



The Iron Age archaeology of the upper Thames and north Oxfordshire region, with especial reference to the eastern Cotswolds

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctorate of Philosophy
Alexander Thomas Orr Lang
Hertford College, University of Oxford
Trinity 2008

Abstract

The Iron Age archaeology of the upper Thames and north Oxfordshire region, with especial reference to eastern Cotswolds

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctorate of Philosophy
Alexander Thomas Orr Lang
Hertford College, University of Oxford
Trinity 2008

This thesis considers the development of settlement landscapes in the Iron Age across two adjacent regions, the upland eastern Cotswolds and lowland upper Thames valley. Previous studies have focused on the differences in settlement form, economic practice and social development and therefore the possible dichotomy of heartland and hinterland landscapes. It is clear, however, that this is due to an imbalance of research brought about as a result of the natural landscape, interests of antiquarians and archaeologists and modern settlement focus and development.

A new dataset of cropmark and geophysical survey material is presented as a way of redressing the imbalance. The focus within this study on banjo enclosures also provides an opportunity to analyse what remains a relatively enigmatic and understudied site-type that appeared during the Middle and Late Iron Age. The results illustrated and discussed here provide the chance to outline new narratives that take into account both practical and non-functional interpretations. From this, more is elucidated regarding these sites within the context of Middle and Late Iron Age settlement landscape developments.

By integrating this new dataset within the wider context of the upper Thames and immediate environs a number of further and more general questions have been raised. These focus on the chronology of settlement development, the appearance and growth of exchange networks and the changing significance of open and enclosed settlements throughout the period. Differences have been used in the past to symbolise alternative social systems apparent across two settlement landscapes. However, as a result of the evidence presented here these perceptions are no longer viable as an interpretive framework. Instead, aspects of chronological development, settlement space and sphere of influence and interaction are discussed in relation to the evidence from Midlands and central southern Britain.

Acknowledgements

Many people have helped in ways too numerous to mention and as many as possible are thanked here in attempt to justify to them the time they took out of their own busy schedules to help me complete this thesis.

First and foremost I would like to thank my supervisor, Barry Cunliffe, for his advice and support throughout the duration of my time at the Institute. Thanks must also go to my internal reviewers for providing the odd push in the right direction.

Many thanks must go to the landowners and tenant farmers who allowed access to their land so that my geophysical surveys could be completed. For the hillforts, David Astor at Lyneham camp and the Gill family at Chastleton burrow. For Pieces Field and Bagneedle Barn, The Ditchley Estate and Laws and Fiennes land agents on their behalf; Robert Hobil the farm manager is also thanked for providing dates for access. To the Ivings (and especially Marilyn Ivings) for access to the site at Enstone Airfield, the landowner the Hon. Morris Robinson for allowing access to Middle Brooklan and the farmer David Jones for providing permission and access. Finally, the Vicky and Charles at Rollright Heath Farm for permission to survey their field, especially by allowing me to finish the final survey with the tractors at the gate!

The geophysical surveys themselves could not have been completed without the continued help of Bartlett-Clark geophysical consultants who leant their equipment when it was possible. Alister Bartlett must be gratefully thanked for all his assistance in the field and in the office. Fraser Prince is also thanked for his help in completing the final days of surveys at Enstone and Rollright.

Considerable thanks must also go to Hertford College for its financial support (through both hardship and travel funding) throughout my time at Oxford and for their continued understanding. The Institute of Archaeology, for hardship and offering me the library post and its Meyerstein Fund for allowing me to travel to conferences and seminars is also gratefully acknowledged. The University of Oxford is also acknowledged for its access to learning fund, which helped in my second and fourth years.

The members of Oxfordshire County Council, Hugh Coddington (Deputy County Archaeologist) and Susan Lisk the County SMR officer for being continually understanding and finding me some work in the SMR.

Thanks are also due to members of staff at English Heritage. At the APU, Helen Winton and Simon Crutchley must be thanked for the advice and assistance and especially to Sharon Bishop for taking the time out to help me learn about AERIAL at the NMR. Lindsay Jones must also be thanked for her help in supplying data from the AMIE database and providing assistance with the archive material and gaining permissions for the use of aerial photographs in this thesis. Dan Bashford (field monument warden) is thanked for discussions in field visits to Lyneham and Chastleton. Finally Chris Welch is thanked for providing the SMC licenses for surveying at both the hillfort sites.

For the use of unpublished or private information, W.A. Baker is thanked for the use of his photograph of Tomlin's Gate. GSB and Gloucestershire Archaeological Trust are both

thanked for their permission to use the geophysical survey image of Salmonsbury. Richard Massey is thanked for providing some of his unpublished M.A. material.

Some further archaeologists are also acknowledged for their assistance. First, Annette Hancocks, Gail Stoten and Cliff Bateman for providing details and reports from Cotswold Archaeology sites; CA in general is also thanked for providing three summers of work that allowed me to retain my sanity and my place at Oxford. To Phil Harding for the reports and discussions of Beach's Barn; Gill Hey for material from the Yarnton site ahead of its full publication and George Lambrick for many fruitful discussions on the Thames valley evidence and providing material ahead of the TTT publication. Finally numerous people must be thanked for many discussions: Paula Levick, Tom Moore, Paul Booth, Tim Allen, John Creighton, John Collis, Mike Allen, Dave McOmish, Bob Bewley and Richard Hingley.

Finally, to all my friends (who are too numerous to thank individually) who have been a superb bunch. They are gratefully thanked for providing so much support throughout this campaign of action and help me retain my sanity. Special mention in dispatches must go to Matt Symonds for his many lunches, advice and discussion points; to Toria and the turquoise torpedo for lasting the journey; to a certain Mr P. Naish for providing supporting literature; to John and Emma who saved my bacon on a number of occasions and finally to Dunc, Mac, Ash, Cate, Tom, Ria and Pete who have provided a great circle of close friends. Cheesy (and Lynsey) are also thanked for looking over some of my work and for providing many welcome breaks forcing me away from my work.

This thesis is dedicated to my family, without whom it would have neither started nor finished

For...

JMOL, AML & AJML

...I am truly grateful for all their patience and support

Table of Contents

Abstract

Acknowledgements

Dedication

Table of Contents

Page i

Chapters

Page ii

Appendices

Page v

List of Figures

Page vi

List of Tables

Page x

List of Graphs

Page xi

Abbreviations

Page xii

Chapters

1. Introduction

1.1 Aspects of the Iron Age in Central Southern Britain	<i>Page 1.</i>
1.2 The study area	<i>Page 3.</i>
1.3 Chronologies	<i>Page 5.</i>
1.4 The Later Prehistoric background	<i>Page 10.</i>
1.5 Reconstructing Iron Age settlement	<i>Page 13.</i>
1.6 An outline of this study	<i>Page 20.</i>

Part 1: The Region

2. The Physiographic Evidence

2.1 Introduction	<i>Page 23.</i>
2.2 The eastern Cotswolds and upper Thames regions	<i>Page 23.</i>
2.3 Geology	<i>Page 28.</i>
2.4 Soils	<i>Page 33.</i>
2.5 The regional climate and environment during the Iron Age	<i>Page 34.</i>
2.6 Archaeological implications of the geology, soils and environment	<i>Page 37.</i>

3. The Sources

3.1 Introduction	<i>Page 42.</i>
3.2 The development of an archaeological resource	<i>Page 46.</i>
3.3 Old Resources? the collation and presentation of past cropmark surveys	<i>Page 53.</i>
3.4 New sources: a methodology of the magnetometry surveys	<i>Page 63.</i>
3.5 Current questions: PPG 16, resource assessments and research agendas	<i>Page 70.</i>

Conclusions for Part 1

Page 72.

Part 2: The Evidence

4. The heart of the eastern Cotswolds region

4.1 Introduction	<i>Page 74.</i>
4.2 Hillfort Sites	<i>Page 75.</i>
4.3 Rectilinear and curvilinear settlement enclosures	<i>Page 81.</i>
4.4 Banjo enclosures	<i>Page 88.</i>
4.5 Distribution, location and topography of the cropmark sites	<i>Page 110.</i>
4.6 Further investigation of banjo enclosures: a unique Iron Age settlement type?	<i>Page 113.</i>
4.7 Attributes of the north Oxfordshire enclosures	<i>Page 129.</i>
4.8 Summary	<i>Page 149.</i>

5. Settlement patterns in the wider eastern Cotswolds

5.1 Introduction	<i>Page 150.</i>
5.2 The wider eastern Cotswolds region: the South-west	<i>Page 150.</i>
5.3 The wider eastern Cotswolds region: the North-east	<i>Page 170.</i>
5.4 General themes: The distribution and form of curvilinear and rectilinear cropmarks	<i>Page 180.</i>
5.5 Hillfort narratives	<i>Page 194.</i>
5.6 The North Oxfordshire Grim's Ditch	<i>Page 210.</i>
5.7 Conclusion	<i>Page 219.</i>

6. Settlement, society and economy beyond the eastern Cotswolds

6.1 Introduction	<i>Page 220.</i>
6.2 Early Iron Age settlement patterns	<i>Page 221.</i>
6.3 Middle/Later Iron Age settlement patterns	<i>Page 227.</i>
6.4 Late Iron Age settlement patterns	<i>Page 235.</i>
6.5 Social patterns and settlement interpretations	<i>Page 241.</i>
6.6 Economic patterns: comparative agricultural practices	<i>Page 248.</i>

6.7 Economic patterns through local exchange networks	<i>Page 258.</i>
6.8 Economic patterns through wider exchange networks	<i>Page 264.</i>
6.9 Summary and conclusion for part 2	<i>Page 283.</i>

Part 3: Themes

7. Settlement, space and social context

1. Chronologies, communities and developing identity

7.1 The Late Bronze Age: 1500 – 800 BC	<i>Page 287.</i>
7.2 The Early Iron Age: 800 – 400/300 BC	<i>Page 289.</i>
7.3 The Middle Iron Age: 400/300 – 1 BC	<i>Page 294.</i>
7.4 The Late Iron Age: AD 1 – 43	<i>Page 307.</i>

2. Settlement space

7.5 Settlement landscapes: aesthetics and practicalities	<i>Page 315.</i>
7.6 Aspects of ritual and domestic settlement space	<i>Page 338.</i>

3. Enclosed landscapes: broader views on banjo distribution

7.7 The north Oxfordshire environs	<i>Page 347.</i>
7.8 Southern Britain	<i>Page 348.</i>
Conclusions	<i>Page 357.</i>

Conclusions for part 3

8. Conclusions

8.1 Introduction	<i>Page 358.</i>
8.2 The Iron Age of north Oxfordshire	<i>Page 358.</i>
8.3 The Iron Age of the upper Thames	<i>Page 361.</i>
8.4 The view from the eastern Cotswolds: Heartland vs Hinterland?	<i>Page 364.</i>
8.5 Future research agenda	<i>Page 365.</i>

Appendices

Appendix 1: Excavations and findspots

1. Gazetteer of excavated sites and recorded findspots
2. Table of recorded findspots
3. Table of coin finds

Appendix 2: Cropmark evidence

1. Definite enclosures
2. Cropmarks sites with AP references
3. Cropmarks of the eastern Cotswold areas

Appendix 3: Geophysical surveys

1. Chastleton
2. Lyneham
3. Pieces Field
4. Bagneedle Barn
5. Enstone Airfield
6. Middle Brooklan
7. Rollright Heath

List of Figures

Chapter 1

- 1.1 *The location of the study area in southern Britain* Page 4.
- 1.2 *An outline of chronological timescales for the Iron Age period* Page 6.
- 1.3 *Different site chronologies in the upper Thames and Cotswold region.* Page 9.
- 1.4 *Location of known settlements of Late Bronze Age date in the upper Thames valley* Page 12.

Chapter 2

- 2.1 *The main river systems of the study area.* Page 25.
- 2.2 *The three ‘areas’ of the eastern Cotswolds region* Page 27.
- 2.3 *The areas susceptible to flooding and alluvial deposition during the Iron Age* Page 32.

Chapter 3

- 3.1 *The 10 sq. km grid squares used in the collation of data within this thesis* Page 43.
- 3.2 *The 10 sq. km grid squares set against the base map of the study area* Page 44.
- 3.3 *An example of the grid system set against the 1:50 000 OS map for SP 42* Page 45.
- 3.4 *The Royal Commission/English Heritage aerial survey projects within the study area* Page 57.
- 3.5 *Classificatory terms for curvilinear and rectilinear enclosures* Page 60.
- 3.6 *A map of all Iron Age cropmark sites within the eastern Cotswolds* Page 62.
- 3.7 *The grid system used to record data during the magnetometer surveys* Page 65.
- 3.8 *Sites surveyed using magnetometry as part of this study* Page 69.

Chapter 4

- 4.1 *Distribution map of sites within the heartland area* Page 75.
- 4.2 *The excavations of Bayne at Lyneham Camp in 1956 transcribed onto the OS map* Page 76.
- 4.3 *Survey plot of magnetometer results from Lyneham* Page 77.
- 4.4 *Leeds’ excavations at Chastleton in 1928 and ‘29 transcribed onto the OS map* Page 78.
- 4.5 *Survey plot of magnetometer results from Chastleton* Page 80.
- 4.6 *Site plan of Iron Age features at Glympton* Page 84.
- 4.7 *Survey plot of magnetometer results from Pieces Field, Ditchley* Page 93.

4.8	<i>Transcription of aerial photograph of the Dustfield Farm banjo enclosure</i>	Page 94.
4.9	<i>Aerial photograph of the banjo enclosure at Lidstone Hill</i>	Page 95.
4.10	<i>Aerial photograph of the Chalford Oaks banjo enclosure</i>	Page 96.
4.11	<i>Survey plot of magnetometer results from Bagneedle Barn</i>	Page 98.
4.12	<i>Survey plot of magnetometer results from Middle Brooklan Field</i>	Page 100.
4.13	<i>Site plan of trenches and distribution map of artefacts from the Tomlin's Gate banjo enclosure</i>	Page 102.
4.14	<i>Aerial photograph of the Callow Hill banjo enclosure</i>	Page 103.
4.15	<i>Survey plot of magnetometer results from Enstone airfield</i>	Page 105.
4.16	<i>The banjo enclosure sites suggested by Hingley's research in the upper Thames and eastern Cotswolds region</i>	Page 118.
4.17	<i>Banjo enclosures previously transcribed by Hingley</i>	Page 119.
4.18	<i>Excavated banjo enclosures from the Wessex region</i>	Page 122.
4.19	<i>The interpretation by Richard Hingley of two possible functions of banjo enclosures</i>	Page 124.
4.20	<i>Idealised pattern of use at the banjo enclosure of Nettlebank Copse, Hants</i>	Page 128.
4.21	<i>The banjo enclosures of the upper Thames and eastern Cotswolds region</i>	Page 132.
4.22	<i>A detailed distribution map of banjo enclosures of the eastern Cotswolds</i>	Page 133.
4.23	<i>Aerial photograph of the Tomlin's Gate banjo enclosure</i>	Page 134.
4.24	<i>Aerial photograph of the banjo enclosure at Blue Barn Farm</i>	Page 135.
4.25	<i>Survey plot of magnetometer results from Rollright Heath</i>	Page 139.
4.26	<i>Transcription of aerial photographs of the double banjo complex at Brasenose Farm</i>	Page 144.
4.27	<i>Differing positions of entranceways in two North Oxfordshire enclosures</i>	Page 147.

Chapter 5

5.1	<i>Distribution map of sites within the south-west area</i>	Page 151.
5.2	<i>Recent excavations at Bourton-on-the-Water Primary and Secondary Schools</i>	Page 153.
5.3	<i>Trench from Bourton Primary School excavated in 1998</i>	Page 155.
5.4	<i>Excavations by Dunning at Salmonsbury</i>	Page 156.
5.5	<i>The results of wide-scale geophysics at Salmonsbury</i>	Page 159.
5.6	<i>The Middle Iron Age settlement at Deer Park Road, Witney</i>	Page 161.
5.7	<i>Distribution map of sites within the north-east area</i>	Page 170.
5.8	<i>Excavation trenches at Madmarston</i>	Page 172.

5.9	<i>Iron Age features excavated at Heyford Road, Steeple Aston</i>	Page 176.
5.10	<i>Distribution map of curvilinear enclosures in the eastern Cotswolds region</i>	Page 187.
5.11	<i>Distribution map of rectilinear enclosures in the eastern Cotswolds region</i>	Page 191.
5.12	<i>Hillforts of the eastern Cotswolds region</i>	Page 199.
5.13	<i>The possible chronological development of hillforts in the eastern Cotswolds</i>	Page 205.
5.14	<i>The two circuits of the North Oxfordshire Grim's Ditch</i>	Page 212.
5.15	<i>The Late Iron Age circuit of the NOGD in relation to cropmark sites of the eastern Cotswolds</i>	Page 214.

Chapter 6

6.1	<i>Early Iron Age sites and settlements discussed in the text</i>	Page 222.
6.2	<i>Middle Iron Age sites and settlements mentioned in the text</i>	Page 227.
6.3	<i>Settlement sites across the LWMS</i>	Page 231.
6.4	<i>Middle Iron Age features and the inhumation cemetery at Yarnton</i>	Page 231.
6.5	<i>Late Iron Age sites and settlements mentioned in the text</i>	Page 236.
6.6	<i>The excavations at Cassington that revealed Iron Age material</i>	Page 238.
6.7	<i>Richard Hingley's suggestion of idealised settlement for the upper Thames</i>	Page 243.
6.8	<i>Moore's idealised view of social networks</i>	Page 246.
6.9	<i>Distribution map of sites with evidence of briquetage</i>	Page 268.
6.10	<i>Distribution map of sites that have revealed quern stones</i>	Page 272.
6.11	<i>Distribution map of sites that have revealed currency bars</i>	Page 277.

Chapter 7

7.1	<i>A Middle Iron Age map of natural and man-made resources beyond the eastern Cotswolds and upper Thames</i>	Page 299.
7.2	<i>The possible development of an ancestral focal area on the second terrace in the Lower Windrush</i>	Page 303.
7.3	<i>Potential influences and the development during the Late Iron Age in the south & south-east from c. 100 BC</i>	Page 308.
7.4	<i>An idealised illustration of an 'open' settlement</i>	Page 317.
7.5	<i>An idealised perspective on enclosed settlements within the Thames valley and eastern Cotswolds</i>	Page 320.
7.6	<i>An example from the Thames valley of the potential focus of activity of domestic space</i>	Page 321.
7.7	<i>Interpretative illustration of the Pieces field, Ditchley enclosure</i>	Page 326.
7.8	<i>Photograph of the dry valley at Enstone airfield</i>	

7.9	<i>Interpretative illustration of the Enstone airfield enclosure</i>	Page 328.
7.10	<i>Interpretative illustration of the Bagneedle barn enclosure</i>	Page 329.
7.11	<i>Interpretative illustration of the Middle Brooklan enclosure</i>	Page 330.
7.12	<i>Two possible functionalistic interpretations of the Rollright Heath enclosure</i>	Page 333.
7.13	<i>Hingley's idealised version of an 'open' settlement</i>	Page 335.
7.14	<i>Ritualistic interpretations from two eastern Cotswolds banjo sites</i>	Page 336.
7.15	<i>Cluster areas for banjo enclosures in central southern Britain</i>	Page 345.
7.16	<i>Distribution map of banjo enclosures across the Hampshire Downs</i>	Page 349.
7.17	<i>Distribution map of banjo enclosures across Cranborne Chase</i>	Page 350.
7.18	<i>Distribution map of banjo enclosures across the Lambourn Downs</i>	Page 352.
7.19	<i>Distribution map of banjo enclosures across the eastern Cotswolds</i>	Page 353.
		Page 354.

List of tables

Chapter 3

- 3.1 *The numerical assignations for Chastleton hillfort* Page 46.

Chapter 4

- 4.1 *The numbers of banjo enclosures identified in southern Britain through regional aerial surveys* Page 120.

Chapter 5

- 5.1 *Cropmark enclosures from the eastern Cotswolds region* Page 181.
- 5.2 *Significant hillfort sites from the wider Cotswold (and Jurassic ridge) region and the Oxfordshire Ridgeway* Page 197.
- 5.3 *Hillfort sites from the eastern Cotswolds region* Page 198.

Chapter 6

- 6.1 *Coins from the study area prior to the digitisation of the Celtic Coin Index* Page 279.
- 6.2 *Coins from the study area.* Page 280.
- 6.3 *The Dobunnic coins of the region with metallurgical divisions* Page 282.

List of Graphs

Chapter 4

- 4.1 *Histogram of entrance direction for banjo enclosures in the eastern Cotswolds and upper Thames*
Page 146.

Chapter 5

- 5.1 *The breakdown of differing enclosure types from the Eastern Cotswolds region*
Page 182.
- 5.2 *The breakdown of enclosures within the eastern Cotswolds region from the different areas*
Page 182.
- 5.3 *Distribution of cropmark enclosures in relation to modern water courses*
Page 183.
- 5.4 *Distribution of cropmark enclosures with regards to height above sea-level*
Page 184.

Chapter 6

- 6.1 *The varying types of Dobunnian coinage recorded from the Eastern Cotswolds*
Page 282.

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used throughout the course of this study.

EH	–	English Heritage
AONB	–	Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty
NOGD	–	North Oxfordshire Grim’s Ditch
SMR	–	Sites and Monuments Record office (County records office)
PRN	–	Primary Record Number (unique number assigned by the SMR)
NMR	–	National Monuments Record centre (English Heritage records office)
AMIE	–	Archives Monument Information England (EH database)
SAM	–	Scheduled Ancient Monument (unique number assigned by EH to protected sites)
OUAS	–	Oxford University Archaeology Society
OAU/OA	–	Oxfordshire Archaeological Unit (which is now Oxford Archaeology)
CRAAGS	–	the Committee for Rescue Archaeology in Avon, Gloucestershire and Somerset
NMP	–	National Mapping Programme
NOAS	–	North Oxfordshire Aerial Survey
GCCAS	–	Gloucestershire County Council Archaeology Service
CAT/CA	–	Cotswold Archaeological Trust (now Cotswold Archaeology)
DIRFT	–	Daventry International Rail Freight Terminal
LWMS	–	Lower Windrush Multiple Settlement

1. Introduction

1.1 Aspects of the Iron Age in Central Southern Britain

It is twenty-four years since the publication of the proceedings of a conference held in Oxford that revolutionised Iron Age studies in southern Britain (Cunliffe and Miles 1984). The significance of this volume was that the contributions integrated so many different strands of academic research, commercial investigation and environmental, landscape and material-culture studies by those who were working in different archaeological disciplines. It also helped to show for the first time the wide range of methods used for gathering datasets within the region. Two of the papers within the publication focused on the wealth of evidence from the upper Thames valley that helped to provide the backbone of a new theoretical interpretation of Iron Age society (Hingley and Miles 1984; Hingley 1984a). The significance of these two papers was that they analysed evidence from the upper Thames and north Oxfordshire Cotswolds together, the last time that this has happened. Since then, discussions and reviews have largely focused on the archaeological evidence from the Thames valley, at the cost of losing the regional focus with evidence from north Oxfordshire being described as “having enormous potential” (Miles 1997, 18) or “poorly understood” (Hey 2007, 157).

The aim of this study is to redress this research imbalance by demonstrating that the datasets from the north Oxfordshire Cotswolds have as much to tell us about Iron Age settlement, social and cultural patterns as those from the Thames valley. In order to critically evaluate many of the preconceptions regarding the evidence from the ‘hinterland’, new evidence in the form of review, assessment and analysis of recent aerial

survey material alongside geophysical surveys of specifically targeted hillfort and banjo enclosure sites has been integrated into the core archaeological dataset of the region. Previous discussions have also relied on seeing the region as a dichotomous split between lowland and upland regions, open and enclosed landscapes, and heartland against hinterland social and economic models and therefore outlined in an overly simplistic theoretical framework. For this study to succeed in redressing the imbalance it must question in its entirety the preconceptions held regarding the patterns of settlement, interaction and social development that have been previously considered for both the upper Thames and north Oxfordshire regions. Furthermore, by focusing on the dense cluster of banjo enclosures within the region, further information can be elucidated on their form, location and potential function within the wider context of southern Britain where these sites are numerous.

This study therefore reverts to a regional-based focus that analyses the various datasets without preconceived emphasis on either archaeological evidence or certain methods of theoretical interpretation. By focusing on aspects of chronology, settlement space and ritual and domestic life, a clearer perspective on how these developed throughout the first Millennium BC can be gained. Furthermore, this thesis looks at how communities, groups and networks developed during the Iron Age. By analysing exchange items, settlement form, enclosure-type and comparing them to the surrounding regions, we gain a better understanding of the complicated relationships that appear to govern the region during that period. This also adds depth to our understanding, so that it is not just about how we interpret the archaeological evidence but how we define our interpretations.

1.2 The study area

Studies of Iron Age archaeology often cite southern Britain as the most intensively studied region in the country. To some extent this is true with certain places (e.g. the Danebury environs and aspects of research in the Thames valley) having defined new discourses, methods of investigation or chronologies. There are, however, gaps in the record, usually upland areas that – as mentioned above – have been regarded as hinterland areas. Two of these, the eastern Cotswolds and the Lambourn Downs, are being addressed through archaeological research at present. One is this study and the other by another Oxford student, Paula Levick, who will finish her research soon.

The upper Thames and north Oxfordshire regions sit at the northern boundary of central-southern Britain. The River Thames and its tributaries drain in an easterly, south-easterly or southerly direction with the northern limit of the study region bounded by the edge of the limestone hills that fall away into the drainage landscape of the Warwickshire Avon. To the west is the wider Cotswolds region and beyond the Severn Valley. To the east and north-east, the limestone hills continue as the east Midlands Jurassic ridge and the headwaters of the Nene and Great Ouse rivers that flow across central eastern England. The study region sits at the boundary of all of these (fig. 1.1) and yet so often research has focused solely on the evidence from regions further south, limiting the scope of potential understanding by excluding areas to the north, east and west that may tell us as much about settlement, society and spheres of interaction.

Within the study area itself, the focus of work in the Thames valley has also dominated due to the scale of development, aggregate extraction and construction during the last century,

which has led to its pre-eminent status in archaeological investigation and research. But for one fundamental limitation, the eastern Cotswolds would have been studied here as a distinct archaeological region, however, it lacks any equivalent wide-scale investigation. Whilst there is still a considerable amount (see chapters 4 and 5) it is not enough to be considered in its own right. It therefore requires comparison with those areas more extensively excavated to the west (the wider Cotswolds) and the south (the upper Thames) (chapter 6). It is an advantage that both of these regions have been studied and reviewed recently (e.g. Moore 2006; Hey 2007; Dodd *forthcoming*), permitting the research outlined here to be integrated into an up-to-date regional framework.

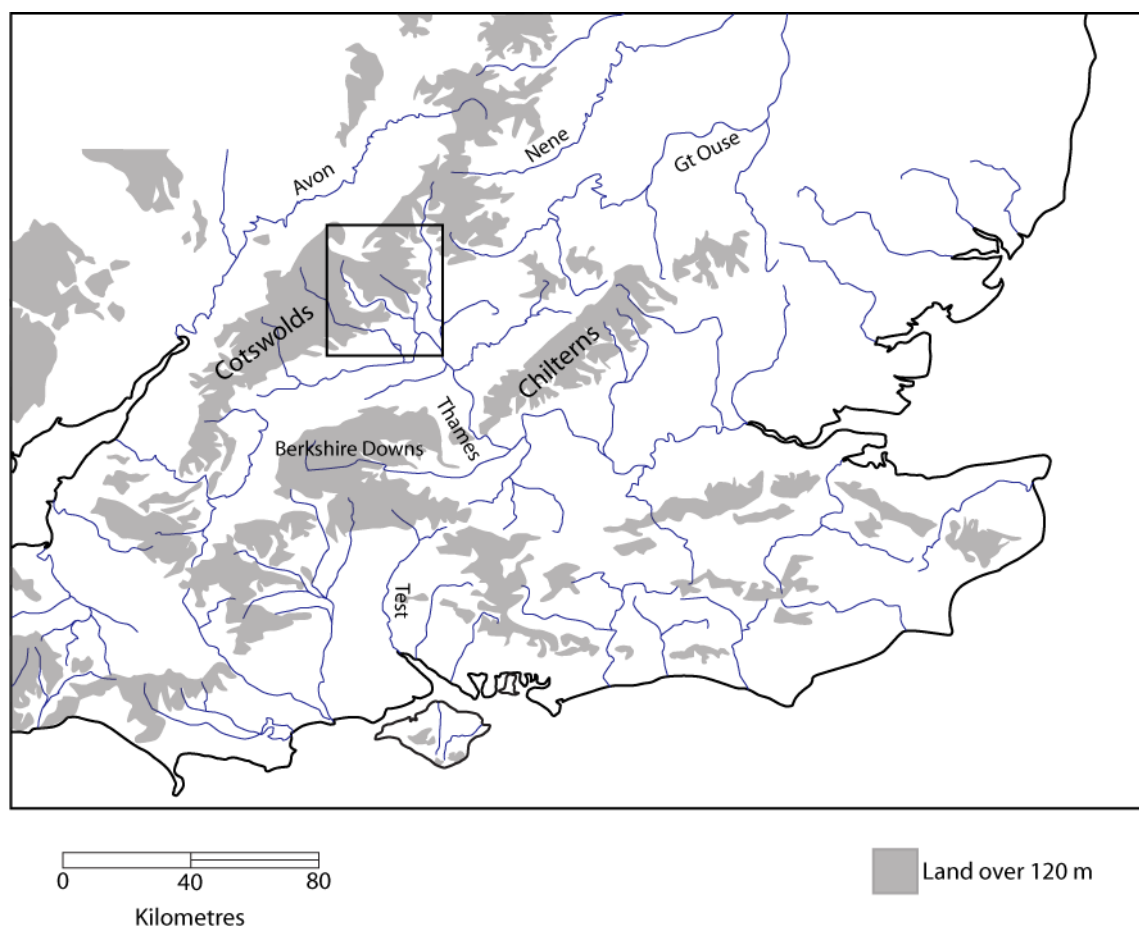


Figure 1.1: The location of the study area in southern Britain (A. Lang)

1.3 Chronologies

Even with the recent work that has gone on in the eastern Cotswolds and surrounding regions, chronological issues still remain a serious concern within wider Iron Age studies. Recently, a review of the evidence has stated that outside Wessex and the south east “there is no part of Britain where the Iron Age chronological framework is understood in more than outline terms” (Haselgrove *et al* 2001, 2).

The Thames valley is of crucial significance to this discourse as it lies at the intersection of a number of different chronological frameworks (fig.1.2). To the south, Cunliffe has outlined a five-stage system for the Iron Age starting at 800 BC (2005, 32). To the north-west, Moore has outlined a two-stage system of the ‘Earlier’ and ‘Later’ Iron Age, also starting at 800 BC (2006, 41), while studies focusing on the Thames valley itself have tended to retain the tripartite division of Early, Middle and Late, with the start of the Iron Age recently put at 750 BC (Allen 2000; Hey and Timby *forthcoming*).

Chronological issues for the Iron Age focus on the precise dating of period transitions and the appearance of new forms of enclosure and settlement and types and styles of material-culture evidence. The large amount of work in Wessex (and a robust radiocarbon dating programme) has allowed Cunliffe to break up the period into clear 200-300 year cycles, based on site-type, pottery styles and the evolution of sites in the landscape. This is far less visible in other regions, like the Cotswolds, which is why Moore has been cautious to assign too many sub-periods to his study of the Iron Age. He also avoids using the term ‘Late Iron Age’ as he suggests that in the Cotswolds there was no widespread adoption of material culture and shifts in social or settlements patterns that marks this transition

elsewhere. This is part of a wider move away from more complex divisions, suggesting a less regimented framework for the Iron Age of ‘Earlier’ and ‘Later’ periods (Hill 1999; 2002; Moore 2006; Haselgrove & Moore 2007a; Haselgrove & Pope 2007a).

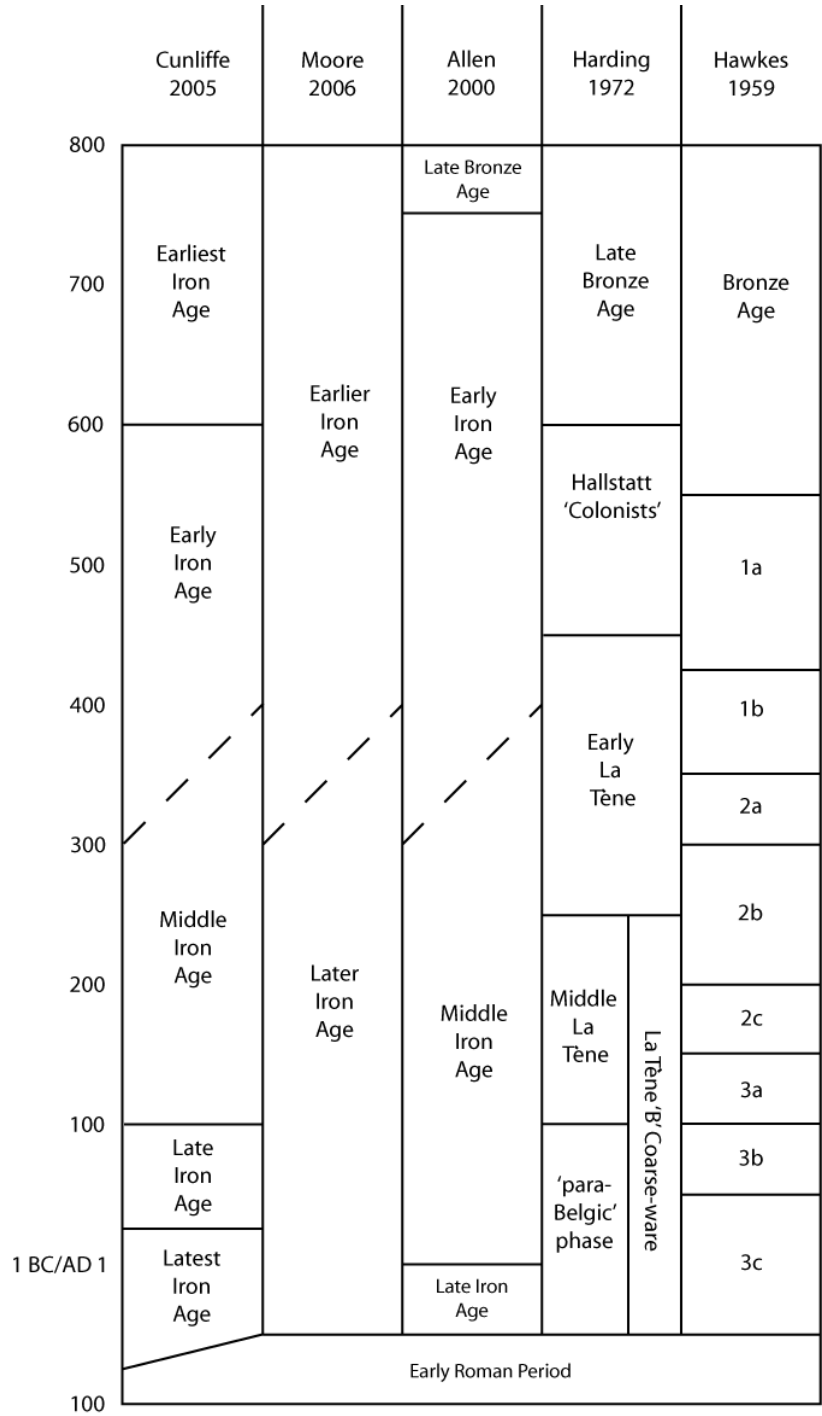


Figure 1.2: An outline of chronological timescales for the Iron Age period from different authors of the period. (A. Lang)

The principal limitation when attempting to present a tightly defined chronology for the Upper Thames and eastern Cotswold region is the lack of radiocarbon dates available. The only major sequence within the study area comes from the Yarnton cemetery (Hey *et al* 1999). This problem is further exacerbated by the fact that some sites that have been excavated in the eastern Cotswolds were done so during the period of Hawkes' ABC chronology. Many of these have not been re-assessed, and it is often difficult to place these sites within a wider framework because of that. Nonetheless, this has been attempted as a way of trying to define and place these sites in a similar context in figure 1.3.

For this study, a tripartite division has been retained. The framework fits most clearly with the evidence from the region with evidence clearly showing transitions between the Early to Middle and Middle to Late Iron Age periods. In recent literature it has been convincingly argued that the Iron Age started c. 800 BC (Cunliffe 2005; Needham 2007) visible in part through changes in material culture and apparent alterations to the principal interests in agricultural practices; therefore this date is used here as a starting point for the Iron Age. Whilst the earlier date of the ironworking at Hartshill Copse during the Late Bronze Age is recognised as being significant (Collard *et al* 2006), it does not necessarily follow that the boundary of an entire period should be moved back because of a single site. It should also be noted that the lack of an equivalent transition from the Earliest to Early Iron Ages in the study region, unlike Wessex, may also mean that in future years the start of the Early Iron Age may be pushed towards a later date. The Early to Middle Iron Age transition occurs during the 4th/3rd Centuries BC across southern Britain. Enough evidence, visible in the changes in pottery styles and enclosure forms and growth in quantity of items such as iron in the archaeological record mark this clearly throughout the region (Allen 2000; Cunliffe 2005; Moore 2006). For the Late Iron Age the transition is less clear for the

region and the date for this has often been placed in the early 1st Century BC. This date can be retained for certain areas, particularly in the south-east, which has relatively close contact with the continent at this time. However, recent work has outlined a revised chronology where areas further away from the south-east region, such as the upper Thames and East Anglia. Archaeological evidence from certain sites defines the Late Iron Age as occurring only in the last 50 years of the Iron Age period (Allen 2000; Booth *et al* 2007; Hill 2007). This would also explain why there was not a universal adoption of new pottery styles or settlement forms or the widespread appearance of artefacts such as coinage. Thus a very late date for the Late Iron Age has been adopted throughout the course of this study as one that best fits with the archaeological evidence.

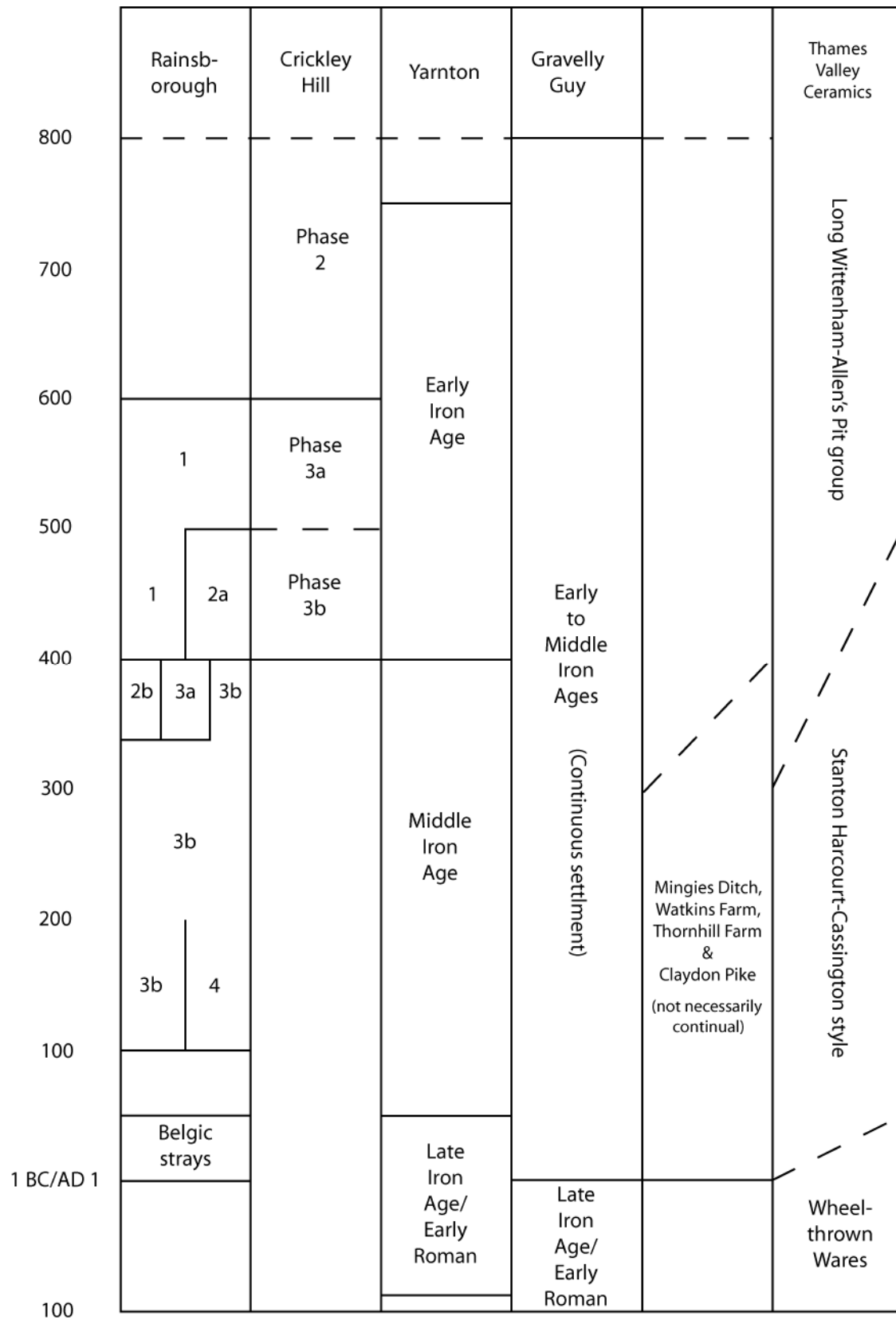


Figure 1.3: A table of different chronological markers for sites and material culture within the upper Thames and Cotswold region. (A. Lang)

1.4 The Later Prehistoric background

In order to appreciate fully the development of Iron Age settlement and society within the upper Thames and eastern Cotswolds, it is necessary to review briefly the regional Later Prehistoric evidence. As with the Iron Age period, this archaeological evidence is biased in favour of the Thames valley. There are two principal reasons for this; first, archaeologists throughout the 20th Century have focused on the high profile funerary and ritual monuments, principally located along the gravels and second, excavations in general, for reasons outlined in chapter 3, have concentrated on these gravels. This bias has had a clear impact on site and settlement distribution maps within the region and the majority of information discussed here relates to the gravels.

The upper Thames appears to form the northern part of a zone of interaction within the central south, incorporating causewayed enclosures, henges, cursus monuments, and elite burials in barrow cemeteries. The appearance of these particular styles of funerary practice and monumental architecture across the region suggests broad similarities, although the intra-site relationships vary markedly across the region (Bradley 1990, 15).

The Middle Bronze Age (MBA) marks clear changes in the archaeological record for the upper Thames region. The appearance of Deverel-Rimbury pottery coincides with the end of construction of the large monuments and the beginning of more intensive agricultural practices. In the upper Thames there are clear associations with material-culture assemblages further south, but the archaeological material from the middle and lower Thames demonstrates even more obvious signs of interaction.

Over the last two decades excavations have uncovered a startling number of sites that clearly display the changes brought about by a shift in settlement and farming practices. The main innovations during this period are ditched land divisions, co-axial field systems, and possible associated settlements. Such sites are found in both the middle Thames and the southern part of the upper Thames (Allen *et al* 1997; Yates 1999). They show that the landscape was being transformed by the pressures of more intensive cultivation and that the Thames had become a significant exchange, transport, and communication route in the central south and south-east. During the MBA these features are not observed further north than Radley and Abingdon, and while there are clear settlement developments at Yarnton (Allen *et al* 1997, 124-5), it is only in the Late Bronze Age that field systems of this type spread throughout the upper Thames as far west as Shorncote (Yates 1999, 162) (fig. 1.4).

It has been suggested that agricultural intensification and nucleation of settlements along the Thames valley was brought about, in part, by a move towards a largely pastoral economy reliant on cattle and sheep (Miles 1997, 9). Yates (1999) has suggested that this altered the form and nature of field systems, which often had associated droveways allowing easy movement and control of stock. These were marked by ditches (sometime double and triple) and presumably hedges and fences. This move towards a more intensive form of stock-raising developed alongside changes in settlement pattern and a greater clustering of sites. These were controlled by or focused around specific regional power centres (*op. cit.* 162, fig. 3). This development of social hierarchy is significant for the Iron Age of the region and will be discussed further later.

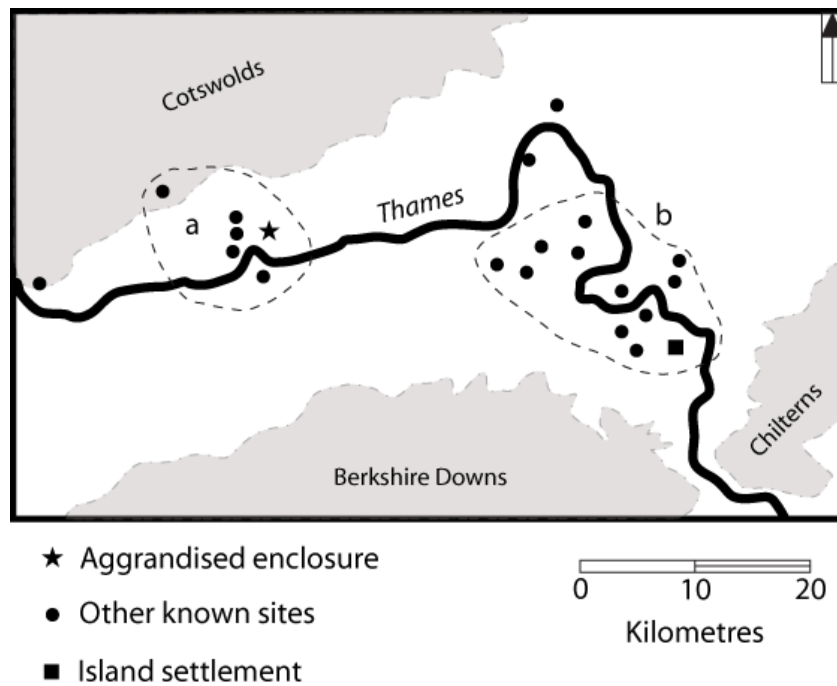


Figure 1.4: Location of known settlements of Late Bronze Age date in the upper Thames valley, showing possible regional power centres: a. Lechlade; b. Wallingford. (A. Lang, after: Yates 1999, 162, fig. 3)

Alongside these changes, there is also a demise in the creation of or addition to, new funerary or other monuments during the MBA. These monuments were already significant, having an impact on the later settlement landscape of the region, but changes in funerary practice, marked by the development of urn-cemeteries, come to the fore. There are good examples at Barrow Hills and Standlake. There is also the practice of inserting later cremations into the barrows of earlier periods. This demise (and the rise of new social hierarchies it reflects) coincides with the rise of potential ‘water-cults’ identified in the archaeological record through the deposition of metalwork and possibly the dead (Bradley 1990, 97 ff.). The position of recorded depositional material along the Thames coincides with the nucleated settlement groups of the Late Bronze Age (Yates 1999, 163) further suggesting major social changes. Not much evidence of this deposition comes from the study area, but perhaps the cauldron retrieved from the Cherwell at Shipton-on-Cherwell (Leeds 1930) is one such example.

For the Cotswold region, the evidence is not quite so clear cut and the impact of human occupation and monumental construction on the landscape may not have been quite as permanent as in the Thames valley. It has been argued that when sites such as Condicote henge (O'Neil 1957) and the Ascott-under-Wychwood long barrow (Benson *et al* 2007) went out of use the local environment reverted to woodland, suggesting that they were situated in woodland clearings rather than open countryside (Robinson pers. comm. 2005). There is also a severe lack of evidence for the Middle and Late Bronze Age periods. This is potentially changing with greater levels of excavation further north and west (e.g. Coleman *et al* 2006) but only the site at Stow-on-the-Wold appears to date to this period (Parry 1999). The excavations of a large ditch feature during the 1990s suggested the location of a hillfort underneath the medieval town. Further examples of early hilltop enclosures or settlements have been suggested at Norbury (Cunliffe 2005, 396), Crickley Hill (Dixon 1994), Madmarston (Fowler 1960, 26) and Rainsborough (Avery, Sutton and Banks 1967, 291).

1.5 Reconstructing Iron Age settlement

The transition from the Middle to Late Bronze Age and thus into the Iron Age is marked by a dramatic change in the nature of archaeological evidence. For the first time, settlements become the major feature visible for this period appearing in many different guises across the landscape. This has, understandably, formed a major focus of investigations and discussions for the period. But the term settlement itself can have a number of implied meanings and concerns are often raised regarding the modern constructs that are allied with the term (e.g. Brück and Goodman 1999).

The majority of evidence discussed through the course of this study derives from settlements and it is therefore important to clearly define the meaning of the term as adopted here. It is used here in a relatively broad interpretive sense, encompassing aspects such as sleeping, eating and living, as well as where many of the daily activities took place; processing, production and storage, whether that is livestock, foodstuffs or more personal items.

Size and shape also form a part of the interpretive framework as settlements occur in very different forms throughout the period. They range from the large multivallate hillforts to single roundhouse sites. Many of the cropmark sites described in chapters 4 and 5 are also described as settlements if they have some of the appropriate attributes, including roundhouse structures, pits and internal divisions. However, there are potential losses to the settlement record by using only cropmark sites, which include some specifically targeted for geophysical survey. The growth in recognition in the last two decades of 'open' settlements has dramatically altered our understanding of Early Iron Age settlement practices (Haselgrove and Pope 2007b; Moore 2007a) and is certainly one explanation for their large-scale absence from the archaeological record (Haselgrove and Pope 2007b, 5). This means that we are perhaps dealing with an unbalanced record for the eastern Cotswolds as the process of analysis and identification leaves out many such sites.

Nevertheless, a significant number of settlement sites have been identified through the course of this study. Two principal forms are the focus of investigations, the hillforts of the region and the numerous banjo enclosures. Hillforts are, perhaps, the most widely known of the enclosed settlements. Those of the eastern Cotswolds lie within the 'hillfort dominated zone' defined by Cunliffe, and have often been considered settlement sites

(Hawkes 1931; Hingley and Miles 1984; Miles 1997; Cunliffe 2005). However, for this region the majority are relatively small, suggesting that they do not necessarily fit within a broader framework of site-type and chronology, and this topic will be addressed fully in chapter 5.

As has already been mentioned, a number of banjo enclosures were specifically targeted for geophysical surveys as part of this study. This form of enclosure is common across central-southern Britain, appearing during the Middle to Late Iron Age. Those identified recently in the eastern Cotswolds represent a significant number that adds much to the discussion of their position in the Iron Age settlement landscape. Alongside the other cropmark enclosures, these are much smaller than the hillfort sites and are therefore considered as individual or small-scale farmstead sites.

The terminology of settlement sites

The use of the terms hillfort, *oppida*, and banjo enclosure in this chapter and throughout the course of this study is somewhat contentious. All of these terms have been used in certain studies not only as terms of description but also as terms of subjective definition. It is therefore important and necessary to further explain and discuss their uses in this study here, and how these compare and relate to other studies of Iron Age southern Britain that also use them.

The use of ‘hillfort’ within Iron Age studies can be described as particularly contentious as it is often allied with certain theoretical interpretations of Iron Age settlement and society. The term was first used as an all-inclusive one for defended settlements or strongholds,

broadly dating to the Iron Age, that were located on the top or edge of hills. The overriding view was that they were strongholds against successive waves of invasion, ending with the Roman armies arriving in AD 43. In introducing the term, Hawkes was trying to move away from using a phrase with historical connotations, that of a 'camp', which harked back to earlier antiquarians who had interpreted these sites as memorials of Roman rule (Hawkes 1931, 60). Is the term 'hillfort', therefore, too symbolic of certain theoretical developments in archaeological study?

The answer is undoubtedly yes, largely due to its own historical implications. This has been added to with its association to certain sites in southern Britain and the development of hierarchical 'chiefdom' models with certain sites serving as significant residences and focal points in the landscape (e.g. Cunliffe 1984; 1995). In part because of this there has been a move away from the use of this term in recent years. This trend has been influenced by the numerous excavations and surveys that have shown that the sites are not necessarily large-scale settlements, and often there is little sign of attack or destruction that might have highlighted the need for 'defence'. In Iron Age research some, at least, have placed too strong an emphasis on these sites, which others argue are not necessarily representative of the British Iron Age (e.g. Hill 1995a). There are also questions as to whether or not the traditional interpretations of these sites as central places or chief residences are correct (Collis 1981; 1996; Hill 1996).

Nevertheless, hillfort is still a useful term for a particular form of monument as long as it is clearly defined. In the Cotswolds at least, there are a reasonable number of hill-top sites with large and probably defensive earthworks and, for the moment at least, the term has been retained here because of this. First, it allows the inclusion of a significant number of

sites that have been classified as such by the Sites and Monuments Record officer (SMR) or English Heritage that have had no previous survey or excavation. Second, the breadth of characteristics makes it difficult to define these sites as a single group, which allows simple grouping of complex sites. Third, many of these sites remain as earthwork monuments and their significance within the modern landscape sets them apart from other sites that have been ploughed out and remain only as cropmarks. Many hillforts still impose themselves upon the modern landscape and are visible remnants of prehistoric labour and society. Finally, construction methods often differ considerably to other sites within this region.

A further point is that sites from the study such as area as Salmonsbury and Cassington have been included in previous studies within the category of hillforts (e.g. Dunning 1976; Sutton 1966; Hingley and Miles 1984). However, these two sites are topographically, chronologically and, in all likelihood, functionally different from those located atop more elevated positions in the landscape. Their lowland position and the Late Iron Age date of earthwork construction puts them in an entirely different category and, as such, they are discussed as ‘valleyforts’ throughout the course of this study. The fort at Burroway (see chapter 6) has also been wrongly classified as a hillfort site. Though it does appear to date to the same period as hillforts, it cannot be considered to be in the same category since it is located on an island in the Thames.

Questions have also been raised regarding the use of the term *oppida* for sites in Britain. Numerous queries have been raised over its validity within a British context (e.g. Haselgrove 2001, 45; Hill 1995a, 70). However, its use here should not be confused with a very different definition for certain sites on the European continent (see particularly Collis

(1984) and Cunliffe (1997) for a British perspective). These represent a different and more complex form of Late pre-Roman Iron Age settlement to those that appeared in Britain.

Cunliffe (1974; 1978; 1991; 2005) has been particularly specific about its use in a (southern) British context using either *territorial* or *enclosed* descriptions to define examples that he discusses (e.g. 2005, 402-6 and parts of chapters 7 and 8).

The term *enclosed oppida* is used during the course of this study to highlight examples of settlements indicative of nucleation during the Late Iron Age. These are often defined by at least one and sometimes more defensive ditches and ramparts. They appear in both hilltop and valley-bottom contexts (though the ones described throughout this study are all the latter). These sites should not be seen as towns but still appear to be more complex than preceding Iron Age settlement forms.

Territorial oppida are sites that cannot be as clearly defined as *enclosed oppida*, due mostly to the lack of any specific characteristics that can be used comparably across numerous British examples. Well-known examples include the dyke systems at St Albans, Colchester and Chichester. These are not individual settlements sites but appear to connect different parts of the landscape, which might include settlement aspects. Instead, the main defining aspects of these are the dyke systems, which seem to occur in at least two places within the Cotswold region: Bagendon and the North Oxfordshire Grim's Ditch.

The final term that requires clarification is that of 'banjo enclosure', which again represents a wholly subjective definition. Its inclusion is, perhaps, contentious since many enclosures might also be included within the 'curvilinear' and 'rectilinear' cropmark

categories (discussed in chapter 3). However, the fact that they form perhaps the most numerous cluster of such sites in a relatively small region of southern Britain warrants their separate and more detailed analysis.

The term ‘banjo enclosure’ was first coined by Perry in the 1960s (1966; 1969) as an all-encompassing description for a set of unique cropmark sites identified in aerial surveys across the Hampshire downs and the wider Wessex region. The enclosures were much smaller than most other (presumed) Iron Age cropmark sites and had a number of features that made them stand out. At the time, the author himself admitted that ‘banjo’ enclosures was “perhaps an unsatisfactory name, but one which in the absence of an all-embracing geometric term, or clear proof of their date or function was considered reasonably appropriate” (1966, 39). It was widely, and relatively quickly, adopted and became a defined term in the Monuments Protection Programme (MPP) for the 1980s. It is now used by English Heritage in its thesaurus of archaeological terms.

The decision to survey a number of the enclosures at site level was also an attempt to try and define further examples or characteristics of settlement not necessarily visible from aerial photographs. The clear results from the survey helped considerably with this and a number of possible settlement characteristics have been identified. It is hoped that these points will be returned to through the course of this study and generalised assumptions questioned due to the nature of the evidence.

1.6 An outline of this study

In order for this thesis to integrate fully the new data that will be outlined and to evaluate critically many of the previous interpretations of the study region, a complete assessment of all aspects must be undertaken. This thesis is therefore separated into three sections that focus on different aspects of research and scholarly discourse. This is required because the regional and archaeological evidence outlined in parts 1 and 2 follow separate and distinct lines of questioning that are only brought together during part 3, when overall themes brought up throughout the study can be fully discussed.

The first part, comprising two chapters, looks at the influence of the landscape and environment in both potential settlement patterns and the focus of archaeological investigation. The first chapter looks at the influence the landscape, climate, geology and environment had on settlement patterns, resources and patterns of investigation. In the second chapter, the focus on Iron Age studies goes further, reviewing previous excavation and aerial survey work alongside a methodology of the geophysical surveys completed here. This highlights not only what research has already taken place within the region, but also the form it has taken, the impact it has had on Iron Age studies and how this is being changed with the dataset introduced within the following section.

The second part, comprising three chapters, focuses on the archaeological evidence itself. The first two chapters (4 and 5) analyse evidence of settlement from the eastern Cotswolds, with particular emphasis on the banjo enclosures and their characteristics, the hillforts of the region and the North Oxfordshire Grim's Ditch. These provide an opportunity to integrate new primary data in the form of aerial survey analysis and geophysical survey

plots across a large area of landscape previously regarded as a hinterland region. This is followed with chapter 6, which analyses settlement patterns from areas with more substantial quantities of archaeological evidence, particularly the Thames valley, the wider Cotswold region and the area north and east of the eastern Cotswolds. This allows the core data from chapters 4 and 5 to be placed within the context of the immediate environs of the north Oxfordshire region. This final chapter of part 2 also discusses evidence of the comparative of agricultural practices extant within the upper Thames and north Oxfordshire. It is concluded with a discussion of the potential spheres of interaction with other regions during the Iron Age visible through different forms of material culture traded across wide-scale exchange networks.

The final section focuses on the themes that have been raised during the course of this research. It looks at three distinct aspects: the chronological development of settlement, society and community, and influence and interaction. The second re-interprets many of our concepts of settlement space for the Iron Age by re-assessing many preconceptions about open and enclosures settlements, ritual and domestic life and how these affect past interpretations of Iron Age settlement. The final theme is the significance of the north Oxfordshire banjo enclosures within the context of southern Britain and what these sites mean in terms of changing landscapes in the Middle and Late Iron Age periods.

However, before we can fully address the archaeological evidence it needs to be placed within the context of landscape, environment and history of research. To begin, therefore, it is necessary to outline the region itself so that the context of discovery and investigation can be fully understood.

Part 1: The Region

The first part of this study deals with the wealth of existing archaeological data. It is divided into two chapters with the first looking at the significance of the landscape from an archaeological perspective and the second on the archaeological work completed already and as part of this study.

2. The Landscape

2.1 Introduction

The influence of landscape on the archaeological record is a major one. The following chapter is a brief discussion of certain aspects of landscape that influence the course, direction and type of research. To understand the landscape is to therefore gain a better understanding of settlement, economic and even social patterns of the Iron Age period. Beyond a brief survey of the geology and soils that underlie the region, there are also discussions on the climate and environment during the Iron Age and whether this had any influence on aspects such as agricultural practices. Although environmental considerations will be discussed in detail in later chapters (see especially chapter 6), it is important to develop a general understanding here first. The chapter closes by viewing the landscape and environment from an archaeological perspective. How did the landscape affect Iron Age people? What resources did it provide? Perhaps more importantly for archaeologists, it also highlights the foci of research and offers explanations as to why there is a considerable imbalance to research in the study region.

2.2 The eastern Cotswolds and upper Thames regions

Within the study area there are two distinct regions. To the north lies an upland area of limestone and ironstone hills (the eastern Cotswolds) and to the south is the wide river valley of the upper Thames. Separating the north Oxfordshire uplands from the Pleistocene gravels of the Thames is a gently sloping zone known as the Cotswold dip-slope. For the purposes of this study, the dip-slope is not a region in its own right; rather it acts as a

dividing boundary separating two distinct regions in settlement, economic, landscape, and resource terms. This division also highlights the imbalance of archaeological research that will be further outlined below and in chapter 3.

The eastern Cotswolds

Within the eastern Cotswolds, the sources and upper areas of the Thames tributaries define a broad south-eastern drainage pattern. Over time these rivers have carved wide river valleys through a broad flat plateau of soft limestone. The landscape has therefore often been described as ‘broken’ (Hingley 1984a); a limestone upland that is split by the rivers that flow through it. The highest points exceed 230m OD with an extensive plateau above 200m in the Chipping Norton area while below this is a wider plateau of land marked here by the 150m contour (fig. 2.1). Springs are common within the limestone particularly across the Middle Jurassic group of deposits (see below) and are still used for modern agricultural and domestic purposes (Horton *et al* 1987, 109).

The term ‘eastern Cotswolds’ is not an official one but has been created specifically for this study. The eastern boundary of the Cotswold region (as defined by its AONB¹ status) coincides with the course of the upper Evenlode River before it curves to the north-east and then follows a roughly north-south course to the confluence of the Leach and Thames rivers. However, with the underlying geological deposits of Jurassic limestone and landscape remaining unchanged it is more appropriate to use a similar term to connect this region with the wider Cotswolds. It is only in the north-east and then beyond the Cherwell River that ironstone deposits start to outcrop marking the start of the Jurassic ridge.

¹ Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty

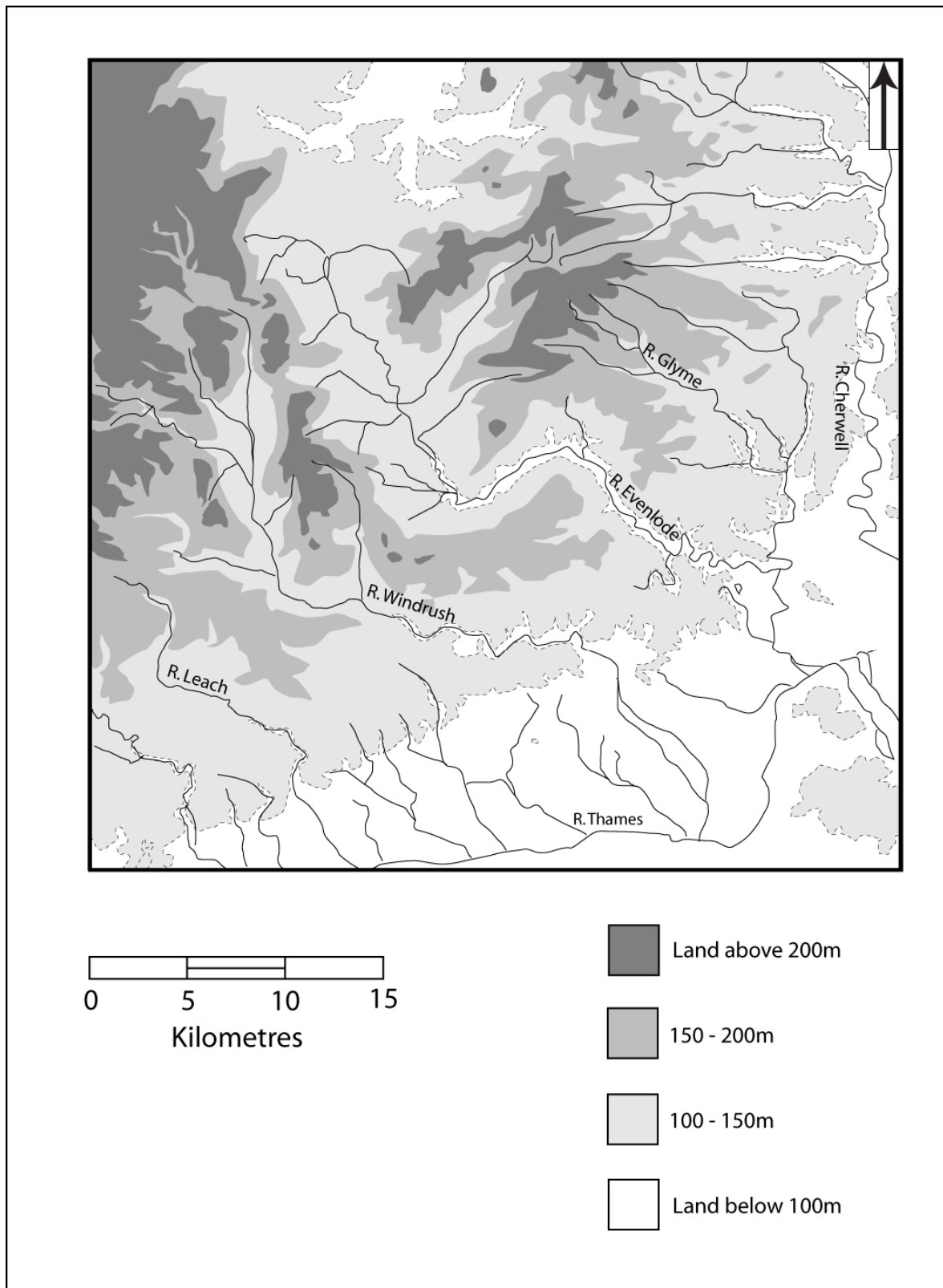


Figure 2.1: The main river systems of the study area. For the purposes of this study the 100m contour highlights the Cotswold dip-slope, separating the upland and lowland regions. (A. Lang)

In places, the higher parts of the limestone plateau give extensive views across the surrounding lowland regions. These include, to the west, the vale of Moreton and the Evenlode and Windrush Valleys and, to the east, across the Cherwell valley. Additionally, from the area around the North Oxfordshire Grim's Ditch (see chapters 4 and 5) and the Wychwood forest, there are extensive views south to the Ridgeway and Chiltern Hills across the Thames valley.

In chapters 4 and 5 the eastern Cotswolds region is split into three areas (fig. 2.2). Chapter 4 focuses solely on the 'Heartland' which is defined by the drainage patterns of the Evenlode River. The southern and western boundary of this area is the Evenlode itself, the northern boundary is marked by the edge of the study area and the northern drainage system of the Stour. The north and east are bordered by the main tributaries of the Evenlode, the Dorn and Glyme Rivers.

Chapter 5 concentrates on the two areas, termed here as 'North-east' and 'South-west', between which the 'Heartland' is wedged. The 'North-east' is almost wholly influenced by the Cherwell drainage system and the 'South-west' by those significant tributaries of the Thames, the Windrush and Leach.

The Cotswold dip-slope, which lies on a broad southwest-northeast axis at approximately 110-90m OD overlooking the Thames valley, acts as a natural border between the upland region and the wide lowland valley.

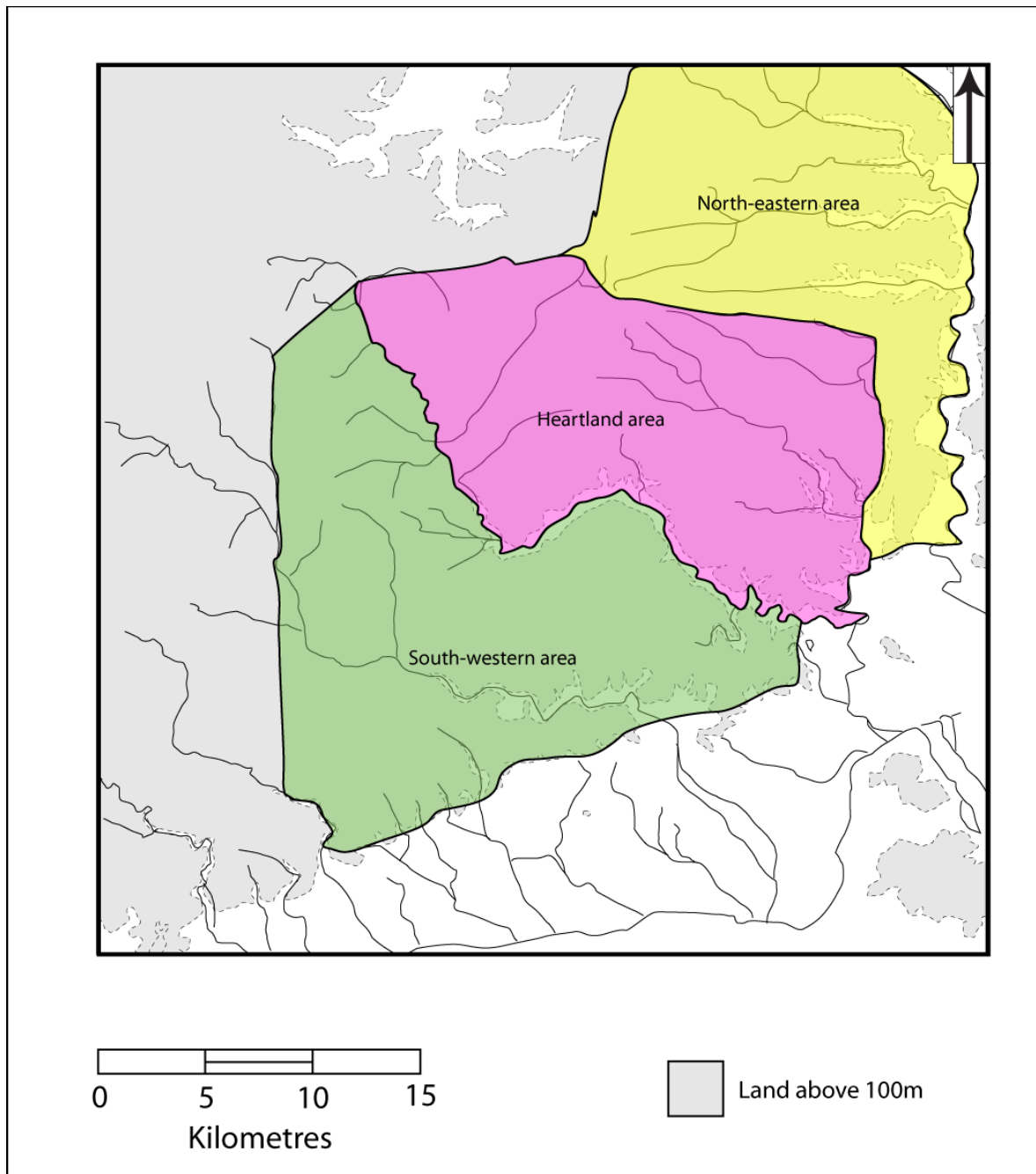


Figure 2.2: The three areas of the eastern Cotswolds region. (A. Lang)

The upper Thames valley

To the south, the River Thames dominates the landscape, carving a wide valley between the northern limestone and the cretaceous chalk deposits of the Berkshire Downs. The upper Thames valley signifies the course of the Thames from its source near Kemble in Gloucestershire to the Goring Gap in southeast Oxfordshire. The most westerly point of the study area is at Lechlade, from here the river flows west-east before looping widely around the limestone deposits of the Corallian ridge some 10km west of Oxford. Near Lechlade the land lies at 75m OD, sloping gently to 60m OD in the vicinity of Oxford.

At 239km (182 miles) in length (Allen *et al* 1997, 114) from source to the North Sea the Thames, though not a large river compared to its European counterparts, is still the major fluvial system of the region and a central feature in the southern English landscape. Its significance goes beyond just the drainage patterns, serving as a cultural or legal boundary during the Saxon period (Blair 1994, fig. 35) and a trading route, most visible in the later historical periods (Steane 1994, 137-45).

2.3 Geology

Hard-rock geology

The eastern Cotswolds and upper Thames regions are located within a structure of Mesozoic deposits that run north-east across England from the Devon Coast to the Lincolnshire Wolds. Within the study area, these deposits are identified as bands that lie on a south-west to north-east axis. The most recent of these (beneath the soils and Quaternary

material) are of Jurassic age, during which period the entire region lay underwater. The changing geography and conditions during the Jurassic meant that the region alternated between deep marine conditions and shallow marine and shoreline environments. These are observed through the clay deposits of the river valleys and the limestone beds of the upland regions respectively. The modern south-east inclination of the landscape may have originated with the stabilisation of the London platform during this time; but this could also be attributed to uplift at various times in the more recent past.

The eastern Cotswolds region comprises Lower and Middle Jurassic deposits which were formed in these shallow seas. These are part of a much larger ridge of Jurassic deposits that make up the Cotswold region and the East Midlands 'Jurassic Ridge'. The Lias (Lower Jurassic) deposits, the most significant of which is the Middle Lias Marlstone Rock Bed (also known as Banbury Ironstone) outcrops in the north-east of the region as well as further north. This is a highly ferruginous limestone, exploited in the 20th Century for low-grade Iron ore (Steane 1994, 11). The remainder, and majority, of the eastern Cotswolds are underlain by the Middle Jurassic Oolitic limestone series that are prevalent in the wider Cotswold region (Powell 2005).

In the southern part of the study area there are significant differences in the geological deposits. The start of the dip-slope marks the appearance of the heavier and thicker layers of the Oxford and Kimmeridge Clays, which were deposited during the Middle and Upper Jurassic and are exposed across much of the broad Thames and Ock valleys. Lying between these two valleys is the Corallian limestone ridge of Upper Jurassic age, cut through by the Thames where it turns south towards Oxford. South of the Ock valley the Ridgeway marks the start of Cretaceous deposits and the chalk down landscape.

Quaternary deposits

Within the eastern Cotswolds only small patches of terrace deposits and glacial drift are known. The terrace deposits are identified as 'Northern drift' and appear to be remnants of a 'greater Thames' that flowed along what is now the Evenlode valley (Rose 1994). What remnants there are of terrace deposits are found on high ground between the Windrush and Evenlode valleys. To the north and east of the Evenlode only small areas have been identified.

The extensive Quaternary deposits identified in the study area are located in the low-lying Thames valley. This river has acted as one of the major drainage systems for southern Britain and its course has remained largely unaltered for over 400,000 years. This has meant that the erosion and deposition of material during fluctuations in the climate have created extensive deposits relating to former land surfaces and river courses, known as terraces. Within the Thames valley, four remnant terraces lie above the current course of the river as it has cut through the soft Oxford clay. In places the terrace deposits are extensive, reaching widths of 5km (Robinson 1984, 4). The four terrace deposits are named after type-sites within the Oxford region, starting with the highest (also the earliest) and proceeding down (both numerically and in height) to the floodplain of the current Thames course. The earliest is known as the Hanborough terrace, which lies some 30m above the present course of the Thames and follows it and the courses of the Windrush, Evenlode and Cherwell. Below that is the Wolvercote terrace which has the least extensive accumulation of deposits (the majority being found along the Thames, with some between the Evenlode and Cherwell tributaries) and which is positioned 16m above the present course of the Thames. The second terrace, known as the Summertown-Radley lies 8m above the present

Thames and extends along the course of the River and all its tributaries. The same is the case for the even larger first, or Northmoor terrace, currently lying about 3m above the Thames.

The climatic amelioration approximately 10,000 years ago allowed the River to slow and stabilise as warm-climate plants, trees and animals (including humans) returned to Britain. The development of forests (Day 1991) allowed the river course to stabilise, first as a multi-channel and then as the single channel river system that exists today, making the region relatively dry and accessible (Allen *et al* 1997). It is only in the last 3000 years that the river environment has changed. By approximately 500 BC, due to a number of circumstances including human impact on the landscape, the water-table rose within the Thames valley. This led to seasonal flooding, initially without deposition but, subsequently, during two considerable periods (100 BC-AD 350 and AD 900-1200), with annual alluvial deposition (Robinson and Lambrick 1984). This created a blanket of alluvium across large areas of the lowland landscape (fig. 2.3) and particularly the floodplain region that may have caused major changes in soil properties (Lambrick and Robinson 1988, 55).

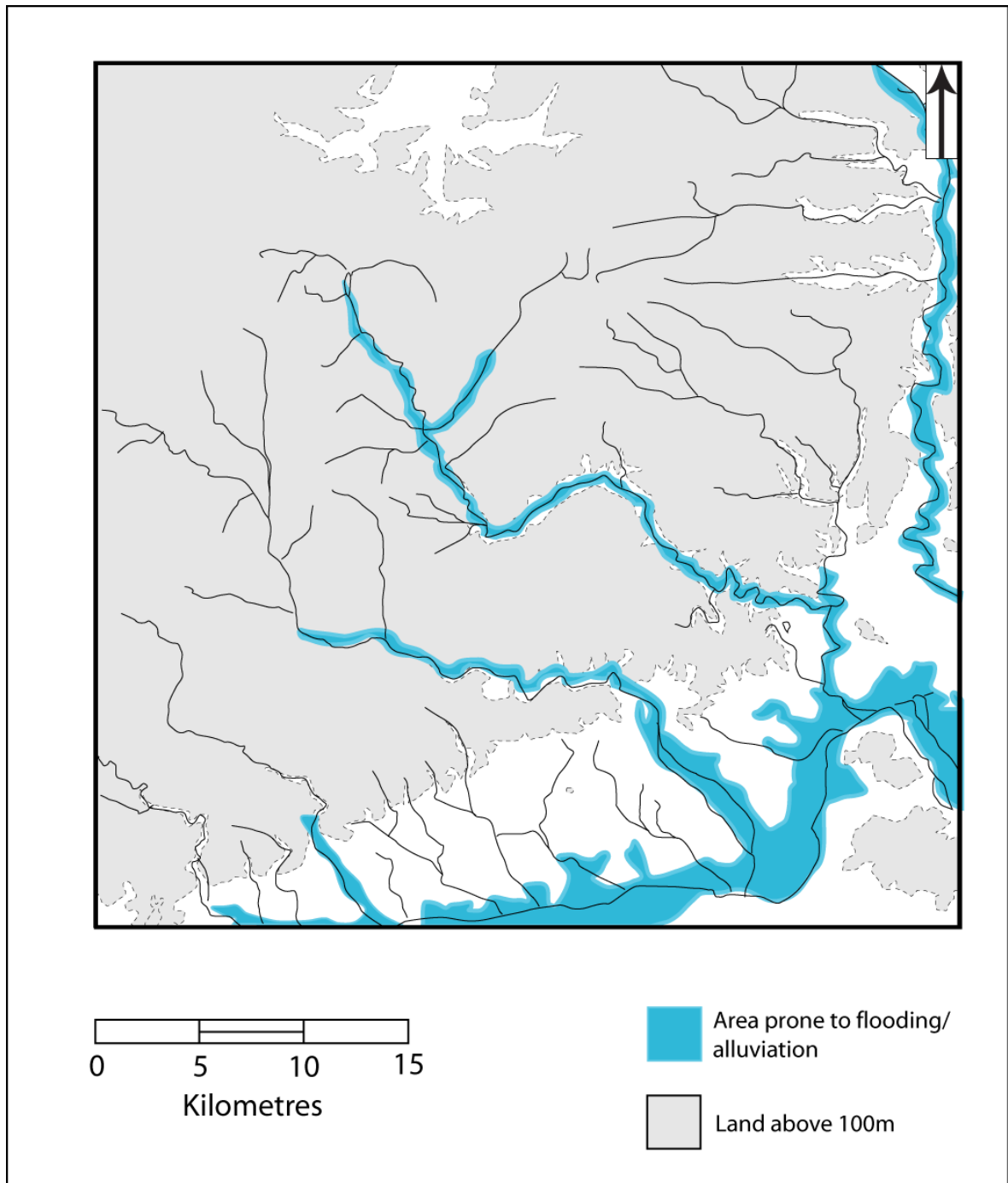


Figure 2.3: The areas susceptible to flooding and alluvial deposition during the Iron Age, based on the work of the OAU in the 1980s (A. Lang, after: Robinson and Lambrick 1984, 810, fig. 1)

2.4 Soils

The soils of the region are defined by the underlying geological deposits. All soil-types and names are taken from the 1:250,000 Soil Map with accompanying legend (Soil Survey of England and Wales 1983)

The majority of the eastern Cotswold region is overlain directly by a mixture of shallow, brashy or calcareous fine and loamy soils that are well-drained (343 a-d [Elmton 1; 2; 3; Sherborne]; 544 [Banbury]). But, in what are now dried up river valleys, there are generally areas of deeper calcareous colluvium (511a [Aberford]) and also some large sectors of glacial drift sands and gravels, boulder clays, and clayey soils relating to outcrops of Jurassic clays (711f [Wickham 2]; 572h [Oxpasture]). These, which make the soils less permeable and prone to seasonal water logging, occur in the vicinity of the Evenlode valley. Additionally, there are smaller patches of a wide range of soils such as chalky tills, glaciofluvial, terrace drift, and some Mesozoic and Tertiary sands as well as areas of soils directly overlying the Jurassic Ironstone (541r [Wick 1]; 554a [Frilford]; 572t [Bishampton 2]).

The Cotswold dip-slope is more uniform and shallow well-drained soils (343; 712b [Denchworth]; 571n [Tathwell]; 411b [Evesham 2]; 511h [Badsey 1]) directly overlie the limestone. Within the Thames valley the soils are even more homogeneous, with large areas covered by river terrace drift (831 [Kelmscott]), calcareous fine loamy soils, and clay-over-gravel. The flat land of the floodplain (814a [Thames]) is prone to flooding.

2.5 The regional climate and environment during the Iron Age

Environmental studies have featured extensively in archaeological research over the last three decades. Changes to the climate (Turner 1981) and environment (Dark 2000) have been used to emphasise differences within the prehistoric archaeological record from the Late Bronze Age onwards. These records provide us with a greater understanding of the study area throughout the Iron Age period.

Climate

There has been much discussion about the long climatic deterioration during the Late Bronze and Iron Ages. It has been surmised that the estimated fall in mean temperature of 2° C² may have reduced the growing season by more than five weeks (Lamb 1981, 55). This cold period continued through much of the Iron Age and it is only from about 150 BC that there are clear indications of a warmer climate (*ibid.* 56). This cooling had a wide impact on the settlement and economies of upland areas of Britain. Dartmoor, for instance, appears to have been largely abandoned in the Late Bronze Age period (Parker-Pearson 2005, 91).

For the upper Thames and eastern Cotswolds regions the evidence for the climate of the period is not that strong. It is likely that the relatively low-lying, land-locked area with fertile soils and gravels would not have been as affected as some of the peripheral areas of Britain. As Robinson points out, the climate was probably no cooler or wetter than today

² Measured across England, Ireland, Wales and southern Scotland (Turner 1981)

(1984, 8) and this is therefore unlikely to have dramatically affected agricultural regimes for the time.

Environment

The upper Thames region is one of the most intensively studied and sampled regions for the Iron Age and thus there is a wealth of written data available about the local and regional environment (e.g. Robinson 1984; Robinson and Lambrick 1984; Lambrick and Robinson 1988; Lambrick 1992). The aim here is not to get lost in the minutiae of evidence (especially as some will be discussed more fully in chapter 6) but to give a brief overview of the regional environment.

From the last millennium BC there is evidence of the first visible impact of humans upon the environment of the Thames valley region. The most significant of these were large-scale woodland clearances that commence in the Late Bronze Age, coinciding with the appearance of co-axial field systems in the upper Thames region (Yates 1999; 2007). From this period onwards, a number of new crop varieties were introduced and there was a general intensification of crop exploitation, which might have included winter sowing (Lambrick and Allen, 2004, 485). Grasslands have also been identified in close proximity to many excavated sites along the floodplain, and the first and second terraces. This suggests pasture-land formed an important part of the regional environment. From the Middle Iron Age onwards there are notable changes to the environment. The rise of the water table is significant as larger areas of land became susceptible to flooding and causing the abandonment of sites. Excavations further downstream at Ashville in Abingdon also

recorded that there were significant losses in the nutrient levels in the soils from this period onwards, thought to be caused by over-exploitation (Parrington 1978, 109).

In the eastern Cotswold region, the record is less easy to decipher. The fact that only a limited number of excavations have included environmental sampling has made it difficult to interpret the landscape and environment in the same detail as the Thames river valley. The original extent of the Wychwood forest is unknown due to numerous alterations throughout the Middle Ages (Schumer 1999) and, this may have influenced settlement patterns for the region. The evidence from mollusca recovered from the site of Tomlin's Gate suggested a wooded environment in the vicinity (Hingley 1983). This site lies close to the NOGD, but excavations elsewhere along its course have shown that the areas around it were open with arable crops being cultivated at the time of its construction (Thomas 1957). Excavations at Bourton-on-the-Water have shown the area was completely open from the Early Iron Age onwards (Lang *forthcoming*) with a similar picture at Rollright for the Middle Iron Age (Lambrick 1988). Excavations at Steeple Aston revealed a number of tree bowls attributed to the earlier phase of the site, which suggested to the authors that the site was cleared of woodland immediately prior to or during initial settlement (Cook and Hayden 2000). This may be an insight into what was occurring across the region during the Early to Middle Iron Age transition. This is supported by the evidence of a rising water table and increased sedimentation along the Thames and its tributaries, which both suggest that large-scale clearances were taking place in the Cotswolds at this time.

2.6 Archaeological implications of the geology, soils and environment

The evidence outlined above can be discussed and interpreted within an archaeological framework in a number of different ways. The aim of the following section is to integrate this information into the wider questions of landscape and material and identify how they might affect our understanding of the past, as well as the way we study it. While the landscape helps to analyse aspects such as prehistoric settlement patterns and raw material procurement the outlines above also tell us about the directions of archaeological investigation and even the biases that are often created because of them.

Prehistoric settlement origins

The fertile and well-drained nature of the Thames gravels meant that many settlement sites were already established by the start of the Iron Age period. These gravels were also the focus of a considerable number of monumental structures from the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age periods, including a number of barrow cemeteries, causewayed enclosures and cursus monuments (Barclay *et al* 1996). The appearance of co-axial fields from the Late Bronze Age onwards also points to a more formalised landscape. The land is therefore already cleared and settled by 800 BC.

Conversely, despite well-drained and hardy soils, the eastern Cotswolds region is much sparser from an archaeological perspective. A number of long barrows are known as well as a henge at Condicote, the Rollright Stones circle and a small number of causewayed enclosures and round barrows. However, little settlement evidence has been recovered from the region. The excavation of monumental ditches at Stow-on-the-Wold dating to the

end of the Middle Bronze Age (with dates of 1400-990 and 1390-1005 cal. BC³) suggests that there is further material that awaits excavation.

Impacts on the landscape

As has already been mentioned, the Iron Age period saw the first major impact of humans on the landscape. The wide-scale adoption of more intensive farming methods (and more varieties of arable crops) partially contributed to the visible environmental changes (Robinson and Lambrick 1984). However, the most significant aspect was the wide-scale woodland clearances. This led to increased soil erosion and sediment deposition, which in turn led to the rise in the water table and alluvial deposition. Together with soils that were possibly already suffering from over-exploitation it was these factors that had a significant impact upon settlement communities and farming regimes. All these factors would have contributed too possible reduced crop yield from the Middle Iron Age onwards.

Prehistoric material

The region also has good natural resources that appear to have been procured by the Iron Age populace for a number of uses. For the eastern Cotswolds the most obvious was the use of the limestone as a building material. The nature of its formation process makes it easy to manipulate into the flattish squares or rectangular blocks that are visible within the stone ramparts of a number of hillforts in the region. There is also good evidence from a number of sites of the local limestone being used as a raw material for querns. Limestone also seems to have been used as a pottery temper for many of the locally produced wares

³ Radiocarbon dates are OxA 3652: 1300-1055 cal. BC and OxA 3801: 1305-1090 cal. BC at 1 sigma, with 68% confidence. The two dates cited above are at 2 sigma with 95% confidence (Parry 1999, 82)

throughout the Early and Middle Iron Ages. It is possible that the ironstone to the north of the region may have been exploited for iron ore; however, as will be argued in chapter 6, this is unlikely.

Within the Thames valley, the gravels would have supplied ready sources of material such as sand, limestone blocks and gravel pebbles and even a fabric referred to as ‘alluvial’ (e.g. Lambrick and Allen, 2004, 264) used as pottery temper. Limestone blocks from the Corralian ridge were also used as quern stones. No doubt any known clay deposits were exploited for raw material across both upland and lowland regions. It is also likely that both regions would have retained a certain level of woodland that was coppiced. As the principal building material of the period it would have been constantly required for construction and repairs of roundhouses, fences, four-posters and other structures.

Survey methods and results

The natural landscape has also aided many aspects of the surveys carried out for this study. The Jurassic limestone uplands of the eastern Cotswolds provides near perfect conditions for carrying out magnetometry surveys. The results (chapter 4 and appendix 3) are all exceptionally clear, showing significant differences between the natural background and archaeological features.

The underlying soils and types of crops grown have also made significant contributions to the recognition and recording of cropmarks. This has largely taken place in the Thames valley but more recent surveys across the Cotswolds have added much. In a recent study Evans noted that there are particular soils “in which crop patterns and marks are

extensively and frequently recorded” (1990, Appendix i). These specific types include the soil types: 343 a-d; 544; 511a; 541r; 554a; 511h and 831 from the study area.

There are also hindrances. For example, there are a number of sites located beneath alluvium. Sites such as Farmoor (Lambrick and Robinson 1979) have only been identified once an area has been stripped; often meaning the last minute rescue excavations have to be carried out. But, this sealing also means that environmental remains are often particularly well preserved due to the anaerobic conditions.

Landscape preservation

Within the eastern Cotswolds there are significant areas of a preserved landscape, a considerable area of which is within large privately owned estates that retain much of their land in pasture. This has ensured that sites, as in the particular case of NOGD, are preserved as earthworks. Other sites, particularly hillforts, are also well-preserved and only a small number have had serious plough damage. However, the flipside of this landscape preservation is that many estates require access, not always easily obtained, and therefore large areas remain unknown from an archaeological perspective. The large extent of the Wychwood forest has also helped to preserve aspects of the prehistoric landscape. At least two rectilinear earthworks survive that are potentially of Iron Age date and a full woodland survey might reveal more.

Modern exploitation and settlement patterns

The most significant archaeological implications occur as a result of modern uses and impacts. The Thames valley has been heavily excavated and surveyed almost continuously for 70 years. There are two principal reasons for this. First, the Thames valley region is more heavily settled (as it always has been) and thus there have been, and continue to be, greater numbers of housing and road developments that require modern archaeological intervention. This development has also included the renewal and updating of services such as gas and water pipes which has led to a number of finds in previously blank areas (e.g. Coleman and Hancocks 2004). Perhaps the best example in recent years has been the identification of large ditches of Late Iron Age date that mark the boundary of an *enclosed oppidum* at Abingdon (Allen 2000; Devaney 2007; Brady *et al* 2007). The construction and expansion of roadways such as the M40 have also contributed significantly to the archaeological record (e.g. Rowley 1973).

Secondly, and the largest single contributor to the archaeological work in the Thames valley has been the commercial exploitation of aggregates from the terrace gravels. Four principal areas around Fairford/Lechlade, Stanton Harcourt/Standlake, Yarnton/Cassington and Abingdon have been stripped and extracted and all have contributed much to the record through almost continual excavation since the 1930s. Such examples as these have allowed large areas and often complete sites to be excavated – offering an unprecedented view of the region. All of these and despite numerous casualties (e.g. the ‘Barrow Hills’ cemetery at Radley [Barclay *et al* 1999] and the Devil’s Quoits stone circle [Barclay *et al* 1995]) have added a significant level of archaeological information that we can consider as one of the principal resources available for research and now discussed.

3. The Sources

3.1 Introduction

The research presented through the course of this work is based upon the collection of primary and secondary datasets. These are outlined here and split into three principal parts.

The first section provides a brief outline of the previous archaeological work that has been carried out as a matter of course. The second outlines the aerial survey data and interpretive techniques. The third summarises the methodology of the completed geophysical surveys and ends with a brief overview of current research questions from both regional and national perspectives.

The core aim of this thesis is to ensure that it can be integrated within a new regional or national research framework and, thus, be adapted for academic, curatorial and commercial archaeological contexts. This also represents a methodological problem for the presentation of data, which will be resolved here.

The presentation of data

The majority of local government and curatorial bodies use a system underpinned by the OS national grid. Being a logical format with which to assess and catalogue datasets it has therefore been adopted here as a means of presenting data in the gazetteer (appendices 1 and 2).

The grid system breaks down areas into 10km² squares which, with the prefix of the grid code (for north Oxfordshire this is SP), use the first digits of the eastings and northings reference points. A 10km grid square is split into four, with the ante-fixes representative of geographical location (SW; SE; NW; NE). The grid squares that represent the study area of this thesis are presented in figures 3.1 and 3.2. Figure 3.3 shows the sub-division of the 10 km grid square SP42 into four smaller grids.

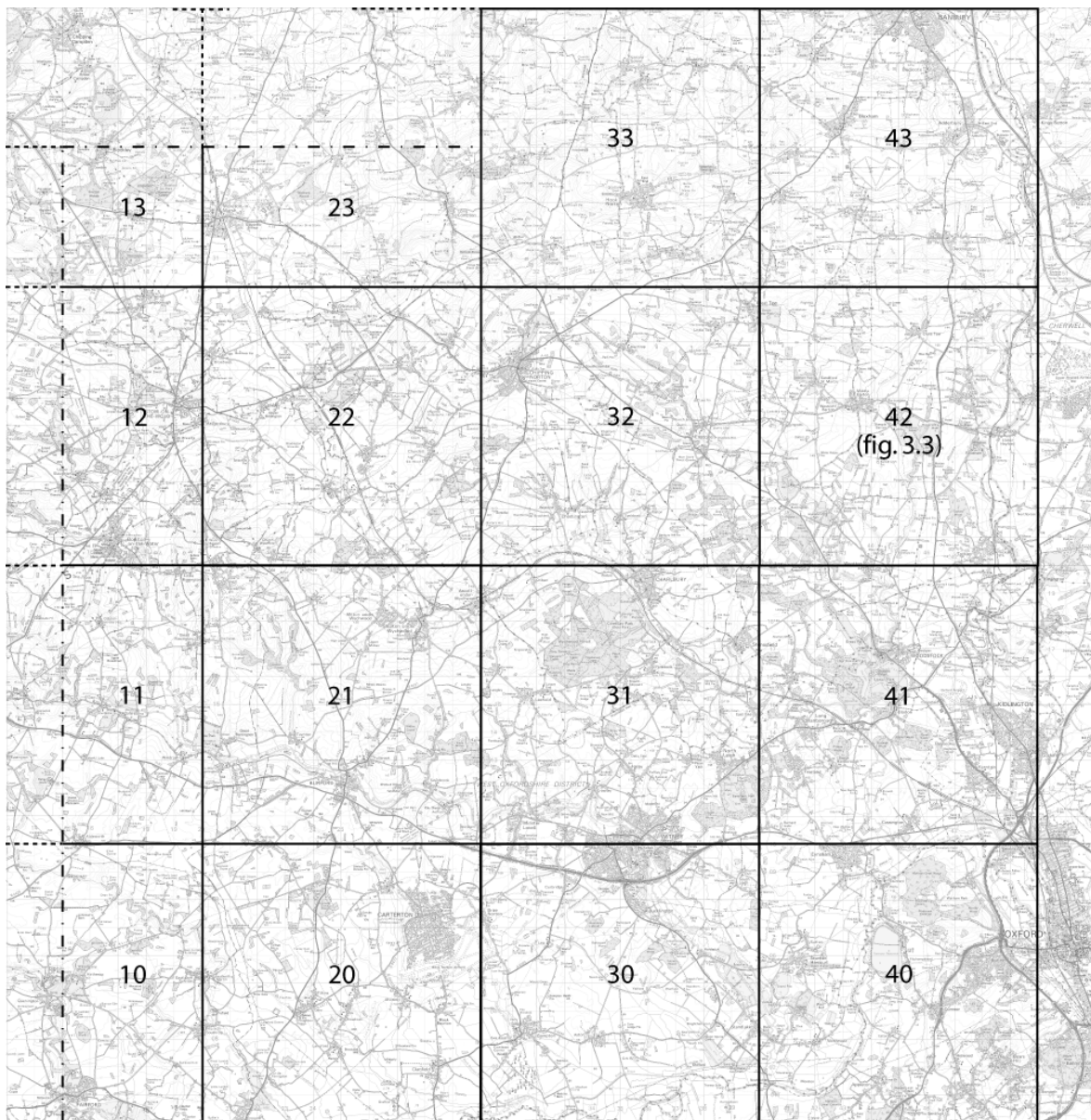


Figure 3.1: The 10 sq. km grid squares used in the collation of data within this thesis. Each number – e.g. 42 – refers to the eastings and northings of the SP grid of the national 1: 50 000 OS map.
(A. Lang, with map crown copyright/database right 2007: An ordnance survey/EDINA supplied service)

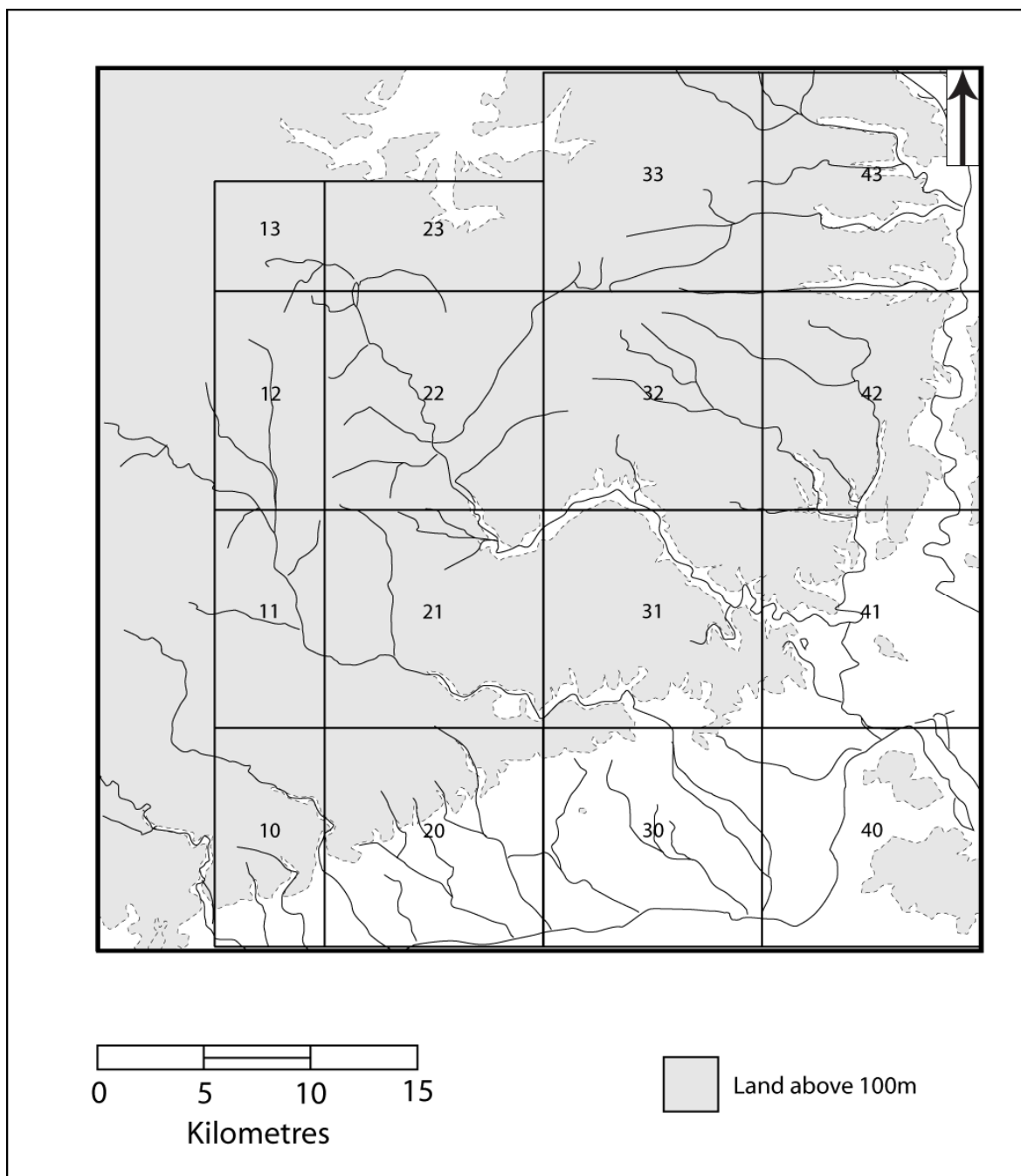


Figure 3.2: The 10 sq. km grid squares set against the base map of the study area. (A. Lang)

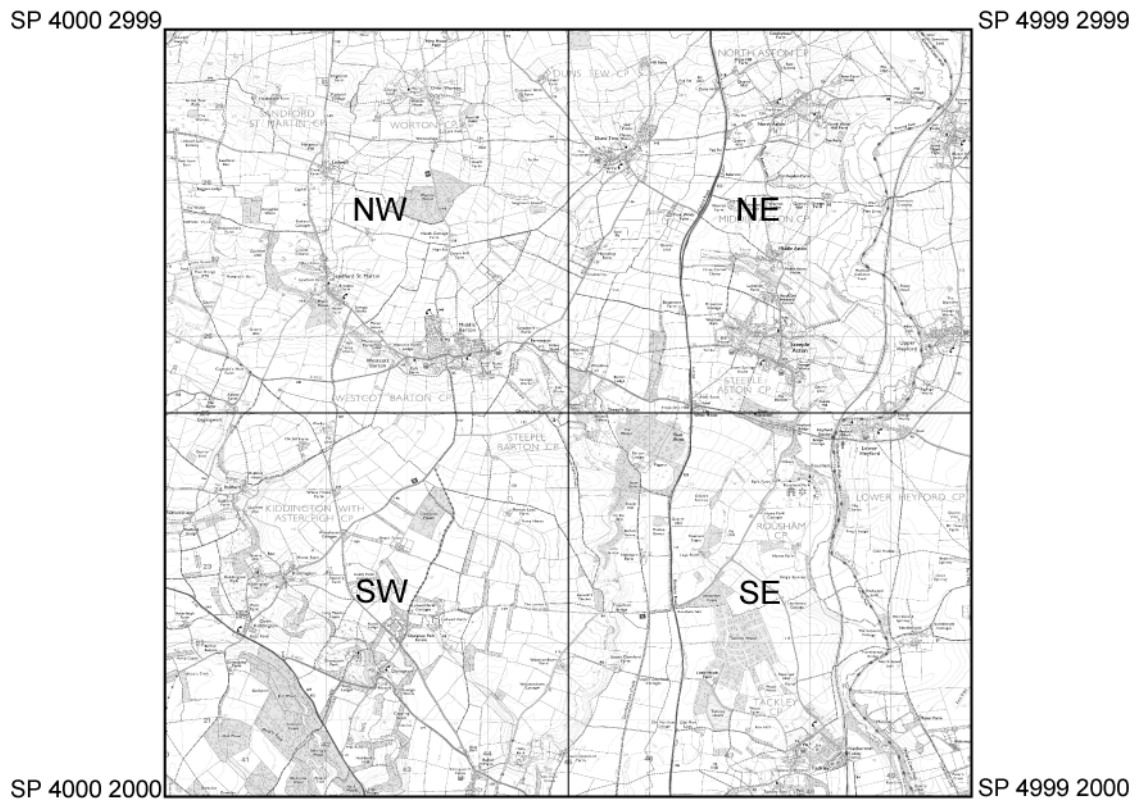


Figure 3.3: An example of the grid system set against the 1:50 000 OS map for SP 42. The grids break down the 10km x 10km square into 4 grids of 5km x 5km
(A. Lang, with map crown copyright/database right 2007: An ordnance survey/EDINA supplied service)

Site recognition and identification

For each site that has been identified through the course of this study there exists a series of unique numbers. At SMR (Sites and Monuments Record office) level sites are recorded with a Primary Record Number (PRN) and at national level an NMR (National Monuments Record office) number is assigned on the English Heritage AMIE (Archives Monuments Information England) database. When a site is protected by English Heritage it is also assigned a Scheduled Ancient Monument (SAM) number. An example from the study area is given in table 3.1.

In general the SMR gains the majority of its information from County-based sources – such as development-control led excavation reports, local society reports, student

dissertations and theses, as well as information from English Heritage – whereas the NMR is more reliant on its own archives and published material. The SMRs within the study area have a more complete record of Iron Age archaeological activity and therefore sites will be referred to by their name and PRN numbers, unless one does not exist in which case the NMR number will be used.

Chastleton hillfort	
Grid Square	SP 22 NE
Grid Reference	[centred – SP 258 282]
SMR (PRN)	1468
NMR (AMIE)	SP 22 NE 4
SAM	21791

Table 3.1: The numerical assignments for Chastleton hillfort.

A part of this study has been to ensure that the SMR records were kept up-to-date with any new or unrecorded sites that were observed during the course of primary research at the NMR archives. Thus, many of the sites discovered or recorded have already been transferred onto the SMR catalogue. These can be identified throughout the course of this study and in the appendices with site SMR numbers beginning with 17... (e.g. the Ditchley Villa banjo enclosure [**17206**]).

3.2 The development of an archaeological resource

It can be argued that archaeological research in the Thames valley has been at the forefront of Iron Age studies for more than 150 years. It has been integral to the development of new methodologies, of the excavation of unique sites and in the growth of understanding of the period.

Early Work

Since the earliest investigations, work has largely focused on the archaeological material of the Thames river gravels. Stephen Stone highlighted, in his communications to the Society of Antiquaries (1857, 92-3), that, archaeological finds were constantly recovered as people dug the gravel to repair and replace roads. He also noted that this occurrence dated back to at least 40 years before the time of his writing. This fascination with the past developed as he also managed to identify differences in crop growth from horse back, which was followed by his excavations around Standlake in 1857 and 1858. Before the advent of Iron Age studies as a subject in its own right, many of the features now understood to date from that period were recorded as Saxon or Roman. Therefore, although not recognised at the time, Stone recorded 134 pits and several possible roundhouse gullies of Iron Age date. This was followed some years later by the identification of similar material recorded from rail cuttings near Yarnton (Boyd-Dawkins 1861; Rolleston 1884). A brief season of excavation at Chastleton hillfort (Oxon.), located within the eastern Cotswolds, was also recorded, although the authors at the time preferred a Roman date for the site (Price *et al* 1881).

Leeds, Hawkes and the ABC chronology

The 1920s and '30s was the era when Iron Age studies came of age (Cunliffe 2005, 10). The acceptance of prehistoric studies as a discipline and the development of the three-age system in the Victorian period marked a significant shift so that studies on early Britons developed rapidly. The first indication we have of this shift is with the review of archaeological material recorded within Oxfordshire gathered period-by-period. It was

Manning and Leeds (1921) who reviewed the small number of finds that could be attributed to the Iron Age, though with little chance of significant interpretation. Despite this, Leeds' study of the coin distribution led him to suggest that the region was the focus for a number of significant Iron Age boundaries.

One of the key problems for scholars studying the period was that there was almost no precedent for site types, material culture forms, and even chronology. This changed with Hawkes' seminal paper, presenting the first real period outline (1931). His realisation, that hillforts and other defended settlements were monuments of Iron Age date led to numerous interventions across the Cotswolds region. In the 1920s excavations were completed at Leckhampton (Glos.) (Burrow *et al* 1925) and later by Leeds at Chastleton in 1928 and '29 (1931a). In the 1930s there were investigations at Bredon Hill (Worcs.) (Hencken 1939) and Shenberrow (Glos.) (Fell 1961), as well as a small excavation to ascertain the date of the North Oxfordshire Grim's Ditch (Harden 1937).

The most significant aspect of Hawkes' outline was the development of his ABC chronology, which described the development of sites and material culture largely influenced by separate migrations of people and ideas (then adopted locally) from the Continent as Late Hallstatt (A), La Tène (B) and Belgae (C) groups. This was adapted by many of the scholars of the time, particularly Leeds who followed Group 'B' immigrants northwards from his excavations at Chun earlier in the decade (Leeds 1927) through further excavations at Chastleton and across the Cotswolds and Thames valley (1931b; 1935). At the behest of Mortimer Wheeler and O.G.S. Crawford, Dunning began excavations at Salmonsbury (Glos.), which identified Belgic immigrants within the region (1976).

This chronology was to remain largely unchallenged as the overriding assumption of social and cultural development until the 1960s. There were significant modifications throughout its period of use, but evidence from the Thames valley clearly sat uneasily within it from an early stage since, for instance, the ceramic chronologies from sites around Mount Farm, Dorchester (Oxon.) did not appear to match the wider regional framework (Myres 1937; Cunliffe 2005, 12).

It is perhaps for this reason that the Thames valley region was not central to Hawkes' favoured interpretation of the development of Iron Age Britain. In fact, he had a tendency in his initial paper to focus more closely on the Cotswold sites than those along the gravels (see 1931, especially 70-1 and 82). However, scholars such as Leeds saw the significance of the Thames region and began a campaign of excavation there, encompassing all periods. Leeds formed a 'digging unit' out of the Oxford University Archaeological Society (OUAS) that had a source of ready volunteers willing to excavate within the Oxford environs. This was aided by various positions that he held at the Ashmolean, which provided equipment and storage space. During the 1930s this increase in work also coincided with the introduction of mechanized gravel extraction. This brought to a head the realisation that the region was losing a vast archaeological resource before it was fully understood.

The excavation campaigns, lasting without significant break from the 1920s through to the start of the 1970s were fruitful throughout. Significant areas of Standlake (Bradford 1942a; Riley 1946/7), Stanton Harcourt (Grimes 1943; Riley 1942; Williams 1951; Hamlin 1963; Hamlin 1966) and Cassington (Leeds 1935; Harden 1942; Dawson 1961; Case 1982) (all Oxon.) were excavated ahead of quarry extraction. For much of the time, this was done on

a voluntary basis and at particular times, such as during WWII, the students were the only available resource for completing the work (Grimes 1960). This period, and Leeds' influence, is therefore sometimes underplayed in terms of its importance in recording significant levels of material often with little money or government support.

The 1950s saw resurgence in research (rather than wholly rescue) excavations after Hawkes had assumed the professorship at the Institute of Archaeology in Oxford. This revival included small-scale investigations at Bagendon (Glos.) (Clifford 1961) and across sections of the North Oxfordshire Grim's Ditch (Thomas 1957). He himself initiated that largest project in the eastern Cotswolds, (which was carried out by student members of the OUAS) at the time when Hawkes was considerably modifying his ABC chronology (1959). It is clear that these excavations were aimed at producing evidence to support these changes. Three sites were excavated as part of this project. Lyneham camp (Oxon.) had a small-scale intervention (Bayne 1957) in the hope of allying its evidence with that recovered from Chastleton 30 years earlier. This was followed with two seasons at Madmarston (Oxon.) (Fowler 1960) and finally five seasons of excavation at Rainsborough (Northants.) on the east side of the Cherwell (Avery *et al* 1967).

An emerging profession? Shifting emphases of archaeological investigation.

Despite this research programme, it was the 1960s that marked a real watershed moment in archaeological research. The deconstruction of cultural invasion/diffusion hypotheses throughout the decade (Hodson 1960; Clark 1966) brought to an end the ABC Iron Age. To replace the ABC hypothesis two chronological frameworks were suggested. Hodson presented the bipartite division of the early pre-Roman Iron Age and the late Iron pre-

Roman Iron Age (Hodson 1964; Haselgrove and Pope 2007b) and Cunliffe suggested a tripartite division of the Iron Age with Early, Middle and Late periods (Cunliffe 1974). With this, to which the 'radiocarbon revolution' contributed an extended chronology (Renfrew 1973a; 1973b), Iron Age studies had been reborn.

Furthermore, the changes that occurred during this period affected the entire subject of archaeology more profoundly than the actual approaches to its study. The end of the 1960s saw the development of greater discipline within a professional, rather than an academic, framework. Oxfordshire established its own SMR (Benson 1972) and committees were established to supervise redevelopment work in Oxford and Abingdon and the construction of the M40 (Rowley 1973). A direct consequence of these changes was the establishment in 1973 of the first regional commercial archaeological unit, based in Oxfordshire (Cunliffe *et al* 1974).

An illustration of this increased responsibility is the scathing assessment of the lost archaeological resources within the Thames valley produced by Benson and Miles (1974). Written as a follow-up to the Royal Commission's '*A Matter of Time*' published more than a decade before (1960) the new study highlighted the irreplaceable archaeological losses within the Thames valley. This publication also marked a fundamental shift in archaeological studies when it is compared to other literature published at the same time. Just two years earlier a review of the upper Thames region published by Harding (1972), one of Hawkes' last students, used the ABC framework to present his results. Whereas this work placed previous research in an archaic conceptual framework the Benson and Miles survey took lessons from the past to create new directions for the future. These innovations became the *raison d'être* of the newly formed Oxfordshire Archaeological Unit (OAU).

The widespread recognition of the need for salvage archaeology led to committees being established elsewhere. In Gloucestershire, the formation of CRAAGS¹ provided funding for excavations, including two seasons at Leckhampton (Champion 1971) and the initial stages of excavation at Crickley Hill (Dixon 1976) – a project that eventually lasted over two decades. The intervention of CRAAGS also saw excavations at sites such as Norbury (Saville and Ellison 1983), Icomb (Saville 1978) and Guiting Power (Saville 1979).

Salvage archaeology provided the Oxfordshire Unit with the opportunities to make wide-scale changes to excavation practices. The use of students alongside core staff and eventually the adoption of workers from the Manpower Services Commission (MSC) helped the unit to take on large-scale excavation projects. Formerly only piecemeal intervention had been allowed but within a very short space of time entire sites within the Thames valley were being stripped and excavated ahead of destruction. This change resulted in far better and more detailed pictures of excavated sites being obtained. At the same time intensive environmental sampling within excavations began to provide a complete landscape perspective of the Thames valley and environmental archaeology started to make significant contributions to Iron Age studies (Jones and Dimbleby 1981; Cunliffe 1984; Cunliffe and Miles 1984).

