

Material culture and identity at rural settlements in the Severn-Cotswold area in the Roman period

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D.Phil thesis. Trinity Term 2017**

Abstract

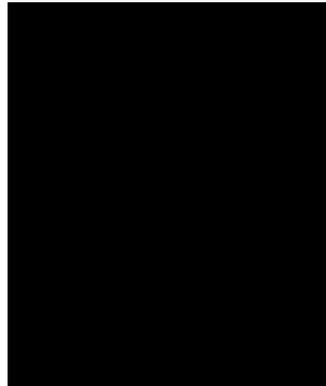
My research examines how Roman-style material culture was used to express identity, how this changed during the Roman period, whether different types of material culture were adopted at the same time and whether there were differences across different types of site. Evidence for expression of identities related to wealth, status, gender, group identities and ethnicity was also examined.

Datasets were analysed by four themes: literacy, including evidence for writing and knowledge of Classical literature; personal appearance, including personal grooming, hair-styling and dress; foodways, what was eaten, how it was prepared and served; and the use of settlement space as the setting for social interaction, and how individuals experienced these spaces. Taken together these provided a more nuanced understanding of the nature of identity expression at each site than is apparent from consideration of each site in isolation, or from consideration of single artefact types.

Data from forty-six settlement sites where detailed published excavation reports were available were examined to explore the similarities and differences in the use of Roman-style material culture between 'nucleated settlement', 'shrine', 'estate centre', 'villa' and 'farm' sites, with a comparison against data for 'military', 'urban', and 'Iron Age oppidum' sites. A non-statistical methodology was developed for comparison of different types of artefacts.

The four types of material culture were adopted at different rates and in different combinations at the different rural sites types, with a link between the function of a site and the way in which identity was expressed. Consideration of changes over time indicate that, contrary to general assumptions, adoption of Roman-style material culture in the study area was relatively slow and modest, comparable to other areas in Britain at the periphery of the Empire, with little evidence for differentiation of an elite material culture until the elite villa architecture of the later Roman period. Changes in the extent and use of material culture can be linked to the major re-organisation of the landscape in the early second century, and the establishment of Cirencester as the probable capital of the new province of *Britannia Prima*.

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Severn-Cotswold area in the Roman period**



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A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
Trinity Term, 2017

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Acknowledgements

Dr Michael Athanson from the Bodleian Library Map Room kindly assisted me in sourcing and downloading the data used for the maps (page 378)

Dr Peter Warry kindly shared a draft of his paper on production, distribution, use and curation of stamped tile in advance of its publication (page 243)

I would like to thank my supervisors, Professor Chris Gosden and Dr Alison MacDonald for their support and encouragement, and for the helpful comments on the draft of my thesis.

1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Archaeologists use the term ‘material culture’ to describe artefacts such as pottery, brooches, and buildings. This material culture can be used in a variety of contexts: for daily living, for special, ceremonial or ritual occasions, or for burial with the dead. The form and function of these artefacts can give us information about activities in the past: what was worn, how houses were decorated, how food was eaten. The style and decoration of artefacts may also tell us about the individual who used them, and where alternatives are available, about the choices they made. Patterns of artefacts across the landscape can give us information about the choices of wider groups of people, and insights into whether they considered themselves as a group, distinct from other groups.

Roman-period material culture in the landscape has been used to explore settlement hierarchies, economic forces and expansion of the Empire. For example, Fulford (1984) uses samian pottery to explore the extent of imports and the balance of trade, and Revell (2009) examines urbanism and the use of Roman-style buildings and how these reflect local identities. The Roman period from the conquest of Britain in AD43 to AD410 when Britain was no longer an integral part of the Roman Empire was a period of considerable change and there has been much debate as to whether, and for how long, Iron Age traditions continued, the extent to which Roman-style ways of living were adopted, and whether Britons became ‘Roman’ (for example Millett, 1990; Mattingly, 2006; Copeland, 2011). Material culture can be used to explore these themes.

Identity is about how we perceive ourselves and the image we wish to portray, but also about how others perceive us. Definitions of ‘identity’ vary, but generally include communication of shared cultural meanings. For example, Huskinson (2000: 5, 10) views identity as *‘a way of placing people – individuals and communities – within a particular cultural context’*, with ‘culture’ as ‘shared meanings’. Hingley (2005: 53) describes culture as *‘a way in which people make life meaningful for themselves, both individually and collectively, by communicating with each other a way of life’*.

Hodos (2010: 3) defines identity as *'the collective aspect of the set of characteristics by which something or someone is recognizable or known'* and therefore the *'notion of identity also depends upon opposition through a contrast with something else'*. Hodos (*ibid.*) summarises various definitions of culture: *'Culture encompasses the social production and reproduction of meaning. It represents a coherent system of values, norms, and habits that, through repetition, engender a sense of belonging, individually and collectively, over time'*. Grahame (1998: 159) defines three broad types of identity:

- *'social identity – family ties, personal networks of friends, peer group membership, class allegiance, social status'*;
- *'political identity – citizenship, membership of a body politic, party affiliation, nationality'*; and
- *'cultural identity – ethnicity requires the self-conscious recognition by a group of individuals that emerge through their conformity to similar ways of acting and being'*.

My study will focus on social and cultural identities as evidence for political identity is largely based around written records, which are limited for Britain.

Social and cultural identity can relate to gender, age, status, wealth, occupation, citizenship, and ethnicity. An individual will therefore have multiple identities, and these will be fluid, depending on context and situation (for example Hodder, 1982). The meaning attached to an object can vary in different situations and have different meanings for different people. Individual artefacts may therefore be signalling various identities, which may be difficult to distinguish archaeologically, so that in examining the expression of identities we need to consider how material culture is used and why. Material culture may shape identities as well as reflect them. Identities expressed through artefacts associated with death and burial may be idealised compared to those in 'real life' and are likely to be selective from the multiple identities of an individual, and may also reflect the attitudes of those who remain. My study is restricted to domestic settlements in order to explore identities expressed in daily life.

Identity is expressed through the use of everyday items and social practices, and the use of material culture can therefore shape identity, but also be shaped by it (Bourdieu, 1977; Giddens, 1984). Aspects of identity can be expressed through cultural traits such as styles of dress, dress accessories, ways of behaving and living, common ways of building and decorating houses, language, and artefacts used. Hill (2001: 17) suggests four themes to structure the evaluation of archaeological evidence for identity:

- ***The body*** – *dress, physical appearance, the technologies of personal hygiene, medical treatment, and the treatment of the body in death.*
- ***Foodways*** – *the cultural, social and political aspects of what is eaten, how it is prepared and by whom, how it is consumed, by whom and for what social purposes, etc.*
- ***Settlement space*** – *how the organisation of activities in the home and the surrounding settlement are organised in terms of gender/class/age, and how that organisation structures and is structured by the physical arrangement of spaces.*
- ***Consumption*** – *how and why people felt they needed or required the wide range of goods and things that so typifies Roman as opposed to Iron Age or Early Saxon Britain.'*

Roman-style material culture appeared in late Iron Age Britain in small quantities, such as pottery imports from Gaul, or local copies of these (Hill, 2002: 146-148). Following the incorporation of Britain into the Roman Empire in AD43 these new forms of material culture make a wider appearance in the archaeological record for Britain, and include new types of pottery such as samian ware, new architectural building materials and forms, and new art forms such as decorated floors (mosaics). The presence of these new forms of material culture has been used by archaeologists in the past to identify sites as 'Roman', often with the implicit assumption that Britons had adopted Roman styles of living and therefore became Roman. There was also an implicit assumption of a 'standard' set of Roman material culture artefacts, the use of which expressed a 'Roman' identity. 'Romanisation' has been a term used by many archaeologists in the early and mid-twentieth century to describe the process of cultural change by which Roman-style material culture is adopted, and by others to describe the outcome of this process. Recent studies have shown 'Romanisation' to be an oversimplification and

the use of Roman-style material culture in the expression of identity to be much more nuanced and complex than these models envisage. This term is also problematic because it is used in different ways without a clear definition of what it entails (for example Barrett, 1997), but also because it implies a homogenous culture superior to that of indigenous cultures. ‘Romanisation’ as a model is now been largely abandoned, although an acceptable alternative to explain the process of cultural change has not yet evolved. However, Pitts (2007: 695) cautions that the uncritical use of cultural identity studies with a ‘*continued obsession with the nature of interaction between Roman and native*’ may just be continuing the Romanisation debate.

Written sources for Roman-period Britain are limited. Much of what has been written about Britain by ancient authors has been produced outside Britain and ‘*the vast majority of these were vague and fleeting allusions, peripheral to the main thrust of the documents they occurred in*’ (Mattingly, 2006: 21). Epigraphic evidence for Britain is limited compared with elsewhere in the Empire and the main source of inscriptions on stone is biased towards the Roman army (*ibid.* 39), with few inscribed tombstones or non-religious statuary from urban or rural contexts (*ibid.* 318). Material culture evidence therefore ‘fills in the gaps’ and covers all sectors of society, compared with literary sources which tend to focus on the elite. However, without a written record, we cannot tell what meaning an individual may have assigned to a particular object, so that archaeological evidence can only detect that an object had meaning in relation to a specific situation, but not what that meaning actually was.

1.2 Aims of this study

In the last few decades a large volume of data has been collected from archaeological excavation. The aim of my study is to use a sample of this data from selected rural settlement sites where detailed published excavation reports are available, for a systematic analysis of artefact assemblages to explore how artefacts may have been used in the expression of identity, and to examine the similarities and differences between different types of rural settlement sites in the study area.

Three main types of communities have been identified in Britain – military, urban and rural (Mattingly, 2006; Allason-Jones, 2001; James, 2001b). These communities reflect geographical differences, different ‘*states of mind*’ (Mattingly, 2006: 520) and differences in the use of material culture, for example in the use of pottery (Evans, 2001; Willis, 2005b), resulting in separate identities. Much archaeological work in the nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries focused on military and urban sites, partly due to the focus on ‘Romanisation’ (the adoption of Roman-style material culture), and because many of these sites are archaeologically more visible than rural sites. It was usually assumed that rural communities were slower to ‘Romanise’ and did so to a lesser extent than urban communities, due to the view that the process of Romanisation spread down the social hierarchy (Millett, 1990: 117) and that rural sites with roundhouses were the dwellings of the poor (Mattingly, 2006: 375) rather than a conscious decision not to adopt Roman-style rectangular buildings. More data is now available for rural sites, such as the Upper Thames Valley (Booth, 2007) and the survey of rural settlement in Roman Britain (Smith et al., 2016) so that more detailed analysis is now possible.

My study focuses on rural – ‘non-urban’ – settlements, which comprise a range of types of settlement, including villas, farmsteads, shrines, villages, roadside settlements and small towns. Small towns are included as rural sites as evidence shows that the majority were very different from large towns (Burnham and Wachter, 1990), and usually did not have public buildings which are associated with urban life, but were more in the nature of villages (Mattingly, 2006: 287). Small towns also form the link between urban centres and rural communities. Mattingly (2006: 453) estimates the Roman-period population of Britain to be around 2 million, with around 80% living in the countryside, and the elite comprising about 2%. Estimates of population size vary but Smith, et al. (2016: 416) have similar estimates and suggest a peak in numbers around in the second century. Rural settlements therefore reflect a large section of society.

There is evidence that Roman influence and Roman-style material culture entered southern Britain in the century before the conquest (Darvill, 2011; Hill, 2007; Creighton, 2000; Creighton, 2006). Pre-

conquest late Iron Age sites are also included in the study sample to explore the extent to which material culture was influenced by incorporation into the Roman Empire, or developed from existing traditions. There is evidence that Roman-style material culture continued to be used in the early fifth century, but as it is often not clearly identified in excavation data, it will not be examined in my study.

My study uses Hill's themes as mentioned above (p3) as the basis for analysing how material culture was used to express identity and considers the following:

- **Personal appearance** – care and presentation of the body: dress accessories, hair styling, technologies for personal grooming and what this tells us about perceived body image,
- **Foodways** – what is eaten, how it is prepared and how it is consumed,
- **Domestic settlement space** – the physical appearance and arrangement of internal space in dwellings as the setting for social interaction, and how individuals experienced these spaces, and
- **Consumption** – the range of artefacts available from which to choose and availability of these in terms of source of supply, distribution and marketing practices.

The introduction of writing in the Roman period also brought a different way of storing and communicating knowledge, compared with the Iron Age oral traditions. The Roman legal and administrative systems relied on written documentation and record keeping, and literacy in some form was therefore essential for certain individuals to operate within the Roman world. The extent to which literacy was adopted is also explored.

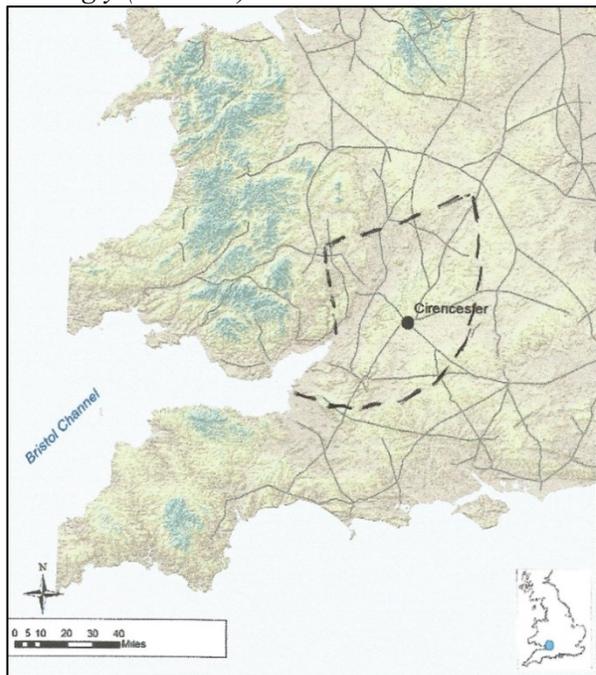
Coinage was introduced into southern Britain from Gaul in the late Iron Age. Howgego (2013: 16) views coins as standing for '*systems of doing things, for ways people relate to each other and to things, and for ways of conceptualizing the world*'. Walton and Moorhead (2016) disagree with the 'evolutionist' model where the Roman conquests provides the impetus for change from an exchange system to a monetised economy through a process of acculturation or 'Romanisation', and conclude that the role of coinage remained unchanged during the Roman period. A detailed analysis of Roman coins from excavation reports is beyond the scope of my study, and the use of coins in expressing

aspects of literacy will only be considered very briefly, and in Chapter 9.1 in relation to exchange systems.

1.3 The study area

The study area (Figure 1) comprises an area of western Britain broadly reflecting the proposed Iron Age tribal territory of the Dobunni, including parts of the modern counties of Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Gloucestershire, north Wiltshire, north Somerset, Herefordshire and south Warwickshire. The reason for selection of this area is that it has received little attention in Roman studies to date compared to the areas of southern and eastern Britain and it shows some, but not all, of the pre-conquest Roman-style material culture and Roman influences of these areas. This area therefore represents a gap between recently studied areas. This area is also of interest as Moore (2006: 218-223) has shown that in the late Iron Age this area had a fractured society with no centralised tribal or ethnic identity, with loose economic and kinship ties, but relatively strong social links.

Figure 1: The study area showing the proposed tribal area of the Dobunni, based on Jones and Mattingly (2002: 91)



The Dobunni have been identified as an Iron Age tribe from the second to third century AD writings of Dio Cassius (Book LX), who describes the surrender of the ‘Bodunni’ to the Roman army in AD43 (Copeland, 2011: 17). ‘Bodunni’ is considered a mis-spelling of ‘Dobunni’ in subsequent transcriptions. The territory of the Dobunni has been determined by projecting back from the Roman administrative structure (*civitates*) assumed to be based on existing social and political groups, using coin evidence for the ‘Western series’ of Dobunnic coins (Figure 2) (Allen, 1961; Jones and Mattingly, 2002: 54; Leins, 2008: 107). Boundaries are unlikely to be exact and were probably fluid over time as allegiances changed. There has been much debate as to whether the Dobunni even existed as an Iron Age regional tribe or political entity (Copeland, 2011: 17; Moore and Reece, 2001; Moore, 2011). Cunliffe (1993: 210) considers the Dobunni as a loose ‘confederation of smaller socio-economic units’ and this may be reflected in material culture and identity.

Moore (2011) argues that current models of ‘tribes’ reflect nineteenth century and colonial attitudes towards indigenous social structures and identities and downplay complex changes in identities and political structures in the late Iron Age and early Roman period, and subsequent changes to civitas identities. Roman texts describe political entities, small kingdoms rather than ethnic groups, with little territorial coherence and often little evidence of any concept of unified identity or that people described themselves in these terms before the conquest. The Imperial administration did not seek to reflect the Iron Age political landscape and social structures and reflected an external perception of group identities. The significance of the tribal names in the Classical sources is that they reflect new or important social and political entities at the end of the Iron Age which were important to the Roman political narrative at that time, and these become fossilised as the *civitates*. Cirencester was named *Corinium Dobunorum* (Ptolemy, in the early second century, refers (Book II, Chapter 2, Part2) to ‘*the Dobuni and their town Corinium*’) so there must have been people called the Dobunni, but it is not possible to know who called them the Dobunni, or whether they call themselves that.

Whilst the distribution of Dobunnic or western series of coinage (Figure 2) does suggest a tribal area, Leins’ (2008) assessment of the coin evidence shows the Dobunnic coinage was made up of smaller

distributions of different types (Figure 2 A) which suggests fragmented sets of social networks, with segmentary groups loosely related to each other, rather than a territorially coherent and stable area. Moore (2006: 192) has shown a correlation between pottery and quern exchange systems which defined a northern and a southern exchange network (discussed further in Section 9.1).

Figure 2: Distribution of Western/Dobunnic series coinage

The map originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA due to copyright restrictions. The map was sourced from Leins (2008: 107), details of which are shown in the bibliography on pages 361-377.

The area of the Dobunni represents the most westerly extent of Roman influence pre-conquest, being in the 'peripheral zone' identified by Haselgrove's (1982: 115) study of the impact of foreign trade on the development of late Iron Age society. The study area shows similar ceramic styles and settlement types to southern Britain in the late pre-Roman Iron Age (Millett, 1990: 13, 16) (Figure 3 A and D) and in the distribution of *oppida* (Millett, 1990: 25) (Figure 3B) which occur in the eastern half of the territory. However the distribution of Dressel 1 wine amphorae (Millett, 1990: 32) shows very few finds in the study area for this period (Figure 3C), which may reflect trading contacts rather than adoption of Roman culture.

Figure 3: Southern Britain in the late pre-Roman Iron Age

The maps originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA due to copyright restrictions. The maps were sourced from Millett (1990: 13, 16, 25, 32), details of which are shown in the bibliography on pages 361-377.

The imagery used on southern and eastern late Iron Age coins was influenced by Roman coinage, particularly during the Augustan period, and used by late Iron Age leaders to define their dynastic identity (Creighton, 2000). The imagery was also designed to show off literacy in terms of familiarity with Classical Roman culture, but the Dobunnic coinage shows no such Classical Roman influence (Allen, 1961: 101).

My study does not intend to validate the tribal boundaries of the Dobunni, but explores the area of western Britain covered by their proposed territory. Without undertaking a similar detailed study for the regions adjacent to the study area, it is not possible to assess whether there are regional differences which indicate that the study area is centralised and unified in the Roman period, although my analysis suggests it was not.

The area of the Dobunni is proposed by Millett (1990: 40-60) as a pro-Roman area and a client kingdom at the time of conquest and he explains the Roman military presence in the area as providing a campaign and supply base for the conquest further north. With the subdivision of Britain into four provinces in the late third century, western Britain became *Britannia Prima*. At that time Cirencester was the second largest town in Britain and is generally thought to be the capital of *Britannia Prima* (White, 2007: 36), although there is no conclusive proof of this. The other large town in the area of the Dobunni was the *colonia* at Gloucester. By the fourth century there is significant evidence for Roman-style buildings, including a large number of very wealthy villas, particularly in the area around Cirencester (Scott, 2000: 78, 81-95), with lavish mosaics and wall paintings and several reception rooms and dining suites. Cirencester and Gloucester provide a comparison against the nature of settlement in the rural areas and evidence from Cirencester is included in the study sample for this purpose.

Material culture and social patterns can be studied at different levels: the individual, the household, community or local, regional and national levels. Archaeological evidence for identity of the individual tends to come from burial evidence where the artefacts can be directly associated with that

individual, for example, Swift (2004: 219-221). Where evidence from an archaeological site is examined, this will relate to the people occupying a site rather than individuals. As my study focuses on rural settlement sites, the evidence will relate to groups of individuals, and the selection of a geographic area allows comparison between different groups of people within that area. My study examines the published artefactual evidence at the site level.

1.4 Research questions

The evidence suggests a variety of influences on material culture within the study area from the late Iron Age onwards, followed by significant change in the Roman period. Widespread adoption of Roman-style material culture by the late Roman period indicates a significant change in the way identities may have been expressed. However, defining 'Roman-style' material culture is not simple. There was no standard 'Roman' material culture, but Roman culture comprised a set of principles governing behaviour (discussed further in Section 2.1).

Whilst 'Roman-style material culture' relates to material introduced to Britain in the Roman period, it reflects significant cultural influences and interaction between southern Britain and northern Gaul and Germany in the late Iron Age and early Roman period (Moore, 2016), rather than a direct influence from Rome. These materials may have arrived as prestige goods through elite kinship or political ties, trade, including new markets for Gaulish potters (Millett, 1990: 33), and some immigration (but no evidence for mass migration). Shared styles included new ceramic forms such as Gallo-Belgic pottery, dietary patterns such as the preference for beef (which is different to the Italian dietary pattern) (King, 1999), burial rites and rituals, the use of coinage, and architectural forms such as Romano-Celtic temples and the row house and winged corridor villa (Trow et al., 2009: 53-71). However, there were significant differences in social organisation and power structures, reflected in the differences between oppida in Britain and Gaul (Moore, 2016: 266). Changes in dress in the later Roman western Empire were adopted from the periphery of the Empire, particularly from Germany (Swift, 2000: 119).

Moore (2016: 276) cautions against defining these processes with reference to ethnic groups – ‘Gallicization’ or ‘Germanization’ – as both these were artificial constructs of the Imperial administrators and our own making, with a complex variety of identities and communities involved. Describing these processes as Gallicization or Germanization is problematic as it simplifies these into a process of acculturation, and hybridisation does not recognise that these societies had already been changed by interaction with Rome. Interaction was more complex than the British elite imitating their Gaulish counterparts and influence was likely to have been both ways, which James (2001a: 191) refers to as participation in ‘*a zone of cultural convergence among transalpine societies already broadly similar*’. Whilst forms of material culture were similar they may have been used in different ways for local requirements. It is unlikely that people using this material culture which originated from Gaul and Germany would have perceived themselves as being ‘Romanised’.

In this study the term ‘Roman-style material culture’ will be used to refer to new forms of material culture introduced during the Roman period. The research questions which will be considered are:

- ***Differences between sites***

Did the use of Roman-style material culture differ across different types of site? Was Roman material culture adopted at the same time at these sites, or was there a ‘cascade effect’ through a ‘settlement hierarchy’? Were different types of material culture relating to literacy, foodways, personal appearance and use of space adopted at the same time?

- ***Different types of identity***

What does the evidence reveal about the expression of identities related to wealth, status, gender and group identities, including ethnicity, through the use of Roman-style material culture?

- ***The extent of use of Roman-style material culture, and continuities and change***

To what extent was Roman-style material culture used to express identity and how did identity expression differ from the late Iron Age? What continuities and changes can be observed during the Roman period?

Since my study commenced, the *Rural Settlement of Roman Britain* Project (Smith et al., 2016), based at the University of Reading, was launched, publishing its first volume on the nature, form and development of rural settlements in 2016, with volumes focusing on the economy, and peoples and ritual of Roman Britain due shortly. The first volume characterises the mosaic of communities in Roman Britain and how they changed over time, with a focus on farmsteads. This study undertook a systematic review of excavated sites, based on excavation reports, including grey literature, but with a less detailed examination of artefacts, but a greater focus on ecofacts. My research sits alongside this work but uses a different approach, so that my research and methods used provide a new understanding of social and cultural identities. Reference was made to the *Rural Settlement of Roman Britain* Project on-line database (Allen et al., 2015) in my analysis.

Chapter 2 will review the background against which identities were negotiated, putting changes occurring in Britain in the Roman period into the context of the Roman Empire and the nature of Roman imperialism and Roman identity. The current evidence for the study area is also considered. Chapter 3 describes the study sample and the methodology used and considers the limitations of the data. Chapters 4 to 7 examine the evidence for literacy, personal appearance, foodways and settlement space individually. Chapter 8 examines different identities observed for the study sample including identities relating to the elite, wealth and status, gender, and group and ethnic identities. Chapter 9 consolidates this evidence and examines differences between sites and overall trends in the data, with an overall conclusion in Chapter 10.

2 Material culture and identity – current evidence

Identity is fluid and depends on situation and context. In reviewing identity in the study sample, consideration therefore needs to be given to the wider context within which identity was being expressed. Unequal power relations would influence how people expressed their identity in a provincial setting. How the authorities of the Roman Empire interacted with people who became part of the Empire and the Roman view of their identity would have shaped these interactions. This chapter considers the nature of Roman identity and how this influenced an ideology of imperialism and includes a brief overview of the impact of conquest on the study area. The current status of material culture studies and the theoretical models used for interpretation are also reviewed.

2.1 The nature of Roman imperialism and Roman identity

Romans viewed themselves as a group distinguished by culture. Woolf (1998: 11) defines Roman culture as *‘the range of objects, beliefs and practices that were characteristic of people who considered themselves to be, and were widely acknowledged as, Roman’*, but notes that culture was not static, nor was there consensus as to what it comprised. Foodways, personal appearance, ways of building, ways of dealing with the dead and ideals about education all contributed to this culture, but were transformed over time. There was no ‘standard’ Roman identity related specifically to material culture, but ‘Roman-ness’ related to a set of principles governing behaviour which encapsulated what it meant to be Roman, referred to as *‘humanitas’*, translated as ‘civilisation’, which Woolf sums up as standing for *‘an organised set of ideas, some descriptive, others prescriptive and all contributing to a definition of self’* (*ibid.* 54-55). By the late first century BC this had been formulated as a Roman concept which defined aristocracy but was also appropriate for others to aspire to and *‘distinguished an elite as cultivated, enlightened, humane and so fitted to rule and lead by example’*. This provided a justification and an ideology for imperialism. This culture of *humanitas* linked the elite ruling class across the Empire, so that assimilation was both political and cultural. As ‘Roman-ness’ related to a set of values and customs, those lower down the social scale could also aspire to be ‘Roman’. The concept of Roman-ness or *Romanitas* first appears in text around AD200 (Elsner and Woolf, 2014:

223), and although never codified, is discussed in Classical literature. For example, Vitruvius (Book VI, (III, IV and V) on the design and use of a Roman house.

Roman culture appropriated much from Greek culture, particularly in the visual and literary arts (Huskinson, 2000: 97-102) and was manipulated by the first Roman Emperor, Augustus, in order to consolidate his political power, and in his vision for rebuilding the state and Roman society. The principal themes were ‘*renewal of religion and custom, virtus, and the honour of the Roman people*’ (Zanker, 1988: 101). A new visual imagery developed out of this cultural programme, and a new mythology around the foundation of Rome developed into the imperial cult. These became part of imperial policy, defining and celebrating Rome and the role of the emperor (Huskinson, 2000: 109), replacing the informal and uncoordinated approach of the late Republic.

Another key element of Roman ideology was urbanism, which was considered as the correct and moral way of living (Revell, 2009: 43-48). The city was synonymous with civilization – barbarians lived in huts and villages – and was therefore in the Roman mind superior to other ways of living. Cities had two roles: providing a range of amenities and public buildings such as a forum and a theatre; and cities administered a clearly defined territory and participated in regional politics. The civilising influence of cities was a recurring theme in literature, as Tacitus’ description of Agricola in Britain having to ‘*deal with people living in isolation and ignorance, and therefore prone to fight*’, where he gave ‘*private encouragement and official assistance to the building of temples, public squares and good houses*’ (Tacitus *Agricola* 2.21). However, it should be noted that Tacitus was biased, being related to Agricola, and writing for an audience in Rome. The founding of towns was part of Augustus’ imperial strategy, and imposed where necessary. Cities formed the political and administrative centres through which the Empire was governed and through which local communities connected with the Empire.

The drivers for Roman conquest of Britain are still debated. The personal nature of power and Claudius’ insecure political position in Rome were possibly the motivation for the invasion of Britain,

rather than a grand strategy (Millett, 1990: 40-41). Economic benefits probably played a part, with the ‘civilising mission’ providing the moral justification for conquest of new territories. Braund (1998: 10) considers that the ‘beneficent imperialist’ was an important self-image in Rome during the Republic and the Principate, holding up the development of legislation against magistrates’ abuse of power in the provinces as one proof of commitment to just rule of beneficent imperialism. The debate remains as to the extent to which a Rome-centred culture was imposed on the provinces or spread through local elites.

2.2 Incorporation of the study area into the Empire

Roman influence on Britain prior to the conquest was through Britons’ social contacts with Gaul. There is evidence for contact with the near Continent in the late Iron Age (Moore, 2016), and small scale imports of prestige goods, such as wine amphorae, and Gallo-Belgic pottery appear in southern Britain in the century before the conquest. These were acquired through elite kinship links and diplomatic contacts with the elite in Gaul (Millett, 1990: 38). Few wine amphorae appear in the study area (Figure 3), and significant amounts of Gallo-Belgic pottery only appear at Bagendon, suggesting that contact was more limited for the study area than for southern and eastern England, and it is possible that contacts may have been through these kingdoms rather than directly with Gaul.

Late Iron Age coinage developed in southern, eastern and western Britain, derived from Gallo-Belgic models. The eastern and southern kingdoms adopted Classical Roman imagery based on Augustan coinages (Creighton, 2000) but the western series (in the area of the Dobunni) did not, and their imagery was largely confined to stylised heads, a ‘wheat sheaf’ design and the triple-tailed horse. Legends were used on southern, eastern and western coin series, but only the southern and eastern coin series refer to titles such as ‘Rex’ or ‘Filius’ (*ibid.* 169-172). Creighton interprets this coin information as evidence of political and social contact by the elite of the southern and eastern kingdoms with the elite of Rome and North Africa. This level of contact does not appear to have occurred for the elite of the Dobunni. Dio Cassius, writing in the second/third century AD (Book LX),

notes that the Dobunni tribe were subject to the Catuvellauni, so their contacts with Gaul or Rome may have been indirect, or for part of the time, through the Catuvellauni.

The Roman approach to incorporation of new territories tended to be opportunistic and flexible, encouraging diplomatic efforts to form political and economic relationships with communities outside the Empire. These client kingdoms would be a buffer isolating potential enemies, and freeing the Roman army to concentrate its efforts elsewhere. Creighton (2006) views the process of incorporation of Britain into the Empire as a long process rather than a one-off event, with the role of the late Iron Age kings being superseded by the Roman governors, but this more likely for southern and eastern Britain than the area of the Dobunni.

The lack of, or short-lived, activity at the forts in the territory of the Dobunni post-conquest is considered to reflect their status as a client kingdom in the late Iron Age, with the large garrison based at Gloucester acting to protect the Severn waterway and as a supply base for attacks on the Silures in Wales (Copeland, 2011: 55; Millett, 1990: 46-49). Some tribes submitted to Rome without a struggle and part of the Dobunni have been identified as one of these from the inscription on the Arch of Claudius in Rome (Millett, 1990: 46). However, Copeland (2011: 55) considers that this status as a client kingdom probably didn't continue post-conquest, and tribute and taxes would have been imposed, although some favoured individuals may have had some degree of nominal independence.

The Empire was administered through cities and two cities were founded in the study area. There is some uncertainty around dates, but the *colonia* at Gloucester was founded around AD96-98, and the *civitas* capital, *Corinium Dobunnorum*, or Cirencester, around the late first century or early second (Copeland, 2011: 63,65) or cAD100 (Mattingly, 2006: 279). This development is late compared with Silchester (*Calleva*) (a proto-urban centre in the late Iron Age, whose Roman amphitheatre is dated cAD60-70 and the forum cAD85 (*ibid.* 270), and similar to Ratae built cAD100 (*ibid.* 279), whereas London was founded before the Boudican revolt (AD60), with evidence of a settlement cAD50 (*ibid.*

265). Verulamium developed from an existing aristocratic centre, with a few streets already in place for the developing town by AD61 (Niblett, 2005: 149-150).

2.3 Current status of Roman studies

This section will provide a brief overview of the development of studies of Roman material culture and identity.

2.3.1 Approaches to the study of identity

For much of the twentieth century, Roman archaeology was dominated by the ‘Romanisation’ debate. ‘Romanisation’ was a term used to describe the process of cultural transformation following incorporation into the Roman Empire, but also its outcome (p3-4). Degrees of ‘Romanisation’ reflected the extent to which Roman-style material cultural had been adopted. There are a number of implicit assumptions in this model: that ‘Roman’ material culture was homogenous and clearly defined; that the use of Roman-style material culture reflected the adoption of Roman values; and that at some point individuals had become Roman. This model assumes that evolving from ‘native’ to ‘Roman’ represents civilisation, and that Iron Age and Roman cultures were distinct and identifiable through archaeological evidence. One of the key difficulties of the Romanisation model is that it has been used to explain both process and outcome.

Millett’s (1990) *The Romanization of Britain* viewed cultural change as driven by the native elite adopting Roman-style material culture in negotiating their positions in the new political order, and this trickled down through the social hierarchy as a result of emulation. This sparked signification debate and criticism, as for example over privileging the elite (James, 2001a), as well as initiating different approaches to explain cultural change. Since the 1990s approaches have explored post-colonial theory and globalisation theory. For example, Webster (2001) views cultural change as a hybridisation of native and Roman cultures or ‘creolization’, whilst Mattingly (2006) considers a range of non-elite experiences and discrepant identities, but indicates that this is not about ‘resistance’ to Rome and encompasses the elite (Mattingly, 2010: 289-290). These models do not get entirely

away from the ‘Roman/native’ binary opposition. Woolf’s (1998) view is that a new cultural logic, and new social order and therefore new identities are created, where Gallo-Roman aristocrats had ‘*defined Roman culture in such a way that it might function as a marker of status, not of political or ethnic identity*’ (*ibid.* 240). Elements from Roman and Gaulish culture were combined into a new culture, so that all participants acquired new places in imperial systems as the system itself had been transformed (Woolf, 1997). Terrenato (1998: 23) calls this ‘*bricolage*’, where new functions or meanings are attributed to existing objects to create new ones. The term ‘Romanisation’ has been largely abandoned as too simplistic to explain the diversity of archaeological evidence, although no satisfactory alternative framework has yet been devised. Archaeological studies have begun to focus on cultural identity rather than Romanisation. Pitts (2007) questions the utility of studies which pursue these approaches uncritically and ‘read off’ identity from archaeological remains, or continue the Romanisation debate through a primary focus on the interaction between Roman and native.

The role of objects in expression of identity has been explored in several ways. The social life of objects has been explored to find the ways in which people give value to things through exchange and socially defined processes of circulation (Appadurai, 1986). The symbolic meaning of objects was explored as if meaning could be read as text in approaches which considered the nature of ‘style’ and signification in relation to cultural identity (for example Wiessner, 1984; Wiessner, 1985; Sackett, 1985; Sackett, 1990; Conkey and Hastorf, 1990). Ethnoarchaeological approaches looked at ‘symbols in action’ (for example Hodder, 1982; Hodder, 1979) and material culture patterning in relation to status, age, gender, family groupings and ethnicity in small-scale modern societies, whilst Slofstra (1983) applied an anthropological approach to ‘Romanisation’ in the Low Countries.

Models to describe the interaction of people and objects in determining identity based on the work of social scientists such as Giddens (1984) and Bourdieu (1977) are increasingly being used to explain cultural change, for example Revell (2016) and Gardner (2002). Giddens’ theory of duality of structure views structure or the material world as both shaping and being shaped by people or objects acting as agents, with individual identities reproduced through practice. Revell (2009), using urban

architecture, and Gardner (2002), using military identity, examine how the use of material culture in the routines of everyday life maintains identities and reproduces the structures of imperialism. The agency of objects has begun to be explored (for example Gosden, 2005) and the interdependency between people and things (Hodder, 2012).

The archaeology of women and gender relations has been slow to develop. As Scott (1995) points out, the Roman Empire, as evidenced in Classical literature, privileged the adult male and this has also influenced the study of Roman archaeology. Studies have been focused around using burial evidence to provide gender associations for artefacts (for example Allason-Jones, 1995; Allison, 2015) or collating archaeological evidence for women's lives (Allason-Jones, 2005; Rothe, 2009; Swift, 2000). Studies are now beginning to focus on economic aspects, status and the provincial family (Revell, 2016), and power relationships (Mattingly, 2011). Isotope analysis of Roman-period burials, together with grave goods and burial rites are being used to explore migration and ethnicities (Eckardt et al., 2014).

Ethnicity is a type of identity, defined by Jones (1997: 84): *'ethnic groups are culturally ascribed identity groups, which are based on the expression of real or assumed shared culture and common descent (usually through the objectification of cultural, linguistic, religious, historical and/or physical characteristics)'*. The concept of ethnicity has had similar issues to Romanisation, around bounded homogenous cultural groups where certain items of material culture are equated with specific ethnicities. Two theoretical approaches have dominated the literature, the 'primordial' and the 'instrumentalist' approaches. The primordial approach sees ethnicity as determining and immutable, based the situation of kinship, language, religion and territory at birth. The instrumentalist approach is concerned with the organisation and boundaries of shared beliefs and practices in particular situations, with economic and political dimensions, and little focus on culture, and tends to define ethnicity in terms of politicised or mobilised groups. Jones' (*ibid.*) definition brings these two approaches together with the practice theory of Giddens and Bourdieu to recognise that ethnicity is more likely to relate to *'transient configurations of cultural difference'* which are reproduced or

transformed in a variety of ways. Ethnic identity involves a consciousness of difference – ‘us v them’ – and is therefore situational and fluid. The transient and symbolic nature of ethnicity makes it difficult to identify the associated material archaeologically in the absence of written records. Roman ethnicity is now viewed as ‘*a series of commonly-held cultural assumptions*’ (Revell, 2016: 30; Woolf, 2001; Hill, 1997) rather than homogenous bounded groups where Roman-style material culture equates to Roman ethnicity.

The extent to which cultural change was imposed by the imperial process or driven by local elites is still debated, although interventionist theories are no longer favoured (Elsner and Woolf, 2014). Recent approaches have focused on local and provincial identities (for example Revell, 2009; Mattingly, 2004; Woolf, 2002a; Woolf, 1995) and the impact of Empire, for example on time-concepts (Gardner, 2012). The impact of economic and power relationships resulting from Roman imperialism on cultural expression has received less focus (Pitts, 2007; Mattingly, 2011) and a better understanding of Imperial structures at different scales is needed (Gardner, 2016; Faulkner, 2008) and of the diversity and multiplicity of identity (Mattingly, 2010).

Globalisation is ‘*the process whereby the world increasingly becomes seen as one place and the ways in which we are made conscious of this process*’ (Hodos, 2010: 23) or ‘*processes by which localities and people become increasingly interconnected and interdependent*’ (Pitts and Versluys, 2015b: 11). Globalisation considers political, social and economic interconnectivity (for example papers in Pitts and Versluys, 2015a; Hingley, 2005), and Empire-wide changes in consumption and identity resulting from greater connectivity in trade and communications are linked to creation of local identities (for example Pitts, 2008). There is still debate as to the extent to which globalisation can be applied to historic rather than modern periods (Pitts and Versluys, 2015b), and whether globalisation can be analytical or just a descriptive label (Gardner, 2013). Pitts (2015: 92) warns against the adoption of a new ‘-isation’ which substitutes the word ‘globalisation’ for ‘Romanisation’ and stresses the need to develop new frameworks for exploring globalisation. We have yet to explain fully the unity and diversity of responses to Roman rule (Woolf, 1992).

2.3.2 Current status of artefact studies

Artefact studies generally rely on the detailed description of objects in excavation reports, as it is often not possible to access the original objects. Traditional approaches to artefact studies involved production of corpora of individual object types, such as coins and brooches, developing typologies and distribution maps. Whilst typologies form the basis of further analysis, artefact studies have taken a long time to develop beyond this.

Excavation reports in the past, including some for the study sample, tended to categorise artefacts by material (ceramic, bone, metal, stone) which does not lend itself to interpretation of the function and role of objects. Excavation reports included detailed description and often illustration of artefacts, but there was little attempt to integrate a discussion of the role of artefacts into a wider narrative. Reports such as those for Camerton (Wedlake, 1958) attempt little in the way of interpretation, whilst others such as the report for Frocester (Price, 2000) focus discussion around economy and trade. Crummy's (1983) use of functional categories for artefacts in her report on the Colchester excavations has now been widely adopted, and many interpretive discussions now include some commentary on the role of artefacts. The focus remains on settlement morphology and development, and trade and economy, for example at Ariconium (Jackson, 2012), but a consideration of the role of artefacts in the expression of identity is beginning to be included, for example at Claydon Pike (Miles et al., 2007).

The way in which artefacts have been recorded has also influenced the study of individual categories of artefact. Artefacts have been studied as individual categories such as brooches, carved gemstones (intaglios) or coins, rather than as integrated studies of a diverse range of artefacts. However, some syntheses of available data for Britain have been compiled. For example, Tyers' (1996) atlas and guide to Roman pottery brings together a detailed description of the form and fabric for the classes of pottery in use in Britain in the Roman period together with evidence for their source, distribution, dating and patterns of manufacture. Recent studies such as Allason-Jones' (2011) *Artefacts in Roman Britain: their purpose and use* synthesize data for a range of artefact types, but remain largely descriptive.

Artefact studies are beginning to look at social distribution across types of site, usually defined as military, urban and rural, for example Evans (2001) on pottery, and Eckardt and Crummy (2008) on toilet implements. Regional patterns in the use of artefacts are now being published which consider diversity within Britain, such as Cool and Baxter's (2016) work on brooches, whilst other studies consider diversity across the western provinces, such as *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the late Roman West* (Swift, 2000). Regional analyses, such as Perring and Pitts' (2013) analysis of patterning in material culture to study the impact of towns on the settlement landscape for south-east England are making greater use of available archaeological data and more sophisticated analytical techniques such as correspondence analysis. *The Rural Settlement of Roman Britain* Project (Smith et al., 2016) has just completed a synthesis of all published and grey literature data for rural settlement morphology, artefacts and environmental data for rural sites in Britain, to map regional patterns of artefact use. The on-line Project database (Allen et al., 2015) was used (accessed in 2015) to ensure my classification of sites and site types was consistent with theirs to allow comparison of results.

2.4 Current evidence for the study area

No studies have specifically considered material culture and identity for the study area. *The Rural Settlement of Roman Britain* project (Smith et al., 2016) is the first to address regional trends in artefactual, ecofactual and settlement evidence across the whole of Britain, and what this means for the expression of identity, although the volume considering regional identities in detail has not yet been published. Copeland's (2011) volume on *Roman Gloucestershire* provides a detailed description of the evidence for different types of settlements and their architecture, sacred spaces, and agriculture and industry but does not address identity directly. Part of the study area is covered in work carried out in the Upper Thames Valley, including *The Thames Through Time: the archaeology of the gravel terraces of the upper and middle Thames : the early historical period, AD 1-1000* (Booth, 2007) which includes some discussion of identity, and in papers on individual categories of artefact such as Booth's (2012) *The occurrence and use of samian ware in rural settlements in the Upper Thames Valley*.

Roman imperialism impacted the daily lives of people in the study area with the introduction of new institutions such as urban centres and military installations as well as introducing large volumes of consumer goods. Chapter 3 will consider the approach and methodology for examining the use of this material culture for the study sample.

3 Approach and methodology

In the last few decades a large volume of data has been collected from archaeological excavation. The aim of my study is to use a sample of this data for selected rural settlement sites where detailed published excavation reports are available, to explore systematically how artefacts may have been used in the expression of identity. As identity is multiple, situational and fluid, contextual data is needed to examine where and how an artefact is being used and the nature of the identities being expressed. The fluidity of identity also means it changes over time so that chronological data is also required. Repeated associations of artefacts may indicate that these items had special meanings or were being used for specific purposes, so that use of an artefact in expression of identity may only become apparent when patterns emerge in the data. In order to detect patterns which may not be intuitive or immediately apparent, the widest range of possible data needs to be examined.

3.1 Approach

Rural settlement data cannot be related to an individual, but rather the group of people who lived at a site, so sampling was undertaken at site level. It was not feasible to examine every site in the geographical area of the study, due to the large number of sites (see for example Smith et al., 2016). A representative sample of sites was therefore selected, to reflect sites with a range of types of activity, size and period of occupation within the Roman period. The approach taken was to examine contextual data from all artefactual or ecofactual data reported for each site in the study sample, relating to personal appearance, foodways, settlement space and literacy. The artefact categories comprising these attributes, such as brooches, hairpins, rings, were examined individually (chapters 4 to 7), and summary data then combined at attribute and site level to examine how these attributes relate to each other and reflect different types of identity (chapters 8 and 9).

3.2 Exploring identity using artefacts

Artefacts can be used to express identity in a number of ways: artefact function, the nature and style of decoration, the quality of material artefacts were made from, cost, availability and rarity value. Artefacts can also acquire meaning from who can or cannot acquire, use, own or dispose of them, and how and where these actions take place. Material can also enter the archaeological record as ritual depositions. In my study two aspects of the artefact assemblage were considered: the extent to which Roman-style artefacts were acquired, and the extent to which these were used in Roman-style ways of living.

The decorative and non-essential nature of personal ornaments means they can be used to signal identities such as a group affiliation (for example Wiessner, 1984), an expression of individuality, and conspicuous consumption and display of wealth. The portability of these objects also means that ideas and objects can travel relatively quickly between areas, and as they are relatively affordable their take up responds quickly to changes (Webb, 2011: 20). The number of brooches found on settlement sites increases significantly in the late Iron Age and early Roman period (Jundi and Hill, 1998: 126-128), which means that response to changes in the conquest period can be examined.

A distinctive material culture related to food consumption appears in the Roman period with new specialised vessel forms for preparing and serving food (Tyers, 1996; Willis, 2005b; Willis, 2011), for example mortaria, and new foodstuffs, such as wine, fish sauce, olive oil (Cool, 2006; Alcock, 2001), and new vegetables, herbs and spices (Van der Veen, 2008; Van der Veen et al., 2008). The form of vessels can indicate function, for example jugs for pouring liquid and mortaria for grinding foodstuffs, and this can be used for insights into how food was prepared and served. The large volume of available pottery allows us to compare the extent and nature of consumption at different sites.

New architectural forms appear in the Roman period as well as new building materials and new art forms such as decorated floors (mosaics). Smith (1997: 4) suggests two aspects to analysis of archaeological evidence for villas: 'style, ornament and decoration' which reflect the owner's social

position, and the layout of rooms, which reflects their uses and relative importance. Studies of the layout of houses in Pompeii, for example, Perring (2002) and Laurence (2007), show that the flow of activities and use of rooms in the house, and the conspicuous consumption reflected in the decoration of these spaces were used to show the wealth and social standing of the owner, concepts which can also be considered for the study sample.

It should not be assumed that supply, distribution, and demand were constant. Political, economic and cultural factors may affect the volumes or even the presence of absence or an artefact in the archaeological record. For example, Anderson (1984: Ch 5) describes changes in supply and distribution of various Roman pottery types and Fentress et. al. (2004) ascribe changes in the supply of African Red Slip ware to economic factors. The volume of samian supplied changed over time (Marsh, 1981), so that peaks in samian distribution need to be adjusted if they are to reflect demand rather than supply. Going (1992) sees these fluctuations extending to other pottery and artefacts, as part of a series of longer economic cycles or 'long waves' of peaks and troughs. However, my study used broad chronology intervals of a century, so that such changes may not have a significant impact on results for the study sample. Local distributions may reflect marketing or production centres rather than cultural choices, although these markets could be driven by demand based on cultural choice.

Literacy introduced a different way of storing and spreading knowledge (Creighton, 2000: 173), requiring new skills and technologies, compared with Iron Age oral traditions, and the presence of writing equipment and inscriptions can be used to examine the development of writing skills.

3.3 Selection of the study sample

My study uses available published data, particularly the specialist reports within site excavation reports, and the sample is therefore biased towards those sites which have been subject to the most detailed excavation and publication, and have sufficient context in specialist finds reports to allow analysis and comparison. The focus is on settlement sites, and any artefacts specifically noted in excavation reports as specifically votive have been excluded from the data, for example, the copper

alloy rings at Uley used as votive tokens (Woodward and Leach, 1993: 135). Burials are also excluded, but material in structured deposits is included as domestic occupation and ritual are not strictly separated in the Roman world. In many cases data for different types of artefact within a report are published to different degrees of detail as to description and classification in accordance with recognised typologies, quantification, stratification and chronology. Sample selection balanced these to give the widest possible range of evidence. To achieve geographic coverage, compromises have had to be accepted in selecting the sample, limiting the analysis possible for certain classes of artefacts. The approach taken was therefore to examine trends using broader categories, and a larger sample, with analysis at a higher level to determine overall patterns.

3.3.1 Definition of site types

Comparative analysis depends on data being classified in a consistent way, and in a manner which facilitates the grouping together of items with similar characteristics to form broader categories, to establish general trends. Data in the study area was classified by ‘type’ of site, which is based on the function of the site, for example, military, religious, etc. Further distinctions can be made based on morphology, for example, rural sites are classified as villas, or as farms. In classifying sites, decisions were made on the status and character of sites based on site morphology as described in the excavation reports, but taking account of definitions used in the *Rural Settlement of Roman Britain* Project database (Allen et al., 2015) to allow comparison with other published datasets. All sites in the sample were allocated to one of the following site-types: ‘military’, ‘urban’, ‘Iron Age oppidum’, ‘nucleated settlement’, ‘shrine’, ‘estate centre’, ‘villa’ or ‘farm’. However, there are a wide range of sites, and some do not fall neatly into these categories. Sites were therefore allocated to categories which would facilitate the comparisons undertaken in my study.

Sites defined as ‘urban’ in the archaeological literature have evidence for deliberate civic planning, provision of public buildings and amenities, and defences, and some legal status, for example, Cirencester, the probable *civitas* capital, and Gloucester, a *colonia*. Small towns generally lack these facilities and show little sign of a planned layout (Burnham and Wachter, 1990). They are included as

rural settlements, but are difficult to define due to the varying morphology, activities and size (see for example the discussion in Timby (1998: 3) and Burnham and Wachter (1990: Chapter 1) and generally include towns, villages, hamlets, and roadside settlements. The term ‘nucleated settlement’ has been used to encompass all these types of rural settlement, and will be used in my study for all settlements which do not fall into any of the other categories listed above. I have used this term to be consistent with the *Rural Settlement of Roman Britain* Project (Smith et al., 2016: 10), which uses the term ‘nucleated settlements’ for undefended small towns, roadside settlements, villages and oppida, although it should be noted that this term is not universally accepted.

Gatcombe and Kingscote are referred to as ‘estate centres’ in their excavation reports and this has therefore been used as the site-type here. Whilst the proximity of a villa to the excavated site at Gatcombe has been proposed (Branigan, 1977: 190), it has not yet been located. Kingscote is considered by Henig (in Timby, 1998: 187) to be an Imperial estate on the basis of finds evidence, although Timby (1998: 432) disagrees. The *Rural Settlement of Roman Britain* Project treats Kingscote as a nucleated settlement, and notes that it seems to be part of a wider villa estate centre or village. Survey work and fieldwalking has identified at least seventy-five buildings (Timby, 1998: 12) making Kingscote significantly larger than most sites in the study sample, although only a small proportion has been excavated. As Kingscote is significantly larger than the other nucleated settlement sites in my sample, most of which are roadside settlements, for the purposes of my study Kingscote is therefore considered separately from these sites, and included as an ‘estate centre’.

Bath, Nettleton and Wycomb are included by Burnham and Wachter (1990: Chapter 9) as small towns with a specialised religious function. In my study Bath is classified as ‘urban’ as it appears to have some form of civic planning, and proposed military administrative buildings (Davenport et al., 2007: 68-69) for official administration of the surrounding area. There appears to have been an extensive extramural settlement around Bath, with archaeological evidence from the Walcot Street and London Road areas, although most of this is small scale (La Trobe-Bateman and Niblett, 2016: 86-87) and therefore not suitable for my analysis. Bath is more urban and possibly also military in nature

compared to the other shrine sites in my sample, and therefore included as an urban rather than a shrine site. Wycomb was classified as a ‘nucleated settlement’ as the evidence for it being a shrine was obtained in the nineteenth century (Burnham and Wachter, 1990: 200-202) and so is not recorded in sufficient detail for my study. Nettleton was classified as a ‘shrine’ to facilitate comparison with other religious sites.

The definition of a ‘villa’ is difficult and varied, see for example, Hingley (1989) and Rivet (1958: 103-105), and the term ‘villa’ was used in my study for those domestic buildings where significant wealth has been expended on structures and forms which are recognisably ‘Roman’, for example mosaics and wall plaster. Less well-appointed buildings are included in the ‘farms’ category but it is recognised that some sites are not easily categorised, and for these the classification was aligned with that used by the *Rural Settlement of Roman Britain* Project (Smith et al., 2016: Chapter 2). Excavated sites such as Somerford Keynes may be part of larger nucleated settlements but in the absence of further published evidence have been treated as ‘farms’ in line with the *Rural Settlement of Roman Britain* Project classification. Except for The Ditches, sites shown as ‘villas’ develop from farms in the early Roman period into villas in the later Roman period. In my study these are classified as ‘villas’ in all periods, to allow differences from other ‘farms’ (which may suggest why these develop into villas) to be highlighted. There is increasing evidence for population movement in Roman-period Britain (Eckardt et al., 2014), and the development of farms into villas may reflect changes in land ownership.

3.3.2 Selection of study sample sites

The primary rationale for selection of sites was sites which were well-excavated and well recorded, with a full range of the classes of material being examined and with integrity of data. The sample of sites was selected to provide geographic coverage over the Cotswold-Severn area, as well as wide as possible a range of types of rural sites, of varying sizes and wealth, including sites founded in the Roman period, and sites with Iron Age predecessors (Figure 4), but some compromises in the range of well-recorded material classes had to be made in order to achieve this. A check was made against

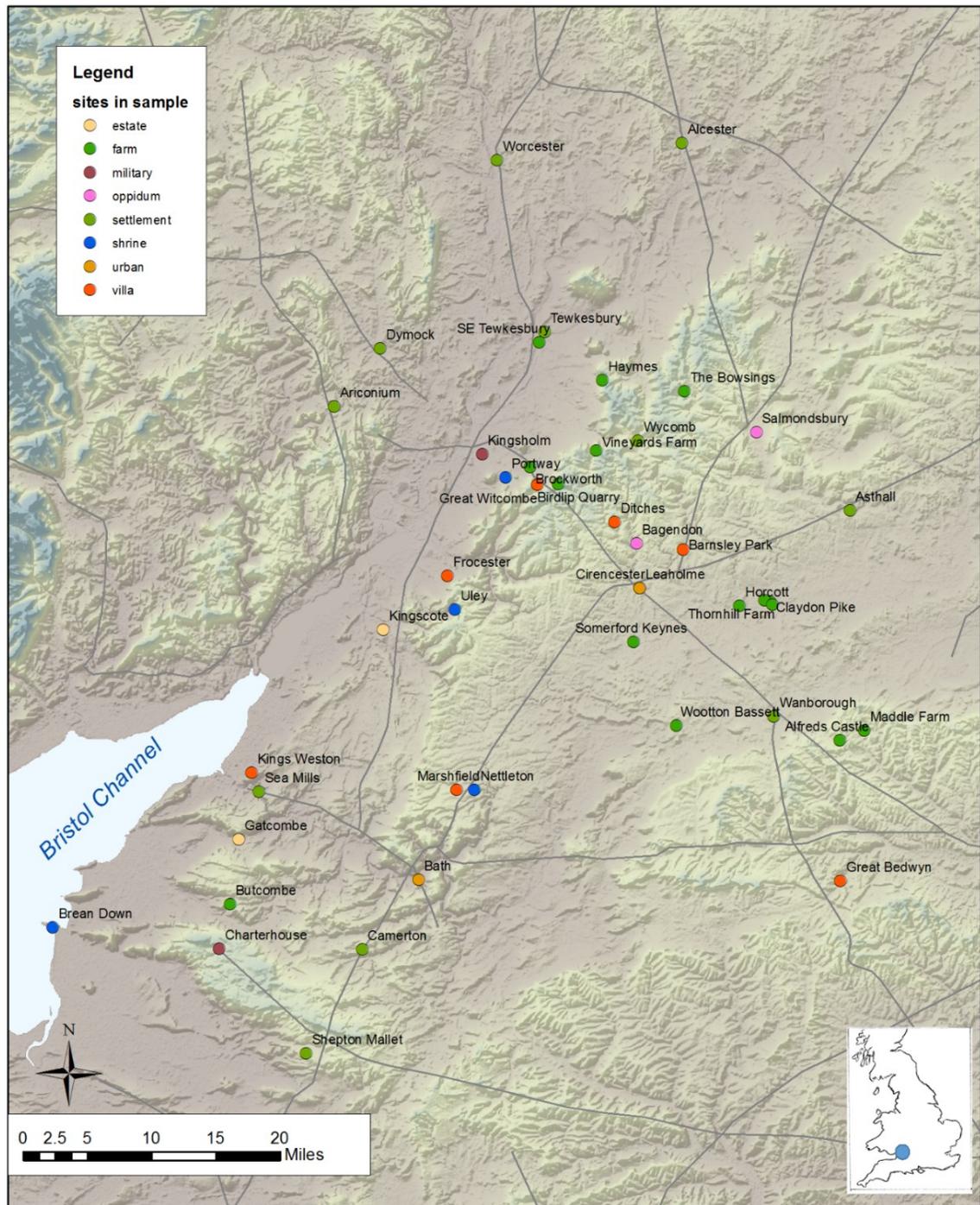
the on-line database of the *Rural Settlement of Roman Britain* Project (Smith et al., 2016; Allen et al., 2015) to ensure that all major sites had been included in my sample. Three military sites (Charterhouse, Kingsholm and Leaholme, Cirencester) and two urban sites (Cirencester and Bath) were also examined to provide a comparison to the data from rural sites. Two Iron Age oppida were chosen (Bagendon and Salmonsbury), to provide a comparison for the late Pre-Roman Iron Age and the transition period around the time of the conquest.

A considerable number of sites have been excavated in the Upper Thames valley in advance of gravel extraction, in the eastern side of the study area (see for example Booth, 2007) and around Cirencester, but only a selection of these sites have been used in my study to keep representation proportionate with data available for the rest of the study area. Where sites were similar in nature, such as Claydon Pike and Roughground farm, one was chosen. Thornhill Farm was chosen as it is located close to Claydon Pike but developed differently, and Somerford Keynes and Horcott were chosen as they had different types of activity, Somerford Keynes possibly a depot for the distribution of tile and other products (Miles et al., 2007: 273), and Horcott, horse-rearing (Pine and Preston, 2004: 92-94). Asthall was included as roadside settlement on a major Roman road. The suggested possible eastern boundary of the Dobunnic territory (based on coin evidence) is around the White Horse at Uffington (Jones and Mattingly, 2002: 51) and two sites on the downs in this area – Maddle Farm and Alfred's Castle – were included to provide a contrast to sites in the valley of the Upper Thames. The villa at Great Bedwyn was included as an 'outlier', as it lies at the south-eastern edge of the perceived Dobunnic territory, close to the Roman small town of *Cunetio*. Great Bedwyn lies at the junction of the Roman roads from Silchester to Bath and from Winchester to Wanborough and Cirencester and in the area of a local tribal coinage, sometimes referred to as 'irregular Dobunnic' which appears local to central-eastern Wiltshire (Hostetter and Howe, 1997: 27).

Data integrity was also a key consideration. A number of villa sites in the study area, for example Box, Chedworth, Woodchester, and Spoonley Wood have been subject to antiquarian excavation,

which Copeland (2011: 13) describes as ‘*more akin to clearing them out to discover Roman mosaics*’ than systematic recording of small finds and pottery. These large, palatial villas therefore do not

Figure 4: Location of sites in the study sample



provide the detailed artefact data necessary for my study and are under-represented in the study sample, although comparisons were made for the use of settlement space. The study sample is summarised in Figure 5 and Figure 6.

3.4 Limitations of the data

3.4.1 Data collection and recording

Data needs to be consistently classified to enable effective analysis of inter-site differences. Because of the wide range of excavation reports used in the study sample – dating from 1958 to 2016 – and the range of conditions under which these excavations have been undertaken, the study sample data varies in quality and extent of both collection and recording. ‘Keyhole’ excavations in towns (in Cirencester for example) and some rescue or developer-funded excavations with limited time available, sample only a small area, and may not be representative of the whole site, or fully represent all artefacts present. At The Beeches, Cirencester, excavation continued to the depth of the walls forming the building plan, but not to the earlier stages of occupation, so is not representative of the time depth of the site.

The usefulness of data is limited by the ways in which it is quantified and recorded at the time of excavation, the methodology used, and the extent to which data is analysed and included in publication. Perring and Pitts (2013) sum up the current status of many archaeological reports: *‘previous research has concentrated on individual site narratives, where published reports describe a chronology of architectural change illustrated by catalogued archives of finds’*. Such reports provide little or no interpretation of the finds data – Camerton and Frocester reports are examples. For other reports there is no means of mapping ‘small finds’ catalogued back to the site plan and chronology. There is often a reference to data being available ‘in the archive’, or provided as microfiche, but for some sites in my sample these were incomplete or inaccessible. Many reports now include a full discussion of the finds, but at the expense of detailed catalogues, with only summary data produced in the published report.

Figure 5: Sample of sites selected for study (listed by type of site)

	Site name	Type of site (for my study)	Nature of site	Reference
1.	Bagendon	Iron Age oppidum	Hillfort, Dobunnic coin mint	Clifford (1961) Trow (1982)
2.	Salmonsbury	Iron Age oppidum	Proposed oppidum, but significantly fewer 'high status' artefacts than Bagendon.	Dunning (1976)
3.	Kingsholm	Military	Fort. AD49?-AD66/67?	Hurst (1985)
4.	Charterhouse	Military	Military fortlet, controlling mining activity	Todd (2007)
5.	Leaholme, Cirencester	Military	Fort. AD45-cAD75?.	Leaholme fort: Wachter and McWhirr (1982)
6.	Cirencester	Urban	4thC town houses at The Beeches site. Other sites are small-scale excavations beneath modern town	Dyer Court: Webster (1959) Forum (Angel Cinema) site: Holbrook (2008: 45-62); Stepstairs Lane site: Holbrook (2008: 70-83); Trinity Road site: Holbrook (2008: 93-106) The Beeches: McWhirr (1986)
7.	Bath	Urban	Later Roman domestic activity over temple precinct. Rescue excavations at 2 sites adjoining bath complex.	The temple precinct: Cunliffe and Davenport (1985) Bath Street and Beau Street: Davenport (1999: 1-122) New Royal baths: Davenport et al. (2007)
8.	Shepton Mallet	Nucleated settlement	Stone walled compounds fronting onto Fosse Way. Reorganisation in 2ndC and further expansion in 3rdC and 4thC	Leach and Evans (2001)
9.	Sea Mills (Abonae)	Nucleated settlement	Port. Small sites excavated	Nazareth House site: Bennett (1985) Abon House site: Boon (1945), Ellis (1987)
10.	Asthall	Nucleated settlement	Structures fronting onto Akeman Street. Small area of possible settlement excavated	Booth (1997)
11.	Camerton	Nucleated settlement	Buildings fronting onto Fosse Way, 3rdC expansion with industrial zone	Wedlake (1958) Jackson (1990)
12.	Worcester	Nucleated settlement	Some late Iron Age activity, intensive occupation from later 2ndC to early 4thC. Ditched compounds but little structural evidence	Deansway site: Dalwood and Edwards (2004) Sidbury site: Darlington and Evans (1992)
13.	Alcester	Nucleated settlement	Developed from vicus of proposed fort? Southern and northern extramural sites.	Southern extramural area: Mahany and Cracknell (1994) Northern extramural area: Booth and Evans (2002)

14.	Tewkesbury	Nucleated settlement	Evidence for buildings. Primarily agricultural settlement	Hannan (1993)
15.	Wycomb	Nucleated settlement	Timber beamslots. 19thC excavations found masonry buildings and small temple	Syreford Mill: Timby (1998) Andoversford: Rawes (1980)
16.	Wanborough	Nucleated settlement	Military presence in Neronian-Vespanic period, later settlement on Ermin Street frontage. Large late Roman settlement with substantial stone buildings and insulae. Only part excavated	Anderson and Wachter (1980)
17.	Dymock	Nucleated settlement	Short-lived establishment of Cursus Publicus?	Catchpole et al. (2007)
18.	Ariconium	Nucleated settlement	High status Iron Age settlement with considerable trading links. Dispersed, polyfocal. Declines after early 3rdC	Jackson (2012)
19.	Nettleton	Shrine	Iron Age occupation. On Fosse Way. Small circular shrine followed by octagonal structures in 3rdC, ceases mid 4thC.	Wedlake (1982)
20.	Uley	Shrine	Timber shrine replaced by stone Romano-Celtic temple in early 2ndC and extended mid 4thC.	Woodward and Leach (1993)
21.	Portway	Shrine	Wayside shrine	Rawes (1984)
22.	Brean Down	Shrine	Square temple with domestic occupation in late 4thC	ApSimon (1965)
23.	Gatcombe	Estate centre	Main phase late 3rdC. Interpreted as defended villa/village settlement. Suggested villa not yet found.	Branigan (1977)
24.	Kingscote	Estate centre	Suggested Imperial estate based on finds data. Extensive settlement identified from survey and fieldwalking, but only small part excavated	Timby (1998)
25.	Frocester	Villa	Iron Age farmstead, continues as Roman-British farmstead and develops into stone-built villa in late Roman period.	Price (2000)
26.	The Ditches	Villa	Early Roman villa, to late 2ndC	Trow et al. (2009)
27.	Great Bedwyn	Villa	2ndC timber villa replaced in stone in late Roman period	Hostetter and Howe (1997)
28.	Barnsley Park	Villa	2ndC timber villa replaced by stone in later Roman period	Webster (1967) Webster (1981) Webster (1982) Webster et al. (1985) Smith (1985)
29.	Great Witcombe	Villa	Early 3rdC founded as unified villa. Modifications in 4thC	Leach (1998)
30.	Marshfield	Villa	Late Iron Age timber circular structure rebuilt in stone, then demolished and replaced by modest stone villa in 3rdC	Blockley (1985)
31.	Kings Weston	Villa	3rdC stone villa	Boon (1950)
32.	Thornhill	Farm	Iron Age roundhouses. Paddocks and enclosures in Roman period, reorganised in 2ndC.	Jennings et al. (2004)

33.	Claydon Pike	Farm	Late Iron Age/early Roman complex of enclosures, reorganised in 2ndC with aisled buildings, replaced by modest villa in late 3rdC	Miles et al. (2007: 13-224)
34.	Sites South East of Tewkesbury	Farm	Enclosures and roundhouses, re-ordered in 2ndC. Roman artefacts but no evidence for structures	Walker et al. (2004)
35.	Horcott	Farm	Iron Age enclosures and trackways re-organised into paddocks and fields in 2ndC. Stock management	Pine and Preston (2004)
36.	The Bowsings	Farm	Ditched Iron Age 'stronghold' continues into Roman period. Undefended farmstead in 2 nd -3rdC, no evidence of structures	Marshall (2004)
37.	Haymes, Cleeve Hill	Farm	Roman period structures, damaged by landslip.	Rawes (1986)
38.	Butcombe	Farm	Irregular stone-walled enclosures (not excavated). 3rdC one-roomed stone building	Fowler and Neale (1970)
39.	Wootton Bassett	Farm	Iron Age roundhouse. 2 nd -3rdC rectangular timber buildings	Passmore and Rainbird (2016)
40.	Somerford Keynes	Farm	Iron Age roundhouses. 2 nd -3rdC aisled building. Possible military or official presence	Miles et al. (2007: 229-273)
41.	Vineyards Farm, Charlton Kings	Farm	3-roomed stone building replaced earlier building but evidence destroyed	Rawes (1991)
42.	Brockworth	Farm	Ditches, enclosures and roundhouses, go out of use in 2ndC. Possible replacement by rectangular timber buildings	Rawes (1981)
43.	Alfred's Castle	Farm	Iron Age ditches and roundhouses. Late 1 st -late 3rdC modest villa	Gosden and Lock (2013)
44.	Whelford Bowmoor	Farm	Early 2ndC – early 3rdC, no structures but building platform	Miles et al. (2007: 275-294)
45.	Birdlip Quarry	Farm	Later 2ndC circular timber buildings replaced by circular stone buildings continuing to 4thC	Mudd et al. (1999: 153-258)
46.	Maddle Farm	Farm	3rdC-4thC small stone villa	Gaffney and Tingle (1989)

The level of detailed collection and recording varies not only between sites, but also between different classes of artefacts within the same report. Animal bone, pottery, metal and bone artefacts are analysed by different methodologies, and often quantified to different extents. Many pottery reports focus entirely on fabric analysis, with little analysis of form. Some reports only quantify and analyse fine wares, some only give a sherd count and weight for coarse wares, and others ignore coarse wares altogether. Some reports illustrate all rims, others only a selection of ‘interesting’ or diagnostic ones. The extent of quantification, and of analysis of fabrics and forms (such as platter, bowl) varies: some analyse the whole assemblage, others only selected items such as samian or fine wares. Willis (1998) observed that even for much-studied samian, there is surprisingly little quantification of data about form and number of items but much description of style and decoration, and the study sample reflected these findings. My study therefore used the most common pottery measure reported, the number of sherds, to allow some comparability between sites.

Lack of quantification, particularly of pottery form, was an issue for my study, and limited the number of sites which could be included in detailed analysis. In the absence of detailed quantification of pottery forms or fabrics, the approach used by Hill (2002: 159, Note 1) to obtain broad patterns was used. Unless reliable quantification was provided in the report or in the text, illustrated examples from the excavation publications of representative forms was used to establish presence or absence of forms. This will be biased towards vessels chosen for illustration, usually because they were diagnostic for dating, but key groups of vessels and imported vessels are usually presented. Although biased towards ‘table wares’ rather than ‘kitchen wares’, this does give an indication of the use of specifically Roman-style forms of pottery. Various pottery typology series were in use across the study area, reflecting the various Archaeological Units’ practices, as well as evolution of typologies. This was not a significant issue as my study focused on form rather than pottery fabric, but was relevant for analysis of amphorae (Section 6.1.5) and early-period finewares (Section 6.3.1), where the main wares/fabrics were mapped to a consistent list of wares/fabrics for broad analysis.

3.4.2 Chronology

One of the issues for my study is the extent to which artefacts can be assigned to different chronological periods. Most material culture for the Roman period is dated by its stratigraphic relationship to datable finds such as Roman coins or pottery such as samian, where the production period has been established. Metalwork is usually dated on stylistic grounds. The relatively short production period for many decorated samian ware forms enables an unusual degree of accuracy in dating sites (Tyers, 1996; Webster, 1996), for the early Roman period. Pottery such as coarse wares which change little in form over time and are produced over a long period of time can be difficult to assign to a date range. This makes it difficult when reviewing periods of rapid change and considering contemporaneity of artefacts becomes difficult. The underlying assumption for relative dating methods using typologies is a linear evolution, which may not necessarily be the case (Jones, 1997: 135).

Whilst some categories of artefact have recent typologies, for example the study of toilet implements by Eckardt and Crummy (2008), late Roman bracelets and crossbow brooches (Swift, 2000) and brooches (Mackreth, 2011), for others such as beads (Guido, 1978), bone hairpins (Crummy, 1979) and earrings (Allason-Jones, 1989) the main reference works are older and may not cover recent discoveries. Older excavation reports will therefore not have the same level of classification (particularly for example for pottery fabrics) as recent reports. It is beyond the scope of my study to reanalyse older reports in line with recent typologies. Whilst making some reference to typologies, my study focuses on the presence or absence of artefacts and their relative abundance. The classification used in my study was that from the excavation specialist report. It is possible that some items would be reclassified if current typologies were used, but given the broad basis used for analysis in the study, such reclassification is unlikely to have a significant impact on the outcome of the analysis. Continuing research is also refining chronologies, so earlier excavation reports may be less accurate in their chronologies, and therefore inconsistent with later reports. For example, Timby (1990), has reassessed the origins of Severn Valley wares as relating to pre-conquest Iron Age traditions rather than as previously thought, a response to Roman military requirements, thereby ‘re-

dating' certain forms as pre AD43 in subsequent reports. No attempt was made to 're-date' any such artefacts for my study.

High value possessions would have been cared for or curated so that items such as samian or coins may survive longer before being deposited in the archaeological record. The long life of early period Roman coinage can cause dating difficulties. For example, Republican silver continued in use until withdrawn by Trajan (giving a potential date range of AD43-100) and the brass *sestertii* of Vespasian (AD69-79) were in circulation until about AD260 (Reece, 1987: 16). On occasion material from an earlier context may be intrusive or 'residual' in a later context, making dating difficult, for example at The Beeches, Cirencester (McWhirr, 1986), where earlier material had been used to level the site before building later structures.

These issues mean that dating used in excavation reports (unless the basis is clearly stated) may be less precise than it appears and chronologies may not be entirely comparable. In some cases insufficient dating evidence is available for a particular context so that a significant proportion of finds on a site, for example at Thornhill (Jennings et al., 2004) may be undated, even though stratified. A few reports treat all similar artefacts from all periods as an 'assemblage' and do not distinguish between chronological periods.

Gardner (2002) takes a longer term view of changes in artefact assemblages which allows broader patterns of change to be observed, and a similar approach has been used in my study. Excavation reports are inconsistent in their definitions of 'early', 'mid' and 'late' Roman periods, and for the purposes of analysis in my study, all stratified artefacts were allocated to a chronological category (first, second, third or fourth centuries) to achieve comparability between sites. The categories are artificial, but do allow standardisation of definition for 'early' and 'late' Roman periods. Artefacts were allocated to a chronological category for analysis based on the site phasing stated in the excavation report, or where the report text specifies a chronological period, for example, '2nd century'. Where publication data was incomplete, phasing was attempted using the context information, and text in the report, but this was not possible in all cases. In most cases site phasing did not fall neatly

into a ‘century’, and phases were therefore apportioned between centuries as shown in Appendix 2. Where for example an item was described as ‘2nd to 3rd century’ it is shown as 50% 2nd century, and 50% 3rd century, to represent the likelihood of it being present in both periods. Some researchers allocate the data to either the earliest possible date or the latest possible date in such cases, but for my study this was considered too much of a distortion of the chronological trend, which would be better represented by assuming a linear likelihood of presence.

The quality of the evidence for the different data types in the study sample is shown below in Appendix 1. Many of the types of artefact being examined were recorded as ‘small finds’ in excavation reports, with detailed narrative descriptions and illustrations. Where we can have confidence that all small finds were identified and recorded, the absence of artefacts is likely to reflect real absence, although this can never be guaranteed. Where recording was selective, for example by recording only decorated samian pieces, or diagnostic pottery, we have less confidence in interpreting absence of artefacts as ‘real’ absence. When allocating artefacts to the four chronological categories for analysis, it was found that generally only around a half to two-thirds could be allocated, with several items which were unstratified or in contexts which could not be dated. Some excavators chose not to analyse data, only giving a total for the number of items, for example, in almost all reports hobnails are recorded as a total, with no allocation as to either context or period. Limitations are noted against the relevant data and have been taken into account in interpreting the data.

3.5 Methodology

3.5.1 Collection of data for analysis

Data for each site were extracted from the specialist reports in published excavation reports (including any on-line archives) and collated in an Excel database. Classifications were those used in the published specialist reports with no re-examination of primary data. The Excel database was imported into ArcGIS Desktop, a geographical information system, to enable spatial analysis of the distribution of artefacts for patterning in the data. Data were often not in a useable format, and narrative information, context lists and site plans had to be consulted in order to allocate data to the study

categories. The data for ‘keyhole’ excavations at city centre sites (see Figure 5) from the individual sites were recorded separately for detailed analysis and then combined to give one set of data for each site. Only data from excavations were included and data from field-walking exercises was excluded.

Detailed analysis was only undertaken for artefacts which were both stratified and dated. Artefacts which were unstratified or undated were included in the higher-level analysis, but not included in detailed analysis. Similar types of artefacts were grouped together by nature of material or type of decoration for higher level analysis. As my study focuses on domestic settlements, any artefacts noted as votive or found in burial contexts, and items noted as military equipment, were excluded.

3.5.2 Methods of analysis

As described above, the lack of quantification of data in many reports does not lend itself to detailed statistical analysis, so my study focused on the presence or absence, and the relative abundance of artefacts at each site. Individual sites were grouped by ‘site-type’ (Section 3.3.1). Datasets were analysed by type (brooch, finger ring, etc) and by chronological category – first, second, third or fourth century – (Section 3.4.2).

The use of various statistical methodologies was considered. Perring and Pitts (2013: 20-21, chapter 10) use correspondence analysis (CA) to compare pottery data with other datasets. CA does not determine the statistical relationship between datasets, but highlights trends or clusters in the data, which then require further investigation and explanation. CA is useful for highlighting patterns in large datasets where identifying these with the naked eye becomes difficult, but requires large datasets, with minimal levels of residuality and intrusive material, and requires all data to be quantified consistently. Given the differences in quantification, the use of different typologies, and differing chronological precision in their population of data, Perring and Pitts confined their CA within selected individual classes of material. They also found that many of the smaller, rural sites did not have a viable level of data for analysis which limited the potential range of sites for which CA could be used. Perring and Pitts used pottery as the main artefact analysed by CA, as pottery

fabric is useful indicator of economic supply patterns, whereas my study is focused around pottery forms in relation to identity, where little of the data for analysis is available. Most sites in the study sample do not have the level of typological and chronological precision and several have significant issues of residuality, so that CA was not feasible, given the objective was to compare a wide range of types of sites.

Absolute number of items is one method of quantifying data for analysis, but is not always useful where sites (such as those in the study sample) of different sizes are being compared, and which have been excavated under different conditions. The actual numbers of artefacts by type is shown for each individual site in the study sample, but an average per site type was used. This average was calculated for the number of sites which had the artefact, and excluded the sites where artefacts were absent, otherwise the average could have been reduced by those sites where the artefact was deliberately absent.

A study of personal ornamentation as a cultural indicator in the Roman North (Webb, 2011), used broad categories of personal ornament and compared the percentage each ornament type represented of the total ornament assemblage. This methodology is useful for broad analysis of items which are similar in nature and in terms of the way they are recorded and classified, such as different types of personal ornament (as in Webb's study), but is less suited to comparison between different types of artefact such as personal ornaments, pottery and building structures (my study) as it is not possible to sum the numbers of these into a meaningful assemblage total. When comparing the distribution of different types of an artefact, for example the number of plate, bow and penannular brooches at each site-type, these were expressed as percentages rather than absolute numbers for each site-type, again to take account of the different number of sites in each site-type. Also, some sites may have larger numbers of artefacts for various reasons, for example, a larger area excavated. Relative percentages therefore compare how much of the total is represented by a particular type of artefact. For example, one site may have a total of thirty brooches and another eighty brooches. If both sites had twenty bow brooches, the first will have 67% bow brooches and the second 25%, allowing a comparison of the

frequency of this brooch type in relation to the total brooches for each site-type. This relative percentage methodology was also used for the allocation of artefacts by chronological category.

The items in each of the analysis categories are analysed and discussed individually in Chapters 4 to 7. Each category was considered in terms of presence or absence of the artefact types, the relative distribution between site types and between chronological periods. Data were also considered against key reference sources and current evidence for Britain.

4 Results and analysis: Literacy

‘Literacy’ comprises a range of abilities and understanding, from reading a few basic words or an inscription on a building, scratching a graffito on an object, to record-keeping and written correspondence, writing Latin and to an understanding of Classical literature. Reading and writing are different skills: those able to read may not necessarily be able to write. Roman introductions to Britain include wooden writing tablets which occasionally survive in anaerobic conditions, inscriptions on tombstones, altars, and buildings, milestones, and written votive plaques and curse tablets (folded or rolled thin sheets of lead).

