Anderson, *et al.*, 2001, 299). Despite its proximity to Savernake and Thames Valley pottery kiln groups, it is interesting that the inhabitants of Wanborough by and large rejected them (Burnham and Wachter 1990, 163). After the mid-second century, the only significant imports beyond samian ware were small quantities of Rhenish ware. It thus appears that the people of Wanborough preferred British wares (Anderson, *et al.*, 2001, 300). *Mortaria* exhibit a similar trend. After the mid-second century the *mortaria* imports dropped dramatically in favor of British wares, primarily Oxford wares (see Figure 4.21). The rise in *mortaria* usage suggests that food was being prepared in a Roman style by the early to mid-second century (Potter and Johns 1992, 141-2).

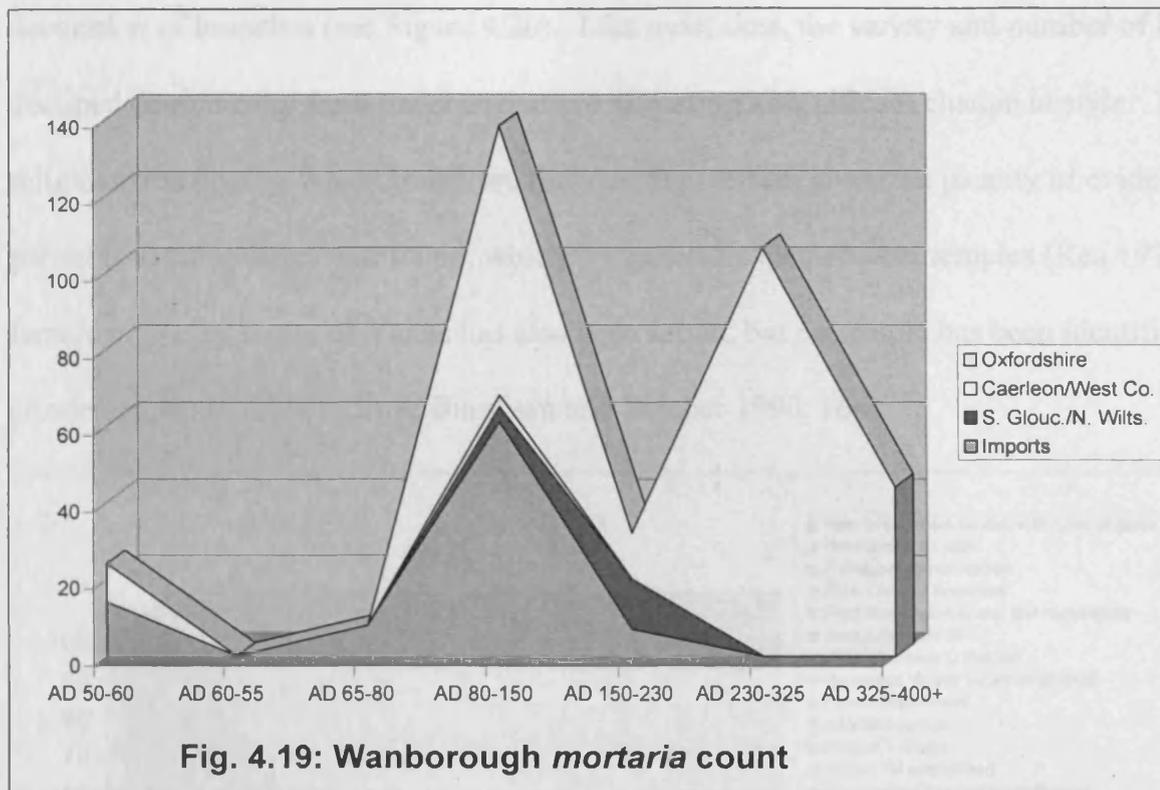
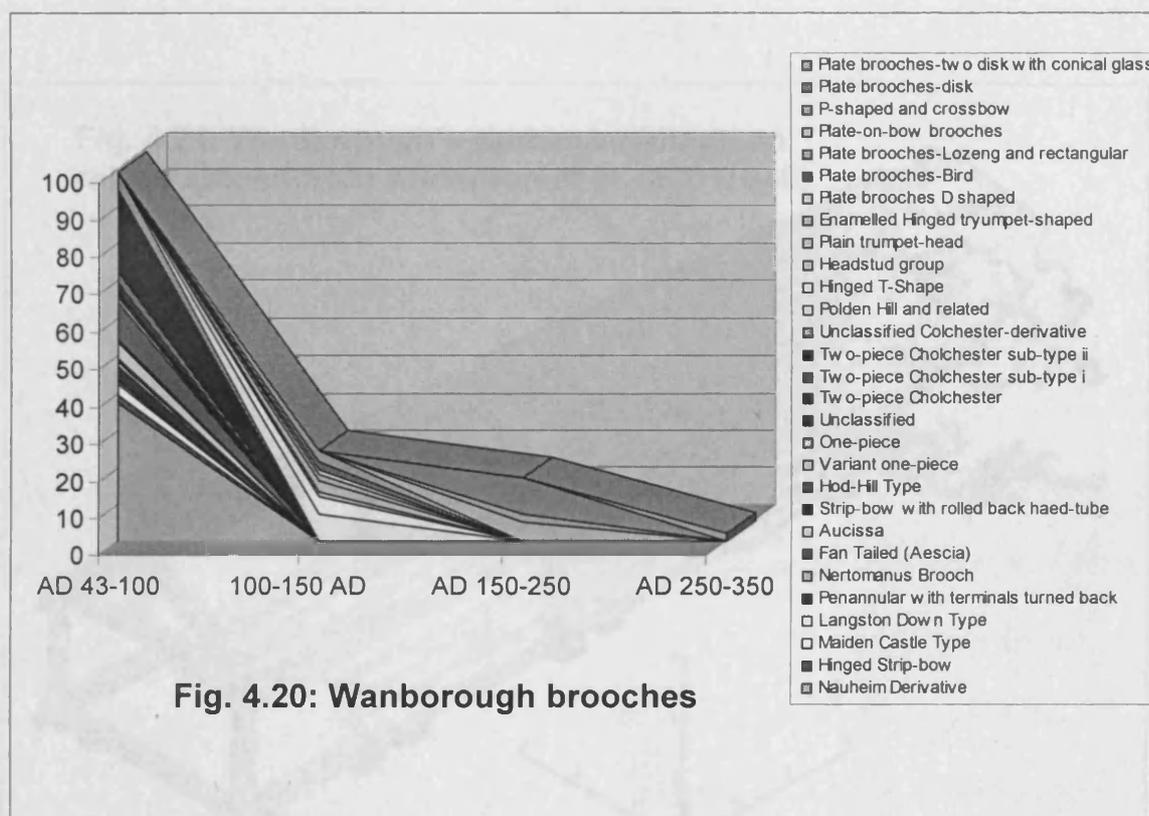


Fig. 4.19: Wanborough mortaria count

The economic make-up of the community must have affected the civic identity of Wanborough. The surprising lack of agricultural tools (Anderson, *et al.*, 2001, 349) and the use of both Roman and Celtic steelyards and weights (Anderson, *et al.*, 2001, 117) hints at the unique position of the settlement in its socio-economic context. The town was between two worlds, and while the lack of agricultural tools might indicate less of an association with the indigenous countryside, the resistance to imported pottery in favor of British wares likewise suggests less than a complete acceptance of the Romans as well. The civic identity of the town would also likely be affected by the fact that it was afforded a possibly late second or early third-century defensive ditch, though it may not have been completed (Burnham and Wachter 1990, 163).

The personal identity of the inhabitants also changed over time. The presence of a round house in the early second-century shows the persistence of Iron Age traditions, as do the presence of Celtic steelyards and weights and the use of the predominantly Iron Age form of

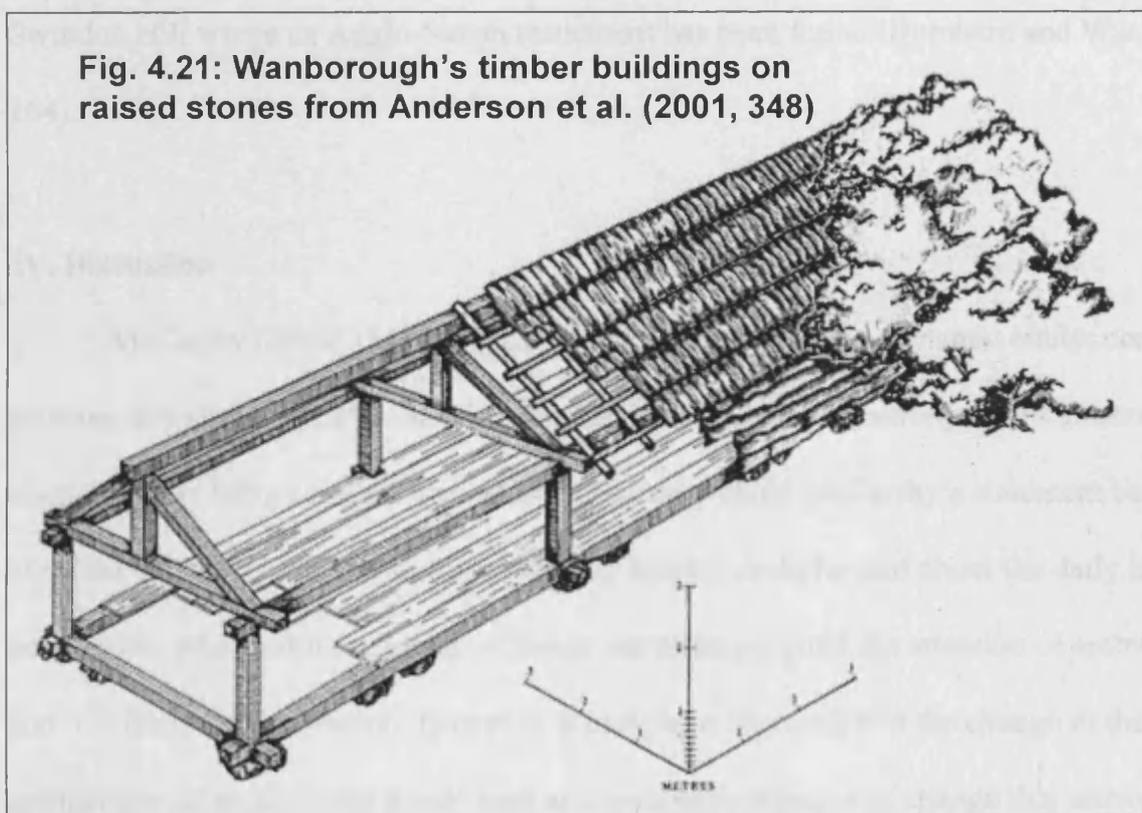
decoration of brooches (see Figure 4.20). Like most sites, the variety and number of brooches declined dramatically from the conquest era indicating a significant change in style. The religious practices in Wanborough are difficult to ascertain given the paucity of evidence. A partial lead curse tablet was found, which are generally located near temples (Rea 1972), and a female pipe-clay figure of Venus has also been found, but no temple has been identified (Anderson, *et al.*, 2001, 153-4; Burnham and Wachter 1990, 164).



The later Roman phases of Wanborough continued patterns from the height of Roman era. The roads were widened with side streets added at right angles and appear planned. The overall nature of the settlement was one of a densely packed occupation area. Intra-site variation existed as the timber framed buildings were located closer to the Dorcan Stream, while the masonry buildings were located farther away. However, the timber buildings were often larger, and the presence of wall plaster indicates that some may have been well appointed

(Anderson, *et al.*, 2001, 343). An interesting trend developed in the fourth-century when timber buildings were raised on stone platforms, presumably in response to ground moisture. Eleven buildings (Buildings 3, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 19, 20, and 22) were constructed in this way (see Figure 4.21). In addition, the overall number of buildings increased in this period as well (see Fig. 4.4). This rise corresponds with the continued economic activity as indicated by amphora sherds and weight (see Figures 4.16 and 4.17).

Fig. 4.21: Wanborough's timber buildings on raised stones from Anderson et al. (2001, 348)



The settlement changed little economically. The continued commercial processing of foods seems likely, and eight metal working tools and smithing slag indicates that metal working continued as well (Anderson, *et al.*, 2001, 349). New industries may have developed as indicated by 16 wood-working tools (Anderson, *et al.*, 2001, 123). The roadside economy of transportation also seems to have flourished given the number of transportation artifacts

(Anderson, *et al.*, 2001, 135-6). The identity of the inhabitants in the town also likely evolved. From the mid-fourth century on, a number of military style artifacts have been found and possibly were worn by a town militia. It is also possible a *vicarius* was present (Anderson *et al.*, 2001, 85).

The end of Roman Wanborough is something of a mystery. The indication is that Wanborough was a relatively prosperous community in the later Roman period but ended by the Anglo-Saxon period. It is plausible that the settlement moved in its entirety to higher ground on Swindon Hill where an Anglo-Saxon settlement has been found (Burnham and Wachter 1990, 164).

IV. Discussion

McCarthy (2003, 154) wrote that “Roman Carlisle was a dynamic entity, constantly growing and shrinking, and changing its shape in response to a variety of circumstances . . .” In short, the only thing constant was change. Not only could McCarthy’s statement be applied to all of the settlements in this study, on another level it could be said about the daily lives of the people who inhabited these towns. Change has often attracted the attention of archaeologists, and this study is no different. However, it must be recognized that the change in the architecture of small towns is only part of a broader continuum of change that started long before Roman conquest and continued beyond the end of the Roman era. While the introduction of the Roman imperial system accelerated change in Britain, just as its dissolution did almost four hundred years later, change continued throughout the Roman presence. These four towns in particular exemplify that and more particularly the complexity of the change.

First, it is worth examining the pre-Roman changes that were occurring in these towns. The long shadow of Rome had been cast across the British Isles long before most of the inhabitants had ever met a “Roman.” Wells (1999, 116) suggests that the tribal divisions of

unconquered Europe actually arose out of the forces of pre-conquest interaction, similar to other imperial situations throughout world history. Therefore, the tribes of Britain, as relayed to us by the ancient authors, may have been relatively recent organizations when the Romans invaded (Wells 1999, 107; Chapman 1992). The movement to proto-urban nucleated settlements, often referred to as *oppida*, was also a societal change that began in the pre-conquest era throughout northwestern Europe and may have been due to indirect contact with Rome (Trow 1990, 110-11). However, Haselgrove (1990, 52) contends that these centers were little more than “islands of complexity” in an otherwise decentralized system.

Patterns of personal behavior were changing significantly prior to the direct presence of Rome. The use of brooches or *fibulae* grew in the century and a half before conquest. They were worn by both men and women and were for both function and ornamentation (Croom 2004, 288, 293; Wild 2004, 305). The presence of brooches in an archaeological site is suggestive of a conservative form of dress (Bohme 1985; Garbasch 1985; Wild 1985, 393-9; Wild 2004, 305). In addition, brooches became larger and more ornate. Jundi and Hill (1998, 126-131) contend that such behavior is indicative in times of stress when people become more concerned about their personal appearance. By the third century the use of brooches had declined dramatically and most beyond that date are generally interpreted as military in origin though many have been found in civilian contexts as well (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 207). This decline would appear to be one of the better indicators of individual identity.

Faunal assemblages also reveal that in the century before conquest the diets of Iron Age Britons were changing to conform to continental and Roman standards (King 1984). Wine consumption also increased significantly and may have stimulated economic intensification to produce suitable exports (Haselgrove 1990, 53-4; 1987). Trade with the Romans shows how interconnected pre-conquest Europe was (Wells 1999, 170). Art and luxury goods created new modes of self-identification and expression (Huskinson 2002, 116). This could also include

rejection of new fashions and other means of self-expression as a way of resisting the loss of tradition (Wells 1999, 170; Huskinson 2002, 116). Trow (1990, 105), on the other hand, contends that the production in pre-conquest areas was insufficient to maintain a long-distance and meaningful trade. Many of the goods we assume were imported might actually have been diplomatic gifts or bribes that worked their way through society. This would reinforce Grahame's (1998, 7) hypothesis that Romans sought to maintain control over areas through reciprocity with native elites, a system of social dialogue familiar to both cultures.

When archaeologists focus on change, it is often forgotten that human practices generally evolve gradually (Wells 1999, 149). The material culture, settlement patterns, and architecture maintain elements of traditional practices alongside the incorporation of new styles, which is why sites have Iron Age pottery and Roman styles as well as round houses and rectilinear buildings. The continuance of traditional patterns has often been equated to "resistance" or "rebellion" on a small scale that included small, low intensity behaviors as opposed to violent armed rebellion (Wells 1999, 147). Perhaps a less dramatic term such as "conservatism" would be a better approach to examining this process. Settlements like Dragonby and Baldock, with a pre-existing Iron Age outlook would be more conservative in their use and adaptation of Roman material goods (not to mention the meanings associated with them) than a more cosmopolitan settlement such as Carlisle. It would be doubtful that a person choosing to build a round house would define his or her actions as "rebellious" against Rome. On the other hand, it would be much more likely that they would acknowledge a conservative outlook by doing the same action and a general preference for traditional ways. Active self-identity is important in determining the meaning behind change, and though we can only speculate, terms such as rebellion and resistance are probably less applicable and meaningful than ones such as conservative and conservatism.

We must go one step further and also recognize that change may not reflect significant meaning in self-identification at all. Some change may simply be due to economic realities, and the cultural meaning may be less direct than previously assumed. Cooper (1996) asserts that the rather dramatic change in pottery styles after the Roman conquest was attributable to the fact that Roman workshop pottery was so much cheaper, and people chose it based on economic rationalism. To borrow another supplementary analogy from the United States, in the 1980s Japanese automobiles became popular due to their high gas mileage and inexpensive costs, not because Americans were suddenly enamored with Japanese culture. However, even here there was a conservative movement against the growing trend, promoting the idea to “Buy American” as well as a \$1.5 billion government loan to the American automobile industry (Gibson-Graham 1996, 238-9). Therefore, economic rationalism and market forces may play as much a role in the use of material culture as conservative choices and active self-identity.

It was in this context of continual change that the alteration of Romano-British small town architecture occurred. It was part of a continual readjustment in lifestyle patterns that had been occurring for centuries, only accelerated by the presence of Rome. What, then, is the meaning of these changes? The appearance of the new material culture and patterns of behavior alone may not always be indicative of a social revolution, but they did promote new possibilities of negotiation and socialization within society (Grahame 1998, 4). Jones (1997, 34, 36, 115) cautions against looking for a one-to-one relationship between Roman material culture and identification with Roman values and ideals and making broad generalities. If nothing else, these four towns reinforce that perception. The change in architecture was caused by different forces relative to each settlement, and the meaning of the change is different for each town as well. Despite the tendency of the traditional “Romanization” paradigm to look for homogeneity (Haselgove 1990, 46), these towns reveal Roman Britain was a heterogeneous

landscape. Variety occurred not only between settlements, but as at Carlisle, even within a settlement there was a multifaceted network of intersecting and diverging identities.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the settlements with an Iron Age background show a higher frequency of Iron Age patterns than the other settlements in this chapter. Both Baldock and Dragonby suffered a brief decline indicative of disorder introduced as the Roman presence re-wrote the economic landscape. When the Roman armies arrived they not only brought with them a new economic system based on coinage, they also created new opportunities and damaged existing systems. In the quest for new opportunities, it is tempting to hypothesize that the inhabitants were more amenable, or at least not hostile, to the presence of Roman influences and may have left existing settlements such as Dragonby or Baldock in search of better opportunities elsewhere. What would be left in these older settlements would be a population more inclined to a conservative outlook, manifested in a number of ways as seen above. In addition, the presence of the Roman military and imperial bureaucracy would reinforce a self-identification as being different from “Romans” in the administrative centers or *coloniae*.

As towns and cities grew, smaller settlements like Baldock and Dragonby would also have had a civic self-image more akin to a community of mutually interdependent relationships and a common outlook as opposed to the large cosmopolitan centers where a multiplicity of heterogeneous beliefs and lifestyles interacted. To return to supplementary examples of the American West, those in smaller settlements often viewed themselves as having a distinct set of values different from the city inhabitants. Rural communities, correctly or incorrectly, generally viewed themselves as “just plain folks” as opposed to the cities which were impersonal, hostile, and foreign (White 1991, 316-326; Vidich and Bensman 1958). It would not be too difficult to theorize that long standing Iron Age communities would have similar responses to the new towns and cities created after the Roman conquest.

Yet Baldock and Dragonby eventually began to adopt increasing amounts of Roman styled goods and behaviors. A conservative outlook does not preclude change, particularly change over several generations, only its slower pace. In a type of operant conditioning, even the most conservative members of a settlement would be forced to adopt behaviors in order to function economically and socially. This socialization would occur over generations, and it is clear that when both towns began to thrive they adopted more stone architecture. This socialization model is a type of bottom-up force for the adaptation and use of Roman styles. It does not preclude the top-down ideas of Millett (1990) or Woolf (1998), only that the complexity of the process had to include an active negotiation of the non-elites to impersonal and organic market forces in order for them to function in the new realities after Roman conquest.

At settlements such as Carlisle, where the presence of the Roman armies (themselves remarkably heterogeneous) were even closer and therefore more influential, it is not surprising that we find relatively fast acceptance of Roman material culture and architectural styles. The heterogeneity of the site, including a strong Roman military presence, created an environment where, in order to adjust to the economic realities, operant conditioning would force rapid toleration if not acceptance of diverse cultures. However, such diverse pluralism, like that of Carlisle, was probably limited to frontier communities and atypical of Roman Britain as a whole (Huskinson 2002, 117). The influence of the army in spreading Roman ideals should not be underestimated (Wells 1999, 141, 145).

What is remarkable about Carlisle is that its inhabitants seemingly desired to adopt stone and Roman influenced architecture before it actually could, either on a psychological or economic basis. People in Carlisle were unwilling or unable to invest in stone architecture until the frontier stabilized and provided an established economic base. With that in mind, it is also possible that the early elements of *Romanitas* found in Carlisle may have been imposed by the

military on the civilian settlement. Even if we suppose this was true, the situational forces at play for indigenous peoples who moved to Carlisle (like the one who presumably lived in the round house on the Lanes site), again would be socialized to accept new influences through operant forces. In all likelihood, the army played a significant role in a type of top-down promotion of classical culture, but the pluralistic nature of the settlement, with foreign entrepreneurs from the Mediterranean, also created bottom-up forces.

With both strong upward and downward forces of socialization, the transformation of civic identity would naturally be swift. That is not to say that personal identity would transform itself to the depth that the community did. Certainly an amount of difference within the community identity was clearly evident. However, as inhabitants continuously renegotiated their own identity within the town, and the town's identity within the larger landscape, it became something entirely unique. It must also be remembered that at the height of Carlisle's existence the civic identity with strong Roman overtones may have ended at the edges of the settlement. Only one kilometer away, at the Cumberland infirmary site, the native identity remained particularly strong.

The "new" Roman town of Wanborough presents a third type of civic identity. The excavations hint at the town filling a strong economic roll in the processing of food stuffs from the countryside as well as servicing travelers along Ermin Street. It is also intriguing that both Roman and Celtic weights were found, suggesting that the town may have lived between two worlds, one of the Celtic countryside and the other of the larger imperial world. It would be wrong for us to assume that these two worlds were inherently hostile to each other. Nonetheless, each would have its own values and expectations of behavior that the people of Wanborough would need to engage in. Thus, old traditions, by necessity, would be less entrenched than some places such as Baldock or Dragonby.

Yet, social and economic forces were not the only ones at play in the choice of architectural styles. Nature also played an important role. The site's tendency to flooding and high water table made stone attractive as a practical solution and played in tandem with social and economic factors. Stone reached an early prominence in the mid-second century, but then raised wooden buildings on stone platforms became prevalent in the general economic malaise of the later Roman period. Interestingly, the total number of buildings increased, and many of the timber buildings were quite large and well apportioned with Roman influences.

What this group of settlements shows particularly well is that the civic and personal identities at some Romano-British small towns were quite diverse, and that the forces at play in creating that identity were just as likely to be driven by situational or systemic forces as from an elite imposition. That is not to say that some elite emulation as proposed by Millett (1990) or Woolf (1998) did not influence these towns. However, as Millett himself concluded, most small towns failed to attract a significant number of elite, and the slight number of villas around these towns would bear that out. Primarily these towns were forced to adjust by a type of operant conditioning to economic and social forces in order to survive in the new realities imposed by Rome.

Chapter 5:

Towns with Stone Building Traditions

I. Introduction

The towns with a predisposition toward masonry construction can be divided into three groups: religious sites, industrial sites, and military/governmental sites. One of the few common links among all the towns was their location in relation to suitable building stone, presumably an important economic factor related to architectural choice. Only the religious sites show signs of Iron Age predecessors. The Iron Age religious sites also had a greater quantity of “Romanized” artifacts and made the transition to stone in the early second century as opposed to the later second century for the rest of the sites. While the military/official sites often had a high disposition of “Romanized” architectural features, interference by the military or central government may have hindered economic growth as much as it helped. All of the sites were able to integrate themselves into the new Roman economy. Taken as a whole, these sites show that even when towns had a high number of masonry buildings, the transition was not necessarily linear, and that external factors influenced architectural choice as much as organic economic and social development.

II. Macro-Analysis

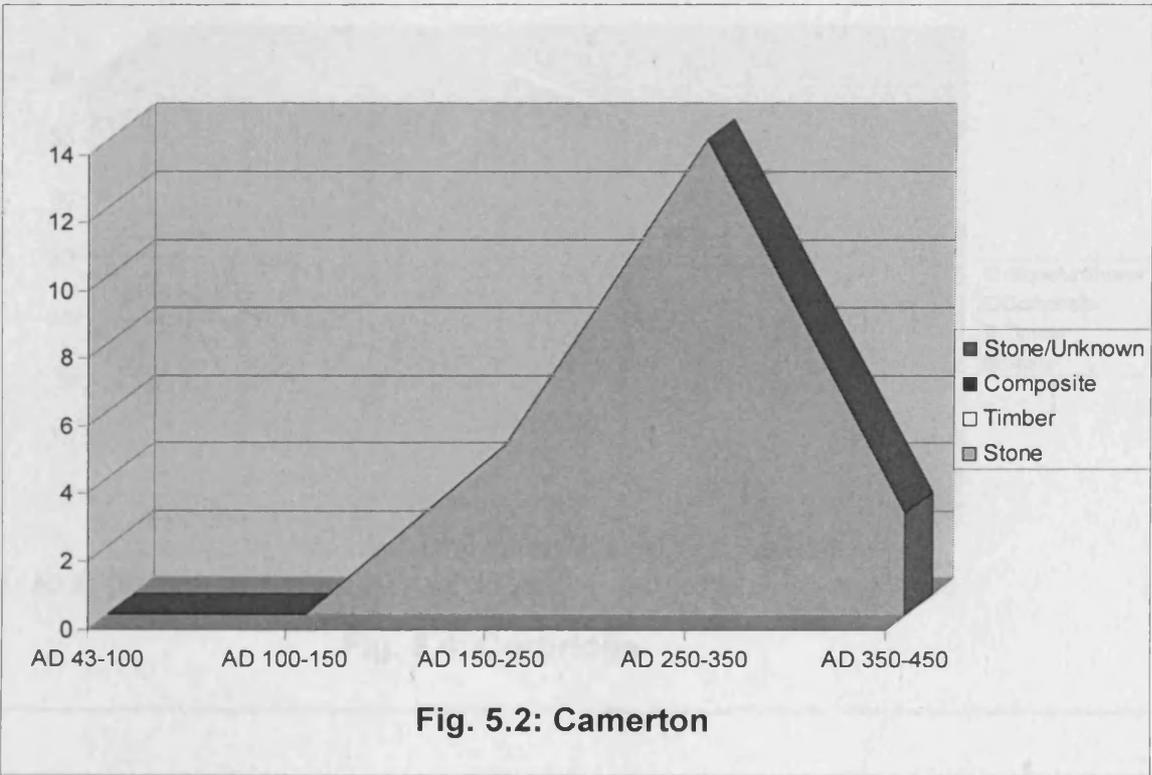
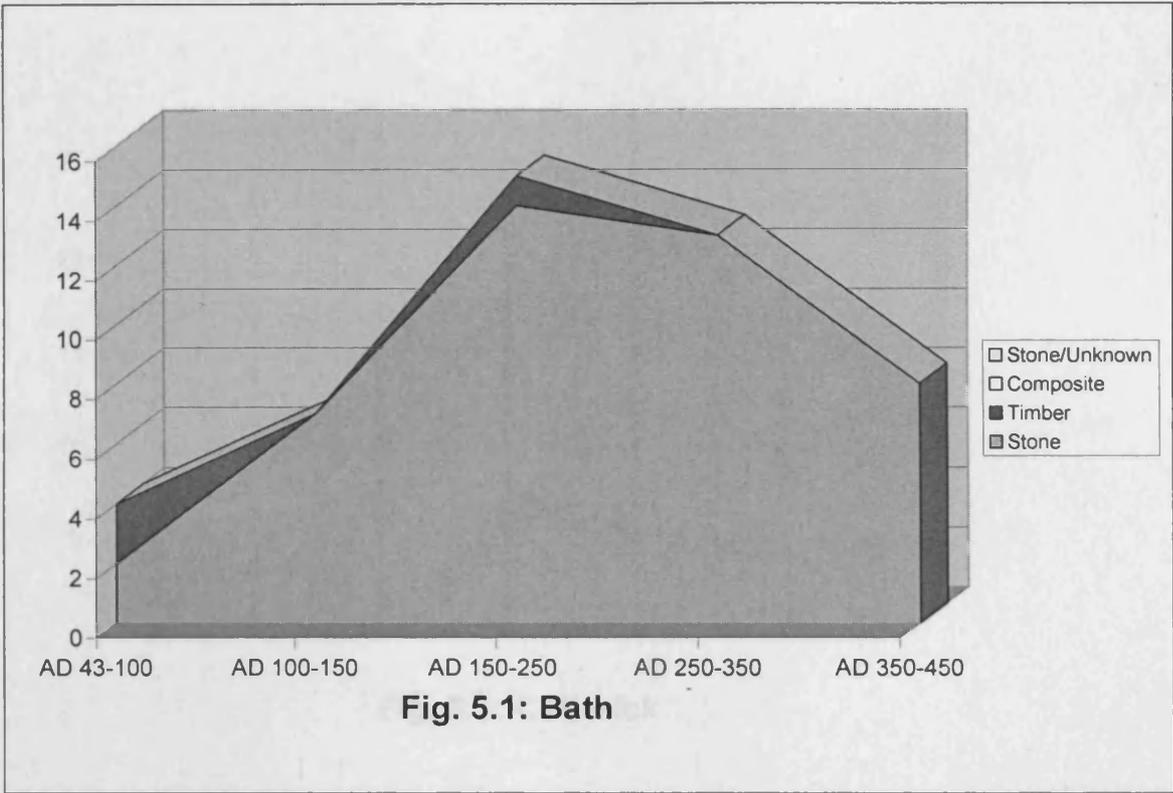
Nine sites developed long-standing masonry traditions, meaning that the overwhelming majority of building samples from them were masonry structures (see Table 5.1 and Figs. 5.1-5.9). From the conquest period to the mid-second century, stone buildings were few in number with the exception of the lower Fosse Way from Cirencester to Exeter. Four of the nine sites,

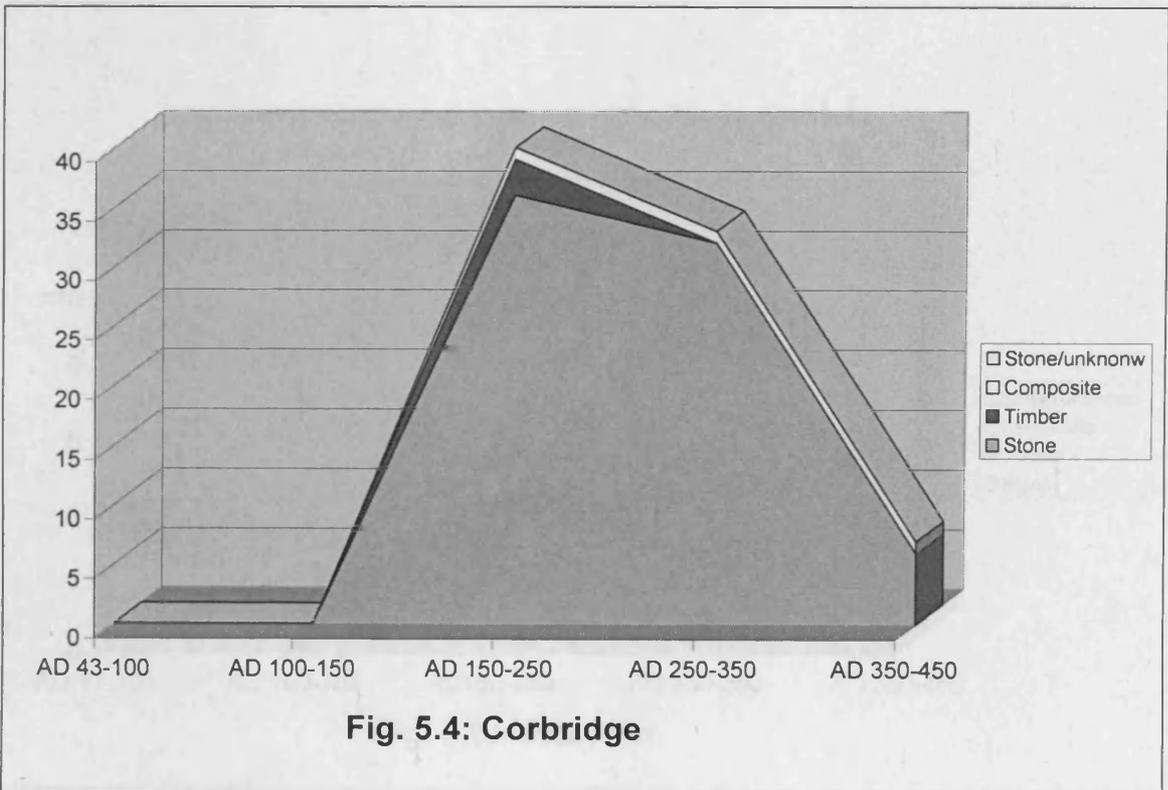
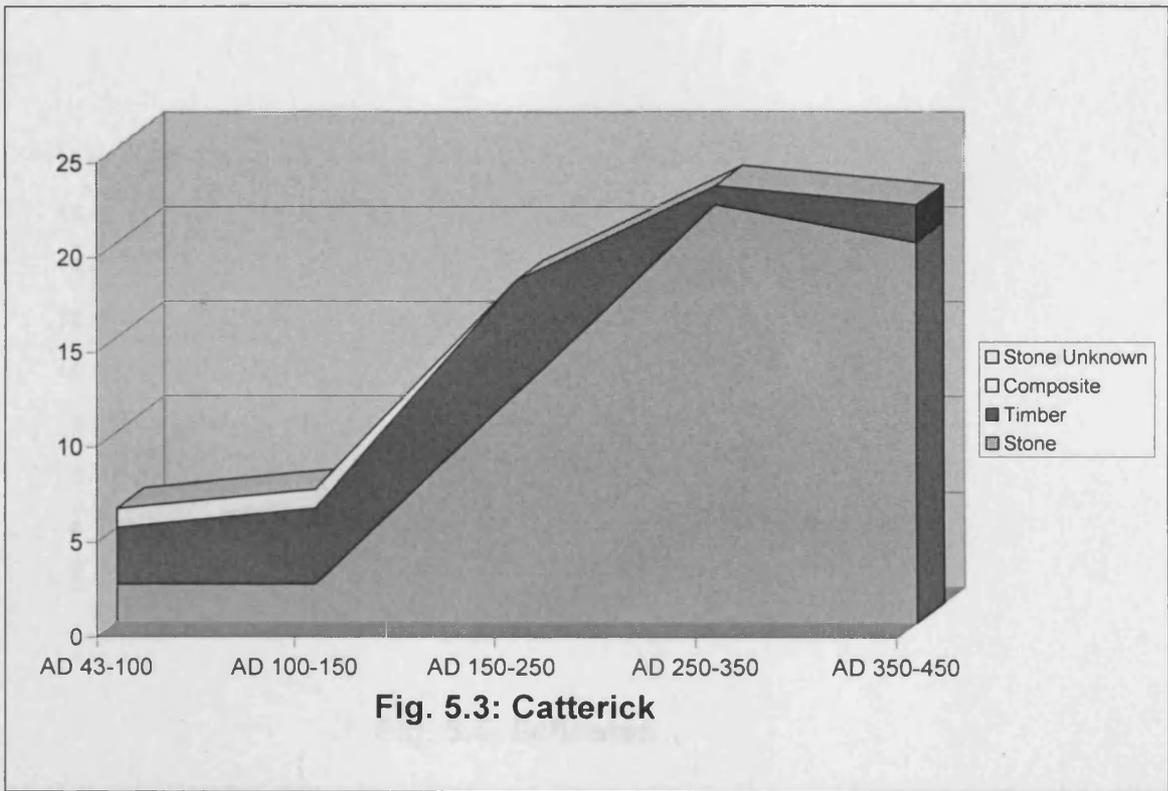
Bath, Camerton, Ilchester, and Nettleton, were located there. Two more northerly towns, Catterick and Corbridge, had a strong military presence through a significant part of the Roman period, as did the port of Richborough. Each town in this category had at least 50 percent of its buildings constructed in stone by the mid-second century. Two towns, Water Newton, and Corbridge, had little or no civilian occupation evidence before the second century but quickly adopted the use of stone.

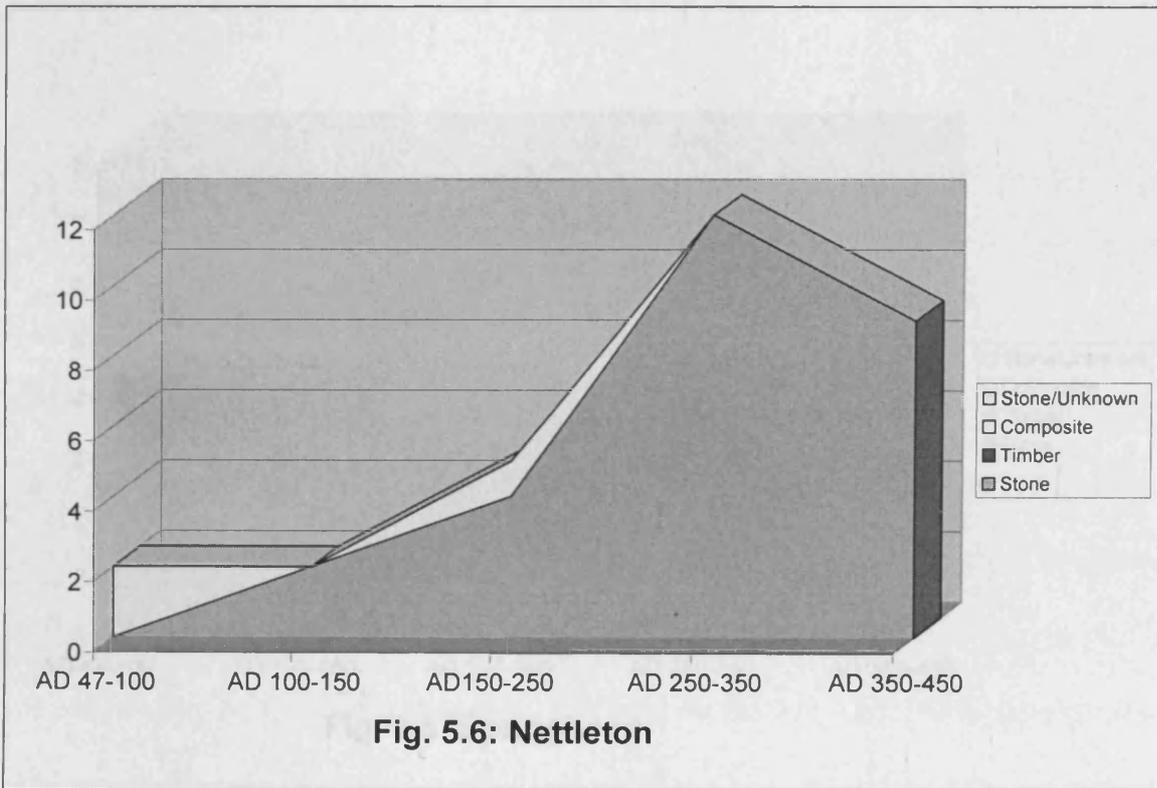
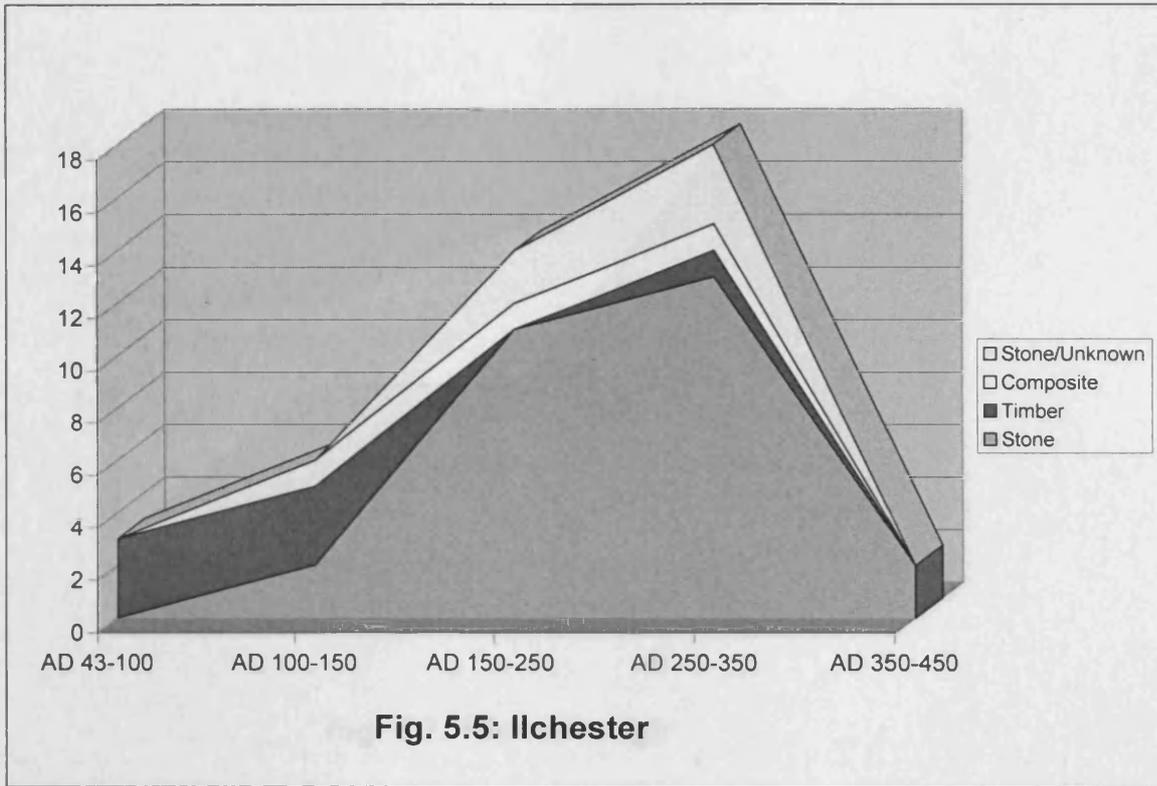
Naturally there is some overlap in categorization. For example Water Newton was both an industrial town and a possible administrative center. While not dismissing its possible administrative functions, it was first and foremost the center of the Nene Valley pottery industries and will primarily be considered industrial. Ilchester appears to have been more of an administrative town while Water Newton and Camerton are considered primarily as industrial towns. Nettleton, Springhead, and Bath were primarily religious centers. Catterick, Corbridge, and Richborough are classified as military towns. Since our understanding of each site is not equal, the best understood town will be used as a case study for each category. Supplementary evidence will be drawn from the other sites.

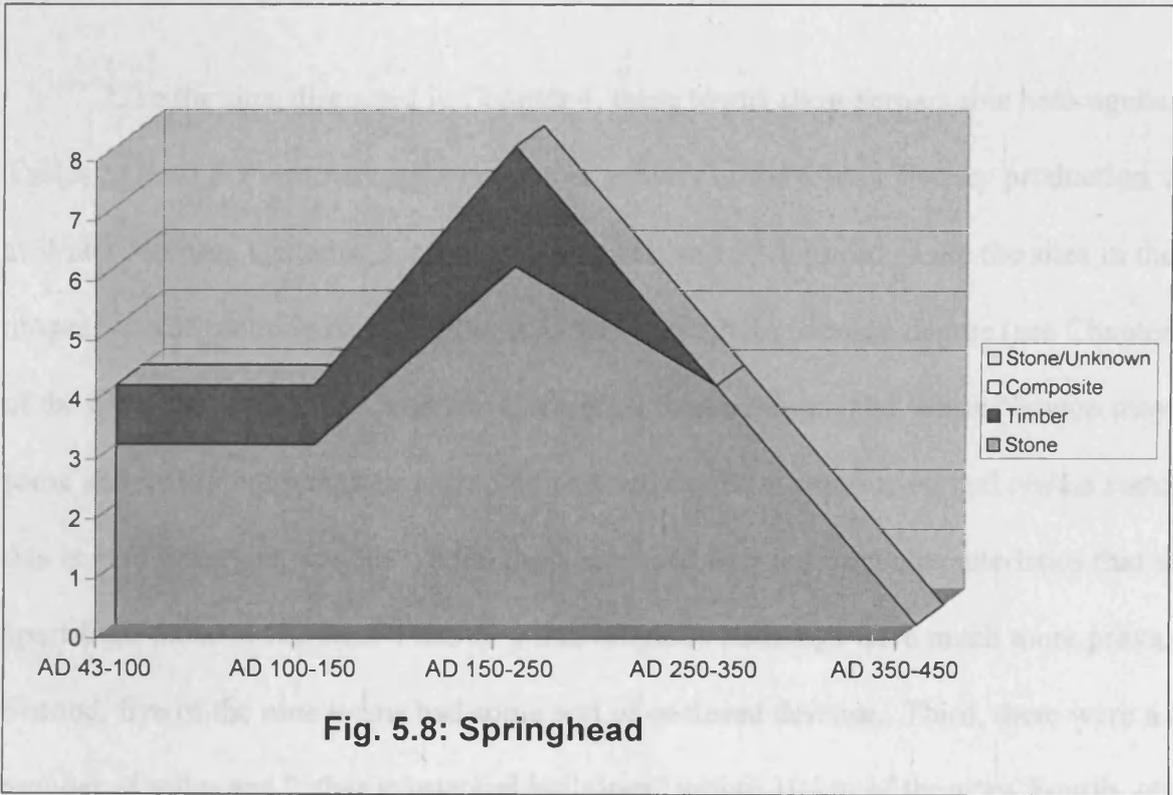
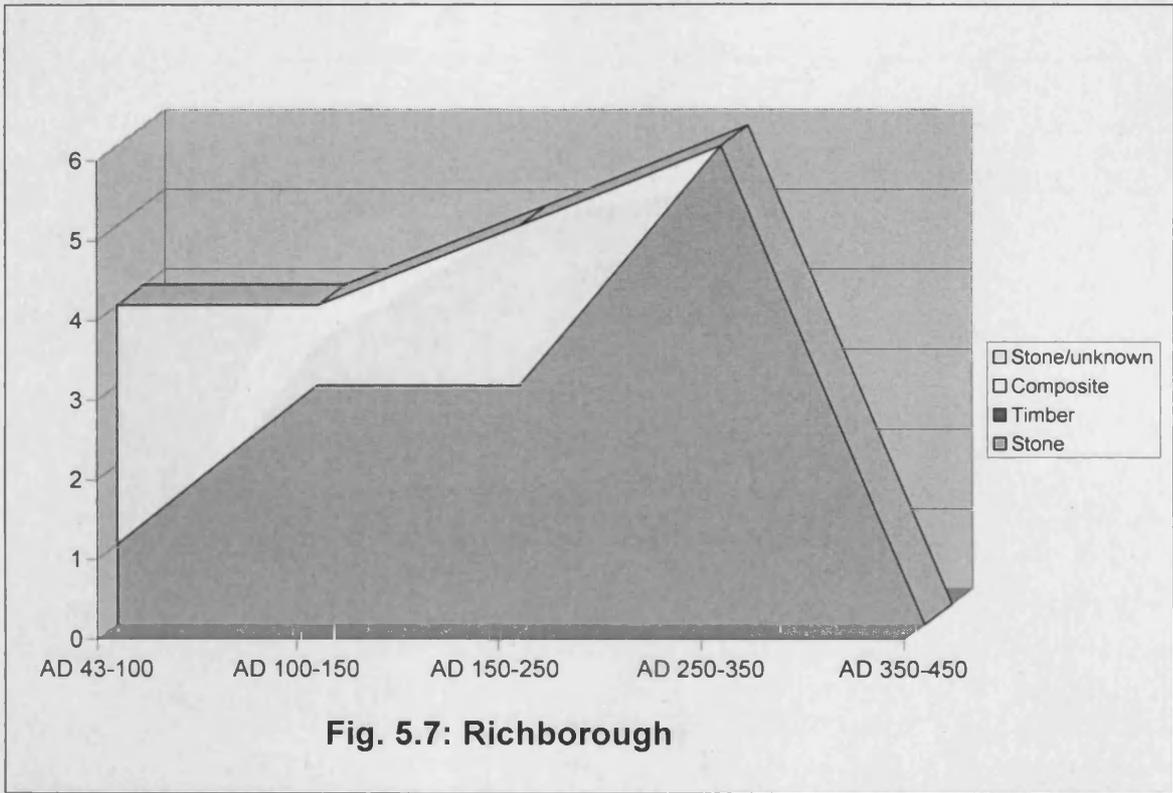
Table 5.1: Towns with Stone Building Traditions

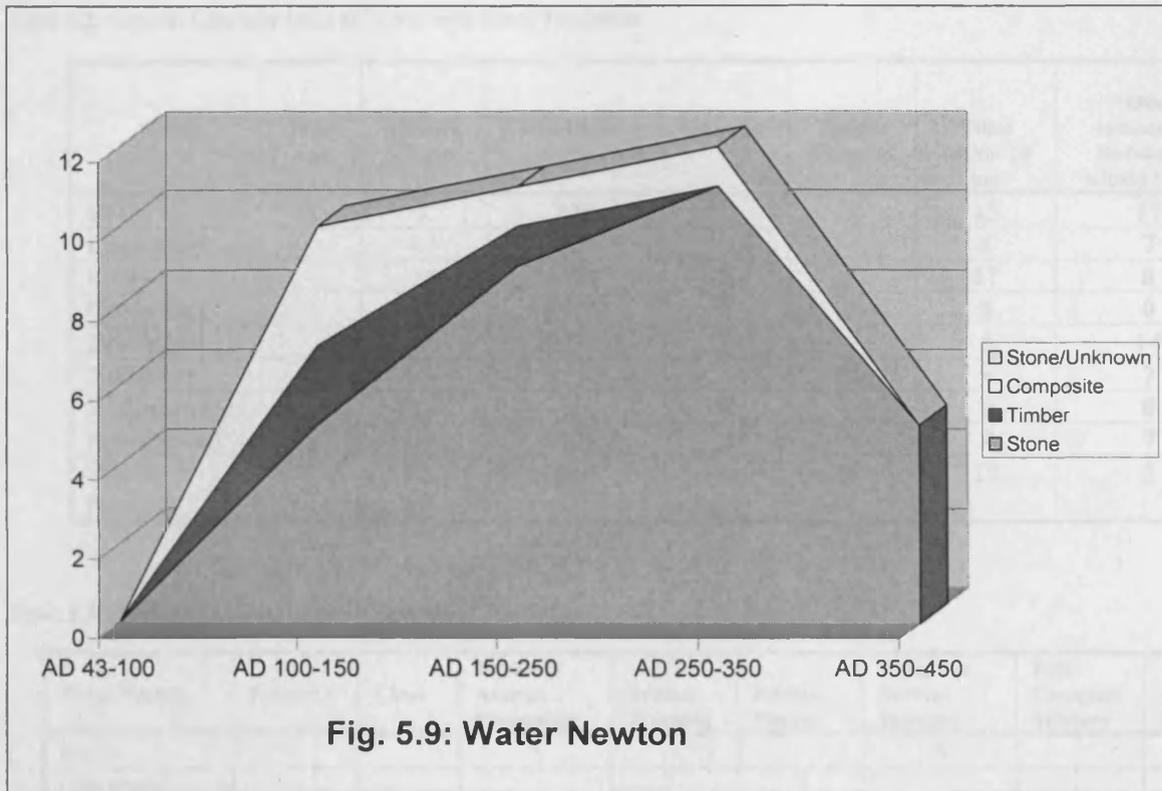
Town Name	Stone Total	% Stone	Timber Total	% Timber	Composite Total	% Composite	Stone/Unknown	% Stone/Unknown	Total
Bath									
AD 43-100	2	50.00%	2	50.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4
AD 100-150	7	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	7
AD 150-250	14	93.33%	1	6.66%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	15
AD 250-350	13	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	13
AD 350-450	8	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	8
Camerton									
AD 150-250	5	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	5
AD 250-350	14	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	14
AD350-450	3	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3
Catterick									
AD 47-100	2	33.33%	3	50.00%	0	0.00%	1	16.66%	6
AD 100-150	2	25.57%	4	57.14%	0	0.00%	1	14.29%	7
AD 150-250	12	66.66%	6	33.33%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	18
AD 250-350	22	95.65%	1	4.35%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	23
AD 350-450	20	90.90%	2	9.10%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	22
Corbridge									
AD 150-250	36	90.00%	3	7.50%	0	0.00%	1	2.50%	40
AD 250-350	32	96.97%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	3.03%	33
AD 350-450	6	85.71%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	14.29%	7
Nettleton									
AD 43-100	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	100.00%	2
AD 100-150	2	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
AD 150-250	4	80.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	20.00%	5
AD 250-350	12	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	12
AD 350-450	9	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	9
Ilchester									
AD 43-100	0	0.00%	2	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
AD 100-150	1	33.33%	1	33.33%	1	33.33%	0	0.00%	3
AD 150-250	8	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	8
AD 250-350	7	87.50%	0	0.00%	1	12.50%	0	0.00%	8
Richborough									
AD 43-100	1	25.00%	0	0.00%	3	75.00%	0	0.00%	4
AD 100-150	3	75.00%	0	0.00%	1	25.00%	0	0.00%	4
AD 150-250	3	60.00%	0	0.00%	2	40.00%	0	0.00%	5
AD 250-350	6	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	6
Springhead									
AD 43-100	3	75.00%	1	25.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4
AD 100-150	3	75.00%	1	25.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4
AD 150-250	6	75.00%	2	25.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	8
AD 250-350	4	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4
Water Newton									
AD 100-150	5	50.00%	2	20.00%	0	0.00%	3	30.00%	10
AD 150-250	9	81.18%	1	9.09%	0	0.00%	1	9.09%	11
AD 250-350	11	91.67%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	8.33%	12
AD 350-450	5	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	5











Like the sites discussed in Chapter 4, these towns show remarkable heterogeneity.

Tables 5.2 and 5.3 summarize the economic activity of the towns. Pottery production was noted at Water Newton, Catterick, Corbridge, Ilchester, and Springhead. Like the sites in the previous chapter, metal smithing was ubiquitous as was agriculture to some degree (see Chapter 4). Five of the nine sites, Ilchester, Catterick, Corbridge, Richborough, and Water Newton may have had some administrative functions and some may have even eventually earned *civitas* status, though this is very uncertain. On the whole, these sites had four defining characteristics that set them apart from those in Chapters 4 and 6. First, religious buildings were much more prevalent. Second, five of the nine towns had some sort of enclosed defense. Third, there were a larger number of villas and “other substantial buildings” within 10 km of the sites. Fourth, other than the religious centers, none of the sites were preceded by an Iron Age settlement.

Table 5.2: General Characteristics of Towns with Stone Traditions

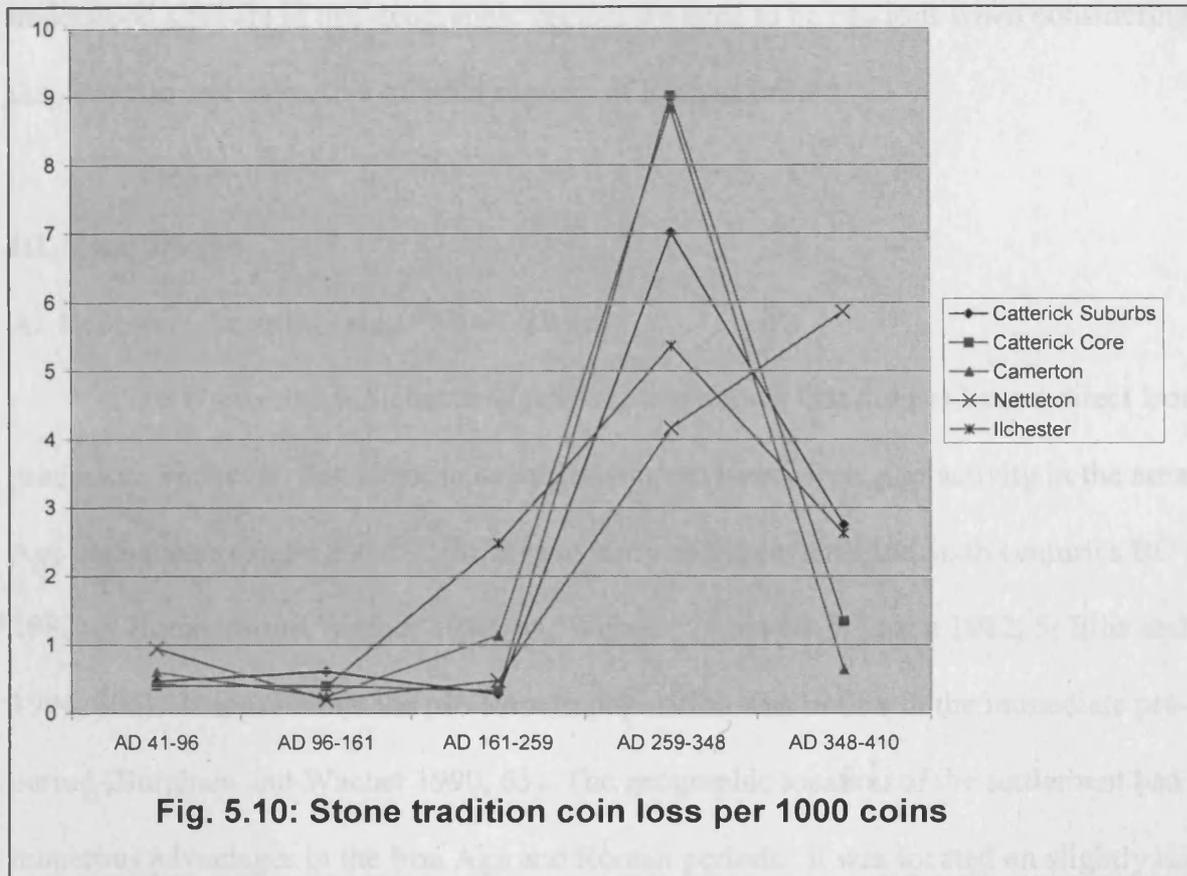
Town	Iron Age	Military Phase	Town Defenses	Mansio	Temple Complex	Villas within 10 km	“Other substantial Buildings” within 10 km
Bath	X	1	M6		X	13	17
Camerton		1?				6	7
Catterick		1+	M4	X	X	1?	0
Corbridge			E2/S?	X	X	0	0
Ilchester		1	T1?/ S?			6	14
Nettleton	X				X	9	7
Richborough		1+		X		0	0
Springhead	X		E6		X	8	7
Water Newton		1	M?		X	12	3

Table 5.3: Economic Activity in Town with Stone Traditions

Town Name	Pottery	Glass	Tanning/ Animal Processing	Bronze Working	Pewter Produc.	Religious Service Industry	Post Conquest Military	Admin. Functions
Bath			X			X		
Camerton					X			
Catterick	X		X	X	X		X	?
Corbridge	X						X	?
Ilchester	X?	X						?
Nettleton						X		
Richborough							X	?
Springhead	X					X		
Water Newton	X							?

The coin loss patterns of the case study towns also exhibit a pattern quite distinct from those in Chapter 4 (compare Figs. 4.5 and 5.10). Unlike those towns with a transitory building tradition that saw a decline in coin loss in the late-first and early-second centuries, these towns have generally less coin loss until the inflation of the third century. Ilchester and Nettleton have some decline in the coin loss but it is much less pronounced than the sites in Chapter 4. Ilchester is also unique in this category in that coin loss increases slightly in late second century before the other sites. The patterns at Catterick are distinctly different between the core and suburb settlements. At the core, the pattern is more similar to urban sites with military antecedents (Brickstock 2002, 2-3). The extra-mural areas, however, have a more rural than urban pattern (Davies 2002, 4; Brickstock 2002, 17-21). Nettleton shows a pattern similar to

Baldock in Chapter 4 in that coin loss increased in the late fourth century in contrast to other sites.



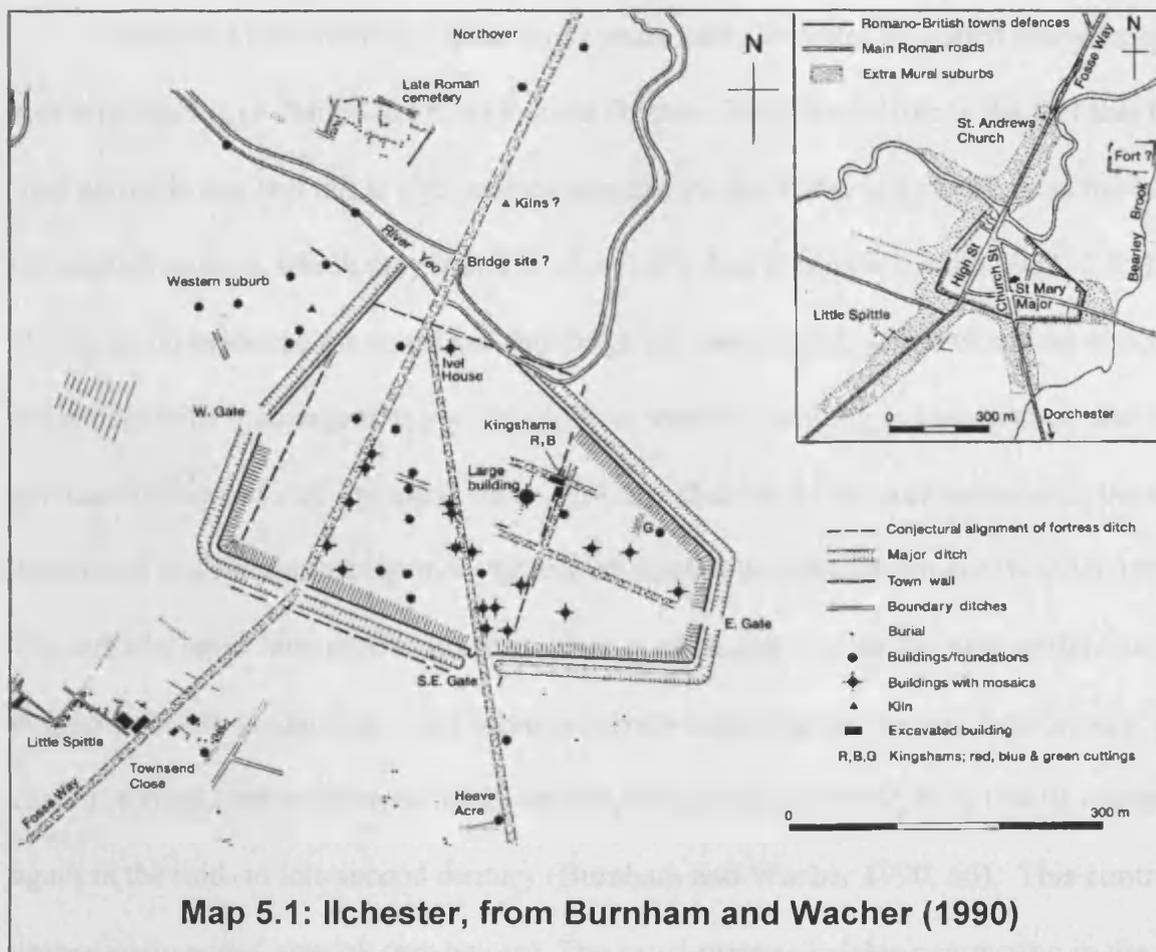
This particular group has a potential number of biases that should be recognized. First, the number of stone buildings that have been excavated may represent the excavator's bias. Later developments (including Roman era) may have destroyed the ephemeral traces of timber structures or they may have been missed by early archaeologists. However, all of these towns have had major excavations from the mid-1950s and later, when archaeologists became increasingly more adept at recognizing and recording evidence of timber structures. Therefore, while we cannot assume that every timber structure has been located in these towns, there is at least some statistical validity in the patterns revealed. As the following evidence will show, these towns exhibit a greater social integration into the Roman system than other small towns, such as the sites in the previous chapter. Secondly, the concentration of these towns on the

lower Fosse Way may indicate that the region between Cirencester and Exeter should be considered one interconnected economic micro-region. However, as many of our better understood sites are in this geographic region, we need to be cautious when considering whether they are also representative of other regions of Roman Britain.

III. Case Studies

A. Ilchester: An Integrated "New" Town

Like Wanborough, Ilchester (*Lindinis*) was a town that did not have a direct Iron Age precursor. However, that is not to say there was not heavy Iron Age activity in the area. Iron Age settlements can be dated in the area as early as the seventh and sixth centuries BC (Leach 1982, 5; Burnham and Wachter 1990, 65; Webster 1958a 80-3; Leach 1982, 5; Ellis and Ellison 1994, 106). It appears that the pre-Roman population was in flux in the immediate pre-conquest period (Burnham and Wachter 1990, 65). The geographic location of the settlement had numerous advantages in the Iron Age and Roman periods. It was located on slightly raised ground above the River Yeo at the junction of local Iron Age overland and water communication routes (Leach 1994, 6). After the conquest, the Fosse Way became a major factor in redefining the communication and economic landscape. Claudian period pottery and coins have been found but not military equipment (Leach 1982, 5). A later fortress tentatively dated between AD 60 and 90 was located to the northeast (see Map 5.1; Cox 1950; Leach 1994, 5).



Map 5.1: Ilchester, from Burnham and Wachter (1990)

The dense population and the generally known resistance to the Roman presence in the southwest part of Britain suggests that the military presence was substantial in the region, as indicated by the legionary fortress at Exeter (Leach 1994, 5). The indigenous population pattern around Ilchester remained relatively static through most of the first century as the native settlements of Ham Hill and South Cadbury remained occupied despite the presence of the Roman forces (Leach 1982, 5). That is not to say, however, that the army's economic influence was not felt. A possible *vicus* developed around the fortress, though this may be alternatively interpreted as a military depot (Burnham and Wachter 1990, 65). Yet the depth to which the military stimulated the economic landscape of the region appears to have been slight since when the fortress was abandoned, the civilian settlement was consequently abandoned for 20 years or more (Leach 1982, 7; Burnham and Wachter 1990, 65; Ellis 1994d, 84-91).

When the site was reoccupied thirty years later, Ilchester exhibited many unique characteristics for a “small town” in Roman Britain. Most distinctive is the fact that the internal road network was laid out at right angles centered on the Fosse Way as early as the beginning of the second century, which may indicate a level of urban planning (Leach 1982, 7-8; 1994, 8). However, no evidence for municipal buildings has been found, which would be expected of the settlement with such organization. In addition, virtually nothing is known about the city services during this early phase (Leach 1994, 8). Outside of the core settlement, the suburbs developed in a ribbon fashion more typical of small towns (Burnham and Wachter 1990, 66). The suburbs show how precarious the economic situation was for the new settlement despite evidence for urban planning. The western suburb contracted in the late first century, and the eastern suburb contracted in the early second century (Leach 1982, 6-7; 108-9). Both expanded again in the mid- to late second century (Burnham and Wachter 1990, 66). This contrasts dramatically with Catterick (see below). The exact reasons for this contraction in the suburbs while the core was developed along fairly sophisticated lines is not clearly understood and deserves further attention.

Despite evidence of some elements of urban planning, the reoccupation of the site in the late-first and early-second centuries has only one known stone building; the other two being timber constructed (Leach 1982, 8; 1994, 8-9). If we assume that urban planning represents a desire to emulate Roman urban styles, then it would be logical to assume that the desire to use Roman architectural techniques such as stone would be similarly as strong. However, despite the desire being strong, the inhabitants may not have had the ability or desire to do so despite the presence of large quantities of suitable building stone (Leach 1994, 8). However, during the mid- to late second century, Ilchester underwent a massive transformation in both architecture and general character. The use of stone became dominant, including a possible public building or *mansio* discovered under the medieval church of St. Mary Major (Ellis 1994a, 78-9). Other

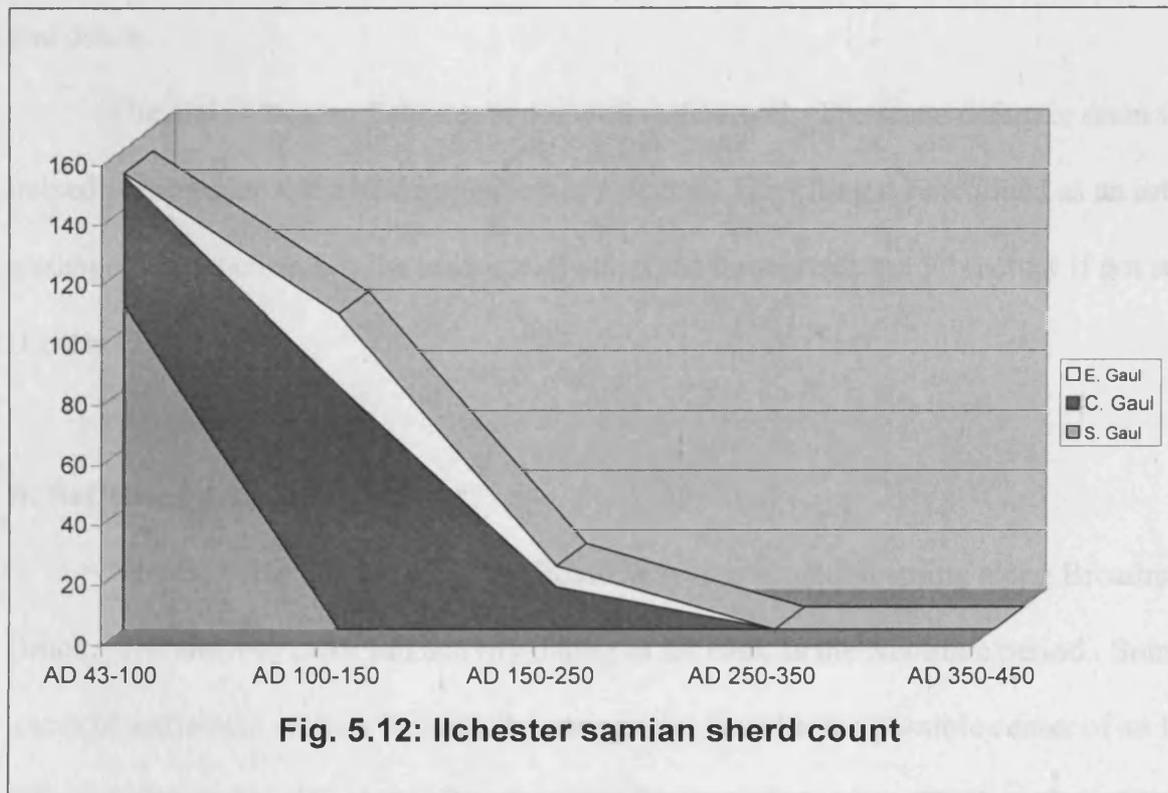
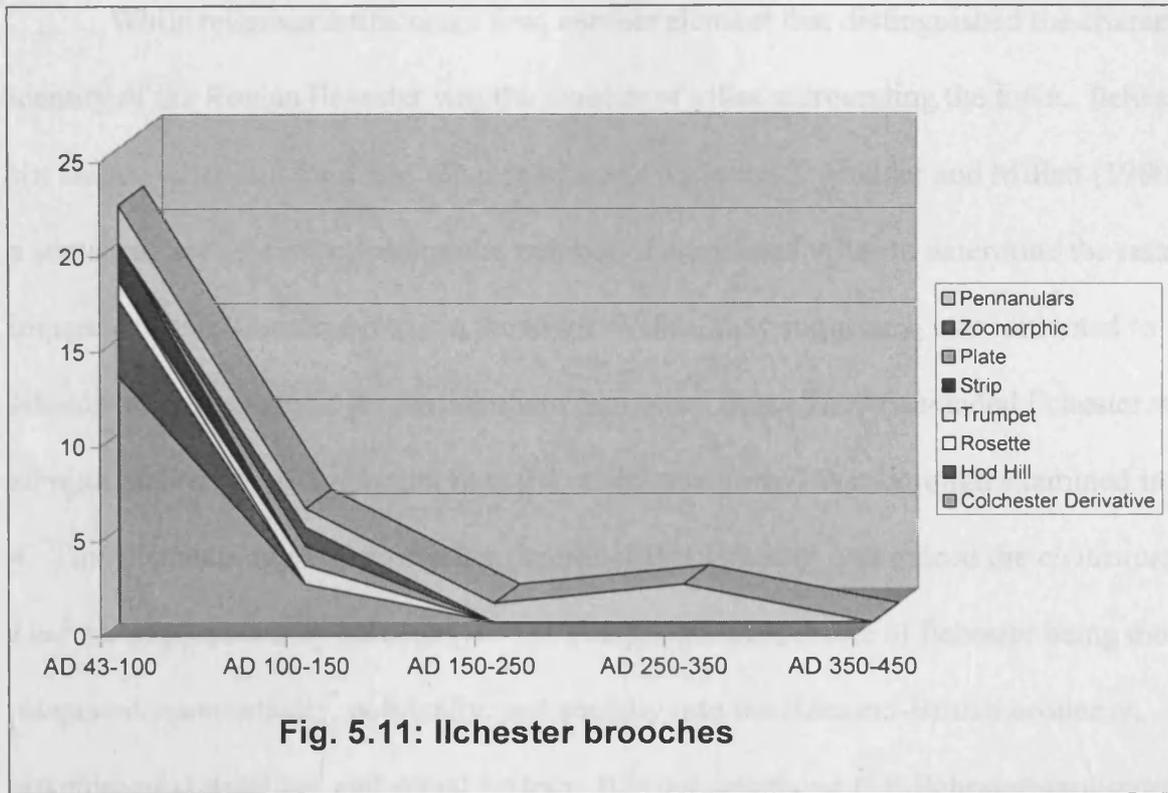
buildings were constructed out of stone but exhibit dual functions of both domestic and commercial uses (Leach 1982a 26-32; 55, 64). Corresponding with the greater use of stone was an increased use of tessellated mosaic pavements; over 30 have been found indicating a rising level of prosperity and/or salience of a Roman identity (Cox 1985). The change in the town's character in the later-second and early-third centuries was also evident with the construction of earthen defenses with a timber front added at an unknown later date (Casey 1971, 278). The construction of these defenses corresponds roughly with an upsurge of similar defenses constructed at other towns (Wacher 1966, 60-9). The defenses were modified again, possibly in the third or fourth century, when a stone wall was inserted (Casey 1971, 296). It was also at this time that Ilchester may have been promoted to *civitas* status (Stevens 1951, 188-191).

The economy of Ilchester at its height of prosperity does not easily offer an explanation for the dominance of stone and urban planning. Agriculture appears to have been the most dominant economic activity, and it is possible that it was a center for the processing of regional production (Leach 1982, 26-8; Murphy 1982, 186-290). The industrial nature of the settlement was small in scale and presumably for local consumption rather than export (Leach 1994, 10). There are a few artifacts that indicate that lead, bronze, iron, leather, and stone working took place at the settlement. In addition, the discovery of spindlewhorls indicates that a small scale yarn industry, perhaps domestic in nature, may have been present (Leach 1994, 121-33). While no kilns have ever been found, the presence of a pottery industry is suspected (Leach 1994, 10). Ilchester's main economic exports were related to the building stone from the Ham Hill quarries whose stone was exported to Exeter and Dorchester. There is also evidence that industries associated with the stone building industry developed, such as mortar, plaster, and roof tile production (Leach 1994, 10; 131). It would not be surprising then to find stone buildings with greater frequency where building stone existed in sufficient quantity. Compounded with the presence of a larger number of tessellated or mosaic floors, and the evidence of urban planning,

it appears that Ilchester diversified and became integrated with the Roman economy and adapted more “Romanized” styles and tastes.

The personal identity of Ilchester’s inhabitants shows shifting tastes when we examine some of the personal artifacts. The number and variety of brooches declined as the use of stone increased (compare Fig. 5.10 with 5.5). Since the use of brooches is generally seen as representative of Iron Age dress (Wild 1985 393-9; Wild 2004, 405; Bohme 1985; Croom 2004, 294), the decline in brooch use at Ilchester indicates that the strength of the Iron Age identities were waning. Similarly, if Jundi and Hill’s (1998, 126) hypothesis that the heavy use of brooches indicate that people were feeling insecure in their situation, the drop at Ilchester would indicate that the people felt safe in their position. It is also worth noting that variety of brooches were fewer even in the early phases than other settlements explored in Chapter 4.

The sherd count of samian ware exhibits a relatively high count early with a general decline by the mid-second century. This is typical of a military site where regular supply was easily accessed through government networks (Willis 2004, 13.1.2).



While religious artifacts are few, another element that distinguished the character and identity of the Roman Ilchester was the number of villas surrounding the town. Ilchester had six known villas and fourteen “other substantial buildings.” Hodder and Millett (1980) created a statistical analysis of towns and the number of associated villas to determine the relative importance and Roman identity in the town. Villas, they suggested, were attracted to administrative centers in greater numbers than other sites. They concluded Ilchester was administratively more important than the other “new town” Wanborough examined in Chapter 4. This methodology also reinforces the belief that Ilchester was indeed the *civitas* capital *Lindinis* as proposed by Stevens (1951). The picture then is one of Ilchester being more integrated economically, politically, and socially into the Romano-British economy, governmental structure, and social system. It is not surprising that Ilchester used more stone in buildings than other Romano-British small towns. It had both sufficient economic development and desire.

The end of Roman Ilchester is not well understood. The stone defenses seem to have helped preserve the life of the settlement to a degree. How long it functioned as an urban settlement is not clear, but the town clearly decayed throughout the 5th century if not sooner (Leach 1994, 11-12).

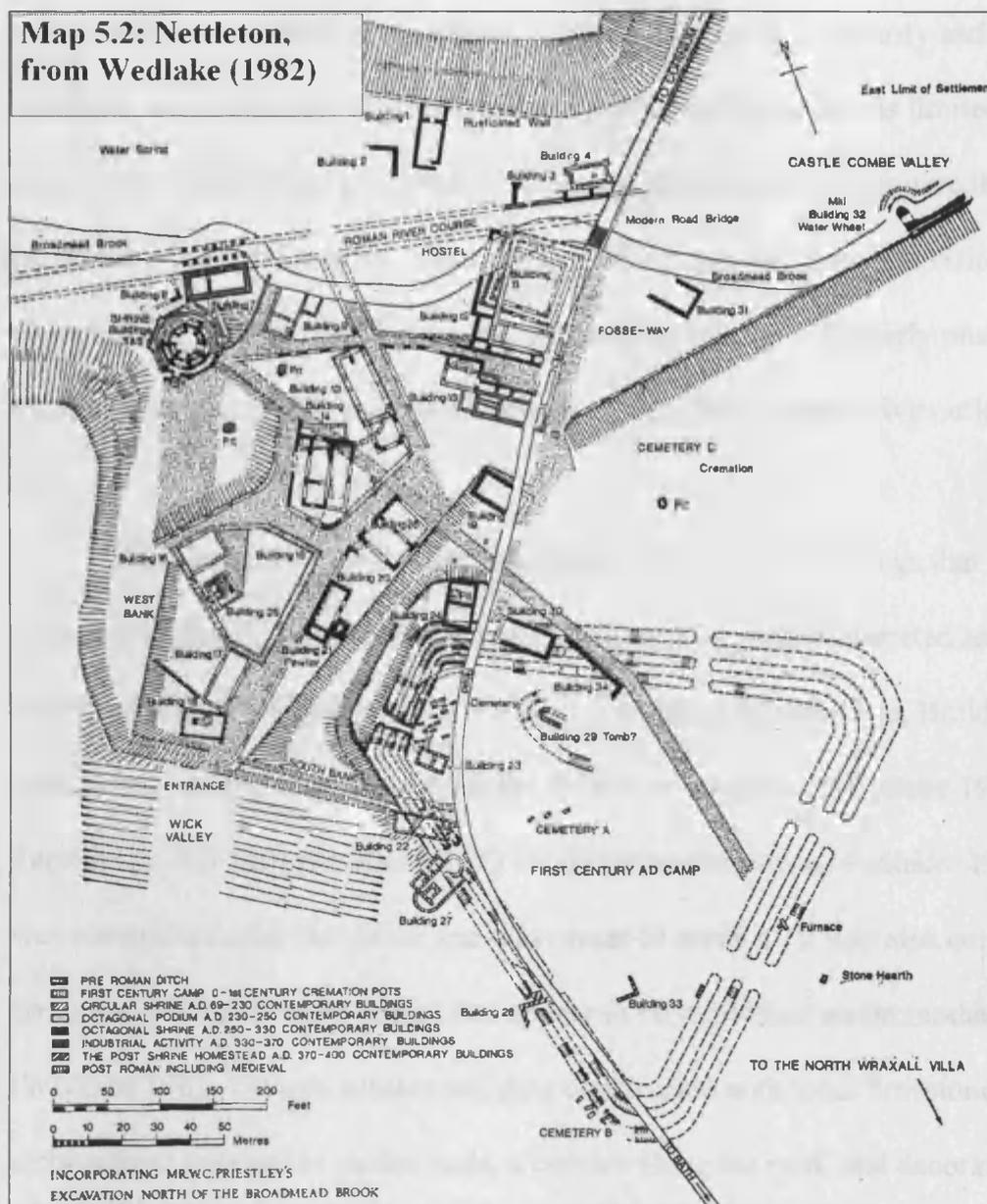
B. Nettleton: A Religious Center

Nettleton was located along the Fosse Way near a natural spring along Broadmead Brook. The site may have had activity dating as far back as the Neolithic period. Some slight traces of settlement activity indicate the spring may have been a possible center of an Iron Age river cult (Wedlake 1982, 3, 54; Burnham and Wachter 1990, 190). The location of the town had a number of advantages. In addition to being on the Fosse, the town was situated between limestone escarpments which provided a ready supply of building stone. It is also possible that

the site had a more ethereal quality. The excavator, Wedlake, a devotee of fanciful and subjective descriptions, was himself taken by the beauty of the setting. He describes the town's location as a "delightful scene of rural beauty and tranquility, in a countryside far from the madding crowd; and whose natural features would provide the desirable home of a god" (Wedlake 1982, 54). *If* we are to take Wedlake's very subjective impressions as potentially reflective of some Britons in the Roman era, Nettleton had not only several economic resources, it may have had an intangible quality that would attract people.