The completion of many of these excavations also came at a time when there was growing disaffection with the existing restrictive methods of theoretical assessment. The increase in the number of theoretical frameworks brought about by the advent of post-processualism allowed shifts in the focus of archaeological research. Whilst this should not be seen as a single theoretical movement, it nevertheless moved away from the scientific approaches to

¹ the Committee for Rescue Archaeology in Avon, Gloucestershire and Somerset

academic interpretation. The work of Richard Hingley (1983; 1984a) at that time clearly highlighted this transition. His review and interpretation of the upper Thames settlement patterns spans the two theoretical frameworks. On the one hand, his interpretation of social development and complexity is based around ethnographic examples, a core conceptual base for processualists (Hingley 1983). However, his use of Marxist archaeology highlighting radical differences between regional structures places it outside a rigid framework by allowing focus on individual sites and possible communities. This offered a new way in which social and spatial relations could be viewed within the region by providing interpretations from both an ethnographic and a purely archaeological perspective (Hingley 1984a, 86).

The works of Hingley and the OAU have therefore provided a setting from which archaeologists have developed their work over the last two decades. The final section of this chapter will deal with more recent work, particularly since the advent of PPG 16. First, however, it is appropriate to outline the other resources that have been used through the course of this study.

3.3 Old resources? The collation and presentation of past cropmark surveys

Though it is in the Thames valley that the majority of aerial survey work has taken place the Cotswolds Area has also had a long history of such analysis and together these provide a detailed archaeological resource. The earliest work in the region was that of O.G.S. Crawford who surveyed the course of the North Oxfordshire Grim's Ditch (1930). This was taken on and developed in the 1930s and '40s in the upper Thames valley with the

work of G.W.G. Allen (1938; 1940) and D.N. Riley (1942; 1944) who helped to provide a much developed landscape perspective on a vast archaeological resource.

The work between the 1930s and 1960s was collated in the Benson and Miles survey (1974) that offered the first clear opportunity to view and assess the considerable level of aerial survey that had already taken place. In addition to Allen and Riley, this transcribed the photographs taken by St Joseph, Crawford, the Royal Commission as well as a significant amount of private material. Alongside further Thames valley surveys (see also Gates 1975; Leech 1977; Hingley 1983) and that of the Danebury environs (Palmer 1984) they helped to define the direction that aerial research would take in the 1980s. It was also becoming clear that this was the only way to record and monitor a large proportion of the cropmark, soilmark and parchmark (from herein referred to as cropmarks) sites in Britain and that there was a need to develop an “interpretive reliability” (Whimster 1992, 8) to understand them. This realisation led to action by the Royal Commission (of Historic Monuments) in England, not least in the need to classify cropmarks (Edis *et al* 1989; Whimster 1989).

Perhaps of greater significance was the development of the National Mapping Programme (NMP) in England during the mid-late 1980s (Bewley 2001). The remit of an NMP project is to collate all aerial survey material, both past and present, in a particular region thus recording both remnant cropmark sites and those already destroyed through development. The work of the NMP was therefore split between interpreting previous survey material and completing new intensive aerial surveys. Dissemination was initially through reports and 1:10,000 transparent overlays held in County SMRs but, more recently, this has

changed to the integration of digital recording and AutoCAD work into ArcView GIS (Bishop pers. comm. 2007; Lock *et al* 2005).

With such a wealth of data collected over a long period of time the Thames gravels were an obvious choice for a pilot NMP project (Fenner and Dyer 1994). This has been followed up with more recent surveys across the Lambourn Downs (Winton 2003) while an ongoing Cotswolds AONB project is due for completion in 2008/2009. In fact some material has already been placed on English Heritage's AMIE database.

Intensive survey of the north Oxfordshire region was also completed in the 1990s. Over a number of summers approximately 800 sq. km was flown over and sites photographed as part of the Royal Commission's North Oxfordshire Aerial Survey (NOAS, Featherstone 1994; Featherstone *et al* 1996; Featherstone *et al* 1999; Featherstone and Bewley 2000). Despite the large numbers of sites recorded, the survey was never fully developed as a NMP project. This has also meant that the Royal Commission material has never been fully collated with local collections held in the SMR, nor has the work ever been fully disseminated. These failures provide one of the fundamental reasons for embarking upon this research project.

The eastern Cotswolds therefore falls within the scope of three different recent projects (fig. 3.4). For the NMP projects there is little that this study can do to add to the work done already and only a campaign of test-pitting will help to provide more secure dating evidence. However, the lack of resources allocated to the NOAS to include it in the NMP has provided the opportunity to completely reassess the material. Thus, a considerable period of research-time was required at the NMR archives working through the NOAS

survey folders, comparing this with aerial photographs from the red box collection and then against the SMR material, already catalogued. This was then integrated with local and non-archaeological surveys held in the County SMR to provide the most complete picture of cropmark sites within the region to date.

A further aspect of this research is seen in appendix 2 with the table of cropmark sites recorded alongside the aerial photograph numbers. Each aerial photograph held by the SMR or NMR in their archives has an individual catalogue number. For the NMR these includes the grid number, survey date and film number and short number; for the SMR this is usually the date of survey and the company that took the photograph along with an individual catalogue number. All sites therefore have their NMR and SMR numbers recorded alongside the individual number provided by the NOAS folder for each site and the individual photograph number, which will allow future work reasonably easy access to a complete aerial photograph cataloguing dataset. Due to the nature of the grid system of reference for the NMR photographs, these sites are automatically integrated within the OS grid referencing system used by both the SMR and NMR.

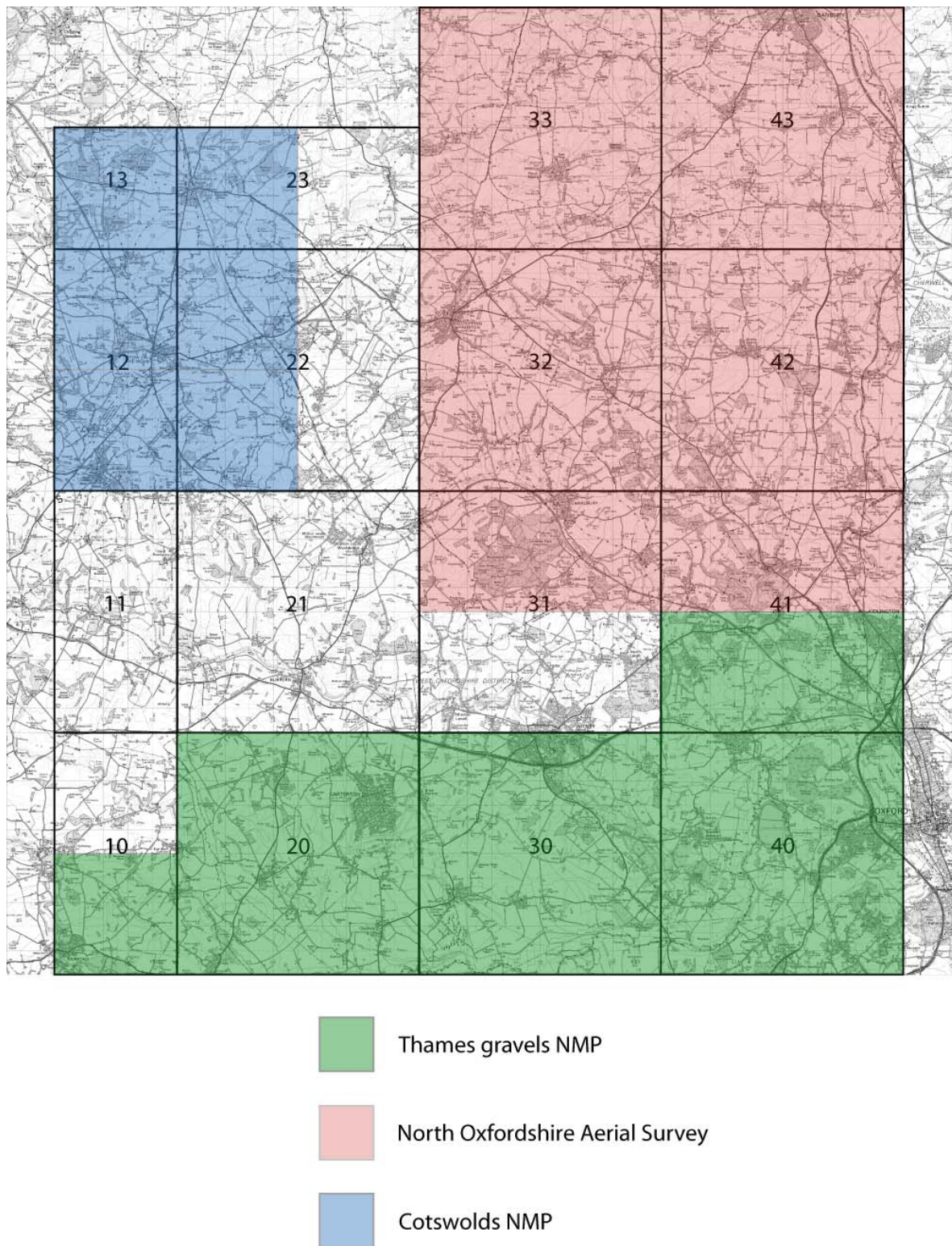


Figure 3.4: The Royal Commission/English Heritage aerial survey projects that fall within the study area of this thesis.

(A. Lang, with map crown copyright/database right 2007: An ordnance survey/EDINA supplied service)

However, the identification and interpretation of these cropmarks presents a complex methodological problem.

Methodological considerations

There are a number of approaches to identifying, interpreting and cataloguing cropmark sites but these are, by their very nature, contentious and subjective. There is a tendency to place cropmarks within categories, such as size (e.g. Palmer 1984) but morphological studies can often lead to overly complex divisions that inhibit wide-scale landscape models where there will be slight differences in cropmark form (e.g. Whimster 1989). Moore (2006) has already outlined many of the problems faced in the Cotswolds region and his regional interpretations present the most obvious and straightforward way of defining cropmarks. However, his outline presents a problem in itself since he provides no explanation of the terminology used, which is often already loaded with subjective interpretation.

The aim here has been to make the classifications as simple as possible so that, with less classificatory terms involved, there is less chance of confusion in the terminology. Classifications have therefore remained deliberately broad with two sources used to help define and categorise the cropmarks within the eastern Cotswolds. First, terms have been adopted from the Royal Commission's original classification scheme (Edis *et al* 1989) which formed the basis of its MORPH system used in early NMP projects. The pilot projects helped to update this system (which became MORPH2) and has subsequently evolved to account for further modifications. Second, in order to retain continuity from other work in the eastern Cotswolds area and to enhance the interpretation to the Royal

Commission descriptions, the more subjective terms originating in NOAS publications (particularly Featherstone and Bewley 2000) are used.

Cropmarks within the eastern Cotswolds have been placed into four categories. Three of these are broad: 'curvilinear', 'rectilinear' and 'other' encompassing a number of sub-categories but allow a simplistic definition to be retained. The details of 'curvilinear' and 'rectilinear' enclosure sub-categories are outlined in figure 3.5. The 'other' category largely defines possible pit clusters and pit alignments. Due to the nature of the underlying geology some of these may be natural features so this category has not been subjected to as much investigation as the others. The reason for including banjo enclosures as a distinct term has already been outlined in chapter 1, by categorizing these sites as such there is an opportunity to look at these sites in far greater detail than the other cropmarks mentioned through the course of this study.

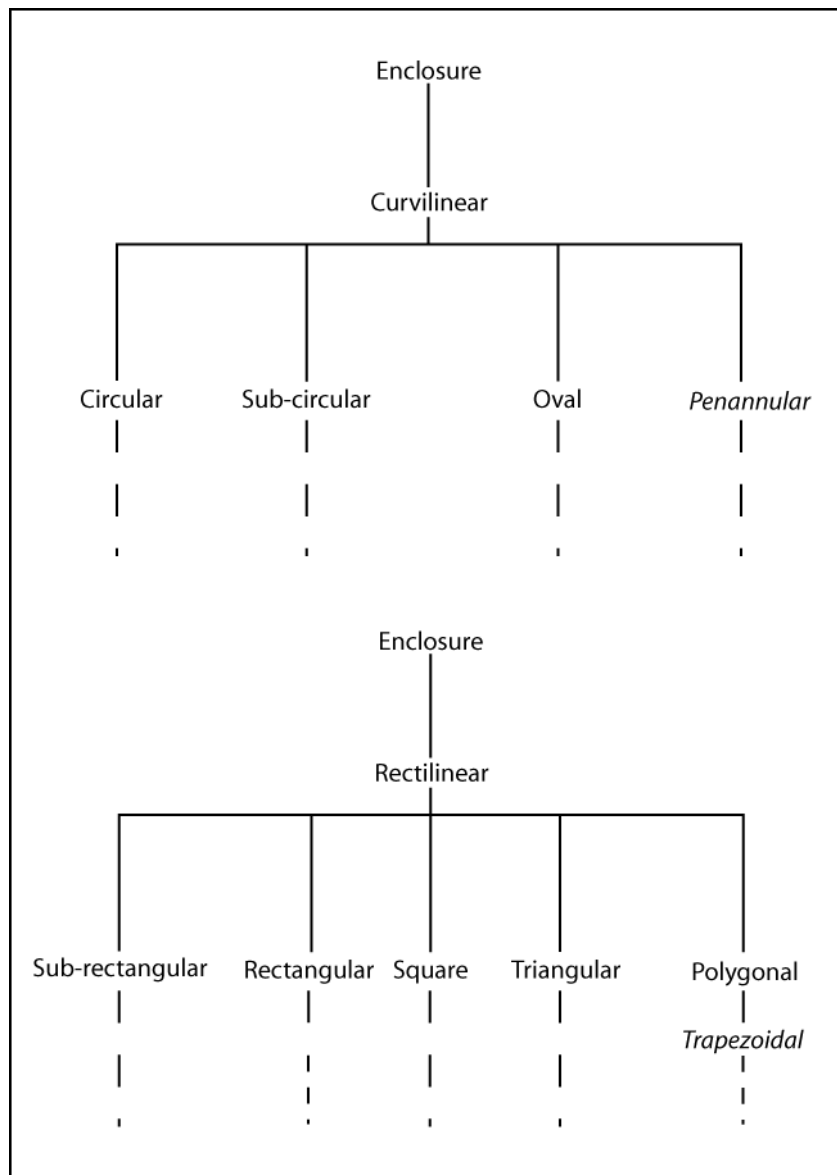


Figure 3.5: Classificatory terms for curvilinear and rectilinear enclosures respectively, adapted from Edis *et al* 1989, Appendix A. The terms highlighted in italics are not included in the original paper but are used to define sites in this thesis. (A. Lang)

The cropmarks recorded throughout the course of this study are outlined in figure 3.6. A major exclusion from this cropmark survey has been the linear cropmark features. The reason for this is that, with the exception of the remnants of the North Oxfordshire Grim's Ditch, the features in this region reveal little that can be interpreted as prehistoric. Furthermore, there is no evidence of remnant field systems (as elsewhere in southern England) and there is no way of dating many of the linear features through morphological means.

There is also the consideration of date that must be taken into account. The underlying assumption is that these sites are of Iron Age date even though many have no associated dating evidence. Dates are therefore based on past publications of regional interpretations (particularly Benson and Miles 1974; Hingley 1983; Hingley and Miles 1984) and previous work on the eastern Cotswolds aerial survey material (Featherstone and Bewley 2000). Overall this is far from ideal but enough circumstantial evidence and comparable examples exist to suggest many of the cropmark sites are Iron Age in date. This will always be a subjective exercise but the margin of error can be limited by a process of elimination and by taking into account as many factors as possible.

This is also one of the key reasons for reassessing the material of the eastern Cotswolds. Many rectilinear sites in the region have been assigned a Roman date, often simply on account of their form. The realisation that many of these sites are of Iron Age date (e.g. Moore 2006) has provided opportunities to look again at much of the evidence. This is not without its problems, though, as several cropmarks may indeed be Roman. To avoid mistakes all cropmarks were assessed alongside current SMR and NMR records. Additionally, if any findspots, fieldwalking or excavation remains in adjacent fields appeared to contain material of Roman origin, they were immediately discarded. Similarly it was felt that, due to the lack of dating evidence, many small round enclosures or curvilinear sites warranted exclusion as being possible Round Barrows even though barrow sites in the region are known to be of Iron Age date (e.g. Hardwick, Chambers 1976a). Therefore these were also discarded.

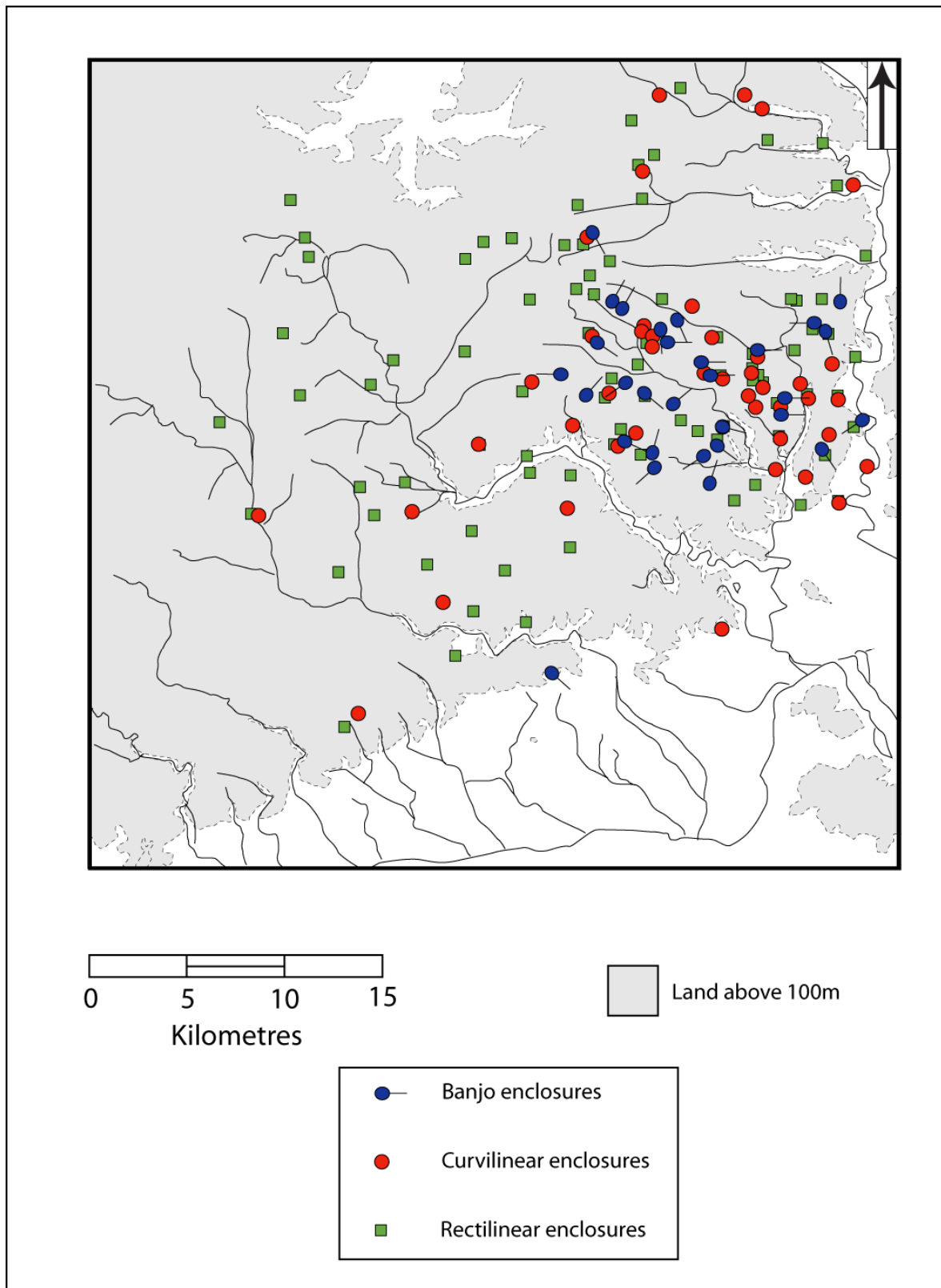


Figure 3.6: A map of all definitive Iron Age cropmark sites within the eastern Cotswolds. This forms the core primary data collection material from an aerial survey perspective. (A. Lang)

3.4 New sources: a methodology of the magnetometry surveys

The final source within this study is magnetometry, which was used on a small number of specifically targeted sites. The Cotswold region has previously had an intermittent association with geophysical survey with two hillfort sites, Madmarston and Rainsborough, being amongst the first hillfort sites to be surveyed in England (Aitken and Tite 1962). This has been followed over the years with work at the Rollright Stones (Lambrick 1988) and Lee's Rest, Charlbury (Payne 1992). More recently, there have been a number of projects across the wider Cotswold region, such as Conderton Camp (Payne *et al* 2006), Windrush Camp and Salmonsbury (Marshall 1996a; 1996b) alongside a long-term project at Temple Guiting (Marshall 1999; 2001). In 2004 GSB completed a large-scale project that surveyed much of the interior, and the annexe at Salmonsbury (GSB 2004).

The surveys

The surveys were completed during the winter months of 2005/6 (hillforts) and 2006/7 (banjo enclosures). Equipment was borrowed from Bartlett-Clark Geophysical Consultants and surveys were therefore dependent on availability. The author was aided by Alister Bartlett in the completion of both the hillfort surveys. Permission was required from landowners and, as both are Scheduled Ancient Monuments, licences were granted by English Heritage². For the banjo enclosures, all grid laying and surveys were completed by the author with Fraser Prince helping on two final days at Rollright Heath and Enstone Airfield. Permission was required for all sites from landowners/tenant farmers.

² From Chris Welch, Regional Inspector for English Heritage (south-east).

The author and Alister Bartlett decided not to take any samples for magnetic susceptibility since the shallow nature of the soils in the region meant that results from the individual surveys were clear enough not to warrant further investigation of this type.

The magnetometer surveys followed standard procedures for this type of work. Readings were collected using a digital logging system at 0.25m intervals along transects 1m apart using Bartington Grad 601 fluxgate magnetometers. Before visiting any particular site grids were laid using a portable GPS system with points pre-plotted on OS maps. Each grid was 900m². Lines of 100m were marked out (with flags) at 33.3m and 66.6m intervals and were logged as breaks in the recording of data. With 3 magnetometers set at 1m apart, each 100m walked meant that three lines were recorded. There were 30 lines walked per grid, giving a total of 90 lines of 100m recorded per grid (figure 3.7). Each site differed in size and required a varying number of grids.

The survey plots show the magnetometer readings after standard treatments which include adjustment for irregularities in line spacing caused by variations in the instrument zero setting, and slight linear smoothing. Additional 2D low pass filtering was applied to the grey scale plots to reduce background noise levels.

The results are presented in three formats. The first set of images for each site is the greyscale plot of results from the survey (these appear as site figures in chapter 4). The second set of images is the survey data recorded line-by-line with possible features highlighted in red. The third set of images is the interpretative plot of recorded archaeological and non-archaeological features (both these appear in Appendix 3). All these images were plotted from the computer logs in Coral draw before being plotted on

OS maps in AutoCAD. The author has completed and deposited a report for the hillfort surveys as part of the requirement for English Heritage licenses. Further reports for the landowners are currently in preparation. The total period of time for organising, undertaking, interpreting and finishing all aspects of these surveys was approximately 50 days.

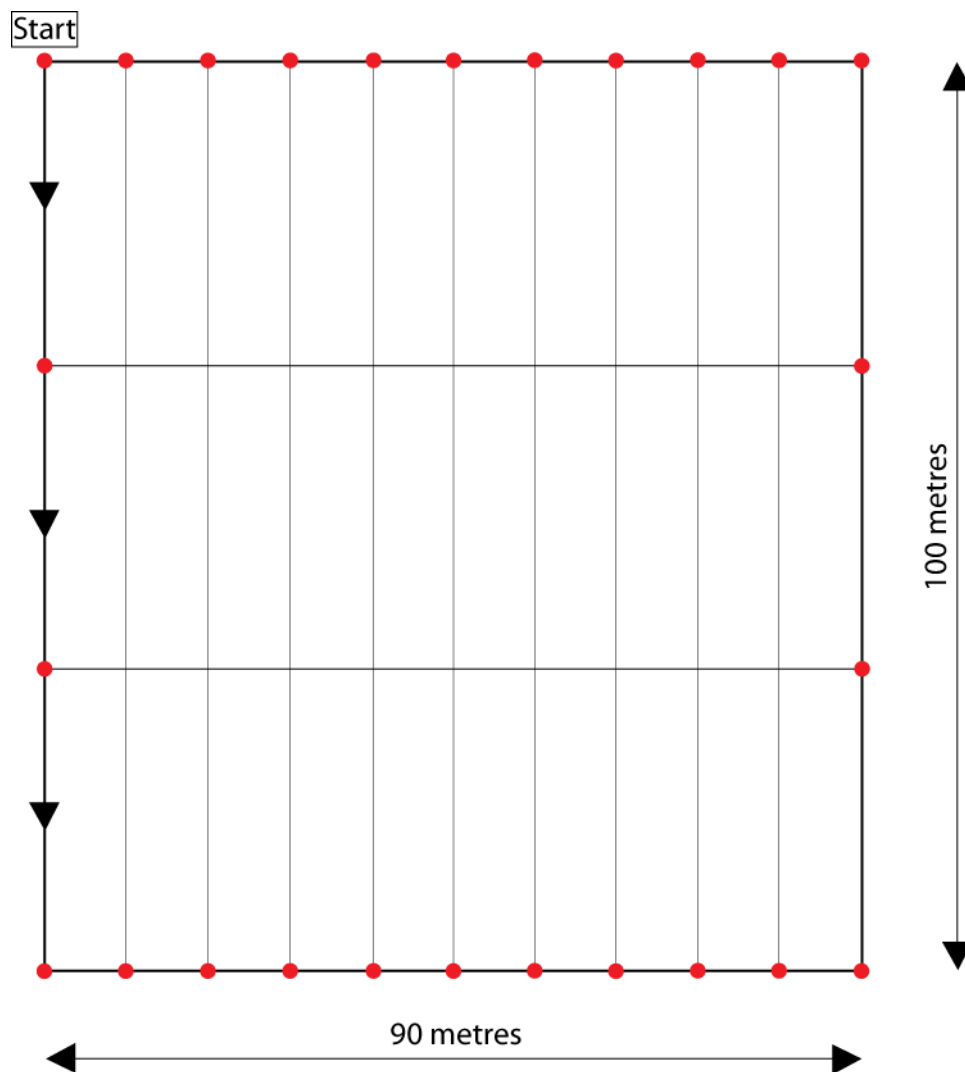


Figure 3.7: The grid system used to record data during the magnetometer surveys. Lines of 100m were surveyed with 3 lines recorded per 1 line walked. (A. Lang)

The sites

There are a small number of banjo enclosures that have been surveyed through archaeological geophysics. Clark was one of the first to see the potential and used surveys as a technique for rectification of aerial photographs (Clark 1977). These included the surveys at Bramdean (Hants.) and Tadmarton (Surrey) and, during the same period, at Groundwell Farm (Wilts.) and Micheldever Wood (Hants.). In more recent years, as a result of the development of the Danebury Environs Project in Hampshire, three more banjo sites (Nettlebank Copse, Grately South and Dunkirt Barn [Cunliffe and Poole 2000; Cunliffe 2008a and 2008b]), have been surveyed. Finally, the end of the 1990s there was one survey at Heathcote Home Farm (Warks.), as part of a development-control site (Gaffney and Gater 2003, 129), and another, by *Time Team*, of a double banjo complex on Salisbury Plain (Harding 2007). Coinciding with the study presented here, Paula Levick has conducted geophysical surveys across six banjo enclosures on the Lambourn Downs.

This project's survey of five banjo enclosures is a significant addition to the present record of surveyed sites in southern Britain but, as important, is the fact that these particular enclosures have differing internal and external characteristics. The sites were chosen from aerial survey material as many showed good potential for archaeological activity with evidence of pits or other activity observed in their interiors. But it was also important to identify features of potential site function and to establish whether different forms of banjo enclosure might denote different functions. Wider surveys were carried out on two sites, Rollright Heath and Enstone Airfield, to incorporate external ditches and adjacent enclosures.

Hillforts have been an obvious target for excavation in Britain. However, since excavations are often limited in size and by time, there has not been, until recently, a wide-scale survey project of this type of site. Only Danebury (Cunliffe 1984; 1995) has been extensively excavated (approx. 3ha amounting to 57%) in a project lasting more than 20 years. During the 1990s a survey project was set-up by English Heritage (Payne 1996) to attempt to collate and conduct surveys in the Wessex region. The problems regarding hillforts were obvious:

“A problem to date has been the lack of extensive data on hillfort interiors, which has deprived English Heritage of even the most basic information on the archaeological content of many hillforts – a prerequisite of informed conservation management” (Payne *et al* 2006, 20)

The results of the wide-scale Wessex survey have provided considerable detail of the many sites where only minimal previous intervention. The linking of archaeological evidence with wide-scale survey means that a great deal more can be understood about them (Cunliffe 2006). Hillforts are prolific in the Cotswold region but by-and-large they remain unexplored (this is discussed further in chapter 5). While a number have been excavated, particularly between the 1925 and 1970, there has been no geophysical survey project equivalent to the Wessex hillforts survey. No doubt this is partly due to the focus on the Wessex region until very recently and there has been no opportunity as yet for English Heritage to expand the remit. Therefore, in the second part of this study’s archaeological geophysics survey, it was decided to concentrate on two hillforts in this region.

The two sites, Chastleton [1468] and Lyneham [2302] were chosen because both have been identified as hillforts of ‘Cotswold-type’ and both have been previously investigated through excavation. It was therefore hoped that some questions could be answered regarding the potential function of these relatively small earthwork sites with surveys of the interior. The evidence from previous excavation – particularly Chastleton – pointed to

at least some level of occupation or activity through the recording of post holes and material culture. Also, each has two potentially original entranceways that survive to the present day. The surveys could help to define the extent of this activity, and to extract further information. The surveys were conducted in full co-operation – including post-survey site visits – with the field monument warden for Oxfordshire (Dan Bashford), so that English Heritage has a complete record of all material relating to the sites. The surveys are therefore just the start of a potential ‘Hillforts of the Cotswold region’ project (Lang unpubl.) that will develop our understanding of these and other sites, together with the survival of their interiors.

The geophysical surveys of this project therefore provide a meaningful addition to the archaeological record of this region. By pursuing a non-invasive policy of research for this study it is hoped that a more detailed picture of the region can be attained before any excavation takes place. These additions contribute to both curatorial and research frameworks and are thus accessible to a wide range of people. This has now become especially important with the impact of development-control led archaeological work.

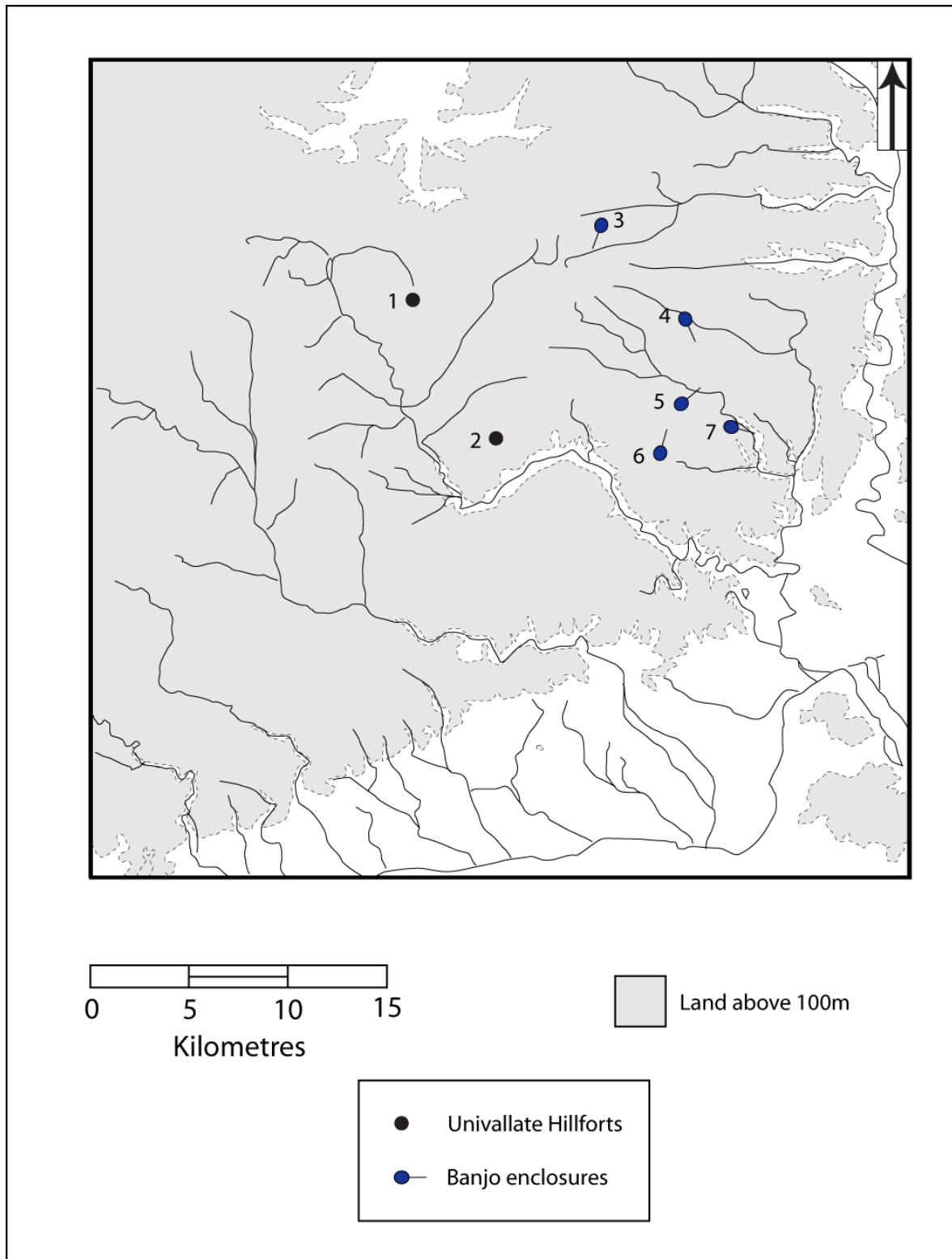


Figure 3.8: Sites surveyed using magnetometry as primary research for the course of this thesis: 1. Chastleton Burrow; 2. Lyneham Camp; 3. Rollright Heath; 4. Enstone Airfield; 5. Bagneedle Barn; 6. Pieces Field; 7. Middle Brooklan. (A. Lang)

3.5 Current questions: PPG 16, resource assessments and research agendas

In 1990 the introduction of Planning Policy Guidance note 16 (Archaeology and Planning) (PPG 16) brought about considerable changes to the archaeological profession. It altered the direction of work dramatically, focusing on planning decisions and commercial development rather more than academic interests.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of PPG 16 has been its effect on the terms of research nationally. In many regions large volumes of new material have created fresh opportunities to re-assess research goals (Haselgrove *et al* 2001) and have generated a number of reviews outlining new concepts in Iron Age studies (e.g. Yates 2007; Moore 2006; Haselgrove and Pope 2007a; Haselgrove and Moore 2007a). Thus, depending on external funding boards, new research agendas have been produced as balances have shifted between landscape and material culture studies. In 2001, the *Agenda for Action* outlined the areas of existing knowledge and directions for future research. It identified the Upper Thames Valley as a region already existing within a framework of considerable previous research (Haselgrove *et al* 2001, 25, table 3). On the contrary the Cotswolds region was classified in the same table as ‘unsorted’, thus suggesting that further work was required.

In the Thames valley region, many of the frameworks have, by and large, remained virtually the same over the past two decades, a situation that is supported by a draft issued as part of the Solent-Thames regional research framework (Allen 2006). Despite the full assessment of sites such as Gravelly Guy (Lambrick and Allen 2004) and Yarnton (Hey and Timby *forthcoming*) that have added considerable detail, the main goals of regional research have not necessarily been redefined. In the 18 years since the implementation of

PPG 16, there has not been a dramatic shift in the balance of work carried out in the region. Many of the larger sites have been in aggregate quarries or urban developments within the Thames valley and, while this category of operation has dramatically increased the volume of material and knowledge about particular sites, it has not necessarily added to the many ideas about the Thames valley that had already been accepted prior to the introduction of PPG 16.

The wider Cotswold region has recently been thoroughly investigated and Moore (2006) has updated many aspects of this research, proposing a number of models of social and cultural change visible across a wide landscape and chronological periods. The most significant of these is the adoption of 'Earlier' and 'Later' periods, rather than the classic tripartite division preferred in the upper Thames region. The differences between this region and the Thames valley are considerable and Moore goes some way to tackling these, particularly from a material culture perspective.

In the eastern Cotswolds, the interventions have often been quite small but nevertheless significant in expanding considerably the knowledge of material culture, settlement patterns and environment. One of the main aims of this work is to integrate this work into a wider research framework that will be accommodated in regional assessments for both the Cotswold and Upper Thames regions. As yet no regional assessment exists and thus a key goal of this research is to rectify this situation by outlining settlement patterns and comparable aspects of material culture, economy and settlement from the Cotswolds and Thames valley. All of this will be discussed further in Chapters 5 and 6.

Conclusions for Part 1

The aims of Part 1 have been to outline in landscape and archaeological terms the current knowledge of the upper Thames and eastern Cotswold regions.

It has been necessary to provide a relatively detailed account of the archaeological work because so often certain aspects are ignored or underplayed. The central position of the upper Thames in the development of Iron Age studies in recent years has often meant that other subjects have been overlooked. This is especially the case with the Cotswolds, where the hillfort excavations completed there have not been recognised for the impact they had at the time, an aspect that is particularly applicable to Chastleton and Rainsborough. This can also be said for the work of Leeds, who realised the archaeological potential of the gravels long before the interventions of the OAU.

The landscape has also been key highlighting the strong imbalance between the two regions, one upland and one lowland. For a number of reasons, the latter has held considerable influence over the course of research, and the agendas for future work. The upland region has not been completely ignored but only intermittent work has meant it has been under-researched by comparison. It is hoped that completion of the work outlined in the following chapters will go a long way to rectifying this state of affairs. Although excavation is not the primary objective, the aerial survey and magnetometry research will outline settlement patterns and landscape use throughout the Iron Age period. Therefore, it is to the eastern Cotswolds, and principally its heartland, that we must now turn.

Part 2: The Evidence

This part of the study deals with the collation of material from aerial and geophysical surveys and archaeological excavation. It is divided into three chapters, chapter 4 deals with aspects of settlement from the heartland area. Chapter 5 analyses settlement material from the two other areas of the eastern Cotswolds region and then Chapter 6 looks at settlement patterns from the upper Thames and wider Cotswold regions, as well as material from north and east of the eastern Cotswolds. The analysis of all the data associated with settlement patterns, as well as other important aspects of Iron Age research, will shed new light on the settlement landscapes of the eastern Cotswolds during the Iron Age.

4. The heart of the eastern Cotswolds region

4.1 Introduction

The heartland area is geographically distinct from the rest of the eastern Cotswolds. It sits as a broad plateau of high ground gently sloping to the south-east interconnected by water courses fed from numerous spring lines and draining into the Evenlode and its tributaries. This landscape has revealed a considerable number of cropmarks, the majority of which were recorded during the north Oxfordshire Aerial Survey.

In total, two hillforts, a possible hillfort and 82 cropmark sites have been identified within the heartland region (fig. 4.1). The cropmarks identified are 23 curvilinear, 36 rectilinear and 23 banjo enclosure sites. These are primarily assessed through the identification of potential settlement characteristics and are divided into three particular categories: sites with visible hut circles, sites with visible pits, and sites with other examples of internal activity. This format is also applied to the cropmark sites from the other regions of the eastern Cotswolds in chapter 5. For the heartland region, the most significant aspect is the identification of 23 banjo enclosures which represent just over 75% of the total recorded in the eastern Cotswolds region. As has been mentioned previously, these will be analysed separately within the wider context of southern Britain, before further discussions and narratives are outlined in Chapter 7.

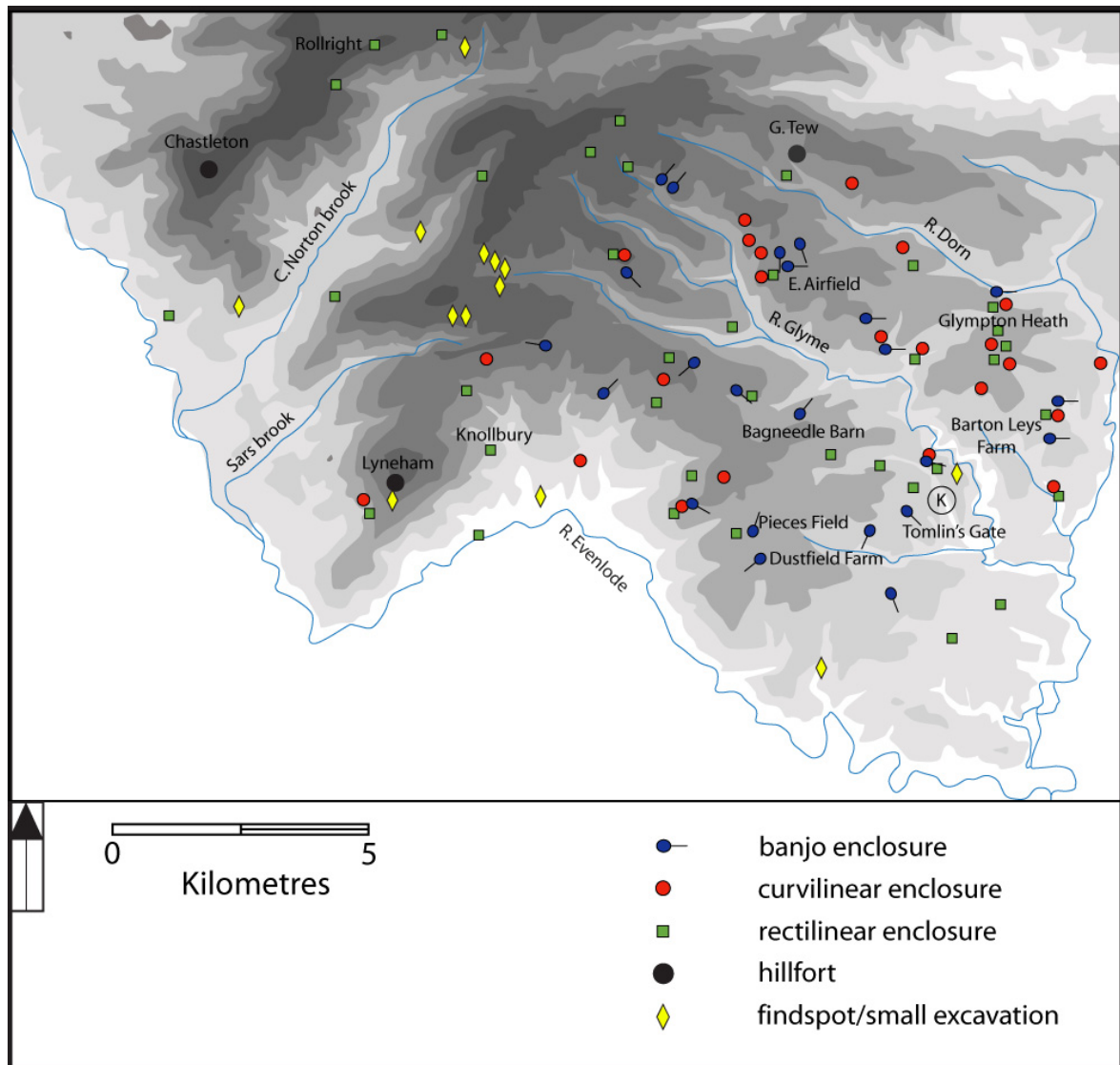


Figure 4.1: Distribution map of Iron Age sites within the heartland area. Numbers and labels relate to key sites in the text. K marks the course of the former 'Kiddington' brook, a now dry River valley. The contours are 100m, 120m, 140m, 160m, 180m, 200m, and 220m above sea level. (A. Lang)

4.2 Hillfort sites

The two known hillfort sites from the heartland region are Chastleton and Lyneham. A further possible hillfort has been identified at Great Tew, where very low earthworks of a rampart and ditch have been observed (Ray 1991). At Lyneham, trenches were placed through the ramparts of the site (fig. 4.2) with the interior left unexcavated. The only possible evidence of settlement was therefore from the material culture, with pottery and a

bone pin recovered. The geophysical survey of the site (fig. 4.3) revealed almost no internal activity. A small number of pits were located but there were no strong readings indicating more permanent settlement activity.

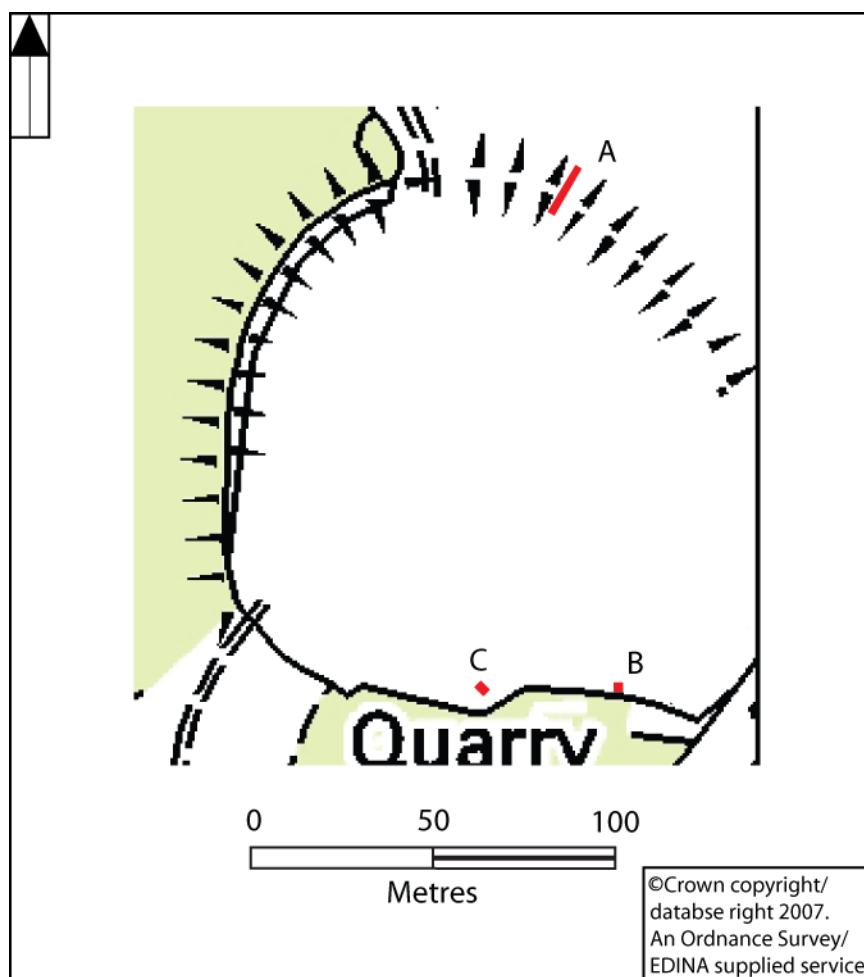
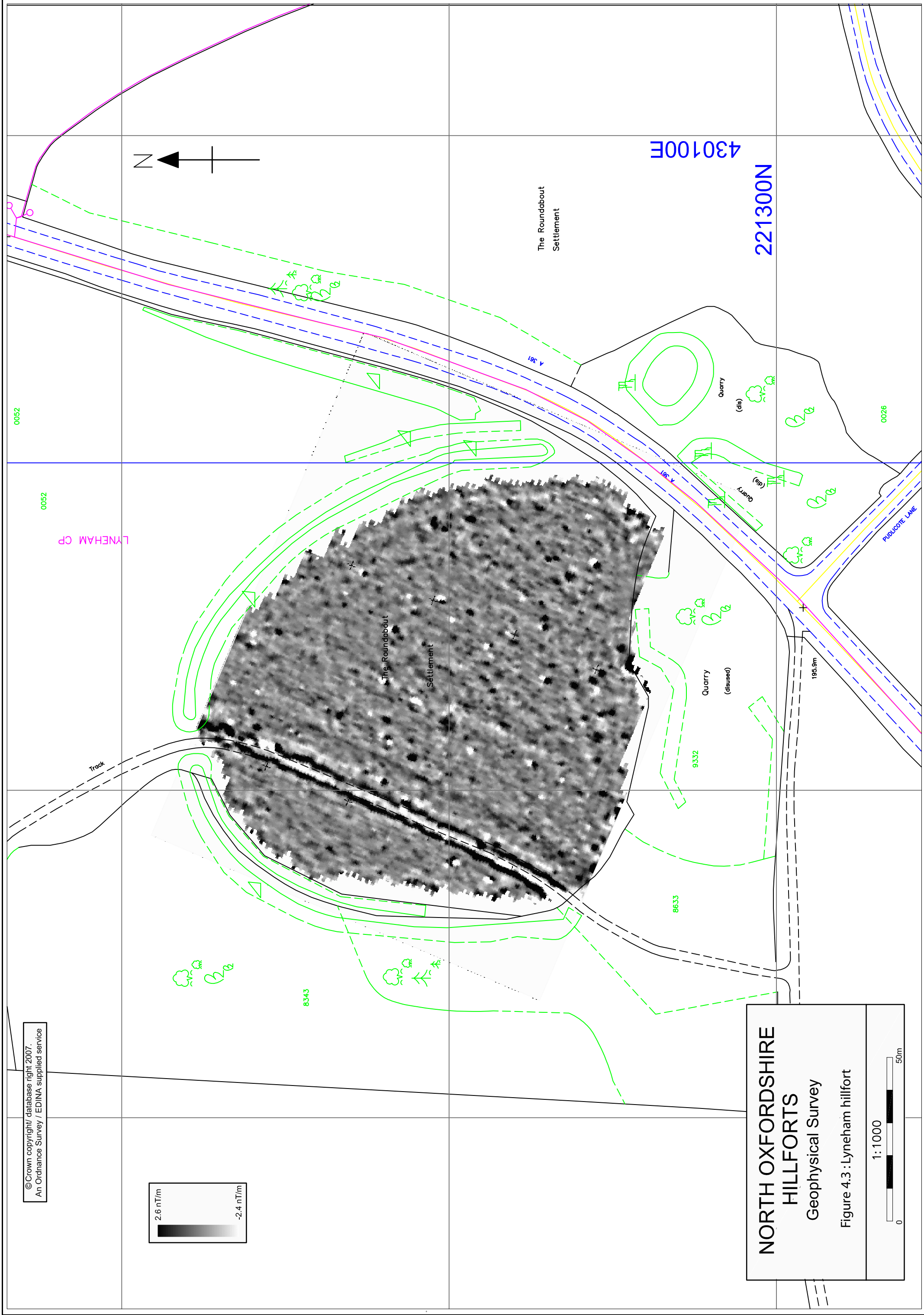


Figure 4.2: The excavations of Bayne at Lyneham Camp in 1956 transcribed onto the OS map. (A. Lang)



At Chastleton there is some evidence of settlement. Leeds' excavations were completed in a number of different locations (fig. 4.4) to help give a fuller picture of the site. His descriptions highlight a number of possible locations for house sites or activity areas. The identification of a small number of post-holes (possibly at the edge of trenches) and at least five possible hearths recorded from different trenches suggests some occupation activity. Associated materials such as ceramics, weaving combs, needles and spindle whorls all suggest settlement activity. No pits were recorded during these excavations.

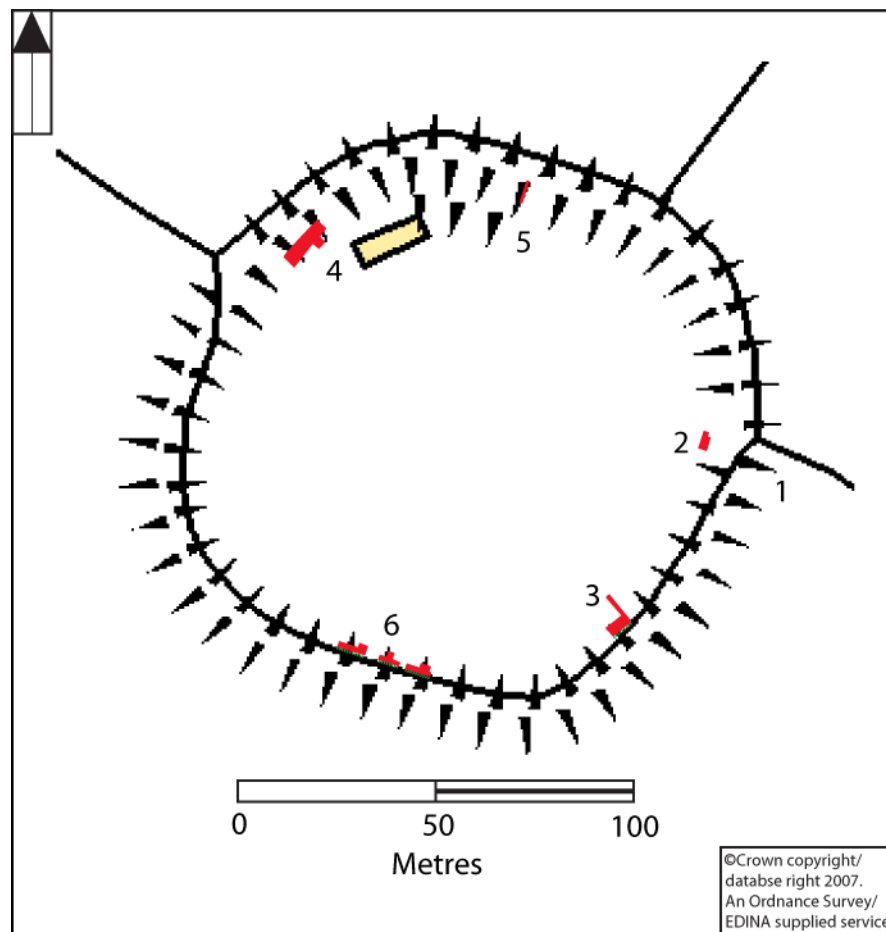
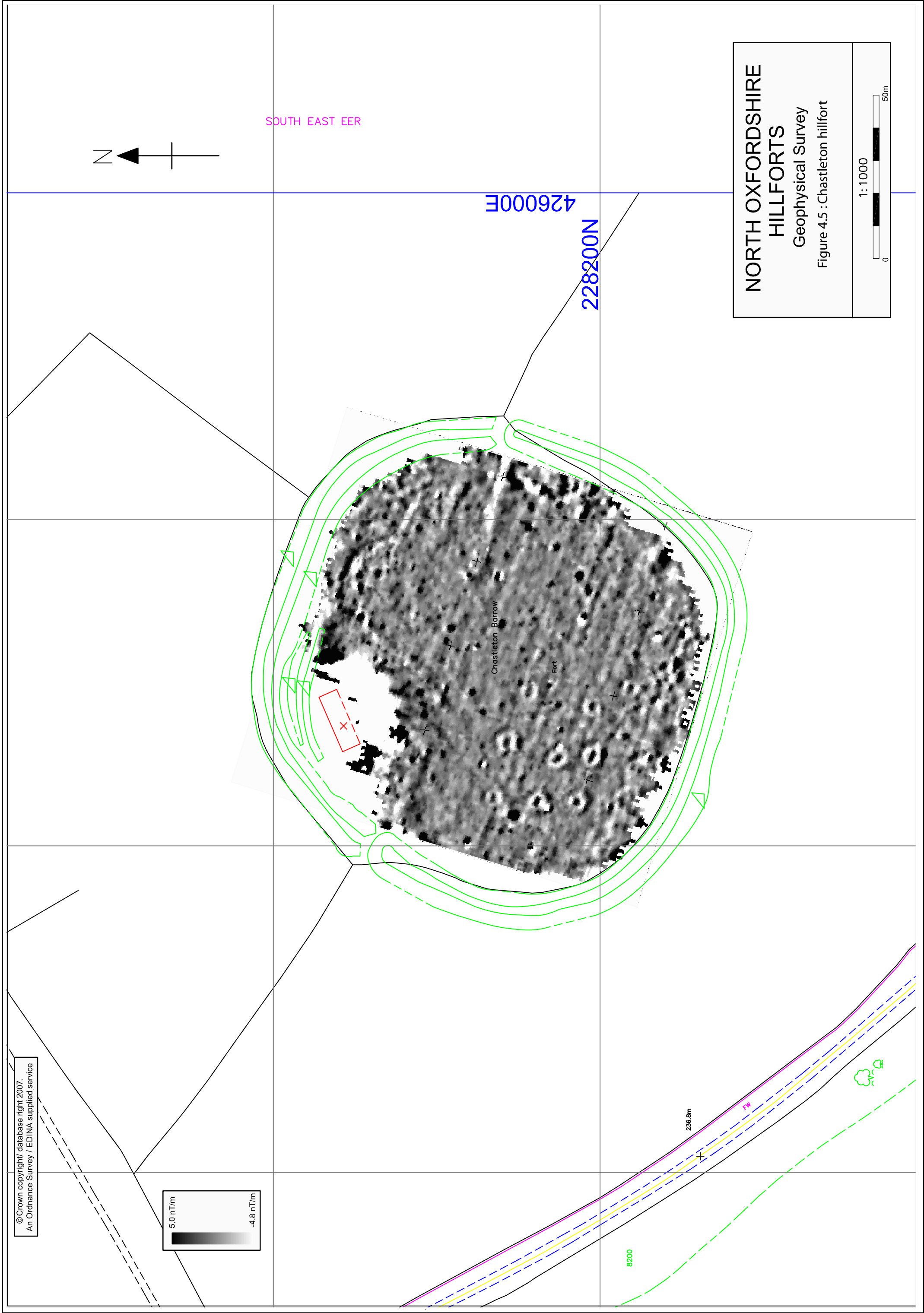


Figure 4.4: Leeds' excavations at Chastleton in 1928 and '29 transcribed onto the OS map. (A. Lang)

The survey at Chastleton (fig. 4.5) showed clearer evidence of activity than that of Lyneham. The geophysics highlighted a number of areas indicative of either settlement or use with a number of pits and other features identified. The main focus of these is close to

the edge of the site near the ramparts, rather than across the whole of the interior. Only pits appear to be located throughout. For the small size of Chastleton the level of activity is low suggesting that (as with the case of Lyneham) this is unlikely to be a settlement of any kind, least of all a permanent one. A further point to note is the level of recent activity. The identification of a number of probable tree boles and medieval ploughing attest to the continued use of the site, something Leeds also picked up during his excavations. He noted in particular that “in the process of ages of cultivation they have apparently destroyed beyond recognition” (1931a, 387). The placement of a modern cowshed in the north-west corner also masks any potential archaeological activity through the high readings picked up by the magnetometer. This happens to be located close to Leeds’ trench 4, one of the more prolific ones in archaeological terms.



4.3 Rectilinear and curvilinear settlement enclosures

With so little evidence of settlement coming from the hillforts of the heartland area, the suggestion can be made that perhaps many of the Iron Age settlements of the region are small, sometimes individual, farmsteads. In itself this is not necessarily a new concept, as Hingley argued strongly that this is what the banjo enclosures of the region represented (see below). However, the growth of the number of cropmark sites and the significant concentration of them within the heartland region (comprising 52% of the total number recorded) suggests there is a greater complexity than has been previously implied. The recording from the wider Cotswold region of numerous rectilinear and curvilinear enclosures (Moore 2006, ch.3) points clearly to this greater complexity and these sites therefore require further analysis. All sites are plotted on the distribution map at the beginning of this chapter.

Settlement indicators: hut circles

At least five rectilinear and curvilinear enclosures have hut circles visible from their interiors. Some are examples with just a single hut circle visible, which is the case for one rectangular enclosure in the headwaters of the Glyme [13772]. Others are more complex, for example, a rectangular enclosure [17083], which lies within the valley of the Chipping Norton brook, close to its confluence with the Evenlode. This site is relatively large and appears to be divided by an internal ditch. The northern section has faint indications of a circular cropmark, possibly indicative of a hut circle. Two further faint cropmarks, one curvilinear and one rectilinear, are visible in adjacent fields. It is possible that the internal division demarcates separate activity areas within the settlement.

A number of hut circles are also visible within the Glympton heath complex. This is a cropmark complex on an area of high ground above, and overlooking, the Dorn river representing a large-scale settlement. It comprises two rectangular [16167], [12213], one square [12204], and two curvilinear enclosures, [16168] and [12213], in a linear arrangement visible across an area of approximately 900m. There are a number of linear features between these enclosures that suggest their close association. It is the two rectangular enclosures that have internal divisions and possible hut circles. There is also a possible outlying penannular enclosure [42/1] close by.

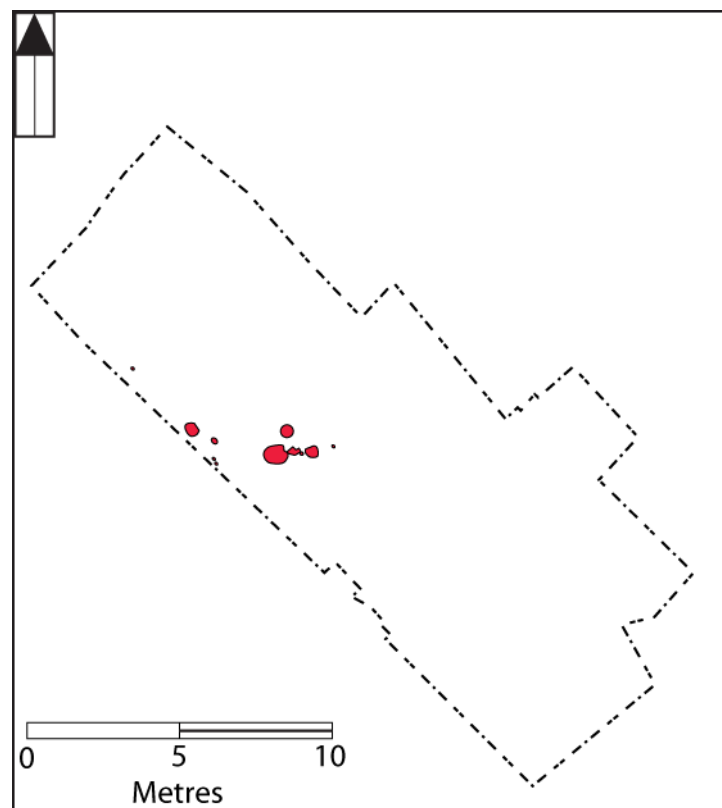
Near the confluence of the Glyme and Evenlode there is a large rectangular complex with associated linear features [16020]. This cropmark complex has clear indications of internal features including two possible hut circles. Its position on high ground above the confluence gives wide views of the local area and is therefore a good location for a settlement site.

A further site with a visible hut circle is a square enclosure with a possible extended antenna entrance [13415]. The hut circle is the only internal feature visible at this site. It is enclosed by a set of double ditches, the external one possibly intermittent. The trackway leading to the enclosure is approximately 40-50m in length. The possibility exists that this is actually a rectilinear banjo enclosure however the entrance is obscured by a modern copse making it impossible to tell if they connect. This has therefore been identified as a probable banjo enclosure in the appendix.

Settlement indicators: pits

Much firmer evidence comes from pits that are often visible as clusters adjacent to settlement sites. A small number have been excavated. The 'farmstead' site at the Rollright Stones, positioned on a ridge of high ground between the valleys of the Chipping Norton brook and the Stour drainage system that flows to the north-west is, perhaps, the best example. It is located approximately 5km north-east of Chastleton on the same ridge that forms part of the course of the Jurassic way – a prehistoric trackway or trading route (Grimes 1951; Lambrick 1988). At the Rollright Stones [12251] (site 6 – Lambrick 1988, 82-3) a small single trench was dug through the ditch of a rectilinear enclosure. This revealed a gully and a number of pits (internal and external to the ditch) as well as the ditch itself. The gully might represent a drainage feature of a roundhouse, although no associated post- or stake-holes were recorded during the excavation (Lambrick 1988, 83-4). Further external geophysical survey pointed to the presence of a pit cluster immediately west of the enclosure. Pottery and a single child inhumation also provided circumstantial evidence of settlement. Two linear features are possibly associated with this settlement. First, a double-ditched trackway lies in the adjacent field running close to the Whispering Knights portal dolmen. Second, a single linear feature running east-west has been interpreted as part of a field system (Lambrick 1988, 80-1). Both of these features were dated to the Early Iron Age while it has been suggested that the enclosure is of Middle Iron Age date. Their association therefore remains circumstantial. Along the same ridge are two further rectilinear sites on either side of the enclosure. One is a small square enclosure [12254] and the other a large rectangular enclosure [9792]. Neither of these sites have visible associated cropmarks or indications of internal activity or structures.

Further excavations of pits have often been in areas that have been considered ‘blank’, where no evidence has been recovered previously or cropmarks identified. The most recently excavated example of this is from the Glympton site (Cropper and Hardy 1997). The excavations picked up only a small number of pits (fig. 4.6) possibly at the edge of a settlement located to the west or south of the area. Further examples include a site at Chadlington where Leeds identified a number of pits from two gravel pits either side of a road – suggesting “a small settlement here” (1935, 32). One example of considerable size was approximately 2.4m deep and, at its widest, 1.8m. The identification of ceramics confirmed their age.



*Figure 4.6: Iron Age features revealed in excavations at Glympton.
(A. Lang, after Cropper and Hardy 1997, 103, fig. 1)*

A number of pits and ceramic vessels, recorded in Chipping Norton as surface finds [13380-1 and 13384 in the SMR records, unpubl.], also attest to at least some possible

settlement. The medieval town of Chipping Norton is located on the opposite ridge to Chastleton, on a plateau of high ground that is drained from all sides by the Chipping Norton brook, the Sars brook and the Glyme. It is an excellent location with all-round visibility. In the area a possible Roman small town or settlement (Hingley and Miles 1984; Booth 1998) with perhaps earlier origins has been identified and fieldwalking evidence adds some substance to this. Two cropmarks in the adjacent areas, a large sub-rectangular enclosure to the north [9414] and a small sub-rectangular enclosure [17092] to the south, do not have any visible indications of settlement.

A further small square enclosure [1227], just north of the confluence of the Glyme and Evenlode, has also revealed some pit features across its interior. The entrance faces south-west and a small oval enclosure lies in close proximity. Pits are apparent as both internal and external features across the site. Further north, in the very east of this region, a small penannular enclosure [45/5] close to the Dorn has possible internal features, the majority of which appear to be pits.

Settlement indicators: internal activity

Settlement activity does not necessarily appear in the form of pits or hut circles. In fact, the majority of sites within this region might be categorised under an 'other' heading, which, in this thesis, has been defined as internal activity. This evidence can appear as features, such as small rectilinear or linear cropmarks or perhaps as divisions or boundaries. Geophysical and excavation evidence from elsewhere in the Cotswolds has already shown this to be a common occurrence for settlement sites (Marshall 2001; Moore 2006; see

Chapter 6). These might be also interpreted here as forms of settlement activity, delineating or dividing specific activity areas.

Perhaps the best example of this is the site of Knollbury [1458], a site which still survives as an earthwork. It is located half-way up, and overlooking, the Evenlode valley. Knollbury is a large rectangular earthwork site with banks still surviving up to 2m. The interior remains under plough and the lack of excavation means that the site cannot be dated. Its proximity to Lyneham hillfort, a number of cropmark sites and the pits at Chadlington, however, strongly suggest it is of Iron Age date. At the beginning of the decade a partial geophysical survey was completed (Sherwood 2001). The survey plots reveal a reasonable level of activity across the sites, with some higher reading points indicating, perhaps, burning activity. The author identified a large pit-like feature which appeared to be a silo-pit similar to those recorded elsewhere in the Cotswolds region (see chapter 6). Aside from this pit, the majority of readings are regarded as ‘activity’, which might still define or represent a settlement.

Further west, between the Sars brook and where the Evenlode curves north, two enclosures have been identified south-west of Lyneham Camp. A large rectangular enclosure [17095] and an oval enclosure [17096] in the adjacent field both have faint markings that are indicative of internal features that cannot be fully defined. Their proximity to Lyneham (c. 500m) might indicate an external or associated settlement.

To the north of the Dorn River, a large rectangular enclosure is located close to the site of the Great Tew hillfort, possibly representing an external settlement. This is further suggested by a number of internal features [17068] that are visible. There are other

cropmarks in close proximity that remain indistinct but might include a possible circular enclosure with an associated track (identified as a possible banjo enclosure). Further east an oval enclosure [16186] overlooks the same River. It appears to have associated linear features and a possible penannular enclosure immediately east of the site, thus suggesting a small complex.

On the opposite side two sites lie close to the river. Again, there is the possibility of a small complex of enclosures which include a large rectangular [13260] and possible sub-rectangular enclosure with a small penannular enclosure in the adjacent field. To the south of this a large sub-rectangular enclosure [32 SE 67] lies above the Glyme, with very faint markings of a possible larger complex of cropmarks.

Between the Evenlode and Glyme and on high ground within the Wychwood Forest there are further examples. A large polygonal enclosure was identified [39/1] from recent material and is associated with a number of linear features that are obscured by the tree cover. To the southwest a small sub-rectangular enclosure with a track and possible linear features appears to connect this site with the curvilinear enclosure [13215]. Further east a square enclosure is located at the bottom of a now-dry river valley (the Kiddington brook see fig. 4.1). This site, known as Pump copse [1722], was, largely based on its shape, considered to be Roman. However, on more recent aerial photographs the identification of a number of features, which include possible antennae ditches that might indicate the site is a possible rectilinear banjo enclosure, suggests an Iron Age date. Furthermore, the work on the wider Cotswold region (Moore 2006) has shown that many sub-rectangular and square enclosures relate to the prehistoric rather than Roman period. This site therefore appears to

represent a complex of at least two rectilinear enclosures with associated linear features and antennae ditches.

East along the Kiddington brook there is an earthwork monument, Hill wood enclosure [2399], which survives within the remnants of the Wychwood Forest. The banks are relatively low-lying and, with no archaeological intervention, it remains undated. The difference in size and form to other Roman rectilinear enclosures surviving in the Wychwood (Copeland 2002, 76) might suggest that it is of Iron Age date. Unfortunately there has been no survey of this site so there is no evidence of settlement here.

Sites with no evidence of settlement

There are a small number of rectilinear and curvilinear cropmarks that do not have any evidence of settlement. These largely comprise isolated examples, often close to rivers, that do not appear to have any visible internal, external or associated linear features. This includes two square enclosures [15977] [16197], two oval enclosures [13764] [13773] and a rectangular enclosure [13890], all in close proximity to the Evenlode and Glyme rivers. A large square enclosure within the Blenheim estate [5312], not far from the North Oxfordshire Grim's Ditch, is possibly associated with two linear features.

4.4 Banjo enclosures

In total, 23 banjo enclosures have so far been recorded from the Heartland area of the eastern Cotswolds. Their presence is intriguing as they cluster in considerable numbers in

this area – one of the densest concentrations in southern Britain. They reveal a considerable amount of evidence that might be interpreted as settlement activity.

Settlement indicators: roundhouses and hut circles

A small number of banjo enclosures (four sites) have visible features that represent hut circles. An isolated example is a relatively large enclosure that overlooks the Dorn at Ludwell Farm [11638]. It is circular with only very short antennae ditches visible. The entrance faces along the top of the ridge to the east, before falling gently away to the river. Two linear features extend from the back of the enclosure into an adjacent field (where they are lost). A number of pits features and a hut circle, close to the entrance on the north side, are visible within. A small number of pits are also evident outside the enclosure, immediately north of one of the antenna ditches.

A single hut circle is visible within the aerial photographs of the banjo enclosure at Radford Quarry [12215] (fig. 4.17 no. 12215). This simple circular enclosure with long antennae ditches truncated by a modern road is surrounded by possible linear features but these are not clear against the underlying geological noise. No other evidence of internal activity is visible. The site overlooks the Glyme river, 300m to the east with the entrance facing towards it. In the adjacent field, 600m away, is another banjo enclosure [13414]. This is a more complex irregular shaped sub-circular enclosure with short, straight antennae ditches and two small circular ‘satellite’ enclosures at the back. The antennae ditches extend over approx 100m before turning outwards at right angles (these are visible at different times of year due to crop regimes). Further linear features associated with the southern ditch forms a small rectangular enclosure. Some possible evidence of pits in the

interior suggests activity, although this may be geological. The entrance faces in the same direction as the Radford quarry enclosure.

Close to the site of Knollbury, a small rectilinear banjo enclosure at Bury Hill [1555] faces towards a large sub-circular oval enclosure [12205]. This banjo has only approximately 10m of its antennae ditches visible before being obscured (fig. 4.17 no. 1555). Photographs reveal a single hut circle within, as well as further possible activity. Associated with this site and the curvilinear enclosures are a number of linear features that are possible remnants of a field system. A further rectilinear cropmark [31/1] lies a kilometre further south.

The clearest example of an internal roundhouse structure comes from the banjo enclosure at Pieces Field, surveyed with geophysics [13217] (fig. 4.7). The enclosure itself is over 110m long at its maximum extent (SW-NE) and 75m wide (NW-SE), making it approximately 0.8ha in size. The site lies just below the apex of a ridge along which the North Oxfordshire Grim's Ditch runs and faces downhill (north-west) towards a now dry valley at the edge of the field. On clear days, this ridge offers views across the Thames Valley towards the Chiltern Hills.

The enclosure is surrounded by a large single incomplete ditch. There are two areas where the ditch is not clearly visible, the first close to one of the entrance ditches and the second where there appears to be a small annexe enclosure. The encircling ditch turns into the antennae entrance ditches, which are at least 60m in length, before disappearing beyond the edge of the survey area. At the entrance of the enclosure these initially face west but,

after 30m, turn north as the ditches start to splay further apart. The readings also get fainter further away from the enclosure itself.

The small annexe of the enclosure forms a semi-circle which has some stronger readings representing possible archaeological activity. There is a possibility that two straight ditches forming a rectilinear-type enclosure are attached though no attachments from this to the main enclosure are visible. Again there is some evidence indicating activity within but readings from both these enclosures remain relatively low.

In contrast there is a great deal of archaeological activity in the interior of the banjo enclosure, particularly in the north-eastern quarter where a significantly high series of readings indicate, possibly, a line of pits that mirror the course of the enclosure ditch. These begin to cluster where the ditch starts to form the funnel entranceway. Some of these readings might also represent a small rectilinear enclosure.

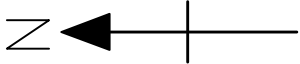
There is another lesser cluster of pits close to the small annexe enclosure. These (pits) do not follow the same linear pattern as the others and only two are located adjacent to the enclosure ditch. Instead, they appear to cluster round a small sub-circular enclosure or roundhouse 10m in diameter.

In the southern quadrant of the banjo enclosure, an area 30m x 55m is separated from the rest with an internal ditch. At one end, this ditch connects with the enclosure ditch and extends 55m towards the centre of the interior before turning south. A 5m gap is apparent along the course of this ditch. This second part is 30m long but in this case does not connect to the enclosure ditch, leaving a visible gap of about 5m. There is considerable

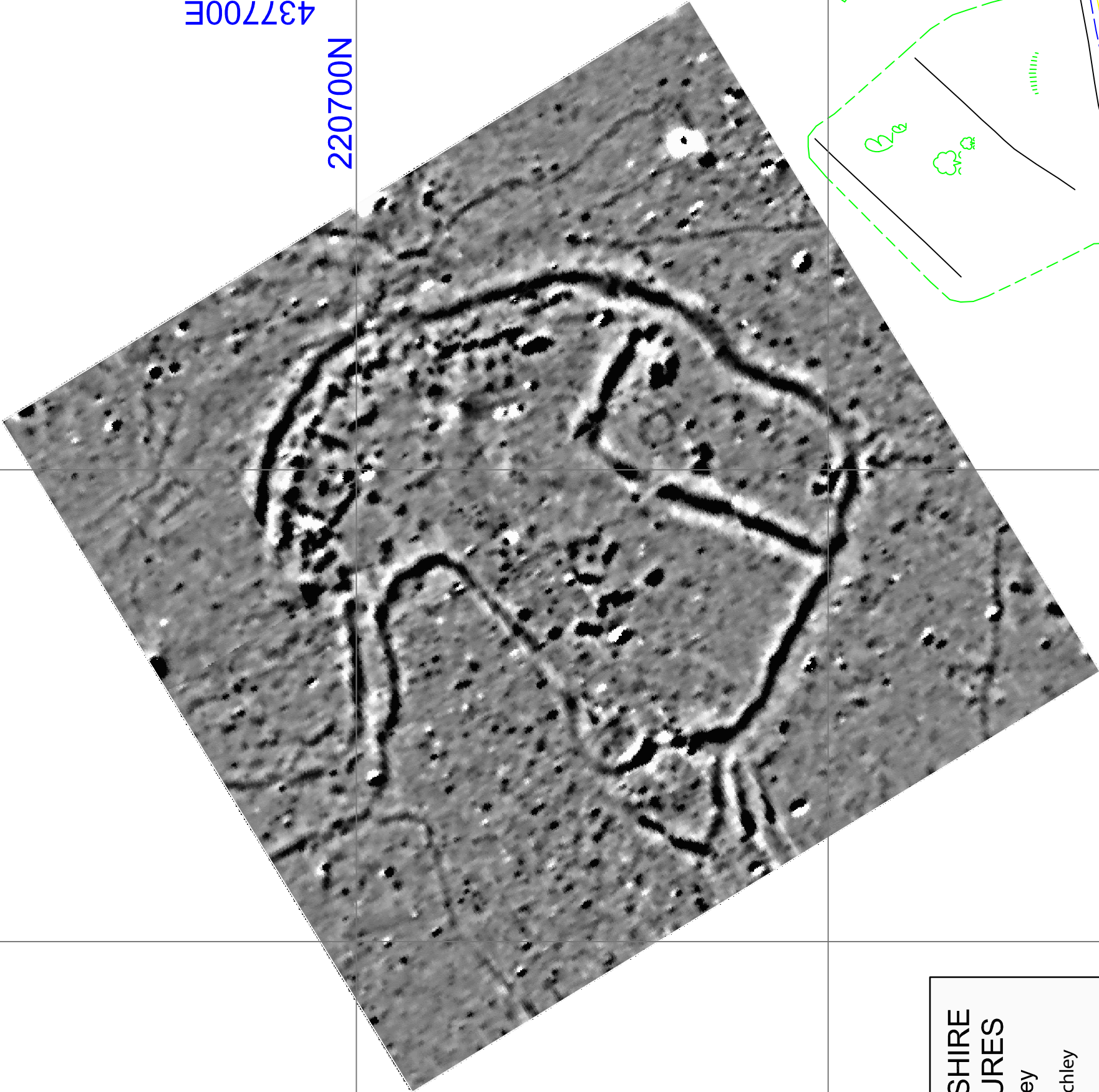
activity indicated by high readings within this enclosure and a circular feature is visible about 9m in diameter – again there is a possible roundhouse although it has a completely different pattern of readings from the example in the main enclosure. A number of possible pits are also visible in this part of the enclosure.

This is perhaps the clearest evidence yet of settlement within the eastern Cotswolds region. In addition a number of adjacent linear features seem to be associated and, just two hundred metres away, a small square enclosure is probably connected with the main enclosure. Also visible from aerial photographs and on the ground as a low earthwork is the North Oxfordshire Grim's Ditch, some 40m from the southern boundary ditch.

Based upon Ordnance Survey mapping with permission
of the controller of Her Majesty's Stationary Office.
Crown Copyright. OS licence No. AL51713A0001



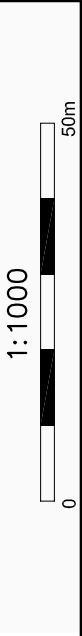
220700N
437700E



Grm 3 ditch

**NORTH OXFORDSHIRE
BANJO ENCLOSURES**
Geophysical Survey

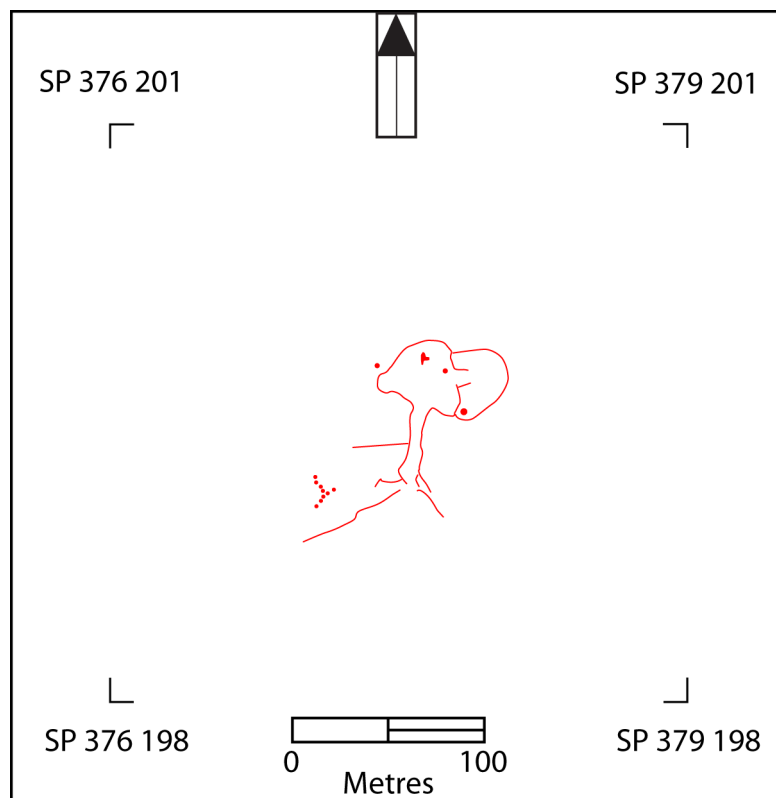
Figure 4.7 : Pieces Field, Ditchley



165.1m

+

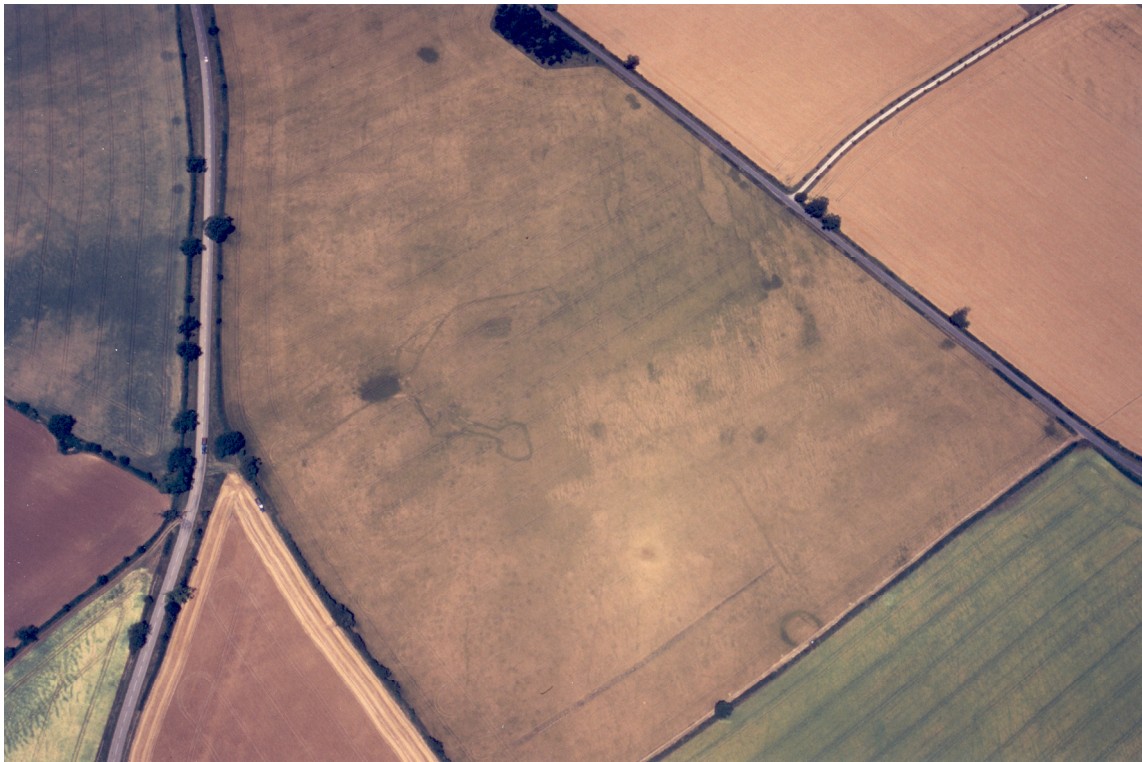
Another small sub-circular banjo enclosure with a south-west facing entrance and an extended funnel entrance is located to the south in the adjacent field. The Dustfield Farm site (fig. 4.8) [17066] faces in the opposite direction to the Pieces Field enclosure. A number of internal features are visible from the transcription, but geological noise obscures any further possible features that might suggest an extended complex. It also has a second entrance visible which leads into another sub-circular annexed enclosure. There are a number of pits visible suggesting internal activity, with a particularly large pit in the south-west corner of the attached enclosure. A number of faint cropmarks beyond the funnel entranceway suggest further possible enclosures or a complex. A small group of pits is located immediately to the west of the enclosure entrance. The site is situated 200m from a dry spring line and 1200m from a running water course and on a gentle slope with extensive views of the Thames valley.



*Figure 4.8: Transcription of aerial photograph showing the banjo enclosure at Dustfield Farm.
(A. Lang)*

Settlement indicators: pits

The Dustfield farm site is not unique in having internal and external pit features. At Lidstone Hill [17060] (fig. 4.9) a small banjo enclosure has no visible internal features but a small number of pits lie immediately outside and to the south of the enclosure. In addition, externally, a series of long linear features are attached to the antennae ditches of the enclosure and double back behind the enclosure. They are visible across an entire field. On the eastern boundary of the same field a (presumed) Bronze Age round barrow is also clearly visible.



*Fig. 4.9: The small banjo enclosure at Lidstone Hill with extensive linear features and a possible Bronze Age round barrow
(AP ref: NMR 15458/15 SP 3524/10 17 July 1996 ©Crown copyright. NMR)*

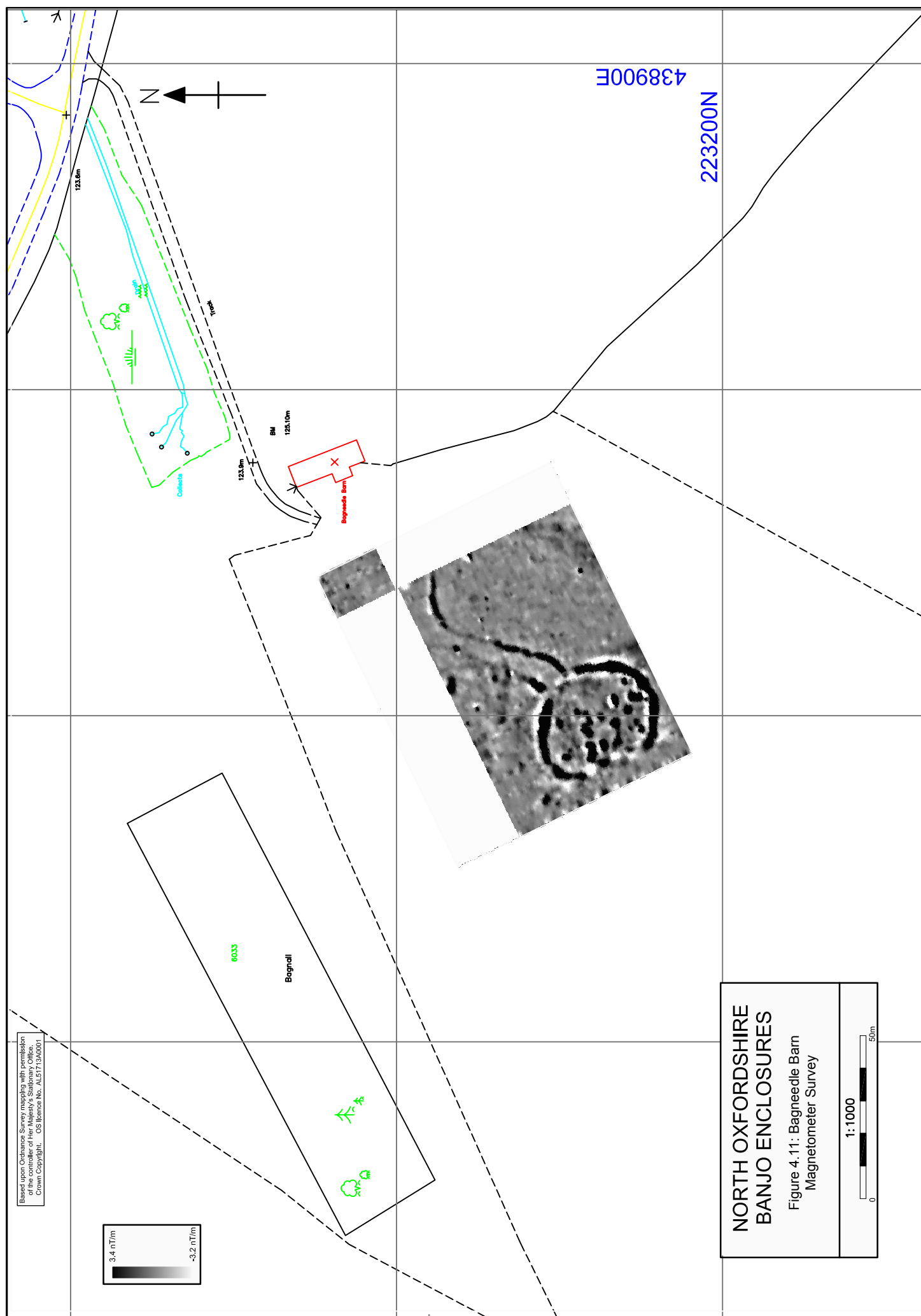
On the opposite side of the Glyme river, at Chalford Oaks [15871] (fig. 4.10), is a more irregular banjo enclosure with a narrow entrance that measures approximately c. 69m x 45m. The site itself has a single enclosure ditch extending to antennae which are

approximately 40m long. These antennae ditches splay out at right angles and appear to be much wider and deeper than the other ditches. Their size is significant, they are much darker as a cropmark feature and they are an important feature of the site. Geological noise obscures any visible internal activity however this site lies in close proximity to, and is possibly associated with, a large trapezoidal enclosure in the adjacent field. Between the two enclosures is a large cluster of pits, although it is possible that the pits are a geological feature. The trapezoidal enclosure [12219] has much stronger evidence of settlement, visible as numerous pits and at least one hut circle. Though sited on an area heavy with geological noise, there is some indication of both internal and external activity in the form of pits.



*Fig. 4.10: The Chalford Oaks banjo enclosure [15871] taken from the west.
(AP ref: NMR 18728/03 SP 3426/31 19 July 2000 ©English Heritage. NMR)*

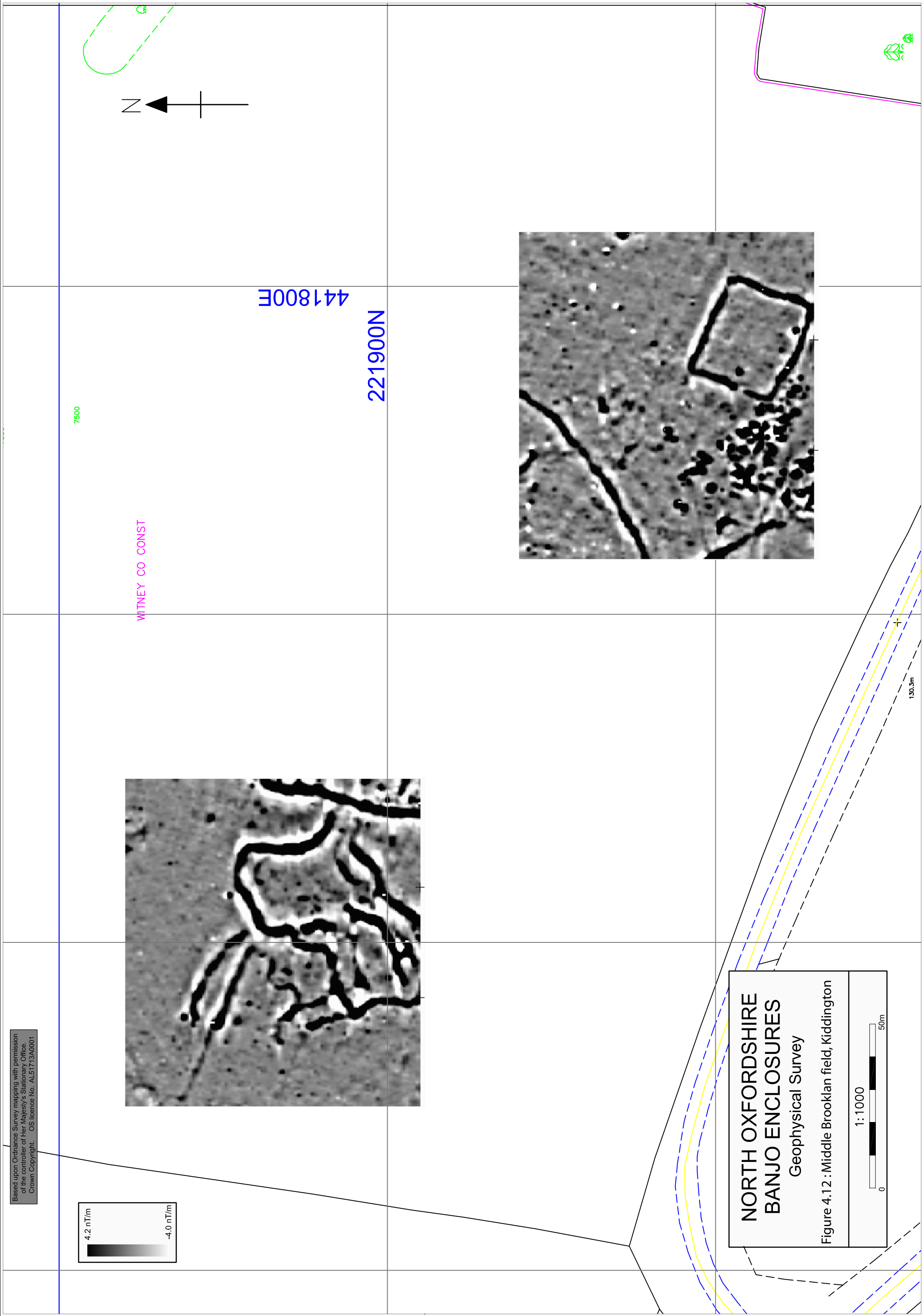
Positive evidence comes from another surveyed site at Bagneedle Barn [15968] which lies close to the course of the Glyme River (fig. 4.11). This enclosure is a very small sub-circular banjo with an interior, measuring 35m x 25m (less than 0.1ha), that is full of archaeological activity, the majority of which presumably comes from the pits. Perhaps due to the strength of the readings (particularly one) from the magnetometer, which are at the higher end of the scale, these are also visible and more clearly defined in the aerial photographs of the site. However, the pattern of the features does not provide any clear evidence of a settlement structure. In site photographs a line of pits/post-holes is visible across the entranceway, suggesting some form of gate structure. This is also visible as low reading anomalies in the magnetometer survey.



Further east, on an area of flat land above the Glyme River, there is a large complex with a single banjo enclosure at Middle Brooklan Field, Kiddington [9196]. Numerous clusters of pits have been identified within this complex, though, as yet, no roundhouse structures. A number of associated rectilinear enclosures and a square enclosure are also visible. During the survey of the square enclosure and the banjo the geophysics revealed strong levels of activity, particularly across the interior of the banjo enclosure and, external to the square enclosure.

The banjo enclosure has a number of linear features visible across its interior (fig. 4.12) with particularly strong readings coming from the ditch. The entrance to this site faces east towards a much larger curvilinear enclosure. However, there is no equivalent gap in this larger enclosure to allow access from the banjo which suggests that either these enclosures served functions that were mutually exclusive and that therefore this was a deliberate event or that there were two separate phases of occupation and the ditch represents a deliberate blocking of an earlier enclosure. This larger enclosure also faces east towards the main part of the site, which is a large ditch network and a complex of three rectilinear enclosures. All three appear to have entrances facing east, although these are less well defined and appear much wider than the banjo enclosure and the larger curvilinear enclosure.

At the eastern end of the site is a small square enclosure 30m x 30m (less than 0.1ha), not originally observed when the site was first recorded. Its enclosure ditch is clearly defined and there are two (possibly three) pits located in the interior. It also has a large cluster of pits directly outside, and adjacent to, its entrance and western ditch. The ditch discovered in the north-west quarter of this grid relates to the larger systems of the enclosure complex. A further curvilinear enclosure [12190] is located nearby.



A kilometre further south of the above site is the enclosure at Tomlin's Gate [1727] (fig. 4.13). This site has an irregular shape with an entrance that does not focus towards the centre of the enclosure and a funnel entrance that is much larger than most other examples. The antennae ditches facing south-south-east are relatively short and follow the contour of the hill. The site had a very small-scale excavation undertaken by Hingley (1982) but the aim of this survey was to locate the ditches rather than investigate the interior. The objective was achieved and evidence, visible through numerous re-cuts of the ditch, suggested that the site was occupied over a long period. Further fieldwalking recovered a number of pottery pieces and millstone grits for querns, which both suggest occupation or settlement activity. Externally, there are a number of cropmarks that suggest activity in front of the enclosure, with a series of linear features suggesting a possible rectilinear enclosure adjacent. To the north, the Grim's Ditch is approximately 100m away.



*Figure 4.13: The excavation trenches and fieldwalking evidence from Tomlin's Gate.
(A. Lang, after Hingley 1982, 155, fig. 43)*

At Callow Hill [17134] the banjo enclosure is located immediately west of the Villa enclosure and the North Oxfordshire Grim's Ditch (fig. 4.14). Although visible on early aerial shots of the region, it has only recently been identified and placed on the English Heritage database. The aerial photographs show a number of internal features, mainly pits that are spread across the interior. There are no signs of hut circles within this site. The site lies at 131m OD at the top of the ridge with the entrance facing downhill in a gentle slope towards the south east. The Glyme lies 600m to the north, in the opposite direction to the entrance. A dry stream headwater lies 1000m to the south east. It lies 300m from the south west corner of the Callow Hill Villa enclosure and 500m from the western edge of the North Oxfordshire Grim's Ditch.

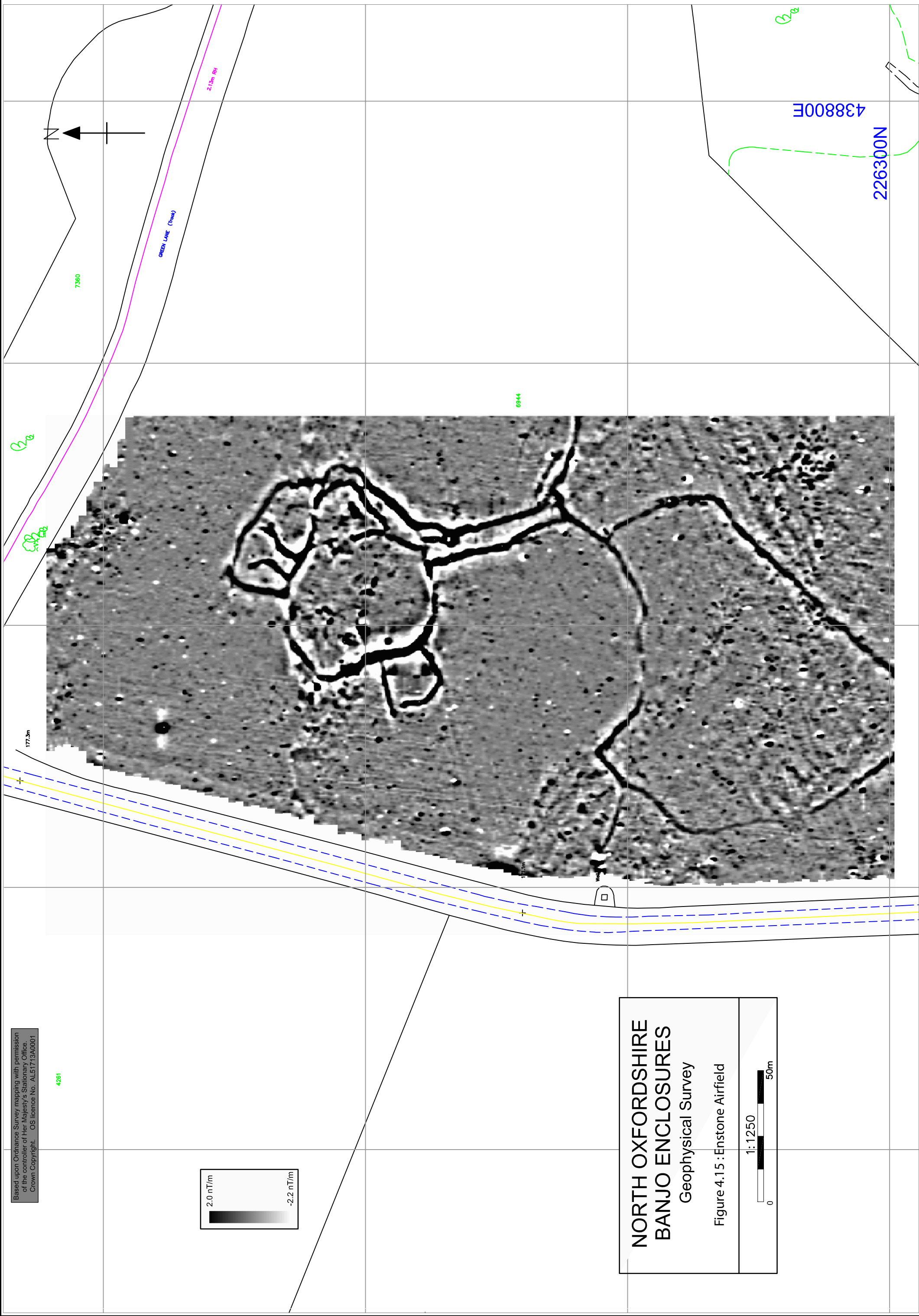


*Fig. 4.14: The Callow Hill banjo enclosure (bottom left, adjacent to the trees). The rectangular enclosure right centre is the site of the Roman Villa.
(AP ref: NMR 15456/12 4019/17 15 July 1996 ©Crown copyright. NMR)*

Settlement indicators: internal activity

The central upland sector between the Glyme and Dorn Rivers is host to a large and significant complex of cropmarks centred on the area now occupied by Enstone Airfield. It has at least three banjo enclosures along with a number of other rectilinear and curvilinear features. The SMR has also recorded a number of surface finds, ranging from the Neolithic to the Roman periods, in the region. Two of the banjo enclosures lie adjacent but facing in different directions. One is of a classic shape [9197] with an extended entranceway while the other, only recently recognised as being so, is irregular with curving entrance ditches [17131]. Trackways are associated with both of these structures. A large rectilinear and a curvilinear [both 9200] enclosure are situated immediately south of the latter banjo

enclosure. The cropmarks do not provide enough detail for internal features to be observed. The third banjo enclosure, [8800] located due east in the adjacent field, was surveyed using magnetometry from which the high readings within the enclosure and the surrounding area (fig. 4.15) clearly showed intensive activity. The enclosure lies on a gentle slope facing downhill south-south-east and, just below this, a spring line/well, which was visible during surveying in April 2007 (fig. 7.9), runs east-west across the modern field.



Based upon Ordnance Survey mapping with permission of the controller of Her Majesty's Stationary Office. Crown Copyright. OS licence No. AL51713A0001

**NORTH OXFORDSHIRE
BANJO ENCLOSURES**
Geophysical Survey

Figure 4.15 : Enstone Airfield

1:1250
0 50m

The banjo enclosure itself has a long narrow entranceway marked by antennae ditches 55m in length, which then turn at right angles and curve outwards. The eastern ditch can only be seen for 30m before leaving the survey area. The entrance appears to be blocked or cut off by a ditch with a relatively high magnetic reading. Close to the entrance of the actual enclosure this ditch appears to divide, with one part forming the enclosure ditch and the other forming a small annexed ditch for part of the interior of the enclosure. There is an approximate 5m gap between the two ditches over the 45m that they run parallel.

The interior of the enclosure has a number of readings located in the centre that appear to represent archaeological activity while, close to the western enclosure ditch, the readings, which may represent pit features, are particularly strong. There is also a small possibility that there is a larger D-shaped or curvilinear enclosure in the western half of the enclosure although this is largely obscured by stronger readings from other features and the enclosure ditch. The eastern part of the enclosure has ditches that seem to indicate its annexation from the rest of the interior, and measure about 20m x 20m, with high readings indicating strong evidence of activity.

There are two annexed enclosures. To the west is a lesser curvilinear enclosure attached to the enclosure ditch. There is no apparent gap in the ditch to allow access between the two. This enclosure measures 20m (n-s) x 25m (e-w) with a small gap of 2-3m in its north-western corner. There are no visible interior features, possibly owing to the strength of readings from the enclosure ditch. A larger rectilinear enclosure 45m long and 20m wide is attached to the northern part of the enclosure. This has two large internal ditches just over 10m in length that are connected to the main enclosure ditch of the banjo where there is

some evidence of activity through higher readings. This is connected to the main enclosure with a gap 2-3m wide in the eastern enclosure ditch of the banjo.

To the south of the main enclosure, the western entrance ditch divides and curves round to form the northern part of a large irregular enclosure, almost trapezoidal in shape with curving ditches. This is more than 120m wide (east-west) and at least 100m long (north-south) although the southernmost part of the enclosure is outside the survey area. There appears to be very little activity in the interior with only a few spikes of readings, possibly representing pits of some kind. Some 30m to the east of the enclosure is another cluster of pits or an area with high magnetic readings. The complexity of the ditch systems appears to suggest multi-period use and the strong readings are indicative of burning activity. Two closely associated curvilinear sites, comprising a sub-circular [6199] and large irregular penannular enclosure [5716], lie just over a kilometre west of the Enstone Airfield complex.

Enstone airfield is not the only possible settlement complex where more than one banjo enclosure is to be found. The Chivel Farm complex [12231] is a cropmark site of two banjo enclosures, with other associated linear features. The much smaller western enclosure is of circular shape with entrance ditches that turn outwards. The left ditch doubles back behind the banjo and the right changes direction heading sharply towards the second banjo enclosure. This is considerably larger – more than double the size – with a straight funnel entranceway of considerable length that is cut off – or falls short of – a linear feature that runs SE to NW across the site. This enclosure also has some possible pits indicating internal activity but these are largely obscured by the underlying geological noise. Both of the enclosures face north-east away from the River Glyme 300m away. The

rear of the larger enclosure is not visible though, as the land falls away on the edge of a steep, sharp, slope towards the River below.

Further south, at Litchfield Farm [15967], there is a small sub-circular banjo enclosure with short antennae ditches that lead into a larger sub-rectangular enclosure. The ditches at the entranceway then double back behind, meeting and encircling the banjo enclosure within which there are a small number of pits are visible. The entrance faces east, following the contour of the hill at 175m OD just beneath the ridge-top between the Glyme and Evenlode valleys. There is a further rectilinear enclosure within an adjacent field [13421] that also has some evidence of internal activity. Slightly further away, but still possibly associated, is a complex of linear features and a trapezoidal enclosure [35/2] with rectilinear enclosures 500m [12228] beyond this.

The site at Banbury Hill Farm is particularly difficult to interpret as the cropmarks stretch across three fields that are under different crop regimes. Further problems of interpretation are caused by the underlying geological noise. Many of the examples are therefore faint and can only be considered as probable sites. Within pasture [13416] the banjo enclosure itself is clearly visible with possible linear and curvilinear features, and a rectilinear cropmark [36/3] close by. Lying on land at 155m OD, it overlooks the Evenlode valley to the West. Due to its position under pasture it is very difficult to discern the extent of the entranceway and there is no visible sign of internal activity.

Other sites

A small number of apparently isolated enclosures without any associated features also exist. At Toll House Field [10954] (fig. 4.17 no. 10954) a small enclosure with an elongated entranceway appears to have some internal divisions or linear features but little else of significance.

To the north-west of the Callow Hill site in an adjacent field to the Ditchley Roman villa lies a banjo enclosure of almost 'heart-shaped' form [17206] which has an extended entranceway. It was only in 2001 that a survey revealed this site and, though the cropmark is extremely faint, there is possible evidence of pits, suggesting internal activity. The entrance faces to the north-east following the contour of a gently sloping hill. The site is approximately 400m away from the Ditchley Villa complex, although the entrance faces in the opposite direction.

An irregular banjo enclosure at Barton Leys Farm [13263] is surrounded by a complex of rectilinear and curvilinear enclosures which are connected by intermittently visible linear ditches and features. From the aerial photographs there is little obvious sign of settlement activity. The funnel ditches are straight and elongated, running down a steep slope towards the Dorn River to the south-east. The site is also surrounded by a number of other rectilinear and curvilinear cropmarks, including one square enclosure and there is some evidence of internal activity with pits visible in aerial photographs of the site.

The final enclosure identified in the Westcott Barton region is only faintly visible – partly due to its location and the crop growth in the field. It is a circular enclosure of significant

size with possible lengthy antennae ditches and an incomplete rectilinear enclosure [12203] immediately adjacent. Another curvilinear site is situated nearby [10979].

4.5 Distribution, location and topography of the cropmark sites

The landscape of the heartland area is commanded by the broad plateaux in its centre. The rivers that surround it cut wide deep valleys through the soft limestone leaving relatively fertile soils suitable to many forms of agricultural practice. There are no areas of river gravels to speak of except small outcrops within the Evenlode valley. The height at the source of the Evenlode is 125m OD and at the source (at Glyme Farm) of the Glyme is 193m OD. The confluence of the Glyme and Dorn at Wootton is at 82m OD and the confluence of the Glyme and Evenlode at Woodstock is at 70m OD. High ground in the west at Chastleton is 239m OD.

Of the three upland regions, the heartland has the most intensive distribution of cropmarks sites. There are, perhaps, a number of reasons for this.

First, in this landscape there are a large number of minor rivers and water courses that are fed by springs that line each river. These would have provided fertile land that, together with well-drained soils, would have created almost perfect conditions for supporting most aspects of an agricultural economy, including cereal cultivation. The upland enclosures are fairly uniformly located upon these soils (though, exceptionally, some are of either a brashy or clayey nature). Even today, the shallow soils of this area withstand the intensive agricultural practices of modern farming. Second, the land lying between these water courses includes broad flat plateaux giving good views of the local area and, therefore,

good visibility of any possible crop or pasture fields. Third is a 'modern' reason. The obvious success of the NOAS has ensured that there has been sustained aerial photography of the region. As a result, alongside some areas of the eastern Cherwell, a broad band covering the OS grids SP 32 SE SP 42 SW and SE and SP 52 SW has revealed the most cropmarks, particularly banjo enclosures. With good results continuing in the 2001 survey, including the detection of two more banjo enclosures at Ditchley Villa and Blue Barn Farm further east, the area is seen as a productive one for returning to in the future.

The locations of the sites themselves also tell us something about their distribution.

The main focus of cropmarks is between the Glyme and Dorn rivers, in the north-eastern part of the study area. In total there are 10 banjo, 15 curvilinear, and 9 rectilinear enclosures within a relatively small geographical area. These include at least three significant cropmarks clusters/complexes, around Enstone Airfield, Glympton Heath and Barton Leys farm. These are all sited on prominent positions and many share the high ground above the 140m contour, with Enstone airfield even higher and in a position in the landscape that is visible from all directions.

Between the Evenlode and Glyme rivers there is a relatively even distribution of enclosures, many, particularly the banjo enclosures, on the highest area of land. Two or three potential clusters are visible with the most prominent surrounding the banjo enclosure at Pieces Field. Here, the Dustfield farm enclosure lies immediately south and the complex at Banbury Hill farm is almost 1 km directly west. The blank areas to the north and east of Pieces Field can be explained by the location of the Wychwood Forest here, many of the

enclosures spotted within the vicinity have only been classified as probable or possible cropmark sites.

To the west of the study region around the Sars and Chipping Norton brooks there is a less even and sparser distribution of cropmark sites. The major focus of findspots between the Sars brook and the headwaters of the Glyme denote the potential settlement in the vicinity of Chipping Norton. Interestingly on the opposite ridge where the sites of Chastleton and Rollright are located is very little evidence of settlement. With the presumption that the prehistoric 'Jurassic way' (Grimes 1951; Lambrick 1988) running along this ridge a greater number of settlements was perhaps to be expected.

It would appear that, in general, enclosures within this region seem to have been sited at the cusp of breaks of slope or on the change in contours. The distribution map (fig. 4.1) shows that smaller and less complex sites do not necessarily hold the highest possible ground which suggests that there was greater emphasis having visibility over land in a particular direction rather than an all-round perspective. Even Lyneham hillfort is located adjacent to the hilltop rather than at its apex.

All of these attributes suggest that settlements appeared to focus much more on areas of high ground. Moreover, this was often for practical or functionalistic purposes rather than anything else. The focus of vision in certain directions or on certain areas of land may have been a key aspect to settlement location. It is less easy to define aspects such as intervisibility of sites, however, with such a small geographical area and the prominent position of many enclosures it seems likely that many settlements would have been at least partially visible or known to each other (if they are in use at the same time).

4.6 Further investigation of banjo enclosures: A unique Iron Age settlement type?

With such a significant number of banjo enclosures identified in the eastern Cotswolds region and particularly the heartland area, further analysis is required to understand why so many exist here. It is necessary to place these enclosures within a wider context of changing enclosure forms and settlement types that appeared to take place during the Middle and Late Iron Age periods (c. 400 BC – AD 43). The analysis has suggested above that many of these sites potentially existed as settlement sites, something also argued by Richard Hingley (1984a; 1984b). However, how does this relate to southern Britain and the numerous examples that have been surveyed and excavated elsewhere in England? The question must therefore arise as to what characteristics are required, used together, to identify a banjo enclosure. What follows below is a brief outline of requisites that have been used (or ignored) by different authors at different times. In the past these have often led to some confusion in the definition of a banjo enclosure, and therefore some clarification is required.

General points of identification

The most significant point of identification of banjo enclosures is the form and shape. The name was chosen because these sites look like a banjo instrument from the air with the main enclosure area representing the body and the funnelled entranceway the fret board of a banjo. The small size and funnel entrances set them apart from many other prehistoric and Roman enclosures in southern Britain. They are easily identifiable and thus many cropmark sites are tagged with ‘probable’ or ‘possible’ banjo enclosure classification if enclosures and trackways are identified in close proximity to each other on photographs.

Date-wise, all excavations have revealed Iron Age dates, more precisely the Middle and Late Iron Ages 400/300 BC to AD 43. While there is some evidence of continuity in landscape use from the Wessex sites (e.g. Grately South, Cunliffe 2008a) there is no confirmation of actual use during the Roman period.