The key debates are around the extent to which literacy spread from urban to rural settlements in the Roman period, and the extent to which inscriptions occur at military, urban or rural sites (Mattingly, 2006; Hanson and Conolly, 2002; Tomlin, 2010; Hope, 2016). The messages being conveyed by Latin inscriptions, written documents and curse tablets have been examined (Tomlin, 2016; Bowman, 2003; Bowman et al., 2011; Tomlin, 2002). Creighton (2000) has explored the use of inscriptions on late Iron Age coinage in the expression of elite identity in southern Britain, and Williams (2002) has considered the influences on the style of late Iron Age coin inscriptions. The Latin language and writing used in expression of elite Roman culture and the extent of Latin as a common language across the Empire have been explored (Woolf, 2002b: 49-71; Hingley, 2005). Willis (2005a) and Eckhardt (2015) consider the distribution of inkwells and their potential elite status. The use of intaglios as seal rings, and the implications of the iconography on these have been explored by Johns (1996: 79-83). Derks and Roymans (2002) have used the presence of seal boxes to demonstrate widespread literacy at rural sites in the Batavian civitas in the Rhine delta, based on the assumption that seal boxes were used to secure writing tablets, but Andrews (2012) has suggested that this may not be the case.

Writing tablets from the fort at *Vindolanda* document the purchase and distribution of supplies, official communications between members of the military, as well as more personal matters

(Bowman, 2003). Recent discoveries of writing tablets at the Bloomberg site in London refer to legal matters, loans and provisions, some dating from a decade after the conquest (Tomlin, 2016; Bowman et al., 2011), indicating that administrative systems with literate individuals were already present in Britain at an early date. The only evidence of writing tablets for the study sample came from fragments of a wooden writing tablet found in a well at a site adjacent to Claydon Pike (Miles et al., 2007: 315). However, the writing on these was indecipherable, so that the nature of the correspondence could not be determined. As so few writing tablets survive, evidence for writing is usually deduced from the presence of writing implements, such as styli (Hanson and Conolly, 2002) and inkwells (Willis, 2005a), and the seal boxes (Derks and Roymans, 2002; Andrews, 2012) used for securing documents.

Engraved gemstones (intaglios) are also known as seal rings and were used to make impressions in the wax seals securing documents. These items may have been used purely as items of jewellery, or used for sealing documents, and therefore may indicate the presence of written documents. Intaglio designs with culturally-Roman iconography may be used to display knowledge of Classical Roman culture. The nature and extent of artefacts associated with literacy in the study sample is summarised in Figure 7.

4.1 Inscriptions

Inscriptions on dedicatory monuments, votive plaques, curse tablets and altars were not common in the study sample and were confined to Cirencester and Bath, and the religious sites at Nettleton and Uley (Figure 7), with one inscription at Alcester, a Constantinian milestone. Of the eleven altars found in the study sample (Figure 7), only four had inscriptions, and these were found at Nettleton and Uley. Altars with inscriptions appear to be associated with religious sites in the study sample. Three nucleated settlement sites and two farm sites had altars without inscriptions (Figure 7). The nucleated settlement sites at Sea Mills and Alcester had associations with the military and there is a tentative proposal that Haymes may have been a shrine site, although geological disturbance at Haymes has destroyed potential evidence (Rawes, 1986: 74), showing a bias towards sites associated with religion or the military.

Lead curse tablets were found at two religious sites in the study sample, Bath and Uley, but none are recorded for the major shrine site at Nettleton. The evidence at Uley dates from the second to the fourth centuries, but secure dates are not available for Bath. A possible temple site (unexcavated) at Wanborough is suggested based on the finding of a curse tablet (Anderson et al., 2001: 349), and Rea (1972) dates the handwriting on these to the first or second century. Wanborough also had military associations in the first century.

There was a large variety in the handwriting used at Bath, although some poor handwriting suggests copying from a template by those not fully literate (Mattingly, 2006: 314-315) and some of the Uley tablets are blank (Allason-Jones, 2011: 134). Most of the Bath tablets refer to the British deity of Sulis, rather than use of the 'Romanised' name of Sulis-Minerva (Mattingly, 2006: 315), but were addressed to both native and Roman gods (Eckardt, 2015: 180). The Uley tablets are mostly addressed to Mercury, and two to Mars (Woodward and Leach, 1993: 115). Although the Uley tablets are less well preserved than those from Bath, they are very similar in terms of appearance, handwriting, the forms of Latin and language used, and in the content (Woodward and Leach, 1993: 114-116).

Figure 8: Personal objects: altars, figurines and sculptures



Figurines and statuettes are not strictly evidence for literacy in terms of reading and writing, but are included for the study sample, as they may indicate use of culturally-Roman themes (section 8.2.2.1), and provide a comparison against occurrence of stone altars. All urban sites and most of the shrine sites in the study sample had figurines, with around half of nucleated settlement, estate and villa sites having one or two figurines (Figure 8), compared with the much small numbers of stone altars (Figure 7).

4.2 Inkwells

Black ink was used for writing on wooden leaf-tablets. Pens used for writing with ink have not been found archaeologically, but ceramic and metal inkwells are found. Inkwells were found at all three military sites in the study sample, at Cirencester, and at three nucleated settlement sites: Alcester and Wanborough (both sites with military connections in the first century), and Dymock (possible *Cursus Publicus* site) (Figure 7). All inkwells were samian, except for the one at Cirencester, which was of green-blue glass and dated to the late first/early second century. Samian inkwells were produced throughout the samian manufacturing period (to early third century) and the sample could not be more precisely dated. No data was available for the later Roman period.

4.3 Seal boxes and styli

Styli were used to scratch wax (usually coloured black) away from waxed wooden tablets, exposing the pale wood beneath (Allason-Jones, 2011: 146-152). Styli were found in significant numbers on some sites (Figure 7, Figure 9), particularly Wanborough, Nettleton and Kingscote. Styli occur in the first century at military, nucleated settlement and shrine sites, but only in the second century for estates and farms, and the fourth for villas (Figure 10). Sites in the ‘villa’ category only become villas in the third and fourth centuries, but the numbers of styli are still low compared with nucleated settlements and shrine sites. The bone stylus at Wanborough came from a layer dated AD60-65 when there was a military presence at this site. The number of styli at nucleated settlement, shrine, and estate centre sites increases significantly in the third and fourth centuries (Figure 10), suggesting an increase in the activities which required writing.

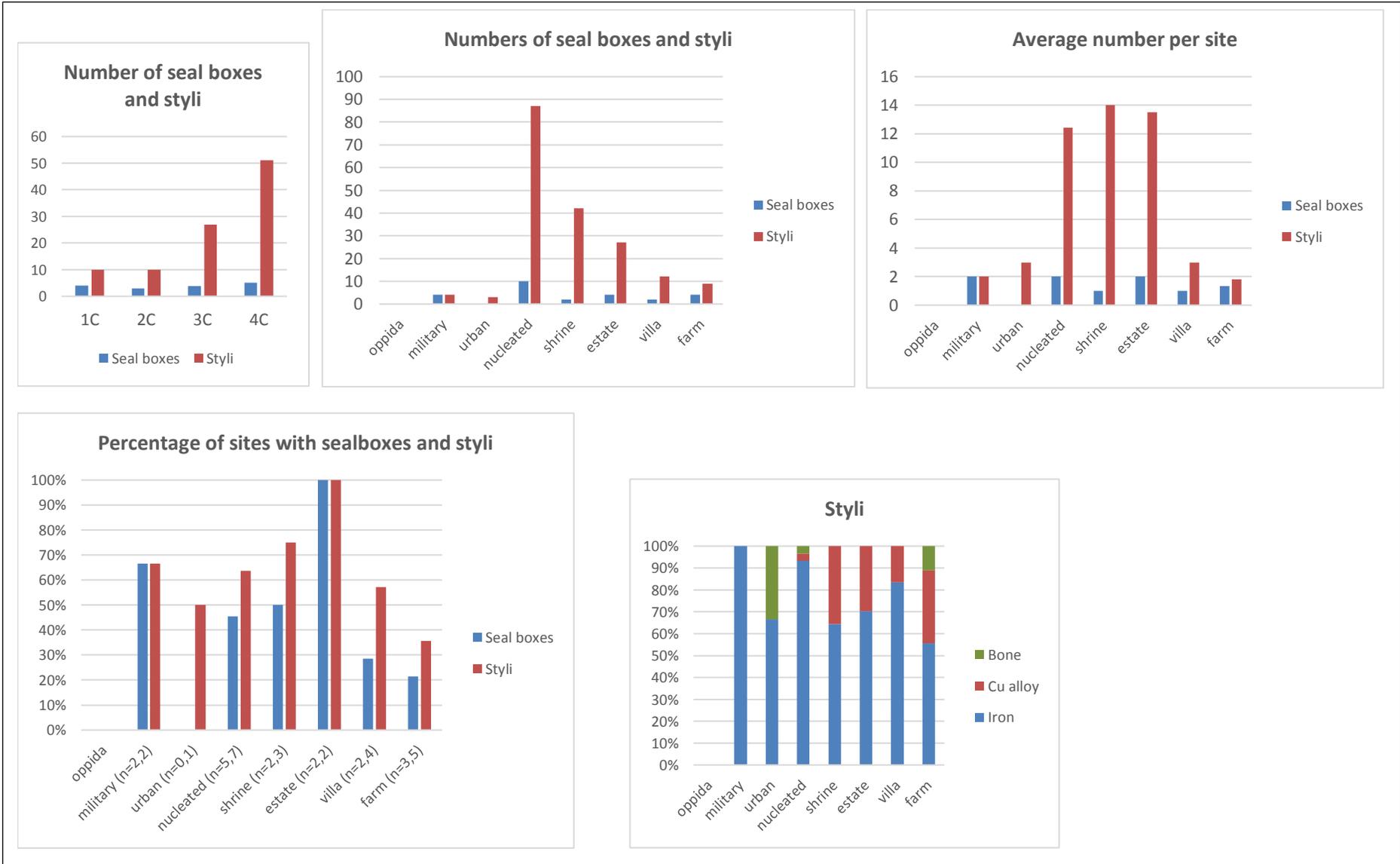
Styli were generally made of iron (82%), but shrine, estate, villa and farm sites also had copper alloy styli (Figure 9). 53% of copper alloy styli (Figure 10) and 8% of iron styli had some form of decoration. Copper alloy styli were decorated with transverse and/or diagonal lines, whereas iron styli at Alcester and Wanborough (both sites had military associations) were inlaid with bands of non-ferrous metal. This suggests that the iron styli may have been used for utilitarian purposes such as record keeping, and decorated copper alloy styli were for display and perhaps for personal communications.

Average numbers per site for seal boxes were two for military, nucleated settlement and estate sites, none for urban sites, and one for others, with some increase over time, the data for farms relating to Somerford Keynes, which may have had some 'official role' (Figure 9). The lack of seal boxes at urban sites probably reflects the small size of sites excavated, which may not have included sites where documents were used.

Seal boxes were all of copper alloy, and circular, heart, drop and lozenge shaped forms occurred in the study sample, many with enamel decoration, similar to seal boxes found elsewhere in Britain. A unique cube seal was found at Kingscote, with depictions of Roma, Mars, Sol Invictus and Concordare (dated around AD270-280), which Henig (in Timby, 1998: 186-7) considers relates to an official presence, with Kingscote being a likely Imperial estate, although this is now considered less probable as such nucleated centres are widespread (Millett, 2016: 710)

Significantly more styli were found than seal boxes, although both occur at all types of site (Figure 9), except for oppida sites (pre-conquest). Average numbers of styli were significantly higher than seal boxes at nucleated settlement, shrine and estate sites, but relatively similar, and low, at villa and farm sites (Figure 9). The number of seal boxes remains approximately constant over time, whilst the number of styli increases exponentially in the third and fourth centuries (Figure 10). More sites had styli than seal boxes (Figure 9) and all sites (except for Brockworth) which had seal boxes also had styli, but there were several sites with styli only (Figure 7).

Figure 9: Evidence for seal boxes and styli

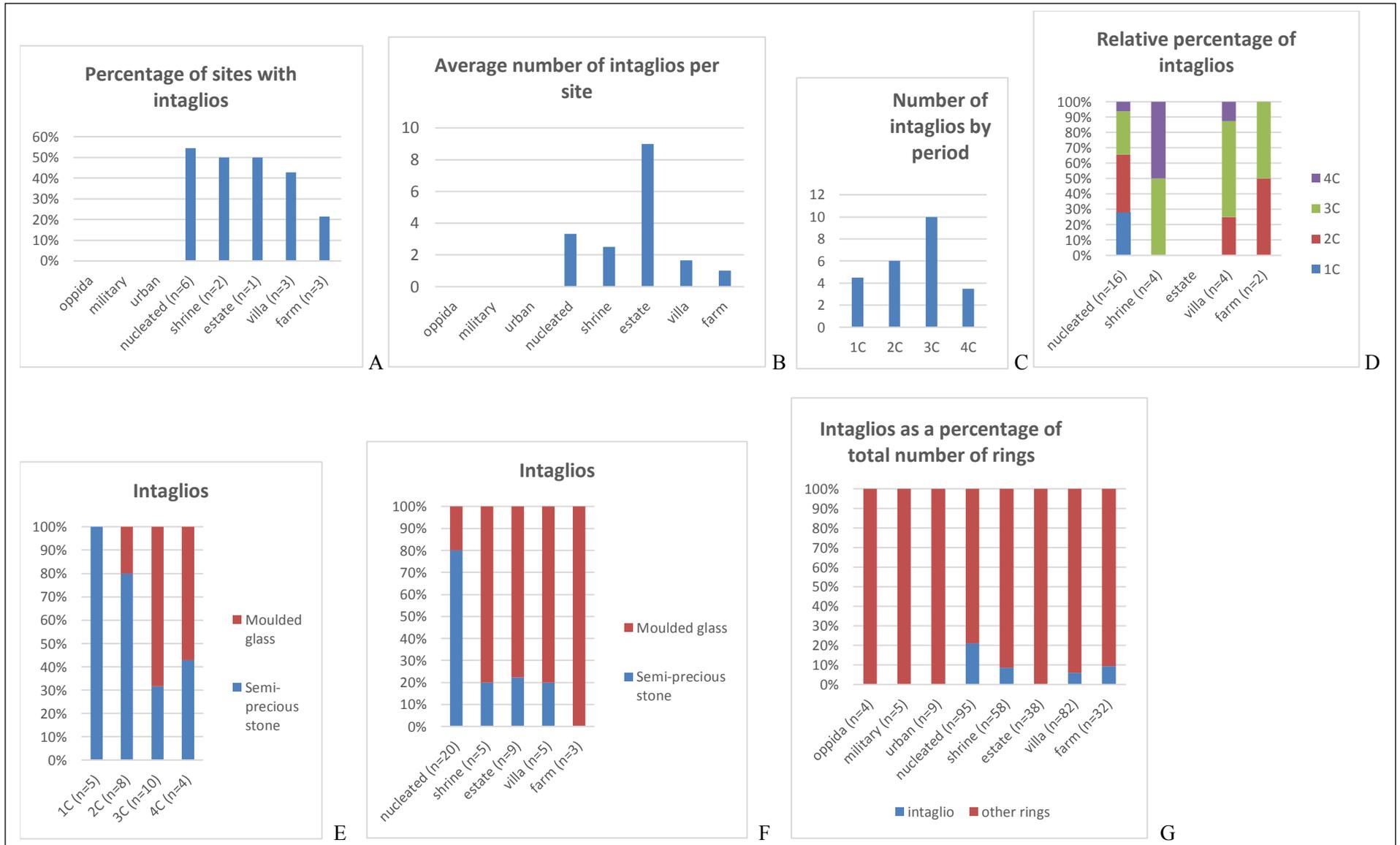


4.4 Intaglios

Around 50% of nucleated settlement sites had intaglios, and excluding estate sites, had the highest average number per site (Figure 11). Intaglios also formed a greater proportion of the total number of rings than at other types of site (Figure 11G). Mattingly (2006: 212) notes a bias towards military sites and major towns but the study sample did not have any intaglios at military or urban sites. This may be because the military sites in the study sample only had a short period of occupation in the mid-first century, and the study sample sites at Cirencester were either small-scale excavations or fourth century (The Beeches), when intaglio use had declined. However, several of the nucleated settlement sites where intaglios occurred had some military associations in the first century: Alcester, Wanborough, Worcester, and possibly Asthall. Two of the intaglios at Wanborough have symbols associated with the military – the Capricorn symbol of the *Legio Augusta II*, and an eagle standard and helmet – and a first century military presence at Wanborough has been proposed. The Wanborough intaglios occur as two first century, three second century, two third and one fourth century (and two undated). Only two of the Wanborough intaglios were of moulded glass, and six of cornelian, which suggests that Wanborough had access to gemstones.

Figure 11 (C) shows a rise in intaglios in the third century with a decline in the fourth. Nucleated settlements showed a peak in intaglios in the second century with a reduction in the third and fourth centuries (Figure 11 D), but shrine, villa and farm sites did not have intaglios until the third century and into the fourth. Graphs E and F in Figure 11 support this, with glass intaglios relating to the later period. Shrine, estate and villa sites had a significant proportion of moulded glass intaglios, and intaglios at farms were all moulded glass. Nucleated settlement sites adopted intaglios in the first century (Figure 11 D), and intaglios also form a significant percentage of the total number of rings (Figure 11 G).

Figure 11: Evidence for intaglios



The high average number of intaglios for estate sites reflects the nine intaglios from fieldwalking at Kingscote. These fieldwalking items were included here for this analysis because the number of them are significantly higher than any other site except Wanborough (Figure 7) and to exclude them would not allow their significance to be appreciated. However, this does mean that there is no chronological data for this site. The higher number of intaglios may reflect Kingscote's role as an Imperial estate. An unstratified fieldwalking find of an iron finger ring with a red jasper intaglio was found near the early villa at The Ditches and is dated to the second century (Trow et al., 2009: 151-152).

The percentage of the total number of rings (data from Figure 15) represented by intaglios was used to explore preferences for intaglios, summarised in Figure 12. At about half the sites where intaglios occurred these represented around a third of the total number of rings. Figure 13 shows the nature of the designs on the intaglios in the study sample, most being Classical themes.

Figure 12: Intaglio rings as a proportion of total number of rings

	Intaglios	Rings	Intaglios as % of total no. of rings
Shepton Mallet	1	12	8%
Asthall	1	2	33%
Worcester	1	5	17%
Alcester	4	11	27%
Wanborough	10	19	34%
Ariconium	3	7	30%
Nettleton	3	21	13%
Uley	2	28	7%
Kingscote	9	31	23%
Frocester	3	17	15%
Barnsley Park	1	20	5%
Great Witcombe	1	11	8%
Claydon Pike	1	12	8%
Somerford Keynes	1	2	33%
Whelford Bowmoor	1	2	33%
Total	42	200	17%

Figure 13: Designs on intaglios in the study area

Intaglios		Locations															
		Shepton Mallet	Alcester	Wanborough	Asthall	Sidbury, Worcs	Ariconium	Nettleton	Uley	Kingscote fieldwalking	The Ditches - fieldwalking		Great Witcombe	Frocester	Barnsley Park	Whelford Bowmoor	Claydon Pike
Semi-precious stones																	
Muse	onyx			1													1
Ceres	carnelian			1													1
branch	carnelian			1													1
crossed cornucopiae	chalcedony			1													1
capricorn	carnelian			1													1
deer	carnelian			1													1
Mercury	carnelian			1													1
eagle/military	carnelian			1													1
war galley - 3 shields and 3 spears	chalcedony		1														1
hare	carnelian		1														1
mercury	carnelian		1														1
dolphin, cornucopia and ear of wheat	onyx		1														1
countryman milking goat	onyx				1												1
fortunata and altar	carnelian					1											1
gladiator	carnelian					1											1
horse head	carnelian						1										1
votary, shrine and altar	red jasper									1							1
sun god	bloodstone								1								1
Roman she-wolf	bloodstone								1								1
eagle	carnelian										1						1
Moulded glass																	
head of Roma	yellow glass				1												1
eagle with wings, on thunderbolt	blue glass						1							1			1
Apollo	blue glass						1										1
Hercules	blue glass											1					1
walking lion	blue glass								2								2
striding man	green glass						1							1			2
satyr prancing	blue glass							1									1
human figure?	blue glass	1				1					2						4
figure			1														1
crude figure	cut into metal		1														1
debased figure	blue glass								2								2
debased standing figure	pale greenish glass								1								1
	pale greenish glass								1								1
	pale greenish glass								1								1
	blue glass						1										1
crude figure	red glass										1						1
crude figure	green glass															1	1
		1	4	10	1	1	3	3	2	9	1	1	3	1	1	1	1
Intaglios as % of total numbers of rings		8	27	34	33	17	30	33	7	23		8	15	5	33	8	33
																	%

4.5 Summary and discussion: literacy

The ability to read and write was a key skill required in the army and the Imperial administration. Literacy extended to demonstrating an understanding of Classical Roman literature and mythology as part of Empire-wide elite Roman culture. This chapter examined the evidence for literacy in terms of writing, and expression of understanding of Classical learning.

Dedicatory inscriptions usually occur on public buildings and are therefore not generally expected at rural sites. The use of epigraphy was very limited in the study sample. Inscriptions on stone were few, and outside of Cirencester and Bath, confined to the religious sites at Nettleton and Uley. Inscribed altars were only present at shrine sites, with a few unscribed altars at nucleated settlement and farm sites, biased towards sites associated with the military. Most of the inscriptions from Roman Britain occurring on altars are found at military sites (Mattingly, 2006: 215) and the study sample showed a bias towards sites with military or religious associations. With the abundance of good stone in the study area, it is likely that inscribed stones could have been acquired, had there been a demand for them and therefore suggests a cultural choice in the use of inscriptions, given the larger number of stone sculptures or figurines found in the study sample. The rarity of these inscribed items is typical of much of southern Britain.

Curse tablets were a culturally-Roman practice also recorded in other provinces (Mattingly, 2006: 310-315), and have been found in the study sample at the urban temple site at Bath and the rural shrine at Uley, but not at the shrine at Nettleton. Curse tablets found adopt Roman forms, using Latin cursive script and a relatively standardised, 'semi-legal' format. Tomlin (2002: 170) comments that we would expect to see a difference in the quality between the Bath and Uley tablets if there were different levels of literacy between urban and rural sites but this is not the case, as the content, handwriting and forms of Latin and language used are similar (Woodward and Leach, 1993: 114-116). The wide variety in handwriting on the Bath curse tablets (with only two confirmed as in the same hand) and poor handwriting on some, indicates that these were written by the individuals themselves, with different levels of literacy, rather than being written by scribes. Tomlin (2002: 171)

notes that Celtic names predominate on curse tablets at both Bath and Uley, whereas Roman citizens account for almost all names on monumental stone inscriptions at Bath, which suggests use of curse tablets by the indigenous population.

The tablets were mostly addressed to the Celtic deity Sulis at Bath, with a few to the Romano-British Sulis-Minerva (Mattingly, 2006: 315) and the Roman gods Mercury and Mars at Uley. Whilst they used Latin, the standardised and formulaic nature of these tablets, and the presence of some blank tablets suggests that they are more about the process of petitioning the gods than the content of the petition. Tomlin (2002: 174) notes that the values of the items taken at Bath do not suggest a 'socio-economic elite' as they are mostly domestic items of small value, indicating that the people visiting these sites were local. Uley is similar, but here there were more agricultural items. The exclusive focus on retribution for minor thefts is a peculiarly British adaptation of a wider Roman practice of petitioning the gods on a range of matters (Mattingly, 2006: 315), and indicates a very narrow role for written curse tablets compared with other parts of the Empire. The evidence suggests that for the rural settlements in the study sample, writing was associated with Roman-style religious practices.

Inscriptions have been used as a measure of 'literacy'. However, the majority of stone inscriptions in Britain relate to the military (Mattingly, 2006: 202), and it is not possible to know whether the stone inscriptions on public buildings were actually meant to be read, or whether they were purely decorative (Allason-Jones, 2011: 139) or meant for visiting officials. The presence of writing implements is therefore considered a better reflection of the ability to read or write, as there is less of a military bias than with inscriptions.

Written documents used ink on wooden leaf tablets, or styli on waxed wooden tablets. Ink is permanent compared with wax which could be rubbed out and re-used, and therefore tended to be used for official and legal documents, whilst wax tablets tended to be used for more transient, often personal correspondence. The use of ink-written documents was evidenced in the study sample by the presence of samian inkwells. Willis (2005a: 96, 103) showed that the majority of inkwells

occurred in Britain as samian ware (ceramic), with a peak in the later first century and a decline in the second century, occurring at military and major urban centres with few at rural sites, villas and minor nucleated settlements. Inkwells were found at all three military sites in the study sample, at Cirencester, and at two nucleated settlement sites, Alcester and Wanborough (which have military connections in the first century), and Dymock (*Cursus Publicus?*), consistent with Willis' data, but no inkwells were found at other types of rural site. To put the sixteen inkwells in the study sample into context: 154 samian inkwells have been recorded for London, 27 for the period AD50-69, 54 for the period AD70-119 and 73 for the period AD120-199 (Monteil, 2008), showing that use in the study sample was very limited.

Writing in ink may have been an expensive luxury (Willis, 2005a: 101), with wax tablets a less expensive option. Willis takes the view that in the early Roman period writing documents in ink was a statement of wealth and social status, suggesting a link with Roman institutions and culture, and for the Britons this would have reflected cultural aspirations and competency in Roman culture. For the study sample, ink-written documents were being used at urban sites and sites associated with the military in the early Roman period, presumably related to official documents, but not as statements of wealth and status at rural settlement sites.

Styli, as evidence for writing, occurred at 54% of rural sites in the study sample (Figure 7). Nucleated settlements, particularly those with connections to the military (Alcester and Wanborough), estate centres, and Nettleton and Uley, had significantly greater average numbers of styli than other sites. Styli occurred in smaller numbers at villa and farm sites, mainly in the third and fourth centuries. 82% of styli were iron, the majority displaying no decoration, whilst half of the copper alloy styli were decorated, which suggests these decorated copper styli may have had a role displaying writing skills. Copper alloy styli occurred at shrine, estate centre, villa and farm sites, but very few at nucleated settlement sites. The higher proportion of functional, undecorated iron styli at nucleated settlement sites suggests a utilitarian role for writing, such as record keeping, at these sites. Numbers

of styli were not significantly different for villas compared with other types of site, indicating that writing did not form a significant element of elite identity at these sites.

Seal boxes are evidence for sealed written documents or packages containing other valuables. Seal boxes occurred at military sites (first century for the study sample), and mainly at nucleated settlement and estate sites in the study sample in the third and fourth centuries, which suggests they may have related to official correspondence. Overall numbers of seal boxes were low so it is difficult to draw out general patterns in their role in identity expression. The exception is the cubic seal box from Kingscote, interpreted as for use in an official, probably Imperial, capacity (p52). The significant increase in the total number of styli, and the more modest increase in seal boxes in the third and fourth centuries at nucleated settlement and estate centre sites may have related to increasing demands of the Imperial administration with the creation of *Britannia Prima*. Styli occur in much greater numbers and at more sites than seal boxes, suggesting that writing may have been used for purposes other than official documentation.

Signet rings holding intaglios appear to have had a different role at nucleated settlements, compared to other types of site. Nucleated settlements used intaglios during the first and second centuries, and these were made of semi-precious stones. Other sites began to use intaglios in the third century, with a peak in intaglio use in the third century, and farm sites only began use in the fourth century. Third and fourth century intaglios were mostly of moulded glass, to imitate semi-precious stones for those with aspirations to Roman-style culture but who could not afford the gemstones. Whilst nucleated settlements fit into the general trend observed for military and urban sites elsewhere in Britain, where signet rings holding intaglios were generally in use in the first and second centuries, declining significantly in the third century (Cool in Jackson, 2012: 136), shrine, villa and farm sites lag behind and start in the third century. Of note is the absence of intaglios at military and urban sites in the study sample, although the nucleated settlement sites at Alcester and Wanborough, had some military presence in the early Roman period.

The iconography found on intaglios is usually culturally-Roman, relating to the personifications and attributes of Roman gods and goddesses, and not Celtic deities, and this was also the case for the study sample (Figure 13). Some intaglios were more finely carved than others, and some figures on the study sample were crudely carved but are probably imitations of Roman-style figures. Cool (in Miles et al., 2007: 289) takes the view that even crudely carved intaglios reflect aspirations towards a ‘Romanised lifestyle’, and on this basis the intaglios in the study sample would reflect a desire to display a knowledge of Classical Roman culture.

Iconography may also indicate a magical or religious function (Allason-Jones, 2011: 216-217). For example, the intaglio from the shrine of Apollo at Nettleton depicts a representation of the god Apollo as a purifier and healer (Wedlake, 1982: 142,214-5), linking the device on the intaglio with the same deity represented at the shrine. The images of two intaglios at Wanborough have military associations, implying an association with military, although whether these were owned by military personnel, veterans or others cannot be established. According to Henig (Timby, 1998: 208), imitation intaglios made of glass represent the ‘*dissemination of the signet ring amongst the lower orders (humiliores) in the third century at a time when the use of engraved gems as signet rings was undergoing a marked decline*’, suggesting an elite status for these rings in the early Roman period, and probably an association with being ‘Roman’, or Roman-ness.

Figure 7 shows that, for the fourteen study sample sites which had intaglios, seven also had styli and seal boxes, and one had a seal box, which suggests that intaglios were associated with the process of securing documents. Four of the sites had intaglios and styli, and two had intaglios only, which suggests that these were not used for sealing documents, although the numbers of artefacts are small, making these conclusions tentative. Intaglios were compared with the total number of rings at each site (Figure 12) to examine their role as jewellery. At Asthall, Alcester, Wanborough, Ariconium, Somerford Keynes and Whelford Bowmoor intaglios comprise around a third of the total number of rings at these sites, almost all had identifiably culturally-Roman designs and the majority were of precious stone. At Frocester, Nettleton and Worcester intaglios were around 15% of the total number

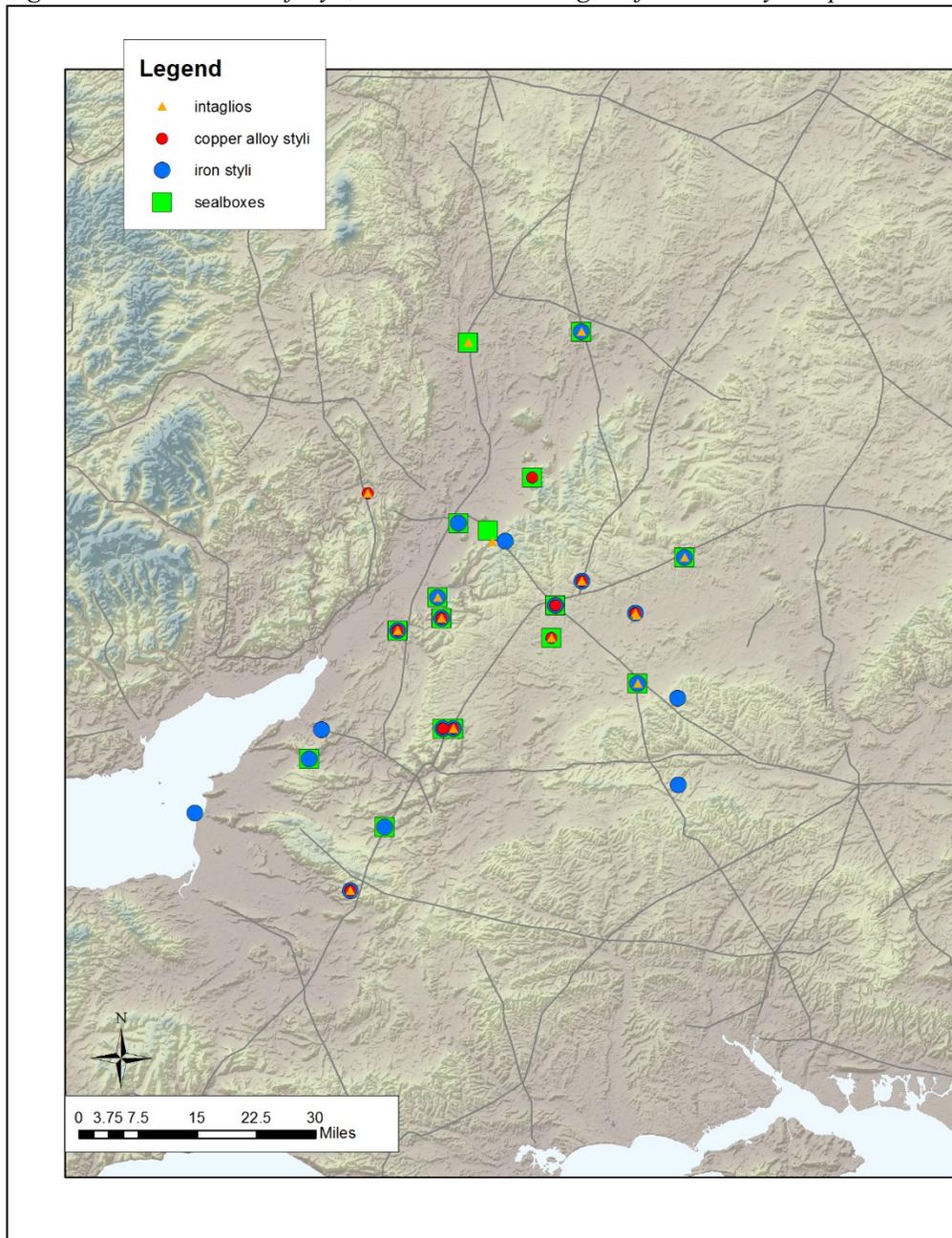
of rings, were a mixture of semi-precious stones and glass, but the designs on the three intaglios at Frocester were crudely cut figures. The use of only culturally-Roman iconography, even if sometimes crudely executed, and the focus on these designs within the overall repertoire of rings at these sites, together with the limited association with seal boxes, indicates that rings with these images were important and suggests aspirations to display knowledge of Roman culture.

Figure 14 shows the distribution of intaglios, styli and seal boxes in the study sample. Occurrences are not limited to sites on the Roman road network, and so some form of literacy extended beyond the sites along the road network expected to be involved in official communications, to rural sites including villas and farms, mainly in the later Roman period. The use of styli, seal boxes and intaglios varied between sites. More sites had styli than seal boxes (Figure 9) and all sites (except for Worcester and Brockworth) which had seal boxes also had styli, but there were several sites with styli only (Figure 7). This suggests that documents were being written which did not require the security of a seal, particularly in the later Roman period, although, given the small numbers of artefacts involved, this must be a tentative conclusion.

Styli occur at Camerton and Sea Mills, but no intaglios. No styli, seal boxes or intaglios were found in the excavations at Dymock, which has been proposed as a site for the *Cursus Publicus*, although an inkwell was found. High numbers of styli were found at Nettleton. There were three intaglios (first second and third centuries) but only one stylus and no seal boxes at Ariconium. No seal boxes or styli occur at the early villa at The Ditches, and if the nearby fieldwalking find of a second century intaglio (p57) is assumed to relate to the villa, the intaglio at The Ditches would seem to be a special item of jewellery valued for its design, rather than its use as writing equipment. The farm site at Claydon Pike had a decorated copper alloy stylus and an intaglio with an eagle design (although in glass) suggesting both writing and display of aspirations to Roman cultural knowledge were important here. One stylus was found at Great Bedwyn and two at Marshfield (both are villa sites), but no intaglios at either. Villa sites did not have significantly higher numbers of styli and intaglios when compared to the farm sites (which would be expected if these were elite items) or when compared to nucleated settlement

sites (Figure 7) so that it appears that intaglios were not significant in displaying elite status at the villa sites. No seal boxes, styli or intaglios occur at the nucleated settlements at Tewkesbury and Wycomb, the wayside shrine at Portway, the villa at Kings Weston, or several of the smaller farm sites. All of these sites have other small finds such as brooches, suggesting that distribution mechanisms were in place for such items to reach these sites, and the absence of styli and intaglios may therefore have been an active choice.

Figure 14: Distribution of styli, seal boxes and intaglios for the study sample



Intaglios appear to play different social roles at different sites, and none at some sites. There is no clear trend by type of site, rather a diversity of responses, which may have included a role as seals for documents and/or display of knowledge of Classical Roman culture. The evidence suggests that the use of culturally-Roman imagery on intaglio rings was important in creating identities linked with literacy and elite-Roman culture (discussed further in section 8.2.2.2).

Styli, as evidence of writing, were focused more on nucleated settlement, shrine and estate centres, than at villa and farm sites, suggesting that that writing did not form a significant element of identity at villa sites. The evidence from inkwells, which represents the use of a more expensive writing medium, suggests its use was confined to Roman institutions and urban sites in the early Roman period, and was not used to make a statement about wealth and status at rural settlement sites. Hanson and Conolly (2002) showed that literacy was not confined to military and urban sites, but extended to lower status rural settlements, although less than expected at villa sites. The study sample is consistent with this, demonstrating limited numbers but widespread occurrence of writing equipment, with low levels in the early Roman period, and a significant increase in the later Roman period. Overall, this suggests that for the study sample, the use of writing was less about expressing a culturally-Roman identity, and more about administration within the Imperial system.

The role of literacy in constructing elite identities in the study sample is discussed further in section 8.2.1, and the role of sculpture and figurines, and intaglio rings in expressing learning and cultural knowledge as part of elite identity in section 8.2.2. Inscriptions, curse tablets and writing equipment as evidence for the use of the Latin language and its role in structuring group identities is considered further in section 8.4.1.

5 Results and analysis: Personal appearance

Personal appearance is a key element of an individual's identity. Personal appearance mattered to the Romans: 'barbarians' were stereotyped in the literary sources by their unkempt appearance. Tacitus is keen to emphasize Agricola's civilising influence on the Britons, so that the Roman '*national dress came into favour and the toga was everywhere to be seen*' (*Agricola* 21). Depictions of Britons on tombstones are rare in Britain, and there is little evidence available for the study area, although more evidence is available for other north-west provinces such as the Rhine-Moselle area (Rothe, 2009) which can be used for comparison.

We have few literary sources for Britain to describe grooming practices, or the arrangement and ornamentation of hair and clothing, and reliance is placed on archaeological evidence for the associated artefacts to examine these. Hill (1997) identified a change in the way personal identities were expressed in the late Iron Age, with an increasing focus on the individual. Artefacts relating to dress and appearance, such as brooches, appear in far greater numbers (Jundi and Hill, 1998), and new practices, such as the use of toilet implements, appear. There was some use of mirrors in the Iron Age. The Roman period saw the introduction of combs, and marble mixing palettes for grooming the body, new ways of styling hair, using hairpins, and new forms of personal ornamentation such as finger rings and earrings. The concept of communal, public bathing was also introduced to Britain in the Roman period and is visible archaeologically through the presence of bath houses and associated equipment such as strigils and the glass flasks for oil and for perfumes used as part of the bathing process.

The key issues are around how and when provincial costume changed (Croom, 2000; Allason-Jones, 2005: Ch. 5), the extent to which Roman or Celtic traditions influenced the form and style of personal ornament (Jundi and Hill, 1998; Johns, 1996; Hunter, 2008; Bayley and Butcher, 2004; Swift, 2011; Eckardt and Crummy, 2008) and how these changed over time. The use of personal ornament to express wealth (Johns, 1996; Swift, 2000) reflect elite identities (Eckardt and Crummy, 2008; Swift,

2004; Stewart, 2007) or gender (Allason-Jones, 1995; Allison, 2015; Eckardt, 2015; Allason-Jones, 2005: Ch. 5) have also been explored. Artefact studies include brooches (Mackreth, 2011; Bayley and Butcher, 2004; Swift, 2000; Cool and Baxter, 2016), dress accessories (Swift, 2003b; Johns, 1996; Allason-Jones, 2005: Ch. 5), hairpins (Crummy, 1979; Cool, 1990), beads (Guido, 1978), perfumes and cosmetics (Stewart, 2007), and toilet implements (Eckardt and Crummy, 2008). The archaeological evidence for the study sample is summarised in Figure 15. The evidence for the individual types of artefacts used for personal grooming, personal ornamentation, footwear and clothing is considered individually below.

5.1 Styling the body – toilet implements

Toilet implements include nail-cleaners, tweezers, ear scoops, toilet spoons, spatula probes, razors, combs, mirrors and marble mixing palettes. Toilet sets comprise tweezers, nail-cleaners, ear scoops and/or toilet spoons attached together on a metal loop. Eckardt and Crummy (2008) have produced the main typology and analysis of toilet implements for Britain, and the study sample has been compared against this.

5.1.1 Nail-cleaners, tweezers and toilet sets

Most of the sites in the study sample used toilet implements, the exceptions being the smaller wayside shrines at Portway and Brean Down, and the smaller farm sites at Horcott, The Bowsings, Butcombe, Wootton Bassett and Birdlip Quarry (Figure 15). With the exceptions of Claydon Pike (second and third centuries) and Somerford Keynes, toilet implements are rare at farm sites in the study sample. Numbers are low at villa sites, and even in the fourth century are lower than those for nucleated settlement sites. Villa sites were farms in the first and second centuries, only developing into villas in the late Roman period, and, except for Frocester, no tweezers or nail-cleaners occur at villa sites in the first and second centuries. Toilet implements occur at Gatcombe in the fourth century, which is its main period of occupation, but only appear in more significant numbers at Kingscote in the fourth century, when the well-appointed villa-style building appears, even though occupation at Kingscote starts in the mid second century. Adoption of both nail-cleaners and tweezers by shrine

sites as late as the third century is interesting given that both Nettleton and Uley are sites which show continuity of occupation from the late Iron Age.

59% of the study sample data could be allocated to a chronological period, but unfortunately the large numbers of artefacts at Wanborough and Somerford Keynes were not identified as to period. The numbers of tweezers and spatula probes increased over time, while nail-cleaners decreased in the second century and then increased again over time (Figure 17). This higher number of nail-cleaners in the first century, decreasing in the second reflects the nail-cleaners included for mid-first century military sites in the study sample. The numbers of items for the other categories shown in Figure 17 are too small to give confidence in the trends.

Eckardt and Crummy (2008: 100-105) noted subtle differences between site types, some producing slightly more tweezers and others slightly more nail-cleaners than others and similar differences were noted for the study sample (Figure 16). It is possible that items shown as single tweezers or nail-cleaners were parts of sets but have become detached, so too much should not be made of the absence of toilet sets. Eckardt and Crummy found higher numbers of tweezers than nail-cleaners at military sites whereas the study sample shows the opposite (Figure 16), but this is probably a reflection of the small number of sites in the study sample and their short period of occupation in the mid first century. Eckardt and Crummy showed slightly higher percentages of nail-cleaners at large towns, small settlements and rural settlements. The data for nail-cleaners and tweezers were excluded from the graph in Figure 16 for the exceptionally high values at Wanborough and Somerford Keynes, which distorted the values shown. The average number of nail-cleaners was higher at shrine and estate sites in the study sample, which fall within Eckardt and Crummy's small settlement category. The lower values of nail-cleaners and tweezers at villa and farm sites compared to small settlements is consistent with Eckardt and Crummy's results, although nail-cleaners at farm sites were very much lower.

Figure 18 summarises the distribution of nail-cleaners, tweezers, toilet spoons and spatula probes. Except for toilet spoons, which occur in smaller numbers and seem to have more of a southern and

Figure 16: Evidence for toilet implements in the study sample

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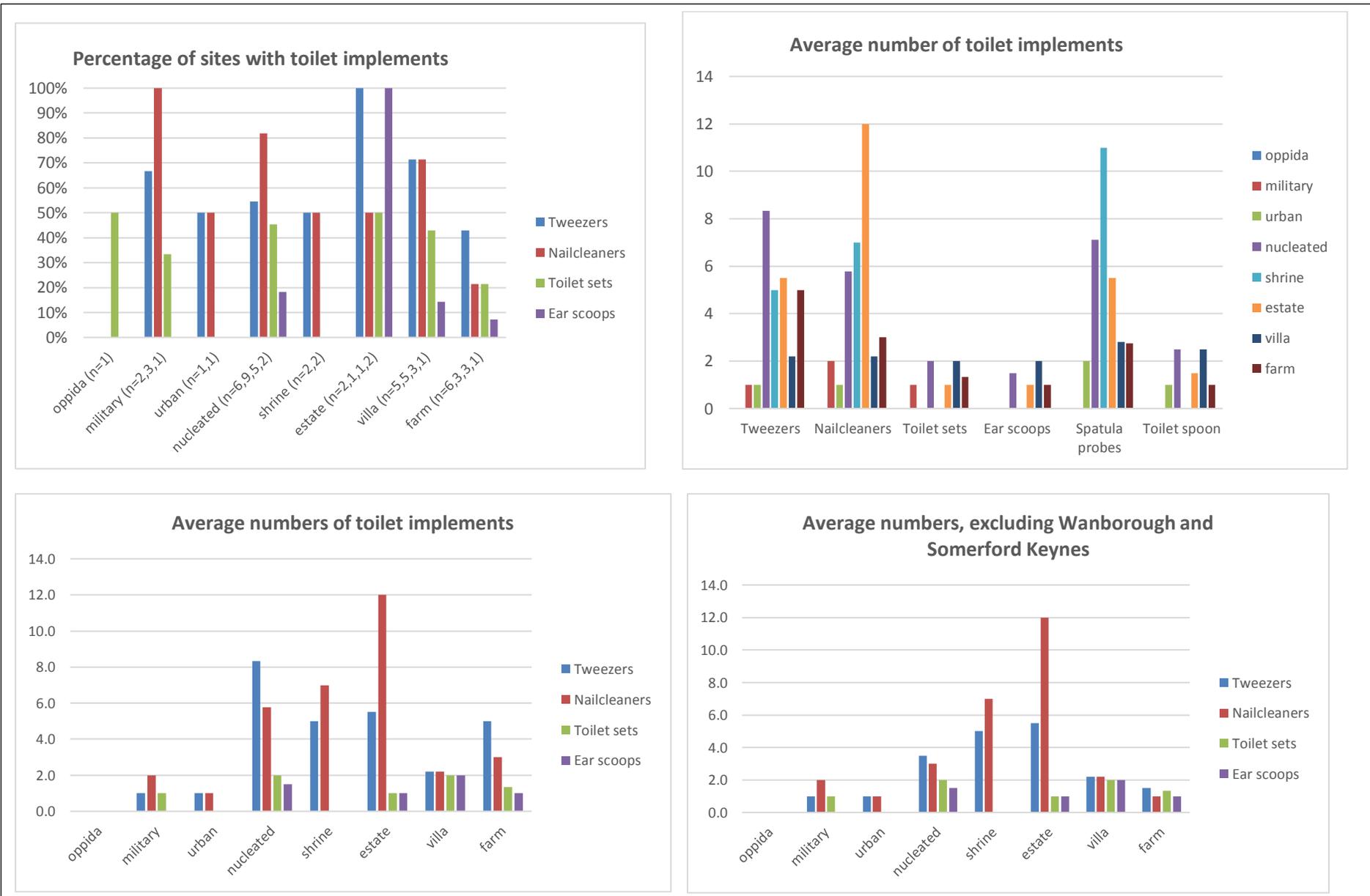


Figure 17: Relative percentage of toilet implements by period

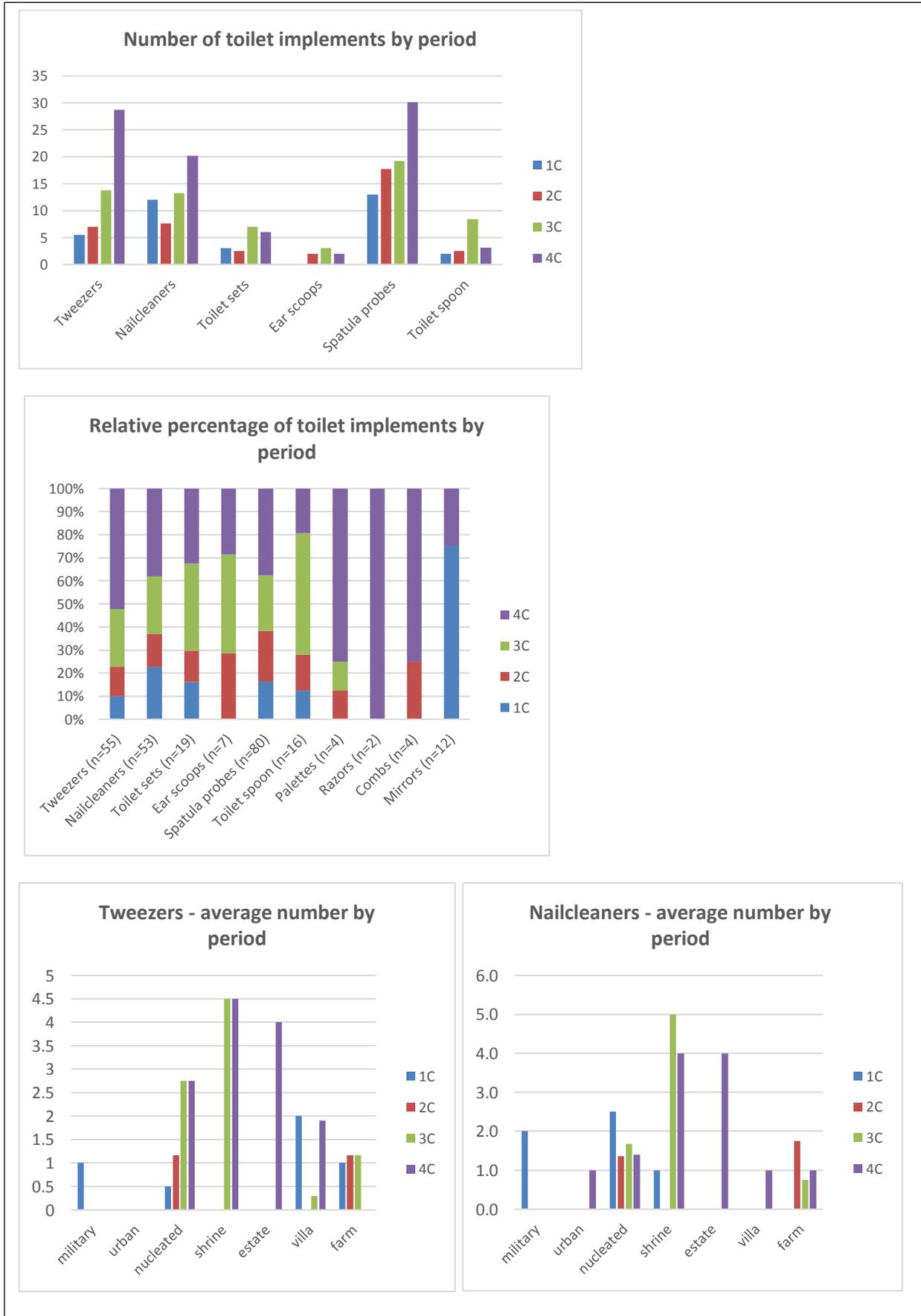
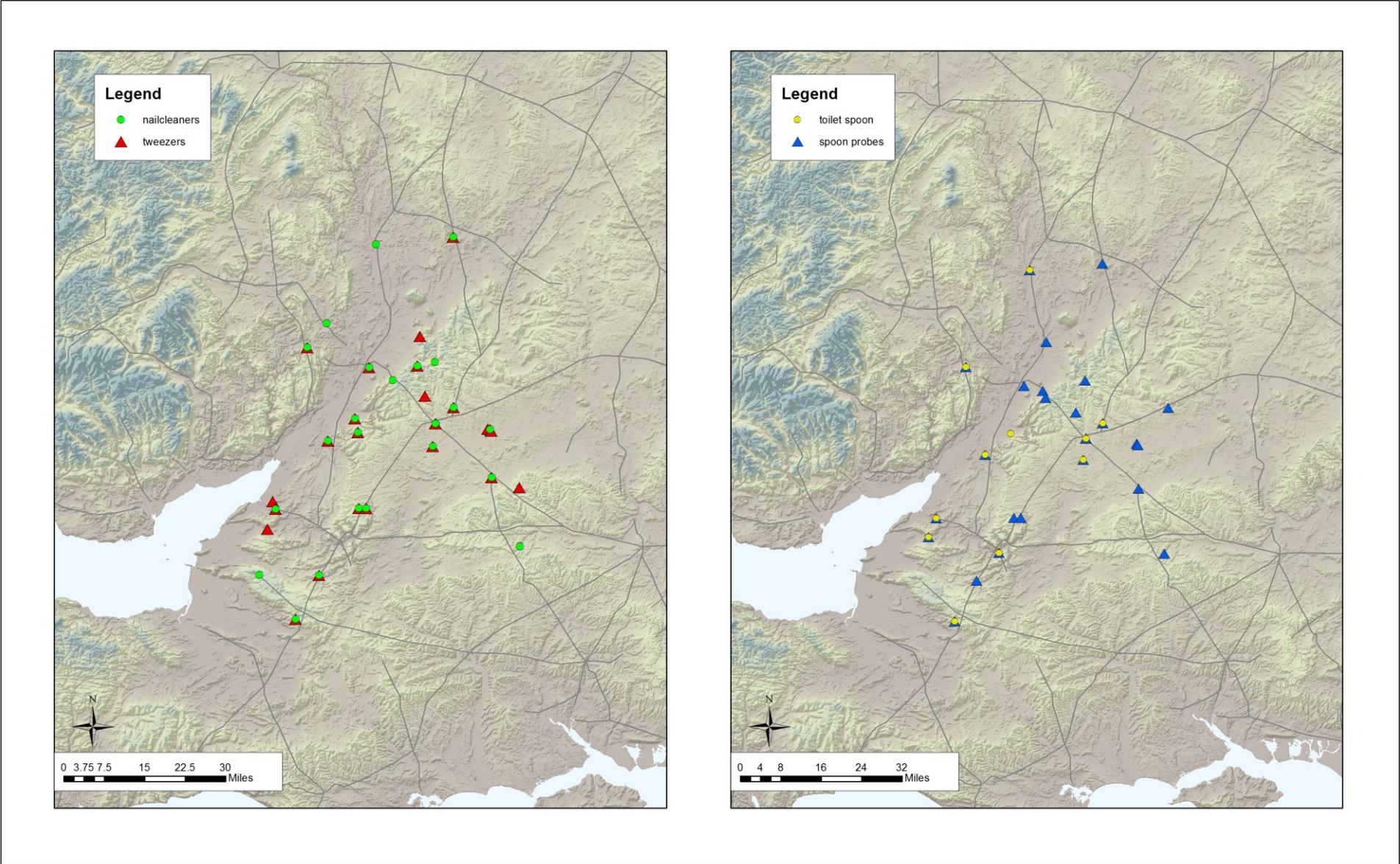


Figure 18: Distribution of toilet implements in the study sample



western distribution, other toilet implements occur consistently across the area covered by the study sample.

Eckardt and Crummy (2008: 65-68, and 130-131) identified three types of nail-cleaners with pronounced regional distributions: one in the area of the Catuvellauni/Trinovantes and two in the area of the Dobunni – the ‘bone disc’ type with a focus around the Severn estuary, and the ‘grooved collar’ type with a similar but more southern focus. It is not yet clear whether these regional distribution patterns represent marketing zones or ‘regional identities’. The incidence of these two nail-cleaner types was examined for the study sample and the results are shown in Figure 19 and Figure 20. Distributions are broadly consistent with Eckardt and Crummy’s findings, but are spread across all chronological periods, and in total represent around a third of the total number of nail-cleaners at these sites. Wanborough has both types, plus at least six others (based on the illustrated examples in the excavation report). Bone head nail-cleaners have a more northern distribution and grooved collar nail-cleaners a southern distribution, with three sites having both (Figure 20). As sites had other types of nail-cleaner in addition to the grooved collar and bone head types, and there are sites in the study sample without either of these, it seems more likely that these represent marketing zones than expressions of regional identity

5.1.2 Spatula probes

‘Spatula probes’ and ‘*ligulae*’ include scoop-probes and spoon-probes and a variety of other combinations, and have longer shafts than the small toilet spoons. For the purposes of this analysis they were all grouped together as ‘spatula probes’, as the terminologies used across excavation reports were inconsistent and difficult to standardise. Spatula probes were used to extract cosmetics or perfumes from jars or bottles, apply cosmetics and medicaments (Eckardt and Crummy, 2008: 39-40), and also used in pharmacy and surgical procedures (Jackson, 2008: 196).

In the study sample, the total number of spatula probes was higher than any of the other types of toilet instrument (Figure 15), which probably reflects their multiple uses. Shrine sites had the highest

Figure 19: Grooved collar and bone head nail-cleaner types

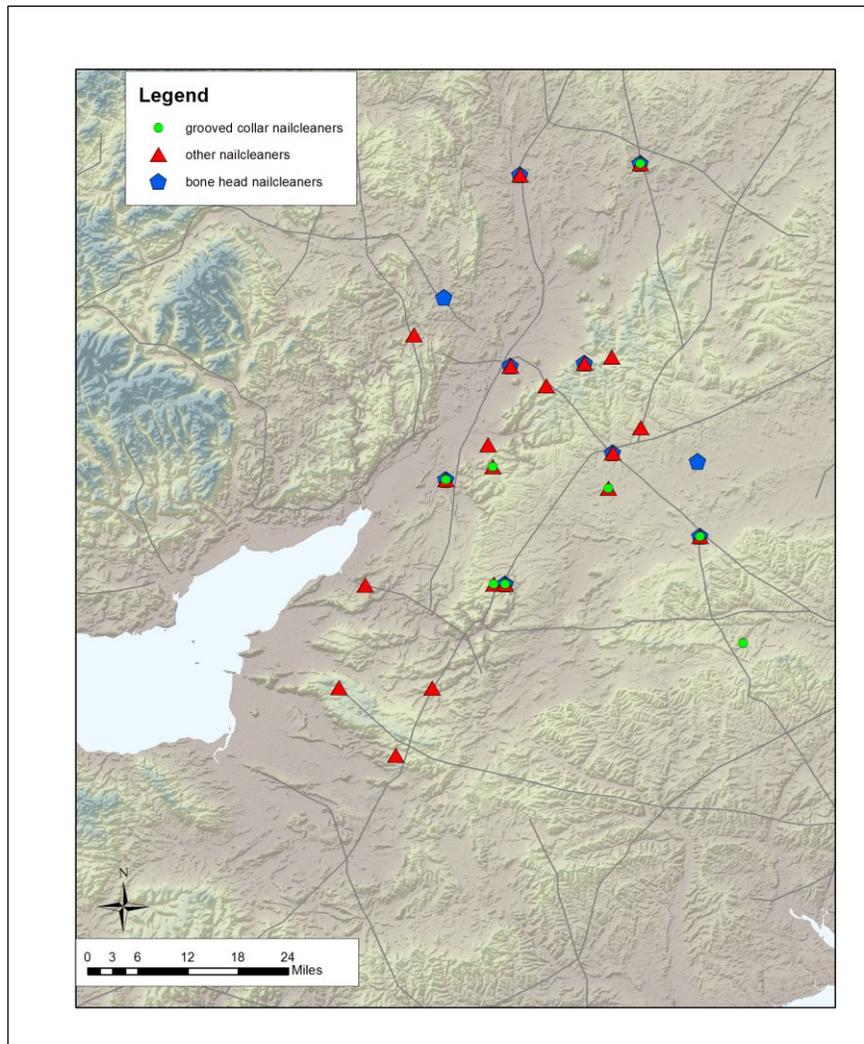
Grooved collar and bone head nailcleaners	Kingsholm	Leaholme, Cirencester	Charterhouse	Cirencester - The Beeches	Shepton Mallet	Sea Mills Abon House	Camerton	Deansway, Wores	Alcester S extramural	Alcester Barontix	Alcester ES	Wycomb Andoversford	Wanborough	Dymock	Ariconium	Nettleton	Uley	Kingscote Site 1	Kingscote Site 2	Frocester	Great Bedwyn	Barnsley Park	Great Witcombe	Marshfield	Claydon Pike	Somerford Keynes	Vineyards Farm	Total number
Bronze nail cleaners	2	2	1	1	2	2	1	3	9	1	1	2	25	1	5	10	4	8	4	3	1	2	1	4	1	6	1	103
<i>of the above:</i>																												
Grooved collar									1				4			2	1	4	1		1			1	1		16	
Bone head	1	2						1	2	1	1		1	1		3		4							1	1	19	
Grooved collar																												
1C																												0
2C																		4										4
2-3C																												0
3C																					1							1
3-4C																2												2
4C									1				1				1											4
unstratified													3											1	1			5
Bone head																												
1C	1	2											1															4
1-2C														1														2
2C																		4										4
2-3C																								1				1
3C																												0
3-4C								1			1					3												5
4C									2																			2
unstratified										1																		1

average number of spatula probes, followed by nucleated settlement and estate sites (Figure 16). There was a very high number of spatula probes at Wanborough. The presence of spatula probes (if used to extract perfume) in the study sample does not correlate with the data for glass unguent flasks (Figure 15) where the number for shrines is low, and Kingsholm has significantly higher numbers of unguent flasks. The distribution map in Figure 18 shows many sites have both toilet spoons and spatula probes. This does suggest that spatula probes and toilet spoons may have had different roles, and spatula probes were probably used for medical rather more than for cosmetic purposes.

5.1.3 Razors, combs and mirrors

Razors, combs and mirrors occur in small numbers (Figure 15). Razors were usually made of iron, although copper ones are known, and occur in diverse forms (Boon, 1991: 27-28). A bronze razor was found at Nettleton and iron razors at Camerton, Alcester, Uley and Frocester (Figure 15), and where contexts could be dated (Uley and Frocester), these were fourth century.

Figure 20: Distribution of grooved collar and bone head nail-cleaners for the study sample



Combs are not known from the Late Iron Age, and were a new introduction to Britain in the Roman period. Early combs were of ivory or boxwood, and in the later period double-sided composite combs occur, usually made from deer antler, often with decorated end plates (Eckardt and Crummy, 2008: 32-34). Fragments of bone combs were found at Bath and Uley, and fragments of double-sided antler combs at The Beeches, Cirencester, Frocester and Great Bedwyn (Figure 15), and where context data was available, fourth century (Bath, Great Bedwyn), with one second century (Bath).

Roman mirrors were made of polished metal or silvered glass, the main shapes being rectangular or circular (Allason-Jones, 2011: 204). Lloyd-Morgan (1977) notes that the rectangular mirror is one of the most common types of Roman mirror in Britain, and most examples are first century (Anderson

et al., 2001: 97). One circular and one rectangular mirror fragment were found at Bagendon. At Alcester there was a fragment of hand mirror disc, decorated with concentric circles, dated first century, and manufactured in the Rhineland, and two first century fragments, one with the bevelled edge of a rectangular mirror. There was one mirror rim fragment from Gatcombe, and at Wanborough, two silvered fragments of undecorated rectangular mirrors, and two hand mirror fragments, one, a disc, decorated with circles, and a loop-shaped handle (from north Italy), all four dated to the first century. Two bronze mirror fragments were found at The Beeches at Cirencester (assumed fourth century context). Most of the dated mirror fragments in the study area are from the first century. There were no mirror fragments from villa or farm sites. Most mirrors were continental imports.

5.1.4 Cosmetics and perfumes

There are depictions of women using mirrors and applying make-up in paintings and relief sculpture, but for Britain the evidence comes from the archaeological record and the implements and containers (cosmetic palettes and unguent bottles) used in beauty regimes.

5.1.4.1 Unguent bottles

Perfume was imported and stored in glass flasks called *unguentaria*, or unguent bottles. These are common in the archaeological record, and occur in a variety of forms – conical or globular bodies with long necks, and tubular forms (Price and Cottam, 1998: 169-188). Pottery and metal perfume vessels are also known (Allason-Jones, 2005: 127), but none occurred in the study sample. Unguent bottles found in the study sample are assumed to relate to beauty regimes or bathing, but unguent bottles may also have stored medicaments. Data for the study sample is shown in Figure 21. Unguent bottles were found at all site types except urban sites. Of note is the presence of unguent bottles at Bagendon, and the large number of unguent bottles at Kingsholm. Sufficient data was not available to allocate unguent bottles in the study sample to chronological periods.

Figure 21: Grooming aids

Styling the body	Bagendon	Salmonsbury	Kingsholm	Leaholme	Charterhouse	Cirencester	Bath	Shepton Mallet	Sea Mills	Asthall	Camerton	Worcester	Alcester	Tewkesbury	Wycombe	Wanborough	Dymock	Arconium	Nettleton	Uley	Portway	Brean Down	Gatcombe	Kingscote	Frocester	Ditches	Great Bedwyn	Barnsley Park	Great Witcombe	Marshfield	Kings Weston	Thornhill	Claydon Pike	SE Tewkesbury	Horcott	The Bowsings	Haymes	Butcombe	Wootton Bassett	Somerford Keynes	Vineyards Farm	Brockworth	Alfred's castle	Whelford Bowmoor	Birdlip Quarry	Maddie farm	Total
Spatula probes		6	4		1	3		3	4	3	10	1	10		1	28		4	11				2	9		3	5	2	2	2			5	1				4	1		1				126		
Toilet spoons					1	1		2	4			2						2					1	2	4			1										1							21		
Cosmetic grinders								2							1																														1		
Palettes											1		1						1	1					1																					9	
Razors						1					1														1			1																		5	
Combs					1																				1																					9	
Mirrors	2				2	5							3			4				1			1		1		1																		12		
Glass unguent flasks	4		23										2			3						1		1																					39		
Glass bath flasks		1																																										1			

5.1.4.2 Cosmetic sets

Jackson (1985) has identified crescent or canoe-shaped items, previously considered to be pendants, as cosmetic sets consisting of a pestle and mortar, with suspension loops. They were used to prepare small quantities of a substance (including cosmetics) by grinding or crushing, and possibly also to apply it (Anderson et al., 2001: 112). A crescent-shaped mortar and pestle have been found in an unstratified context at Wanborough (*ibid.*). Jackson's (1985) catalogue of ninety nine cosmetic sets from Britain includes two from Cirencester (not for Cirencester sites selected in the study sample), with a significant percentage of the catalogued items coming from eastern England.

5.1.4.3 Palettes

Palettes were used as a surface on which cosmetics were mixed before application, using implements such as toilet spoons and 'spoon probes' (see above). There is evidence of traces of colour on palettes, and also of a range of sizes, with the smaller sizes used for mixing cosmetics and the larger ones for medicines (Eckardt and Crummy, 2008: 39). Palettes in the study sample were mostly fragmentary, and made of marble, with one of granite and one of sandstone. Palettes were found across a range of site types (Figure 21), at Shepton Mallet, Alcester, Gatcombe, Kingscote, Frocester, Claydon Pike and Vineyards Farm. Alcester and Gatcombe also had mirrors. Numbers in the second and third century were small with an increase in the fourth century (Figure 17), although the overall numbers are low.

5.2 Styling the body - bathing

The archaeological remains of bath house buildings are our main evidence for bathing practices in Roman Britain. In the study sample evidence of bath houses was found at the large fourth century town house in Cirencester (The Beeches site), the late Roman-period villas at Frocester, Barnsley Park, Kings Weston and Great Witcombe (which had two) and a possible bath suite at Great Bedwyn (not excavated), but none at the early period villa at The Ditches. The villa at Marshfield was extensively enlarged from a three-roomed building and enhanced around AD360, with two rooms made into a 'bath room' and *praefurnium*, with evidence for *opus signinum* floors and painted wall

plaster. The bath room was small - approximately nine metres square - with a heated flagstone floor and a foot bath with a stone seat in a corner of the room (Blockley, 1985: 52-55).

Figure 22: Evidence for private bath suites

	Cirencester, The Beeches	Frocester	Great Bedwyn	Barnsley Park	Great Witcombe	Marshfield	Kings Weston
Bath suite	1	1	?	1	2		1
Bath room						1	

Baths, usually a standard feature of Roman military establishments, have not been located for the Kingsholm fort or the later city-centre fortress in Gloucester, but both were garrisoned for relatively short periods in the mid-first century compared to other military establishments and this may have precluded the building of a stone bath house (Copeland, 2011: 42). Public or official buildings are scarce in small towns, although Burnham and Wachter (1990: 20) note that within these sites independent bath houses are more common than expected. None were noted for the study sample.

Evidence for bathing practices also comes from artefacts associated with bathing practice. Bath flasks were globular glass vessels with short necks, closed by a stopper, and with looped handles through which a carrying strap was passed (for example, Price and Cottam, 1998: 188-190). A bath flask was found at Kingsholm (Figure 21). Fieldwalking in the field near the Camerton settlement found an iron strigil (Jackson, 1990: 64).

5.3 Styling the hair

Hairpins represent a new way of styling hair, and their appearance in the archaeological record is evidence of adoption of new ways of arranging hair. Key reference works are the typology for bone hairpins by Crummy (1979), and for metal hairpins by Cool (1990). Several sites in the study sample were excavated before 1979, but it was beyond the scope of my study to re-analyse data from these earlier reports in line with these typologies. At some sites (see note in Figure 24) only a total number

was recorded for hairpins, or bone artefacts were not collected. A detailed review of hairpins by types was therefore not attempted.

Evidence for hairpins in the study area is summarised in Figure 23. All sites had hairpins, except for oppida, farms with 50% and military sites with 30% (Figure 23). Hairpins were scarce in the first century, increasing significantly by the fourth century (Figure 23), particularly for nucleated settlement and estate sites (but note the main period of occupation for the estate site of Gatcombe is the fourth century, and Kingscote starts mid-second century, but the well-appointed villa-style building is fourth century).

The average number of hairpins per site is highest for estates, followed by shrines and nucleated settlements, then urban and farm sites and is low for farms. However, nucleated settlement, shrine, villa and farm sites adopt hairpins earlier than urban and estate sites (Figure 23). Copper alloy hairpins are usually treated as small finds, but bone hairpins are often not, or not recorded, which distorts the evidence. For Wanborough and Birdlip Quarry only a total number of hairpins is noted, without chronological or context data, and at Nettleton only a total is given for bone hairpins. Bone artefacts were not collected at Worcester. At Shepton Mallet hairpins were recorded as ‘no later than the second century’ (Leach and Evans, 2001: 205). This complicates the interpretation and means that for some sites in Figure 24 bone pins may be significantly under-represented in the chronological analysis. Only 59% of hairpins could be allocated to a chronological period.

The high average number of hairpins at shrine sites is accounted for by Nettleton (Figure 24). Thirty six of the seventy five bone hairpins were found in association with the burnt layer associated with the destruction of the shrine itself after AD249 (Wedlake, 1982: 201). Full detail is not given for the copper alloy hairpins, but they appear to be present from the first to the third centuries.

Figure 23: Evidence for hairpins

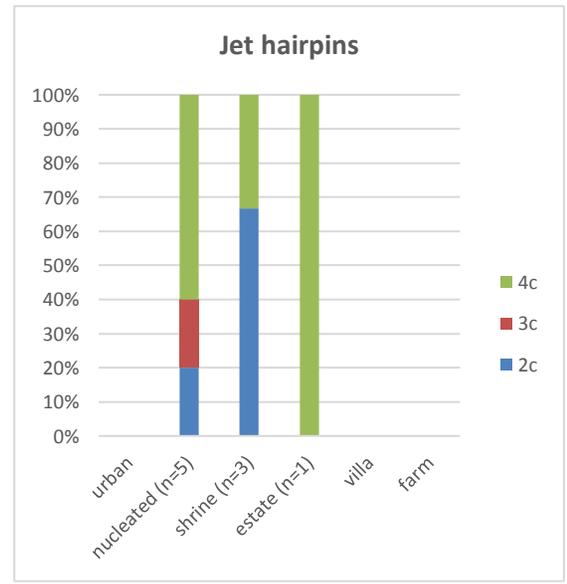
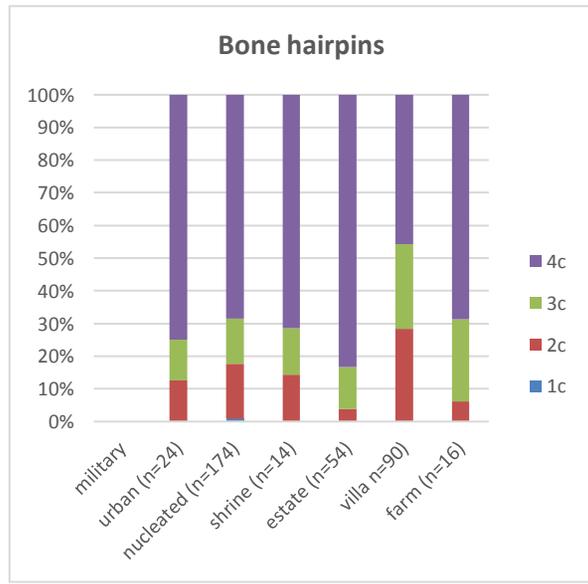
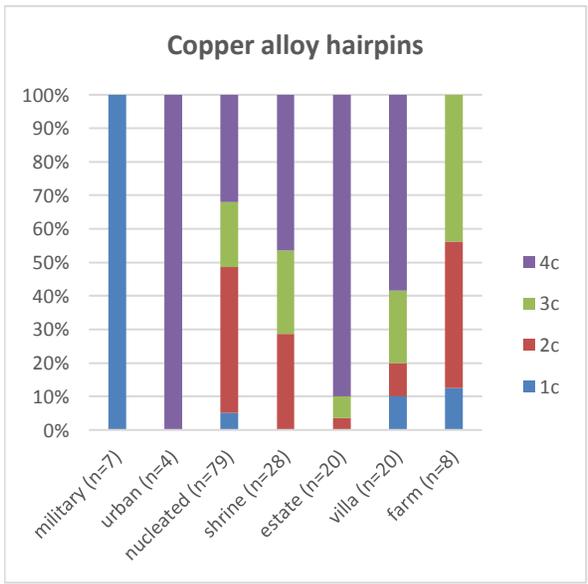


Figure 24: Composition of hairpins

Hairpins	Bagendon	Salmonsbury	Kingsholm	Leaholme	Charterhouse	Cirencester	Bath	Shepton Mallet	Sea Mills	Asthall	Camerton	Worcester	Alcester	Tewkesbury	Wycombe	Wanborough	Dymock	Arconium	Nettleton	Uley	Portway	Brean Down	Gatcombe	Kingscote	Frocester	Ditches	Great Bedwyn	Barnsley Park	Great Witcombe	Marshfield	Kings Weston	Thornhill	Claydon Pike	SE Tewkesbury	Horcott	The Bowsings	Haymes	Butcombe	Wootton Bassett	Somerford Keynes	Vineyards Farm	Brockworth	Alfred's castle	Whelford Bowmoor	Birdlip Quarry	Maddle Farm	Total	
bone			1		23	13	18	4	9	19	1	60	20	137		4	75	12	1	2	26	44	50	20	6	10	13	11	1	13				3		1	1	1		3	6	2	610	65%				
copper alloy		10		4	1	20	2	7	28	10	10		2	12	2	4	63	5	1		7	33	33	1		5	1	19	1	2	8			5			1		1			1	298	32%				
Jet						1			1		3		3						3									3														1	16	2%				
glass						1							1	2					1						4																			9	1%			
silver																											3																3	0%				
Gold surface (on copper alloy)																							1				3																1	0%				
Iron								2																																			2	0%				
		11		27	15	39	6	18	48	11	73	20	3	154	2	8	138	21	2	2	33	79	87	21	6	18	17	30	2	2	21			8		1	1	2	3	8	2	939	100%					

Notes:
 Wanborough, Nettleton, Birdlip Quarry - bone pins not assigned to periods, only total number given
 Bone artefacts not collected at Worcester
 Shepton Mallett - total for hairpins and recorded as 'no later than second century'

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Certain shrine sites potentially associated with healing cults have large numbers of personal objects (Leach, 1998) and this seems to apply at Nettleton. High numbers of hairpins also occur at Wanborough, which is increasing the average for nucleated settlement sites overall. This is difficult to explain as contextual data is limited and this area may have been a craft-working area for the whole town as artefact numbers are generally high across a range of artefact types. The average number of hairpins for villa sites seems low compared to the other site types (but note that villa sites were farms in the first and second centuries).

Hairpins were made of a variety of materials: 65% of hairpins were made of bone, 32% of copper alloy, and 2% of jet. Figure 23 shows that most of the hairpins at military sites were of copper alloy. Shrine, estate, farm and villa sites have more copper alloy hairpins than nucleated settlement and urban sites. The total number of hairpins in the first century is low, increases in the second and third centuries, with a significant increase in the fourth century, most of which relates to greater amounts of bone hairpins at all sites (Figure 23, Figure 24), and relates to urban and estate sites, where most of the hairpins occur in the fourth century. The use of jet, glass and silver for hairpins occurs in the late Roman period, mainly in the fourth century. Jet hairpins occur at nucleated settlement, shrine and estate centres, with most relating to the later Roman period. Glass hairpins only occur in the fourth century, in small numbers, with more at villa sites than urban and shrine sites.

Hairpins with a religious or other connotation or figurative decoration were noted. A bone pin from the New Royal baths, Bath, in the form of the head of a bearded male, with a tall headdress (first/second century), was the only figurative pin in the study sample. High hairstyles are normally female and an alternative interpretation for this hairpin is that it represents a theatrical mask (Davenport et al., 2007: 49). Hairpins with a 'pine-cone' head were noted at two sites – Shepton Mallet and Uley – and may have a religious significance as the pine cone is often associated with the cult of Bacchus (Leach and Evans, 2001: 205).

At Great Witcombe, Lysons' excavations in the nineteenth century found part of a human hand-headed pin (Leach, 1998: 88). Johns (1996: 142) notes that a hand holding fruit or eggs is a general symbol of good omen. Cool (1990: 160) notes that these hairpins are found Empire-wide, and in Britain at later first century sites associated with early military activity, her explanation being that only women at such sites would be able to appreciate the meaning of these designs. It is suggested that the villa at Great Witcombe was built for an army veteran from the *colonia* at Gloucester (Leach, 1998: 133-134), which fits in with Cool's explanation, although the villa was a third century foundation.

A copper alloy hairpin with a gold surface, from Kingscote, had bead and reel decoration similar to bronze and bone pins (Timby, 1998: 93). The design is a common one, so the gold colour was probably of importance here. The context in which it was found is mid-second to early third century. The illustration in the excavation report shows this hairpin to be longer than most of the others found, and based on Cool's findings indicates that the hairpin stood out from the hair, and was designed to be seen, the gold plating adding to the effect.

5.4 Clothing and footwear

Evidence for textiles and clothing is rare, as textiles only survive in exceptional circumstances. None was found for the study sample. Leather footwear does not survive unless conditions are waterlogged, so that in most instances only the hobnails remain as evidence. For the study sample, a few parts of leather shoes survive, mostly from second and third century contexts (Figure 25). These show the typical nailed-sole Roman shoes and thong lacing for securement. One sandal was also found. A few of the shoes showed hobnails in patterns of rows. Van Driel-Murray (1999) has explored the nailing patterns on Roman shoes, and the data for the study sample was examined for any evidence of nailing patterns, but in most cases the surviving material was too fragmentary. Two shoe fragments at Wanborough (Anderson et al., 2001: 337) showed two rows of nails around the perimeter. Two shoes at Horcott (Pine and Preston, 2004: 88) also had these perimeter rows, but hobnails also filling some of the space.

The pattern of hobnails from a shoe at Kingscote (site 1) (Timby, 1998: 101) had a row of hobnails around the perimeter and some pattern within this, but it is not clear what the pattern is.

Although hobnails are found on most of sites in the study sample, these are usually not stratified, and reported merely as a total for the site, so that chronological distribution cannot be assessed. All urban and estate sites had hobnails. Over 80% of villa and nucleated settlement sites had hobnails, two-thirds of military and shrine sites, and nearly 60% of farm sites. Adoption of Roman-style footwear was therefore widespread, but probably only by the third century, based on the dated evidence for leather shoes (see Figure 25).

5.5 Dress accessories

The choice of personal ornament or jewellery makes a significant statement about the wearer, particularly for those types of ornament such as bracelets, rings and earrings ('jewellery') which are purely ornamental and involve a significant element of conscious personal choice in their selection. The role of brooches was primarily a functional one, to fasten garments but the surface of brooches also presents an opportunity for decoration and display, depending on the type and size of the brooch.