The early Roman phase began in the mid- to late first century. A first century enclosure, located on commanding ground, was found under the later cemeteries. While it is possible that it was military in origin, no military artifacts have yet been found (Wedlake 1982, 6; Burnham and Wachter 1990, 190). The first century settlement was constructed mostly west of the Fosse where the road may have been deliberately diverted to approach the spring (Wedlake 1982, 5-6). If this was the case, clearly the spring had some Iron Age ritual significance and provided the stimulus for urban development by imperial authorities as has been examined on the continent (Rorison 2001, 93; Wamser and Flugel 2000, 237; King 1995, 187). The primary feature of the Romano-British settlement was a circular shrine constructed out of local limestone with white mortar footings (Wedlake 1982, 8-11). Millett (1990, 209-10) contends that the shrine was secondary in nature to the settlement since it was located off the road. However, given that the other buildings in Nettleton between the Fosse and the shrine seem to serve either the shrine directly or the people who came to visit the shrine, the importance of the shrine seems to be significant and that this did not escape Roman officials. Since governmental investment in religious settlements was common on the continent it would be expected in Britain as well.

**Map 5.2: Nettleton,
from Wedlake (1982)**



Inscriptions indicate that it was dedicated to Apollo *Cunomaglos* (“Hound Prince”), an otherwise unknown Celtic personification of Apollo (Wedlake 1982, 135-6, 143). Wedlake (1982, 11) believes that a construction date of c. AD 160 or sooner is probable, though Burnham and Wachter (1990, 190) suggested the shrine was built after AD 180. Given the fact that a building, possibly constructed for visitors (Building 11), was erected around AD 140, it seems that an earlier date is more probable. What is known is that the first stone shrine had eight internal walls in a radial pattern. The earliest floor of the shrine had red Roman tiles

(*terra singulatae*), which may indicate a certain amount of prosperity and/or Roman influence. However, the adaptation of other Roman architectural patterns was limited. The walls were whitewashed rather than plastered. It is almost impossible to determine if this was due to economic or cultural reasons. The well-worn door step indicates that visitor traffic, and therefore presumably donations, were relatively extensive in the early phases. If that were the case, lack of wall plaster may be indicative of a slightly conservative outlook (Wedlake 1982, 8-14).

Contemporary with the circular shrine were several buildings that seemed to service the shrine. Building 8, also constructed of local limestone, was interpreted as a priest's or caretaker's house (Wedlake 1982, 11-16). Another stone structure, Building 11, may have been constructed as accommodation for visitors to the shrine (Wedlake 1982, 17). A coin of Faustina (c. AD 140) provides a TPQ for this structure which Wedlake (1982, 17) concluded was constructed after the shrine and was meant to serve it. It was also constructed out of local limestone and had several rooms that appear to be individual accommodations. Building 8 (Wedlake 1982, 14) was another building constructed with local limestone and some architectural pretension: gabled ends, a cornice along the roof, and decorative finials. It also may have had a possible boat pier or covered arcade attached projecting into Broadmead Brook, possibly for "taking the waters" (Burnham and Wachter 1990, 191-2). Domestic dwellings remain largely unexcavated despite indications of their presence in the fields next to the excavated areas (Wedlake 1982, 4). However, one early structure, Building 14, was interpreted by Wedlake (1982, 32-4) as a domestic dwelling. It too was made of local limestone and was used until AD 230. The early use of stone is perhaps attributable to the limestone escarpments overlooking the settlement. However, the early and dominant use of stone is also typical of religious sites such as Bath and Springhead. Thus there may have been a motivation for

investment by religious communities in order to both serve the local deity as well as provide a refined image to pilgrims visiting the settlement.

The importance of the shrine in an economic sense seems clear. The creation of a possible hostel and the investment in stone architecture is similar to other sites in the northwestern provinces (Rorison 2001, 93; King 1995, 187; Burnham and Wachter 1990, 191). If Building 7 was in fact a hostel or lodging structure, Wedlake (1982, 21) hypothesized, in a most colorful way, that many people may have come for the location of “serenity” as much as for the religious nature of the shrine. A type of “tourist” service industry would naturally arise to provide services to the pilgrims, thus bringing outside money and concentrating it in the settlement.

The service industry tied to the shrine undoubtedly would affect the community identity as well as the individual identities of the town’s inhabitants. The main shrine’s connection with Apollo *Cunomaglos* is clear from inscriptions, a bronze votive plaque, and intaglios (Wedlake 1982, 135; 136; 143). Webster (1995) has examined the meanings behind interpreting various Celtic deities with Classical gods. The consensus has been that localized Celtic deities had multiple functions and that the Romans imposed an order by subsuming them into the limited number of Classical deities. On the contrary, Webster proposes that imperialist Romans forced the new interpretations of local deities on the indigenous population (Webster 1995, 156). The name pairings indicate that certain indigenous elements were willing to acclimatize themselves with the Romans by re-interpreting their religion along Roman lines (Webster 1995, 159-160). This may very well be the case, as an altar at Nettleton (Wedlake 1982, 136) was dedicated by a man named Silvanus to Apollo *Cunomaglos* but also contains references to *numinia* and thus an attachment to the Imperial cult. The question remains as to whether this was a Roman soldier, official, pilgrim, or a member of the indigenous population. Regardless, the Roman identity of the shrine and the people who served it had some saliency given the classical interpretation of

the “Hound Prince.” In addition, it is possible that the town has another affiliation with the classical Diana (see below).

How people outwardly used Iron Age artifacts to project their self-identity changed as well. The use of brooches declined in both quantity and variety but never completely disappeared (Fig. 5.13). This is similar to Carlisle in Chapter 4 and Catterick below. Given the fact that a prolonged military presence is neither proven nor likely, the continued use of brooches may indicate a certain conservative outlook of the people. It therefore is not necessarily a linear relationship between Iron Age and Roman identities.

The use of samian was largely consistent with other sites seen so far (Fig. 5.14). However, other pottery at the site was more adaptive to Roman traditions than Iron Age influences, in contrast with other nearby sites such as Camerton (Wedlake 1982, 239-241). At the time when the use of stone was at its height in the mid-third to mid-fourth centuries (see Fig. 5.6), the use of brooches, Iron Age means of displaying wealth and identity in Britain and the northwest provinces, were at their lowest. However, the use of brooches did continue and even increased in the fourth century. Several explanations may account for this. First, the saliency of Roman identity appears to be less than total among the permanent residents. The Iron Age identity may have existed along side a Roman identity. Second, the pilgrims to the shrine or travelers along the Fosse may have been the ones using the brooches. If we assume that the shrine was relatively local and the pilgrims were thus largely rural, the power of a Roman identity may not have been very strong outside of the towns and cities. Lastly, it is very possible that the government investment may create a veneer of stone structures that belie the fact that the identity of the people as conservative in outlook and identity.

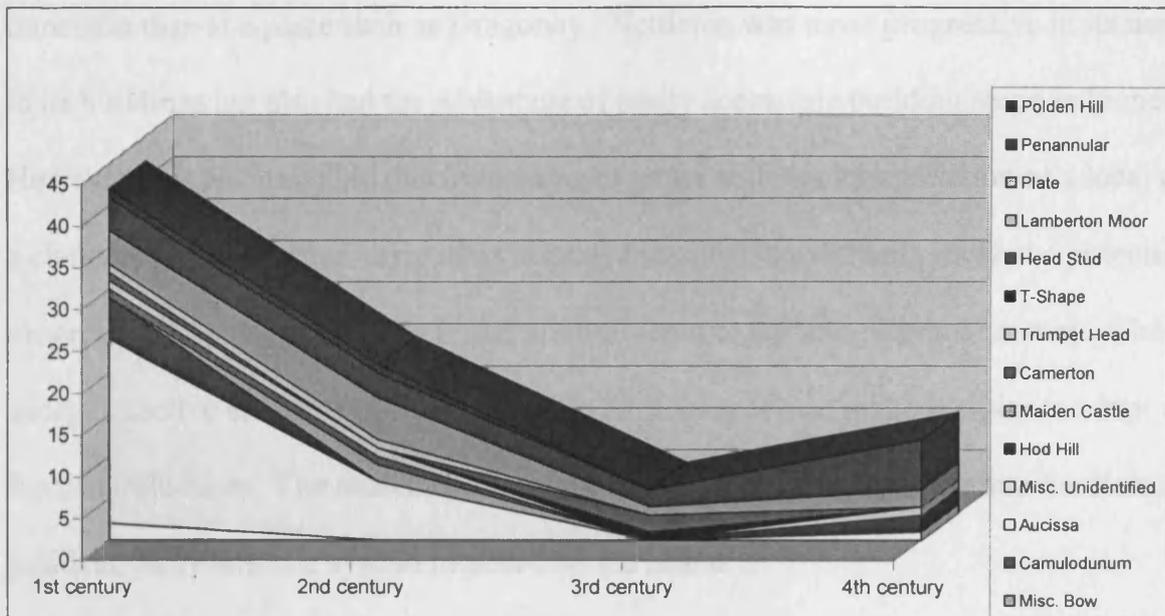


Fig. 5.13: Nettleton brooches

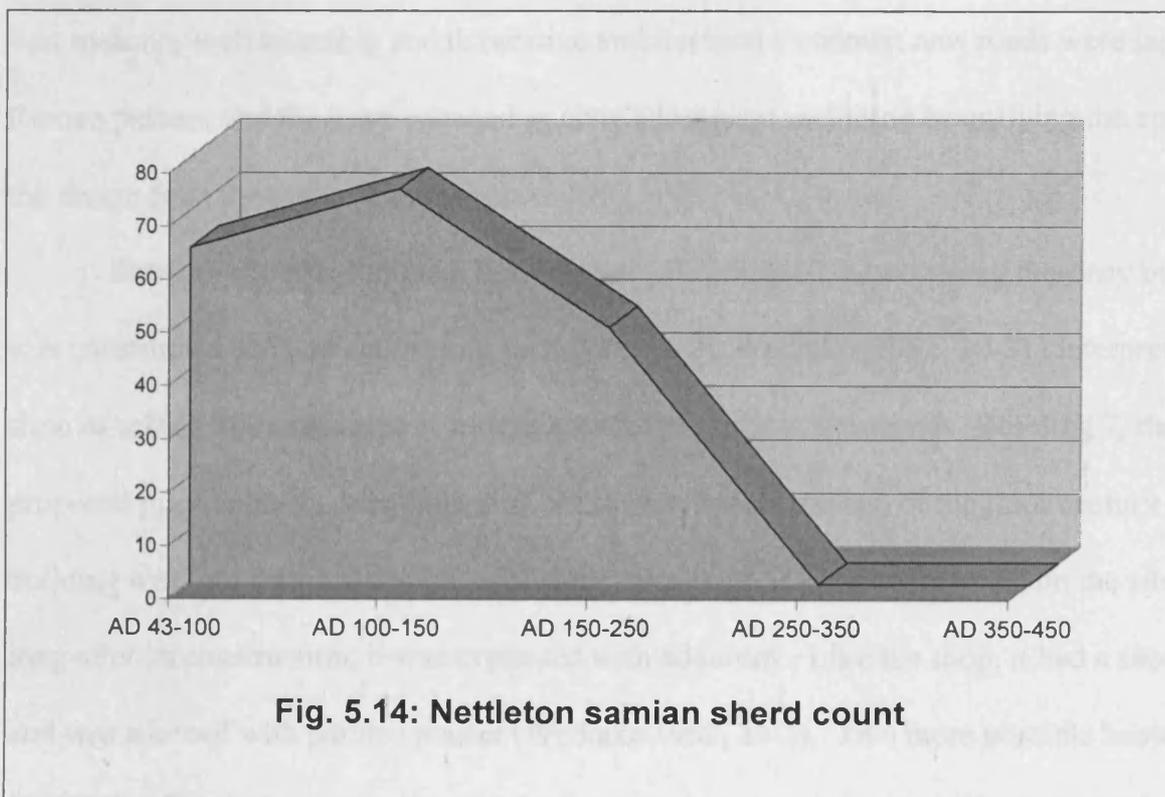


Fig. 5.14: Nettleton samian sherd count

Thus, it appears that the first to third centuries was a period of adjustment to the new imperial presence, though the religious nature of the settlement helped foster a smoother

transition than at a place such as Dragonby. Nettleton was more progressive in its use of stone in its buildings but also had the advantage of easily accessible building stone only meters away. However, it is also possible that by coming to terms with the interpretation of a local deity with a classical personification early in its history, the town's inhabitants showed a potentially progressive impulse, especially if that allowed them to tap into pilgrims' money. This ability to accept selective elements of Roman imperial influence would make it easier to adopt other Roman influences. The settlement, in other words, was self-integrating into the Roman cultural, political, and economic system imposed on the island.

Around AD 230, the settlement underwent a massive expansion of the services associated with the shrine as well as a remodeling of the shrine itself. This was the height of Nettleton's existence in the Roman era. The buildings were of much higher quality with the best masonry craftsmanship and decorative architectural elements; new roads were laid out in a Roman pattern, and the town engaged in civic adornment including beautifying the approach to the shrine from the Fosse Way (Wedlake 1982, 19).

Services expanded to meet this demand. Building 10, a two storey masonry building, was constructed and had an opening facing the street. Wedlake (1982, 30-31) interprets this shop as selling votive plaques or mementoes for pilgrims to the shrine. Building 7, the proposed pilgrim hostel, was expanded. However, before the end of the third century the building was torn down, and a larger hostelry, Building 12, was constructed on the site. Not long after its construction, it was expanded with additions. Like the shop, it had a second storey and was adorned with painted plaster (Wedlake 1982, 31-2). Two more possible hostels, Buildings 17 and 19, were built at the beginning of the fourth century (Wedlake 1982, 34-5; 59). With three potential hostels to accommodate visitors, it is clear that servicing the shrine was a lucrative service type industry.

The shrine itself underwent renovations. Around AD 249 an octagonal podium was added surrounding the circular shrine (Wedlake 1982, 26). Several elements of architectural embellishment were added, including carved stonework and columns (Wedlake 1982, 188-197). An octagonal wall was also constructed around the temple itself. In addition, a precinct wall was constructed, and elaborate gateway marked the entrance to the shrine (Wedlake 1982, 26; 188-197). The expansion of the temple included the construction of a possible priest's house, Building 9, around AD 260 (Wedlake 1982, 27-30). Beyond the central shrine to Apollo, another possible temple, Building I, dating to this period was found by Priestly in the 1930s. The building included a possible sacred spring in its northeastern room and a carved fragment that was interpreted as Diana (Wedlake 1982, 54-7). Burnham and Wachter (1990, 191), however, note that there is little direct evidence that this building was a temple.

In the later third century the main shrine to Apollo burnt down and was reconstructed again in an octagonal pattern. The new shrine included several architectural elements including columns, vaulted ceilings, and painted plaster. It also had an open ambulatory overlooking the river (Wedlake 1982, 36; 40; 43; 51-52). Early in the fourth century the temple was remodeled (Wedlake 1982, 61-4).

Despite strong evidence that the town's economy was based in part on the flourishing shrine, which expanded in the late third and early fourth century, the economy diversified. Building 26 contained an iron forge, and Building 16 also contained significant amounts of iron slag associated with smelting (Wedlake 1982, 35-6). Approximately 100 m upstream from the main settlement, a water wheel for milling grain was constructed (Wedlake 1982, 97-98). The flourishing of the shrine economy and the diversification into new economic endeavors helped the town prosper. A number of domestic buildings (Buildings 14, 15, 17, 20, 25) were constructed in dry limestone masonry (Wedlake 1982, 32-5; 58-60).

The civic identity of Nettleton and the personal identity of its inhabitants during this prosperous phase must have been even more closely tied to the local deities than before. If Wedlake's interpretations of Buildings 7, 17, and 19 are correct, the economic stimulus from strangers visiting the town appears to have been significant if there was a need for three hostels to lodge them. Wedlake (1982, 111) hypothesizes that the town was competing with nearby Bath for religious pilgrims. If true, they had incentive to invest in beautifying the settlement as a whole as well as their individual buildings to project a refined image. The constructed environment, with sturdy and attractive buildings, would further add to the "delightful setting" which "attracted visitors in increasing numbers" (Wedlake 1982, 21).

The citizens would likely have created several identities in this process, their attachment to the god being only one. In addition, with potentially a large number of religious pilgrims staying in the town at any given time, citizens would have been fully aware of the difference between themselves, who resided permanently in the town, and those who were more transient yet brought significant amounts of capital into the settlement. The fact that the town's residents attended to their needs in a service type industry would add further nuances to this relationship, especially if religious activity occurred at ritualized festivals only at certain times of the year. Some members of the town may have had an alternate personal identity from those who directly or indirectly serviced the shrine, with the expansion into industries that were more production in nature such as iron working or milling.

The prosperity of the town began to decline in the early to mid-fourth century when the shrine was abandoned. The neglect of the shrine removed the primary economic base of the town, forcing the inhabitants to look elsewhere for subsistence (Wedlake 1982, 67). Despite the fact that the town had diversified its economy during the shrine's height, it never fully recovered after the loss of the shrine even though the metal working industry expanded.

However, the buildings were in poor condition through lack of maintenance, and new buildings were constructed of less refined masonry (Wedlake 1982, 66; 110-11; Wedlake 1982, 109).

The reason for the shrine's desertion in the early fourth century is not exactly clear (Wedlake 1982, 66; 109). Somewhat later the settlement suffered at least two devastating fires in the last decade of the fourth century, and there are indications that defensive measures were taken around this date (Wedlake 1982, 67; 109). Yet, the abandonment of the shrine was not the end of the settlement. New industries also arose after the abandonment of the shrine that replaced the pilgrims' economic input. Evidence of bronze working and possibly smelting was apparent in Building 13, and pewter moulds were found in six structures (Buildings 20, 21, 17, 18, 9, 13), solid evidence of economic adaptation (Wedlake 1982, 68, 71). Many of the buildings from the shrine period were adopted and modified for this new activity. Certainly Nettleton had several advantages for production including its situation on the Fosse Way, easy access to coal for furnaces as well as lead and tin for pewter by shipments up the Bristol Channel. The existing stone buildings from the shrine period would also be particularly attractive to industries that used furnaces at high temperatures. In places such as Asthall, many metal working furnaces were located in open walled structures (Booth 1997), presumably due to the risk of fire. However, with an abundance of stone buildings no longer being used in their original form, they would presumably be inexpensive and easily modified for metal working purposes. Regardless of motives, the "serene" setting of Nettleton changed significantly with the new activity, and the coal furnaces blackened the soil (Wedlake 1982, 68).

Around AD 360 the shrine had a brief revival, though on a significantly smaller and more local scale. Part of a broken column was hollowed out and used as a votive bowl, and a large votive pit was dug through the pre-existing floor (Wedlake 1982, 79, 111). The exact reason for this pagan revival is uncertain but roughly corresponds with Julian reopening the pagan temples in AD 362 and with other pagan revivals in nearby Camerton and Maiden Castle

(Wedlake 1982, 82, 111). The character of the revival period did not equate to the shrine at its height as the shrine and the associated buildings appear to have been simply reoccupied despite their poor condition and no new construction took place. There is also no evidence of large scale pilgrim visitation. Ultimately the shrine was completely abandoned by AD 390 when it appears to have been converted into a farm house (Wedlake 1982, 82-4).

The identity of the town changed as a consequence of the changes at the shrine. Economically the town became more or less one of industrial character rather than religious character. It is also not clear how many people associated with the new metal working industries that arose in Nettleton. Were newcomers taking advantage of suitable properties at bargain prices? Regardless of how many people fled or came to Nettleton, the civic identity must have been radically different after AD 320 when the shrine was abandoned.

With a town closely tied to a pagan deity, the civic identity must have radically shifted when the shrine was abandoned. The self-identity of the people must have changed significantly as well. If the closing of the shrine was due to an overall grassroots abandonment of pagan practices, this may not have been a traumatic process. However, if the shrine was closed due to some imperial mandate, the closing of the shrine may have been more stressful. Practices would be driven underground, only to have a brief revival after the mid-fourth century. The fact that even during the pagan revival the shrine was never fully reconstructed and that there was little or no large-scale pilgrim traffic at the shrine indicates that the area may have been adjusting to new and complex religious dynamics after the introduction of Christianity. If we accept Jundi and Hill's (1998, 126-131) basic hypothesis that the use of brooches and other outward personal adornment increased when individuals were under socio-economic stress, then the period when the shrine was abandoned may have indeed placed stress on the inhabitants of Nettleton (see Fig. 5.13).

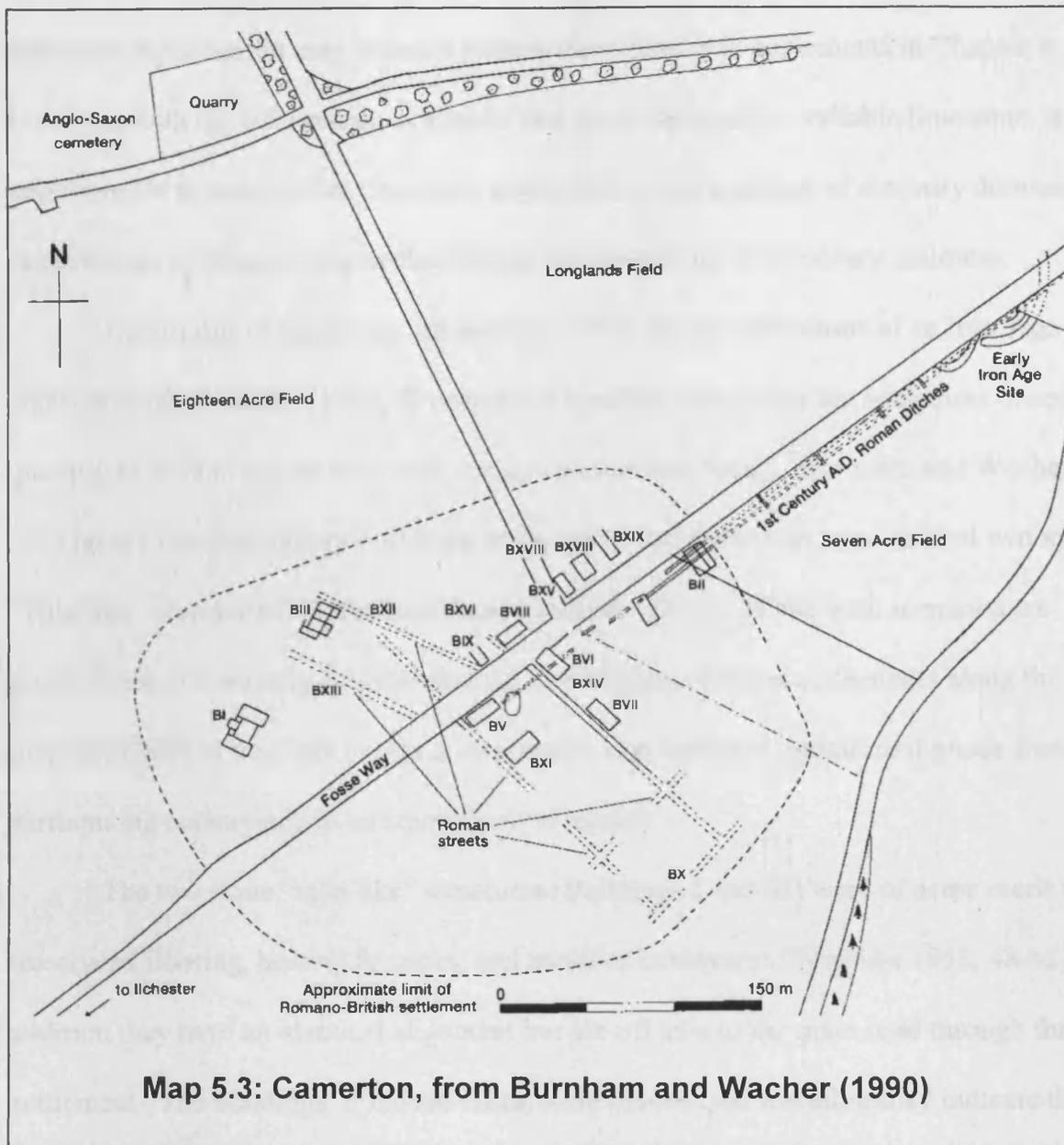
The complete abandonment of the shrine and its conversion into a farmstead marks the final phase of Roman Nettleton. During the earlier abandonment, the shrine was left to decay and not used in any way. However, after approximately AD 390 the use of formerly sacred ground for non-religious purposes indicates that the people must have completely abandoned their pagan deity. This last phase of occupation did not last long, however. Within a few years the settlement met with a violent end. In the former shrine a large number of human bones were found, many with signs of violence including decapitation (Wedlake 1982, 84-5; 110-11; 179). The excavator is not clear on the exact dating of these finds, but places them before the Roman abandonment of Britain and attributes it to an attack of Irish pirates who also may have attacked nearby villas (Wedlake 1982, 111). However, Burnham and Wachter (1990, 192) attribute the deaths to a much later date, that of the final Saxon conquest of the region in the mid-sixth century. Regardless of whether the violent end of Nettleton occurred in the early-fifth or mid-sixth centuries, from AD 390 on Nettleton was only a shadow of its former self.

C. Camerton: A Proto-Industrial Center

Two towns in this category, Camerton and Water Newton, were centers of “industrial” production. Water Newton was in the center of the Nene Valley pottery industry, and Camerton was a major producer of pewter and possibly also smelted iron. Both towns would potentially provide valuable case studies. However, the excavations at Water Newton are not as complete, excavated by different archaeologists with varied methodologies, and a focus largely outside of the enclosed settlement. Camerton, on the other hand, was excavated extensively by one archaeologist, W.J. Wedlake, from 1926-1956 with little or no work having been completed since. Despite the era of the excavations, the report is remarkably complete and well suited for the purposes of this study. However, it should be noted that Wedlake only excavated just over 2 hectares of the possibly 12 hectare site (Smith 1987, 296).

Camerton was in close proximity to raw materials that would be advantageous to industrial production as the Romans understood it. The Somerset coalfields and the Mendip lead deposits are nearby, and it was in favorable position to import tin from the Cornish Peninsula (Wedlake 1958, 9-11). There was no direct Iron Age settlement at Camerton, but significant activity in the general area began in the early Iron Age (Wedlake 1958, 9; 37-9; 42). Taken together, the availability of resources, an existing population, and the presence of suitable building stone, it is not surprising that the settlement had sufficient economic advantages to use stone as a dominant medium for building construction.

After the Roman conquest, the construction of the Fosse Way altered the region. Generally believed to have been built in the early years after Roman arrival, Wedlake (1958, 10) colorfully contends that the Roman presence changed the area from “the squalor of mud and wattle huts to partly at least stone.” While obviously over-simplifying and possibly romanticizing the impact of the Roman invaders, the presence of the Fosse would have altered the economic and social landscape of the region. However, it appears that the region remained largely agricultural for at least another 200 years.



In the first century, a number of wooden structures were built to the north side of the Fosse in Camerton. These buildings were mostly earthfast structures, though some may have rested on sleeper beams. No complete plans of any of the structures were recovered due to the fact that the limestone bedrock was close to the surface in this area, and excavations consisted only of trial trenches (Wedlake 1958, 47). Since the number and nature of these buildings are unclear, Table 5.1 and Figure 5.2 above reflected only the certain information we have of this early phase of Camerton's existence. If it had been possible to recover more complete

information, Camerton may reflect a pattern more similar to settlements in Chapter 4.

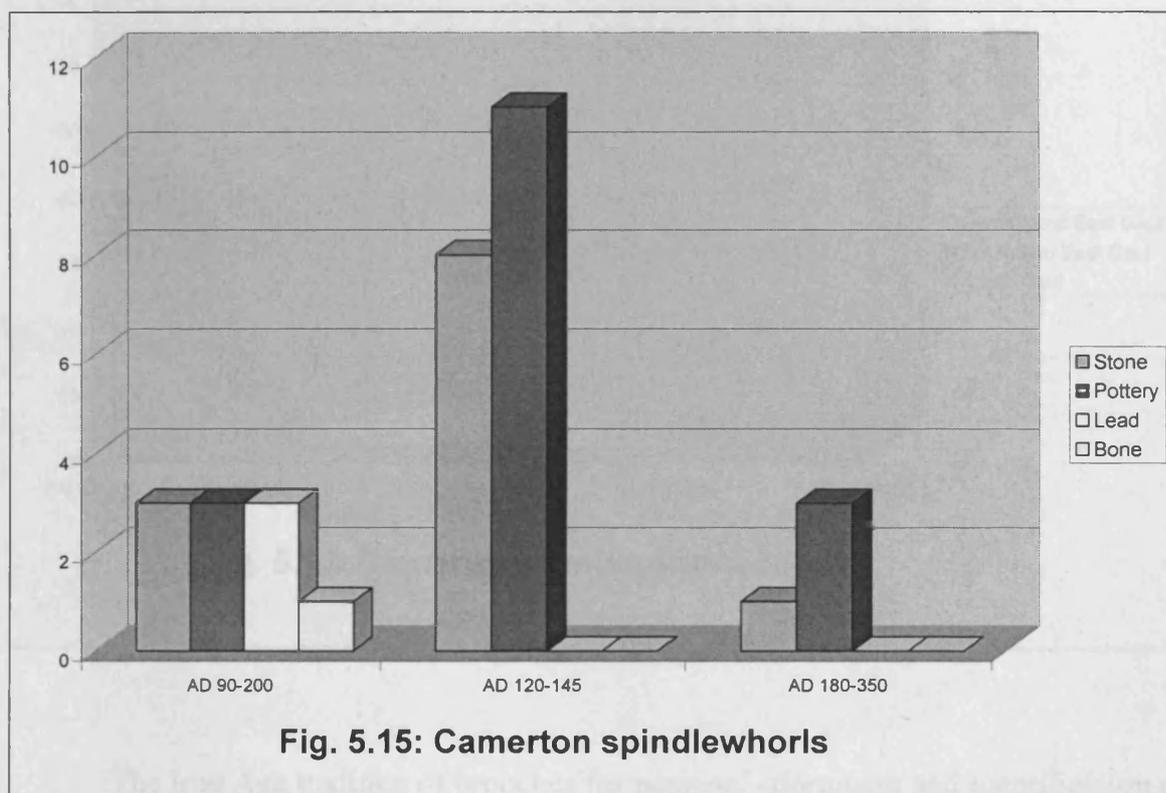
However, with the information available, and given the readily available limestone, it is also not unreasonable to assume that Camerton would still reveal a pattern of masonry dominated construction techniques despite the limited information on first century buildings.

The origins of Camerton are unclear. There are no indications of an Iron Age antecedent but Wedlake (1958, 7) postulated a military origin for the settlement based on the quantity of samian sherds and coins, though no fort was found. Burnham and Wachter (1990, 225) ignore the first century buildings and suggest that Camerton arose around two modest “villa like” corridor structures constructed around AD 180. While both scenarios are possibilities, it is equally possible that the site was one of many settlements along the Fosse to meet the needs of travelers or was a local center that collected agricultural goods from the surrounding countryside to transport them to market.

The two stone “villa like” structures (Buildings I and III) were of some merit with tessellated flooring, heating furnaces, and metallated courtyards (Wedlake 1958, 48-52). In addition they have an identical alignment but are off axis to the main road through the settlement. The buildings, if indeed villas, were modest and therefore may indicate that Camerton arose on an imperial estate (Burnham and Wachter 1990, 296). In addition, being located where limestone was readily available, the investment in such buildings was less than where stone needed to be imported (see for example Alcester, Chapter 6).

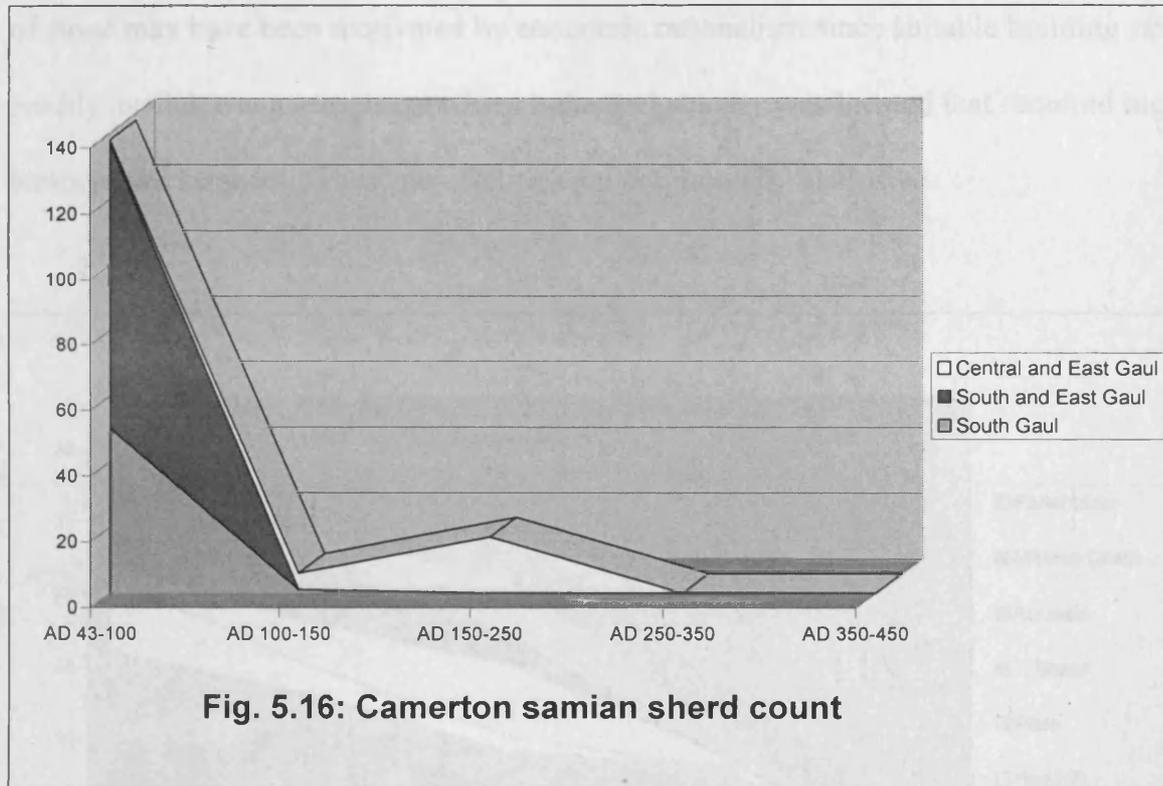
The civic and personal identity of the people of Camerton is difficult to ascertain given our limited understanding of the early settlement. It appears certain the settlement up to AD 250 was predominantly agricultural (Wedlake 1958, 54). This may have included some slight seasonal industrial production such as yarn making. Pottery wasters, lead, bone, and stone spindlewhorls were found on the site, and the largest number came from contexts in this period (see Fig. 5.15; Wedlake 1958, 247-7). It would be likely that a large number of people would

identify themselves with agriculture and that they might see the civic identity of the settlement as an agricultural town. If indeed the settlement was tied to a large estate, the civic identity would reflect a connection to a wealthy patron, as would the personal identity of the inhabitants to some degree. This would be especially true if the estate was imperially owned.



However, looking at other artifacts, a confusing perception of individual self-identity arises. The use of samian ware declined dramatically at the beginning of the second century (see Fig. 5.16). This decline is much more pronounced than other case studies in this study. Based on samian sherds, Wedlake had hypothesized that Camerton may have had a military origin and this seems very plausible if not probable. If we assume this as correct, the decline in samian ware could be explained by the advancing of the military out of the region. Given the slight rise after mid-second century in samian sherds, which correlates with the construction of the corridor structures, perhaps Camerton saw a slight economic recovery while the use of

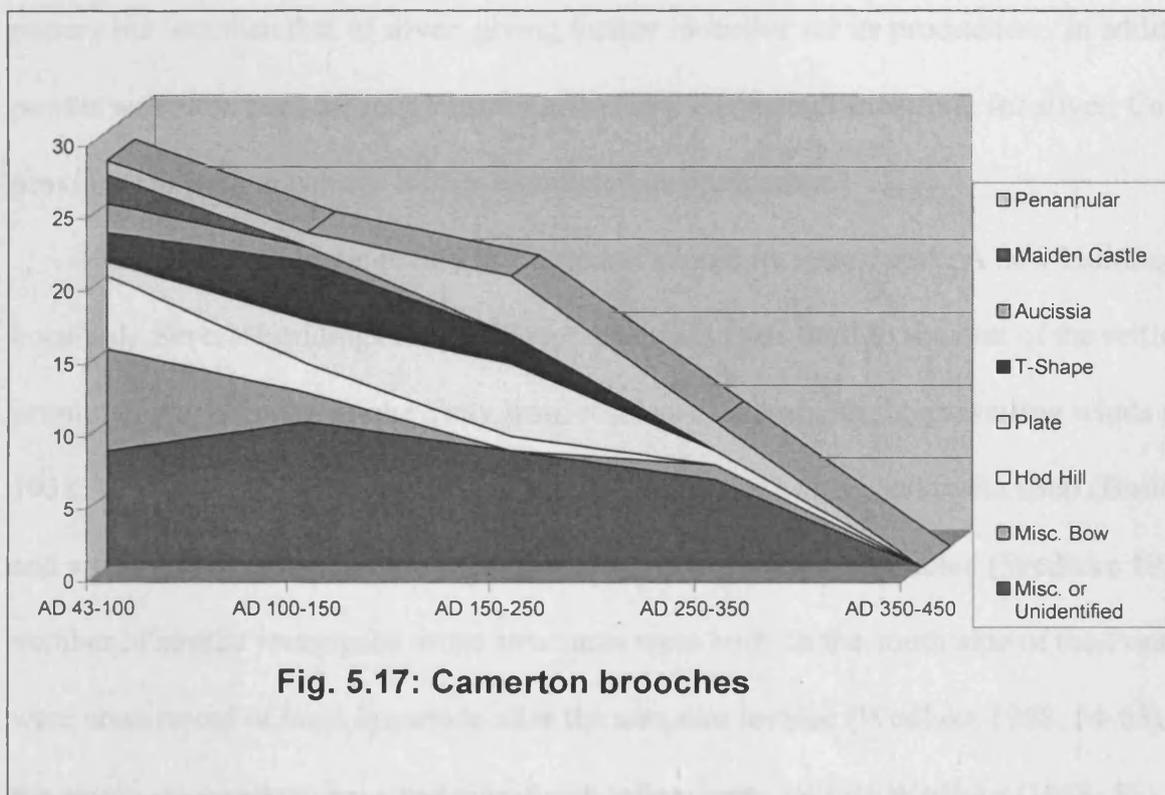
samian was still somewhat popular. However, it should also be noted that the decline in samian ware was much more pronounced and at an earlier date than other sites in this study.



The Iron Age tradition of brooches for personal adornment and identification provide a contrasting picture of early Camerton (see Fig. 5.17). A less dramatic decline than other settlements is evident, suggesting that the population of Camerton held on to at least some aspects of their Iron Age identity. The brooches also show a continuation of Iron Age patterns of behavior, even if there was a declining usage.

The religious practices of the inhabitants of Camerton are also obscure. However, Building 1 may have had a foundation burial as a pit containing the skeletons of two dogs was found (Wedlake 1958, 72). If these were foundation burials, it would further suggest that inhabitants of this structure were continuing Iron Age traditions and thus had such an identity. Taken together, therefore, the stone buildings are not as indicative of the strength of a Roman

identity. The dramatic decline in samian usage (possibly after the military left), the high use of brooches and some indications of Iron Age religion, the use of stone may be simply been reflective of the wishes of an estate owner more than the inhabitants. Alternatively, the choice of stone may have been motivated by economic rationalism since suitable building stone was readily available at a settlement where industrial activity was located that required high temperature furnaces. These possibilities are not mutually exclusive.



The picture of Camerton changes dramatically in the middle of the third century with the introduction of metal industries. The number and character of the buildings changed, and artifacts indicate a more industrial character to the settlement. The change in civic and personal identity must have been relatively striking. Starting around AD 250 there was a dramatic rise in the appearance of iron slag (1958, 54, 80-2) attributes to iron smelting. The increase in iron slag reveals the changing economic condition of the settlement. In addition, pewter production

seems to have been introduced at this time (Wedlake 1958, 54; 82-6). This is consistent with the rise in use of pewter throughout Britain (Beagrie 1989, 175-6). Pewter use and production may have started as early as the first or early second century, but both increased in the mid-third century (Beagrie 1989, 175). Given Camerton's location close to the Mendip lead fields and its favorable location to import tin and coal, Camerton was in a natural location to produce it. As Beagrie (1989, 178) notes, there were several instances of pewter buried with coin hoards, presumably to be retrieved later. This may indicate that pewter was more of a luxury item than pottery but less than that of silver, giving further incentive for its production. In addition, since pewter was often used for religious donations as a convenient substitute for silver, Camerton's proximity to Bath may have further stimulated its production.

This new economic reality in Camerton altered its appearance. A new building phase occurred. Several buildings for production purposes were built to the east of the settlement, presumably to keep the smoke away from residential areas with the prevailing winds (Wedlake 1958, 155). Buildings to support the main industries such as a blacksmith shop (Building VI) and a possible shop facing the Fosse (Building II) were also constructed (Wedlake 1958, 55). A number of similar rectangular stone structures were built on the south side of the Fosse. They were constructed of local limestone after the area was leveled (Wedlake 1958, 54-63). None of the structures appear to have had significant refinements. While Wedlake (1958, 55) hypothesizes that they housed the artisans hired by a local entrepreneur for the new industries it seems more probably that their minimal investment was due to the limited resources of the people who constructed them. We also should not overlook continuity in the settlement as well. While the new industries did change the settlement, Millett (1992, 208) contends that even with evidence of manufacturing, agricultural production may have remained important if not the primary economic production of the town.

Wedlake (1958, 86), never shy about colorful descriptions, imagined a traveler approaching Camerton “along the Fosse Way from the south, over the brow of Mendip, being confronted with the rising black smoke from the settlement on the plateau which lay between him and *Aquae Sulis*.” While his view is perhaps influenced by visions of nineteenth century British industrialization, it appears that the settlement was in fact affected by pollution from these industries. The occupation layers associated with the new production appear blackened by the coal soot (Wedlake 1958, 86).

The civic identity of Camerton and the personal identity of its inhabitants must have changed significantly during its manufacturing height in the later third and early fourth centuries. During this time, the use of stone for building construction expanded. The economic input of the new industries helped the inhabitants of Camerton reach the economic threshold of feasibility. The fact that suitable building stone was readily available certainly made that threshold lower than places where stone had to be imported. Practical needs, such as more fire-resistant buildings to hold furnaces, may have dictated some of the construction. Nevertheless, this was still a substantial investment in a new economic venture. The construction of the domestic stone buildings also reflects the growing prosperity of the town and personal investment and integration into the monetary economy. Coin loss at this time was also at its height, due probably to both rapid inflation and the new prosperity brought by the industries (see Fig. 5.10).

The manufacturing aspect of the town, even with continued agricultural production, must have been apparent beyond the growth in stone buildings and the pollution described above. Wedlake found few services other than the blacksmith and one shop. Thus, if we are right in assuming that agriculture remained significant, the occupational identity was divided into two groups, which affected both civic and personal identity. During this period of relative economic prosperity, the Iron Age traditions continued to decline. The use of brooches

dramatically declined both in quantity and variety. Thus it appears that as the town became more inter-connected with the Romano-British economy, the saliency of the Iron Age identities of the past declined significantly.

The prosperity was not to last. Starting in the early fourth century, Camerton showed evidence of decline. Three new stone buildings (Buildings VII, IX, XV) were built, but they were of lesser quality and used little or no mortar. Wedlake (1958, 63) describes them as “degenerate in character.” Local limestone continued to be used, but the investment was declining. By the mid-fourth century many of the buildings were allowed to deteriorate significantly. Since the occupational debris is very slight, it appears that the occupants at that time may have been only temporary inhabitants, perhaps shepherds (Wedlake 1958, 67). The abandonment of the settlement is as obscure as its origins. However, the industrial economy may have been as much a reason for the town’s decline as for its prosperity. Tying itself to the production of pewter, a potential semi-luxury item, hastened the town’s demise when a general economic malaise took hold over the western empire, and people no longer could afford pewter.

D. Catterick: Success and Limits in a Government Town

Three sites in this category had close relationships with the central government and/or the Roman military. Richborough was the primary port during the initial invasion and remained a principal port of entry to Britain, Corbridge was a major supply station along the frontier with Scotland; and Catterick originated as a *vicus*, then a thriving town next to a military base. It had a *cursus publicus* station on a major north-south route and possibly housed a cavalry station in the late Roman period. Each of the sites, like every town, was unique in its own way.

However, recent publication of 40 years’ worth of excavations at Catterick detailing over 23 percent of the main town and suburbs, allows a nuanced understanding of the history of the settlement. To some degree the report is too detailed. For example, its 20,000 pottery sherds

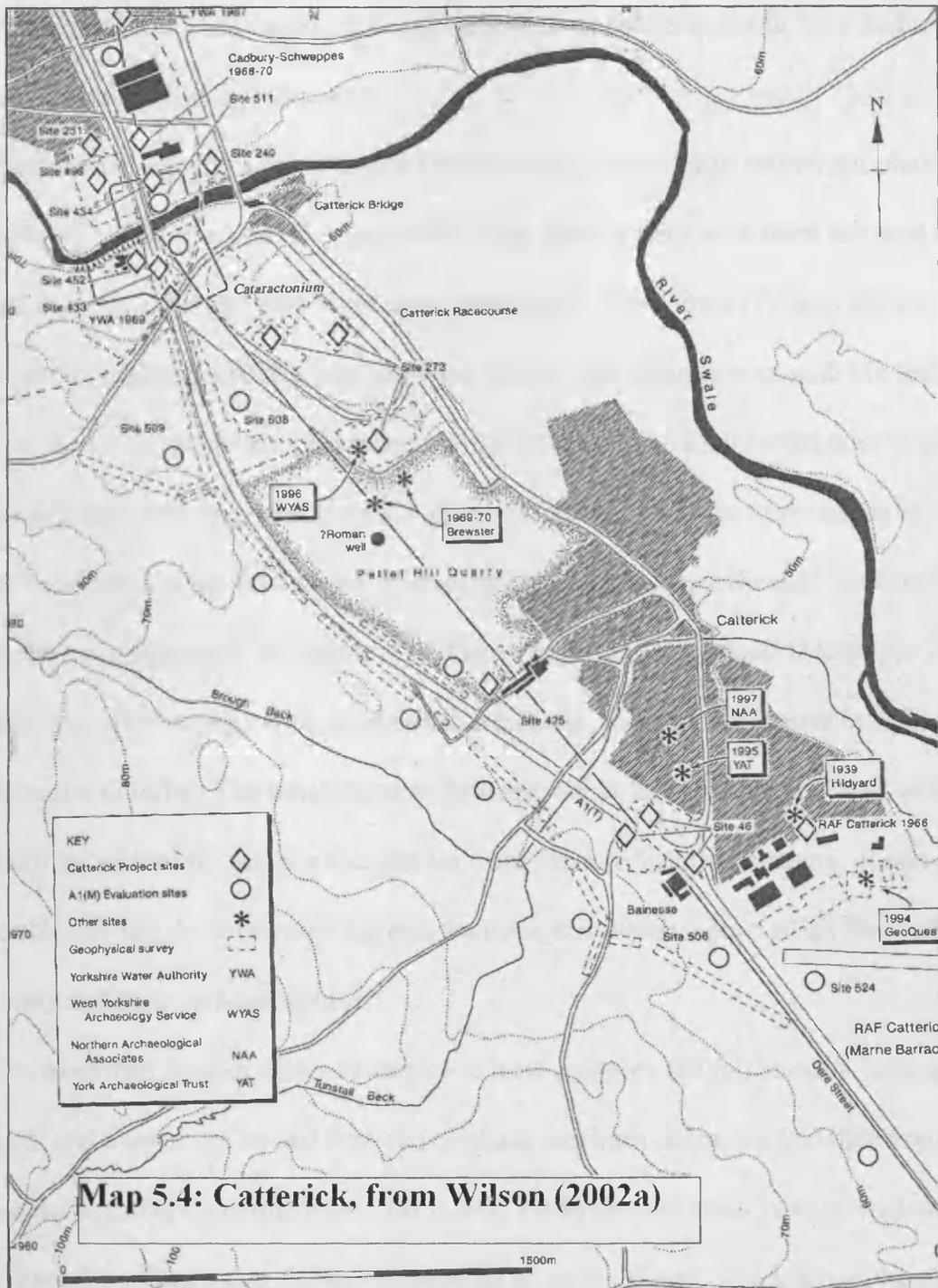
were presented in different ways by different excavators and no overall statistical analysis was included in the final report (Evans 2002, 250; 348). However, the analysis as summarized proved useful if not exactly broken down into periods used elsewhere in this study. The level of detail and presentation is particularly helpful in understanding how the military affected settlement both in the main settlement and the surrounding suburbs.

Catterick was known as *Cataractonium* on the Antonine Itinerary, the Ravenna Cosmography, and by Ptolemy. The site is geographically located where Dere Street crosses the River Swale. It was possible that the Swale may have been navigable to Catterick during the Roman era (Wilson 2002e, 472). The pre-Roman era has yielded only slight settlement evidence (Burnham and Wachter 1990, 10). Catterick was also located near limestone outcrops, and the local availability of gravel for roads and buildings would have affected the architectural development of the town. When the Roman military established a Flavian auxiliary fort at the crossing of the river and soon attracted civil development (Wilson 2002e, 454).

Immediately to the east of the fort a typical military *vicus* developed. A significant amount of leather-working debris was found that appears to have been military but also with some evidence of civilian craftsmanship. Wilson and Wachter (2002, 53; 57-8) postulate that the work was done by at least a mixed population including civilians with military oversight. Interestingly a bath house (Building III.5) was constructed in the *vicus*, presumably for the soldiers, but civilian use can neither be proven nor ruled out (Wilson 2002e, 453-4). A second possible military building of unknown use was constructed in the *vicus* at the same time (Building III.4). The building shows some pretension with an *opus signinum* floor and possibly was a *mansio*, which Wilson and Wachter (2002, 453-5) suggest may have been more important in the development of the settlement than the fort.

At the same time that the core settlement developed around the fort, suburbs developed to the north across the river crossing and 2 km to the south at Bainesse (see Map 5.4). The

architecture indicates that the inhabitants' of these settlements were not native to the area since the timber buildings were rectilinear rather than the local round house style, and there was no evidence for native ceramics (Wilson 2002e, 454; 456). This pattern is dissimilar to the patterns investigated in Baldock and Dragonby in Chapter 4, suggesting the local inhabitants may not have migrated to the fort communities. In other words, military settlements such as this depended to some extent on incomers. In addition, Catterick had no direct Iron Age precursors though indigenous settlements have been found in the surrounding area. It therefore seems likely that the civilians had followed the army and arrived contemporaneously with it. The fact that two civilian settlements developed, one outside the military fort and one approximately 2 km away at Bainesse, possibly indicates that the settlement closer to the fort was tied more closely with the Roman military. The settlement at Bainesse was likely beyond direct Roman oversight but was nonetheless tolerated by Roman officials (Wilson 2002e, 454). This hints at the complex settlement patterns in Britain after the conquest where the indigenous Britons were faced not only with the Roman military but an immigration of civilians, directly or indirectly, tied to the army.



Economically the *vici* settlements were tied to the army. In addition to the typical services offered to the soldiers of the garrison, the settlement closest to the fort had the leather working and bronze working industry that would plant the economic seeds for future growth beyond the initial settlement phase. A certain number of civilians would also be needed for the

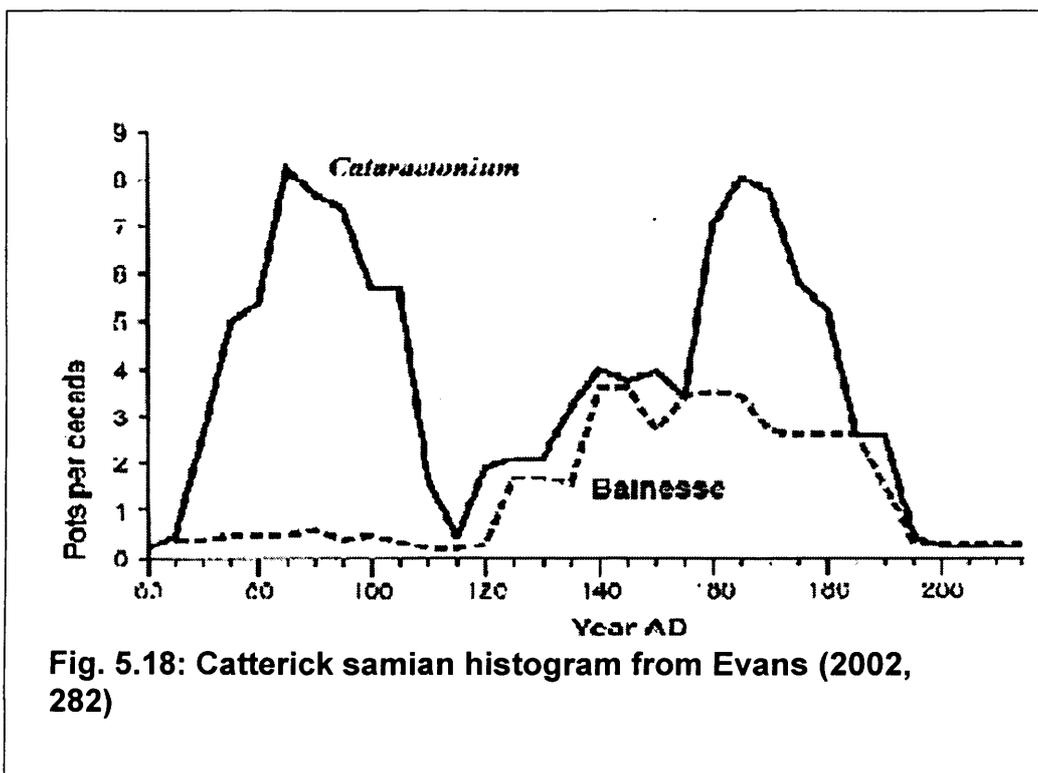
mansio to function, and it is possible that the blacksmith at Bainesse could have had military connections as well (Wilson 2002e, 454).

The personal identity showed remarkable diversity in the early settlement phase of *Cataractonium*. While it is possible that some native Britons may have been amongst the population, it seems clear that they were not a dominant cultural force (Wilson 2002e, 456). If the people in the settlement nearest the fort were legally tied in some way with the fort, their self-identity would be much different than those at Bainesse who likely were not. Those at the core settlement therefore might have both a closer connection with the army and at the same time some resentment at the restrictions placed upon them by army officials. That does not mean that they were necessarily “Roman” in their self-identity or outlook (Mattingly 2004, 15-16). In part this could explain why, as we shall see below, the core settlement took longer to develop than the suburbs. The inhabitants at Bainesse either lacked legal standing with the army or perhaps wanted to distance themselves from the fort for other reasons. Regardless, they surely would have felt the economic impetus from the fort which would affect their relationship with the army and their self-perception.

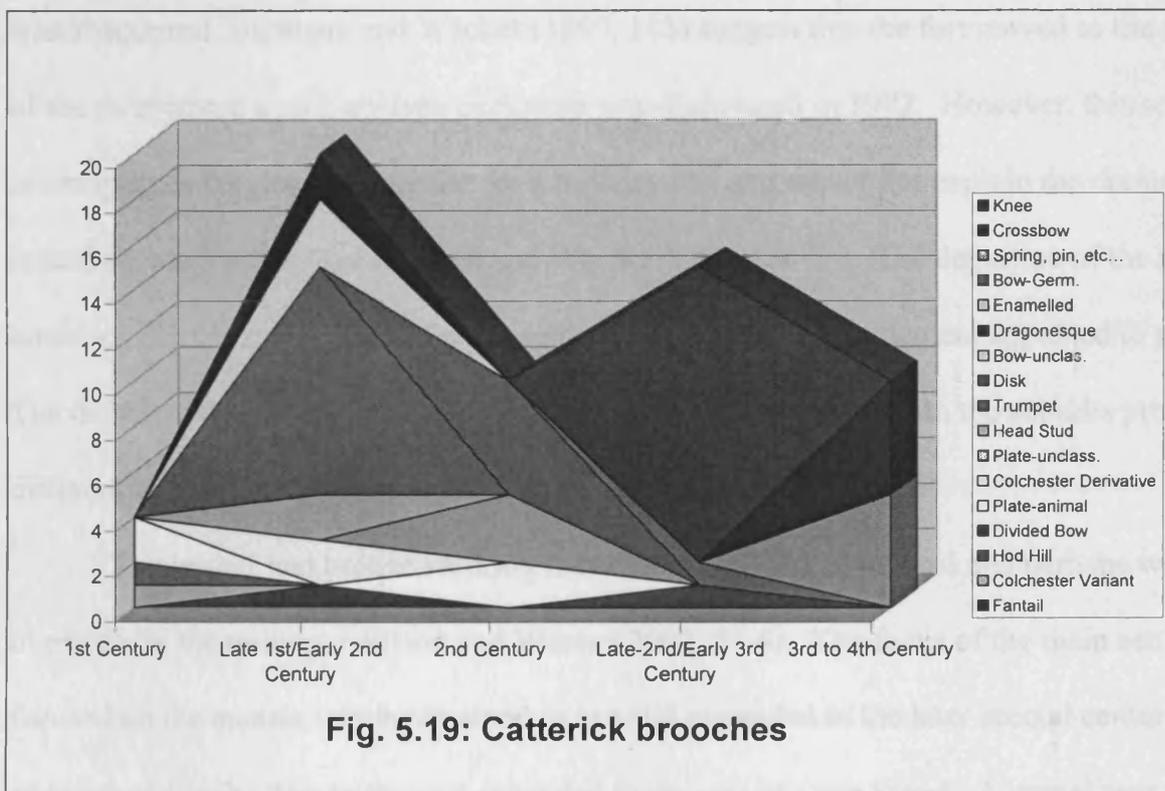
The American frontier offers examples of how complex the relationship between a military post and a town can be and how the civilians can both desire the benefits from a fort and dislike the negative consequences. Rust (1995, 1999) showed that civilians wanted the economic benefits of supplying a post, the benefits of soldiers’ pay, and some of the more “civilized” amenities the army brought to the frontier. These benefits often created competition and tension among the settlers themselves as they attempted to acquire as much of the resources for themselves as possible. On the other hand, civilians disliked the restriction the military often placed on what they thought were their civil liberties or how the fort distributed their resources. Newspaper articles show how, on the one hand, civilians took great pride in the soldiers at the fort, and on the other, they held a certain amount of disdain towards the soldiers

as well. In the end, the presence of a military fort fostered an ambivalent relationship between local civilians and the military as well as division within a civilian settlement. Regrettably, the Roman frontier does not provide the type of primary accounts that the American frontier provides, but there must have been a much more complex interplay of forces than we currently see, perhaps not dissimilar to what we see in the American West.

The personal identity of inhabitants in early Roman Catterick is hard to distinguish as well. The samian ware pattern suggests that most was used by the military with unusually high use early indicating regular supply; possibly tied to military acquisition patterns (see Fig. 5.18). In addition, at Bainesse there was only slight use of samian ware until after the post was evacuated in approximately AD 120 (Hartley and Dickinson 2002, 280-1). In contrast, the settlement closest to the fort has a pattern of samian use typical of a military site. It clearly shows that the people at Bainesse had a separate identity from that of the military and/or the civilians in the core settlement.



The use of brooches parallels the use of samian ware and is quite different from the other towns in this category or from those studied in Chapter 4 except Carlisle - another military town (see Fig. 5.18). The general pattern has been the high use of brooches from the conquest era and declining use until the third century when it rose slightly, possibly due to the introduction of cavalry from the German provinces where brooch use remained. The meaning of Catterick's use of brooches is hard to ascertain. It is possible that no Iron Age precursor and the relatively late development of the settlement (presumably in the AD 80s) affected this pattern. It is also possible that the people of Catterick simply adorned themselves differently than the other sites and may have had a different self-identity. Lastly, it may also be indicative of the limited economic development around military sites, possibly due to some official limits on land use or investment.



Taken together, a broad tripartite division of the population within Catterick becomes clear: the military, operating more or less economically independent of the countryside; a civilian settlement tied economically and perhaps legally to the fort; and a presumably civilian settlement at Bainesse that relied more indirectly on the fort's economic input but possibly with fewer constraints and a separate identity. Nonetheless, all three populations appear intrusive to the indigenous cultural landscape. While certainly there clearly were some "Britons" nearby since a late Iron Age *oppidum* at Stanwick was found, culturally they were not dominant (Wilson 2002e, 456). Other socio-economic divisions would be present in these as well. Recent scholarship reveals a multiplex of identity divisions were present in Roman Britain including status, gender, age, employment, religion, origins, etc. . . . that contributed toward self-identity (James 1999; 2001; Mattingly 2004).

Catterick's second phase of development occurred around AD 120 when the Flavian fort was abandoned. Burnham and Wachter (1990, 113) suggest that the fort moved to the north side of the river where a military type enclosure was discovered in 1972. However, this seems unlikely since the shape is peculiar for a military fort and would not explain the dramatic drop in samian ware at this time (Wilson and Wachter 2002, 136-7). The departure of the army, however, did not spell disaster for the settlement. In fact, the settlement appeared to prosper. The dichotomy between core and suburb development remained, with the suburbs prospering in different ways from the main settlement.

The leather and bronze working industries remained functional and perhaps were still overseen by the military (Wilson and Wachter 2002, 57-8). The focus of the main settlement focused on the *mansio* which remained in use and expanded in the later second century with the addition of a bath. The settlement expanded to the east of Dere Street. A gravel area to the south of the *mansio* may have been used as a market, indicating a possible economic role for the town within the surrounding countryside (Wilson and Wachter 2002, 74, 76). An enclosure

south of the *mansio* associated with Building III.13 showed considerable investment and may have indicated that the heart of the settlement had a public function (Wilson and Wachter 2002, 76). The main settlement and the suburb north of the river were defended by a military style earth rampart in the mid-second century, indicating a possible continued military interest in the site (Wilson and Wachter 2002, 136-7; Wilson 2002c, 458). The *mansio* was demolished in the late second century, but the bath house remained in use until the early third century, for whose use is not clear (Wilson and Wachter 2002, 79, 82; Wilson 2002e, 457). Occupation intensified with several buildings constructed, mostly of timber but some had *opus signinum* floors and painted wall plaster (Wilson and Wachter 2002, 121; Wilson 2002e, 460).

While the core settlement was clearly expanding, the continued use of timber contrasts with the suburbs. At Bainesse people made the transition to masonry construction during the middle of the second century, a full century before people in the defended area of the town would (Wilson 2002d, 527). The buildings were simple strip workshops/domestic structures, but the shift to masonry indicates greater investment in properties as opposed to the main settlement. The prosperity of Bainesse is further attested to by the increased use of samian (Hartley and Dickinson 2002, 280-1).

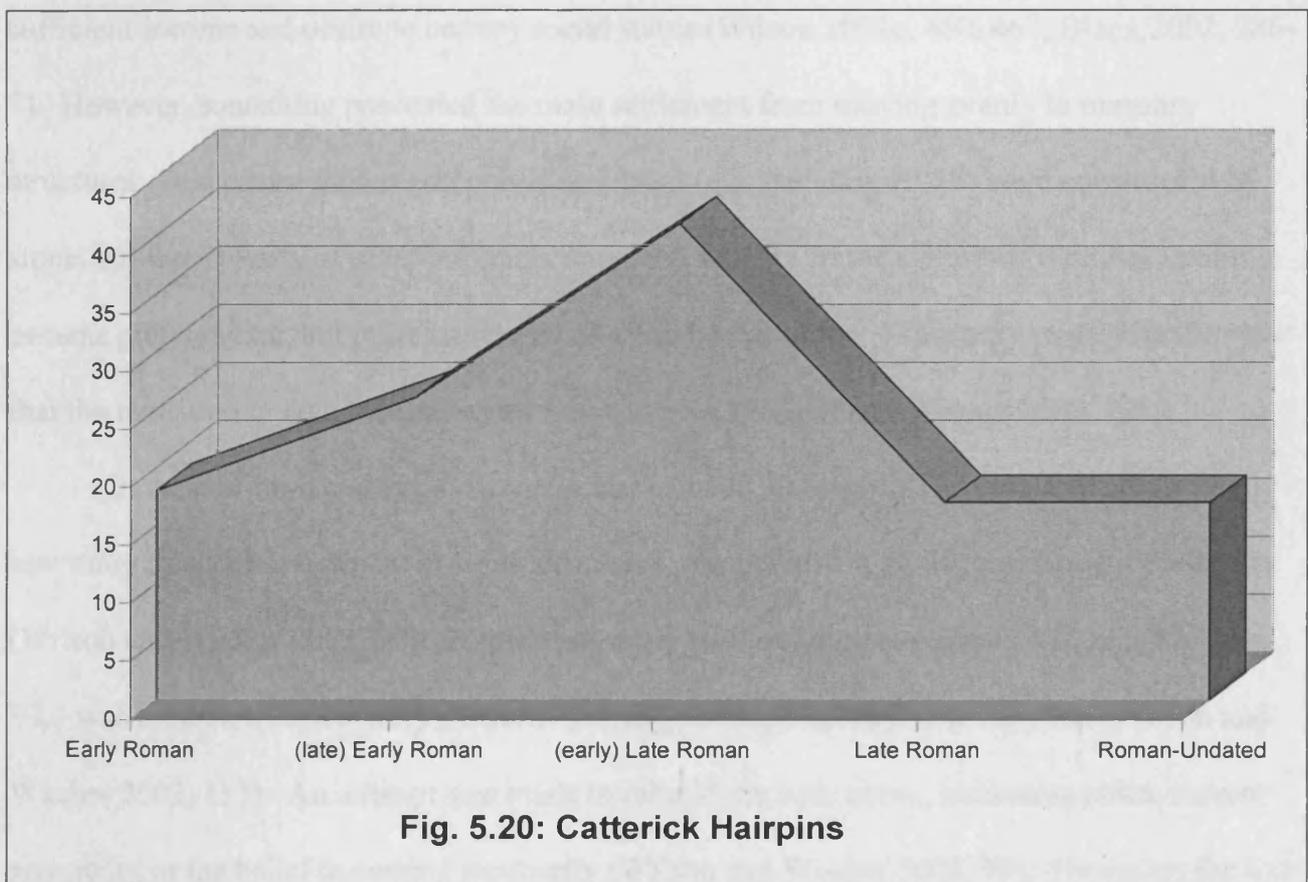
The development of Roman Catterick after the departure of the army proves how complex the development from timber to masonry could be. It is very possible in some way that the military may have hindered the economic development of both the core settlement and the suburbs. The reason is not clear. It is possible that with the fort's economic input there was not as much incentive for the civilians to find other economic avenues and diversify until after the army left. Equally possible is that the army regulated the local economy and possibly even land use, especially in the core settlement, which inhibited economic diversification and investment. After the army left, it perhaps loosened some of the restrictions. Another possibility is that the land in the *territorium* of the fort was technically owned by the military and only leased to

civilians in exchange for certain economic activities. Thus civilians were limited in their economic activities, and without ownership of the land they would not be inclined to make major capital investments such as stone structures. This correlates with similar sites on the continent (Poulter 1987, 389-90). After the army left it is clear they kept an interest in the core settlement as indicated by the military style rampart and the presence of a *beneficarius* in the core settlement closest to the old fort (*RIB* I 725; 726). This may indicate that the government still had ownership of the land or at least regulated it in some way. If they loosened the restrictions on activities but continued simply to lease the land to civilians, it would explain why there was limited structural investment despite growing prosperity in the core settlement when it was easily obtained at Bainesse.

After the army left, the social composition of Catterick was one of a cosmopolitan population. An influx of foreigners is indicated by the rise in knee brooches of free German design, which might indicate active soldiers (and thus a new fort or military complex) or retired veterans moving into the area, and inscriptions indicate that there were some people of Mediterranean origin (Cool 2002, 30, 42-3). Catterick had a relatively high number of inscriptions in comparison to other small towns, but this would not be unexpected in a town with a military origin, a *mansio*, and possible continued official interest as indicated above.

Other indicators of *Romanitas* were found as well, though smaller than would be expected. With the suburbs and core taken together, two thirds of the buildings in Catterick were constructed of stone, though with few hypocausts (Wilson 2002e, 463). Corinthian columns and other decorative stone have also been found (Blagg 2002, 288). The number of hairpins suggests that women were possibly wearing hair in a Roman style and continued to do so through the fourth century (see Figure 5.20; Cool 2002, 26-7). Religiously, the possible temple and *temenos* (Building III.13) exhibits signs of both Roman and indigenous practices. An infant buried with a necklace of phallic amulets embraces both a Roman outlook and a

native tradition (Wilson and Wachter 2002, 83; Cool 2002, 41-2). As seen in Chapter 4, infant foundation burials were a more Celtic tradition and at temple sites, such as Springhead, relatively common (Penn 1960, 121-2). However, the necklace is an indicator of a more Roman outlook (Wilson and Wachter 2002, 83; Cool 2002, 41-2). This may reflect a syncretism of Roman and Celtic practices similar to the *Matronae* cult in Germany where Burns (1999) discovered that the indigenous cult began to take on Roman styles.



The occupational and economic identity of people in the town diversified after the departure of the military. Leather working, bronze working, and blacksmithing remained active and may have had some official oversight. Agriculture is not well attested to in either the core settlement or the suburbs (Cool 2002, 36-7) but must have played some part in the local economy, and the town may have acted as a market center (see above). Spindlewhorls indicate

some domestic production of yarn but the absence of loom weights suggests only limited weaving (Cool 2002, 34-5). The town may also have had an administrative function for the area, not surprising given the presumably large numbers of retired soldiers in the area and the presence of a *beneficiarius* (Frere 1987, 194; Wilson and Wachter 2002, 99).

Overall, from the mid second to the mid-third century, Roman Catterick seems to have been expanding economically and prospering. The suburbs' transition to stone construction, the presence of *opus signinum* floors, wall plaster, and tombstones suggest that some people had sufficient income and desire to convey social status (Wilson 2002e, 460, 467; Blagg 2002, 286-7). However, something prevented the main settlement from moving evenly to masonry structures. In the core settlement, public buildings (e.g. Building III.13) were constructed of stone, but the majority of other buildings remained timber. In the suburb of Bainesse, stone became predominant, but other indicators of affluence were few. This only reinforces the view that the transition in architectural styles was complex (Wilson and Wachter 2002, 121).

In the mid-third century *Cataractonium* reached its height. The core settlement finally saw more frequent investment in stone structures, some with a high degree of quality masonry (Wilson and Wachter 2002, 99). There were many strip buildings on Insula VII, and Building VI.5 was built on a high quality platform and suggests a possible public function (Wilson and Wachter 2002, 113). An attempt was made to rebuild the bath house, indicating either current prosperity or the belief in coming prosperity (Wilson and Wachter 2002, 99). However, the bath house endeavor was never completed and may indicate that the town or an entrepreneur had overextended himself (Wilson and Wachter 2002, 121). The land around the former *mansio* and bath, which had remained vacant, saw new construction and indicates that it likely went into private hands. This suggests that there was increasingly less official oversight of the town (Wilson and Wachter 2002, 82, 121).

There were signs of civic organization and planning as well. Though some were irregular, most streets conformed to a grid, indicating some degree of planning or that substantial portions of the town were under single ownership (Wilson and Wachter 2002, 99; Wilson 2002d, 528). The earthen defenses were converted to stone around AD 250 (Wilson 2002c, 462). This was a substantial investment as Wilson (2002e, 462) estimates that the walls would require 5,400 cubic meters of stone to complete. If this were a communal rather than official venture, Millett (1990, 140) suggests it would be status driven. If it were an official action, it was a recognition of the strategic location and importance of the town (Wilson 2002c, 462).

The nature of the occupation appears to have changed at this time as well. The construction of a number of similar buildings on Insula VII of a relatively poor nature indicates that either these were some of the less prosperous people of the community or perhaps there was a reintroduction of a military complex, not unlike areas in Corbridge (Wilson and Wachter 2002, 113-4). The increased number of military artifacts and the pattern of brooch use lend weight to this hypothesis (Wilson 2002e, 462).

The economy expanded, and there were several indications that the site acted as a major economic center for the region. Bronze working and blacksmithing continued, but the addition of pewter, a semi-luxury item, suggests that Catterick may have in fact become a center of Yorkshire pewter production (Wilson 2002e, 463). Pottery patterns also indicate a larger than expected number of Nene Valley sherds, possibly signifying that the town, tied by the Humber River network to the East Midlands, was a major distribution center with its links to the garrisons on the northern frontier (Evans 2002, 250). It also hints at Catterick's place in the larger trade network in Roman Britain (Evans 2002, 249; Wilson 2002e, 463). That is not to say there was not local pottery production. A kiln near Bainesse produced Crambeck imitations (Evans 2002, 348-51; Wilson 2002e, 463). Coin distribution patterns are similar to urban sites

with military antecedents and, from AD 317-330, a site with military occupation (Brickstock 2002, 2-3). The extra-mural areas, however, have a more rural than urban pattern (Davies 2002, 4; Brickstock 2002, 17-21).

While the core settlement expanded, the suburbs changed as well. North of the river, stone buildings replaced the timber buildings along Dere Street, and a possible temple was constructed (Wilson and Wachter 2002, 135-6). However, sometime in the mid-fourth century the area north of the river was abandoned. At Bainesse a possible villa was constructed (Wilson and Wachter 2002, 132-3). The development of both the towns and villas in the third-century is typical of the region as a whole (Wilson 2002e, 463).

The civic identity of Roman Catterick had changed significantly from its origins as a small military vicus. The town was more economically diverse and interconnected with the local Romanized economy. The communal organization appears strong, though it is not beyond possibility that this might be indicative of continued central control or a wealthy entrepreneur (Wilson and Wachter 2002, 99). The development in the core settlement is lower than might be expected, indicating that it was possibly delayed by the official interest in the site, preventing local elite munificence common in southern Britain in the first and second century (Wilson 2002e, 470).

The personal identity of the inhabitants had also changed. The cosmopolitan population likely disappeared and would have been more local, though this does not necessarily mean ethnically indigenous (Wilson 2002e, 460). The previous population could have coalesced into a unique population that included elements of German, Celtic, and Mediterranean cultures. In fact the indicators of *Romanitas* remained limited. The failure to reconstruct the bath house may have been due to lack of will. Hypocausts were proportionally fewer and smaller scale than would be expected. The buildings, using the “Romanized” rectangular pattern and stone masonry, remained mostly functional strip buildings (Wilson 2002d, 527; Wilson 2000e, 463).

Some classical deities were present or implied, including Mercury and Bacchus in the core settlement and Fortuna, Jupiter, and Volcan at Bainesse. However, the adaptation of a Roman identity was at best erratic (Wilson 2002d, 527).

Unlike the other towns in this category, Catterick remained relatively healthy in the late and sub-Roman periods. The suburbs declined dramatically after approximately AD 380, but the defended core continued to show active building and rebuilding, but with little of the sophistication seen in the earlier phase (Wilson and Wachter 2002, 118-9; Wilson 2002e, 473). There was some degree of pretension with hypocausts still being constructed, but the masonry was clearly inferior in quality compared to the previous periods (Wilson 2002e, 473; Burnham and Wachter 1990, 115). Building in stone indicates that the inhabitants continued to have a certain degree of disposable income and that the town had access to skilled masons (Wilson and Wachter 2002, 122; Wilson 2002e, 473). Burials indicate an increasing Anglo-Saxon presence and that the site remained occupied well into the sixth century (Wilson 2002e, 475). In essence, Roman Catterick transformed into an Anglo-Saxon settlement before its ultimate demise.

IV. Discussion

The key observation to emerge from this chapter is that despite these towns having had a dominance of stone buildings, they did not necessarily have a strong Roman identity. In reality a myriad of factors influenced the inhabitants' choice of stone building materials. Both economic and social factors may have been working together to create building traditions of predominantly stone masonry. Economic factors played as important a role in architectural choice as the saliency of the Roman identity. This complexity creates problems with any theory that supposes that masonry is a type of litmus test for Romanization. Even if we are correct in supposing that masonry construction is symbolic of some identification with Roman identity, the investment in it was dependent not only to the saliency of the identity but also economic

factors unique to each town. Therefore, even though these towns have a higher proportion of stone buildings, the strength of Roman identity may not necessarily have been particularly strong. At some sites Roman identity may have been meaningful, such as at Ilchester, but other places, such as Camerton, that may not have been the case. At all the sites, non-Roman identities remained powerful, indicating that displays of *Romanitas* were only one of many identities that people created, used, and experienced.

The small towns in this category present several economic similarities. First, every town was located on or near suitable building stone. Returning to the model proposed in Chapter 2, this undoubtedly lowered the point of feasibility where masonry construction was possible and made it an appealing and viable construction technique when the town was less economically developed than sites that required imported stone. Nonetheless, most of the towns had a certain amount of economic diversity or development. Nettleton, while initially a religious shrine, diversified its economic base when new industries arose in the third century. Catterick, Ilchester, and Water Newton also displayed substantial diversity. Camerton, an industrial center, found a niche in the production of the semi-luxury item pewter. Yet, other than dominance of stone buildings, few other Roman elements were conspicuous at the site. The choice of stone architecture, therefore, might have been more a practical concern given the fire hazard of a furnace in a timber structure.

The fact that so many towns with masonry traditions were located on the lower Fosse Way is intriguing. It should again be noted that suitable stone for construction is located there in plentiful quantities (see Maps 3.7-3.10 and 3.21). The main areas of stone buildings follow the Jurassic ridge and other limestone bedrock sources. This is economically significant in that the ready supply of suitable building stone would lower the cost of investment for stone structures. Thus, simple economic factors and geographic location were perhaps as influential in determining architectural styles as was the power and resonance of a Roman identity.

Another factor to consider in the south west was the heavy military occupation during the conquest period. This may have served as an advantage for macro-economic development, particularly as the Roman presence redrew the economic landscape. On the local level, as was seen with Catterick, the military or government may have actually impeded civic growth as much as it helped. However, if the government lessened control over the land it occupied, the economic impediments of the government would have been reduced.

The diversity of economics may have been supported by the fact that none of the sites, other than the religious ones, had an Iron Age precursor that would tie them to older economic patterns. However, the religious sites with their Iron Age precursors made the transition to masonry construction a half century before the other sites in this group. This may indicate that the Roman-imposed economy in fact took some time to establish itself, and there was a period of adjustment as indicated in the previous chapter. This may indicate that the Imperial authorities favored the religious sites as a means of controlling the indigenous population.

Intra-site analysis also reveals that other factors may have influenced the choice of construction techniques. At both Ilchester and Catterick the core settlements evolved differently from the suburbs. Ilchester's western and eastern suburbs did not have the same quality of construction and briefly decayed in the late first and early second-centuries, while the core remained relatively vibrant with possible urban planning present. At Catterick we see the opposite, where the use of stone became dominant in the suburbs before the core settlement. While the exact reasons are not clear, the influence of the military and the central government may have prevented some investment despite providing economic stimulus. The regulation of land uses surrounding the fort or government ownership of land might have prevented inhabitants from building stone structures. Thus, we should avoid seeing these towns in a monolithic light as the adoption of stone masonry was not a linear process tied to either economic development or the strength of the Roman identity alone.