Position in the landscape is also significant. The large majority of banjo enclosures are located in ‘upland’ landscapes. In southern Britain, this includes the Cotswolds, the Berkshire and Hampshire Downs and, to some extent, Cranborne Chase (see chapter 7). These are also areas of underlying hard-rock geology such as chalk and limestone with relatively free-draining, shallow soils that are, nonetheless, fertile and capable of sustaining most agricultural practices. All these regions have modern intensive farming regimes initiated during World War II but it is also well known that they sustained pastoral farming economies in previous centuries. The Hampshire and Cotswold regions were especially well-known as wool suppliers in the High Medieval period. Within Hampshire and the Lambourn Downs, sites are often located on the cusp of slopes or contours, many facing downhill or towards water. However, these locations are by no means exclusive, as numbers may relate to a greater intensity of surveying, and banjo enclosures have been located within other landscapes. Smaller numbers are known from the valleys of major rivers of southern Britain, such as the Thames. These are sited on both the floodplain and terrace gravels, although none have yet been excavated. These sites are also not peculiar to southern Britain and are known in other regions, with a recent example from West Wales being excavated (Barber and Pannett *forthcoming*).

Specific points of identification

The original definition that Perry provided for banjo enclosures was as follows:

“Basically they consist of circular, sub-circular and sub-rectangular enclosures ranging in size from under half-an-acre to an upper limit of about one-and-a-half acres (roughly 0.2-0.6 hectares). The enclosure is approached by a funnel-like entrance formed by ditches which run more or less parallel away from the enclosure and then swing outwards in form” (Perry 1969, 37).

This description of size, shape and form has never been significantly altered, though a few minor changes were introduced for the MPP:

“A banjo enclosure comprises a central area, usually of curvilinear plan and less than 0.6ha in extent, bounded on all sides by a ditch and outer bank, a single entrance approached by double parallel ditches defining a trackway, and some kind of Paddocks may be attached to the central enclosure and/or the trackway, and in some cases the whole complex is enclosed within a compound” (Darvill *et al* 1987, 399-400; Hingley and Darvill 1987).

Banjo enclosures characteristically have V-shaped ditches, which are also relatively wide and often more than a metre deep. This is added to by the identification – where earthworks still remain – of banks on the outside of the enclosure ditch. These have typically been described as non-defensive.

Enclosures can also occur in single, double and sometimes even triple forms, though the latter is exceptionally rare.

Perry identified a number of different plans for single form enclosures. Some faced towards larger enclosures connected by the funnel entrance while others had funnel ditches that joined enclosure ditches doubling back behind to form a larger enclosure with the banjo within. A third type of enclosure had funnel entrances joining a linear dyke system

running at right-angle to the banjo. There were also some that were simple in form with little or no associated features.

Double banjo enclosures often occur in ‘linear’ form, where they are positioned side by side – such as Beach’s Barn (Wilts.) and Gussage Hill (Dorset). The latter example is actually two sets of double banjo enclosure systems within approx. 3km of each other; there is no evidence (as yet) of their contemporaneity. At least one example, Hamshill Ditches, where both enclosures are sited side-by-side facing inwards towards a much larger enclosure, is known.

There are also a reasonable number of enclosures that coincide with Roman villas. The best of these occur in Wessex at sites such as Grately South (Hants.). The enclosure here was directly beneath the Roman buildings, although it was out of use by the end of the Iron Age (Cunliffe 2008a).

A brief history of research

As Perry was quick to acknowledge, aerial surveys were the best method for identifying these enclosures. The earliest examples, Hamshill Ditches, Gussage Hill and Pewsey Down, were observed as so-called ‘spectacle’ enclosures and noted in the influential *Wessex from the Air* volume (Crawford and Keiller 1928). Three years later, a further example was recorded at Walton (now Walton-in-Gordano, Somerset) (Phillips 1931). Riley also observed two sites in his surveys of the Thames valley although these were not individually highlighted or classified (Riley 1944; Benson and Miles 1974). During the 1960s aerial surveys focused on gravel landscapes so that, outside the Hampshire region,

there was a lack of coverage of the upland regions. They were regarded as sparsely populated hinterland regions that, compared to the gravels, had few identifiable sites. With little survey coverage to over-ride this assumption, these regions were never fully or methodically surveyed. However, the 1970s and early 1980s saw a significant increase in the intensity of aerial surveying over several upland areas previously identified as 'hinterland' landscapes. This led to a steady increase in the number of sites that were identified. The regions included the Danbury environs (Palmer 1984), the Berkshire Downs (Richards 1978) and Cotswolds (Chambers 1976b; Hingley 1983; Darvill and Hingley 1982) (fig. 4.16 and 4.17). This change in focus also significantly increased the area of Britain across which this form of site was identified (Perry 1986).

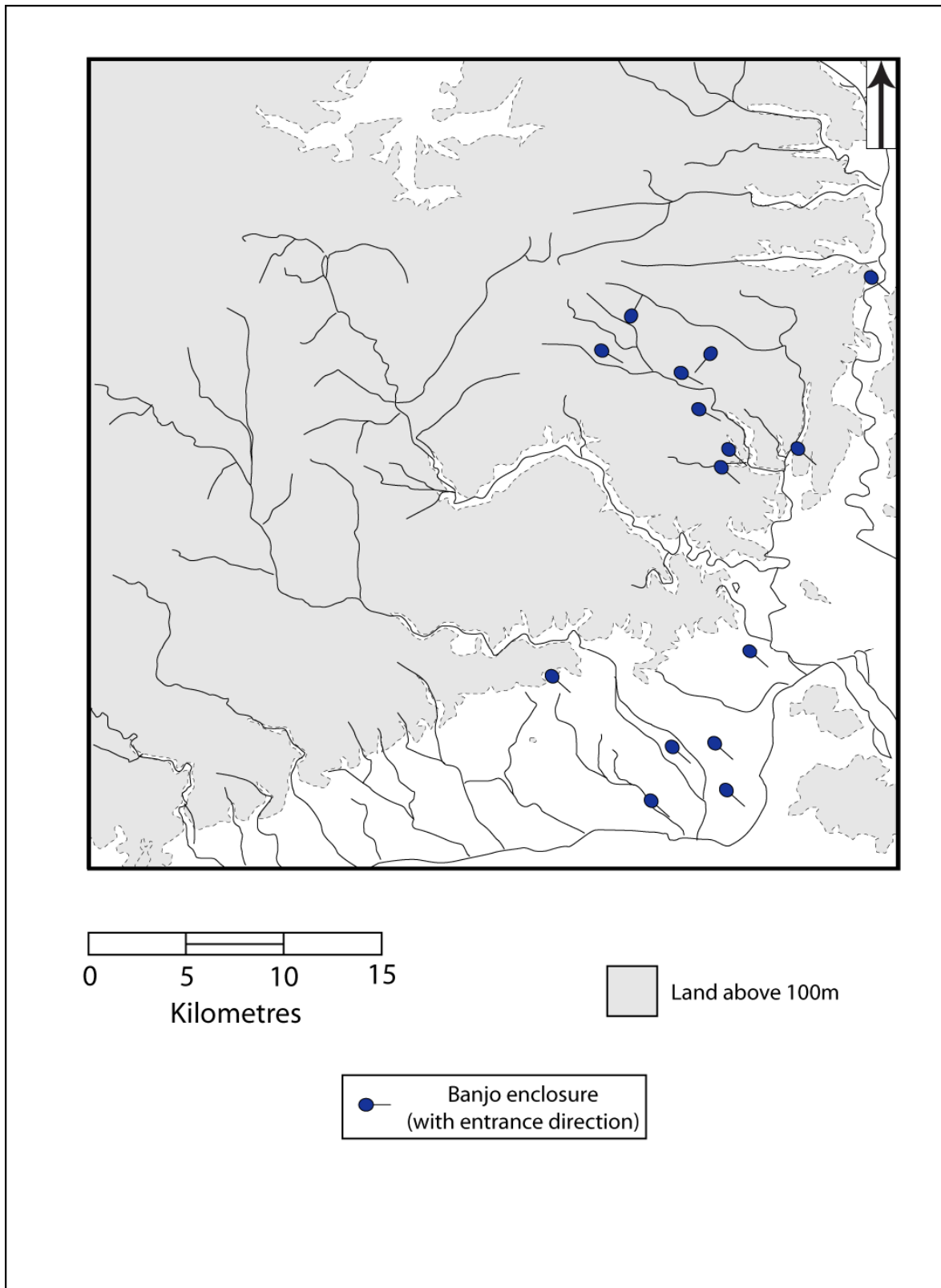


Figure 4.16: The cropmark sites considered by Hingley to be banjo enclosures in the upper Thames and eastern Cotswolds region. N.B. this includes the two enclosed settlements of Mingies Ditch and Watkins Farm, Northmoor from the upper Thames region
(A. Lang)

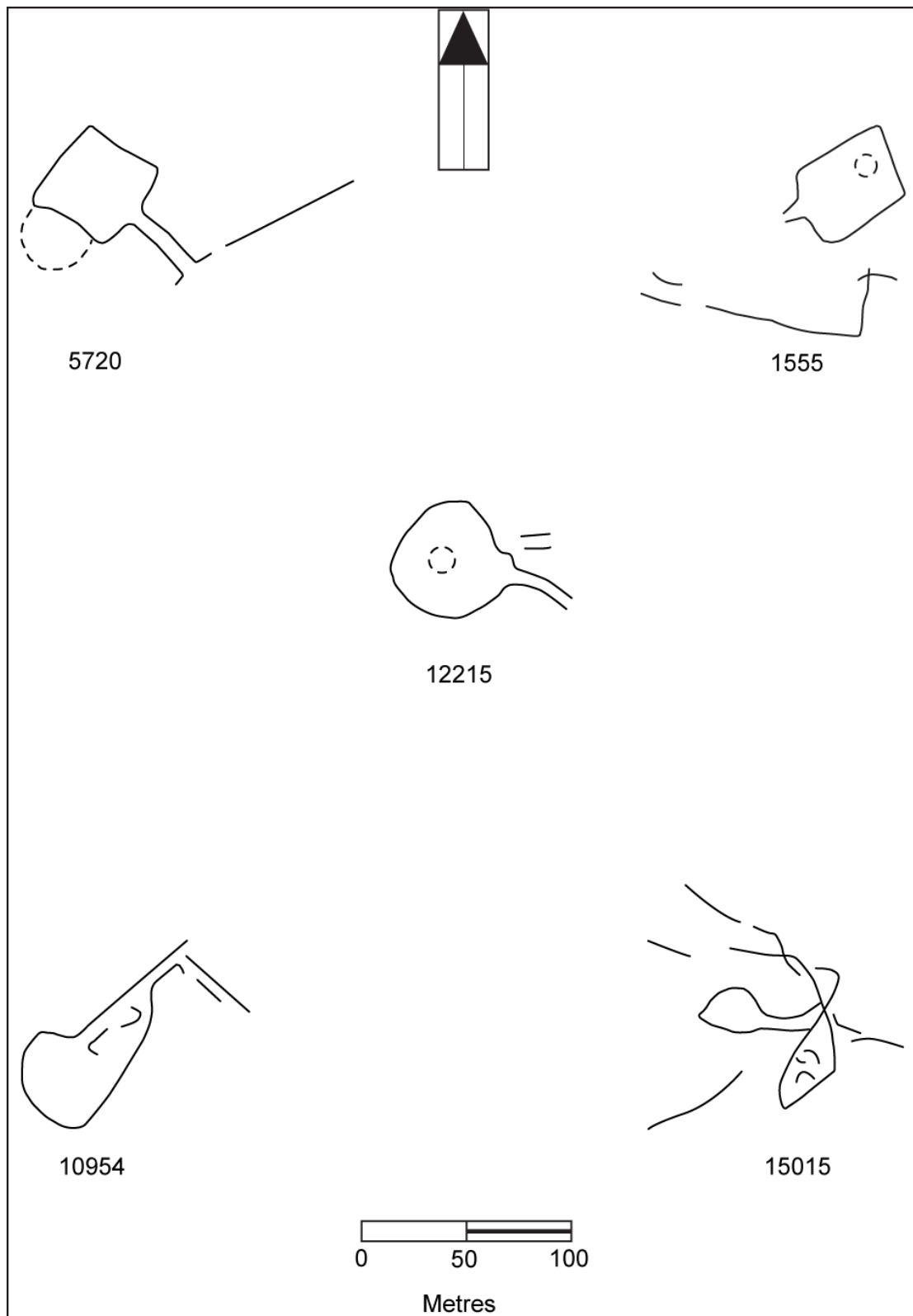


Figure 4.17: Banjo enclosures previously transcribed by Hingley.
 (A. Lang, after Hingley 1983, transcriptions in appendix 3209; 3224; 4024; 3623 and 3802).
 N.B. Hingley did not classify all of these sites as banjo enclosures, sites [1555] and [10954] have been re-classified as such by the author.

However, the most prolific period for aerial survey, which included NMP projects (especially the Lambourn Downs) and the NOAS, remains the 1990s. More recent work across the wider upper Thames and Cotswolds region has produced a relatively small number of additional sites (Moore 2006; EH AMIE database).

Author and Date	Region	Number
Crawford and Keiller 1928	Wessex	3
Perry 1974	Hampshire and Wessex	25 (8 possible)
Perry 1974	Southern Britain	32
Hingley and Miles 1984	Thames and Cotswolds	17
Palmer 1984	Danebury environs	5
Barrett, Bradley and Green 1991	Cranborne Chase	14 (2 possible)
Featherstone and Bewley 2000	North Oxfordshire	35
Winton 2003	Lambourn Downs	12 (1 possible)

Table 4.1: The numbers of banjo enclosures identified in southern Britain through regional aerial surveys

Archaeological geophysics has been used to considerable advantage, particularly with the Danebury environs. There has also been one large-scale regional earthwork survey in Wessex where a number of enclosures remain visible. This was completed by the Royal Commission in the 1980s with a brief summary at the end of the decade (Corney 1989). The material remains archived at the NMR with good indications that further work can be taken from it (McOmish pers. comm. 2007).

Excavation has remained the most common form of ground-level investigation. Subsequent to Perry's initial identification of this type of enclosure, publications on excavations at sites in Wessex quickly followed. Included were those completed prior to the 1960s, such as Hamshill Ditches (Wilts.) (Bonney and Moore 1967), and, early in the decade, others such as Blagden Copse (Hants.) (Stead 1969). At this time, Perry also commenced his own excavations at Bramdean (Hants.) (fig. 4.18 no. 4), which quickly

became the ‘type-site’ for banjo enclosures in Wessex. Collis started excavations at Owslebury (Hants.) where a banjo enclosure was identified as one of the earliest phases of activity in a site with a settlement period of nearly 800 years (Collis 2006). Excavations were intermittently continued at Bramdean throughout the 1970s when two others were also investigated. These were at Micheldever Wood (Hants.) (fig. 4.18 no. 3) where works were completed ahead of the construction of the M3 motorway (Fasham 1987, 2-3) and at Groundwell Farm (Wilts.) where they were completed ahead of gravel extraction (Gingell 1982). All three of these sites had large areas of the interior excavated. The 1980s only saw small levels of investigation at lesser-known sites such as Tomlin’s Gate (figs. 4.13 and 4.21) and Carne’s Seat (Sussex) (Holgate 1984) (fig. 4.18 no. 1). Conversely, the 1990s saw growing levels of investigation. The most important was the development of the Danebury environs programme with the total excavation of the Nettlebank Copse (Hants.) (fig. 4.18 no. 2) enclosure and the more minor excavations at Grately South (Cunliffe and Poole 2000; Cunliffe 2008a). The introduction of PPG 16 has yet to significantly increase the number of banjo enclosures excavated. Recently, however, there has been the excavation of a site in Warwickshire at Heathcote Home farm (Coutts and Jones 1998) and, during the last year, the complete excavation of a site in Cambridgeshire (Scott pers. comm. 2007). The 1990s also saw the introduction of ‘television archaeology’ and a pair of enclosures was surveyed by ‘*Time Team*’ with small-scale investigations across one at Beach’s Barn (Harding 2007) on the Salisbury Plain.

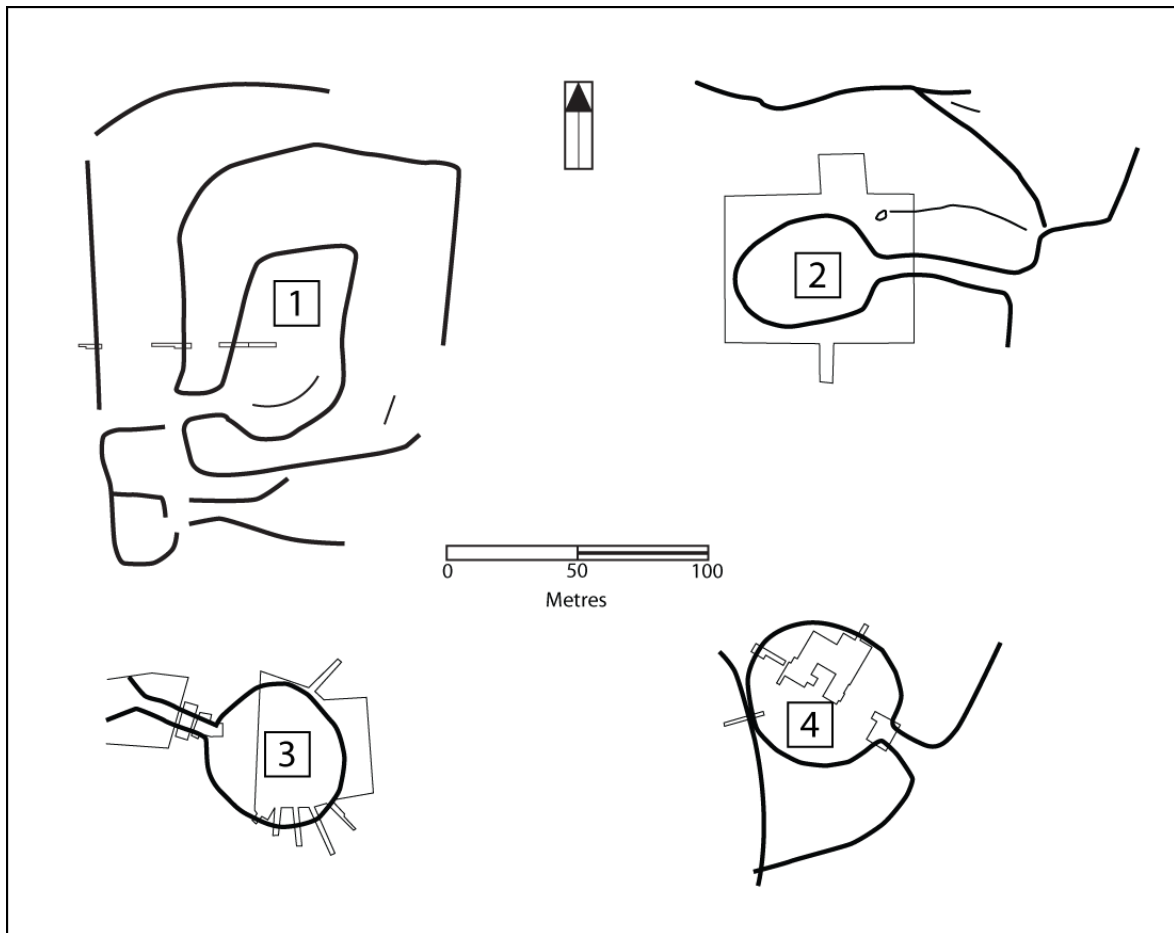


Fig. 4.18: Excavated banjo enclosures from the Wessex region. 1. Carne's Seat (Sussex); 2. Nettlebank Copse; 3. Micheldever Wood; 4. Bramdean (all Hants.).
(A. Lang, after Holgate 1984, 38, fig. 3 and Cunliffe 2005, 246, fig. 12.6)

Initially, interpretations of function were heavily reliant on the processualist approaches of the 1960s and 1970s which highlighted the practical characteristics of an enclosure closely associated with stock and corralling. The nature of bank and ditch construction implied retention rather than defence and the narrow focusing of the ditches at the enclosure entrance suggested a simple way of dividing or counting stock. Furthermore, experimental works undertaken at Butser using structures revealed by the excavations at Bramdean were most effective as a tool for stock control (Perry 1982, 71).

However, new material discovered by further excavation created divergences from Perry's initial interpretations. The material culture recorded at Micheldever Wood suggested to the

author that there was domestic activity within the sites. He therefore proposed that, rather than serving a single purpose, Micheldever Wood was a settlement site where agricultural activities practised in close proximity. He felt that the identification of possible flint ‘threshing floors’ in Bramdean and Micheldever pointed to the practice of crop processing on site (Perry 1982, 71; Fasham 1987, 56) and that the appearance of pits on many of the sites suggested the winter storage of crops. Examples from elsewhere (such as Danebury) also suggested that these were positioned in close proximity to settlement. The ‘banjo’ phase at Owslebury has also been proposed as a settlement site (Collis 1968; 1970; 2006) as has Beach’s Barn, again with a number of pits visible from the survey and excavation (Harding 2007). Thus many of the enclosures have been described as farmsteads or homes with areas set aside for agricultural activities. This became the favoured interpretation for many banjo enclosures.

Regional differences have also been highlighted as a reason for alternate interpretations of function. The 1980s brought differing theoretical definitions through post-processualism. This can be seen with Hingley’s conceptual development of ideals based around Germanic ‘modes of production’ where he tried to accommodate the appearance of banjo enclosures within two very different landscapes (Hingley 1984a; 1984b). Banjo enclosures in the eastern Cotswolds were seen as possible settlement sites or enclosures belonging to a single family. These self-sufficient farmsteads had little or no contact with other similar farmsteads across a sparsely populated region. Against this, the enclosures of the Thames valley were integrated into much larger settlement and social systems (just one enclosure/settlement among many). The proposal of different functions therefore accommodated the interpretation of the regions that supported dissimilar economies and tribal societies. Hingley also highlighted the different positions of enclosures as being

representative of varying functions. Thus the function was dependent on whether an enclosure acted as a specialist livestock enclosure within a settlement complex or as a settlement site surrounded by arable land facing towards pasture fields (1984a, 74; Perry 1986, 41) (fig. 4.19).

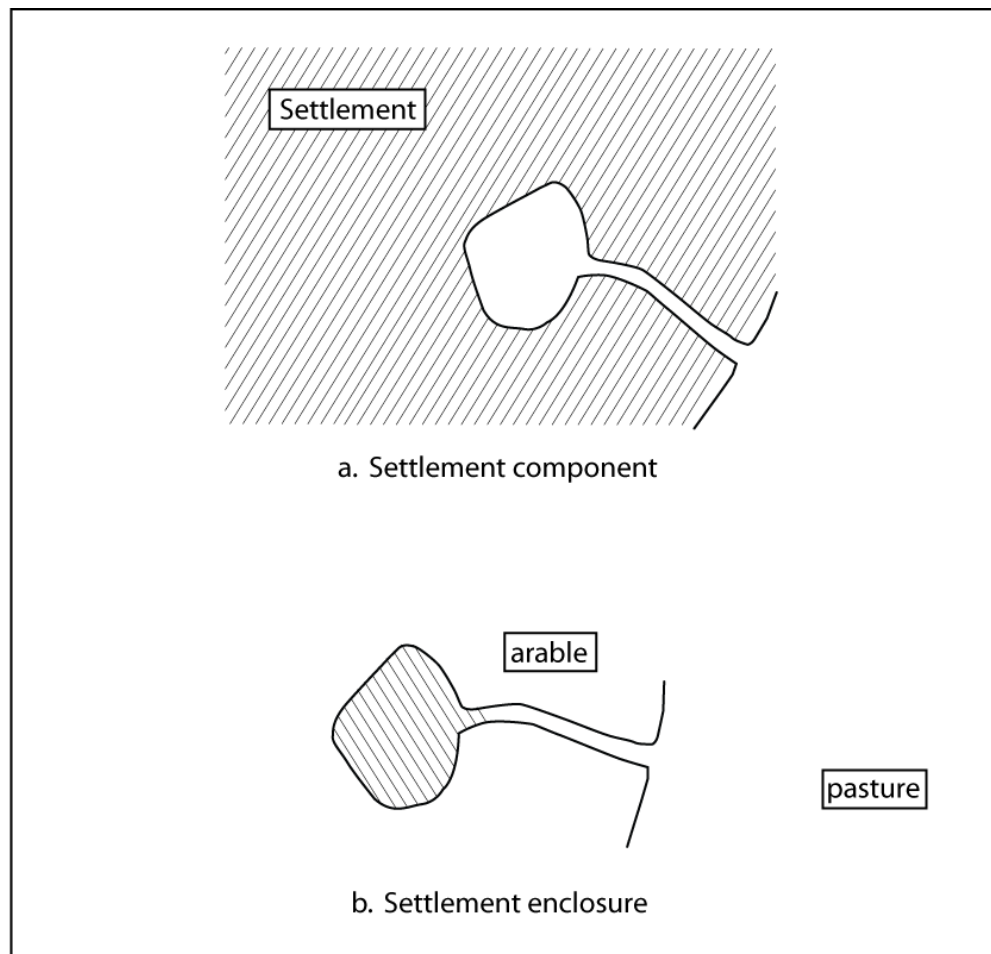


Figure 4.19: The interpretation by Richard Hingley of two possible functions of banjo enclosures. These act either as a specialised enclosure facing away from a settlement area or as a settlement enclosure at the division between fields of arable and pasture (A. Lang, after Hingley 1984a, 74, fig. 5.2)

Recent research

The NMP survey across the Lambourn Downs increased the known number of sites in that region to 12. These have formed the base of recent studies at Oxford and the NMR (Lock *et al* 2005; Winton 2003). This small group is located on the uplands of the Berkshire

downs, south of the Ridgeway, on land between 180 and 220m above sea level and generally facing down slope. There are a small number in clusters of two and one with a cluster of three in close proximity. A number are irregular in form, including the site of Sparrows Copse (Winton 2003, 20, fig. 3) which is an elongated elliptical shape. Differences are visible in entrance length and activity areas with some showing internal activity.

These sites are also described as being at the edge of, or close to, differing soil types that are suggestive of a mixed farming economy (Winton 2003, 21). Additionally they are relatively evenly spaced across the landscape. The work of Paula Levick is still ongoing but she has completed six geophysical surveys as well as starting a programme of recording artefacts from metal detecting rallies that have helped progress our understanding of the Lambourn enclosures. The surveys have also highlighted a number of examples where internal pits mirror the course of the ditch (pers. comm. 2007), as appears to be the case at Pieces Field (fig. 4.7) in the eastern Cotswolds. The transcription of the site Woolley Down 1 shows large numbers of pits across the interior, as well as large clusters external to the enclosure ditches (Winton 2003, 16, fig. 1 number 7). This suggests significant levels of activity associated with the enclosure.

The analysis of many of these banjo enclosures as mixed-economy farmsteads has been based on interpretations from elsewhere (e.g. Hingley 1984a). However, recent studies across the Lambourn Downs have questioned the Iron Age dates of these fields and their association with the enclosures has been disregarded (Ford *et al* 1988; Winton 2003; Lock *et al* 2005). As with examples from the eastern Cotswolds, it is likely the enclosures of the Lambourn Downs actually served a number of functions. Their different form, shape and

associated features as well as visible evidence of internal activity vary widely from site to site. However, we must wait until a fuller picture of results is available before making more definite interpretations.

Recent work has also shown that wholly functionalistic interpretations do not provide all the answers to banjo enclosures. Their chronologies can be quite complex and there are some interpretations that take into account less visible features. Recent perspectives within later prehistory have shown that there is no clear division between the religious and the practical (Cunliffe 1992; Hill 1995b; Bradley 2005). Instead, the blurring of the boundaries between ritual and domestic life might help us to develop a fuller picture of the significance of sites such as banjo enclosures, and their position within Iron Age society.

Perhaps the first such example of this new direction was with the survey of a number of surviving earthworks within the Wessex region. Corney (1989) suggested that sites, such as Hamshill Ditches, and banjo enclosures on Gussage Hill were Late Iron Age. The retrieval of high-status or less-common materials such as coins, metalwork and pottery (including Dressel I amphorae) all suggested to the author that these were sites of high-status or significance. The author even goes so far as to suggest that the Blagden copse site is an equivalent of the European *viereckschanze*: a highly specialised funereal and ritual monument.

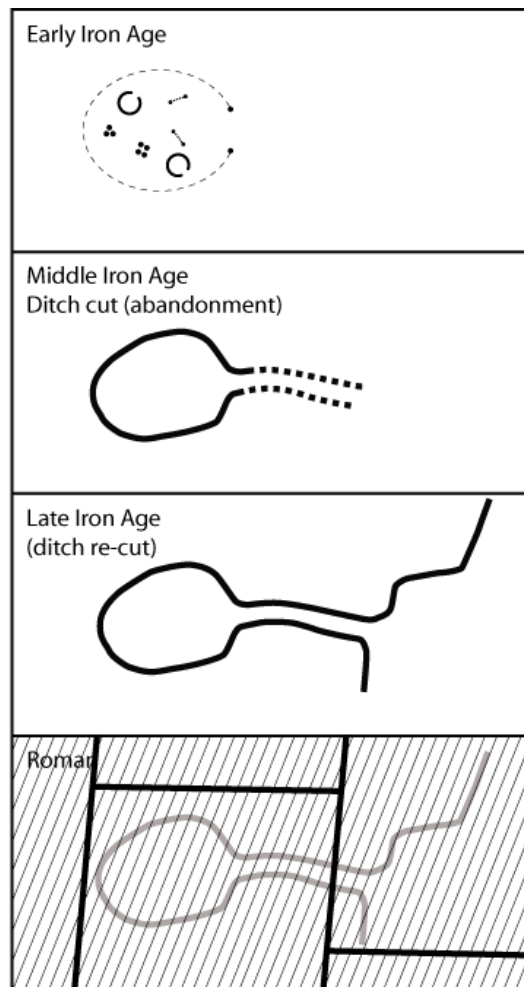
However, the real watershed moment in developing our understanding of banjo enclosures came with the excavation at Nettlebank Copse. Prior to this, banjo enclosures were seen in singular 'linear' terms. There is often initial occupation of a site, followed by the construction of the banjo enclosure and, finally, by abandonment. In excavation and

interpretation terms the middle phase – that of the construction of the banjo enclosure – is the most significant. Interpretations were dependent on the results of excavation from the banjo enclosure and the material remains therein. These enclosures were often seen as sites with long-term focus and, usually, each site was representative of one function. However, the total excavation of the site gave an unprecedented view on the development of the site from settlement to enclosure.

For this site, the most significant aspect of excavation is the phasing (fig. 4.20). First, there is the identification of a settlement site. The settlement features, including houses, two post racks and pits dating towards the end of the Early Iron Age (equivalent to Danebury cp 3-4 [c. 470-310 BC]) were identified. However this phase did not appear to have had an enclosure ditch (although it may have been over-cut in later phases) so, as yet, it was not a ‘banjo’ enclosure. Subsequent to this period of occupation an enclosure ditch and antennae entrance were dug, forming the first phase of the banjo enclosure. Finally, just on the cusp of the Early/Middle Iron Age period transition, the site appears to have been abandoned.

At some point later, the enclosure ditch was completely re-cut again though there is with no evidence of settlement at this time. Instead, special deposits of animal skeletons were placed in a number of locations at the base of the recently cut ditch. It is clear that this phase of use had an entirely different function to those that preceded it yet it was still a banjo enclosure.

The final period of activity on the site came during the Roman period with the appearance of field systems cutting across the site.



*Figure 4.20: Idealised (and slightly simplified) pattern of use at the banjo enclosure of Nettlebank Copse, Hants.
(A. Lang)*

At Nettlebank Copse the relevant phases for the banjo enclosure come with the original ditch cutting and abandonment, followed by later re-cutting – all of which suggests that the site then served little or no practical function. Instead, it may have provided a more ritual purpose, connected to the annual cycle of farming and husbandry regimes, so that it was only visited at certain times of the year. Rather than acting as an area of husbandry the site itself embodied these farming aspects, thus possibly leading to their functionality as mechanisms of ritual significance and places of meeting and feasting within or at marginal areas of the landscape.

The results of this excavation are threefold. First, the banjo enclosure is not necessarily the only manifestation of activity on-site. Second, the banjo enclosure is not necessarily the most important period or phase of use. Third, there may be very different functions for the enclosures (when they exist as banjo enclosures) during different periods of use – particularly if the site is abandoned, falls out of use and is revisited generations later.

Once any or all of these factors are realised, they can be applied to many of the sites already excavated. At Owslebury, the ditches of the banjo enclosure were filled in quickly after construction (Collis pers. comm. 2007) denoting abandonment, if not of the settlement entirely then of the form. At Bramdean there is an earlier phase of use at the site, picked up in almost half the pits excavated, with little to suggest continuity of activity between the two (Perry 1982, 71). At Micheldever material remains suggested an earlier phase of use although no features were dated to this period. At Blagden Copse the date of the construction of the site is Middle Iron Age yet the more recent earthwork surveys also recorded high-status Late Iron Age material, which suggests that not only were there at least two phases of use but also that the material culture of each was vastly different.

4.7 Attributes of the north Oxfordshire banjo enclosures

Following the research completed in the course of this study the question arises whether the north Oxfordshire enclosures follow a similar pattern in form and type to those described and excavated elsewhere. For many examples the answer is yes. Superficially they are similar in plan and size to those from the Wessex region but there are a number of characteristics that have been identified in north Oxfordshire that are not apparent

elsewhere. The following section is a brief assessment of the north Oxfordshire enclosures based on the available aerial and geophysical survey material.

Defining the north Oxfordshire Enclosures

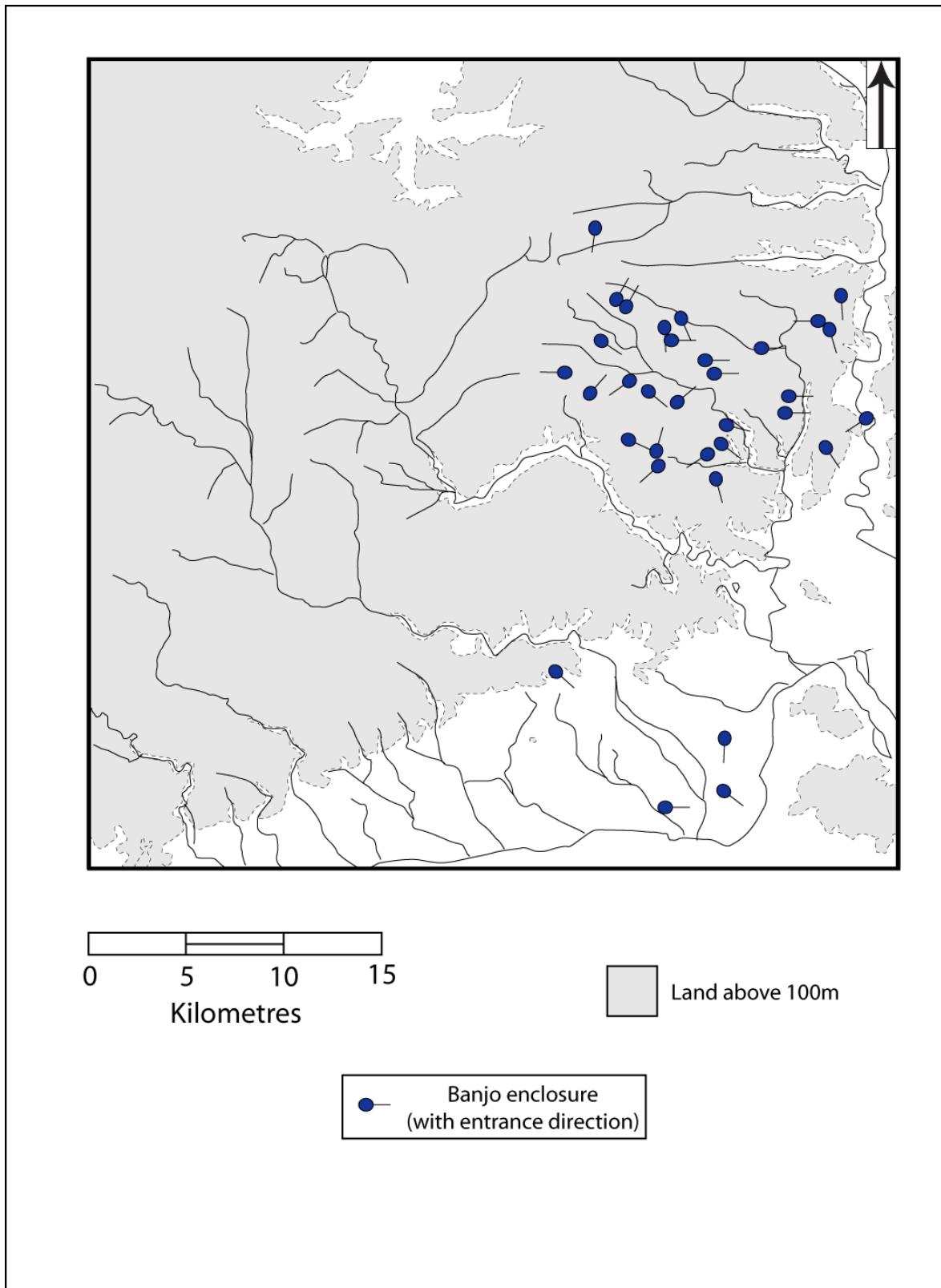
As with the reassessment of curvilinear and rectilinear cropmark sites, banjo enclosures also received a re-examination using the English Heritage morphological system. The development of their cropmark classification deliberately omitted subjective terms such as ‘banjo’ enclosure (Edis *et al* 1989, 114). Thus examples from the Thames gravels were not defined as banjo enclosures during the NMP (Fenner and Dyer 1994). Accordingly, the classification of this type of cropmark at its simplest should be:

“A curvilinear or rectilinear enclosure with funnel/antennae entranceway”
(Edis *et al* 1989, 119-126: Appendix A and B)

In reality, though, this description is too simplistic as it does not take into account a number of additional characteristics that are essential to identify a banjo enclosure. For instance, the shape, the size, and the length of funnel entrance are all aspects that need to be included. In the case of north Oxfordshire examples little can be said of ditch or inner ditch/outer bank profiles as none survive. Therefore further categorization is required and as many attributes as possible must be taken into account for accurate assessment. On the other hand caution must continue to be exercised until a greater number have been fully surveyed and excavated.

Distribution

Many of the Oxfordshire examples certainly match the classic pattern of upland distribution. Twenty-nine of the sites are within the drainage catchments of the Evenlode and Cherwell Rivers. Three are located in the Thames valley with one on the Cotswold dip-slope west of the Windrush (fig. 4.21). This clustering does not occur east of the Cherwell River, where there are far fewer enclosures that are more spread out. It is therefore possible that the eastern Cotswolds' cluster represents a significant regional pattern of enclosure form influenced by the surrounding landscape of river valleys (fig. 4.22). This theory is further supported by the fact that there is an apparent western 'boundary' of enclosures at the Evenlode River. The enclosures themselves are relatively evenly distributed in terms of height above sea level – much more so than either curvilinear or rectilinear sites (graph 5.4). However, perhaps the most interesting observation is that 15 sites (over 50% of the total) are further than 800 metres away from water sources (graph 5.3). This suggests that running water was not of the highest importance for these sites, as it appears to be for the other enclosures.



*Figure 4.21: The banjo enclosures of the upper Thames and eastern Cotswolds region.
(A. Lang)*

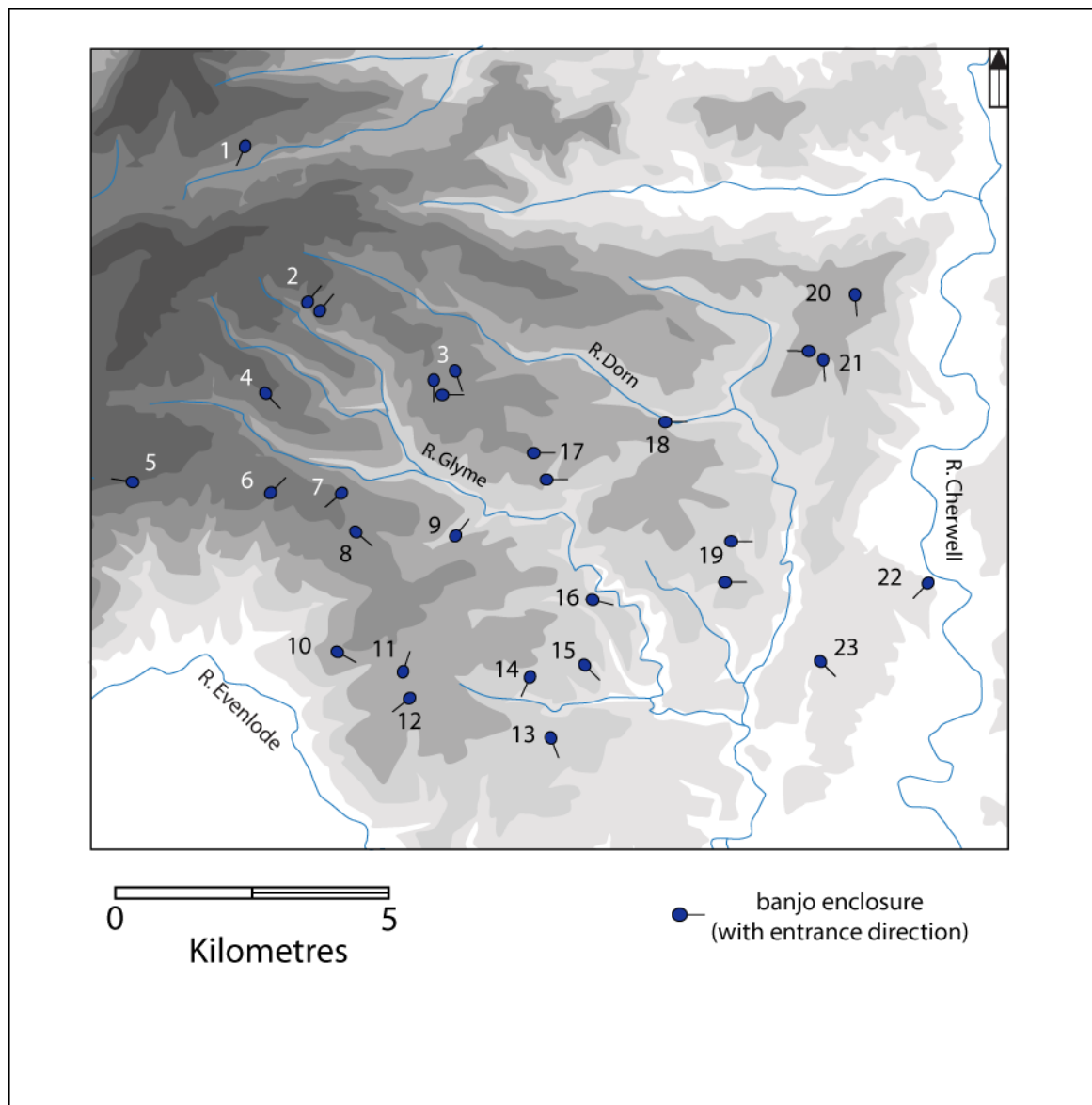


Figure 4.22: Banjo enclosures of the eastern Cotswolds:
 1. Rollright Heath; 2. Chivel farm (2 sites); 3. Enstone Airfield (3 sites); 4. Chalford Oaks; 5. Bury Hill; 6. Toll House Field; 7. Lidstone Hill; 8. Litchfield Farm; 9. Bagneedle Barn; 10. Banbury Hill Farm; 11. Pieces Field; 12. Dustfield Farm; 13. Callow Hill; 14. Ditchley Villa; 15. Tomlin's Gate; 16. Middle Brooklan; 17. Gagingwell and Radford Quarry; 18. Park Farm; 19. Barton Leys Farm and Ludwell Farm; 20. Blue Barn Farm; 21. Brasenose Farm (2 sites); 22. Letchmere Cottage; 23. Upper Dornford.
 (A. Lang)

Shape/Size

There are distinct variations in the shape and size of the North Oxfordshire banjo enclosures and many of these do not necessarily fit into what could be termed as the classic 'form' of banjo enclosure. A good example of this is the enclosure recorded at Tomlin's

Gate – the first discovered in the region. The shape of this enclosure hardly corresponds to the classic description a banjo enclosure (fig. 4.23).

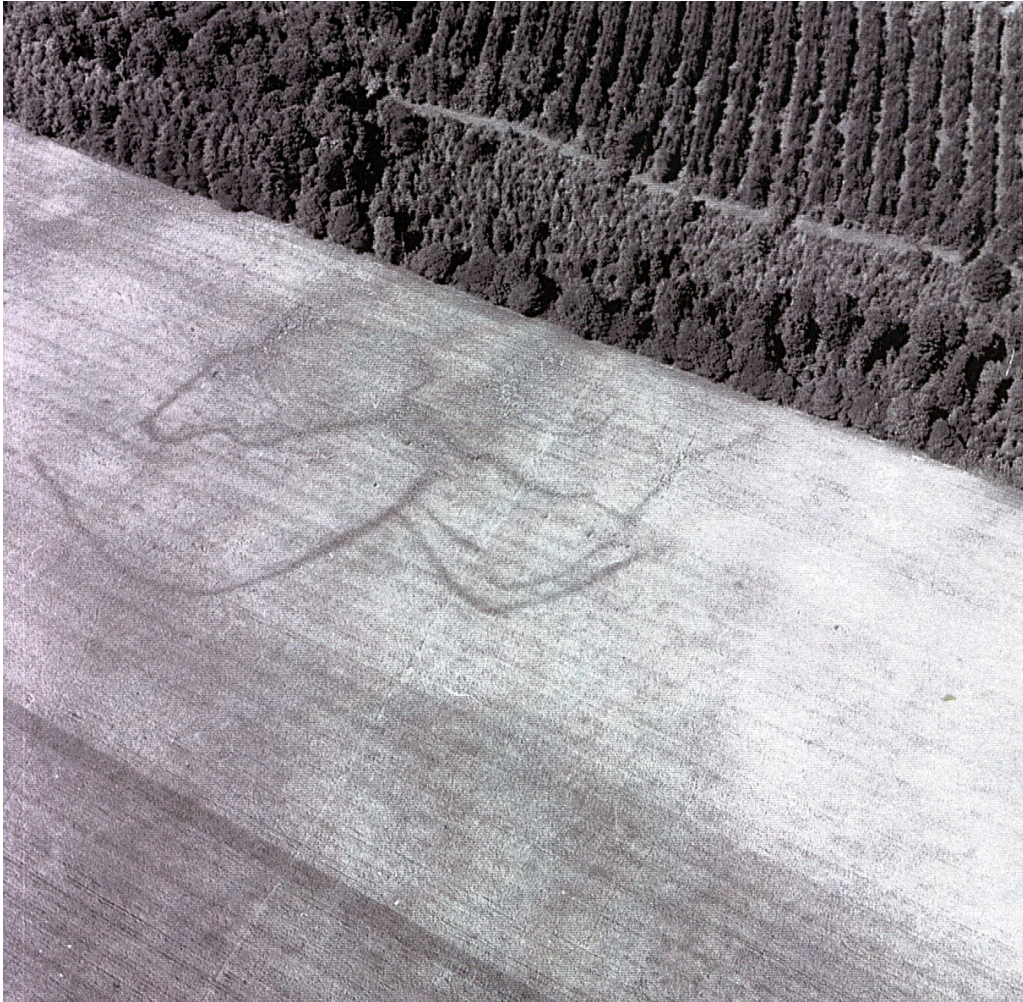


Figure 4.23: A classic 'banjo' enclosure? The site of Tomlin's Gate, Kiddington-with-Asterleigh [1727] (from South West). The first discovery of this site-type in North Oxfordshire in the drought of 1976 (From AP: 4120/5 20/7/1974 Frame 6 – part of the Baker collection held by the NMR)

Several sites are of irregular shape and a number of these can, for instance, be described as 'kidney'-shaped. The site at Pieces Field (fig. 4.7) is a particularly good example. Outside the heartland area, the site at Blue Barn Farm [17135] also embodies an irregular kidney form (fig. 4.24). It has an elongated 60m entranceway that faces south and, running at right angles across its front, a large linear feature that blocks it. There are a small number of pits visible within this enclosure, which enclosure appears to sit within or at the edge of a

larger complex of cropmark sites. However, nothing has been added to the current understanding of this site and its immediate environs as it has not been revisited since its discovery in 2001.



*Fig. 4.24: The banjo enclosure at Blue Barn Farm [17135] in the foreground with a double-ditched rectilinear enclosure in the adjacent field.
(AP ref: NMR 21330/07 4627/5 23 July 2001 ©English Heritage. NMR)*

Relatively similar to the ‘kidney’ shaped enclosures is the elliptical of which there is also a small number in the eastern Cotswolds. They vary considerably in size and in the curvature of the external ditch. A good example is the site of Callow Hill [17134] (fig. 4.14) which has only very short antennae ditches with no visible (directly) associated external enclosures or linear features. From the aerial photograph there is evidence of internal activity but the site itself is incomplete with its rear ditch and/or some of the interior destroyed by a modern road.

In addition, there are enclosures that are particularly conspicuous by their irregularity. At Chalford Oaks [15871] (fig. 4.10) the site is perhaps most similar to the examples at Blagden Copse, which has curving enclosure ditches. At Ditchley and Enstone Airfield, the enclosures are almost ‘heart’ shaped with a depression at the apex of the enclosure, making irregular what would otherwise be a sub-circular form.

There are two sub-rectangular enclosures within the region. One of these, near Witney at Camphill Fenlong, [5720] (fig. 4.17 no. 5720) was initially described as ‘of Upper Cranborne type’ (Chambers 1976b, 19). It is a small enclosure with short antennae ditches adjoined to other linear features that surround the site. There are no visible interior features although the site is quite clearly within a larger complex of cropmarks. This is the only site along the Cotswold dip-slope and the entrance of the enclosure faces downhill towards the Thames Valley with views across it. Another sub-rectangular enclosure is at Bury Hill which lies close to the top of the northern ridge overlooking the broad Evenlode Valley.

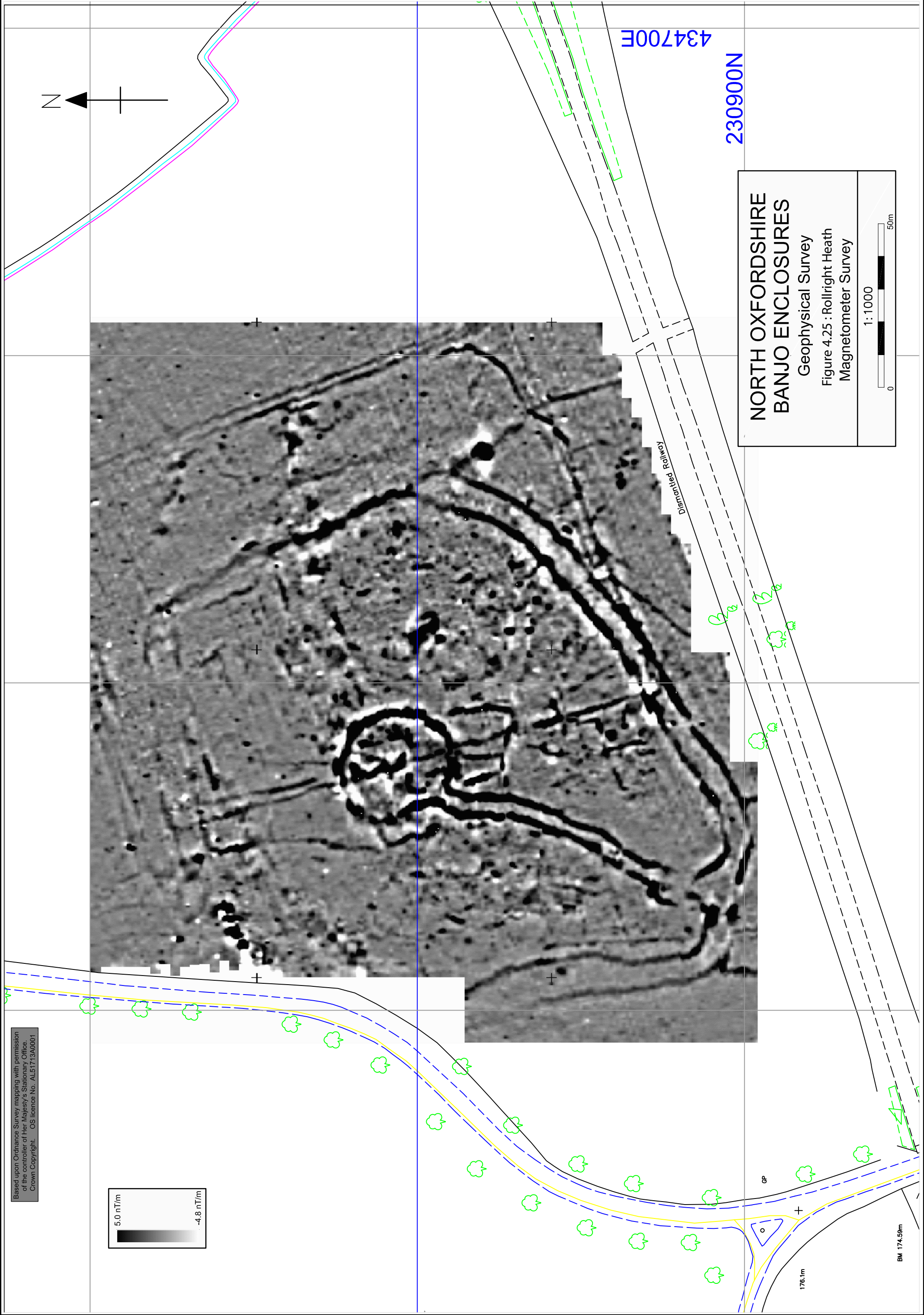
There are, however, still a number of sites that do have the classic ‘banjo’ shape. In some cases though, their small size might otherwise warrant their exclusion as they are much

smaller than the minimum size defined by Perry and the MPP. Can we still count these as banjo enclosures? In short, I believe the answer is yes as so many of the other characteristics match the banjo enclosure category. Two of these, Bagneedle Barn and Rollright Heath [15877] (fig 4.25) the latter located within the north-east area of the eastern Cotswolds, have been surveyed using geophysics. Both of these sites have small interiors, with areas less than 0.1ha in size. Another small enclosure is that at Lidstone Hill [17060] which has a sub-circular enclosure and a short funnel entrance.

The enclosure at Rollright Heath measures 30m (west-east) by 32m (north-south) and is oval in plan. There are strong readings of magnetic activity from the interior which mask individual features. The transcription of the site suggests that a number of pits and a D-shaped enclosure or roundhouse structure are visible, the latter some 10m in diameter. There are also strong magnetic readings from the enclosure ditch. The enclosure has two possible annexes. A small rectilinear enclosure appears to be attached to the western banjo enclosure ditch, although this is not visible on the aerial transcriptions. However, a stronger reading comes from another rectilinear enclosure immediately south of the banjo enclosure. There is no visible internal activity, but readings from the ditch fill are strong.

The entrance to the enclosure is very narrow, perhaps only 5m wide, facing south-south-west and downhill on a gentle slope. This is met by long antennae entranceway ditches that are over 70m in length. They are not straight but curve gently, firstly eastwards and then westwards. At the bottom of the entrances there is a gap of between 5m and 10m before they turn into either a double-ditched trackway or enclosure ditches that splay outwards at right angles to each other. The gap between the entrance ditches and enclosure ditches suggests that this is real and not due to interference in the data. Again having very high

magnetic readings the eastern ditches extend for over 150m in a north-easterly direction curving slowly northwards before joining, or being truncated by, a single ditch which runs broadly north-south across 150m of the survey area and continues into the adjacent field. Just below where these two ditches meet a large 'macula', which has a particularly high reading from the magnetometer survey, is visible on the aerial transcription.

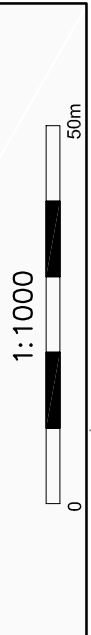


230900N

434700E

**NORTH OXFORDSHIRE
BANJO ENCLOSURES**

Geophysical Survey
Figure 4.25 : Rollright Heath
Magnetometer Survey



Based upon Ordnance Survey mapping with permission
of the controller of Her Majesty's Stationary Office.
Crown Copyright. OS licence No. AL51713A0001

Disrupted Railway

176.1m

BM 174.59m

The western double ditch turns northwards almost immediately and is wider than the eastern one, in some places over 10m wide (in comparison to approximately 5m). It has a much fainter reading, perhaps suggesting less activity or material within the fill of the ditch. One possible feature – a pit – is visible, positioned between the two ditches. Immediately west of this, the ground falls away sharply south-west towards the Swere River which lies some 800m away. The ditch then disappears into a modern hedge-line and is presumably truncated by a modern road. The northern ditch is visible 40m above the banjo enclosure running east-west for about 60-70m again truncated at the western end by the road and a modern disturbance, possibly a buried drain or pipe. It then meets the long single ditch running north-south, and its eastern end.

The survey of this site produced extensive background noise. One reason for this is that the soil is particularly magnetic and therefore all possible features and areas of archaeological activity are picked up very clearly in the results. However, what is also apparent is that the site is apparently multi-period in nature. For example, the modern ploughing furrows travel SW-NE across site while long ditches (one going right through the middle of the banjo enclosure) run north to south. At the eastern extent of the survey area another feature is a line of double-ditches that run parallel to the one running through the banjo enclosure. This might be a possible field system or enclosure ditch relating to later activity on the site after the banjo fell out of use.

Within the region there are also much larger sites that can be considered as classic in form. Two good examples are the sites at Ludwell Farm and Westcott Barton. One of the Chivel sites is particularly large, especially when it is compared to its neighbour, which fits a more classic type. In general it is similar to the Walton site in Clevedon, which is

considerably larger than many of its counterparts throughout the region (Moore 2006, 57, fig. 4.14). Both also have long, straight antennae ditches. Some irregular forms are also considerably larger. Of these the Pieces Field site is the best example for this region.

Position

In the past much has been made of the fact that banjo enclosures are sited on the boundary of two soil-types or on differing underlying geological bands (Hingley 1984a, 80). Generally, though, in the eastern Cotswolds this does not seem to be the trend since only two sites are located at the boundary of two soil-types. They are the double banjo site at Chivel farm, which is sited on the boundary between shallow limestone soils and drift deposits relating to the adjacent Glyme River, and the enclosure at Camphill Fenlong, which lies on the boundary between shallow brashy soils and clayey soils.

In actual fact, there appears to be a broad split between those that are located on shallow brashy soils and those on clayey soils. Both of these soils overlie the limestone. Those located on clayey soils include the complex at Enstone Airfield, Chalford Oaks, Litchfield Farm and Pieces Field while those located on shallow brashy soils include the Brasenose Farm complex, the Middle Brooklan site and the Ditchley enclosure. There is a fairly even split between these two types, and both are capable of sustaining most types of agriculture, especially cereal cultivation.

The locations of the enclosures within the landscape are also relatively uniform. Many are positioned either close to or atop ridges or plateaux of high ground within the region. All of the enclosures, bar those at Chivel Farm, Bury Hill and Letchmere Cottage, face either

downhill or follow the hill contours. Many sites are on gentle slopes although there are exceptions, with the Park Farm and Barton Leys Farm sites located on and above steeper slopes leading down to a water course.

The banjo enclosure at Letchmere Cottage [15965] is the one and only site located on the gravels of the region. Situated on the terrace gravel of the Cherwell River it is a small sub-circular enclosure of ‘classic’ shape with short antennae ditches that splay at right angles from each after approximately 30m. The river itself flows 100m to the east with the entrance facing in the opposite direction – the south-west – away from the main river and although it lies at the bottom of a steep slope it faces uphill. There are no visible associated features or enclosures and no evidence of internal activity.

Single sites and complexes

A broad division of the north Oxfordshire banjo enclosures can occur by separating those with associated cropmarks and those without. There are some that appear to be within larger complexes (including those in the Thames Valley) or are part of a wider group of cropmark sites that may represent a complex. There are others that appear to be associated with just one cropmark site or to be isolated enclosure sites.

The site of Bagneedle barn is perhaps the best example of an isolated banjo enclosure, not only by its position in the landscape – surrounded on all sides by higher ground – but also by the fact that there are no visible cropmarks within a kilometre of the site. Lidstone Hill appears to be another example, with only a round barrow located nearby.

A number of sites that have already been discussed, including Pieces Field, Park Farm, Chalford Oaks, Rollright Heath and Litchfield Farm, appear to have associated enclosures in close proximity visible in the same or immediately adjacent fields.

Banjo enclosures are also visible as sites within larger cropmark complexes. Possible examples include the site at Banbury Hill Farm, although many of the adjacent enclosures are impossible to recognise due to geological noise. There are at least two double banjo complexes. The Chivel farm site already discussed but there is another complex at Brasenose Farm [15966] (fig. 4.26) in the north-east area. This is a complex of two banjos and a number of curvilinear and rectilinear enclosures visible across two fields. The complex lies atop a ridge of 150m OD between the Cherwell and Dorn rivers. The northern banjo is a large circular enclosure with a west facing entrance, and two linear features that connect with the northern part of its enclosure ditch. There is visible internal activity. The other banjo enclosure lies to the south east. It has a south facing entrance that follows the contour of the hill at 145m OD. A small circular 'satellite' enclosure is part of, and possibly slightly overlays, the eastern enclosure ditch. There is stronger evidence here of internal activity with a number of pits clustering both inside and outside the enclosure. The antennae ditches are long and splay at right angles and the eastern ditch doubles back on itself. The western ditch is lost in geological noise. Two other linear features, possibly representing a third banjo enclosure, are visible. Again this is, unfortunately, lost in geological noise. They face towards the south east at the same height and contour as the above banjo and may therefore be directly associated. In between there lies a further curvilinear enclosure. The largest and perhaps most significant complex of cropmarks, which has already been described above, is the one that includes three banjo enclosures at Enstone Airfield.

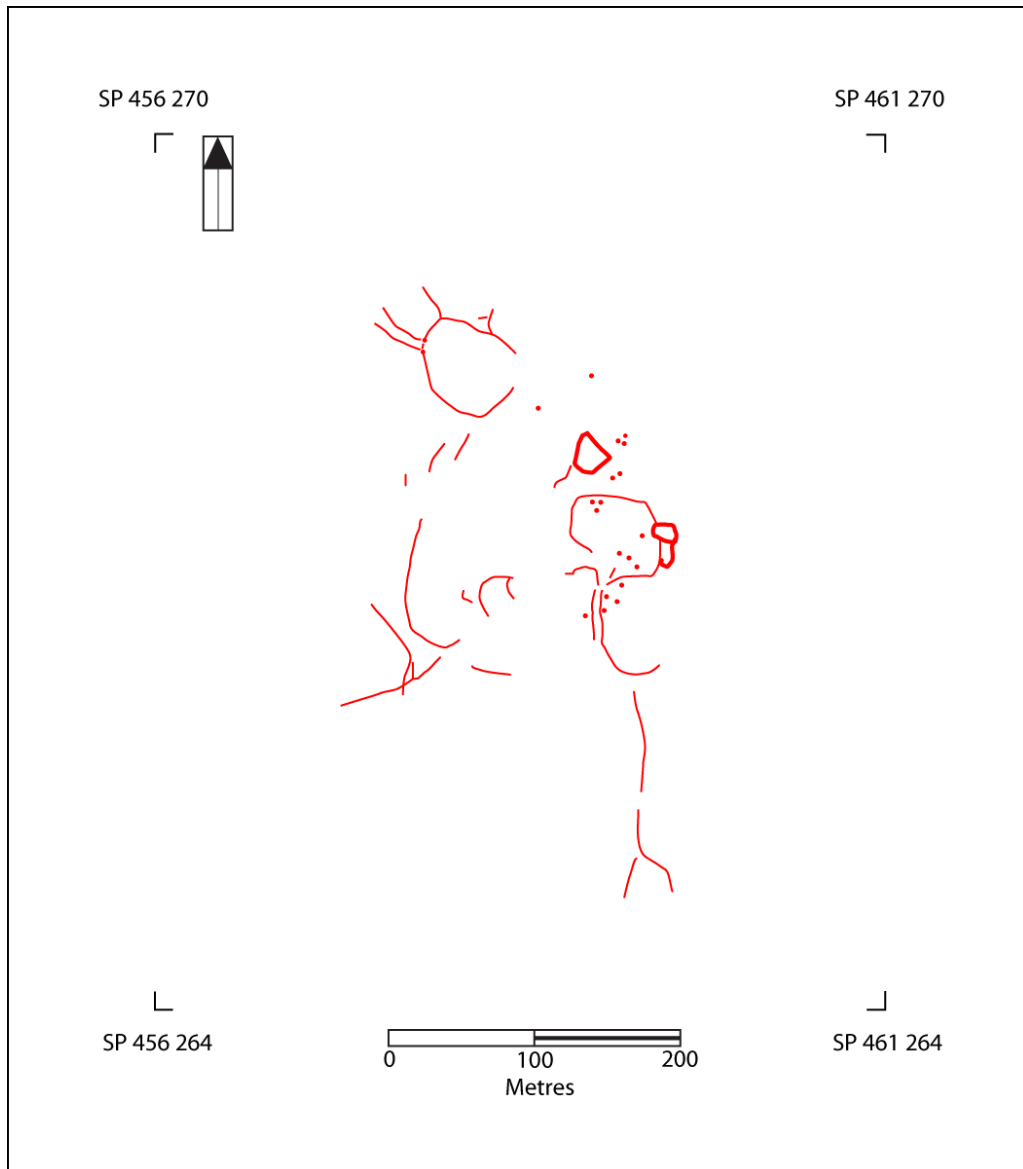


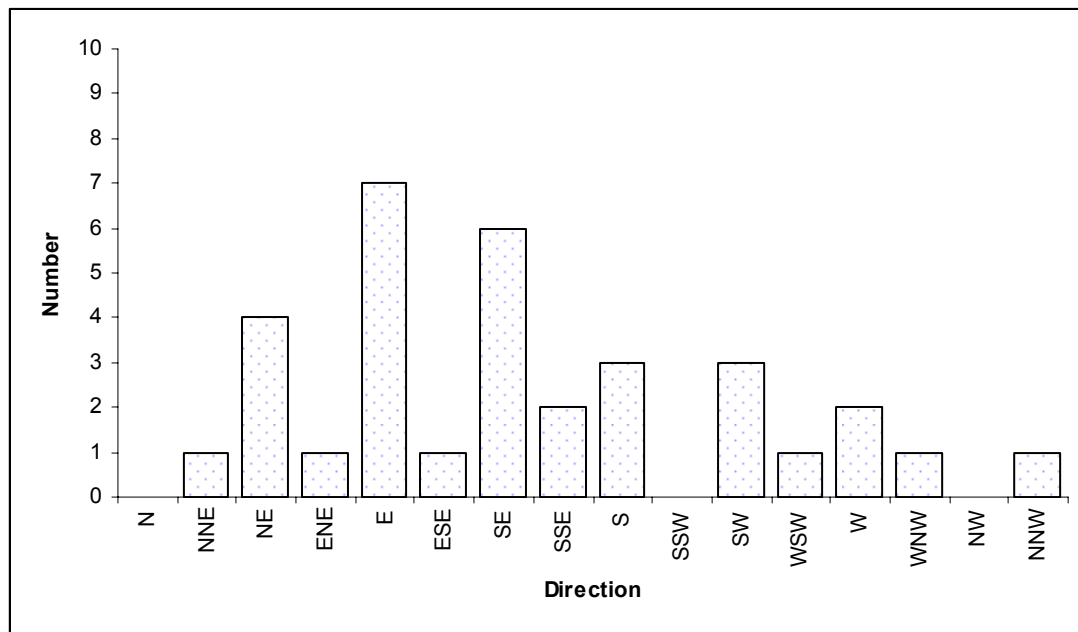
Figure 4.26: Transcription of aerial photographs showing the possible double banjo complex at Brasenose Farm. (A. Lang)

Within the eastern Cotswolds There are some good examples of enclosures at which associated, annexed or ‘satellite’ enclosures are visible. First, the small banjo enclosure at Dustfield Farm (fig. 4.8) has an enclosure immediately adjoining. Second, at Gagingwell a rectilinear enclosure is immediately adjacent to the banjo enclosure that forms part of a large complex of cropmarks. In addition the two surveyed examples at Pieces Field and Enstone Airfield also show much smaller curvilinear and rectilinear enclosures attached to the main banjo enclosure ditch.

Entrances

In the last two decades much has been made of the position of roundhouse entranceways and the possible interpretations that can be gained by comparing this to aspects of light, solar and lunar cycles and other possible significances (Parker-Pearson 1996; Oswald 1997; Pope 2007; Webley 2007). There is a major concentration of entranceways towards the east and it is interesting to note that the banjo enclosures appear to follow a similar trend. Exactly half of the enclosures analysed as part of this study face NE, SE and E with the largest number facing east (graph 4.1). The potential functional and non-functional aspects of this will be discussed later.

The length, form and direction of entranceways vary considerably, as does their width. The examples from Rollright Heath and Chivel Farm show particularly elongated antennae ditches while, in contrast, there are some sites which have particularly short antennae ditches. There are two notable examples. At Banbury Hill Farm [13416] there is a small circular enclosure with an entrance that faces south-south-east. The other is the site of Ludwell Farm [11638].



Graph 4.1: Histogram of the direction of entrances for banjo enclosures in the eastern Cotswolds and upper Thames. N=33.

Also of interest is the number of enclosures, particularly of non-classic form, that do not have entranceways central to the enclosure ditch (fig. 4.27). When looking at examples from Wessex, all the funnel entrances leave from the centre of the enclosure – as is also the case in many of the north Oxfordshire enclosures. Two such examples are Enstone airfield and Rollright Heath. Yet there are sites, such as Tomlin’s Gate and Callow Hill, where the entrance ditch is either to the left or the right of the middle of the enclosure ditch. This appears to be a feature unique to north Oxfordshire.

The majority of entrances also appear to serve functional purposes. Without fail they either point downhill or along the contour of the hill and generally towards the nearest water source. However, a small number of examples suggest the antennae ditches were constructed for different reasons. Some sites have overly-long entrances, whilst others are short and are immediately cut off by other ditches running at right angles. The reasons for this will be outlined below.

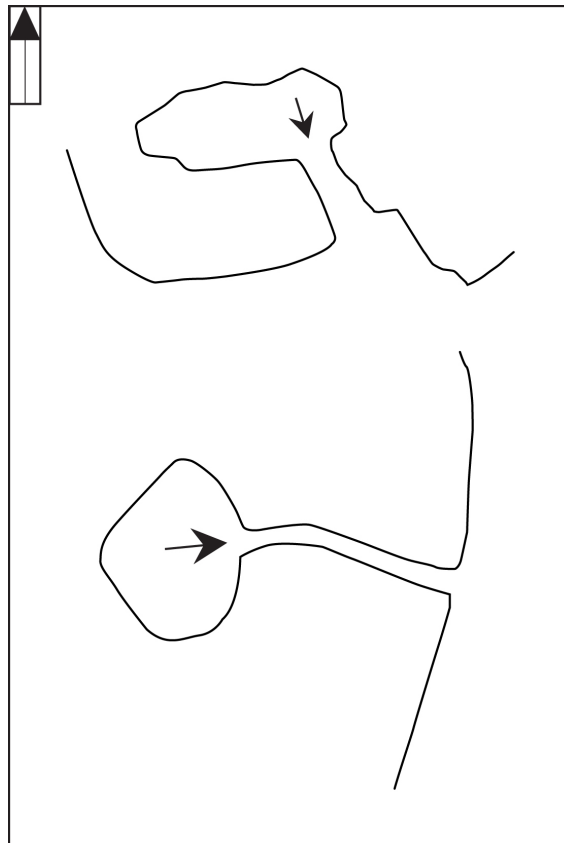


Figure 4.27: An illustration showing the differing positions of entranceways in two North Oxfordshire enclosures (top: [1727] Tomlin's Gate, bottom: [9197] at Enstone Airfield. Not to scale. (A. Lang)

The wider region

Within the wider Cotswold and north Oxfordshire regions many new banjo sites that have been discovered while east of the Cherwell River at least 10 further examples have been identified, mainly by the NOAS. As has already been mentioned (chapter 2) this region lies outside the area defined as the eastern Cotswolds so these sites have not been included in this thesis. They are broadly similar in form to the eastern Cotswolds with some evidence of complexity, as shown by the enclosure at Fewcott (Featherstone and Bewley 2000, 22, fig. 11). At least one enclosure has also been identified in the vicinity of Aves ditch (Sauer 2005; Cotswold Archaeology 2007). In addition to the site discovered at Northleach a number of years ago (Darvill and Hingley 1982) Moore's broad overview of the wider

Cotswold region identified examples at Northleach and Barnsley Park, just to the west of this study area. Another example has been recorded on the Thames gravels at Ashton Keynes (Moore 2006) as part of a larger complex of cropmarks. The single example in Warwickshire (Coutts and Jones 1998) has already been mentioned.

Inclusions and omissions

There are some further points in this dataset that require clarifying. Different authors have designated various enclosures within the region as ‘banjo’-form. Between the comparative data of the Hingley’s and the current survey evidence (figs. 4.16 and 4.21) there have been a number of changes which have come about as a result of more detailed aerial photographs. Other examples that have been omitted include the enclosure at Rollright [12251] (Lambrick 1988) which, largely because no antennae ditch exists, the present study does not consider meets the requirements of a banjo enclosure. Therefore, it has been included in this survey as a rectilinear cropmark. Two sites located on the Thames gravels, Mingies Ditch [8311] and Watkins Farm [13360], have also been previously interpreted as banjo enclosures (Allen and Robinson 1993; Allen 1990) but they have not been included here because the enclosures do not link with antennae ditches to form a funnel entranceway. They, therefore, have also not been considered to be banjo enclosures. After the NOAS the continued surveying of the region led to the discovery of three more enclosures in 2001, which suggests that there will be more discoveries in the future. Therefore it is likely that there will be some re-identification of enclosures as more knowledge is acquired. There is already such an example in the case of Hingley’s study where, as a result of the increasing availability of more detailed aerial photographs, at

least three of his curvilinear sites at Pieces field [13217], Enstone Airfield [8800] and Ludwell Farm [11638] have been re-identified as banjo enclosures.

4.8 Summary

By drawing together the excavation, aerial survey and geophysical survey evidence it is hoped that this chapter has outlined a reasonable dataset of Iron Age settlement material. The lack of excavation within the heartland area is more than made up for by the quantity and detail of the cropmark sites and this has been added to with the clear results from the magnetometer. Interestingly these results have not proved intense activity at either of the two hillfort sites – discussed more fully in the next chapter – but they have for the banjo enclosures, further details of which will be outlined in chapter 7. The final part of this chapter has been to try and develop a much greater understanding of the position of the ‘banjo’ enclosure within the context of British Iron Age studies. This has remained a relatively enigmatic and poorly understood enclosure-type, largely because every excavation seems to produce something different. The aim here has been to incorporate the eastern Cotswolds material in an attempt to not only question some assumptions regarding these enclosures but also to see how they fit within the wider context of southern Britain. However, before this can be achieved it is necessary to assess the archaeological evidence from the other two areas of the eastern Cotswolds region.

5. Settlement patterns in the wider eastern Cotswolds

5.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the wider eastern Cotswolds region, taking into account the areas to the south-west and north-east of the heartland. The settlement patterns of both these areas appear to be slightly different, both from each other and the heartland itself. There are fewer cropmark sites but more excavated ones, including a hillfort, a valleyfort and a number completed under the auspices of PPG 16. The discussion of these excavations and the cropmarks forms the first part of the chapter while the second focuses on the individual hillfort sites of the region. As with the focus on banjo enclosures in the previous chapter these discussions will address aspects of site-type, chronology and the evidence that has identified them as settlements. The chapter finishes with a discussion of the North Oxfordshire Grim's Ditch (NOGD), an important ditch complex that remains visible in the present eastern Cotswolds landscape. Its significance and potential functions will be outlined here.

5.2 The wider eastern Cotswolds: The south-west

In the south-west region a single banjo enclosure, 6 curvilinear and 23 rectilinear enclosures have been recorded (fig. 5.1). The evidence for this region is dominated by the excavations that have been completed in and around the village of Bourton-on-the-Water, including the Late Iron Age *enclosed oppida* at Salmonsbury.

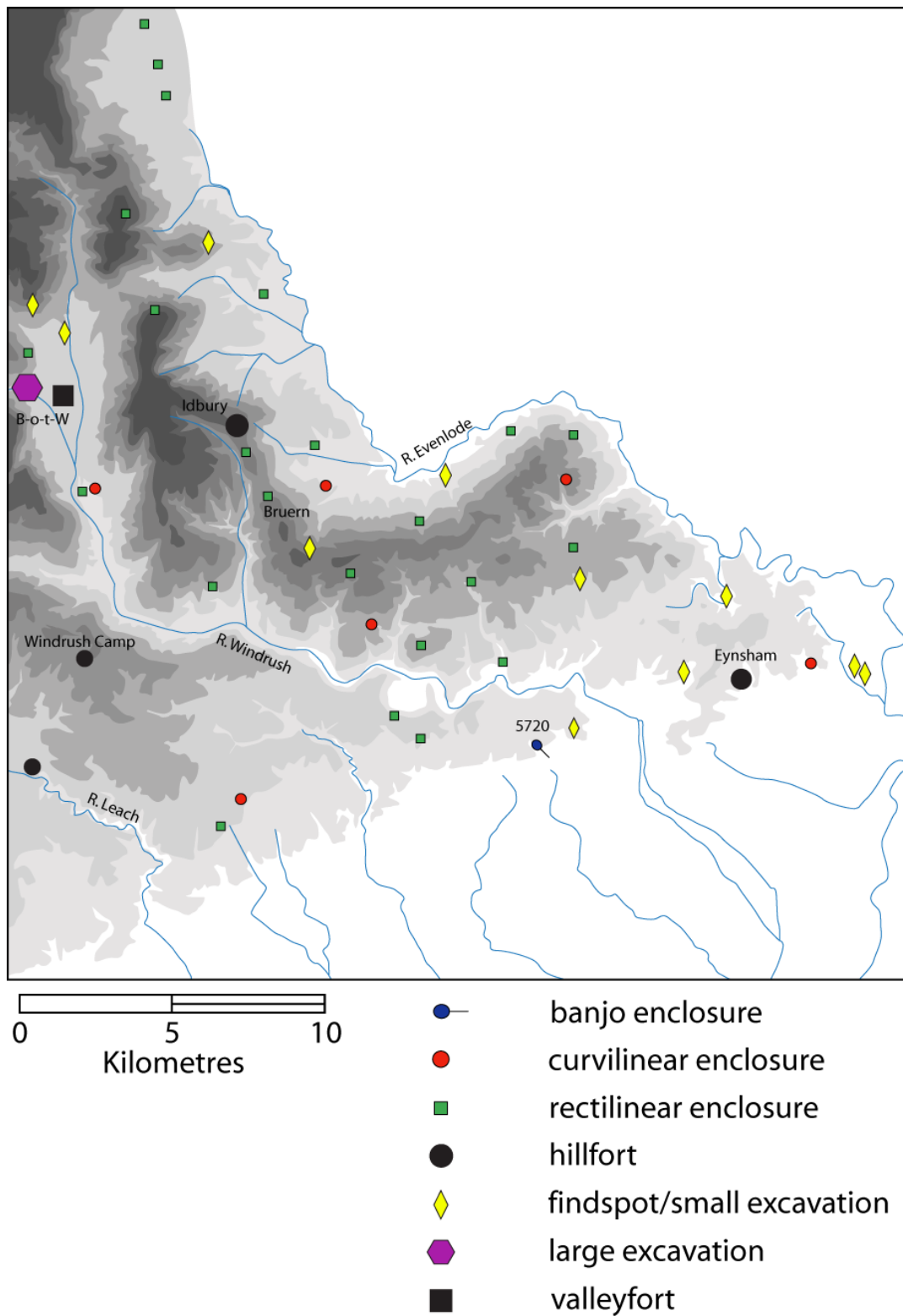


Fig. 5.1: The south-west area of the eastern Cotswolds. (A. Lang)

Open settlements

Numerous excavations within the village of Bourton-on-the-Water, and close to and within the confines of the Salmonsbury enclosure, have revealed settlement evidence dating to the Iron Age (Dunning 1976; Timby 1998; Stoten 2004; Lang *forthcoming*). In the last two decades, this has been added to by large geophysical surveys across previously unexcavated areas within the confines of the Salmonsbury site (Marshall 1996b; GSB 2004).

The excavations at Bourton-on-the-Water have focused on the area around the two village schools. As a result of the watching briefs allowed by the re-development and expansion of the primary and secondary schools, the Gloucestershire County Council Archaeological Services (GCCAS) and Cotswold Archaeology (CA; formerly Cotswold Archaeological Trust), under the auspices of PPG 16, investigated (through evaluations, excavations and geophysical surveys) 35-40 ha (fig. 5.2) between the two schools.

The excavations to the north of, and within, the secondary school (fig. 5.2: The Cotswold School) have revealed only intermittent evidence of settlement and occupation from the Early/Middle Iron Ages (Lang *forthcoming*; Nichols 2002) but the CA excavations did reveal a number of post-holes (11) and a ditch dating to that period. A possible single four-post structure was also tentatively identified and, in the north-east corner of the trench, an alignment of postholes suggests a roundhouse structure. The very north of this area revealed only a small number of features suggesting this is outside the limit of settlement. All the ceramics from these excavations were locally produced fossil shell- and limestone-tempered wares.

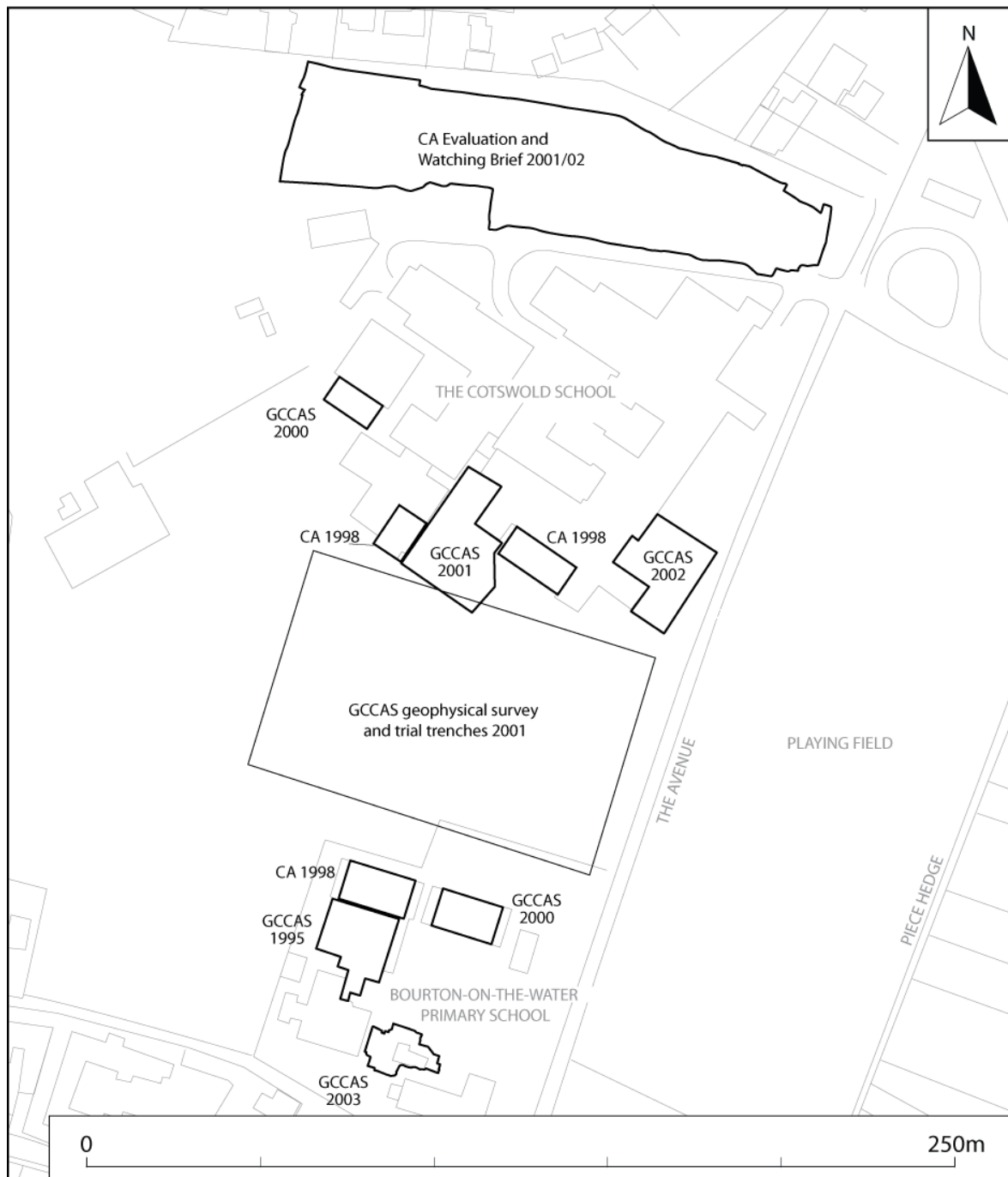


Figure 5.2: Recent excavations at Bourton-on-the-Water Primary and Secondary Schools. Trenches were excavated by Gloucestershire County Council Archaeology Service (GCCAS) and Cotswold Archaeology (CA) at different times during the 1990s and 2000s.

(Source: Lang forthcoming with map crown copyright 2007: An ordnance survey/EDINA supplied service).

To the south of the Cotswold School area, however, there is a significant increase in the quantity and quality of Iron Age settlement material. Between the two schools, geophysical survey and evaluation by GCCAS located and identified a number of features interpreted

as roundhouse structures, field systems and enclosures that suggest an Iron Age settlement (Nichols 2006, 8). A small number could be dated to the period in question (20 features in total). This area, together with many of the excavated areas on the periphery, is regarded by the excavator as the focal point of an Iron Age settlement (Nichols 2002, 235)

The GCCAS excavations within Bourton-on-the-Water Primary school also revealed a relatively intense level of activity and the CA excavations identified 19 post holes and 11 pits (with many more attributed through the similarity of fills) that were dated to the Iron Age (fig. 5.3). Two possible alignments of postholes and a second possible four-post structure were identified. On this occasion two of the post holes and a pit were datable from recovered material. Several of the pits were intercutting, suggesting relative contemporaneity, and a number also had environmental remains within their fills. The majority of ceramic material consisted of fossil shell- and limestone-tempered vessels and a few finer wares were recovered. Perhaps the most intriguing find from this site was a single polished canine tooth into which a single hole had been drilled. A similar find was recorded from the adjacent 2003 GCCAS excavations (Lang *forthcoming*; Nichols 2004, 187).

The most recent excavations undertaken by GCCAS in 2000 and 2003 uncovered a considerable number of large pits (50 from the 2003 site; 9 from the 2000 site) and post holes (18 from 2003 and up to 100 from 2000) thus confirming the intense level of activity. At least one four-post structure was also identified (Nichols 2003, 268). However, the most significant aspect of these excavations was the discovery of several skeletons placed as deliberate burials at the bottom of a number of pits. At least three complete and a number of incomplete skeletons were recorded from the two areas (Nichols 2006; Nichols

forthcoming). This is the only site in the eastern Cotswolds where more than one individual has been recorded and, indeed, it is the only comparable evidence that exists alongside the inhumation cemetery recorded at Yarnton (see chapter 6). Again, ceramic evidence from the sites suggests settlement in the Early and Middle Iron Age periods. No large or wide ditches were recorded as relating to the Iron Age period, which suggests that the settlements were all unenclosed during their life-span. The evidence therefore suggests that a potentially long-term and relatively stable settlement was established here during the Early Iron Age.

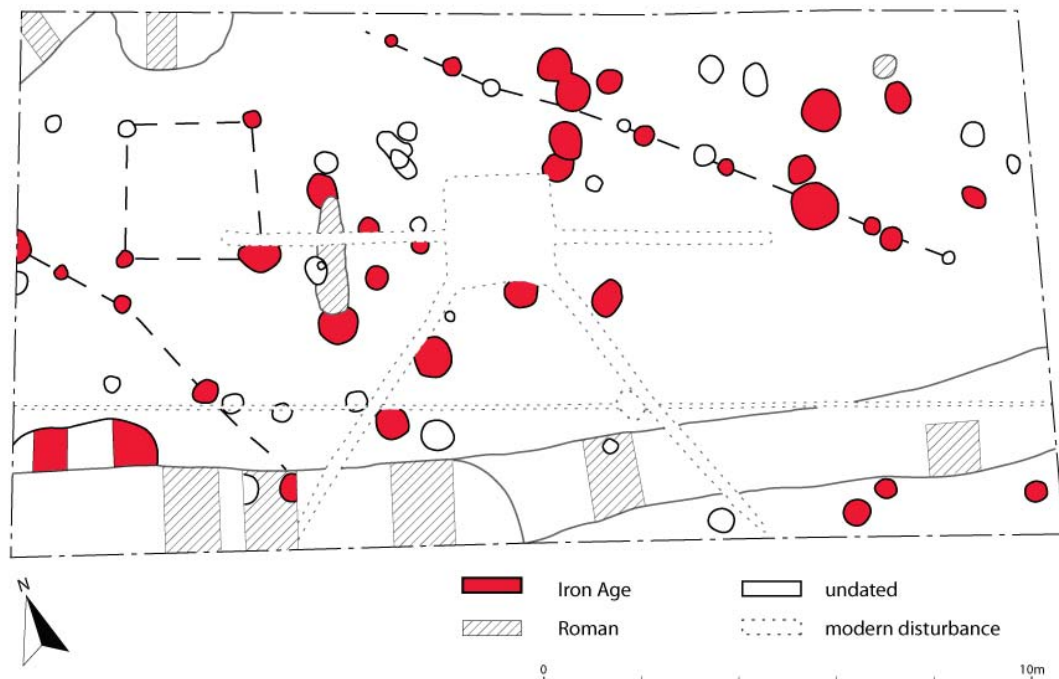
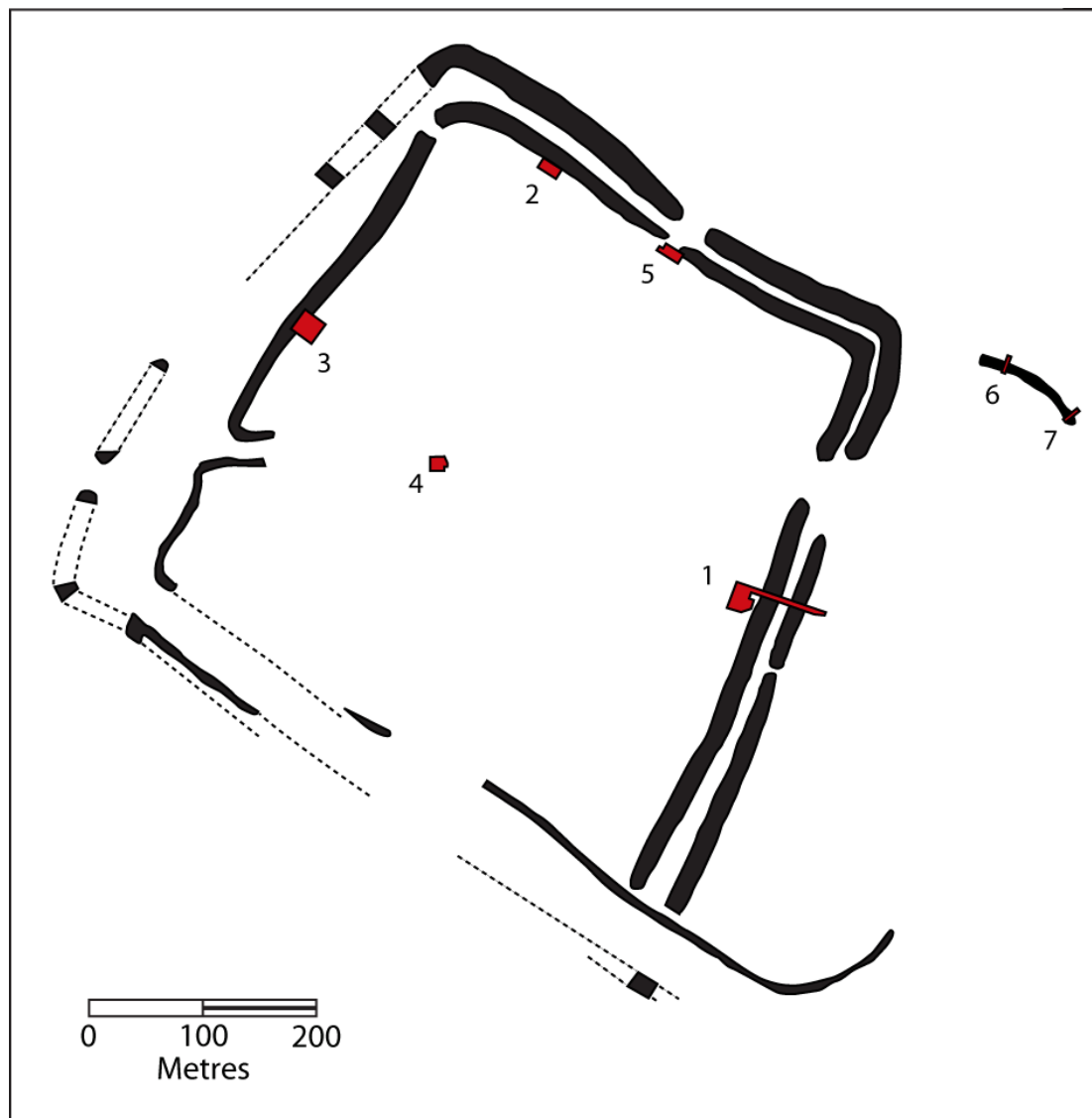


Figure 5.3: Trench from Bourton Primary School excavated by CA in 1998. Iron Age features are in red. The dashed lines represent the possible alignments and the location of the four-post structure.
(After: Lang *forthcoming*, fig. 3)

Further settlement evidence has been recorded at the Salmonsbury enclosure which is located 400m east of the schools sites. This is a large double-ditched (and in places triple-ditched) square enclosure, covering 23 ha, at the confluence of the Dikler and Windrush rivers (fig 5.4).



*Figure 5.4: Excavations by Dunning (numbered) at the valleyfort of Salmonsbury
(A. Lang, after Dunning 1976, fig. 1).
North is at the top of the page*

Here, in the 1930s, Dunning performed the first and only significant intervention. As with many excavations of the time the focus was on the ramparts, with only a single trench

being opened at the heart of the interior but this revealed an intense level of activity from the Iron Age, Roman and Saxon periods. Three phases of Iron Age occupation (all of which were originally attributed to the Late Iron Age, 'Belgic', period) were visible in the archaeological record. Actually, the earliest phase of material – Dunning's 'Western Second B' – is of Middle Iron Age date, and includes ceramic material that closely matches Cunliffe's 'Stanton Harcourt-Cassington' style of the adjacent Thames valley region (2005, 636). Furthermore, the identification of datable features beneath the earthwork ramparts demonstrated Iron Age activity prior to their construction. Additional settlement activity attributed to this earlier phase is recorded in the excavation of a considerable number of pits, within a few of which were human burials, and a double roundhouse gully. Small-scale interventions conducted at various times since Dunning's excavation have provided further evidence of settlement within the enclosure (Stoten 2004).

There was a small-scale geophysical survey across particular fields within the enclosure by Marshall, who identified a possible Neolithic causewayed enclosure (1996b). This was followed by a comprehensive geophysical survey of the undeveloped areas of the Salmonsbury enclosure and its immediate environs (fig. 5.5) that has considerably augmented the original evidence. This most recent survey, undertaken by GSB (2004), has revealed intensive occupation across the site. This survey also highlighted one of the largest features of the site – an apparent enclosure within the confines of the double-ditches that could reasonably be dated to the earliest phase of Iron Age activity. It also revealed considerable levels of occupation through the identification of large numbers of pits and penannular ditch features, which, it is reasonable to assume, are roundhouse gullies indicative of possible domestic structures. Their variable sizes also suggest at least some

form of structural, cultural or hierarchical difference to the settlement of the site. In addition it has been suggested that the intense activity in the north-western sector is of Late Iron Age and early Roman date. These appear to be separate or individual rectilinear enclosures, also observed during excavations (O'Neil, 1978, 19)



Fig. 5.5: The results of wide-scale geophysics at Salmonsbury undertaken by GSB in 2004.
 Not to scale. North is at the top of the page.
 (Used courtesy of: Gloucestershire Wildlife Trust/GSB)

The final phase of the Iron Age settlement at Salmonsbury is indicated by the construction of the large enclosure ditches and banks. These altered both the nature of the site (from an open one to an enclosed one), and its position within the landscape so that it became a focus of activity and a nucleated settlement. The identification of Salmonsbury as an *enclosed oppida* (Cunliffe 2005, 403) can be used as a term of reference after the enclosure ditches are constructed. It also highlights the importance of Salmonsbury as a Late Iron Age site in the eastern Cotswolds. The construction of the ditches to enclose this settlement concentrated activities within its confines. This also suggests, along with the lack of Late Iron Age evidence at the school sites, that other sites in the area were abandoned in its favour. This nucleation model is also suggested by Moore for Salmonbury as one that best fits the evidence (2006, 149).

The evidence from the Bourton-on-the-Water and Salmonsbury sites alter our perspectives on eastern Cotswolds settlement considerably. In the previous chapter, and indeed for much of this, the focus has been on enclosed or ditched settlements. Yet the large-scale excavation of the school sites and the stratigraphic sequence of Salmonsbury have shown that in all probability both sites were open during the majority of their phases of use and that this was during the Middle Iron Age. This is much more indicative of sites in the Thames valley (chapter 6). It is likely that at Salmonsbury there was continued occupation from when it was an open or agglomerated settlement through to the construction of the ramparts and ditches and its development as an *enclosed oppida* during the Late Iron Age. These excavations therefore hint that settlement practices within the region were actually more complex than previously thought.

There is further evidence of a potential open settlement from excavations at the small site of Deer Park Road, Witney. PPG 16 excavations were carried out ahead of development on an area of land that sits on the cusp of the Cotswold dip-slope. Two areas of excavation were opened, with one trench (area b) revealing a number of gullies, hearth pits and a limestone pavement, interpreted by the authors as being part of a ‘utility area’ associated with the main settlement (Walker 1995, 90). The excavation of a roundhouse gully and associated features and material (trench a: fig. 5.6) provided the main evidence of settlement here. The site was dated to the Middle Iron Age by a single radiocarbon date and through typical domestic type wares of the period. As no significant enclosure ditch was recorded during this excavation or others close-by (*ibid.* 91) the evidence also points to an unenclosed or open settlement.

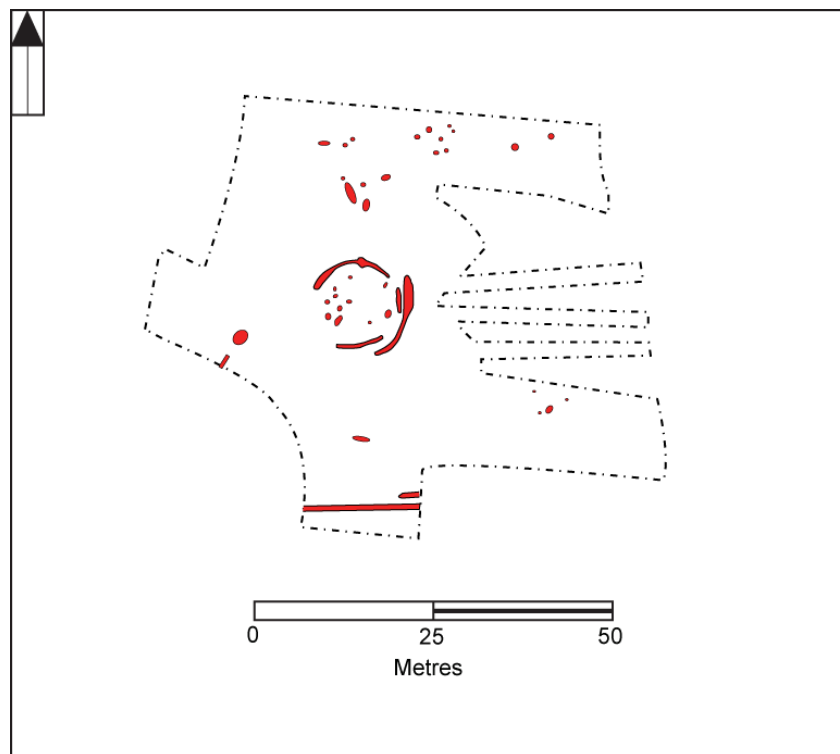


Fig 5.6: The Middle Iron Age settlement at Deer Park Road, Witney. This shows area a, with the roundhouse drip gully at its centre. (A. Lang, after Walker 1995, 69, fig. 2)

Hillfort sites

In the South-west area four hillforts have been identified. In addition, two further earthwork sites that could potentially have been used into the Iron Age are included here as possible hillforts.

A single hillfort, at which a small intervention appeared to confirm the date of Eynsham Camp [5133] as Early Iron Age (Allen 2006) although no settlement features were recorded, is located on the edge of the Cotswold dip-slope overlooking the Thames Valley. This site also has a much larger annexed enclosure, which has been interpreted either as some form of corral or as an additional or later settlement. However no survey or excavation has taken place to confirm its contemporaneity.

The large hillfort of Idbury Camp [1448], originally recorded by Sutton (1966) as being a multivallate hillfort, is located on an area of high-ground between the Windrush and Evenlode rivers. However, the site has suffered from severe plough damage, reducing the ramparts to low earthworks, and recent aerial photography only recorded one bank and ditch. There is no history of archaeological intervention so that, especially with a ploughed interior, there is no telling the extent of survival of any potential archaeological features. Certainly none are visible in aerial photographs of the site.

Two hillforts lie west of the Windrush, Dean Camp [87] overlooking the Leach and Windrush Camp [242] on high ground between the Leach and Windrush. Neither of these hillforts have been excavated. The latter, however, has been surveyed recently by Alistair Marshall (1996a) and the results show a scattering of pits, hut circles and possible internal

divisions that suggest internal occupation. There is also evidence of a possible second ditch surrounding the hillfort but the report (and any illustrations) are yet to be fully published.

In the same area, but further north and situated on high ground facing the hills, there are also two possible hillfort sites that overlook the Evenlode and Windrush headwaters with a small tributary of the Evenlode between them. They are Icomb Hill [358] and Stow-on-the-Wold [239] upon which, respectively, earthworks and large ditches have been recorded. However, the excavations at these sites have not as yet revealed evidence of Iron Age occupation. Only material relating to earlier periods has been recovered (Parry 1999; Saville 1978).

Rectilinear, curvilinear and banjo enclosure settlements

In the south-west area the underlying geology is not favourable for aerial photographic capture. The geological noise obscures many of the cropmark sites and any internal features that might otherwise be visible. The evidence for this area is not therefore as clear-cut as it is for the heartland area.

Settlement indicators: hut circles

Four sites have hut circles visible. One, a rectilinear site having a number of internal features with at least one roundhouse structure lies close to, and overlooking, the Windrush River [13261]. A further possible rectilinear site lies in the adjacent field but it has no visible associated linear features.

Two further sites comprise a pair of rectilinear enclosures lying in relatively close proximity on high ground between the Evenlode and Windrush Rivers. One of these, the site at Bruern [12407], is unusual in that it has two double-ditched horse-shoe shaped enclosures that make up a square enclosure of considerable size. It was identified as a possible hillfort by Hingley (1983) and certainly seems to be of some significance, especially as it holds some of the highest ground in the area. Numerous internal features are visible suggesting high levels of activity. Another double ditched site has been observed recently [17082], again with significant internal features. An associated single rectangular site [15008] lies nearby although no features have been identified.

Glebe Farm [137], located further up the course of the Windrush beyond the confluence with the Dikler, is a complex settlement comprising of curvilinear or hut circle cropmarks, pits and a pattern of rectangular enclosures. Although it has been badly affected by ploughing, pit alignments in the area confirm this complexity. Small areas of this site have been excavated, revealing multiple phases of occupation identified as Late Iron Age and Roman in date (Saville 1984).

Aside from the sites already mentioned with hut circles and internal features, there are no other sites that have any visible pit clusters or alignments in close proximity.

Settlement indicators: internal features

Only a small number of sites appear to have visible internal features. Four enclosures that provide some evidence are located on low-lying land within the broad vale of Moreton in the catchment area of the headwaters of the River Evenlode. One site [22 SW 25],

identified only recently, is a square enclosure with associated linear features. Two further sites are sub-rectangular enclosures with associated linear cropmarks [2743] and [2472] that lie within about 1km of each other at the source of the Evenlode. A further cropmark [360] is an incomplete double-ditched square enclosure, or a rectilinear site of 'horse-shoe' shape, lying on slightly higher ground above the Evenlode. Excavations elsewhere in this region, at Blenheim Farm, have revealed evidence of Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age occupation (Annette Hancocks pers. comm. 2006).

Lying in the mid-region between the Evenlode and Windrush are two curvilinear enclosures. One, a sub-circular enclosure [17091] with associated trackways or antennae, is a possible banjo enclosure, with key markers obscured by the underlying geological features. The other, a circular enclosure [13755] with possible associated linear features, lies within the catchments of the Evenlode.

The single banjo enclosure [5720] in the area is sited on the edge of the dip-slope near Curbridge (fig. 4.17 no. 5720) noted during the initial expansion of the A40 in the 1970s (Chambers 1976b, 19). It has an annexed enclosure, similar to the example at Dustfield Farm, as well as associated linear features suggestive of a complex. Located further east along the dip-slope, close to Eynsham hillfort, is a large curvilinear cropmark [1262], described in the past as a possible banjo enclosure (Hingley and Miles 1984, 55, fig. 4.1). However, since there are no antennae ditches visible, it is best classified as a curvilinear enclosure. Aerial photographs also show a number of linear features across the interior, suggesting internal divisions of activity.

Other settlements

In this region, just above the dip-slope, single curvilinear and rectilinear enclosures are also recorded. The curvilinear site [17081] has associated linear features identified as either a trackway or antennae ditches and is another possible banjo enclosure. A small sub-rectangular double ditched enclosure [5721] with no visible associated or internal features is close to the dip-slope, and to a direct tributary of the Thames. Also relatively low-lying is a curvilinear enclosure [17089] close to the Evenlode, largely obscured by modern features.

Several cropmarks also appear to have associated linear features. A large rectangular cropmark [17077] sited close to the edge of the dip-slope has some external features obscured by the geological noise. Close to the Evenlode is a double ditched enclosure [13776] with possible associated features and, lying further east, a large rectangular enclosure [16183]. Another, with associated linear features, lies slightly higher above the course of the river [17093] while still others [1557] and [15691] lie above them on high ground, between the catchments of the two rivers. Two simple cropmark sites, comprising a large sub-rectangular enclosure with linear features [15014] and a rectangular enclosure [17061] with no visible associations, are located close to the catchments of the Windrush.

Two rectilinear sites lie close to the possible hillforts overlooking the Evenlode. At Icomb [SP 22 SW 22] a square enclosure was identified during the NMP though no internal features were recorded. At Stow-on-the-Wold, a complex of rectilinear enclosures is probably of Iron Age date [12 NE 82] and, although no internal features were observed, a number of linear cropmarks appear to connect them together.

There is also a double ditched enclosure [17079] above the Coombe brook, a tributary of the Evenlode. The full extent of this enclosure does not survive and there is no visible evidence of internal activity. Another possible settlement complex of rectilinear enclosures and associated cropmarks is sited on low-lying ground close to the Windrush [2625].

Distribution, location and topography

This south-western area, bounded by the river Leach to the west and the Evenlode to the east, incorporates sites that lie north of the Thames valley. Much of the region holds extensive views to the south and east, overlooking the dip-slope and the upper Thames valley. The Windrush and Evenlode rivers both have broad valleys cutting down through the soft limestone, draining the heart of the eastern Cotswolds region. The Evenlode valley, with a relatively shallow gradient, is the broadest of all those within the region. At its source at Moreton-in-Marsh, the Evenlode is 125m OD, falling to 59m OD at its confluence with the Thames at Cassington. The Windrush lies at 127m OD at Bourton-on-the-Water before meeting the Thames at 64m OD. A plateau of high ground lies between the two rivers with the highest point of 243m OD at Icomb Hill.

The confluence of the Windrush and Dikler at Bourton-on-the-Water and the headwaters of the Evenlode are both relatively low-lying. These 'bowls' of land, surrounded by the limestone hills, also have fertile gravels relating to the river systems, making them areas particularly conducive to prehistoric settlement. The concentration of settlement around Bourton-on-the-Water attests to this, and the very recent excavations in the Moreton-in-Marsh area are starting to show a similar pattern, although as the name suggests, the area

might not have been as extensively settled due to the potential flooding that might have occurred.

The geography of the region between the Windrush and Evenlode rivers changes dramatically as one journeys upstream into the heart of the Eastern Cotswolds. The settlement morphology also changes considerably, from large complexes and, sometimes, open settlements along the Thames gravels to smaller enclosed settlements on the lighter soils of the uplands. Many of these sites are low-lying and close to water sources, suggesting that defensible positions or wide-views of the landscape were not of prime importance. However, the development of enclosed settlements is quite different to the rest of the study area, perhaps confirming a close affinity with some enclosure sites within the western Cotswolds region.

Over much of this area external factors have restricted the identification of cropmark sites. For instance, the sharpness of slope along the Windrush limits aerial survey as the angles for capture are not suitable while many key sites are obscured by underlying geological noise or features. As an example, at least one enclosure has been highlighted as a possible banjo [17081] but cannot be definitely described as such until further work is carried out. Another reason is the location of R.A.F. Brize Norton in SP 20 SE and NE. As a major RAF logistics and transport base it has clearly had a lasting affect on aerial survey within this region with the result that it appears to be devoid of occupation (especially in the dip-slope area). The lack of excavation has also contributed to this state of affairs although some sites, such as those at Eynsham and Deer Park Road have proved that the area was settled. Recent fieldwalking and excavations associated with a pipe line have revealed evidence of Iron Age activity, largely through the recovery of pottery sherds and the

identification of some possible evidence of settlement with features such as ditches and pits (Coleman and Hancocks 2004). In addition, the major Roman settlement adjacent to the Windrush at Asthall may mark an earlier settlement guarding the fording point of the river.

5.3 The wider eastern Cotswolds: The north-east

The cropmarks in the region indicate 6 banjo enclosures, 13 curvilinear enclosures and 26 rectilinear enclosures (fig. 5.7), the majority of which are located between the Dorn and Cherwell Rivers. Although there are large areas where nothing at all has been observed there have been two important excavations at Madmarston hillfort and Steeple Aston.

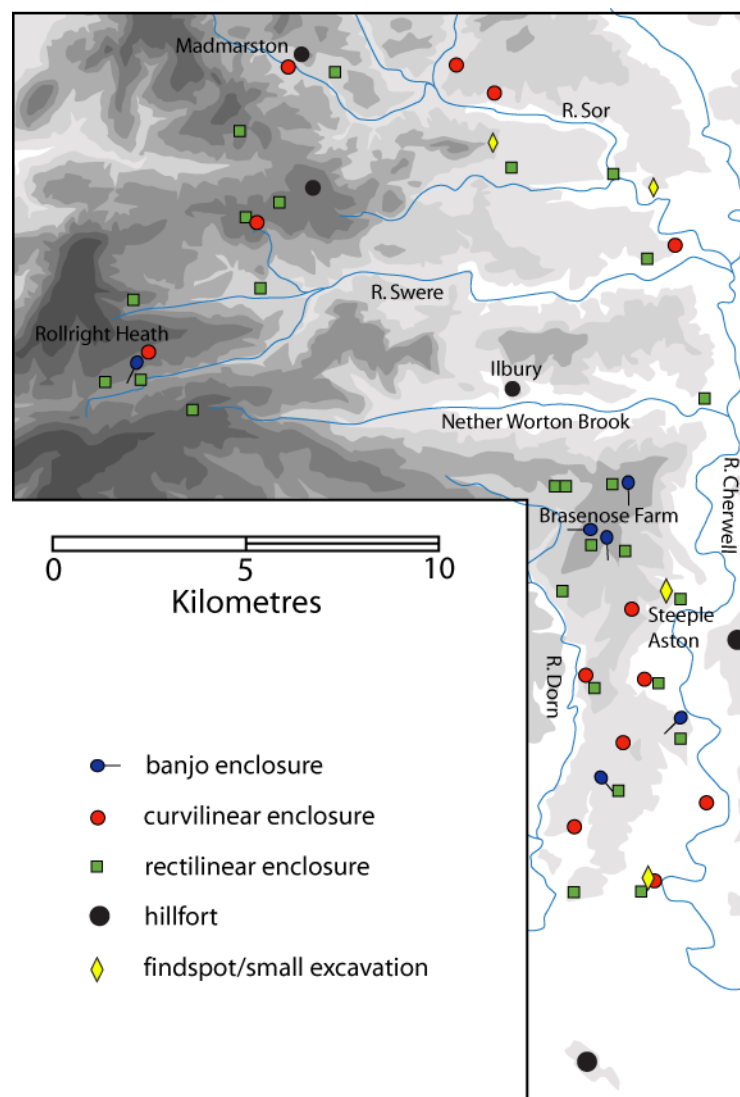


Fig. 5.7: The north-east area of the eastern Cotswolds. (A. Lang)

Hillfort sites

Four hillforts have been identified within the region. Of these, three are situated along the tributaries of the Cherwell and one lies on the dip-slope overlooking the Thames.

The site with the most extensive excavation is Madmarston hillfort [1592] lying above the Swalcliffe brook, a tributary of the Sor. It is one of the few protected sites that remains under plough to the present day, which means that much of the interior away from the bank ramparts has been levelled or ploughed-out, thus destroying the evidence of archaeological activity. Excavations took place at the end of the 1950s and while the majority of trenches focused on the ramparts a few small trenches, based largely on readings from the proton magnetometer, were placed across the interior (fig. 5.8) offering ‘targets’ for future excavations. This method, however, turned out to be far from ideal for identifying settlement evidence as only features with high readings, such as pits with burning activity or metalwork were excavated. Many of the postholes excavated were close to the bank of the rampart or entranceway where a possible gate structure was identified.