5.5.1 Brooches

Significantly more brooches occur than any other type of dress accessories (Figure 15). Bow brooches were a well-established form in Britain by the time of the conquest so were not a new introduction to Britain (Johns, 1996: 155-156). Penannular brooches continue from the Iron Age but are relatively modest in size with limited ornamentation (*ibid.* 148) and plate brooches are a new introduction. As an artefact class, brooches have been studied in detail, with extensive typologies, and much focus on chronology and development, as well as analysis of materials composition. The main reference works used in my analysis are Mackreth (2011), Bayley and Butcher's (2004) study based on the Richborough collection and Johns' (1996) useful overview. The summary below of the main brooch types of the Roman period is based on these sources, with a view to exploring brooches with different

origins (Celtic or Roman), the nature of decoration and how the brooches were worn, rather than chronological development or composition.

Most brooches were of copper alloy, including brasses and bronzes, some being tinned or silvered, but iron brooches were also present in the late Iron Age and post-conquest. Gold and silver brooches are rare (Johns, 1996: 149) and no gold or silver brooches were found in the study sample. Around 10% of the brooches in the study sample were made of iron, and all were first century types (Figure 26), and the rest were of copper alloy. There was evidence of tinning or silvering, and of enamelling, but it was beyond the scope of my study to attempt a detailed analysis of these.

The analysis of brooches in my study has been dealt with in a different way to other artefact types because more information is available about the different brooch types and their origins and date ranges. Data for the study sample were analysed based on known date ranges for each brooch type, rather than the contexts in which the brooches were found (these are often not recorded, or the date of the context has been established based on the date range of the brooch). Brooches with similar date ranges were grouped together for analysis, to reduce the number of analysis categories to manageable levels (Figure 28). Some brooches have a longer date range than others and for the purposes of analysis it was assumed that brooches were acquired in the early part of their date range.

The different brooch types are described briefly below, so that the significance of their presence or absence, and style of decoration can be appreciated. Most of the early bow forms (mid-first century AD) had a pin and bow formed from a single piece of wire, the bow being relatively narrow. These relatively simple 'Nauheim derivatives' offered little scope for decoration and were largely functional. Some were made of iron, which was seldom used after the end of the first century. The continental (widespread in Gaul) 'thistle' and 'rosette' forms of the same period were prominent and highly ornamental, with ribbed decoration. The Aesica brooch form is related to the thistle form, but is decorated with swirling curvilinear patterns in relief on the head, bow and foot, which are Celtic in form (Johns, 1996: 158-159).

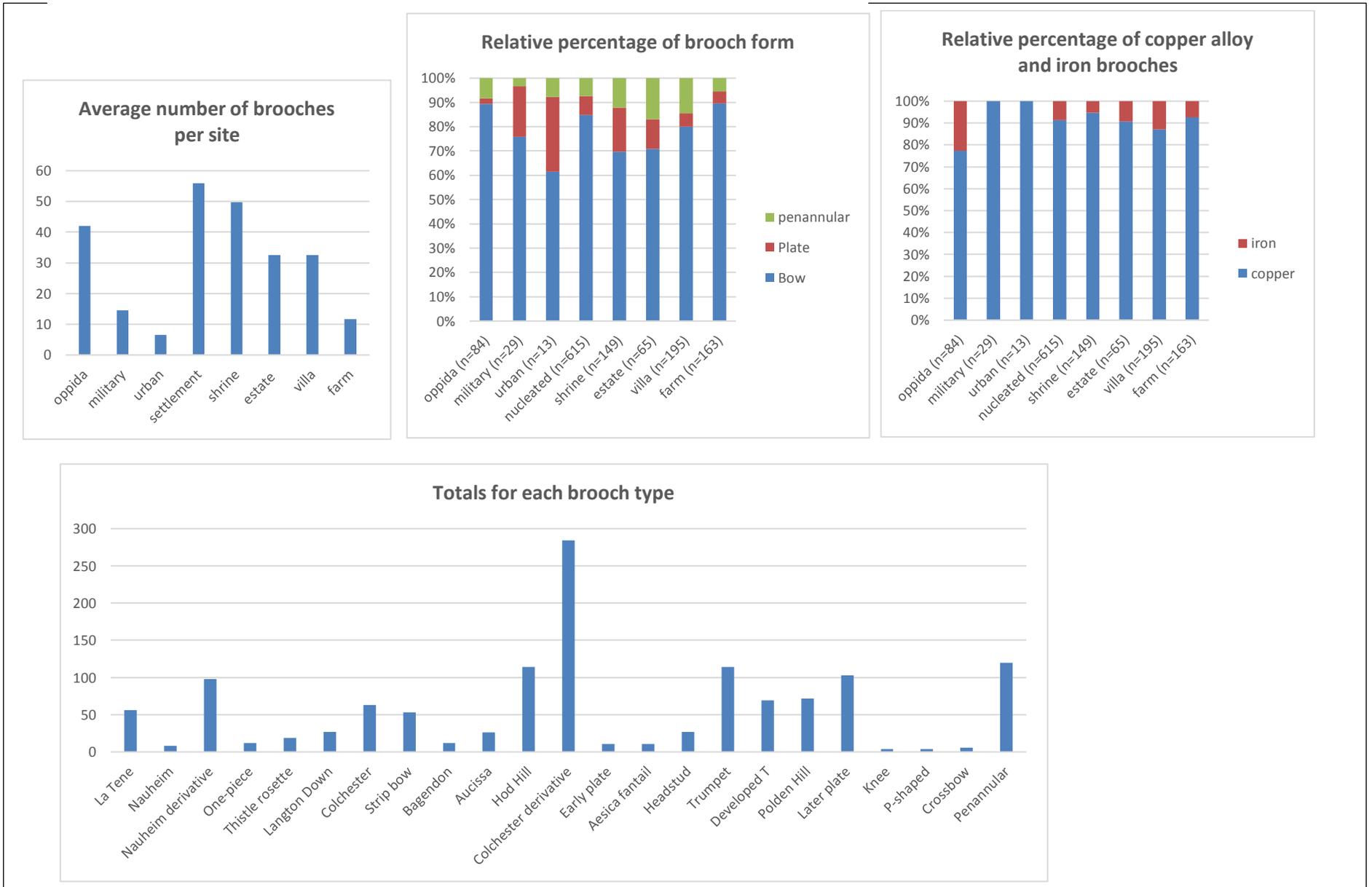
The Aucissa brooch has a flat strip decorated with ribs, with a short foot ending in a knob. It was made in Gaul and occurs on early military sites in Britain. The Hod Hill brooch is similar to the Aucissa, with ribbing and lateral knobs and embellishments, and was introduced into Britain at the time of the conquest (Johns, 1996: 157). The Colchester brooch type and its derivatives have a much smoother and more rounded bow. The Colchester brooch was derived from a continental type, but made in Britain pre-conquest (Bayley and Butcher, 2004: 149) and is British in origin (*ibid.* 155). By the early second century a large number of Colchester Derivative forms had developed, some with cast or enamelled decoration.

The ‘headstud’ brooch developed from the Colchester, and usually has enamel along the bow, consisting of squares, rectangle or lozenges, and a central round stud at the head end, with loops for the attachment of chains. These brooches may have been worn in pairs, attached by a chain and were popular in the second century, as were ‘trumpet’ brooches. Trumpet brooches had continental origins but the design was Romano-British (Johns, 1996: 160-165). Many have the curvilinear decoration of Celtic influence.

The main late Roman brooch was the ‘crossbow’ (Johns, 1996: 166). Crossbow brooches were an Empire-wide form, were ‘P’ shaped with a ‘weighty and imposing appearance’, fairly large, and also made in precious metals. Plate brooches were made of copper alloy with a wide variety of decoration including enamel. Many are quite small – around an inch across – so likely to be decorative rather than functional.

The data for the study sample are summarised in Figure 26, with the detail for each site shown in Figure 27. Average numbers of brooches are highest at nucleated settlement, shrine and oppida sites, and low at urban, farm and military sites. Urban, military and shrine sites have higher numbers of plate brooches, whereas estate and villa sites have slightly more penannular brooches than other sites.

Figure 26: Evidence for brooches



Iron brooches are mostly bow brooches, and the higher number at oppida sites reflects the earlier period brooches at these sites Figure 26. When the total number of brooches in the study sample is considered by brooch type (Figure 26), the Colchester derivative type occurs in considerably greater numbers than any other brooch type. Nauheim derivatives, Hod Hill, trumpet, plate and penannular brooches occur in larger numbers. Overall this shows a mix of Celtic and Roman influences for the brooch types with the largest distribution, which occur across all site-types.

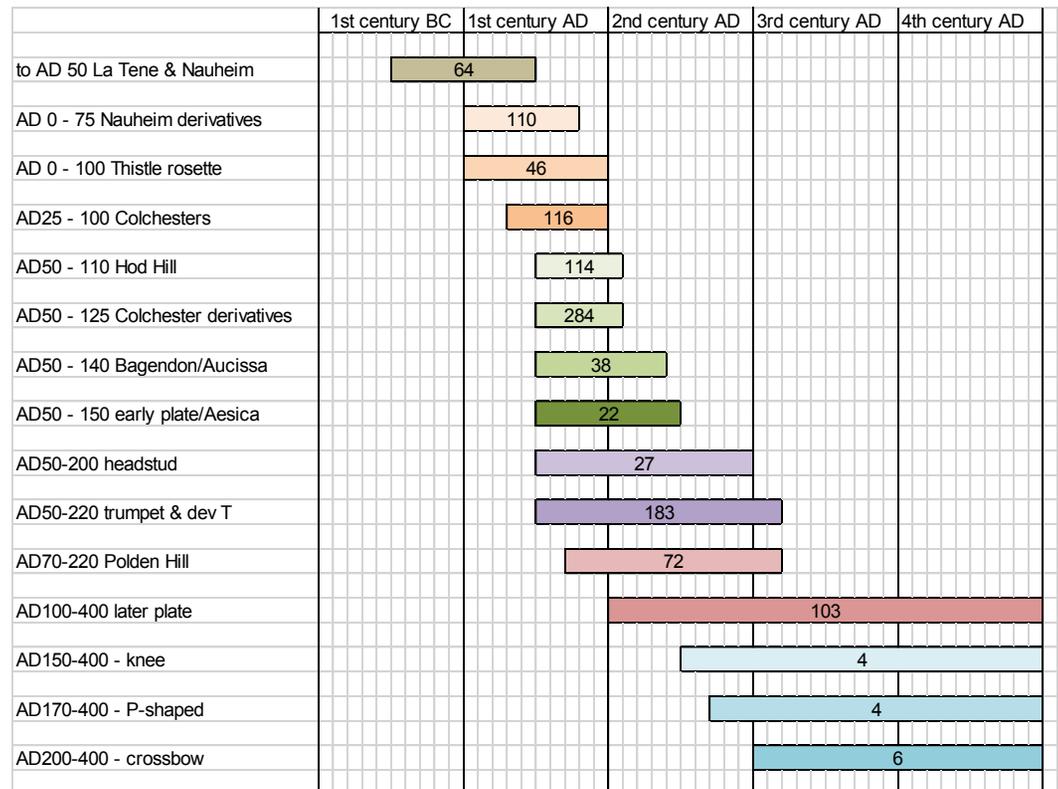
A number of observations can be made on the detailed data in Figure 27. Bagendon has a very wide variety of the earlier brooches (the date ranges are shown in Figure 28) and Ariconium, Frocester and Claydon Pike show a similar wide variety. Except for Claydon Pike, there are no plate brooches at farm sites. Headstud brooches are absent from estate and farm sites. Colchester derivative and trumpet brooches are the most frequent brooch types at farm sites. The number of later period brooches (knee, P, and crossbow) is very low. Bagendon has a very high number of brooches compared to other items of dress accessories. Shepton Mallet, Camerton, Alcester, Wanborough, Ariconium, Nettleton and Frocester also have high number of brooches. The Bagendon type is a variant of the Aucissa, the ‘soldiers brooch’, but is less common, although found in most of the western provinces (Bayley and Butcher, 2004: 151). The Bagendon brooch type was only found at one site in the study area – Bagendon – but a relatively large number at thirteen (Figure 28). The Aucissa brooch type was found at sites in the study area with military associations, but also at other sites, and the Hod Hill type occurred at a wide range of sites. Few brooches were found at urban sites (but the main urban site, The Beeches at Cirencester, does not develop until the later Roman period), and this may reflect the nature of excavation at these sites rather than an absence of brooches.

A very large number of brooches was found at Somerford Keynes. In addition to the twenty stratified brooches shown in Figure 27, 207 unstratified brooches were found, mostly from metal-detecting which identified the site for excavation. Cool (in Miles et al., 2007: 251) suggests that these brooches may have come from a wider area than that sampled by the excavation but the data are not available to confirm this.

Figure 28: Brooch types by site type, and a graphical representation of chronological period for each major brooch type

	oppida	military	urban	nucleated	shrine	estate	villa	farm	total
to AD 50									
La Tene	2			30	1	2	6	15	
Nauheim	5			2	1				64
AD 0 - 75									
Nauheim derivative	10	1	1	47	3	1	25	10	
One-piece	5					1	5	1	110
AD 0 - 100									
Thistle rosette	8			5	1	1	3	1	
Langton Down	9	1		7			7	3	46
AD25 - 100									
Colchester	11	2		12	11	1	13	13	
Strip bow	2			27	8	2	10	4	116
AD50 - 110									
Hod Hill	2	6	1	55	17	2	16	15	114
AD50 - 125									
Colchester derivative	4	6	2	169	19	23	27	34	284
AD50 - 140									
Bagendon	12								
Aucissa	4	4		12	1	2	2	1	38
AD50 - 150									
Early plate	2	3			1		2	3	
Aesica fantail				5	1		3	2	22
AD50-200									
Headstud				15	8		4		27
AD50-220									
Trumpet			1	64	13	4	18	14	
Developed T				41	10	1	4	13	183
AD70-220									
Polden Hill	1	2	1	27	5	6	12	18	72
AD100-400									
Later plate		3	4	48	26	8	9	5	103
AD150-400									
Knee				1	1			2	4
AD170-400									
P-shaped				1	3				4
AD200-400									
Crossbow			2	2	1		1		6
Penannular	7	1	1	45	18	11	28	9	120
Totals	84	29	13	615	149	65	195	163	1313

Date range data compiled from Bayley and Butcher (2004) and Johns (1996)



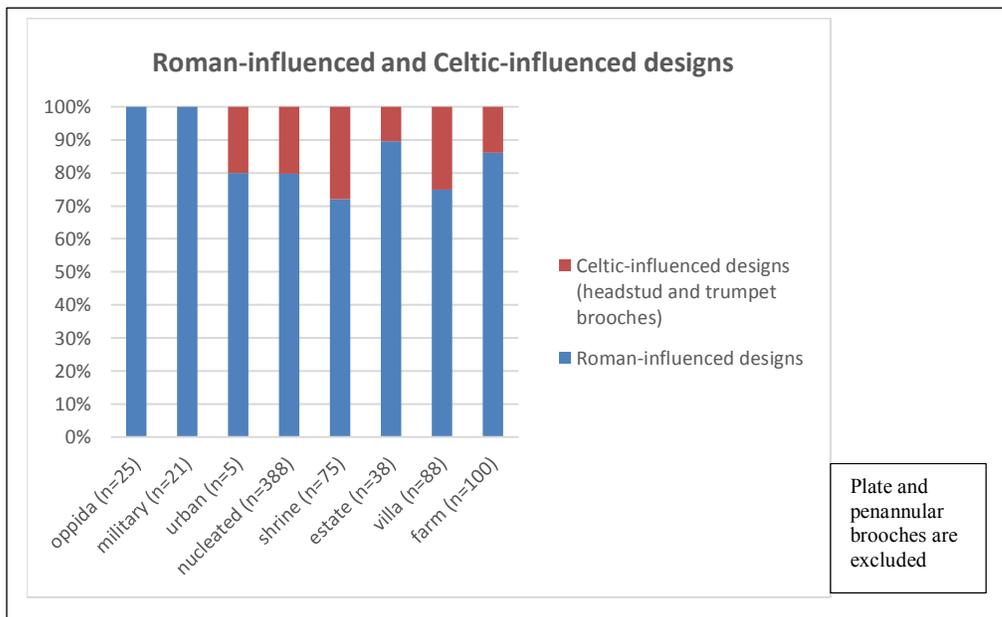
There is evidence for a military or official presence at Somerford Keynes, and the high number of brooches is consistent with the numbers for nucleated settlements (Figure 27), suggesting these sites had a greater need for display through brooches.

Figure 28 shows distribution across types of sites for the brooches in the study area grouped into the major types, as well as an indication of the date ranges for these. This highlights the diversity of brooch types in the first century, and given the comparatively short date range for the Colchester derivatives, makes the high number of these brooches particularly striking. Bayley and Butcher (2004: 159) note that the Flavian period (AD69-96) is the main period of brooch use in southern Britain, when previous imports cease and new British designs from the Colchester derivatives, including the Polden Hill and developed 'T' brooches which have a south-western distribution. The data in Figure 28 is consistent with Bayley and Butcher's findings, and shows a wide distribution across most site types for most of the brooch types.

The designs of trumpet and headstud brooches show Celtic influences which have evolved into a 'characteristically Romano-British design' (Johns, 1996: 160). Figure 29 shows the relative percentage of the Celtic-influenced headstud and trumpet brooches for the period AD50-200 when these brooches occurred. Figure 29 shows only Roman-influenced brooches at military and oppidum sites, and a slightly greater occurrence of Celtic-influenced brooches at shrine and villa sites and a slightly lesser percentage at estate sites. Overall however, the data in Figure 33 shows that individual sites do not have any distinctive preference for either Celtic-influenced or Roman-influenced designs, which is consistent with these brooches being viewed as 'Romano-British' objects.

There is evidence that brooches with headloops, such as the headstud and trumpet brooches, were worn in pairs, with a length of chain joining the two brooches, as part of provincial female costume in the early Roman period (Cool, 2016: 414-415). Figure 29 examines headstud and trumpet brooches as a percentage of the total number of brooches for the period AD50-200. There are four times more trumpet brooches than headstud brooches in total, and headstud brooches only occur at nucleated

Figure 29: Relative percentage of Roman-influenced and Celtic-influenced brooches in the study sample for the period AD50-AD200

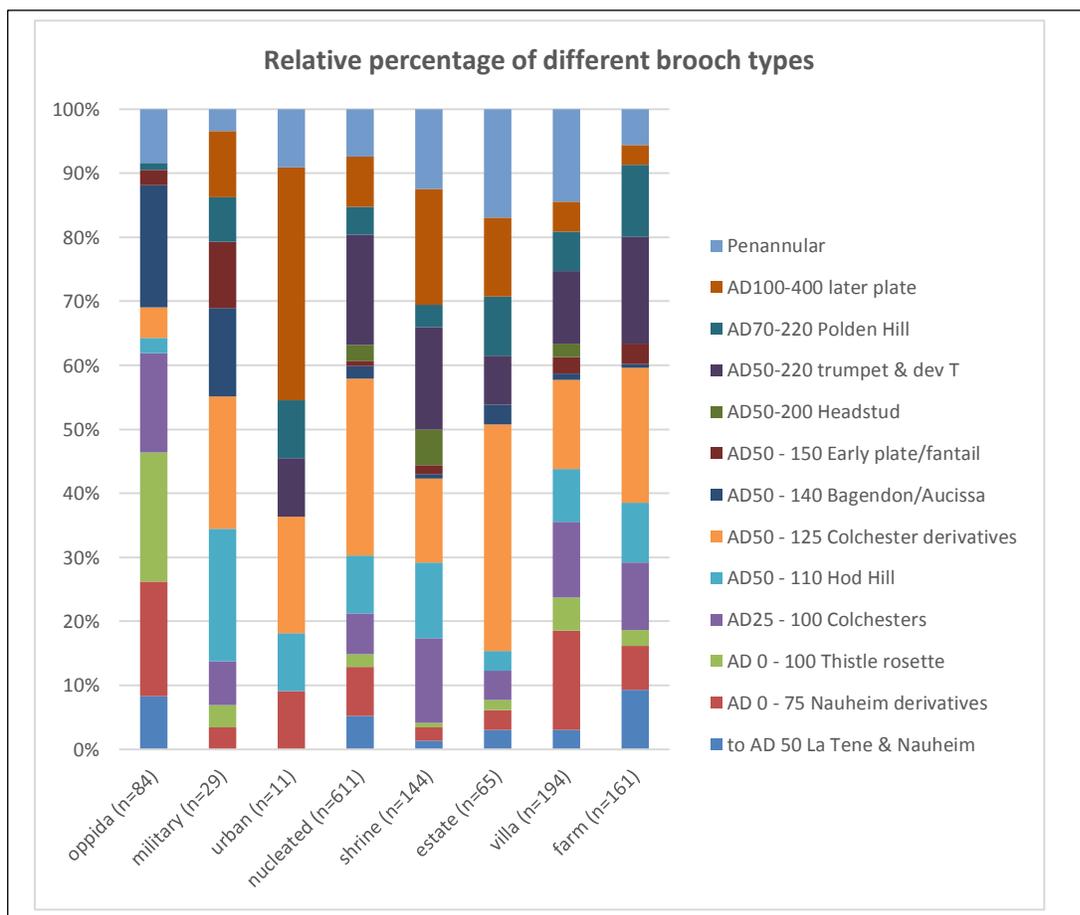


settlement, shrine and villa sites. Claydon Pike has a low number of trumpet brooches, which is unusual for this artefact-rich site, while The Ditches and Uley have equal numbers of trumpet and headstud brooches. Tewkesbury and Barnsley Park both have over 20% trumpet brooches, and therefore a greater focus on Celtic-influenced rather than Roman-influenced styles of brooch than other sites. Shepton Mallet, Sea Mills and Frocester have lower relative percentages around 5% and (assuming trumpet brooches relate to female costume) we can only speculate whether this reflects an earlier change from provincial costume, or greater numbers of brooches worn for ornamentation or on cloaks.

Figure 30 compares the relative proportions of the major brooch types between sites for similarity or differences in profile. The first century oppida and military sites have very different profiles from each other, and from other site types. Oppida have more of the plainer Nauheim derivatives, but also more of the showy thistle/rosette brooches, whereas the military sites have more Hod Hill and Colchester derivatives, but both sites have high numbers of the Aucissa ‘soldiers’ brooch’. The difference between military and nucleated settlement sites can be demonstrated at Camerton where metalwork from metal-detector finds in a field north of the excavated settlement site (considered to

be the site of a mid-first century military fort) have been analysed by Jackson (1990). The data for the brooches from this collection was compared with the data from the Camerton settlement site for the first century brooch types, and is shown in Figure 31. Both sites have large numbers of Hod Hill brooches, but the military site has more Colchester and Aucissa brooches, whilst the settlement site has more la Tene and Colchester Derivative brooches. These differences demonstrate that different brooches are being selected at military and rural sites.

Figure 30: Relative proportions of major brooch types at each site type



Nucleated settlement, villa and farm sites have broadly similar profiles, with minor differences in the relative proportions of the different brooch types. The profile for shrine sites is similar but with more of the later plate brooches, and fewer Colchester derivatives. Estate sites have the same brooch types as the rural sites but in very different proportions: considerably more Colchester Derivatives, more Polden Hill and penannular brooches but far fewer Hod Hill and trumpet brooches. Urban sites do not have the range of early brooches, but have significant numbers of later plate brooches.

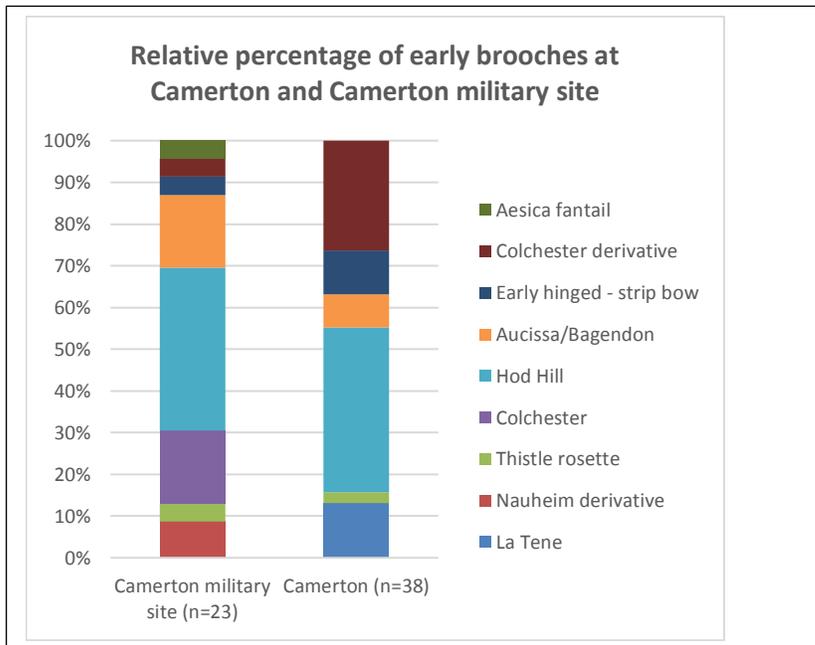
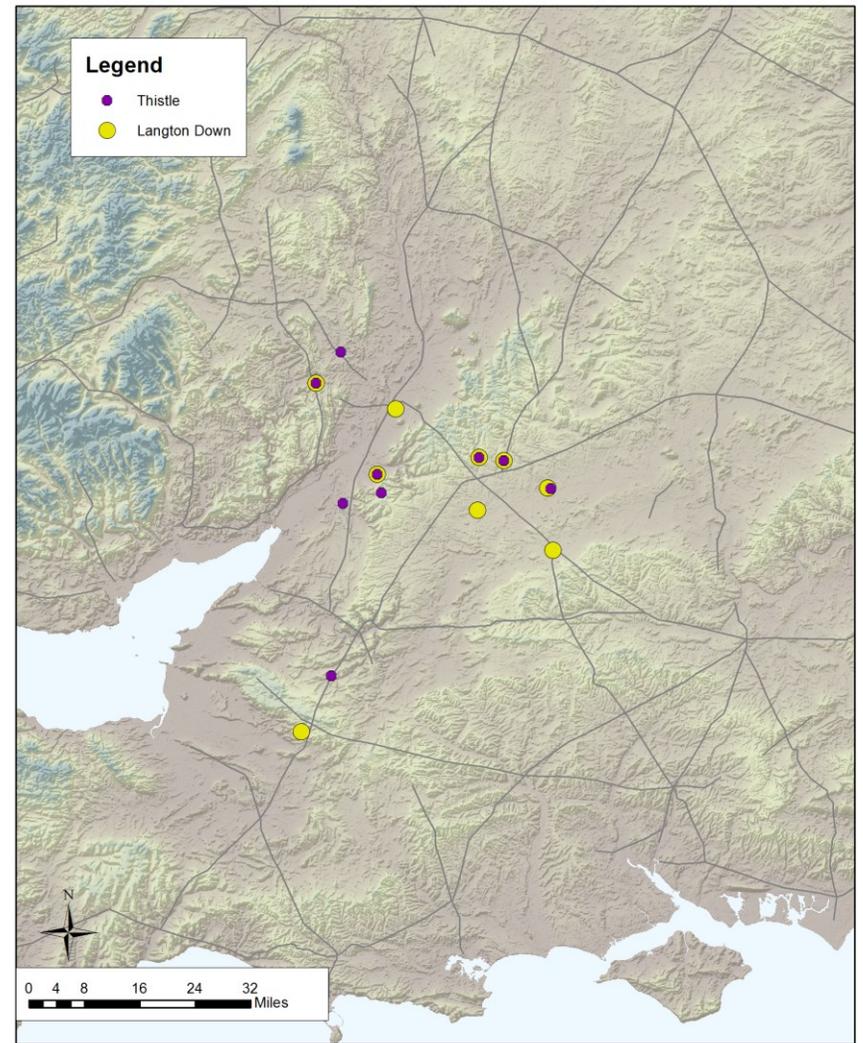
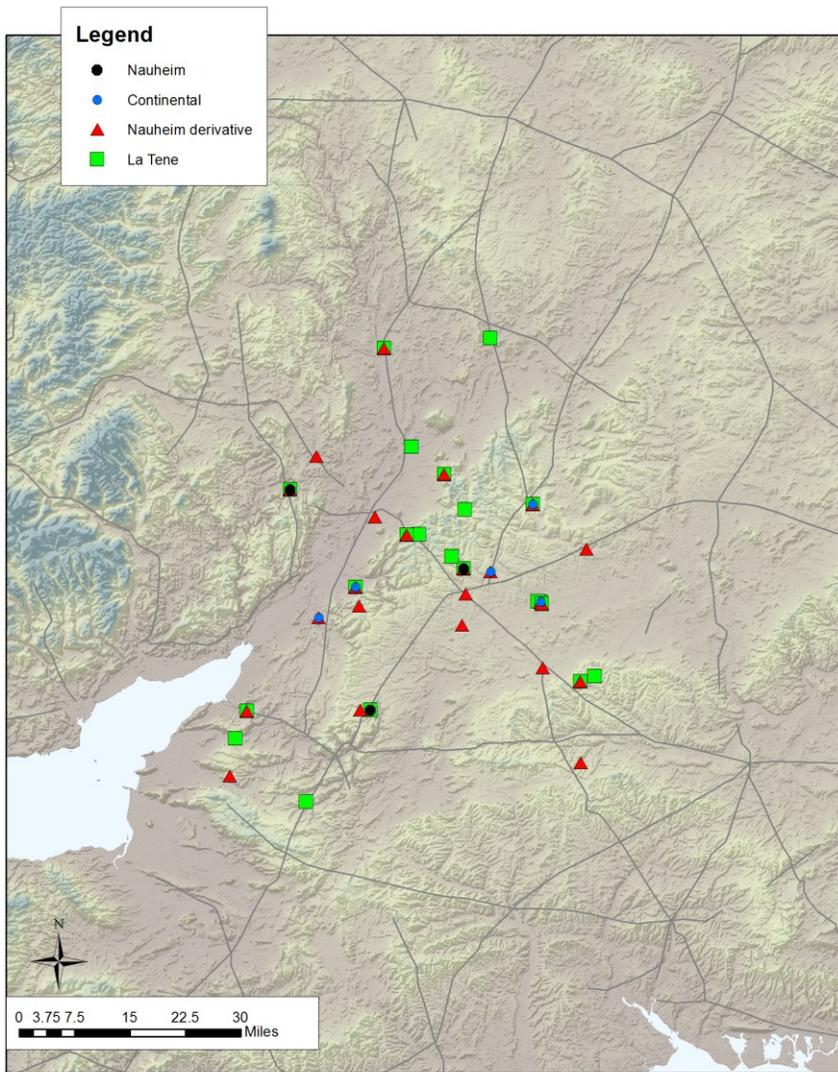
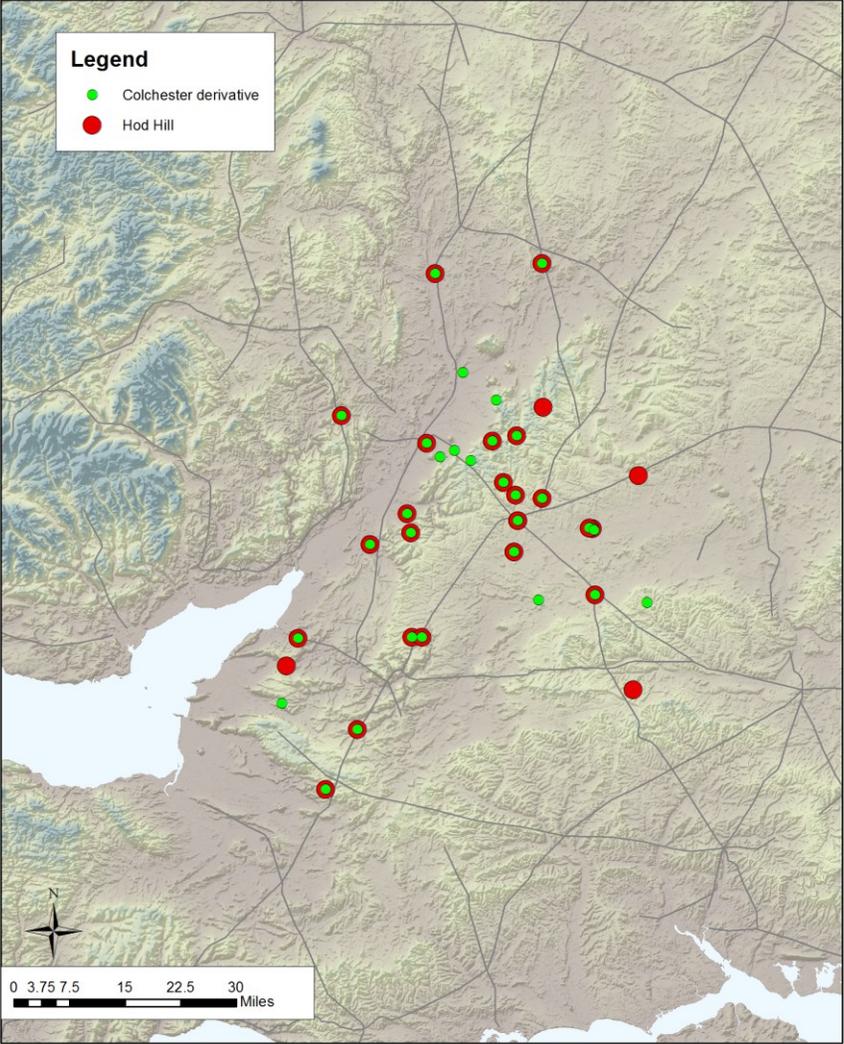
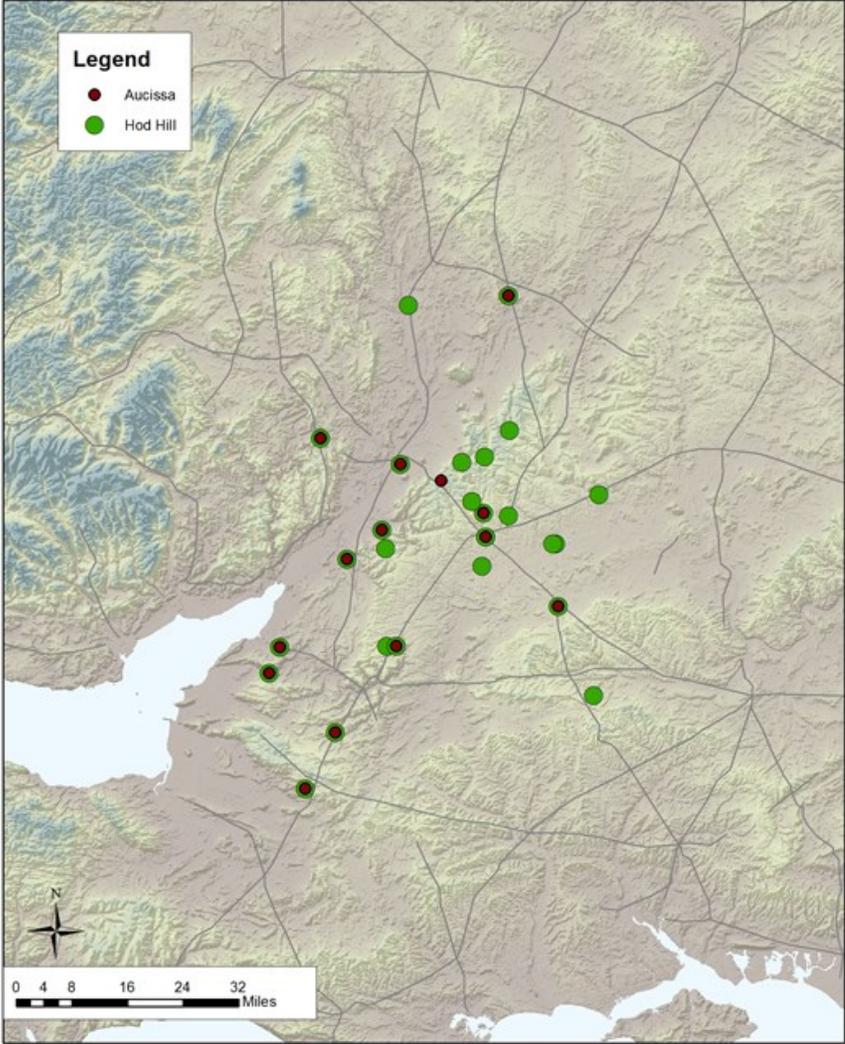
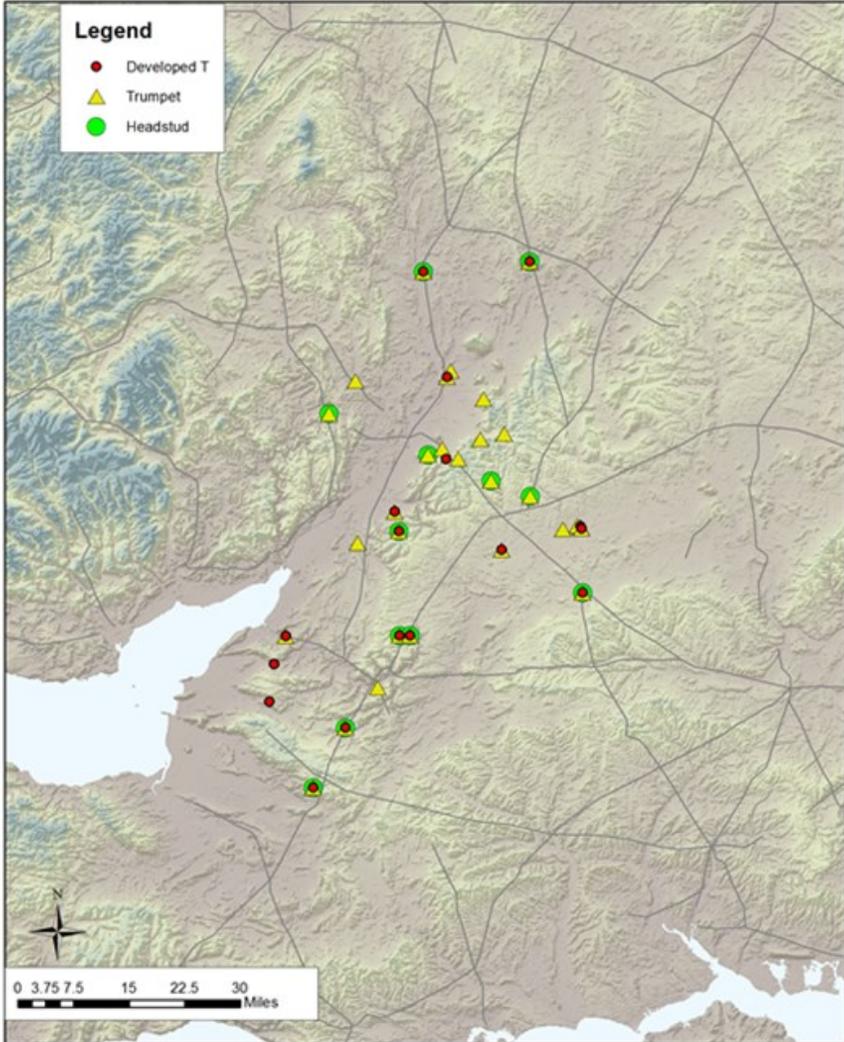
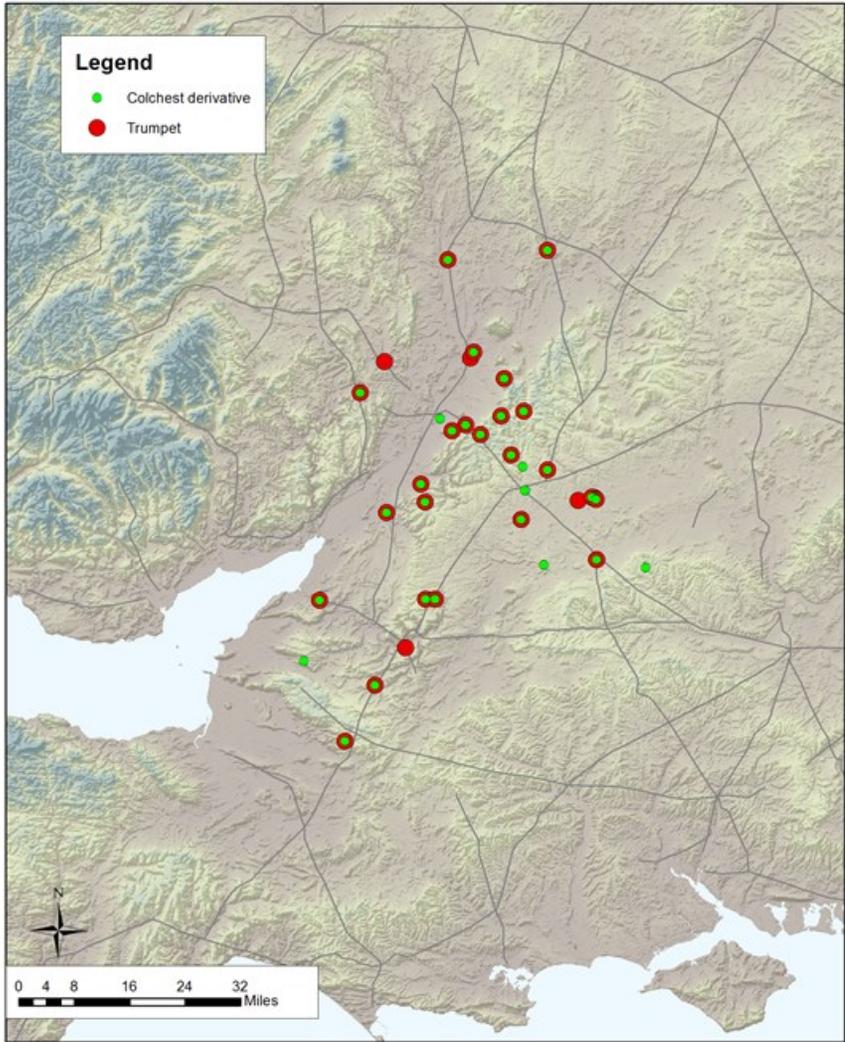
Figure 31: Brooches at Camerton

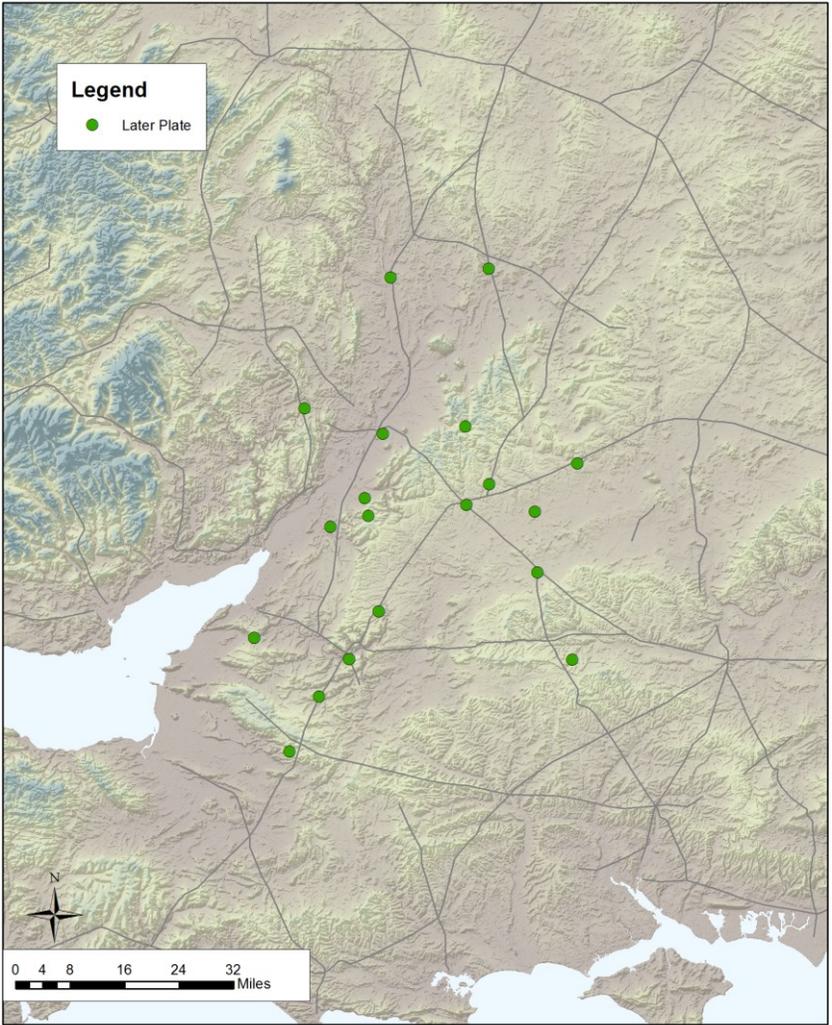
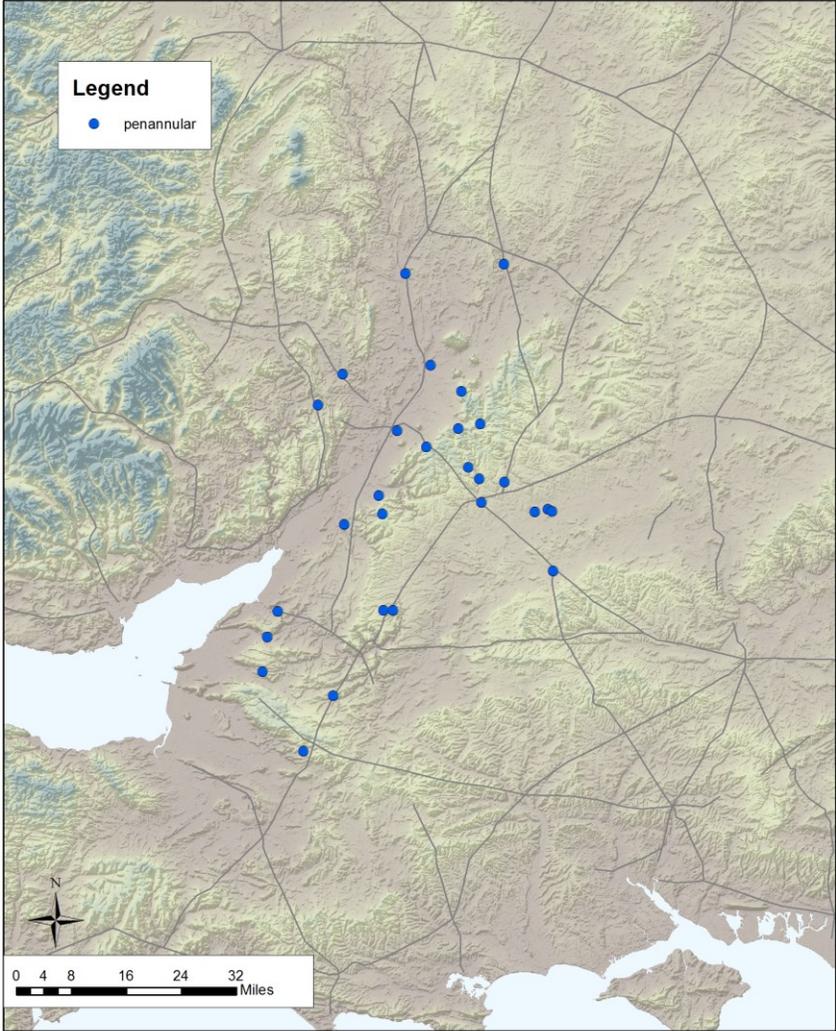
Figure 32 examines the distribution patterns for the major brooch types to establish whether there are gaps in the distribution, and whether the distributions of Celtic-influenced and Roman-influenced brooches coincide. Although not all brooches occur at all sites, the maps in Figure 32 show no significant gaps in distribution, although the early thistle and Langton Down brooch forms do seem to be more frequent in the northern half of the study area. The Hod Hill brooches are a derivative of the Aucissa, and the map clearly shows the overlap of these two forms. The Colchester Derivative (British made) overlaps significantly with the Hod Hill brooches which arrived with the army, but also with the Celtic-influenced trumpet brooches. The trumpet brooch also overlaps significantly with the headstud and the south-west 'T' brooches.

Figure 32: Distribution of major brooch types









Penannular and later plate brooches have a wide distribution across the study area. Given the wide distributions shown in these maps, it is assumed that brooch types were available to all sites, and the absence of specific brooch types from individual sites reflects personal choices. Figure 33, which shows the diversity of combinations of different brooch types for study sample sites, where every site has a different relative proportion of the various brooch types, with no clear trends at site level.

Seven crossbow brooches have been found in the study sample: two at Cirencester, and one at each of Alcester, Wanborough, Uley and Great Bedwyn, with one unstratified example at Somerford Keynes. A crossbow brooch was found during fieldwalking at Kingscote, but Mackreth considers this brooch could be ‘out of context’ (Mackreth in Timby, 1998: 114). Given the importance of Cirencester as the probable capital of *Britannia Prima*, six brooches seem comparatively low, but may reflect the commercial rather than military nature of Cirencester. There may have been some official military presence at Somerford Keynes, in a policing role, but this is late second/third century, and no official role has been identified for the other sites in the late Roman period. Insufficient data was available for the study sample (Figure 34) to match against the detailed typology and distribution maps in Swift’s (2000) study.

There were a very large number of different shaped plate brooches in the study sample, and as few were alike, attempting to group these into meaningful groups for discussion was not feasible (Figure 35). Zoomorphic brooches found included birds and ducks, a fly or moth, a running dog and a running horseman. Skeumorphic forms found in the study sample included two axes, a dagger, and two shoe soles, one with enamel dots representing hobnails.

Figure 33: Diversity of brooch use for study sample sites

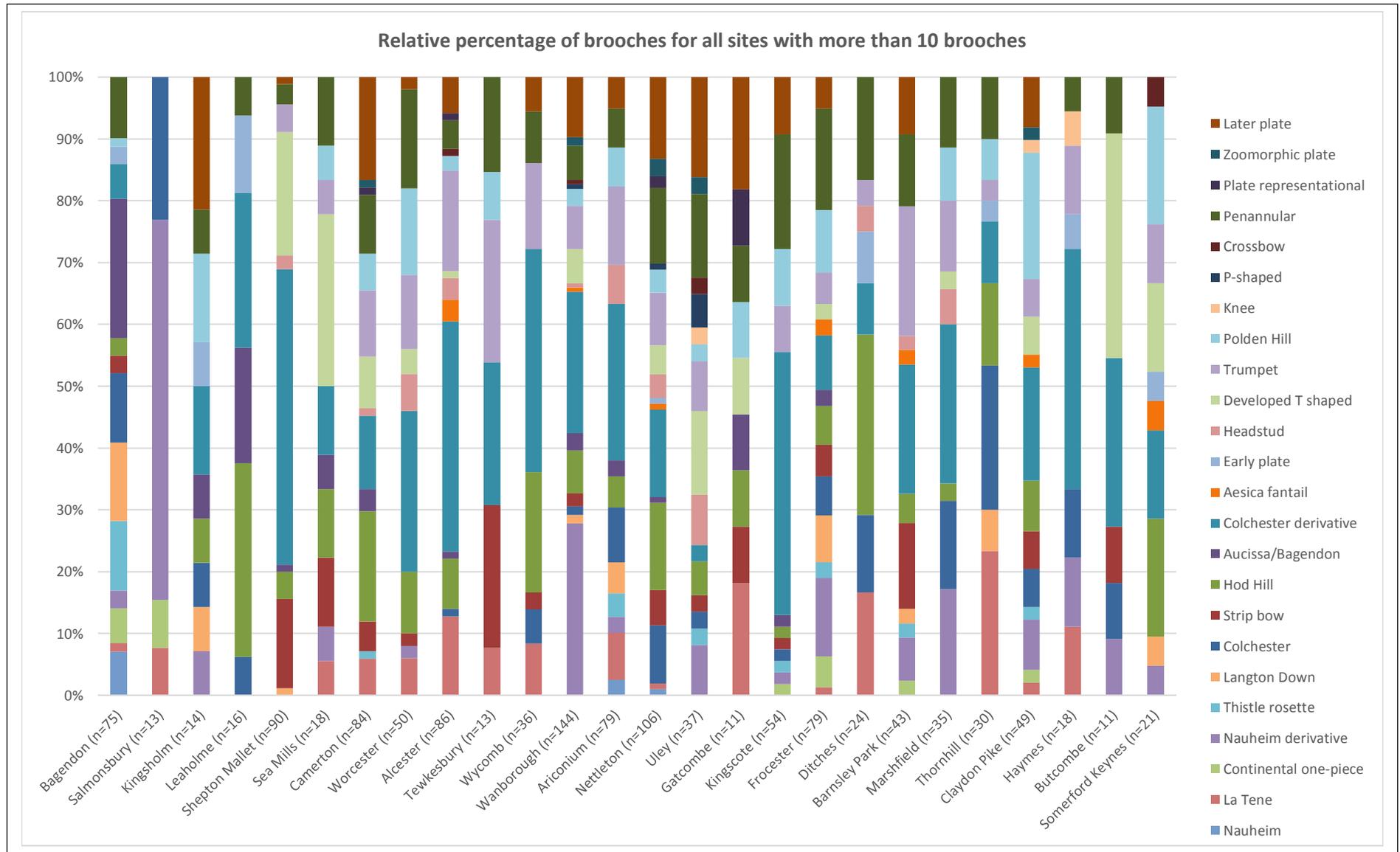


Figure 34: Crossbow brooches in the study sample

Cross bow	Uley	Somerford Keynes - U/S	Cirencester - The Beeches	Alcester ES	Wanborough	Great Bedwyn		
onion shaped knobs, dot and circle on foot	1						1	developed
u/s onion knobs and dot and circle on foot								
Hull type 192 mid4C - developed		1					1	developed
fragment: knob with button and one arm								
intermediate range cAD300					1		1	
slight knobs at either end of crossbar, more				1			1	
pronounce knob on head, foot plain								
knob fragment					1		1	
fragment - early 4C, rounded knob,			1				1	
protrusion at head			1				1	
fragment - corroded - earlier 4C?							1	
							7	

Figure 35: Zoomorphic and representational plate brooches in the study area

Plate brooches	Asthall	Camerton	Alcester, S extramural	Wanborough	Nettleton	Uley	Gatcombe	Claydon Pike	total
moth or fly						1			1
duck									0
enamelled duck					1				1
cockerell								1	1
Dove (tinned)		1							1
Bird				2					2
enamelled running dog					1				1
enamelled running horseman					1				1
Zoomorphic plate		1		2	3	1		1	8
blue enamelled axe					1				1
axe (enamelled)		1							1
enamelled dagger					1				1
shoe sole with hobnails - enamel inlay dots	1								1
shoe sole			1						1
Plate representational	1	1	1		2		0		5

5.5.2 Bracelets

There is no single typology for bracelets, but Johns (1996) provides a summary of the main types. 70% of the bracelets in the case study were of copper alloy (Figure 36). Larger, elaborate gold bracelets, often including jewels, are known from Britain (Johns, 1996: 108-117), but no gold bracelets were found in the study sample. Only one possible silver bracelet was found, at Marshfield, a badly fragmented thin strip bracelet (Blockley, 1985: 155).

Glass bracelets were relatively rare in the study sample (Figure 36) and only occurred at five sites, mostly from first century contexts: Leaholme, Wanborough (dark green glass, third century context), Ariconium, Claydon Pike and Somerford Keynes. The bracelet from Ariconium is unusual, an opaque yellow glass, in use before AD75.

20% of the bracelets in the study sample were of shale, and 1% of jet. Jet bracelets occurred at Uley, Kingscote, Frocester and Claydon Pike. Jet and shale bracelets are plain or have grooved or notched decoration. It is often not possible to distinguish jet from shale without chemical analysis, as both had a glossy black appearance (Swift, 2003b: 25). Jet was thought to have magical or protective qualities (Allason-Jones, 2011).

Five copper alloy bracelets of a stylised penannular snake design were found: at Bath, Ariconium, Whelford Bowmoor, Somerford Keynes, and Alfred's Castle. A penannular lead or lead alloy stylised snake bracelet fragment was found at The Ditches (early Roman site), which Johns suggests may have been an attempt to imitate silver (Trow et al., 2009: 168).

Data for the study area is summarised in Figure 36. Most sites had bracelets, although not all military, shrine or farm sites. However, shrine and estate sites had the highest average numbers of bracelets. Bracelets occur at military, nucleated settlement and farm sites in small numbers in the first century, and then, still in small numbers at other sites in the second century (Figure 36). Farm and villa sites have higher relative percentages of copper alloy bracelets, nucleated settlement and shrine sites have

relatively higher percentage of shale bracelets, and higher percentages of bone bracelets occur at urban and estate sites. Of note is the particularly steep increase in numbers of bracelets in the fourth century (Figure 37).

Figure 37 examines changes over time in the materials used for bracelets. 68% of the study sample could be allocated to a chronological period. Copper alloy is used in relatively small amounts from the first century, increasing over time to form a significant element of bracelets across all site types in the fourth century (note that first century data is distorted due to the small sample size), but always forms a significant element of bracelets at nucleated settlement and farm sites. Shale appears mainly in the second and third centuries, and is significantly reduced in the fourth century, while glass occurs in the first century, with one third-century find. Shale appears to be the only material used for bracelets at shrine sites in the second and third centuries, and is less used at farm sites than other site types. Bone occurs in the later Roman period.

Swift (2000: 181) in her review of regionality in bracelets in the late Roman West notes the very large number of types of bracelet which occur (more than 300), and this was also observed for the study sample. A detailed analysis by type of bracelet was therefore not attempted for the study sample, but a broad analysis based on grouping the study sample into the main design types present was attempted (Figure 39) to give an indication of the occurrence of these across the site types in the study sample. Figure 39 shows that most styles occur across most site types, the exception being bracelets with transverse grooves or diagonal grooves which do not appear to occur at farm sites, although bracelets with multiple motifs do occur. Wire bracelets, including those twisted into a cable appear to be the most popular copper alloy bracelets, followed by notched or crenelated designs, whilst plain shale bracelets were the most popular. Where notched, cable or dot and circle designs appear as shale bracelets these designs also occur in copper alloy at the same sites.

Figure 36: Evidence for bracelets

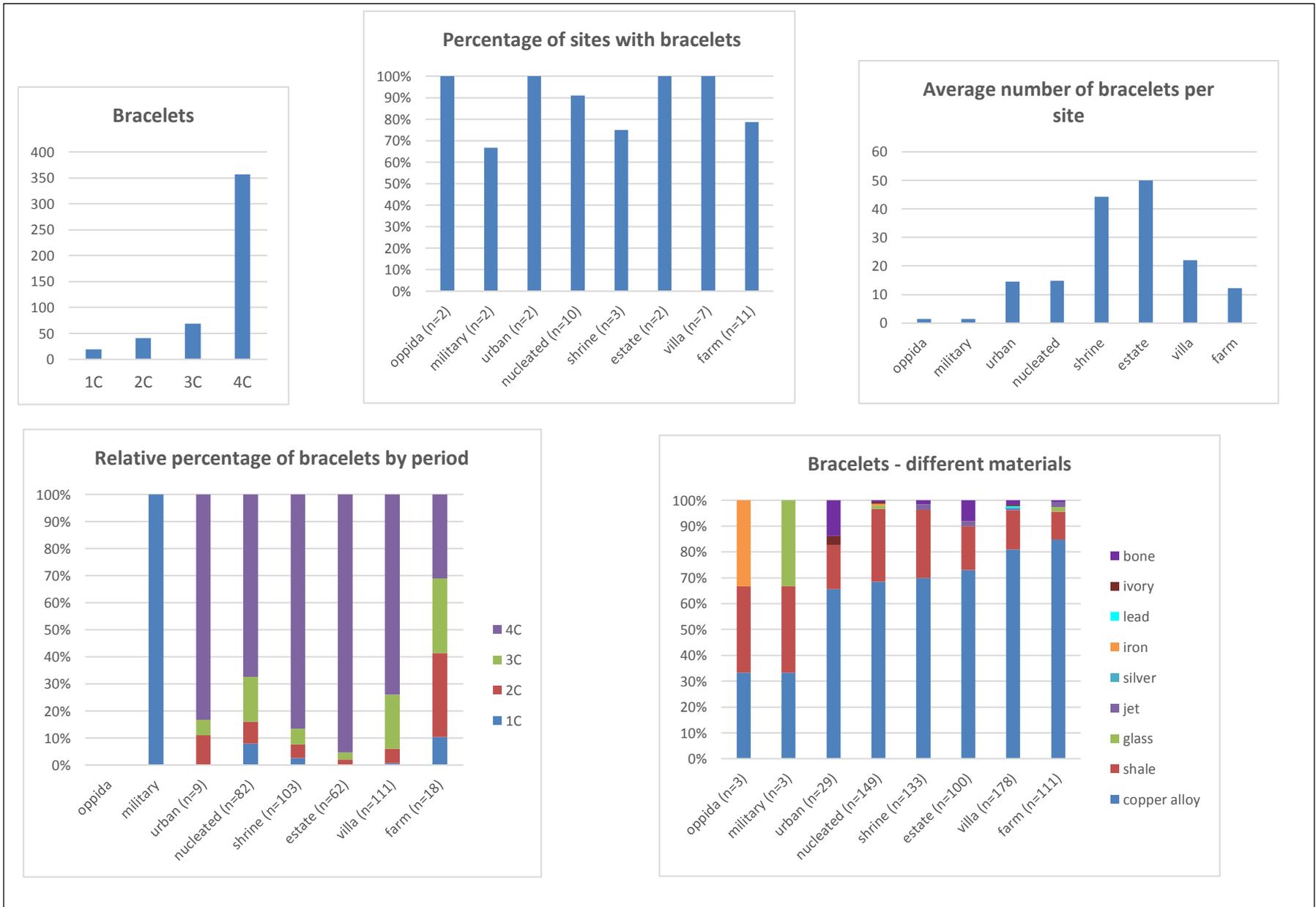


Figure 37: Bracelet materials and distribution over time

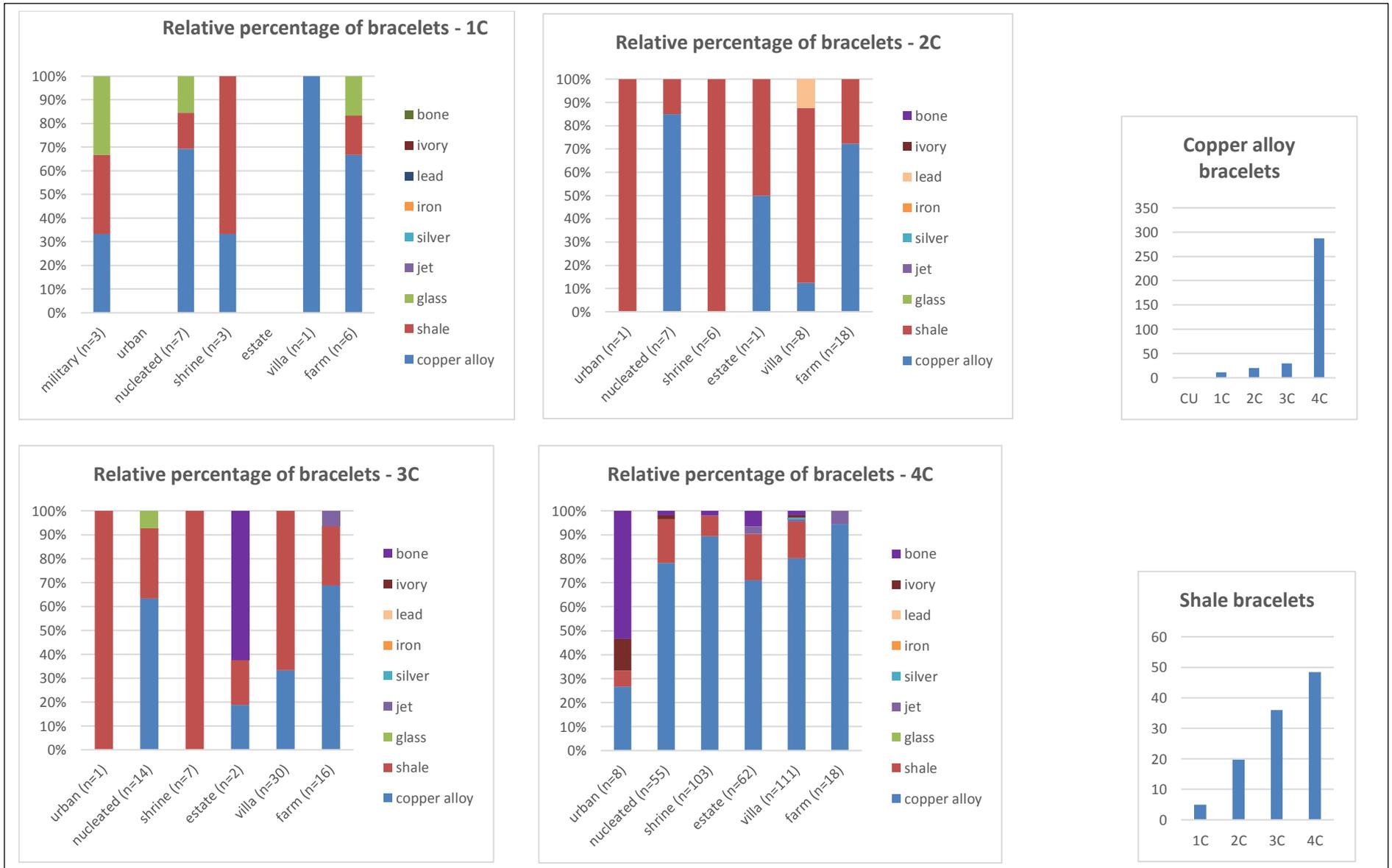


Figure 38: Types of design on copper alloy and shale bracelets in the study sample

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Copper alloy and shale bracelets	Salmonsbury	Kingsholm	Leaholme	Cirencester	Bath	Shepton Mallet	Sea Mills	Asthall	Camerton	Worcester	Alcester	Tewkesbury	Wycomb	Wanborough	Ariconium	Nettleton	Uley	Brean Down	Gatcombe	Kingscote	Frocester	Ditches	Great Bedwyn	Barnsley Park	Great Witcombe	King's Weston	Marshfield	Thornhill	Claydon Pike	Haymes	Butcombe	Somerford Keynes	Vineyards Farm	Brockworth	Alfred's Castle	Whelford Bowmoor	Birdlip Quarry	Maddle Farm	total number	
Copper alloy bracelets																																								
Plain				2					1		1			3							1	4	1		5	1											1		20	
Wire & cable twist		1		3		1	1	1	3		3		3	7	5					8		20	24	1	5			3		13	2					1	1	1		107
Torc type																			5									5											10	
Transverse grooves				2		1	2		4						5			1		11	6		2		1		5												45	
Diagonal grooves												1	1				1			2			1		1	1													8	
Multiple motifs						1			2		3		2	4			3			6	19				4	1		2					1						48	
S or wave decoration				2							1									1							1												6	
Dot and circle				1			1		2					3			1		3	6			1		1	1								1					21	
Notched or crenelated				3	2	2					4		1	2			17		2	10	7		2	1	6	2								2					63	
Central groove				1							1																												2	
Hatched lines											1							1		2																			4	
Bead/segmented						1												1									1	1											4	
Snake head					1						1				2																				1	1			7	
Wide cuff																																							1	
Light bangle' (Cool)																																							32	
Penannular							1	1			3		1		2					1								30						2					24	
Various	1			2						2	1		1	2	4					2			1	4			3	2	1	1				1					28	
Unidentified/ no detail						10		4			1					55			1	0	4				22	8	5										3	3	116	
	1	1		16	3	16	5	6	12	2	20		9	27	13	55	37	1	11	62	64		9	32	26	5	19	1	58	3	1	12	6	3	2	1	4	3	546	
Shale																																								
Plain	1			1	4	2	1		1		10							9		9	9		3		6		3	1	3									1	64	
Grooved											2							7		2																	1		12	
Longitudinal grooves			1						2						3																								6	
Central ridge															4																								4	
Notched								1		1								6							2														10	
Cable																		2		1																			3	
Dot and circle												1								1					1														3	
Unidentified/ no detail						1		1			2	10		11					2	2				2	2	2	2	4							2				39	
	1		1	1	4	3	1		5		13	2	18		11	24		2	15	9		3	2	9	2	3	1	7						2		1		141		
Notes:																																								
Shepton Mallet: only a small selection of bracelets described																																								
Camerton: no dated contexts given																																								
Nettleton: no detail given, only an overall total																																								
Barnsley Park: most described as 'decorated bronze bracelet'																																								

5.5.3 Finger rings

Rings come in a range of materials and forms, which tend to be common across the Empire (Allason-Jones, 2011). It is beyond the scope of my study to analyse rings in detail based on typology, but data was summarised by seven broad groupings – band, spiral, bezel, keys, octagonal, penannular and intaglio – based on descriptions in the excavation reports, to provide a general trend in the extent of elaboration of finger rings. Intaglios (seal rings) have been discussed in detail above but are included in the analysis here in terms of their role as items of jewellery.

Figure 39 shows the evidence for the study area. Rings were found at most sites in the study sample, with a significant increase in the fourth century, particularly at estate, villa and shrine sites. Nucleated settlement and farm sites adopted rings in the first century, and the increase over time is less pronounced. Highest average numbers per site were found at estate and shrine sites, followed by villa and nucleated settlement sites, and small numbers of rings were also found at both oppida sites. The profile for villa and farm sites is very different in terms of when rings were adopted, the materials used, but less so for the types of rings, although more intaglios were found at farm sites. Farm sites adopted rings earlier, and the numbers peak in the third century with a decline in the fourth, whereas villa sites only really adopt rings in the third century, with significant increases in the third and fourth centuries (Figure 39) (noting that villa sites were farms in the first and second centuries).

Figure 39: Evidence for finger rings

III

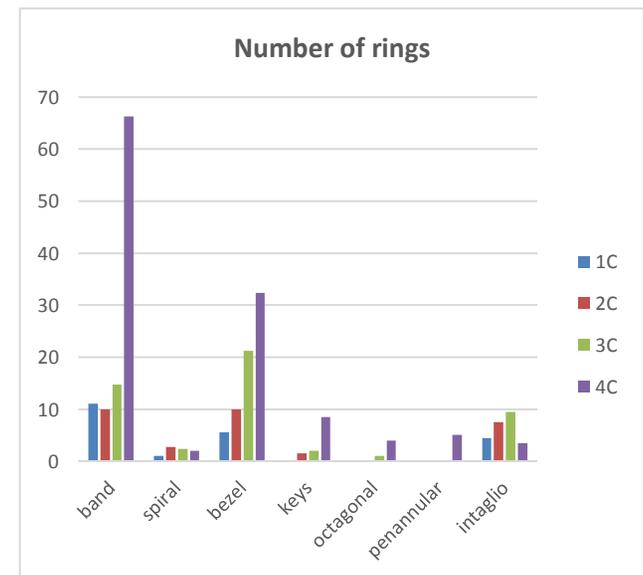
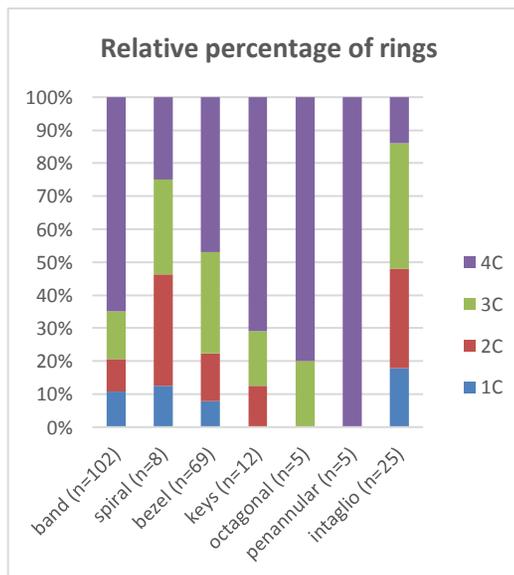
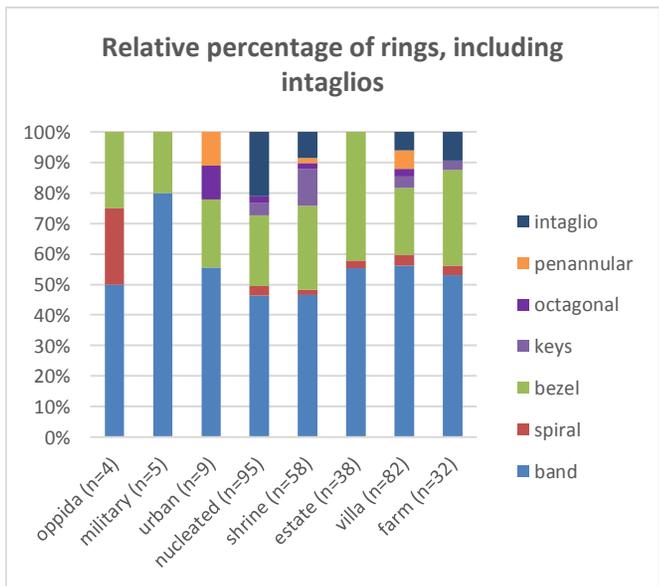
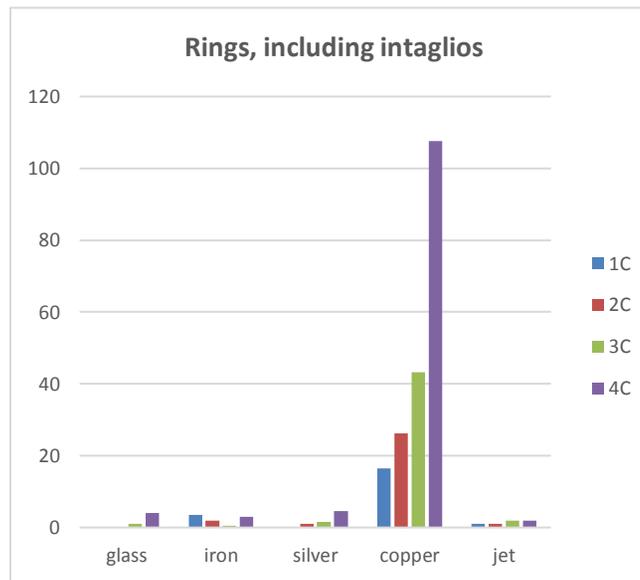
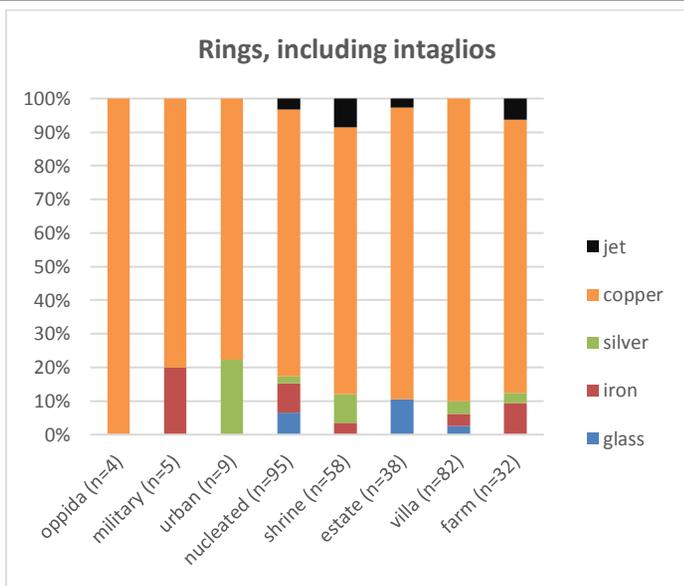
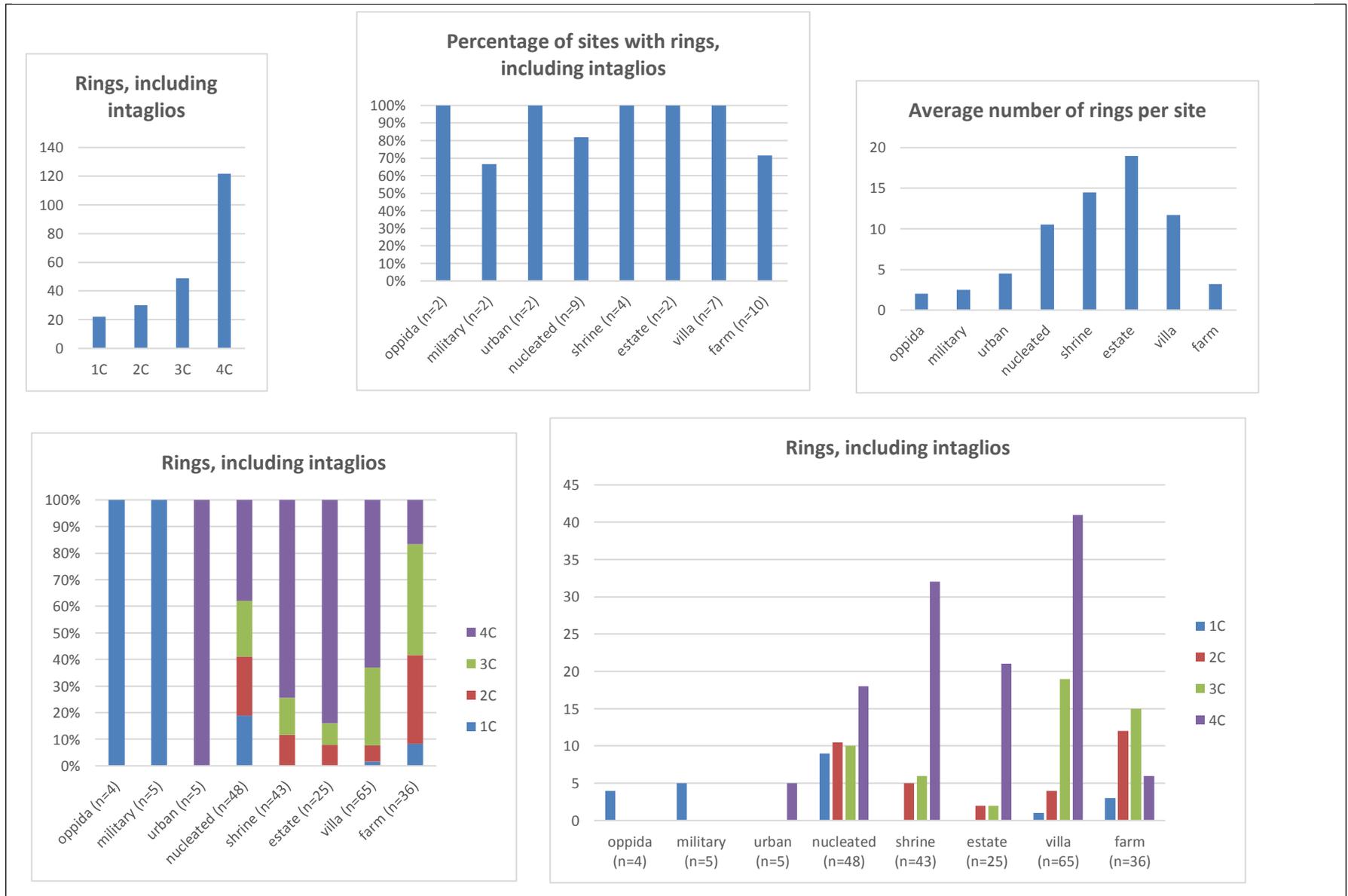


Figure 40: Rings - types and materials



Rings were grouped into seven broad categories, to give an indication of the general trends between types of site and over time. The 'band' form (which may have incised decoration of various kinds or be plain) accounts for half of rings found at all sites, and 80% at military sites, whilst rings with some form of bezel (which may be incised or contain a setting or be plain) accounts for 20-30% of rings at all sites (Figure 40). Intaglios are most frequent at settlement sites and none were found at oppida, military or urban sites (note that the discussion above on intaglios included intaglios found during field-walking but the graphs above exclude these). 'Spiral' rings made from pieces of wire twisted together only occur in very small numbers, and there are slightly more 'key' rings. Intaglios decline in the fourth century, but bezel and band rings in particular increase significantly in the fourth century.