Other evidence suggests that the saliency of the Roman identity was not universal despite the predominant use of masonry. Elements of *Romanitas* were not as common as might be expected if the adoption of masonry was a strong indicator of Roman identity. While these sites had a greater inclination toward inscription use than other sites (see Map 3.30), that did not necessarily equate in a Roman life-style or outlook. Catterick, for instance, had a significant number of inscriptions, but the “Romanization” of the site was “variable at best” (Wilson 2002b, 527). The use of brooches at Nettleton and Catterick were unusually high in the later Roman period, indicating that either the Iron Age traditions kept some meaning despite an initial decline in the early Roman period or, particularly in the case of Catterick, a military community were present with their own identities. The religious picture at Nettleton and Catterick also reveals the complex adaptation of *Romanitas*. The Roman personification of the “Hound Prince” at a Romano-Celtic shrine indicates that both Celtic and Roman identities had some significance. The indigenous tradition of an infant burial at Catterick with the more Roman phallic necklace also shows the presence of both identities.

Despite the diversity of identities present, we should not minimize the power of the Roman identity at some sites. With the exception of Camerton, traditional markers of “Romanization,” such as inscriptions and villas, were generally more common at these sites than others. There is also a higher correlation between these sites and Roman decorative architectural elements such as at Ilchester. The possible administrative function of five of the sites and the town defenses indicate that the central government may have had some role in those towns. There are two aspects to consider when regarding administrative status. First, any administrative role that tied the town to the central government would certainly affect the meaning of Roman identity. Second, to be granted such a role might be reflective of the central government’s recognition that the town had a strong enough Roman identity to warrant such status. The same may be said of the five sites that were granted enclosed defenses. However, as

seen above, other identities did remain present and perhaps even powerful as well. Thus, it is perhaps best to see the Roman identity as one part of many meaningful identities in these towns.

Comparing these sites with those in Chapter 4, it becomes clear that operant conditioning forces were equally as important which allowed the opportunity for stone architecture sooner. First, other than the religious sites, none of these sites had Iron Age predecessors. However, even with the religious sites it is possible that the Imperial authorities may have been more accommodating in an effort to pacify the region. The Fosse Way may have intentionally been diverted to approach Nettleton and the *interpretatio* of a local deity with the classical Apollo may have served as a means of intentional “Romanization” similar to Tacitus’ passage in *Agricola XXI*. Thus, if the existing Iron Age religious sites were treated more favorably than other Iron Age sites, such as Dragonby or Baldock, the operant forces in which they operated encouraged some reconciliation with classical culture. In addition, if the Fosse was indeed diverted to Nettleton, the Romans may have economically aided the settlement by providing increased road traffic through the settlement.

The governmental influence also may have been an intentional or unintentional operant force that increased the saliency of Roman identity. The strong military presence in the southwest during the conquest period would have dramatically redraw the economic landscape even if the local impact on each town was more limited. As the new towns developed in a region where the Roman economy was more entrenched, they will have had to respond to those forces in order to operate in the new economy. Therefore, it is not surprising to find a higher number of “Romanized” features. In settlements without Iron Age traditions that would tie them to the old economic patterns, adaptation to and strength of a Roman identity would be higher. Even sites such as Camerton, which had fewer elements of *Romanitas*, capitalized on the Roman economy by producing the semi-luxurious pewter.

In the northern sites like Catterick, the government's impact would be equally felt but in very different ways. Instead of an indigenous population, it appears that both the soldiers themselves and the civilians in the surrounding settlements were intrusive on the native landscape. Therefore, they had no ties whatsoever to the Iron Age economic systems other than that which they would cultivate to service the fort. The heterogeneity of the communities at and near the fort does not necessarily indicate that Roman identity was more important than other identities. The forces at play were thus very different than those that existed during the Iron Age. However, the government's influence may have hindered the investment in the core settlement, indicating that the imperial presence may have been quite heavy handed. Thus we see that in the north the government's influence was felt in different ways than in the south but resulted in similar results in the use of stone masonry.

In all, these sites benefited from favorable locations near suitable building stone and a certain level of economic diversity and integration into the Roman system. Despite these similarities, unique forces nevertheless operated to create environments where the same end result was achieved with different meanings and identities associated with them. While it may be the fact that Roman identity had high saliency in some sites, at others the identity was only one of many equally strong identities.

Chapter 6:

Towns with Timber Building Traditions

I. Introduction

Seven sites (Alcester, Alchester, Asthall, Great Chesterford, *Margidunum*, Neatham, and Towcester) in this study with a statistically viable number of building samples developed long-standing timber traditions, meaning that the majority of building samples from them were timber structures. In the case of *Margidunum*, this also includes those buildings that had stone foundations but also clear evidence for timber superstructures. The explanations for this phenomenon are unique to each site. Two sites, Alcester and *Margidunum*, were located some distance from suitable building stone. This would certainly have affected the choice of construction, even if there was some salience for Roman identity, as at Alcester. Other towns, such as Neatham, give only limited indication that the Roman identity had meaning to its inhabitants, and therefore their choice of architecture can be seen more as choice since had the ability but not the desire to construct stone buildings. The rest of the sites lay in between these two extremes. As a whole, these towns demonstrate that the saliency of Roman identity and the economics of the town interacted dynamically when people chose their construction techniques.

These towns, however, have a significant amount of excavation bias that may affect their interpretation. At places like Great Chesterford, very little of the 14.7 ha site has been excavated, and much of the excavations completed were by nineteenth century antiquarians. Given this, it is particularly interesting then that the archaeological information still favors an interpretation of a dominant timber tradition. The excavations of three sites (Alcester, Asthall, and Towcester) were predominantly in the suburbs away from the core settlement. This may have also been the case at Neatham as well. The excavators there make a convincing argument

that the defended area was in fact an enclosure around a *mansio* and not the core of the town (see below). As seen in the case of Catterick, a core settlement could develop in substantially different ways from a suburb. At Alchester the main excavated areas have not explored part of the town where stone buildings are visible in aerial photographs (Burnham and Wachter 1990, 97, 99). The same may be true for Alchester's limited excavations within the core defended enclosure, but the excavators within that area concluded that timber construction still dominated (Cracknell 1996, 171). All this needs to be taken into account when examining these towns and it underscores our limited understanding of many "small towns" in the Roman era.

II. Macro-Analysis

These towns show a certain amount of commonality. Four towns, Towcester, Asthall, *Margidunum*, and Neatham, reached their peak number of buildings in the late second and early third century (see Table 6.1 and Figs. 6.1-6.7). Alchester reached its crest in the late third and early fourth century, and the number of Alchester's buildings peaked after the mid-fourth century. None of these towns have any definite indication of an Iron Age settlement, though it is possible at Alchester and Alchester (see tables 6.2 and 6.3). In essence then, these towns arose out of the new economic, transportation, communication, and social landscape created by the Romans. All the sites except Asthall had some level of defense, though in some cases the enclosures were relatively small. All the settlements, except for Asthall again, had direct or indirect evidence of a military presence in the conquest period. Three towns, *Margidunum*, Neatham, and Towcester, had or probably had *mansiones*, and Alchester and Great Chesterford had at least modest temples.

Table 6.1: Towns with Timber Building Traditions

Town Name	Stone Total	% Stone	Timber Total	% Timber	Composite Total	% Composite	Stone/Unknown	% Stone/Unknown	Total
Alcester									
AD 43-100	0	0.00%	10	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	10
AD 100-150	1	10.00%	9	90.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	10
AD 150-250	2	8.33%	21	87.5%	1	4.17%	0	0.00%	24
AD 250-350	12	37.50%	16	50.00%	1	3.13%	3	9.37%	32
AD 350-450	2	11.76%	13	76.48%	2	11.76%	0	0.00%	17
Alcester									
AD 43-100	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0
AD 100-150	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
AD 150-250	1	20.00%	4	80.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	5
AD 250-350	3	27.27%	7	63.64%	0	0.00%	1	9.09%	11
AD 350-450	3	27.27%	6	54.55%	2	18.18%	0	0.00%	11
Asthall									
AD 43-100	0	0.00%	2	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
AD 100-150	1	25.00%	3	75.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4
AD 150-250	2	33.33%	2	63.64%	1	16.67%	1	16.67%	6
AD 250-350	1	33.33%	2	66.67%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3
AD 350-450	0	0.00%	2	66.67%	1	33.33%	0	0.00%	3
Great Chesterford									
AD 43-100	1	33.33%	2	66.67%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3
AD 100-150	1	14.29%	6	85.71%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	7
AD 150-250	2	25.00%	6	75.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	8
AD 250-350	3	33.33%	6	66.67%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	9
AD 350-450	4	50.00%	4	50.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	8
East Bridgeford Margidunum									
AD 43-100	0	0.00%	3	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
AD 100-150	2	50.00%	2	50.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4
AD 150-250	2	13.33%	1	6.67%	12	80.00%	0	0.00%	15
AD 250-350	2	25.00%	2	25.00%	4	50.00%	0	0.00%	8
AD 350-450	2	66.67%	1	33.33%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3
Neatham									
AD 43-100	0	0.00%	4	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4
AD 100-150	0	0.00%	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
AD 150-250	0	0.00%	6	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	6
AD 250-350	1	25.00%	2	50.00%	0	0.00%	1	25.00%	4
AD 350-450	1	50.00%	1	50.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
Towcester									
AD 43-100	1	16.67%	3	50.00%	1	16.67%	1	16.67%	6
AD 100-150	1	12.50%	4	50.00%	2	25.00%	1	12.50%	8
AD 150-250	6	40.00%	6	40.00%	2	13.33%	1	6.67%	15
AD 250-350	1	16.67%	4	66.67%	0	0.00%	1	16.67%	6
AD 350-450	1	12.50%	6	75.00%	1	12.50%	0	0.00%	8

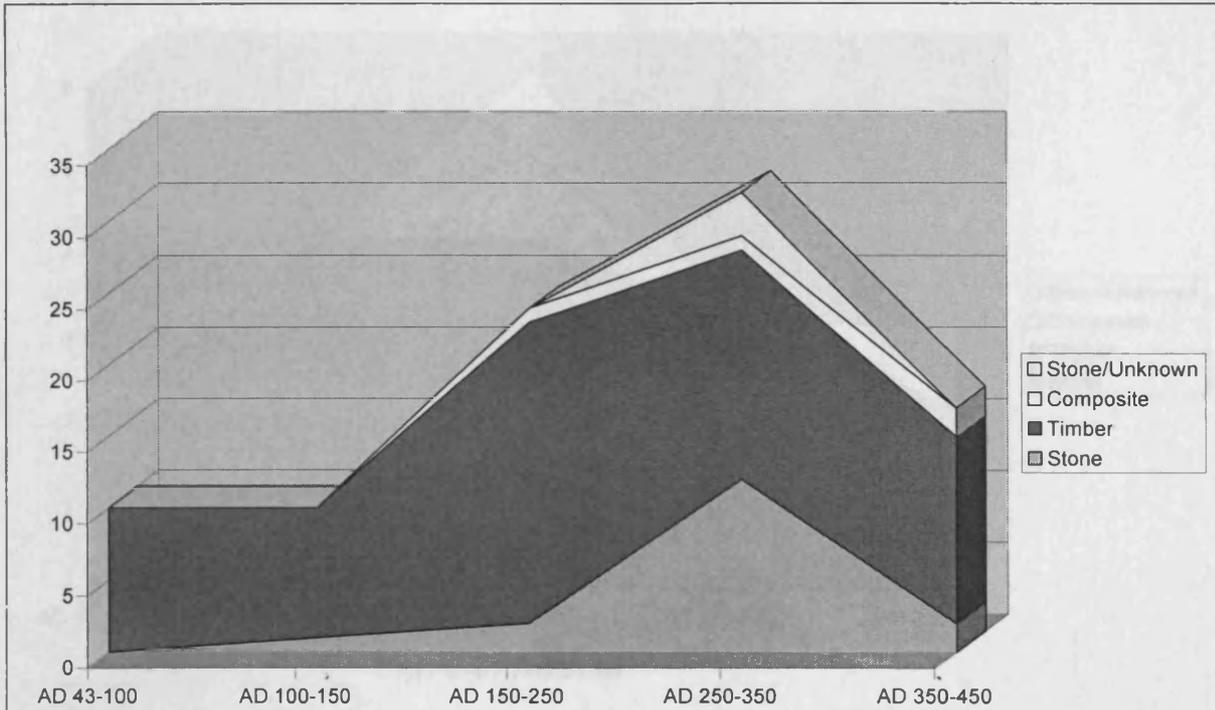


Fig. 6.1: Alcester

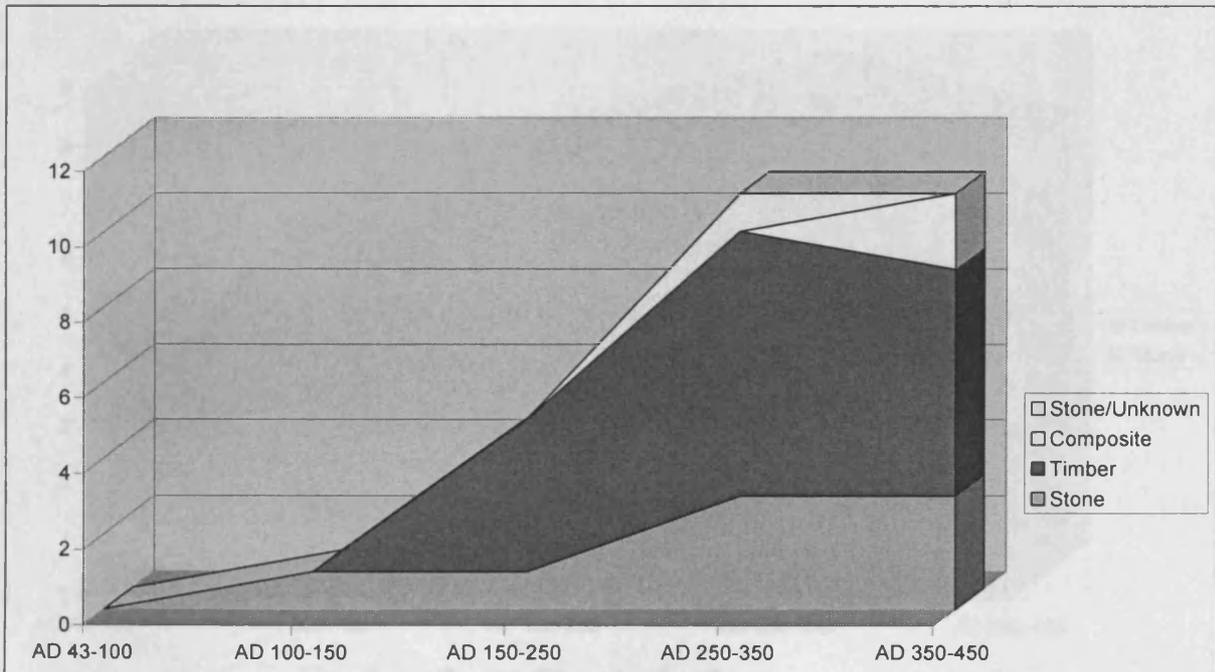
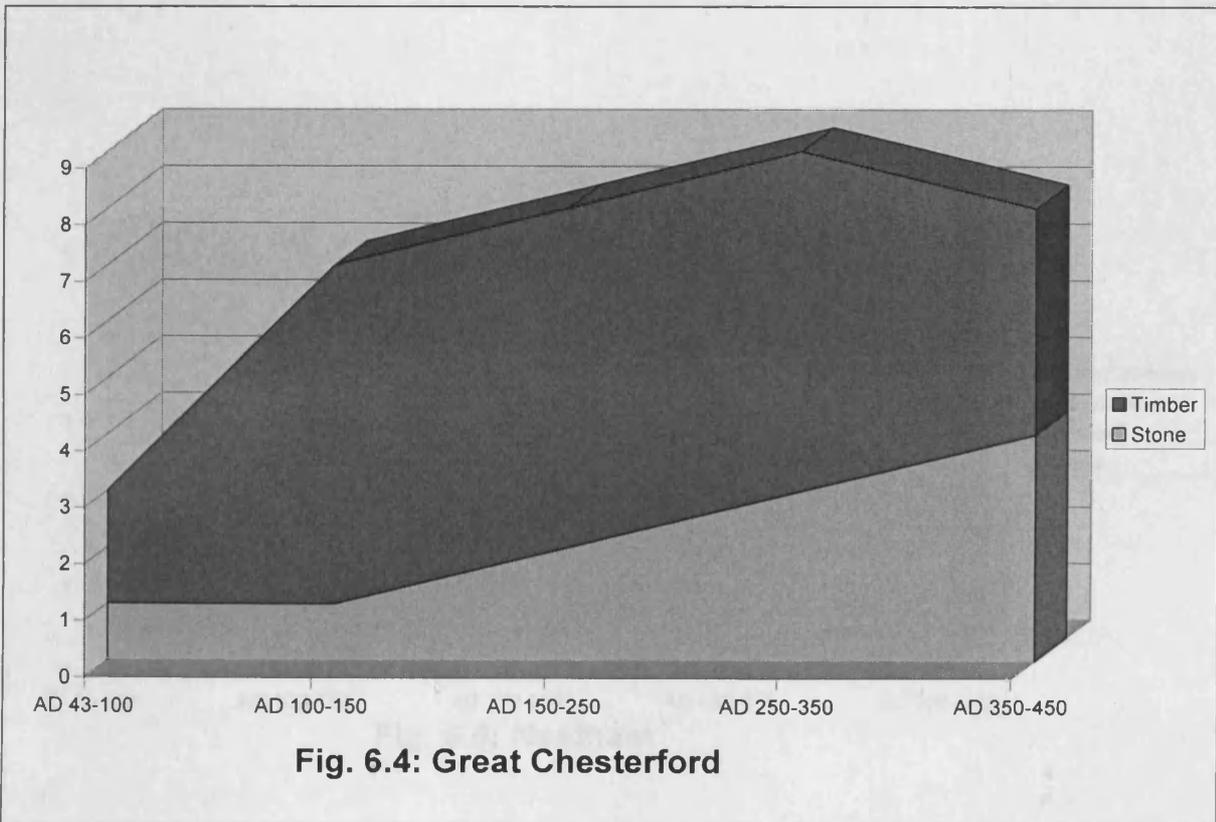
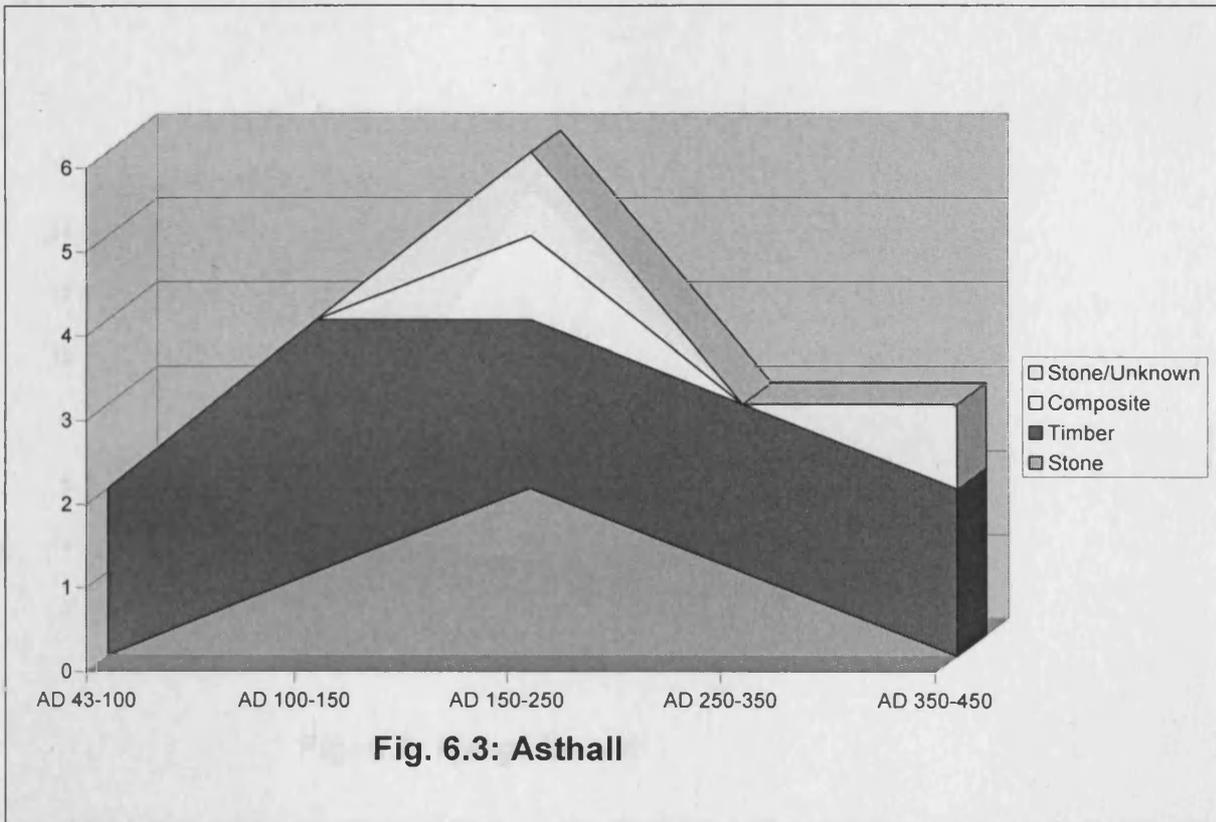


Fig. 6.2: Alcester



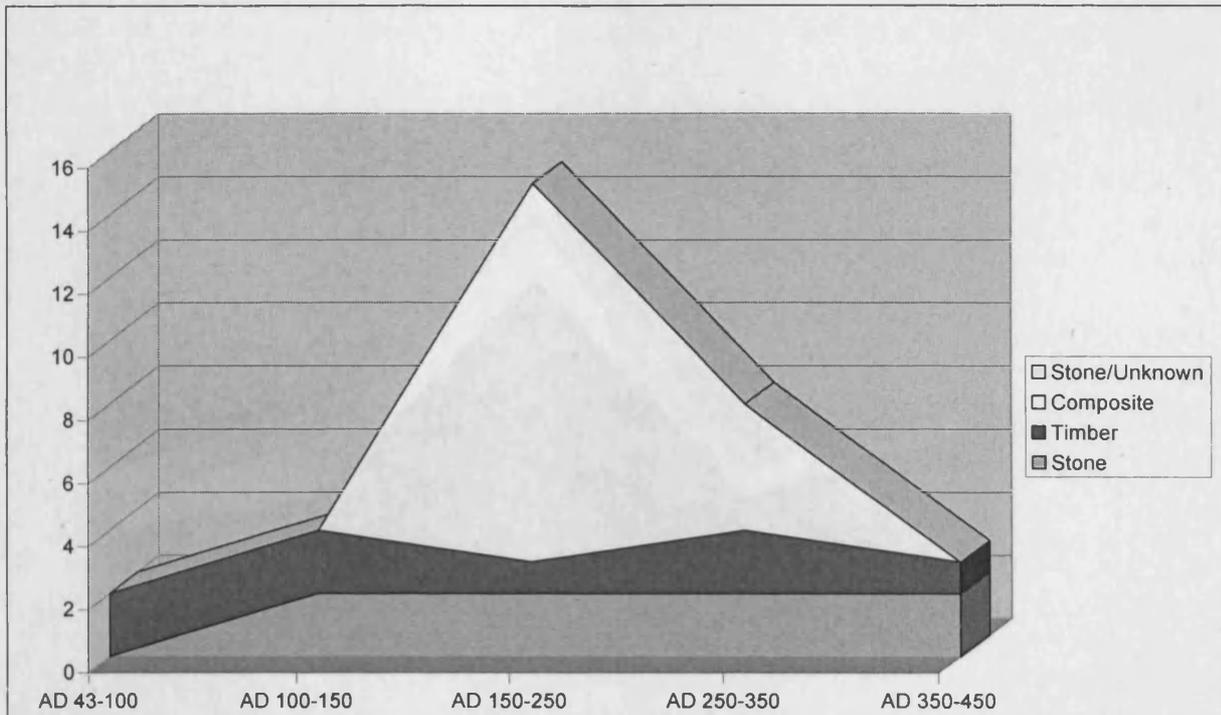


Fig. 6.5: Margidunum

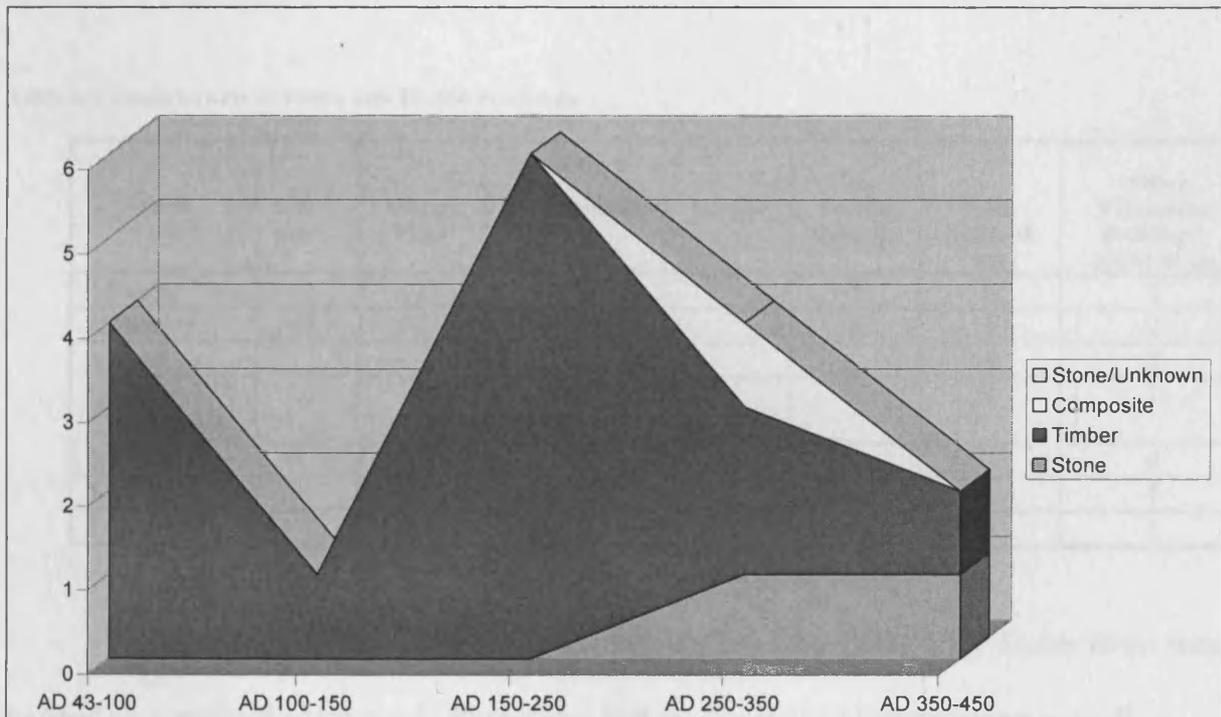


Fig. 6.6: Neatham

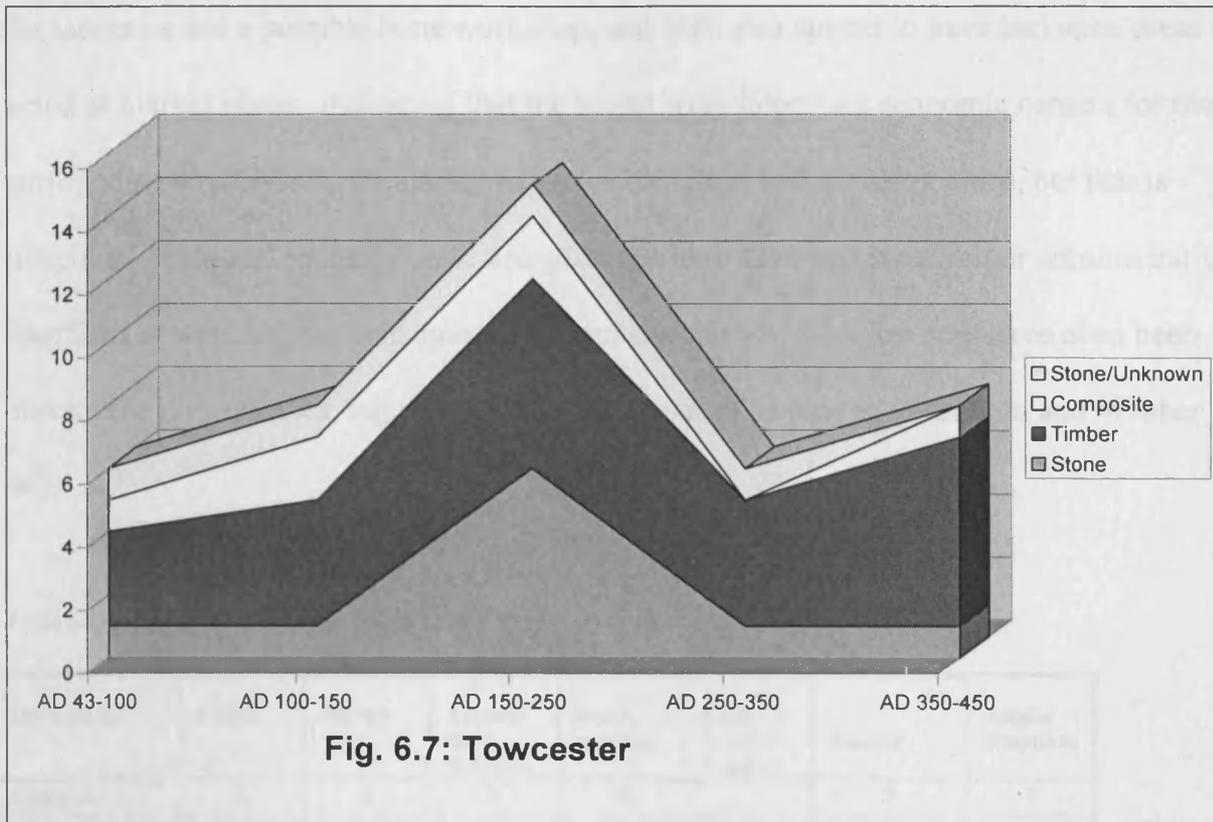


Table 6.2: Characteristics of Towns with Timber Traditions

Town	Iron Age	Military Phase	Town Defenses	Mansio	Temple Complex	Villas within 10 km	"Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km
Alcester	?	1	E3 M5	?	?	0	2
Alchester	?	1	E? M?		X	5	2
Asthall						4	7
Great Chesterford		1	M4		X	4	1
Margidunum		1	E2, M?	X		2	0
Neatham		1?	E3	X		4	7
Towcester		1?	E5 M5	X		4	3

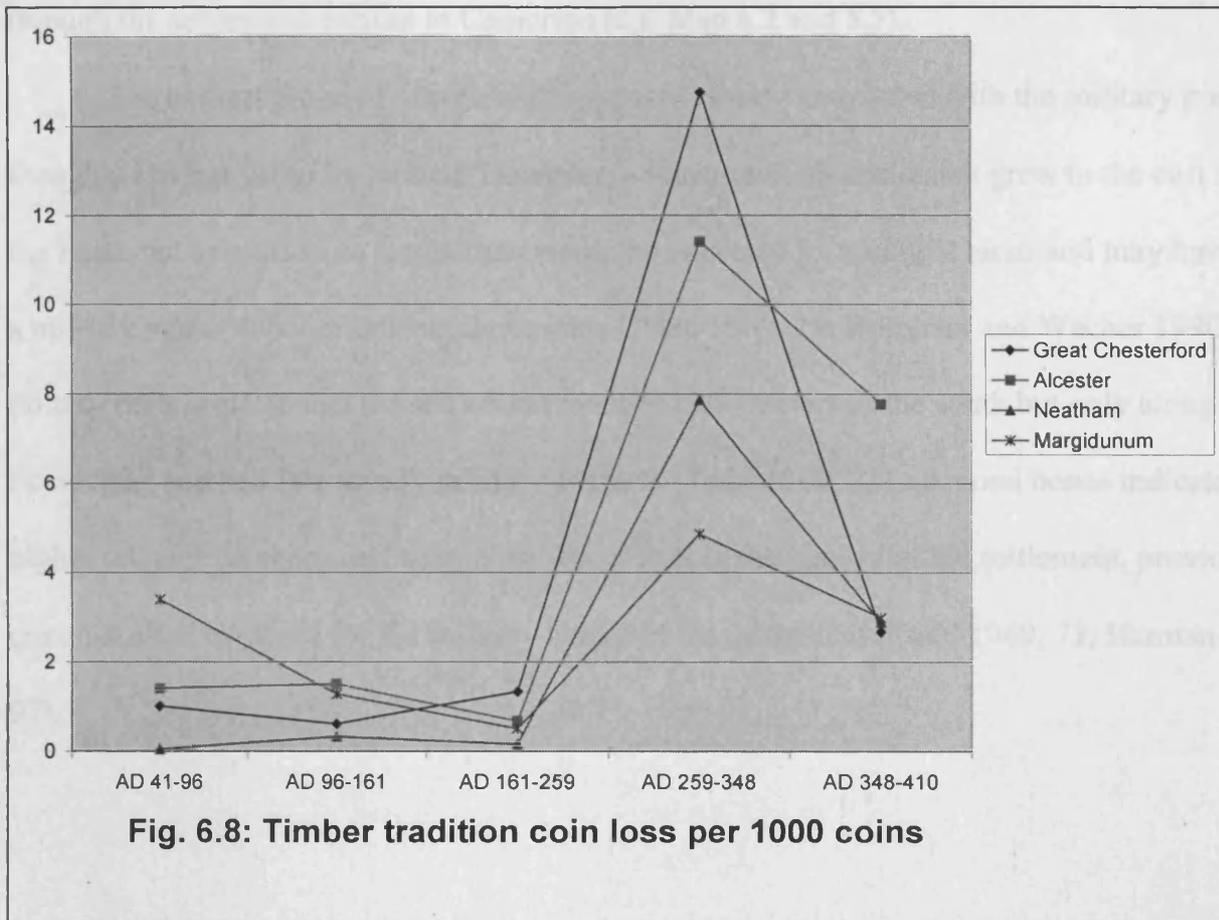
The economic activity is also remarkably similar (see Table 6.3). Every town was located on a major Roman road. Each town had evidence for blacksmithing as well as agriculture. Artifacts at Great Chesterford suggest that the site was predominantly oriented toward agriculture. Small scale local pottery production was found at two sites, Neatham and Towcester, and pewter production was found at Towcester. Asthall and Alcester had evidence

for tanneries and a possible bone workshop, and both also appear to have had open areas that acted as market places, indicating that the towns were important economic centers for the surrounding countryside. Neatham may have also have had a market place, but that is uncertain. Alcester, Alchester, and *Margidunum* may have had some minor administrative functions as well, but the evidence is far from conclusive. Alcester may have even been elevated to *civitas* status, but this hypothesis has yet to be proven (Burnham and Wachter 1990, 96).

Table 6.3: Economic Activity in Town with Timber Traditions

Town Name	Pottery	Market	Animal/ Bone Working	Metal working	Lead/ Pewter Produc.	Temple	Admin. Functions
Alcester	X	X	X	X		?	?
Alchester				?			
Asthall		X	X	X			
Great Chesterford			X	X		X	
<i>Margidunum</i>				X			?
Neatham	X	?		X			?
Towcester	X			X	X		

The coin loss pattern for the case study sites is generally one of relatively low loss until the late third century (see Fig. 6.8). Neatham's coin loss rate is exceptionally low during that early period, less than 1 lost per 1000 coins and is similar to most of the sites in Chapter 5. *Margidunum's* pattern of high coin loss early is more analogous to the towns in Chapter 4 or sites with a conquest period military phase. Great Chesterford's and Alcester's peak coin loss in the mid-third century is also significantly higher than other case studies in this entire study (compare Figs. 4.5, 5.10, and 6.15). Alcester is also unique in that its coin loss is considerably higher in the late Roman period compared to the other case study sites in this chapter as well as the previous chapters.



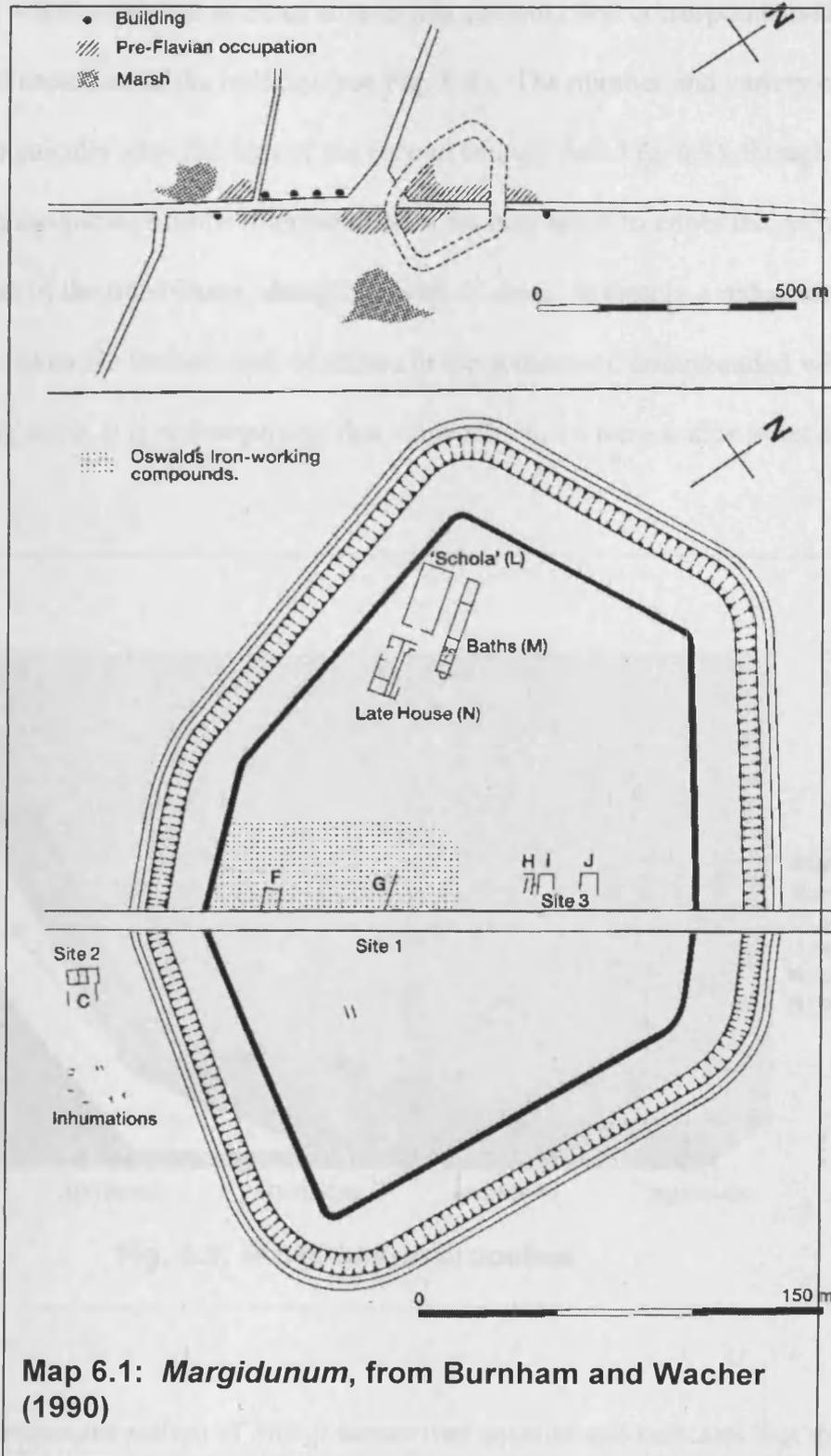
III. Case Studies

A. *Margidunum*: An Administrative Site with a Civilian Settlement

The Roman settlement near East Bridgford has been identified as *Margidunum* of the Antonine Itinerary. *Margidunum* was located on the Fosse Way 1.6 km east of the River Trent. It was on level ground near a slight eminence. The geologic base of the settlement is green and red clay (Todd 1969, 14). The only local stone was skerry, particularly poor for constructing buildings and undoubtedly affecting the choice of architecture (Todd 1969, 81). Skerry was used extensively in the foundations of structures at *Margidunum*, but only Buildings M and N had a stone superstructure of limestone imported from Lincolnshire (Todd 1969, 81). In

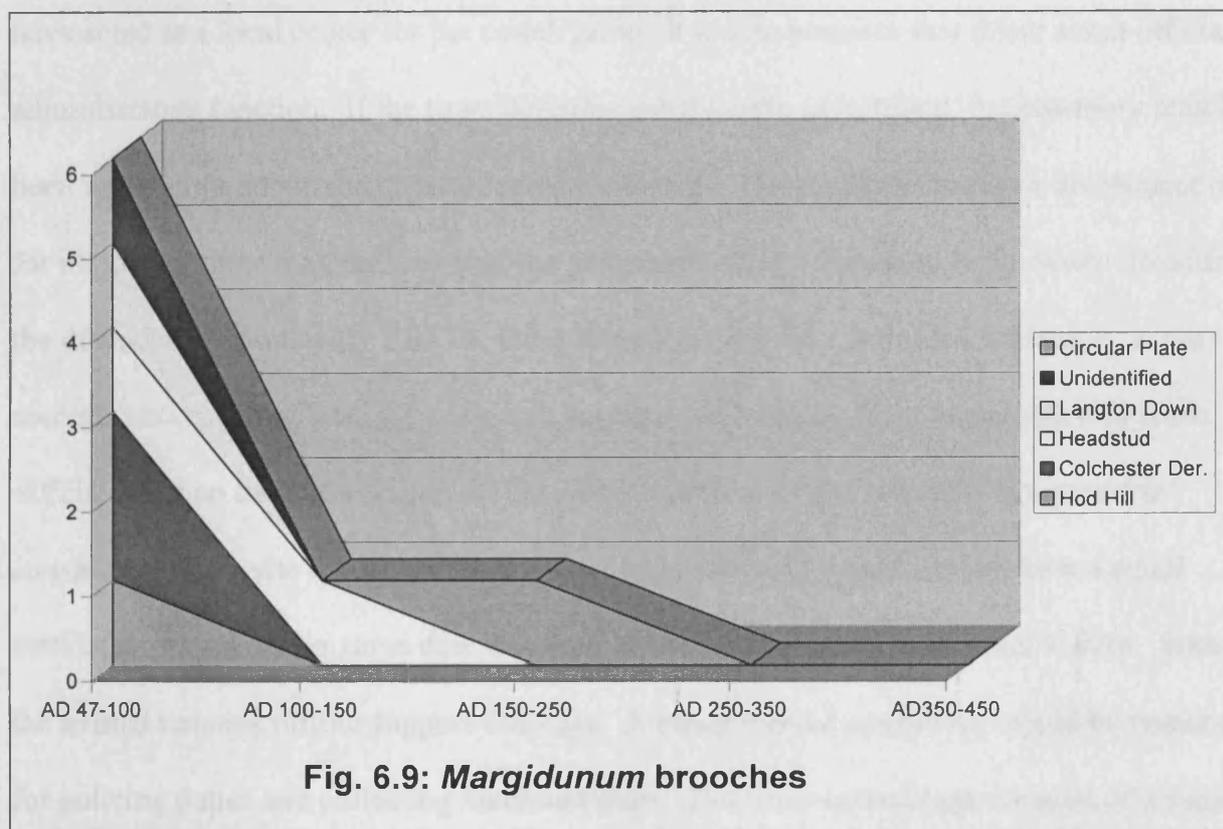
addition, it is worth noting that the large stone buildings are slightly askew of the main route through the settlement, similar to Camerton (c.f. Map 6.2 and 5.3).

The earliest phase of *Margidunum* appears closely associated with the military presence, though a fort has yet to be located. However, a linear civilian settlement grew to the east side of the Fosse but appears to be larger than would be expected for a simple *vicus* and may have had a military works depot or industrial complex (Todd 1969, 21; Burnham and Wachter 1990, 260). Pottery finds indicate that the settlement extended 300 meters to the south but only along the Fosse Way and had few strictly military artifacts (Todd 1969, 21). Animal bones indicate a higher reliance on sheep and goats than found later in the history of the settlement, providing circumstantial evidence for the military nature of the settlement (Todd 1969, 73; Harman 1969, 97).



Artifacts indicate a period of transition after the possible fort was abandoned around AD 70, even though the possible military works depot remained with the civilian settlement (Todd 1969, 40; Burnham and Wachter 1990, 260). The coin loss pattern for the site falls rather

dramatically when compared to other sites in this category and corresponds with the hypothesized departure of the military (see Fig. 6.8). The number and variety of brooches also declined dramatically after the turn of the second century (see Fig. 6.9), though this relatively small brooch assemblage limits interpretation. This may attest to either the reduced circumstances of the inhabitants, changing styles of dress, or simply a reduction in the overall population. Given the limited state of affairs in the settlement, compounded with the lack of local building stone, it is not surprising that stone structures were scarce in its early history.



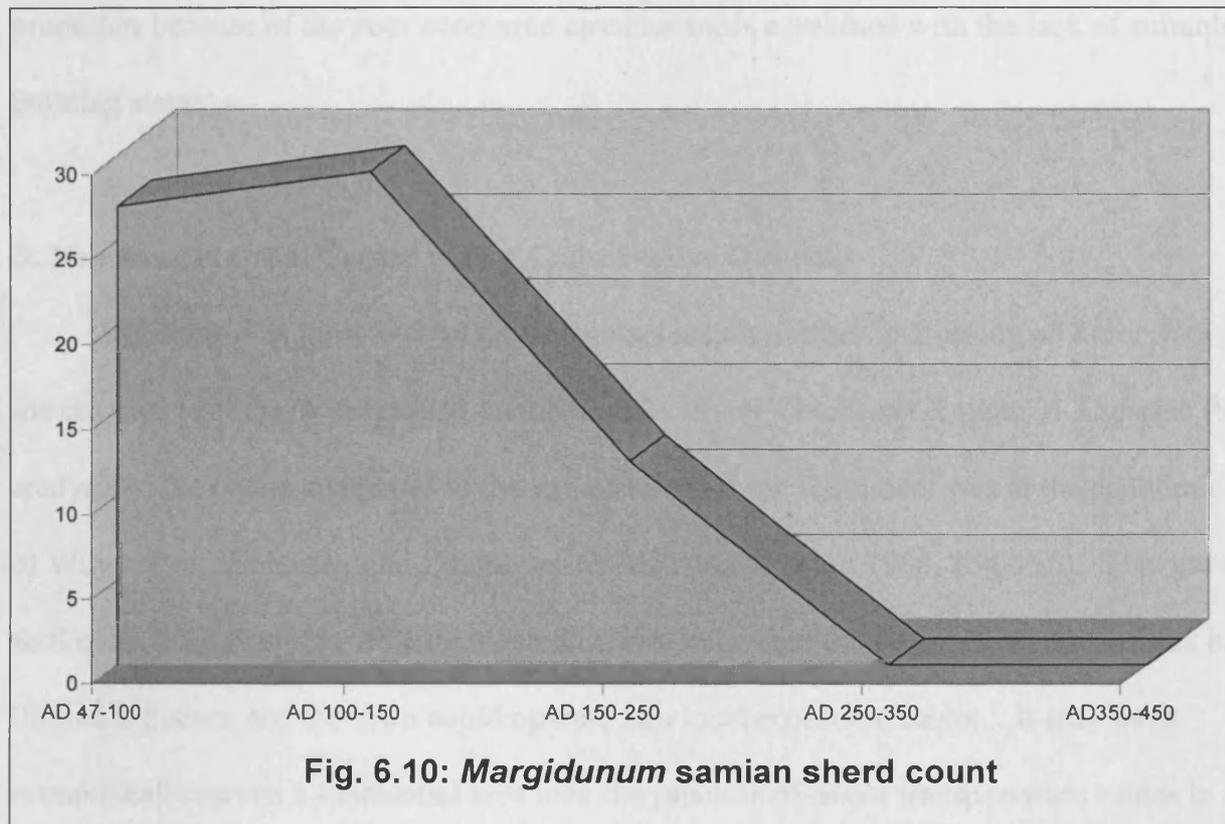
The settlement pattern of *Margidunum* was unusual and indicates that the economy was still rather modest into the late second and early third-centuries. Even at its core, buildings were discontinuous and scattered among large areas of open spaces of derelict land (Todd 1969, 70). Very few buildings were constructed on the east frontage of the Fosse. Yet, even given the

evidence for reduced circumstances, *Margidunum* showed some limited pretension or importance. An earthen defense was constructed perhaps as soon as the early second century and replaced by stone defenses later that century (Todd 1969, 49, 53-5). The first of two stone buildings, a bath, was constructed around the middle of that century as well (Todd 1969, 70). On the one hand, evidence suggests reduced circumstances in a rather discontinuous settlement, but on the other there were some pretentious buildings in the town in addition to two villas nearby.

Given this picture, the nature of the settlement is difficult to determine. The town may have acted as a local center for the countryside. It is also possible that it had some official or administrative function. If the town defenses were a civic investment, the economy may have been more vibrant than the physical record indicates. However, the massive investment needed for importing stone may indicate that the government had a presence in the town. In addition, the defended area was only 2.23 ha, exceptionally small for a defended settlement in the late second century. Therefore, the enclosure seems more likely to have been related to some official function such as a station on the *cursus publicus* or the base of a *beneficiarius consularis*. If the site did have some official importance, it would explain how a small settlement would obtain stone defenses with imported limestone from Lincolnshire. Some of the animal remains further support this case. A *beneficiarius consularis* would be responsible for policing duties and collecting taxes and dues. The bone assemblage consists of a significant number of cattle waste bones in the later Roman period, perhaps indicating that the best meat had been removed for the *annona militaris* (Todd 1969, 71).

After the departure of the military fort only limited information is available. The use of samian ware appears to have increased slightly at the beginning of the second century before beginning a steep decline, possibly indicating a slight rise in the economy (see Fig. 6.10). Yet, the occupations of inhabitants are unclear. Agriculture appears to have remained important as

indicated by the increased use of cattle once in addition to the construction of three villas immediately nearby (Todd 1969, 71). Iron working is well attested to as well, probably smelting though much remains to be discovered about it (Todd 1969, 28). Regrettably, little else is known.



The late Roman period is equally unclear. There are very few buildings known to have been conclusively occupied beyond AD 300. However, the abundance of pottery and coins indicates that later plowing may have destroyed the traces of buildings from that period, especially if they were constructed in timber (Todd 1969, 70; Burnham and Wachter 1990, 261). Surprisingly, there is no evidence of intensified occupation within the defended area of the settlement which was common at other walled sites (Todd 1969, 71). This may indicate either the severely reduced economic circumstances of the settlement or that the small defended area

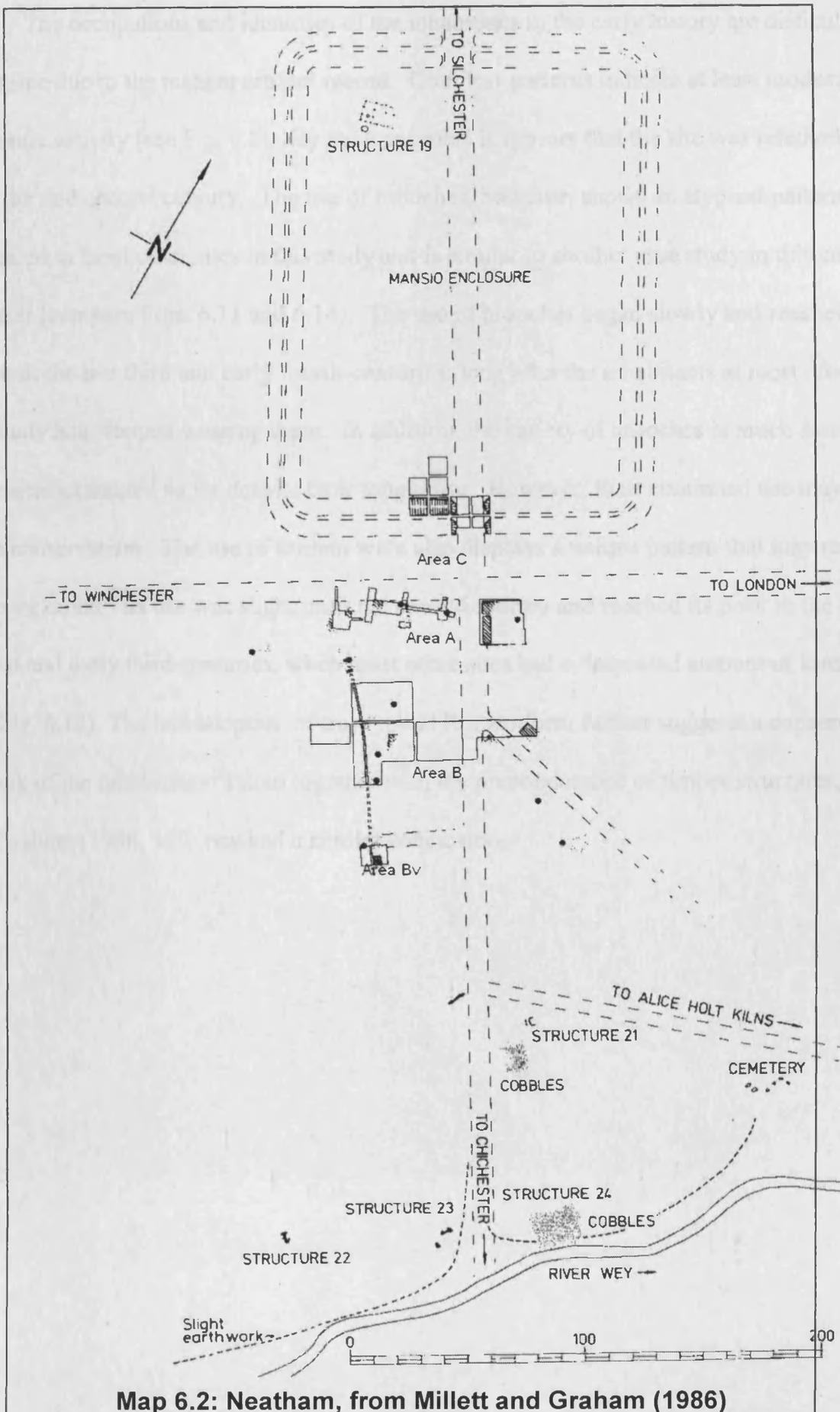
was in fact the compound for a *mansio* or other minor administrative center (Todd 1969, 71). In fact, it seems increasingly evident that the settlement was less a civilian site and more an administrative center with a possible *vicus*. If that is the case, it could be similar to the core at Catterick where possible official limitation on land use prevented substantial property investment. On the other hand, the inhabitants may not have been able to invest in their properties because of the poor economic circumstances combined with the lack of suitable building stone.

B. Neatham: A Local Center with a Conservative Outlook

Neatham was located at an advantageous location near the crossing of River Wey and at the crossroads of the Winchester/London and Silchester/Chichester Roads. A Theissen Polygon analysis of the region suggested to the excavators that the settlement was at the economic limits of Winchester, Silchester, and Chichester (Millett and Graham 1986, 154-156). This gave the settlement the advantage of being located in a region where the larger economic centers had limited influence and the town could operate as a local economic center. It may have economically served a substantial area near the junction of major transportation routes in an otherwise predominantly rural area. The marketing potential and the services provided by major traffic from four directions would also be significant and also a logical choice for a station on the *cursus publicus*.

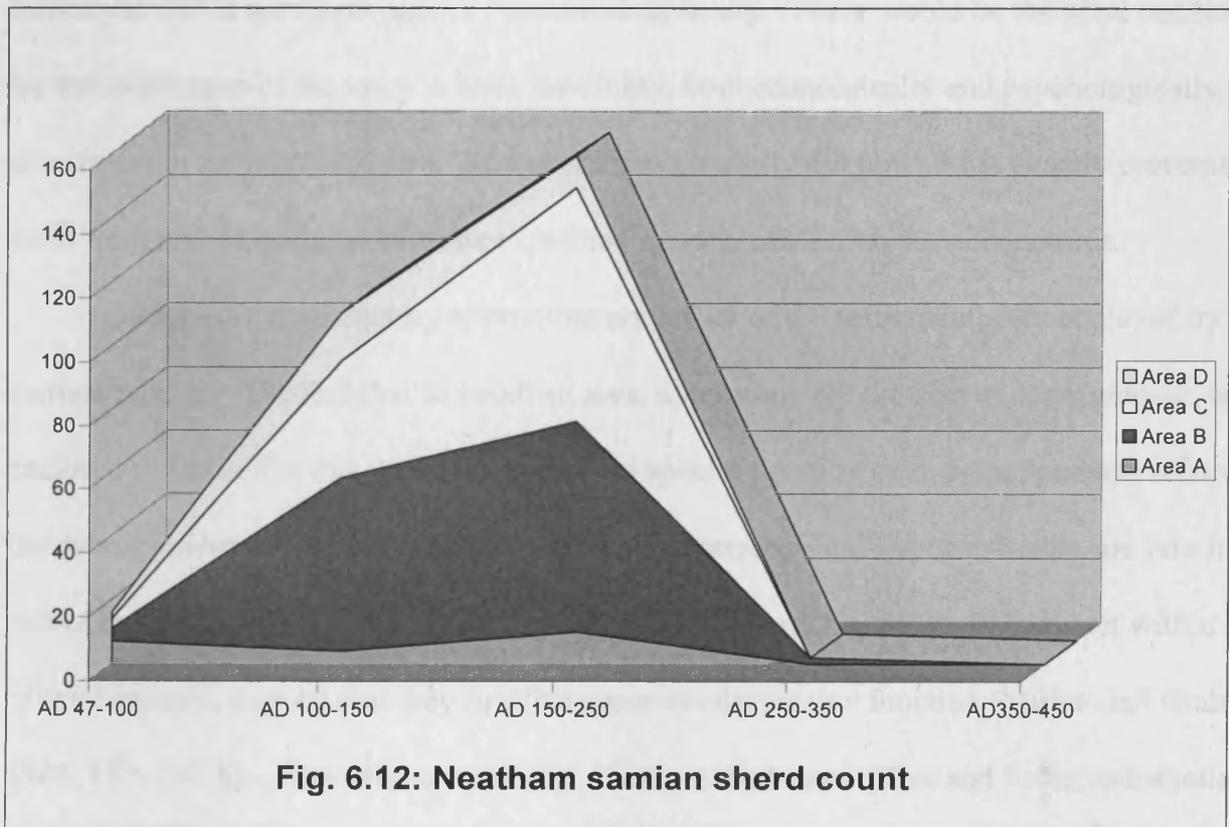
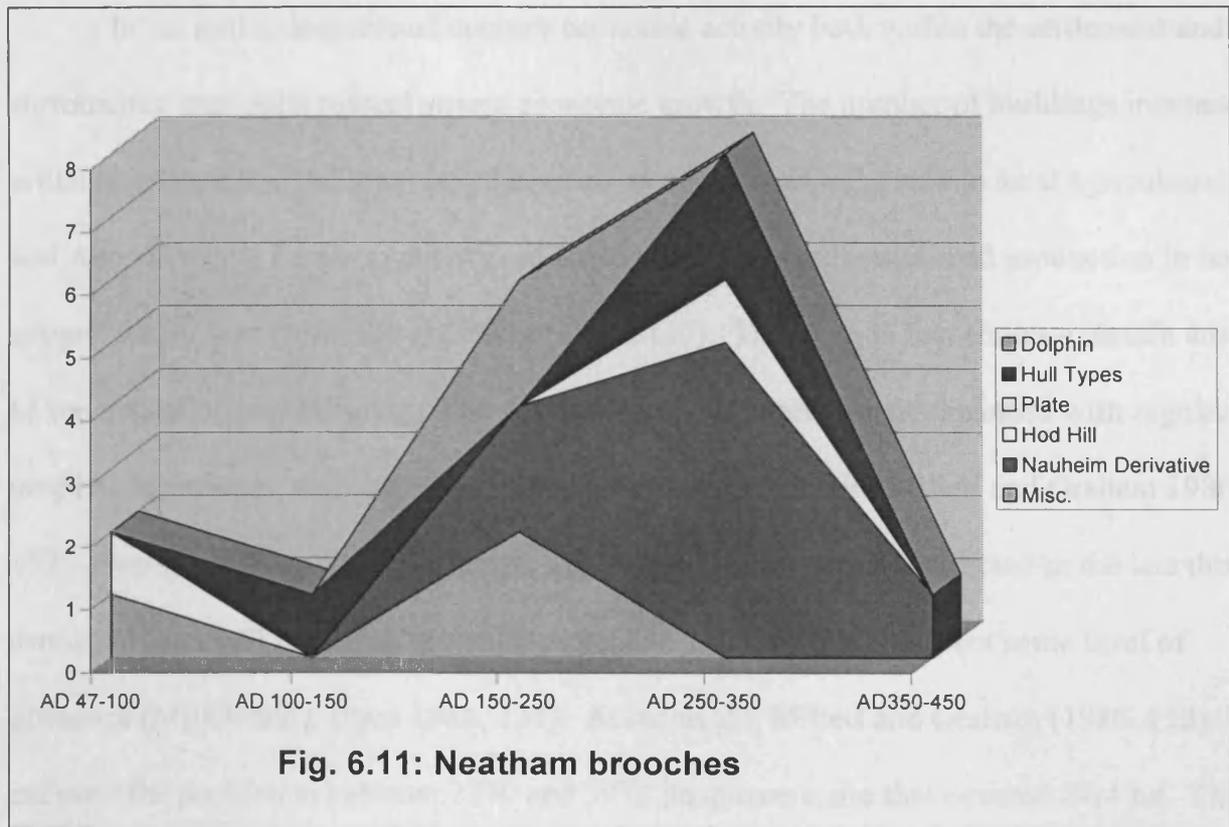
The earliest phases of Romano-British Neatham centered on the crossroads. Occupation at the site began c. AD 70-90 at the crossroads with a number of timber structures erected (Millett and Graham 1986, 13-19). The settlement exhibited ribbon development along the main roads. Only three structures are known for certain (Structures 1, 2, 3 in Area A on Map 6.2). However, since the majority of buildings throughout the history of the settlement

were constructed of timber, it is not inconceivable that more buildings may have existed, but their ephemeral traces were lost with later intensive occupation (Millett and Graham 1986, 151).



Map 6.2: Neatham, from Millett and Graham (1986)

The occupations and identities of the inhabitants in the early history are difficult to determine due to the meager artifact record. Coin loss patterns indicate at least modest economic activity (see Fig. 6.8). By most accounts it appears that the site was relatively minor until the mid-second century. The use of brooches, however, shows an atypical pattern compared to most other sites in this study and is similar to another case study in this category, Alcester (compare Figs. 6.11 and 6.14). The use of brooches began slowly and reached its height in the late third and early fourth-centuries; long after the inhabitants at most other sites in this study had stopped wearing them. In addition, the variety of brooches is much smaller than other sites examined so far despite their longer use. However, their continued use may indicate some conservatism. The use of samian ware also displays a unique pattern that may reinforce this conclusion. Its use was slight until the second century and reached its peak in the late second and early third centuries, when most other sites had a decreased amount of samian usage (see Fig. 6.12). The late adoption of this typical Roman form further suggests a conservative outlook of the inhabitants. Taken together with the preponderance of timber structures, Millett and Graham (1986, 159) reached a similar conclusion.



In the mid to late second century economic activity both within the settlement and the surrounding area point toward strong economic growth. The number of buildings increased and artifacts indicate that the town may have had an active marketing role in local agricultural goods and Alice Holt and Farnham pottery, and also supported small scale craft production in bone, copper, and bronze (Millett and Graham 1986, 157). The town in fact shows a certain amount of sophistication and planning. The southern part of the settlement expanded with regular property boundaries, and suggesting some internal organization (Millett and Graham 1986, 157). One of only two stone buildings, a small bath house, was constructed in the late third century. The small size suggests private use, but it nonetheless indicates some level of affluence (Millett and Gilbert 1986, 151). At its height, Millett and Graham (1986, 153) estimate the population between 2270 and 3972 people on a site that covered 7-14 ha. Thus, the settlement shows numerous signs of economic diversity. These would be the ideal conditions for the inhabitants of the town to have the ability, both economically and psychologically, for investment in stone architecture. However, they generally did not. What exactly prevented them from such investment must be explained in ways other than pure economics.

In the later third century approximately 2.5 ha of the settlement were enclosed by an earthen rampart. The fact that so small an area, approximately the size of *Margidunum*, was enclosed suggests that this enclosure had some special function once again, perhaps related to the *cursus publicus*. Artifacts found there, such as *tesserae* and hypocaust tiles, are rare in the rest of the settlement. The existence of high status masonry buildings, perhaps set within an official enclave, suggest that they fulfilled some administrative function (Millett and Graham 1986, 153, 157-8). However, even though Neatham had more villas and “other substantial buildings” nearby than the other sites in this chapter, the overall number is quite small compared with sites that had higher administrative status, such as Ilchester in Chapter 5 (Millett

and Graham 1986, 156; Millett 1990,192). Therefore, doubt must be cast on the possible administrative role of the town.

The individual identities of the inhabitants seem to be predominantly of an indigenous character. The pattern of artifacts is generally rural and similar to other small towns without walls and of non-military origin (Millett and Graham 1986, 159). Artistic evidence from the town is slight; however a clay drawing tile that depicts a face that is Celtic in style as are two other pipeclay figurines (Millett and Graham 1986, 159). The religious indicators are also slight, though a few votive deposits are clearly indicative of native culture (Millett and Graham 1986, 159).

Only two of the 24 known buildings were constructed in stone despite the burst of economic activity in the late third and early fourth-centuries, suggesting the choice of architecture may reveal several things about the identity of the inhabitants of the town. The villas in the surrounding countryside have a higher quantity of Romanized features than are present in the town. This may suggest that the country estates were occupied by more affluent individuals with a higher attachment to a Roman identity than the townsmen. If that were the case, we see almost the opposite pattern to that of Carlisle (Chapter 4), where Roman identity had more saliency in the town than the immediate countryside. Thus, the choice of architectural styles in Neatham may have been reflective of indigenous identity and a conservative outlook (Millett and Graham 1986, 159). Given that the other cultural indicators point to a strong indigenous identity, this explanation may be the most plausible. Thus, despite a possible governmental presence, the saliency of the Roman identity may not have been very strong.

The end of Romano-British Neatham, like many of these sites, is not well understood. Pottery suggests continued occupation into the fifth century. Linguistic analysis of the name Neatham indicates that the site likely became a cattle market during the Anglo-Saxon period. The *Domesday Book* also lists the site as one of four markets in Hampshire which may indicate

that Neatham did have a Roman administrative or market function that carried over into the medieval period. However, the core of the settlement was abandoned, and the villas likely became the hubs for a predominantly agricultural existence (Millett and Graham 1986, 160).

C. Alcester: A Local Center without Building Stone

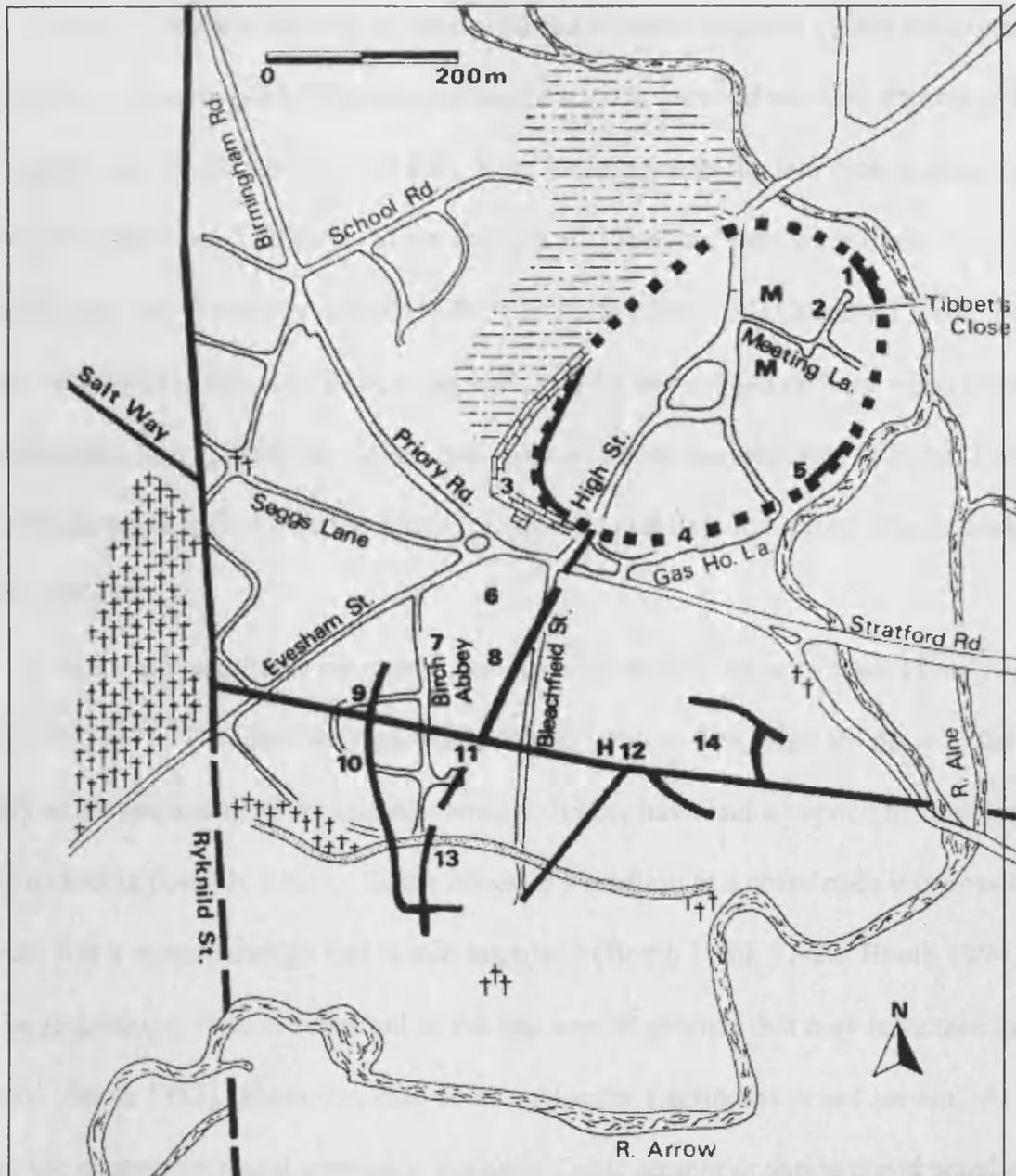
Romano-British Alcester, generally accepted as *Alauna* on the Ravenna Cosmography, was located at the junction of several communication routes. It was at the confluence of the Rivers Alne and Arrow and the junction of Ryknild Street and another Roman road. The only local stone was mercia mudstone which is not suitable for building (Booth 1994, 1). Like *Margidunum*, this raises the question of how the local resources may have affected the choice of architecture. The excavations in Alcester provide a glimpse of a town where the Roman identity was relatively strong despite being on the edge of the “Romanized” landscape of the south (Cracknell 1996, 127). In addition, more excavations have been done outside of the defenses than within it, where the medieval and modern town developed. As with all the towns in this study, much is yet to be discovered with further excavation (Booth 1994, 162).

However, given the current state of knowledge the picture that develops is that the saliency of Roman identity was quite strong for at least some of Alcester’s inhabitants and that a growing trend toward stone architecture occurred but was never fully realized, perhaps due to the cost of importing building stone. Thus, given a better location Alcester would have been placed with the sites with a transitional architectural tradition in Chapter 4. However, Alcester appears to support the hypothesis that the saliency of Roman identity needed to correspond with an economic feasibility for a town to achieve a masonry building tradition.

There is some evidence of a concentrated Iron Age settlement but is far from conclusive (Booth 1994, 164; Cracknell 1994, 257; *Britannia* 27 1996, 418; *Britannia* 31 2000, 406-7).

Booth (1994, 164-5) hypothesized that at least one and possibly two military posts in the first

century spurred the growth of the civilian settlement. In addition to the military stimulus, the town may have further developed as a market center for an area of prime agricultural land and being an equal distance from the major *civitas* capitals (Burnham and Wachter 1990, 96). The road junctions, like Neatham, proved to be an important aspect in the later development of the site and aided the survival of the town after the military withdrawal (Booth 1980, 7; Cracknell 1994, 257, 258-9).



KEY

M Mosaic	Marsh	certain	probable	Roman roads
H Hypocaust	Boundary ditch	Defences c 200 AD	Addition to circuit 4th C	
Cemetery	Occupied area			

Map 6.3: Roman Alcester, from *Britannia* 17 (1986)

1- sections of defenses; 2- 3rd and 4th c. timber and stone buildings; 3- major stone store-buildings; 4- Gas House Lane excavations; 5- section across both sets of defenses; 6- intensive occupation with timber and stone buildings; 7- possible market place; 8-artifacts suggestion 1st c. occupation; 9- enclosures; 10- shops, barns and many other structures; 11- timber houses with circular plan; 12- early stone building with hypocaust; 13- Tannery; 14- stone building with painted plaster

The early phase of civilian Romano-British Alcester centered on the crossroads in the Birch Abbey and Bleachfield Street areas (see Map 6.3). Several wooden structures, including two circular huts (Structures EA and EB), were constructed in the late first- century and survived into the second century. Their uses are not clear, but they were likely multifunction shops, houses, and workshops (Booth 1980, 12; Booth 1994, 157; Cracknell 1994, 249). Timber remained dominant in these areas until mid- to late second century when stone became more prevalent (see Table 6.4). At the Explosion site near the junctions of Seggs Lane and Priory Road, buildings with flimsy stone foundations and timber superstructures dominated (Booth 1980, 12-13).

There were possibly some public buildings located in the early town (Booth 1980, 21-2; Booth 1994, 157). The first, on Bleachfield Street, was the first stone structure in the area built as early as the beginning of the second century. It may have had a hypocaust in at least two rooms including possibly a bath. Given Alcester's location at a crossroads it is possible that the structure was a *mansio* though that is still unproven (Booth 1980, 21-22; Booth 1994, 157, 164). Two large granaries were constructed in the late second century that may have also been state operated (Booth 1985). However, their role in Alcester's economy is not certain. At the Birch Abbey site excavators found a possible Romano-Celtic temple or shrine constructed in the late first century and operating until the late second century (Booth 1994, 159).

Table 6.4: Site comparison of Alcester

	Birch Abbey	Bleachfield St.	Explosion Site	Cattle Market	Defended Area	Town Defenses
AD 43-100	Circular timber huts	Timber buildings – mostly agriculture and industrial uses			Some post-holes	
AD 100-150	Possible Romano-Celtic temple Possible market area		Composite construction	Timber dominant		
AD 150-200	Domestic stone structures at the southern part of the site Industrial area at the northern part of site	Building V – first stone with a hypocaust	Stone more common by end of 2 nd century	Stone appears by mid-2 nd c.	Timber buildings	
AD 200-250		Stone becomes dominant – possible <i>mansio</i> or public building		Site abandoned	Timber granaries just outside defenses Timber and stone with decorative features	Earth and timber defenses c. AD 200
AD 250-300	Timber construction resumes					
AD 300-350	Timber dominant by mid-4 th c.	Timber resumes – dominant by mid-4 th c.	Timber resumes – dominant by mid-4 th c.	Reoccupied with timber buildings in early 4 th c.	Stone granaries c. AD 300 just outside defenses	
AD 350-410			Site abandoned by end of 4 th c.		Timber buildings at Coulter's Garage Stone granaries removed for new town wall	Stone defenses c. AD 364

Alcester presents evidence of some planning even though streets were not laid out in a regular manner (Booth 1980, 10; Booth 1994, 167). As early as the second century domestic structures were located to the south, while industrial activity seems to have been localized to selected areas in the north area of the Birch Abby and the Explosion sites, where artifacts indicate metal and bronze working (Booth 1980, 11).

The buildings alone reveal some interesting clues to the identities of the inhabitants. The town never developed the typical 'strip buildings' of many small towns despite some vibrant economic activity. This may undermine the current interpretation that such buildings developed because of economic reasons over cultural choices (Cracknell 1994, 258). In what would become the defended area of the town later, very little activity was present until the defenses were constructed, atypical for walled towns (Evans 1996, 126; Booth 1994, 171; Cracknell 1994, 37, 249). In addition, up to the late second century the majority of the buildings excavated so far were timber, and in general terms do not give a strong sense of Roman identity by their decorations (Booth 1980, 7). Thus, it appears that Alcester is unique in many respects when compared to other small towns in the Roman era.

The buildings also detail the economic development of the settlement beyond servicing travelers along the roads. It can be reasonably assumed that agriculture was common as specialized farming tools have been found and some of the buildings at the Explosion Site indicate primarily agricultural uses (Booth 1980, 16; Mahany and Langley 1994, 13; Cracknell 1994, 249). Leather working is attested to at the far southern end of Birch Abbey, and metal working was located at the Explosion Site (Booth 1980, 11). Commerce may have also been important. The presence of a large, 90 m by 60 m paved open area surrounded by small structures seems to indicate a market (Booth 1980, 16; Booth 1994, 173; Cracknell 1994, 252). Given its convenient location of equal distances from the regional *civitates*, the hypothesis is plausible though not certain (Booth 1994, 173). The market may have also attracted religious festivals that were often held on the borders of tribal centers and

at crossroads, further reinforcing the interpretation of a possible shrine or temple in the same general area as the market (Booth 1980, 21-22).

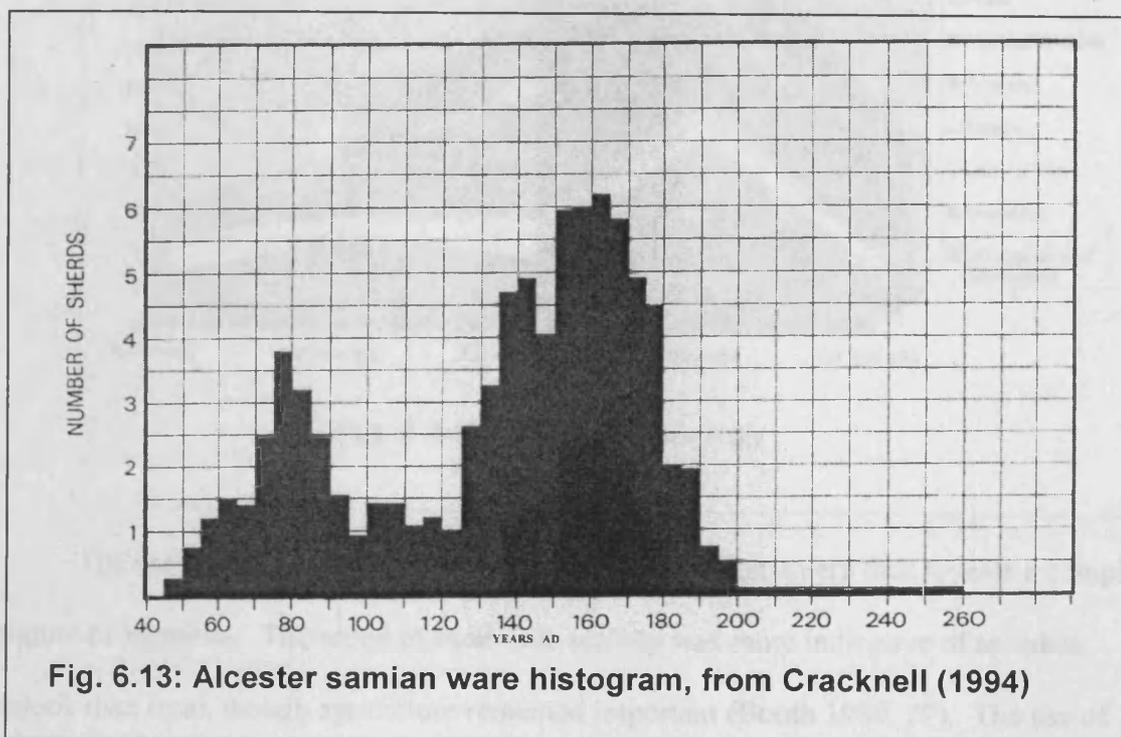


Fig. 6.13: Alcester samian ware histogram, from Cracknell (1994)

The pottery, particularly the samian, indicates that there was a slight decline in the early second century, typical of an early military phase and withdrawal (Booth 1994, 165; see Fig. 6.13). This downturn is also evident in that some sites were briefly abandoned in the early second century (Langley *et al.*, 1994, 27). However, if the samian is any reflection of prosperity, the early to mid-second century was a period of economic expansion. This is reflective of the gradual use in stone architecture through the second century, even though timber remained dominant.