The recovered material suggests that Madmarston was occupied for a longer period than the previously excavated hillfort sites of Lyneham and Chastleton. An early palisade, uncovered beneath the ramparts (Fowler 1960, 26), suggests initial occupation of this site in the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age period c. 900-600 BC. However, much of the ceramic evidence is later, dating to phases of the Middle Iron Age and which suggested to the excavator a hiatus in settlement of at least 250 years (*ibid.*). Its earth-dump *glacis* multivallate rampart also shows a different construction technique to the stone ramparts of the univallate hillforts. In this region Madmarston is one of the few examples that did not

use locally resourced ironstone or limestone as construction material for the rampart core. The evidence also suggests that the ramparts at Madmarston were constructed at the same time, unlike many of the multivallate hillforts in the Wessex region.

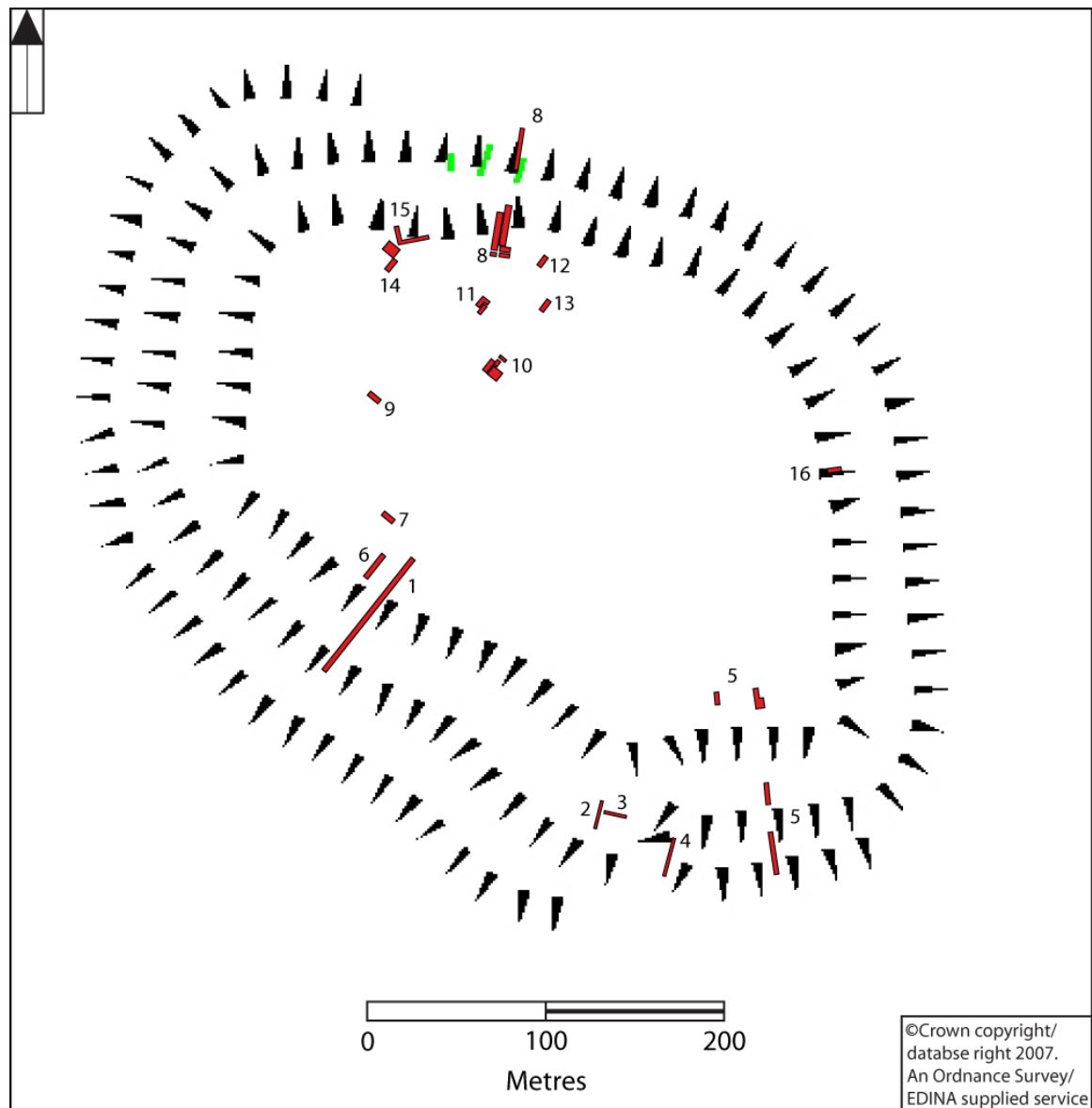


Figure 5.8: Excavation trenches (numbered) at Madmarston transcribed onto the OS map. (A. Lang)

In recent years the identification of a possible external settlement adjacent to the hillfort [15969] adds significantly to the possibility of settlement. Aerial photographs (see Allen 2000, 7 and Hey 2007, 169) show a number of penannular enclosures, interpreted as roundhouse structures, and other visible features which appear to be pits. The site remains

unexcavated, yet if it proves to be contemporary with Madmarston, a number of questions regarding settlement patterns in the region could be raised. A rectilinear cropmark [16169] is also adjacent to the hillfort site but the photographs do not provide any visible evidence of settlement.

Of the other three Tadmarton Heath [1621], a multivallate hillfort, is located approximately 3km south of Madmarston. The majority of the site, which has not been excavated, lies within a modern golf course and has already had considerable landscaping work. The remains of the ramparts exist as very low earthworks and no finds have ever been recorded. This has led English Heritage to classify the site on their AMIE database as a 19th Century construction however its proximity to Madmarston, its position in the landscape and its multivallate ditches suggest that it is of Iron Age date.

Further south is Ilbury [2320] which is an irregular univallate hillfort located above the course of the Nether Worton brook. Here there have been no excavations and there are no known cropmarks in the vicinity.

At the edge of the Cotswold dip-slope is the site of Bladon round castle [1376], which is a small univallate enclosure positioned between the Evenlode and Cherwell rivers. A small excavation was carried out to assess the effect of woodland growth and its impact on the earthwork ramparts (Ainslie 1988). A modest amount of ceramic material that was largely undiagnostic but certainly of Iron Age date was recovered. The ramparts had evidence of burning.

In addition to the four hillforts sites mentioned above that there are two others that are to be found adjacent to the north-east area of the eastern Cotswolds. Recent aerial photography has provided impressive views of the multivallate site immediately east of the Cherwell at Lower Heyford [5608] and, although it has been known of for a long time it is only recently that it has been interpreted as an Iron Age hillfort (Featherstone and Bewley 2000, plate 7). The banks are almost completely ploughed out, but the three ditches are still visible and are of impressive size. The photographs do not show any indications of internal activity or occupation, suggesting that much of that too has been ploughed out.

The more important example is the Rainsborough site located on high ground immediately east of the Cherwell. This is a site that has been extensively excavated and appears to be broadly contemporaneous with Madmarston. It is discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

Rectilinear, curvilinear and banjo enclosed settlements

The cropmark sites within the north-east area appear to cluster in two specific places, first, at the headwaters of the Swere and Sor and second, in the area of high ground between the Dorn and Cherwell.

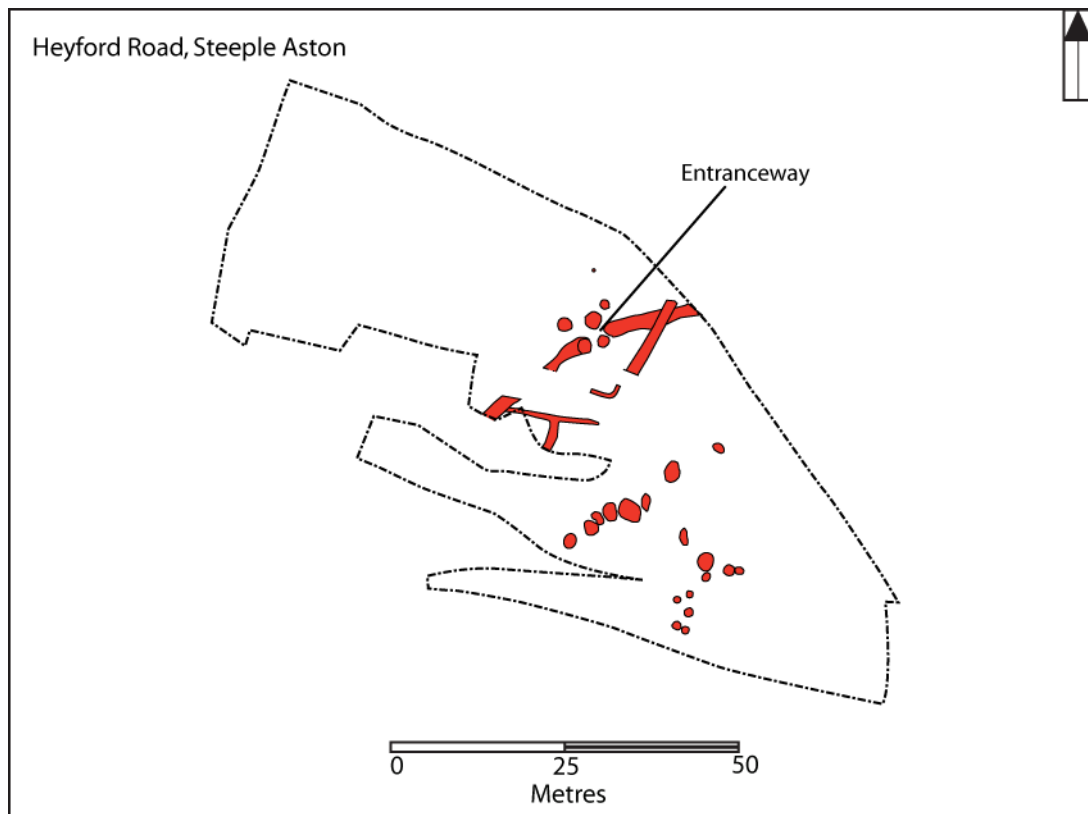
Settlement indicators: hut circles

The north-east area has only a few sites that have hut circles visible in the aerial photographs. Perhaps the best example is a rectangular enclosure lying close to the confluence of the Nether Worton Brook and Cherwell River [12165]. Two hut circles are

visible within the enclosure, as is a linear feature which appears to divide the enclosure in two. Another possible rectilinear enclosure has been identified less than 100m away, also with a possible hut circle visible.

Settlement indicators: pits

At Heyford Road, Steeple Aston, a possible settlement has been identified in recent excavations. A number of ditches, pits and postholes that are attributed to at least two phases of occupation were revealed. These are the Early to Middle Iron Age transition and Middle Iron Age period (fig. 5.9). Whilst there was no evidence of any roundhouses within the excavated area, the nature of the material culture strongly points to a settlement site that extended well beyond the limit of excavation. In the earlier phase of settlement the spatial patterning is clear, with at least two of the ditches apparently defining the site boundaries (Cook and Hayden 2000, 206). A gap between these ditches suggests an entrance to the earlier enclosure site and the authors also believe that these ditches delimited activity areas, including aspects of stock corralling (*ibid.*). There was a strong level of continuity into the later phase with many of the features respected but the form of the site did change with many of the features being allowed to silt-up completely and new pit groups being dug in separate areas. In this later phase there is no evidence of a boundary ditch within the limit of excavation, suggesting either that the site was considerably expanded, or that there was little need for one.



*Fig. 5.9: Iron Age features excavated at Heyford Road, Steeple Aston
(A. Lang, after: Cook and Hayden 2000, 164, fig. 2)*

A recent excavation in Bloxham [16997], with only ditches, pits and ceramics recorded, identified activity deemed to be at the edge of the settlement (Wallis 2005).

Another settlement site with pits is the one surveyed at Rollright Heath (fig. 4.25). As well as the banjo enclosure, which has good evidence of settlement, three further sites are identified in adjacent fields. The curvilinear enclosure [17058] directly north is another possible banjo enclosure and, although a detailed analysis of photography failed to prove enough classificatory markers, there is internal activity visible. Additionally, two rectilinear sites [16172], and [16174], lie immediately south of the banjo enclosure.

To the north, just above the northern tributary of the Swere is another recently identified cropmark complex of significant size. Visible in the aerial photographs across a wide area,

it consists of at least two rectilinear and two curvilinear enclosures and a number of linear features [17067]. Also visible within this field is a cluster of pits close to one of the curvilinear enclosures. Although not absolutely clear in the aerial photography, it is possible that some internal features are visible.

At Brasenose Farm another cropmark complex with two banjo enclosures (fig. 4.26) [15966] has a number of characteristics of settlement and the banjo enclosure at Blue Barn Farm [17135] (fig. 4.24) has also revealed a number of pits in the interior. They are part of a significant complex that has a rectilinear double-ditched enclosure in the adjacent field [5430]

Settlement indicators: internal features

There are a small number of curvilinear and rectilinear enclosures that have internal features visible. They include a large sub-circular enclosure [5694], with associated possible curvilinear cropmarks and linear features that is located between the Dorn and Cherwell Rivers. To the east, a complex of rectangular and oval enclosures [13259] is sited on low-lying gravels close to the Cherwell. Another complex, comprising rectangular, curvilinear and penannular enclosures [16166] with associated linear features and a possible trackway that suggests an extensive possible settlement, lies above the floodplain at Rousham. To the south a further rectangular enclosure, with possible internal features or divisions [46/2], is situated at the head of a possible spring line of the Cherwell River which it overlooks.

Other settlements

The significant majority of sites in the north-east area do not have any visible internal features however there are several that have external features or possible linear features suggesting track- or drove-ways. A large square enclosure, with associated linear features [1302], is visible close to the Dorn. A rectilinear enclosure [16170] with 2 possible linear features lies on high ground between the Dorn and Cherwell. More recent excavations at Manor Farm, close to Steeple Aston, revealed a number of ditch features thought to be associated with a settlement [15815]. Another isolated site is the small square enclosure [17211] with possible linear features or an antennae ditch and west facing entrance.

In this same region two more banjo enclosures are recognised. One is in close proximity to a large double-ditched trackway feature [both 13500] and the other [15965], with a large rectangular enclosure in an adjacent field [12709], is sited on low-lying gravels close to the Cherwell River. Neither of these have any visible internal or associated features.

A rectilinear cropmark [43] of significant size lies close to Tadmarton hillfort. This survived until the 19th Century as a low earthwork but it has since been ploughed out. No internal features have ever been noted.

A number of other enclosures within the catchment area of the Swere and Sor have also been identified from aerial photographs, although no associated features have been recorded with them. They include three curvilinear enclosures [13627] [5799] and four rectilinear enclosures [16184] [13810] [12223]. Ceramic evidence [5619] has also been noted close to a curvilinear [13470] and a rectilinear enclosure [17213].

On high ground between the Cherwell and the Dorn are a number of further potential settlement sites, which includes two curvilinear [17212] [17210] and six rectilinear enclosures [5697] [12709] [13501] [45/5] [42 NW 41] [16164]. A possible settlement is also located at a bend in the Cherwell [4211] and within the floodplain of the river.

Further south, the edge of the dip-slope also has a number of sites recorded, again with no features, including one curvilinear [1658] and two rectilinear enclosures [1658] and [8352] in close proximity.

Distribution, location and topography

The region can be broadly split into two; first, the drainage systems of the Swere and Sor and, second, the area of land between the Dorn and Cherwell Rivers. In the northern part, the land is reasonably steep with some areas of broad flat land lying above the rivers. The steep gradients of some river valleys are not conducive to aerial survey. At its highest points, the landscape reaches nearly 200m above sea-level, with sites such as Tadmarton hillfort at 195m OD. At source the Swere is 182m OD, and the Sor 191m OD and both rivers drain into the Cherwell at Adderbury at approximately 90m OD. The most significant aspect of this area is the slope of the land from west to east. The contour map (fig. 5.7) shows this clearly and there are relatively flat low-lying areas above and west of the Cherwell River. However, it is interesting to note that the large majority of this more low-lying area is not settled and few cropmarks have been noted. This is perhaps surprising as the area, which is close to numerous water courses and possibly even areas of terrace gravel within the Cherwell valley, would not necessarily have been prone to flooding So

far only six sites have been recorded here, which suggests further survey might reveal more potential settlements.

To the south is an area of land that lies between two of the main water courses of the region, the Dorn/Glyme and Cherwell Rivers. The high ground between these two valleys is quite narrow, in some places only 5km wide. At source, the Cockley brook (a northern tributary of the Dorn) lies at 150m OD and the land between the two rivers is relatively high, with areas, close to Duns Tew, at 155m OD. At the confluence of the Cherwell and Thames, south of the study area, the land is at 57m OD. The region is relatively intensely settled taking advantage of land close to the river and the shallower soils on the upland plateau.

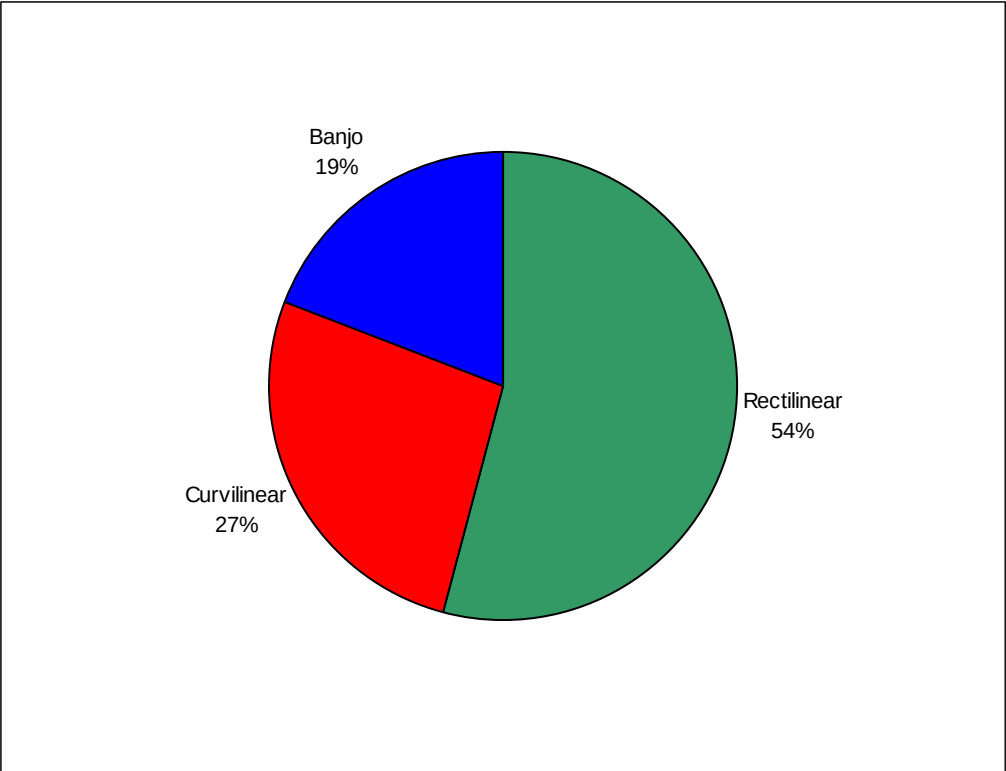
5.4 General themes: the distribution and form of curvilinear and rectilinear cropmarks

The identification and distribution of cropmarks produces some interesting points in the overall discussion of the eastern Cotswolds region. In total, 157 sites, excluding the probable or possible sites in the appendix, have been classified as definite rectilinear, curvilinear and banjo enclosures. As has already been shown, the heartland area dominates site numbers with more than 50% of the total recorded. This is followed by the north-east with the south-west currently having the smallest number. The region is also dominated by a significant number of rectilinear enclosures, a point that will be further addressed below. The distribution of the sites is outlined in table 5.1 and graphs 5.1 and 5.2.

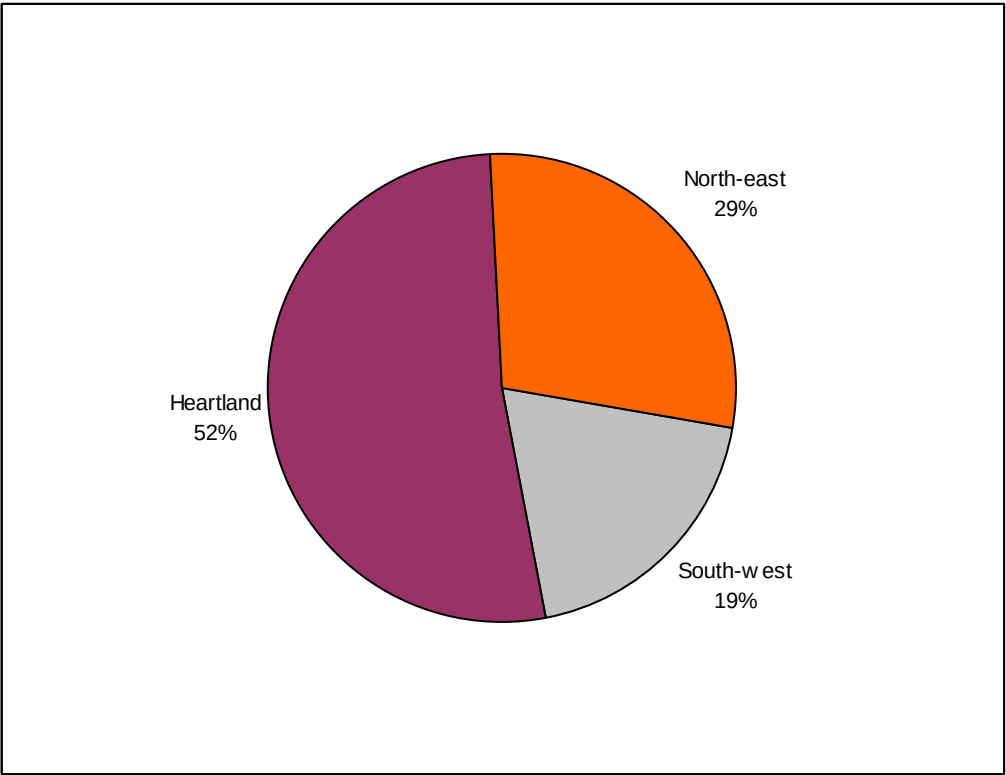
	Rectilinear	Curvilinear	Banjo	Total
South-west	23	6	1	30
Heartland	36	23	23	82
North-east	26	13	6	45
Total	85	42	30	157

Table 5.1: Cropmark enclosures from the eastern Cotswolds region

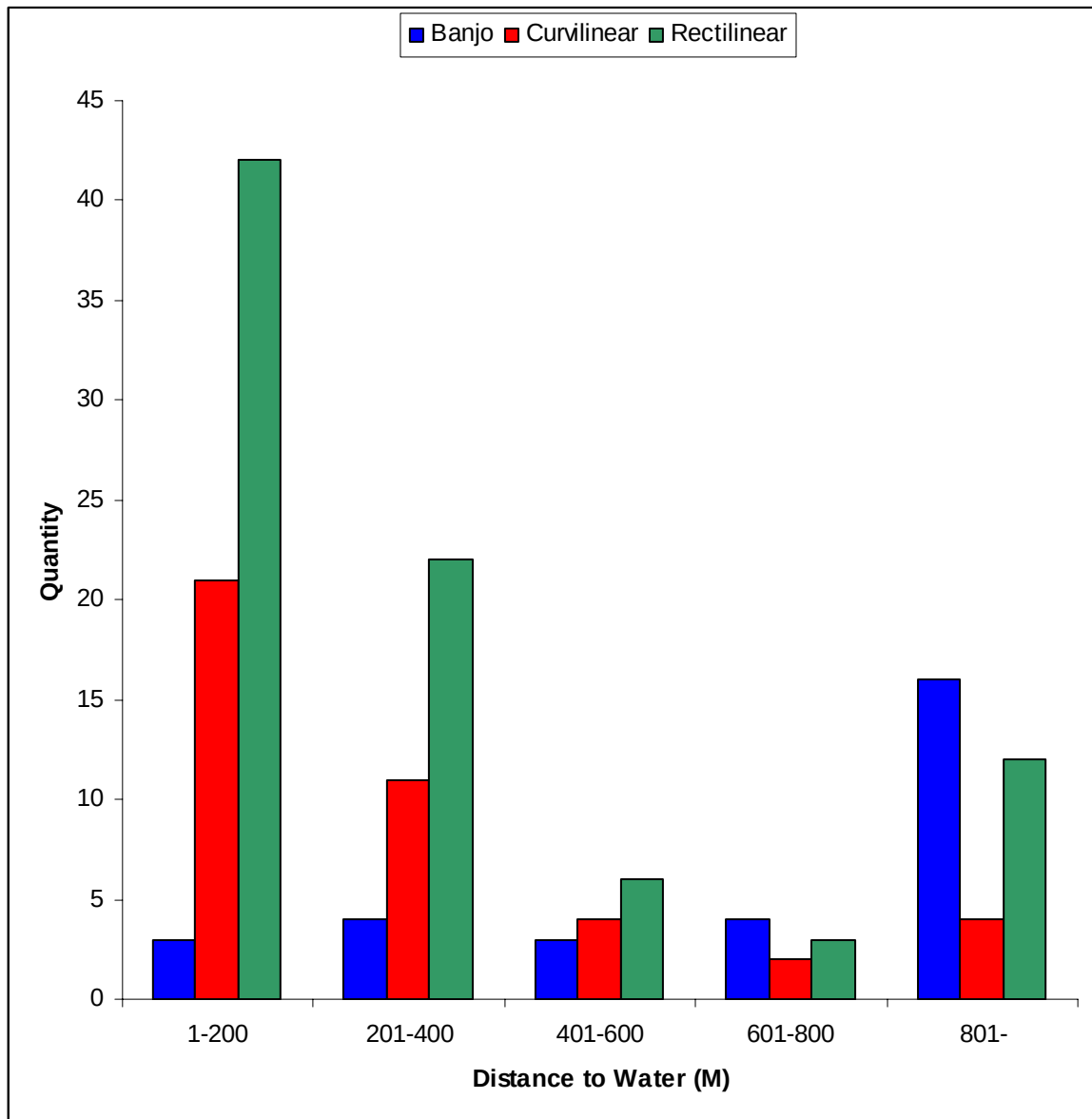
The enclosures were also assessed by taking into account their positions in the landscape, particularly in relation to height above sea level and distance to water. Significantly, the banjo enclosures (graphs 5.3 and 5.4) are distributed differently in comparison to the curvilinear and rectilinear enclosures (graphs 5.5-5.8). Measurements to water were taken from the centre of a cropmark site, which may lead to a certain level of inaccuracy, while the contour height measurements were chosen purely as a means for displaying the data.



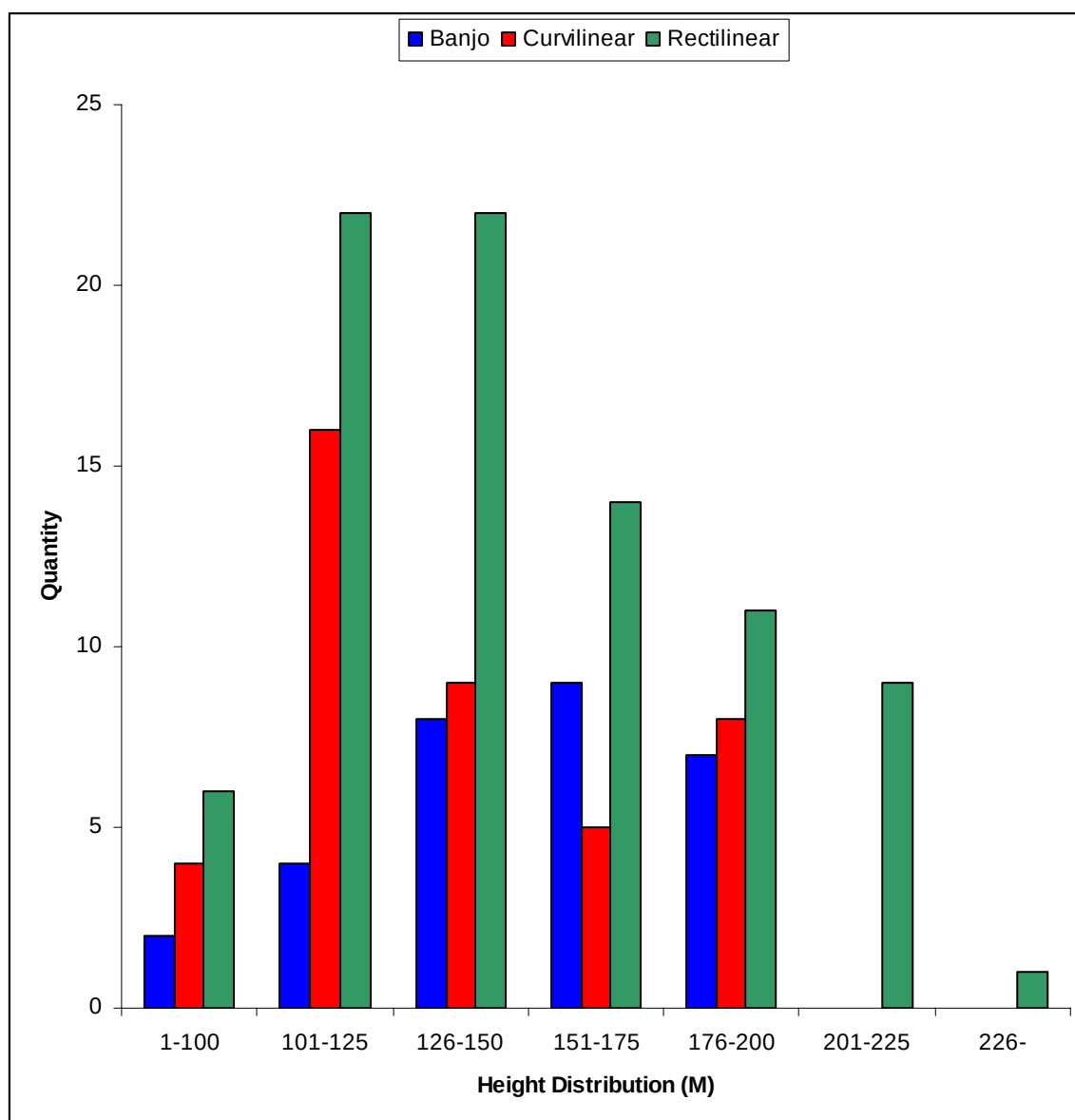
Graph 5.1: The breakdown of differing enclosure types from the Eastern Cotswolds region



Graph 5.2: The breakdown of enclosures within the eastern Cotswolds region from the different areas



Graph 5.3: Distribution of cropmark enclosures in relation to modern water courses



Graph 5.4: Distribution of cropmark enclosures with regards to height above sea-level

Curvilinear Enclosures

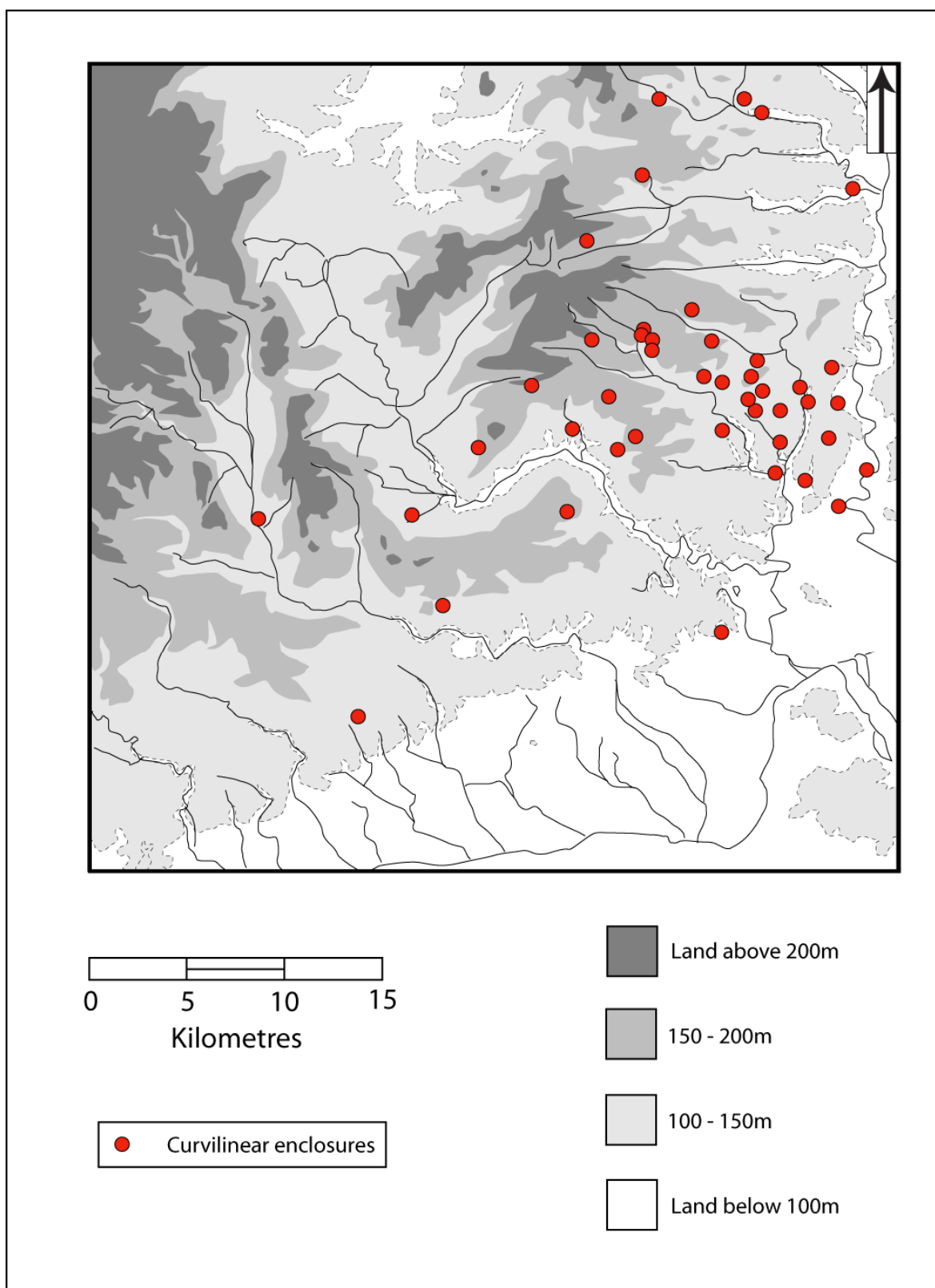
During the course of this study twelve new curvilinear enclosures have been recorded in aerial photographs, three from the south-west, five from the heartland and four from the north-east. Curvilinear enclosures are, perhaps, the most difficult type of cropmark to define. The categories outlined in chapter 3 present a few of the most obvious forms but there are other cropmark types, which, due to the lack of visible characteristics, are identified here only as possible or probable sites. The category includes many of the cropmarks that are probable or possible banjo enclosures. For whatever reason, some of the defining characteristics of these sites, as outlined in the previous chapter, are not wholly visible and thus they cannot be included in that group but they are still cropmarks in their own right. The preponderance of rectilinear enclosures also suggests that curvilinear forms were not necessarily a favoured enclosure form in this region, unlike areas of Wessex where curvilinear enclosures are prolific (Palmer 1984).

Furthermore, largely due to the exclusion of certain types of cropmark that are similar in form or size to Bronze Age round barrows, the assessment of the curvilinear cropmark sites here should be regarded as incomplete.

This category also excludes the smaller hillforts of the region. Further west the recent survey by Moore interpreted smaller hillforts, such as Windrush Camp, as large enclosures (2006, 58) rather than distinctive sites. Here, for reasons outlined in the introduction and hillforts sections, these sites have been considered in their own right and not within the curvilinear enclosure category.

In terms of distribution, there is a distinct concentration of these sites within the heartland area (fig. 5.10), an aspect that is also visible for the banjo enclosures. There is a particular concentration of enclosures between the Glyme and Dorn Rivers and another between the Dorn and Cherwell Rivers. Across the rest of the heartland area, there is still a reasonable number although no concentration is visible. A small number are located between the Windrush and the Evenlode and also in the headwaters of the Swere and Sor rivers. The most significant site within this latter area is part of the cropmark complex close to Hook Norton, the complexity and full extent of which has not been established and requires further work.

A high percentage of curvilinear enclosures are within 400 metres of flowing water, whether from spring lines, brooks, streams or rivers. These are quite evenly distributed in height, suggesting that proximity to water was more important than position in the landscape. This is particularly emphasised with the majority between 101 – 125m above sea-level, just above the level of the dip-slope. It is clear from the distribution map that the curvilinear sites seem to favour land sited at the edge of breaks-in-slope.



*Figure 5.10: Distribution map of curvilinear enclosures in the eastern Cotswolds region
(A. Lang)*

Rectilinear Enclosures

Over the course of this study eighteen new rectilinear enclosures have been identified within the eastern Cotswolds, five from the south-west, eight from the heartland and five from the north-east area. This type of enclosure makes up more than 50% of the all definite cropmark sites in the eastern Cotswolds region. The large majority are square and rectangular enclosures that are also common across the wider Cotswolds. However, unlike many that have recently been described in the survey of Moore, these sites do not necessarily represent a single enclosure type or form as the size and shapes vary widely. Two of the enclosures also survive as remnant earthworks within the heartland area, at Knollbury and Hill wood.

The rectilinear sites are also the most evenly distributed across the study region (fig. 5.11). There are a greater number along ridges of land overlooking the major river valleys with 11 sited on land above the 200m contour and 25 above the 150m contour. However the distribution histogram also shows that they remain in close proximity to running water. They are spread along the full extent of rivers and into the headwaters, particularly in the case of the Evenlode valley.

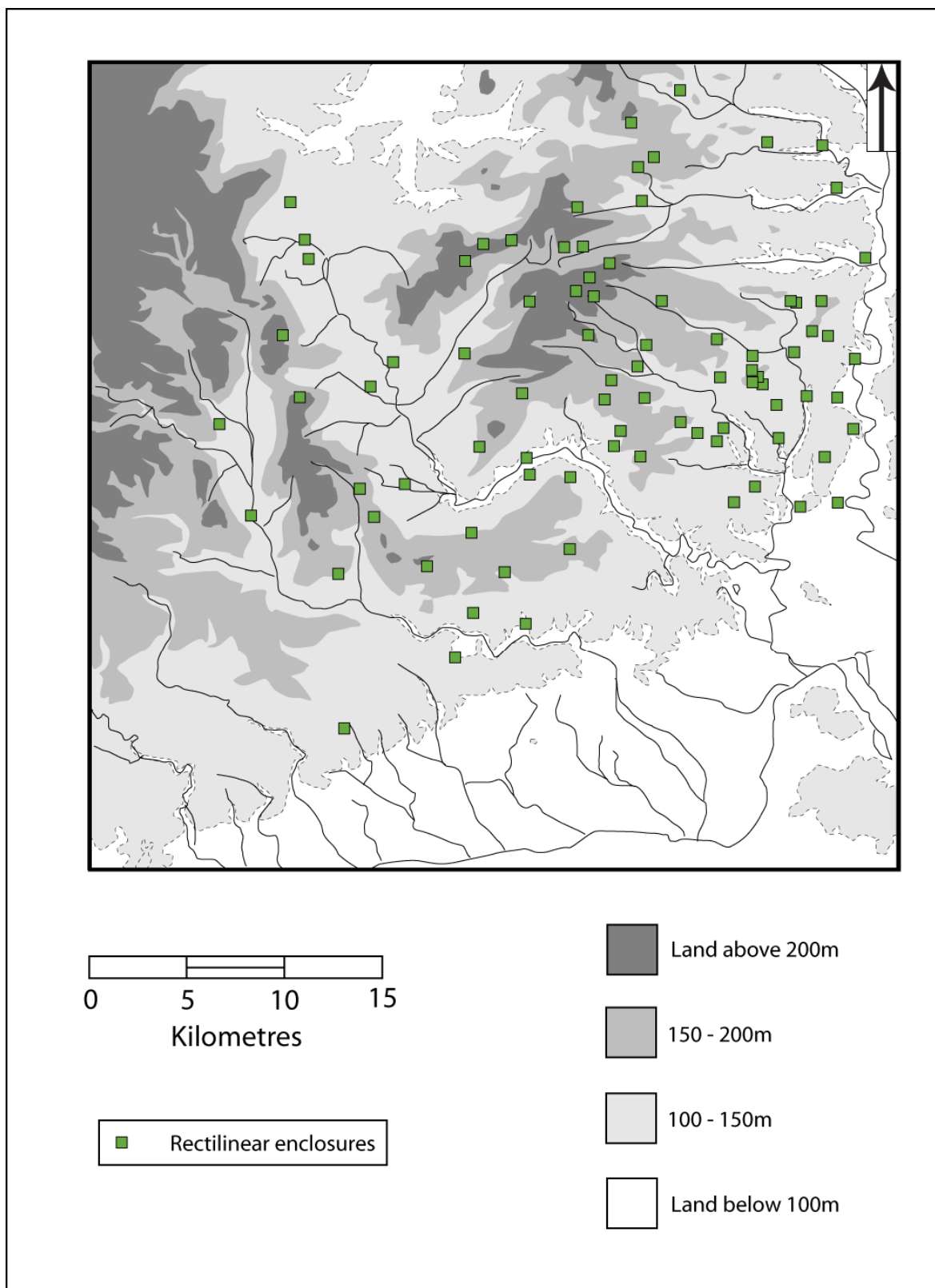
On a more local scale, there are also a number of interesting clusters of linear groups of enclosures. One example occurs along the northern-western ridge above the 200m contour, where the enclosures are located in close proximity. This includes the Rollright enclosure and the views from this ridge to the north-west – across the Stour valley – are extensive and also this lies along the suggested course of the Jurassic Way (Lambrick 1988). Another cluster lies along the course of what is now a dry river valley, identified as the Kiddington

brook (see also fig. 4.1). The number of rectilinear sites, together with the location of the Tomlin's gate and Middle Brooklan banjo enclosures, suggests that the brook flowed during the Iron Age period. There is one final concentration of cropmarks of note. In the eastern part of the heartland area, on high ground just above the Dorn river, is a concentration of cropmarks forming the Glympton Heath complex (also see fig. 4.1). Along with a number of curvilinear examples, at least five rectilinear examples are visible in close proximity. This concentration on the high ground suggests that a high level of significance was attached to its location.

There are two particularly noteworthy examples of rectilinear enclosures. The first lies in the heartland area, just above the Glyme River. It is a square enclosure visible as a cropmark with a surrounding intermittent curvilinear ditch and an extended antenna entrance. Unfortunately the join of the entrance to the enclosure is masked by the hedge line of a field boundary. A hut circle is also visible which suggests potential settlement activity. Whilst this site has only been interpreted as a probable banjo enclosure for the sake of this study, the extent of the associated antenna certainly marks it out from other rectilinear examples.

Perhaps the most interesting form of these enclosures occurs only within the south-west area. The identification of a number of large double-ditched and horse-shoe shaped enclosures pose a number of questions regarding their appearance here and not elsewhere in the eastern Cotswolds. In the best documented example, Bruern, aerial photographs of the site clearly show the considerable complexity of its interior with a number of features indicative of roundhouses and pits. This implies that they were settlement sites rather than anything else but their large ditches suggest they also served a defensive purpose. There

are not many defended settlements within the region (even taking into account the hillforts), which makes them exceptional. One possible explanation is that the region between the Windrush and Evenlode was some form of territorial boundary disputed throughout the Iron Age. The lack of banjo enclosures within this region may also confirm changes in cultural or settlement forms within this area.



*Figure 5.11: The distribution of rectilinear enclosures in the eastern Cotswolds region
(A. Lang)*

Pit alignments and Pit clusters

Aerial photographs and the geophysical surveys have also helped to identify a considerable number of pit clusters within the region. Two examples were known before this study was undertaken, the clusters at Rollright (Lambrick 1988) and Middle Brooklan (this appears in Massey 1999 but the work remains unpublished). All the other examples have been identified for the first time here.

The background geological noise of the region makes it particularly difficult to identify these clusters so it is only through additional surveys, such as geophysics, that these can be confirmed as archaeological features. It is likely that more await discovery in the eastern Cotswolds region.

All of the pit clusters are associated with some form of enclosed site. Particularly good examples are from the Rollrights, Middle Brooklan and the settlement near Hook Norton [17067]. The evidence suggests that, as with many examples from Iron Age southern Britain, these pits served purely functional purposes during their life-span, either as rubbish pits or as receptacles for storing grain (Reynolds 1974). At Chalford Oaks and Litchfield Farm, the pits are not immediately adjacent to the banjo enclosures; instead they are several hundred metres away suggesting that these settlement sites extended over larger areas than the cropmark evidence might suggest.

A field has also been photographed with three possible pit alignments, all heading in different directions; north-west, north and north-east, visible [17209]. This field is located on high ground north of the Glyme and with at least one alignment heading in the direction

of the rectilinear and curvilinear complex at Glympton Heath. Due to the changing crop regimes these are not visible in adjacent fields and there is therefore no way of knowing how far they extend across the countryside. However, the significance of alignments as boundary markers further suggests the area around this cropmark complex is an important location.

A small number of pits, including single examples from Chadlington and Chipping Norton, have been excavated. In addition significant numbers, including many examples of what might be termed 'typical' Iron Age pits in circular, bell or beehive forms that have been excavated at Bourton-on-the-Water, Steeple Aston, Chadlington, Madmarston and Glympton. Also at Madmarston a single silo pit has been excavated while a possible example has been identified at Knollbury (see chapter 6 for a full description of these). Many of these have 'structured' deposits at the base, ranging from human remains and currency bars through to querns, pottery and some environmental remains. Their significance will be discussed in more detail in chapter 7.

5.5 Hillfort narratives

The ‘hillfort’ is, perhaps, the most recognisable form of Iron Age site within southern Britain. Numerous examples have been extensively excavated and studied since the existence of the prehistoric and Iron Age periods were first contemplated. The underlying assumption that these sites are settlements has been accepted within both the previous and current chapter to help place them within a wider settlement framework. However, it is fully acknowledged that hillfort studies are appreciably more complicated than may so far have been suggested in this study, especially since there is very little evidence of permanent settlement. Therefore, in order to fully understand their significance within the eastern Cotswolds landscape and Iron Age studies as a whole, a detailed discussion is required in order to fully understand their position within the wider prehistoric landscape.

As we have already seen, there has been a long history of hillfort excavation, especially within Wessex (summarised in: Hawkes 1931; Harding 1976; Guilbert 1981; Cunliffe 1984; 1995; 2000; 2005; Avery 1993; Payne *et al* 2006). Hawkes’ original review recognised tighter chronologies while, subsequently, the greater focus on hillfort interiors, through large-scale excavations (such as Danebury (Cunliffe 1984; 1995) and Maiden Castle (Wheeler 1943; Sharples 1991) and numerous geophysical surveys (Payne *et al* 2006) have significantly added to our knowledge. This evidence shows that hillfort development and function are complicated themes that should not necessarily be addressed through generalised interpretations. The evidence from the interiors (ranging from the intensively settled to the empty) is also diverse and recent geophysical surveys of many Wessex sites have shown that, where activity appears, it is sometimes limited to confined areas within the site (Cunliffe 2006, 161). The surveys have also shown that many more

‘empty’ hillforts exist than had been previously realised and that these are completely devoid of activity, suggesting sporadic or seasonal usage or early abandonment soon after completion (Payne *et al* 2006, 143). Basically, the greater complexity revealed by these recent surveys raise a number of questions regarding regional and national assumptions.

This history of research in the Cotswolds region has been just as long, but there have been fewer and less extensive excavations. Moreover, these often took place when Hawkes’ ABC chronology was in widespread use and have not been revisited or updated since. Crickley Hill (Gloucs.) is one of the few examples that has been excavated after the collapse of the ABC framework but, with the exception of interim reports and a monograph on the defences (Dixon 1976; 1994), the greater part of the site remains unpublished. Ultimately, the majority of Cotswold hillforts remain unexcavated and have only been briefly recorded as remnant earthworks sites attributed to this date (Sutton 1966; RCHME 1976; Yeates 2006). They have often been placed in overly simplistic frameworks (Marshall 1978) that do not do justice to the diversity that exists within the region.

Therefore, the aim of this section is to summarise the definitions of the eastern Cotswolds hillforts and place them within the wider framework of southern Britain. Based on current evidence, a set of narratives suggesting a number of functions that these sites may have served are also outlined. Initially, this must be seen from the wider perspective of the upland regions surrounding the eastern Cotswolds.

The wider perspective

A considerable number of hillfort sites in the upland region of the Cotswolds and east Midlands Jurassic Ridge have several characteristics that set them apart from other areas of Britain. Obviously, geographical location has influenced site development and many are much smaller than hillforts found elsewhere. Moreover, Cunliffe has defined two distinct groups in this region, known as ‘escarpment’ forts and ‘Cotswold’ hillforts (2005, 376).

Escarpment hillforts are described as those that are located on the edge of the Cotswold scarp overlooking the Severn and Avon valleys. A number of these, including Crickley Hill, Shenberrow, Leckhampton, Meon Hill and Nadbury have been excavated. Bredon hillfort and Conderton camp, both on Bredon Hill and also overlooking the Avon and Severn valleys, are also within this category. These have revealed varying dates of occupation, ranging from the Late Bronze through to the Middle Iron Age. Some of them are small and, thus, can be categorised as ‘Cotswold’ hillforts (table 5.2). In fact, since the advent of radiocarbon dating, Crickley Hill is the only site in the region to have had a large-scale excavation although no radiocarbon dates for this site have been published.

Cotswold hillforts are generally small circular sites of only one or two hectares. Univallate defences are frequently constructed of stone, either for the ramparts or in the rampart core, and two entrances are often visible. In contrast a number have multivallate rather than univallate defences and are therefore perhaps best defined as a sub-category of *developed Cotswold hillforts*.

Further south on the opposite side of the Thames valley there have been a number of excavations on the Ridgeway (Miles *et al* 2003; Lock *et al* 2005; Lock and Gosden *forthcoming*). Three very different sites have been investigated as part of an ongoing research programme that has offered insights into hillfort development on the Berkshire Downs. The interpretations of the functions of these sites have also helped develop our understanding of the Cotswold examples.

Site	Size (ha.)	Ramparts	Type
<i>The Cotswolds</i>			
Shenberrow	1	Univallate	<i>Escarpment</i>
Hunsbury		Multivallate	<i>Developed Cotswold</i>
Rainsborough	2.5	Multivallate	<i>Developed Cotswold</i>
Leckhampton	3.2	Univallate	<i>Escarpment</i>
Ablington Camp	3.6	Univallate	<i>Dip-slope</i>
Crickley Hill	3.6	Univallate	<i>Escarpment</i>
Nadbury Camp	7	Univallate	<i>Escarpment</i>
Meon Hill	10.4	Multivallate	<i>Escarpment</i>
Norbury	32	Univallate	<i>Hilltop enclosure</i>
<i>The Ridgeway</i>			
Alfred's Castle	1.2	Univallate	
Uffington	3.2	Multivallate	<i>Developed</i>
Segsbury	11	Univallate	

Table 5.2: Significant hillfort sites from the wider Cotswold (and Jurassic ridge) region and the Oxfordshire Ridgeway

The eastern Cotswolds perspective

Within the eastern Cotswolds region only a small number of hillforts have been excavated. The majority (Idbury; Ilbury; Tadmarton; Dean's Camp and Ablington Camp) have not been excavated or surveyed in any way at all. Sites such as Idbury, Madmarston and Lower Heyford all have interiors that have largely been destroyed or ploughed out. This is also the

case at Tadmarton, where most of the site is a modern golf course, and at Little Tew, which lies under farmyard buildings. Excavations that have taken place have tended to focus on the entrances or ramparts with the result that information on possible settlement within the interiors is minimal. Assemblages from the two largest excavations (Chastleton and Madmarston) have not yielded enough material to be used in datasets comparable to the material from adjacent regions.

However, a number of characteristics, including attributes such as size, entrances, location and chronology, can help us to further define the eastern Cotswolds examples. These are discussed below. A very brief review of settlement evidence will follow before some narratives on function are presented.

Name	Size (ha.)	Ramparts	Type
Chastleton	1.4	Univallate	<i>Cotswold</i>
Lyneham	1.8	Univallate	<i>Cotswold</i>
Windrush	1.2	Multivallate?	<i>Developed Cotswold?</i>
Idbury	3.7	Multivallate?	<i>Developed Cotswold</i>
Ilbury	2.4	Univallate	<i>Cotswold</i>
Dean Camp	4.9	Univallate	<i>Dip-slope</i>
Eynsham	1.4	Univallate	<i>Dip-slope</i>
Bladon	1	Univallate	<i>Dip-slope</i>
Tadmarton	2 (est.)	Multivallate	<i>Developed Cotswold</i>
Madmarston	2.2	Multivallate	<i>Developed Cotswold</i>

Table 5.3: Hillfort sites from the eastern Cotswolds region

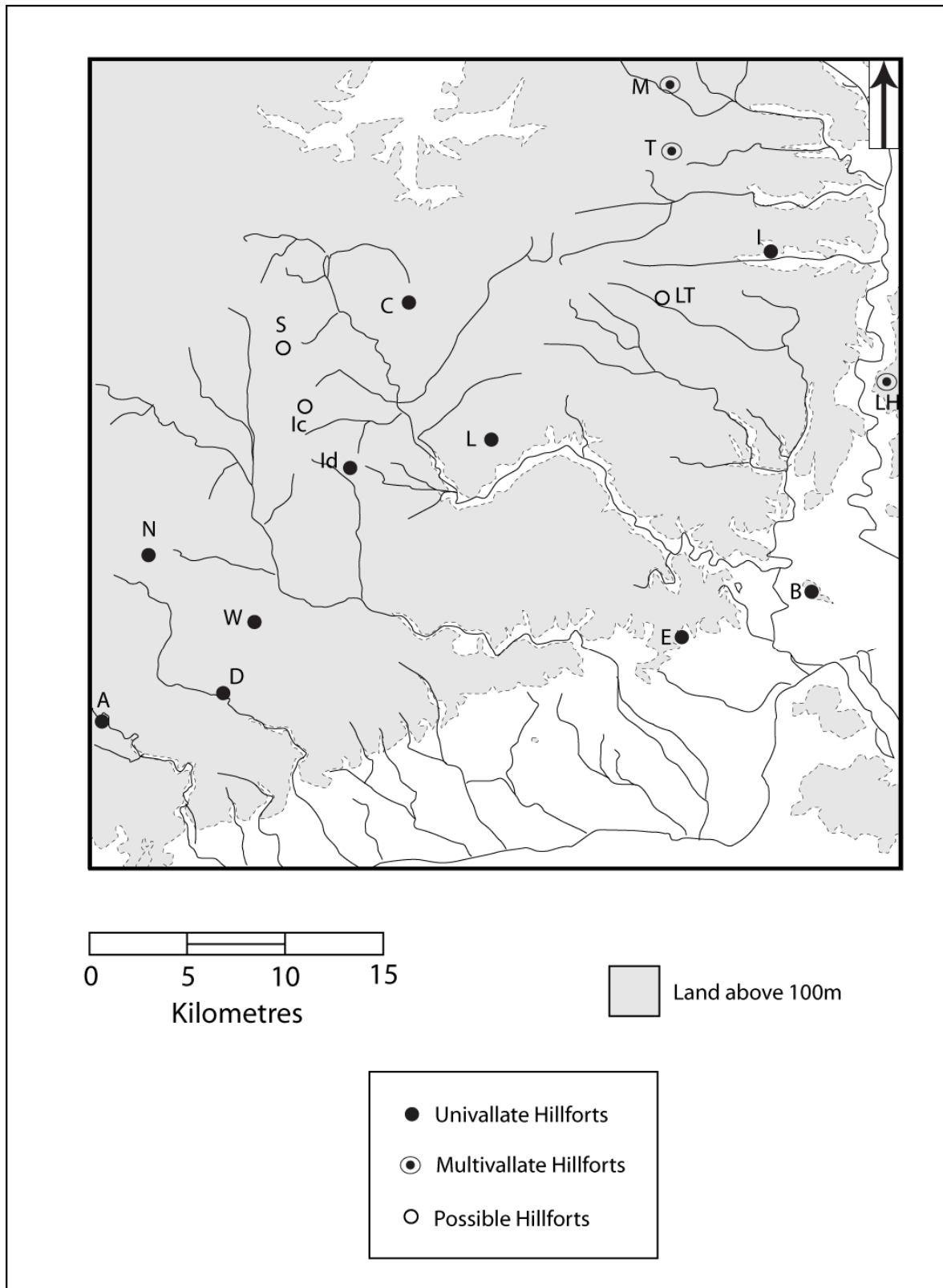


Figure 5.12: Hillforts of the eastern Cotswolds region as discussed in this chapter. Letters refer to the following hillfort sites:
A – Ablington Camp; B – Bladon; C – Chastleton; D – Dean Camp; E – Eynsham; I – Ilbury; Ic – Icomb; Id – Idbury; L – Lyneham; LH – Lower Heyford; LT – Little Tew; M – Madmarston; N – Norbury; S – Stow-on-the-Wold; T – Tadmarton; W – Windrush.
(A. Lang)

Hillfort characteristics: size

Table 5.3 provides the comparative sizes for many of the examples discussed in this chapter. Only two, Idbury and Dean Camp (at over 3ha) conform to Cunliffe's definition of the minimum standard size for a hillfort in Wessex (2006, 153) and, thus, the classification of hillforts within the Cotswold region must be reviewed within a different research framework. 'Cotswold' hillforts is a general term that includes small escarpment forts ranging from 1-5 ha in size. This would also suit similar hillforts with multivallate defences, which, it is here suggested, should be categorised as '*Developed Cotswold hillforts*'. These sites are too small to be able to sustain large-scale or intensive settlement beyond a family group or small kinship network and therefore it is probable that they served a different function to many of the larger hillfort settlements further south.

Hillfort characteristics: entrances

The variable form and position of entranceways present a typical problem when trying to group or define many of the hillforts in the Cotswolds. There are two sites, Chastleton and Lyneham that have two original entrances. At Chastleton Leeds' excavations at the eastern entrance uncovered large stones either side of the gate while at the western entrance one stone still survives close to the ramparts. These suggest some monumental or gate structure at both entrances. At Lyneham survey and excavation did not reveal any such evidence. Idbury has only one entrance visible, again possibly original, with the area directly opposite under tree-cover or truncated by a modern road. Ilbury does not appear to have any remnant entranceways that are original and not enough of Little Tew and Tadmarton survive to have remnant entrances visible. Eynsham has only one visible entrance and the

Bladon site is too overgrown and destroyed by trees to be sure. At Madmarston there is a single entrance with a gate structure identified during excavations. It is possible that only one entrance was originally constructed or that the second, on the opposite side of the site, was subsumed into the earthwork defences during multivallation. This is a common occurrence further south in Wessex (Cunliffe 2005, 365). At Windrush camp two possible original entrances survive, though there has been some modification to the ramparts.

Hillfort characteristics: defences

Excavations have shown that considerable effort was put into constructing the ramparts and ditches of the eastern Cotswolds hillforts. At Lyneham limestone was quarried from the ditch during the initial excavations, but not used to construct the rampart – as was the case at Chastleton. Instead, packed rubble, with a small number of rough courses of limestone at the base, was used to build the rampart (Bayne 1957, 8). At Chastleton, limestone blocks were used to enclose an earth and rubble core however Leeds found no evidence of a ditch surrounding the hillfort, thus making it unique among eastern Cotswolds sites. There was no evidence of a timber structure associated with either site. It can therefore be assumed that many other sites within the region had similar defences, as Bladon demonstrated with small-scale excavations that revealed a core made mainly of clay faced with a thin limestone wall (Ainslie 1988, 94).

There are three possible examples of multivallate defences within the region. At Madmarston, a *glacis*-style dump, rather than a local limestone, system was used for the defensive rampart. Again, there was no evidence of a stone or timber rampart. At Windrush Camp the identification of a second ditch in the geophysical survey points to

multivallation, suggesting its developed status. At Idbury Sutton (1966, 33) identified the possible remnants of a counter-scarp bank in aerial photographs of the site however it has been ploughed-out so badly there is no evidence left to support this. The size of Idbury, compared to many other Cotswold hillforts, does imply that it might be different age or serve a different function to hillforts such as Chastleton. It is also worth noting that both Idbury and Windrush are located on land between the Windrush and Evenlode, which suggests that it may have been either a boundary or disputed territory. A few sling-stones identified near the gate structure at Madmarston hint at the site being used for defensive purposes.

Hillfort characteristics: location

All the Cotswold hillforts lie on high ground with extensive views in different directions. Those lying above the Cotswold dip-slope, Eynsham and Bladon, have wide views across the Thames valley. Within the Cotswold region some hillforts were sited on – or close to – the top of a hill or ridge of high ground. However, the majority, including Idbury, Chastleton, Madmarston, Tadmarton and Little Tew, lie on plateaux between two water courses. Chastleton, particularly, has extensive views across the vale of Moreton and the Evenlode. To the west, the developed hillforts have good views overlooking the Cherwell River. Lyneham is slightly different in that it overlooks only the Evenlode River, although its position means that the panorama extends a considerable distance north-west and south-east along the river valley.

Inter-visibility of sites is somewhat more difficult to assess, particularly when the extent of the Iron Age Wychwood forest remains unknown. However, the wide river valleys of the

Evenlode and Cherwell would certainly have allowed many hillfort sites to be visible or at least their location identifiable from a reasonable distance. This is particularly applicable to those surrounding the Evenlode. Lyneham, Chastleton, Idbury (and also Icomb and Stow Camp) are also very close to each other and the ridges upon which they lie all clearly visible.

The location of these sites might also raise the prospect of whether there were extensive clearances of land around any one hillfort site. A good example of this is Chastleton. Whilst the site ramparts survive in modern times to 2m (in some places), the site is located on a ridge of land rather than a hill and is 'hidden' from other sites by modern woodland. The question therefore arises whether the prehistoric population would have cleared the surrounding woodland, whether the area was naturally clear, or whether the site remained in woodland, hidden to all but those who knew of its location. Chastleton is not the only site, others that might also be included in this category include: Windrush Camp, Little Tew, Tadmarton, Idbury, Norbury and Shenberrow. Even for sites such as Lyneham, Stow and Icomb which sit on the edge of ridges overlooking lower areas, a large area may have been cleared around the site. Only with Madmarston and Ilbury are these sites located on 'separate' hills of land.

Hillfort characteristics: chronology

The little excavation that has taken place has at least given us a few chronological insights into the construction of hillfort sites within the eastern Cotswolds. The earliest verified date (c. 1000 BC) are from secure contexts at the base of the ditches at the Stow-on-the-Wold site. It is possible that the hilltop site at Icomb is of a similar age and there is a

suggestion that the interrupted ditch enclosure has placed it firmly in the Bronze Age (Darvill 2006). Equally, the Hilltop enclosure at Norbury could be of this date (fig. 5.13), although the sole excavation recorded only Early Iron Age material (Saville 1983) perhaps suggesting that the earliest construction only occurred after c. 800 BC.

The evidence from Chastleton and Lyneham suggests that both are of Early Iron Age date. However, as a result of the relatively poor quality of the ceramic evidence, some interpretations have dated their origins to the Late Bronze Age (Hingley and Miles 1984; Lambrick 1988). The recent work at Crickley Hill and the similarity of many pottery types points, however, to an Early Iron Age date c. 800-400 BC. The period and level of occupation is almost impossible to decipher but the similarity in construction and size means that we can attribute a number of other sites within this region to an Early Iron Age phase of hillfort construction. These include Little Tew, Bladon, Eynsham and Ilbury. Also the evidence of an earlier palisade phase at Madmarston points to activity or occupation during this period.

Nevertheless the main phase of occupation at Madmarston commenced with the construction of the multivallate ramparts in the Middle Iron Age (c. 400 BC onwards). Again, pottery provides the best available evidence with similar types being recorded further north at Rainsborough and Hunsbury. The construction of the ramparts and ditches at Idbury and Windrush may also have occurred at this time.

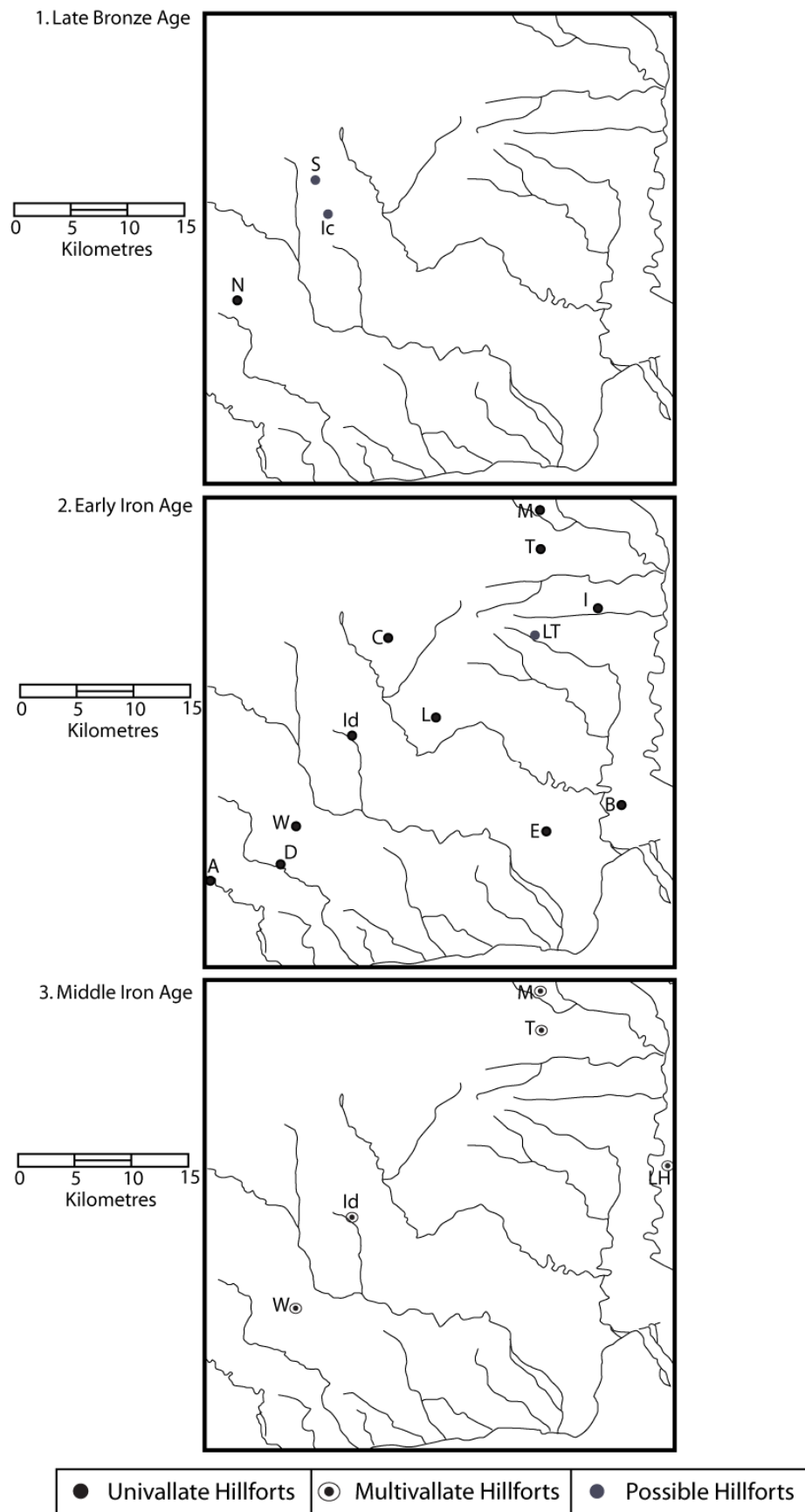


Fig. 5.13: The possible chronological development of hillforts in the eastern Cotswolds. These distribution maps make the assumption that developed hillforts were originally constructed in the Early Iron Age. Letters for sites are the same as those used in fig. 5.12. North is at the top of the page. (A. Lang)

Narratives of hillfort form and function

Broad evidence from the eastern Cotswolds hillforts leaves open the possibility that they may have served any one of a number of functions but the lack of detailed evidence does not allow us to determine whether these sites were re-used or re-occupied over different generations. This might also mean that their functions could change over subsequent generations. Their survival within the modern landscape over the past 2,500 years attests to the high level of preservation by different generations.

Homes and refuges: settlement narratives

Across the wider Cotswold region hillfort settlement evidence is commonplace. In the Early Iron Age, Crickley Hill had a wealth of material that demonstrates long-term settlement and occupation. This will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter but the significance here is that this, together with other early hillforts, appears to have served as a settlement during the Early Iron Age. The evidence from the eastern Cotswolds region proper is, unfortunately, not so clear-cut. Nonetheless, as has already been outlined, Madmarston provides the best evidence through the identification of pits and the wealth of material culture while Chastleton also suggests, through a small number of identified features and recovered material, at least some level of settlement. The geophysics from Windrush Camp also hints at some level of settlement.

A number of further considerations should be taken into account at Chastleton and Lyneham as the noise of later features, such as trackways and trees (and a cow shed), as well as ploughing across one interior, has probably smothered underlying archaeological

features. It is important to emphasise here that the surveys of these two hillforts were conducted with magnetometers at 1m intervals. Thus, whilst a survey can be undertaken relatively quickly, it is also likely to miss finer details such as post-holes or stake-holes. These features can only be picked up if readings are taken at very small intervals, which was not the case in these two instances

It is therefore possible that many of the eastern Cotswold sites were settled. Geophysical survey evidence does not confirm high levels of activity so any settlement was probably on a temporary basis, either as refuge or as a meeting place at certain times of the year.

Settlement activity does appear to have intensified in the Middle Iron Age, mirroring evidence from sites east of the eastern Cotswolds. Evidence of settlement is recorded at Rainsborough and Hunsbury as well as Madmarston during this period. However, the lack of large-scale excavation across the interior of Madmarston limits the level of certainty with which we can classify this site as a permanent settlement. The size of hillfort suggests that it was not an intensive, large-scale settlement in the same way as many of the Wessex *developed hillforts* were. A change in hillfort style in the eastern Cotswolds might also be representative of wider social changes, similar to those occurring in Wessex at this time (Cunliffe 2005, 388-396). For the Wessex region, hillforts changed considerably during the Middle Iron Age. Here, either the enclosed area was expanded or the entrances and defences were developed. Some appear to have taken on a 'central place function' (Cunliffe 2004, 47) with the immediate environs around a hillfort seemingly devoid of settlement. The evidence at Madmarston does not replicate this model as there is not the intensity of settlement in the interior and it is also possible (though without dating this must remain unproven) that there was external settlement – suggesting as much settlement

outside as inside the hillfort. The identification of sling stones might suggest the place acted as a defensive refuge rather than a defensive settlement.

Communities and traders: some other possible functions

The evidence therefore suggests that the hillforts were constructed to serve some other function than settlement. There is a strong possibility that they were of particular significance, only visited or used at certain times of the year and that the construction of the ramparts, to enclose or define a particular space that was closed off from the outside world, may have been symbolic rather than defensive. Furthermore, they may have been communal projects constructed at the edge of boundaries or territories to represent assembly of a wide kinship group.

The enclosed space could have served several functions among the most obvious of which would be an agricultural market place area set aside for trade, exchange and the accompanying displays of wealth or importance. With the intensification of agricultural practices during this period, the cycle of crop production and the expansion of stock resources may have held central importance in Iron Age culture and society.

The existing evidence suggests that the region would have had an economy dominated by sheep. This is discussed in the site report for Segsbury Camp (Lock *et al* 2005, 145 ff.) in which the analogy of a present-day sheep market in Scotland (Gray 1992) is used to compare the relationships that are associated with the exchange of sheep – particularly rams. To quote: “Rams have economic and exchange value, because the best ones will be in demand for the improvement of flocks” (Lock *et al* 2005, 148). Thus the annual ram

auction is an important time of year, not just economically but also for the farmers whose social standing is displayed through the animals they auction.

The location of markets and their times in the annual cycle are fixed. In the same way that animals were brought to particular market towns in the Middle Ages, why could not hillforts have marked positions in the landscape where these formalities took place? If these facilities were positioned on the borders between different communities they would be accepted by those communities to conduct markets and trade items or stock throughout the annual cycle. Despite meagre evidence it is an intriguing prospect, although there is the problem of imposing certain social concepts directly onto prehistoric societies.

There is also the possibility that particular sites acted as market places where long distance traders met and traded with the local populace. This is an aspect that will be explored further in the next chapter since the recovery from excavated sites of material culture such as briquetage, currency bars and other goods that are not local to the eastern Cotswolds and upper Thames regions is a common occurrence.

To explain this theory it is perhaps best to take the example of Chastleton, which has a number of pertinent characteristics that fit. This site holds a prominent position within the landscape with good all-round views of the Evenlode valley and its headwaters in the Vale of Moreton. The Evenlode flows directly from the Lower Warwickshire Avon (and the West Midlands beyond) into the Thames valley and, along its route local wares, such as organic materials and possibly even livestock, were traded for non-local wares such as salt. This may have taken place at the end of the agricultural year when the crops had been harvested and the surplus being stored for trade with the visitors. In turn, the locals would,

with the acquisition of salt, be able to slaughter and preserve their meat to last the families through the winter months. These meetings may have taken place over several days, and could have been concluded with the symbolic breaking of vessels and/or feasting on animals brought there specifically for that purpose. This would explain the domestic material found at the sites.

Within the eastern Cotswold region evidence for the hillforts remains relatively sparse. However, it is hoped that the narratives here presented explain their potential function. While there is good evidence that at least some of them were at one stage or another settlement sites, there is every possibility that they were also constructed for very different purposes. Some of the themes raised here will be addressed in greater detail in the next chapter. Finally, though, there is one earthwork system, lying at the heart of the eastern Cotswolds that has presented the most difficulties in terms of understanding its function and significance.

5.6 The North Oxfordshire Grim's Ditch

The North Oxfordshire Grim's Ditch is an enigmatic system of ditches surviving as earthworks and cropmarks enclosing an area approximately 8800ha. The 'site' has been a focus for intermittent research since it was first identified by Crawford at the end of the 1920s (1930). Crawford initially dated the circuit to the Roman period. He associated it with Akeman Street, the Roman Road that runs west-east above the dip-slope, and the large number of Villas that had already been noted in the area. Since that time excavations have been intermittent, with Late Iron Age 'Belgic' wares that were recovered from the base contexts proving its Iron Age origins. Copeland (1988) completed the last full

fieldwork survey that, as well as completing a small amount of additional work, consolidated all the previous excavations.

The sheer size of the area enclosed by the NOGD makes it a unique earthwork monument in southern Britain. The ditch itself is recorded as having a reasonably standard width of 5m and depth of approximately 1.2m (Wessex Archaeology 2004; Copeland 2002). In places a bank, though often ploughed low, does still survive as an earthwork. Excavations suggest that limestone blocks were used for the lower courses but the majority was constructed of earth dump.

Previous interpretations

The large size and unique nature of the NOGD has caused a number of problems both with its description and associated interpretations of its potential function. Because of this, many have tended to ignore its significance as a Late Iron Age monument (e.g. Haselgrove 2001; Hill 1995a; Spratt 1991). Cunliffe (2005, 406) identified it as a *territorial oppidum* similar to intermittent ditch sites such as those at *Camuldonum* (Colchester), Bagendon and other similar sites. Copeland (1988; 2002) proposed that there are actually two circuits representing two phases of construction. The first (and smaller) circuit was constructed in the Late Iron Age and deliberately back-filled; the second was only constructed after the Roman conquest and left to silt naturally. Figure 5.14 shows the full extent of the ditch, with the two circuits differentiated. The Late Iron Age phase, Copeland argues, was constructed as an *enclosed oppidum* of an eastern Dobunnian tribe and deliberately backfilled at the time of the Roman invasion. Then, very soon after the invasion of AD 43,

a second (larger) circuit was constructed. This, including sections south of the Evenlode, which he classed as a *territorial oppidum*, was possibly never completed.

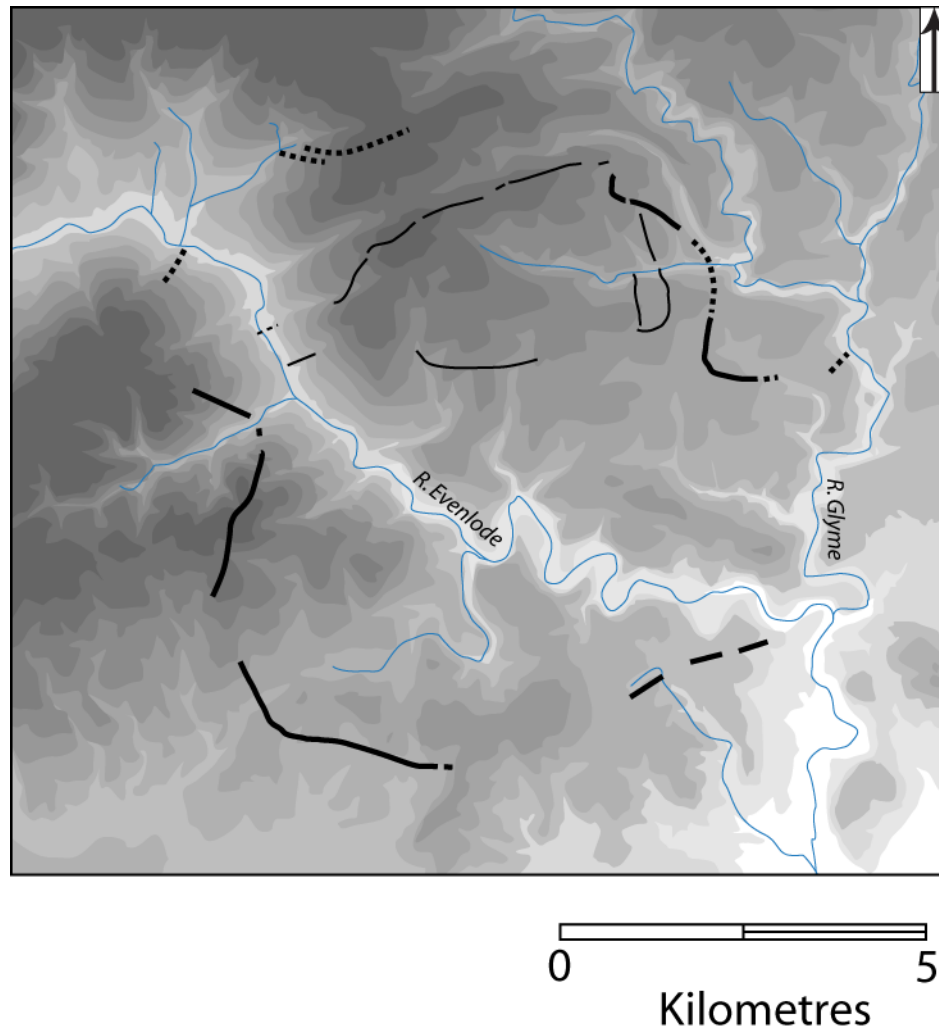


Figure 5.14: The two circuits of the North Oxfordshire Grim's Ditch. The inner circuit (thin line) is Copeland's Late Iron Age enclosed oppidum and the outer circuit (thick line) is Copeland's Roman territorial oppidum. The dotted line marks the areas of the circuit that have only been provisionally recognised. Contours are marked from 70m-150m OD.
(A. Lang)

Other authors have suggested alternative functions. Recently, Eberhard Sauer conducted excavations east of the Cherwell on a Late Iron Age linear ditch known as Aves Ditch (Sauer 1998; Sauer 2005). He took into account the large-scale expansion of the Catuvellauni/Trinovantes at the end of the Iron Age and argued that the NOGD was a territorial area marking tribal expansion into Dobunnic land (Sauer 2005, 32-6). This tribal

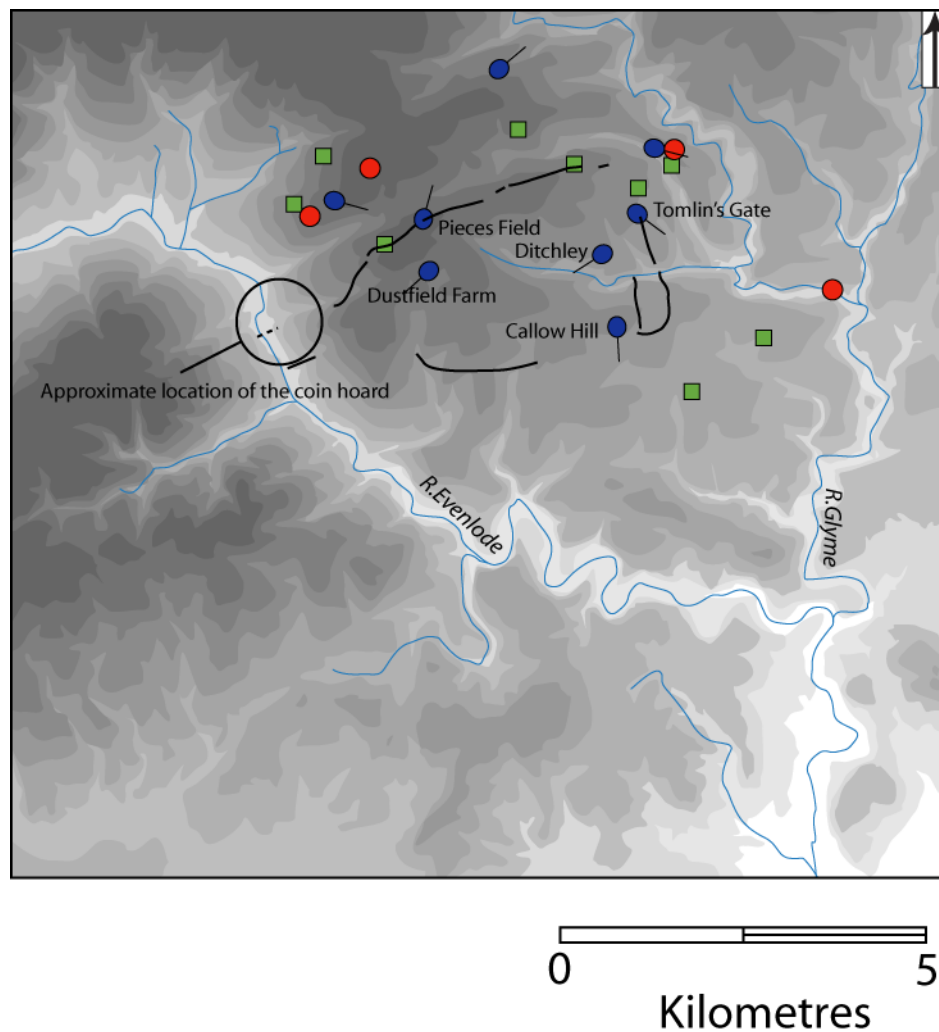
area is continued on the eastern side of the Cherwell with Aves Ditch extending the limit of Catuvellaunian territory to the northeast. This has been dismissed by Copeland on the basis that the size and construction methods of the two ditch systems being completely different (2002, 65).

In his Master's thesis Richard Massey (1999) suggested that the NOGD was a tribal *oppidum* set within a Late Iron Age religious landscape. He proposed that the religious sites of the region were the banjo enclosures which were often in close association with or near to the square enclosures which he defined as being equivalent to continental *Viereckschanzen*. The lack of dating evidence for his interpretations means that many of Massey's ideas remain untested.

The NOGD and possible settlement activity

One of the central problems in the interpretation of the NOGD circuit has been the absence of any evidence of intense settlement either in or around the course of the ditches. This is not the case at many of the *enclosed oppida* sites of the upper Thames and eastern Cotswolds, which see intense nucleated settlement activity during the Late Iron Age (see Salmonsbury above and next chapter). One possible reason is that the ditch circuits are not easily accessible in the present day, being located within at least two private estates with restricted access. Little excavation has been completed and only a few finds have been recovered. Furthermore, the survival of large remnants of the Wychwood Forest in the area hinders an intense aerial survey project of the region. A woodland survey is yet to take place.

The only evidence of settlement within this circuit comes from the identification of a number of banjo enclosures in close proximity to its course. There is no evidence as yet to assume that the enclosures and the ditch are inter-related, yet the appearance of at least five (and possibly 6) enclosures either within or adjacent to the circuit ditches suggests that there is at least some association. Figure 5.15 plots the cropmark sites that are located in close proximity to the NOGD.



*Figure 5.15: the Late Iron Age circuit of the NOGD in relation to cropmark sites of the eastern Cotswolds. The approximate location of the coin hoard is also noted, although the actual location is not recorded in the CCI. Contours are marked from 70m-150m OD.
(A. Lang)*

Perhaps the most closely associated enclosure is Pieces Field less than a hundred metres north of the NOGD circuit. The relationship is not known, but one can suggest that the enclosure respects the course of the ditch, or an earlier equivalent boundary because the ditch is atop the ridge and the banjo enclosure below it. At Tomlin's Gate the relationship is the opposite, with the banjo enclosure at the top of the hill and the ditch immediately east and skirting the contours below the enclosure. At Callow Hill the banjo enclosure lies in close proximity to a U-shaped area of the NOGD in the south-east corner of the circuit. Two more enclosures lie within the circuit of ditches, the Ditchley villa site and the Dustfield Farm enclosure.

The recent discovery of a hoard of 29 coins discovered near Charlbury in 1999 has slightly changed our perspective of this area and possibly the function of the ditch (Fig. 5.15). 28 of the coins were Dobunnic with one identified as Corieltavian. This suggests that perhaps the importance of the NOGD in the Late Iron Age has been underestimated in the past, as coin hoards of this number within the study region (and County as a whole) are rare.

Significant characteristics of the NOGD

A review of the evidence above has highlighted a number of potential interpretations and explanations for the NOGD though none seem to fit very well with the evidence. If we take into account Copeland's suggestion that only the inner monument was constructed in the Late Iron Age, then we are dealing with a very different circuit within the landscape. However, Copeland's interpretation of this as a Late Iron Age *enclosed oppidum* does not correlate with examples from elsewhere in the region. Salmonsbury, for example, is

approximately 23 ha in size, enclosing an intense settlement. The Late Iron Age course of the NOGD is over 1,300 ha in size and therefore more akin to the *Camuldonum* ditch circuits, although this is much larger still, enclosing approximately 3,100 ha (Cunliffe 2005, 163).

The suggestion by Eberhard Sauer that the enclosure is a Catuvellaunian construction can also be dismissed on account of the fact that 95% of the coin hoard being Dobunnian. Any association with tribes further east might be indicated by stronger material culture ties, of which there is hardly any.

The relationship between the banjo enclosures and the ditch circuit is not conclusive, but, nonetheless, provides the best evidence of settlement within or next to the NOGD. This appears to be similar to the site at Bagendon, where a banjo enclosure has also been recorded inside the circuit of the ditches (Moore 2007b). The Bagendon circuit encloses, at a very rough estimate, approximately 80 ha with brief excavations recording a possible coin-mint site within an industrial area (Clifford 1961, 23). It is possible that these similarities might show at least some level of comparison or interaction between western and eastern regions of the northern Dobunnian tribal area. The recording of the coin hoard also suggests that a mint may also have been located within the circuit of the NOGD.

Nevertheless, the difference in size between Bagendon and the NOGD suggests that the sites are not completely alike. The interpretation of the NOGD as a *territorial oppidum* does not seem to fit either. Many examples of this type of site suggest large-scale intermittent ditch systems that may or may not enclose a particular area. Instead, dyke systems such as *Verulamium* (St Albans) and *Camuldonum* appear to connect different

areas of the landscape that suggest different activities, such as cemeteries, shrines and settlements (Creighton 2006). Furthermore, the absence of a large-scale Roman town or nucleated settlement within the confines of the ditches means it does not mirror other *territorial oppida* sites elsewhere. Instead, the proliferation of ‘early’ Roman villas in the region suggests a different pattern of settlement to the other examples.

The NOGD also differs from many other *territorial oppida* in southern England because it has a single circuit that encloses just one (very large) area. It encloses an area of high ground above the Evenlode River, often following or matching the direction of contours right around the circuit. An apparent large ‘entranceway’ leads from the heart of the enclosed area to the Evenlode River, taking the form of what might be a very large ‘banjo’-type enclosure of rectilinear form. The northern course of the ditch also suggests that it was continuous on at least one side and possibly all the way round.

The south-east corner also appears to be of significance within the NOGD, with a large U-shaped area enclosed by the course of the ditch. The location of three banjo enclosure west, north-west and north of this area might also suggest it as a significant ritual or focal point within the circuit.

The evidence from the North Oxfordshire Grim’s Ditch suggests that it is just one example of wider changes that occur within the region of the Dobunnii tribe at the cusp of the Middle to Late Iron Age transition c. AD 1. The desire to bound or enclose a relatively large landscape area, close to many potential settlement sites and with evidence of hoarding or deliberate deposition within its confines points towards a site or an activity of communal significance. That so little evidence has been found of ritual foci within the

confines of the ditch may suggest that the focal point of activity was on the construction of the ditch itself, not what lay inside.

5.7 Summary

The aim of this chapter has been to outline the evidence of settlement in the wider eastern Cotswolds region and place it in a similar framework to material discussed in chapter 4. This chapter began by looking at the settlement patterns of the south-west and north-east areas, focusing especially on the important excavations at Bourton-on-the-Water, Salmonsbury, Madmarston and Steeple Aston. There followed brief reviews of the various types of cropmark enclosures, excluding the banjo enclosures already discussed, and of Iron Age pits recorded in the region. The focus then moved onto the earthwork sites of the eastern Cotswolds. Hillforts are an important part of the prehistoric landscape of this region and have therefore been described in as much detail as possible, though this has, perforce, been restricted by the fact that there has been minimal excavation. Finally, this chapter looked at the unique circuit of the North Oxfordshire Grim's Ditch, assessing all the evidence that have been provided for the site and suggesting some alternative interpretations.

However, what has remained clear through the course of the last two chapters is that there is not a significant level of excavated material from the eastern Cotswolds. It is therefore crucial that we now look at the wider region, particularly the upper Thames and Cotswolds, which can provide a wealth of excavation material with which to compare and contrast the evidence from the eastern Cotswolds. These regions also provide some potential Iron Age

social and cultural models that can be applied to the eastern Cotswolds in the final part of this study.

6. Settlement, society and economy beyond the eastern Cotswolds

6.1 Introduction

The following chapter provides an opportunity to place the eastern Cotswolds material within the context of its immediate environs and the wealth of archaeological evidence therein. This ensures a better understanding of chronological frameworks and social systems can begin to take place and with integration we can also begin to question some of the current interpretive constructs. The first aim of this chapter is to review the settlement and economic evidence from the surrounding regions; there is particular focus on the upper Thames but discussions are also provided for evidence from the wider Cotswolds and the region to the north and east of the eastern Cotswolds, the Jurassic ridge and Avon valley. This final region also includes evidence from areas of north Oxfordshire east of the study area, particularly the area around the River Ray. The intention here is not to discuss every single excavation there has been but to focus on key sites that tell us the most about the wider patterns of settlement. The interpretative frameworks that have been used will also be reviewed, particularly as the work of Hingley and Oxford Archaeology have been so dominant within the Thames valley region.

The evidence taken from material culture assemblages of excavated sites can also offer very different interpretations or new perspectives on the archaeological record. Here, a number of examples that best show the regional exchange networks extant in the Iron Age have been chosen. Some scholars have interpreted these exchange networks as evidence of

developing community identity (see Moore 2007c) but it is suggested here that recorded material points to spheres of interaction with different populations throughout southern and midland Britain. The best evidence of exchange comes from north of the study region with briquetage, querns and currency bars all indicative of this. There are further examples from more recent excavations that have also shown this area to be the northern limit of south coast exchange networks.

6.2 Early Iron Age settlement patterns

The identification and excavation of Early Iron Age (c. 800 – 400/300 BC) settlements (fig. 6.1) has proved more difficult than it has for later periods, something that can be attributed to a number of interconnecting reasons. First, many of the settlements are relatively small-scale often comprising just a single roundhouse and a few pits. This is added to by the lack of any identifiable settlement boundary or enclosure and it is only with large-scale soil-stripping that the few known have been identified. Second, there is a tendency within commercial archaeological frameworks to focus on excavating or dating features identified at earlier assessment stages (e.g. cropmarks of linear and enclosure features). This means that individual roundhouse sites or pit clusters may remain unexcavated and thus they are automatically incorporated into a later settlement landscape. Third, the permanence of some settlements, e.g. Gravelly Guy and Ashville in the Thames valley, makes it difficult to identify earlier features. With no settlement shift, earlier features are incorporated, re-used or altered by later activities.

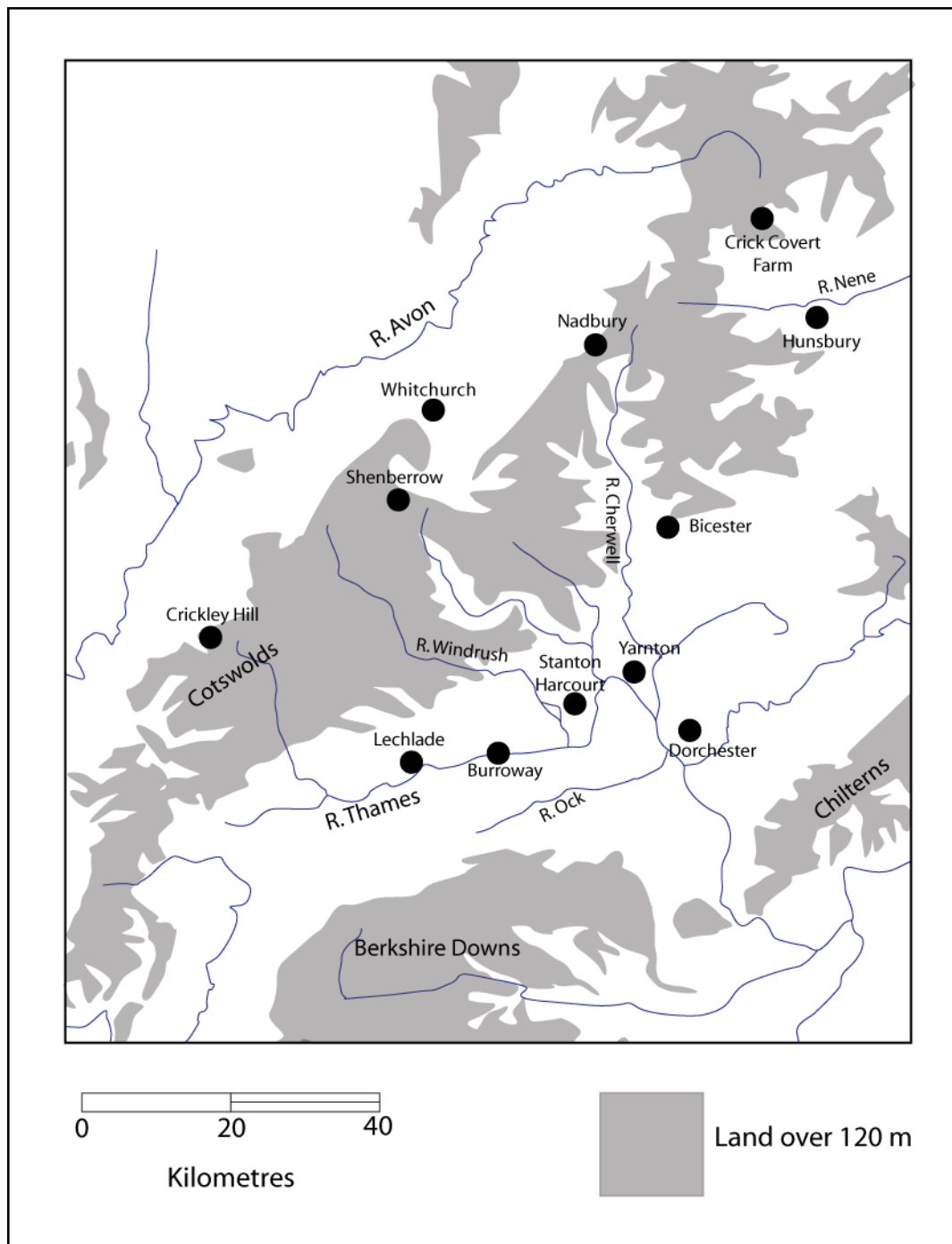


Figure 6.1: Early Iron Age sites and settlements discussed in the text. (A. Lang)

The upper Thames valley

Evidence of Early Iron Age settlement within the Thames valley comes from a relatively small number of sites excavated around Lechlade, Stanton Harcourt and Abingdon. The lack of identifiable settlement features is made up by the material culture record within the

region. A recent review of the ceramic material in the Stanton Harcourt and Standlake areas, for example, has shown a greater concentration of settlement activity than is suggested by the archaeological record (Lambrick and Allen 2004, 288-9). Between these two regions lies the valleyfort of Burroway. This site has only had minor excavation but it is an apparent defensive site with significant earthworks and a possible timber ramparts. The excavations revealed an episode of burning although it was unclear whether this caused the final abandonment of the site. Pottery recorded was undiagnostic and activity at the valleyfort could not be refined beyond an Early or Middle Iron Age date (Lambrick 1984).

There is a strong level of continuity of settlement areas from the Late Bronze Age (LBA) within the Thames valley. Two areas, around Lechlade and Abingdon are located close to the major LBA settlements highlighted by Yates but are marked by shifts in settlement types. The Early Iron Age sees the large co-axial field systems falling out of use and roundhouses, pits and four-post structures becoming more visible. Continuous settlement has also been noted on some of the hillfort sites such as Wittenham Clumps and Blewburton Hill (Harding 1972; Allen 2000)

The areas around Standlake, Stanton Harcourt and Yarnton also show a significant increase in the density of settlement from the Late Bronze Age. Roundhouses, pits and four-post structures become more visible. Roundhouse types at Yarnton are mirrored across the region, usually being post built and much larger than their Late Bronze Age predecessors (Allen *et al* 1984, Hey and Timby *forthcoming*). Further downstream, two large-scale settlements around Dorchester at Mount Farm and Allen's Pit have been identified (Myres

1937; Bradford 1942b; Lambrick *forthcoming*). None of these excavated sites show any form of enclosure or boundary ditch in use at this time

The Cotswolds

Within the Cotswold region there are similar problems of site identification. Beyond many of the excavations that have been undertaken at hillfort sites, there is a relative paucity of Earlier Iron Age settlement evidence. The main reason for this is the lack of wide-scale excavation in the region where a considerable area of the landscape is stripped. The focus of excavations elsewhere (Moore 2007a, 260) and the suggestion that many potential sites of this date are unenclosed and therefore difficult to spot means that Bourton-on-the-Water remains the only evidence of settlement activity beyond that of the hillfort sites. A further problem is the lack of known LBA foci of activity that might indicate already established settlements within the region.

What evidence there is of settlement in the Earlier Iron Age comes almost solely from the Cotswold region hillfort sites. Crickley Hill is the most extensively excavated but it is just one of a number of hillforts on the edge of the Cotswold scarp overlooking the Severn Valley. Similar types, such as Leckhampton, Burhill and Shenberrow (Champion 1976; Marshall 1989; Fell 1961) have been less thoroughly excavated but the chronology appears to be similar to Crickley Hill. This hillfort site was established in the Early Iron Age c. 8th Century BC and apparently abandoned by the 5th Century BC (Dixon 1994; Moore 2007a, 262-4). Settlement was intermittent with at least one phase with no activity during this period. The final phase (period 3b) of occupation also sees the construction of the impressive gate and outer hornwork structure. This possibly remained unfinished before

final abandonment of the site. Both of the phases where settlement activity stops relate to destruction of the site by fire (Dixon 1994, 184-195). There was also evidence of burning at Leckhampton (Champion 1971, 18) just a few kilometres to the north, but not from other excavated sites.

Settlement at Crickley Hill appears to have been intensive and widespread. The earlier phase (period 2) also has a number of features that have been interpreted as rectangular houses (Dixon 1976; Moore 2003). This is not a common form of domestic architecture and therefore possible examples have often been dismissed as two four-post structures in close proximity. However, these might also be seen as a distinct cultural feature of settlement at the cusp of the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age transition. Further examples have been tentatively identified at Norbury (Moore 2003, 49) and at Shenberrow with a rectangular occupation area (Fell 1961, 21). It is also possible that there is an example of this at Chastleton. The description Leeds provides (1931a, 387-8) of post-holes, hearth and a paving area in close proximity, whilst relatively vague, suggests a rectangular structure. It seems from the small amount of evidence available that these only occur within hillfort or hilltop sites. Few roundhouse examples are known to date to this period from the wider Cotswold region although this could relate to the absence of large-scale excavations more than anything else.

The Jurassic ridge, the Avon valley and north-east Oxfordshire

Evidence of the Early Iron Age is marked by a small number of settlement sites north and east of the Cotswold region.

During this period potential small-scale settlement sites appear to have existed at locations that became hillfort sites. Pits were recorded from an early phase at Nadbury, under the univallate dump rampart (McArthur 1987-8). Evidence at Rainsborough attests to an open settlement, which is also the case at Hunsbury (Avery *et al* 1967; Jackson 1993/4; Kidd 2000).

There are also a small number of settlements along the Avon valley. Perhaps the most significant of these is at Crick Covert Farm in the vicinity of the DIRFT site¹, located in the headwaters of the Avon valley. Here, two groups of circular gully features representing roundhouse and four-post structures enclosed by a boundary ditch have been excavated (Woodward and Hughes 2007, 191). Further downstream, large-scale excavations at Wasperton have revealed a number of house sites and 3 rectilinear enclosures (Palmer 2003). Along the course of the Stour, a tributary of the Avon, a large complex settlement site dating from the Late Bronze Age to the Middle Iron Age has been identified at Whitchurch. Here, the earlier phase of this site includes a large midden that has revealed a number of artefacts both from fieldwalking and recent excavations (Hingley 1988; Sharples *et al* 2008).

East of the Cherwell River, the only two recorded sites are the hillfort site at Rainsborough and Kirtlington where works associated with pipe-laying revealed activity (Benson 1967; Harding 1967). There is only minimal activity in the Ray valley, with pottery recorded at the Slade Farm site in Bicester.

¹ Daventry International Rail Freight Terminal

6.3 Middle/Later Iron Age settlement patterns

The Middle/Later Iron Age (c. 400/300 – 1 BC) sees a dramatic change in the settlement patterns of the region (fig. 6.2).

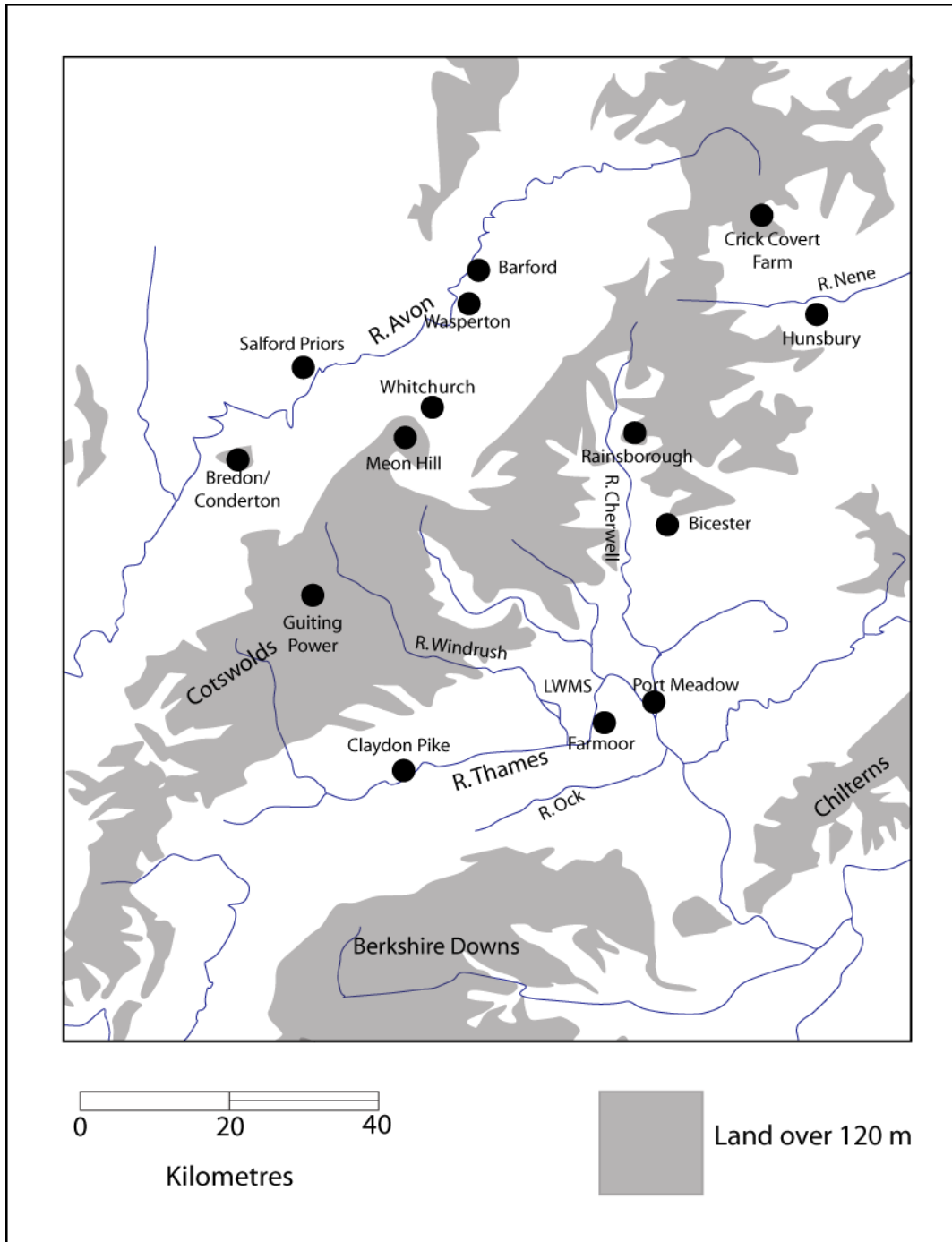


Figure 6.2: Middle/Later Iron Age sites and settlements mentioned in the text. (A. Lang)

To begin with, there is a significant increase in the visible numbers of settlements during this period, added to this there also appears to be a growth in size or complexity at some sites. This is most visible in the Thames valley due the level of work that has been completed.

The upper Thames valley

The Middle Iron Age period sees a marked increase in the numbers of recognised sites. This period also seems to indicate a number of shifts in settlement form, location and even domestic architecture. New types of enclosures become visible in the record for the first time and sites appear on more marginal or peripheral areas of the landscape, such as the floodplain and lower first terrace.

In some parts of the upper Thames valley, the Middle Iron Age sees settlements appearing in virgin territory. The best example is Claydon Pike, a site that has been identified by some as a ‘classic’ upper Thames open settlement (e.g. Hingley and Miles 1984). At least 23 hut circles were identified occupying three separate gravel islands just above the Thames floodplain. Analysis suggests that rather than being occupied all at once, settlements shifted across the gravel islands from west to east over the period of use (Miles *et al* 2007, 29-68). Chronologically it is difficult to interpret how long this site existed, but there is no evidence of other phases, placing it wholly in the Middle Iron Age period (see fig. 1.3).

This period also sees movement onto the floodplain itself. At Yarnton it is probably an expansion of the occupation area but elsewhere the movement is onto unoccupied land. A

good example is Farmoor, a linear settlement of penannular gullies and attached paddocks (Lambrick and Robinson 1979). However, in this case it appears to have been unsuccessful as it was abandoned within five years (Allen 2000, 11). Also dated to this period are the sites located on Port Meadow, Oxford. Here three groups of small ditched enclosures have been identified with dating coming from some small-scale excavations (Atkinson 1942; Rhodes 1949). Interpretations suggest similarities with Claydon Pike and may therefore represent a small family settlement that existed over a considerable period of time (Lambrick 1985).

The Middle Iron Age also sees the first appearance of enclosed settlements. Two of the best examples are located in the Lower Windrush, at Mingies Ditch and Watkins Farm (Allen and Robinson 1993; Allen 1990). Mingies Ditch is a circular double-ditched enclosure very close to the Windrush River. Five roundhouse structures were identified that pointed to continuous settlement over a reasonable periods, with each being occupied consecutively rather than contemporaneously. The space between the enclosure ditches has been interpreted as areas aiding stock corralling. Watkins Farm is a single-ditched circular enclosure again continuously settled during four to five phases, perhaps over 70-80 years, of roundhouse construction, (Allen 1990, 73). Unlike Mingies Ditch the interior was heavily truncated resulting in only the deeper features being recorded once the site had been stripped. A number of other sites have also been identified in the area dating to this period including Gill Mill and three banjo enclosures; one of these at Standlake still survives as an earthwork (Allen 2006).

This period also sees the development of different domestic architectural styles. Post-ring structures continue alongside stake-ring houses that also start to appear. Penannular ring

gullies, usually enclosing just a single roundhouse though some encircle two, became common throughout the region (Allen *et al* 1984, 100). Some sites show no evidence of houses but lots of domestic settlement material, which has led to the suggestion that mass-walled houses were also constructed with materials such as turf that make them invisible in the archaeological record (Hey and Timby *forthcoming*).

However, there is very little change in some sites between Early and Middle Iron Age settlement patterns. Examples across the LWMS (Lower Windrush Multiple Settlement) (fig. 6.3) such as Gravelly Guy, Linch Hill and the aerodrome site show almost no change beyond pottery vessel types and forms to mark the transition and at Yarnton where types of settlement do not change though the settlement itself shifts eastwards and expands (Hey and Timby *forthcoming*). Perhaps the most significant aspect of Middle Iron Age levels at Yarnton is the cemetery dated to this period. In total, 31 inhumations were recovered from two distinct areas in close proximity (fig. 6.4) making it unique in the Thames valley. Dating was solely through radiocarbon procedures as no associated material was recovered. The evidence suggests that perhaps the cemetery was only used for a limited period between 50 and 200 years (Hey *et al* 1999, 558).

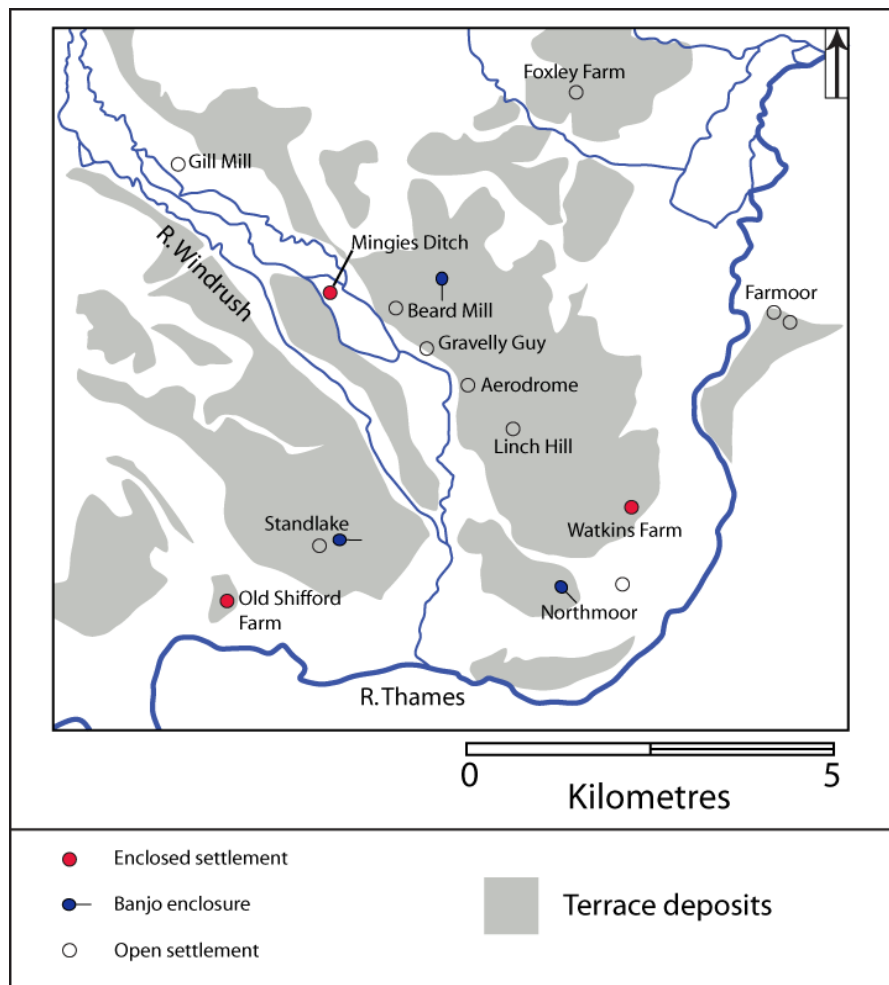


Fig. 6.3: Settlement sites across the LWMS. (A. Lang, after: Lambrick and Allen 2004, 31, fig. 1.25)

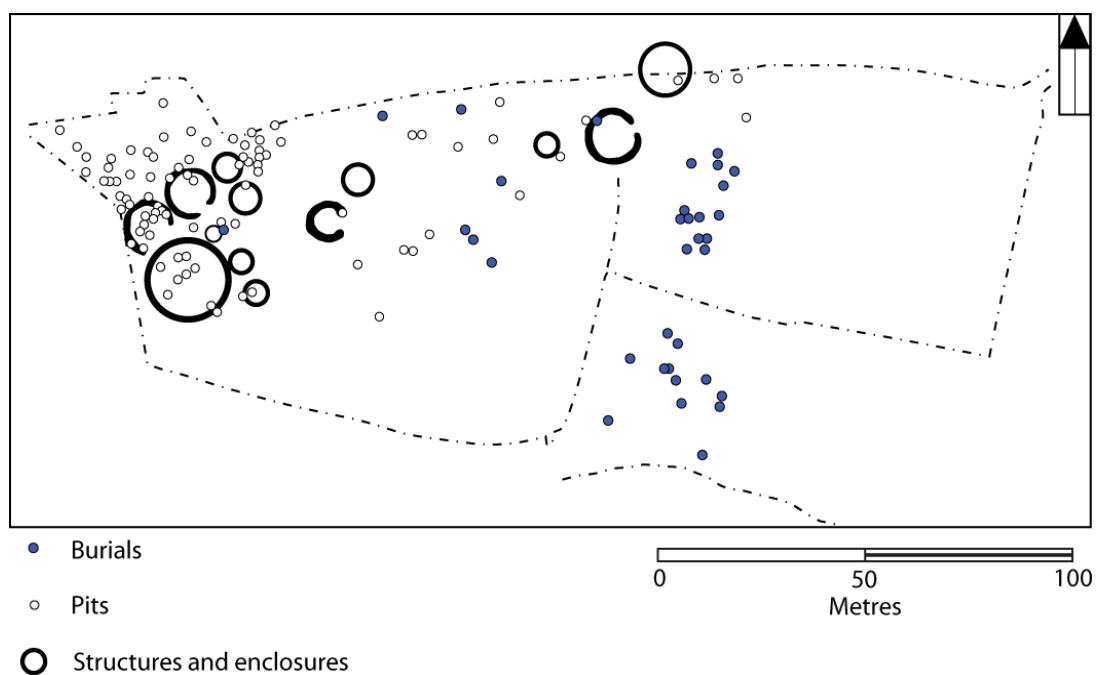


Figure 6.4: Middle Iron Age features and the inhumation cemetery at Worton Rectory Farm, Yarnton. (A. Lang, after: Hey *et al* 1999, 554, fig. 4)

The Cotswolds

The lack of settlement evidence from the Earlier Iron Age period in the Cotswolds is not mirrored in the Later Iron Age. The start of the Later period is marked by the appearance of considerable numbers of enclosed settlements, usually of rectilinear form. There are also a small number of banjo enclosures including a small complex recorded at Northleach, a few kilometres west of the study area. The majority of enclosures, visible only as cropmarks or sites surveyed using geophysics remain unexcavated. At this time many of the 'Earlier' hillfort sites also fall completely out of use and are replaced by other 'Later' hillfort sites, such as Bredon, Conderton, Meon Hill and Uley Bury (Moore 2007a, 264).