Copper alloy was the main material for rings in the study sample (Figure 40), and also for the peak in numbers of rings in the fourth century. Iron rings occur mainly at military, nucleated settlement and farm sites, silver mostly at urban and shrine sites, and jet mostly at shrine and farm sites. Copper alloy rings accounted for 82% of all rings in the study area, and were found at all sites where rings occurred. Silver rings (3.4% of all rings) were found at Cirencester, Shepton Mallet, Alcester, Nettleton, Uley, Great Witcombe and Claydon Pike. Iron rings (4.5% of all rings) were found at Leaholme, Camerton, Alcester, Ariconium, Wanborough, (all sites with military associations) Nettleton, Brean Down, Barnsley Park, Claydon Pike and Brockworth. Jet rings (3.8% of all rings) were found at Camerton, Alcester, Wanborough, Nettleton, Uley, Gatcombe, Claydon Pike and Birdlip Quarry. Only one gold ring was found in the study area, at Great Bedwyn, during excavations in 1853-54. It is inscribed with an X on the bezel. Iron and jet rings had dates throughout the Roman period, but the silver rings were all late Roman, mostly fourth century.

Key-rings combine the ornamental function of a ring, with a functional key for a lock, usually for a small box or casket, such as those containing jewellery or cosmetics and perfumes (Allason-Jones, 2005: 124). Most keys appear to be functional although some have been found which are purely decorative (Swift, 2003b: 30). We cannot know whether key-rings were actually worn as rings, or

just kept as keys. Fifteen key rings occurred in total, at a range of site types - Ariconium, Wanborough, Nettleton, Uley, Great Bedwyn, Barnsley Park, Kings Weston and Claydon Pike.

Of interest are the sites which did not produce rings: two settlement sites, Tewkesbury and Dymock, and five farm sites, Thornhill, Horcott, Wootton Bassett, Vineyards Farm and Alfred's Castle. All these sites had brooches. Tewkesbury, Thornhill and Alfred's Castle also had bracelets and beads, Horcott a bead, and Vineyards Farm had bracelets. Allason-Jones (Allason-Jones, 2011: 207) notes that brooches and rings are more common in the early Roman period, and with the exception of Thornhill and Vineyards Farm, the sites were not occupied in the fourth century.

5.5.4 Earrings

Earrings are another jewellery form introduced to Britain after the conquest. There are two main types: rings or hoops which go through the earlobe, and those which are suspended from a hook. Allason-Jones' (1989) typology is the main reference work. Earrings may be difficult to recognise in the archaeological record when broken as they may appear as small pieces of wire. Data for the study area are shown in Figure 41. Only thirty-one earrings were found in the study sample (Figure 15), compared to over seven hundred bracelets, and some of this may be due to difficulties in identifying fragments of earrings from small pieces of metal. Earrings occurred across a range of types of sites, nine sites in total, although average numbers are low (Figure 41).

Ten earrings were found at Frocester, all of which were copper alloy penannular hoops, one of silver, and one with a blue glass bead. Copper alloy penannular rings (hoops) were also found at Ariconium (four), Kingsholm (three), Claydon Pike (two), South-East Tewkesbury (one), and copper alloy wire with hooked end (Bath), Uley (two) and Nettleton (two). Six copper alloy earrings were found at Kingscote, two penannular hoops, two hooks with decorative wire loops, a hook with a decorated metal strip, and a hook with a spiral of thin wire.

Figure 41: Evidence for earrings



Kingsholm earrings were first century and the others ranged from the second to fourth century.

5.5.5 Necklaces

Necklaces come in two main forms, strings of beads and chains with pendants. Individual beads are common finds in excavations. Strings of beads can be combined in many ways, and, even with careful excavation, it is often not possible to reconstruct the order in which beads were strung on necklaces (Johns, 1996: 103) particularly where thread rather than wire was used for the string.

Some sections of copper alloy chain were found in the study area, as well as some sections of bead and wire necklace. Sections of surviving necklace were found at Alcester (Mahany and Cracknell, 1994: 178-179), in fourth century contexts. One of these had two links of wire with a disc-shaped blue or amber-coloured glass bead threaded onto the middle. Sections of another had roughly cubic glass beads, with the beaded links interspersed with flat scroll-shaped links and fifteen surviving blue glass beads, and five with layers of different colours of blue, white and red. Sections of copper alloy wire and glass bead necklace were found at Great Witcombe, also fourth century (Leach, 1998: 83-84). Seventeen complete beads were strung on individual wires, bent over at the ends to form joining loops between each bead. The beads were of different varieties: seven long cylindrical wound beads, six opaque, streaky, turquoise/dark blue biconical wound beads, three wound beads in opaque white glass, and one long square-sectioned very dark blue wound glass bead.

Copper alloy chains interspersed with beads were also found at Alcester. The various chain fragments and pendants found in the study area are described in Figure 42. Pendants were most of bone or shale, and all the chain fragments were of copper alloy. Two items are of note: the copper alloy neck ring from Frocester, and the silver pendant with monogrammed cross from Shepton Mallet.

Frocester developed from an Iron Age site, into a villa in the Roman period and seems to be a 'higher status' site for most of this time, so this neck ring, assigned a date of early first century (AD?) would

Figure 42: Pendants and necklace fragments in the study area

pendants and necklace fragments	Salmisbury	Kingsholm	Leaholme	Shepton Mallet	Alcester	Wycomb	Wanborough	Ariconium	Nettleton	Uley	Gatcombe	Kingscote	Frocester	Great Bedwyn	Barnsley Park	Great Witcombe	Marshfield	Claydon Pike	Bowsings	Alfred's Castle	Birdlip Quarry	Total	1C	2C	3C	4C		
bone ring pendant	1																					1	1					
Shale pendant												1											1					
pendant bone stylised bird - eagle?																1							1					
pendant, triangular, bone, with holes											1												1			1		
pendant dark yellow-green glass, long biconical with suspension loop				1																						1		
pendant pig/boar tooth	1																			1		2	1					
pendant copper alloy 'barnacle', charm associated with horses		1																				1	1					
silver pendant with monogrammed cross				1																		1				1		
copper alloy neck ring - hollow tube with barrel-shaped cast terminal													1									1	1					
copper alloy armlet of oval wire - expandable							1															1				1		
copper alloy twisted rod necklace							1															1			1			
copper alloy necklace fasteners								1	2					1		4	3					11	0	2	2	7		
copper alloy chain with ring and pin													1									1				1		
copper alloy chain with fluted pale yellow glass beads													1									1				1		
copper alloy chain with blue and amber beads				1																		1				1		
copper alloy chain with cubic glass beads, blue and multicoloured				1																		1				1		
copper alloy fragmentary necklace with 17 beads strung on wires																1						1				1		
copper alloy elongated hexagonal plaque from necklace				1																		1				1		
copper alloy chain, links of square-sectioned wire formed into double loops		1																				1	1					
copper alloy wire chain fragment					1			1	1		2								1	1	1	7		1	1	2		
	2	1	1	2	3	1	2	1	1	3	1	3	1	2	1	2	4	3	1	1	1	0	37	0	5	3	4	19

not be out of place. The copper alloy ring is a simple hollow, circular ring, with a barrel-shaped cast terminal with traces of grooved decoration, although badly corroded and part of it has been lost. The internal diameter is noted as 100mm (Price, 2000: 47), which is small for a neck-ring (but this is the description given in the excavation report) and an armlet or bracelet seems more likely, particularly as it is made of copper alloy rather than the usual gold or silver used for torcs.

The silver pendant from Shepton Mallet described as an amulet, consists of a silver disc with four projecting arms (one is a suspension loop) forming a cross, and the disc has a monogram cross made by simply punched rows of dots (Leach and Evans, 2001). Johns (Leach and Evans, 2001: 259-260) notes that this pendant is unique in Britain, and the form of Christian monogram is rare, so dates it as very late Roman, possibly early fifth century.

5.5.6 Beads

As noted above, beads were usually worn as necklaces in the Roman period, but in most cases beads are found individually in excavated contexts. Glass beads occur in the Iron Age, some forms continuing into the Roman period, and may be of Continental or of British origin in design. Translucent glass, mostly blue or green, Roman beads start to appear in greater numbers from the second century, with significant numbers in the fourth century. Most of these beads are an Empire-wide types (Swift, 2000; Swift, 2003b).

Guido's, (1978) typology lists many groups, classes and types of beads, and groups these categories under broad headings, distinguishing between beads of continental origin or inspiration and those of British origin, and between beads occurring in the Iron Age, those spanning the Iron Age and Roman periods, and those of only the Roman period. These groupings were used for analysis of the study sample. Where the excavation reports did not reference Guido's classifications, an attempt was made to categorise beads using the illustrations or descriptions in the excavation report. The data for the study area is summarised in Figure 43 and Figure 44, and Figure 45 illustrates the variety of Roman bead types observed in the study sample.

Only two glass beads of British Iron Age design or origin were found in the study area, a colourless annular glass bead with yellow spots ('Meare' bead) from Great Witcombe (Leach, 1998: 83), and an annular opaque golden yellow glass bead from Sea Mills identified by Guido as 'native' (Ellis, 1987: 63). Both these bead types were produced in Meare in Somerset from around 250BC to around 50AD and Guido notes the long survival of some of these beads, explained as heirlooms (Guido, 1978: 73-84). Sea Mills was occupied around the mid-first century AD, but Great Witcombe villa was not built until the early third century, so here the bead may have been an heirloom.

Only 1.6% of beads in the study sample were Iron Age, and 3.8% beads which occur in the Iron Age into the Roman periods (Figure 44, Figure 45). Bead numbers reduce after the first century, increase again gradually in the third century and significantly in the fourth century (Figure 43). Beads occurred at 80% of nucleated settlement sites, 60% of military and 55% of farms sites, and at all other sites. Estate sites had high average numbers of beads per site, followed by villas, but farm sites had low average numbers per site. 92% of beads were made of glass, 5.3% of jet, with the rest from other materials, with one amber bead from Wanborough (Figure 44, Figure 45). Roman-period glass beads occur in a range of shapes (Figure 45), consistent with those found across the Empire.

Figure 44 shows that many of the sites with beads of Iron Age British origin also have beads of Continental origin, the two types occurring together, suggesting that the design of the bead was of importance, not its source. Jet beads make up around 5% of the beads in the study sample. Allason-Jones (2005: 123-124) notes that jet was fashionable in the third and fourth centuries, and this is also reflected in the study sample, with a significant increase in jet beads between the third and fourth centuries. Beads made of colourless glass enclosing gold foil were an Empire-wide form, originating in the east (Swift, 2003b: 33; Boon, 1977). A gold-in-glass bead was found in a late Roman context at Kingscote (Timby, 1998: 151), and in a late second to early third century context at Ariconium (Jackson, 2012: 142).

Figure 43: Evidence for beads



Figure 44: Distribution of Iron Age beads, and beads of different materials

Occurrence of Iron Age and Iron Age into Roman-period beads

Iron Age beads	Bagendon	Salmansbury	Kingsholm	Leaholme	Charterhouse	Cirencester	Bath	Shepton Mallet	Sea Mills	Asthall	Camerton	Worcester	Alcester	Tewkesbury	Wycombe	Wanborough	Dymock	Ariconium	Nettleton	Uley	Portway	Brean Down	Gatcombe	Kingscote	Frocester	Ditches	Great Bedwyn	Barnsley Park	Great Witcombe	Marshfield	Kings Weston	Thornhill	Claydon Pike	SE Tewkesbury	Horcott	Bowsings	Haymes	Butcombe	Wootton Bassett	Somerford Keynes	Vineyards Farm	Brockworth	Alfred's Castle	Whelford Bowmoor	Birdlip Quarry	Maddle Farm					
IA beads of Continental origin	1	1						1							2			1																																9	
IA beads of British design								1																																											2
IA and Roman continental origin							2									3								2	1			2	1								1														18
IA and Roman - British origin	2																	2						2	2					1																					9
Summary:	3	1					2	2							2	3		5					2	3			1	2	2	2	1	3																		38	
British origin	2							1										2					2						1																					11	
Continental origin	1	1					2	1							2	3							2	1			1	2	1			3					1													27	
	3	1					2	2							2	3		5					2	3			1	2	2	1	3		1	1			1														38

Beads of different materials

	Bagendon	Salmansbury	Kingsholm	Leaholme	Charterhouse	Cirencester	Bath	Shepton Mallet	Sea Mills	Asthall	Camerton	Worcester	Alcester	Tewkesbury	Wycombe	Wanborough	Dymock	Ariconium	Nettleton	Uley	Portway	Brean Down	Gatcombe	Kingscote	Frocester	Ditches	Great Bedwyn	Barnsley Park	Great Witcombe	Marshfield	Kings Weston	Thornhill	Claydon Pike	SE Tewkesbury	Horcott	Bowsings	Haymes	Butcombe	Wootton Bassett	Somerford Keynes	Vineyards Farm	Brockworth	Alfred's Castle	Whelford Bowmoor	Birdlip Quarry	Maddle Farm						
glass	8	1	10	9	0	34	8	22	8	0	7	9	37	3	6	22	0	94	30	41	6	0	9	76	44	3	10	11	33	18	61	1	24	1	1	0	2	0	0	3	0	1	3	0	3	1			660			
emerald crystal																											1																							1		
amber																1																																			1	
jet					1		1	1			2		1		1	2				5				8	1			1	4		8		1																	1		
shale																						1				1						0		1	1															38		
bone												1	1			4				1				1				1			1																				5	
stone																1		1																																	10	
copper alloy																							2																												4	
																							1																													1
	8	1	10	9		35	8	23	9		9	10	39	3	7	30		95	30	47	6	1	12	85	46	3	11	14	37	18	70	1	26	2	1		2			3		1	3	4	1				720			

‘Mellon’ beads are a distinctive large, early Roman ribbed bead, made of faience or frit, with a glazed light blue or turquoise surface (Johns, 1996: 101), found Empire-wide. Mellon beads are common in the first to mid-second century, especially on military sites and Cool (Jackson, 2012: 140) cites evidence that some of these may be horse harness decorations. Mellon beads in the study area occur at nucleated settlement sites with military associations, as well as military sites, which is consistent with this, but were also found at estate and shrine sites in the study area.

5.5.7 The use of exotic or expensive materials

Amber and ivory were exotic imports. Germanic-inspired amber beads have been associated with children’s graves within the Empire but not outside the frontiers (Swift, 2003c), indicating that special meanings or special qualities were attached to amber, although it is not possible to determine what these were. One amber item was found, a bead in a late Roman context at Wanborough. Ivory bracelet fragments were found at three sites, Ariconium, Barnsley Park and Bath, all in fourth century contexts.

Opulent, high quality gold jewellery is known from Britain, but only one gold item – a ring at Great Bedwyn – was found in the study sample, during antiquarian excavations in 1853-54. A precious gold ornament is less likely to have been abandoned as a casual loss, than one made of base metal, so fewer may be present in the archaeological record, and metal may also have been recycled. Silver items were few for the study area: one bracelet, ten rings and three hairpins (Figure 46), all were late Roman. All the sites which had items of silver also had items made of jet.

Jet has electrostatic properties, and may have been considered magical or special (Allason-Jones, 2005: 123-124). Bracelets, rings, beads and hairpins occurred in jet, across a range of site types, except military, and at relatively few farm sites compared with other site types. Figure 46 highlights a significant number of jet items at Uley, compared with one jet item at Nettleton. Most of sites with jet items, had more than one type of item. Jet rings were found through the Roman period, jet hairpins from the second to fourth centuries, and jet beads and bracelets in the late Roman period.

5.6 Summary and discussion: personal appearance

Personal appearance is a key element of an individual's identity as it can be manipulated to communicate different messages related to status, wealth, gender, age and/or group or ethnicity. Personal adornment is particularly important in differentiating and defining social status, as evidenced by restrictions such as sumptuary laws on who would wear particular items (Colburn and Heyn, 2008). Hill (1997) identified a change in the way personal identities were expressed in terms of dress and appearance in the late Iron Age, with an increasing focus on the individual. Artefacts relating to dress and appearance, such as brooches, appear in far greater numbers (Jundi and Hill, 1998), and new practices, such as the use of toilet implements, appear. This chapter examined the evidence for personal grooming, appearance and dress accessories and how these changed through the Roman period.

Clothing was an expression of status, highlighting the difference between those who could afford large quantities of expensive cloth, and those who were limited to practical work clothing. There are few literary sources to provide evidence for provincial costume in Britain in the Roman period, and no textiles survive for the study sample. Croom (2000: 147) notes that native costume probably continued to be worn in the first and second centuries, particularly by women. Paired trumpet or headstud brooches, with headloops through which a chain linked the two brooches, were used to fasten female provincial clothing. These occur in the study sample in the early Roman period at nucleated settlement, shrine and villa sites, and go out of use in the late second/early third century suggesting a change in costume at that time. The assumption is that the study sample followed the trend for the north-west provinces and adopted the Roman-style Gallic coat. The Gallic coat (Allason-Jones, 2005: 104) was a relatively simple, unisex garment, which did not require brooch fastenings, so that decorative items such as bracelets and rings were worn with it to draw attention to the wealth and status of the wearer.

Nail-soled leather shoes and boots were a Roman-style introduction, made in a different way to Iron Age shoes (Allason-Jones, 2011: 49) and Roman tanning processes also produced waterproof leather

for the first time. For the study sample, a few parts of leather shoes survive, mostly from second and third century contexts so that in most instances in the study sample only the hobnails remained as evidence. Although hobnails are found at 60% of sites in the study sample, and at all types of site (except oppida), dated evidence is limited but suggests adoption in the later Roman period. Certain types of Roman-style footwear were restricted to persons of a particular class or gender (Croom, 2000: 59-61) and whilst one shoe in the study sample was recorded as belonging to a woman or child, we do not have much evidence as to who wore the shoes. Some evidence of the Roman practice of patterning the hobnails on shoe soles was present for the study sample, although not enough to discern the overall pattern. Van Driel-Murray (1999) explored the symbolism of shoes which includes types of journeys (including to the underworld), trampling, crushing and protection. The hobnail patterns can be complex and are consistent across the Empire, therefore widely understood, presumably also therefore in the study area, with symbols relating to protection and good fortune, and use of signs of the zodiac (Van Driel-Murray, 2002). Given the improved waterproofing, and improved wear and grip from hobnails, the adoption of Roman-style footwear may have been determined as much by comfort as by identity expression.

Jewellery makes a significant statement about the wearer, particularly for those types of ornament such as bracelets, rings and earrings which are purely ornamental and involve a significant element of conscious personal choice in their selection. Jundi and Hill (1998) refer to the significant increase in the number of brooches in the period c100BC to AD75, as 'the fibula event horizon', which saw changes to the importance of brooches in terms of their message about the wearer, changes to the form of brooches, as well as changes in the ways in which brooches were deposited (ritual deposition). Such changes are reflected in the study sample, beginning pre-conquest with a peak in numbers of brooches in the late first/early second century, in terms of both numbers and types of brooches. Johns (1996: 165) notes a large number of short-lived brooch types in the first century, fewer in the second, with a very sharp decline in the third and fourth century in numbers of bow brooches, in both Britain and Gaul, some of which may be related to changes in costume. The study sample data follows this

trend. The reason for the sharp decline in brooch use is not yet fully understood, but probably relates to changes in costume, which had an impact on how people felt they needed to express their identity. Bow brooches were decorative as well as functional, whilst the smaller plate brooches were mainly for display. Urban sites had high proportions of plate brooches, but did not have the range of early brooches. Nucleated settlement, villa and farm sites had broadly similar profiles of the different brooch types, with minor differences in the relative proportions of the different brooch types. The profile for shrine sites was similar but with more of the later plate brooches. Estate sites had the same brooch types as the rural sites but in very different proportions. Oppida and military sites had very different proportions of the different brooch types and these are different from shrine sites, nucleated settlements, villas and farms which had broadly similar profiles. Bagendon in particular had a wide variety of the first century brooch forms. Average numbers of brooches are highest at nucleated settlement, shrine and oppida sites, and low at urban, farm and military sites. At site level each site had a different relative proportion of the individual brooch types, which indicates an element of individual choice in brooch selection.

Data from Camerton show a different repertoire of brooches at the nucleated settlement site compared with those from the proposed military fort site at Camerton (detected by fieldwalking), suggesting that different groups are differentiating themselves from others. The Aucissa type, or ‘soldier’s brooch’, made in Gaul, occurred at sites with military associations, but also at a few other sites. The Hod Hill brooch, another military type (Johns, 1996: 157) introduced at the time of the conquest by the army, had a wide distribution across all site-types. The largest number of brooches were the Colchester Derivatives, a British type, originating from a Continental form.

There were none of the distinctive Romano-British dragonesque brooches which are a hybrid of Celtic and Roman forms (Johns, 1996: 151), although significant numbers of the Celtic-influenced trumpet and headstud brooches were present. Johns (*ibid.* 160-165) notes that trumpet brooches, with their curvi-linear decoration had a wider range of materials (including silver) and decorative techniques than other bow brooch types. Hunter (2008) views headstud and trumpet brooches as the continuation

of a thriving Celtic tradition, developing a new Romano-British style from a Roman-style object, rather than just applying Celtic-style decoration. The relative proportion of trumpet and headstud brooches was greater at shrine and villa (farms in this period) sites, indicating a greater influence of Celtic designs at rural sites. Only Roman-influenced brooches occurred at military and oppidum sites. However, individual sites do not have any distinctive overall preference for either Celtic-influenced or Roman-influenced designs, which is consistent with these brooches being viewed as 'Romano-British' objects.

A wide range of designs were found on the small plate brooches. Zoomorphic brooches found included birds and ducks, a fly or moth, a running dog and a running horseman. Animals which appear in Roman art tend not to appear on brooches (for example, deer, lions, panthers, dolphins, bulls and rams) suggesting brooches were not used for religious symbolism (Johns, 1996: 173-177). Skeumorphic forms found in the study sample included two axes, a dagger, and two shoe soles, one with enamel dots representing hobnails. The shoe sole (*ibid.* 177) was a popular form, and may be associated with Mercury, having an apotropaic function as well as being a good luck symbol associated with travel (Eckardt, 2013: 231). Axes were a votive object in certain cults (*ibid.* 178).

The evidence above suggest brooches were used to signal a wide range of associations or identities, but an inscription on a Hod Hill-type brooch suggests it was worn for sentimental reasons (Johns, 1996: 158), so that we should not always assume that wearing a brooch was always about expressing group or religious affinities. The wide variety of brooch forms suggests display of individuality rather than conformity, and the introduction of Roman-influenced brooches alongside continuation of Celtic-influenced brooches widened the repertoire from which to choose, and therefore the different ways these could be used.

Bracelets occur in the Iron Age in shale and glass, and become more common, and available in a wider range of materials, in the later Roman period (Allason-Jones, 2011: 207), although glass bracelets are out of fashion by the late Roman period. Glass bracelets were relatively rare in the study

sample, but shale bracelets occurred in greater numbers, mainly in the second and third centuries, with increasing numbers of copper alloy bracelets in the later Roman period. Johns (1996: 121-123) argues for a Roman origin for glass bracelets in Britain, noting that on the continent the occurrence of these bracelets ceases on 'Romanisation', making these a Romano-British artefact. Jet was thought to have magical or protective properties (Allason-Jones, 2005: 123-124) and a small number of bracelets were made of jet. The use of copper alloy increases particularly in the fourth century. Bracelets are more common in Britain in the later Roman period (Allason-Jones, 2011: 207), and the study sample is consistent with this, with a significant increase in the fourth century.

Simple strand or twisted copper alloy wire bracelets and plain shale bracelets were most popular in the study sample, but some forms with hidden meanings were present. 'Snake' jewellery is an Empire-wide form, with snake designs on bracelets and rings, where the, often stylised, body of the snake coils around the arm or finger. Six snake bracelets were found at a range of site-types but no snake rings occurred in the study sample. Johns (1996: 12, 37) notes that snake jewellery has complex meanings derived from Graeco-Roman rather than Celtic traditions, with symbolism relating to healing, the underworld, regeneration and rebirth.

Finger rings were a Roman introduction to Britain and worn by both men and women (*ibid.* 41). Forms tend to be common across the Empire (Allason-Jones, 2011: 209). Most common in the study sample were the plainer band form and around a third of the rings had a bezel (which may have been plain, engraved or contained a set stone). Rings with engraved gemstones (intaglios) may have been used to display knowledge of Classical culture, as the iconography on these intaglios is entirely culturally Roman, or they may have had a role as amulets. Intaglios formed a significant element – up to a third – at some sites and appear to have played a more significant role at nucleated settlement sites.

Earrings are another Roman introduction to Britain. Johns (1996: 125) comments that, unlike heavy rings or necklaces, 'earrings can be large and showy without being unduly inconvenient to wear', but

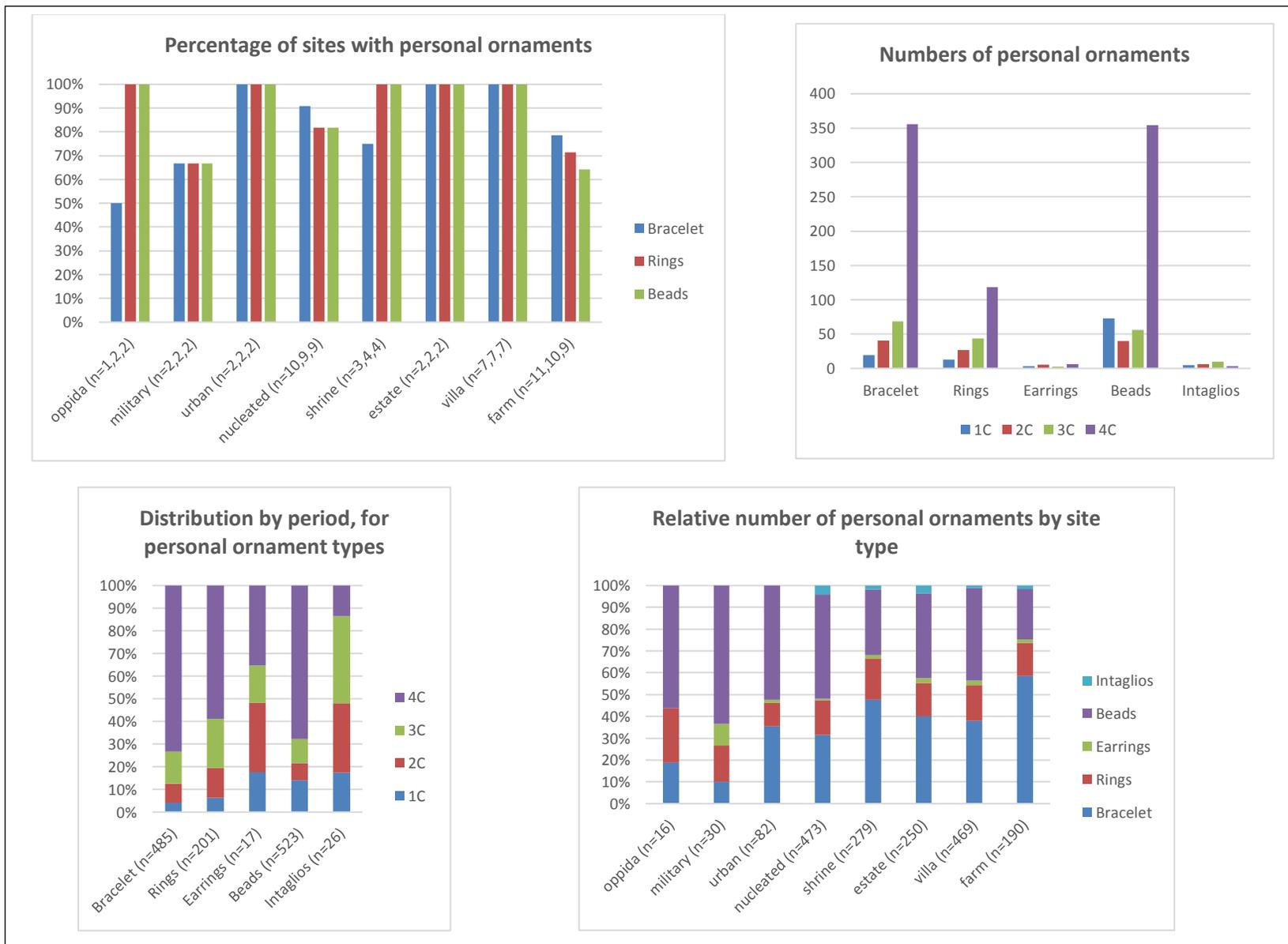
the earrings found in the study area were fairly plain and simple, mostly penannular hoops. When compared with the numbers of bracelets and rings at these sites (Figure 15), earrings do not seem to be a significant element of the jewellery repertoire at sites in the study sample, but this may reflect the difficulty in recognising these small items in the archaeological record.

Glass beads occur in the Iron Age, with some forms continuing into the Roman period. Iron-Age beads were much larger than Roman-style beads, annular, are found as individual beads. They are likely to have been worn singly, possible as amulets (Allason-Jones, 2011: 290-291; Swift, 2003b: 31). A small number of Iron Age beads were found, of both British and continental origin, although these occurred together at the same sites.

Roman-style beads were Empire-wide forms of small translucent glass beads, mostly dark green or dark blue, and worn as strings of beads. This represents a significant change in the way beads were perceived and worn. Around 5% of the beads in the study sample represent the Iron Age bead tradition and 95% are Roman beads (Figure 45), reflecting in part the change from wearing single beads to necklaces, but also indicating a more widespread use of this type of personal ornament. Sections of chain interspersed with beads found at Alcester and Great Witcombe shows that bead necklaces were worn in the Roman manner. A small but significant number of jet beads occurred. Exotic imports included two gold-in-glass beads imported from Syria or Egypt (Guido, 1978: 101-102), and several mellon beads, both Empire-wide forms. Except for Claydon Pike, beads were virtually absent from farm sites.

Rings, bracelets, necklace chains and beads, all occur in small numbers in the first century, but across a range of sites, with some increases in the second and third centuries and a significant increase in the fourth century (Figure 49), when they occur widely and at almost all sites (Figure 47). Allason-Jones (2011: 207) notes that generally brooches and rings are more common in the early Roman period, and bracelets and necklaces in the later period, and the study sample is consistent with this except for rings which show a significant increase in the fourth century.

Figure 47: Comparison of evidence for different personal ornament types in the study sample



Whilst some small differences occurred, there were no pronounced differences between types of site in terms of materials used or the dates when artefacts were adopted. Differences appear to relate more to the number of items than their quality.

In compiling the data for the study sample a wide variety of decoration was observed on rings, bracelets and hairpins, and no obvious patterns stood out. Most of the elaborate forms illustrated in Johns (1996) do not occur in the study sample. Simpler designs such as wire bracelets predominate. Some items were made from jet (which could be considered ‘exotic’ for the study area), but items made from precious metals and exotic materials such as ivory and amber are virtually absent, and where these do occur, are fourth century. The picture is one of abundance but not necessarily high status.

Hairpins, bracelets, earrings and necklaces were mainly worn by women in Britain and the wider Roman world (Allason-Jones, 2011: 207), so this reflects an increase in gendered items over time (considered further in section 8.3). A few of the late Roman crossbow brooches were found. These are a standard form found across the western provinces and worn by men of high rank, usually in the military. For the study sample, the increase in artefacts related to dress accessories in the fourth century is particularly striking. Most of the fourth century artefacts are Empire-wide forms. The implications for the expression of culturally-Roman identity are considered further in section 8.4.2.

Evidence for how individuals presented themselves also comes from implements used for personal grooming and styling the hair. Evidence for grooming practices, in the form of toilet sets with tweezers, nail-cleaners, and ear scoops, and toilet spoons and various spatulas occur across all types of site in the study sample. Toilet sets and nail-cleaners with bifid tips are part of a Celtic pre-Roman tradition and on the Continent do not survive into the Roman period (although tweezers do), but in Britain they do continue as an insular tradition (Eckardt and Crummy, 2008: 18-24), and become much more common. There has been discussion as to whether toilet implements were displayed on the person as status objects, but most were made of copper alloy rather than precious metals, and their

relatively small size and limited range of decoration compared to contemporary brooches suggests not. They were status symbols in the late Iron Age as evidenced by their appearance in elite burials in south-east England, particularly in the territory of the Catuvellauni (*ibid.* 57-72). However, in the study sample they occur at military sites and nucleated settlement sites associated with the military in the first century and only appear in significant numbers at rural sites in the third and fourth centuries.

Most of the sites in the study sample had toilet implements, the exceptions being the smaller wayside shrines, and the smaller farm sites. The average number of nail-cleaners was highest at shrine and estate sites in the study sample, but only appear in significant numbers in the fourth century. Adoption of both nail-cleaners and tweezers by people at shrine sites as late as the third century is interesting given that both Nettleton and Uley are sites which show continuity of occupation from the late Iron Age. Nucleated settlements have lower average numbers, and slightly higher for tweezers than nail-cleaners but adopt these in the second century. With the exceptions of Claydon Pike (second and third centuries) and Somerford Keynes, toilet implements are rare at farm sites in the study sample. Numbers are also low at villa sites, and even in the fourth century are lower than those for nucleated settlement sites. Except for Frocester, no tweezers or nail-cleaners occur at villa sites in the first and second centuries. Overall the occurrence of toilet implements was widespread but not in significant numbers, with farm and villa sites generally having fewer items than nucleated settlement and estate centre sites. This suggests that grooming played a lesser role in structuring identities related to status at farm sites (which might be expected) but also at villa sites (unexpected) compared with nucleated settlement and shrine sites. The significant increase in numbers of tweezers and slightly less for nail-cleaners between the first and fourth centuries suggests that personal grooming played a greater role in structuring identities in the later Roman period.

Eckardt and Crummy (2008: 104-106) also showed that numbers of toilet implements increased significantly between the first and fourth centuries with significant increases for small settlement and villa sites and the study sample data is consistent with this general trend. Eckardt and Crummy found

that nail-cleaners and tweezers occurred more frequently on small settlement and rural villa sites than in major towns and military sites, with highest frequency at small settlement sites. Large towns and *civitas* capitals produced large numbers of items at a small number of sites, whereas nail-cleaner use was widespread at the rural sites, with a large number of sites having one or two items (*ibid.* 102). The study sample results (Figure 15 and Figure 16) were broadly consistent with this, the exception being the large number of nail-cleaners, tweezers and spatula probes at Wanborough and high numbers of tweezers at Somerford Keynes which do not fit into this pattern. Millett (2016: 715) suggests that roadside settlements may have been ‘funnels’ for supplies being moved along roads, and this may explain the high numbers of items at these sites.

Some grooming and adornment routines require leisure time as well as expensive materials, so become important in constituting elite identities. The presence of combs, razors, and cosmetic palettes reflects the presence of individuals with sufficient leisure to indulge in grooming activities. These artefacts appear in small quantities across all types of site except oppida and military sites, and for villa and farm sites are limited to Frocester, Great Bedwyn, Claydon Pike and Vineyards Farm. Most of the dated mirror fragments in the study area are from the first century, and were mostly continental imports. Eckardt and Crummy (2008: 32) suggested that this reflects families of military or veterans settling in Britain. Alcester and Wanborough had associations with the military in the first century, consistent with this. There were no mirror fragments from villa or farm sites. Two mirror fragments found at Bagendon were the only artefacts related to grooming found at that site.

Cosmetic palettes were mostly made of marble, reflecting the elite status of these items. A small number of these were found across a range of site-types in the study sample. An unstratified example of insular-type pestle and mortar cosmetic sets was found at Wanborough and also at Cirencester (but not in the study sample Cirencester sites). Combs were a Roman-period introduction, and occurred at five sites. Combs and mirrors have been associated with women in burial contexts (Allason-Jones, 2011: 208), and making the assumption that this also occurred for the study sample, these represent gendered items. Unguent bottles for perfumes occurred in small numbers at Bagendon, Alcester,

Wanborough, Portway, Kingscote, Great Witcombe, Kings Weston, Claydon Pike and Birdlip Quarry and a very large number at Kingsholm (Figure 21). Most of these sites do not have bath suites, indicating that the use of perfumes was not restricted to the bathing process.

Hairpins were a new introduction in the Roman period and represent a new way of styling women's hair, coiled against the head rather than loose or braided (Allason-Jones, 2005: 133), but were also decorative. Hairpins occur in very small numbers in the first century, mostly at military sites, with some adoption at nucleated settlement, shrine, villa and farm sites in the second century, and a significant increase in the fourth century across all sites, in particular, at urban and estate sites. Cool (1990: 176) suggests that the demand for hairpins drove the development of the different insular hairpin forms in the later first century, but by the later Roman period the types show conformity with those in the north-west provinces.

Around half of second century hairpins are copper alloy but this falls to around a quarter by the fourth century, with increasing numbers of bone hairpins, which implies a wider distribution across society to lower status women. Glass and jet hairpins make an appearance in the later Roman period, although in very small numbers, consistent with Cool's (*ibid.* 174) findings that colour became more important than design in this period. Jet hairpins occur across a range of site types, although at more nucleated settlement sites than other sites. Certain shrine sites potentially associated with healing cults have large numbers of personal objects and this may explain the very large number of hairpins at Nettleton (Leach, 1998: 88). Decorative hairpins, which may also have symbolic meanings, included a theatrical mask at Bath, a human hand-headed pin, a symbol of good omen at Great Witcombe, pine cones associated with Bacchus at Shepton Mallet and Uley, and a gold-plated hairpin at Kingscote.

The concept of communal bathing was introduced to Britain in the Roman period and is visible archaeologically through the presence of bath houses and associated equipment such as the glass flasks for oil and perfumes used as part of the bathing process. There is a large, public bath complex at the temple site in Bath but no evidence for public baths has yet been found at the military sites or

nucleated settlement sites in the study sample (although not all these sites have been fully excavated). A glass bath flask was found at Kingsholm, suggesting that bathing facilities were available. Private bath houses at rural sites represent elite architectural structures, and were therefore only found at villa sites in the study sample (late third/fourth century) and villa-style fourth century town houses in Cirencester. These bath suites were late third or fourth century and the early (first/second century) villa at The Ditches had no bath suite. The aspirational nature of these facilities is evidenced by the simple ‘bath room’ added to the more modest villa at Marshfield, and the addition of a bath suite in the mid-fourth century to the existing stone-built winged corridor villa at Frocester as part of a piecemeal gentrification process. The decoration of these bath suites with painted wall plaster and mosaic floors (see section 7.2) expressed the wealth and status of the owners.

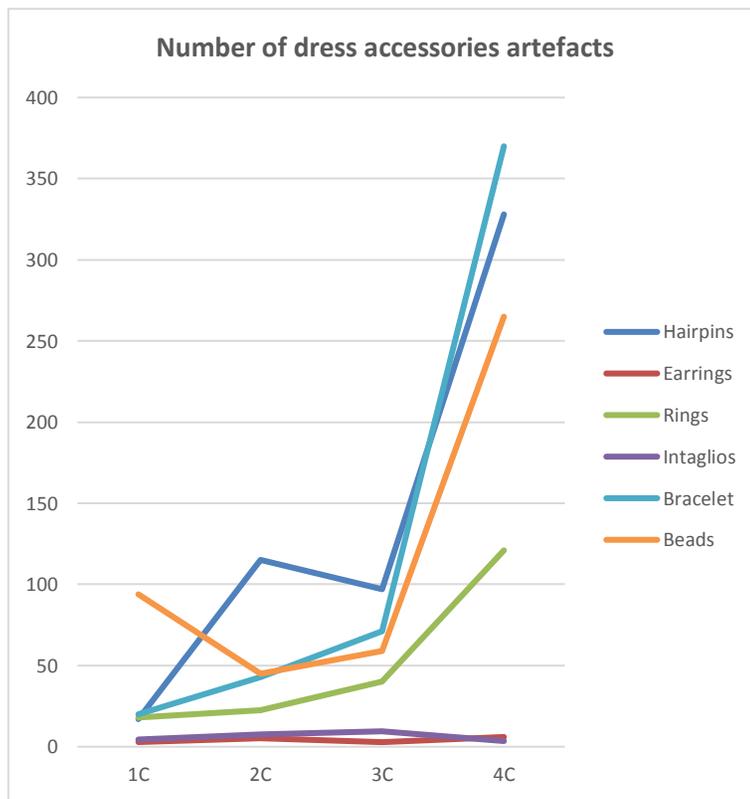
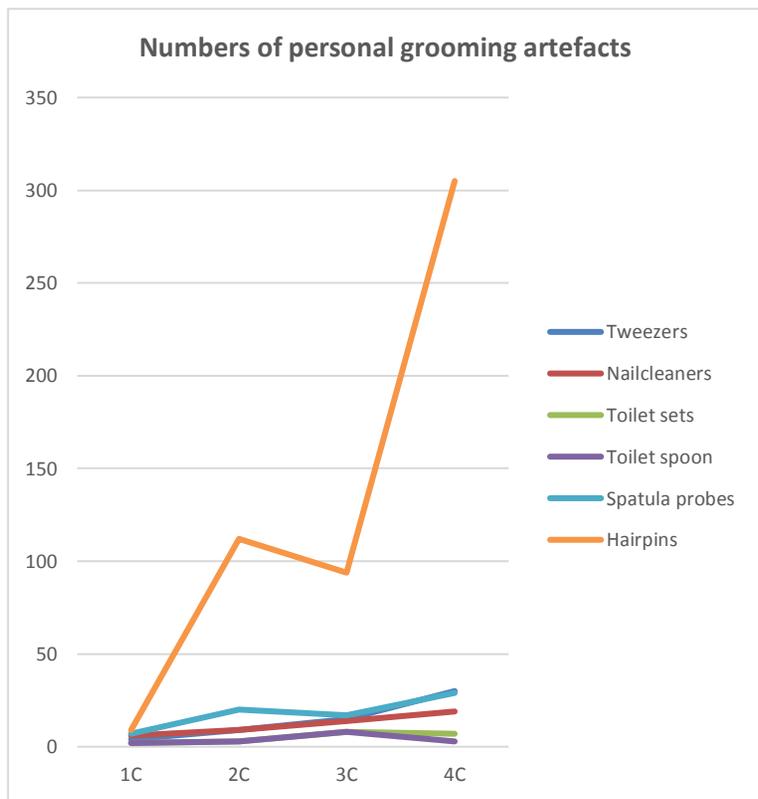
Figure 48 brings together the data for personal grooming to consider trends in presentation of the body over time. Many sites have greater numbers of hairpins than toilet implements, but there are sites where the reverse is true, or which have only hairpins or toilet implements, and this is not confined to any type of site. Implements are very limited at oppida sites, but with two mirrors at Bagendon, and one toilet set at Salmonsbury. Implements at military sites were confined to ‘utilitarian’ items – nail-cleaners, tweezers and spatula probes – and only Kingsholm had some hairpins. The greater numbers of grooming implements at nucleated settlement sites, with adoption from the second century, compared with much lower numbers of these at villa and farm sites, and modest use of these at villa sites in the fourth century, suggests that these are playing a greater role in identity expression at nucleated settlement sites, than at other types of site. ‘Elite’ items such as unguent bottles for perfume and palettes for mixing cosmetics occur across a range of types of site, whereas mirrors occur at nucleated settlement and estate sites. More sites had hairpins than tweezers or nail-cleaners (Figure 48), which suggests that styling the hair was considered as a different routine to grooming using toilet implements, but if the presence of either tweezers or nail-cleaners is considered, only six sites had hairpins only. The large number of hairpins at Nettleton may relate to religious activities at the site.

Figure 50 shows a comparison between the numbers of artefacts for personal grooming and for dress accessories and the variation over time. Only data for nucleated settlement, shrine, estate, villa and farm sites was included. Oppida and military sites are only first century, so would distort the trends, and urban sites are excluded as available data relates mostly to the fourth century. The data for hairpins contrasts significantly with that for personal grooming artefacts. The number of sites using hairpins rises sharply and between the first and second centuries and then plateaus, but the total number of hairpins continues to rise between the first and fourth centuries. For nail-cleaners, tweezers, spatula probes, etc, the number of artefacts and the number of sites using them rises more steadily between the first and fourth centuries. Numbers of sites using intaglios peaks in the third century and then falls. The number of sites using decorative items rises slowly between the first and fourth centuries, whereas the numbers of rings and bracelets rise steadily until the third century, and then increase steeply in the fourth century. Beads decline significantly from the first to the second centuries and then rise steeply in the fourth century.

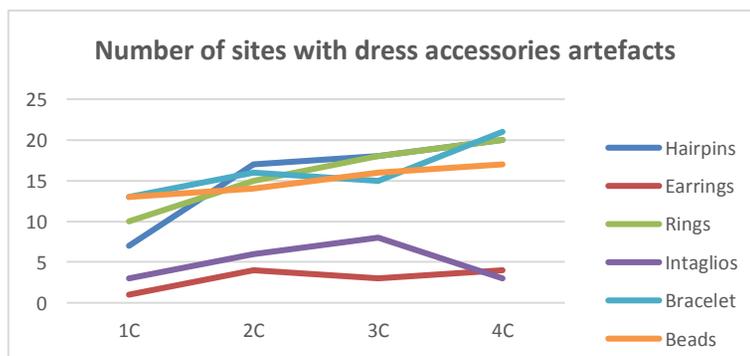
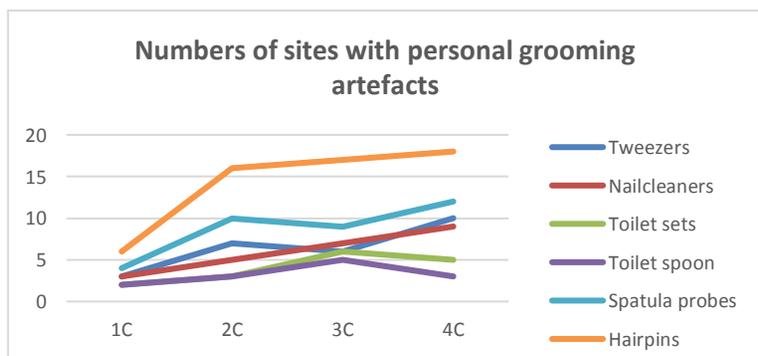
The independent variation of these trends shows that the different artefacts were being used in different ways at different times and were not being used together as a 'cultural package' of artefacts. Change to adopt Roman-style hairstyles occurs relatively widely in the study sample in the second century, whereas widespread use of bracelets, and Roman-style beads, and to a lesser extent rings does not occur until the fourth century. The higher number of beads in the first century relates to Iron Age style beads, including those which continue into the Roman period. In contrast, the increase in personal grooming artefacts is much less, suggesting that these items played a lesser role in structuring identities in the fourth century. Nail-cleaners were an insular survival of a late Iron Age continental tradition and the higher numbers of tweezers than nail-cleaners by the fourth century suggests that this tradition was declining. The style of late Roman glass beads is found Empire-wide, as are many of the bracelet styles, and the implications for expression of 'Roman-ness' will be considered further in section 8.4.2. The role of items of personal adornment and grooming in structuring elite identities is considered in sections 8.1.5 and 8.2.2.2, and gendered identities in section 8.3.

Figure 50: Comparison of the numbers of artefacts relating to personal grooming with artefacts for dress accessories

Data for nucleated settlement, shrine, estate centre, villa and farm sites only



Note: the spike for hairpin data in the second century relates to Shepton Mallet, where the excavation report notes that only 2 of the 39 pins are dated later than the second century



6 Results and analysis: Foodways

As discussed above in Chapter 1, Hill (2001: 17) suggests that the evaluation of archaeological evidence for identity should include evidence for ‘foodways’ – the cultural, social and political aspects of what is eaten, how it is prepared and by whom, how it is consumed, by whom and for what social purposes. The artefactual evidence for the three key elements of foodways – foodstuffs, ways of dining and ways of preparing and serving food – is examined in this chapter.

Feasting was a key part of social relations in Iron Age society. For the elite Romans ways of dining also played an important part in social relations, where it was bound up with *Romanitas* and the demonstration of cultural knowledge and sophistication within social hierarchies (Hope, 2000: 125-126), but the situation for the lower orders is less clear. However, whilst both the Iron Age and Roman feasts involved the display of wealth and status, they differ in the type of food and drink consumed, how it was consumed, and the social settings in which these took place. Witts (2000), Cosh (2001) and Ellis (1995b) examine the main reception rooms in villas in Britain, to establish whether these may have been used for dining in the Roman manner, and the extent to which local tastes or Mediterranean influences are reflected in the architecture and decoration of these rooms.

A distinctive material culture related to food consumption appears in Britain at around the time of the conquest, with new specialised vessel forms for preparing and serving food. Evidence will be examined for different types of pottery and glass vessels which have specific functions through which we can examine changes in ways of eating and drinking, for example, plates, jugs, flagons, tankards, beakers and cups. The main artefact studies are Tyers (1996) for pottery, Webster (1996), Willis (2005b) and Tyers (1996) for samian, and Isings (1957) and Price and Cottam (1998) for glass vessels. Cool’s (2006) *Eating and drinking in Roman Britain* and Alcock’s (2001) *Food in Roman Britain* review the range of evidence for foodstuffs, vessels and implements. Key issues are around when new pottery forms were introduced (Timby, 1990; Swan et al., 1975; Willis, 1998) and the extent to which these were adopted by different communities (Evans, 2001; Willis, 2011; Booth, 2012)

whether this represents a change in the way food is prepared and eaten, and whether rural sites differ from urban sites.

New foods were introduced to Britain post-conquest, but written sources for their use in Britain are very limited, mostly from references in the *Vindolanda* tablets (Cool, 2006: 30-32). Archaeological evidence for new foodstuffs can be difficult to obtain, as it is mostly retrieved from waterlogged deposits, and depends on environmental sampling during excavations to retrieve such data. This has only been undertaken routinely in recent years (*ibid.* 64). Archaeological evidence for consumption of certain foodstuffs can be deduced from the distinctive containers in which these were transported, for example, salt, wine and olive oil.

Dietary preferences are explored using animal bone (King, 1999; Maltby, 1997; Maltby, 1998; Crummy, 2013) to identify dietary patterns associated with different communities, and timing and extent to which imported foodstuffs are adopted (Van der Veen, 2008; Van der Veen et al., 2008; Cramp et al., 2011). The key issues are around the extent to which military, urban and rural communities differ, whether this represents a change in diet, and whether and how an elite cuisine is expressed.

6.1 Foodstuffs

Excavation reports included evidence for vegetables, herbs and spices, fish and shellfish, wine, olive oil, fish- and fruit-based sauces, and the consumption of meat, cheese, honey and beer, and these will be considered individually below.

6.1.1 Fruit, vegetables and herbs and spices

Archaeological evidence of these foods is limited, as it comes mostly from waterlogged deposits.

Figure 51 shows the evidence available for the study sample. Although only six sites (two locations in Bath) had evidence, these range across site-types. There was a range of fruits, vegetables and herbs at each of the sites, rather than just one or two items. This suggests that a wide range of foods was available to people at individual sites.

Figure 51: Imported foodstuffs in the study sample

Imported foodstuffs	New Royal baths, Bath	Bath and Beau Street, Bath	Uley	Frocester	Great Bedwyn	Claydon Pike	Alfred's Castle	Declined from introduction	Increased, then declined to earlier levels	Increase over time	Trends over time based on van der Veen et al. (2008)
	Early 2C				4th c contexts	late Roman					
Exotics											
olives	✓				✓			olives			
figs	✓				✓		✓	figs			
grape	✓							grape			
mulberry			✓					mulberry			
Herbs/spices											
coriander	✓			✓		✓		coriander			
dill		✓						dill			
fennel		✓				✓		fennel			
opium poppy						✓	✓	poppy			
celery			✓			✓		celery			
Fruit and vegetables											
carrot						✓		carrot			
cherry	✓							cherry			
damson						✓		damson			
sloe/plum				✓			✓	sloe/plum			
walnut				✓				walnut			

6.1.2 Fish and shellfish

There is very little evidence for the consumption of fish in the Iron Age, and shellfish are only present at sites near the coast and only occasionally found at inland sites (Willis, 2007: 111). The absence of fish from settlement sites may be a cultural choice, and the presence of fish at Roman-period sites is therefore significant. Five sites in the study sample had evidence for fish (Figure 52). The larger sample at Uley reflects the use of sieving in sample collection. Individual sites have evidence for both marine and freshwater fish (rather than either one or the other).

Figure 52: Evidence for fish in the study sample

Fish bones	New Royal baths, Bath	Alcester ES	Deansway, Worcester	Uley	Great Bedwyn
	Number of bones	Number of fragments	Minimum Numbers of Individuals	Minimum Numbers of Individuals	
		(late Roman, none for early Roman)			294 fish bones, 50% identifiable
marine fish					
sea bass	2				present
cod			1		
sea bream family	1			3	
flattish	1			46	dominate
flounder				7	
herring			2		present
tope			2		
estuarine					
grey mullet				1	
bass				2	
freshwater fish					
chub	1				
pike		1			
eel	1		1	14	present
perch family				3	
carp family			1		
trout					present
salmon			1	6	present
salmon/trout		1		22	
unidentified	10		2		

The key issue with the archaeological evidence for oysters is that they are often not quantified and sometimes not recorded at all, as they are considered to provide little useful information. Frocester is an example: extensive analysis of molluscan remains was undertaken to determine environmental conditions but there is only one line referencing the presence of shellfish (Price, 2000: 252). This lack

of recording is borne out by the study sample (Figure 53) where only ten sites had quantified data for shellfish. It is difficult to determine whether the lack of reference to shellfish at the other sites represents an absence of these, but given the detailed level of recording for other finds and animal bone, it does suggest an absence of shellfish.

Figure 53: Evidence for shellfish in the study sample

Shellfish	Bagendon	Kingsholm	Asthall	Alcester	Frocester	Ditches	Great Bedwyn	Great Wilcombe	Marshfield	Kings Weston	Horcott	Wootton Bassett	Vineyards Farm	Alfred's Castle	Birdlip Quarry	Maddle Farm
oyster	many	11	92	815	present	370	abundant	present	63	present	2	1	63	24	33	present
mussels					present	32	some	present					7	9		present
whelk					present		some	present								
scallop					present			present					1	1		

Alcester, Explosion site				
	1c	2c	3c	4c
oyster shell	0	5	100	710

Asthall - no. of oyster shells by phase						
Phase 2	Phase 3	Phase 4	Phase 4/5	Phase 5/6	Phase 6	Phase 6/7
Mid 1C-E2C	Mid2C	M2C-E3C	2C-3C	3C-E4C	4C	4C-5C
1	1	5	1	8	25	46

Two sites - Alcester and Asthall - had chronological data (Figure 53) which showed that shellfish were only present in larger numbers in the later Roman period. However, the first century sites at Bagendon and Kingsholm, and the early Roman villa at the Ditches had oyster shell. Shellfish occurred at six of the seven villa sites in the sample, at several farm sites, but only at two nucleated settlement sites. One of the smallest farm sites, Wootton Bassett, had one oyster shell, indicating that shellfish were reaching smaller rural sites. The sites where shellfish occur are widely dispersed across the study area (Figure 55), including sites which are not on major roads. Figure 54 and Figure 55 show the distribution of sites with fish compared to shellfish. Only two sites, Alcester and Great

6.1.3 Beef, mutton and pork

King's (2001; 1999) work on animal bone assemblages to explore Romanisation of diet in the western provinces has highlighted a number of dietary preferences, driven by both environmental and cultural factors. King compared the relative percentages of cattle, sheep/goat and pig bone, for domestic site-types and has identified two major patterns, the 'military' pattern, dominated by cattle, and the 'Roman' pattern, with large percentage of pig bone. The study sample was examined for the relative percentages of cattle, sheep and pig bone in the faunal assemblages and compared to King's findings.

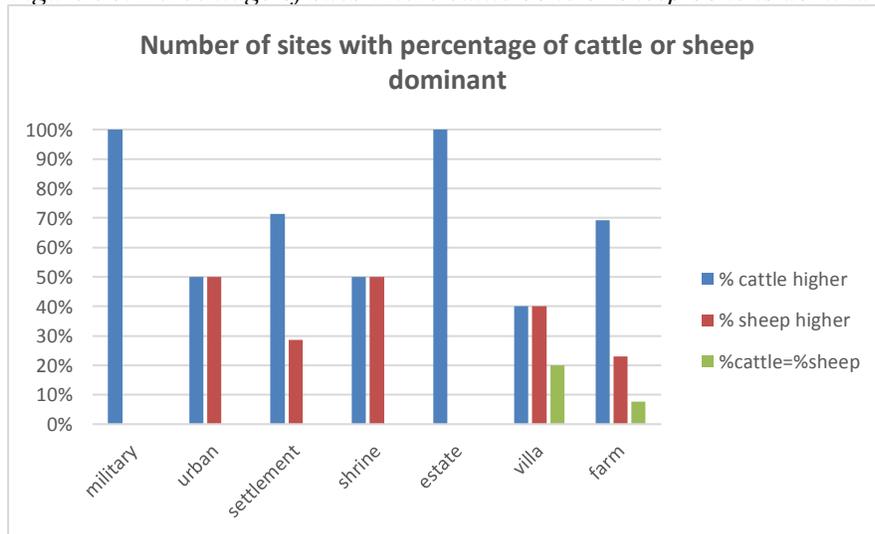
Issues with the data include the poor preservation of bone at some sites, the difficulty of distinguishing sheep bone from goat bone (hence the grouping of sheep/goat), and the different methods of quantifying bone, which means the datasets are often not directly comparable. Quantification methods used in the study sample excavation reports included total number of bone fragments (TNF), Number of Identified Specimens (NISP) and Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI). Issues arise with NISP around how fragments are treated, compared to whole bones, where a number of fragments or bones were derived from one individual, and comparisons between species, where one species may have more identifiable bones than another (O'Connor, 2000: 54-57). MNI is usually calculated by pairing left and right-sided bones and taking the higher of the two counts, but does rely on left-right bone asymmetry, which differs between species, and inaccuracies arise where the left sided bone from one individual is paired with the right-sided bone from another. Data for the study sample were therefore treated with caution and used as indicative of whether the assemblage is dominated by cattle or sheep bone. More detailed analysis was not undertaken, particularly as some of the bone assemblages were small, so that confidence in this data is limited. Maltby (1997: 406) notes that cattle bones on Roman sites cause particular difficulties because of their greater size and better preservation and because carcasses tend to be 'bulk processed' which impacts bone counts.

Data for the summary sample (Figure 57) are presented as percentages of the bone assemblage, calculating these where the excavation report did not do so and the underlying data was available. The calculation method (TNF/NISP/MNI) is shown for reference, but it is not possible to translate

these into one consistent method from the data presented in the reports. The analysis therefore focused on whether sheep or cattle were dominant, rather than on the absolute percentages. The dominance of either cattle or sheep is summarised in Figure 56. Cattle bone was dominant at both military sites, both estate sites, and two-thirds of nucleated settlement sites. Both military sites had a significant percentage of pig bone as well high percentages of cattle bone, showing King's 'military pattern'.

Farm sites showed more sites where cattle bone dominated (Figure 57), whereas at urban, shrine and villa sites the number of sites where cattle bone dominated was the same number as those where sheep dominate. King suggests that military and urban sites led the process of Romanisation of diet, followed by villas and then farms, so this data is not consistent with King's results. The estate and villa sites which showed a dominance of cattle over sheep also showed a significant percentage (14%-21%) of pig, suggesting a more Romanised diet – King's 'military pattern' - but this was only the case for one of the farm and one of the nucleated settlement sites (Figure 57).

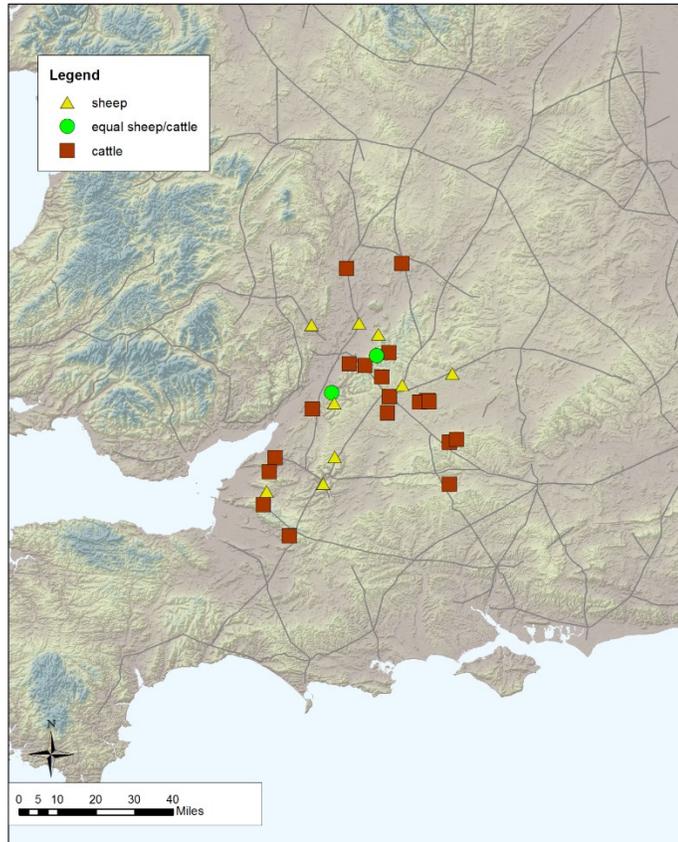
Figure 56: Percentage of sites where cattle bone or sheep bone is dominant



The data for the study sample was plotted on a map to examine whether environmental factors may be influencing the data (Figure 58). Greater percentages of cattle bone tend to occur on lower lying sites and sheep on sites on higher ground, which may reflect the rearing of sheep for wool in addition to meat.

Most of the nucleated settlement sites had a higher percentage of cattle bone, but a relatively low percentage of pig bone. Two sites – Asthall and Dymock – had higher percentage of sheep, but also higher percentages of pig. The differing percentages of cattle and sheep bone may reflect intensive stock penning (Worcester), rearing of sheep for wool production (Asthall) or specialised stock rearing, such as cattle at Thornhill, and seasonal grazing of cattle on the floodplain (Claydon Pike and Whelford Bowmoor). The bone preservation at Whelford Bowmoor was generally poor, and the very high percentage of cattle bone is considered to reflect the better survival of the larger cattle bone compared with smaller bones of sheep and pig (Miles et al., 2007: 292).

Figure 58: Distribution of sites where cattle or sheep dominated the bone assemblage



The assemblage at Uley shows unusually high percentages of sheep, goat and domestic fowl. Woodward and Leach (1993: 260-269) attribute this to these species being votive offerings, based on the very low percentage of butchery marks on these bones (<2%) and the association of goats and cockerels with the cult of Mercury.

For some sites data was available by phase (Figure 59, Figure 60), and this was examined against the general trends of gradual increase in cattle bone and reduction in sheep referred to by King. King (2001: 219) concludes that the high cattle/high pig pattern dominates at all site types by the end of the Roman period. The study sample sites (Figure 59, Figure 60, Figure 61) show much variety but there seems to be a fall-off in percentage of cattle bone at some sites, and others show the gradual increase identified by King.

Figure 59: Animal bone trends for sites using MNI counts



Figure 60: Animal bone evidence for sites using NISP counts

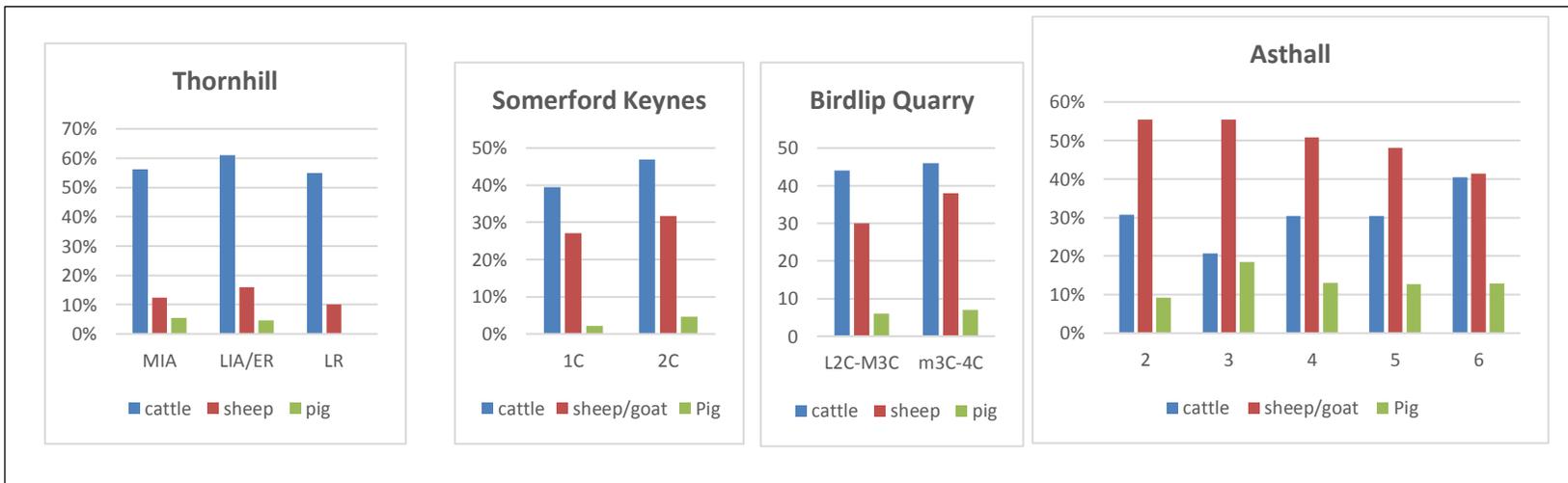
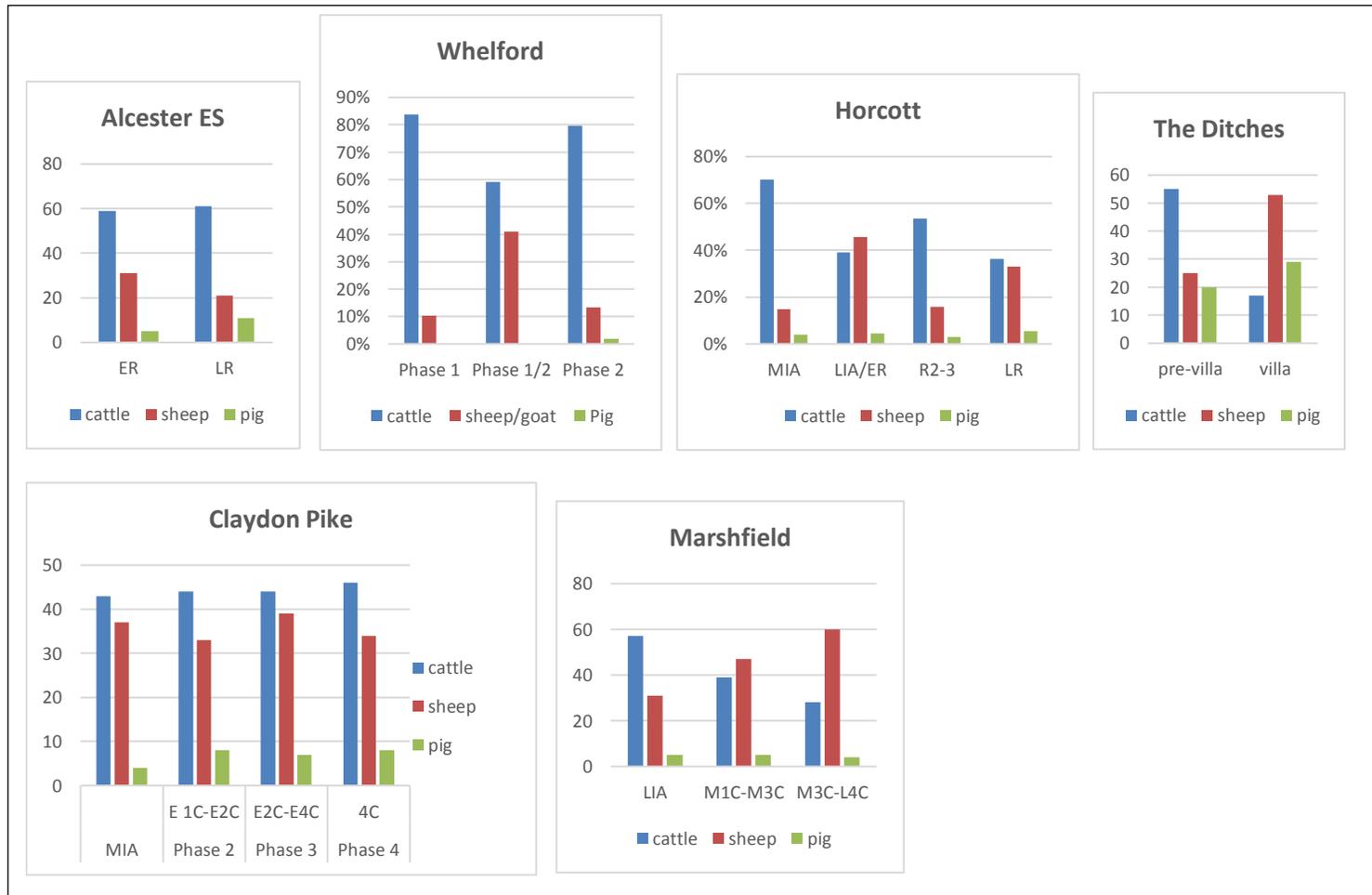


Figure 61: Animal bone trends for sites using TNF counts



Uley, Thornhill and Claydon Pike show little change in the percentage of cattle bone, whilst Frocester, Horcott, Worcester, Marshfield and The Ditches show a decline between the Middle and Late Iron Age, or in the first century, and then increase again from the second century onwards, but Marshfield declines further. The very high percentages of cattle bone at Trinity Road, Cirencester relates to waste dumps from specialist meat processing in the town (Maltby, 1998: 369).

6.1.4 Game and poultry

Hunting appears to have been popular in Britain. Strabo (IV.5) records hunting dogs as an export from Iron Age Britain, and hunting scenes appear as decoration on for example glass and pottery cups, and mosaics (for example, the figure of 'winter' in the mosaic in Room 5 at Chedworth is portrayed as a hunter carrying a hare) (Alcock, 2001: 45).

For the study sample (Figure 64) deer bone was found at 60% of sites which had animal bone assemblages, and 50% of sites had hare bone, and across a range of site-types. Most of the sites which had deer bone also had hare bone. It would be expected that rural sites (including military sites here) would produce more game than urban sites, and for the study sample the villa sites generally had higher percentage of deer than other sites. However, the percentages are very small, at around 0.1% to 2%.

The study sample (Figure 64) shows higher percentages for poultry at Leaholme and Bath compared to the very low percentages at other sites. However, a significant number of the rural sites in the study sample, including two-thirds of the farm sites, had some poultry bone. The high percentage of chicken bone found at Uley relates to its role as a shrine to Mercury, one of whose attributes was the cockerel (as discussed in more detail above). The higher percentage of poultry at urban sites may reflect the fact that these are sources of fresh meat which could be reared within a town. Poultry bone occurred at 75% of sites which had animal bone, and generally sites which had deer or hare bone also had poultry (Figure 64), but some rural farm sites had only poultry. A relatively high amount of pheasant bone was present at Barnsley Park which may indicate these birds were being hunted for meat.

There is little chronological data in excavation reports, but data is available for Frocester (Figure 62) which shows a significant increase in poultry in the fourth century, compared with deer bone where the amount did not change over time (Price, 2000: 218). However, data for Claydon Pike (Figure 63) shows a peak of consumption of game in the second to third centuries, but an increase in poultry over time.

Figure 62: Chronological distribution of fowl bone at Frocester

Frocester villa (Price, 2000: 246)	C1	C2-3	C4
	MNI	MNI	MNI
Fowl	5	13	35

Figure 63: Chronological distribution of game and poultry bone at Claydon Pike

Claydon Pike farm (Miles et al., 2007: 85,152,203)	Early Roman	2 nd -3 rd C	Late Roman
	TNF%	TNF%	TNF%
Deer	0.09%	0.49%	0.05%
Hare		0.26%	
Poultry	0.36%	1.8%	2.5%

6.1.5 Foodstuffs distributed in amphorae

Amphorae of different shapes and from different areas, such as Gaul, Spain and Rhodes, were used to transport wine, olive oil, fish-based products and dried fruit or fruit-based products. The presence of amphorae in the archaeological record infers that these foods were consumed, although not necessarily at the sites where they were found, as amphorae did have secondary uses, for example as containers.

Comparisons of amphora types between sites were made on the basis of number of sherds, since this was the most commonly used method of quantification in excavation reports. Tyers (1996: 85-105) was used for typologies and the correspondence between the various typologies being used in excavation reports, and for chronology and production periods (Figure 65). In many excavation reports amphorae sherds are not quantified, with just a reference to their presence (for example, at Camerton), and quantified data was only available for a third of the sites in the study sample (Figure 66). High levels of residuality occur on some sites, and amphorae sherds are sometimes found in secondary deposits, being broken and used as 'hard core' for road or yard surfaces, for example at Sidbury, Worcester. Such deposits were included in the analysis as they provide evidence for presence in the wider settlement at such sites.

The most striking result from the data is the significantly higher percentage of amphora sherds at the military site of Kingsholm – 38% – compared to amounts of 1% to 4% at other sites, including villa sites (Figure 66). Kingsholm also had the largest range of amphora types: a large number of Rhodian wine amphorae (from the Aegean), amphorae from South Gaul, Baetica and Italy. Rhodian amphorae are common on military sites (Tyers, 1996: 93) and were also found at Sea Mills, Alcester and Worcester, all sites with some association with the military, and at Cirencester. First century Dressel 2-4 amphorae (Figure 65) from southern Gaul/Spain occurred at the military sites, Alcester, Worcester, Frocester, Thornhill and Claydon Pike. The Gauloise 4 and Pelichet 47 wine amphorae from southern Gaul, produced until the mid-third century (Figure 65), were more frequent in the study sample, and at a wider range of sites.

Figure 65: Production periods and main contents for key amphora forms, summarised from Tyers (1996)

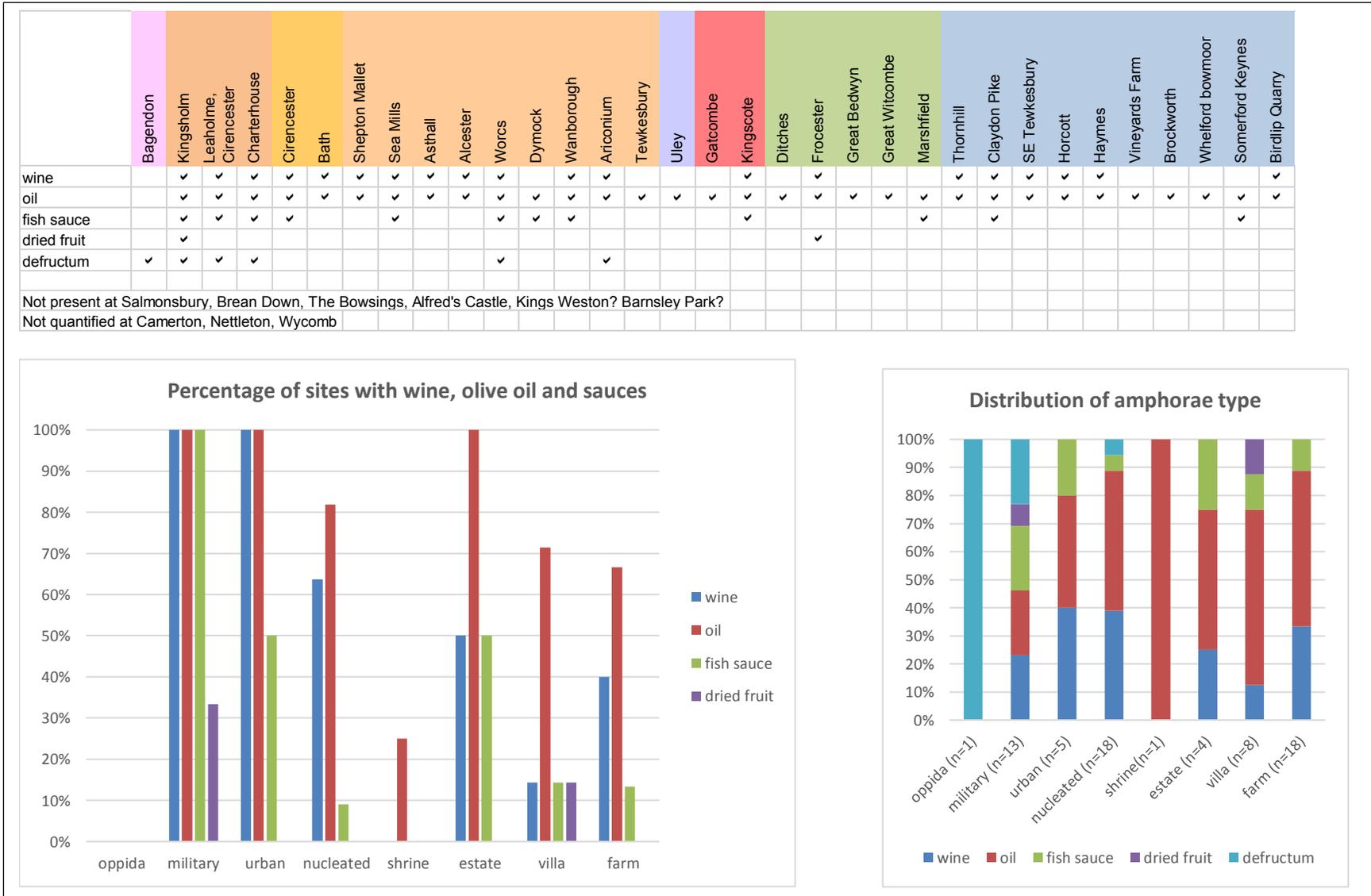
Amphorae				
Based on Tyers(1996)				
	1st C	2nd C	3rd C	4th C
Wine				
Dressel 2-4/Cam 182-183	█			
Rhodian/Cam 184	█			
Gauloise 4/Pelichet 47	█	█		
Olive oil				
Dressel 20	█			
Fish sauce				
Dressel 7-11	█			
Dried fruit				
Carrot/Cam 189	█			
Defructum				
Haltern 70/Cam 185	█			

Figure 66: Amphora sherds as a percentage of the total pottery sherd count

		Amphora sherds as a % of total sherd count
Military	Kingsholm	38 %
Settlement	Shepton Mallet	4%
	Sea Mills – Abon House	4%
	Ariconium	4%
	Alcester ALC	1-3%
	Alcester ES	2.2% but 10% in periods 1-3
	Wanborough	1%
	Sidbury, Worcester	1%
Estate centre	Kingscote	1%
Villa	Frocester	1%
	Great Witcombe	0.4%
Farm	Claydon Pike	2%
	Horcott	1.2%
	Birdlip Quarry	1%
	Vineyards Farm	0.6%
	Thornhill	0.2%

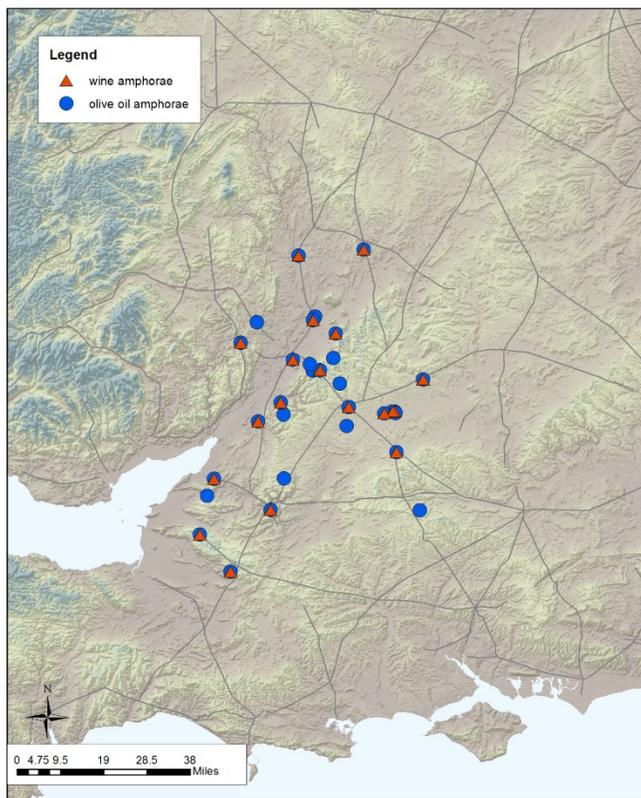
All thirty-two sites where amphora types were recorded had olive oil amphorae, twenty of these sites also had wine amphorae, twelve fish-based products and seven fruit-based products (Figure 67). Only the military sites had all types of amphorae, shrine sites had only olive oil amphorae, and other sites had mainly olive oil and fewer of the other types of amphorae. Wine was absent from shrine sites and most villas (only Frocester had evidence of wine amphorae) but 40% of farm sites had wine

Figure 67: Amphora products by site type



amphorae. Some of this could be explained by the main period of occupation for two villa sites being the later Roman period (when amphorae were not imported). However, Ditches is an early Roman villa and the shrines at Nettleton and Uley continue from the Iron Age. The distribution map for wine and olive oil amphorae across the study area (Figure 68) shows a wide distribution, so that transportation does not appear to be a restricting factor. Figure 68 also highlights that all sites where wine amphorae occurred also had olive oil amphorae. Fish sauce occurs at sites where there is olive oil, but not necessarily where there is also wine (Figure 67). ‘Carrot’ amphorae, used for transportation of dried fruit, often figs and dates, probably from the Middle East (Howells, 2009: 71) were found at Kingsholm and Frocester (Figure 67).