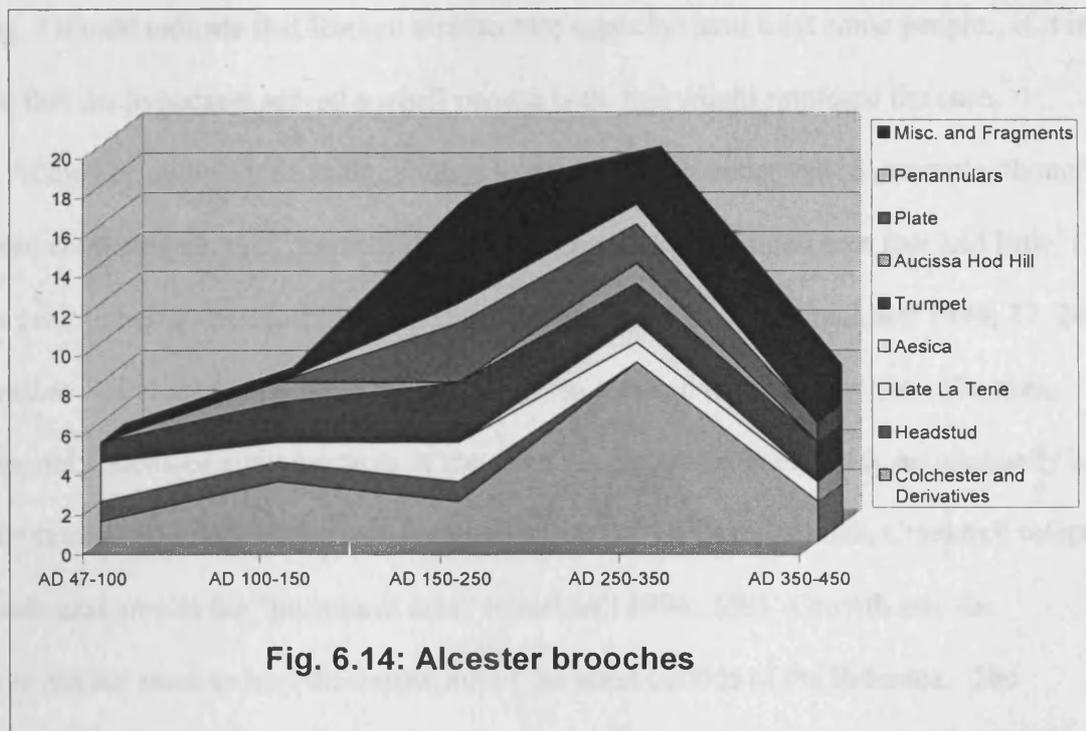


Fig. 6.14: Alcester brooches

The identity of the people in early Alcester in the Roman era thus reveals a complex mixture of identities. The scope of economic activity was more indicative of an urban outlook than rural, though agriculture remained important (Booth 1980, 27). The use of brooches at Alcester is atypical compared to other small towns in this study (see Fig. 6.14). Unlike most other small towns where the use of brooches declined, at Alcester the use of brooches increased until the early fourth century before declining. Taken with the presence of circular huts into the mid-second century, at least elements of the population may have had a more conservative outlook. While the lack of a definite Iron Age precursor indicates that the settlement likely arose out of the new economic realities Rome created, it should be remembered that the settlement was on the edge of what has been considered the “Romanized” part of Britain based on the villa landscape (Cracknell 1994, 258-9). This may have influenced the inhabitants’ outlook, perhaps keeping them closer to their pre-Roman traditions. Yet there is evidence that some inhabitants had an attachment to a Roman identity. Near Alcester a gold ring with a palm was found, possibly indicating the presence of a member of the curial class (Wise 1992). If Building V was not a *mansio* but rather a private

building, it would indicate that Roman architecture appealed to at least some people. If it is possible that the hypocaust served a small private bath, this would reinforce the case.

At the beginning of the third century, Roman Alcester underwent a dramatic, though somewhat confusing change. Earthen defenses were constructed in an area that had little activity prior to being enclosed (Evans 1996, 126; Booth 1994, 171; Cracknell 1994, 37, 249). The location was strategically more defensible given a marsh to the northwest. The area, however, only enclosed eight hectares of the town which totaled over 30 ha, an unusually high ratio of extramural to defended area (Cracknell 1994, 249). Given all this, Cracknell refers to the undefended area as the “pre-mural area” (Cracknell 1996, 258). Growth into the enclosure did not seem to hurt the expansion of the areas outside of the defenses. The defended area appears, admittedly based on limited excavation, to have remained much less heavily occupied than would be expected, while the pre-mural area continued to be active and was generally unaffected as the town grew into the new defended area (Cracknell 1994, 258; Booth 1994b, 171).

In all parts of the settlement there appears to have been economic expansion and increased production (Mahany and Langley 1994, 14). The development of craft industries, its presumed continuous use as a market, and the construction of the defenses indicate that the settlement was somewhat prosperous. The economy of the defended area is not well understood based on the limited excavations there. However, by the mid-third century, copper, bronze, and iron working were present as was agriculture/horticulture (Cracknell 1996, 121, 251, 252). Many of the same activities were found in the extra-mural area as well. In addition, it is possible that Alcester also produced querns with stone probably imported from Derbyshire or Staffordshire (Booth 1980, 16; Cracknell 1994, 252; Cracknell 1996, 119-20). The pottery assemblages indicate that the town was tied mostly to the Severn Valley and the Oxford region. Very little pottery was represented from the Nene Valley, which contrasts with nearby sites such as Tiddington (Cracknell 1994, 258).

Despite the evident prosperity, even within the defended area stone was not able to completely replace timber as the dominant construction technique (Cracknell 1996, 171). Only at Bleachfield Street and the Cattle Market sites did stone reach dominance by the third century (see Table 6.4). However, Roman decorative features were found in high quantities within the defenses, including at least two mosaics (*Britannia* 17 1976, 394-5; Booth 1980, 14). Even after the defenses were upgraded to stone around AD 364, a few stone buildings were erected, but most remained timber (Evans 1996, 37, 39, 126). In fact, by the time the stone defenses were erected, areas where stone dominated, construction began to revert to timber construction (Booth 1980 12-13; see Table 6.4), indicating a possible economic downturn. This decline, particularly in a region poor in building stone, would have a profound impact on the ability to invest in stone buildings. Tiddington, only 12 km away, had a similar pattern (Booth 1994b, 174-5). Referring back to Maps 3.1-3.5, the regional pattern near Alcester used timber architecture, and it is not unreasonable to assume that the lack of suitable building stone played more of a role in construction choice than did identity.

The architecture, with a growing use of stone and Roman decorative features, provide indications that the saliency of the Roman identity was relatively high for some inhabitants. However, the identity of the inhabitants during the third and fourth century based on the artifacts provides a contrasting image. The most telling artifacts, the brooches, actually increased. The increase in this traditional Iron Age form of adornment corresponded with the construction and reconstruction of the town defenses and may again lend validity to Jundi and Hill's (1998, 126-131) assertion that brooches become more popular during times of insecurity or that there may have been a military presence in the town. Pottery finds suggest a greater economic connection to the Severn Valley and Oxfordshire more than the Nene Valley (Cracknell 1994, 258). While the majority of coarse ware pottery finds at Alcester were from the Severn Valley, at nearby Tiddington it comprised only 7 percent of the assemblage (Cracknell 1994, 258). The religious preferences of the inhabitants are also difficult to

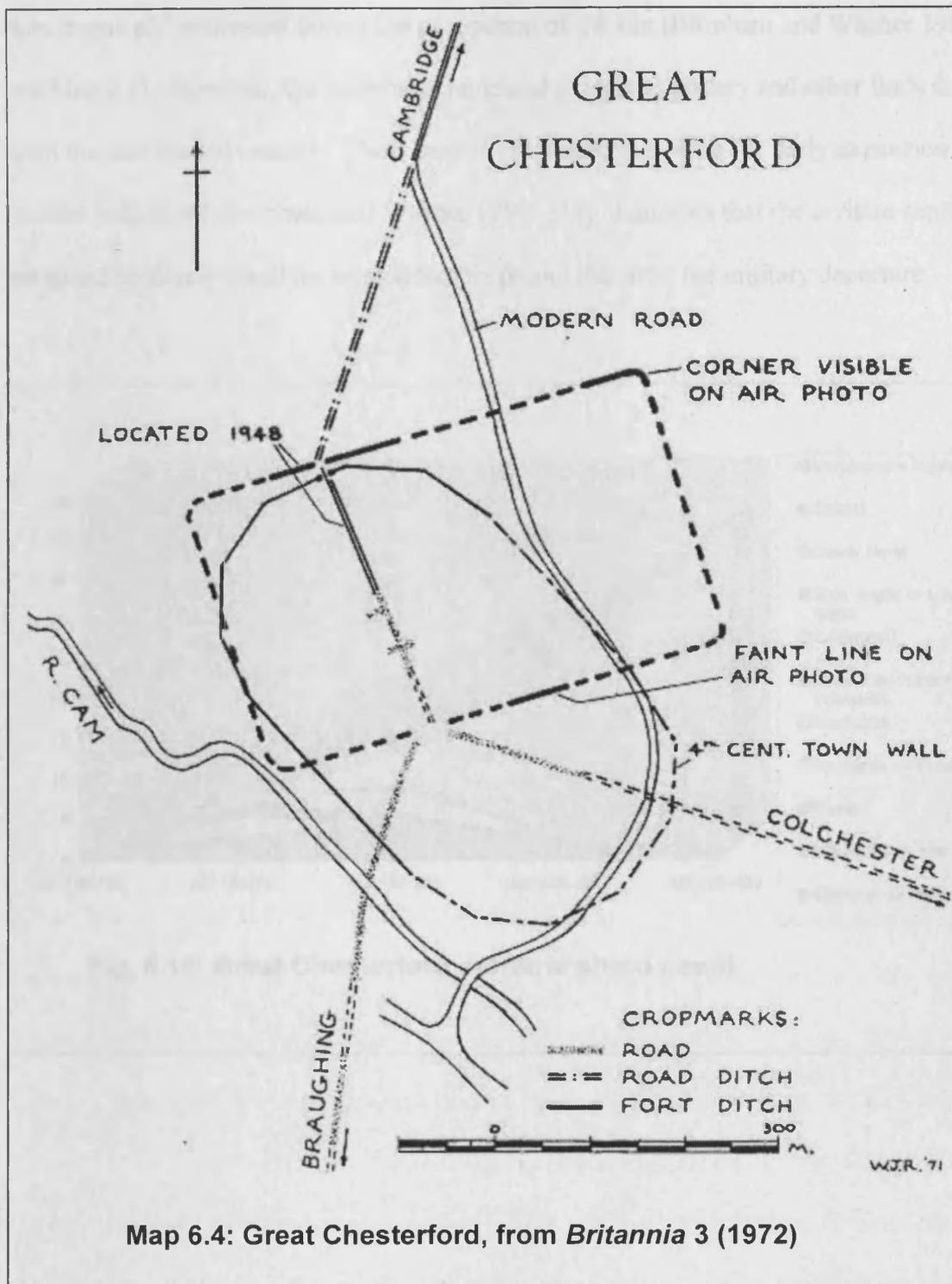
ascertain. Two intaglios, including one of Mercury were found. Two altars were found in a well as was a relief of the Celtic horse goddess Epona (Cracknell 1994, 254).

Like so many Romano-British 'small towns,' the end of Roman Alcester is not clear. The defended area would have been an attractive site for sub-Roman settlement and there is some limited artifactual finds that indicate some Saxon activity, though these remain very slight at best (Booth 1980, 23; Burnham and Wachter 1990, 97; Cracknell 1996, 139).

D. Great Chesterford: A Rural Agricultural Settlement

Roman Great Chesterford is the only other known walled town in Essex other than Colchester. Several problems are associated with the site. First, a significant amount of destruction was done by modern gravel quarrying in the northern part of the site. Second, it attracted the attention of antiquarian activities in the 1840s which were not reported with the level of detail or skill of modern archaeologists. However, the buildings were usefully summarized in the *Victoria County History of Essex*, vol. 3 in addition to some limited small finds, mostly without adequate provenance (Hull 1963). Excavations in the 1950s and 1980s have been usefully summarized and do provide valuable data for small finds (Hull 1963; Draper 1986; Miller 1988; Miller 1996).

The town was located on a gravel terrace on the east bank of River Cam and strategically located in a place where the Ickneild Way and several Iron Age communication routes converged (Hull 1963, 72; Burnham and Wachter 1990, 138). There was a definite first century military occupation, but it is not clear if there was an Iron Age settlement on the site (Burnham and Wachter 1990, 138; *Britannia* 1994, 106). The pottery finds in the fort span the Neronian to the Flavian period (Hull 1963, 72; Rodwell 1972, 293).



It appears that the civilian town started as *vicus* around the Braughing and Colchester roads that converged on the south gate and *via principalis* within the fort. After the fort was abandoned all indications are that the civilian settlement moved north into the area previously used by the fort, and the *via principalis* remained the main thoroughfare of the settlement and

was frequently resurfaced during the occupation of the site (Burnham and Wachter 1990, 140; see Map 6.4). However, the settlement remained modest as pottery and other finds are few until the mid-second century. Thus, despite the problems tracing the early expansion of the civilian settlement (Burnham and Wachter 1990, 138), it appears that the civilian settlement remained relatively small for a considerable period that after the military departure.

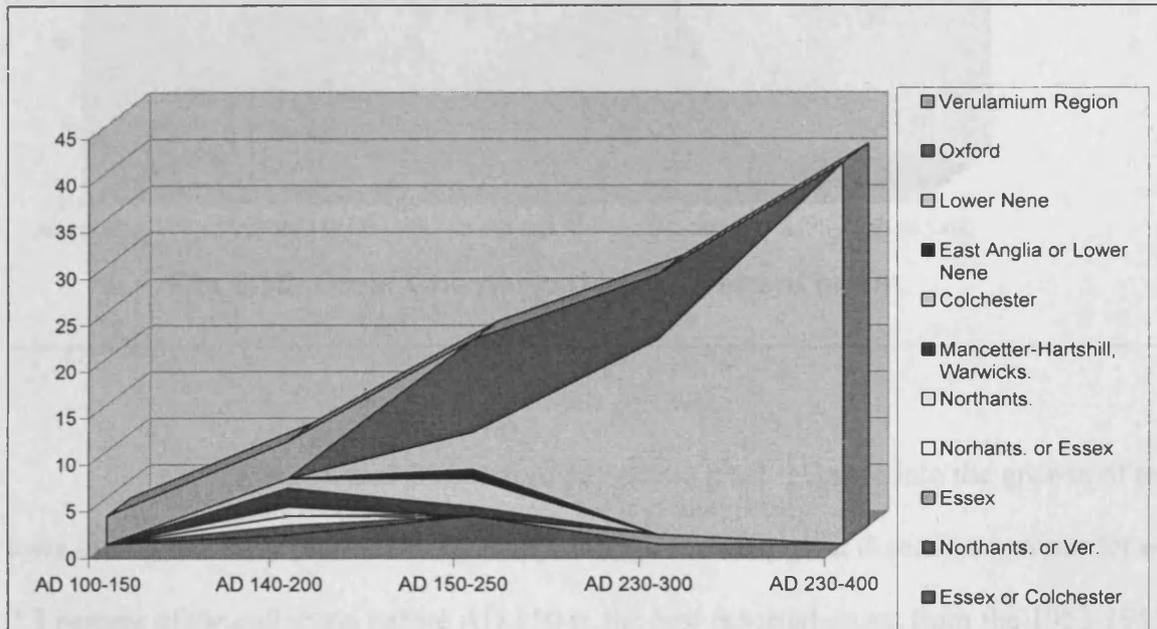
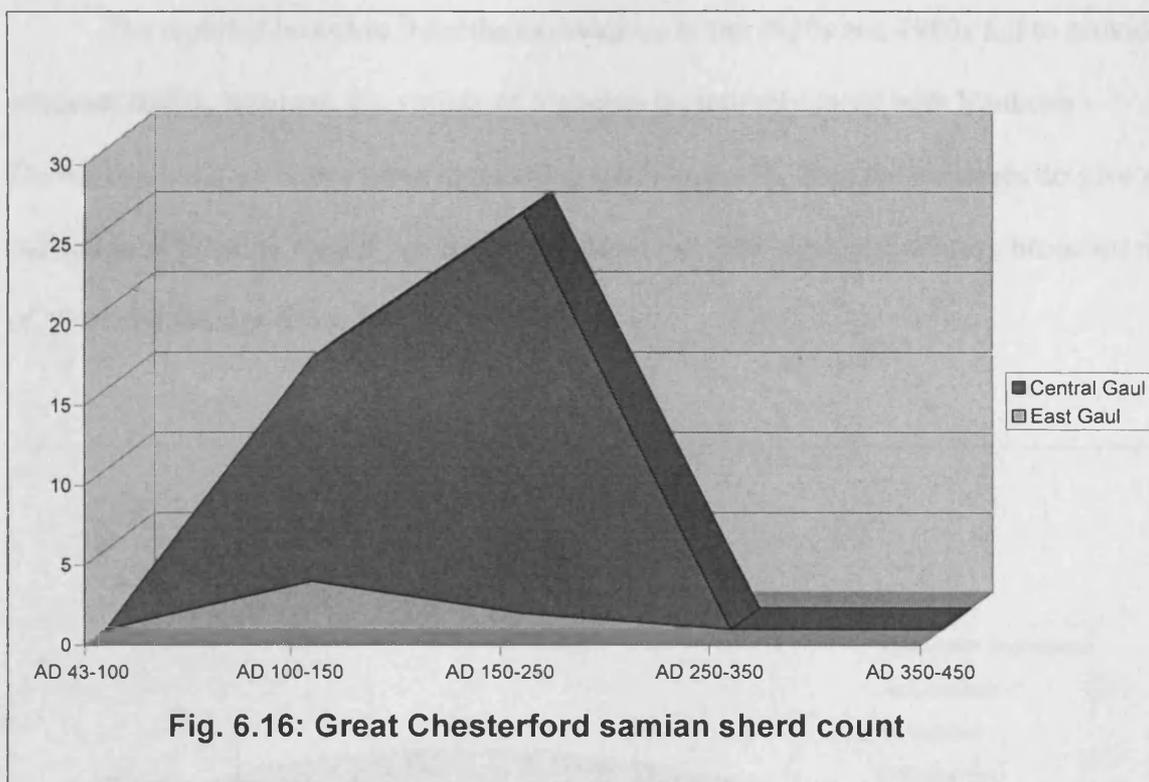
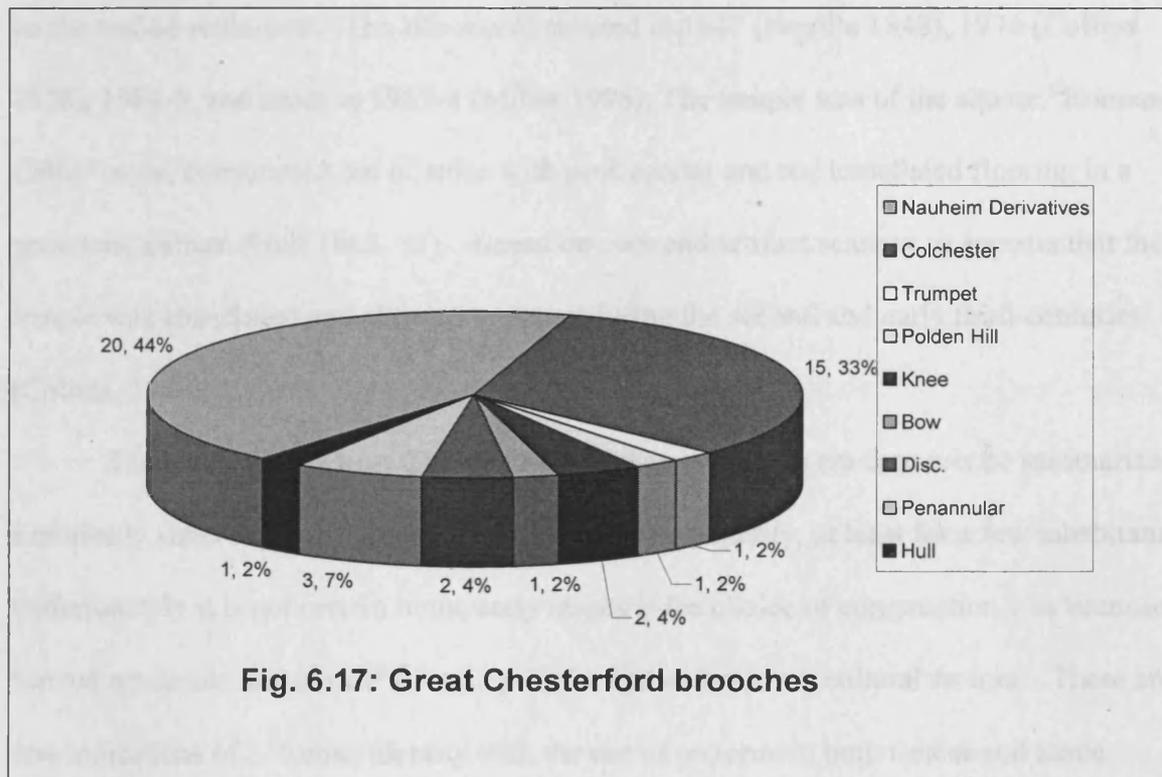


Fig. 6.15: Great Chesterford *mortaria* sherd count



The pottery from Great Chesterford provides a small glimpse into the growth of the town during this early phase. The *mortaria*, though showing great diversity, account for only 2.3 percent of the collection before AD 150 in the best reported group from the 1953-1955 excavations (Draper 1986, 25-37; see Fig. 6.15). Though few in number, *mortaria* were diverse in origin, with the Verulamium wares being the most prominent. By the late second century, Colchester and Oxford wares became increasingly dominant. However, despite being only 24 kilometers away, Hadham wares were relatively scarce (Draper 1986, 37). Samian ware at the site is also atypical as a whole but similar to Alcester as there are relatively few finds until the mid-second century (see Fig. 6.16). This pattern seems atypical of other military sites where there is a significant presence of samian early with a sudden decline. The duration of the military presence at Great Chesterford therefore may have been relatively brief in time. In addition, the clear majority of sherds are from the central Gaul workshops. Taken together, it appears that the settlement was small but growing into the late second century. The affinity for Romanized styles of food preparation (*mortaria*) and display (samian ware) appear to have taken some time to develop.

The reported brooches from the excavations in the 1950s and 1980s fail to provide adequate dating, however, the variety of brooches is relatively small with Nauheim Derivatives and Colchester types dominating (see Fig. 6.17). Yet, the brooches do give some indication of possible wealth. Antiquarians found two first or second century brooches made of silver (Liversidge 1968, 145).



The buildings in the early history of Roman Great Chesterford were predominantly wooden structures on sill beams with gravel or packed earth floors and wattle and daub superstructures (Brinson 1950, 146-9; Hull 1963, 78-80). Several of the buildings appear to have been repeatedly destroyed by fire, particularly in the northern part of the settlement (Hull 1963, 80; Draper 1986, 4). Even though the structures were of timber, one of them had a certain level of pretension being floored in red *tesserae* (Brinson 1950; Hull 1963, 78). Further evidence of at least limited prosperity was the construction of a stone building (Building 2) sometime in the second century, one of only two stone buildings excavated within the defended area throughout Great Chesterford's Roman existence (Brinson 1950,

146-9; Hull 1963, 79; Collins 1981). The building, though remodeled several times, initially replaced a timber structure that burnt down on the same site. It also had *tesserae* flooring and painted wall plaster. The relatively narrow foundation was constructed out of chalk, indicating it only had one storey.

Religiously, the inhabitants of early Great Chesterford left few artifacts. However, in the late first century a temple was erected approximately 1.6 km outside of what would later be the walled settlement. The site was excavated in 1847 (Neville 1848), 1976 (Collins 1978), 1984-5, and again in 1987-8 (Miller 1996). The temple was of the square “Romano-Celtic” style, constructed out of stone with pink mortar and red tessellated flooring in a geometric pattern (Hull 1963, 83). Based on coin and artifact scarcity, it appears that the temple was abandoned and allowed to decay during the second and early third-centuries (Collins, 1978).

The character of Great Chesterford in the early Roman era then can be summarized as a modestly sized settlement but with some level of prosperity, at least for a few inhabitants. Unfortunately it is not certain in the early stages if the choice of construction was because of limited economic means or if it was a positive choice based on cultural factors. There are a few indications of a Roman identity with the use of *tesserae* in both timber and stone structures though other artifacts reveal the strengths of other identities for the inhabitants.

In the third and fourth-centuries the town underwent a period of growth, and our understanding of it greatly increases. The number of pottery sherds increased dramatically with over 76 percent of sherds collected during the excavations in the 1950s being dated after AD 200 (Draper 1986, 37). Colchester and Oxford wares became dominant and samian use disappeared by the mid-third century.

The small finds indicate that Great Chesterford had only limited economic diversity. Agricultural production and processing appears to have been the most dominant activity. At least seven quern stones have been found, including some in an extramural temple complex (61995, 54). Thirteen large and well used scythe blades, 162 cm long, suggest a mowing

machine of *vallus* (Neville 1856; Miller 1988, 109; Liversidge 1968, 224). Bone working debris suggests that livestock production was also important, and the presence of spindle whorls and loom weights also suggests that textile production was significant (Burnham and Wachter 1990, 141; 1996, 50-55). A large hoard of smithing equipment and products was found in the nineteenth century that included over 90 artifacts covering the range of a smith's "stock and trade" (Neville 1856; Hull 1963, 84). However, only the presence of three styli and two steelyards give any indication of other commerce (Burnham and Wachter 1990, 141; Miller 1996, 50). Thus it appears that economic activity was mainly centered on agriculture and associated industries.

The religious practices of the inhabitants are easier to discern after the third century as well. The temple complex was reoccupied around AD 280 (Collins 1978; Miller 1996, 32). A second stone ancillary building was likely constructed around this time, separate from the temple but within the same precinct (Miller 1996). The temple area remained active continuously until the mid-fourth century (Miller 1996, 32-3). Artifacts indicate that classical deities, or at least Romano-Celtic personifications of them, were present. A Jupiter column and a Venus mirror were found as were sculptures of Mars, Mercury, Diana, and possibly Fortuna (Hull 1963, 84; Burnham and Wachter 1990, 141). The Jupiter column is particularly interesting as that type of monument developed independently in northeast Gaul and Germany in the later first century with strong native symbols associated with it and was later imported to Britain. It is therefore not impossible and likely probable that a native personification of the god or indigenous practices could be represented with this uniquely provincial display (Wells 1999, 219-21; Liang 1997, 42; Green 1984, 173-9; 1986, 67-68). Indeed, Celtic identities remained important as suggested by a silver votive face mask of "Celtic style" (*Britannia* 1979, 309). However, by the late third and fourth centuries the temple was again abandoned and four ovens or kilns erected in the complex, indicating that it no longer served a religious function (Miller 1996, 33). The only other possible religious indicator was the interment of a 25 year old female inserted into in the flooring of Building 2 (Hull 1963, 84).

The majority of buildings remained timber, and the lack of roofing tiles indicate that the roofs of the buildings were probably thatched (Hull 78-83). However, the stone Building 2 was remodeled with the addition of a hypocaust and second storey (Brinson 1950; Hull 1963, 78). A second masonry building (Building 1) was constructed in the early to mid-fourth century, contemporary with the town wall (Brinson 1950; Hull 1963, 78). It was constructed over several timber predecessors that appear to have burnt down. The building had red *tesserae* flooring but was much less elaborate than Building 2 (Hull 1963, 78).

The town walls were also constructed at this time and were substantial given the limited “Romanization” of the settlement (Hull 1963, 83). It was estimated that they were over 3.5 m tall but lacked towers or bastions (Hull 1963, 75-6). In the process of construction some buildings were destroyed (Collins 1981). The final enclosure was approximately 14.7 ha (Burnham and Wachter 1990, 141). Given the size and limited economic prosperity of the settlement, it appears that the job would have been initiated by the government with military engineers to protect the core settlement and any possible official buildings (Hull 1963, 83; Burnham and Wachter 1990, 141). This would not be unlikely given the site’s strategic importance at the converging transportation routes. Thus, we should not be misled by the size and investment of the defenses. While it is impossible to rule it out as a civic project, it appears that the imperial government had more of a role than the local inhabitants.

Therefore, the archaeology of Great Chesterford suggests that several identities were present. Agriculture appears to be the strongest occupational identity. The presence of *styli* suggest that at least some of the inhabitants were literate. A Roman identity is present to some degree with some indicators such as personifications of classical deities. However, there are no recorded mosaics within the enclosed settlement and only one of geometric pattern at the temple outside of the core (Hull 1963, 83). Thus, while the Roman identity had some resonance with inhabitants, it appears very limited. It is not surprising then that if masonry construction was a reflection of *Romanitas*, few inhabitants were willing to put forth the investment. The presence of some stone buildings, both domestic and religious, indicates

that the ability to create stone structures existed, but that the majority of the inhabitants were either unwilling or unable to do so.

The town defenses may have helped the settlement survive into the sub-Roman period. They appear to have remained intact and were still being robbed in the eighteenth century (Hull 1963, 73). Like Catterick, this may have prolonged the life of the settlement beyond the immediate withdrawal of Roman forces as artifacts indicate that the site remained occupied through the fifth century. However, the level of prosperity is difficult to determine (Burnham and Wachter 1990, 142).

IV. Discussion

These towns reinforce the concept that the same ends may be a result of different processes, and that the choice in architecture alone is not a litmus test for Roman identity. In fact, the desire to display *Romanitas* in the form of a stone building had to coincide with the economic ability to do so, often based simply on a site's relation to suitable building stone. While people at places like Neatham may have simply chosen not to construct buildings in stone despite having the ability, other places like Alcester display a stronger desire to do so despite having to import stone. Thus, while both sites belong in this group with timber tradition, they were at opposite ends of a spectrum of responses to architectural change.

Neatham provides an example of a town that had a diversified economy, was located at an economically advantageous position in-between major economic centers, may have even had a posting station for the central government, and was integrated into the Roman economy. Nonetheless the inhabitants chose not to construct buildings in a Roman style. Artifacts indicate that the population identified more with an indigenous culture than a Roman one. In contrast, the immediate countryside had a number of villas where buildings and artifacts had a more Roman flavor. The picture then is that the countryside had a stronger Roman identity than did the inhabitants of the town. This contrasts sharply with examples from the highland zone, such as Carlisle, where the town displayed a higher quantity of Roman artifacts than did

surrounding countryside. Thus, Neatham challenges the presupposition of the old “Romanization” paradigm that upheld the idea of urbanized settlements being “Romanized,” particularly in the southern villa landscape. In fact, all the towns in this study indicate that to some level the indigenous identity remained strong alongside the new Roman one. At Neatham, however, it was simply that much stronger.

At Alcester, on the other hand, the Roman identity apparently had a strong resonance with at least some of the inhabitants. Of all the case studies for this category, it had the largest quantity of Roman decorative features in its buildings, including at least two mosaics. It also had the largest percentage of stone buildings, though not quite reaching parity with timber buildings in the late third and early fourth centuries. Considering that the local mudstone was unsuitable for building, thus forcing the inhabitants to import sandstone, the strong desire to construct stone buildings may indicate that the saliency of the Roman identity was particularly strong, perhaps even stronger than some sites included in Chapters 4 or 5. The inhabitants had to invest more to achieve the same results since the lack of local stone would raise the point of feasibility at Alcester more than at other sites where stone was readily available.

Margidunum may be another example where by the lack of suitable stone nearby affected the choice of architectural styles. However, unlike Alcester, the economy does not appear to have been nearly as highly developed or integrated into the overall Roman economy. In addition, there may have been significant limitations placed on land use by government which apparently used the site for some minor administrative purposes. With both an underdeveloped economy and the lack of building stone the site never approached the point of feasibility where the civilian inhabitants would be able to invest in stone construction, even if there was an attachment to a Roman identity. Great Chesterford may have been similar. The economy appears to have been dominated by agriculture with only limited diversity. The Roman identity was present as indicated by some of the artifacts. However,

the strength of a more rural outlook and an underdeveloped economy limited the ability of the inhabitants to invest in stone buildings.

Rather than examining the homogeneity of sites, it is clearly important to look at the unique processes that resulted in the end product. These sites prove that the use of architecture alone is not enough to determine the saliency of any identity, Roman or otherwise. Each town had a unique set of circumstances that interacted dynamically and resulted in long-term timber building tradition. They also support the conclusion that the identity and economic development worked synergistically to create an architectural tradition.

Chapter 7:

Discussion

I. Introduction

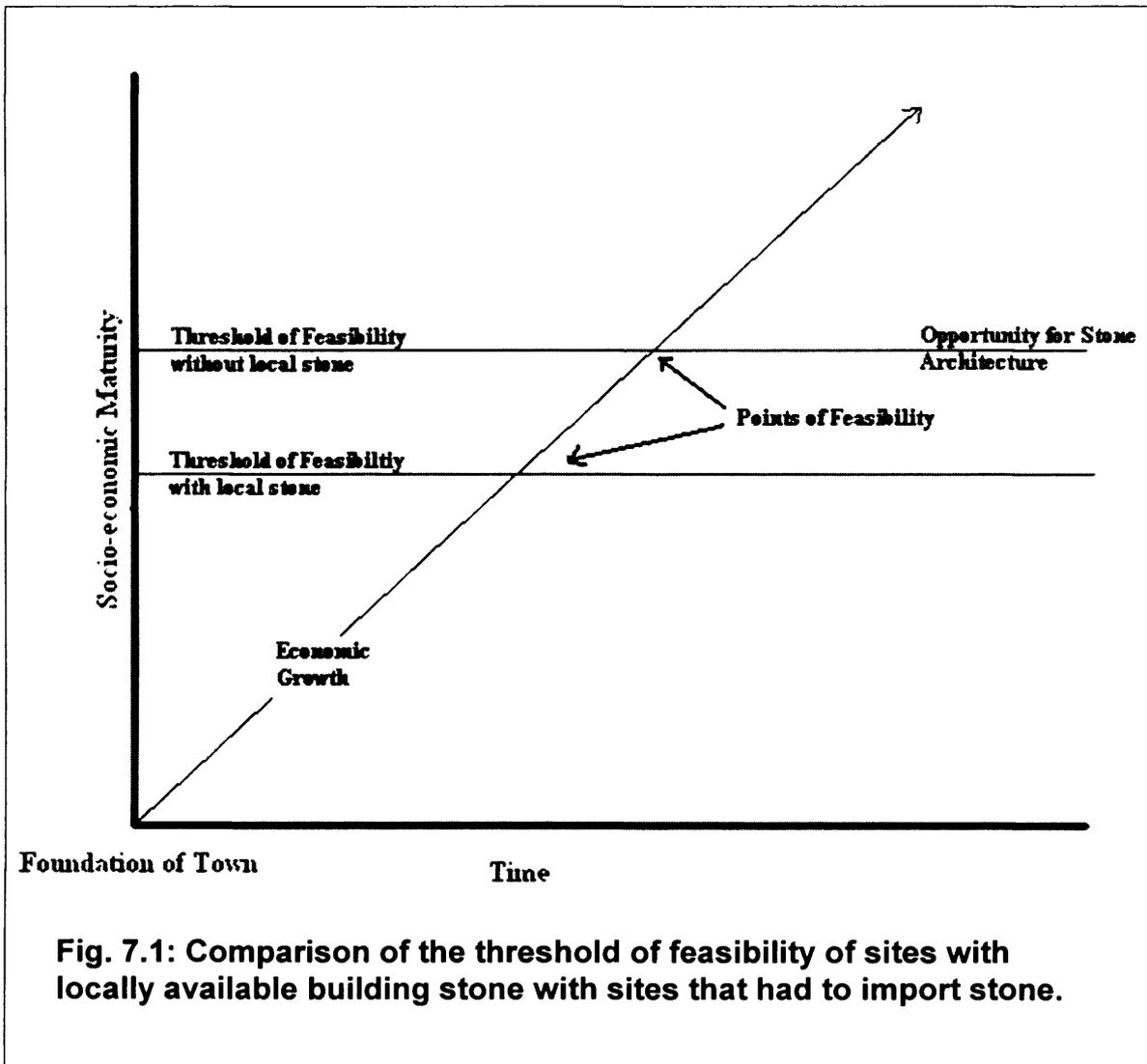
Had this study been written twenty years ago when the Romanization paradigm was mostly unchallenged, the focus would have been on the end result of towns progressively using more stone architecture. However, by examining the process rather than the end result, it has become clear that the same ends resulted from different processes that reflect socio-economic complexities ignored under Romanization. The saliency of a Roman identity was not necessarily equally strong at every site nor was the amount of investment required to produce stone architecture the same. In addition, many different identities remained present at each site, even those with masonry traditions. A number of forces unique to each town synergistically interacted with each other and affected the choices inhabitants made when they built structures.

It has become clear from the evidence collected that one set of features or artifacts are insufficient in determining the identities, both civic and personal, of the inhabitants of small towns in Britain in the Roman era. The choice in architecture was not a bench mark of Roman identity but rather was part of a larger process whereby individuals negotiated personal and civic meaning for the roles they played in society. Economic forces also affected that negotiation process and consequently its architectural manifestations. By examining that process, it becomes clear that many identities co-existed across both space and time. Thus, the resonance of identity with the economic factors unique to each town resulted in architectural traditions.

II. Economic Forces and Architecture

Many economic forces influenced the ability to build stone structures. Economic diversity, integration into the Roman economic system, and the location of a settlement in relation to suitable building stone influenced whether individuals invested in stone masonry and the scale of investment required. These factors affected not only the economic growth and ability of a town to invest in more expensive architecture; they also affected the point of feasibility where stone architecture would be more common.

Returning to the model from Chapter 1, the economics involved in the choice of architecture were probably dependant upon not only the economic growth of a site but also the point at which it intersected the threshold of feasibility. However, the threshold of feasibility was not a necessarily a fixed point. It was affected by two significant factors. As seen at Alcester and *Margidunum*, the lack of local building stone would raise the threshold of feasibility by increasing the cost of importing the basic building materials. In addition, a site needed to have access to artisans familiar with that construction technique. A lack of skilled masons would also raise the threshold of feasibility. Thus, inhabitants of a town might potentially need a higher level of economic growth to cross that threshold and reach the point of feasibility where stone architecture would be increasingly common. Towns with a higher threshold of feasibility would reach that point later than towns with a lower threshold of feasibility. Therefore, stone buildings at those sites would arise later (see Fig. 7.1).

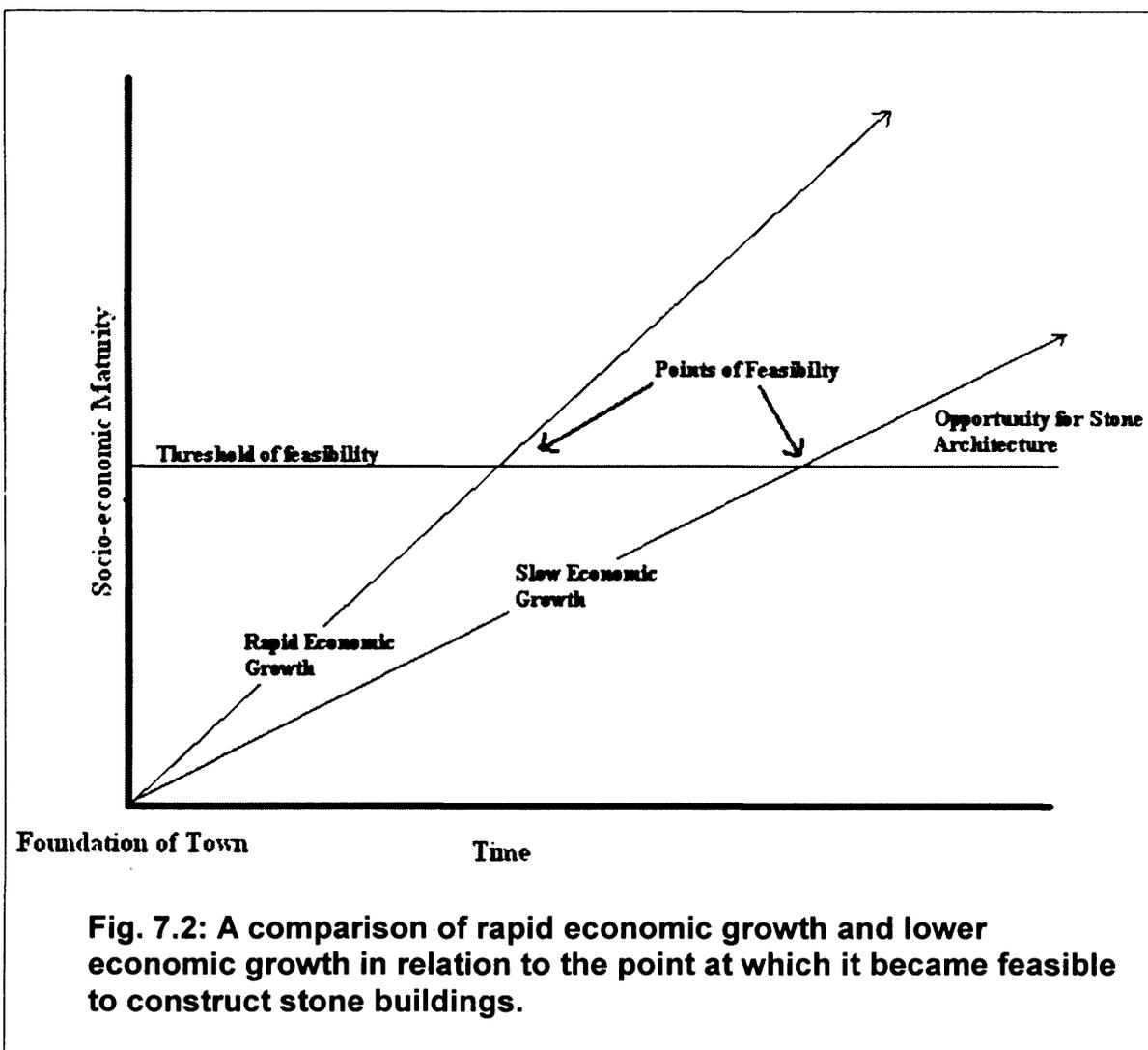


This model temporarily assumes that government forces are absent. If we take into account the possibility that some land was directly managed by the government or military, such as may have been the case immediately outside the fort at Catterick or Carlisle, the heavy hand of government planning would prevent investment despite this model. However, the military may have aided in the local supply of skilled masons. Along the frontier, active or retired military engineers and masons would provide a supply of skilled artisans and may have even paid for construction of some civilian buildings, significantly lowering the point of

feasibility. Thus we cannot definitively say that the military either helped or hindered the choice of architecture. This is an area where more research could be conducted.

The other economic factors influencing when a town could construct stone architecture was the economic growth of the site. Economic growth is most simply defined as the process where a community increases wealth over time and is able to sustain that increase as measured in the production of goods and services (Millett 2001, 19). Several factors influenced growth including diversity of outputs, integration into the Roman economic system, and strength of economic output. A diverse economy would allow sites to weather economic fluctuations. The integration into the Roman economic system had several ramifications. First, supplying the military forces along the frontier would provide significant economic input to a community, both near a garrison and to sites in the south providing the goods that were transported north. Second, the integration into the new reality would allow a site to adjust to the changing economic needs of the province as it matured. Those towns with a higher level of economic growth would reach the threshold of feasibility sooner than those with a lower level of growth (see Fig. 7.2). As growth occurred, inflation and unemployment would reach a low level, indicating greater economic maturity.

Yet, it should be borne in mind that without hard statistical data it is impossible to completely quantify economic growth in an absolute sense that pleases economists. Artifacts may reveal diversity of outputs, but in absolute measurable terms they are of little help. Therefore, we may have indications that one site showed greater growth than another, but to what degree is debatable. What we are left with is only a schematic understanding of the economic forces driving the choice of architecture.



Iron Age settlements, tied to an older economic system, may have initially had a harder time adjusting to the new economic system imposed by Rome. If a site was by-passed by the Roman road network and was not on a navigable water route, undoubtedly it would have been limited in the amount of integration it could achieve. In addition, if the inhabitants resisted integration, it is likely they had a more conservative outlook which would result in a low saliency of the Roman identity (see below). However, as the new economic reality increasingly dominated the island, towns had to adjust through the operant forces or face limited opportunities. Any resistance would thus delay economic maturity. Iron Age sites could and did adjust, such as at Dragonby and Baldock. Eventually both sites achieved a dominance of

stone buildings, even if the saliency of the Roman identity may have been lower than at other sites.

One last factor important to remember in relation to the level of integration was that the major cities began to lose their economic importance, possibly shifting to the “small towns” in the mid-third century (Drinkwater 1985, 85; Millett 1990, 132; Dark and Dark 1997, 70). As economic production shifted, some sites will have experienced an accelerated integration into the Roman system. Therefore, the rate of economic maturity as visualized in the above graphs is only conceptual. Nonetheless, it becomes clear that temporal factors played as important a role as geographic factors in determining the choice in architecture.

There may have been some consequence of choosing stone. Using the data from the case studies, a comparison of the mean coin loss across these building traditions reveals some interesting results worth exploring (see Fig. 7.3). Until the mid-second century, those towns that had a transitory tradition in architecture had a coin loss pattern more similar to those sites with a dominant tradition of timber construction. By the mid-third century, when these towns had over half their excavated buildings constructed with masonry, coin loss is more similar to those sites that had a dominant stone tradition. It should also be noted that sites with a majority of their buildings constructed in stone had a lower coin loss rate than did sites with timber dominance.

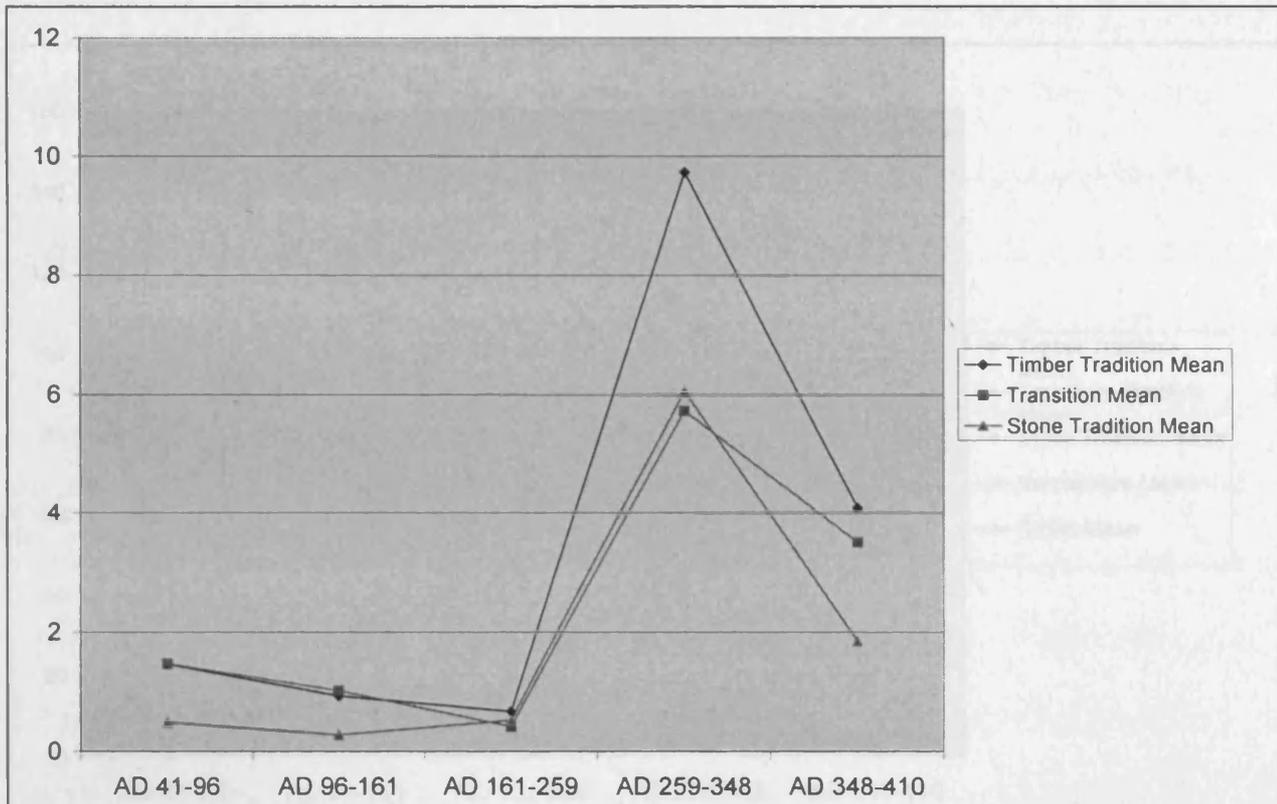


Fig. 7.3: Case study mean coin loss rate per 1000 coins

The relatively small sample of coins cautions against making too strong conclusions. However, it appears that those sites that had a dominant stone tradition were fundamentally different in an economic sense. Sites with predominance toward timber construction, regardless of period, may have lost more coins simply because they had more coins to lose. This fact may be due to the cost of investment in stone architecture. Another interesting trend is revealed when compared to coin loss across the island and the differences observed become quite insignificant. Using data from Reece (1993, 1995), these sites had significantly lower coin loss rates than larger cities or province wide (see Fig. 7.4 and Table 7.1).

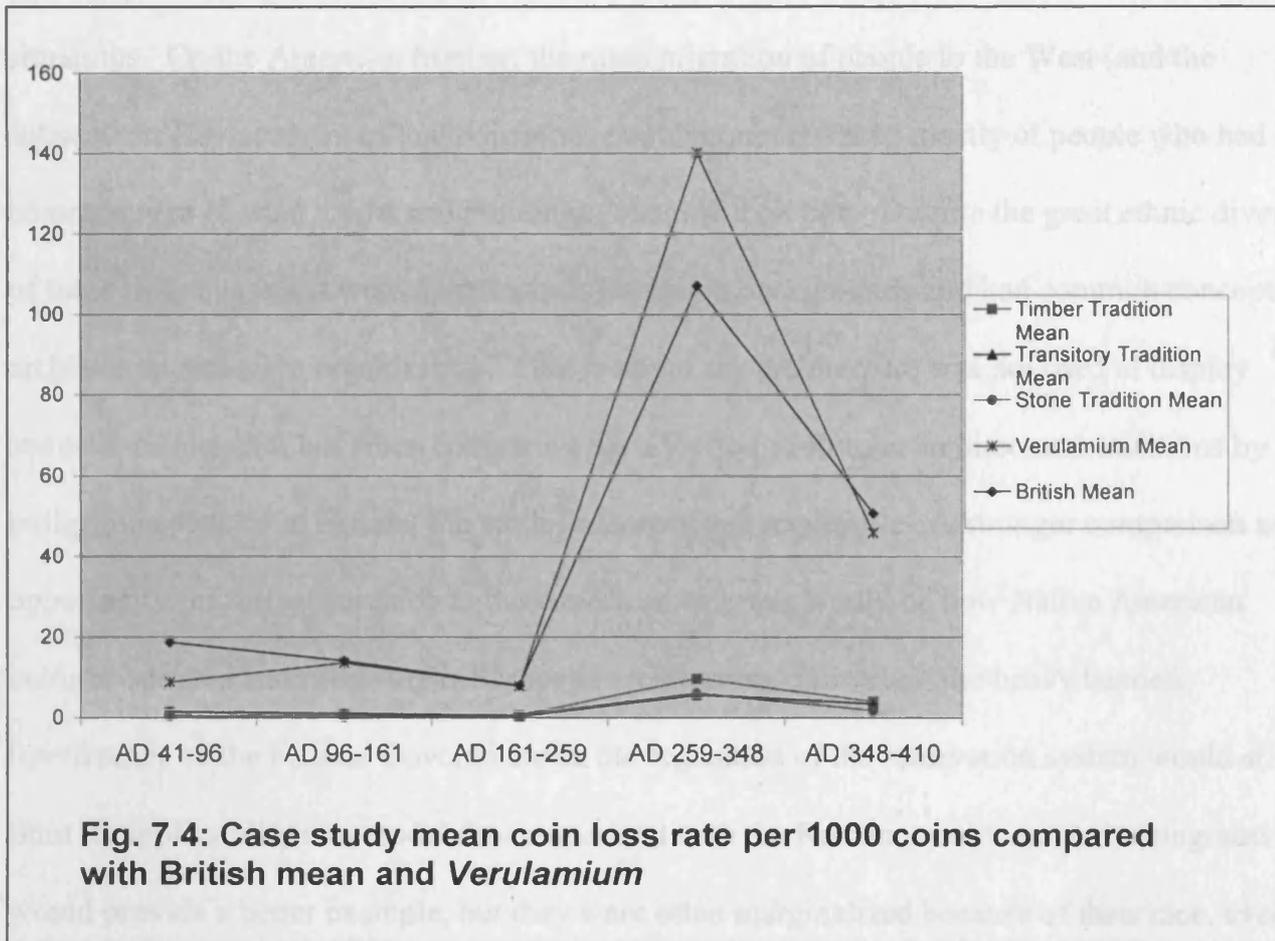


Table 7.1: Case study mean coin loss rate per 1000 coins compared with British mean and Verulamium (Reece 1993, 1995)

	British	Verulamium	Timber	Transitory	Stone
AD 41-96	13.738	8.840	1.469	1.473	0.488
AD 96-161	18.120	13.580	0.934	1.021	0.277
AD 161-259	9.346	7.838	0.673	0.419	0.526
AD 259-348	114.522	140.202	9.730	5.729	6.058
AD 348-410	67.818	45.925	4.084	3.501	1.855

III. Identity Saliency and Architecture

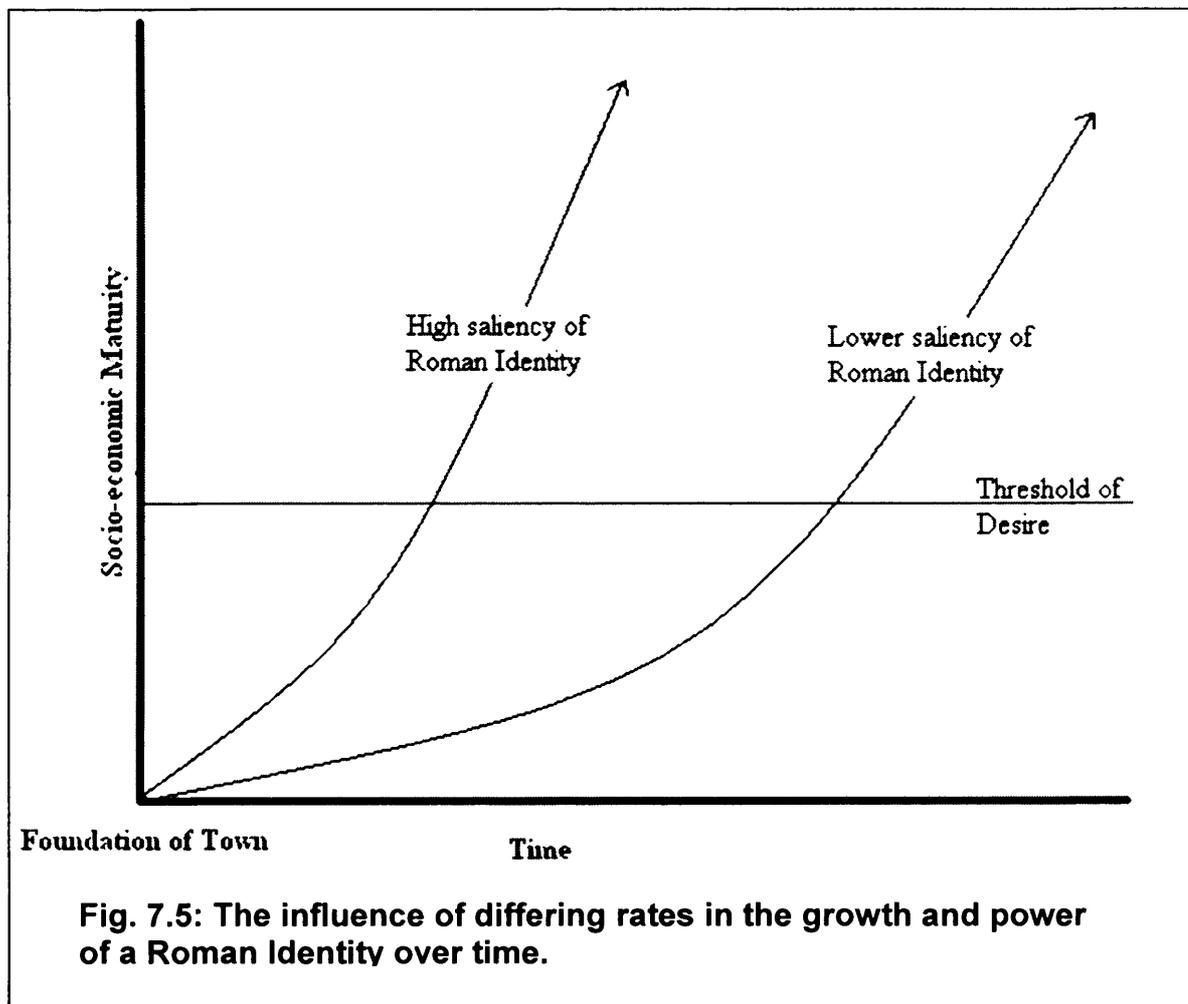
A. Interaction of Identity Saliency and Economic Growth

Examining the purely economic forces influencing the choice of architecture suggests a pattern similar to the American frontier analogy described in Chapter 1. However, that analogy begins to breakdown and is no longer applicable when considering the saliency of identity in the

Roman provinces. This appears to be a point of significant difference between the two frontier situations. On the American frontier, the mass migration of people to the West (and the subsequent displacement of the indigenous population) consisted mostly of people who had a common idea of what towns and buildings “should” look like. Despite the great ethnic diversity of these migrants, most were from various European backgrounds and had common concepts of architecture and town organization. That is not to say architecture was not used to display status or refinement, but when comparing the adoption of Roman architectural traditions by the indigenous peoples in Britain, the model becomes less applicable. A stronger comparison and opportunity for further research in the American example would be how Native American cultures adopted and used Anglo-European architecture. However, the heavy handed interference of the Federal Government in the regulation of the reservation system would still limit its applicability as a model for comparison with the Roman provinces. Asian migrants would provide a better example, but they were often marginalized because of their race, even as late as the Second World War when they were forcibly detained in prison camps in the American West. Again, this undermines the ability to use them as an analogy for Roman Britain. It is clear that in the Americas the diversity of identities was a significant issue but in a different way than in the Roman provinces.

Thus, returning to our model concerning the feasibility of stone construction, we must add a new factor, the saliency of the Roman identity. The data indicates that stone architecture in fact reflected some salience of the Roman identity. As seen in Chapter 3, the use of decorative features reached its peak, in both stone and timber buildings, before the peak of stone buildings. This indicates that many inhabitants desired to display an association with a Roman identity even if they had not yet reached the economic point of feasibility. It is therefore plausible to assume that stone architecture did reflect at least some level of Roman identity in a town, at least of an “average” of its citizens.

The meaning of a Roman identity certainly would change over time and not necessarily increase in a linear fashion. Two factors must be accounted for in the social decisions to invest in stone architecture. The first would be the adoption of the Roman identity, and the second would be a hypothetical threshold of desire where the Roman identity was strong enough that people would have wanted to construct stone buildings. The results of this are plotted schematically on Fig. 7.5.



The saliency of the Roman identity had to reach the threshold of desire for the opportunity of stone construction to occur. Taking into account both economic and identity factors, the point of desire and the point of feasibility both had to be reached in order for a

majority of the townspeople town to construct stone buildings. Once both points had been reached, a new point of opportunity was achieved, and towns had the opportunity to construct stone buildings. This new point of opportunity becomes the determining factor as to when stone architecture will be used in increasing numbers. Adding together the saliency of a Roman identity and economic growth results in Figures 7.6-7.13. While there are literally an infinite number of combinations of where and at what angle to measure each variable, these figures are exaggerated to illustrate the general possibilities.

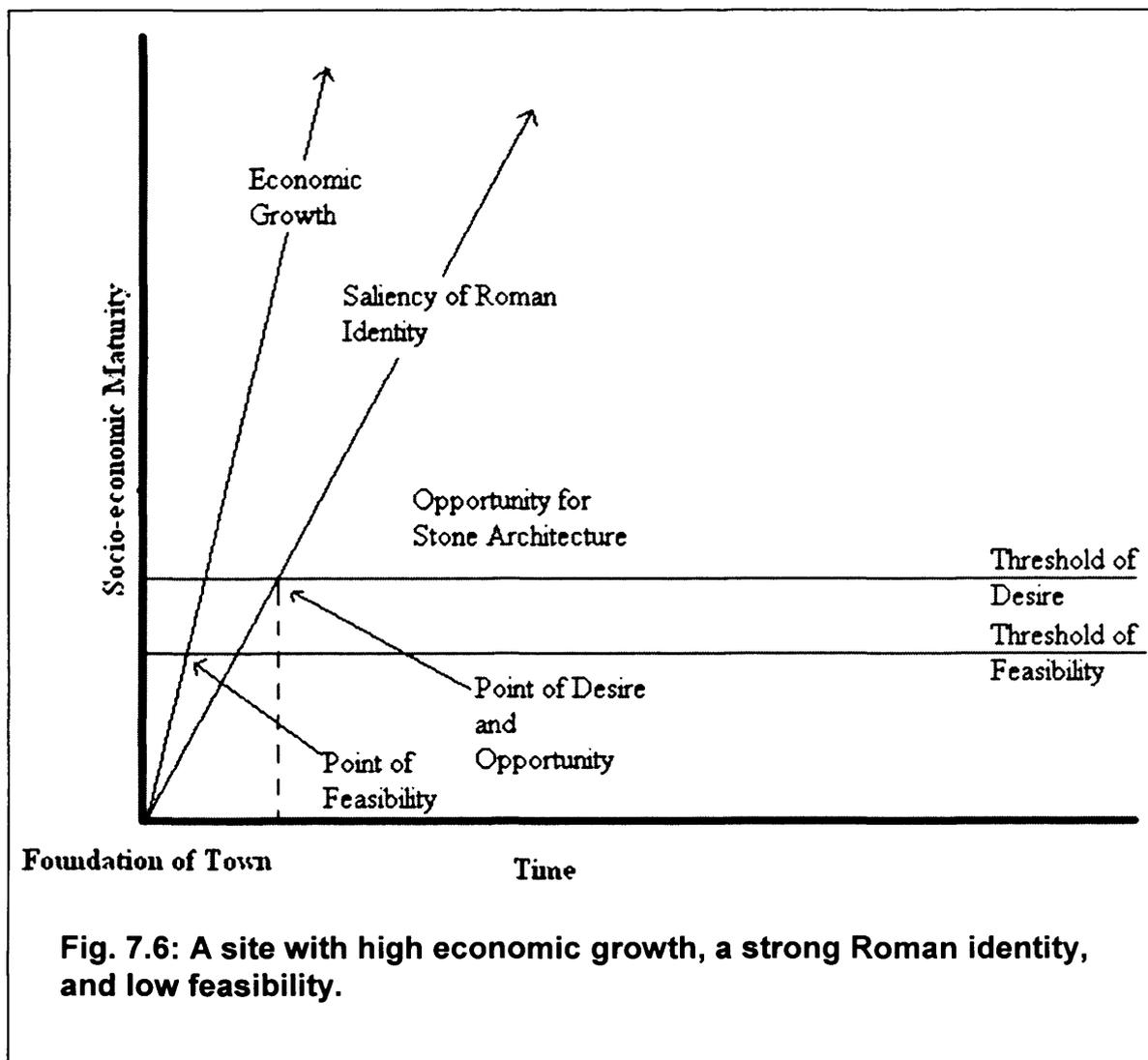


Fig. 7.6: A site with high economic growth, a strong Roman identity, and low feasibility.

Figure 7.6 schematically represents a site that had a lower threshold of feasibility due to location or access to stone building materials but also have a strong growth in the saliency of a Roman identity and strong economic growth. If we were to examine our case study towns in relation to this model, Ilchester, Nettleton, and Camerton would fit appropriately here. Each would have its own unique signature in regards to the placement of the variables, however, they all seem to have this pattern in common. All three had easy access to building stone. All three seem to indicate a relatively strong acceptance of a Roman identity. All three also exhibit strong signs of economic growth. In the case of Nettleton this may have been stimulated by government interference. Camerton's industrial production also benefited from stone buildings that would be more fire resistant. In the case of Ilchester the use and export of the stone was an economic force itself.

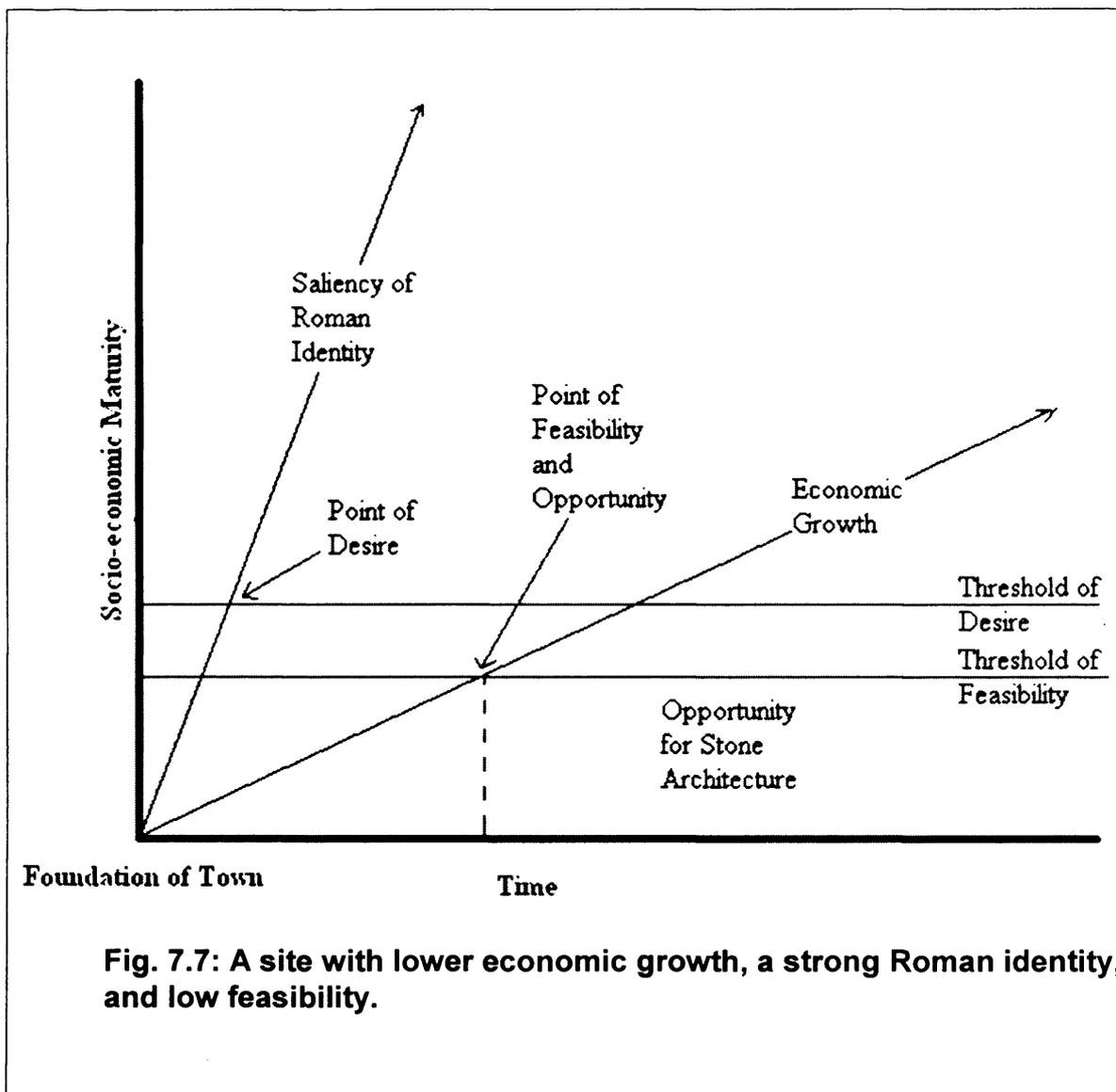
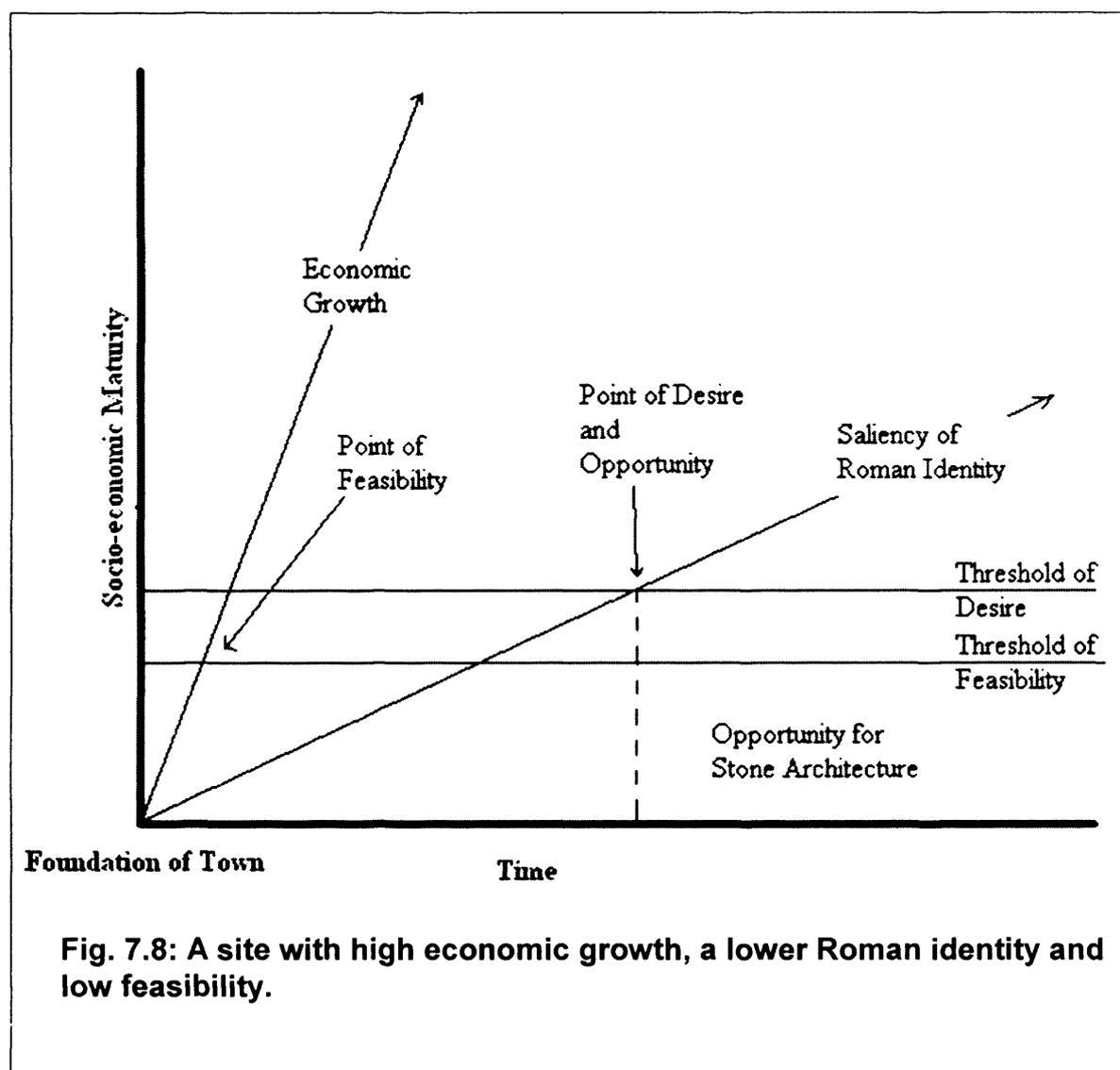


Figure 7.7 represents a model site that would have ready access to building stone and where the inhabitants had strong Roman identity but the economic growth was moderate to poor. The reasons for this moderate growth may have been imposed or organic. If we are correct in assuming that the government limited use and economic activity on land around military bases, then Catterick and Carlisle would fit this model. Both had access to suitable building stone. They also seem to have had a population that followed the army and likely had few strong ties to the indigenous population and thus a strong affinity or openness to a Roman

identity. At Carlisle, the dependence upon the military which occasionally moved into Scotland stymied a linear economic growth. The settlement around Catterick may have had limitations on the type of economic activity and the property investment placed upon them by the military. The suburbs, interestingly enough, flourished and balanced the overall economic picture.



If a town had a robust economy that grew but the identities were not closely related to Romans even if they were near quality building materials, they would be represented by the model of Fig. 7.8. Wanborough would seem to correspond with this category. The economy

showed some diversity and growth. Even though its inhabitants were not as conservative as at Dragonby, there are some indications that the inhabitants held onto their more traditional ways. Dragonby and Baldock appear to have had a very conservative outlook for some time after the Roman conquest. Their economic growth was probably slower than would be literally represented in the Figure 7.8 but it appears that the resistance to quickly adopting a more favorable Roman outlook is what kept them from quickly adopting stone masonry despite being located near suitable stone.

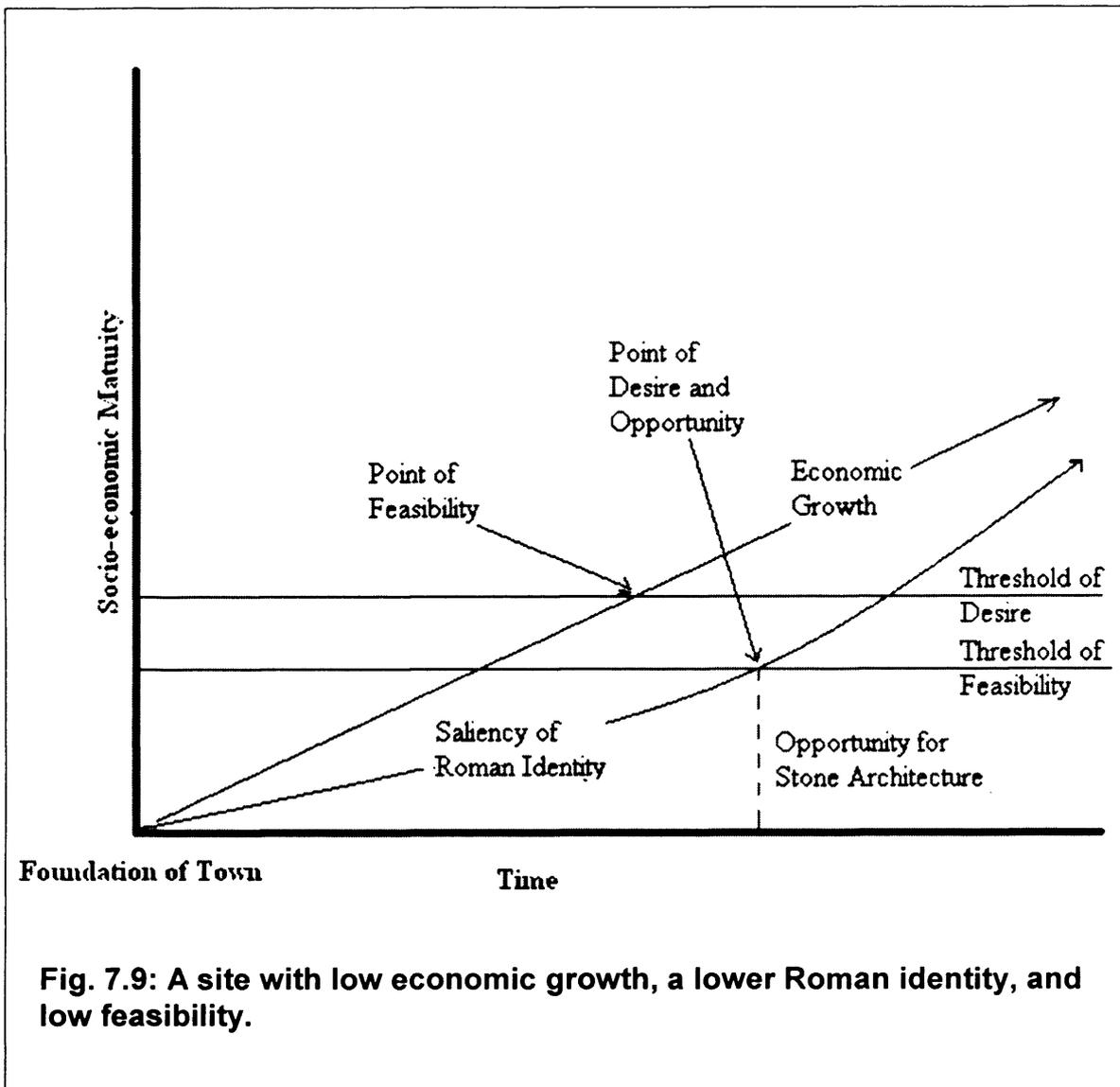
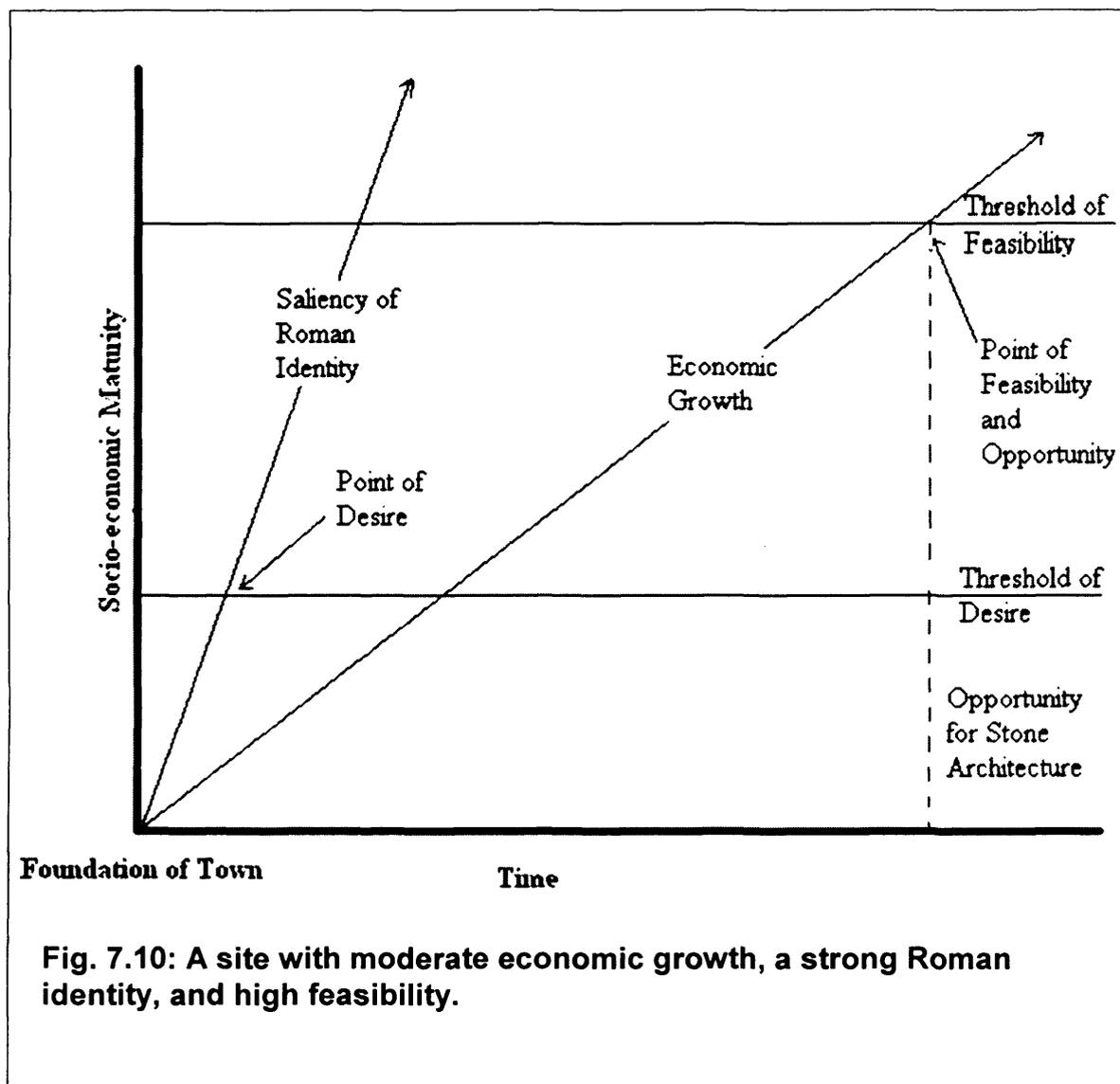


Fig. 7.9: A site with low economic growth, a lower Roman identity, and low feasibility.

If a town had limited economic growth and a moderate Roman identity despite being located near building stone, they would be represented by the model in Figure 7.9. Great Chesterford with its predominant reliance on agriculture and modest adoption of elements of *Romanitas* would seem to fit in this category. Neatham would likely fit in this model as well, though the strength of its economy would indicate a higher growth rate than represented in this literal model. However, despite having the ability to use stone, most inhabitants appear to have chosen not to and the elements of a Roman identity are slight. Therefore, it would appear that identity was the determining factor in the choice of building materials.



A site with a moderate economic growth and a strong Roman identity but a high feasibility threshold would be represented by Figure 7.10. For example, artifacts at Alcester indicate a high level of Roman identity. However, because of the lack of suitable building stone, the threshold of feasibility was relatively high. Stone buildings do in fact appear relatively late in Alcester's history, reaching peak use in the late third and early fourth-centuries and never reaching parity with timber structures. However, artifacts also indicate a fairly substantial economic diversity and growth. Thus, by the time stone was being used, Alcester was more economically mature than other sites that may have used stone sooner and in greater quantities but lower feasibility. *Margidunum* would also be represented by this model but with a shallower incline of economic growth than that of Alcester. Although not represented by any case studies presented in this study, Figures 7.11 to 7.13 show the remaining potential models.