Moore has suggested that many of the rectilinear enclosures 'cluster' in particular areas, making them appear relatively densely settled (2007b, 43). One such cluster focuses round the area of (what is now) Temple Guiting. Surveys conducted across a small number (Marshall 2001) and some excavation (e.g. Saville 1979) have shown that many follow a relatively similar layout (Moore 2006, 90) with internal divisions apparently segregating living, working and storage areas. Also found at some of these sites are a unique type of pit termed 'silo' pits (Marshall 1998; 1999; see also Saville 1979). These are up to 3m in diameter and their sides are faced by limestone or ironstone blocks from base to mouth. They occur generally within settlements that are much larger than other beehive or bell-shaped pits (although the appearance of these does not necessarily mean that silo pits will always be present). A small number have been excavated at Guiting Power, Madmarston and Rainsborough while some more have also been recorded using geophysics such as the Bowsings site (Marshall 1999). In the eastern Cotswolds a potential example has been recorded at Knollbury (Sherwood 2001) and two at the Middle Brooklan site. Experimental

work on excavated examples have shown that just by covering these pits, but leaving them unsealed, there was minimal loss of grain through rotting and sprouting (Marshall 1998). These therefore may have been accessible throughout the year, storing nearly two tonnes of grain. The appearance of only one such pit at any particular site may also suggest their re-use year after year, unlike many types of pits that are only used for a single season (Cunliffe 1992, 79).

The Jurassic ridge, the Avon valley and north-east Oxfordshire

The considerable increase in settlement sites visible as being of Middle Iron Age date is matched across the Jurassic ridge and Avon valley, a time that also sees intensification of settlement at many of the hillfort sites. Multivallate defences were constructed together with timber ramparts and complex entranceways. At Rainsborough, guard rooms have been identified adjacent to the entrance and evidence for settlement comes from ring gullies, pits and other features excavated across the interior. Here the destruction of the site by intense burning ended its occupation. Further north at Hunsbury, the construction of the multivallate ramparts coincided with an intensification of settlement (Jackson 1993/4).

This intensification is mirrored along the Avon Valley. At Crick Covert Farm at least two phases of settlement are visible during the Middle Iron Age (Woodward and Hughes 2007, 191-2) the latter of which (the authors' period 4) saw a major expansion of the site and a significant increase in the density of structures while the boundary ditch falls out of use and the settlement takes on an 'open' form. Recent excavations by Cotswolds Archaeology in 2004/5 appear to show that at the same time 50 roundhouses were constructed at the nearby 'DIRFT west' site (Hancocks pers. comm. 2007). Although the evidence is far from

conclusive as only seven were actually excavated, all these structures have been dated to this period.

Downstream along the Avon valley enclosure sites have been excavated at Park Farm, Barford (Hingley 1996, 16) and Salford Priors (Palmer 2001, 93), which have both revealed numerous roundhouses and pits. Overlooking the Avon valley from the south, the site of Ling Hall has also been extensively investigated (Palmer 2001, 94) and areas within the settlement are apparently divided by pit alignments conjoined on a single nodal pit. Clothesline enclosures and roundhouse sites and four-post structures associated with burning material are visible within each area (*ibid.*). At Whitchurch, recent geophysical surveys have identified at least one, and possibly two, rectilinear enclosure(s) with internal features representing hut circles (Sharples *et al* 2008, 13). The fieldwalking of the sites and their general similarity to others in the region suggest that these are of Middle Iron Age date.

There is also substantial evidence of settlement along the course of the River Ray at Bicester. At Slade Farm a number of roundhouse structures are visible alongside a long linear ditch that cuts through the middle of the site (Ellis *et al* 2000) but no enclosure ditch was identified, suggesting the site was open. Elsewhere, the enclosed settlement at Bicester Fields Farm, comprising a rectangular ditched enclosure, was established. The re-cutting of the ring gully on numerous occasions suggests that a single roundhouse was occupied over a hundred year period (Cromarty *et al* 1999, 230). A number of banjo enclosures probably established during this period are also located east of the Cherwell. Material recorded from excavations that were completed as part of a pipeline route in close proximity to Aves

Ditch of a possible banjo enclosure ditch suggests a Middle Iron Age date (Cotswold Archaeology 2007).

6.4 Late Iron Age settlement patterns

Settlement patterns in the Late Iron Age vary considerably from showing marked continuity from the Middle/Later Iron Ages to a dramatic shift in the forms and types of settlements visible.

The upper Thames valley

The start of the Late Iron Age marks perhaps some of the most significant changes in the archaeological record within the Thames valley, much of it indicated by the appearance of enclosure ditches surrounding many of the settlement sites. This enclosing occurs at three levels, intra-site, inter-site, and the enclosure of open sites forming large-scale nucleated settlements.

At continuous settlements, such as Gravelly Guy, Linch Hill and Yarnton, enclosure was marked by the appearance of sub-circular and sub-rectangular ditched enclosures defining individual housing and paddock areas. At Gravelly Guy the entire focus of the settlement shifts to north-east and outside the earlier settlement boundary. At both these long-term settlements features such as pits and ring gullies were no longer used while there is little evidence of domestic structure, again suggesting that mass wall constructions were favoured.

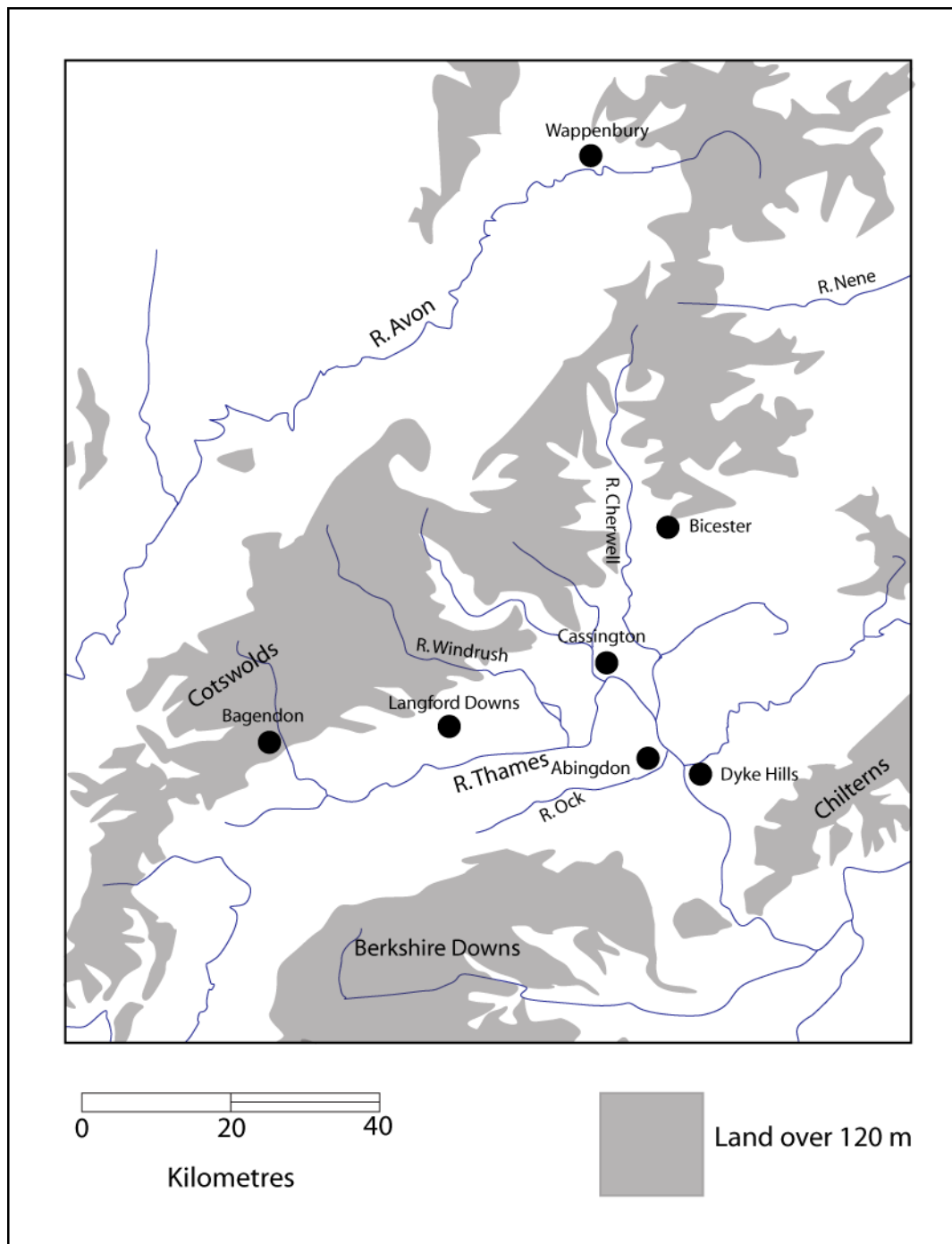


Fig. 6.5: Late Iron Age sites and settlements mentioned in the text. (A. Lang)

Enclosing at inter-site level is visible with the appearance of a number of sub-rectangular enclosures. New settlements such as Old Shifford Farm, Standlake (Hey 1995) (fig. 6.3), west of the River Windrush, Langford Downs (Williams 1946), just east of the River Leach, and Barton Court Farm immediately north of Abingdon (Miles 1986) appear at this

time. Adjacent paddocks are similar in fashion to the continuous settlements described above.

The large-scale enclosure of certain settlements is perhaps the most dramatic event of the Late Iron Age period. The construction of large ditches marks the appearance of three *enclosed oppida* sites within the upper Thames region. These are constructed at or close to confluences of the Thames and its major tributaries. At Cassington (c. 10ha) (fig. 6.6), a large single-ditched circular enclosure was constructed adjacent to the Evenlode; at Abingdon (c. 33ha) at triple-ditched enclosure at the confluence of the Ock and Thames; at Dorchester Dyke Hills (c. 40ha), a large tract of land was ‘cut off’ adjacent to the confluence of the Thames and Thame.

The Cassington enclosure was identified and recorded using aerial photography from the 1930s before being completely destroyed by gravel extraction in 1951. Only small areas of the site were excavated, producing settlement evidence stretching from the Neolithic to the Saxon period (for Iron Age excavations see figure 6.6). Rescue excavations were undertaken in a piecemeal fashion over a twenty year period by numerous archaeologists (Case 1982, 119: fig. 66). The focus of excavations was on the enclosure ditch and revealed significant levels of Iron Age material culture, with the lowest levels suggesting the ditch was dug approximately 50 years before the Roman invasion. The small-scale excavations across the interior of the site also revealed intense levels of occupation (Case 1982, 137) before the site was abandoned soon after the beginning of the Roman period.

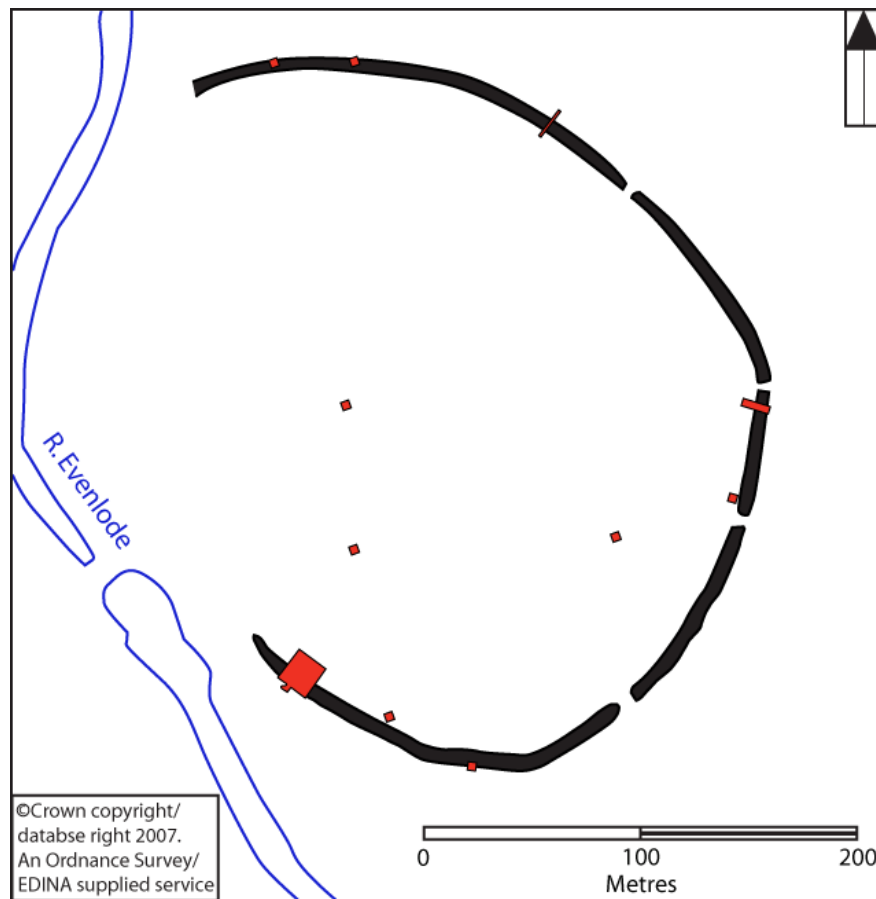


Figure 6.6: The excavations at Cassington that revealed Iron Age material.
(A. Lang, after: Case 1982, 119, fig. 66)

The evidence at Abingdon with possible continuous occupation from the Early or Middle Iron Age onwards is similar to Salmonsbury. The construction of two (and in places three) large enclosure ditches created the *oppidum* site in the last phase of Iron Age settlement while the excavations suggested that the interior was densely settled. The Late Iron Age phases are differentiated from earlier settlements by the appearance of a grid of rectilinear enclosures (Allen 2000, 24).

The site at Dyke Hills has also been interpreted as being of Late Iron Age (Hingley and Miles 1984, 65), though it possibly dates back earlier (Hey pers. comm. 2008). However, no excavations have taken place across its interior and any dating must remain circumstantial. Aerial photographs of the site have shown it to be intensively settled with

evidence of internal divisions alongside numerous roundhouses, pits and small enclosures (Allen 2000, 22).

The evidence for actual domestic sites within settlements within the Thames valley is minimal for the Late Iron Age. Roundhouses, alongside features such as drainage gullies and pits, are no longer visible within the archaeological record. There is the suggestion that part of this is due to a more widespread use of mass-walled houses (Booth *et al* 2007) in domestic architecture, explaining their absence. For pits, the evidence is less clear but changing agricultural regimes may have had a part to play in this.

The Cotswolds

The Late Iron Age within the Cotswolds remains invisible across much of the region, suggesting to Moore that for many communities there was a deliberate continuation of Middle Iron Age settlement forms and cultural evidence (2007b; 2007c). What evidence there is only comes from sites such as Bagendon and Salmonsbury. The former site revealed significant evidence of Late Iron Age activity, in the form of a coin ‘minting’ site (Clifford 1961, 19) and the use of typical ‘belgic’-style pottery (*ibid.* 212 ff). Again, the construction of the ditches during this period points to an enclosing or ‘bounding’ activity seen at both Salmonsbury and the North Oxfordshire Grim’s Ditch at this time. A possible banjo enclosure has been identified within the confines of the ditches, though there is no evidence as yet of contemporaneity.

The Jurassic ridge, the Avon valley and north-east Oxfordshire

Since only a few sites have been excavated material dating to the Late Iron Age is scarce. At possible open sites, such as Crick Covert Farm the settlement area contracted and moved from the Middle Iron Age core settlement area. The Late Iron Age also sees settlement continued at Hunsbury, but not at any other hillfort sites.

Along the course of the Avon terrace gravels evidence relating to this period is represented by both enclosed and unenclosed sites. Enclosures are visible at Salford Priors and Brandon (Palmer 2003) but open settlements are often located in close proximity to them, as exemplified by the Salford Priors and Wasperton sites.

A number of nucleated settlements, such as Tiddington and Stretton-on-Fosse, have been recorded. Some, including Alcester (Palmer 2003), Towcester and Irchester (Kidd 2000) are eventually replaced by Roman settlements showing strong levels of continuity between the Late Iron Age and Early Roman periods. The site at Wappenbury along the course of the Avon has been identified as a potentially significant nucleated settlement (Hingley 1996; Cunliffe 2005, fig. 8.10). Hingley pointed out (1996, 18) that both Early and Late Iron Age pottery was recorded, suggesting that here, as elsewhere, the construction of the enclosure ditches may have been one of the last developments at the site. It has also been favourably compared to similar sites further south in the Thames valley and can be considered a potential *enclosed oppida*. However, further work is required to fully understand its development and chronology.

Along the River Ray the pottery evidence at the Bicester Fields Farm site appears to mark the transition between the Middle and Late periods. At Oxford Road during the period a settlement low-lying on the floodplain of the River in a marginal area of the landscape appeared. Excavations using linear evaluation trenches rather than any 'open areas' reduced the number of features that were discovered. Ring gullies and pits were recorded and the material recovered suggested this site spanned the Late Iron Age/Roman transition before being abandoned soon after (Mould *et al* 1996, 105-107).

In this period Aves Ditch, a linear ditch that still survives in some form across 4.2km of the north Oxfordshire landscape, was also constructed but unlike the NOGD west of the Cherwell, it does not enclose an area of the landscape. Instead, it is a single bank and ditch on a SW-NE axis surviving in places as an earthwork and elsewhere as a cropmark. Although evidence remains circumstantial it seems that the ditch marks the course either of a tribal boundary or marker (Sauer 2005, 58-60). However, the fact that this ditch cuts through earlier enclosure ditches (such as the banjo enclosure) is evidence of wider landscape changes during this period.

6.5 Social patterns and settlement interpretations

The upper Thames region

One of the most important assessments of settlement patterns in this region is that of Richard Hingley in the early 1980s. His interpretation was of a system based on Germanic 'modes of production' that observed an inter-dependence of sites and a society based around kinship and exchange networks. One of the central aspects of this interpretation

was the concept of the 'open' settlement, which he defined as (settlements) "that have no boundary around the area of domestic occupation: enclosures may occur within the area of the open settlement but these enclosures are settlement components" (1984a, 79). By having no defensive boundary (i.e. a ditch) these sites were suggestive of a more 'open' kinship and exchange network (1984b).

Hingley also suggested that many settlements served a specialist function. Good examples include Farmoor and Mingies Ditch which have been assumed to serve pastoral or husbandry functions. In order to survive, the residents would need to be part of an exchange network to obtain produce such as wheat and grain (or even processed goods such as bread). In return either live animals, such as cattle for ploughing or 'broken-in' horses or their products such as dairy, meat or leather were traded. In order for this to succeed, Hingley suggested that the Thames valley was a model of a stable society during the Iron Age. This was not the case for the uplands region (the Cotswolds), which he saw as unstable and largely self-reliant (see below). Figure 6.7 highlights Hingley's suggested differences for the upland Cotswold region and lowland Thames valley.

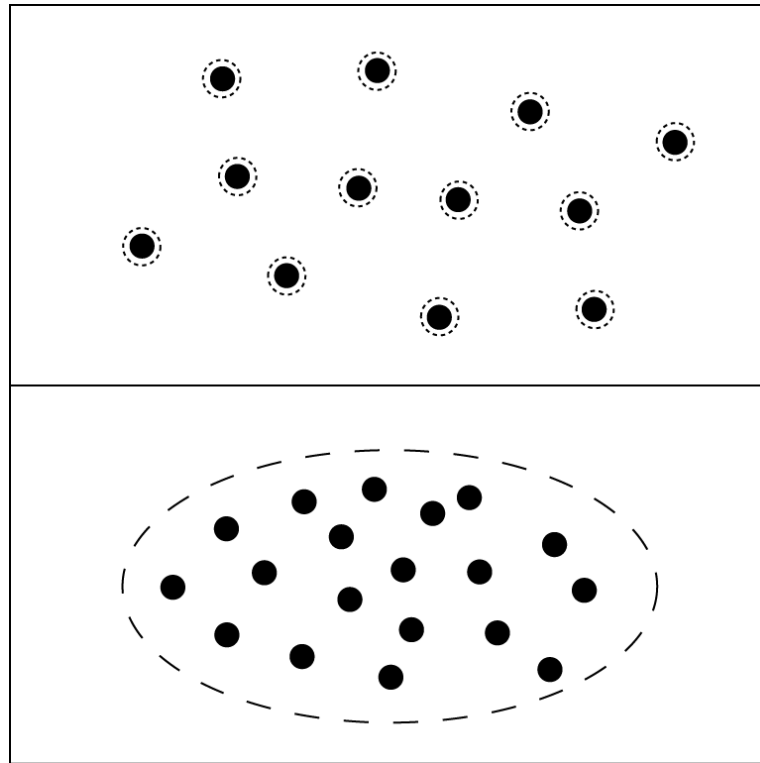


Figure 6.7: Richard Hingley's suggestion of idealised settlement for the upper Thames (bottom – open and interconnected) and Cotswold (top – enclosed and self-sufficient) regions.
(A. Lang, after: Hingley 1984a, 80, fig. 5.7)

Subsequent excavations have shifted the emphasis of interpretive frameworks. Whereas previously in Hingley's study inter-dependence was of prime importance, now self-sufficiency is regarded as a more significant aspect of social and domestic development (Lambrick 1992; Lambrick and Allen 2004; Hey 2007). Hey's summary of evidence from the Thames valley is the most recent exposition of this. In her study there is a greater emphasis on inter-site differences. Whereas some are small-scale stable communities that develop over long periods (*ibid.* 162) others show evidence of fracturing and discontinuity (*ibid.* 166). This shift in emphasis saw a greater focus on independent sites and family groups with discussions moving away from earlier studies of region-wide connectivity.

The work completed by Yates (1999; 2007) has also altered our perceptions within the region. His study pushed the chronology of social development back into the Bronze Age,

during which time large-scale formalisation of the landscape took place with the development of co-axial field systems. These, he argues, were focused around high status regional power bases (1999, 160) that largely developed as a result of a pastoral-based economy (figure 1.4). Two of these foci, which suggested that by this time a hierarchical society had already been established, occurred within the upper Thames around Lechlade and Abingdon/Wallingford. These shed new light on our understanding of many previously known field systems and earlier settlements (e.g. Lambrick 1992) and, because so little visible or acknowledged evidence for status exists within the Thames valley region, have raised a number of questions for those studying the Iron Age period.

The Cotswolds

For Hingley, the Cotswold region was an area with an unstable social and hierarchical community. The small population relied on self-sufficiency rather than trade and exchange. Single family farmsteads were the norm with a small number of domestic animals and enough food to survive each annual cycle. He argued that the Cotswolds were only settled in significant numbers from the Middle Iron Age onwards when population expansion in the Thames valley forced movement onto more peripheral land and marginal soils. The development of enclosed settlements also represented a region of individual settlement isolation and economic independence (1984b).

This perception of the Cotswolds has recently been overturned by the work of Moore (2006; 2007a; 2007b; 2007c) who suggests that communities were already well established within the region and did not occur as a result of expansion from elsewhere. As has already been noted, the majority of archaeological evidence comes from the Later Iron Age period

but evidence from sites show that some communities were already well-established by then. The greater visibility of sites in the Later Iron Age can be attributed to the development of concepts such as community and identity (Moore 2007b, 43). The enclosed settlements tend to occur in clusters, indicating wider community organisation and the deliberate adoption of rectilinear enclosure forms.

A further indicator of growing individual, community and regional identities is the significant increase in exchanged or imported items (Moore 2007c). Articles such as salt containers (briquetage) and crop grinding products (querns) were exchanged over considerable distances. Moreover, regional pottery types produced in the Malvern Hills area were preferred to the locally-produced varieties, especially by settlements and communities where the hills are visible (*ibid.* 81). Through these exchange networks one can also envisage the social identity of individual settlements and their connection with the wider community of the region. Moore's idealised view of settlement identity within the Cotswold region is shown in figure 6.8.

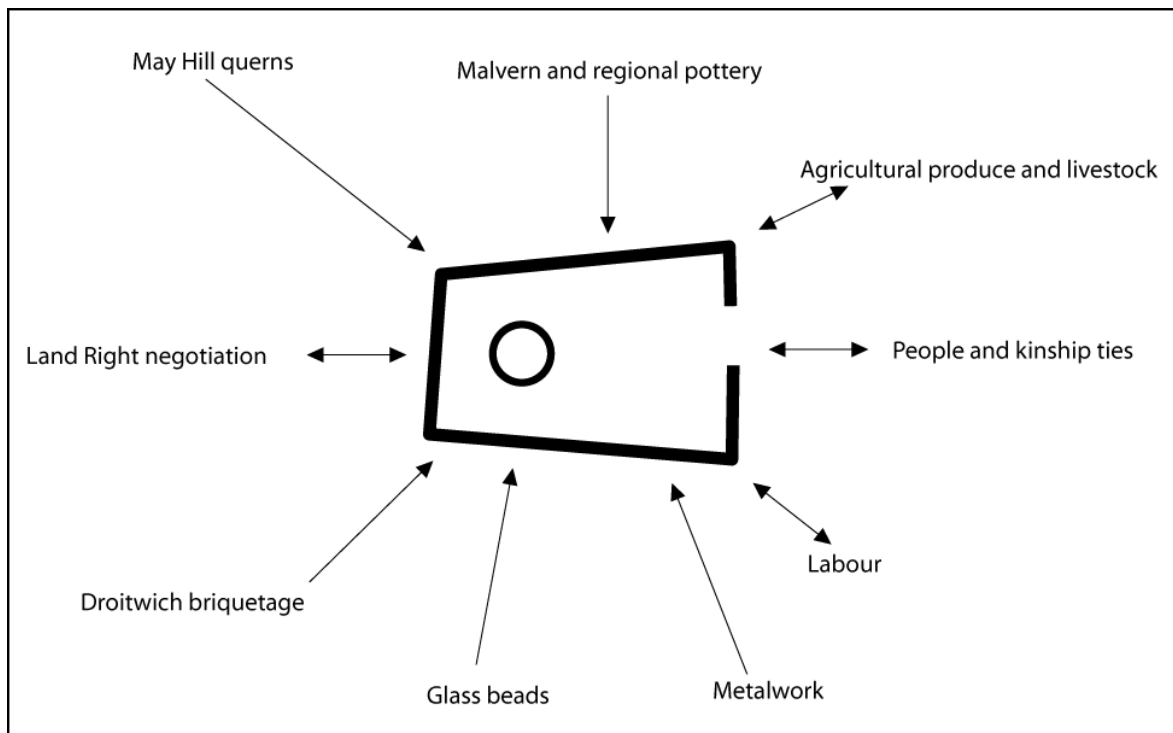


Fig. 6.8: Moore's idealised view of social networks engendered through exchange of a typical Iron Age community. Aspects such as Droitwich briquetage, metalwork and May Hill querns are discussed in greater detail below

(A. Lang, after: Moore 2006, 209, fig. 8.28)

The recent review of evidence by Moore has shown that concepts of community, identity and social interaction have been too simplistic in the past. This suggests that the eastern Cotswolds may follow a similar pattern to the wider Cotswold region. Aspects of exchange are therefore discussed in greater detail below and concepts of identity discussed in the following chapter.

The Jurassic ridge, the Avon valley and north-east Oxfordshire

There still remain many gaps in our knowledge of settlement and society within this region and interpretations are often reliant on evidence from other regions – such as the Thames valley (e.g. Hingley 1996; Cromarty *et al* 1999) – that are better understood. Thus there

must be reservations on the existing knowledge though this is still the best framework from which to develop interpretive dialogues.

Within this region the main phase of settlement of the hillfort sites appears to have been in the Middle Iron Age. There is the appearance of multivallate ramparts and complex entranceways before many are abandoned at the end of the period. Only at Hunsbury is there evidence of continued settlement in the Late Iron Age. The *developed* nature of many of these sites suggests there were particular reasons for their concentration within this area, something not mirrored across the wider Cotswolds. The burning and destruction of Rainsborough, sling-stones at Madmarston and multivallation of the ramparts may suggest that there was a certain level of unease within the region, possibly coinciding with burgeoning trading links between the east Midlands region and further south.

The main forms of enclosure are rectilinear-types, which suggested to Moore that settlement patterns within the Avon valley mirrored those in the Cotswolds (2007b, 43). Furthermore, evidence of nucleation in the Late Iron Age is similar to the regions further south. However, additional work is required to fully understand site chronologies.

Perhaps the best indicator of the similarity of settlement patterns within this region is the appearance of linear ditches at a number of excavated sites. These have been interpreted as representing land divisions and boundaries. They are integral parts of the Park Farm Barford, Wasperton, Ling Hall and Slade Farm sites (Palmer 2003; Ellis *et al* 2000) and thus as evidence for intensified land-use during the Iron Age (Hingley 1996, 12). The chronological development of these ditches remains as yet unknown but some are dated to the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age or to the Early/Middle Iron Age transition. Those that

are attributable to the latter period provide further evidence of social or cultural changes during this period. As Sauer suggests, Aves Ditch may represent on a much larger scale a form of land boundary or division.

6.6 Economic patterns: comparative agricultural practices

The settlement evidence discussed here and in the previous two chapters has deliberately avoided too much detail on environmental aspects. We turn to this now as a means of adding greater depth to our understanding of the Thames valley and north Oxfordshire region and the potential economic and food producing strategies practised.

The environmental evidence is strongly biased towards the Thames region for two simple reasons. The first is the dominance of excavation in this region compared to the eastern Cotswolds (chapter 2). The second is the excellent preservation, due to waterlogging, of many sites and the anaerobic sealing of deposits beneath alluvium. The large-scale sampling of sites also highlights that the Thames region is one of the most intensively studied for the Iron Age in England. Evidence has provided a wealth of data on agricultural intensification, along with crop types and domestic species used at individual sites and during different periods. Agricultural practices for the upper Thames can be broadly divided into two – the arable evidence and the faunal remains.

Arable cultivation in the upper Thames

By the Iron Age, agriculture had intensified to such a level that most cultivated crops were common across southern Britain (Dark 2000). Following the re-organisation of land in the

Late Bronze Age, the Thames valley in the Iron Age was an “open, organised, agricultural landscape” (Allen and Robinson 1993, 149). Evidence of the exploitation of cereals on the first and second terraces of the Thames comes from a number of sites including Ashville (Parrington 1978) Watkins Farm (Allen 1990) and parts of Yarnton (Hey and Timby *forthcoming*) that lie off the floodplain. One of the few areas left uncultivated was the 2nd terrace surrounded by the sites of the LWMS including Gravelly Guy (Hingley 1999; Lambrick and Allen 2004; Hey 2007). Despite its potential for yielding the greatest quantity of crops due to its free-draining and fertile soils it was only fully exploited during the Roman period. The reasons for this will be discussed more fully in the following chapter.

The predominant cereals cultivated were spelt wheat (*Triticum spelta*) and barley (generally of the six-row hulled type – *Hordeum vulgare*), and alongside this, there is evidence of emmer wheat (*Triticum dicoccum*) and in some cases free-threshing wheat (e.g. *Triticum aestivum*). Further species cultivated in the Thames valley from the Middle Iron Age include flax (*Linum usitatissimum*), identified at Watkins Farm (Robinson in Allen 1990, 68) and Celtic bean (*Vicia faba*) identified at Gravelly Guy (Moffet in Lambrick and Allen 2004, 431)

This intensity might also imply that winter sowing, using hardier cereals such as spelt was started during the Iron Age (Robinson 1984; Booth *et al* 2007). However, recent research suggests that this might yield half of the potential crop of a spring sown field (Reynolds 1988 cited in Lambrick and Allen 2004, 485), suggesting it was not a very effective method of cultivation. However, evidence from Steeple Aston of possible winter sowing

(see below) might also suggest that the practice was quite widespread and, despite the loss of yield, the pressure for agricultural produce may have forced the issue.

Arable crops appear to have been mainly stored in pits, which are visible at all excavated sites in the Thames valley. Some sites, such as Gravelly Guy (more than 800), City Farm Hanborough and Yarnton, have produced prolific numbers. Four-post 'granary' structures are generally recorded alongside pits, as at City Farm and Yarnton and suggest these were used in a similar storage function (Allen 2000, 8).

The evidence of food producing strategies is somewhat reliant on certain interpretations of the recovered environmental evidence. Crop cultivation has been based around concepts of surpluses, central distribution sites and the variation between 'producer' and 'consumer' sites. For each site investigated, the relative quantities of cereal grain, chaff and weed seeds all act as indicators of possible stages of processing at any one particular site (van der Veen and G. Jones 2006, 219). If a site produces large quantities of chaff and weeds it is indicative of primary processing immediately after harvesting and thus is a 'producer' site. If the site produces large quantities of seeds with little chaff or field weeds, it is interpreted as being a 'consumer' site as the material has been processed elsewhere. In the past this economic model has been used in the Thames valley as a means of suggesting inter-site exchange (see particularly: Hillman 1981; M. Jones 1984; 1985; Lambrick 1992; Stevens 2003; van der Veen 1992).

Recently, however, the evidence of producer and consumer sites has been questioned as being too simplistic (van der Veen and G. Jones 2006; 2007). Evidence is wholly reliant on sampling strategies that are not necessarily the same at each site so that percentages of site

sampling differ considerably. Furthermore, much of the recorded environmental evidence has suggested that the deposits developed through either accidental (e.g. non-deliberate burning of seeds) or deliberate (e.g. structured or feasted) means, rather than as an accumulation of material by natural processes (van der Veen and Jones 2007).

This reassessment brings into question many of the assumed interpretations of sites within the Thames valley. Thus, rather than there being a series of interconnected sites, many settlements might have only produced enough to remain self-sufficient, perhaps with a small amount of exchangeable surplus. This is backed by further assumptions that are being questioned. This includes evidence relating to many of the classic redistribution centres of the region. A good example is Gravelly Guy – with its 800 pits – which has often been classified as one of these, serving other sites within the lower Windrush valley Cunliffe (2005, 256). Lambrick has recently re-interpreted the evidence from this site, suggesting that that only one or two pits were being used each year. The significant quantity of pits relates to the extensive time the site was occupied (Lambrick and Allen 2004, ch. 12).

What is also clear from the environmental evidence is that the intensity of farming during the Iron Age had a large-scale affect on the landscape. There is very little evidence of any tree cover close to sites within the Thames valley, suggesting all available land was exploited either for arable crops or left for pasture. The areas of arable cultivation clearly suffered from an intense regime as evidenced from Ashville where there is a movement to cultivate on more marginal soils. This would have seriously decreased the potential yield of crops from any field in this area (Parrington 1978, 109). The rising flood levels and

eventual alluviation would have almost certainly hindered cultivation of these areas, which also highlights the significance of retaining areas of the Lower Windrush pastureland.

Faunal evidence from upper Thames sites

Recent evidence has also highlighted that the Iron Age economy in the Thames valley had a greater focus on animal husbandry than crop cultivation (Dodd *forthcoming*). The faunal evidence from many of the sites in the upper Thames region shows that relatively equal numbers of different husbanded animals were kept, unlike other regions in southern Britain such as Wessex where sheep tend to dominate assemblages. Many sites have shown there to be a relatively equal split between sheep and cattle as the principal domestic species, followed by pig and horse (not in that order).

Sheep and cattle would have provided a considerable number of products of which meat was the most important. In the Thames valley, the lack of significant numbers of very young or very old animals of both these species suggests their primary function was as meat producers (Ingrem in Miles *et al* 2007, 352). The prime meat producing age for cattle has been reckoned at approximately 18-42 months (Hambleton 1999, 78) and for sheep 18-30 months (*ibid.* 72). At Gravelly Guy, for example, 40% of cattle were culled at 8-30 months (40%) and sheep at a peak of 6-12 months (Mulville and Levitan in Lambrick and Allen 2004, 476-80); at Claydon Pike the majority of cattle are culled between 6-30 months (64.5%) and sheep 6-12 months (30%) (Sykes in Miles *et al* 2007, 54). It therefore appears that juvenile sheep were also preferred for the production of meat (Wilson in Lambrick 1988, 101).

Sheep and cattle would have been used for a number of secondary products, particularly fleece from sheep and dairy products from cattle, while manure would have been vital to sustaining an arable economy. The use of cattle as draft animals would be commonplace while animal bones would have been fashioned into various weaving combs and other tools. Potentially as important would have been the production of leather from cattle hides.

The growth in the number of horses towards the Middle and Late Iron Ages is visible in some assemblages. The open pasture conditions of the floodplain would certainly have been suitable for the training and domestication of this animal. At Claydon Pike there is evidence that the landscape was more suited to multiple-species husbandry (Ingrem in Miles *et al* 2007, 351). This includes the lush pastures of the land as it falls towards the floodplain and river. Sheep would have been kept on higher ground of the terraces as they are less suitable in wetter conditions, where it is more conducive to the spread of infectious diseases such as liver fluke and foot rot (Perpetua-Jones in Miles *et al* 2007, 369).

Further evidence from the Middle Iron Age onwards suggests that there was more intensive use of the floodplain for the seasonal transhumance of stock, particularly cattle and horses. Permanent settlements do not appear to have been maintained, perhaps due to the rising water levels and flooding from this period onwards. There was also a diversification of particular settlements and the appearance of more specialist sites. A greater percentage of animals bones have been recovered from the floodplain sites, such as Farmoor and others that lie on the boundary of the floodplain and first gravel terrace such as Mingies Ditch and Claydon Pike. The use of floodplain sites has also led to two suggestions. First, that meadows were occupied during the summer months as pasture for grazing herds (as is possibly the case at Farmoor, Lambrick and Robinson 1979). Second,

they may have been specialist breeding areas; for example the horse at Mingies Ditch (Perpetua-Jones in Miles *et al* 2007, 369).

At this stage it should be noted that there are certain aspects that are often overlooked in the Thames valley. First, much of the evidence is based around relatively short-lived ‘specialist’ sites. Second, only Gravelly Guy and Yarnton have environmental evidence for the entire Iron Age period. There have been a number of large-scale excavations, such as Stanton Harcourt (Grimes 1960), City Farm (Case *et al* 1964/5) and Langford Downs (Williams 1946) that were completed before the advent of environmental analysis within archaeology. Thus the full recording of environmental and animal bone data from these sites never took place and we are therefore dealing within an imbalanced perspective on the crop and animal exploitation at sites within the region as the evidence is based solely on excavations that have taken place since the 1970s.

However, what evidence does exist (and this is still considerable) suggests that the upper Thames region had a significantly different model of exploitation to those areas that surround it. Comparably-sized animal bone assemblages from further south in Wessex are markedly different (Hambleton 1999; Cunliffe 2000; 2005) suggesting that the populace of the two regions had different approaches to the numbers and species of domestic animals that they retained (Hambleton 1999). Whilst this is not entirely unexpected for two very different upland and lowland landscapes, it has, naturally, raised a number of interesting questions regarding Iron Age food producing strategies and the principal uses for domestic animals in the two regions.

Comparative evidence from the eastern Cotswolds

Cunliffe has suggested that the dip-slope and Cotswold areas were likely to have produced a crop-rich economy (2005, 430). The relatively small amount of evidence has confirmed this, although perhaps at a more complex level than previously realised.

The three main cereals – spelt, emmer and barley appear to be the dominant crops in the eastern Cotswolds. Numerous iron tools recorded from sites such as Steeple Aston, Madmarston, Rainsborough and Bicester all strongly suggest arable cultivation near them. Actual evidence has been recorded at Rollright, with arable cultivation taking place on the lighter soils close to the ridge top and the enclosure site. This is the same at the Heyford Road site, where crops were also suggested as being winter-sown (Cook *et al* 2000, 202). At Bourton-on-the-Water evidence from the Early and Middle Iron Ages shows only low levels of cultivation at some of the PPG 16 sites (Pearson in Nichols 2006, 67-8). Grassland species were also identified from other excavated areas at Bourton, suggesting an open landscape within the local environs (Lang *forthcoming*).

Features used for grain storage come from the numerous pits and four-post structures recorded. The pit clusters identified from aerial surveys and the geophysics point to more examples alongside those excavated at Steeple Aston, Chadlington and Bourton-on-the-Water. Excavated four-post structures remain few in number, partly as many of the sites in the region were excavated before this structure had been recognised as a feature-type. However, evidence from Crickley Hill and Bourton-on-the-Water suggests that they were widespread during this time. Silo pits are also thought to represent grain storage features.

Within the eastern Cotswolds there is a definite bias towards sheep in the husbandry of domestic animals. At Rollright and Guiting Power they particularly dominate the assemblage (the former is 74% of the entire assemblage). As with sites in the Thames valley, the slaughtering patterns at Rollright are made up almost entirely of juveniles. The Middle Iron Age phase at Steeple Aston is also dominated by sheep. At Bourton-on-the-Water (GCCAS 2003 primary school site) they represent 54% of the faunal remains, with slaughtering patterns split between juveniles (6-12 months) and older animals, between 4-8 years. Cattle made up 38% of the assemblage but the bones were too fragmented to determine ages.

There are therefore a number of indicators that suggest the Cotswolds, like Wessex, was a sheep-dominated economy since the similarity of the upland landscapes with wide river valleys are more suited to this animal. Sheep are, in many ways, a more versatile animal than cattle and are easier to maintain in large flocks. They also fit more comfortably in, or can be more easily adapted into, an agricultural/arable dominated economy. Their presence can help with the fertilisation of the crops through manuring and the cropping of stubble fields, as well as re-fertilising and limiting growths of pasture (and weeds?) for fields lying fallow. This would also fit well with the Cotswold upland region where there are lighter, drier, generally free-draining soils capable of sustaining an arable economy. Sheep are also not as susceptible to the diseases that occur in the damper conditions of the river valleys.

A further piece of comparable evidence is the wool production in the Cotswolds during the Middle Ages period, which saw the region become one of the important wool economies of north-western Europe (Hurst 2005). This may also have been an important economic factor during the Roman period of the Cotswolds (Reece 1984) and the visible wealth of

the Cotswold villas from the 3rd Century AD arose because of wool or fleece production within the region. Is it possible that there were even earlier beginnings to this economic development? Certainly there is also strong evidence that Wessex, too, was a significant wool producer in the Middle Ages. These regions share many more similarities with each other than the Thames valley region that lies between them.

In addition there is evidence of exploitation of other animals in the region. At Steeple Aston the two phases of Iron Age settlement show differences in the types of animals kept. In the Early/Middle Iron Age there are greater numbers of cattle, while the later Middle Iron Age is dominated by sheep. However, the author of the report suggests that the numbers do not correlate well due to poor preservation across the site where only limited numbers of species were recovered and a small percentage of those were identified (Charles in Cook *et al* 2000, 196). One other possible explanation is that Steeple Aston exploited the low-lying areas of the Cherwell River which are less than a kilometre away. The evidence also suggests that only small numbers were retained and that slaughtering patterns was confined to older animals, either for dairy products or ploughing.

The assemblages within the Cotswold region have produced a reasonable number of horse bones. It has already been suggested that horses may have been part of the developing economy of the Cotswold region (Chapter 4) during the Iron Age. The number of modern (and successful) studs within the region during the present day attests to its suitability as an environment for rearing horses. An open, grassland upland landscape would certainly have been capable of sustaining small herds of horses, wild or domesticated.

However, the eastern Cotswold bone assemblages and environmental evidence remains relatively small-scale and cannot be compared to those of the Thames valley. What evidence there is suggests that there are more shared affinities with the Wessex region than the Thames valley. On the other hand some economic indicators suggest a much stronger affinity between the upper Thames and eastern Cotswolds.

6.7 Economic patterns through local exchange networks

The evidence from material culture adds another perspective on the possible economic patterns extant during the Iron Age. These can occur at a number of local, regional and national levels and involve many different forms of evidence. From a local perspective, evidence of exchange on a local level is seen through the development of certain pottery styles and the use of certain raw materials for querns.

Pottery

Much of the pottery recovered from sites in the eastern Cotswolds and the upper Thames region is locally produced and found generally a very short distance from source. In the Thames valley, there is a well-stratified regional ceramic database of assemblages from sites throughout the region. The ceramic material was initially summarised by Harding (1972) and his review incorporated large assemblages from Thames valley sites around a typological sequence of regional wares, placing them in the Hallstatt, La Tène and Belgic chronology. The large-scale excavations by the OAU later in the same decade provided the opportunity to place the more recently excavated assemblages within an Early, Middle

and Late Iron Age chronology. The work of De Roche (1977; 1978) also went some way to integrate the two studies and chronologies within a wider regional sequence of ceramic assemblages. This began with the Ashville site, which provided the first opportunity to study a reasonably stratified sequence of local wares against many of the already known sites.

The 1970s also saw the introduction by Cunliffe of ceramic style-zones (Cunliffe 1974; updated 1978; 1991 and 2005). These style-zones are loosely defined as regions that, in a particular time-frame, use distinctive ranges of pottery (Cunliffe 2005, 87). These zones fitted more easily into a chronological sequence of Early, Middle and Late Iron Age periods. Whereas the regional studies focused on individual styles or forms, the style-zones looked at regional trends only by highlighting individually significant or unique vessel styles or forms. Style-zones also offer an alternative perspective of regional material culture development. While actual pottery vessels are often produced at a local level, style-zones provide views on pottery styles that are copied and used on a regional scale. These are more visible within the Thames valley as distinct styles that change throughout the period of research.

Many of the assemblages in the eastern Cotswolds have been ignored, mainly on grounds of scarcity of material. This has meant that the assemblages of large enough size to be used comparably (e.g. Chastleton and Madmarston) have not been revisited by later studies (and could not be re-assessed for this project due to the redevelopment of the Ashmolean Museum). There have been brief discussions about some material, mainly from Middle Iron Age sites such as Glympton (Booth in Cropper and Hardy 1997), Steeple Aston (Brown in Cook *et al* 2000) and Rollright (Lambrick 1988) but these assemblages have

often been considered poorer versions of Thames valley wares or style-zones. The fact that assemblages are never considered in their own right has somewhat hindered the development of north Oxfordshire studies.

Early Iron Age pottery

The Early Iron Age in the upper Thames is represented by the 'Long Wittenham-Allen's Pit group' defined by Cunliffe (2005, 101), which is parallel to De Roche's period 1 ceramics (1978, 72) and Harding's Primary Iron Age or Hallstatt ceramics (1972, 73 ff.). This style-zone is characterized by bucket-shape jars and bowls with well-defined shoulders and flaring rims. They are sometimes decorated with tool marks or finger impressions. Fabrics consist mainly of shell fragments with other inclusions of crushed shell, grog and quartzite. Some of the finer wares are haematite coated (especially in the southern part of the region) indicative of copying of exchange wares from Wessex (Cunliffe 2005, 101).

Early Iron Age material recovered from eastern Cotswolds sites such as Chastleton, Heyford Road and Madmarston are similar to those recorded further south. East of the Cherwell at Kirtlington, the assemblage shares many affinities with sites such as Yarnton and Standlake, further south (Harding 1967). Fabrics for this site mostly comprised shell grits and pitted remnants in many examples suggest calcium carbonate reduction during firing (Harding 1972, 85). Harding believed these forms to be significant and that the fabrics represented vessels dated to the Bronze Age/Iron Age transition (*ibid.*). There are some minor variations suggesting simpler forms and less refined slack-shouldered jars. Sites such as Chastleton have long been considered a poor representation of Thames valley

material (*ibid.* 73) with the fabrics of shell-temper were extremely friable slack-shouldered or 'situlate' jars. Also apparent were sherds with a much finer sandy fabric with finely crushed shell. The recovery of a large complete bucket urn with finger decoration has provided evidence, for some at least, that the site was constructed and occupied during the Late Bronze Age (Barrett 1980; Hingley and Miles 1984). However, many of the forms at Chastleton share strong similarities with those of Early Iron Age phases at Crickley Hill (forms B1, 6a and 6b; Elsdon in Dixon 1994, 216-7). This Cotswold sub-group of material that includes other sites such as Shenberrow, Leckhampton and Bourton-on-the-Water does share many affinities with material in the Thames Valley (*ibid.* 218) which suggests there is a wider regional influence in pottery styles for the upper Thames and eastern Cotswold region.

Middle Iron Age pottery

In the Middle Iron Age the pottery of the Thames valley became much more varied as there is a movement away from shell and shelly-limestone fabrics to finer calcareous and sand tempered fabrics (De Roche 1978). This signifies the start of the Stanton Harcourt-Cassington style defined by Cunliffe (2005, 111), the period 2 wares of De Roche (1978, 72) and Harding's La Tène style (1972, 86ff.). With this regional style there is a greater emphasis on curvilinear forms such as globular bowls as well as barrel and straight-sided vessels. The more recently excavated and published sites such as Yarnton and Gravelly Guy fall easily within this group, suggesting an almost total adoption of this material culture in the Middle Iron Age within the gravels region. There is also some indication of the exchange of locally produced wares. Finds from Gravelly Guy of fine sandy wares from the Chiltern region appear in greater frequency during the Middle Iron Age phase of

the site. A single sherd of the same type of pottery was also recorded at the Rollright complex.

In North Oxfordshire there is almost no change in fabric type for Middle Iron Age wares. This later continuation of shell and shelly limestone fabrics was initially interpreted as Early Iron Age wares, although Booth has since convincingly argued otherwise (in Cropper and Hardy 1997). This is largely because the fabrics would have been readily derived from local resources and can be interpreted as a regional continuation or perhaps a disassociation with material culture styles within the Thames valley.

These styles are also visible in the Middle Iron Age assemblages at Madmarston and Rainsborough. Whilst there is some similarity with wares in the Stanton Harcourt-Cassington group further south, there are significant differences in decorative styles. All the north Oxfordshire material has vertical scoring decoration, which has a much closer affinity to the Breedon-Ancaster style (noted by Cunliffe on his distribution map of this group: 2005, 110, fig. 5.8). This was originally defined as Harding's undecorated 'B' coarse-ware and suggests that there is a wider sphere of interaction visible in the north Oxfordshire material, and it is not just tied to the styles and types of the Thames valley. The influence from the north is just as significant as from the south. However, this is by no means universal, as sites such as Salmonsbury and Bourton-on-the-Water attest, where Malvernian and Stanton Harcourt-Cassington styles are much more common.

Late Iron Age pottery

The Later Iron Age is marked by the appearance of wheel-thrown pottery symptomatic of what was previously seen as the Belgic invasion (e.g. Harding 1972, 117ff.). The region is also “singularly poorly furnished in the range of its Belgic types” (Harding 1972, 118) with the most common example the necked bowl. Evidence of production also comes from a kiln site recorded at Hanborough. These changes in material culture occur at many occupation sites at a time when there are marked alterations to settlement patterns. The material also coincides with much larger changes and is found in association with the earliest levels of the Abingdon and Salmonsbury ditch and ramparts. This type of pottery also appears within the lowest levels of some sections of the North Oxfordshire Grim’s Ditch.

Yet the adoption of wheel-thrown pottery is by no means universal. Excavations at sites such as Abingdon have also revealed evidence of the continuation of Middle Iron Age wares into the beginning of the Roman period (Allen pers. comm. 2007). Harding, who identified the La Tène ‘B’ coarse-ware at a number of Late sites, which he interpreted as backward or low-status settlements also noted this. Although this is now being rectified (e.g. Hill 2002, 2007; Moore 2007c) the identification of this trend in other regions implies that interpretations of Iron Age material culture have sometimes been overly simplistic in the past.

Querns

A number of local sources were used for quern stones within the Thames valley. This includes calcareous grit, Corallian limestone and drift material from the Pleistocene deposits, all of which are obtainable locally (Lambrick and Allen 2004, 340). There is some evidence from the upland region that local sandstone, apparent in the assemblages of Rainsborough, Madmarston and Heyford Road (Roe in Cook *et al* 2000, 189-90), from the Chipping Norton area was used.

By far the most popular source of local material is the Lower Greensand deposits found in the Culham area, just below the Ridgeway and the start of chalk deposits. Querns of this type have been identified at a number of sites within the Thames Valley and at the Steeple Aston site in the eastern Cotswolds. It forms the principal material for querns at Mingies Ditch and Farmoor and at Gravelly Guy it represents 47% of quern material from the Middle Iron Age contexts of the site. It has also been identified at Claydon Pike and Yarnton (Roe in Miles *et al* 2007, 53). These appear in saddle quern form throughout the Iron Age. No rotary querns of this type have been discovered.

6.8 Economic patterns through wider exchange networks

Further evidence of connection with regions further south is through material remains recorded in the Thames valley and eastern Cotswolds. Whilst this material is not prolific recent excavations have generated a significant number of finds suggesting this sphere of exchange was more developed than previously realised. This can be seen partly in the

exchange of ideas in ceramic styles (such as Haematite-coated ware) and the exchange of items such as salt and querns.

Beyond the distinct similarity of many settlement forms across the Cotswold region and further north there is good evidence of interaction through exchange networks. These 'northern' networks comprise tradable items from the north-east and north-west. The former is marked by a pottery and iron and the latter by pottery, querns and briquetage. Evidence from the upper Thames and eastern Cotswold regions suggests that these networks began in the Iron Age and sometimes continued through until the 2nd Century AD. The stability of these networks is also attested by the appearance of items in the different settlement phases at long-term sites such as Gravelly Guy and Yarnton.

Droitwich briquetage

Arguably some of the best evidence of wider exchange networks comes from the appearance of salt containers throughout the Cotswolds and upper Thames valley. Sourced from inland springs in modern Droitwich (Worcs.) (Woodiwiss 1992) briquetage has been identified at sites across the west Midlands region. The recognition and study of the source and the briquetage fabrics by Morris (1985; 1994) coincided with many of the OAU excavations. Morris' extensive reassessment of both recent and older excavation assemblages has therefore built up a detailed picture of the extent of this exchange network into the study region.

Droitwich briquetage has two major fabric types, Fabric I and Fabric II (Morris 1985, 342-4). The former is a thin-walled material, sub-categorised into four distinct groups ranging

from lightly sandy, lumpy loosely structured clay (Ia) to a very sandy and dense texture with un-worked blocks of Keuper marl and up to 60% quartz grains (Id). The latter is more thickly walled and identified as 'organic' fabric. Again this is sub-categorised into four ranging from very sandy and moderately organic (IIa) to very organic and moderately sandy (IIId), all with inclusions of quartz grains. Fabrics are generally oxidised with colours ranging from pale pink to orange-red when fired. Morris originally suggested (1985) that fabric I was used throughout the Iron Age and early Roman periods while fabric II only appeared during the Middle Iron Age. However, the excavations at Gravelly Guy and Bourton-on-the-Water revealed fabric II sherds in Early Iron Age contexts (Morris in Lambrick and Allen 2004, 358) suggesting the production process remained unchanged throughout the Iron Age.

A significant number of sites have had briquetage identified within their ceramic assemblages (fig. 6.9). In the Early Iron Age this includes the Cotswolds sites of Chastleton, Steeple Aston and Bourton-on-the-Water as well as Crickley Hill, Leckhampton and Shenberrow outside the study area. From the Thames Gravels only the Early Iron Age sites of Yarnton and Gravelly Guy have had material identified. This expands considerably in the Middle Iron Age, with sites such as Claydon Pike, Mingies Ditch, Watkins Farm and Thornhill Farm, all having briquetage present. There is also evidence of continued use at Steeple Aston and Bourton-on-the-Water and material has also been identified at the Rollright enclosure. In the Late Iron Age, Salmonsbury and Bagendon both have material present in their assemblages. At Gravelly Guy and Yarnton, briquetage is visible throughout the Iron Age.

However, the record is by no means complete – for which there are two principal reasons. First, Morris did not have the opportunity to revisit all the previously excavated Thames Valley and Cotswold sites (pers. comm. 2007), which includes Madmarston, Rainsborough, Langford Downs, City Farm, Purwell Farm and Cassington. Second, material is sometimes absent from assemblages (suggesting it was not originally present), at sites that include Deer Park Road, Old Shifford Farm and the MIA levels at Farmoor. Morris also recorded an absence of evidence from the assemblage at Mount Farm, Dorchester (1985).

South-coast briquetage

Despite the dominance of Droitwich briquetage within the region, there is growing evidence of salt being traded northwards from the south coast (fig. 6.9). Recent excavations at Bourton-on-the-Water have revealed a single sherd of Dorset-fabric briquetage (Nichols 2001, 187). The appearance of shale armlet fragments (Nichols 2003) also suggests trade of Kimmeridge shale, although this would be markedly beyond the limits of the known exchange area for this material in the Middle Iron Age. At Abingdon, Hampshire briquetage has also been identified in the Middle and Late Iron Age period assemblages (Allen 2006)

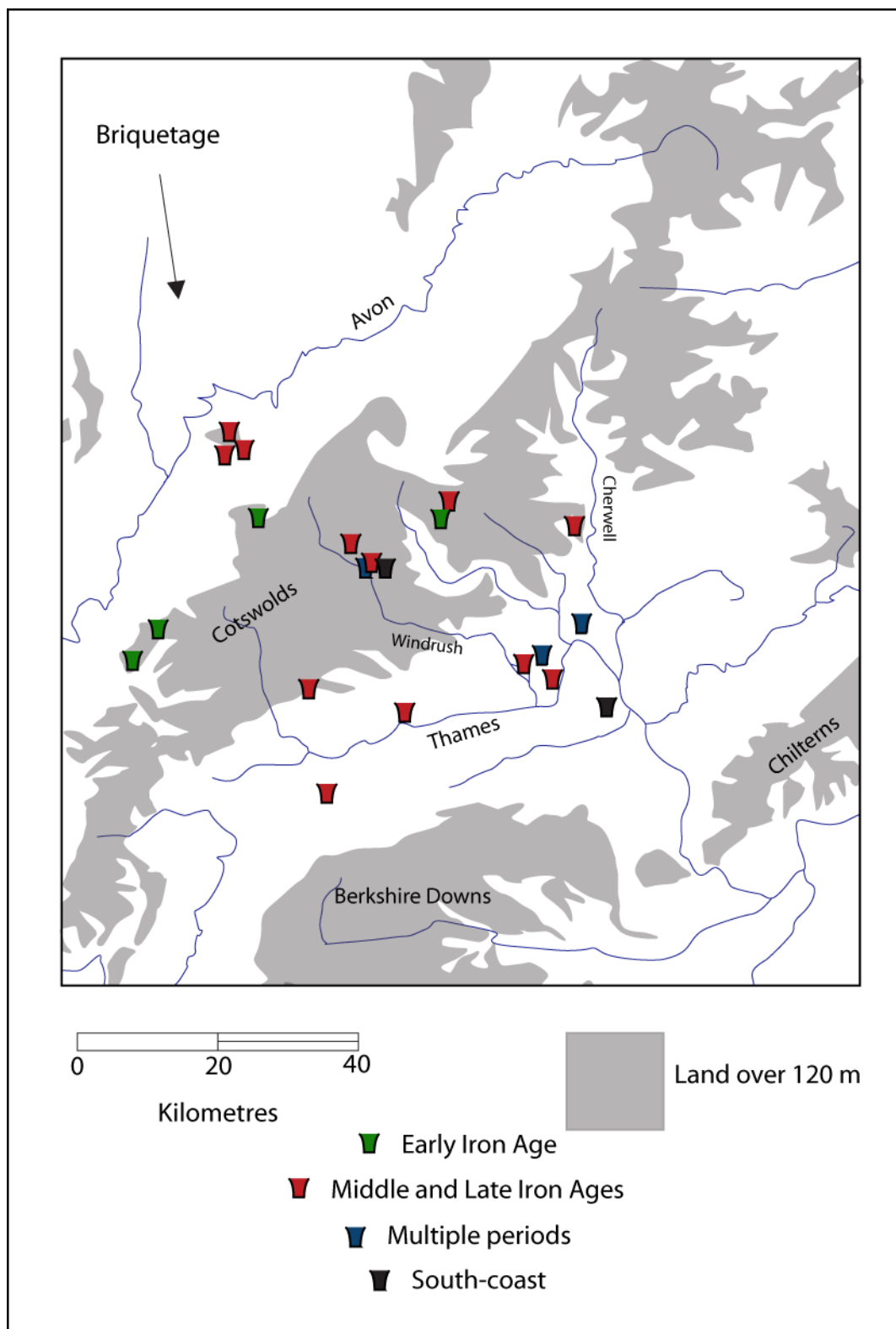


Figure 6.9: Distribution map of sites with evidence of briquetage from either the Droitwich or south-coast source.
(A. Lang)

Midlands pottery

Additional ceramic material from the north-west has been recorded in the form of Malvernian pottery. In total, four fabric types (A; B1; B2; D) have been identified, each sourced from different locations close to the Malvern Hills (Peacock 1968; Morris 1994). Not all were traded widely as 'D' fabrics have only been found close to their Malvern source. Only 'A' and 'B1' fabrics appear to have been included in a wider exchange network, which is, in the majority, further west than the study area of this thesis (Moore 2007c). However, pottery records from a number of Thames valley assemblages has suggested that it was traded alongside Droitwich briquetage from the Middle Iron Age onwards (Morris 1994; Moore 2007c). Denser concentrations are in the west around the Fairford/Lechlade area (Thornhill Farm, Claydon Pike and Groundwell Farm) but small amounts of B1 material have also been recorded in Late Iron Age contexts at Gravelly Guy. A reasonable assemblage comprising A and B1 fabrics (Morris in Nichols 2006, 30) was also recorded at the Bourton-on-the-Water 2000 and 2003 sites.

The influence of vertical-scored ware has already been noted in the eastern area of the eastern Cotswolds. No material as yet has been shown to originate from sources further north but certainly there is the potential for this to be the case with future sites.

May Hill and ORS querns

A considerable number of quern pieces sourced from west of the Severn have been recorded from sites in the eastern Cotswolds and Thames valley (fig. 6.10). Two of these

(the outcrop of sandstone at May Hill and the Old Red Sandstone (ORS) deposits within the Forest of Dean) have been identified.

May Hill querns have only been identified within the region as saddle querns, the distribution of which appears to fluctuate during the different periods of the Iron Age. A good example of this is Gravelly Guy, where May Hill makes up 40% of material during the Early Iron Age but only 17% during the Middle Iron Age, before disappearing completely in the Late Iron Age. May Hill querns also appear in significant quantities at Claydon Pike and Thornhill Farm, while at Deer Park Road it makes up the entire assemblage (although there are only four fragments: Roe in Walker 1995, 84). A small number have been identified at Bourton-on-the-Water and May Hill sandstone is also present in the only recognisable quern fragment at Salmonsbury.

ORS appears in both saddle and rotary form, the latter type appearing from the Middle Iron Age onwards. ORS querns are less prolific in the Early Iron Age, but from the Middle Iron Age they are visible across the Thames valley at Thornhill Farm, Claydon Pike, Gravelly Guy and Abingdon. ORS also forms the largest percentage of material for Late Iron Age deposits at Gravelly Guy; this period also sees continued use at Abingdon. At Bagendon the assemblage is made up entirely of ORS querns.

Lodsworth querns

Also found in the Thames valley are rotary querns that have been sourced to Lodsworth Greensand deposits from the Sussex Weald (fig. 6.10). For the Early and Middle Iron Age, examples are recorded as from both periods at Gravelly Guy and contexts at Abingdon. In

the Late Iron Age, these querns appear in greater numbers at Gravelly Guy, Yarnton and Abingdon (Lambrick and Allen 2004, 346).

Unfortunately, quern datasets are limited to relatively recent excavations so that the results at Early Iron Age sites are scant and evidence in later periods is reliant on a few well-published sites. There is therefore a need to reassess many of the older excavations to establish a fuller picture of quern exchange and distribution.

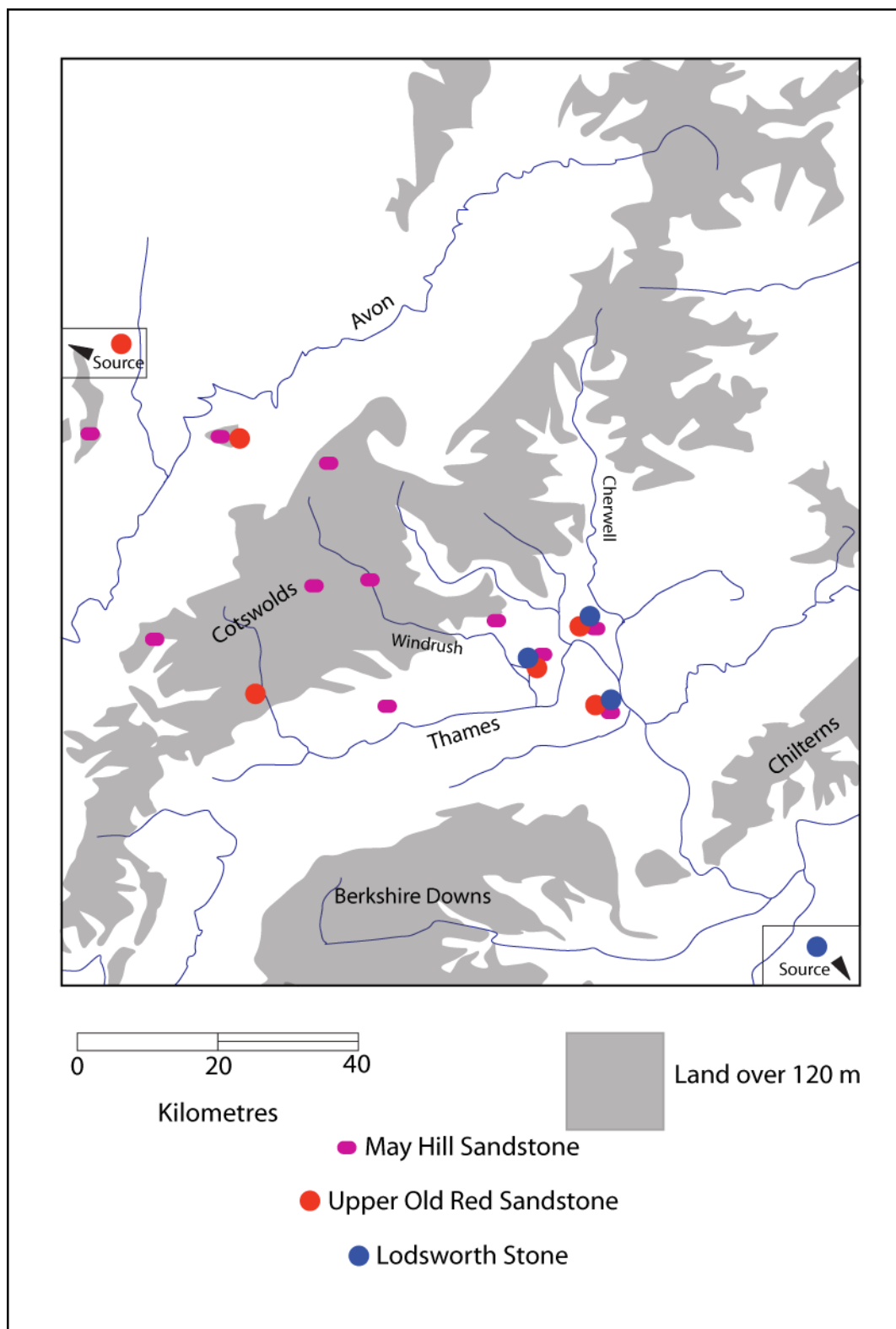


Figure 6.10: Distribution map of sites that have revealed quern stones attributable to different sources in southern and western Britain.
(A. Lang)

Iron currency bars

Ironworking appears to have been relatively commonplace from the Middle Iron Age onwards in southern Britain. There is good evidence of smithing from a number of sites generally through the identification of slag (e.g. Gravelly Guy – Lambrick and Allen 2004, 339 and Mount Farm, Dorchester – Harding 1972, 29) and large quantities of tools have been discovered at many sites in the study area. The actual manufacturing of iron is a more difficult topic to address as evidence of ore processing in the Iron Age is rare. This means we are somewhat reliant on comparable material or sites from the Roman period. A recent study has argued that in southern England iron production during the Roman period was restricted to three principal regions – the Weald, the Forest of Dean and the Jurassic Ridge of the east Midlands (Schrüfer-Kolb 2004, 1). Logically, this suggests that ore exploitation was also restricted to these regions during the last 400 years BC (Salter and Ehrenreich 1984; Ehrenreich 1994; Giles 2007).

The potential for iron production along the Jurassic ridge is backed by archaeological evidence of processing sites; with many more suggested (Schrüfer-Kolb 2004, 52-4). Chemical analysis has also noted that iron from this region has a particularly high phosphoritic content, making it easily identifiable when subjected to appropriate tests (Ehrenreich 1985, 80-1). This form of iron appears commonplace in the archaeological record equivalent to Danebury cp 7 (c. 300-100 BC) at a similar time to the first appearance of currency bars (*ibid.*; Salter and Ehrenreich 1984). In fact one example of a currency bar was recorded from Danebury suggesting that “associated evidence indicated that the Jurassic Ridge was a significant iron manufacturing area” (Ehrenreich 1994, 18).

There is also evidence of processing and manufacturing in the Forest of Dean with one of the best sites identified at Weston-under-Penyard (Moore 2006). Once more, evidence beyond this site is scant and there is a reliance on looking at the significance of this region as an iron producer in the Roman period (Walters 1992; Moore 2006, 195) to project its potential backwards into the Iron Age. Unfortunately, the iron has (as yet) no characteristic element signatures that have been identified to help match material to this source

The manufacture of iron is a complicated process and requires specialist knowledge in mining, processing (sometimes roasting) and smelting to produce ingots suitable for transportation (Ehrenreich 1985; Schröfer-Kolb 2004). The most identifiable form of iron ingot is the currency bar (found at sites throughout southern Britain) which appears to have been freely circulated from the 3rd/2nd Century BC to the end of the 1st Century BC (Hingley 2005). These bars were originally separated into four broad categories, sword-, spit-, plough- and bay leaf-shaped styles, considered to be regionally distinct styles (Allen 1967, 314). Greater numbers of sword-shaped and plough-shaped bars also suggested they were traded in the Middle and Late Iron Ages. Their shapes were considered ‘rough-outs’ for items that could be refined at a later date. This also explains the division into 4 categories (based on the form they would become).

However, it has now been recognised that currency bars are a much more complex artefact than this. The concept of these items as rough-outs has been dismissed as Richard Hingley has questioned the purely functional explanation for the appearance of currency bars (1990a; 2005; 2006a; 2006b). He describes this model as being too simplistic and “stresses the economic and practical value of the currency bar” (1990a, 95) more than anything else. On the contrary he suggests that iron smelting was a highly ritualized process (2006a, 121)

(perhaps also suggestive of production restricted to certain regions) undertaken by a few individuals. He has also argued that the trade aspect is no longer useful since more than 20 types of currency bar have now been recognised (Crew 1994 cited in Hingley 2005).

There are two hoards of currency bars in the study region. The largest is at Salmonsbury where three separate pits revealed 1, 2 and 147 bars respectively. Twelve were recovered from a pit dug into the defences at Madmarston. At other important sites just outside the study area other hoards have been discovered including 394 bars recovered at Meon Hill (Warks.) during Victorian forays, and, recently, a hoard of unknown quantity (due to their degradation into a large 'lump' of iron) at Horcott, near Fairford (Glos.) (Pine and Preston 2004). Two sites along the Thames valley – Gravelly Guy and Abingdon – have produced what appear to be fragments of two currency bars each with each one representative of a different artefact. Two individual finds are also known – one in Victorian excavations at Lyneham barrow (some 250m from the hillfort) and another in Bloxham. Another single discovery was in a pit cut into the defences of Nadbury camp on the edge of the scarp overlooking the Fenny Compton gap. This pit appears to be of a later period than the phase of occupation revealed by the excavations (McArthur 1987-8, 10). None of these examples have been tested to determine the element signatures of the iron and therefore their origin cannot be determined.

Recent interpretations regarding currency bars have focused on less functional purposes. Hingley has suggested that the deposition practices of these items, often these are recorded in pits or ditches at the edges of an enclosed site, suggest that they help mark the boundary of the site, suggesting 'liminality' (Hingley 2005). Furthermore he has also argued that that different rituals governed the deposition of metalwork within southern Britain and

therefore currency bars should not necessarily be included as evidence of regional trade (Hingley 2005; Moore 2006, 198). However, the appearance of so many currency bars in the eastern Cotswolds and the wider Cotswold and Avon Valley regions (including sites such as Barford, the Ditches and Bredon Hill) suggests otherwise (fig. 6.11). The discovery of so many examples between two of the principal iron production areas in southern Britain suggests that perhaps two separate exchange networks that sprung up at similar times. At a time when other items were also being traded, this suggests that the deposition practices of these items within boundary features might relate to cultural or economic ties with these production regions or that the items were held in particularly high regard.

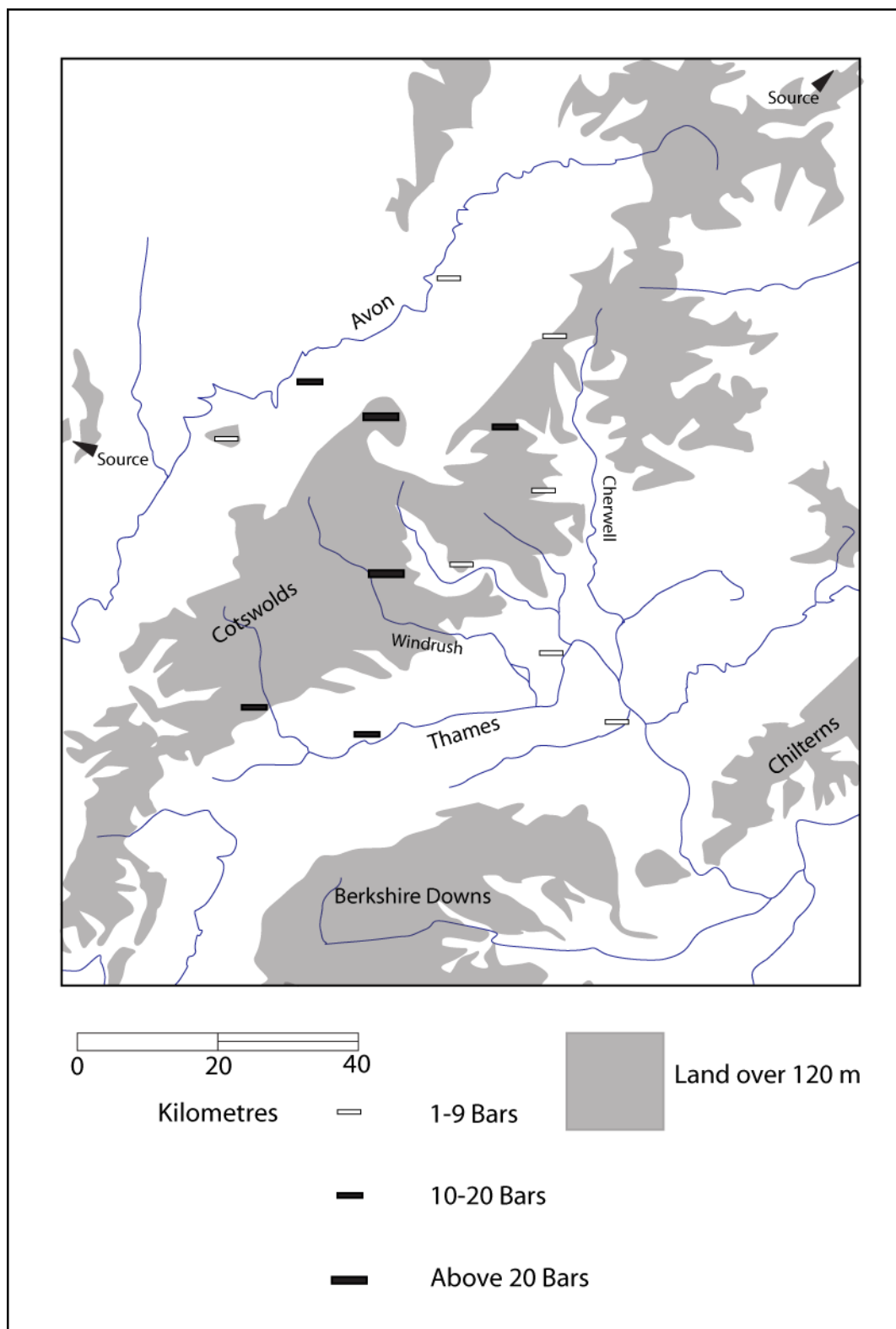


Figure 6.11: Distribution map of sites that have revealed currency bars and their respective quantities.
(A. Lang).

Coinage

A final item of material culture that might be used as evidence of wider contacts or networks is coinage. Whilst the interpretation of coinage within the Late Iron Age remains a point of contention in what these artefacts actually represent (e.g. Creighton 2000) it certainly gives a good indication of the spheres of influence within the eastern Cotswolds at the end of the Iron Age.

The resurgence of numismatics in Iron Age studies in the 1990s has greatly contributed to the material culture record for the last 150 years of the English Iron Age. The reassessment of all British Coins (Van Arsdell 1989) and the digitisation and expansion of the *Celtic Coin Index* (CCI) has done much to increase the quantity and quality of records (de Jersey 2006). A full list of coins relevant to this study can be found in the appendix of this thesis. For the first time these are linked between the SMR and NMR records, alongside the CCI numbers that have been provided for each individual artefact. This will hopefully make future referencing of these finds much easier.

The study area has traditionally been seen, through the coin records at least, as the eastern region of the Dobunnii tribe. The Thames Valley and Cherwell River are seen as tribal boundaries between the Dobunnii in the West, the Catuvellauni/Trinovantes in the East and the Atrebates in the South (Manning and Leeds 1921; Sellwood 1984; Lambrick 1998; Cunliffe 2005). This view has since been supported by recent studies (de Jersey 1996; Cunliffe 2005) including Van Arsdell (1994) whose study of Dobunnii coinage led him to suggest that the area close to the Cherwell River might be seen as a ‘trading zone’ between the two tribes north of the Thames.

The exact chronology of Dobunnic coinage is not fully understood. In his study of coinage belonging to the tribe Van Arsdell (1994) proposed a particular development but this has not been fully accepted by contemporary scholars. Whilst the terminology is the same, de Jersey (1996) and Cunliffe (2005) have been more cautious in their assessment of coinage chronology and development in the region. The earliest coins (uninscribed) in the region appeared in the latter half of the 1st Century BC², followed by the coins of CORIO or BODVOC. In time these were succeeded by the coins of COMUX and CATTI though very few have been discovered in the entire region attributed to the Dobunnic tribe. The last two inscribed issues are of ANTED and EISV placed by Cunliffe (*ibid.* 189) at AD 20-30. The uninscribed coins are impossible to catalogue chronologically, although Van Arsdell has attempted this (1994, 4-6).

In the past only a few coins had been identified in this area often meaning that it has been overlooked within wider discourses on the Dobunnic tribe. Prior to the development of the digital CCI, 40 coins were known from within the study area, many provenanced as marginal findspots from antiquarian excavations or collections (table 6.1):

<i>Tribe</i>	<i>Quantity</i>
Gallo-Belgic	1
Atrebates	1
Trinovantes/Catuvellauni	1
Dobunnic	17
Misc. N/A	20
Total	40

Table 6.1: Coins from the study area prior to the digitisation of the Celtic Coin Index. Misc. N/A means that the coin has been recorded but not assigned a tribe or type (these are generally antiquarian finds).

Since the early 1990s, however, the distribution patterns and sheer quantity of coins has changed dramatically. In particular metal detector finds and excavations have increased the

² Cunliffe has placed this at “about 35 BC” (2005, 189).

numbers significantly in the eastern Cotswolds. This somewhat alters the distribution areas of coins from the region and highlights a number of further possible sites or areas of significance further east than the traditional focal area of the Dobunni. The number of coins recorded within the study area is now more than 160, representing an increase of over 300% on previous recordings. Table 6.2 displays all coins now known from the study area.

It must be noted that some discrepancies exist with the coin records for this area. Some have been recorded on the SMR and NMR databases as just ‘gold staters’ or ‘Dobunnic coin’. These may have been re-classified or altered by Van Arsdell (1994) but, without a comparative set of SMR/NMR and CCI numbers, it is difficult to correlate the disparate sources. Despite later filtering it is possible that a small number of coins may have been recorded more than once. The CCI can therefore be taken as the most reliable listing.

<i>Tribe</i>	<i>Quantity</i>
Gallo-Belgic	1
Corieltavi	1
Cantii	1
Durotriges	3
Atrebates	4
Trinovantes/Catuvellauni	16
Dobunnic	117
Misc. N/A	20
Total	163

Table 6.2: Coins from the study area.

Of the 163 coins recorded 117 are attributed to the Dobunni (representing just over 70% of the total collection of coins recovered). Table 6.3 gives further detail of the Dobunnic coin types from the study area with graph 6.1 showing the major concentrations of coinage type.

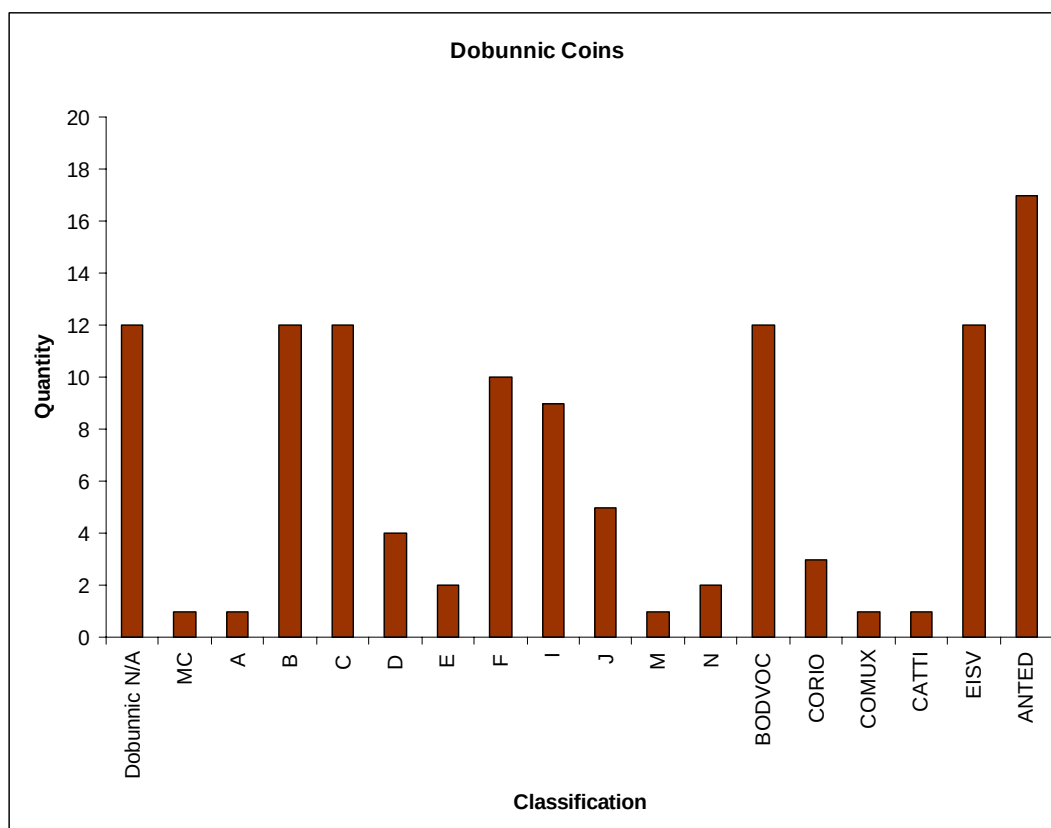
Graph 6.1 shows that similar trends occurred in this region as across the rest of the area defined as Dobunnic territory. BODVOC coins are common in the northern part of the region, with the evidence here in keeping with this. CATTI coins are relatively rare in the archaeological record (Van Arsdell 1994, 21), which is mirrored with the low numbers recorded here. The large numbers of ANTED and EISV coins also appear to confirm their common occurrence across the whole of the Dobunnic territory. The next largest number of coins from the region are those of the Trinovantes/Catuvellauni, 16, 5 are inscribed with CUNO (2 gold) and 5 with TASC (1 gold).

Within the study area there are certain sites that have produced significant numbers of coins. One is a hoard of 9 from Sherborne, Glos. first recorded in the early 20th Century. Others though, represent more recent discoveries and four key findspots have 98 recorded coins between them, more than 60 % of the total number from the study area. The Witney and Asthall area has produced 23 Coins (against 4 originally), 18 are Dobunnic and 3 are Trinovantian with 2 unknown. Swalcliffe Lea, near Madmarston has produced 20 coins (3 originally) with 13 Dobunnic, 2 Durotrigan and 2 Trinovantian and 3 unknown. Eynsham has produced 26 (none originally) 17 Dobunnic, 1 Durotrigan and 8 Trinovantian. Charlbury and Stonesfield have produced 31 (2 originally), all of which, bar 1 Corieltauvian, are Dobunnic.

The evidence shows that there is a huge bias in favour of coins of the Dobunnic tribe. This suggests that in at the end of the Iron Age the greatest level of interaction was with the region to the west rather than the south or east. The possible expansion of the Catuvellauni/Trinovantes is not observed through this material record and implies, perhaps, that this region remained a territory of the Dobunnic tribe.

Type	Gold	Silver	Bronze or pl. Bronze	Total
Dobunnic N/A	3	7	2	12
MC	-	1	-	1
A	-	1	-	1
B	-	11	1	12
C	-	12	-	12
D	-	4	-	4
E	-	2	-	2
F	-	10	-	10
I	-	8	1	9
J	-	5	-	5
M	-	1	-	1
N	-	2	-	2
BODVOC	3	9	-	12
CORIO	3	-	-	3
COMUX	1	-	-	1
CATTI	1	-	-	1
EISV	1	10	1	12
ANTED	8	9	-	17
Total	20	92	5	117

Table 6.3: The Dobunnic coins of the region with metallurgical divisions



Graph 6.1: The varying types of Dobunnic coinage recorded from the Eastern Cotswolds. Dobunnic N/A means not assigned, i.e. no classificatory markers. There are also 5 coins from Swalcliffe that have been designated 'Dobunnic C or D'. These have been included in the 'Not Assigned' column. If a particular coin has been recorded as type (e.g. type K) and has an inscription (e.g. BODVOC), then they are recorded here as inscribed coins.

6.9 Summary and conclusions for Part 2

Part 2 began by focusing on the evidence from aerial and geophysical surveys as well as excavations and the material recorded from the eastern Cotswolds. A specific concentration of the north Oxfordshire banjo enclosure also provided an opportunity to place them in the wider context of southern Britain and outline their particular characteristics. By expanding the focus of the study area in chapter 5 we have a much more holistic view of the eastern Cotswolds region. The increase in excavated sites presents us with evidence a number of different site-types as well as a greater quantity of material. The chapter also gave us an opportunity to review the remaining cropmark sites, the hillforts and the circuits of the North Oxfordshire Grim's Ditch. For both of these last two sections this provided a welcome opportunity to review the evidence and present some new interpretations for them. They both remain somewhat enigmatic due to lack of excavation, but their significance has been neglected in recent studies.

This final chapter of part 2 presented the opportunity to place the eastern Cotswolds material alongside the wealthier Thames valley region. By looking at aspects of economy, settlement and even social patterns a more complete picture has been built up about how these lowland and upland regions compare. By also looking at some of the excavated finds, potential local trading networks can also be suggested for this area.

However, the evidence from the upper Thames does not tell us everything about the eastern Cotswolds. To develop a fuller understanding one needs to look elsewhere to fill in the gaps left by the lack of excavated evidence. It is fortunate indeed that there is such a recent review of the wider Cotswold region. Added to this is the growing quantity of

material from the Avon valley and Jurassic ridge. These two regions are so important because they also share much with the eastern Cotswolds, not just in settlement form but also in types of commodity appearing at many of the excavated sites. That areas of interaction and influence can be proposed on the basis of this evidence allows us to view the great complexity of potential exchange networks and bonds that developed throughout the period.

By bringing all of this evidence together during the course of the last three chapters, it now presents an opportunity to place it all within a new interpretive framework in the final part of this study.

Part 3: Themes

The evidence that has been discussed in the last three chapters has raised a number of points worthy of further discussion. The complexity that the evidence from the eastern Cotswolds adds to the significant level of material from the Thames valley means that previous interpretations of the region highlighted in chapter 6 are no longer tenable. The aim of this part is to provide a new perspective on much of this evidence by breaking the regional material into two principal themes. The first of these looks at the development of Iron Age communities and settlement landscapes throughout the entire duration of the first Millennium BC. The second focuses more closely on the themes of settlement that have been raised throughout the course of this discussion. Once again, we return to the banjo enclosure of the region in an attempt to further define their functions. This is followed by a third and final theme that placed these enclosures within the wider context of southern Britain and analyses their comparative locations and distributions.

7. Themes of settlement, space and social context

1. Chronologies, communities and developing identity

Previous attempts to summarise the Iron Age archaeology of the Thames valley region have tended to avoid using a strictly chronological approach. The analysis of certain subjects thematically (such as settlement types or social systems) rather than chronologically has often proved an effective means of drawing out otherwise unforeseen aspects of society, settlement and culture. However, the avoidance of focusing too heavily on these subjects and their development throughout the Iron Age has left the lack of an overall perspective. Not since the attempt of Harding (1972) has a chronological dimension been added that views the linear progression of settlement, society and community throughout the Iron Age; but, with the generation of impressive new datasets from both the wider and eastern Cotswolds region it is necessary to provide a new framework in which to view the evidence.

The aim of this first section is to outline a more complex framework of settlement patterns and social networks that occur during the Iron Age in the region. It is clear there are variations and advances throughout the final 800 years of later prehistory, and that many of these occurred during periods of widespread transition, such as that between the Early and Middle Iron Age c. 400/300 BC. This also brings about a need to re-examine previous expositions regarding the implied meaning of site-type or form. For example, the construction of an enclosure ditch might mean a developed identity in a relatively stable community (Moore 2006) or as a formal boundary in an unstable one (Hingley 1983). The

aim here is to try and better define both the upper Thames and eastern Cotswolds through these interpretations and all the possible results that might go with that.

7.1 The Late Bronze Age: 1500 – 800 BC

The evidence outlined in chapter 1 suggested that a complex social, hierarchical network developed in the upper Thames region during the Late Bronze Age. The emergence of large co-axial field systems followed patterns in other regions where this form of agricultural management appeared during the Middle Bronze Age (Cunliffe 2000; Pryor 2001; Yates 2007). This evidence was used to argue the appearance of a new social system that focused on clusters of sites around two regional ‘power centres’ – Abingdon and Lechlade – that began at this time.

However, certain issues have been recently raised against this model. Lambrick (pers. comm. 2008; and in Dodd *forthcoming*) has disputed that much of the evidence of the Lechlade ‘power centre’ is actually no earlier than the Early Iron Age, with the evidence of Late Bronze Age activity coming from a single ditch. Furthermore, he has pointed out that established Late Bronze Age settlements at Gravelly Guy and Yarnton are ignored due to the lack co-axial field systems in the area and therefore do not fit with the ‘power centre’ model. The lack of reliable dates from Lechlade therefore brings into question – for Lambrick at least – the interpretations outlined by Yates.

Until more secure dating evidence is available there are always going to be concerns regarding Late Bronze Age social, communal and cultural advancement. However, the geographical location of the upper Thames region close to both the Middle Thames and

Wessex regions points to its inclusion in a sphere of influence and interaction that began in the Neolithic period through similarities in monument form, cultural styles and possibly social models too. With certain areas of land established as significant landscapes during this period it can be suggested that there was at least some level of continuous settlement in the upper Thames from the Neolithic period onwards. The circulation of new agricultural practices may not have reached the upper Thames during the Middle Bronze Age but it is reasonable to assume that the adoption of new practices took place during the Late Bronze Age. This may well have led to the establishment of small-scale communities around the field systems but whether any were 'power centres' remains a moot point until firmer evidence can identify any high-status or focal settlement sites.

For the eastern Cotswolds there is very little to go on; only the dating of the ditches at Stow camp to this period hint at the potential settlement landscape of this region. It may well be that many of the hilltop sites such as Norbury, Madmarston and Rainsborough were established but the evidence is minimal. There is little to indicate that the region was permanently settled and the lack of evidence for long linear ditches, co-axial fields or established sites show little similarity to the Wessex uplands further south. It should be noted that the early dates obtained from Stow Camp could indicate that hillforts might have originated in the Cotswold region (c.f. Cunliffe 2005, 590) perhaps at the end of the Middle Bronze Age or during the Late Bronze Age period; this must – for the moment – remain an untested hypothesis but it remains an intriguing possibility.

7.2 Early Iron Age: 800 – 400/300 BC

Beyond the Thames valley, it has been argued that the end of the Bronze Age was marked by social dislocation on a national scale (Yates 2007). This disruption was brought about by a number of coinciding occurrences, which especially included the collapse of the European bronze trade and climatic deterioration. What evidence there is from the study area has been claimed as not supporting upheaval at this time and the upper Thames and eastern Cotswolds remained largely unaffected (Yates 1999). Yet the evidence outlined below indicates there were at least some changes suggesting a new social structure and community identity.

Settlement landscapes

Settlements provide some of the clearest evidence of transformation during the Early Iron Age. This is most visible at Gravelly Guy and Yarnton, which sees the appearance of pits and four-post features that define more established processing sites. Roundhouses are larger and are in greater numbers and perhaps signify a more formalised settlement landscape. Further west, the evidence is also indicative of a movement away from Bronze Age practices and the co-axial landscape of the preceding period seems to have become obsolete with many of the field systems no longer respected as land boundaries. The use of pits and four-post structures across this region also indicate there was a shift in emphasis and move towards a mixed-farming economy rather than a pastoral-based one. The introduction of more intensive cultivation patterns would have produced greater yields of crops that could be used as foodstuffs (animal or human) or tradable commodities (processed goods, unprocessed material or even germinated seeds). The appearance of

these structures suggest that a greater amount of food was produced, requiring more space to store it. This switch in economic conditions might therefore have led to a greater emphasis placed on agricultural practices. This is best seen at the site of Butler's Field, Lechalde (Boyle *et al* 1998). Here, evidence shows that four-post structures were constructed on top of the earlier co-axial field ditches. It implies that the ditches were either already filled-in or silted up to an extent where they were no longer seen as a significant marker in the landscape.

For the eastern Cotswolds we are more reliant on the hillfort sites for evidence of activity within the region with no field-systems, linear boundaries or other defining features visible. The wider Cotswolds is also sparse in settlement terms. Moore (2007b) struggles to define many settlement sites from this period outside the region's hillforts. The only exception at present is Bourton-on-the-Water where excavations certainly attest to settlement from an early period. The open nature of this – and sites in the Thames valley – hints that this was the typical form for the period.

The hillforts themselves are relatively difficult to analyse because so little evidence exists regarding their chronology. These sites do not follow similar patterns of establishment, form and design to those in Wessex. Thus examples that might otherwise be used happen to contradict the current chronological structure in place. There are two good examples of this. First, Norbury, which has been placed in the Early Iron Age, even though this has been interpreted as a hilltop enclosure; second, Stow camp where the ditches are Late Bronze Age even though large-scale construction of this kind is thought only to start in the Early Iron Age. Dating of these sites is particularly difficult with no up-to-date ceramic chronology, and there has been no radiocarbon dating programme for the region. However,

with the full publication of a sequence from Crickley Hill there is a chance that much of the Cotswold Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age evidence might be placed in a tighter, more datable sequence similar to that of the Danebury material (Cunliffe 1984; 1995; 2000).

Influences and interaction

The appearance of items of exchange during this period reveals that the Early Iron Age saw the beginning of certain networks of interaction, mainly from the north-west in the form of briquetage and May Hill querns. That these items have been found across the upper Thames and eastern Cotswolds indicates that items were widely traded. The distribution patterns of this evidence also shows that the insular networks across Britain did not completely collapse at the end of the Bronze Age. This would imply that communities were more stable than has been previously argued and there was not necessarily a significant upheaval during the Bronze Age/Iron Age transition. However, this evidence might also be interpreted as representing a new social order that introduced new networks, developed to meet the needs of the new agricultural regimes, salt for preserving meat or querns for processing greater quantities of grain.

Developing communities

The agricultural adaptations that come about at this time should be interpreted as a move towards a more complete economic model of food producing strategies (FPS). The use of all possible resources that included many aspects of a mixed-farming economy would provide more stability than an economy based solely on pastoralist exploitation (which has been argued for the Bronze Age). The caring of crops from storage to sowing and from

cultivation to processing would have required a different set of skills to those of husbanding animals.

The emergence of arable regimes within this region might also attest to a greater emphasis on communal interdependence. It is possible that FPS patterns did lead to the establishment of 'producer' and 'consumer' sites during the Early Iron Age (though perhaps not later periods), which would have then required an increased level of individual, communal and regional communication levels. This can also be applied to the growth of wider exchange networks at this time, particularly with the identification of Droitwich briquetage.

For the eastern Cotswold sites, the lack of settlement evidence from the univallate hillforts suggest that, as already mentioned in Chapter 5, they were only used at certain times or for particular activities. Their physical presence attests to the desire to mark a location within the landscape and implies that there was a permanent population to build them. This might also have marked a formalisation of the landscape. This activity might also be seen as building a sense of common purpose through 'architectural' bonding, similar to the many of the Neolithic sites in Britain. The construction of any one monument brought together communities or social groups.

There might be two reasons for this. First, that this was a communal project with mutual goals. That hillforts were specialist trading sites might be the most obvious reason for this as it brought together local communities to trade with each other or visitors bringing exotic goods. Spots may have been chosen for location, position of visibility. Alternatively the construction of these sites might also be seen as a form of communal architecture that attempted to 'smooth over' any cracks within social relations. These may also have been

built as territory markers or boundary sites that established claims to contested land or even refuges in the centre of territories in a region that saw constant upheaval or minor conflicts.

The communities that developed during this period also had a great awareness of the past and possibly their own heritage. Good examples of this are at Chastleton and Lyneham, both of which are located close to Neolithic burial monuments. Whilst this might in part be a coincidence in the landscape, the clear picture of prehistoric histories that seem to develop in the Middle Iron Age denotes much earlier origins in social and communal thought.

The changing settlement and economic practices at the start of the Early Iron Age might point to the failure of the social system contended by Yates at the end of the Late Bronze Age period. A pastoral-based economy might not have been able to sustain a population increase or movement from other areas. This might include movement up the Thames from the middle Thames valley, which seems to have suffered much more as a result of the bronze trading system collapses in Europe (Yates 1999, 167). The shift might also be an invisible social one, with Yates' hierarchical system falling apart in the face of greater self-sufficiency brought about by mixed-farming practices.

It is difficult to provide detailed interpretations of settlement and structure for this period as so little evidence exists. There is little to indicate that the potential social hierarchies of the Bronze Age continued during this period. Deposition of metalwork in water does not continue and the field systems fall out of use or are re-used for different purposes. It seems likely therefore that the closest interpretive model that can be used for this period is the one advocated by Hingley. Stable groups developed out of exchange networks across large

areas of the Thames valley and in the Cotswolds populations were located in territories around special foci in the landscape. The two main concentrations of settlements for this period in the Thames valley were centred on the Lower Leach/Coln area and the Lower Windrush/Evenlode area. These can be seen as extended networks of the small family groups. The division between these two extended groups is marked by the location of the Burroway fort, pointing to the significance of this site as a meeting or trading place.

7.3 The Middle Iron Age: 400/300 – 1 BC

The shift from the Early to Middle Iron Age sees a number of significant transformations in the archaeological record that reveal social and cultural changes. This apparent transition is widespread across southern Britain at a similar time and is marked by alterations in settlement patterns, increased networks and shifting functions of sites.

Settlement landscapes

Some archaeological evidence does highlight a strong level of continuity at certain settlement sites. At Gravelly Guy, Yarnton and Ashville there is very little difference in the types of features being used and the layout of domestic areas. This is also the case with the open settlement at Bourton-on-the-Water.

However, the majority of archaeological evidence clearly shows that changes occurred across the settlement landscape, particularly with the appearance of many new sites. Within the Thames valley this is seen with activity recorded away from well-established settlements and often located on virgin territory, generally the floodplain or first terrace.

The open nature of this landscape would mean little land clearance activity was required but the sites would have been more prone to effects of flooding or alluvial deposition. There are two possible explanations for the emergence of these sites; first they are the result of a growing population expanding beyond the limits of Early Iron Age settlements or they are the establishment of more specialist settlements exploiting the floodplain resources. The two explanations are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

This might also mark a move towards a greater emphasis on land-rights during the Middle Iron Age period. The clearest example of this is within the Lower Windrush in an area termed the LWMS (Lower Windrush Multiple Settlements – Hingley 1999) (figures 6.2 and 6.3). Here a relatively small geographic area of land that is geologically diverse, underlain by second and first terrace deposits and large areas of the floodplain (and alluvium), is surrounded on three sides by flowing rivers that help mark a territorial area. The focus in the centre is an area of second terrace with significant numbers of Neolithic and Early Bronze Age monuments. This area acted as communal land for the surrounding settlements (such as Gravelly Guy and Lynch Hill) located immediately adjacent to the second terrace. These communities had access to the first terrace for arable cultivation with the second terrace left over for pasture suggesting a stable mixed farming economy. During the Middle Iron Age apparent specialist sites, such as Mingies Ditch and Watkins Farm, appeared on or close to the floodplain that have not provided the environmental evidence representative of a mixed farming economy. There have been numerous interpretations of the Lower Windrush valley, ranging from those arguing it is part of a much larger social sphere (Hingley 1984a; 1999) through to its evidence implying the pasture was the most significant factor in the Iron Age Thames valley economy (Lambrick 1992; Lambrick and Allen 2004). More recently Hey and Lambrick (Hey 2007; in Dodd *forthcoming*) have

also interpreted the evidence as denoting a much greater emphasis on established land-rights and that one of these aspects was the communal sharing of the pastoral land.

Significant variations are also seen within the eastern Cotswolds and wider Cotswold region. This period saw the appearance of large numbers of enclosed settlements in the uplands. It seems that here there is a similar pattern to that observed in the wider Cotswold region that Moore has revealed as marking a visible growth in both communal and individual identities. This may in one sense mark a shift on a mental or psychological basis as well as one that is generated through the physical construction of an enclosure ditch. There are two possible explanations for this increased visibility; first that there was a dramatic increase in population levels at the end of the Early Iron Age (originally suggested by Hingley [1983] as expansion from the Thames valley) or that the construction of settlements marked a movement towards a new settlement landscape, away from the preceding 'open' one (Moore 2006). Enclosure sites in the Middle Iron Age are no longer special places, they are of a style almost universally adopted for farmstead settlement sites.

The construction of these enclosures also marks a greater permanence of settlement sites. This is also marked by the large-scale land clearances that seem to occur at this time. This is best observed at the site of Steeple Aston where there is evidence not only of land clearance for the establishment of the site but also the creation of an enclosure site marking the transition from unenclosed to enclosed settlement and from the Early Iron Age to the Middle Iron Age.

Many of the univallate hillfort and hilltop sites fell out of use, perhaps marking a period when society, due in part to changing social patterns, perhaps no longer require 'special

places', trading centres or refuge sites within the landscape. Some other hillforts are developed, particularly towards the eastern part of the region. The archaeological evidence does not reveal that any univallate earthworks were constructed at either Madmarston or Rainsborough, implying they were constructed as multivallate earthworks in one phase. These sites also took on a different function than earlier periods with Middle Iron Age occupation, apparently much more intensive than earlier evidence indicates. This is also a period that is marked by disruption seen at many hillfort sites. There are a number of examples where sites are destroyed by fire and subsequently abandoned. At Crickley Hill this happens twice in the course of the Early Iron Age and at least once at Leckhampton. Within the study region, evidence of fire is visible at Burroway and Bladon, although not enough is known of these sites to assign dates or whether this can be interpreted as a reason for abandonment. Further evidence of dislocation or instability comes from the recovery of sling-stones at Madmarston and 'guard rooms' at Rainsborough¹. The complete destruction of Rainsborough also shows that it may have been sacked at some time in the Middle Iron Age. There is no evidence for apparent continuity or the improvement of any univallate sites. The defensive nature of these sites might also suggest a protectionist stance on newly developed trading links as it is during this period that trading links with the Jurassic ridge to the north-east begin to fully blossom.

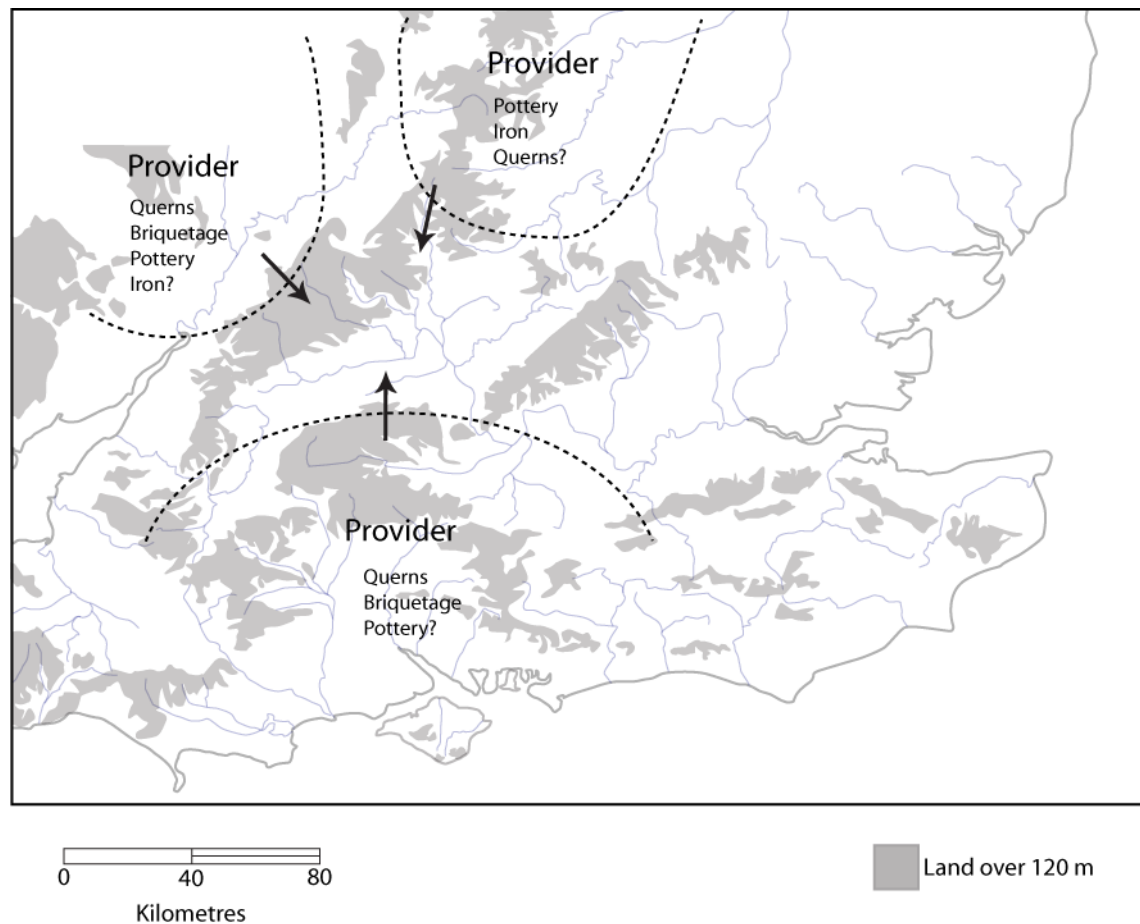
Influences and interaction

The Middle Iron Age also marks a transition to a more complex system of exchange networks. Those already in place continue alongside others that start at the beginning of the Middle Iron Age. Salt and querns still form a significant percentage of these goods,

¹ Although the defensive nature of these guardrooms has recently been brought into question (Bowden 2006)

although many saddle querns are replaced by rotary quern styles. More items come into view such as iron (in the form of bars) and some regional pottery styles. There is now an influx of goods into the region from the north-west, the north-east and the south coast. Arguably the most important of these is the growth of networks based around iron currency bars. They mark a greater quantity of iron in the archaeological record and whilst they might not be exchange items of goods in the traditional sense they may still act as a marker. By placing these artefacts at the boundaries of settlements, maybe they were creating a sense of identity or belonging to much wider, more general regional exchange networks.

The increased scope of interaction during the Middle Iron Age highlights that there was an increased demand in the types of raw material not available in the upper Thames and eastern Cotswolds. This seems to prove a growing definition of difference between certain regions and the emergence of inter-regional networks and therefore possible specialised industries or production centres. Much like what has previously been interpreted for the Late Iron Age in terms of core/periphery models – a term this is perhaps outmoded – there is still a clear distinction between what different regions had in terms of natural resources that could be exploited and appear to have been widely distributed. Whilst it is necessary to point out that we only have one half of the exchange network visible from the archaeological evidence that was outlined in chapter 6, there is still the clear evidence that the regions surrounding the Thames valley and eastern Cotswolds periphery provided certain resources and materials for which we have the archaeological remains (fig. 7.1).



*Fig. 7.1: A Middle Iron Age map of natural and man-made resources beyond the eastern Cotswolds and upper Thames. This is based on the origins of widely traded goods across southern Britain, especially querns, briquetage and pottery.
(A. Lang)*

Developing communities

The Middle Iron Age offers a far greater level of archaeological evidence highlighting the establishment and development of communities within the upper Thames and eastern Cotswolds.

For the enclosures of the eastern Cotswolds it can be interpreted that these mark a perceived shift in the display of established land rights. There is now a clear indication of permanent occupancy and a physical boundary to a site that alters the nature of the settlement landscape. But this widespread distribution should not necessarily indicate that

it establishes a region-wide communal identity. There was a growing complexity of social patterns within the region, as elsewhere in southern Britain. These distinctions can be observed with the adoption of different ceramic styles and forms. The eastern Cotswolds sees the continuation of many forms of temper, and the adoption of vertical scored ware, in all likelihood from the north-east. The western Cotswolds sees a much greater reliance on Malvernian wares and its almost complete adoption over local material. The Thames valley on the other hand has the distinct Stanton-Harcourt style zone. This makes communities more visible in the archaeological record and shows a growing diversity marked by changing influences and regions of interaction.

By far the best evidence of the land-rights issue comes from the LWMS area, which is marked during this period with increased numbers of settlement and a more overt display of ownership of them. The move towards more specialist sites across first terrace and floodplain may illustrate a more developed economic model but this may also indicate that settlement movement may have been forced. These enclosures are only visible on areas that might be termed marginal occupation areas. The term here is used to refer to areas prone to flooding or with poor agricultural qualities. The possible population expansion or more widespread use of all possible resources in certain parts of the LWMS meant that certain communities began to exploit these marginal areas to set-up sites of specialist functions, reliant on exchange from other sites in order to survive. The construction of boundary ditches and enclosures may have been just one indicator of land claims within these areas, helping to define residential space.

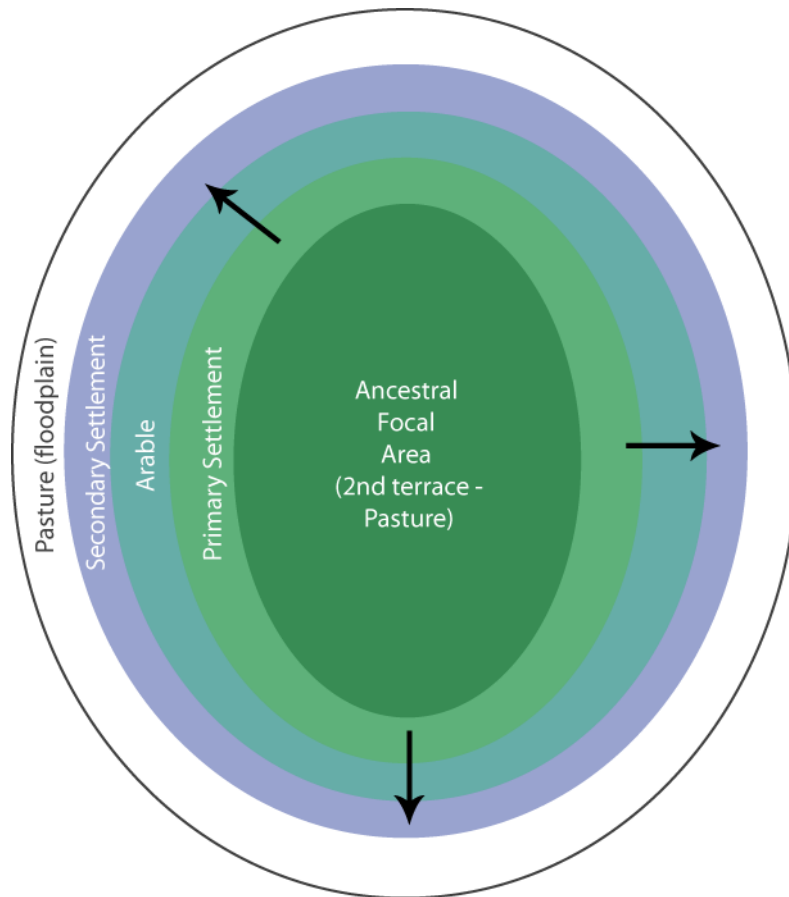
This movement and definition of certain communities does not seem to occur in just the Lower Windrush valley (although it is the most obvious because of the visibility of

enclosed settlements). Sites such as Farmoor act as a good example of this although in this case and unfortunately for the people who built it, it was a failed venture that only lasted five years. Elsewhere, there are examples of a successful establishment of such settlements with places like Claydon Pike and Port Meadow providing good examples of communities that found a niche within a wider economic sphere. For both these sites, they were established away from the focal settlement areas around Lechlade and Yarnton/Cassington respectively and mark progress into new territories. Again a land-rights issue may have had a part to play.