Figure 68: Location of sites with evidence for olive oil and wine amphorae



Analysis of the amphorae data for Kingsholm (Hurst, 1985: 91) (Figure 69) shows that around a third of the amphorae related to wine, and a third to olive oil.

Figure 69: Amphorae data for Kingsholm

Amphora type	Kingsholm
Wine	35%
Olive oil	27%
Fish sauce	6%
Dried fruit/dates	29%
Olives preserved in <i>defructum</i>	3%

One of the key issues in exploring the consumption of wine and olive oil is the cessation of amphorae production around AD250 (Figure 65), so that it is not possible to determine if, or how, these foods reached the study sample sites after that time. Wine is known to have been transported in barrels, but these rarely survive unless they occur in waterlogged conditions. The use of drinking vessels is explored further below (6.3.4), as a potential indicator of the presence of wine.

Amphorae sherds appear in dated contexts later than AD250 (the end of production of these): Asthall, third and fourth centuries (Booth, 1993: 116-118), Frocester, second to fourth century (Price, 2000: 141-143), Clayton Pike, peak of amphorae in the second to fourth century (Miles et al., 2007) and Sidbury, Worcester, Dressel 2-4 in second century deposits, Dressel 20 and Pelichet 47 in second to fourth century deposits. At Shepton Mallet the majority of sherds occur in the mid-second to mid-third century (Dressel 20) and fourth century (Gauloise 4), (Williams, 2001: 143-144). At Wanborough, the main amphora type is Dressel 20 (olive oil), occurring in small numbers in the period AD50-80, increasing during AD80-230, and reaching a peak in the period AD230-400, and wine amphorae in the period AD230-400. Anderson, et al. (2001: 217-219) note that this pattern of loss is different from other sites generally, explaining the presence of amphorae after the disappearance of the industry around AD250 as due to empty amphorae being used as storage vessels. Dressel 20 amphorae are large, with a capacity of around 60 litres (Tyers, 1996: 87), and globular, so would make useful storage vessels. Jackson (2012: 105) noted that Dressel 20 amphorae sherds occur across the site at Ariconium and may therefore have been used for the storage of water associated with iron production.

6.1.6 Other foodstuffs

Evidence for the consumption of beer, honey, and cheese was also considered for the study sample.

6.1.6.1 Beer

Barley may have been used to brew beer, although in southern Britain spelt wheat was also used (Cool, 2006: 141). As Roman period beer did not contain hops (which acts as a flavouring and a preservative) it had a short shelf life and was likely to have been made in small quantities. This process leaves little archaeological trace, although evidence has been found for corndriers being used for the malting process (Van der Veen, 1989). Evidence for corndriers (Figure 70) shows it is likely that beer was brewed but does not provide conclusive evidence, and it should be noted that most of the corndriers are late Roman.

Figure 70: Evidence for corn driers

	Shepton Mallet	Wanborough	Dymock	Gatcombe	Kingscote	Frocester	Great Bedwyn	Barnsley Park	Marshfield	Kingsweston	Claydon Pike	SE Tewkesbury	Horcott	The Bowsings	Somerford Keynes	Vineyards Farm	Birdlip Quarry
corndriers	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

6.1.6.2 Honey

Most activities associated with the production of honey leave no archaeological trace, although ceramic ‘honey pots’ do occur. Booth (in Miles et al. (2007: 80) notes the close association of honey pots with the military, and sites in the study sample (Figure 71) – Leaholme, Cirencester, Bath, Sea Mills and Wanborough – have a military presence in the early Roman period. Although there is no evidence for a military presence at Shepton Mallett, as a large roadside settlement on a major route, military personnel would have passed through it. Booth (*ibid.*) has discounted a military presence at Claydon Pike, but this site appears to have been a ‘higher status’ site with access to luxury goods.

Figure 71: Evidence for consumption of honey and for cheese-making

	Leaholme, Cirencester	Dyer Court, Cirencester	Temple precinct, Bath	Bath & Beau Streets,	New Royal baths, Bath	Shepton Mallet	Sea Mills	Camerton	Wanborough	Nettleton	Gatcombe	Frocester	Great Bedwyn	Great Witcombe	Claydon Pike	Vineyards Farm	Brockworth
honey pots	<	<		<		<	<		<						<		
collanders/strainers			<		<			<		<	<	<	<			<	
cheese press?																	<

6.1.6.3 Cheese

Dairy products are difficult to detect archaeologically, although the pottery vessels used in the draining and pressing stages of cheese-making can be identified. These are pottery vessels with holes in, which act to either strain the liquid off the cheese curds, or as a press to form them into a cheese (Cool, 2006: 94-96). Strainers and cheese presses are a Roman introduction, but are rare and most examples have been found at Roman forts. Pottery reports were scanned for items such as colanders or sieves, which may have been involved in cheese-making and these are shown in Figure 71, although these items may have had other culinary uses. Only one item has been tentatively identified in the pottery reports for the study sample as a cheese press (Figure 71), at Brockworth. More strainers or collanders were found at rural sites than at nucleated or urban settlements, which would be expected. The evidence is not conclusive, but doesn't discount cheese-making in the study sample.

6.2 Ways of dining

Bathing, followed by dining, was part of a process of ‘competitive entertaining’ and a key element of *Romanitas* for the elite of the Empire. Classical authors give us evidence for the process of dining and the requirements for dining spaces in Rome, but we need to rely on archaeological evidence for Britain. Archaeological evidence for use of dining spaces comes from the distinctive style and placing of mosaics in a room, and whether the room was heated. There are four architecturally distinctive shapes of room identified in Britain, which could be used to investigate rooms used for display and dining, as their shape means they are less likely to have been used for mundane activities: apsidal, bipartite, tripartite and polygonal rooms (Witts, 2000: 292). Rectangular or square rooms could also have been used for dining, but it is harder to distinguish dining from other uses. Also, rooms may have been multi-functional (Cosh, 2001: 232) or used by different people at different times of the day for different purposes (Hales, 2003: 4-5), or may also have been general public reception rooms, private reception rooms or libraries. For many less elaborate rooms it is difficult to determine from archaeological evidence alone how these rooms were used. There has been a general tendency within archaeological reports to regard the room which has the finest mosaic in the building, or has an apse, as a *triclinium* merely because it has a mosaic or an apse.

The main reception room was usually the largest and most richly decorated and in the centre of the main range of rooms, facing the entrance, and was for reception of guests and dining (Ellis, 1995b). Such rooms are often referred to as a *triclinium*, as three couches were arranged as a ‘U’ shape around a central decorated mosaic panel. In the late third century the apsidal *triclinium* emerged, associated with a semi-circular couch – the *stibadium* - and a semi-circular marble table. The use of a *stibadium* is usually inferred from a semi-circular panel of plain mosaic (upon which the couch stood). These very distinctive shapes of apsidal room and ‘U’ shaped mosaic layouts clearly identify the primary function of these rooms as dining rooms. No such rooms were identified in the study sample, but an apsidal dining room has been identified at Littlecote (Ellis, 1995b: 173) in the study area.

Witts (2000) takes the view that decoration is used to differentiate space, so that the design of mosaics themselves, and the direction from which they are designed to be viewed (from the threshold towards the inner end of the room – ‘non-dining’, or outwards from a dining couch – ‘dining’), can be used to examine the function of a room. Dining rooms are also dependent upon the room being of sufficient size to accommodate couches, with a minimum width of 1.5-2m for placement of the couches, so as not to obscure the view of the mosaics (*ibid.* 295-296).

Witts (2000) identifies certain bipartite rooms as dining spaces. Bipartite rooms are rectangular rooms divided into two interconnecting parts, an inner one containing a geometric mosaic panel, and an outer part, with a figurative mosaic panel, orientated to be viewed from the other part/room whilst dining. The couches were placed over the geometric mosaics, giving them a view of the figurative mosaic. The mosaic in Room 5 at Chedworth (Figure 72) is identified by Witt as a bipartite mosaic, and being heated, is viewed by Cosh as a winter dining room (see below).

Figure 72: Bipartite mosaic in Room 5 at Chedworth villa, after Witts (2000, Plate VIII)

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Cosh (2001) has provided evidence for both winter and summer dining rooms in Britain, based on the position of the rooms (west-facing for winter and south-east facing for summer) and whether they were heated. Summer dining rooms were unheated, bright and airy, with a wide doorway giving views to the countryside. These were often a square axial room, sometimes with an apse, a mosaic panel set forward and views out through a wide doorway, often through the porticus. Winter dining rooms were heated and approached through a lobby which reduced drafts, often at the end of a building. Cosh takes the view that not all heated rooms were exclusively winter dining rooms: they may have been used as such when couches were moved into them from the summer dining room, and there is a difference between rooms specifically designed as winter dining rooms, and those which may have been multi-functional.

The plans of the buildings for the study sample sites with mosaics were considered using Witts and Cosh's approaches. The octagonal room at Great Witcombe (Figure 73) did not have a mosaic, but had a tiled stone floor composed of dark grey and white limestone squares and some triangles (Leach, 1998: 18), and was not heated. The excavation report refers to this room as a *triclinium*, Cosh interprets it as a summer dining room, as it has a view out through the porticus to the countryside (as described above), and Ellis considers it a central reception room. The archaeological evidence is not therefore clear as to the function of this room.

Room 7 at Frocester (Figure 74) projects from the front façade of the house, facing south-east, had a mosaic, heating was later inserted, and is close to the bath suite. The mosaic does not survive, but its location may make it a summer dining room, later converted to a winter one. A similar argument might be applied to Kings Weston (Figure 75), with each of the rooms projecting from the façade (VII and XI) provided with a mosaic. Neither of these rooms was heated, but a secondary hypocaust was inserted into room XI in the mid fourth century. The mosaics in rooms VI, XII and XI (Figure 75) do not survive, but XI and XII could have formed a matching set with VII and VI. The location of rooms VII and VI close to the bath suite suggests these may have been a dining room, possibly bipartite. However, these rooms do not appear to have been heated, and the border around the mosaic

in room VII is not large enough for couches in accordance with Witt's definition of a dining room, but could have functioned in a manner similar to room 5 at Chedworth (Figure 72), but without knowing the design of the mosaic in room VI it is not possible to tell.

Figure 73: Evidence for dining space at Great Witcombe villa

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Figure 74: Evidence for dining space at Frocester villa

The picture originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA due to copyright restrictions. The picture was sourced from Price, 2000: 108, details of which are shown in the bibliography on pages 361-377.

Figure 75: Evidence for dining space at Kings Weston

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Room 1 at Kingscote (Figure 76) has also been interpreted as a *triclinium* by its excavator. However, the figure in the central roundel of the design on the mosaic suggests it was viewed from the doorway rather than by a diner in the room (Figure 76) and would therefore not fit Witt's definition of a dining room. Also, at approximately 4m by 4m it seems small for a dining room, but could have been a small private reception room. The central medallion in the mosaic contains a bust of Venus (Neal and Cosh in Timby (1998: 87), a Classical motif, which suggests aspirations to adopt Roman cultural practices.

The two buildings at the Cirencester town house (Figure 77) contain ten mosaics, none of them appear to be in the bath suite. As excavation did not go to lower levels it is not clear how many of the rooms with mosaics were heated. It is difficult to tell which of the rooms may have functioned as a dining room. The rooms containing mosaics 1, 2a and 2b could be a summer dining room given the south-east aspect, but the external view is of an adjacent building, so would not fulfil the Roman requirement for views out to a garden or the countryside.

Figure 76: Evidence for dining space at Kingscote

The picture originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA due to copyright restrictions. The picture was sourced from Timby, 1998: 49, 55, 88, details of which are shown in the bibliography on pages 361-377

Figure 77: Evidence for dining space at The Beeches, Cirencester

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The hare in the central panel of the mosaic (Figure 77) is pointing in the correct direction for Witt's definition, but the borders of the mosaic would not be wide enough to accommodate couches without obscuring some of the mosaic, so would not fall within Witt's definition of a dedicated dining space. Smith (in McWhirr (1986: 90) notes that the hare is a Mediterranean motif, popular in the repertoire of pavement designs for *triclinia* in North Africa, but uncharacteristic of mosaics north of the Alps. Smith views the choice of the hare motif as confirming this room as a *triclinium*.

These differing interpretations highlight the uncertainties of assigning a dining function to rooms with mosaics, that function may change, and that rooms with similar designs need not have had the same functions. Witts, Cosh and Neal are attempting to identify dining practices in the Classical Roman style, and the dining rooms at Chedworth appear to fit clearly into this model. What we may be seeing for the other sites in the study area is an adaptation of the Roman model to meet local requirements. The owners of these villas may have lacked the means to build larger dining rooms which accommodated views across the dining space to a mosaic, but still have aspired to dine in the Roman manner. Alternatively, seating which takes up less space than couches may have been used, or it may not have been part of the experience to view the mosaics whilst dining. However, the mosaics at Kingscote and Cirencester contain Classical motifs, so on balance, suggesting that the concept of dining in the Roman-style rooms was being applied there, although on a smaller and less ostentatious scale.

Alcock (2001: 119-120) argues that the design of houses in the Roman style, with mosaic floors, must have resulted in a change in dining habits to the use of couches or chairs, since it is not as easy to sit or squat on a tiled floor as it is on an earth one in a roundhouse. This represents a fundamental change in the dining experience.

6.3 Utensils for eating and drinking

Hill (2002) considers that the appearance of new vessel forms in the late Iron Age reflects significant changes in how meals were served and eaten. Platters represent a different way of serving food (*ibid.* 148-150). Post conquest new ways of food preparation such as mortaria, and further open bowls and dishes for serving food were introduced (*ibid.* 148). Spoons were also introduced, often found in association with items related to dining (Cool, 2006: 102). The new vessel forms also occur in glass. Little glass reached Britain before the conquest, and was imported from Italy and southern Gaul in the second half of the first century, and from the Rhineland in the later first century (Price and Cottam, 1998: 5).

My study examines the pottery and glass assemblages at the study sites for the extent and timing of the adoption of these different vessel forms, with the assumption that changes in the vessel forms represent changes in eating and drinking practices. ‘Gallo-Belgic wares’ from Gaul introduced the new vessel forms in the late Iron Age and early Roman period, and their presence in the study sample was examined for evidence of when these forms were adopted. As the key production periods for samian pottery in Gaul are known (Figure 83), and detailed typologies for a wide range of forms are available, the timing of adoption of samian forms can be examined. Many archaeologists view samian as a higher status artefact (for example Booth, 2012), and the evidence for samian as a status indicator was also considered.

6.3.1 Pottery vessel forms

Examination of forms relies on diagnostic sherds such as bases, rims or handles to enable identification of form, but a significant proportion of pottery assemblages are undiagnostic ‘body’ sherds. The main issue for my study relates to the way pottery is analysed and recorded in archaeological reports. The focus is on fabric type and its source, as a means of dating, often with little analysis of form or function. Only a small number of assemblages for the study sample had been quantified by form, limiting the possible analysis by form or function.

However, some fabrics were only used for a limited number of forms and whilst the sherds found may not be diagnostic as to form, this can be inferred from the presence of the fabric, for example amphorae, some mortaria types, Pompeiian red ware plates, and early Roman fineware imports such as Cologne and Central Gaulish colour-coated and Rhenish wares which mainly produced cups or beakers. Early Roman finewares were mainly imported, so tend to be recorded separately in excavation reports, and mostly identified by their fabric, as most survive as body sherds rather than identifiable forms. As most of the imported vessels related to drinking vessels imported fabric was used as a proxy for the presence of drinking vessels. In the later third and fourth centuries pottery production consolidates into a few large industries, making the same range of forms, so that fabric cannot be used as a proxy for form. Where forms were identified in excavation reports, it tended to be for the assemblage as a whole, and it was not therefore possible to examine vessel form in detail.

The limited level of quantification of pottery was an issue for many of the study sample sites. For example, the Nettleton report, Wedlake (1982: 239), indicates that a large element of the pottery is common to both the Nettleton and Camerton settlements and is therefore not repeated in the Nettleton report. For others, for example Haymes (Rawes, 1986: 75), the 'common wares' were not analysed or discussed, with only a few chronologically-specific items included in the report.

Similar issues were encountered with samian (see also Willis, 2013) where decorated or stamped sherds were discussed at length in excavation reports, but with no overall list of all the samian forms presented, or no quantification of the total number of sherds is given. Although some reports quantify the pottery found for each excavated phase, most treat the pottery as a total assemblage, and therefore any chronological evidence is lost. To allow a broad comparison across sites where quantified data was not available, the narrative and illustrative parts of the pottery reports were examined for the presence or absence of key forms, including samian. and the evidence may therefore be incomplete.

6.3.1.1 Gallo-Belgic wares

These new forms are mostly table wares and appear as imports from Gaul (Hill, 2002: 148) in the late Iron Age. The main forms are plates, cups and beakers. Imported fabrics include Terra Rubra (glossy red), Terra Nigra (glossy black), produced from around 10BC to AD70, and eggshell Terra Nigra, collectively known as Gallo-Belgic wares. For this analysis so no distinction will be made between these fabrics, as detailed quantified data is not available for many sites.

Just under half the sites in the study sample had Gallo-Belgic wares (Figure 78). Except for Bagendon, The Ditches and Kingsholm, sites had mostly one or two sherds, usually platters, with the occasional beaker or cup. All the military sites had some imported Gallo-Belgic wares. The assemblage at Bagendon was almost entirely composed of Gallo-Belgic wares, with both imported wares and local copies. However, flagons were poorly represented at Bagendon (Wacher and McWhirr, 1982: 181) compared to other Gallo-Belgic forms. Only one example of a platter and one example of a jug were found at Salmonsbury. Flagons were generally rare, only occurring in some numbers at Bagendon and The Ditches, and only Bagendon had a mortarium.

Both oppida sites, several of the villa sites, and important early nucleated settlement sites such as Worcester and Ariconium have some Gallo-Belgic wares present suggesting it was available to the elite. The military sites appear to have higher numbers of vessels (although the data for Charterhouse is not quantified several vessels are illustrated) than the nucleated settlement and villa sites, and Gallo-Belgic wares were present at all three military sites which may indicate some involvement in access to these wares. However, the numbers of vessels at Bagendon and The Ditches is several times higher than the military and other sites, indicating that they were able to obtain these without restriction, or perhaps from a different source. Military sites obtained their tableware from a number of sources, mostly samian, but also other imported finewares (see below). Whilst small numbers of Gallo-Belgic wares appear across several sites, it is only at Bagendon and The Ditches that these appear in significant numbers to suggest adoption of the foodways associated with these new vessel forms in the early Roman period.

Figure 78: Evidence for Gallo-Belgic wares

Gallo-Belgic forms	Bagendon	Salmonsbury	Kingsholm	Leaholme, Cirencester	Charterhouse	Cirencester	Sea Mills	Asthall	Camerton	Worcester	Wycomb	Wanborough	Ariconium	Nettleton	Frocester	Ditches	Great Bedwyn	Marshfield	The Bowsings	Vineyards Farm
Gallo-Belgic forms																				
Gallo-Belgic TN/TR + local copies - summary	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	TN sherds	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	lots	✓	✓		✓
Gallo Belgic platters	✓	1 sherd	5 sherds	✓	✓	✓			✓	2	1	a few	a few		1	✓	2	1	1	1
Gallo Belgic beakers	lots	✓	32 sherds	✓	✓					2			✓		1	✓	2			
Gallo Belgic cups/small bowls	✓		2	1							1	1		1		✓				
Flagons/jugs	✓	1 sherd														✓				
Mortaria	rare																			

6.3.1.2 Samian

The extent to which samian occurred across a range of sites and the quantities at those sites; and which forms were present and whether they changed over time were examined. Samian was found on all sites in the study sample, including the ‘lower status’ farm sites, although not always quantified as to form or number of sherds. Figure 79 shows quantified samian data for the study sample and Figure 81 is a summary to indicate the presence of different vessel forms for all sites in the sample. All sites in the study sample had samian, but data for Gatcombe, Great Bedwyn and Haymes made no reference to samian form, so are not included in the analysis. The sites at Kings Weston, Thornhill and the Bowsings had very small numbers of sherds so again these had not been quantified in the excavation reports, and are therefore not included in the analysis.

Only thirteen sites in the study sample had quantified the number of sherds of samian (Figure 79) and the relative percentage of the different forms is summarised below as a total for all these sites combined. The total is comprised of 28% bowls, 26% cups/small bowls, 21% dishes and 20% plates.

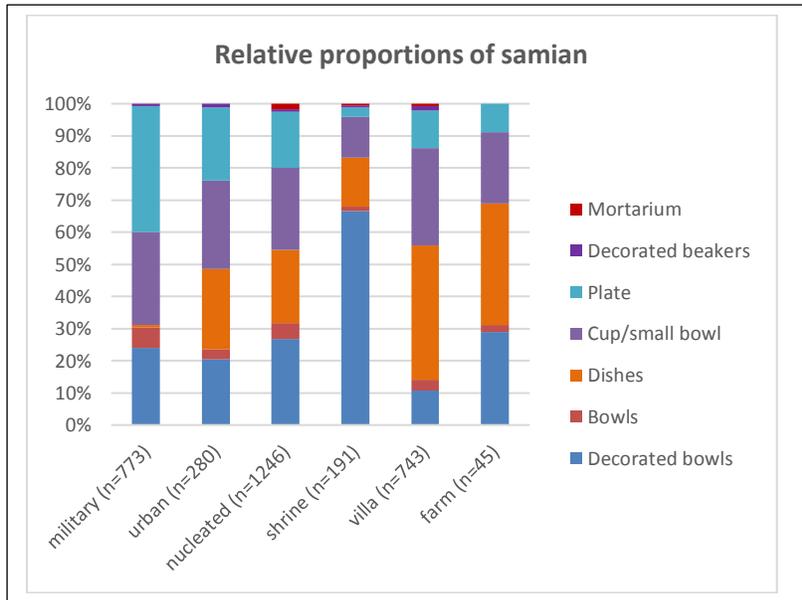
Figure 79: Quantified samian data for the study sample

Samian (number of sherds)	Kingsholm		Leaholme		Bath & Beau Streets, Bath		New Royal baths, Bath		Camerton			Ariconium		Asthall		Alcester - Baromix		Alcester Explosion site		Dymock	Nettleton	Frocester		Ditches	Maddle farm	Total sherd numbers		
Decorated bowls	86	100	9	48	53	53	26	152	38	12	127	18	62	13												797	24.3%	
Bowls	22	26	1	8	20	7	4	15	14	2	3	7	18	1													148	4.5%
Dishes	0	6	4	66	25	39	54	117	38	9	29	120	191	17													715	21.8%
Cup/small bowl	124	100	16	61	51	15	30	181	32	11	24	80	144	10													879	26.8%
Plate	147	157	15	49	25	11	9	123	44	5	6	39	48	4													682	20.8%
Decorated beakers	0	5	0	3	1	2	0	6	0	0	1	3	8	0													29	0.9%
Mortarium	0	0	0	0	4	5	2	9	2	0	1	5	0	0													28	0.9%
																											0	0.0%
	379	394	45	235	179	132	125	603	168	39	191	272	471	45													3278	100.0%
Decorated bowls as % of total	23%	25%	20%	20%	30%	40%	21%	25%	23%	31%	66%	7%	13%	29%													24%	

The data in Figure 79 was summarised by site type in Figure 80, to examine which forms were most abundant at different site-types. Plates were most abundant at military sites, decorated bowls at shrine sites and dishes at villas and farms. Higher numbers of decorated bowls occurred at farms than at villas. Figure 81 shows the presence of samian, including all sites where quantified data was not available, and shows that bowls occur on the most number of sites (83%), followed by dishes (80%) and cups/small bowls (78%). Plates occurred at two-thirds of sites and decorated beakers at one-third. This will be examined in more detail below.

The percentage of samian relative to site total for pottery was considered to give an indication of the relative abundance (Figure 82). However, these percentages had to be extracted from different publications, which use different measures (total number of sherds, estimated vessel equivalents (EVEs), or weight), and whilst not directly comparable give a general indication of abundance of the different forms.

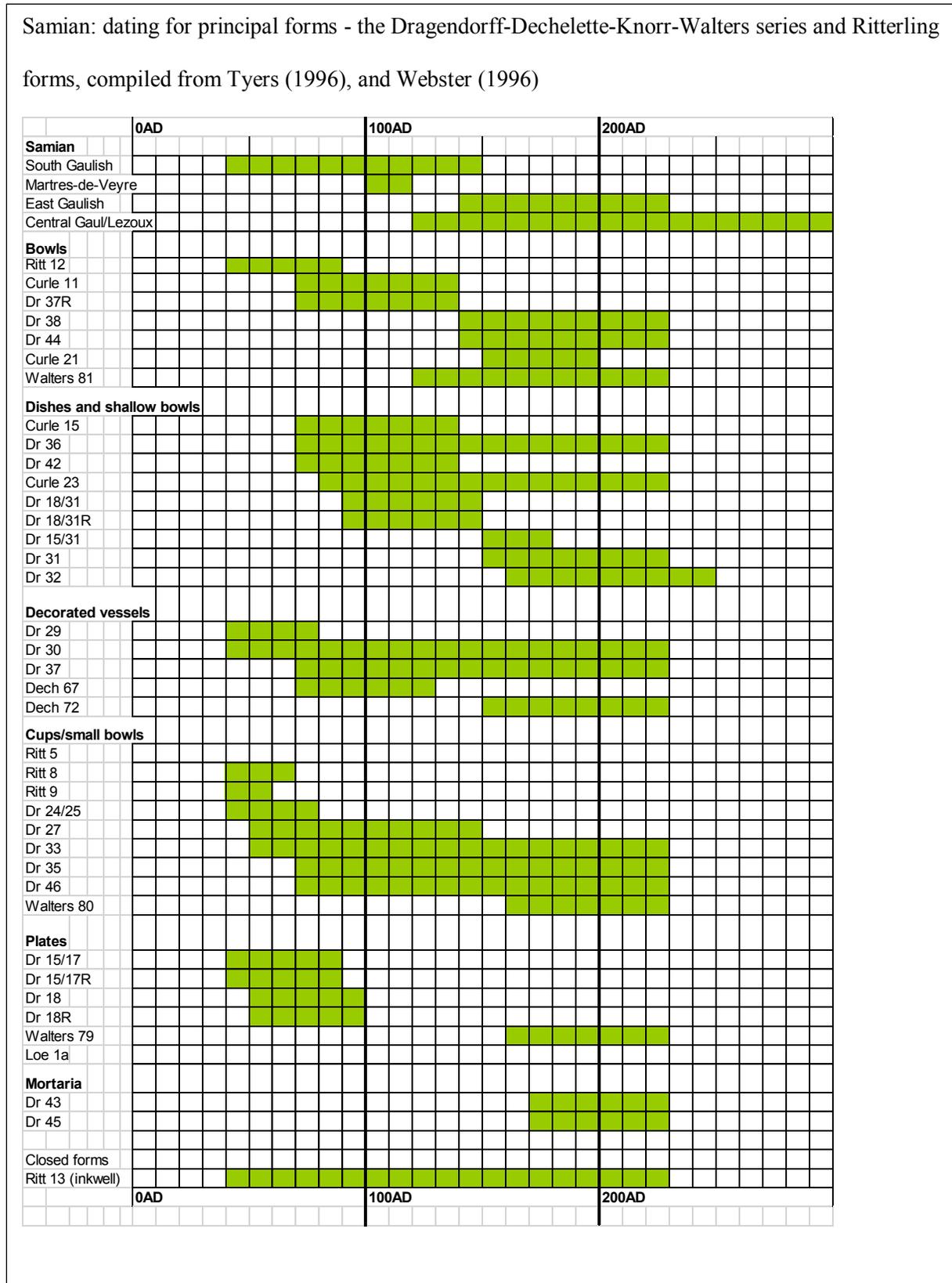
Figure 80: Relative proportions of samian forms for the quantified study sample



The study sample was compared to Willis' (1998) database of samian data from a large number of site reports. Willis concluded that samian had a 'wide distribution, but not one of abundance' with the highest amount at major urban centres, lesser amounts at small towns and villas, and lowest amounts at rural sites. The study sample is consistent with this.

To explore which forms were adopted at different sites, and which sites adopted these earlier than others, the data for samian presence at each site was analysed into those samian forms where production starts during the first century, the late first to early second, and mid-second to third century (Figure 84). The date range for production of each of the main Dragendorff series of samian forms was based on Tyers (1996) and Webster (1996) (Figure 83). Whilst the production period of many samian forms spanned more than one of these periods, the assumption was made that if the form was present it would be consumed soon after it was available. Many first century forms were out of production by around AD100, so the time periods chosen should capture early adoption of samian forms in the study sample. The results are shown in Figure 84.

Figure 83: Production periods for the principal samian forms found in Britain



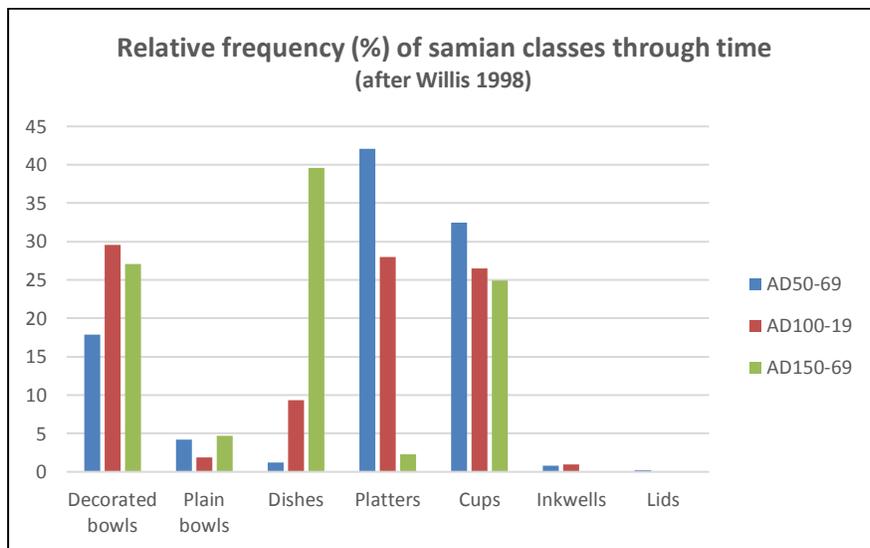
Bowls were present in the first century at oppida, military, urban, and nucleated settlement sites, and at The Ditches, Claydon Pike, and Somerford Keynes (Figure 84). Bowls increased in occurrence in the second century, with a greater range of forms, and adoption at shrine sites and a few farm sites. However, bowls represent 4.5% of the total assemblage (Figure 79). Decorated bowls by contrast, represent 24% of the total quantified assemblage, and a greater range of sites had decorated bowls than plain bowls (Figure 81), and from an earlier date. In the first century decorated bowls appear at all oppida, military, urban, estate and nucleated settlement sites in the sample, and half of the shrine and villa sites, plus Claydon Pike. By the late first or early second century all sites in the sample had decorated bowls, except for Salmonsbury (first century oppidum), Brean Down and Great Witcombe (late Roman sites). Dishes are another shallow form, replacing plates, and appear only in the late first/early second century, at all sites except Kingsholm and Charterhouse (mid- first century military sites), the two oppida sites, and a few farm sites, but by the mid-second century at all the sites including Brean Down and Great Witcombe.

Plates occur as a significant percentage in the first century, as a wide range of plate forms and distribution across a wide range of military, urban and nucleated settlement sites, with fewer forms and sites for villas and farms and almost none at shrine sites (only one first century plate form at Nettleton). Some farm sites do not have plates. Plate forms occur at Bagendon but not Salmonsbury. The plate and cup/small bowl set (forms Walters 79 and 80) (Webster, 1996: 64) appears mid-second century at fewer sites, but not necessarily those which had plates in the first century, particularly the shrine sites at Nettleton, Uley and Portway. Except for Claydon Pike, and a bowl at Somerford Keynes, plates are the only samian form at farm sites in the first century.

The cup/small bowl forms appear in the first century at Bagendon, military, urban and nucleated settlement sites, Nettleton, Uley, Frocester, Marshfield and Claydon Pike, with a much wider range of forms and distribution across a wider range of sites, including farm sites from the late first century. The apparent lack of cups in the later second and third centuries is partly a reflection of the methodology used (focusing on when forms begin, rather than the period of use): the late first century forms continue in production until the third century. The lack of cups at Birdlip Quarry, reflects the recording of key samian types rather than a complete list, but the excavation report does record that 90% of samian related to dishes and bowls reflecting the ‘relative unimportance’ of cups at the site (Mudd et al., 1999: 340). Samian mortaria are a late form, and appear in the mid second century at some settlement, villa and farm sites, and at three of the four shrine sites.

Willis (2011) analysed samian data across a large number of sites in Britain, including military, urban and rural site types to establish ‘normal’ patterns of samian consumption (Willis, 1998). Willis’ (1998: 111) database looked at the frequency of different samian forms over time, and his conclusions are summarised in Figure 85. Willis’ data show an increase in decorated bowls in the second century, followed by a small decline by mid-second century. The steeper reduction in the use of platters over time is matched by an increase in dishes, another shallow form. Cups/small bowls show a gradual decline. Where quantified data was available for the study sample the chronological profile was compared with Willis’ data. Figure 86 shows the summary by site type for the three periods for the thirteen sites in the study sample with quantified data. The study sample shows similar broad trends to Willis’ data, but there are some differences. The difference in decorated bowls for the mid-second to mid-third century reflects the long production period of forms Dr30 and Dr37 throughout this period, which are included in Willis’ graphs but not shown as ‘new forms’ for the study data. The change from plates to shallow dishes seems to occur earlier, and there are no cups in the first century. Some of this may reflect the small sample of quantified data for the study area, which includes only one farm, one shrine and two villa sites (Figure 79).

Figure 85: Relative frequency of samian classes through time, prepared from Willis (1998)



Proportions of decorated samian relative to undecorated samian have been observed to vary between sites (Willis, 1998: 108-109). For the study sample, the ratio of decorated bowls (defined here as forms Dr29, Dr30 and Dr37) to other bowls was calculated for the quantified study sample. Decorated bowls occurred in significantly higher numbers than other bowls, about five times more, although it should be noted that the decorated bowls Dr30 and Dr37 occur from the late first century through to the end of the samian production period. Nettleton has a particularly high ratio of decorated bowl forms Dr29, Dr30 and Dr37 compared to other bowl types (Figure 87). The excavation report for Nettleton is not clear as to whether the long list of samian sherds described in the report includes all samian sherds, but as the list includes reference to some undecorated sherds it was assumed it listed all sherds. Either way, the ratio is high. It is not clear what the role of decorated bowls at Nettleton might have been, or whether it related to non-culinary uses.

Figure 86: Relative percentages of samian forms by period and by site type, with comparison against Willis' (1998) data

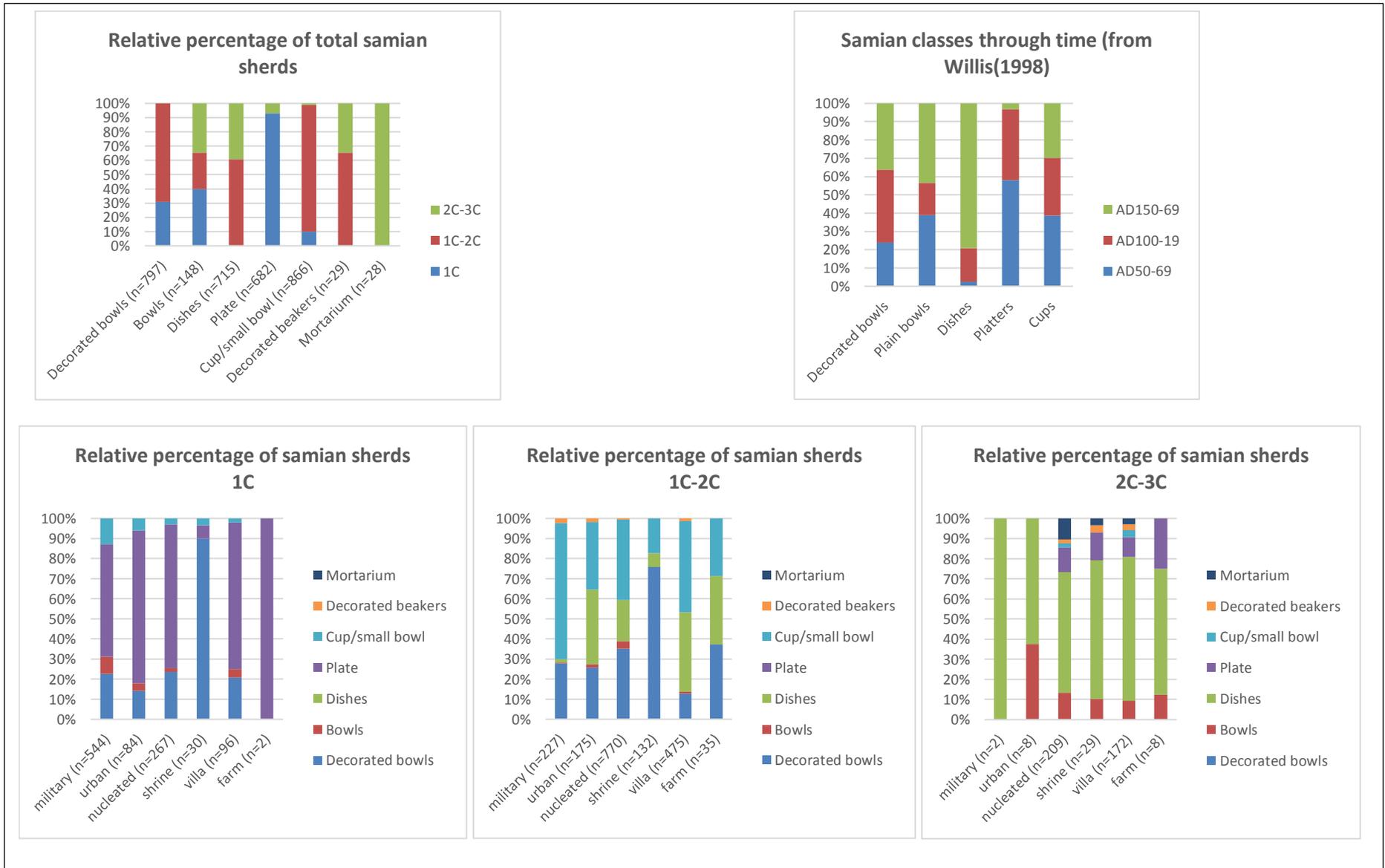
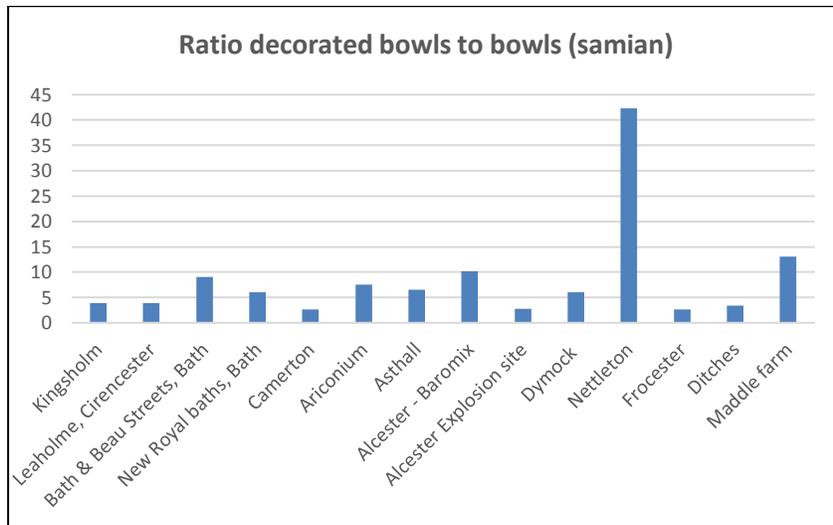


Figure 87: Ratio of decorated samian bowls (Forms Dr29, Dr30 and Dr37) to other bowls



The role of the samian forms usually described in reports as ‘cups’ or ‘cup/small bowl’ needs to be considered. Evidence from the layout of vessels in burials suggests small bowls may have functioned as either bowls or cups, with the smallest size being cups (Cool, 2006: 197-198). Samian forms were compared with glass cups and cups in imported finewares (Figure 88). Whilst the shape of glass cups makes them suitable as drinking vessels, the shape of Dr27 and Dr33 samian ‘cups’ with out-turned rims suggests that they may be small bowls rather than cups. The Central Gaulish glazed ware and colour-coated ware vessels (Figure 88, 3. A and C) have a similar shaped to the glass vessel and so would be cups. Items B and D in Figure 88 are described as cups and together with samian Dr24/25 appear more bowl-shaped than cup-shaped but could also be cups. Comparing these with samian forms Dr27 and Dr33 does suggest that forms Dr27 and Dr33 are bowls. The other samian forms in the study sample (Figure 83), resemble either Dr24/25 or Dr33, so for the purposes of further discussion all will be considered as small bowls. A similar argument can be made for the Gallo-Belgic ‘cups’ where the forms are similar to the samian forms, suggesting these are small bowls rather than cups. If these cups/small bowls are treated as small bowls, their role in serving food could have been to serve individual portions of food, or to serve foods in small quantities, such as sauces.

Figure 88: Comparison of cup forms

The picture originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA due to copyright restrictions. The picture was sourced from Tyers, 1996, Webster, 1996: 21, Price and Cottam, 1998: 72, details of which are shown in the bibliography on pages 361-377.

6.3.1.3 Imported fineware cups and beakers

In addition to samian, there were several other fineware imports in the early Roman period. Most of these occur as cup and beaker forms, so that where (as described above) only fabric is analysed in excavation reports, the separate identification of these fabrics allows extrapolation of the presence of cups and beakers in the study sample (Figure 89). The majority were beaker forms, the main form of cups being Lyon ware, operating in the period AD40-70, and closely associated with the military (Willis, 1996: 218).

Figure 89 shows the early period (from AD40) cups and beakers occur at military sites and Sea Mills (which had military associations), Worcester and Ariconium (early period higher status sites) and Wanborough, Nettleton, Frocester and The Ditches, all of which also had Gallo-Belgic wares (see 6.3.1.1 above). The number of sherds and number of sites increases in the mid-second century, with the Central Gaulish (Rhenish) black slipped wares, showing either a greater availability or a greater adoption of these items. However, small numbers of sherds, sometimes only a single vessel, are present.

Although we distinguish these items on the basis of source, it is unlikely that the consumers would have done so. Many of these vessels come from the samian production areas, so it may be more appropriate to consider finewares combined, which will be done below. Overall, fineware imports occur in very small numbers. Second century imports should be considered together with samian, as the main source for most of these in this period is central Gaul, and fineware imports occur at a larger number of shrine, villa and farm sites by the second century (see summary in Figure 89).

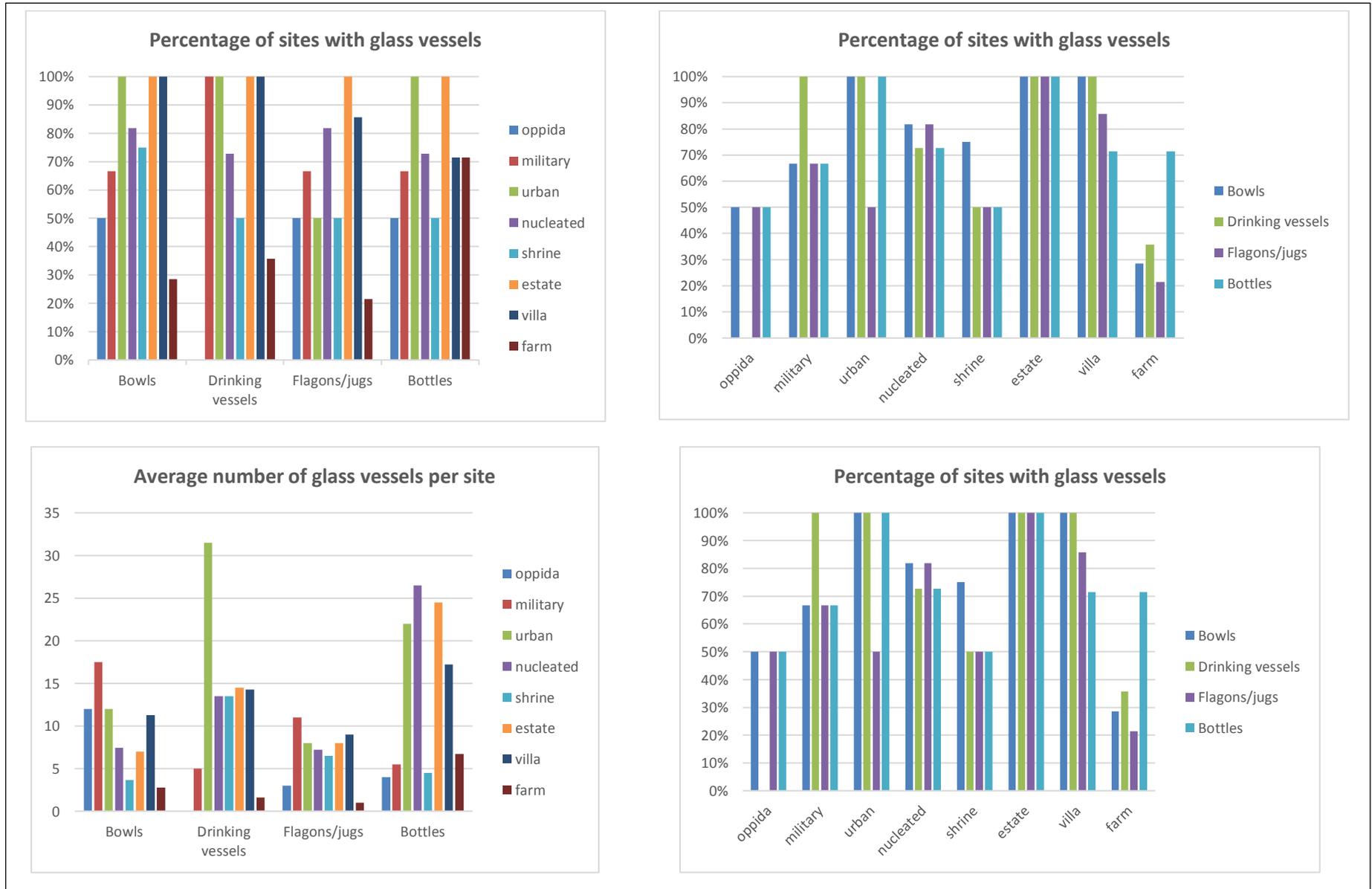
6.3.2 Glass vessel forms

Similar issues to those described above for pottery excavation reports occurred around quantification and the level of analysis and recording for glass. However, in most reports all fragments of glass which could be identified as to form were described in detail in specialist reports, and the analysis is based on these. Again, allocation to chronological phases was not usually recorded in excavation reports.

A range of forms were produced in glass: bowls, dishes, cups, beakers, flasks, jugs and storage bottles. Cool (2006: 202, 224-226) notes that first and second century glass assemblages are dominated by 'container' forms but by the fourth century are comprised almost entirely of drinking vessels, with a marked increase in cups from the late second century onwards. The role of 'cups' has been discussed above for samian, but glass cups are clearly identified as drinking vessels, when compared with the samian forms, as discussed above.

Few whole vessels or large vessel fragments were found in the study sample and much of the glass was fragmentary. Some could be identified by form, for example bowl or cup, and identified approximately to century based on colour (there is a change from darker colours and blue/green glass in the earlier period to pale glass in the later period), but few pieces could be identified to specific forms such as those listed in Isings (1957) or Price and Cottam (1998). It was not therefore possible to analyse data by chronological period for the study sample, although an analysis of two vessel types which are clearly identifiable from fragments, and relate to the first century, was undertaken: the ribbed, or pillar-moulded bowl, and the mould-blown cylindrical 'sports' cup, often decorated with scenes of gladiators or chariot races. Both are first century forms so will give some indication of an early presence of glass vessels at sites (see Figure 91). Pillar-moulded bowls were found at a range of sites, with slightly higher representation at villa sites. Hoffheim cups were found only at nucleated settlement sites, and cylindrical cups with circus or gladiator scenes only at military sites in the study sample. The limited presence of these forms and the small numbers of sherds, suggest a restricted

Figure 92: Evidence for glass vessels in the study sample



distribution in the first century, with the higher numbers of beakers and cups indicating an increase in the later Roman period.

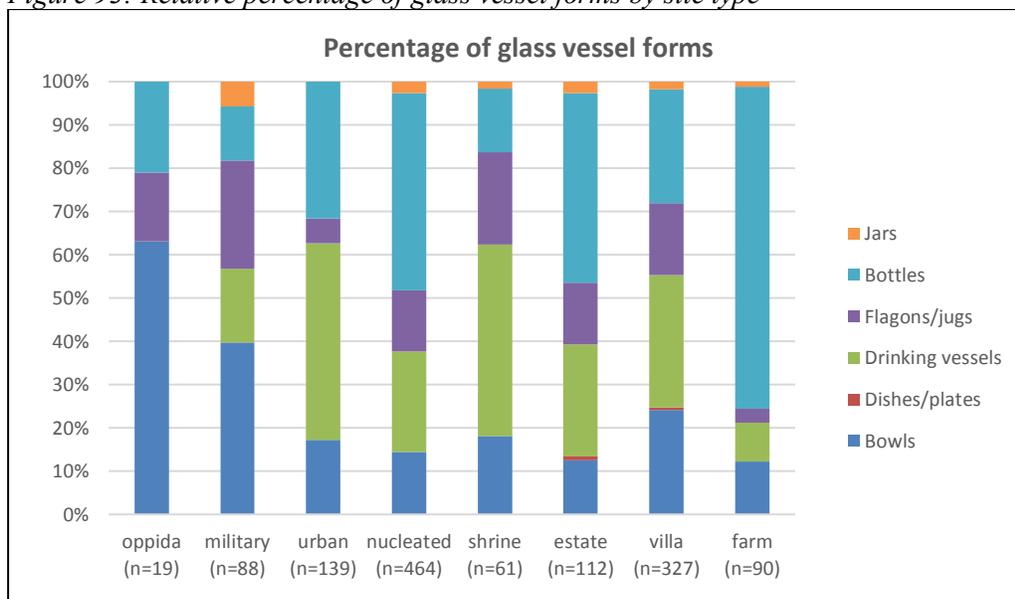
Thirty-two sites had bottles (Figure 90), amounting to 36% of the overall total glass assemblage across the study sample. Glass bottles were mainly used for storage. Twenty-nine sites had glass bowls (18% of the overall assemblage), twenty-three sites beakers (16%), twenty-three sites had jugs, flasks or flagons (total of 12%), whilst twenty-two sites had cups (9%).

For each vessel form, average numbers per site and number of sites producing vessels are shown in Figure 92. Estate, villa and urban site types had the highest number of sites with glass vessels, followed by settlement and military sites. Only half of oppida and shrine sites had glass vessels, and less than a third of farm sites had glass vessels. All of these sites had samian pottery (see above), which suggests that glass was a more expensive material.

Considering the average numbers of vessels at different site-types (Figure 92) the average numbers for drinking vessels are higher than for bowls or flagons/jugs/flasks, particularly for urban sites. Farm sites have very low numbers of all types of glass vessels and average numbers at shrine sites are low, particularly when compared to other types of artefact where shrine sites generally have higher average numbers. The results for farm sites can be explained in terms of lack of wealth, but it is difficult to explain the lower numbers of glass sherds at the shrine sites. Oppida and military sites have significantly higher average numbers of glass bowls compared to other vessel types, but this probably reflects the greater production of glass drinking vessels in the later Roman period which are not present at these first century sites. Drinking vessels are a significant element at urban and shrine sites, and probably therefore reflects late Roman period consumption.

Figure 93 summarises the relative percentages of glass vessel forms by site type. Oppida and military sites have significant percentages of bowls, urban and shrine sites have relatively higher percentages of cups and beakers, and farm sites have very low numbers of glass vessels other than storage bottles.

Figure 93: Relative percentage of glass vessel forms by site type



6.3.3 Metal and stone vessels

Metal, stone and shale vessels tend to be classified as ‘small finds’ and therefore described individually, although most occurred as small fragments or handle fragments. Metal vessels could be melted down and the metal reused, so that metal vessels are likely to be under-represented in the archaeological record. A small number of vessels made of shale, stone and metal were found (Figure 96).

Data for bowls and jugs is shown in more detail in Figure 95, and used to explore drinking in the Roman manner, which involved mixing wine with water, with jugs for the water and wine, ‘buckets’ for mixing, and ladles for decanting (Cool, 2006: 136). As the study area focuses on domestic sites, the assumption is that any vessel in the study sample will have been used for dining purposes. Water jugs had hinged lids (*ibid.* 137) and there is evidence that they were used to heat water. Mixing buckets can be identified from the escutcheons and mounts used to fix the handles (*ibid.* 138).

Copper alloy bowls found in the study sample were fragments, so that overall bowl size is not known, and it is therefore difficult to establish whether the bowls were of a size suitable for mixing wine and

water. Escutcheons were found at Alcester and Claydon Pike (Figure 95) and wine amphorae were found at both sites, suggesting that these may relate to vessels used for drinking practices.

Jugs were also mostly handle fragments, although the jug lids found at Wanborough and Uley suggest these may be water jugs (note that wine amphorae were found at Wanborough but not at Uley), (Figure 67). Wine amphorae were found at the sites producing jug fragments, except for Tewkesbury, Uley, Brockworth and Gatcombe (post amphorae manufacture date range). Sufficient parts of a cast copper alloy vessel were found at Sea Mills to enable reconstruction of the jug (Figure 94). The top of the handle was fixed with a duck's head and the bottom with a winged boy holding a goose. Cupid with a goose is a common theme in ancient art, the goose was considered valiant and was also associated with children (Ellis, 1987: 56). The jug was probably imported. Sea Mills was an early military site, and a port on the Bristol Channel.

Figure 94: Copper alloy jug found at Sea Mills (Ellis, 1987: 55)

The picture originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA due to copyright restrictions. The picture was sourced from Ellis, 1987: 55, details of which are shown in the bibliography on pages 361-377

Whilst the evidence is tentative, it does suggest the presence of vessels associated with drinking wine in the Roman manner at some, mostly nucleated settlement, sites in the study sample. Stone bowls and dishes, and pewter plates were also present (Figure 95), indicating use of more 'exotic' materials

for some tableware vessels. Stone moulds for casting pewter dishes were found at Camerton, indicating local production, presumably in response to local demand for these items.

Figure 95: Metal and stone bowls and jugs

Stone and metal bowls and dishes	Bath	Cirencester - The Beeches	Shepton Mallet	Sea Mills Abon House	Camerton	Alcester S extramural	Wanborough	Ariconium	Dymock	Nettleton	Uley	Gatcombe	Frocester	Marshfield	Claydon Pike	Somerford Keynes	Haymes	Total
Shale or stone bowls																		
small shale bowl		2	1							1								4
part of shelly limestone small bowl																	1	1
Copper alloy bowl fragments				1	2	2		1			1	1	3	1	1			13
Lead bowl fragment									1									1
Pewter - hoard of 3 bowls + 4 spoons - fieldwalking							3											3
																		22 Bowls
Stone dishes																		
Copper alloy dishes										1					1			2
Lead alloy dish								1				1				1		1
																		5 Dishes
Pewter plate																		
			1		2					4								7
																		7 Plates
Copper alloy vessel fragment																		
			1				1					1						3
Pewter vessel fragment																		
	1										1							2
																		5 Vessels

Jugs/flacons	Leaholme, Cirencester	Sea Mills Abon House	Wanborough	Deansway, Worcs	Ariconium	Alcester S extramural	Tewkesbury	Uley	Gatcombe	Frocester	Claydon Pike	Brockworth	Total
fragments of copper alloy jugs	1	1	1	1			1	1		3	2	1	12
lead alloy jug					1								1
pewter jug handle									1				1

escutcheons/handles	Alcester S extramural	Claydon Pike	Barnsley Park
copper alloy escutcheon	4	1	
Iron swan neck hook = handle of kitchen implement			1

6.3.4 Summary of vessel forms

Data from the above analysis for pottery, glass and metal vessels has been summarised by vessel form in Figure 96, to give an overview of the range and quality of vessel forms in use at different types of site.

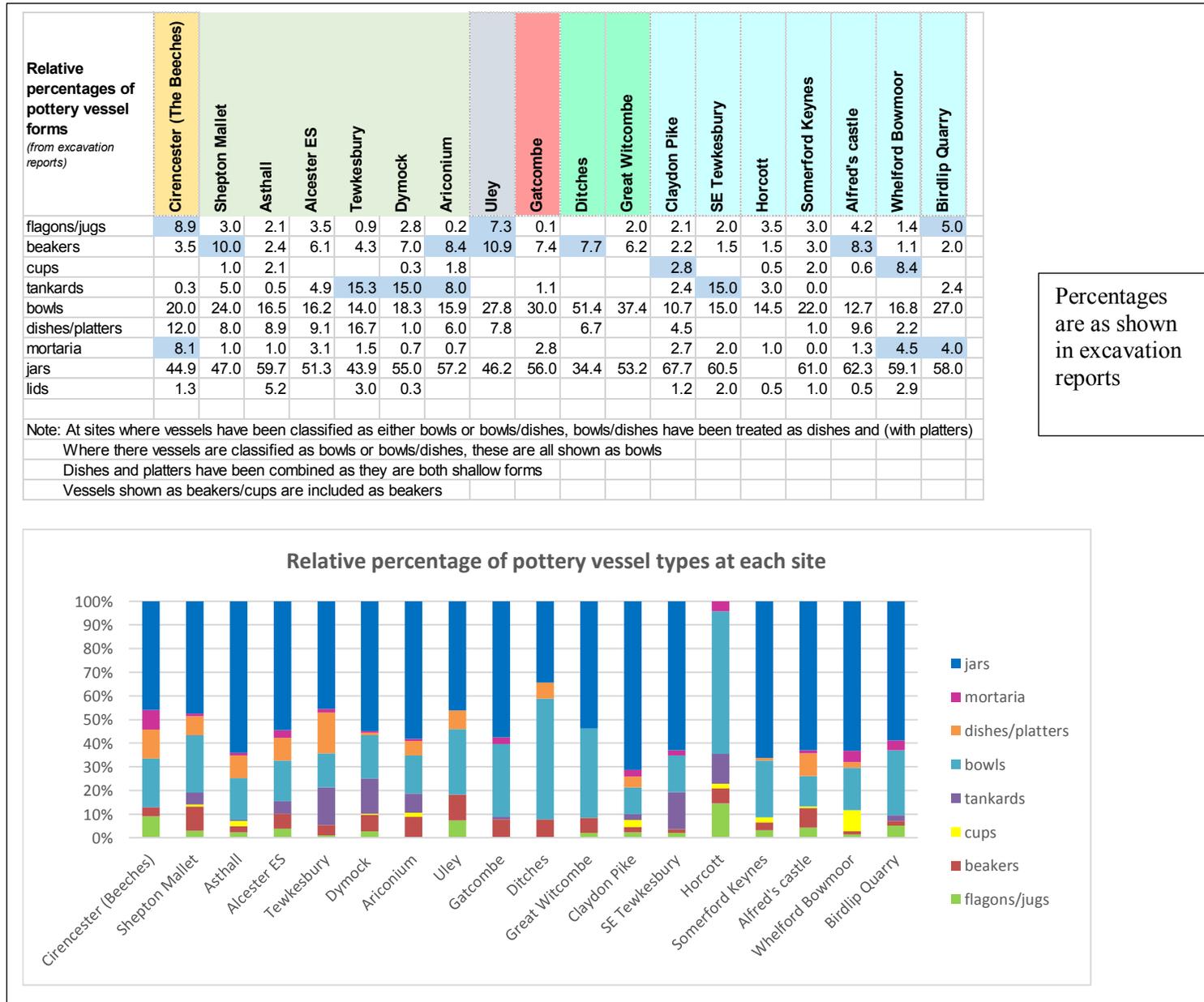
6.3.4.1 Food preparation: mortaria

Figure 97 reviews different sources for mortaria to examine when mortaria may have been adopted in the study sample. Imported mortaria occur at the oppidum of Bagendon, but not at Salmonsbury, all military and urban sites, early Roman sites with a military association (Sea Mills, Alcester, Wanborough) or higher status late Iron Age sites (Worcester, Ariconium, Frocester) and two farm sites. Samian mortaria also occur at these sites and also at Camerton, Asthall, the shrine sites and more of the villa and farm sites. The early Roman villa site at the Ditches appears to have lower amounts of mortaria than would be expected, given the large amounts of other early pottery wares (Gallo-Belgic wares for example) found at the site. Whilst all sites except for the small farmstead at The Bowsings have coarse ware mortaria, the evidence from imported and samian mortaria suggests that mortaria were not adopted at most sites until the second century.

6.3.4.2 Food preparation and storage: flagons/jugs

Early products of the northern and central Gaulish industries had large two-handled flagons, some with a capacity of ten litres, which would have been used for storage of liquids (Fitzpatrick and Timby, 2002: 162-163). Mahany et al. (1994: 8) suggest that larger flagons may have been used to decant liquids from amphorae. Smaller sized flagons could also have been used as serving vessels. Flagons were also produced in local wares, but little work is available on the chronology of these and little attention is paid to flagons and jugs in excavation reports, so it is not possible to comment further on the use of flagons in the study sample. Percentages of flagons/jugs in site assemblages are low compared to other storage vessels such as jars (see Figure 101) at around 2% to 4% at most sites. Cool (2006: 228) notes that the range of forms available reduces by the late Roman period, with flagons becoming much rarer.

Figure 97: Relative percentages of pottery vessel forms



There is evidence for brewing of beer in the study region and it is likely that the larger flagons could have been used for storage of beer.

6.3.4.3 Food preparation: shallow dishes

Pompeian-Red ware vessels were a specialist cooking vessel, which included a shallow plate or flat dish with a matching lid. The internal surface had a red slip, which acted as a non-stick coating for baking bread (Cool, 2006: 77), or as a general cooking dish (Fitzpatrick and Timby, 2002: 165). They were used in and around the Mediterranean, mostly in the first century and restricted to the military and major urban sites (Cool, 2006). Pompeian Red ware dishes were found at all three military sites in the study area, and in small quantities at Bagendon.

6.3.4.4 Serving food: plates/platters, dishes and bowls

Plate and dish forms and small bowls represent serving of individual portions. Figure 99 summarises the data for plates. As discussed above (6.3.1.1 and 6.3.1.2), consumption of plate forms in the first century was limited to oppida and military sites, some nucleated settlement sites associated with the military, two Late Iron Age high status sites, four villa and two farm sites. Plate forms in samian have a wider distribution across all site types, but by the end of the first century the manufacture of these plate forms ceases and a slightly deeper 'shallow' form – the dish – is adopted at these sites, and plate forms disappear. Shepton Mallet, Camerton and Nettleton had pewter plates, and Kingscote and Kings Weston had glass plates (Figure 99).

Small bowls in samian are also widely distributed (Figure 100), mostly at the same sites as plates, although more farm sites have small bowls than plates. Note that production of samian small bowl forms, often referred to as 'cups' (see discussion above) continues into the third century. The evidence for plates and small bowls suggests that serving food in individual portions had been adopted across study area during the second century.

Larger pottery bowls could be multifunctional, and used for cooking, food preparation or serving. Figure 97 shows that bowls form a significant percentage of the pottery assemblage for sites in the study sample, generally between 15% and 30%, although there are inconsistencies in how the data is analysed between dishes and bowls which may account for some of the higher values in Figure 97. There are also significant amounts of fine tablewares: 83% of sites had decorated samian bowls (Figure 81), and where samian could be quantified, bowls in total comprised the largest percentage of the samian assemblage (28%), with 24% of the total assemblage represented by decorated samian bowls (form Dr29, Dr30 and Dr37). These decorated samian bowl forms were more than five times more frequent than other samian bowl forms (Figure 87). Glass bowls occurred at 63% of sites (Figure 90), with first century pillar moulded bowls at 37% of sites. Excluding storage bottles, bowls and drinking vessels were the main glass vessel forms present. Significantly fewer farm sites had glass vessels (and in smaller amounts) compared to samian at farm sites, suggesting glass ware may have been a higher status item.

6.3.4.5 Drinking vessels

Drinking vessels include beakers, cups and tankards. Flagons and jugs could be used for storage of liquids (discussed above) or for serving liquids. Flagons and jugs occur at most sites in the study area, although they are rarer at farm sites (Figure 101). Glass and metal vessels also occur across all site types, but at fewer sites. Pottery beakers occur at almost all sites (Figure 101), with imported finewares (including samian) more frequent at military, urban, some nucleated settlement and some shrine sites, than at villa and farm sites in the first century, with increased distribution at farm and villa sites in the second century. Glass beakers have a similar distribution, although at fewer nucleated settlement and farm sites, whilst all villa sites had glass beakers. Cups also occur across all site types, but at fewer sites than beakers, and more sites had glass cups than pottery cups.

Cool (2006: 147-150) explored vessel size as an indicator of content of drinking vessels. Beakers, in a range of sizes, from the Rhineland have mottos or decorations associated with wine drinking, which confirms the use of these beakers as drinking vessels. However, many of these pottery beakers have

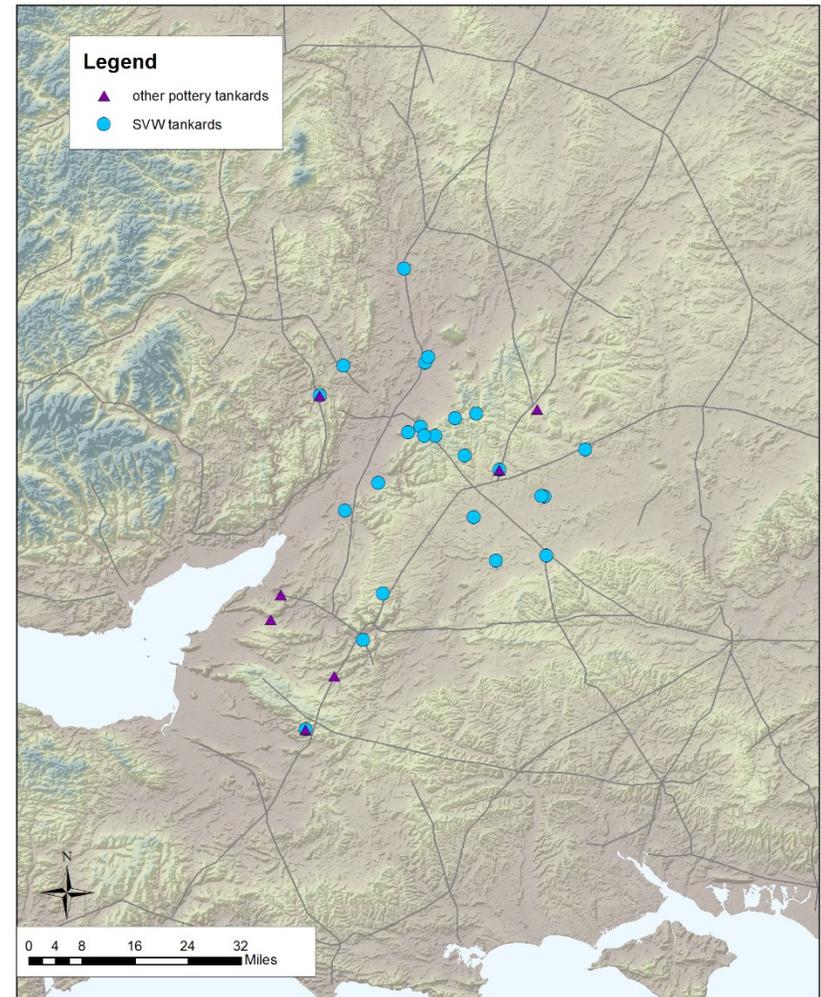
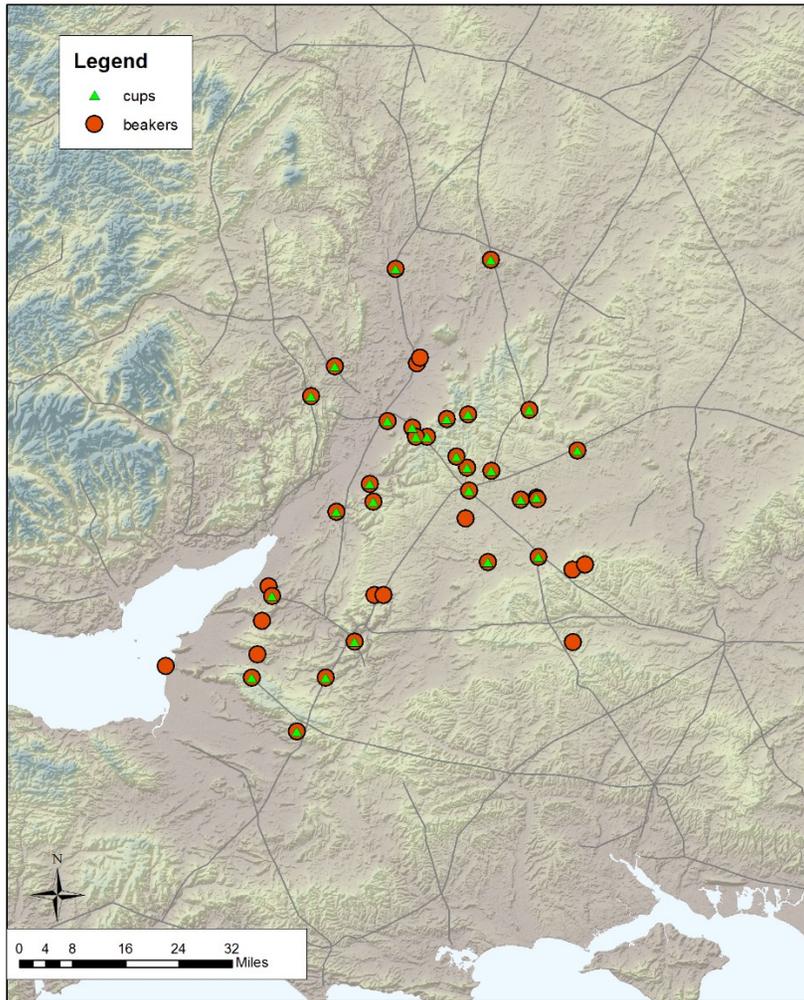
a large capacity – some as much as 1.5 pints (*ibid.* 147-150) - which makes it unlikely they were used by individuals for drinking wine but may have been used to drink beer (*ibid.* 164) or may have been communal vessels for drinking wine. Beakers at the smaller end of the size range were a similar size to pottery cups and glass vessels. Cool (*ibid.* 149) notes a significant increase in numbers of glass cups found from the late second century, with drinking vessels dominating fourth century glass assemblages. The third and fourth century native pottery products which replace samian were beakers rather than cups. Figure 90 shows that 9% of the total quantified glass assemblage related to glass cups, whilst 16% was represented by beakers. Quantified pottery data in Figure 97 shows much higher percentages of beakers than cups in the assemblages quantified. Generally, beakers appear to be more widely distributed and occur in greater numbers than cups. No Severn Valley ware cup forms were produced (Rawes, 1982).

Figure 101 also includes the data for presence of wine amphorae for comparison against data for cups and beakers. Amphorae and cups or beakers are present at most of the nucleated settlement, urban and military sites, but do not correlate for villa and farm sites, where there are sites with cups or beakers but no amphorae, and amphorae are only present at one shrine site but beakers or cups at three sites. Smaller beakers may have been used for drinking wine.

The handled mug, or tankard, was produced by the Severn Valley industries from shortly before the conquest (Timby, 1990), and widely distributed in the second and early third centuries, continuing into the fourth century (Tyers, 1996: 197). The distribution of tankards across types of site is different to that for beakers (Figure 101) with a greater presence at nucleated settlement, villa and farm sites, none at Bagendon, the military or shrine sites (the exception being Portway, which was a production centre for Severn Valley ware) and rare at Salmonsbury.

Tankards were not an alternative for beakers as both forms are widely distributed across nucleated settlement, estate, villa and farm sites (Figure 101) and distributions of both forms is shown in Figure 102. However, the quantified pottery data in Figure 97 does show a preference for either

Figure 102: Distribution of cups, beakers and tankards



beakers or tankards at most sites where these occur. Fewer sites in the southern and eastern parts of the study area have tankards compared to beakers (Figure 102). This may be a reflection of the distribution range for Severn Valley ware rather than an absence of demand, as the distribution pattern for tankards follows the range for Severn Valley ware generally, as shown in Tyers (1996: 199), and in the southern area tankards from other pottery sources are present, although in small numbers. Data by chronological period were not available, so that it is not possible to establish when sites in the study area began to use tankards.

Figure 101 shows that drinking vessels were present at all sites in the study area, except for the small farmstead site at The Bowsings, although the absence of vessel may reflect the fragmentary nature of the pottery sherds at that site. Analysis of vessel form in some excavation reports treats the assemblage as one so that it is difficult to establish when the different drinking vessel forms came into use in the study sample. The data from imported finewares (Figure 89) shows that only military sites or those associated with the military and certain higher status Late Iron Age settlement sites received cups and beakers in the first century, and these forms became more widespread in the second century. The main vessel forms were found across all site-types, although limited to certain types of site in the first century.

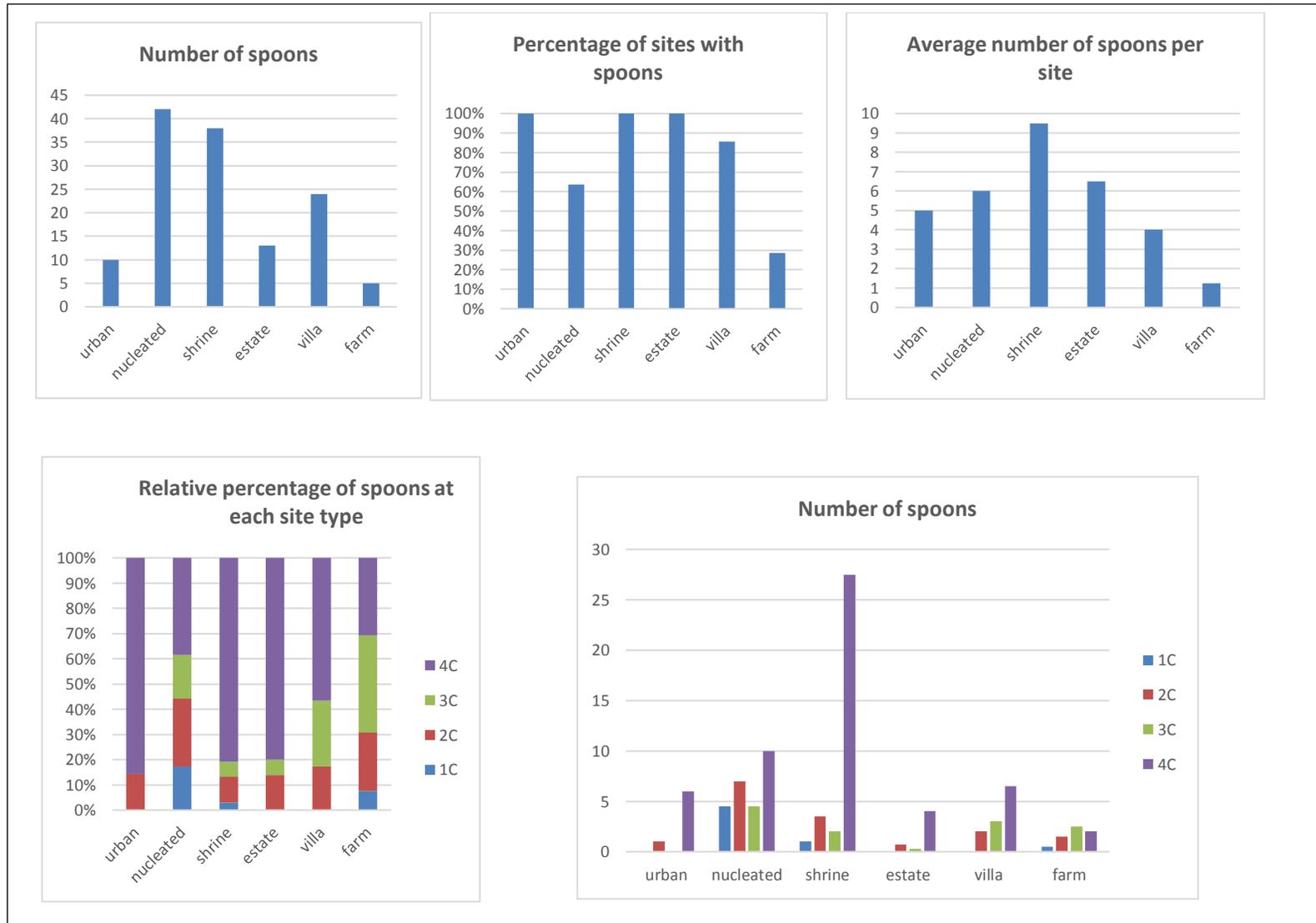
6.3.5 Spoons

Spoons were not found at oppida or military sites (Figure 103), but occurred at all urban, shrine and estate sites, 80% of villa sites, with fewer nucleated settlement and farm sites having spoons (Figure 104). Whilst finds are widespread, they are generally not abundant, except for Nettleton (Figure 103) and Kingscote where higher numbers occur. Figure 104 shows that spoons occur at nucleated settlement sites in the first century, and increase over time. Spoons are widespread but not abundant by the fourth century, except for farm sites where only 29% of sites recorded an average one spoon. Spoons occur mostly in the fourth century at Nettleton and appear to be of religious significance. Spoons were used in religious ceremonies by both Christians and pagans (Cool, 2006: 241).

Figure 103: Spoon finds in the study sample

Spoons	Cirencester	Bath	Shepton Mallet	Sea Mills	Asthall	Camerton	Alcester	Wanborough	Dymock	Nettleton	Uley	Portway	Brean Down	Gatcombe	Kingscote	Frocester	Great Bedwyn	Barnsley Park	Great Witcombe	Marshfield	Kingsweston	Claydon Pike	Somerford Keynes	Brockworth	Birdlip Quarry	Total	Kingscote	Fieldwalking	Total
	Copper alloy	6	2	10	2		7	4	7	1	26	7		1	5	8	5	1	2	5	3	1	1	2		1	107	13	120
Silver											1	1												1		3		3	
Bone	1		1				2	4		1						6				1						16	2	18	
Iron					1						1															2		2	
Pewter		1																								1		1	
Ladle - iron							1																			1		1	
Table spoon - tinned bronze						1																				1		1	
Table spoon - pewter						1																				1		1	
																												0	
	7	3	11	2	1	9	7	11	1	27	9	1	1	5	8	11	1	2	5	4	1	1	2	1	1	132	15	147	

Figure 104: Evidence for spoons



6.4 Summary and discussion: foodways

Hill (2002) considers that the appearance of new vessel forms in the late Iron Age reflects significant changes in how meals were served and eaten. This chapter examined the evidence for differences in the consumption of new foodstuffs at different site-types, the changes in the ways food was served, as evidenced by new ceramic and glass vessel forms, and the evidence for changes in dining practices.

Large bowls were a significant component of the Iron Age vessel assemblage (Cool, 2006: 153), and could be used for food preparation, cooking and serving the stews which were the mainstay of the Iron Age diet. Gallo-Belgic wares introduced the new vessel forms in the later Iron Age, and they occur in very small numbers at around half the sites in the study area, are present at all military sites, but only form a significant percentage of the pottery assemblage at The Ditches, and at the oppidum site of Bagendon, where they represent high status pottery in the mid-first century. The new vessel forms represent actual and conceptual changes in ways food was presented and eaten (Hill, 2002: 148-150), and therefore in the social roles associated with eating. Shallow vessel forms such as plates and dishes allow 'drier' foods, for example, joints of meat and fruit and nuts, to be displayed and to be served in individual portions, whilst small bowls allow individual portions of more liquid foods such as stews or sauces to be served. Individual portions allow the consumer choices to add sauces to individual foods or to select which foods he may or may not wish to eat, compared to eating from a large communal bowl.