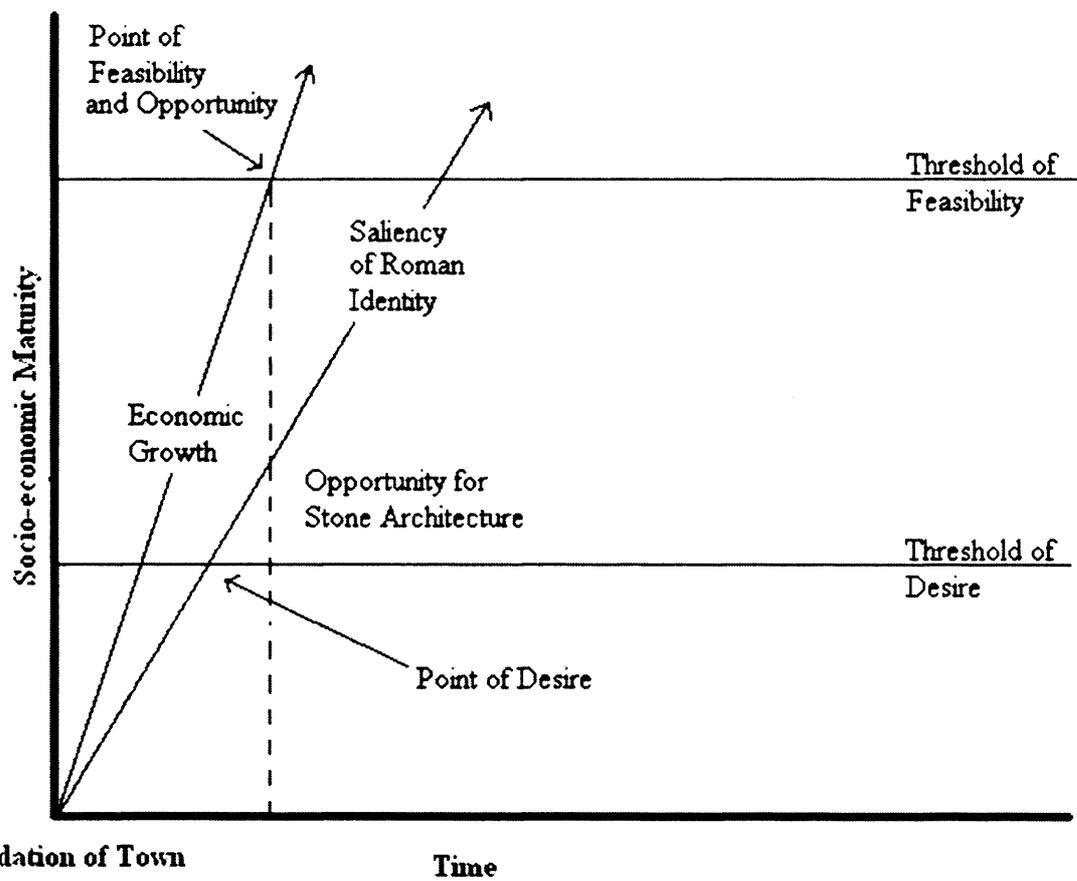


Fig. 7.11: A site with high economic growth, a strong Roman identity, and a high threshold of feasibility.

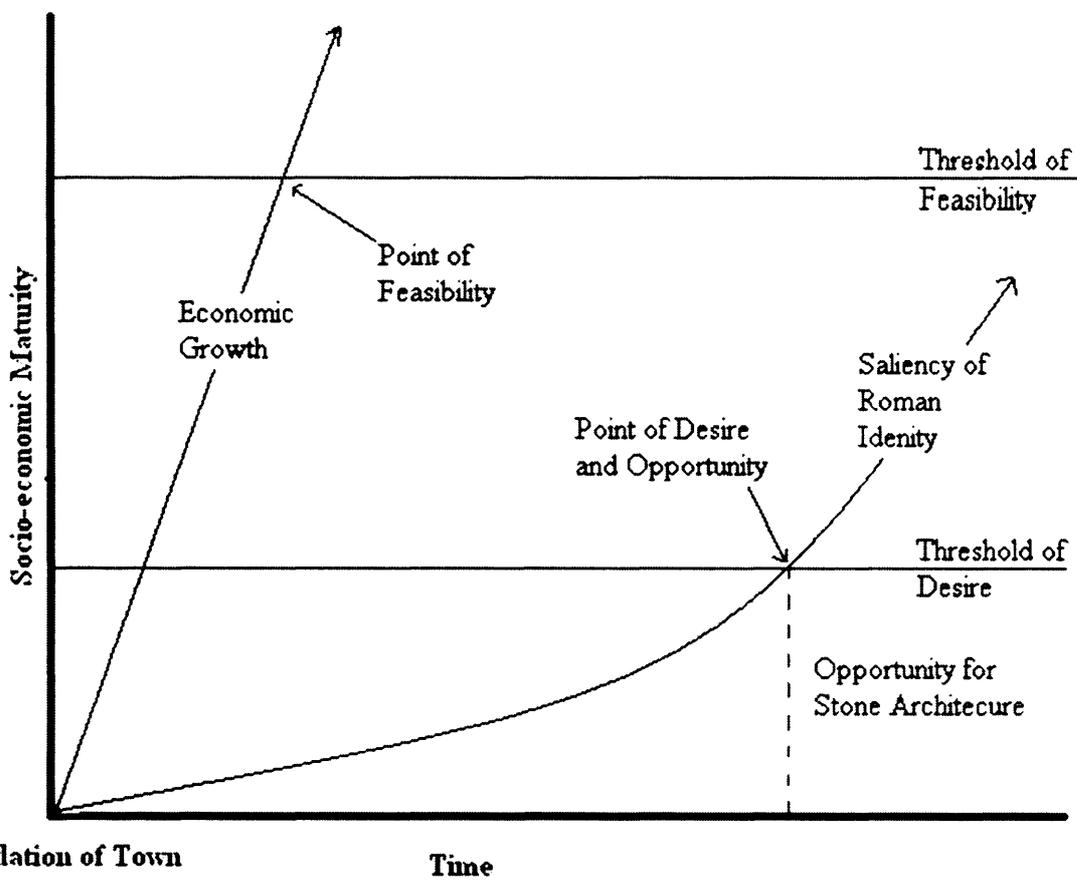
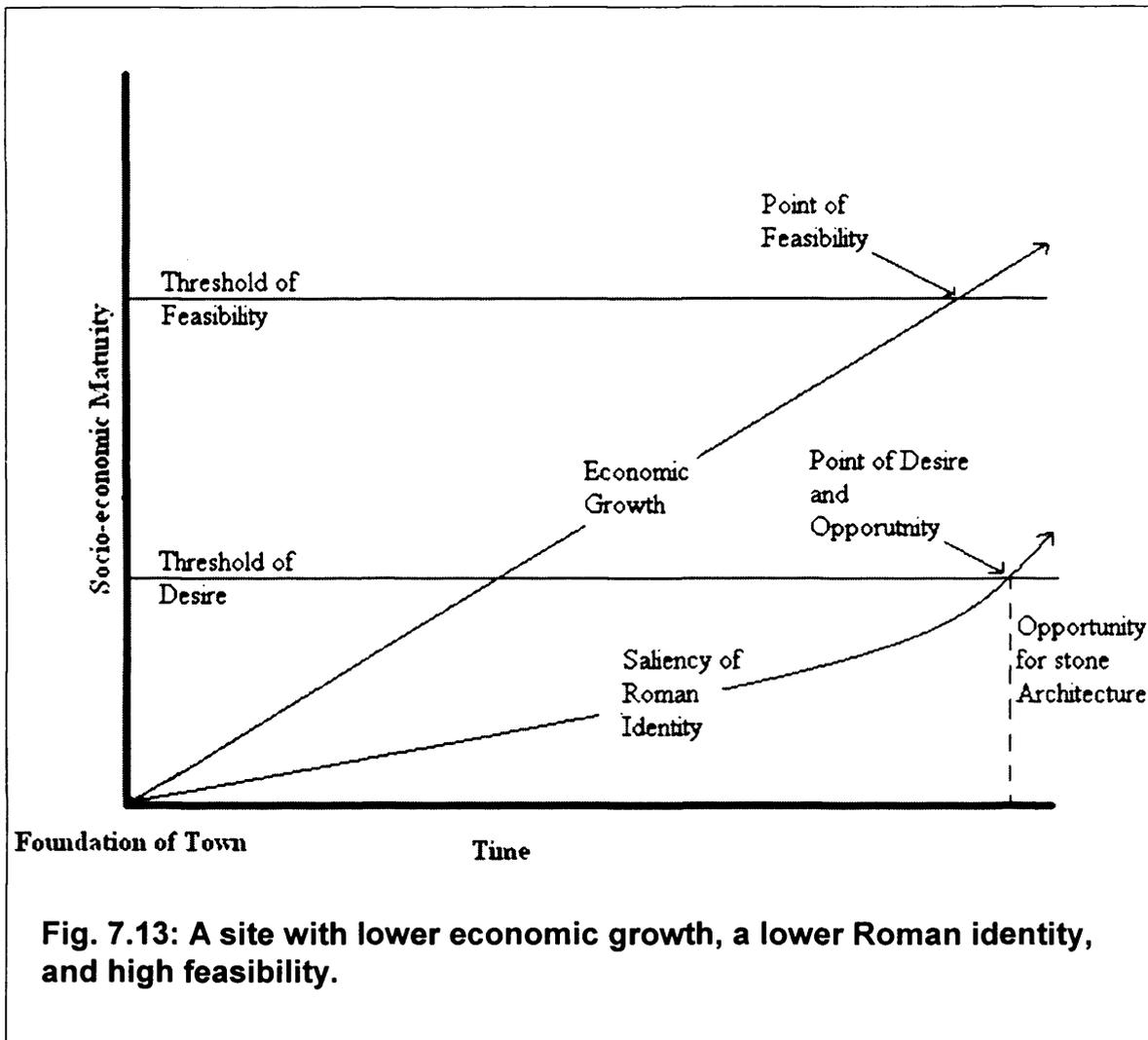


Fig. 7.12: A site with high economic growth, a lower Roman identity, and high feasibility.



As seen in Figs. 7.6-7.13, the point of opportunity was relative to each town, based on the rate of economic growth, the saliency of the Roman identity, and the threshold of feasibility. Where the point of opportunity occurred in time dictated when, if at all, stone buildings would be constructed in increasing numbers. In addition, it becomes clear that the point of opportunity would have been reached at some sites with greater economic growth later if the feasibility was higher because of the lack of local building stone than some with lower economic growth if the point of feasibility was lower despite the power of the Roman identity.

B. Interaction of Civic and Personal Identities

The schematic models represented in Figs. 7.6-7.13 indicate that the variability of economic and social forces combined to dictate the ability and desire to construct stone buildings. Even assuming that the threshold of desire was relatively static, each town had a unique threshold of feasibility, rate of economic growth, and affinity toward the Roman identity. The models in these figures in essence could be considered one element of civic identity. Just as Mattingly (2004) and James (1999; 2001) showed that multiple identities, both civilian and military, could exist for individuals in Roman Britain, so the same pattern would exist on a civic level. A town's civic identity was built around a range of factors. It was a composite of all the individual identities of its inhabitants, geographic location, legal status, economic production, socio-economic composition, and physical appearance. In turn, the civic identity would affect some aspects of the personal identity of its inhabitants. Collectively these affected the saliency of Roman identity in a dynamic process. It nonetheless is the hardest factor to quantify. Just like economic growth, firmly quantifiable information is not present in the archaeological record. However, there is some evidence that circumstantially suggests strong, moderate, or low saliency. The factors affecting it were unique to each settlement and individual within that settlement.

Several elements of civic identity could affect the identities of its inhabitants (summarized in Table 7.2). The economic integration of the local economy would produce some meaning associated with the new Roman reality. In some cases, if a commodity or product was needed by the central government or military on the frontier, ties to the state may have increased and thus raised Roman saliency. Location next to transportation routes such as roads or streams would also have determined how integrated the economy would be. Geographic proximity to natural resources could have dictated the ability for certain industries

to prosper, thus affecting the occupational identity of the site's inhabitants. In turn, the wealth that geographic and economic factors created would have determined the amount of wealth individual inhabitants could accumulate, hence affecting their personal identity. The legal or administrative status of the town would have affected the ties that inhabitants felt toward the state. Taken together, the civic identity could have influenced the saliency of the Roman identity for the individual inhabitants.

Table 7.2: The potential impacts of a town's civic identity on the identity of its inhabitants

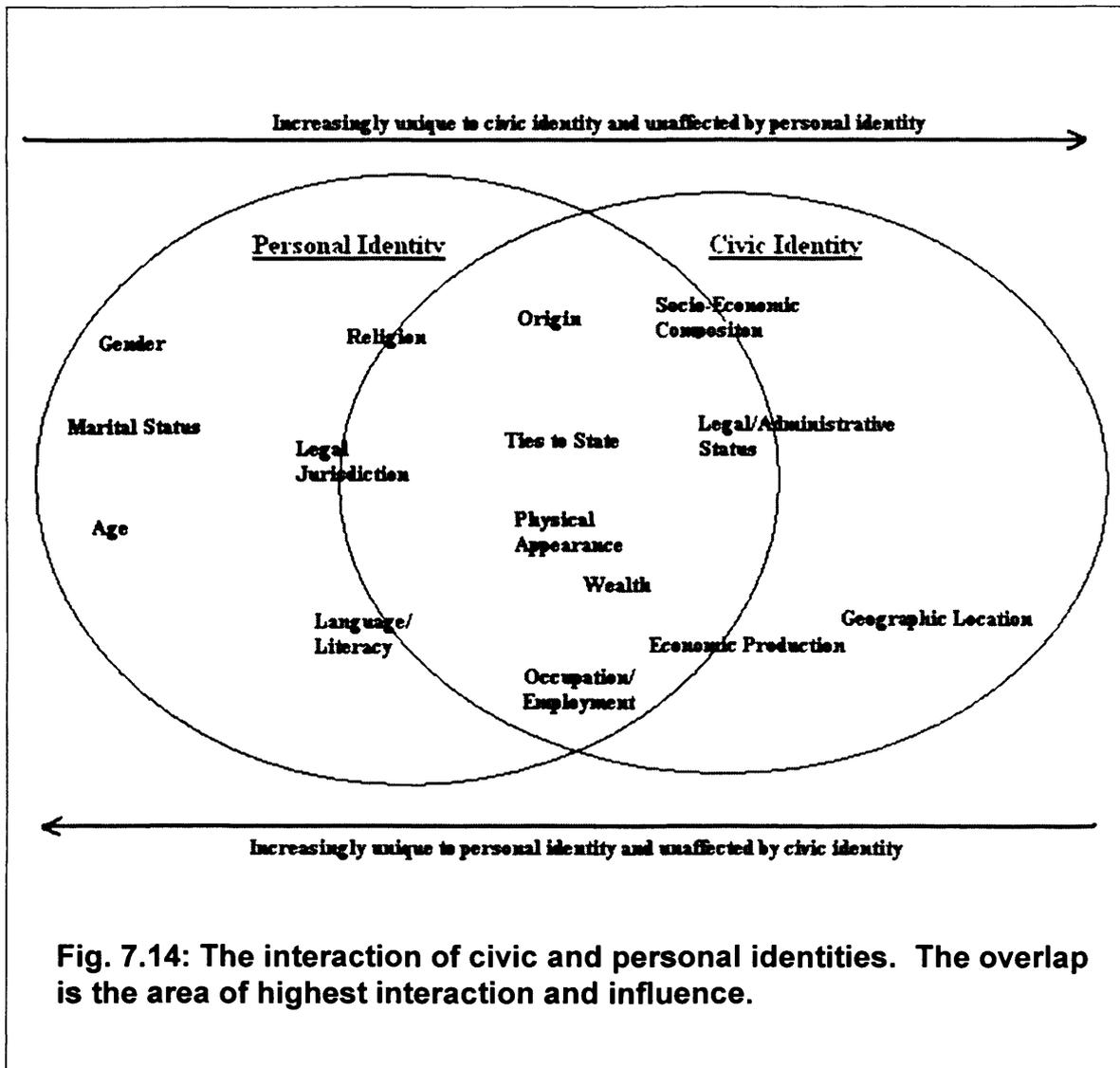
ELEMENT OF CIVIC IDENTITY	ELEMENT(S) OF PERSONAL IDENTITY THAT COULD BE AFFECTED
Geographic Location	Occupation, wealth, legal jurisdiction, ties to state
Legal or Administrative Status	Ties to state, occupational, jurisdiction
Economic Production	Occupation, wealth, ties to state
Socio-economic composition	Ties to state, physical appearance

Since an important part of civic identity was the composite of the identities of its inhabitants, their personal identities would likewise affect the identity of a town (summarized in Table 7.3). The occupational diversity in a town would affect the economic production and consequently its potential for economic growth as well as possibly influencing its physical appearance. In some towns, such as Camerton, stone buildings were advantageous to house furnaces needed to produce pewter. In addition, the burning of coal blackened the structures and the earth around the settlement. The origins of the inhabitants could affect the choice in architecture, such as the use of round huts or buildings of a more Roman design. The legal status of the people with different origins might affect the legal status granted to a site. Lastly, the socio-economic composition of a town might either be very diverse, such as at Carlisle, or more homogeneous as apparently was the case at Neatham. The religious convictions of inhabitants might affect the physical appearance such as at Nettleton or Bath, where investment in buildings may have been constructed either to provide a suitable home for the gods or

perhaps as a type of economic competition between religious centers. The fact that the Fosse Way appears to have been diverted to approach Nettleton may indicate that the state possibly had a special relationship with religious sites and may have affected the legal status of that site. The ties that individuals had to the state may have affected not only the legal status granted to a site but also the physical appearance of a town if it were granted permission or aid to build town defenses. Ties to the state would also affect the socio-economic composition of a town, particularly along the frontier. The ability or inability to accumulate wealth would not only have had an effect on the town's appearance with inhabitants being able to invest in stone or more luxurious structures, but also would have shaped the economic production of a site since there would be the potential to invest in industry.

Table 7.3: The potential impacts of inhabitants' identities on the civic identity of a town

ELEMENT OF PERSONAL IDENTITY	ELEMENT(S) OF CIVIC IDENTITY THAT COULD BE AFFECTED
Occupational	Economic production, physical appearance
Origin	Physical appearance, legal status, socio-economic composition
Religious	Physical appearance, legal status?
Ties to state	Legal status, physical appearance, economic, socio-economic composition
Wealth	Physical appearance, economic,



Thus some elements of civic identities and the personal identities of a site's inhabitants interacted in a dynamic way, though some elements of each were largely unaffected by the other (see Fig. 7.7). Where civic and personal identities influence each other is where architectural choices were made. All the factors that interacted with one another affected the saliency of the Roman identity within a settlement. However, as seen above, stone architecture alone is not a test to measure that saliency. Rather the choices that people made were the result of the interplay of economic forces with both the civic and personal identities of a site's population. By examining the architecture, however, the discrepant identities of both

individuals and communities in Britain during the Roman era become clear. The old Romanization paradigm would see uniformity of culture in the outcomes in relation to architectural styles. However, looking at the processes behind those outcomes, it becomes clear that there was much more diversity in the experience and identities of the people living in Britain during the Roman era.

IV. Continental Comparisons

There is further research potential for this topic examining the relationship between economics, architecture, and identity in the continental equivalent of small towns. This would help to place these British sites in the larger context of Roman imperialism. A preliminary review of literature regarding continental sites suggests that there are some similarities but also some differences. This study could not feasibly be extended to encompass both Britain and the continent because the sites and data have too diverse. Secondary centers on the continent were qualitatively different when compared to Romano-British small towns. In short they were generally larger, more monumentalized, more highly developed economically, and had a somewhat different sequence of development (Drinkwater 1985, 54; King 1995, 183, 190; Rorison 2001, 1). Yet, there are some similar patterns that may reveal analogous socio-economic processes. In the context of the present PhD it was only possible to make a series of superficial comparisons. Applying the same methodology to continental sites would have substantially increased the amount of data and set this study outside of institutional length limitations. It has been possible, however, to outline some broad patterns and potential avenues for further research. The summary reports on continental sites consulted rarely attempt to correlate architecture with artifacts, the aspects of identity I was interested in. Finally, too often continental scholars have based their conclusions on a static vision of the site, usually in it

highest level of socio-economic development, rather than examining the development over time, particularly in regard to the identity of their inhabitants.

Like Britain, proto-urbanization had been underway on the continent prior to the Roman conquest in the first century BC and first century AD. Conquest and inclusion into the empire fundamentally changed the direction and nature of continental urbanization but did not initiate the process (Drinkwater 1985, 49; 1987, 357; Wells 1999, 171; Gechter 1990, 97). The pre-conquest proto-urban settlements were termed *oppidia* and were part of a socio-economic system where the aristocracy accumulated, stored, and redistributed goods in an attempt to control and maintain prestige (Roymans 1983, 47-8, 51-2; Drinkwater 1985, 49). These focal centers were part of an economy that had remarkable specialization but lacked even basic integration or productivity growth due to a limited infrastructure (Bloemers 1990, 82; Roymans 1983, 47, 51-2).

In terms of understanding the pre-conquest identity of the indigenous population we are faced with several problems. The ancient authors, including those of Caesar, who was directly involved with the conquest, made no effort to examine or understand the cultural nuances of the people in the region. There is some debate as to the validity of what they describe and in fact the tribal structure described may have been a relatively recent phenomenon, driven in part by the pre-conquest contact with Rome. Prior to that, cultural unity may have been non-existent (Carroll 2001, 113; Wells 1999, 113; 116-7).

In a similar fashion to Britain, Rome redrew the economic landscape of Gaul and Germany after conquest. The new demands and infrastructure imposed upon the indigenous landscape functioned as the primary forces of operant conditioning. New opportunities arose, economic production needs changed, and the ability of locals to supply the needs of the military garrisons created a system where settlements had to adjust (Wells 1999, 122-3, 181; Bloemers 1990, 72-3, 83-4). The new infrastructure by-passed many of the pre-existing Iron Age *oppidia*,

and villages were forced to move in order to become integrated into the new economy (Drinkwater 1985, 49). The military demanded surplus production from agricultural and artisan producers unknown in the pre-conquest economy. This new infrastructure combined local resources and skills with Roman demands to produce a situation where the urbanization process was accelerated and many smaller secondary centers increased in both size and number which may have broken down some traditional power structures (Wells 1999, 122-3; Wightman 1985, 95; Willems 1983, 112; Drinkwater 1985, 49; Drinkwater 1983, 121-3; Rivet 1975, 111-12). However, the process was not uniform and sites developed according to their own unique internal conditions, economic potential, and relation to the Roman administration (Poulter 1987, 388; Bloemers 1990, 72-3; Wightman 1985, 100). All these factors contributed to the system that would create the forces of operant conditioning parceling out rewards and punishments.

The architecture showed remarkable continuity into the first century AD. Stone use was common in the south, but in northern Gaul it was sporadic at best. Iron Age traditions continued and in places were dominant (Wells 1999, 156-7; Carroll 2001, 67; Bloemers 1990, 75; Woolf 1998, 123-4; Rorison 2001, 93; King 1995, 186-7; Wamser and Flugel 2000, 159). Religious sites on the continent have interesting parallels with their counterparts in Britain that were examined in this study. Like their British sites, religious secondary centers on the continent exhibited a greater use of stone and a higher quantity of Roman features than other sites of similar size at an early date (Rorison 2001, 93; King 1995, 187; Wamser and Flugel 2000, 237). This may have been an intentional action of the Roman administration to create “Romanized” centers in a rural landscape and may give credence to the theory that Fosse Way may have been intentionally diverted to the Iron Age shrine at Nettleton (King 1995, 187; Wedlake 1982, 6).

An example of a religious site is Argenton-sur-Creuse. There is no firm evidence of an Iron Age settlement at Argenton, but by the early first century AD there were three temples and

a wooden theater (Rorison 2001, 68). During the course of the first century the site developed much faster than other neighboring sites and the seating of the theater was replaced with stone after mid-century and an amphitheater was added by the second century, financed by a Quintus Segius Marcinus (Rorison 2001, 73). The fact that elites were prone to personally adorn sites with monumental and expensive buildings suggests that there was some social benefit in constructing Roman buildings (Drinkwater 1987, 361-2; King 1990, 66-7; Carroll 2001, 43; Wells 1999, 125). However, this can also be seen as a continuation of the Iron Age elite competition for prestige and clientele, now only with actions that indicate the embracing of *Romanitas* (Wells 1999, 172; Roymans 1983, 48-9). This would seem to indicate that the indigenous elite were negotiating their identity by continuing traditional patterns of behavior but with a new acceptance of some Roman ideals.

In addition to traditional building styles and behaviors, other artifacts indicate that native traditions remained important and existed alongside the growing presence of Roman artifacts. Brooches remained common and native pottery remained dominant through the first century, though samian wares were gradually adopted and even produced locally for export (Carroll 2001, 67; Wells 1999, 156; Woolf 2001, 178). Signs of *Romanitas* increased with integration into the new economic reality Rome (Woolf 2001, 178; Rorison 2001, 93; Wightman 1985, 100). By the second century AD, stone structures began to arise at more sites. Demand was such that quarries were created along the upper Rhine river and transported down river to settlement in *Germania Inferior* and *Gallia Belgica* (Wightman 1985, 135).

Despite the river networks aiding in the transport of building stone, location to stone may have been an important factor in construction techniques. While limestone was the preferable stone of choice, many sites in the lowlands chose to use the local softer sandstone since it would naturally require less investment (Wightman 1985, 135). The town of Malain (*Mediolanum*) was founded in the early first century AD on limestone bedrock. In addition, the

site developed a fairly diverse economy including bronze, iron, bone, and glass working in addition to agricultural production (Rorison 2001, 134-5). It developed quickly and stone became increasingly common. By the second century, it had reached its height and stone was the dominant construction medium. However, it appears that the Roman identity was not as strong as might be expected. Of 33 rooms excavated in all the buildings, only two had concrete floors, two had hypocausts, and there were no mosaics (Rorison 2001, 135). However, it should be noted that 21 rooms had painted plaster, which would require lower investment (Rorison 2001, 135). Despite its early use of stone, it would be worth further exploration to determine the saliency of the Roman identity based on other artifacts and if the availability of local building stone affected architectural choice.

Other sites reveal the continuation of Iron Age identities. Throughout its history Retfoldek in Hungary continued to use timber buildings constructed with Iron Age traditions, artifacts also remained in an indigenous style, and bones indicated an Iron Age diet (Wells 1999, 152). Other sites in Hungary indicate that the inhabitants could afford Roman artifacts and buildings but chose not to acquire or build them (Wells 1999, 131). Many rural agricultural sites also continue to have a predominance of timber buildings with few Romanized features compared to more economically diverse secondary centers (Wightman 1985, 118). However, even at the more developed sites, native styles continued throughout the first and into the second century as Roman goods became more dominant (Wamser and Flugel 2000, 138, 159, 269; Wells 1999, 131; Bloemers 183, 176-8; Wightman 1985, 188).

As the second century progressed and “Romanized” artifacts became more common so did stone architecture. Sites became more integrated into the Roman economy and wealthy individuals personally invested in settlements that made the sites more monumental. However, there was a tremendous amount of local diversity that indicate an assortment of identities may have existed based on unique local factors (Wamser and Flugel 2000, 159, 237; Willems 1983,

118; Wightman 1985, 163; Carroll 2001, 63; Bloemers 1983, 176; Drinkwater 1985, 50). In addition, despite the mounting use of Roman artifacts, old patterns continued well into the third century, and grave markers indicate that indigenous dress may have remained popular among some people (Wightman 1985, 137, 188; Wells 1991, 131, 152; Bloemers 1983, 176-8; Carroll 2001, 113, 120-2).

The decline of smaller towns on the continent began with the problems of the third century which included not only a general economic malaise but also invasions from beyond the frontier. Many smaller settlements were abandoned and the population migrated to the larger towns. However, there is no simple story of decline as each settlement faced unique circumstances (Van Ossel and Ouzoulias 2000, 133; Wightman 1985, 138). While many sites show violent destruction prior to abandonment, in others such as Malain there was a movement of the population, likely to the defended town of Dijon, but otherwise no signs of significant violence (Rorison 2001, 135). Agriculture declined but this may have been due to reduced demand (Van Ossel and Ouzoulias 2000, 133; Wightman 1985, 257-8). For those that were destroyed but rebuilt, an interesting avenue of research would be the strength of the Roman identity vis-à-vis their architectural traditions.

An example of how complex this may have been is the Gallic site at Villeneuve-sur-Lot. The site was settled in the early first century outside a military site. The site diversified economically with evidence of bronze, iron, bone, and stone working. Masonry construction began in the mid-first century, and there were monumental structures erected in the second. However, in the later second century there was a decline with little sign of activity in the third century. Interestingly enough a slight recovery occurred in the fourth century which included the construction of mosaics (Rorison 2001, 76-77). The meaning of this may reveal the complexity of economic processes and identity formation in Gaul.

This survey of continental sites suggests that there are differences when compared to British sites. However, there may be some similarities that warrant further examination. Like their British counterparts, continental sites had indigenous architectural styles alongside more Romanized buildings. In addition, each site developed along unique lines depending upon a multiplicity of local factors including integration into the new economy, government oversight, and proximity to natural resources. Those sites that adjusted through operant conditioning into the new economic reality may have developed sooner and increased the strength of a Roman identity. Yet, it should be remembered that a definitive conclusion cannot be reached unless primary data is put through a similar methodology used in this study. Nonetheless, indications are that similar processes were happening on the continent.

V. Conclusions

This study reinforces the conclusion that sites usually deemed 'small towns' are a very diverse and complex category of settlements. While there are some broad similarities exist, the socio-economic processes affecting each town were unique and the identities within a town were complex manifestations of those processes. Architecture was one element that is revealing of how sites changed over time. What is revealed points to significant and complex socio-economic change over time as a result of Roman imperialism.

As the economy developed at sites, very often the architecture did as well. Older tribal economies waned as the new Roman economy waxed. The new opportunities presented by the Romans transformed production and redistribution of material goods. As many sites adjusted to this new reality the inhabitants began to slowly adopt elements of Roman identity. The new economic system provided forces that reinforced certain positive outcomes for becoming accustomed to the new economic model (operant conditioning). As individuals succeeded in the new economy based on Roman demands and rewards, the acceptance of elements of a

Roman identity took on new meaning. Architecture was one possible reflection of that. However, not all sites reveal the same pattern. Neatham adjusted to the Roman model and thrived economically but, despite having the ability, chose not to construct a large number of stone buildings. Thus, while the economic forces may have influenced the formation of identity, particularly a Roman one, the relationship is not direct at every site.

While the change in architecture did reflect a growing acceptance of Roman taste at many sites, it should be remembered that the indigenous identity remained present at all sites to some degree. Since the Roman decorative features reached their height before the maximum use of stone province wide, we can make a reasonable assumption that the population found some meaning with the incorporation of selected elements of *Romanitas* into the discrepant identities that were important in their lives. As a reflection of that, the use of stone increased, though the decorative features actually decreased slightly at that time. This may be due to the fact that more money was invested in the structure itself and left preciously little extra income to spend on its decoration. This may account for why those sites that start with a timber tradition and eventually achieve a stone dominance have a coin loss pattern that becomes much lower after that change. In essence, if stone architecture was a reflection of identity, there was a monetary cost to embrace it, but one that certain individuals were willing to make, which speaks to the saliency of a Roman identity at some sites.

The next logical steps in this analysis would involve one of two approaches. First, breadth may be added by examining similar continental sites with a more vigorous methodology to understand these sites in Britain within their larger imperial context. Second, depth could be furthered by taking this methodology and applying it to the larger settlements than small towns and more rural settlements. Both options have their merits and would constitute substantial studies unto themselves. Romano-British towns have been extensively studied compared to other areas in the Empire (Millett 2001, 60), and it would be worth examining Britain in the

greater context of Roman imperialism. Much ground work for this has been done in Germany and Gaul by Wells (1999), Woolf (1998), and Rorison (2001) respectively.

Adding depth within Britain, small towns there can be placed within their context on the island. Significant work has been done on larger urban settlements within Britain (Wacher 1995; Greep 1993; Todd 1989; Webster 1998; Hurst 1999) and might answer many questions.. For example, why were none of the buildings in the small towns constructed exclusively of brick? Was stone a type of poor man's brick? Examining small towns within the context of more universal settlement patterns might help illuminate the economy during the Roman era better. Likewise, by examining the more rural settlements we might gain a better overall perspective. However, the rural data is voluminous but future works appear promising in synthesizing the data (Taylor forthcoming).

Any future work, regardless of whether it is within Britain alone or comparing Britain with continental sites, needs to take into account that these sites are much more diverse than they appear. The typologies that have been used in the past to categorize them proved incredibly ineffective when examining personal and civic identity. Architecture alone is not a means to gauge identity. Examinations of other finds and placing them into the context of the surrounding countryside are important to gain a better understanding of how these local centers operated within the province and how people within them defined themselves. However, as Millett (2001, 66) noted, caution is necessary when trying to create an urban typology based on assemblages. In the end, we must also remember that most of the sites in this traditional category of settlements have yet to be fully excavated and their results published. As new information becomes available in future years, undoubtedly our understanding of small towns and the identities within them will evolve.

Appendix A

The following table lists sites in Roman Britain that at one time have been labeled “small towns” by some scholars. A “yes” indicates that the authors consider it a small town and a “no” indicates they do not. Of the 127 total sites, the authors agree on only 18 sites (14.2%). Five of the six authors agree on 20 sites (15.7%). There are 17 sites that four of the six agree (13.4%). Twenty-two sites have three scholars agree they are small towns (17.3%). Two agree on 14 sites (11.0%) and there are 36 sites that only one author concludes is a small town (28.3%).

Town Name	Burnham and Wachter (1990)	Jones and Mattingly (1990)	Rodwell and Rowley (1975)	Burnham (1986)	Millett (1990)	Hingley (1989)	Number Agreeing Site is a “Small Town”
Baldock	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	6
Bath	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	6
Bourton-on-the-Water	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	6
Brampton	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	6
Braughing	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	6
Cambridge	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	6
Camerton	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	6
Corbridge	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	6
Dorchester-on-	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	6
Droitwich	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	6
Great Casterton	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	6
Harlow	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	6
Ilchester	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	6
Irchester	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	6
Mildenhall (Wilts)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	6
Rochester	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	6
Springhead	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	6
Towcester	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	6
Wycomb	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	5
Alcester	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	5
Alchester	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	5
Ancaster	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	5
Carlisle	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	5
Catterick	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	5
Cave's Inn (Tripontium)	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	5
Cowbridge	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	5
Dorn	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	5
Frilford	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	5
Godmanchester	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	5
Great Chesterford	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	5
Holditch	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	5
Kenchester	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	5
Little Chester	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	5
Mancetter	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	5
Neatham	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	5

Sapperton	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	5
Wall	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	5
Wilderspool	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	5
Braintree	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	4
Caistor (Lincs)	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	4
Charterhouse	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	4
Chelmsford	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	4
Coddenham	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	4
Ewell	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	4
Heybridge	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	4
Hibaldstow	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	4
Horncastle	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	4
Kelvedon	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	4
Sea Mills	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	4
Staines	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	4
Tiddington	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	4
Wanborough	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	4
Water Newton	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	4
Whitchurch	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	4
Worcester	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	4
Badbury	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	3
Brough-on-Fosse	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	3
Buxton	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	3
Caistor-by-Yarmouth	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	3
Chesterton-on-Fosse	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	3
Dragonby	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	3
Dropshot	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	3
Duston	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	3
Heronbridge	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	3
High Cross	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	3
East Bridgeford (<i>Margin dunum</i>)	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	3
Middlewich	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	3
Nettleton	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	3
Old Sarum	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	3
Penkrige	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	3
Sandy	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	3
Scole	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	3
Thorpe-by-Newark	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	3
Ware	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	3
Weston-under-	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	3
Whilton Lodge (<i>Bannaventa</i>)	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	3
Willoughby-on-the- Wolds	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	3
Bitterne	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	2
Brough-on-Humber	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	2
Chesterton	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	2
Dunstable	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	2
Great Dunmow	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	2
Hacheston	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	2

Northwich	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	2
Old Sleaford	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	2
Pentre	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	2
Redhill	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	2
Sansom's Platt	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	2
Shiptonthorpe	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	2
Thorpe (ad Pontem)	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	2
Alfoldean	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	1
Ashton	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	1
Asthall	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	1
Blackwardine	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	1
Broxtowe	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	1
Chesterton (Warwicks)	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	1
Chigwell	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	1
Colchester	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	1
Crayford	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	1
Dolaucothi	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	1
Dymock	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	1
East Anton	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	1
East Stoke	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	1
Exeter	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	1
Gatcombe	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	1
Ixworth	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	1
Kettering	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	1
Kingscote	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	1
Kirby Thore	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	1
Kirmington	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	1
Littleborough	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	1
Maidstone	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	1
Malton	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	1
Norwich	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	1
Owmbly	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	1
Princethorpe	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	1
Richborough	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	1
Saltersford	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	1
Sandy Lane	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	1
Silchester	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	1
Sleaford	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	1
Speen (Spinis)	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	1
Wickford	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	1
Wilcote	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	1
Winteringham	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	1

Appendix B

The follow table summarizes the number and type of buildings samples by phase. For each phase the sites are organized by the total number of building samples excavated. Samples are from published reports up to September 2004.

Phase 1: AD 43-100

Town	Stone Total	% Stone	Timber Total	% Timber	Composite Total	% Composite	Stone/Unknown	% Stone/Unknown	Total
Carlisle	0	0.00%	16	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	16
Alcester	0	0.00%	10	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	10
Baldock	0	0.00%	5	71.43%	1	14.29%	1	14.29%	7
Dragonby	0	0.00%	7	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	7
Catterick	2	33.33%	3	50.00%	0	0.00%	1	16.67%	6
Towcester	1	16.67%	3	50.00%	1	16.67%	1	16.67%	6
Bath	2	50.00%	2	50.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4
Neatham	0	0.00%	4	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4
Richborough	1	25.00%	0	0.00%	3	75.00%	0	0.00%	4
Springhead	3	75.00%	1	25.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4
Cowbridge	1	33.33%	1	33.33%	0	0.00%	1	33.33%	3
Dorchester-on-Thames	0	0.00%	3	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3
Great Chesterford	1	33.33%	2	66.67%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3
Frilford	2	66.67%	1	33.33%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3
Asthall	0	0.00%	2	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
Braintree	0	0.00%	2	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
Braughing	1	50.00%	1	50.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
Cambridge	0	0.00%	2	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
Cave's Inn	1	50.00%	1	50.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
East Bridgeford	0	0.00%	3	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3
Great Casterton	0	0.00%	2	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
Harlow	2	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2

Heronbridge	0	0.00%	2	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
Holditch	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	100.00%	0	0.00%	2
Ilchester	0	0.00%	2	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
Kelvedon	0	0.00%	2	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
Kingscote	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	100.00%	2
Little Chester	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	100.00%	2
Nettleton	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	100.00%	2
Sea Mills	0	0.00%	2	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
Staines	0	0.00%	2	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
Godmanchester	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
Kenchester	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
Thistleton	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
Wall	0	0.00%	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
Wanborough	0	0.00%	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
Total	20	16.67%	83	69.17%	7	5.83%	10	8.33%	120

Phase 2: AD 100-150

Town	Stone Total	% Stone	Timber Total	% Timber	Composite Total	% Composite	Stone/Unknown	% Stone/Unknown	Total
Carlisle	0	0.00%	11	91.67%	0	0.00%	1	8.33%	12
Water Newton	5	50.00%	2	20.00%	0	0.00%	3	30.00%	10
Alcester	1	10.00%	9	90.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	10
Towcester	1	12.50%	4	50.00%	2	25.00%	1	12.50%	8
Bath	7	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	7
Catterick	2	33.33%	3	50.00%	0	0.00%	1	16.67%	6
Great Chesterford	0	0.00%	6	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	6
Braughing	1	20.00%	4	80.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	5
Heronbridge	2	40.00%	2	40.00%	1	20.00%	0	0.00%	5
Wanborough	0	0.00%	4	80.00%	1	20.00%	0	0.00%	5
Asthall	1	25.00%	3	75.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4

East Bridgeford	2	50.00%	2	50.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4
Kingscote	1	25.00%	1	25.00%	0	0.00%	2	50.00%	4
Richborough	3	75.00%	0	0.00%	1	25.00%	0	0.00%	4
Springhead	3	75.00%	1	25.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4
Cowbridge	1	33.33%	2	66.67%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3
Hilbaldstow	2	66.67%	0	0.00%	1	33.33%	0	0.00%	3
Holditch	1	33.33%	0	0.00%	2	66.67%	0	0.00%	3
Ilchester	1	33.33%	1	33.33%	1	33.33%	0	0.00%	3
Little Chester	0	0.00%	1	33.33%	0	0.00%	2	66.67%	3
Baldock	0	0.00%	2	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
Cave's Inn	2	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
Dorchester-on-Thames	1	50.00%	1	50.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
Dragonby	0	0.00%	2	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
Frilford	2	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
Kelvedon	0	0.00%	2	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
Nettleton	2	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
Worcester	0	0.00%	2	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
Alchester	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
Ashton	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
Bourton-on-the-Water	0	0.00%	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
Godmanchester	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
Great Casterton	0	0.00%	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
Irchester	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
Kenchester	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
Middlewich	0	0.00%	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
Neatham	0	0.00%	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
Rochester	0	0.00%	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
Sapperton	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	100.00%	1
Sea Mills	0	0.00%	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
Shepton Mallet	0	0.00%	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1

Staines	0	0.00%	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
Thistleton	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
Thorpe	0	0.00%	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
Tiddington	0	0.00%	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
Wall	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
Total	48	36.64%	64	48.85%	9	6.87%	10	7.63%	131

Phase 3: AD 150-250

Town	Stone Total	% Stone	Timber Total	% Timber	Composite Total	% Composite	Stone/Unknown	% Stone/Unknown	Total
Corbridge	36	90.00%	3	7.50%	0	0.00%	1	2.50%	40
Alcester	2	8.33%	21	87.50%	1	4.17%	0	0.00%	24
Catterick	12	66.67%	6	33.33%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	18
Carlisle	9	56.25%	7	43.75%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	16
Bath	14	93.33%	1	6.67%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	15
East Bridgeford	2	13.33%	1	6.67%	12	80.00%	0	0.00%	15
Towcester	6	40.00%	6	40.00%	2	13.33%	1	6.67%	15
Water Newton	9	81.82%	1	9.09%	0	0.00%	1	9.09%	11
Dragonby	5	50.00%	2	20.00%	0	0.00%	3	30.00%	10
Great Chesterford	2	25.00%	6	75.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	8
Ilchester	8	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	8
Kingscote	4	50.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4	50.00%	8
Springhead	6	75.00%	2	25.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	8
Asthall	2	33.33%	2	0.00%	1	16.67%	1	16.67%	6
Neatham	0	0.00%	6	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	6
Alchester	1	20.00%	4	80.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	5
Braughing	1	20.00%	4	80.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	5
Camerton	5	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	5
Nettleton	4	80.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	20.00%	5

Richborough	3	60.00%	0	0.00%	2	40.00%	0	0.00%	5
Wanborough	3	60.00%	2	40.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	5
Baldock	2	50.00%	1	25.00%	0	0.00%	1	25.00%	4
Cave's Inn	4	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4
Dorchester-on-Thames	0	0.00%	4	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4
Frilford	3	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3
Harlow	3	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3
Hilbaldstow	2	66.67%	0	0.00%	1	33.33%	0	0.00%	3
Kelvedon	0	0.00%	3	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3
Shepton Mallet	2	66.67%	0	0.00%	1	33.33%	0	0.00%	3
Staines	1	33.33%	2	66.67%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3
Cambridge	0	0.00%	2	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
Chesterton	1	50.00%	1	50.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
Dorn	0	0.00%	1	50.00%	0	0.00%	1	50.00%	2
Godmanchester	1	50.00%	1	50.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
Heronbridge	2	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
Irchester	1	50.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	50.00%	2
Kenchester	2	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
Little Chester	0	0.00%	1	50.00%	0	0.00%	1	50.00%	2
Sea Mills	2	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
Thistleton	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	100.00%	2
Thorpe	0	0.00%	1	50.00%	0	0.00%	1	50.00%	2
Whilton Lodge	0	0.00%	2	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
Worcester		0.00%	2	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
Ancaster	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
Ashton	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
Bourton-on-the-Water	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	100.00%	1
Braintree	0	0.00%	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
Cowbridge	0	0.00%	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
Great Casterton	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
Holditch	0	0.00%	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1

Sapperton	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
Tiddington	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	1
Willoughby	0	0.00%	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
Wycomb	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
Total	165	54.10%	99	32.46%	21	6.89%	21	6.56%	305

Phase 4: AD 250-350

Town	Stone Total	% Stone	Timber Total	% Timber	Composite Total	% Composite	Stone/Unknown	% Stone/Unknown	Total
Corbridge	32	96.97%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	3.03%	33
Alcester	12	37.50%	16	50.00%	1	3.13%	3	9.38%	32
Catterick	22	95.65%	1	4.35%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	23
Camerton	14	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	14
Bath	13	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	13
Hilbaldstow	11	91.67%	0	0.00%	1	8.33%	0	0.00%	12
Nettleton	12	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	12
Water Newton	11	91.67%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	8.33%	12
Alchester	3	27.27%	7	63.64%	0	0.00%	1	9.09%	11
Carlisle	8	80.00%	2	20.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	10
Dragonby	4	40.00%	1	10.00%	0	0.00%	5	50.00%	10
Wanborough	5	50.00%	1	10.00%	2	20.00%	2	20.00%	10
Great Chesterford	3	33.33%	6	66.67%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	9
Ilchester	7	87.50%	0	0.00%	1	12.50%	0	0.00%	8
East Bridgeford	2	25.00%	2	0.00%	4	50.00%		0.00%	8
Sea Mills	7	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	7

Baldock	4	66.67%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	33.33%	6
Richborough	6	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	6
Towcester	1	16.67%	4	66.67%	0	0.00%	1	16.67%	6
Kenchester	3	60.00%	0	0.00%	2	40.00%	0	0.00%	5
Kingscote	4	80.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	20.00%	5
Sapperton	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3	60.00%	2	40.00%	5
Shepton Mallet	4	80.00%	1	20.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	5
Tiddington	2	40.00%	1	20.00%	1	0.00%	1	20.00%	5
Droitwich	4	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4
Little Chester	2	50.00%	2	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4
Neatham	1	25.00%	2	50.00%	0	0.00%	1	25.00%	4
Springhead	4	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4
Asthall	1	33.33%	2	66.67%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3
Bourton-on-the-Water	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	66.67%	1	33.33%	3
Cambridge		0.00%	3	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3
Frilford	3	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3
Thistleton	1	33.33%	1	33.33%	0	0.00%	1	33.33%	3
Braughing	1	50.00%	1	50.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
Cave's Inn	2	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
Cowbridge	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	100.00%	2
Dorchester-on-Thames	2	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
Harlow	2	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
Worcester	0	0.00%	2	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
Braintree	0	0.00%	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
Brampton	0	0.00%	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
Chesterton	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
Godmanchester	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
Great Casterton	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
Irchester	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	100.00%	1
Middlewich	0	0.00%	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1

Old Sleaford	0	0.00%	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
Scole	0	0.00%	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
Thorpe	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	100.00%	1
Willoughby	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	100.00%	1
Total	216	67.71%	58	18.18%	17	5.33%	28	8.78%	319

Phase 5: AD 350-450

Town	Stone Total	% Stone	Timber Total	% Timber	Composite Total	% Composite	Stone/Unknown	% Stone/Unknown	Total
Catterick	20	90.91%	2	9.09%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	22
Wanborough	2	15.38%	1	7.69%	10	76.92%	0	0.00%	13
Alchester	2	11.76%	13	76.47%	2	11.76%	0	0.00%	17
Nettleton	9	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	9
Alcester	0	0.00%	6	75.00%	2	25.00%	0	0.00%	8
Bath	8	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	8
Great Chesterford	4	50.00%	4	50.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	8
Towcester	1	12.50%	6	75.00%	1	0.00%	0	0.00%	8
Corbridge	6	85.71%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	14.29%	7
Dragonby	1	14.29%	3	42.86%	0	0.00%	3	42.86%	7
Shepton Mallet	3	50.00%	1	16.67%	2	33.33%	0	0.00%	6
Carlisle	4	80.00%	1	20.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	5
Water Newton	5	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	5
Bourton-on-the-Water	3	75.00%	0	0.00%	1	25.00%	0	0.00%	4
Hilbaldstow	1	25.00%	0	0.00%	3	0.00%	0	0.00%	4
Asthall	0	0.00%	2	66.67%	1	33.33%	0	0.00%	3
Camerton	3	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3
East Bridgeford	2	66.67%	1	33.33%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3
Ilchester	2	66.67%	1	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3
Sea Mills	3	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3

Baldock	2	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
Dorchester-on-Thames	2	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
Frilford	2	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
Kenchester	1	50.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
Kingscote	2	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
Neatham	1	50.00%	1	50.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2
Cowbridge	0	0.00%	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
Droitwich	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
Godmanchester	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
Little Chester	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
East Bridgford	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
Middlewich	0	0.00%	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
Mildenhall	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
Total	94	56.97%	44	26.67%	23	13.94%	4	2.42%	165

Appendix C: Gazetteer

Alcester (Aluna)

SP 0857

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	?
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	X
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	X
Number of Villas within 10 km	0
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	2

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	X
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	X
Aqueduct	

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	?
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	X
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	X
AD 250-350	X
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	X

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	X
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	X
Market Center	X
Religious Complex	?

Description:

The town is located on a spur of ground between the Avon Valley and Severn Valley. The site has a Claudian era fort, later moved to lower ground. There is not enough evidence to suggest a town in the Flavian era. The town lies beside rather than on the main road. There is a defensive wall to the east and south with marshland providing protection to the north and east. A fourth century circuit enclosed more than an earlier circuit. The area around the town is devoid of villas, but Alcester may have served as a center for surrounding agriculture and had an open market. The town appears to have been fairly developed in an economic sense, but stone buildings never outnumbered timber structures. It is possible that it was promoted in the fourth century to a *civitas*.

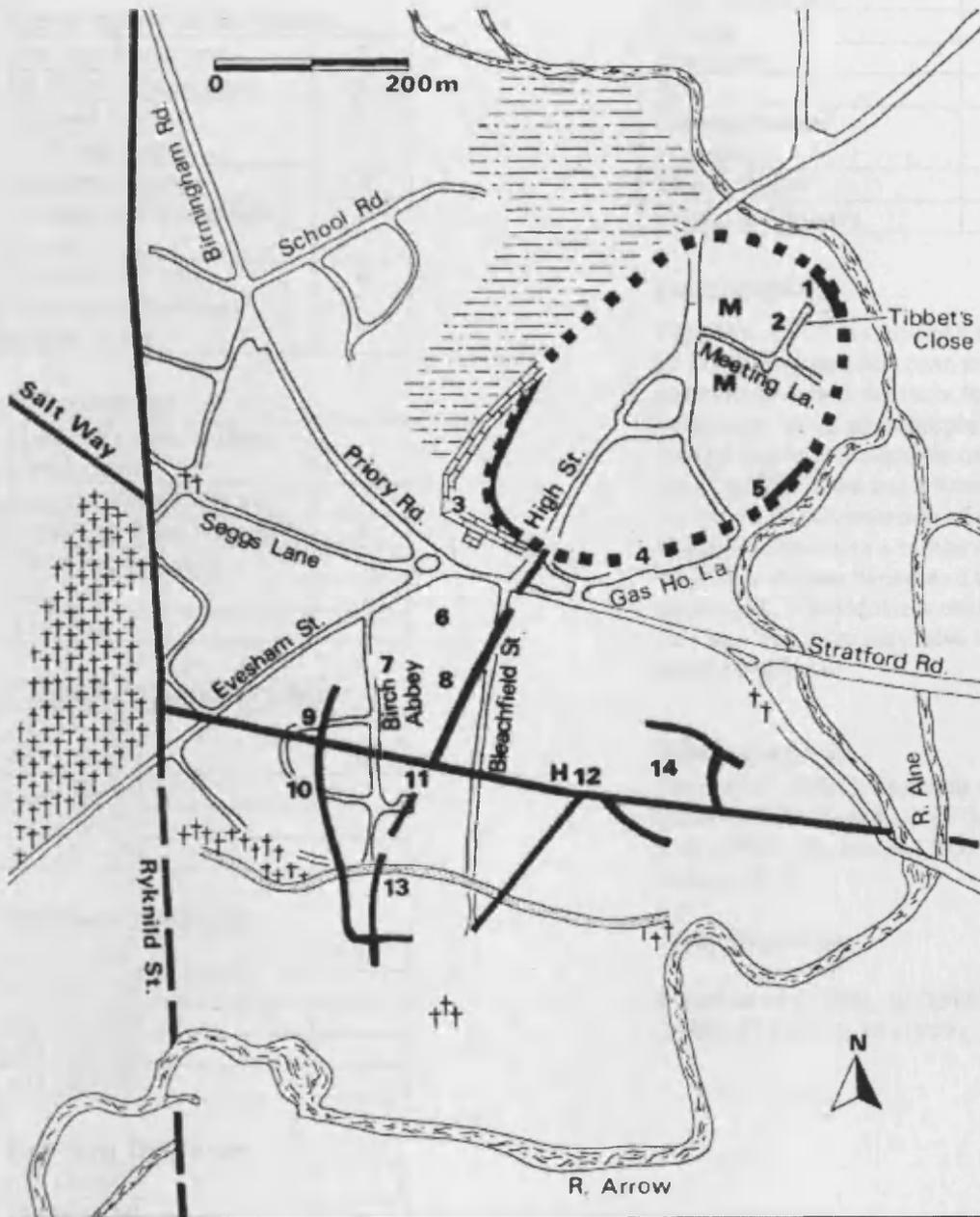
Bibliography:

Booth (1976, 1977, 1979,1980); Cracknell (1996); Davis (1930); Hughes (1960); Mahany (1994a, 1994b); Osborne (1971); Richmond and Crawford (1949); Rivet and Smith (1979); Webster (1981); Wise (1992)

Useful Summaries:

Britannia 2 (1977); 4 (1973); 5 (1974); 7 (1976); 8 (1977); 9 (1978); 10 (1979); 11 (1980); 12 (1981); 13 (1982); 15 (1984); 17 (1986); 19 (1988); 26 (1995); 27 (1996); 31 (2000)

JRS 51 (1961); 53 (1963); 55 (1965); 57 (1967)



KEY

M Mosaic	Marsh	certain	probable	Roman roads
H Hypocaust	Boundary ditch	Defences c 200 AD	Defences c 200 AD	Addition to circuit 4th C
Cemetery	Occupied area			

Map 6.3: Roman Alcester, from *Britannia* 17 (1986)

1- sections of defenses; 2- 3rd and 4th c. timber and stone buildings; 3- major stone store-buildings; 4- Gas House Lane excavations; 5- section across both sets of defenses; 6- intensive occupation with timber and stone buildings; 7- possible market place; 8-artifacts suggestion 1st c. occupation; 9- enclosures; 10- shops, barns and many other structures; 11- timber houses with circular plan; 12- early stone building with hypocaust; 13- Tannery; 14- stone building with painted plaster

Alchester

SP 5720

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	?
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	X
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	X
Number of Villas within 10 km	2
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	6

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	X
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

***Cursus Publicus* Station**

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	X
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	X
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	?
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	?
AD 350-450	X

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	X

Description:

The town is 300 m south of a major road junction on low lying ground prone to flooding. The north-south axis is the main focus of the settlement. Ariel photographs show regularly formed *insula* and evidence of coordinated planning. The town has a Romano-Celtic temple, but the economic situation of the town is not clear. It is likely there was a military origin to the town, but that is unclear because of the limited excavation. The defenses enclosed approximately 10.5 ha. The town may have had extensive extra-mural settlement.

Bibliography:

Booth *et al.* (2001); Foreman and Rahtz (1984); Foster (1989); Hawkes (1927); Iliffe (1929); Sauer *et al.* (1999); St. Joseph (1953); Wilson (1975); Young (1975)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 19 (1988); 20 (1989); 22 (1991); 23 (1992); 27 (1996); 30 (1999); 31 (2000)

Ancaster

SK9843

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	X
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	2
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	2

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	X
AD 250-350	X
AD 350-450	X

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	X
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	X

Description:

Ancaster is strategically located near a gap in the Jurassic Ridge and is a natural focus of overland communication. An Iron Age settlement is below the Roman occupation but is not fully explored. The Iron Age settlement flourished because of the natural trade routes that converged on the site. Thus, a Roman military site is not surprising. A marching camp of 11.3 ha was found to the north of the gap, and a more permanent camp was found at Ancaster. Due to limited research, little is known about the morphology of the settlement. The north-south focus of the settlement is Ermine Street that bisects the settlement. The defense overlay existing first and second century defensive circuit that enclosed 3.7 ha. The entire settlement was approximately 24-28 ha. There is a possible religious significance to the site based on *Dea Matres* sculptures. A school of sculptors is also possible and was likely linked with nearby quarrying.

Bibliography:

Braley (1964, 1974); Todd (1974, 1981); Whitwell et al. (1966); Wilson and May (1965)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 2 (1971); 7 (1976); 10 (1974); 13 (1982); 26 (1995); 27 (1996); 28 (1997); 29 (1998); 30 (1999); 31 (2000)

JRS 52 (1962)

Asthall

SP2811

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	7
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	4

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	X
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	X
Aqueduct	

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	X
Religious Complex	

Description:

Asthall was on Akeman Street on the south bank of the River Windrush. A small Roman camp of 0.85 ha was located nearby, but the dating is unclear. It appears to have been a temporary marching camp and was insignificant in the stimulus of the civil settlement. There was a substantial iron smithing area and it is possible there was some decision to move the activity to the periphery of the settlement later in its development, possibly indicating some planning. There is some evidence of small animal bones. Taken with the paucity of carbonized cereal crops, it appears that the agriculture of the settlement was mixed but mostly relied on stock breeding.

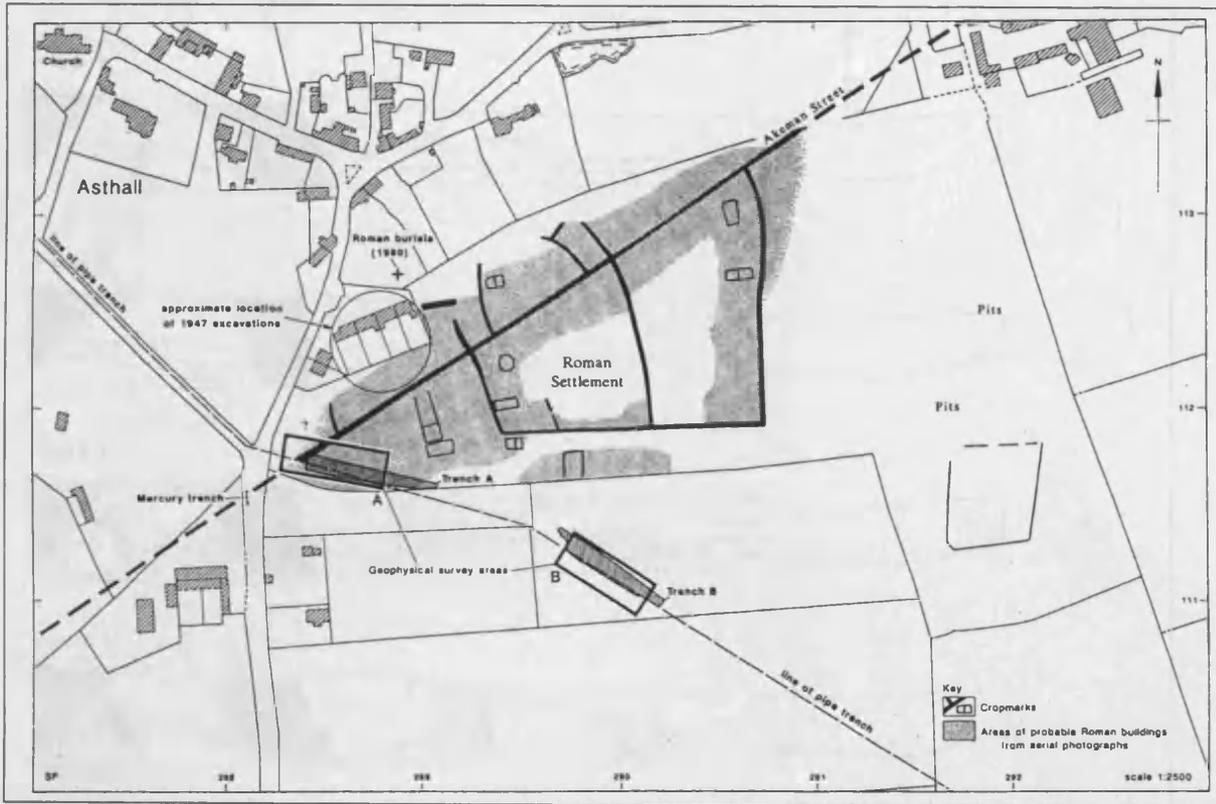
Bibliography:

Booth (1997)

Useful Summaries

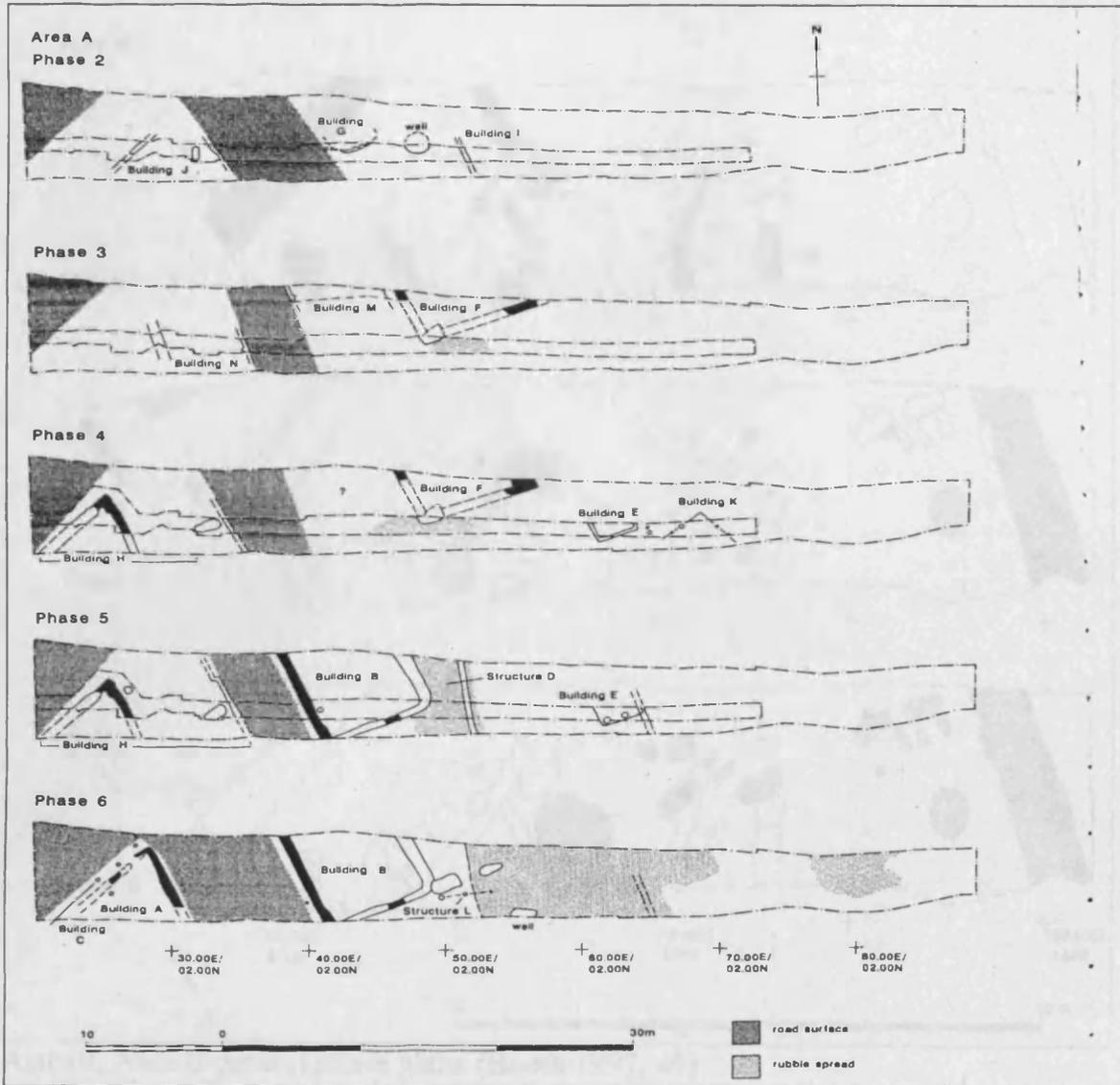
Britannia 19 (1980); 22 (1983); 22 (1993); 24 (1995); 25 (1996)

JRS (1921); (1923); (1925); (1927); (1947)

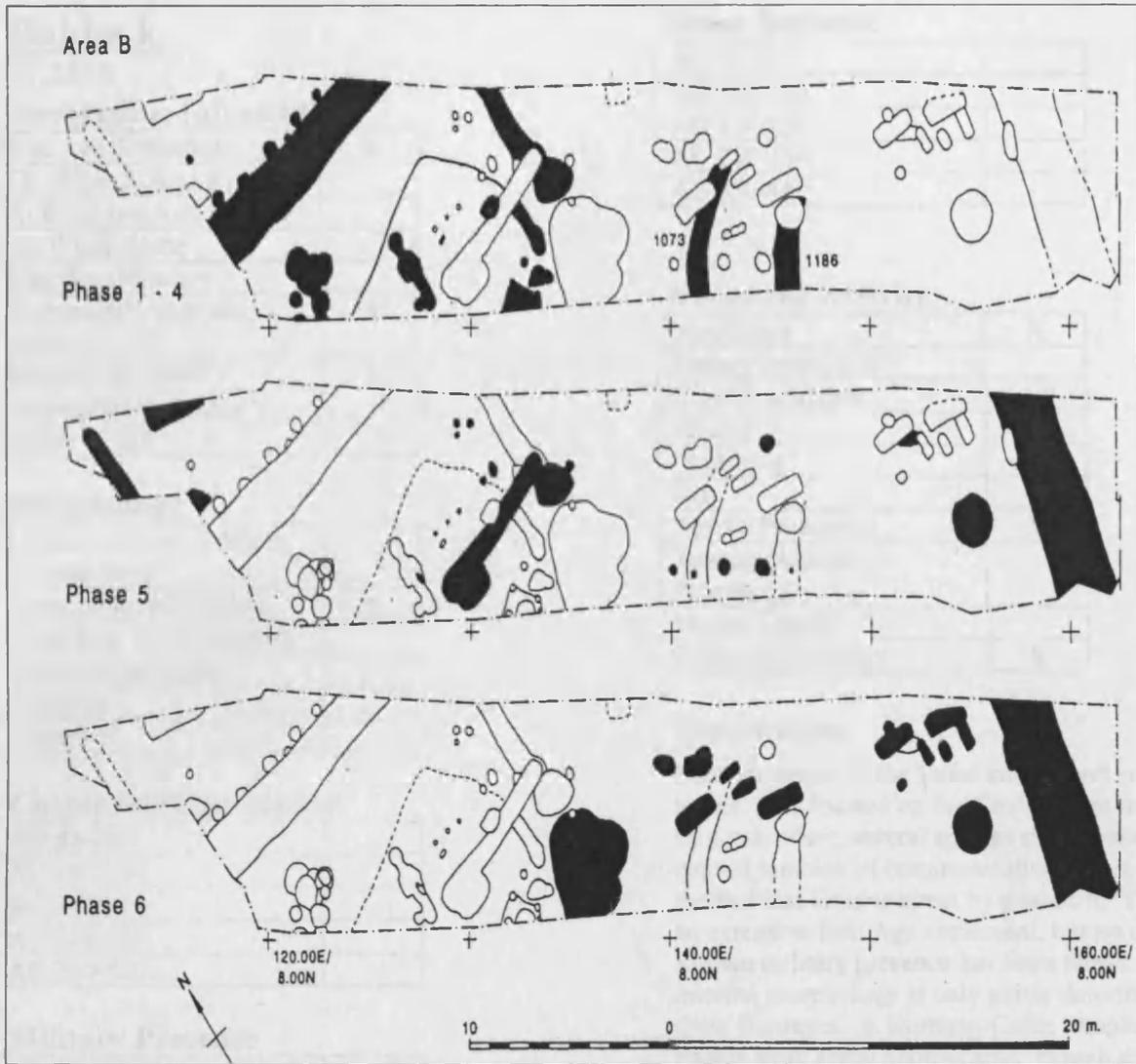


Asthall from Booth (1997, 4)

Asthall Area A aerial Photo plan (Booth, 1997, 4)



Asthall Area A general Phase plans (Booth 1997, 6)



Asthall, Area B general phase plans (Booth 1997, 49)

Baldock

TL2433

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	X
On Major Roman Road	
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	4
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	3

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	X
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Textile Production	X
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	X

Description:

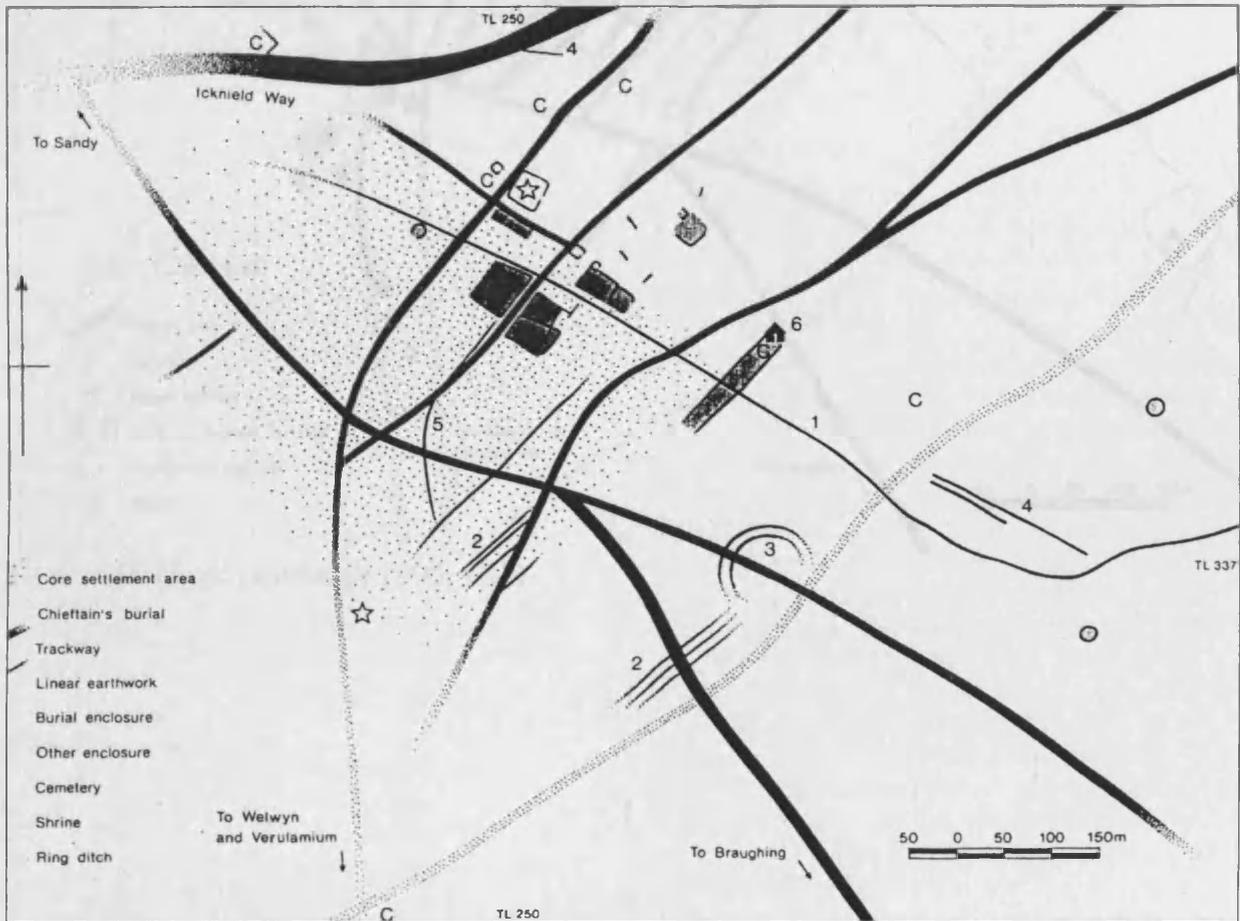
Baldock is one of the better understood small towns. It is located on the Chalk Ridge intersected by a gap where several springs rise. It was a natural junction of communication routes despite the fact that Ermine street by-passed it. There was an extensive Iron Age settlement, but no early Roman military presence has been found. The internal morphology is only partly determined by these frontages. A Romano-Celtic temple is visible from aerial photographs, though the settlement is predominantly agriculturally oriented indicated by ovens, corn drying ovens, malting ovens. An iron working furnace has also been found. The site was undefended.

Bibliography:

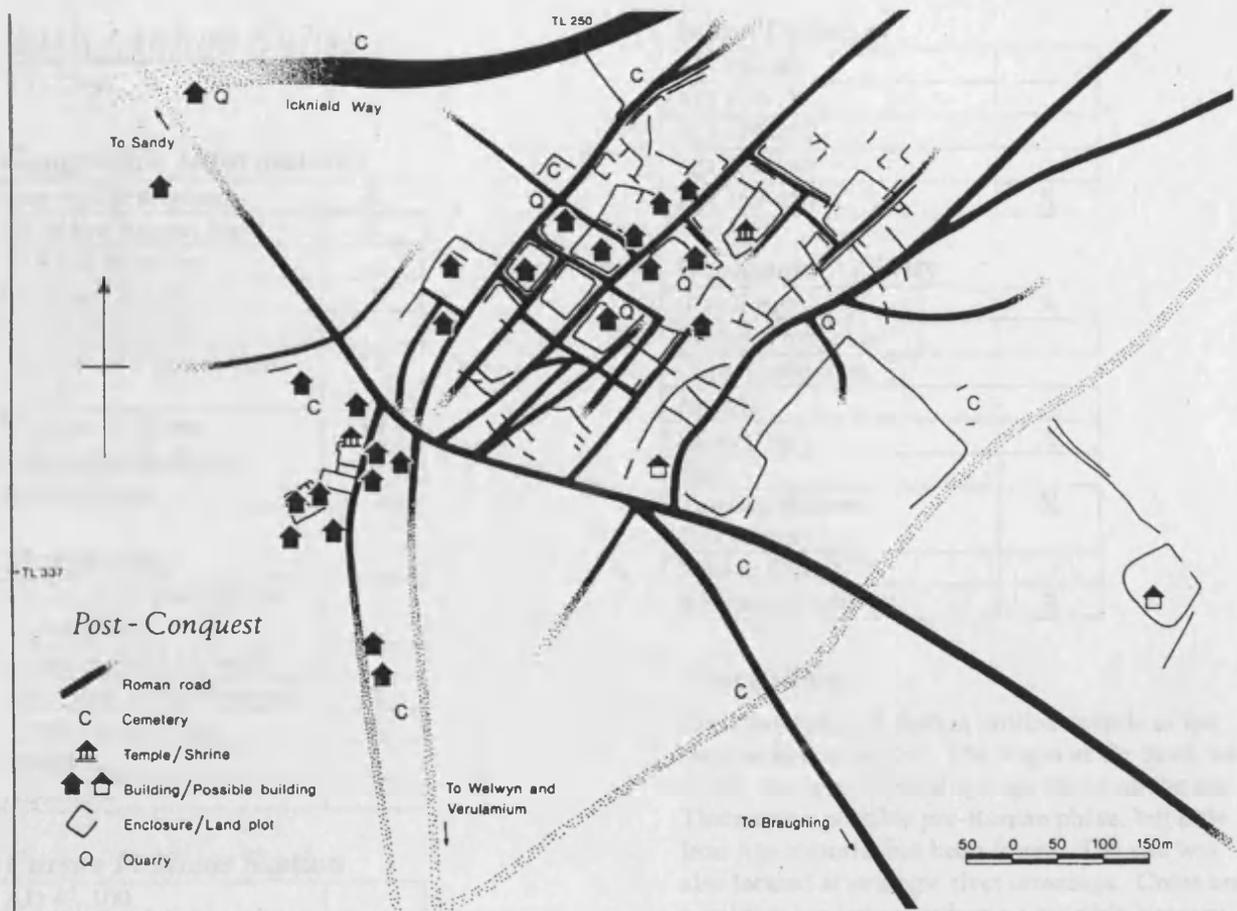
Burleigh (1982); Dix 1983; Guy (1977, 1981); Hadman (1967); Hadman and Upex (1975, 1977, 1979); Painter (1977); Selkirk (1983); Stead (1975); Stead and Rigby (1988); Westell (1932); Westell and Applebaum (1932, 1933)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 6 (1975); 8 (1977); 9 (1978); 10 (1979); 12 (1981); 14 (1983); 15 (1984); 16 (1985); 17 (1986); 30 (1999)



Iron Age Baldock (Burleigh 1995, 180)



Roman Baldock (Burleigh 1995, 181)

Bath (Aquae Sulis)

ST 7564

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	X
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	13
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	17

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	X
Town Focus/Center	X
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	X
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	X

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	X
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	X
Market Center	
Religious Complex	X

Description:

Our knowledge of Bath is limited outside of the large temple complex. The origin of the town was tied to the three mineral springs found on the site. There was a possible pre-Roman phase, but little Iron Age material has been found. The site was also located at strategic river crossings. Coins and a military tombstone indicate a possible Neroian and Flavian military phase when significant development took place. The defended area of the town was approximately 10 ha. but this only protected the principal buildings. Outside of the defense there were significant ribbon development. Epigraphy attests to many professionals associated with the temples and a possible administrative function of the town. After approximately AD 350 the temples were converted to Christian churches.

Bibliography:

Cunliffe (1966, 1969a, 1969b, 1976a, 1979, 1980, 1984, 1988); Cunliffe and Davenport (1985); Knowles (1926); O'Leary (1981); Wedlake (1966)

Summaries

Britannia 21 (1990); 22 (1991); 23 (1992); 24 (1993); 25 (1994); 26 (1995); 27 (1996); 28 (1997); 29 (1998); 30 (1999); 32 (2001)

AQUAE SULIS



Bath (Frere 1969)

Bourton-on-the-Water

SP1620

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	X
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	X
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	8
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	4

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	X
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	X

Description:

Bourton-on-the-Water was located on the Fosse Way half way between Dorn and Cirencester in the Valley of Windrush. Ryknild Street began there and continued to Alcester. An Iron Age fortification predates the Roman settlement. The main settlement was around a bridge at Windrush. There is some indication of a *mutatio* or *mansio* based on the column base found with one of the buildings that dates to the mid-fourth century. Another masonry building may have been a stable with a smith. There was also a possible roadside shrine. Based on the collection of sculptures and architectural fragments, there may have been two or three centers of the settlement; one had a native religious focus and a second centered the *mansio* with a bath.