A significant factor for this dispersal of settlements appears to have been an environmental one. The knock-on effect of wide-scale land clearances in the eastern Cotswolds was the rapid raising of the water table that caused more flooding every year and – towards the end of the period – annual alluvial deposition. This would have caused a certain level of upheaval, added to by the loss of nutrients in the soil of some areas, which caused crops to fail or yields to lower. Even with the possible establishment of winter sowing this may have added considerable pressure to produce consumables in a possibly complex local exchange network.

For the LWMS however, there is an added factor that can be argued as having an influence on settlement space and the evolution of communities. The position of a significant Late Prehistoric monumental landscape across the second terrace area clearly had an impact on Iron Age settlement patterns. It is likely that those who established settlements there were claiming rights to the ancestors who constructed the landscape and were buried there.

This model fits very well with the concept of prehistoric histories (Gosden and Lock 1998) that has been argued as representing relationships between Iron Age people and the past. In this case, it seems that the population positioned their settlements around an ‘ancestral focus’ area (fig. 7.2). Around this was an area of large established and open ‘primary’ settlements that practised a mixed farming regime. Any Iron Age settlement located immediately adjacent would be able to prove a direct connection to those ancestors (whether they were related or not) and therefore reaffirm their ownership of land. Thus a rigid system of ownership would have developed within this area, which would have automatically created a boundary of land. This regime may well have been established in the Early Iron Age and was relatively successful for that period of time as there is little evidence to suggest otherwise. However, this appears to change at the start of the Middle Iron Age due to a number of pressures forced on the population. A greater number of settlements were established further and further away from the area of ancestral focus and for the first time many of these were enclosed. The growth of enclosed or bounded settlements here might be interpreted as a practical way of claiming land rights or settlement space. These developed around the settlement area and its associated arable land as a ‘secondary settlement area’, possibly still with access to the first terrace gravels of the arable area but more likely these were associated with the pasture of the floodplain. This secondary settlement area might be seen as less important due to their distant association with the ancestral focal area.



*Figure 7.2: The possible development of an ancestral focal area on the second terrace in the Lower Windrush might have had a significant impact on settlement space in the Iron Age.
(A. Lang)*

Two distinct conclusions can be made from looking at the settlement evidence from this area. First, that the ancestral focal area was used as a way of claiming rights and ownership to the most fertile areas of land, and second that the push of certain communities to the edge of these fertile areas caused other types of land-right claims to be displayed, usually through enclosed settlements.

The concept of prehistoric histories in the Iron Age is not entirely new (Gosden and Lock 1998; Bradley 2002) though this theoretical framework has, perhaps, been undervalued as a tool for interpreting social and settlement space. Two distinct forms of association have been proposed, genealogical association, where direct relationships are visible, and mythical association, where indirect associations are apparent. The focus of settlement

around the ancestral focal area in the Lower Windrush might be interpreted as either. It is possible that the populace could claim direct ancestry to those buried in the Barrows, or that it was used as a form of ownership claim where no rightful assertion could necessarily be made.

The review of evidence from the study area in light of this discussion highlights that there are a greater number of examples of prehistoric histories than previously thought, especially from the Middle Iron Age onwards. This includes the settlement at Salmonsbury upstream along the Windrush. The establishment of an open settlement directly over the location of Neolithic causewayed enclosure (after Marshall 1996b; Stoten 2004; GSB 2004 [see fig. 5.5]) hints at a desire to establish (or continue) an association with a much older monumental landscape. In part, this might have had to do with the practical location of the site at the confluence of two rivers and surrounded by fertile gravels, however, it seems likely that the causeway ditches would still have been visible during the Iron Age, even if they were partly in-filled.

There are further examples that might be classified as ‘mythical association’ that are also apparent in the region. A good example of this is the establishment of the Middle Iron Age farmstead (possibly dating back earlier) next to the site of the Rollright Stones. The circle may have lost its original significance but it still held some meaning for the Iron Age populace, much as it does today. No direct association with the actual circle has been recorded but it might be that those who settled there acted as guardians or had some mythical connection with the site. The impact of these earlier sites in the landscape is further implied by the Early Iron Age trackway in the adjacent field. This runs past and

immediately adjacent to the Whispering Knights portal dolmen, which suggests that the stones acted as some form of boundary marker tied up in the prehistoric landscape.

Other examples of recognition or mythical association come from the Thames valley. At Lechlade, close to the site of Butler's Field (Boyle *et al* 1998) a roundhouse structure was built along the course of a much older cursus. This is one of the few roundhouse sites within the area that is continually rebuilt during the Early Iron Age (*ibid.*). Elsewhere, at Cassington the establishment of the Late Iron Age enclosure over the area occupied by numerous Round Barrows and possible Neolithic sites also suggests recognition of earlier significance. What's interesting for both these sites is that they are treated differently to the Lower Windrush valley with the earlier sites being recognised but not necessarily respected in the same way.

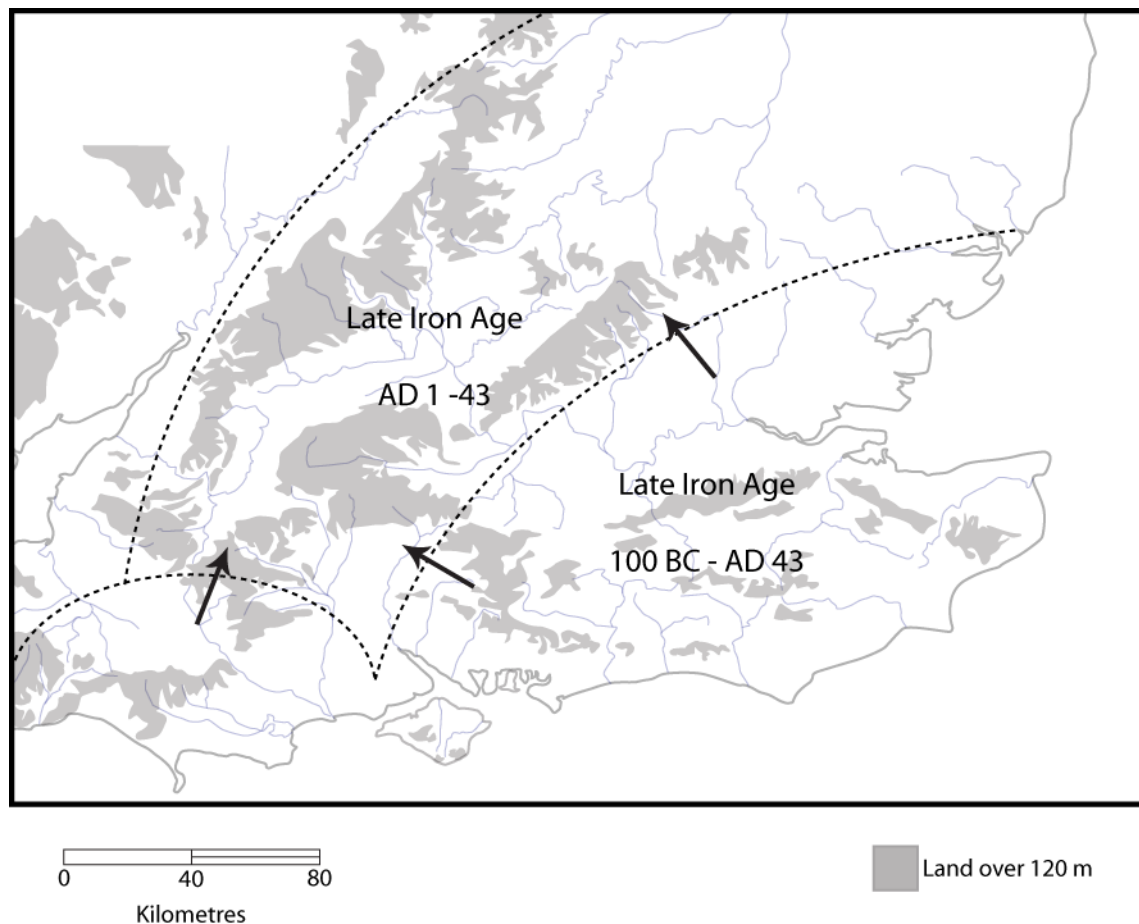
One final aspect of this association with the past can be seen through the special curation and deposition of artefacts in this period. An example of the latter comes from Lyneham long barrow. Here, just south of Lyneham hillfort, an iron currency bar was inserted into the barrow as a deliberate deposition of the artefact, similar to other structured deposits common in the Iron Age (Cunliffe 1992; Hill 1995b) but in this case the monument was far older. With regards to artefact curation a good example comes from the recovery of a small trapezoidal Hallstatt razor from the Slade Farm site at Bicester (Ellis *et al* 2000). The recording of this artefact in Middle or Late Iron Age deposits and its apparent degradation through long-term use inferring this object was an heirloom passed down over a number of generations before being deposited at the site.

The Middle Iron Age therefore sees the growth in communal identity not only through many changes in settlement form, material culture and spheres of exchange but also through a greater recognition – or at least display of recognition – with the past. It seems that this relatively stable system of exchange networks and settlement groups alters with the shift that marks the transition between the Early and Middle Iron Age. In the Thames valley, groups, networks and settlements evolve a more complex system of interaction and connectivity. As the population expanded within the Thames valley, issues such as land-rights started to become of greater significance. Enclosures start to occur as family groups begin to express land-claims in a more obvious and visible fashion. Settlements and family groups also start to expand or move onto the more marginal areas of land within this region. Part of this is because of the intensity of land-claims forcing marginalisation of certain settlement groups and part is the growing requirement of exchange goods as networks become more complex at this time. Some of these succeed and some fail.

Evidence from the eastern Cotswolds mirrors that of the wider Cotswolds and the Middle Iron Age period. Enclosures start to emerge at this time that marks a transformation in social and community identity. Bounded sites become a significant mark on the landscape and illustrate a greater sense of personal social space. These sites start to cluster in groups, representing wider communities made up of family groups. Identity is also displayed through the adoption of certain pottery types, the shape of an enclosure and possibly even the type of agricultural regime. Land clearance intensifies at this time, demonstrating a greater need for space, again possibly brought about by an expanded population.

7.4 The Late Iron Age: AD 1 – 43

For southern and south Midland Britain the end of the Middle Iron Age is difficult to define in the archaeological record because it is not a universal transition of settlements and artefacts seen with the Middle Iron Age. For some places there is a dramatic shift of settlement patterns and cultural artefacts adopted but in others there is nothing to mark an alteration to any earlier patterns. There is also the added complexity of attempting to define this in chronological terms as different regions pick up trends at different times. For the south-eastern region, the move towards continental trading links means that the Late Iron Age transition occurs much earlier than elsewhere. The chronological discussion in chapter 1 argued that, for the study region, it is very likely that any transition occurred very late in the period, possibly only 50 years before the Claudian invasion (fig. 7.3). This has also been argued for other regions outside the so-called south-eastern ‘core’ (Booth *et al* 2007; Hill 2007). This would fit well with the evidence from the upper Thames and eastern Cotswold region as the adoption of new material and new settlement patterns is not universal.



*Fig. 7.3: Potential influences and the development during the Late Iron Age in the south & south-east from c. 100 BC.
(A. Lang)*

Perhaps the greatest difference for the changes in this period compared to earlier ones is the strength of international influence. The expansion of the Roman Republic – then Empire – across Continental Europe and the military campaigns of Caesar could very possibly have affected individual, community or tribal (as well as international) relations. This might have altered many of the networks already in existence and heralded a new social, economic and cultural era.

Settlement landscapes

Settlements provide a great deal of evidence for transformation. In chapter 6, the discussion focused on three possible adjustments during this period, enclosures occurring at intra-site and inter-site levels and the construction of large nucleated settlements. All these allude to a much greater definition of space at both individual and community level. The growth of rectilinear enclosures marks a move towards a greater focus on individual plots of land. The construction of the large *enclosed oppida* sites might also mark a shift in society where boundaries of space need to be more clearly defined. This might almost be regarded as a progression towards a proto-urban society, although these sites should not necessarily be regarded as towns themselves.

However, this period should be seen as one consisting entirely of apparent shifts in material culture, settlement and even possible social models. Within the Cotswolds there is evidence of a deliberate avoidance of adopting new techniques or artefacts. The Late Iron Age is as much defined by the continuation of certain concepts from the Middle Iron Age as it by the shift in others and this certainly makes it more difficult to define this period simply in terms of the ‘progression’ of communities that chose to either adopt or reject particular objects, settlement patterns and social models.

Influences and interaction

Change is also seen with the introduction of new forms of pottery and material culture. Wheel-thrown wares are distributed across the region with their association with many of

the lowest stratigraphical layers of the *oppida* sites suggesting that construction occurred either after or at the same time as the introduction of this form of material culture.

The adoption of coinage also marks the appearance of a move towards new identities. This might be seen as a greater awareness of tribal, community or even individual identity that is evidenced through the production of new and different types of coinage, some with names, some with locations and some with certain designs that may have had implicit meanings for individuals or communities.

Furthermore, the threat of Rome may well have had an impact on many ways of life. Further campaigns or the wealth brought about through trade may have caused shifts in economic terms. This might have occurred through more developed exchange networks from the midlands region towards the south-east or the development of new exchange networks with the continent itself.

This is most apparent in the study area through the continued visibility of external exchange networks. The identification of briquetage, querns and some pottery all suggest that the networks established in the Early and Middle Iron Age periods remained.

The adoption of new styles of material culture and the widened exchange network may have brought about a forced economic shift. The adoption of new pottery styles also marks this change, where there was a move away from reliance on local styles and exchanged goods from the north-west and north-east. Instead there appears to be a greater focus on exchange networks with the south-east. With this area trading with the wider Roman

world, it might have led to ideas being filtered further west along the trading routes of Late Iron Age Britain.

Developing communities

The Late Iron Age sees the appearance in the archaeological record of tribal communities visible through the adoption of certain forms of material culture and even potential expression through settlement patterns and forms. The upper Thames has been described as a possible ‘melting pot’ of tribal communities (Lambrick 1998; Booth *et al* 2007) overlapping at the edge of their respective spheres of influence. No doubt there would have been a continued desire to exploit the fertile gravels and meadows of the floodplain and use the extensive network of tributaries that flow into the Thames River.

The evidence from the eastern Cotswolds appears to suggest that there was a much stronger association with the Dobunnic tribe here, whose heartland has been generally identified as being much further west (e.g. Van Arsdell 1994; Cunliffe 2005). Previous scholars have argued that this region marks the limit of the Dobunni and may have been influenced by the Catuvellauni/Trinovantes further east. However, the evidence discussed here implies that this region was influenced by and possibly attached to the Dobunni, apparent through the greater density of coins of this tribe within the region. It is also reasonable to assume that the construction of the North Oxfordshire Grim’s Ditch was a part of this developing communal or tribal identity. The activity of construction itself may well have served as a goal of common purpose or focus of endeavours. What further function it may have served remains unknown until further excavation or survey can take place across wide areas of its interior. Nevertheless, it certainly appears to fit within a

wider pattern of enclosing or bounding landscapes which also occur in other parts of the Dobunnic region, for example Salmonsbury, Bagendon and possibly Wappenbury

The evidence also indicates that this period sees the arrival of alternative possible social or hierarchical structures. This has been argued as representing an ‘experiment’ of a new system (Hill 2007) that “made up the rules as they went along” (*ibid.*, 31). The use of names of coins and the advent of the term ‘Rex’ might mark the beginning of new forms of display for a new (or previously unidentified) social elite. These developed a greater influence on local communities and regional networks and focused their power at certain settlement centres.

Continuity is also very much in evidence across the wider Cotswold region. Moore (2007a, 47) has argued that by imposing a rigid Middle/Late framework on many sites, archaeologists are missing significant details. By assuming there was change, they have removed the possibility that communities were conscious of the decisions they made, i.e. living in the same place or using the same artefacts during a period where shifts were occurring elsewhere. Thus for many sites, it’s not just that there was no adoption of new material, there was actually a deliberate avoidance of adopting new artefacts. This also seems to occur at a number of sites in both the Thames valley and eastern Cotswolds. The *enclosed oppidum* at Abingdon provides a good example with Late Iron Age settlement patterns clearly adopted whilst Middle Iron Age ‘coarse-wares’ were continued to be used until the time of the Claudian invasion (Allen pers. comm. 2007). It is likely there will be a number of similar sites in the eastern Cotswolds; a good example might be the Tomlin’s gate banjo enclosure. It has always been assumed that this is Middle Iron Age because of the pottery, but this might suggest it was in use during the Middle and Late Iron Ages.

The military campaigns and the expansion of Rome would have been a factor. This can be seen with the construction of large banks and ditches around nucleated *enclosed oppida* sites. These constructions are of a defensive nature. Whilst this might not necessarily relate directly to the potential threat of the Roman military, it strongly alludes to the idea that there was unrest at the time. These sites might not only have protected the inhabitants, but their location along the course of the Thames and its major tributaries also acted as methods of protecting established trade routes.

The appearance of the enclosed settlements in the Thames valley might also signal that the older system of land-rights and ownership fell apart. Thus land was no longer tied up with certain families, communities or people and the establishment of enclosed sites might mark a transition to a greater necessity to claim land, to display status or to mark a boundary of ownership. Within the *enclosed oppida* sites this would have been even more necessary as land would have been restricted by the construction of the large ditch systems.

The transition to the Late Iron Age marks most clearly the emergence of new social, cultural and settlement systems. The introduction of coinage and construction of large nucleated *enclosed oppida* sites this period marks a transition to a different more hierarchical social structure and more established community sites. A new elite marks its appearance with systems of artefact exchange and display (coinage) and certain sites that begin to act as foci. These large sites along the Thames also mark a renewed desire to trade with areas of the south-east that maintain strong continental exchange contacts. This should not necessarily be seen as interaction between a 'core' and a 'periphery' as such, more that the regions adopt these new systems at different times. The widespread adoption

of many of these artefacts did not occur in the so-called periphery hinterland because there was no desire and also many of the new social systems had yet to fully impact upon the wider population.

2. Settlement space

7.5 Settlement landscapes: aesthetics and practicalities

The settlement landscapes outlined in the previous section highlight the growth in complexity and divergence in form of settlement patterns across the region. From this we are able to build up a picture of how landscapes developed over time. It has been suggested recently that there is sometimes a two-dimensional view of prehistoric landscapes and our modern perceptions do not always take into account the aesthetics of landscape and their influence on later patterns of use (Gosden and Lock 2007).

For the upper Thames and eastern Cotswolds landscape has a significant impact on the distribution, type and extent of settlements and settlement space. In the Thames valley, as we have already seen, this has manifested itself through respect of earlier landscapes, exploitations of the fertile terrace soils, constructing boundaries for display or ownership and the abandonment of certain sites due to a number of circumstances, particularly the potential flooding due to the underlying clay deposits.

For the eastern Cotswolds, landscape was also an influence on settlement space. This upland landscape provided opportunities to place sites in prominent positions, offered locations with extensive views and also shallow but hardy soils capable of sustaining agricultural regimes. The lack of widespread earlier settlement might suggest that there was little requirement to respect earlier landscapes (although when necessary this was adhered to – e.g. Salmonsbury, Lyneham and Chastleton) and that settlement space was thus less restrictive than the Thames valley. A good example of this is the clustering of cropmark sites on or close to the highest ground available, it is possible therefore that the

location of settlements was as much about visibility in the landscape from elsewhere than it was for purely practical reasons.

Landscape and environment were therefore as much of an influence on settlement landscapes as the other way round and therefore it is necessary to see how these requirements affected settlement space. When Hingley originally outlined his discussion of ‘open vs. enclosed’ settlements for the two landscapes of this study area, he attempted to try and distinguish how they were different. Yet it is clear that Hingley over-simplified the discussion somewhat and placed too great an emphasis on the aesthetic lay-out of these sites rather than their functional requirement. This discussion is therefore briefly returned to here.

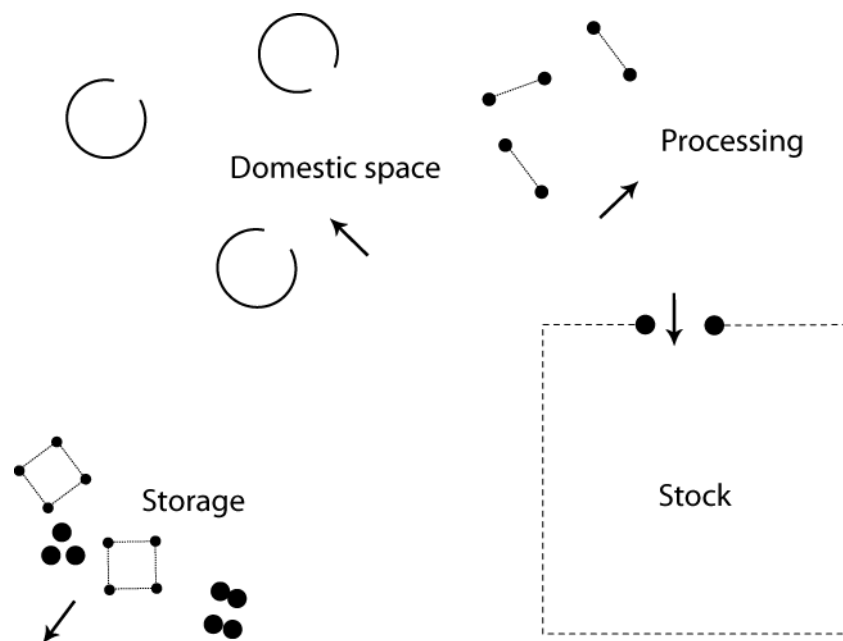
Open settlements

By terming a settlement as ‘open’ the definition remains a loose one that can be (and has been) applied to many forms and types that existed throughout the Iron Age period. These sites can be observed as having differences in lay-out, segregation of activity areas and location of domestic space. For Hingley, the open settlements that appeared across the lowland region not only evidenced through connectivity and exchange networks but also a widespread social and cultural identity displayed through settlement form (or lack thereof).

The questions that have been asked within Iron Age studies have tended to focus on aspects of why there was such a widespread transition towards enclosure sites, but a further question that needs to be asked is why some settlements were not enclosed. A simple

answer to this is that there are a number of functional, practical and potentially ritual explanations for this.

The advantage of open settlements is that there is less defined space so that features can spread outside any potential boundaries that may exist. For places like Gravelly Guy and City Farm, Hanborough the spread of pits across large areas could be accommodated by the lack of bounded or enclosed space. Furthermore, the evidence from the LWMS has already shown that those who occupied the primary settlement area would not necessarily have required a definition of place (such as in the form of an enclosed settlement) and this existed in itself with its location adjacent to the ancestral focal area requiring no further definition beyond the segregation of domestic, processing, storage and animal areas.



*Figure 7.4: An idealised illustration of an 'open' settlement. Arrows are an attempt to highlight the potential focus of activity areas. For this example these point towards the individual areas.
(A. Lang)*

For sites such as Claydon Pike there may be more practical explanations. The existence of a site such as this close to areas prone to flooding, which would also explain why there was

continual movement of the site, would have been affected seasonally. By shifting location, perhaps every generation, the added problems of having to construct (and up-keep) a boundary ditch might not have proved a practical solution to defining settlement space. The construction of the ditch might have proved impossible if the site was located not far above the water table for example, water could potentially stagnate and cause health problems for humans and animals alike. With a relatively small settlement space required the addition of a boundary may have been unnecessary in practical terms.

There are many more examples than the two stated above that can be regarded as ‘open’ settlements within both the eastern Cotswolds (fig. 5.3) and the Thames valley. Yet the differences amongst this collective group (chronological, possible function and location) all suggest that there were as many different forms of open settlement as there were enclosed. Figure 7.4 is just one illustrative example of the potential lay-out of an open settlement and should be seen as an attempt at a universal description. What it does show is that, from an archaeological perspective at least, there is little to physically define the separate spaces within a domestic settlement context (although it should be realised that hedges, fences or pit alignments may have fulfilled this task) and that many of these might be considered to overlap. If this was the case this could simply imply that settlement spaces were less organised or structured in the way an enclosed space may have been.

Enclosed settlements: boundaries and space

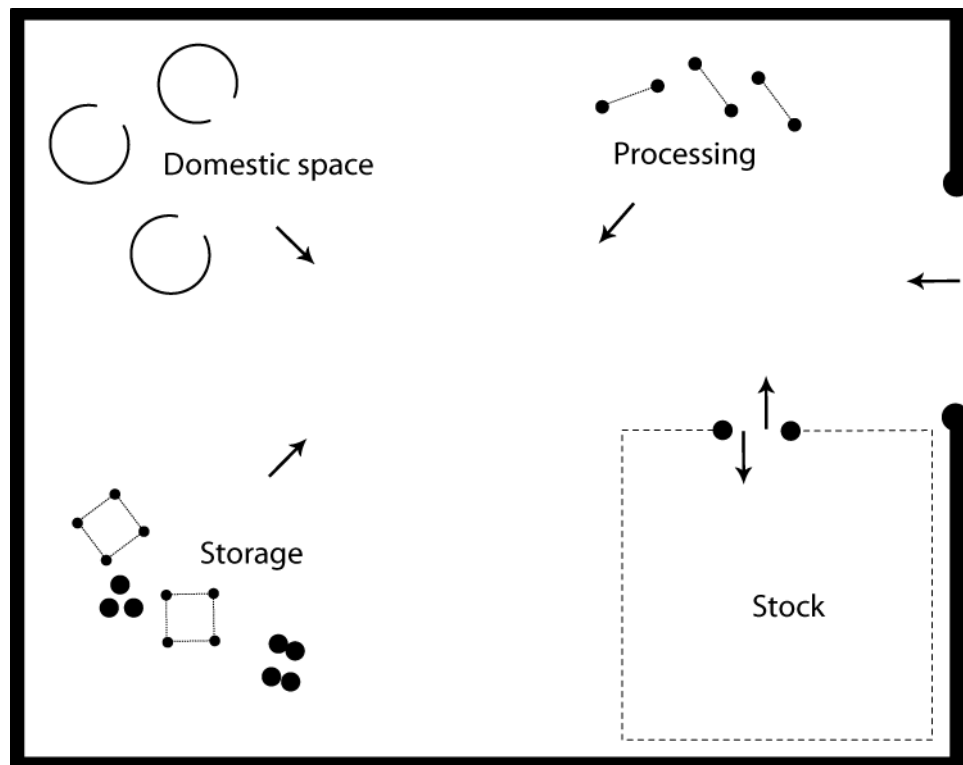
The topic of enclosed and enclosing spaces has been covered by many scholars of the Iron Age in recent years (e.g. Bowden & McOmish 1987; Hingley 1990b; 2006b; Hill 1995b; Collis 1996; Thomas 1997; Collis 2006). These discussions has often focused on the

implied meaning of boundaries and bounded space, shifting between interpretations of the functional and the symbolic (Thomas 1997, 213). Collis has outlined a number of levels at which a site or landscape can be enclosed (1996; 2006). Functionally, these can be defined as such:

- *Defensive*
- *Delimiting activity areas*
- *Boundaries between communities*
- *Display and ostentation*
- *Defining the status of the inhabitants*
- *Symbolic*

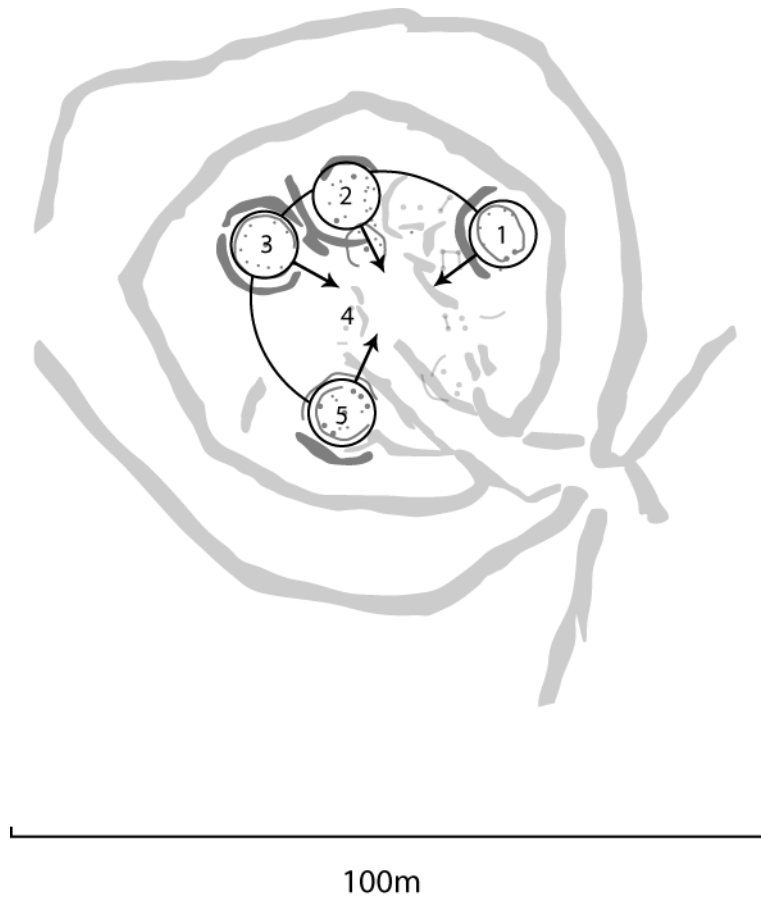
(2006, 155-6)

Such definitions can be applied to many different forms of enclosure that occur during the Iron Age across very different landscapes. This relates as much to hillforts as it does to *enclosed oppida* with the act of enclosing adding the dimension of limiting or clearly defining space. Unlike open settlements described above, the physical presence of a boundary ditch delineates a space more structurally giving greater control and rigidity to the location and extent of domestic and settlement spaces (fig. 7.5).



*Figure 7.5: An idealised perspective on enclosed settlements within the Thames valley and eastern Cotswolds. The arrows point towards the centre of the enclosure, highlighting the changed focus in activity brought about by the construction of the enclosure ditch.
(A. Lang)*

The visible differences between figures 7.4 and 7.5 highlight the change that was brought about with the wide-scale use of boundaries to define small-scale settlements from the Middle Iron Age onwards. The direction of activity now focused towards the centre of the enclosure, redefining this as the principal area of settlement space. There are some good examples of this visible from the upper Thames and wider Cotswold region, one of which is illustrated in figure 7.6. The site of Mingies Ditch clearly shows the movement of domestic space around the interior, apparently pivoted around a point of focus located at its centre.



*Figure 7.6: An example from the Thames valley of the potential focus of activity of domestic space both towards and around the centre of the enclosure. The numbers indicate the chronological order of domestic structures with 1 earliest and 5 latest.
(A. Lang)*

In more recent studies of Iron Age research there has been a movement away from the functional aspects of *enclosure* and a focus on the implied meaning of *enclosing*. This does take away some aspects of our understanding of the requirements of an enclosure, separating or segregating functions, residences, domestic animals and even fields. The focus on the acts of enclosing space also removes the study of what exists both outside and inside the enclosing feature (such as a ditch) by focusing on the ditch itself. This is not to say that it is unimportant to understand the processes of enclosing and its symbolic significance. The studies of Hill (1995b) and Hingley (1984b; 1990b) in particular have further defined our understanding of Iron Age studies and the psychological impact (and importance) on creating enclosed spaces.

It was suggested in Chapter 4 that banjo enclosures can be seen as a form of enclosure that represents the ultimate expression of bounded space. The construction and development of these enclosures take on additional meaning or symbolism through the generations. The clustering of these sites either side of the River Cherwell, represents one of the densest concentrations in Britain. This has not, however, put us any closer to identifying the possible functions of these sites but the geophysical surveys that have been completed provide us with a number of possibilities with regard to activities that went on within them. When this is set against the potential meanings of enclosures outlined by Collis we can begin to see how they might have fitted within the eastern Cotswolds settlement landscape.

It does not seem likely that these enclosures were constructed for defensive purposes. Despite the superficial similarity in plan to many examples from west Wales (e.g. Dan y Coed and Woodside Camp – Williams 1988; Cuniffe 2005) the lack of equivalent multiple ditch systems around the settlement negate any possible connection. Whilst this possibility should not be completely discarded without actual excavation evidence (particularly as the physical location of the bank is not known for these sites) and the position of some may represent naturally defensible locations, their prime function does not appear to have been a repelling one. However, any barrier used might also be seen as a psychological one rather than a defensive one. If personal wealth, status or even survival from year-to-year is dependent on the survival of stock or the protection of processed grain then by keeping these in a known place, such as a banjo enclosure, might be seen as a move towards this.

A more distinct possibility is that these sites were constructed as a means of display. There are two possible ways this might be interpreted, first as a display of status and second as a display of symbolism, the latter of which is discussed further below. Evidence of status has

proved a difficult subject to identify from the archaeological evidence of the eastern Cotswolds and upper Thames region. It is entirely possible that the banjo enclosures within north Oxfordshire are a form of status display. This display may either be through the form of the enclosure itself, its inhabitants or even the animals that are husbanded. It is possible that horses became a symbol during the Iron Age, their association with a person or site might be indicative of high status. Further less visible indicators might be house size, the size of the settlement (e.g. the Middle Brooklan site which includes a number of different enclosures) or the extent of land owned or the length of time it has been owned for. This is perhaps the most difficult aspect to identify through physical evidence, particularly as most sites remain unexcavated. Display may also come in forms not visible in the archaeological record, such as the height, girth or decoration of gateposts, the size of the banks or depths of the ditches. Perhaps the most obvious mark of display might be the elongated or narrow entranceways at certain sites. The narrow and long example from Rollright Heath is perhaps the most obvious example. Another is the Chalford Oaks site which has such large ditches either side of the entranceway. The excavation of these may have produced larger quantities of earth than other similar sites, perhaps used to create higher or wider banks that would have been the first visible indicator of the site to any visitor.

However, the simplest and perhaps most obvious function for these sites is as enclosures that marked activity areas in the landscape. Some of these aspects have already been touched on in chapter 4 and sites (and areas within those sites) have been interpreted as ranging from metalworking to residential and from stock areas to crop processing spaces.

This demarcation of activity also emphasises the significance of space within Iron Age society. This has been discussed in detail, often focusing on roundhouse structures (Parker-

Pearson 1996; Fitzpatrick 1997; Oswald 1997; Pope 2007) but it can be applied to much larger areas. The attachment of some processing areas to the main enclosure, as at the Pieces Field and Enstone airfield sites suggests areas for every-day activities. Some might have been kept apart for practical reasons, e.g. to prevent stock breaking pit seals and allowing the seeds an aerobic atmosphere in which they might rot. Other activity areas are placed at the edge of settlements suggesting perhaps a 'special' area perhaps for slaughter, metalwork or cremation.

A wholly functionalistic interpretation for banjo enclosures is one that can be easily applied to many sites in the eastern Cotswolds. It is certainly feasible that, at some point within their life-span, many of the banjo enclosures were stock-related enclosures. Some of the characteristic signs are highlighted below.

The first and perhaps clearest example of a potential farmstead is the site of Pieces Field, Ditchley where a number of features stand out as being particularly conducive to the separation of processing, stock control and residential areas. The enclosure faces downhill towards what is now a dry spring line or water course that could have flowed during the Iron Age. The water course would have served both human necessities and those of any retained stock. The enclosure has a long entranceway that, with the narrowing width of the antennae ditches and the location of the entrance in one of the corners of the enclosure, would have allowed tighter mechanisms for controlling the movement of the stock. This design would have provided a simple and effective way of managing stock.

A number of potential furrows adjacent to the enclosure indicate that some kind of field system existed around it. Some of these furrows seem to be behind the entrance suggesting that there were also arable fields to the rear of the enclosure entrance.

The interior of the enclosure has, for the purposes of this study, been separated into three distinct areas (fig. 7.7): residential, stock and storage. The residential area is the most distinct in that it is separated from the rest of the enclosure by an internal ditch. Two entrances are visible with breaks in the ditch, one connecting with the stock area and the other with the storage area. The fact that this is a residential area is most clearly signified by the round anomaly, interpreted here as a roundhouse structure. Further features may represent storage pits for grain and surplus material or hollows for retaining water. There are also particularly strong readings from the internal ditch suggesting burnt deposits that are indicative of cooking activities.

The area of the north-eastern corner is set aside for storage and processing. Within it the survey shows a line of pits adjacent to the enclosure ditch and a possible internal square enclosure. The linear pit arrangement is also typical of banjo enclosures in the Wessex region, where examples discussed earlier tend to have concentrations of pits close to the enclosure ditch. In recent work at Yarnton in the Thames Valley it has been suggested by the author, Gill Hey, that some enclosed areas are set aside for particular tasks or work, for example metalworking in D-shaped enclosures (pers. comm. 2007 and Hey and Timby *forthcoming*). Here, the internal enclosure may be an area set aside for threshing or processing crops and stock-feed. The adjacent pits would allow easy access to storage facilities.

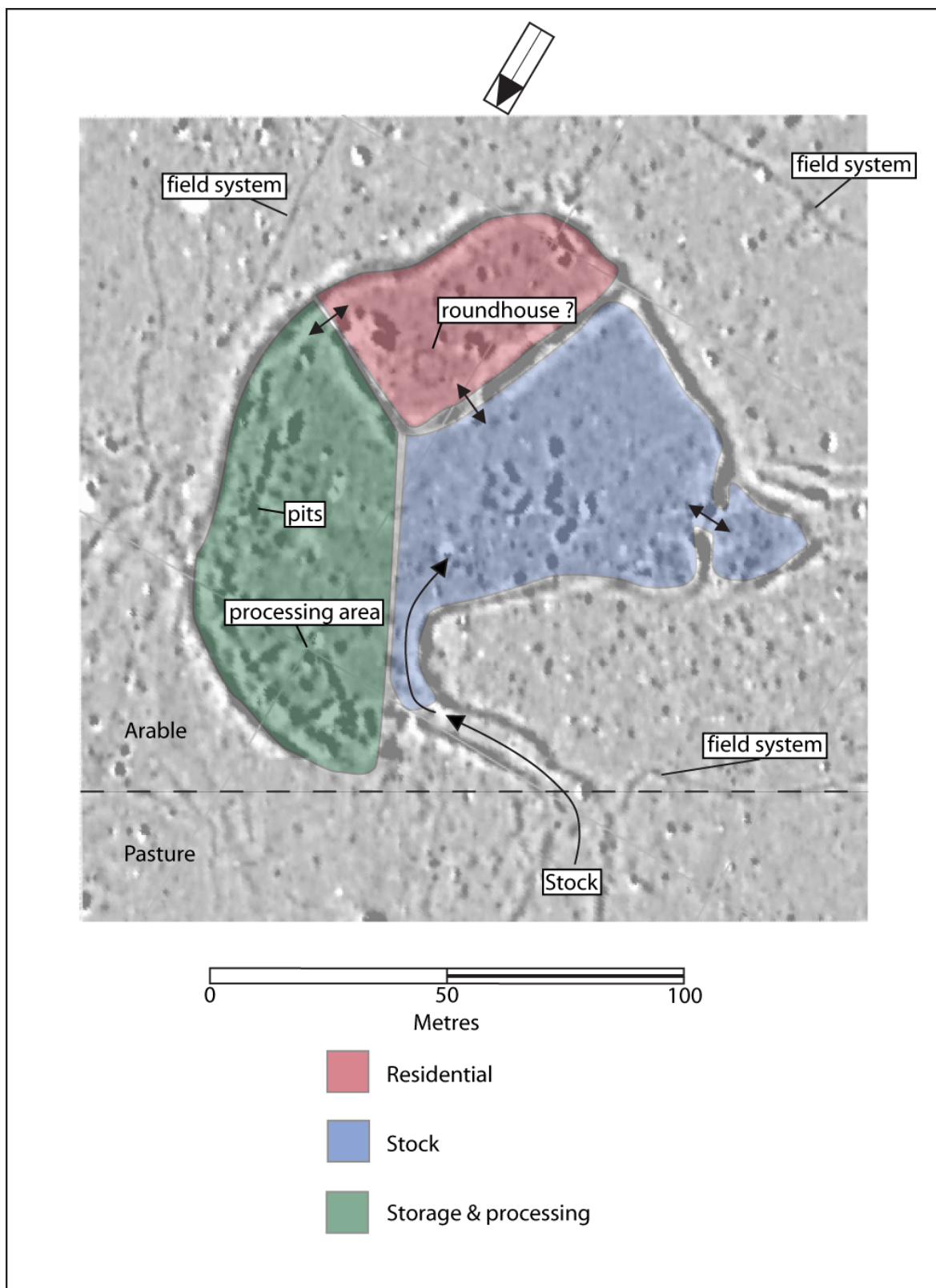


Figure 7.7: Interpretative model outlining the internal divisions of a potential single family farm banjo enclosure, using the surveyed example of Pieces field, Ditchley.
(A. Lang)

The Enstone airfield site is clearly more complex than that at Pieces Field. It has a number of defined areas set aside for particular activities (fig.7.8) and there is the possibility that it was one of high-status where a number of types of animals, including horses, were retained. The main internal area of the banjo enclosure, where a small number of pits have been identified was the focus of residential activity. An annexed enclosure also has a small number of pits.

The annexed enclosure on the opposite side of the interior does not appear to have an access route from the main enclosure. Instead, it seems to be an enclosed area, where a particular activity took place, set aside from the rest of the site. The very high readings on this site and the associated enclosure ditch, points to its use as a metalworking site while its slightly curvilinear shape suggests that this is a D-shaped enclosure. Ultimately, though, the majority of the site appears to have been intended for the retention and control of stock. The extended driveway faces downhill towards what is now a sub-surface water course (fig.7.9). Much of the land in front of the site was given over to pasture.

The most important aspect of this enclosure is the creation of a narrow driveway around the main enclosure which would allow the separation, and control of sheep, useful for aspects such as slaughtering or separating rams, ewes and lambs, or segregating animals for secondary products such as shearing and dairying (if cattle were present). Moreover, the large enclosure at the back is separated into three pens, either for different species or for various other uses throughout the agricultural cycle.

The wider survey of this site also revealed a much larger enclosure directly south of the banjo site though it has little visible evidence of internal activity that might suggest storage

or processing. It could have been an arable field but the author has construed that such a large enclosure could have been a pasture paddock used for holding and training a small number of horses. The ditch would have offered a protection and retention capability.



Figure 7.8: A possible high-status farmstead banjo enclosure at Enstone airfield with an additional enclosure for horses located close by.
(A. Lang)



*Fig. 7.9: The dry valley at Enstone airfield. The banjo enclosure faces downhill from left (black arrow) and the irregular enclosure is immediately to right. The flags mark the grids laid out for surveying. The photo taken April 2007 clearly shows changes in crop growth marking an ancient water course (red arrow).
(source: author)*

At Bagneedle barn a much smaller area, which covered just the interior, was surveyed. It is very difficult to be able to draw many conclusions about this site because such a small area was covered by the magnetometry survey (fig.7.10). The aerial photography reveals no evidence of activity in the field, so a further survey to the rear of the area already covered would certainly answer a number of questions regarding any potential settlement evidence.

The site is a good possible example of Hingley's 'stock component' banjo enclosure. The position of the enclosure at the edge of a shallow ridge with the entrance facing downhill towards water would present the perfect position to retain sheep or cattle (although perhaps only a small herd) in a corral. The main settlement would have been directly behind this

enclosure, not necessarily marked out or enclosed. It may also be that the settlement is a considerable distance away though anything beyond 500m to the west is currently under tree cover of the Wychwood forest. Additionally, the site may have acted as a territorial or land boundary visited only seasonally for depositing crops for storage or to use pasture fields in the vicinity.

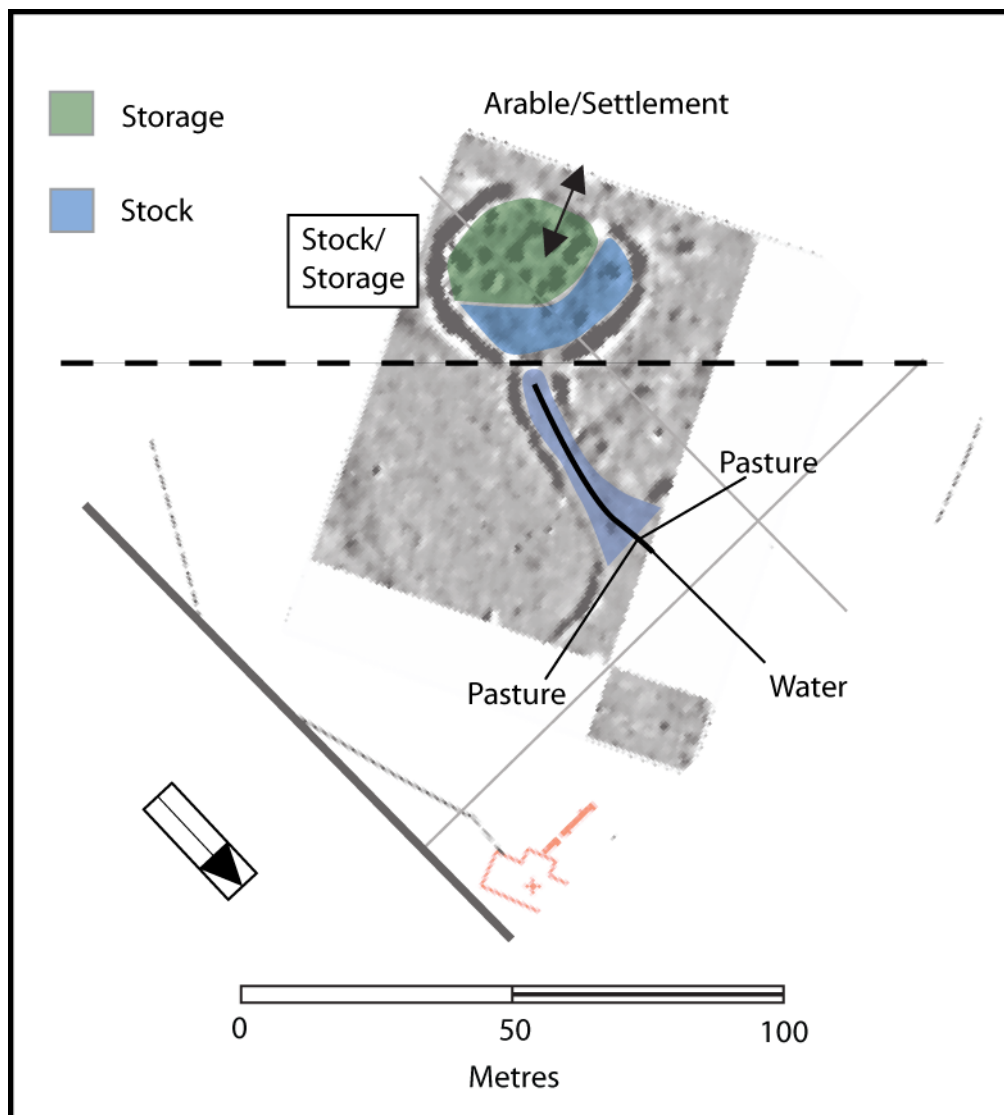


Figure 7.10: A banjo enclosure potentially marking the edge of a settlement used for storage and corralling purposes.
(A. Lang)

At Middle Brooklan, Kiddington there is again a clearly more complex site (fig.7.11) with a number of possible enclosures revealed by aerial survey and geophysics. The banjo enclosure has several features visible within, suggesting divisions or partial separation of domestic activities. It faces towards a linear ditch that runs at right angles to the entranceway, partially cutting it off from the rest of the settlement. This is reminiscent of enclosures in Wessex where linear systems run in front of the banjo enclosure. In this case it seems to act as a marker to separate the residential area (the banjo enclosure) from other activity areas of the complex.

The large ditch forms one side of a substantial narrow oval enclosure with a number of pits visible across its interior, which could also suggest another residential enclosure. An extensive boundary ditch leads from the top of the site down-slope to three or four square or rectilinear enclosures. They lie downhill from the remainder of the site, closer to running water and are therefore interpreted here as stock enclosures. The number of these also suggests that either these segregated species into different pens, or different pens were used seasonally. The best analogy here is that of Francis Pryor's interpretations of features at Flag Fen (Cambs.) (1996; 2006). He identified several communal stockyards all relating to a single 'run' giving farmers a chance to segregate sheep at certain times of the year (2006, 103-4). Here, these can be interpreted as settlement pens. These individual pens would have been ideal for separating in-lamb ewes, lambs or even rams at particular times of the year. They could have been separated by a hedge/ditch/fence while remaining in close proximity.

To the south-east of the site the geophysical surveys identified a square enclosure which, from the aerial photographs appears to be at the edge of the main settlement site and pens.

There are particularly strong readings from the ditch and the pits outside, which is perhaps indicative of the burning associated with a metalworking site. In contrast to sites discussed in this study which are positioned directly next to the residential site, this enclosure is separate. The pits may represent deposits associated with metalworking or possible hoarding evidence.

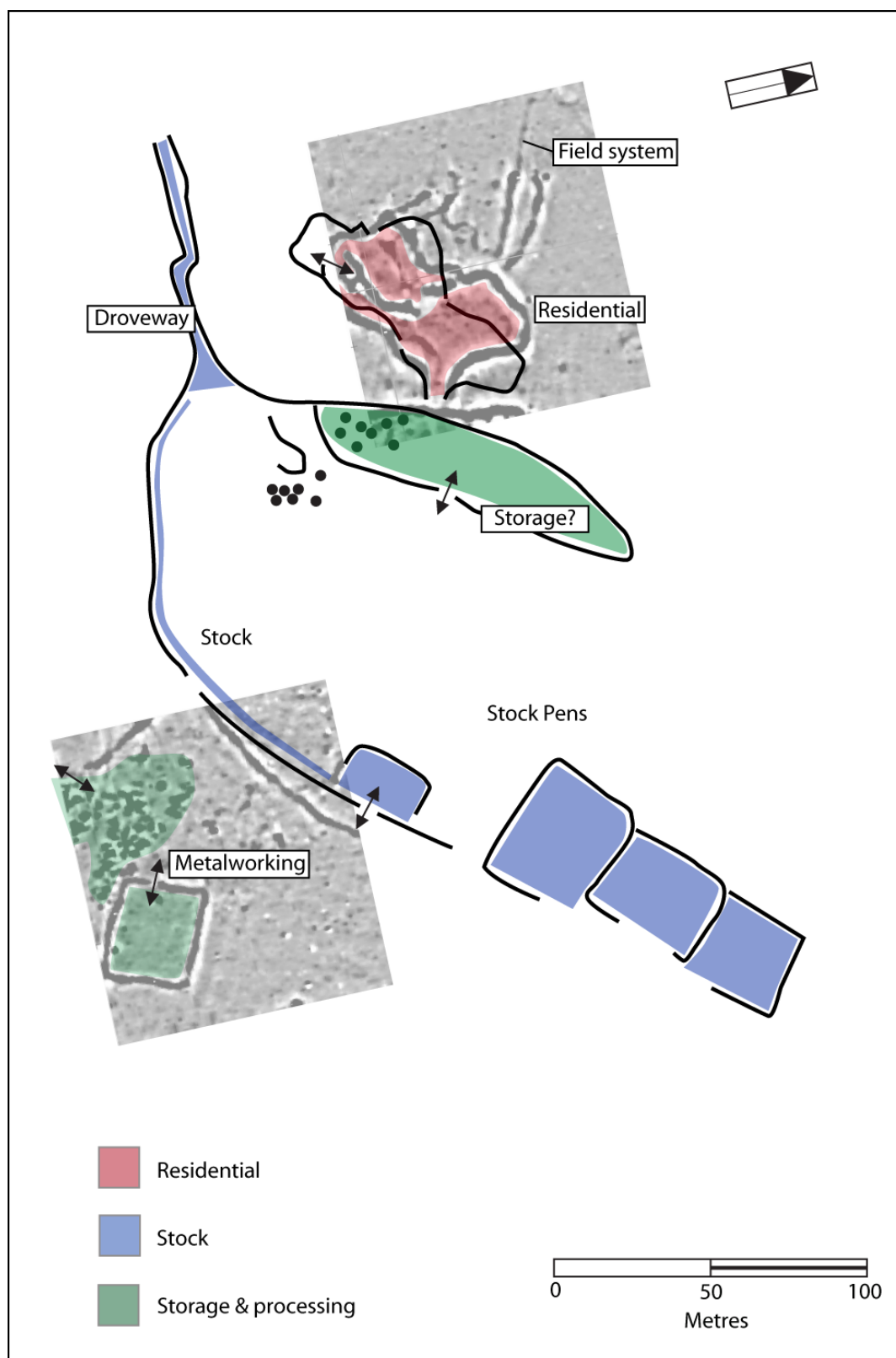


Figure 7.11: The banjo and square enclosures at Middle Brooklan, Kiddington-with-Asterleigh. The overlying transcription is taken from Hingley 1983 (Appendix: site 9196) with ditches not quite aligned properly. These have been left as such deliberately until further work is completed on surveying the site. (A. Lang)

Since the Rollright Heath site represents a more complex perspective on possible settlements two suggestions have been given (fig. 7.12). For the first example, the enclosing double ditches, visible on three sides, act as an appropriate defensive boundary. The construction of a bank between the two ditches would have provided a significant border or boundary that would have been difficult to breach. The entrance to the banjo enclosure is also protected by the outer ditch. This area, perhaps topographically the most appropriate area to enter the site, does not represent an equivalent external entrance. Therefore the entrance to the banjo enclosure is not necessarily the entrance to the entire enclosure complex. The construction of a number of boundary ditches also noticeably segregates the complex. The banjo enclosure itself acted as the settlement area with its small size holding only a single-family homestead. Processing occurred in the adjacent rectilinear enclosures and the surrounding area was left over to stock. This might represent a mixed farming economy and different paddocks set aside for different species, or segregated areas for rams, ewes and lambs (or calves and bulls) at different seasonal periods. These would have been well protected against external problems, such as sheep (or cattle) rustlers. The ditches of the banjo and annexed enclosures would have separated the stock from residential and processing areas, thus protecting them.

The second example envisages similar usage to the other but with the areas reversed. Thus the extensive areas were set-aside for residential purposes while the boundary enclosures helped to corral stock overnight or at different times of the year. The central area is set-aside entirely for processing, with the boundaries marking different areas or, alternatively, it could have been set aside for stock corralling with different pens being marked by the ditches.

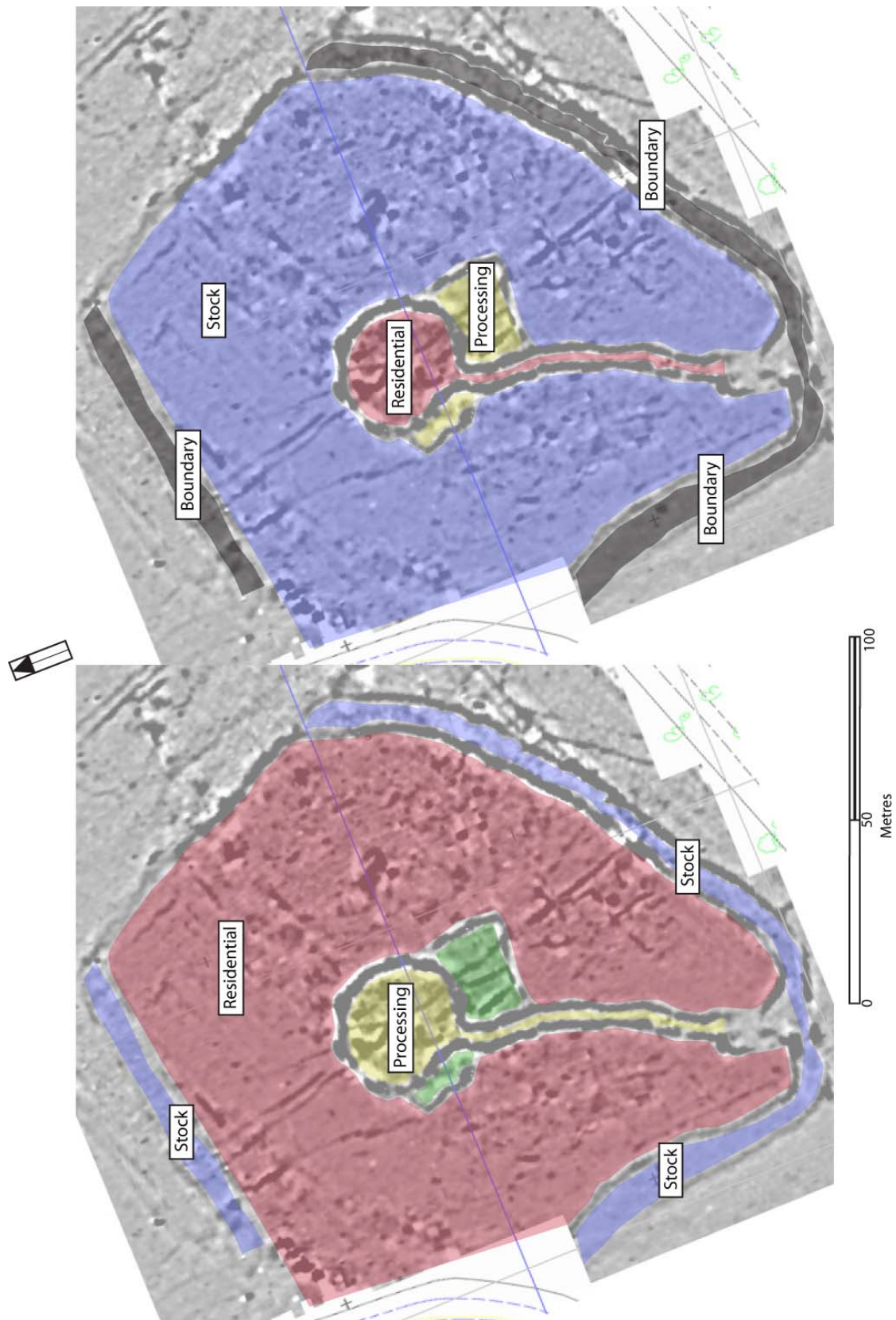
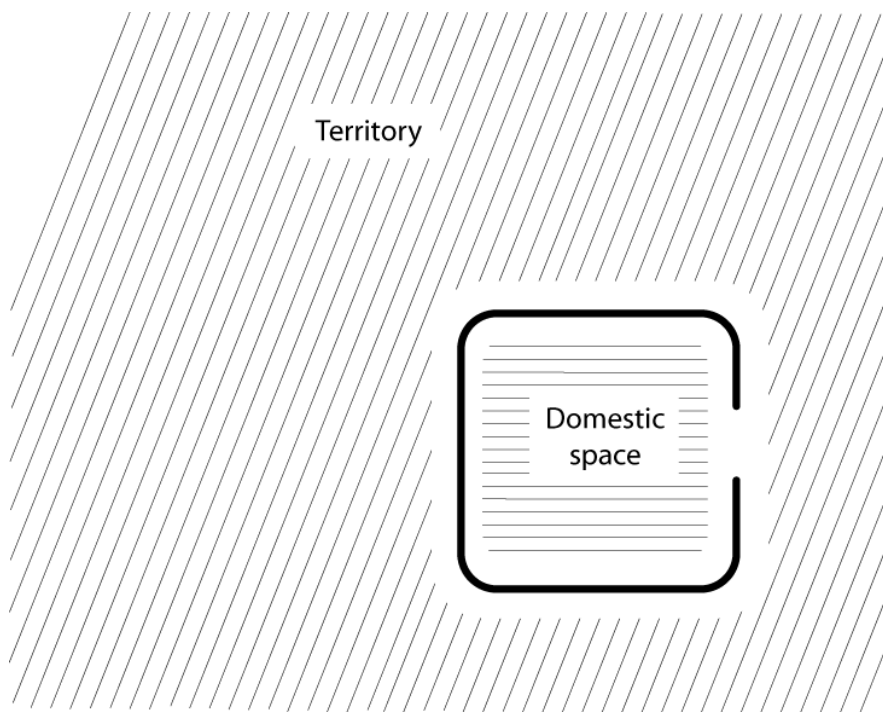


Figure 7.12: Two possible functionalistic interpretations of the Rollright Heath enclosure.
(A. Lang)

Open vs. Enclosed? Breaking boundaries

Previous interpretations have attempted to define differences between the open and enclosed settlements of the region. That has been continued to some extent here but with some reservations. It appears that no clear-cut dichotomy exists in the study area of open settlements against enclosed settlements and thus no strong arguments can be made about heartlands against hinterlands and stable and unstable social models.

The argument that boundaries wholly define a settlement, as illustrated above, only goes so far to explain the limit of activity areas. There is growing evidence within the region that these boundaries were regularly ‘broken’ or used in an alternative manner to define certain spaces, much like Hingley originally defined for an ‘open’ settlement (fig 7.13).



*Fig. 7.13: Hingley's idealised version of an 'open' settlement. It seems apparent that concepts of territory outside domestic space applies as much to enclosed settlements as open ones.
(A. Lang, after Hingley 1984a, 79, fig. 5.5)*

This question is further explored in the eastern Cotswold with the location of pits outside enclosed or bounded areas. At sites such as Rollright, Middle Brookland, Chalford Oaks, Litchfield Farm and the Hook Norton complex, pits are located beyond what might originally be defined as the settlement space. Whilst this does not negate their functionalistic purpose, it is possible these were deliberately placed outside of a settlement area. This may be for practical considerations such as they were used for cess or rubbish that smelt; however it is also possible they served a more ritualistic function. This was suggested for the Middle Brookland site where these were interpreted as possible cremation or metalwork deposit pits or of ritual significance. But their position also brings into question Hingley's original description of many of the enclosure sites as isolated farms bounded by their ditches. Clearly in the eastern Cotswolds, limits of settlement space extended beyond the enclosure ditch. Ditches might therefore be seen in a much more symbolic light than has been previously suggested for this region and as has been discussed already for others (Chadwick 1999).

A further aspect settlement space definition has been argued by Hingley (1990a; 2006b) with regard to the hoarding or deposition of currency bars at enclosed sites. This deliberate deposition of artefacts in pits that often cut into site boundaries of hillforts. Good examples come from in or close to the study area at the sites of Madmarston, Nadbury and Meon Hill. All these insertions have been attributed to the Middle Iron Age, which Hingley interprets as a growing definition of community space.

However, there is an added complication with many of these insertions. At Nadbury, the pit, and associated currency bar, inserted into the rampart is much later chronologically than the construction itself, does the boundary still therefore retain its original

significance? It seems the most likely assumption but is not necessarily a complete certainty. The contemporary nature of the depositions is also questioned by two further sites. At both Salmonsbury and Horcott, stratigraphic evidence suggests the insertions occurred before the construction of the site/settlement/community boundary. Whilst it might be argued that this just means that the later ditch feature represents a later expression of bounded space, this nevertheless raises a point about what a boundary actually means.

The implications of this discussion are that the evidence for the eastern Cotswolds has been over-simplified in the past. Hingley suggested that in the Thames valley, enclosures marked settlement components within larger sites; this can now also be applied to some of the upland sites. However, the complexity of meanings of enclosure, ditches and bounded space go well beyond just a simple definition of settlement space. At Nettlebank Copse we have seen the creation of different types of boundary at a single site. These are different not because they are located in a different place, but because they relate to a different time and therefore a different meaning implied through the creation of the boundary itself. These symbolic acts not only complicate the meanings of enclosure but also entwine certain aspects of both ritual and domestic life in the Iron Age.

7.6 Aspects of ritual and domestic settlement space

An aspect of settlement space that has become more significant in recent years has been the identification of depths of meaning of certain features and artefacts. The multiple values imposed on elements such as pits and ditches by Iron Age people has been observed across southern Britain (e.g. Cunliffe 1992; Hill 1995b; Bradley 2005) and numerous examples have been identified within the study region that add much to this discussion.

Pits

The appearance of special or propitiatory deposits in pits is now well known for the Iron Age period in southern England (Cunliffe 1992; Hill 1995b). For the eastern Cotswolds, a number of examples have been recorded in recent excavations, especially Bourton-on-the-Water. Here, four complete skeletons and four other individuals were recorded from the pit bases. This was alongside a number of other examples that involved animal bones as propitiatory deposits. These are ‘classic’ examples of re-use of seemingly functional tools – storage pits – in a more ritual context. However, Bourton-on-the-Water is not the only example in the study area. Dunning recorded human remains from the base of pits in Salmonsbury alongside other possible material remains such as querns. Yet these are not the only examples. Significant numbers of pits with these deposits at the base were also recorded at Gravelly Guy (Lambrick and Allen 2004, 488). The deposits varied between animal and human bone and burnt stones, clay loom-weights and ceramics. At City Farm Hanborough (Case 1964/5, 42-49), a number of examples were filled deliberately with a single fill of clean gravel. Deposits such as pottery and burnt stones were common occurrences and one example of a human skeleton in a pit was recorded. Others produced significant quantities of animal bones and pottery.

Further examples from the uplands region are evident. At Rollright, the pits revealed ritual deposits such as a horse skull, with no mandible, with stones apparently placed in the eye sockets (Lambrick 1988, 82). An infant skeleton was also recorded from these pits as a deliberate deposit. At Madmarston and Rainsborough numerous examples in the site report are described as deliberately closed, often with a homogenous fill (e.g. Avery *et al* 1967,

217). At Heyford Road, there are a small number of examples that appear to be deliberate deposits (Cook and Hayden 205-9).

Postholes

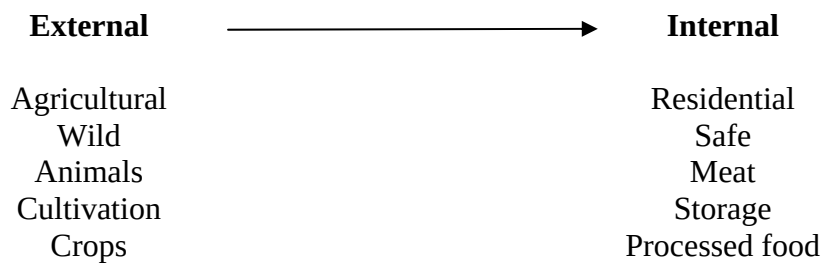
It is safe to assume that the deliberate deposition of material and closing of pits is a common occurrence throughout the region during the Iron Age. Based on evidence elsewhere this is hardly surprising. The recent discussions by Bradley highlight modern examples where ritual and functional structures are interlinked by similarities in design and appearance (2005, 3 ff). Whilst this already has been widely accepted for pit features, less has been associated with other 'functional' features recorded on Iron Age sites. The best examples of this are the four-post structures often interpreted as granary structures. For earlier periods, if such structures were identified within significant sites in the landscape (such as hill-top sites or enclosures with monumental ditches) they might be interpreted as wooden platforms for excarnation. Yet their discovery within Iron Age contexts has often led to their interpretations within a wholly functionalistic framework. As has already been argued with regard to pits the two are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Excarnation appears to be a relatively common form of mortuary rite in the Early and Middle Iron Age (Cunliffe 2005, 554), the logical step therefore is that these also may have acted as platforms (Carr and Knüsel 1997). Perhaps what this implies is that the meaning of the structures is more important than their actual form. They might symbolise storage (of agricultural foodstuffs or the deceased) or renewal (functional or ritual) with the types interchangeable in functional terms.

Ditches

The points regarding ditches and their supposed function have been raised on a number of occasions in this chapter. They only require very brief discussion here as they also often reveal special deposits (e.g. Cunliffe 2000). Hill has argued (1995b, 76-83) that the fills of ditches and the depositions therein are of symbolic significance highlighting the “inadequacies of functional explanations of this evidence” (*op. cit.* 83). In post-processual terms at least, the nature of enclosing is therefore much more than just a functional requirement of separating land-use and defining settlement space. Again, this act unites the symbolic and functional, suggesting these actions were entwined in everyday life. Evidence is less clear-cut from the Cotswolds region, but a number of examples are known. Articulated animal remains from sites such as Rollright have shown this might be a common feature.

Symbolism in banjo enclosures

Taking ideas of ritual and domestic life further in the eastern Cotswolds is possible by revisiting the evidence provided by the surveys of the banjo enclosures. A first possible implication is the symbolism of the everyday. The use of the term is an attempt to distinguish the added meaning to those enclosures that act as settlement sites and farmstead enclosures. These may have additional symbolic meanings for activities that are otherwise regarded as functional. This can be seen with the separating of activity areas (above) or by the marking of a physical boundary, separating internal and external spaces. This may give artefacts, people or items very different meaning when either within or without an enclosure. A few examples are as follows:



For some sites it may be less straightforward and implied meanings such as this follow too structured approach to looking at symbolic meaning (c.f. Pope 2007). The symbolism of special places can be used for sites not associated with everyday activities. In chapter 4, discussions of interpretation turned to the recent work at Nettbank Copse, which showed the symbolism of the site in its banjo form during the Late Iron Age. This site appeared to alter in its function through different generations, taking on added meanings over time. This symbolism may mark out a particular place in the landscape, an area for communal feasting or exchange or even for certain ceremonies and activities. The shape of the banjo enclosure is inherently symbolic both for its processional entranceway and the oval or circular shape for many examples. It seems that circular objects had added meaning as evidenced with the discussions of roundhouses and even pits. This might have had added significance in the eastern Cotswolds as so many enclosures (also within the wider Cotswolds) were square or rectilinear. Added symbolism may have come with the position of internal banks; these may have been as much about shielding the interior from the outside world as vice-versa.

There has been a tendency to focus on particular aspects as representative of function. Thus aspects such as shape, size, length and direction of entrance and topographical and geographical location have all provided interpretations. A good example of this is the

diversity of funnel entrances. In north Oxfordshire, these range in length from 15-85 metres, however, it has not really been fully questioned before whether these entrances might have been dug as such for very different reasons. For example, a short entranceway would be sufficient for the funnelling and dividing of livestock, such as sheep, so it is unlikely that additional man-hours would have been put in to elongate the funnel entrance for purely practical reasons. Thus these types are more likely to relate to ceremonial pathways or high-status entrances and it is, therefore, reasonable to argue that sites with different funnel entrances are likely to have served different functions. Another example is the width or position of banks. A narrow elongated entranceway would enhance or exaggerate a feeling of enclosed space or a set direction that must be followed, whereas wider entrances or lower banks would have increased the perception of the landscape, while, on approach, engendering a lack of formality. In this case a visitor would be clearly visible to the host, while maintaining for the visitor clear views of the settlement's enclosed space and potential aspects such as the host's wealth. A good example of this is the Rollright Heath site. The entrance is long and narrow with a significant curve in the ditch while the enclosure is approached by a relatively sharp upwards slope from the bottom of the valley. The land on which the entrance and enclosure itself is sited has good all-round visibility of the opposing valley-side and to both the west and east along the course of the Swere. The location, topography and the length of the entrance does not suggest a wholly practical or functionalistic use.

The nature of the construction of the enclosure ditches also tentatively argue that banjo enclosures represent the ultimate expression of bounded space for the Iron Age period. The position of the bank outside the ditch is a manifestation of display or status, not defence. It is also the total concentration on the interior from which, with the exception of the focus

down the narrow funnel entranceway, the visibility of the immediate environs is partially blocked. The size and depth of ditches do not represent an appropriate level of work for practical functions while evidence from other sites show that these expressions only occur for short or intermittent periods of time and that, furthermore, they are located in places previously used in functionalistic terms. Pits and structures are commonplace in the earlier phases of sites that subsequently become banjo enclosures. The limited time that these sites were in use is often marked by abandonment, with ditches left to silt naturally or to be filled-in within a very short space of time. These conditions are similar to many pit deposits of the time (Hill 1995b). At Enstone airfield, the 'blocking' of enclosures also appears to be an articulation of limited time (fig. 7.14). In practical terms it marks, for whatever reason, the closure of the site. The appearance of large ditch features across a number of enclosures in north Oxfordshire also attests to some sort of blocking or closing. With a ditch running at right angles to the antennae entrance the sites of Blue Barn Farm, Middle Brooklan and Chivel Farm are all good examples. In all cases there is no gap in the ditch that might indicate an entrance or pathway between. Examples elsewhere, such as Blagden Copse, join the linear dyke system, rather than being blocked by it.

The idea of *viereckschanze* has also been proposed for this region. A recent Master's student, Richard Massey, suggested that many of the square enclosures within the eastern Cotswolds are Late Iron Age ritual sites (1999). One of the best examples is the site at Middle Brooklan, where the square enclosure of the site represents a funerary enclosure and the pits outside a cremation cemetery (*ibid.* 75). High readings recorded from the pits outside the enclosure that could easily indicate cremated remains (fig. 7.14) enhance this evidence. European *viereckschanze* often have burials or shafts within and the two large pit features from the interior may represent these. However, even if it does represent some

form of ritual enclosure, the lack of evidence from the surrounding region does not wholly fit with this interpretation of the site as a British equivalent of a *viereckschanze*.

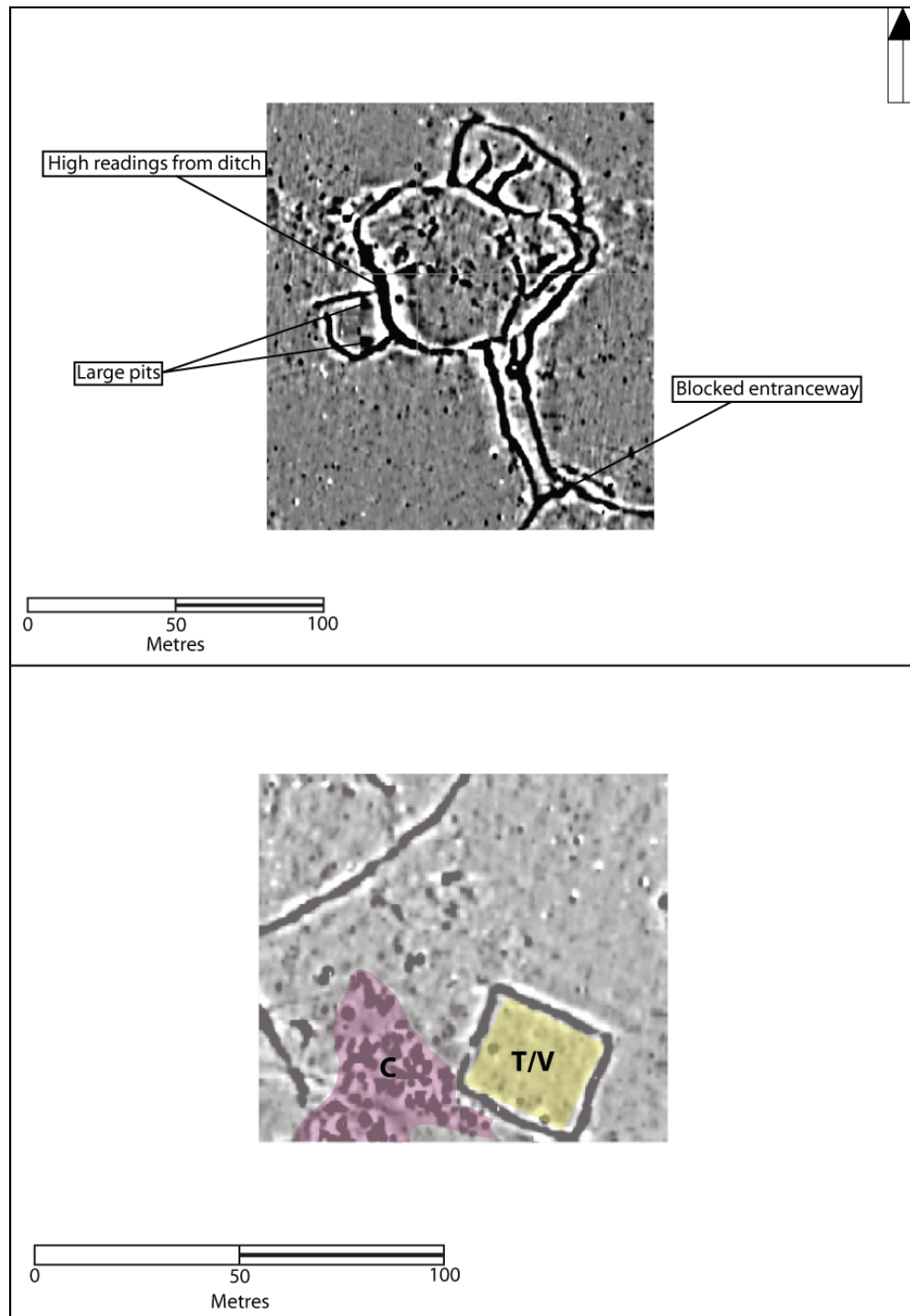


Fig 7.14: Ritualistic interpretations from two eastern Cotswolds banjo sites. Top a number of 'ritual' features from Enstone airfield, especially the blocked entrance. Below the funerary enclosure and cremation cemetery at Middle Brooklan; in this case the T/V denotes the location of a Temple or Viereckschanze and C marks the area of the cremation cemetery.
(A. Lang)

The interpretations above do highlight the fact that many banjo enclosures did not necessarily serve just one function. However, much of the evidence from excavated sites suggests that they served the functions outlined by their respective authors *at some point* during their existence. However, the above evidence might apply to only one phase out of many. It seems likely that the original meaning of sites could have been lost or changed over generations. Perhaps the enclosures came to represent a particular function rather than actually serving it and re-use altered their meaning and significance within the landscape. Due to the lack of excavation material from the eastern Cotswolds examples much of this remains unknown but it is clear that the form and shape of these sites have often been taken at face value when actually an all-encompassing term used to classify them as one type of enclosure belies their differences.

3. Enclosed landscapes: broader views on banjo distribution

7.7 The north Oxfordshire environs

Despite evidence showing that the eastern Cotswolds was well placed within a wider exchange network, the notable cluster of banjo enclosures do not sit in a landscape of similar settlement forms. The lack of equivalent numbers in immediately adjacent regions suggests they require setting apart and discussing separately, as was the case in chapter 4 and above. Even with a more definitive answer on the potential function that these sites served, their collective distribution requires further discussion.

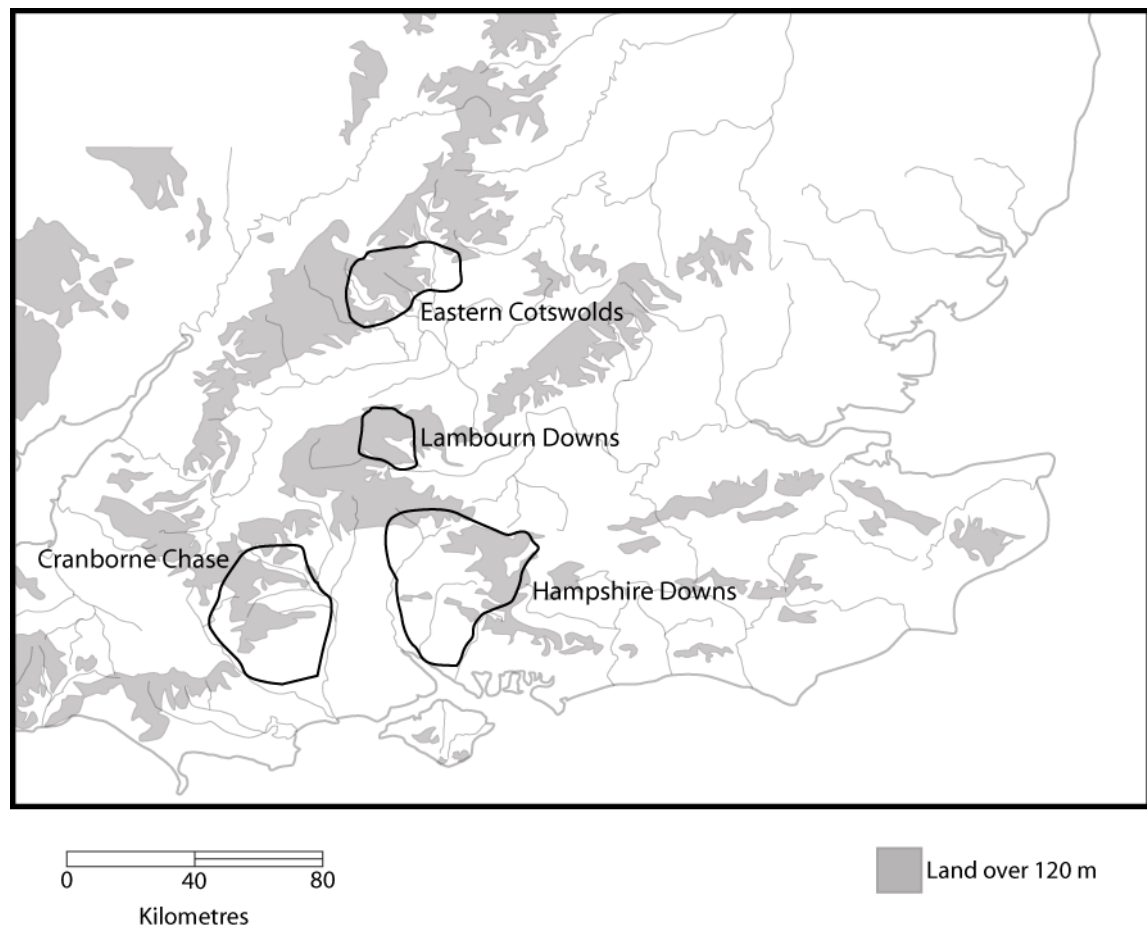
There may have been many reasons why this form of enclosure was only adopted within the eastern Cotswolds. These have been touched on already and include possible representation of individual or community display, evidence of a different economic regime or even status symbols. The final aspect represents the most intriguing possibility. Explanations for their appearance might include expansion into a blank settlement landscape providing the opportunity of establishing large estates that quickly started to generate a surplus. Also, the husbanding of horses at these sites might imply that the enclosures were the settlements of wealthy owners who either bred these animals for themselves or as goods that might be exchanged. The apparent wealth or status of certain parts of the populace in the eastern Cotswolds region might also explain why so many early period Villas appear here soon after the Claudian invasion (Henig and Booth 2000).

The landscape also had an impact with many of these enclosures located close to two of the major rivers of the region, the Evenlode and Cherwell. This would give them relatively

easy access to exchange networks to the north (north-west and north-east) and south (the Thames valley and beyond). A further aspect of this is the numerous springs, streams and rivers within this area is particularly high. This may well have had an impact on the density of sites with such easy access to running water as well as the light hardy soils of the higher areas.

7.8 Southern Britain

The discrete distribution in the eastern Cotswolds also tells us that this site-type shares more with the upland areas of Wessex than anywhere else. It is therefore perhaps best to use comparative examples from regions further south than those immediately adjacent to the upland part of the study region. First, however, a small qualification is required. Despite the close affinities, 'Wessex' constitutes actually a rather large part of central southern Britain and while it is useful as a generalist term, it is not of a comparative size to the eastern Cotswolds. Rather than these enclosures occurring across the entire Wessex landscape, they actually appear in discrete clusters, generally on or close to upland areas. A major but very loose cluster is located around the headwaters of the Rivers Test and Itchen in Hampshire (termed the 'Hampshire Chalklands' by Perry [1969, 35] and here the Hampshire Downs). Further west of this is another significant cluster located between the Dorset Stour and Avon Rivers, in Cranborne Chase (Barrett *et al* 1991). A third region, between Wessex and the Thames valley is the Lambourn Downs (Winton 2003) (fig. 7.15)



*Fig. 7.15: Cluster areas for banjo enclosures in central southern Britain.
(A. Lang)*

Within the Hampshire Downs region a total of 25 enclosures (with 8 possible) (Perry 1974; 1986; Fasham 1987) have been identified in a relatively loose geographical cluster west and east of the Test River, north and south of the Itchen, with the southern boundary marked by the River Meon, all of which encompasses an area approx. 900 km². To the west of the River Test there are excavated examples at Blagden Copse and those within the Danebury Environs (Nettlebank Copse and Grately South). Beyond this is the double banjo at Beach's Barn on Salisbury Plain, which lies almost directly between the Hampshire Downs and Cranborne Chase clusters. To the east of the Test River are two relatively small clusters, one of which includes the site of Micheldever Wood; these appear to be located in the headwaters of two river systems that flow in opposite directions, one to the north and

one to the south. Between the Rivers Itchen and Meon lies another loose cluster of sites, which includes the excavated examples of Owslebury and Bramdean (fig. 7.16)

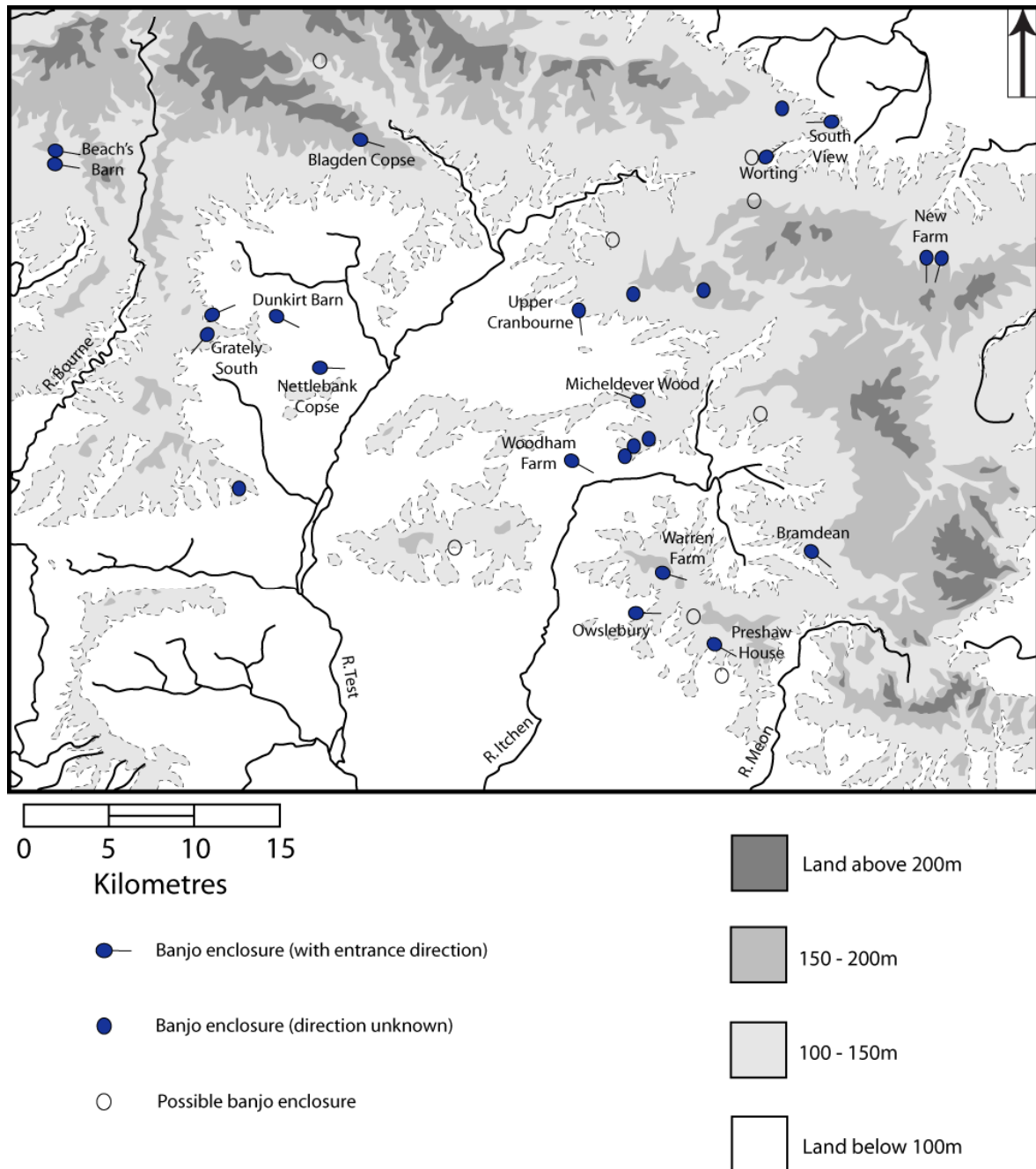


Figure 7.16: Distribution map of banjo enclosures across the Hampshire Downs (A. Lang)

The distribution of these sites focus around river and stream headwaters, generally on high ground, marked on the map by the 150m contour in fig. 7.16. This mainly constitutes chalk

and clay-with-flint deposits (Perry 1974; Fasham 1987). The sites are now, however, located on the areas of highest ground, particularly to the north on the north Wessex downs and the area of Salisbury Plain.

The second cluster, on Cranborne Chase includes 14 enclosures (with 2 possible) in an area bounded by the Stour to the West, Avon to the east and Wylde to the north, encompassing an approximate geographical area of 660km² (fig. 7.17).

Within this area there are two apparent clusters separated by the River Nadder with the topmost only comprising two sites, one of which is the double enclosure at Hamshill Ditches. To the south of the Nadder, a denser cluster is visible on land below the highest area of land of Cranborne Chase. The focus of four enclosures around Gussage Hill, also an area of high ground within the landscape suggests that this site may have been particularly significant.

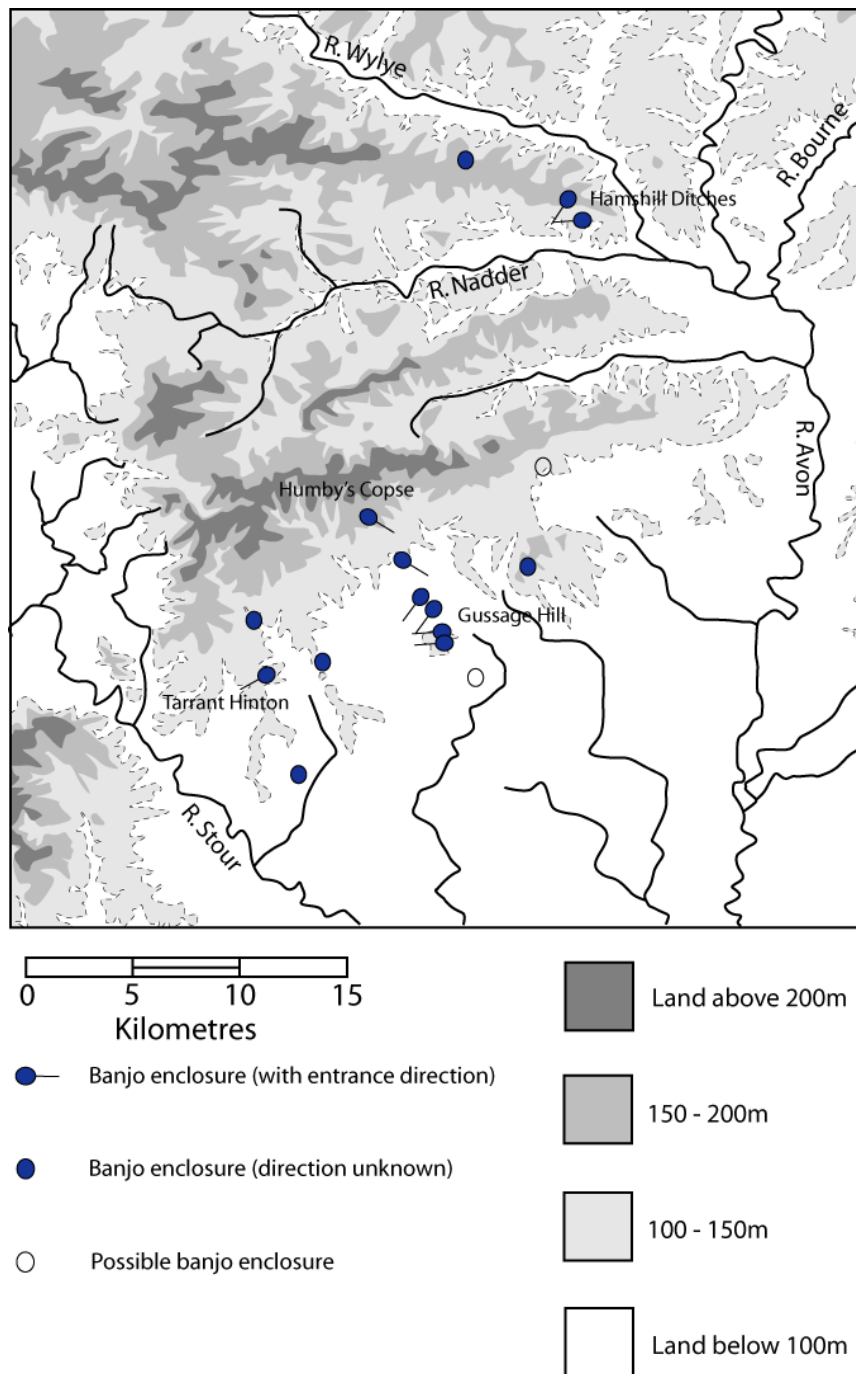


Figure 7.17: Distribution map of banjo enclosures across Cranborne Chase (A. Lang)

The Lambourn Downs has 12 enclosures recorded in an area approx. 55km² (fig. 7.18). This distribution of these sites is interesting as all but three sites appear to be located on high ground above a possible major tributary of the River Lambourn. The three that are not in this cluster are focused around the River Lambourn itself. With the survey results

published from the work of Paula Levick it will be possible to gain further insights into the Lambourn banjo enclosures, which as yet remain relatively unknown.

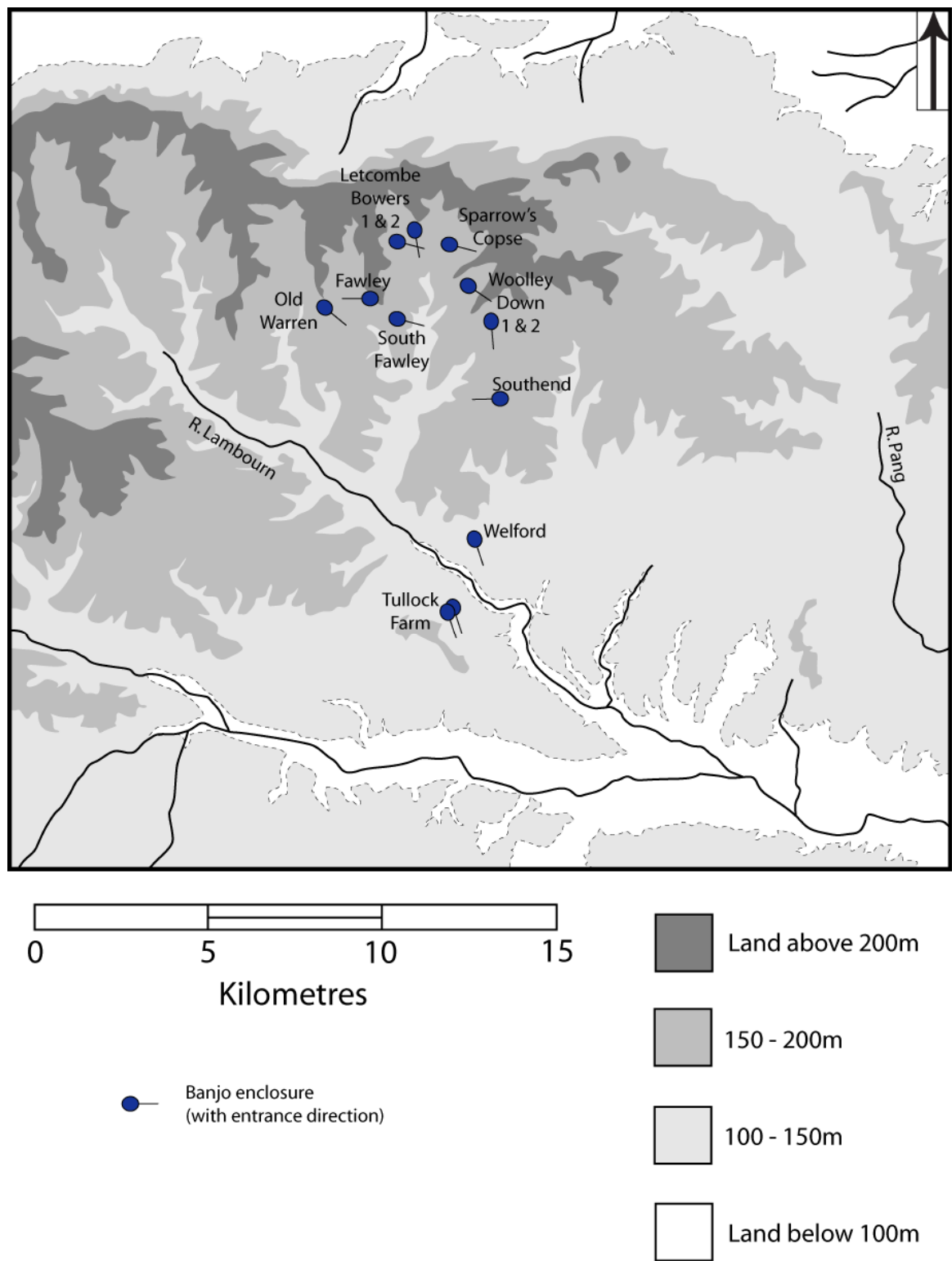


Figure 7.18: Distribution map of banjo enclosures across the Lambourn Downs.
(A. Lang)

Comparatively, the eastern Cotswolds region (east and west of the Cherwell) has 35 enclosures recorded within an area approx. 450 km² (fig. 7.19).

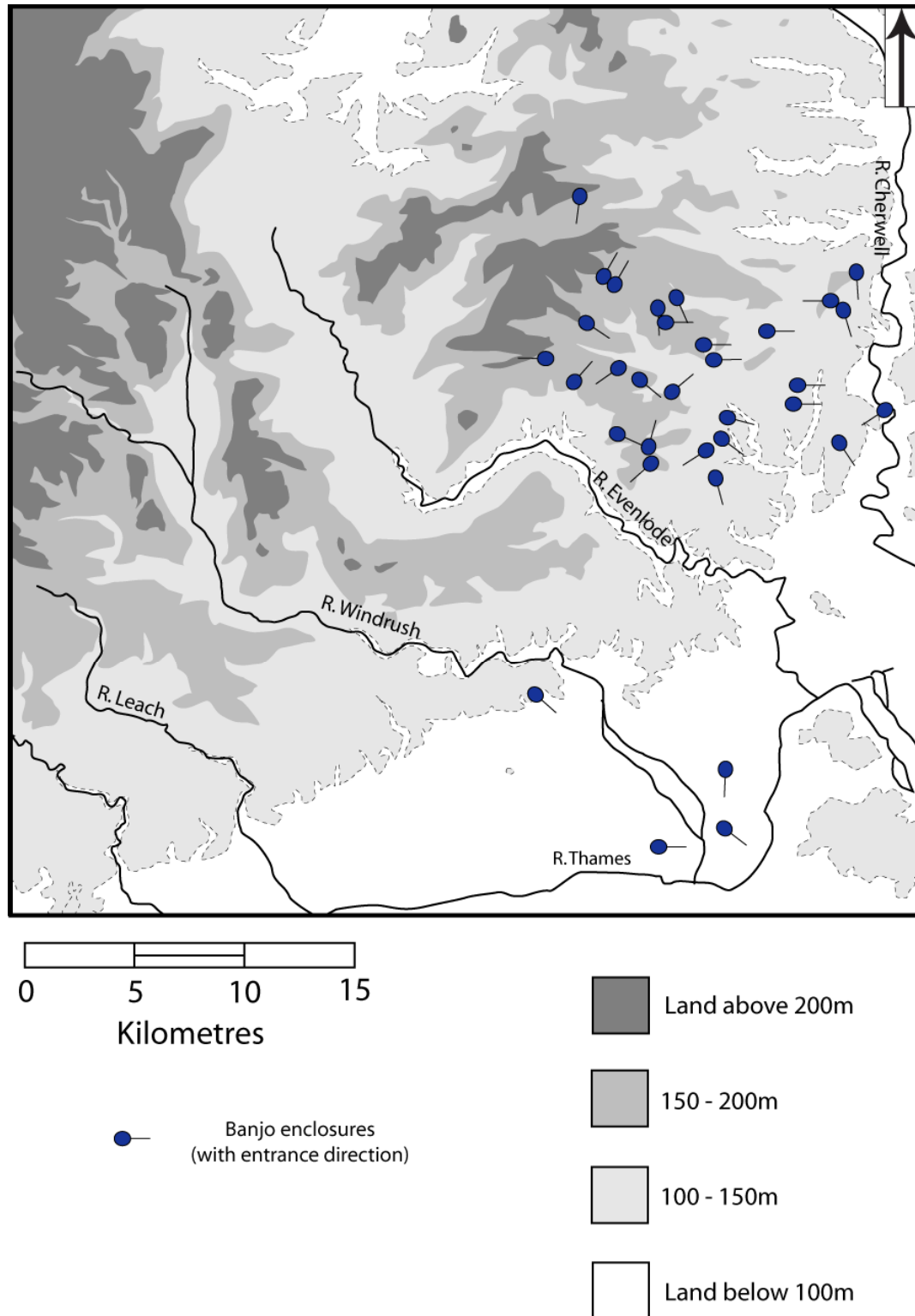


Fig. 7.19: Distribution map of banjo enclosures across the eastern Cotswolds.
(A. Lang)

This geographical area clearly represents a far denser cluster of sites than those location further south (with the exception perhaps of the Lambourn Downs). Quite why so many appear in such a small landscape might only be clarified with further survey and excavation.

Cunliffe has argued with clarity that the enclosures located close to the Danebury environs represent an alteration to the landscape at the beginning of the Late Iron Age c. 100 BC (Cunliffe and Poole 2000; Cunliffe 2008a). At Grately South the appearance of this enclosure signifies a shift in the development of the settlement/enclosure space around the enclosure as much as it does for the enclosure itself, something which continued into the Roman period (although the enclosure itself fell out of use). It is possible that these sites represent a new style of farmstead that marks a change to the settlement and agricultural landscape, perhaps through the emphasis on certain species (sheep, horse) associated with this form of enclosure. The evidence from Bramdean also suggests that the enclosure ditches in their final form were constructed at about the same period. This change and possible association with status might also be argued with the evidence recovered from the Blagden Copse site. At Owslebury there is also an indication that the banjo enclosure marked the first stage of a complete alteration to the settlement position and size (Collis 2006).

Whether the conclusions taken from the Hampshire Downs landscape can be applied elsewhere remains to be seen, especially when it is clear that only some sites have such an impact on the surrounding landscape, clearly shown by the fact that Nettlebank Copse is not respected within the Early Roman landscape.

However, it is also possible that these sites represent an adoption of certain social or economic practice. As with the eastern Cotswolds mentioned above, these sites may be indicative of particular farming practices such as having a greater focus on the husbanding of sheep or horse. The potential exists that the overt form of display of these sites point to the concept that these sites were indicative of the emergence of a new elite or new social grouping that establishes itself as a '*nouveau riche*' during this time. In some places, such as Nettlebank Copse, these sites are established over older settlement sites, marking the beginning of a new era of site-interaction and significant location in the landscape.

It is not clear why, but some of these sites appeared to either fail or the original meaning was lost over generations, with some being adopted for new functions, some filled in altogether and some remaining in the landscape as testament to past generations.

For the other regions the evidence is less clear due to the severe lack of wide-scale excavation material. Many of the sites might be attributed to the same date as the Hampshire Downs examples, suggesting a major shift in the patterns of settlement across southern Britain. For the north Oxfordshire examples, the sites might mark the first step towards a new pattern of settlement and exploitation that is finally brought together by the construction of the North Oxfordshire Grim's Ditch and Aves Ditch.

It is worth closing on just one slight caveat regarding the wide-scale analysis of these sites, which is that there are significant dissimilarities of many of these sites to each other on both an inter-site and inter-regional level. The difference in form and potential function of the Lambourn Downs enclosures within themselves has already been highlighted in chapter 4 but this is also applicable when comparing these sites to those further north.

Many of the eastern Cotswolds examples are highly irregular in form and do not necessarily display uniformity in size, shape and identifiable activities. Nevertheless, they represent an intriguing cluster that clearly shows both practical and ritualised attributes that have overturned many of the long-held views of an upland 'hinterland' region.

7.9 Conclusion

The aim of this final chapter has been to draw together many of the strands of research that have been discussed through the course of this study. The division into three separate sections has been necessary in order to pick out certain themes with greater clarity. There has also been a discernable amount of overlap between these themes, particularly when focusing on settlement space and looking at the wider distribution of banjo enclosures. The 'open' and 'enclosed' settlements should not necessarily be considered separate entities within the context of settlement space, which marks a significant departure from many Iron Age studies that have focused on these settlement forms. That banjo enclosures also clearly form just one aspect of this and may also have been an indication of significant markers within the landscape, suggesting that they are central to deciphering the Iron Age eastern Cotswolds landscape.

8. Conclusions

8.1 Introduction

The aim of this study has been to critically evaluate many of the preconceptions that have been held regarding the settlement patterns of the upper Thames and north Oxfordshire regions. This has been made possible through the wealth of excavated data that exists for the Thames valley alongside the assessment of aerial survey data and new geophysical survey results (alongside some excavation evidence) from north Oxfordshire. This assessment has attempted to view the evidence not only in terms of its immediate environs but also with comparative aspects of southern and midland Britain. The picture that has been drawn is one of growing relationships across wide networks of exchange where communities form, adopt similar forms of material culture, type or shape of enclosure and possibly even the distribution of different activity spaces within any one particular settlement.

8.2 The Iron Age of north Oxfordshire

The discussion undertaken during the course of this study appears to show that the enormous potential that archaeologists have often mentioned in relation to this region has now been realised. The discussions have shown that the settlement landscape was far more complex, the region was more influential and it had a wider exchange network than has been previously suggested.

The Early Iron Age still remains relatively enigmatic. Whilst we are given snapshots into the actions of the populace, whether through settlement at Bourton-on-the-Water or construction of communal hillfort sites, the archaeological evidence in itself is still relatively rare. Within the wider context there are suggestions that the region was subject to some conflict or upheaval, visible through burning and abandonment episodes at sites such as Crickley Hill, Leckhampton, Burroway and Bladon, which suggest that this may have been one of the brutal aspects of society (Finney 2006; James 2007). However, the appearance of wider exchange networks within this period brought to the fore concepts of communal identity visible through activities such as hillfort construction and the types of pottery adopted.

From the Middle Iron Age onwards the archaeological evidence becomes more visible. The appearance of enclosed settlements here and across the wider Cotswolds marks a major shift both in settlement landscapes and potentially community identity. Rather than the widespread adoption of similar material culture visible in the Early Iron Age, the Middle Iron Age sees distinct forms appear, broadly separating east and west with vertical-scored wares and Malvernian pottery. This may also be marked with the appearance of rectilinear and banjo enclosures although their actual contemporaneity during this period remains an untested hypothesis. This period also saw the growth and expansion of exchange networks that certainly influenced patterns of material culture adoption. The appearance of iron in the form of currency bars across the region is clearly significant. The large quantity of finds that have been recorded from this region, especially compared to the Thames valley, suggests that these are indicators or examples of the patterns of exchange that were occurring from sources of material to both the north-west and north-east.

A final aspect of the Middle Iron Age period is the appearance of potential economic practices. The appearance of the banjo enclosures, alongside widespread clearances of woodland and the clusters of pits (such as Rollright, Steeple Aston and Bourton) are all indicative of a more developed and intensified food production strategy. The similarity of this region in soils, landscape and enclosure form with the Wessex region further south may indicate that during this period, the widespread networks helped create a more suitable pattern of exploitation for the Cotswold uplands.

The transition to the Late Iron Age is one of changing settlement landscapes, new types of artefacts and a potentially new or different form of social structure. The appearance of coinage in the twenty or thirty years before the landscape began to alter perhaps acted as a first indication that society was changing though whether these were part of a new exchange network or indicators of status or fealty remains a moot point. However, the nucleation and construction of the ditches at Salmonsbury and the construction of the North Oxfordshire Grim's Ditch represent a new method of imposing structure onto the landscape. For the North Oxfordshire Grim's Ditch (and maybe Bagendon) this may have been an activity of bounding the landscape for reasons that are invisible today. The hoarding of coins in north Oxfordshire and the minting of them at Bagendon may mean that these new sites were tied closely to a new elite that ordered their construction. The fact that north Oxfordshire saw the appearance of numerous high status residences (i.e. villas) during the Early Roman period maybe an indication of their continuation in the region as a result of being part of the Dobunnic client kingdom post-invasion. Salmonsbury is another form of site altogether and may represent the first step towards a proto-urban focus of activities and settlements. Its position at the confluence of the Windrush and Dikler also gave it easy access up-stream to the wider Cotswolds and Avon valley regions and down-

stream to the upper Thames valley. The construction of the defensive ditches may also mark a method of protecting what might be seen as very valuable trading routes from the west and north-west, considered the heartland of the Dobunnic tribe.

8.3 The Iron Age of the upper Thames

Comparatively the wealth of archaeological evidence from the upper Thames has provided an impressive record of site-type, potential social development and communal identity that developed throughout this period. The level of settlement evidence, of food producing strategies and environmental aspects goes far beyond any of its immediate environs and the dataset is closely comparable in size to the Danebury region further south.

The appearance of new settlement patterns and changing agricultural practices at the start of the Early Iron Age mark a clear break from Late Bronze Age practices; whether this is a result of more intensive farming methods or knock-on effects of widespread social economic collapse argued for much of southern Britain at this time remains unknown, but the two patterns are not mutually exclusive. Despite this clear shift, the evidence remains scant beyond just a few small and relatively simple sites. Their open form also indicates that space was not necessarily limited or boundaries to these settlements were not imposed. Demarcation of activity areas may not have been as focused as they were in later periods and access to resources was relatively easy. It appears at this time that clusters of settlements continued to focus in areas around the tributary confluences of the Thames, especially the Leach/Coln, Windrush/Evenlode and Ock/Thame; these may have been inter-connected settlements (much as Hingley argues for the region) that created small

surpluses of tradable items. This might also be indicated by the establishment of Burroway at the mid-point between the Leach/Coln and Windrush/Evenlode areas.

However, the stability that all these patterns indicate for the upper Thames seems to disappear at the Early/Middle Iron Age transition. The Middle Iron Age is not only marked by a considerable increase in visible settlements but also of changing environmental conditions. Even taking into account the possible climatic deterioration already underway (although what affect this had in the Thames valley is unknown) that raised water table, seasonal flooding and eventual alluvial deposits all wrought considerable damage in their own way through access to the floodplain and the damaging and greater erosion of soils. Some areas coped considerably better than others and economic and agricultural practices were not demonstrably affected everywhere, as shown by the success of sites such as Claydon Pike and (possibly) Port Meadow.

The widespread evidence of exchange networks during this period and the Early Iron Age attest to the growing and diverse regions which interact and influenced settlement patterns. Alongside the numerous querns, briquetage assemblages and metallurgical objects there are other less obvious examples. A particularly good one is with the almost universal appearance of ring gullies surrounding individual houses during this period. These have been identified at Crick Covert Farm from the Early Iron Age onwards and it is clear that these examples served a purely functional requirement (Woodward and Hughes 2007, 190) on heavy clayey poorly-drained soils. However, their appearance across the study region during the Middle Iron Age has been argued as representing another form of enclosing space (Moore 2006, 95). Thus it appears that something that served a practical purpose was

adopted elsewhere and took on an alternative meaning across the settlement landscape of the Thames valley (and Cotswold region).

The appearance of these enclosed domestic spaces marked by the ring gullies adds to the discussion in chapter 7 where the evidence from the Middle Iron Age Thames valley does not entirely fit as an 'open' landscape. Instead, boundaries are marked in different ways, including the digging of ditch, ring gullies or even the prominent location of particular sites in relation to significant places in the landscape. The development of an ancestral focal area in the Lower Windrush valley is an especially convincing symbol of this and marks a new pattern from the Middle Iron Age of land-rights establishment and display. That concepts of the past and an association with prehistoric histories comes more to the fore during this period may also be a symbol of changing perspectives on settlement landscapes, land-rights or possibly even social hierarchies, status or display.

The move towards boundaries and enclosed spaces appears on an even greater scale during the Late Iron Age. Beyond household and settlement enclosures, the significant changes on a large scale mirror examples from north Oxfordshire. Nowhere else in southern Britain is there such a concentration of large Late Iron Age nucleated settlements, often with ditches of defensive proportions. Reasons for their appearance vary though, their position along the course of the Thames as a direct route between midlands and south-east Britain suggests a pattern already argued for the location of Salmonsbury but on a much larger scale. Whether this region can be considered as part of the Dobunnic tribe is less easy to visualise and the status of the Thames as a main artery of trade may suggest that this region and these sites provided an opportunity for many different communities to work alongside each other. The quick transition and establishment of Roman settlements at

the sites of Bourton-on-the-Water (west of Salmonsbury), Dorchester-on-Thames and Abingdon also attest to the desire for continuity in this region during a period of dramatic upheaval.

8.4 The eastern Cotswolds perspective: heartland vs. hinterland?

The perception of the eastern Cotswolds as a hinterland region has not always been as such. The focus by early- and mid-20th Century archaeologists on hillfort sites meant that Chastleton, Lyneham and Madmarston were all seen as significant to the invasion/diffusion hypothesis of the time. However, the work of Harding did much to dispel these ideas as he focused more on the Thames valley region. This shift in emphasis onto the gravels led to his interpretation that settlement and material culture beyond the lowland region was somewhat backwards. His view from the ceramic perspective was one where traditions and styles were copied from the more developed lowland region, backed by the evidence of more established and visible settlement sites.

This view was taken on by Richard Hingley who believed the region to be sparsely occupied by isolated families inhabiting small-scale and independent farmsteads, backed at the time by a severe lack of visible settlement in the region attributable to the period. He suggested, like Harding, that core focus of settlement in the region was in the Thames valley, and it was due to population expansion from here that the eastern Cotswolds became a settled landscape. His re-dating of hillfort sites to the Bronze Age/Iron Age transition also backed the theory that the region was abandoned at the start of the Iron Age, perhaps due to some form of social upheaval at the time (Hingley and Miles 1984, 54).

These past interpretations of the eastern Cotswolds region are understandable based on the evidence in existence prior to the completion of this study. This has been moved forward in the last twenty years within the continual focus on the Thames valley as a result of PPG 16 and the focus on aggregate sites, road developments and service replacements in particular. However, no attempts have been made to question what evidence already exists in the light of new material as there is the tendency within commercial reports and investigations to regurgitate pre-existing theories and interpretations of best-fit, rather than highlighting potential new discussion points brought about with new excavations and evidence.

The overly-simplistic frameworks that have been used in comparing heartland and hinterland regions have been evaluated and overturned during the course of this study thanks to the influx of new datasets from the eastern Cotswolds region. With the stunning results of the NOAS, the recent additions of NMP material from the Gloucestershire Cotswolds and the geophysical surveys there is strong evidence that the eastern Cotswolds was a complex settlement landscape during the Iron Age. Furthermore, this region has as much to offer archaeologically as the Thames valley and it can no longer be considered an Iron Age hinterland.

8.5 Future research agenda

The potential for future work within the eastern Cotswolds remains high and can be outlined in three distinct categories: re-assessment, survey and excavation.