Consumption of the early Gallo-Belgic plate forms in the mid-first century was limited to oppida and military sites, some nucleated settlement sites associated with the military, two late Iron Age high status sites, and a few other sites. Plate forms in samian then have a wider distribution across all site types in the later first century, but fewer at farm sites. By the end of the first century the plate form is replaced by a slightly deeper 'shallow' form, the dish, which is widely distributed. Small bowls in samian are also widely distributed in the second century, most occurring at the same sites as plates, although more farm sites have small bowls than plates. Although the distribution of samian tableware occurs across a wide range of sites, it is not abundant, with samian only forming a small percentage

of the total assemblage, highest at military and urban sites, less at nucleated settlement and villa sites and lower numbers at farm sites. This data does however indicate that by the second century food was being served in vessels representing individual portions, occurring across the study sample, and was not restricted to the elite. Existing foods may have been served in new ways, using new recipes, or new foods were being consumed using these shallow vessels. It may be that the new forms were being used to serve new foods alongside the traditional foods which continued. As discussed below introduction of new foods only becomes more widespread in the later Roman period, so that it is more likely that existing foods were being eaten and served in new ways.

As samian is visually distinct, closely datable and its source identifiable, samian has been given prominence in pottery studies and treated differently from other pottery in reports. This gives us additional data which can be used to explore the role of samian in expressing wealth and status. Archaeologists have always assumed that samian was a high-status commodity, used as tableware, and highly desirable. The implicit assumption has therefore been made that the users of samian treated it differently from other types of pottery. Willis (1997) notes that samian was treated differently from other pottery, and also treated differently between urban and rural sites. Samian had a higher than average percentage of graffiti denoting ownership (Evans, 1987: 202), and an above-average rate of repair (Ward, 1993: 19-20, particularly for vessels manufactured after AD150) indicating it was highly valued. Samian was more common in burials associated with rural sites and small towns than with burials at urban sites (Willis, 2005b: section 13.1.1) and also has a higher representation in structured deposits. Willis also notes curation of samian with some forms continuing well beyond their date-range, and greater curation of decorated forms compared to plain forms (*ibid.* section 5.7.4).

Samian as a percentage of total pottery present was relatively low at study sample rural sites (1%-3%), around 3%-6% at nucleated settlements, and 6%-8% at urban and military sites (Figure 82), the exception being The Ditches at 6.4%. This difference between rural sites and military or urban sites, and between smaller settlement sites and villas or farms, is consistent with Willis' (1998; 2005b) samian database for Britain, and Booth's (2012) data for the Upper Thames Valley. Do these low

percentages reflect a lack of wealth or a different use of samian at rural sites? Shrine and farm sites also had fewer glass vessels than other site-types (Figure 92) so economic factors may be involved. Except for four farm sites which acquired late first century samian forms, all the other sites in the study sample with samian, had samian forms which occur from the mid-first century onwards. Artefacts acquire prestige status because of their restricted availability, whether that restriction is economic or social, and the rapid and widespread distribution of samian across the study sample post conquest argues against it being a status indicator. The attractive appearance and durability of samian compared to contemporary pottery may explain its rapid adoption. Low percentages of tablewares and high percentages of jars at rural sites are often taken as evidence for a lack of wealth, but could represent the need for greater storage capacity at rural sites with less frequent access to daily markets enjoyed by urban sites. Willis' (2005b: section 13.1.1) suggestion that the low levels of samian tableware at rural sites reflects the use of these items for special days or events seems plausible for the study sample.

Large bowls are usually associated with communal eating, although they may also have roles in food preparation and cooking. Bowls form a large percentage of the pottery assemblage across the study sample, up to a third, in some cases, and form the largest percentage of the samian tableware assemblage, significantly higher than for assemblages in other parts of Britain (Cool, 2006: 190-191). There is also a focus on decorated samian bowls, particularly at the shrine site at Nettleton, and on glass bowls. Distinctive first century pillar moulded glass bowls occur at many sites, with slightly higher representation at villa sites. The use of highly decorated and glass bowl forms is therefore of significance for the study sample, although it is not clear whether this is for foodways or some other, perhaps ceremonial, purpose. The large percentage of bowls may reflect continuation of Iron Age communal eating and feasting traditions.

Decorated samian bowls occurred in significantly greater proportions than undecorated samian bowls across the study sample, and this proportion was particularly high at the shrine site at Nettleton (Figure 79). Willis (2005b: section 13.1.1) notes that military sites had significantly higher

proportions of decorated bowls than other site-types, and Booth (2012: 264) noted for the Upper Thames Valley that decorated wares were proportionally less at lower status sites. This was not the case for the study sample where rural settlements had similar or higher percentages of decorated bowls to military and urban sites. Willis (1997: 39-41) also notes proportionally higher percentages of decorated bowls at indigenous settlement sites in northern and upland Britain, more in line with the study sample results. Was the decoration important or merely the size of the bowl? Decorated samian bowl forms also occur as plain forms, and are at the larger end of the range of samian ware. Overall, the study sample had significantly higher proportions of bowls (both pottery and glass) compared with sites elsewhere (Cool, 2006: 190-191) so bowls are probably being selected for their size rather than their decoration. First-century decorated samian bowls occurred at all oppidum, military, urban and nucleated settlement sites and some at other site types, but by the early second century occurred at all sites including farms. The use of these large bowls may reflect a continuing tradition of communal eating.

Spoons are often found in association with items related to dining (Cool, 2006: 102). As a personal implement, spoons represented a new way of eating. Allason-Jones (2011: 166) notes the Roman habit of taking one's own spoon to dinner parties, whilst evidence from place settings in graves indicate that it was not essential that everyone had their own spoon (Cool, 2006: 53). Their distribution is widespread, but not abundant, with few in the first century (mostly nucleated settlement sites) and increasing by the fourth century, particularly at Nettleton, where they may have had a religious use.

Food residue analysis has shown that mortaria were mostly used for pulverising plant materials, some animal meat fat residues were present, but very little dairy fats (Cramp et al., 2011). Similar residues were found in Iron Age and Roman cooking vessels, which indicates that diet had not changed significantly, but the frequency and abundance of these plant components in mortaria fabrics suggests a new way of preparing existing foods. Evidence suggest that in the first century mortaria were used at military and urban sites, certain nucleated settlement sites with military associations and some

higher status late Iron Age sites, and were only more widely distributed across the study sample in the second century.

Mediterranean Roman cuisine was highly flavoured using a variety of herbs and spices, as well as fish- and fruit-based sauces. Much of our knowledge of the way herbs, spices and sauces were used comes from Classical sources such as Apicius' recipe book (Grainger, 2006: 13-15). There is little in the way of literary sources on food in Roman Britain so assumptions are made that herbs, spices and sauces were used in the Roman way, but this need not be the case. Only a small number of sites in the study sample had evidence of imported herbs, spices, vegetables and fruit, probably reflecting lack of preservation in the archaeological record. Stone mortars provide evidence for grinding herbs and spices, and were found at Leaholme, Shepton Mallet, Gatcombe, Kingscote and Claydon Pike (second to third century phase).

Van der Veen (2008: 102) observes that new foods became widely available shortly after the conquest, but this does not appear to be the case for the study sample. Van der Veen, Livarda and Hill (2008: 31-32) note that exotic imported foods decline after their introduction in the early Roman period, however olives and figs were found in fourth century contexts at Great Bedwyn, fennel in fourth century contexts at Claydon Pike, and a fig seed at Alfred's Castle (second to fourth century). Small 'carrot-shaped' amphorae used for the import of dried fruit, usually figs and dates from the Middle East (Howells, 2009: 71) were only found at Kingsholm and Frocester villa. Frocester appears to be a higher status site in the late Iron Age and the absence of carrot amphorae at other similar sites would be consistent with Howell's gift exchange model (*ibid.* 79). Van der Veen et al. (2008) showed that the imported herbs such as coriander, celery, dill and poppy increase over time and then decline to earlier levels by the late Roman period, although coriander increases at rural sites. Fig, grape and coriander are the most popular new foods. Fruits and vegetables increase over time, particularly at rural sites. The study sample is consistent with this (Figure 51).

Cheese presses and strainers were another Roman-period introduction, with evidence for cheese production at some of the study sample rural sites. Honey pots were found at sites associated with the military (Booth in Miles et al., 2007: 80), consistent with their occurrence elsewhere in Britain.

Olive oil amphorae were present at 70% of the sites in the study area, including all site-types, but in small amounts, and not at oppida sites (Figure 105). Some of these sites also had wine, but some sites had olive oil only. As there was little use of lamps in the study area (section 7.4.2), olive oil is likely to have been used in cooking. Fish-based sauce occurred mostly at military and nucleated settlement sites, but also at Kingscote (estate centre), Marshfield (villa), Claydon Pike and Somerford Keynes (farm). Fruit-based sauces occurred at all three military sites, Worcester, and Ariconium. There is no clear trend by site-type, but elements at each site. This suggests that Roman-style cuisine was used within existing foodways.

Fish and shellfish do not appear to part of the Iron Age diet (Willis, 2007) and appear more widely in the archaeological record in the Roman period. Fish bones occurred at five sites in the study sample. Fish bones tend to be small and are often not recognised or recorded in excavations, unless sieving or flotation sampling have been used (Cool, 2006: 104). Absence of evidence may not therefore reflect absence from the diet. Fish bones were found across a range of sites, and a range of types of fish was found at each site. Both freshwater and marine fish were found at the same site (Figure 52). Uley is not located near a river, and all the sites are some distances from the coast. This indicates that fish were being brought to these sites and not just caught locally. Given the need to preserve fish for transportation, this indicates an active choice for these foodstuffs rather than 'passing trade'. The extent to which fish formed part of the Roman diet in the Mediterranean is debated (Cool, 2006: 104-105; Alcock, 2001: 47-48). Alcock considers fish a luxury as it adds interest to a monotonous diet. Cool considers that the 'sporadic, low level consumption' of fish is evidence it was not a luxury but does make reference to isotope analysis from Poundbury burials indicating fish was the preserve of the elite. Fish was probably an occasional food for the study sample.

Shellfish, particularly oysters, occurred at a wide range of sites (Figure 55), but in small numbers, and at more farm sites than villas, and only at two nucleated settlement sites. Bagendon, The Ditches and Kingsholm had oysters in the first century, but the evidence for other sites suggests these were more widespread only in the fourth century. Numbers of oyster shells found were tens or hundreds, compared to the large first and second century shell deposits in London and the 10,000 oyster shells at Caistor-on-Sea (Cool, 2006: 107), indicating that these were probably an occasional food for the study sample.

King's (1999; 2001) work on animal bone in the western provinces identified a 'military pattern' for meat consumption (high amounts of cattle bone compared to sheep, and significant amounts of pig bone), which reflected a 'Romanised diet'. The military sites in the study sample showed this pattern. The pattern is less clear for the rest of the study sample, with cattle bone dominant only at two-thirds of nucleated settlement sites, and at most of the farm sites. Farm sites showed more sites where cattle bone dominated (Figure 57), whereas at urban, shrine and villa sites the number of sites where cattle bone dominated was the same number as those where sheep dominate. Only the estate and villa sites which showed a dominance of cattle over sheep also showed a significant percentage of pig bone. Evidence for bulk processing of cattle at Cirencester attests to a preference for beef. King suggests that military and urban sites lead the process of adoption of Roman-style diet, followed by villas and then farms, so the study sample data is not consistent with King's results.

King also noted a gradual increase in the amount of cattle bone over time, with cattle dominant at most sites by the end of the Roman period. Some study sample sites showed a gradual increase, some were static, and some sites with continuity from the Iron Age showed a decrease in cattle bone in the late Iron Age or early Roman period followed by an increase again in the first century. A distribution map (Figure 58) showed that generally cattle bone was dominant at sites on lower lying ground and sheep at sites on higher ground, and sheep rearing for wool may be influencing bone numbers in addition to the methodological issues around bone counts. Overall, none of the sites showed a change

in dietary preference, rather a continuity over time, and overall a slightly greater preference of beef over mutton.

Deer occurred at the military and urban sites, and at sites where cattle bone was dominant, at all villa sites, and two farm sites where sheep bone was dominant. Cool (2006: 114) notes evidence for deer being a special occasion food and an elite food, and the study sample is consistent with this. Hare bone occurs at most of the same sites as deer bone, in very small amounts (Figure 64). Crummy (2013) notes that large towns have the greatest amount of hare bone, followed by smaller towns, military sites and villas, but very low levels at rural sites. Crummy attributes the low level rural sites (where hare would be readily available) to persistence of Iron Age taboos around eating hare. The study sample data follows Crummy's pattern, and all villa sites with bone data had hare bone. Hunting of hare is attested by the figure of 'winter' in the mosaic in Room 5 at Chedworth, so that hare may have been associated with hunting at elite rural sites.

The trend for poultry is different. Poultry bone occurred at a greater number of sites, and was present at most farm and villas sites. Amounts of poultry consumed were low in the first century, increasing by the fourth century. This suggests poultry was an occasional food rather than an elite food. Maltby (1997) notes significantly higher levels of poultry at urban sites compared to rural sites, and the study sample data is consistent with this.

Small amounts of wine reached southern and eastern Britain in the late Iron Age, but little reached the study area (Millett, 1990: 32), so that wine represents a Roman-period introduction for the study sample. Wine amphorae occurred at fewer sites and in small numbers than olive oil amphorae. Wine amphorae were found at military sites and sites associated with the military, some nucleated settlement sites and some farm sites. Wine amphorae were absent from shrine sites and villa sites other than Frocester (Figure 105). Except for the early villa site at The Ditches, the other villa sites develop as villas after the main period of amphorae imports. The Kingsholm site had a significantly higher percentage of amphorae sherds: 38% of total sherds compared to 1% to 4% at the rural study

sample sites. Kingsholm amphorae came from the Aegean, South Gaul, Baetica (southern Spain) and Italy, whilst wine at the other sites came mostly from southern Gaul. Rhodian amphorae are associated with a military presence (Ellis, 1987: 91-92; Tyers, 1996: 93) and occurred in the study sample at Kingsholm, Sea Mills, Alcester, and Worcester, all with an actual or proposed first century military presence. In addition to these sites, first century amphorae were also found at Frocester, Thornhill and Claydon Pike. Amphorae finds occur across the study sample so that transportation does not appear to be a restricting factor. The lack of wine amphorae must represent either an official restriction on its distribution, possibly connected with the military given the greater distribution to sites with military connections, or a social choice. The absence of wine at shrine suggests social factors. Alternatively, wine may have been an occasional drink. Howells (2009) proposes a role in gift exchange for carrot amphorae containing dried fruit, based on the almost exclusive appearance of these at elite military sites and a few large urban sites, and it may be that wine was also used to create such social obligations.

Drinking vessels comprised beakers, cups and tankards, the size of beakers and tankards suggesting these were used for drinking beer rather than wine, although they could also have been used for communal drinking of wine. Indirect evidence for brewing beer comes from the presence of corndriers which may have been used in the malting process at several farm and villa sites. Generally, beakers were more widely distributed than cups, but both appear at all types of site. The incidence of amphorae does not correlate clearly with the incidence of cups, so smaller beakers may have been used for drinking wine rather than cups. Only the military sites or those associated with the military and certain higher status late Iron Age sites and a small number of others received cups and beakers in the first century. The increase in glass cups and beakers and the decrease in ceramic ones in the later Roman period is consistent with data for Britain generally.

Tankards are a late Iron Age vessel form, derived from late Iron Age Durotrigan vessel forms (Timby, 1990: 251). They are widely distributed from the second century onwards, but not as an alternative to beakers in the study sample, as they appear at the same sites, although most sites show some

preference for one or the other. Tankards were not present at Bagendon, the military sites or shrine sites, which suggests a social preference, as both tankards and beakers were probably used for beer, and beakers appear at almost all sites in the study sample. Evans (2001: 30) views the restriction of tankards to rural sites in the Severn Valley area as evidence of a regional identity, and the study sample supports the idea of a continuing local tradition, but alongside the use of new Roman-style material.

Pottery jugs, flasks or flagons, used for storing or serving liquids occur across almost all sites. Glass jugs and flasks occur at fewer sites, but across the range of site types. The occurrence of these forms does not correlate clearly with the occurrence of wine amphorae, so the assumption is that they were used to serve a variety of liquids. Small numbers of metal jugs occur, including sites associated with the military, Frocester villa and Claydon Pike and the evidence suggests these may have been used to serve wine in the Roman manner. Most evidence comes from fragments, but a metal jug at Sea Mills could be reconstructed and the decorative design on the jug used Classical Roman iconography.

To what extent was Roman-style cuisine adopted in the study sample? Figure 105 summarises the data for foodstuffs discussed above, and compares sites for the extent to which they consumed Roman-style cuisine. Whilst each site had several of the foods indicative of a Roman-style cuisine, no site had all of these and the combination of foods selected was different at each site. There were no clear trends by site-type. There was no evidence for changes from a sheep-based diet to a beef-based diet at any of the study sample sites, rather gradual smaller changes in the relative percentages of these. This suggests that new foods were not being selected for their association with Roman-style culture, but other, probably social, factors were involved. Foods such as fish, game and poultry which may be considered elite foods, occurred across all site-types, so were occasional rather than elite foods. There does not appear to be an 'elite' cuisine which is restricted to villa sites.

New foodstuffs occurred more widely in the later Roman period, with limited adoption at selected sites in the early Roman period. The adoption of new, Roman-style vessel forms occurs at selected

sites in the first century, mostly military sites or those associated with the military, and the higher status late Iron Age sites, but become widespread from the early second century. Most sites have most of the new vessel forms (Figure 105), and there is no clear trend of any form being absent from specific site-types. The rapid and widespread adoption of Roman-style pottery forms is more likely to relate to its availability than its Roman-ness, as per Cooper's (1996) view of 'pottery as shopping'. Absence of certain vessel forms (Figure 105) is also not linked with dietary considerations such as the dominance of cattle or sheep in the diet. The new vessel forms appear to be adopted earlier than new foodstuffs, suggesting that existing foods were probably prepared in new ways, with gradual additions to the diet, and the new vessel forms were not associated with a 'package' of culturally-Roman artefacts.

There is evidence for a change in dining arrangements in the late Roman period. Dedicated dining rooms – *triclinia* – were an elite architectural form, and usually the largest and most richly decorated of the reception rooms in Roman houses, identified by the distinctive style and placing of mosaics within the room. Decoration is used to differentiate space and the direction from which the mosaics are designed to be viewed indicates the dining function of a room, compared to a general reception room. Bipartite rooms have also been identified as dedicated dining spaces, including such a room at Chedworth in the study area. Although much smaller, rooms with similar arrangements occur at Kingscote and at the fourth century town house (The Beeches) in Cirencester, and both use Classical motifs in the mosaics, but neither can be fitted clearly into the Roman model of a dedicated dining space. The room at Kingscote may be a reception chamber in a set of private apartments (Millett, 2016: 709). Rooms with mosaics could be multifunctional, including functioning as dining rooms, and rooms at Great Witcombe, Frocester and Kings Weston villas may fall into this category. These villas are all later third or early fourth century, and the early villa at The Ditches (first century, expanded in the second century) did not have mosaic floors or any indication of a dedicated dining space.

A dedicated dining function cannot be assigned with certainty to any of the buildings in the study sample, based on the Roman model for dining spaces. The owners of these villas may have adapted the Roman model to meet local requirements, applying the concepts of formal reception and dining but on a smaller and less ostentatious scale. The use of a mosaic floor must have meant a change to the use of seating, compared to sitting on the floor around a hearth in a roundhouse, and therefore represents a fundamental change in terms of the dining experience.

Expression of wealth through foodways, and elite dining are discussed further in sections 8.1.6 and 8.2.3.

7 Results and analysis: Settlement space

The physical arrangement of spaces in the home and the surrounding settlement structure the activities that take place in them, as boundaries, entrances, pathways and destinations control access and movement through the space. How these spaces are used can reflect social relationships and therefore play a part in constructing identity. The nature of the architecture and internal decoration can also be used to express ideologies, economic and power relations. This chapter explores these themes for the study sample.

The late Iron Age saw an increase in the complexity of the layout of enclosed farmsteads, with separate zones of activity, often separately enclosed by ditches or other boundaries, for example at Claydon Pike (Booth, 2007: 33-36). Around the early to mid-second century AD there is evidence for a significant reorganisation of the landscape of the Thames and Severn valleys, and to a lesser extent the Cotswolds (Copeland, 2011: 104; Booth, 2007: 43-52), with restructuring of existing enclosures and additional trackways and rectilinear enclosures appearing. These processes suggest an increasing restriction of access to certain spaces and a greater awareness of 'private' space. The new urban developments at Cirencester and Gloucester and the small towns would have introduced more densely packed domestic dwellings, bringing new ways of thinking about how space is used.

Although some rectangular buildings appear in south eastern Britain pre-conquest (Perring, 2002: 29), the rectangular building form is largely introduced in the Roman period (Smith et al., 2016: 47, Fig.3.4). During the Roman period this develops into multi-roomed buildings, and in the later Roman period large, elaborate villas appear (*ibid.* 73, Fig.3.24), with a concentration in the area around Cirencester. The Roman period also saw the introduction of new architectural elements such as ceramic roof tiles, ornamental stonework, window glass, heated rooms, and new forms of decoration including painted wall plaster, mosaic floors and lighting mechanisms. These significantly changed the way a building was experienced by a person entering it, and the way in which wealth and status could be displayed.

The form and appearance of buildings is considered in terms of classifying building form (Richmond, 1969; Hingley, 1989). The main debate is around the development of building layout and the use of space, whether this reflects differing social structures (Booth, 2007; Hingley, 1989; Samson, 1990; Perring, 2002), and whether development is insular, or has influences from northern Gaul or the Mediterranean (Smith, 1978c; Smith, 1997). The role of the house in expressing Roman-ness in the Mediterranean is considered by Hales (2003) and Wallace-Hadrill (1994). The main debates are around how space is divided between public and private areas and the implications for social relations (Hales and Wallace-Hadrill), and the messages conveyed by the nature and extent of decoration of rooms, in particular the extent to which mosaic designs use Classical iconography to expressed aspirations towards elite Roman culture (Smith, 1975; Scott, 2000; Witts, 2005). Artefact studies examine ceramic roof tile (Brodrribb, 1987; Warry, 2010), flue tile (Brodrribb, 1987), the use of lamps (Eckardt, 2002), the use of lighting (Ellis, 1995a), marble (Isserlin, 1998), and wall painting (Ling, 1985).

7.1 Building form

Two aspects of building form are considered in this section: the nature of the layout and flow of internal space, and the external appearance of rural buildings. The layout and decoration of the palatial villas at Chedworth, Box and Woodchester are also considered. These villas are in the study area, but have not been included in the study sample for previous chapters, due to the lack of artefactual evidence as a result of antiquarian excavation.

7.1.1 Building layout and the use of space

Building layouts for domestic dwellings were examined in terms of what they can tell us about the use of the spaces created within them, including the flow of movement through rooms and the restriction of access to them. Complete plans of buildings were not available for all sites in the study sample, so that the examination was confined to those sites with complete, or near complete plans of buildings. Also, for many plans the position of doorways is not known, so that assumptions need to be made about how rooms may have been accessed.

Hingley (1989) defines a range of house types and these were used to classify buildings in the study area, in order to provide comparisons between sites. Building plans which did not fit into these categories were grouped as ‘multi-roomed/complex’ buildings for purposes of analysis. To allow comparison between the different site-types, plans for villas and farmsteads are shown in Figure 106 to Figure 108, and for shrines and settlements in Figure 109 to Figure 111. Figure 112 shows the development of building forms from the first to the fourth century to allow comparison of development of the building forms, and the use of timber and stone.

Where data was available for the full dimensions of the simple rectangular buildings, these are compared in Figure 113, and include buildings at Butcombe, Alfred’s Castle, Wooton Bassett, one building at Wanborough, three at Shepton Mallett, timber and aisled buildings at Frocester, and most of the buildings at Camerton and Gatcombe.

Figure 106: Plans of villas in the study sample

The picture originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA due to copyright restrictions. The picture was sourced from Esmonde Cleary, 2013: 26, Smith, 1987: 250, Leach, 1998: 125, Trow et al, 2009: 46, Smith, 1985, Smith, 1978:352, Price, 2000: 108 , details of which are shown in the bibliography on pages 361-377

Figure 107: Fourth century palatial villas at Woodchester (Copeland, 2011: 129) and Box (Corney, 2012: 58)

The picture originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA due to copyright restrictions. The picture was sourced from Copeland, 2011: 129, Corney, 2012: 58, details of which are shown in the bibliography on pages 361-377

Figure 108: Plans of later period farmsteads in the study sample

The picture originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA due to copyright restrictions. The picture was sourced from Miles et al, 2007: 171, Rawes, 1991: 35, Gosden et al, 2013: 50, Gaffney and Tingle, 1989, details of which are shown in the bibliography on pages 361-377.

Figure 109: Buildings at Camerton (Wedlake, 1958: 9, 49) and Shepton Mallet (Leach and Evans, 2001: 9) settlements

The picture originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA due to copyright restrictions. The picture was sourced from Wedlake, 1958: 9, 49, leach and Evans, 2001: 9, details of which are shown in the bibliography on pages 361-377.

Figure 110: Buildings at Nettleton (Wedlake, 1982: 3) and Uley (Woodward and Leach, 1993) shrines

The picture originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA due to copyright restrictions. The picture was sourced from Wedlake, 1982: 3, Woodward and Leach, 1993, details of which are shown in the bibliography on pages 361-377.

Figure 111: Buildings at Gatcombe (Branigan, 1977), Kingscote (Timby, 1998: 32), and Sea Mills (Ellis, 1987: 33)

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Figure 112: Summary showing development of buildings for study sample sites (compiled from published excavation reports).

	1C		2C		3C		4C	
Salmonsbury	round houses							
Chedworth			3 cottage houses around a 'courtyard', stone. No information on date of construction or phasing		late3C/early 4C construction of corridors for each wing and joining up with cross-gallery to enclose garden court Extension to northern wing and small northern bath suite added. Nymphaeum		Mid 4C remodelling Extension of north wing into second (summer?) dining suite Bath suite and triclinium in west wing Galleries with mosaic floors 2 apsidal reception rooms in complex set of reception rooms, with mosaics	
Frocester	round houses	round houses double-ditched enclosure	rectangular timber buildings, double-ditched enclosure		AD200-275 timber buildings replaced, possibly with dry-stone footings possible stone buildings or cob Aisled building , post built, possibly barn?	cAD275-300 enlarged enclosure stone building A on gravel slope- 4 room cottage house deep foundations, possible second storey?		cAD300 Stone building enlarged to winged corridor building walled front courtyard. Tessellated pavement in corridor (room 6) and wall plaster in room 7 cAD340 rooms 2, 6, 7 (added hypocaust - and presumably mosaic ??) and replastered walls) altered and garden in front courtyard
Ditches		IA storage pits covered over cAD75 6 room cottage house constructed, dressed stone walls	Early 2C timber corridor (south), replaced by stone corridor running around main block, cellar constructed	Mid 2C construction of wings and metalled path cAD150-175 collapse of cellar wall	early 3C, destruction by fire			
Great Bedwyn		beamslot and post timber structures - 'military-type' granary		timber structures - insufficient evidence for form	timber structures - 2 phases, with ceramic roof tile and wall plaster?	mid 3C masonry villa - aisled building , replaced in later 3C by aisled building 2, with 2 internal masonry walls + freestanding building later joined by corridor. Hypocausts	After AD330 refurbishment of aisled building 2, with suite of heated and decorated rooms in west end and south isle + mosaic corridor. Then hypocausts backfilled and covered with mosaic. Painted walls Early phases of west wing (unexcavated)	
Barnsley Park	round houses and 4 poster structures			cAD140-340, succession of round structures , and rectangular timber-framed structures		large timber-framed hall , with s AD340-360. Also circular stone		
Great Witcombe					early 3C, dating uncertainty, villa of east and west suites of rooms linked by long gallery of 3 rooms and rectangular dining room off central range. Unitary plan separate bath house to south west?	later 3C/early 4C major modification extensions to west wing bath suite, additional east wing rooms and SE range aisled building . Octagonal dining room		
Marshfield	circular timber buildings	Circular stone building interpreted as a possible shrine - disputed by Smith who interprets it as two households				mid 3C - cAD360-370 demolition of previous buildings and 4-roomed stone building built		
King's Weston						construction post AD270 stone, hall-type/winged corridor villa hypocausts, mosaics and wall plaster	rebuilding of colonnade/porticus and insertion of hypocaust and mosaic into another room Post AD340) Hall-type villa per Smith (1978) whereas excavator interprets as open courtyard end of villa post AD368	
Claydon Pike			2 aisled halls , at right angles 1: stone lower courses and timber superstructure, ceramic roof, wall plaster, some possible internal divisions, domestic 2: timber walls, thatch roof, agricultural barn				small 6 room, masonry-footed building, ' cottage house '. Timber superstructure? Whitewashed walls?	
Butcombe		roundhouse				one-room rectangular stone building		
Wootton Bassett	roundhouse		post-built structure sub-rectangular, timber					

	1C	2C	3C	4C
Somerford Keynes Vineyards Farm		early 2C substantial (v long) aisled building , function unknown	rectangular stone building, no plan details	3-roomed stone building, wall p
Brockworth		round houses	re-cutting of ditches but no evidence of structures	
Alfred's castle		6-roomed stone 'cottage house'		
Birdlip Quarry			round houses, curvilinear structures and possible rectangular structure	replacement of earlier structures including stone-footed circular and rectangular buildings with stone floors, timber roundhouse
Maddie Farm			stone, 5-roomed villa, with large enclosed courtyard	
Shepton Mallet		street and dry-stone walled compounds	2 stone-founded buildings (blds 7 + 10) and hints of timber framed structures	2 stone blds removed (fire) replaced by aisled hall (bldg 9)
Sea Mills Abon House		Evidence for timber buildings	some use of stone	replacement of buildings in stone
Asthall		Evidence for timber buildings	stone-footed buildings	stone-based buildings, but timber buildings continue throughout
Camerton		rectangular timber buildings	Stone buildings, 1 winged corridor-type , 1 strip type, rest all one-room rectangular	
Wanborough		street + ditches large rectangular wooden building gap of 20 years	Rectangular timber buildings and one building with stone foundations	
Alcester Southern extramural area (Birch Abbey)		timber, including circular	various types of timber construction. Stone buildings late 3C	
Nettleton		Later 1C to early 3 C stone built circular shrine and associated buildings including large hall, 2-roomed	early/mid 3c to early/mid 4 C, stone shrine, various one or two-roomed buildings and enlargement and subdivision of one building	
Uley	IA timber shrine	stone temple and ancillary buildings		
Gatcombe		rectangular building with drystone wall foundations		late 3C to later 4 C stone buildings, one or two-roomed and tw
Kingscote			mid 3c to early 4C one and two-room strip buildings, drystone wall	late3C/early 4 C, rectangular stone building, possibly aisled , then additional rooms and internal walls added - multi-roomed 'villa' ?

Key:

roundhouses
timber rectangular
stone rectangular (1-3 rooms)
cottage house/simple corridor
aisled building
corridor house
winged corridor villa
courtyard villa
complex/multi-roomed

Figure 113: Relative proportions of buildings at rural settlement sites, compiled from data in excavation reports

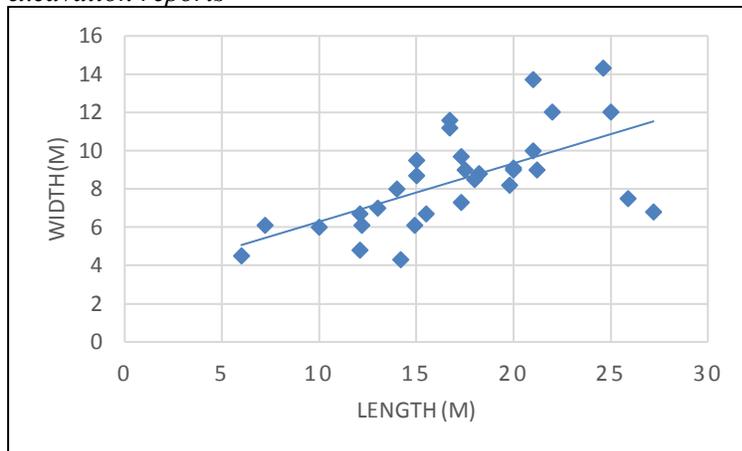


Figure 113 shows consistency in the form of simple rectangular buildings, these being twice as long as they were wide, and most buildings were around 13metres to 20 metres long. The two shortest were at Gatcombe and the two longest were the early timber buildings at Frocester.

The houses at the farmsteads in the study sample (Figure 108) at Claydon Pike (fourth century), Vineyards Farm, Alfred's Castle and Maddle Farm, have relatively simple layouts. The house at Maddle Farm has a courtyard attached to the row of rooms, but without the positions of doorways we cannot determine whether any of the rooms were accessed directly from the courtyard, although it is likely that at least one room was. At Claydon Pike the simple villa building replaced the aisled hall (discussed further below) in the fourth century (Figure 108). Building B9 contained a hypocausted room and was linked to building B8 by walls forming a courtyard, but the division between public and private space cannot be determined.

If a corridor is added along the length of a block of rooms it changes how rooms can be accessed as some could be accessed directly from the corridor. Examples of the use of corridors in the study sample, include those at The Ditches and Marshfield (Figure 106), and this concept of controlling or restricting access is taken further when additional rooms are added at the end of the corridors (Great Witcombe, Frocester, Kings Weston) to form winged corridor villas. At Chedworth the corridors in the west and north wings are decorated with mosaic floors and have been interpreted as galleries or

circulation spaces where visitors could mingle and admire the display of the owner's wealth (Esmonde Cleary, 2013: 26). These galleries also control access to the west and north wings at Chedworth. Winged corridor buildings also occurred at Camerton (stone Building I cAD180) and one of the buildings at the fourth century The Beeches site in Cirencester.

Courtyard villas developed from extended wings of winged corridor houses (for example, Great Witcombe, Frocester) or amalgamation of individual units which had been arranged around three sides of a courtyard (for example Chedworth) into an architectural whole. The fourth side of the courtyard is usually a wall with a formal gateway which forms the entrance into the villa. In these villas the main reception rooms are entered from the courtyard. Chedworth had two courtyards and the use of corridors (galleries) to restrict movement into the second courtyard (with the west and north wing entrances). Some of the buildings around the courtyard were residential (for the example the western side at Great Witcombe) and others agricultural (the aisled hall in the south-eastern wing at Great Witcombe). The villa at Box (Figure 107) may have been part of a courtyard villa, although it was not fully excavated. Some houses in the study area have courtyards attached, for example Great Bedwyn and Maddle Farm, but do not fall into the definition (above) of a courtyard villa. The villa at Great Bedwyn appears to have different types of masonry buildings including a corridor house and an aisled building and these were arranged around three sides of a courtyard. Excavation was limited and small scale but does hint at the structures being connected although they do not appear to be joined as an architectural whole, so are not a true 'courtyard villa'. The excavator at Kings Weston suggested that the corridor lead to an open courtyard (based on the lack of roofing material), with a colonnade, and later arcading, between the two (Figure 106). Smith (1978b) suggests a roofed hall is more likely.

The palatial villa at Woodchester (Figure 107) had three courtyards, although not fully excavated and understood, as much of it was excavated by Lysons in the late eighteenth century. Small-scale excavation was undertaken by Clarke et al. (1982) who established several structural phases at

Woodchester. The earlier phase had aisled buildings on the sides of the courtyard and a gateway connecting the inner and outer courtyards, and the third courtyard added in the later third century.

Aisled buildings have been used in different ways within the study sample. Two aisled buildings occur at the villa estate at Gatcombe (Figure 111) in the later third century, one of which had three small rooms in the southern aisle, and artefacts suggesting domestic occupation. Aisled halls also occur at Shepton Mallet and Kingscote in the later third century. At Shepton Mallet, building IX (Figure 109) began as an aisled hall, and was later subdivided and extended to the south, the only building at Shepton Mallet where wall plaster was found, and used for domestic and ‘other unspecified activities’ (Leach and Evans, 2001: 310). The building at Kingscote (building VIII, Figure 111) was built on a cleared area in the early fourth century, initially as a simple rectangular building with an internal partition, including four pillar bases, which formed two aisles. This was later altered and extended to include heated rooms with mosaics (discussed above) and wall plaster (Timby, 1998: 47-51).

At the rural sites, there was a very long early second century aisled building (function unknown) at Somerford Keynes, and the mid-third century masonry buildings at the villa at Great Bedwyn included an aisled building, which was later replaced by another aisled building with internal subdivisions. At Frocester the aisled building was post-built, around AD200, with no evidence of roofing structures or internal divisions and was probably agricultural (Price, 2000: 83-86), and was demolished when the courtyard for the villa was built. The second to third century phase at Claydon Pike had two, contemporary aisled buildings, set at right angles (Miles et al., 2007: 160-161). The slightly larger building had stone footings, ceramic roof tile, window glass and painted wall plaster, with some indication of internal divisions and was domestic. This building was replaced in the later Roman period by a modest ‘cottage’ villa. The second building had timber framed walls and a thatched roof, and the wide entrance bay suggests agricultural use or storage. The short aisled hall at Great Witcombe (Leach, 1998: 128-129) was built as a separate south east range to the existing winged corridor villa in the later third century, and finds evidence suggests use as a workshop or possibly an administrative centre.

Figure 114: Buildings in Cirencester

The picture originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA due to copyright restrictions. The picture was sourced from Holbrook et al, 1998: 191, 202, McWhirr, 1986: 20, details of which are shown in the bibliography on pages 361-377.

The layouts of buildings in the nucleated settlement sites in the study sample are shown in Figure 109 and Figure 111. Most of the buildings at these settlement sites are simple one or two-roomed rectangular buildings, with only one or two more complex buildings: a small winged corridor building and a 'cottage house' at Camerton, an aisled building, and a cottage house at Shepton Mallet, and a corridor house at Sea Mills. The shrine sites at Nettleton and Uley (Figure 110) had corridor and cottage houses, which have been interpreted as domestic accommodation for visitors. At Nettleton there were also a large number of simple one or two-roomed rectangular buildings, with evidence that these were used for metalworking and industrial processes in the late Roman period. Most settlement sites have evidence for metal working, pewter casting (Camerton and Nettleton), pottery production (Shepton Mallet) or other industrial process (Appendix 3), particularly in the later Roman period and the 'utilitarian' nature of the buildings at these sites reflects this.

An example of the layout of shop buildings in Cirencester is shown in Figure 114. These buildings have more rooms than most buildings at settlement sites, with a larger room (shop) fronting onto the street, and two or three smaller rooms behind for living accommodation, some of which appeared to have hypocaust heating. Many houses in fourth century Cirencester were multi-roomed, and richly decorated with wall plaster and mosaics, with similarities to the rural villas. Three buildings at The Beeches (Figure 114) are the most complete in plan, comprising a multi-roomed building with bath suite, and an extended winged corridor building, both with mosaics and wallplaster and an aisled building, interpreted as a workroom, or agricultural building. Whilst the winged corridor building (building XII, 2) implies separation of public and private space, it is difficult to see how this could have been achieved in building XII, 1 at The Beeches, although detailed interpretation is not possible without knowing the position of doorways.

Figure 112 shows the different trajectories for the building forms adopted at the different sites discussed above. Nucleated settlement and shrine sites used stone for building from the first or early second century, although timber buildings continue throughout the Roman period at these sites. Except for early circular buildings at Alcester, all buildings were rectangular in form. Aisled buildings

occur in the late third century. By contrast villa and farm buildings have a range of trajectories, all different. Aisled halls occur in the early second century at Claydon Pike and Somerford Keynes, in the early third century at Frocester, mid-third century at Great Bedwyn and fourth century at Great Witcombe. Circular buildings continue until the mid-third century at Marshfield and Birdlip Quarry only had circular buildings throughout the period. Some winged corridor buildings develop from cottage or corridor houses (The Ditches, Chedworth) whilst others are newly built as winged corridor villas (Great Witcombe, Kings Weston, Frocester). Great Witcombe is the only villa in the sample which was built as an original unitary plan (Leach, 1998: 129-130). Where these sites change from timber buildings to stone or stone-footed buildings this does not occur until well into the third century (in contrast to nucleated settlement sites). As the study area has good natural building stone, this suggests deliberate continuation of an earlier timber building tradition, or the lack of wealth to build in stone.

7.1.2 Architectural stone

Fragments of stone columns, column bases and capitals, mouldings and cornices have been found for the study sample (Figure 115). Most stone was not found *in situ* and there is little contextual or dating evidence available, but it does give an indication of the ornamental decoration used. Columns probably flanked the porch in most cases, and the bases for these are indicated at Kings Weston (Figure 106).

The use of marble for architectural embellishment was very limited. Pieces of marble were found at Great Witcombe and this is Carrara marble from Italy rather than a local marble such as Purbeck. Fragments of a marble relief from Uley were also of Italian marble. Marble statues and pieces of building veneer or furniture of high quality in a variety of types of marble were found at the palatial villa at Woodchester in the study area. Recent work at Chedworth (Papworth, 2015) has analysed marble samples from the museum collection and from a veneer fragments found recently. The marble samples originated from the eastern Mediterranean and the veneer from quarries at the Imperial

Figure 115 Evidence for architectural stone and marble in the study sample

Architectural stone	Cirencester, The Beeches	Bath, Bath & Beau Street	Camerton	Sea Mills	Wanborough	Nettleton	Uley	Brean Down	Gatcombe	Kingscote	Frocester	Ditches	Great Bedwyn	Barnsley Park	Great Witcombe	Marshfield	King's Weston	Claydon Pike	Haymes	Vineyards Farm
	Local stone																			
column shafts		2	2			8				3		1			6		✓	4		2
column bases		2	2	1		6	1	2	2	4			1	1	3	1		2		
capitals	3	2	1			4		1	1	2	1		1	1	1				1	
pier bases										7							✓			
mouldings		2	1	1	1	4		2	2	5	1				4	2				
cornice		1				23					1				1					2
marble moulded cornice															6					
architectural fragments			2		2						1						✓			
roof copings																2				
finials			1			3		1	1	4				1	1					1
Marble							reliefs								6 fragments of cornice + 1 piece of carrera marble found by Lysons					
	oolitic limestone	Bath Stone	Bath Stone	oolitic limestone	chalk moulding oolitic limestone				Bath freestone	oolitic limestone	limestone	limestone	oolitic limestone		oolitic limestone	oolitic limestone	Bath stone	limestone	oolitic limestone	oolitic, freestone
	3 - oolitic limestone	Bath Stone, reused as rubble for foundations	Acorn roof finial	4C?		most of these from shrine building, rectangular hall and 'custodian's house'	1 oolitic limestone, modest stone building, early 4C		Not datable but probably later 3C or early 4C. 'of a size appropriate to the porch or portico of a villa'	4 pier bases in situ between corridor and 'hall/large room' + finials formed part of decoration of building	4C		4C		1 fragment of dressed sandstone with maroon paint	mouldings possibly from a door frame	Internal open courtyard with colonnade of columns replaced by arches	Possibly colonnade for walkway linking two buildings. Late Roman		

property on the Greek island of Euboea. The veneer probably came from a decorative panel for a bath, where the distinctive pattern of the marble is best seen when wet.

7.1.3 Roofing materials

Figure 116 shows the evidence for ceramic and stone roofing tile in the study sample. Whilst excavators consider the presence of ceramic roof tile to be an indicator of the presence of a Roman-style building, in many cases the amounts recovered were very small (Figure 116). Brodrigg (1987: 11) gives the average weight of one tegula (roof tile) at just over 6kg, so that even the largest sample in Figure 116, Somerford Keynes at 678kg, only equates to 113 complete tiles, a very small proportion of that needed to roof a building. Recording of tile in most excavation reports is very limited, and in most cases the data is not quantified, nor is context or phase data given.

In his study of stamped tile produced for the municipal authorities in Gloucester and Cirencester, Warry (pers. com.) has demonstrated that tile was delivered directly from the kiln to the building site by builders merchants, who also acted as recycling agents for tile, and that this was a significant part of the tile economy. This would explain the very small amounts of tile remaining at most sites. At several sites material had been moved from one site to another, either to level the site in advance of building, or to provide a 'hard core' base for the new building, for example at Sidbury, Worcester (Darlington and Evans, 1992: 66). Tile fragments concentrated around a specific building probably relate to the demolition of that building whereas small amounts of tile spread more evenly over a wider area may relate to the process of redistribution and levelling. For example, at Shepton Mallet (Leach and Evans, 2001: 224-225) the brick and tile fragments were well worn and small, and also widely distributed across the site, so considered to be residual. Given the lack of contextual evidence for most of the study sample it has been difficult to establish whether the small amounts of tile present relate to recycling of tile from a roof, or material which just happened to be included with redistributed material and this was taken into consideration when preparing the summary section within Figure 116, together with any explanations or conclusions in the excavation reports.

	Procester	Ditches	Great Bedwyn	Barnsley Park	Great Witcombe	Marshfield	King's Weston	Thornhill	Claydon Pike	SE Tewkesbury	Horcott	The Bowsings	Haymes	Butcombe	Wootton Bassett	Somerford Keynes	Vineyards Farm	Brockworth	Alfred's castle	Whelford Bowmoor	Birdlip Quarry	Maddie farm	Roof tile
stone tiles in a range of sizes. NO ceramic tile 56kg but not all retained and quantified	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	stamped ceramic roof tile
no evidence for nature of roof materials	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	ceramic roof tile
various types of brick, flat tiles, roof and box flue tiles present NO equal amounts of stone roof tiles	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	stone roof tile
1 stamped tile and 1 box tile with markings roof slates - 'local' materials	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	brick/ flat tiles
stone floor tiles and roof tile, NO ceramic tile = main roofing material	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	box flue tile
few tile fragments from the destruction layer of the building, possibly brought in for levelling	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	stone tile: stone tiles
stone roof but ceramic tile on porticus	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	60kg limestone
fragments of flat tile	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	ORS tiles
much of phase 3 tile from area of aisled building and phase 4 from villa buildings. Re-use of tile from aisled building. 4C extension had stone roof tile and circular shrine had thatched roof.	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	4	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	Blue lias hexagonal tiles
fragmentary, roof tile	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	pennant sandstone
a small 'scatter' of stone tiles but no concentration. Probably not roofing material	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	great oolite sandstone
floor tile= large plain tiles and bricks. Pillae. Aisled building not thought to be heated so must be from another local building	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	678kg	117	<	<	<	<	<	ceramic tile: brick and tile fragments
large quantities of stone tile. Ceramic tile probably from an early-period building, similarly for flue tiles	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	ceramic roof tile fragments
roof and floor tile fragments. AD160-200 round huts out of use but other buildings? with sandstone roofs	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	box flue tile
thatched eraly roof. 3C stone roof, ceramic ridge tiles	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	Summary:
probably construction rubble	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	stone roof
roof tile, floor tile and box tile present. V small and abraded	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	ceramic roof
ceramic for early phase building	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	notes

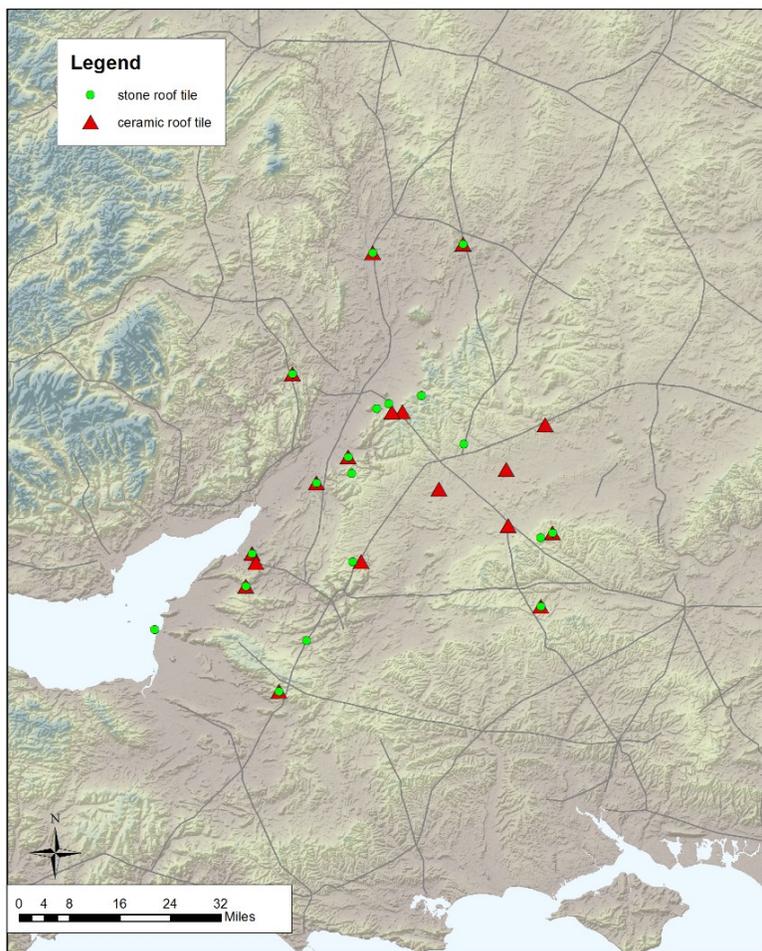
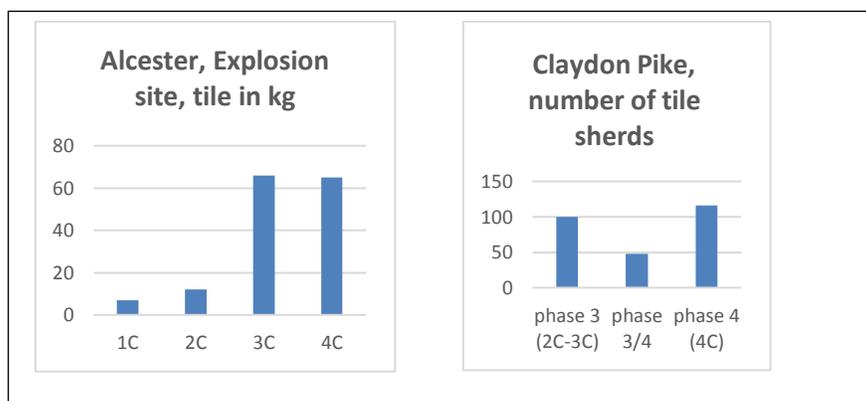
Figure 117: Distribution of stone and ceramic roof tiles

Figure 117 shows the distribution for stone and ceramic roof tiles: both are widespread across the study sample, with no specific concentrations, and both occur together at several sites. Unfortunately, most of the study sample excavation reports do not identify which contexts or phases tile was recovered from (often these are from demolition debris) and it is only at Vineyard's Farm, and Brockworth that replacement of ceramic tile with stone roof tile in the later Roman period can be confirmed.

Excavation reports for two sites gave data analysed by period: Alcester Explosion site and Claydon Pike (Figure 118). Fabric analysis on the tile at Alcester (Booth and Evans, 2002: 264) indicates that tile was used from the later first century, so the low numbers in Figure 118 support the tile recycling

model put forward by Warry (p243). Of interest are the two second to third century aisled buildings at Claydon Pike (Miles et al., 2007: 160). The larger aisled building had glazed windows, decorated wall plaster, and a ceramic tiled roof, whilst the smaller one had timber walls and probably a thatched roof, and appears to have been an agricultural barn.

Figure 118: Phased data for tile at Alcester and Claydon Pike



7.2 Internal decoration

Decoration of principal reception rooms in bright colours was introduced in the Roman period. This included painted wall plaster, and mosaic floors made up of small tesserae of different colours. The most expensive and elaborate decoration tended to be used in the main reception rooms in the house, with plainer decoration in rooms not accessed by visitors.

7.2.1 Mosaics and flooring

The focus for the study sample is on the messages being conveyed by design choices and use of mosaics in buildings, rather than a detailed description of each mosaic. The role of mosaics in dining rooms has already been discussed in detail (section 6.2), so this section will take an overview of the range and nature of mosaic flooring occurring across different site types.

Flooring ranges from stone slabs, to tessellated floors, made with one-colour tesserae, to decorative mosaics with geometric or figurative motifs in many colours. Most dating is on stylistic grounds, although more external dating evidence is becoming available.

Figure 119 shows the different types of flooring occurring in the study area. Stone-paved floors occur across most types of site, whilst mosaics are confined to urban and villa sites, with one mosaic at the estate centre of Kingscote. Tessellated pavements are made from the same type of small tiles as mosaics, but are all of one colour and occurred at nucleated settlement sites and at Bath. Fragments of buildings, including mosaic floors, outside the religious settlement at Bath have been found (Cunliffe and Davenport, 1985: 10), and fifteen, mostly light coloured limestone tesserae at the Bath and Beau Street site, suggest the proximity of a tessellated pavement (Davenport, 1999: 103). After the temple precinct at Bath had gone out of use, in the later fourth century a building with a mosaic pavement was constructed (Cunliffe and Davenport, 1985: 184).

Cirencester is known for the number and quality of the mosaics found in its town houses. McWhirr (1986: 256-259) in his gazetteer of Roman houses from sites in Cirencester, catalogues eighty eight mosaics, of which thirteen relate to the study sample site at The Beeches. These are described in Figure 120, and, with the exception of the hare mosaic and two mosaics with urns and flowers, all are geometric patterns. Smith (in McWhirr (1986: 90) notes that the hare is a Mediterranean motif, popular in the repertoire of pavement designs for *triclinia* in North Africa, but uncharacteristic of mosaics north of the Alps. Thirteen mosaics were found at the other major town in the study area, at Gloucester (Ling, 1997: 262), of second and fourth century date, but were severely damaged. Motifs included florals and scrolls and Bacchus seated on a leopard.

At The Beeches the layers above the hypocausts do not survive, so it is not possible to determine whether these had mosaics but fragments of wall plaster and tesserae found in the hypocaust systems suggest most of these rooms were decorated. There were several corridors or smaller rooms with plain white tessellated pavements. Some of the rooms with mosaic floors were also heated, and many had

painted wall plaster. The rooms with mosaics, tessellated pavements and painted wall plaster are indicated in Figure 121.

Several mosaics were found in the bath suite at Great Witcombe, including ‘*a fine mosaic pavement of the Corinium school*’, a geometric design, (Leach, 1998) and a design of fishes and sea creatures, recorded by Lysons. The mosaics at Great Bedwyn are fragmentary and include various geometric designs, cantharus and an interlaced square. Designs at Kings Weston are geometric, and include medallions and cantharus designs. The mosaic of a hare at The Beeches site in Cirencester (Figure 77), is interpreted by Witts (2005: 103) as a symbol of fertility. The central medallion in the mosaic at Kingscote contains a bust of Venus (Figure 76). A summary of designs for the study sample is shown in Figure 123, and Figure 121 and Figure 122 show the combinations of mosaics and wall plaster which occur.

Most of the mosaics at Chedworth were geometric patterns. Room 10 had a main panel with a saltire, surrounded by geometric borders. The centre of the saltire had a circular panel containing a cantharus. Room 5 had a bi-partite design, with a panel with a geometric scheme and geometric borders, and a square figurative mosaic (Figure 72). The square contains an outer octagon with a Bacchic theme, and an inner octagon (now lost) which probably held a representation of Bacchus (Esmonde Cleary, 2013: 62). The four triangles in the corners contain cupids representing the Four Seasons. Recent excavation of the west range has uncovered corridor mosaics with panels of complex geometric designs of interlocking circles and woven guilloche ‘mats’, and an even more complex and spectacular 18m by 6m mosaic in the north range reception hall (Papworth, 2015).

The Corinium Orpheus school had several ‘Orpheus’ mosaics in the study area, including at Dyer Street in Cirencester, Barton Farm, Cirencester and the ‘Great Pavement’ at the palatial villa at Woodchester (Witts, 2005: 67-68). These showed Orpheus as a musician, with an array of exotic beasts drawn to his music (*ibid.*64).

Figure 121: Mosaics, tessellated pavements and painted wall plaster at The Beeches, Cirencester, Frocester, Kings Weston and Great Witcombe.

The picture originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA due to copyright restrictions. The picture was sourced from McWhirr, 1986: 24, 47, details of which are shown in the bibliography on pages 361-377.

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The picture originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA due to copyright restrictions. The picture was sourced from Price, 2000: 90, Boon, 1950, Leach, 1998: 4, details of which are shown in the bibliography on pages 361-377.

Figure 122: Mosaics, tessellated pavements and painted wall plaster at Kingscote

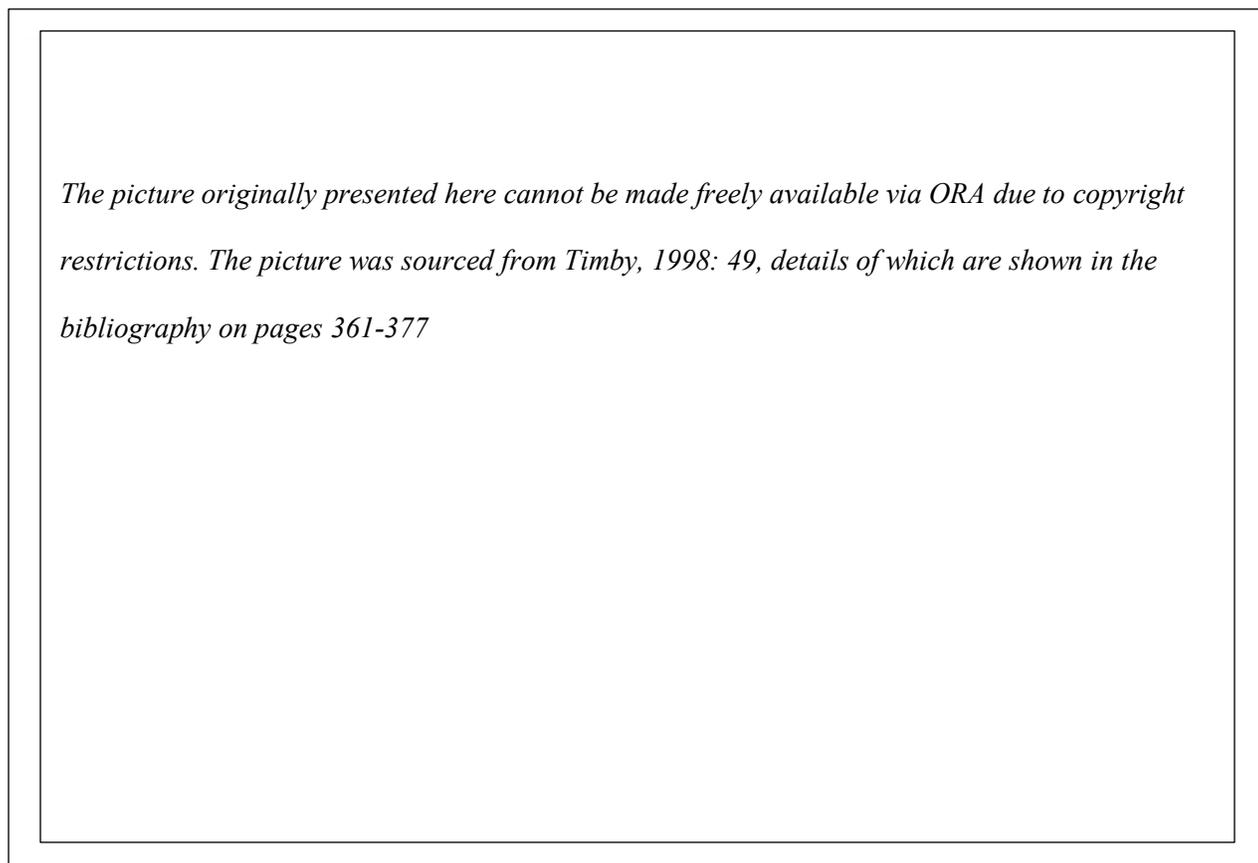


Figure 123: Designs on mosaics in the study sample

Mosaics	Cirencester, The Beeches	Kingscote	Frocester	Great Bedwyn	Great Witcombe	Marshfield	King's Weston
geometric	<	<	<	<	<		<
Venus		<					
cantharus	<	<		<			<
hare	<						
dolphins		<			<		
sea creatures					<		

7.2.2 Wall painting

Plastered and painted walls and ceilings appear in the Roman period. Some had elaborate decorative schemes, or imitated marble panels, whilst others simply added colour to the walls. Painting on wall plaster can be difficult to date. It may have been done some time after construction and could have been repainted multiple times, so dating tends to be based on typology (Ling, 1985: 21). Ling identifies three main types of wall painting: simple two-dimensional panel schemes, architectural schemes with some element of perspective, and large-scale figure paintings which fill the whole wall. Panel schemes are most common, occur in all periods, and are paralleled on the near Continent. Architectural schemes appear in the later second or early third century, and figure paintings which occupy the whole wall appear in the third and fourth centuries.

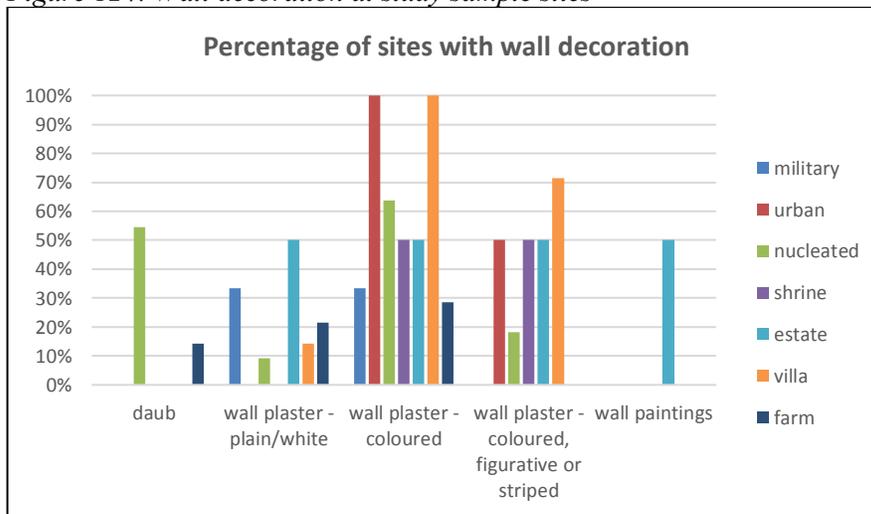
In the study sample painted walls mostly survive as fragments of wall plaster from which the decorative scheme is extrapolated, as little *in situ* wall plaster survives. At some sites the wall plaster survives even though we have no evidence for the nature of the walls themselves. Wall plaster was found at over half of the sites in the study sample, and at all types of site (Figure 124, Figure 125). Only one site – Kingscote – had wall paintings.

Claydon Pike had one fragment of fine plaster and several fragments of coarser plaster, in red, green and yellow (Miles et al., 2007: 151). Vineyards Farm had panelled and geometric designs, with banded plaster designs with white, red, mauve and green, and leaves, stems and a possible floral design, as well as part of a panel with bands of white and mauve-red separating yellow zones, and another with stripes of pink, white and pale grey (Rawes, 1991: 56-61). Some may have come from a first century timber building.

The painted plaster at the Beeches, Cirencester was very fragmentary, so little of the design could be discerned but included stripes, dados, panels and a wide range of colours. Wall plaster at the Alcester Explosion site does not appear to have been painted and only four fragments, from third to fourth century contexts, were painted (Booth and Evans, 2002: 265), but the southern extramural sites had

painted wall plaster in a variety of colours, with marbling effects, lines, panels and geometric motifs, from contexts dated second century onwards (Mahany and Cracknell, 1994: 221-222). Painted wall plaster at Worcester was found in dump material brought in from elsewhere in the site (Dalwood and Edwards, 2004: 16). Two fragments of red wall plaster at Tewkesbury were thought to have come from buildings elsewhere on site (Hannan, 1993: 48).

Figure 124: Wall decoration at study sample sites



At Alfred's Castle the plaster fragments had a limited range of colours and decoration, and the small amounts suggest only one or two rooms were decorated. Most had a pink or pink/red wash and some had pink/red stripes on white, white stripes on red and a few with a green wash (Gosden and Lock, 2003: 110). Much of the painted plaster at Kingsholm was white, but some pieces were white with a vertical red stripe, some pieces with stippling in different colours imitating marble, and some pieces from a two-dimensional panel scheme with black bands and possibly some stylised flowers (Hurst, 1985: 96-98).

One piece of painted wall plaster was recovered from the masonry building at Frocester (Price, 2000: 228). At Great Bedwyn two series of painted walls were recovered, the first mid-third to early fourth century, and the second fourth century, where there is evidence of several episodes of re-plastering

and repainting of the walls, and plain white plaster in earlier periods (Hostetter and Howe, 1997: 194-203). A range of colours was used, with red as the background, and designs include panels and foliage. The use of expensive Egyptian blue and bright red pure cinnabar, imported from Spain, were identified in the first series of painted plaster, with evidence that these colours may have been scraped off and re-used in the later series.

At the later Roman villa at Great Witcombe, Lysons (early nineteenth century) had recorded painted wall plaster in several rooms in the west wing of the villa, which included the bath suite. Described by Davey and Ling (1982: 218-219), these comprise a pink dado and white panels framed by red bands; white panels framed by bands of light blue and orange, and separated by delicate ivy-leaf candelabra, in the corridor; another with white-ground and a dado of red and green bands. In the lower bath suite, the hot bath room was plastered in dark red and one plunge pool lined in pale grey and the other in pale green plaster painted with fish (Leach, 1998: 101-105). Fragments of plaster from elsewhere in the site could not be allocated to specific rooms, and include painted panels, speckled decoration, and leaf decoration. Fragments of a plastered ceiling were retrieved during excavations in 1960 (Davey and Ling, 1982: 199-200). The ceiling is probably from the west wing, with square panels on white, framed by garland with sprigs and berries, and alternate panels contained double roundels painted purple and pale green, surrounding rosettes.

Large quantities of plaster were found at the Marshfield villa, although most of it too fragmentary to establish the design (Blockley, 1985: 252-259). Painted plaster from second to third century contexts were probably panels divided by lines, and some floral decorations and colours include red, white, black, green and ochre. Plaster was found in destruction debris in five rooms of the later third to fourth century building. Two of the rooms appear to have had elaborate decorative schemes which included grey and purple imitation marble panels, ochre, white and red imitation marble panels divided with purple and with white lines, as well as some form of trellis decoration. Ceiling plaster had a simpler design with red stripes on white and thin ochre diagonal lines. The excavation report for Kings Weston (Boon, 1950: 30) gives little detail other than a reference to a dado with a band of white and

magenta, and stripes in several colours, possibly to produce architectural features, although the evidence for this seems very slight.

At Wanborough several large sections of wall plaster had been dumped in a ditch, and analysis of the underside of the plaster showed that it had been attached to a wall constructed in timber and daub (Anderson et al., 2001: 309-312). The decoration consisted of red panels with vertical black divisions, with ornate yellow leaves and tendrils and yellow and red buds. These designs are very similar to those from a house in Dyer Street, Cirencester (*ibid.*) and two the red and black schemes dated by Ling (Davey and Ling, 1982) to the Flavian and Hadrianic, giving this a probable early second century date.

The wall plaster from Nettleton came from the octagonal shrine and consisted of a range of colours and designs including red and brown-purple bands, panels, garlanded decoration, and part of a male figure dressed in purple, assumed to be Apollo, to whom the temple was probably dedicated (Wedlake, 1982: 182-188). At Uley, 135kg of painted wall plaster was also associated with the temple, and spread across a number of structures (Woodward and Leach, 1993: 184-188). Decoration included imitation marble, stripes, panels and curvilinear motifs in a range of colours. It is thought that the architectural designs and green vegetation covered the walls of the ambulatories, and the pink walls decorated with red garlands the interior of the *cella*, and was more complex than that for the other structures on the site.

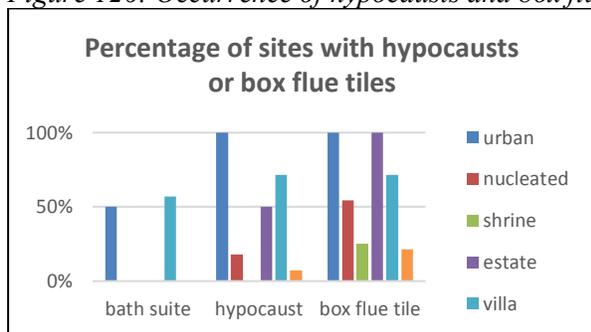
The wall painting at Kingscote was found in the same room as the Venus mosaic. The figures are half to two-thirds life size and the painting probably occupied the whole length of one wall (Ling in Timby, 1998: 77-87). The work is skilful and used the fresco technique. The remains are fragmentary but include a flying Cupid, two nimbed figures, and a seated figure with a shield at its side, wearing female drapery but exposing its leg in a manner not consistent with depictions of martial goddesses. Whilst obviously a scene from Classical mythology, there has been much controversy over which one (Swain and Ling, 1981; Ling, 1985), but Ling's interpretation is that it is Venus.

Davey and Ling's (1982) catalogue of wall paintings in Britain provides a reference work which allows dating on stylistic grounds, but little reference was made to this in excavation reports, probably because many wall plaster fragments are too small to allow an overview of the decorative scheme. All the decorative schemes in the study sample appear to be Ling's 'panel' schemes (p254), with no 'architectural' schemes, although the fragmentary nature of much of the evidence means we cannot be certain. Ling (1985: 22-23) notes that the formula of red fields with green or yellow borders and black intervals occurs in the later first and early second centuries on the near Continent. As these colour combinations occur in the study sample it is likely that painted wall plaster occurred in the study sample in the second century (there is evidence of painted plaster on timber buildings) and not just in the later Roman period when the elaborate villas were constructed. The evidence reviewed above suggests that painted plaster decoration was more elaborate at urban, villa and estate sites and much simpler at nucleated settlement and farm sites. The decorated plaster at Nettleton and Uley was focused on the shrine itself, rather than ancillary or domestic buildings on these complexes.

7.3 Heating

The main source of heat (and light) in Iron Age round houses was the central hearth. The underfloor heating system (hypocaust) was introduced in the Roman period. Hot air could also be circulated through hollow box flue tiles which lined the wall, to provide radiant heat into the room. Brodrigg (1987: 70-71) notes that plastered flue tile was relatively thin so that heat was easily transferred into the room, which allowed baths to operate at a lower temperature and to have larger, or sometimes unglazed, windows.

Where structural remains are not present, the presence of box flue tile can indicate the existence of a hypocaust. The evidence for hypocausts and box flue tiles appears across a range of sites (Figure 126) with more sites having tile than hypocausts. The data was examined in more detail in Figure 127. In many instances in the study sample the number of box flue tiles is very small. Issues around recycling of tile, and residual tile in dumped material discussed above for roofing tile, also apply to flue tile.

Figure 126: Occurrence of hypocausts and box flue tiles in the study area

As box flue tile would have been covered in plaster it would be more difficult to recycle, and therefore in summarising the data in Figure 127 the assumption has been made that, where numbers of box flue tile are small and there is no evidence for a hypocaust, that this tile relates to residual material (Shepton Mallet, Nettleton, Thornhill, Vineyards Farm, Whelford Bowmoor and Birdlip Quarry).

At Somerford Keynes and at Great Bedwyn only part of the site was excavated so that the box flue tile may have come from another building in the vicinity. This is also likely to be the case for the nucleated settlement sites at Worcester, Wycomb and Wanborough, and at Gatcombe the box flue tile may relate to the as yet unlocated villa building. At Alcester scattered box flue tile was found as well as a hypocaust but little evidence to suggest which buildings were heated (Mahany and Cracknell, 1994: 222).

Only one building at Camerton had any evidence for a potential hypocaust, but this was a simple rectangular building and not one of the more elaborate ‘villa-type’ buildings. Despite recycling of tile, only one piece of box flue tile at Shepton Mallet, and no evidence for any hypocausts in the more complex buildings identified, suggests that heated rooms were not a feature of domestic buildings in small towns.

In contrast, the ‘villa-type’ buildings in fourth-century Cirencester at the Beeches site had at least eight rooms with heated floors (the excavation did not go down to the full depth of the site so there may be more). McWhirr’s *Houses in Roman Cirencester* (1986) gives the plans of other houses in

Cirencester, although these were from smaller, ‘keyhole’ excavations with little artefactual evidence so were not included in the study sample. However, these plans show evidence for heated rooms in buildings at the Abbey Grounds, and Watermoor School sites (McWhirr, 1986: 227, 237). These buildings in Cirencester appear to have more rooms with mosaic floors than heated rooms, which hints at different functions for these rooms, and the evidence for dining rooms has been discussed above (section 6.2).

Figure 127: Evidence for heating in the study sample

Heating	Cirencester, The Beeches	Bath	Shepton Mallet	Sea Mills	Asthall	Camerton	Worcester	Alcester	Tewkesbury	Wycomb	Wanborough	Dymock	Ariconium	Nettleton	Uley	Portway	Brean Down	Gatcombe	Kingscote	Frocester	Ditches	Great Bedwyn	Barnsley Park	Great Witcombe	Marshfield	King's Weston	Thornhill	Claydon Pike	SE Tewkesbury	Horcott	The Bowsings	Haymes	Butcombe	Wootton Bassett	Somerford Keynes	Vineyards Farm	Brockworth	Alfred's castle	Whelford Bowmoor	Birdlip Quarry	Maddle Farm			
bath suite																																												
bath room																																												
hypocaust						?																																						
box flue tile																																												
brick/ flat tiles																																												
brick and tile fragments			95					41		32				92				13									12	434kg	259	45	175g	6					678kg	117		45	28	56		
box flue tile			1				7	18						2					49																									
						only stone roof tiles, one poss hypocaust in simple building	various floor tiles incl bessalis and pedalis	no evidence whether hypocaust relates to heted room or bth house pieces of brick used as timber supports										10 flue tiles and 3 flat tiles, no ceramic roof tile		combed box flue tiles		various types of brick, flat tiles, roof and box flue tiles present NQ	1 stamped tile and 1 box tile with markings	scored and combed box flue tile			plilae of hypocaust									floor tile= larg plain tiles and bricks. Pilae. Aisled building not thought to be heated so must be from another local building						roof tile, floor tile and box tile present. V small and abraded		
Overall summary:																																												
heated rooms present																																												

7.4 Lighting

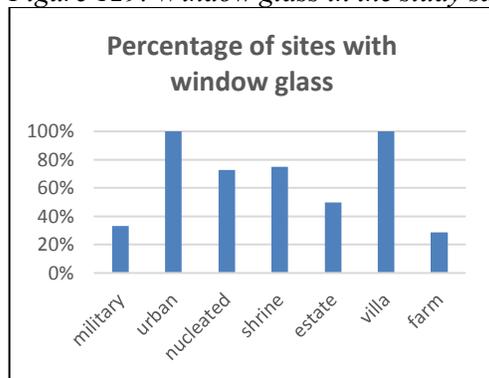
Iron Age round houses were illuminated by light entering through the doorway, and from the fires in centrally-placed hearths. Two aspects of lighting are new features in the Roman-period house: the use of windows, and the use of lamps. Window glass was initially designed to provide light in bath houses whilst conserving heat, but in colder northern climes was also used for glazing public and domestic buildings (Hostetter and Howe, 1997: 302).

7.4.1 Windows

The lack of standing masonry for most Roman-period buildings makes it difficult to determine the positioning and size of windows, although they may not necessarily have been glazed, but covered with wooden shutters. Ellis (1995a) suggests that aisled buildings would have had clerestory windows in the 'nave' over the aisles, and given the wide span of these roofed spaces, this would be the most effective means of lighting them.

The presence of window glass in the study sample is shown in Figure 128 and Figure 129, and it was noted that very small amounts of glass were present at some sites. Glass panes would have been reused in other buildings and fragments collected for recycling and Price and Cottam (Leach and Evans, 2001: 230) note that this is probably the reason for the low levels of glass at sites such as Shepton Mallet.

Figure 128 shows twenty six of the forty-six sites in the study sample had evidence for window glass, and with the exception of five sites the amounts present were very small, probably as a result of recycling. Where only one or two fragments of window glass were present, it is difficult to know whether this really represents the presence of glazed windows (with very efficient recycling), or just residual pieces in material brought in from elsewhere. If the latter, the assumption has been made that such material would not have been moved very far, so may still represent material from elsewhere in the site. Glass from the first to third centuries can be distinguished from later period glass as it was

Figure 129: Window glass in the study sample

cast by pouring into flat trays, whilst later glass was blown into a long cylinder which was cut open and flattened (Allen, 1998: 56-57). Where these two types of window glass could be identified, eighteen sites had the earlier period glass whilst only ten had the later period glass. Some sites had both types, others one or the other (Figure 128). Even with recycling, some sites – for example Sea Mills, Wanborough, Marshfield – do not appear to have glass in the later period. Sites with only circular structures – for example Brockworth and Birdlip Quarry – do not have any window glass.

The context for window glass finds is rarely given, particularly when there are only a few sherds. At Camerton, the two sherds came from Building II, which was a rectangular two-roomed building from the ‘second stone building period’ (mid-third century onwards), which also had stone roofing tiles (Wedlake, 1958: 56). No mention is made of window glass in relation to the more elaborate buildings on site (Buildings I and III) dating from around AD180, although these were excavated in the nineteenth century by the Rev. Skinner, so the evidence may have been missed.

The glass at Great Witcombe was found across the site, with a concentration in the area of the gallery and ‘dining room’, and also some in the southern part of the aisled building (Leach, 1998: 105-106). At the Beeches in Cirencester, window glass came from both the villa-type buildings, with a smaller number of sherds from the ‘aisled barn’ building (McWhirr, 1986: 121). At Claydon Pike the window glass occurred in the period of the aisled buildings in the second to third centuries (Miles et al., 2007: 160), but it is not entirely clear whether any glass was associated with the small, later Roman ‘cottage-style’ villa. The location of the Barnsley Park glass is not given. At Frocester, the majority of the

glass was associated with Building A (later third and fourth century villa building), the largest amount from a ditch, probably associated with clearing of the bath suite, and a smaller amount in the kitchen area, and other rooms (Price, 2000: 121-122).

7.4.2 Lamps and lighting equipment

Lighting equipment is rare in Britain compared to other provinces (Eckardt, 2002: 153-155). Data for the study sample (Figure 130) is in line with Eckardt's findings, with lamps found at military sites and Wanborough and Alcester which had first century military associations.