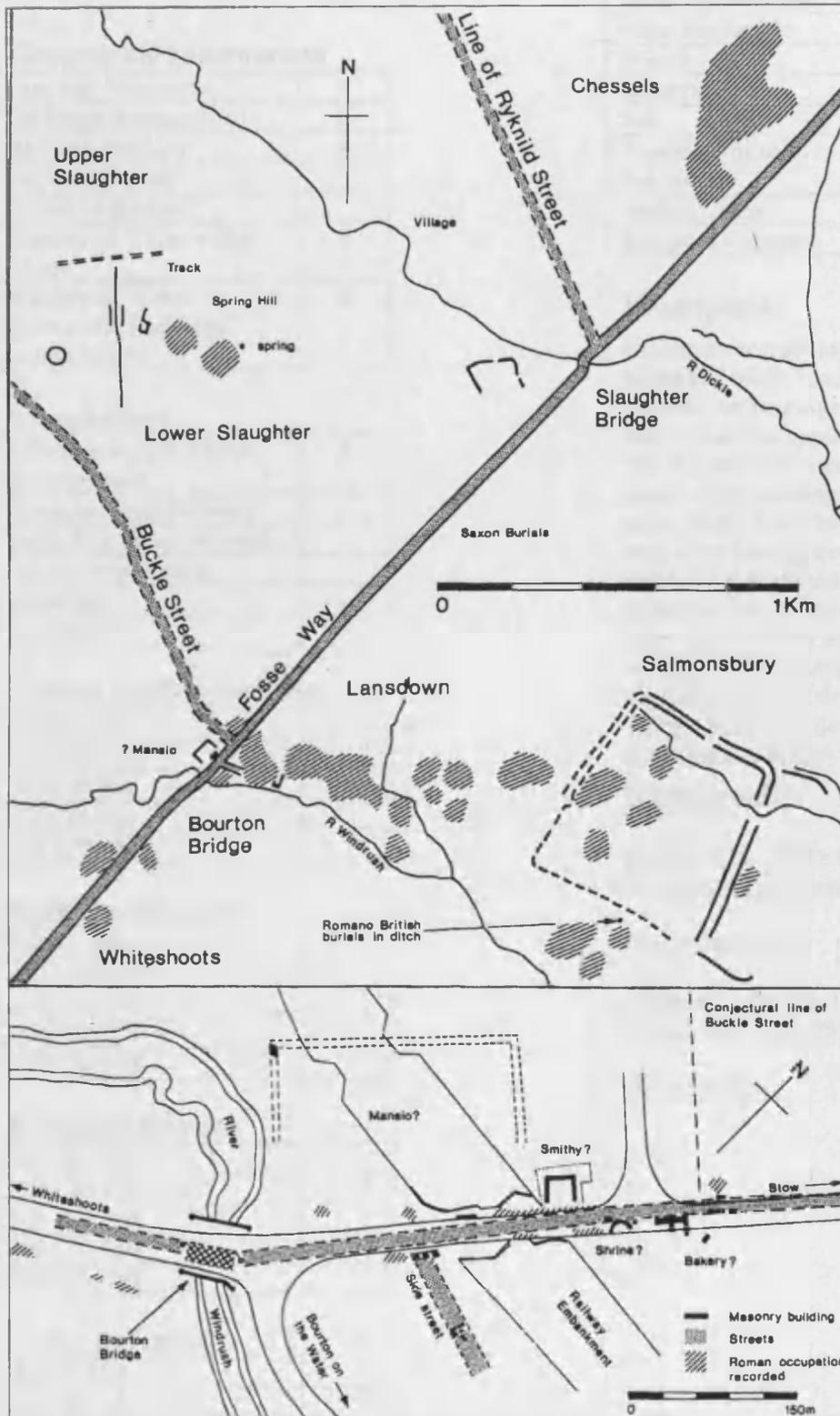
Bibliography:

Timby (1998)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 2 (1971); 10 (1979); 12 (1981); 13 (1982); 38 (1997)

JRS 58 (1968)



Bourton-on-the-Water (Burnham and Wachter 1990, 287)

Braintree

TL7523

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	X
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	X
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	6
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	4

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	X
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	X
Market Center	
Religious Complex	

Description:

Braintree's morphology was dominated by the major and minor road junctions it was found around. An Iron Age site precursor may have been a possible *oppidum* site of about 50-60 ha. The Roman settlement is a distinctive ribbon pattern with buildings along the frontages of the main roads. Most buildings were timber framed with some having stone foundations. No public buildings were found. Little can be said about the economic life in Braintree. Clearly there was some iron working as well as bone and antler working. Some burnt Antonine samian ware suggests a level of decline in the late second century but that is not conclusive. Little is known about the late history of the site.

Bibliography:

Drury (1976, 1978); Eddy (1984); Hope (1983); Tylecote, Bayley, and Biek (1976)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 6 (1975); 12 (1981); 15 (1984); 16 (1985) 20 (1989); 29 (1998); 32 (2001)

JRS 45 (1955)

Brampton

TG224238

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	X
On Water Route	X
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	1
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	0

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	X
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

***Cursus Publicus* Station**

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	X
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	

Description:

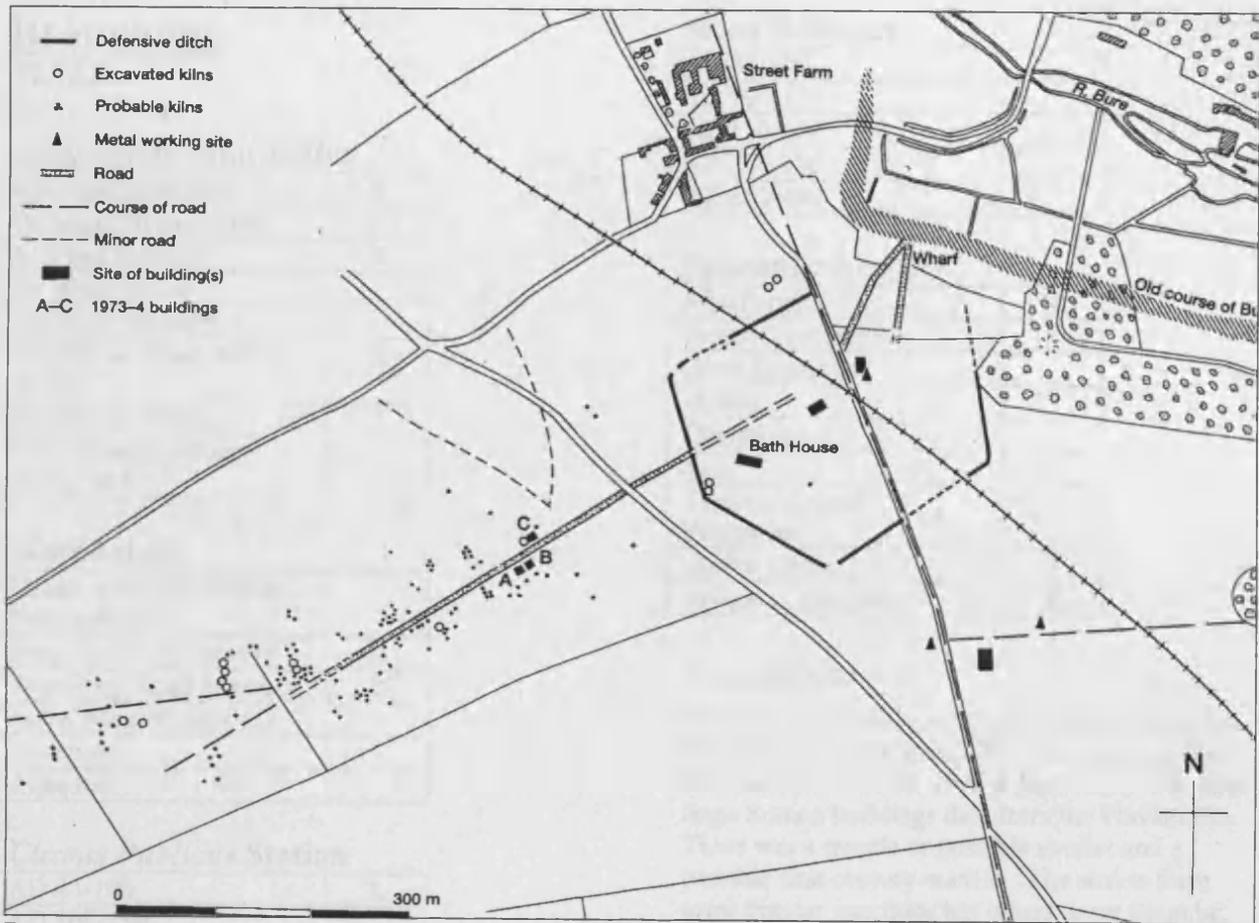
The early origins of Brampton are unclear. It arose likely as a crossroads settlement on rising ground above the River Bure and eventually covered approximately 50 ha. The site followed the typical ribbon pattern. There was a timber wharf, and most buildings excavated were of simple design except a bath house. Pottery production and iron working were very prominent. The potters specialized in *motaria* and flaggon production. There is a possible military origin to the production. The wharf indicates that water was significant in the economics of the site.

Bibliography:

Edwards (1977); Green (1977); Knowles (1977);

Useful Summaries

Britannia 3 (1972); 5 (1974); 6 (1975); 8 (1977); 9 (1979); 11 (1980); 12 (1981); 13 (1982); 14 (1983); 15 (1984); 18 (1987); 20 (1989); 23 (1994); 25 (1984); 27 (1996); 28 (1997); 29 (1998); 30 (1999); 32 (2001)



Brampton (Burnham and Wachter 1990, 204)

Braughing

TL3824

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	X
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	X
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	0
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	5

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	X
Semi-Reg. Road Network	?
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	X
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	X
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	X

Description:

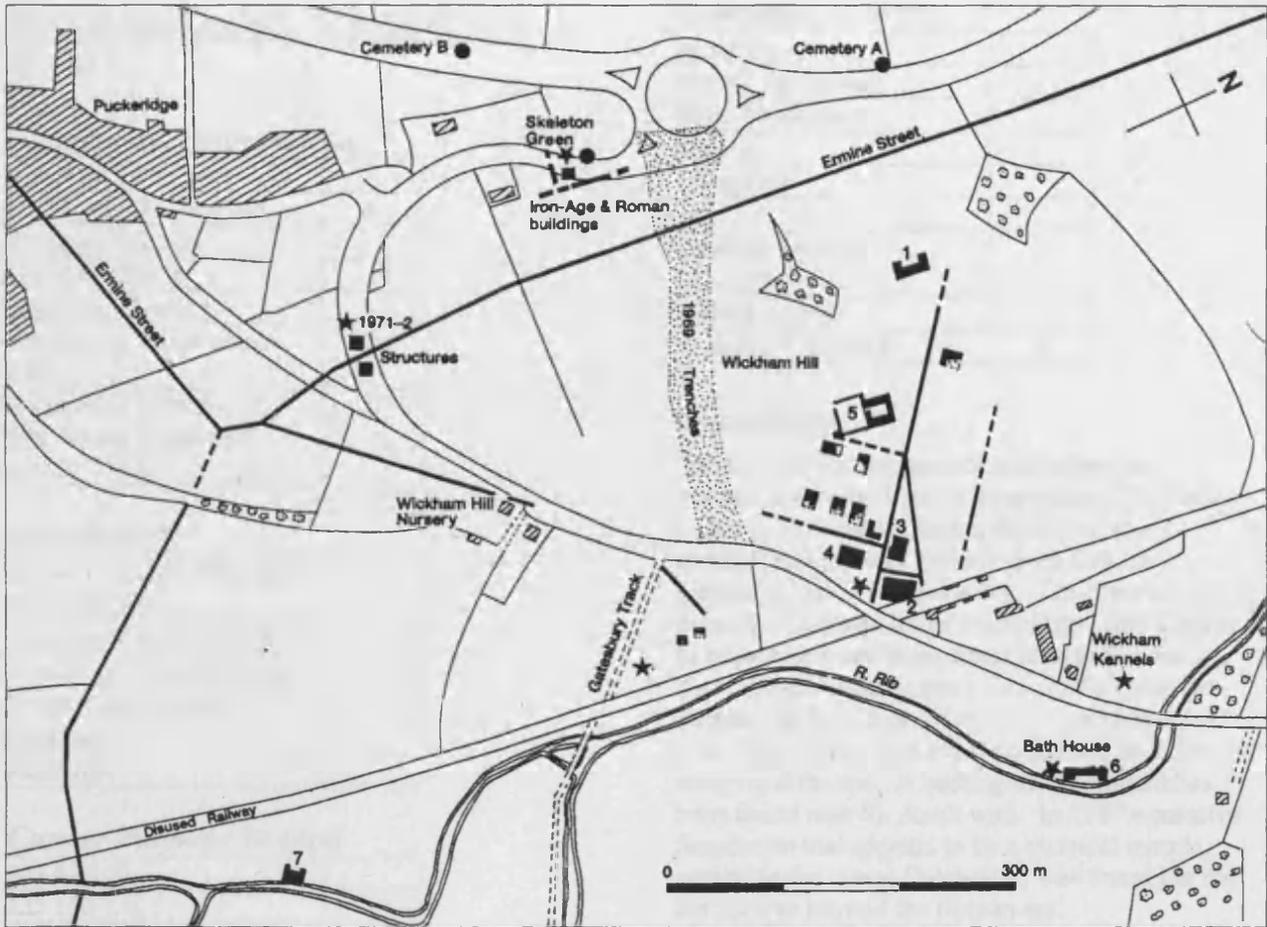
The town is located on the junction of Ermine and Stane Street on the River Rib. The Iron Age site was extensive and on several trackways. The first large Roman buildings date from the Flavian Era. There was a temple or possible market and a possible first century *mansio*. The streets form some regular junctions but others seem irregular. The town seems to have contracted in the fourth century.

Bibliography:

Barr and Gillam 1964); Henderson (1938); Holmes (1955); Partridge (1975, 1978, 1980, 1981, 1982); Partridge (1975, 1978, 1980, 1982); Potter and Trow (1988); Tribbick (1974); Westell (1936)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 2 (1971); 4 (1973); 11 (1980); 17 (1986); 22 (1991); 24 (1993); 31 (2000)



28 Braughing (after Partridge)

- Key**
- Roman roads known
 - - - " " assumed
 - Roman buildings
 - ▨ Modern "
 - Roman cemeteries
 - ★ Late Iron Age Finds

Braughing (Burnham and Wachter 1990, 105)

Buxton (*Aquae Arnemetiae*)

SK0573

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	X
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	0
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	0

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	X

Description:

The town of Buxton was located below the modern town which limits excavation. The focus seems to have been a spring that flows at a constant temperature of 28 degrees Celsius producing 846,000 liters a day. The town is located at the crossing of roads from Little Chester to Manchester and from Broughton to Buxton. There were Flavian pottery finds and a likely pre-Roman shrine and possible settlement. It is unclear if there was a fort on the site or if the army used the spa. A bathing establishment has been found near St. Ann's well. In 1787 a massive foundation that appears to be a classical temple, similar to the one at Colchester, was found but did not survive beyond the Roman era.

Bibliography:

Haverfield (1905); Jones (1975); Wilkes and Elrington (1978)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 5 (1974); 6 (1975); 7 (1976); 8 (1977); 9 (1978); 15 (1984); 23 (1992); 24 (1993); 25 (1994); 26 (1995); 27 (1996)

JRS 57 (1967)

Caistor

TA1101

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	
On Major Roman Road	
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	2
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	2

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	X
AD 350-450	X

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	

Description:

Caistor is located west of the Lincolnshire Wolds. It was not connected to the major Roman road network, though there was a small road running west from Caistor, possibly intended to connect with Ermine Street. Excavation has been limited by modern buildings over on the site. The city wall followed the contour of the ground producing an irregular oval. Foundations for the wall were 3.5 m, and the wall was not built earlier than the third century, though the exact date is debated. There was a lack of buildings within the defenses, indicating that the site may not be a town but rather a defensive circuit for refugees or military operations (Burnham and Wachter 1990, 245).

Bibliography:

Hawkes (1946); Rahtz (1960)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 2 (1971); 3 (1972); 10 (1979); 17 (1986); 21 (1990); 26 (1995); 27 (1996)

Cambridge (Duroliponte)

TL4459

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	
On Major Roman Road	
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	3
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	4

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	X
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	X

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	X
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	

Description:

Cambridge was strategically located where a gravel ridge provided a narrow crossing over a flood plain. Some Claudian material has been found indicating a possible invasion era fort. Civilian activity was established in the early second century material. There were several ditches suggesting that properties expanded rapidly as the second century progressed. Agriculture was the main economic emphasis of the settlement with only limited evidence from specialization. There was a probable timber shrine with ritual animal burials. The defenses were built in the fourth century enclosing approximately 10 ha. It was at this time that new buildings were constructed. The end of the Roman era is unclear.

Bibliography:

Alexander (1964, 1975); Alexander *et al.* (1967); Browne (1974); Ellis *et al.* (1998); Liversidge (1977); Pullinger (1978); RCHM (1959); Wilkes and Elrington (1978)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 1 (1970); 4 (1973); 5 (1974); 7 (1976); 15 (1984); 19 (1988); 22 (1990); 26 (1995); 27 (1996); 29 (1998); 30 (1999); 31 (2000); 32 (2001)

Camerton

ST6856

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	X
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	X
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	6
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	7

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	X
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

***Cursus Publicus* Station**

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	?
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	?

Description:

Camerton was on the Fosse Way 12 km southwest of Bath. It lies on a limestone ridge between the Rivers Cana and Wellow. There was an Iron Age settlement beneath the Roman town, probably of the Dobunni. There is no evidence for a fort or a camp despite speculation. The first century buildings appear to have been timber based on burnt daub, though these may be Iron Age. The earliest masonry dates to the mid-and late second century but were not laid out at right angles to the roads. There is some speculation that the site was a villa with a *vicus* growing around it. By the mid-third century the settlement expanded and changed character.

More masonry buildings were found on the southeast side of the Fosse. All had hearths and furnaces as the site increasing switched to industrial production of pewter. In the fourth century another building phase occurred including a possible amphitheater to the southwest.

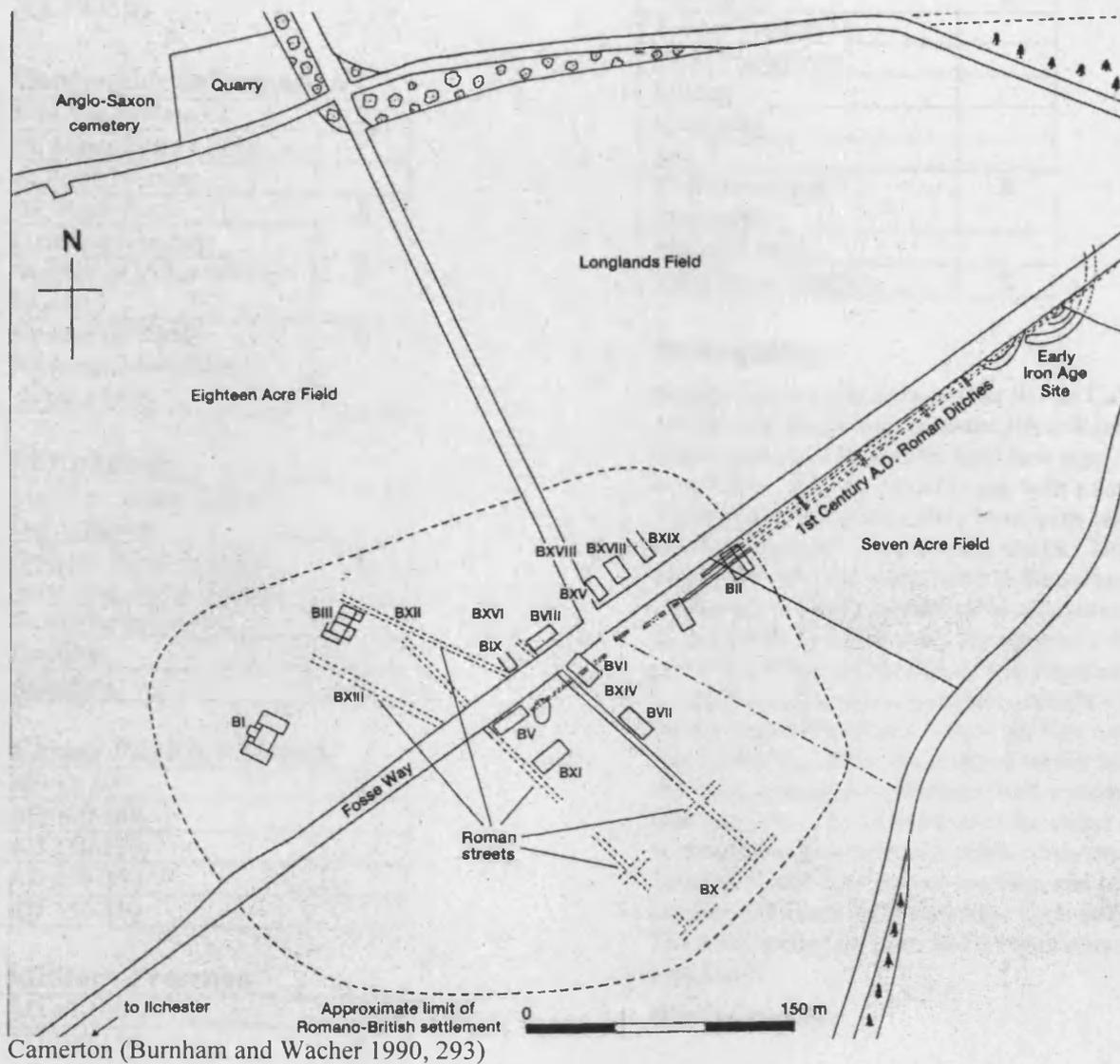
Bibliography:

Branigan (1977); Ellis (1984); Home (1929, 1934); Leech (1982); Wedlake (1958)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 26 (1995)

JRS 49 (1959)



Camerton (Burnham and Wachter 1990, 293)

Carlisle (*Luguvalium*)

NY399561

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	?
On Major Roman Road	
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	X
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	0
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	0

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	X
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	X

***Cursus Publicus* Station**

AD 43-100	X
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	X
AD 100-150	X
AD 150-250	X
AD 250-350	X
AD 350-450	X

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	?

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	X
Market Center	
Religious Complex	X

Description:

Roman Carlisle was between the Rivers Calder and Petteril where they enter the River Eden. There appears to have been light Iron Age occupation. Roman period began with a fort of Agricolan date that may have been quite large and included the Legio IX and a tile works. The fort was abandoned and dismantled in the second century. It is likely that the town originated as a *vicus* outside of the fort, but the modern town prevents further exploration of this hypothesis. It is possible that a military enclave remained within the town after the destruction of the fort, much like Corbridge. There were many timber buildings that have remained surprisingly well preserved. One large masonry building near the center of the settlement may have been a public structure. There is evidence of copper-working and tanning industries, though these may have been military. The town appears to have had a very cosmopolitan population.

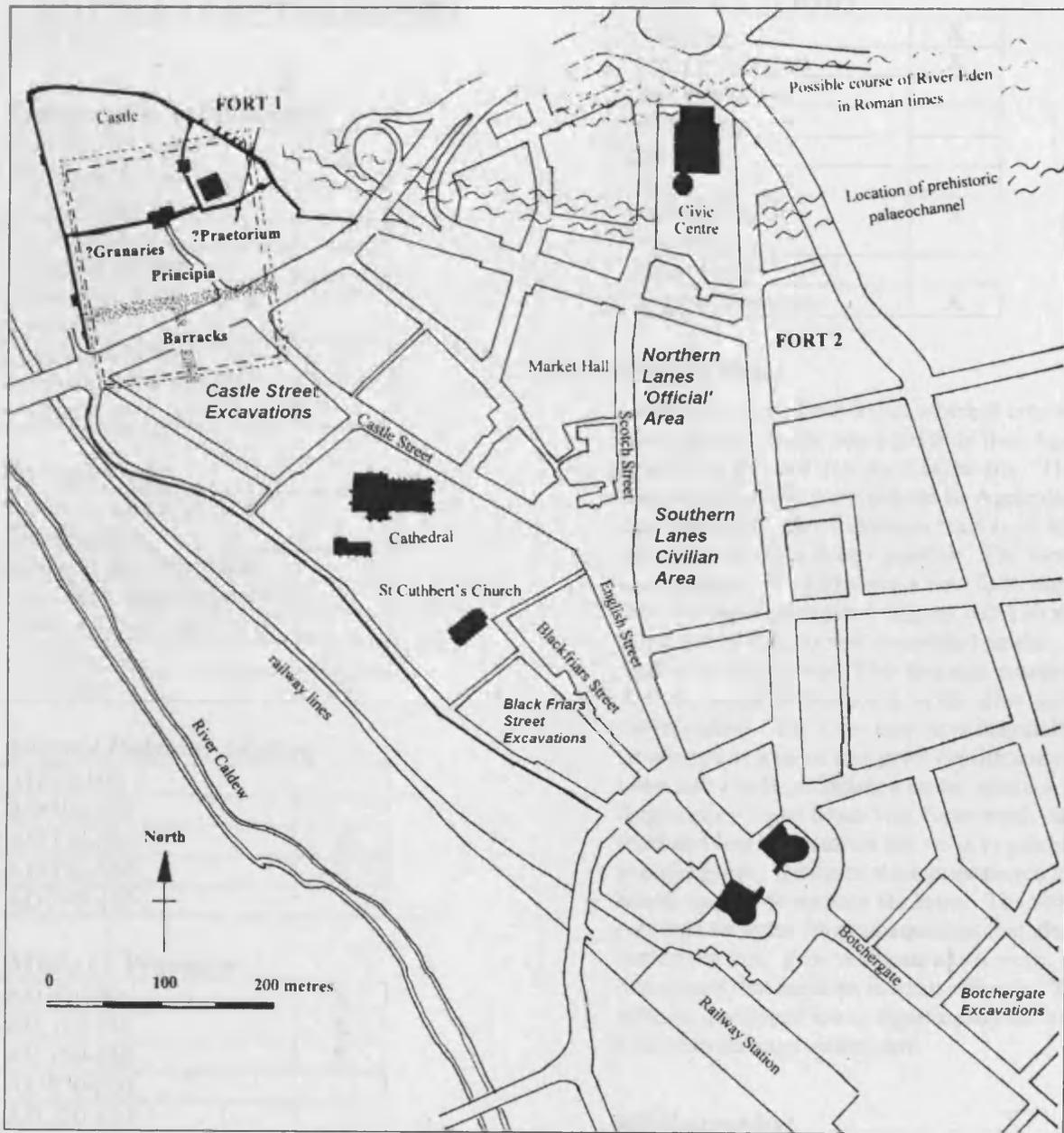
Bibliography:

Caruana (1983); Caruana and Morgan (1996); Charlesworth (1979, 1980); Hogg (1956); McCarthy (1979, 1982, 1984, 2000, 2002); McCarthy and Dacre (1983); McCarthy *et al.* (1982); Richmond and Crawford (1949); Shaw (1924); Wachter (1975)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 5 9(1974); 7 (1976); 8 (1977); 9 (1978); 10 (1979); 11 9(1980); 12 (1981); 13 9(1982); 14 (1983); 15 (1984); 16 (1985); 19 (1988); 20 (1989); 21 (1990); 22 (1991); 23 (1992); 24 (1993); 25 (1994); 26 (1995); 27 (1996); 28 (1997); 29 (1998); 30 (1999); 31 (2000); 32 (2001)

JRS 45 (1955); 46 (1956); 47 (1957)



Carlisle (McCarthy 2003, 148)

Catterick (Cataractonium)

SE2299

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	X
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	0
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	1

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	X
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	X

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	X
AD 250-350	X
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	X
AD 100-150	X
AD 150-250	X
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	X
AD 350-450	X

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	X
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	X
Market Center	
Religious Complex	X

Description:

Catterick was on Dere Street where it crossed the River Swale. There was a possible Iron Age site nearby but not as a precursor to the site. The first Roman settlement grew around an Agricolian Auxilliary fort. The Vidolanda texts refer to deliveries of hides from Catterick. The fort was abandoned c. AD 120 when a new forth north of the river was constructed century AD 130 at the same time a *mansio* was completed on the southside of the river. This fort was evacuated c. AD 160 when the fort south of the river was reestablished. The town may have originally developed as a *vicus* that grew significantly. The town had a bath including a boiler where a fragmentary metal beam was discovered. In the third and fourth-centuries the *vicus* expanded and suburbs grew. Defenses were constructed in the fourth century to enclose the town. The town received its water from an aqueduct that also served the fort. Four religious alters were discovered that mention Roman officials. The suburbs developed along significantly different lines than the core settlement.

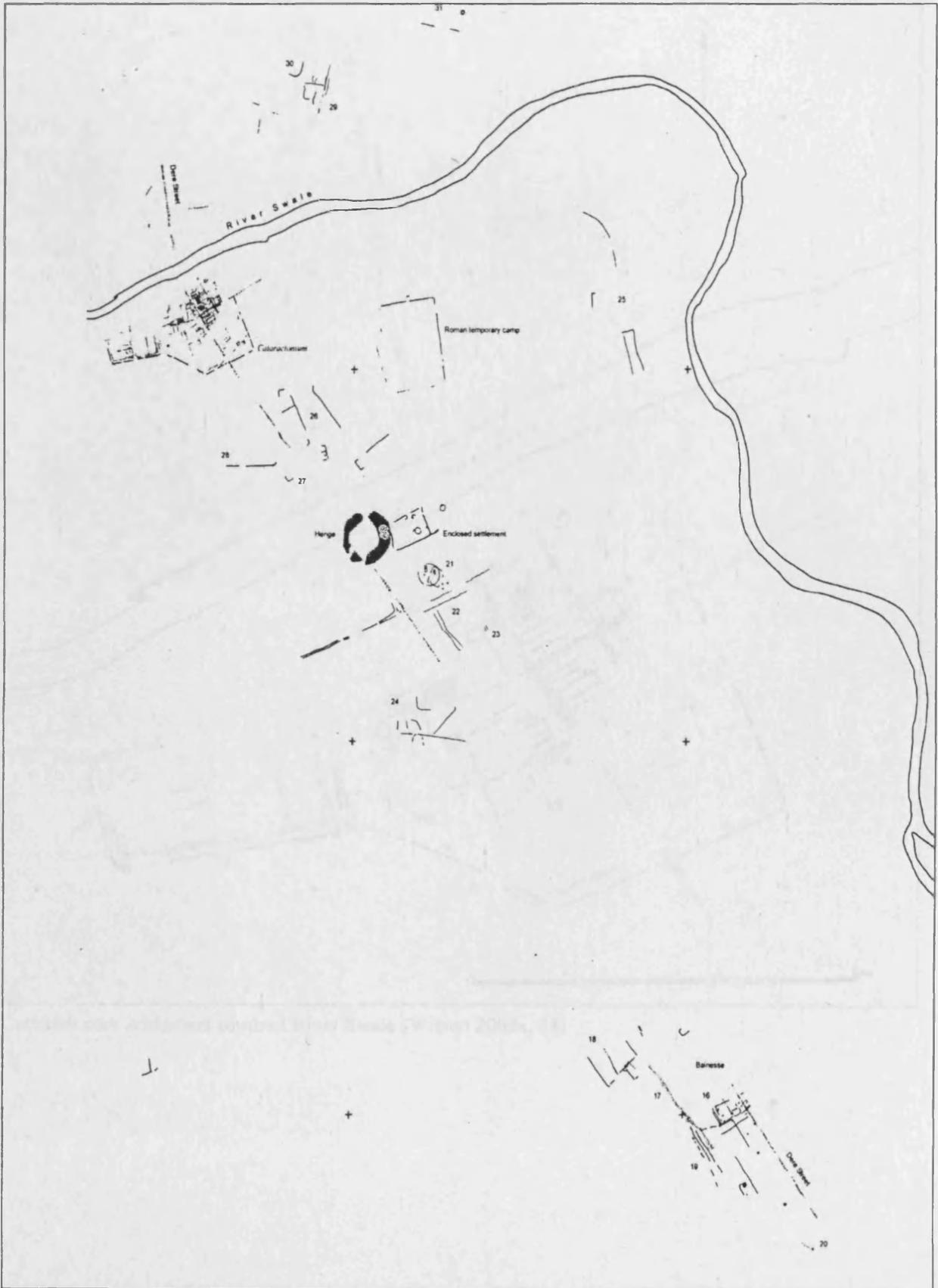
Bibliography:

Busby *et al.* (1996); Haselgrove (1984); Hildyard (1957); Jackson (1939); Myres (1969); Richmond and Crawford (1949); Shortt (1949, 1964), St Joseph (1955); Wheeler (1954) Williams (1938); Wilson (2002a, 2002b)

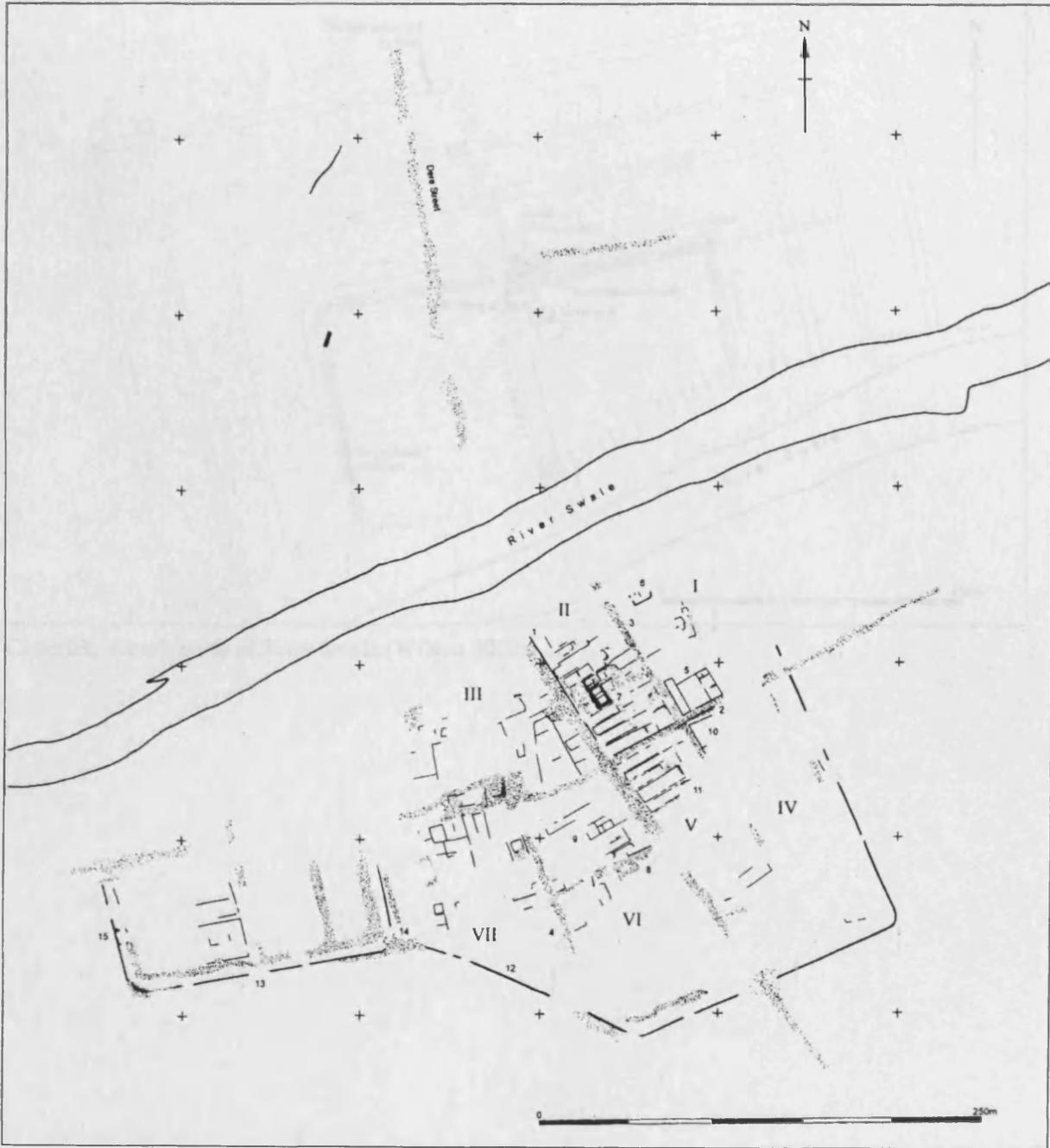
Useful Summaries

Britannia 2 (1971); 3 (1972); 4 (1973); 5 (1974); 6 (1975); 7 (1976); 11 (1980); 13 (1982); 15 (1984) 16 (1985); 21 (1990); 22 (1991); 23 (1992); 26 (1995); 27 (1996); 28 (1997)

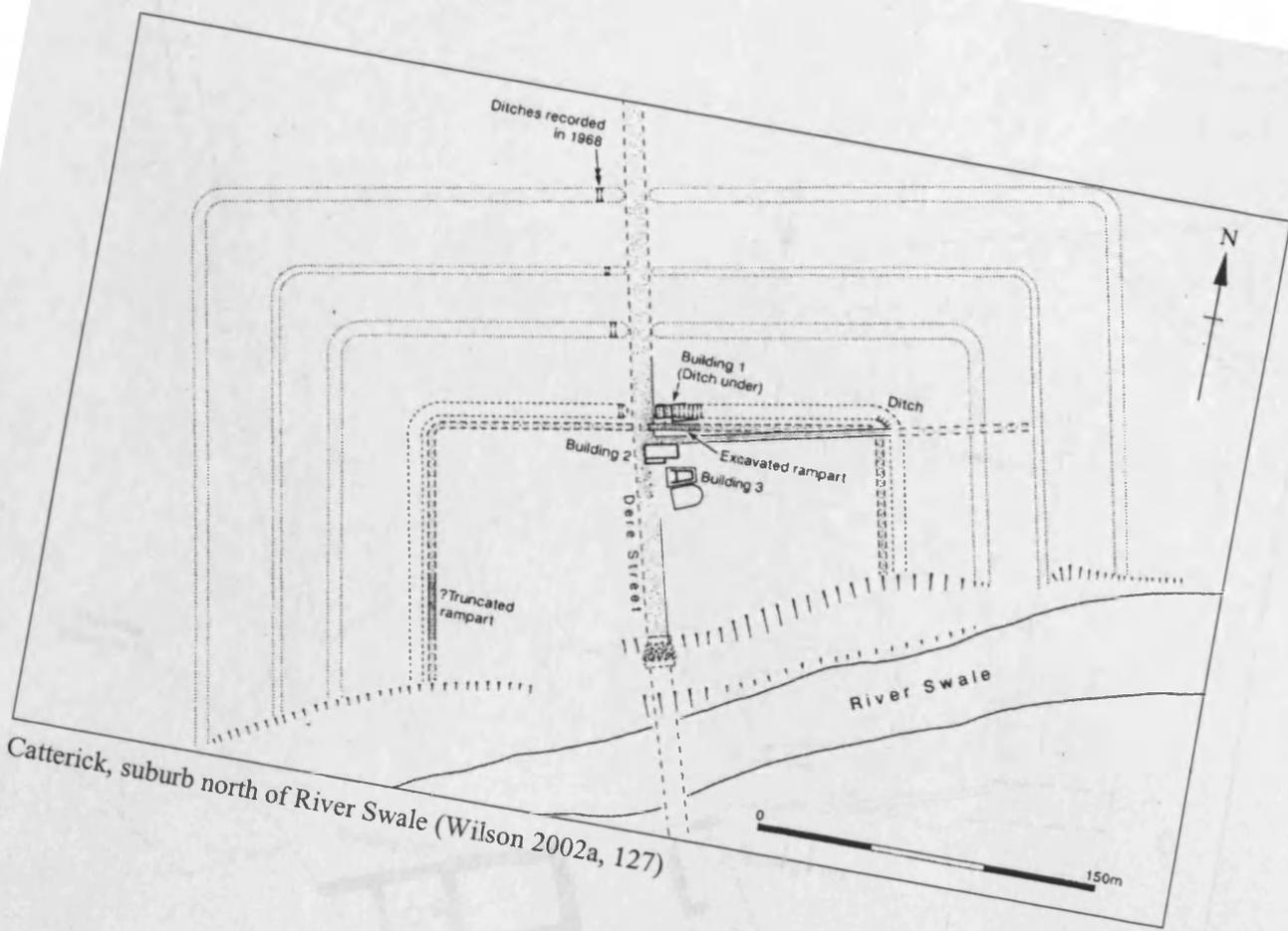
JRS 50 (1960); 52 (1961); 57 (1967)



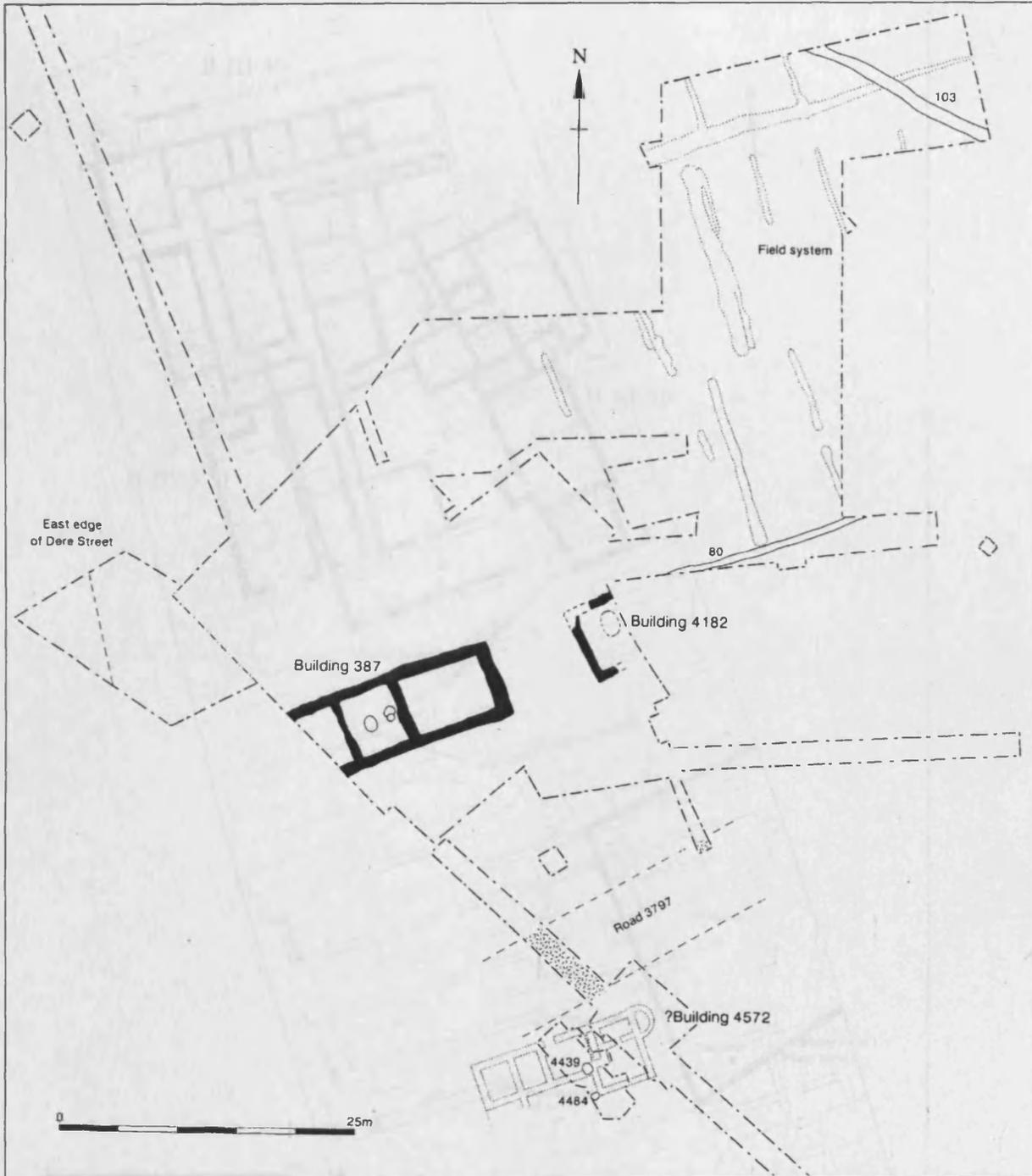
Catterick and suburbs (Wilson 2002a, 38)



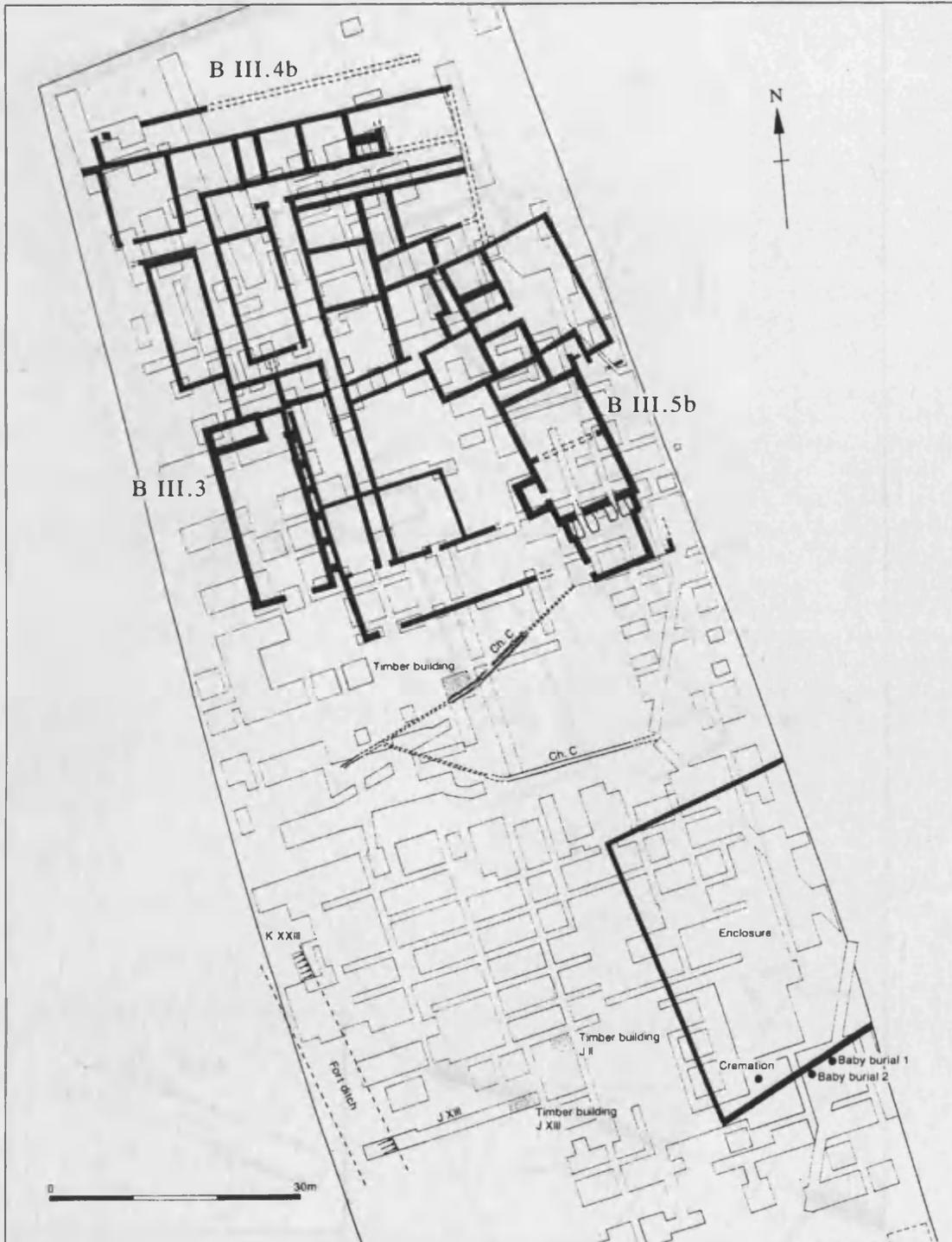
Catterick core settlement south of River Swale (Wilson 2002a, 38)



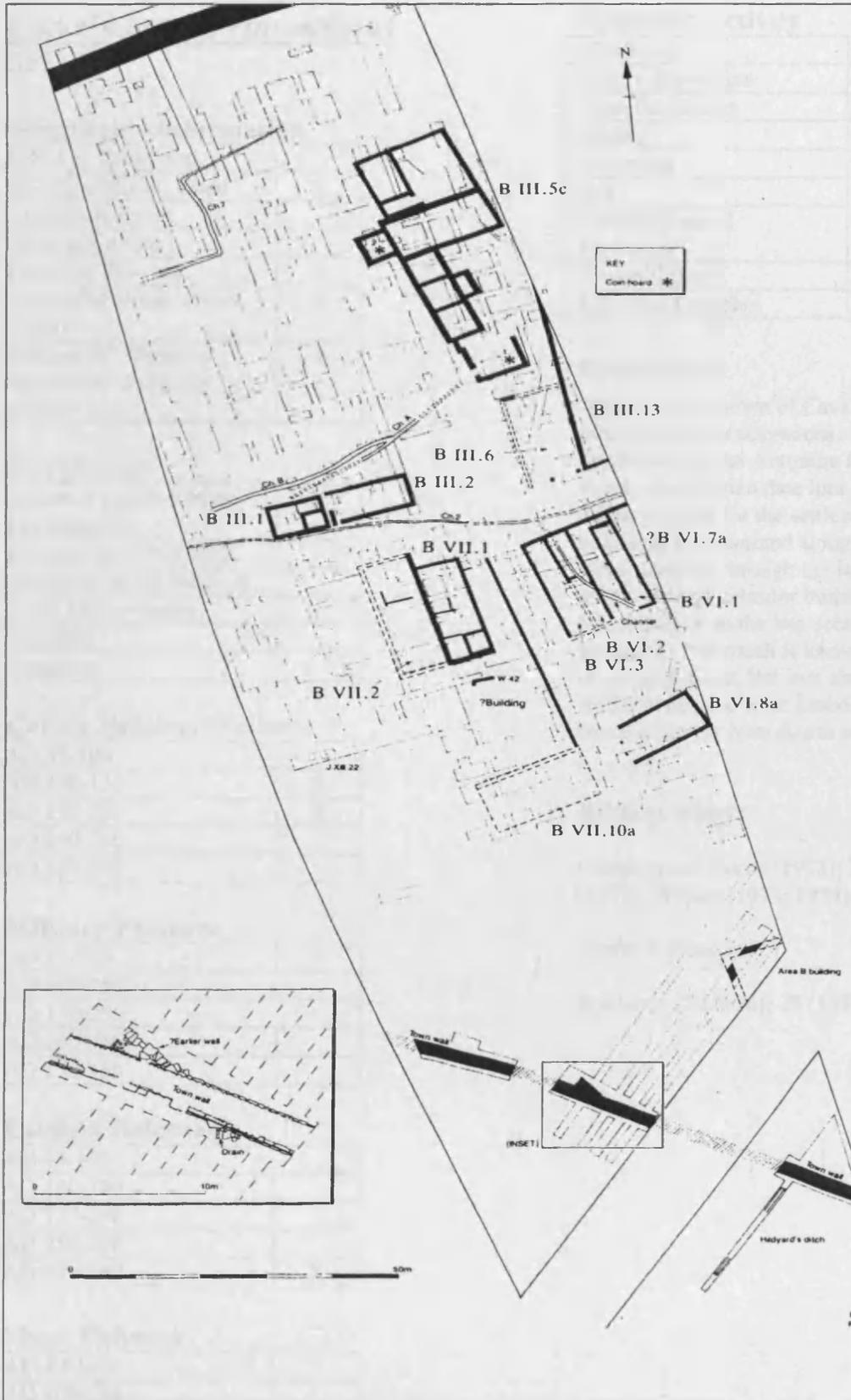
Catterick, suburb north of River Swale (Wilson 2002a, 127)



Catterick, suburb at Bainesse (Wilson 2002a, 176)



Catterick, Bypass Site c. AD 160-200 (Wilson 2002a, 59)



Catterick, Bypass Site c. AD 250-350 (Wilson 2002a, 85)

Cave's Inn (Tripontium)

SP534797

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	X
Number of Villas within 10 km	0
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	0

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	X
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	X
AD 150-250	X
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	?
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	X

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	

Description:

What little is known of Cave's Inn was obtained through rescue excavations. It is identified as *Tripontium* of the Antonine Itinerary. Samian sherds of a Flavian date hint at the possibility of a military origin for the settlement. Several buildings were erected along Watling Street and were occupied through the late fourth century. At least one large corridor building with decorative features dates to the late second or early third centuries. Not much is known about the economy of the settlement, but iron slag and a possible smelting furnace were found. A defensive ditch was built in the later fourth century.

Bibliography:

Cameron and Lucas (1973); Lucas and Barnett (1977); Wilson (1973, 1974)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 27 (1996); 29 (1998)

Charterhouse

ST501561

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	
On Major Roman Road	
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	5
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	7

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	X
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	X
AD 250-350	X
AD 350-450	X

Military Presence

AD 43-100	X
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	
Mining	X
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	

Description:

Little excavation has been done in the settlement of Charterhouse. It seems to have been an important extractive site with no known pre-Roman mining. A Claudian era foundation seems likely. The settlement covered approximately 1.2 ha with a fort near the site to the south. An amphitheater to the west of the settlement was dug into the natural sand. After the initial military phase, production passed into the hands of imperial agents based on lead pigs found at the site. Eventually it slowly moved into private hands.

Bibliography:

Bemrose (1958); Charlton (1961, 1962); Goodyear (1970, 1976); Pape (1934)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 27 (1996)

Chelmsford (Caesaromagus)

TL708063

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	X
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	X
Listed on Itinerary	X
Number of Villas within 10 km	2
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	1

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	X
AD 150-250	X
AD 250-350	X
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	?
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	X
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	X
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	X

Description:

Chelmsford was located where the Colchester Road met the Rivers Cam and Chelmer. A fort of Claudian date is suspected based on pottery but has not been found. A *mansio* was erected around AD 120 and occupied into the fourth century. The site also had an octagonal temple constructed around AD 320 and used into the fifth century. Earthen defenses were constructed in the late second century but were leveled in the early third century. Iron slag and fourth century pottery kilns are the only indicators of economic activity.

Bibliography:

Drury (1972, 1975, 1976b, 1980); Drury and Rodwell (1980); Eddy (1982, 1981); Hull (1963)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 4 (1973); 22 (1991); 23 (1992); 24 (1993); 25 (1994); 28 (1997); 29 (1998)

Chesterton-on-Fosse

SP341598

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	1
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	3

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

***Cursus Publicus* Station**

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	X
AD 250-350	X
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	X

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	

Description:

Chesterton was a small settlement on the Fosse Way near Warwick. It is known mostly from its defenses which are located mostly south and east of the Fosse. The defenses enclosed a polygonal area of c. 3.2 ha and are of two periods. They were constructed in the late second century, and after the middle of the fourth century a stone wall 3.3 m thick was added. At the same time the ditches were re-cut, making the large single ditch to be seen on the ground today. The north gate had towers projecting inwards from the wall. There is evidence of interior buildings, some with stone foundations. Excavations have shown building and rebuilding from the Antonine period on, and graves on the tail of the rampart indicate continuity into the fifth and sixth centuries. The settlement extends for a considerable area around the enclosure, and a villa is known ca. 1.6 km to the SE at Ewe Field Farm.

Bibliography:

Transaction of the Birmingham Archaeology Society (1923)

JRS 52 (1962); 58 (1968);

Corbridge (*Corisopitum*)

NY982648

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	X
Number of Villas within 10 km	0
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	0

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	X
Semi-Reg. Road Network	?
Town Focus/Center	X
Zonation	
Aqueduct	X

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	X
AD 250-350	X
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	X
AD 100-150	X
AD 150-250	X
AD 250-350	X
AD 350-450	X

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	X
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	

AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	X

Description:

Corbridge was located at an important location to guard the bridge across the Tyne and junction of the Stanegate and Dere Street. There is an Agricolian supply base that was active until c. 160 AD when the barracks appear to have been demolished and others built including workshops, possible arsenals, and granaries of masonry construction. There is a large unfinished masonry building whose purpose is not clear at the old fort headquarters. There is a possible invasion and destruction phase around AD 180 (Cassius Dio). There is also a possible withdrawal of the garrison by Clodius Albinus in AD 197. Corbridge may have been considered for a *civitas* upgrade. The main east-west street was inherited from the second century fort, though attempts to trace it from the west have failed. The main north-south road has a significant dog-leg. The streets intersect at right angles but do not have any apparent regular grid. A *macellum* is possible, and there was a definite *mansio* and six small temples. The site is surrounded by a 5 X 2 m ditch, and there are possible wall foundations. The later history is obscure. Rivet and Smith consider the name *Corstopitum* corrupt.

Bibliography:

Bishop and Dore (1988); Daniels (1978); Forster (1908); Forster and Knowles (1914); Gilliam and Daniels (1961); Richmond (1943); Wooley (1907)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 8 (1977); 12 (1981)

Cowbridge (Bomium)

SS99417475

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	X
On Major Roman Road	
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	X
Number of Villas within 10 km	0
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	1

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	X
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	X?
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	

Description:

Cowbridge is associated with *Bomium* of the Antonine Itinerary. It is located on the River Thaw and thought to have originated outside a military establishment since roof tiles stamped with Leg II Aug have been found, though the fort itself has not. There is a possible ditch that may be part of a 2 ha fort, but it appears to not have had a rampart. The principal access to the settlement was along the main Roman road running east/west. There was a substantial bath house, used only for 20 years and abandoned around AD 120. This seems to indicate obvious military or official parallels. There was iron slag found at the site but no furnaces have yet been found. The settlement has not sufficiently been excavated but seems to have a ribbon morphology. Excavation within the defenses has revealed masonry buildings. A small fifth century three-roomed house was the most unique. Occupation in Dorchester was uninterrupted through the Roman period, and the town became the seat of bishop St. Birinus.

Bibliography:

Chamberlain (1983); Davies (1967); Evans (1983); Evans (1984); James and Francis (1979); Parkhouse (1981a, 1981b, 1981c, 1982); Parkhouse and Evans (1996); Robinson (1980); Thomas (1980)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 13 (1982)

Dorchester-on-Thames SU5794

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	X
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	X
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	4
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	2

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	X
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	?

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	X
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	X
AD 350-450	X

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	

Description:

Dorchester was located near the confluence of the Rivers Thame and Thames. An Iron Age fort was located near the later town and artifacts suggest a settlement slightly before the Roman occupation in the area. A Roman military fort has been identified from aerial photographs and pottery finds that suggest a Claudio-Neroian date. The town likely grew from a *vicus* attached to this fort. In the late second century an earthen rampart was constructed and enclosed 5.5 ha. In the late third century a stone wall was inserted into these defenses. In the first and second centuries the predominant building style, was timber but stone became increasingly common. The only economic indicators were possible lime kilns retroactively inserted into a villa type structure in the late third or early fourth-centuries. An internal ditch enclosure was also constructed in the fourth century whose purpose is not entirely clear. RIB 235 suggests the presence of a *beneficiarius*. Burials also suggest the presence of Germanic troops and families (Brown 1974, 16).

Bibliography:

Aston (1974); Bradley (1978); Brown (1974); Chambers (1982); Frere (1962); Harden (1939); Harding (1972); Hogg and Stevens (1927); May (1977); Rowley and Brown (1981); Young (1977)

Dorn

SP2033

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	3
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	3

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	X
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	

Description:

Dorn is located immediately west of the Fosse Way. The understanding of the morphology of Dorn is unclear and is best known from aerial photographs that indicate a grid street pattern based on a second century occupation. The town is situated beside, not on, the Roman road, and this has suggested that it may have originated as a fort. Little is known about economic basis beyond two steelyards recovered from the floor of a building excavated in 1937-1938. The post-Roman fate remains unknown.

Bibliography:

McWhirr (1981); Morcom (1938); Oswald (1964); RCHM (1976); Smith (1964); St. Joseph (1961); Taylor (1963); Timby (1998); Webster (1971)

Dragonby

SE905138

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	X
On Major Roman Road	
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	3
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	1

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	X
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

***Cursus Publicus* Station**

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Economic Activity

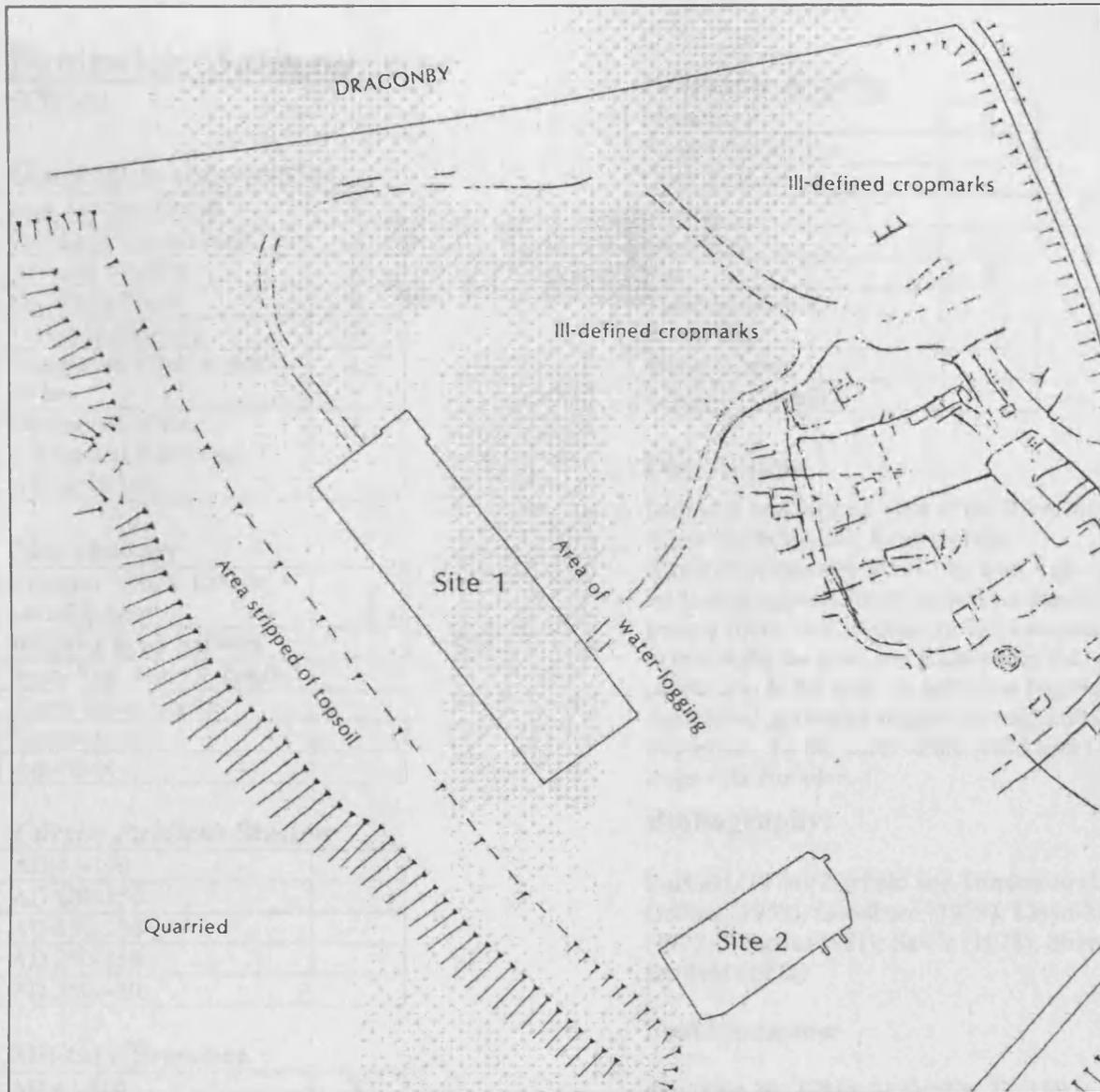
Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	X
Glass Production	
Textile	X
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	

Description:

Dragonby is located on a sharp westward bend in the Jurassic Ridge. There is a strong Iron Age presence and may have been a major sub-tribal or clan center. The Claudio-Neroian or early Flavian evidence of the site is only indicated by pottery kiln 4 and the odd artifact, though very sparse. This may indicate that "Romanization was slow at Dragonby" (May 1996, 102). A considerable number of ballista bolt heads and spearheads and other Roman military artifacts hint at a Roman attack on the Iron Age settlement and a severe reduction in activity for a period there after. There have been a number of Roman era buildings found at the site.

Bibliography:

May (1970, 1996)



Dragonby (May 1996)

Droitwich (Salinae)

SO8963

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	X
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	X
On Water Route	X
Listed on Itinerary	X
Number of Villas within 10 km	1
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	1

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	X
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	X
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	

Description:

Droitwich was located west of the River Salwarpe where the Worcester Road met the Alcester/Greenforge Road. An Iron Age settlement appears likely in the area based on pottery finds. A Claudian era fort was constructed overlooking the river and presumably the salt production in the area. A millstone fragment and carbonized grain also suggest that agriculture was important. To the north of the settlement was a large villa complex.

Bibliography:

Barfield (1976); Barfield and Tomlinson (1971); Gelling (1959); Goodburn (1979); Lloyd-Morgan (1972); Morris (1981); Sawle (1978); Shaw and Barfield (1972)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 10 (1981); 21 (1990); 23 (1992); 27 (1996); 29 (1998); 30 (1999); 31 (2000)

East Bridgeford **(Margidunum)**

SK700415

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	2
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	2

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	X
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	?
AD 150-250	X
AD 250-350	X
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	X
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	X
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	X
AD 350-450	X

Economic Activity

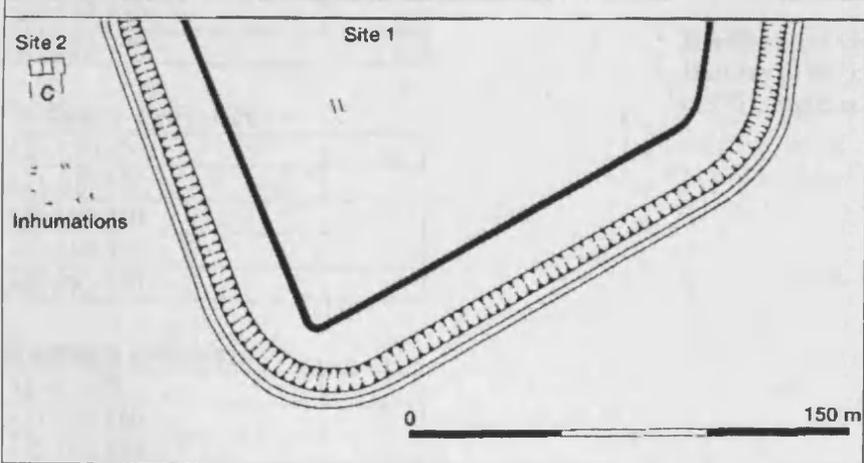
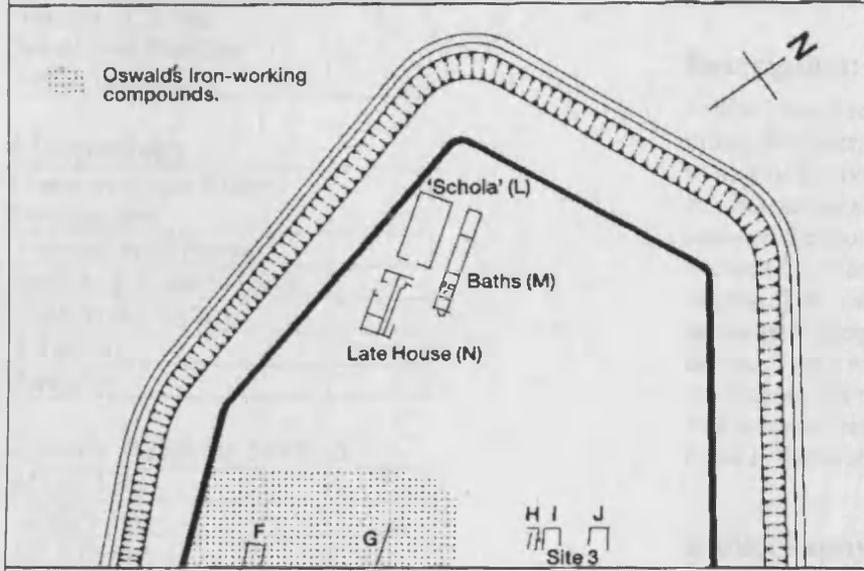
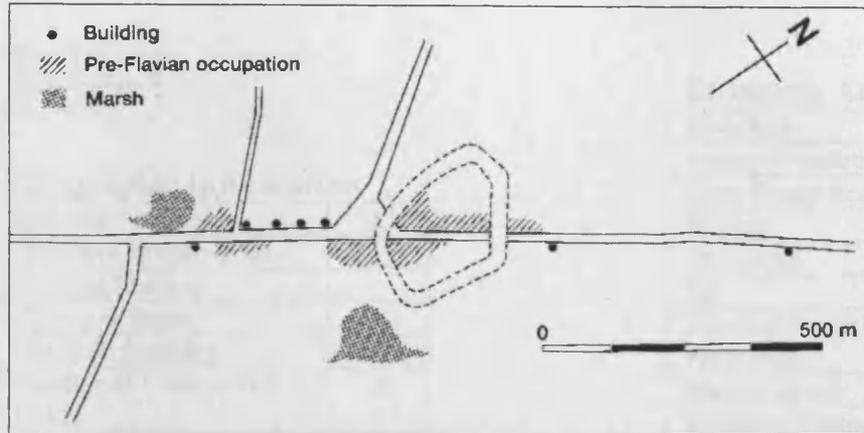
Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	

Description:

East Bridgeford was located midway between Leicester and Lincoln on the Fosse Way. A fort was established in the mid-first century, and a civilian settlement grew nearby. The civilian settlement may have had a military works depot that continued to be in operation after the fort was abandoned. A number simple buildings were located along the Fosse in a low density pattern with large spaces in between buildings. Only two stone structures have been found, perhaps due to the lack of suitable building stone nearby. An earthen rampart was constructed in the late second century that enclosed a relatively small 2.8 ha of the settlement. A stone wall was later added in the third century. Artifacts, particularly animal bones, suggest that the site was a collection point of the *annonae*.

Bibliography:

Leach (1982); Oswald (1927, 1941, 1948, 1952); Rivet (1986); Smith (1981); Todd (1969)



Margidunum (Burnham and Wachter 1990, 261)

Frilford

SU4396

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	X
On Major Roman Road	
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	5
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	2

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	X

Description:

Frilford was a religious center with a probable urban character, though much remains unclear due to lack of excavation. There is some question as to whether the site showed religious continuity between the Iron Age era and the Roman occupation. The developmental process is very unclear. There was an amphitheater and presumably strip buildings based on occupational debris. There was a Romano-Celtic temple from the Flavian era that replaced a timber structure. The temples were in a stone walled enclosure. Little is know about the domestic buildings.

Bibliography:

Bradford and Goodchild (1939); Dudley (1921); Harding (1987); Hingley (1982, 1985); Picard (1970); Stevens (1940)

Godmanchester

(Durovigutum)

TL246704

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	X
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	2
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	0

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	X
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	X
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	X
AD 350-450	X

Military Presence

AD 43-100	X
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	X

AD 350-450	X
------------	----------

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	X
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	

Description:

Godmanchester is at a strategic site on Ermine Street at the crossing of the River Ouse. A Claudian fort has been found to the south of the civil settlement with later fort on a different alignment. Godmanchester is associated with *Duroviguto* of the Ravenna Cosmology. The civilian site largely lies below the present town which limits our knowledge. There is indication of a late Iron Age occupation on the site. A *mansio* and bath-house were built in c.AD120 and destroyed in the third century when a possible granary was constructed on the site. A shrine complex is located to the west of the *mansio*, that had several rebuilding phases from the second through the fourth centuries. In the third century a basilica was built to the east of the *mansio*. Earthen defenses were erected in the Hadrianic era enclosing an area of 8.06 ha. In late third century they were rebuilt in stone and expanded to enclose approximately 11 ha. The town was sacked at the end of the fourth century.

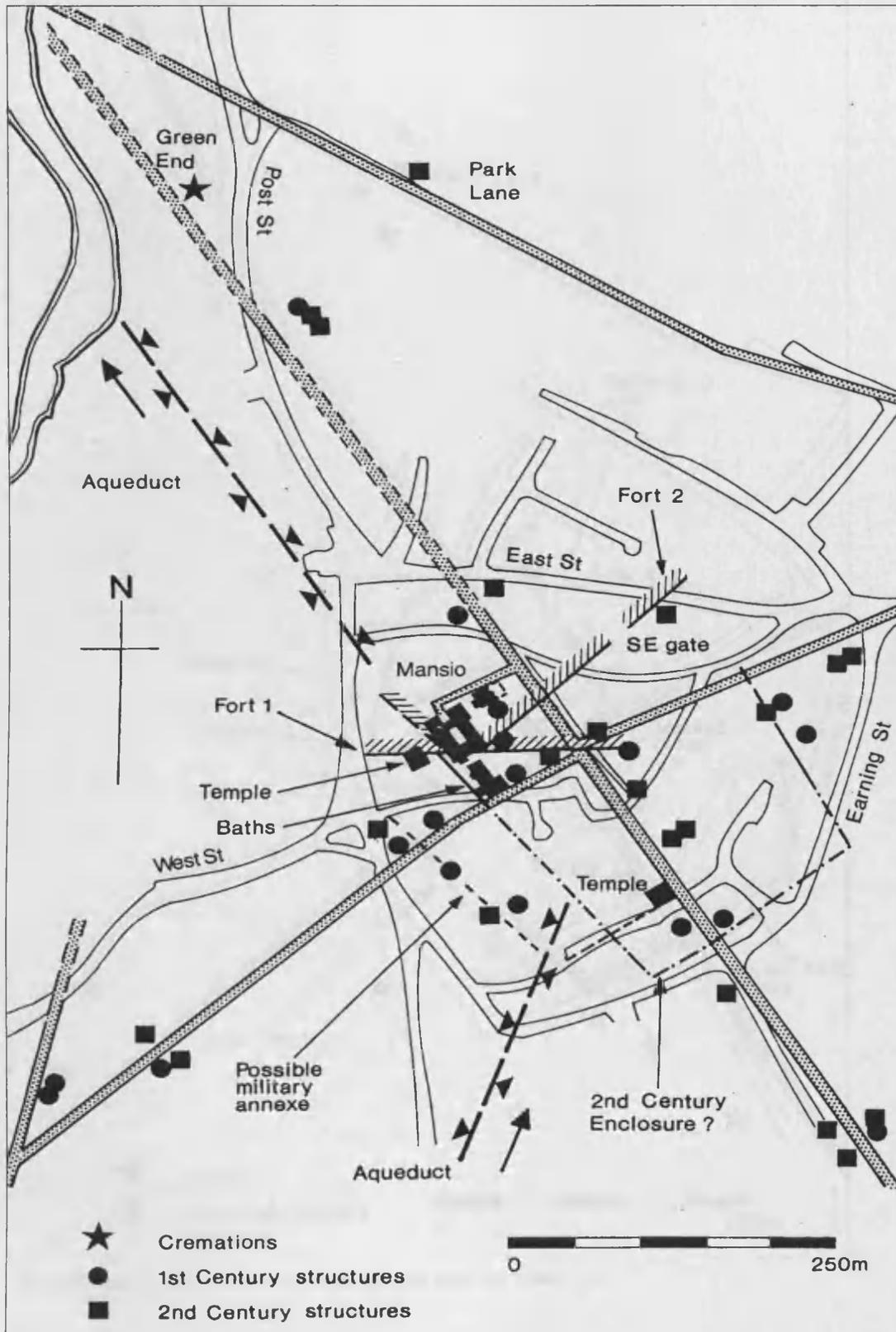
Bibliography:

Going et al. (1997); Green (1959, 1960a, 1960b, 1961, 1973, 1977, 1986,); Hunnybun (1952); Jones (2003); Ladds (1930); Taylor (1926)

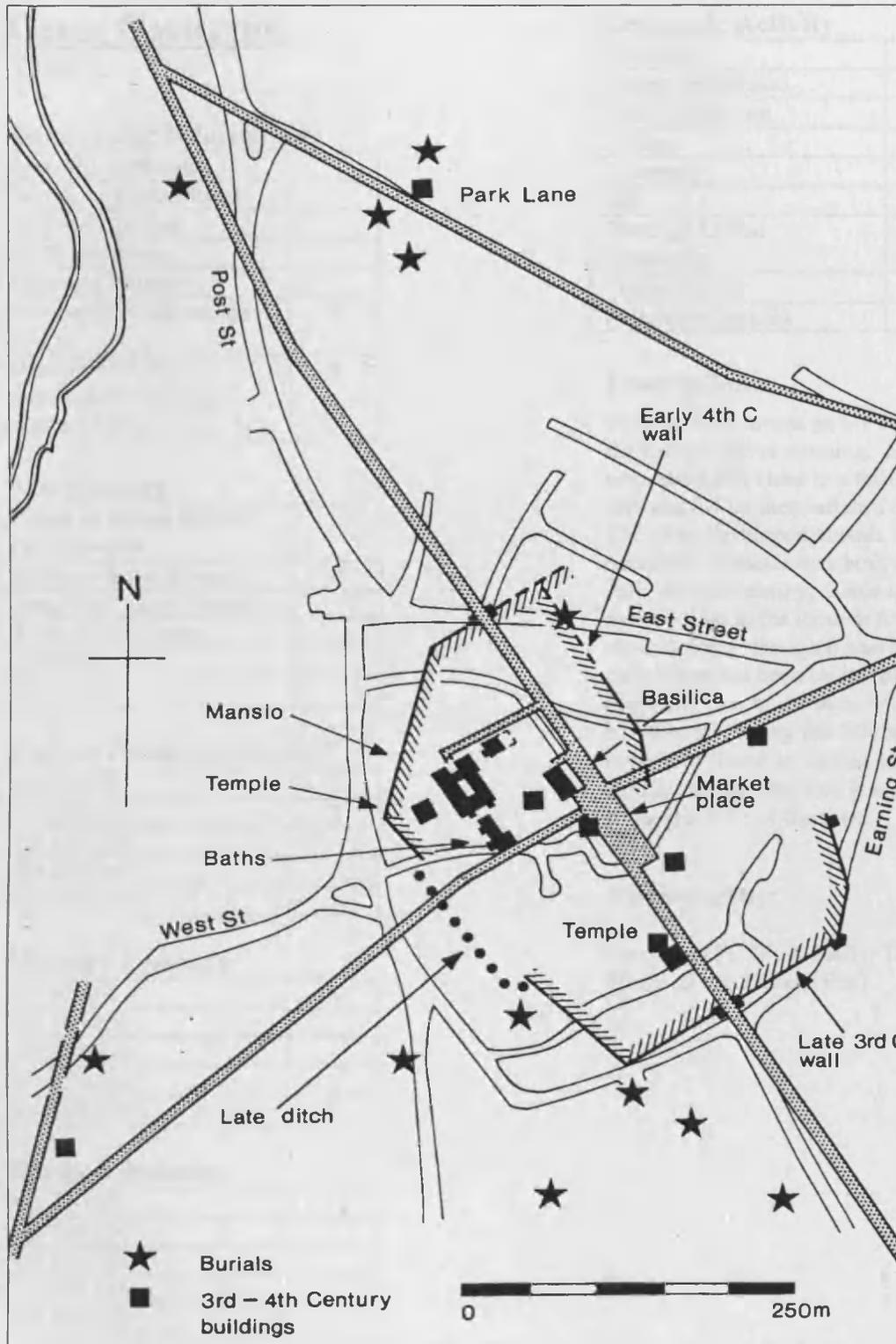
Useful Summaries

Britannia 1 (1970); 2 (1971); 3 (1972); 4 (1973); 5 (1974); 6 (1975); 7 (1976); 8 (1977); 10 (1979); 12 (1981); 13 (1982); 22 (1991); 24 (1993); 30 (1999); 31 (2000)

JRS 47 (1957); 48 (1958); 49 (1959); 52 (1962); 54 (1964); 55 (1965); 57 (1967); 59 (1969)



Godmanchester, 1st-2nd century (Burnham and Wachter 1990, 123)



Godmanchester, 3-4th centuries (Bunham and Wachter 1990, 124)

Great Casterton

TF0009

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	
On Major Roman Road	
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	9
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	5

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

***Cursus Publicus* Station**

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	X
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	X
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	X
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	

Description:

Great Casterton was on the River Gwash north of the Ermine Street crossing. Likely the town originated as a *vicus* to a military base. The first fort was 2.4 ha then reduced to 2.1 ha in AD 70. The *vicus* developed outside the southwest defenses. A *masio* was built in the late first or early second century. Little is known of the street network due to the modern town. There was a stone defense, though it was heavily robbed. A bath house has been found that probably was originally part of the *mansio* as it is the only stone building pre-dating the defense. Two pottery kilns have been found as well as some iron working debris, though little else is known about the economic base of the town.

Bibliography:

Corder (1951, 1954, 1961); Todd (1968, 1973); Whitwell and Dean (1966)

Great Chesterford

TL5043

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	X
On Major Roman Road	
At Road Junction	X
On Water Route	X
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	4
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	2

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

***Cursus Publicus* Station**

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	X
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	X
AD 350-450	X

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	X
Market Center	
Religious Complex	X

Description:

Great Chesterford was located at a strategic location on the River Cam Icknield Way and several valley routs. There is a heavy concentration of Iron Age artifacts, indicating a pre-Roman settlement. Aerial photos indicate a 14-15 ha fort, and the town was based on the forts original internal roads. The defenses have been heavily robbed. There seems to have been a steelyard and iron working industry, though agriculture appears to have been the dominant economic activity. All but two of the internal structures were constructed of timber. The town also had a Romano-Celtic temple just to the outside of the defenses.

Bibliography:

Brinson (1950, 1963); Collins (1978, 1980, 1981); Dunnett (1975); Rodwell (1972)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 10 (1979); 12 (1981); 13 (1982); 22 (1991); 23 (1992); 25 (1994); 26 (1995); 28 (1997); 29 (1998); 31 (2000); 32 (2001)

Harlow

TL470127

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	X
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	2
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	4

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	X

Description:

Harlow has had only limited excavation. The main focus of the settlement was a large Romano-Celtic temple preceded by an existing religious site. The religious precinct is located on a hill rising 6 m above the flood plain and is dated to c. AD 60-80 and had many rebuilding phases. Artifacts are of a votive nature. The town covered 12 ha., but little is known about the internal road network. It is thought to have had three main routes that focused on the site. There is evidence of bronze working and maybe iron. The main precinct was destroyed by fire in the fourth century.

Bibliography:

Bartlett (1988a, 1988b); Conlon (1973); Davison (1973); Frances and Gobel (1968, 1985); Hull (1963); Wheeler (1928)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 2 (1971); 4 (1973); 11 (1980); 12 (1981); 13 (1982); 22 (1991); 23 (1992); 24 (1993); 26 (1995); 29 (1998); 32 (2001)

JRS 53 (1963)

Heronbridge

SJ4163

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	X
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	0
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	0

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	X
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

***Cursus Publicus* Station**

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	?
Religious Complex	

Description:

Heronbridge was located where Watling Street crossed the River Dee. A water channel was deepened and a possible dock structure built. The site had a linear development which began late in the Flavian period. Most of the structures consist of strip buildings. Timber buildings began to be replaced by stone in the mid-second century. Artifacts indicate that bronze smithing was an important economic activity. Corn-drying kilns also suggest that agriculture was important. The proximity of the River Dee and Watling Street suggest that the site may have had a marketing role for Holt pottery.