There is major scope for reassessment of many of the Iron Age sites within the eastern Cotswolds. Revisiting collections such as Chastleton and Madmarston will add much in

placing these sites in an up-to-date chronological framework. Further work can also be gleaned from working through the excavation material recovered by Dunning at Salmonsbury; with particular emphasis on the pottery and quern material. A further potential project can be generated around the testing of iron currency bars for element signatures. This might offer a great opportunity to pin down possible sources of the iron and further test the hypothesis proposed here regarding exchange networks and routes.

From a survey perspective much can also be done. In terms of aerial survey, the focus of sites east and west of the Cherwell has meant that teams have often re-visited that area to obtain better photographs of old sites or capture new sites. However, the survey areas need to be expanded to cover those not included in either NMP or the NOAS zones. Figure 3.4 provides an illustration of areas that require further survey time. The geophysical surveys of the two hillfort and five banjo enclosure sites have shown that the results are clear and in some cases spectacular. The scope for work can involve surveys of this kind across any sites recorded in the aerial photographs. Particular focus on the hillfort sites can tell us much about how these fit within the wider context of Cunliffe's hillfort dominated zone. For the banjo enclosures, the more that are surveyed the more will be understood about them in relation to those already surveyed and within the context of southern Britain. Finally, there is the potential for completing a woodland survey in the Wychwood forest. The cropmarks show that there is a relatively dense concentration in and around its environs and the scope for earthworks surviving has already been shown with the survival of the North Oxfordshire Grim's Ditch and two rectangular enclosures.

Finally, excavation itself would contribute significantly to our understanding of the region. The evidence provided through aspects such as material culture and environmental remains

would provide the necessary evidence to prove many of the narratives and themes outlined here. The potential for starting a region-wide radiocarbon dating programme would also help to build a tighter chronology for the region and focus on how the settlement landscape developed throughout the Iron Age.

Bibliography

- Ainslie, R. (1988) OUAS: Bladon Round Castle 1987. *South Midlands Archaeology* **18**, 94-5.
- Aitken, M.J. & Tite, M.S. (1962) Proton magnetometer surveying on some British Hillforts. *Archaeometry* **5**, 126-34.
- Allen, D.F. (1967) Iron currency bars in Britain. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* **33**, 307-335.
- Allen, G.W.G. (1938) Marks seen from the air in the crops near Dorchester. *Oxoniensia* **3**, 169-71.
- Allen, G.W.G. (1940) Crop marks seen from the air, Northfield Farm, Long Wittenham, Berks. *Oxoniensia* **5**, 164-5.
- Allen, T.G. (1990) *An Iron Age and Romano-British enclosed settlement at Watkins Farm, Northmoor, Oxon*. Oxford, published for the Oxford Archaeological Unit by Oxford University Committee for Archaeology.
- Allen, T.G. (2000) The Iron Age Background. In Henig, M. & Booth, P. (Eds.) *Roman Oxfordshire*. Stroud, 1-33.
- Allen, T.G. (2006) Late Bronze Age and Iron Age: Historic Environment Resource Assessment (draft). 20.08.07. www.thehumanjourney.net/pdf_store/sthames/oxon%20lba-ia.pdf.
- Allen, T.G., Darvill, T., Green, S. & Jones, M. (1993) *Excavations at Roughground Farm, Lechlade, Gloucestershire: a prehistoric and Roman landscape*. Oxford, published for the Oxford Archaeological Unit by Oxford University Committee for Archaeology.
- Allen, T.G., Hey, G. & Miles, D. (1997) A Line of Time: approaches to archaeology in the Upper and Middle Thames Valley, England. *World Archaeology* **29** (Riverine Archaeology), 114-29.
- Allen, T.G., Miles, D. & Palmer, S. (1984) Iron Age buildings in the Upper Thames Region. In Cunliffe, B. & Miles, D. (Eds.) *Aspects of the Iron Age in central southern Britain*. Oxford, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Institute of Archaeology. 89-101.
- Allen, T.G. & Robinson, M. (1993) *The prehistoric landscape and Iron Age enclosed settlement at Mingies Ditch, Hardwick-with-Yelford, Oxon*. Oxford, published for the Oxford Archaeological Unit by Oxford University Committee for Archaeology.
- Atkinson, R.J.C. (1942) Archaeological sites in Port Meadow, Oxford. *Oxoniensia* **7**, 24-35.
- Avery, M. (1993) *Hillfort defences of Southern Britain*. Oxford, Tempus Reparatum.

- Avery, M., Sutton, J.E.G. & Banks, J.W. (1967) Rainsborough, Northants., England: excavations 1961-5. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* **33**, 207-306.
- Barber, A.J. & Pannett, A. (forthcoming) Archaeological excavations along the Milford Haven to Aberdulais Natural Gas Pipeline 2006: A preliminary report. *Archaeology in Wales*.
- Barclay, A., Bradley, R., Hey, G. & Lambrick, G. (1996) The Earlier Prehistory of the Oxford Region in light of recent research. *Oxoniensia* **61**, 1-20.
- Barclay, A., Gray, M., Lambrick, G., Boyle, A. & Healy, F. (1995) Excavations at the Devil's Quoits, Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire, 1972-3 and 1988. Oxford, Published for the Oxford Archaeological Unit by Oxford University Committee for Archaeology.
- Barclay, A., Halpin, C., Healy, F. & Durden, T. (1999) *Excavations at Barrow Hills, Radley, Oxfordshire*. Oxford, Published for the Oxford Archaeological Unit by Oxford University Committee for Archaeology.
- Barrett, J.C. (1980) The pottery of the Later Bronze Age in lowland England. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* **46**, 297-319.
- Barrett, J.C., Bradley, R. & Green, M. (1991) *Landscape, monuments and society: the prehistory of Cranborne Chase*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Bayne, N. (1957) Excavations at Lyneham Camp, Lyneham, Oxon. *Oxoniensia* **22**, 1-10.
- Benson, D. (1967) An Iron Age site at Kirtlington, Oxon. *Oxoniensia* **31**, 157-8.
- Benson, D. (1972) A Sites and Monuments Record for the Oxford Region. *Oxoniensia* **37**, 226-237.
- Benson, D. & Miles, D. (1974) *The Upper Thames Valley: an archaeological survey of the River gravels*. Oxford, Oxford Archaeological Unit.
- Benson, D., Whittle, A.W.R., Barclay, A. & Dennis, I. (2007) *Building memories: the Neolithic Cotswold long barrow at Ascott-under-Wychwood, Oxfordshire*. Oxford, Oxbow Books.
- Bevan, B. (Ed.) (1999) *Northern Exposure: interpretive devolution and the Iron Ages in Britain*. Leicester, Leicester University Press.
- Bewley, B. (2001) Understanding England's Historic Landscape: an aerial perspective. *Landscapes* **2**, 74-84.
- Blair, J. (1994) *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire*. Stroud, Sutton.
- Bonney, D.J. & Moore, C.N. (1967) Hamshill Ditches, Barford St Martin. *Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine* **62**, 118-121.

- Booth, P. (1998) The regional archaeological setting of the Romano-British roadside settlement at Wilcote - a summary. In Hands, A.R. (Ed.) *The Romano-British roadside settlement at Wilcote, Oxfordshire II. Excavations 1993-96*. Oxford, 9-20.
- Booth, P., Dodd, A., Robinson, M. & Smith, A. (2007) *The Archaeology of the Gravel Terraces of the Upper and Middle Thames: The Early Historical Period: AD1-1000*. Oxford, Oxford Archaeology.
- Bowden, M. (2006) 'Guard Chambers': an Unquestioned assumption in British Iron Age studies. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* **72**, 423-436.
- Bowden, M. & McOmish, D. (1987) The Required Barrier. *Scottish Archaeological Review* **4**, 76-84.
- Boyd-Dawkins, W.D. (1861) Traces of the earliest Britons in the neighbourhood of Oxford. *Proceedings of the Oxford Architecture and History Society* **1**, 108-16.
- Boyle, A., Jennings, D., Miles, D. & Palmer, S. (1998) *The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Butler's Field, Lechlade, Gloucestershire*. Oxford, Published for the Oxford Archaeological Unit by Oxford University Committee for Archaeology.
- Bradford, J.S.P. (1942a) An Early Iron Age settlement at Standlake, Oxon. *Antiquaries Journal* **22**, 202-14.
- Bradford, J.S.P. (1942b) An Early Iron Age site at Allen's Pit, Dorchester. *Oxoniensia* **7**, 36-60.
- Bradley, R. (1990) *The passage of Arms: an archaeological analysis of prehistoric hoards and votive deposits*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Bradley, R. (2002) *The Past in Prehistoric Societies*. London, Routledge.
- Bradley, R. (2005) *Ritual and Domestic Life in Prehistoric Europe*. London, Routledge.
- Brady, K., Smith, A. & Laws, G. (2007) Excavations at Abingdon West central redevelopment: Iron Age, Roman, Medieval and Post-medieval activity in Abingdon. *Oxoniensia* **72**, 107-202.
- Brück, J. & Goodman, M. (1999) 'Introduction: Themes for a critical archaeology of prehistoric settlement'. In Brück, J. & Goodman, M. (Eds.) *Making places in the prehistoric world. Themes in settlement archaeology*. London, 1-19.
- Burrow, E.J., Paine, A.E.W., Knowles, W.H. & Gray, J.W. (1925) Excavations at Leckhampton, Cheltenham. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeology Society* **47**, 81-112.
- Carr, G. & Knüsel, C. (1997) 'The ritual framework of excarnation by exposure as the mortuary practice of the early and middle Iron Ages of central southern Britain'. In Gwilt,

- A. & Haselgrove, C. (Eds.) *Reconstructing Iron Age societies: new approaches to the British Iron Age*. Oxford, Oxbow Books. 167-173.
- Case, H. (1982) Cassington, 1950-2: Late Neolithic pits and the Big Enclosure. In Case, H. & Whittle, A.W.R. (Eds.), *Settlement patterns in the Oxford region: excavations at the Abingdon causewayed enclosure and other sites*, London, C.B.A. 118-135.
- Case, H.J., Bayne, N., Steele, S., Avery, G. & Suttermeister, H. (1964/5) Excavations at City Farm, Hanborough, Oxon. *Oxoniensia* **29-30**, 1-98.
- Chadwick, A. (1999) Digging Ditches, but Missing Riches? Ways into the Iron Age and Romano-British cropmark landscapes of the north Midlands. In Bevan, B. (Ed.) *Northern Exposure: interpretive devolution and the Iron Ages in Britain*. Leicester, Leicester University Press. 149-171.
- Chambers, R.A. (1976a) A Late Iron Age and Roman-British Settlement at Hardwick. *Oxoniensia* **41**, 21-35.
- Chambers, R.A. (1976b) Excavations in the Witney Area 1974-5. *Oxoniensia* **41**, 17-20.
- Champion, S.T. (1971) Excavations at Leckhampton Hill, 1969-70: Interim Report. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeology Society* **90**, 5-21.
- Champion, S.T. (1976) Leckhampton Hill, Gloucestershire, 1935 and 1970. In Harding, D.W. (Ed.) *Hillforts: later prehistoric earthworks in Britain and Ireland*. London, Academic Press. 177-190.
- Champion, T.C. & Collis, J. (Eds.) (1996) *The Iron Age in Britain and Ireland: recent trends*. Sheffield, Sheffield Academic Press.
- Clark, A. (1977) Geophysical and chemical assessment of air photographic sites. In Hampton, J.N. and R. Palmer: Implications of aerial photography for archaeology. *The Archaeological Journal*, **134**, 157-93.
- Clark, G. (1966) The invasion hypothesis in British Archaeology. *Antiquity* **40**, 172-89.
- Clifford, E.M. (1961) *Bagendon: A Belgic oppidum. Excavations 1954-56*. Cambridge, Heffer.
- Coleman, L. & Hancocks, A. (2004) Iron Age and Romano-British remains at Filkins and Carterton. *Oxoniensia* **69**, 355-384.
- Coleman, L., Hancocks, A. & Watts, M. (2006) *Excavations on the Wormington to Tirley pipeline 2000. Four sites by the Carrant brook and River Isbourne, Gloucestershire and Worcestershire*. Cirencester, Cotswold Archaeology.
- Collard, M., Darvill, T. & Watts, M. (2006) Ironworking in the Bronze Age? Evidence from the 10th Century BC settlement at Hartshill Copse, Upper Bucklebury, West Berkshire. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* **72**, 367-422.

- Collis, J.R. (1968) Excavations at Owslebury, Hants. *Antiquaries Journal* **48**, 18-31.
- Collis, J.R. (1970) Excavations at Owslebury, Hants. *Antiquaries Journal* **50**, 246-51.
- Collis, J.R. (1981) A theoretical study of hill-forts. In Guilbert, G. (Ed.) *Hill-fort studies: papers presented to A.H.A. Hogg*. Leicester, Leicester University Press. 66-76.
- Collis, J.R. (1984) *Oppida. Earliest towns north of the Alps*. Sheffield, Sheffield University Press
- Collis, J.R. (1996) Hill-forts, enclosures and boundaries. In Champion, T. & Collis, J.R. (Eds.) *The Iron Age in Britain and Ireland: recent trends*. Sheffield, Sheffield Academic Press. 87-94.
- Collis, J.R. (2006) Enclosure in Iron Age Wessex: The view from modern Avila. In Harding, A.F., Sievers, S. & Venclova, N. (Eds.) *Enclosing the Past: Inside and Outside in Prehistory*. Sheffield, 155-162.
- Cook, S. & Hayden, C. (2000) Prehistoric and Roman Settlement in Heyford Road, Steeple Aston, Oxfordshire. *Oxoniensia* **65**, 161-210.
- Copeland, T. (1988) The North Oxfordshire Grim's Ditch: a fieldwork survey. *Oxoniensia* **33**, 277-92.
- Copeland, T. (2002) *Iron Age and Roman Wychwood: the land of Satavacus and Bellicia*. Charlbury, Wychwood.
- Corney, M. (1989) Multiple ditch systems and Late Iron Age settlement in central Wessex. In Bowden, M., Mackay, D. & Topping, P. (Eds.) *"From Cornwall to Caithness" Some aspects of British field archaeology*. Oxford, BAR. 111-128.
- Cotswold Archaeology (2007) Angelino's pumping station to Ardley reservoir, Oxfordshire: mains pipeline reinforcement. Post-excavation assessment and updated project design Client report **06058**.
- Coutts, C. & Jones, C. (1998) Warwick, Heathcote Home Farm. *West Midlands Archaeology* **41**, 100.
- Crawford, O.G.S. (1930) Grim's Ditch in Wychwood, Oxon. *Antiquity* **4**, 303-315.
- Crawford, O.G.S. & Keiller, A. (1928) *Wessex from the Air*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Creighton, J. (2000) *Coins and Power in Late Iron Age Britain*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Creighton, J. (2006) *Britannia: The Creation of a Roman province*. London, Routledge.
- Cromarty, A.M., Foreman, S. & Murray, P. (1999) The excavation of a Late Iron Age enclosed settlement at Bicester Fields Farm, Bicester, Oxon. *Oxoniensia* **64**, 153-233.

- Cropper, C. & Hardy, A. (1997) The excavation of Iron Age and Medieval features at Glympton Park, Oxfordshire. *Oxoniensia* **62**, 101-7.
- Cunliffe, B. (1974) *Iron Age communities in Britain: an account of England, Scotland and Wales from the seventh century BC until the Roman conquest*. 1st ed. London, Routledge.
- Cunliffe, B. (1978) *Iron Age communities in Britain: an account of England, Scotland and Wales from the seventh century BC until the Roman conquest*. 2nd ed. London, Routledge.
- Cunliffe, B. (1984) *Danebury: An Iron Age Hillfort in Hampshire*, vol. 2. London, Council for British Archaeology.
- Cunliffe, B. (1991) *Iron Age communities in Britain: an account of England, Scotland and Wales from the seventh century BC until the Roman conquest*. 3rd ed. London, Routledge.
- Cunliffe, B. (1992) Pits, preconceptions and propitiation in the British Iron Age. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* **11**, 69-83.
- Cunliffe, B. (1995) *Danebury: An Iron Age Hillfort in Hampshire. Vol. 6: A hillfort community in perspective*. York, Council for British Archaeology.
- Cunliffe, B. (1997) *The Ancient Celts*. Oxford, Oxford University Press
- Cunliffe, B. (2000) *The Danebury Environs Programme: The Prehistory of a Wessex Landscape. Vol. 1: Introduction*. Oxford, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology.
- Cunliffe, B. (2004) *Iron Age Britain*. 2nd ed. London, Batsford.
- Cunliffe, B. (2005) *Iron Age communities in Britain: an account of England, Scotland and Wales from the seventh century BC until the Roman conquest*. 4th ed. London, Routledge.
- Cunliffe, B. (2006) Understanding hillforts: have we progressed? In Payne, A., Corney, M. & Cunliffe, B. *The Wessex Hillforts project: Extensive survey of hillfort interiors in central southern England*. London, English Heritage. 151-162.
- Cunliffe, B. (2008a) *Grately South: the Danebury Roman environs project*. Oxford, Oxford University School of Archaeology.
- Cunliffe, B. (2008b) *Dunkirt Barn: the Danebury Roman environs project*. Oxford, Oxford University School of Archaeology.
- Cunliffe, B. & Miles, D. (Eds.) (1984) *Aspects of the Iron Age in central southern Britain*. Oxford, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Institute of Archaeology.
- Cunliffe, B. & Poole, C. (2000) *The Danebury Environs Programme: The Prehistory of a Wessex Landscape. Vol. 2 part 5: Nettlebank Copse, Wherwell, Hants, 1993*. Oxford, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology.
- Cunliffe, B.W., Rowley, T. & Hassall, T. (1974) The Oxfordshire Archaeological Unit. *Antiquity* **48**, 93-8.

- Dark, P. (2000) *The environment of Britain in the first millennium A.D.* London, Duckworth.
- Darvill, T. (2006) Early prehistory. In Holbrook, N. & Jurica, J. (Eds.) *25 Years of Archaeology in Gloucestershire. A Review of new discoveries and new thinking in Gloucestershire, South Gloucestershire and Bristol 1979-2004.* Cheltenham, Cotswold Archaeology. 5-60.
- Darvill, T. & Hingley, R. (1982) A 'banjo' type enclosure at Northleach. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeology Society* **100**, 249-51.
- Darvill, T., Saunders, A. & Startin, B. (1987) A question of national importance: approaches to the evaluation of ancient monuments for the Monuments Protection Programme in England. *Antiquity* **61**, 393-408.
- Dawson, G.J. (1961) Excavations at Purwell Farm, Cassington. *Oxoniensia* **26-7**, 1-6.
- Day, S.P. (1991) Post-glacial vegetational history of the Oxford region. *New Phytologist* **119**, 445-70.
- de Jersey, P. (1996) *Celtic Coinage in Britain.* Princes Risborough, Shire.
- de Jersey, P. (Ed.) (2006) *Celtic Coinage: New Discoveries, New Discussion.* Oxford, Archaeopress.
- De Roche, C.D. (1977) *An Analysis of selected groups of early Iron Age pottery from the Oxford region.* University of Oxford, **B.Litt.**
- De Roche, C.D. (1978) The Iron Age pottery. In Parrington, M. *The excavation of an Iron Age settlement, Bronze Age ring-ditches and Roman features at Ashville Trading Estate, Abingdon (Oxfordshire) 1974-76.* London, Council for British Archaeology for the Oxford Archaeology Unit. 40-74.
- Devaney, R. (2007) The excavations of Iron Age, Roman, Medieval, and Civil War features south of the Vineyard, Abingdon, Oxfordshire. *Oxoniensia* **72**, 73-106.
- Dixon, P.W. (1976) Crickley Hill, 1969-1972. In Harding, D.W. (Ed.) *Hillforts: later prehistoric earthworks in Britain and Ireland.* London, Academic Press. 161-175.
- Dixon, P.W. (1994) *Crickley Hill: The Hillfort Defences.* Nottingham, Crickley Hill Trust and the Department of Archaeology University of Nottingham.
- Dodd, A. (Ed.) (forthcoming) *The Archaeology of the Upper and Middle Thames: The First Foundations of Modern Society in the Thames Valley 1500 BC-AD 50.* Oxford, Oxford Archaeology.
- Dunning, G.C. (1976) Salmonsbury, Bourton-on-the-Water, Gloucestershire. In Harding, D.W. (Ed.) *Hillforts: later prehistoric earthworks in Britain and Ireland.* London, Academic Press. 75-131.

- Edis, J., MacLeod, D. & Bewley, B. (1989) An archaeologist's guide to classification of cropmarks and soilmarks. *Antiquity* **63**, 112-26.
- Ehrenreich, R. (1985) *Trade, Technology and the Ironworking Community in the Iron Age of Southern Britain*. Oxford, Archaeopress.
- Ehrenreich, R. (1994) Ironworking in Iron Age Wessex. In Fitzpatrick, A.P. & Morris, E.L. (Eds.) *The Iron Age in Wessex: Recent Work (Association Francais D'Etude L'Age du Fer)*. Salisbury, 16-18.
- Ellis, P., Hughes, G. & Jones, J. (2000) An Iron Age boundary and settlement features at Slade Farm, Bicester, Oxfordshire: a report on excavations, 1996. *Oxoniensia* **65**, 211-65.
- Evans, R. (1990) Crop patterns recorded on aerial photographs of England and Wales: their type, extent and agricultural implications. *Journal of Agricultural Science* **115**, 369-382.
- Fasham, P.J. (1987) *A Banjo enclosure in Micheldever Wood, Hampshire*. Winchester, Hampshire Field Club Archaeology Society.
- Featherstone, R. (1994) Aerial Reconnaissance in 1994. *Antiquity* **68**, 812-15.
- Featherstone, R. & Bewley, B. (2000) Recent Aerial Reconnaissance in North Oxfordshire. *Oxoniensia* **65**, 13-26.
- Featherstone, R., Horne, P., MacLeod, D. & Bewley, B. (1996) Aerial Reconnaissance in England, Summer 1995. *Antiquity* **69**, 981-8.
- Featherstone, R., Horne, P., MacLeod, D. & Bewley, B. (1999) Aerial Reconnaissance over England in Summer 1996. *Archaeological Prospection* **6**, 47-62.
- Fell, C.I. (1961) Shenbarrow Hill Camp, Stanton, Gloucestershire. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeology Society* **80**, 16-41.
- Fenner, V.E.P. & Dyer, C.A. (1994) *The Thames Valley Project: A report for the National Mapping Programme*. Royal Commission Report.
- Finney, J.B. (2006) *Middle Iron Age Warfare of the Hillfort Dominated Zone c. 400 BC to c. 150 BC*. Oxford, Archaeopress.
- Fitzpatrick, A.P. (1997) Everyday life in Iron Age Wessex. In Gwilt, A. & Haselgrove, C. (Eds.) *Reconstructing Iron Age societies: new approaches to the British Iron Age*. Oxford, Oxbow Books. 73-95.
- Ford, S., Bowden, M., Mees, G. & Gaffney, V. (1988) The date of the 'Celtic' field systems on the Berkshire Downs. *Britannia* **19**, 401-4.
- Fowler, P.J. (1960) Excavations at Madmarston Camp, Swalcliffe 1957-8. *Oxoniensia* **25**, 3-48.

- Gaffney, C. & Gater, J. (2003) *Revealing the Buried Past: Geophysics for Archaeologists*. Stroud, Tempus.
- Gates, T. (1975) *The Middle Thames Valley: An Archaeological Survey of the River Gravels*. Reading, Berkshire Archaeological Committee Publications.
- Giles, M. (2007) Making Metal and Forging Relations: Ironworking in the British Iron Age. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* **26**, 395-413.
- Gingell, C. (1982) Excavations of an Iron Age enclosure at Groundwell Farm, Blunsdon St Andrew, 1976-7. *Wiltshire Archaeology Magazine* **76**, 33-75.
- Gosden, C. & Lock, G. (1998) Prehistoric Histories. *World Archaeology* **30** (The Past in the Past: The Reuse of Ancient Monuments), 2-12.
- Gosden, C. & Lock, G. (2007) The aesthetics of landscape on the Berkshire Downs. In Haselgrove, C. & Pope, R. (Eds.) *The Earlier Iron Age in Britain and the near Continent*. Oxford, Oxbow. 279-292.
- Gray, J. (2002) Community as place-making. Ram auctions in the Scottish borderland. In Amit, V. (Ed.) *Realizing Community. Concepts, social relationships and sentiments*. London, 38-59.
- Grimes, W.F. (1943) Excavations at Stanton Harcourt, Oxon., 1940. *Oxoniensia* **8-9**, 19-63.
- Grimes, W.F. (1951) The Jurassic Way. In Grimes, W.F. (Ed.) *Aspects of archaeology in Britain and Beyond: Essays presented to O.G.S. Crawford*. London, Routledge. 53-80.
- Grimes, W.F. (1960) *Excavation on Defence Sites 1939-1945*. London, HMSO.
- GSB (2004) *Salmonsbury Camp Gloucestershire*. Geophysical Survey Report **2004/18**.
- Guilbert, G. (1981) (Ed.) *Hill-fort studies: papers presented to A.H.A. Hogg*. Leicester, Leicester University Press.
- Gwilt, A. & Haselgrove, C. (1997) (Eds.) *Reconstructing Iron Age societies: new approaches to the British Iron Age*. Oxford, Oxbow Books.
- Hambleton, E. (1999) *Animal husbandry regimes in Iron Age Britain: a comparative study of faunal assemblages from British Iron Age sites*. Oxford, Archaeopress.
- Hamlin, A. (1963) Excavations of the Ring-Ditches and other sites in Stanton Harcourt. *Oxoniensia* **28**, 1-19.
- Hamlin, A. (1966) Early Iron Age sites at Stanton Harcourt. *Oxoniensia* **31**, 1-27.
- Harden, D.B. (1937) Excavations at Grim's Dyke, North Oxfordshire. *Oxoniensia* **2**, 74-92.

- Harden, D.B. (1942) Excavation's at Smith's Pit II, Cassington, Oxon. *Oxoniensia* 7, 104-7.
- Harding, D.W. (1967) The pottery from Kirtlington, and its implications for the chronology of the Earliest Iron Age in the upper Thames region. *Oxoniensia* 31, 158-61.
- Harding, D.W. (1972) *The Iron Age in the Upper Thames basin*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Harding, D.W. (Ed.) (1976) *Hillforts: later prehistoric earthworks in Britain and Ireland*. London, Academic Press.
- Harding, P. (2007) Two possible Iron Age 'banjo' enclosures and a Romano-British villa and settlement at Beach's Barn, Fittleton, Salisbury Plain. *Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine* 100, 83-90.
- Haselgrove, C. (2001) Iron Age Britain and its European Setting. In Collis, J.R. (Ed.) *Society and Settlement in Iron Age Europe, L'habitat et l'occupation du sol en Europe: actes du XVIIIe Colloque de l'AFEAF, Winchester, April 1994*. Sheffield, J.R. Collis.
- Haselgrove, C., Armit, A., Champion, T., Creighton, J., Gwilt, A., Hill, J.D., Hunter, F. & Woodward, A. (2001) *Understanding the British Iron Age: An Agenda for Action*. Salisbury, Trust for Wessex Archaeology.
- Haselgrove, C. & Moore, T. (Eds.) (2007a) *The Later Iron Age in Britain and Beyond*. Oxford, Oxbow.
- Haselgrove, C. & Moore, T. (2007b) New narratives of the Later Iron Age. In Haselgrove, C. & Moore, T. (Eds.) *The Later Iron Age in Britain and Beyond*. Oxford, Oxbow. 1-15.
- Haselgrove, C. & Pope, R. (Eds.) (2007a) *The Earlier Iron Age in Britain and the near Continent*. Oxford, Oxbow.
- Haselgrove, C. & Pope, R. (2007b) Characterising the Earlier Iron Age. In Haselgrove, C. & Pope, R. (Eds.) *The Earlier Iron Age in Britain and the near Continent*. Oxford, Oxbow. 1-23.
- Hawkes, C.F.C. (1931) Hillforts. *Antiquity* 5, 60-97.
- Hawkes, C.F.C. (1959) The ABC of the British Iron Age. *Antiquity* 33, 170-82.
- Hencken, T.C. (1939) The Excavation of the Iron Age Camp on Bredon Hill, Gloucestershire. *Archaeological Journal* 95, 1-111.
- Henig, M. & Booth, P. (2000) *Roman Oxfordshire*. Stroud, Sutton.
- Hey, G. (1995) Iron Age and Roman settlement at Old Shifford Farm, Standlake. *Oxoniensia* 60, 93-175.
- Hey, G. (2007) Unravelling the Iron Age landscape of the Upper Thames Valley. In Haselgrove, C. & Moore, T. (Eds.) *The Later Iron Age in Britain and Beyond*. Oxford, Oxbow. 156-172.

- Hey, G., Bayliss, A. & Boyle, A. (1999) Iron Age inhumation burials at Yarnton, Oxfordshire. *Antiquity* **73**, 551-62.
- Hey, G. & Timby, J. (forthcoming) *Yarnton: Iron Age and Romano-British settlement and landscape*. Oxford, Oxford Archaeology.
- Hill, J.D. (1995a) The Pre-Roman Iron Age in Britain and Ireland (ca 800 B.C. to A.D. 100): An Overview. *Journal of World Prehistory* **9**, 47-98.
- Hill, J.D. (1995b) *Ritual and Rubbish in the Iron Age of Wessex: A study on the formation of a specific archaeological record*. Oxford, Archaeopress.
- Hill, J.D. (1996) Hill-forts and the Iron Age of Wessex. In Champion, T. & Collis, J.R. (Eds.) *The Iron Age in Britain and Ireland: recent trends*. Sheffield, Sheffield Academic Press. 95-116.
- Hill, J.D. (1999) 'Settlement, Landscape and Regionality: Norfolk and Suffolk in the pre-Roman Iron Age of Britain and beyond'. In Davies, J. & Williamson, T. (Eds.) *Land of the Iceni: the Iron Age in Northern East Anglia*. Norwich, 185-207.
- Hill, J.D. (2002) 'Just about the potter's wheel? Using, making and depositing Middle and Later Iron Age pots in East Anglia'. In Woodward, A. & Hill, J.D. (Eds.), *Prehistoric Britain: the ceramic basis*. Oxford, Oxbow. 141-160.
- Hill, J.D. (2007) The dynamics of social change in Later Iron Age eastern and south-eastern England c. 300 BC-AD 43. In Haselgrove, C. & Moore, T. (Eds.) *The Later Iron Age in Britain and Beyond*. Oxford, Oxbow 16-40.
- Hillman, G. (1981) Reconstructing crop husbandry practices from charred remains of crops. In Mercer, R. (Ed.) *Farming Practice in British Prehistory*. Edinburgh, 123-62.
- Hingley, R. (1982) Kiddington: Tomlin's Gate. *CBA gp. 9 Newsletter* **12**, 154.
- Hingley, R. (1983) *Iron Age and Romano-British Society in the upper Thames Valley: An analysis of settlement data in terms of modes of production*. University of Southampton, **Ph.D Thesis**.
- Hingley, R. (1984a) Towards social analysis in archaeology: Celtic society in the Iron Age of the upper Thames valley. In Cunliffe, B. & Miles, D. (Eds.) *Aspects of the Iron Age in central southern Britain*. Oxford, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Institute of Archaeology. 72-88.
- Hingley, R. (1984b) The Archaeology of Settlement and the Social Significance of Space. *Scottish Archaeological Review* **3**, 22-30.
- Hingley, R. (1988) Whitchurch parish survey. *West Midlands Archaeology* **31**, 37-9.
- Hingley, R. (1990a) Iron Age 'Currency Bars': The archaeological and social context. *Archaeological Journal* **147**, 91-117.

Hingley, R. (1990b) Boundaries surrounding Iron Age and Roman-British Settlement. *Scottish Archaeological Review* **7**, 96-103.

Hingley, R. (1996) Prehistoric Warwickshire: a review of the evidence. *Transactions of the Birmingham and Warwickshire Archaeology Society* **100**, 1-25.

Hingley, R. (1999) The creation of Later Prehistoric landscapes and the context and reuse of Neolithic and Earlier Bronze Age monuments in Britain and Ireland. In Bevan, B. (Ed.) *Northern Exposure: interpretive devolution and the Iron Ages in Britain*. Leicester, Leicester University Press. 233-251.

Hingley, R. (2005) Iron Age 'Currency Bars' in Britain: items of exchange in liminal context? In Haselgrove, C. & Wigg-Wolf, D. (Eds.) *Iron Age Coinages and Ritual Practices*. Studien zu Fundmunzen der Antike. Mainz, 183-206.

Hingley, R. (2006a) Defining community: Iron, boundaries and transformation in later prehistoric Britain. In Harding, A.F., Sievers, S. & Venclova, N. (Eds.) *Enclosing the Past: Inside and Outside in Prehistory*. Sheffield, 116-125.

Hingley, R. (2006b) The deposition of iron objects in Britain during the later prehistoric and Roman periods: contextual analysis and the significance of Iron. *Britannia* **37**, 213-258.

Hingley, R. & Darvill, T. (1987) Monuments Class Description for banjo enclosures. Accessed 30.6.2005. <http://www.eng-h.gov.uk/mpp/mcd/bje.htm>.

Hingley, R. & Miles, D. (1984) Aspects of Iron Age settlement in the upper Thames valley. In Cunliffe, B. & Miles, D. (Eds.) *Aspects of the Iron Age in central southern Britain*. Oxford, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Institute of Archaeology. 52-71.

Hodson, F.R. (1960) Reflections on the 'ABC' of the British Iron Age. *Antiquity* **34**, 138-40.

Hodson, F.R. (1964) Cultural groupings within the British pre-Roman Iron Age. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* **30**, 99-110.

Holgate, R. (1984) Excavations at the Prehistoric and Romano-British enclosure complex at Carne's Seat, Goodwood, West Sussex. *Sussex Archaeological Collections* **124**, 35-50.

Horton, A., Poole, E.G., Williams, B.J., Illing, V.C. & Hobson, G.D. (1987) *Geology of the Country around Chipping Norton*. London, HMSO.

Hurst, J.D. (2005) *Sheep in the Cotswolds: the medieval wool trade*. Stroud, Tempus.

Jackson, D.A. (1993-4) Excavations of the hillfort defences at Hunsbury, Northampton, in 1952 and 1988. *Northamptonshire Archaeology* **25**, 5-20.

- James, S. (2007) A bloodless past: the pacification of the Early Iron Age. In Haselgrove, C. & Pope, R. (Eds.) *The Earlier Iron Age in Britain and the near Continent*. Oxford, Oxbow. 160-173.
- Jones, M. (1984) Regional patterns in crop production. In Cunliffe, B. & Miles, D. (Eds.) *Aspects of the Iron Age in central southern Britain*. Oxford, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Institute of Archaeology. 120-125.
- Jones, M. (1985) Archaeobotany beyond subsistence reconstruction. In Barker, G. & Gamble, C. (Eds.) *Beyond domestication in Prehistoric Europe, Investigations in Subsistence Archaeology and Social Complexity*. London, 107-28.
- Jones, M. (1988) (Ed.) *Archaeology and the flora of the British Isles: human influence on the evolution of plant communities*. Oxford, OUCA.
- Jones, M. & Dimbleby, G.W. (1981) (Eds.) *The Environment of Man: The Iron Age to the Anglo-Saxon Period*. Oxford, BAR.
- Kidd, A. (2000) An Archaeological Resource Assessment of the Later Bronze and Iron Ages (the First Millennium BC) in Northamptonshire 28.09.2007.
<http://www.le.ac.uk/ar/research/projects/eastmidsfw/index.html>.
- Lamb, H.H. (1981) Climate from 1000 BC-AD 100. In Jones, M. & Dimbleby, G.W. (Eds.), *The Environment of Man: The Iron Age to the Anglo-Saxon Period*. Oxford, BAR. 53-65.
- Lambrick, G. (1984) Clanfield, Burroway. *South Midlands Archaeology* **14**, 104-5.
- Lambrick, G. (1985) Archaeology and nature conservation in Oxfordshire. In Lambrick, G. (Ed.) *Archaeology and Nature Conservation*. Oxford, Dept. of Continuing Education. 67-80.
- Lambrick, G. (1988) *The Rollright Stones: megaliths, monuments, and settlement in the prehistoric landscape*. London, Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England.
- Lambrick, G. (1992) The development of the late prehistoric and Roman farming on the Thames gravels. In Fulford, M.G. & Nichols, E. (Eds.) *Developing landscapes of lowland Britain: the archaeology of the British gravels: a review*. London, Society of Antiquaries. 78-105.
- Lambrick, G. (1998) Frontier Territory along the Thames. *British Archaeology* **33**, 12-13.
- Lambrick, G. (forthcoming) *Neolithic to Saxon Social and Environmental Change at Mount Farm, Berinsfield, Dorchester-on-Thames, Oxfordshire*. Oxford, Oxford Archaeology.
- Lambrick, G. & Allen, T.G. (2004) *Gravelly Guy, Stanton Harcourt: the development of a prehistoric and Romano-British community*. Oxford, Oxford Archaeology.

Lambrick, G. & Robinson, M. (1979) *Iron Age and Roman riverside settlements at Farmoor, Oxfordshire*. Oxford & London, Oxfordshire Archaeological Unit; Council for British Archaeology.

Lambrick, G. & Robinson, M. (1988) The development of floodplain grassland in the Upper Thames Valley. In Jones, M. (Ed.) *Archaeology and the flora of the British Isles: human influence on the evolution of plant communities*. Oxford, OUCA. 55-75.

Lang, A.T.O. (forthcoming) Excavations at the Cotswold School and Bourton Primary School, Bourton-on-the-Water. *Glevensis* for 2008.

Leech, R. (1977) *The Upper Thames Valley in Gloucester and Wiltshire: an archaeological survey of the river gravels*. Gloucester, Committee for Rescue Archaeology in Avon, Gloucestershire and Somerset Survey.

Leeds, E.T. (1927) Excavations at Chun Castle in Penwith, Cornwall. *Archaeologia* **76**, 205-40.

Leeds, E.T. (1930) A Bronze Cauldron from the River Cherwell, Oxfordshire, with notes on cauldrons and other bronze vessels of allied types. *Archaeologia* **80**, 1-36.

Leeds, E.T. (1931a) Chastleton Camp, Oxfordshire, A hill fort in the Early Iron Age. *Antiquaries Journal* **11**, 382-98.

Leeds, E.T. (1931b) An Iron Age site near Radley, Berks. *Antiquaries Journal* **11**, 399-404.

Leeds, E.T. (1935) Recent Iron Age discoveries in Oxfordshire and North Berkshire. *Antiquaries Journal* **15**, 30-41.

Lock, G. & Gosden, C. (forthcoming) King Alfred's Castle.

Lock, G., Gosden, C. & Daly, P. (2005) *Segsbury Camp: Excavations in 1996 and 1997 at an Iron Age hillfort on the Oxfordshire Ridgeway*. Oxford, OUSA.

Manning, P. & Leeds, E.T. (1921) *An archaeological survey of Oxfordshire*. Oxford, Printed by F. Hall for the Society of Antiquaries of London.

Marshall, A.J. (1978) The pre-Belgic Iron Age in the Northern Cotswolds. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeology Society* **96**, 9-16.

Marshall, A.J. (1989) The hillfort at Burhill, Buckland, Gloucestershire: evidence for occupation during the earliest phase of the Iron Age. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeology Society* **107**, 197-203.

Marshall, A.J. (1996a) Windrush, Windrush Camp. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeology Society* **114**, 185.

Marshall, A.J. (1996b) Bourton-on-the-Water, Salmonbury. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeology Society* **114**, 165-6.

- Marshall, A.J. (1998) Experimental storage of grain in large rock-cut silo pits 21.5.2006. http://www.brad.ac.uk/acad/archsci/field_proj/amarsh/pitexp.htm.
- Marshall, A.J. (1999) Magnetic prospection at high resolution: survey of large silo-pits in iron age enclosures. *Archaeological Prospection* **6**, 11-29.
- Marshall, A.J. (2001) Functional Analysis of Settlement Areas: Prospection over a Defended Enclosure of Iron Age Date at the Bowsings, Guiting Power, Gloucestershire, UK. *Archaeological Prospection* **8**, 79-106.
- Massey, R. (1999) *The North Oxfordshire Grim's Ditch: Cult, polity and status in the Late pre-Roman Iron Age*. University of Bristol, **MA in Landscape Archaeology**.
- McArthur, C. (1987/8) Excavations at Nadbury Camp, Warwickshire. *Transactions of the Birmingham and Warwickshire Archaeology Society* **95**, 1-16.
- Miles, D. (1986) *Archaeology at Barton Court Farm, Abingdon, Oxon*. Oxford & London, Oxfordshire Archaeological Unit; Council for British Archaeology.
- Miles, D. (1997) Conflict and complexity: The later Prehistory of the Oxford region. *Oxoniensia* **62**, 1-19.
- Miles, D., Bailey, R.N., Palmer, S., Lock, G., Gosden, C. & Cromarty, A.M. (2003) *Uffington White Horse and its landscape: investigations at White Horse Hill, Uffington, 1989-95, and Tower Hill, Ashbury, 1993-4*. Oxford, Oxford Archaeology Unit.
- Miles, D., Palmer, S., Smith, A. & Perpetua-Jones, G. (2007) *Iron Age and Roman Settlement in the Upper Thames Valley*. Oxford, Oxford Archaeology.
- Moore, T. (2003) Rectangular houses in the British Iron Age: Squaring the Circle. In Humphrey, J. (Ed.) *Re-searching the Iron Age*. Leicester, 47-58.
- Moore, T. (2006) *Iron Age Societies in the Severn-Cotswolds: Developing narratives of social and landscape change*. Oxford, Archaeopress.
- Moore, T. (2007a) The Early to Later Iron Age transition in the Severn-Cotswolds: enclosing the household? In Haselgrove, C. & Pope, R. (Eds.) *The Earlier Iron Age in Britain and the near Continent*. Oxford, Oxbow. 259-278.
- Moore, T. (2007b) Life on the edge? Exchange, settlement and identity in the later Iron Age of the Severn Cotswolds. In Haselgrove, C. & Moore, T. (Eds.) *The Later Iron Age in Britain and Beyond*. Oxford, Oxbow. 41-61.
- Moore, T. (2007c) Perceiving Communities: Exchange, Landscapes and Social Networks in the Later Iron Age of Western Britain. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* **26**, 79-102.
- Morris, E.L. (1985) Prehistoric Salt Distributions: Two Case Studies from Western Britain. *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* **32**, 336-379.

- Morris, E.L. (1994) Production and Distribution of Pottery and Salt in Iron Age Britain: a Review. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* **60**, 371-393.
- Mould, C. (1996) An Archaeological excavation at Oxford Road, Bicester, Oxfordshire. *Oxoniensia* **61**, 65-108.
- Myres, J.N.L. (1937) A Prehistoric and Roman site on Mount Farm, Dorchester. *Oxoniensia* **2**, 12-40.
- Needham, S. (2007) 800 BC, The great divide. In Haselgrove, C. & Pope, R. (Eds.) *The Earlier Iron Age in Britain and the near Continent*. Oxford, Oxbow. 39-63.
- Nichols, P.W. (2001) Bourton on the Water, Primary School. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeology Society* **119**, 187.
- Nichols, P.W. (2002) Cotswold School, Bourton-on-the-Water. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeology Society* **120**, 234-5.
- Nichols, P.W. (2003) Cotswold School, Bourton-on-the-Water. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeology Society* **121**, 268-9.
- Nichols, P.W. (2004) Primary School, Bourton-on-the-Water. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeology Society* **122**, 175.
- Nichols, P.W. (2006) *An archaeological excavation at Bourton-on-the-Water Primary School, Gloucestershire 2003*. Gloucestershire County Council Archaeology Service typescript report.
- Nichols, P.W. (forthcoming) An archaeological excavation at Bourton-on-the-Water Primary School.
- O'Neil, H.E. (1957) Condicote Earthwork: a Henge monument, Gloucestershire. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeology Society* **76**, 141-6.
- O'Neil, H.E. (1978) Salmonsbury, Bourton-on-the-Water. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeology Society* **95**, 11-23.
- Oswald, A. (1997) A doorway on the past: practical and mystic concerns in the orientation of roundhouse doorways. In Gwilt, A. & Haselgrove, C. (Eds.) *Reconstructing Iron Age societies: new approaches to the British Iron Age*. Oxford, Oxbow Books. 87-95.
- Palmer, R. (1984) *Danebury, an Iron Age hillfort in Hampshire an aerial photographic interpretation of its environs*. London, RCHME/HMSO.
- Palmer, S.C. (2001) Any old Iron Age? Recent work on the Iron Age in Warwickshire. *West Midlands Archaeology* **44**, 93-5.
- Palmer, S.C. (2003) An Archaeological Resource Assessment for the Middle Bronze Age to Iron Age in Warwickshire and Solihull 12.2.2005. http://www.arch-ant.bham.ac.uk/research/fieldwork_research_themes/projects/wmrrfa/sem2.htm.

Parker-Pearson, M. (1996) Food, fertility and front doors in the first Millennium BC. In Champion, T. & Collis, J.R. (Eds.) *The Iron Age in Britain and Ireland: recent trends*. Sheffield, Sheffield Academic Press. 117-32.

Parker-Pearson, M. (2005) *Bronze Age Britain*. 2nd ed. London, Batsford/English Heritage.

Parrington, M. (1978) *The excavation of an Iron Age settlement, Bronze Age ring-ditches and Roman features at Ashville Trading Estate, Abingdon (Oxfordshire) 1974-76*. London, Council for British Archaeology for the Oxford Archaeology Unit.

Parry, C. (1999) Excavations at Camp Gardens, Stow-on-the-Wold. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeology Society* **117**, 75-87.

Payne, A. (1992) *Lee's Rest enclosure, Near Charlbury, Oxfordshire. Report on Geophysical Survey November 1992*. AML Report **89/93**.

Payne, A. (1996) The use of magnetic prospection in the exploration of Iron Age hillfort interiors in Southern England. *Archaeological Prospection* **3**, 163-84.

Payne, A., Corney, M. & Cunliffe, B. (2006) *The Wessex Hillforts project: Extensive survey of hillfort interiors in central southern England*. London, English Heritage.

Peacock, D.P.S. (1968) A petrological study of certain Iron Age pottery from western England. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* **34**, 414-427.

Perry, B.T. (1966) Some recent discoveries in Hampshire. In Thomas, A.C. (Ed.) *Rural Settlement in Roman Britain*. London, C.B.A. 39-42.

Perry, B.T. (1969) Iron Age enclosures and settlements on the Hampshire Chalklands. *The Archaeological Journal* **126**, 29-43.

Perry, B.T. (1974) Excavations at Bramdean, Hampshire, 1965 and 1966, and a discussion of similar sites in southern England. *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club Archaeology Society* **29** (1972), 41-77.

Perry, B.T. (1982) Excavations at Bramdean, Hampshire, 1973-1977. *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club Archaeology Society* **38**, 57-74.

Perry, B.T. (1986) Excavations at Bramdean, Hampshire, 1983 & 1984 with some further discussions of the Banjo syndrome. *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club Archaeology Society* **42**, 35-42.

Phillips, C.W. (1931) Earthworks of Walton Common Down, near Clevedon. *Proceedings of the University of Bristol Spaeleological Society* **4**, 34-42.

Pine, J. & Preston, S. (2004) *Iron Age and Roman settlement and landscape at Totterdown Lane, Horcott near Fairford, Gloucestershire*. Reading, Thames Valley Archaeological Services.

- Pope, R. (2007) Ritual and the roundhouse: a critique of recent ideas in the use of domestic space in later British prehistory. In Haselgrove, C. & Pope, R. (Eds.) *The Earlier Iron Age in Britain and the near Continent*. Oxford, Oxbow. 204-228
- Powell, P. (2005) *The Geology of Oxfordshire*. Wimbourne, The Dovecote Press.
- Price, J.E., Brabrook, E.W. & White, A. (1881) Chastleton Camp. Moreton-in-Marsh. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* **10**, 124-6.
- Pryor, F. (1996) Sheep, stockyards and fieldsystems: Bronze Age livestock populations in the fenlands of eastern England. *Antiquity* **70**, 313-24.
- Pryor, F. (2001) *The Flag Fen Basin: Archaeology and environment of a Fenland landscape*. Swindon, English Heritage.
- Pryor, F. (2006) *Farmers in Prehistoric Britain*. 2nd ed. Stroud, Tempus.
- Ray, K. (1991) West Oxfordshire District: Little Tew. *South Midlands Archaeology* **21**, 82.
- Reece, R. (1984) The Cotswolds: an Essay on some aspects and problems of Roman rural settlement. In Saville, A. (Ed.) *Archaeology in Gloucestershire*. Cheltenham, Cheltenham Museum and Art Gallery. 181-90.
- Renfrew, C. (1973a) *Before civilization: The radiocarbon revolution and prehistoric Europe*. London, Cape.
- Renfrew, C. (Ed.) (1973b) *The explanation of culture change: models in prehistory*. London, Duckworth.
- Reynolds, P.J. (1974) Experimental Iron Age storage pits: An Interim Report. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* **40**, 118-131
- Rhodes, P.P. (1949) New Archaeological sites at Binsey and Port Meadow, Oxford. *Oxoniensia* **14**, 81-4.
- Richards, J.C. (1978) *The archaeology of the Berkshire Downs: an introductory survey*. Reading, Berkshire Archaeological Committee.
- Riley, D.N. (1942) Crop-marks in the Upper Thames Valley seen from the air during 1941. *Oxoniensia* **7**, 111-14.
- Riley, D.N. (1944) Archaeology from the air in the Upper Thames Valley. *Oxoniensia* **8/9**, 64-101.
- Riley, D.N. (1946/7) A Late Bronze Age and Iron Age site on Standlake Downs. *Oxoniensia* **11-12**, 27-43.

Robinson, M. (1984) Landscape and environment of central southern Britain in the Iron Age. In Cunliffe, B. & Miles, D. (Eds.) *Aspects of the Iron Age in central southern Britain*. Oxford, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Institute of Archaeology. 1-11.

Robinson, M. & Lambrick, G. (1984) Holocene Alluviation and hydrology in the Upper Thames Basin. *Nature* **308**, 809-14.

Rolleston, G. (1884) *Scientific Papers and Addresses* **2**, 939-44.

Rose, J. (1994) Major River systems of Central and Southern Britain. *Terra Nova* **6**, 435-43.

Rowley, T. (1973) The Archaeology of the M40. *Oxoniensia* **38**, 1-5.

Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England) (1960) *A matter of time: an archaeological survey of the river gravels of England*. London, HMSO.

Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England) (1976) *Iron Age and Romano-British Monuments in the Cotswolds*. London, HMSO.

Salter, C. & Ehrenreich, R. (1984) Iron Age iron metallurgy in central southern Britain. In Cunliffe, B. & Miles, D. (Eds.) *Aspects of the Iron Age in central southern Britain*. Oxford, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Institute of Archaeology. 146-161.

Sauer, E. (1998) Alchester: A Roman fort and parade ground? *Current Archaeology* **157**, 34-7.

Sauer, E. (2005) *Linear Earthwork, Tribal Boundary and Ritual Beheading: Aves Ditch from the Iron Age to the Early Middle Ages*. Oxford, Archaeopress.

Saville, A. (1978) Excavations at Icomb Hill, Gloucestershire, 1975. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeology Society* **96**, 27-31.

Saville, A. (1979) *Excavations at Guiting Power Iron Age site, Gloucestershire, 1974*. Bristol Gloucestershire, Committee for Rescue Archaeology in Avon Gloucestershire and Somerset.

Saville, A. (1984) *The Iron Age in Gloucestershire: A Review of the Evidence*. In Saville, A. (Ed.) *Archaeology in Gloucestershire*. Cheltenham, Cheltenham Museum and Art Gallery. 140-178.

Saville, A. & Ellison, A. (1983) *Uley Bury & Norbury hillforts: rescue excavations at two Gloucestershire Iron Age sites*. Bristol, Western Archaeological Trust.

Schrufer-Kolb, I. (2004) *Roman iron production in Britain: Technological and socio-economic landscape development along the Jurassic ridge*. Oxford, Archaeopress.

Schumer, B. (1999) *Wychwood: The evolution of a wooded landscape*. Charlbury, Wychwood Press.

- Sellwood, L. (1984) Tribal boundaries viewed from the perspective of numismatic evidence. In Cunliffe, B. & Miles, D. (Eds.) *Aspects of the Iron Age in central southern Britain*. Oxford, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Institute of Archaeology. 191-204.
- Sharples, N.M. (1991) *Maiden Castle: excavation and field survey 1985-6*. London, English Heritage.
- Sharples, N.M., Waddington, K. & Young, T. (2008) Geophysical fieldwork at Whitchurch, Warwickshire. *Past* **58**, 12-13.
- Sherwood, G.A. (2001) A study of a rectilinear Iron Age hillfort in the upper Thames valley. University of Bournemouth, **Bsc Dissertation**.
- Soil Survey of England and Wales (1983) Sheet 6: South East England. (1983) Harpenden.
- Spratt, D.A. (1991) Recent British research on Prehistoric territorial boundaries. *Journal of World Prehistory* **5**, 439-80.
- Stead, I.A. (1969) Excavations in Blagden Copse, Hurstbourne Tarrant, Hampshire, 1961. *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club Archaeology Society* **23**, 81-9.
- Steane, J. (1994) *Oxfordshire*. London, Pimlico.
- Stevens, C.J. (2003) An Investigation of Agricultural Consumption and Production Models for Prehistoric and Roman Britain. *Environmental Archaeology* **8**, 61-76.
- Stone, S. (1857) Account of certain (supposed) British and Saxon remains recently discovered at Standlake in the County of Oxford. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* **4**, 92-100.
- Stoten, G. (2004) *Greystone's Farm, Bourton on the Water, Gloucestershire*. Archaeological Survey report **04084**.
- Sutton, J.E.G. (1966) Iron Age Hill-Forts and some other Earthworks in Oxfordshire. *Oxoniensia*, **31**, 28-42.
- Thomas, N. (1957) Excavations at Callow Hill, Glympton and Stonesfield, Oxon. *Oxoniensia* **22**, 11-32.
- Thomas, R. (1997) Land, kinship relations and the rise of enclosed settlement in first Millennium B.C. Britain. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* **16**, 211-218.
- Timby, J. (1998) *Excavations at Kingscote and Wycomb, Gloucestershire*. Cirencester, Cotswold Archaeological Trust.
- Turner, J. (1981) The Iron Age. In Simmons, I.G. & Tooley, M. (Eds.) *The Environment of British Prehistory*. London, Routledge. 250-81.
- Van Arsdell, R.D. (1989) *Celtic Coinage in Britain*. London, Spink.

- Van Arsdell, R.D. & Jersey, P.d. (1994) *The coinage of the Dobunni: Money supply and coin circulation in Dobunnic territory*. Oxford, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology.
- van der Veen, M. (1992) *Crop husbandry regimes. An archaeobotanical study of farming in northern England, 1000 BC - AD 500*. Sheffield, J.R. Collis.
- van der Veen, M. & Jones, G. (2006) A re-analysis of agricultural production and consumption: implications for understanding the British Iron Age. *Vegetational History and Archaeobotany* **15**, 217-228.
- van der Veen, M. & Jones, G. (2007) The production and consumption of cereals: a question of scale. In Haselgrove, C. & Moore, T. (Eds.) *The Later Iron Age in Britain and Beyond*. Oxford, Oxbow. 419-429.
- Walker, G. (1995) A Middle Iron Age settlement at Deer Park Road, Witney: Excavations in 1992. *Oxoniensia* **60**, 68-92.
- Wallis, S. (2005) *Ells Lane, Bloxham, Banbury, Oxfordshire: An Archaeological Evaluation*. Unpublished Client Report **05/74**.
- Walters, B. (1992) *Archaeology and history of ancient Dean*. Cheltenham, Thornwell Press.
- Webley, L. (2007) Using and abandoning roundhouses: a reinterpretation of the evidence from late Bronze Age-Early Iron Age southern England. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* **26**, 127-44.
- Wessex Archaeology (2004) *Grims Ditch, West of Park Road, Charlbury, Oxfordshire*. Excavation report Internal Report **61171.01**.
- Wheeler, R.E.M. (1943) *Maiden Castle, Dorset*. Oxford, OUP.
- Whimster, R. (1989) *The Emerging Past: Air Photography and the Buried Landscape*. London, RCHM(E)/HMSO.
- Whimster, R. (1992) Aerial Photography and the British Gravels: An agenda for the 1990s. In Fulford, M.G. & Nichols, E. (Eds.) *Developing landscapes of lowland Britain: the archaeology of the British gravels: a review*. London, Society of Antiquaries. 1-14.
- Williams, A. (1946) Excavations at Langford Downs, Oxon. *Oxoniensia* **11-12**, 44-64.
- Williams, A. (1951) Excavations at Beard Mill, Stanton Harcourt, Oxon., 1944. *Oxoniensia* **16**, 5-23.
- Williams, G. (1988) Recent work on rural settlement in later prehistoric and early historic Dyfed. *Antiquaries Journal* **17**, 3-33.

- Winton, H. (2003) Possible Iron Age 'banjo' enclosures on the Lambourn Downs. *Oxoniensia* **68**, 15-26.
- Woodiwiss, S. (1992) *Iron Age and Roman Salt production and the Medieval Town of Droitwich: Excavations at the Old Bowling Green and Friar Street*. London, Council for British Archaeology.
- Woodward, A. & Hughes, G. (2007) Deposits and doorways: patterns within the Iron Age settlement at Crick Covert Farm, Northamptonshire. In Haselgrove, C. & Pope, R. (Eds.) *The Earlier Iron Age in Britain and the near Continent*. Oxford, Oxbow. 184-203.
- Yates, D. (1999) Bronze Age Field Systems in the Thames valley. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* **18**, 157-70.
- Yates, D. (2007) *Land, Power and Prestige: Bronze Age Field Systems in Southern England*. Oxford, Oxbow.
- Yeates, S.J. (2006) *Religion, community and territory*. Oxford, Archaeopress.

Appendix 1: The Archaeological Evidence

This data in this first appendix deals with the excavated evidence from the study region. This is split into two sections, the first a gazetteer and table of excavated sites and findspots; and a table of coin finds from the study region. Both are placed within the OS grid structure outlined in the methodology of chapter 3.

The gazetteer lists the sites by SMR number and also by SAM (Scheduled Ancient Monument) number if there is one and NMR number if one has been assigned on the AMIE database. Many of the references in the text are from notes sections in the back of journals, the following are used:

Oxon – Oxoniensia

TBGAS – Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeology Society

SMA – South Midlands Archaeology (formerly CBA group 9)

UAD refers to *Unpublished Archaeological Document*; from the SMR.

All others should be in the main bibliography of the text. It should also be noted that despite some sites in the Lechlade area discussed throughout the text, sites such as Thornhill Farm, Roughground Farm and Claydon Pike are all outside the study area. If findspots do not appear in the gazetteer then they have not been published outside the SMR.

For the table, again all possible numbers (including those of the Celtic Coin Index – the last column) have been assigned to each coin.

SP 1

SP 10 SE

27768

Whelford Road, Fairford

[1635 0050]

A single Iron Age ditch (no associated dating evidence) was recorded from a Roman settlement.

SP 10 NE

84 (SAM 251)

Ablington Camp (or Rawbarrow Camp)

(RCHME 1976, 13)

[1050 0735] 3.6 ha

A large univallate Iron Age hillfort with a possible surviving entrance to the south east. It lies on a steep valley above the River Coln. The interior of the site has been ploughed and no evidence of habitation has been discovered. The ramparts still remain, but again have been nearly levelled by the ploughing.

87 (SAM 31184)

Dean Camp (Or Ladborough Camp)

(RCHME 1976, 36)

[1650 2087] 12 acres (4.9ha), Great Oolite limestone

A large univallate potential hillfort that lies above the River Leach which currently remains unexcavated. The site has a visible and remaining bank but no visible ditch. It has a roughly d-shaped interior, with a bank c.8m wide, any possible ditch remains buried with no evidence found as yet. A leaf-shaped flint arrowhead was picked up from the interior. Ploughing across the site has reduced the size of the ramparts and damaged the interior. The original entrance on the north east may survive.

2461

Eastleach

(RCHME 1976, 51)

[1875 0716]

Possible Celtic field lynchets/remnants.

2462

Eastleach

(RCHME 1976, 51)

[1810 0680]

Possible Celtic field lynchets/remnants.

SP 11 SE

332 (SAM 55)

Windrush Camp

(RCHME 1976, 130; TBGAS 1996, 185)

[1810 1230] 3 acres

A small univallate hillfort lying above the River Windrush. It consists of a single surviving bank which is extremely well preserved though there is no sign of an external ditch. Some erosion has revealed limestone walling of the bank. A geophysical survey conducted by Alistair Marshall revealed an internal scattering of huts and pits with lines representing possible internal divisions. Further surveys outside the hillfort revealed a possible double ditch defensive circuit around some areas of the site. Further work outside the fort is ongoing.

5969

Sherborne

[Marginal]

9 Dobunnic coins found c. 1903 at or near Sherborne. Seven inscribed ANTED, one EISH and one CATTI

SP 11 NE

137 (SAM 455)

Glebe Farm, Great Rissington

(Saville 1980; also U.D. – GCCAS 1988, interim report)

[1830 1770]

A complex settlement site with a number of different features shown as cropmarks, with a group of at least 4 pennanular enclosures – possibly hut circles – lying immediately north of a pattern of linked rectangular enclosures. Traces of parallel features, trackways or pits are identified to the south whilst a further pit alignment lies to the northeast. Further enclosures, pit alignments, linear features are also recorded. Trial excavations were undertaken in 1988 recording boundary ditches with fills containing Iron Age pottery and many of which were multi-phase. The site was badly damaged by ploughing.

SP 12 SE

342 (SAM 32932)

Salmonsbury Camp, Bourton-on-the-Water

(Dunning 1976; O'Neil 1978; Stoten 2004)

[SP 174 208] 130m OD. Internal 56 acres.

Salmonsbury is a large double ditched enclosure, lying on River terraces of the Windrush and Dirkler. Whilst, definitely of a fortified nature, the low-lying situation of Salmonsbury means it is unlike the other Cotswold hillforts. Excavations of seven sites (10 trenches in total) within the fortified area in the 1930s recorded 2 periods of Iron Age occupation, with the main phase – associated with the building of the bivallate defensive ditches – in the Late Iron Age period. The inner ditch was originally V-shaped, 12ft (3.7m) deep and 36 ft (11m) wide, the outer ditch – also V-shaped – was 9ft (2.7m) deep and 19ft (5.8m) wide. The site had some occupation in Middle Iron Age but the main phases of occupation were later and continued into the Roman period. The site is scheduled and further evaluations and watching briefs have focused on areas around the edges. This later work has been collated by Cotswold Archaeology in 2004, which included a total geophysical survey of the site by GSB. The surveys revealed a Neolithic causewayed enclosure underlying the centre of the site. Internal enclosures, probably of Iron Age date were also identified within. Salmonsbury has been described as an *enclosed oppida* (Cunliffe 1991, 368) sited to command the trading routes between the Severn and the Thames and close to the eastern heartland of the Dobunni tribe. Its size and position at the confluence of the Dirkler and Windrush presents strong evidence for supporting this.

2619

Salmonsbury
[1700 2000]

Uninscribed silver Dobunnic coin (F:4; Mack 378) was found close to Salmonsbury

2631

Copse Hill, Upper Slaughter
(TBGAS 1882-3, 42; RCHME 1976, 123)

Seven graves associated with Romano-British and possibly earlier material were uncovered during quarrying in the 1870s. The original excavator places it as Roman, but later publications give it an Iron Age date. Iron Age pottery, a bone comb and bone points were also recovered from imprecise points on Cope Hill.

9614

Bourton-on-the-Water
(O'Neil 1977, 23)
[160 210]

A handmade jar of situlate shape, classified as A/B ware of EIA or MIA shape was recovered from a Romano-British settlement.

16943

Primary School, Bourton-on-the-Water
(TBGAS 1996, 165; 1999, 169; 2000; 2001, 187; Piper & Catchpole 1996; Lang *forthcoming*)
[1666 2100]

A number of evaluations, watching briefs and excavations at the primary school revealed evidence of land use. 150 postholes, pits and gullies from a 1995 excavation, a further 47 postholes/post pits and 18 pits – most with Iron Age pottery from the 1998 excavation as well as a canine tooth pendant. A 1999 evaluation recorded a number of pits and a ditch terminus.

19899

Cotswold School, Bourton-on-the-Water
(TBGAS 1999, 168; 2000; 2001, 187; 2002, 234; Lang *forthcoming*)
[167 210]

A number of evaluations, watching briefs and excavations revealed Iron Age and Roman activity, including 21 post holes (1998), a further pit (1999), 43 post holes (2001 - GCCAS) out of a possible 103, some of which were packed for square posts, a further 22 possible features – including a hearth (2001 – GCCAS) were recorded later the same year. Further work was undertaken at the site, but nothing further recovered. A large number of pits, post holes, gullies and skeletons remain undated from this area, with potential periods from Bronze Age to Medieval represented.

SP 12 NE

239 (SAM 32393)

Stow Camp
(RCHME 1976, 111; Parry 1999)
[1950 2590]

A large earthwork enclosure has been recorded north-west of the modern town of Stow-on-the-Wold. It is possible the site is as large as 30 acres (12 ha), with some remnants of a visible earthwork bank 20m wide and 2m

high. A number of small excavations have revealed various sections of a ditch of defensive proportions. One section of the ditch was radiocarbon dated to the Middle Bronze Age. This suggests that even if the hillfort site continued into the Iron Age the site was used as a Hilltop enclosure in the Bronze Age – a sherd of Late Bronze Age pottery was also recovered from one of the ditches confirms this. No Iron Age dating evidence has been recovered from the site.

2713

Stow-on-the-Wold

[Marginal]

An early Gallo-Belgic coin (Mack 27 – Morim) found at Stow-on-the-Wold in 1920

4298

Condicote Henge

(O'Neil 1957, 141)

[1539 2838]

An Iron Age sherd was recovered from the upper fill of the ditch of Condicote Henge.

SP 13 SE

Nothing recorded from this grid

SP 2

SP 20 SW

SAM 413

Butler's Field, Lechlade

(Benson & Miles 1974; RCHME/EH NMP)

(Excavations: TBGAS 2000, 201; Boyle *et al* 1998)

[211 001 – 214 004]

An area of cropmarks identified as a late prehistoric and Roman settlement and ceremonial landscape revealed a number of Iron Age features. Area 304 [2140 0020] revealed a sub-circular enclosure defined by 2 ditches with a possibly hut circle within. Area 305 [2110 0010] is a complex of settlements, cemeteries and ceremonial complex located the Thames gravels with possible Iron Age settlements and field systems (SMR 533; 590; 591) identified through aerial photographic evidence. A late prehistoric landscape is also identified as field systems including pit alignments, palisade trenches and field boundaries. A substantial ditch dated to the EIA (C7 BC) cut through earlier, EBA features; possibly representing a change of land-use at the beginning of the Iron Age. A small part of the settlement was excavated by OAU in 1985 at Butler's field (SMR 586) which included the partial excavation of a roundhouse with a sherd of LBA/EIA transitional pottery. Further cropmarks were identified through the NMP in 1993, which includes further hut circles, field boundaries and enclosures. Area 316 – [2124 0049] is a possible Iron Age hut circle was identified through aerial photography and an Iron Age ditch was excavated close to the Lechlade cursus in 2000 by CAT.

1412

Langford Down

(Williams 1946-7)

[215 029] ~78m OD. Sited on 1st/2nd terrace of the Leach (extracted gravel pit)

The excavation ahead of gravel extraction uncovered three roughly rectangular enclosures lying next to each other potentially dated to more than one period. The smallest central enclosure (A) 130ft x 180ft (40m x 55m). Evidence of occupation was excavated in this and the northerly enclosure (B) with at least three phases of occupation (not continuous). The relapse of occupation – shown by the silting of the ditches – cannot have been for a large amount of time, as the enclosures generally copies the earlier phases. Enclosures A and B appeared to both have roundhouses within, although only the structure in A was described. A house in the NE of the enclosure 28ft x 25ft (8.5m x 7.6m) with 10 post-holes clearly identified. *The ceramics were revealed to be a mixture of E.I.A. and L.I.A. date, with clear 'Belgic' wheel-turned pottery, perhaps suggesting evidence of late E.I.A./M.I.A. occupation close by?*

- The latest phase of the site in was the pit alignment (12950 – [2150 0280]) that cut through many features of the site. This was interpreted as form of palisade fence that was never used, however, it seems likely that these were pits, although these appeared to reveal no dating evidence.

- Examination of 5 ring ditches to the north of settlement revealed very little in the way of human remains. However, a pit was excavated in the ditch of R/D no. 2 which revealed a cremation burial within a ceramic vessel described as a 'bowl of Belgic type or similar' (1454 – [2138 0295]).

1415

Little Faringdon

(SMA 9, 129; Britannia 10, 303)

[241 007]

Work on a replacement pipeline between Purton and Brize Norton, crossed a number of sites recorded within a cropmark complex. An area of 900m x 1m was stripped and a number of features were uncovered. All datable material was assigned to the Iron Age and R-B periods.

3209

Roughground Farm

(Allen *et al* 1994)

[SP 216009 - 221005] 75m OD. Sited on 2nd terrace gravel (Excavated gravel pit).

A large multi-period site excavated by O.U.A.S. 1957-'65 and O.A.U. 1981-'82 & '90. The Iron Age features were concentrated towards the SE of the site, suggesting that the major settlement was missed during these excavations. The major features were prominent V-shapes ditches running across the site, with one producing a potential I.A.

crouched burial. Pits and postholes were also excavated with some of the latter representing a post-circle and therefore roundhouse. However, no conclusive evidence was found dating this to the I.A. There are many similarities with ceramics from further up the Thames Valley and a reliance on shell- and sandy-tempered wares, locally produced. There was also a quantity of 'decorated ware'. The ditches possibly form land boundaries, indicating land division a somewhat rare occurrence. The majority of the settlement was dated to the E.I.A. similar to Farmoor, although the pit alignments recorded could be M.I.A. in date

13971

Gassons Road, Lechlade

(U.D. – OAU 1998; TBGAS 1998, 205)

[2117 0004]

An evaluation recorded a number of Iron Age linear features running close to the site of Butlers field. Postholes, pits and pottery dated to the LBA/EIA transition.

16132

Boughton Poggs

(U.D. – OAU August 1993)

[2365 0310]

Part of an Iron Age field system was recorded during a pipe-line excavation.

17039

Lechlade bypass

(TBGAS 1996, 178)

[SU 2045 9982 – SP 2135 0089]

An archaeological evaluation undertaken along the Lechlade bypass revealed rectilinear ditches, penannular ditches of a MIA/LIA settlement boundary.

SP 20 SE

Nothing recorded in this grid

SP 20 NW

Nothing recorded in this grid.

SP 20 NE

Nothing recorded in this grid

SP 21 SW

Nothing recorded in this grid

SP 21 SE

1484

[Marginal]

2 coins found.

2251

Asthall C.P.

[2986 1381]

Coin inscribed with ANTEDRIGUS. Placed in Evans' I:8 category.

2254

Asthall

[2889 1122]

Coin found at Asthall R-B settlement.

SP 21 NW

1448 (SAM 28110)

Idbury camp

(Sutton 1966)

[SP 229 195] *195m OD. Internal 9 acres.*

A large univallate hillfort lying almost exactly between the Windrush and Evenlode rivers. Both the interior and defences are regularly ploughed with a possible entrance to the north-west.

SP 21 NE

1478

[Marginal]

Silver coin (category I:9) inscribed EISV

3188

Milton-under-Wychwood

[2685 1842]

10 gold staters.

3191

Ascott Doilly

(Jope & Threlfall 1959, 239)

[2970 1845]

A single sherd of Early Iron Age date was recovered from the excavations at Ascot Doilly Castle.

5414

Milton-under-Wychwood

[2548 1568]

Iron Age bone implement.

SP 22 SW

358 (SAM 181)

Icomb Camp

(RCHME 1976, 66; Saville 1978, 27)

[2050 2300]

Icomb camp lies close to Stow-on-the-Wold and classed as an earthwork in circular form. It's unvallate bank and ditch is almost totally ploughed out, so much so that it's existence is doubted. Watching briefs and evaluations have further put this into doubt with so few finds recovered. Some ditches survive on the southern slope, suggesting that it may be unfinished, or not an Iron Age date for its construction.

SP 22 SE

1487

[Marginal]

Gold Stater (I:5) Inscribed COMUX

2270

Lyneham Long Barrow

[297 211]

Iron Currency bar found during excavations on Lyneham Long Barrow.

2302 (SAM 28143)

Lyneham camp

(Bayne 1957)

[SP 299 214] 200m OD, excavated area ~ 234 sq. m. (26 x 9 + 4.5m). Internal 4.4 acres. Finds in the Ashmolean museum (Accession nos. 1957.62).

Lyneham was the first site to be excavated by OUAS in 1956 as part of a developing campaign looking at the hillforts of the eastern Cotswolds. The site directly overlooks the Evenlode valley (further s & e than Chastleton). Excavations (3 trenches) of the unvallate hillfort concentrated on the ditch and rampart, although most of the S side of the hillfort had been quarried away in more recent times. The ditch was found to be 7 feet deep (2.1m) with a U-shaped section, section drawings indicate various stages of silting up, although no recuts

recorded. The rampart was formed from a core of Oolitic limestone slabs, it was revetted either side with larger stone slabs, but no evidence of a timber superstructure was identified; however an original height of 6 feet (1.8m) was suggested. Only a few small finds indicating potential occupation (a bone needle) and pottery were recovered, with ceramic evidence pointing to an Early Iron Age date (I.A. 'A2' was suggested by the author).

SP 22 NW

Nothing recorded from this grid

SP 22 NE

1468 (SAM 21791)

Chastleton burrow

(Price 1881; Leeds 1931)

[SP 258 282] 230m OD, excavated area > 560 sq. m. (at least 35 x 16). Internal ~ 3.5 acres. Finds in the Ashmolean (1928 & 1929 various accession nos.).

Chastleton was the first hillfort in the eastern Cotswold region to be investigated, with excavations undertaken by E.T. Leeds and the OUAS (*Oxford University archaeology society*) in 1928 and 1929. The site is a small univallate hillfort lying on the Cotswold limestone and overlooking the Evenlode valley. It is sited on a ridge known as the 'Jurassic way' a likely prehistoric trackway which follows the limestone uplands through Glos. Oxon. & Northants., linking this site to the Rollright stones 5 miles to the NE. Excavations (6 trenches) concentrated on the edges of the hillfort. The excavations did not locate an external ditch. The rampart was again built from limestone slabs mixed with earth reaching a potential 12 ft (3.7 m) when approached externally (Sutton, p. 36). Occupation evidence was much stronger, with at least 4 areas of burning/hearths and domestic debris, such as a bone comb. Post-holes were also recovered, although without a detailed site plan, there is no way of identifying their distribution. Ceramic evidence has suggested an Early Iron Age date although Hingley (1984) and Lambrick (1988) both also suggest an E.B.A. date for the site (with no clear reason why).

1482

Kingham/Bledington

[2649 2527]

Possible evidence of settlement recorded from chance finds noted on the SMR

SP 23 SW

Nothing recorded from this grid

SP 23 SE

12251

Rollright Stones

(Lambrick 1988)

[SP 2975 3105] 225m OD.

Three Iron Age features were uncovered during the excavation of the Rollright Stones and their vicinity. Sites 8 (12927 – [2980 3090]) & 9 (15390 – [2977 3085]) from the site report are the trackway and field ditch suggesting an extensive field system, potentially with an originally Early Iron Age date. The main enclosure (12251) lies on the other side of the ridge, looking towards the Stour valley. The entire site was surveyed using a magnetometer, revealing a broadly rectangular enclosure with ditch and bank (eventually destroyed by ploughing). A single trench (~ 20m x 3m) across the enclosure recovered evidence of pits, potential houses and ritual deposits at the bottom of the pits (as well as others used for cess) and an infant burial. The enclosure was dated to the Middle Iron Age.

SP 3

SP 30 SW

1531

Calais Farm, Bampton

(R.S.A.C. 1967, 7; Oxon. 1966, 152; SMA 1987, 80; 1988, 73)
[3192 0337]

The demolition of farm buildings revealed part of what is thought to be an unwallled Roman period settlement or camp. A limited excavation was undertaken by the Royal Signals Archaeological Club in 1966. Casual finds included a bronze brooch of 'Thistle-type' (3301 – [318 033]) and an Iron Age 'A' sherd (1531) as well as a Belgic sherd (4244 – [3127 0175]). Further excavation by OAU in the 1980s also revealed Early Iron Age settlement debris at the extreme northern and eastern edges of the site. Pottery was also recorded from another area of the settlement (4270 – [316 019])

2426

Burroway, Clanfield

(Lambrick 1984, 104)
[308 003]

Two small trenches were put into the earthwork monument at Burroway brook. One in the earthworks and one in the middle of the site. The excavation of the earthwork surviving to about 1m revealed burnt clay and gravely soil with signs of burnt clay. Old planks were revealed at the bottom of a pit. The implication taken is that there was a timber framework rampart during the life of the site. The interior trench uncovered an occupation layer and a post-hole with *in situ* Iron Age pottery.

8201 (SAM 137)

Bampton

[324 004]

2 Tumuli were dated to the Iron Age period on the grounds of ceramic evidence

15932

Talbot Fields, Bampton

(U.D. – OAU 1993)
[3212 0331]

Iron Age pottery was recovered from an evaluation.

16291

Church View, Bampton

(Mayes, Hardy & Blair 2000)
[3129 0316] ~70m OD Gravel terrace – housing redevelopment

Archaeological excavations undertaken by OAU revealed pits and gullies dated to the Early Iron Age. A bowl shaped pit and gully were recorded in trench 1 which are thought to be contemporary with ceramics recovered from both, it is possible the ceramics were deliberately selected and placed in one particular pit, this may be associated with BA Barrows close by and continuing ritual significance.

SP 30 SE

1598

[Marginal]

Gold Stater inscribed BODVOC, type I:1 or I:2

2453

Standlake Down

(Riley 1946-7)

[SP 38350470] 75m OD. 2nd gravel terrace (extracted gravel pit)

A small series of salvage excavations carried out during the war revealed a number of Iron Age deposits, most notably pits. 3 sites were recorded by Reilly, one left untouched (now destroyed without record) and two others, revealing a potential settlement and pits. 24 pits were recorded alongside a number of small ditches, post-holes and huts. At least one complete roundhouse was identified, with a 24ft diameter (7.3m), two other potential sites were recognised but did not lie within the excavated area. Iron Age ceramics were recovered, including an AB rim, suggesting a late E.I.A. or early M.I.A. date.

2448

Standlake

[3913 0121]

An Iron Age sword recovered from the Thames in 1913

5405

Standlake Down

[386 046]

- Apparent Iron Age pits and post-holes and possible gullies were recorded during excavations undertaken by Stone in the 1850s. From the plans drawn, the pits appear to be intercutting suggesting a reasonable period of occupation during the Iron Age; Bradford put a date of Early Iron Age for the discoveries at Standlake (Stone 1857).

- More than 30 pits were identified, with very little ceramics, but a presumed I.A. date, also with a possible habitation nucleus at the edge of extraction in 1940/1 (S. corner of *pit D* as well as *pits B & C*) (Oxon. 1941, 88).

- A 'small village' of fields, roads, circles and many small enclosures were noted during aerial surveys undertaken by Riley (1942, 113).

- 27 ditches and pits were exposed in an area around Stone's Circle 12 in *pit D*. A further 18 pits northwest of Stone's Circle 2 were excavated in *Pit E*. Four potential hut-circles were excavated each with a diameter of 24ft (Oxon. 1943/4, 199-200).

- LBA/Early Iron Age sherds were recovered from secondary ditch fillings one in a group of 5 ring ditches (Oxon. 1954, 119)

5585

Aston, Bampton and Shifford C.P.

[3542 0219]

Pottery and a Brooch.

15103

Old Shifford Farm, Standlake

(Hey 1995)

[SP 3820 0220] 63.6m OD. First gravel terrace. Extracted gravel site.

A major excavation undertaken by OAU revealed a number of distinct settlement zones. One area (Trench L) covering approx. 150 years which produced a house site with a small farmstead established about 100 BC. Ceramics comprise hand-made and wheel turned grog-tempered wares. No LIA buildings were identified, only interpreted by the waste left around them, but evidence indicates an agricultural background to the site. A low status farm with few contacts and limited evidence of Romanisation although the later phases suggest trade beyond the Thames valley.

SP 30 NW

14254

Witney, Deer Park road

(Walker 1995)

[SP 338 100] 105m OD. Residential development

An archaeological salvage excavation took place in 1992 before the site was developed for housing. Excavations undertaken by Cotswold archaeological trust revealed an Iron Age roundhouse, identified by an external gully. Internal post-holes were also excavated alongside shallow pits interpreted as cooking-holes. External hearths and a cistern were identified close to the house. Domestic and environmental remains were recovered from the site, and the ceramic evidence points to a Middle Iron Age site, not totally uncovered by the excavation

SP 30 NE

1504

[Marginal]

Gold Stater, marked BODVOC, type I:1

1505

[Marginal]

Silver Coin marked EPATICCUS

1508

[Marginal]

Gold Stater, marked CORIO, type I:6

3063

[Marginal]

Gallo- Belgic silver Coin dated to 50-25 BC. Anbranic type of N. France.

4487

South Leigh C.P.

[3690 0897]

Ceramics.

8311Mingies Ditch, Hardwick-with-Yelford

(Allen & Robinson 1993)

[SP 391 059] ~70m OD. Sited on the floodplain of the Thames Valley (now disused gravel pit)

Excavated by O.A.U. and the O.U.A.S. between 1977 and '78, almost totally uncovering the whole site. Mingies Ditch is a large double-ditched enclosure exceptionally well preserved beneath a thin layer of alluvium. The settlement was enclosed by 2 sub-circular ditches, interrupted by gaps in certain places. There were not apparent banks either side of the ditches. Two paddocks outside the enclosure were also identified as contemporary with the site. The interior of the site was wholly excavated, revealing evidence of 5 definite houses excavated, ranging in size from 5.7m-8.4m in diameter. There were also 4 four-post structures, ranging from 2.6 x 3m to 4 x 3m in size. The site is of M.I.A. date, suggesting exploitation of the floodplain during this period. There are distinct phases to the sites, although the exact progression remains unclear, but may well have been as a gradual evolution, rather than phases of occupation and abandonment. Mingies ditch appears to have been a purely pastoral site, with the double ditches acting as stock corrals.

8744Ducklington C.P.

[3672 0695]

Uninscribed Silver Coin. Mack class D or E.

9730Hardwick

(Chambers 1976a)

[3800 0595]

Ring Ditch.

9731Hardwick

(Chambers 1976a)

[3800 0595] 86m OD. Terrace gravel nr floodplain (Hardwick-Witney bypass).

A number of features excavated during soil-stripping in 1974 and excavated by the O.A.U. across an area of approx 70m x 80m. 19 features were recorded with ceramics from a few indicating a pre-Roman (Belgic) types in use. Only the deeper archaeological evidence remained due to soil stripping, making it impossible to identify shallow features. A complex of pits and a shallow ditch may have indicated a potential house-site but no firm conclusions could be made

10734Ducklington

(Chambers 1976b)

[SP 3535 0772]

Three ditches and one pit were excavated and with ceramics coming from two of the pits (F2 & F3) which included some Belgic-type wares, rims and body sherds.

11547Cogges, Witney

(Williams 2001, 90)

[3675 0970]

An Iron Age ditch was uncovered during work on the Witney by-pass running almost parallel to the old A40 road. A 1m section of the ditch was excavated, with no sign of recut, which was filled with animal bones, burnt daub, and a flint scraper. The assumption made by the author is for an Iron Age date. However, the pottery does

not confirm this (although it is of similar fabric to the sites from Hardwick {9730-2} some 800m to the south), and the date is made by a process of elimination rather than convincing data.

11636

Gill Mill

(SMA 1989, 50; 1991, 95)

[377 068]

Trenching by the OAU in 1988 uncovered a small farmstead/settlement consisting of a ditch and internal bank. 2 main phases of occupation were recorded, but the settlement does not appear to have been occupied for long and silting in the ditches suggests seasonal flooding or water logging. The site appears to be similar to those recorded at Farmoor and Port Meadow.

SP 31 SW

1567

[Marginal]

A Gold ¼ Stater inscribed with ANDOCO

5591

[Marginal]

A Silver Coin

14254

Witney, Deer Park road

(Walker 1995)

[SP 338 100]

(See SP 30 NW)

SP 31 SE

3269

Hailey

(Oxon. 1967, 71)

[375 117]

A scatter of abraded sherds including Belgic and poss. early Roman material were recovered 600-700 yds S. of NOGD.

4109

North Leigh

(Oxon. 1958, 133; 1959, 101)

[387 142]

'Early Iron Age sherds of Belgic ware' were reported from a shallow pit in a quarry. Further similar finds were reported from a shallow ditch.

5133

Eynsham Park Camp

[SP 393 115] 100m OD. Internal 3.5 acres

A possible Iron Age univallate hillfort, with no evidence recovered from two minor trenches. Attached is a larger enclosed arrears (~ 8 acres) commanding views to the south on the Cotswold slope.

8022

Shakenoak Farm, North Leigh

(Walker 1968, 138)

[374 138]

A debased ¼ stater assigned to the Dobunni. A class 'B' Dobunnic coin with quite stylised face and degenerate dolphin on obverse and horse galloping and Cock's head on reverse.

8756

North Leigh C.P.

(Oxon. 1967, 71)

[385 117]

Pottery

8912 (SAM 21845/01)

[3826 1231]

Linear earthwork attributed to the North Oxfordshire Grim's Ditch

8912 (SAM 21845/02)

[384 123]

NOGD

13334

Witney C.P.

(Williams 1982, 163)

[3611 1013]

A possible Iron Age ditch of defensive proportions (2m wide; 12.8m deep) was recorded at the site of Newland Mill and traced in excess of 100m. No associated finds were recorded.

SP 31 NW

Nothing recorded from this grid

SP 31 NE

1269 (SAM 21822)

Barrow Piece Field

[391 196]

A rectangular earthwork of possible Iron Age or Roman date 40 yards across, initially regarded by O'Neil as a Civil War earthwork. However, pottery recorded by Copeland suggests the it is likely to be of Roman origin but a globular rim sherd and piece of Iron Age pot suggests an earlier settlement of some sort nearby.

3339

Stonesfield

(Oxon. 1966, 155)

[3908 1736]

Shallow ditches and pits were noted following stripping for housing, occupation material was recovered and dated to 4th – e.3rd centuries BC (according to D.W. Harding)

8910 (SAM 21846)

[4018 1930]

NOGD

8911 (SAM 21838)

[3594 1849]

NOGD

16380

[3560 1918]

NOGD

16822

Stonesfield

[3974 1703]

Iron Age pottery recorded from an excavation at Stonesfield Villa.

SP 32 SW

1548 (SAM 28145)

Knollbury

(Sherwood 2001)

[SP 317 230] 165m OD. Internal ~ 3 acres.

A roughly rectangular earthwork sited about half-way up a limestone slope overlooking the Evenlode valley (approx. 2.5 m from Lyneham). A magnetometer and magnetic susceptibility survey was conducted in 2001 by a student from Bournemouth University. The results indicated good potential evidence of occupation, mainly through the appearance of pits, and what has been interpreted as a grain silo. However, the author's identification of a roundhouse remains uncertain. No fieldwalking or excavation has taken place, and an Iron Age date can only be presumed rather than confirmed.

3298

Chadlington
[3134 2499]

Pit

13411

Chadlington
(Leeds 1935)
[3303 2112]

Pits

SP 32 SE

5594

[3650 2447]
Enstone C.P.
Celtic Field remnants

8910 (SAM 21846/7/8)

[Various]

NOGD

8913 (SAM 21858)

[3670 2170 – 3715 2180]

NOGD

SP 32 NW

1280

[Marginal]

A Gold Stater (type B:10)

3296

Chipping Norton C.P.
[3202 2620]

Pottery

3297

Chipping Norton C.P.
[3039 2689]

Pottery

3298

Chadlington/Churchill C.P.
[3125 2500]

Pits (see also SP 32 SW – two possible sites recorded and attributed to the same PRN number due to poor annotations on the original map)

13380
Chipping Norton C.P.
[3180 2637]

Pottery

13381
Chipping Norton C.P.
[3217 2578]

Pottery

13384
Chipping Norton C.P.
[3223 2600]

Pottery

SP 32 NE

15002
Little Tew enclosure
(SMA 1991, 82)
[3828 2838]

A bank and ditch enclosure survives only very slightly near to the Manor House, Little Tew. Prehistoric pottery has been found in field between the Manor House and the river Dorn and therefore a multivallate hillfort has been suggested for this site (although this is far from conclusive).

SP 33 SW

16201
Hook Norton C.P.
[332 339]

Site visited by CAO in 1999. Artefact scatter of mainly Roman pot recorded, although some possible Iron Age material

SP 33 SE

Nothing recorded from this grid

SP 33 NW

Nothing recorded from this grid

SP 33 NE

1592 (SAM 35)

Madmarston camp

(Fowler 1960)

[SP 386 389] 170m OD, excavated area unknown (not recorded). Internal magnetometer survey ~ 2 acres. Internal 5.5 acres. Finds in the Ashmolean museum (accession nos. not recorded).

Madmarston was excavated as the second hillfort in the seasonal excavations of hillforts in the eastern Cotswolds, with excavations in 1957 & 1958 undertaken by OUAS and led by Fowler. A large area was excavated over 2 seasons (27 trenches) with a proton magnetometer survey also undertaken over a large part of the interior, helping to locate sites to dig in the second season. The site had two phases of Iron Age occupation with Early and Middle. No evidence of any roundhouses were uncovered but there are clear signs of domestic occupation, through the recovery of domestic animal bones, pits and signs of metal-working (slag). There is no evidence of L.I.A. habitation at all. The site is much larger than most other eastern Cotswold hillforts and consequently, the defences are more developed. To the south and west bivallate defences are in place (Sutton, p. 34) but in other places are univallate with a counterscarp bank (*op. cit.*). An older landsurface was uncovered within the inner bank, indicating an earlier timber palisade phase. The rampart and ditch were only begun in an early M.I.A. phase (?) with the rampart made from clay and was not revetted and consequently prone to erosion, in more recent times it has also suffered the affects of ploughing. The main ditch was 30ft (9.1m) wide and 10ft (3m) deep. Iron currency bars were also recovered, potentially indicating the trade of these items along the Jurassic way, which also ran close to Madmarston.

1604

[Marginal]

2 uninscribed Silver coins near Madmarston (type F:3)

1610

[Marginal]

Uninscribed Gold Stater (type B:5)

1621 (SAM 36)

Tadmarton heath

[SP 388 357] 195m OD. Internal 5 acres.

Univallate hillfort close to Madmarston camp, observed in both the Madmarston and Rainsborough site reports and overlooks the Swere valley. Half now a golf course.

2443

Swalcliffe Roman Villa

(VCH vol. 1, 338)

[3990 3850]

Iron Age coins found on the site of Swalcliffe Villa.

SP 4

SP 40 SW

2362

Standlake

(Piggot 1950, 6; 26)

[4036 0139]

A La Tene Sword III sword with scabbard mounts Sword from Newbridge, Standlake. A group II Hunsbury-type sword, regarded by Piggot as the first example of Insular art and therefore the 'main' British series

13312

Kingston Hill Farm

(SMA 10, 148; 31, 44)

[SU 4084 9984 – SP 4085 0001]

A possible settlement was identified during a survey of the parish. Middle Iron Age pottery was recovered as an artefact scatter, underlying and close to a possible much larger Roman settlement. A watching brief by JMHS uncovered evidence to the north of Kingston Bagpuize. Further sherds of pottery were recovered extending the site by 120m to the north.

13360

Watkins Farm, Northmoor

(Allen 1990)

[SP 426 035] ~64m OD. Sited on the 1st gravel terrace, close to floodplain level (now a filled-in pit)

Excavated between 1983 and '85 prior to gravel extraction, features of Iron Age and Roman date were excavated. The Iron Age settlement lay within a large elliptical enclosure approx. 75 x 67m with a V-shaped ditch 1-1.10m deep and 1.8-2m wide. Within the enclosure a number of features were apparent including a number of small enclosures of somewhat indeterminate function. A well was also excavated with a human burial alongside preserved remains of wood and leather. One clear house structure was identified in the house with six successive phases of gully re-cuts, indicating long-term occupation, possibly about 70-80 years. The evidence points to a purely M.I.A. occupation, like Mingies ditch, suggesting occupation of low-lying levels in the Thames Valley, before abandonment prior to the start of the L.I.A. The low-lying aspect of this site clearly helped preserved a great deal of organic remains. It is suggested that alongside habitation, animals were kept within the enclosure, perhaps requiring a wider and deeper gully surrounding the house.

15047 Stanton Harcourt, WNW of the Devil' Quoits (Aerodrome)

(Grimes 1960; Hamlin 1966)

[SP 406 049] ~65m OD. Sited on the Summertown-Radley terrace (excavated gravel pit).

Two Iron Age complexes were excavated by the O.U.A.S. ahead of extraction, both revealed complexes of pits, postholes and gullies.

- Site 1 (15047.18 – [4054 0496]) comprised an L-shaped ditch that was uncovered extending for 62ft (19m). This site also revealed 2 concentrations of postholes, one consisting of 12 and the other 8. 35 pits were also planned and either circular or oval in plan. Eight gullies were also recorded containing some domestic finds.

- Site 2 (15047.02 – [4061 0483]) included 5 postholes, 32 pits (one Neolithic) and 3 gullies. The evidence from site suggests some form of habitation site, although with such a small number of pits, only a short time-span for occupation is suggested, with the postholes suggesting a house-site (and potentially two, both unconfirmed). Site 2 was excavated quickly and therefore major questions remained unanswered for the author.

15047.03

(Grimes 1960; Hamlin 1963, 14)
[4065 0483]

Sherds of Early Iron Age pottery were recovered from layers of Ring Ditches 1, 2, 3 & 4

15047.04

(Grimes 1960; Hamlin 1966,1)
[4067 0479]

A further settlement site that was excavated at the same time, but was to be written up by D.M.E. Avery at some point, but this does not appear to have happened.

15048 Stanton Harcourt, Linch Hill corner.Stanton Harcourt, Linch Hill

(Grimes 1943-4; Mytum & Taylor 1978)
[SP 416 048] ~70m OD. ?2nd gravel terrace (destroyed during the war, extracted gravel pit)

Excavations undertaken by the OUAS were generally of a salvage and rescue nature. Site 8 revealed an occupation enclosure with 4 of phases of occupation. The enclosure changed over the duration of the phases, with intermittent occupation allowing the ditch to silt up. The 2nd and 3rd phases with an expansion of the enclosure revealed L.I.A. (Belgic) pottery, with the 4th possibly just before the Roman invasion. Little occupation evidence was recovered bar ceramics with no roundhouses or occupation sites identified.

Features were uncovered during a top-soil strip prior to extraction revealing to L.I.A. or E.R. enclosures, showing signs of multi-period use and phases of recutting. A drove-way was also identified as being contemporary.

15048.04

(Grimes 1940)
[4153 0480]

Cropmarks recorded by Grimes interpreted as Iron Age in date, finds also included Belgic pottery and animal bones.

15048.05Ring Ditches, Site 3

(Harden & Treweeks 1940, 17-19)
[4096 0452]

Early Iron Age potsherds were recovered from an upper layer of the ditch encompassing the ring ditch and judged to be of A2 date

15048.06Linch Hill Settlement

(Riley 1943, 99)
[413 044]

Early Iron Age pits recorded in rescue excavations (Oxon. 1, 201); Sherds were recovered from storage pits in 1936, possibly associated with a settlement of some size continuing through the Early-Middle Iron Ages(?) strongly comparable with Woodeaton and shouldered bowls equivalent to those at Allen's Pit (Oxon. 7, 57)

15048.12Stanton Harcourt, Linch Hill Corner

Mytum & Taylor 1981
[4156 0485]

A small excavation undertaken by the OUAS in 1980 investigated a series of cropmarks initially identified by Allen's aerial survey. The two enclosures investigated are dated to the LIA/ER period, multi-phased with ditches showing considerable re-cutting of the ditches. Further enclosures and a driveway suggest a site with a lengthy occupation and with a system of loosely agglomerated settlements.

15049

Standlake, Eagle Farm

(Allen & Moore 1987, 96-7)

A large Roman settlement site identified as cropmarks and excavated by OAU. Prehistoric sherds were found in residual contexts

15051

Northmoor C.P.

[417 025]

Cropmark complex regarded as a series of Prehistoric to Romano-British settlements, including a banjo enclosure suggesting strong evidence of Iron Age settlement.

SP 40 SE

7681

Boar's Hill

Oxon. 1954, 119

[4919 0092]

Animal bones, struck flints and Iron Age 'A' sherds were found in a pit in a garden on Lincombe Lane.

7862

Foxcombe Hill

(Peake 1931, 75)

[Marginal]

2 black carinated, pedestalled urns were dug up on Foxcombe Hill

9096

Powder Hill Copse

[490 035]

Ceramics.

15936

Hinksey Hill Farm

(U.D. – OAU Evaluation report, 1991)

[499 040]

Possible Iron Age settlement

SP 40 NW

1673

Beacon Hill

(Oxon. 1943/4, 202)

[4493 1796]

A half dozen sherds of Early Iron Age pottery were recovered from the top of Beacon Hill.

2370

Cumnor

(Manning & Leeds 1921, 264; Peake 1931, 75 & 192)

[Marginal]

Iron ferrule of a spear from the River Thames at Cumnor.

2529

Dix's Pit

(Oxon. 1952/3, 218)

[405 055]

Sherds of Iron Age 'A' pottery were recovered while gravel was extracted.

3713

Foxley Farm

(Oxon. 1941, 87)

[4220 0802]

Sherds of 'Belgicized' pottery were recovered from features south of the main site of Foxley Farm.

3930

Stanton Harcourt C.P.

(Oxon. 1970, 104)

[4045 0522]

Late Iron Age pottery was recovered from the rubbish pile in the corner of a gravel pit.

5415

Stanton Harcourt C.P.

[4043 0522]

Iron Age or R-B Bronze pin.

8341

Farmoor

(Lambrick & Robinson 1979)

[444 056] ~62m OD. Sited on floodplain/first terrace gravel (now the site of Farmoor reservoir)

Farmoor was an Iron Age and Romano-British site excavated between 1974 and 1976. The site was a surprise discovery, as it not been identified in any previous survey material and was overlain by later alluvial deposits of the floodplain, this was the first of its kind to be excavated in the country. The evidence excavated showed the site was occupied during both the Early and Middle Iron Age periods. Evidence of the E.I.A. was represented by pits cut into the gravel terrace, with some daub also recovered. There was also some evidence of iron-working with remnants of slag found in one of the pits. The site was subsequently abandoned before being reoccupied in the Middle Iron Age. This period is represented by a number of enclosures as well as pits, lying on both the

gravel terrace and floodplain. It is possible that the enclosure on the terrace and the floodplain represent different phases of occupation. It appears that the enclosures all had different purposes, a number of suggestions are made, including work areas and gardens with one interpreted as an animal pen and another containing a post-structure of unknown purpose (possibly a drying rack). One enclosure group was interpreted as a small farmstead, with roundhouse gullies identified within. It is also clear that during the Middle Iron Age Farmoor was prone to seasonal flooding, thus the interpretation offered by the authors is for a seasonally occupied site with a strong emphasis on animal husbandry. Gravel banks appear to have been deliberately constructed as walkways, although not for the animals, there are indications that these were maintained and cleared of debris. The site only appears to have been occupied for very small periods of time, with a possible total of 5 years (enclosures on the floodplain). A three-sided sub-rectangular enclosure was excavated as part of the Farmoor site In area II of the site. It's approximate dimensions of 11m x 9m with a ditch 1m wide. A few pieces of Iron Age sherds were recovered from the fill of the ditches

10601

Farmoor
[444 059]

A site of limited occupation located on the floodplain dated to the late pre-Belgic Iron Age.

11564

Mead Lane, Eynsham
(SMA 1992, 47)
[4430 0930]

A site was evaluated by OAU. The evaluation revealed a gravel island site that consisted of a number of features of postholes, gullies and pits. Ceramics and lithics were recovered pertaining to a date of c. 800 BC and the LBA/EIA transition. Loom weight and quern fragments were also found.

15026 Stanton Harcourt, Beard Mill/Vicarage Field

15026.03

Partridge's Pit
(Oxon. 1952/3, 218)
[401 057]

Rescue excavations revealed Enclosure ditches and rubbish pits which contained Iron Age C and R-B sherds.

15026.06

(Thomas 1955)
[4017 0560]

Thomas' excavations took place about in 1951, approx. 30m away from the main site recorded below, once extraction had started again. The only potential find of I.A. date was Romano-Belgic sherd recorded from a pit.

15026.15-17

(Williams 1951)
[SP 402 057 - SP 401 056] ~70m OD. 2nd Terrace (extracted gravel pits)

An excavated area lying between Vicarage field and Beard Mill opened as a gravel pit in 1944, which revealed a number of features including a small enclosure, post holes, gullies and a number of pits. Three distinct areas were excavated (A, B & C).

- Site A (15026.15 – [4017 0576]) was the site of a ditched enclosure and hut (only partially excavated). A funnel-shaped ditch was excavated with a 6ft (1.8m) entrance, enclosing an area of 60ft x 40ft (18.2m x 12.2m) with the hut (although only 5 posts were recovered) and 8 pits further pits were recorded just outside the enclosure from the aerial photographs.

- Site B (15026.16 – [4018 0572]) was a semi-circular house 50 yds E of the enclosure with a total of 26 post-holes recovered. Also excavated was a hearth but the 9 forming a semi-circle meant an extension to the excavation to recover the remainder of the hut-site failed. Site C was represented by a cluster of pits, one of 3 groups identified in the aerial photographs. The majority ad beehive forms and often cut into each other. The pits often contained domestic rubbish and one had some remnants of human bone.

- Site C (15026.17 – [4024 0571]) recorded 4 gullies, one of which was long and appeared to have supported a palisade (possibly brushwood). The ceramic evidence from the site is suggestive of an E.I.A. date, possibly of a later A2 date.

15027

Foxley Farm, Eynsham

(Oxon. 1942, 85-7)

- An extensive Iron Age settlement running roughly N – S (15027.02 – [4182 0838]. Over a dozen pit clusters, ranging from 4 – 8 in numbers, superimposed upon one another. Trial trenching observed the extension of this settlement a further 150ft south.

- To the NE of the main concentration of pits, lay an isolated group of pits (15027.03 – [4186 0845]) which included those with vertical sides, U-shapes and ‘undercut’. Sherds recovered were of AB and A2 type.

- There was another distinct group of pits (15027.08 – [4243 0826]) lying some ¼ mile away from the above site revealing purely LIA ceramics and a single clay ‘sling stone’.

- A further settlement was possibly identified (15027.11 – [421 079]) in the south corner of one of the gravel pits although only max. 4 pits were identified.

15032 Stanton Harcourt, Gravelly Guy

(Allen & Robinson 2005)

15032.03

[4011 0528 – 4018 0518]

A series of pits were excavated by the OAU under Salvage conditions in 1984 (sited as block 2 in the main monograph) with very few pieces of material coming from the site, due to the Salvage conditions of excavation

15023.09

[4030 0546 – 4038 0551]

Pits recorded from aerial photography north of the rectangular enclosures.

15023.10

[4020 0540 – 4038 0527]

Pits & Enclosures excavated in 1983 revealing early to middle Iron Age dates and by 1985 over 600 pits had been recorded.

15046

Stanton Harcourt

[4126 0544]

Cropmark complex with Belgic pottery recorded from the enclosure ditches in 1967.

15053

Cassington

[450 100]

15370

Mead Lane, Eynsham

(Moore 1992, 47)

[444 095]

This was the second site to be evaluated by OAU in the Mead Lane area, although this is also called the Wharf Farm site. 2 gullies were revealed during the evaluation with a similar date of c. 800 BC and attributed to the LBA/EIA transition.

SP 40 NE

1651

Wytham

(Peake 1931, 75)

[Marginal]

2 Iron horse bits, one cased in bronze, and pottery

1664

(Manning & Leeds 1921, 260)

[Marginal]

Sling bullet.

1714

[Marginal]

Loom weight.

2549

Northfield Farm, Wytham

(Oxon. 1942, 54)

[4739 0934] *Gravel terrace*

A number of pottery sherds were collected and recorded by Rolleston (and others) from 1870 onwards in the vicinity of Northfield farm close to where Allen recorded cropmarks. Bradford identifies them as early A2 types, A2 jars and a cup with AB Hunsbury-type characteristics.

13363

Cumnor, Wytham Hill

(Mytum 1986)

[4791 0702] *119m OD. Corallian limestone*

A site identified during fieldwalking exercises organised by the OUAS. A scatter of EIA pottery was recovered from near Wytham Wood overlooking the Thames. 2 trenches revealed a large ditch that was excavated, roughly U-shaped with a well-defined flat bottom. It was naturally silted rather than human interference. The second trench also revealed two small features, a pit and a smaller pit and post-hole. The ceramic evidence points to EIA occupation of the site with T-shaped rims and finger impressed decoration. With such a close distance to Farmoor, it is suggestive of lying within the same economic system.

15054 (SAM 12003) Port Meadow, Oxford.

(Atkinson & MacKenzie 1947; Rhodes 1949; Lambrick & MacDonald 1985)

[SP 485 093 – 503 071] ~58-60m OD. *Surveyed and fieldwalked (Not necessarily excavated). Floodplain site s. of Wolvercote covering 170ha.*

A large survey of Port Meadow was undertaken in the 1980s, as part of the Thames Valley floodplain survey. The area consists of a large amount of evidence relating to the Bronze Age period and later. The Iron Age aspects of this site were recovered during excavation by Atkinson and Mackenzie. Three 'farmsteads' have been identified from aerial photographs incorporating penannular enclosures and potentially, houses. Atkinson excavated in areas of the middle farmstead, where evidence reported seems similar to that found at Farmoor further west, with sunken interiors of the enclosures lying directly on the gravel. More recent excavation concentrated on the waterlogged deposits in an attempt to get contemporary environmental evidence. However, the site appeared to have a longer occupation span than Farmoor, although still probably only during the summer, due to a high water table (but still less prone to flooding). A M.I.A. date was suggested on the basis of ceramic evidence from the Atkinson excavations

3233

(Oxon. 1945, 197; Rhodes 1949, 84)
[4921 0837]

Sites 21-6.

3236

(Oxon. 1942, 28-9; Atkinson & MacKenzie 1947, 163)
[4921 0879]

Sites 5-13.

3238

(Oxon. 1942, 28-9)
[4924 0877]

Ditch. Site 5.

3240

(Oxon. 1942, 28-9)
[4921 0876]

Site 9.

3241

(Oxon. 1942, 24-35; Atkinson & MacKenzie 1947, 163)
[4923 0878 & 4921 0879]

Sites 7 & 8.

3282

(Rhodes 1949, 81-4)
[4900 0800]

Cropmarks. Rhodes site 1-18

3291

(Rhodes 1949, 81-4)
[4905 0799]

Cropmark site, Iron Age enclosures

SP 41 SW

3040; 3316; 4012

Hanborough, City Farm

(Case *et al* 1964/5; Oxon. 1964/5; Oxon. 1967, 71; Harding 1972)

[c. SP 431 115] ~80m OD. West settlement area 500ft x 120 ft (152m x 37m). Sited on Summertown-Radley terrace (excavated gravel pit)

The site(s) were excavated as rescue projects over 10 years from 1955, staying just ahead of gravel extraction, and undertaken by O.U.A.S. The excavations concentrated on the more important B.A. barrows in the region, but a number of E.I.A features, the majority being pits, were excavated during this time. An enclosure ditch was also observed from aerial photography. Two settlements of Iron Age date were observed, labelled east and west, excavated in 1960 and 1964 respectively. Ceramics uncovered from the east settlement (4012 – [4290 1125]), excavated from the pits (6 discussed – p.42) revealed an E.I.A. date, with evidence of burning (interpreted as roasting pits) and slag. The west settlement (3040 – [4315 1157]) was of a larger nature, with ceramic evidence also suggesting a (late) E.I.A. date. 177 features were recorded 152 pits and the rest (25) post-holes, with the pits clustered in 2 groups. 1 pit included an articulated crouched skeleton. The pits were generally shallow and the majority were interpreted as storage, rubbish, manure and possible working hollows. A small part of a ditch was also excavated close by to the pits and although no ceramic evidence was found, it has been interpreted as contemporary. A roundhouse (3316 – [4315 1160]) was excavated in 1967 by Benson, about 30ft (9m) in diameter with 15 regularly-spaced post holes surviving (Harding, p. 25) and more than 80 pits excavated. A number of animal bones were recovered although not enough for a clear analysis.

15095 – Purwell Farm

(Dawson 1961)

[SP 445 119] 98m OD. Sited on the Hanborough terrace (gravel site?)

15095.04; 04; 05

Purwell Farm was a small number of features uncovered during gravel-digging by the O.U.A.S. in 1961. 14 pits and 5 gullies were recorded with traces of settlement heading eastwards, destroyed by gravel digging. The pits and gullies are somewhat unremarkable in type, similar to others along the Thames valley, some pottery of E.I.A. date was recovered alongside a few animal bones.

SP 41 SE

1343

Yarnton

(Leeds 1935, 33-6)

Pits excavated by Leeds, suggesting large numbers had already been destroyed.

1344

Tuckwell's Pit

(Leeds 1935, 37; Oxon. 1937, 6)

[4566 1128]

A series of pits were excavated in 1931/2 and pottery recovered from the fills. Little description, but at least one sherd was compared to the Chastleton assemblage perhaps suggesting an Early Iron Age date for the assemblage in general.

1376 (SAM 21812)
Bladon Round Castle
(Ainslie 1988, 94)
[4570 1380]

In 1987 Tree felling and planting revealed some archaeological material on disturbed parts of the ramparts and a limited excavation was undertaken by the OUAS. The rampart was mainly made of clay with dump lines of sand, faced by a thin stone wall some 6m apart. Pottery recovered from the base of the trench was designated an Early Iron Age date (although too small a sample for strong conclusions).

2371
Yarnton
[4825 1317]

Iron Age ditches and pits recorded in 1936 at the Sandy Lane crossing of the Railway line with ceramics. A bronze brooch was also recovered – possibly dated 1 – 50 A.D. (Oxon. 1936, 201); Bradford records a series of discoveries, mainly from the C19 and collected from cuttings and ballast pits close to the Railway. Sandy Lane material was also recorded in the 1930s, with poor quality materials recorded (Bradford 1942, 56).

4169
Yarnton C.P.
[483 157]

Ceramics

15053 – Cassington
(Case *et al* 1982)
[450 100] *61m OD. First terrace of the Thames/Evenlode (a completely extracted gravel pit).*

3277
Smith's Pit II
[4489 1010]

Ceramics recovered from a ditch dating to the end of the Iron Age (Oxon. 1940, 196); Ceramics were recovered from excavations of the enclosure ditch of Cassington. These were of L.I.A. date (Oxon. 1942, 106); A section was cut across the great enclosure ditch with sherds of I.A. (as well as Roman and Saxon) pot recovered (Oxon. 1945, 93).

3359
(Oxon. 1964-5, 190)
[448 100]

4 Fragmentary inhumation burials were reported in the upper filling of the Cassington enclosure ditch.

3744
(Oxon. 1937, 201)
[4495 1040]

A number of smelting pits were recorded during the building of the N. bypass west of Cassington.

3754
(Oxon 1946/7, 10)
[4489 1010]

Iron Age pottery was recorded in the upper fill of a Bronze Age barrow from within the enclosure ditch

3756

Smith's Pit II

(Oxon. 1951, 79)

[451 099]

Excavations in the area of the big enclosure ditch leading to the ford over the Evenlode revealed contracted burials of a Woman and a child and included a few pieces of 'the latest non-Belgic local Iron Age pottery', with Belgic pottery stratified above.

3774

[449 103]

Leeds excavated pits, ditches with I.A. pottery in 1932 in what he regarded as his 'west' settlement (Leeds 1935, 33); A number of pits and ditches were recorded during the building of the bypass w. of Cassington (Oxon. 1937, 201); Several more were excavated, dated to the Iron Age and reported the following year (Oxon. 1938, 164)

8052

(Chambers 1977, 256)

[4481 1001]

Small scale gravel extraction at the edge of the ditch disturbed a crouched adult female inhumation at the bottom of a pit. Two pieces of lithics and a fragment of Bronze wire were also recovered from the burial. The Iron Age date must remain a presumption.

15058 – Tolley's Pit

Yarnton, Worton Rectory Farm

(Hey, Bayliss & Boyle 1999; Hey and Timby *forthcoming*)

[SP 475 113] ~55m OD 2nd Terrace gravel (now extracted gravel pit)

Yarnton, Creswell Field

(Bell & Hey 1996)

[SP 470 114] ~60m OD 2nd terrace (extracted gravel pit) (See also Oxford archaeology *forthcoming*)

These two sites covering an area of 140ha were excavated as a rescue project by O.A.U. prior to the extraction of gravel in 1990. A large area of excavation revealed numerous small-scale and permanently occupied settlements. It was established as small unenclosed settlement during the Early Iron Age showing a marked increase in density and size compared to the Early Iron Age period. The main settlement area at Worton Rectory farm had only 20% of features excavated due to time constraints. Alongside a number of circular post-built structures, gullies, a D-shaped building and numerous pits, a number of burials were recorded. 6 cremation and 46 inhumation were recorded from the site, with a few of those dated to Roman or Saxon times. The cemetery itself seems to comprise two distinct groups, a north containing 15 burials, and a south containing 10 burials. There were a further 10 inhumations regarded as outliers, scattered along the s and w edge of the settlement. The burials were generally unaccompanied and lying in a crouched position with 22 orientated north to south (or close to that). The population comprised 11 males, 6 females, 2 unknown adults, 6 adolescents (ages 12-20) and 6 sub-adults below 12. Neonates were buried within the settlement. Radiocarbon dating suggests the cemetery was used over a short period of time (possibly only 50 years) sometime during the Middle Iron Age, possibly suggesting a 2-3 working families of around 6-8 people.

1658

Yarnton

Hey 1991; Britannia 22, 258 & 25, 277.

[4743 1124]

Part of {16386} Worton Rectory Farm site.