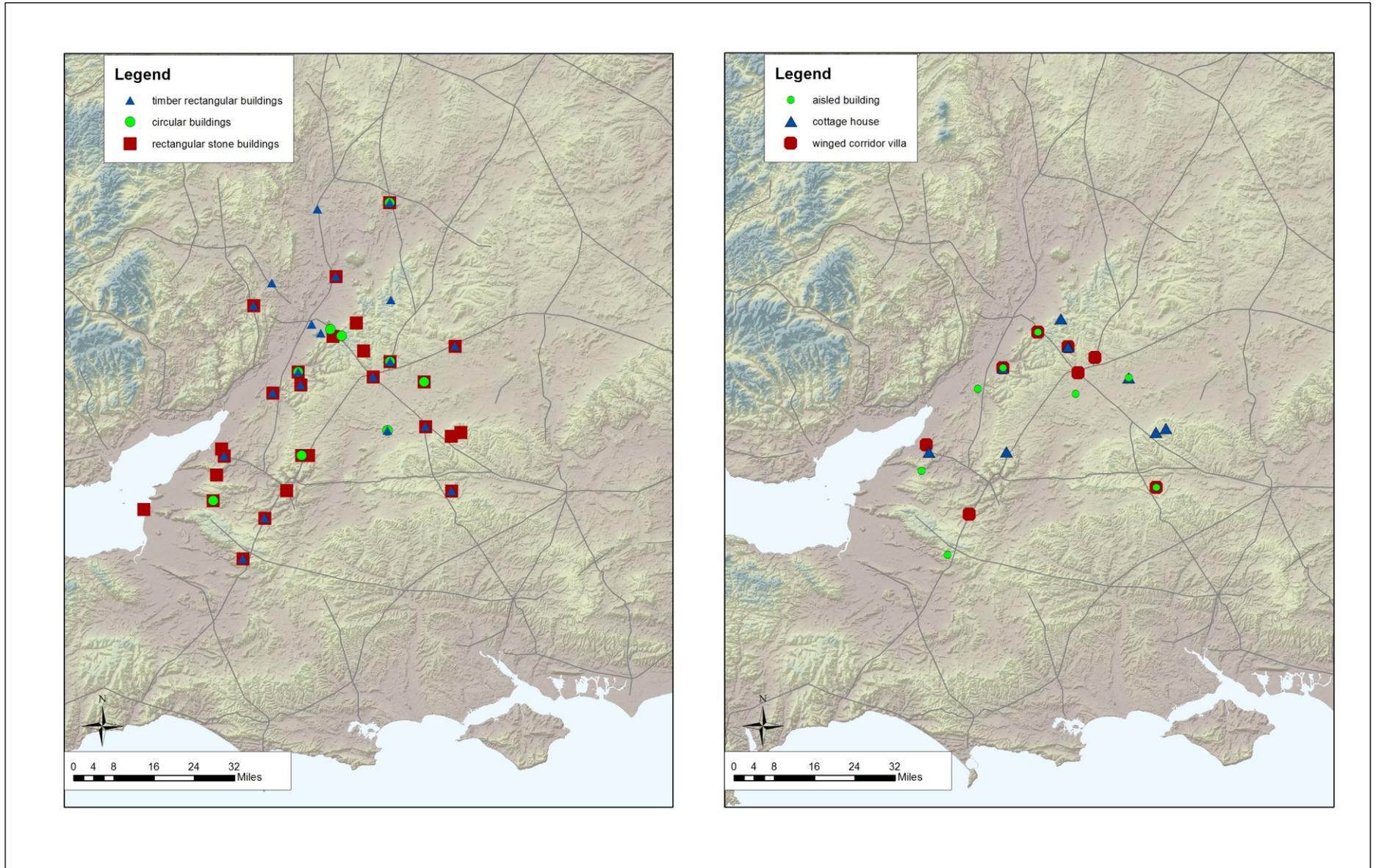
Eckardt showed that there was no link between the images used on the disc of 'pictorial' lamps and the context of their use, and a variety of designs were observed in the study sample: a lamp depicting Victory and one with a beaked galley with sail and oars (Kingsholm), a two-horse chariot (Charterhouse), an erotic design of a man and woman (Wanborough), a mask of a youth and a lamp in the shape of a negro's head (Alcester).

Figure 130: Evidence for lamps

Lamps	Kingsholm	Leaholme, Cirencester	Charterhouse	Cirencester, The Beeches	Sidbury Wores	Wanborough	Alcester	Nettleton	Uley	Kingscote	Total
Pottery lamps	2	2	2	1		8	2				17
Copper alloy lamp				1							1
Lead open lamp - circular bowl							1				1
Small iron candelabra								1			1
Iron candlestick							1		2	1	4
Iron candle holder							1				1
Iron lamp hanger										1	1
											0
	2	2	2	1	1	8	5	1	2	2	26

Eckardt (2002) also noted that iron candlesticks tended to be used at sanctuary sites and ceramic candlesticks in burials. Two iron candlesticks were found at Uley (Figure 130), which is consistent with Eckardt's findings, but a candlestick was also found at Alcester and at Kingscote.

Figure 131: Distribution of types of building in the study sample



7.5 Summary and discussion: settlement space

The physical arrangement of spaces in the home structures the activities that take place in them by controlling access and defining movement through the space and therefore reflects social relationships. This chapter examined the use and decoration of internal space as well as the external appearance of buildings and whether this reflected wealth and status, and adoption of Roman ways of living. The data for the study sample shows that the range of building types, roofing materials, heating, lighting, and wall and floor decoration occurs across all types of site (Figure 132). A wide range of building types occurs across the study area (Figure 131).

Iron Age buildings in the study area were circular in form (Allen et al., 1984). The adoption of rectangular style buildings, and the use of stone was previously considered by archaeologists to reflect adoption of Roman ways of living. However, circular buildings persist through the Roman period (Smith et al., 2016: 169, Fig.5.29), including in the study sample (for example at Birdlip Quarry, and Brockworth), or alongside rectangular stone buildings (Barnsley Park) and can have Roman-style decoration such as ceramic roof tiles (Birdlip Quarry) or painted wall plaster (Brockworth). Circular buildings were also stone-footed or stone-built (Birdlip Quarry, Barnsley Park). Nucleated settlement and shrine sites used stone for building from the first or early second century, with rectangular domestic buildings, although timber buildings also continue throughout the Roman period at these sites.

Villa and farm sites have a range of different trajectories for the use of rectangular buildings and building in stone (Figure 112), and change is mostly gradual, perhaps when sufficient means was available. Where rural sites change from timber buildings to stone or stone-footed buildings this does not occur until well into the third century, in contrast to nucleated settlement sites where this occurs earlier. As the study area has good natural building stone, this suggests villa and farm owners did not see the need to rebuild in stone quickly, but continued an earlier timber-building tradition. There is evidence for Roman-style ceramic roof tile, window glass and painted wall plaster at these rural sites, at both circular and rectangular buildings in the second century, which indicates these may have

played a greater role in the expression of identity than the use of building stone. This also argues against theoretical models which consider the continuing use of traditional building forms as 'resistance' to Roman rule (for example, Hingley, 1997), although not all sites had the full suite of ceramic roof tile, painted wall plaster and window glass.

Buildings with colourful interior decoration were being used in expressing wealth and status. Simple rectangular buildings at nucleated settlement sites which were workshops, and small farmsteads had little decoration, but larger multi-roomed buildings at nucleated settlement and urban sites had heated rooms, window glass and painted wall plaster. Villas, which had the most complex internal structures, had the most decoration (but only occurred in the late third and fourth century), including the use of architectural stone, window glass, heated rooms, and decorated wall plaster and flooring. However, the late first century villa at The Ditches had window glass and painted wall plaster, but no mosaic flooring, and had a thatched rather than a tiled roof. Other than the villa sites, the later fourth century town houses at Cirencester and Kingscote have mosaics as well as decorated walls, glazed windows and tiled roofs. No mosaics were found at nucleated settlement, shrine or farm sites, but at many of these sites (for example the aisled hall at Claydon Pike), heated floors, painted walls and tiled roofs occur together in different combinations (Figure 132). There was no correlation between types of building (roundhouse, aisled building or villa), whether these were of timber or stone, and type of decoration (Figure 132). Dating is difficult but there is evidence for the use of window glass, painted wall plaster and ceramic roof tiles from the second century, before the appearance of villa-style buildings. The different combinations in which these Roman-style decorative elements were used at different sites suggests a use in expression of local identities rather than an expression of Roman-ness.

Red ceramic roof tile is visually distinctive compared to the thatch used in the Iron Age. Given the availability of good roofing stone in the study area, the use of ceramic tile rather than stone tile is therefore making a statement with the use of Roman-style material. There is evidence from Claydon Pike that ceramic roof tile was an indication of wealth or status: of two contemporary aisled buildings,

the roof of the agricultural barn was thatched, whereas the larger aisled building with glazed windows and decorated wall plaster had a tiled roof. The red colour of the tiles appears to be important, for example Brodribb (1987: 136-137) notes tiles elsewhere made of natural yellow clay being painted red, and only red-coloured tile was observed in the study sample.

The use of both ceramic and stone roof tile was widespread across the study sample, and occurred together at several sites, but unfortunately with limited contextual or dating evidence to establish whether they were in use at the same time. There is evidence of the use of ceramic roof tile in the early Roman period, and its replacement with stone tile in the later Roman period at Cirencester (McWhirr, 1981: 112-113) and at the farm sites at Vineyards Farm (Rawes, 1991: 55) and Brockworth (Rawes, 1981: 73). There is evidence for the use of ceramic tile at Alcester in the first century and Claydon Pike in the second century. Amounts of tile occurring are generally very small, probably reflecting recycling of tile, or secondary uses, for example to level sites for building work.

External decoration of buildings in the form of fragments of stone columns, capitals, mouldings and cornices were found at the urban, estate centre and villa sites, Nettleton and Uley, and a few nucleated settlement and farm sites. However, there was little contextual or dating evidence. Wallace-Hadrill (1994: 22) comments that the use of architectural columns '*marks a space out as prestigious*'. Architectural forms made from local stone and marble are Roman-style objects and appear to have been used in Roman ways, as their design is 'Roman' rather than 'Celtic'. Italian marble was only found at Great Witcombe and in some sculpture reliefs at Uley in the study sample. Expensive marble was also found at the palatial villas at Chedworth and Woodchester, all in the late Roman period. Isserlin (1998) notes that marble quarries were often in state hands and permission was required from the Imperial court to requisition marble, with sumptuary laws governing the use of marble, and its use was initially confined to Romans. The use of marble therefore indicates links with elite power networks who could obtain this rare and expensive material, and so is a statement of opulence and elite status.

Heated rooms were present other than, or in addition to, heated baths, and heating was therefore valued as a separate feature of a room. Heated rooms did not appear at shrine sites, and were less of a feature at nucleated settlements and farms, being focused on Cirencester and the villa sites. The use of window glass occurred across a range of site-types, and at all urban and villa sites, although recycling of glass may have reduced the available evidence at some sites. More sites had window glass in the second to third centuries than in the fourth century, which may reflect re-use of earlier period glass rather than a lack of glazing in the later Roman period. However, lighting equipment was rare in the study sample, with ceramic lamps coming from first or early second century contexts, and from military sites or sites with military associations, which is consistent with Eckardt's (2002: 153-155) findings for Britain. Eckardt (*ibid.*) ascribed the restricted distribution to lack of cultural knowledge as to the appropriate use of these artefacts, and Allason-Jones (2011: 192-193) attributes the bias in lamp usage in Britain to incomers who were used to using lamps and continued to use them in Britain. Supply does not appear to be an issue as other samian artefacts achieved a widespread and rapid distribution across the study sample, so that the absence of lamps is likely to reflect a lack of demand: people at the study sample sites did not see the need for lighting. Ellis (1995a) notes that the Classical authors were aware of the impact of light and shade on the ambience of a room, and sought to control the effects of lighting, particularly in late Roman dining rooms, as dinner progressed through daylight into the evening. The absence of lighting equipment at the villa sites suggests that this aspect of Roman-style dining was not a feature of the dining process in the study sample.

Internal decoration included coloured wall plaster and mosaic flooring. Coloured wall plaster occurred across all site-types and at more than half the sites in the study sample. Wall plaster was found on both timber-framed and stone buildings. The wall plaster at the shrine at Nettleton occurred at the shrine building itself, and not at the ancillary accommodation buildings. Although most of the wall plaster found in the study sample was not from dated contexts, the style of the designs on wall plaster in the study sample suggests dates of second or third century. There is evidence for a painted plastered ceiling at Great Witcombe and at Marshfield, and the use of expensive pigments at Great Bedwyn. The designs of the painted wall plaster are similar in style to those on the Continent, and

only Roman-style motifs occurred. It may be that people could not envisage these items with Celtic-influenced designs as they represent a new type of material culture, yet other artefact types such as brooches reflect both Roman and Celtic influences, but these items reflect traditions continuing from the late Iron Age. Wall paintings only occurred at one site, Kingscote, where they formed part of a suite of heated rooms with mosaics. The themes of the wall paintings and mosaics at Kingscote were derived from Classical mythology, a way of showing the owner's knowledge of Classical literature. This room at Kingscote is relatively small, so may not have been used for dining but as a reception space. Millett (2016: 709) views it as a reception room for private apartments, the size and nature of the building suggesting its owner was an agent rather than a major landowner.

Most of the mosaic designs in the study sample were geometric shapes, but those with figurative designs (Kingscote, Chedworth, Great Witcombe and Cirencester) drew from Classical mythology, and were another means to display the owner's wealth, education and Classical knowledge. Hidden meanings such as reference to the afterlife, allegories of the triumph of good over evil or Christian reinterpretations of pagan myths (for example Orpheus as the Good Shepherd) have been attributed to mosaic designs. Witts (2005: 97, 101) notes that dolphins and cantharus (a reference to Bacchus) are both Classical Roman good luck symbols. Dolphins were included in the mosaic of sea creatures at Great Witcombe, and several of the mosaics in the study sample included cantharus within the design. Orpheus mosaics occur in Cirencester (Dyer Street and Barton Farm) and in the 'Great Pavement' at the palatial villa at Woodchester (Witts, 2005: 67) in the study area, the significant investment required reflecting the very elite nature of these. Orpheus mosaics are a provincial speciality, popular in Britain, with a few in Spain (*ibid.* 64), and are therefore a local use of a classical Mediterranean theme, and evidence of an elite who wished to present themselves as educated and cultured. There has been much discussion as to whether the distinctive Orpheus mosaics produced by the Corinium school in the fourth century represent an ethnic grouping, but these appear to be a geographic production zone for specific mosaicists or mosaic workshops (Scott, 2000: 28-39). Mosaics occur at Cirencester in the second century, but only in the fourth century in the study sample.

The most elaborate wall and floor decoration, and heating of rooms followed the elite-Roman trend demonstrated at Mediterranean sites (Wallace-Hadrill, 1994), of focusing the most elaborate and expensive decoration on the main reception rooms, to show off the wealth and status of the owner. The focus of these reception room was the dedicated dining room or *triclinium*. Bipartite rooms, which are two interconnecting rooms, one with a geometric mosaic panel and the other a figurative mosaic panel, have also been identified as dedicated dining spaces, including such a room at Chedworth in the study area. Although much smaller, rooms with similar arrangements occur at Kingscote and at the fourth century Cirencester town house (The Beeches), and while both use Classical motifs in the mosaics, neither can be fitted clearly into the Roman model of a dedicated dining space, and may be reception rather than dining rooms. Rooms with mosaics could be multifunctional, including functioning as dining rooms for parts of the day, and rooms at Great Witcombe, Frocester and Kings Weston villas may fall into this category. A dining function cannot be assigned with certainty to any of the buildings in the study sample, based on the Roman model for dining spaces and these may have been general reception rooms. The owners of these villas may have adapted the Roman model to meet local requirements, applying the concepts of formal reception and dining but on a smaller and less ostentatious scale, and this suggests aspirations towards living in the Roman manner. These displays of elite status only occur in the late third and fourth century in the study sample.

Domestic buildings at farm and villa sites showed an increasing separation of public and private space during the Roman period. Hingley (1990: 128-133) argued that the space within the Iron Age round-house was conceptually divided between public (the central zone of the round house) and private space (periphery). The public space was much more than would be required for domestic activities and was likely to have been used for patron-client type social interaction (Cunliffe, 2013: 106). These concepts of public and private space can be translated into the rectangular cottage and corridor-type houses of the Roman-period. Two and three-roomed rectangular houses usually have one room (often the central room) larger than the others, reflecting 'public' space, whilst the large central room in

aisled buildings, and the courtyard of the courtyard villas is the 'public area' (Hingley, 1990: 136-139).

The addition of a corridor to a range of rooms allows further separation of public and private space and control of access, where movement can be channelled into specific routes through a building. If rooms can be entered directly from a corridor rather than through another room people could be excluded from certain rooms, for example servants need not intrude on activities within a room. Samson (1990: 173-180) takes the view that such exclusion puts greater distance between masters and servants and may also have been used to show off the number of servants (a Roman sign of wealth). Such buildings occurred at nucleated settlement, shrine, estate centre and certain farm sites in the study sample, and as precursor to some villa buildings. Addition of wings to the end of corridors takes this separation and channelling of movement further, in the development of the winged corridor villa. The winged corridor villa developed from local rather than Mediterranean traditions (Smith, 1978a; Smith, 1997) with similarities to villas in Gaul and Germany, and the addition of wings and corridors is a standard format in the northern provinces (Hingley, 1989: 47).

Another aspect of winged corridor villas which has been debated is their symmetric façade, although the arrangement of rooms behind them differs. Symmetrical facades occurred at some villas in the study sample. Scott (1990: 160-161) takes the view that these winged facades are a mechanism to focus the visitor's attention on the central main entrance and the corridor behind, with the corridor acting as a reception room and a barrier against the outside world, to obscure the activities taking place within. Symmetry of elevation and plan are one of the canons of Classical architecture (Smith, 1978c: 150). Although the façades of British villas appear symmetrical, their plans are not, so it seems likely that this was an attempt to give the outward appearance of applying Classical themes.

Courtyard villas are a further elaboration which allow greater specialisation of room function, and a greater hierarchy in these spaces. Courtyard villas are indigenous in origin (Hingley, 1989: 51-53) and use courtyards in a different way to Italian houses (Richmond, 1969: 64). Italian courtyard houses

have a peristyle courtyard garden at the back of the house, whereas courtyards in Britain form the main entrance way into the house. The villas in the study (except for Marshfield, which doesn't fit neatly into any classification) and at Chedworth (in the study area but not the study sample) were of the winged corridor type, although courtyard villas (for example, Woodchester) do occur in the study area. Complex, multi-roomed buildings also appear in fourth century Cirencester. Whilst the form of these buildings may have developed as local traditions, the concept of separating public and private space and channelling the movement of visitors is also consistent with Roman styles of living. As the greatest separation of public and private space was achieved in the winged corridor and courtyard villas of the late third or fourth century, when these were also most highly and elaborately decorated, these were likely to have been an expression of wealth and elite status, but also follow some of the culturally-Roman concepts around use of space in the siting of the main reception rooms.

Aisled buildings, with a large communal space, and later partitioning into smaller rooms at one end, are unique to Britain (Smith, 1997: 36-37). However, they use the same underlying concepts of public and private space derived from the Iron Age round house (Hingley, 1990). Cunliffe (2013: 106) considers that rural aisled halls were inspired by urban basilicas, and by the large aisled buildings constructed in the Roman tradition at Fishbourne. The function of aisled buildings differs and there is evidence for their use in the study sample as communal spaces for patron-client interactions, estate administration, as workshops or agricultural buildings, depending on whether the aisled hall was the main building on the site or formed part of a range of buildings at a villa site (Cunliffe, 2013). Smith (1963) suggests that aisled buildings housed extended families, whilst Richmond (1969: 65) suggested these housed estate workers. There was evidence of domestic occupation at several aisled buildings in the study sample. One of the aisled buildings at Claydon Pike had stone footings, a ceramic tiled roof, window glass and painted wall plaster, and the aisled building at Kingscote was altered and extended to include heated rooms, mosaics and painted wall plaster.

Shop buildings at Cirencester were similar to those found at other urban sites (Perring, 2002: 55-59), with a large room fronting the street, and two or three smaller rooms to the rear providing domestic

accommodation. By contrast, buildings at nucleated settlement, shrine and estate centres were mostly simple one-roomed, occasionally two-roomed rectangular buildings, with only one or two more complex buildings at each site, usually a cottage or corridor house. Most of the simple rectangular buildings were interpreted by their excavators as workshops, which is consistent with the activities – mostly metal working and other industrial processes (Appendix 3) – occurring at these sites. This suggests these buildings were ‘utilitarian’ with little role in social interactions, and therefore no need for internal decoration or separation of public and private space, and therefore had little role in constructing social identities, or may have been owned by others. These buildings do show consistency in size and shape (being twice as long as wide), indicating that there were recognised ways of building such buildings, and possibly some form of central organisation.

Up to the late third century, domestic buildings at different types of site in the study sample show a range of forms, use of ceramic roof tile and window glass, and internal decoration, mostly reflecting levels of wealth rather than overt statements of elite status. The elaborately decorated Roman-style villas only occur in the very late third and early fourth century, whereas mosaics are known from Cirencester and elsewhere in southern Britain in the second century. This puts these villas into the period when Cirencester was the (probable) capital of the new province of *Britannia Prima*, when displaying aspirations towards Roman ways of living may have been politically desirable. These late villas show aspirations towards culturally-elite Roman-style dining and a desire to display a knowledge of Classical literature. Whilst mosaics and painted wall plaster used Roman-style motifs and concepts of decorating and using these spaces, the architectural forms of the buildings developed from traditional British forms. The separation of public and private space became increasingly formalised during the Roman period, indicating increasing social differentiation. Perring (2002: 223) considers that ‘*architectural choices may have reflected changes in the manifestation of power*’ representing changing social allegiances, but the late adoption of villas in the study sample could be attributable to different social structures in the study sample and this is discussed further in section 8.4.3.

8 Results and analysis: Types of identity

An artefact may be used to express more than one identity, have different meanings in different situations, or meanings may be hidden. It is not possible to ‘read off’ the meaning directly from an object, but contextual data can give an indication of how an object was used, and therefore what meaning may have been attached. Identities can also be inferred from burial evidence and written records. This chapter will examine the evidence from the study sample for different types of identity expression.

8.1 Wealth and status

Roman society was hierarchical. Rank was a function of birth, and defined in legal terms – senator, equestrian, free-born, slave – although there were minimum wealth and property requirements for certain ranks. Wealth, moral stature, education and occupation provided gradations of status within these ranks. Status was based on social standing, honour and perceived prestige (Garnsey and Saller, 2014: 140) and wealth alone could not guarantee status (*ibid.* 232). As Romans were very focused on rank and status, display of wealth and status was a key element of Roman society, although the extent to which this applied in the provinces is not always clear.

Evidence for wealth can be obtained from material culture, but rank can only rarely be deduced from material culture alone and documentary evidence is usually required. Roman citizenship brought rank, legal and other privileges, such as distinctive dress, for example, the right to wear a toga (Hope, 2000: 131), a visible sign of rank. Rank is usually recorded on tombstones, often with pictorial representation including a toga, and a tombstone with an inscribed epitaph was a symbol of citizenship, wealth and status (Meyer, 1990: 119) but such evidence is not available for the study sample, so that little comment can be made on this aspect of identity.

It is difficult to distinguish wealth and social elite status, as the elite tend to be defined in terms of their wealth, particularly in a society where status is related to ownership of property. Archaeologists

tend to equate high quality artefacts with 'elite' status, but this may reflect economic wealth rather than social status. Not all aspects of elite status may be defined through artefacts, for example, elite status may be related to descent. In the discussion below wealth and status will be assumed to be linked.

Wealth and status can be reflected in material culture in several ways: the quantity of an artefact, its rarity, the quality and extent of decoration, the materials used. Items made from precious metals, such as gold and silver, rare or exotic materials, such as ivory and amber, cinnabar or marble, reflect the ability to acquire these items. The use of colour can also reflect wealth, as certain paints and pigments were more expensive than others. Luxury or prestige goods display status or wealth, but lose their status once these become more widely available, and need to be replaced by new goods with rarity value. Which items are deemed luxuries or necessities are culturally-specific, and depend on time and place as to whether they indicate status (Van der Veen, 2003: 420).

8.1.1 Architecture

Architecture was a key element in defining Roman power and status (Perring, 2002: 214-215) being a mechanism for display of wealth and constructing and maintaining social relationships. The quality, decoration, and use of social space within a Roman house were closely linked to the owner's rank and status (Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 4-11), with a distinction between those who required public reception space and those merely needed utilitarian space. Iron Age round houses do not distinguish the wealth and status of the individuals through decoration, but there may have been some division of space. The most obvious displays of Roman-style wealth are the use of painted wall plaster and decorative mosaic floors, and bath suites, which occur in the elite architecture of the villa. For the study sample, the elite buildings defined as villas only appear in the late third and fourth centuries. Mosaics only occurred in the study sample at villas, the estate centre at Kingscote, and urban sites at Cirencester. Painted wall plaster (occurred at 25 sites), window glass (25 sites), heated rooms (18 sites), and architectural stone (20 sites) occurred at all types of sites Figure 132 but, except for villas, most sites only had some, but not all of these features, although more appeared at nucleated settlement

sites than at farms. However, there were no clear trends, so that the same set of features did not occur at similar types of sites. The adoption of these features also varied across time, suggesting adoption as and when economic means allowed, including the villa sites at Frocester, Great Bedwyn, Marshfield and Barnsley Park, with Great Witcombe as the only villa in the study sample which was constructed as a planned, unified structure.

Mosaics were expensive items, and much thought would have gone into the design of these and the message a mosaic would convey about its owner's knowledge and learning. The mosaics in the study sample were modest when compared with the quantity and sophistication of mosaics at the palatial villas such as those at Chedworth and Woodchester. Mosaics and painted wall plaster were focused on the main reception rooms in the house, as evidenced in the study sample villa sites. For many of the sites in the sample there is little *in situ* evidence so the location of the decorated rooms cannot be identified. The use of elaborate reception rooms, and the separation of public and private spaces, as evidence for the reception of important visitors to the house, only occurs in the very late third, and fourth century villas.

There is also evidence for external decoration of buildings in the form of stone columns and capitals, mouldings and cornices, and roof finials, which would enhance the appearance of these buildings for the onlooker. Again, most of these occur at villa sites and across other site types (twenty sites in total). Symmetry of elevation being one of the canons of Classical architecture (Smith, 1978c: 150), the use of symmetrical facades is seen as an expression of wealth and status and occurs at the study sample villas at Frocester, The Ditches, Great Witcombe and Kings Weston, and at Camerton (Building I), possibly at Barnsley Park, but not at Marshfield. Dating evidence for the study sample was very limited, with some evidence for ceramic roof tile and wall plaster in the second century, and significant displays of wealth through architecture only evident in the fourth century with the elaboration of villa buildings.

8.1.2 Jewellery

Wearing jewellery made from precious metals provides evidence of the wealth of the wearer, and the gilding or silvering of jewellery to imitate precious metals is evidence of the importance of gold and silver as statements of wealth. One gold ring and a few items in silver were the only precious metal finds in the study sample (Figure 46), with most bracelets, rings and brooches made from copper alloy, and some from iron. Silver items found were one bracelet, ten rings and three hairpins, all late Roman. There is evidence for intricate, high quality gold jewellery from late fourth century Britain, from the Hoxne (Suffolk) and Thetford (Norfolk) hoards, but no such items occurred in the study sample. Johns (1996: 13-14) notes that generally Graeco-Roman designs and symbolism occur in precious metal jewellery, and Celtic designs are made in bronze. However, the brooch forms in the study sample have a mixture of Celtic and Roman inspired designs, but were of non-precious metals. Some brooches were 'tinned', which would have given them a silver appearance, for example the Hod Hill brooches at Wanborough (Anderson et al., 2001: 48), and may have been a deliberate imitation of silver. Polished bronze and brass would have had a golden appearance and could have been an imitation of gold. Precious metal finds of jewellery tend to come from hoards, presumably deposited as a store of wealth, so the lack of hoards may reflect the middle strata in the study sample as the palatial villas could not be included in the study sample.

Semi-precious stones were used in jewellery, and Johns (1996: 15) notes the use of garnets, sapphires, emeralds and pearls, but none were found in the study sample. Swift (2003a) drew attention to the Empire-wide occurrence of later Roman small glass translucent bead necklaces, which imitate precious metal necklace designs. By the fourth century the elite had adopted heavier settings, but these translucent bead necklaces continue. Semi-precious stones were used in intaglios, and cornelian, chalcedony, jasper and onyx were used in the study sample, across a range of site types. The value attached to these items is reflected by the use of imitations in moulded glass.

The style and designs used in the bracelets and rings in the study sample are similar across all types of site so that wealth may be reflected in quantity rather than quality of these objects (Figure 38) or

in other ways. Study sample sites also had a range of brooch types at each site including brooch types with both Roman and British origins, so again wealth may be related to quantity rather than style of brooch. Farm sites generally had much lower numbers of jewellery items than other types of site (the exceptions being Somerford Keynes and Claydon Pike), although this may reflect a lack of use for these items rather than a lack of wealth. In the study sample jewellery appears to be used to express a modest level of wealth, rather than distinguishing the social elite, and may have had a greater role in signalling gendered identities in the late Roman period (see section 8.3.1 below).

Brooches at study sample sites functioned as more than just decorated dress fasteners. Later plate brooches are quite small and not able to hold thick folds of material, so are entirely decorative rather than functional (Johns, 1995). Johns notes the wide range of shapes of plate brooches, including animals, birds, and inanimate objects such as wheels, shoes and ‘Celtic shields’, and were probably souvenirs of popular contemporary culture, religious or other groups of people with similar interests. Macreth (2011: 242) notes that some plate brooches with designs such as hares, hounds and ducks do not seem to have a religious bias whereas those with raptors do. There was evidence that the study sample plate brooches are likely to have had roles other than the display of wealth.

Jundi and Hill (1998) note that changes in the late Iron Age with the significant increase in brooch use (the ‘fibula event horizon’) and the appearance of items of personal grooming relate to a change in the way people perceived themselves and their bodies, with an increasing focus on the individual. Brooches were also used in ritual deposition (Jundi and Hill, 1998; Haselgrove, 1997). The significant numbers of brooches in the later first, and second centuries seems to be an extension of this process. Trow et al. (2009: 51) interpreted the high number of brooches found in the enclosure ditches at The Ditches as ritual deposition. The excavation reports for the study sample were reviewed for similar trends but only two reports had sufficient contextual information (or ditched features) to enable the number of brooches retrieved from ditches and pits to be compared with those from other parts of the site. At The Ditches 71% of brooches were retrieved from enclosure ditches and at Nettleton 25% came from the first century ramparted enclosure. The high number of brooches, particularly when

compared with other types of personal ornament, may therefore relate to greater levels of brooches entering the archaeological record through deposition. However, greater levels of deposition still reflect greater availability of brooches (Haselgrove, 1997: 66-67). Jundi and Hill (1998) noted that not only did the number of brooches increase, but there was a large increase in the number of styles of brooch, and the brooches themselves changed from the simple wire *la Tene* brooches to more visible and elaborate brooches such as the rosettes and Hod Hills, suggesting these may have been signalling new types of identity, related to class, age and tribal membership as personal identities were becoming unstable. The study sample data is consistent with this.

The data for the study sample shows almost twice as many brooches as any other type of dress accessory (Figure 15). Brooches occur across all types of site and there is significant diversity of brooch types at individual sites (Figure 33). Brooches occurred at every site in the study sample, even the smallest farmstead. Celtic-influenced and Roman-influenced brooches do occur together at the same sites but Celtic-influenced trumpet and headstud brooches only occurred at nucleated settlement, shrine and villa sites. It is apparent that brooches are signalling a number of messages but it is difficult to determine whether any specific form signals a greater degree of wealth than another (however, this is a judgement based on modern values, which could be very different from actual). It appears that brooch use was as much about display of individuality as it was about wealth.

The reason for the decline in use of brooches in the later second century is likely to reflect a change in the clothing worn (p125). Dress accessories such as bracelets, beads and rings do not appear in significant numbers in the study sample until the fourth century, which leaves a 'gap' in terms of display of wealth through dress accessories in the third century, although this may reflect difficulties in excavation and dating processes. In collating the data for the study sample it was observed that the designs used on these were similar across types of site, and there did not appear to be any general distinctions in type of design and quality to suggest distinctions in wealth, so that quantity rather than quality may have expressed wealth, or wealth may have been expressed in other ways, such as the number of cattle, or the number of clients or followers.

8.1.3 'Badges' of office

Late Roman crossbow brooches were associated with the military and civilian elite, signalling high status. Swift (2000: 208-210) notes that direct supply of crossbow brooches by the military was a means to control the appearance of, and access to, crossbow brooches, maintaining the status of these as badges of authority. Seven crossbow brooches have been found in the study sample across a range of site types. The crossbow brooches at Cirencester may have been owned by someone with an official role, but the other sites had no official or military role in the late Roman period so are more likely to relate to expression of elite identity, than official status.

8.1.4 Exotic and expensive materials

The use of exotic imported or expensive materials makes a statement about access to networks of distribution and manufacture, and therefore the power and wealth of the owner. The use of such materials was limited in the study area to a few personal items in amber and ivory, two occurrences of the use of Italian marble, and the use of two expensive pigments, cinnabar (imported from Spain), and Egyptian blue, in the painted wall plaster at the villa at Great Bedwyn.

One amber bead was found in a late Roman context at Wanborough. Ivory bracelet fragments were found at three sites, Ariconium, Barnsley Park and Bath, all in fourth century contexts. Eckardt (2015: 126) considers that jet objects away from their source in East Yorkshire may have been viewed as 'exotic', and may also have been used for their electrostatic or 'magical' properties. Jet is only found in Britain and represents the use of a local material to produce Roman-style objects. Jet had been used since the Bronze Age but in the Roman period is used in new ways, to make new types of jewellery (finger rings) and to make existing types (bracelets, beads) in new forms. Jet jewellery in the study sample included small, but not insignificant numbers of beads (5%), bracelets (1%), rings (3%) and hairpins (2%), across all rural site types.

The use of marble for architectural embellishment in the study sample was limited to a fragment of architectural marble at Great Witcombe and a fragment of a marble relief from Uley. Marble was an expensive and high-status commodity and Isserlin (1998) notes that the inaccessibility of marble quarries and the amount of labour required to extract the raw material made the use of marble a sign of opulence. Isserlin also notes that there were sumptuary laws governing the use of marble, and its use was initially confined to Romans. Pieces of marble found at Great Witcombe were Carrara marble from Italy rather than a local marble from Britain, such as Purbeck (although British marble is also likely to have been under state control (Mattingly, 2006)). The fragment of a marble relief from Uley was also of Italian marble.

Marble statues and pieces of building veneer or furniture of high quality, in a variety of types of marble, were also found at the palatial villa at Woodchester in the area covered by the study sample. Recent work at Cirencester (Papworth, 2015) has analysed marble samples from the museum collection and from veneer fragments found recently. The marble samples originated from the eastern Mediterranean and the veneer from quarries at the imperial property on the Greek island of Euboea. These sites exhibit a much greater level of wealth than those in the study sample, and the question is whether the study sample sites had the resources necessary to acquire these items and chose not to do so, or did not have the resources.

That marble was considered an exotic or a prestige item is also demonstrated by the attempts to imitate marble using paint effects on decorated wall plaster at some sites in the study sample, but whether this was associated specifically with Roman style, or used because it was exotic is difficult to establish.

8.1.5 Leisure time and personal grooming

Personal grooming activities and applying cosmetics and perfume take time, and are therefore evidence that individuals had the status and leisure to undertake these activities. Objects associated with grooming have been depicted on tombstones as symbols of female status (Eckardt and Crummy,

2008: 28). The quality of perfumes and cosmetics may have made them luxury items, displaying wealth (Stewart, 2007: 140-141) and some of the grooming implements were made from luxury materials. Mixing palettes and cosmetic grinders associated with application of cosmetics found in the study sample were mostly made of marble, with one of granite and one of sandstone. Palettes were found across a range of site-types.

Highly decorated circular mirrors occur in elite female burials in southern Britain in the later Iron Age, whilst in the Roman-period rectangular mirrors are most common. Mirror fragments were found at Bagendon, Alcester (including one manufactured in the Rhineland), Gatcombe, Wanborough, and at The Beeches, Cirencester. Perfume glass unguent bottles were found at all site-types in the study sample except urban sites. Of note is the presence of unguent bottles at Bagendon (mid-first century), and the large number of unguent bottles at Kingsholm. Sufficient data was not available to allocate unguent bottles in the study sample to chronological periods.

Except for Frocester, villa sites are not well-represented here, contrary to what might be expected, and there is little to distinguish them from farms or other types of site. This does suggest that personal grooming was not an important element in displaying wealth and status at these sites.

8.1.6 Foodways

Van der Veen (2003: 420) notes that what is deemed to be a luxury food for display of status is culturally specific. In simple societies display is about quantity, with communal feasting, as a sign of prestige, bringing the community together. In complex societies the focus is on quality and exclusivity, with rare and exotic foods, complexity of the meal, expensive vessels and etiquette. For the study sample there was only limited evidence for luxury food imports outside the military sites, and little evidence for an elite diet. Villa sites were not significantly different from other types of site. The results for the consumption of deer, hare and poultry are similar, and appear to be occasional foods rather than elite foods. Maltby (1997: 412) noted higher consumption of poultry at military,

urban and some villa sites, but the study sample showed a wider distribution across farm sites and similar, lower levels at villa sites.

There was no clear evidence for overt expression of wealth through foods consumed, rather a broadening of the diet, with different sites selecting different elements. The data does not suggest any difficulties in foodstuffs reaching sites (some of the absences reflect lack of collection or recording), although some of the smaller farm sites may not have had the economic means to acquire some of the items. Wealth may have been expressed in terms of quantity – feasting – rather than luxury items, but this cannot be explored with available evidence. Roman-style vessels are established in the study sample by the early second century, yet elements of the Romanised diet, for example poultry, do not appear more widely at these sites until the later Roman period. This, together with the very small amounts of luxury foodstuffs suggests that existing foods were being prepared in new ways, rather than a significant impact of new foods on the diet.

Whilst plate forms, associated with serving of individual portions, were adopted in the study sample by the late first/early second century, the significant proportion of bowls in the study sample assemblages may indicate a continuance of communal servings. Taken together with the limited amounts of luxury foodstuffs noted above, this suggests that Iron Age traditions of feasting may have continued as a means of expressing wealth and status, alongside some adoption of Roman-style ways of eating.

8.2 Elite identities

A set of principles governing behaviour encapsulated what it meant to be Roman, referred to as '*humanitas*' or civilisation: moral and intellectual qualities which distinguished Romans from barbarians. These concepts of culture and conduct developed into an elite culture during the Augustan period, where the aristocracy considered themselves as humane, cultivated and enlightened (Woolf, 1998: 54-60). This included an interest in learning, intellectual pursuits, an understanding of Classical literature, commemoration of people and events in stone monuments, patronage of the arts,

euergesism, and public service. This Roman elite culture of artistic and intellectual tastes was shared by the elite across the Empire (Huskinson, 2000: 95-121). Garnsey and Saller (2014: 221) describe Roman civilisation as 'elitist and town-centred'. Common aspirations by the elite across the Empire resulted in a common culture, although this did not necessarily mean they thought of themselves as having a Roman identity (*ibid.* 223). This common culture is evidenced by similar structures, such as villas, and similar decorative arts. This section examines evidence for participation in this common elite culture by people at the sites in the study sample (Figure 133).

Several types of elite-Roman culture can be studied in Britain: literacy evidenced by writing equipment (inkwells and styli); learning, evidenced by written or pictorial reference to Classical mythology; commemoration and euergesism, evidenced by dedicatory inscriptions. There was no inscription evidence for euergesism at rural settlement sites in the study sample, but this is not unexpected as euergesism was largely focused on the provision of amenities in urban centres and is rare in Britain. Dedicatory inscriptions in the study sample only occurred at the religious sites at Nettleton, Uley and Bath, and were limited to religious subjects. Commemoration by inscription does not appear to be an element of elite culture at the rural settlements in the study sample (p59).

8.2.1 Literacy

There is some evidence for literacy in pre-conquest Britain from legends on coinage (Creighton, 2000), but this confines literacy to the elite, as it is not clear to what extent coins and the legends on them were available to, and understood by, the general population. Eckardt (2015: 178) suggests that post-conquest literacy was initially limited to the incoming military, as the Latin language was an essential part of military identity (Mattingly, 2006: 199-202), and administration, legal and medical professions, traders and the elite (Williams, 2002). The work of Derks and Roymans (2002) on seal-boxes and the spread of Latin literacy in the Rhine delta indicated literacy and use of Latin in certain provinces, with the widespread evidence for literacy on rural sites in the Batavian *civitas* associated with recruitment into the Roman army from this area. However, Andrews' (2012: 90-96) experimental work on seal boxes suggests they cannot be attached to writing tablets in the way which

is usually assumed, but were used by traders for coins, with a drawstring attached to a purse. The conventional view for Britain is that literacy was confined to the elite and urban areas, but Hanson and Conolly's (2002: 156) analysis of styli found significant numbers at lower status rural settlements, and fewer than expected styli at villa sites. The data for the study sample is consistent with Hanson and Conolly's findings.

Nucleated settlements, particularly those with connections to the military (Alcester and Wanborough), estate centres, and Nettleton and Uley, have significantly greater average numbers of styli than other site types in the study sample (Figure 133). Styli occur in smaller numbers at villa and farm sites, mainly in the third and fourth centuries. Styli did not occur at all sites. Numbers of styli are not significantly different for villas compared with other types of rural site, and several nucleated settlements and shrine sites have much higher numbers. The low numbers in the early Roman period and significant increase in the total number of styli and the more modest increase in seal boxes in the third and fourth centuries, at nucleated settlement and estate centre sites may be linked to increasing demands of the Imperial administration with the creation of *Britannia Prima*.

Ink was an expensive luxury (Willis, 2005a: 101), and in the early Roman period writing documents in ink was a statement of wealth and social status, suggesting cultural aspirations and competency in Roman culture. Inkwells were found at all three military sites in the study sample, at Cirencester, and two nucleated settlement sites which had military connections in the first century, but no inkwells were found at other types of rural site. Rare, highly decorated copper alloy inkwells which occur Empire-wide as elite status objects (Eckardt, 2015: 195) did not occur in the study sample, but a blue-green glass inkwell was found at Cirencester. Ink-written documents were therefore being used at Roman institutions and urban sites in the early Roman period, but not as a statement of elite identity at rural settlement sites in the study sample. The use of writing appears to have played more of a functional role, being focused on military and nucleated settlements, rather than the elite villa sites, suggesting that literacy was not a significant element of elite identity in the study sample.

8.2.2 Learning and cultural knowledge

There is evidence for some use of culturally-Roman imagery in the late Iron Age on southern and eastern late Iron Age coins. These were influenced by Roman coinage, particularly during the Augustan period, and used by late Iron Age leaders to define their dynastic identity (Creighton, 2000), and to display familiarity with Classical Roman culture. However, the ‘western’ Dobunnic coinage in the study area does not show this Classical influence on imagery (Allen, 1961: 101), although written legends are present on later Dobunnic coins (p17).

There is some evidence for aspirations to display knowledge of Roman Classical literature in the Roman period in devices used on intaglio rings, seal boxes, lamps, sculpture and mosaics in the study sample (Figure 133). A unique cube seal found at Kingscote, with depictions of Roma, Mars, Sol Invictus and Concordare (dated around AD270-280), is considered to relate to an official presence, with Kingscote being a likely Imperial estate (p52). Although Classical imagery was used on many pottery lamps, only one of the pottery lamps in the study sample, from Kingsholm, was decorated with a Classical image of Victory. Both sites related to an official presence in the study area.

8.2.2.1 Sculpture and figurines

Whilst statues, reliefs and altars are associated with Roman temples, and are uncommon at Romano-Celtic temples (Allason-Jones, 2011: 270-271), they may have been associated with personal devotions and the household shrines found in traditional Roman households. Figurines and statuettes found in the study sample included statuettes of Venus, Mercury, Fortuna, Diana, and fragments of figures which are probably gods or goddesses, plus animals including a bird, seated dog, cock and an eagle and shield, although some could not be clearly identified as culturally-Roman subjects. All urban sites and most of the shrine sites in the study sample had figurines, with around half of nucleated settlement, estate and villa sites having one or two figurines (Figure 8), indicating some familiarity with culturally-Roman themes, and that these are not necessarily associated with the elite.

8.2.2.2 Intaglio rings

Iconography on intaglios is exclusively culturally-Roman (Mattingly, 2006: 212) and the data for the study sample is consistent with this, although it is difficult to determine what some of the crudely carved figures may represent. The fact that these crudely carved figures attempted to copy the repertoire of designs for intaglios, and that moulded glass was used to imitate the more expensive gemstones, indicates that these images and the materials they were made from were important. Also, at certain sites intaglios represented around of a third of the total rings at that site, which again attests to the importance of rings with these images.

The use of intaglio rings occurred at around a third of the study sample sites, but across all types of rural settlement sites (Figure 133) and in greater numbers and at more nucleated settlement sites than other sites suggesting a more significant role for intaglios at these sites, probably in displaying knowledge of Roman culture and an association with Roman-ness. It appears that intaglios were not significant in displaying elite status at villa sites.

8.2.2.3 Mosaics

Mosaics are associated with the villa architecture of elite residences, and many use designs with themes from Classical mythology. The Venus mosaic at Kingscote contains a medallion with a bust of Venus, and a wall painting was found in the same room. Whilst the scene on the wall painting is obviously from Classical mythology, there has been much controversy over which one. Ling's (1985) interpretation is that it is Venus, based on the presence of Venus in the mosaic floor in the same room. The coordination of the imagery on the wall and floor decoration suggests a more sophisticated understanding of the symbolism, and of a deliberate use of culturally-Roman themes. This is less clear with the use of other culturally-Roman symbols in the study sample, such as the cantharus and dolphins (Great Witcombe) as good luck symbols (Witts, 2005: 97-101), and the hare as a fertility symbol (The Beeches, Cirencester) (*ibid.* 103) (Figure 123). The other mosaics in the study sample had geometric designs.

8.2.3 Elite dining

Foodstuffs, table wares and drinking vessels are widespread across the study sample, but not abundant at individual sites, and not focused specifically on elite sites. Foodstuffs which we may possibly expect to see restricted to elite sites, such as wine, fish, shellfish, deer, hare and poultry occur across a range of sites, each selecting from these but without all of these occurring at one site. This suggests these were perhaps special occasion foods rather than elite foods. Elite display appears to have been confined to drinking wine in the Roman manner (as evidenced by metal jugs) and by the use of decorated dining rooms (discussed in section 6.2).

Drinking wine in the Roman manner involved mixing water with the wine (Cool, 2006: 136-140), and the jugs for water and wine, and bowls for mixing have been found in the study sample (Figure 95). Evidence occurs across the range of site types, at military sites (Leaholme), nucleated settlements, mostly those with military associations, (Sea Mills, Wanborough, Worcester, Alcester, Ariconium, Tewkesbury), the shrine at Uley, Gatcombe estate centre, Frocester villa, and the farm sites at Claydon Pike and Brockworth. No evidence was found at the other villa sites.

Dining rooms were usually the largest and most richly decorated of the reception rooms, although these rooms would be multifunctional in all but the very largest villas, which could afford to dedicate a room solely for dining. A dedicated dining function could not be assigned with certainty to any of the rooms in the study sample villas, but the evidence suggests that rooms at Great Witcombe, Frocester and Kings Weston may have been used for dining (discussed in section 6.2). The study sample villas appear to have adapted the Roman model with smaller and less ostentatious rooms, and the use of Classical motifs usually found in dining spaces at the fourth century town house at The Beeches in Cirencester, and at Kingscote, suggests these may have been dining spaces. Two dining rooms – a winter and a summer dining room – have been identified at the palatial villa at Chedworth. The evidence suggests aspirations to dine in the Roman manner, adapted for local interpretations.

8.3 Gender identities

Artefacts themselves cannot be assigned genders, but can be associated with male or female individuals based on context. Context is important as gender identities could be socially constructed, rather than based on biological sex (Sherratt and Moore, 2016). In Britain inscriptions and figurative sources are rare, so that evidence for gender identities comes from artefacts associated with burials, based on the sex of the associated skeletons. Repeated patterns of association allows certain artefacts to be associated with specific genders, and applied to other contexts such as settlement sites, although care needs to be taken as such associations are not always precise or assured (Allison, 2015), and Swift (2004: 218) notes that burial contexts may reflect idealised identities. Allison notes a range of gender associations from ‘more probable’ (female dress accessories) to artefacts relating to activities carried out by women (such as toilet items – ‘possible’), but that any artefact cannot be exclusively gendered, or ‘exceptional usage’ excluded (Allison, 2015: 116). The gender associations for artefacts identified through burials in Britain are assumed to apply for the study sample. Several personal grooming artefacts and dress accessories have gender associations, as do certain materials such as jet.

8.3.1 Dress and dress accessories

Costume worn in Rome was highly gendered. The toga was worn only by men, and only those who were Roman citizens (Hope, 2000: 131). There is no evidence as to whether the toga was worn at study sample sites. Early Roman period provincial costume worn by women was different from that worn by men (see for example Croom, 2000). The Roman-style ‘Gallic coat’ was probably adopted in the third century. This is more of a ‘unisex’ garment and gender distinction then becomes expressed through gendered dress accessories. Swift (2000: 205) has shown that, across the late Roman western Empire, including Britain, beads and bracelets commonly occur in female graves and crossbow brooches in male graves. Necklaces made from strings of beads, earrings and bracelets were exclusively female ornaments in Mediterranean Roman culture, and also in Britain (Swift, 2011: 207). Swift also notes a change from non-gendered dress accessories (brooches and rings) in the early Roman period to strongly gendered items in the late Roman period (hairpins, beads, bracelets and

crossbow brooches). The study sample is consistent with this, suggesting a change in the way dress accessories were used in the expression of identity.

Earrings introduced a new type of personal ornament, worn in a new way (by piercing the ear). Earrings were worn by women, with some exceptions in the eastern Empire (Allason-Jones, 1989: 17) and also in some army units which had men from the eastern provinces or Africa (Allason-Jones, 1995: 25-26). Beads occur in the Iron Age, but the practice of wearing beads strung in necklaces is also new in the Roman period. In adopting these new types of ornament the design and gender associations used in Mediterranean Roman culture also seem to have been adopted.

Gendered items increased through the Roman period in the study sample, with significant numbers of beads, bracelets and hairpins by the fourth century (Figure 49) and some evidence for cross bow brooches. This trend is shown at nucleated settlement sites, the shrines at Nettleton and Uley, and villa sites, but, with the exception of Claydon Pike, not at farm sites. The lack of dress accessories at farm sites in the fourth century is noteworthy (Figure 49). This may reflect economic factors or social factors, or that gendered identities were not being expressed at farm sites. Items such as bone hairpins are not likely to have been expensive, and hairpins and finger rings appear at these farm sites through the Roman period (Figure 49), as well as samian and glass vessels, arguing for social factors restricting the use of gendered dress accessories at farm sites rather than economic factors.

During the early Roman period brooches were worn by both men and women (Allason-Jones, 1995: 22-23), but there is some evidence that certain brooch types were gendered. The Aucissa brooch type is often referred to as the 'soldiers' brooch' as it has been found at many military sites and has an Empire-wide distribution (Bayley and Butcher, 2004: 151). It came to Britain with the army in AD43 and was found at sites in the study sample with military associations, but also at other sites so that it is difficult to conclude whether this brooch was a gendered item.

Late Roman crossbow brooches were associated with the military and civilian elite. Seven crossbow brooches have been found in the study sample: at Cirencester, Alcester, Wanborough, Uley, Great Bedwyn, and Somerford Keynes. Swift (2000: 208-210) notes that direct supply by the military was a means to control the appearance of and access to crossbow brooches, but also that the spatial distribution of certain crossbow types in Britain suggests that these travelled with the wearers rather than being a deliberate supply to Britannia. The crossbow brooches at Cirencester may have been owned by someone with an official role, but the other sites had no official or military role in the late Roman period so are more likely to relate to expression of elite male identity.

Allison (2015: 108-110) notes the work of Böhme-Schönberger on *Distelfibeln* or thistle-shaped brooches in the north west provinces where these occur in predominantly female graves. The illustrations in excavation reports for the nineteen thistle rosette brooches in the study sample were examined for any which matched the *Distelfibeln*. Two matches were found – at Dymock and at Barnsley Park. Given the general lack of female-gendered items at Dymock, and the early date of these brooches in relation to the later Barnsley Park occupation, it is difficult to conclude that these were female-gendered items in the early Roman period for the study sample.

8.3.2 Hairpins

Hairpins were used for styling the hair of women and girls, as evidenced by pictorial and burial contexts (Cool, 1990: 150). Hairpins occurred at all types of site in the study sample except for oppida sites, although in very small numbers at farm sites, and no hairpins were present at six of the farm sites. Whilst hairpins also show a significant increase in numbers in the fourth century, they occur in greater numbers from the second century than do beads and bracelets (Figure 49), suggesting that a change in hairstyles occurred earlier than adoption of Roman-style beads and bracelets. Cool (1990: 176) comments on metal hairpins in southern Britain, noting that in the second half of the first century, the demand for hairpins was sufficient for the development of insular forms. The widespread occurrence across the study sample suggests that adoption of Roman-style hair arrangements was not only an elite practice.

8.3.3 Jet jewellery

Bracelets, rings, beads and hairpins occur in jet, across a range of site types in the study sample, except at military sites, and at relatively few farm sites. Most of the sites which had jet, had more than one type of item in jet, for example, rings, beads and hairpins. Figure 46 also highlights a significant number of jet items at Uley, compared with one jet item at Nettleton. For the study sample, jet rings were found throughout the Roman period, hairpins from the second to fourth centuries, and beads and bracelets in the late Roman period.

Items made in jet were for female use or found in female graves (Allason-Jones, 2005: 123-124). Male burials with jet jewellery are rare, and the example from Catterick is interpreted in a religious context as a devotee of Cybele (Cool, 2002b: 29-30, 41-42). In another unusual burial at Westhawk Farm in Kent a cremated young adult male was buried with a jet necklace, and a jet and lignite and a copper alloy bracelet (Booth et al., 2008: 158). These distinctive burials caution against assuming all gender associations are absolute or that assumptions made for the study sample are valid. We do not know whether jet rings were worn by women only, but generally bracelets, beads and hairpins were. Whilst the black colour was important, there is less evidence of shale items being associated with women (Eckardt, 2015: 118), although shale objects such as bracelets were worn by women.

8.3.4 Toilet items, cosmetics and perfumes

Certain toilet items can be associated with gendered practices. Stewart (2007: 13) notes that in Classical literature it is mainly women who are associated with the use of perfumes and cosmetics, and in art only women are shown applying these. Classical literature suggests that cosmetics were only used by elite women and those of ill repute (Allason-Jones, 2005: 125). Cosmetics and perfumes were probably not restricted to any category of women in practice, but the quality of these items may have reflected wealth and status, as some items were expensive. There is also an element of elite status and conspicuous consumption, as time and leisure were needed for these grooming activities. Evidence from fourth century pipette unguent bottles in burial contexts shows these were associated with wealthy elite adult females (Cool, 2002a). There is evidence that the use of perfumes by men

was acceptable in a few circumstances, such as for bridegrooms, and for men attending a banquet (Stewart, 2007: 96), but for my study it is assumed that perfumes were only used by women.

No direct evidence is available for cosmetics used in the study sample, but items associated with the toilette – palettes for mixing cosmetics, mirrors and combs – were present in small numbers across all types of sites in the study sample (Figure 134). Unguent bottles which would have contained perfumes were found in small numbers across a range of study sample sites, including Bagendon, and a large number at Kingsholm (Figure 134).

Figure 134 summarises the evidence for gender-associated artefacts in the study sample, and a few general trends can be observed. With the exception of some smaller farm sites, female-gendered items occur at most sites in the study sample, but the only confirmed male-gendered artefact, the late Roman cross-bow brooch only occurs at six sites. Significant numbers of hairpins occur, with the adoption of hairstyles requiring hairpins from the second century onwards at many sites. In contrast jewellery items worn mostly by women, including jet jewellery, only occur in significant numbers in the fourth century, and at almost all sites.

Hairpins appear to be significant at the shrine site at Nettleton, whilst jet jewellery is more significant at Uley than at other sites. Where jet jewellery occurs, there is usually more than one type – beads, bracelets, rings or hairpins. As a broad generalisation, sites which have jet jewellery also have unguent bottles, cosmetic implements (palettes, combs or mirrors), and crossbow brooches (where these occur). Except for Claydon Pike and Birdlip Quarry, farm sites have very low numbers of gender-associated artefacts, no occurrence of jet artefacts or perfume bottles, and only one cosmetic implement at Vineyards Farm. Whilst this may reflect economic factors, hairpins, in bone at least, would not have been expensive, so that social factors may be involved, or expression of gendered identities may have had less relevance, or reflect the absence of women at those sites. Birdlip Quarry is unusual in that it has generally very low numbers of artefacts compared to other farm sites (Figure 15) but has more gendered items, with three types of jet jewellery and a perfume bottle.

The increase in the fourth century in gendered artefacts associated with personal appearance such as toilet items, cosmetics and perfumes and crossbow brooches also express elite identities, so that elite identities are increasingly expressed in gender terms. Female identities are achieving greater expression through artefacts than in the early Roman period across all types of site, except for most farm sites.

8.4 Regional and cultural identities

This section examines evidence in the study sample for group identities such as local or regional identities, and ethnic, or cultural, identities. Ethnicity refers to groups which perceived themselves as culturally distinctive from others (p21). and is therefore about individuals identifying differences between their group and ‘others’. Some ethnic identities may find expression through material culture symbols, but others may not, as shared cultures may be real or assumed, and common descent may include foundation myths (p21). Ethnic groups are generally ideological constructs. Roymans (2004: 1) notes that ethnicity may be expressed through ‘*language, material culture, oral tradition and ritual acts*’ and is neither static nor homogeneous, with changes over time, and is situational. Roymans (*ibid.*2) also notes differences between the image represented and social reality and that ethnic identities are often based on stereotypes and clichés.

The culture-history approach of equating objects with cultures has been shown to be an oversimplification (Jones, 1997). As ethnic identities are culturally defined, many archaeologists consider that archaeology cannot locate the artefacts used to express these identities (for example Jones, 1997), whereas others such as Eckardt (2015) and Roymans (2004) take the view that some association of artefacts with an ethnic identity is possible with detailed contextual information. However, care is required, as apparent markers of origin may not be a deliberate statement of ethnicity but be an expression of multiple other identities such as wealth, age or gender. Eckardt (2015: chapter 2) argues that an ethnic element of identity can only be determined where epigraphic data is available recording such an identity. There is little epigraphic evidence available for the study sample. We have little written evidence of an ethnic identity for the study area, other than the Roman perception of a tribe called the Dobunni, enshrined in their administrative unit, the *civitas* capital of *Corinium Dobunnorum*. This may not reflect how the indigenous inhabitants of the study area thought of themselves. Evidence for a late Iron Age tribal group is difficult to establish, as such a grouping may have been much more fluid and temporal (p7-9).

As ethnicity relates to shared cultural values, material culture can be explored for themes which suggest a group identity, such as a common spoken language (Latin), a common visual language, for example expressed in decoration of houses, and common ways of dressing and eating. Artefacts which use Roman styles can be explored to examine the extent to which people in the study area may have identified with concepts of local identity, or of Roman cultural identity, although without specific written evidence we cannot confirm the actual meanings associated with these objects, or whether they were perceived as culturally Roman.

8.4.1 Latin language

One aspect of ethnicity is a shared language (Edwards, 2012: 114). In describing Agricola's efforts to civilise the Britons and '*educate the sons of chiefs in the liberal arts*' Tacitus (*Agricola*, 21) says that '*the result was that instead of loathing the Latin language they became eager to speak it effectively*'. The extent to which Latin was spoken is difficult to establish. Those who wrote in Latin would have been able to speak it, but not all speakers would be able to write. Hanson and Conolly (2002: 152-153) note that the forms and spelling of Latin words on written inscriptions reflect differences in pronunciation and therefore evidence of spoken languages. Also, most of the curse tablets at Bath and Uley (second to fourth centuries) were written in Latin by persons with Celtic names, suggesting bilingualism. The use of colloquial rather than formal Latin suggests curse tablets were written by the individual themselves, although scribes could have been used at Bath and military establishments.

Hanson and Conolly (2002) take the view that the presence of writing implements at a site means that at least one person there would also have been able to speak Latin, and showed that there was a greater level of literacy at rural settlements compared to urban settlements in Britain than previously assumed, but less so at villa sites than might be expected. The data for the study sample is consistent with Hanson and Conolly's findings. Nucleated settlements, particularly those with connections to the military (Alcester and Wanborough), estate centres, and Nettleton and Uley, have significantly greater average numbers of styli than other site types with a significant increase in the total number

of styli in the third and fourth centuries at nucleated settlement and estate centre sites. Styli occur in smaller numbers at villa and farm sites, mainly in the third and fourth centuries, and numbers of styli for villas are not significantly different to other types of site.

Latin developed as the common language of the western provinces with the mobility of the army, traders and administrators across the Empire, and Woolf (2002b: 187) sees 'Latinization' as a function of Roman imperialism rather than as a deliberate creation of western or imperial identity. Edwards (2012: 48-50) notes that certain languages become important as 'bridges' between communities, but that this dominance tends to arise from the political, military or social dominance of the speakers, rather than a cultural factors, and is seen as necessary for the aspirations of the individuals. Edwards also notes (*ibid.* 29) that multilingualism tends to be encouraged by social elites, acting as an indicator of high status and that, due to its powerful symbolic value, language assumes '*special potency and centrality during times of uncertainty, anxiety and transition*' (*ibid.* 80). We would therefore expect to see maintenance of local languages, with Latin used for communication within the Imperial system, for trade and as an elite language. The increased numbers of styli at nucleated settlement and estate centre sites in the third and fourth centuries (assumed to reflect an increasing number of persons writing and speaking Latin) may indicate increased interaction, for example in administration, as a result of the new province of *Britannia Prima*. However, evidence for use of Latin at the villa sites in the study sample is limited. This suggests more of a functional role for Latin rather than a role in expressing a culturally-Roman identity in the study sample, consistent with Woolf's view that this was not a deliberate creation of identity. However, increased decoration of styli suggests an element of display, and therefore some status role.

8.4.2 A common visual language

Group identity can be reflected by the use of a common visual language in for example, ways of dressing and dress accessories, and ways of arranging and decorating settlement space. For the study sample the form of late Roman items of jewellery and the design and decoration of reception rooms

in private houses appear to be similar to those used elsewhere in the western Empire, and this section explores the implications of this for identity expression in the study sample.

Swift (2011: 209-211) has observed that the way designs were used on objects introduced from Rome or Gaul differs from those indigenous items which show continuity of form or decoration. Items continuing from the late Iron Age, such as brooches and nail-cleaners, show innovation in form and use, for example Celtic-style decoration on evolved forms of brooches such as the trumpet and headstud brooches. Roman-style items introduced in the Roman period, including earrings, bead necklaces, finger rings, hairpins and combs, tend to be uniform in design across the provinces, with Roman-style decoration. These trends were also observed in the study sample.

Finger rings containing intaglios used Roman iconography. These items occur in smaller numbers in the early Roman period and increase significantly in the fourth century (Figure 49). Late Roman crossbow brooches were a symbol of military or civilian high status, and show uniformity across the provinces. Different distribution mechanisms were in operation for bracelets, beads and crossbow brooches (section 9.1). Swift (2000) has identified some broad patterns in occurrence of these items, so it does not appear that distribution was driving this uniformity, but it has not yet been possible to establish why these were popular, and uniform in appearance, across several provinces.

The study sample examined all artefacts recorded in excavation reports for the categories examined, and for the later Roman period no personal adornment artefacts were observed which were not 'Roman style'. It appears that there were no indigenous style artefacts – for example beads – available to choose from. It does not follow that identity needs to be expressed by using these objects in the Roman way, but the evidence for bead necklaces (for example the bead necklaces strung in Roman style at Great Witcombe and Alcester, p110) shows that in some cases they were. Evidence from burial contexts in Pannonia (Swift, 2003b) shows that bracelets were worn in different ways (nine or ten bracelets on the left wrist and one or two on the right in Pannonia), and this may also have been age related. Although we have no specific evidence for the study sample, different local styles of

wearing jewellery seems likely. Swift (2000: 181) notes that for late Roman bracelets clearer regional patterning would be visible once we have more data, but minority bracelet types occur in clusters, suggesting local or regional use. Local variation within broad regional groupings leads to the conclusion that these artefacts were being used in different ways in expressing local identities, rather than association with an Empire-wide identity. In the fourth century beads, bracelets, rings and hairpins appear across all types of site in the study sample, but it is difficult to establish whether this is an expression conformity with Empire-wide styles, or a reflection of globalisation of trade resulting from Imperial economic and political processes.

There also appears to be a trend towards uniformity in costume, away from individual provincial costume in the early Roman period, towards adoption of the Gallic coat in the western provinces in the later Roman period (Allason-Jones, 2005). Although limited evidence of patterning of hobnails on the soles of leather shoes was found for the study sample (mainly due to the lack of survival of leather shoes), van Driel-Murray (2002) has shown that these patterns occur across the north-west provinces, and include zodiac symbols, which relate to a Graeco-Roman view of the cosmos. There is some evidence for such patterning in the study sample. It is unlikely that such shoes would have been worn unless some meaning was attached to these designs, however, we cannot be sure that the same meaning was being attached to these items in each province.

The use of painted wall plaster and mosaic floors were a Roman introduction, and the designs used are also consistent with those on the Continent. Wall plaster designs showed little local variation, although much of the available evidence was too fragmentary to determine the designs used. Roman iconography is used on mosaics, although there is debate about some mosaics such as the 'Rudston Venus' as to whether this was a Celtic-influenced adaptation or merely a poorly executed design (Scott, 2000: 121; Mattingly, 2006: 467-468), but the cultural references are Roman. The three figurative examples of mosaics in the study sample could be clearly associated with Roman themes. The debate continues as to whether these mosaics were used because the iconography was understood, or whether they were used because they were Roman-style, although Scott (2000: 128) notes that

these may have been read at different levels. Only the elite with the ‘correct knowledge’ would be able to understand the religious and mythological connotations and subtle references to political concerns in the layers of meaning in the mosaics, and so were a means of social exclusion as well as a statement of wealth (Scott, 1997). Witts (2005: 165) stresses that mosaics were a means of communicating messages. If the iconography used was not understood – at least by the owner and his peers – we might expect to see a mixture of Classical themes which don’t fit together, or interspersed with local themes but this is not the case. It is possible that the owner may have selected from a ‘standard’ set of themes, but the variety of mosaic designs observed suggests that this was not the case. As the designs used on mosaics can be clearly identified with Classical themes, the conclusion is that this was deliberate use of a common visual language as part of a group identity, whether or not the images were understood, which may have included identities of wealth, elite-status, association with Roman culture, and probably local messages as well.

8.4.3 Roman ways of living

This section examines those artefact types which can be shown to be used in the Roman way, and which would be recognisable to travellers from other parts of the Empire as ‘Roman’. The use of lamps, window glass, ceramic roof tiles, architectural features such as stone mouldings and balustrades, hypocaust heating, painted wall plaster and mosaic floors are all Roman-style items introduced during the Roman period, and based on the archaeological evidence, appear to have been used in buildings in the same way as they would have been in the Mediterranean area.

The use of lamps, painted wall plaster and decorative mosaic floors would have would have impacted the ambience in the rooms they were used in. In line with the general trend in Britain (Eckardt, 2002) lamps in the study sample were restricted to military sites and sites with military associations, mainly in the first century. Eckardt put the lack of adoption of lamps down to a lack of understanding of how to use these items, and this plausible for the study sample. It is likely that artificial lighting and the effects of shadow and illumination which could be had in a room by the use of lamps was not

something which people saw a need for at the rural sites in the study sample, given their selective use of other items of Roman-style material culture.

The use of window glass and hypocaust heating could be viewed as functional items which improve the comfort of a room, without being associated with Roman ways of living. However, most of the sites in the study sample which had window glass also had painted wall plaster (Figure 132) and fewer sites had hypocausts, and again these all had window glass and painted wall plaster, suggesting that comfort may not have been the only factor in choosing these. At rural sites which had only circular buildings, Brockworth (circular timber buildings) had white painted wall plaster and Birdlip Quarry (circular timber replaced by stone) used ceramic roof tile. The aisled building (insular building form) at Claydon Pike had ceramic roof tile, painted plaster, window glass and heated rooms. Use of these Roman-style items is therefore not related to building morphology or Roman architectural styles such as villas.

Ceramic roof tile is very visible and was used at most of the sites in the study sample, although some also have stone roof tile or replaced ceramic tile with stone tiles in the later Roman period. There is evidence that ceramic tile was used on both timber and stone buildings. With good quality roofing-stone available in the study area, the use of Roman-style red ceramic roofing tile must be making some statement about associating with Roman ways of living in the early Roman period.

Painted wall plaster and mosaic flooring are purely decorative, and the use of only Roman-style designs on these in the study sample, suggests there may have been an element of association with Roman ways in their use. Painted wall plaster and mosaics are usually considered 'elite' architectural items and the cost of mosaics means they were only found at villa sites in the study sample and town houses in Cirencester. Painting walls would be cheaper, and there is evidence of walls being repainted at Great Bedwyn (Hostetter and Howe, 1997: 194-203). Two main periods of mosaic construction have been identified in Britain – during the second and fourth centuries (Mattingly, 2006: 464) – but mosaics only occurred at rural sites in the study sample in the fourth century, although there is

evidence for both second and fourth century mosaics in Cirencester (*ibid.* 320). Dating evidence for wall plaster was very limited, but second century dates occurred at some sites in the study sample. However, mosaics and wall plaster were adopted at different times within the study sample, including for the villa sites, and not as a 'package', which might be expected if the owners were trying to display a culturally-Roman lifestyle.

Great Witcombe was the only villa in the study sample which was built as a unitary design (Leach, 1998: 129-130), with painted plaster, mosaics, window glass, heating and ceramic roofing tile as a 'package' of items from inception, suggesting that the association with Roman-style culture may have been important at this site. It has been suggested that Great Witcombe was built for an elite army veteran from the *colonia* at Gloucester, based on finds evidence, and the unitary design and Roman-style of the villa buildings fit in with this. The evidence at Kings Weston is not as clear but most of these items were installed during the first phase of building, although alterations were made later. Frocester, Barnsley Park, Great Bedwyn, Marshfield and Chedworth, all installed these Roman-style features in stages over time, which may reflect accumulating wealth, but it is interesting that much of this elaboration does not occur at these sites until around the second quarter of the fourth century, or later.

Smith (1997) proposed that the type and arrangement of buildings reflected different social structures, based around partible inheritance, surviving from the late Iron Age. Different buildings arranged around a courtyard such as those at Great Bedwyn or the early villa at Chedworth reflect separate households within an extended kinship group. Duplication of suites of rooms such as those at Marshfield (Smith, 1987) and Barnsley Park (Smith, 1985) also reflect separate units of an extended kinship group, which become unified in one building over time. The villa at Kings Weston may be a rebuilding of a new hall over the boundary between two such units (Smith, 1997: 241). Smith views the gradual change and rebuilding at these villa sites as a breakdown of this social system and the emergence of hereditary lordship (*ibid.* 300). Smith (*ibid.* 239) notes that the first part of the larger building to be constructed at Barnsley Park was the bath building, which he considers as

‘Romanisation by luxury’. This suggests that, whilst villa buildings may have been rectangular in form, with some Roman-style decorative features, they were probably not regarded as ‘Roman ways of living’ until well into the fourth century, when presumably the underlying social structures had changed.

Architecture of the house was one of the main means of expression of identity in the Mediterranean area, as the house formed the setting within which both public and private lives of the elite were lived (Hales, 2003). The house and its decoration were a cultural symbol of Roman-ness and the fitness of its inhabitants to be considered Roman (in the Mediterranean area) and displayed their wealth and status within the hierarchy of society (*ibid.* 3-5). The way space is laid out in villa buildings can be compared to Mediterranean Roman buildings, as explored in Pompeii (Wallace-Hadrill, 1994). The main reception rooms have a central position within the building and are the most elaborately and expensively decorated. The Roman house has clear separation between public and private space (Perring, 2002: 18-19). The path the visitor takes through the building is controlled by the lay out of the rooms, with a progression from public space at the front of the building to private space furthest from the entrance. The form of the British winged corridor and courtyard villas is different to the Pompeiian houses, but also restricts access to rooms by the physical layout of connecting rooms, and has elaborately decorated reception rooms. Increasing separation of public and private space is seen with the addition of corridors to sets of rooms and the addition of wings to corridor houses in the British villa. These evolved from indigenous traditions, and have greater similarities to those in Gaul than the Mediterranean (Roymans, 1995; Slofstra, 1995; Haselgrove, 1995). Whilst the end result is similar, in my view it is less likely that the separation of public and private space in winged corridor and courtyard villas was purely an evolution from earlier forms, but, given the adoption of Roman-style decoration, is a conscious adoption of Roman ways.

Walters (1996) identified certain distinctive and ornate architectural styles, based on a polygon plan and an association with water, from mid-fourth century south-west Britain as originating from Africa or the Mediterranean through increased global contact, rather than from indigenous development. The

central hall at Woodchester had a fountain in the centre of an octagonal pool sunk into the floor, with a large dome set on columns (*ibid.* 153). The axial chamber in the central range at Great Witcombe was replaced in the fourth century by an octagonal tower and rear apse, and a porch added to the entrance to the range. Walters (*ibid.* 157) interprets this as a sanctuary associated with a water deity, given the extensive bath suite. The excavator interpreted the octagonal room as a dining room (Leach, 1998: 128), but it does not have a mosaic floor, and is not situated adjacent to the bath suite (which has mosaics) so Walters' interpretation is plausible. An unusual suite of rooms at Great Bedwyn included an 'L'-shaped room, part of a multipartite chamber, which had a small pool at its centre surrounded by high quality, highly polished white mosaic tesserae (Hostetter and Howe, 1997: 174-175; Walters, 1996: 159). These exotic structures show the influence of greater connectivity with the rest of the Empire in the late Roman period.

If the artefacts such as mosaics and wall plaster discussed above occurred in both Celtic and Roman styles, a case could be made for selection of Roman-style items as a display of association with Roman cultural values. The differing combinations of these Roman-style items at different sites and at different times suggests a selection of items to display 'being Roman' from within a wider repertoire of items, common across the western provinces. The use of all the artefact types (ceramic/stone tile, window glass, painted plaster, architectural stone, heating) occurs at the elite villas (except The Ditches), Claydon Pike's aisled building (but not the later modest villa house), the villa-style building at Kingscote, and probably at the villa style buildings at Camerton and Shepton Mallet, so there is also an element of status and wealth attached to these features. Whether this element of identity was more important than aligning with Roman ways of living is difficult to establish without written evidence. There does however seem to be a desire to conform with how others are using this material, and it seems more likely that this relates to local identities than to a perceived Roman ethnic identity.

8.4.4 Maintaining traditions

There is evidence for continued use of the traditional circular building form, and the use and development insular aisled building form within the study sample. Three farm sites continued the use

of circular buildings throughout the study period. At Brockworth circular timber buildings continued into the second century, when some ditches were recut but there was no evidence for structures after this period (Rawes, 1981: 73-74). At Birdlip Quarry timber structures were replaced with circular stone buildings in the later third century, until they went out of use in the mid fourth century. Circular structures occurred at the South East Tewkesbury sites but dating and phasing evidence was very limited. The Brockworth site used stone roof tile and Birdlip Quarry, ceramic tile. Both had stone floors, and Brockworth painted wall plaster. Very small numbers of brooches, bracelets, beads and rings occurred at these sites (all Roman-style). The brooches reflect a mix of Roman and Celtic-influenced brooches: trumpet and developed T at Tewkesbury, Colchester derivatives and a trumpet brooch at Brockworth, and a la Tene, Colchester derivative, trumpet and Aucissa at Birdlip Quarry. Personal grooming items were limited to a spatula-probe each at Tewkesbury sites and Brockworth, and a fragment of unguent bottle was found at Birdlip Quarry. It is difficult to establish to what extent this represents active avoidance of Roman-style items or just the lack of means to acquire them, although the cost of building a modest rectangular timber structure should not be incrementally different from a circular structure. However, the circular buildings at Birdlip Quarry were rebuilt in stone, indicating a deliberate choice.

Of interest is the use of Roman-style forms of building decoration with aisled buildings, which are an insular British building form. The second to third century aisled building at Claydon Pike was well appointed, with ceramic roof tile, window glass, heating, and painted wall plaster, whilst the modest masonry villa which followed it was less well appointed. A second aisled building did not have these features and was used as an agricultural building. The aisled building at Great Bedwyn had painted wall plaster, heating and mosaics. At Great Witcombe villa, the aisled hall appears to function as an administrative centre for the estate, with the main villa buildings being the focus of elaborate decoration. Aisled buildings at Gatcombe and Frocester may have been agricultural or industrial, whilst those at Kingscote and Kings Weston were incorporated within villa buildings. The level of Roman-style decoration reflects the function of these buildings, but the examples at Claydon Pike and Great Bedwyn show that such decoration is not related to the architectural form of the building:

painted wall plaster, heating and window glass are used irrespective of whether it is an aisled building or a villa-type building. The form of the building is therefore not the most important feature, and is more a reflection of function than an overt statement, or not, of association with Roman ethnicity.

8.5 Summary and discussion: types of identity

This chapter examined how artefacts may have been used to express identities related to wealth, gender, elite identities, and group and ethnic identities in the study sample, and how this may have changed during the Roman period. Roman society was hierarchical, with social orders based on birth and wealth (Garnsey and Saller, 2014: 136-140), so that display of wealth was an important part of identity expression.

Wealth can be expressed through foodways, personal appearance, architecture and lifestyles. There did not appear to be an elite diet in the study sample, rather a broadening of the diet across all types of site. Foods associated with a Roman-style diet were widespread in the later Roman period, but occurred in very small amounts. The use of fine tablewares such as samian was widespread but not abundant, with new Roman-style vessel forms present at oppida sites from the mid-first century, and present at all sites by the late first/early second century, and therefore no longer prestige items. Villa sites were not significantly different from other types of site other than in their architectural form in the later Roman period. The significantly higher proportion of bowls at study sample sites, the small amounts of luxury foodstuffs, particularly the limited presence of wine, and the greater presence of larger capacity beakers and tankards than drinking cups, may indicate a continuance of communal feasting traditions rather than expression of wealth through exclusivity.

The increasing use of brooches continues late Iron Age traditions of identity expression. Brooches occurred in large numbers in the later first and second centuries and at all sites in the study sample, with a significant diversity of brooch type at individual sites. There were no clear trends in the use of Roman-influenced and Celtic-influenced designs, and brooch use may have been as much about display of individuality as of wealth. The expression of wealth through jewellery was modest rather

than opulent, with little use of precious metals, gemstones or exotic material such as ivory or amber, but some use of jet. Whilst from northern Britain, jet may still be exotic for the study area. The style and designs of different types of jewellery such as bracelets and rings were similar across all types of site, so that wealth may have been displayed in quantity rather than quality of these items. Expression of elite military or civilian status through the use of late Roman crossbow brooches occurred at a small number of sites.

Expression of wealth and status was achieved in the study sample in the fourth century through the elite architecture of villas, and adoption of selected elements of Roman-style architectural features such as window glass, ceramic roof tile, heated rooms, architectural columns, mouldings and cornices, and painted wall plaster at other site types from the second century onwards. Architectural embellishments such as stone columns and cornices, and roof finials occurred at a range of sites, but small amounts exotic Italian marble were found only at two sites (although imported marble occurs at other sites in the study area such as Chedworth and Woodchester). Except for the use of villa architecture in the fourth century, artefacts appear to have been used to display modest levels of wealth rather than opulence or social distinction.

Elite identities were considered in terms of participation in the Empire-wide elite-Roman culture. The ability to write did not appear to be a key element of identity at the elite villa sites in the study sample, and literacy appeared to be focused more on nucleated settlement sites, particularly those with associations with the military, and shrine sites. For the study sample reference to Classical literature and mythology is focused on religious sites using sculpture, and intaglio rings at nucleated settlements in the first and second centuries, followed by other types of site in the third century. The lamp (Kingsholm) and seal box (Kingscote) confirm the trend of a focus of items related to display of learning at sites associated with a military presence (including certain nucleated settlements) and nucleated settlements, rather than at villa sites. The villas in the study sample show more limited aspirations to literacy, but evidence of aspirations to join the Empire-wide Roman elite. However, the study sample analysis excludes palatial villas such as Chedworth and Woodchester (these sites do not

have detailed artefactual data for analysis) which are more likely to have been linked into the Empire-wide Roman elite network.

Mosaics were used in elite reception rooms at villa sites in the fourth century, and the villa-style houses in Cirencester and the estate centre site at Kingscote. These mosaics were geometric in design except for those at Cirencester, Great Witcombe villa and Kingscote, which used Classical themes. There is evidence from the layout and decoration of reception rooms in these villas that the owners aspired to dine in the Roman manner, but adapted for local tastes. There is also evidence from jugs used for mixing wine and water in the Roman manner at several sites. There has been much debate as to whether the owners of mosaics actually understood the Classical literature and mythology being referred to, or whether they merely wished to be thought to be knowledgeable (Scott, 2000: 113-130). Identity is situational, and we need to consider who the users of these images were trying to impress. The users of these images would have been judging themselves against their peers in the first instance, but may have been in contact with others, for example clients visiting or on visits to towns. It is possible that few of them understood the meaning of the images used. It may well be that crudely designed images reflected a lack of understanding rather than poor quality workmanship (for example the Rudston Venus, Millett, 1990: 191). It is likely that images clearly identified with Classical literature reflect an understanding of their meaning by the owner or at least a desire to be thought to do so, even if not understood by all visitors to the villa.