Bibliography:

Hartley (1952); Hartley and Kaine (1954); Petch (19220; Thompson (1965)

Useful Useful Summaries

Britannia 29 (1998)

Hilbaldstow

SE9603

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	
On Major Roman Road	
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	4
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	5

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	X
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

***Cursus Publicus* Station**

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	X
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	

Description:

The settlement bisects Ermine Street 30 km north of Lincoln where it crosses a stream. The settlement is 800 m long and there was a possible early fort based on some mid-first century finds, though it has yet to be found. Little is known of the early settlement, though it is clear that the stream was dammed to make a pond. Three villas are known to the east and north east indicated that there was possibly a large land owner nearby. Some measure of ownership or authority is indicated by the regulation of the building plots. Most of the buildings were strip buildings with the earliest dating from the late second century. There was constant rebuilding until the fourth century. Most were shops/workshops. One corn drying oven was found, but there is no other evidence of metallurgy.

Bibliography:

Dudley (1949); Loughlin and Miller (1979); Phillips (1934); Rudkin (1933); Smith (1976, 1977, 1978, 1980, 1987)

Useful Useful Summaries

Britannia 7 (1976); 8 (1977); 9 (1979)

Holditch

SJ840484

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	0
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	0

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

***Cursus Publicus* Station**

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	X
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	

Description:

Holditch was located along the road from Chesterton to Rochester. A Flavian fort was erected at the site but the civilian settlement appears to have arisen independently of its influence. After the fort was abandoned the settlement grew quickly. Many stone and timber buildings with tiled roofs were erected. Artifacts suggest several industrial activities including lead working, iron working, and service industries. It is also possible that there was an official interest in the site as well. The settlement contracted in the third century as buildings were increasingly abandoned and left to collapse. By the fourth century there appears to be no occupation.

Bibliography:

Useful Summaries

Britannia 26 (1995)

Horncastle

TL2569

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	X
On Major Roman Road	
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	1
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	0

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	X
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	X
AD 350-450	X

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	

Description:

Horncastle is on a gravel terrace off the River Bain. It was not connected to the major road networks. There was an extensive Iron Age settlement that continued into the Roman period. Based on pottery fragments, there may have been an early fort at the site, though there have not been any finds of military equipment. The city walls were trapezoid in shape. The foundations were 5.5 m wide. The superstructure was in excess of 3 m. The wall cannot date to earlier than the third century, but there is much debate about the date. There is a surprising lack of buildings inside the enclosure. This may indicate that the walls were actually part of a defensive circuit for refugee or military operations rather than an actual town.

Bibliography:

Hawkes (1946)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 17 (1986); 25 (1994); 29 (1998); 31 (2000)

Ilchester

ST5222

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	X
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	6
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	14

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	X
Semi-Reg. Road Network	?
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	X
Aqueduct	

***Cursus Publicus* Station**

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	X
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	X
Glass Production	X
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	

Description:

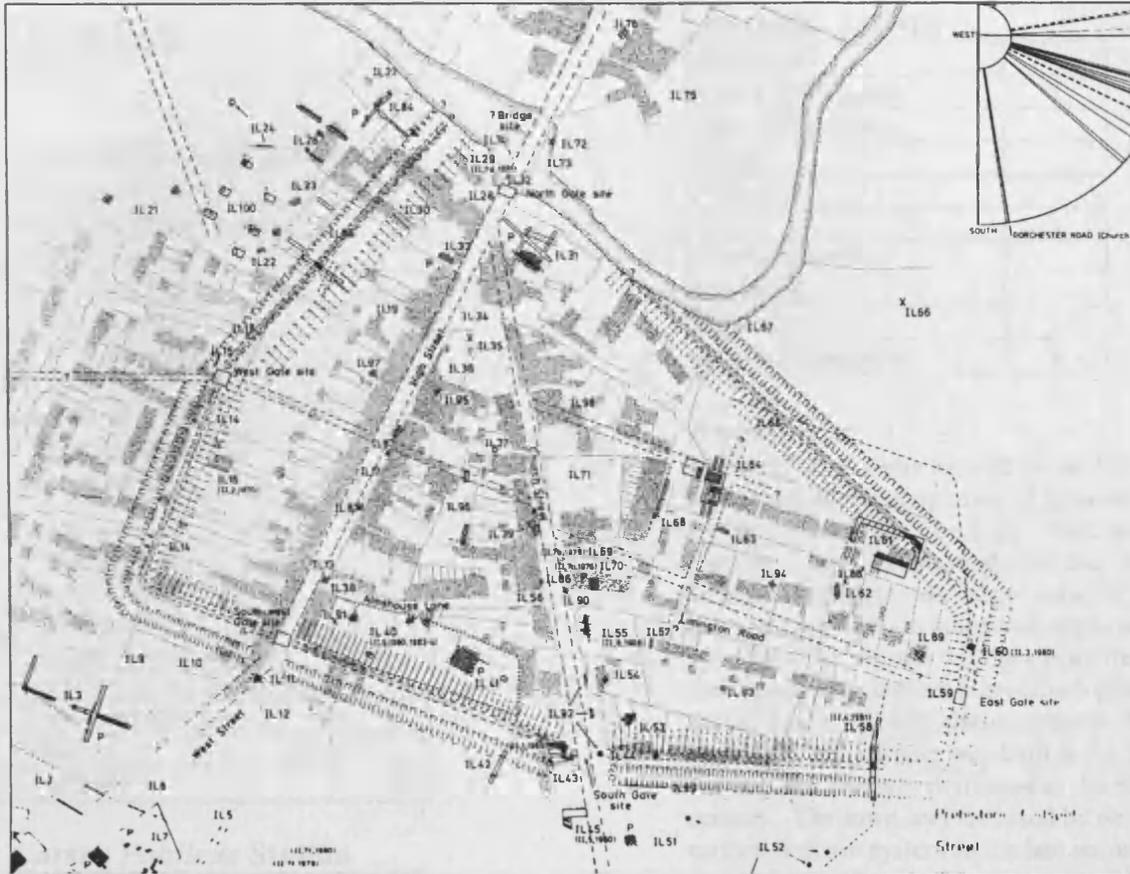
Ilchester was located on slightly raised ground above the River Yeo, where two roads meet the FosseWay. A timber palisade faced with clay rampart formed the defense. There was a 7 ha fortress dated to AD 60-70. Aerial photos indicate another possible fortress to the northeast. The early houses were circular. The street network was laid out at right angles to the Fosse Way. The military plan likely influenced the internal development. There is a small gap between military activity in the first century and the civil activity in the second. The settlement reached its maximal size of 20 ha in the fourth century. The defenses enclosed approximately 25 acres and were of Trajanic or Hadrianic date. The River Yeo may have been straightened at that time as well. There are no temples, but two possible ritual pits have been found. Within the town, thirty tessellated mosaics have been excavated. The site may have been an administrative center for a subdivision of a *civitas*.

Bibliography:

Burrow (1981, 1984); Cox (1952, 1982); Leach (1982, 1987); Leach and Ellis (1985); Stevens (1952)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 13 (1982); 14 (1983); 15 (1984); 19 (1988); 20 (1989); 22 (1991); 23 (1992); 24 (1993); 24 (1993); 26 (1995); 27 (1996); 29 (1998)



Ilchester (Leach 1994, 16)

Irchester

SP9166

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	X
On Major Roman Road	
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	X
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	4
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	10

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	?
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	X
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	X
AD 350-450	X

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	
Pottery Production	X
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	X

Description:

Roman Irchester was located on the River Nene underlying the modern town of Irchester. The site was occupied in the Iron Age. There were a few possible minor Roman roads that may have connected Irchester to a larger network, but the main avenue of communication appears to have been the river. Across the river from the settlement were pottery kilns which give the only major indicator for economic activity. A square Romano-Celtic temple was built in the late first century but then was destroyed in the early second century. The town was enclosed by an irregular earthen defense system in the late second century. One building shows some pretension based on ornate architectural fragments. An inscription (*RIB* 233) indicates that a *Strator Consularis* was buried at the site and may indicate that the large building was in fact a *mansio*.

Bibliography:

Agaches (1978); Hall and Nickerson (1967, 1968); Johnson (1969); Kennet (1969); Kenyon (1948); Knight (1967, 1968); Lewis (1966); Neal (1987); Selkirk (1972); Windell (1984); Woods (1974); Woods and Hastings (1984)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 13 (1982); 16 (1985); 23 (1992); 24 (1993); 25 (1994); 27 (1996); 29 (1998)

Kelvedon (Cononium)

TL8618

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	X
Number of Villas within 10 km	4
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	6

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	X
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	?
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	X
AD 250-350	X
AD 350-450	X

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	X
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	X

Description:

Roman Kelvedon lies on the Roman road from London to Colchester near the crossing of the River Blackwater and is recorded as *Cononium* on the Antonine Itinerary. There is some slight evidence of a mid-first century military phase, largely based on a military ditch. Eddy (1995) argues that a military presence was unlikely in the town. The settlement developed along the main road and remained linear and covered about 12 ha at the most. It is possible that several minor roads may have converged here. Defensive earthworks were constructed (likely late second century) but by the early third century were backfilled and are visible from crop marks. Building density on the periphery of the settlement was low and appears to have been primarily industrial. The most common economic activity appears to have been iron and bone working. However, the industrial buildings ceased to be used in the third century and reverted back to agricultural use. There was a circular temple but also evidence of Christianity. There is no evidence for a sudden or violent end to the settlement.

Bibliography:

Eddy and Turner (1982); Rodwell (1988); Rodwell and Rodwell (1975)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 13 (1981); 14 (1982); 16 (1985); 17 (1986); 18 (1987); 28 (1997); 30 (1999); 32 (2001)

Kenchester (Magnis)

SO440428

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	X
On Major Roman Road	
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	3
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	0

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	X
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	X
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	X
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	X
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	X
AD 250-350	X
AD 350-450	X

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	X

Description:

Kenchester was strategically located in the valley of the River Wye and on important east-west routes towards early military forts. Nearby was an Iron Age hillfort. There are no traces of a fort found at or near the town. Flavian pottery provides evidence of the earliest civilian presence. The town was 9 ha in size. Most of the settlement is on the east-west road with an extramural ribbon development. There seems to have been a remodeling of the town center in the late second century along more regular line. The roads had drains which suggest some level of planning by the late second century. There was a wide range of buildings with "architectural pretension" in the third and fourth centuries (Burnham and Wachter 1990, 75).

Bibliography:

Baker (1966); Heys and Thomas (1959, 1963); Jack (1916); Jack and Hayter (1926); Rahtz (1977); St. Joseph (1953); Stanford (1970); Wlaters (1908); Webster (1957); Wilmott (1978, 1980); Wilmott and Rahtz (1985); Wilson (1975)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 18 (1987); 23 (1992); 27 (1996)

Kingscote

ST80659608

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	
On Major Roman Road	
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	7
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	7

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	X
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	

Description:

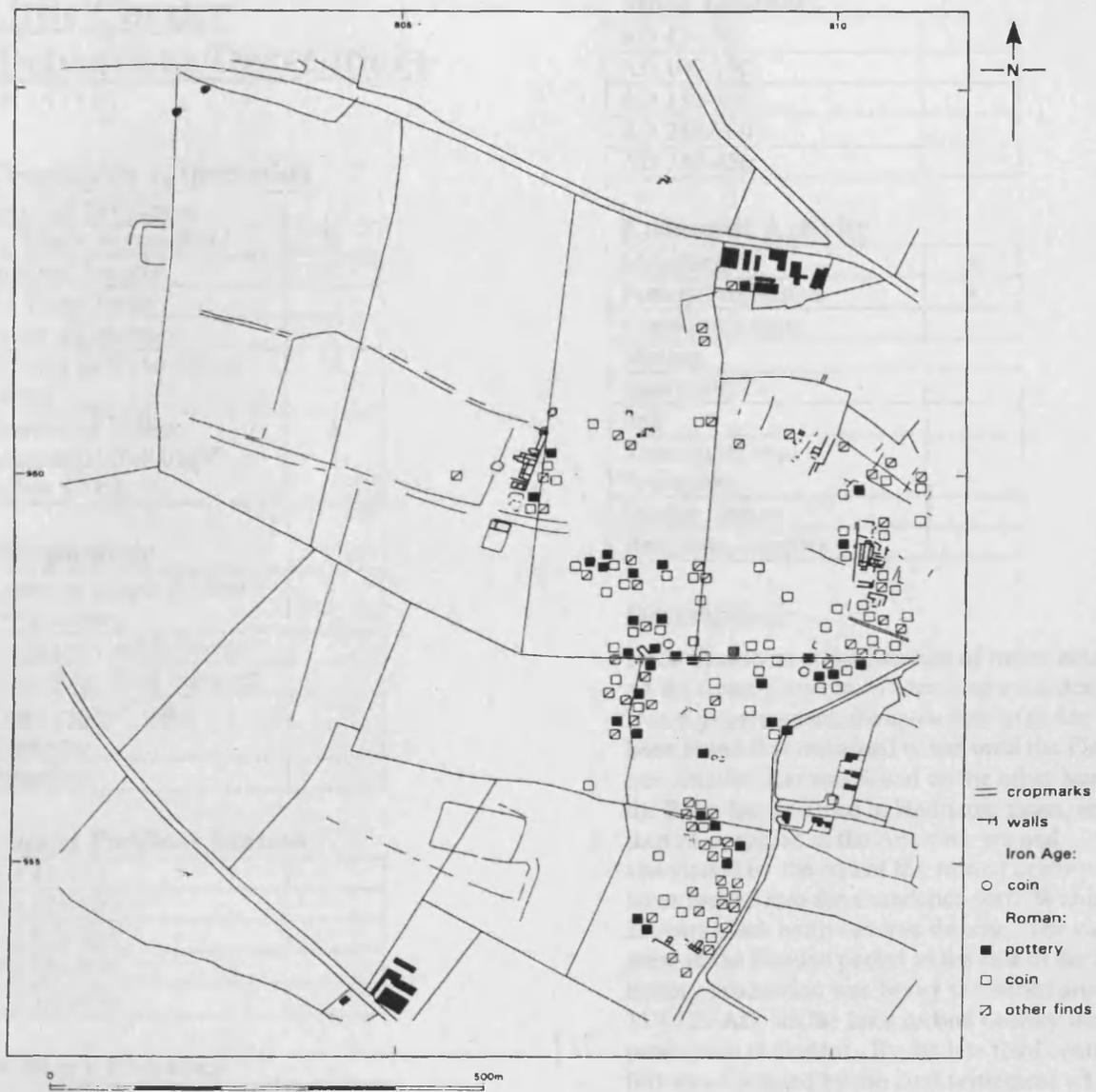
Kingscote was located approximately 1km southwest of the modern village and 18km west southwest of Cirencester. It was located on arable land on a flat plateau. A small number of Iron Age artifacts have been recovered, though this is not necessarily indicative of a Iron Age occupation. There were no earthworks nor any round houses found on site. It was not located on any known major Roman road, though Aerial photography indicates that a possible small Roman road may have connected Kingscote with the known Roman road between Gloucester and Sea Mills. There were significant excavations in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but until recently there were no modern scientific excavations. Work since the 1970s revealed up to 75 buildings including one full intact hypocaust, though only summaries have been published. The earliest occupation appears to be from the later first century AD. The origins of the town are a mystery with no pre-Roman occupation, no military phase (though a few military objects have been found, they are insufficient), and not being on a road. The economy may have been based on jewelry and furniture manufacture. Timby (1998, 293) suggests that perhaps the settlement had been a local center for the district, perhaps for collecting taxes.

Bibliography:

Swain *et al.* (1981); Timby (1998)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 11 (1980); 13 (1982); 26 (1995); 27 (1996)



Kingscote (Timby 1998, 279)

Little Chester **(Debentione/Derventio?)**

SK353375

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	X
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	0
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	1

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	X
AD 100-150	X
AD 150-250	X
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	X

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	X
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	

Description:

Little Chester is at the junction of major roads and on the River Derwent. There is no evidence for an Iron Age settlement, though a Neronian fort has been found that remained in use until the Flavian era. Another fort was found on the other bank of the River but declined in Hadrianic times, and was then re-occupied in the Antonine era and abandoned by the end of the second century. A *vicus* moved into the abandoned fort. Within 25 years black earth covered the site. The *vicus* grew in the Flavian period to the east of the fort. Pottery production was heavy but ended around 110-120 AD. In the later second century iron production is evident. By the late third century the fort was occupied by the civil settlement which continued into the fourth century.

Bibliography:

Brassington (1967, 1969); Cockerton (1959); Dool (1972); Dool and Wheeler *et al.* (1986); Forrest (1967); Thompson (1965); Todd (1967); Webster (1961)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 1 (1970); 4 (1973); 19 (1988); 20 (1989); 21 (1990)

Mancetter (*Manduessedo*)

SP3296

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	
On Major Roman Road	
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	X
Listed on Itinerary	X
Number of Villas within 10 km	0
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	1

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

***Cursus Publicus* Station**

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	X
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	X
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	X
AD 350-450	X

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	
Pottery Production	X
Glass Production	X
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	

Description:

Mancetter lies southeast of the River Anker on Watling Street. It is associated with *Manduessedo* of the Antonine Itinerary. There is a Claudian military presence with a vexillation fortress of a pre-Flavian date. The town thus likely had a *vicus* origin. Pottery production is found in the early second century with at least 12 potters known. The works of these potters are found over the entire portion of northern Britain. The site is near a clay deposit, making potter production important. The site is also near the sources of three of the largest river systems of Britain (Wash, Severn, Humber). The buildings were simple timber and were likely workshops. A glass furnace was also found. In the late second and early third century the timber buildings were intentionally destroyed for the construction of a town wall.

Bibliography:

Fulford (1977); Harley (1971, 1973a); Mahany (1971); O'Neil (1931); Oswald and Gathercole (1958); Vose (1980); Webster (1971, 1978)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 3 (1974); 9 (1978); 16 (1985); 20 (1989); 22 (1991); 25 (1984); 27 (1996); 28 (1997); 29 (1998); 31 (2000); 32 (2001)

Middlewich (*Salinae*)

SJ7066

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	
On Major Roman Road	
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	0
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	0

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	X
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

***Cursus Publicus* Station**

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	X
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	X
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	

Description:

Middlewich was located near several brine pits which attracted settlement as early as the Flavian era. Despite salt production, there was no distinctive military, though samian ware suggests a military presence. The morphology of Middlewich is only known from occupation debris which indicates a typical ribbon development. There were two main roads but are known only in spots. The buildings likely stood along frontages. The intensity of industrial usage declined with distance from the roads. There are few complete building plans, but all the structures were timber framed, a few with indications of sophisticated buildings. Salt production, regulated by the empire, was most important, though there were also first and second century pottery kilns and iron working furnaces. The strip buildings combined cosmetic and workshop uses. A large quantity of animal bones has also been found. The settlement contracted in the third century

Bibliography:

Bestwick (1972, 1974, 1975a, 1975b); Bestwick and Cleland (1974); Petch 1987); Thompson (1965)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 1 (1970); 2 (1971); 3 (1972); 4 (1974); 6 (1975); 7 (1976)

JRS 57 (1967); 59 (1969)

Mildenhall (*Cunetio*)

SU2169

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	X
On Water Route	X
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	5
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	6

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	X
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

***Cursus Publicus* Station**

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	?
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	?
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	X
AD 350-450	X

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	

Description:

Mildenhall is located where two Roman roads meet near the River Kennet and is identified as *Cunetio* of the Antonine Itinerary. Samian ware indicates that the site was occupied in the first or early second century possibly by the military. Most of what is known about the settlement is derived from excavation on the defenses. Earthen defenses were erected at an unknown date and enclosed 8 ha. By the late third century a stone wall with several bastions was added.

Bibliography:

Annable (1960, 1966, 1980); Besley and Bland (1983); Corney (1997); Grinsell (1957); Thomas (1956)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 11 (1980); 12 (1981); 13 (1982); 25 (1994); 27 (1996); 28 (1997); 29 (1998); 31 (2000)

Neatham

SU742412

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	X
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	4
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	7

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	X
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	X
AD 350-450	?

Military Presence

AD 43-100	X
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	X
AD 350-450	X

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	X
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	X
Religious Complex	

Description:

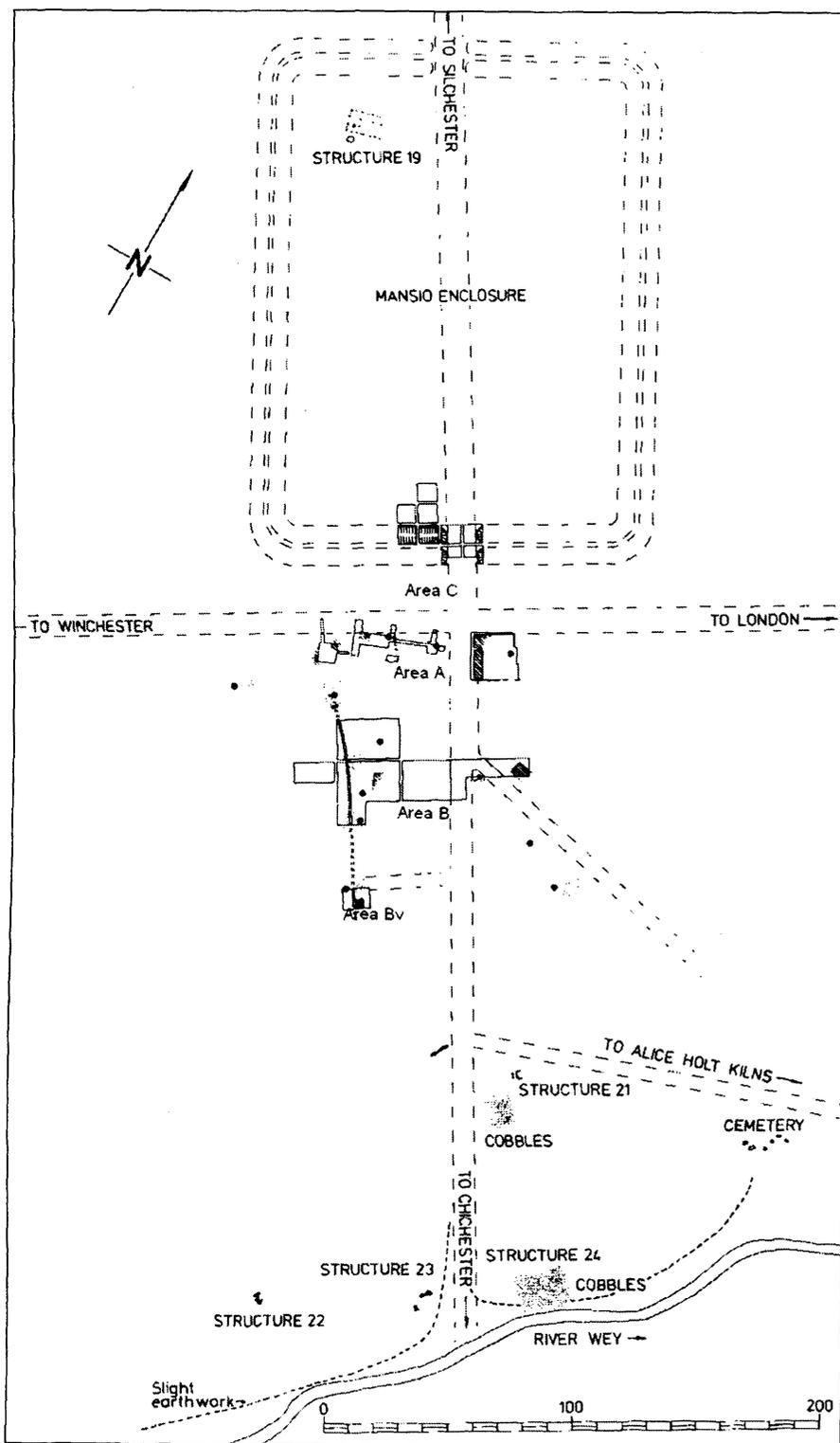
Neatham is located on the River Wey near the road junction of the Silchester-Chichester Road and the London-Winchester road. The Ilchester-Chichester road makes the principal axis of the settlement. Roads form the framework for the typical pattern of shallow ribbon development. The earliest occupations dates to AD 70-90 with significant re-planning in the second century. The third and fourth century showed expansion to the south side of the river. The buildings were multifunctional. All but two internal buildings were timber. A small bath house built in the third century is one of the few elements of a Romanized character. Agriculture was important but other industries were known as well including iron, copper, pewter and bronze working. There is some bone working debris as well. Pottery production seems to have been present as well. The site may also have been a marketing and distribution center. The earthen defense date to the late second century

Bibliography:

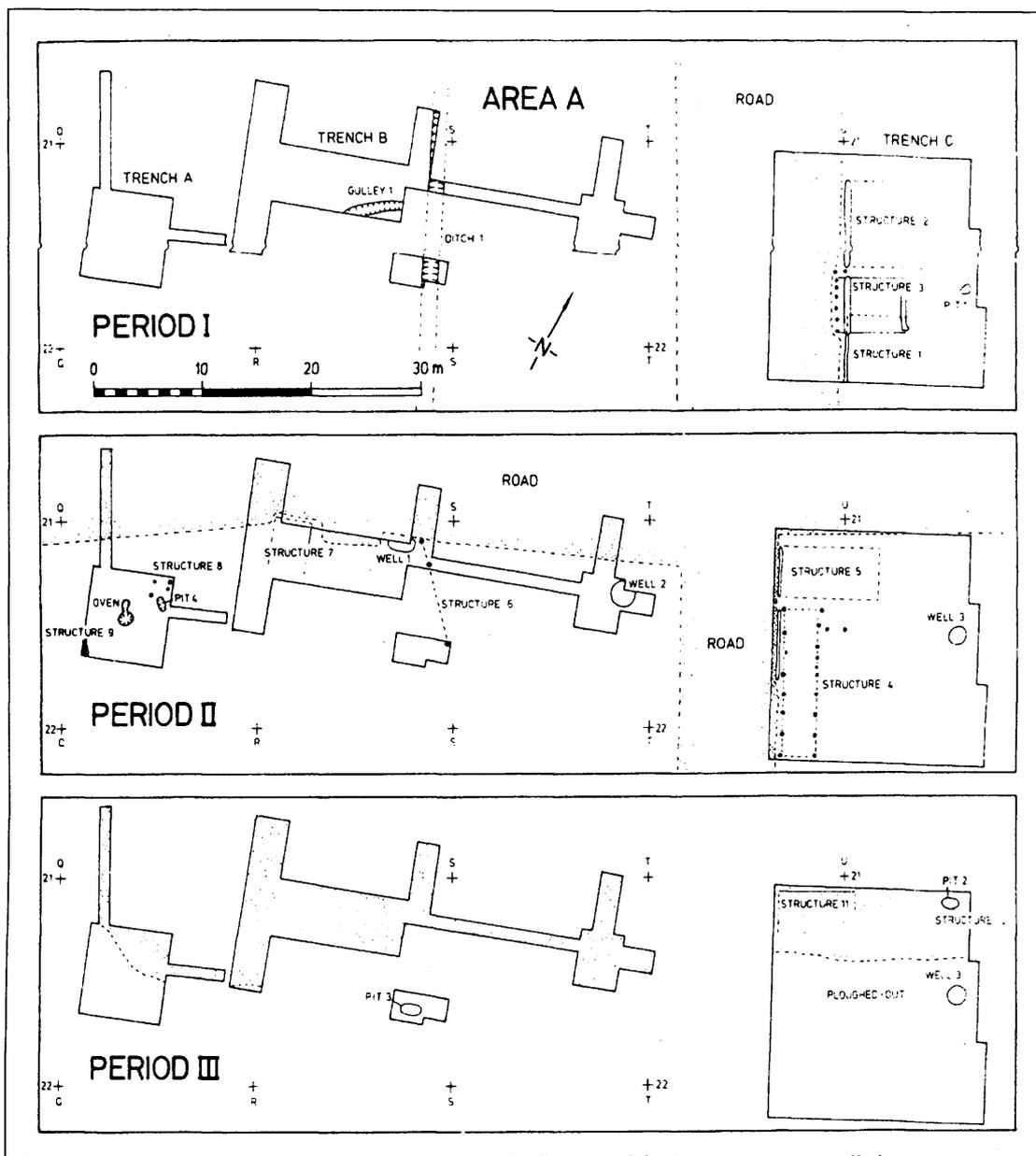
Millett (1975); Millett and Graham (1986)

Useful Summaries

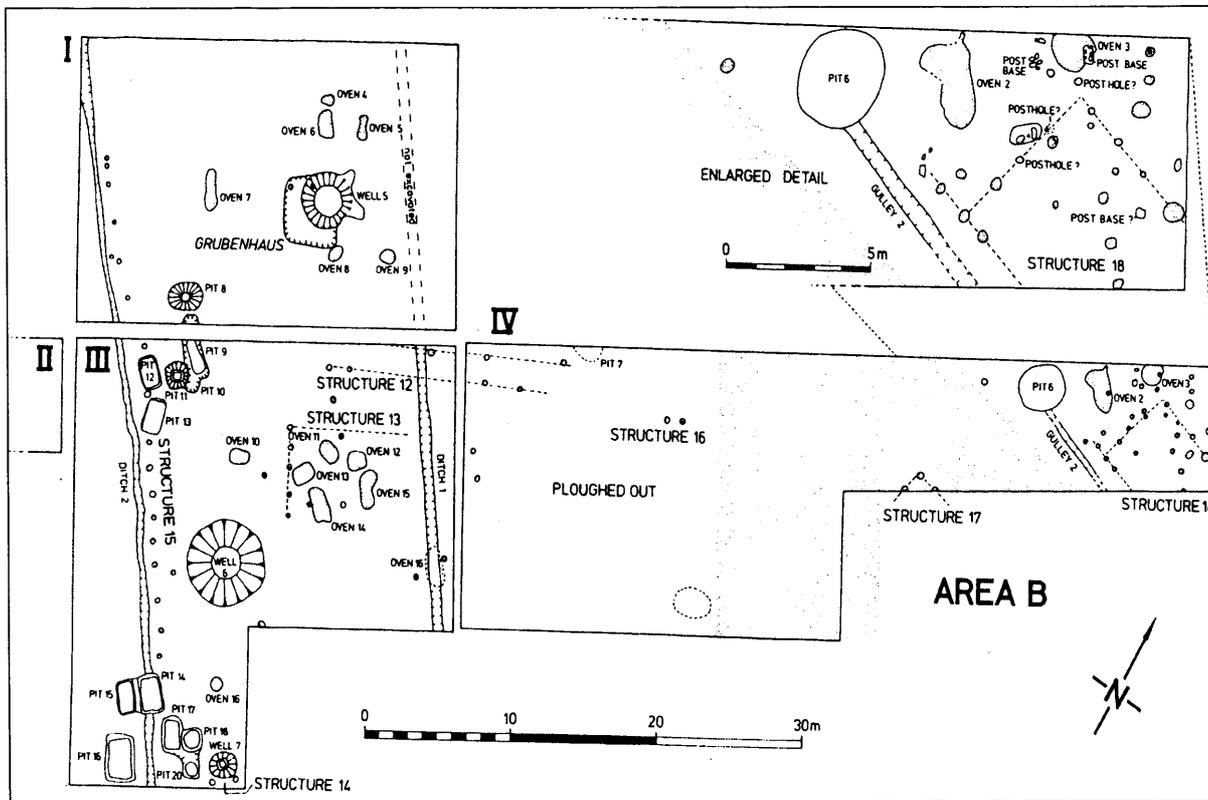
Britannia 11 (1980); 12 (1981); 17 (1986); 22 (1991)



Neatham (Millett and Graham 1986, 14)



Neatham, Area A sequence (Millett and Graham 1986, 15)



Neatham, Area B sequence (Millett and Graham 1986, 26)

Nettleton

ST8276

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	X
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	X
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	9
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	7

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	X
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	X
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

***Cursus Publicus* Station**

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	?
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Economic Activity

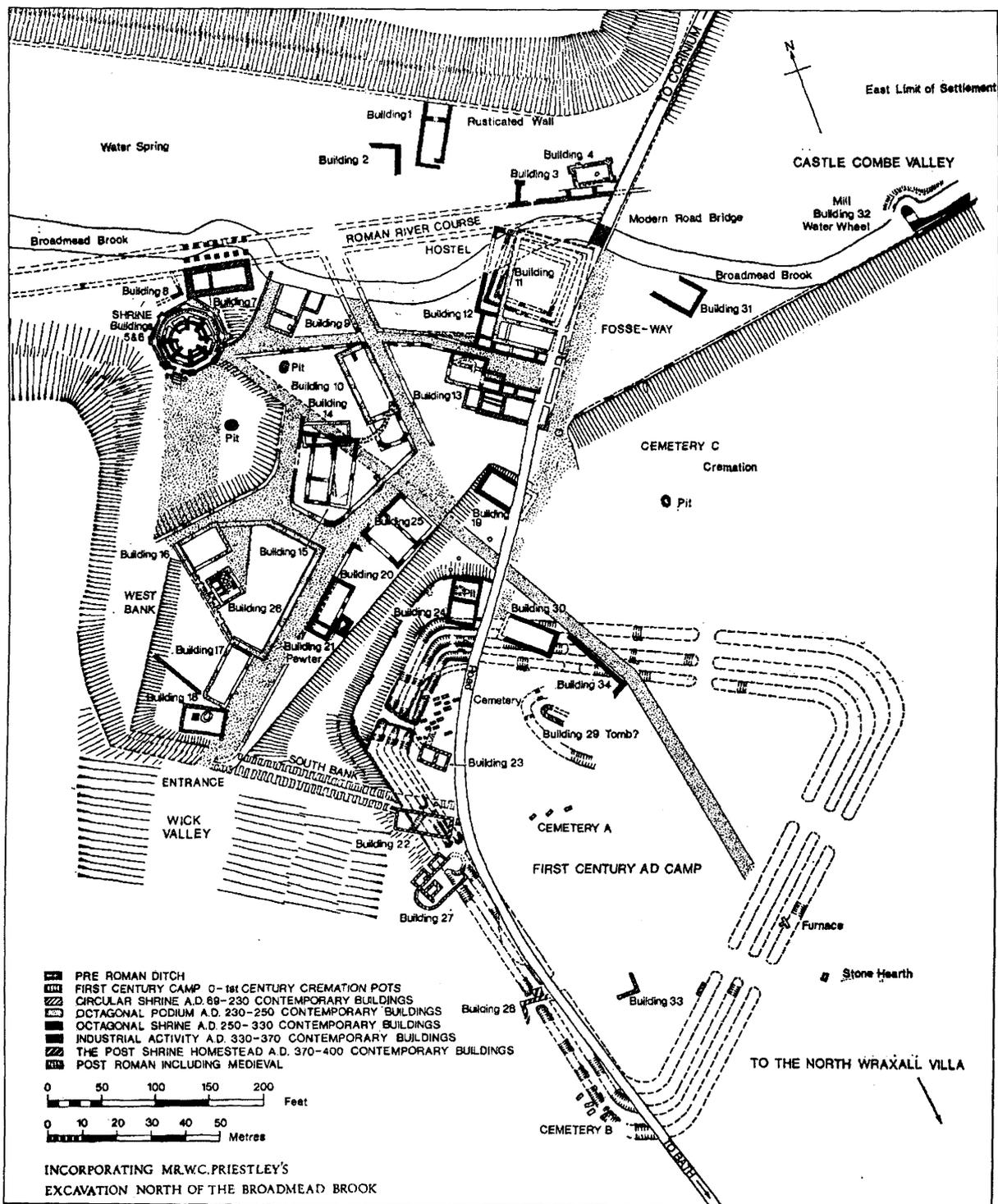
Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	X

Description:

Nettleton lies on the Fosse 17 km northeast of Bath. A ditch and pottery finds indicate an Iron Age settlement before the Roman occupation. The earliest Roman occupation is likely tied to the construction of the Fosse Way. Three ditches around an early enclosure are likely Claudian or Trajanic date and possibly a work camp for the road. There is a possible timber framed building in the enclosure. A shrine or temple dedicated to Apollo *Cunomaglos* is at the site and might have been an Iron Age god conjoined with the classical God and dates to the first century. A fragmentary temple to Diana may have also been found. The topography of the settlement made fortification almost impossible. A fourth century building was adopted or built for industrial purposes that included pewter table ware production, stone mold fragments, bronze and iron working, and a watermill was found down stream. The settlement was active into the fifth or sixth century though there may have been raids that disrupted the settlement c. AD 320.

Bibliography:

Grinsell (1957); Wedlake (1982)



Nettleton (Wedlake 1982, 3)

Richborough (Rutupia)

TR325602

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	X
Listed on Itinerary	X
Number of Villas within 10 km	1
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	2

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	X
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	X
AD 100-150	X
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	X
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	X
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	X
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	X
AD 350-450	X

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	X

Description:

Richborough is on high ground overlooking the River Stour and was the major port city for entry into the Province starting with the invasion of AD 43. Earth defenses were consequently erected early, and the internal morphology reflected a high degree of organization including a street grid. After the conquest a number buildings that acted as service centers, shops, and workshops were constructed. A stone *mansio* was also constructed as were temples and an amphitheater just to the south of the settlement. The buildings were generally rebuilt in stone starting in the early second century, but a period of contraction and decline occurred when Dover became important in cross-channel trade. A massive stone circuit was constructed c. AD 280 and became an important part of the shore line defenses.

Bibliography:

Bushe-Fox (1926, 1928, 1932, 1949); Cunliffe (1968); Johnson (1970)

Rochester (*Durobrivae*)

TQ7468

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	X
On Major Roman Road	
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	X
Number of Villas within 10 km	5
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	6

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	X
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	X

***Cursus Publicus* Station**

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	?
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	X
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	X
AD 250-350	X
AD 350-450	X

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	
Pottery Production	X
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	X
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	

Description:

Rochester was possibly the center of the four Kentish kingdoms mentioned by Caesar. The Antonine Itinerary identifies it as *Durobrivae* and the Ravenna Cosmography lists it as *Durobrabis*. It is located on the River Medway where the Romans built a bridge. A large Iron Age *oppidum* preceded the Roman occupation but it is not clear if there was a military occupation. Late second century defenses enclosed 9.5 ha., originally of turfwork but was replaced by stone in the third century. The streets are irregular but well constructed. There are a large number of villas around the town. The town may have also been a major center of salt production and thus under heavy imperial influence.

Bibliography:

Chaplin (1963); Ellison (1962); Flight and Harrison (1979, 1984, 1987); Fulford (1984); Harrison (1971, 1973, 1982, 1986); Harrison and Williams (1980, 1987); Nightengale (1952); Payne (1895); Rivet and Smith (1979); Wachter (1961, 1969); Wheeler *et al.* (1932)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 14 (1983); 18 (1987); 22 (1991); 26 (1995); 27 (1996); 30 (1999); 31 (2000)

JRS 42 (1952); 53 (1963)

Sapperton

TF0132

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	
On Major Roman Road	
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	1
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	1

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

***Cursus Publicus* Station**

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	X
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	X

Description:

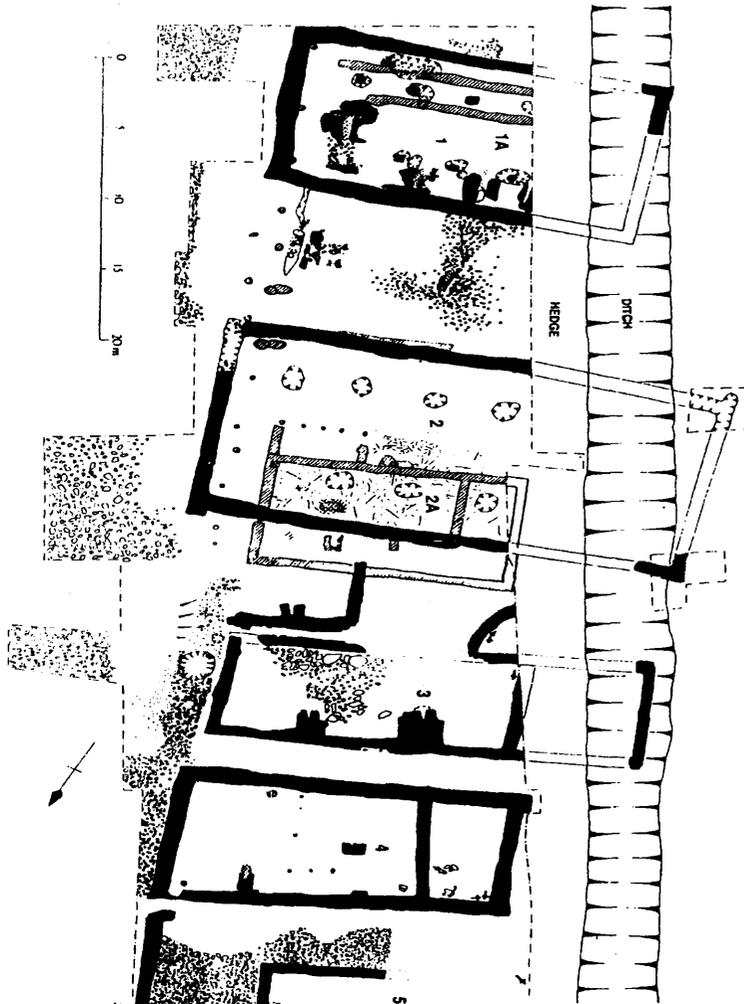
Sapperton was located on the main road that runs north from Bourne to join Ermine Street. The debris scatter covers 4 ha. To the east of the center of the settlement a villa with mosaics was discovered. The buildings of the settlement were typical strip buildings. There was a large quarrying operation for gravel, but there is no accurate date. It was generally believed that they are from the first century as they were filled with material debris from that date. There was a significant amount of Iron Age artifacts, but no buildings have yet been found. The shift to masonry occurred in Hadrianic times. There was also a possible shrine or temple that was found in the north east corner of the settlement. Another alter was found to the east. The relationship of the two to the nearby villas is unclear. It is possible that the settlement was a *vicus* to a large estate.

Bibliography:

Oetgen (1986, 1987); Simmon (1985)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 7 (1976); 8 (1977); 9 (1978); 10 (1979); 12 (1981); 13 (1982); 17 (1986); 18 (1987); 19 (1988); 31 (2000)



Sapperton (Simmon 1995, 160)

Sea Mills (Abonae)

ST5575

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	X
On Water Route	X
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	4
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	6

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	X
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

***Cursus Publicus* Station**

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	X
AD 100-150	X
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	

Description:

Sea Mills was located just over 19 km northwest of Bath near the mouth of the tidal River Avon where a small natural harbor was made by the confluence of the River Trym. Military artifacts indicate a possible fort, possibly shortly after invasion. Tiles stamped Legio II Aug indicate continued military presence in the second century, perhaps supervising the shipping of supplies to garrisons in Wales. The civilian settlement covered 5.2 ha. The two known streets suggest an irregular grid originating at the end of the first century. Excavated buildings include a row of three shops with stone foundations succeeding earlier timber structures.

Bibliography:

Rivet (1970)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 17 (1986); 31 (2000)

Shepton Mallet

ST6143

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	X
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	1
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	1

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	X
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

***Cursus Publicus* Station**

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	X
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	X
Religious Complex	

Description:

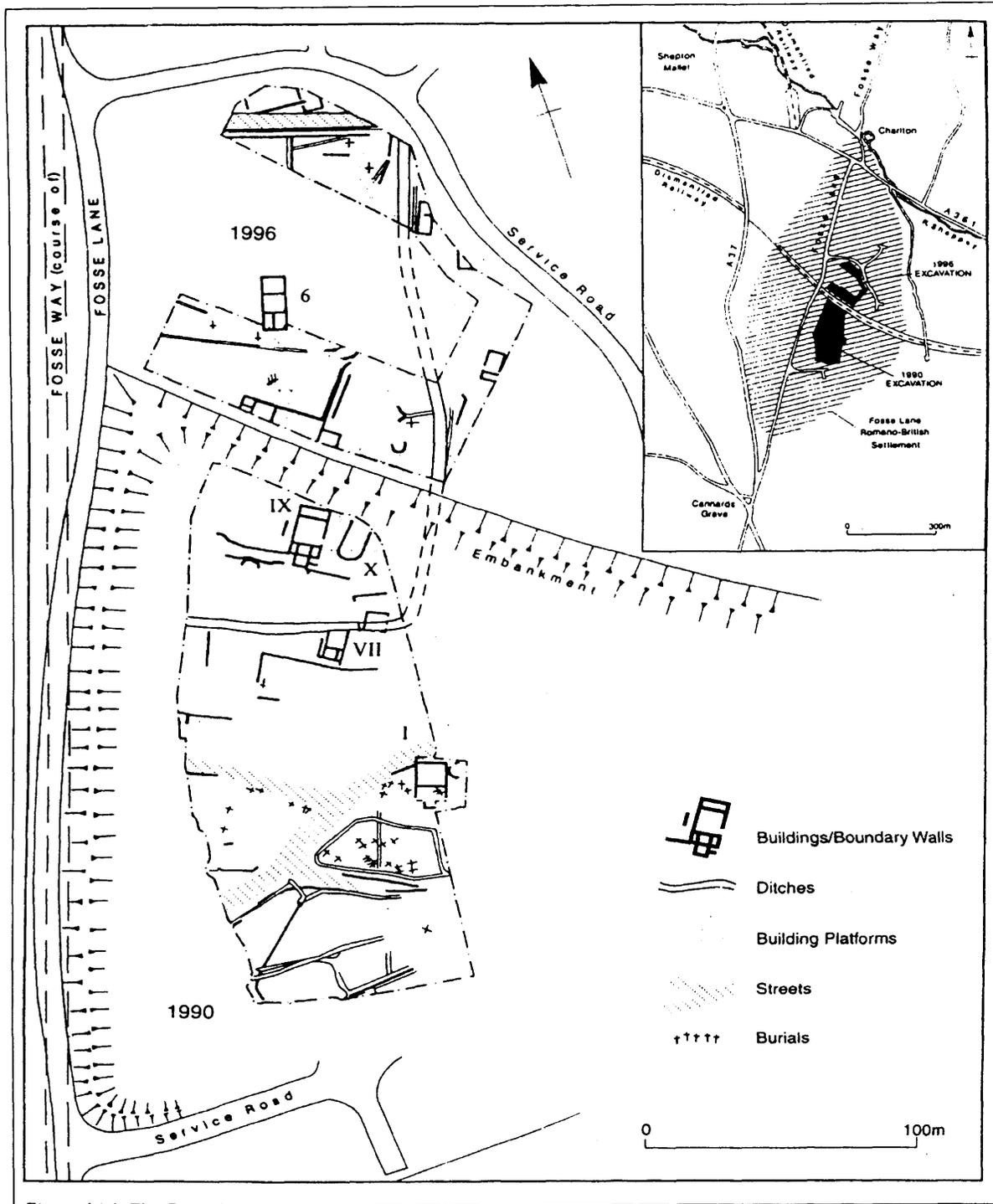
Shepton Mallet is a settlement of approximately 2 ha located on the Fosse Way on the southern flanks of the Mendip Hills. The town began modestly at the end of the first century and expanded until climaxing in the fourth century then declining into the seventh century when the site was finally abandoned. There are indications of an Iron Age site and even prehistoric use. Cobbled sides streets and drystone-walled compounds began to appear in the area before the end of the first century. The location of pottery kilns and oxidized ware indicate that pottery production was a major industry in the settlement. With its location on the Fosse Way, it is possible that the site also served as a distribution point also indicated by amphorae from Spain and the Mediterranean. Importantly, the presence of abundant coinage indicates that the site may have served a significant marketing role.

Bibliography:

Leach and Evans (2001)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 24 (1993); 26 (1995); 27 (1996); 29 (1998)



Shepton Mallet (Burnham 1995, 12)

Springhead (Vagniacis)

TQ6172

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	X
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	8
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	7

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	X

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	X
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	X

Description:

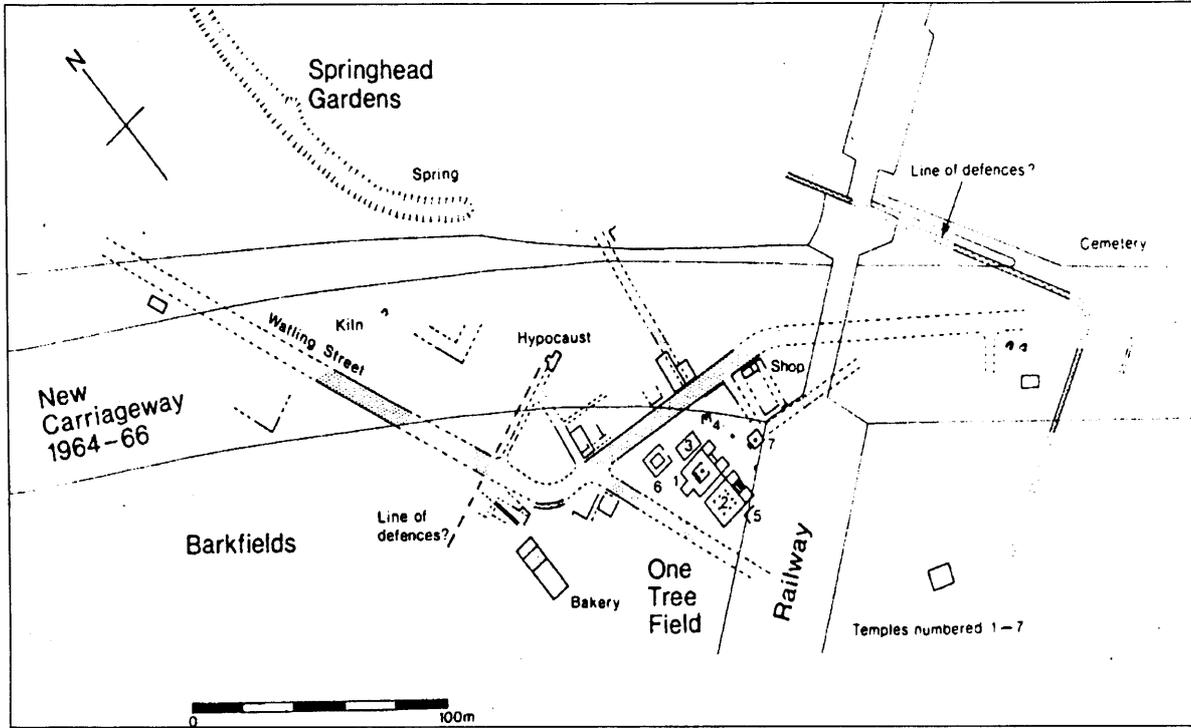
Springhead lies in a valley on Watling Street between London and Rochester. *Vagniacis* translates as "estate of/by the marshy place." Ditches and pits of votive character indicate an Iron Age religious site. A spring fed the marsh which was likely made into a navigable creek with a dock into the settlement. A ditch on the southern end of the site indicates a rectangular enclosure and may be an urban fortification. There was a possibly short lived fort on the southern end of the site though these features might actually be part of the defenses or a religious enclosure. Watling Street was the main axis. The town seems to have had significant religious character with 7 temples/shrines or other religious buildings identified. One temple had 4 burials of six month old children that had been decapitated. There is also a possible bakery dating to the early second century. The site had typical small scale industry associated with small town. The towns likely declined with the growth of Christianity.

Bibliography:

Blagg (1980); Gelling (1967); Harker (1974, 1980); Penn (1958, 1959, 1960, 1963, 1966, 1968); Wheeler and Wheeler (1932)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 13 (1982); 15 (1984); 16 (1985); 23 (1992); 30 (1999); 32 (2001)



Springhead (Burnham 1995, 11)

Staines (*Pontibus*)

TQ0371

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	X
Listed on Itinerary	X
Number of Villas within 10 km	1
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	3

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	X
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

***Cursus Publicus* Station**

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	

Description:

Staines is usually considered to be *Pontibus* of the Antonine Itinerary. The focus of the settlement is near the confluence of the Rivers Thames and Colne along the London-Silchester Road. The settlement was on a gravel island surrounded by flowing water or marshland. There is no indication as yet of a Iron Age site or a Roman military presence despite its generally strategic location. The settlement arose during the early Flavian or late Neronian period based on pottery found at the site. The growth of the settlement was based on a typical ribbon style development. During the late second century or early third century several buildings were destroyed, and there were intense periods of flooding followed by a period where the settlement was abandoned or contracted significantly. In the late third and early fourth century the settlement had a different character. The buildings of this later period show little signs of *Romanitas* unlike the earlier period that had *opus signium* and tesserae fragments.

Bibliography:

Crouch (1978); Crouch and Shanks (1984); Elmsleigh and Crouch (1976); Jones (1982); Rendell (1970)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 7 (1976); 8 (1977); 9 (1978); 11 (1980); 13 (1982); 15 (1984); 18 (1987); 21 (1990); 23 (1992); 28 (1997); 29 (1998); 32 (2001)

Thistleton

SK9017

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	X
On Major Roman Road	
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	6
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	5

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	X

Description:

Roman Thistleton was located in Leicestershire where the small roads between Stauton and Dent Villa meet the road from Great Casterton. The site was near the border between *civitas* capitals and may have had a marketing roll. Coins, pottery, and other artifacts indicate that the site had an Iron Age predecessor. Most of the published excavations focus on the religious complex that appears to date from before the conquest. A circular building, interpreted as a temple, was found in the 1960s and was replaced by a rectilinear stone building with decorative Roman features by the mid-third century. It fell into disrepair sometime in the early fourth century when it became used as a domestic residence.

Bibliography:

Lewis (1966); Liddle (1995); Jackson and Tylecote (1988)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 31 (2000)

JRS 52 (1962)

Thorpe (*Ad Pontem*)

TL0079

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	X
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	X
Number of Villas within 10 km	4
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	1

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	?

Military Presence

AD 43-100	X
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	X
AD 350-450	X

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	X
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	

Description:

Thorpe is located on the Fosse Way a short distance south of Newark and is associated with *Ad Pontem* of the Antonine Itinerary. The name implies the crossing of the River Trent. There were two phases of pre-Roman occupation. The Roman occupation began with a Claudian/Neronian fort. There are no signs of a contemporary *vicus*. The fort was abandoned by the Flavian period. Ariel photographs indicate several gravel pits. Timber buildings lined the Fosse starting in the early second century and were gradually replaced by masonry. By the late third and early fourth century a new defensive line developed. The wall was made of masonry with the foundations 2.5 m thick and no visible rampart. It is possible that one building from this time was also a *mutatio*.

Bibliography:

Green (1955, 1960); Inskeep (1966); St. Josephy (1953); Oswald (1939)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 13 (1982); 14 (1983); 15 (1984); 17 (1986); 19 (1988); 20 (1989); 24 (1993); 31 (2000)

JRS 54 (1964); 56 (1966)

Tiddington

SP2155

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	X
On Major Roman Road	
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	0
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	0

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	X
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	X
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	

Description:

The town developed on a trackway running northeast/southwest along the south bank of River Avon. There are some indications of an Iron Age settlement on the site. There was a short lived Roman military occupation 3 km to the southwest of where the town ultimately developed. The civilian settlement was by-passed by the main roads, but there was an internal street network. In the third century there was a significant rebuilding of the site. Industrial activity at the site included corn drying, iron smithing, bronze working, as well as small scale bone and antler working. The late first and early second century pottery kilns have also been found that produced coarse ware jugs. The small scale specialization was mainly along an agricultural emphasis. By the sixth century the settlement had moved down stream.

Bibliography:

Aspinall *et al.* (1979); Fieldhouse, May, and Wells (1931); Mather (1980); Palmer (1980, 1981, 1983); Slater and Wilson (1977); Webster (1974)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 14 (1983); 15 (1984); 20 (1989); 23 (1992); 28 (1997); 29 (1998); 30 (1999); 31 (2000); 32 (2001)

Towcester (*Lactodurum*)

SP6948

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	X
Number of Villas within 10 km	4
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	3

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	X

***Cursus Publicus* Station**

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	X

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	X

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	X
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	

Description:

Towcester was located where Watling Street crosses the River Tove. There were several minor roads that joined the major roads and it is possible that more minor roads are yet to be discovered. Towcester was possibly the *Laciodulma* of the Ravenna list. Most of the Roman site is covered by the modern town, and thus excavations have been sporadic and opportunistic. The suburbs extended a considerable distance. Some limited military finds also indicate a possible early fort on the site from which the town may have arisen as a *vicus*. The town also had a sophisticated aqueduct. A number of villas surrounded the site, and many of the buildings within the settlement appear to have been masonry. While the religious aspect of the site is not clearly understood, there have been discoveries of copper objects possibly of religious significance. The smelting of lead and pewter as well as typical smithing added to the significant agricultural basis of the settlement.

Bibliography:

Brown *et al.* (1983); Brown and Alexander (1982); Green (1975); Lambrick, *et al.* (1980); RCHM (1982); Turland (1977); Woodfield (1978)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 16 (1985); 17 (1986); 22 (1990); 23 (1992); 25 (1994); 27 (1996); 28 (1997); 29 (1998); 30 (1999); 31 (2000)

Wall (Etoceto/Letoceto)

SK099064

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	X
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	X
Number of Villas within 10 km	1
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	1

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	X
AD 100-150	X
AD 150-250	X
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	X
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	X

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	

Description:

Wall is on Watling Street near the junction with Ryknild Street. It is associated with *Etoceto* of the Antonine Itinerary and *Letoceto* of the Ravenna list. The town walls were still visible in the eighteenth century. A vexillation Fortress was at the site. There were several military phases with the earliest being Claudian. Because of the military location near a major crossroads, the growth of a *vicus* is not surprising. The civilian settlement dates likely to the second century and spread along Watling Street for 3 km. A bath was built to the southwest of the fort but never completed. A new bath was built later. There is a possible mansio built in Hadrianic times and a fortified roadside enclosure of probably the fourth century with a turf rampart behind. The settlement contained no buildings of substance though there was a possible Celtic shrine. Traces of copper working and iron slag give the only indications of industry.

Bibliography:

Blay (1925); Gould (1964, 1968); Lyon and Gould (1961, 1964); Oswald (1968); Round (1971a, 1971b, 1972, 1974b, 1975); Webster (1958b, 1971)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 8 (1977); 9 (1978); 10 (1979); 11 (1980)

Wanborough (Durocornovium)

SU195852

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	X
Number of Villas within 10 km	3
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	11

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	X
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	X?
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	X
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	X
AD 350-450	X

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	X
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	X

Description:

Wanborough was 20 km south of Cirencester on Ermine Street in a low lying area prone to flooding. No fort has been found, though it is possible that one may have existed on high ground. The early occupation ended approximately AD 80, suggesting if a fort existed it was evacuated around this time. After the break in occupation, a *mansio* was built and late in the second or early in the third century there was an attempt to fortify the core. The fortifications were initially earthen defenses later replaced by timber and stone. Commercial food production and agriculture seems to be part of the economic basis of that the settlement had several ovens for baking and a millstone for commercial production.

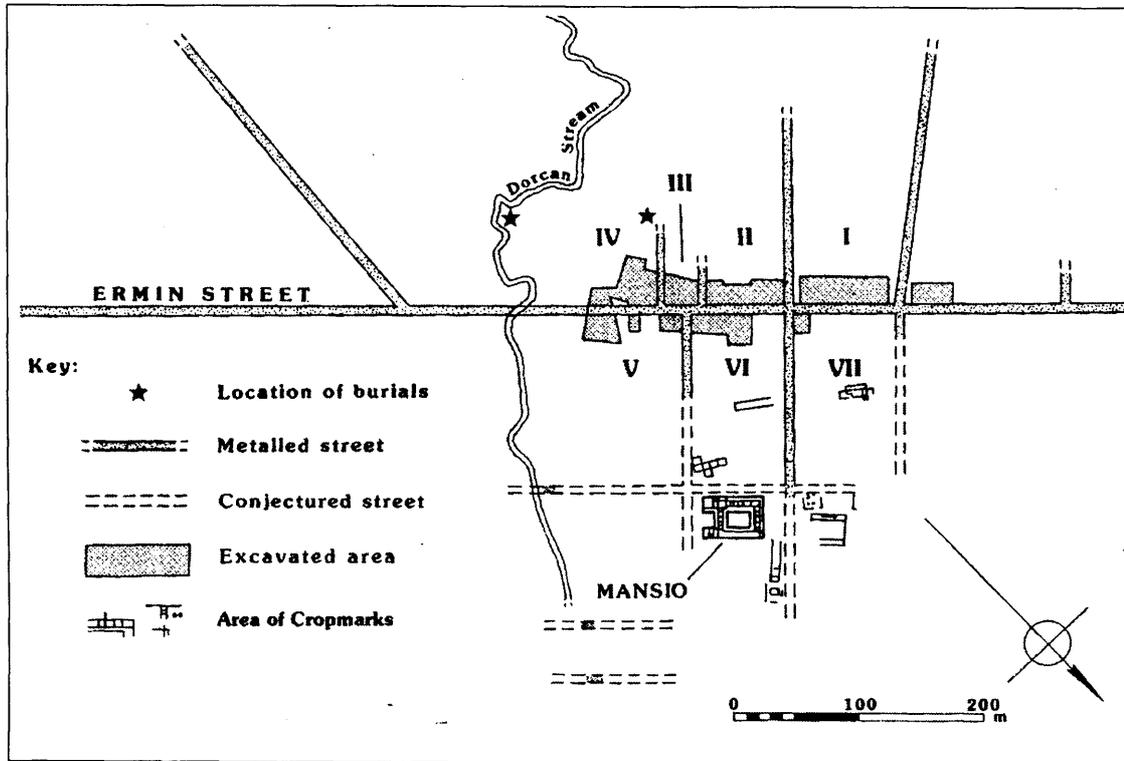
Bibliography:

Anderson and Wachter (1980); Cooke and Wachter 91970); Greenfield (1967, 1968); O'Connell and Bird (1994); Phillips and Walters (1977); Rea (1972); Swan (1975); Wachter (1970, 1971c, 1975c)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 1 (1970); 2 (1971); 8 (1977); 10(1979); 11 (1980); 16 (1985); 18 (1987); 19 (1988); 27 (1996); 29 (1998); 30 (1999); 31 (2000); 32 (2001)

JRS 57 (1967); 58 (1968); 59 (1969)



Wanborough (Anderson et al. 2001, 347)

Water Newton (*Durobrivae*)

TL116973

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	X
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	12
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	3

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	X
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	X
Zonation	X?
Aqueduct	

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	?
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	X?
AD 250-350	X
AD 350-450	X

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	X
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	X
Religious Complex	X

Description:

Water Newton is located on the River Nene on Ermine. The town probably originated as a *vicus* outside of a fort which was abandoned c. AD 100. Aerial photographs provide a clear road plan, but we do not understand its development over time due to limited excavations within the settlement. There are irregular networks of streets and lanes beyond the frontages of the main through roads. There are also possibly two planned *insulae*. A *mansio* is evident in the photographs, but its date is unknown. There is not a clear cut line between town and county. The economics seems to indicate a gold smith indicated luxury trade as well as pottery kilns that declined in the third or fourth century. There is one temple complex, likely a Romano-Celtic design. In 1975 a cache of gold coins were found along with some Christian artifacts. The defenses enclose approximately 17 ha build of a 15 m wide ditch in front of a stone wall, possibly built in one phase in the later second or early third century. Some buildings may have been destroyed to construct the buildings.

Bibliography:

Dannell (1974); Dannell and Wild (1969, 1971, 1974); Fincham (2004); Frere and St. Joseph (1974); Harley (1972); Hawkes (1939); Johns and Carson (1975); Margary (1935, 1939) Painter (1977); RCHM (1969) Wild (1976)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 1 9(1970) 21 (1971); 5 (1974); 6 (1975); 7 (1976); 24 (1983); 25 (1994); 26 (1995); 31 (1999); 32 (2001)

JRS 48 (1958); 49 (1950); 52 (1962); 53 (1963); 54 (1964); 59 (1969)



Water Newton (Mackreth 1995, 149)

Whilton Lodge (*Bannaventa*)

SP6164

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	4
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	2

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	X
AD 100-150	X
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	X
AD 250-350	X
AD 350-450	X

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	

Description:

Whilton Lodge has been identified as Bannaventa of the Antonine Itinerary. It was located on Watling Street and may have been occupied in the Iron Age but evidence is inconclusive. Aerial photographs and limited excavations indicate that the site had earthen defenses that enclosed approximately 5.5 ha. The earth defenses were probably constructed at the end of the first century. A stone wall was added in the early fourth century.

Bibliography:

Dix *et al.* (1988); St. Joseph (1971)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 3 (1972); 4 (1973)

Whitchurch (Mediolanum)

SJ5441

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	X
Number of Villas within 10 km	0
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	0

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	X
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	?
AD 150-250	X
AD 250-350	X
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	X
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	

Description:

Whitchurch is associated with *Mediolanum* of both the Antonine Itinerary and the Ravenna Cosmography. The site was located on High Street. A fort was constructed during the conquest period and abandoned in the early second century. A number of civilian timber buildings were constructed during this time, and the site appears to have originated as a *vicus*. An industrial area of timber buildings survived the departure of the fort. Substantial stone buildings were constructed in the later second and early third-centuries, indicating the potential wealth of the settlement. The site began to decline in the late fourth century.

Bibliography:

Jones and Webster (1968)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 12 (1981); 16 (1985); 18 (1987); 19 (1988); 20 (1989); 21 (1990); 22 (1991); 23 (1992); 24 (1993); 30 (1999)

Wilderspool

SJ6186

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	0
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	0

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	X
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

***Cursus Publicus* Station**

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	X
Glass Production	X
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	X

Description:

Wilderspool lies on the south bank of the River Mersy, situated on the road from Littlechester. There may have been an Agricolan fort, but that is very unclear. The civilian settlement was founded in the late first century. It became an industrial center but the question of material supply is a problem. Raw materials had to be brought in from a distance. In addition, the question of the market to sell the goods is a problem. Wilderspool pottery has been found at forts and *vici* in Lancastershire and Cheshire/Vases, and mortoria are found even farther across the province. The settlement enjoyed a period of intense activity followed by a decline c. AD 160 to the third century possibly by forwarding troops in Scotland. There is a temple/shrine and some quality residences in the settlement as well. However, masonry is rare. Iron smelting artifacts and furnaces has been found, and it is also possible that lead refining also took place. There were two glass production buildings as well as pottery and tile kilns. A stone lined tank for public water supply and a column fragment indicates that there were better buildings somewhere but as yet are undiscovered.

Bibliography:

Harley and Webster (1973); Petch (1987); Thompson (1965)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 1 (1970); 18 (1987); 23 (1992); 24 (1993); 25 (1994); 26 (1995); 19 (1998); 30 (1999)

JRS 57 (1967); 58 (1968)

Willoughby-on-the-Wolds (Vernementum)

SK5425

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	
On Major Roman Road	X
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	X
Number of Villas within 10 km	0
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	0

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	

Description:

What is known about Willoughby was discovered in advance of road construction. The town was of unknown size and was bi-sected by the Fosse Way. Artifacts indicate that iron working was important. Several Anglo-Saxon burials have been found and suggest that the sites were occupied in the sub-Roman period.

Bibliography:

Beeby (1974); May (1963, 1964, 1965, 1966); McWhirr (1969-70)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 20 (1989)

Worcester

SO8454

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	X
On Major Roman Road	
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	X
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	0
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	2

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	X

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	X
AD 250-350	X
AD 350-450	X

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	X
Pottery Production	X
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	

Description:

Worcester lies on the east bank of the River Severn on the road from Gloucester to Droitwich. No bridge has been found yet nor any certain Roman fort. The Roman origins are in doubt, but the site had an Iron Age hillfort. Little is known about the town apart from the fortifications. Two wooden pipelines have been found, and there was a residential suburb of some class. One house had decorative wall paintings. A third century iron foundry was on the site, and ore was brought in by boat. Fourth century timber buildings were built on the road that included butcher shops due to the high concentration of bones. There was also a fourth century pottery kiln.

Bibliography:

Barker (1970); Carver (1976, 1980); Gelling (1959b); Sawle (1977)

Useful Summaries

Britannia 8 (1977); 9 (1978); 12 (1981); 15 (1983); 16 (1985); 18 (1987); 21 (1990); 23 (1992); 24 (1993); 25 (1994); 26 (1995); 27 (1996); 28 (1997); 29 (1998); 30 (1999); 31 (2000); 32 (2001)

Wycomb

SP0220

Geographic Information

Iron Age Settlement	X
On Major Roman Road	
At Road Junction	
On Water Route	
Listed on Itinerary	
Number of Villas within 10 km	8
Number of "Other Substantial Buildings" within 10 km	3

Morphology

Linear or simple Ribbon Development	
Irregular Road Network	
Semi-Reg. Road Network	
Town Focus/Center	
Zonation	
Aqueduct	

Cursus Publicus Station

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Military Presence

AD 43-100	?
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Earthen Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Stone Defenses

AD 43-100	
AD 100-150	
AD 150-250	
AD 250-350	
AD 350-450	

Economic Activity

Metallurgy	
Pottery Production	
Glass Production	
Mining	
Quarrying	
Salt	
Tanning/Animal Processing	
Market Center	
Religious Complex	X

Description:

Wycomb lies in the upper reaches of the River Coln Valley east of the western scarp of the Cotswolds. Iron Age material indicates an Iron Age site, and there is some evidence for an early fort. The central feature is a temple set with a *termeno*. A 2 m wide ditch almost coincides with the line of the main street and may have been a ceremonial way.

Bibliography:

Lawrence (1863, 1864a, 1864b, 1864c); Lewis (1966); O'Neil and Saunders (1959); Rawes (1976, 1980); RCHM (1976); Timby (1998)

Participant Name: _____

DATE: _____ P:CIV

5. Are there any problems associated having private or public properties close to the river?
 - a. Do you notice any differences in the concerns of people or businesses along the river in terms of how long they've been located near the river?
 - b. What do you think is the most important river problem for your area?

6. Are you aware of people having any problems with bank erosion?
 - a. (If yes) How much of a problem do think people living along the river have in terms of erosion?
 - b. Is there anything that should be or that can be done about erosion?
 - c. Why would that be your course of action?

7. Looking ahead 10 years, what do you expect your community to be like?
 - a. Will it change?
 - i. How might the changes affect the river?
 - ii. Why is that?
 - b. As you think about the next generation, what are your primary concerns?

Participant Name: _____

DATE: _____ P:CIV

8. Some people talk about the river corridor....How is the river corridor different from the river itself?

(follow-up to explore "riparian" zone –with or without using that word)

9. Besides what you have already described, what are the various uses of the river?
 - a. How do you think the rights of all users can best be balanced?

10. What keeps you here?

11. Of everything we've talked about, what is most important to you?

Bibliography

Useful summaries of sites are found in the *Journal of Roman Studies* up to 1969 and *Britannia* 1970 to present in the section entitled "Roman Britain In . . ."

Adkins, L. and Adkins, R. 1994. *Handbook to Life in Ancient Rome*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Alcock, S. E. 1989. "Roman Imperialism in the Greek Landscape." *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 2: 5-34.

Alcock, S.E. 1997. "Greece: A Landscape of Resistance?" in D.J. Mattingly (ed.) 1997: 103-116.

Alexander, J. 1964. "Early Cambridge. An Interim Report on the Excavations at Castle Hill, Cambridge 1956-62." *Archaeological News Letter* 7, No. 10: 222-6.

Alexander, J. 1975. "The Development of Urban Communities: The Evidence from Cambridge and Great Chesterford." pp. 103-109 in Rodwell and Rowley (eds.) 1975.

Alexander, J., Trump, D., Farrar, R., and Hall, R. 1967. *Excavations in Cambridge 1964-7. A Preliminary Report on Excavations at Mount Pleasant and Arbury Road, Board of Extra-Mural Studies*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Allason-Jones, L. 2001. "Material Culture and Identity." pp. 19-25 in S. James and M. Millett (eds.) *Britons and Romans: Advancing the Archaeological Agenda*. Council for British Archaeology: London.

Anderson, A.S. and Wachter, J.S. 1980. "Excavation at Wanborough, Wiltshire: An Interim Report." *Britannia* 11: 115-26.

Anderson, A. S.; Wachter, J. S.; Fitzpatrick, Andrew P. 2001. *The Romano-British 'small town' at Wanborough, Wiltshire : Excavations, 1966-1976*. Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies: London.

Annabel, K. F. 1960. "Black Field, Mildenhall, a Romano-British Walled Township." *Wiltshire Archaeology Magazine* 57: 233-5: 397.

Annabel, K.F. 1966. "A Late First-Century Well at Cunetio." *Wiltshire Archaeology Magazine* 61: 9-24.

Annabel, K.F. 1980. "A Coffined Burial of Roman Date from Cunetio." *Wiltshire Archaeology Magazine* 72/3: 187-91.

- Anon. 1886. *Bozeman: A Guide to Its Places of Recreation and a Synopsis of Its Superior Natural Advantages, Industries and Opportunities*. Avant Courier Newspaper: Bozeman, MT.
- Aspinall, A., Aspinall, P., and Heathcote, C. 1979. "Tiddington, Stratford-upon-Avon, Warks." *West Midlands Archaeology News Sheet* 22: 45.
- Aston, M. 1984. "The Towns in Somerset." pp. 179-81 in Haslam, J. (ed.) *Anglo-Saxon Towns in South Eastern England*. Chichester, Sussex : Phillimore.
- Baker, A. 1966. "Aerial Reconnaissance Over the Romano-British Town of Magna (Kenchester)." *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists Field Club* 38: 192-5.
- Barfield, L. 1976. "Bays Meadow, Droitwich." *West Midlands Archaeology News Sheet* 19: 42-4.
- Barfield, L. and Tomlinson, R. 1971. "Droitwich: Bays and Meadow Enclosure." *West Midlands Archaeology News Sheet* 14: 17-19.
- Barker, P. A. 1970. "The Origins of Worcester." *Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeology Society* 2: 1-116.
- Barley, M. W. 1964. "The Medieval Borough of Torksey, Excavations 1960-62." *Antiquaries Journal* 44: 165-87.
- Barley M. W. 1965. *Ancaster, 1963-4: A Preliminary Report on Excavations at the Iron Age and Romano-British Sites at Ancaster, Near Grantham, Lincolnshire*. Nottingham: University of Nottingham.
- Barley M. W. 1966. *Ancaster, 1965: The Second Report on Excavations at the Iron Age and Romano-British Sites at Ancaster*. Nottingham: University of Nottingham.
- Barley M. W. 1967. *Ancaster, 1966: The Third Report on Excavations at the Iron Age and Romano-British Sites at Ancaster*. Nottingham: University of Nottingham.
- Barr, B. and Gillam, G.R. 1964. "Excavation and Field Work on the Roman Roads at Braughing, Hertfordshire" *East Hertfordshire Archaeology Society Transactions* 14: 108-116.
- Barrett, J. C. 1997. "Romanization: A Critical Comment." pp. 51-66 in D.J. Mattingly (ed.) 1997.
- Bartlett, R. 1988a. *Harlow Temple Excavations 1985-87: An Interim Report*. Harlow: Harlow Museum.

-
- Bartlett, R. 1988b. "The Harlow Celtic Temple." *Current Archaeology* 112: 163-66.
- Beagrie, N. 1989. "The Romano-British Pewter Industry." *Britannia* 20: 169-191.
- Bedoyere, G. de la, 1991. *The Buildings of Roman Britain*. Tempus: London.
- Bemrose, G. J. V. 1958. "Trial Excavations at Chesterton, Staffordshire." *North Staffordshire Field Club Transactions* 91: 96-102.
- Besley, E. and Bland, R. 1983. *The Cunetio Treasure: Roman Coinage of the Third Century AD*. London : British Museum Publications.
- Bestwick, D. J. 1972. "Excavation at the Roman Town of Middlewich (*Salinae*), 1964-1971." *Middlewich Archaeology Society News Letter* 1: 3-4.
- Bestwick, D. J. 1974. "Middlewich, Excavation of Site J, 1973-1974." *Cheshire Archaeology Bulletin* 2: 29-30.
- Bestwick, D. J. 1975. "Middlewich, Excavation of Site J and Site K." *Cheshire Archaeology Bulletin* 3: 49-51.
- Billings, W. M. 1976. *Jamestown and the Founding of the Nation*. Government Printing Office: Washington, D.C.
- Bishop, M. C. and Dore, J.N. 1988. *Corbridge: Excavations of the Roman Fort and Town 1947-1980*. Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England: London.
- Black, E. W. 1995. *Cursus Publicus: The Infrastructure of Government in Roman Britain*. British Archaeological Reports 241: Oxford.
- Blagg, T. C. F. 1980. "The Votive Column from the Roman Temple Precinct at Springhead." *Archaeologia Cantiana* 95: 223-9.
- Blagg, T. C. F. 1990a. "First Century Roman Houses in Gaul." pp. 194-209 in T.C.F. Blagg and M. Millett (eds.) 1990.
- Blagg, T. C. F. 1990b. "Building Stone in Roman Britain," pp. 33-50 in D. Parsons (ed.) *Stone: Quarrying and Building in England AD 43-1575*. Royal Archaeological Institute, Chichester..
- Blagg, T. C. F. 2002. "Architectural and Other Stonework from the 1958-1959 By-Pass Excavations and the 1972 Excavations." pp. 286-302 in Wilson (ed.) 2002b.

- Blagg, T. F. C. and Millett, M (eds.) 1990. *The Early Roman Empire in the West*. Oxbow Books: Oxford.
- Blay, W. F. 1925. *Letocetum, Wall*. Wall Historical Society: Wall.
- Bloemers, J. H. F. 1983. "Acculturation in the Rhine/Meuse Basin in the Roman Periods: A Preliminary Survey." pp. 159-210 in R. Brandt and J. Slofstra (eds.)1983.
- Booth, P. M. 1976. "I Bleachfield Street (Alcester)." *West Midlands Archaeology News Sheet* 19: 49-52.
- Booth, P. M. 1977. "1 Bleachfield Street (Alcester)." *West Midlands Archaeology News Sheet* 20: 59-62.
- Booth, P. M. 1979. "Alcester, Priory Row, Coulter's Grange." *West Midlands Archaeology News Sheet* 22: 49-52.
- Booth, P. M. 1980. *Roman Alcester*. Warwickshire Museum: Warwick.
- Booth, P. M. 1984. "Excavations at 64 Bleachfield Street, Alcester, Warwickshire, 1981." *Birmingham Warwickshire Archaeology Society Transactions* 193: 9-32.
- Booth, P. M. 1994a. "Buildings: Discussion." pp. 157-163 in C. Mahany (ed.) 1994.
- Booth, P. M. 1994b. "The Excavations in the Context of the Roman Town." pp.164-175 in C. Mahany (ed.) 1994.
- Booth, P. M. 1997. *Asthall, Oxfordshire: Excavations in a Roman "Small Town"*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Booth, P. M. 1998. "Defining Small Towns in Roman Britain." *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 11: 613-623.
- Booth, P. and Evans, J., 2001. *Roman Alcester. Northern Extramural Area 1969-1988 Excavations*. Council for British Archaeology Research Report 127: London.
- Borgatta, E. & Borgatta, M.1992. *Encyclopedia of Sociology*. New York: MacMillian Publishers.
- Bradford, J. S. P. and Goodchild, R. G. 1939. "Excavations at Frilford 1937-8." *Oxoniensia* 4: 1-70.

- Bradley, R. 1978. "Rescue Excavation in Dorchester on Thames 1972." *Oxoniensia* 42: 17-39.
- Brandt, R. 1983. "A Brief Encounter Along the Northern Frontier" pp. 129-146 in R. Brandt and J. Slofstra (eds.) 1983.
- Brandt, R. and Slofstra, J. (eds.). 1983. *Roman and Native in the Low Countries: Spheres of Interaction*. British Archaeological Reports, International Series 184: Oxford.
- Brassinton, M. 1967. "Roman Material Recovered from Littlechester, Derby 1965." *Derbyshire Archaeology Journal* 87: 39-69.
- Brassinton, M. 1969. "Roman Wells at Littlechester." *Derbyshire Archaeology Journal* 89: 115-19.
- Brickstock, R. J. 2002. "The Coins." pp. 1-23 in P. R. Wilson (ed.) 2002b.
- Brinson, J. G. S. 1950. "Great Chesterford." *Archaeology News Letter* 2: 146-148.
- Brinson, J. G. S. 1963. "Great Chesterford." in Hull 1963: 72-88.
- Brown, A. E. (ed.) 1995a. *Roman Small Towns in Eastern England and Beyond*. Oxbow Monograph 52. Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Brown, A. E. 1995b. "Editorial Preface: Roman Small Towns and Medieval Small Towns." pp. 1-6 in A.E. Brown (ed.) 1995.
- Brown, A. E. and Alexander, J. 1982. "Excavations at Towcester 1954: The Grammar School Site." *Northamptonshire Archaeology* 17: 24-59.
- Brown, A. E., Woodfield, C. and Mynard, D. C. 1983. "Excavations at Towcester, Northamptonshire: The Alchester Road Suburb." *Northamptonshire Archaeology* 18: 43-140.
- Browne, D. 1974. "Archaeological Gazetteer of the City of Cambridge." *Proceedings Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 65: 1-38.
- Bryant, K. L. 1994. *Culture in the American South-West: The Earth, the Sky, the People*. Texas A & M Press: College Station, TX.