3169

Yarnton C.P.
(Bradford 1942)
[4740 1135]

Settlement sites excavated in 1854-61 – regarded as part of {16387}

15931

Yarnton – Worton Rectory Farm
(OAU Eval. Report 1996)
[47201 11308]

Settlement

SP 41 NW

1286

[4124 1982 – 4120 1826]

NOGD

2417 (SAM 21837)

[4275 1826]

NOGD

4716 (SAM 21853)

(Chambers 1978, 43)
[4218 1882]

NOGD.

8909

(Thomas 1957, 15)
[4105 1930]

NOGD – Dyke A, Callow Hill.

8910 (SAM 21846-54; 28127/01, /02 & /03)

(Copeland 1988; Fine 1976, 12-13)

NOGD

12740 (SAM 21815)

(Blenheim Estate)
[4341 1626]

Earthwork identified as the Blenheim Romano-Celtic Temple

SP 41 NE

4097

Tackley C.P.
[4720 1840]

Ceramics

14378

Tackley C.P.
[4647 1918]

Ceramics

SP 42 SW

1727

Tomlin's Gate
(Hingley 1982)
[SP 4131 2060] *110m OD.*

Trial excavations were carried out by Oxfordshire archaeological unit (OAU) in 1981 alongside fieldwalking of an irregular-shaped 'banjo' enclosure. Excavations (3 trenches) cut across the located the ditch and enabled the identification of re-cuts in the section. Daub, millstone grit rubbers and Middle Iron Age ceramics were recovered from the fieldwalking.

2399 (SAM 28111)

Hill Wood
[413 214]

Earthwork enclosure.

5617 (SAM 21850)

[4054 2093]

NOGD

8728

Glympton Park
(Cropper & Hardy 1997)
[SP 412 218] *100m OD.*

An evaluation was undertaken by OAU in 1993, in the area of Glympton Park DMV. A small trench uncovered a localised scatter of pits and post-holes in the W corner of the evaluation trench (suggesting the main site was beyond excavation limit). Ceramic sherds were recovered from a number of the pits. The site was given a Middle Iron Age date

8910 (SAM 21848-52)

[Various]

NOGD

SP 42 SE

960

Kirtlington

(Benson & Harding 1967, 157-60)

[4999 2041]

Trenching due to a new water main around Akeman Street in 1966 revealed traces of an extensive Iron Age site. Features included an area of burnt clay, charcoal and ash. A small pit with irregular sides 0.4m wide and 0.5m deep and a possible kiln or oven, extensively disturbed with dimensions given as (lxbxh): 1.45m x 0.6m x 0.4m. An inhumation, possible extended. An extended inhumation orientated South (skull) to North and an extended Adult inhumation (same orientation). Finds from the site included a number of ceramics pieces dating to the Early Iron Age.

5608

Lower Heyford Hillfort

(SMA 1991, 79)

[4936 2437]

This hillfort only survives as a cropmark, overlooking the Cherwell valley from the e. side. It survived as an earthwork until the C19, but was subsequently destroyed. Observations have shown that the outer bank (diameter 240m) lies immediately inside the ditch. RCHME photos from the 1990s provide the clearest images, showing a possible defended entranceway. A-S pottery was recorded from the same field in the C19.

SP 42 NW

Nothing recorded from this grid

SP 42 NE

4211

Steeple Aston

[4797 2530]

Possible settlement.

15815

Manor Farm

(U.D. OAU Evaluation, 08/94.)

[4970 2822]

Linear features (4 e-w ditches of IA date) and ceramics of an Iron Age date were recovered during an evaluation.

16024

Heyford Road, Steeple Aston

(Cook & Hayden 2000)

[477 255] 108m OD. Oolite and Marlstone beds. Housing development.

Excavations undertaken by the OAU revealed a number of Iron Age features that were excavated ahead of housing development. The Iron Age features consisted of ditches and pits – some tree throw holes and some storage pits and a possible track-way. There are three apparent groups of pits dated through ceramic evidence, group 1 is MIA, group 2 is EIA/MIA and group 3 is EIA with some MIA evidence in the fills. The ceramics recovered were of a small size and could not be precisely dated beyond an early-middle Iron Age date, and perhaps more comparable with Cotswold-type wares than the MIA Thames Valley ceramics. Worked bone and antler was also recovered from the Iron Age deposits, both were comb parts. Briquetage was recorded from both early and middle Iron Age period. 3 possible phases were recorded for the Iron Age occupation of the site with a period of occupation in the Late Iron Age when the site was apparently reorganised.

SP 43 SW

2320 (SAM 28139)

Ilbury

[SP 438 306] 130m OD. Internal ~ 6 acres.

Large univallate ‘pear’ shaped hillfort, overlooking the tributaries of the Cherwell. Ilbury is a large, irregular enclosure perhaps of L.B.A. date and potentially similar (but smaller) to Norbury, Glos.

SP 43 SE

Nothing recorded from this grid

SP 43 NW

2333

Bloxham

[4602 3678]

Iron Age pottery recorded from a Roman site at Bloxham

5619

East Adderbury

[4735 3557]

Pottery

16997

Bloxham

(U.D. – TVAS Eval 11/2005)

[433 367]

A possible Iron Age settlement was identified during an evaluation in late 2005. The actual settlement was outside the limit of excavation (possibly on the nearby hill) but ditches, pits and pottery were recovered from the southern part of the site. The pottery was given a broadly LBA to MIA date.

SP 43 NE

Nothing recorded from this grid.

Grid	NMR	PRN	SAM	Grid Reference	Site Name/Civil Parish	Type	Description
SP 10 SE		27768		1635 0050	Whelford Road, Fairford	Excavation	Ditch
	15			173 006	Fairford	Findspot	Pottery
	16			169 006	Fairford	Excavation	Ditch, Pottery
SP 10 NE		84	251	1050 0735	Ablington Camp, Coln St Aldwyn	Earthwork	Hillfort
	5	87		1650 2087	Dean Camp, Bibury	Earthwork	Hillfort
	13	2461		1875 0716	Eastleach	Earthwork	?Celtic field remnants
	12	2462		1810 0680	Eastleach	Earthwork	?Celtic field remnants
SP 11 SE	3	332	55	181 123	Windrush Camp	Earthwork	Hillfort
SP 11 NE	7	137	455	1841 1768	Great Rissington	Excavation	Settlement
SP 12 SE	2	342	32932	174 208	Salmonsbury	Earthwork	Hillfort/Oppida
	10	2631		1639 2355	Copse Hill	Findspot	Pottery, bone objects
	54	9614		160 210	Bourton-on-the-Water	Findspot	Pottery
		16943		1666 2100	B-o-t-W, Primary School	Excavation	Settlement
		19899		167 210	B-o-t-W, Cotswold School	Excavation	Settlement
	19			175 228	Chessels, Lower Slaughter	Excavation	Pottery
SP 12 NE		239	32393	1950 2590	Stow Camp	Earthwork	Hillfort
	5	4298		1539 2838	Condicote Henge	Findspot	Pottery
	45			Marginal	Stow-on-the-Wold	Findspot	Coin
	71			1505 2995	Hinchwick	Findspot	Pottery
SP 13 SE	29			1510 3010	Hinchwick	Findspot	Pottery

SP 20 SW	3	1316		2124 0048	Lechlade Cursus	Excavation	Roundhouse
	7		413	211 001 - 214 004	Butler's Field, Lechlade	Excavation	Settlement
	9	1412		215 029	Langford Down	Excavation	Settlement
	12	1415		241 007	Little Faringdon	Excavation	Settlement
	8	1454		2138 0295	Langford Down	Excavation	Cremation, Pottery
	162	2579		211 002	Lechlade	Excavation	Pits, Field boundary
	5	3209		216 009 - 221 005	Roughground Farm	Excavation	Settlement
	35	12850		215 028	Langford Down	Excavation	Pit Alignment
		13971		2117 0004	Gasson's Road, Lechlade	Excavation	Settlement
		16132		2365 0310	Broughton Poggs	Excavation	Field System, finds
		17039		SU 20 99 - SP 21 00	Lechlade bypass	Excavation	Settlement
SP 20 SE	6		-	299 003	Clanfield	Excavation	Pottery, ?Settlement
	17;135	3182		2784 0342	Black Bourton	Excavation	Settlement
	40			2987 0026	Clanfield	Cropmark	Curvilinear
SP 20 NW		-	-	-	-	-	-
SP 20 NE		-	-	-	-	-	-
SP 21 SW		-	-	-	-	-	-
SP 21 SE		-	-	-	-	-	-
SP 21 NW	2	1448	28110	2288 1995	Idbury	Earthwork	Hillfort
SP 21 NE		1478		<i>Marginal</i>		Findspot	Coin
	2	3191		2970 1845	Ascot Doilly	Findspot	Pottery
	17	5414		2548 1568	Milton-under-Wychwood	Findspot	Bone implement
SP 22 SW	1	358	181	2050 2300	Icomb Camp	Earthwork	?Hillfort
	22			2086 2346	Weasel Coppice, Icomb Hill	Cropmark	Curvilinear Enclosure
	25			2430 2407	Bledington Heath	Cropmark	Square Enclosure

SP 22 SE	4	2270		297 211	Lyneham Barrow	Findspot	Currency Bar
	12	2302	28143	299 214	Lyneham Camp	Earthwork	Hillfort
SP 22 NW	9			2214 2573	Oddington	Findspot	Spindle-whorl
SP 22 NE	4	1468	21791	258 282	Chastleton Barrow	Earthwork	Hillfort
	9	1482		2649 2527	Kingham	Excavation	Settlement
	2	78	31182	2536 2827	Adlestrop Barrow	Findspot	Pottery
SP 23 SW		-	-	-	-	-	-
SP 23 SE	24	12251		2975 3105	Rollright Stones	Excavation	Settlement
	22	12927		2980 3090	Rollright Stones	Excavation	Trackway
	22	15390		2977 3085	Rollright Stones	Excavation	Field Boundary
	25			Marginal	Rollright	Findspot	Pottery

SP 30 SW	4	1531		3192 0337	Calais Farm, Bampton	Excavation	Pits, Pottery
	13	2426		308 003	Burroway, Clanfield	Excavation	Earthwork
	4	3301		319 033	Calais Farm, Bampton	Findspot	Metalwork
	4	4244		3127 0175	Calais Farm, Bampton	Findspot	Pottery
	4	4270		316 019	Calais Farm, Bampton	Findspot	Pottery
		8201	137	342 004	Bampton	Cropmark	Earthwork (dest.)
		15932		3212 0331	Talbot Fields, Bampton	Excavation	Pottery
		16291		3129 0316	Church View, Bampton	Excavation	Pit & Gully

SP 30 SE	10	2448		3913 0121	Standlake (Thames)	Findspot	Metalwork
	8	2452	140	387 028	Standlake	Cropmark	Settlement
	4	2453		3835 0470	Standlake Down	Excavation	Settlement
	4	5405		386 046	Standlake	Excavation	Settlement
	28	5585		3542 0219	Standlake	Findspot	Pottery; Metalwork
	209	8655		3654 0273	Aston, Cote, Shifford & Chimney	Complex	
		15015		3810 0280	Standlake	Cropmark	Banjo enclosure
	238	15100		3542 0307	Aston, Cote, Shifford & Chimney	Complex	Settlement
		15103		3820 0220	Old Shifford Farm, Standlake	Excavation	Settlement
	146	15107		3946 0339	Standlake	Complex	Settlement

SP 30 NW		14254		338 100	Deer Park Road, Witney	Excavation	Settlement
----------	--	-------	--	---------	------------------------	------------	------------

SP 30 NE		3063		Marginal		Findspot	Coin
		4487		3690 0897	Witney Bypass	Excavation	Pottery
	17	8311		391 058	Mingies Ditch, Hardwick-with-Yelford	Excavation	Settlement
		8744		3672 0695	Ducklington	Findspot	Coin
	64	5715		3733 0751		Cropmark	Settlement
	58	9730		3800 0595	Hardwick Bypass	Excavation	Ring Ditch
	52	9731		3800 0595	Hardwick Bypass	Excavation	Settlement
	52	9732		3800 0595	Hardwick Bypass	Excavation	Settlement
	45	10734		3585 0772	Ducklington	Excavation	?settlement
		11547		3675 0970	Cogges, Witney	Excavation	Ditch
	15	11636		377 068	Gill Mill	Excavation	Settlement
	58			3815 0572	Manor Farm Cottage	Excavation	Pottery

SP 31 SW		1567		Marginal		Findspot	Coin
----------	--	------	--	----------	--	----------	------

		5591		Marginal		Findspot	Coin
		14254		3385 1000	Deer Park Road, Witney	Excavation	Settlement
SP 31 SE	13	3269		375 117	Hailey	Findspot	Pottery
	22	4109		387 142	North Leigh	Findspot	Pottery
	9	5133		393 115	Eynsham Park Camp	Earthwork	?Hillfort
		8756		385 117	North Leigh	Findspot	Pottery
		8912	21845/01	3826 1231	North Leigh (10627)	Excavation	Linear Ditch (NOGD)
		8912	21845/02	384 123	North Leigh	Earthwork	Linear Ditch (NOGD)
		13334		3611 1013	Witney	Excavation	Ditch
SP 31 NW	34	12388		3393 1525	Brize Lodge Villa	Findspot	Pottery
	35			34 16	Cornbury Park	Cropmark	Rectilinear Enclosure
SP 31 NE		1269	21822	391 196	Barrow Piece Field, Cornbury Park	Earthwork	Enclosure
	40	3339		3908 1736	Stonesfield	Excavation	Pottery
		8910	21846	4018 1930	North Leigh	Earthwork	Linear Ditch (NOGD)
		8911	21838	3594 1849	Charlbury/Fawler	Earthwork	Linear Ditch (NOGD)
		16380		3560 1918		Earthwork	Linear Ditch (NOGD)
		16822		3974 1703	Stonesfield Villa	Findspot	Pottery
	41			396 154	Nr. North Leigh Villa	Findspot	Coin
SP 32 SW	2	1548	28145	317 230	Knollbury	Earthwork	?Hillfort/settlement
	3	3298		3134 2499	Chadlington	Excavation	Pit
	11	13411		3303 2112	Chadlington	Excavation	Pits
SP 32 SE		5594		3650 2447	Enstone	Earthwork	?Celtic field remnants
		8910	21846	3940 2134		Earthwork	Linear Ditch (NOGD)
		8910	21847	4007 2156	Enstone (14160)	Excavation	Linear Ditch (NOGD)
		8910	21848			Earthwork	Linear Ditch (NOGD)
		8913	21858	3670 2170	Spelsbury (14161)	Excavation	Linear Ditch (NOGD)
SP 32 NW		3296		3202 2620	Chipping Norton	Findspot	Pottery
	20	3297		3039 2689	Chipping Norton	Findspot	Pottery
		3298		3125 2500	Chadlington/Churchill	Excavation	Pit
	21	13380		3180 2637	Chipping Norton	Findspot	Pottery

	21	13381		3217 2578	Chipping Norton	Findspot	Pottery
	21	13384		3223 2600	Chipping Norton	Findspot	Pottery
SP 32 NE		15002		3828 2838	Little Tew	Earthwork	Hillfort?
SP 33 SW		16201		332 339	Hook Norton	Findspot	Artefact scatter
SP 33 SE		-	-	-	-		-
SP 33 NW		-	-	-	-		-
SP 33 NE	4	1592		386 389	Madmarston Camp	Earthwork	Hillfort
	10	1621		3879 3566	Tadmarton Heath	Earthwork	Hillfort
	1	2443		3900 3850	Swalcliffe Lea Villa	Findspot	Coins
	5			3986 3878	Tadmarton	Earthwork	Rectilinear Enclosure

SP 40 SW	12	2362		4036 0139	Standlake	Findspot	Metalwork
		13312		408 998	Kingston Hill Farm, Kingston Bagpuize	Excavation	Pottery
	46;47;48;49	13360		426 036	Watkins Farm, Northmoor	Excavation	Settlement
		15047			Aerodrome, Stanton Harcourt	Complex	
		15047.02			Aerodrome Site 2 (5660)	Excavation	Settlement
		15047.03			Aerodrome (5661)	Excavation	Settlement
		15047.04			Aerodrome (5662)	Excavation	Settlement
		15047.18			Aerodrome (5679)	Excavation	Settlement
	6;8	15048			Linch Hill, Stanton Harcourt	Complex	
		15048.04			Linch Hill (2345)	Cropmarks	Enclosure
	10	15048.05			Linch Hill (2338)	Excavation	Pottery
		15048.06			Linch Hill (2367)	Excavation	Settlement
		15048.12			Linch Hill (13352)	Excavation	Settlement
		15049			Eagle Farm, Standlake	Complex	Pottery
	11	15051	141		Northmoor	Complex	

SP 40 SE	19	7681		4919 0092	Boars Hill	Findspot	Pottery, Pit & Flints
		7862		<i>Marginal</i>	Foxcombe Hill	Findspot	Pottery
		9096		490 035	Powder Hill Copse	Findspot	Pottery
		15936		499 040	Hinksey Hill Farm	Excavation	Settlement
	38			478 039	Hurst Hill, Cumnor	Findspot	Pottery

SP 40 NW	18	1673		4493 0796	Beacon Hill	Findspot	Pottery
	21	2370		<i>Marginal</i>	Cumnor	Findspot	Metalwork
	1	2529		405 055	Dix's Pit	Excavation	Pottery
	288	3713		4220 0802	Foxley Farm, Eynsham	Findspot	Pottery
		3930		4045 0522	Stanton Harcourt	Findspot	Ceramics
		5415		4043 0522	Stanton Harcourt	Findspot	Metalwork
	35	8341		444 056	Farmoor	Excavation	Settlement
		8343		432 062	Stanton Harcourt	Cropmark	Enclosure
		8723		414 071	South Leigh	Cropmark	Enclosure & Pits
		10601		444 059	Farmoor	Excavation	Settlement
	63	11564		4430 0930	Mead Lane, Eynsham	Excavation	Pottery
	136	11659		4098 0594	Flexney's Paddock, Stanton Harcourt	Cropmark	Banjo enclosure
		15026			Vicarage Field, Stanton Harcourt	Complex	
	1	15026.03		401 057	Partridge's Pit	Excavation	Settlement
	3	15026.06		4017 0560	Beard Mill/Vicarage Field	Excavation	Pottery, Pits

	3	15026.15		4016 0574	Vicarage Field (Site A)	Excavation	Settlement
	3	15026.15		4017 0576	Vicarage Field (Site A)	Excavation	Pits
	3	15026.15		4017 0573	Vicarage Field (Site A)	Excavation	Human Remains
	3	15026.16		4018 0572	Vicarage Field (Site B)	Excavation	Hearth Pit
	3	15026.16		4018 0572	Vicarage Field (Site B)	Excavation	House site
	3	15026.17		4024 0571	Vicarage Field (Site C)	Excavation	Pits, Ditches
		15027			Foxley Farm, Eynsham	Complex	
		15027.02		4182 0838	Foxley Farm, Eynsham	Excavation	Settlement
		15027.03		4186 0845	Foxley Farm, Eynsham	Excavation	Pits
		15027.08		4243 0826	Foxley Farm, Eynsham	Excavation	Pottery, Pits
		15027.11		421 079	Foxley Farm, Eynsham	Excavation	?Settlement
		15032			Gravelly Guy	Complex	
		15032.03		4011 0528 - 4018 0518	Gravelly Guy	Excavation	Pits
		15032.09		4030 0546 - 4038 0551	Gravelly Guy	Cropmark	Pit group
		15032.10		4020 0540 - 4038 0527	Gravelly Guy	Cropmark	Pit group
		15046		4126 0544	Stanton Harcourt	Findspot	Pottery
	7	15053		450 100	Cassington	Complex	?Oppida
		15370		444 094	Mead Lane, Eynsham	Excavation	Pottery

SP 40 NE	7;11	1651		<i>Marginal</i>	Wytham	Findspot	Pottery & Metalwork
	20	1664		<i>Marginal</i>	Wolvercote	Findspot	Clay (Sling Bullet)
	29	1714		<i>Marginal</i>	River Thames	Findspot	Clay (loom weight)
	13	2549		4739 0934	Northfield Farm, Wytham	Excavation	Pottery
		3291		4905 0799		Cropmark	Enclosures
	48	13363		4791 0702	Wytham Hill	Excavation	Enclosure
	7	15053		450 100	Cassington	Complex	<i>Oppidum</i>
	22;23;181	15054	12003		Port Meadow	Complex	
	183;189						
	208			4921 0837	3233	Cropmark	Site 21-6
				4921 0879	3236	Cropmark	Sites 5-13
	192			4924 0877	3238	Cropmark	Site 5
	192				3240	Cropmark	Site 9
	192			4923 0878 - 4921 0879	3241	Cropmark	Sites 7 & 8
				4900 0800	3282	Cropmark	Site 3283 - Enclosure

				4905 0799	3291	Cropmark	Enclosure
	63			460 067	Pink Hill Meadow, Cumnor	Findspot	Pottery

SP 41 SW		1262		4050 1203	Freeland	Cropmark	Enclosure
	11;51	3040		4315 1157	City Farm, Hanborough (A)	Excavation	East Settlement
	27	3316		4315 1160	City Farm, Hanborough	Excavation	Settlement
	11;51	4012		4290 1152	City Farm, Hanborough (B)	Excavation	West Settlement
	6	15053			Cassington	Complex	
	7	15053.23				Excavation	Settlement
		15053.25				Excavation	Settlement
		15053.26				Excavation	Settlement
		15095			Purwell Farm	Complex	
	9	15095.04			Purwell Farm (3879)	Excavation	Pottery, Pits
	9	15094.04			Purwell Farm (3880)	Excavation	Settlement
	22	15095.05			Purwell Farm (2336)	Excavation	Pottery, Pits
	61			4300 1162	Hanborough	Complex	Settlement

SP 41 SE		1344		4566 1128	Tuckwell's Pit	Excavation	Pottery, Pits
	19	1376	21812	4570 1380	Bladon Castle	Excavation	Earthwork
	1	2371		4825 1317	Yarnton	Excavation	Settlement
		4169		483 137	Yarnton	Findspot	Pottery, Pits
	49	15053		4489 1010	Cassington Rings (3277)	Excavation	Pottery, Pits
	54	15053		448 200	Cassington Rings (3359)	Excavation	Burials
		15053		4489 1010	Cassington Rings (3754)	Excavation	Pottery
	55	15053		451 099	Cassington Rings (3756)	Excavation	Burials & Pottery
		15053		4481 1001	Cassington Rings (8052)	Excavation	Burial
		15053.18		4495 1040	Cassington Rings (3744)	Excavation	Smelting pit
	6	15053.18		449 103	Cassington Rings (3774)	Excavation	Settlement
		15053.19			Cassington Rings		Settlement
		15053.20			Cassington Rings		Settlement
		15053.21			Cassington Rings		Settlement
		15053.23			Cassington Rings		Settlement
		15053.24			Cassington Rings (3870)	Excavation	Settlement
		15053.24			Cassington Rings		Settlement
		15053.25			Cassington Rings		Settlement
		15053.26			Cassington Rings		Settlement
		15053.31			Cassington Rings		Settlement

		15058			Tolley's Pit	Excavation	Pits
	68;109	15931			Worton Rectory Farm	Excavation	Settlement
	10	16386			Worton Rectory Farm (1658)	Excavation	
		16387		4740 1135	Yarnton (3169)	Excavation	Settlement
		16388.01					
		16388.06					
		16389.02					
	37			<i>Marginal</i>		Findspot	Coin

SP 41 NW	3		28128	4097 1943	Callow Hill Villa	Excavation	Pottery
		1286	28127	416 194	Callow Hill (Dyke B)	Earthwork	Linear feature (NOGD)
		2417		4275 1826		Earthwork	Linear feature (NOGD)
		4716	21853			Earthwork	Linear feature (NOGD)
		8910	21846	4018 1930		Earthwork	Linear feature (NOGD)
			21847			Earthwork	Linear feature (NOGD)
			21848			Earthwork	Linear feature (NOGD)
			21849			Earthwork	Linear feature (NOGD)
			21850			Earthwork	Linear feature (NOGD)
		8910	21851	4228 1960		Earthwork	Linear feature (NOGD)
		8910	21852	4220 1905		Earthwork	Linear feature (NOGD)
			21853			Earthwork	Linear feature (NOGD)
		8910	21854	4223 1875		Earthwork	Linear feature (NOGD)
		8910	28127/01			Earthwork	Linear feature (NOGD)
		8910	28127/02			Earthwork	Linear feature (NOGD)
		8910	28127/03			Earthwork	Linear feature (NOGD)
		12740	21815	4341 1626	Blenheim	Earthwork	R-C Temple

SP 41 NE		4097		4720 1840	Tackley	Findspot	Pottery
		14378		4647 1918	Tackley	Findspot	Pottery, soilmark (dest).

SP 42 SW	14	2399	28111	413 214	Hillwood Enclosure	Earthwork	Hillwood enclosure
		8728		412 218	Glympton Park	Excavation	Pottery, Pits
		8910	21848			Earthwork	Linear feature (NOGD)
		8910	21849			Earthwork	Linear feature (NOGD)
		8910	21850	4084 2093	5617	Earthwork	Linear feature (NOGD)
		8910	21851			Earthwork	Linear feature (NOGD)
		8910	21852			Earthwork	Linear feature (NOGD)

SP 42 SE		960		4999 2041	Kirtlington	Excavation	Settlement
	8			Marginal	Tackley	Findspot	Coins
SP 42 NW		-		-	-	-	-
SP 42 NE		15815		4970 2822	Manor Farm	Excavation	Ditches & Pottery
		16024		477 255	Heyford Road, Steeple Aston	Excavation	Settlement
SP 43 SW	11	2320	28139	437 306	Ilbury Camp	Earthwork	Hillfort
SP 43 SE		-	-	-	-	-	-
SP 43 NW		2333		4602 3678	Bloxham (Roman Site - 2332)	Findspot	Pottery
	29	5619		4735 3557	East Adderbury	Findspot	Pottery
		16997		433 367	Bloxham	Excavation	Settlement
SP 43 NE		-	-	-	-		-

Grid	Grid Ref.	PRN	NMR	Site/Parish	Qty	Metal	Type	Inscribed	CCI
								7 ANTED	69.0059
SP 11 SE	17 14	5969	SP 11 NE 18	Sherborne	9	Gold	Dobunnic	1 EISH	69.0070
								1 CATTI	
		2619	9		2	Silver	Dobunnic B		
SP 12 SE	173 208			Salmonsbury	1	Silver	Dobunnic C		
					1	Silver	Dobunnic	ANTED	81.0008
SP 12 NE	19 25	2713	44		1		Gallo-Belgic		
	19 25			Stow-on-the-Wold	1	Gold	Dobunnic	BODVOC	69.0106
	19 25				1	Silver	Dobunnic K	BODVOC	83.0238
	19 26			Stow-on-the-Wold	1	Silver	Dobunnic	ANTED	61.0044
	19 26				1	Silver	Dobunnic J		61.0034
SP 21 SE	<i>Marginal</i>	1484	2; 13; 74	Asthall	2				
	2986 1381	2251	6	Langley, Asthall	1		I:8	ANTED	
	2889 1122	2254	4?	Asthall	1	Silver	Dobunnic C		66.0002
	2889 1122	2254	4?	Asthall	1	Silver	Dobunnic	BODVOC	66.0030
SP 21 NE	296 185	1478		Milton-under-Wychwood	1	Silver	I:9	EISV	
	2685 1842	3188	3	Milton-under-Wychwood	10	Gold	Stater		
SP 22 SE	28 24	1487	2	Churchill	1	Gold	Stater I:5	COMUX	
SP 30 SW	35 04			Cote	1	Silver	Atrebatic	VERICA	93.0362
SP 30 SE	<i>Marginal</i>	1598	12	Standlake	1	Gold	Stater I:1or I:2	BODVOC	66.0027
	39 02			Standlake	1	Gold	Atrebates		95.0719
	39 03			Standlake	1	Silver	Dobunnic F		94.0931
SP 30 NW	30 07			Norton Bridge	1	Silver	Atrebates	EPAT	86.0108

SP 30 NE	Marginal	1504	2	Witney	1	Gold	Stater I:8	BODVOC	
	Marginal	1505	SP 30 NW 2	Hardwick	1	Silver		EPATICCUS	
	Marginal	1508	6	Ducklington	1	Gold	Stater I:6	CORIO	66.0024
	Marginal	3063		Hardwick	1	Silver			
	3672 0695	8744		Hardwick	1	Silver	Dobunnic B		76.0002

SP 31 SW	Marginal	5591		Witney	1	Silver			
SP 31 SW	32 11	1567		Minster Lovell	1	Gold	Trinovantes	ANDOCO	66.0131
	31 11			Minster Lovell	1	G.Pl. Br			2.0500

SP 31 SE	374 138	8022	23	Shakenoak	1	Debased	Dobunnic B		93.0205
	373 138			North Leigh	1	Silver	Dobunnic E		83.0221

SP 31 NE	35 19			Charlbury	1	S.Pl.Br	Dobunnic		4.1950
	35 19			Charlbury	1	Silver	Cor		3.0601
	35 19			Charlbury	1	Gold			0.0575
	35 19			Charlbury	1	Silver	Dobunnic B		0.1523
	35 19			Charlbury	1	Silver	Dobunnic B		0.0869
	35 19			Charlbury	1	Silver	Dobunnic C		2.0315
	35 19			Charlbury	1	Silver	Dobunnic C		0.0598
	35 19			Charlbury	1	Silver	Dobunnic D		2.0620
	35 19			Charlbury	1	Silver	Dobunnic D		2.1129
	35 19			Charlbury	1	Silver		BODVOC	0.0038
	35 19			Charlbury	1	Silver		BODVOC	0.1201
	35 19			Charlbury	1	Silver		BODVOC	0.1056
	35 19			Charlbury	1	Silver		BODVOC	3.0017
	35 19			Charlbury	1	Silver	Dobunnic F		0.0871
	35 19			Charlbury	1	Silver	Dobunnic F		4.2413
	35 19			Charlbury	1	Silver	Dobunnic F		99.1363
	35 19			Charlbury	1	Silver		ANTED	4.0702
	35 19			Charlbury	1	Silver		ANTED	0.0870
	35 19			Charlbury	1	Silver		ANTED	0.0040
	35 19			Charlbury	1	Silver		ANTED	1.1599
	35 19			Charlbury	1	Silver		ANTED	1.1012
	35 19			Charlbury	1	Silver		EISV	0.1057

	35 19			Charlbury	1	Silver		EISV	1.1127
	35 19			Charlbury	1	Silver	Dobunnic I		0.0873
	35 19			Charlbury	1	Silver	Dobunnic I		0.0039
	35 19			Charlbury	1	S.PI.Br	Dobunnic I		0.0874
	35 19			Charlbury	1	Silver	Dobunnic I		
	35 19			Charlbury	1	Silver	Dobunnic J		0.0600
	35 19			Charlbury	1	Silver	Dobunnic N		0.0868

SP 32 NW	Marginal	1280	13	Chadlington	1	Gold	Stater B:10		
----------	----------	------	----	-------------	---	------	-------------	--	--

SP 33 NE		1604	6		2	Silver	F:3		
		1610	8		1	Gold	B:5		
	383 387					Silver	Dobunnic B		93.0206
	390 383			Swalcliffe		Silver	Dobunnic	ANTED	
	390 383					Silver	Dobunnic	EISV	
	390 383					Silver	Dobunnic I		
	390 383				5	Silver	?Dobunnic C&D		

SP 40 SW	42 02			Northmoor	1	Silver	Dobunnic C		0.0118
	42 02			Northmoor	1	Silver	Dobunnic F		99.1692

SP 40 NW	43 09			Eynsham	1	G.PI.Br	Dobunnic		2.0777
	43 09			Eynsham	1	Bronze			2.0776
	43 09			Eynsham	1	Gold	Dobunnic		0.1420
	43 09			Eynsham	1	Gold	Dobunnic		4.0047
	43 09			Eynsham	1	Gold	Dobunnic		2.0457
	43 09			Eynsham	1	Gold		CORIO	4.0048
	43 09			Eynsham	1	Silver	Dobunnic B		4.0049
	43 09			Eynsham	1	Silver	Dobunnic C		4.0050
	43 09			Eynsham	1	Silver	Dobunnic C		2.078
	43 09			Eynsham	1	Silver	Dobunnic D		4.0052
	43 09			Eynsham	1	Silver	Dobunnic D		4.0051
	43 09			Eynsham	1	Silver		BODVOC	0.1419
	43 09			Eynsham	1	Gold		ANTED	2.0778

	43 09			Eynsham	1	Silver	Dobunnic MC		1.1497
	43 09			Eynsham	1	Silver		EISV	2.0779
	43 09			Eynsham	1	Silver	Dobunnic I		4.0053
	43 09			Eynsham	1	Silver	Dobunnic I		4.00772
	43 09			Eynsham	1	Silver	Durotrigan		94.1362
	43 09			Eynsham	1	Gold	Trinovantes		4.0046
	43 09			Eynsham	1	Gold	Trinovantes	TASC	0.1152
	43 09			Eynsham	1	Bronze	Trinovantes	TASC	2.0774
	43 09			Eynsham	1	Bronze	Trinovantes	DIAS	2.0773
	43 09			Eynsham	1	Bronze	Trinovantes	RUES	2.0775
	43 09			Eynsham	1	Gold	Trinovantes	CUNO	2.0639
	43 09			Eynsham	1	Gold	Trinovantes	CUNO	1.1496
	43 09			Eynsham	1	Silver	Trinovantes	CUNO	3.0455
SP 41	45 10			Cassington	1	Silver	Dobunnic B		73.0007
SP 41 SW	44 14			Bladon	1	Silver	Dobunnic M		4.0021
SP 41 NW	43 19			Wootton	1	Silver	Dobunnic I		92.0321
SP 41 NE	49 19			Kirtlington		Silver	Dobunnic A		0.0573
	49 19			Kirtlington		Silver	Dobunnic F		1.0533

Appendix 2: The Aerial Survey Evidence

The aerial survey material in this chapter has been divided into three tables. The first deals with all the cropmark sites in the eastern Cotswolds, whether these are definite, probable or possible sites. The second set of tabulated data is the eastern Cotswolds material, their location, assigned curatorial numbers and their aerial photographic reference. This is broken down by enclosure type; banjo, curvilinear and rectilinear enclosures and finally the Iron Age cropmark sites assigned during the course of the Thames Gravels NMP. A final table outlines the cropmark sites that have been placed in each 'area' of the eastern Cotswolds region. This is split into three – the heartland, south-west and north-east areas.

For this a few terms of reference are also required:

NMR numbers should be used in conjunction with the grid number: e.g. if '28' appears in the NMR column, it should be used alongside '32 NE' thus forming SP 32 NE 28 (in this case the Enstone Airfield banjo enclosure [8800]). This also applies for aerial photographs; the grid reference should be taken into account alongside the number, so the photo for the same site is: SP 3826/1

As part of the primary research numerous enclosures were recorded as probable or possible if there was any uncertainty regarding their possible date, if they were not completely visible or only partly recorded. Many of these have not been placed on the SMR/NMR databases but still have a reference number either one assigned by myself (and a complete record of all sites noted is in the SMR) or the NOAS number has been retained as the UID (Unique Identification Number).

	Grid Square	NMR Number	SMR Number	Grid Ref	Parish	Form	Probable/ Possible/ Definite
SP 1							
	10 SE		26627	1988 0409	Eastleach	Enclosure	Def
			26634	1804 0016	Fairford	Enclosure	Def
			26635	1800 0004	Fairford	Enclosure	Def
	10 NE	-	-	-	-	-	Def
	11SE	-	-	-	-	-	
	11 NE	7	137	1841 1768	Great Rissington	Rectilinear	Def
		7	137	1841 1768	Great Rissington	Curvilinear	Def
	12 SE		2625	169 221	Slaughter Bridge (?)	Complex	Def
	12 NE	82	4529	1997 2649	Broadwell	Rectilinear	Def
	13 SE	-	-	-	-	-	Def

	Grid Square	NMR Number	SMR Number	Grid Ref	Parish	Form	Probable/ Possible/ Definite
SP 2							
	20 SW		2446	2170 0130	Lechlade	Enclosure	Def
		9	1412	2149 0282	Lechlade	Enclosure	Def
		12	1415	2410 0073	Little Faringdon	Complex	Def
		35	3120	214 027	Langford	Complex	Def
		162		211 002	Lechlade	Pits	Po
	20 SE	16	8112	254 010	Langford	Linear settlement	Def
		17	3182	2784 0342	Black Bourton	Complex	Def
		40		2987 0026	Clanfield	Curvilinear	Po
		135	3182	2768 0326	Black Bourton	Complex	Def
	20 NW		17077	2336 0794	Broadwell	Rectilinear	Def
			17081	2295 0715	Broadwell	Curvilinear	Def
	20 NE		5721	2903 0938	Brize Norton	Rectilinear	Def
	21 SW		17079	2270 1480	Taynton	Rectilinear	Def
	21 SE		13261	284 107	Asthall	Rectilinear	Def
			15014	2931 1289	Asthall	Rectilinear	Def
			17089	2605 1778	Milton-under-Wychwood	Curvilinear	Def
			17091	2756 1342	Swinbrook	Curvilinear	Def
	21 NW		12407	2445 1756	Buern	Rectilinear	Def
			17082	2366 1898	Fifield	Rectilinear	Def
	21 NE		15008	2595 1925	Buern	Rectilinear	Def
			15691	2702 1522	Shipton-under-Wychwood	Rectilinear	Def

		17093	2920 1685	Shipton-under-Wychwood	Rectilinear	Def
22 SW	22		2086 2346	Icomb	Rectilinear	Def
	25		2430 2407	Bledington	Rectilinear	Def
22 SE		17095	2955 2110	Lyneham	Rectilinear	Def
		17096	2938 2130	Lyneham	Curvilinear	Def
22 NW	-	-	-	-	-	
22 NE		17083	2540 2520	Kingham	Rectilinear	Def
		17092	2888 2565	Churchill	Rectilinear	Def
23 SW	5	360	2037 3296	Batsford	Rectilinear	Def
		2472	2100 3120	Dunstall Farm (?)	Rectilinear	Def
		2743	2130 3030	Frogmore Coppice (?)	Settlement	Def
23 SE		12251	2975 3105	Rollright	Rectilinear	Def
		12254	2898 3030	Rollright	Rectilinear	Def

SP 3

Grid Square	NMR Number	SMR Number	Grid Ref	Parish	Form	Probable/ Possible/ Definite
30 SW	13	2426	2085 0043	Clanfield	Curvilinear	Def
30 SE	238	2452	387 028	Standlake	Complex	Def
	4	3197	3542 0307	Aston, Cote, Shifford & Chimney	Complex	Def
	146	5405	3834 0461	Standlake	Complex	Def
	7	8245	3946 0339	Standlake	Complex	Def
	209	8248-54	4002 0352	Standlake	Complex	Def
	8	8655-66	3654 0273	Aston, Cote, Shifford & Chimney	Complex	Def
		15015	3810 0280	Standlake	Banjo	Def
30 NW		5720	3258 0925	Curbridge	Banjo	Def
		33/1	330 073	Lew	Rectilinear	Po
30 NE	64	5715	3733 0751	South Leigh	Curvilinear	Def
31 SW	1	1557	3085 1490	Leafield	Rectilinear	Def
		17061	319 124	Asthall	Rectilinear	Def
		32/1	342 122	Minster Lovell	Curvilinear	Po
31 SE	-	-	-	-	-	
31 NW		13755	3375 1802	Chilson	Curvilinear	Def
		13776	322 197	Chilson	Rectilinear	Def
		16183	341 196	Chilson	Rectilinear	Def
31 NE		13757	3985 1703	Stonesfield	Rectilinear	Def
32 SW		1555	322 243	Chadlington	Banjo	Def

		12205	321 243	Chadlington	Curvilinear	Def
		13764	3392 2225	Spelsbury	Curvilinear	Def
	44	15977	320 245	Chadlington	Rectilinear	Def
		31/1	317 237	Chadlington	Rectilinear	Def
32 SE		10954	367 233	Spelsbury	Banjo	Def
		12228	3575 2339	Spelsbury	Rectilinear	Def
		13215	3717 2187	Spelsbury	Curvilinear	Def
	25	13217	3750 2053	Charlbury	Banjo	Def
		13217	3751 2053	Charlbury	Rectilinear	Def
		13416	3630 2086	Charlbury	Banjo	Def
		13421	3608 2433	Enstone	Curvilinear	Def
		15967	364 241	Enstone	Banjo	Def
		15968	387 232	Enstone	Banjo	Def
	47	17060	350 241	Enstone	Banjo	Def
	31 NE 72	17066	3775 2000	Charlbury	Banjo	Def
	67		3769 2347	Enstone	Rectilinear	Def
		35/2	358 239	Enstone	Curvilinear	Pr
		36/1	362 211	Spelsbury	Curvilinear	Pr
		36/2	365 218	Spelsbury	Rectilinear	Pr
		36/3	362 211	Spelsbury	Rectilinear	Pr
		39/1	394 223	Kiddington-with-Asterleigh	Rectilinear	Po
	67		3769 2347	Enstone	Rectilinear	Def
		304	39 22		Rectilinear	Po
		35/1	358 238	Spelsbury	Curvilinear	Pr
		36/5	362 211	Charlbury	Curvilinear	Pr
		36/4	365 218	Charlbury	Rectilinear	Pr
		36/5	362 211	Charlbury	Rectilinear	Pr
32 NW		9414	321 282	Over Norton	Curvilinear	Def
		12219	3491 2664	Enstone	Curvilinear	Def
		12219	3491 2664	Enstone	Rectilinear	Def
	32 NE 47	15871	349 261	Enstone	Banjo	Def

		16197	3442 2862	Over Norton	Rectilinear	Def
		34/1	344 275	Heythrop	Rectilinear	Pr
32 NE		5716	3740 2691	Enstone	Curvilinear	Def
		6199	3745 2710	Enstone	Curvilinear	Def
	28	8800	3860 2650	Enstone	Banjo	Def
		9197	383 260	Enstone	Banjo	Def
		9200	3780 2610	Enstone	Curvilinear	Def
		9200	3780 2610	Enstone	Rectilinear	Def
		12217	3785 2665	Enstone	Curvilinear	Def
		12231	358 278	Heythrop	Banjo	Def
		12231	359 278	Heythrop	Banjo	Def
		13772	3518 2844	Heythrop	Rectilinear	Def
		13773	3505 2925	Little Tew	Rectilinear	Def
		13890	3733 2504	Enstone	Rectilinear	Def
		16186	3990 2810	Great Tew	Curvilinear	Def
		17068	385 282	Little Tew	Rectilinear	Def
		17131	382 262	Enstone	Banjo	Def
		37/1	37 25	Enstone	Curvilinear	Pr
		339	38 27		Rectilinear	Pr
		76	37 26		Curvilinear	Po
		66	36 27		Curvilinear	Po
		67	36 28		Rectilinear	Po
		37/2	378 258	Enstone	Rectilinear	Po
		37/3	374 268	Enstone	Curvilinear	Po
33 SW		9792	3120 3125	Rollright	Rectilinear	Def
	23	15877	345 310	Rollright	Banjo	Def
		16172	3465 3082	Rollright	Rectilinear	Def
		16174	3373 3075	Rollright	Rectilinear	Def
		17058	347 315	Rollright	Curvilinear	Def
		17059	344 328	Hook Norton	Rectilinear	Def
		32/2	327 307	Rollright	Curvilinear	Pr

33 SE		12342	3761 3306	Wigginton	Rectilinear	Def
		16184	3590 3007	Little Tew	Rectilinear	Def
		17067	374 348	Hook Norton	Curvilinear	Def
		17067	374 348	Hook Norton	Rectilinear	Def
		370	35 30		Rectilinear	Pr
33 NW	-	-	-	-	-	
33 NE		43	3805 3525	Wigginton Heath	Rectilinear	Def
		15969	383 386	Swalcliffe	Curvilinear	Def
		16169	3940 3845	Tadmarton	Rectilinear	Def
		16170	3709 3694	Swalcliffe	Curvilinear	Def

	Grid Square	NMR Number	SMR Number	Grid Ref	Parish	Form	Probable/ Possible/ Definite
SP4							
	40 SW	8	2367	4131 0448	Stanton Harcourt	Complex	Def
		11	8314	4162 0253	Northmoor	Complex	Def
		7	15051	4138 0351	Northmoor	Banjo	Def
	40 SE	-	-	-	-	-	
	40 NW		8343	432 062	Stanton Harcourt	Rectilinear	Def
			8723	414 971	South Leigh	Rectilinear/Pits	Def
		136	11659	4096 0589	Eynsham	Banjo	Def
	40 NE	181	6387	4887 0889	Port Meadow, Oxford	Rectilinear	Def
		183	6387	4887 0890	Port Meadow, Oxford	Rectilinear	Def
		189	3243	4920 0888	Port Meadow, Oxford	Rectilinear	Def
		192	3240	4925 0877	Port Meadow, Oxford	Rectilinear	Def
		208	3233	4940 0845	Port Meadow, Oxford	Rectilinear	Def
	41 SW		1262	4145 1205	Cassington	Curvilinear	Def
			8352	444 112	Cassington	Rectilinear	Def
	41 SE	109	1658	4729 1132	Yarnton	Curvilinear	Def
		109	1658	4729 1132	Yarnton	Rectilinear	Def
	41 NW		1227	4315 1905	Wootton	Rectilinear	Def
			5312	4210 1835	Blenheim	Rectilinear	Def
			8909	4105 1930	Callow Hill (Dyke A)	Grim's Ditch	Def
		122	17134	406 192	Callow Hill	Banjo	Def
	41 NE		1302	4536 1804	Hensington Without	Rectilinear	Po

		13259	473 183	Shipton-on-Cherwell	Curvilinear	Po
		13259	473 183	Shipton-on-Cherwell	Rectilinear	Po
		17210	454 196	Wootton	Curvilinear	Po
42 SW	2	1722	4024 2175	Kiddington-with-Asterleigh	Rectilinear	Def
	8	1727	4131 2060	Kiddington-with-Asterleigh	Banjo	Def
		9196	416 219	Kiddington-with-Asterleigh	Banjo	Def
		9196	416 219	Kiddington-with-Asterleigh	Rectilinear	Def
		11638	4407 2228	Wootton	Banjo	Def
		12190	4135 2215	Kiddington-with-Asterleigh	Curvilinear	Def
		12204	4320 2450	Westcote Barton	Rectilinear	Def
		12213	4285 2478	Westcote Barton	Curvilinear	Def
		12213	4285 2478	Westcote Barton	Rectilinear	Def
		12215	4050 2432	Enstone	Banjo	Def
		13263	442 231	Wootton	Banjo	Def
		13263	442 231	Wootton	Curvilinear	Def
		13263	442 231	Wootton	Rectilinear	Def
		13263	442 231	Wootton	Rectilinear	Def
	43	13414	4047 2475	Gagingwell	Banjo	Def
	43	13414	4047 2475	Gagingwell	Curvilinear	Def
		13415	4140 2455	Enstone	Curvilinear	Def
		13415	4140 2455	Enstone	Rectilinear	Def
		16020	4425 2143	Wootton	Curvilinear	Def
		16020	4425 2143	Wootton	Rectilinear	Def
		16167	4300 2420	Kiddington-with-Asterleigh	Rectilinear	Def
		16168	4342 2418	Steeple Barton	Curvilinear	Def
		16168	4342 2418	Steeple Barton	Rectilinear	Def
	70	17206	402 204	Spelsbury	Banjo	Def
		42/1	428 237	Tackley	Curvilinear	Def
		324	43 22		Rectilinear	Pr
42 SE		5608	4936 2431	Lower Heyford	Hillfort	Def
		5694	4664 2170	Tackley	Curvilinear	Def

		5697	4865 2020	Tackley	Curvilinear	Def
		12709	480 219	Tackley	Rectilinear	Def
		13500	4597 2070	Wootton	Banjo	Def
		13501	4650 2055	Tackley	Rectilinear	Def
		15965	481 223	Lower Heyford	Banjo	Def
		16165	4930 2050	Kirtlington	Curvilinear	Def
		16165	4930 2050	Kirtlington	Rectilinear	Def
		16166	4709 2351	Rousham	Curvilinear	Def
		16166	4709 2351	Rousham	Rectilinear	Def
		16188	4560 2362	Steeple Barton	Curvilinear	Def
		17214	485 225	Kirtlington	Rectilinear	Def
		17216	492 222	Kirtlington	Rectilinear	Def
		45/5	4520 2425	Steeple Barton	Curvilinear	Def
		189	48 20		Rectilinear	Po
42 NW		10979	4308 2563	Westcot Barton	Curvilinear	Def
		12222	4095 2665	Great Tew	Curvilinear	Def
		13260	412 263	Sandford St Martin	Rectilinear	Def
		12203	4290 2555	Westcot Barton	Banjo	Def
		12203	4290 2555	Westcot Barton	Rectilinear	Def
	41		4491 2817	Duns Tew	Rectilinear	Def
		138	43 25		Rectilinear	Po
42 NE		4211	4797 2530	Steeple Aston	Settlement	Def
		5430	4635 2815	Duns Tew	Rectilinear	Def
		9410	4980 2514	Lower Heyford	Rectilinear	Def
		12223	4635 3592	Steeple Aston	Rectilinear	Def
	32	15966	4585 2673	Steeple Aston	Banjo	Def
		15966	4585 2675	Steeple Aston	Rectilinear	Def
		16164	4507 2813	Duns Tew	Rectilinear	Def
		17211	450 257	Steeple Barton	Rectilinear	Def
		17212	466 265	Steeple Barton	Rectilinear	Def
	44	17135	4666 2805	Middle Aston	Banjo	Def

		46/2	4685 2805	Steeple Aston	Curvilinear	Pr
43 SW		350	44 33		Curvilinear	Po
43 SE		12165	4855 3030	North Aston	Rectilinear	Def
		13470	4795 3410	Adderbury	Curvilinear	Def
		17213	472 338	Adderbury	Rectilinear	Def
43 NW		5799	4335 3798	Banbury	Curvilinear	Def
		13627	4248 3863	Broughton	Curvilinear	Def
		13810	4372 3603	Bloxham	Rectilinear	Def
		148	44 38		Curvilinear	Po
		115	40 38		Rectilinear	Po
43 NE	-	-	-	-	-	

SP 3

Grid	Grid Ref	Parish
30 SE	381 028	Standlake
30 NW	3258 0925	Curbridge
32 SW	322 243	Chadlington
32 SE	350 241	Enstone
32 SE	3630 2086	Charlbury
32 SE	364 241	Enstone
32 SE	3750 2053	Charlbury
32 SE	3775 2000	Charlbury
32 SE	387 232	Enstone
32 NE	358 278	Heythrop
32 NE	383 260	Enstone
32 NE	386 265	Enstone
32 NE	382 262	Enstone
32 NW	349 261	Enstone
33 SW	345 310	Rollright

Grid Square	Photo
38 02	
32 09	SMR 3209/a-g
32 24	1
35 24	11
36 20	1
36 24	1
37 20	7
37 20	8
38 23	4
35 27	6
38 25	
38 26	1
38 26	NHC 6031/36
34 26	4
34 31	12

NMR No.	UID	SMR PRN
		15015
		5720
	15	1555
47	321	17060
	63	13416
	64	15967
25	71	13217
31 NE 72	317	17066
	81	15968
	57	12231
		9197
28	82	8800
		17131
32 NE 47	40	15871
23	47	15877

SP 4

Grid	Grid Ref	Parish
40 SW	4138 0351	Northmoor
41 NW	406 192	Kiddington-with-Asterleigh
42 SW	402 204	Spelsbury
42 SW	4050 2432	Enstone
42 SW	4047 2475	Enstone
42 SW	4131 2060	Kiddington-with-Asterleigh
42 SW	416 219	Kiddington-with-Asterleigh
42 SW	4407 2228	Wootton
42 SW	442 231	Wootton
42 SE	4597 2070	Wootton
42 SE	481 223	Lower Heyford
42 NW	4290 2555	Wescot Barton
42 NE	4585 2673	Steeple Aston
42 NE	4666 2805	Middle Aston

Grid Square	Photo
41 03	
40 19	17
40 20	7
40 24	2
40 24	2
41 20	5
41 21	14
44 22	11
44 23	1
45 20/46 20	6125 - 11070
48 22	2
42 25	2
45 26	27
46 28	

NMR No.	UID	SMR PRN
7		15051
122		17134
70		17206
	109	12215
43	111	13414
8	119	1727
	120	9196
	145	11638
	146	13263
	331	13500
	191	15965
	132	12203
32	155	15966
44		17135

SP 2

Grid	Grid Ref	Parish
20 NW	2295 0715	Broadwell
21 SE	2605 1778	Milton-under-Wychwood
21 SE	2756 1342	Swinbrook
21 NW	2288 1995	Idbury
22 SE	2938 2130	Lyneham

Grid Square	Photo
23 07	3-7
26 17	1-3
27 13	8-17
22 19	
29 21	5

NMR No.	UID	SMR PRN
		17081
		17089
		17091
2		1448
		17096

SP 3

Grid	Grid Ref	Parish
31 NW	3375 1802	Chilson
32 SW	321 243	Chadlington
32 SW	3392 2225	Spelsbury
32 SE	358 238	Spelsbury
32 SE	358 239	Enstone
32 SE	362 211	Spelsbury
32 SE	367 233	Spelsbury
32 SE	3608 2433	Enstone
32 SE	3717 2187	Spelsbury
32 NW	321 282	Over Norton
32 NW	3491 2664	Enstone
32 NE	3785 2665	Enstone
32 NE		
32 NE	3740 2691	Enstone
32 NE	3780 2610	Enstone
32 NE	3990 2810	Great Tew
33 SW	347 315	Rollright
33 SE	347 348	Hook Norton
33 NE	3709 3694	Swalcliffe
33 NE	383 386	Swalcliffe

Grid Square	Photo
33 18	AAS 1981/371
32 24	
33 22	
35 23	3524/4
35 24	4-6
36 21	3-5
36 23	6125 - 13048
36 24	6125 - 13049
37 21	3722/4
32 28	2
34 26	4
35 28	6125 - 2665
37 26	13
37 26	
38 26	3726/11
39 28	1
34 31	20-24
37 34	1-25
37 36	5
38 38	10

NMR No.	UID	SMR PRN
		13755
		12205
		13764
		35/1
	320	35/2
	310	36/1
		10954
		13421
		13215
	17	9414
	41	12219
		12217
	76	5716
	355	9200
	95	16186
	46	17058
		17067
	79	16170
	87	15969

SP 4

Grid	Grid Ref	Parish
41 SW	450 100	Cassington
41 NE	454 196	Wootton
41 NE	473 183	Shipton-on-Cherwell
42 SW	4047 2475	Enstone
42 SW	4135 2215	Kiddington-with-Asterleigh
42 SW	4140 2455	Enstone
42 SW	428 237	Tackley
42 SW	4285 2478	Westcot Barton
42 SW	4342 2418	Steeple Barton
42 SW	442 231	Wootton
42 SE	4560 2362	Steeple Barton
42 SE	4520 2425	Steeple Barton
42 SE	4664 2170	Tackley
42 SE	4709 2351	Rousham
42 SE	4865 2020	Tackley
42 SE	4930 2050	Kirtlington
42 NW	4095 2665	Great Tew
42 NW	4308 2563	Westcott Barton
42 NE	4685 2805	Steeple Aston
43 SW	44 33	
43 SE	4795 3410	Adderbury
43 NW	4248 3863	Broughton
43 NW	44 38	

Grid Square	Photo
40 12	
45 19	8-9
47 18	AAS T12 - P402
40 24	9
41 22	4122/A
41 24	6
42 23	5-11
42 24	OAU 70 F 4 24
43 24	17
44 23	9
45 23	1
45 24	2-4
46 21	Pick. 272-71-066
47 23	
48 20	Pick. 275 (20.7.72)
49 20	
40 26	6125 - 13160
43 25	
46 25	12
44 33	16
47 34	
42 38	6
44 38	1

NMR No.	UID	SMR PRN
		1262
	323	17210
		13259
	341	13414
		12190
	343	13415
	352	42/1
	353	12213
	137	16168
	346	13263
	154	16188
	332	45/5
		5694
		16166
	340	5697
		16165
		12222
		10979
	349	46/2
	350	
		13470
	133	13627
	148	

SP 2

Grid	Gird Ref	Parish
20 NW	2336 0794	Broadwell
20 NE	2903 0938	Brize Norton
21 SW	2270 1480	Taynton
21 SE	284 107	Asthall
21 SE	2931 1289	Asthall
21 NW	2445 1756	Bruern
21 NW	2336 1898	Fifield
21 NE	2595 1925	Bruern
21 NE	2702 1522	Shipton-under-Wychwood
21 NE	2920 1685	Shipton-under-Wychwood
22 SE	2955 2110	Lyneham
22 NE	2540 2520	Kingham
22 NE	2888 2565	Churchill
23 SE	2898 3030	Rollright
23 SE	2975 3105	Rollright

Grid Square	Photo
22 07	1-8
29 09	
22 14	1-3
	Geonex 5191-138
29 12	6125 - 6053
24 17	
23 18	2-16
25 19	
27 15	2715/1/46
29 16	1-7
29 21	6-8
25 25	10
28 25	2-6
28 30	6125 - 14135
29 31	6125 - 14135

NMR No.	UID	SMR PRN
		17077
		5721
		17079
		13261
		15014
		12407
		17082
		15008
		15691
		17093
		17095
		17083
		17092
		12254
		12251

SP 3

Grid	Gird Ref	Parish
31 SW	3085 1490	Leafield
31 SW	319 124	Asthall
31 NW	322 197	Chilson
31 NW	341 196	Chilson
31 NE	3985 1703	Stonesfield
32 SW	317 237	Chadlington
32 SW	320 245	Chadlington
32 SE	3575 2339	Spelsbury
32 SE	365 218	Spelsbury
32 SE	362 211	Spelsbury
32 SE	3751 2053	Charlbury
32 SE	39 22	
32 NW	3491 2664	Enstone
32 NW	3442 2862	Over Norton
32 NE	3518 2844	Heythrop
32 NE	3505 2925	Little Tew
32 NE	36 28	
32 NE	3733 2504	Enstone
32 NE	3733 2504	Enstone
32 NE	38 27	
32 NE	385 282	Little Tew
33 SW	3120 3125	Rollright
33 SW	3373 3075	Rollright

Grid Square	Photo
30 14	Allen 10.6.33
31 12	3
32 19	
34 19	1
39 17	AAS 1981/367
31 23	4-5
32 20	2
35 23	6125 - 13049
36 21	1
36 21	6
37 20	7
39 22	9
34 26	4
34 28	5
35 28	AAS 1981/609
35 29	8
36 28	1
37 24	2
37 25	3
38 27	1
38 28	1-11
31 31	4
32 30	1

NMR No.	UID	SMR PRN
		1557
		17061
		13776
	33	16183
		13757
	330	31/1
	13	15977
		12228
	322	36/2
	311	36/3
	71	13217
	304	
	41	12219
	43	16197
		13772
	59	13773
	67	
	319	13890
	75	13890
	339	
	316	17068
	327	9792
	19	16174

33 SW	3465 3082	Rollright
33 SW	344 328	

33 SE	3590 3007	Little Tew
33 SE	35 30	
33 SE	3761 3306	Wigginton
33 SE	3887 3460	Wigginton
33 SE	3905 3450	Wigginton
33 SE	3905 3450	Wigginton
33 SE	392 348	Wigginton

33 NE	3940 3845	Tadmarton
-------	-----------	-----------

34 30	8
34 32	2

35 30	4
35 30	11
37 33	6125 - 15098
38 34	4
39 34	13
39 34	22
39 34	

39 38	4
--------------	----------

	45	16172
	366	17059
	60	16184
	370	
		12342
	84	16175
	98	16176
	335	16176
		9990
	101	16169

SP 4

Grid	Gird Ref	Parish
41 SW	444 112	Cassington
41 NW	4210 1835	Blenheim
41 NW	4315 1905	Wootton
41 NE	473 183	Shipton-on-Cherwell
41 NE	4535 1804	Hensington Without
42 SW	4024 2175	Kiddington-with-Asterleigh
42 SW	416 213	Kiddington-with-Asterleigh
42 SW	4285 2478	Westcot Barton
42 SW	43 22	
42 SW	4342 2418	Steeple Barton
42 SW	4320 2450	Westcot Barton
42 SW	4300 2420	Kiddington-with-Asterleigh
42 SW	4425 2143	Wootton
42 SW	442 231	Barton Leys Farm, Wootton
42 SW	442 231	Barton Leys Farm, Wootton
42 SE	4560 2362	Steeple Barton
42 SE	4650 2055	Tackley
42 SE	480 219	Tackley
42 SE	16166	4709 2351
42 SE	48 20	
42 SE	485 225	Kirtlington
42 SE	4930 2050	Kirtlington
42 SE	492 222	Kirtlington
42 NW	412 263	Sandford St Martin

Grid Square	Photo
44 11	JKStJ - OX 52; 53
42 18	Allen 9.6.34
43 19	7
47 18	AAS T12 - P402
45 18	1
40 21	4
41 21	10
42 24	
43 22	1
43 24	16
43 24	17
43 24	17
44 21	4
44 23	8-9
44 23	8
45 23	1
46 20	1
47 21	6125 - 12098
47 23	8
48 20	1
48 22	9-10
49 20	1
49 22	1-2
41 26	4

NMR No.	UID	SMR PRN
		8352
		5312
	136	1227
		13259
	152	1302
	107	1722
	120	9196
	353	12213
	324	
	137	16168
	137	12204
	137	16167
	144	16020
	303	13263
	346	13263
		16188
	163	13501
	348	12709
	173	16166
	189	
	373	17214
		16165
	374	17216
	121	13260

42 NW	4290 2555	Westcot Barton
42 NW	43 25	

42 NE	450 257	Steeple Barton
42 NE	4585 2675	Steeple Aston
42 NE	4507 2813	Duns Tew
42 NE	4635 3592	Steeple Aston
42 NE	466 265	Steeple Barton
42 NE	466 265	Steeple Barton
42 NE	4635 2815	Duns Tew
42 NE	4980 2514	Lower Heyford

43 SE	472 338	Adderbury
43 SE	4855 3030	North Aston

43 NW	40 38	
43 NW	4372 3603	Bloxham
43 NW	4335 3798	Banbury

42 25	2
43 25	5

45 25	2-8
45 26	27
45 28	1
46 25	11
46 26	
46 26	17
46 28	11
49 25	1-2

47 33	2-4
48 30	8

40 38	1
43 36	3
43 37	2

	132	12203
	138	

	307	17211
	156	15966
	157	16164
	164	12223
	166	17212
	305	17212
	167	5430
	378	9410

	338	17213
	192	12165

	115	
	140	13810
	141	5799

Grid	Grid Ref	Parish

Grid Square

NMR		SMR
No.	NMP ref	PRN

SP 2

20 SW	211 002	Lechlade
	2149 0282	Lechlade
	214 027	Langford
	2410 0073	Little Faringdon
20 SE	254 010	Langford
	2784 0342	Black Bourton
	2768 0326	Black Bourton
	2987 0026	Clanfield

21 00
21 02
21 02
24 00
25 01
27 03
27 03
29 00

162	TG.58.23.1-2	
9	TG.57.16	1412
35	TG.57.17/18	3120
12	TG.59.40	1415
16	TG.46.13	8112
17	TG.50.58	3182
135	TG.50.64	3182
40	TG.49.2	

Grid	Grid Ref	Parish

Grid Square

NMR		SMR
No.	NMP ref	PRN

SP 3

30 SW	3085 0043	Clanfield
30 SE	3542 0307	Aston, Cote, Shifford & Chimney
	3834 0461	Standlake
	3946 0339	Standlake
	3654 0273	Aston, Cote, Shifford & Chimney
	3810 0280	Standlake
30 NE	3733 0751	South Leigh

20 00
35 03
38 04
39 03
36 02
38 02
37 07

13	TG.53.15	2426
238	TG.41.11;17;23-8	3197
4	TG.29.1	5405
146	TG.32.1-2;9	8245
209	TG.35.40-1	8655-66
8	TG.34.1-2;20	15015
64	TG.43.5	5715

Grid	Grid Ref	Parish

Grid Square

NMR		SMR
No.	NMP ref	PRN

SP 4

40 SW	4002 0352	Standlake
	4131 0448	Stanton Harcourt
	4162 0253	Northmoor
40 NW	4096 0589	Eynsham
40 NE	4887 0889	Port Meadow, Oxford
	4887 0890	Port Meadow, Oxford
	4920 0888	Port Meadow, Oxford
	4925 0877	Port Meadow, Oxford
	4940 0845	Port Meadow, Oxford
41 SW	450 100	Cassington Enclosure
41 SE	4729 1132	Yarnton
	4729 1132	Yarnton

40 03
41 04
41 02
40 05
48 08
48 08
49 08
49 08
49 08
45 10
47 11
47 11

7	TG.32.12	8248-54
8	TG.129.12-27	2367
11	TG.125.19-22	8314
136	TG.574.63	11659
181	TG.588.25	6387
183	TG.588.27	6387
189	TG. 588.34	3243
192	TG.588.37	3240
208	TG.588.53	3233
7	TG.581.1	15053
109	TG.590.1-4	1658
109	TG.590.1-4	1658

Other Cropmarks

Grid			Grid Square	Photo
33 SE			35 30	11
32 NE			38 27	1

NMR		SMR
No.	UID	PRN
	339	
	351	

Pits
Pits
Pit Alignment

SP 3

SP 4

Grid	NMR	SMR	Grid Ref.	Parish	Form
30 NW		5720	3258 0925	Curbridge	Banjo
11 NE	7	137	1841 1768	Great Rissington	Curvilinear
20 NW		17081	2295 0715	Broadwell	Curvilinear
21 SE		17089	2605 1778	Milton-under-Wychwood	Curvilinear
21 SE		17091	2756 1342	Swinbrook	Curvilinear
31 NW		13755	3375 1802	Chilson	Curvilinear
41 SW		1262	4145 1205	Cassington	Curvilinear
11 NE	7	137	1841 1768	Great Rissington	Rectilinear
12 SE		2625	169 221	Lower Slaughter	Complex
12 NE	82	4529	1997 2649	Broadwell	Rectilinear
20 NW		17077	2336 0794	Broadwell	Rectilinear
20 NE		5721	2903 0938	Brize Norton	Rectilinear
21 SW		17079	2270 1480	Taynton	Rectilinear
21 SE		13261	284 107	Asthall	Rectilinear
21 SE		15014	2931 1289	Asthall	Rectilinear
21 NW		12407	2445 1756	Bruern	Rectilinear
21 NW		17082	2366 1898	Fifield	Rectilinear
21 NE		15008	2595 1925	Bruern	Rectilinear
21 NE		15691	2702 1522	Shipton-under-Wychwood	Rectilinear
21 NE		17093	2920 1685	Shipton-under-Wychwood	Rectilinear
22 SW	22		2086 2346	Icomb	Rectilinear
22 SW	25		2430 2407	Bledington	Rectilinear
23 SW	5	360	2037 3296	Batsford	Rectilinear
23 SW		2472	2100 3120	Dunstall Farm, Batsford	Rectilinear
23 SW		2743	2130 3030	Frogmore Coppice	Settlement
31 SW	1	1557	3085 1490	Leafield	Rectilinear
31 SW		17061	319 124	Asthall	Rectilinear
31 NW		13776	322 197	Chilson	Rectilinear
31 NW		16183	341 196	Chilson	Rectilinear
31 NW	35		340 160	Chilson	Rectilinear

Grid	NMR	SMR	Grid Ref.	Parish	Form
32 SW		1555	322 243	Chadlington	Banjo
32 SE		10954	367 233	Spelsbury	Banjo
32 SE	25	13217	3750 2053	Charlbury	Banjo
32 SE		13416	3630 2086	Charlbury	Banjo
32 SE		15967	364 241	Enstone	Banjo
32 SE		15968	387 232	Enstone	Banjo
32 SE	47	17060	350 241	Enstone	Banjo
32 SE	31 NE 72	17066	3775 2000	Charlbury	Banjo
32 NW	32 NE 47	15871	349 261	Enstone	Banjo
32 NE	28	8800	3860 2650	Enstone	Banjo
32 NE		9197	383 260	Enstone	Banjo
32 NE		12231	358 278	Heythrop	Banjo
32 NE		12231	359 278	Heythrop	Banjo
32 NE		17131	382 262	Enstone	Banjo
41 NW	122	17134	406 192	Callow Hill	Banjo
42 SW	8	1727	4131 2060	Kiddington-with-Asterleigh	Banjo
42 SW	70	17206	402 204	Spelsbury	Banjo
42 SW		9196	416 219	Kiddington-with-Asterleigh	Banjo
42 SW		11638	4407 2228	Wootton	Banjo
42 SW		12215	4050 2432	Enstone	Banjo
42 SW		13263	442 231	Wootton	Banjo
42 SW	43	13414	4047 2475	Gagingwell	Banjo
42 NW		12203	4290 2555	Westcot Barton	Banjo
22 SE		17096	2938 2130	Lyneham	Curvilinear
32 SW		12205	321 243	Chadlington	Curvilinear
32 SW		13764	3392 2225	Spelsbury	Curvilinear
32 SE		13215	3717 2187	Spelsbury	Curvilinear
32 SE		35/2	358 239	Enstone	Curvilinear
32 SE		36/1	362 211	Spelsbury	Curvilinear
32 SE		13421	3608 2433	Enstone	Curvilinear
32 NW		12219	3491 2664	Enstone	Curvilinear
32 NE		5716	3740 2691	Enstone	Curvilinear
32 NE		6199	3745 2710	Enstone	Curvilinear
32 NE		9200	3780 2610	Enstone	Curvilinear
32 NE		12217	3785 2665	Enstone	Curvilinear
32 NE		16186	3990 2810	Great Tew	Curvilinear
42 SW		12190	4135 2215	Kiddington-with-Asterleigh	Curvilinear
42 SW		12213	4285 2478	Westcote Barton	Curvilinear
42 SW		13263	442 231	Wootton	Curvilinear
42 SW	43	13414	4047 2475	Gagingwell	Curvilinear
42 SW		13415	4140 2455	Enstone	Curvilinear
42 SW		16020	4425 2143	Wootton	Curvilinear
42 SW		16168	4342 2418	Steeple Barton	Curvilinear
42 SW		42/1	428 237	Tackley	Curvilinear
42 SE		45/5	4520 2425	Steeple Barton	Curvilinear
42 NW		10979	4308 2563	Westcot Barton	Curvilinear
42 NW		12222	4095 2665	Great Tew	Curvilinear
22 SE		17095	2955 2110	Lyneham	Rectilinear

22 NE		17083	2540 2520	Kingham	Rectilinear
22 NE		17092	2888 2565	Churchill	Rectilinear
23 SE		12251	2975 3105	Rollright	Rectilinear
23 SE		12254	2898 3030	Rollright	Rectilinear
32 SE	67		3769 2347	Enstone	Rectilinear
32 SW	44	15977	320 245	Chadlington	Rectilinear
32 SW		31/1	317 237	Chadlington	Rectilinear
32 SE		12228	3575 2339	Spelsbury	Rectilinear
32 SE		13217	3751 2053	Charlbury	Rectilinear
32 SE		36/2	365 218	Spelsbury	Rectilinear
32 SE		36/3	362 211	Spelsbury	Rectilinear
32 SE		39/1	394 223	Kiddington-with-Asterleigh	Rectilinear
32 NW		9414	321 282	Over Norton	Rectilinear
32 NW		12219	3491 2664	Enstone	Rectilinear
32 NW		16197	3442 2862	Over Norton	Rectilinear
32 NE		9200	3780 2610	Enstone	Rectilinear
32 NE		13772	3518 2844	Heythrop	Rectilinear
32 NE		13773	3505 2925	Little Tew	Rectilinear
32 NE		13890	3733 2504	Enstone	Rectilinear
32 NE		17068	385 282	Little Tew	Rectilinear
33 SW		9792	3120 3125	Rollright	Rectilinear
41 NW		1227	4315 1905	Wootton	Rectilinear
41 NW		5312	4210 1835	Blenheim	Rectilinear
42 SW	2	1722	4024 2175	Kiddington-with-Asterleigh	Rectilinear
42 SW		9196	416 219	Kiddington-with-Asterleigh	Rectilinear
42 SW		12204	4320 2450	Westcote Barton	Rectilinear
42 SW		12213	4285 2478	Westcote Barton	Rectilinear
42 SW		13263	442 231	Wootton	Rectilinear
42 SW		13415	4140 2455	Enstone	Rectilinear
42 SW		16020	4425 2143	Wootton	Rectilinear
42 SW		16167	4300 2420	Kiddington-with-Asterleigh	Rectilinear
42 SW		16168	4342 2418	Steeple Barton	Rectilinear
42 NW		13260	412 263	Sandford St Martin	Rectilinear
42 NW		12203	4290 2555	Westcot Barton	Rectilinear

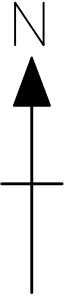
Grid	NMR	SMR	Grid Ref.	Parish	Form
42 SE		13500	4597 2070	Wootton	Banjo
42 SE		15965	481 223	Lower Heyford	Banjo
42 NE	32	15966	4585 2673	Steeple Aston	Banjo
42 NE	44	17135	4666 2805	Middle Aston	Banjo
33 SW		17058	347 315	Rollright	Curvilinear
33 SE		17067	374 348	Hook Norton	Curvilinear
33 NE		15969	383 386	Swalcliffe	Curvilinear
41 NE		17210	454 196	Wootton	Curvilinear
42 SE		5694	4664 2170	Tackley	Curvilinear
42 SE		5697	4865 2020	Tackley	Curvilinear
42 SE		16166	4709 2351	Rousham	Curvilinear
42 SE		16188	4560 2362	Steeple Barton	Curvilinear
42 NE		46/2	4685 2805	Steeple Aston	Curvilinear
43 SE		13470	4795 3410	Adderbury	Curvilinear
43 NW		5799	4335 3798	Banbury	Curvilinear
43 NW		13627	4248 3863	Broughton	Curvilinear
33 SW		16172	3465 3082	Rollright	Rectilinear
33 SW		16174	3373 3075	Rollright	Rectilinear
33 SW		17059	344 328	Hook Norton	Rectilinear
33 SE		17067	374 348	Hook Norton	Rectilinear
33 NE		43	3805 3525	Wigginton Heath	Rectilinear
33 NE		16170	3709 3694	Swalcliffe	Curvilinear
33 SE		12342	3761 3306	Wigginton	Rectilinear
33 SE		16184	3590 3007	Little Tew	Rectilinear
33 NE		16169	3940 3845	Tadmarton	Rectilinear
41 NE		1302	4536 1804	Hensington Without	Rectilinear
41 NE		13259	473 183	Shipton-on-Cherwell	Rectilinear
42 SE		13501	4650 2055	Tackley	Rectilinear
42 SE		16166	4709 2351	Rousham	Rectilinear
42 SE		16188	4560 2362	Steeple Barton	Curvilinear
42 SE		12709	480 219	Tackley	Rectilinear
42 NW	41		4491 2817	Duns Tew	Rectilinear
42 NE		4211	4797 2530	Steeple Aston	Settlement
42 NE		5430	4635 2815	Duns Tew	Rectilinear
42 NE		12223	4635 3592	Steeple Aston	Rectilinear
42 NE		15966	4585 2675	Steeple Aston	Rectilinear
42 NE		16164	4507 2813	Duns Tew	Rectilinear
42 NE		17211	450 257	Steeple Barton	Rectilinear
42 NE		17212	466 265	Steeple Barton	Rectilinear
43 SE		17213	472 338	Adderbury	Rectilinear
43 NW		13810	4372 3603	Bloxham	Rectilinear
43 SE		12165	4855 3030	North Aston	Rectilinear

Appendix 3: The Geophysical Survey Evidence

This final appendix presents the remainder of geophysical plots not included in the body of text. These comprise two plots for each site, a 'line plot' of features with potential archaeological features marked in red and an interpretive plot for each site. The order of sites is as follows:

1. Chastleton
2. Lyneham
3. Pieces Field
4. Bagneedle Barn
5. Enstone Airfield
6. Middle Brooklan
7. Rollright Heath

© Crown copyright/ database right 2007.
An Ordnance Survey / EDINA supplied service



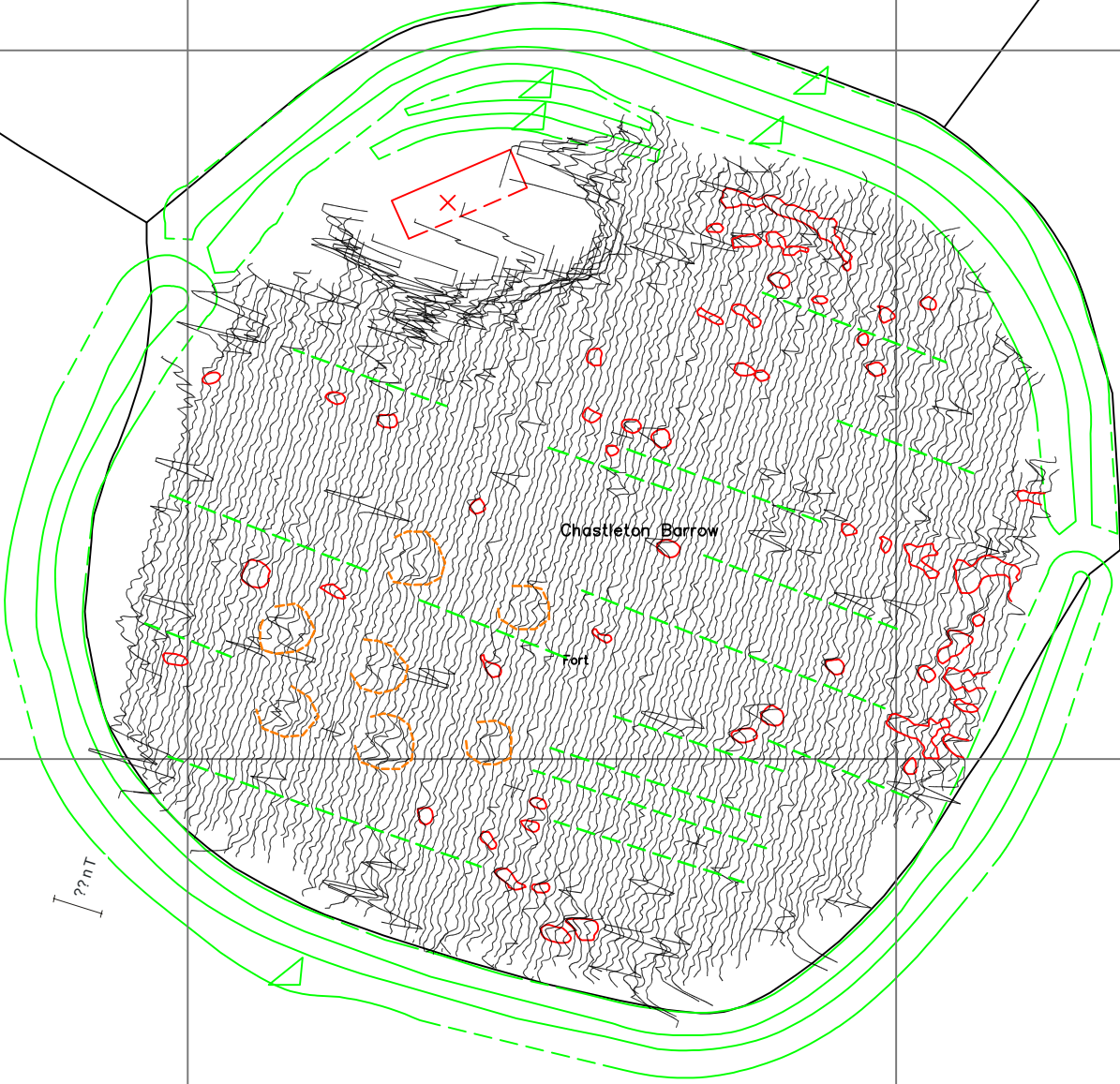
SOUTH EAST EER



magnetic anomalies
(archaeological?)

possible tree hollows ?

linear magnetic anomalies: cultivation ?



228200N
426000E

**NORTH OXFORDSHIRE
HILLFORTS**

Geophysical Survey

Figure 5: Chastleton Magnetometer Survey

0

50m

1: 1000

© Crown copyright/ database right 2007.
An Ordnance Survey / EDINA supplied service



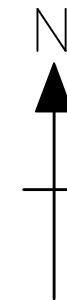
magnetic anomalies
(archaeological?)



possible tree hollows ?



linear magnetic anomalies: cultivation ?



SOUTH EAST EER

426000E

228200N

8200

236.8m

Chastleton Barrow

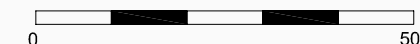
Fort

NORTH OXFORDSHIRE HILLFORTS

Geophysical Survey

Figure 6: Chastleton Magnetometer Survey
Interpretation

1: 1000



© Crown copyright/ database right 2007.
An Ordnance Survey / EDINA supplied service

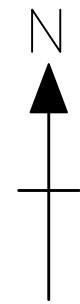
60 nT

8343

0052

0052

LYNEHAM CP



The Roundabout
Settlement

The Roundabout
Settlement

8633

9332

Quarry
(disused)

Quarry
(dis)

Quarry
(dis)

0026

195.9m

PUDCOTE LANE

430100E

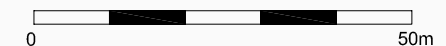
221300N

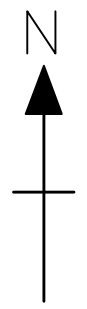
NORTH OXFORDSHIRE HILLFORTS

Geophysical Survey

Figure 8: Lyneham Magnetometer Survey

1:1000



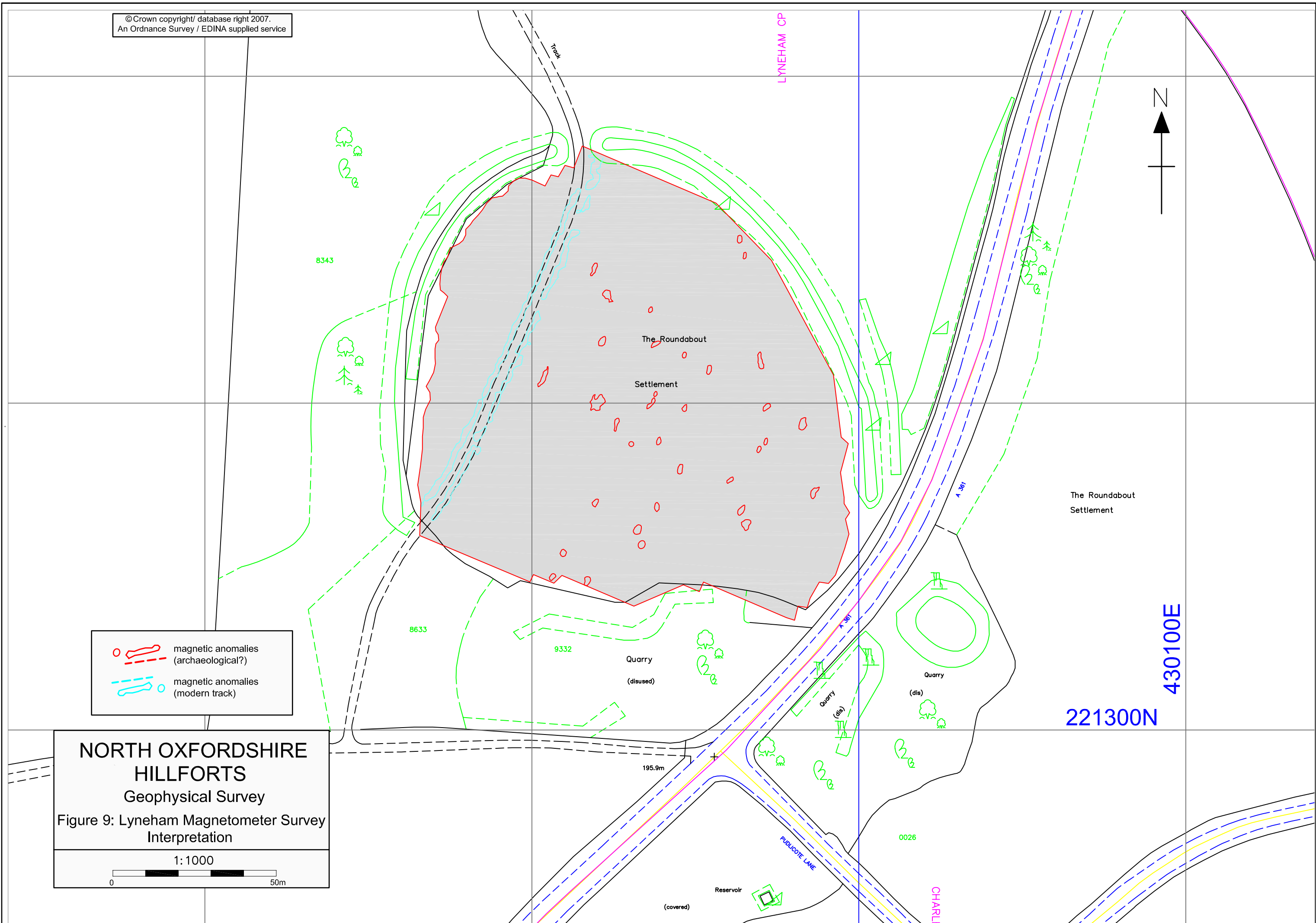


-  magnetic anomalies (archaeological?)
-  magnetic anomalies (modern track)

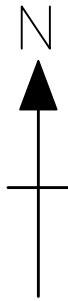
**NORTH OXFORDSHIRE
HILLFORTS**
Geophysical Survey
Figure 9: Lyneham Magnetometer Survey
Interpretation

1: 1000

0 50m



Based upon Ordnance Survey mapping with permission
of the controller of Her Majesty's Stationary Office.
Crown Copyright. OS licence No. AL51713A0001



220700N
437700E

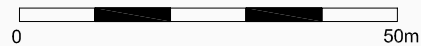
60 mT

NORTH OXFORDSHIRE BANJO ENCLOSURES

Geophysical Survey

Figure 2: Ditchley Magnetometer Survey

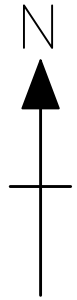
1:1000



Grim's Ditch

165.1m

Based upon Ordnance Survey mapping with permission
of the controller of Her Majesty's Stationary Office.
Crown Copyright. OS licence No. AL51713A0001



220700N
437700E

Grim's Ditch

 magnetic anomalies
 (archaeological?)

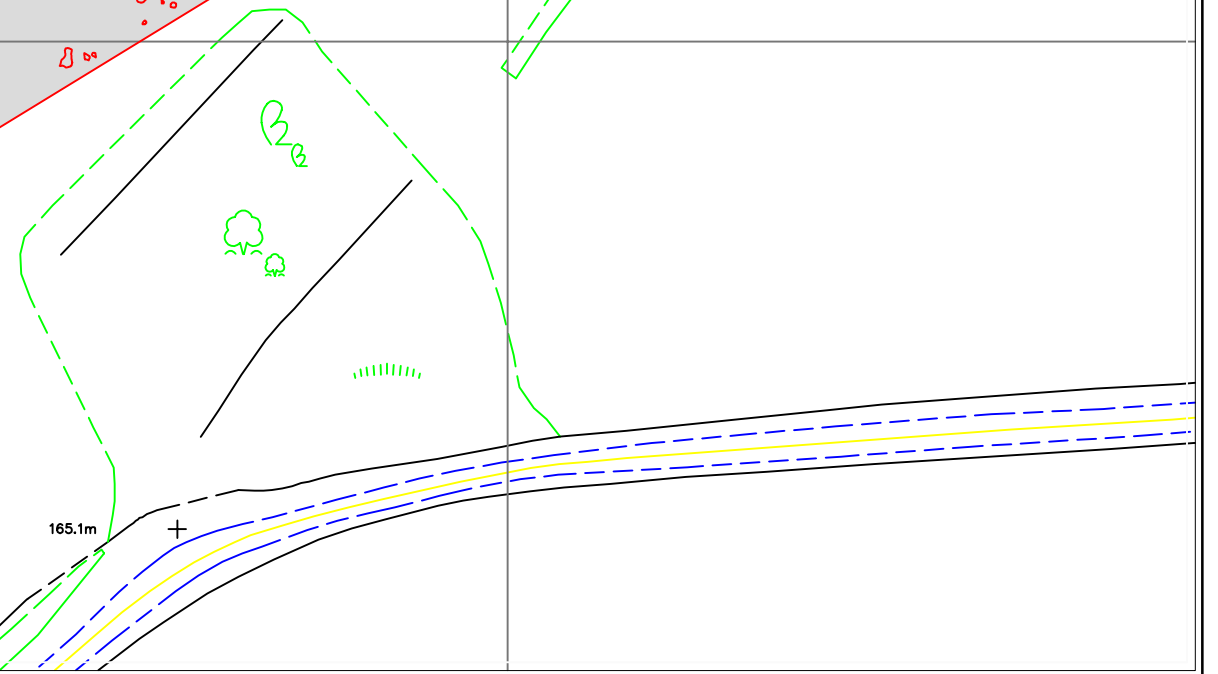
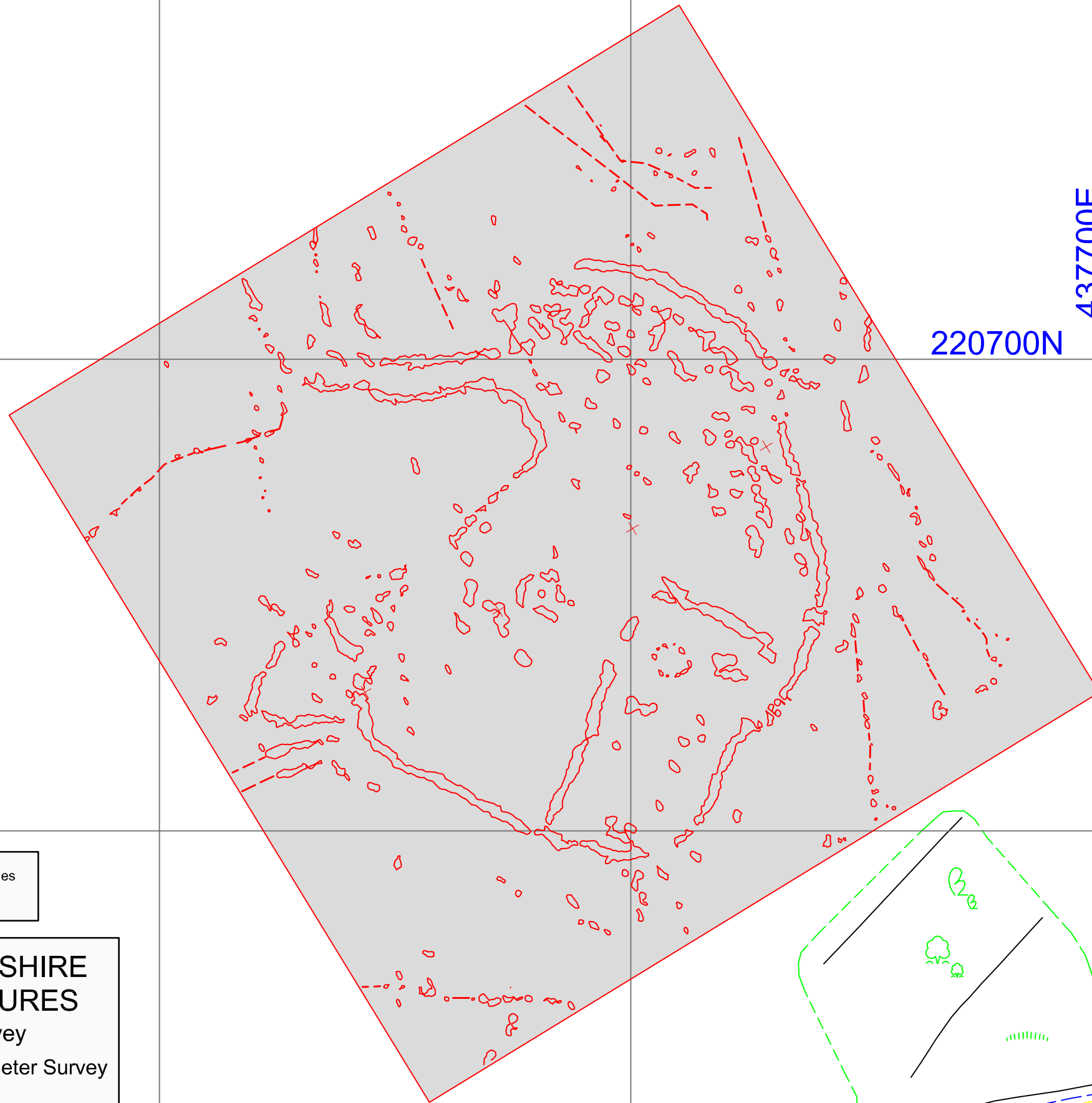
NORTH OXFORDSHIRE BANJO ENCLOSURES

Geophysical Survey

Figure 3: Ditchley Magnetometer Survey
Interpretation

1:1000

0 50m



Based upon Ordnance Survey mapping with permission
of the controller of Her Majesty's Stationary Office.
Crown Copyright. OS licence No. AL51713A0001

6033
Bagnall

Collects

123.9m

BM
125.10m

123.6m

Track

Bagneedle Barn

223200N
438900E

NORTH OXFORDSHIRE BANJO ENCLOSURES

Geophysical Survey

Figure 2: Bagneedle Barn
Magnetometer Survey

1:1000



Based upon Ordnance Survey mapping with permission
of the controller of Her Majesty's Stationary Office.
Crown Copyright. OS licence No. AL51713A0001

 magnetic anomalies
 (archaeological?)

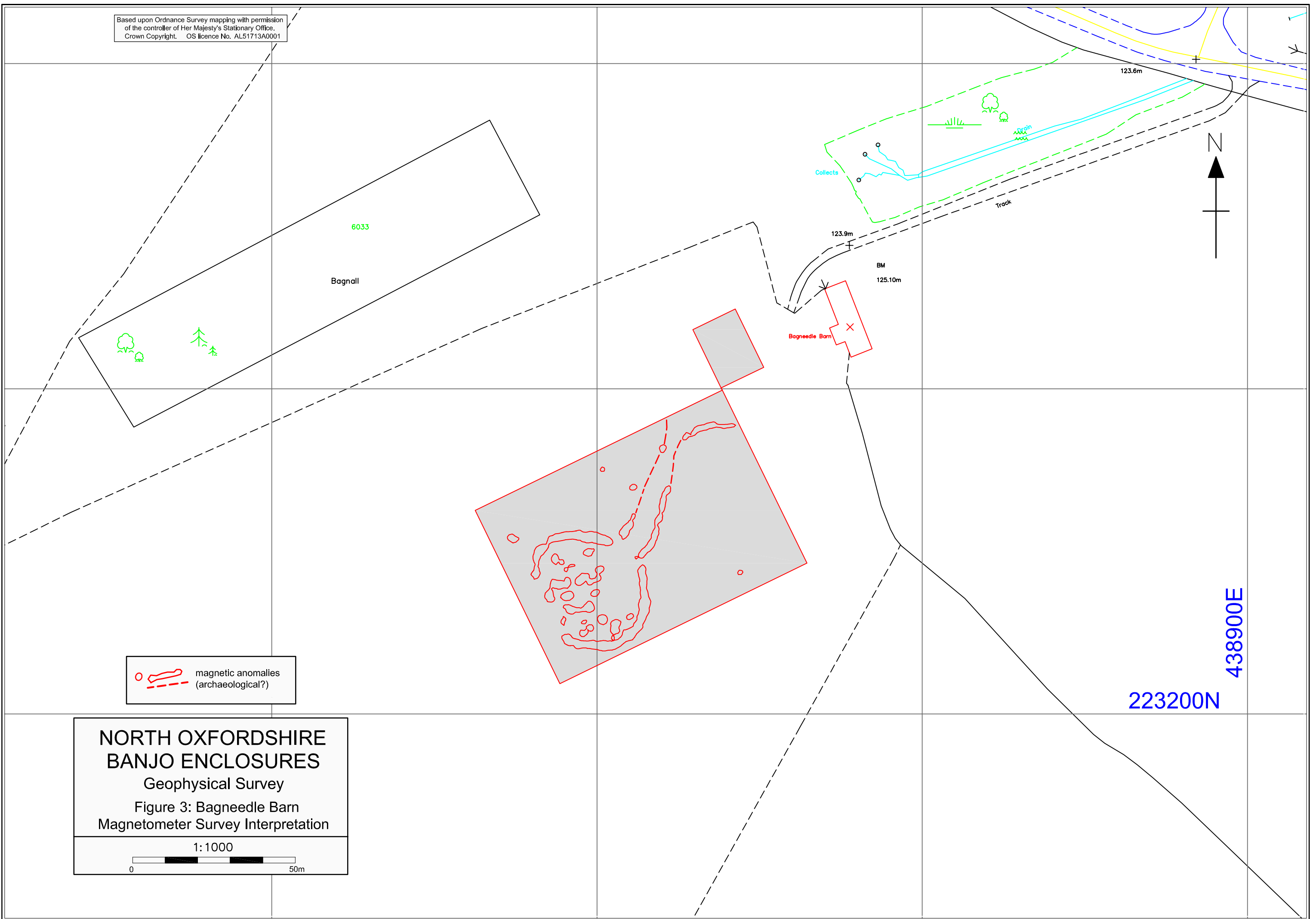
NORTH OXFORDSHIRE BANJO ENCLOSURES

Geophysical Survey

Figure 3: Bagneedle Barn
Magnetometer Survey Interpretation

1:1000

0 50m



Based upon Ordnance Survey mapping with permission
of the controller of Her Majesty's Stationary Office.
Crown Copyright. OS licence No. AL51713A0001

4261

177.3m

7360

GREEN LANE (Track)

2.13m RH

80 nT

171.1m

6944

Well

NORTH OXFORDSHIRE BANJO ENCLOSURES

Geophysical Survey

Figure 2: Enstone Magnetometer Survey

1:1250

0 50m

226300N

438800E

B_g

Based upon Ordnance Survey mapping with permission
of the controller of Her Majesty's Stationary Office.
Crown Copyright. OS licence No. AL51713A0001

4261

177.3m

7360

GREEN LANE (Track)

2.13m RH



6944

 magnetic anomalies
(archaeological?)

NORTH OXFORDSHIRE BANJO ENCLOSURES Geophysical Survey

Figure 3: Enstone Magnetometer Survey
Interpretation

1:1250

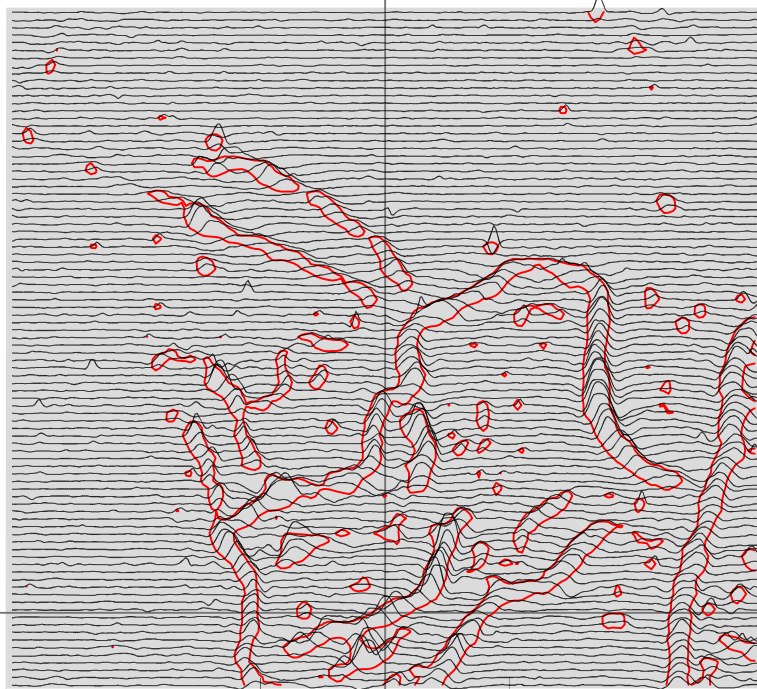
0 50m

226300N

438800E

Based upon Ordnance Survey mapping with permission
of the controller of Her Majesty's Stationary Office.
Crown Copyright. OS licence No. AL51713A0001

120 nT

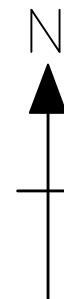


WITNEY CO CONST

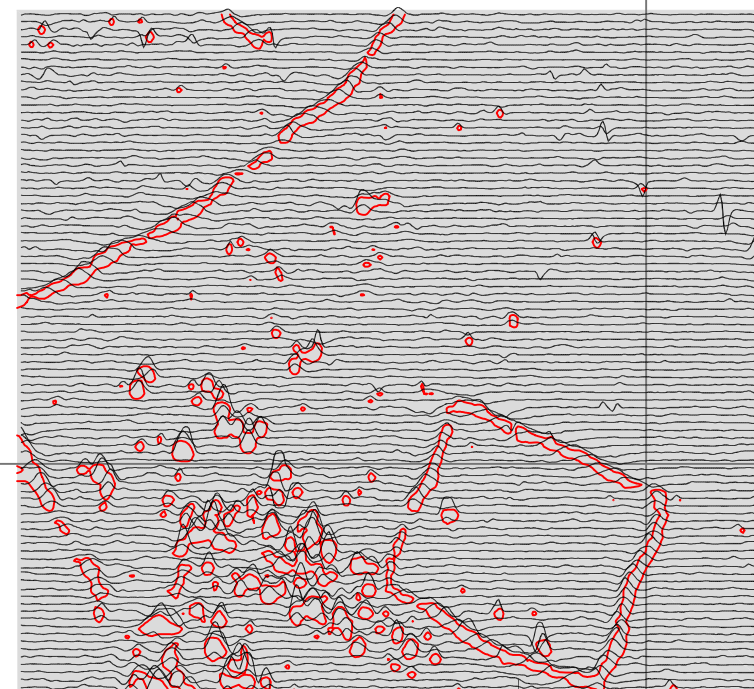
7500

221900N

441800E



120 nT

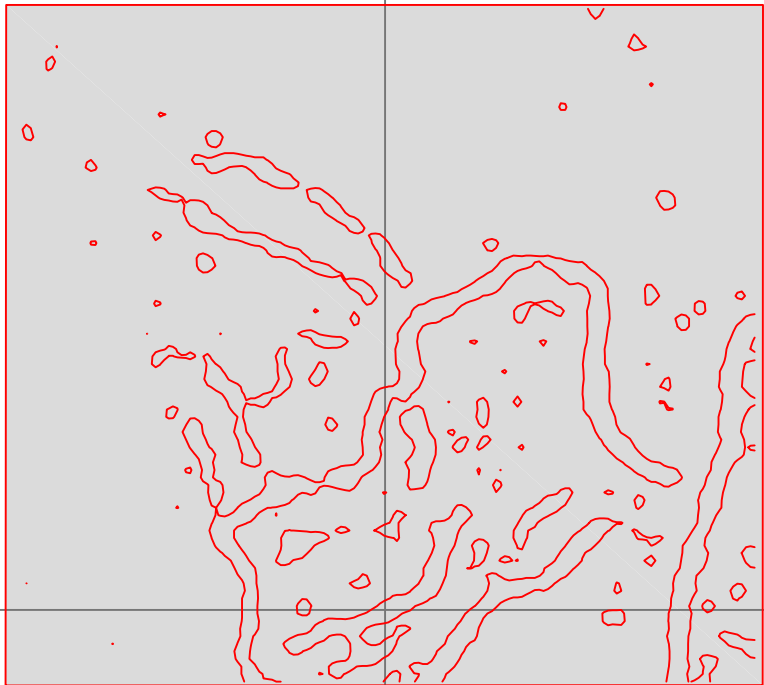


**NORTH OXFORDSHIRE
BANJO ENCLOSURES**
Geophysical Survey
Figure 2: Glympton Magnetometer Survey

1:1000

0 50m

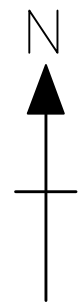
Based upon Ordnance Survey mapping with permission
of the controller of Her Majesty's Stationary Office.
Crown Copyright. OS licence No. AL51713A0001



WITNEY CO CONST

221900N

441800E

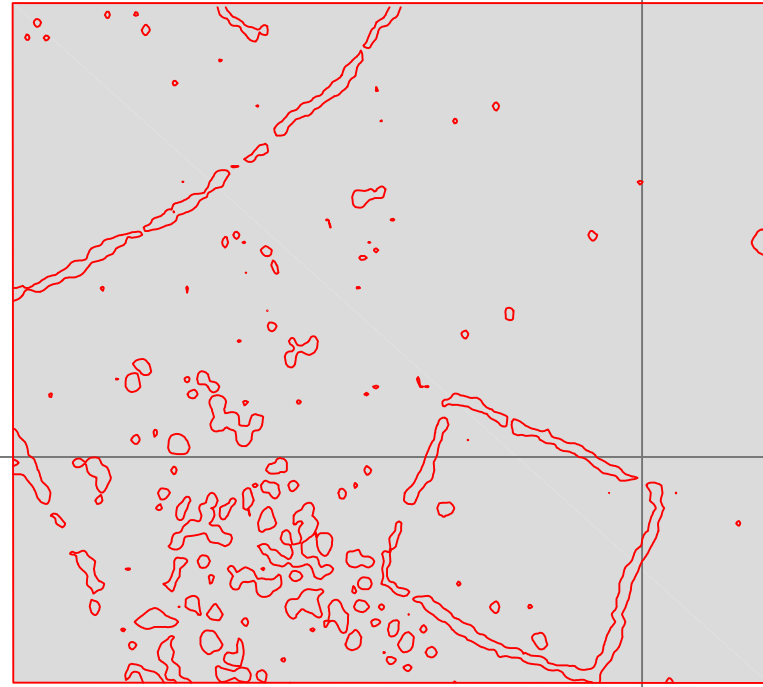


 magnetic anomalies
(archaeological?)

**NORTH OXFORDSHIRE
BANJO ENCLOSURES**
Geophysical Survey
Figure 3: Glympton Magnetometer Survey
Interpretation

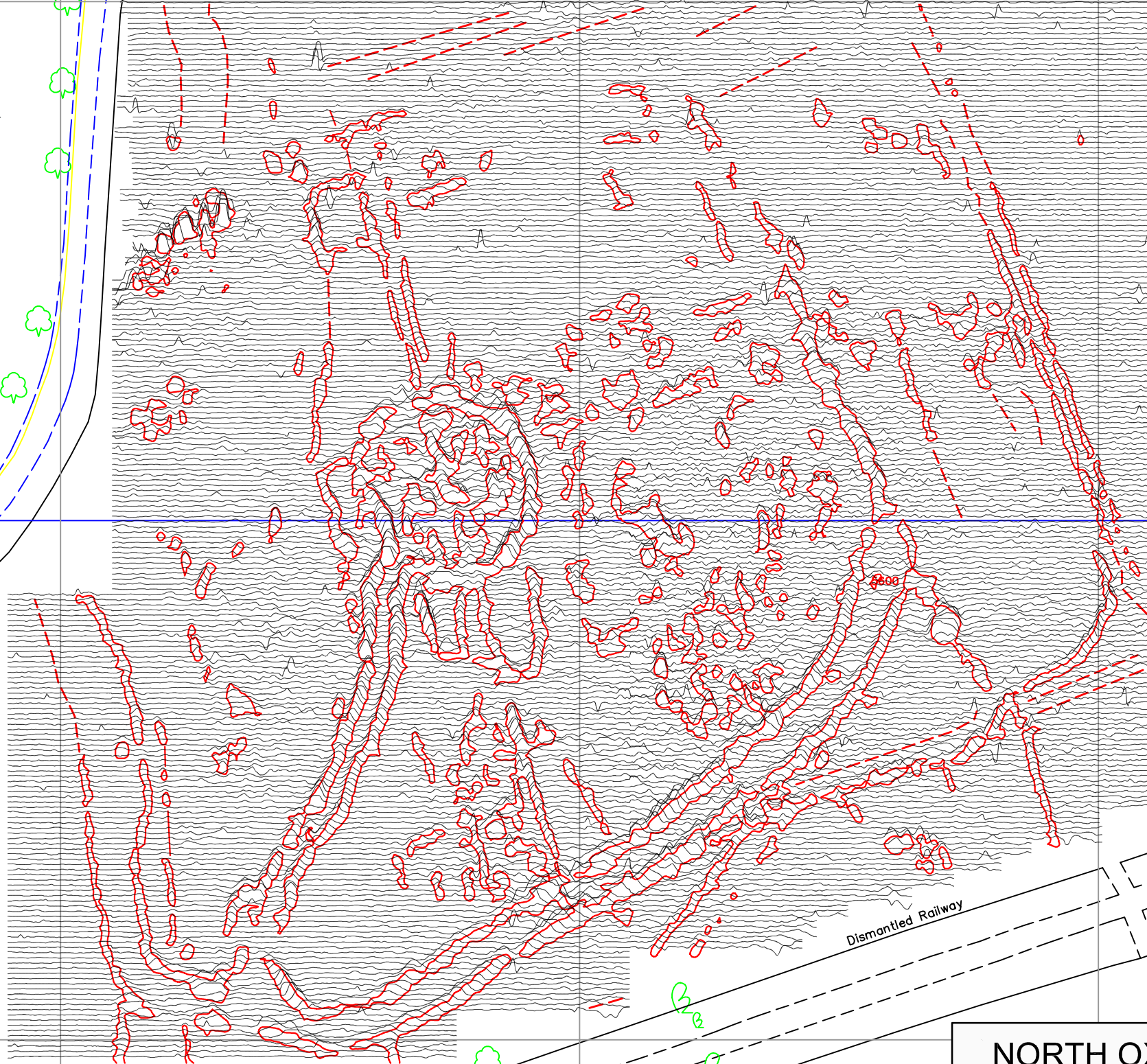
1:1000

0 50m



Based upon Ordnance Survey mapping with permission
of the controller of Her Majesty's Stationary Office.
Crown Copyright. OS licence No. AL51713A0001

160 nT

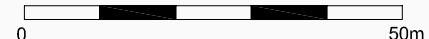


Dismantled Railway

NORTH OXFORDSHIRE BANJO ENCLOSURES

Geophysical Survey
Figure 2: Rollright Heath
Magnetometer Survey

1:1000



230900N

434700E

176.1m

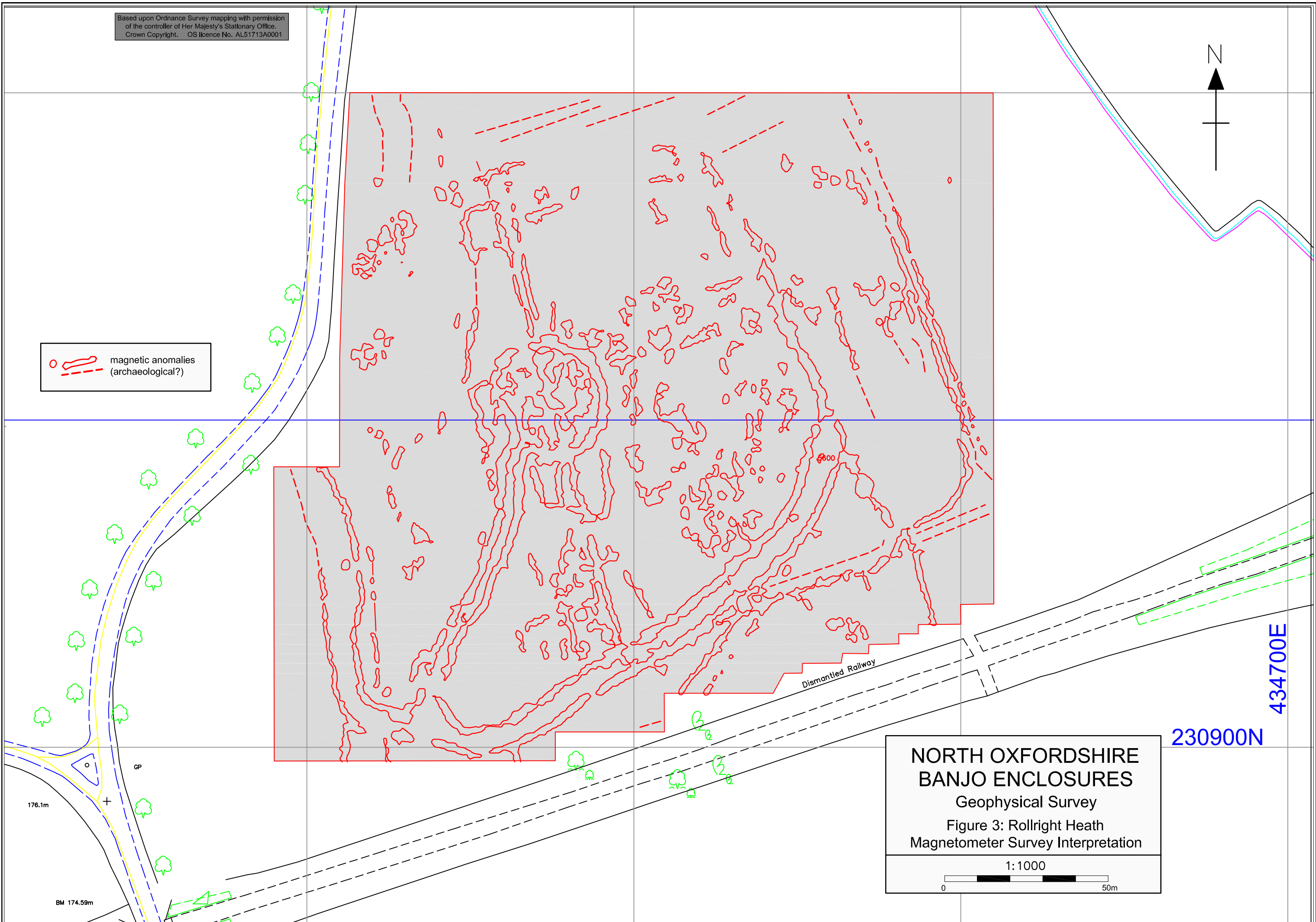
BM 174.59m

GP

Based upon Ordnance Survey mapping with permission
of the controller of Her Majesty's Stationary Office.
Crown Copyright. OS licence No. AL51713A0001



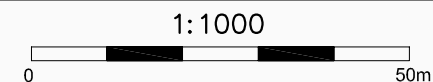
 magnetic anomalies
(archaeological?)



NORTH OXFORDSHIRE BANJO ENCLOSURES

Geophysical Survey

Figure 3: Rollright Heath
Magnetometer Survey Interpretation



230900N
434700E