Gender differences were expressed through dress accessories and personal grooming activities. Changes in women's hairstyles reflected in the use of hairpins, occur from the second century onwards, and at almost all sites. Early Roman brooches and rings have been shown elsewhere to have been worn by both men and women. There is a change in the way dress accessories were used in the later Roman period to a strongly gendered role, where bracelets, earrings and beads were associated with women, and crossbow brooches with elite men. This is consistent with the trend in Britain and elsewhere. A small but significant percentage of the late Roman beads, bracelets and hairpins were made of jet, which is also associated with women. Artefacts associated with women were found at

most sites in the study sample, but in small numbers or absent at many farm sites. Toilette items such as mirrors and combs, cosmetics (evidenced by mixing palettes) and perfumes (evidenced by unguent bottles) were associated with women, and occurred in small numbers across all site-types. These items also reflect wealth and status, as time and leisure were needed for these activities.

Association with a culturally-Roman identity was explored by considering evidence for a common spoken and written language (Latin), the use of a common visual language on artefacts, and Roman ways of living. The assumption was made that those who wrote Latin could also speak it, and the evidence for writing implements and the curse tablets at Uley and Bath suggests that rural literacy was wider than previously thought, but less so at villa sites than might be expected, so that Latin literacy had a limited role in expression of identity and was mostly functional.

A common visual language was evident in the Roman-style designs used on painted wall plaster and mosaics, and the imagery on intaglio rings. Roman ways of living included the use of highly decorated reception rooms, with a separation of public and private space, seen in the fourth century villas and villa-style buildings at Cirencester and Kingscote. Traditional material culture was reflected in circular building forms at three farm sites, although a small number of Roman-style artefacts also occurred at these sites together with a mixture of Roman and Celtic-influenced brooches. Brooches had both Celtic and Roman-influenced designs but the Roman-style jewellery of the late Roman period used Empire-wide styles, but it is not yet clear why these uniform styles were popular. The extent to which these items of material culture were chosen for their Roman-ness, rather than as an expression of wealth and status is difficult to tell.

Few artefacts appear to have been available in both Roman style and a Celtic style, where the choice of one or the other may have indicated an ethnic preference. New artefacts introduced in the Roman period include rings, earrings and bead necklaces, painted wall plaster and mosaic flooring. As noted elsewhere in Britain, and also observed in the study sample, these items use only Roman-style designs, suggesting there may have had an association with Roman-ness. It is difficult to conclude that the use of material which had associations with Roman ways of living were making a positive

statement of Roman ethnicity, as most of the items (such as painted wall plaster or heating) were introduced piecemeal over a period of time, and occur on different building types (such as circular and aisled buildings, and on both timber and stone buildings). Also, comparison of the repertoire of artefacts at for example nucleated settlement sites (Section 9.2.3), with those at military sites (section 9.2.2) shows fewer Roman-style items. Roman-style items were not taken together as a package, which may be expected if they were selected for their 'Roman-ness', but elements were being used to construct new identities, or expressed 'being Roman' within a local context with a local interpretation. Only one villa (Great Witcombe) was built as a unitary design, where the use of Roman-style materials and decoration may reflect a desire to be seen to be 'Roman'.

As with other types of identity, association with a culturally-Roman identity, or any other ethnicity, is only one element of an individual's identity, and ethnic traits may only have been expressed in certain situations and certain times. Ideologically an ethnic identity may come as a 'package', but as a social construct, may not be evidenced through material culture. In practise, only elements of an ethnic trait may be expressed, for example, many people may have been bilingual, using the Latin language in certain contexts and for certain activities, but not others.

Mattingly (2006: 527) comments that the globalising impact of Roman culture and society may have resulted in many of the changes discussed in my study, even without conquest, as evidenced by the late Iron Age changes in the southern and eastern parts of Britain. In this scenario, the need for Roman ethnicity and expressing 'being Roman' in specific situations would be less relevant. Southern Britain had closer links to northern Gaul and Germany than to Rome, with cultural interactions from the late Iron Age onwards (Moore, 2016), so that it is more likely that new material culture was associated with northern Gaul than with Rome.. Hurst (2012: 13, 26) argues for the active construction of a Roman culture through the projection of ideas rather than direct contact with Rome, and this is a plausible explanation for the evidence from the study sample. The expression of Roman-ness appears to be used in a local context to function within the Imperial system, rather than as a wholesale adoption of a package of culturally-Roman artefacts and behaviours. As MacMullen (2008: 137) puts

it: *'assimilation of oneself in the knowledge that one could live better and more easily if one played the game by Roman rules'*. The evidence for the study sample suggests that being Roman was not thought of in terms of ways of living in the manner of the city of Rome, or a Roman ethnicity, but as participation in Empire-wide cultural norms, particularly in the later Roman period, and we are seeing a provincial interpretation of Roman culture.

9 Consumption of material culture

The question considered in this chapter is whether individuals were able to acquire particular artefacts if they wished to do so. Acquisition of artefacts may have been constrained by lack of wealth, availability of supplies or social or legal factors. This chapter considers the evidence for marketing, distribution and exchange mechanisms which may have been operating in the study area. The different patterns of artefact consumption for the study sample site-types are then compared, and conclusions drawn taking account of availability.

9.1 Availability of artefacts

Processes of production, exchange and use of artefacts are not purely related to economic need, but also relate to social interactions within and between communities. Exchange mechanisms can be used to create, manipulate and maintain social relationships, including long distance social ties. These exchange mechanisms may be symbolic, and not necessarily reciprocal or the most efficient (for example not using the most direct trade route). There may be short-lived temporary alliances, evidenced by occasional exotic items, or more regular contact resulting in the presence of greater quantities of material. Moore (2006: 192) reviewed social change in the Severn-Cotswold area in the Iron Age and showed a correlation between pottery and quern sources, which defined northern and southern exchange systems. Later Iron Age exchange networks appear to focus on distinct zones within the area of the Dobunni: the area around Beacon Hill on the eastern end of the Mendips, and the area of the Severn Valley and the Cotswold Ridge, around the Bagendon-Ditches complex (Moore, 2007: 48-49). The river Severn was also important for exchange and contact, evidenced by the finds of (scarce) non-Dobunnian coins (Moore, 2006: 208-209). These exchange mechanisms are likely to have continued into the Roman period. Evidence from distribution of carrot amphorae used to transport dried fruit (Howells, 2009) shows that the Roman military may also have participated in gift exchange.

The distribution areas mapped by these late Iron Age exchange networks do not necessarily reflect regional identities, but more fluid social relationships based on exchange (Moore, 2006: 213). In the

late Iron Age Bagendon, the Ditches, and Ariconium were mainly production centres for iron and bronze. Production sites and exchange centres were located on the margins of existing social networks and away from domestic sites, and some sites may have been situated for symbolic or ritual reasons (*ibid.* 220) related to controlling and maintaining power. Moore argues such a role for Bagendon as an oppidum, but that Salmonsbury, although an exchange centre, performed a different role more like a nucleated settlement for independent communities (*ibid.* 149). Trow (1990: 111-112) views Bagendon as a pre-conquest aristocratic estate exercising administrative functions, which continued post-conquest with Roman approval.

Late Iron Age imports of prestige goods such as wine into the study area were limited compared to the southern and eastern kingdoms (Figure 3), which Nash (1984: 97-101) attributes to the irrelevance of these items to the purely agrarian societies in western Britain, compared with the warrior agrarian societies of south eastern Britain. The Dobunni are considered to have controlled the supply to the southern and eastern kingdoms of Forest of Dean iron, Welsh gold, and lead and silver from the Mendips (Trow, 1990: 106). However, the composition of the pottery assemblage at Bagendon, which has almost exclusively Gallo-Belgic pottery, is very different from the other study sample sites which only have small amounts of Gallo-Belgic pottery, indicating that Bagendon had a different means of acquiring these artefacts, or was controlling the onward transmission of these items within the local area.

There is also evidence for Iron Age exchange systems based on distributions of Dobunnic, or ‘western series’ coinage (Figure 135). The presence of late Iron Age coinage at study sample sites is an indicator of higher status sites and trading or exchange contacts in the late Iron Age. Both study sample oppida sites – Bagendon and Salmonsbury – had coins, the large number at Bagendon reflecting its role in minting these coins. A high number of coins at Ariconium reflects its status in controlling iron production and its wide trading links in the late Iron Age (Jackson, 2012: 206). Somerford Keynes has a relatively high number of coins at twelve, but Miles et al. (2007: 248) note that most Dobunnic silver is found in post-conquest contexts, so these may not necessarily relate to

late Iron Age activity. Eighteen pre-Roman silver coins, mostly Dobunnic, were found in a reservoir above the hot spring at Bath (La Trobe-Bateman and Niblett, 2016: 38) but it is not clear whether these were deposited pre- or post-conquest. Except for Tewkesbury and three farm sites, all other study sample sites active in the late Iron Age had Dobunnic coins, indicating an extensive distribution network. Six sites commencing in the Roman period also had Dobunnic coins, suggesting some coin deposition may have occurred in the Roman rather than the Iron Age period, and providing evidence for continuing exchange networks.

Figure 135: Distribution of Western/Dobunnic coin series

The picture originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA due to copyright restrictions. The picture was sourced from Leins, 2008: 107, details of which are shown in the bibliography on pages 361-377.

The way coins are used changes from a social role in the late Iron Age, which included ritual deposition and gift exchange, to a more monetarised role in the later Roman period (Howgego, 2013) which Howgego considers enabled participation in the Roman consumer boom. We do not know to what extent and when the study sample became 'monetarised' or to what extent artefacts were acquired through exchange mechanisms or purchase. Reece's (1995) work on establishing a 'British mean' for coin loss by period identified a difference in patterns of coin loss between urban and rural

sites, with fewer coins at rural sites, and Walton (2011) observes regional patterns of coin loss, including a significant difference in the use of coins north and south of the Fosse Way.

Such analyses for coin loss in excavation reports for the study sample were limited. Where included, for example at Shepton Mallet (Leach and Evans, 2001: 213), and at Frocester (Price, 2000: Vol II, 25), coin loss appears to be broadly in line with expectations for rural settlements. However, in the latter report Reece notes that Frocester, Barnsley Park and Chedworth have ‘weak beginnings’ for coin use, which may be a local, Gloucestershire pattern. The evidence therefore suggests that participation in the monetary economy (however defined) by the study sample sites is consistent with other rural sites, and at a lower level than for urban sites. Walton and Moorhead (2016: 843) have challenged the view that the large increase in coinage in Britain in the late third century represents monetisation of the rural economy, and suggest that it reflects a de-centralisation of military and administrative structures, with the role of coinage largely unchanged.

Mechanisms for distribution in the Roman period are not yet fully understood. It was thought that civilian supplies of pottery, such as samian, ‘piggy-backed’ off supplies to the Roman army in the early Roman period (Middleton, 1979). Based on the timing of the appearance of new samian forms and the large volumes of samian at civilian sites, Willis (2005b: section 6.3) has shown that there were separate marketing and distribution networks for military and civilian supplies for the same geographical area, with London being the main entry point for civilian supplies. Allen and Fulford (1996) have shown the movement of Dorset black burnished ware pottery through the western half of Britain, from Dorset to Hadrian’s Wall (through the area of the Dobunni) related to supply contracts for the army, with excess supplies going to civilian centres along Roman roads.

Imports of pottery – samian, and finewares such as Lyon ware – increase rapidly shortly after the conquest (Tyers, 1996: 56-61). Production of local pottery which included Roman forms begins mid-first century AD, for example Savernake wares (Swan et al., 1975) and pre-conquest for Severn Valley Ware (Timby, 1990), so that the new pottery forms were available in the study area in the

second half of the first century. Samian was present at all sites in the study sample, although in small amounts at some sites (Figure 81), indicating that a means to distribute samian widely was in place. Millett (1990: 98-99) comments that the speed of distribution indicates use of the existing social networks, and appearance of samian at rural sites which did not later develop into villas indicates that they were integrated into a single socio-economic network rather than being subsistence farms. If the assumption is made that other types of pottery, and possibly other goods could be transported along the same routes, then the inference is that artefacts could physically reach all of the study sample sites, so restrictions on consumption are mostly likely to be social or economic. The presence of amphorae at some sites in the study sample but not others may reflect such restrictions but it remains difficult to explain, and there may have been military involvement in restricting distribution of wine amphorae. Evans (1993: 117) relates the higher levels of finewares at military and urban sites compared to rural sites not to status differences but to the greater concentration of demand at urban sites which facilitates continuous direct supply, rather than less frequent supply to rural sites through a redistributive centre.

Millett (1990: 123) proposes a local distribution network developing around small towns in the second and third centuries, with itinerant pedlars and periodic fairs. Holleran (2012: 258-265) demonstrated that Rome was supplied by a complex retail network comprising fixed shops and workshops, markets and large numbers of informal street sellers and hawkers, with the range and quality of products sold by each reflecting the social groups they sold to, and it seems reasonable to assume similar arrangements, but perhaps on a lesser scale, applied elsewhere. Mattingly (2006: 497-499) notes the evolution of state-controlled markets in urban areas, and probably also in rural locations. Shops have been identified at Cirencester from around AD80 (Holbrook, 1998). The work of Smith (1969b) and Cookson (1984) on mosaics has identified a 'school' of mosaic craftsmen operating in and around Cirencester in the later Roman period (Scott, 2000: 29-43), indicating local availability of mosaics for those who could afford them.

Early Roman-period brooches occurred at all first and second century sites in the study sample. For late Roman artefacts, bracelets occur at almost all late Roman sites in the study sample, and those which do not have bracelets have rings or beads (Figure 15). Again, this suggests that such items could reach all study sample sites, and so the quality and quantity of artefacts found must have been influenced by social and economic factors.

Mackreth (2011: 242) suggests that in the late Iron Age and early Roman period there were no brooch workshops, but itinerant craftsmen travelling on fixed routes through their territory. Local manufacture means that artefacts did not have to travel long distances (and therefore only be available to certain sectors of the population) but would be more readily available, and less expensive. Local manufacture also reflects a response to a local demand and therefore demonstrates that people wanted these items, and manufacture was demand-driven rather than supply-driven. Cool's (1983: 348-349) work on personal ornaments in southern Britain showed groups of local workshops in the first and second centuries, with marketing zones, including a Severn estuary group, and linear distributions along Roman roads and east-west trade routes such as the Jurassic Way. Local distributions of certain brooch types also occur, such as the T-shaped brooches with a south-western distribution along the Severn estuary (Eckardt, 2015: 131-132). However, these occur across assumed tribal boundaries and concentrations at Charterhouse, Caerleon and Caerwent suggest that these reflect local workshops and distribution mechanisms rather than reflecting a local identity.

Swift's (2000: 181, 88) work on dress accessories in the late Roman west showed that Empire-wide universal styles were produced and traded in different ways. Bracelet styles were produced regionally, with no long-distance trade. Bracelets appear to have travelled east to west in Britain, with a clustering in the south-west in the late fourth century. Some insular British forms were produced and traded to the Continent (*ibid.* 210-211) but why some of these forms such as the multiple motif bracelets were traded, but others such as the cogwheel bracelet were not, cannot yet be explained. In contrast, crossbow brooch types were made in standardised forms in large production centres, particularly in Pannonia, and distributed through very efficient long-distance distribution systems, controlled by the

army (*ibid.* 208-210). Beads are different in that there are no later Roman insular types, and the same shapes and colours occur across the western provinces, but produced locally, although some bead types were more widely distributed in one colour than another (*ibid.* 210). Swift also showed that where items appear outside their normal distribution, they have travelled with the wearer, often with the army.

The evidence above from both Cool (1983) and Swift's (2000) work, links movement of artefacts with trade routes such as Roman roads. Does this mean that sites such as villas and farms situated away from Roman roads did not have access or had limited access to artefacts? Considering overall totals for dress accessories items (Figure 49) all sites in the study sample had some artefacts present, but when data by chronological period are considered, smaller numbers of items are present, and it is difficult to establish whether the absence of items is due to lack of supply or demand. Whilst there is clearly still considerable research needed on production, marketing and distribution of artefacts in Roman-period Britain, the available evidence discussed above does suggest that for the study sample artefacts were accessible to those who wanted to acquire them, and had the means to do so.

9.2 Differences in the use of artefacts between study sample sites

This section combines the results from chapters 4 to 7, to examine similarities and differences in the use of material culture between types of site. It will be evident from discussions in previous chapters that there is considerable diversity in the occurrence of artefacts when compared across site-types, and also variation between sites within a site-type. There is also little correlation between average numbers by site-type across types of artefact: the highest artefact numbers do not always occur at the same types of site (Figure 136), with little evidence for cascade through a 'hierarchy' of sites. Figure 137 summarises data in a table form to make comparison easier.

Figure 136: Comparison of abundance of artefacts between types of site for the study sample, from data in chapters 4 to 6

Ranking based on average no. per site	oppida	military	urban	nucleated	shrine	estate	villa	farm						
seal boxes		1		1	3	1	3	2						key
styli		5	4	3	1	2	4	6						1 highest
intaglios				2	3	1	4	5						2
														3
tweezers		5	5	1	3	2	4	3						4
nailcleaners		6	7	3	2	1	5	4						5
toilet sets		3		1			3	1	2					6
ear scoops				2			3	1	3					7
spaula probes			5	2	1	3	4	4						8 lowest
toilet spoons			3	1		2	1	3						
hairpins		6	5	3	2	1	4	7						
brooches	3	5	7	1	2	4	4	6						
bracelets	7	7	5	4	2	1	3	6						
rings	8	7	5	4	2	1	3	6						
earrings		4	7	3	5	2	1	6						
beads	7	5	4	3	4	1	2	6						
spoons			4	3	1	2	5	6						

Note that averages were calculated using only those sites which had that artefact and the calculation excludes sites where these are absent to avoid dilution of the average.

9.2.1 Late Iron Age sites

Significant change was taking place in late Iron Age society, well before the Roman conquest, with changes in the ways in which people lived, adorned their bodies and thought about the individual, and these are reflected in the nature of material culture (Haselgrove and Moore, 2007: 6-10). The adoption of continental style pottery, particularly that for wine drinking (Hill, 2002: 146-150), suggests changes in foodways, although conspicuous consumption of food as part of social identity and status was part of Iron Age culture. Material culture associated with the individual, such as brooches and toilet implements increased, indicating the increasing importance of individual identity. However, there are distinct regional distributions of material culture which cannot be explained in functional or economic terms implying emergence of wider group identities (Haselgrove and Moore, 2007: 8). As well as a large increase in the number of brooches, there is an increase in the different types of ritual deposition, and in the rate of stylistic change in brooch forms which Jundi and Hill (1998: 129) view as changes in the social role of dress and appearance.

The late Iron Age oppida at Bagendon and Salmonsbury were included in the study sample to provide evidence of late Iron Age elite use of material culture. None of the artefacts associated with literacy were present at these two sites. One toilet set was found at Salmonsbury and two mirrors and four unguent bottles at Bagendon. The lack of toilet implements at Bagendon is surprising, given the 'high status' items found at the site. This is however a settlement site and late Iron Age toilet implements tend to be found in burial contexts (Eckardt and Crummy, 2008: 23, 90) and focused on the area of the Catuvellauni. Small numbers of bracelets, beads and rings occurred but the high number of brooches was significant, seventy-one at Bagendon and thirteen at Salmonsbury. The Bagendon brooches included all mid-first century brooch types found in the study sample, and included thirteen Bagendon-type brooches. The type is a variant of the Aucissa, the 'soldier's brooch', but is less common, although found in most of the western provinces, but only at this one site in the study sample. Identities related to personal appearance were expressed mainly through brooches at these two late Iron Age sites.

Foodways had changed to incorporate some new foodstuffs (oysters and fruit sauce/dried fruit at Bagendon), although there was no evidence for wine amphorae. The new vessel forms, representing new ways of serving food are evidenced by the large percentage of Gallo-Belgic wares, particularly plates, and beakers, and the presence of decorated Arretine/samian bowls.

The artefact repertoire does not contain some of the artefacts expected of an elite aristocratic centre, such as wine amphorae and toilet instruments, but has significant amounts of Gallo-Belgic pottery and imported brooches. Moore's (2006: 220-222) interpretation of Bagendon as a development on the margins of existing social and economic networks exploiting contacts with south-eastern Britain and Gaul is therefore plausible.

Figure 137: Comparison of artefacts between types of site for the study sample

		Nucleated settlements	Shrine sites	Estate centres (start in 3C)	Villa sites (=farm sites in 1C and 2C)	Farm sites
Brooches	Crossbow	Alcester, Wanborough	Uley		Great Bedwyn	Somerford Keynes
	plate brooches	high numbers				
Bracelets			high average number	high average number		
		small 1C	small 1C			small 1C
			significant increase 4C	significant increase 4C		
	Copper alloy				higher %	higher %
	Shale	higher %	higher %			
	Jet		Uley	Kingscote	Frocester	Claydon Pike
Rings		from 1C			from 3C	from 1C
			significant increase 4C	significant increase 4C	significant increase 4C	
			high average number	high average number		
	Iron	Camerton, Alcester, Ariconium, Wanborough	Nettleton, Brean Down		Barnsley Park	Claydon Pike, Brockworth
	Silver	Shepton mallet, Alcester	Nettleton, Uley		Great Witcombe	Claydon Pike
	Jet	Camerton, Alcester, Wanborough	Nettleton, Uley	Gatcombe		Claydon Pike, Birdlip Quarry
Intaglios		1C/ 2C	3C	3C	3C	3C
		greater numbers and at more sites		significant number at Kingscote (fieldwalking)	low numbers	low numbers
		mostly precious stone	mostly glass	mostly glass	mostly glass	all glass
		none at Camerton or Sea Mills			None at Great Bedwyn or Marshfield	
Earrings		Ariconium	Nettleton, Uley	Kings Weston	Frocester	Claydon Pike, SE Tewkesbury
Beads				high average number	high average number	low average number, fewer sites
	British IA bead	Sea Mills			Great Witcombe	
	Amber bead	Wanborough				
	Gold-in-glass bead	Ariconium		Kingscote		
	Mellon beads	mellon beads	mellon beads	mellon beads	only at Kings Weston	only at Thornhill
	Jet	jet beads	Uley	Kingscote	jet beads	Claydon Pike, Birdlip Quarry
Seal boxes		3C, increase 4C		3C, increase 4C		
		high at Wanborough	high at Nettleton	high at Kingscote		
Styli		high numbers	high numbers	high numbers	low numbers, mostly 4C	low numbers, 2C/3C
		mostly iron				
		significant numbers at sites with military connections			No styli or seal boxes at the Ditches	
Inkwells		Alcester, Wanborough, Dymock				
Inscriptions			Curse tablets at Uley but not Nettleton, inscribed altars			
Toilet instruments	nailcleaners and tweezers	from 2C	only from 3C	mainly 4C	none in 1C/2C	
		lower numbers	highest average nailcleaners		low	
		very high at Wanborough	none at Portway, Brean Down		none in 1C/2C except Frocester	rare except for Claydon Pike and Somerford Keynes
Unguent bottles		Alcester, Wanborough	Portway	Kingscote	Great Witcombe, Kings Weston	Claydon Pike, Birdlip Quarry
Hairpins		some 2C	some 2C		some 2C	some 2C
		significant increase 4C	some increase in 4C	significant increase 4C	some increase in 4C	decrease in 4C

9.2.2 Military sites

Military identities were very different to urban and rural identities (for example Gardner, 2007) and display the full repertoire of Roman-style material culture, so military sites at Kingsholm, Leaholme and Charterhouse were included in the study sample for comparison.

Kingsholm and Leaholme have evidence of literacy in the form styli and seal-boxes, several inkwells but no intaglio seal rings occur. No items associated with literacy were found at Charterhouse, but this probably reflects its role as a short-lived fortlet controlling lead mining activities. Small numbers of jewellery items occur but brooches were the main items for personal display. A large range of brooch types was present, mainly those of Continental origin or associated with the army, including Aucissa brooches, early plate brooches, Langton Down, Hod Hill and Nauheim derivatives, but some British-derived Colchester derivative brooches were present. Beads included melon beads, which some (Allason-Jones, 2011: 197) consider relate to horse harness rather than personal jewellery, and Roman-style annular beads. Toilet implements included both nail-cleaners and tweezers, and a toilet set. At Kingsholm, a large number of unguent flasks and a bath flask, probably indicate of the presence of a bath house. Personal grooming therefore played a significant role in expressing identity at these sites.

As expected, foodways were Roman-style. The higher percentages of cattle and pig bone are consistent with King's pattern for a 'military diet' and deer, hare and poultry were also present. The full range of items imported through amphorae are present – wine, olive oil, fish sauce and fruit sauces/dried fruit. There was no evidence for imported herbs, spices, fruits and vegetables, but this may reflect preservation issues rather than absence. The full range of Roman-style vessel forms was present, including cups and beakers, but no (local) Severn Valley ware tankards.

9.2.3 Nucleated settlements

Writing equipment appears from the first century, with significant numbers of styli at Shepton Mallet, Alcester and Wanborough, and inkwells were found at Alcester, Wanborough and Dymock (all sites with military associations). Seal boxes occur from the third century and increase in the fourth century. Styli occur in high numbers, particularly at sites associated with the military. Styli were mostly of iron, compared to the more decorative copper alloy styli found at other sites, suggesting these were utilitarian rather than for display. Intaglio seal rings occur in greater numbers at nucleated settlements and at more sites than for other site-types, and are mostly made of precious stone rather than moulded glass which occurs at the other site-types. Intaglios also occur from the first and second centuries, much earlier than at other site-types. Literacy plays a significant role at these nucleated settlement sites which may relate to record keeping for administrative and industrial activities (Appendix 3). Wanborough and Alcester stand out as sites with significant evidence for literacy.

Toilet implements occur from the first century, earlier than for other site types, with a steady increase in second to fourth centuries, rather than the low start and exponential increase in the fourth century which occurs at other site types (Figure 48). A similar pattern occurs for items of jewellery (Figure 49). Average numbers of toilet implements and of brooches per site are high. Early brooches such as la Tene and Nauheim derivatives are relatively well represented, and there are large numbers of the later Colchester derivative and Celtic-influenced trumpet brooches, as well as a range of other brooch types (Figure 27). Most of the plate brooches found in the study sample occurred at nucleated settlement sites (Figure 27). These are too small to be functional and are largely decorative, displaying a large range of motifs. Hairpins occur in small numbers from the first century, slightly earlier than other site types, with a steady increase in the second and third centuries and a larger increase in the fourth century.

Some elements of a Roman-style cuisine were present at each site. Roman-style vessels for serving food occur from the first century as evidenced by first century imported finewares (Figure 89) and samian plates and bowls (Figure 81), which is earlier than the farm sites adopt these.

Roman-style architectural features – ceramic roof tile, window glass, heated rooms and painted wall plaster – occur at nucleated settlement sites, but not all of these occur at all sites, and the data was not available to associate these features with specific buildings. However, most of buildings at these sites were simple rectangular one-roomed buildings, with only a small number of more complex, corridor-type buildings. The opportunities for identity display through architecture would therefore be very limited for most of the inhabitants at these sites, which would explain why expression through personal appearance is much more significant at these sites. Activity at these sites included a significant amount of industrial activity such as iron working (see Appendix 3), which would require a large workforce but fewer elite residents, and presumably fewer opportunities for the types of social interaction which required well-appointed houses and fine dining. All the nucleated settlement sites in the study sample were on or near roads and this would have put them in a good position on distribution routes, allowing access to items such as imported finewares, perhaps before other sites.

The artefact repertoire at individual sites varied significantly, reflecting the differing nature of the activities at these sites. For example, Tewkesbury, has little in the way of luxury items, being mostly agriculturally based, whereas Worcester and Ariconium which had significant iron production activity in the late Iron Age were able to acquire luxuries such as wine. Sites such as Wanborough which had some connections with the military in the first century appear to have earlier access to new items, for example, the introduction of plates, inkwells, or to luxury items such as jet and amber. The numbers of hairpins, brooches, nail-cleaners and tweezers are particular high at Wanborough, and may relate to manufacture and or distribution of these items.

9.2.4 Farm and villa sites

These two site-types will be considered together, as villa sites in the study sample were farms in the early Roman period, only developing into villas in the late third and fourth centuries. Expression of elite status at villa sites through architecture, and increasing separation of public and private space, is only expressed in the late third, and fourth centuries, although elements such as ceramic roof tile and painted wall plaster do make an appearance from the second century at both farm and villa sites. For

other types of artefact, the trends for villas and farms are very similar in the first to third centuries. Numbers of styli, seal-boxes and intaglio seal rings are low compared to other types of site. Excluding Frocester and Claydon Pike, numbers of toilet implements are low compared to nucleated settlement and other types of site, with some increase for villas in the fourth century, but numbers are still generally lower than for nucleated settlement sites. Except for Claydon Pike, jewellery numbers at farm sites remain low, but for villa sites are broadly comparable with those for nucleated settlement sites, increasing in the third and fourth centuries. The increase in the fourth century is more marked at shrine and estate centre sites.

Claydon Pike stands out with the well-appointed aisled building in the second and third centuries (but not necessarily so in the fourth century), which suggests a higher status, perhaps as an administrative centre. Claydon Pike also has significant proportions of items comprising a more Romanised diet, greater numbers of toilet implements and jewellery than other farm sites. Somerford Keynes also has higher numbers of jewellery and toilet implements, and many of the dietary items, but lacks the architectural features at Claydon Pike. Somerford Keynes also had an aisled building, and some administrative or official role has been proposed (Miles et al., 2007: 273) although there is no direct evidence.

The Bowsings, Butcombe and Wootton Bassett have simple one-room rectangular buildings, and activities related to iron working or grain processing (Appendix 3), and Horcott had a series of paddocks possibly related to horse breeding. These sites had little in the way of items related to literacy, personal appearance or Roman-style architectural features, but Wootton Bassett and Horcott had elements of a Romanised diet (poultry, higher percentage of cattle bone, oysters) and wine at Horcott. Data was not available for Butcombe and The Bowsings, but Horcott and Wootton Bassett had a similar pottery repertoire to other sites.

Frocester is different from other villa sites in that it has a greater number of items of jewellery and toilet implements than the other villa sites, and luxury foodstuffs such as wine, imported herbs, spices

and vegetables and amphorae for fruit sauce/dried fruit. The occupants of Frocester appear to place greater emphasis on personal appearance and a Roman-style diet. The Frocester site continues from the Iron Age, as does Marshfield but the other villa sites are Roman-period foundations. The villa at Marshfield is smaller and less elaborate than the other villas, but otherwise has the same repertoire of artefacts. Great Witcombe is different to the other villas in that it was built as a unitary design, but otherwise the artefacts were similar to those at the other villa sites.

9.2.5 Shrine sites

The trends at shrine sites are different to those at nucleated settlement and villa and farm sites. The larger complexes of shrines and domestic accommodation at Nettleton and Uley, both of which show continuation from sacred Iron Age sites, is very different to the smaller sites at Portway and Brean Down. Portway was a roadside shrine, established in the early second century, with a rectangular enclosure around a timber polygonal structure. Brean Down was established in the fourth century as a square, stone Romano-Celtic temple, with some domestic occupation in the late fourth century. Portway and Brean Down had no toilet implements, and a very small number of jewellery items and hairpins at each site. Architectural items include stone roof tiles at both sites, window glass at Portway and architectural stone at Brean Down. Both had the expected pottery repertoire, but Portway only had tankards, Brean Down beakers, and neither had cups. Diet included deer and a higher percentage of cattle bone at Portway, but no data was available for Brean Down.

Nettleton and Uley were different from other types of site and also from each other. Artefacts associated with literacy occur from the first century, and in relatively high total numbers, with thirty-three styli at Nettleton and six at Uley. The high styli numbers at Nettleton occur mostly in the fourth century, which marks a change from previous levels. Inscribed altars occurred only at shrine sites. The shrine at Nettleton appears to be dedicated to Apollo and that at Uley to Mercury. Curse tablets occurred at Uley but not Nettleton. Literacy levels appear relatively high compared to other study sample sites.

Numbers of toilet implements are comparable to those at nucleated settlement sites, but occur mostly in the third and fourth centuries. Nettleton had more nail-cleaners than Uley. Very high numbers of hairpins were found at Nettleton but dated evidence was not available. Nettleton and Uley both had high numbers of bracelets, rings and beads compared to other sites, and these follow the trend at nucleated settlement and villa sites with a significant increase in the fourth century. Nettleton had a very high number of brooches – one hundred and six, compared to thirty-seven at Uley. Brooches at Nettleton included significant numbers of Colchester, Hod Hill, Colchester derivative and trumpet brooches, a mixture of Roman and Celtic-influenced forms. Nettleton also had relatively high numbers of plate brooches, which are mainly decorative, similar to the nucleated settlement sites. Personal appearance therefore forms a significant element of identity at these sites.

Roman-style architectural features occur at both Nettleton and Uley; stone or ceramic roof tile, stone floors, window glass, and highly decorative wall plaster, which at Nettleton only occurred in the shrine structure. Data for Nettleton was not available, but Uley had a Roman-style diet, with fish, deer, hare and poultry, imported herbs and spices, olive oil, but no evidence for wine. The pottery repertoire was similar to other sites, but with beakers and no tankards.

9.2.6 Estate centres

The main period of activity for Gatcombe is late third century onwards, but Kingscote starts in the second century. Toilet implements and jewellery show similar numbers and trends to nucleated settlement sites, with a significant increase in the fourth century. Elements of a Roman-style diet were present with a higher percentage of cattle bone, and a significant percentage of pig bone, deer, hare and poultry at Kingscote. Imported foodstuffs were limited to olive oil at Gatcombe, and wine, olive oil and fish sauce at Kingscote.

Gatcombe has been interpreted as the estate centre attached to a villa, and buildings were mainly simple in form. A very well-appointed villa-style building at Kingscote, although with fewer rooms than villa buildings in the study sample, showed significant Classical influence in the design and

motifs of the wall painting and mosaics. Personal appearance and architectural space were the key elements in identity expression at these sites.

9.2.7 Urban sites

There were two major towns in the study area, Cirencester, the *civitas* capital, and the *colonia* at Gloucester. Clarke (1996: 81-83) considers Cirencester's wealth and size reflects its social and political rather than economic importance, and therefore reflects continuity of the ruling elite (*ibid*: 81) with a greater level of adoption of Roman-style material culture. In contrast, Clarke considers Gloucester to be more socially and economically integrated into the Empire as the pre-conquest tribal elite would have been replaced by military veterans. Evidence from Cirencester was included in the study sample analyses to provide a comparison against the rural settlements in the study sample.

Comparative data from urban sites have proved difficult to obtain due to the 'keyhole' nature of much excavation in the modern city centre of Cirencester, and some of the available excavation reports were completed at a time when artefact typologies had not yet been developed so recording was limited. Whilst the fourth century site at The Beeches in Cirencester has provided a useful contrast, the available data for the second and third centuries was too fragmented to provide much detailed comparison. Bath also considered an urban site for my study. Similar issues apply at Bath, where much of the excavation has been focused on the temple site, and evidence for domestic contexts is small scale, and often unpublished.

Fourth-century Cirencester had significant numbers of well-appointed houses, with decorated wall plaster and mosaics, equal in opulence to those found at villa sites. The style and decoration on personal ornaments such as beads, bracelets and rings was observed to be similar to other sites in the study sample. Rural sites were therefore selecting artefacts from the same repertoire as urban sites.

9.3 Summary and conclusions

My study examined to what extent Roman-style material culture was used in the expression of identity at different site-types, and what changes this represented from the late Iron Age, how the use of Roman-style material culture differed between sites, and whether this material was adopted at the same time.

My study demonstrated that different types of rural settlement site focused on different types of material culture for expressing identity. Buildings at nucleated settlement sites were mostly simple in form, with a small number of more complex, decorated buildings, so identity expression was focused around personal appearance and literacy. Personal appearance was also a prominent element of identity expression at shrine sites at Nettleton and Uley, together with literacy. Consumption of artefacts associated with literacy and with personal grooming were low at both farm and villa sites (these were farms in the early Roman period), with a small increase in the fourth century. Jewellery numbers at farm sites were low throughout the period, but for villa sites broadly comparable with those for nucleated settlements, increasing in the third and fourth centuries. The increase in jewellery in the fourth century is also marked at shrine and estate centre sites. In the late Roman period villa owners expressed their elite status through the architecture of the well-appointed villas. These differing expressions of identity reflect the different functions of these settlement types. Nucleated settlement sites in the study sample were located on roads, and mostly involved in industrial activities such as metal working, or manufacture and distribution (Appendix 3), a religious function at shrine sites, elite residences for villa estates, and agricultural activity at farms. Other than the well-appointed villas in the late Roman period, there was little evidence for an elite material culture for the other artefact types.

Overall, the adoption of Roman-style material culture across the farm and villa sites in the study sample was slower than nucleated settlement sites, with low levels of artefacts in the first to third centuries, and a significant increase in the fourth century. The use of Roman-style material culture occurs later than for eastern and southern Britain, and although widespread, is modest rather than

abundant. Expression of elite status through villa architecture only occurs in the late third to fourth century, compared with south east England, where elaborate villas with mosaics occur from the second century (for example Smith, 1969a; Mattingly, 2006: 464), and Cirencester where mosaics occur from the second century (Mattingly, 2006: 320). Millett's (2016: 712-713) work in East Yorkshire showed similar trends to the study sample, with different rates of adoption of Roman material culture, greater integration for sites nearer to the Roman road, and '*modest use of material culture*' with some increase in the later Roman period.

Cattle and grain were exported from Britain in the late Iron Age (Strabo (IV.5). Britain was a net contributor to Rome's fiscal revenues by the third century AD (Millett, 1990: 131), and there is archaeological evidence for exports of grain to the Rhineland in the fourth century. The slower and more modest adoption of Roman-style material culture in the study sample is difficult to account for in broad economic terms, given the rich agricultural land in the Cotswold area. The answer may be social or political, and unequal power relations also need to be considered. Whilst the area of the Dobunni is thought to have been a client kingdom, it was heavily garrisoned post-conquest, as a supply base for the conquest of Wales (Copeland, 2011: 31-36). The Kingsholm fortress and the Leaholme fort were occupied until around AD67, when the city centre fortress at Gloucester was built (*ibid.* 37-44). The founding of Cirencester was relatively late, compared to other *civitas* capitals (Jones and Mattingly, 2002: 155).

Several sites had evidence of a military presence, and possibly a policing role. Based on finds of military artefacts, a military presence has been proposed at Asthall (Booth, 1997: 149-150), Worcester, (Dalwood and Edwards, 2004: 39-42), and Alcester (Booth and Evans, 2002: 301). Whilst there is an absence of evidence for early military activity at Ariconium, second and third century military artefacts suggest a policing role (Jackson, 2012: 169). First to early second century military equipment at Frocester, later second to early third century military equipment at Somerford Keynes, a suggested early administrative or military presence at Bath, finds evidence suggesting an early

military presence at Camerton, Sea Mills, Alcester, Wanborough, all indicate the presence of military personnel within the study sample, continuing into the third century.

There is evidence for a significant re-organisation of the landscape in the early to mid-second century at several sites in the study sample, including Shepton Mallet (Leach and Evans, 2001: 308), Bath (Davenport et al., 2007: 68-69), and enclosure of the primary domestic focus at Claydon Pike (Miles et al., 2007: 91-92). My study showed that sites associated with the military, and higher status late Iron Age sites such as Ariconium received new Roman-style artefacts such as samian wares and wine amphorae, in advance of other sites. Building in stone and the consumption of ceramic roof tile, window glass and wall plaster occurs from the second century onwards. This suggests that the first-century consumption of Roman-style material culture was focused on military incomers or those associated with them, and only after the significant reorganisations of the second century did consumption of Roman-style material culture occur more widely. The evidence considered above indicates that late Iron Age exchange mechanisms would have been able to distribute this material if the demand was there, so that the Roman military presence in the mid to later first century influenced access to the new Roman-style artefacts, although we cannot be certain whether this was active control or merely a consequence of their physical presence in the area.

The significant increase in artefacts associated with literacy and personal appearance in the fourth century, and the appearance of elaborately decorated villas may be related to the creation of the province of *Britannia Prima* with Cirencester as its (probable) capital. This would have increased connectivity with the rest of the Empire through political, administrative and trade contacts, and the need to be 'Roman' by displaying awareness of culturally-Roman ways of living. Brown (1971: 28-37) notes increasing social mobility in the later Roman period (for the Mediterranean area) with a new aristocracy drawn from military and administrative classes, based on education, and it is possible we may be seeing such incomers or an element of social mobility in the study area.

Increasing monetisation may have played a role in increased consumption of material culture, but the extent of this remains contentious (Walton and Moorhead, 2016). There were a number of significant changes in late Roman Britain. There is a significant increase in arable production in central-southern and eastern England and innovation in the form of horticulture during the Roman period (Van der Veen, 2016). There was increased investment in rural production, diversification and development of rural industry (Millett, 1990: 202-204) and an increase in the scale of agriculture, influenced by the increased size of estates, changes in the exchange system (decentralisation of the administrative system and the rise of markets in the small towns) and changes in the nature and extent of taxation. The settlement pattern changed, with an increase in small nucleated agricultural settlements or villages (Millett, 1990: 205) and a shift in emphasis away from the towns (*ibid.* 210), with a decline in the major administrative centres (*ibid.* 133-135) and an increase in rural villa building. These changed the character of towns as the elite focused their display on their private residences rather than the public beneficence of the early Roman period, and is reflected in the increasing investment in rural villas. Fourth century villas were the centre of productive agricultural estates, and were the focus for elite competition and display of power and status (Scott, 2000: 112), and conspicuous display of the agricultural productivity of their estates (Taylor, 2011: 191). There seems to have been an increasingly unequal distribution of wealth in the later Roman period (Pitts, 2016: 735-736), but with the exception of the fourth century villas, less evidence of this inequality in the study sample.

The less conspicuous consumption of Roman-style artefacts in the earlier Roman period suggests these objects were used in a different way, expressing a local identity rather than the need to align with a culturally-Roman identity. Millet (1990: 99-101) suggests that those societies where the structure of society was similar to Roman society, predisposed them to assimilation into the Roman administrative structure. Parts of southern Britain, including the Oxford Clay Vale (eastern border of the area of the Dobunni) lack villa settlements, and this has been attributed to cooperative forms of land tenure deriving from different social structures (Hingley, 1990: 122-131). Different social structures are also proposed for certain villas which develop from multiple units, each occupied by a family, which later become joined into one villa (Smith, 1978c). Such structures occur in the early

development of Chedworth, Marshfield, and Barnsley Park in the study sample. Different social structures may therefore be operating in the study sample in the early Roman period, continuing Iron Age social structures (Hingley, 1984) and this is reflected in the use of material culture. A larger sample, including villas from areas adjacent to the study sample, would establish whether this is a regional trend.

In conclusion, different sites are adopting Roman-style material culture relating to foodways, personal appearance, literacy and use of settlement space at different times, and to different extents, which implies that they are using these in different ways to create and maintain identities. There is diversity in the use of Roman-style material culture, and little evidence for a 'hierarchy' of settlement sites. The way in which Roman-style material culture is used changes significantly between the earlier and later Roman periods, when an elite identity based on villa architecture appears. Overall, the way in which identity is expressed is related to the nature of activities being undertaken at each site.

10 Conclusions

My study provided a comparison between the use of different types of material culture at a range of types of sites. Previous studies have considered the individual components separately (such as brooches and toilet implements), whereas my study brings these components together to provide a more nuanced and comprehensive understanding of the nature of identity expression at each site than is apparent from consideration of each site in isolation based on its excavation report, and allows us to set trends within the study area in a wider context.

10.1 Revisiting the research questions

My research examined the extent to which Roman-style material culture relating to literacy, foodways, personal appearance and use of space was used to express identity, how this changed during the Roman period, differences between sites, and the different types of identity expressed through Roman-style material culture.

10.1.1 Differences between sites

Did the use of Roman-style material culture differ across different types of site? Was Roman material culture adopted at the same time at these sites, or was there a ‘cascade effect’ through the ‘settlement hierarchy’? Were different types of material culture relating to literacy, foodways, personal appearance and use of space adopted at the same time? Broad trends in the data were observed at site-type level, whilst individual sites demonstrated complexity and diversity in the use of Roman-style material culture, and different trajectories of change.

The types of personal ornament used changed significantly during the Roman period. In the first and early second centuries the use of brooches by both men and women continued the significant increase in brooch use seen in the late Iron Age. A diversity of brooch forms at individual sites, including both Celtic-influenced and Roman-influenced brooches at the same site, indicates these were signalling a variety of messages rather than ethnic associations. The proportions of the brooch types were different

at military and oppida sites, but broadly similar at rural sites, whilst urban sites made greater use of the smaller plate brooches which were purely for display. Rings set with gemstones (intaglios) used culturally-Roman iconography and appeared earlier and in greater numbers at nucleated settlement sites where they appeared to have a different role to those at other sites. The use of large Iron Age-style beads falls away in the second century. Necklaces of small glass beads, earrings, and fingers rings were Roman-period introductions, occurred across all site types, in small numbers from the second century onwards, with little distinction between site-types. The increase in dress accessories (except at farms) in the fourth century is striking. Most fourth century dress accessories are Empire-wide forms, but it is not yet clear whether this uniformity represents a desire for conformity with the wider Empire or globalisation of trade.

Evidence for how individuals presented themselves comes from implements used for personal grooming and styling the hair. The occurrence of toilet implements was widespread but numbers of items were low, with some increase in the fourth century. Nucleated settlement sites used these from the second century, whereas toilet implements only appear in significant numbers at shrine and estate centre sites from the late third century. Toilet implements were rare at farm sites, and unexpectedly low at villa sites compared to nucleated settlement and estate centre sites. 'Elite' items, reflecting sufficient leisure time to indulge in grooming activities, such as unguent bottles for perfume and palettes for mixing cosmetics, occur in small numbers across a range of types of site, whereas mirrors occur at nucleated settlement sites, mostly those with military associations, and estate sites. Hairpins occurred relatively widely in the study sample in the second century, increasing significantly in numbers by the fourth century. More sites had hairpins than tweezers or nail-cleaners, which indicates that styling the hair was playing a separate role in identity to grooming using toilet implements.

The evidence from inkwells, which represents the use of a more expensive writing medium, indicates its use was confined to Roman institutions and urban sites in the early Roman period, and was not used to make a statement about wealth and status at rural settlement sites. Literacy, as evidenced by writing styli, extended to lower status rural settlements, although less than expected at villa sites, with

low levels in the early Roman period, and a significant increase in the later Roman period. Nucleated settlement sites, particularly those associated with the military, estate centres, and larger shrine sites had higher average numbers of styli. The higher proportions of undecorated iron styli at nucleated settlement sites suggests a utilitarian role for writing at these sites, possibly administration within the Imperial system. Numbers of styli were not significantly different for villas compared with other types of site, suggesting that writing did not form a significant element of elite identity at these sites. Written inscriptions were limited to curse tablets at Uley and Bath, so that writing was also associated with religious activities, the different handwriting indicating that these were written by local individuals.

The adoption of new, Roman-style vessel forms which indicate a change in how food was prepared and served, occurred at military sites or those associated with the military, and the higher status late Iron Age sites in the first century, but became widespread from the early second century. New foodstuffs only occurred more widely in the later Roman period, with limited adoption at selected sites in the early Roman period. The new vessel forms were not linked to a change to a Roman-style diet, as they were adopted earlier than new foodstuffs, suggesting that existing foods were probably prepared in new ways, with gradual additions to the diet, and the new vessel forms were not associated with a 'package' of culturally-Roman artefacts. There does not appear to have been an elite cuisine, with small amounts of luxury foodstuffs occurring across all types of site, and wealth may therefore have been expressed through communal feasting, although an elite cuisine is possible but likely to have been rare

Roman-style architectural features such as ceramic roof tile, window glass, heated rooms, and painted wall plaster, were adopted piecemeal by different sites, at different times from the second century onwards, with different sites using a selection of these (but only fourth century villas had all of these). These features were used on both timber and stone buildings, and on all types of building, including insular aisled and circular buildings. The construction of stone buildings occurred earlier at nucleated settlement and larger shrine sites. Three sites continued the use of circular buildings through the

Roman period. There was increasing separation of public and private space in elite villa residences in the later Roman period, together with greater elaboration of public reception rooms and dining rooms with painted wall plaster and mosaics, indicating increasing social distinction.

Sites with significant elements of industrial activity (many of the roadside settlements), and the larger shrine sites (Nettleton and Uley) focused expression of identity on personal appearance and literacy, as there was little scope for elaboration of settlement space and fine dining. Sites such as estate centres, fourth-century villas and certain farm sites with administrative functions (such as Claydon Pike), and therefore greater social interaction had a greater focus on display through architecture. There is therefore a link between the function of a site and the way that identity is expressed.

10.1.2 Different types of identity

What does the evidence reveal about the expression of identities related to wealth, status, gender and group identities, including ethnicity, through the use of Roman-style material culture?

The elite in the earlier Roman period were expressing their wealth through continuing local traditions rather than through conspicuous consumption of Roman-style material culture, as there was little evidence for a differentiation in the material culture to reflect significant wealth. Rural sites were selecting artefacts from the same repertoire as urban and military sites, as the same decorative styles of an artefact type were observed at different types of site, with differentiation between sites based more around quantity than quality. There was little use of exotic materials such as ivory, amber, gold and silver, but a small but significant use of jet jewellery in the later Roman period. There does not appear to have been an elite cuisine, with small amounts of luxury foodstuffs occurring across all types of site, and wealth may therefore have been expressed through communal feasting. Conspicuous consumption by an elite was only apparent in the form of villa architecture in the later third and fourth century, particularly the use of well-appointed Roman-style dining spaces which displayed knowledge of Classical culture.

There is little evidence for gender differentiation in use of artefacts for personal grooming and adornment in the late Iron Age. The use of gendered artefacts increases through the Roman period, and significantly in the fourth century, consistent with their use in Britain generally. Gender differences in the later Roman period were expressed through dress accessories for women, such as necklaces, earrings and bracelets in Empire-wide forms, and styling of women's hair using hairpins, and the use of crossbow brooches by elite men. There was evidence for the increasing use of other artefacts associated with women in the later Roman period, including combs, mirrors, cosmetics and perfumes, and the use of jet jewellery. Farm sites had very low numbers of gender-associated artefacts and fewer items relating to personal grooming. This indicates a significant change in how the individual was perceived.

There was some evidence for participation in Empire-wide elite-Roman culture which involved display of learning and familiarity with Classical Roman literature and mythology, in the use of engraved gemstones (intaglios), particularly at nucleated settlement sites in the second century, and in the decoration of elite villa architecture in the fourth century. Classical imagery was used in mosaic designs in the main reception rooms at villas in the fourth century, with indications of aspirations to dine in the Roman manner, although this is not conclusive for all the villa sites. The use of a common visual language was also evidenced by the use of Empire-wide forms of dress and dress accessories in the later Roman period, and Roman-style motifs in the decoration of walls and mosaic floors from the second century onwards.

To what extent had people at the sites in the study sample adopted Roman ways of living? Roman-style architectural features such as ceramic roof tile, window glass, heated rooms, and painted wall plaster, were adopted piecemeal at different times, with different sites using a selection of these on all types of building, including insular aisled and circular buildings. This indicates that these were not adopted as a Roman 'cultural package', but were used in structuring local identities. The villas show aspirations towards Roman styles of living in the separation of public and private space, and the

decoration of reception rooms and dining space at villa sites, although these concepts are interpreted in a local manner rather than reflecting wholly Mediterranean traditions.

There was little clear evidence of selection of items purely because they were culturally-Roman. Where both Celtic and Roman style items were available, for example in the repertoire of first and second century brooches, a mixture of both types is observed at individual sites. If these items were selected for their Roman-ness we would expect to see patterns of artefacts adopted together, but the diversity of artefacts at individual sites indicates this is not the case. People were not trying to align themselves with a perceived external 'Roman' culture, but were using artefacts to create local identities.

10.1.3 The extent of use of Roman-style material culture, and continuities and change

To what extent was Roman-style material culture used to express identity and how did identity expression differ from the late Iron Age? What continuities and changes can be observed during the Roman period? As described above, the response to Roman imperialism was diverse and complex, reflecting discrepant experiences of Roman imperialism. Roman-style material culture was adopted at different rates at different sites. General trends observed were consistent with trends elsewhere in Britain. However, for the study sample the use of material culture is modest and the adoption rate slower than might be expected. Two periods of significant change in the nature and extent of material culture used were observed: the late first to early second centuries, and the late third to earlier fourth centuries.

The widespread adoption of Roman-style material culture appears much later in the study sample than in south-eastern Britain. For example, with the exception of The Ditches, elite villas do not occur until the later third century whereas the winged corridor villa appears in parts of Britain in the late first century (Perring, 2002: 74). Mosaics appear elsewhere in Britain and at Cirencester from the second century, but only at the rural study sample sites in the fourth century. The Cotswolds area is often described in the archaeological literature as rich and 'highly Romanised', based on the large

number of villas in the area. My study has shown that this is only the case in the fourth century for the sites examined. The engagement of villa sites with Roman-style material culture was less than might be expected, and, except for elite architecture in the late Roman period, did not appear to show significant status differentiation. Social structures in the early period were not dominated by an urban or villa elite as there was no ‘cascade effect’ of new material culture through the social hierarchy.

It is very likely that different social structures were operating in the study sample in the earlier Roman period, and this influenced the modest and slower adoption of Roman-style material culture. There is evidence that late Iron Age society in the area was fractured, with no centralised tribal or ethnic identity but broad inter-regional identities based on kinship and exchange networks (Moore, 2006: 220-222). Bagendon was not a tribal capital, but the location of a ‘*new kind of elite*’ (*ibid.* 222), on the periphery of existing social and economic networks, controlling exchange between the early Roman military province and areas to the west and south west, but also taking the opportunity to advance their power and status with links to the southern and eastern kingdoms (Trow et al., 2009: 73-74). This model suggests that there was no central aristocracy who needed to maintain their power networks through negotiation with the Imperial system, so that an elite material culture does not develop for the study sample in the earlier Roman period. Evidence from the late development of villas and their absence in certain areas also suggests different social systems may have been operating in the study sample, which could account for different attitudes to material culture, and for the apparent lack of an elite material culture at the study sample sites.

Unequal power relations resulting from incorporation into the Imperial system would have had a significant influence on how people were able to use material culture to position themselves within the new order. There is evidence of this influence on acquisition of Roman-style material culture in the study sample in the early Roman period. Sites which had some association with the military in the first century, or were higher status late Iron Age sites, were able to acquire new material culture before other types of sites, suggesting a military link to availability, and there are hints that foodstuffs contained in amphorae may have been used in gift exchange. The focus of the Imperial economy was

to extract resources and wealth from Britain (Mattingly, 2006: 491-499), and we need to place identity expression within this context. The relatively low numbers of artefacts in the early Roman period reflect a lack of interest in anything other than resource extraction by the authorities: Tacitus' civilising of the Britons did not impact the study area significantly, and even though the Dobunni may have been a pre-conquest client kingdom they were not receiving special treatment post-conquest.

Is there evidence of 'resistance' to Rome? Artefacts appeared in both Celtic-influenced and Roman-influenced styles at the same sites in the study sample, and traditional building forms are combined with Roman-style architectural introductions. The modest and selective uptake of new material culture in the early Roman period indicates that Roman-style material culture was used in a re-interpretation of local identities rather than resistance or a wholesale adoption of a 'cultural package' of material to reflect new identities aligned with the Empire: there was no desire to 'become Roman'.

Changes in the use of material culture can be set in the wider context of major political and economic changes. Artefact types (including new vessel forms and writing equipment) previously restricted to certain sites become more widely available in the early second century, although appearing at nucleated settlement sites before villa and farm sites. Brooch use peaks in the early second century then falls away rapidly. The use of Roman-style architectural features starts to occur at rural sites. Major reorganisation of the landscape in the late first and early second century is evidenced at several sites in the study sample, and has been demonstrated for the Upper Thames and Severn valleys, and to a lesser extent for the Cotswolds (Copeland, 2011: 104). Land ownership is likely to have changed, with lands allocated to the veterans from the *colonia* at Gloucester (*ibid.* 81), to the creation of Imperial estates as proposed for Kingscote, and to the establishment of Cirencester. This will have disrupted social structures, so that increasing use of new material culture reflects the expression of reinvented identities following these changes.

The second period of major change in the use of material culture in the study sample is the late third and early fourth century, with the development of elite villa architecture, and the significant increase in artefacts associated with personal appearance and literacy. There is also evidence for increased

connectivity with Empire-wide elite-Roman culture, such as the use of Classical Roman imagery on mosaics to display a knowledge of Classical learning. These changes coincide with the creation of the province of *Britannia Prima* with Cirencester as its (probable) capital, which would have increased connectivity with the rest of the Empire through political, administrative and trade contacts, and increased social change with the need to display awareness of culturally-Roman ways of living to function within this context.

The rural sites in the study sample are consistent with other parts of Britain in being slow to adopt Roman-style material culture, with lower levels of overall consumption. Pitts (2016) highlights that this difference in levels of consumption between urban and rural settlements can be observed across most artefact types, including new foods, toilet implements, tablewares, writing equipment, pottery consumption (see also Evans, 2001), with much lower levels of these at rural sites. The gap between urban and rural communities was thought to relate to the nature of pre-conquest societies which lacked a social hierarchy and centralised power structure, and which may have been more egalitarian (Millett, 1990: 99-101), as areas with a centralised power structure and social hierarchy (such as the eastern and southern kingdoms of late Iron Age Britain) could be more easily assimilated into the Roman administrative structure through a tribal aristocracy who benefitted from alliance with Rome. However, a study of pottery consumption in the East Anglian hinterlands of Colchester and London (Perring and Pitts, 2013), with both a hierarchical structure and pre-conquest ‘Romanisation’ still showed this significant gap between rural and urban for the two centuries post-conquest, with no significant differences between minor urban settlements, villas and low-status rural sites. Whilst there is evidence that the study area may not have had a hierarchical structure pre-conquest, there is also evidence of pre-conquest use of Roman style material including the use of coins, and as a proposed client kingdom, the area should have been more amenable to integration into the Imperial system.

It is likely that this gap between urban and rural use of material culture reflects a more fundamental difference in how people at these sites their identity. As I have demonstrated above for different types of rural sites, identity expression reflects the nature of activities being undertaken. Sites engaged in

commence and political or administrative centres, especially Cirencester as the probable civitates capital of *Britannia Prima*, are likely to be more outward looking, with social interaction with a large variety of people, whereas sites engaged in agricultural production would have a more limited interaction, with greater focus on agricultural concerns. The greater consumption of Roman-style material by nucleated settlement, shrine and estate centre sites reflects their greater engagement with the Imperial system, and therefore the need to align with Roman ways of living. Most farm sites in the study sample showed less engagement with artefacts related to literacy, personal grooming and personal adornment, but consumption related to foodways was not significantly different across site types. Taylor (2013) has questioned whether agricultural communities were concerned about ‘being Roman’, or whether agricultural concerns such as the control of agricultural land and wealth, and the supply of labour would have had a greater impact on their social life and therefore their expression of identity. The limited engagement with Roman-style material culture apparent from the farm sites in the study sample is evidence of an agricultural identity, consistent with Taylor’s model. The engagement of villa sites with Roman-style material culture was less than might be expected, and it is likely that this is also a reflection of an ‘agricultural’ focus to identity expression.

Distinctions are often made between villa and non-villa sites, the implicit assumption being that villas are high and non-villas low status sites. The villa sites in the study sample showed modest use of material culture (although the palatial villas such as Chedworth and Woodchester could not be included in the study sample), with exceptions in the use of elite architecture in the fourth century. Certain farm sites had as rich a material culture but not Roman-style architectural forms. There appeared to be little differentiation in the use of foodstuffs, personal adornment and writing implements between villa and non-villa sites in the study sample. This shows that there are gradations between these sites, and greater complexity in social stratification than previously considered, with middle orders between rich and poor.

The study sample was chosen because it was on the edge of pre-conquest Roman influence and showed some, but not all, of the pre-conquest Roman influence shown in south and eastern Britain

(p10). Similar modest levels and slow and selective adoption of material culture have been observed in east Yorkshire (Millett, 2016: 714), at the villa at Ingleby Barwick, at Stockton-on-Tees, not far from Hadrian's Wall (Willis and Carne, 2013) and in the hinterland of Wroxeter (Gaffney et al., 2007). Smith et al. (2016: 397-398) also observed regional differences in the quantities of material culture, with much reduced quantities in the north and west. These sites on the periphery of the Roman Empire make limited use of Roman-style material culture, and my study has demonstrated that it is only in the fourth century that the study sample is significantly different from other areas of Britain, and in my view this results from Cirencester becoming the political centre of the new province of *Britannia Prima* and the greater connectivity which results.

My study has provided evidence for a different focus to identity expression at farm and villa sites compared to nucleated settlement, shrine and urban sites, modest use and slow adoption of material culture at rural sites consistent with other areas at the 'edge of Empire', and material culture reflecting the nature of existing social structures, which changes with increased connectivity with the Empire in the later Roman period.

10.2 Theoretical models revisited

Theoretical frameworks need to be able to explain the diversity of responses to the Roman presence, as well as the behaviours and experiences of the individual, at both a local and global level within the context of the Empire. We therefore need to model two aspects of the adoption of Roman-style material culture: the process of change, and the motivation for that change, 'how' and 'why'.

In Giddens' (1984) model of duality of structure, social structures are maintained and adapted through social interaction, and the individual is also shaped by the social structures within which they operate. Giddens explains individual identity as constantly being renegotiated as part of daily interactions, which provides a mechanism for both maintenance of existing identities and change over time. The attributes in my study – foodways, personal appearance, literacy and use of settlement space – are all aspects over which the individual has some choice (unlike for example identities related to

citizenship), and therefore models provided by the social sciences at present seem to best account for the fluidity and diversity of identities observed at site level.

However, Mattingly (2011: 216) cautions that these models do not take full account of the constraints which may be imposed by social power structures (imperial systems) on individual choice. My study showed evidence of such constraints on the study sample in the first century, but we do not yet fully understand potential constraints on individual choice at the local level. Globalisation has tended to focus on social, economic and communication systems flows from global to local, but has yet to consider more fully agency within the structures of Empire.

Existing models for discrepant identity, creolisation, bricolage (Terrenato, 1998), emulation (p19-20) and local cultural revolution reconciling tradition and innovation (Woolf, 2001) can account for some outcomes observed in my study. The globalisation model does explain the increased availability of material culture in the study sample in economic terms, and increased political connectivity, but has difficulty in explaining the local social and cultural changes observed in terms of cause or effect. The difficulty with all these models is that they tend to be based on a single motivation for change, but none takes fully into account all drivers of change (social, economic and political), the impact of time, or that change may be forced or voluntary. Individual actions may have multiple motivations, including biased or irrational human behaviour. Teasing out different motivations and meanings from the archaeological evidence alone will always be incomplete. Are we therefore asking too much of our models to be all-encompassing and explain every aspect of change? Should we not just recognise that we are modelling elements of the outcome, and rather than abandoning these models, recognise that they are simplistic and only explain one motivation for change, and consider how these models could interact and come together to produce the diverse and complex outcomes observed?

10.3 Future work

My study examined the nuances in artefact distribution based around site type and chronological period and focused on a selected sample of sites, biased towards those with sufficient stratified

evidence. My study focused on rural settlement sites, and a similar examination of rural burial evidence and evidence for religion for the study area, would allow these aspects of identity to broaden the view shown by my study. Rosten (2008) showed that different personal adornment artefacts were selected for burial than occur at the related settlement site for a community, so that study of burial and settlement evidence together could identify the different roles played by these items. Further studies of burial evidence would also allow assumptions for gender associations for artefact types to be tested for applicability to the study area, as many of the assumptions made in my study are based on evidence from elsewhere in Britain.

There is still considerable scope to explore trends in space and time for decorative features of many of the artefacts considered in my study, such as seal boxes, brooches, rings, bracelets, styli and spoons. Little work has yet been done on manufacture and distribution for most artefact types, and a greater understanding of how artefacts could be acquired will influence our understanding of how artefacts may have been used in expression of group and ethnic identities. Being able to identify small or local clusters of artefacts in the context of their manufacturing and marketing centres will start to build pictures of local identities. Whilst syntheses and ‘big data’ projects such as the *Rural Settlement of Roman Britain* Project (Smith et al., 2016), draw together trends at regional level, examining both regional and intra-regional differences between different types of site, there remains considerable scope for examining these trends at individual site level. My study has shown that considerable information can be gleaned from synthesis of existing data, but more consideration needs to be given to recording artefacts in a way which will facilitate future detailed study.

In conclusion, my study examined a much wider range of types of material culture and a larger sample of sites than previous studies. My study also examined data grouped into four major chronological periods within the Roman period, whereas many previous studies do not provide such a structured approach to analysis of material culture. A methodology for comparison of different types of material culture has allowed me to produce a richer and more nuanced picture of the expression of identity at a local level and to link this to external changes such as the re-organisation of the settlement landscape

in the early second century, and the increased connectivity with the Empire resulting from the creation of the new province of *Britannia Prima*.

I have shown that late Iron Age traditions and local social structures influenced local identity in the earlier Roman period, and significant adoption of Roman-style material culture and aspirations towards Roman ways of living only occurred in the later Roman period. In particular, by examining change over time I have demonstrated that the view of the Cotswolds as a rich and ‘highly Romanised’ area is based on its fourth-century characteristics, and adoption of Roman-style material culture was slow and modest across the study sample for the first three centuries of the Roman period. I have shown that the study area is therefore less unusual than was previously thought, had less engagement with Roman-style material culture than south-eastern Britain, and has greater similarities with other areas on the ‘edge of Empire’ such as Yorkshire.

My study has highlighted that identity expression reflects the nature of activity at a site and ‘rural’ as a category for comparison against other types of site such as urban and military sites is therefore too broad. A more refined classification based on the activities at each site rather than settlement morphology is more appropriate.

Comparison between sites allowed trends between sites to become apparent which were not evident from individual excavation reports alone, but there remains considerable diversity at individual site level. No two sites were alike, reminding us that identity is about the individual and is specific to their situation, which is reflected in the complexity and diversity of responses in the study sample. The conclusions presented here are intended as a foundation for future research and it is hoped will stimulate further discussion.

Appendix 1: Quality of data for the study sample

Quality of data	Begendon	Salmorsbury	Kingsholm	Leaholms, Cirencester	Charterhouse	Dyer Court, Cirencester	Staircase Lane, Cirencester	Cirencester, Angel Cinema	Trinity Rd, Cirencester	Cirencester - The Beeches	Bath & Beau Streets, Bath	New Royal Baths, Bath	Temple precinct, Bath	Shepton Mallet	Abonae Nazareth House	Sea Mills Abon House	Asthall	Camerton	Camerton military site	Deansway, Worcs	Sibbury, Worcs	Alcester Baromix	Alcester ES	Alcester SE	Tewkesbury	Wycomb	Wanborough	Dymock	Aricontium			
Pottery																																
Quantified by form and fabric, and by period																																
Quantified by form and fabric, and by period but only graphs shown																																
Totals by form but not quantified by period																																
Quantified by fabric and by period																																
Quantified by fabric - assemblage as a whole																																
Indication of frequency of wares																																
Form not quantified - representative sample illustrated																																
Form not quantified - selected sample illustrated																																
Selective retention, eg only rims																																
Histograms quantified by period, no detail																																
Selected group quantified																																
Not quantified but full corpus of type-series for site																																
Not quantified. Representative sample illustrated																																
Not quantified. Selected sample illustrated																																
Limited description of fabrics - cannot be analysed																																
Small, selected pottery group analysed by fabric																																
Samian																																
Samian quantified																																
List of forms																																
Samian not quantified but list of all forms/fragments																																
Samian not quantified but list of forms																																
Samian illustrated decorated and stamped																																
Reference to some samian forms but no full list																																
Samian - total number of sherds but no further detail																																
Samian - indication of number of sherds by period but no list of forms																																
Reference to presence of samian but no quantification or indication of forms																																
Glass																																
glass, large number of small fragments only a few illustrated																																
description of all fragments and illustration of key items																																
summary table quantifying key types by period																																
general description with some reference to specifically identifiable items																																
Small finds																																
All recorded and assigned to context and period																																
All recorded but not assigned to period																																
Only a sample shown in report, period given for these																																
Only a sample shown in report, but period not given, or includes unstratified material																																
Selected arefacts described																																
Buildings																																
Surviving plan of buildings																																
Some identifiable buildings and indication of others																																
Wall sections, but no identifiable buildings																																
Post holes/trench slots, but no identifiable buildings																																
Ditches																																
Evidence of occupation but no structures																																

Nettleton	Uley	Portway	Brean Down	Gatcombe	Kingscote site 1	Kingscote site 2	Frocester	Ditches	Great Bedwyn	Barnsley Park	Great Witcombe	Marshfield	Kings Weston	Thornhill	Claydon Pike	SE Tewkesbury	Horcott	The Bowsings	Haymes, Cleeve Hill	Butcombe	Somerford Keynes	Vineyards Farm	Brockworth	Alfred's Castle	Whelford Bowmoor	Birdlip Quarry	Maddle farm	Quality of data
																												Pottery
																												Quantified by form and fabric, and by period
	✓																											Quantified by form and fabric, and by period but only graphs shown
				✓																								Totals by form but not quantified by period
								✓	✓																			Quantified by fabric and by period
				✓		✓																						Quantified by fabric - assemblage as a whole
																												Indication of frequency of wares
																												Form not quantified - representative sample illustrated
✓								✓																				Form not quantified - selected sample illustrated
		✓																										Selective retention, eg only rims
																												Histograms quantified by period, no detail
✓																												Selected group quantified
																												Not quantified but full corpus of type-series for site
																												Not quantified. Representative sample illustrated
	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓																		Not quantified. Selected sample illustrated
✓			✓								✓																	Limited description of fabrics - cannot be analysed
																												Small, selected pottery group analysed by fabric
																												Samian
			✓					✓																				Samian quantified
							✓	✓																				List of forms
																												Samian not quantified but list of all forms/fragments
		✓																										Samian not quantified but list of forms
✓										✓	✓																	Samian illustrated decorated and stamped
✓	✓				✓				✓	✓	✓																	Reference to some samian forms but no full list
				✓																								Samian - total number of sherds but no further detail
									✓																			Samian - indication of number of sherds by period but no list of forms
																												Reference to presence of samian but no quantification or indication of forms
																												Glass
																												glass, large number of small fragments only a few illustrated
																												description of all fragments and illustration of key items
		✓		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓															summary table quantifying key types by period
✓	✓																											general description with some reference to specifically identifiable items
																												Small finds
	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	All recorded and assigned to context and period
✓		✓			✓			✓				✓	✓															All recorded but not assigned to period
																												Only a sample shown in report, period given for these
✓		✓																										Only a sample shown in report, but period not given, or includes unstratified material
																												Selected arefacts described
																												Buildings
✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Surviving plan of buildings
		✓																										Some identifiable buildings and indication of others
																												Wall sections, but no identifiable buildings
																												Post holes/trench slots, but no identifiable buildings
																												Ditches
																												Evidence of occupation but no structures

Appendix 2: Allocating sites in the sample to chronological periods for analysis

Chronology of sample sites showing Late Iron Age and Roman-period occupation						1st C	2nd C	3rd C	4th C	Key:
(showing period number as per the Excavation Report)	1st century BC	1st century AD	2nd century AD	3rd century AD	4th century AD					
Rural settlements										Some prehistoric activity Iron Age predecessor
Salmonsbury	I	II				P II				Roman phases
Bagendon		II III IV				P II-IV				Roman phases
Charterhouse		1				P1+P2				Roman phases
Ditches	1	2 3 4	5	6+7		P2+3	P4+5			Abandonment of site/some activity Sub-Roman activity
Frocester	2.1+2.2	2.3	3.1	3.2	3.3 3.4a+3.4c 3.4d	3.1	3.2	3.3 + 3.4a+b	3.4c+d	
Thornhill Farm	C	D	E/F	G	H	D+E	F+G	50% H	50% H	
Horcott	2	3	4	5		P 3	P4	P5		
Nettleton	1	2	3	4	5 6	2*P3	.6*P3	2*P3+P4+.6*P5	4*P5+P6	
Marshfield	1	2	3			P1+.2*P2	.5*P2	.3*P2+.2*P3	.8*P3	
Camerton	5	6	7	8	9 10	P6+.4*P7	.6*P7+.3*P8	.7*P8+P9	P10	
Tewkesbury	3	4	5 6 7			.5*P4	.5*P4 +P5+P6	P7		
Deansway	2	3	4	5		P3	P4*.6	P4*.4+P5*.4	P5*.6	
Sidbury		1 2 3 4 5 6 7				P1	P2+P3+P4	P5+P6	P7	
Vineyards Farm	2	3	4	5	6 7	.5*P3	.5*P3+.3*P4	.7*P4+P5	P6+P7	
Sea Mills - Abon House		1 2 3	4A	4B	5	P1	P2+3	P4A	P4B+5	
Sea Mills - Nazareth House						50%	50%			
Asthall		2 3 4	5	6		.6*P2	.4*P2+P3+P4	P5	P6	
Haymes, Cleeve Hill						10%	30%	30%	30%	
Gatcombe				main					main	
Wanborough		1 2A 2B 3A 3B				50%2A	50%2A + 50% 2B	50%2B + 70%3A	30%3A + 4	
Alcester - S extramural						separate phasing for each part of site				
Alcester Baromix		A B C D E	F	G		A+B	C+D+E+.3F	.7F+G		
Alcester Baromix		A B CD E	F	G		A+B	C+D+E+.5F	.5F+G		
Alcester Lloyds Bank		1 2 3 4	5	6 7 8	9 10	P1	P2+3+.4*P5	.6*P3	4*P3+P4	
Alcester Explosion site		1 2 3 4	5 6 7 8	9 10		P1+.2*P2	.8*P2+3+4+.4*P5	.6-P5+6+7+8	P9-P10	
Brockworth		I II III IV V VI VII				I	II+III+IV	V+.5*VI	.5*VI+VII	
Dymock - Sewerage works		1 2				.5*1	.5*1+2+3			
Shepton Mallet	0	1	2	3	4	.3*P1	.7*P1+.5*P2	.5*P2+P3	P4	
Wycomb - Andoversford						10%	30%	30%	30%	
Wycomb - Syreford Mill		1	2	3		P1	.4*P2	.4*P2	2*P2+P3	
Great Bedwyn		I-II	III-VI	VII-VIII	IX-XII	.3*I-II	.7*I-II	III-VIII	IX-XII	
The Park-Bowsings	IA		R				30%	30%	40%	
Claydon Pike	1	2	3	4			50% P3	50% P3	P4	
SE Tewkesbury site C		1 2 3					P1+P2	P3		
SE Tewkesbury site D		1 2 3 4				P1	P2+P3+.2*P4	P4*.6	p4*.2	
Ariconium	1	2	3				.6*P2	.4*P2+.4*P3	.6*P3	
West Hill, Uley	1	2 3	4a	4b	5a-c 5d-e 6 7	3	4a	4b	5+.5*6	
Somerford Keynes		1 2 3	?			1	2+.5*3	.5*3		
Portway			1	2 3			.5*P1	.5*P2	P2+3	
Alfred's Castle							50%	50%		
Kingscote			2	3 4 5 6			P1*.3+P2*.7	P2*.3+P3	P4+P5+P6	
Butcombe		E		Main	?			50%	50%	
Whelford Bowmoor			1 2				1+.7*2	.3*2		
Barnsley Park			1	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9			.5*P1	.5*P1 + .5*P2	.5*P2 P3 P4 P5 P7 P8	
Birdlip Quarry			1	2A 2B			.3*P1	.7*P1 + .6*2A	4*2A+2B	
Great Witcombe			2	3 4			50% P2	50% P2+50% P3	50% P3+P4	
Maddle farm								50%	50%	
Kingsweston								30%	70%	
Brean Down									100%	

Appendix 2

(showing period number as per the Site Report)	1st century BC	1st century AD	2nd century AD	3rd century AD	4th century AD			1st C	2nd C	3rd C	4th C	
Urban and military												
Kingsholm		1-3	4	5				p1-3	.5*P4	.5*P4	P5	
Leaholme fort and vicus, Cirencester		II						II				
Dyer Court, Cirencester								10%	30%	30%	30%	
Forum site (Angel Cinema), Cirencester								10%	30%	30%	30%	
Stepstairs Lane, Cirencester		1	2	3	4			1	2	3	4	
Trinity Road, Cirencester		1	2	3				1	2	3+5	4+5	
Cirencester - The Beeches											100%	
Bath - Bath & Beau Streets			2	3					2 + .3*3	.4*3	.3*3	
New Royal baths, Bath			2	3.1	3.2	3.3			.5*2	.5*2 + 3.1	3.2	3.3
Temple, Bath			1	2	3	4	5					
								.3*P1	.7*P1+.3*P2	.7*P2+.6*P3	.4*P3+p4+5	

Appendix 3: Industrial activity at study sample sites

	Industrial activity				Grain processing	Steelyard balances/weights
	Iron smelting	Iron smithing	Bronze smithing	other		
Kingsholm			copper-smithing - fabrica on military site?			
Leaholme (Cirencester)	iron slag					
Charterhouse	Extraction of lead and silver and processing of galena - smelting debris and lead slag					
Cirencester		iron slag - Beeches				yes
Bath Bath & Beau Streets				possible fine metal working and jewellery manufacture?		
Shepton Mallet	some, in later period?	some, small scale?		pottery production - local coarsewares of Severn Valley oxidised type bone working possible off-site lead processing? (lead ingot found) stone quarrying	oven - which may be corn dryer	yes
Sea Mills Nazareth House						
Asthall		small scale	some evidence for copper working	fragment of crucible used for silver refining.		
Camerton	small scale iron slag, furnace			pewter casting		
Deansway, Worcester	extensive smelting	very limited		some evidence for small scale glass working		
Sidbury, Worcester	large quantities of slag					
Alcester Southern extramural area (Birch Abbey)		smithing slag	2 crucibles for melting alloys	possible manufacture of shoes		
Alcester Northern extramural		small scale metal working	13 crucibles for melting alloys	ES primary focus was cattle butchery		
Tewkesbury						
Wycomb						
Wanborough		smithing slag			corn dryer	yes
Dymock	bowl furnace and smelting debris		copper alloy working 3 brooch moulds		yes	
Ariconium	extensive network of iron producing sites - control of production and distribution of iron from Forest of Dean?		yes			
Nettleton	after AD330, small scale		after AD330	after AD330 pewter casting	Mill	
Uley			small scale			yes
Portway				production of Severn valley ware pottery in 2C		
Brean Down	small scale, post temple occupation				-	
Gatcombe	yes		yes	pewter working	yes	
Kingscote		yes	yes		corndrier	yes
Bagendon	smelting furnace	smithing activity	Manufacture of bronze objects	Minting of Dobunnic coinage: clay coin moulds		
Salmonsbury						
Frocester		iron slags suggest small scale iron production and smithing	Iron Age bronze working debris, moulds, crucibles, etc		2 T-shaped drying ovens	yes
Ditches				coin moulds small scale pottery production in the vicinity		
Great Bedwyn		small scale smithing			crop processing	yes
Barnsley Park					corn dryer (later period)	Yes
Great Witcombe		v small scale smithing				
Marshfield		iron slag and hammerscale	copper alloy working debris in vicinity		drying oven	yes
King's Weston					corndryer	
Thornhill Farm		small quantity of iron slag and copper alloy				
Claydon Pike		small scale iron smithing			corn dryer	yes
SE Tewkesbury		small amounts of iron slag			some grain	
Horcott		small amounts of iron slag			corn dryer	
The Bowsings		v small amount of metalworking slag			corndryer	
Haymes		small amounts of slag				yes
Butcombe	iron slag from smelting					
Wootton Bassett	iron slag and furnace lining, not in situ			quarrying for limestone for mortar		
Somerford Keynes				tile depot?	corn dryer	yes
Vineyards Farm	Furnace - possibly for smelting ore?				corn dryer	yes
Brockworth						yes
Alfred's castle		small scale smithing	small scale bronze working		cereal processing	
Whelford Bowmoor						
Birdlip Quarry		small scale smithing			corn drier	yes
Maddle Farm						

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Maps

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