- Buckland, P. C. 1988. "The Stones of York: Building Materials from Roman Yorkshire." pp. 267-275 in J. Price and P. R. Wilson (eds). *Recent Research in Roman Yorkshire, Studies in Honor of Mary Kitson Clark*. British Archaeological Reports 193: Oxford.
- Burleigh, G. 1982. "Excavations at Baldock 1980-81: An Interim Report." *Hertfordshire's Past* 12: 3-18.
- Burnham, B. 1986. "The Origins of Roman-British Small Towns." *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 5 (2): 185-203.
- Burnham, B. 1987. "The Morphology of Romano-British 'Small Towns.'" *The Archaeological Journal* 144: 156-190.
- Burnham, B. 1989. "A Survey of Building Types in Romano-British 'Small Towns.'" *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 141: 35-59.
- Burnham, B. 1993. "The 'Small Towns' of Roman Britain – The Last Fifty Years." pp. 99-110 in S. Greep (ed.) *Roman Towns: The Wheeler Inheritance: A Review of 50 Years' Research*. Council for British Archaeology Research Report 93: London.
- Burnham, B. 1995. "Small Towns: The British perspective." pp. 7-18 in A.E. Brown (ed.) 1995.
- Burnham, B. and Wachter, J. 1990. *The 'Small Towns' of Roman Britain*. University of California: Berkeley.
- Burnham, B., Collins, J., Dobinson, C., Haselgrove, C. and Jones, M. 2001. "Themes for Urban Research, c. 100 BC to AD 200." pp. 67-76 in S. James and M. Millett (eds.) *Britons and Romans: Advancing the Archaeological Agenda*. Council for British Archaeology: London.
- Burns, V. 1994. "Romanization and Acculturation: The Rhineland *Matronae*." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison.
- Burrow, I. 1981. "A Mosaic from 17 Limington Road, Ilchester." *Somerset Archaeology and Natural History Proceedings* 125: 116-18.
- Burrow, I. 1984. "Ilchester, Northover and Limington Road" *Somerset Archaeology and Natural History Proceedings* 127: 21-2.
- Busby, P, Evans, J., Huntley, J.P., and Wilson, P.R., 1996. "The Catterick Pottery Kilns." *Britannia* 27: 283-97.
- Bushe-Fox, J. P. 1926. *First Report on the Excavation of the Roman Fort at Richborough, Kent*, Society of Antiquaries Report 6: London.

- Bushe-Fox, J. P. 1928. Second Report on the Excavation of the Roman Fort at Richborough, Kent Society of Antiquaries Research Report 7: London.
- Bushe-Fox, J. P. 1932. *Third Report on the Excavation of the Roman Fort at Richborough, Kent* Society of Antiquaries Report 10. London.
- Bushe-Fox, J. P. 1949. *Fourth Report on the Excavation of the Roman Fort at Richborough, Kent*. Society of Antiquaries Report 16: London.
- Cameron, H. and Lucas, J. 1969. "Tripontium: First Interim Report on Excavations at Cave's Inn Near Rugby." *Transactions Birmingham and Warwickshire Archaeology Society* 83: 130-179.
- Cameron, H. and Lucas, J. 1973. "Tripontium. Second Interim Report." *Transactions of the Birmingham and Warwickshire Archaeology Society*, 85: 93-144.
- Carpenter, E. 1985. "Conditioning: It's the Thought that Counts." *Psychology Today* 19: 8-10.
- Carson, C., Barka, N., Kelso, W., Stone, G.W, Upton, D. 1981. "Impermanent Architecture in the Southern American colonies" in *The Winterthur Portfolio*: Chicago.
- Caruana, I. 1983. "Carlisle." *Current Archaeology* 86: 77-81.
- Caruana, I. 1996. "A Forum or Mansio in Carlisle?" *Britannia* 27: 345-353.
- Carver, M. 1976. "Worcester, Sidbury." *West Midlands Archaeology News Sheet* 19: 42.
- Carver, M. 1980. "Medieval Worcester: An Archaeological Framework." *Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeology Society* 7: 1-335.
- Casey, J. 1983. "Imperial Campaigns and Fourth Century Defenses in Roman Britain." pp. 121-24 in J. Moloney and B. Hobley (eds.) *Roman Urban Defenses in the West*. Council for British Archaeology Research Report No. 51: London.
- Chamberlian, M. 1983. "Bear Field, Cowbridge: Magnetometer Survey of Roman Structures." *Annual Report of the Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust 1982-3*: 14-26.
- Chambers, R. A. 1986. "A Section Across the Roman Road North of Dorchester-on-Thames, 1981." *Oxoniensia* 51: 193.

-
- Chambers, R. A. 1987. "The Late- and Sub-Roman cemetery at Queenford Farm, Dorchester-on-Thames, Oxon." *Oxoniensia* 52: 35-70.
- Chaplin, R. E. 1963. "Excavations in Rochester, Winter 1961-2." *Archaeologia Cantiana* 77: 1.
- Chapman, M. 1992. *The Celts: Construction of a Myth*. St. Martin's: New York.
- Charlton, J. M. T. 1961. "Excavations at the Roman Site of Holditch 1957-1959." *North Staffordshire Journal of Field Studies* 1: 26-50.
- Charlton, J. M. T. 1962. "Excavations at the Roman Site of Holditch 1960-1962." *North Staffordshire Journal of Field Studies* 2: 62-71.
- Cherry, J. F. 1983. "Frogs Around the Pond: Perspectives on Current Archaeological Survey in the Mediterranean Region" in D. Keller and D. Rupp (eds.) *Archaeological Survey in the Mediterranean Area*. British Archaeological Reports International Series 155, Oxford: 375-416.
- Childe, V.G. 1958. *Piecing Together the Past: Interpretation of Archaeological Data*. Praeger: New York.
- Ching, F. D. K. 1995. *A Visual Dictionary of Architecture*. Wiley: New York.
- Clarke, D. 1977. *Spatial Archaeology*. Academic Press: London.
- Clarke, S. 1991. "'Small Towns' and Small Towns." *Antiquity* 65: 987-8.
- Cockerton, R. W. P. 1959. "Roman Pigs of Lead from Derbyshire - Recent Dating Evidence from the Mendips." *Derbyshire Archaeology Journal* 79: 88-96.
- Collingwood, R. G. and Myres, J. N. L. 1937. *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Collingwood, R. G. and Wright, R. P. (eds.) 1995. *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain Vol. 1: Inscriptions on Stone, Addenda and Corrigenda by R.S.O. Tomlin*. Alan Sutton: Gloucester.
- Collins, A. 1978. "Great Chesterford." *Essex Archaeology and History* 10: 240-8.
- Collins, A. 1980. "Great Chesterford." *Essex Archaeology and History* 12: 39-50.
- Collins, A. 1981. "Great Chesterford." *Essex Archaeology and History* 13: 48-62.
- Condron, F. M. 1995. "When is a Town Not a Town? 'Small towns' on the Nene and Welland." pp.103-118 in A.E. Brown (ed.) 1995.

-
- Condron, F. M. 1996. "Roman Small Towns in the East Midlands: A Regional Study of Settlement Development and Interaction." Ph.D. Thesis, University of Leicester.
- Conlon, R. F. B. 1973. "Holbrooks - An Iron Age and Romano-British Settlement." *Essex Journal* 8: 30-50.
- Cooke, F. M. B. and Wachter, J. S. 1970. "Photogrammetric Survey at Wanborough, Wilts." *Antiquity* 44: 214-216.
- Cool, H. E. M. 2002. "An Overview of the Small Finds from Catterick." P. R. Wilson (ed.) 2002: 24-163.
- Cooper, L. 1996. "A Roman Cemetery in Newarke Street, Leicester." *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society* 70: 1-90.
- Corder, P. 1951. *The Roman Town and Villa at Great Casterton: 1st Interim Report*. University of Nottingham: Nottingham.
- Corder, P. 1954. *The Roman Town and Villa at Great Casterton: 2nd Interim Report*. University of Nottingham: Nottingham.
- Corder, P. (ed). 1961. *The Roman Town and Villa at Great Casterton, Rutland, Vol. 3*. University of Nottingham: Nottingham.
- Corney, M. 1997. "The Origins and Development of the 'Small Town' of Cunetio, Mildenhall, Wiltshire." *Archaeology Journal* 29: 337-50.
- Cox, J. S. 1950. "The Roman Town at Ilchester." *Archaeological Journal* 107: 94-5.
- Cox, J. S. 1952. "Roman Town of Ilchester." *Archaeology Journal* 107: 94-5.
- Cox, J. S. 1982. *Ilchester and District Occasional papers No. 32*: Guernsey.
- Cox, J. S. 1985. "A Catalogue of Roman Mosaics in Ilchester." *Ilchester and District Occasional Papers* 62: 37-122.
- Cracknell, S. (ed). 1996. *Roman Alcester: Defenses and Defended Area. Roman Alcester Series: Vol. 2*. Council for British Archaeology Research Report 106: London.
- Cracknell, S. and Mahany, M. 1994. *Alcester Excavations 1964-1966, Part 2: Finds and Discussion*, Council for British Archaeology Research Report 97: London.
- Crouch, K. 1978. "New Thoughts on Roman Staines." *London Archaeology* 3: 180-6.
- Crouch, K. and Shanks, S. 1984. *Excavations in Staines 1975-76.: The Friends Burial Ground: Joint London and Middlesex Archaeology Society and Surrey Archaeology Society Publication No. 2*: London.
- Cunliffe, B.W. 1966. "The Temple of *Sulis Minerva* at Bath." *Antiquity* 40: 199-204.

-
- Cunliffe, B. W. 1969a. *Fifth Report on the Excavations of the Roman Fort at Richborough, Kent*, Society of Antiquaries Research Report 26, London.
- Cunliffe, B. W. 1969b. *Roman Bath*, Society of Antiquities Research Report 24: London.
- Cunliffe, B. W. 1976a. "The Roman Baths at Bath: Excavations 1969-1975." *Archaeology Journal* 7: 1-32.
- Cunliffe, B. W. 1976b. "The Origins of Urbanization in Britain." pp. 135-62 in Cunliffe and Rowley (eds.) 1976.
- Cunliffe, B. W. 1979. *Excavations in Bath 1950-1975*. C.R.A.A.G.S. Excavation Report No. 1: London.
- Cunliffe, B. W. 1980. "The Excavation of the Roman Spring at Bath, 1979: A Preliminary Description." *Antiquaries Journal* 60: 187-206.
- Cunliffe, B.W. 1984. *Roman Bath Discovered* 2nd ed. Tempus: London.
- Cunliffe, B. W. 1988. *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath, Vol. 2: The Finds from the Sacred Spring*. O.U.C.A. Monograph 16: Oxford.
- Cunliffe, B. W. and Davenport, P. 1985. *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath Vol. 1: The Site*. O.U.C.A. Monograph 7: Oxford.
- Daniels, C. (ed.) 1978. *Handbook to the Roman Wall*. 13th ed. Frank Graham: Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
- Dannell, G. 1974. "Roman Industry in Normangate Field, Castor." *Durobrivae* 2: 7-9.
- Dannell, G. and Wild, J. P. 1969. "Castor." *Bulletin Northamptonshire Federation of Archaeological Societies* 3: 7-9.
- Dannell, G. and Wild, J. P. 1971. "Castor, Normangate Field 1969 and 1970." *Bulletin Northamptonshire Federation of Archaeological Societies* 5: 7-15.
- Dannell, G. and Wild, J. P. 1976. "Castor, Normangate Field 1974." *Bulletin Northamptonshire Federation of Archaeological Societies* 11: 181-91.
- Dark, K. and Dark, P. 1997. *The Landscape of Roman Britain*. Sutton: Gloucester.
- Dark, P. 1999. "Pollen Evidence for the Environment of Roman Britain." *Britannia* 30: 247-272.
- Davies, J. A. 1967. "Excavations at Caer Dynnaf, Llanblethian, Glam. 1965-67." *Morgannwg* 11: 77-8.
- Davies, J. A. 2002. "Coins from Bainesse" pp. 4-5 in P.R. Wilson (ed.) 2002b.

-
- Davis, B. W. 1930. "Excavations at Malt Mill Lane (Alcester)." *Transactions of the Birmingham Archaeology Society* 54: 76-7.
- Davison, K. 1973. "Ancient Harlow." *Essex Journal* 8, No. 2: 26-9.
- Deetz, J. 1993. *Flowerdew Hundred: The Archaeology of a Virginia Plantation*. University of Virginia: Charlottesville.
- Deetz, J. 1996. *In Small Things Forgotten: An Archaeology of Early American Life*. Anchor Books: New York.
- Deetz, J. E. 2001. "...Set upon cratchets..." pp. 15-22 in W. Kelso (ed.) *Jamestown Rediscovery VII*. Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities: Richmond.
- Dick, E. 1937. *The Sod-House Frontier, 1854-1890*. D. Appleton Century Co.: New York.
- Dix, B., & Taylor, S. 1988. "Excavations at *Bannaventa* (Whilton Lodge, Northants) 1970-71." *Britannia* 19: 299-330.
- Dix, B. 1983. "Ashton Roman Town." *South Midlands Archaeology News Sheet* 13: 18-20.
- Downs, M. 1996. "Turdetani and Bastetani: Cultural Identity in Iberian and Early Roman Baetica." pp. 39-54 in S. Keay (ed.) *The Archaeology of Roman Baetica*. JRA Supplement 29: Portsmouth, RI.
- Doyle, M. W. 1986. *Empires*. Princeton University Press: Princeton.
- Draper, J. 1986. "Excavations at Great Chesterford, Essex, 1953-5." *Proceedings of the Cambridgeshire Archaeological Society* 75: 3-41.
- Drinkwater, J. F. 1985. "Urbanization in the Three Gauls: Some Observations" pp. 39-55 in F. Grew and B. Hobley (eds.) 1985. *Roman Urban Topography in Britain the Western Empire*, Council for British Archaeology Research Report 59: London.
- Drinkwater, J. F. 1987. "Urbanization in Italy and the Western Empire." pp. 345-387 in J. Wachter (ed.) 1987. *The Roman World, Vol. 1*. Routledge: London.
- Drury, P. J. 1972. "Preliminary Report on the Romano-British Settlement at Chelmsford, Essex." *Essex Archaeology and History* 4: 3-29.
- Drury, P. J. 1975. "Roman Chelmsford – *Caesaromagus*." pp. 159-173 in Rodwell and Rowley (eds.) 1975.
- Drury, P. J. 1976. "Braintree: Excavations and Research 1971-1976 and an Archaeological Gazetteer." *Essex Archaeology and History* 8: 1-143.
- Drury, P. J. 1978. *Excavations at Little Waltham, 1970-71*. Council for British Archaeology Research Reports No. 26. London.

-
- Drury, P. J. 1988. *The Mansio and Other Sites in the South-Eastern Sector of Caesaromagus*. Council for British Archaeology Research Report 66: London.
- Drury, P. J. and Rodwell, W. R. 1980. "Settlement in the Later Iron Age and Roman Periods." pp 59-75 in (ed.) D. G. Buckley, *Archaeology in Essex to AD 1500*, Council for British Archaeology Research Report, No. 34: London.
- Dudley, H. 1949. *Early Days in North-West Lincolnshire*. Caldicott: Scunthorpe.
- Dumayne, L. 1994. "The Effect of the Roman Occupation on the Environment of Hadrian's Wall: A Pollen Diagram from Fozy Moss, Northumbria." *Britannia* 25: 217-224.
- Dunnett, R. 1975. *The Trinovantes*. Alan Sutton: Gloucester.
- Dyson, S. L. 1978. "Settlement Patterns in the Ager Cosanus: the Wesleyan University Survey, 1974-1976." *Journal of Field Archaeology* 5: 251-268.
- Eckardt, H. 2002. *Illuminating Roman Britain*. Monographies Instrumentum 23: Montagnac.
- Eckardt, H. 2005. "The Social Distribution of Roman Artefacts: The Case of Nail-Cleaners and Brooches in Britain." *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 18 (1): 139-60.
- Eddy, M. R. 1982. *Kelvedon: The Origins and Development of a Roman Small Town*. Essex County Council Occasional Paper 3: Essex.
- Eddy, M. R. 1984. "Excavations on the Braintree Earthworks 1976 and 1979." *Essex Archaeology Journal* 15: 36-53.
- Eddy M. R., 1995. "Kelvedon and the Fort Myth in the Development of Roman Small Towns in Essex." pp. 119-128 in Brown A. E. (ed). 1995.
- Edwards, D. 1977. "The Air Photographs Collection of the Norfolk Archaeological Unit: Second Report." *East Anglian Archaeology* 5: 225-37.
- Ellis, P. 1994a. "A Watching Brief at Hainse Publishing (Ivel House), 1981." in P. Leach (ed.) *Ilchester, Vol. 2*, Sheffield Excavation Reports 2, Sheffield: 79-80.
- Ellis, P. 1984. *Catsgore 1979; Further Excavation of the Romano-British Village*. Alan Sutton: Gloucester.
- Ellis, P. 1994b. "A Watching Brief at Castle Farm and Great Yard, 1981." pp. 80-1 in P. Leach (ed.) 1994.
- Ellis, P. 1994c. "Watching Briefs in Northover; 'Rivermead' 1977, and Mill Hams 1981." pp. 81-4 in P. Leach (ed.) 1994.
- Ellis, P. 1994d. "Watching Briefs in the Fosse Way South Suburbs 1979-1983." pp. 84-90 in P. Leach (ed.) 1994.

-
- Ellis, P. and Ellison, A. 1994. "The Ilchester bypass: an Archaeological Watching Brief 1975-1976." pp. 103-108 in P. Leach (ed.) 1994.
- Ellis, S. P. 1995. "Classical Reception Rooms in Romano-British Houses." *Britannia* 26: 163-178.
- Ellison, J. A. 1962. "Excavations at Caister-on-the-Sea 1961-1962." *Norfolk Archaeology* 33: 94-107.
- Esmond-Cleary, S. 1989. *Extramural Areas of Romano-British Towns*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Esmonde-Cleary, S. 1992. "Small Towns, Past and Future." *Britannia*: 23, 341-4.
- Evans, E. M. 1983. "Excavations on the Bear Field, Cowbridge." *Annual Report Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeology Trust 1982-3*: 27-30.
- Evans, E. M. 1984. "Excavations on the Bear Field, Cowbridge." *Annual Report Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeology Trust 1983-4*: 59-65.
- Evans, J. 1996. "Roman Pottery" in S. Cracknell (ed.) 1996: 58-96.
- Evans, J. 2002. "Querns from Thoronbrough Farm." p. 285 in P. R. Wilson (ed.) 2002b.
- Faragher, J. M. 1986. *Sugar Creek: Life on the Illinois Prairie*. Yale University Press: New Haven.
- Faulkner, N. 2000. *The Decline and Fall of Roman Britain*. Tempus: London.
- Festinger, L. 1954. "A Theory of Social Comparison Processes." *Human Relations* 7: 117-40.
- Fieldhouse, W. J., May, T., and Wellstood, F. C. 1931. *A Romano-British Settlement Near Tiddington, Stratford upon Avon*. W.I. Rodway & Co.: Birmingham.
- Fincham, G. 2004. *Durobrivae: A Roman Town Between Fen and Upland*. Tempus: London.
- Finley, M. I. 1977. "The Ancient City from Fustel de Coulanges to Max Weber and Beyond." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 19: 305-327.
- Flight, C. and Harrison, A. C. 1979. "Rochester Castle 1976." *Archaeologia Cantiana* 94: 27-60.
- Flight, C. and Harrison, A. C. 1987. "The Southern Defenses of Medieval Rochester." *Archaeologia Cantiana* 103: 1-26.
- Forcey, C. 1997. "Beyond 'Romanization': Technologies of Power in Roman Britain." pp. 15-21 in K. Meadows, C. Lemke, J. Heron. (eds.). *TRAC 96: Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference*. Oxbow: Oxford.

-
- Foreman, M. and Rahtz, S. 1984. "Excavations at Faccenda Chicken Farm Near Alcester, 1983." *Oxoniensia* 49: 24-46.
- Forrest, M. 1967. "Recent Work at Strutt's Park, Derby." *Derbyshire Archaeology Journal* 87: 162-5.
- Forster, R. H. 1908. "Corstopitum: Report of the Excavations of 1907." *Archaeology Aeliana* 3s 4: 205-303.
- Forster, R. H. and Knowles, W. H. 1914. "Corstopitum: Report of the excavations in 1913." *Archaeology Aeliana* 3s, 11: 279-310.
- Foster, A. M. 1989. "Alchester, Oxon: A Brief Review and New Aerial Evidence " *Britannia* 20: 141-147.
- France, N. E., and Gobels, B. M. 1968. "Harlow Roman Temple." *Current Archaeology* 11: 287-90.
- France, N. E., and Gobels, B. M. 1985. *The Romano-British Temple at Harlow, Essex : A Record of the Excavations Carried Out by Members of the West Essex Archaeological Group and the Harlow Antiquarian Society Between 1962 and 1971*. Alan Sutton: Gloucester.
- Frere, S. S. 1987. *Britannia: A History of Roman Britain*. Pimlico: Oxford.
- Frere, S. S. 1989. "The Three Forts at Strageath and Their Garrisons." *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 41: 283-298.
- Frere, S. S. and St. Joseph, J. K. S. 1974. "The Roman Fortress at Longthorpe." *Britannia* 5: 1-129.
- Frere, S. S. and Tomlin, R. S. O. (eds) 1991a. *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain, Vol. 2, Instrumentum Domesticum, Fascicule 2*. Alan Sutton: Gloucester.
- Frere, S. S. and Tomlin, R. S. O. (eds) 1992. *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain, Vol. 2, Instrumentum Domesticum Fascicule 4*. Alan Sutton: Gloucester.
- Frere, S. S. and Tomlin, R. S. O. (eds.) 1991b. *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain, Vol. 2, Instrumentum Domesticum Fascicule 3*. Alan Sutton: Gloucester.
- Frere, S. S. and Tomlin, R. S. O. (eds.) 1993. *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain, Vol. 2, Instrumentum Domesticum Fascicule 5*. Alan Sutton: Gloucester.
- Frere, S. S. and Tomlin, R. S. O. (eds.) 1994. *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain, Vol. 2, Instrumentum Domesticum Fascicule 6*. Alan Sutton: Gloucester.
- Frere, S. S. and Tomlin, R. S. O. (eds.) 1995. *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain, Vol. 2, Instrumentum Domesticum Fascicule 7*. Alan Sutton: Gloucester.

- Frere, S. S. and Tomlin, R. S. O. (eds.) 1995. *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain, Vol. 2, Instrumentum Domesticum Fascicule 8*. Alan Sutton: Gloucester.
- Frere, S. S., Roxan, M. and Tomlin, R. S. O (eds.) 1990. *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain, Vol. 2, Instrumentum Domesticum, Fascicule 1*. Alan Sutton: Gloucester.
- Frere, S.S.1962. "Excavations at Dorchester on Thames 1962." *Archaeology Journal* 119, 114-149.
- Fulford, M. G. 1977. "The Location of Romano-British Pottery Kilns - Institutional Trade and the Market." pp. 301-16 in Dore and Greene (eds.) 1977.
- Fulford, M.G. 1984. *Silchester Defenses 1974-1980*, Britannia Monograph 5: London.
- Fulford, M. G. 2002. "A Second Start: From the Defeat of Boudicca to the Third Century." pp. 39-74 in Salway, P. (ed.) *The Roman Era*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Gechter, M. 1995. "Small towns of the Ubii and Cugerni/Baetasii civitates (Lower Germany)." pp. 193-204 in A.E. Brown 1995 (ed.).
- Gelling, P. S. 1959a. "Report on Excavations in Bays Meadow, Droitwich, Worcestershire." *Transactions of the Birmingham Archaeology Society* 75: 1-23.
- Gelling, P. S. 1959b. "Excavation by Little Fish Street, Worcester, 1957." *Transactions Worcestershire Archaeology Society* 3: 67-70.
- Gibson-Graham, J. K. 1996. *The End of Capitalism (As We Knew It): A Feminist Critique of Political Economy*. University of Minnesota: Minneapolis.
- Gilliam, J. P. and Daniels, C. M. 1961. "The Roman Mausoleum on Shorden Brae, Beaufront, Corbridge, Northumberland." *Archaeology Aeliana* 4S, 39: 37-61.
- Going, C. J., Green, M., Duhig, C., and Taylor, A. 1997. "A Roman Child Burial with Animal Figurines and Pottery, from Godmanchester, Cambridgeshire." *Britannia* 28: 386-393.
- Goodburn, R. 1992. "A Roman Timber Framed Building Tradition." *Archaeology Journal* 148: 182-204.
- Goodyear, F. 1970. "The Roman Fort at Chesterton, Newcastle-under-Lyme." *North Staffordshire Journal of Field Studies* 10: 103-5.
- Goodyear, F. 1976. "The Roman Fort at Chesterton, Newcastle-under-Lyme: Report on Excavations 1969-1971." *North Staffordshire Journal of Field Studies* 16: 1-15.
- Gould, J. 1964. "Excavations at Wall 1961-3." *Transactions Lichfield and South Staffordshire Archaeology and History Society* 5: 1-50.
- Gould, J. 1968. "Excavations at Wall 1964-6 on the Site of the Roman Forts." *Transactions Lichfield and South Staffordshire Archaeology and History Society* 8: 1-38.

-
- Grahme, M. 1998. "Redefining Romanization: Material Culture and the Question of Social Continuity in Roman Britain." pp. 1-10 in C. Forcey, J. Hawthorne, and R. Witcher (eds.). *TRAC 97: Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, 1997*. Oxbow: Oxford.
- Green, H.J.M. 1959. "An Architectural Survey of the Roman Baths at Godmancheser, Part 1." *Archaeology News Letter* 6, No.10: 223-9.
- Green, H. J. M. 1960a. "Roman Godmanchester Part 1: An Early Dwelling." *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 53: 8-22.
- Green, H. J. M. 1960b. "An Architectural Survey of the Roman Baths at Godmanchester, Part 2." *Archaeology News Letter* 6, No. 11: 252-58.
- Green, H. J. M. 1961. "An Architectural Survey of the Roman Baths at Godmanchester, Part 3." *Archaeology News Letter* 6, No. 12: 276-81.
- Green, H. J. M. 1969. "Godmanchester." *Current Archaeology* 16: 133-38.
- Green, H. J. M. 1973. "Roman Godmanchester Part III: Emmanuel Knoll." *Proceedings Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 64: 15-23.
- Green, H. J. M. 1977. *Godmanchester*. Oleander Press: Cambridge.
- Green, H. J. M. 1986. "Religious Cults at Roman Godmanchester." pp. 29-56 in Henig, M. and King, A. (eds.) *Pagan Gods and Shrines of the Roman Empire*. Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph 8: Oxford.
- Green, M. J. 1975. "Romano-British Non-ceramic Model Objects in South-East Britain." *Archaeology Journal* 132: 54-70.
- Green, M. J. 1984. *The Wheel as a Cult-symbol in the Romano-Celtic World, with Special Reference to Gaul and Britain*. Brussels: Latomus.
- Green, M. J. 1986. "Jupiter, Taranis and the Solar Wheel." pp. 65-75 in M. Henig and A. King (eds.) *Pagan Gods and Shrines of the Roman Empire*. Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph 8: Oxford.
- Greene, K. 1986. *The Archaeology of the Roman Economy*. University of California: Berkley.
- Greenfield, E. 1967. "Excavations at Wanborough." *Wiltshire Archaeology Magazine* 62: 125-6.
- Greenfield, E. 1967. "Excavations at Wanborough." *Wiltshire Archaeology Magazine* 63: 109-10.
- Gregson, M. 1982. "The Villa as Private Property," in K. Ray (ed.) *Young Archaeologist: Collected Unpublished Paper Contributions to Archaeological Thinking and Practice*. Cambridge, 143-91.

- Grinsell, L.V. 1957. "Romano-British Wiltshire." *Victoria County History: Wiltshire Vol. 1*: Institute of Historical Research by Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Guy, C. J. 1977. "The Lead Tank from Ashton." *Durobrivae* 5: 10-11.
- Guy, C. J. 1981. "Roman Circular Lead tanks in Britain." *Britannia* 12: 271-6.
- Hadman, J. 1967. "Oundle." *Bulletin Northamptonshire Federation of Archaeological Societies* 2: 17.
- Hadman, J. and Upex, S. 1975. "The Roman Settlement at Ashton Near Oundle." *Durobrivae* 3: 12ff.
- Hadman, J. and Upex, S. 1977. "Ashton 1976." *Durobrivae* 5: 6-9.
- Hadman, J. and Upex, S. 1979. "Ashton 1977-8." *Durobrivae* 7: 29-30.
- Hanley, R. 2000. *Villages in Roman Britain*. Shire: Princes Risborough.
- Hanson, W. S. 1978. "The Organization of the Roman Military Supply." *Britannia* 9: 293-305.
- Hanson, W. S. 1996. "Forest Clearance and the Roman Army." *Britannia* 27: 354-358.
- Hanson, W. S. 1997. "Forces of Change and Methods of Control." pp. 67-80 in D.J. Mattingly (ed.) 1997.
- Harden, D. B. 1939. "Romano-British Oxfordshire." pp. 271-303 in Salzman, L. F. *Victoria County History: Oxfordshire Vol. 1*. Institute of Historical Research by Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Harding, D. W. 1972. *The Iron Age in the Upper Thames Basin*. Clarendon Press: Oxford.
- Harding, D. W. 1987. *Excavations in Oxfordshire 1964-66*. University of Edinburgh, Dept of Archaeology Occasional Paper 15: Edinburgh.
- Harker, S. R. 1972a, "Interim Report: Temple 7 (Summary)." *Archaeologia Cantiana* 86: 236-7.
- Harker, S. R. 1972b, "Interim Report: Temple 7. Wooden Structures." *Archaeologia Cantiana* 87: 229-30.
- Harker, S. R. 1974, "Interim Report: Road (R1)." *Archaeologia Cantiana* 88: 225-6.
- Harker, S. R. 1980a. "Springhead: A Brief Re-Appraisal." pp. 285-88 in Rodwell, W. (ed). 1980.
- Harker, S. R. 1980b, "Springhead - A Brief Reappraisal." pp. 1-16 in W. R. Rodwell (ed). *Temples, Churches and Religion in Roman Britain*, British Archaeological Reports 77: Oxford.
- Harley, B. R. and Dickenson, B. 2002. "The Samain Ware from Catterick Bypass (Site 433)." pp. 280-315 in P. R. Wilson (ed.) 2002b.
- Harrison, A. C. 1970. "Excavations in Rochester." *Archaeologia Cantiana* 85: 95-112.

- Harrison, A. C. 1972. "Rochester East Gate, 1969." *Archaeologia Cantiana* 87: 121-58.
- Harrison, A. C. 1982. "Rochester 1974-75." *Archaeologia Cantiana* 97: 108-118.
- Hartley, B. R. 1952. "Excavations at Heronbridge, 1947-48." *Cambridge Archaeology Journal* 39: 1-20.
- Hartley, B. R. 1972. *Notes on the Roman Pottery Industry in the Nene Valley*. Peterborough Museum Society Occasional Papers 2: London.
- Hartley, K. F. 1971. "Mancetter SP326967." *West Midlands Archaeology News Sheet* 14: 15-16.
- Hartley, K. F. 1990. "The Mortaria." pp. 237-263 in McCarthy, M.R. (ed.) 1990: *A Roman, Anglican and Medieval Site at Blackfriars Street, Carlisle: Excavations 1977-79*. Cumberland Westmorland Antiquarian Archaeology Society Research Ser 4: Kendal.
- Hartley, K. F. and Webster, P.V. 1973. "Romano-British Pottery Kilns Near Wilderspool." *Archaeology Journal* 130: 77-103.
- Haslam, S., Alexander, P. O., Reynolds, K. J., and Turner, J. C. 1999. "Social Identity Salience and the Emergence of Stereotype Consensus." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 25: 809-18.
- Haslegrove, C. 1984. "The Later Pre-Roman Iron Age Between the Humber and the Tyne." pp. 9-25 in Wilson *et al.*, (eds.) 1984.
- Haselgrove, C. 1990. "The Romanization of Belgic Gaul: Some Archaeological Perspectives." pp. 45-71 in T. Blagg and M. Millett (eds.) 1990.
- Hatch, C. E. 1957. *Virginia: The First Seventeen Years, 1607-1617*. University of Virginia: Charlottesville.
- Haverfield, F. J. 1905. "Romano-British Derbyshire." pp. 191-263 in Page, W. *Victoria County History: Derbyshire Vol. 1*. Institute of Historical Research by Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Hawkes, C. F. C. 1927. "Excavations at Alchester 1926." *Antiquaries Journal* 7: 155-84.
- Hawkes, C. F. C. 1946. "Roman Ancaster, Horncastle and Caistor." *Archaeology Journal* 103: 17-25.
- Henderson, G. B. 1938. "Braughing: Belgic and Romano-British Settlements." *East Hertfordshire Archaeology Society Transactions* 10: 227-8.

-
- Heys, F. G. and Thomas, M. J. 1959. "Excavation on the Defenses of the Romano-British Town of Kenchester." *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists Field Club* 36: 100-16.
- Heys, F. G. and Thomas, M. J. 1963. "Excavation on the Defenses of the Romano-British Town of Kenchester: Final Report" *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists Field Club* 37: 149-78.
- Hill, J. D. 2001. "Romanization, Gender and Class: Recent Approaches to Identity in Britain and Their Possible Consequences." pp. 12-18 in S. James and M. Millett (eds.) *Britons and Romans: Advancing the Archaeological Agenda*. Council for British Archaeology: London.
- Hine, R. V. 1980. *Community on the American Frontier*. University of Oklahoma: Norman.
- Hine, R. V., Faragher, J.M. 2000. *The American West: A New Interpretive History*. Yale: New Haven.
- Hingley, R. 1982. "Recent Discoveries of the Roman Period at the Noah's Ark Inn, Frilford, South Oxfordshire." *Britannia* 13: 305-9.
- Hingley, R. 1985. "Location, Function, and Status: a Romano-British 'Religious Complex' at the Noah's Ark Inn, Frilford (Oxfordshire)." *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 4: 201-214.
- Hingley, R. 1989. *Rural settlement in Roman Britain*. Seaby: London.
- Hingley, R. 2003. "Recreating Coherence Without Reinventing Romanization." *Digressus Supplement 1*: 111-119.
- Hird, L. and Brooks, C. M. (Unpub.) *Roman and Medieval Carlisle, Fascicule 3: Pottery from the Southern Lanes*.
- Hodder, I. R. 1979. "Pre-Roman and Romano-British Tribal Economies." pp. 189-96 in B. Burnham, and H. B. Johnson (eds.). 1979. *Invasion and Response: The Case of Roman Britain*. British Archaeological Reports 73: Oxford.
- Hodder, I. R. and Millett, M. 1980. "Romano-British Villas and Towns: A Systematic Analysis" *World Archaeology* 12 (1): 69-76.
- Hogg, R. 1956. "Excavations in Carlisle in 1953." *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeology Society* 55: 59-107.
- Hogg, R. 1964. "Excavations at Tullie House." *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquities and Archaeology Society* 64: 13-64.
- Hogg, M., Terry, D. & White, K. 1995. "A Tale of Two Theories: A Critical Comparison of Identity Theory with Social Identity Theory." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 58: 255-269.
- Holmes, J. 1955. "Excavations at Tullie House." *Transactions Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeology Society* 64: 13-64.

-
- Hope, J. H. 1983. "The Fountain, Braintree." *Essex Archaeology and History*. 15: 163-72.
- Hope, V. M. 1997. "Word and Pictures: The Interpretation of Romano-British Tombstones." *Britannia* 28: 245-258.
- Hopkins, K. 1980. "Taxes and trade in the Roman Empire 200 BC-AD 400." *Journal of Roman Studies* 70: 101-125.
- Hughes, H. V. 1960. "Recent work at Roman Alcester." *Transactions of the Birmingham Archaeology Society* 76: 10-18.
- Hull, M. R. 1963a. "Romano-British Essex." pp. 1-35. in Doubleday, H. A. (ed.) *Victoria History of the County of Essex, Volume 3*. Institute of Historical Research by Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Hull, M. R. 1963b. "Roman Gazetteer." pp. 35-203 in Doubleday, H. A. (ed.) *Victoria History of the County of Essex, Volume 3*. Institute of Historical Research by Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Hunnybun, C. 1952. "Pinfold Lane, Godmanchester." *Transactions of the Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Antiquarian Society* 7: 72-3.
- Huskinson, J. 2002. "Culture and Social Relations in the Roman Province." pp. 107-140 in P. Salway, (ed.) 2002.
- Iliffe, J. H. 1929. "Excavations at Alchester 1927." *Antiquaries Journal* 9: 105-136.
- Inskeep, R. R. 1966. "Excavations at *Ad Pontem*, Thorpe Parish, Notts." *Transactions of the Thronton Society* 69: 19-39.
- Jack, G. H. and Hayter, A. G. K. 1926. *The Romano-British Town of Magna (Kenchester) Herefordshire: Excavations 1925-1926*. The Woolhope Naturalists Field Club: Hereford.
- Jackson, D. A., & Tylecote, R. F. 1988. "Two New Romano-British Iron Working Sites in Northamptonshire. A New Type of Furnace?" *Britannia* 19: 275-98.
- Jackson, R. 2003. "A New Goddess for Roman Britain." *British Museum Magazine*, Summer 2003: 7.
- James, B. and Francis, D. J. 1979. *Cowbridge and Llanblethian: Past and Present*. D. Brown and Sons: Cowbridge.
- James, S. 1999. "The Community of Soldiers: A Major Identity and Center of Power in the Roman Empire." pp. 14-25 in Barker, P., Forcey, C., Jundi, S., and Witcher, R. (eds) *TRAC 98: Proceedings of the Eight Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference*. Oxbow: Oxford.

- James, S. 2001a. "'Romanization' and the Peoples of Britain." pp. 187-209 in S. Keay and N. Terrenato (eds.). *Italy and the West: Comparative Issues in Romanization*. University of Oxford: Oxford.
- James, S. 2001b. "Soldiers and Civilians: Identity and Interaction in Roman Britain." pp. 77-89 in James, S. and Millett, M. (eds.) 2001. *Britons and Romans: Advancing an Archaeological Agenda* Council for British Archaeology Research Report 125: Oxford.
- Jetten, J., Spears, R, and Manstead, A. S. R. 1997. "Strength of Identification and Inter-Group Differentiation: The Influence of Group Norms." *European Journal of Social Psychology* 27: 603-609.
- Johns, C. and Carson, R. 1975. "The Waternewton Hoard." *Durobrivae* 3: 10-12.
- Johnson, J. S. 1970. "The Date of Construction of the Saxon Shore Fort at Richborough." *Britannia* 1: 240-248.
- Jones, A. 2003. *Settlement, Burial and Industry in Roman Godmanchester*. British Archaeological Reports 346: Oxford.
- Jones, A. H. M. 1973. *The Later Roman Empire 284-602: A Social, Economic, and Administrative Survey*. University of Oklahoma: Norman.
- Jones, A. H. M. 1974. "The Cities of the Roman Empire: Political, Administrative and Judicial Functions." pp. 1-34 in Brunt, P.A. (ed.). *The Roman Economy. Studies in Ancient Economic and Administrative History*. Rowman and Littlefield: Towata, N.J.
- Jones, B. and Mattingly, D. J. 1990 *An Atlas of Roman Britain*. Blackwell: Cambridge.
- Jones, G. D. B. and Webster, P. V. 1968. "*Mediolanum*: Excavations at Whitchurch 1965-6." *Archaeological Journal* 125: 193-254.
- Jones, G. D. B. 1997. "From Brittunculi to Wounded Knee: A Study in the Development of Ideas." pp. 185-200 in D. Mattingly (ed.) 1997.
- Jones, M. 1975. *Roman Fort Defenses to AD 117*. British Archaeological Reports 21: Oxford.
- Jones, P. 1982. "Saxon and Early Medieval Staines." *London and Middlesex Archaeological Society Transactions* 33: 186-213.
- Jones, S. 1997. *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present*. Routledge: London.
- Jordan, T. G., Kilpinen, J.T, and Gritzner, C. F. 1997. *The Mountain West: Interpreting the Folk Landscape*. Johns Hopkins University: Baltimore.

- Jundi, S. and Hill, J. D. 1998. "Brooches and Identities in the First Century AD Britain: More Than Meets the Eye?" pp. 125-137 in C. Forcey, J. Hawthorne, and R. Witcher (eds.) 1998. *TRAC 97: Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, 1997*. Oxbow: Oxford.
- Keevil, G. D., and Shotter, D. C. A, and McCarthy, M. R. 1989. "A Gold Solidus of Valentinian II from Scotch Street, Carlisle." *Britannia* 20: 254-55.
- Kennet, D. H. 1969. "The Irchester Bowls." *Journal Northamptonshire Museum and Art Gallery* 4, 5-39.
- Kimball, F. 1922. *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and the Early Republic*. Charles Scribner's & Sons: New York.
- King, A. C. 1984. "Animal Bones and the Dietary Identity of Military and Civilian Groups in Roman Britain, German, and Gaul" pp. 187-218 in T.F.C. Blagg and A.C. King (eds.), *Military and Civilian in Roman Britain*. British Archaeological Reports 136: Oxford.
- King, A. C. 1990. *Roman Gaul and Germany*. University of California: Berkley.
- King, A. C. 1995. "Secondary Urban Centres in Gaul." pp. 183-192 in A.E. Brown (ed.) 1995.
- Knight, J. K. 1968. "Excavations at the Roman Town of Irchester 1962-3." *Archaeology Journal* 124: 100-28.
- Knowles, A. K. 1977. "The Roman Settlement at Brampton, Norfolk: Interim Report." *Britannia* 8: 209-21.
- Knowles, W. H. 1926. "The Roman Baths at Bath with an Account of the Excavations Conducted During 1923." *Archaeologia* 78: 1-18.
- Ladds, S. I. 1930. "Excavations at Emmanuel Knoll, Godmanchester." *Transactions of the Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Antiquarian Society* 4: 14-16.
- Laing, J. 1997. *Art and Society in Roman Britain*. Alan Sutton: Gloucester.
- Lambrick, G. (ed.) 1980. "Excavations in Park Street, Towcester." *Northamptonshire Archaeology* 15: 35-118.
- Langley, R. S., Wingfield, C. and Alabaster, M. S. 1994. "Sites AA and C." in Mahany, C. (ed.) 1994: 25-58.
- Leach, P. 1982. *Ilchester Volume I: Excavations 1974-1975*. Western Archaeological Trust Excavation Monograph No. 3: Bristol.
- Leach, P. 1987. *Ilchester Great Yard 1987, An Archaeological Assessment*. Birmingham University Field Archaeology Unit: Birmingham.

- Leach, P. (ed.) 1994. *Ilchester Volume 2*. Sheffield Excavation Reports 2: Sheffield.
- Leach, P. and Ellis, P. 1985. *A Late Iron Age 'Oppidum' at Ilchester, Somerset: An Interim Assessment 1984*. Western Archaeology Trust: Bristol.
- Leach, P. and Dunning, R. 1990. *Ilchester*. Somerset County Council: Somerset.
- Leach, P. and Evans, C.J. 2001. *Fosse Lane, Shepton Mallet 1990: Excavation of a Romano-British Roadside Settlement in Somerset*. Britannia Monograph Series No 18.
- Leech, R. H. 1982. *Excavations at Catsgore 1970-1973: A Romano-British Village*. Western Archaeological Trust: Bristol.
- Lewis, M. J. T. 1966. *Temples in Roman Britain*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Liddle, P. 1995. "Roman Small Towns in Leicestershire." pp. 81-94 in A.E. Brown (ed.) 1995.
- Liversidge, J. 1968. *Britain in the Roman Empire*. Praeger: London.
- Liversidge, J. 1977. "Roman Burials in the Cambridge Area." *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 67: 11-38.
- Lloyd, J. A. and Barker, G. 1981. "Rural Settlement in Roman Molise: Problems of Archaeological Survey." pp. 180-193 in G. Barker and R. Hodges (eds.). *Archaeology and Italian Society*. British Archaeological Reports International Series 102: Oxford.
- Louglin, N. and Miller, K. 1979. *A Survey of Archaeological Sites in Humberside*. Humberside Libraries and Amenities: Hull, Humberside.
- Lyon, F. H. and Gould, J. T. 1961. "Preliminary Report on the Excavation of the Defense of the Roman Fort at Wall." *Transactions Lichfield and S. Staffordshire Archaeology and History Society* 2: 31-7.
- Mackreth, D. 1987. "Roman Public Building." pp. 133-146 in J. Schofield and R. Leech (eds.) *Urban Archaeology in Britain*. Council for British Archaeology Research Report No. 61: London.
- MacMullen, R. 2000. *Romanization in the time of Augustus*. Yale: New Haven.
- Mahany, C. 1971. "Excavation at Manduessedum 1964." *Transactions of the Birmingham Archaeology Society* 84: 18-44.
- Mahany, C. (ed.) 1994a. *Roman Alcester: Southern Extramural Area 1964-1966 Excavations Part 1: Stratigraphy and Structures*. Council for British Archaeology Research Report No. 96: London.
- Mahany, C. 1994b. "Buildings: Summary Description of Types" pp. 148-156 in C. Mahany (ed.) 1994.

- Mahany, C. and Langley, R. S. 1994. "Summary of the Birch Abbey Area" pp. 13-15 in Mahany, C. (ed.) 1994.
- Manning, W. H. 1987. "Industrial Growth" pp. 586-6120 in J. Wachter (ed.) *The Roman World Vol. 2*. Routledge: London.
- Margary, I.D. 1939. "Roman Camp-Site Near Castor." *Antiquity* 13: 455-8.
- Mather, C. 1980. "Tiddington, Warks.: Site Evaluation of a Roman Settlement." *West Midlands Archaeology News Sheet* 23: 119-21.
- Mattingly, D. J. 1994a. "Lurbanizzazione nella Britannia Romana." *Storia Urbana* 67-68: 13-58.
- Mattingly, D. J. 1994b. "The Landscape of Imperialism." *Antiquity* 68: 162-65.
- Mattingly, D. J. (ed.) 1997a. *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism. Power, Discourse, and Discrepant Experiences in the Roman Empire*. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplement 23: Portsmouth, R.I.
- Mattingly, D. J. 1997b. "Introduction." pp. 7-27 in D.J. Mattingly (ed.) 1997.
- Mattingly, D. J. 1997c. "Africa: a Landscape of Opportunity?" pp. 117-142 in D.J. Mattingly (ed.) 1997.
- Mattingly, D. J. 2002. "Vulgar and Weak 'Romanization,' or Time for a Paradigm Shift?" *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 15: 536-540.
- Mattingly, D. J. 2004. "Being Roman: Expressing Identity in a Provincial Setting." *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 17 (1): 5-25.
- May, J. 1970. "Dragonby: An Interim Report on Excavations on an Iron Age and Romano-British Site Bear Scunthrope, Lincs., 1964-69." *Antiquaries Journal* 50: 222-45.
- May, J. 1977. "Romano-British and Saxon Sites Near Dorchester, Oxon,." *Oxoniensia* 42: 42-79.
- McCarthy, M. R. 1979. "Carlisle." *Current Archaeology* 68: 268-72.
- McCarthy, M. R. 1980 *Carlisle, A Frontier City*. Carlisle.
- McCarthy, M. R. 1984. "Roman Carlisle." pp. 65-74 in Wilson *et al.* 1984.
- McCarthy, M. R. 1990. "A Roman, Anglican and Medieval Site at Blackfriars Street, Carlisle: Excavations 1977-79." *Cumberland Westmorland Antiquarian Archaeology Society Research Ser. 4*: Kendal.
- McCarthy, M. R. 1991a. "Roman Waterlogged Remains and Later Features at Castle Street, Carlisle: Excavations 1981-82." *Cumberland Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society Research Ser. 5*: Kendal.

- McCarthy, M. R. 1991b. *The Structural Sequence and Environmental Remains from Castle Street, Carlisle: Excavations 1981-82 Fascicule 1*. Cumberland Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society Research Ser. 5: Kendal.
- McCarthy, M. R. 1995. "Archaeological and Environmental Evidence for the Roman Impact on Vegetation Near Carlisle, Cumbria." *The Holocene* 5 (4): 491-95.
- McCarthy, M. R. 2000. *Roman and Medieval Carlisle: The Southern Lanes. Excavations 1981-1982*. Carlisle Archaeology. Department of Archaeological Sciences Research Report 1: Bradford.
- McCarthy, M. R. 2002. *Roman Carlisle and the Lands of the Solway*. Stoud: London.
- McCarthy, M. R. 2003. "Luguvalium (Carlisle); a Civitas Capital on the Northern Frontier" pp. 145-155 in P. Wilson (ed.) 2003. *The Archaeology of Roman Towns*. Oxbow: Oxford.
- McCarthy, M. R., and Dacre, J. A., 1983. "Roman Timber Buildings at Castle Street, Carlisle." *Antiquaries Journal* 63: 124-30.
- McCarthy, M. R., Padley, T. G., and Henig, M. 1982. "Excavations and Finds from The Lanes, Carlisle." *Britannia* 13: 79-89.
- McWhirr, A. 1981. *Roman Gloucestershire*. Alan Sutton: Gloucester.
- Merryweather, A. D., and Prag, J. R. W. 2002. "'Romanization'? or, Why Flog a Dead Horse?" *Digressus* 2: 8-10.
- Miller, T. E. 1988. "Excavations in Great Chesterford Churchyard, Essex, 1986." *Proceedings of the Cambridgeshire Archaeological Society* 77: 109- 117.
- Miller, T. E. 1995. "The Romano-British Temple Precinct at Great Chesterford, Essex." *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* Volume 84: 15-57.
- Millett, M. 1975. "Recent work on the Romano-British Settlement at Neatham, Hampshire." *Britannia* 6: 213-216.
- Millett, M. 1990a. *The Romanization of Britain: An Essay in Archaeological Interpretation*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Millett, M. 1990b. "Romanization: Historical Issues and Archaeological Interpretation." pp. 35-44 in T.F.C. Blagg and M. Millett (eds.) 1990.
- Millett, M. 1991: "Pottery: Population or Supply Patterns? The Ager Tarraconensis Approach." pp. 18-26 in Barker, G.W.W. and Lloyd, J.A. (eds.), *Roman Landscapes: Archaeological Survey in the Mediterranean Region*. British School in Rome: London.
- Millett, M. 1995. "Strategies for Roman Small Towns." pp. 29-38 in A.E. Brown (ed.) 1995.
- Millett, M. 2001. "Approaches to Urban Societies." pp. 60-66 in S. James and M. Millett (eds.) *Britons and Romans: Advancing the Archaeological Agenda*. Council for British Archaeology: London.

- Millett, M. and Graham, D. 1986. *Excavations on the Romano-British Small Town at Neatham, Hampshire, 1969-1979*. Hampshire Field Club Monograph 3: Gloucester.
- Murphy P. 1982. "Plant Remains from Roman Deposits at Ilchester. 286-90." in P. Leach *Ilchester Vol 1. Excavations 1974-5*. Western Archaeological Trust. Monograph 3. England, Somerset.
- Neal, D. 1987. "Stanwick." *Current Archaeology* 106: 334-36.
- Nelson, P. M. 1986. *After the West Was Won: Homesteaders and Town-Builders in Western South Dakota, 1900-1917*. University of Iowa, Iowa City.
- Neville, R. C. 1847. *Antiqua Explorata, Being the Result of Excavations Made at Chesterford*. Saffron Walden: G. Youngman: London.
- Neville, R. C. 1848. *Sepulchra Exposita, or An Account of the Opening of Some Barrows. Remarks Upon Miscellaneous Antiquities, Discovered in the Neighbourhood of Audley End, Essex*. Saffron Walden: G. Youngman: London.
- Neville, R. C. 1856. "Description of a Remarkable Deposit of Roman Antiquities of Iron, Discovered at Great Chesterford, Essex." *Archaeology Journal* 17: 117-27.
- Nightengale, M. D. 1952. "Roman Land Settlement Near Rochester." *Archaeologia Cantiana* 65: 150-9.
- O'Connell, M.G. and Bird, J. 1994. "The Roman Temple at Wanborough Excavation, 1985-86." *Surrey Archaeological Collections* 82: 31-92.
- Oetgen, J. M. 1986. "Sapperton Roman Town." *Archaeology in Lincolnshire* 1985-86: 10-12.
- Oetgen, J. M. 1987. "Sapperton Roman Town." *Archaeology in Lincolnshire* 1986-1987: 13-15.
- O'Leary, T. J. 1981. "Excavations at Upper Borough Walls, Bath, 1980." *Medieval Archaeology* 25: 1-30.
- O'Neil, B. H. 1931. "Excavations at Mancetter 1927." *Transactions of the Birmingham Archaeology Society* 53: 173-95.
- Ordnance Survey 2001. *Historical Map and Guide: Roman Britain, 5th ed.* Southampton.
- Oswald, A. 1964. "Roman Material from Dorn, Gloucestershire." *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 82: 18-24.
- Oswald, A. and Gathercole, P. W. 1958. "Observations and Excavations at Manduessedum, 1954-6." *Transactions of the Birmingham and Warwickshire Archaeology Society* 74: 30-52.
- Oswald, F. 1927. "Margidunum." *Journal of Roman Studies* 16: 36-44.
- Oswald, F. 1941. "Margidunum." *Journal of Roman Studies* 31: 32-62.

- Oswald, F. 1948. *The Commandant's house at Margidunum*. University of Nottingham: Nottingham.
- Oswald, F. 1952. *Excavation of a Traverse of Margidunum*. University of Nottingham: Nottingham.
- Painter, K. 1977. *The Waternewton Early Christian Silver*. British Museum Publications: London.
- Palmer, N. 1980. "Excavation of a Roman Settlement at SP219557." *West Midlands Archaeology News Sheet* 23: 121.
- Palmer, N. 1981. "Tiddington Roman Settlement: An Interim Report." *West Midlands Archaeology News Sheet* 24: 17-24.
- Palmer, N. 1983. "Tiddington Roman Settlement: Second Interim Report." *West Midlands Archaeology News Sheet* 26: 37-47.
- Parkhouse, J. 1981a. "Excavations in Cowbridge." *Annual Report, Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeology Trust 1980-1*: 15-26.
- Parkhouse, J. 1981b. "Cowbridge." *Current Archaeology* 81: 308-9.
- Parkhouse, J. 1982a. "Archaeological Notes: Cowbridge." *Morgannwg* Vol. 26: 76-9.
- Parkhouse, J. 1982b. "Excavations in Cowbridge." *Annual Report, Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust 1981-82*: 7-21.
- Parkhouse, J. 1983. "Cowbridge, Bear Field." *Archaeology in Wales* 23: 36.
- Parkhouse, J. and Evans, E. M. (eds.) 1996, *Excavations at Cowbridge, South Glamorgan, 1977-88*. *Britannia Archaeological Reports* 245: Oxford.
- Partridge, C. R. 1975. "Braughing." pp. 139-157 in Rodwell and Rowley (eds.) 1975.
- Partridge, C. R. 1978. "Excavations and Fieldwork at Braughing 1968-73." *Hertfordshire Archaeology* 5: 22-108.
- Partridge, C. R. 1980. "Excavations at Puckeridge and Braughing 1975-9." *Hertfordshire Archaeology* 7: 28-132.

- Partridge, C. R. 1981. *Skeleton Green: a late Iron Age and Romano-British Site*. Britannia Monograph No. 2: London.
- Partridge, C. R. 1982. "Braughing, Wickham Kennels 1982." *Hertfordshire Archaeology* 8: 40-59.
- Payne, G. 1895. "Roman Rochester." *Archaeologia Cantiana* 21: 1-16.
- Penn, W. S. 1958. "Excavations of the Bakery, Site A." *Archaeologia Cantiana* 71: 53-105.
- Penn, W. S. 1959. "Excavations of the Watling Street, Shop and Pedestal, Site B." *Archaeologia Cantiana* 72: 77-110.
- Penn, W. S. 1960. "Excavation of Temple I, Site C1." *Archaeologia Cantiana* 73: 1-61.
- Penn, W. S. 1963. "Temples 2 and 5." *Archaeologia Cantiana* 77: 110-32.
- Penn, W. S. 1966. "Springhead: Map of Discoveries." *Archaeologia Cantiana* 80: 107-117.
- Penn, W. S. 1968. "Springhead: Temple 6 and Gateway." *Archaeologia Cantiana* 82: 105-23.
- Penn, W. S. 1969. "Springhead." *Archaeologia Cantiana* 83: 257.
- Perring, D. 2002. *The Roman House in Britain*. Routledge: London.
- Petch, D. F. 1987. "The Roman Period." pp. 115-236 in *Victoria County History: Cheshire Vol. 1*. Institute of Historical Research by Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Petkus, E. 1996. "The Creative Identity: Creative Behavior from the Symbolic Interactionist Perspective." *Journal of Creative Behavior* 30(3):189-196.
- Phillips, C. W. 1934. "The Present State of Archaeology in Lincolnshire." *Archaeology Journal* 91: 97-187.
- Phillips, E. J. 1976. "A Workshop of Roman Sculptors at Carlisle." *Britannia* 7: 101-8.
- Potter, T. W. and Johns, C. 1992. *Roman Britain*. British Museum Publication: London.
- Potter, T. W. and Trow, S. D. 1988. "Puckeridge-Braughing, Hertfordshire: The Ermine Street Excavations, 1971-1972." *Hertfordshire Archaeology* 10: 1-191.
- Poulter, A. 1987. "Townships and Villages." pp. 388-411 in J. Wachter (ed.) 1987. *The Roman World, Vol. 1*. Routledge: London.
- Putnam, J. 1973. "The Evolution of a Frontier Town: Bozeman, Montana, and Its Search for Economic Stability 1864-1877." MA Thesis, Montana State University-Bozeman.
- Rahtz, P. 1960. "Caistor, Lincolnshire 1959." *Antiquaries Journal* 40: 175-187.

- Rahtz, P. 1977. "Kenchester 1977: Interim Report on Excavations." *West Midlands Archaeology News Sheet* 20: 33-36.
- Raja, R. 2003. "Urban Development and Built Identities: The Case of Aphrodisias in Caria in the Late Republican Period." *Digressus Supplement 1*: 86-98.
- Rawes, B. 1976. "Wycomb, Andoversford." *Glevensis* 7: 12-13.
- Rawes, B. 1980. "The Romano-British Site at Wycomb, Andoversford 1969-1970." *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeology Society* 98: 11-55.
- R. C. H. M. 1959. *City of Cambridge Vol. 1*: London.
- R. C. H. M. 1969. *Peterborough New town: A Survey of the Antiquities in the Areas of Development*. London.
- R. C. H. M. 1976. *Iron Age and Romano-British Mounments in the Gloucestershire Cotswolds*. London.
- R. C. H. M. 1982. *An Inventory of Archaeological Sites in South-West Northamptonshire*. London.
- Rea, J. 1972. "A Lead Tablet From Wanborough." *Britannia* 3: 363-7.
- Reece, R. 1980. "Town and Country: The End of Roman Britain." *World Archaeology* 12(1): 77-92.
- Reece, R. 1987. *The Coinage of Roman Britain*. Tempus: London.
- Reece, R. 1989. "Coins and Villas" in Branigan, K and Miles, D (eds.) *The Economy of Romano-British Villas*. University of Sheffield: Sheffield.
- Reece, R. 1991. *Roman Coins from 140 Sites in Britain*. Cotswold Studies IV, Cirencester.
- Reece, R. 1995. "Site-Finds in Roman Britain." *Britannia* 26: 179-206.
- Reece, R. 1998. "The Catalogue and Its Use in the Future." pp. 268-290 in N. Holbrook (ed.), *Cirencester. The Roman Town Defenses, Public Buildings and Shops: Cirencester Excavations V*. Cotswold Archaeological Trust: Cirencester.
- Rendell, M. 1970. "Roman Staines." *Long Archaeology* 1: 161-2.
- Rescorla, R. and Holland, P. C. 1982. "Behavioral Studies of Associative Learning in Animals." *Annual Review of Psychology* 33: 265-308.
- Reynolds, P. 1979. *Iron Age Farm: the Buster Experiment*. British Museum Publications: London.

-
- Richmond, I. A. 1943. "Roman Legionaries at Corbridge: Their Supply Base, Temples and Religious Cults." *Archaeology Aeliana* 4s 21:127-224.
- Richmond, I. A. and Crawford, O.G.S. 1949. "The British Section of the Ravenna Cosmography." *Archaeologia* 93: 1-50.
- Rivet, A. L. F. 1970. "The British Section of the Antonine Itinerary." *Britannia* 1: 34-82.
- Rivet, A. L. F. 1975. "Summing Up: The Classification of Minor Towns and Related Settlements." pp. 111-114 in Rodwell and Rowley (eds) 1975.
- Rivet, A. L. F. and Smith, C. 1979. *The Place Names of Roman Britain*. Princeton University Press: Princeton.
- Robinson, D. M. 1980. *Cowbridge: The Archaeology and Topography of a Small Market Town in the Vale of Glamorgan*. Tempus Reparatum: Oxford.
- Rodwell, K. A. 1988. *The Prehistoric and Roman Settlement at Kelvedon, Essex*. Council for British Archaeology Research Report 63: London.
- Rodwell, W. 1978. "Rivenhall and the Emergence of First Century Villias in Northern Essex." pp. 11-32 in M. Todd (ed.) *Studies in the Romano-British Villa*. Leicester University Press: Leicester.
- Rodwell, W. 1972. "The Roman Fort at Great Chesterford, Essex." *Britannia* 3: 290-93.
- Rodwell, W. and Rowley, T. (eds.) 1975. *The 'Small Towns' of Roman Britain*. British Archaeological Reports 15: Oxford.
- Rorison, M. 2001. *Vici in Roman Gaul*. British Archaeological Reports, International Series 933: Oxford.
- Roth, R. E. 2003. "Towards a Ceramic Approach to Social Identity in the Roman World: Some Theoretical Considerations." *Digressus Supplement* 1: 35-45.
- Round, A. A. 1971a. "Excavations at Wall (Staffordshire) 1968-1972, on the Site of the Roman Forts." *Transactions Lichfield and S. Staffordshire Archaeology and History Society* 23: 1-67.
- Round, A. A. 1971b. "The Bath-House at Wall, Staffordshire: Excavations in 1966-67." *Transactions Lichfield and S. Staffordshire Archaeology And History Society* 11: 7-30.
- Round, A. A. 1971c. "Excavation at Wall 1971." *West Midlands Archaeology News Sheet* 14: 13.
- Round, A. A. 1972. "Excavation at Wall 1972." *West Midlands Archaeology News Sheet* 15: 13-14.
- Round, A. A. 1974a. "The Bath-House at Wall, Staffordshire: Excavations in 1971." *Transactions Lichfield and South Staffordshire Archaeology And History Society* 15: 13-

28.

- Round, A. A. 1975. "Excavation at Wall 1975." *West Midlands Archaeology News Sheet* 18: 50-51.
- Round, A. A. 1976. "Excavation at Wall 1976." *West Midlands Archaeology News Sheet* 19: 39.
- Round, A. A. 1977. "Excavation at Wall 1977." *West Midlands Archaeology News Sheet* 20: 55-9.
- Rowley, R. T. and Brown, L. 1981. "Excavations at Beech House Hotel, Dorchester on Thames 1972." *Oxoniensia* 46: 1-55.
- Roymans, N. 1983. The North Belgic Tribes in the First Century B.C.: a Historical Anthropological Perspective." pp. 43-70 in R. Brandt and J. Slofstra (eds.) 1983.
- Rust, T. C. 1995. "Settlers, Soldiers, and Scoundrels: the Relationship Between Military and Civilian Society in the Development of Bozeman, Montana, 1867-1886." M.A. Thesis, University of Denver.
- Rust, T. C. 2001. "Settlers, Soldiers, and Scoundrels: Economic Tension in a Frontier Military Town." *Military History of the West* 31(2): 31-64.
- Saddington, D. B. 1991. "The Parameters of Romanization." pp. 413-418 in V.A. Maxfield and M.J. Dobson (eds.) *Roman Frontier Studies 1989, Proceedings of the 15th International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*: Exeter.
- Salmon, E. T. 1970. *Roman Colonization Under the Republic*. Cornell University Press: New York.
- Sauer, E., Crutchley, S., and Erwin, P. 1999. "The Military Origins of the Roman Town of Alchester, Oxfordshire." *Britannia* 30: 289-97.
- Sawle, J. 1977. "HWCM 117, Sidbury (Worcester)." *West Midlands Archaeology News Sheet* 20: 43-5.
- Sawle, J. 1978. "Excavation of the Old Bowling Green, Ricketts Lane, Droitwich." *West Midlands Archaeology News Sheet* 21: 76-8.
- Scott, E. 1989. "Animal and Infant Burials in Romano-British Villas: A Revitalization Movement." pp. 115-121 in P. Garwood (ed.) *Sacred and Profane: Proceedings of a Conference on Archaeology, Ritual, and Religion*. Harcourt: New York.
- Scott E. 1990. "A Critical Review of the Interpretation of Infant Burials in Roman Britain, with Particular Reference to Villas." *Journal of Theoretical Archaeology* 1: 30-46.
- Scullard, H.H. and Cary, M. 1975. *A History of the Roman People*. St. Martins: New York.
- Selkirk, A. 1972. "Rushden." *Current Archaeology* 31: 204-5.

- Selkirk, A. 1983. "Baldock." *Current Archaeology* 86: 70-4.
- Shaw, R.C. 1924. "Romano-British Carlisle: Its Structural Remains." *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeology Society* 24: 95-109.
- Simmons, B. B. 1985. "Sapperton." *Archaeology in Lincolnshire 1984-5*: 16-20.
- Slater, T. R. and Wilson, C. 1977. *Archaeology and Development in Stratford-upon-Avon*. University of Birmingham: Birmingham.
- Smith, D. 1967. *Rocky Mountain Mining Camps: The Urban Frontier*. Indiana University Press: Bloomington.
- Smith, J. 1625, repr. 1957. *A Map of Virginia*, ed. McCary, B.C. University of Virginia: Charlottesville.
- Smith, R. F. 1976. "Hibladstow: Staniwells Farm." *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 11: 58.
- Smith, R. F. 1977. "Hibladstow: Staniwells Farm." *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 12: 74.
- Smith, R. F. 1978. "Hibladstow: Staniwells Farm." *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 13: 78.
- Smith, R. F. 1980. "Hibladstow: Staniwells Farm." *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 15: 71-2.
- Smith, R. F. 1981. "Hibladstow: Staniwells Farm." *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 168-71.
- Smith, R. F. 1987. *Roadside Settlement in Lowland Britain*. British Archaeological Reports 157: Oxford.
- St. Joseph, J. K. S. 1953. "Air Reconnaissance of Southern Britain." *Journal of Roman Studies* 43: 81-97.
- St. Joseph, J. K. S. 1961. "Air Reconnaissance in Britain, 1958-1960." *Journal of Roman Studies* 51: 119-135.
- Stanford, S. C. 1970. "Credenhill Camp, Herefordshire: An Iron Age Hill-Fort Capital." *Archaeology Journal* 127: 82-129.
- Stead, I. M. 1975. "Baldock." pp. 125-9 in W. Rodwell and T. Rowley (eds.) 1975.
- Stead, I. M. and Rigby, V. 1986. *Baldock: The Excavation of a Roman and Pre-Roman Settlement, 1968-1972*. Britannia Monograph No. 7: London.
- Stevens, C. E. 1951. "The Roman Name of Ilchester." *Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society* 96: 188-192.

- Stevens, C. E. 1940. "The Frilford Site: A Postscript." *Oxoniensia* 5: 166-7.
- Stevens, C. E. 1952. "The Roman Name of Ilchester." *Proceedings Somerset Archaeology Society* 96: 188-92.
- Stordeur, D. 1992. "Change and Cultural Inertia: From the Analysis of Data to the Creation of a Model." in J. Gardin and C. Peebles (eds.) *Representations in Archaeology*. Indiana University Press: Bloomington.
- Swain, E. J. 1981. "Site Reports: Kingscote." *Glevensis* 15: 43.
- Swan, V. G. 1975. "Oare reconsidered and the origins of Savernake Ware in Wiltshire." *Britannia* 6: 36-61.
- Syme, R. 1988. *Colonial Elites*. University of Oxford Press: Oxford.
- Tajfel, H. 1981. *Human Groups and Social Categories: Studies in Social Psychology*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Tajfel, H. 1982. *Social Identity and Inter-Group Behavior*. Harvard University Press: Cambridge, MA: Cambridge.
- Tajfel, H. and Turner, J. C. 1986. "The Social Identity Theory of Inter-Group Behavior." in S. Worchel and L. W. Austin (eds.), *Psychology of Inter-group Relations*. Nelson-Hall: Chicago.
- Talbert, R. J. A.. (ed.) 2000. *The Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* . Princeton: Princeton, N.J.
- Taylor, J. 1991. *The Roman Pottery from Castle Street, Carlisle: Excavations 1981-2, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquaries & Archaeology Society Research Series No.5, Fascicule 5*: Kendall.
- Taylor, J. (Forthcoming). *An Atlas of Roman Rural Settlement in England*. CBA Res. Report 151. Council for British Archaeology: London.
- Taylor, M. V. 1926. "Romano-British Huntingdonshire." pp. 219-69 in *Victoria County History: Huntingdonshire, Vol 1*. Institute of Historical Research by Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Taylor, M. V. 1963. "Romano-British Sculpture from Dorn." *Transactions Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeology Society* 81: 194-5.
- Thomas, J. 1980. "A Magnetometer Survey of the bear Field, Cowbridge." *Annual report, Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeology Trust 1979-80*: 35-7.
- Thomas, N. 1956. "Note on Excavations at Mildenhall." *Wiltshire Archaeology Magazine* 56: 241-5.

- Thompson, F.H. 1965. *Roman Cheshire*. Cheshire Community Council: Chester.
- Timby, J. R. 1998. *Excavations at Kingscote and Wycomb, Gloucestershire: A Roman Estate Centre and Small Town in the Cotswolds with Notes on Related Settlements*. Cotwold Archaeological Trust, Ltd.: Dorchester.
- Todd, M. 1967. "Excavations at Littlechester, Derby in 1966." *Derbyshire Archaeology Journal* 86: 103-4.
- Todd, M. 1968. *The Roman Fort at Great Casterton, Rutland: Excavations of 1960 and 1962*. University of Nottingham: Nottingham.
- Todd, M. 1969. "The Roman Settlement at Margidunum: the Excavations of 1966-8." *Transactions of the Thronton Society* 73: 6-104.
- Todd, M. 1970. "The Small Towns of Roman Britain." *Britannia* 1: 114-30.
- Todd, M. 1973. *The Coritani*. Alan Sutton: Gloucester.
- Todd, M. 1975. "Margidunum and Ancaster." in Rodwell and Rowley 1975: 211-23.
- Todd, M. 1981. *The Roman Town at Ancaster, Lincolnshire: The Excavations of 1955-1971*. University of Exeter: Exeter.
- Tribbick, R. C. 1974. "Evidence of Iron-Working at Braughing." *Journal of the Historical Metallurgy Society* 8: 112-115.
- Trow, S. D. 1990. "By the Northern Shores of Ocean: Some Observations on Acculturation Process at the Edge of the Roman world." pp. 103-119 in T.C.F. Blagg and M. Millett (eds.) 1990.
- Turland, R. E. 1977. "Towcester, Wood Burcote." *Northamptonshire Archaeology* 12: 218-23.
- Turner, C, 1982. "Pottery." pp. 26-31 in Eddy, M. R. (ed.) 1982.
- Van Ossel, P. and Ouzoulias, P. 2000. "Rural Settlement Economy in Northern Gaul in the Late Empire: An Overview and Assessment." *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 13: 133-160.
- Vose, R. H. 1980. *Glass*. Connoisseur: London.
- Wacher, J. S. 1961. "Cirencester 1960, First Interim Report." *Antiquaries Journal* 41: 63-71.
- Wacher, J. S. (ed.) 1966. *The Civitas Capitals of Roman Britain*. University of Leicester: Leicester.
- Wacher, J. S. 1969. *Excavations at Brough-on-Humber 1958-1961*. Society of Antiquarian Research Report 25: London.

- Wacher, J. S. 1970. "Wanborough, Romano-British Settlement at *Durocornovium*." *Wiltshire Archaeology Magazine* 65: 204-5.
- Wacher, J. S. 1971. "Wanborough, Romano-British Settlement." *Wiltshire Archaeology Magazine* 66: 188-9.
- Wacher, J. S. 1975. "Wanborough." pp. 233-6 in W. Rodwell and T. Rowley (eds.) 1975.
- Wacher, J. S. 1995. *The Towns of Roman Britain*, 2nd ed. Batsford: London.
- Wacher, J. S. 1998. *Roman Britain*. Alan Sutton: Gloucester.
- Wade, R. C. 1959. *The Urban Frontier: The Rise of Western Cities, 1790-1830*. University of Cambridge: Cambridge.
- Wamser, L. and Flugel, C. 2000. *Die Romer Zwischen Alpen Und Nordmeer: Zivilisatorisches Erbe Einer Europaischen Militarmacht Katalog-Handbuch Zur Landesausstellung Des Freistaates*. Bayern: Rosenheim.
- Webster, G. 1957. "Excavations on the Defense of the Romano-British Town of Kenchester, 1956." *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists Field Club* 35: 138-45.
- Webster, G. 1958. "The Bath-House at Wall, Staffordshire: Excavations in 1956." *Transactions of the Birmingham Archaeology Society* 74: 12-25.
- Webster, G. 1961. "An Excavation on the Roman Site at Littlechester, Derby 1960." *Derbyshire Archaeology Journal* 81: 85-110.
- Webster, G. 1974. "The West Midlands in the Roman Period." *Transactions Birmingham Archaeology Society* 86: 49-59.
- Webster, G. 1978. *Boudica: The British Revolt Against Rome, AD 60*. Rowman and Littlefield: Towata, NJ.
- Webster, G. 1981. *Rome Against Caratacus*. Batsford: London.
- Webster, G. 1996a. *The British Celts and Their Gods Under Rome*. Batsford: London.
- Webster, G. 1996b. "What the Britons Required from the Gods as Seen through the Paring of Roman and Celtic Deities and the Character of Votive Offerings." pp. 54-64 in M. Henig and A. C King (eds.) 1996.
- Webster, J. 1995. "'Interpretatio': Roman Word Power and the Celtic Gods." *Britannia* 26: 153-161.
- Webster, J. 1996. "Roman Imperialism and the 'Post-Imperial Age'." pp. 1-18 in J. Webster and N. Cooper (eds.) *Roman Imperialism: Post-Colonial Perspectives*. University of Leicester: Leicester.

- Webster, J. 1997. "A Negotiated Syncretism: Readings on the Development of Romano-Celtic Religion." pp. 165-84 in D.J. Mattingly 1997 (ed.).
- Webster, J. 2001. "Creolizing the Roman Provinces." *American Journal of Archaeology* 105: 209-225.
- Wedlake, W. J. 1958. *Excavation at Camerton, Somerset: A Record of Thirty Years of Excavation Covering the Period from Neolithic to Saxon Times, 1926-56*. Camerton Excavation Club: Camerton.
- Wedlake, W. J. 1966. "The City Walls of Bath." *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeology Society* 110: 85-107.
- Wedlake, W. J. 1982. *The Excavation of the Shrine of Apollo at Nettleton, Wiltshire 1956-1971*. Society of Antiquaries Research Report 40: London.
- Wells, P. S. 1999. *The Barbarians Speak: How the Conquered Peoples Shaped Roman Europe*. Yale: New Haven.
- West, E. 1994. "American Frontier." pp. 115-150 in C. Milner, C. O'Connor, M. Sandweiss (eds.). *The Oxford History of the American West*. University of Oxford Press: Oxford.
- West, E. 1979. *The Saloon on the Rocky Mountain Mining Frontier*. University of Nebraska, Lincoln.
- Westell, W. P. 1932. "A Romano-British Cemetery at Baldock, Hertfordshire." *Archaeology Journal* 88: 247-301.
- Westell, W. P. 1936. "Finds at Braughing in 1936." *East Hertfordshire Archaeology Society Transactions* 9: 362-3.
- Westell, W. P. and Applebaum, E. S. 1932. "Romano-British Baldock: Past Discoveries and Future Problems." *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 38: 235-77.
- Wheeler, R. E. M. 1928. "A Romano-Celtic Temple Near Harlow, Essex." *Antiquaries Journal* 8: 300-26.
- Wheeler, R. E. M. 1954. *The Stanwick Fortifications, North Riding of Yorkshire*. Society of Antiquaries Research Report 17: London.
- Wheeler, R. E. M. and Wheeler, T. V. 1932. *Report on the Excavation of the Prehistoric, Roman, and Post Roman Site in Lydney Park*. Society of Antiquaries. Research Report 9: London.
- White, R. 1991. *It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own: A New History the American West*. University of Oklahoma: Norman.
- Whitwell, J. B, Todd, M., Ponsford, M. and Wilson, D. R. 1966. "Ancaster - Miscellaneous Excavations." *East Midlands Archaeology Bulletin* 9: 10-13.

- Whitwell, J. B. and Dean, M. J. 1966. "Great Casterton." *East Midlands Archaeology Bulletin* 8: 46.
- Wightman, E. M. 1985. *Gallia Belgica*. Batsford, London.
- Wild, J. P. 1976. "A Roman Farm at Castor, 1975." *Durobrivae* 4: 26.
- Wilkes, J. J. and Elrington, C. R. (eds.) 1978. "Roman Cambridgeshire." *Victoria County History: Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely Vol. 7*. Institute of Historical Research by Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Williams, T.D. 1971a. "Roman Building Materials in South-East England." *Britannia* 2, 166-95.
- Williams, T.D. 1971b. "Roman Building Materials in the South-West." *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 90, 95-119.
- Willems, W. J. H. 1983. "Romans and Batavians: Regional Development at the Imperial Frontier" pp. 105-28 in R. Brandt and J. Slofstra (eds.) 1983.
- Willis, S. 1998. "Samian Pottery in Roman Britain: Exploring Its Distribution and Archaeological Potential." *The Archaeological Journal* 155: 82-133.
- Willis, S. 2004. "Samian Pottery, a Resource for the Study of Roman Britain and Beyond: the Results of the English Heritage Funded Samian Project." *Internet Archaeology* 17 2004: http://intArchaeologyac.uk/journal/issue17/willis_toc.html.
- Wilmott, A. 1978. "Kenchester: Interim Report on excavation." *West Midlands Archaeology News Sheet* 21: 69-74.
- Wilmott, A. 1980. "Kenchester (*Magnis*): A Reconsideration." *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists Field Club* 43: 117-33.
- Wilmott, A. and Rahtz, S. 1985. "An Iron Age and Roman Settlement Outside Kenchester (*Magnis*), Herefordshire. Excavations 1977-9." *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists Field Club* 45: 36-185.
- Wilson, D. R. 1975. "The 'Small Towns' of Roman Britain from the Air." pp. 9-49 in Rodwell and Rowley (eds.) 1975.
- Wilson, D. R. and May, J. 1965. "Ancaster." *East Midlands Archaeology Bulletin* 8: 13-14.
- Wilson, P. R. (ed.) 2002a. *Cataractonium: Roman Catterick and Its Hinterland, Vol. 1*. Council for British Archaeology Research Report 128: London.
- Wilson, P. R. (ed.) 2002b. *Cataractonium: Roman Catterick and Its Hinterland, Vol. 2*. Council for British Archaeology Research Report 128: London.
- Wilson, P. R. 2002c. "The Archaeological Background." pp. 1-8 in P. R. Wilson (ed.) 2002a.

- Wilson, P. R. 2002d. "Part I - Concluding Remarks." pp. 527-528 in P. R. Wilson (ed.) 2002a.
- Wilson, P. R. 2002e. "Roman Catterick Discussion." pp. 446-175 in P. R. Wilson (ed.) 2002b.
- Wilson, P. R. and Wacher, J.S. 2002. "Excavations by Professor J. S. Wacher." pp. 46-138 in P. R. Wilson (ed.) 2002a.
- Windell, D. 1984. "Irchester Roman Town: Excavations 1981-1982." *Northamptonshire Archaeology* 19: 31-51.
- Wise, P. 1992. "A Roman Gold Ring from Kinwarton Near Alcester, Warwickshire" *Britannia* 23: 254.
- Wolf, E. 1982. *Europe and the People Without History*. University of California Press: Berkeley.
- Wood, J. S. 1991. "'Build, Therefore, Your Own World': The New England Village as a Settlement Ideal." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 1991 81(1): 32-50.
- Woodfield, P. 1978. "Roman Architectural Masonry from Northamptonshire." *Northamptonshire Archaeology* 13: 67-86.
- Woodiwiss, S. 1992. *Iron Age and Roman Salt Production and the Medieval Town of Droitwich Reports of Excavations at the Old Bowling Green and Friar Street*. Council for British Archaeology Research Report 81: London.
- Woolf, G. 1992. "Imperialism, Empire, and the Integration of the Roman Economy." *World Archaeology* 23 (3): 283-293.
- Woolf, G. 1998. *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul*. University of Cambridge Press: Cambridge.
- Young, C.J. 1977. *Oxfordshire Roman Pottery*. British Archaeological Reports 43: Oxford.
- Zant, J. and Giocco, F. 1999. "Recent work in Carlisle" *Current Archaeology* 164: 306-9.